i(vol.II)

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY AND EPIGRAPHY OF HELLENISTIC RHODES,

by

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Vol. II--Notes

MS. D Phil. d. 926

Introduction : Notes.

1. For Hieronymus, v. Jacoby, RE, s.v. Hieronymos (10) col. 1540 ff.

2. v. Schwartz, RE, s.v. Diodoros (38), cols.684-5.

3. The Agathocles-history is from Duris, v. Schwartz, loc. cit. cols. 687-8. Schwahn, Philol. lxxxvi, 1931, pp. 145-168, claims to recognise Diyllus as the source of Diodorus' Macedonian and Greek history of the age of the Diadochi, but there is little positive evidence for this.

4. For Diodorus' chronological source, v. references below p. note 22.

5. Diod. xx, 84.

6. Ibid. 83, 1.

7. Ibid. 88, 6; 93, 2-5; 94, 3.

8. Ibid. 93, 6-7. v. i, pp. 166 ff.

9. 94, 5.

10. 96, 1-3.

11. 92, 2 ff.

12. 91 (cf. 95).

13. Vitruv. x, 22, esp. § 8: Diognetus autem eam helepolim reduxit in urbem et in publico collocavit et inscripsit: Diognetus e manubiis id populo dedit munus.
cf. Plut. Demetr. xx; id. Mor. 183B.

14. 97, 1-2.

15. 81, 4.

16. cf. i, pp.

17. v. i, p. 154, with note 96.

18. v. i, p. 126.

19. xx, 100.

20. V. Hiller, SB, Berl. Akad. 1918, pp. 752-762, =Bilabel, Klein. Hist. Pap., nr.8; cf. Richards in Powell-Barber, New Chapters, ii, pp. 66-68.

21. This covers the same period as Diod. xx, 93,2 - 94,5.

22. v. p.157, with note 113.

23. v. Hiller, loc.cit. p.761.

24. v. Lind. Chron. xxxv.

25. Cavaignac, Mél. Glotz, i, pp.160-1.

26. v. Lind.Chron. D. 95 ff.

27. I omit analysis of the authors dependent in varying degrees on Polybius in this introductory chapter, since all important points are discussed in the relevant notes in the ensuing narrative.

28. Bks. XXi-xxx.

29. v. FGrH, 81, T1.

30. The problem of the sources for this part of Polybius' history has not been much discussed. v. von Scala, Studien des Polybius, pp. 259-278.

31. Polyb. xvi, 14-20. The fundamental study of Zeno, and his use by Polybius, is that of Ullrich, De Polybii fontibus Rhodiis (Leipzig, 1898). Although the subsequent discovery of the Lindian Chronicle puts some of the problems in rather a different light, the work remains a most valuable analysis of Polybius, and I am considerably indebted to it.
For Zeno, v. also Lind.Chron. ed. pp.423-6; Schwartz, RE, s.v. Antisthenes (9), cols.2537-8; Susemihl, Gesch.Alex. Litt.i, pp. 641-2; Scala, op.cit. p.262. For Antisthenes, Schwartz, loc.cit.; Ullrich, op.cit. pp.5-10. Schwartz' view that Polybius only knew Antisthenes from Zeno, which is based on the fact that at the beginning of the discussion Polybius refers to both, and subsequently only to Zeno, is probably correct. It is noteable that the author of the Lindian Chronicle, though he quotes Zeno, makes no mention of Antisthenes.
The name Zeno is so common that no identification with any of the many persons of that name who appear in Rhodian inscriptions is possible. Antisthenes, on the other hand, is extremely rare at Rhodes, occurring elsewhere only in

I.G. xii, 1,63, a dedication by Antisthenes, priest of Halios, of the second century. The name is not, surprisingly, found on amphora-stamps. In view of the rarity of the name the identity of the historian and the eponymous priest is very probable, and is accepted by van Gelder, GdR, p.420, Ullrich, op.cit. p.6,

32. v. i, p.33.

33. Polybius records correspondence between himself and Zeno, xvi.20, 6-7. Ullrich, De Polyb.etc. p.10, has suggested with considerable plausibility that this correspondence is earlier than Polybius' visit to Rhodes, itself to be dated after his return from Italy in 151 B.C., since he makes no mention in his letter to Zeno of the evidence he found in the archives at Rhodes for the result of the Battle of Lade.

34. Ullrich, op.cit. pp.17 ff; cf. Scala, Studien, p.262 (very brief).

35. iii, 2,5: ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις πειρασόμεθα διασαφεῖν ὡς κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς... Ῥόδιοι δὲ καὶ Προυσίας ἀναλαβόντες πρὸς Βυζάντιον πόλεμον ἠνάγκασαν αὐτοὺς ἀποστῆναι τοῦ παραγωγάζειν τοὺς πλέοντας εἰς τὸν Πόντον.
iii, 3,7: οἷς ἐξῆς ἐπιμνησθέντες τῆς παρὰ Πελοποννησίων ὁμοιότητος καὶ καταστάσεως, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως τοῦ Ῥοδίων πολιτεύματος.
For the Proem to Book iii, v. the excellent account of Lorenz, Geschichtswerk des Polybios, pp. 50-61.

36. Polyb.iv, 37,7-52,10. The best analysis of the narrative is that of Ullrich op.cit.pp.17-26. v. also Scala, Studien, pp. 189-201 (who attributes the Byzantine part of the narrative part to Straton of Lampsacus; cf. Ullrich, op.cit. pp. 19ff.).

37. v. below, note 49.

38. The war is described in detail, i, pp.233ff.

39. 47,4.

40. Ibid.

41. 50, 5.

42. v. in general, Ullrich, pp. 22ff.

43. 50, 2-5; 51, 8.

44. 51, 1-6.

45. 52, 1-4.

46. 52, 5-9; cf. Scala, Studien, p. 268; Ullrich, pp.24-5; Schulte, De ratione etc. pp. 37-38. v. below, pp. 238-9.

47. 52,4: ἐπὶ Κώθωνος τοῦ Καλλιγείτονος ἱερομνημονοῦντος. cf. below, p.120, note 27.

48. For his visit to Rhodes, v. i, p. 21.

49. For his visit to Byzantium, which is disputed, v. below, p.121, note 29

50. Ullrich, pp.25-6 distributes the source of the Polybian narrative here between (a) Zeno, (b) Byzantine elements either in Zeno, or added by Polybius from oral questioning at Byzantium, and (c) The stele of the treaty. This, in my opinion, is far too cut-and-dried.

51. iv, 53.

52. iv, 53, 3-55,6.

53. iv, 56.

54. ibid. §3. cf. Ullrich, p.27.

55. ibid. §4.

56. ibid. §§5-6.

57. The election of a committee of three (§2) at Rhodes to be responsible for the purchase of items to be sent to Sinope, will have been recorded in the original Rhodian decree, a copy of which, following the normal practice, will have been sent to Sinope.

58. iv, 47,1. cf. i, p. 234.

59. v. 88-90. For a possible explanation of the insertion of the earthquake narrative out of its chronological context, v. Holleaux, REG, xxxvi, 1923, pp. 480-498 = Études, i, pp. 445-462. This does not affect the Question of its sources.

60. v. 88,1. cf. i, pp. 224ff.

61. ibid. §§ 2-4.

62. v. i, pp. 248 ff.

63. xi, 4-6,8.

64. cf. i, pp. 255 ff.

65. v. Books xvi-xviii.

66. This story of the arson in the Rhodian dockyards is preserved in Polyaenus, v. 17, 2, from Polybius.

67. Polyb. xiii, 4.

68. xiii, 5.

69. xv, 23, esp. §§ 3-4, and 6.

70. xvi, 14.

71. ibid.15, 8.

72. ibid. § 1: ὁμολογοῦντες :with each other, or with Polybius' source? If it is taken as meaning 'admit', this still postulates the existence of another version.

73. All that survives is his paraphrase of Zeno's account, loc. cit., and the brief excerpt, xvi, 10,1.

74. xvi, 26,9. cf. below, p.147, note 192.

75. ibid. §10, cf. i, pp.280ff.

76. xvi, 28.

77. xviii, 1 ff.

78. Polyb. xviii, 52; App. Syr. 12 (§45).

79. v. i, pp.304ff.

80. Liv. xxxvii, 10-11. cf. Polyb. xxi, 7. cf.below, note 101.

81. xxxvii, 12,9.

82. xxxvii, 16, 1-3.

83. ibid. 22, 2-5.

84. ibid. §4: adsumptis quattuor navibus, quae Cariae praesidio erant, oppugnantibus regiis Daedala et quaedam alia Peraea castella obsidione exemerunt.

85. ibid. 23-24. v. esp. 23, 8; 24, 1; §§ 6 ff.

86. xxi-xxx.

87. v. i, ch. ix.

88. v. esp. xxix, 10,4; xxviii, 17, 12. quoted below p. 181 note 159.

89. Ullrich, De Polyb. font. Rhod. pp. 58 ff.

90. v. i, pp. 327 ff.

91. Polyb. xxii, 5, 10.

92. xxvii, 7,10.

93. ibid. § 14.

94. v. Polyb, xxv, 5,4; Liv. xliii, 16; xxix, 10,4; xxx, 4,1; xxx, 5; xxx, 23; xxx, 30. cf. below, pp. 342 ff.

95. Polyb. xxix, 11.

96. xxviii, 17, §§ 4-13.

97. v. i, pp. 363 ff.

98. xxx, 5, 5-10.

99. xxx, 31; v. i, pp. 375-6.

100. For Astymedes' publication of his speeches, v. below, p. 184, note 186.

101. There remain to note three passages which superficially at least have no obvious Rhodian parentage, but which, it has been claimed, are in some measure inventions of Rhodian historians, either to the greater glory of the state, or to justify certain changes in Rhodian policy, or to put a better colour on events than they strictly deserved. The most important of these claims, that the 'secret pact' between Philip V and Antiochus III is a Rhodian fabrication for Roman benefit, is discussed elsewhere (v. Addnl. Note 13). There remain to note:

(i) The view of Passerini, Athen. x,1932, pp. 116-119, that the account of the Rhodian embassy to Antiochus at Coracesium in 197 B.C., and that of the Seleucid embassy to Rome shortly before, is a Rhodian falsification (Liv. xxxiii, 20. with). This is based on the fact that the embassy of Antiochus III to Rome in 198 B.C., referred to by his envoy at Rhodes in this chapter, is not mentioned by either side in later negotiations. Passerini therefore holds that this embassy is not historical, and that the whole episode of the Rhodian contact with Antiochus, which begins with a very laudatory account of Rhodian conduct (Liv. xxxiii, 20, 1-2), was invented by a Rhodian historian who

wished to point a contrast between the willing assumption by Rhodes of Antiochus' challenge, with Rome's supposedly dilatory and superficially friendly attitude to Antiochus.

This is not impossible, but raises difficulties. If we accept it we have to suppose that Polybius, who was quick to point out the errors of Zeno's narrative, did not notice either the falsehood of the whole episode nor its implicit contradiction of his own narrative of the later negotiations at Lysimacheia. Secondly it does less than justice to the position won by Rhodes by this time, and the critical significance for her of the appearance of Antiochus in Southern Asia Minor. Finally, it presupposes a Rhodian historical tradition hostile to Rome, and of this there is no trace in the other Rhodian passages of Polybius. In view of these difficulties, and not least in view of the absence of the continuous narrative of Polybius, Passerini's arguments create more difficulties than they solve.

(ii). Constanzi, Riv. Fil.xxxvi, 1908, pp. 392-399, maintains that the story of the strategem of Polyxenidas against Pausistratus (Liv. xxxvii, 10-11: i, pp. 306-7, 610-611) derives from a Rhodian source which falsified the incident. He does not deny that Polyxenidas destroyed Pausistratus' fleet. His surgery is limited to the motivation of the event as recorded by Livy, that Polyxenidas desired to bring about the downfall of Pausistratus because the latter had been abusing him in front of his men. This, Constanzi claims, is a wholly inadequate motive, and is to be regarded as a Rhodian invention due perhaps to Zeno, the aim of which was to save the reputation of Pausistratus after his death (p. 396: 'La motivazione è così puerile che non sentiamo l'obbligo di trattenerci neppure un momento a confutarla .... (p.397) ... Ogni tratto del racconto di Livio è un indizio che si tratta di escogitazione generata dall'intento di attenuare il valore del successo di Polyxenida e difendere la memoria di Pausistrato') . But it is hard to see how Pausistratus' reputation would be saved by the invention of a story such as that in Livy, from which he emerges as a gullible and credulous individual who fully deserved his unfortunate end. At all events, it is necessary to know far more about the background of an incident of this sort, and its subsequent repercussions, from a reliable source, before postulating such imaginary situations, even when they are more plausible than that envisaged by Costanzi.

102. v. Bibliography.

103. Reproduced, ed.[1] p. 321, ed.[3] p. 148 (a very inadequate reproduction).

104. On the substance and composition of this decree, v. in particular, Wilhelm, Wien. Anz. lxvii, 1930, pp.88-106.

105. Inscr. i, line 308, sub. anno.

106. For Timachidas, v. Susemihl, Gesch. Alex. Litt. ii, pp.188-9; Ziegler, RE, s.v. Timachidas, cols. 1052-1060; ed.[1] pp. 348-9. Broecker, De Timachida scriptore Rhodio, is not about Timachidas himself (v. below, notes 111 ff.). The view of Blinkenberg, ed.[1] pp. 364 ff, cf. ed.[3] pp. 155-6, that Timachidas was the sole author of the work, appears to me (as to Laqueur, RE, s.v. Lokalchronik, col.1108, and Ziegler, RE, s.v. Timachidas, cols. 1054-1055) to rest on very inadequate grounds, namely (i) that the decree authorising the inscription was proposed by Timachidas' father (Blinkenberg, ed. compares the inscription, Klio, xvi, 1920, pp. 203 ff.), and (ii) that the period of time permitted for the composition of the Chronicle, one month (from Artamitios to Agrianios) is too short for the actual work involved, and suggests that the work was already prepared, and that the father was helping his son with literary aspirations to make a start. It is, however, by no means certain that Hagesitimus was Timachidas' father (v. the other possibilities envisaged by Ziegler, op. cit.), and in any case the inclusion of Tharsagoras indicates that he must have had some part in the work, and there is no means of determining the distribution of duties.

107. Chron. D, lines 39-42: cf. below, p. 278, note 87.

108. Chron. C. cap. xxxvii-xLii, and i, p. 123 (Alexander); below p. 74 note 135 (Soter); i, p. 186 (Pyrrhus); [illegible]; i, p. 245 (Philip V).

109. For the Atthidographers, v. Jacoby, Atthis; Pearson, Local Historians of Attica. A contrast may be made between the Lindian Chronicle, and the local history of Heraclea Pontica by Memnon (FHG, iii, pp. 525-558). The latter, who is a far more serious historical source, appears to have relied mainly on a single source (cf. Laqueur, RE, s.v. Lokalchronik, cols. 1098 ff).

110. Hagelochus: ch. xxix (where the name is a supplement); xxxvi; xl. Hagestratus; xxxv; xl; xli: Aielurus: v. Nicasylus; v. Timocritus; xxiii; xxxii; xxxv; xxxvii.

111. For Gorgon, v. ed[1]. pp. 410-411; Jacoby, RE, s.v. Gorgon (4), col.1656 (v. however, ed[3]. p. 189); Broecker, Timachidas, pp. 13-18.

112. Jacoby, RE, s.v. Ergias, col. 432; ed[1]. pp. 421-2.

113. ed[1]. pp. 414-5.

114. Broecker, Timachidas, pp. 7-8; perhaps identical with the epigrammatist, for whom v. W. Peek, RE, s.v. Phaennos.

115. For Hegesias (FGrH, nr. 142) v. Susemihl, Gesch. Alex. Litt. ii, pp. 464-7; Radermacher, RE, s.v. Hegesias (13), cols. 2607-8; Norden, Antike Kunstprosa, pp. ed[1]. p.415.

116. NS, 11, The numerous, and necessary corrections to Maiuri's readings made by von Hiller, Gnomon, ii, 1926, pp. 195-6, and Segre, Riv. Fil. lxiii, 1935, pp. 214-222, do not affect the entries under Hegesias' name.

117. Chron. capp. v. and x.

118. For Myron, (FGrH, nr.106), v. ed[1]. p. 421; Laqueur, RE, s.v. Myron (6), cols. 1119-1123 (There is a confusion in RE over Myron. The article by Drexler, Myron (7), concerning a 'sonst unbekannter Rhetor' is based on the same passage on the strength of which Laqueur (almost certainly correctly) attributes Myron (6) to the third century B.C.); Susemihl, Gesch.Alex.Litt.ii, pp. 393-4.

119. Chron. xxxii and D 51.

120. Rutilius Lupus, Rhet. Lat. Min. i, § 20 = FGrH, 106F6: schema ἀναγκαῖον : hoc schema tunc prodest etc. .... quem ad modum Myron: amicus meus fuit Chremonides et opinione omnium magis familiaris, et pro salute eius quaecumque potui feci ... calamitatis ac luctus eius particeps eram.

121. Chron. xxxv, xl.

122. v. i, pp. 12 ff.

123. The Rhodian item is the battle or Lade (cf. i, pp.20-1), and even that was part of general history, and not of exclusively Rhodian significance. The non-Rhodian items are the Battle of Panion (xvi, 18-19), and the Peloponnesian episodes connected with the activities of Nabis (ibid. 16-17).

124. Polyb, xvi, 20,5. cf. Ullrich, De Polyb. Font. Rhod. pp. 12-13; Susemihl, Gesch. Alex. Litt. ii, p. 116, note 121

125. v. the list of passages given in ed[1]. p. 428 = ed[2]. pp.49-50=ed[3]. pp. 190-1.

126. The date of Xenagoras is disputed. The last event for which he is quoted as authority in the Chronicle is the suicide in the temple, D, 60 ff. esp. 89. This is stated to have occurred in the year of the Rhodian eponym Puthannas. The event was clearly after the reconstruction of the new temple, built to replace that destroyed by fire, had begun, since it refers to the scaffolding of the new cult-statue of Athana (v. Blinkenberg, L'Image d'Athana Lindia, pp. 36 ff). The temple was burnt in the year of the Rhodian eponym Eukles (v. Lind.Chron. D, 39 ff.), now known to have been c. 395 (v. Additional note 7). This, then, is a terminus post quem for the last event mentioned by Xenagoras; a terminus ante quem is provided by the fact that the following item (ll. 95 ff) refers to the siege of 304. Thus if Xenagoras may be regarded as contemporary with the last event to which he refers, he will have lived some time in the fourth century, and probably in the earlier rather than the later part of it. This seems to agree with the view he takes of some of the Latin towns (v. notes 127, 129). Wilamowitz, AA, 1913,p. 43 , (followed by Brocker, Timachidas, pp.47-8, Wiken, Die Kunde der Hellenen, p.180, note 1, - whose observation regarding the place of Xenagoras in DH I, 72, is of little value, since there is no evidence that the list is in chronological order - Blinkenberg, Inscr. p.191) held that Xenagoras used Hegesias (c. 250 B.C.: v. Susemihl, Gesch.Alex.Lit., ii, p.464, note 40): of this I see no trace.

127. Antiq. i, 72; Ξεναγόρας δ' ὁ συγγραφεὺς Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Κίρκης υἱοὺς γενέσθαι τρεῖς, Ῥώμον, Ἀντίαν, Ἀρδέαν· οἰκίσαντας δὲ τρεῖς πόλεις, ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν θέσθαι τοῖς κτίσμασι τὰς ὀνομασίας.

128. cf. Theog. lines 1011-1016.

129. cf. Rosenberg, RE, s.v. Romulus, cols.1078-9; Wiken, Die Kunde der Hellenen, p. 180, note 1.

130. Polyb. xxx, 5,6. cf. i, pp. 164-5.

131. v. i, pp. 530 ff.

132. Approximately 950 tombstones have been published from Rhodos, as compared with a total of 570 inscriptions of all other classes: compare the statistics from Attica: 7967 tombstones, 5219 other classes.

133. 'Cursus' inscriptions are: Cl. Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 188-9, nr. 18 (Rhodos); ibid. nr. 19 (do.); ibid. nr. 20 (do.); ibid. nr. 21 (do.); ibid. nr. 22 (do.); ibid. nr. 24 (do.); ibid. nr. 48 (do.); Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p.433, nr.53

133. continued.
(Camirus); Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 146, nr. 18 (Rhodos); NS, 18 (do.) (the best example); ibid. nr. 21 (do. and Camirus); I.G.xii, 1, 43 (Rhodos) a very good example); ibid. nr. 44 (Rhodos); ibid. nr. 57 (do.); ibid. nr. 57 (do.) ibid. 58 (do.) Inscr.189 (Ro.); ibid. nr.222 (do.); ibid. 312 (do.); ibid. nr.315 (do.); ibid. nr. 322 (do.); ibid. nr.454 (do.); ibid. nr. 482 (do.); ibid. nr. 486 (do. and Camirus).

134. Dedications by συναρχίαι: I.G. xii, 1,49; ibid. 50 (both Rhodes); NS, 20. Dedications made by single colleges in honour of a συνάρχων are also found, e.g. Inscr. 164; ibid. 172; cf. further below, [redacted] note 139.

135. Dedications by συνιερεῖαι are either in honour of one of their number, or else by the entire college in honour of a deity; Inscr. 131; ibid. 229; ibid. 293; etc. With this type of inscription compare the similar dedications by συνιερεῖς at Olympia: I.von Olym. nos. 59-141, from 36 B.C. to A.D. 265.

136. This list, which Professor L. Morricone permitted me to see for a few minutes in Rhodes in July 1948, begins: Ἄλλο ἱαρῆς τοίδε. Its publication by Morricone will, we may hope,/be long delayed.
not

137. Inscr.Nr.l. v.i, p. 434 and below, p.268 note 34, and pp.398 ff. Addnl. Note 1.

138. Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 370 ff., nr.2. The stone has been reconstructed, and the text greatly improved by Benediktsson, Chronologie de deux listes de prêtres kamiréens, 1940, pp. 8-35, v.i, p.43[illegible], and below pp. 272 ff., notes 51 ff.

139. The list of the priests of Athana Polias, from Camirus, Cl. Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 179-182, nr. 7=Benediktsson, op.cit. pp. 36-49; that of the priests of Poseidon Hippios, from Lindos of which the many fragments have been assembled by Blinkenberg, Les Prêtres de Poseidon Hippios, 1937 (for earlier partial editions, v. ibid. pp. 5 ff., esp. p.11, note 1); that of the priests of Apollo Erethimios from Ialysian territory, I.G. xii, 1,730 = Syll^3. 724 = M875 = SGDI, 4135 = IGRR, iv, 1140 = Blinkenberg, Deux documents chronologiques rhodiens, 1938, pp. 6 ff.; that of the prophatai (?) of Rhodos, Annuario, viii-ix, 1925, pp.315-320 = Blinkenberg, Deux documents, pp. 10 ff. (compare von Hiller, Archiv f. Religionswiss. xxvii, 1929, pp.349-354; cf. below, p.356 note 278

140. v. above, note 132.

141. v. i, pp. 59-60.

142. Of these necropoleis two are at Chizil Tepe and Macri Steno, S.W. of the city, /32-33/, and one near the east coast by Cova /34/ . The tombstones from Macri Steno and Chizil Tepe are published in Annuario, ii, 1916, pp.169-170; NS, 348-404; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp.219 ff, nos. 60-143; many more sporadic tombstones from both sites are in I.G. xii, 1, nos. 166 ff. Others from Cova are mentioned in Boll d'Arte, vii, 2, 1927, p. 332, but do not seem to have been published as a separate group.

143. v. i, pp. 515ff.

144. v. the list in Pugliese Carratelli, Annuario, NS i-ii, 1942, pp. 176-186.

145. v. i, pp. 180ff.

146. Subscription Lists: I.G.xii, 1, 9 (Κοινὸν τῶν ἐρανιστῶν); ibid. 11, (mixed; ?Κοινόν); ibid. 764 (Lindians: cf. Inscr.51, of which this is a portion); 993(Carpathio-politans: i.e. Rhodians); Cl.Rh.ii, 1932, pp. 177-8, nr.6 (mixed: Rhodes); ibid. pp. 182-4, nr. 8 (Camirus); Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 134-5, nr.1 (mixed: Rhodes); ibid. pp.139-142, nr. 10 = Annuario, NS i-ii, 1942, pp.165-6, nr. 19 (Rhodes: Κοινόν); Annuario, viii-ix, 1929, p.322, nr.5 (Rhodes; Κοινόν, but not necessarily of metics, as Maiuri, ibid. supposed); Annuario, NS i-ii, 1942, pp. 149-150, nr.4 (Camirus: payments by Κοινόν not by individuals); ibid. nr. 5, (Rhodes: Κοινόν); ibid. p. 167, nr. 20 (Rhodes: Κοινόν); Inscr. 51 (Lindians; cf. above, I.G. xii, 1,764); 252 (Lindians); 259 (Lindians).

Chapter I. Notes

1. v. Part II, ch. I.

2. Hdt. vii, 93, referring to the Persian forces for the campaign of 480-79. gives the strength of the Dorian contingent from Asia as thirty triremes, but does not expressly mention Rhodes. Diod. xi, 3, gives the contribution from the Greek cities of Caria, and Cos and Rhodes, as forty ships. For the relative merits of Herodotus and Diodorus in naval matters v.
Tarn, JHS, xlviii, 1908, p.232.
Rhodian tradition eventually produced an account of the island's attitude in 490 B.C., concerning which Herodotus and Diodorus tell us nothing. According to Hdt. vi, 95-8, the Persian fleet in 490 crossed the Aegean from Ionia via Samos, Icaros, Naxos, and Delos to Eretria. According to the Rhodian version, Lind. Chron. D, lines 1-59, Datis called first at Rhodes and attempted to reduce Lindos. He was foiled through the agency of Athana Lindia, and withdrew after he had dedicated part of his equipment to the Goddess, and concluded a pact of friendship with the besieged. Since Rhodes was Persian in 480 B.C., it probably was also in 490--there is at least nothing in the historical narratives to suggest the contrary -- and the story is doubtless simply a later fabrication. The historicity of the siege is defended by Beloch, GG^2, ii, 2, pp. 81-3, and Herzog, ap. Blinkenberg, ed^2. note to D1, who assign the incident to 494 B.C., the time of the Ionian Revolt. This however is impossible, since the Chronicle expressly says, Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῆς Ἑλλάδος. I therefore follow Blinkenberg, ed^1. pp. 380-385, and edd^{2-3}. adloc. Wilamowitz, AA, 1913, col 44 (the best discussion), and, most recently, Faure, Rev. Hist. cxcii (2), 1941, pp. 235-241, in rejecting the story.

3. ix, 106.

4. v. Thuc. i, 100; Diod. xi, 60, 4-5; Plut. Cim. 12-13. For the date v. Busolt, GG^2, iii, pp. 143-5 (note 2, of p. 143).

5. The evidence of the Athenian Quota Lists is in ATL, i, s. vv. (a) Ἰελύσιοι (pp. 290-1); (b) Καμιρεῖς (pp. 296-7); (c) Λίνδιοι (pp. 334-5); (d) (Λινδίων) Οἰάται (pp.360-1); (e) Πεδιῆς ἐκ Λίνδου (pp.370-1); (f) Διάκριοι ἐκ Ῥόδου (pp. 262-3); (g) Βρικινδάριοι ἐν Ῥόδῳ (pp. 248-9). For d-g, v. further, pp. 398ff.
The lists do not suggest that Athenian treatment of the three cities differed very much. v. the figures, based on the restorations in ATL, ii, pp. 8ff, given below, Additional Note 1.

5A. I regret that I have been unable to see the study of H. Rückeshäuser, Die Eratiden auf Rhodos, 1886 (xvii Jahresbericht der landwirtschaftlich Lehranstalt Francisco-Josephinum in Mödling). The ancient anecdotes concerning the athletic prowess of the family are collected by van Gelder, GdR, pp. 77-79. v. also Lyon Olymp., pp. 265-6 and below, note 6.

6. For the date v. Schroeder, Pindari Carmina (1923) pp. 59, 506:

7. Ol. vii, 22: τὸ μὲν γὰρ πατρόθεν ἐκ Διὸς εὔχονται :19, Ἀσίας εὐρυχόρου τρίπολιν νᾶσον πέλας ἐμβόλῳ ναίοντας Ἀργείᾳ σὺν ἀσπίδι.

8. Ibid. 71 ff, esp. 73 ff: ὧν εἷς μὲν Κάμιρον πρεσβύτατόν τε Ἰάλυσον ἔτεκεν Λίνδον τε. His story of the three brothers may have influenced Xenagoras' version of the myth of the foundation of Rome: v. i, pp. 34-5.

9. v. B. Meritt, in Greek Political Experience, pp. 50ff ; Meiggs, JHS, lxiii, 1943, pp. 21 ff. Note, however, Ps. Xen. Ath. Resp. i, 14.

10. Ol. vii, 94-95: ἐν δὲ μιᾷ μοίρᾳ χρόνου ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοῖαι διαθύουσιν αὖραι.

11. Wilamowitz, Pindaros, p.365, supposes that Pindar is here speaking of the human lot: 'Wenn hier heute Festjubel ist, ist anderswo Wehklagen: so ist das Menschenlos'. By 464 B.C. the application of such a generalisation to the fate of the family was surely inevitable.

12. The ode of Pindar was written in letters of gold on the temple of Athana Lindia, according to Gorgon of Rhodes (for whom, v. above p. 8, note 111), and not, as would be expected, at Ialysus. For Chrysography in antiquity, with particular reference to this statement of Gorgon (Schol. Ol. vii, ad init., I, p.45, Drachmann), v. Graux, Rev. Phil. v, 1881, pp. 117-121.

13. Ar. Rhet. 1357a18.

14. For the chronology, v. below, note 16.

15. Xen. Hell. 1, 5, 19. Xenophon says φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου. The procedure adopted can only be conjectured. If Dorieus was condemned by a Rhodian court it is not easy to see why he should be described as 'exiled from Athens and Rhodes'. It is, however, possible that the Athenians, on hearing of his trial and conviction, forbade him to enter Athens. It is perhaps easier to suppose that Dorieus was arraigned on a charge of treason, either by the Athenians, or by the Rhodian government on instructions from Athens, and that he was tried

in Athens (cf. Xen. ibid. ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατεψηφισμένων κ.τ.λ.); this appears to have been the normal practice in the Athenian Empire (v. Gomme, Thuc. i, pp. 241-2; Dindorf, Xen. Hell., ed. Teub. 1872, ffpp. v-vi, proposes to remove Ἀθηνῶν καὶ, but this is unnecessary; cf. below, note 16).

16. The date follows from the Olympian victories of Dorieus. Thuc. iii, 8, says of the year 428 B.C.: ἦν δὲ Ὀλυμπιὰς ἧι Δωριεὺς Ῥόδιος τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα. Paus. vi, 7, 1, shows that this victory was the second of a series of three won at successive Olympiads: Δωριεὺς δὲ ὁ νεώτατος παγκρατίῳ νικήσας Ὀλυμπιάδιν ἐφεξῆς τρισί.
Dorieus' first victory was therefore in 432 B.C., his third in 424 B.C. (The inscription Lyon Olymp. 153 = Syll.³ 36B, refers not to Dorieus, but to Theogenes of Thasos, v. Pomtow, BPW, xlix, 1909, col. 253). The Olympiad of 428 B.C. was the first to be held during the Peloponnesian War, and naturally the representatives of Athens and her allies would not have been able to attend. It follows that Dorieus had by that date left Rhodes. It does not however follow that he went immediately to Thurii. Had he already done so he would perhaps (v. however below, note 23) have been recorded as Θούριος in the list of victors. Paus. vi, 7, 4, says: ἀνηγορεύοντο δὲ οὗτος (i.e. Δωριεύς) καὶ Πεισιῤῥόδου Θούριοι, διωχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου καὶ ἐς Ἰταλίαν παρὰ Θουρίους ἀφικόμενοι. If this refers to an Olympic victory, it must be that of 424 B.C., since Dorieus appears to have won only three successive victories. Since Peisirhodus is recorded as an Olympic victor, ibid. mutat. § 2, this is the most probable explanation. However, just before the above-quoted sentence Pausanias has recorded Dorieus' victories at the other major festivals, so that the possibility that the proclamation as Θούριος was made at one of these remains. Swoboda, RE, s.v. Dorieus (4), col. 1560, regards Dorieus' victory of 424 as his last, and rejects Pausanias' statement as false. This does not appear to be necessary.

The political allegiance of Thurii in these years has caused difficulties. Dittenberger, Lyon Olymp. p. 266, (cf. also, Swoboda, loc. cit.), supposed that Dorieus' exile from Rhodes occurred after 413 B.C. and that his Thurian citizenship could only date from 413, the year in which Thurii seceded from Athens. He assumed that Dorieus established himself at Thurii immediately on leaving Rhodes.

Thuc. vii, 33, records that in summer 413, the anti-Athenian party had just been expelled from Thurii, while in 412 the pro-Athenian party was in its turn expelled (Ps. Plut. Vit. X Orat. 835 DE). It was this latter event, which in Dittenberger's opinion, made Dorieus' residence there possible. However, there are difficulties in this: (1) Xen. Hell. i, 5, 19, says of Dorieus at Thurii, πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς (which Dindorf, Xen. Hell. ed. Teub., 1872 pp. vi-vi, desired to remove from the text, for no good reason; so also Van

Gelder, GdR, p. 80, note 1), and this could hardly be used of so brief a stay; (2) Xen. ibid. uses πάλαι (from the viewpoint of 407/6) of Dorieus' exile, and this also suggests a longer time than six years: (3) The early history of Thurii shows that there were other occasions when Dorieus might have gained citizenship there. Diod. xii, 35, records that trouble began in the city in 434 B.C., and that certain elements of the population were unwilling to accept Athenian influence. The end of the narrative suggests that Athenian influence was not uppermost in the city. This is borne out by the absence of Thurian assistance to Athens in the Sicilian campaign of 427-6 B.C. It follows, finally, from Thuc. vii, 33, 6 that shortly before 413 the pro-Spartan faction had been in power, though it cannot be determined for how long this had been so. In general, then, Thurii must be envisaged as very luke-warm in its attachment to Athens (cf. Ciaceri, Magna Grecia, ii, pp. 359-361), and therefore Dorieus could probably have found a welcome in the city on more than one occasion.

17. It is regrettable in this respect that the content of Antiphon's speech, On the tribute of the Lindians, of which meagre fragments survive (frr. 23, 25-33 Thalheim = ATL, T 14 ff.) cannot be determined.

18. In particular the renewal of the alliances with Rhegion and Leontini in 433/2 (I.G. i^2, 51-2= GHI, 57-8 = SEG, X, 48), and the alliance with Acarnania (Thuc. ii, 68, 3): the date of the latter is disputed, but it probably belongs to approximately the same date as the Sicilian alliances (v. Wade-Gery, JHS, lii, 1932, p. 216, note 45; Busolt, GG^2, iii, p. 763, note 6; Gomme, Thuc. i, pp. 198-9 inclines towards a date before 440; but it lacks a context there.)

19. This is illustrated by Lycurgus' speech In Leocratem (v. i, pp. 116-7) and by that of Demosthenes against Dionysodorus (lvi).

20. For the uncertainty as to the method adopted, v. above note 15.

21. Diod. xii, 10 ff, cf. Busolt, GG^2, iii, pp. 523 ff for the date. For the significance of the foundation v. H.T. Wade-Gery, JHS, lii, 1932, pp. 217 ff, against whom, v. Gomme, Thuc.i, pp. 386 ff (whose correction, ibid. p.386, note 1, of Busolt's calculation, seems to be erroneous). Ps. Andoc. Alcib. 12, shows that the Diagoreioi were not the first exiles to go to Thurii: τοιγάρτοι διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ τὴν πατρίδα τὴν αὑτῶν ἀπολιπόντες φυγάδες γίγνονται καὶ εἰς Θουρίους οἰκήσοντες ἀπέρχονται.

22. v. above, note 16.

23. Xen. Hell i, 5, 19: πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς cf. above, note 16. This phrase does not necessarily either imply that the subject had in fact become a πολίτης of the city, or (what amounts to the same thing) that he had access to the political arena; I. von Olymp. 39 = SGDI 1172 = Schwyzer 425 refers to Δαμοκράτης Ἀντίοχος Τενέδιος πεπολιτευκὼς παρ' ἐμέ, who is made πρόξενος καὶ εὐεργέτης (lines 18-9). This man must have been a ξένος of some sort, and cannot have held public office, though there were obviously other ways in which he might have played a part in public affairs. It is thus possible (though not likely) that Dorieus was not a citizen of Thurii. Paus. vi, 7, 4, discussed in note 16, is not absolutely decisive on this point.

24. For the chronology v. above note 16.

25. cf. Busolt, GG^2, iii, pp. 1423-4.

26. Thuc. viii, 35. Dorieus is described as τρίτος αὐτός. This use of αὐτός commonly implies that the individual to whom it is applied was of greater importance than his colleagues, cf. Thuc. i, 46, πέμπτος αὐτός, etc. Of the numerous discussions of this and allied questions regarding the Attic strategoi v. Beloch, AP, pp. 285-6; Wade-Gery, CP, xxvi, 1931, pp. 309-313; Kahrstedt, Magistratur in Athen, pp. 148 ff. Gomme, Thuc.i. pp. 178-9; Lenz; TAPA, lxxii, 1941, pp. 226 ff; Ehrenberg, AJP, lxvi, 1945, pp. 113-134.

27. For the secession of the islands and Asiatic cities, v. Thuc. viii, 14 (Chios Erythrae, Clazomenae); 16 (Teos); 17 (Miletus); 19 (Lebedos, Erae); 22 (Mytilene, Methymna); 28 (Iasos).

28. Thuc. viii, 17, 4ff; 36 ff.

29. Thuc. viii, 44, 1. That the first move came from Camirus may be inferred from the fact that it was at Camirus that the Spartans landed.

30. Thuc. ibid. § 2. With the description of Camirus as unwalled, cf. that of Cnidus (Thuc. viii, 35,3), Cos (ibid. 41, 2) and Cyzicus (ibid. 107, 1). cf. Wade-Gery Ferguson Studies, p. 140.

31. Thuc. ibid: καὶ προσεχώρησε Ῥόδος Πελοποννησίοις.

32. The first position taken up by Dorieus, after his arrival from the west, was at Cnidus (Thuc. viii, 35, 2). Six of the Thurian vessels were captured here, off Cape Triopion, by Athenian ships based on Samos, but the crews escaped (ibid). Dorieus does not reappear until after the Rhodian revolution, at Miletus, Thuc. viii, 84,2.

33. Thuc. vii, 57, 6: Ῥόδιοι δὲ Ἀργεῖοι γένος Συρακοσίοις μὲν Δωριεῦσι, Γελῴοις δὲ καὶ ἀποίκοις ἑκοτῶν οὖσι μετὰ Συρακοσίων στρατευομένοις ἠναγκάσθησαν πολεμεῖν.

34. cf. Thuc. viii, 96, 5, where Thucydides contrasts the Athenian and Spartan methods of war: διάφοροι γὰρ πλεῖστον ὄντες τὸν τρόπον, οἱ μὲν (sc. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) ὀξεῖς, οἱ δὲ βραδεῖς, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπιχειρηταί, οἱ δὲ ἀτολμοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν ἀλκῇ ναυτικῇ πλεῖστα ὠφέλουν.

35. Thuc. viii, 44, 4. For the Athenian revenues from the island, v. Additional Note 1.

36. Thuc. ibid. § 3. For the status of Chalke, v. 'Islands'.

37. Diod. xiii, 38, 5. The chronology is uncertain. Mindarus, who was Spartan nauarch at the time of the trouble in Rhodes (Diod. ibid.), replaced Astyochus after the discontent had broken out in the Peloponnesian fleet at Miletus (Thuc. viii, 85). Astyochus was, however, replaced at the end of his term of office in the normal way, and not for incompetenece, in the course of it. On the assumption (which is indeed not without its difficulties) that the nauarchate normally expired at Midsummer (v. Beloch, Philol. xliii, 1884, pp. 272 ff, Busolt, GG^2, iii, p. 1429, note 3), Mindarus will have arrived to take the place of Astyochus in about August. The lapse of time between Mindarus' arrival and his despatch of Dorieus to Rhodes is not recorded, but Xenophon, Hell, i, 1,2, says that Dorieus reached the Hellespont on his way back from Rhodes after quelling the revolt, ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος. This does not contradict the above calculation, even if it leaves a considerable margin.

38. Diod. ibid: Δωριέα μὲν μετὰ τριῶν καὶ δέκα νεῶν ἀπέστειλεν (sc. ὁ Μίνδαρος) εἰς Ῥόδον, πυνθανόμενος ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ τινας συνίστασθαι τῶν Ῥοδίων.

39. The figure of thirteen ships is given by Diod. xiii, 38, 5; Xen. Hell. i, 1, 2, describing Dorieus' return from Rhodes in early winter says he had fourteen. Few of these can have been Thurian ships of the original detachment brought from Italy, since six of these were lost at Triopion in winter 412, Thuc. viii, 35, 3.

40. For the ancient evidence for the synoecism v. i, pp. 57 ff.

41. Inscr. 16 = Syll^3.110 = Schwyzer 279. The fundamental treatment of this document is that of Kinch, in his original publication of it, Troisième Rapport, pp. 34-38, on which my remarks are based. v. also, Accame, Cl. Rh. ix, 1938, pp. 219-222.

42. The stone has --αν πυθέω Αιι||[.....τ]ὸν ἐγ Ναυκράτ[ιος ἑ]ρ[μα]νέα, κ.τ.λ. Αἰγ[ινάτων τ] is the most probable supplement, though the fact that the Aeginetans had participated in the original foundation of Naucratis can hardly be used as supporting evidence (as Kinch, op. cit. p. 36). Kinch supposed that the honorand of this inscription was interpreter either to the Naucratites, or to the Aeginetans in Naucratis. It is surely much more probable, since he is honoured by the Rhodians, that he was interpreter to the Rhodian 'colony' in Naucratis.

43. v. i, pp. 527 ff.

44. v. i, ibid.

45. Syll^3. 183=Schwyzer 655. On this inscription v. von Hiller, Ath. Mitt.xxxvi, 1911, pp. 349-360; M. Cary, JHS, xlii, 1922, pp. 188-190; Beloch, GG^2, iii, 2, pp. 173 ff.

46. lines 6-7. The same expression is found in Aesch. In Ctes. 240 (335 B.C.): πάντων Ἀρκάδων ἐξελαλυθότων. cf. Beloch, loc. cit.

47. Syll^3. 644 = M535, II, 15 (c. 172 B.C): Εὔδημον Νίκωνος Σελευκῆ πρόξενον ἔμεν Ροδίων. For this inscription, v. pp. 178, note 143.

48. The phrase commonly found in honorific and proxeny decrees all over the Greek world, ὁ δεῖνα ... χρείας διατελεῖ παρεχόμενος τοῖς δεῖνα, is, of course, not in point here, since the reference in such instances is to individual members of the state concerned.

49. lines, 1-2.

50. Syll^3. 183, 2-4: Ἔδοξε τῆι βουλῆι τῶν Ἀρκάδων: καὶ τοῖς μυρίοις[:].

51. So called by Kinch, Trois. Rapp. p. 42.

52. v. Kinch, op.cit. p.43: 'Lorsque la confederation fondée en 411 est jugée insuffisante, on se decide à faire un pas en avant et à établir l'État unitaire (συνοικισμός)'.

53. v. i, pp. 60 ff.

54. Xen. Hell.i, 5, 1; Diod. xiii, 70, 2. Lysander went to Rhodes after he had taken over the nauarchate from Cratesippidas in summer 407. (For the Spartan nauarchate in general, v. the references in note 37, above. For the chronology of 407/6 and the following years, v. the summary of the discussion by Ferguson, CAH, v, pp. 483-5. The main reasons for the chronology adopted here are given by Underhill, Xen. Hell. pp. xl-xli; cf. Beloch, GG^2, ii, 2, pp. 241 ff.

Alcibiades called at Rhodes at about the same time, Diod. xiii, 69. In Diodorus, Alcibiades' visit precedes that of Lysander. This is doubtless correct since the elections of Alcibiades and Lysander must have occurred at about the same time, and after election Lysander had to collect crews and fit out his ships (Diod. xiii, 70) after the Spartan losses at the battle of Cyzicus.

The presence of a Rhodian contingent in the Spartan fleet at Arginusae in 406 is attested by Xen. i, 5, 3. Diod. xiii, 97, 3 gives the same total figure of 140 ships in the Spartan fleet, but does not mention Chian or Rhodian contingents.

I.G.^{2} ii, 1951, an Athenian naval catalogue of crews of the early fourth century, contains in lines 251-2 the ~~words~~ letters ης Ροδι and ς Ροδι . This appears to refer to Rhodians. Meritt, AJA, xxxi, 1927, pp. 462-470, (followed by Woodhead, Hesp. xvii, 1948, p. 56, note 5), publishing the fragment with these words on it, inclined (p.470) to the view of Köhler, put forward before there was any reference to Rhodians in the document (Ath. Mitt. viii, 1883, p. 177), that the list referred to the crews of the battle of Arginusae. But the Rhodians on the Athenian side make this almost impossible. They could possibly be explained as volunteer recruits, but all the other island-communities represented on the stone, are those which were certainly in the Second Athenian Confederacy, so that it is probable that Rhodes too was an Athenian ally at the time. The document could therefore refer either to the Battle of Naxos, or the Battle of Cnidus, when Rhodes was already an Athenian ally (v.i.pp. 84-5)

55. Diod. xiii, 70, 2 (cf. note 54, above): ἐκπλεύσας δὲ εἰς Ῥόδον, καὶ προσλαβόμενος ἐκεῖθεν ναῦς ὅσας εἶχον αἱ πόλεις, ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ἔφεσον καὶ Μίλητον.

56. The harbour was evidently usable by 395-4, when the Athenian vessels sailed in (v.i, pp. 80 ff.): but the example of the Peiraeus, and general probability, alike, suggest that the work must have taken several years.

57. Xen. Hell. i, 5, 19. Androt. ap. Paus. vi, 7, 4. The date can be determined from the office of Phanosthenes, who was not a member of the college of strategoi elected in April 406, for entry into office in July of that year. It is uncertain whether he was strategos in the previous year (v. Busolt, GG^2, iii, p. 1581, note 1); at all events a date between April and July seems most likely. The known facts of Phanosthenes' career are collected, but hardly examined, by Raubitschek, RE, s.v. Phanosthenes, col. 1786.

58. Xen. Hell. i, 5, 19, says ἐλεήσαντες ἀφεῖσαν οὐδὲ χρήματα πραξάμενοι. The subject of ἀφεῖσαν is Shipley the Ἀθηναῖοι of the previous clause, that is, Phanosthenes and his men. But it is unlikely that Phanosthenes would decide so serious a matter as the release of Dorieus on the spot. Dorieus was presumably taken to Athens. Paus. vi, 7, 4 gives an account of his entry into the Athenian ecclesia as prisoner, and his subsequent release. This agrees basically with Xenophon's narrative in that pity is the cause of the Athenian action in both stories (Xen. loc. cit., Paus. § 5). The rest of Pausanias' version is probably due to later writing-up of the event (probably not by Androtion, who is specifically mentioned in the next clause as source for the account of Dorieus' death). cf. Swobody, RE, s.v. Dorieus (4), col. 1561. Grote, Hist. Greece, ch. lxiv, has a characteristic passage on the Athenian action.

59. v. above, note 54.

60. Paus. x. 9, 9. cf. Frazer, ad loc. for the Spartan monument erected after Aegospotami.

61. Paus. loc. cit. does not define the posts of any of the subordinate captains whose monuments were erected at this time. The most likely explanation is that they commanded the detachments of the cities of which they were natives.

62. van Gelder, GdR, pp. 82, 86.

63. v. i, p. 78

64. For synoecisms in general, v. the still indispensible work of Kuhn, Entstehung der Städte, 1878. v. also, Swoboda's excellent article κώμη in RE, Suppbd. iv, cols. 955 ff., and Kahrstedt, RE, s.v. Synoikismos, cols. 1436-1445. For the synoecism of Rhodes in particular v. Kuhn, op. cit. pp. 209-221.

65. For the constitutions of Lindos, Camirus, and Ialysus after the synoecism v. below, pt. II, ch. II.

66. Strab. 611: Plin. NH. V, 107: A.T.L. i, pp. 536-7.

67. For Thessalonike and Cassandrea v. Kuhn, Entstehung, pp. 316ff; Kanrstedt, RE loc. cit. col. 1441.

68. v. i, pp. 404ff, 409 ff.

69. v. Kuhn, op. cit. p. 154.

70. Paus. viii, 27, 3-4: πόλεις δὲ τοσάδε ἦσαν ὑπό τε προθυμίας καὶ διὰ τὸ ἔχθος τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων. (§4): Λυκαίᾱται δὲ καὶ Τρικολωνεῖς καὶ Λυκοσουρεῖς τε καὶ Τραπεζούντιοι μετέβαλλον Ἀρκάδων μόνοι, καὶ, οὐ γὰρ συνεχώρουν ἔτι τὴν ἄστυ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐκλιπεῖν, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ ἄκοντες τὴν Μεγάλην πόλιν. ἀνάγκῃ κατῴκουν τοες / cf. Swoboda, RE, loc. cit. (note 64), col. 959; Kuhn, op. cit. pp. 222 ff; Kahrstedt, RE, loc. cit. col.1439.

71. v. Kuhn, Entstehung, pp. 301-362; Heuss, Staat und Herrscher, pp. 99 ff; Tscherikower, Hellenistische Städtegründungen, pp. 117 ff; Jones, Greek City, pp. 10 ff.

72. Syll^3. 344 =RC, 3-4. To the bibliography there given add Wilhelm, Klio, xxxvii, 1935, pp. 280-293; Klaffenbach, Philol. xcvii, 1948, pp. 179-180 (both with new readings).

73. For example, the synoecism of Scepsis with Alexandria Troas, forcibly imposed by Antigonus Monophthalmus, was dissolved by Lysimachus: v. Strab. 607, cf. Kuhn, Entstehung, pp. 346-7.

74. Diod. xiii, 75, 1: οἱ δὲ τὴν Ῥόδον νῆσον κατοικοῦντες καὶ Ἴηλυσον καὶ Λίνδον καὶ Κάμειρον μετῳκίσθησαν εἰς μίαν πόλιν τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Ῥόδον. For Diodorus' chronological source, see the analysis by Schwartz, RE, s.v. Diodoros (38), cols. 666-9, in which the synoecism of Rhodes is included among the items drawn from this source. The same view is held by Volquardsen, Untersuchungen über die Quellen etc. p. 17, and Wachsmuth, Einleitung, pp. 90-92. The synoecism is given by Syncellus in the middle of a number of events of the late fifth and early fourth century: Ῥόδιοι ἐκ τῆς Τριπόλεως εἰς μίαν συνῴκθον πόλιν. One or two minor sources refer to the synoecism, but contain nothing of value. The earliest is Conon, the contemporary of King Archelaos Philopator of Cappadocia (36 B.C.-A.D.17), who relates FGrH, 26F1, xlvii) the story of Althaemenes the Temenid, and his arrival in Rhodes, and adds (§6): οἱ μὲν οὖν Δωριεῖς ἀπὸ Ἀλθαιμένους ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι καὶ δεῦρο καταβεβήκασιν· αἱ δὲ τρεῖς πόλεις εἰς μίαν ἀποκλεισθεῖσαι μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα τοῦτον ὄνομα τῇ νήσῳ Ῥόδον ἔδοσαν καλεῖσθαι.

Höfer, Konon (1890), pp. 73-4, suggests Ephoros for this story: but he cannot be the source for the second sentence. Isidore of Seville contains two notices of the foundation of the city, Etym. xv, 1, 48 (The city was built by Cecrops), xiv, 6, 22 (There were one hundred colossi minores in the island; a statement doubtless drawn from Plin. NH xxxiv. 7 (16), § 41, who records the same traditional: v. Addit. Note 16). Eustathius, Comm. ad Il. B 656, p. 315, contains a brief account of early Rhodes, including a reference to the synoecism, drawn from Strabo, 652ff.

75. Strab. 654: ἡ δὲ νῦν πόλις ἐκτίσθη κατὰ τὰ Πελοποννησιακὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος, ὥς φασιν, ὑφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Πειραιεύς. id. 655: πρότερον μὲν οὖν καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐπολιτεύοντο οἱ Λίνδιοι καθάπερ καὶ Καμιρεῖς καὶ Ἰηλύσιοι. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ συνῴκθον ἅπαντες εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον.

76. Ael. Arist. xliii (23K), p. 816D: ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ Λυσάνδρου δή που χρόνων τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων ναυάρχου σχεδὸν πάντες ἐπίστασθε ὅτι οὔπω συνῳκίστο ἡ πόλις... συνελθόντες δ'ὕστερον ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων μίαν ταύτην οὐ πᾶσι καλοῖς ἄρα τοῖς οἰωνοῖς ᾠκισαν.
Keil, Ael. Arist. op. I, p. 72 note ad init, held that this speech was not the work of Aelius himself, but of a contemporary, since it contradicts in some points, Or. xliv (24K), which is certainly genuine. These contradictions, and other difficulties, can be explained if xliii is regarded as an academic exercise, and not referring to Aelius' own contacts with Rhodes. I have therefore preferred not to obelize the oration. The same view appears to be taken by Hug, Leben und Werke des Rhetors Aristides, 1912, pp. 26 ff, cf. Boulanger, Aelius Aristide, p. 374, note 1.

77. v. the references to tombstones in the notes below, pp. 249 ff.

78. v. i, p. 409, 413, 416

79. v. references in notes below, pp. 249 ff.

80. Ael Arist. op. cit. p. 808D: δεῖ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις τοὺς παρ'ἡμῶν παραλαμβάνοντας, ὡς ποτε ἦν καὶ Ῥόδος ἀντιπέρας καιρίας πόλις ὥρᾳ καὶ μεγέθει περιφανής, καὶ τὸν τόπον δεικνύειν ὡς τὸν Ἰαλύσου καὶ Καμείρου νῦν.

81. A.G. Woodward, Hesp. xvii, 1948, pp. 54 ff, line 3. I have to thank Professor Meritt for sending me this inscription before publication. The editor's supplements of lines 5-7 are unlikely.

82. I.G. xii, 1, 977 = Syll^3. 129 = GHI, 110, lines 38-9.

83. The editor quotes as parallel Daux, Delphes, p. 687, line 5 (without stating that this text is identical with Syll^3. 672, line 5; such methods occasion a great waste of time) φίλος ὑπαρχων διὰ προγόνων . Parallels both more exact and more relevant (as belonging to the fourth century, and not the middle of the Second) are Xen. Hell. vi, 1, 4 (Iason Pheraeus loquitur): Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρόξενος ὑμῶν ὢν καὶ εὐεργέτης ἐκ πάντων ὧν μεμνήμεθα προγόνων, ἀξιῶ, κ.τ.λ., and ibid, vi, 3, 4 (Callias Athenaeus loquitur): ὦ ἄνδρες λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὴν μὲν προξενίαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατὴρ πατρὸς πατρῴαν ἔχων παρεδίδου τῷ ἐμῷ. And for Attic documents, cf. I.G^2. ii, 52: [ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦν ὁ πάππος αὐτ/ὸ Ξ]άνθιππος [πρόξενος, τήνδε προξενί/αν] οἱ τριάκο[ντα καθεῖλον, κ.τ.λ.] For the destruction of proxeny-decrees by the Thirty, Woodward might have quoted I.G^2. ii, 6 = Syll^3. 119 = GHI, 98, where a grant of proxeny to five Thracian brothers is renewed, ἐπειδὴ καθηιρέθη ἡ στήλη [ἐ]πὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐν ᾗι ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ προξενία.

84. For later instances of the use of the 'city-ethnics' of the old cities, v. i, pp. 130-1, and below, pp. 57-8, note 56.

85. v. above, note 74.

86. cf. note 56, above.

87. For this document v. i, p. 38 . The date of origin of this list is not absolutely certain. A Diagorid was the tenth eponymous priest of the city; this must have been before the expulsion of the family in 395. This makes 404/3 the latest possible date for the inauguration of the priesthood, and a year or two earlier (as in the case of the priesthood of Athana Lindia) very probable.

88. v. Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, pp. 90 ff. The same argument has been adduced for the eponymous magistracy of Camirus by Benediktsson, Deux Listes, pp. 15-16. In this instance it is probable that a new era did start in 407/6, but there is no evidence on the point since the surviving list is fragmentary, and begins with the names of the third century: v. below, pp. 173, note 54. For the Priest of Poseidon Hippios, of which a list probably dating from 406 B.C. has been preserved, v. above, p. 11, note 139. There is no evidence for the Ialysian eponymous magistrates in this respect.

89. v. i, pp. 406-7.

90. v. the two instances discussed i, p. 60 . A. G. Woodward, Hesp. xvii, 1948, pp. 54-60 (cf. above, notes 81, 83), is inclined to regard the use of the old-city ethnic after 394 as normal, but only on the basis of the inscription published by him.

91. Diod. xiii, 75, 1; Strab. 655C, quoted notes 74 and 75, above.

92. Diod. xv, 76, 2.

93. xxv (43K) pp. 816-7D. cf. id. xxiv (44K) p. 840 D: καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο εὔλογον, τοὺς μὲν προγόνους ὑμῶν τριχῇ πρότερον μεμερισμένους συνελθεῖν εἰς ταὐτὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους πίστεως καὶ μίαν ἐξ ἁπασῶν πόλιν οἰκῆσαι, ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκ μίας πόλεως πολλὰς ἀποφῆναι τῷ διῃρῆσθαι.
In 816 D (quoted ~~above~~ note 76 above) οὐ πᾶσι καλοῖς ἄρα τοῖς ἀνοήτοις might refer either to the external situation, or to possible trouble between the cities of the island.

94. Die Dorier^{2}, ii, p. 143 note 4. The Aristotelian passages are those discussed, i, pp. 104 ff. . Müller's statement that in Pol. 1302b32 ff., καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ ὁ δῆμος πρὸ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως the word ἐπανάστασις does not mean 'revolution', but has the same meaning as ἀνάστασις i.e. 'removal' is incorrect. Apart from this,

94 cont.

it is clear that Aristotle is referring to the city of Rhodes, Rhodos, and not to Lindos, Ialysos or Camirus. Müller's view won, however, the support of Kuhn, Entstehung der Städte, p. 210.

95. v. i, pp. 51 ff.

96. e.g. Glotz, HG, ii, 740: 'Dans l'île de Rhodes, acquise depuis 412 à l'oligarchie et à l'alliance lacédémonienne, les trois cites principales, Ialysos, Camiros et Lindos, s'unissent par synoecisme dans une ville neuve, pour se garantir contre un retour offensif de leur anciens maîtres (408)'.
Busolt, GG², iii, p. 1586: 'Das grösste Kontingent stellten neben den Chiern die Rhodier, die vor kurzen, offenbar unter dem Eindrucke der Erfolge des Alkibiades und aus Besorgnis vor den Athenern sich zu einem gemeinsamen Staatswesen vereinigt und für dasselbe die neue Stadt Rhodos begrundet hatten'.

97. v. i, pp. 75-6.

98. v. i, pp. 73 ff, and cf. note 56 above.

99. Emigration from Lindos to Africa and America is today disproportionately high for this very reason.

100. v. Thuc. vii, 57, 6, quoted above note 33.

101. The Dorian Confederacy, of which the three Rhodian cities had been members (Hdt. i, 144), had celebrated a common festival at the temple of the Triopian Apollo by Cnidos, but this religious centre, and with it the confederacy loses all importance, and virtually disappears after the sixth century; v. Tarn, JHS, xxx, 1910, p. 214; K. Hanell, RE, s.v. Triopia, cols. 174-5.

102. v. below, p. 125, note 52.

103. Of the numerous accounts of the topography of Rhodes I mention, apart from the fundamental account of Newton, Travels and Discoveries, i, pp. 146-182, only a few recent publications, in which reference is made to discoveries of the period of Italian occupation; v. Maiuri, Rodi, pp. ; id. Annuario, iii, 1921, pp. 259-262; id. Cl. Rh. i, 1928, pp. 44-45 (good); Jacopi, Boll.d'Arte, 1928, pp. 517 ff; Laurenzi, Boll. d'Arte, xxx, 1936, pp. 129-133; id. Mem. FERT, ii, 1938, pp. 25-29, 33-36 (good); and the valuable Carta archeologica dell' isola di Rodi, by R. U. Inglieri, 1936 (cf. i, [redacted] Bibliography, p.)
The ancient evidence is given in the text, and also in van

Gelder, GdR, pp. 5-9.

104. v. i, pp. 224 ff.

105. Polyb. v, 88, 1: Ῥόδιοι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς προειρημένους καιροὺς ἐπειλημμένοι τῆς ἀφορμῆς τῆς κατὰ τὸν σεισμὸν τὸν γενόμενον παρ' αὐτοῖς βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον, ἐν ᾧ συνέβη τόν τε κολοσσὸν τὸν μέγαν πεσεῖν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τῶν νεωρίων, κ.τ.λ.

106. v. i, pp. 72-4

107. Diod. xix, 45, who mentions the first two occasions, and describes the third; v. i, pp. 141-2.

108. Diod. xx, 81-88; 91-100. v. i, pp. 154 ff.

109. Ibid. 93, 1.

110. xx, 100, 4.

111. Justin, xxx, 4, 3: In Asia quoque eadem die idem motus terrae Rhodum multasque alias civitates gravi ruinarum labe concussit, quasdam solidas absorbuit, Quo prodigio territis omnibus vates cecinere, oriens Romanorum imperium vetus Graecorum ac Macedonum voraturum. van Gelder, GdR, p.114, note 1, doubted the correctness of Justin's statement, but it is confirmed by an inscription from Panamara in Caria; v. [illegible]
Oppermann, Zeus Panamaros, p.20, Nr. 3; cf. 'Peraea'.

112. An earthquake in the middle of the first century A.D. is mentioned in I.G. xii, 1, 23 (for the date, v. von Hiller's note ad loc., and I.G. xii, 1, 2); another of the middle of the second century by Aelius Aristides in Or. xxv (43K; for the attribution of this speech, v. above, note 76). The same event is probably referred to by Paus. viii, 43, 4 (wrong. ref. in von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 812, line 60), and it is possible that I.G. xii, 1, 9 also refers to this earthquake. SGDI 4264 from Phoinix, in the Rhodian Peraea, to judge by its lettering, belongs to the third or fourth century A.D., and may therefore refer to the earthquake which hit Rhodes and Caria c. A.D.340 (cf. van Gelder, GdR, p. 4). I.G. xii, 1,708, might belong to either of the earthquakes of the Hellenistic Age.

113. Strab. 652.

114. Or. xxv, passim.

115. Strab. 654.

116. For Hippodamus, v. A. von Gerkan, Griechische Städteanlagen, 1924, pp. 24-61; Fabricius, RE, s.v. Hippodamos (3), cols. 1731-4; Wycherley, How the Greeks built cities, pp. 17-8, and in Judeich, Topographie von Athen^2, p. 76, note 2.

117. Erdman, Philol. xlii, 1884, pp. 193-227; ibid. pp. 219-227 he lists all the buildings of Rhodes recorded in ancient tradition and in archaeological reports up to that date. Though antiquated this list is still useful.

118. This view is held by Erdman, op. cit. p. 20; Fabricius, loc. cit. col. 1732, and Judeich, loc. cit. The only direct evidence for it is Strabo p. 395, τὸ μὲν οὖν παλαιὸν ἐτειχίσατο καὶ συνῴκιστο ἡ Μουνιχία, παραπλησίως ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν Ῥοδίων πόλις, but this, like all references of the Roman period to the earlier stages of Rhodian architecture and town-planning, is involved in the general criticism here outlined; how much can Strabo have known at first hand of the original city of Rhodes?

119. v. Diod. xix, 45, 7 (315 B.C. v. i, p. 68): συνήργησε δὲ τοῖς κινδυνεύουσι καὶ τὸ μεθ'ἡμέραν γενέσθαι τὸν κατακλυσμόν· οἱ γὰρ πλεῖστοι φθάσαντες ἐξεπήδησαν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν εἰς τοὺς μετεώρους τόπους τῆς πόλεως. It is possible that this refers to the elevated ground above the harbour in the inner city, since the main acropolis was about a mile from the city.

120. For a description of this feature v. the works cited in note 103 above.

121. cf. note 119, ~~below~~ above.

122. v. i, pp. 154-5. It might be inferred from Hell. Ox. ch.x (cf. below, pp. 80ff.), 2, τοὺς μὲν κύκλῳ παρήγαγον ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι εἰς τὸν λιμένα, τοὺς δὲ μικρὸν ἔξωθε τῆς πόλεως, that there were no walls in 395 but the words probably cannot be pressed so far.

123. For this temple, v. Maiuri, Cl.Rh.i, 1928, pp. 47-48 (fig.30). I am not aware that a scientific account of the remains have been published. Identity is established by Cl. Rh. ii, 1932, p. 184, nos. 10-11 (both ii-i B.C.), and p.186, nr. 13 (?iv-iii B.C.)

124. No details of this temple [19], excavation of which was begun in 1935, have been published. Little but the stereobate and a few column bases were in position when it was excavated but some columns were restored early in the recent war by the Italian administration. These restorations are mentioned briefly by T. W. French, JHS, lxv. 1945, pp. 101-2, who refers to the temple as that of Delian Apollo. I do not know the

reason for this. There is no evidence for a cult of Ἀπόλλων Δάλιος at Rhodes, and even if there was it would not be relevant here, since the site was identified long before any excavations were carried out, in the middle of the nineteenth century, by I.G. xii, 1, 25 (cf. Newton, Travels and Discoveries, I, pp. 168-9), found on the site, which is a dedication to Apollo Pythios. For the cult of Apollo, and the remains, v. the article (containing new inscriptions from the Temple area) of Segre, P. P., x, 1949, pp. 72-82 'L'oracolo di Apollo Pythaeus a Rodi'.

125. For the stadium [20], now restored, v. Maiuri, Cl.Rh. i, 1928, pp. 48-9; for the gymnasion [21], the identity of which is not established beyond doubt, v. Inglieri, ad [21]. For the small theatre [20], which has now been restored, v. Laurenzi, Mem. FERT, ii, 1938, pp. 26-9. All these buildings are of Hellenistic or Roman date.

126. Diod. xix, 45, 1-2: ὧν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος (sc. κατακλυσμὸς) ὀλίγα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐνώχλησεν, ὡς ἂν τῆς πόλεως οὔσης νεοκτίστου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐχούσης. ὁ δὲ δεύτερος μείζων ἐγένετο καὶ πλείω σώματα διέφθειρεν. ὁ δὲ τελευταῖος ἐπέπεσεν ἔαρος ἀκμάζοντος... ὥστε πολλὰς μὲν τῶν οἰκιῶν συμπίπτειν διὰ τὸ βάρος, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολλύσθαι.

127. Diod. ibid. §3: θεατροειδοῦς δ' οὔσης τῆς Ῥόδου; cf. xx, 83, 2: οὔσης τῆς πόλεως θεατροειδοῦς.

128. Diod. xix, 45, 3: εὐθὺς τὰ ταπεινὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπληροῦτο.

129. Ibid. §4: τοῦ δ' ὕδατος παραδόξως ἀθροιζομένου, πᾶς μὲν ὁ περὶ τὸ δεῖγμα καὶ τὸ Διονύσιον τόπος ἐπεπλήρωτο.

130. The Deigma in the third century is mentioned by Polyb. v, 88, 8; Hieron and Gelon, after the earthquake of c. 226 B.C. (v. i, pp. 224ff): ἔστησαν ἀνδριάντας ἐν τῷ τῶν Ῥοδίων δείγματι, στεφανούμενον τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ῥοδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Συρακοσίων. Polybius gives no indication as to where the Deigma was at this time. Doubtless it was still on the same site as in the fourth century, even if the buildings had been destroyed in the recent earthquake. Ancient lexicographers distinguish carefully between a deigma and an agora, v. Szanto, RE, s.v. Δεῖγμα, cols. 2383-4. The Oxyrhynchus Historian (x, 2) and App. BC, i, 91 (§ 422) refer to the agora, which may have been in the same area as the deigma, but is not to be confused with it.

131. v. Maiuri, Cl.Rh. i, 1928, p.46. The inscription on which identification rests is Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p.215, nr. 55. This however only refers to an individual as having been χορηγός at the Dionysia, and it does not necessarily follow that the stone was erected on the site of the Dionysion, though it probably was.

132. Diod. xix, 45, 4: πρὸς δὲ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἤδη τοῦ λιμνάζοντος τόπου προσιόντος, ἐκκλησιαστὴς μὲν ἦσαν ἅπαντες, κ.τ.λ.

133. A photograph of this inscription, but no text, was published by T. W. French, JHS, lxv, 1945, p. 102. A text of the inscription has been given by L.Robert, [illegible] REG, lxi, 1948, p.183, with whose restorations of this well-preserved document I mostly concur. From an excellent photograph put at my disposal by Sig. Morricone it is clear that the reading of line 13, init. which Robert gives as .....κίας is ....υλειας ; read therefore [τῆς ἀ]γλειας , which gives the required sense. French, loc. cit. p. 101, says 'In the moat near the Athanasian Gate an inscription was found, limiting the setting up of statues in the περίπατος of the Asklepieion. Although the provenance of this inscription cannot be determined, it is presumably a local find, and refers to the Asclepieion of Rhodes'. This is probably correct, but there is one difficulty. The photograph in my possession (barely visible on that published by French) shows above line 1, in larger letters than the subsequent text the letters ΘΙΟΙ . This is not a Dorian form of θεοί . The first letter, though it might be Ο rather than Θ , cannot possibly be Δ , so [Ρο]δίοι is excluded. The possibility has to be considered that the word was [ΚΑΡΠΑ]θιοι , which would preserve the symmetry of the heading and agree with the Dorian dialect of the inscription. For the possible consequences of this reading v. [illegible] 'Islands'.

134. Diod. xix, 45, 6: τοῦ μὲν γὰρ τείχους ῥαγέντος ἐπὶ πλεῖον τόπον, ἐξέπεσε ταύτῃ τὸ συνεστηκὸς ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ ταχὺ πάλιν ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν προυπάρχουσαν τάξιν ἀποκατέστη.

135. v. Maiuri, Cl.Rh. i, 1928, pp. 44 ff.

136. v. Maiuri, ibid.

137. The inner and outer cities of the mediaeval period are well reproduced by Gabriel La Cité de Rhodes [illegible], p. .

138. Diod. xx, 85. In ibid. § 4 it is called ὁ μικρὸς λιμήν . It is perhaps this harbour the narrow entrance to which is described by Theodorus Prodromos, Rhodanthe, ii, ll. 1-20, esp. 17ff. (by far the best account): μόνη δὲ πάντως ἡ πύλη τῆς εἰσόδου| στενὴ κομιδῇ καὶ κατάφρακτος λίθοις.| μόγις μία τις τῶν μεγίστων ὁλκάδων| ἄψυστος ἔλθοι καὶ περάσοι τὴν θύραν.

139. v. Newton, Travels and Discoveries, I, pp. 161 ff Maiuri, Cl.Rh. i, 1928, pp. 44 ff.

140. v. Laurenzi, Mem. FERT, ii, 1938, pp. 35 ff, whose arguments I accept against the view of Lehmann-Hartleben, Hafenanlagen, p. 128. The stretch of wall in question, outside the modern Ἐθνικὸ Θέατρο is reproduced in Laurenzi, op. cit. pl. xxx, I.

It is impossible to estimate the general course of the wall from this very short stretch, but it presumably continued up to the harbour-mouth along both arms.

141. v. preceding note.

142. v. above, note 133.

143. Diod. xx, 86-7.

144. They are referred to in Diod. xx, 93, 1; 97, 4. These walls probably served only for the defensive purpose for which they were built, and were doubtless demolished after the siege.

145. v. Maiuri, Annuario, iii, 1921, pp. 259-262: id. Cl. Rh. i, 1928, pp. 44-6; Newton, Travels etc. I pp. 164-5; (22). There is no trace of this wall to the north of the city, where it was perhaps regarded as unnecessary in view of the sandy nature of the promontory of Cum Burnu. Newton, Travels etc., I, pp. 174-5, discovered foundations on Cum Burnu, which he suggested may have been those of a square tower of the walls of the ancient city. These foundations are no longer visible today, and it is impossible to determine their original use. The description of the activity of Demetrius' troops when they landed on the North-West coast implies that there was no outer wall running close to the coast round the North of the island. Diod, xx, 83, 3-4, they were free to roam about the northern top of the island as they pleased. Possibly the wall near Mandraki joined up with the outer wall, somewhere between Mount Smith and Mandraki; but as has been noted above (note 139), the general direction of this wall is uncertain.

146. For instance at Alexandria: v. OGIS 669, line 59; PLond. 604B, line 260; Bell-Roberts, Merton Papyri (1948), nr. 5; Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, iii, p. 1381, note 87.

147. v. refs. in note 144.

148. v. App. Mithr. 24 (§ 94): ἐπιπλέοντος δὲ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου τὰ προάστεια καθήρουν.

149. Plut. Demetr. xxii; cf. id. Mor. 183 a, speaks of Demetrius being in the Rhodian προάστεια. But Demetrius never attacked the city from the South, and there can hardly have been any προάστεια to the north beyond Mandraki. There may have existed a few scattered houses in this area, which a later writer has magnified into προάστεια.

150. v. i, pp. 587ff.

151. Diod. xix, 45, 1, quoted above note 125.

152. v. i, pp. 415-6. For such cities v. Hampl. Klio, xxxii, 1939, pp. 1-60.

153. Isolated habitation is implied by Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 150-1 nr. 27 =Schwyzer, 277a found on Mount Smith, and belonging to the early fifth century B.C.

Chapter II: Notes

1. v. in particular, Additional Note 2.

2. FGrH, nr. 66.

3. v. i, pp. 80ff.

4. v. above, p. ## , Introd. note 136.

5. Xen. Hell. ii, 1, 29; cf. Theop. (FGrH, nr. 115) F105; Diod. xiii, 106, 6; id. xiv, 39, 1.

6. Diod. xiv, 39; Ctes. 63 Henry (94 Gilmore). According to the former Conon was appointed on the advice of Pharnabazos to the King; Ctesias assigns the responsibility to Euagoras.

7. Diod. xiv, 39, 4.

8. Diod. xiv, 79, 4-5.

9. Id. ibid. 5. The chronology of these events is uncertain. The origin of the war is placed by Isocrates within three years of the Battle of Cnidus: Isocr. ix, 64: ἐντὸς τριῶν ἐτῶν ἀφείλετο, κ.τ.λ. The battle of Cnidus was fought in August 394 (v. note 29 below), so that the outbreak of the war which ended at Cnidus must on Isocrates' calculation be placed in Summer or autumn 397 B.C. This is confirmed by other scarcely more precise chronological observations. Pharax, who blockaded Conon in Caunos, was Spartan nauarch from summer 397 to summer 396 (for the date of entry upon office of the nauarch, v. ch.1, note 37), Diod. xiv, 79, 4. He was probably in Syracuse in summer 396 (v. below), so he may be presumed to have left the Eastern Mediterranean in early summer or somewhat later. His blockade of Conon will have ended shortly before this, and will probably have begum in autum-winter 397. This whole calculation is, however, uncertain, because Diod. xiv, 63, 4, calls the Spartan nauarch at Syracuse, Pharacidas, which may be another form of Pharax (so Ed.Meyer, GdA, v, p. 114; Ehrenberg, RE, s.v. Pharax (4) but the identity is not so certain as to provide a firm basis for calculation of Pharax' movements.

A similar date for the duration of the war results from the movements of Conon. He crossed from Cyprus to Cilicia during the truce in Asia Minor between Dercyllidas and Tissaphernes, which occurred in May 397 (cf. Beloch, GG^2, iii, 2, pp.214-5). The outbreak of the war will then have occurred shortly after this.

9. contd.

The last excerpt of Photios from Ctesias 64 (§95G) refers in obscure language (for the interpretation v. Jacoby, RE. s.v. Ktesias (1) col.2036) to a trial of Ctesias before (?) the Spartans in Rhodes. The date of this must be before 395, when Conon entered Rhodes, but cannot be more precisely determined.

10. Isocr. iv, 142: ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ περὶ Ῥόδον cf. id. v, 63: σύστασιν γὰρ αὐτῷ ναυτικοῦ περὶ Ῥόδον. von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 772, seems to be in error when he writes 'In diesem Jahre (397) begann der Krieg um R. (ὁ περὶ Ῥόδον πόλεμος, Isokr. iv, 142) den Artaxerxes mit Konon von Athen zunächst gegen Euagoras führte'. This war was not fought by Artaxerxes and Conon against Euagoras. The latter at this time was still loyal to Persia, and the war between him and Persia lasted 'almost ten years', and ended in 385/4 (Diod. xv, 9, 2: δεκαετὴς σχεδόν); it therefore probably began after Cnidus, Aug. 394. At no time did Conon fight against Euagoras, nor, after Cnidus, did he ever collaborate with Artaxerxes.

11. v. Additional Note 2.

12. v. [illegible], i, p.78.

13. Diod. xiv, 79, 6. cf. Additional Note 2

14. ch. x, cf. Additional Note 2.

15. Νικόφημος, the form of the name given by Hell. Ox., is supported by Xen. Hell. iv, 8, 8, and Lysias, xix, 7. Diod. xiv, 81 4, gives Νικόδημος , probably a copyist's error.

16. Hell. Ox. x, 1. ἐξέπλευ[σεν εἰς Κῶνον (supplied from § 3) βου]λόμενος [μὴ πα]ραδοῦναι τὴν διαφθο[ρὰν τῶν Διαγορείω]ν. Kalinka, GGA, 1917, col. 409, id. Hell.Ox. ed. Teub. (1927), supplied διαφθορὰν τῶν γνωρίμω]ν regarding Διαγορείω]ν as too long. Jacoby restores Διαγορείω]ν.

17. §2. cf. above p. 28, note 130.

18. This closing remark: ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπανάστασις ἡ περὶ τὴν Ῥόδον τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἔλαβεν, does not necessarily imply that the period of revolution had been long, and therefore cannot be used to support the alternative chronology of these events, discussed in Additional Note 2.

19. They are called τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἕνδεκα . Regularly appointed magistrates would probably have been referred to as τοὺς ἕξ ἄρχοντας or τῶν ἕξ ἀρχόντων ἕνδεκα . There was a board of magistrates called

οἱ ἑνδεκα at Athens (v. Thalheim, RE, s.v. οἱ Ἕνδεκα , col. 257; Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde^{3}, pp. 1062, 1107), and in [illegible] Delos (v. Hermes, xvii, 18 ff.s.), but in at least Athens they were concerned with judicial matters, and there is not likely to be any connection in origin or function between them and the Rhodian oligarchs.

20. v. Paus. iv, 24, 3, and vi, 7, 3 for the connection with Aristomenes. A priest of Aristomenes is mentioned in I.G. xii, 1, 8. This list of priests may be either Rhodian or Ialysian, since the only fully preserved demotic is Ἰστάνιος which was an Ialysian deme (v. i, p.417), and Damegetus was originally king of Ialysus; cf. i, pp. 32-33.

21. (a) Damagetus is particularly common: I.G. xii, 1, 46, lines 162, 192 (not apparently related) (i, B.C. v, p.336 n.137 for date); ibid. 72, lines 14, 16 (related) (i. B.C.) ibid. 293 (Tymnian from the Peraea); ibid.705, line 9 (iii. B.C.); ibid. 731, line 24 (ii, B.C.); Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 179 ff, nr. 7, line 14 (iii. B.C.); the same man, Δαμάγητος Ξενοφάνευς reappears, Cl.Rh.vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 404-5, nr. 31, line 4; and ibid. pp. 410-1, nr. 36, line 1; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 204, nr. 37, Ἀθανόδοτον Ἀρατοφάνευς καθ'υο(θυγάτηρ)Δαμάγητος Jacopi, ad loc. says 'di età imperiale', but to judge by the lettering - the only guide - the first cent. B.C. is more probable); the same man probably reappears Cl.Rh.vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 414-5, nr. 39, line 37; ibid.vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 404-5, nr. 31, line 7; ibid. pp. 418-9, lines 4-5 (? brothers, son of the preceding) (ii. B.C.); ibid. pp. 422-3, nr.43 line 10; Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 153, nr. 35; ibid. p. 167, nr. 123 (these two latter have no demotics, and this, on tombstones, is usually a sign that the deceased was a civis sine suffragio, v.i, pp. 480 ff). Inscr. 41 (iv. B.C.); ibid. 102, line 16 (iii. B.C.); ibid. 228, line 28 (ii. B.C.); ibid. 252, line 216 (late ii, B.C.); ibid. 347, line 37 (i. B.C.); the same man reappears ibid. 378, b, line 203; ibid.378b, 41; ibid. 661a, 14 (iii); ibid. 673 (iii. B.C.); unpublished priest of Halios in third century. (b) Dorieus: I.G. xii, 1, 46, line 312 (i. B.C.); ibid. 705, lines 3, 11 (? brothers) (iii.B.C.); ibid. 840, line 4 (ii. B.C.); NS, 7, line 13 (? same man as preceding); Cl. Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 396, nr. 34, line 11 (? related to Ἀγαθόκριτος Δωριέως, I.G. xii, 1, 705, line 11); Inscr. 1, sub ann. 137 B.C.; ibid.170 and 198 cf. ibid. p. 47, stemma 20); ibid. 703, line 5 (?): Ἐφ.Ἀρχ. 1911, p. N° 28. (c) Diagoras: I.G. xii, 1, 46, lines 168, 177 (i. B.C.); ibid. 50, line 24 (i.B.C. for date v. below pp. 242-3, note 137); ibid. 169 (?i-ii A.D.); ibid. 731, line 9 (for date, v. above); Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p.176, nr. 5, line 12, r. (iii. B.C.); Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p.391,

nr. 20, line 15 (iii, B.C.); Inscr. 378b, line 156 (c. 27 B.C.) the female form Διαγόρη in Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 173, nr. 150. These lists do not claim to be exhaustive.

These names are not confined to Rhodes, but they are not so common elsewhere. They are found in the vicinity of Rhodes at Cos: Inscr. Cos, 1; NS, 514 (related), Inscr. Cos. 10c, 39; ibid. 368, I, 73; V, 71; VI, 4 (368, V, 70-1 compared with I.G. xii, 1, 46, 192, illustrates a further similarity in the prosopography of Cos and Rhodes); also on Coan coins, Inscr. Cos., p. 309, nr. 74, and p. 311, nr. 125; NS, 694, lines 4-5 (where the supplement of the father's name is uncertain).

22. Paus. vi, 7, 6: τὰ δὲ ἐς τοῦ Δωριέως τὴν τελευτὴν ἔστιν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ τῇ Ἀνδρωτίωνι εἰρημένα, εἶναι μὲν νικητὴν ἐν Κάυνῳ τὸ βασιλέως ναυτικὸν καὶ Κόνωνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ στρατηγόν, Ῥοδίων δὲ τὸν δῆμον πεισθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Κόνωνος ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων μεταβάλεσθαι σφᾶς ἐς τὴν βασιλέως καὶ Ἀθηναίων συμμαχίαν, Δωριέα δὲ ἀποδημεῖν τότε ἐκ Ῥόδου περὶ τὰ ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου χωρία, συλληφθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναχθέντα ἐς Σπάρτην ἀδικεῖν τε ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καταμισθῆναι καὶ ἐμβληθῆναι οἱ θάνατον δημόσιον.
This brief summary of Androtion's view does not assist the solution of the chronological problems connected with the revoltuion (v. Addnl. Note 2).

23. v. i, p. 79.

24. v. i, p. 54.

25. v. i, ibid.

26. Van Gelder, GdR, p. 86: 'Die aristocratische Nationalpolitik welche dieser (Dorieus) trieb, war für Sparta kaum besser als demokratische Umtriebe. Der rhodische συνοικισμός war im grunde ebensogut gegen Sparta als gegen Athen gerichtet. Separatistische Spartanerfreunde passten nicht zum System des Lysandros. Wenn sie, wie Dorieus, einen gefeierten Namen trugen, waren sie um so viel gefährlicher'. Swoboda, RE, s.v. Dorieus (4), col. 1561, wisely regards the circumstances of his death as uncertain. von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 773, regards Dorieus' personal apostacy from the Spartan cause as the cause of his death. This seems preferable to the more general view of van Gelder, loc. cit. It is possible that Dorieus had been brought by the Persians (cf. Ed. Meyer, Theopomps Hellenika, pp.73-4), but there is no evidence to support this. The view of Beloch, GG^2, iii, 1, p. 66, that Dorieus went to the Peloponnese after Rhodes had joined Athens but before the fall of the Diagoreioi, on behalf of Persia, seems contrary to the testimony of Androtion quoted above, note 22, Δωριέα δὲ ἀποδημεῖν, κ.τ.λ., which clearly implies that Dorieus was not present during the revolution. Torr, Ancient Rhodes, p. 67, says 'he was put to death at Sparta in blind revenge for the revolt'. This, the simplest

explanation, is probably correct, and enables us to understand why Dorieus was in the Peloponnese at all; he was there as a friend of the Spartans, but was a victim of the Revolution when news of it reached Sparta.

27. The account of the mutiny in Conon's fleet at Caunos and the trouble at Rhodes which preceded his journey, is in Hell.Ox. xiv-xv, cf. Diod. xiv, 81, 4-6; Just. vi, 2, 12.

28. Diod. xiv, 83, 5. It is strange that they chose to lie opposite Rhodes rather than in the harbour.

29. Diod. ibid. §§ 5-7; Xen. Hell. iv, 3, 10-12, partial solar eclipse of Aug. 14, 394 B.C. There is no evidence that a Rhodian fleet participated at Cnidos, unless I.G. ii^2, 1951 is so regarded (v. ch.I, note 54). Perhaps the Rhodian Phil....des, honoured by the Athenians in the decree I.G^2. ii^2, 19, passed in 394/3, assisted at the battle. If he was of service to Athens in the revolt of 395 he had a long time to wait; but medals take a long time, especially for collaborating foreigners.

30. Diod. xiv, 84, 3-4. For the reading Τηλίους in § 3, v. Robert, Rev. Phil. 1934, pp. 43-8, and 'Islands'.

31. The Hellespontine towns were subdued by Thrasybulus of Stiria in 389 B.C. v.i, p.87.

32. I.G. xii, 1, 977 = Syll^3. 129 = GHI.110.

33. line 30.

34. For further on this inscription v.i, p. 60; [redacted] and 'Islands'.

35. v. Additional Note 3.

36. Xen. Hell. iv, 8, 22. Diod. xiv, 97, 4 says that a board of three, including Ecdicus (whom he calls Eudocimus) was sent to Rhodes, and τῶν ἐντεῦθεν πραγμάτων ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. Diodorus clearly believed that the situation at the moment of the board's arrival was favourable to Sparta (ibid. προχωρούντων αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων); that is, that the oligarchical party was in power. But Xenophon is to be preferred here, because it must be supposed that Ecdicus' recall was due to his failure to drive out the democratic government.

37. Xen. Hell. iv, 8, 23, v. Additional Note 3.

38. Xen. ibid. v. Additional Note 3.

39. ibid. § 24.

40. ibid. § 25. For the chronology v. Additional Note 3.

41. ibid. Xenophon is very obscure at this point. He says: ὁ δὲ ἐκπλεύσας τῆς μὲν εἰς Ῥόδον βοηθείας ἔπεσχε, νομίζων οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ῥᾳδίως τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς φίλους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τεῖχος ἔχοντας καὶ Τελευτίου σὺν ναυσὶ παρόντος συμμάχου αὐτοῖς, οὔτ' ἂν τοὺς ἑτέρους φίλους ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι, τάς τε πόλεις ἔχοντας καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὄντας καὶ μάχῃ κεκρατηκότας.
The most important and least readily understandable phrase is τεῖχος ἔχοντας. What is the τεῖχος? It must apparently refer to something outside the city, since if it referred either to the peripheral wall of the city or to the Acropolis wall Xenophon would have said τὸ τεῖχος. τεῖχος then must mean a fort or similar defensive position, outside the city. cf. Lys. xx, 28: ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἔφερον καὶ ἦγον ὑμᾶς, where the τεῖχος is Deceleia. If the friends of Sparta held a fort outside the city, then the enemy may be assumed to have held the city itself. In fact, however, Xenophon records only that they held τὰς πόλεις, and this must refer to the three old cities, which were indeed constitutionally no longer πόλεις, but the phrase is intelligible. It might include Rhodes, and if it does the picture is clear: the pro-Athenian party held Rhodos and the three old cities, were superior in numbers and master in the field. But τάς τε πόλεις is oddly used of the three old cities and Rhodes without distinction, and it is therefore preferable to leave the interpretation of this difficult passage open.

42. ibid. §§ 25-30.

43. ibid. § 30, fin.; Diod. xiv, 99, 4. v. Additional Note 3.

44. Diod. xiv, 99, 4-5.

45. Diod. ibid. The distinction between those in the city and those outside is made clearly here: μετὰ ταῦτα διεπολέμουν πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν.

46. Xen. Hell. v, 1, §§ 3,5.

47. ibid. § 6: ὄντος δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρακος ἐν Ῥόδῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀνταλκίδαν ναύαρχον ἐξέπεμψαν.

48. id. ibid. iv, 4, 19.

49. Xen. Hell. v, 1, 31. For a discussion of its terms and its nature, v. Hampl, Griechische Staatsverträge, pp. 8-12, 85-88: the contrary view of Wilcken Berl.Abh. 1941 (75), is rightly refuted by Martin, Mus.Helv. vi, 1949, pp. 127-139.

50. Isocr. xiv, 28, referring to the period after the Peace of Antalcidas, says: καὶ Χῖοι μὲν καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι συμπαρέμειναν, οὗτοι δε(sc. οἱ Πλαταιῆς) πηλικαύτην πόλιν οἰκοῦντες οὐδε κοινοὺς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρασχεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, κτλ.
If this list of cities which remained faithful to Athens after the Peace is complete, the absence of Rhodes which was certainly not hostile to Athens from 386 onwards, means that Rhodes did not support the Athenian cause before the Peace. cf. Accame, La Lega, pp. 15, 32.

51. v. Xen. Hell. iv, 8, 20: γνόντες οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡς εἰ μὲν ὁ δῆμος κρατήσοι Ἀθηναίων ἔσται Ῥόδος ἅπασα, εἰ δὲ οἱ πλουσιώτεροι, ἑκάστων, κτλ

52. Diod. xv, 9, 2 says: ἐκκαιεκατὴς σχεδὸν γεγενημένος of the war against Cyprus, but continues: καὶ τὸ πλέον τοῦ χρόνου περὶ παρασκευὰς ἐσχολήθοις (sc. ὁ Κυπριακὸς πόλεμος) διετῆ χρόνον τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι συνεχῶς πολεμηθεὶς τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον κατελύθη.
This is recorded under 385/4B.C; therefore the serious persecution of the war started after the Peace of Antalcidas.

53. The Chian alliance, I.G^2.ii, 34, 35 = Syll^3. 148 = GHI, 118; the 'Aristoteles-decree', I.G^2.ii, 43 = Syll^3. 147 = GHI,123, line 18. cf. Accame, La Lega, pp. 2-3.

54. v. Additional Note 4.

55. Cnidus: HN^2, p. 616; Samos, ibid. p. 604; Iasos, ibid. pp. 620-1; Ephesus, ibid. p. 573; Rhodes, ibid. p. 638; Byzantium, ibid. p. 267. A similar reverse is found at Lampsacus (HN^2, p. 530, top), but (a) this is a gold stater on the gold Daric standard, and (b) there is no legend, . The connection with the silver ΣΥΝ-issue is therefore doubtful. The Cyzicene issue was published by G.F. Hill, Num. Chron. 1928, pp. 10-11.

56. v. Additional Note 4.

57. v. Additional Note 4.

58. For what follows v. Accame, La Lega, pp. 9-26.

59. v. note 53, above. cf. Accame, op.cit. pp. 9-14.

60. I.G^2. ii, 41 = Syll^3. 146 = GHI, 121, cf. Accame, op.cit. pp. 16-7.

61. cf.i,p.99.

62. The suggestion of Beloch, GG^2, iii, 1, p. 149, that the failure of the rebellion of Glos in 383/2 (Diod. xv, 18) may have heralded the end of the independence of the ΣΥΝ - League, since for a few years after that Persia had her hands free and

62. contd.

would not have permitted the continuation of a league, which, if not openly hostile, was certainly not well-disposed, to her, is not impossible; but the expansion of Athenian interests in these years is an undoubted fact, and seems in itself an adequate explanation.

Chapter III: Notes.

1. For the sources of Diod. xvi, v. Schwartz, RE, s.v. Diodoros (38), cols. 682-3; Volquardsen, Untersuchungen über d.Quellen etc. pp. 107-118; Pack, Hermes, xi, 1876, pp. 179-201; Cavaignac, Mél. Glotz, I, pp. 151-8; Walker, Hell. Ox. pp. 86 ff.; Momigliano, Rend.Ist.Lomb. lxv, 1932, pp. 523-543; Hammond, CQ, xxxi, 1937, pp. 79-91; id. ibid. xxxii, 1938, pp. 137-152.
For the vexed question of the last year recorded by Ephorus (357/6, acc. Diod. xvi, 14, 3; 341/0 acc. xvi, 76, 5; FGrH 70, T9a-10), v. the works cited above, and add Barber, Ephorus, pp. 38 ff; Jacoby, FGrH, 70, Komm, pp. 28 ff.

2. For the date of the delivery of this speech v. Additional Note 6.

3. For the events leading up to the publication of the decree of Aristoteles, x I.G^2, ii, 43 = Syll^3. 147 = GHI, 123 (a full bibliography ibid.), v. Accame, La Lega, pp. 27-47.
For the various hands in which the document is inscribed v. Accame, xx op. cit. pp. 70 ff. The account in Diodorus of the founding of the Confederacy shows that Rhodes was virtually an original member (xv, 28, 3: πρῶτοι δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὑπήκουσαν Χῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ῥόδιοι καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι).

4. Diod. xv, 78, 4-79, 2; cf. Accame, op.cit. p. 179, note 3; Beloch, GG^2, iii, 1, pp. 197-8. The application followed a psephism of the Theban assembly: ὥθὺς οὖν ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο τριήρεις μὲν ἑκατὸν ναυπηγεῖσθαι, νεώρια δὲ ταύταις τοὺς τῶν ἀριθμῶν, Ῥοδίους δὲ καὶ Χίους καὶ Βυζαντίους προτρέπεσθαι βοηθῆσαι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς (Diod. ibid.)

5. Diod. xvi, 7, 3, of the outbreak of the Social War, says: οἱ δ'Ἀθηναῖοι Χίων καὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ Κώων, ἔτι δὲ Βυζαντίων, ἀποστάντων (cf. p. 102), which shows that his source did not regard the Chians and Rhodians as having broken away irrevocably in 364, as the Byzantines had done (cf. Accame, op. cit. p. 179, note 3); the possibility exists that they had openly revolted and either been defeated by the Athenians or quietly returned to the fold, after the failure of Epaminondas' expedition. But there is no trace of this in Diodorus or elsewhere, so that it is more probable that the Rhodians did not proceed to open revolt on this occasion.

6. Diod. xviii, 18, 9 (322/1 B.C.), says that the Samians returned to their homes in this year, forty-three years after their expulsion, which therefore occurred in 365/4, and was followed by the dispatch of a cleruchy from Athens. The Cleruchs appear to have been reinforced in 361 and 352/1; v.

6. Continued.

Beloch, GG^2, iii, 1, p. 194, note 3; Accame, La Lega, p.183.

7. cf. Demosth. xv, 9.

8. I.G.xii, 7, 5 = Syll^3. 193 = GHI, 152. cf. Accame, La Lega, p. 185.

9. I.G.^{2} ii, 123 = Syll^3. 192 = GHI, 156; I.G. xii, 5, 714, as restored and dated by Sauciuc Ath.Mitt. xxxvi, 1911, pp. 1-20; cf, Accame, ibid. pp. 184-5.

10. I.G^2. ii, 1128 = GHI, 162 (before 350).

11. The most probable cause of the synoecism of Cos, recorded by Diod. xv, 76, 2 under the year 367/6, is stasis between the supporters of Athens and Sparta. cf. Strab. 657: διὰ στάσιν μεγάλην εἰς τὴν νῦν πόλιν περὶ τὸ Σκανδάριον: cf. Herzog, Heilige Gesetze, p.44; Segre, Cl.Rh. ix, 1938, pp. 176-8. Judeich, Klein. Stud. p. 238 invisages a commercial cause; the answer to the foundation a few years earlier of Halicarnassus; it was 'die Antwort auf den (sc. synoikismos) von Halikarnassos, der die Stellung und der Handel der Insel aufs Aeusserste gefährdete: gerade an die Nordseite, gegenüber von Halikar - nassos, wird die neue Stadt verlegt. Und wahrscheinlich ist die demokratische Partei gewesen, welche sich erhob und die Neugründung durchsetze'. Schaefer, Demosthenes^2, i, pp. 105-6, sees in the synoecism a part of Theban naval plans. Neither view is wholly satisfactory, since (a) there is nothing to show that the foundation of Halicarnassus was a threat to Coan commerce, or that it was regarded as such. A little reflection must have made it obvious that Cos would benefit from the establishment of a large new Greek centre so near, as Rhodes later profited from the establishment of Alexandria, and the development of Greek centres in Syria. (b) It is clear from Diod. loc.cit. note 4, above, that the Theban naval policy had not been long under consideration. cf. further below, note.

12. On the Hecatomnid dynasty, v. in general Judeich, Kleinas. Stud. pp. 226-255 (still fundamental); Beloch, GG^2,iii, 2, pp. 141-145; Kahrstedt, Forschungen zur Gesch. ausgeh. fünftes Jahrh. pp. 22 ff; id RE, s.v. Maussolos (2), cols. 2414-2416 (very insufficient); inscriptions referring to the family go back as far as Hecatomnus' father, Hysssaldomos: Robert, Etud.Anat. pp. 570-3 = Sinuri, p. 100, the prescript of an inscription from the sanctuary of Sinuri, near Mylasa:

13. Inscriptions in which Hecatomnus is mentioned (other than as the father of Maussollus) are: Robert, Sinuri, 76, a dedication by Hecatomnus of θυρώματα and a τράπεζα ; an unpublished inscription from Caunos (found by G.E. Bean and referred to, AJA, li, 1947, p. 198), which reads Ἑκατόμνων Ὑσσαλδώμου|Καύνιοι ἀνέθηκαν (rasura 6). (The significance of the rasura which also occurs on an unpublished inscription honouring Maussollus is not clear. Mr. Bean tells me, 'Both inscriptions are stoichedon, so the erasure can be calculated easily'. The word was presumably that of a deity in the dative, so the erasures may be the work of a Christian).

14. Diod. xiv, 98, 3-4; Theop. FGrH, 115, F103, 4.

15. Diod. xv, 2, 2.

16. Soud. s.v. Δόξιππος (2), tells the story (nowhere else recorded) of a Coan doctor of that name who made it a condition of curing Hecatomnus' two sons, that the dynast should end his war against τοὺς Κᾶρας , (so MSS). Bernhardy, in his edition of Suidas, translated this adversus Coos, though - perhaps unintentionally - he left Κᾶρας in the Greek text. The emendation Κώους is adopted by Beloch, GG^2, iii, 1, p.237, note 2, but rejected as unjustified by Judeich, Kleinas.Stud. p. 234, and Miss Adler has not adopted it in her [redacted] edition of Souda. However, the point of the story seems to lie in the doctor's attempt to save his own countrymen, not the Carians.

The relations of Maussollus with Cos before the Social War appear, to judge from some Coan coins, to have been close. These coins, published by G.F. Hill, Ramsay Studies, pp.207-9, are tetradrachms of the period c. 366-339. The earliest type represented is the Heracles-Head on the obverse, the style of which has been deeply influenced by the features of Maussollus, if indeed it is not an attempt to reproduce the features of the satrap. The successors of Maussollus are represented on other coins. Such influence in Cos may be attributed to the personal activity of Maussolus himself no less than to an earlier campaign of Hecatomnus. For the status of Cos, v. below, note 25.

17. v. GHI,ii, p.114; Robert, Sinuri, pp. 100-102.

18. Vitruv. ii, 8, 11; cum esset enim natus Mylasis et animadvertisset Halicarnassi locum naturaliter munitum, emporiumque idoneum, portum utilem, ibi sibi domum constituit.

19. Diod. xv, 90, 2 (362/1), Maussollus is described as already resident in Halicarnassus at this time.

20. The economic motive implied by Vitruvius, loc.cit. was probably subsidiary to the desire to establish Halicarnaasus as a centre of Greek culture.

21. I list here the inscriptions recording relations between Maussollus and the Greek cities of Caria: Syll^3. 168 = GHI, 155, Erythrae honours M (probably of the period just before or during the Social War); Syll^3. 167 = GHI, 138, the plots at Mylasa against M; SGDI, 4259 = TAM, ii, 1183, M's treaty with Phaselis; Syll^3. 169 = SGDI, 5515, Iasos: plots against M; Syll^3. 311 = Robert, Etud.Anat. pp. 569-70, ἀτέλεια given by M and οἱ Καρενδεῖς (near Stratonicaea) to somebody; CIG, 2691, a, b = Robert, Sinuri, p. 102, two altars dedicated by M at Mylasa; Syll^3. 170, Mylasa, prescript only; Unpublished (found by G.E. Bean), base of statue of M erected by the Caunians, with same wording as the base of the statue of Hecatomnus (v. above, note 13) (Bean's texts are now reproduced by Robert, REG, Lxii, 1949, p. 143, No. 177).

22. Polyaen. vii, 23, 2; Beloch, GG^2, iii, 1, p. 234, note 2, refers to this passage for a war against Ephesus. But Ephesus is not mentioned in the text, only an Ephesian. The war with Miletus is recorded by Polyaen. vi, 8. It is possible that the capture of Heraclea was an episode in the war against Miletus.

23. Maussollus' participation in the revolt is recorded by Diod. xv, 90, 3: his success in extricating himself is assured by the fact that he continued in command of his satrapy until his death.

24. v. Polyaen. v, 42, which refers to the beleagerment in Phaselis of a certain Charimenes of Miletus by Pericles of Limyra. Treuber, Geschichte der Lykier, pp. 103-5 supposed that Charimenes was in the service of Maussollus, since Miletus was probably Hecatomnid (v. above, note 22). But Charimenes may have been a mercenary leader, and the connection with Maussollus is not proved.

25. Diod. xvi, 7, 3 mentions the assistance given by Maussollus at the outbreak of the war. It is implied throughout Demosthenes' speech. On the Liberty of the Rhodians, esp. §3.v.i, pp. 107 ff. The status of Cos at this time had been disputed. For the possibility that the island may have come under Carian domination earlier, v. note 16 above. The Coans do not appear in the list of members of the Confederacy, the 'Aristoteles-decree' (v. above, note 3). Diodorus, recounting the outbreak of the Social War, says (xvi, 17, 3 and again, ibid.21, 1): οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, Χίων καὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ Κώων, ἔτι δὲ Βυζαντίων ἀποστάντων, ἐνέστησαν εἰς πόλεμον τὸν ὀνομασθέντα συμμαχικόν, which suggests that his source regarded Cos as a member of the Confederacy (for Byzantium, v.

25 cont.

note 5 above), but in his account of the Battle of Embata (ibid. 21, 2) he says: οἱ δὲ Χῖοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων. Moreover, Demosth. xv, 3 does not mention the Coans as among the belligerents, and this may be because he is only recording the names of the belligerent allies. In Isocr. viii, 16, the MSS read: φημὶ δ'οὖν χρῆναι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ μόνον πρὸς Χίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Βυζαντίους ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους. Dion. Hal. Isocr. 16 (Opusc.i, p. 82), quotes this passage with the addition of καὶ Κώους after Βυζαντίους . A papyrus fragment of the de Pace (Laistner, CQ, xv, 1921, pp. 78-9) gives καὶ Κνιδίους after Ῥοδίους In xv, 63-4, Isocrates says: ἔστι δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐν δεκὴ λεγόμενα περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τῆς πρὸς Χίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Βυζαντίους, κ.τ.λ These two passages, as they stand in the MSS, support each other, and suggest strongly that Isocrates did not include the Coans (Laistner, loc.cit. believes on the contrary that Κώους , of which he regards the Κνιδίους of the papyrus fragment as an erroneous variation, stood in the original version of these passages). It is to be noted that the scholiast on Dem. iii, 28, p. 36, 10 (cf. Accame, La Lega, p. 194) also mentions only the Chians, Rhodians and Byzantines separately, and then calls the other belligerents οἱ ἕτεροι . In Isocrates, and the scholiast, as in Demosthenes, the most likely cause for the omission of the Coans, is that they did not belong to the same category as the others: they were at war with Athens, but they were not rebellious allies. Accame, La Lega, p. 189, note 3 (who appears to be unaware of the variants in the Isocrates-tradition) says that Cos remained far less important than Rhodes and Chios, and that the Coans were omitted for this reason. ibid. p. 105, Accame writes: 'Coo combatta nella guerra sociale, 357/6, contro Atene insieme con Chio e Rodi, gia alleati: fino allora era nella lega come, e da congetturare, la vicina Calino'. This is clearly very uncertain.

26. This follows from the whole tenour of Demosthenes' speech On the Liberty of the Rhodians. His plea is: You must help the Rhodian democrats back to their city, even though they went to war with you: v. i. pp. 107 ff.

27. v. i, p. 108.

28. Diod. xvi, 7, 3-4; 21-2, 2. A significant piece of general information is contained in the Thesaurus of Lusci/us Lanuvinus. This fragment, which seems to have escaped the notice of historians of the Social War, reads:

Athenienses, bellum cum Rhodiensibus
Quod fuerit, quid ego hic praedicem? (Comic. Latin. reliq³. ed. Ribbeck, pp. 96-7)

The play is a translation of a Middle Comedy piece, which will have been produced probably in the last quarter of the fourth century (This is probable on general grounds, as

28. contd.

Professor Fraenkel informs me: the immediately underlying Greek original is unknown). The passage is therefore the nearest to contemporary evidence that we possess, for the War. It is interesting to note that public opinion at Athens (if this piece may be taken as a fair index of it) regarded the war as essentially a war between Athens and Rhodes, which must therefore be supposed to have played the leading part in it. Professor Fraenkel has shown, Sokrates, vi, 1918, pp. 308 ff. that the Thesaurus is exceptionally true to its Greek original, in other respects.

29. c. GHI, ii, nos. 152-6. cf. Schweigert, Hesp. viii, 1939, pp. 14-7.

30. For the date v. Beloch, GG^2, iii, 2, pp. 258-262; Schweigert, loc. cit.

31. Isocr. viii, 25: περὶ μὲν οὖν ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις ἐπαγγέλλονται, κ.τ.λ. The On the Peace was probably delivered in 356 (v. Mathieu, Les idées pol. d'Isocr. pp. 116-7; Kleine-Piening, Quo temp. Isocr. orat. quae περὶ εἰρήνης et Ἀρεοπαγιτικός inscribuntur compos. sint, (diss. Munster, 1930), pp. 36-42.

32. Diod. xvi, 21, 2: οἱ δὲ Χῖοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἑκατὸν ναῦς πληρώσαντες ἦμβρον μὲν καὶ Λῆμνον οὔσας Ἀθηναίων ἐπόρθησαν. For the omission of Cos from the list v. note 25.

33. v. Beloch, GG^2, iii, 2, pp. 260-1.

34. Diod. xvi, 22, 2; for a detailed discussion of the peace terms, v. Accame, La Lega, pp. 192-5.

35. Dem. xv, 26 (351 B.C.) speaks of the compulsory συντέλεια with Byzantium imposed on the Selymbrians by the Byzantines. The συνθῆκαι there referred to (παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας) may not be the terms of the Peace of 355 (cf. Accame, Loc. cit. p. 193), but since this συντέλεια certainly occurred shortly before 351, it nevertheless indicates Byzantine policy after the Peace.

36. Dem. xv, 19: Χίων ὀλιγαρχουμένων καὶ Μυτιληναίων. The Hecatomnid dynasty had mastered Chios by 346 B.C. v. i, p. 112.

37. Arist. Pol. 1304 b25: καὶ γὰρ ἐν Κῷ ἡ δημοκρατία μετέβαλε πονηρῶν ἐγγενομένων δημαγωγῶν (οἱ γὰρ γνώριμοι συνέστησαν) καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ· μισθοφορὰν τε γὰρ οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ἐπόριζον, καὶ ἐκώλυον ἀποδιδόναι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τοῖς τριηράρχοις· οἱ δὲ διὰ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας δίκας ἠναγκάσθησαν σύστασιν κατάλῦσαι τὸν δῆμον.
It is not clear whether Aristotle means the clause μισθοφορὰν, κ.τ.λ. to apply only to Rhodes, or to Rhodes and Cos.

38. ibid.1302b23: ὥσπερ ἐν Ῥόδῳ συνέστησαν οἱ γνώριμοι ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον διὰ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας δίκας.

39. ibid. lines 25-33: διὰ καταφρόνησιν δὲ καὶ σταδιάζουσι καὶ ἐπιτίθενται ... καὶ ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατίαις οἱ εὔποροι καταφρονήσαντες τῆς ἀταξίας καὶ ἀνοχλησίας, οἷον ... καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ ὁ δῆμος (sc. διεφθάρη) πρὸ τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως.

40. FGrH, 115F121. For the substance and chronological limits of Books xvi-xvii v. Jacoby, Komm.ad loc.

41. That is, ἐπανάστασις , as in Aristotle, locc. citt.

42. For the date of the composition of the Politics, v. Susemihl - Hicks, Politics, p. 66; Jaeger, Aristotle, pp. 265-6.

43. loc.cit., note 40: διαβεβλημένου (sc. τοῦ Ἡγησιλόχου) διὰ τὴν ζωὴν τὴν τοῦ βίου καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἑταίροις καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις.

44. For alternative explanations of the Politics passage, v. Additional Note 5.

45. v. ~~i, p.~~ Additional Note 6.

46. v. i, p. 115.

47. v. Additional Note 6.

48. v. i, p. 110 and note 59.

49. v. Additional Note 6.

50. The speech is analysed by Jaeger, Demosthenes, pp. 90-7. For the enmity between oligarchy and free rule, v. esp. § 17 of the speech.

51. § 15: καὶ παρὸν αὐτοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ βελτίοσιν αὐτῶν [ὑμῖν] ἐξ ἴσου συμμαχεῖν, βαρβάροις καὶ δούλοις, οὓς εἰς τὰς ἀκροπόλεις παρεῖντο, δουλεύουσιν.

52. §§ 5ff, and passim.

53. Dem. xxiv, 12: Ἔλαβε ἡ τριήρης τὸ πλοῖον ἡ Μελάνωπον ἄγουσα καὶ Γλαυκέτην καὶ Ἀνδροτίωνα πρέσβεις ὡς Μαύσσωλλον, κτλ. cf. ibid. Libanii arg. § 2: οὗτοι (i.e. the defendants Androtion, Glaucetus and Melanopus), γάρ, φησι, πεμφθέντες εἰς Καρίαν, πρεσβευταὶ καὶ πλέοντες ἐν τριήρει; cf. ibid. al. arg.: Μαύσωλος, τῆς Καρίας σατράπης, τὰς περὶ νήσους ἠδίκει. καταβοῶν οἱ βλαπτόμενοι καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπεκαλοῦντο. ἔδοξε δὲ πρεσβέων πέμψαι τοὺς ἀπολύσοντας τὸν κάρα. This speech was delivered in 352 B.C. (v. Schaefer, Demosthenes[2], ii, p. 336, note 5.)

54. I.G.[2] ii, 136, of 354/3 B.C. This decree is obviously not very

54. contd.

substantial evidence for Athenian friendship with Maussollus (as, e.g. Beloch, GG², iii, 1, p. 244, note 2: 'In 354/3 wird Apollonios auf Halikarnassos die Proxenie verliehen (I.G.ii², 136), Athen stand also zu Maussollus wieder in guten Beziehungen'), since Apollonius may have been an exile.

55. Demosth. xv, 19, cf. note 36, above.

56. ibid.

57. If representatives of the oligarchical party were in Athens at the same time as the exiled democrats, they will have used their influence to ensure that Athens did not intervene. Their presence is recorded in (Demost) Proem. xxiv, the authenticity of which, in common with the rest of the Proems is much disputed. It is possible that , as Rupprecht, Philol. Lxxxii, 1928, pp. 365-432, and Focke, Demosthenesstudien, pp. 59 ff. supposed, this proem reflects an historical situation; but the absence of any reference to the presence of the Rhodian Oligarchs in Athens, in Demosthenes' speech, is strange.

58. Vitruv. ii, 8, 14. For the possible sources of this information (otherwise unrecorded) v. note 60. If it belongs to history, Artemisia's strategem belongs to the same series of events as the speech on The Liberty of the Rhodians, and cannot be separated from it by more than a few months either way, Van Gelder, GdR, p. 94, von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 775, and Momigliano, Riv. Fil. lxiv, 1936, p. 55 all suppose that the event followed the embassy of the exiled Rhodian democrats to Athens. Since there is no reference to the coup in Demosthenes' speech, this is doubtless correct, if the episode is to be regarded as historical at all.

59. Dem. xv, 3: φανήσεται δ' ὑμὲν πρυτανεύσας ταῦτα καὶ πείσας Μαύσωλος, φίλος εἶναι φάσκων Ῥοδίων, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτῶν ἀφαιρούμενος ibid. §15: βαρβάροις καὶ δούλοις, οὓς ἐν ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσι παρεῖνται, δουλεύουσιν. The second passage seems quite decisive (For the two acropoleis of Rhodes v. p. 72). Momigliano, Riv.Fil. loc. cit. p.50 considers that there were no Carian troops on Rhodes before Artemisia's strategem. Although he rightly puts the coup after the delivery of Demosthenes' speech, he does not explain how he disposes of the passage quoted above.

60. It would be natural to suppose an ultimate Rhodian source (For the general question of Rhodian bias and propaganda in the literary sources, v. i, pp. 2ff) In this instance it is possible, though perhaps not very safe, to suggest an author.

60. contd.

The main source of Vitruvius' second book was probably Posidonius (cf. Vitr. viii, 3, 27 = FGrH, 87, T13); v. Poppe, Vitruvs Quellen im zweiten Buche 'De Architectura' (Diss.Kiel, 1909), passim, who shows that Vitruvius probably used Posidonius through Varro. Poppe omits the Artemisia-passage from consideration without comment; but since it is surrounded by Posidonian material it is at least possible that the strategem was also recorded by Posidonius, who, as Strabo, 316 and 655, says, became a Rhodian citizen eventually holding the chief magistracy (v. i, p. 512). The extremely patriotic bias of the narrative favours this interpretation. If Vitruvius took the story direct, or at second-hand, from Posidonius, the absence of the episode from the collections of στρατηγήματα of the Imperial period is less surprising.

61. A Rhodian tetradrachm in a private collection, knowledge of which I owe to Mr. E.S.G.Robinson, has, as magistrate's symbol, together with the letter A, a satrap's head. This may only mean that the issuing magistrate was of Carian sympathies, which would in turn imply that the pro-Carian party was in power. But it may also indicate considerable Carian control. Rhodian tetradrachms cannot be dated very exactly, but Mr. Robinson considers a date in the first half of the century more probable than one in the second. It may thus be connected with the events in question here.

62. v. note 58.

63. Dem. v, 25.

64. v. note 36.

65. It is possible that Rhodes had taken advantage of the disorganisation within the Persian Empire caused by the second expedition to Egypt, in 351/0. cf. Diod. xvi, 42, 6, and Additional Note 6. Idrieus sent 8,000 mercenaries and 40 triremes to help the king of Persia (Diod. ibid. § 7); this may have compelled him to reduce his Rhodian garrison. The death of Artemisia and the accession of her brother and sister, Idrieus and Ada (who ruled jointly, not as king and consort: v.I.G.v (2) 89 (the reference in Robert, Sinuri, p. 97, note 2, is to be corrected) = Syll^3. 225 = GHI, 161A; Syll^3. 225 = GHI, 161B; Robert, Sinuri, 73, line 6 (in lines 5-6 read ἐμπε[δώ]σαντι as occurred to Tod and myself independently; v. also now Robert Hellenica, vii, 1949, p. 63f.); Robert, ibid. nr. 75; cf. Robert, ibid. pp. 96-7; id. Etud.anat. pp. 569-570) may also have caused a weakening of strength or vigilance.

66. Theop. FGrH, 115F164.

67. v. i, p. 112.

68. v. Demosth. ix, 34; xviii, 87, 93; cf. ibid. 230, 302. For the most probable occasion (Philip's Thracian campaign, 351/0 and the siege of Heraion Teichos) v. Focke, Demosthenesstudien, pp. 4ff.

69. Demosth. ix, 71.

70. ibid.: καὶ τοὺς ταῦτα διδάξοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις παντα χοῖ, εἰς Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χῖον, ὡς βασιλέα λέγω.

71. v. i, p. 112.

72. It is perhaps on the occasion of this embassy that Hyperides' speech, Ῥοδιακός (fr. 161 Kenyon) was delivered. It is recorded that he went on an embassy to Rhodes: v. (Plut.) vit.x.orat. 856a: ἐπρέσβευε δὲ παρὰ Ῥοδίοις cf. Beloch, GG². iii, 1, p. 551. The view of Schäfer, Demosthenes², ii, p. 452, note 1, van Gelder, GdR, p. 101, note 1, and von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 774, that the speech was delivered in 323/2, the outbreak of the Lamian War, is less satisfactory. We know of an Athenian embassy to Rhodes in 341 (v. note 67); that another occurred in 323/2 is only a conjecture.

73. Diod. xvi, 74 ff.

74. ibid. 75, 1.

75. ibid. 76, 3.

76. ibid. 76, 3; 77, 2.

77. ibid. 77, 2-3.

78. v. i, p. 121

79. In Leocr. 18.

80. ibid.

81. v. i, p. 91.

82. In Leocr. 21.

83. ibid. § 55: πυνθάνομαι δ' αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσειν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατᾶν λέγοντα ὡς ἔμπορος ἐξέπλευσε καὶ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐφορμὴν ἀπεδήμησεν εἰς Ῥόδον.

84. Cnidus was never incorporated into, or subject to, the Rhodian state before Peace of Apamea, in spite of her proximity by sea, and her common frontier by land (v. 'Peraea'). But though there is a marked difference in the intellectual climate of Rhodes and Cnidus in the fourth century, the day to day contacts are testified by, for example, the frequency with which names beginning with Ῥόδο- occur in Cnidian prosopography in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (v. Audollent, Defix.Tab.3B, line 3; 4B, line 2 (iii-i B.C. v. Audollent, op. cit. p.5), while the establishment of Cnidians in Rhodes in the third century is indicated, not only by tombstones (v. i, p.518) but by two other inscriptions: the delightful scrawl on the Memnoneion at Abydos (Memnoneion, Nr. 291) Δανὰς καλὰ ἐν Ῥόδωι / στεφανοῦσα Κνιδία, ὡς δοκεῖ Μικκίωνι (?iii. B.C.) and the phrase Κνίδιε ἀπὸ Ῥόδου on a Cnidian tombstone, of the second (?) century, (SGDI 3535a) which suggests the existence of a recognised colony of Cnidians at Rhodes. (The Memnoneion 291 was read as Δανὰς καλλίων Ῥόδων by Sayce, Proceed. Soc. Bibl. Arch. 1888 p. 387; = SB 1080: [redacted] but the reading in Memnoneion based on re-examination of the writing is preferable)

Chapter IV: Notes.

1. For the question whether the Islands of the Western Aegean belonged to the League of Corinth or not. Wilcken, SB. Berl. Akad. 1922, p. 97; id. Alexander der Grosse, ET, p.91; Berve, Das Alexanderreich, i, 245-249; Bickermann, REG, xlvii, 1934, pp. 355-6; Ehrenberg, Alexander and the Greeks, pp.16ff; Tarn, Alexander, ii, pp. 201-2, 228-9. Wilcken, Berve and Bickermann believe that the islands were included in the League of Corinth; Ehrenberg and Tarn that they were not. In this latter opinion I concur.
   For Rhodes in particular v. Ehrenberg, op.cit. p.18; Tarn, op.cit. pp. 214-6 (cf. below, note 17).

2. For these events, v. i, pp. 121 ff.

3. Diod. xvi, 74,2: κατὰ δὲ τὴν Καρίαν Πιξώδαρος ὁ νεώτερος τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς δυναστείας Ἄδαν καὶ ἐδυνάστευσεν ἔτη πέντε ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου διάβασιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν / cf. Arr. Anab. i,23, 7; Strab.657.

4. Arr. ibid. § 8; Strab. ibid.

5. Arr. ibid.

6. Arr. ibid.; Strab. ibid. For Alinda v. Laumonier, BCH, iviii, 1934, pp. 297-8; ATL, i, pp. 467-8; Robert, Sinuri, p.59, note 3.

7. Arr. i, 23,7-8.

8. Arr. ii,1,1: ἐκ δὲ τούτου Μέμνων τοῦ τε ναυτικοῦ πάντως ἡγεμὼν ἐκ βασιλέως Δαρείου καθεστηκὼς καὶ τῆς παραλίου ξυμπάσης ὡς ἐς Μακεδονίαν τε καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀποστρέψων τὸν πόλεμον.

9. For the date v. Arr. i, 24,1: after the siege Alexander sends the newly-married troops home, διαχειμάσοντας ἐς Μακεδονίαν. Alexander's journey through Lycia and Pamphylia occurred ἐν ἀκμῇ ἤδη τοῦ χειμῶνος (ibid. §5).

10. Arr. ii, 1,5: the phrourarchos was a Rhodian, by name Lycomedes, otherwise unknown.

11. v. Arr. ibid. §4: Μιτυληναίους δὲ καθελεῖν μὲν τὰς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον σφίσι γενομένας σπονδὰς / cf. Ehrenberg, Alexander and the Greeks, pp.19-21; Tarn, Alexander, ii, pp.201-2.

13. iv, 5,9: sed Rhodii urbem suam portusque dedebant Alexandro.

14. xi, 11: inde Rhodium Alexander Aegyptum Ciliciamque sine certamine recepit.

15. This is expressly stated by Justin, and implied by Curtius' dedebant.

16. e.g. with reference to 351 B.C., v. i, p.111.

17. Tarn, Alexander, ii, pp. 214-5, makes far-reaching claims regarding Rhodes' earlier foreign policy on the basis of the silence of our sources. He claims (p.215) that 'Rhodes retained her oligarchic government, the only oligarchy left; it differed greatly from other oligarchies ... and Alexander must have recognised the fact. It means that Rhodes can never have been anti-Macedonian or assisted Persia ...' For all of this there is no evidence beyond the customary silence of our sources. It is not enough.

17A. Pugliese Carratelli, P.P. xi,1949. pp.154-171, holds that the Rhodian state, as known from Hellenistic and Roman times, is a creation of the time of Alexander. This claim is examined below, pp.203ff., Additional Note # 7, and rejected.

18. The position of Philoxenus, the official of Alexander who has sometimes been regarded as having held authority over the free Greek cities of Asia Minor, including Rhodes, has been discussed by Tarn, Alexander, ii, pp. 174-177, who shows that this view is without foundation.

19. iv, 8,12: Atheniensium deinde, Rhodiorum et Chiorum legatos audit: Athenienses victoriam gratulabantur et ut captivi Graecorum suis restituerentur, orabant, Rhodii et Chii de praesidio querebantur. Omnes aecua desiderare visi impetraverunt.

20. Diod. xviii, 8,1: cf. i,p.135.

21. v. p. 22, note 74, and note 22, below.

22. Tarn, Alexander, ii, p.215, note 4 (followed by Pugliese Carratelli, PP. xi,1949, p.166, note 2) prefers Curtius, whom he supposes to follow the 'Mercenaries-source' here. He objects to Diodorus' version: 'He, however, has only a one-line statement, sandwiched in between the connected events of Peithon's victory over the mutineers in the Farther East and the Lamian War: it is brought in a propos of nothing at all, and may well be a later insertion; if it be Diodorus' own statement, it may suggest that book xviii, like xvii (§F,p.80,n.1) never had a final revision'. Insertion is, however, characteristic of Diodorus' use of his chronological source, and there are numerous other instances in which Diodorus uses this source in the course of, and not at the beginning of, his narrative of the events of one year: v. e.g. xi, 59,4; xii,10,3;

22 (contin.)
22,2; xii, 32,3 (from Schwartz, RE, s.v. Diodoros (38), col. 568). In such instance Diodorus usually uses the phrase ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις but the adversative κατὰ δέ (as in the present instance) is also found: e.g. xii, 36,4: κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

Tarn's argument that Harpalus' confidential slave would never have fled to Rhodes (Paus.ii,33,4) if there had been a Macedonian garrison there, does not carry great weight. Perhaps he had friends there; perhaps he thought that no one would look for him near a Macedonian garrison; we know nothing of the man and an important judgment cannot be based on such flimsy and subjective grounds.

23. v. pp. 125ff.

24. Lind. Chron. Bxxxviii; Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, pp.92-4.

25. ibid.: κύριος γενόμενος τῆς Ἀσίας. v. Tarn, Greeks in Badria, pp. 153-4.

26. v. above, note 22.

27. Plut. Alex. 32,6.

28. Another dedication by Alexander at Lartos, near Lindos, was recorded(but not copied) by Sir William Gell in 1812 (MS note-book in the library of the British School at Athens, published by A.M.Woodward, BSA, xxviii, 1926-7, pp.107-127; the relevant passage is at the top of p.117). No subsequent traveller or epigraphist ever reported its existence, and a long search for it by me at Lartos in July 1948 met with no success. Regrett-ably, then, this inscription cannot be used as evidence for Alexander's relations with Rhodes.

29. Namely, Aeschylus (Berve, Alexanderreich, ii, p.17, nr.35); Antimenes (ibid. p.44, nr.89); Deinocrates(?)(ibid. p.130, nr. 249, v.below, note 63).

30. The classic example is Polyxenidas, the Rhodian exile who and com-manded Antiochus' III's fleet against Rome and Rhodes. v. i, pp.304ff.

31. This is established beyond doubt by the inscription published by M.Segre, Bull.Soc.Arch.Alex.xxxiv, 1941, pp.29-39, found near the site of the stadium on Mount Smith (v. above, p. 28, note 125). This may be dated from the lettering to the late third century. It contains a dedication of συνιερεῖς the priests or Athana Polias and Zeus Polieus, the Muses, Dionysus etc., and lines

31 (continued)
14-15 have: Ἀλεξάνδρου/Αἰνησαγόρας Ἀγεπόλιος. The list then gives the names of the priests of the Ptolemies, discussed, i, pp. 162-3;
This document is of the first importance since previously the earliest references to the worship of Alexander were from the first century B.C. I.G. xii, 1, 57, line 8; ibid. 71; Annuario, ii, 1916, p.143-4, nr.12, line 6; NS, 18, line 18; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p.201, nr.33, line 6. In these inscriptions, however, the cult of Alexander is linked with that of Dionysus, while in the early one it has a separate priesthood. It seems certain, as Segre suggested, that the joint-cult was a later innovation (op.cit. pp.345; cf. id. Il mondo classico, ii, 1935, pp.288-293), though his suggestion that this innovation was connected with the Rhodian redaction of Alexander's Testament (v.i, 123ff.) must remain a hypothesis for the present. Segre notes(ibid. p.35) that other unpublished inscriptions also refer to Ἀλεξάνδρεια

32. Tarn, Alexander ii, pp. 58ff. discusses the activities of the poet Peisander of Rhodes, referred to by Strabo, as author of a poem called the Heracleia, and concludes that he (or whoever it was who wrote the poem, since Tarn admits the possibility of the poem being pseudepigraphic) was a contemporary of Alexander, and accompanied him on his campaign. This view is based on the identification by Tarn, in Strabo 688, of those who told the stories about Alexander in India, with those who told similar stories about Heracles' expedition in the same area. In fact Strabo makes two separate statements: (a) that the stories about Alexander are fabrications of those who flattered him, and (b) that the stories about Heracles are fabrications of those who wrote the Heracleaia, since this legend is much later than the Trojan epic, and he instances as author of these Heracles-legends εἴτε Πείσανδρος ἦν εἴτ' ἄλλος τις. It is surely quite clear that there is no reason to identify the poets referred to in these two statements, and similarly that there is no reason to doubt that the Peisander in question is the old epic poet of the sixth or fifth century, a native of Camirus, and noted for his important contributions to the Heracles-myth, for whom v. Wilamowitz, Herm. xxx, 1895, p.185; id. Textgeschichte der griech. Lyr. p. 36; id. Eurip. Herakles,[2] p.66, note 121; Keydell, RE, s.v. Peisandros (11), cols.144-145. For his demotic, v. below note 56.

33. There is no satisfactory general account of the various versions. For the Greek version, v. Ausfeld, Der Alexanderroman, passim, esp. pp.214ff; Kroll RE s.v. Kallisthenes (2) cols.1707 ff.; id. Historia Alexandri Magni, 1926, pp.iii ff.

34. The relevant texts are: (a) Hist.Alex.Magn. (ed.Kroll, 1926= Ps.Call. ed.Müller in Script.Alex.Magn. ed.Didot, 1846) iii, 33 (Kroll, pp.139ff. Müller, pp.147ff); (b) Epit. Mett. (Incerti auctoris epitome rerum gest. Alex. Mag. e cod. Mett. ed. O. Wagner, Jahrbuch f. Kl.Phil. Suppbd. xxvi, 1901, pp.93-167), 123, the sole source for the end of the Testament, continuing from Hist.Alex.Magn.iii, 33, § 25; (c) Excerpta Latina Barbari (Chron. Minor. ed. Frick. For the Excerpta v. Wachsmuth, Einleitung, pp. 180-4; Frick, op.cit. lxx,xiii,ff; cf. Ausfeld, Rh.Mus. lvi, 1901, p.542), p.271-2; (d) Pap.Gr.Vindob. 31954 (originally published by Gerstinger, Mitt. aus der Papyrus-Sammlung der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, i, 1932, pp.89ff. nr.7 as 'Bruchstück eines Diadochenhistorikers', and so explained by Wilhelm, in his commentary ad loc. and by De Sanctis, Mélanges Glotz, i, pp. 315ff; it was correctly and independently identified by M.Segre, Riv.Fil. lxi, 1933, pp.225-6 (cf. De Sanctis, ibid. pp.226-8), and Fuhrmann, Archiv. xi, 1935, pp.107-9) which is discussed further below, note 47.

35. Hist.Alex.Mag. iii, 33,12: ἐφείμενον δὲ ἔστω Ὀλυμπιάδι τῇ μητρὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου κατοικεῖν ἐν Ῥόδῳ, ἐὰν Ῥόδιοι συνδοκήσωσιν· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐξουσία πρέσσειν τι ἄνευ Ῥοδίων.

36. Ibid. §14: τοὺς δὲ νησιώτας ἀφίησιν ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἐπιτρόπους αὐτῶν Ῥοδίους εἶναι: Excerpt.Barb. p.272 Insulanos autem dimisit liberos, et procuratores ac dispensatores eorum esse Rodios.

37. ibid. §§ 2-10: § 3, ἡγούμενοι μάλιστα ὑμᾶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιτηδείους φύλακας τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κατεργασθέντων πόνων ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἀγαπῶντες τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν.

38. ibid. § 4: διὸ καὶ ἐγράψαμεν τὴν φρουρὰν ἐξαγαγεῖν τῆς πόλεως, ὅπως μετέχουσα τῆς παρρησίας εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα διαφυλάττῃ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος διαφυλαχθῆναι παρ' ὑμῖν τὸ ἡμέτερον τίμιον.

39. ibid. § 5: οἴδαμεν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν εὐχάριστον οὖσαν καὶ μνήμης ἀξίαν· διὸ καὶ φρονήσομεν μεφρονικότες οὐδὲν ἧσσον τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος καὶ ἡμῶν ἀξίως.

40. ibid. §§ 5-8.

41. ibid. §10: Πτολεμαῖος δὲ <ὁ> τοῦ ἐμοῦ σώματος γιγνόμενος φύλαξ καὶ ὑμῶν φροντίσει... μὴ οὖν νομίσητε παρατεθεῖσθαι τὴν διαθήκην ὑμῖν εἰκῇ.

42. Diod. xx, 81,3: τὸν δὲ πλεῖστον ἰσχύσαντα τῶν μνημονευομένων Ἀλέξανδρον προτιμήσαντ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς βασιλείας διαθήκην ἐκεῖ θεσθαι καὶ τἆλλα θαυμάσειν καὶ προάγειν εἰς ὑπεροχήν.

43. Rh. Mus. lvi, 1901, pp.517-542, and more briefly, in Der Alexanderroman, pp. 209-210. His opinions concerning the early core to the Romance were combated by Kroll, RE, s.v. Kallisthenes (2), cols. 1707-1726 (cf. id. * Beilage zur 'Allgemeine Zeitung', 1900, nr.38); id. Hist.Alex.Mag. pp. xiv-xv, who,

43. (contin.)
while admitting that older legends might be incorporated in it, was unwilling to accept a date earlier than c.A.D.300 for the composition of the earliest History (cf. Hist.Alex.Magn. p.xv: 'nec video quomodo donec textum et verba consideramus, ultra eum progredi possimus qui recensionem A' (the oldest Greek version of the Hist.) composuit, quem c.a. 300 p.C. fuisse puto; fabulas si spectamus multa atque etiam pleraque ex antiquiore aetate petita esse concendum est'). Tarn, Alexander, ii, pp. 363-5, has recently noted several Hellenistic items in A', though previously he had put the first beginnings of the Romance in the late first century B.C. (v. JHS, lix, 1939, pp. 133-4). I hope that my present remarks in regard to the Rhodian element in the Romance will lend support to the items already adduced by Tarn and Ausfeld.

44. v. Ausfeld, Rh.Mus. lvi, 1901, pp.528-9; 540-1.

45. v. i, pp. 280 ff.

46. v. i, pp. 194 ff.

47. Pap. Gr. Vind. 31954 (v.above, note 34) provides valuable information for the date of the statement about Rhodian protection of the Islands. The papyrus is dated by the script to the second or first century B.C. This fragment of the Testament differs from the oldest Greek manuscripts, A, B and C, and conforms to the Armenian version (which is the oldest non-Greek text), and is of considerable use in reconstituting the form of the original Greek version (for the Armenian version, v. the translation of it into Greek made by R.Raabe, Ἱστορία Ἀλεξάνδρου 1896; for its value, v. Kroll, Hist.Alex.Mag. pp. vii-viii), in that it omits the words, ἐὰν Ῥόδιοι συνδοκήσωσιν. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐξουσία πράττειν τι ἄνευ Ῥοδίων, which occur in A and the other Greek versions (iii, 33,2) (Its absence from Julius Valerius is probably not significant; he abbreviates and compresses arbitrarily, and may have done so in this instance; v. however, De Sanctis, Riv.Fil.lxi, 1933, pp. 227-8, who takes a different view). This passage, ἐὰν..... Ῥοδίων, was apparently inserted in the text of the Testament to make it correspond to the tenour of the fabricated Letter to the Rhodians, in which it was incorporated. The Papyrus probably therefore did not contain, either, the phrase τοὺς δὲ νησιώτας ἀφίημιν ἐλευθέρους καὶ ἐπιτρόπους αὐτῶν Ῥοδίους εἶναι, which is found in A (cf. Excerp. Barb. p.272: quoted above, note 36). The insertion of the

47. (contin.)
latter passage, as has been pointed out in the text (cf. notes 45-6 above) cannot be later than the middle of the second century B.C., and may be considerably earlier. The version of the Testament in which the first of these passages was certainly omitted, and probably the second also, and to which the Letter had not yet been attached, must clearly be earlier still, though its precise date cannot be determined.

48. The explanation of Ausfeld, Rh.Mus. lvi, 1901, p.533, is not adequate on this point.

49. The version of the Testament contained in Pap.Gr.Vind. 31954 is apparently earlier than the composition of the letter, v. above, note 47.

50. Rh.Mus. lvi, 1901, p.529.

51. v. i, p. 146.

52. v. i, pp. 245-6.

53. The statement that Alexander had ordered the rebuilding of Thebes (iii, 33,7), destroyed by him in 334 B.C., does not necessarily imply that the reconstruction of the city by Cassander, which began in 316/5 (Diod. xix, 53, 2-54, 2; cf. Holleux, REG, viii, 1895, pp.7-48 = Etudes, i, pp.1-40), and continued until the end of the century, had in fact begun. Therefore, even if we could be sure that the passage was written by a Rhodian, it would not provide a terminus post quem.

54. iii, 33,8: καὶ χώραν ὑμῖν κατακληρῶσαι, ὅπως ἔχητε ἐν τῷ <λοιπῷ> χρόνῳ αὐτάρκη σῖτον καὶ μηδενὸς δεήσθε, ἔχητε δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν ἀξίως. cf. [redacted] 'Peraea'.

55. Ap. Jos. Cont.Ap., ii, 4, § 43=FGrH, nr. 264 F.22. For Ps. Hecataeus, v. Schürer, GJV^4, iii, pp. 603-8; Jacoby, RE, s.v. Hekataios (4), cols. 2766-2768; id. FGrH, Komm. to nr.264, pp. 66ff; H. Levy, ZfNW, xxxi, 1932, pp.117-132; and more briefly, Bousset, Religion des Judentums[redacted], pp.26-7.

56. For these instances, v.i, pp. 60-1. Other exceptions are more apparent than real; the letter of Diogenes of Oenoanda to Antipater, probably of the second century A.D. (ed. William, Diogenis Oenandensis fragmenta, 1907; cf. Wilhelm, Ramsay Studies, pp.415-8, whose correction of the text in xv, lines 11-12, does not seem to be very felicitous) reads in fr. xv, lines 9-11: ταυτεὶ δέ σοι νῦν ἀπὸ/Ῥόδου γράφω τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης: fr. xviii,

56. (contin.)
lines 9-11: πρὶν ἢ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν σοῦ τὴν ἐπιστολήν, Θεοδωρίδας ὁ Λίνδιος, ἑταῖρος ἡμῶν, ὃν οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς..:
frag. lxv: καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐν]|τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὰς παρ' αὐτῆς διατριβὰς ἐποιούμεθα / The Λίνδιος in the second fragment is explained by the first and third fragments which show that the author is envisaged as writing in Rhodes. The use of the ancient demotics survived with reference to individuals who had lived before the synoecism, and to whom the application of the term Ῥόδιος was strictly speaking incorrect. Thus the epigram composed by Theocritus (xxii) for the statue (either real or imaginary) of the poet Pisander of Camirus (v. above, note 32) reads, lines 3-4: πρᾶτος τῶν ἐπάνωθε μουσοποιῶν | Πείσανδρος συνέγραψεν ὁδὸν Καμίρου and Clem. Alex. Strom. vi, 25,2, recording the appropriation of authorship by writers of works written by others, says: ὡσπερεὶ γὰρ τὰ ἑτέρων ὠφελόμενοι ὡς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν, καθάπερ... καὶ Πείσανδρος <ὁ> Καμιρεὺς Πεισίνου τοῦ Λινδίου τὴν Ἡρακλειάν. Here the old demotic had naturally survived from an early date. On the other hand, in the title of a poem (AP. vii,304) attributed (wrongly, v. Wilamowitz, Hermes, xxx, 1895, p.185) to Pisander, he is called Ῥόδιος ; the attribution (like the poem) is later than the synoecism. Note also the references to Cleobulus as Λίνδιος ; he is not referred to as Ῥόδιος . (v. p. 265, notes 1-4). One variation of this usage is found in the fabula palliata of Sextus Turpilius, the Lindia (com. latin. reliq.[3] ed. Ribbeck, pp. 118ff; cf. Schanz-Hosius, GRL[4], pp.166-8). Although the Greek original of this play is unknown, it can hardly be attributed to a Rhodian comedian, rarissima avis. Turpilius, however, seems to have enjoyed writing plays with non-Attic heroines, since in addition to the Lindia, he wrote also a Lemnia and a Leucadia, and it is not possible that the play had a local Rhodian setting. It is also possible that in the cosmopolitan life of the Peiraeus local village names more readily understood and used informally, where no serious question of origin was involved.

57. Hist.Alex.Mag. i,19,2: ἔλαχεν δ' Νικόλαος... ὁ Πίερος Φωκαεύς. ὁ δὲ Λάκων Λίνδιος. A has Λίνδιος which is not likely to be right. L (Pseudo-Callisthenes nach der Leidener Handschrift, herausgeg. von H.Mensel, Jahrbuch f. Kl.Phil. Suppbd. v,1871), a version which follows B for the most part (v. Kroll, Hist.Alex.Mag. pp.v-vi) but also uses A, here preserves a different reading (?tradition): Κίμων Λίνδιος although Kimon is also called Κορίνθιος (ibid. fol. 197a). Kroll, ad loc. combines the readings of A and L, viz. Λάκων Λίνδιος, to represent the oldest version; this proceeding may, or may not, be right in this instance, but whether Λίνδιος was the reading of the oldest version or not does not matter for our purpose. It may have been inserted at any of the stages envisaged and described in the text, where Rhodian influence is discernible. The use of Λίνδιος here may be contrasted with

the normal usage of Ῥόδιος of Olympic victors, in Diod. xvii, 113 and FGrH, nr.255,9, 324B.C.

58. Hist.Alex.Mag. i,31,2: ἦσαν δὲ αὗται· + Στειράμφεις, Φανέντι καὶ Εὔδημος, Ἀκάμης, Εὐπυρος, Ῥακῶτις, Ἡγιώδα, Ὑπόνης, Κραμβεῖται, Κραπαθεῖς, καὶ Λυϊδίας, Πάσης, Τέρεσις τῷ Νεφέλῃ Μηνυΐα τε, Πέλαγος† Kroll notes, ad.loc.: 'Nomina (quae sunt etiam in Arm.Byz.Syr. (in hoc prorsus mutata) foede currupta restitui nequeunt'; cf. Müller's note ad loc.

59. The sentence preceding that quoted in 58; παραγενόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἐδάφους ὄρος μέγιστον χῶμα εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκτεῖνον καὶ <ις'> κώμας συνεχόμενον. For the value of the Alexandrian topography in the Romance, v. Ausfeld, Rh.Mus. lv, 1900, pp.348-384; Lumbroso: L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci etc. 1895, pp.154ff; Tarn, JHS, clviii, 1928, pp.214, 218ff.

60. Alexander the Great, being the Syriac version of the Alexander Romance, ed. and trans. by E.A.W.Budge, C.U.P. 1889; A part of the Syriac version, based on fewer MSS, was published in translation by Perkins and Woolsey. J.A.O.S. iv, 1855, pp. ,with a valuable introduction.

61. v. Kroll, Hist.Alex.Magn. p.x. Budge, op.cit. pp. lvii ff.

62. ch.xxx, p.38 Budge: Stilimos, Pahhara, Imthâos, Aklios, Iñôkpilas, Lindos, Kiphrîm, Espâsîd, Mîmistîrâ, Phîlâos, and Hankîtos. The translation by the earlier editors uses different vowel equivalents, and gives Lyndos but the distinction is of no importance. For the reproduction of Greek names in the Syriac version, v. Perkins-Woolsey, op.cit. pp. 383ff.

63. Hist.Alex.Magn. i,31,5: ὅθεν καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων <ἡ> χώρα ἀναγράφεται. συνεβούλευσε δὲ αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ) Κλεομένης ὁ Ναυκρατίτης <καὶ Δεινοκράτης> ὁ Ῥόδιος μὴ πολιτικὴν πόλιν κτίζειν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν αὐτὴν πληρῶσαι σχολήν.

Dinocrates is the reading of Julius Valerius, (cos.338), the Latin translater of the Romance, whose Greek text was akin to A (v. Kroll, RE, s.v. Iulius (520), col.846), ed.Kübler, 1888 (cf. Kroll, Hist.Alex.Magn. p.viii, note 4; the text of Müller, printed below his Ps.Call. is very unreliable). In A and B the words <καὶ Δεινοκράτης> have dropped out. Elsewhere Dinocrates is called Μακεδών ; v. Fabricius, RE, s.v.Deinokrates (6),cols. 2392-3. Berve, Alexanderreich, ii, p.130, nr.249, thinks that Deinocrates was a Rhodian, but the better evidence is against this. Müller, Ps. Call. ad loc. says 'Novimus etiam poetam Dinocratem Rhodium', but I can find no trace of his existence.

64. v. Ps. Aesch. Ep.5. v. also 'Peraea'.

65. v. Tarn, Alexander, ii, pp.96-9 (Curtius Rufus' use of a Peripatetic original, pp. 319ff. (the evidence from Theophrastus).

66. v.Strab. 655: τῶν δὲ πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ λόγους καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὅ τε Πανκτιος

66. (continued)
αὐτὸς καὶ Στρατοκλῆς καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ ἐκ τῶν Περιπάτων καὶ Λεωνίδης ὁ στωικός, ἔτι δὲ πρότερον Πραξιφάνης καὶ Ἱερώνυμος καὶ Εὔδημος.

67. This is suggested, but not proved, by Simplic. ad Arist. Phys. p. 923 (=Eudemos fr.1 Spengel): οὕτω γὰρ καὶ Ἀνδρόνικος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους βιβλίων διατάττεται, μαρτυροῦντος περὶ τῶν πρώτων καὶ Θεοφράστου γράψαντος Εὐδήμου περί τινος αὐτῷ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἀντιγράφων κατὰ τὸ πέμπτον βιβλίον· ὑπὲρ ὧν, φησίν, ἐπέστειλας κελεύων με γράψαι καὶ ἀποστεῖλαι ἐκ τῶν φυσικῶν, ἤτοι ἐγὼ οὐ ξυνίημι ἢ μικρόν τι πεντελῶς ἔχει τὸ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ 'ὅπερ ἠρεμεῖν'...
This suggests that Eudemus and Theophrastus, the latter in Athens, were not in close daily contact, and that Eudemus was not in a position to consult MSS of the Physics for himself. That he in fact returned to Rhodes is perhaps borne out by the frequence with which a Eudemos is cited as an authority in the Lindian Chronicle (Bx; C,xxxii; D,48 and 87), as the author of a work on Lindos (Εὔδημος ἐν τῶι λινδιακῶι, loec.citt.).
However, the identity of this writer with the philosopher cannot be proved. It is accepted as certain by Blinkenberg (ed.[3] p.189, 'sans doute identique au célèbre peripatécien'), who refers to Wilamowitz, AA, 1913, p.43, for confirmation; but all Wilamowitz says is: 'da bietet sich ein Lindiakos von Eudemos; ich denke, dem Schüler des Aristoteles'. This hardly constitutes confirmation; cf. Broecker, Timachidas, pp.6-7.

68. For the date of Hieronymus, v.Daebritz, RE, s.v.Hieronymos (12), col. 1561.

69. v. Tarn, Alexander, ii, pp.319-320.

Chapter V : Notes.

1. Books xviii-xx.

2. v. Jacoby, RE, s.v. Hieronymos (10), cols.1540-1560: cf.i, p.4.

3. v. i, p.4 ff.

4. FGrH, nr. 156, F1-11=Arr.ii (ed.Roos, Teubner,1928), pp.253ff.

5. Koehler, SB.Berl.Akad. 1890, pp.557-588.

6. Bilabel, Klein.Hist.Pap.8; v.i,pp.9-10, and note 113,below.

7. Diod.xviii,8; for the chronology, v.Beloch, GG² , iv, pp.236-7.

8. Diod. ibid. cf. above p. note 22.

9. It is, however, supposed by Schneidewirth, Rhodus, p.222, note 35; van Gelder, GdR, p.101, and by those who assign the speech of Hyperides, Ῥοδιακός to this occasion: cf. above, p. 49, note 72.

10. For these two battles v. Diod. xviii, 15,9; Plut. Demetr. 11; Mar.Par. (FGrH, nr.239) B9, and in general Walek, Rev.Phil. xlviii, 1924, pp.23-30.

11. NS, 1. For the other decrees by which the restored Samians expressed thanks to their hosts during the period of exile, v. SEG, 1, 350ff. The individuals so thanked include citizens of Cos. Macedonia (διὰ τῆς βων παρ' Ἀντιγόνωι), Phaselis, Magnesia, Argos, Elaea. v. the discussion by M. Schede, Ath.Mitt. xliv, 1919, pp. 12-14.

12. v. i, p.99.

13. v. ibid. pp.98-9.

14. For this order v. Tarn, Alexander, ii, pp.370-373.

15. Diod. xviii, 8,7.

16. v.i, pp.123 ff.

17. For example the debates at the time of the Third Macedonian War, reproduced by Polybius. v. i, pp. 344 ff. and below, p. 327, note 60.

18. For the machinery of government v.i, pp.

19. Diod. xviii, 36; FGrH, nr.156, F9,28.

20. Diod. xviii,39; FGrH, 156, F9, §§ 30ff. cf. Beloch, GG (2), iv, 2, pp.314-6, and Tarn, Alexander, ii, pp.309 ff. for some additional points.

21. v.FGrH. loc.cit.F 11,45, the end of Photius' excerpt. cf. Schwartz, RE, s.v. Arrianos (9), col.1236; Wachsmuth, Einleitung, p.583.

22. FGrH, 156, F11, 39.

23. Diod. xviii, 37,2.

24. FGrH, loc.cit.: καὶ ὡς Ἄτταλος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπίθεσθαι Κνίδωι καὶ Κώωι καὶ Ῥοδίοις ἐπιχειρήσαντες ὑπὸ Ῥοδίων καρτερῶς ἀπεκρούσθησαν, Δημαράτου νεωκορήσαντος αὐτοῖς.

25. v. "Peraia".

26. For the mistaken interpretation of P.Vind.31954 v. above p.55, note 34.

27. v. i, pp. 587 ff.

28. v. i, pp. 583ff. etc.

29. Diod. xviii, 48.

30. Diod. xix, 39ff; esp. 43,8, and 44,2.

31. Diod. xix, 58.

32. ibid.57.

33. ibid. § 3: τά τ' ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις καὶ δυνάστας προεκαλεῖτο εἰς συμμαχίαν. For this phrase v. Heuss, Hermes, lxxiii, 1938, pp.147 ff.

34. ibid. 58,1.

35. ibid. 57,4.

36. v. i, pp.68-9.

37. Diod. xix, 58,5: ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ῥόδον ἄλλο(sc. ναυπήγιον), συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ δήμου κατασκευάζειν νεῶς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης τῆς εἰσκομιζομένης.

38. ibid. § 2: αὐτὸς δὲ πανταχόθεν ἀθροίσας... νεωτερισμούς, κατεκόμισε τὴν ὕλην ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου, κ.τ.λ.

39. Moreover Diod. xix, 45, 8 states that the tidal wave caused the death of more than 500 σώματα . This in itself probably sufficed to create a shortage of labour.

40. v. Tarn, Hell. Civ.² p.66; Jones, Greek City, p.103; Heuss, Stadt und Herrscher, pp. 163 ff. id. Hermes, lxxiii, 1938, p.152, note 1. Heuss perhaps underestimates the importance of these koina for an assessment of Antigonus' policy.

41. Plut. Demetr. 25 (cf. Diod. xx, 46, 5); I.G.² [redacted], iv. 68=SEG, i. 75; cf. Tarn, JHS, xlii, 1922, pp. 198-206; Cary, CQ, xvii, 1923, pp. 137-148; Wilcken, SB. Berl. Akad. 1927, pp. 277-301. For new evidence of considerable importance v. the inscriptions published by E. Schweigert, Hesp. ix, 1940, pp. 348-351; Robert, Hellenica, ii, 1946, pp. 15-33 (with reference to the inscription published by G. Daux, Delphes, p. 351, note 2); Ferguson, Hesp. xvii, 1948, pp. 112-136, restores with Meritt's assistance, a further inscription which so restored is significant for the League f. 302; but Robert, REG, Lxii, 1949, pp. 109-113 has shown that there is no reference to the Corinthian League in the inscription.

42. For the Rhodian Nesiotic League, v. 'Islands'.

43. I.G. xi, 4, 1036=Durrbach, Choix, 13. This inscription was originally published by Durrbach, BCH, xxviii, 1904, pp. 93ff, and attributed to the reign of Antigonus Doson. In BCH, xxxi, 1907, pp. 208-227 he gave overwhelming arguments for attributing the document to the joint reigns of Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius the Besieger. v. also, Tarn, [redacted] pp. 432-439; Durrbach, Choix, loc. cit.; Kaerst, Gesch. d. Hell[redacted], ii, p. 48; W. König, Der Bund der Nesioten, pp. 11-18.

44. Diod. xix, 61. 5.

45. Id. ibid. § 6.

46. ibid. 62, 7-8.

47. ibid. § 9.

48. This event is not recorded in our literary authorities. The date is, however, given by the fact that Demetrius of Phalerum won the chariot-race at the Delian Penteteris in February 314

48. (contin.)
(I.G.^{2} ii, 2971) = Syll^3. 319; cf. Beloch, GG^2. iv,1, p.123, note 2), which he could not have done if the island had become independent again (For the month in which the Delia were celebrated v. Roussel, DcA, p.209, note 1; cf. Laidlaw, Delos, pp. 46ff.)

Other evidence points to the same date: I.G.^{2} ii, 1652,+I.G. xi, 2,154 A, lines 61-5, probably shows, as Homolle supposed, BCH, xv, 1891, pp. 152ff(cf. I.G.xi, 2, loc.cit. ad.loc.) that Athenian control lapsed in 314: φιάλαι were dedicated for thirty successive years, of which 334/3 was apparently the eleventh (I.G.^{2} ii, 1652, where though the reading is not preserved, the supplement is almost certain). Beloch's objection to this argument appears to be based on a misunderstanding. He says that the list of 334/3 probably contained thirteen phialae, and that the total of thirty was therefore reached in 317/6. This view seems to derive from the note of Koehler to I.G. ii, 2,824 (=I.G.^{2} ii, 1652), in which he says that the phialae are the same as those recorded in I.G. ii, 2,816 (= I.G.^{2} ii, 1639), lines 13ff, and ibid. 818 (=I.G.^{2} ii, 1640), where ΔIII (though Kirchner now reads ΔIIII and ΔII II) was read. But these latter documents belong to 355/4 and 354/3, which is altogether too early for our purpose, nor is it clear that these phialae are the consecutive Athenian dedications. If it be accepted that the phialae of I.G. ii, 1652, are included in those mentioned in I.G. xi, 2, 154A lines 61-65, Homolle's inference is probably correct.

Ferguson, Hell.Aths. p.50 (note 4 of p.49) says that a date later than the summer of 314 for the removal of Athenian control is proved by I.G. xii, 8,18. This certainly shows that the island was under Athenian control at the beginning of the archonship of Nicodorus, 314/3; but the island is Lemnos, not Delos, and the relevance of this is not certain. Laidlaw, Delos, pp.89-90, follows Ferguson unprotestingly.

49. v. below, p.99, note 118.

50. v. Tarn, AG. pp.76-7. For the members in the Ptolemaic period, v. i, pp.202-3.

51. v. i, pp.178ff.

52. v. 'Islands'.

53. Diod. xix, 77,3.

54. ibid. 69,1.

55. ibid. 75,1.

56. This follows from the Rhodian request to Antigonus in 306 (Diod.xx, 82,2; cf. i, pp.149-50): μὴ βιάσασθαι τὴν πόλιν προπεσεῖν παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον. The συνθῆκαι can only be the alliance with Antigonus concluded in 312 B.C. von Hiller, Rhodos, col.779, says: 'aber die Rhodier lehnten ab, unter Berufung auf den gemeinsamen Frieden von 321', but their own συνθῆκαι with Antigonus were much more relevant.

57. Diod. xix, 77,3: νεῶς ἐξηρτυμένας πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον δέκα πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθέρωσιν.

58. Diod. xix, 105; OGIS, 5= RC,1. The details of this Peace are much debated, principally owing to the absence, both from Diod. and from OGIS 5, of any mention of Seleucus. v. the summary given by Welles, RC, ad loc. Of great importance is the Babylonian chronicle originally published by S.Smith, Babylonian Historical Documents, ch. V, pp.124-149, and republished by A.Momigliano-G.Furlani, Riv.Fil. lx, 1932, pp.462-484, which, as dated by Otto, SB Bayer.Akad. 1925, pp.9-12, refers to a war between Antigonus and Seleucus in the years after 311. cf. Momigliano, op.cit. pp.477-483. Momigliano, in Stud.Ital.Filol.Class. NS. viii,1930, explained the absence of Seleucus from the peace on the ground that he was still considered a satrap, and was treated by the dynasts as a rebellious subordinate, subject to the jurisdiction of Antigonus, to whose competence the matter of disciplining him was left. His view of the meaning of the phrase ἀφηγεῖσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας, applied by Diod. xix,105,1 to Antigonus, is contested by Bengtson, Die Strategie, i,p.151, note 1, followed by Heuss, Hermes, lxxiii, 1938, p.153, note 2.

59. Diod. xx, 19.3.

60. ibid. § 4: In the second sentence, διεπέμποντο, κ.τ.λ. [illegible] the correction proposed by Beloch, GG^2, iv, 1, p.143, note 1, p.143, note 1, seems necessary.

61. Id. ibid. 27,2.

62. ibid. 21.

63. ibid. 27,3; cf. Mar.Par.(FGrH, 239) B 19 (309/8); καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ υἱὸς ἐν Κῶι ἐγένετο : Theocr. xvii,58ff.

64. v.i, pp.168 ff.

65. v.i, pp.195 ff.

66. v. note 58 above, for the cuneiform document which records the campaign.

67. Diod. xx, 37, 1-2.

68. Diod. xix, 62,1.

69. Diod. xx, 37,1: ἐν παράπλῳ τὴν Ἄνδρον ἐλευθέρωσε καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐξήγαγε. This could mean that the garrison was Ptolmaic, and that Ptolemy withdrew (ἐξήγαγε) it; but a display, and perhaps use, of force appears to be implied in the context.

70. Ptolemy also visited Delos some time before 306, the year in which he took the title of king. The present occasion is as likely as any. He made a dedication to Aphrodite, as a private citizen, in which he is called simply Πτολεμαῖος Λάγου Μακεδών Inscr. Délos, 442 B, line 181.

71. Those who accepted a Ptolemaic origin for the Nesiotic League held that it was founded on this occasion: v.Delamarre, Rev. Phil. xx, 1896, pp. 107 ff. and the works cited above,note 43.

72. Reference may be made here to the notice of Suidas, s.v. Δημήτριος: Δημήτριος ὁ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὡμολόγησαν φιλίαν σφίσιν ἔνσπονδον εἶναι ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει πάσης Ἑλλάδος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τῇ ἄλλῃ ὧν ἐπιμαχεῖν... διέμεινε δὲ ἄρα οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ ἡ ὁμολογία τῆς συμβάσεως περί. Koehler, SB.Berl.Akad.1891, pp.207-214, esp. pp.207-8, saw in the opening words of this passage a quotation from the peace of 311, but, as Durrbach, BCH, xxxi,1907, pp.220-222 pointed out, all the Diadochi were parties to that peace, while this passage refers to an agreement between two of them. Durrbach's own solution was that in the years after 311 Ptolemy and Antigonus were united against Cassander. But it is certainly surprising that Diodorus contains no reference to this unexpected alliance. cf. Tarn, AG. p.80, note 2, Kaerst, Gesch.d.Hell^{2}. ii, pp.62-3, note 5, both of whom reject Durrbach's explanation; it is accepted by Beloch, GG^{2}, iv, 1, p.145, note 2.

73. Diod. xx, 45,1.

74. ibid. 46, 5.

75. ibid. §6: οὗτος (sc. ὁ Δημήτριος) μὲν οὖν συντόμως πάντα πράξας κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ πατρός, καὶ κομισθεὶς ἐπὶ Καρίας, παρεκάλει τοὺς Ῥοδίους πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Πτολεμαίου πόλεμον. οὐ προσεχόντων δ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ κοινὴν εἰρήνην ἀγόντων πρὸς ἅπαντας, τὴν τέχνην συνέβη γενέσθαι τῷ δήμῳ τῆς πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἀλλοτριότητος.
ibid. 82, 1-2. cf. i, pp. 145-6.

76. v. i, pp. 158-9.

77. Diod. xx, 49-52; cf. Tarn, AG, pp. 81-3 for the strength of the two fleets in these years.

78. Diod. xx, 73-76.

79. ibid. 82, 1-2.

80. ibid.

81. The sequence of events is not easy to establish. Diod. loc. cit. gives no indication of the lapse of time which ensued between the Rhodian resistance to Antigonus' στρατηγός and Antigonus' threat to lay siege to the city. The most likely occasion for the utterance of this threat and the resulting conciliatory attitude of the Rhodians is after the victory of Salamis, and before the Egyptian disaster, an event which must temporarily have reduced fear of Antigonus throughout the eastern Mediterranean.

82. ibid. This Rhodian embassy, and Antigonus' uncompromising answer to its request, presumably occurred shortly before the siege began, probably in spring or early summer of 305B.C.

83. Diod. xx, 82, 3-4.

84. For Loryma, v. 'Peraea'.

85. Diod. xx, 82-3.

86. ibid.

87. Diod. xx, 84.

88. ibid. § 2: ἀριθμὸν δὲ ποιησάμενοι τῶν δυνάμεων, πολιτῶν μὲν εὗρον περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους, κ.τ.λ.
The total citizen-body, men, women and children, may have been about 30,000 as Beloch, Bevölkerung, pp.225-7, suggested (In GG^2, iv,1,p.291, note 3, he offers no definite figure). Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, ii, p.1149, opts for 24,000. At Seleucia-on-Pieria in 219, on the occasion of Antiochus III's attack on the city, the free population, according to Polyb. v,61,1, was 6,000. Polybius does not state whether these were citizens only, and if so whether the figure represents only those of military age, or with the ephebic or similar qualification. So small a total is unlikely to represent a large

88. (contin.)

proportion of the city's population, and the figure therefore probably represents only those liable for military service. On this reckoning the citizen population of Rhodes in the late fourth century, and Seleucia c.220, were approximately the same. cf. Beloch, GG^2, iv,1, p.255, note 2.

89. Diod. xx, 84,2. The foreigners are described as παροικοι and ξένοι ; for these terms v.i,pp.493ff

90. ibid. §3.

91. ibid.

92. Compare the well-known instance in Thuc.ii,46.

93. ibid. §4.

94. ibid.

95. Diod. xx, 82,4.

96. Diod. xx, 82,4: ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἐκομίζοντο στρατιῶται βραχὺ λειπόμενοι τῶν πεντακισμυρίων οὓς ἵππεῖσι καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις πειρατῆς εὐθέτους ἐξέπεμψε πορθήσοντας τὴν νῆσον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ; cf. ibid.83,3: εὐθὺς δὲ τῶν τε πειρατῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς Rhodian activity against pirates at this date is referred to in ibid.81,3, but this passage, which says that Rhodes cleared the seas ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων is probably an anticipation of her activity in the third century, as Segre, Riv.Fil.lx, 1932, p.460, note 2, pointed out. Blinkenberg's attempt, Triemiolia, p.45, note 2, to justify this passage is based largely on evidence belonging to the period after the siege. To justify Diodorus,evidence is needed of large-scale activity by the Rhodians before this time, and such evidence is not forthcoming. It is certainly likely that the Rhodians were already active in this respect in the waters around Rhodes and off the Carian coast, and the pirates who frequented these waters will have been the allies of Demetrius. It is possible that the στρατηγός of Antigonus who waylaid ships out from Rhodes bound for Alexandria (v.i, p.151) was really a pirate. The Rhodians captured an arch-pirate in the pay of Demetrius in 304/3, Diod. xx,95. The arch-pirate Aminias in the pay of Antigonus Gonatas is called στρατηγός by Plut. Pyrr.29 (cf. Ormerod, Piracy, pp.123-4). For Rhodian anti-piratical activity in the third century v. i,pp.180ff.

97. Diod. xx, 83,3: εἶθ' ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν νῆσον· ἀποβιβάσας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν, κατεβέλους, ποιησάμενος τὴν παρεμβολὴν στρατοπέδευσε πλησίον τῆς πόλεως, ἐκτὸς. That this camp was on the north of the city, in the limited area between the city wall and Cum Burnu,

97. (contin.)
follows from Demetrius' first activities, v.i,pp.73-4. It was of course the north end of the island that Demetrius reached first, crossing from Asia.

98. [illegible] v. Laurenzi, Mem. FERT, ii, 1938, pp.35-6.

99. v.i, pp.73,4.

100. Diod. xx, 86,1. cf.i, p.74.

101. Diod. xx, 86, 1-4.

102. ibid. 87,1.

103. ibid. §2.

104. ibid. §4.

105. ibid. 88,1. Which of the two harbours (v.i,pp.73ff.) is here referred to is not certain. §5 appears to refer to the machines constructed by Demetrius on the Mole of the Great Harbour (cf. xx, 86,1).

106. ibid.88,4-6. For a more detailed discussion of the naval operations of the siege, v.i,pp.58ff

107. ibid. §§7-8.

108. Diodorus begins his account of the negotiations between Antigonus and the Rhodians which preceded the siege in xx,81,1ff, under the year 305/4. Some of the negotiations are certainly earlier than summer 305 (v.above notes 81-2), but the siege may well have begun in Summer 305, though not necessarily after the entry into office of the Athenian archon for 305/4. This fits in with the preceding events, and with Diodorus' statement that the siege lasted ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον (xx, 100,1). It will have ended in Summer 304; under the latter year Diod.xx, 100,6 also mentions Demetrius' subsequent operations in Greece; if this be correct the siege will have ended early in summer 304; cf. Beloch, GG², iv,2, pp.244-5. Plut. Demetr.20 says of the duration of the siege only that it lasted πολὺν χρόνον. Bevan, Ptol.Egypt. p.34 says 'Demetrius having besieged Rhodes for eighteen months'; this is probably an overestimate.

109. Diod. xx, 91-100.

110. Diod. xx, 91,2-8. The account I give here of this machine is intended only to reproduce the Greek of Diodorus. I make no attempt to explain or discuss its workings. For a technical discussion v. Rüstow-Köchly, Kriegswesen,pp.411-414.

111. Diodorus' words are (xx, 91,4): ὥστε τοῦ πρώτης κατασκευάσματος ὄντος ἐννεακοτέρου τὴν μὲν πρώτην στέγην ὑπάρχειν κλιμῶν τεττεράκοντα τριῶν, τὴν δὲ ἀνωτάτω κλίνη here cannot have its literal meaning and no other sense is attested for the word. It appears to be a unit of measurement; cf. Rüstow-Köchly, op.cit. p.412, note 16. This use of κλίνη is not noticed in LS.

112. Diod. xx, 91, 7-8. Rüstow-Köchly, op.cit. p.416, note 17, reject 3,400 as the number required to work the Helepolis alone, and conjecture that this was the number required to man all the pieces used before Rhodes. But Diodorus gives another figure for this (§8), namely nearly 30,000. The 3,400 therefore cannot be separated from the Helepolis, and the number must either be accepted (which strains credulity), or amended (which is difficult, since no independent evidence exists, from which the correct numbers can be inferred), or regarded as exaggeration on the part of Diodorus' source, which is perhaps the most probable explanation.

113. Diod. xx, 92-4. The episode of the Milesian Athenagoras is also contained in Klein.Hist.Pap.8 (cf. above, i, p. 9). This fragment adds or alters a few details in the narrative of the siege. The Rhodians refuse to hand back some technicians captured at sea (cf. Diod. xx, 93,5), in accordance with the agreement made at the beginning of the siege (ibid. 84,6). Athenagoras is described as φύλακην ἔχω[ν] while Diod. calls him (94,3) ἡγεμὼν τῶν μισθοφόρων (von Hiller's comment, SB. Berl.Akad. 1918, pp.752ff, ad loc. is: 'Ptolemaios hatte ihn als Anführer der Söldner geschickt, die Rhodier aber gaben ihm diesen wichtigen Posten'. But surely the ἡγεμὼν τῶν μισθοφόρων was above normal guard-duties; (cf. below, pp. 662 ff.) the words, if they do not represent a variant tradition - for Athenagoras is not called ἡγεμών, κ.τ.λ., in the papyrus, but only Μιλήσιος ἀ[ποσταλεὶς ἐξ Αἰγύ]πτου - suggest a great shortage of man-power). Finally, there is one interesting, and perhaps significant, omission in the papyrus: the account of the proceedings of the Rhodian ecclesia in 93, 6-7 (v.i, p.161). This passage is remarkable for two reasons; for the sentiments expressed in it, and for the obscurity with which, contrary to the normal style of Diodorus, they are expressed. Perhaps the latter, rather than the former pecularity, is the cause of the omission in the papyrus.

114. Diod. xx, 95.

115. ibid. 96-97, 3.

116. ibid. 97, 4-6.

117. ibid. §7.

118. ibid. 98.

119. ibid. §§4-6. The position of this theatre is not known. The later theatre (v.above, p. 28 note 125) below the upper Acropolis certainly did not occupy the same site.

120. ibid. §§7-9.

121. ibid. 99,1. I note briefly here the main events which led to the recall of Demetrius. Cassander, on Demetrius' departure from Greece for the Cyprian campaign (v.i, pp.149-150) had advanced south to attack Attica, and to besiege Athens, the stronghold of Antigonos and Demetrius. The campaigns of the next four years, and in particular their chronology, are ill recorded (v. in general Ferguson, Hell.Aths.pp.112-117; Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, pp.450-1; Glotz-Cohen-Roussel, HG, iv, 1, pp.337-8. The phrase τετραετὴς πόλεμος occurs in the decree for Demochares, vit.x orat. 851B, who is described as πρεσβεύοντι καὶ γράφοντι καὶ πολιτευομένῳ, νεὼς οἰκοδομῶν τειχῶν καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ μηχανημάτων καὶ ὀχυρωσάμενον τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ τετραετοῦς πολέμου, καὶ εἰρήνην καὶ ἀνοχὰς καὶ συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενον πρὸς Βοιωτούς cf. Beloch, loc.cit. This four years period between the two appearances of Demetrius in Greece, 307-4. De Sanctis, Studi di stor.ant. ii, 'Contributi alla storia ateniese', pp.50-52; Klio, ix,1909, pp.7-8; Riv.Fil. lxiv, 1936, p.150, holds that the war occurred between 294 and 288. Against this v.Ferguson, Hell.Aths. p.112, note 3). It appears that Cassander was unable to achieve any concrete result, since in 306 he was forced to withdraw from Attica, by a joint force of Athenians and Aetolians (I.G.^{2} ii,469=Syll.^{3} 328, cf. ibid.note 4). He returned later, but in 305 was again compelled to withdraw towards Thermopylae (Paus. x,7; 34,3). It was thus not until 304, when the absence of satisfactory news from Rhodes caused defections among Antigonus' allies, that Cassander was able to lay siege to Athens itself, while Polyperchon was winning back the cities of Peloponnese (Plut. Demetr. 23; Polyaen. iv,11,1; Paus.i,25,6; 35,2). Under the stress of events the Athenians were compelled to ask Demetrius for help (Plut. ibid., cf. Ferguson, Hell.Aths.p.16); it was this which decided Antigonus to abandon the siege of Rhodes, and transfer his activities to mainland Greece, after a lapse of three years.

122. Diod. xx,99,2.

123. ibid. §3. Diod. says, before recording the terms of the Peace, καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀποστείλαντος πρεσβευτὰς περὶ διαλυσέων. Plut. Demetr. 22,8 says, τῶν δὲ Ῥοδίων κατεξανισταμένων τοῦ πολέμου δεόμενον προφάσεως τὸν Δημήτριον Ἀθηναῖοι παραγενόμενοι διήλλαξαν ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχεῖν Ῥοδίους Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ πλὴν ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου. The passage of Diodorus does not necessarily mean that the Aetolians mediated, but the Plutarch passage supports this interpretation, even though it speaks of the presence of Athenian, and not Aetolian representatives. This may result from a confusion with the earlier occasion, on which the Athenians were present, Diod. xx, 98,2. The Athenians have escaped the notice of Flacelière, Les Aitoliens, p.47.

124. Diod. xx, 99,3: οἱ Ῥόδιοι συνέθεντο πρὸς Δημήτριον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε· αὐτόνομον καὶ ἄφρουρον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἔχειν τὰς ἰδίας προσόδους· συμμαχεῖν δὲ Ῥοδίους Ἀντιγόνῳ πλὴν ἐὰν ἐπὶ Πτολεμαῖον στρατεύηται, καὶ δοῦναι τῶν πολιτῶν ὁμήρους ἑκατόν, οὓς ἂν ἀπογράψηται Δημήτριος πλὴν τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων.
For αὐτόνομος and ἄφρουρος v. now Tarn, Alexander, ii, pp.203ff.

125. The further fortunes of Demetrius at this point are only of interest because of the contribution he made to the rebuilding of Thebes: I.G. vii, 2419=Syll? 337=Holleaux, REG, viii, 1895, pp.7-47=Études, i, pp.1-40, esp. pp. 27-31=20-23. His contribution consisted of a dedication of a tithe of the spoils taken from Rhodes: line 30: [βα]σι[λεὺς Δημήτριος] | δραχμ[ὰς ... ἐν τὸ] | ἑλλο[χρύσιον ἀπὸ τῶν] | παρ' Ῥοδ[ίων λαφύρων] | δεκάτ[αν...] For the reading παρ v. Holleaux, loc.cit.

126. v.i, pp. 68ff.

127. Diod. xx,100,4.

127A. v.Additional Note 16.

128. The following instances of assistance given to the city, and intervention offered, during the siege, are noted by Diod.: (305/4)xx, 88,9:150 σύμμαχοι from Cnossos (this does not necessarily mean that Cnossos was an official ally of Rhodes: the same word is to be supplied in the next clause, παρὰ δὲ Πτολεμαίου), and more than 500 from Ptolemy, including some Rhodian mercenaries; 304/3:xx,95,3: Cnidian envoys attempt to mediate; 96,1: Ptolemy sends 300,000 artabai of grain, and an unspecified amount of pulse; ibid. §2: Cassander sends 10,000 medimni of barley; ibid. Lysimachus sends 40,000 medimni of wheat, and the same of barley; ibid. 98,1; Ptolemy sends grain and other necessities, 'not less than the previous lot'.

129. For honours paid to the Diadochi, v.Tarn, Hell.Civ^{2}. pp.46-7; Wilcken SB.Berl.Akad.1938, pp.298-321, 'Zur Entstehung des hellenistischen Königskultes'(an excellent discussion); and the following ancient evidence; OGIS, 6, lines 20ff (Scepsis); Plut. Demetr. 10,12; Diod.xx,46 (Athens,307B.C.); Diod.xx,102,2 (Sicyon,303/2 B.C.); Phylarchus, FGrH,nr.81F29.

130. Diod. xx, 93, 6-7.

131. Diod. xx, 100,2.

132. ibid. §§3-4.

133. Paus. i,8,6: ὀνόματα μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ Πτολεμαῖοί σφισιν, ἄλλη δὲ ἐπικλήσεις ἄλλῳ· καὶ γὰρ Φιλομήτορα καλοῦσι, καὶ Φιλάδελφον ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ Λάγου Σωτῆρα, παραδόντων Ῥοδίων τὸ ὄνομα.
Pausanias clearly supposed that the Rhodians were the first to call Ptolemy 'Soter'; Tarn's explanation of this point, AG. p.439, is not very plausible.

134. OGIS 16, the Halicarnassian dedication to Sarapis, Isis and Arsinoe Philadelphus, for long regarded as the earliest document of Ptolmaic ruler-worship, belongs in fact to the reign of Philadelphus. This has been shown conclusively by N.Greipl, Philol. LXXXV,1930, pp.159ff. who gives a new and greatly improved restoration of the inscription, which she shows to be incomplete on the right: v. further Wilcken, Archiv,ix,1930, pp.223ff., Segre, Bull.Soc.Arch.Alex. xxxiv, 1941, p. 294 note, 3.
The earliest instance of the use of θεὸς σωτήρ of Ptolemy I is from Egypt itself. Archiv.v,1913, p.156: βασιλέα Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασίλισσαν Βερενίκην θεοὺς Σωτῆρας, Ἡλιόδωρος Θυμωίδης Ἑρμογένης σωθέντες εὐχήν. The circumstances in which this dedication was made (σωθέντες: v. Rubensohn, ad loc. and Wilcken, ibid. p.202, note 1) show that it does not necessarily presuppose the existence of a formal cult, though the possibility remains of an unofficial cult existing long before its official establishment.

135. Segre, Bull.Soc.Arch.Alex. xxxiv, 1941, pp.29-39. Found near the stadium at Rhodes (v. above, p. 28, note 125), this dedication by συνιερεῖς contains, after the priests of the usual deities, those of Alexander, Ptolemy, and Ptolemy Euergetes and Berenice (v. i, p.124). The priest of Ptolemy, Χάρμυλος Θρασωνίδα is otherwise unknown. This Ptolemy must be Soter, since no distinguishing title is added. For the reason for the absence of Philadelphus from the list v.i, pp. 196ff.

135. (continued)
A further witness to the good relations between Ptolemy I and Rhodes is contained in Lind.Chron. xxxix, which contains the record of a dedication, made by βασιλεὺς πτ[ολ]εμαῖος of twenty skulls of oxen. The occasion may be c.304, after the siege, but is uncertain. The priest of Athana, Athanas the son of Athanagoras, does not appear in the chronological list of priests of Athana (Inscr.1). The insertion of his name in 304 by Blinkenberg, Inscr.1, sub anno, is based on the assumption that the dedication of Ptolemy was made in that year.

Another inscription containing a dedication for a Ptolemy is published by Scrinzi, Atti Istit.di Venet.1899, p.261, nr.3 (referred to by Segre, loc.cit.), from an MS of the Swedish doctor and antiquarian of Rhodes, Hedenborg. Segre reported that the copy is largely illegible, and that the Ptolemy could not be identified. I.G.xii, 1,37=SGDI, 3775=Strack, Dynastie, nr.64, line 3 was supplemented in line 3 [Κλεοπάτρας] by von Hiller (I.G. xii, ad loc.), who referred the dedication to Ptolemy ix, Lathyrus, and his daughter and co-regent (121-117 B.C.), Cleopatra. Strack, loc.cit. refers it to Ptolemy IV reading [Βερενίκης], for convincing reasons; so also, van Gelder, SGDI 3775, and Segre, loc.cit. p.39.

136. Diehl, Anth.Lyr. ii.^{2} (6) pp.104 ff.=Powell, Collect.Alex. p.173.

137. cf. Ehrenberg, Die Antike, vii, 1931, pp.279-297=Aspects of the ancient Worlds, pp.179-198.

138. Polyb. xxx, 5,6: οὕτως γὰρ ἦν πραγματικὸν τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν Ῥοδίων ὡς σχεδὸν ἔτη τετταράκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν κεκοινηκὼς ὁ δῆμος Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ καλλίστων ἔργων, οὐκ ἐπεστόλητο πρὸς κοινοὺς συμμαχίαν.
See the masterly discussion of Holleaux, Rome,La Grèce, pp.30-46, whose method in this instance seems over logical; to the bibliography there given (and ibid. pp.335-6, where Holleaux rightly dismisses the view of M.Cary, JP xxxv,1920, pp.170-3) add, Carcopino, JS, 1923, p. note = Points de Vue sur L'impérialisme romain, 1934, p.48, note 2; T.Walek, Rev.Phil.1,1925,pp.138-140;De Sanctis,Riv.Fil.lxiii, 1935,pp.72-3.

139. Holleaux's explanation of the way in which πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν entered into the text is not very satisfactory (op.cit. pp.44-6); he supposes that the scribe inadvertently added πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν (ϵ) to the σχεδὸν ἔτη τετταράκοντα (μ′) since it is Polybius' usual custom to denote his olympiads in this manner (v. e.g. ii, 41,1, and other exx.

139. (contin.)
given by Holleaux, p.45, note 1). Unfortunately no corruption arising from a similar cause can be quoted from Polybius. Walek, loc.cit. further objects against Holleaux's solution that ὀκτὼν ἐπὶ τετταράκοντα 'nearly forty years' is not a true description of the period 200-167 B.C., which is thirty-three years, and should therefore by represented by 'thirty years', the nearest round figure. In this passage, however, Polybius, though recounting the events of 167 B.C. seems to refer to the whole period before the alliance with Rome was concluded in 164, which permits the use of 'nearly forty years'; v. Taubler, Imper. Rom. p.205, on this point; contra, Holleaux, op.cit. p.30, note 1.

142. Carcopino, loc.cit. explains the insertion of πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν by the supposition that 'un premier copiste érudit a glosé en marge, et en abrégé πρὸς τοὺς Β' = πρὸς τοὺς βασιλικούς (collaboration d'environ 40 années) contre les Royaux. Un second copiste, étoudi, a transféré la glose de la marge dans le texte. Un troisième copiste ignare, ne le comprenant plus, l'a prise pour une indication chronologique supplementaire donnée dans le forme habituelle: πρὸς τοῖς , suivie d'un chiffre, et, pour l'obtenir, il a toute naturellement converti l'accusatif πρὸς τοὺς (contre les) dans le datif πρὸς τοῖς (en plus de), et le sigle **Β'** = βασιλικούς = Royaux, dans le chiffre **Ρ** = ἑκατόν =cent.' But, apart from the ingenuity to be attributed the: 'troisième copiste ignare', and the uncertainty as to whether **Β** can be used as an abbreviation of βασιλικοί , as it can of βασιλεύς, there remains the difficulty of the meaning given to βασιλικοί . This is found only once in the sense given it by Carcopino, namely in App. Mithr. 26 (§104): its usual meaning, as in OGIS, 338, line 21, quoted by Carcopino, is 'the king's attendants, or slaves'.

De Sanctis, loc.cit. has tried to avoid the difficulty of the interpolation by supposing a lacuna. He suggests that after δδῆμος, Ἕλληνές τε καὶ has dropped out. But this neither removes the difficulty of the reference to relations with Rome, nor does it present a true picture of Rhodian policy. Rhodes had not maintained political ~~true picture~~ κοινωνία with the Greek world in the third century, in the eyes of Polybius, who (rightly or wrongly) regarded neutrality as the keynote of Rhodian policy (v.xxxxx Polyb. xxx, 5-8).

140. And precisely 140 years before 164, the date of the alliance with Rome.

141. v.Münzer, Röm.Adelspart. pp.83-89; id. RE, s.v. Ogulnius (5), cols. 2064-6; Altheim, Trans.Num.Congr. 1936, pp. 137-150; id. Hist.Rom.Rel. p.280.
In the year of the siege of Rhodes, 304, the curule aedile Gnaeus Flavius, the secretary of Appius Claudius Censor, published at Rome the ius civile and the calendar (Fasti): Liv.ix,46, and the references to be found in Seeck, Kalendertafel der Pontifices, pp.1-56; Pais, Richerche, i, pp.215-240; Stuart Jones, CAH, vii, pp.533-5; Schanz-Hosius, RLG[4], i, pp.36-7. This typically Greek procedure, by which the law became the property of the citizen body, and not of those who had the authority to administer it, is characteristic of this period of Roman history.

142. Inscr.i,92=CIL, i[2], 404=Diehl, Altlat. Inschr[3]. 183:
L[ucius] MRFOLI ...| Menerva[i Lindiai]| Λεύκιος Μ...| Ἀθάνα[ι Λινδίαι]
The interpretation of MRFOLI is uncertain. It has been suggested (a) that the name should be read as L.M(a)r(ae) Foli... . (So Lommatzsch, ad CIL, loc.cit., followed by Diehl, loc.cit.). The dedicant will then be of Oscan origin, the abbreviation Mr being not uncommon in Oscan inscriptions (v.Conway, It. Dial.1= Jacobsohn[2], 50; It. Dial. 42=Jacobsohn[2], 54; It.Dial.60=Jacobsohn[2], 55). The name Folius is found in CIL, ix, 455, 3.80.
(b) that it should be read as L.M(a)r(ci) f(ilius) Oli... (so Blinkenberg, Inscr. i,92). The gens olia is found in Picentine country, v. CIL, ix,5326, and is represented by other inscriptions from the Greek east, one from Delos (BCH xxxvi, 1912, p.214,nr.35), and one from Pergamum (Ath.Mitt. xxxiii, 1908, p.398, nr.22,line 7), neither of particularly early date (The first is a single line of Latin, the second part of an ephebic list).
I hesitate to choose between these two alternatives. The second solution is more readily acceptible, because of the relative frequency of the name Olius compared with Folius. Whichever alternative be correct (a third is not easy to envisage), the inscription remains the same testimony to early relations between the Roman world and Greece. (I cannot agree with Kinch's opinion, recorded by Lommatzsch loc.cit.and repeated by Diehl. loc.cit. that in the Greek part of the inscription, after the M, there are traces of O. The excellent photograph of the stone reproduced by Blinkenberg, loc.cit. makes it abundantly clear that between the M and the break there is no trace of any letter.
The date depends on the letter-forms, and can therefore only be approximately calculated. The evolution of the letter Σ in Lindian inscriptions can be followed in the photographs of inscriptions given by Blinkenberg, Inscr.

142. (contin.)
and provides a reasonable criterion, in the use of which considerable caution is, of course, necessary. An inspection of this letter in these inscriptions suggests strongly that the Σ of Inscr.92 (upper hasta oblique, lower hasta straight) belongs to the period c. 325-290: v. e.g. the photographs of nos. 43,44,51, (with ϹΣ), 56 -- all before 300 -- and 69, c.300-290; contrast the straight hastae of the Σ of the inscriptions of c. 275: e.g. 74,75,84 (85 has earlier type Ϲ), 87.A date c. 300 for Inscr. 92 appears on this criterion the most probable date, though a considerable margin of error is possible. von Hiller, ap. Lommatzsch, loc.cit. suggested that the dedicant went to Rhodes to conclude the foedus of 304; but there was no foedus (cf. Holleaux, Rome, La Grèce, pp. 30ff; cf. von Hiller, Rhodes, col.779: 'von einem Handelsvertrag kann vollends keine Rede sein'). Nothing definite can be gathered from the inscription, but that the dedicant may have been on a mission of good-will from Rome, in accordance with the Roman policy of the period, is not impossible.

Reference should also be made here to Xenagoras (FGrH, nr. 240, the author quoted by Dionysus of Halicarnassus for a story of the foundation of Rome, which probably reflects a fourth-century political background in Latium; v. above, i,pp.34-5.

143. Among the earliest references are: the by now notorious Γάϊος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος of Callim. i,p.110 Pfeiffer (for whom v.Stroux, Philol. lxxxix, 1934, pp.304-310; Pohlenz, ibid. xc,1935, pp.120-2; De Sanctis, Riv.Fil. lxv, 1935, pp.289-301; Lenchantin de Gubernatis, Athen. NS, xiii, 1935, pp.108-111; Altheim, Epochen, ii, pp. 137ff; id. Welt als Geschichte, ii, 1935, pp. 75-8; id. ibid.iv,1938, pp.306-317; Pasquali, Stud.Ital.Fil.Class., xvi, 1939, pp.69-78 (=Terz.Pag.Strav. pp.95-107); id. Nuov.Antol. 1940 (=Terz.Pag.Strav. pp.90-94); Früchtel, BPW, lxi, 1941, cols.189-190; Dinnius, the Roman soldier in Archiv, vii, 1926, pp.17-27; and the Σέρδων of I.G.xi, 2, 115, and Νούϊος of ibid. 287A, line 58. The names of the two latter suggest that though Roman citizens they may not have been Romans born; cf. Holleaux, Rome, La Grèce, p.85, note 5.

144. v. Orat.xliii - xliv, Dind. passim.

145. v. i, pp.338ff.

146. Strab. 652: θυμαστὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ εὐνομία, κ.τ.λ.

147. v. i, pp. 146 ff.

148. Diod. xx, 81.

149. v.above, note 96.

150. loc.cit. §4: οἱ δ' οὖν Ῥόδιοι πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς δυνάστας συντεθειμένοι τὴν φιλίαν διετήρουν μὲν ἑαυτοὺς ἐκτὸς ἐγκλήματος δικαίου, τῆς δ' εὐνοίας μᾶλλον πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον. συνέβαινε γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν τε προσόδων τὰς πλείστας εἶναι διὰ τοὺς εἰς Αἴγυπτον πλέοντας ἐμπόρους, καὶ τὸ σύνολον τρέφεσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς βασιλείας.

151. Or at least none has been published, or referred to.

152. For ~~instances~~ evidence of this for the mid-third century, v,i,p. and below, p. 97 note 109.

153. v. SB. 6320ff; from Chatby: and v. Breccia, La Necropoli di Sciatbi, i,ff. 190-1 for the dating of the Chatby necropoleis (Cf. Adriani, Ann. du Musée Gréc. Rom. 1933/35 'La Nécropole de Moustapa Pacha', ff. 17(ff.)

Chapter VI : Notes.

1. v. Jacoby, RE s. v. Hieronymos (10), cols.1559-1560.

2. I.von Priene, nr. 37=Schwyzer, 289=Syll^{3} 599 (ll.1-44 only). For an account of the dispute v. Hicks, BMI, iii, (1), pp.1-5; Lenschau, Leip.Stud. xii, 1890, pp. 125ff, 199ff; Tod, Arbitration, pp.135-140.

3. ll. 63-83.

4. For Hieron v. Walter Otto, RE s.v. Hieron (17) cols.1513-5.

5. This seems to follow from ll. 78ff. ἄλλο ψήφισμα παρὰ Ῥοδίων ὑπὲρ τοῦ καταφυγεῖν τοὺς περὶ [τὸν τ]ύραννον, καὶ ἄλλο ὑπὲρ ὅπλων δόσιος καὶ ποτὶ Ῥοδίους ὑπὲρ δανεισμοῦ χρημάτων. There is no evidence that the Rhodians replied to the ψήφισμα ὑπὲρ δανεισμοῦ χρημάτων.

6. I accept the calculation of Lenschau, op.cit. pp.199-200, viz.: The three years began in the στεφανηφορία of Makareus (l.15) and continued until that of Lykos, ὃς ἐστι ἀπὸ Μακαρέως τέταρτος. (ll. 82, 123-4). Makareus' year of stephanephoria was probably 300-299 B.C., since (a) in l. 77 Lysimachus is called βασιλεύς along with Demetrius, and that title was not adopted until 306 B.C.; (b) in ll. 125ff. Prienian envoys are mentioned as again visiting Lysimachus, twenty-one years after Hieron's assumption of power. The visit must have occurred before Cyropedion, 281 B.C.: it took place in the year of Nicander, described as fifteenth eponym from Lykos (l.128). The latter therefore cannot be later than 296 B.C., or earlier than 306 B.C.; (c) Lysimachus, however, did not leave Thrace and the Hellespontine area until 302 B.C., the year before the battle of Ipsus (Diod. xx, 107, 2-5). The period 300-297 B.C. therefore suits Lysimachus' movements. It also suits those of Demetrius, since he retained control of Ephesus after Ipsus, and until he finally returned to Macedonia in 296 B.C. (Plut. Demetr. 30,2).

7. Reference to Ephesian assistance on the same occasion is found in Syll^{3} 363.

8. Schwyzer, 289 (*cf. note 2 above), ll.76-7.

9. Diod. xx, 107,4.

10. Plut. Demetr., 31,5-6: οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον Σέλευκος ἐμνᾶτο πέμπων τὴν Δημητρίου καὶ Φίλας θυγατέρα Στρατονίκην, ἔχων μὲν ἐξ Ἀπάμας τῆς Περσίδος υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον, οἰόμενος δὲ τὰ πράγματα καὶ διαδόχοις ἀρκεῖν πλείοσι καὶ δεῖσθαι τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οἰκειότητος, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λυσίμαχον ἑώρα τῶν Πτολεμαίου θυγατέρων τὴν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δὲ Ἀγαθοκλεῖ τῷ υἱῷ λαμβάνοντα.

11. Plut. ibid. 32, 1ff.

12. BMI 453=OGIS 10=G83=M492=H151.

13. ll. 2ff. ἀποσταλεὶς παρὰ τῶμ βασιλέων Δημητρίου καὶ Σελεύκου πρός τε τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους (Ἕλληνας κτλ.) Van Gelder, GdR p.108 supposes that Nicagoras was a 'condottiere', but he sounds more like a respectable statesman.

14. BMI 455=G84=M493. v. also BMI 447, a decree, apparently of approximately the same date, honouring three citizens of Ceramus in Caria (for which v. 'Peraea') resident in Rhodes, for their good offices to Ephesians who visited Rhodes.

15. The same man was honoured by the people of Arcesine on the island of Amorgos, together with some other Rhodians for having looked after the interests of natives of the city arriving in Rhodes: I.G. xii, 7,8-9=G86-87. The first of these documents is a decree in honour of three Rhodians called Agathostratus, Philion and Hegemon, the sons of Elpinicus; the second (on the same stone, but inscribed by a different hand at approximately the same date) is in honour of the honorand of the Ephesian inscription, Agathocles, the son of Hegemon: perhaps a son of the Hegemon honoured in the first inscription. The decree of Minoa in honour of a Rhodian, I.G. xii, 7,228=G85=M383 belongs to a later date.

16. Rostovtzeff, CAH, viii, p.623; id. SEHHW, i,p.173, states that at the close of the fourth century Ephesian coinage went over to the Rhodian standard. Head, Coinage of Ephesus, pp. 37-8, and Newell, Coinage of Demetrius, pp.69-70, that Ephesus now abandoned the Rhodian standard. It appears however that coins on the Persian standard were struck from c. 325-275, and that the Rhodian didrachms were not introduced till c.275; I owe this information to Mr. E.S.G.Robinson.

17. Demetrius' naval activity after 301 may be briefly summarised: when he crossed to Greece in 296 B.C. he had with him a large fleet: Plut. Demetr.33,2: καὶ τὸ μὲν πέλαγος ἀσφαλῶς διεπεραιώθη μεγάλῳ στόλῳ: this fleet he largely lost: ibid. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραπλέων ἐχειμάσθη, καὶ τὰς πλείστας ἀπέβαλε τῶν νεῶν, καὶ συνδιεφθάρη πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ὀλίγον. When Demetrius was besieging Athens in 295/4 (ibid.) Ptolemy attempted to run his blockade, ibid.,§8: εἶτα Δημητρίῳ πολλῶν μὲν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πολλῶν δ' ἀπὸ Κύπρου νεῶν παρεγενομένων, ὥστε συμπάσας ἀθροισθῆναι τριακοσίας, ἔφυγον ἅπαντες οἱ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Λαχάρης ὁ τύραννος ἀπέδρα προεμένος τὴν πόλιν. Before his last journey to Asia in 288/7 he laid the foundations of another considerable fleet: ibid. 43, 4-7: στόλον δὲ νεῶν ἅμα πεντακοσίων καταβαλλόμενος (κτλ.) and when he crossed to Asia, he was unopposed: ibid. 46, 2 (no reference to any opposition; simply, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔπλει) Cf. Tarn, AG, pp. 81ff.

18. v.i, pp.145 ff.

19. v. Tarn, AG, pp. 104ff., esp. 104, note 29. The attempt of Mario Segre, Aegyptus, xiv, 1934, pp.253-261, to show that Philocles never served Antigonus and Demetrius, is based on a reading of Mon.Ant. xxiii, 1914, p.116, nr.83, l.4, where, following Roussel, REG xxix, 1916, pp.453-4, he reads [Φι]λοκλῆς for the editors' [Δη]μοκλῆς Even if this reading be correct (as from the photograph it appears to be), it is extremely difficult to identify ---- λοκλῆς , who is only a mercenary leader, with the king of Sidon (it is of course possible, as has been suggested by Segre, loc.cit. that Philocles was made king of Sidon by Ptolemy, but this seems unusual, and would need considerable justification). I prefer, therefore, to retain the interpretation given by Tarn, loc.cit.(cf.Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, pp.327-8), based on Syll^3. 337.
The date of Demetrius' loss of command of the Aegean, and of the League of the Islanders can be fixed fairly closely. In 287 Demetrius still had his navy and held Miletus (Plut. Demetr. 46,3; cf. Tarn, AG, p.106, note 34), but the League of the Islanders had established Soteria in honour of Ptolemy Soter only, before Philadelphus was made co-regent (I.G.xii,7, 506=Syll^3. 390, ll.26-27, where Soter only is mentioned: for further on this inscription v. below, note 118), i.e. in Dystros 285 B.C. (v. H.Frank, Archiv., xi, 1935, pp. 8ff.; T.C. Skeat, Mizraim, vi, 1937, pp.30-31). This is supported by the evidence for Demetrius' career: the last years of his dated Tyrian coinage was 287 B.C. (Newell, Tyrus rediviva, pp.14, 21ff; Tarn, JHS, liii, 1933, p.67, note 87; Ferguson, CP, xxiv, 1929, pp. 29-30; Tarn, loc.cit.; Glotz,etc., HG, iv, i,p.363, notes 52-53).

20. The absence of any reference to a naval battle at this time in the literary records is a strong argument in favour of the view of the transfer of power accepted in the previous note.

21. The hieropoiic lists are contained in I.G.xi,2,135-289, Inscr. Délos, Comptes des hiéropes, 290-371 (1926), and ibid., Comptes des hiéropes, 372-509 (1929). Reference to numerous articles dealing with various aspects of these documents will be found in the notes throughout the following chapters.. I note here the essential studies: T.Homolle, Archives de l'intendance sacrée à Délos (Bibliothèque des écoles franc., fasc.49), 1887; E.Schulhof, BCH xxxii, 1908, pp.5-132, 449-498; F.Durrbach-E.Schulhof, ibid. xxxiv, 1910, pp.122-186; cf. W.A.Laidlaw, Delos, pp.153ff., for a general introduction.

22. I.G. xi, 2,158 (archon Cleostratus). This list contains payments and receipts only, not an inventory of treasures. The earliest complete list, i.e. annual payments and receipts and traditiones is I.G. xi,2,161=(A)M 594 and (B) 833, of Hypocles' year, 279B.C. (For the system and absolute dating of the Delian archons v. Homolle, Intendance sacrée, pp. 45ff; Schulhof, BCH, xxxii, 1908, pp.472 ff.; Tarn, AG, pp.458-461; E.Pozzi, Mem.r.accad.di Torino, (sci.mor.etc.), lxiii, 1913, pp.328-332; Durrbach, BCH, xl, 1916, pp. 298-352; Beloch, GG, iv,2, pp.97=101; Laidlaw, Delos, pp.257-277. A full list of archons is given by Beloch, loc.cit, Laidlaw, loc.cit., and in Inscr.Délos, Comptes des hiéropes, 372-509, pp.327ff. (the latter with reference to the relevant documents), according to the chronology elaborated by Homolle, op.cit. The same system is followed throughout the present work.)

23. For the references to Rhodians in the accounts and inventories, v.Addit.Note, nr.8.

24. For the references to Coans and Calymnians in the Accounts v. Addit. Note 9.

25. In I.G. xi, 2,161, the only other Greek communities recorded are the people of Leontini, B14, the Naxians, B31, and the Tauromenites, B103-4. These dedications are widely scattered in the inventories and it is impossible to determine their date or context.

26. v. the list in Addit.Note 8.

27. v., for example, the fourth century dedications in I.G. xi, 2,161B, the earliest complete list (I omit the references to the Diadochi and marshals of Alexander, since some of these manifestly belong to a date after the liberation of Delos): B46 Epaminondas (here, and in 162B36, spelt Aminondas, but cf. 164A95; 189,1.4; 199B64), 59 Lysander, 87 Pharax.

28. I.G. xi, 2,161B,11.66-74. Hippagoras (1.70) is not called a Rhodian here, but is so called in 164A16.

29. v. Addit.Note 8.

30. v. Addit.Note 9.

31. v. the list in Laidlaw, Delos, pp. 142-143. The surprising entry 'Tarsus 11' should presumably read 'Antiocheia by Cydnus 1' (I.G.xi, 4,822);for the renaming of Tarsus v.Jones,

31.(contin.)
CERP, p.436, note 13 (Eduard Meyer, Ursprung und Anfänge, ii, p.140, and Tscherikower, Städtegründungen, p.40, are wrong in attributing this change to Antiochus Epiphanes).

32. v. Addit. Note 10, Nrs. 1,2,4; for nr.3 v. Hasebroek, i, pp.219-220, 635-6.

33. v. above, pp.151, 154.

34. I.G. i^2, 1629=Syll.^{3} 305 (ll.165-271)=GHI, 200, (ll.145-271), the Athenian colony dispatched to Hadria in 325/4 B.C., esp. ll.217ff (=Syll.^{3} loc.cit.ll.54ff.): "ὅπως δ' ἂν ὑπάρχηι [τῶι δήμωι ἐὺς τὸν ἅπαντα [χρ]όνον ἐμπορία οἰκεία καὶ [σιτ]οπομπία, καὶ ναυστάθμο[ι οἰκ]είου κατασκευασθέν[τος ὑπάρχηι φυ-λακὴ ἐπὶ [τυρ]ρήνους, καὶ Μιλτιά[δης] ὁ οἰκιστὴς καὶ οἱ ἔπι[κοι ἔχ]ωσιν χρῆσθαι οἰκεί[ωι νομ]ίσμασιν, καὶ τῶν Ἑλ[λήνων καὶ βαρβάρων οἱ [πλέοντες] τὴν θάλατταν [ἀσφαλῶς ἐμπολείτωσαν εἰς Ἀδρίαν, ὅρμο]ν τὸ Ἀθηναίων [ναυστάθμιον ἔχ]οντες καὶ τὰ ἄλ[λα - - -

34. (contin.)
500 drs. to the people of Delos, from the hieropoiic treasury, εἰς φυλακὴν τῶν Τυρρηνῶν. For the unlikelihood of Τυρρηνοί applying to the Etruscans only, v. Boeckh, loc.cit., Ormerod, op.cit., pp. 129-130.

35. I.G.ii^{2}, 650=Syll^{3}. 367, archonship of Diocles (288/7 B.C.: v.Pritchett-Meritt, Chronology, p.xvii, under this year, and references there cited).

36. v. Ziebarth, Seeraub und Seehandel , p.22; v. the series of defeats recorded in Polyb. ii, 19-20; cf. Beloch, RG, pp. 451-459.

37. Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p.169, nr. 1. For the information supplied by this inscription about the Rhodian navy, v. below, i, pp. 653ff.

38. Cf. Hirschfeld, RE, s.v. Aigila (2), col.962.

39. Military titles recorded are συνταγματάρχας ἐπὶ τῶν ξένων, τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων λοχαγοί and probably διμοιρῖται : v. i, pp. 663ff.

40. As in more modern times: v.Ormerod, Piracy, pp.20ff.

41. Syll^{3}. 1225=SGDI 3835.

42. For the site of Casara, v. 'Peraea'.

43. The third son, --c9--s Τιμακράτης συνταγματάρ[χας, was identified by Segre, Riv.Fil.lx, 1932, pp.452-461, esp.p.457, with the Πολέμαρχος Τιμοκράτεος Καισαρεύς of Cl.Rh.ii, 1932, p.169, nr.1, ll.7-8. This latter is certainly one of the sons of Timocrates; which one it is difficult to say. The second brother is excluded since his name ends in ---ης , not ---ος (l.4). The first brother's name has wholly disappeared from Syll^{3}. 1225. Segre, however, excludes him on the ground of a new supplement he offers for Syll^{3}. 1225, ll.3-5. Here von Hiller read (Syll^{3}.)[---c.8---Τ]ιμοκράτης πρωιρατεύων/[ἐς---c.7---]λίαν ζώνυς ὁμενος ποτὶ/[Τυρρένους ἐ]τελεύτασε. In l.4 Segre suggested Αἰγ[ι]λίαν (cf.Cl.Rh. loc.cit.ll.3-4), a variant form of Αἴγιλα found in some MSS of Plin. NH, iv,65, Mela, Geog.iii,3, and in Steph. Byz. s.v. Αἰγιλιά and in Plut. Cleom. (52)31,1; (53) 32,1. Segre then excluded the identity of the first son with Polemarchus,since the rank of the latter as recorded in the Aigila inscription is καταπελταφέτης a lower rank than that of πρωιρατεύων, which the first son, who, following Segre's restoration, died at Aigila, has in the sepulchral inscription (v.also below, I, pp. 645, 654). Therefore the third son only is left for identification with Polemarchus. This is a very dubious argument,

43. (contin.)
since the passages which have the form Αἰγιάτ[ας] show only that the alternative spelling could be used for the island; it must remain open whether two contemporary inscriptions, both from Rhodes, could exhibit the two forms.

Segre's reading Αἰγ]λιῶν led him to a further conclusion in the next line: if the expedition in which the dead man took part was against Aigila, it is hardly likely that it was ποτὶ [τυρράνους]. He therefore proposed [λιστὰς ἐ]-- . This argument is not conclusive, since, as has been noted above (note 34), there is ample evidence for Τυρρηνοί in the Eastern Mediterranean; but [λιστάς] is certainly equally possible.

Whether Segre's reading Αἰγι]λίων is accepted or not, the connection between the two documents is established by the fact that either the first or the third son took part in the Aigila expedition.

Different supplements are offered by Blinkenberg, Triemiolia, p.14, (nr.29), viz: T]ιμοκράτευς πρωιρατεύων|[τριημιο]λιῶν ἀγωνιζόμενος ποτὶ λ[ιστάς] (For the phrase πρωιρατεύων e.g. τριημιολίδων v. i, pp. 645).

This restoration seems to offer a text conforming to the normal style, and it has been adopted in this work.

The reading Ἰτ]αλίαν or Σικε]λίαν proposed by von Hiller ex.gr. (Syll.[3] 1225, note 2), and accepted without comment by Ormerod, Piracy, p. 130, note 3, is not acceptable: there is no other evidence for Rhodian naval activity in the Western Mediterranean in the Hellenistic Age, and it is extremely improbable that there ever was any.

The Aigila inscription must be earlier than Syll.[3] 1225: how much earlier depends on whether one identifies Polemarchus with the first or third son, and consequently whether time must be allowed for him to have risen from the rank of καταπεδ-τάφετης to that of πρωιρατεύων or that of συνταγματάρχας

No precise date for either inscription can be gained from lettering alone. Jacopi, Cl.Rh.ii, ad loc. assigned it to the end of the third century, Segre, loc.cit., pp. 457, 459, to a date before 250 B.C. Von Hiller, in his original publication of the inscription (Ath. Mitt.xx, 1895, pp.222-237) placed it later than I.G.xii, i, 25, which is itself later than 261 B.C. A comparison with dateable Lindian inscriptions is legitimate since Rhodian and Lindian lettering are very similar: such a comparison suggests a date for the Aigila inscription at the beginning of the third century (cf. with Inscr.nos.68 and 70).

44. References to Rhodian activity against 'Tyrrhenians' occur in Ael. Arist xlivD (xxivK) § 53 (841D), and xliiiD (xxvK) §4. They are, as usual, airy generalisations.

45. v. i, pp. 173ff.

46. This is the earliest Ptolemaic document from Lycia. (v.Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, pp. 335-6) and there is no proof that the territory had been acquired by Soter. Since there is no trace of Seleucid rule in the country earlier, it probably passed directly from Demetrius Poliorcetes to Soter: v. below, note 71.

47. TAM, ii, 159 (wrong ref. in von Hiller, Rhodos, col.782,l.50) =OGIS 58=G 101b=M549. The date is βασιλεύοντ[ος] [Π]το[λ]εμαίου ἔτους ἑνδεκάτου [μηνὸ]ς [Περιτίου]. This apparently refers to the eleventh year of Philadelphus, since ibid.158 of Philadelphus 8 has a similar prescript while ibid.160 of Euergetes 2 has βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν ἀδελφῶν. V. Strack, Archiv, ii, 1903, p.542; Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, p.335.

48. Vollgraff, Mnemos.xliv, 1916, pp. 219-238=Schwyzer, 91.

49. v. Vollgraff, loc.cit., p.223. No example of this usage survives from Argos, which has yielded very few public decrees. See however the Epidaurian documents dating from the period when the city was a member of the League. I.G.iv^2, i, 60; ibid. 72. A college of strategoi seems to have existed as local magistrates at Argos when it was a member of the League; v. the inscription published by Vollgraff, Mnemos, xliii,1915, pp. 380 ff (M) and Liv. xxxii, 25, (198 B.C.), where there is a reference to Argive praetores., and Vollgraff, in his commentary to the inscription, Mnemos. xliv, 1916, p.50. Vollgraff seems to regard this as evidence that the Achaean strategos appeared in Argive, as he did in e.g. Epidaurian,documents. Of course, it proves nothing of the sort; it only indicates a change in municipal magistracies at the time.

50. v. Tarn, AG, index, s.v. Argos; this book contains most of the evidence, and is still the best account; v. further Wilhelm Attische Urkunden, iii, pp. 15-34 ; De Sanctis, Riv.Fil. lxiv, 1936, pp. 141-144; v. also Mitsos, Πολιτικὴ Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἄργους (Athens, 1945), pp. 56ff., esp. pp. 67ff. for some additional references.

51. Vollgraff, loc.cit. pp. 223ff. The chronological framework of Aegean events does not correspond to the conclusions of more recent investigations, and may be ignored.

The reference to the purpose to which the 100 T were to be put: 'for the repair of the city walls and for the horse' might seem to indicate a period of recovery after war. The

51. (contin.)
only fighting in which Argos is known to have been involved in the first half of the third century is that against Pyrrhus in 272 B.C. Vollgraf, Mnemos.xliv, 1916, p.222, objected that there is no indication in Plut. Pyrrh.33,(our only source in the affair), that Argive cavalry were used, and that it is clear from the same passage that the walls were not destroyed. Clearly damage to the walls, and depletion of the cavalry strength which necessitated a foreign loan of this size, would not have gone unnoticed in Plutarch's detailed narrative, had they occurred on this occasion.

The siege of Argos by Demetrius Poliorcetes in 303 B.C. would perhaps provide a suitable occasion, if it were better authenticated. Reference to the siege is made only by Athenaeus, 415A; who says that the Helopolis was employed: Ἄργος γοῦν πολιορκοῦντος Δημητρίου τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ οὐ δυναμένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὴν Ἑλέπολιν προσαγαγεῖν διὰ τὸ βάρος, κτλ. Demetr.25. The event, however, is not recorded by Diodorus, and Plutarch, Demetr.25, mentions Demetrius' occupation of Argos, but says nothing of a siege. Evidence for active intervention in Argive affairs by Demetrius may be found in HGr. Ep.85, according to the interpretation given to it by the original editor, Vollgraff, BCH xxxii, 1908, pp.236-258. The title Apollon (l.7) is particularly applicable to Demetrius, while it is difficult to see why otherwise the Argives should offer thanks to Apollo, rather than to their patron deity, Hera. For this reason, Vollgraff's explanation seems preferable to that of Herzog, Philol.lxxi, 1912, pp. 1-23.

However, even if the siege of Argos be authentic, the inscription does not necessarily presuppose a time of war. Walls may fall into disrepair, at any time, and Ephebic training in ἱππόβοτον Ἄργος was probably always largely equestrian. It is therefore safer to leave the occasion of the original loan open.

52. Schwyzer, 91, l.5.

53. v.i, p.187 and Addit. note 10.

54. v. Addit. Note 11, nr. 14.

55. Apart from the political activity of Philadelphus in the Peloponnese, before the Chremonidean War (v.i, pp.191 ff.), it may be recalled that there was a Ptolemaic garrison at Methana in the second century B.C. (OGIS 115) and that the same city was renamed Arsinoe, very probably in the third century, v. von Hiller, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1925/6, pp.68-76. (The name Ἀρσινόη ἡ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ is testified only from the second century (OGIS, 102), but it doubtless goes back to Philadelphus, whose wife

55. (contin.)
Arsinoe played a considerable, even the leading part, in Ptolemaic policy in Greece before the Chremonidean War, v. Syll^3. 434/5, l.17; i, p. 192

56. Lind. Chron. C.40: βασιλεὺ[s] Πύρρο[s] βουκ[ε]φάλα καὶ ὅαλα, οἷς αὐτὸ[s] ἐ]χ[ρ]είτο ἐν τοῖς κινδύ[ν]οι[s], ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐκ Δωδώνας μαντείων, ὡς περιέχουτι τοὶ Λινδίων χρηματισκοί, κ.τ.λ.
Pyrrhus was no doubt concerned to emulate the dedication of Alexander the Great, cf. i, p.123. His offering, it will be noticed, was larger than that of Alexander.

57. For Rhodians at Delphi in the third century, with their possible dates, v. Addit. Note, nr.11.

58. I.G. ix^2, 17.11.34-36. This proxeny list includes citizens from other places no less remote from Aetolia: Mytilene, l.18, Eresus, l.4, Cyzicus, ll.60-61, Crete, ll.87-8, Rome, l.50. The list carries the date in l. 97 [ἐ]πὶ στραταγοῦ Πολυκράτου [illegible] τὸ δεύτερου = 262 B.C. (v. Klaffenbach's note ibid.nr. 3A, l.16). Some of the original decrees may have been earlier. The Roman is interesting, and would not have pleased Holleaux.

59. Inscr.130: Παοίων κ[αὶ] [Ἀ]λέξης Αἰτωλοὶ οἷς ἁ ἐπιδαμία δέδοται καὶ Παοίων Ἀλέξεος Αἰτωλὸς πρόξενος Ἀθάναι Λινδίαι χαριστήριον. The lettering is of the period 250-220 B.C.

60. Diod. xx, 99,3. v. above, p.72, note 123.

61. The Aetolian κώμη Arsinoe (-oeia) which occurs in Aetolian documents from the early third century B.C. onwards (v. I.G. ix^2, Index, II, s.v.) was probably, like the adjacent Lysimacheia, so named in honour of Lysimachus, whose wife Arsinoe, the later wife of Philadelphus, first was. Strab. 460 calls Arsinoe κτίσμα Ἀρσινόης τῆς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ δευτέρου γυναικὸς ἅμα καὶ ἀδελφῆς, but this does not necessarily mean that the foundation was made when Arsinoe was queen of Egypt. There is no other evidence for Ptolemaic influence in Aetolia before Euergetes; v. Woodhouse, Aetolia, pp.213-221, Beloch, GG^2, iv, 1, p.241, note 2; cf. Tscherikower, Städtegründungen, p.5. For Euergetes' contacts with Aetolia v. Flacelière, Les Aetoliens, p.258, note 6, pp.268-9. To the inscriptions from Arsinoe add, Klaffenbach, SB. Berl.Akad., 1936, p.5 (manumission document).

62. v.i, pp 195ff.

63. There is no satisfactory account of the literary sources of this period. They are all discussed in the various special studies to which reference is made in the following notes. The most important passages are quoted in full in notes 81, 84, 93, 96, 100.

64. For the First Syrian War v. Tarn, JHS, xlvi, 1926, pp.155-1; Otto, Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte, pp. 3-29 (against Tarn); Tarn, Hermes, lxv, 1930, pp.446-454; Otto, Philol. lxxxvi, 1931, pp. 400-418. For general accounts v. Tarn, CAH, vii, pp.702-4, Bevan, Ptolemaic Egypt, pp.386-7 (note to page 68). For the occurrence of two wars at this time v. particularly Otto, Beiträge, pp.1ff. Tarn, Hermes, loc. cit.pp. 446-7.

65. The territories possessed by Egypt at this time are given by Theocritus, xvii, ll.86ff. which show that the conquests were made before 270 B.C. (The latest possible date for the poem being the death of Arsinoe in 270 B.C.; v. Tarn, Hermes, loc.cit.) It is however not certain whether the conquests were made in one or other of these two wars (as Tarn contends, CAH, vii, pp. 703-4, Hermes, loc.cit., on his estimate of Arsinoe's character), or, as Otto (Beiträge, pp.28-9, Philol. loc.cit., pp.412ff.) supposes, were spread over a longer period. (Cf.Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, pp.333ff, Ernst Meyer, Grenzen, p.45). Rostovtzeff's view, Large Estate, pp.22-23, that the failure of the First Syrian War led Philadelphus to direct his attention to the internal condition of Egypt, and thus establish the Royal Economy, is one explanation of the absence of papyri, of the reign of Soter I, but though some explanation other than mere chance is necessary (v. however, Bell, [redacted] Egypt, (1948), p.42), the result of the first Syrian war was certainly more successful than Rostovtzeff supposes (In SEHHW, pp. 261ff. Rostovtzeff allows that the Egyptian economy evolved from beginnings in the reign of Soter): cf also Martha, Demotic ostraka, pp 1-2.

66. The earliest reference to Samos as Ptolemaic is in Syll.^{3} 390, of c. 280 B.C., for which v. below, note 112.

67. Demetrius Poliorcetes had deposited his brother-in-law, Pyrrhus, as an hostage at Alexandria some time after Ipsos. Here he married a daughter of Berenike by Philippus, her husband before Ptolemy Soter, and was subsequently restored to Epirus with assistance from Egypt. Plut. Pyrrh.5, cf. Cross, Epirus, pp.55ff.

68. Plut. Pyrrh. 31-34, cf. Tarn, AG, pp.272-4.

69. For Areus v. Niese, RE, s.v. Areus (1), cols. 682-683; Beloch, GG^2, iv, i, pp.587ff. and, at length, Cloché, REA, xlvii,1945, pp.219-242; ibid. xlviii, 1946, pp.29-61. His statue was set up in Olympia by Philadelphus, Lyon Olympia, nr.308=Syll.^{3} 433. The alliance of which Athens, Sparta and Egypt were the principle members is recorded in the Decree of Chremonides, I.G. ii^2, 687 add.= Syll.^{3} 434/5, of the year of the archon

69. (contin.)
Peithidemus, i.e. 267/6 B.C. (For the date v. Ferguson, AJP, Lv, 1934, pp.330-2; Tarn, JHS, liv, 1934, pp.26-29, followed by Pritchett-Meritt, Chronology, p.xix, under this year, pp. 29-30).

70. For Antigonus' Peloponnesian tyrants v. Tarn, AG, pp.278ff. who dates their institution to the reorganisation after the death of Pyrrhus, though admitting that the chronological evidence is indefinite. His view is adopted by Walbank, Aratus, p.22. Fellmann, Antigonus Gonatas, pp.49ff. held that Antigonus only instituted tyrants after the revolt of Alexander of Corinth. His view is adopted by Porter, Plut. Aratus, ed. pp. xxv-xxvii.

71. For Athens under Gonatas, v.Tarn, AG, pp.223ff.

72. I.G.ii^2, 687 add.=Syll^3. 434/5 (cf. note 69 above).

73. Paus. iii, 6,3: cf. Tarn, JHS, liv, 1934, pp.

74. Paus. ibid.; id. ibid. i,1.1.

75. To about this period belong the proxeny decrees Olus in Eastern Crete, Inscr.Cret.i,xxii, pp.245ff. The main stele (nr.4) contains on three faces (A,B,C) a series of decrees ranging over several years. AI contains twentyfive names, after the first four of which Ῥόδιον (the third by error has Ῥόδιος) appears in rasura. The rest of the names have no city-ethnic; it may therefore be assumed that all the twenty-five were Ῥόδιοι , and that the collective title was inscribed at the head of the document (so Guarducci, ad.loc.). AIV records honours for four Rhodians. This shows marked similarity of script to AI and was probably carved by the same hand (note the left oblique stroke of the delta in both decrees). AV honours one Rhodian, Aristandros Aratoclis f., along with Patroclus, Patronis f.,Macedon, Ptolemy's commander either now or later, and three sons of a certain Isitheus (?) of Samos, Callicrates, Perigenes and Aristonicus. Other decrees on the side of A, Bix and Bx, and ibid. nr.5, are considered below, pp.227(vii).
The main interest of these documents centres round AV. The Patroclus here honoured is certainly identical with the like-named strategos or nauarch of Philadelphus, who commanded the Egyptian detachment in the Chremonidean War, with the title of nauarch. (v.above, note 80; cf. Tarn, JHS,xxxi, 1911, pp.

75. (contin.)
256-8; id. ibid.liii, 1933, p.68; M.Launey, REA, xlvii,1945, pp. 33-45, esp. 42ff., who provides an excellent emendation of Athen. 621A, but whose view of the career of Callicrates does not pay regard to the objections of Tarn, JHS, liii,1933, pp. 63-65, to the current interpretation of P.Mich.100, and whose attempt to make all the decrees in honour of Patroclus* indications of his route across the Aegean at the time of the Chremonidean War, is fanciful.). The same official is referred to in other Cretan documents, e.g. from Itanos, the Ptolemaic naval base and garrison (Inscr.Cret.iii, pp.75ff., nrs.2-3). The argument that the decree of Olus must be earlier than the Chremonidean War because Patroclus is not called nauarch (Pozzi, Mem.r.accad.Torino, lxiii, 1913,p.) can hardly stand. Olus was not, like Itanos, Ptolemaic territory, and therefore there can have been no obligation to call Patroclus by the title he bore within the kingdom. These associated documents may therefore belong to any time in the middle of the third century. The appearance of so many Rhodians in territory under Ptolemaic influence points to a date before the break with Egypt (v.i, pp.195ff).

AV also contains the names Καλλικράτη, Περιγένη, Ἀριστόνικον Ἰσιθέου(?). The father's name here has caused considerable discussion. If, as Pozzi, op.cit. p.370, note 1 (followed by Wilhelm, Ath. Mitt.li, 1926, p.16, and Guarducci, Riv.Fil. lviii, 1930, pp. 5ff. and ead. Inscr.Cret.i, xxii, 4, note ad loc.) proposed, Βοίσκου is read, then Callicrates is the nauarch who preceded Patroclus. The original reading of Demargne, BCH, xxiv, 1900, p.225, Ἰθισέου is itself impossible, but is retained in the form Ἰσιθέου (by error written Ἰθισέου) by Tarn, JHS, xxxi, 1911, p.256; id. ibid. liii, p.63. The publication by Miss Guarducci of a photograph (Inscr.Cret. loc.cit.) should have settled the matter, but does not. I read Φοίσκου.

76. This is contested by Cary, History, p. 134, who supposes that Athens was able to endure her long siege because of supplies run in by Egypt.

77. v. Polyaen. iv, 6,20; Paus. i,7,3; cf. Beloch, GG^{2}, iv,i,590.

78. The surrender of Athens is recorded by Apollodorus ap. Philodemus, FGrH 244 F44 (reproduced by Beloch, GG^{2}, iv,

78. (contin.)
2, p.582 and Pritchett-Meritt, Chronology, p.45, note 47), as occurring in the archonship of Antipatros, i.e. 263/2 (a certain date, v.Jacoby, ad loc., cf. Dinsmoor, Archons (2), p.63; Ferguson, Tribal Cycles, p. 74; Pritchett-Meritt, Chronology, p.45). The general peace between Antigonus and Ptolemy is implied in the Delian choragic monument of 261 B.C., I.G. xi, 2, 114: [ἐπ' ἄρ]χοντος Θεοφρύνοντος τοῦ Χ[οι]ρύλου ὑγίεια εἰρήνη πλοῦτος ἐγένετο
For the interval of two years between the fall of Athens and the general Peace v. Additional Note 11.
(For the phraseology of the Delian document v. Wilhelm, Berl.Abh. 1939 (22), p.28.). The relevance of the Delian εἰρήνη-formula to external events is denied by Swoboda, BCH, xxxv, 1911, p. 36; Kolbe, GGA, 1916, pp 451-2; but unconvincingly.

79. I.G. ii^{2}, 687 add.=Syll^{3}. 434/5, lines 16ff: ὅ τε βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἀκολούθως τεῖ τῶν προγόνων καὶ τεῖ τῆς ἀδελφῆς προ[α]ιρέσει φανερός ἐστιν σπουδάζων ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς τ[ῶν] Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας.

80. v. i, pp. 250ff.

81. v. Additional Note 12 .

82. v. Ferguson, Tribal Cycles, p.77

83. The only exception is the war between Antigonus and the Northern League on the one hand, and Antiochus Soter on the other, in 280/79, for which v. Tarn, AG, pp. 160-4; Beloch, GG^{2}, iv,1, pp.561ff; Segre, Athen, viii, 1930, pp. 492-503; Otto, Beiträge, pp. 20ff.

84. Polyaen. v,18: Ῥόδιοι βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ πολεμοῦντες περὶ Ἔφεσον ἦσαν · Χρεμωνίδης Πτολεμαίου ναύαρχος ἀντήχθη ναυμαχήσων. Ἀγαθόστρατος Ῥοδίους ἐξήγε ἐπὶ μίαν νεῶν καὶ φανερὸς γενόμενος τοῖς ἐναντίοις μετέστρεψε μεταπλεῖν καὶ χρόνον ἐποιεῖτο βραχὺν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὅρμον. οἱ πολέμιοι νομίσαντες ὅτι μὴ θαρροῦσι διαναυμαχεῖν, αὐτοὶ παρανήσαντες εἰς λιμένα ἐπανήγαγον. Ἀγαθόστρατος ἐπιστρέψας καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν κυκλώσας ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κεράτων ἐπέπλευσε τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκβαίνουσι περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τέμενος καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτως προσπεσὼν ἐνίκησεν .

No other reference to the battle survives.

85. Lind.Chron. B37: [ὁ] δᾶμος ἀσπίδα κατὰ [χρησμὸν] προσαμαίνοντα ὅτι ἀ-
ναθεθείσας τᾶι Ἀθάναι ἐσεῖται λύσις τοῦ τόκα ἐπι-
στάκοτος ποτὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλάδελφον πολέμο[υ]·
καὶ ἐρέσθη, ὡς ἀποφαίνε[ται Τιμ]όκριτος [ἐν] τᾶι Δ
τᾶς χρονικᾶς σ[υν]τάξιος. ἐπιγεγράπται δὲ ἐπὶ τᾶς ἀσπίδος·
'ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ῥοδίων Ἀθάναι Λιν[δίαι κα]τὰ χρησμόν'

86. For Timocritus [redacted] v. i, p. 31.

87. Segre, Bull.Soc. [redacted] Arch. [redacted] Alex. xxxiv, 1941, pp. 29-39: the relevant lines are: Ἀλεξάνδρου Αἰνησαγόρας Ἀγεπόλιος, Πτολεμαίου Χάρμυλος Θρασωνίδα, Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βερε[νίκας θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν] Τρίτυλλος Ἀναξαγόρ[α]
The absence of the title Soter is striking, in view of the tradition that the Rhodians first gave Ptolemy I that title (v. i, pp. 162ff.), but probably not significant: the cult remains. I agree with Segre that Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βερε[νίκας, κ.τ.λ.] can refer only to Euergetes I and Berenice; a cult both of Ptolemy I and of Ptolemy I and Berenice can be excluded. The date of the inscription can only be determined from the lettering, which suggests a late third century date. It is certainly after the death of Euergetes since he is not called βασιλεύς, and perhaps belongs to the reign of Philopator, v. Segre, loc.cit. p. 39. I.G xii,1,15 may also refer to the cult of the Ptolemies.

88. v. Teletis reliquiae^2, (ed. Hense), p. 23, ll. 5-15; cf. Ferguson, Hell.Athens, p. 188, note 2; Beloch, GG^2, iv, 1, 590.

89. December, 247 B.C.; v. H. Frank, Archiv, xi, 1935, p. 21; T.C. Skeat, Mizraim, 1937, p. 32.

90. Ferguson, JHS, xxx, 1910, pp. 199-200; id, Hell.Athens, p. 197, note 2, dates the battle of Ephesus 242/1 B.C., because of the words of Teles (loc.cit. note 88 above): καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον οὐκ ἐπὶ στόλου πλικούτου ἐξαπεστάλη (sc. ὁ Χρεμωνίδης) καὶ χρημάτων τοσούτων πιστευόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων ὡς βούλοιτο χρῆσθαι.
This was spoken c. 239 B.C. (v. Hense, ed^2. pp. xxixff; Modrze, RE? s.v. Teles (2), cols. 380-1). But it may equally refer to the battle of Andros, which was only a few years earlier, and at which Chremonides may have commanded the Egyptian fleet (v. i, pp. 213ff.; Tarn, AG, p. 464) A date in 'Spring 246' was first favoured by Tarn, ibid. p. 378, note 26, but he subsequently connected [redacted] with the battle of Andros, and put [redacted] in 258 B.C. (CAH, vii, p. 862; cf. [redacted] Note 12, [redacted]), in view of the evidence of the Lindian Chronicle.

v. [redacted], p. 101, Addendum.

91. v. i, pp. 194-5.

92. I.G. xi, 2, 116.

93. The following is the most important evidence for the Second Syrian War; Trog. Prol. xxvi: ut in Asia filius Ptolomaei regis socio Timarcho desciverit a patre. (A son and co-regent of Ptolemy Philadelphus is erased from the Revenue Laws, col. 1, of 259/8 B.C.; cf. Mahaffy, Rev. Laws. pp. xix-xxvii; Strack Dynastic pp. 25-26; Beloch, GG², iv, 2, p. 183; For Πτολεμαῖος Λυσιμάχου often identified with the co-regent, v. below pp. 163-4, note 11). App. Syr. 65 (§ 344): δεύτερος δὲ Ἀντίοχος ἕτερος ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν γάμων γενόμενος, ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπώνυμον ὑπὸ Μιλησίων γίνεται πρῶτον, ὅτι αὐτοῖς Τίμαρχον τύραννον καθεῖλεν.
Athen. 593B: Πτολεμαῖός τε ὁ τὴν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διέπων φρουρὰν υἱὸς ὢν τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως Εἰρήνην εἶχε τὴν ἑταίραν, ἥτις ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐπιβουλευομένου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ καταφυγόντος εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν συγκατέφυγεν. Front. iii, 2, 11: Timarchus Aetolus, occiso Charmade Ptolomaei regis praefecto, clamide interempti et galeari ad Macedonicum ornatus est habitum; per hunc errorem pro Charmade in Saniorum (saniorum edd., samniorum GHP samiorum d) portum receptus ocupavit. Polyaen. v, 25: Τίμαρχος Αἰτωλὸς ἀποβὰς τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐς χωρίον πολυάνθρωπον, ἵνα μὴ φύγοιεν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, τὰς ναῦς κατέπρησεν. οἱ δὲ ἐλπίδα φυγῆς οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀγωνισάμενοι γενναίως ἐνίκησαν.
P. Haun, i, (1942), nr. 6, pp. 37-45 (cf. below p. 105 note 22).

94. For the war in general, v. Beloch, GG², iv, 1, pp. 594 ff.; Tarn, AG, pp. 317 ff.; id. CAH, vii, pp. 714-5; id. Hermes, lxv, 1930, p. 435, note 1; Otto, Beiträge, pp. 43-47; id., Philol. lxxxvi, 1931, pp. 416-8. Tarn held that the peace recorded at Delos in 255 B.C. marked a general peace in which Ptolemy, Antigonus and Antiochus all participated. Otto maintained that the peace of 255 B.C. was a peace between Macedonia and Egypt only, and that peace between Ptolemy and Antiochus II did not occur until 253 B.C. If the battle of Cos did not form part of the second Syrian War (as on the dating in Addit. Note 12), then there is no evidence for Antigonus' participation in the War; if he did not in fact participate, then the Delian Peace of 255 would probably mark a general peace, concluded on the occasion of the end of the war, and in which Antigonus was included, since a peace recorded at Delos suggests that Macedon was an interested party. There is, in that case, no need to postulate a further peace in 253. (For the problem of the marriage of Demetrius, and Stratonike, v. below p. 106 note 7; for the papyrus published by Bell, Symb. Osl. v, 1927, pp. 33-37 = SB 7263. v. Otto, Beiträge, loc cit.; Rostovtzeff, JEA, xiv, 1928, pp. 13-15).

95. ~~(contin.)~~
This seems abundantly clear from Polyaenus' narrative (so also Beloch, GG^2, iv, 1,p.597, note 4). The view of De Sanctis, recorded by Pozzi, Mem.r.accad.Torino, ixiii, 1913, p.347, note 1, and Tarn, CAH, vii, p.713, that the story presupposes an Ephesus in Egyptian hands, does not agree with my reading of the text (v. i, pp.598-9).

96. Front. iii, 9,10: Antiochus adversus Ephesios Rhodiis, quos in auxilio habebat, praecepit, ut nocte portum cum magno strepitu invaderunt; ad quam partem omni multitudine tumultu decurrente, nudatis defensore reliquis munitionibus, ipse a diverso adgressus civitatem cepit. This passage is not reported in any of the other collections of strategems.

97. v. i, pp. 658ff.

98. The passage is accepted without question as referring to the second Syrian War by Tarn, CAH, vii, p.713; cf.Beloch, GG^2, iv, i, 599.
Antiochus III passed the winter of 196/5 B.C. in Ephesus, and it has therefore been supposed that the capture of the city occurred on this occasion (v. Bürchner, RE, s.v. Ephesos, col.2794, ll.45-7; van Gelder, GdR, p.134). However, since the previous year Rhodes had already showed herself hostile to Antiochus by threatening him with war if he passed beyond pt. Coracesium, and subsequently by taking on herself the cura tuendae libertatis sociarum Ptolemaei quibus bellum ab Antiocho imminebat (Liv.xxxiii, 20, v.i, pp. 299-300), it is unlikely that she would have assisted Antiochus in this enterprise, and for this reason the date in the Second Syrian War is preferable.
Launey, Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques, i, p. 243

99. v. Lind. Chron., quoted note 85 above.

100. It is possible that a reference to an earlier stage of the war may underlie the statement of Lucius Ampelius, Lib. Mem. 35,4: Ptolomaeus Soter qui ingenti classe Rhodios vicit. Assmann (Teubner, 1935), followed by Terzaghi (ed. Torin. 1943) emended to Euergetes, thus preserving the sequence of the kings, and removing the reappearance of Soter. Historically it does not lessen the difficulty that we know of no victory of any Ptolemy other than Philadelphus over the Rhodians. Whatever Ampelius had before him, or whatever he wrote, it is hard to believe, that his ultimate source did not refer the battle to Philadelphus.

100. (contin.)
Ampelius' historical sources are uncertain, and have not been studied for the Hellenistic period (in general, at least for the earlier period, he seems to have used a work based on Trogus: v. von Gutschmid, Kleine Schriften, V, pp.170 ff.). It may be noted, however, that, in an interesting article, F.Pfister, Woch.Klass.Philol., 1914, pp. 475-478, has shown that in regard to Sicyon (8,5), a document similar to the Lindian Chronicle lay at the bottom of Ampelius' version. It seems not impossible that a Greek source of Ampelius may have had similar access to the Lindian Chronicle itself, and there found the reference to a Rhodian war against a Ptolemy, in which the latter had at one stage the upper hand.

101. v. however, Tarn, CAH, vii, p.862, and note 87 above.

102. Cf. Otto, Philol. lxxxvi, 1931, p.417: 'So unbestreitbar es ist, dass Feindschaft das Kennzeichen des Verhältnisses zwischen Ptolmäern and Seleukiden ist, so unbestreitbar ist trotz aller gelegentlicher Streitigkeiten Freundschaft das Signum für die syrisch-makedonischen Beziehungen'.
There is just one indication of Rhodian connection with the Macedonian camp at this time, and that is indirect. A decree passed by the Athenians in 251/0 B.C. honours the Rhodians for their friendly attitude, I.G.ii^2, 769+441, the whole in Meritt, AJP, lxvi, 1945, pp. 241-2. (Archon Antimachus ; for his year, v.Pritchett-Meritt, Chronology p.xxi). This decree is very fragmentary and not much can be made of it. It is however possible to say that had Rhodes been in the Egyptian camp at the time the decree would never have been passed. The reconstruction of the text of this document, and the historical interpretation given to it, by Wilhelm, Berl.Abh. 1939 (22). 'Vier Beschlüsse der Athener', nr.4, pp.24-29, rests on a misunderstanding and is wholly fanciful, as Meritt has shown, loc.cit.

103. The evidence for the Seleucid fleet before Antiochus III is extremely slight. The passage in the Sais stele, Sethe, Hierogl. Urk.d.griech-röm.Z. i, pp.73ff., discussed by Tarn, JHS, xlvi, 1926, p.160, and quoted by Bevan, Ptolemaic Egypt, p.61, is both mistranslated, and misunderstood by Tarn: v. Otto, Beiträge, pp.27-28, Tarn, Hermes, lxv, 1930, pp.477-448. id. CAH, vii, p.702, note 1. It does not refer to the Seleucid fleet. Reference to a

103. (contin.)
Seleucid fleet occurs in Memnon's account of the Northern War of 280/79 (FHG, iii, p.535: § xviii). Other indications of its existence are not forthcoming.

For Macedonian naval activity in the reign of Gonatas, apart from the naval battles under consideration, which do not necessarily presuppose a permanent fleet, there is again only the evidence of the Northern War (Memnon, loc.cit. above), the account of which refers to naval activity by Gonatas. The total absence of documents from the Aegean referring to the Macedonian fleet, as opposed to the Rhodian and Ptolemaic, shows that, though when necessary Gonatas and his successors could produce a fleet, they did not maintain squadrons in the Aegean.

104. v. the inscription discussed, i, p. 196 and note 87.

105. v. below, p. 151, note 228

106. This seems certain from the inscription quoted in note 93, which is complete in the central portion concerned with the kings and shows that c. 200 B.C. no priesthoods of kings other than Alexander Ptolemy Soter and Euergetes I existed. The establishment of a cult of an Antigonid or a Seleucid after this date seems very improbable.

107. For the losses of this war v. Beloch, GG^{2}, iv, 2, 343-4; cf. above, note 100.

108. v. i, pp.168-9.

109. Edgar, Bull.Ryl.xviii, 1934, p.111, nr.1=SB 7637. This document is discussed by Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, i,pp.226-228. The date is uncertain. Edgar assigns it to the beginning of the Zeno-correspondence; 'About 258 B.C. The list which has been written along the fibres in a chancery hand, apparently in a single column, no doubt dates from the early years of the correspondence.' In view of the troubled state of the Aegean at this time, a later date is probably preferable. The second papyrus is unpublished, in the British Museum (P.Lond.Inv.2092, referred to by Préaux, Les grecs en Egypte, 1947, p.13, note 2), and I owe my knowledge of it to the kindness of Mr. T.C.Skeat. It is a letter of a certain Demetrius to Zeno, received by the latter 2 Jan. 252B.C.: It begins: Δημήτριος Ζήνωνι χαίρειν. εὖ ἂν ἔχοι εἰ τῶι τε σώματι ὑγιαίνεις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ λόγον ἀπαλλάσσοις· ὑγιαίνον δὲ κἀμέ. γίνωσκε τὸν πατέρ[α τ]ε καὶ Ἀκρίσιον διατεθειμένους εἰς οἶκον. παρόντες γάρ τινες ἐκ Ῥόδου ἀν[ή]γγελλον τὸ πλοῖον ὅτι ἐν Ῥόδωι ἦν τὸ Τιμακράτους ἤδη ἐκ κώνου παραγεγενημένον.

109. (contin.)

This is some indication that Rhodes remained a normal port of call at this time.

110. v. i, pp. 144-5

111. v. [redacted] 'Islands' for a discussion of the Rhodian Nesiotic League.

112. I.G. xii,7, 506=Syll.^{3} 390=M373. A terminus post quem for the document is given by the reference to Samos which cannot have become Ptolemaic until after the death of Lysimachus. A date after 279 B.C. is unlikely, since Philadelphus is not likely to have delayed long in the establishment of a festival to his father, who died between Nov. 283 and Nov. 282 B.C. (Other references in Skeat, Mizraim, vi, 1937, pp.30-32), though in fact the actual date of the establishment of this first Ptolemaieia is disputed. V. Prott, Rh.Mus.liii, 1898, pp.460-476; Beloch, GG,^{2} iv,2, pp. 604-6 (cf. Edgar, Mélanges Maspero, pp. 53-6, publishes P.Ryl.9=Bull.Ryl.xviii, 1934, pp.119-121, nr.9=SB 7645); [redacted] Otto Beiträge, pp. 1ff; ibid. pp.88-89; Tarn, Hermes, lxv, 1930, p.447, note 2; Otto, Philol. ixxxvi, 1931, p.405, note 10.

113. Syll.^{3} 390, l.4: ὅπως ἂν ἀπο[οι]κίλωσιν συνέδρους εἰς Σάμον.

114. Samian inscriptions of the third century referring to the Ptolemaic occupation are collected by Robert, Étud.Épigr. pp.112-118: v.also, Polyb. v. 35,11 (of beginning of reign of Philopator, referred by Bürchner, in his sketch of Samian history, RE, s.v. Samos (4), col.2216, to 280 B.C.): καὶ γὰρ ναῦς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Σάμον ἦσαν τόποις οὐκ ὀλίγαι καὶ στρατιωτῶν πλῆθος ἐν τοῖς κατ' Ἔφεσον.
For the period of Philip V's Aegean expedition v. G.Klaffenbach, Ath.Mitt.li, 1926, pp. 28-33 (omitted by Robert). If the reading of Front. iii, 2,11 is samiorum (v. above, note 99), the island was probably lost to Egypt for a short time during the second Syrian War.

115. Syll.^{3} 390,11.60-61. For Naxos, v. further, I.G. xii,5,(2), 1310= OGIS 43= M409; Holleaux, Etudes, iii, pp. 27-42 (a further inscription); BCH, xxxv, 1911, p.449.

116. Ios: I.G. xii, 5, (2), 1004 (in honour of Zenon) and I.G.xii, Supp.,p.96; ibid. 5(1), 7 (cf.I.G.xii, Supp.p.96); I.G.xii, Supp.169 (cf.Peek, Ath.Mitt.lix, 1934, pp.57-59).
Ceos: I.G.xii,5, (2), 1061; ibid. 1065; ibid. 1069(?).
Myconos: I.G.xi, 4,1040, l.28; ibid.1041, l.22.
Amorgos: I.G.xii,7,506= Syll.^{3} 390.
Heraclea: I.G.xii, 7,509 (Roussel, BCH, xxxv, 1911, pp.450-4, followed by Pozzi, Mem.r.accad.Torin, lxiii, 1913,

116. (contin.)
p.323, note 1, v.Hiller, I.G.xii, Supp. p.146, Robert, Hell,vii,1949, pp.161-2, regarded the κοινὸν τῶν νησιωτῶν ἅπαν as referring to the assembly of the inhabitants of Heraclea. This I regard as extremely improbable, and were it not for the rather surprising addition ἅπαν , which is not found in other Nesiotic documents, should be inclined to dismiss his interpretation at once. In spite of the ἅπαν , however, I still feel it much more probable that the reference is to the κοινὸν τῶν Νησιωτῶν and I have therefore retained the island in the list. Tarn, also doubted Roussel's interpretation: AG, p.470, note 4.)
Siphnos; IG, xii, 5,(1), 481,and Add.=OGIS 730=IG xii,supl. p.111 (cf.Holleaux, BCH xxix, 1905, pp.319-328; Robert,ibid. lx, 1936, pp.184-189). (This probably belongs to the early part of the reign of Philadelphus. It does not establish beyond doubt that these islands belong to the κοινόν , but this is the natural interpretation; von Hiller, I.G.xii, suppl., comm. ad loc. returns to a date in the reign of Philopator, which is possible, but historically seems unlikely.)

117. For Thera, v.I.G.xii, 3,327=OGIS, 59, for the date of which (164/3 B.C.), v.von Hiller, Klio, xvii, 1921, pp.94-98, Wilcken, UPZ, i,pp. 496-7; I.G.xii,3, 446/7, 468 (Philopator and Philometor): cf. von Hiller, RE s.v.Thera (1), cols. 2296-2299. For Samos v.above, note 120. For Astypalaea, I.G.xii,3, 204 (statue of Euergetes I); the island was either lost to Gonatas, and then recovered (as seems most probable) or else not acquired until after his reign: (=FHG iv,421) Hegesander ap., Athen. 400D (=FHG iv,421): κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ Γονατᾶ φησὶν βασιλείαν τοσοῦτον πλῆθος γενέσθαι λαγῶν ἐν Ἀστυπαλαίᾳ, ὡς τοὺς Ἀστυπαλαιεῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνεσθαι.
cf. Tarn, AG, p.471. For Itanos, Inscr.Cret.,iii, pp.93ff. nr.9=Syll. 685; For Koresia - Arsinoe, v.LyonMag. 50=Syll. 562 (205 B.C.), (cf.I.G.xii,5 (2), 1061) with Robert's commentary REG, xlvi, 1933, p.425. As Robert, ibid., note 5, points out, the name Koresia appears early in the second century B.C. in the list of Delphian theorodokoi (c.200-180 B.C.), BCH, xlv, 1921, p.5, l.38.

118. For the view that Delos was 'neutral', a so-called κοινὸν τόπος v. Niese, Geschichte, ii,p.131, note 4; W.König, Der Bund der Nesioten, 1910, ppp56-63; Kolbe, GGA, 1916, pp.455-456; id. JHS, 1, 1930, pp. 20-28; and against it Tarn, AG,pp.429

118. (contin.)
-432; id.JHS, xliv, 1924, pp.141-157; id.JHS, 1,1930, pp. 29-31. The issue between Tarn and Kolbe turns on whether the Nesiotic League had or had not to ask permission to erect inscribed stelai on Delos, Tarn's view, that the Islanders were not obliged, and that Delos was part of the League, seems to be correct; but the evidence noted in the text seems to settle the matter more decisively, since it does not depend on ambiguous formulae.

The Delian documents of the period referring to Ptolemaic officials, but excluding the hieropoiic accounts, are as follows: I.G. xi, 4,559=M 387=Syll^3. 391; I.G.xi,4,631; 649=Choix 44; 677 (?); Nesiotic decrees erected at Delos in honour of Ptolemaic officials: I.G., xi,4,1037,1038= M 374=OGIS 67=Choix 21; 1039: 1041 (?): 1042=M 375=OGIS 40; 1043-1046: Nesiotic dedications at Delos: 1125-7 (for 1126-7, v.below notes 123 and 124).

119. I.G.xi, 4,1128=Syll^3. 455=Choix, 38: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Νησιωτῶν Ἀγαθόστρατον Πολυαράτου Ῥόδιον θεοῖς πᾶσι. φυλῆς Ἀλικαρνασσεὺς ἐποίει. cf. Blinkenberg-Kinch, iie rapport,(1904) pp.53 ff.

120. Inscr.88: [ἄρχοντος ἀφράκτων νεωρεχεῶντος --- τοῦ Ν]ικασύλου καὶ τριηρεχεόντων Ἀγαθοστράτου τοῦ Πολυαράτου, Γοέγωνος τοῦ Ἀεχέλα καὶ τοὶ σὺν [αὐτοις, κ.τ.λ]: cf. below, pp.627 ff.

121. As quoted in the previous note. For the τριηρεχία, v. i, pp.637ff.

For a further discussion of the inscription v.i,pp.627ff.

122. I.G. xi, 4,1123=Choix 17. This copy and those of the other two inscriptions appear to date from the late second century B.C.: v. Roussel, BCH, xxxiii, 1909, p.480, Durrbach, Choix, ad.loc.

123. I.G.xi, 4,1126=Choix, 19. The mutilated original of this inscription survives: I.G. xi, 4,1125.

124. I.G.xi,4,1127=Syll^3. 420=Choix, 25. For the career of Callicrates v. the works cited above, note 81.

125. The significance of these defacements was stressed by Pozzi, Mem.r.accad.Torino, lxiii, 1913, p.324. Roussel, BCH, xxxiii, 1909, p.480, note 4, writes: 'Faut-il attribuer ces mutilations aux Déliens ou aux Atheniens? On peut croire

125. (contin.)
que, vers la fin du iiie siècle, les Déliens voulurent témoigner ainsi de leur fidélité aux Antigonids (cf.BCH, xxxi, p.107 et suiv.); mais rien ne l'assure'. The matter can hardly be in doubt; why should the Athenians wish to mutilate the statues of Ptolemaic officials of a century before? Tarn, AG, p.391, note 67, says that if done by a Macedonian at all, they must have been done by Philip V': but there is no reason why they should have been.

90.add:
Blinkenberg, Lind.Chron.(3), note to C37, places the war with Philadelphus there mentioned to a date 283-273 B.C., because the Lindian dedication is made to Athana Lindia only and not to Athana Lindia and Zeus Polieus as is customary in Rhodian inscriptions from that date onwards. But (a) the only two other dedications made to the temple after this date, namely those by Hieron and Philip V, are also made to Athana Lindia only. If this was customary it explains why even the Rhodians on this occasion departed from what had recently become the normal practice (for dedications and exvotos to Athana Lindia and Zeus Polieus, v. below, p.271, note 3). (b) A war between Egypt and Rhodes right at the beginning of the reign of Philadelphus is in complete contradiction to all the other evidence for relations between the two powers at that date.

Notes to Chapter VII.

1. v. ~~addenda~~, i, p. 204

2. Schumacher, Rh.Mus. xli, 1886, pp. 223-242, followed by Dittenberger, Syll^3. 224 note 2; Schoeffer, RE. s.v. Delos, col. 2483; cf. Holleaux, BCH, xxxi, 1907, p. 101, note 1 = Études, i. p. 61, note 1.

3. v. Addit. Note 10, nos. 3-10 (on the chronological calculation there given).

4. xx I.G.xi, 4, 596 = Choix, 39; v. below, pp.

5. v. note 94 to ch. vi.

6. v. Fraser, Chron. d'Egypt, xxiv, 1949, p. 293, note 2.

7. The assumption that the year 253 B.C., in which Antigonus made his dedications at Delos, is a terminus post quem for the revolt of Alexander is not necessarily valid. ~~[illegible]~~ That date could be a terminus ante quem. In any case the argument is hazardous. It cannot really be argued that, in the absence of a hostile Egyptian fleet from the Aegean, Antigonus needed a fleet on a war-time scale, and the resources of the Corinthian dockyards, to make a sally to Delos. Even if he would not dare to pass the mouth of the Saronic Gulf for fear of meeting with Alexander's naval forces, he could easily sail outside Euboea from one of his northern ports. The foundation of these festivals indicates only, then, that the Ptolemaic Navy had not revived.

The festivals are in I.G. xi, 2, 287B11.124-5: ἐπὶ Φάνου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης Στρατονίκης... ἐπὶ Φάνου φιάλη Δηλιάδων, χορεῖα ἐπιδόντος βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου; cf. Tarn, AG, p. 352, note 28. Phanes' year was 252 B.C., so the foundation was probably in 253 B.C.

The Stratonice might be either Gonatas' sister, the queen mother of the Seleucid kingdom, or Antiochus' sister, who married Antigonus' son Demetrius at about this time (cf. Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, p. 137). Certainty is impossible but the latter seems more probable. The dedication no doubt took place on the occasion of, or was caused by, the marriage which joined the two Houses (so Tarn, CAH, vii, p. 715; Otto, Philol. lxxxvi, 1931, pp. 416-8). Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, p. 514, followed by Bikerman, REA, xl, 1938, p. 375, interprets the Stantoniceia as a dedication of Antiochus II in honour of his dead mother. Thus Bikerman says, ibid. note 6 'Il est

7. contd.

naturel de supposer plutôt qu'Antiochus II, fils et héritier de Stratonice, a fondé le sacrifice en souvenir de sa mère'. Stratonice died in Tischri, 58SE = Oct. 254 B.C. (v. references given by me, Chron. d'Égypte, xxiv , 1949, p. 292, note 4), and the word ὑπέρ might be used of a foundation in memory of a deceased person (as Dr. Tarn points out to me, referring to I.G. xii, 3, 330 = M, 1001, I, l. 10, IV, l. 114, where ὑπέρ is so used; my remark in Chron. d'Egypte, loc. cit. must be corrected in the light of this). Stratonice had long, and frequently patronised Delos (v. IG. xi, 2, 161, A91 referring to Stratonice's οἶκος); B15, 77; 164A74; 199B71 (?); 287B21, 68; cf. I.G. xi, 4, 541), and it is possible that it was this interest which led Antiochus to establish a festival in her honour at Delos, in which otherwise the early Seleucids were little interested.

Bikerman, loc.cit. regards as decisive in favour of the elder Stratonice the fact that the dedication is made ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλίσσης ; the wife, he says, could not be used of a crown-princess, such as the younger Stratonice was during the lifetime of Gonatas; but this is seemingly incorrect; v. Fraser, loc. cit.

8. Hieron. in Dan. xi, 6; Volens itaque Ptolemaeus post multos annos molestum finire certamen filiam suam Berenicen Antiocho uxorem dedit. The date of the wedding is given as c. April 252 B.C. by PCZ 59251 = Sel. Pap. 93. Egyptian preparations for it are recorded in PCZ, 59242 = SB 6745 (cf. Wilcken, Archiv, vi, 1920, p. 453), of Nov/Dec 253 B.C. Otto, Beiträge, pp. 45-6, held that this marriage formed part of the peace which ended the Second Syrian War, which he thereby dated to 253 B.C. v. references given in note 94 , p.94, above.

9. I.G., xi, 2, 287B63.

10. Inscr.Délos, 298A76 (first vase in archonship of Badros, 248 B.C., dedication therefore probably 249 B.C.); cf. Tarn, AG, p. 366; Pozzi, Mem.r.accad.Torino, lxiii, 1913, p. 340, attempts to connect the 'Second Ptolemaieia' with the death of Demetrius the Fair in Cyrene, c. 250 B.C.; but he dates that event several years too late: v. Tarn, AG, pp. 449-453; Kaerst, RE, s.v. Demetrios (35), cols. 2793-4; Tarn, CAH, vii, p.713: Evidence for intensive shipbuilding in the Ptolemaic shipyards in 250 B.C. is proved by the papyrus published by Roberts-Fraser, chron. d'Egypte, xxiv, 1949, pp.289-294: v. ibid. for a discussion of the significance of the second Ptolemaieia.

11. v. i, pp. 216 ff.

12. cf. above pp. 96-7, note 103.

13. Polyb. iv, 47, 1, quoted below, note 46.

14. v. note 6.

15. v. note 10.

16. OGIS 54 = H173 = M 1239 = Strack 39, ll.5-8: παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης καὶ Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων, κ.τ.λ.

17. Inscr. Délos, 298A77ff. (First vase in year of Mantitheus, 245 B.C., dedication therefore probably 246 B.C.); cf. Tarn, AG, p. 376. It is uncertain whether the festival called Θευεργέσια, recorded in Inscr. Délos, 363, 53; 366A 73 etc., is to be identified with the Third Ptolemaieia. Durrbach, ad Inscr. Délos, 298A70-9 and 366A73 was certain of the identification, Schulhof, BCH, xxxii, 1908, p. 116, (v. however, id., Mélanges Holleaux, p. 282, note 1.) Tarn, JHS, xxx, 19, 10, p. 222, less so. The identification cannot be determined since the year in which the Θευεργέσια was established is not recorded. An alternative name for a festival is perhaps not very likely. v. the observations of Pozzi, Mem.r.accad. Torino, lxxii, 1913, p. 327.

18. For the Third Syrian, or Laodicean (I. von Priene, 37, l. 134) War the essential documents are; Porph. FGrH 260F43; Just. xxvii, 1-2; Polyaen. viii, 50; Call Coma Beren. fr. 110 ff. Pfeiffer; OGIS54 (v. above, note 16); P. Petrie ii, 45 & ibid. iii, 144 = W. Chrest. 1 = FGrHist 160 (The Gurob Papyrus; on the question of the authorship, which is disputed, v. in addition to the works mentioned below, and in Wilcken's note to Chrest.1; Holleaux, REA, xviii, 1916, pp. 153-165 = Etudes, iii, pp. 297-310, and the further bibliography given by Robert, ibid, p. 309, note 7).
    The best modern accounts of the war are Bevan, Ptolemaic Egypt, pp. 190-204 (who translates all the sources); Tarn, CAH, vii, pp. 715-720; Otto, Beiträge, pp. 48-75; Beloch, GG², iv, 1, 673-681; ibid. iv, 2, pp. 536-541.

19. Chrest. 1 = FGrH 160, and the references given in the preceding note. Seleuceia remained Ptolemaic until 219 B.C., when it was recaptured by Antiochus III in the campaign which preceded the battle of Raphia, Polyb. v, 59-61.

20. OGIS54, ll. 14 ff. On the historicity of these conquests v. Otto, Beiträge, pp. 65ff.

21. The recall of Ptolemy is ascribed by Just. xxvii, 1, 9, to domestica seditio, and Porph. FGrH260F43, also uses the word seditio. This is commonly taken to refer to a native revolt, the first of its kind, and many years before the next one. The word would more naturally refer to a plot against the throne, though of this too there is no other trace. The real reason for his return must remain uncertain: v. the excellent discussion of Otto, Beiträge pp. 68 ff.

22. Plut. Pelop. 2: Ἀντίγονος ὁ γέρων, ὅτε πολεμεῖν περὶ Ἄνδρου ἔμελλεν, εἰπόντος τινὸς ὡς πολὺ πλείους αἱ τῶν πολεμίων νῆες εἶεν· 'ἐμὲ δὲ λύτον,' ἔφη, 'πρὸς πόσας ἀντιστήσεις;'
Trog. Prol. xxvii; Seleuci bellum in Syria adversus Ptolomaeum Tryphonem: item in Asia adversus fratrem suum Antiochum Hieracem, quo bello Ancurae victus a Gallis; utque Galli Pergamo victi ab Attalo Zielan Bithunum occiderint. Utque Ptolomaeus Adaeum denuo captum interfecerit et Antigonus Andro proelio navali Sophrona vicerit. The text is corrupt; v. the discussions of Tarn cited in the next note.

A possible reference to the Battle of Andros occurs in P. Haun. i, 1942, pp.37-45, nr. 6, apparently part of a history of the Ptolemaic family. (cf. Segre, Rendic.d.pontif.accad. xix, 1942/3, pp. 269-280). Ll. 1 ff of this papyrus, referring to a person ~~calling~~ called Πτολεμαί̈ο[ς (?-φυ)]ἐπίκλησιν Ἀνδρομάχου, says of him, οὗτο[ς ...]|κ(αὶ) δι....φας ευρα[---]|αἱρεῖ(?)κε..λιον κ(αὶ) πολλο[---]|ἐπ·ει κ(αὶ) ναυμαχήσας ἀπ·[---]ανδρον| space of 3mm. καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν[---]|ἐν Ἐφέσωι κατεσφάγη δ̣ά[---]|ἐπιβουλὴν συστησαμένων.
If this is a reference to a battle of Andros, and the words καταστασιασθείς, κτλ refer to the same individual as is referred to in the previous lines, and if the passage records events in chronological order, the natural conclusion would be that the Battle of Andros was fought either before, or in the opening stages of, the Second Syrian War (cf. p 94 . note 93). If this be so (some indications of the difficulties involved in the interpretation of this text are given by me in, CQ, xliii, 1950, pp.), the need to postulate a naval victory for Antigonus, which led to his foundation of the Paneia and Soteria (v. below, note 25) remains.

For modern works v. the references cited in Addit. Note 12 for the Battle of Cos. The opinion of Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, pp. 516-8, that the Battle occurred during the Carian expedition of Doson (v. below, note 72), which is based largely on the supposition that the prologues of Trogus follow a strict chronological sequence (which is not so: v. below, note 24), cannot be upheld, in view of Plutarch's explicit statement, loc. cit. above, Ἀντίγονος ὁ γέρων : Doson died young, at the age

22. contd.

of 42 (v. Euseb. i, 239, cf. Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, p. 139), and Polybius describes the hopes he awoke, ii, 70, 7.

A good objective account of the evidence will be found in Bikerman, REA, xl, 1938, pp. 377-8, whose concluding observations I quote: 'C'est tout ce qu'on peut dire raisonnablement. D'ailleurs, je confesse humblement que je ne sais ni qui etait Adaeus, fait prisonnier par Ptolemee III, ni qui etait Opron ou Sophron, vaincu a Andros par Antigonos Gonatas. Est quaedam et nesciendi ars et scientia'.

23. v. Tarn, JHS, xxix, 1909, pp. 265-7; id. AG, pp. 263-4.

24. v. De Sanctis, Klio, ix, 1909, pp. 1-2, who gives numerous instances in which Trogus' Prologues do not observe chronological order.

25. The Πάνεια and Σωτήρια first occur in Inscr. Délos, 298A85-8; cf. 313A67ff; 320B32; cf. Durrbach, ad.loc.

26. v. [illegible] i, p. 198.

27. iv. xxxiii, 20, 7-8; cf. [illegible] i, p. 299.

28. Polyb. xxx, 31, 6; the evidence is discussed [illegible] in detail in 'Perasa'.

29. FGrH 81F30.

30. Vollgraff, Mnemos. xliv, 1916, p. 229, suggested that the Lindian inscription, Inscr. i, 51, which contains a list of contributions made ἐς τὰν ἀποκατάστασιν τοῦ κόσμου τᾶς Ἀθάνας καὶ τῶν ποτηρίων, reflected a passing need for resources, which he associated with the Third Syrian War. But the inscription [illegible] undoubtedly belongs to the late fourth century since [illegible] eight persons named in it occur as priests of Athana Lindia in the fragment of the list certainly dated to 338-326 (v. below p. 269, note 34 cf. Blinkenberg, Inscr. pp. 243-4).

31. I.G. xi, 4, 649 = Choix, 44, cf. Holleaux, REA, xiv, 1912, pp. 370-6 = Etudes, iii, pp. 47-54. The opinion of both Durrbach and Roussel, quoted by Holleaux, loc.cit. is that the decree can be dated by the style of writing to the third quarter of the third century (cf. Durrbach, Choix, loc.cit.) and that the absence of the name of the president of the assembly points equally to a period before 230 B.C.

32. v. Feyel, Polybe etc.,1942, pp. 165-8, for these inscriptions, Fresh
Wow light is shed on the person or persons of Sosibius by the new scholion to Callimachus, Callim. i, p. 311 Pfeiffer.

33. PCZ 59341 (a) = SB, 6760 = (ll. 7-36) Sel. Pap. 267: cf. [illegible] Wilcken, Archiv, vii, 1923, pp. 75-6.

34. The view that Macedonia maintained a 'protectorate' over the Cyclades is developed in detail by Tarn, AG, pp. 466-472; on the more important issue of whether or not the Nesiotic League continued to exist, Tarn, ibid. pp. 469ff. The evidence is as Tarn gives it except that the number of decrees dateable to the early part of the reign of Philadelphus has increased (Tarn, ibid. p. 470, bottom; v. above, p. 98 note 116). But the essential fact, which is as true now as it was in 1913, is that no reference to the League exists in Cycladic documents in the years after Andros; and this absence is critical since many of the documents are concerned with matters in which, had it existed, the League might reasonably be supposed to have taken an interest. Tarn, ibid., emphasises the significance of the Nesiotic honours for Agathostratus, but these belong to the morrow of Ephesus, and do not demonstrate that the League continued long after that event.

The question of the neutrality of Delos, at issue between Tarn and Kolbe (v. above, p. 99 note 118) [illegible], does not affect the argument for or against the continuation of the League, since if Delos remained the centre of the Macedonian administration the other islands controlled by Macedon may have been required to erect copies of their decrees at Delos, and the provision would probably not be formulated as a request from the island to Delos for a τόκος, since it resulted from a Macedonian order.

To the discussions cited by Tarn, loc.cit (and especially Holleaux, BCH, xxxi, 1907, pp. 94-114 = Etudes, iii, pp.55-76), add Kolbe, GGA, 1916, pp Durrbach, Choix, pp. 277-8; Laidlaw, Delos, pp. 109-115 (who confuses the matter sadly when he says that the statue-base in honour of Agathostratus, which he rather quaintly calls a decree, was found at Lindos: it was found at Delos. Laidlaw has confused it with the inscription in which Agathostratus appears as trierarch, v. above note 121 to ch. vi).

35. I.G. xii, 7, 221 = M382 (c=G88); 222 = M 381; 223, all from Minoa. 221 refers to a certain Dioclidas as ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου, and describes his efforts to compose παραχή in the city; 222 refers to Κάλλιοι παραγινόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιγόνου, who had announced the friendliness felt by a minister of

35. contd.

Antigonus, Cottas, for the people of Minoa; in 223 someone (whose name is missing) is described as ?διατρίβων παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα]Ἀντίγονον, and is awarded proxeny for his benevolence towards the people of Minoa. I.G. xii, 7, 15 may refer to a Macedonian commission. For the date of the first three of these inscriptions, v. Delamarre, Rev. Phil. xxvi, 1902, p. 319 note 5, who finally assigned them to the reign of Doson; Kolbe, GGA, 1916, pp. 460-4; Tarn AG, pp. 466-7 leaves the date open between the reigns of Gonatas and Doson.

36. I.G. xi, 4, 1052; cf. Tarn, AG, p. 467, nr. 5; his statement 'it appears that the initiative came from Antigonus and not from the city' is rather partial; of course Eumedes was sent by the king, but that does not mean that ~~what~~ the original initiative may not have rested with the city.

37. v. esp. ll. 11ff: διόπερ ὁ δῆμος ἔν τε τοῖς [ἄλλ]οις εὐεργετημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέ[ως] Ἀντιγόνου, κ.τ.λ.

38. I.G.xii, 5 (1), 570; 5 (2) add.,nr. 570 + Dow-Edson, Harv.Stud. xlviii, 1937, p. 134, note 1: ll.3-8: ὃς ἂν [πρίη]ται [χωρίον παρὰ ποιητ]ῶν ἢ ἐξοικίζηται ἐκ [παραχωρήσεως ?] ἢ ἐκ καταδίκης ἐς οἰκιῶν, φέρειν ἐς ποιῆσαν τοὺς [φόρους, οὓς ἂν] ἡ πόλις νομίζ[ει, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ] βασιλε[ὺ]ς Δη[μήτριος συνέταξε· κ.τ.λ.]
I.G.xii, 5 (1), 571, III, = M406, a Poiessian proxeny-decree for a Macedonian may belong to the period of Macedonian control.
It is a noteable fact that at this time Koresia, another city of Ceos, retained its Ptolemaic name, Arsinoe (v. above, p. 99 note 117). This indicates how extremely localised 'control' by a major power might be.

39. Ios: I.G.xii, 5 (2), 1008; ibid.1069, cf. Tarn, AG, p. 468, nos 13-4. Astypalaea: v. p. note 117. Holleaux BCH, xxxi, 1907, p. 106, notes 1-2 = Etudes, iii, p. 65, notes 1-2, inferred from Liv. xxxi, 15, 8; ibid.45, 4-7 (200-199 B.C.), that there had been a continuous Macedonian garrison on Andros probably from the time of Gonatas. ('Il se peut toutefois qu'Andros, possession macedonienne des 250 n'ait pas cesse depuis cette epoque d'etre soumise aux Antigonides.'). Livy says that after the occupation of Andros by Attalus the Macedonian garrison preferred to remain on the island rather than return to Macedonia; this suggests, according to Holleaux, that they had developed ties on the island. Perhaps. The view that Andros was Macedonian at all in the reign of Gonatas rests on an emendation in Plut. Arat. 12, 2, where Ἀνδρίας has sometimes been read for the Ἄδριος of the MSS, v. Beloch GG², iv, 2, p. 513 An., Porter, Aratus, ed. pp. xliii-iv. The emendation Ὑδρίας is preferable. There is no trace

39. contd.

of Macedonians in the inscriptions of Andros belonging to the third century. For these reasons it is legitimate to suppose that the objections felt by the Macedonians were due to some other cause than long residence.

40. cf. note 34 above.

41. Inscr.Délos, 316,l.79; 320B42; the series begins ἐπὶ Τιμαγένου (320B,loc.cit). The foundation will have been made in 238 B.C. Demetrius succeeded Gonatas in 239,v. Beloch, GG(2), iv, 2, pp. 119-120; cf. Tarn, AG, p. 391, note 65; Durrbach, Choix, p. 59.

42. I.G.xi,4, 1097 = Syll^3 [redacted]. 518 = Choix, 51.v.Holleaux, BCH, xxxi, 1907, pp. 94-114 = Études, iii, pp. 55-73.

43. This is denied by Kolbe, GGA, 1916, pp. 454-5, who argues that relations between Egypt and Macedon were greatly improved in 223 or 222 B.C., i.e. before the Battle of Sellasia, and refers to Plut. Cleom.[43](22) 9: ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφίκετο (sc. ἡ Κρατησίκλεια) καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐπύθετο λόγους παρ' Ἀντιγόνου καὶ πρεσβείας δεχόμενον. The cause of this rapprochement lay, according to Kolbe, in the threat from Antiochus III at the beginning of the Fourth Syrian War. Cleomenes, however would hardly have fled to Egypt after Sellasia if such a rapprochement had existed. (Kolbe's distinction between the personal sympathy felt by Euergetes and the official policy of his government is surely artificial. Euergetes directed and controlled foreign policy as his father and grand-father had done. Polyb. v, 36, 7ff. to which Kolbe refers belongs to the period after Euergetes' death when the situation had changed.)

44. v. I.G. xi, 4, 664-5 & 1053 = M389 & 322 = Choix 49. It is interesting to note that though the honorand, Admetus Bocri f. was a Θεσσαλονικεύς (1053,ll.25ff), he is called Μακεδών throughout by the Delians. An approximate date is given by the Delian proposer Boulon Tyannonis f., whose presence at Delos is attested c. 250-220 B.C.; I.G.xi, 2, 287A9, 139, 179 (200 B.C.); Inscr. Délos, 320B63-4 (229 B.C.); his son Τύννων Βούλωνος occurs in ibid. 355, ll.3, 15 (217 B.C.).

45. I.G. xi, 4, 666 = Choix, 48, in honour of Aristobulus Athenaei f., Θεσσαλονικεύς, ... ἀποστα[λεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ β]ασιλέως Δημητρίου σιτώ[νης, κ.τ.λ.] who is made proxenos of the Delians. The president of the Delian Assembly on the occasion of the passage of the degree was

45. contd.

Antipater Callia f., who appears in the hieropoiic accounts of the second half of the third century: I.G.xi, 2, 287A88 (250 B.C. Inscr. Délos, 290, l.200 (246 B.C.); cf. Durrbach, ad 290, p. 19, under this name, Roussel, BCH, xxxiv, 1910, pp. 368-9.

Another official of Demetrius is honoured in I.G. xi, 4, 679-80 = Choix, 47. In the second of these decrees the honorand, Autocles of Chalkis is called φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως ; he is honoured by the Oropians in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. , 1892, p. 49, nr. 79, cf. Durrbach, Choix, ad.loc. The date of the decrees is approximately fixed by the activity of the Delian proposer Synonymus Theaei f., who appears in the accounts of 250-40 B.C.; I.G. xi, 2, 287A148; Inscr. Délos, 298A195.

46. Polyb. iv, 47,1: καὶ πάντες ἐνεκάλουν οἱ πλοϊζόμενοι τοῖς Ῥοδίοις διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τούτους προεστάναι τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν.

47. v. [illegible] 'Peraea'.

48. I.G. xi, 4, 596 = Choix, 39. The date is approximately fixed by the reappearance of one of the trierarchs, Hagesander Bulanactis f. in the list of Camiran δαμιουργοί , Cl.Rh.vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 370ff., nr. 2, at 2a, l.79 = Benediktsson, Deux Listes, p. 19, l.29; the date of his damiourgy is c. 250 B.C. (Benediktsson, loc.cit. gives it as 251 B.C., but Benediktsson's dating is too strict, v. below, p. 273 , note 54.) An inscription of the year of Hagesander's damiourgy, Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 409, nr. 35, shows that his son was hieropoics in the same year.

49. v. [illegible] i, pp. 635-6, and 'Islands'.

50. 'Safety' granted by the Aetolians to, (a) Ceos: I.G. xii, 5 (1), 526 = Syll^3. 522, I, = Schwyzer 386 & I.G. ix, 1, 169 (date c. 222 B.C.); (b) Tenos: I.G. xii, 5 (2), 587 & I.G. ix, 1, 191 (c. 250 B.C.); (c) Delos: I.G. xi, 4, 1050 = Choix, 41 = I.G. ix, 1, 185 (250 B.C.; v. I.G. xi, 2, 287A80-1). The similar ἀσφάλεια granted to several other Greek communities at this time (v. I.G. ix^2, 1, 189 = Schwyzer 622 = M25; ibid. 192 = Syll^3. 563 = Schwyzer 387; ibid. 195) show that the grant does not necessarily imply close cooperation with the Aetolians in return. It gave the smaller communities a hope of security and was good propaganda for the Aetolians.

The isopoliteia between Tenos and the Phocaeans: I.G: ix, 97, belongs, like the decrees of the Cretan cities for Tenos (I.G. xii, 5 (2), 867 ff:) Inscr. Cret.i, p. 150, nr. 1) to

50. contd.

c.280-260 B.C., when the Tenians sought asylia for the temple of Poseidon.
Paros and Allaria: Inscr. Cret. ii, p. 3 (isopoliteia).

51. v. Addit. Note 8. This fact is noted by Homolle, BCH, xv, 1891, pp. 121-4; cf. Durrbach, Choix, p. 46.

52. v. ~~xxxxxxx~~ 'Islands'.

53. The date is only approximate: Polyb. v, 89, 9 refers to Seleucus ὁ πάτηρ Ἀντιόχου as one of the donors. This can only refer to Seleucus Callinicus, who died in 226/5 after a reign of three years (v. Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, p. 196); Doson, another of the donors, did not succeed Demetrius II until spring 229 (v. Walbank, Philip V, pp. 295-9, esp. 295, note 7). An exact date is given by Chron. Pasc. I, 331, namely Ol.138, 2 = 227 B.C. which may be right. cf. van Gelder, GdR, p. 114; Holleaux, REG xxxvi, 1923, pp. 488-490 = Études, i, pp. 453-4.

54. Polyb. v, 88-90. Modern discussions of the earthquake are Holleaux, REG, xxxvi, 1923, pp. 480-498 = Etudes, i, pp. 445 - 462, *Wunderer, Blätter für das Gymnasial Schulwesen, xlv, 1909, pp. 217-220.

55. v. i, pp. 67-8.

56. Polyb. v, 88, 2: ἐν ᾧ συνέβη τόν τε κολοσσὸν τὸν μέγαν πεσεῖν καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ τῶν νεωρίων, κ?λ

57. ibid.: οὕτως ἐχείρισον νουνεχῶς καὶ πραγματικῶς τὸ γεγονὸς ὡς μὴ βλαβῆς, διορθώσεως δὲ μᾶλλον, κἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις αἴτιον γένεσθαι τὸ σύμπτωμα.

58. ibid. 90, 3-4, an ambiguous and obsure sentence: ὥσθ' ὅταν μέν τις εἰς τὸν χρόνον ἐμβλέψῃ καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀφ' οὗ συμβαίνει τὴν πόλιν ἀζωτῶν συνοικίσθαι, καὶ λίαν θαυμάζειν ὡς βραχεῖ χρόνῳ μεγάλην ἐπίδοσιν εἴληφε περί τε τοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν βίους καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς πόλεως ὅταν δ' εἰς τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τοῦ τόπου καὶ τὴν ἔξωθεν ἐπιφορὰν καὶ συμπλήρωσιν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, μηκέτι θαυμάζειν, μικροῦ δ' ἐλλείπειν δοκεῖν τοῦ καθήκοντος.
The main difficulty is caused by the uncertainty of the meaning to be attached to συνοικισθαι. Holleaux, op.cit. p.486, note 1 = 450, note 1, points out that it can hardly refer to the synoecism of 408 B.C., but must refer to the period between Polybius' own day, and that in which the city began to be habitable after the earthquake. This makes obvious sense, both of this and the following clauses which refer exclusively to the period after the earthquake. The meaning, then, will be; the city made great strides, chiefly no doubt through the gifts showered on her, but subsequently the rate of recovery

58. contd.

dropped: it is this decline to which Polybius refers in the second clause, ὅταν δ' εἰς τὴν εὐκαιρίαν κτλ. Nevertheless, the word συνοικεῖν in connection with Rhodes would surely suggest the original synoecism of the city, and Polybius, if he used the word in the sense given it by Holleaux, is guilty of considerable ambiguity.

59. A complete collection of these documents, which contain extremely valuable material for the study of the relative prosperity of various regions particularly in the third and second centuries B.C., is badly needed (v. 'Peraea', for a comparison between Lindos and the Rhodian Peraea in this respect; and for references to similar documents v. also note 62 of this chapter).

60. Tarn, CAH, vii, pp. 207-8.

61. Polyb. v, 88, 7: καὶ μὴν ἀτελειαν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλοιζομένοις ἔδοσαν (sc. Ἴεφων καὶ Γέλων); ibid. 89,8: Σέλευκος δ' ὁ πάππος Ἀντιόχου χωρὶς μὲν ἀτελειῶν τοῖς εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν πλοιζομένοις, κτλ.
The same concession had been offered to Rhodian merchants eighty years earlier by Antigonus ~~aa~~ the One-Eyed, during the siege, provided they did not put into harbour at Rhodes: Polyaen. iv, 6, 16. [illegible]

62. Polyb. v, 89, 1-5: ἐπηγγείλατο δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος αὐτοῖς ἀργυρίου τάλαντα τριακόσια καὶ σίτου μυριάδας ἀρτάβων ἑκατόν ... (§2) καὶ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος τάλαντα χίλια ... (§3) εἰς μὲν τοῦ κολοσσοῦ κατασκευὴν τάλαντα τρισχίλια ... (§5) καὶ τούτων ἔδωκε τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα παραχρῆμα, τοῦ δὲ ἀργυρίου πλείους τὸ τρίτον μέρος.
The large quantity of copper included in the gift is noteworthy in view of the important part played by copper currency in the Ptolemaic monetary system (v. Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, i, pp. 398-404; Gaebler, Zeit.f.Num. xxxiv, 1924, pp. 313-4). It is possible that the gift of a large amount of copper coin (νομίσματος ; not bullion, as in the case of the silver, or the 3000T of bronze Ptolemy gave for the colossus; cf. Reiske, ap. Schweighauser, ad.loc., Holleaux, loc.cit. p. 484, note 2 = p. 449, note 2) was in part inspired by the hope that the coinage would find its way back to the Alexandrian money-market. Mr. E.S.G. Robinson has suggested to me that Euergetes sent 'blank' coins for stamping. He points out that had his intention been to link Rhodes more closely to the Egyptian currency, the easiest way would have been to open credit for Rhodian merchants in Alexandria. I am not sure that a parallel exists for such a procedure. It is interesting to note that Ptolemy Epiphanes made an offer of a similar amount of copper-coinage to the Achaean League in 186/5.
The 3000T of bronze weight (v. van Gelder, GdR, p. 115;

62. contd.

Holleaux, loc.cit.) εἰς τὴν τοῦ κολοσσοῦ κατασκευήν was probably devoted to other ends than that for which it was intended. The colossus was never rebuilt (v. Strab. 651; cf. Gabriel, BCH, lvi, 1932, pp. 340-1, 359 for a brief account of the subsequent history of the fallen figure). Euergetes' interest in the Colossus was doubtless that it was a memorial of the victory of the Rhodians over Demetrius with Egyptian help.

It has been suggested by Bourguet, BCH, xxxv, 1911, pp. 469-470, that the metal went towards the construction of the golden chariot dedicated by the Rhodians at Delphi, Daux, FdD, iii, 3, pp. 329-378. However, the date of the chariot is not certain (cf. Daux. op.cit. pp. 329-330): Addit. Note 16)

One other cash gift is of interest. Polyb. ibid. 88, 6, referring to the gifts of Hieron and Gelon, says: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εἰς τὰς θυσίας δέκα τάλαντα καὶ τὴν ἐπαύξησιν τῶν πολιτῶν ἄλλα δέκα. The meaning of ἐπαύξησις here is not immediately clear. Casaubon translated it ad augendum numerum civium, which is not easily reconcileable with the IOT. Schweighauser added to Casaubon's rendering the note, malim ad augendam rem familiarem, which is surely correct. That is to say, ἐπαύξησις does not refer to an increase in numbers, but to an improvement in materials conditions. For this usage there are parallels in Rhodian inscriptions. Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 176, nr. 6 & Robert, BCH, lvii, 1933, p. 516, ll. 1-3: [οἵδε προ]ελόμενοι..... τὸν δῆμον ἐπαύξησιν λαμβάνειν ἐπα[γγέλλοντο χρήμα]τα[δωρ]εὰν εἰς τὰν ἐπαύξησιν τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πολιτᾶν. (Wilhelm, Rh,Mus. xc, 1941, pp. 164-6, proposes προ]ελόμενοι συντελεῖν εἰς τὸ πλείστην τὰν πόλιν ἐπαύξησιν, κ.τ.λ. but this gives too long a line, v. Robert, REG, liv, 1941, p. 254, nr. 105). cf. also other inscriptions quoted by Robert, BCH lvii, 1933, loc.cit., and Wilhelm, loc.cit. In these inscriptions ἐπαύξησις is synonymous with ἐπίδοσις which more frequently in charitable and public subscriptions.

63. Polyb. v. 89, 1-5, [Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀντιγόνου] ξύλα δὲ ἐκκαιδεκαπήχους εἰς ὀκταπήχους εἰς δέκα κε[ὶ πεντήρων καὶ δέκα τριήρων, πευκίνων τετραγώνων πήχεις ἑπτακισμυρίους τετρακισμυρίους, καὶ χαλκοῦ ὀργυιαίων λόγον μυρία εἰρκτῆρας ἑπτακοσίους ἑξηκοντακάλους, σιδήρου τάλαντα τριακόσια, πίττης τάλαντα χίλια, ἄνηθος ὠμῆς μεδιμνὰς χιλίους, κηρίου νομίσματος τάλαντα χίλια, στυππίου τριακόσια, ὀθονίων ἱστοὺς τριακοσίους, κ.τ.λ. This is a difficult passage; πευκίνων ..... τετρακισμυρίους is presumably in apposition to ξύλα ..... τριήρων : that is, 40,000 cubits of pine planks were enough to build ten (?) quinqueremes and ten (?) triremes. The reading however is very uncertain. V. Schweighauser ad loc., who proposes ναυπηγήσιμα καὶ πεντήρων καὶ τριήρων δέκα.

64. Polyb. ibid., 6-7: παρελπιδώσας Ἀντίγονος ξύλ' ἀφ' ἑκκαιδεκαπήχους ἕως ὀκταπήχους εἰς σφηκίσκων λόγον μύρια, στρωτῆρας ἑπτακοσίους, πεντακισχιλίους, σιδήρου τάλαντα τριακόσια, πίττης τάλαντα χίλια, ἄλληθ ὠμῆς μεδιμνὰς χιλίους, κηρίου πρὸς τούτοις ἑκατὸν ἐπηγγείλατο τάλαντα, χρυσοῦς δὲ μυρίους δέκα μὲν οὖν μυριάδας The meaning of εἰς σφηκίσκων λόγον is doubtful. τριακοσίους δὲ μυρίβδου τάλαντα.

64. contd.

Paton (ed. Loeb ad loc.) translates it 'rafters', but rafters, in the commonly accepted sense of that word, are not employed in shipbuilding (O.E.D.s.v. rafter, 1 B, gives only one use of this word in this sense, and marks it as 'obsolete'); he was followed by Holleaux, loc. cit. p. 484, note 4 = p. 449, note 4, who says that Paton's translation is 'fort correcte'. It is clear, however, from the etymology of the word that the reference is to rounded planks, pointed at the ends, for use in hull-construction.

For pitch, and its sources in the Hellenistic world, v. Glotz, REG, xxix, 1916, pp. 289-294. Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, ii, p. 1256, has pointed out the considerable amount of raw metal, copper and lead in the contributions indicating the poverty of the island in these items. At a later date, however, Rhodes had lead-mines: Plin. NH, xxxiv, 175; cf. Blumner, Gewerbe und Künste, iv, pp. 88 ff.

65. Polyb. ibid. Σέλευκος δ' ὁ πατὴρ Ἀντιόχου χωρὶς μὲν ἀτόλεια τοῖς εἰς τὴν κώπην βοηθείαν ὁλοσμένοις, χωρὶς δὲ πεντήρεις μὲν δέκα κατηρτισμένας, σὺν δ' εἴκοσι μυριάδας, καὶ μὴν φύλλων καὶ ἥτινας καὶ τριχὸς μυριάδας πλειόνων καὶ πλειόνων χιλιάδας. (For this use of χωρίς cf. Welles, RC p. 139, note 3. The Seleucid navy was of course a formidable weapon at the time of the Antiochic War (v.i,pp. 609ff), but there is little sign of it before that date (v. above, note 103 [illegible]). The gift of hair is parallelled by the gift of the Rhodians themselves to the Sinopeans in 220 B.C., Polyb. iv, 56, 3 (v.i, p. 240). Compare also, for an Athenian parallel, Wilhelm, Πρακτ. Ἀκαδ. Ἀθην. 1936, p. 23, a reference I owe to Robert ap. Holleaux, Etudes, i, p. 450, note 2. The phrase ξύλων καὶ ῥητίνας, κ.τ.λ is obscure, Taken literally it means that the timber had a total length of 10,000 μήκεις and the resin and hair a total weight of 1,000T: cf. Holleaux, loc. cit. p. 485, note 3 = p. 450, note 3.

Tarn, Hellenistic Developments, p. 114, suggests that the hair sent by Seleucus Callinicus to Rhodes, and by Rhodes to Sinope, was for use in the torsion-mechanism of catapults. It seems more likely that the purpose of such a gift, at least to Rhodes, was for naval equipment.

66. The unspecified gifts of Prusias and Mithridates, ibid. 90,1, were perhaps prompted more by a spirit of sympathy or emulation than by a desire to re-establish the Rhodian navy: but the events of the next few years were to show very clearly that Rhodian interests or responsibilities penetrated into the Black Sea (v. i, pp. 233ff.).

Of the minor dynasts Lysanias, Olympichus and Limnaeus, the second alone is a substantial figure. He, or his son, subsequently became an instrument of Philip's policy in Caria

66. contd.

(v. i, pp. 262). For Lysanias, v. Wilhelm, Neue Beiträge, i, pp. 54-55; Holleaux, REA, xvii, 1915, p. 237 = Etudes, iii, p. 358; Limnaeus is otherwise unknown.

67. cf. Polyb. v, 88, 2: οὕτως ἐκάλεσεν ναυνεχῶς ; and Casaubon's marginal note 'Rhodiorum felix calamitas'.

68. Polyb. iv, 16, 8; 19,8. For the chronology, v. Holleaux, Rome, La Grèce etc. p. 134, note 2.

69. Polyb. v, 2.

70. Ibid., 109; the lack of trained oarsmen is emphasised here as in the previous passage.

71. For Doson's Carian campaign the evidence is Trog. Prol. xxvii, Thessaliam et in Asia Cariam subiecit.; Polyb. xx, 5, 11: ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος ἐπελθούσης μετ' ὀλίγον τῆς πλήμης καὶ κουφισθεισῶν τῶν νεῶν, τῷ μὲν Νέωνι μεγάλην ὧχε χάριν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ συνεπιθεῖσθαι σφίσι κατὰ τὴν περιπέτειαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν προκείμενον ἐπέβη πλοῦν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.
In Trogus, loc.cit. Thessali and Cariam appear to be free from corruption, the intervening [illegible] in Asia may be corrupt. (Treves, Athenaeum, xiii, 1935, p. 38, note 5 says Cariam is included in the corruption, but this is not evident.): Kolbe, GGA, 1916, pp. 459 ff, anxious to deny that Doson ever went to Caria, emended Cariam to Dardaniam, but Doson did not conquer Dardania: Reiske, felt a difficulty in Polybius, loc. cit. and emended Ἀσίαν to Εὔβοιαν. Such emendations are unjustified. The statement that Doson went to Asia is clear and has to be accepted. What is open to dispute is why he went, and what the consequences of his journey were. The common interpretation of his operation is that it was directed against Egypt, whose activities in Greece had procured the defection of Athens from Macedon. (v. Ferguson, Hell.Ath. pp. 237 ff.; Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, pp. 547-9; Tarn, CAH, vii, p. 722). Treves has argued, loc.cit. that Doson aimed at weakening the Seleucid kingdom, but, as Aymard, REA, xxxviii, 1936, p. 266, note 1, has pointed out, we do not know enough to determine who was the real enemy. It is possible that Doson had no precise enemy in view; that he desired to take advantage of the unsettled state of western Asia Minor to increase Macedonian influence there. The condition of that region at the time was such as to give hope to anyone anxious for small profits. Only the year before Antiochus Hierax, apostatic ruler of the western half of the Seleucid kingdom, had been defeated by Attalus I at Harpasus (OGIS 271; 279;

71. contd.

Euseb. Chron. i, 253; Just. xxvii, 3, 6; cf. Cardinali, Pergamo, p. 42; Hansen, Attalids, pp. 35-6; Walbank, JHS, lxii, 1942, p. 10, note 24). The gap of a year is certain, so Doson cannot have been going to participate in the campaign, but he may well have hoped to profit from the resulting disorder.

Milesian inscriptions of this period indicate exceptional circumstances within the city: Apollo appears as stephanephoros successively from 229 to 225 B.C., and large numbers of Cretans are enrolled as citizens in these years: v. Rehm, Milet. i, 3, nrs. 36-38 and comm. p. 199; ibid. p.267, who connects these events with Doson's campaign. The evidence for Doson's connection with Cos is considerable and may have something to do with this Carian Campaign: v. Segre, Rend. Pont. xvii, 1940, pp. 21-34: possibly the Coan theoria to Pella (v. Bösch, Θεωρός, p. 140, under Pella) may belong to these events.

The view of Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, pp. 547-9, that Doson made substantial gains in Caria which were inherited by Philip cannot be upheld; much will depend on the date of the recently found at Labraunda: v. below p. 135, note 116.

Notes to Chapter VIII.

1. v. i, p.229.

2. The history of third-century Byzantium requires further study. For the period after Cyrupedium, v. Memnon (FHG, iii, pp. 515ff), xi: The Heracleots, fearing an attack by Seleucus I, τά τε ἄλλα παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ συμμάχους ἤθροιζον, πρός τε Μιθριδάτην τὸν Πόντου βασιλέα διαπρεσβευόμενοι καὶ πρὸς Βυζαντίους καὶ Καλχηδονίους. Although Memnon refers first to the defeat of Lysimachus in the following chapter (ad init.), it is clear that Seleucus was not in a position to threaten or attack Heraclea before that battle. There is no reference to Byzantium in Memnon's account of the Northern War (for which, v. above, p. 92 , note 83).

Memnon, xix, records the attack of the Gauls on Byzantium, and the city's resistance. For Nicomedes of Bithynia's treaty with the Gauls, by which they were permitted to pass into Asia, v. ibid. esp. § 2. συμμαχεῖν δὲ καὶ Βυζαντίους εἴ που δέησοι καὶ Τιανοῖς δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεώταις καὶ Καλχηδονίοις καὶ Κιανοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσιν. Memnon, xxii, records a threatened (or actual?) attack by Antiochus I; Βυζαντίους δὲ Ἀντιόχου πολεμοῦντος, τριήρεσιν συνεμάχησαν πεντήκοντα οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκεύασαν μέχρις ἀπορίας πρόσοψαι. No date is given. Antiochus was involved with Egypt until 255 (v. [illegible], i, pp. 197ff) and therefore a later date is desirable. v. Beloch, GG^2, iv, 1, p. 672. ~~also~~ Relations between Ptolemy Philadelphus and Byzantium are also mentioned (I.G. vii, 298-9, quoted in this respect by Merle, Gesdichte Byzantion [illegible] p. 53 n.3, is not evidence; it concerns a Byzantine servant of Philadelphus, but the fact that this individual was employed by Ptolemy is not evidence for the relations of the latter with the city. This error frequently crops up; v., for example, the instances cited below, notes 102 and 344): Dion. Byz. (§ 41 Güng.) refers to a temple of Philadelphus in the city: μικρὸν δὲ ὑπὲρ κώπου νεὼς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ φιλαδέλφου· τοῦτον ἐτίμησαν ἴσα θεῷ Βυζάντιοι μεγαλοφροσύνης τ' κώπου καὶ τιμῆς τῆς περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀποδεδώκοντος· καὶ γὰρ χώρων ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας δωρεῖται καὶ σίτου πολλὰς μυριάδας καὶ βέλη καὶ χρήματα.
Memnon, xxv, refers to gifts of land made by 'Ptolemy' to other of the Northern cities but does not mention Byzantium specifically. These donations may be connected with the Byzantine war against Antiochus, referred to above, as Müller, GGM, ii, p. 34 supposed, but, as Otto, Philol. lxxxvi, 1931, p. 409, note 18, pointed out, they presuppose the naval supremacy associated with the earlier half of Philadelphus' reign.

Memnon, xxi, records a trade war between Byzantium and the Black Sea cities of Callatis and Istros. The war started over a monopoly which the Callatian had established over the markets

2. contd.

of the nearby Tomi. The event is recorded after the Gallic attacks on the city (xix).

Of modern works, v. J. Miller, RE, s.v. Byzantion, cols. 1136-7; Merle, Geschichte der Städte Byzantion und Kalkhedon, diss. Kiel, 1916, pp. 54-7. Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, i, 589-591.

3. Polyb. iv, 46.

4. ibid. iv, 38-52.

5. v. Ullrich, De Polybii fontibus Rhodiis, pp. 22-27; cf. i, pp. 14-15.

6. Polyb. iv, 47, 1: μεγάλης δὲ γενομένης τῆς ἀδυποτελείας καὶ δυσχερείας πᾶσιν ἐκ τοῦ τέλος πράττειν, τοὺς Βυζαντίους τῶν ἐξαγομένων ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, δεινὸν ἡγοῦντο, καὶ πέμψαντες ἐνεκάλουν οἱ πλοιζόμενοι τοῖς Ῥοδίοις διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν πόλους προστάτας τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν.

7. Several Rhodian amphora - handles have been found in Byzantium itself: v. Grace in Hesp. Supp, viii (Shear Studies, 1949) p. 185, under nr. 4. Miss Grace informs me that some belong to c. 200 B.C. (priests, Ainetor and Ariston), others are of the 2nd Century.

Rhodians are honoured in decrees of the third century from the Black Sea area: IOSPE, ii, 35, a base of a statue of Paerisades II erected by three Rhodian brothers, Hippocles, Dorieus, and Hippocrates, the sons of Hagesiarchus. Paerisades, who reigned from 284-250 B.C., had numerous contacts with the Mediterranean world; the evidence is now collected by E. Diehl, RE, s.v. Pairisades (2), cols. 2424-6.

IOSPE^2, i, 340 a decree of Chersonesus Taurica, conferring proxeny-rights on a Rhodian, Timagoras, the son of Nicagoras. (Undated, apparently early third century).

IOSPE^2, i, 30, Hella (nicus), a Rhodian, honoured by Olbia (Undated, careless lettering of the late third century, Γ, Α, Α no apices).

For these inscriptions cf. Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, i, p. 675. More substantial evidence is provided by the Rhodian amphora-handles found on Northern sites. (v. Pridik, Klio xx, 1926, ff 303 ff.)

The numerous gravestones of Bosporan and Pontic Greeks resident in Rhodes cannot be dated precisely; they mostly appear; to belong to the late second and first centuries B.C.; v. i, pp. 5-7.

8. Polyb, iv, 47, 3-6. The two Byzantine προστάται τοῦ πολιτεύματος Hecatodorus, and Olympiodorus, are otherwise unknown. In § 3, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιλαβόντες τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπῆρέσθενον ἐγὸς τοὺς Βυζαντίους, the σύμμαχοι are presumably those communities which had appealed to Rhodes for assistance (§1), and not the subordinate members of the Rhodian state, which were not called σύμμαχοι . In § 6 the returning ambassadors are made to decree the war: in reality this was done by the ecclesia, v. i, pp. 530 ff .

9. Ibid., 47, 7: 49. The event commemorated by the Bithynian Soteria is unknown; v. Holleaux, REA xviii, 1916, p. 171, note 3 = Etudes, ii, p. 62, note 4.

10. Ibid., 49, 4.

11. Ibid., 48, 2-3. For Achaeus' career and dominions, in 220 B.C. v. Wilcken, RE, s.v. Achaios (4), cols. 206-7; Beloch, GG^2, iv, i, p. 691; Hansen, Attalids, pp. 38-44.

12. Polyb. iv, 50, 1. Polybius, throughout chs. 50-52, calls this person Τυβοίτης but his name was probably Ζιποίτας , v. Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, pp. 211-4.

13. Polyb. ibid. 50, 2-4. For Hieron at the north end of the Bosporus, v. Dion. Byz. §§ 92-3 (Güng.). For the temple of Zeus Urius situated there v. Oberhummer, RE, s. v. Bosporos, col. 752, nos. 92, 93 (Meyer, Die Grenzen, p. 108, wrongly gives 'col. 792'); Klek, Roscher's Lexicon, s.v. Urios; and above all, Cook, Zeus, iii, pp. 142-8.

For Byzantium's Mysian territory (?connected with the gifts of land noted above, note 2), v. Ernst Meyer, Die Grenzen, pp. 108, 113.; Robert, Hellen. vii, (1949), pp. 34-44.

14. Polyb. ibid. §§ 5-6. I.G. xii, 1, 40 = SGDI, 3776 = HGrEp. 101, is the dedication of a statue to a Xenophantus by his son and the κοινὸν τῶν Ἐφεσείων . The statue was the work of the celebrated sculptor, Timocharis of Eleutherna, who worked in Rhodes about the middle of the third century (v. Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, p. 53, nr. 35, Lippold, RE, s.v. Timocharis (2), col. 1259, for his surviving bases. His date is determined by the fact that he worked a statue, the base of which has survived, I.G. xii, 1, 812, in honour of the man who was priest of Athana Lindia in 242 B.C.; v. Blinkenberg, op.cit. p. 359). This may be the Xenophantus of the Rhodio-Byzantine War, as Hermann, Opusc. viii, p. 370, originally proposed. The last two lines of the epigram certainly suggest that Xenophantus had just returned from overseas:

[φ]άντι καὶ οἱ τεύτων νόστου χάριν εἰκόνα θέντες
[τ]αῦτα καὶ εὐκλειῆ γράμματα Πιερίδων.

14. contd.

The identity was denied by Kaibel, Epigr. Gr.nr. 851, and more recently by Preuner, BPW, lvii, 1927, p. 329, but on very insufficient grounds.

15. Polyb. ibid. § 7.

16. Ibid. ch. 51.

17. v. i, pp. 224-5

18. Polyb. ibid. 51, 5: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσκλίνων τοῖς Ῥοδίοις ὁ Πτολεμαῖος κατὰ τὴν ὅλην αἵρεσιν καὶ πάντα ποιούμενος χαρίζεσθαι

19. Ibid. § 5.

20. Ibid. §§ 6-7.

21. Ibid. § 8. cf. ibid. 46, 4.

22. Polyb. ibid. 52, 1.

23. Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, ii, p. 673, suggests that the tax which caused the war in the first place was 'a concerted measure' between the Byzantines and Kauaros. The imminent defeat of Byzantium would then explain Kauaros' eagerness to put an end to the war. But the supposition is too paradoxical to be accepted without further evidence.

24. Polyb. loc. cit.

25. Ibid. 52, 3-4. Aridices, the ambassador, is perhaps to be identified with the Rhodian Platonist of that name. In RE, s.v. Arideikes (1) and (2), the Aridices mentioned by Polybius is distinguished from the Platonist. The Platonist's epitaph published by von Hiller, BCH, xxxvi, 1912, pp. 230-236 = HGrEp. 102.gives no indication of any other activity. Little is known of the philosophical work of the Platonist (v. Von Arnim, RE, s.v. Arideikes (2)), but his family like that of Panaetius, is recognisable in the social history of Rhodes. v. von Hiller, HGrEp. loc.cit.

26. Polyb. iv, 52, 4ff.

27. Ibid. § 4: ἐγένοντο διαλύσεις ἐπὶ Κώθωνος τοῦ Καλλιγείτονος ἱερομνημονοῦντος ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ. The last three words are Polybius' own. For the Hieromnamones v. Hanell, Meg. Stud.pp. 156-8; Robert, Hellen. vii, 1949,

27. contd.

pp. 38-39. The son of Κό (sic)ων , Eris, is honoured, together with other Byzantine naval officers, in I.G. ii^2, 884 = Syll^3. 580 = M1496 = H183, which probably belongs to the time of the Second Macedonian War.

The view of Valeton, Polyb.Font. p. 221, and Scala, Studien des Polyb. p. 268, that Polybius found this document in the Rhodian Prytaneum does not seem very likely. As Swoboda, ZfürOst. Gymn. xiii, 1891, p. 44 (cf. Ullrich, De Polyb. font. Rh. p. 25), pointed out, one would expect the inclusion of the Rhodian eponym.

28. Compare the fifth and fourth century texts collected by v. Scala, in Staatsverträge, I, passim.

29. The analogy of Polybius' use of inscriptions and archives elsewhere in his History suggests that he copied this document in Byzantium, as Ullrich held (loc.cit. note 27, above; against von Scala, loc. cit.) The date of his visit to Byzantium must, however, remain uncertain. Walbank, Class. et Mediaev. ix, 1948, p. 160, makes no attempt to date it. Thomsen, Hermes, xx, 1885, pp. 218-9, denies that Polybius visited Byzantium on wholly insufficient grounds.

30. iv, 52, 5. It is surprising that although the Byzantines applied the διαγώγιον on traffic in and out of the Pontus (iv, 46,6; 47,1), the Rhodians only secured that the tax on ingoing vessels be lifted (52,5): but the text is not verbatim, and the contradiction is probably due to Polybius' abbreviation of the original.

31. Ibid. §§ 6-9. In § 6, τοὐτους τινές , indicates that Polybius is not claiming verbatim reproduction. The λαοί are presumably serfs who went with the land (cf. OGIS 225 = RC 18, ll. 7 ff.), and may thus be identical with the subject Bithynians of Phylarchus, FGrH81F8.

32. Cf. Ullrich, De Polyb.font.Rh. pp. 22-3.

33. Polyb. iv, 56.

34. For the general importance, and the position of Sinope, v. D.M.Robinson, Ancient Sinope, 1906; Leaf, JHS, xxxvi, 1916, pp. 1-15; Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, i, pp. 592-4; ii, p. 677 (account of help given by the Rhodians).

35. That the 'astynomoi-handles' are of Sinopian origin is very probable, but not proved. v. Grakov, Древне-греческе керамические клейма с имеками астиномов (1927) a review of which will be found in BPW, liii, 1933, pp. 630-647; the reviewer (A.Kocevala) denies the validity of Grakov's arguments for Sinopian manufacture.

36. This concurrence appears again further to the south, at Samos. v. Technaù, Ath.Mitt. liv, 1929, pp. 58-60.

37. Polyb. iv, 56, 2-3. Robinson, AJA, ix, 1905, p. 296, reports a Rhodian amphora-handle from Sinope, which he suggests belonged to one of the οἴνου κεράμια μύρια.

38. Ibid. §3 ; cf. i, pp. 226ff. . The gift of Seleucus II on the occasion of the earthquake included ξύλων καὶ ῥητίνης καὶ τριχὸς μυριάδας πηχῶν καὶ ταλάντων χιλιάδας

39. Ibid. 56, 4-57, 1.

40. Cf. Ullrich, De Polyb.font.Rh. p. 27.

41. In this connection a passage of Dion. Byz. (§ 47 Güng.), is of interest: μετὰ τοῦθ' οἱ Ῥόδιων περιβόλοι καθ' ὧν ἀναπτόμενοι τὰ πείσματα Ῥόδιοι τοῖς περὶ τῆς θαλάττης σφίσι διαμφισβητοῦσιν ἐφώρμων· τούτων οἱ μὲν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι σώζονται λίθοι τρηταὶ νεῶν ἀπόδεσμοι, προὔπεσον δ' οἱ πλείους ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου. (ἐφώρμων gives a better sense than ἐφώρμουν and has equal authority) This passage, if taken literally, implies that Rhodes had a naval base in the Bosporus; this seems improbable at any time. The reference is dateless. The attempt of C. Müller, Philol. xxxvii, 1877, p. 74, to connect it with the Rhodio-Byzantine War by reading τοῖς περὶ [Προυσιὰν πρὸς τοὺς Βυζαντίους περὶ] τῆς θαλάσσης συνδιαμφισβητοῦντες, λῆ. is unsatisfactory on historical grounds (and unjustified on palaeographical ones), in view of the absence of Rhodian naval activity in that war. It might apply to the situation in the next quarter of a century, when Byzantium and Rhodes, cooperated in naval warfare, but it seems more probable that the Rhodian περιβόλοι were the corner of the docks at which Rhodian merchant-ships had tied up, and that when, at a later date (Dion. Byz wrote at the end of the second century A.D., v. Berger, RE, s.v. Dionysios (114), col. 971.), the earlier close commercial contacts between the two cities had been forgotten, local antiquarianism found another explanation for the ruins (προὔπεσον δ' οἱ πλείους ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου loc.cit. above).

42. Third century Chian history would repay further study. The epigraphical evidence is now considerable: J. Vanseveren (Mme. L. Robert), published in Rev. Phil. NS, xi, 1937, pp.325ff

42. contd.

nr. 6, a list, probably of proxenoi, which contains names of citizens of Lampsacus, Cyzicus, Sinope and Panticapaeum in the Pontic region; from Tenos, Mytilene, Astypalaea, and Samothrace in the Aegean; and from Halicarnassus, Teos and Caunus from Asia Minor. The document is dated c. 260 B.C. Ibid. nr. 7 is a similar document, indicating contacts with the same area. Ibid. pp. 328-9, is a further fragment of the inscription published by Zolotas, Ἀθηνᾶ , 1908, p. 214, nr. ιϛ′, which contains names of Rhodian citizens (The doubts expressed by Wilamowitz, Nordionische Steine, p. 21, note 1, as to Zolotas' readings are confirmed by this fragment which gives Ῥόδιοι , not, as in Zolotas' text, l. 4, Ῥόδιος). The names of the Rhodians are unfortunately not preserved. The suggestion of Wilamowitz, loc.cit., that the names might be those of mercenaries and not proxenoi, is unlikely, since few Rhodian mercenaries are known from the Hellenistic age (v. i, pp. 669ff.). Wilamowitz' suggestion is rejected on other grounds by Vanseveren, loc.cit. For Chian inscriptions of the later Hellenistic period v. Robert, Etud. epigr. et. phil. pp. 126ff.

A dedication found at Chios, in honour of a Ptolemy and Arsinoe, Strack 19, implies friendly relations with Egypt, but not that Chios was an Egyptian dependency, cf. Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, p. 345.

Chian imports in Alexandria are considerable: χία (sc. κεράμια) are frequently found in third century documents (v. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s.v. Χῖος , and add PSI 535). χία (or λέσβια etc.) κεράμια appears to denote a particular measure and does not mean that the κεράμια contained Chian wine, since these κεράμια are frequently said to contain commodities other than wine. v. Wilcken, Archiv, vi, 1920, pp. 400-1 For Chian commerce generally v. Vanseveren, loc.cit. pp. 330-1; Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, i, p. 245, and iii, p. 1375, notes 73-4. Heichelheim, Wirtschaftesgeschichte, p. 472, says Chios belonged "zum auswärtigen frühptolemaischen Reichsgebiet", but gives no evidence for it.

Byzantine produce is also found in early Ptolemaic times in Egypt. Imports were largely of minor foodstuffs: PSI, 620 (dried fish, or peas? For the interpretation of this passage v. PCol. 69, note to ll. 16-23); PCol. 69, ll. 16 = 23 (Byzantine Peas).

43. I.G. xii, 5 (1), 8 = 5 (2) 1009 = Supp. p. 96 (nr. 8), where it (? the original alliance) is dated 'c. 257 (?)'; but if νησιω[τῶν in l.5 is correct a later date is required. But Graindor's supplement, BCH, xxviii, 1904, p. 332, Ἰητ[ῶν is

43. contd.

equally possible, since the length of line cannot be determined with absolute certainty. Another Ietan inscription, I.G. xii, Supp. 170, honours at least one Rhodian (l. 12); it appears to belong to the late third century (lettering).

44. v. [illegible] Addit. Note 14, fr. 222, below.

45. v. i, pp.228-230.

46. For the laying down of the fleet at Cassandrea v. Liv (P) xxviii, 8, 14. It is doubtful whether much ever came of this programme, since in 205 B.C. Philip clearly had no fleet (v. Holleaux, Rome etc. p. 246, note 2), although Livy's words loc.cit. clearly show that work was begun.

47. I.G. xi, 2, 126, l. 10; τάδε παρελάβομεν ποτήρια παρὰ Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Ἀμφικλέους κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου· φιάλην χρυσῆν βασιλέως Φιλίππου.
Inscr. Delos, 366A87, and Durrbach, ad loc.

48. v. i, p.218.

49. For Philip's Portico v. Vallois, Explor.arch. de Délos, VII, 1, 'La Portique de Philippe'. The dedication is I.G. xi, 4, 1099 = Syll^3. 574 = Choix, 57. The date is uncertain; 212 - 11 B.C., the time at which Attalus was accepted as στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ by the Aetolian League, and entered the Roman camp, has been suggested on the hypothesis that Philip's Portico was erected in a fit of pique at that date to obscure the South-West Portico, probably built by Attalus; v. Vallois, op.cit. pp. 162-3; Laidlaw, Delos, pp. 117-8; Walbank, Philip V, p. 269.

I.G. xi, 4, 1100 = Syll^3. 573 = Choix, 56 is a dedication by Philip to Apollo ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἀγ[ώνων] . Its date is disputed. De Sanctis, St.d.Rom. iv, 1, p.9, note 6, argues that κατὰ γῆν implies a corresponding victory by sea, κατὰ θάλασσαν , and he therefore assigns the inscription to the period of the war with Rhodes, when, in 201 B.C., Philip was victorious by land (in Asia Minor), and at sea (Lade; v. i, pp. 273ff). Epigraphical usage justifies this conclusion (v. Syll^3. index, s.v. γῆ), and this date is therefore the most acceptable. An earlier date, of the time of the Social War, celebrating the Peace of Naupactus, is also possible: v. Durrbach, Choix, ad loc. Walbank Philip V. p. 67, note 6.

50. Polyb. v, 34.

51. v. [illegible]. 'Islands'

52. Emphasis on the Dorian origin of Rhodes is common in the Hellenistic age. Schwyzer 91 (mid.third cent. v. i, pp. 183 ff.) emphasises the kinship of Rhodes with Argos, the Dorian metropolis. Anth. Pal. vi, 171 = HGrEp. 88 (cf. ~~above~~ Addit. note 16, p. 231), the dedicatory verses of the Colossus:

αὐτῶι σοι πρὸς Ὄλυμπον ἐμακύναντο κολοσσόν,
τόνδε Ῥόδου νιέται Δωρίδος, Ἀέλιε.

Inscr. ii, 698 (c. 200 B.C.) (new restorations by Wilhelm, Symb.Osl. xxvi, 1948, pp. 80-4), ll. 10-11:

νίκα τ' ε[ὐθυς] ἔθαλε κλεωνύμο[υ], ἁ δὲ μάκειρα
Ἑλλὰς εὐστέφανον Δωρί[δ'] ἔρεψε Ῥόδον.

HGrEp. 102 (cf above, note 25), the sepulchral epitaph of Aridices:

οὔ τι σε νώνυμον κρύπτει τόδε Δωρίδος αἴης
δῆμα περὶ τραφερὴν θηκάμενον σποδιάν.

At a later date, in Aelius Aristides, pride in the city's Dorian origin has become an excuse for rhetoric: Or. xliv, (xxivK), 839D (§ 45K): οἱ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐστὲ Δωριεῖς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου: 843D (§57K); λυπηρὸν δέ μοι κἀκεῖνο, εἰ τοῖς μὲν ἐκ γενετῆς ὀνόμασιν οὕτω σφόδρα ἑλληνίζοντες ἐφαίνεσθε, ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἦν εὑρεῖν ὡς ἔστος εἰπεῖν παρ' ὑμῶν ὄνομα, ὅτι μὴ Δώριον, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ξένων ἀρξάμενα. ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὴν πατρίαν ἁρμονίαν, καὶ τὴν ἀληθῶς Δωριστὶ μεθέντες κακῶν ξενικῶν καὶ τῶν μάλιστα ἢ ὑμῖν προσηκόντων κληρονομήσετε.

For a similar emphasis on Dorian origin, cf. the poem of Archimelos, ap. Athen. 209B-E, speaking of Hieron II: l. 15.

φατὶ γὰρ ὡς Ἱέρων Ἡρακλέος Ἑλλάδι πάρος
καὶ νάσοις κάρηον πίονα δωροφορῶν
Σικελίας σκαπτοῦχος ὁ Δωρικός

53. Moreover, the Nesiotic League of Antigonus and Demetrius had apparently been conceived on a strictly Ionian basis, in contrast to the old Athenian Delian League, in which the distinction between Ionian and Dorian had been lost: v. Tarn, AG, pp. 77-8. Tarn, ibid. argues that the fact that the Rhodians and Coans sent theoroi to Delos while it was the centre of the League shows that they had no objection to contact with Delos; but the removal of the League centre, under Rhodian control, to Tenos, shows that they had, but that, while they were not masters of the situation, they considered the advantages to be derived from continued contact outweighed any possible disadvantages.

54. Lind. Chron. C, ch. xlii:

[Βα]σιλεὺ[ς] Φίλιππος πέδας δέκα, σαρίσας δ[εκ]α, π[ε-]
[ρικεφαλ]αίας [δέ]κα, [ἐ]φ' ὧν ἐ[π]ιγεγράπται· Βα[σ]ιλεῦ[ς]
[Μακεδ]ό[ν]ω[ν] Φίλιππο[ς], βασ[ι]λέως Δημ[ητρ]ίου νι-
κήσας Δα[ρ]δ[ανί]ου[ς] καὶ Μαίδας (or Παίονας) Ἀθήναι Λινδίαι
[ὡς] μυριοστοῦντι τοῦ Λιν]δίων χρ[ημ]α[τι]σμο[ῦ].

The above reading (ed.) is due to Wilhelm, Wien.Anz. lix, 1922, pp. 70-2; id. ibid. lxvii, 1930, p. 102. If the supplement

54. contd.

in the last line is accepted the reference will be to one of Philip's many Dardanian campaigns in the earlier years of his reign. The reading Δα[ε]δ[αν]ου[s] conforms better with the remaining traces as given in ed^2., than the supplement Ἀ[ἰτω]λ[ούς] (ed^2.)

55. Polyb. v, 24, 11 (218 B.C.): παρόντων δὲ πρεσβευτῶν παρά τε Ῥοδίων καὶ Χίων περὶ διαλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου.
Ibid.100, 9-11 (217 B.C.): πάλιν ἦκον ὑπὲρ τῶν διαλύσεων παρά τε Χίων καὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ Βυζαντίων πρέσβεις καὶ παρὰ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως.
On both occasions Philip expressed his readiness for peace on his terms and in this he no doubt he was quite sincere; cf. Holleaux, Rome etc. p. 149, note 1; Beloch, GG^2, iv, 1, p. 732. Walbank, Philip V, p. 60 considers that Philip's answer in 218 B.C. was 'of course a diplomatic lie' and in 217 he was 'bluffing'. (ibid. p. 64). But Philiphad little to gain from a continuation of a war which might attract the attention of Rome, and which he had never been anxious to begin (cf. Holleaux, loc.cit.)

56. This may be inferred from the fact that the Rhodians and Chians alone were present on both occasions, and from the reappearance of the Rhodians in all the later embassies of the First Macedonian War.

57. v. above, note 18.

58. Polyb. v, 63, 5: ἅμα δὲ διαπεμψάμενοι πρός τε Ῥοδίους καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Κῳακηνούς, οὓς δὲ πούστους Αἰτωλούς, ἐπεστρώσαντο πρεσβείας ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις.

59. The appeal was apparently made two campaigning seasons before the battle Raphia (217 B.C.); the envoys to the friendly powers were sent while Antiochus was at Dora (Polyb. v, 66,1); he broke off the siege as winter approached and agreed to negotiate (winter 219 B.C.); in Spring 218 B.C. he collected his forces, and his triumphant campaign of 218 followed (ibid. 68-71). In 218/7 he wintered in Ptolemais (ibid. 71-2). The next campaign is that of Raphia, the date of which is fixed by the Pitnom-Stele, Gauthier-Sottas Décret trilingue en honneur de Ptolemée IV, Cairo, 1925 (E.T. of the demotic text in Bevan, Ptolemaic Egypt, pp. 388-392)SB 7172, which shows that Philopator had returned to Egypt after the battle by October 217 B.C. (text in Bevan, p. 391); v. Beloch, GG^2, iv, 1, 696;id.ibid. iv, 2, 174; Gauthier-Sottas, op.cit.p. 57; Otto, Beiträge zur Seleukidengeschichte, pp. 80-87, esp. p. 82, note 5.

60. v. p. 88 note 61

61. Cf. i, pp. 299

62. For earlier evidence for this alliance, v. i, p. 198.

63. v. i, pp. 164-5

64. No satisfactory account of the relations between Ptolemaic Egypt and contemporary Rome in the third century exists. The ancient evidence for political contacts is collected by Holleaux, Rome etc. pp. 60-83. To this must be added the literature of the Lycophron-question, for which see, in the last place, Momigliano, JRS, xxxii, 1942, pp. 53-64; Tarn, Alexander, ii, pp. 289. Considerable commercial contacts are suggested by the interpretation of the Romano-Campanian coinage given by Svoronos, Τὰ νομίσματα τῶν Πτολεμαίων, i, pp. 148 ff, 217ff, and now by Mattingly, JRS, xxxv, 1945, p. 69; id. Num. Chron. 1946, pp. 63-7; cf. Altheim, Trans. Num. Cong. (1936), 1938, pp. 137-150. (As Dr. Milne points out to me, it is equally possible that the reverse of Mattingly's thesis is true, namely that Alexandrian minters borrowed from S. Italy, which would weaken, but not necessarily destroy Mattingly's case; it does not in itself seem so probable).

65. For the first Macedonian War v. De Sanctis, St.d.Rom. iii, 2, pp. 389-444; Holleaux, Rome etc. pp. 172-305; Walbank, Philip V, pp. 68-107. The date of the outbreak of the war is uncertain; v. the summary of the evidence in Walbank, op. cit. pp. 301-4. The two possible dated are autumn, 212 (as Holleaux, Rome etc., p. 209, note 2; id. CAH, viii, p. 124; and Walbank, op.cit. p. 302, note 2 for other references), or autumn 211 (as De Sanctis, op.cit. p. 441; Walbank, loc.cit). The date 211, although it implies a dislocation in the narrative or Livy, is perhaps preferable since it preserves the evidence for date given by Laevinus' reference to the fall of Capua and Syracuse in 211 (Liv (P), xxvi, 24,2).

For a discussion of the nature of the alliance v. Larsen, CP, xxx, 1935, p.199, note 2; Heuss, Völkerrechtliche Grundlagen, pp. 37 ff.

66. Polyb. ix, 42,5: cf. xxii, 8, 9-10, cf. Walbank, Philip V, p. 89, note 2. The Roman alliance with Aetolia provided that cities captured should go to the Aetolians, moveable property to the Romans: Liv (P) xxvi, 24, 11; Polyb. xi, 5, 5. (Hirschfeld, RE, s.v. Aigina (1) col. 967 says by error that the island was captured by the Athenians).
Attalus was elected στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ of the Aetolian League in the same year, Liv. (P), xxvii, 29, 10.

67. Liv (P) xxvii, 30, 4: eo legati ab rege Aegypti Ptolomaeo Rhodiisque et Atheniensibus et Chiis venerunt ad dirimendum inter Philippum atque Aetolos bellum.

68. Ibid. §§ 9-10. Heraeis peractis ab ipso ludicro extemplo Aegium profectus est ad indictum multo ante concilium. Ibi de Aetolico finiendo bello actum, ne cause aut Romanis aut Attalo intrandi Graeciam esset.

69. Ibid.

70. Liv. (P), xxviii, 7, 14: Inde Elatiam, iussis ibi se opperiri Ptolomaei Rhodio rumque legatis. Ubi cum de finiende Aetolico bello/ageretur--ad-fuerant enim legati nuper Heracleae concilio Romanorum Aetolorumque-- etc.

App. Maced. 3, 1, records an ambassy composed of Egyptian, Chian and Mytilenean envoys (and Amynandrus), which is certainly not the embassy of 208 B.C.(as Niese, Geschichte, ii, p. 490, note 1, thought), since there is no mention of Rhodians, while the Chians and Mytilenaeans are included by Appian. It may be, as Walbank, Philip V, p. 94, note 7 supposes, a false reproduction of the embassy of 207, which was composed of Egyptians, Rhodians, Byzantines, Chians and Mytilenaeans (v. i, p. 250), but, if so, Appian has omitted the Rhodians and Byzantines. More probably Appian has confused the members of the two embassies of 208 and 207 (cf. Van Gelder, GdR, p. 128, note 3). In Livy, Athens is represented only in 209 B.C.; the/assumption of Ferguson, Hell.Ath. p. 255, followed by Holleaux, Rome etc. p. 119 note 1, cf. Walbank, loc.cit). that Athenian envoys were present in 208 and 207 B.C. does not seem necessary.

71. Liv. (P) xxviii, 7, 10; Dio Cass. fr. 57, 58 (Boiss. p.256). Prusias is called Philip's κηδεστής in Polyb. xv, 22, 1, cf. Strab. 563: v. Wilhelm, Jahreshefte, xi, 1908, pp. 75-82, esp. 79-81; Ernst Meyer, Die Grenzen, pp. 113-4.

72. Liv. ibid. § 15.

73. Liv., xxix, 12, 1: neglectae eo biennio res in Graecia erant. Itaque Philippus Aetolos desertos ab Romano, cui uni fidebant auxilio, quibus voluit condicionibus ad petendem et paciscendam subegit pacem. v. Holleaux, Rome etc. pp. 245-254. Holleaux's thesis of Roman lack of interest in Greece in 207-6 is based primarily on this passage of Livy. The view that the troops were withdrawn (itself an assumption, but justified from Liv. (P) xxix, 12, 1, cf. Holleaux, op.cit. p. 245, note 3) to meet the new threat in the west caused by Hannibal's invasion of

Hasdrubal?

73. contd.

Italy (Liv (A) xxvii, 38, 1-9 records special measures taken to meet the danger in view of Roman diminished man-power), for which v. De Sanctis, St. dRom. iii, 2, p. 429, does not take into account the inadequacy of the forces Sulpicius had in Greece, v. Holleaux, op.cit. p. 248, note 1. On the other hand Rome, after the naval defeat of Carthage in 208 B.C. (Holleaux, op.cit. p. 244, note 2) had nothing to fear from a union of Philip and Hannibal, and was therefore free to withdraw.

74. Polyb. xi, 4, 1: ὅτι μὲν οὔτε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὔθ' ἡ τῶν Ῥοδίων πόλις οὔθ' ἡ τῶν Βυζαντίων καὶ Χίων καὶ Μυτιληναίων ἐν παρέργῳ πίθενται τὰς ὑμετέρας, ὦ ἄνδρες Αἰτωλοί, διαλύσεις, κ.τ.λ.

75. Polyb. xi, 4-6, 8. The excerpt does not give the name of the speaker, but it is written in the margin of F (Urbinas) by a second hand, as Δη[μητρίᾳ] Θρασυκράτους: v. Büttner-Wobst, and Hultsch, ad loc. Nor is it stated that he was a Rhodian, but he says himself that a Rhodian envoy was present, and that he was himself the Rhodian is clear from the whole tenour of his speech, and particularly, 4,6.

76. For the speeches inserted by Polybius in his history, v. Polyb. xxxvi, 1, 6-7: the duty of the historian is (τὰ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ῥηθέντα (καθ') ὅσον οἷόν τε πολυπραγμονήσαντας διασαφεῖν, καὶ τούτων τὰ καιριώτατα καὶ πραγματικώτατα. This leaves plenty of scope for invention. v. Ullrich, Die Reden bei Polybios, Prog. Zittau, 1905.

77. v. Holleaux, Rome etc. pp. 36-7.

78. v., e.g., Pais-Bayet, Hist.Rom. p. 359: 'Là (à Phalere) vinrent le (Philippe) trouver, pour s'intremettre de la paix, les ambassadeurs de Ptolémée IV Philopator et des Rhodiens.... Démarche intéressée....les Rhodiens, qui ne vivaient que du commerce international, subissaient du fait de la guerre des pertes incalculables: des préoccupations analogues tormentaient les autres'.

79. The calculation of Heichelheim, Wirtschaftsgeschichte, p. 473, is that 75% of the Rhodian handles from Athens date from after 220 B.C. But figures of this sort in regard to Amphora-handles have to be treated with caution, since the unpublished material in many ~~eases~~ instances is as large as, or larger than, the published: Cf. Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, iii, p. 1647, (note 10, ch. vi). Rhodian (or any other) amphora-handles from Greece proper, outside Athens, are almost confined to Corinth (for these v. Broneer, Hesp. xvi, 1947, p. 239, note 9 (cf. pl. lvii, 8):

79. contd.

"quantities ... mostly Knidian or Rhodian"; only two are dateable, and are assigned by Miss Grace (ibid.) to the second quarter of the second century B.C.).

80. v. i, pp. 246-7

81. v. i, pp. 214-5

82. v. i, pp. 198.

83. v. the list in Holleaux, Klio, xiii, 1913, p. 148, note 3. This evidence cannot be pressed far; it indicates only that Antiochus trusted numerous Rhodians. It gives no information as to his relations with their city of origin. (v. below, notes 103 and 344).

84. v. i, pp. 259-260.

85. Polyb. xi, 7, 2; Liv. (P) xxxvi, 31, 11: cf. Holleaux, Rome etc. p. 253, note 4. For the inaction of Rome after the victory of the Metaurus, v. Holleaux, ibid.pp. 251ff.

86. Liv. (P) xxix, 12, 2.

87. Liv. ibid. §§ 5ff.

88. Liv. ibid.§§ 8-16. The list of adscripti to the peace on the Roman side--Ilium, Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis, Elis,Messene, Athens--has occasioned considerable dispute: v. the bibliography in Walbank, Philip V, p. 103, note 6; especially Bickermann, Rev.Phil.lxi, 1935, pp. 59-81; ibid. pp. 161-176, who suggests with considerable plausibility that the Peace was a Κοινὴ εἰρήνη. v. however, below, note 140. The significance of the Peace is discussed by Holleaux, Rome etc. pp. 276-305; Walbank, op.cit. pp. 104-5; De Sanctis, St.d.Rom. iii, 2, pp.435-9.

89. v. p. 115 note 71.

90. For Heraclides, v. Polyb. xiii, 4.

91. Polyb. iii, 19, 11 = id. viii, 8a.

92. Polyb. xiii, 4, 5: ἀγχίνους ὑπῆρχε καὶ μνήμων, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ταπεινοτέρους καταπληκτικώτατος καὶ τολμηρότατος, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας κολακικώτατος.

93. Ibid. 7-8: ἔφυγε πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, παρ' ᾧ τοιαύτην περιεποιήσατο πίστιν καὶ δύναμιν ὥστε τοῦ καταστρέψασθαι τὴν τηλικαύτην βασιλέων σχεδὸν κρατίστου γεγονέναι.

94. v. p. 90 note 75

95. Polyb. iv, 53-4; for the request to Rhodes, 53, 1-2. For the Lyttan War v. Cardinali, Riv. Fil. xxxiii, 1905, pp. 519-55; id. ibid. xxxv, 1907, pp. 1-32; Beloch, GG2, iv, 1, pp. 725-6; Guarducci, Inscr. Cret. I, pp. 48-9; H.v. Effenterre, La Crète, pp. 158 ff, 253 ff.

96. Polyb. iv, 53, 2: τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ῥύσια καταγγεῖλαν τοῖς Ῥοδίοις, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν For ῥύσια καταγγεῖλαν v. Polyb. xxii, 4, 13; id. xxxii, 7, 4.

97. For possible references to later stages of the war, v. Effenterre, op.cit. pp. 223-4.

98. Diod. xxviii, 3; Κρῆτες γοῦν ἐπὶ πειρατείαν ἐπιβαλόμενοι τῶν πλεόνων ἐλήφθησαν οὐκ ὀλίγους. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀδυμοδίτων Ῥόδιοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὰ δικαίματα νομίσαντες ἥξειν πρὸς τοὺς Κρῆτας πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν

99. To judge from the decrees of the Cretan cities regarding the asylia of Teos, some of the cities of Crete were in the Seleucid (and also, doubtless Rhodian) camp, others friendly to Philip, v. below, note 102. The Cretan Κοινόν was certainly in existence at this time, but it did not have a federal foreign policy. v. van Effenterre, La Crète, pp. 127-160; ibid. pp. 222-225. The Hierapytnians are expressly mentioned as conducting the war in Syll3. 567 = SGDI, 3586. On the small number of Cretan ships engaged v. Effenterre, op.cit. pp. 224-5.

100. Documents referring to the war are; Cos: Syll3. 568-9. Calymna: Syll3. 567 = SGDI 3586. Carpathus (a Rhodian deme at the time, v. 'Islands'): I.G. xii, 1, 1036 = Syll3. 570 (probably belongs to this period; Pamphilidas may be identical with the Rhodian admiral of 190 B.C., v. i, pp. 310-311. If he is the father of the Nicagoras of I.G. xii, 1, 1036 = Syll3. 586 and allied inscriptions, of c. 198 B.C., for which v. p. 153, note 256, then Syll3. 570 is probably a good deal earlier, c. 220 B.C., and might refer to some piratical raids). Troezen: I.G. iv, 756 (with the excellent restoration of Herzog, Klio, ii, 1902, p. 330). A reference to Nabis' activity as an ally of the Cretans is found in Polyb. xiii, 8, 2: I.G. iv, 497 = Syll3. 594. On all these inscriptions v. Herzog, Klio, ii, 1902, pp. 316-333; whose chronology is, however, wrong, v. below, note 101.

100. contd.

The Nisyrian inscription, I.G. xii, 3, 103 = Syll^3. 673 also belongs to this war, and not to the Second Rhodio-Cretan War of 155/4 B.C. (Polyb. xxxiv, 4: 13, cf. vonHiller, SB. Berl. Akad. xxvi, 1895, pp 471 ff; id. Syll^3. ad loc. For this second war, which falls outside the scope of this work, v. Niese, Geschichte, III, pp. 324-6; Holleaux, REG, xxx, 1917, pp. 95-104; Segre, Riv.Fil. lxi, 1933, pp. 365-392; Effenterre, La Crète, pp. 267-9), as Holleaux, REG, loc.cit. showed.

101. Syll^3. 569: ἐπειδὴ [θε]ν[κλῆς διατελεῖ] τὸν εὐνοϊκώτατον τρόπο[ν δ]ιακείμενος ποτὶ τὸν δᾶμον τ[ὸν Ἀλασαρ]νιτᾶν . . . .(l.6) ἔν τε τῶι κρητικῶι πολε-μωι [illegible] . . . . (l.12) ἐν τε τῶι συνεστακότι πολέμωι. Herzog, Klio, ii, 1902, loc.cit. regards the συνεστακὼς πόλεμος as the second stage of the κρητικὸς πόλεμος, and [illegible] the Rhodian war against Crete, the Rhodian war against Philip, and the Rhodian participation in the Second Macedonian War, as continuous stages in one war. According to him, the Cretan War began in 204 B.C., and the events referred to in the previous note occurred in 201 B.C., after the Rhodians and Attalus had gone to war with Philip ('In dieses Kriegsjahr 201 sind wohl die meisten der behandelten Ereignisse zu setzen, sei es vor die Schlacht bei Chios oder nacher'). After Philip had left Caria, Rhodian attacks on the Cretans were intensified in the years 200-197 B.C., while the war against Philip is left largely to the Romans. (This stage, 200-197, is apparently the συνεστακὼς πόλεμος)

This chronology is, however, unacceptable; the Nisyrian inscription, I.G. xii, 3, 103 = Syll.^{3} 673 distinguishes the κρητικὸς πόλεμος (line 7) from the war of 201-197 B.C. (lines 12ff). v 'Peraea'. [illegible] This indicates that the two wars were separated by a peace, which is also testified by the Cretan documents in note 102.

102. The Cretan decrees regarding the Teian asylia are collected in SGDI 5165-5187; 2675; 1411. Most of them are in M51-68 (less 5170-75; 5184); in Inscr. Cret. they occur with characteristic inconvenience under their cities of origin.

The envoy of Antiochus III is mentioned in the Eleuthernian text, Inscr.Cret. II, p. 161, nr. 21 = SGDI, 5177 = M57, ll. 13ff: ὁμοίως δὲ παρεκάλ[εσε] καὶ Ἀρίστανδρος Εὐκράτευς Ῥόδιος ὁ παρὰ τᾶς βασιλέως Ἀντιόχω πρεσβευτὰς ἐπὶ τὰς τῶ πολέμω διαλύσεις ἀποσταλείς, οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων σπουδᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμίας κατ' οὐθένα τρόπον.
v. also the decrees of [illegible] Rhaucus, Inscr. Cret. I, p. 292 = SGDI 5167 = M53; Lappa, Inscr. Cret. II, p. 197 = LBW 168.

102. contd.

Effenterre, La Crète, p. 225 appears to infer from the fact that Antiochus' envoy was a Rhodian that he represented Rhodian policy. This is unwarranted, since he may have been a Rhodian exile.

103. v. Holleaux, Klio, xiii, 1913, pp. 137-159; Effenterre, La Crète, pp. 222-6; Guarducci, Riv. IGI, xvii, 1933, p. 112 (232).

104. For the date of the διαλύσεις in the Cretan documents v. below, note 136. The date of the origin of the war must fall before or during the year Ol. 143, 3-4 = 205/4. The year 205 follows from the sequence of the passage of Diodorus recording its outbreak, xxvii, 3, which precedes the passage recording Pleminius' sacrileges at Locri in 205 (v. Holleaux, Rome etc. p. 240, note 3 of p. 239). However a slight dislocation in the order of excerpts of Diodorus is possible.v. note 105.

105. The chronology here followed is that of Holleaux, REG, xxxiii, 1920, pp.223-247. The sources are: Polyb. xviii, 54,8: ὁ γὰρ Δικαίαρχος οὗτος ἦν, ὃν Φίλιππος, ὅτε προσέθετο παρασκευάζειν τὰς Κυκλάδας νήσους καὶ τὰς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου πόλεις, ἀπέστειλε τοῦ στόλου πάντος ἡγεμόνα καὶ τῆς ὅλης πράξεως ~~ἡγεμόνα~~ προστάτην, ὃς οὐ προδήλως ἀσεβῆσαι ἐπιχειρῶν οὐχ οὕτως ἄτοπόν τι πράττειν ὑπώμοσεν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς ἀπονοίας ὑπερβολῇ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπέλαβε καταπλήξεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οὗ γὰρ ὁρμήσειε τῆς ναῦς δύο κατεσκεύαζε βωμούς, τὸν μὲν Ἀσεβείας, τὸν δὲ Παρανομίας, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔθυε καὶ τούτους προσεκύνει καθάπερ ἂν εἰ δαιμόνως.

Diod. xxviii, 1: ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς Δικαίαρχον τὸν Αἰτωλόν, ἄνδρα τολμηρὸν πείρᾳ πειρατεύειν, ἔδωκε κατὰ τῶν νήσων εἴκοσι· προσέταξε δὲ τὰς μὲν νήσους φορολογεῖν, τοῖς δὲ κρηπιδωθεῖσιν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ῥοδίους πολέμῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοὺς μὲν ἐμπόρους ἐλήστευε, τὰς δὲ νήσους ἀπλάτων χρημάτων ἐποιεῖτο.

(For Dicaearchus in Egypt, v. PCol. Inv. 480, published by Westermann as Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt, 1929)

For Heraclides' part in the Cretan War v. Polyb. xiii, 4, 1-3; xiii, 5, 1-6; Polyaen. v, 17, 2.

The chronology of Holleaux, loc.cit. may be summarised here for convenience: (a) Dicaearchus' expedition to extract money from the islanders (Diod. xxviii, 1) must be earlier than 201, the year in which Philip seized the Cyclades and could extract money openly by right of conquest: (b) Dicaearchus' command (Polyb. xviii, 54, 8) τοῦ στόλου πάντος ἡγεμὼν καὶ τῆς ὅλης πράξεως ~~ὅλης~~ προστάτης was apparently an extraordinary one, and he appears to have had complete control. Holleaux interpreted this as an indication that Philip did not wish the relationship between himself and Dicaearchus to become known. This again presupposes a date before 201 B.C., the year of Philip's own operations.

The date to be derived from the position of Diod. xxviii, 1, in the Byzantine excerpts is uncertain (v. Holleaux, op.cit.

105. contd.

pp. 231-4). It can be used to support a date for Dicaearchus' expedition either before or after 202, and therefore cannot be used at all.

On the other hand Diod. xxviii, 1, is probably drawn from Polyb. xiii, which covered the years Ol. 143, 3-4 = 205-4 B.C., and in which Polybius recounts Philip's actions in stirring up the Cretans. Dicaearchus' activity was probably recorded before that of Heraclides, since Philip's part in war, which consisted in the dispatch of Dicaearchus to help the Cretans was already suspected by the Rhodians by the time Heraclides reached Rhodes (Polyb. xiii, 5, 1-6; Polyaen. loc. cit). It therefore follows that the account of Dicaearchus' activities in Polyb. xiii, preceded those of Heraclides.

106. Polyb. xviii, 54, 8.

107. Polyb. xiii, 4, 1-3; 5.

108. Polyaen. loc. cit. That Philip's part in the war was known is clear from the two passages referred to, note 105, end. Philip, for his part, appears to have engaged in a formal alliance with the Cretan communities: Polyaen. ibid. καὶ δὴ ἐπιστολὰς Φιλίππου δεικνύων γεγραμμένας πρὸς κρήτας, ἐν αἷς συνέθετο κατὰ Ῥοδίων τὸν πόλεμον ἐξοίσειν cf. Holleaux, REG, xxxiii, 1920, pp. 236ff.

109. Polyaen. ibid. ὁ δὲ νύκτωρ πνεῦμα ἐπίφορον παραφυλάξας τὰ νεώρια Ῥοδίων κατέβρεξεν. τριακόσιοι νεώσοικοι διεφθάρησαν, καὶ ὅσαι τριήρεις ἐν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ πῦρ ἐμβαλὼν παραχρῆμα σκάφους ἐπέβη ἀνήχθη, καὶ διαβὰς εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἦν παρὰ Φιλίππου κορυφαῖος τῶν φίλων Ἡρακλείδης.

110. It is argued by Holleaux, Klio, xiii, 1913, pp. 146ff., followed by Effenterre, La Crète, p. 225, that the failure of Philip's envoy, Perdiccas, to visit all the Cretan communities with the Tean envoys who perambulated the island (v. above, note 102), indicates that the cities which he did not visit were, or were becoming, disaffected from Macedonia. This disaffection will have had an immediate effect on the Prosecution of the war. Miss Guarducci, Riv.IGI, xvii, 1933, p. 112 (232) holds that the absence of Perdiccas is purely fortuitous, but the only evidence she produces is the appearance of Perdiccas and Hagesander together at Eleutherna. This only indicates the ambiguous position of that city.

111. v. above, note 100; Herzog, Klio, ii, 1902, pp. 316-333; Ormerod, Piracy, pp. 45-49.

112. v. i, pp. 556-7

113. v. Walbank, Philip V, pp. 111-2. Walbank regards these operations, as an 'alibi' for Philip's operations in the Aegean.

113. contd.

Undoubtedly they also had a serious military aim, to remove the possibility of incursions during absence abroad.

114. BMI, 444 = M431 = H182 = SGDI, 3750 = Holleaux, REG, xii, 1899, pp. 25-37 (important alterations in the text); id. REA, v. 1903, pp. 223-228. The Iasian-Rhodian alliance is mentioned in BCH, xiii, 1889, pp. 23ff, nr. 1, l.33ff: ἐπειδὴ Ῥόδιοι συγγενεῖς τε ὑπάρχοντες καὶ φίλοι καὶ [σ]ύμμαχοι τῆς πόλ[εως, κ.τ.λ.]

115. v. above, p. 114 , note 66.

116. Walbank, JHS, lxii, 1942, pp. 8-13, has shown that the view of A. Laumonier BCH, lviii, 1934, pp. 291-8, based on the inscription there published, that Olympichus was the strategus of a Macedonian province of Caria, is not acceptable, since the inscription is later than Philip's Carian expedition. Evidence for contact between Philip and Olympichus grows: the new inscription from Labranda, a photograph of which appeared in Illus. Lond.News, 15 Jan., 1949, p. 85, which contains a letter of Olympichus to the people of Labranda, enclosing a letter of Philip to him, shows Olympichus regulating the affairs of the city, or the temple, of Labranda. We must wait for the publication of the document to learn whether it is to be dated before or after 201 B.C.

A further document referring to Olympichus is probably BCH, xiii, 1889, pp. 23-4. The Olympichus of TAMA, vi, 3, 4, was a citizen of Laodicaea-on-Lycus, and nothing to do with Olympichus of Alinda; v. Robert, REG, lii, 1939, p. 506, nr. 393, 4; cf. Walbank, op.cit. p. 12, note 37. Bengtson, Strategie ii, pp. 367-9 accepts the interpretation of Laumonier, loc.cit.

117. Inscr. C, in Holleaux's edition, loc.cit. note 114 above (l.73 is not reproduced in H,M, SGDI)

118. Ibid.: ll. 90-3: δηλούτω[ν] αὐτῶι (sc. τῶι Ὀλυμπίχωι) τοὶ πρεσβευτὰι ὅτι τᾶμ μὲν φιλίαν καὶ τὰν εὐ-νοιαν τὰν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῶι ποτὶ βασιλ[έα] Φίλιππον διαφυλάξει ὁ δᾶμος, πράξει δὲ ἃ πρεπείσται συμφέ-ροντα φρονεῖν ποτὶ τὰν βασιλέως εὐσέβειαν.

119. v. Holleaux, loc.cit.

120. For the controversial question of the date of the death of Philopator, v. Walbank, JEA, xxii, 1936, pp. 20-34; Nims, ibid. xxiv, 1938, pp. 73-4; Skeat, Mizraim, vi, 1937, pp. 32-3; Magie, JRS, xxix, 1939, p. 34, note 11; Bikerman, Chron. d'Egypte, xxix, 1940, pp. 124-131. The most probable solution is that Philopator died in autumn 204, but that his

120. contd.

death was concealed for a year and announced in Autumn 203. The fact of concealment, recorded by Justin, xxx, 2, 6, sed mors eius dum pecuniam regiam mulieres rapiunt et imperium initia cum perditissimis societate occupare conantur, diu occultata fuit (cf. Polyb. xv, 25, 3ff), makes the evidence derived from the dating of Egyptian documents indecisive.

121. Polyb. xv, 25 (a), 13, cf. Holleaux, Rome etc., p. 79, note 1, and note 123, below.

122. The date of the death of Sosibius is conjectural: v. Holleaux, REA, xiv, 1912, p. 372, note 2 = Etudes, iii, p. 49, note 3. The order of events given here is that of Walbank, JEA, xxii, 1936, pp. 20ff; cf. id. Philip V, p. 112.

123. Polyb. xv, 25 (a), 13: Πτολεμαῖον δὲ τὸν Σωσιβίου πρὸς Φίλιππον τά τε περὶ τὰς ἐπιγαμίας συνθησόμενον καὶ παρακαλέσαντα βοηθεῖν. The phrase τά τε περὶ τὰς ἐπιγαμίας implies the earlier negotiations: cf. Holleaux, loc.cit. note 121 above.

124. Polyb. xvi, 22, 3: κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀναχωμίζομενος ἥκει παρὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Σωσιβίου. The date is after summer 202 B.C. v. De Sanctis, St. d.Rom. iv. 1, p. 4, note 10; Holleaux, Rome etc. p. 290, note 1.

125. For the 'Secret Pact', v. Additional Note 13.

126. The terms are given in Polyb. iii, 2, 8: καὶ τὰς χώρας ἐνεβάλλετο Φίλιππος μὲν τοῖς κατ' Αἴγιον καὶ Κόρινθον καὶ Σάμον, Ἄντιοχος δὲ τοῖς κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην. Κατ' Αἴγιον is Niebuhr's emendation, Kl.Schr. p. 295 (note 87, cf. p. 294), for the κατ' Αἴγυπτον of the Mss. The latter might be correct in view of Polyb. xvi, 10 (a) (after the battle of Lade) δῆλον ὡς ἐξὸν γε πεδεῖν τὸν Φιλίππου καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρων πλοῦν (cf. below, p. 142 note 159). Holleaux, REG xii, 1898, p. 37, note 2 proposed κατὰ Κῖον (cf. König, Der Bund der Nesioten, p. 30, note 7); palaeographically ~~there is little~~ this is ~~between~~ ~~the two~~, and ~~but~~ the more general phrase ~~κατ'~~ κατ' Αἴγιον seems more suitable with the plural article. Appian's Κυκλάδας νήσους, Maced. 4, is a slight support for this emeddation.

127. For the possible attack on Egypt, v. the previous note. For Cyrene, v. App. Maced, 4, Passerini, Athenaeum, NS, ix, 1931, pp. 548-9, esp. 549, contends that the inclusion of Egypt and Cyrene is a true reproduction of the rumours abroad at the time, and recorded in Appian's sources. He supposes that it

127. contd.

was apprehension lest Philip and Carthage should unite by way of Cyrene which struck especial fear into the heart of the Senate. However, his contention that Philip, before 201 intended to move west implies that Philip's position was far more favourable than it in fact was at that time.
For Cyprus, v. App. ibid. Cyprus was to go to Antiochus as part of his invasion of Egypt. This sounds an unlikely addition. For Polybius' Καρία Appian has Ἰωνία , which must be his error.

128. v. i, pp. 213-4

129. v. i, pp. 195.

130. v. i, pp. 296 ff.

131. Polyb. xv, 23, 8-9; cf. id. xviii, 3, 11; 4, 5-6. The alliance is recorded in id. xv, 23, 9. It has been much disputed when these cities were first allied to Aetolia. The most likely occasion is the First Macedonian War. v. Flacelière, Les Aetoliens, p. 312, esp. note 3; Walbank, Philip V, p. 306, note 7; De Sanctis, St.d.Rom. iv, 1, p.6, note 14; Holleaux, Rome etc. p. 291, note 2. Philip's treaty with Lysimachia, Oikonomos, Ἐπιγραφαὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας, I, pp. 2ff, is reproduced by Bickermann, Rev. Phil. NS, xiii, 1939, pp. 348-9. The occupation of Perinthus is implied by the Rhodian demand at the Conference of Nicaea, that Philip should restore the sympolity of Perinthus with Byzantium, Polyb. xviii, 2, 4: v. i, p
In 196, the commissioners included in it the towns to be left free by Philip, Polyb. ibid. 44, 2. The siege of Cius is recorded in Polyb. xv, 21-22, 1.

132. Polyb. xv, 22, 4: τρίτον ὡς ἐνυβρίκει τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων πόλεων πρεσβευταῖς, οἳ παρῆσαν ἐξελούμενοι τοὺς κινδύνους ἐκ τῶν περεστώτων κακῶν.

133. Polyb. xv, 23, 1-2.

134. Ibid. §§ 3-4.

135. Ibid. § 6 : ὁ δὲ τῶν Ῥοδίων δῆμος ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας ὡς περὶ πολεμίου διεκάμβανε τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν σκόπον ἐποιεῖτο τὰς παρασκευάς.

136. Philip's capture of Teos seems a necessary prelude to the despatch of his agent Perdiccas, called a Tean citizen (SGDI, 5176, 11, 24-5, cf. Holleaux, Klio, xiii, 1913, p. 141), with

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the Teian envoys to Crete on Philip's behalf. Teos was captured in 201, probably after Philip's occupation of Samos, and before the battle of Chios. The despatch of the envoys etc. will have occurred after the battle; some time has to be allowed for the organisation of the town in Philip's favour, the grant of honours to Perdiccas, and the despatch of the embassy. Holleaux, Klio, loc.cit. p. 140, originally supposed the capture of Teos to have occurred in about June 201, in the course of Philip's march north to Peragmum; later REA, xxvi, 1923, p. 334, he assigned it to earlier in the year, before Chios. De Sanctis, St.d.Rom. iv, 1, p.11, note 28, accepted Holleaux's first dating, apparently supposing Philip to have gone north by sea and not by land, and to have put in at Teos. But Philip went by land (v. Holleaux, REA, xxiii, 1921, pp.202-3), and is unlikely to have made the considerable détour necessary to capture Teos, on that occasion. (cf. Walbank, Philip V, p. 121, note 3). The only other likely time for Philip to have captured the town is between the occupation of Samos and the battle of Chios, since after Chios and before Lade Philip was in a hurry to return to Samos (though he did not do so: v. Holleaux, REA, xxiii, 1921, p. 194).

It has been supposed by Ruge, RE, s.v. Teos, cols. 548-9 (cf. Magie, Buckler Studies, p. 168, note 3, Walbank, Philip V, p. 121, note 3) that all the asylia-decrees belong to 205-3, and 'provide no evidence for Philip's occupation of the town' (Walbank, loc.cit., cf. Bickermann, Hermes, lxvii, 1932, p. 68, note 4), but Holleaux's date is more probable. The claim of Walbank that 'Hagesander's presence shows that Teos was at that time in Antiochus' hands' is difficult to follow. Hagesander is only described as an envoy of Antiochus, while Perdiccas, Philip's envoy, is expressly mentioned as a of Teos (v. above). This surely indicates that Philip's interests in the town were predominant. The acquisition of this interest can only have occurred in 201 B.C.

137. v. Segre, Riv.Fil. lxi, 1933, pp. 365-392.

138. v. p. 133 note 103.

139. v. p. 130, note 88.

140. This critical issue must be expressed thus conditionally, because (a) the precise significance of the Peace of Phoenice remains doubtful: v. note 88. (b) At the conference of Nicaea in 197, Flamininus demanded that Philip should evacuate

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all Greece, return the prisoners and deserters he had, and to restore to Rome the places in Illyria of which he had made himself master after the 'peace-negotiations in Epirus' (Polyb. xviii, 1, 14). This would be a decisive indication that Philip had broken the terms of the peace, and that Roman intervention against him had a valid juridical basis, if it were certain that the 'places in Illyria' were not some to which Philip was entitled by the terms of the Peace, which are obscure in respect of Illyria, and which the Romans now claimed as theirs or under their protection, for the first time. The probability is certainly that these conquests between 204 and 197 B.C. are fabrications, since they do not appear in the two ultimata in 200: v. Polyb. xvi, 27, 2; 34, 3-4. To this extent Holleaux is right, Rome etc. p.278, note 1; but his claim that Flamininus did not mean conquests made after 204, since μετά means 'en vertu et à la suite' cannot be sustained, in spite of Walbank, Philip V, p. 160, note 4.

141. v. i, pp. 250 ff.

142. The date of the Aetolian embassy recorded in Liv. (P), xxxi, 29, 4 (?xxx,26,2), App. Maced. 4, 2, is disputed; the date here adopted is that of Holleaux, Rome etc. p. 293, note 1, which is almost certainly correct. For a summary of the controversy, v. Walbank, Philip V, pp. 310-311.

143. v. i, pp. 249-250

144. Polyb. xvi, 9, the character-sketch of Theophiliscus: §4: νῦν δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀρχὴν πολέμου ποιήσας ἠνάγκασε μὲν τὴν αὑτοῦ πατρίδα συνεξαναστῆναι τοῖς καιροῖς, ἠνάγκασε δὲ τὸν Ἄτταλον μὴ μέλλειν καὶ παρασκευάζειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

The double use of ἠνάγκασε is striking. Without pressing it too far, it is reasonable to see in it an indication that Theophiliscus was the driving-force behind the alliance; people in Rhodes were lethargic, Attalus was dilatory, and it was Theophiliscus who brought home to all the needs of the moment.

The Rhodian lethargy, and Attalus' dilatoriness may in part have been due to a real lack of friendship between Rhodes and Pergamum, the existence of which has been emphasised, perhaps over-emphasised, by C.G. Starr, CP, xxiii, 1938, pp. 63-8. In addition to aspects of this hostility mentioned in the present work (v. i, pp. 248 ff.,), Starr notes that in

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220 in the Rhodio-Byzantine war, Attalus was only prevented from assisting Byzantium by his temporary weakness, and that Attalus was not a benefactor at the time of the Rhodian earthquake. Starr also supposes that the alliance between Rhodes and Attalus began to founder after the death of Theophiliscus, and attempts to explain Attalus' absence from Lade (v. i, pp. 274) on this hypothesis. But it is more probable that his absence was due to military considerations (Philip's invasion of Pergamene territory) the alliance was still operative in autumn 201, when representatives of the two powers went to Rome together to plead for assistance.

145. v. i, p. 255

146. Liv. xxxi, 29, 4: 'Quid ad nos venitis Aetoli, sine quorum auctoritate pacem cum Philippo fecistis?'. App. Maced. 4,2: Ῥωμαῖοι δ' Αἰτωλοῖς ἐμέμψαντο ὅτι οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ μεταβολῆς (App. wrongly puts the embassy after the Rhodian one; he omits the Pergamene one)

147. Philip's conquest of the Cyclades is nowhere recorded; it has to be inferred from the Rhodian acquisition of the following year (v. i, pp. 280 ff.). It is clear from the narrative of Dicaearchus' activities that Philip did not control the islands in 205/4 (v. above, note 105): and after Lade he had no opportunity. The event might fall in 203 or 202, but the latter year is unlikely (though accepted by Treves, RE, s.v. Philippos (10), col. 2313) in view of Philip's preoccupation in the Hellespontine and Propontid regions, while the former is to be rejected because it precedes the alliance with Antiochus III, by which Philip was enabled to occupy Τὰ κατ' Αἴγιον. cf. Holleaux, REA, xxv, 1923, p. 340, note 2.

148. Liv. xxxi, 15, 8: cf. above, p. 108, note 39 .

149. App. Maced. 4, 1; cf. Liv. (P), xxxi, 31, 4. Samos was allotted to Philip in the alliance with Antiochus: v. the passages referred to, above, note 125. The resistance of the Samians, described in the inscription published by G. Klaffenbach, Ath. Mitt. li, 1926, pp. 28-33, probably belongs to this occasion. v. following note.

150. The inscription mentioned in note 149 shows that the city resisted, and doubtless with it the Egyptian garrison (For the Egyptian garrison on Samos, v. Robert, Étud. Épigr. et. philol. pp. 113ff), cf. Holleaux, REA, xxiii, 1921, pp. 181-3. The

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view of Walbank, Philip V, p. 118, and McDonald, JRS, xxvii 1937, p. 186, note 41, that 'Samos remained technically Egyptian' is very hard to accept. Its mention as Ptolemaic in 197 only indicates that Philip no longer held the island. Since his tenure was an act of war, and had not been recognised, the island naturally returned to its previous allegiance on its evacuation by Macedonian troops. The fact that it 'remained juridically Egyptian' does not mean that Egypt acquiesced in its occupation.

151. The order of events here followed for the year 201 is that of Holleaux REA, xxii, 1920, pp. 237-258; ibid. xxiii, 1921, pp. 181-212; ibid. xxv, 1923, pp. 330-366. Perhaps the most controversial issue is whether the battle of Chios or that of Lade was fought first. The order of the two fragments relating to the battles in Polyb. xvi, is arbitrary, since they are drawn from different excerpts. (Thus Dindorf, ed. Teubner, 1867, puts the reference to Lade as xvi, 1a, and the account of Chios as chs. 2-9, and has no ch. 10 (v. his intro. p. xi: 'ch. x (nunc est c.1b)'), while Büttner-Wobst, Teubner, 1893, has Chios in chs. 2-9, and Lade as ch. 10. cf. Holleaux, REA, xxii, 1920, p. 243. For the relation of ch.10, 1 to 10, 2-4 in the excerpta de sententiis v. Holleaux, loc. cit. p. 241, note 1.

I have followed Holleaux in supposing Chios to have preceded Lade. De Sanctis, St. d. Rom., iv, 1, p. 10, note 27, followed by Griffith, Camb. Hist. Jour. v, 1935, p. 8, McDonald, JRS, xxvii, 1937, p. 186, note 42, Walbank, Philip V, pp. 307-8, Pais-Bayet, Hist.Rom^{2}. i, pp. 485-6, held that the battle of Chios was fought after the Battle of Lade. The evidence still seems to point the other way.

In particular (1) The phrase in Polyb. xvi, 10, τὸν Ἄτταλον μηδέπω συμμεμιχέναι might be used either with reference to Attalus' rejoining the Rhodian fleet, no less than of his first joining it.

(2) The use of κίνδυνος in xvi, 9, 2, which De Sanctis held proved that there had been more than one battle, proves nothing, since it is the normal word for a battle in Polybius (v. Schweighaüser, Lex. Polyb. s.v. κίνδυνος); it may of course also mean 'danger', but that is another matter.
Walbank, Philip V, p. 309, says that κίνδυνος means 'all the events of that critical year, right up to the battle of Chios'; but this is not in accordance with Polybius' use of the word, and would, anyhow, surely require the plural κίνδυνοι (as in Syll^{3}. 410, 1.21; 742, 1.23)

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(3) The statement in xvi, 10, that after Lade Philip, had he so wished, could have sailed on Alexandria, is the strongest argument in favour of De Sanctis' dating, since after Chios Philip could hardly have had the strength to contemplate such a course. v. below, note 159, and p. 143 note 159.

(4) On the other hand, a strong, though not a conclusive, argument, in favour of the priority of Chios, pointed out by Holleaux, REA, xxii, 1920, pp. 245-6, is that, in his polemic against Zeno and Antisthenes, the Rhodian historians (xvi, 15, 8), for their version of the Battle of Lade, Polybius refers to a letter written by the Rhodian 'nauarch' after that battle. Had he been Theophiliscus, the noted admiral, who died the day after the battle of Chios (Polyb. xvi, 9, 1), after having appointed Cleonaeus as his successor, it seems probable that he would have been mentioned by name. On this assumption Cleonaeus was the Nauarch at Lade (For Cleonaeus, v. I.G.xii, 3, 103 = Syll^3. 673, and above note 100)

153. Polyb. xvi, 2, 1 (Chios is not mentioned by name, v. Holleaux, REA, xxii, 1920, pp. 252-5), Plut. Mor. 245 B.C; App. Maced. 4, 1, wrongly says τὸν ἐξῆς , cf. Holleaux, ibid. p. 238, note 5.

154. Polyb. ibid. §§ 1-4, Philip, hearing of the approach of the enemy, tries to reach Samos; the enemy therefore must have been north of him. How and why they were north of Chios remains a mystery. v. Holleaux, REA, xxv, 1923, p. 335, who suggests, that the Rhodians had been joining the Pergamene fleet; Polyb. xvi, 9, 4 ἠνάγκασε δὲ τὸν Ἄτταλον hardly supports this, since it refers to general policy rather than a single event.
The Byzantine assistance is recorded in id. xvi, 2, 10.

155. Polyb. xvi, 2, 5-8, 10.

156. v. the detailed account, i, pp. 601ff.

157. This follows from Polyb. ibid. 10, 1: τὸν δ' Ἄτταλον μηδέπω συμμεμιχέναι. cf. above, note 152, (1), and Holleaux, REA, xxii, 1920, pp. 241-3; ibid. xxv, 1923, pp. 337-9.

158. cf. Holleaux, REA, xxv, 1923, p. 336.

159. Polyb. xvi, 10. cf. Holleaux, REA, xxiii, 1921, pp. 194-6. For the phrase δῆλον ὡς ἐξῆν νε πλεῖν τῷ Φιλίππῳ τὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πλοῦν. v. above, note 152 (3). A possible interpretation of this passage might be that Polybius is referring to direction only: 'The route south', and that he does not mean to imply that

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Alexandria was Philip's military objective. But it is difficult to see why he should bother to mention a fact of minor importance (though the route 'Rhodes-Alexandria' survived as a nautical expression until late Byzantine times: v. A. Delatte, Les Portolans Grecs, 1947, p. 131: section beginning: ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥόδου πρὸς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν)

160. Polyb. xvi, 10: cf. xvi, 14, 5; ibid. 15, 1-4, Polybius' criticism of Antisthenes and Zeno, the Rhodian historians, for their attempt to make Lade a Rhodian victory; cf. Tarn, JRS, xxxi, 1941, p. 172; Holleaux, REA, xxiii, 1921, pp. 194-6.

161. Polyb. xvi, 15,6; cf. Holleaux, REA, xxii, 1920, pp. 255-7.

162. v. ~~supra~~ Plut. Demetr. 46, ; cf. i, p. 175.

163. For Philip's campaign against Pergamum, Polyb. xvi, 1, v. Holleaux, REA, xxiii, 1921, pp. 196-204, and for the chronology, id. REA, xxv, 1923, pp. 350-366.

164. v. Philip's letter to the Athenian cleruchs on Lemnos, published by Accame, Riv. Fil. lxix, 1942, pp. 179-193. The correct chronology is established by A.H. McDonald, in a forthcoming article, which he has kindly permitted me to see before publication.

165. For Philip's route, v. Holleaux, REA, xxiii, 1921, pp. 202-3, cf. above, note 136. For the activity of the Macedonian fleet, v. Holleaux, REA, xxv, 1923, pp. 339-347. The main documents are: Cos; Syll^3. 569, 11, 12ff (defence of Cos ἐν τῷι συνεστακότι πολέμωι: v. above, note 100. Whether Cos took any offensive part in the war by sending a contingent to join the Rhodian and Pergamene fleets at Chios is doubtful. The absence of any reference to such activity in Syll^3. 569, is not conclusive, since Theucles' services were all performed in home defence. Walbank, Philip V, p. 121, says 'since the battle of Lade Chios had joined the anti-Macedonian coalition, along with Rhodes, Pergamum, and, probably, Cyzicus, Cos and Byzantium' but quotes no evidence for Cos. Cyzicus assisted at the Siege of Abydos in 200, but probably only because of its proximity. There is no evidence that a Cyzicene contingent participated in the Aegean campaign of 201). Nisyrus: I.G. xii, 3, 91 = Syll^3. 572. cf. Holleaux, REA, xxv, 1923, pp. 339-347, for the date, and cf. 'Islands'.

166. For the following events, v. Polyb. xvi, 11, 1, and the references given in the following notes, and Holleaux, REA, xxii, 1920, pp. 248-250; and, [redacted] 'Peraea'. For the chronology, Holleaux, ibid. xxiii, 1921, pp. 204-212; ibid.xxv, 1923, p. 352.

167. v. Polyb. xvi, 11, 1 (The name Cnidus is not given in the text of the excerpt, but is recorded in the margin, ἐπὶ τῆς Κνίδου πόλεως).

168. Polyb. ibid. § 1: ἀπεχώρει πορθῶν τὰ φρούρια καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν συνοικίας.

169. Polyb. ibid. 2; cf. Polyaen. iv, 18, 1; Front, Strat. iii, 8, 1. For the probable site of Prinassus, v. 'Peraea'.

170. For this area, with its date of acquisition v. 'Peraea'.

171. These places are mentioned by Liv (P) xxxiii, 18, in his account of the Rhodian reconquest in 197 (v. i, pp. 295ff.). For Panamara, v. 'Peraea'. App. Maced. 4, 1 says ἐ τήν τε Ῥοδίων περαίων ἐθνῶν διαλλακτήρων οἱ γεγονότων.

172. Polybius, in his account of the claims made by the Rhodians at Nicaea, for which v. i, pp. 292 ff., refers to some of these conquests: cf. also below, note 176.

172. Holleaux, BCH, xvii, 1893, pp. 53-60 = Etudes I, pp. 411-5. The name of the Rhodian epistates is unfortunately missing, only the first two letters of his name being visible. Wilhelm, GGA, 1900, pp. 90-1 restored Πο[λυ]κ[ράτ]ης Διὶ λοχ[ου] Walbank, Philip V, p. 126, note 1, says that the name of this epistates was Nicophanes; but that was the name of his adoptive father, not his own name. The date of the inscription is uncertain; it was clearly set up after 197, when the place had been recaptured by Rhodes, v. 'Peraea'.

173. Polyb. xvi, 12; the conquest of these towns is only recorded by Polybius with reference to the demands made by the Rhodians in 197, that Philip should evacuate them. v. i, pp. 292 ff. cf. Holleaux, REA, xxii, 1920, p. 248; ibid. xxiii, 1921, pp. 205-8.

174. Polyb. xvi, 24, 1; he was not present at Lade (v. Polyb. xvi, 10, and above note 152, 157); at what point in the interval he joined is uncertain. v. Holleaux REA, xxv, 1923, pp. 337-9.

175. Tarn JRS, xxxi, 1941, p. 172, holds that Philip remained voluntarily in the Bargylietic Gulf. The hardships undergone by his troops (v. note 176) make this unlikely, but not impossible.

176. Polyb. xvi, 24,4ff. Polybius here refers to attacks on cities in Caria, Mylasa, Alabanda, and Magnesia, undertaken to obtain provisions. This may have been the occasion of the capture of Alabanda presupposed in Liv. xxxiii, 18, 7 (v. note 171 above).

177. v. McDonald, JRS, xxvii, 1937, pp. 185-7, whose views I accept, except in so far as they affect Samos. (v. above note 150).

178. v. above, note 125.

179. Polyb. xvi, 24, 2-3: φοβούμενος (sc. ὁ Φίλιππος) μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἠγνόει τὰς ἐξαποστελλομένας κατ' αὐτοῦ πρεσβείας εἰς Ῥώμην. Presumably these πρεσβεῖαι are those referred to Liv (A), xxxi, 2, 1 (201 B.C.) sub idem fere tempus (i.e. as the alleged Athenian embassy to Rome, v. below, note) et ab Attalo rege et Rhodiis legati venerunt nuntiantes Asiae quoque civitates sollicitari. cf. App. Maced. 4, 2. The Rhodio-Pergamene embassy was certainly later than the Aetolian, for which v. above, p. 139, note 142

180. App. loc. cit: καὶ τὴν δόξαν (i.e. of the treaty between Philip and Antiochus) ἐκπλήσσουσαν ἅπαντας, Ῥόδιοι μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐμήνυσαν. Note that Appian omits the Pergamene embassy. It was probably at the time of the arrival of the Rhodian and Pergamene envoys that Plautus' Cistellaria was performed, with its reference in l. 199, servate vostrōs socios veteres et novos: cf. T. Frank, Buckler Studies, pp. 85-8.

181. v. above, notes 142, 146.

182. From the vast literature on this subject v. in particular, De Sanctis, St.d.Rom. iv, 1, pp. 21 ff. Holleaux, Rome etc. passim; Carcopino, Points de vue, pp. 21-69; Griffith, Camb. Hist. Jour v, 1935, pp. 1-14; Passerini, Athenaeum, NS, ix, 1931, pp. 542-562; Bickermann, Rev. Phil. lxi, 1935, pp. 59-81; ibid. 161-176; Walbank, Philip V, pp. 127-8.

183. The determination of the Senate to open hostilities is reflected in the election of P. Sulpicius Galba to the consulate (Liv(A), xxxi, 4,4), and the allotment of Macedonia to him as his province (ibid). This occurred in early winter 201-0, shortly after the Rhodian and Pergamene envoys had appeared before the Senate: v. Münzer, RE, s.v. Sulpicius (64), col. 805; De Sanctis, Riv.Fil. lxiv, 1936, pp. 200-1. Sulpicius did not, of course, reach his province until c. Mid-September 200, towards the end of his year of office, v. Holleaux, BCH, lvi, 1932, pp. 531-545.

184. Liv (A), xxxi, 2, 2: his legationibus (i.e. the Rhodian and Pergamene) responsum est curae eam rem senatui fore; consultatio de Macedonico bello integra ad consules, qui tunc in provinciis erant, reiecta est.

185. Liv. ibid. Interim ad Ptolemaeum, Aegypti regem, legati tres missi, C. Claudius Nero, M. Aemilius Lepidus, P. Sempronius Tuditanus, etc. The activity of these legati is much disputed. Livy says they were sent to Egypt only (or at least does not say they were sant anywhere else), and that the purpose of their mission was to thank Epiphanes for his loyalty during the Hannibalic War. (Walbank's view, Philip V, pp. 313-4, that the Livian version is suspect because Epiphanes was only a child, is surely very naif. The Senate was expressing its gratitude to the Egyptian government, in the person of its sovereign). App. Maced. 4, 2, records a Roman embassy at this time (after the Rhodian embassy) to Philip and Antiochus, which instructed the latter not to invade Egypt, and the former not to harm the Rhodians, the Athenians, Attalus, or any other friend of Rome. Polyb. xvi, 27, 5 says that the embassy which delivered the ultimatum to Nicanor in Athens in 200 (v. i, pp. 282-3), ἀπέστειλαν ὡς Ἀντίοχον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις (of the Fifth Syrian War).

Unfortunately the names of the envoys who were in Athens in 200 are not recorded by Polybius, so their identity with the envoys of Livy cannot be established. For a reconstruction of the events of 200, much of which turns on the activities of the Roman envoys, v. McDonald, JRS, xxvii, 1937, pp. 187ff, cf. Walbank, Philip V, pp. 313-317; Scullard, Hist. of Rom. World, p. 255, note 2; Passerini, Athenaeum, NS, ix, 1931, pp. 269-290; Bickermann, Rev. Phil. lxi, 1935, pp. 165-174.

186. Polyb. xvi, 27, 4. The aim of this procedure is not clear. It may have been no more than an attempt to win the approval of neutral states.

187. Polyb. xvi, 25, 1; Liv. xxxi, 14, 11; ibid. 15, 8. cf. McDonald, JRS, xxvii, 1937, p. 188.

188. Liv. xxxi, 15, 5; cf. McDonald, op.cit. pp. 188-9.

189. Liv. ibid. 14, 11; cf. Holleaux, REA, xxv, 1923, pp. 355-359.

190. Polyb. xvi, 26; Liv. xxxi, 14, 6-10: McDonald, op.cit. p.188.

191. Liv. ibid. cf. McDonald, op.cit. pp. 188-9.

It was on this occasion that the tribe Ἀττάλις was established, Polyb. Ibid.; Liv. xxxi, 15, 6.

192. Polyb. xvi, 25, 4-26, 7./ The relative coldness of the Athenian welcome to the Roman envoys is noted by Holleaux, REA, xxii, 1920, pp. 88-90; id. Rome etc. p. 270, note 2. The Rhodian Demos was voted a στέφανος ἀριστείων and Athenian ἰσοπολιτεία for their assistance in the recapture of the ships (v. note 188). In Liv. xxxi, 15, 7, civitasque Rhodiis data quem ad modum Rhodii prius Atheniensibus dederant, is not recorded by Polybius, and is probably untrue. As Wilamowitz, Reden und Vorträge[4], ii, p. 193, note 1 pointed out, the Rhodians bestowed such honours rarely; v. i, pp. 506 ff..

193. The relations between Athens and Rome before 200 B.C. are examined by Holleaux, REA, xxii, 1920, pp. 93-6; id. Rome etc. pp. 267-270. For the Athenian embassies to Rome, ibid. pp. 77-93.

194. Polyb. xvi, 26, Cf. McDonald, JRS, xxvii, 1937, p. 190.

195. Polyb. xvi, 26, 10: οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων ταῦτα διαπραξάμενοι ἀνῆχθησαν εἰς τὴν Κέων ἐπὶ τὰς νήσους μετὰ τοῦ στόλου.
Liv. xxxi, 15, 9: Rhodii Ciam ab Aegina, inde per insulas Rhodum navigarunt omnibus praeter Andrum Parumque et Cythnum, quae praesidiis Macedonum tenebantur, in societatem acceptis.
An interesting variant is found in Dio Cass. fr. 58, 4 = Zonar. ix, 15, 5 (I, p. 276, Boiss): καὶ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀπούσπεος μετὰ τῶν Ῥοδίων καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀττάλου περιπλέων ἰσχυὰς μὲν νήσους ἐκεκρώκατο
This, if true, might suggest that the Cyclades had originally been transferred to Rhodes with Roman help; but Polybius is silent on the point. It is worthy of note that Livy here agrees with Polybius against Dio; v. Schwartz, RE, s.v. Cassius (40), col. 1696, who however has omitted to note this point.

196. v. Additional Note 14.

197. v. i, pp. 254-5

198. v. i, pp. 216 ff. , for Macedonian influence in the Cyclades.

199. For the Rhodian Nesiotic League, v. 'Islands'.

200. Polyb. xvi, 27, 1; cf. Liv (P), xxxi, 16 1-2, Livy records the name of the Macedonian commander as Philocles. Walbank, JRS, xxvii, 1937, p. 192, note 75, assumes on this account that there were two expeditions; this interpretation seems over-subtle.

201. Polyb. ibid. 2-3. cf. Walbank, Philip V, p. 131.

202. Ibid. § 5. The inconsequential nature of the activities of the Roman envoys at this point is perhaps the best indication that they are historical.

203. Liv. xxxi, 16, 3-4: for the expedition of Philocles against the Attic countryside, recorded ibid. by Livy, v. above note 200. The statement in Polyb. xvi, 29, 1 probably refers to this expedition, cf. De Sanctis, St.d.Rom. iv, 1, p. 34. Maroneia was doubtless included in the Thracian cities captured by Euergetes at the beginning of his reign; v. OGIS, 54, ll. 13ff, Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, pp. 346-7. The Ptolemaic possessions in this area were governed in c. 240, by Hippomedon, for whom v. Teles, περὶ φυγῆς, p. 23, 12; Syll^3.502. v. also the Samothracian inscription in honour of Epinicus, ὁ τεταγμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου ἐπὶ Μαρωνείας, published by Balalakis-Scranton, AJP, lx, 1939, pp. 452-458 (cf. Roussel, BCH, lxiii 1939, pp. 133-141; Rostovtzeff, AJP. lxi, 1940, pp. 207-8; Welles, ibid.; Robert, REG, lii, 1939, pp. 492-3; Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, iii, p. 1645, note 131 adds nothing)

204. For Philip's other conquests in the Thraceward regions, v. Liv. xxxi, 16 4-5. For Abydus, ibid. §§ 6-18, 6: Polyb. xvi, 29-34.

205. Paus. i, 36, 5-6. For Cephisodorus, v. McDonald, JRS, xxvii, 1937, pp. 198-203, based on the inscription published by Meritt, Hesp. v, 1936, pp. 419-421. These ships, as Paus. loc.cit. says, πρὸς ὁπλίτας τοὺς Μακεδόνας οὐ μεγάλα ὠφέλουν. They were apparently used for the defence of the Attic Paralia against chance raids from pirates operating from the Euboic coast. (Liv. (P), xxxi, 22, 7-8).

Byzantine help was probably also sent to Athens about this time, v. I.G. ii^2, 884 = Syll^3. 580, in which the Athenians honour officers of a Byzantine naval squadron (For this inscription, v. above, note 27).

206. Liv (P), xxxi, 24, 10: Atheniense cum Attali praesidio.

207. The Rhodian Fleet at Tenedos: Liv. xxxi, 16, 7. Attalus joined the Rhodians shortly afterwards, Polyb. xvi, 34, 1. Cyzicus also sent a single ship, Liv. ibid. 17, 6.

The status of Tenedos as an independent community does not appear to have been affected by its use as a naval base. Its history, is little known in the third century. v. Ruge, RE, s.v. Tenedos, cols. 497-8; Tarn, JHS, xl, 1920, p. 151.

207. contd.

There are other Rhodian contacts with the island, I.G. xii, 2, 640 = G306 = SGDI 306, is a dedication of Rhodian σύν-
σκανοι on the island; v. i, pp. 675 ; I.G. xii, 1, 30 is the Rhodian counterpart to this. For the single Rhodian quadrireme (una ex classe), detached from Tenedos, Liv. loc. cit.

The Macedonian fleet had been sent by Philip under Heraclides to Maronea (v. i, p. 283), and was presumably still in the neighbourhood.

208. Polyb. xvi, 28.

209. Walbank, Philip V, p. 132.

210. The inadequacy of the assistance sent to Athens may have been due to a desire not to force the issue.

211. In the interpretation of these events I follow the account of Walbank, JRS, xxvii, 1937, pp. 192-7, with reference to Liv. (A), xxxi, 8, 3-4. For Lepidus' interview with Philip, v. Polyb. xvi, 34; Liv. xxxi, 18, 1-5. For Lepidus v. Klebs, RE, s.v. Aemilius (68), cols. 552-3.

212. Walbank, loc.cit. against Bickermann, Rev.Phil. lxi, 1935, pp. 172-4.

213. Polyb. xvi, 34, 3. The insertion of this extra clause is not to be attributed to the existence of a formal alliance between Rhodes and Rome, as McDonald, JRS, xxvii, p. 190, assumes ('The Rhodian case appears in the final demands after the establishment of relations of alliance') v. i, p.

214. Polyb. xvi, 34, 5.

215. Polyb. ibid. §§ 6-7.

216. v. i, pp. 300 ff.

217. For the end of the siege of Abydos v. Polyb. xvi, 34, 8-12; Liv. (P), xxxi, 18, 5-8. For Philip's return to Macedonia v. Liv. ibid. §§ 8-9.

218. Polyb. xvi, 35, 1, cf. Aymard, Premiers Rapports, pp. 66, note 87.

219. Polyb. ibid. § 2. The phrase ἔδοξε προσέχειν τῷ δήμῳ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι τῆς τούτων φιλίας has a formal ring, and may come from a state document recording the Rhodian decision.

220. v. in general, Mathieu, CQ, i, 1907, pp. 182-204; Holleaux, Rome etc. pp. 40 ff, esp. p. 40, note 2. Heuss, Völkerrechtlichen Grundlagen, passim, esq. pp. 31-2.

221. v. i, pp. 344 ff.

222. v. the works cited in note 220 above.

223. Polyb. xvi, 2 (cf. above, note 219); id. xxviii, 2, 2 (169 B.C.) id. xxx, 23, 4 (165 B.C.); id. ibid. 31, 7 (164 B.C.); Liv. xxxvii, 54, 3 (190b. ¾.); id. xlii, 19,8 (172 B.C.); ibid. 46, 6 (171 B.C.). In xlv, 25, 9 Livy's use of amicitia is inexact, since he is translating Polybius' κεκοινωκὼς ὁ δῆμος (xxx, 5, 6); but he contrasts this amicitia with sociale foedus, which he elsewhere equates with foedus amicitiae (v. xxxiv, 57, 6; Holleaux, Rome etc. p.41 (note 2 of p.40)), and this shows that by amicitia he means friendship in the general sense.

Further indication that Rhodian relations with Rome were unofficial may be found in the events of the year 197 B.C. After the conference at Locris in winter (198/7, Philip sent an embassy to Rome, and at the same time embassies went from Aetolia, the Achaean League, and Pergamum (v. i, pp. 293-4) All these states were official allies of Rome; the Rhodians, alone of those who had fought on the Roman side, are not recorded as having sent an embassy at this time. It seems reasonable to assume that this was confined to Rome's socii.

The phrase προσέχειν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις in Polyb. xvi, 35, 2 (cf. above, note 219) also shows that no formal alliance had been concluded. Had such an alliance existed, a phrase such as ἀνανεώσασθαι τὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν (cf. the examples in Heuss, op. cit. pp. 26 ff.), would have been employed.

224. Contrast the Roman action at the outbreak of the First Macedonian War, when her intervention was secured only after the signature of a treaty (v. i, pp. 248), as a result of which the Aetolians entered in amicitiam societatemque populi Romani.

225. v. Liv (P) xxxi, 23, 1-12. (Chalcis).

226. Liv. ibid. 28, 4: ad Rhodios quoque missi legati, ut capesserent partem belli. The use of capessere stresses the need for more active participation: cf. TLL, s.v. capesso, 2b.

227. The Peace between Rhodes and the Cretan communities was probably concluded in late 201, or early in 200 B.C. (v. above, notes 100 ff.). There are numerous indications that Rhodes

227. contd.

arranged matters to her own advantage in Crete after the war. v. Additional Note 15 , where the relevant inscriptions are discussed.

228. Liv (P) xxxi, 44, 1-9. The abolition of the tribes Δημητριάς and Ἀντιγονίς had occurred in 201, when the pact between Philip and Antiochus had been uncovered. v. McDonald, JRS, xxvii, 1937, p. 191; Pritchett-Meritt, Chronology, p. 109. For the establishment of Ἀττάλις, v. above, note 192.

229. v. Liv. (P) xxxi, 45, 1-6.

230. Ibid. § 7: ea (sc. Andrus) ab Romanis regi Attalo concessa; praedam ornamentaque urbis ipsi avexerunt.

231. Liv (P) xxxi, 46, 6; coniunxerunt se iis post expugnationem Andri cum praefecto Agesimbroto viginti Rhodiae naves tectae omnes. For the meaning of tectae, v. p. 372, note 178.

232. For these operations, v. Liv. loc.cit. §§ 7-14. During the siege of Oreos by the Romans and Pergamene units the Rhodian fleet was sent to Zelesium (?), to guard for any possible movements of the Macedonian fleet. (Zelasium is probably corrupt. Mss have: eam classem i.s.a.Zelasium (Isthmiae id super Demetriadem etc. Neither Zelasium nor Isthmia are otherwise recorded in this area. The passage has thus been considerably and unsatisfactorily emended. v. Weissenborn, ad loc. Phalesia there mentioned is itself by no means above suspicion; v. Muller, ad Ptol. iii, 14, 22, cf. Bursian, Geog. Griech. ii, 408, note 2., Fick, Bessent. Beitr. xxiii, 1900, pp. 199, 266., J. Schmidt, RE, s.v. Phalassia, col. 1658. In view of this and other difficulties discussed by these authorities, the wisest course is to retain the reading Zelasium, and place this otherwise unknown site inside the Pagasaic Gulf, perhaps near the modern Trikkeri, cf. Kiepert's 1/600,000 (XV) map. Similarly no convincing alternative to Isthmiae has been found, and it too may be retained. It is possible that here too the reference is to a region of the Magnesian peninsula.)

After the siege of Oreos the three fleets returned to Peiraeus, after which the Rhodian fleet returned to Rhodes: Liv. ibid. 47, 3.

233. Liv (P), xxxii, 9, 6-15, 9.: cf. Walbank, Philip V, pp. 150ff.

234. Liv (P) xxxii, 16, 1-6.

235. Liv. ibid. 16, 7-17, 3. For the chronology, v. Walbank, Philip V, p. 320.

236. For these operations, v. Liv (P) xxxii, 14, 4-15, 9; 17, 4-18, 9. cf. Walbank, ibid. pp. 156-7.

237. Liv. ibid. 19, 11.

238. Liv. ibid. § 4-23, 1.

239. Ibid. 23, 1-2.

240. Ibid. § 3.

241. Aymard, Premiers Rapports, p. 104, note 5, suggests that the Rhodians had already gone home because of approaching bad weather. He further suggests that Attalus could afford to winter in Greece, but that the Rhodians could not, owing to the number of citizens who served in the Rhodian navy, who could not afford to be absent from their homes any longer: cf. ibid. p. 81, note 49. This may be correct; certainly Rhodian citizens formed the vast majority of the naval crews. v. i, pp. 650ff.

242. v. [illegible] note 244.

243. Polyb. xviii, 1, 4: Liv. (P) xxxii, 32, 6-8; cf. Holleaux, REG, xxxvi, 1923, pp. 151-171; Passerini, Athenaeum, NS, x, 1932, pp. 106-8; Walbank, Philip V, p. 159, note 4.

244. Aymard, Premiers Rapports, p. 106, note 5, says: 'mais il (sc. Agesimbrotos) peût très bien être demeuré en Grèce ou y être revenu'. True. It may be noted that, as a result of the plenipotentiary powers possessed by a Rhodian nauarch (Polyb. xxx, 5, 5: v. i, pp. 629ff.), Agesimbrotus need not have received instructions from the Rhodian government before attending the conference at Nicaea. Aymard, op.cit. p. 98, says that Agesimbrotus may have used these powers to ratify the treaty between the Achaean League and Rhodes with the slightest possible delay. But it seems very improbable that a magistrate could possess the right of κύρωσις , one of the great responsibilities of the ecclesia (v. i, pp. [illegible] ff.)

245. Polyb. xviii, 1, 12-15; Liv. (P), xxxii, 33, 6-7. For the clause regarding Illyria v. above, note 140.

246. Polyb. ibid. 2, 3-5; Liv. ibid.

247. Thrasycrates, in his speech during the First Macedonian War had asked the Aetolians to consider that the Islanders and the Greeks of Asia Minor were speaking through him. But he did not thereby assume a responsibility for either. (v. above, pp. 250ff.)

248. Polyb. xviii, 6,3.

249. Ibid. 8, 9: Ῥοδίοις δὲ τῆς μὲν περαίας παραχωρεῖν, Ἀσσοῦ δὲ καὶ Βαρδυλίων οὐκ ἐκχωρεῖν. Philip said nothing about the Hellespontine cities.

250. Polyb. xviii, 9, 4-10, 11; Liv (P), xxxii, 36, 3-10.

251. Polyb. ibid. 10, 10; Liv. ibid. 36, 10. cf. above, note

252. v. i, pp. 295 ff.

253. For the campaign of 197B.C., v. De Sanctis, St.d.Rom. iv, 1, pp. 78 ff.; Holleaux CAH, viii, pp. 173-5; Walbank, Philip V, pp. 167-172.

254. For the preliminary conference, v. Polyb. xviii, 36-37; Liv (P) xxxiii, 12. For the conference with Philip, v, Polyb. ibid. 38; Liv. ibid. 13, 1.

255. Polyb. ibid. 38, 2-5. For livy's version, iii, 13, 3-15, v. Holleaux, Rev.Phil. NS, v, 1931, pp. 6-19.

256. These inscriptions, which are couched in almost identical language, are: I.G.xii, 1, 1036 = Syll^3.586 (From Carpathus); BCH, x, 1886, p. 426, nr. 3 = Ath.Mitt. xv, 1892, pp. 334ff, nr 3 = SGDI, 4269 (From Cedreae). Inscr. i, 151, a dedication by Nicagoras and the eleven ἡγεμόνες who served with him in the Peraea on their return, to Athana Lindia. Inscr. i, 152, is a dedication by Nicagoras ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡγεμόνων without the record of their achievement. (cf. also, I.G. xii, 1, 202 = SGDI, 4269; Inscr. i, 102; ii, 637). The best-preserved text is Inscr. i, 151: Νικαγόρας Παμφιλί[α], καθ' ὑθεσίαν δὲ Νικαγόρα, | στρατηγήσας ἐν τῶι πέραν κατὰ πόλεμον ἐκ πάντων ἓξὰν τετρά[κις] | καὶ τάν τε χώραν καὶ τὰ φρούρια ἃ παρέλαβε πάντα διαφυλάξας τῶι δάμω[ι] | καὶ ἀναλαμβάνομενος τάν τε Πισυῆτιν χώραν καὶ τὰν Ἰδυμέαν | καὶ τὰν Κιλλανδίαν καὶ τὰ ἐν Λύτοις φρούρια | καὶ οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι ἡγεμόνες, κ.τ.λ.
cf. [illegible], i, pp. 662-3. [illegible].

The territory recaptured by Nicagoras lay in the Rhodian Peraea. Confirmation of this is found in the fact that the detachments which fought in the Peraea in 197 B.C. under Pausistratus included detachments from Pisye, Nisye, Tarmianoi, and other villages (Liv. xxxiii (P), 18, 3). Since Pausistratus was strategos ἐν τῶι πέραν in 197 B.C. (the title is that of Nicagoras in the inscriptions noted above) [illegible], and he commanded troops from localities that had previously been captured by Nicagoras, it follows that the four consecutive commands (ἓξὰν τετρά[κις]) of the latter were from 201-198 B.C. (This dating was questioned by van Gelder, GdR,

256. contd.

p. 129, note 1, but the only serious difficulty he raised derived from the uncertainty of the reading ἐξὸν τετρά[κις] , which is now certain: v. von Hiller, Rhodos col. 790, Blinkenberg, Inscr.i, 151. Jones, CERP, p. 388, note 35, says the date of the inscription is not certain, but he refers only to Syll^3. 586, and the recovery of the true reading was later than that publication. Robert, Etud.Anat. p. 473 note 5, also has doubts about the date, but his caution seems unnecessary here.

257. For the historical geography of this region, v. 'Peraea'.

258. Liv. xxxiii, 18, 3-5. Some of the names in § 3 appear to be corrupt. For Pisuetae and Ta (r) miani, v. 'Peraea'. Galli are doubtless Gauls from Galatia. The Laodiceni ex Asia are perhaps citizens of a Laodicaea, but it ~~sure~~ is surprising to find citizens of an east Greek community serving as mercenaries. The Arei ex Africa are a puzzle. Jones, CERP, p. 388, note 35, suggests that Arei may be a Livian misreading of (παν)δαρεῖς. [illegible] They [illegible] may be connected with the (unlocated) Rhodian deme(?) of the Ἄριοι (v. [illegible], however p.256, note 120); but in neither case is the addition ex Africa [illegible] intelligible. The Nisuetae were omitted from the text by Madvig, as being a reduplication of Pisuetae, but Holleaux, BCH, xvii, 1893, p. 61 = Etudes, i, pp. 417-8, identified them with the bearer of an ethnic Νισαεύτης, found in an inscription of Tarmianoi, SGDI, 4276 (v. 'Peraea'). The change is very slight and doubtless correct.

The Achaean troops raise various problems. They fall into two categories (a) The 800 who were already under Rhodian command at the beginning of the campaigning season of 197 B.C., Liv. xxxiii, 18, 2: Pausistratum praetorem cum octingentis Achaeis peditibus, mille et octingentis fere armatis ex vario genere auxiliorum collectis miserunt (sc. Rhodii). These troops may have been sent by the Achaean government after the treaty between Rhodes and Achaea in winter 198/7, or they may be mercenaries. The possibility that the Achaeans would have sent them out, either officially or as subsidised mercenaries, before 198 B.C., as is envisaged by Aymard, Premier Rapports, p. 162, note 4, may surely be excluded, since the Achaean League had no interest in the East and would only have sent troops under treaty-obligations, or in return for Rhodian services elsewhere. It is preferable to regard them as a mercenary band, and in no way connected with the League, since those troops which did come as a direct consequence of the

258. contd.

treaty presumably set sail very soon after the treaty was signed, and even so they did not arrive until after the campaign of 197 B.C. had started (v.(b)). It is therefore unlikely that the 800 were despatched by the government and yet arrived in time for the opening of the campaign. (b) 1000 infantry, and 100 cavalry who arrived after the campaign had started. Liv. ibid. § 5: in tempore et ad ipsum excitum auxilium mille Achaei pedites cum centum equitibus supervenerunt. These, it is clear, were sent to meet a special emergency: ad ipsum excitum auxilium. It is probable, then, that they were sent as a result of the Rhodian-Achaean treaty.

Dispute exists as to the exact number of troops, since the total given by Livy, ibid. §§ 2, 5 is 3, 6/700, whereas ibid. § 13 he says 'neque enim plus terna milia peditum fuere, et centeni ferme equites'. Weissenborn, ad. loc. followed by Aymard, loc. cit. supposed that the missing 6/700 were employed in camp-protection; but it is a large proportion for such duty: approximately a battalion out of a brigade. Probably to be included in the 6/700 are casualties and men on other duties, v. Aymard, loc. cit.

The Achaean commander Theoxenus (Liv. ibid. § 5) and his troops dedicated a silver φιάλη at Delos, presumably on their return: Inscr. Délos, 442 B 68 = Syll^2. 588 = G105: φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ, ὑπὲρ τὸ ὑπόθυρον, ἣν ἀνέθηκαν Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν Θεόξενος.

259. Liv. ibid. §§ 6-22. cf. 'Peraea'.

260. v. i, p. 300.

261. Polyb. xvi, 18, 2; xxviii, 1, 3; Jos. Ant. xii, 132. For the date v. Holleaux, Klio, viii, 1908, pp. 270-4 = Etudes, iii, pp. 321-326; Eduard Meyer, Ursprung und Anfänge, ii, p. 123, note 2.

262. Porph. FGrH 260F 46; Liv (P) xxxiii, 19, 8.

263. Liv. ibid. § 10; Porph. loc. cit.

264. cf. Polyb. v, 67.

265. v. Beloch, GG^2 iv,1, pp. 244ff.

266. v. Cardinali, Regno di Pergamo, pp. 80ff; Holleaux, REG, xxv, 1923, p. 334. (Hansen, Attalids p. 43, is very unsatisfactory).

267. Liv. xxxiii, 19, 11: temptaturus urbes quae in dicione Ptolomaei essent, simul Philippum--necdum enim debellatum erat--exercitu navibusque adiuturus. cf. Porph. FGrH 260F 47: volens Antiochus non solum Syriam et Ciliciam et Lyciam et alias provincias quae Ptolomaei fuerant partium, possidere,etc. The subsequent sentence in the same fragment, unde vertit se ad Asiam, et navali certamine adversus plurimas insulas dimicans cepit Rhodum et Samum et Colophonam et Phocaeam et alias multas insulas, is doubtless due to excessive abbreviation by Jerome.

268. A coin of Antiochus III dated from the beginning of his reign, minted at Tarsus, (Newell, West. Sel.Mints, p. 233, and pl.50, nos. 14-5) has a prow and statue of Nike-type, which suggests some victorious naval expedition. v. *Lederer, Berl.Münzblätter, lii, 1932, pp. 390-3, and Newell, loc.cit.

269. Liv (P) xxxiii, 20; Polyb. xviii, 41a (1): × × × κωλύειν δὲ τὸν Ἀντίοχον παραπλεῖν, οὐκ ἀπεχθείας χάριν, ἀλλ' ὑφορώμενοι μὴ Φιλίππῳ συνεπιχύσας ἐμπόδιον γένηται τῇ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίᾳ.

270. Liv. ibid. §§ 2-3. Passerini, Athenaeum, x, 1932, pp. 116-9, holds that the story of the Rhodian embassy to Antiochus at Coracesium, and the Seleucid embassy to Rome shortly before (ibid. § 8, and v. note 271), is due to the falsification of a Rhodian historian. (v. pp. 6-7, note 101)

271. Liv. ibid. §§ 8-9. For the vetusta iura, 'the old alliance', v. i, pp. 214-5 For the embassy of Antiochus to Rome, v. Holleaux, REA, xv, 1913, pp. 1-4, for a brief summary, Bickermann, Hermes, lxvii, 1932, pp. 47-8; and also the article of Passerini, discussed pp. 6-7 , note 101.

272. Liv. ibid. § 10.

273. Liv. ibid. §§ 10-11. Bickermann, Hermes, loc.cit.p. 56, rightly calls the Rhodian action 'konkret und egoistisch'.

274. Liv. ibid. § 12: nam alias auxiliis iuverunt, alias providendo ac praemonendo conatus hostis, causaque libertatis fuerunt Cauniis, Myndiis, Halicarnassensibus Samiisque. For Caunus, v. i, p. 326 , [illegible] and 'Peraea'; Myndus and Halicarnassus were both Ptolemaic early in the reign of Philadelphus, not long after 280 B.C., v. SEG i, 363.

[illegible]

274 contd.

[illegible] For Samos, v. above, p. 98 note 42 : it was certainly Ptolemaic by 280.

275. Liv. xxxiii, 18, 22.

276. For the capture of Ephesus, v. Liv. ibid. 38, 1; Porph. FGrH 260F 46. For the view that Rhodian troops participated in its capture on this occasion v. above, p. 95, note 98. For Antiochus' anxiety to control Ephesus, v. Polyb. xviii, 41a, 2 quoted by Suidas, s.v. εὐκαιρία, without naming the author: attribution of this and the previous fragment quoted above note 269, to Polybius is therefore not certain.

277. Liv. ibid. Omnes Asiae civitates in antiquam imperii formulam redigere est conatus. cf. OGIS, 219 = M525 = H165, l. 12, where it is said of Antiochus I, καὶ τὴν βασίλειαν εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν διάθεσιν κατέστησεν.
For the rebuilding of Lysimacheia, Liv. ibid. §§ 10-14. The Roman interest in Smyrna and Lampsacus had no juridical basis, and an arbitration would naturally go against her. v. Bickermann, Philol. lxxxvii, 1932, pp. 277-299, and for the position of Lampsacus in the later negotiations v. Magie, Buckler Studies, pp. 166-7.

278. Polyb. xviii, 52, 4, omitted by Liv. xxxiii, 39-40.

279. v. [illegible] below, p. 347, note 203, for instances.

280. For the negotiations at Rome v. Liv. (P), xxxiv, 57, 4-59, 8; App. Syr. 6; Diod. xxviii, 15. cf. Holleaux, REA, xv, 1913, p.22; Leuze, Hermes, lviii, 1923, p. 242; Bickermann, ibid. lxvii, 1932, pp. 65-6.
For the Ephesian discussions v. Liv. xxxv, 16; App. Syr. 12.

281. App. loc.cit. (who, in contrast to Livy, makes Antiochus attend the conference in person): ὁ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐκ Πισιδῶν εἰς τὴν Ἔφεσον ἐπανήκει, καὶ χρηματίζεται τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεσι, Ῥοδίους μὲν καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Κυζικηνούς, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν εἰσὶν Ἕλληνες, αὐτονόμους ἐπηγγείλατο ἕξειν, εἰ μή τι καὶ αὐτοῖς συνθήκαις πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, Αἰολέας δὲ καὶ Ἴωνας οὐ συνεχώρει ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις βασιλεῦσι τῆς Ἀσίας ἐθισμένους ὑπακούειν.

282. Rejected by Nissen, Untersuchungen, p. 169, followed by Walbank, Philip V, p. 194, note 1; ignored by De Sanctis, St.d.Rom., and Van Gelder, GdR; accepted by Niese, Geschichte, II, p. 680, Leuze, Hermes, lviii, 1923, p. 242, note 2, Piganiol, REA, xxvi, 1924, p. 182, von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 791, Bickermann, Hermes, lxvii, 1935, p. 65, note 4.

283. v. above, pp. 242 ff.

284. For Byzantium, v. above, p. 117 note 2 . For Cyzicus, v. Hasluck, Cyzicus, p.

285. The phrase in App. loc. cit. Αἰολέας γάρκ.λ, makes no sense as it stands. Antiochus' reason for refusing to yield the cities of Aeolis and Ionia was they had belonged to his ancestors, not that they had been accustomed to obey Barbarian kings,
The phrase clearly makes nonsense of Antiochus' whole offer. Perhaps it is a false inference from some such phrase as τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῆς Ἀσίας referring to the Seleucids, which Appian, or his immediate source (who cannot, if this be so, have been a hellenistic historian), stupidly understood to refer to native (or Persian?) rulers.

286. De Sanctis, St.d.Rom. iv, 1, pp. 175-7, suggests that Rhodes feared that the presence of the Seleucid fleet in the Aegean would destroy the Rhodian predominance in that sea. But the certainty that Rhodes assisted the onward march of Antiochus, in exchange for some territorial concessions from Antiochus, shows that Rhodes had no such fear.

287. Liv (P) xxxiv, 22, 5-41, 7. For a detailed discussion of the war, v. Aymard, Premier Rapports, pp. 184-255.

288. v. above, pp. 131, note 100.

289. In the war against Nabis, Rhodes sent eighteen cataphracts, Liv. xxxiv, 26, 11: in the Second Macedonian War her contribution had been twenty cataphracts: v. i, pp. 290

290. Liv(P) xxxiv, 35, 3-11(40, 4; the terms finally imposed are the same as those offered shortly before, in ch. 35). For the exclusion from the Peace of Rome's mainland allies, v. Aymard, op.cit. pp. 229-230.

291. v. Effenterre, La Crète, pp. 257-260.

292. The Rhodian nauarch in this campaign was Sosilas, Liv. xxxiv, 30, 7. Inscr. I, 156, probably records the dedication to

292. contd.

Athana Lindia made by the Rhodian fleet on its return home. The name of Sosilas can be restored with certainty: ..σιλα.

293. v. Liv (P) xxxv, 12-33. cf. Holleaux, CAH, viii, pp. 203ff; De Sanctis, St.d.Rom. iv, 1, pp. 132 ff; Walbank, Philip V, pp. 190ff; Pais-Bayet, Hist.Rom. i, pp. 530ff.

294. Liv (P), xxxv, 34, 5-12; ibid. 42ff.

295. Liv (P) xxxvi, 15-19; cf. De Sanctis, St.d.Rom. iv, 1, pp. 160-5; Holleaux, CAH, viii, pp. 213-5; Kromayer, Antike Schlachtfelde, II, pp. 134-154. Liv.,ibid. records Antiochus' route to Asia: Antiochus sub adventum consulis a Chalcide profectus Tenum primo tenuit, inde Ephesum transmisit. It is striking that Tenos, the Rhodian island, should be expressly named. It perhaps suggests that no Rhodian fleet was at sea.

296. Liv (P), xxxvi, 41, 1.

297. Liv.ibid. 42-43, 1.

298. Ibid. 43, 2-7.

299. Liv (P) xxxv, 43, 3; he had forty cataphracts, ten aphracts, and two hundred transports. This was about half the naval strength Demetrius brought against the island in 305 B.C. (v. Diod. xx, 82, and i, pp. 609). [redacted] however There are indications that at about this time the Rhodian fleet increases in numbers and weight. v. i, p. 154.

300. Liv (P) xxxvi, 41, 7: ceteram classem Polyxenidam parare et deducere iussit.

301. Liv, (P) ibid. 44-5; esp. 45,5.

302. Liv, ibid. 45, 6-8.

303. Liv (P), xxxvii, 8, 1-12.

304. Ibid. §§ 3-4.

305. Ibid. 9, 5.

306. Ibid. 10, 1-13; Polyb. xxi, 7; for Costanzi's view, Riv.Fil. xxxvi, 1908, pp. 392-399, that the Rhodian version of the

306. contd.

στρατήγημα of Polyxenidas derives directly from a tendencious Rhodian source, either Zeno or Antisthenes, v. p. 7 note 101.

307. Liv. xxxviii, 12, 3-7.

308. Ibid.

309. Ibid. §§ 8-9.

310. Ibid. 13, 7-11.

311. Ibid. 13, 11-14, 2. For Epicrates, v, pp. 365-6, note 125.

312. Ibid. 14, 5-15, 9.

313. Ibid. 15, 6-8. A dedication by a Rhodian ἀγεμών, which has been assigned to this war, suggests that Rhodes may have employed land forces in Lycia against Antiochus: the evidence is, however, very slight and may not refer to this war. v. below, p. 342, note 176.

314. Ibid. 16, 1.

315. Ibid. § 3.

316. Ibid. §§ 4-12.

317. Ibid. §§ 3-14.

318. Ibid. 17, 1-7.

319. Ibid. §§ 5-7; § 5, Iasian exiles with the Rhodians pleaded 'ne urbem et vicinam sibi et cognatam innoxiam perire sinerent'. The συγγένεια between Rhodes and Iasos is referred to in a contemporary document, the Rhodian decree concerning the attacks of Podilus on Iasos (v. above, note 114): l. 1: [ἔ]δοξεν τῶι δάμωι περὶ ὧν Ἰασεῖς συν[γ]ενε[ῖς] καὶ φίλο[ι δ]πάρχοντες, κτλ.; and in the Iasian decree of about the same date, recording thanks to Rhodian δικασταί, BCH, xiii, 1889, pl. 23 ff., nr. 1, ll 3 ff.; ἐπειδὴ Ῥόδιοι συγγενεῖς τε ὑπάρχοντες καὶ φίλοι καὶ [σ]ύμμαχοι τῆς πόλεως, κτλ.

320. Liv. ibid. § 8. For Loryma, v. 'Peraea'.

321. Liv. ibid. §§ 9-10.

322. Liv (P) xxxvii, 18, 1-17.

323. Ibid. § 8.

324. Ibid. §§ 9-10.

325. Ibid. 19, 1-6.

326. Liv (P), xxxvii, 22, 2.

327. Ibid. § 3. Four ships, quae Cariae praesidio erant, were taken under command by Pamphilidas en route.

328. Ibid. §§ 2, 3-5. The Rhodian contingent from Samos consisted of 13 Rhodian ships, and one Coan and one Cnidian quinquereme. cf. below, note 332.

329. Ibid. § 5-23, 1. For Megiste, v. [illegible] 'Peraea'.

330. Ibid. 23, 2-5.

331. Ibid. §§ 5-6.

332. The strength of the two fleets is given ibid. §§ 4-5: Rhodians, thirty-two tetreres and four triremes: Syrians, thirty-seven cataphracts (maioris formae navium), including 3 hepteres, 4 hexeres, and ten triremes. The Rhodian total from the figures in ch. 22, 2-5, is 38, not 36. The one Coan and one Cnidian may have been left out of account in 23, 4. Rogers, Greek and Roman Naval Warfare, p. 409, regards the sex apertae naves as additional to the total of 36. This gives a total of 42, and cannot be correct. v. below, p. 612.

333. For the description of the battle, v. Liv (P) xxxvii, 23, 7-24, 10, and i, pp. 612 ff. [illegible].

334. Liv. xxxvii, 24, 11.

335. Ibid. § 12.

336. Ibid. 24, 13.

337. Ibid. 25, 1-3.

338. Polyb. xxi, 11, 13; Liv. ibid. 26, 1-4.

339. Liv. ibid. 26, 6-29, 7.

340. For the battle, v. Liv. ibid. 29, 8-30, 10, and i, pp. 615 ff.

341. Ibid. 31, 1-4.

342. Ibid. §§ 6-7.

343. Liv (P) xxxvii, 45, 11-21.

344. Polyb. xxi, 13-15; cf. Liv. xxxvii, 34-36. Piganiol, REA, xxvi, 1924, p. 182, sees in the employment by Antiochus of a citizen of Byzantium evidence of Antiochus' friendly feelings towards Rhodes, in view of the close relationship between Byzantium and Rhodes. There is nothing to show that Heraclides was not simply an ordinary servant of Antiochus, and it is not probable that after the defeat inflicted by the Rhodians on the Syrian fleet Antiochus took steps towards securing a rapprochement with Rhodes. [illegible].

345. The terms are given by Polyb. xxi, 17, 3-8; Liv (P) xxxvii, 45, 14-18. For the embassies from Asia v. Polyb. ibid. 18, 1 ff; Liv. ibid. 52-56.

346. Polyb. xxi, 19-21; Liv.(P) xxxvii, 53.

347. Polyb. ibid. 22, 5-23, 12; Liv. ibid. 54, 4-28. An additional Rhodian request is contained in Polyb. ibid. 24, 10-15. This was that Soloi, the old Argive colony, and there Rhodes' sister-foundation, which was situated west of the Taurus, should come under Rhodian influence. The demand was opposed by the Seleucid ambassador on the ground that such a demand was contrary to the terms outlined by the Senate (v. note 348), since Soloi was not in Cis-Tauric, but Trans-Tauric, Asia, and therefore lay outside Roman jurisdiction. Rhodes clearly had no juridical claim to the city, and on the Senante's advice, the Rhodian ambassadors allowed the matter to drop. The purpose of the Rhodian request was doubtless to establish an enclave in Seleucid territory, just as the Romans, by the cession of Telmessus in Lycia to Eumenes, created a Pergamene enclave in Rhodian territory. (v. i, pp. 323). The view of Kahrstedt, Gött.Nach., 1923, p. 97, that the Rhodian demand for Soloi implied only a frontier rectification, is based on a misinterpretation of the territorial clauses of the Peace of Apamea. v. [illegible] p. 163, note 3

348. Polyb. ibid. 24, 7-9: note esp. § 9: δόντες δὲ τοὺς τόπους τούτους ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅλης διοικήσεως, ἐξεπεμπον τοὺς δέκα πρὸς Γναῖον τὸν ὕπατον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

349. Polyb. xxi, 42, 6; Liv. (P) xxxviii, 37, 11.

Notes to chapter ix.

1. v.i, pp. 24ff.

2. Polyb. xxi, 42, 6;Liv.(P), xxxviii, 37, 11-38,1.

3. Polyb. xxi,43; Liv. (P) xxxviii, 38, 4. The lacuna in Polyb. ibid. § 5, after χώρας is filled from Liv.loc.cit. 4; excedito urbibus agris vicis castellis cis Taurum montem usque ad Halyn amnem et a valle Tauri usque ad iuga qua in Lycaoniam vergit. (In Polyb. ibid. § 5 ἐκχωρεῖν means 'to renounce a claim to', not 'to evacuate'; v.Holleaux, REG, xliv, 1931, pp. 308-313). For the interpretation of this territorial clause v.Viereck, Klio,ix,1909, pp. 371-375 (against Mommsen,RF, ii,pp.510-545); Cardinali, ibid. x, 1910,pp. 249-251; Holleaux, REG,xliv,1931, pp. 304-319; id.ibid. xlv, 1932, pp. 7-31 (against Kahrstedt, Nach. Gött., 1923, pp. 93-100, who retains the MSS reading Tanaim, as referring to the modern Tschakyt-Tschai, which crosses the Taurus east of the Cilician Gates).

4. Polyb. xxi, 46, 9-11;Liv. xxxviii, 39, 14-16.

5. Polyb. ibid. § 8; Liv.ibid. § 13.

6. For the status of the Greek cities of western Asia Minor after the Peace; v.Bikerman, REG, 1, 1937, pp. 217-239 (and the necessary corrections noted in 'Περαία'); Jones, Buckler Studies, pp. 103ff; Magie, ibid. pp. 171 ff. The work of Luzzato, Epigrafia giuridica greca e romana, 1942, abounds throughout, and particularly in the chapter on the organisation of Asia after the Peace of Apamea, in elementary mistakes of fact (v. 'Περαία').

7. v. i, pp. 327ff.

8. Polyb.xxi, 43, 16-17;Liv (P) xxxviii, 38, 11-12.

9. v.i, pp. 226.

10. Polyb. ibid. § 17: ἀτελῆ δὲ ὁμοίως (ὡς) καὶ πρὸ πολέμου τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥοδίους ὑπαρχέτω This clause is omitted by Livy, loc. cit.

11. Polyb. xxi, 46,8: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ῥοδίοις ἐχαρίσαντο, διδόντες Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίας τὰ μέχρι Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ πλὴν Τελμισσοῦ. Ibid. § 10: territory assigned to Eumenes includes Telmessus; cf.Liv. xxxviii,39,13 and 16.Id.,xxxvii, 56,4 (account of the negotations at Rome in 189 B.C.)says of Telmessus: Telmessum item nominatim et eastra Telmessium, praeter agrum qui Ptolemaei Telmessii fuisset,haec omnia... regi Eumeni iussa dari. This Ptolemy of Telmessus is probably to be identified with the Πτολεμαῖος τοῦ Λυσιμάχου who dedicated offerings at Delos between 188 and 140B.C: v.Inscr.Délos, 442, note to ll.94-5.

11 cont.
For the involved question of the relationship between earlier members of this dynasty and the Ptolemaic dynasty, and Lysimachus King of Thrace, v. Segre, Cl.Rn. ix, 1938, pp.181-208; the inscription there published, and Segre's excellent discussion of the problem, appear to show conclusively that the first member of the family, who lived at, but was not dynast of, Telmessus, was the son of king Lysimachus, and that the Ptolemy of Telmessus in the passages under consideration was his grandson. For a bibliography of the subject v. Segre, Atti del iv cong. pap. 1936, pp. 359-368; add Cavaignac, Εἰς μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπρου, pp. 7-12; Segre, Cl.Rh. loc.cit.; Robert, ap. Holleaux Etudes, iii, p.404; Robert, Hellenica, vii, 1949, p.17. The article of Segre, Cl.Rh.loc. cit. throws considerable light on Eumenes' policy in Telmessus in the years after Apamea.

12. v. i, pp.314-5. Jones, Buckler Studies, p. 107, says that the Rhodians were exploiting ' in the manner traditional to Hellenistic diplomacy, the ambiguous use of the term freedom' (cf.id. Greek City, p.100). Eumenes, however clearly feared a real change of condition in these cities. For earlier signs of hostility, or at least mistrust, between Rhodes and Pergamum, v. above, p. 139, note 144.

13. Polyb. xxi, 43, 12; Liv (P) xxxviii, 38, 8; 39, 5.

14. Polyb. ibid. §§ 13-14; Liv., ibid, 38, 8-9; cf. Holleaux, REG, xlv, 1932, pp. 11-13; De Sanctis, StdRom, iv,i, p. For the lacuna in Liv. loc.cit. v. Madvig, Emend. Liv. pp. 547-8. For the burning in Patara, v. Polyb. ibid. 44, 3; Liv. ibid. 39, 2-4.

15. v. i, p. 226, and below p. 189 note 22.

16. Polyb. xxx, 31, 6 (164 B.C.: Astymedes loquitur): ἀλλὰ Κώων δήπου βακχοῦντων παλάντων ἐξηφορέσαμεν πρὸ τῶν Πτολεμαίου στρατηγῶν. The city was still Ptolemaic in 197 B.C.: Liv (P) xxxiii, 20, 11, cf. above, p. 300 For the earlier history of Caunus, v. [illegible] 'Peraea'. In the years 1946-8, G.E.Bean discovered many new inscriptions at Caunus, of which he has permitted me to see transcripts before publication. Not one, so far as I am aware, provides any positive evidence relative to the date of the purchase of the city by the Rhodians. One of Beans Caunian finds has been published by Robert, Hellenica, vii, 1949, pp. 171-188. It is a late(?) second-century decree of Smyrna honouring Caunian judges, over one hundred lines long.

17. Liv. (P) xxxiii, 20, 11: illam alteram curam non omiserunt tuendae libertatis civitatium sociarum Ptolemaei, quibus bellum ab Antiocho imminebat.

18. App. Mithr. 23: Κώνιοι Ῥοδίοις ὑποτελεῖς ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀντιόχου πολέμῳ γενόμενοι.

19. Polyb. xxx,5, 11, cf.i, p. 371

20. For the Rhodian official known as the ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Καύνου ,whose existence is testified for this period, v.i, pp. 553. The date suggested in the text is that of Holleaux, BCH, xvii,1893, pp. 61-69 = Etudes,i, pp. 418-425 (cf. ibid. p.394, note 1), who disposes of earlier attempts to date the purchase in the third or even in the fourth century.
A point of minor uncertainty is why the Rhodians bought Caunus from the 'generals of Ptolemy' and not from Ptolemy himself. Holleaux, loc. cit.p.68 note 1 = 424, note 1, suggested that the provincial strategoi of Egypt in the latter years of Epiphanes, and in the reign of Philometor had attained an almost independent status. This is a possible explanation. But, even so, the deed of sale, if such existed, would presumably have been drafted in the name of the king; unless the city had been given as a dorea, or on some similar basis, to the strategoi(cf.the position of Apollonius, the dioicetes of Philadelphus, at Calynda, as demonstrated by PCol.Zen 11). The Lindians set up a statue-group in honour of Epiphanes and his wife: Inscr. i,161

21. v. 'Peraea'.

22. v. 'Islands'.

23. Polyb.xxii,5,2: ἀξιοῦντες (sc. ὁ Θεαίδητος καὶ ὁ Φιλόφρων) αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι τὰ κατὰ Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίαν χάριν τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας, ἣν παρέχηνται σφίσι κατὰ τὸν Ἀντιοχικὸν πόλεμον.
Neither in the answer of the commissioners (ibid. §§ 3-4), nor in the subsequent disputes in the next twenty years is there any reference to the status of Caria: everything turns on that of Lycia. There is no doubt that at least until 167 B.C. the Carians, and the Greek cities in Caria, bore their subjection to Rhodes uncomplainingly (the reasons for this are developed at length, 'Peraea'), and Rome never attempted to stir up disaffection there. It cannot be determined from this passage what word was used to express the relationship between Rhodes and her Carian territory; but some of western Caria had been Rhodian subject-territory for many years, and other parts had been incorporated centuries before, so that the subjection of the rest without explicit title or definition of title is perfectly possible (v. 'Peraea').

24. Polyb. ibid. §3. The οἰκειότης may refer to friendship or to kinship; when speaking of the latter Polybius more usually uses the word συγγένεια (e.g. in xxi, 24,10); in either case the reference is presumably based on the alliance between the Lycians and Trojans in the Iliad.Liv. xxxviii, 39, 10, contains the statement that the Ilians received additional

24. (contin.)
territory by the terms of the Peace. This, if true (v.Magie, Buckler Studies, p.171, note 3), like their part in the Rhodian dispute with Lycia, testifies to the privileged position of Ilium in Asia Minor after the Roman victory.

25. ibid. § 4: ὧν οἱ δέκα διακούσαντες ἐπειράθησαν ἑκατέρων στοχάσασθαι κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Ἰλιεῖς οὐθὲν ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνήκεστον, τοῖς δὲ Ῥοδίοις χαριζόμενοι προσέθεσαν ἐν δωρεᾷ τοὺς Λυκίους.

26. v.i, pp. 336-7

27. Polyb. xxii, 5, 6: οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἰλιεῖς ἐπιπορευόμενοι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἀπήγγελλον ὅτι παρήτηνται τὴν ὀργὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ παραίτιοι γεγόνασι αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

28. Polyb. ibid. § 8: λοιπὸν οἱ μὲν Λύκιοι πρεσβεύοντες ἦκον εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον ὑπὲρ συμμαχίας, οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι προχειρισάμενοί τινας τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξαπέστελλον τοὺς διατάξοντας τοῖς κατὰ Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίαν πόλεων, ὡς ἔσεσθαι νέωσιν. The use of πολῖται here is rather strange; it perhaps suggests the despatch of a specially chosen commission rather than the ἐπιστάται who were normally employed for this work of reorganisation (which is not to be confused with the normal administrative work of ἐπιστάται), as in the Rhodian reorganisation of Syros, perhaps on the occasion of its entry into the Nesiotic League (I.G. xii, 5, 652 =M 395; cf. 1, pp.559-580). The use of πολῖται in this rather special sense occurs also in Inscr. i, 160, cf. p.348, note 207.

29. For this magistracy, v.i, pp.540ff.

30. Polyb. ibid. §§ 9-10. For Ποθῶν v. Gelder GdR, p.143, preferred Πυθῶν on the ground that the former name occurred only in inscriptions of a late date, and then very infrequently. This is unnecessarily fastidious.

31. The decision attributed to the Commissioners by the Senate in 177 B.C. cannot be used in evidence (v. i, p.326-7).

32. Polyb. xxv, 4,5; v.i, pp. ibid.

33. For the chronology of the Lycian Wars, v. Treuber, Geschichte der Lykier, pp. 159-162 (whose account is vitiated by the supposition that all three wars referred to by Astymedes were waged against Lycia); v. Gelder, GdR, p. 143 (who also says that there were three wars against Lycians but abandons any attempt to date them; Niese, Geschichte, iii, pp. 81-3 (three wars against the Lycians); Ullrich, De Polyb. font.Rhod., pp.81-2, whose interpretation seems to me correct.

34. Polyb. xxx,31,4: πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίαν ἀπολωλέκασιν (sc. οἱ Ῥόδιοι), ὃς

34. (contin.)
ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν ἐδαπάνησαν Χρημάτων ἱκανὸν πλῆθος, τριττοὺς πολέμους ἀναγκασθέντες πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς, κ.τ.λ.
cf. [illegible] 'Peraea'. For ἦν, Schweighauser's ὡς is probably preferable.

35. For the third war, that against Caria, v.1, p. 371

36. Polyb. xxii, 5,5: ἐκ ταύτης τῆς διαλήψεως ἐγενήθη στάσις καὶ διαφορὰ τοῖς Λυκίοις πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ῥοδίους οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος.
:cf. (of the second war) Polyb. xxv,5,3: εὐθέως γὰρ οἱ Λύκιοι... πάλιν ἐστασίαζον.
The use of this term, which normally refers to internal discord, and is contrasted with πόλεμος (e.g. in Plat. Resp. 470b, and cf. LS⁹ s.v. στάσις, B III,2) reflects the Rhodian origin of the statement (though in the report of Astymedes' speech quoted above, note 34, πόλεμος is used).

37. Polyb. xxiv, 15, 13. cf. i, pp. 334-5

38. Polyb. xxv,4.

39. ibid. § 2: ἓξ ἅμα στάλησαν δὲ χρόνοις ἱκανοῖς ὑπάτοις. The year 177 B.C. is determined by the consular names recorded by Polyb. ibid. and Liv. xli, 8,1: C.Claudius Pulcher. (Munzer, RE, s.v. Claudius (300)) and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (id. RE, s.v. Sempronius (53), col. 1406). Livy records the embassy under 178 (xli, 6, 8-12); cf. Nissen, Krit. Unters. pp. 239-240.

40. Polyb. xxv, 4,2: οἵτινες παρεγένοντο μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἤδη κατατεθεσπισμένων τῶν Λυκίων.

41. ibid. 5,3: εὐθέως γὰρ οἱ Λύκιοι, τῶν Ῥωμαίων παραγενομένων, καὶ διαφωνούντων πρὸς Ῥοδίους, πάλιν ἐστασίαζον καὶ πᾶν ὑπομένειν ὅτοι τ' ἦσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτονομίας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας

42. v. De Sanctis, StdRom, iv,1, pp. 248ff; Walbank, JHS, lviii, 1938, pp. 64-7; id. Philip V, pp. 255-7.

43. For the date of Perseus' accession, v. Niese, Geschichte, iii, p.34, note 7; De Sanctis, StdRom. iv.1, p.254, note 28, *Heiland, Geschichte des Königs Perseus; Geyer, RE, s.v. Perseus (5), col. 996, l.59, should be corrected.

44. v. i, pp. 233 ff

45. For this war, v. Polyb. xxiii, 9,3; xxv, 2; Niese, Geschichte, iii, pp. 74-79.

46. Strab. 545: αὐτονομηθεῖσα (sc. ἡ Σινώπη) δὲ πολὺν χρόνον οὐδὲ διὰ τέλους ἐφύλαξε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ πολιορκίας ἑάλω καὶ ἐδούλευσε Φαρνάκῃ πρῶτον.
id. 546: τοιαύτη δὲ οὖσα δὶς ὅμως ἑάλω, πρότερον μὲν τοῦ Φαρνάκου πρὸς δόξαν αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπεσόντος.
cf. Liv, loc. cit. note 47, who speaks of Sinopensium clades.

47. Polyb. xxiii,9: ἦκον δὲ καὶ Ῥόδιοι πρεσβεύοντες ὑπὲρ τῆς Σινωπέων ἀσυλίας
Liv (P),xl, 2,6: legationes deinde transmarinae in senatum introductae sunt, prima Eumenis et Pharnacis regum et Rhodiorum querentium de Sinopensium clade.

48. Polyb. ibid.: τούτοις μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς παρ' Εὐμένους καὶ Φαρνάκου πρεσβεύουσιν ἡ σύγκλητος ἀπεκρίθη διότι πέμψει πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς ἐποπτευσομένους περί τε Σινωπέων καὶ περὶ τῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀμφισβητουμένων

49. Polyb. xxvii,7,5: ὑπεσχούσης γὰρ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις ὑποψίας καὶ διαφορᾶς πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη, πάλαι μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Φαρνάκην, ὅτε, τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένους ἐφορμοῦντος ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον στόματος χάριν τοῦ κωλύειν τοὺς πλέοντας εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ἐκεκλήβοντο τῆς ὁρμῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ διεκώλυσαν Ῥόδιοι, κ.τ.λ.

50. Polyb. xxv,2, 3ff.

51. v.D.M.Robinson, Ancient Sinope, pp. 250-1.

52. Polyb. loc.cit. note 49.

53. v.1, pp. 236

54. Polyb.xxiv, 15, 13, cf. i, p. 342

55. v. [illegible] above, p.118, note 7.

56. Polyb.xxv, 4, 10: Liv (P) xlii, 12, 3: inter ipsos quoque reges ingentem auctoritate esse, Seleuci filiam duxisse eum non petentem sed petitum ultro.

57. Liv. ibid: sororem dedisse Prusiae precanti adoranti; App. Mithr. 2,3: προυσίας ἦν ὁ κυνηγὸς ἐπίκλησιν, ᾧ περσεὺς ὁ Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔδωκεν

58. The view of Tarn,GBI, p.185, that Seleucus IV aimed at peace does not agree with the leading part played by Seleucus in the events of this year. Tarn ignores these events.

59. Polyb. xxv, 4,9;cf.Liv (P) xlii,12, 4; App. Maced.11, 2;id. Mithr, 2,3. The statue raised by the Delians in Laodice's honour, I.G.xi,4, 1074 = Syll . 639 = M 1298 = Choix, 70, may have been occasioned by her calling at the island on her way to Macedonia.v. Durrbach, Choix, ad loc., and Stähelin, RE, s.v.Laodike (20), cols. 707-8.

60. Polyb. ibid. 10. The reading is uncertain. The Ambrosian MS of the Excerpta de legat. has Ἀφρακτῶν .Its derivative,O, has Ἀφρακτῶν . Neither form is testified. Reiske,followed by Dindorf, proposed Φρυκτῶν , while Büttner-Wobst proposed Ἀφρακτῶν , which is likewise untestified. The reading Ἀφράκτων

60. (contin.)
would perhaps make better sense (for the crowning of ships, v.Köchling, De coronarum usu, pp. 82ff), since a gift of a gold tiara to each member of each ship which took part in the convoy seems improbable; but the persistence of the syllable -τη- makes this difficult palaeographically.

61. Polyb. xxv, 4,2; cf,i, p.332

62. Polyb. ibid. §3.

63. ibid. §2; [redacted]

64. ibid. §2. The speech of the envoys in Liv (A) xli, 6,8-12 (where the embassy is referred to as 'legatio Lyciorum') contains a highly-coloured rhetorical account of the sufferings of the Lycians.

65. ibid. §5: καὶ τέλος εἰς τοῦτ' ἦλθαν τὴν σύγκλητον ὥστε πέμψαι πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον τοὺς διασαφήσοντας ὅτι τῶν ὑπομνηματισμῶν ἀναληφθέντων ὧν οἱ δέκα πρέσβεις ἐποιήσαντο κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅτε τὰ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον ἐχείρισον, εὑρηνται Λύκιοι δεδόμενοι Ῥοδίοις οὐκ ἐν δωρεᾷ, τὰ δὲ πλεῖον ὡς φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι"
cf.App.Mithr. 62 (§§ 253-4):(Sulla loquitur): ἀλλὰ μεθήκαμεν κἀτονόμους πλὴν ὅ τινας Εὐμένει καὶ Ῥοδίοις συμμαχήσασιν ἡμῖν ἔδομεν, οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ προστάσει ἴδια. τεκμήριον δ' ὅτι Λυκίους, κτῶμένους τι Ῥοδίων, ἀπεστήκαμεν.

66. The possible juridical basis of Rome's action has been much discussed: The attempt to formulate a strict principle of precaria libertas, as applied to these cessions of territory (as Mommsen, RF, i,p.54), on the basis of which Rome had rights of re-entry on any ex-enemy territory cannot be sustained. The Roman action in regard to Rhodes, both now and in 167 B.C., cannot be used as evidence for this view, since the SC that the Rhodians should evacuate Caunus and Stratonicea (v.i, pp.371-2) indicates clearly that Rome was asserting her power of discretion over territory the status of which had not been affected by the recent wars. Astymedes' use of the phrase κατὰ λόγον to describe the senate's action in depriving Rhodes of Caria and Lycia (v. below, note 2[illegible]) does not indicate that he accepted that the grant of these territories was revocable, but that it was understandable, while that of Caunus and Stratonicea was indefensible; Heuss, Völkerrecht. Grundlagen, pp. 105-8, esp. 107, note 1.

67. Polyb. xxv, 4,7.

68. Liv (P) xlii, 5, 1 ff;Polyb. xxv, 3 (with particular reference to Macedonia); Diod.xxix,33;cf. Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, ii, pp. 611-615.

69. Arist. Polit. 1303b 10-12; cf. Grote's remarks on 'the maritime multitude', History, Pt.II, ch. xliv.

70. Polyb. xxv, 5, 3: [redacted] quoted above, note 41

71. ibid. § 4: οἵ γε Ῥόδιοι (δι)ακούσαντες τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ νομίσαντες ἐξαπατᾶσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ τῶν Λυκίων, κ.τ.λ.

72. ibid. παραχρῆμα κατέστησαν τοὺς περὶ Λυκόφρονα πρεσβευτάς, διδάξοντας τὴν ὀργὴν περὶ τῶν προειρημένων.

73. For the date of the death of Seleucus IV, v. Niese, Hermes, xxxv, 1900, pp. 491-497; Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2, pp. 190-1; Otto, RE, s.v. Heliodoros (6), col. 14; Stählin, RE, s.v. Seleukos (6), col. 1244; Tarn, GBI, pp. 184-5; Bevan, CAH, viii, pp. 496-8; Holleaux, REG, xiii, 1900, pp. 260-2 = Études, ii, pp. 129-131.

74. v. Otto, loc.cit.; Tarn, loc.cit.

75. For Antiochus at Rome, v.App. Syr. 39 (§ 200); Liv. xlii, 6, 9; Just. xxxiv, 3, 2; cf. Wilcken, RE, s.v. Antiochos (27), col. 2470; Holleaux, REG, xiii, 1900, p. 261, note 1 = Etudes, ii, p. 129, note,3.

76. For a different interpretation, according to which Epiphanes aimed at restoring the empire of Alexander, v. Tarn, GBI, pp. 189ff. As an imaginative reconstruction I do not find this very probable, although since Tarn says that Antiochus only aimed at recapturing the territories east of the Euphrates, in point of fact I agree with him. The notion of Altheim, Weltgeschichte Asiens, ii, pp. 35-50, that Epiphanes was deliberately copying Antiochus III does not seem to have anything to recommend it.
The view of Otto, bPtol. pp. 34-5, that Antiochus aimed at attacking Rome's position in the eastern Mediterranean, eloquently expressed though it is, is not supported by any direct evidence.

77. i, pp. 331ff., and note 33, p. 166.

78. Liv(P) xli, 25, 8: Lycii quoque per idem temous ab Rhodiis bello vexabantur, sed externorum inter se bella, quo quaeque modo gesta sunt, persequi non operae est, satis superque oneris sustinenti res a populo Romano gestas scribere.

79. Polyb. xxvii, 7, recording the grounds of complaint felt by some Rhodians against Eumenes, says (§ 6): μικρὸς δ' ἀνώτερον ἐκ τῶν Λυκιακῶν ἀναζωπυρουμένης τῆς διαφορᾶς ἐκ τινῶν ἐφυμάτων καὶ χώρας, ἣν συνέβαινε κεῖσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς τῆς τῶν Ῥοδίων περαίας, κακοποιεῖσθαι δὲ συνεχῶς διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ Εὐμένει τεταγμένων
over. This sentence suggests, but does not prove, that the war was already over.

80. v. i. pp. 323.

81. Polyb. loc.cit. note 79, Whether the troops employed were local levies, or Pergamene forces cannot be determined. Polybius calls them οἱ ὑπ' Εὐμένει τεταγμένοι, a phrase used by the Ptolemies and Attalids to describe all their subjects, Greek and native; v. RC, 27, ll. 9-10 (Ptolemy Euergetes I to Cos, refers to οἱ ὑφ' ἡμᾶς τεταγμένοι); SEG, ix, 5, ll. 20-1: ἐπεὶ οὖν σπουδάζομεν μηθένα τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν τεταγμένων παρὰ λόγον συλλαμβάνεσθαι ibid. ll. 29-30: ἐάν τινες τῶν ἐπὶ χρείας τεταγμένων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν τασσομένων (late Ptolemaic); for the Attalids, v. the Telmessian decree for Eumenes II, of 184 B.C., Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 172-4, nr. 3 = Riv. Fil. lx, 1932, pp. 446ff: οὐ μόνον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν τασσομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ [ὑπὲρ ἁ]λλων τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπέστη τὸν κίνδυνον

82. Polyb. xxv, 6: [ὅτι] ἡ σύγκλητος, παραγενομένων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου πρεσβευτῶν, διακούσασα τῶν λόγων ὑπερέθετο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν.

83. Liv. xlii, 11-13.

84. Liv. xlii, 14, 6; App. Maced. 11, 3. In Liv. loc.cit. the MS has etlegatiorhod iorumerathacfalsaiturusprinceps. This has been much emended; v. Giarratano ad loc. The earliest emendation (Gryneus) is perhaps the least unlikely: et lega tio Rhodiorum erat ac Satyrus princeps. It is clear that the latter half of the line may not contain a proper name at all. Various emendations such as nec falsa simulaturus princeps (Vahlen) are therefore paleographically possible App. loc.cit. has simply Ῥοδίων τινὰ πρεσβευτήν.

85. Liv. ibid. § 8: quod cum non contigisset libertate intemperanti invectus in regem, quod Lyciorum gentem adversus Rhodios concitasset graviorque Asiae esset, quam Antiochus fuisset, popularibus (Madvig, Emend. Liv^2. p. 625; but v. Giarrantano's apparatus) quidem gratam (nam eo quoque iam favor Persei venerat) orationem habuit, ceteram invisam senatui inutilemque sibi et civitati suae. cf. App. ibid.
τῶν δὲ βουλευτῶν πολλοὶ τὸν Εὐμένη δι' αἰτίας εἶχον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ δέους αἴτιον τοσοῦδε πολέμου γενόμενον

86. App. Maced. 11, 3: καὶ Ῥόδιοι τὴν θεωρίαν αὐτοῦ, μόνου βασιλέων, ἐς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Ἡλίου πεμπομένην οὐκ ἐδέξαντο

87. Polyb. xxvii, 3: ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ Ποστόμιον (καὶ Ἰούνιον) κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς ἐπιπορευόμενοι τὰς νήσους καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεις *lac.* πλεῖστον δ' ἐν Ῥόδῳ, καίπερ οὐ προσδεομένων τῶν Ῥοδίων κατὰ τοὺς τότε χρόνους.

87. contd.

Livy records two embassies with the same purpose, once under 172, once under 171. The first is given in Liv (A) xlii, 19, 7 (172 B.C.): sed ut in Asia quo que et insulis explorata omnia essent, Ti. Claudium Neronem, M. Decimium legatos miserunt. adire eos Cretam et Rhodum iusserunt, simul renovare amicitiam, simul speculari, num sollicitati animi sociorum ab rege Perseo essent. The return of these envoys is given in ibid. 26, 7-8: ex Asia, quique circa socios reges missi erant, redierunt legati, qui renuntiarunt (v. Giarratano)...omnes sollicitatos legationibus Persei, sed egregie in fide permanere, pollicitosque omnia quae populus Romanus imperasset, praestaturos, Et civitates socias adisse: ceteras satis fidas, Rhodios fluctuantes et inbutos Persei consiliis invenisse. The second (historical) embassy is given, ibid. 45 (171 B.C.): inde legatio sub idem tempus in Asiam et circum insulas missa. tres erant legati, Ti. Claudius, Sp. Postumius, M. Iunius. Then follows the account of the meeting of the Rhodian ecclesia, as given by Polyb. loc.cit. There is clearly a considerable difference between the two versions; according to the first, the Roman envoys found the Rhodians fluctuantes, according to the second (the version of Polybius), the Roman party was in power. The names of the envoys recorded on the first embassy differ from those given by Polybius and Livy for the second, and the record of the first embassy is doubtless an invention, or, more precisely, an error; v. Nissen, Krit. Unters. pp. 246-8.

The lacuna in the excerpt of Polybius (§ 1) may be filled in more than one way. v. Buttner-Wobst, ad loc. Some antithesis to πλεῖστον δὲ is necessary, but it is difficult to decide whether the antithesis is better provided by βραχὺν μέν τινα χρόνον (as Cobet), or by πολὺν μὲν χρόνον (as Büttner-Wobst). The former is simpler, and agrees better with the fact that there is no indication in the text of Polybius that the envoys remained a long time in Rhodes, but only that they remained longer there than elsewhere.

88. Polyb. xxvii, 3, 3. Liv. xlii, 45, 3ff.

89. For the office of prytanis, v. i, pp. 540ff.

90. v. Polyb. xxviii, 16, 5-6; cf. i, p. 543. He is here (xxvii, 3, 3) described as ὁ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρεσβεύσας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην Benecke, CAH, viii, p. 288, says 'Agesilochus, who had been in Rome', while Shuckburgh, Polyb. trans. ii, p.

90. contd.

translates, 'Agesilochus, a man of high rank, who had once been on an embassy to Rome'. There is no suggestion to this effect in Polybius. For the spelling Ἀγησίλοχος v. Ullrich, De Polyb. font. Rhod. p. 74.

91. Polyb. xxvii, 3, 3-4; Liv. xlii, 45, 7.

92. Polyb. ibid. §§ 5, 7: ὁ δὲ τότε προφερόμενος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ δεικνὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν τὰς παρασκευάς, εὐδοκουμένους τῇ πόλει τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλεν.

93. v. [illegible], pp. 25 ff.

94. Polyb. xxvii, 7, 12: συνέβαινε δὲ τοὺς προειρημένους οἰκείους ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὸ τὸν μὲν Πολυάρατον ἀλαζονικώτερον ὄντα καὶ κενοδόξον, ὑπόχρεων πεποιηκέναι τὴν οὐσίαν, τὸν δὲ Δείναντα, φιλάργυρον ὄντα καὶ θρασύν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκεῖον εἶναι τῆς ἐκ τῶν συναστῶν καὶ βασιλέων ἐπανορθώσεως.

Polyaratus had probably only become bankrupt of recent years; Polyb. xxx, 9, 14, says that the children of Moagetes, the dynast of Cibyra, had been brought up at his house in Rhodes, as children; the dynast is not likely to have entrusted his children to the care of a bankrupt.

95. Liv (P) xlii, 39-43, 3; for the truce supposed to have been concluded on this occasion, v. T. Frank, CP, v, 1910, pp. 359-360 (who rejects the story of the truce); and Walbank, JRS, xxxi, 1941, pp. 82-93 (who accepts it).

96. Polyb. xxvii, 4, 3-10; Liv (P) xlii, 46, 1 (cf. Giarratano adloc). Livy says that the envoys were sent to Byzantium as well as Rhodes. This was doubtless included in the original text of Polybius.

97. Polyb. ibid., esp. § 7: ὅσῳ γὰρ πλεῖον ὀρέγονται τῆς ἰσηγορίας καὶ παρρησίας καὶ διατελοῦσι προστατοῦντες οὐ μόνον τῆς αὑτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, τοσούτῳ καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν προαίρεσιν μάλιστα δεῖν αὐτοὺς προορᾶσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν.

98. Polyb. ibid. §§ 8-10. In Livy, xlii, 46, 6, the retention of ties with Rome is stressed, but the friendliness of the reception given to the envoys, though not ignored, receives less emphasis than in the Polybian version. Polyb. says of the speech of the Macedonian: ἤρεσκε μὲν ἅπασι τὰ λεγόμενα· προκατεχόμενοι δὲ τῇ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐνοίᾳ, καὶ νικῶντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βελτίονος, πάλαι μὲν ἀπεδέξαντο φιλανθρώπως τοὺς πρεσβευτάς, ἡδίους δὲ τὸν Περσέα διὰ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως εἰς μηδὲν αὐτοὺς παραιτεῖσθαι τοιοῦτον ἐξ οὗ φανήσονται πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀντιπράττοντες βούλησιν.

This is perhaps capable of two interpretations. It might mean that the request for intervention was accepted, and that, 'apart from that' (πάλαι) although giving the

98. contd.

ambassadors a friendly reception, they asked to be excused any anti-Roman activity. This is the interpretation accepted by Benecke, CAH, viii, p. 288, and Hiller, Rhodos, col. 795. This however does not take account of νικῶντος δὲ τοῖς τοῦ βελτίονος which can only mean, 'partis melioris anctoritas vincebat', and therefore it appears that the request of the envoys for mediation must have been rejected, although the envoys were given a friendly reception. This is supported by the closing words of the chapter, §10: οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀντήνορα τὴν μὲν ἀποκρισιν οὐκ ἔλαβον, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἀπεδέξαντο (Büttner-Wobst, ad loc. prints a lacuna between ἔλαβον and τὴν on the analogy of xxviii, 1, 8; the meaning is, however, perfectly clear as the text stands).

99. The letter of Perseus was written after his meeting with Philippus in winter 172 (v. above, note 95), and before the outbreak of war in Spring 171 (v. below, note 100). The Roman envoys arrived in Rhodes at about the same time as the meeting of Perseus and Philippus (Liv. xlii, 45, 1: inde legatio sub idem tempus in Asiam et circum insulas missa).

100. Liv. xlii, 48.

101. ibid. §§ 8-10.

102. Polyb. xxvii, 7, 1.

103. ibid. §§ 2ff. Stratocles apparently succeeded Hagesilochus. The summer semester lasted from April to September. Hagesilochus had been prytanis the previous winter, i.e. in the winter semester, October to March, 172/1; v. further p. 322 note, 12 .

104. Agathetus, Rhodophon and Astymedes. Polyb. ibid. § 3: τοῖς μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀγάθητον καὶ Ῥοδοφῶντα καὶ Ἀστυμήδην καὶ ἑτέροις πλείοσιν ἔδοκει πέμπειν τὰς ναῦς καὶ συναίρεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς εὐθέως τοῦ πολέμου, μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν ποιουμένους.

105. Polyb. ibid. §§ 5-12. It is on this occasion that Polybius records the reasons for Rhodian dislike of Eumenes, namely (1) his closing of the Hellespont (v. i, p. 334) and (2), his incitement of the Lycians. (v. i, pp. 341-2).

106. Polyb. ibid. § 13.

107. ibid. § 14.

108. ibid. § 16.

109. For the relations of Tenedos with Rhodes, v. p. 148 note 207.

110. Polyb. xxvii, 7, 15.

111. Id. ibid. 14, 1-3.

112. v. i, p. 327

113. The date is only approximate. His name appears frequently on amphora handles

114. Theaedetus died in Rome in 167 B.C., when he was over eighty; v. below, p. 187, note 208.

115. Four inscriptions give Theaedetus as father of an Astymedes; Inscr. i, 1, sub. ann. 154 B.C. (Astymedes priest of Athana Lindia in that year); Inscr. i, 216-7; I.G. xii, 1, 852. Neither name is however rare at Rhodes. A koinon called τῶν Ἀπολλωνιαστῶν Θεοδεξίδῃ ἐκγόνων Ἀστυμηδείων, I.G xii, 1, 163 suggests that both eponyms were people of eminence but not that they were related. It is surprising that Polybius, or what remains of him, does not mention so obvious a fact of kinship.

Wilhelm, Reisen in Kilikien, p. 44, suggested that the Ἀστυμήδης Ἀλεξικράτους of Syll3. 644 (v. below, note 141) was the Astymedes of Polybius' narrative (so also van Gelder, GdR, p. 477; Pugliese Carratelli, Annuario, N.S.i-ii, 1942, p. 160 note 1). Since the document is contemporary (v. below, p. 178 note 143) with the period in which we know from Polybius that Astymedes was a leading figure in the state, and since he is in fact chief prytanis in the inscription, it might seem reasonable to identify the two individuals. It is thus clear that there were two homonyms eminent in the state at the same time, and that which is the figure of Polybius' narrative cannot be determined.

116. Polyb. xxvii, 14, 2.

117. ibid. § 3.

118. For this war, and the preceding and subsequent events, v. in general Otto's masterly work, Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6 Ptolemäers; and the subsequent discussions to which this gave rise: Bell-Skeat, JEA, xxi, 1935, pp. 262-4 (contains some chronological rectifications, but little else); Tarn, JHS lv, 1935, pp. 98-9; id. GBI, pp. 191-2; Hampl, Gnomon, xii, 1936, pp. 30-43; Jouguet, Rev.Phil. lxiii, 1937, pp. 193-238; id. Bull. Inst. Egypte, xix, 1937, pp. 157-174;

118. contd.

Swain, CP, xxxix, 1944, pp. 73-94 (which contains some very dubious statements). A papyrus recently published by E.G. Turner, Bull.Ryl Libr. xxxi, 1948, pp. 3-16, shows that according to accepted Egyptian chronology Epiphanes' first campaign against Egypt was completed at latest by November 170 B.C. This necessitates a re-examination of the evidence for the chronology of the campaign, which I have undertaken and will, I hope, appear shortly in Berytus. The interpretation of the evidence given in the text here is based on arguments developed at length in that article.

The effort of Cavaignac, Rev.Hist.Rel.cxxx, 1945, pp. 53-8, to reconcile the Egyptian and Polybian evidence without altering either will not do. He appears, however, to be correct in his view that the same Rhodian ambassadors were sent to Rome twice, in 170 and 169.

119. Polyb. xxviii, 2, 2-6; ibid. 16, 8.

120. σίτου (δ' ἔδωκε) δέκα μυριάδας μεδίμνων ἐξάγειν ἐκ Σικελίας. For the calculation v. T. Frank, Econ.Survey, i, pp. 159-160; Scramuzza, ibid. iii, p. 240.

121. v. the evidence collected by Sauciuc-Saveanu, Cultura Cerealor, pp. 129ff; Heichelheim, RE, Suppbd. vi, s.v. Sitos, cols. 844-5, 849ff.

122. Polyb. xxviii, 23; for the chronology v. Berytus.

123. ibid. The Mss of the De legat, have Πρατίωνα , a name otherwise unknown in Rhodian prosopography. Van Gelder, GdR, p. 149, note 2 (followed by Büttner-Wobst, ad loc.) suggested Πράξωνα , of which there are several instances at Rhodes (v. I.G. xii, 1, index, p. 233; Inscr. Index, I,i, s.v.). Πραξίων however, also occurs (I.G. xii, 1,4, III, l. 13, Ἑρμοκράτης Πραξίωνος Κρυασσεύς)), so Πραξίωνα which involves less change, is a preferable restoration.

124. ibid. § 2: γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐντεύξεως πολλοὺς διετίθεντο λόγους, τήν τε τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος εὔνοιαν προφερόμενοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν τῶν βασιλέων ἀναγκαιότητα πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἑκατέροις ἐκ τῆς διαλύσεως.
Antiochus was the uncle of the two Ptolemies on their maternal side. For Cleopatra I, who joined the two houses, sister of Antiochus and wife of Ptolemy Epiphanes, v. Stähelin, RE, s.v. Kleopatra (14), cols. 738ff., and the brilliant pages of Otto, 6Ptol. pp. 23ff (for the chronology of Cleopatra, ibid.).

125. v. i, p. 250.

126. This is not stated in the excerpt, Polyb. xxviii, 23, but follows from the fact that the war continued: v. Berytus, and Otto op.cit. pp. 63ff.

127. v. Berytus.

128. Polyb. xxviii, 3; ibid. ch. 16; Liv. xliii, 17, 2, who quotes the SC: ne quis ullam rem in bellum magistratibus Romanis conferret, praeterquam quod senatus censuisset, given in Polyb. xxviii, 16, 2 as: μηκέτι προσέχειν τοῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς συγκλήτου) δόγμασι.
cf. Jones, Greek City, p. 120, and p. 321, note 46.

129. Polyb. xxviii, 16, 3ff.

130. For the repetition of the two embassies, v. Cavaignac, Rev. Hist. Rel. cxxx, 1945, pp. 53-8, and Berytus.

131. Polyb. xxviii, 16, 6ff.

132. Polyb. xxviii, 17, 1; App. Maced. 17, 1.

133. For the much-disputed crossing of Olympus by the Roman forces v. De Sanctis, St.dR, iv, 1, pp. 301-3; Kromayer, Antike Schlachtfelder, ii, pp. 268ff. (followed by Benecke, CAH, viii, pp. 264-5).

134. Polyb. ibid. §§ 2-3.

135. ibid. § § 4-5.

136. ibid. § § 5-9.

137. ibid. § 5: ὕστερα δὲ τοῦτ' ἐποίει τὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑποπτεύων μή ποτε κρατήσαντος Ἀλεξανδρείας βλαβὺς ἔφεσθαι αὐτοῖς μέντοι.

138. ibid. §§ 7-8: ἢ ... ἐβούλετο τοὺς Ῥοδίους προνύξας μεσίτας ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ τοῦτο πράξαντας δοῦναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀφορμὰς εὐλόγους εἰς τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν εἰς ἂν αὐτοῖς φαίνηται, τὰ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν.

139. ibid. § 9: δοκῶ δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ τελευταῖον εἰρημένον, ἐξ ὧν ὡμαρτύρησε τὰ μετ' ὀλίγον συμβάντα τοῖς Ῥοδίοις.

140. This interpretation was advanced by T. Frank, CP, v, 1910, pp. 358-361.

141. App. Maced. 17 on the other hand says: οὐ γὰρ ἔλαττον (sc. οἱ Ῥόδιοι) ἄνευ Ῥωμαίων τῶν Μάρκιον πράττειν. But this is not recorded by Polybius, and is clearly motivation introduced by Appian. The rest of the passage is either corrupt or interpolated.

142. v. Frank, op.cit. p. 360.

143. [redacted] v. Syll^{3}. 644 = M535 = SGDI, 3751 (Rhodian decree only). This records honours paid to a certain Eudemus of Seleucia-on-Calycadnus (for this city v. Heberdey-Wilhelm, Reisen in Kilikien = Denkschriften der Wien. Akad. xliv, 1896, pp. 108ff; Wilhelm, Jahreshefte, xviii, 1915, Beiblatt, pp. 16-22, with a new text containing two decrees of the Lampsacenes for Eudemus), a servant of Antiochus Epiphanes, by various Greek cities, namely Argos, Rhodes, Byzantium, Calchedon, Cyzicus Lampsacus and the Boeotians. The Rhodian decrees are four in number (v.i, pp. 529ff. , and below, p. 324 note 37). The last records that Rhodian ambassadors to Antiochus are to request Eudemus to interest himself: ὅ[π]ω[ς] τὰι δωρ[ε]ὰι τὰι δεδομεναι τῶι δάμωι εἰς τὰν ναυτικὰν δύναμιν τὰν τ[ὰ]χ[ί]σταν εἰς τὰν πόλιν ἀποσταλῶντι, δηλοῦντες αὐτῶι ὅτι τῶτα πράξει χαριεῖται τῶι δάμωι. There are only two known occasions when a Seleucid might have sent gifts to the Rhodian navy in these years the first is in 178, the occasion of the marriage of Laodice and Perseus (v. i, pp. 336ff), which cannot be in question here because Antiochus was not king at that time. The second is some time before 172 B.C., when the Roman ambassadors visited Rhodes and Hagesilochus showed them twenty ships ready for service (v. i, p. 345). This number is far in excess of other Rhodian fleets, and some of the ships may therefore have come from outside.

There is another indication of Antiochus' friendship for Rhodes. Livy (P), xli, 20, 7, records the gifts made by Antiochus to various shrines in Greece, such as those at Megalopolis, Tegea, Cyzicus, Delos and Athens. He puts in a category by itself Rhodes of which he says: Rhodiis ut nihil unum insigne, ita omnis generis ut quaeque usus eorum postulaverunt, dona dedit.

Into these donations recorded by Livy it would be unwise to read much political significance, since they are probably part of a general policy of phil-Hellenism, and not prompted by any immediate or particular purpose. But together with the decrees in honour of Eudemus they make it certain that Antiochus maintained friendly relations with Rhodes (cf. Eduard Meyer, Ursprung und Anfänge, ii, p. 143; Otto, 6Ptol. p. 33).

144. Polyb. xxviii, 17, 10. For Marcius Figulus, cf. Liv (P), xliv, 13, 11.

145. Polyb. ibid. §§ 11-13.

146. ibid. §§ 13-14.

147. ibid. § 15: ἀπέστελλον δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοὺς διαλύσοντας τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ.

148. Polyb. xxviii, 17, raises a serious difficulty. In § 4, Philippus says that he wonders why the Rhodians do not intervene in τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον. This might refer either to the Persean War, or to the Syrian War, and a reference to the latter (as Shuckburgh, Polyb. trans., ii, pp. 383-4, supposes) is easier in one way: Philippus, anxious about the fall of Alexandria, asked the Rhodians to intervene, as the most natural people to deal with a problem in which they were materially interested; and by so doing he would not compromise himself with the Senate, since he would work only through the Rhodians. In addition, § 15, referring to the Rhodian embassy to Alexandria, which seems otherwise rather illogical, falls into place as the logical outcome of Philippus' request. In spite, however, of the improvements rendered in the narrative by this interpretation, it seems that it must be rejected for two reasons: (1) In § 13, the war in which Philippus asked the Rhodians to intervene is referred to as τὸν πόλεμον, in open contrast to the ἐνεστὼς πόλεμος of § 15. (2) Polybius would probably not use τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον in § 4 to mean 'The Sixth Syrian War', and then in § 6 define that war: ἤδη γὰρ τότε συνέβαινε, κτλ.

A more natural procedure would be to define the war first; and this is done if § 15 alone refers to the Sixth Syrian War. But, the confusion may not be Polybius' own, but that of the excerptor.

Though the view that Philippus, when speaking to Hagepolis, suggested to him that he should intervene in the Sixth Syrian War is therefore to be rejected, it remains likely that Philippus did in fact stimulate the Rhodian to try to stop the war in Egypt, though doubtless without committing himself in any way; v. Otto, 6Ptol. pp. 63-4, whose view (shared by von Hiller, Rhodos, cols. 795-6) that the Rhodian intervention in Egypt was due to Rhodian conceit or irresponsibility, seems rather unfair to the Rhodians, whose skill in mediation was known, and doubtless gave reasonable grounds for hope that their ambassadors might succeed.

De Sanctis, SdRom. iv, 1, p.315, note 207, suggests that the Rhodians subsequently invented the story of Marcius' secret

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instructions, after Marcius' death, in a vain attempt at self-exculpation. This is a possibility, but like most attempts to indicate traces of Rhodian tendency in the narrative of Polybius, cannot be regarded as certain.

149. v. Berytus.

150. Liv. (P) xliv, 23, 10.

151. Polyb. xxix, 3, 1-6. On Genthius, v. Stählin, RE, s.v. Genthios, cols. 1198-1201.

152. ibid. § § 7-9; Liv (P) xliv, 23, 5. At about the same time as the Macedonian embassy was despatched to Rhodes a Macedonian squadron met a Rhodian detachment at Tenedos; and showed it excessive politeness; Liv. ibid. 28, 1-3.

153. Polyb. xxix, 4, 7; Liv (P) xliv, 23, 10.

154. Polyb. xxix, 10-11. Ch. 11 was placed before ch. 10 by Ullrich, De Polyb. font. Rhod. p. 65, probably correctly. The decision to send embassies to mediate (10,4) must have been taken after the envoys had been received by the ecclesia, which had in general terms approved the intervention (11,3ff). ch. 10 thus records either a second session of the ecclesia, or a later stage of the same session. Since the passages have been torn up by the roots by the excerptors, and there may be considerable lacunae at the beginning and end of both excerpts, the point cannot be decided.

155. Polyb. xxix, 11,3.

156. ibid. § 2: καὶ συναχθείσης τῆς βουλῆς, παντάπασι θορυβώδης ἦν ἐκκλησία, τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸν Δείναν (καὶ Πολυάρατον) φανερῶς ἤδη πολεμεῖν λεγόντων τὰ τοῦ Περσέως.

157. ibid. § 5: ἔδοξε γὰρ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις ἀποκριθῆναι φιλανθρώπως ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ διαφεῖν ὅτι δεδόκται διαλύειν αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ παρακαλεῖν κἀκείνους εὐδιάλυτους ὑπάρχειν

158. ibid. § 6: ἐδόξαντο δὲ καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἑστίαν τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ δήμου μετὰ πολλῆς φιλανθρωπίας. For the Rhodian κοινὴ ἑστία , and its relation to the prytaneum, v. i, p. 545 . The κοινὴ ἑστία as the equivalent of the πρυτανεῖον or the ξενοθυτεῖον is found in I.G. v, 1, 961 (Cotyra, ii, B.C.): καλέσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἑστίαν καὶ δόμεν αὐτῶι τοὺς ἐφόρους ξένια τὰ μέγιστα ἐκ τῶν νόμων. v. also the

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instances collected by Poland, De leg. Graec. publ. p. 107. For the κοινὴ ἑστία as a place of refuge v. Polyb. xxx, 9, 4, where Polyaratus, the leader of the anti-Roman party at Rhodes, on arrival at Phaselis, in flight, λαβὼν θαλάμας κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἑστίαν.

159. Polyb. xxix, 10, 4, The words in which Polybius describes the victory of the Persean party displays better than any other the rabid Romanophile attitude of his Rhodian source: πλεῖον ἐφάνησαν ἰσχύοντες οἱ τὰ τοῦ Περσέως αἱρούμενοι τῶν σῴζειν ὑπισχνουμένων τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς νόμους. Compare also the contrasting phrase used, xxviii, 17, 12, of the followers of Perseus, who are referred to collectively as κινητὰς καὶ καχέκτας . cf. i, pp. 254ff.

160. Polyb. xxix, 10, 4. The name Κλινόμβροτος , for the MS Κλιγνόμβροτος was taken by Büttner-Wobst from I.G. xii, 1, 4, III, 1. 4. Forms in -κλιγν -- are however quite common (v. I.G. xii, 1, and Inscr. indices, s.v.), so that the MS reading may be retained.

161. ibid. πρὸς δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Περσέα, Δάμωνα, Νικόστρατον, Ἀγησίλοχον, Τήλεφον. Van Gelder, GdR, p. 150, note 2, held that a Rhodian embassy of four members is unparallelled, all others in which the names are recorded in full consisting of three. He therefore proposed to read Δάμωνα Νικοστράτου. Büttner-Wobst, adloc. defends the MS reading of four names by appeal to Polyb. xxx, 13, 3 (he refers also to Poland, De legat, Graec. publ. p. 68) where four ambassadors are named; but (as Poland, loc.cit. correctly stated) they are Achaeans, while van Gelder said 'jede rhodische Gesandtschaft, die wir kennen, bestent aus drei Personen'. This principle is, however, violated by the embassy consisting of two members, Theaedetus and Philophron, to the Commissioners in 188 B.C. (Polyb. xxii, 5, 2; cf. i, pp. 327-8); they are explicitly called πρέσβεις . This, however, appears to be the only instance, and it is safer to accept van Gelder's proposal in principle. His suggestion, Δάμωνα Νικοστράτου, (for the employment of the name of the father for only one member of an embassy, he compares xxviii, 16, 6), which might refer to a son of Nicostratus who fought at the Battle of Chios in 201 B.C. (Polyb. xvi, 5, 1; cf. i, p. 640), is probably correct.

162. Polyb. xxix, 10, 6; cf. Effenterre, La Crète, p. 267.

163. They arrived in Rome some time before the news of Pydna, fought in late June 168 B.C. (v. ~~i, p. 362~~ note 165) reached Rome. The meeting of the Rhodian ecclesia at which it was decided to mediate is given by Livy, before the account of Aemilius' crossing to Macedonia in Spring 168 (xliv, 30, 1).

164. Liv. xliv, 35, 4ff.

165. For the date of the Battle of Pydna, a fixed date, v. De Sanctis, SdRom. iv, 1, pp. 369-376; Otto, 6Ptol. p. 32, note 3; Berytus.

166. Liv. xliv, 35, 5.

167. v. De Sanctis, SdRom. iv, 1, pp. 322ff; Kromayer, Ant. Schlacht. ii, pp. 294ff.

168. Polyb. xxix, 19. Liv. xliv, 14, preserves the annalistic tradition regarding this embassy; id. xlv, 3, 2-4 the Polybian version. In xliv, 15, Livy, deriving from Claudius Quadrigarius, puts the embassy and the Senate's reply in 169 B.C. Valerius Antias' version is preserved, ibid. § 3 (alii responsum esse tradunt). Claudius included in the Senate's reply on this occasion the decision to free Caria and Lycia from Rhodian rule (cf. Nissen, Krit.Unters. pp. 261-2). In the version derived from Polybius, xlv, 3, 1, the occasion is correctly attributed to 168 B.C., and the Senate's reply does not, naturally, include the order regarding the cession of Caria and Lycia (cf. Nissen, ibid. pp. 272-3). Livy, conscious of the repetition and contradiction in his narrative, and wishing to reconcile his sources, implies in the second passage that the audience accorded to the Rhodians in 168 B.C. was the second one; ibid. § 3: nondum dimissos. Diod. xxx, 23, has a brief mention of the embassy, based on Polybius. The embassy had a long history in annalistic, and patriotic Roman historiography, as an example of Roman clementia. The perversion of fact is at times startling; v. e.g. Sall. Cat. li, 5, where Caesar, in his speech before the Senate, says: Bello Macedonico quod cum rege Perseo gessimus, Rhodiorum civitas magna atque magnifica quae populi Romani opibus creverat, infida atque adversa nobis fuit. Other versions are recorded in Dio Cass fr. 66, 2 (I, p. 295 ff. Boiss); Vell. Pat. i, 9, 2; Aul. Gell. NA, vi (vii), 3, 1-5; cf. generally, and for authorities before Nissen, Van Gelder, GdR, pp. 151-2.

169. v. *Büttner-Wobst, De leg.resp.Rom.missis. Diss.Leip.1876, pp. 31ff.

170. Polyb. xxix, 19, 3-4; for the Rhodian emphasis on war as ἀλυσιτελής, v. also id. xi, 4, 7 (Thrasycrates in 207 B.C.; cf. i, pp. 250 ff.). In § 4, the MSS have κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ῥοδίων βούλησιν which Reiske emended to Ῥωμαίων . Both are possible, the latter perhaps more probable, since less sophisticated.

171. Polyb. ibid. §§ 5-11.

172. Popilius Laenas, C. Decimius and C. Hostilius were despatched to Alexandria in April or May 168, to mediate in the Sixth Syrian War on the request of the Egyptian ambassadors; Liv (A) xliv, 19, 3; cf. Polyb. xxix, 2, 2, When news of the Battle of Pydna reached Laenas he was at Delos, Liv (P), xlv, 10, 2. For Popilius' mission to Egypt, v. Otto, 6Ptol. pp. 73ff; Passerini, Athenaeum, xii, 1935, pp. 334-5: Berytus.

173. Liv. (P) xlv, 10,5.

174. ibid. §§ 6-9.

175. ibid. § 10.

176. ibid. §§ 11-14.

177. ibid. § 14.

178. Polyb. xxx, 9, 2-10. Polyaratus fled first to Egypt, whence Popilius Laenas ordered him to be sent to Rome. Philometor instead sent him at his own request back to Rhodes. Otto, 6Ptol. p. 89 held that Polyaratus originally went to Egypt as an ambassador in regard to a possible rapprochement between Egypt and Rhodes in the anti-Roman camp. However, it seems more probable that, like the other followers of Macedon, he had gone into exile, and that as an exile Philometor was forced to assist him. On his way to Rhodes Polyaratus attempted to take refuge at Phaselis, but the Phaselites sent to Rhodes and demanded his removal, through fear of incurring Rome's displeasure. He then re-embarked on the ship which had brought him from Alexandria, as the Rhodian commander who had been sent to collect him refused to allow him to embark on the Rhodian ship, on the ground that the Egyptian ship was required to see him safely to Rhodes. He then attempted to escape at Caunus, which refused to accept him. Finally he reached Cibyra, where he had connections (v. above, note 94). The Cibyrates were however already allied to Rome (v. OGIS 762, after 183 B.C,; cf. Jones, Buckler Studies, pp. 178-9), and refused to keep him. He was handed over to the Rhodians for conveyance to Rome, on the instructions of Aemilius Paullus.

179. v. i, pp. 80ff.

180. Polyb. xxx, 6-7, 8.

181. ibid. 6, 7; 7, 9-10.

182. v. i, pp. 25ff.

183. Polyb. xxx, 4, 1-2.

184. Polyb. ibid. § 1.

185. ibid. § 3.

186. ibid. § 4: ὡς δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους παρεκάλει τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Ῥοδίων πόλεμον. cf. Diod. xxxi, 5,3. Liv. (A) xlv, 21, 4-8 recounts the unconstitutional nature of Thalna's act in proposing a bill for declaration of war without its having first passed through the Senate. He also mentions the equally unconstitutional act of the tribunes in vetoing a motion that had not been debated by the Centuries. Ullrich, De Polyb. font. Rhod. pp. 66-70 has well pointed out how the accounts of this event given by Polybius and Livy indicate that they are writing from different sides. It may further be remarked that Polybius makes no mention of Cato's speech (v. below, note 184), and the general lack of interest in the Roman aspect of the affair is evident. He does not mention M'Iuventius Thalna by name (τῶν στρατηγῶν τις); he mentions only one tribune, and does not say that the tribunician veto was applied, but only that M. Antonius dragged down Thalna from the rostrum.

The narrative of Livy contains, nevertheless, a large amount of annalistic fabrication, of which the most conspicuous is the speech put into the mouth of Astymedes, xlv, 22, 1-24, 12. The speech actually made by Astymedes on this occasion was afterwards published by him (Polyb. xxx, 4, 11: ἐξεβάλετο γὰρ ἔγγραπτον μετὰ τῶτο ποιήσας τὴν σύνταξιν τῆς διαιολογίας) and is strongly criticized by Polybius, ibid. 10-17. It is clear from the criticisms of Polybius that the speech in Livy is a complete fabrication, since it bears no relation to Polybius' criticisms

187. Polyb. xxx, 4, 6; Liv (A), xlv, 21, 6; cf. note 186.

188. Cato's speech on this occasion, known as the Pro Rhodiensibus, has been preserved in Aul. Gell. NA, vi(vii), 3, 14ff = HRF, i, 84 ff = Malcovati, Orat. Rom. i, p. 191 frag. 162 = Cato,

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pp. 21 ff. Jordan. His plea on their behalf was based on the argument that their opposition to Rome had been shared by many (Aul. Gell. loc. cit. §16: sed non Rodienses modo id noluere, sed multos populos atque multas nationes idem noluisse arbitror) and that since the Rhodians had not openly fought against Rome (ibid. atque Rodienses tamen Persea publice numquem adiuvere), there was no reason for punishing them (ibid. ea nunc de repente tanta beneficia ultro citroque tantam amicitiam relinquemus); cf. Drumann-Groebe, Geschichte Roms, v. pp. 132-4.

189. Polyb. xxx, 4, 6.

190. ibid. §§ 10ff; cf. above, note 186.

191. ibid. §§ 7-8: Ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις τοιαύτας, δι' ὧν τοῦ μὲν ὀλοσχερῶς φόβον τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐδόκουν παρελύσθαι.

192. Polyb. xxx, 5, 1: Some confusion exists as to names here. In 5, 1 De Leutsch desired to read Φιλοφρόνα for Φιλοκράτην since he thought that the Φιλοκράτης of 4, 1 had already returned home. But Ullrich, De Polyb. font. Rhod. p. 77 pointed out that Φιλόφρων returned home in 166 (Polyb. xxx. 21, 4) and is therefore unlikely to have also returned in 167 B.C. Ullrich's interpretation, which I have followed, is; in 167 two embassies were sent to Rome, that of Philocrates and that of Astymedes. Of the former we hear nothing, but it was still at Rome when the second arrived. Of the second we have the detailed account discussed in note 186 above. After this embassy had received its reply, the first embassy returned home with the answer given to it (the second embassy). Next, a third embassy is sent, led by Theaedetus [redacted] and on its arrival the second embassy returned home.

Liv (P) xlv, 25, 5, who in this section abandons the annalists, and returns to Polybius (v. Nissen, Krit.Unters. p. 275), has confused the names of the ambassadors, making Philocrates, instead of Philophron, the colleague of Astymedes in the second embassy.

193. ibid. v. previous note.

194. ibid. Polyb. xxx, 5, 2.

195. ibid. § 4. For the powers of the nauarch, v. ibid. 5. In the MSS the opening clause reads: τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησαν βουλόμενοι διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ πρεσβείαν ἀποστεῖλαι, ἐὰν ἄλλων δόξῃ Ῥωμαίοις, δι' ὧν τῆς ναυάρχου προαιρέσεως τὴν καταπεῖραν ποιήσασθαι. The approximate sense required is that given by Livy's translation, xlv, 25, 7: societatem ab Romanis ita volebat peti ut nullum de ea re scitum fieret aut litteris mandaretur; quod nisi impetrarent maior repulsae ignominia esset. That is, the Rhodians wished to avoid a [redacted] decree being passed in which a formal request for an alliance was made, so that, if the request failed, the humiliation would be less. For this reason Theaedetus was invested with the powers of a nauarch, so that the request for the alliance could be made on his and not the state's initiative. It is therefore essential that the main clause, βουλόμενοι ... ἀποτυχεῖν contain a negative. The reading βουλόμενοι οὐ διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος provides an inadmissable hiatus. This is best avoided by the reading of Büttner-Wobst, οὐ βουλόμενοι ..... ἀποτυχεῖν, 'not wishing to fail through a formal decree etc, but only through the personal initiative of the nauarch'. Readings such as βουλόμενοι δι' ἃ and βουλόμενοι δι' ἃ τοῦ (for which, v. Büttner-Wobst, adloc.) are impossibly harsh, as Strachan-Davidson's translation, 'ready to acquiesce in the failure of their mission, so that it might be a failure without any decree being passed', shows (Selections, p. 546, note to 348, 5).

196. v. the works quoted in note 220 above, p. 150.

197. v. above, note 195, and i, pp. 629 ff..

198. Polyb. xxx, 5, 11. The date is fixed by ibid.: ἅμα δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Θεαίδητον καταπεπλευκότων with ibid. § 4: ναύαρχον Θεαίδητον ἐξέπεμπον, θερείας ἐπιλαμπούσης. For details as to the area involved in this revolt, v. 'Peraea'.

199. Polyb. xxx, 31, 4; cf. i, pp. 331-2.

200. Polyb. xxx, 5, 11: ἀπέστησαν Καύνιοι, κατελάμβανον δὲ καὶ Μιλησίων τὰς ἐν Εὐρώμῃ πόλεις. For Caunus, v. i, pp. 326, and 'Peraea'.

201. The Cibyrates were already in alliance with Rome (OGIS, 762, and above note 174), and Rome must have approved this action.

202. Polyb. xxx, 5, 11; cf. above, note 200, [redacted]

203. Van Gelder, GdR, p. 156, suggested that Lycon was a non-Rhodian 'Bändenführer', since the name Λύκων was otherwise unknown at Rhodes; v. now, however, Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 179-182, nr. 7, l.46 (c.285 B.C.), where Jacopi read [Λι]κων , but Benediktsson, in his edition of the inscription, Deux Listes, p. 43, reads [Λ]ύκων ; Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 370-384, 2a, l.4 (cf. Benediktsson, note ad loc op.cit. p. 17) has Λύκων Τιμοκράτου (eponym of Camirus, c. 278 B.C.).

204. Polyb. xxx, 5; 14-16. For details, v. [redacted] 'Peraea' . [redacted]

205. Polyb. ibid. § 12: κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν (as the outbreak of the revolt) ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξέβαλε δόγμα δι'ὅτι δεῖ Κᾶρας καὶ Λυκίους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι πάντας, ὅσας προσένεμε Ῥοδίοις μετὰ τὸν Ἀντιοχικὸν πόλεμον. ibid. § 16 (after the campaign had been successfully concluded): τοῦ δὲ περὶ τῶν Λυκίων καὶ Καρῶν δόγματος αὐτοῖς προσπεσόντος κ.τ.λ.
Van Gelder, GdR, p. 191 states that the Romans deprived Rhodes of all her possessions in Asia Minor at this time. This is in direct conflict with Polyb. loc.cit. § 12: ὅσους προσένεμε Ῥοδίοις μετὰ τὸν Ἀντιοχικὸν πόλεμον. Liv (A) xliv, 15, 1, puts the senatorial decision to 169, v. above, note 168.

206. v. above, note 192 . cf. Polyb. xxx, 21.

207. Polyb. xxx, 21, 1: Θεσίδηος εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον λόγους μὲν ἐποιήσατο περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας.

208. ibid. § 2: ὑπερθεμένης δὲ τῆς συγκλήτου τὸ διαβούλιον, οὗτος μὲν μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον κατὰ φύσιν· ἔτη γὰρ ἔσχε πλείω τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα

209. ibid. § 3.

210. v. i, p. 326

211. v. i, p. 214

212. Polyb. xxx, 21, 3: ἐγένετο δόγμα Ῥοδίους ἐξάγειν τὰς φρουρὰς ἔκ τε Καύνου καὶ Στρατονικείας. The absence of any defensible grounds for the action is emphasised by Astymedes in his speech, Polyb. xxx, 31, 5 [redacted]: ἀλλ' ἴσως ταῦτα μὲν (the deprival of Caria and Lycia) ἔχει λόγον· καὶ γὰρ εἰώθασθ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὰ τῷ δήμῳ... ἀλλὰ Καύνου δήπου ἐξηγορεύσαμεν, κ.τ.λ.
cf. above, note 66, p. 169.

213. ibid. §§ 4-5. The envoys who returned were Philophron and Astymedes of the second embassy mentioned in note 192.

214. Polyb. xxx, 20.

215. Polyb. xxxii, 7; cf. Ferguson, Hell.Aths. pp. 314ff, 329ff, 346ff; Roussel, Délos Col.ath. pp. 7 – 18; Laidlaw, Delos, pp. 132ff.

216. Polyb. xxx, 31, 10; Strab. 486. Neither Polybius nor Strabo expressly states that the retrocession of Delos to Athens was conditional on the ἀτέλεια of Delos, and so to express it is perhaps to suggest the use of a juridical formula which did not exist. Rome probably gave Delos back to Athens, and, at the same time, to secure her own ends, made Delos a free port, by a wholly independent decision. Rome by this act was enabled to satisfy Athenian national aspirations, and to carry out her own wider strategy at the same time.

217. Polyb. ibid.: καταλέλυται γὰρ ἡ τοῦ λιμένος πρόσοδος, Δῆλον μὲν ἀτελῆ πεποιηκότων, ἀφῃρημένων δὲ τὴν τοῦ δήμου παρρησίαν, δι' ἧς καὶ (τὰ) κατὰ τὸν λιμένα καὶ τἆλλα πάντα τῆς πόλεως ἐπήγκανε τῆς ἁρμοζούσης προστασίας. ὅτι δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀληθὲς οὐ δυσχερὲς καταμαθεῖν· τοῦ γὰρ ἐλλιμενίου κατὰ τοὺς ἀνωτέρω χρόνους εὑρισκόντος ἑκατὸν μυριάδας δραχμῶν, νῦν εὑρίσκει πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας, ὥστε καὶ λίαν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, τὴν ὑμετέραν ὀργὴν ἥφθαι τῶν κυρίων πόρων τῆς πόλεως.
The reading of the text is disputed. MSS have τοῦ γὰρ ἐλλιμενίου ...νῦν εὑρί(ή Y)κατε πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας . The slight alteration of Bekker (ed. ad loc.) εὑρίκατε to εὑρίσκει gives the meaning: 'For while the harbour dues in former times reached a total of a million drachmae, they now only fetch a hundred and fifty thousand. '(Larsen, Econ.Survey, iv, p. 356). For εὑρίσκειν ='to be farmed for' (esp. in Ptolemaic Egypt) v. LS? s.v. εὑρίσκειν, V. This makes excellent sense. The large fall in the contracts for the harbour dues, eight hundred and fifty thousand drachmae, well explains the concern of the Rhodian government. The emendation of Hultsch (ad.loc.) ἀφῃρήκατε is defended by van Gelder, GdR, p. 156, and Niese, Geschichte, iii, p. 196, and accepted by Büttner-Wobst, on the ground that 850,000 drs. is too big a loss, is to be rejected since (a) If the loss were only 15% and not 85% it is doubtful if the Romans would have taken the measure; (b) as Ferguson, Hell. Aths. p. 333, note 1 pointed out, if the loss was only 150,000 drs, Astymedes would not have used such strong language; (c) Astymedes says that the ἐλλιμένιον constituted the κύριοι πόροι τῆς πόλεως , and that its loss constituted τὸ μέγιστον σύμπτωμα . As Larsen rightly says, the revenue, from Stratonicea and Caunus was 120T = 720,000 drs, so that if the loss in ἐλλιμένια was only 15% = 150,000 drs it would not be referred to as τὸ μέγιστον σύμπτωμα . For a general discussion, v. Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, iii, p. 1486, note 96; Larsen, loc. cit.; von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 797.

218. v. [illegible] the articles referred to, p. 320, note 7.

219. Polyb. xxx, 23, 2-4.

220. ibid. 30, 1.

221. ibid. 31, 4: κεφαλαιωδῶς διεξιών.

222. ibid. §§ 4-12.

223. ibid. § 16. Ἰσολογία only occurs in Polybius; this perhaps suggests that Astymedes' speech is not verbatim; for another indication, v. above, note 36.

224. Polyb. ibid. §§ 17-18.

225. ibid. §§ 19-20. The legatio to the kings of Asia, led by Tiberius Gracchus, father of the tribunes, in 165 B.C., is also referred to by Polyb. xxx, 27; 30, 7; xxxi, 1, 1; cf. Münzer, RE, s.v. Sempronius (Gracchus) (53), cols. 1407-8. For Gracchus' Greek speech, v. Cic. Brut. xx, 79: erat iisdem temporibus Ti. Gracchus P.F., qui bis consul et censor fuit, cuius est oratio graeca apud Rhodios.

226. Polyb. xxx, 31, 20.

227. v. above, note 186.

228. For a general discussion of the point, v. Holleaux, Rome etc., pp. 84-8; Frank Roman Imperialism, pp. 284-5, and p. 295, note 24. The Delian evidence shows that Italian and Roman commercial interests did not reach considerable proportions until the second half of the second century; v. Hatzfeld, BCH, xxxvi, 1912, pp. 5-218, esp. pp. 102-129; Roussel, Délos, col.ath.pp. 75ff. ; the decisive event in the rise of Delos as an Italian centre, and the main cause of the transference of Roman economic interests to the eastern Aegean was the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. v. Strab. 486: τὴν μὲν οὖν Δῆλον ἔνοξον γενομένην οὕτως ἔτι μᾶλλον ηὔξησε κατασκαφεῖσα ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Κόρινθος.

cf. Roussel, op. cit.

229. v. i, pp. 276ff.

230. v. i, pp. 335ff.

231. v. i, pp. 342 ff.

232. For the treatment of Macedonia, v. Liv. xlv, 29, 4-14; Marquardt, Röm. Staatsver. i, pp. 316-8; De Sanctis, SdRom,

232. contd.

iv, 1, pp. 337-341; Niese, Geschichte, iii, pp. 176ff; Pais-Bayet, Hist. Rom. i, pp. 616-9; the thesis of Feyel, BCH, lxx, 1946, pp. 187-198, has been refuted by Larsen, CP, xliv, 1949, pp. 73-90.

Additional Notes to Part I

Additional Note 1. (cf. ch. I, note 5)

Tribute paid by the Rhodian communities to Athens, 454-414 B.C.
(From A.T.L. i-ii; tribute denoted in Talents)

	Lindos.	Camirus.	Ialysus.	Lind. Oiiat.	Ped.Lind.	Diak.	Brig.
	8.45T	(9T)	-	.55T	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	(8.45)	(9)	(10)	(.55)	-	-	-
	-	9	(10)	-	-	-	-
9	-	9	10	absorbed in	-	-	-
	----------	----------	----------	---Lindian pay-	----------	----------	----------
	10	1½	10	ments.	.33	-	-
	10	9	10		.33	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6	-	-		.00166	-	-
	(6)	-	-	-			
	6	6	6		.00166	-	-
	6	6	6		.00166	absent from full panel	absent from full panel
	6	6	6		.00166	" "	" "
39	6	6	6		.00166	" "	" "
	-	-	-		-	-	-
	-	-	-		-	-	-
	-	-	-		-	-	-
	-	-	-		-	-	-
	-	-	-		-	-	-
	-	-	-		-	-	-

ional Note 1. (contd. 1).

	Lindos.	Cami-rus.	Ialy-sus.	Lind. Oiiat.	Ped. Lind.	Diak.	Brig.
	-	-	-		-	-	-
	10	6	6		.83	-	-
	10	6	6		.83	-	-
	-	-	-		-	-	-
9	-	-	-		quota missing: name preserved.	quota missing:name preserved.	
	-	-	-		-	-	?-
	-	-	10		-	-	-
}	-	-	(10)		quota missing: name preserved.	quota missing, name preserved.	-
}	-	-	-		-	-	-
	-	-	-		-	-	-
	-	-	-		-	-	-
	-	-	-		-	-	-
	-	-	-		-	-	-
	15	-	5		1	2	1
9	-	-	-		-	-	-
	-	-	-		-	-	-
	-	-	-		-	-	-
	-	-	-		-	-	-

tional Note 1. (contd.2).

	Lindos.	Cami-rus.	Ialy-sus.	Lind. Oiiat.	Ped. Lind.	Diak.	Brig.
5	-	10	-		-	-	-
4	15	-	-		quota missing: name preserved.	2	quota missing: name preserved.
1			REVOLT FROM ATHENS.				

Additional Note 2.
(cf.ch. II, note 11).
Conon and the Anti-Spartan Revolution at Rhodes, 396-394 B.C.

Two accounts survive connecting Conon with an anti-Spartan revolution at Rhodes. Diod. xv, 79, 6, apparently referring to autumn 396, and Hell.Ox. ch.x. referring to summer 395. In Diodorus the Rhodians expel the Peloponnesian fleet, and receive Conon who has moved from Caunus to the Rhodian Chersonesus. In Hell.Ox. the Athenians are already in possession of the harbour at Rhodes, and effect a revolution by which the pro-Spartan government of the Diagoreioi is expelled. The most natural interpretation of these passages is that the two events were separate in time but connected in fact, that is, that Conon first entered Rhodes, and that the Arthenian fleet remained in possession of the port, and about nine months later the Diagoreioi were expelled (so Beloch, GG², iii, 2, pp. 215-6, but his argument from Timocrates' despatch to Europe, Xen.Hell. iii,v,1, is worthless, as he himself seems to realize: 'Timocrates könnte ja freilich ein Verbannter gewesen sein'). The two events may be considered as wholly separate, i.e. as two separate revolutions without necessarily supposing that that the Athenians remained on the scene in the interval. This is apparently the opinion of Jacoby, FGrH, 66, ch, x, Komm.: 'die demokratische revolution fehlt bei Xenophon und Diodor, der nur die davon zu trennende empörung gegen Sparta herbst 396 berichtet (xiv, 79, 6)'. He is followed by Barber, Ephorus, p. 179 (in regard to the time of arrival of the Sidonian ships mentioned in Diod. xiv, 79, 8): 'Diodorus has confused the expulsion of the tyrants (winter 396) with the revolution (summer 395) in which the philo-Athenian democracy was set up. 'I do not follow this. There is no reference to tyrants in Diodorus' account of the revolution at Rhodes. If by 'tyrants' Barber means the Diagoreioi (cf. Hell.Ox. 10,2: "ἰωμεν ... "[illegible] ἐπὶ τοὺς πρώννους), they were expelled in summer 395, as we can see from the Hell.Ox. narrative. The confusion here is not confined to Diodorus.

The third alternative, and that which is adopted in the text, is that the revolution was confined to the one occasion recorded by Hell.Ox., and that Diodorus is recording the same event in a slightly different way, and in very general terms, under the wrong (Julian) year. On this view it must be assumed that Diodorus has got his chronology badly out, and that in fact the best part of a year elapsed between the disappearance of Pharax from the scene, and the removal (κατὰ μὲν τοῦτα , xiv, 79, 6, init.) of Conon to Rhodes. Such a supposition may be difficult, but it is easier than the assumption that the Diagoreioi remained in office nine months after the departure of the Spartan fleet. This seems to be impossible; as soon as Athenian influence was paramount in the city the enemies of Athens would be expelled (It is true that it is clear from Hell.Ox. that the Athenians controlled the harbour before the revolution broke out, but that was only for a matter of days). It is equally certain from Hell.Ox, confirmed to some extent by the list of the priests of Halios, that the Diagoreioi remained in control of the city until the expulsion of the family.

Additional Note 3 (cf.ch.II,note 35)
The sequence of events at Rhodes, 391 -OB.C.

Our information about events at Rhodes in 391-OB.C. comes from Xen.Hell.iv, 8, 20-25;ibid. v.1,5; and Diod.xiv, 97, 1-4; ibid.99, 4-5. Xenophon's narrative provides a generic basis, and in regard to those items which ultimately derive from a Spartan source, such as the names of the Spartan nauarchs, and the movements of the various Spartan naval contingents, information regarding which would probably be contained in official reports, his authority cannot be questioned. On the situation in Rhodes before the Rhodian oligarchs arrived in Sparta he seems to have gone astray, and here the version of Diodorus is to be preferred.

The chronology may be established on the following calculation. The Spartans at the request of the exiled Rhodians dispatched Ecdicus as nauarch to their assistance (Xen.Hell. iv, 8,20). Ecdicus was nauarch in 391-0, and since he was made nauarch just after the arrival of the exiles (Xen. ibid.), the Rhodian appeal occurred in summer 391(for the date of the entry of the nauarch into office, v.ch.I, note 37). Ecdicus was replaced by Teleutias after an unspecified lapse of time (Xen.Hell.ibid. 23). The absolute date for this depends on whether Ecdicus had finished his year as nauarch, in which case Teleutias' arrival at Cnidus will have occurred in late summer 390, or whether he was removed from his command before its expiry. For two reasons the second consideration appears more probable: (a) Xen. ibid. does not say that Teleutias was appointed nauarch before his despatch; he says simply (ibid.) ἐκέλευσαν (sc. οἱ λακεδαιμόνιοι) τὸν Τελεωτίαν περιπλεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἔκδικον, κἀκεῖνον μὲν ἀποπέμψαι. Normally when Xenophon, refers to a regular annual transfer of office he is more explicit: e.g. Xen.Hell.iv,8,20: ναύαρχον δὲ Ἔκδικον ἐκπέμπουσιν ;ibid. v.1, 3; Ἱέραξ ναύαρχος ἀφικνεῖται κἀκεῖνος μὲν παραλαμβάνει τὸ ναυτικόν ;ibid. § 6: Ἀνταλκίδαν ναύαρχον ἐκπέμπουσι. It thus seems probable that Xenophon did not envisage a normal transfer of command from Ecdicus to Teleutias, and the most likely explanation of this is that Ecdicus was replaced for failing to achieve any successes in Rhodes.(b) Teleutias arrived with the ships which he had commanded as nauarch in 392/1 in the Corinthian Gulf. Xen. Hell. iv, 8,23: σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσὶν ἃς εἶχον ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ. He is not likely to have retained command of these ships for a whole year after his tenure of office had ceased, though he might have done so far a few weeks, or even months, if the situation was uncertain. It may therefore be suggested that Teleutias reached Cnidus in the early Spring of 390, at the very latest, if not before the seas were closed the previous winter. Teleutias remained in command until summer 389, when he was succeeded by Hierax in normal succession (v.Xen.Hell. v, 1,3, quoted above). His tenure of command was probably therefore about eighteen months. This chronology is confirmed by the fact that when Thrasybulus arrived at Rhodes early in the sailing season of 390 he found Teleutias already there (Xen.Hell.iv,8,25).Thrasybulus

then sailed off to the Hellespont where his campaign probably lasted a full season (Xen.ibid.§§ 26-9), and he was not ready to return to Rhodes until spring 389 (ibid.§ 30). In an attempt to raise more funds for the war he called at various cities on the way, and finally sailed to Aspendos, where he was killed (ibid.; Diod.xiv, 99,4). His death probably occurred in the summer of 389. (For a general discussion of the chronology of these years, v. Lohse, Quaest.chron.ad Xen.Hell.pert., 1905, pp. 53 ff; Beloch, GG^2, iii, 2, p.224)

Discrepancies in the records of events are considerable. Xen.Hell. iv, 8,20, says that the Rhodians who arrived at Sparta had been expelled from Rhodes: οἱ ἐκπεπτωκότες τῶν Ῥοδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, while Diod.xiv, 97,1-2 says that the Philo-Laconian party, though it had recently been successful in a revolt against the pro-Athenian democratic government, sent to Sparta for assistance, through fear of a further revolt. If the version of Xenophon be preferred it must be assumed either (a) that between summer 395, the date of the democratic revolution and 391, there had been another successful oligarchical revolution, which had been followed in 392/1 by another return to power of the democratic party, resulting in the expulsion of the oligarchical party, or else (b) that the oligarchs who were expelled in 395 remained inactive for some years, and then decided in 391/0 to ask Sparta for assistance. If on the other hand, the version of Diodorus be followed, only one additional revolution need be assumed, namely an oligarchical revolution in 392. The oligarchs, although they had successfully seized power, lacked the means to hold it, and therefore sent to Sparta for help. This is straightforward, while both the hypotheses necessary to make sense of Xenophon are difficult: (a) assumes so many lacunae in our tradition that it would need the most compelling reason to accept it, while (b) makes the conduct of the exiled remnants of the oligarchical party of 395 inexplicable.

A. Momigliano, Riv.Fil. lxiv, 1936, pp. 51-4 has also supported the Diodoran version. I agree in general with his conclusions, although his view that Arist. Pol. 1302b21, and 1304b27 refer to this period and show that Aristotle accepted the Diodoran version of events, is unlikely. v. p. 104 ff. [redacted], and below p. 200.

Additional Note 4 (cf. ch.II, note 54)

The ΣΥΝ-League.

The issue known as the ΣΥΝ-coinage raises many difficulties, and contains many uncertain items.

(i). The date of the League which issued the ΣΥΝ-coinage. The view that the league existed and the coins were struck immediately after the battle of Cnidus is held by van Gelder, GdR, p.87; Holm, GG (E.T.)iii, pp.47-50; Cary, CAH, v i,pp. 49-50; Head, HN, pp.267, 573, etc (v.Index III, s.v. ΣΥΝ); CAH, plates ,ii,p.4 (k-p). This date is however unlikely to be correct. The ΣΥΝ-League is known to have comprised the following cities: Cnidus, Samos, Iasos, Ephesus, Rhodes, and perhaps Byzantium (v.p.199, below). I.G. xii, 1,977 = Syll^3 129-GHI, 110, contains a mention of some allies of Athens, in lines 28-33: παρέχε]ν δὲ Ἐτεοκ[ρατθίοις, ἐὰν δέ]ωνται, Κω[ίους καὶ Κνι]δίους καὶ Ῥοδίασ[καὶ συμμάχων οἵτινες ἂν δ[ωσὶ]ν περὶ τῶν τὰ χ[ωρία, ἁμαθῆ, ὅσ]α ἂν δύνωνται. These allies together with the cities mentioned by Diod. xiv, 84,3, as having gone over to Athens after the battle of Cnidus, comprise ten names of which only Rhodes, Ephesus and Cnidus are members of the ΣΥΝ-League. The other members of the ΣΥΝ-League are not referred to as allies of Athens in the years after Cnidus, at all. This is admittedly an argument from silence, but the evidence is fairly full for the period, and it is reasonable to assume that the two leagues, that formed after Cnidus, and that which issued the ΣΥΝ-coinage are not identical.

On the other hand a date after the Peace of Antalcidas (as already proposed by Beloch, GG^2, iii,1, p. 95, note 3) seem open to no major difficulties. Byzantium was in Spartan hands until taken Thrasybulus in 390/89 (v. Xen. Hell. iv, 8, 27; Diod. Dem. xx,60; cf. Accame, La Lega, pp. 16-7; Tod, GHI, ii, pp. 56-7); [illegible] Cnidus, though it was probably a member of the League formed after the Battle of Cnidus (v.GHI, 110, line 30, quoted above [illegible]; the reading Λιν]δίους is less likely to be correct, v.'Islands'), but it was in Spartan hands again by 391/0 (Xen.Hell.iv, 8,22). Rhodes was in oligarchical hands at the latest by 391 B.C.(v.Additional Note 2, p. 195), and there is no reason to suppose that, except for a short period during the actual stasis, when the city is not likely to have made any far-reaching alliance with other states, it was again governed by a democracy before the Peace of Antalkidas (v. i ,p. 89 and above, p. 38, note 50). Samos revolted from Athens shortly after Rhodes in 391 B.C. (Diod. xiv,97, 3); Ephesus, though pro-Athenian after the battle of Cnidus (Diod.xiv, 97,3) was again on the Spartan side by 389 B.C.(Xen.Hell. v,1,6); for the other members of the League the data for such calculations do not exist. It is therefore clearly very probable, on the assumption (for which v.i, pp. 91-2) that the ΣΥΝ-league cannot have operated under Spartan control, or approval, that the league did not come into being until after the Peace of Antalcidas (ii). Other occurrences of the reverse-type of Heracles strangling the snakes. The earliest instance known is on the Theban coins issued after the Battle of Coroneia in 447 B.C., as the new federal coinage of Boeotia, HN^2, pp. 349-350. (The theta is ⊗, not ⊙, while on the same

reverse-type of a later date, c.426-387 B.C., ⊙ is found.) It reappears at the beginning of the fourth century, on Theban 'pale gold' coins. It is possible, as has been conjectured by v. Hiller, Rhodos, col. 773 (who also puts the ΣΥΝ -coinage at this time, i.e. before the battle of Cnidus, and thus when Rhodes, and the other cities were under Spartan hegemony), following Holm, GG (E.T.), iii, pp.48-9, that the use of gold at this date is connected with the visit of Timocrates to Greece with Persian gold to stimulate resistance to Sparta. It was to Thebes that Timocrates first addressed himself (Xen.Hell.iii, 5,1: ἐκεῖνος δ'ἐλθὼν δίδωσιν ἐν Θήβαις μὲν Ἀνδροκλείδᾳ τε καὶ Ἰσμηνίᾳ καὶ Ῥοδοδίκῃ), and Thebes as the especial home of Heracles was a suitable mint for such an issue. But it does not seem possible to assume with Holm, loc.cit. that very intimate relations existed at this time between Thebes and the Rhodian government.

The same type is also found at Lampsacus at the end of the fifth century, HN², p.530 (top). This issue is a gold stater, almost exactly equivalent to the Persian sigli, on the Persian standard. Two points suggest that this issue is not part of the ΣΥΝ -League issue. (i) The obverse does not bear the legend ΣΥΝ (ii). It is gold, while all the issues of the ΣΥΝ -League are of silver. The meaning of the Heracles-type here is not clear. Mr.E.S.G. Robinson suggests to me that the staters were perhaps issued on the authority of a magistrate whose sympathies lay with the aspirations of the ΣΥΝ -League. cf. also below, (iii).

Another series of similar reverses is found on coins from Magna Graecia. A Crotonian issue (HN², p.97) of this type is perhaps to be connected with the threats offered to the Greek cities of S.Italy by Dionysius I, and by the Lucanians concurrently (Beloch, GG², iii,1, pp. 113 ff.), but Heracles was early recognised as oecist at Croton (v.Dunbabin, Western Greeks, pp. 26-7), so the supposition is perhaps unnecessary. A Zacynthian issue (HN², p.430), bearing a similar type, of an infant strangling snakes, has been closely connected with the Crotonian issue (v.Holm, loc.cit.), but Head, HN², ibid. inclines to believe that the infant is the young Zacynthus; if so any influence there may have been from the Crotonian or any other of the issues mentioned above, can only have been stylistic. (Theoc.iv, 32: λιπὼν τὰν τε Κρότωνα - καλὰ πόλις ἔστι - τε Ζάκυνθος taken by Holm, loc.cit. to refer to the old political connection between the two cities witnessed, in his opinion, by the coins, is probably a general statement. It is difficult to believe that Theocritus was referring to an old political connection, even if the evidence for that connection was far stronger than it in fact is.) The coin of Locri Epizephyrii referred to by Head, HN², p.430, I have been unable to trace.

(iii) Minor divergences in the Heracles-type. In the main group of coins, the Rhodian, Samian, Ephesian, Iasian and Cnidian, there are slight differences in the execution of the work, but no more than might reasonably be expected in common types struck in different mints. Thus the angle of Heracles' body differs in most instances, and the coils of the snakes are by no means identical.

(v.CAH, plates, ii, opp.p.4,k-o, where the types of Rhodes, Cnidus, Samos, Iasus and Ephesus are given side by side).

These five issues differ considerably from those Byzantium, Cyzicus and Lampsacus. The latter issues are not only different from the others, they are also identical with each other. (For the Byzantine issue v. CAH, loc.cit. for the Cyzicene, Hill, Num.Chron, 1928, pp.10-11, and for the Lampsacene, Gardner, Types of Greek Coins, plate xvi, 8). This identity of type has the apparent effect of linking Lampsacus closely with the League, but nevertheless, though the Byzantine and Cyzicene issues may have been engraved by a Lampsacene craftsman, the absence of ΣΥΝ on the Lampsacene coin, (4.p.298) is sufficient reason to exclude it from membership of the league.

In regard to the Byzantine coin it has been suggested that Conon's League of 394/3 was resuscitated by Thrasybulus in 390, and that while the Rhodian etc. issues belong to the period of Conon, the Byzantine, Cyzicene, and perhaps the Lampsacene belong to the later occasion. (v.Hill, Num.Chron, loc. cit; cf. Regling, ZfNum. xxv, 1906, pp. 207-214; Mr.E.S.G. Robinson tells me that he inclines to this view). Such a reconstruction is not without its difficulties. If the league was sponsored and revitalised by Athens, Athenian influence would surely be, if not paramount, at least visible. But there is no vestige of Athenian influence, either politically or stylistically, in the Heracles-type, nor is there any reference to the League in Attic literature or inscriptions.

(iv) The Rhodian issue of the ΣΥΝ -coinage represents the period between that in which the rose, or wild-balaustion, is engraved with the contour of a single petal at the top of the bud, as in the issues of the 'light-Attic' standard, which represents the earliest issue of the city (BMC, Caria etc., pp. 230-1, Plates xxxvi, 1-4, cf. von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 772), and that in which the bud is shown with two rows of petals (as BMC, ibid. nos. 5-13, for the earlier fourth-century examples). Mr. Robinson, who drew my attention to this detail, suggests that this transitional period can hardly be later than 390 B.C., and may be earlier. If it is later, it becomes difficult to fit into chronological sequence the development of Rhodian coinage up to the Maussollos-type coins of the middle of the fourth century [redacted] However the interval at issue is at the most one of five years. (c.392-387), and the exact date of the Maussollos coin is not fixed to a single year, so that the Maussollos type could perhaps be lowered sufficiently to enable the sequence to fit, even if the ΣΥΝ- type belongs to shortly after 387 B.C.

Mr.Robinson has also pointed out to me one seemingly inexplicable peculiarity in the Rhodian ΣΥΝ-issue. The reverse has a round incuse, whereas all other coins of the fourth-century, subsequent to the coinage of the 'Light-Attic' standard issue, noted above, have square incuses. This might suggest that the coin had not been minted at Rhodes.

Additional Note 5.

(cf.above, ch. iii, notes 37ff.)

The Rhodian Revolutions mentioned by Aristotle, Politics, 1302b, etc.

I note here a few variations in dating these passages. The view of Ottfried Müller, that the events in question occurred before the synoecism has already been noted (v.ch.I,note 94). Von Hiller, Rhodos, col.772, places the events in 397 B.C. He gives no reason for this, and there does not appear to be one. At the time of the Revolution, whenever it was, Rhodes must have had a democratic government; but it was always unlikely that the city was in the Athenian camp, and that now seems virtually impossible (v. i, pp.78ff).

Momigliano, Riv.Fil. lxiv, 1936, pp. 53-4, identifies the events recorded by Aristotle with the revolution against the demos in 391. According to Momigliano, the passage of Aristotle implies that the revolution was effected without foreign aid, and this, he says, is only true of the revolution of 391. He holds that if Aristotle was referring to the revolution of 355, he could not have failed to mention Maussollus. However, apart from the objection already noted to this [redacted], it seems possible that Maussollus took advantage of an existing situation, rather than that he engineered one.

Van Gelder, GdR, pp. 89-90, supposes that Aristotle's democracy held office after the Peace of Antalcidas. But there exist no positive reasons for this date. Moreover he necessarily supposes a democratic revolution shortly before the entry of Rhodes into the Second Athenian Confederacy, and for this too there is no evidence.

The same view as that taken in the text, though on more general grounds, is held by Beloch, GG^2, iii,1, p.486, and Torr, Ancient Rhodes, p.11.

Hagesilochus has sometimes been separated from the upheavels recorded by Aristotle. Thus Van Gelder, GdR, p.93, although he put the Aristotelian episode shortly after the Peace of Antalcidas, put Hagesilochus' rule after the Social War, and made him the organ of Maussollus.(so also von Hiller, Rhodos,col.775).

Müller, FHG, i,p. 300, assigns him to the period of Lysander, but this does not agree with the distribution of events in Theopompus (v. [redacted], and anyhow, the Diagoreioi provided the necessary backing for Sparta at this time.

Additional Note 6.
(cf.ch. iii, note 47).

The date of the delivery of Demosthenes' speech, on the Liberty of the Rhodians.

According to Dion.Hal. Ad.Amm. § 4, p.725R, the speech was delivered in the archionship of Theellos - Ol.107, 2 = 351/0B.C. The most satisfactory interpretation of the internal evidence yields the same date. This evidence is:(a) Artemisia was ruling dynast of Caria at the time of its delivery:xv,11: νῦν Ἀρτεμισία, τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων. Artemisia's reign was from 353-351/0 (v.Beloch, GG^2, iii, 2.pp. 143-5; Judeich, Kleinas Stud. p. 226. The latest known document bearing the name of Maussollus in the prescript is Syll.^{3} 170, dated in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Ochos, 353/2: v.Beloch, loc. cit.; Tod, GHI, ii, p.115)
(b) The king of Egypt was not meeting with success in his Egyptian campaign, §§ 11-12: § 11: πράττοντος μὲν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάνθ' ὡς ὥρμηκε βασιλεύς, σφοδρ' ἂν Ἀρτεμισίαν πεπρᾶσθαι περιποιῆσαι Ῥόδον ὡς ἔπος ... (§12) πράττοντος δ' ὡς λέγεται καὶ δυσμαρτυκότος οἷς ἐπεχείρησεν.

This event is of uncertain date. There were three Persian attempts to subdue Egypt in these years (v. Judeich, Kleinas.Stud. pp. 164-185; id. RE, s.v. Artaxerxes (3),col. 1319), but the third, described by Diod.xvi, 40ff, which ended in 344-2 (Diod. ibid. 44,1; cf. Beloch, GG^2, iii,2, pp. 284-5) does not concern us, since apart from the fact that it occurred several years later, in that instance Ochos was successful. Diod.records a previous expedition in which Ochos was unsuccessful,xvi,40,3-4; and this must be the campaign referred to by Demosthenes. Diodorus records this as having occurred considerably before 351/0 (ib. § 3, ἐν τοῖς ὀπίσω χρόνοις στρατεύσας ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον πολλοῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέτυχε.), but says (xvi, 42,6) that in the final campaign Ochos applied to Idrieus, ἄρτι μὲν παραληφότα τὴν ἀρχήν Idrieus succeeded Artemisia in 351/0(v.above, under (a),and note 65). This is a sorry muddle. It is certain that the final campaign did not end until 344-2, and it not therefore likely to have begun as early as 351. The notice concerning Artaxerxes' application to Idrieus, and the statement ἄρτι μὲν παραληφότα τὴν ἀρχήν ,therefore probably belongs to the previous campaign, and occurred shortly after the defeat recorded by Demosthenes. Diodorus' statement that the defeat occurred at a much earlier date probably results from a confusion with the first campaign,which occurred when Ochos was crown-prince, i.e. before 358 (v.Judeich,Kleinas Stud. pp 166ff). Thus interpreted, the evidence of Diodorus does not conflict with the other evidence according to which the speech was delivered in 351. This view is essentially that of Beloch, GG^2, iii, 2, pp. 284 ff, followed by Momigliano,Riv. Fil.lxiv, 1936,pp.55-6.

(c) Judeich,op.cit.pp. 186-9, inferred from § 11: νῦν Ἀρτεμισία, κτλ, and § 27, οὐδὲ Μαύσωλον ζῶντα οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκείνου τὴν Ἀρτεμισίαν, that the speech was delivered shortly after the accession of Artemisia in 353, but such phrases might clearly be used of any ruler within two years of accession; and Artemisia's reign lasted only two years.

(d) Focke, Demosthenes studien, pp.18-21, followed by Jaeger, Demosthenes, p.230, note 41, preferred the year 352 for the delivery of the speech, holding that it was delivered before xiii (περὶ συντάξεως) which he assigned to Feb./Mar. 351, shortly after the passage of the psephism, I.G.^{2} ii, 204= Syll.^{3} 204 = M 674. But though the date for the passage of this inscription may be correct, the passage he quotes (xiii,8) to show that the Rhodian speech was earlier, is true of any time after the oligarchical revolt of 354, and does not necessarily refer to the failure of the Athenians to act on behalf of the Rhodian democrats after the delivery of Demosthenes' speech.

Additional Note 7.

(cf. p. 52, note 17A.)

Alexander and the Rhodian Constitution.

The purpose of this note is purely critical; to examine the views recently put forward by G.Pugliese-Carratelli, in PP, xi, 1949, pp. 154-171. My own views on the relations between Alexander and the Rhodians are expressed in full in pt.i, ch.iv.

In this most interesting article the author, following up a suggestion made by van Gelder, GdR, p. 99, attempts to show that the organisation of Rhodes, in particular the relation of the three old cities to Rhodos, as known from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, was due to the intervention or influence of Alexander in the affairs of the island. He claims in particular (1) that there is no epigraphical evidence for the familiar Rhodian constitution older than the 'Alexandrian age'.(2) that, at the same time, the fourth century before Alexander,with its democratic dissensions, followed by Carian and oligarchical régimes, does not seem a likely time for the establishment of a constitution 'such as to effect a compromise between opposing parties. Further there is no trace in the more abundant literary evidence for the period after Alexander of any constitutional reform, beyond the minor matters dealt with in Diod.xx, 84. It therefore appears probable that the substantial definition of the constitution occurred in the reign of Alexander.

These claims are alleged to be substantiated by (a) the literary evidence, which P-C says, 'serba il ricordo di ottimi rapporti fra Alessandro e i Rodii' (b) the epigraphical evidence, which is alleged all to point to a date either in or near 325 B.C. for major changes in the constitution.

The main problem consists in finding a satisfactory date for the inscriptions involved. Before turning to this task,however, it is necessary to note the literary evidence which P-C claims is favourable to his interpretation. P-C speaks twice of excellent relations between Alexander and Rhodes, and refers to the passage of Curtius,iv,8,12, which speaks of the withdrawal of Macedonian garrison from Rhodes after Gaugamela (331). The passage of Diod. xviii, 8, 1, P-C, like Tarn, Alex. ii, p. 215, note 4, dismisses briefly and without discussion in a footnote,p.167, note 2. The conflict between Curtius and Diodorus is, however, crucial and cannot be thus dismissed. I have already discussed this above (p.52, note 22), and may be briefly here. The facts are these:Curt. loc.cit. says that after Gaugamela Alexander withdrew the Macedonian garrison from Rhodes; Diod.loc.cit., on the contrary says that after the death of Alexander the Rhodians expelled the Macedonia garrison. Opinions are divided as to the credibility of the two texts. Most recently Tarn,loc.cit., has argued for accepting Curtius' version, which he derives from the 'mercenaries-source', dismissing Diodorus' version as an

irrelevant addition by Diodorus himself, sandwiched between the narrative of the connected events of Peithon's victory over the mutineers, and the Lamian War. I have shown, loc.cit. above, that such insertions are characteristic of Diodorus' employment of his chronological source, and that it is that source that Diodorus is reproducing here. If that be correct, in view of the high repute that source enjoys, the statement that the Rhodians expelled the Macedonians after the death of Alexander must be very carefully considered. Personally I regard it as preferable to the version of Curtius. At least, then, the literary evidence is more ambiguous than P-C would have us believe.

The main weight of the argument turns on the epigraphical evidence. The most important evidence is that provided by I.G. xii, 1, 694 = Syll.^{3} 339, a Camiran decree, and I.G. xii, 761 = Syll.^{3} 340, a Lindian decree, both of which P-C dates to c.325 B.C. In the first of these he emphasises the absence of any reference to mastroi in the prescript, which he thinks indicates that officials of that name had not been established, and the reference to ὁ νόμος ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων, which he thinks must refer to a recent all-embracing law, such as, he supposes, might have established the constitutions of the three old cities. In Syll.^{3} 340, he sees the first text in which demotics occur; this change again will have occurred shortly before the date of the decree. Since, however, mastroi are mentioned in the prescript of this decree it is necessary to suppose that the Camiran decree, in which there are no mastroi in the prescript, and provision is made for their election in the body of the text, is slightly earlier than the Lindian.

I do not intend to repeat my interpretation of the Camiran decree, according to which this inscription does not refer to the original establishment of mastroi but to the appointment of a committee of mastroi (i.e. men now serving as mastroi) for a specific purpose, but it is essential to consider three points: (a) the date of these two inscriptions (b) the evidence, if any, for the existence of mastroi at an earlier date, (c) evidence for the deme-system at an earlier date.

To take the last point first. P-C's claim that there is no reference to mastroi earlier than c.325 (to accept for the moment his dating of Syll.^{3} 339) omits a very important inscription -- to which he makes no reference in the entire article -- to which I have repeatedly referred below (v. p.274, note 65 ; p.275, note 75) It is that stoichedon inscription from Camirus referring to some visitors from Cyrene, Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3 = Riv.Fil. lxv, 1937, pp. 173ff. This text is broken in the middle in the top part of the stone, and in l.3 all that remains is ἔδοξε τοῖς , followed by a gap of eleven letters stoichedon pattern. The following line has Καμιρέων . Now the gap of eleven

letters is exactly filled by μαστροῖς καί, giving the formula found in all other Camiran decrees except Syll.[3] It therefore seems inevitable that [μαστροῖς καί] should be supplied here. In the context the reference must be to a probouleutic body, expressed not by the singular (as τῆι βουλῆι) but by a plural, containing exactly the same number of letters as μαστροῖς καί. Who can doubt that the stone bore the word μαστροῖς ? The approximate date of this inscription is fortunately not controversial The use of the stoichedon style, and the script, alike make a date in the early fourth century certain; Segre, Riv.Fil. loc.cit. dated it to c.380 B.C. and this appears as probable as any date. The absence of the mastroi from the prescript of Syll.[3] 339, if it needs explanation at all [(v. p. 276 note 77)] may be due to the fact that the decree affected mastroi, and was therefore taken out of their hands, and became a decree of the Commons only.

P-C's claim that there is no use of the demotic before Syll.[3] 340 is also open to very serious doubt. The fragment of the list of the priests of Athana containing the names of the priests of from 339 to 326 is securely dated (v. below, p. , note 34). It contains at least one, probably two instances of the triennial rule, which ensures that members of the same deme, or group of demes constituting a tribe, should only hold office after a gap of two years (the instances are 334–331, and perhaps from 338 back: v. additional note I, pp. 398 ff.) Now this system was intimately connected with the division of the twelve Lindian demes into three tribes, which for the purposes of election at least to the eponymous priesthood formed a cycle. There is no reason to disassociate it from the twelve demes, and attribute it also to the period of κτοῖναι , the number of which is wholly unknown; or if it be attributed to the Ktoinai, then the change from them to demes must have been little more than a change of nomenclature. Since, therefore, there can be no doubt that the triennial rule was in force before, perhaps long before Alexander, the demes were almost certainly also on existence then. This matter is not even mentioned by P-C.

It appears then that neither of P-C's main props will support his argument, since they are both probably factually wrong. There remains to consider the date of these two inscriptions, though that is now a matter of less importance. Syll.[3] 340, the Lindian inscription, is fortunately datable within limits, which, though wide, are real. Several of the persons mentioned in it occur in the list of the priest of Athana covering the period from 339 to 326, (v. Blinkenberg, Lind. Chron. pp. 443-4; id. Prêtres de Poseidon Hippios, pp. 11ff; Inscri, 1, comm. to years 338 et seq.) There can thus be no doubt that it belongs to the same generation as that of the priests, though it cannot be determined whether it be five, ten, or twenty years later than the bottom year of the list, 326 B.C.-- it is not likely to predate the list, since the writing suggests late rather than middle of the fourth century.

The connection of Syll.^{3} 339 with the Lindian text is however very doubtful. Blinkenberg, Prêtres de Poseidon Hippios, pp.14-15 = Inscr. i, p.62, dated it to the same period because of the reference in the Camiran text to ὁ νόμος ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων which he identified (without justification: v. [redacted] p. note) with οἱ νόμοι referred to in Syll.^{3} 340, line 41. The connection of the two inscriptions being nowhere expressly stated, and there being no prosopographical data to assist towards an approximation, it is necessary to have recourse to the letter-forms, an admittedly unreliable criterion. This had in fact formed the basis of earlier attempts at dating. Newton, in his first publication of the document, Trans.Roy.Soc.Lit. xi 1878 p.436 ff, dated it to the period between the synoecism and Alexander, while subsequent editors who attempted to date it at all, notably, von Hiller, in I.G. xii,1, 694, in Syll.^{3} 339, and in Rhodos col. 753 top, dated it to the early third century. No decision is possible, but a date in the late fourth century is not impossible. Clearly the connection with Syll.^{3} 340 is based only on a subjective, seemingly incorrect, identification of the two (remarkably differently expressed) laws, called respectively, ὁ νόμος ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων and οἱ νόμοι.

In brief, then, these two inscriptions probably do not contain the first references respectively to mastroi and demes, and though the Lindian document certainly belongs to the time of the generation which was middle-aged between 339 and 326, the Camiran text looks as if it might belong to any period between 325 and 275. With this the centre of P-C's argument falls to the ground.

He gives as a further reason for envisaging a major change c.325 the claim that in the list of the priests of Poseidon Hippios, which probably began in 406 (v.Blinkenberg, Prêtres etc. pp. 13 ff) about this time saw the change from permanent priests (ἱερεῖς στατοί) to annual priests. This he regards as a sign of a democratic spirit. This may be right, and it is not denied that there was a democratic spirit abroad in these years at Rhodos, but it does not seem likely that Alexander was himself in any way responsible for this reform of a priesthood of Lindos. P-C's statement that the inscription of the catalogue of the priests of Athana Polias, which was dedicated c.320 or 324 was part of the same movement is not convincing. The Rhodians had been inscribing the names of their priests for most of the fourth century (v.p. , and p., 268, note 34), [redacted], and no special significance can be attached to this.

1958, 2; 1908, 5; 2038, 34-6; 2108, 29; 244, 4-5; 2078, 39)

do. 164 (276 B.C.)n, 4 (archith. Simon; cf. 1908, 22; Inscr. Délos, 3288a5; 330, 2-3)

Additional Note 8.

(cf. ch. vi, note 23)

Rhodians in the Delian Inventories, 314-166 B.C.

(cf. Homolle, BCH xv, 1891, pp. 121-5).

I.G. xi, 2, 158 (282 B.C.)		A, l. 75 (expenditure for chorus in honour of Rhodian theoroi)
do.	161 (279 B.C.)	B, l. 13 (archith. Thrasymachus; cf. 162B, 10; 164B, 56; 190, 3; 199B, 39; 298A172)
do.	do.	B, ll. 15-16 (archith. Hagesandrus; cf. 162B, 12; 164A,
do.	do.	B, l. 16 (archith. Philodamus, here incorrectly called Polycharmus, v. Schulhof, BCH, xxxii, 1908, p. 51; he is not called Ῥόδιος here, but note the offering: 'the face of the Sun'; elsewhere he is called Ῥόδιος ; cf. 162B, 13; 164A, 57; 188,5; 199B, 40)
do.	do.	B, ll. 67-8 (archith. Polyaratus; cf. 164A, 4; ibid. l. 56; 199B, 3; ibid. l. 39; 202, 3; 244, 8; 287B, 33; Inscr. Délos. 298A,4.
do.	do.	B, l. 68 (private, Timanthes; cf. 162B, 54; 164A, 4; 185B, 4; 199B, 5; 203B, 37; 219B, 28; 287B, 40)
do.	do.	B, l. 8 (archith. Phrasilas; cf. 164A, 5; 199B, 3; 287B, 44; Inscr. Délos, 298A,16)
do.	do.	B, 70 (archith. Hippagoras: not here, but in 164A, 5; cf. 205A, 14; 219B, 32; 287B, 36-7; Inscr. Délos, 298A, 8; 313a,6)
do.	do.	B, 70 (archith. Akestias; cf. 164A, 6-7; 199B, 4; 244, 1-2; 287B, 34; Inscr. Délos, 298A, 6; 313A, 4 (?))
do.	do.	B, 73 (archith. Agesidamus; cf. 164A, 9; 185B, 3 (priv.); 199B, 4; 287B, 37; Inscr. Délos, 298A, 9)
do.	do.	B, 74 (archith. Philon; cf. 164A, 10; 287B, 44; Inscr. Délos, 298A, 16; 313a, 13)
do.	do.	B, 75 (private, Aristophilus; cf. 164A, 11; 185B, 2; 199B, 5; 203B, 34-5; 219B, 29; 244, 4-5; 287B, 39)
do.	164 (276 B.C.)	B, 4 (archith. Simion; cf. 199B, 28; Inscr. Délos, 338Bc5; 358, 2-3)

Additional Note 8. (contd.)

I.G. xi, 2, 188		ll. 4-5 (archith. name lost)
do.	199 (274 B.C.)	B, 4 (archith. name lost).
do.	do.	B, 5 (archith. Menon; cf. 203B, 33; 219B, 35 (?); 287B, 35; Inscr. Délos, 313a5)
do.	do.	B, 71 (archith. Damonicus; cf. 223B, 5;226B, 2; 226bis,12; 287B, 84; Inscr. Délos, 296B, 15; 298A, 118; 313a, 91)
do.	do.	B, 71-2 (private, Pasicrates; cf. 223B, 6; 226B, 6; 226bis 16-7; 287B, 86: Inscr. Délos, 296B, 17; 298A121 (archith)
do.	202	l. 3 (archith. name lost)
do.	do.	l. 5 (" ")
do.	do.	l. 6 (" ")
do.	203 (269 B.C.)	B, 36 (archith. name lost)
do.	do.	B, 38-9 (" " Note: on 203B, ll. 62-3, v. Homolle, BCH, xv, 1891, pp. 122-3.
do.	205 (267 B.C.)	l. 9 (archith. name lost)
do.	219 (c. 260 B.C.)	B, 29 (archith. name lost)
do.	223 (262 B.C.)	B, 6-7 (archith. Eucles; cf. 226 B, 6; 226 bis, 17; 287B, 86; Inscr. Délos, 296B, 16; 298A, 120; 314B, 103)
do.	226 (257 B.C.)	B, 5 (archith. Peisistratus; cf. 226bis, 13-14; Inscr. Délos, 296B, 17; 298A, 119)
do.	280	
do.	287 (250 B.C.)	B, 37 (archith. Timostratus; cf. Inscr. Délos, 298A 8-9; 313a6)
do.	do.	B, 38 (archith. Diocleidas; cf. Inscr.Délos, 298A10)
do.	do.	B, 38 (archith. Crantor; cf. Inscr. Délos, 313a, 7)
do.	do.	B, 38 (archith. ἐς Δελφούς, Lysistratus; cf. Inscr. Délos, 313a7)
Inscr.Délos.	298 (240 B.C.)	A8 (private, Charmylus)
do.	do.	A 19 (archith. Anaxagoras)
do.	300	B24 (archith. name lost)
do.	313 (235 or 234 B.C.)	a9 (archith. name lost)
do.	320 (229 B.C.)	B, 4 (archith. name lost)
do.	380 (?198B.C.)	l. 66 (l. 66 (archith. Theodotus; cf. 421, 63; 422, 15 (Diodotus) 439a, 33; 442B, 35; 461Ba42)
do.	406 (c.190 B.C.)	B, 64 (payment 'for the crown for the δῆμος of the Rhodians'; cf.417, 14)
do.	423 (c. 190 B.C.)	l. 18 (private, Nicolaus; cf. 423, 12; 439a, 38; 442B, 34-40)

Additional Note 8. (contd.)

Inscr. Délos.442 (179 B.C.)		A65 (payment 'for crown to Rhodians', cf. pp. ~~A100~~
do.	do.	A100 (payment made by Sitonae 'and the Rhodian envoy')
do.	do.	B94 (private, Nicarchus; cf. 443Bb, 20)
do.	do.	B100 (private, Apollodotus; cf. 443b, 31; 454A, 5-6)

Additional Note 9
(cf. p. 82 , note 24)

References to Coans and Calymnians in the Delian Hieropoiic account

I here modernise and amplify the information contained briefly in Herzog, Koische Funde und Forschungen, p. 153.

Coan offerings occur as follows:

I.G: xi, 2, 158A, 74 (282 B.C.: payment for torches for the dance in honour of Coan theoroi); ibid.- 161B, 14 (279 B.C.) (architheoros Simos; cf. 164A, 58; 199B40; 298, 173)

I.G. xi, 2, 161B, 15 (archith. Polyclitus; cf. 199B, 40; Inscr.Délos, 298A, 174; ibid.300, 22-3)

I.G. xi, 2, 161B, 66 (archith.Aratus; cf. 164A, 5; 192, 3; 199B,2; 203B, 38; 287B, 42; Inscr. Délos, 298A, 15; 313a12).

I.G. xi, 2, 161B, 69 (private offering, Diocles; cf. 164A, 5; 192,3; 199B, 6; 287B, 42; Inscr. Délos, 313, a, 11).

I.G. xi, 2, 161B, 74 ('City of the Coans'; cf. 1184, 6; 287B, 42 (?); Inscr. Délos, 310, 4 (?); 313, 11; 371B, 12).

I.G. xi, 2, 199B, 7-8 (archith. Alexibius; does not reappear).

I.G. xi, 2, 203B, 33-34 (269 B.C.) (name lost).

I.G. xi, 2, 203B, 34 (Anaxibius; cf. Inscr. Delos, 298A, 13; 313a, 10 (?).

I.G. xi, 2, 203B, 39 (archith. Zopyrion; cf. 287B, 43).

I.G. xi, 2, 220, 1 (name lost).

I.G. xi, 2, 251, 9 (perhaps Euclidas).

I.G. xi, 2, 275B, 7 (name lost).

I.G. xi, 2, 287B (250 B.C.), 35-6, (archith. Teisias; cf. Inscr. Délos, 298A, 7; 313a, 5 (?)

I.G. xi, 2, 287B, 39 (archith.Philon; cf. Inscr. Délos, 298A, 11; 313a, 8).

I.G. xi, 2, 287B, 43 (archith. Didymarchus; cf. Inscr. Délos, 298A,15).

I.G. xi, 2, 287B, 44-5 (archith. Euclidas; cf. Inscr. Delos. 313a,13).

I.G. xi, 2, 287B, 45 (archith. Teleutias, dedication of 'The Isthmiate Deme of the Coans'; cf. Inscr. Délos, 298A, 17; 310, 6; 313a, 14).

I.G. xi, 2, 287B, 45 (archith. Hipparchus; cf. Inscr. Delos. 298A, 17; 313a, 14),

Inscr. Delos, 298A (240 B.C.), 14 (archith. name lost)

Inscr. Délos, 298A, 17 (archith. name lost).

Inscr. Délos, 298A, 18 (archith. Arche---).

Inscr. Delos. 310, 4 (?Coans).

Inscr. Delos, 310, 7 (archith. name lost).

Inscr. Délos, 313a (235 or 234 B.C.), 15 (archith. Ph---).

Inscr. Délos, 314B (233 or 232 B.C.), 101 ('dedication from Cos to---').

Inscr. Délos, 372B (200 B.C.), 21-2 (archith. Ponpios; cf. 379, 12; 385f, 11; 421, 8; 439b, 8;443B, 86; 444B, 2; 468, 21).

Inscr. Délos, 380 (?198 B.C.), 68 (archith. Althaemenes; cf. 421, 65; 423, 10-11; 439b, 8; 442B, 36; 461B, 44).

Additional Note 9 (contd.)

Inscr. Délos, 396B (194 B.C.), 54 ('dedication of the Coans, vase in oblong case, over lintel'; cf. 399B, 96; 425, 13; 439, 64-5; 442B, 70; 455B, 31).
Inscr. Délos, 421 (c. 190 B.C.), 62 (archith. Macareus; cf. 439, 33; 442B, 35; 461B, 42; 465e, 26).
Inscr. Délos, 428 (c. 185 B.C.), 8 (archith. Chaerestratus; cf. 442B, 95; 443B, 21).
Inscr. Délos, 439 (181 B.C.) 30 (archith. Euelthon; cf. 442B, 32; 465e, 23).
Inscr. Délos, 439, 36 (private: Hippocrates).
Inscr. Délos, 439, 37 (archith. Nicagoras; cf. 442B, 37; 461B, 45).
Inscr. Délos, 442B (179 B.C.), 109 (archith. Diomedon).
Inscr. Délos, 461B (169 B.C.), 43 (archith. Alexis).

Calymnian entries are:

I.G. xi, 2, 161 B, 71 (dedication 'of the city of the Calymnians, in the archonship (read, architheoros) of Polymedes'; cf. 199B, 6; 203B, 33; 219B, 32; 287B, 37; Inscr. Délos, 298A, 9; 310, 4; 313a, 20 (?)).
I.G. xi, 2, 161B, 71 (private: Archias; cf. 224B, 33; 287B, 35; Inscr. Délos, 298A, 6).
I.G. xi, 2, 199B, 6-7 (archith.----).
I.G. xi, 2287B, 41 (archith. Diophanes).

These Calymnian dedications, dating from c. 250 B.C. and earlier, appear to vitiate the conclusions recently reached by R. Herzog, Riv. Fil.lxx, 1942, pp. 1-21 'Symbolae Calymniae et Coae'. The author restates the view of Paton, Inscr. Cos, pp. 352-354, and CR, xiv, 1902, p. 102 (cf. Herzog, loc.cit.), already supported by him in Koische Forschungen, p. , that Calymnos was a Coan deme from the early third century. The epigram published by Paton, CR, loc.cit., lines 7-8, indicates that the island was a deme of Cos in the late second or early first century B.C., but the lists given here indicate that it was an independent community at the time of the dedications. It would be possible for Calymnos to make the dedications as a Coan deme, as the example of the Isthmiate deme shows (v. above under the Coan entries), but the term used in that instance is precisely δῆμος , and not πόλις , as is used for the Calymnians, and this suffices to show that Calymnos was not a deme of Cos at the time.

(It seems possible that this argument was employed by Scrinzi, Atti Ist.Venet.lviii 1899, p. 221: v. Bürchner, RE, s.v. Kalymna, col. 1771).

Additional Note 10.

(cf. ch. vi, note 30)

Honorific decrees, statues etc. of Delian origin, for Rhodians.

(References to the Rhodians in I.G. xi, 4 are given by Durrbach, Choix, p. 274, but no names or details are added. The chronological and prosopographical notes given, as far as concerns Delian documents is largely from Roussel's notes in I.G. xi, 4)

Ref. I.G. xi, 4.	Honorand	Proposer (All Delians)	Approx. Date
I.G. xi, 4. 580 = G91a.	Hieronides, Pythodóti, f.	Phillis, Diaiti, f.	Phillis arch.275: cf. I.G. xi,2, 109, not.ad.fin. ibid.163Bgd3,not. ad loc.
589	Euphranor, Polycratis f.	Antigonus, Charila f.	Antigonus custodian of loan-accounts 269 B.C.
596 = Choix.	Antigenes,Theori f.(nauarch.),Timaphanes Anaxipolios f.,Dionnus,Polydori f., Hegesander Bulanactis f. (trierarchi)	ὁ δεῖνα, Hierombroti f.	v. i, pp. 219-220;635-6.
614	Philodamus, Thars.a f.	Choerilus, Tharsunontis f.	Philodamus prob. identical with the [illegible]onus of that name, v. addn. note 8 above.
648 = G90 corr.ref.in I.G. ad loc. from G92)	Herma (id) as, P (ra) xida⌣mi f.	Alexibius Timonis f.	'Litterae...medii,ut videtur, tertii a. Chr. saeculi'. Roussel,ad loc.
651	Alexicrates Aglouchori f.	Elpines Telesarchidis f.	Telesarchides Elpinis f., choregus, 215B.C.,I.G.xi,2,12 id. epistates 207 B.C. Inscr.Delos. 366A133

Additional Note 10. (contd.)

Ref. I.G.xi,4.	Honorand	Proposer (All Delians)	Approx. Date
683	Aristo-- (?Herm) ophili f.	Telemnestus I, Aristidis f.	Telemnestus I debtor in I.G. xi, 2, 287A186 (250 B.C.), and surety in Inscr. Délos, 298B,3-4 (240 B.C.). Ob. 224-219 B. C. v. Roussel, ad n. 683.
690	Cleombrotus Leonida f.	? Charileon ? Empedoclis f.	'Litterae...tertii ad finem vergentis a. Chr. saeculi' (Empedocles Charileontis (?= father) tenant in I.G.xi, 2, 158A10 (282 B.C.) and other inscrr. down to 204, 14 (268 B.C.).
711	Praxon, Aristony mi f.	Antilacus Simidis f.	Antilacus debtor in Inscr. Délos, 372, 127 (200 B.C.); letter-ing as previous number.
714=G91B	Demetrius Astycrontis f.	Xenocrates Antigoni f.	Xenocr. debtor Inscr. Délos. 372A35 (200 B.C.)
751=Choix 67= SyllÂ³. 582=G93= M291.	Epicrates Pol-ystrati f.	Telemnestus II, Aristidis f.	After 200 B.C.;v. , pp. 365-6, note 125. Telemnestus II tenant in Inscr.Délos, 400, 4-5 (192 B.C.); 442A, 140. (179 B.C.). cf. Roussel, ad I.G. xi, 2, 751.
752-3 = Choix 63= SyllÂ³. 583=G 94 (752 only)	Anaxibius Phidian actis f.	Telemnestus II, Aristidis f.	After 200 B.C.; v. pp. 366, note 125, and previous number.
754-5 = G92	Anaxidicus Dio-nysii f.	Telemnestus Ariatidis f.	Telemnestus as under nr. 11 above.

Additional Note 10. (contd.)

Ref. I.G.xi, 4.	Honorand	Proposer (All Delians)	Approx. date
839 = G91	Cle---, Nicagora f.	(?Euel)thon Nicia f.	'Litterae bonae apicatae alterius ineuntis a. Chr. saeculi' (Euelthon, Nic. tenant 179 B.C. Inscr. Délos, 442A148; 446A 12-13; Nicias Euelt. arch. 185 B.C. cf. Roussel, ad 839.
842	Athenagoras Athenagori f.	Antigonus Telesonis f.	'alterius ineuntis a. Chr. saeculi'
846(?)	(?Pheidi) anax An (?axibii) f.	?	'litterae exiles, alterius ineuntis a. Chr. saeculi'
1055=Choix 50=Syll³. 493= G95=M346.	Athenodorus Pisagora f. (Histiaean dec.)	-	230-22. B.C.

Additional Note 11.
(cf. p. 87, note 53)

Rhodians at Delphi .

(A list of references to Delphian inscriptions in which Rhodians are honoured is given in Daux, Fouilles de Delphes, iii, 3, p.332 (1943). In the following list, under Approx.Date I have recorded four systems of dating: Ba (unack), SGDI, ii; B (ourguet), Fouilles de Delphes, iii, 1, (1929); F (lacelière), Les Aitoliens à Delphes, Appendix,II; D (aux) Chronologie delphique, 1943); of these the latter is the most reliable and should be consulted in connection with these notes).

Ref.	Honorand	Archon	Approx.date.
FdD,iii, 1, 93 = F8b1	.... Ῥοδίοι	Aischronidas	c.253B;293/2F; 315-279/8D
do.97=9a1	Timoclidas Euagori	f. Xenocles	c.220B; 290/89F; " D
do.98=F 25b2	Hagesistratus Euphranoris f.	Archiadas	273/2B;273/2F;?273/2D
do.99=F 25b2	Dorion Philippi f.	"	" " "
do.113=F omitted.	Lamachus Timoclida f.	Charixenus	c.254B; 277/6F;?277/6D
SGDI 2583 =F28Aa1	Archinomus et Archipolios, Call....ff.	Thessalus	240-30Ba; 270/69F; 270/69D
do.2601= F64Aa1	----crates Agoraclis f.	Herys	230 or 229Ba; 234/3F; 232 or 228D
do. 2649 = F73a2	Philophron Xenophanis f.	Heraclidas	230-220, prob. 229 or 228Ba; 225/4F; 247-199/8D
FdD,iii,3 201=F30a3 =SGDI 2671	Aristomenes Apaturii f.	Athambus	233 or 232Ba; 268/7F; 269/8D

Additional Note 11 (contd.)

Ref.	Honorand	Archon	Approx.date.
FdD, iii, 3, 379.	(?Pan)aitios, Simi f.	nil	iii B.C.D.
do. 380	Chaerippus Hippodatis f.	nil	" D
do.381	---ius Euippi f.	Callidas	?206/5F; 'deuxième moitié du iiie siecle' D.
do.382=F 72b1 = BCH xxxv, 1911, p.459 (Bourguet)	Cleonicus Cleocratis f.	Anaxandridas	c.217-c.205B; 226/5F; 279-247D cf. I.G. vii, 275; Feyel, Polyb. et la Boiot.,1942, pp. 30ff; Bousquet, BCH, lxx, 1946, p. 38, who date this inscr. 215-203 B.C.)
do. 383= Syll^3. 614	Euphaniscus Callixeni f. (adopt. Nicasidami); Pistoxenus Pythodoti f. (adopt.Theridis);Gorgonas Clisombroti f; Pithias Cleombroti f;Boion Axandri f; Hagetor Damastrati f (adopt. Timostrati) Euelthon, Antidoti f.; Straton Aristocratis; Cleonymus Damocratis f.	Mantias	180/79 or 179/8 D (cf. Daux, Delphes, pp.113 and 276 ff.)
SGDI 2581= Syll^3. 585.	As number 14	"	"

Additional Note 12.
(cf. p. 92 note 81)

The probable date of the Battle of Cos.

Much of the vast bibliography connected with the Battle of Cos is by now antiquated. I note only the most important contributions.

The direct ancient references are: Plut. Mor. 545B: καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ δεύτερος τἆλλα μὲν ἦν ἄτυφος καὶ μέτριος, ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ Κῶ ναυμαχίᾳ τῶν φίλων τινὸς εἰπόντος οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅσῳ πλείους εἰσὶν αἱ πολέμιαι νῆες; ἐμὲ δέ γ' αὐτόν' εἶπε 'πρὸς πόσας ἀντιτάττετε;'

Id. ibid. 183C: [Ἀντίγονος ὁ δεύτερος] μέλλων δὲ ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς, εἰπόντος τοῦ κυβερνήτου πολὺ πλείονας εἶναι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς, 'ἐμὲ δέ' ἔφη 'πρὸς πόσας ἀντιτάττετε;'

Moschion, ap.Athen. 209E: παρέλιπον δ' ἐκὼν ἐγὼ τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ἱερὰν τριήρη, ᾗ ἐνίκησε τοὺς Πτολεμαίου στρατηγοὺς περὶ Λεύκολλαν τῆς Κῴας ἐπειδή ('ὅπου δή', Meineke, cf. Tarn, JHS, xxx, 1910, p.212; Pozzi, Mem.r.accad.Torino, lxiii, 1913, p.336, note 1) καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν.

Diog. Laert. iv, 39: μετά τε τὴν Ἀντιγόνου ναυμαχίαν πολλῶν προσιόντων καὶ ἐπιστόλια παρακλητικὰ γραφόντων ὡς [sc. ὁ Ἀρκεσίλαος] Ἀντιγόνου ἐδείπνησεν, may refer either to the battle of Cos, or Andros, or to another engagement, otherwise unknown. If, as has been supposed (Wilamowitz, Antigonos von Karystos, p. 229, Bikerman, REA, xl, 1938, p.371), it belongs to the period immediately after the surrender of Athens, a reference to this rather than to a seabattle as the most outstanding event, and obvious point of reference, might be expected. Ps.Aristeas, Epist.180 (Wendl.) (cf. Jos. Ant.xii, 93), refers to a naval victory of Philadelphus over Gonatas: μεγάλην δὲ τέθειμαι τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, ἐν ᾗ πεπραγεγόναμεν· καὶ καθ' ἑνιαυτὸν ἐπίσημος ἔσται πάντα τὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν χρόνον. συνέτυχε γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὴν νίκην ἡμῖν προσπεπτωκέναι τῆς πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ναυμαχίας.
This may be an error or a deliberate falsehood on the part of the author (so Beloch, GG^2, iv, 2,p.508); as it stands, it can hardly be taken as a reference to the Battle of Cos,which the other sources agree in portraying as a Macedonian victory. It may, as Otto, Philol. lxxxvi, 1931, pp.409-410 suggested, refer to a naval victory at the beginning of Philadelphus' reign (unless Ἀντιόχου should be read for Ἀντίγονον as proposed by Bickermann, Zeit. f. Neut.Wiss., xxix, 1930, pp.281-2; cf.Otto, op.cit.p.410, note 20). This is preferable to Tarn's suggestion, AG, p.131, note 43, that the event referred to is the victory of Ptolemy Ceraunus (Memn.14, FHG, iii, p.534), here erroneously attributed to Philadelphus.

Modern works: Tarn, JHS, xxix, 1909, pp.264-285, 'The battles of Cos and Andros'; Ferguson, ibid. xxx, 1910, pp. 198-208, 'Egypt's loss of sea-power'; Tarn, ibid., pp.209-222, 'The dedicated ship of Antigonus Gonatas'; id. ibid. pp. 233-5, 'Egypt's loss of sea-power: a note'; Pozzi, Mem.r.accad.Torino, lxiii, 1913, pp.336-352, 'Le battaglie di Cos e di Andro'; Beloch, GG^2, iv,2,(1927), pp.506-515; Tarn, CAH, vii, pp.862-3; Fellmann, Antigonos Gonatas (1930), pp.66 ff., 92 ff.(gives a full analysis of earlier views, pp. 66-71; his own contribution, that there was only one battle, fought between Andros und Ceos, is ingenious and improbable); Bikermann, REA, xl,1938, pp.369-383; Peremans, L'Ant.Class. viii, 1939, pp.401 ff. (an useful review of the evidence).

Tarn's date, 258 B.C., is based on the suppositions (a) that the battle was fought in an Isthmian year (JHS xxx,1910, pp.209 ff., on Plut., Mor.676 D, which may refer to Cos), that is, an even year in the Julian calendar. This is probably correct; (b) that the battle was fought during the Second Syrian War, which began after 261 (The Delian Peace, v. p. 91, note 78), and ended in 255/4 (which is also a 'peace year' at Delos: I.G. xi, 2,116; cf.however, note 94). Within these limits the Isthmian years are 260, 258, 256 B.C.; Of these he prefers 258 because a reference in the Lindian Chronicle (quoted ch.vi, note 85) to the war between Rhodes and Philadelphus implies that Rhodes had an anxious time before success, i.e. according to Tarn, before the battle of Ephesus. On the other hand, 256 is not suitable because 'Antiochus' successes (in 256) rather suppose an Egypt crippled at sea'.

This view presupposes that Rhodes would not have gone to war with Egypt if Cos had already been fought, and Egyptian sea-power broken. This, however, is not a very convincing argument. It was much more in accordance with Rhodian policy not to go to war without a considerable chance of success, such as the Macedonian victory at Cos seemed to offer. If this be so, a date before the battle of Ephesus (c.260-255) is preferable for Cos. The objection to a date before 260 cannot stand; the assumption on which it is based, namely that Antigonus' Portico on Delos was not built in 260 (v. Courby, BCH, xxxviii, 1914, p.296, cf. Tarn, CAH, vii, p.862) is surely very flimsy.

The most acceptable view of the evidence is, then, that the battle of Cos was fought before the battle of Ephesus, which was very probably between 260 and 255 B.C., and, since

Tarn's arguments make an Isthmian year preferable, 262 B.C., the year between the surrender of Athens and the General Peace, seems the most probable; it was perhaps the shaking which Ptolemy received at sea only the year after Athens had been forcibly snatched from his side, that inclined him to peace. The same date is reached by Bickermann, REA, loc.cit., whose interpretation of the evidence is cautious and sensible. I do not, however, agree with his picture of the Aegean after the battle in respect of many details.

(The inscription, Milet, i,3, 139= Welles, RC, 14 (lines 1-14 only), even if it belongs to the years 262-260 B.C. as Rehm, ad loc. and Otto, Beiträge, pp.258 are probably correct in supposing against Tarn, JHS, xlvi, 1926, pp.158-161; id. Hermes, lxv, 1930, pp. 446-454, does not affect the date of the battle of Cos, since on any calculation, that battle did not finally break Egyptian power at sea, and therefore Egyptian contact with Miletus may have been maintained after the battle.)

Additional Note 13. (cf. p.136 , note 125).

On the secret pact between Philip V and Antiochus III.

Sources: Polyb.iii, 2,8; id.xv, 20; id.xvi, 1,9; id. xviii, 41a ; liv (P), xxxi, 14,5; App. Maced. 4,1; Just.xxx, 2,8; Porph. FGrH 260F 45.

D. Magie, JRS, xxix, 1939, pp.32-44, holds that this 'secret pact' was a piece of Rhodian propaganda transmitted to the Roman Senate by the Rhodian ambassadors in 201 B.C., with a view to stirring that body to action. His reasons are, in brief: (a) The patent uncertainty in our ancient sources as to what the actual terms of the agreement were, indicated by the varying versions of Appian, Porphyry, and Justin. (b) The care Philip took in 202 to avoid trespassing on Egyptian possessions in Thrace. (c) The fact that Philip's Carian campaign was aimed directly at the Seleucid Kingdom, of which Caria was at that time part. (d) There is no evidence of any co-operation by Philip with Antiochus, in 201 B.C. during the latter's setback in the Fifth Syrian War. Since 'the formation of a compact which was at once broken was purposeless', Magie concludes that belief in its existence was due 'to a deliberate fabrication for political purposes'.

To this view there are several objections:
(i) It supposes that the Roman Senate was unable to determine the truth for itself; that it was unable to determine whether there had or had not been a treaty between Antiochus and Philip. It assumes, in addition, that the Senate was prepared to accept without further investigation so serious an event or allegation as an alliance between Macedonia and the Seleucid Kingdom. It seems probable that at least an attempt would have been made to confirm the Rhodian statement. For this reason it seems unlikely that the story was a complete fabrication.

(ii) The Rhodian fears in 197 B.C. indicate that ~~then~~ they still believed in the pact then. When they refused to allow Antiochus to pass beyond Coracesium, they did so because they feared the effects of his junction with Philip. There was no a priori reason why Antiochus should help Philip in Greece, when he (Antiochus) was in Cilicia.

(iii) Such an interpretation presupposes that relations were of the worst, not only between Philip and Rhodes, but also between Antiochus and Rhodes. Otherwise, the Rhodians would not have been willing to perjure themselves against him in Rome, with the aim of bringing down on him the armed strength of Rome. But what evidence we have on this matter shows that relations between the Seleucids and Rhodes were excellent in the later third century, down to the episode of 197. (v. i, pp. 197ff., 214f., 259).

(iv). It is difficult to believe that Polybius was taken in completely by tendencious Rhodian historiography, where the 'fabrication' must certainly have existed. He could separate and criticise Rhodian ~~Rhodian~~ historians for falsehoods, major and minor, when he felt it necessary.

(v). A 'Secret Pact' is not unparalleled in Hellenistic diplomacy. Compare the similar pact between Pyrrhus and Antigonus Gonatas, to which reference is made in Phoenicides' comedy, Auletrides (Kock, Fr.Com.Gr.III,333, about which there can be no doubt (a) that it occurred, and (b) that it got about before long; cf. Tarn, AG, p.115; Beloch, GG^2, iv, 1,p. 239, where the passage of Phoenicides is quoted; Roussel, in Glotz, HG, iv, 1, p.369. Another secret treaty is that in 220/219, between Sparta and Aetolia (cf. Tarn, loc.cit.), while from the fourth century there is ~~the~~ τὸ θρυλούμενόν ποτε ἀπόρρητον ἐκεῖνο (Demosth. ii,6).

The most probable solution seems to be that there was indeed an agreement, that the Rhodians heard of it, took fright, and exaggerated its import. In that case, the information they laid before the Senate was communicated in good faith.

Additional Note 14.(cf.p. 124 , note 44)

Rhodes and the Lesbian Koinon.

The date suggested for the alliance between Rhodes and the Lesbian koinon in the text is far from certain.

The fragmentary inscription, I.G. xii, Supp. p.34, nr. 120, contains the text of an alliance between Rhodes and the Lesbian koinon, and subjoined to it the text of the individual alliance between Rhodes and one of the participating cities, Eresus. The document is not dated, and there is no possibility of an exact date being inferred from the letter forms, which are by no means certain. The most that can be said is that the document appears to belong to the third or early second century. The same date follows naturally from what is known of the history of the island in the third century (v. in general, Beloch, GG^2, iv,2, pp. 345-6, which, however, is an inaccurate account and must be used with caution).

Several documents testify to the fact that individual cities of the island were subject to Egypt in the reign of Philopator, and since it is extremely unlikely that all the cities were not in the same political relation to Egypt, it may be inferred that the whole island was dependent on Egypt at that time (v. however, p. 108, note 38).

The Ptolemies did not encourage the existence of semi-independent federations within their empire, and it is therefore a priori improbable that the Lesbian koinon existed under Ptolemaic suzerainty. (The only exception to this condition is the existence of the Nesiotic League, but this League was not established by Egypt; it was taken over from Demetrius by Soter, and permitted to retain, so far as can be determined, its previous organisation). There is, in fact, no trace of its existence in documents of the Ptolemaic period. The documents of the reign of Philopator, indicating that the island was subject to Egypt (and not merely loosely attached, in a semi-independent status, as the members of the Cycladic Nesiotic League) are:

I.G. xii, 2,498, a decree of a religious koinon of the city of Methymna, called the κοινὸν τῶν Πρωτέων, dated βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βερενίκης θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν. (Beloch, loc. cit., said that this was evidence that the island was Ptolemaic under Euergetes, but it would, of course, be possible for the island to have come first under Egyptian

suzerainty in the time of Philopator, and to have referred to him as the child of the θεοὶ Εὐεργέται). The dating by the reign of Philopator is proof of the status of the city to which the koinon belonged.

I.G. xii, 2, 527=I.G. xii, Supp.p.33, nr.527. Here again, the city of Eresus clearly appears as subject to Egypt. Note particularly the reference in line 11 to the διαταγμένα of the king. From the lettering it appears to be slightly later than the preceding inscription.

PTeb.8=Chrest.2. This is dated 'year 4', which, on the basis of the lettering, the editors regard as the fourth year of Epiphanes, 202/1 B.C. Obviously, since a gap of less than twenty years is involved, the fourth year of Philopator, would not be impossible (i.e. 217/6). (Beloch, loc. cit. p.345, note 1, is however wrong in saying that it must belong to the reign of Philopator since by the fourth year of Epiphanes the territories referred to in the papyrus had already been captured by Philip's conquests did not begin till 201, and therefore probably after the date of the papyrus; in his march eastward to the Hellespont in 202, Philip did not assault the possessions of Egypt in the area (v.i, p.266). The date is best left open, between these two possibilities.

From these documents it is clear that Lesbos was subject to Egypt, and was not organised as an independent koinon in the reign of Philopator.

That it was also Ptolemaic in at least the early part of the reign of Philadelphus is shown by I.G. xii, 2, 513=OGIS, 213=Segre, Bull.Arch.Alex., xxxi, 1937, p.11, note 3, from Methymna, a brief dedication in honour of Arsinoe Philadelphus (a list of similar dedications, all from territories either within the Egyptian kingdom, or closely associated with it, as the cities of the Nesiotic League, is given by Segre, loc. cit.; the texts of most are given by Perdrizet, BCH, xx, 1896, pp.358-360). Its history in the reign of Euergetes is unknown, but it is likely that it remained Ptolemaic, since the islands of the eastern Aegean were not subject to the same upheavals and changes of masters which marked the history of the Cyclades, and Philopator is not likely to have attempted reconquest. (cf. i, pp. 244)

The date at which the island became independent again cannot be determined with certainty. The appearance of Mytilene in the neutral embassies during the first Macedonian war (, v.i, pp. 250) clearly does not necessarily indicate that the city had regained its independence, since it may have

have sent envoys on instructions from Egypt, though here, too, no certainty can be attained. The date assigned in the text to the Rhodian alliance with the League sets an arbitrary limit of April/May 200 B.C.

The League which appears to have been formed after the island regained its liberty, has left few traces. I.G.xi, 2, 1064= I.G.xii, Supp. p.42, nr. 136 is the Foundation document (v. Wilamowitz, Kl. Schr. v,i,pp. 461-2), and this is dated c. 200, on general probability. Shortly afterwards will have come the Rhodian alliance. Rhodes, on the occasion when she formed her alliance with the various islands of the Cyclades, may well have taken the opportunity to conclude a similar alliance with the newly-independent island. A later date is, however, equally possible, since the League apparently continued to exist until c. 167 B.C., when Rome destroyed Antissa, one of the member states, and handed the territory of the city to one of the other members, namely Methymna. The League could have existed after this date, deprived of one member, but there is no great reason to suppose that it did. All, then, that can be said of the Rhodian alliance with Lesbos is that it falls within the period of Rhodian pre-eminence from 200-166, and shows that Rhodes did not confine her political interests in the Aegean in these years to the suzerainty of the Nesiotic League, her control of which also lasted from 200-164 B.C. At what point in this period the alliance be placed must remain a matter of conjecture.

Accame, Riv.Fil. lxxiv, 1947, pp.104-121, 'Roma e la lega dei Lesbi', esp. pp.104-9 argues that the Lesbian League continued to exist after 167, but this depends solely on the date of Rehm, Milet, iii, 1, nr.152, which may be earlier (v. Robert, REG, xxxviii, 1925, pp. 29ff). His further statement that Lesbos was a member of the Nesiotic League after that date (in support of which he cites PHamb. 57 = SB 6261, which does not mention Lesbians), is incorrect; Lesbos was never a member of the Nesiotic League at any time; membership of this League was always confined to the Cycladic group.

Additional Note 15 (cf. p. 150, note 227).

Rhodian relations with Crete after the Rhodio-Cretan War, 205-201 B.C.

The documents which appear to belong to this period are quite numerous, though not one of them can be dated with precision.

The most important are:
(i) The alliance between Rhodes and Hierapytna, Inscr.Cret. III, pp. 31-8, nr.3 = Syll? 581=SGDI, 3794 = Schwyzer 288, the date of which, after the Rhodio-Cretan War, was established by Cardinali, Riv.Fil.xxxiii, 1905, pp.534-9; id.ibid. xxxv, 1907, p.9, note 4 (and by Herzog, Klio, ii, 1902, p.331, indepently). The date is based largely on ll.64-6, which point to a Rhodian fear of intervention by a βασιλεύς or δυνάστης in the island; the βασιλεύς can only be Philip V. The decree itself shows Rhodes in a position almost to dictate terms to Hierapytna: v. esp. ll. 35ff, in which the Rhodians are permitted to make war upon the allies of the Hierapytnians, and if Rhodes is the victim of aggression on the part of any such ally, the Hierapytnians are expected to send auxiliaries to the assistance of Rhodes. The Rhodians, for their part, undertake to assist the Hierapytnians, should they be attacked as a result of co-operation with Rhodes against pirates or other enemies. Ll. 55ff indicate that if, on Rhodian instructions, the Hierapytnians join in the war against pirates, they will be required to pay their own expenses. For general accounts of the treaty v. Phillipson, Law and Custom of Ancient Greece, II, pp.64-6; Ziebarth, Seeraub, pp.28, 109; for the clauses relating to the pay of mercenary troops, v. Griffith, Mercenaries, pp. 91, 257-8, 303-4; cf. i, [illegible], pp.666-7.

(ii). The treaty between Rhodus and Olus, published by Effenterre, La Crète, p.227: this is a very fragmentary document of twenty lines, which Effenterre, very reasonably, has restored on the model of the Hierapytna treaty. Its lettering would agree with a date in the late third century, and it doubtless belongs to the same series of events as the treaty between Rhodes and Hierapytna.

(iii). An Oluntian decree, referred to by Pendlebury, Archaeology of Crete, p.362, and published by Effenterre, op.cit. p.231, dated by him to the early third century. This is also

fragmentary, but of great interest. It refers to the lapse of a period of time, apparently specified by the Rhodian demos (ὁ χρόνος ὁ παχθεὶς [ὑπὸ τοῦ δάμου] τοῦ Ῥοδίων ἐξήκε(sic))then mentions, in uncertain grammatical dependence on the previous clause, a Rhodian ἐπιστάτης and troops serving under him, and finally records the [illegible] of a ν[ᾶσος] and φρούριον by them; at this point the text breaks off, and it is not clear to whom the ν[ᾶσος] and φρούριον are handed over: probably, as the editor suggests, to the people of Olus themselves. If that is so, then the document represents the end of a period during which territory controlled by Olus, namely the ν[ᾶσος] and φρούριον but not necessarily Olus itself, was subject to Rhodes, and governed by a Rhodian epistates, just as were the communities of the Rhodian Peraea. It is, however to be noted that the document is not headed by a Rhodian prescript, as are the decrees of the incorporated and subject Carian communities, and this suggests a difference of status. The length of ὁ χρόνος ὁ παχθείς is not given; the suggestion of Effenterre, ibid., that the garrison was first imposed after the treaty discussed above (ii), seems less probable than the reverse; first the garrison, and direct Rhodian intervention and control, then, when the Oluntians had given proof of their willingness to co-operate with the Rhodians, the garrison was withdrawn, and relations were regulated by a treaty as in the case of Hierapytna. If the document refers to the final evacuation of Rhodian troops, then the occupation was probably brief, since the lettering appears to be of the early third century.

(iv). Inscr.Cret. I, p.252, nr.5 records honours passed by the Oluntians for some Rhodian theoroi. The ascription to c. 200 B.C. rests the probable date of the lettering, and I am inclined to agree with L.Robert, Rev.Phil. NS, x, 1936, who assigns it to an earlier date in the third century (cf. also Segre, Athenaeum, NS, xiv, 1936, p.220). A suitable date would be about the time of the Chremonidean War, when there is evidence for considerable Rhodian contacts with Eastern Crete (v. above, pp.90-1, note 75).

(v). A Milesian inscription, Milet, II, p.115, nr.12= HGrEp. 107 (cf. Rehm, Milet, I,3, p.199; Herzog, Klio, ii,1902, pp. 331-2 von Hiller, Rhodos, col.778) records the crowning of Lichas, the son of Hermophantus, a Milesian, by Crete, Athens and Rhodes: ll.1-2: Κρήτη μὲν στεφάνωσε, Λίχα, καὶ Θήσεος ἄστυ
πάτρια νησαίη τ' ἔστεφε δῖα Ῥόδος, κτλ.

Lichas played a leading part in assisting Cretan refugees of whom many arrived in Miletus in the last quarter of the third century (v.Rehm, loc.cit; p.116, note 71, above). Possibly, as Herzog, loc.cit. supposes, he may, like Hagesander of Rhodes (v. [illegible], note 102) have played a leading part in negotiating the peace which ended the Rhodio-Cretan war; but the inclusion of Athens must in that case refer to a differ-

ent occasion.

(vi). Inscr.Cret. I, pp.143-4, nr.35, from Lato πρὸς Κάμαρα apparently of the early second century (lettering), records a dedication of a Rhodian force, οἱ συστρατευσάμενοι to Athana Lindia. The force may have been sent to Crete in fulfilment of a treaty with Lato, similar to that with Hierapytna and Olus, on the Latoans being attacked; or perhaps in fulfilment of the treaty with Hierapytna itself. The absence of an epistates shows that the dedication was not made by a Rhodian garrison, and that Lato was not therefore necessarily in the same situation, vis-à-vis Rhodes, as was Olus. The inscription records the presence of both land and sea forces, and of a body of mercenaries, cf. 1, pp. 165-6.

(vii). Inscr. Cret.I, pp.248-9, nr.4 B, the Oluntian proxeny-stele, of which side A, belonging to the sixties of the third century, has been discussed above, p. 90 note 75 . Side B contains other decrees for Rhodians, of the late third or early second century (lettering). In Riv.Fil. lviii, 1930, pp.54-9, Miss Guarducci stressed that on both sides A and B the Oluntian magistrates are called δαμιοεργοί instead of the usual κόσμοι and she attributed this to Rhodian influence. (The damiorgoi appear again in (iii) above). But the inferrence is not necessarily correct. v. 'Islands'.

(viii). Rhodian influence is very marked in Cretan coinage at this time. v. MacDonald, Silver Coinage of Crete, pp.16-22, and especially p.20, for a coin of Gortyn with a facing head of Helios of the Rhodian type (v.ibid. plate,nrs. 10-11). The Rhodian coins found at Dreros, BCH, lxi, 1937, pp. 25-6, nrs. 5 ff. appear to belong to the late fourth, or early third century.

For a brief historical summary, based on the above evidence, or much of it, v. Effenterre, La Crète, pp. 225-239.

Additional Note 16 (cf. ch. V, note 127a).

The Rhodian Colossus.

The purpose of this note is not to discuss the nature and form of the Colossus which is waste of time, but to discuss some of the aspects of the tradition regarding it.

The Rhodian Colossus is perhaps the one fact about ancient Rhodes familiar to all. But virtually nothing is known of the monument. No account either of its outward appearance nor of its position in the city have survived from antiquity, and efforts at reconstruction are all without any substantial basis (v. in the last instance Gabriel, BCH, lvi, 1932, pp. 331-359, which contains references to earlier efforts. It is probable, as Gabriel, ibid.,pp.350 ff., [following Newton, Travels, I.,pp.176-7] shows, that there was a building on the St.Nicholas mole, but not the slightest proof that it was the Colossus). The sole detailed account of the object from antiquity, that of Philo Byz. De Septem mirac. Mund., §4 (A.D.iv, or later, v. Kroll, RE., s.v. Philon (49), cols. 54-5) is concerned not with its appearance but with its method of construction. The only indication of any value is that given by the Rhodian coinage. At the turn of the fourth and third centuries B.C. the Head of Helios on the Rhodian didrachms and tetradrachms becomes radiated, i.e. rays of sun issue from the head of the god, while in the previous period the hair had been naturalistically portrayed (v. BMC, Caria, pp. 240 ff., and contrast the coins on plates xxxvi and xxxvii). The common view (v.e.g. Head, HN^2, p.639) that the new feature represents the head of the Colossus is very probably correct, since this date agrees closely with that obtained from the whole sequence of Rhodian issues on a stylistic basis.

The monument only survived erect for sixty-six years (v.below), and had already fallen to the ground half a century before Polybius referred to the earthquake in which it fell. The short period in which it remained erect, is doubtless the main cause for the absence of any account of it.

(i) Date of Construction. The earliest reference to the Colossus is that by the φλυακογράφος Sopatros of Paphos, fr. 1 Kaibel. Sopatros, who lived in Alexandria in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (v. Körte, RE, s.v. Sopatros (9)

cols. 1001-1002) refers to the colossus thus:

οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην εἰσορῶν χαλκηλάτου
μέγαν κολοσσὸν φακιν ον ἄρτον ἐσθίειν.

The precise date of construction can be inferred from one author only, Plin, NH, xxxiv, 7 (16), § 41, who says: ante omnes autem in admiratione fuit solis colossus Rhodi, quem fecerat Chares Lindius, Lysippi supra dicti discipulus. lxx cubitorum altitudinis fuit hoc simulacrum, post lxvi(?) annum motu prostratum, sed iacens quoque miraculo. pauci pollicem eius amplectuntur, maiores sunt digiti quam pleraque statuae. vasti specus hiant defractis membris; spectantur intus magnae molis saxa, quorum pondere stabilaverat eum constituens. duodecim annis tradunt effectum CCC talentis, quae contigerant ex apparatu regis Demetrii relicto morae taedio obsessa Rhodio, Sunt alii centum numero in eadem urbe colossi minores hoc. sed ubicunque singuli fuissent. nobilitaturi locum, praeterque hos deorum quinque, quos fecit Bryaxes.

The reading of the numeral given above as lxvi (?) is uncertain. The oldest and best MS, B (ambergensis), has been corrected, and the passages reads now, according to Mayhoff, ///lvi (L in ras.), and lvi is the reading of the other, later, and independent MSS, Mayhoff suggests that the original reading is visible, saying 'lxvi (B' ut videtur)', but it is not clear whether this is a paleographical observation, or an inference from the calculation given below. The reading lvi, gives the following result: the earthquake which overturned the colossus occurred in c. 226 (Polyb. v. 88,1; and ch.vii, note 53): therefore, the statue was completed in c. 282 B.C., 56 years before: it was therefore begun in 294 B.C., since it was twelve years in construction. This calculation gives a gap of ten years between the end of the siege and commencement of work on the Colossus. Scaliger therefore emended the Pliny passage to lxvi (he had no knowledge of the MS B, which was not discovered until 1831); in this he was followed by Urlichs, Chrest.Plin., p.312. This gives 66 years between the earthquake and the completion of the colossus, which will then have occurred in 292, and have been begun in 304. This is historically much more probable than the other date, and is no doubt what Pliny should have written; whether he did write it, is another matter, and the difficulty is not lessened by Mayhoff's ambiguous 'ut videtur' (cf. Robert, RE, s.v. Chares (15), cols. 2130-1: "In der That scheint diese Ziffer ursprünglich in Bambergensis gestanden zu haben'. Walbank alone is certain of the reading, but does not record that he has examined Bambergensis; CQ, xxxvi, 1942, p.135, note 3: 'reading with

the MS B' lxvi, for lvi, as Scaliger had already proposed'). The reading of dett. is retained by van Gelder, GdR., p.384: Bursian, Jahrb. f. Klass.Phil. lxxxvii, 1863, pp.91-2; Bourguet, BCH, xxxvi, 1911, p.469.

The indication of date given by Suidas, s.v. Κολοσσαεῖς and the parallel passage, Glycas, ii.p.377, who say that the colossus was built ἐπὶ Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάνορος does not help, since both the Plinian combinations fall within the reign of Seleucus Nicator. It is interesting to speculate why these authors should date an event of Rhodian history by reference to the reign of a Seleucid.

The imaginary dates given by the other Byzantine chroniclers(for whom v. van Gelder, GdR., p.385, note 1) such as, that the colossus was built by Cecrops (cf. the view of Isidore of Seville that Rhodes was built by Cecrops. v. above, p. 22, note 74), are of no importance.

(ii) The Sculptor.

Pliny, loc.cit. says that the work was done by Chares of Lindus. The same name is recorded in the two-line poem quoted by Strabo (which is doubtless the source of Lindius in Pliny, v.above, ch.iv, note 56), and by Sext.Emp. Adv. Mathem. vii,107(212). In the Byzantine writers, quoting the same poem, the name appears as Laches; other different names may be due to errors in ancient transmission (e.g. Festus, s.v. Colossus (58M, 50L)). The Scholiast to Lucian, who attributes the Colossus to Lysippus (ad Icar. xii, p.103 Rabe), has confused master and pupil. There is clearly no reason to doubt the correctness of the tradition recorded by Pliny and that of the iambic couplet.; cf. van Gelder, GdR, p.385, note 2.

(iii) The Poems.

(a) Anth. Pal. xvi,82=HGrEp. 88b=Strab.652, referred to above.

τὸν ἐν Ῥόδῳ κολοσσὸν ἑπτάκις δέκα
Χάρης ἐποίει πήχεων ὁ Λίνδιος.

It has been much discussed whether this couplet was the dedicatory inscription of the Colossus. Strabo, loc.cit. does not say it was on the colossus. Later writers, using a common tradition, say that it was (Const.Porph., De Admin. Imp. 21: ἄγαλμα δὲ ἦν τοῦ Ἡλίου ... καθὼς μαρτυρεῖ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ πρὸς τὴν βάσιν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένον. Cedr.i, 755 Bonn: ὡς λέγει τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπίγραμμα) Since Strabo does not say that the poem was not on the colossus, and since he quotes the poem with direct reference to it, thus: Ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι τοῦ Ἡλίου κολοσσός, ὃν φησιν ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ Ἰαμβεῖον, κ.τ.λ.

the poem clearly may have been on the statue, as later writers supposed (? guessed).

Objections have been raised to this by Preger, Inscr. metr. 280, van Gelder, GdR, p.388, note 2, the chief of which is that a statue base or dedication in Rhodes would not contain the words ἐν Ῥόδῳ . But the matter is not as easy as that, for the following reasons. (a) it is not certain that the words τὸν ἐν Ῥόδῳ κολοσσόν belong to the original poem, and are not a later interpolation. The epitome of Strabo, known as the Chrestomathia Strab., surviving in a unique (tenth cent.) MS, quotes the poem with the opening words as Κολοσσὸν Ἡλίου ποθ' ἑπτάκις (GGM. ii, p. 617) This may be correct. The suggestion of C. Robert, RE, s.v. Chares (15), col. 2130, that the poem originally ran ὃν ἐσορᾷς κολοσσὸν, κ.τ.λ. is of course only a conjecture. (b) the use of Λίνδιος instead of Ῥόδιος to describe Chares suggests very strongly that the poem is of Rhodian origin. Had it been composed outside Rhodes, Chares, like other Rhodian sculptors, would have been called Ῥόδιος Λ. (v. Blinkenberg, Inscr.i, pp. 94-6, for a complete list of the signatures of Rhodian sculptors; cf. above p. 58 note 56). That the poem was written in Rhodes does not mean that it was inscribed on the colossus; but it may have been. If so, it is, of course, not a dedicatory verse, commemorating the dedication by the Rhodians, but a metrical signature by the artist

(b) Anth. Pal. vi, 171=HGrEp. 88a=Suid. s.v. Κλοσσωνεῦς (lines 1-4 only):

Αὐτῷ σοι πρὸς Ὄλυμπον ἐμακύνουτο κολοσσὸν
τόνδε Ῥόδου ναέται Δωριόθεν, Ἀελίε,
Χάλκεον ἐνίκα κῦμα κατευνάσαντες ἐνυοῦς
ἔστεψαν πάτρῃ δυομένεων ἐναρων.
οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ πελάγεος μόνον ἔυθεσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν γᾷ
ἄβρὸν ἀδουλώτου φέγγος ἐλευθερίας.
τοῖς γὰρ ἀφ' Ἡρακλῆος ἀεξηθεῖσι γενέθλαις
πάτριος ἐν πόντῳ κἠν χθονὶ κυδρανία

This is quoted by Suidas in connection with the Colossus, but he does not suggest that it was the dedicatory poem. He prefaces the quotation simply by the words ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν. and it seems clear that he quoted it because of its mention of the colossus, and not because it was on, or closely connected with it. Benndorf maintained, Ath.Mitt. i,1876, pp. 47-8, that it was the dedicatory inscription and this is accepted by Robert, RE, s.v. Chares (15), col. 2130, but

denied by von Hiller, HGrEp.88, and Wilamowitz, ibid. More important than these bare statements of acceptance or otherwise, of this view, are the remarks of Edson, Harv.Stud. xlv, 1934, pp. 220-1, who discusses the poem with reference to the claims to Heraclid origin of the Antigonids. He regards the poem as a taunt flung by the Rhodians after the siege, at Demetrius (and assumes, without discussion, that it was the 'dedication of the famous colossus' (as also do Momigliano and Walbank, loccc.citt. below)). However, the emphasis on the Dorian origin of Rhodes, on which Edson lays so much stress, and in which he sees the very essence of the taunt launched against the 'pseudo-Dorian' Demetrius, is only a literary commonplace of the Hellenistic and Roman periods at Rhodes (v. the instances collected above, p.125, note 52), and cannot be used as a basis for such a view. The theme of the poem is easily reconcileable with a fallen colossus, at a time when Rhodes had lost her political importance; the poet recalls (looking at the prostrate statue: τόνδε), the great days when the colossus yet stood, and Rhodes was ἀβρὸν ἀδαλήτην φέγγος ἐλευθερίας. It thus has no more significance than the late elegiac laments on the ruins and decay of such cities as Corinth and Troy.

Momigliano, JRS, xxxii, 1942, p.55, points out that the last line, 'Lordship over earth and sea' is traditional in the Hellenistic Age, and not to be taken literally. It could then be applied to Rhodes, 'although of course it must not contradict reality too flatly' (id.ibid.). If, as I believe, the poem refers to Rhodes' past, the 'tasteless hyperbole' of which Edson complains, becomes the normal exaggeration of a laudator temporis acti. A discussion on different lines of the expression will be found in Walbank, CQ, xxxvi, 1942, pp. 135-6, The poem is discussed further by S. Accame, Riv.Fil. lxxv, 1947, pp.94-105 and Edsom, CP. xliii, 1948. pp.116-121. None of these scholars refers in this context to the Telemessian decree (which supports the view of Momigliano), Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 172-4, nr.3=Riv.Fil. ix, 1932, pp.446-452, in which the hope is expressed in good Lycophronic terms that the gods will give Eumenes II: νίκην καὶ κράτος καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

(iv) The meaning of the term κολοσσός .

Commenting on the Cyrenian inscription, Berl.Ath. 1925, pp.19-24, nr. II, lines 44,48 (=SEG, ix,4), Wilamowitz, ibid. pp. 39-40, pointed out that the meaning borne by κολοσσός in the inscription, that of a small representation of the human

figure, is the original meaning of the word, which only later, perhaps as a result of the immense Rhodian colossus came to be used exclusively of statues of superhuman size. It is difficult to be certain whether Polybius has in mind the original meaning of the word when, in v.88, 1, he says, ὡς συνέβη τὸν τε κολοσσὸν τὸν μέγαν πεσεῖν and the same applies to Sopater, fr.1 (cf. above), who says χαλκῆλατον μέγαν πεσεῖν.

Plin. NH, quoted above, clearly envisaged colossi, on a smaller and larger scale, but this is no evidence that he regarded the term as normally applicable to life-size figures: sunt alii minores hoc in eadem urbe colossi centum numero (repeated by Isid. Sev. Etym.xiv,6,22 (cf. above, ch.1, note 74).

The supposition of Chantraine, Mélanges Loret (Bull. de l'Inst. d'arch.orient., xxx, 1931, pp. 449-452) that the word bore the connotation of 'colossal' in its original use, was stillborn, in view of the evidence from Cyrene (as he himself realised, ibid. p. 452, addendum).

(v) Quadriga cum sole Rhodiorum.

Plin. NH, xxxiv, 8 (19), 63, refers to a work of Lysippus, describes as 'quadriga cum sole Rhodiorum'. Since it is probable that the work, or a copy of it, was dedicated after the siege, it may be mentioned here. A Delphian decree of the year 180 B.C., FdD[illegible], iii, 3,383=Syll^{3}. 614, in honour of nine Rhodian arbitrators, contains a final provision (lines 34-6): that the ψάφισμα [ἀνατεθέντος τῶι θεῶι, Ἁλίου τοῦ ἀνατεθέντος τῶι θεῶι ὑπὸ] τοῦ [illegible] δάμου τοῦ Ῥοδίων ἐν τὰν βάσιν τοῦ χρυσέου ἅρματος τοῦ Ἁλίου. The supplement was made by Pomtow, from the passage of Pliny, quoted above.

FdDelphes, iii, 3,378=Syll^{3}. 441, is the base on which the above decree was inscribed. Unfortunately the date of this base is not absolutely certain, though it is clearly earlier than 180 B.C., when the decree was inscribed on it. Pomtow, Klio, xv, 1918, p.59 ascribed it to a celebration after the Battle of Ephesus, but on a further examination of the script decided, supported by von Hiller, that an earlier date was probable, in view of the similarity of the script with the signature of Lysippus reproduced by Löwy, Inschriften, 93 (b). He therefore assigned the base to 304, regarding it as the work of Lysippus, dedicated by the Rhodians after the siege. Daux, the greatest authority on Delphian epigraphy, says, FdDelphes, loc.cit., p.329: 'La dedicace semble avoir

été gravée dans la première moitié du iii^{e} siècle, et l'on naturellement tenté de mettre l'offrande delphique en rapport avec l'échec de Démétrius devant Rhodes en 304'. There seems no good reason to reject the dating of Pomtow and Daux; Bourguet, BCH xxxvi, 1911, p.458-9, clearly places the dedication too late, when he connects it with the earthquake of 226 B.C.

But, granted the connection with the siege, it is hardly possible with Pomtow, to accept the base as the work of Lysippus, since Lysippus was active well before the middle of the fourth century (v. Daux, ibid.), unless with von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 781 the base is dated to the time of Alexander; but the lettering of the dedication renders this impossible. The most likely interpretation is that of Daux, loc.cit. that after the siege the Rhodians made a copy of Lysippus' quadriga, and sent it to Delphi.

Notes to Part II.
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Notes to Chapter I

1. B, lines 653-6: Τληπόλεμος δ' Ἡρακλεΐδης ἠΰς τε μέγας τε
ἐκ Ῥόδου ἐννέα νῆας ἄγεν Ῥοδίων ἀγερώχων
οἳ Ῥόδον ἀμφενέμοντο διὰ τρίχα κοσμηθέντες
Λίνδον Ἰηλυσόν τε καὶ ἀργινόεντα Κάμειρον.

ibid. lines 668-670: τριχθὰ δὲ ᾠκηθεν κατὰ φυλάδον, ἡδ' ἐφίληθεν
ἐξ Διός, ὅς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει,
καὶ σφιν θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων

2. v. Roscher, Sächs.Abh.xxvi, 1909, pp. 33-34, against whom, v. Blinkenberg, Lind.Chron[2]. p. 371, note 10. For units of nine in the Rhodian navy at a later date v. i, pp.581-2.

3. e.g. at Halicarnassus: Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἁλικαρνασσός : αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἄνθης ἐκ Τροιζῆνος μετῴκησε, λαβὼν τὴν Δυμᾶνιν φυλήν, ὡς Καλλίμαχος (=fr. 703Pf.). Beloch, GG[2], i, 2, p. 97, explains this as reflecting the predominant non-Dorian element in the population. Momigliano, Riv.Fil. lxiv, 1936, p. 62, note 2, holds that the three tribes existed originally, but that they subsequently disappeared. In support of Beloch may be quoted the situation at Cedreae, where only a φυλὰ Δυμᾶνων is recorded (Annuario, iv-v, 1921-2, p. 479, nr. 33, = SEG, iv, 178, lines 6-7 (a new edition of this inscription, with improved readings based on a revision of the stone, will be given in 'Peraea'), and which we know to have been μιξοβάρβαρος in 405 (Xen.Hell.ii, 1, 15). Momigliano suggests that the φυλὰ Δυμάνων may be due to the Rhodian control of Cedreae in the Hellenistic age. This is not likely, if, as is argued (i, pp. 381 ff.), the old names of the tribes were abandoned after the synoecism, since Cedreai did not become Rhodian until after the synoecism (Xen. Hell. loc. cit.: cf. Momigliano, loc.cit., and 'Peraea'). The statement of Blinkenberg, Inscr. p. 1013, that the existence of this one tribe at Cedreae proves the existence of the three old tribes at Rhodes can hardly stand. There is no indication whether there were in fact three tribes at Cedreae.

4. As is held by van Gelder, GdR, p. 226; Szanto, SB. Wien.Akad. cxliv, 1901, 5, pp. 8-9. The supposition of the latter that Pindar, Ol.vii, lines 73-4, is referring to tribes called Lindos, Ialysus and Camirus is surely mistaken, while I.G.xii, 1, 125, referring to a φυλὰ Καμειρίς is a Rhodian, not a Camiran, document. v. i, pp.384-5.

5. I.G. xiv, 952 = Schwyzer 307 =M,553 = SGDI, 4254.

6. For the colonisation of Gela, v. Busolt, GG[2] , i, p. 414, note

6. contd.

5; Bérard, Colonisation grecque, pp. 240-250; Dunbabin, Western Greeks, p. 20; Pfeiffer, ad Callimach. Aet. ii, fr. 43, lines 46-47 (εἶδα Γέλα ποταμοῦ κεφαλῆι ἔπι κείμενον ἄστυ Λινδίων ἀρχαίηι [σ]κιμπ[τόμενον) For that of Acragas, Bérard, op.cit. pp. 251-255; Busolt, op.cit. pp. 418-9; Dunbabin, op.cit. pp. 236-7, 310ff.

7. It is not possible that Acragas had only one tribe, the Ὑλλεῖς, since the phrase in the inscription referred to above, note 5, προεδρευούσας τὰς φυλὰς τῶν Ὑλλέων shows that other tribes held the proedria on other occasions, and these will have been (at least) the two other old Dorian tribes.

ø. As Dunbabin, op.cit. p. 31, points out, the cults of Acragas are Rhodian rather than Lindian.

8. Lind. Chron. xv: κ[αὶ] ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ἑνὸς τῶν π[ιν]ά[κ]ων ἐπιγέγραπτο· "Ἀλιάδᾶν φυλὰ νικάσ[ασ' ἀν]έθηκε τᾶι Λινδίαι Ἀθάναι", ἐφ' ἑτέρου δέ "Νίκας τόδ' ἐστὶ σᾶμα· τῶν Αὐτοχθόνων φυλὰ κρατήσασ' ἀγλαϊ<ξ>ε τὸν θεόν". ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου· "Τελχείνων φυλὰ νικῶσ' ἀνέθ[η]κεν Ἀθάναι, Λυκωπίδας δὲ ὁ Λυγκέως παῖς ἐλαμπάδ[ε]χ[ε]ι.

9. v. Blinbenberg, Lind.Chron[1]. pp. 369-370; id. Lind.Chron[2]. ad loc. On the Τελχῖνες in particular v. id. Hermes, L, 1915, pp. 270-303; Herter, RE, s.v. Telchinen, cols. 197ff.

10. φυλὰ Λινδία : Inscr. i, 222 (c. 150 B.C.); cf. Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 202, nr. 34, φυλὰ Λίνδος (late Imperial). φυλὰ Καμειρίς : I.G. xii, 1, 125 (?i, B.C: v. Wilhelm. Dramat. Ausführ. pp. 205ff.). φυλὰ Ἰαλυσία : NS 19 (iii. B.C.)

11. v. i, [illegible], pp. 432-3. [illegible].

12. Inscr. i, 119 (c. 165 B.C.).

13. I.G. xii, 1, 695 = Schwyzer, 282 = SGDI, 4120. cf. i, pp. 388ff.

14. v. i, p. 412.

15. Althaemenes, grandson of Minos, king of Crete, son of Catreus, received an oracle that he was fated to kill his father; he therefore fled from Crete and sailed to Camirus. Here he built a shrine to Zeus Atabyrios on Mt. Atabyrion, and dwelt in Camirus: Diod. v, 59, 1: Apollod. iii, 2, 1, 2. According to the latter the point at which he reached Rhodes was called Κρητηνία (cf. Heyne, ad loc.), which recalls the Camiran patra Κρητινάδαι.

The existence of a tribe Καμ(ε)ιρίς at Hierapytna is testified by Inscr. Cret. iii, pp. 9ff, nr. 1 = Schwyzer, 200, line 1: ἐπὶ τᾶς Καμιρίδος κοσμιόντων τῶν σὺν Βουλίῳ. This inscription belongs to the second century A.D., so it would be dangerous to argue that

15. contd.

this attested an early historical link between Camirus and Hierapytna. It is possible that the name was a later invention (for the uncertainty regarding the date of the introduction of this and other Cretan tribe-names, v. Busolt, GG^2, i, p. 347, note 2; Lipsius, Sächs. Abh., xxvii, 1909, p. 402; Latte, RE, s. v. Phyle, cols. 997-8), due to the tradition that Hierapytna had once been called Κάμιρος (v. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἱεράπυτνα cf. Strab. 472, 475; Xanthoudides, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. , 1908, p. 201, Bürchner, RE, s.v. Hierapytna, col. 1405; Guarducci, Inscr. Cret. iii, pp. 18-19). A similar uncertainty surrounds the identity of name between the Camiran patra Κάμικρητινάδαι and the name of Κρητινία given by Apollodorus (v. above). A further connection between Camirus and Crete is suggested by the Camiran locality called Κυτηλο - (Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 148-9, Nr. 3, line 16: ὑπὸ Κουραιστᾶν τῶν ἐν Κυτήλωι. For the site, v. Carratelli, ibid.p. 196 note 4: this name may be derived from Κύτος, a hero of Rhodian saga, Diod. v. 55; but a connection with the two places in N.W. Crete, Κύταιον and Κύτα (v. RE s.vv.) seems equally possible (v. further below note 79 (Μάτιοι). Reference may be made here to the entry of Hesychius, S.V. Λεμοδωριεῖς: οὕτως ἐκλήθησαν οἱ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου, ἀφορίας χαλεπῆς ἐκεῖ γενομένης, ἀποικισθέντες διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ κατοικήσαντες περὶ Ῥόδον καὶ Κνίδον. Δίδυμος δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Κύπρον κατοικοῦντας, οὕτω λεχθῆναι, διὰ τὸ λεμώττειν καὶ μοχθηρὰν ἔχειν ταύτην.

Is Κύπρον, hitherto unexplained, and not even regarded as a place-name, a bye-form of Κύτηλον ?

16. This view is held by Blinkenberg, Inscr. ii, pp. 1013-5.

17. For Argos, where there existed a tribe called Ὑρνάθιοι , v. I.G. iv, 600-602, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὑρνάθιοι . For other instances v. Busolt, Staatskunde^3, pp. 131-2; for Calymnus, v. BMI, ccxxxii-iv; Segre, Mem.FERT, iii, pp. 38-9; Herzog, Riv.Fil. lxx, 1942, p.7.

18. v. i, pp. 409 ff.

19. v. i, pp. 79 ff.

20. For phratries and patrai v. in particular Guarducci, Mem.Linc. (vi, ser), vi, 1937, pp. 5-101; ibid. vol. viii, 1938, pp. 65-135 (dealing with the Dorian phratry-system); Latte, RE. s.v. Phratrien, cols. 746-756. The fundamental text is the statement of Dicaearchus, fr. 52, Wehrli: πάτρα: ἓν τῶν τριῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι κοινωνίας εἰδῶν, ὡς Δικαίαρχος, ἃ δὴ καλοῦμεν πάτραν φρατρίαν φυλήν. ἐκλήθη δὲ πάτρα μένειν τὴν δευτέραν μετάβασιν εἰθόντων ἢ κατὰ μόνας ἑκάστῳ πρότερον οὖσα συγγενεία, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου πάντων καὶ μάλιστα ἰσχύσαντος ἐν τῷ γένει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχουσα, ὃν ἂν τρόπον Αἰακίδης ἢ Πελοπίδης ἔστι τις -

20. contd.

For the etymology of πάτρα v. Wackernagel, Festschrift Kaegi, pp. 57ff. For Rhodes in particular, v. Guarducci, op.cit. (1938), pp. 95-8, and the references given in the following notes.

21. I.G. xii, 1, 695 = Schwyzer 282 = SGDI, 4120. A further fragment of this, or a similar, inscription, found by Pernier in 1913, is reproduced by Guarducci op.cit. (1938), p. 124, nr. xxix bis). The additional names contained on this fragment are Κρητιγ[άδαι] , κλονιάδ[αι] , Τριηϊδ[αι], [Α]νδρώ[νειοι] (Miss Guarducci suggests [Α]νδρώ[νειοι] , as in I.G. xii, 1, 695, line 68). The existence of yet further Camiran patrai may be inferred from Inscr. ii, 677, which mentions Μαινύρου θυγατέρ , and another inscription, now lost, which is alleged to have contained a reference to the Μαινυριδᾶν κοινόν (v. Blinkenberg, ad loc.); and perhaps from Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 149, nr. 4, lines 3 (where [εὐτε?]λιδᾶν is supplied from I.G.xii, 1, 695, line 45, and need not be correct), and 10 (where, however, the reference may be to a Lindian patra: v. below, note 32).

22. The two stones make an almost perfect join, (v. especially line 51). Therefore since both margins are preserved it does not seem possible that there should have been more than three columns. I have to thank the Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum for sending me a squeeze of this inscription.

23. The suggestion of von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 771; id.GGA, 1934, p. 195, that the first column contained the names of the patrai of the island, the second those of the Peraea (cf. I.G. xii, 1, 694, discussed i, pp. 445 ff. , which refers to separate lists of ktoinai of the island and the Peraea) is certainly not impossible, since (pace Guarducci, op.cit. (1938) p. 97) the gentilicial groups seem to have remained, in at least some instances, predominant in particular areas. This hypothesis does not however by any means all the difficulties in the inscription: e.g. the appearance of the same name of a patra four times under the one heading.

24. A patra of the same name is found also at Troizen: I.G. iv, 1, 757B, line 29.

25. v. i, pp. 392 ff.

26. von Hiller, I.G. xii, 1, 695, note (followed by van Gelder, GdR, p. 227 and Schwyzer, 282 ad loc): '(patronymica sunt

26. contd.

pleraque aut Aeolica in -εῖοι aut Dorica in -ίδαι). For such Aeolic patronymics v. e.g. Syll^3. 945 = Schwyzer 640: Papers Amer. School. i, p.7, Nr 4, (from Assos in Aeolis); the same termination is found in Thessaly: v. Schwyzer 578; 579; 581 etc: cf. Prellwitz, De dialecto Thessalica, pp.49-50. v. also the instances collected by Wackernagel, Mélanges Saussure, 1908, pp. 137ff.

27. App. Syr. § 125 (οἱ Σελεύκειοι); ibid. §§ 246ff (οἱ Σελευκίδαι): cf. Fraser, CR, lxiii, 1949, p. 93 , note 7.

28. Bechtel, Gr. Dial. i, p. 109 gives forms parallel to the Aeolic patronymic from Anaphe, Delos and Athens, but does not refer to this Rhodian inscription

29. Δρυῖται: I.G. xii, 1, 88; Inscr. i, 146; Τρεννάδαι : Inscr. ii, 391, line 27; ibid. 392a, line 10; 392b, line 13; ibid. 394, line 7 (A.D. 10); ibid. 420a, lines 20-1 (A.D. 23); ibid. 615 (v. below, note); Τρεκαδῖται: Inscr. ii, 648 (i. B.C.); Εὐθαλιδᾶν πατριωτᾶν τῶν ἐν Οἴαις κοινόν: NS, 18, line 23 (c. 80 B.C.); Ἐπεκτορίδαι : ibid. line 22; Ἀδιατάδαι : ibid. line 20; Παγκιάδαι : Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 139ff, nr. 10 = Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 165ff, nr. 19, line 21 (probably Lindian: cf. lines 15-16, and , for the connection of the Παγκιάδαι with Lindos Lind.Chron. xvii, and I.G. xii, 1, 773, and Blinkenberg's commentaries, Lind. Chron. ad loc.); unnamed patrae in Inscr. i, 206 (c. 170-160 B.C.) and I.G. xii, 1, 832; and v. note 32, for another possibly Lindian patra.

30. In Schol.Pind. Ol, vii, line 172; the word Ἐρασταϊδᾶν is commented on thus: Ἐρασταΐδης πρόγονος τοῦ Διαγόρα, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ φυλὴ ὁμώνυμος ἐν Ῥόδῳ ... φυλὴ δέ ἐστι τῶν Ἐρασταϊδῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ, ἀφ' ἧς ἦν Διαγόρας. Ἐρασταΐδαι, or, alternatively, Ἐρατίδαι , can hardly be the form of a φυλά, and it seems probable that the scholiast confused patra and phyla (cf. Wilamowitz, Pindaros, p. note ; Blinkenberg, Inscr. ii, p. 1014), since Ἐρατίδαι , or a similar form, is correct for a patra. The inscription published by v. Hiller-Saridakis, Ath. Mitt. xxv, 1900, p. 109, nr. 108, which contains the words [---]ν τῶν Ἐρατιδᾶν probably referred to the patra of the Ἐρατίδαι ; the word is not the usual form for an ordinary κοινόν (e.g. [κοινὸ]ν τῶν Ἐρατιδᾶν). [τὸ Ἐρ]ατιδέων κανόν is mentioned in I.G. xii, 1, 40, line 3, probably referring to a kindred family.

31. The Γρεννάδαι πατριῶται occur in Inscr. 391, line 27, along with συνιερεῖς, ἀρχιεροθύτας, and ἱεροθύτας as making a joint award of a golden crown to a distinguished citizen; in ibid. 392a, line 10, and b, line 13, (between Λινδοπολῖται and τοὶ κατοικοῦντες) as making a similar award by itself; in ibid. 394 as making a similar gift in company with γε(ωρ)γούντων ἐν τᾷ Λινδίᾳ (similar in ibid. 420a): in ibid. 648 the Τεμαδῖται elect (ἀφ' οὗ ἔδοξε τραγαδίτας) the annual priests of Zeus Patroos.

32. πατριωτᾶν κοινόν occurs in NS 18, lines 20-23: καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀλιαταδᾶν πατριωτᾶν Ἀριστοκλείων καὶ Κυδαγορείων διαγονᾶν κοινοῦ, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἐπεκτοριδᾶν πατριωτᾶν κοινοῦ, καὶ ὑπὸ Εὐθυκλειδᾶν πατριωτᾶν τῶν ἐν Οἴαις. (Lindian); Annuario, N.S. iii, 1942, pp. 149-150, nr. 4, subscriptions paid by [Εὐτε?]λειδᾶν πατριωτᾶν κοινόν (Camirus), Φε[....]ᾶν [πατρ]ιωτᾶν κοινόν (A possible restoration here seems to be φε[λειτ]ᾶν , from Inscr. ii, 391, line 20, Φελειτᾶν read by Blinkenberg, ad loc. as φελ(λ)ειτᾶν , and referred to the Lycian city Phellos; but all the other dedications in the surviving portion of the inscription are from Rhodian bodies, and it seems unlikely that this single foreign community - even if it be supposed that the φελ(λ)εῖται are limited to those citizens of that city resident in Rhodes - would be introduced. Φελεῖται was probably a Lindian patra (for the absence of the word πάτρα cf. Inscr. ii, 615; ibid. 648), and if the restoration be accepted in Annuario, loc.cit. there will thus be two Lindian patra among the other Camiran ones: cf. below, note 148.

33. v. i, pp. 413ff.

34. v. Dichaearchus, fr. 51 Wehrli, quoted above, note 20, and the modern works there quoted.

35. Newton, BMI, ccclii, commentary.

36. It appears to occur in the form φρατρία in Inscr. ii, 615: Γρεννάδᾶν Ἀθάνας Φρατρίας which might suggest that the Rhodians did not distinguish between the patra and phratria: but it is possible that the patra-group was honouring the protectress of the higher group. At all events the form of the dedication is obscure: cf. Hanell, Megarische Studien, p. 178, note 4, who quotes other dedications in similar terms (the two Coan inscriptions there quoted are Inscr. Cos, nrs. 149-150). On Athana Phratria, v. Latte, RE, s.v. φράτριοι θεοί cols. 756-7.

37. No less possible, but supported by even less evidence, is the suggestion of Szanto, SB.Wien.Akad. cxliv, 1901, 5, p. 11, that the intermediate group was called συγγένεια , familiar

37. contd.

from Calymnos, Mylasa, and elsewhere in Caria (for the συγγένεια v. Francotte, La polis grecque, pp. 209ff; and Robert, Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri, most of the inscriptions published in which contain references to συγγένειαι ; for the συγγένειαι at Calymnus, which perhaps correspond most closely to the intermediate stage in the Camiran inscription, v. Francotte, op. cit. p. 124; Busolt, Staatskunde[3], p. 259,).

38. The word occurs in: Cl.Rh.vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 428, nr. 47 (Camirus): (τιμαθεῖσαν) ὑπὸ τᾶν σ]υννομᾶν καὶ πατρᾶν τᾶν ἐν [Καμείρῳ] ; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 156ff, nr. 18B, line 12: Τρ[... σ]υννομᾶς κοινόν (new reading of Annuario, iv-v, 1924, pp. 223ff=SEG, iii, 674, due to Segre, Bull.Soc. Arch. [redacted] Alex. xxxiv, 1940, p. 33, and Pugliese-Caratelli, Annuario, N.S. op.cit.p. 160; cf. Arangio-Ruiz, ibid. p. 163) (presumably Camiran since [Δαμα]ί-νετος Σωκράτευς Ἄμ[ος κ]αθ' ὑοθεσίαν δὲ [Δ]αμ[οκρ]ά[τευς Σ]ιλύριος changed from a Lindian to a Camiran deme by adoption, and he is here probably mentioned as representative of the Τρ[... σ]υννομᾶς (cf. Arangio-Ruiz, loc.cit.): Inscr. ii, 454 (Lindos) (τιμαθέντα)... ὑπ[ὸ τᾶν ἐν Λίνδῳ] συννομᾶν καὶ διαγ[ονιᾶν...]

39. v. Jacopi, Cl.Rh.vi-vii, 1932/3, loc.cit.: von Hiller, GGA, 1934, p. 195; M. Guarducci, Historia, ix, 1935, pp. 430-435; ead. Mem. Linc. (vi, ser), viii, 1938, pp. 95-8; Momigliano, Riv. Fil. lxiv, 1936, p. 59.

40. von Hiller, loc.cit., who translated συννομαί by 'Weidegemeinschaften', and compared the right of ἐπινομία conferred in Syll[3]. 534A, line 15, and 77B, lines 10ff, which is translated by Keil, Anonym.Argent.312, von Hiller, Klio, xv, 1915, p. 41, and Pomtow, Syll[3]. ad loc. by 'Weide-oder Hutungrecht' (cf. also, LS[9], s.v. ἐπινομία and ἔπινομος). von Hiller pointed out in support of his interpretation of the word, the names of some of the supposed συννομαί in I.G.xii, 1, 695, which, he claimed, indicated an origin in pastoral society: namely Ληχεῖων , which he connected with ✓βληχ , found, e.g. in βληχάομαι: and βουκόλειοι , deriving from βούκολος ; and compared the tribal names (whatever their significance) at Sicyon, the Ὑα-τεῖ , Ὀνεᾶται and Χοιρεᾶται . This derivation and interpretation of the word, even if little is added by the analogy of ἐπινομία, seems reasonable.

The interpretation of Miss Guarducci, Historia, loc.cit. does not differ from that of von Hiller in any essential. According to her the word σύννομος means simply 'comrade', without reference to grazing-grounds, and the συννομαί consisted 'piuttosto di amici, di compagnie, che non di veri e

40. contd.

proprie parenti'. But if it be supposed, as Miss Guarducci seems to suppose, that the intermediate group in I.G. xii, 1, 695, are συγγενεῖαι , there is no reason to depart from the strictly gentilicial interpretation of the word.

41. Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 428, nr. 47 (Camirus); Inscr. ii, 454 (Lindos).

42. Inscr. ii, 454.

43. Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 139, nr. 10 = (with improved text), Annuario, N.S., i-ii, 19-42, pp. 165-7, nr. 19, lines 29, 39; NS, 18, line 21; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 175, nr. 4; ibid.p. 203, nr. 36; I.G. xii, 1, 922, lines 4-5, 9 (where von Hiller originally read δια[γεν]ονίαν ?): Inscr. i, 219, line 7; ibid. ii, 454, line 9.

For discussions v. Maiuri, Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 142; id. NS, p. 27; (who compares the διαγονίαι with the Carian συγγενεῖαι, but without reason.).

44. Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 139, nr. 10 = Annuario, N.S. loc.cit. above, line 29: καὶ ὑπὸ Ὀβαλιέδᾶν δ[ι]αγονίας, κ.τ.λ.

45. NS, 18, lines 20-1: ὑπὸ Ἁλιατᾶδᾶν πατριωτᾶν Ἀριστοκλείων καὶ Κυδαγορείων διαγονιᾶν κοινοῦ.

46. Inscr. i, 219: στεφανωθεὶς χρυσέωι στεφάν[ωι] ὑπὸ τᾶν διαγονιᾶν τᾶ[ν Ἁλι]ατᾶδᾶν Ἀστυκρατιδᾶν καὶ Στρο[ι]νεάων καὶ Αὐτοθενειδᾶν: Assuming the identity of the [illegible]ωτᾶδαι in the inscription quoted in the preceding note, καὶ πατρᾶς τᾶς Ἁλιατᾶδᾶι here with the Ἁλιατᾶδαι / contained at least five diagoniai.

47. NS, 18, line 21, quoted note 45, above.

48. v. note 46.

49. For the same reason Maiuri's quotation, NS, p. 27, note 2, of the Carian συγγενεῖαι as a parallel is unsatisfactory.

50. As in the inscriptions quoted in notes 45 and 46.

51. This inscription is referred to by von Hiller, RE, Suppbd. vii, s v. Diakrioi col. 126 (and, so far as I am aware, nowhere else) in the following terms: 'Nun ist von Iacopi in Kamiros eine Inschrift gefunden (1935 noch unediert) die ein gemeinsames Land, eine κοινὰ χώρα nennt, um die sich Lindos und Kamiros stritten'. The early publication of this important inscription (as indeed of many others retained in secrecy by the Greek authorities in Rhodes) is much to be desired.

52. The latest appearance of a demotic at Lindos is in Inscr. ii, 494 apparently of the 3rd or 4th Century A.D.; Cl. Rh. ii,

52. contd.

1932, pp. 217-8, Nr. 59, with the demotic Ὑπερεχέως, looks as if it might be considerably later.

53. All references to the Athenian Tribute-lists are based on Meritt, Wade-Gery McGregor, ATL, i-ii, 1939-1949; the chronology of the lists followed throughout is that given in ATL, ii. A summary of this is given above, p. 191, Addnl. Note 1.

54. NS, 18, lines 22-3.

55. I.G. xii, 1, 890.

56. v. i, p. 40.

57. The plain of Cattavia itself was, of course, also within Lindian territory, but it was occupied by the Καττάβιοι . The coastal area north of Lindos, preferred by von Hiller, Rhodos col. 747, and id RE. s.v. Pedieis, col. 33, (though he left the matter open in I.G. xii, 1, p. 132, and, Ath. Mitt. xlii, 1917, p. 175, he favoured the southern plain) is less continuous being broken up by large isolated hills on the coast, and the title Pedieis would hardly be suitable of the inhabitants of this area.

58. The readings are: 429/8 (26, iv, 13): [Βρικινδάρ]ιοι ; 421/0 (34, I, 103-4): Β[ρικινδάριοι/ἐρ Ῥόδαι] ; 415/4 (40,I,15): Βρικινδάριοι . In lists 26 and 40 ἐρ Ῥόδοι cannot have been added, since the next line is in each instance occupied by another community. In list 34, the line after [Βρικινδάρ]ιοι certainly referred to them also, but in view of the later allegiance of Brygindara to Ialysus, the supplement [ἐν Ἰελύσοι] Βρικινδάριοι is preferable to [ἐρ Ῥόδοι] . For the separation of the ~~Beik~~. by several places in the list from the Ἰελύσιοι cf. list 40, I, where the order of Rhodian communities is: Λίνδιοι .. Καμερῆς, Ἰελ[ύσι]οι .. πεδιῆς ἐν Λίνδοι .

59. v. below, pp. 416-7

60. None of the Erythraean communities mentioned in the Tribute-lists have been located by archaelogical evidence; for conjectures v. Keil, Jahreshefte xliii. (1910) Beiblatt, p. 21, ATL, i, pp. 485-487.

61. Thuc. viii, 24, 2.

62. Steph. Byz. s.v. Σιδοῦς, κώμη Κορίνθου... ἔστι καὶ περὶ Κλαζομενὰς κώμη. καὶ ἄλλη τῆς Ἐρυθραίας.

63. For ἀποταξις, {v. A.T.L. ii, T19; 101a}

64. With them may be compared the Διακρῆς ἀπὸ Χαλκιδέων, the Ἐτεοκαρπάθιοι ἐκ Καρπάθου, the Φερμαῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου, and the Οἰναῖοι ἐξ Ἰκάρου, all occurring in the Athenian Tribute lists; and contrast the purely geographical indications such as Ἀκρόθωοι οἱ ἐν Ἄθῳ, and Ἄσπενδος ἐν Παμφυλίᾳ, where neither Athos nor Pamphylia represent a political unit.

65. This is rightly emphasised by von Hiller, RE, Suppbd, vii, s. v. Diakrioi, col. 126.

66. v. ATL, i, pp. 480-1.

67. v. above, note 51.

68. v. von Hiller, RE, loc.cit.

69. Reference to a κτοίνα or κτοῖναι occurs in the following inscriptions from the island: I.G. xii, 1, 157 (Rhodos: κτοινέται, but not κτοῖνα): ibid. 694 = Syll^3. 339 = M,449 = SGDI, 4118 (Camirus); ibid. 736; ibid. 746 (both from Camirus) ibid.978; ibid.1033 = Syll3. 570 = M 437 = SGDI, 4231 (Carpathus); Segre, Riv.Fil. lxi, 1933, pp. 379ff (also Carpathus: in Inscr.ii, pp. 1008ff, Blinkenberg shows that I.G. xii, 1, 1033, and the inscription published by Segre both form part of the same document, the top half of which is formed by the latter inscription); I.G. xii, 3, 6; ibid. 1270 (both from Syme); Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 148-9, nr.3, line 18 (ὑπὸ Τρικτοίνων τῶν ἐν Λέλωι : from Camirus). From the Peraea come the following: SGDI, 4264 (from Phoinike: πτοῖνα, cf. [illegible] Περαία); Syll^3. 819 (Thyssanous, a Camiran deme); unpublished from Tymnos (Camiran deme).

70. Two schools of thought exist as to the etymology of the word, (a) those who regard κτοινα as a form of the root κοιν—, signifying 'group (s)', with which may be compared the collateral forms, πόλις - πτόλις, πόλεμος - πτόλεμος (v. von Hiller, BPW, 1907, cols. 819-820; id. Rhodos, col. 771); (b) those who regard it as derived from κτίζω, and suppose it to mean a 'foundation' (v. Kretschmer, Z.für vergl. Sprachf. N.F. xiii, 1893, pp. 272 ff; Guarducci, Historia, ix, 19-35, pp. 428-430; Pugliese-Caratelli, Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 198, note 4; id [illegible] P.P. xi, 1949, pp. 162ff (cf. above, p. 203ff. Add. Note 7). [illegible]. Since the κτοῖναι, as encountered after the synoecism, may well have lost some, indeed most, of its original characteristics, the derivation is not the necessarily a guide to its subsequent meaning.

71. The view that the κτοινα was a gentilicial division, a component part of the phyla, was put forward by Schumacher, De repub. Rhod. pp. 30-32, and developed by Francotte, La Polis grecque, pp. 197-202. Francotte inferred correctly from I.G.xii, 1, 1033 = Syll^3. 570 (cf. above, note 69), that the κτοινα and the δᾶμος were not identical (the honorand bears the demotic Καρπαθιοπολίτας, but is honoured by [redacted] & κτοινα & Ποτειδαέων); therefore he concluded that 'either the ctoina derives from the gentilicial principle, or it is a subdivision of the deme'. He decided for the former alternative in view of I.G. xii, 3, 6 and 1269-70, from Syme, which speak of τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐν Σύμαι κατοικούντων, and in one of which the members of the κοινόν are referred to as κτοινῆται; these κατοικοῦντες Francotte held to be members of Rhodian families resident in Syme, and therefore concluded that the κτοινῆται, members of the κοινὸν τῶν κατοικούντων must be members of a gentilicial group. But it is clear that, granted that these κατοικοῦντες are Rhodian citizens (v. [redacted] p. 303, note 61), the κτοινῆται may have been members of territorial units among the citizen-body, just as much as of gentilicial ones.

Faced with the two inscriptions from Camirus which show unmistakeably that the ktoina was a local division (v. below) Francotte compromised by saying that the ktoina had been a local division before the synoecism, and that it subsequently became gentilicial. Such a development is, however, highly improbable in itself, and, in fact, the evidence for the period after the synoecism shows precisely that at that time the ktoina was a local division.

The view that the ktoina was a local division was first put forward by Newton, trans.Roy.Soc.Lit. N.S. 1878, p. 436 (cf. id. BMI, II, pp. 125ff), and was subsequently adopted by Martha, BCH, iv, 1880, pp. 143-5; van Gelder, GdR, pp. 222-225; von Hiller, BPW, 1907, pp. 819-821 (cf. id. Rhodos, col. 771) Busolt, Staatskunde^3, p. 150, note 3 (the best account) (cf. id. GG^2, i, p. 357, note 2) Momigliano, Riv.Fil. lxiv, 1936, pp. 57-60; Guarducci, Historia, ix, 1935, pp. 420-425; Pugliese-Caratelli, Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 198, note 4. This view is clearly correct in the central fact, even if details are open to dispute. It is based on I.G.xii, 1, 694 = Syll^3. 339, lines 14-15, in which reference is made to an elective assembly of κτοινάται to be held ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῶι ἁγιωτάτωι ἐν τᾶι κτοίναι [redacted], and on I.G. xii, 1, 736, lines 10-11, in which the phrase τόπος ἐν τᾶι κτοίναι occurs. In both instances had the ktoina been a gentilicial group, the genitive would have been used, and not the preposition .

The view of Segre, Riv.Fil. lxi, 1933, pp. 381ff, that the ktoina represent 'una specie di circoscrizione religiosa dei tre santuarii di Atena della tre citta rodie', already refuted by

71. contd.

Guarducci, Historia, op.cit. p. 436, is impossible unless numerous assumptions are made: in particular that what is true of the three cities is true also of the subdivisions of them e.g. Tymnos and Thyssanous, neither of which are known to have had sanctuaries of Athana.

72. κτοινάται in I.G. xii, 1, 694 = Syll^3. 339, line 14; κτοινέται in I.G. xii, 1, 157 = SGDI, 3838, line 9, and I.G. xii, 3, 1270, line 13; cf. Björkegren, De Sonis dialecti Rhodiacae, pp. 21-22; Fränkel, Nomina agent. ii, p. 126; Bechtel, Griech. Dial. ii, p. 637, 3. The latter is modelled on δαμέτας, now found in Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 149, nr. 4, line 4.

73. I.G. xii, 1, 978, a dedication in honour of Trajan, made by ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καρπαθιοκο[λιτῶν κα]ὶ ἃ κτοίνα ἃ Ποτιδαέ[ων] : Syll^3. 819,a dedication in honour of Domitian and Domitiana by οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Θυσσανοῦντι καὶ ἃ κτοῖνα ἃ Στραπιατῶν ; cf. Busolt, Staatskunde^3, p. 150, note 3.

74. As is supposed by van Gelder, GdR, p. 222: 'Ich glaube dass diese vielbesprochene κτοῖναι nichts anders waren als eine Unterabtheilung der Demen'. In support of this (pp. 223-4) he adduces I.G. xii, 1, 978, which, as Busolt points out (v. previous note) is evidence for the fact that the κτοῖνα was not an integral part of the deme, since, if it had been it would not have been mentioned alongside it.

75. Unpublished from Tymnos: (lines 4-6): ὅπως δὲ [τοὶ] προθύοντες περί τε τὰν κτοίναν καὶ περὶ τὸν [δᾶ/μο]ν τῶι Διὶ καὶ τᾶι Ἥραι ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιβωμίων τῶν ἐν τᾶι [ἀγορᾶι]. The ο of τὸν appears certain (as opposed to ω), and therefore since the preposition περί must have been followed by the same case in both instances, we must read τὰν κτοίναν , that is, one ktoina, and one δᾶμος . The spaces at the end of line 5 and the beginning of line 6 are each of two letters, and thus the supplement [δᾶ/μο]ν becomes almost certain; e.g. [βῶ/μο]ν would make no sense. περί with the accusative can hardly be used of motion here, even if that were not excluded by the statement in lines 6-7, that the preliminary sacrifices will be performed ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπι[βωμίων τῶν ἐν τᾶι ἀγορᾶι,]. ὑ must therefore be used here almost in the sense of ὑπέρ 'In the name of'.

76. v. i, pp. 408ff.

77. Hesychius, s.v. κτῦνα· ἢ κτοῖνα· χωρήσεις προγονικῶν ἱερείων ἢ δῆμος μεμερισμένος, means 'a proceeding, a mathematical progression',

77. contd.

or, in the glossographers, 'capacitas'. Such meanings give no sense here, and Schmidt, ad loc. suggested ' χώρισις vel χωρίσεις ', and this is commonly accepted with the meaning of 'divisions' or 'separations' (cf. Hesyc. s.v. χάσις , where the Mss have χωρήσεις , but χωρίσεις is undoubtedly the correct word), though even so it is necessary to interpret χωρίσεις in the material sense of a 'division', rather than, as it should be, 'a dividing', and this is extremely harsh.

The other difficulty is that of the word after προγονικῶν. As accentuated in Schmidt's edition, ἱερεῖων , the word is the genitive plural of ἱερεῖον , 'a victim sacrificed', and this, again, is hardly possible. The reading ἱερείων , from ἱερεία , meaning 'a religious ceremony', is natural, and involves no change in the text (as Dr. Maas emphasises to me, the accentuation of Hesychius, has no value for determining the form of the word, in the text from which it was taken). This alternation was proposed by Martha, BCH, iv, 1880, p. 144. It does not seem necessary to adopt the alternative ἱερῶν , which involves an emendation where none is necessary (noted but not adopted by Martha, loc.cit.; adopted by Beaudouin, BCH, viii, 1884, p. 356; van Gelder, GdR, p. 222; Busolt, Staatskunde, p. 150, note 3; Guarducci, Historia, ix, 1935, p. 429).

The general meaning of the first part of the gloss is determined by the adjective προγονικῶν , and the certain part of ἱερ- , as '(somethings) of ancestral religious (activity of some sort)'. The second clause is unobjectionable as it stands: 'or a divided deme'. Thus the source of this entry appreciated the two fundamental elements of the ktoina, as we recognise them in inscriptions, that it was territorial (δῆμος μεμερισμένος) and concerned with ancestral religious activity. It would clearly be of value to determine the significance of the ἢ separating the two clauses. Does it, as customarily in Stephanus of Byzantium, indicate a different source (cf. Oppermann, Zeus Panamaros, p. 11)?

78. I.G. xii, 1, 694 = Syll^3. 339; for possible dates, v. above, p. 206 addnl note 7.

79. The ktoina mentioned in Syll^3.819 is called ἡ κτοινα ἡ Στρατιατῶν , and this, like some of the later deme-names, suggests family rather than territorial connections. Since, however the word Στρατιῶται does not occur elsewhere, the matter is necessarily uncertain. The Μάτιοι κτοινῆται ἐρανισταὶ Φιλοκράτειοι mentioned among a list of κοιναί and communities in I.G. xii, 1, 157, and apparently belonging to Camirus, since the next entry is the Καμειρεῖς (van Gelder, GdR, p. 225 inferred from the discovery

79. contd.

of the inscription outside Rhodes that the communities therein mentioned were Ialysian. This view (which is adopted without comment by Francotte, La Polis grecque p. 200, note 1, and Guarducci, Historia, ix. 1935, p. 424) is surely unreasonable. It is true that geographically speaking the territory outside the wall of Rhodos was Ialysian, but inscriptions found in the suburbs of Rhodos are much more likely to have been erected in Rhodes than in Ialysos. If the inscription is from Rhodos, there is no reason for supposing the Ματιοι κτοινέται ἑρανισταὶ Φιλοκράτειοι to have been Ialysian rather than Camiran, and the problem must be answered on internal evidence, and that evidence suggests Camirus). The exact status of these κτοινέται is uncertain. Francotte, La Polis grecque, pp. 199-200 translates: 'members of the ktoina of the Matioi, who are the ἑρανισταὶ of Philocrates'; Foucart, BCH, xii, 1889, p. 364 (orig. publ. of inscr.), 'the ἑρανισταὶ of Philocrates, who are members of the ctoina of the Matioi'; Poland, Griech. Vereinwesen, p. 32, followed by Momigliano, Riv.Fil. lxiv, 1936, p. 59, note 1, as: 'eine Vereinsgruppe in Verbindung mit einer staatlichen Korporation'. Such portmanteau phrases, not uncommon at Rhodes, are difficult to interpret. It may be noted, however, that, as a general rule (observable, for instance, in regard to the names of the patrai and diagoniai) when these phrases consist of two groups the larger unit is named first; though the present instance is not precisely the same, since all four words are in the nominative case, it is possible that the same principle holds good here; if so, the phrase would be rendered, 'the ἑρανισταὶ Φιλοκράτειοι of the κτοινέται of the Matioi, i.e. some of the ἑρανισταὶ Φιλοκράτειοι belonged to the ktoina of the Matioi. The name Matioi does not appear to have any affinities in Rhodes; it probably derives from a place-name, like the demotics Βράσιος, Λέλιος etc. In view of the close connection, in legend if not in fact, between Camirus and some parts of Crete, (v. above, note 15), it is worth noticing that there existed a site on the north coast of Crete called Mation (Plin. NH, iv, 12, 59).

80. For citizen-rights at Rhodes, v. i, pp. 479ff.

81. v. i, pp. 75-6.

82. Inscr. ii, 347a-b = Syll^3. 765, lines 56-9. Other inscriptions with full lists of demes are: Inscr. 349 (38 B.C.); ibid. 378 (27 B.C.); ibid. 346 and 348 are very mutilated.
The order in which the demes occur in these inscriptions is not uniform. The order in Inscr. ii, 347 = Syll^3. 765 (the

82. contd.

list given in the text) is repeated in ibid. 349, whereas ibid. 378 containing a list of mastroi of the individual demes of Lindos, preserves a different order(Λινδοπολῖται, Καταβιοι, Πάγιοι, Βρύσιοι, Δρυεῖται, Βουλίδαι, Πεδιεῖς, Κλύσιοι, Καμιήνδιοι, Λαδάεμιοι, Νεπίδαι, Ἀερτῖοι) traces of which also appear in the fragmentary ibid. 346. Ibid. 348, though very mutilated, may indicate the existence of yet a third order, though the only two successive demotics preserved, Πάγιοι and Βρύσιοι , are successive also in 378. These differing orders within a few years are hardly likely to be fortuitous, though its significance is at present uncertain, v. below, pp. 398 ff. , Addnl. note 1.

83. For the Rhodian demes, v. in particular, van Gelder, GdR, pp. 212-222; Selivanov, Topography of Rhodes (in Russian); id. Ath.Mitt. xvi, pp. 107-126; von Hiller, Ath.Mitt. xvii, 1892, pp. 308-318 (= H1); id. ibid. xlii, 1917, pp. 173-184 (= H2); id. Rhodos, cols. 746-750 (= H3); Papachristodoulos, Ἀφιέρωμα εἰς Κ. Ι. Ἀμάντον, Athens, 1940, pp. 321-330; Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, pp. 20-3 (Lindian only).

84. v. H1, pp. 307-8; H2, p. 175. Inscriptions found at Alaerma, referring to Λαδάεμιοι are e.g. I.G. xii, 1,886, 888-9 9; Inscr.661 (c = I.G.xii, 1, 885).

85. The Βρύσιοι were assigned by H1, p. 308, to the spit of land at the Southern tip of the island, which he believed was called Πρασονῆσι , but that peninsula, as Kinch, Vroulia, p.1 correctly pointed out, is called Νησί , while Πρασοῦδα (sic) is the name of two islets west of Rhodes (On the 1944, 1:100,000, and 1:200,000, Field Survey maps Νησί is called Prassonisi (or something similar), but these maps are based on the Italian Staff maps, and when at Cattavia I learnt independently that the Italians insisted on calling Νησί Πρασσονησί. Clearly von Hiller and the Italians had some common source of information, though I was unable to discover what it was; at least, apparently, not local). Selivanov, Ath.Mitt. xvi, 1891, p. 241, had already published an inscription (=I.G.xii, 1, 894), the tombstone of a Βρύσιος , which was found near Istrio, South-East of Siana. I.G.xii, 1, 749, also the tombstone of a Βρύσιος was found just outside Siana, in the direction of Istrio, so that it is a reasonable supposition that the resided in this area. (The question was much confused by Shear, AJA, xxix, 1908, who alleged that a fifth-century pyxis bearing the words Καλλίστα γῆς ἁ Βρυσίδος ἐμὶ δοκεῖ was found

85. contd.

near Siana; he translated this; ' Brasian land is the fairest, it seems to me'. But the existence of tombstones of Βράσιοι which had been found in the environs of Rhodes disconcerted him, and he concluded, not realizing that these Βράσιοι had been resident in Rhodos; 'It seems impossible to form any conclusion from the places of discovery in the different places, and the location of Brasos must remain undiscovered.' But if the tombstones found near Rhodes do not affect the issue, nor does Shear's pyxis, since καλλίστα γῆς ἡα Βρασίδ, κ.τ.λ., must surely mean, as Tarbell, CP xii, 1917, pp. 190-1, pointed out, 'In my opinion the Brasian girl is the fairest on earth' (I cannot agree with Tarbell that ἡα Βρασια should be read as ΗΑΒΡΑΣΙΑ = Ἁβρασία ; for the form of expression Tarbell might have compared the inscription quoted above, p. 50, note 84: [illegible]). In spite of the virtual impossibility of Shear's rendering of this phrase, he found considerable support; H2, p. 174; H3, col. 747; Blinkenberg, Inscr. p. 20)
Tombstones of Βράσιοι : I.G.xii, 1, 189-192; 214 (Rhodos); 749 (Siana; v. above); 894 (Istrio : v. above); NS, 342; 360 (Rhodos).

86. Von Hiller, RE, Suppbd. iv, col. 881, identifies the ancient deme-centre Κάττα̣βος with the mound τῆς Φούρκας τὸ βουνάρι on which stands the church of Hagios Pantaeleemon; this is quite possible, but the mound has no ancient remains (All I saw in 1948 was a single amphora-handle: [ἐπὶ] Ἀριστο/[κ]όλιος/[Ξ]μινθίου : oblong). cf. Blinkenberg, Inscr. p. 21. A tombstone of a Καττάβιος found in the neighbourhood of Cattavia: I.G. xii, 1, 899. In the καφενεῖον there is a circular base with bucrania the bottom of which is now used for grinding coffee: there are faint traces of an (unpublished) inscription: ΑΡ[illegible]Ω/ΥΜ[illegible]ΟΣ.

87. v. above, note 57 for the topography. Tombstones of Pedieis do not help to establish the position of the deme, since almost all come from the Rhodian necropoleis, where they are numerous (I.G. xii, 1, 212-4; Ath. Mitt. xxv, 1900, p. 107, nr. 106; Jahreshefte, vii, 1904, p. 88, nr. 8; p. 89, note 4; NS, 392-3 (πεδιάς for πεδιεύς ; cf. below, note 141). Inscr. 661, the tombstone of a Pedieus found at Prophylia in Lindian territory, does not assist, since the site is inland, some distance removed from the plains.

88. Tombstone of Λινδοπολῖται from Lindos: I.G. xii, 1, 868; from Rhodos: I.G.xii, 1, 206-7; NS, 62; Annuario, ii, 1916, p.155,

88. contd.

nr. 48; ibid. nr. 50; ibid. nr. 55; p. 160, nr. 77; Ath. Mitt. xxx, 1905, p. 147, nr. 1; ibid. nr. 2. The extent of the deme territory cannot be determined; doubtless it included the whole peninsula, and probably the area of Lartos as well, since Lartos is an ancient name (cf. Λίνδος Λάρτιος , frequently referred to in Rhodian inscriptions, and which is still quarried today), and there was no Lindian demotic Λάρτιος

89. Inscr. ii, 347a = Syll^3. 765, line 22; ibid. b, line 82, mention the priest of Ἀπόλλων ἐς Καμυνδον

90. Inscr. ii, 648, records a decree of the Τραγαδῆται (cf. above note 29), and contains the names of two priests both of whom are Καμύνδιοι (The inscription is complete). This was found at Vati, inland halfway between Lindos and Cattavia, and Blinkenberg, Inscr. 648, therefore supposed that this area was the home of the Καμύνδιοι . The stone, however, is small, and its provenience cannot be used as decisive proof. H2, p. 175 says very guardedly that the site of the deme might be in the neighbourhood of the modern Apollona, on the supposition that the village had derived its name from the cult of Ἀπόλλων ἐς Κάμυνδον , and this is accepted without reserve by Papachristodoulos, op.cit. (note 83, above), pp. 322-3, but as he points out there is also a τοποθεσία Ἀπόλλωνες near Archipolis (which he mistakenly attributes to the deme-territory of Lindos), while Maiuri, Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 298, note 3, emphasises that there existed other cults of Apollo in the island; the identification of the deme-area of the Καμύνδιοι with the neighbourhood of Apollona is thus very uncertain. Tombstones of Καμύνδιοι are: I.G. xii, 1, 900 (from Lachania, nr. Cattavia); Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p.220, nr. 65 (Rhodes): a tombstone reading Κλεοδαγόρας Πολυάρχου [Κ]αμυνδίου was reported to me when I was at Arnitha but it was built into a house-wall and plastered over, and could not be seen.

91. Inscr. i, p. 21.

92. For Artemis ἐν Κεκοΐδι v. I.G.xii, 1, 786; ibid.814; ibid. 820; ibid. 824; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 154, nr. 14, lines 8-9.

93. For the monastery of Artamiti, v. Selivanov, Ath.Mitt. xvi, 1891, p. 107; H1, p.307; Papachristodoulos, op.cit. pp. 325-7; Blinkenberg, Inscr. p. 21.

94. For Ἐρημοκέκοιδα v. Papachristodoulos, op.cit. loc.cit.

94. H3, col. 747, though not disputing the site of the shrine of Ἄρτεμις ἐν Κεκοίμι held that it was in the deme-area of the Λινδίριοι which is clearly not impossible (v. above, note 84)
Tombstones of Κάμιροι : I.G. xii, 1, 210-211; NS 63; Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 154, nr. 40; ibid. p. 172, nr. 142 (all Rhodos).

95. v. i, p.399.

96. The identification is due to* Selivanov, Top.Rhod. p. 40; it is noted with great reserve by H2, p. 175, s. v. Κλάδιοι and H3, col. 747, lines 41-3. Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, p.22 ignores Selivanov's suggestion.
Tombstones of Κλάδιοι : NS 59; Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 156, nr. 56; ibid. p. 165, nr. 110; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 223, nr. 79; ibid. nr. 81 (all Rhodos)

97. I.G. xii, 1, 26; that this refers to Rhodian and not Peloponnesian geography was shown by H2, p. 176, note 1. Papachristodoulos, op.cit. p. 328-9 records two modern sites in Rhodes named Κεχρειά , both in the neighbourhood of Camirus.

98. H2, p. 176, note 1; cf. Blinkenberg, Inscr.i, p. 22, s.v. Ἀργεῖοι. Hl, pp. 308-9 identified the ancient Ἄργος with the modern Archipolis, since it was reported that there existed near the village a place called Ἄργος (cf. I.G. xii, 1, p. 112; von Hiller's original view is perpetuated by Bolte, RE, s. v. Kenchreai, col. 170, s. v. Kenchreai (4)). H2, this view is abandoned in favour of that given in the text.

99. H2, loc.cit. It is, however, to be noted that I.G. xii, 1, 26, the inscription containing the reference to Argos was found just outside the modern Rhodes, that is at the furthest end of the island from Sklepiano.
Tombstones of Argeioi: I.G.xii, 1, 180 (Rhodos); ibid. 750 (from Camirus); NS,55 (Rhodos); ibid.355 (Rhodos): Ath. Mitt. xxi, 1896, p. 44, nr. 15; xxiii, 1898, p. 394, nr. 66; ibid.xxv, 1900, p. 107, nr. 101 (Rhodos).

100. Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 149, nr. 4, line 9; cf. [illegible] below, note 148.

101. v. above, note 32.

102. Tombstones (which do not assist inidentification of the site) are: I.G.xii, 1, 181-8 (Rhodos); Cl.Rh.ii, 1932, p. 221, nr. 72;

103. H2, p. 175, s.v. Δρυῖται ; Blinkenberg, Inscr.i, p. 22, s.v. Δρυῖται : cf. also, note 29, above.
Tombstones of Δρυῖται : I.G. xii, 1, 193-5; Inscr.ii, 684: Ath.Mitt. xxiii, 1898, p. 395, nr. 68.

104. v. [redacted] 'Peraea'.

105. Of these the most important are the list of Camiran eponyms, the δαμιουργοί, Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 370-384, nr. 2 = (with improved readings and rearrangement of the stones) Benediktsson, Chronologie de deux listes kamiréens, Copenhagen, 1940, pp. 8-35: the latter part of this list only has demotics; and the list of priests of Athana Polias, Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 179-182, nr. 7 = Benediktsson, op.cit. pp. 36-49.

106. v. for general accounts of the site, Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 220-265, which does not, of course, represent the present state of the site which has been far more extensively excavated since then; a better idea of the present condition of the site can be derived from the photograph in Bull.d'Arte, xxx, 1936-7, p. 133 (fig.9), with the description, ibid. pp. 135-6.

107. These inscriptions are those published in Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932, pp. 290-426, nrs. 18-45.

108. v. Bürchner, RE, s.v. Kameiros, cols. 1838-9.

109. v. [redacted] 'Peraea' and 'Islands'.

110. I.G. xii, 1, 701, records honours paid to a certain στρατηγός : among the κοινά who subscribe to these honours are the πυεγλαιδᾶν κοινὸν ἐν Λιλῳι which Newton, BMI, cccliii, read as Λ[εέ]ωι and apparently took to refer to the island of that name. *Selivanov, Topogr. Rhod. p. 72, pointed out that the reference in the inscription was to Camiran territory, on the island, where, he alleged, a place named Λέρος existed. Van Gelder, Mnemos, xxiv, 1896, p. 249, and SGDI,4143, read Λ[έλ]ωι referring the name to the deme Λέλος . von Hiller, I.G. xii, 1, 701, ad loc.mentioned with approval Selivanov's view, and in Ath. Mitt. xxi, 1896, p. 62, he wrote: 'Λέλιος ist Demotikon von Kamiros und gehort zu dem I.G. Ins. 1, 701, 12 erwähnten Orte Λέρος , der noch heute so heisst, und, wie ich kürzlich erfuhr, auch Λέλος gesprochen wird', and H2, p. 178, and H2 col. 750 he held to Selivanov's original identification. According to this, the Λέλιοι belonged to the village Λέρος or Λέλος , on the west coast, due north of Embona (photograph in Pernier, Annuario, i, 1913, p. 365)

110. contd.

A new approach was made by Maiuri, who pointed out that the village identified by Selivanov and von Hiller is in fact known as Λῆρος (The adjacent torrent is called Ληρηνό). He suggested, Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 298-302, that the seat of the deme was the locality of Λέλος , four or five kilometres west of Apollona. In view of the identity of the spelling, as well as the existence of tombs, at this latter site, it is clearly preferable to that originally proposed; Maiuri's identification is accepted by Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, p. 982, note to nr. 676.

Tombstones: I.G. xii, 1, 201; NS 51-52, 376; Annuario
111. ii, 1916, p. 174, nr. 156; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 222, nr. 74 (all Rhodos)

111. For the tombs v. Maiuri, loc.cit. (For the contents of the Mycenaean tombs, v. Annuario, vi-vii, 1928, pp. 248-251).

112. I.G. xii, 1, 736. The spelling of the demotic Ῥογκίδας is uncertain. I.G.xii, 1, 177-8 (tombstones from Rhodes), give the forms Ῥογκίδας and Ῥογχίδας . The place name, as recorded in I.G.xii, 1, 736, is mutilated, ρορκ[, for which H2, p. 179, proposes, instead of the generally accepted, Ῥογκώ[ι] (as Martha, BCH, iv, 1880, pp. 138ff, in his original publication of the inscription) Ῥόγκχω[ι] , comparing ἔγκχελυστος . With Ῥογχίδας , 'vielleicht eine Hellenisierung', he compares Ὀξύ-ρυγχος . Benediktsson, Deux Listes p. 34, line 6, preserves another form Ῥορ_ (χίδας), due to a reading of Segre.
Tombstones are: I.G. xii, 1, 177-8: Ath.Mitt. xxx, 1905, p. 150, nr. 13:

113. v. i, p. 402.

114. Compare the story of Althaemenes, above note 15. The fact that all three cities had access to the shrine of Zeus Atabyrios on the summit, as is shown by Cl.Rh. ii, pp. 238-9, nrs. 150-1 (cf. von Hiller, GGA, 1933, p. 17) does not necessarily mean, as von Hiller has since maintained, that that area was κοινὰ χώρα (v. above, p. 398, and note 51)

115. Annuario, i, 1914, p. 367; from close at hand (Siana), came ibid. p. 368, (brother of the foregoing? cf. Bendiktsson, Deux Listes, p. 35 note to line 5)

116. For the remains of the area (and an excellent discussion) v. Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 285-298. Tombstones (other than those mentioned in the preceding note): I.G. xii, 1, 170 (Rhodos);

116. contd.

Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 164, nr. 103 (Rhodos); Inscr. ii, 659 (from near Lardo, in Lindian territory).

117. Inscr. ii, 680 (= Δελτίον , 1939, p. 104, nr. 8), connects the deme of the Ποντωρεῖς (v. below) with the worship of Ἄρτεμις ἐς Φαγάς. The inscription was found at the foot of Mt. Zambika, near the village of Archangelíos. This indicates, if reliance be placed on the provenience of the stone, that the Ialysian deme of the Pontoreis extended to this point, and the locality known as Φαγαί was presumably within the deme area of the Pontoreis. This would suggest that the Φαγαῖοι were also an Ialysian deme, in the same neighbourhood.

The evidence that the Φαγαῖοι were, however, a Camiran deme, is considerable. Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 435, nr. 54; honours a Camiran damiourgos with the demotic Φαγαῖος and this, though of late date, might seem enough evidence, were it not almost certain that at the time in question the Camiran damiourgia was opened to non-Camirans (v. the rubric in the list of damiourgoi, Cl. Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 383, line 55 = Benediktsson, Deux Listes, p. 34, line 36: δαμιουργοὶ ἐφ' ᾧς ἔδοξε ἐκ πάντων αἱρεῖσθαι: cf. i, pp. 550-551). Blinkenberg, Les prêtres de Poseidon Hippios, p. 16, note 1, claims that the Φαγαῖος of the inscription quoted above may have been an Ialysian holding the Camiran δαμιουργία . (He quotes as proof this interpretation the case of Πωσανίας Κλινομβρότου (καὶ Εὐφανίσκου) who appears in the list of damiourgoi below the rubric δαμιουργοὶ ἐφ' ᾧς ἔδοξε ἐκ πάντων αἱρεῖσθαι . This damiourgos was also priest of Athana Lindia, probably in A.D. 26 Inscr. i, p. 145, sub anno, and Blinkenberg therefore considers that he was a Lindian, who at some time or other was damiourgos at Camirus. The priest of Athana Lindia of A.D. 26 is, however, a Καμιρεύς for in the Lindian list he bears the mark of adoption, while in the list of the Camiran damiourgoi he does not (Inscr. i, 1, line 432: Πωσανίας Κλινομβρότου καὶ Εὐφανίσκου]: Cl. Rh. vi-vii, 28, line 60 = Deux Listes, p. 34, line 60: Πωσανίας Κλινομβρότου and thus he had clearly been adopted from a Camiran into a Lindian deme, a well attested phenomenon (v. i, pp.) Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, 1, ad loc. dismisses this solution without discussion as 'moins probable'). Clearly the Φαγαῖος may have been an Ialysian; but the point cannot be proved; perhaps, if the topographical argument was a little stronger, we should be justified in supposing that he was; as it was is the matter must be left open.

117. contd.

The φαρεῖοι have given rise to some speculative Hittite-Achaean etymology: v. Hrozny, Archiv Orientální, i, 1929, p. 335; Schachermeyr, Hettiter und Achaer, 1935, pp. 129-132.

Tombstones of φαρεῖοι : I.G. xii, 1, 300; Ath. Mitt. xxiii, 1898, p. 395, nr. 69.

118. Two Σιδύριοι occurs in the Camiran damiourgoi - list, Cl.Rh. vi-vii = loc.cit. 2g, lines 43, 56 = Deux Listes, p. 33, line 44; ibid. p. 34, line 58. An inscription recording a decree of ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Σιδυρίων was found on the Camiran acropolis, Cl.Rh. ii, p. 205, nr. 39. Tombstones: Annuario, i-ii, 1916, p. 158, nr. 67; ibid. p. 162, nr. 93 (?); ibid. p. 163, nr.98 (Rhodos).

119. An Ἱρι(ε)ύς occurs as damiourgos at Camirus, I.G.xii, 1, 703; the demotic is also in the list of Camiran demotics from the shrine of Zeus Atabyrion, Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 239, nr. 151, line 1: Ἱρι(ε)[ύς]. Tombstones: Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 161, nr. 83 (Rhodos).

120. A πλάριος occurs among the Camiran damiourgoi: Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, loc. cit. p. 383 line 44 = Deux Listes, p. 34, line 45 (reading of Segre), in abbreviated form πλ(άριος) ; cf. below. The mutilated deme-name of a Camiran deme in I.G. xii, 1, 697, ΓΛΛ , may conceal (as Maiuri NS, p. 127, note to nrs. 382-3, suggested,) either the entire word ΠΛΑΡΙΟΣ or its abbreviated form ΓΛΑ . The supplement of Von Hiller, ad loc., πλ[αριοποιίτας] , is also possible (in spite of H2, p. 177). Tombstones (all from Rhodos): NS, 64, 374, 378, 380-1. Also to be noticed is Cl. Rh.,vi-vii, 1932/3,p.431, nr. 50, a funerary monument set up in honour of a πλάριος by numerous relatives, all with the same demotic (from the Camiran acropolis), probably [Π]άριος and [Π]αρία should be read in I.G. xii,1, 260-1, for the obscure Ἄριος, [Π]ρία ; and [Π]αρέων, [Π]αρέου in NS 418-420.

121. Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 437, nr. 56A, gives the name of a λοξίδας who was Camiran damiourgos; cf. Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 383, 2g, line 49 = Deux Listes, p. 34, line 50. Tombstones: I.G. xii, 1, 288-9, 644 (Rhodos); the frequency with which λοξίδας occurs on inscriptions found in the neighbourhood of Camirus prompted Jacopi, Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 438, note to 56, line 3a (cf. ibid.pp. 428-9, note to nr. 47), to suggest that the λοξίδαι formed the city deme of Camirus, the

121. contd.

name of which has not been identified. This is not impossible, but the analogy of the city-demotics of Lindos and Ialysus suggests that the name was probably formed of a compound ending in -- πολίτας . It is possible that the Camiran city deme was Παλαιοπολίτας : v. note 138.

von Hiller's identification of the home of the Λοξίδαι with the modern Loxa or Losa bay in the Peraea, opposite Syme (v. GGA, 1934, p. 195, note 1) is improbable, since this area is occupied by the Τυρνιοι (cf. Ernst Meyer, RE, s.v. Peraia (2), cols. 373-4, and v. i, 'Peraea')

122. A Εὐριάδας occurs among the Camiran damiourgoi, Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 383, line 47 = Deux Listes, p. 34, line 48 (reading of Segre); also in Cl. Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 179-182, nr. 7, Deux Listes, p. 41, line 3 (List of priests of Athana Polias at Camirus); Annuario, viii-ix, 1929, pp. 315-320, nr. 2 = Blinkenberg, Deux Documents, p. 12, nr. 10, line 21 (Blinkenberg, ad loc. does not accept Maiuri's supplement, Annuario, loc. cit. ad loc., Εὐ[ριάδας] , in view of von Hiller's alternative, Εὐ[θυνίτας] Arch.für.Religionsw. xxvii, 1929, p. 352; but Εὐ[ριάδας] is shorter and more probable on that account. The final alpha of the demotic is not visible, in spite of Blinkenberg's Εὐ[---]ας).

von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 753, line 57, supposed that Εὐριάδας was a demotic of the Peraea, which is not impossible: v. below p. 405 Addl. Note 1.

Tombstones: I.G. xii, 1, 268 (Koskino, S. of Rhodos); NS, 59, 66 (Rhodos).

123. Ἀμνίσιοι occur in the list of Camiran demes, Cl.Rh.ii, 1932, p. 239, nr. 151. This was not appreciated by Blinkenberg, Inscr. ii, pp. 983-4, who attributed the deme to Camirus on the strength of an inscription now lost, found in Camiran territory, and bearing an horonific decree passed by Μαινο-ραδῶν κοινόν in honour of various Camirans, among whom occurs the demotic Ἀμνίσιος . The Ἀμνιστ[ίων κοινόν occurs in the Camiran inscription, Annuario N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 149, nr. 4, line 8.

Tombstones: I.G.xii, 1, 256-8 (Rhodos); NS, 56, 385-8 (Rhodos).

124. I.G. xii, 1, 730 = Deux Documents, pp. 6-8 (A) = Syll^3. 724 = IGR, iv, 1140. This inscription was long held to be Camiran and is published as Camiran in I.G. loc.cit. (so also, van Gelder, GdR, p. 216; lemmata to SyII. loc.cit., and IGR

124. contd.

loc.cit.; Maiuri, Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 156, note to nr. 55). But it was shown to be Ialysian by the publication, H2, pp. 182-3, of a fragment of a similar list, found on the acropolis of Ialysos (= Deux Documents, pp. 9-10 (B), in which the same demotics occur. Those in the list of the priests of Apollo Erethimios may thus be attributed to Ialysos also. The list of priests belongs to the middle of the first century B.C: v. Blinkenberg, Deux documents, pp. 9-10. Frequent references to τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἰαλυσίων τῶν Ἐρεθ(ε)μιαζόντων (v. below) put the matter beyond doubt. The temple of Apollo Erethimios, the ruins of which lie close to the modern Θολό , near the coast, has been held to belong to the late fifth or early fourth centre, and to have been erected at the time of, or shortly after, the synoecism, as a token of the new religious unity that was to accompany the new political unity; but such a conjecture, based solely upon the alleged date of the surviving decorations of the temple, has little weight, when there is no other indication that all three cities enjoyed the rites of the temple. The ruins are described in Cl.Rh.ii, 1932, pp. 79-116.

Inscriptions referring to the κοινὸν τῶν Ἰαλυσίων τῶν Ἐρεθ(ε)μιάζοντων are: I.G.xii, 1, 734, line 7, where the last line ΤΟΙΑΠΙΣΟΥΝΕΩΝ has been emended by von Hiller, Hermes, lxi, 1926, p. 477, to: [---τὸ κοινὸν] τὸ Ἰα[λ]υσ[ί]ων τῶν Ἐ[ρ]εθμ[ιαζόντων] ; NS, 25, lines 6-7, as emended by von Hiller, Gnomon, ii, 1926, p. 197 = Hermes, loc. cit. pp. 476-7, to: Ἰαλυσιά[ς] τῶν [Ἐρ]εθεμιαζόντων [redacted]; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 82, note 1; ibid. pp. 104ff, nrs. 1 and 2; Inscr. ii, 384b, lines 5-6; ibid. 454; line 7; Annuario, NS. i-ii, 1942, p. 154, nr. 14, lines 4-5 (ibid. Pugliese-Caratelli restores ὑπὸ Ἰαλυσίων τῶν Ἐρεθμιαζό[ντων] , certainly correctly, in Annuario ii, 1916, p. 147, nr. 20.

125. Reproductions and general accounts will be found in Cl. Rh. i, 1928, pp. 56-7; Annuario, iii, 1921, pp. 252-3.

126. v. i, pp. 75ff.

127. v. above p.400, and above note 58.

128. von Hiller, ap. Kekule von Stradonitz, Winckelmannprogramme, 1905, 'Echelos und Basile', pp. 19-22. At the time of writing this article, von Hiller still believed Βενιτσάρα to be a Camiran deme (cf. above, note 124), so that when he speaks of 'the boundaries between the territories of Camirus and Lindos', the former must be altered to Ialysus.

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The spelling of the demotic of Βευγινδάρα is uniform in Hellenistic and Roman times as Βευγινδάριος. In the Attic tribute lists (v. above, note 58) it is Βρικινδάριος Herondas, ii, 59, has ἐν Βρικινδάρῃσι

Tombstones of Βευγινδάριοι: I.G. xii, 1, 166; Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 153, nr. 38; ibid. p. 172, nr. 140; Cl. Rh. ii, 1932, p. 221, nr. 70.

129. For the correct spelling of this word, with spiritus asper, 'wohl vom Webstuhl, ἱστός 'v. H3, col. 748, lines 60ff (against H2, pp. 179-180).

130. v. H2, pp. 179-180.

131. Tombstones of Ἰσταλιῶται are: I.G. xii, 1, 167-169; NS, 49-50, 415; Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 173, nrs. 151-2; Inscr. ii, 693 (all Rhodos); NS 49-50 are wrongly included by Maiuri, ad loc. in the Camiran demes.

132. Inscr. ii, 680; NS, 429: other tombstones are I.G. xii, 1, 144, 173-176, 201 (all from Rhodos); ibid. 750 (from near Siana; the dead ποντωρεύς had married a Lindian (Ἀργεῖος)); Jahreshefte, vii, 1904, p. 92, III.

133. The acropolis of Ialysus is called ἡ Ἀχαία πόλις by Ergias, the Rhodian antiquarian, ap. Athen. 360 EF = FHG, iv, 405: οἱ περὶ Φάλανθον ἐν τῇ Ἰαλύσῳ πόλιν ἔχοντες ὀχυροτάτην τὴν Ἀχαΐαν καλουμένην [redacted] Diod. v, 57,6: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τοῦ Ἡλίου παῖδες διὰ τὸ μὴ μετεσχεῖν τοῦ φόνου (sc. τοῦ Τενάγη) κατῳκίσθησαν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ καὶ κατῴκισαν ἐν τῇ Ἰαλυσίᾳ κτίσαντες πόλιν Ἀχαΐαν Schol. Pind. Ol. vii, 34a: Δίδυμος δέ φησι καὶ τετάρτην εἶναι πόλιν τὴν νῦν Ἀχαΐαν (v. Wilamowitz, Hermes, xiv, 1877, p. 459, note 37) καλουμένην. Strabo, 655, referring to the Ialysian Acropolis calls it Ὀχύρωμα. References to ἡ Ἀχαία πόλις in inscriptions: Inscr. ii, 441 (A.D. 50-70); οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ ἐν [redacted] πόλει Ἰαλυσίων: ibid. 482 (A.D. 150-200): [τ]ῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τ[ῆ]ς ἐν Ἀχαίᾳ πόλ[ει δαμιουργήσαν]τα Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 155, nr. 15 (date uncertain; the stone is now lost): ἱερατεύσαντα ἐν Ἀχαΐαις πόλει Διὸς πολιέως καὶ Ἀθάνας πολ[ι]άδος, [redacted] I.G. xii, 1, 786, line 5, (ἱερεύς) Ἀθάν[ας Ἰ]αλυσίας πολιάδος καὶ Διὸς πολιέως / though it does not mention ἡ Ἀχαία πόλις, clearly refers to the same cult of Athana. It has been supposed by Maiuri, Annuario, iii, 1921, p. 53, and Hrozny, Archiv Orientální, i, 1929, pp. 333-4, that before the synoecism the Ialysian Acropolis was the 'unofficial capital' of the island. Both Maiuri and Hrozny base this view on the fact that local legend refers to Mt. Phileremos as ἡ ἀρχαία Ῥόδος; but such stories, based on local patriotism, are universal in Greece, and of no historical value, of themselves. Bürchner, RE, s.v. Ialysus, col. 632, found

133. contd.

support for this modern fancy in Pliny, NH, v, 132: 'Ja Plinius (v, 132) verwechselt I. mit Rhodos: habitata insula urbibus Lindo, Camiro, Ialyso nunc Rhodo: vgl. den Namen Rhoda Vecchia für Philerimo (which Bürchner called Philerismos)'. Clearly the correct interpretation of Pliny is to place a comma after Ialyso, and translate: 'Lindos, Camirus, Ialysus, and now Rhodos'. Schachermeyr, Etrus. Frühgesch. p. 22, wrongly attributes the Ἀχαιὰ πόλις to Lindos.

134. Even if the existence of temples on the summit (v. the preceding note), the remains of which have been found and identified with the temple of Athana and Zeus (v. Maiuri, Cl.Rh., i, 1928, pp. 74-75) do not necessarily presuppose a permanent civil population, the instruction contained in I.G. xii, 1, 677 = Syll^3. 338 = M434 = Schwyzer, 284 = SGDI, 4110, that a stele on which a copy of the text was inscribed was to be erected (among other places) on the road leading down from Ἀχαιὰ πόλις, indicates that it was a frequented neighbourhood; cf. H3, col. 748.

135. For Athens, apart from Thuc. ii, 15, 3, v. LS^9, s.v. πόλις. For Thebes, Plut. Pelop. 18: τὸν δὲ ἱερὸν λόχον, ὃς φασι, συνετάξατο Γοργίδας πρῶτος ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων τριακοσίων, οὓς ἡ πόλις ἀσκήσαν καὶ διαίταν ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ σιτιστοπεδωμένους πάρειχε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ ἱερὸς λόχος ἐκαλοῦντο. τὰς γὰρ ἀκροπόλεις ἐπιχωρίως οἱ τότε πόλεις ὠνόμαζον.
Cf. Busolt, Staatskunde^3, pp. 153-4.
Tombstones of πολῖται: Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 222, nr. 73 (πολιτὶς); Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 155, nr. 47 (both Rhodos).

136. Νεαπολῖται occur among the list of priests of Apollo Erethimios (v. above, note 124), and thus their attribution to Ialysus is certain. Tombstones: NS, 343; Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 156, nr. 55; ibid. nr. 68 (Rhodos)

137. It is this 'modern' town, presumably, to which Strabo, p. 655, refers: ἐπ' Ἰάλυσσος κώμη, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν ἀκρόπολις ἐστὶν ὀχύρωμα καλουμένη. c.f. i, p. 59.
A possible reference to this New City exists in Inscr. ii, 384, b, line 13 [ἀγωνοθέταν ἰς τὸν]ἀγόμενον ἀγῶνα ἐν Νέᾳ πόλει; it is so understood by Blinkenberg, ad loc. It is, however, more probable that it refers to the city of Neapolis, in Campania, the games of which became famous in Imperial times (so Robert, REG, lv, 1942, p. 348).

138. Inscr. i, 51c, I, line 46, where the Παλαιοπολῖται occur along with the Camiran deme of the Κωμασλεῖς, and the ~~possibility~~ possibly Camiran deme of the Φιγαῖοι, in what is otherwise a purely Lindian inscription, suggests that they may

138. contd.

have been a Camiran deme also. (H2's statement p. 181, that the demotic occurs in I.G. xii, 1, 730 (cf. above, note 124), is without foundation (in H2, loc.cit. von Hiller adds after παλλιοπολίται the figure (1), to indicate that it occurs once in that inscription; in H3 col. 748, he commits the same error though without adding (1). Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, 162, note to line 3, refers to the latter passage, to substantiate the claim that παλλιοπολίτας was an Ialysian demotic.)

Tombstones of παλλιοπολίτων are all except one from Rhodos: Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 175, nr. 163; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p.229, nr. 108 (2) ibid.p. 220, nr. 67; I.G.xii, 1, 171-2; ibid. 181 (nr. Rhodos); ibid. 960 (Chalke). In Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 146, nr. 18, line 3, where Maiuri has β' πάλαν, the abbreviation πάλαν is to be resolved into παλλιοπολίταν as was pointed out by Chaviaras, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1922, p. 51.

139. Diod. v. 57, 8. cf. H2, pp. 181-2.

140. For Μακρὰ Βουνάρα, and its necropoleis v. Maiuri, Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 271-274; Monaco, Mem. F.E.R.T. iii, 1938, pp. 59-68; id. Cl.Rh. x. 1941, pp. 43-182.

141. No reference to a demotic Δαματριάς occurs either in the list of Ialysian priests, or on any tombstone. Its existence as a demotic appears certain from: Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 135, nr. 1, line 8, where Maiuri has Δαματρὶ ἀσ. (i.e. ἀσσάριον, an abbreviation which occurs frequently in the inscription) which gives no sense for Δαματρί in the context (a list of subscribers). H3's Δαματριάς is therefore almost certainly correct; in I.G. xii, 1, 646, for Δαματρία Σ...ν H3, ibid. now reads Δαματριάς (here the relation of the last line of the inscription to the preceding is not clear, and thus the conjecture cannot be established beyond doubt); REG, ix, 1896, p. 426, nr. 2, Παυσανί[ας] Παυσαν[ίου] Δαματρ[ὶ εὐχήν] is also claimed by H3, ibid. as a further instance of the same demotic, but there are several similar dedications to Damater from the island (Inscr. i, 181-2; 183 (Δαματέρας and Ζεὺς Δαματρίσιος); ibid. 261; ibid.ii, 671 (Δαματέρων), and thus the original editor's Δαματρ[ὶ εὐχήν] cannot be excluded.

The demotic, if it existed, is only testified by the form Δαματρίδη. This is, of course, a perfectly good collateral form to the normal demotic in -- εύς. v. von Hiller, SB.Berl Akad. 1919, pp. 660-1, who explains the termination as representing simply the place-name, as in the Argive inscription, Syll^3.261 = Schwyzer, 85, discussed by von Hiller, loc.cit. It is parallelled at Rhodes by the form πατρίς, a variant of

141. contd.

the normal Πεδιεύς (cf. above, note 87). It is incorrect to regard this termination as merely a feminine form of a normal demotic in -εύς as is done by Chaviaras, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ , 1912, pp. 49-50. His further suggestion, that the deme took its name from Demetrius Poliorcetes does not seem very probable.

The attribution of the supposed deme of the Δημητριάδης to Ialysus rests on the modern name of the village Δαμάϊρια , in the plain of Maritza.

142. Ὑπερεχέτης occur in I.G. xii, 1, 730 (cf. above, note 124). Tombstones Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 160, nr. 82; I.G.xii, 1, 173-6; ibid. 201 (all Rhodes).

143. Σεβύθιοι occur in I.G. xii, 1, 730 (cf. above, note 124). The site of the modern Ψιτό , on the reverse slope of the high ground overlooking the plain of Maritza, was suggested as the home of the Σεβύθιοι by Selivanov, Topogr. Rhod. [redacted]; cf. H2, pp. 180-1. The etymological link is however, remote, even if the site be not unsuitable for an Ialysian deme.

Tombstones of Σεβύθιοι : I.G. xii, 1, 179; NS, 54 (which Maiuri still wrongly includes as a Camiran deme; cf. above, note 124)(both from Rhodos).

144. Ἀστυπαλαιεῖς occur in I.G. xii, 1, 730 (cf. note 124). They were identified by van Gelder, GdR, pp. 187-8 (who corrects, quite rightly, the view of Foucart, Rev.Arch. 1866, p. 361) with the inhabitants of the island of Astypalaea, which, however, did not belong to Rhodes at any time (#. This seems almost certain from the following considerations (a) There is no suggestion in any ancient author that the island ever was Rhodian (b) There is no trace of Rhodian influence in the epigraphy of the island (c) Cl. Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 177ff, nr.6, a list of subscribers to a public subscription at Rhodos, refers in lines 21-2, to Ἀστυπαλαιεῖς [ὧι ἡ ἐπιδαμία] δέδοται [redacted] (the supplement is automatic and beyond doubt: v. i, pp. 507 ff.). This Ἀστυπαλαιεύς cannot have been a citizen, and must therefore have been a citizen of a different Ἀστυπάλαια from the Ialysian deme, while if he had been a citizen of Ἀστυπάλαια on Cos or Samos, he would have been called in a Rhodian inscription Κῷος or Σάμιος . It is therefore almost certain that he was a native of the island Astypalaea. The date of the inscription, from the letter-forms, would appear to be not later than the middle of the second century (note particularly the short right hastae to the letter Γ). It may therefore be inferred that at this date Astypalaea was independent.

144. contd.

(d) The SC for Astypalaea, I.G. xii, 3, 173, and ibid. suppl. p. 278 = IGRR, iv, 1028 the date of which is 104 B.C. (v. line 15: ἐπὶ στρατ[ηγ]οῦ Ποπλ[ίου Ροτιλίου] Ποπλίου υἱοῦ καὶ [Γ]αίου Μαλλίου Γναίου υἱοῦ, κτλ.) shows that the island was independent of Rhodes at that time. In the face of these arguments it cannot at present be maintained that Astypalaea was incorporated in Rhodian territory during the Hellenistic or Roman periods.) The deme must therefore be sought on Rhodes itself or in the Peraea. Places of the same name are naturally very common, for instance on Cos, on Samos, and near Myndos (v. RE s.v. Astypalaea, nrs. (2) - (6)), and its location is not indicated in any way. The matter must therefore be left open. H3, col. 749, says 'Die Analogien weisen auf ein hoch und fest gelegenes Ἄστυ ... Frei ist noch das Ἑρημόκαστρον nordöstlich von Brygindara, an den Ostküste, steil aufragend zwischen zwei Flussarmen.....', but as he admits there is no evidence for the identification.

145. e.g. Ποντωρεύς, Κυμισαλεύς, Ἀστυπαλαιεύς

146. e.g. Λαδάρμιος, Κλάσιος, Σιγβύθιος.

147. v. above p. 239, note 29.

148. Pugliese-Cartelli, Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 199, note 4, infers from ibid. p. 149, nr. 4, line 9, where Βο[υλ]ιδᾶι κοινόν deriving from the Lindian deme Βουλίδαι, is mentioned among an otherwise wholly Camiran list of demes and koina, that the patra of the Βουλίδαι, which before the synoecism had been wholly within Lindian territory, had as a result of the new territorial division of land been left partly in Lindian, and partly in Camiran territory, and that the Camiran inscription refers to the koinon of the patra of the Boulidai still living in Camirus. Such a hypothesis clearly presupposes a very close connection between the deme and the patra. It is however by no means certain that Caratelli's interpretation is correct. Even supposing that the Βουλίδαι are the only Lindians, or seeming Lindians, in the inscription (v. however above, note 32), it is perfectly possible that members of a Lindian deme should honour a Camiran; of similar extension of honours beyond the boundaries of the single city, there are numerous examples: e.g. Inscr. ii, 384, b, lines 4ff; 392, a lines 5ff; 393; 394; 454, lines 6ff; 458; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 154, nr. 14, lines 3ff; I.G. xii, 1, 706.

The instance of the Λοθαλίδαι, also discussed by Caratelli,

148. contd.

ibid. is misunderstood by him, since there was no Lindian deme of the Oiiatai (cf. for the Euthalidai, i, p. 399)

149. v. i, pp. 405ff.

150. v. above pp. 246, note 73.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II.

1. For Cleoboulus v. Diogenes' βίος Κλεοβούλου , in which it is stated (§ 89) that Duris of Samos called him a Carian: Κλεόβουλος Εὐαγόρου Λίνδιος, ὡς δὲ Δοῦρις, Κᾶρ. He is Lindian in Dieg. ad Call. Iamb. p. 191 Pfeiffer.

2. Lind. Chron. xxiii, a dedication by τοὶ μετὰ Κλευβούλου στρατεύσαντες εἰς Λυκίαν.

3. Plut. De EI Delph. 3, p. 385, gives a list of the wise men, including Κλεόβουλος ὁ Λινδίων τύραννος . Diogenes does not record his position in the Life. As Beloch, GG^2, i, 1, p. 217, note 2, says if the ἔνιοι of Diog. § 89 (ἔνιοι δὲ εἰς Ἡρακλέα ἀναφέρειν τὸ γένος αὐτόν) were right, Cleobulus was a legitimate ruler. Pugliese-Carratelli, PP, xi, 1949, p. 155, says 'Per Lindo e ricordata, nel sec. vi, le tirannide (o aisymneta?) di Cleobulo'; but there is no tradition suggesting that he was aisymnetas.

4. Diog. i, 93 = Epist. Graec. p. 207.

5. Accame, Cl.Rh. ix, 1938, pp. 211-229. This inscription was originally published by Maiuri, Annuario, iv-v, 1921/2, pp. 482ff., as a Tymnian decree, and it was republished as Tymnian as SEG, iv, 171 (so also Momigliano, Riv.Fil. lxiv, 19-36, pp. 62-3. Latte, RE, s.v. Phyle, col. 996, l. 66 shows no knowledge of Accame's republication) Accame's reading, ἐκ Λινδο in a, l. 6 is certain, and suffices to establish the Lindian origin of the text, in view of the context in which the name was found.

6. a, ll, 12-15: τὸ δὲ λ[οιπὸ]ν τὸ ἀπὸ λωώντ[ων] α[ὐ]το|ῖ ἰδιῶται π[ρ]ᾶ[σ]ιν [ἐ]ό[ντ|ω] τῶι ἱαρῆι. For ἀπὸ λωώντ[ων] , which must be regarded as a special Rhodian, or else erroneous, form of λώντων , from λῶ = θέλω (cf. LS^9, s.v. λῶ), Accame admits the alternative τὸ ἀπὸ λαῶν , but λαοί in the sense of 'mercenaries' hardly seems possible in a document of this sort.

7. ibid. a, ll. 29-31.

8. IG, i^2, 16 = GHI, 32.

9. a, ll. 25-7.

10. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde^3, pp. 1028ff.

11. v. i, pp. 409ff.

12. a, ll. 15-17: ὁ δὲ [ἰ]αρε[ὺ|ς ἀ]ποφαινέτω τᾶι βωλ|[ᾶι] κατ' ἐνιαυτὸ[ν] καὶ [π|α]ρδιδότω τῶι ἱαρῆι, τ|ῶι ἐσιόντι.

13. a, ll. 31-2: [ἁ]πο[σ]τελ[λ|έ']τω δὲ ἁ βωλὰ τ[ὰ]ν π[ο]μ[π|ά]ν.

14. For the religious functions of the Athenian Boule in general v. Busolt-Swoboda, op.cit. p. 1048, note 1.

15. v. note 12 above.

16. v. Busolt-Swoboda, op.cit. pp. 1050ff.

17. v. ibid. pp. 1033ff.

18. ibid. p. 1029.

19. a, ll. 19-23: γρά[φ]όντω|δὲ τοὶ ἐπιστάται[ὅ κα ἔ]σχον τοὶ στρατα[γοὶ κύ|τ]οὶ καὶ τὸ λοιπ[ὸν οἱ κ]|α στρατεύωντ[αι· κ.τ.λ.]

20. v. i, pp.454.

21. v. SEG, x, 14; cf. Rehm, Das Delphinion, pp. 282-3; Meiggs, JHS, lxiii, 1943, pp. 26-7.

22. Inscr. i, 13. The prescript reads: [Λυττί(ω)ν κα[ὶ] Λινδίων|[σπονδαὶ] καὶ συνθήκα. The σπονδαί in the body of the inscription, οἱ δὲ Λυττί(ω)ν ἐν Λίνδωι τ|ὰς σπονδὰς ἐ|[σ]πεσάντο ἀν[τὶ ἰα]ρῶν ἐμπύρων, perhaps indicates the conclusion of a war between Lyttos and Lindos. If so, this would be of interest in the context of the Athenian Empire.

23. Syll^3. 110, note 4 = Schwyzer, 278 = Cl.Rh. ix, 1938, pp. 220-1 = Inscr. 16, Append. The reference to βωλά and δᾶμος in the prescript suggests very strongly that it is earlier than the pro-Spartan revolution of 411, but the script shows that it cannot be much earlier; cf. Accame, loc.cit.

24. ll. 1ff: Ἔδοξε τᾶι βωλᾶι καὶ τῶι δάμωι· Δέοπαν ἐγραμμάτευε, Ἀρχε|άναξις εἶπε· Δαμοξεν|ον Ἑρμωνος ἐν Αἰγυ|πτωι οἰκέοντα ἀγγ|ράψαι πρόξενον Λινδίων, κ.τ.λ. In l.4 Accame, loc.cit. reads ἦπε , but the photograph given by him, and still more that given by Blinkenberg, Inscr.16, Append. shows that the stone has EI in one square, originally written as E, with I subsequently added. In l.12 Accame prints ἐς ἐσαγωγάν for καὶ ἐσαγωγάν ; the text printed in Syll^3. has the same error. In l.18 Blinkenberg reads Π[ο]λυ[κλ]έα before Ἀλιπόλ[ιος]

25. Inscr.i.15, perhaps for a Cyzicene: l.2 Κυ[ζικηνός] , restored by Blinkenberg.

26. Note particularly the form of the nu: in Inscr.15 only the form ⋀ is found in 16, Append. ⋀ and ⋂ both occur. It seems possible that in 15, l.10 the sigma at the beginning may be three-barred.

27. Blinkenberg suggested as L.1 of the inscription: ἔδ]οξ[ε τᾶι βωλᾶι· τὸν δεῖνα ....]\[....]ο (patronymic) κυ[.... ἦμεν πρόξενϝον. But the preamble is wholly missing. The first letters on the stone are **OKY**. Above the **Y** is a straight line, thus —, which Blinkenberg suggested was the lower stroke of a Ξ, forming part of the word ἔδ]οξ[ε. On this assumption he pointed out that there was no room for a full preamble, and that τῶι δάμωι must therefore have been omitted. The horizontal stroke might, however, belong to an epsilon or sigma, while the line above on which the stroke occurs need not have been the first (as Blinkenberg himself admitted).

28. v. i, pp. 43-4.

29. This law, ὁ νόμος ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων, is referred to in I.G. xii, 1, 694 = M 449 = SGDI, 4118 = Syll^3, 339; l. 13: ἐγ δὲ ταύταν τᾶν κτοινᾶν ἀποδεικνύεν τοὺς κτοινάτας μάστρον ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῶι ἁγιωτάτωι ἐν τᾶι κτοινᾶι, κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν τῶν Ῥοδίων. No other reference to this νόμος exists (for Syll^3. 340, v. below, p. 205f., Additional Note 1). It is evident that it is a law affecting the entire population of the island, and probably of the Peraea also, but its range and date are alike uncertain. The νόμος is only concerned in this inscription with one particular aspect of religious administration, and it is a very considerable step to assume that it was a single all-embracing law, which transformed the old cities into municipalities, as do van Gelder, GdR, p. 222. Blinkenberg, Prêtres de Poseidon Hiereus pp. 14-15 = Inscr. i, pp. 61-2 and Pugliese-Carratelli, P.P., xi, 1949, pp. 158ff. The time of the synoecism is certainly a suitable occasion for the passage of such a general law, but matters of this kind would obviously have been regulated at any time, v. above pp. 203ff. Addl. Note 7.

30. References to the tribes: φυλὰ Λινδία : Inscr. 222 (c.150 B.C.); ibid. 707; cf. Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 202, nr. 34, φυλὰ Λίνδος (Late Imperial): φυλὰ Ἰαλυσία : NS 19 (iii. B.C.); φυλὰ Καμειρεύς : I.G. xii, 1, 125 (?i. B.C.).

31. NS, 18, ll. 14-5 (no tribe given, nor is it certain to which tribe the honorand belonged; cf. i, p.); (I.G. xii, 1, 127, a, φύλαρχος within a κοινόν); NS, 19 (φυλὰ Ἰαλυσία); Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 193, nr. 21 (no tribe given); Inscr. 222 (φυλὰ Λινδία); Hermes xxxvi, 1901, p. 441 (no tribe given); Inscr. ii, 420, b, l.6 (no tribe given); ibid. 707 (φυλὰ Λινδία). In the record of the career of Polycles, NS, 18, the phylarchia along with the trierarchia and choragia forms the bridge between the magistracies held by him and the honours bestowed on him: lines 10ff:

31. contd.
καὶ νικήσαντα καὶ στραταγήσαντα ἐν τῶι πέραν καὶ ἐπιχειροτονηθέντα τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἐπιχειροτονηθέντα τὸ τρίτον καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντα πρεσβύτερον καὶ γραμματῆ βουλᾶς γενόμενον καὶ στεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν συναρχόντων καὶ πρυτανεύσαντα ἐν τῶι πολέμωι καὶ στεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν συναρχόντων καὶ γενόμενον σύμβουλον νομοφύλαξι Δαμαγόραι καὶ φυλαρχήσαντα καὶ νικήσαντα θαπάφια καὶ τριηραρχήσαντα πεπρίρευς καὶ νικήσαντα τῆι ἀποθέσει τᾶς ναός, κ.τ.λ.

32. The seventh Olympian Ode of Pindar, in honour of Diagorus of Ialysus is reported by Gorgon of Rhodes, to have been inscribed in characters of gold on the temple of Athana: v. p. 14 , note 12.

33. Inscr. i, 1. A new fragment of this list (= S) belonging to the late third century, was edited by Segre and published in P.P., vii, 1948, pp. 64-80. v. below, note 34, § 8.

34. For details as to the architecture of the lists v. Blinkenberg, Inscr. pp. 63-86. The list consists of:
(a) Five fragments, A-E. These are all disconnected, though B and C were found close together. The lettering belongs to the fourth and third centuries.
The writing of A and B is uniform, and the two fragments may have formed part of one stele. C was inscribed successively year by year. D (= I.G. xii, 1,767) was long known (though not recognised as part of the list). In this fragment also the lettering differs throughout.
(b) A large stele of three slabs, FGH, found separately, but close together, and clearly forming a continuous text. The slabs contain three complete columns of names, written the entire length of the stele. The names have been inscribed successively
(c) A single stele, J, containing two columns of names. The lettering of this stele does not resemble that of FIII-GIII-HIII, and it thus appears that it was inscribed towards the end of the period recorded on it. The second column is largely inscribed in rasura, and the sequence of the numbering is in some disorder (v. Blinkenberg, op.cit. pp. 101-2).
(d) A further single stele, S, with the names of twenty-four priests, published by Segre, loc.cit. No photograph of this has been published.
The absolute dating emerges from a series of connected arguments.
(1) There is a general probability that the list began after the synoecism when a new era was regarded as having begun.
(2) The stone bears on its left margin signs indicating decimal sequence. One such sign is HHHH, indicating that the priest against whose name it stands is the four-hundredth in the list. The list ends thirty-three names after this,

34. contd.

and the script is evidently of the early empire. There is therefore a considerable a priori probability that the first name recorded on the list was that of the priest of 407/6 B.C. that the priest against whose name stands the sign HHHH was priest in 7/6 B.C., and that the list, in its present form, ends at A.D. 27.

(3) The priest of a year towards the end of the list, nr. 365 in Blinkenberg's enumeration, Inscr. 1, Φίλιππος Φιλίππου , was honoured with a statue, the base of which bears the inscription Inscr. ii, 347. This describes Philippos' year of office as ἐφ' οὗ ἡ εἰρήνα καὶ εὐετηρία ἐγένετο . This priest comes thirty fives names before the HHHH - sign, and is thus evidently of the Roman period. Blinkenberg therefore suggested Troisième Rapport, pp. 67ff = Inscr. i, pp. 90-1, that the 'year of peace and plenty' was 42 B.C., the year in which the result of Philippi brought about a marked improvement in Rhodes' fortunes (v. App. BC, v. 7, § 29; cf. van Gelder, GdR, p. 172). This agrees with the explanation given to the sign HHHH, as representing 7/6 B.C.

(4) It seems probable, though it cannot be demonstrated, that the stele J followed immediately upon the main stele, containing FGH. If that be correct,then the list will be continuous from the beginning of F, which will be dated 170 B.C., being one hundred and twenty-eight names before that assigned to 42 B.C.

(5) Further back, the most important fixed point is the year of the priest Θευγένης Πιστοκράτε[υς] . Lind. Chron. xxxviii gives this name as that of the priest in the year that Alexander made his dedication at Lindos, that is 330 B.C. (v. i, p. 123). The fragment B, in which Theugenes appears as the tenth name, thus goes back to 339 B.C.;it ends in 326 B.C.

(6) The years covered by the earliest fragment of all, containing nineteen names, may be inferred from the marginal Δ , of which there are two. The column is broken at the top and evidently does not preserve the beginning of the list. On the assumption that the list began in 407 B.C., the letter will appear alongside a priest whose year of office ended in the figure 7. Since a Δ appears by the ninth name, the opening year will end in -5. The latest possible date for the second would be 347 (since 337 is contained on B); the first surviving year of the list would thus be 365. In principle 357 (Blinkenberg's date), 367, 377 and 397, giving as date for the first surviving year 375, 385, 395 and 405 B.C., are all equally possible. Blinkenberg preferred 375 as the starting-point with the list going down to 357, on

34. contd.

the ground that the period separating Θαρσίππου] Λυσιστράτου] (A2) from his son Λυσιστράτος Θαρσιππόυ] , priest of 338/7, must be about a generation, and that, according to the triennial rule the span of years must be divisible by three. He therefore made the gap one of thirty-six years, which retains the significance of the Δ -signs. This may be correct, but a difference of six, nine, twelve or more years is possible. This uncertainty as to the dating of the first fragment does not affect the other fragments.

(7) The period between 326 (the end of col.B) and 170 (where F begins) is covered by fragments of cols. CD (= I.G. xii, 1, 767) E, covering the period from 293 to 238 B.C. For the periods between 326 and 293, and 238 and 170 the lists published by Blinkenberg are wholly deficient, though many of the years were allotted by him to priests known from other datable inscriptions, especially dedications by and to the priests of Athana.

(8) The gap between 238 and 170 has now been very largely filled by the fragment published by Segre, loc.cit. This list of twenty four names is dated by him to the period 219-196 for the following reasons: (a) The first, sixth and second names in his list ~~are~~ occur as the hundredth, hundred and first, and hundred and second priests of Poseidon Hippios, corresponding approximately to 230 B.C. (v. Blinkenberg, Les prêtres de Poseidon Hippios, pp. 11ff). This gives a general indication of the date of the beginning of the list since the priesthood of Athana was frequently held about two years after that of Poseidon Hippios. (b) The sixteenth, eighteenth and twentieth names in the list occur as priests in dedications by epistatai at Lindos. Segre argues that such dedications can only have been made in war-time, and therefore concludes that the priests in question must be assigned to six continuous years of war which he identified either with the years of the Rhodo-Cretan and Second Macedonian Wars or with the period of the Lycian wars. The application of the triennial rule enables him to exclude the latter, and he concludes that the whole list must have covered the years from 219 to 196, or 216 to 193 B.C., both of which are compatible with the instances of the triennial rule.

The first argument is clearly of general validity. The opening of the list must be sought at approximately the same time as the years of office of the hundredth and following priests of Poseidon Hippios, that is in the neighbourhood of 225 B.C. The second argument seems however to be based on a misunderstanding. In spite of the phraseology of the

34. contd.

dedications by Rhodian epistatai at Lindos, there is no reason to suppose that epistatai were not sent annually to Lindos (and the other old cities) to command garrisons, the phrase τοὶ συνστρατευόμενοι meaning nothing more than 'troops under command': v. below, p. 346, note 196 . It is therefore impossible to identify the years in question with those of any war. The application of the triennial rule in the years after 230/225 B.C. is, in fact, the most satisfactory method of arriving at a probable date. According to this the list might run from 228 to 205, from 225 to 202, 222 to 199, 219 to 196 or 216 to 193 - at the most the variation is of a decade. v. further below, Addnl. Note 1.

35. Inscr. i, pp. 102-3. The earliest example of a dedication to both deities is Inscr. 57 (c. 313 B.C.). The regular inclusion of Zeus Polieus does not begin until c. 266 B.C.: Inscr. 106a.

36. For private dedications v. Inscr. i, 114, 115, 120, 165, I.G. xii, 1, 774-5. There is only one surviving dedication to both deities, Inscr. i, 271. For public dedications to Athana Lindia alone, v. Inscr. ii, 364-371; ibid. 372 is to Zeus Polieus as well.

37. Inscr. ii, 419, ll. 3-4; I.G. xii, 1, 762. These two inscriptions, of successive years, A.D. 22 and 23 are the only two Lindian decrees the prescript to which contains the name of the eponymous priest (The eponymous priest of the second is mentioned as priest of the following year in l.19 of the first inscription.)

38. v. Fustel de Coulanges, La cité antique, pp. 212-3; J. W. Headlam, Election by lot at Athens, pp. 5ff; Ehrenberg, RE, s.v. Lösung, cols. 1461-3.

39. Inscr. i, pp. 95-6. For the extension of this to demes v. ibid. p. 95, note 5. Unfortunately Blinkenberg did not attempt to divide the demes in to their tribal groups.

40. For the calculation on which this is based v. below, Addnl. Note 1.

41. v. i, pp. 381ff.

42. v. below Addnl. Note 1, pp. 404-5.

43. v. Blinkenberg, Les prêtres de Poseidon Hippios, passim.

44. Inscr. ii, 350 (sixteen names); ibid. 378 (seventeen names); ibid. 419, reference to the ἱερατευκότες as a class: ἐλέσθων ἄνδρας Ε, ἐγ μὲν τῶν ἱερατευκότων τᾶς Ἀθάνας Γ, κ.τ.λ. In the honorific decrees of Imperial date (for which v. i, pp. 449-450), passed jointly by οἱ ἱερεῖς τᾶς Ἀθάνας, οἱ μάστροι and οἱ λίνδιοι , the ἱερεῖς are clearly ἱερατευκότες.

45. e.g. Inscr. i, 169, 234, 243, and v. below, notes 97ff., for further examples.

46. For dedications in honour of private citizens v. Inscr. i, 211, 256: in honour of minor magistrates, ibid. 172, 244a.

47. I.G. xii, 1, 762; Inscr. i, 233; ibid. ii, 419.

48. I.G. xii, 1, 761.

49. Lind. Chron. A = Syll^3. 725, ll. 1ff.

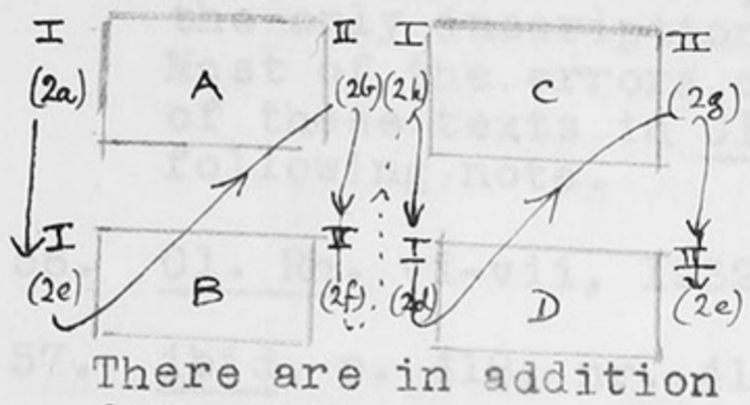
50. Dedications by συνιερεῖς and συνδέχοντες : Inscr. i, 70; 102-3; 134; 166-7; 224; 228; 247; 270. These are not to be confused with dedications in honour of the priest by his synarchontes, which are later and more numerous: 283; 293-4; for dedications by Rhodian epistatai at Lindos, v. i, pp. 556 ff. etc.

51. For the identification of the damiourgos with the priest of Hestia and Zeus Teleios, v. Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 435ff, nr. 54; Inscr. ii, 441; ibid. 482; ibid. 486. Of these only the inscr. in Cl.Rh. is from Camirus itself, the others being from Lindos, and belonging to the period when it was possible for citizens of one old city to hold office in the other two cities. The Lindian inscriptions indicate that even the eponymous priesthood might go outside the city. All the inscriptions are of the Imperial period.

52. Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 370-384ff, nr. 2a-h, republished with numerous improvements, incorporating readings by Segre, by Benediktsson, Deux Listes pp. 8-35.

53. For details of the reconstruction v. Benediktsson op.cit. pp. 8-16. The following diagram illustrates the sequence of the lists. Continuity is marked by arrows. The number followed by the small letter (e.g. 2a, 2b) indicates the number of the list in Jacopi, Cl.Rh. loc.cit. I and II represent the left and right of each pillar. ABCD are the letters used by Benediktsson to indicate the sequence of the stones.

53. contd.



Δ,E are inscribed on the reverse of the columns, and indicate that the two half-pillars go together. The back of column C has disappeared, so that Δ has to be supplied. There are in addition several unplaceable and uninscribed fragments.

54. The beginning of AI= 2a is probably c. 280: (i) The first instance of adoption in the list is the fortieth name. Adoption at Lindos begins in the list of the priests of Athana Lindia and of Poseidon Hippios in approximately 240 B.C. On this analogy the list of damiourgoi would begin about 280. Further, more precise, indications have been thought by Benediktsson, Deux.Listes, pp. 12-3 to point to 279 B.C. as the starting point. These indications are (a) the ninety-seventh damiourgos, Ἀγήτωρ Δαμοστράτου καὶ Τιμοστράτου occurs as Delphian πρόξενος, and δικαστής in the dispute between Delphi and Amphissa in 180/79 (the proxeny-decree is Syll^3. 585, nos. 96-104, ll. 218-225; honours to Rhodian δικασταί, Syll^3. 614). The date is certain: v. Syll^3. 585, not. ad init. (b) The eighty-seventh damiourgos, Χάλκων Χάλκωνος appears in Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 416, nr. 48, as damiourgos. In this inscription the priest of Apollo is Ἀγησίδαμος Αἰνησιδάμου, who figures in a list of Rhodian prytaneis, Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 199, nr. 31, which has been dated, on prosopographical grounds to c.220. This, according to Benediktsson enables us to date the inscription in Cl. Rh. vi-vii, and the damiourgia of Chalkon at the very latest to 190; thus the beginning of the list cannot be later than 275 B.C. (c) The eightieth name, Μενεκράτης Ναυφίλου is mentioned as stratagos in Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 199, nr. 31 of c. 220 (v. above). This man can hardly have been damiourgos later than c. 200. 'The list will then have begun about 279'.

These arguments are of little value, since the gap between magistracies, and the age at which they were held, differed considerably. Obviously the ninety-seventh damiourgos, who was at Delphi in 180/79, may have been damiourgos as late as 170, or as early as 200 B.C., since the eponymous priesthood, at least at Lindos, was sometimes held in middle life. Further the date assigned to Cl.Rh.ii, 1932, loc.cit. (v. Benediktsson, p. 13, note 1), is based on the same insecure ground of tenure of office. The most that can be said is that this part appears on prosopographical grounds to belong to the third century.

55. The full series of these inscriptions is in Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 390-427, nos. 19-45. Outside this collection the only inscription of this type is I.G. xii, 1, 705. Most of the errors committed by Jacopi in his publication of these texts in Cl.Rh. loc.cit. are corrected in the following note.

56. Cl. Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 390, nr. 19.

57. ibid. p. 418, nr. 41.

58. v. below, Addnl. Note 1.

59. I.G. xii, 1, 694 = M 449 = SGDI,4118 = Syll^3.339.

60. SGDI, 4119 (= I.G. xii, 1, 696 + Ath.Mitt. xx, 1896, pp. 390-1); Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 369, nr. 1 = Segre, Riv.Fil. lxv, 1937, pp. 173ff (with additional fragment).

61. Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 429, nr. 49; ibid. p. 435, nr. 54 (both of Roman date).

62. This may safely be inferred from the fact that in Inscr. ii, 441, honours are paid to a youth named Theon, son of Minnio, Κλάσιος , described as κόρος καὶ ἱεροθύτας, by the priests of Athana Lindia and Zeus Polieus at Lindos, by οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ πόλει Ἀλυσίων, and by the Camiran damiourgoi, Since the first and third of these priests are eponymous it seems inevitable that the second should also be. The Ialysian priests of Apollo Erethimios are added at the end. It has been maintained on other grounds that the priest of Apollo Erethimios was himself the Ialysian eponym. (v. Pugliese-Carratelli, PP, xi, 1949, p. 157). However, apart from the evidence given above, I.G. xii, 1, 732, indicates this to be extremely unlikely. It is a fragment of a list of names, apparently of syniereis. The name of the priest of Apollo Erethimios occurs at the end of the list - an unlikely place for an eponym in any list.

63. v. Cl.Rh.i, 1928, pp. 74-6.

64. I.G. xii, 1, 677 = M 434 = SGDI, 4110 = Syll^3. 338.

65. Lindos: Inscr. ii, 419, l.48: ἐν ταῖς ἀγομέναις ἐκκλησίαις τῷ Ἀ(ριανίῳ) μ(ηνί).
Camirus: the additional fragment of Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 369, nr. 1, published by Segre Riv.Fil.lxv, 1937, pp. 173ff, l.25: [τ]ὰς ἐκκλησ[ίας] . For Ialysus there is no evidence, but the existence of an ecclesia may be safely assumed.

66. Thus a meeting of a single deme is called an ecclesia in an unpublished inscription from Amos, the Lindian deme in the Rhodian Peraea adjoining Physkos. The use of the term does not, however, appear to be constant, since in another unpublished inscription from a nearby rate reference is made to a συναγωγά which notably refers to a public assembly.

67. v. i, pp. 527-8.

68. e.g. Inscr. i, 215; ibid. 169; ibid. 234 (v. ibid. ii, Index, 9, p. 1197, s.v. πλῆθος). These normal honorific decrees end either with the phrase ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ Λινδίων, or ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκα καὶ ~~εὐ~~ εὐνοίας ἃν ἔχων διατελεῖ περὶ (or εἰς) τὸ πλῆθος τὸ Λινδίων.

69. I.G. xii, 1, 761-2 (prescripts); 846 (847-9); 850; (851); 852; (853); 854; 861; Inscr. i (123); 125; 169; 234; 305; 307; 309; 330; (331); 333; (345?); 378a; 379; 383; 384c; (38) etc. etc. These are honorific dedications all presupposing a decree.

70. Camiran decrees: I.G. xii, 1, 694; 696; Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 369ff-Riv.Fil. lxv, 1937, pp. 173ff. Ialysian decree: I.G. xii, 1, 677.

71. Inscr. ii, 419, l.48, quoted above, note 65.
= SGDI,4154

72. I.G. xii, 1, 761 = M435/= Syll^3. 340; ibid. 762; Inscr. i, 233; Ath. Mitt. xxi, 1896, pp. 63ff = SGDI, 4156.

73. Inscr. ii, 419, ll.119ff.

74. (a) The decree authorising the inscription of the Lindian Chronicle, Lind.Chron. A = Syll^3. 725, is introduced by Ἀγησίτιμος Τιμαχίδα (b) Inscr. ii, 419 is similarly introduced by an ἰδιώτης : Ψήφισμα Ἱππία Ἱππία τοῦ Ἱππία Ἀργείου περὶ τὰς παρακαταθήκας τᾶς Ἀθάνας. Hippias, however, as Blinkenberg has pointed out, ad loc., was ἐπιστάτας in the following year (v.ll. 52-3: ἐπὶ ἱερέως τᾶς Ἀθάνας Καλλιστράτου, ἐπιστατᾶν τῶν σὺν Ἱππίᾳ : the priest at the time of the proposal was Atisteidas, l.3), and since he was already designate he may have had powers similar to that of the epistates in office in regard to the introduction of proposals.

75. I.G. xii, 1, 696 = SGDI,4119, probably had no proposer at all, since l.4 would then become impossibly long; I.G.xii, 1, 694 (cf. note 59 above) is complete in the prescript, and has no

75. contd.

proposer at all; Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 369, nr. 1 + Riv. Fil. lxv, 1937, pp. 173ff cannot have had ἐπιστατῶν γνώμᾳ, and is not likely to have had τοῦ δεῖνος γνώμᾳ, since the line is stoichedon of twenty letters and already has Καμιρεῦσι[.....ἐπὶ εἰδή,κτλ]. ὁ δεῖνα εἶπε is possible (e.g. Λέων εἶπε) but the absence of patronymic is difficult. Perhaps there was an uninscribed space. v. above, Addnl. Note 7, p. 204.

76. I.G. xii, 1, 677 (cf. note 64, above)

77. Ἔδοξε μάστροις καὶ Λινδίοις: I.G. xii, 1, 761, (cf. note 72, above), 762; Inscr. i, 233; ibid. ii, 419; Lind.Chron. A, l.l. In I.G. xii, 1, 761, Inscr. 233 and Lind. Chron. A, the transitional formula of the decree is δεδόχθαι μάστροις καὶ Λινδίοις, in I.G. xii, 1, 762, and Inscr. ii, 419, it is simply δεδόχθαι Λινδίοις. Similarly, in Inscr. i, 252, l. 3: τὰ δεδογμένα Λινδίοις and in ibid. 419, l. 132: τὰ δόξαντα Λινδίοις. Ἔδοξε μάστροις καὶ Καμιρεῦσι: I.G. xii, 1, 694; Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 369, nr. 1. The first of these has only Ἔδοξε Καμιρεῦσι. This has led to the supposition that it was passed before the creation of the mastroi. The evidence of the Lindian inscriptions noted above, as well as the custom of omitting the Boule from Athenian inscriptions, even though the decree had been preceded by a probouleutic decree, (v. Swoboda, Volksbeschlüsse, pp. 57-8; Larfeld, Handbuch ii, pp. 663ff. makes such a supposition extremely hazardous (v. Addnl. Note, 7, p 204). Ἔδοξε τοῖς μάστροις καὶ Ἰαλυσίοις: I.G. xii, 1, 677 (v. above, note 64); cf. Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 142-3, Nr. 11, line 15

78. s.v. μαστροί . παρὰ Ῥοδίοις βουλευτῆρες. The conjecture of Bernhardy, ad loc. παρὰ Ῥοδίοις βουλευ[τα]ὶ οἱ καὶ μαστ]ῆρες, approved by Schmidt, ad loc., is rightly rejected by van Gelder, GdR, p. 237, as due to a confusion. The accentuation of μάστρος is uncertain, The MSS of Hesychius, loc.cit., and Harpocration, 124, 15, have μάστρος : Suidas, s.v. and Photius, s.v., have μαστροί . Bechtel, Gr.Dial. ii, p. 654 (cf. von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 770) argues for μαστροί on the analogy of ἰατροί.

79. v. note 77.

80. On the Rhodian mastroi, v. van Gelder, GdR. pp. 237-9; von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 770; Busolt, Staatskunde[3], pp. 487-8 (and cf. Index, I, s.v. Mastroi); Latte, TAPA, lxvii, 1936, pp. 24-33 (who argues that the Roman quaestorship was derived from, or modelled on, the office of mastroi. He says, p. 28,

80. contd.

'In a certain number of Dorian cities of the west there existed officials called μάστροι ' (cf. ibid. p. 33), but he gives no instance of its usage in 'the west', unless he wishes us to include in that term Messene Elis and Pellene - which is not a recognised usage. The absence of any instance of mastroi in the Greek cities of the west, that is, Magna Graecia and Sicily, is in fact a weighty argument against accepting Latte's thesis. There are several minor inaccuracies in regard to Rhodian antiquities). Kahrstedt's article RE, s.v, μάστροι, col. 2176, is wholly inadequate. Mastroi occur at: Elis, Schwyzer, 409, ll. 6-7; Cos, Heilige Gesetze, p. 32, nr. 11, ll. 10-11; Amorgos, I.G. xii, 7, 62, I. 54; Delphi, Syll^{3}. 672, ll. 15-6; Pellene and Athens, Harpocration, s.v. μαστῆρες (quoted below, note 83). The form ἱ(ε)ρόμαστρος (not given in LS^{9}) occurs at Phanagoreia, IOSPE, iv, 421,(ii, A.D.) It may be suggested that the form ἱερόμας , recorded by Hesychius, and defined as τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμελούμενος , explained by LS^{9}, as a contracted form of ἱερόμαορ , Schwyzer, 414, and ἱερομάορ itself, may be, the one an abbreviated, the other a dialectal, form of ἱερόμαστρος.

81. Syll^{3}. 672, ll. 15-16. The form ὑπόμαστρος occurs at Messene, Syll3 672 (Lex Andan) l. 51: καὶ ἀριθμησάντω παραχρῆμα τῶι ταμίαι καὶ ἑστωσαν ὑπόμαστροι.

82. Herzog, Heilige Gesetze, p. 32, nr. 11, ll. 10-11: κατὰ τὸν ἱαρὸν νόμον καὶ τὸν μαστρικόν.

83. Harpocration, s.v. μαστῆρες : Ὑπερείδης ἐν τῷ πρὸς Πάγκαλον (= fr. 133K) ἔοικεν ἀρχήν τινα εἶναι ἀποδεδειγμένην ἐπὶ τὸ ζητεῖν τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ δήμου, ὡς οἱ ζητηταί.

84. I.G. xii, 1, 677 (# cf. note 64, above), ll. 30ff: εἰ δέκα πρόβατα ἐσβάλλει (sc. ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος τᾶς Ἀλεκτρυώνας) ἀποτεισάτω ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου προβάτου ὀβολὸν ὁ ἐσβαλών· ποταγγελλέτω δὲ τὸν τούτων τι ποιεῦντα ὁ χρήιζων ἐς τοὺς μάστρους.

85. The possibility that the μάστροι at Elis and Messene may also have possessed rather more than police or judicial functions is raised by the word μαστρία , which is glossed by Hesychius, s.v. μαστρίαι as τῶν ἀρχόντων εὐθυναί , and occurs with this meaning in Schwyzer, 409, ll. 6-7: αἱ δὲ μέν τοι, ξίφων, ἀποτινέτω ἐν μαστρίαις. At least at a later date the function of εὔθυνα lay with the Council in most Greek states.

86. Lind. Chron. B, ch. I: Ἱερόβουλος ἱερεὺς καὶ μάντις ἐπάρχα[ς] ἐν τᾶι ποτὶ τοὺς μάστρους ἐπιστολᾶι. also mentioned as a source in chs. II-VI, VIII-XIV, XXIX.

87. Blinkenberg, Lind. Chron.[1] pp. 443ff., 448ff; ibid.[3] pp. 198-9, dates the letters of the two priests, Gorgosthenes (περὶ τὰν βουλάν) and Hieroboulus (περὶ τοὺς μάστρους) by the destruction of the temple of Athana by fire, an event dated by him to 342 B.C. The matter is however not so simple as this:
(a) The fire is dated in Lind. Chron. D, 38-42, as having occurred in the eponymous priesthood of Eukles the son of Astyanaktidas. The Chron. does not date this year by any other means, so its Julian date is not directly known. It is evident both from the place it holds in the sequence of narrative in the Chronicle, and from the use of the priest of Helios as date, that it falls after 407, and sometime before the siege of Rhodos. Blinkenberg, locc. citt. established the date on the supposition that the Rhodian dedications at Lindos, Lind. Chron. xxxv-xxxvi, which were made from offerings made to them by a king Artaxerxes, were given by Artaxerxes III who reigned from 358-337 B.C., and that these gifts were transferred to the Lindian sanctuary after the fire. He also argues that the reference to the four sons of Gorgosthenes in Inscr. 51, which he dates to c. 325, shows that Gorgosthenes, whom he assumes to have been priest of Athana in the year of the fire, was dead. Further, equally subjective, and indeed fanciful grounds, permit him to date the fire to 342, and the priesthood of Gorgosthenes and Hieroboulus to 342 and 341 B.C., respectively. Pugliese-Carratelli, PP, xi, 1949, pp. 163ff. has rightly protested against such an argument; the king may have been Artaxerxes II, and there may have been either a considerable delay, or no delay at all, between the gift to Rhodes, and the transference of that gift to Lindos (Carratelli's claim that the use of δᾶμος in Lind. Chron. B. xxxv indicates that the Rhodian dedication was made when the city enjoyed an independent, democratic, government, and not a regime imposed by Persia or Mausollos, is probably not valid. A government by the δᾶμος might be imposed by a suzerain even in the fourth century: v. e.g. Syll[3]. 194 = GHI 150, the Amphipolitan decree imposing exile, on Philip II's instructions, on those Amphipolitans who had attempted to induce Athens to help the city against Philip: it begins ἔδοξεν τῶι δάμωι : as Tod, ad loc. says, this shows 'that the constitution of the city was in form democratic': but only in form. Another clear case of the imposition of a democratic government by a suzerain is the Chian inscription, Syll[3]. 283 = GHI 192: παρὰ βασιλέως Ἀλ[ε]ξάνδρ[ου] Χίω[ν τῶι] δήμ[ωι] . . . . πολιτεύμα δὲ [εἶ]ναι ἐν Χίωι δῆμον. He has also emphasised that there is no reason to connect Hierobulus' letter to the mastroi with the fire; beyond this, I cannot follow him. v. Add. Note 7.

87. contd.

In fact, though Blinkenberg could not know it, the date of the fire is solved by the unpublished list of Priests of Halios, which contains the name of Eukles the son of Astyanaktidas. This individual held office in 397 B.C. It seems reasonable to identify this man with the priest of the year of the fire, which will then have taken place far earlier than has been contemplated hitherto. Inscr. 51, connected by Blinkenberg with the fire, because of its reference to the restoration of the kosmos of Athana and the presence in it of the four sons of Gorgosthenes, cannot possibly be as early as 397, but the connection of this inscription with the conflagration is more than doubtful, and had already been ~~suspected~~ dated by Keil, Hermes, li, 1916, p. 493, (note 1 of p. 492).
(b) What then of Hierobulus and Gorgosthenes? Must they too be put in the first decade of the fourth century? If their communications are to be regarded as occasioned by the fire, and closely following it (as Blinkenberg, locc.citt., Wilamowitz, AA, 1913, p. 43,), then they must indeed be so dated. There are however no very good reasons for connecting them with that event. None of the many references to their letters suggests that they were occasioned by the fire. The latter question must therefore be left open.

88. I.G. xii, 1, 694 (cf. above, note 59).

89. ibid. esp. ll. 13ff: ἐγ δὲ τωτᾶν τᾶν κτοινᾶν ἀποδεικνύειν τοὶς κτοινάτας μαστρὸν ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῶι ἁγιωτάτωι ἐν τᾶι κτοίναι κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν τῶν Ῥοδίων.

90. Momigliano, Riv. Fil. lxiv, 1936, p. 60, and Pugliese-Carratelli, PP, xi, 1949, pp. 158-9, both regard this inscription as referring to the original appointment of mastroi in the civil sphere. v. above Addnl. Note 7, page.

91. Inscr. ii, 346 (43 B.C.); ibid. 378 (27 B.C.).

92. Inscr. 346, ll. 89-99, 125-134, 135-147.

93. Inscr. 378, ll. 141-207: μαστροὶ Λινδοπολιτᾶν followed by four names: μ. Καττα[βέων] 4 names; μ. Πα[γέων] , 1 name; μ. Βρα[σίων] , 6 names; μ. Δρυε[ιτᾶν] , 3 names; μ. [Βουλι]δᾶν] , 4 names; μ. πεδιέων , 2 names; μ. Κλα[σίων], 11 names; μ. Καμιν[δίων] , 5 names; μ. Λα[ρ]αρ[ε]ίων , 6 names; μ. Νατ[ιᾶν] 2 names; μ. Ἀρ[γε]ίων , 9 names. There is no apparent significance in the sequence of demes here, which differs from that quoted i, p. 409 , and seemingly, like the other, bears no relation to the deme-cycle noticeable in the election of the

93. contd.

priests of Athana Lindia (v. below, Addul. Note 1, p. 404)

94. Former mastroi are referred to as οἱ μαστρεύσαντες in one inscription (v. below note 96), and the term μαστρικός 'having at one time held the office of μάστρος ', is encountered in a laterinscription (cf. στρατικός , common; ἀρχοντικός , I.G. xiv, 756a, ibid. 1789).

95. The number of mastroi in Inscr. ii, 378, is 57.

96. Inscr. ii, 420a, ll. 6,8: [στεφανωθέισαν ὑπὸ τῶν μαστρῶν τῶν μαστρευσάντων ἐπὶ [ἱερέως τᾶς Ἀθάνας Ἀριστείδα κτλ.]
ibid. b, l. 9: [στεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν]μ[άστρ]ων τῶν μαστρευσάντων [ἐπὶ ἱερέως τᾶς Ἀθάνας Ἀριστείδα, κτλ.]

97. Inscr. i, 123, signed by Timocharis of Eleutherna, for whose date (c. 225 B.C.) v. Inscr. i, p. 359; ibid. 125 (also signed by Timocharis) is apparently slightly later.

98. Inscr. i, 169, 234, 243, 244h, 273, 281 a and b.

99. Inscr. ii, 297, 305, 307, 309, 312, 315 (?), 328 (?), 330, 331(?), 332, 345, I.G. xii, 1, 833, 846, 847(?), 848(?), 849 (?), 850, 852, 853(?).

100. Inscr. ii, 378a, b, 379a, b, 383, 384b, c, 389a, b (?), 392a, b, 394, 395, 403, 404a, b (?), 405, 415, 436a, b, 438, I.G. xii, 1, 854 (perhaps of later date).

101. Inscr. ii, 385, d, l. 18, e, l.7.

102. Inscr.ii, 391, l.25; ibid. 420a l.6, b, l.9.

103. Inscr. ii, 449, 454 (?), 458, 462 (?), 486; I.G. xii, 1, 829(?) 851 (?--the restoration in l.1 should be reversed to read Λίνδιοι καὶ οἱ μαστροί), 861.

104. Inscr. ii, 465a-h, 472-475, 478.

105. Inscr. ii, 378, l.31.

106. Inscr. i, 233 (ii. B.C.); ibid.ii, 419, l. 100 (A.D. 22).

107. Inscr. i, 225a; ibid. ii, 311; I.G. xii, 1, 828.

108. Lind. Chron. A = Syll3 725, l.8: ποιούμενοι τὰν ἀ[ναγραφὰν παρέοντος καὶ τοῦ γρ]αμματέως τῶν μαστρῶν τοῦ νῦν ἐν ἀρχᾶι ἐόντος, κ.τ.λ.

109. Inscr. ii, 419, ll. 99 - 101.

110. Inscr. i, 190: ὑπογραμματεὺς μαστρῶν καὶ ἐπιστατᾶν. ibid. i, 191 (?), 208: ὑπογραμματεὺς μαστρῶν.

111. I.G. xii, 1, 696 = (improved text) SGDI, 4119. The most satisfactory reading is a combination of I.G. xii, 1, 696 and SGDI, 4119, with the name of the damiourgos completed from the list of the Camiran damiourgoi, Deux Listes, p. 17 (dated there 272 B.C.) Σάτυρος Ἑρμοίτα : ἐπὶ δαμιουργοῦ Σα[τύρου τοῦ Ἑρμοίτα], γραμματεύοντος μ[αστρῶν τοῦ δεῖνος, ἐπιστατᾶν] τῶν σὺν Πεισιστρ[ατωι - - -]. The supplement of Benediktsson, ap. Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, p. 27, ἐπὶ δαμιουργοῦ Σα[τύρου τοῦ Ἑρμοίτα], γραμματεύοντος μ[αστρῶν καὶ ἐπιστατᾶν] τῶν σὺν Πεισιστρ[ατωι], combining the secretary of the mastroi with that of the epistatai is unnecessary, and probably wrong, since the combined secretary of the mastroi and epistatai is not yet recorded from Camirus; v. note 112.

112. Cl. Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 391-2, nr. 20, l. 18r; ibid. p. 414, nr. 39, l. 36r (?); ibid. p. 416, nr. 40, l. 20r. In the first inscription the γραμματεὺς μαστρῶν precedes the epistatai; in the two latter he follows them.

113. In the last of these three inscriptions the ὑπογραμματεύς is separated from the γραμματεὺς μαστρῶν and the ἐπιστάται, so that he may have belonged to another college.

114. v. i, pp. 427-8.

115. For three epistatai at Lindos v. I.G.xii, 1, 761 (cf. above note 72); ibid. 762; ibid. 836; ibid. 890; ibid.922; SGDI, 4156. In Inscr.350, there are five epistatai. This variation is explained by Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, p. 25, note 1, as due to the addition of two ἐπιστατηκότες to the normal college of three. This is possible. Such variations are however characteristic of many Rhodian magistracies (v. i, pp. 580-581 and may be due to other causes). In the present instance the number five recalls the numerous Rhodian magistral colleges of five, and it is not impossible that the number may represent a temporary election on another basis, akine to that frequently found at Rhodos, at Lindos.

Three epistatai at Camirus: Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 391, nr. 20, l.20; ibid. p. 114, nr. 39, l.32 (cf. Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 187, nr. 17; ibid. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 369, nr. 1 = Riv.Fil. lxv, 1937, pp. 173ff; Cl. Rh. vi-vii, p. 416, nr. 40, l.16; these instances do not mention the number of epistatai)

116. Cl. Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 369, nr. 1 (cf. above note 90, for the probable date of this inscription). The discussion of this text by Momigliano, Riv. Fil. lxiv, 1936, pp. 49-51 is refuted

116. contd.

by Segre, Riv.Fil.lxv, 1937, pp. 173ff.

117. Segre, Riv.Fil. loc.cit. ἐπιστατῶν τῶν σὺν Πεισιρόδωι ; I.G. xii, 1, 696 = SGDI, 4119 (for which v. above, note 111).

118. Inscr. ii, 419, ll. 52-3: ἐπ' ἱερέως τᾶς Ἀθάνας Καλλιστράτου, ἐπιστατᾶν τῶν σὺν Ἰπποία.

119. v. i, pp. 442-3.

120. I.G. xii, 1, 761 (cf. above, note 72)

121. ibid. ll. 6ff: καὶ τοὶ αἱρεθέντες ἄνδρες συναγωνίξασθαι τᾶις δίκαις, followed by the names of thirty persons (the names are omitted in Syll^3. 340). This inscription, with its reference to οἱ νόμοι in l.41, καθὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις γεγράπται, has been associated with the Camiran decree, Syll^3. 339 concerning the appointment of mastroi, by Momigliano, Riv. Fil., lxiv, 1936, pp. 60-3; Blinkenberg, Pretres de Poseidon Hippios, p. 12; id. Inscr. i, p. 62; Pugliese-Carratelli, PP, xi, 1949, pp. 158-9. But there seems no reason to suppose that the nomoi invoked are Rhodian rather than Lindian: v. also Addnl. Note 7, pp. 204-5.

122. I.G. xii, 1, 761 = Syll^3. 340, ll. 43-50.

123. Lind. Chron^3. A, l. 10: [ἀποδεξάντων δὲ τόπον ἐν] τῶι ἱερῶι τᾶς Ἀθάνας τᾶς Λινδίας ἐν ὧι σταθμοῖ ἃ στάλα τοὶ ἐπιστάται ἐν τῶν ἐξιόντι Ἀγριανίωι

124. This difficult text is translated by Ziebarth, BPW, lxiii, 1943, cols. 120-123.

125. ll. 34-40.

126. ll. 44-58, esp. ll. 49: [καὶ τῶν ἐξπαγγελαμένων τὰ ὀνόματα ἀναγραψάτων (sc. οἱ ἐπιστάται) ἐστάλ[αν λιθίναν πρὶ ῥιστοῖ καὶ δάμου, κτλ.

127. ll. 58-67 (ll. 62-65, the first three lines of face II, are a repetition of ll. 58-61) l.60 has ἐπὶ Δε[ι]άδος, l.84 ἐπὶ Διράδος. Diras ('localite unconnue' Blinkenberg, ad loc) was presumably the hill on which elections were held, and not the acropolis. It might be any of the hills on the land-side of Lindos.

128. ll. 92ff.

129. ll. 99ff.

130. ll. 131ff.

131. I.G. xii, l. 762, in the eponymous priesthood of Rhodopeithes, who is mentioned in Inscr. ii, 419, l. 19.

132. ll. 15ff: ποτ]αιρεισθων [δὲ τοὶ ἐπιστάτᾳι] τοὶ ἀεὶ ἐν ἀλεχᾷ [ἐ]όντες ποτ[ὶ τοῖς ἐκ πλειστᾶν] αἱρουμένοις χορηγοῖς καὶ ἄλλο[υ]ς χορηγο[ὺ]ς ἐκ τῶν κατοικούντων καὶ γενεγενῆσαν ἐν Λυδίᾳ πόλει ξένους ἐξ, εἴ κα μ[ή] πνεῃ ἐπαγγε[λλ]αντι.
The supplement [ἐπιστάτᾳι] seems certain; no other magistrates at all are mentioned in the document.

133. Inscr. ii, 378.

134. ibid. ll. 57-60.

135. v. i, p. 561. Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, pp. 480-1, fails to make this distinction.

136. Inscr. i, 208.

137. Inscr. ii, 378, ll. 61-4.

138. Inscr. ii, 419, l. 130.

139. For λογισταί at Athens v. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde[3], pp. 1032ff; cf. Schulthess, RE, s.v. λογισταί, cols. 1012-1019, esp. cols. 1018-9 for λογισταί elsewhere.

140. Inscr. i, 190.

141. Inscr. ii, 378, ll. 65-8.

142. For the πράκτορες in Roman Egypt, v. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, iii, Absch. 8, s.v. πράκτωρ ; Wilcken, Ostrakai, pp. 570ff.; id. Grundzüge, pp. 210-4; Wallace, Taxation in Egypt, pp. 286-8.

143. For the πράκτορες in independent Greek cities, v. Busolt. Staatskunde[3], p. 488, esp. note 2 (where the reference for Sicinus should rather be to I.G. xii, 5, (1), 24, than to 507B. In the latter inscription the πράκτορες appear to be ταμίαι, as also at Imbros, I.G. xii, 8, 51, where they are evidently important personages); for Athens, v. Busolt-Swoboda, ibid. p. 1058. The πράκτωρ in Ptolemaic Egypt seems to have had the same function, that of a collector of fines or arrears, as in the Greek cities: v. PTeb. 5 = Sel. Pap. 210, ll. 21ff; cf. Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, iii, p. 1547, note 173.

144. Inscr. ii, 378, ll. 71-4.

145. namely γραμματεὺς ἐπισκόπων, γραμματεὺς λογιστᾶν, γραμματεὺς ἱεροταμιῶν, γραμματεὺς μυστρῶν.

146. ll. 31-2, γραμματέως μαστρῶν.

147. v. i, p. 567.

148. ibid. ll. 75-6.

149. Maiuri, NS, p. 35, and Blinkenberg, Inscr. p. 720, note to l.75, supposed the κᾶρυξ to be a religious official; but HO (= FGrHist. 66) ch. x, refers to a civil κᾶρυξ in 394, and the Rhodian κᾶρυξ in NS, 20 is κᾶρυξ βουλᾶι καὶ δάμωι (not, κᾶρυξ βουλᾶι καὶ δάμωι, as Maiuri; cf. Wilhelm, Ath. Mitt. li, 1926, p. 4). The full title of the Lindian κᾶρυξ of the present inscription was probably κάρυξ μαστρῶν or μαστροῦς.

150. v. i, p. 546.

151. Inscr. ii, 378, l.77. A similar peculiarity is the inscription of a single name after a plural noun in I.G. xii, 1, 731, ll. 8-10. There is no indication as to the reason for the omission of the name in Inscr. 378.

152. v. i, pp. 547 ff.

153. This may be inferred from the unpublished inscription referred to by Pugliese-Carratelli, PP, xi, 1949, p. 157, part of which (but not that referring to Lindian fortifications) is reproduced in Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 158, note 3.

154. v. i, pp. 423 ff.

155. v. i, p. 551.

156. v. i, pp. 556 ff.

157. v. i, pp. 661 ff.

158. A further possibility is that the stratagoi were persons who had previously held the office of stratagos at Rhodos. But, if so, one would perhaps expect the distinctive title, στρατηγοί or στρατηγήσαντες ἐν τῶι ἄστει; cf. Inscr. ii, 420, στρατηγήσαντα ἐν τῶι ἄστει; Stud. Ciaceri, 1940, p. 256f., nr. iii, ll. 3-4, [στρατηγή?]σαντα ἐν τῶι ἄστει. Whether all Rhodian stratagoi would be called stratagoi ἐν τῶι ἄστει in non-Rhodian (i.e. Lindian etc.) documents, because the individual belonged to the college of στρατηγοί, even if his command was ἐπὶ τὸ πέραν or ἐπὶ τᾶς χώρας τᾶς ἐκτὸς νήσου, cannot be determined.

159. Inscr. ii, 299c, ll. 47-51. For the phrase ἀποστεῖλαι ξένια

159. contd.

v. Syll^3. 662 = Choix, 78 (165/4 B.C.), in honour of Amphicles, μουσικὸς καὶ μελῶν ποιητής, ll. 31ff: ἀποστάλαι δὲ κἀκεῖνον καὶ ξένιον, καλέσαι δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἑστίαν [redacted]: I.G. ii^2, 844 = Syll^3. 537, ll. 63ff.; τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς ἀποστεῖλαι ξένια χαριούμενον Εὐμαρίδου. These two examples, as well as others (e.g. Syll^3. 705, § 5, ll. 64-5) show that the dispatch of ξένια was normally in the hands of a senior magistral college, and was part of the honours ~~normally~~ commonly granted by an assembly. The appearance of a particular official at Lindos may be due to some special cause, as Blinkenberg, Inscr. ii, ad loc. suggested, but beyond a very rough chronological correspondence, there does not seem much reason to connect this peculiarity with the Mithridatic War.

160. Probably from Laodicaea ad Mare: v. i, p. 519

161. Inscr. ii, 419, ll. 21ff: τοὶ δὲ αἱρεθέ[ντες] παραλαβόντ[ων παρ]ὰ τοῦ ἱερέως τᾶς Ἀθάν[ας], τοῦ δαμοσίου ἐπ[ιστ]ά[ν]το[ς τᾶι] ἀποκειμέ[κᾳ] / ibid. ll. 26ff: κα[ὶ ἀποδ]όσθω α[ὐ]τᾶ, παρα[μοδ]ουθούντων πάσας καὶ τῶν [δα]μοσίων. ἐνθυμονικορεῖων

162. v. i, p. 567.

163. v. above, note 55.

164. v. above, note 77.

165. v. above, note 115.

166. v. notes 106, 110.

167. v. note 77.

168. Inscr. i, 102; 131, e,f; 182; 224; 228; 229; 247; 270; ibid. ii, 282; 293c; 294; 299c; 308b; 317; 324; 343; 344; (346); 347, a, b; 349; (378); 398; I.G.xii, 1, 819 (?); 844; 845.

169. In I.G. xii, 1, 815 the ἱεροθύται were apparently not included in the list.

170. van Gelder, GdR, p. 271 says 'IGI, 788 folgt der ἀρχιεροθύτας nach den ἱερεῖς der griechischen Götter, den ἱερεῖς der fremdländischen (Sarapis und οἱ θεοὶ οἱ ἐν Σαμοθράκᾳ) geht er aber voran. Diese Inschrift ist vom dritten Jahrhundert; die Sache wird niemand befremden. Die Inschrift IGI 815b, die gewiss später ist, belehrt uns jedoch, dass zu jener Zeit auch der Sarapispriester einen höheren Rang beanspruchte als der

170. contd.

ἀρχιεροθύτας ; der fremde Gott war auf Rhodos ganz heimisch geworden'. The two inscriptions, Inscr. ii, 317, where the ἀρχιεροθύτας precedes all the priests, and ibid. ii, 347a and b, where Sarapis is mentioned before such important Gods as Artemis Kekoia and Poseidon, show that the relation in which the ἀρχιεροθύτας was placed to the various priests differed within the space of a few years, and a historical reconstruction, such as that of van Gelder (who however could not know these two inscriptions) are wholly fanciful.

171. Inscr. i, 230; 249; ibid. ii, 282; 293c; 294; 299c; 308b; 317; 324; 343; 344 (346); 347a, b; 349;(378); 398; I.G.xii, 1, 819 (?); 844; 845.

172. Inscr. i, 252; 264.

173. Inscr. ii, 346, ll. 77ff; ibid. 378, ll. 128ff.

174. An exception to this is provided by two almost contemporary inscriptions, of which one, Inscr.i, 70, has nine hierothytai and a separate archierothytas, while the other, Inscr. 45, has ten hierothytai and no archierothytas,

175. The college appears to have originally consisted of nine members: Inscr. i, 45 (iv, B.C. connected prosopographically with ibid. 51, for which v. above,); ibid. 70 (cf. note 174). In the middle of the third century its size was increased to fifteen; Inscr. i, 102; 103; 224; 270; 282; ibid. ii, 293c; 294; 308b; 343; 344; 347a (b); 349-378; I.G. xii, 1, 844; 845. It remained fifteen until at least the end of the Hellenistic age, with the following exceptions: Inscr. ii, 299c. and ibid. 324 both have only fourteen names; this may be due to the absence or death of a single member; Inscr. i, 247 and 248 have thirteen and eleven names respectively, and the same explanation is not likely; Inscr. ii, 346, of 43 B.C., has nine again; cf. Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, pp. 329-330; Segre, PP, x, 1949. pp. 75-6.

176. In Inscr. ii, 293c, ll. 16-20, the sons of the ἀρχιεροθύτας of the year are among the ἱεροθῦται : ἀρχιεροθύτας Ἀριστόβουλος Χαρμύλου, ἱεροθῦται Χάρμυλος καὶ Πολυκλῆς Ἀριστοβούλου: Inscr. i, 70, ll. 2, 11, ibid. ii, 282, 387, ll. 82-5 are further instances of the sons of the priest of Athana serving as ἱεροθύτας (in the last instance, three brothers are all ἱεροθῦται). It has already been observed (v.p. 437) that the priesthood of Athana seems to have been held in maturity rather than old age; it is therefore probable that the ἱεροθῦται were, in these instances, youths: for tenure of even important priesthoods in early

176. contd.

youth cf. the inscription from Lagina, BCH, xi, 1887, p. 31, nr. 45, l.9: ἱερωσύνην τοῦ μεγίστου Διὸς Πανα[μάρου] ἣν ἐτέλεσεν ὢν ἐτῶν δέκα ἕξ.

On the other hand the ἱεροθύτας might also be middle aged: in Inscr. i, 228, ll. 3, 17-8, the brothers of the priest of Athana are among the ἱεροθύται . In one instance a man is priest of Athana about a decade after being ἱεροθύτας (Inscr. i, 167 of c. 182 B.C., l. 20r: Ἀριστόλοχος Ἀριστοδώρου καθ' ὑοθεσίαν δὲ Διλτίδα is priest of Athana c.173 B.C., v. Inscr. i, nr. l. sub. an. 173), while in another half a lifetime seems to have elapsed: Inscr. i, 167, l.32 (c. 182 B.C.), Ἀσπρικίδης Πολυχάρμου , was priest in 127 B.C. (Inscr. l, sub. an. 127. His father did not become priest of Athana until 166 B.C. (Inscr. l, sub. an.): cf. Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, p. 428.

177. Inscr. ii, 419.

178. ll. 58-67: τοὶ ἐπιστάται τοὶ ἀεὶ ἐν ἀρχᾶ ἐόντες ἔτει καὶ ἐπὶ Δειράδος μετὰ τὰν προβολὰν τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιεροθύτα προβάλωντι ἱεροθύτας, προθέντων ἰδίως τοῖς χρήσουσιν, κτλ.

For προβολαί in this sense (which must be distinguished from the use of προβολή in Attic legal language, where it means a preliminary charge brought before the assembly against an individual for offences against religious practice, and certain other charges: v. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde[3], p. 1010 Lipsius, Attische Rechtsverfahren, iii, 848; Sandys, ad Arist. Ath.Pol. 43, 5) cf. Syll[3]. 976 (Samian corn-law) l. 10: γινέσθω δὲ καὶ ἡ προβολὴ(ι) καὶ ἡ χειροτονία ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν χιλιαστήρων : here however the προβολή is apparently carried out by the assembly (χιλιαστῆρες), perhaps by individual members of it as in Plat. Leg. 765 B (quoted, Syll[3]. 976, note 6): καὶ τὴν προβολὴν ἁπ' τοῦ αἱρούμενον ἐκ τῶν ἐμπείρων ποιητέον.

The voluntary proposal of names by individuals is common in regard to priesthoods in Rhodian and Carian inscriptions: cf. the ἐπαγγελία of priests of Zeus Panamaros at Lagina, in the inscriptions collected by Oppermann, Zeus Panamaros, pp. 50ff (the common formulae are: ἱερεὺς ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας : ἱερατεύσας ἐξ ἐπαγγελίας : ἱερεὺς ἐπαγγελάμενος : cf. also from Lagina the formula found in BCH, xii, 1888, p. 160, nr. 18, l.2: ἱερεῦς ἐν Ἡρείοις ἐξ ὑποσχεσ[ε]ως. Ἐπαγγελία for the choragia at Lindos in I.G. xii, 1, 762A15. At Syme, I.G. xii, 3, 1270, an official in a Rhodian κοινόν of κτοινέται (cf. p. 245 note 7!) is thus described: πρακλαθεὶς... ὑπὸ τῶν κτοινητᾶν ... ἐπαγγείλατο καὶ συνετέλεσε.

179. v. Stengel, RE, s.v. ἱεροθύτης , cols. 1590-1; id. Kultusalterthümer[3], p. 50 adds nothing.

180. I.G. xii, 1, 846-9; 853; Inscr. i, 281, a, b; ibid.ii, 297; 305; 307; 330; 333; 389a; 404b; 407; 415; 436a.

181. v. i, p. 545.

182. Lind. Chron. A9; Inscr. i, 164; 172; 206; 244a; ibid. ii, 350; 378; 419, ll. 12-3, 15, 69,77, 112, 138; 420b, l.15; I.G. xii, 1, 838; 58.

183. Inscr. i, 172 (c. 180-170 B.C.) gives nine ἱεροταμίαι with a secretary: ibid. 164 has only seven, without a secretary: in ibid. i, 244a there are again ten, with no secretary mentioned. The college of eight is doubtless due to some unimportant chance (cf. above, note 175).

184. Inscr. ii, 350; 378, ll. 33ff; 419, l. 15; 420b, l.15. The triennial tenure of office is given by Inscr. ii, 419, ll. 11-4: τὸ γεγονὸς περίψαφον τὴν ἱεροταμίαν Μενεκράτεις καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδα καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρον ἀπὸ τᾶς ἱεροταμείας λύοντες ἐκ τᾶς τ[ριε]τίας.
On the τριετία, unknown as the duration of office in the classical world, but the normal length of a liturgy in Roman Egypt, v. Kornemann-Meyer, on PGiess. 58, p. 2, and p. 3, note 2.

185. Inscr. ii, 472-5 (c. A.D. 250), each of which ends with the formula τᾶς ἀναστάσεως ἐπεμελήθησαν οἱ περὶ Τι' Φλα' Νικασίμαχον Σεραπίωνος ἱεροταμίαι. Contrast with this the status of the ἀρχιερεύς who remained outside the college over which he presided.

186. ll. 69-79.

187. ibid. ll. 11-6.

188. ibid. ll. 137ff.

189. Lind. Chron. A = Syll^3. 725, ll. 9-10.

190. Inscr. i, 206, cf. Blinkenberg, ad loc. ibid. ii, 472-5 (cf. note 185).

191. Inscr. ii, 316: ἱεροταμιεύσας, ταμιεύσας, στρατηγήσας : I.G. xii, 1, 58, ll. 15-6: ἱεροταμιεύσαντα Λινδίων σίς (i.e. for six years) - not, e.g. ἱεροταμιεύσαντα τοῦ ἱεροῦ τᾶς Ἀθάνας.

192. I.G. xii, 1, 694 (cf. above, note 59).

193. Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 390-426, nrs. 19-45: I.G. xii, 1, 705. Many of these inscriptions can be relatively, if not absolutely, dated by the appearance of the damiourgos in the list of damiourgoi (v. above, note 52). A close parallel to these dedications by religious magistrates and priests is

193. contd.

provided by the annual dedications by religious officials at Olympia, covering the period 36 B.C.- A.D. 265, I.von Olymp. 59-141.

194. Cl. Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 401, nr. 29 has eight only. It is in the middle of a series which are all chronologically associated, and the discrepancy is unexplained. Possibly election was only from two tribes instead of from three. Other irregularities in the number of Hieropoioi are due to the incompetence of the editor, Jacopi. Thus, ibid. p. 395, nr. 23 has not, as Jacopi gives it, eleven Hieropoioi, but twelve in the normal way; between Πολυάρατος Ἀνδρισιράτου and Ἐπικλῆς Καλλιάνακτος is to be inserted Εὐ[δάμ]ου Μενεσιράτου . Again in ibid. nr. 26 Jacopi's text gives eleven, but the stone from which the text is (largely) copied, twelve; after Εὐκράτης Νικαγόρα in l. 11 insert Ἀριστοκράτης Νικαγόρα. In ibid. nr. 44 Jacopi again gives eleven names; the photograph is illegible owing to the bad state of preservation of the stone, but experience of Jacopi's technique suggests that here again the stone may bear twelve names.

195. v. i, pp. 435 ff.

196. v. the admirable article of Oehler, RE, s.v. ἱεροποιοί , cols. 1583-1588.

197. For the Delian Hieropoioi and their accounts, v. i, pp. 176-7.

198. I.G. xii, 1, 701: ἀποσταλέντος ἱεροποιοῦ εἰς [Σαμοθράικαν ? καὶ εἰ]ς Λῆμνον καὶ Ἀδυμνίου. It is surprising to find a theoria dispatched by Camirus, which was not an independent community. Rhodos also sometimes sent ἱεροποιοί θεωροί on theoriai, apparently in place of the normal ἀρχι- : v. I.G. xii, 8, 186 = M 1142 = G107/8 = Syll3. 1052; cf. Syll3. ibid. not. 4.

199. Cl. Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 391, nr. 20. A slightly different order is to be found in ibid. p p. 414ff., nr. 39, and p. 420, nr. 42.

200. The thirtieth damiourgos in the list, Εὐφράνωρ Ἀγησάνδρα (Deux Listes, p. 20, l.30) was hieropoios in Cl.Rh. ibid. p. 426, nr. 45, of the year of the damiourgos Ἀριστοκράτης Ὑπερόχιδα who occurs seventeen names earlier (Deux Listes, p. 18, l. 13); Θρασυμήδης Ἀλέξιος, forty-third damiourgos, was hieropoios in the year of the eighteenth damiourgos (Cl. Rh. vi-vii, p. 397, nr. 25); the forty-seventh damiourgos, Ἀριστότιμος Ῥοδίππου καὶ Φιλοξένου

200. contd.

(Deux Listes, p. 21, l. 49) was hieropoios in the year of Εὔθεμις Κριτοδάμου , nineteenth damiourgos (Cl.Rh. ibid. p. 406, nr. 33, l. 10: Deux Listes, p. 331, 19); Σώστρατος Νικοπόλιος the forty-ninth damiourgos (Deux Listes, p. 22, top line) was also hieropoios in that year (ibid. l. 12); Ἀλεξίδας Ἀμφιτίτου κατὰ γένεσιν δὲ Ἀγησάνδρου , sixty-fourth damiourgos (Deux Listes, p. 23, l. 17) was hieropoios in the year of Τιμοκράτης Τιμοθέου, thirty-third damiourgos (I.G. xii, 1, 705: Deux Listes, p. 20, l. 33). Further instances are noted by Benediktsson, Deux Listes, notes to damiourgoi-list, passim ; cf. also the intervals noted between tenure of office of Hierothytas and the attainment of the eponymous priesthood at Lindos, above, note 176.

The only exception to this normal gap of a generation between tenure of the two offices is provided by Ἀλκίμαχος Δαμονίκου κατὰ γένεσιν δὲ Δαμοκλεῦς, (Deux Listes, p. 21, l.43), forty-second damiourgos, who appears as Hieropoios in Cl.Rh. ibid. p. 408, nr. 34, l. 11, the damiourgia of Χάλκων Φιδοκλεῦς , thirty-ninth in the list (Deux Listes, p. 20, l. 39).

201. Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 390ff, nrs. 20; 21 (where the order is ἱεροποιοί - ἱερεῖς - ἀρχιερισταί - ἱερεῖς - civil magistrates); 22-26; 28-36 (36 has participial form ἀρχιεροτήσας); 37-43; 45; I.G.xii, 1, 705.

202. So translated LS[9], s.v.; also by Jacopi, Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 405, who says 'secondo noi si tratta di un sommo sacerdoto'.

203. Hesychius, s.v. ἁγνίστης , has the following entry: ὁ ἁγνισθεὶς μύσους· ἢ ὁ καθάρας τινά· τοὺς δὲ λύτρους καὶ ἱεριστὰς (ἱερεῖτας [redacted] codd. ἱεριστὰς Küster; cf. Newton, BMI, ii, p. 130) τινὲς ἕλεγον· καὶ τὸ καθαίρειν παρ' αὐτὸ ἱερύσειν. The ἱεριστής in the Delian Hieropoioi-accounts, I.G. xi, 2, 145, l. 7; ibid. 161A, l. 88, ἱεριστεῖς εἰς σπονδάς , is the only known instance of the simple form of the word.

204. I.G. xii, 1, 701, l. 7; Cl.Rh. vi-vii, p. 424, nr. 44, l. 15.

205. Suggested by van Gelder, GdR, p. 268.

206. Cl. Rh. loc.cit. a dedication by δαμιουργός, ἱεροποιοί, and other officials in which ἐξιαριστάς appears in place of ἀρχιεριστάς In Cl.Rh. ibid. pp. 404ff, nr. 31, l. 15 Jacopi prints in the text ἀρχιεριστάς (the stone has ἀρχιερ[redacted]), but by a characteristic oversight has printed the following note ad loc. ' ἐξιαριστάς cfr. ἐξιαριστεύσας '.

207. Cl. Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, pp. 392ff, nrs. 20; 21; 30; 36-44; ibid. ii, 1932, p. 205, nr. 38 (almost certainly Camiran); I.G. xii, 1, 705; 707.

208. v. in general, Reisch, RE, s.v. Agonothetes, cols. 870-877; cf. below, p. 568.

209. Cl. Rh. vi-vii, pp. 391ff, nr. 20, l. 28r, single Hierokary; ibid. pp. 414ff, nr. 39, l. 40, two Hierokarykes; ibid. nr.40, l. 24r; 42; 43; all two.

210. I.G. xii, 1, 677 (cf. above, note 64), l.6.

211. I.G. xii, 1, 731 (cf. i, p. 415)

212. Inscr. ii, 295, 301 and 326, dedications by a νάκορος and one ὑπονάκορος to Athana Lindia and Zeus Polieus; ibid. 306; 318; 335, dedications by τοὶ νακορήσαντες . These dedications all belong to the first half of the first century B.C. cf. Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, p. 616, comm. to nr. 295.

213. v. Hanell, RE, s. v. Neokoroi, cols. 2422-4. At Pergamon the νεώκοροι were officials in charge of temple finances, and appointed by the crown; v. Rostovtzeff, Ramsay Studies, pp. 387-9.

214. v. I.G. xi, 2, 161A, 84-5; cf. Homolle, BCH, xiv, 1890, pp. 485-6.

215. Inscr. ii, 419, ll. 23-4: τὰ ἀποκειμέν[α ἐν τ]ῶι νακορείωι χαλκ[ί]α καὶ σιδ[ή]ρ[ε]α.

216. v. above, note 212.

217. In Inscr. i, 228, l, 31 (ii. B.C.) and ibid. ii, 420b, l.3, the μολποί come at the bottom of the list of syniereis, after the κεροδῦται ; in ibid. 487, l. 20 (? iii. A.D.) they appear along with temple-servants such as μουσικοί and ὑμνῳδοί

218. v. Poland, RE, Suppbd. vi, s.v. μολποί , cols. 509-520.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III.

1. The term δαμόται occurs but seldom: in I.G. xii, 1, 1032 = Syll^2. 491 = M436, and in Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 149, nr. 4, l.4; συνδαμόται occurs in an unpublished decree from Tymnos.

2. v. i, pp. 486, 512·, [illegible] and below, p. 298, note 46 (Ἑρμογένης Φιλοκράτας Βράσιος)

3. v. i, pp. 407 ff.

4. The absence of patronymic with demotic is very rare: there is no instance in I.G. xii, 1, 166-326. Instances are: NS 62 (Λινδοπολίτας); 145-6 (Ἄμιοι : [illegible] 146 is probably a republication of I.G. xii, 1, 660); Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 222, No. 76. (= Cl.Rh. v (1), 1931, pp. 92-3: in v (1), the text is printed Ἀριστόμαχος Βυβάσιος καὶ Ζωσαρίου Ὀνησιφόρου τοῦ Ὀνησιφόρου: in ii, as Ἀριστόμαχος Βυβάσσιος καὶ Ζωσαρίου Ὀνησιφόρου Β(υβασσίου) the photograph in each publication is such that the truth cannot be determined. It appears as if Βυβάσιος is right: Ζωσάριον seems necessary: Β is surely τοῦ Ὀνησιφόρου)

5. Such tombstones are: I.G. xii, 1, 327-380: NS, 100-133 (except 112, which should be read, following Wilhelm, Ath. Mitt., li, 1926, p. 5, as [ἡ δεῖνα]/ προθύμου/[πρ]ουσίας and 128, which, again with Wilhelm, ibid. should be read as Φιλόδαμε, [Καρπα]σεώτα χαῖρε): Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 153ff., 35: 49: 52: 123: 133 (?): 145: 150: Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 224ff., nrs. 82-107.

6. v. i, pp. 488 ff.

7. Diod. xi, 72, 3, referring to Syracuse after the downfall of the tyranny of Thrasybulus in 463.

8. ibid. It appears from Diodorus that these πολιτευθέντες ξένοι originally possessed full franchise and were subsequently excluded from some of the privileges of citizenship. But the extent of their original rights cannot be determined (v. Hüttl, Verfassungsgeschichte von Syrakus, pp. 35ff; Freeman, Sicily, ii, pp. 301ff.). It must be emphasised that it is only the status imposed on the πολιτευθέντες that is akin to that of the Rhodian class. The short-lived Syracusian system cannot be regarded as having in any way served as a model for the Rhodian, even if the latter came into effect at the end of the fifth century.

9. v. i, pp. 507 ff.

10. Compare the forcible depopulation of old cities and the concentration of their population on new sites, carried out by the Hellenistic kings (cf. e.g. Strab. 607, and i, pp. 55ff.), and Gelon (cf. Dunbabin, Western Greeks, pp. 416ff.)

11. These citizens might perhaps be compared with the class of Ἀθηναῖοι , who occur in an Attic ephebic list of 39 B.C., I.G. ii^2, 1043, and who are neither phyletai nor demotai nor ordinary foreigners (v. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde^3, pp. 1188-1191, and the excellent discussion of Reinmuth, TAPA, lxxix, 1948, pp. 211-231); von Hiller (ap. I.G. ii^2, loc. cit.) explained these as similar to the class of Ῥόδιοι i.e. foreigners on whom citizenship was conferred, or the sons of those on whom ἐπιγαμία was conferred (v. i, pp. 607ff.). This would imply that the fathers of the Ἀθηναῖοι were themselves foreigners resident in Athens (cf. Reinmuth, TAPA, loc.cit. pp. 222-3). In any case it seems likely that the Ἀθηναῖοι as a class were of late growth: they occur only in the one ephebic list (and that list has other peculiarities: v. Kirchner, ad loc.), so that any direct connection between the Rhodian and Athenian practices is not likely.

Of the persons under discussion at Rhodes, Foucart, Rev. Arch. xii, 1866 (1), p. 360 had already seen that they could only be inhabitants of 'la ville même de Rhodes'; cf. also, von Hiller, I.G. xii, 1, p. 70, rubric to 'caput alterum', who defines the class thus: 'homines in inscriptionibus sepulchralibus πατρόθεν nominatos sed demoticis carentes Rhodi urbis cives fuisse si non omnes at certe magnam partem probabile est'. Id. Rhodos, col. 766 refers as a parallel to that element of the population of Alexandria called the Ἀλεξανδρεῖς τῶν οὕτω ἐπιγραφέντων εἰς δῆμον (τὸν δεῖνα). Even if the exact status of these is uncertain, and their title suggests rather a temporary than an inherited status, the general distinction between ἄστοι, 'demesmen', and Ἀλεξανδρεῖς , 'citizens of the city of Alexandria' is the same as that which is envisaged for Rhodes (on the Ἀλεξανδρεῖς , v. Schubart, Archiv. v. 1913, pp. 104-5; Bickermann, Rev. Phil. 1927, pp. 362ff.; A. Segre, Bull.Soc.Arch.Alex. xxv-iii, 1933, pp. 149ff; von Premerstein, Alexandrinischen Geronten, pp. 46-7).

12. v. i, pp. 550-1.

13. v. i, pp. 494ff.

14. Pugliese-Carratelli, Arch. Stor. Calab. e Lucan xvii, 1947,

14. contd.

p. 3, regards [redacted] those whose names on tombstones lack demotics as identical with the Ῥόδιοι . But there seems no reason why the term Ῥόδιος should not appear on the tombstone as it does elsewhere (e.g. on bases containing the signatures of artists who were Ῥόδιοι), and in fact that the term did appear on tombstones is seemingly proved by the single tombstone (to which Pugliese-Carratelli, makes no reference), Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 168, nr. 129, which reads: Ἀγαθόστρατος Ῥόδιος . The absence of the patronymic is parallelled by the signatures of artists who sign simply as ὁ δεῖνα Ῥόδιος (Inscr. i, 237: ii, 302), and by I.G. xii, 1, 155,d, line 2 (a decree of a κοινόν) which begins Βουλαγόρας Ῥόδιος εἶπε ; also by tombstones on which demesmen have no patronymic (v. above, note 4); Whatever may be the explanation of the absence of the patronymic this inscription must surely be regarded as evidence that the title Ῥόδιος was recorded on tombstones; the alternative - to regard it as the tombstone of a Rhodian buried abroad, which has found its way back to Rhodes - is no genuine alternative, since the difficulty of the patronymic still remains.

15. Hesychius, s.v. μητρόξενος· τοὺς νόθους παῖδας : Schol. Eur. Alc. 988 (σκότιοι)· οἱ λαθρίδιοι παῖδες, καὶ ἐξ ἀδαδουχήτων γάμων γενόμενοι· τούτους καὶ Ῥόδιοι μητροξένους καλοῦσιν: cf. Pollux, iii, 21: νόθος δὲ ὁ ἐκ ξένης ἢ παλλακίδος · ὑπ' ἐνίων δὲ καλεῖται μητρόξενος .

16. v. Latte, RE, s.v. νόθοι , cols. 1066-1074.

17. This usage only existed after the passage of the Periclean law of 451/0; v. Ἀθπ. , xxvi, ad fin. Plut. Per. xxvii, 4: cf. Busolt, GG², iii, 1, pp. 500ff. For the repeal and subsequent restoration of the law v. Athen. 577 B.C, and Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde³. p. 940, note 6.

18. The regular form of the expression is μητρὸς δὲ ξένας as in NS, 19. In I.G. xii, 1, 766, v. Hiller read μητρὸ(ς) δὲ ξένας but in Rhodos, col. 766, l. 48, preferred μητρὸς δὲ ξένας (presumably owing to the erasure before the δ of δέ which may suggest that the engraver wrote μητροδ and intended to alter it); but Blinkenberg, in his re-edition of I.G. xii, 1, 766, as part of Inscr. i, 88, retains μητρό(ς) The other reference to μητρόξενοι in Rhodian inscriptions is Inscr. i, 51, CI, lines 26-7.

19. Pugliese-Carratelli, Arch. Stor. Calab. e Lucan. loc.cit. p.5, note 1, maintains that μητρόξενος can only mean 'illegitimate', but this view is based on very slight, and indeed conflicting evidence. v. below, p. 299, and note 47.

20. NS, 19.

21. ll. 4-61: τὸν πατέρα φυλαεχήσαντα φυλᾶι Ἰαλυσίαι. Pugliese-Carratelli, Annuario, N.S. i-ii 1942, p. 174, note 4, points out that the father's name is not followed by a demotic, and assumes that he belongs to the class of citizen, or half-citizen discussed above (so also, id. Arch.Stor.Calab.e Lucan., loc.cit. p. 4). But Heraclitus had been φύλαεχος of the φυλὴ Ἰαλυσία, and this position, though it may have had little practical importance, was clearly a preserve of demesmen. Further it is not certain that the offspring of the union of one who was not a demesman with a foreign woman would have the status of ματρόξενος. ~~In all known identifiable instances the~~ ~~is son of a full demesman.~~

22. ll. 2-31, 1-2r.

23. Even if his father was not a full citizen (v. note 21), Apollodotus still had not inherited his father's status.

24. l. 3r: Ἡράκλειτος Ἀπολλοδότου Σάμιος

25. l. 4r: ὧι ἡ ἐπιδαμία δέδοται : v. i, pp. 507 ff.

26. That he did not remain a Rhodian citizen, calling himself Σάμιος because he had acquired some form of honorary citizenship at Samos, is shown by the addition ὧι ἡ ἐπιδαμία δέδοται. This was a privilege bestowed only on foreigners.

27. Inscr. i, 88, ll. 286-8 (= I.G. xii, 1, 766B, 12-4). A μητρὸς δὲ ξένης also occurs in Inscr. i, 51e, l.27, the list of those who contributed to the ἀποκατάστασις of the ornaments of Athana in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. (v. note 30). It is noticeable that this list contains no foreigners, while the long list of foreigners, Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 167ff., nr. 21, contains no ματρόξενοι

28. Inscr. i, 88, ll. 289-290 = I.G.xii, 1, 766B, ll. 15-6.

29. For service in the Rhodian navy, apparently normally confined to full citizens, v. i, pp. 587 ff, 650 ff.

30. I.G. xii, 1, 762: cf. p. 283, note 132, where the passage is quoted.

31. v. i, p. 561.

32. Aristoph. Byz. fr. 28N: μέτοικος δέ ἐστιν, ὅτοτ' ἂν τις ἀπὸ ξένης ἐλθὼν ἐνοικῇ τῇ πόλει, τέλος τελῶν εἰς ἀποτεταγμένας τινὰς χρείας τῆς πόλεως. ἕως μὲν οὖν ποσῶν ἡμερῶν παρεπίδημος καλεῖται καὶ ἀτελής ἐστιν· ἐὰν δὲ ὑπερβῇ τὸν ὡρισμένον χρόνον, μέτοικος ἤδη γίγνεται καὶ ὑποτελής· παραπλησίως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὁ ἰσοτελής (cf. Harpocration, s.v. μετοίκιον. μέτοικος μέν ἐστιν ὁ ἐξ ἑτέρας πόλεως μετοικῶν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὀλίγον ὡς ξένος ἐπιδημῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν οἴκησιν ἄνωθι κατακτησάμενος. Phot. s.v. μετοίκιον p. 263 Bekker); cf. Wilamowitz, Hermes, xxii, 1887, pp. 234-5 = Kleine Schriften, v. 1, pp. 316-7, who believes that the passage of Aristophanes refers to the custom of the writer's own day, the first half of the third century B.C. Against this, v. Gerhardt, Die attische Metoikie im vierten Jahrhundert, pp. 9-10.

33. I.G. ix, 1, 333 = M3 = Schwyzer, 363 = GHI, 34.

34. An indirect indication is probably given by Annuario, iv-v, 1924, pp. 223ff = SEG, iii, 674 = Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 156ff., nr. 18. In B, ll. 1-2, the following names occur: [....Ἑρμογένει Φασηλίτ]ᾳ, Μητογένει Γαλάτᾳ, Θευδότωι Ἄραβι, in the year of the eponymous priest Archinus, Καρνείου πέμπτᾳ ἱσταμένου. Later in the document, ll. 16ff., ἐπ' ἱ[ερέως Ἀρχίνου Π]εδαγετνίου τρίτᾳ ἐξ ἰκάδος, the same names occur thus: Ἑρμο[γ]έ[νει] Φασηλίτᾳ μετοίκωι καὶ Μητογένει Γαλάτᾳ μετοίκωι καὶ Θευδότωι Ἄραβι. Thus in the interval between Καρνείου πέμπτᾳ ἱσταμένου and Πεδαγετνίου τρίτᾳ ἐξ ἰκάδος two of these three ξένοι had acquired metic status, i.e. within a maximum period of six months. For the sequence of the Rhodian civil calender, v. the references given below, p. 321 note, 12.

35. τοὶ παρεπιδαμεῦντες occurs in an unpublished inscription from Physcus, discussed 1, pp. 501 ff.; I.G. xii, 3, 73, from Nisyros, of the time when it was a Rhodian deme, has, ll. 9-10; οἱ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ οἱ κατοικεῦντες ἐν Νεισύρῳ καὶ οἱ παρεπιδαμεῦντες: in both these inscriptions the word is clearly used of temporary foreign residents.

36. For παρεπιδαμέωντες in contrast with metics and other permanently resident foreigners v. Ivon Priene, 113, ll. 42ff: δεῖπνιεῖν γὰρ τοὺς πο[λ]ίτας πάντας κατὰ φυλὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐφηβευκότας τῶν παροίκων καὶ κατοίκων καὶ Ῥωμαίους πάντας καὶ τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας Ἀθηναίων τε καὶ Θυμβρέων τε καὶ Ῥοδίων καὶ Μιλησίων καὶ Μαγνήτων καὶ Σα[μί]ων καὶ Ἐφεσίω[ν], κ.τ.λ.

For the normal use of temporary residence without explicit contrast to permanent residence, v. IvonMag. 89 (decree of the Tean κοινὸν τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν), ll. 29ff: καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ π[ρότερον οἱ ἀπ]οσταλέντες θεωροὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου Ἐπίκουρος Ἀμφίστ[ου, Πυθόδ]οτος Χαριδότου, Πρύτανις Πυρωνίδου παρεπιδημ[ήσαν ἀξίω]ς τοῦ Μαγνήτων δήμου: Syll3. 608, l. 43; 640, l. 9; 714, ll. 29-30. In ibid. 707, ll. 21-2, παρεπιδημῶν τε ἔτη πλείω ἀνέγκλητος ὢν διατελέσειν παρεπιδήμων is for the more usual κατοικῶν or ἐνοικῶν.

37. Tombstones etc. of metics are: I.G. xii, 1, 382-3; NS, 163; Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 116, nr. 119; Jahreshefte, iv, 1901, pp. 161ff., nr. 2. The rarity of metic tombstones caused the suggestion - not confined to Rhodos - that the deceased is to be presumed metic, when the inscription contains only the name of the deceased and his city of origin: v. Clerc, Rév. des univ. du Midi, N.S. iv, 1898, p. 167; this is a perverse method of argument, since it is just the addition of the term μέτοικος on the tombstone which distinguishes the one class from the other.

38. Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 177ff, nr. 6 (For the prescript to this inscription v. above, p. 113 note 62).

39. The metoikoi are: 171: 301: 21r: 24r: 26-7r: 32r.

40. Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 134ff, nr. 1, ll. 4: 7: 23: 25: 39: 42: 49: 52: 55.

41. Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 168ff, nr. 21. These figures are not exact because the condition of the stone makes the division of the lines between the names of individuals doubtful.

42. Cl. Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 177ff., nr. 6, ll. 181, 21-2r, 37-8r. The first προστάτας is Καρπαθιοπολίτης, the second κρυασσεύς, the third φύσκιος, the first of which is a deme of the Rhodian state in the island of Carpathos, the second and third demes of the Rhodian Peraea. Those without prostatai are ibid. ll. 181, 21-2r, 37-8r. In lines 24-6 the metic is a woman from Phaselis with a κύριος, who is also a metic, from Berytus. For the status of the κύριος outside Attica v. T.W. Beazley, CR, xx, 1906, pp. 249-253.

43. Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 134ff., nr. 1.

44. Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 168ff., nr. 21, AIII, l. 31: Ἄνδρων Κῶ<ι>ος μέτοικος οὗ προστατεῖ, κ.τ.λ.

45. For the still controversial status of the prostates in the life of the Athenian metic, v. Busolt, Staatskunde[3], p. 294; Gerhard, Attische Metoikie, pp. 47-53. For the lexicographical notices regarding the δίκη ἀπροστασίου v. Weiss, Griech. Privatrecht, i, p. 180, note 34. Whatever may have been the position of the prostates, it is noticeable, as Hommel, RE, s.v. Metoikos, cols. 1422-3, points out, that no prostatai

45. contd.

occur in Attic inscriptions. It seems likely that the Attic metic was less hampered in independent action than was the metic at Rhodos.

46. The central figure of this group of documents of the late second century B.C., is Philocrates, originally of Ilion, subsequently of Selge, and finally resident at Rhodos, first as metic and then as one on whom ἐπιδαμία had been conferred. The inscriptions in which he or his relatives or descendents occur are: (i) Cl. Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 177ff., nr. 6, ll. 321, ff; here are mentioned Φιλοκράτης Σελγεὺς μέτοικος and his wife Ἑρμοῤῥόδη Σελγίς and his son Ἑρμογένης Ἰλιεύς. In addition, his father-in-law, Ἑρμογένης Σελγεύς, is mentioned; (ii) I.G. xii, 1, 157. This is the tombstone, recording the honours paid to them by various κοινά, of Philocrates and his wife Ἑρμοῤῥόδη. Philocrates is described as Ἰλιεὺς ᾧι ἡ ἐπιδαμία δέδοται, his wife as Σελγίς. [redacted]. There can be no doubt that this is the same couple as is referred to in the previous inscription, in spite of the very great difference in style of lettering. (iii) I.G. xii, 1, 189 (not 188, as von Hiller, in note to I.G. xii, 1, 157), the tombstone of Ἑρμογένης Φιλοκράτευς Βρόσιος; (iv) NS, 188, the tombstone of a certain Ἑρμογένης Σελγεύς; this may possibly refer to another Hermogenes, since the Hermogenes of the previous inscriptions was already a metic at the time of Cl. Rh. ii, ~~193~~ 1932, pp. 177ff, nr. 6.

The career of Philocrates may have been unusual; that of his son certainly was. The most satisfactory explanation is perhaps as follows: Philocrates was by origin a citizen of Ilion. He left Ilion and settled in Selge, and became a metic or full citizen there. (The fact that he is called Σελγεὺς μέτοικος in Cl. Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 177ff, nr. 6, ll. 32f., suggests that he was a citizen of Selge before his removal to Rhodes, while on the other hand his son appears in the same inscription as Ἰλιεύς, whereas had Philocrates been a citizen of Selge his son should have been a Σελγεύς also. Further Philocrates, after the conferment of the title of ἐπιδαμία at Rhodes, ~~en~~ reappears (somewhat paradoxically) as Ἰλιεύς not as Σελγεύς. The balance of probability is then that he was a metic or other foreign settler at Selge, and not a full citizen there). Either during his stay in Selge or later he married the daughter of an inhabitant of Selge. At this stage the whole family appears at Rhodos, as Selgians, with metic status. In Cl.Rh. loc.cit. the daughter of Hermogenes and wife of Philocrates, appears as a ξένη without the title

46. contd.

μέτοικος. The son who is clearly not of age, since his father makes a payment ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ is described as Ἴλιεύς, that is to say he takes his father's original nationality. Subsequently Philocrates, in return for public service (he does not appear to have been either a sculptor or man of letters; cf. [illegible], i, pp. 509-510) receives the privilege of ἐπιδαμία. By this he ceases to be a metic, and on his tombstone the title of ξ[illegible] ἐπιδαμία δεδομένα is combined with his (supposedly) natal city-ethnic, Ἴλιεύς. His wife remains a ξένη of Selge. The son at some time received the honour of being enrolled in a Lindian deme, since he appears as Βρύλιος (cf. i, pp. 486, 502).

This group of inscriptions is an excellent example of the floating nature of much of the population of the Greek cities of the Aegean and Asia Minor in the late Hellenistic age.

Two critical points arise in connection with these inscriptions. I.G. xii, 1, 541 (not 542, as von Hiller, in note to ibid. 157) is the tombstone of a certain Φίλων Ἰλιεύς and his wife, and von Hiller has restored [Φίλων Ἰλιεύ]ς in I.G. xii, 1, 127, l.56. Of this individual and Philocrates, von Hiller says (ad ibid. 157) 'fratres fuisse videntur'. There seems no reason for this assumption. (ii) L. Robert, BCH, lxx, 1946, p. 521, says of Cl.Rh. ii, 1952, pp. 177ff., nr. 6, ll. 32ff. 'La lecture Ἴλιεύς au lieu de Σελγεύς supprime an aporie: on ne pouvait comprendre comment ce Selgien avait un fils qui etait Ilien'; but this correction, which is epigraphically attractive, has to be carried through into the other related text ~~which~~ in which the word Ἰλιεύς occurs, (ii, above) and which is not mentioned by Robert, and cannot be accepted without reexamination of both inscriptions.

47. Pugliese-Carratelli, Arch. Stor. Cal. e Lucan. xvii, 1947, p. 5, note 1 assumes that eventually Philocrates was made a full citizen (that is, in Pugliese-Carratelli's opinion, a Ῥόδιος), and that his son was inscribed in a deme as a right deriving from his father's status, as he also supposes to be the explanation of the Nettidas of NS, 19 (v. above, note 21). If, however, this is correct, then Hermogenes should probably be called μητρὸς δὲ ξένας, since his mother was a ξένη. Carratelli's explanation of this omission is that the term μητρὸς δὲ ξένας only means 'illegitimate', and not 'with a (legally married) foreign mother'. This however seems most improbable, in spite of the scholiasts' notices (quoted above, note 15) which are probably due to a failure to realise that νόθος had other meanings than 'illegitimate'. In fact the evidence is that Philocrates never advanced beyond the status

47. contd.

of metic, though he had the additional honour of ἐπιδαμία conferred on him. This is amply shown by his tombstone, on which he is called 'Ilian with epidamia', there being no mention of his having acquired Rhodian citizenship; if he had, according to all analogous instances (below, i, pp. 510ff) he would no longer have called himself 'Ilian'.

48. Diod. xx, 84, 2, where the word πάροικοι is used; cf. below, p. [illegible] note .

49. Maiuri, Annuario, iv-v, 1921/2, pp. 479ff. nr. 33 = SEG, iv, 178. The reading proposed by Crönert, SEG, ad loc. is confirmed by a re-reading of the stone which will be re-published in 'Peraea' [illegible] .πάροικοι here stands by itself, and looks as if it might refer to all foreigners. Carpathos: I.G. xii, 1, 1032 = M 436 = SGDI, 4320 = Syll^3. 491 = Schwyzer 295, ll. 9-10: οὐ μόνον τῶν δαμοτᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παροικεόντων the term evidently includes all foreigners and has the same meaning as ξένοι in its widest sense; I.G. xii, 1, 1033 = M437 = Syll^3. 570; τοῖς τε ἐν[τυγ]χά[ν]ουσιν αὐτῶι τῶν πολιτᾶν καὶ τῶν παροίκων, where πάροικοι is used in a similar sense. καποικεῖν was also used with a similar meaning at Carpathos, v. below, p. 301 , note 52. Diod. loc.cit. previous note: τῶν δ'ἐν τῇ πόλει κατοικούντων παροίκων καὶ ξένων δόντες ἐξουσίαν τοῖς βουλομένοις συναγωνίζεσθαι, τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀχρήστους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεμψαν, ... ἀριθμὸν δὲ ποιησάμενοι τῶν συναμένων ἀγωνίζεσθαι, πολιτῶν μὲν εὗρον περὶ ἑξακισχιλίους, τῶν δὲ παροίκων καὶ ξένων εἰς χιλίους.

50. πάροικοι are contrasted with κάτοικοι , unprivileged foreigners, commonly at Priene: IvonPriene, 108, ll. 258-9: τοὺς πολίτας πάντας καὶ παροίκους καὶ [ξέν]ους καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ οἰκέτας cf. ibid. 109, ll. 178-9; for the full complement of aliens (apart from ἐλεύθεροι) v. ibid. 112, ll. 79-80: καὶ τοῖς πολείταις πᾶσιν καὶ παροίκοις [καὶ κα]τοίκοις καὶ ξένοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις. Similarly at Ephesus, LBW III, 136a = M 496 = Syll^3.742, ll. 44-5: εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰσοτελεῖς καὶ παροίκους καὶ ἱεροὺς καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ ξένους; cf. ibid. ll. 48-9. At Miletus the root μετοικ - is found only in the verbal form μετοικεῖν , Milet, i, 3, 150 = Syll^3. 633, l. 60: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πρότερον οἰκήσωσιν Ἡρακλε(ι)ῶται ἢ μετοικήσωσιν ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἔτη πέντε. The observation of Jones, Greek City, p. 160, 'There were, however, in every city a number of domiciled aliens (usually called κάτοικοι , and not, as at Athens μέτοικοι) etc.' *stands in need of correction. The equivalent of the Attic μέτοικος was πάροικος , as is shown by the inscriptions quoted in this note.

51. Doubt is permissible, since in I.G. xii, 1, 994, τοὶ κατοικεόντες is used in a similarly wide sense: v. note 59.

52. Inscriptions referring to τοὶ κατοικεῦντες καὶ γενεργεῦντες are: I.G. xii, 1, 762a (Lindos); ibid. 1032 (Carpathus); Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 210, nr. 48, ll. 12-3 (Lindos); Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 147, nr. 20 (Rhodes, referring to Lindos); I.G. xii, 3, Suppl. 1269-70 - Syme); Inscr. i, 229; ibid. 249; 264; ibid. ii, 300; 349; 384b; 391, 392a; 394; 400; 420a; 425; (Segre, Historia, vii, 1933, pp. 577ff., nr. 1; I.G. xii, 1, 994-5 - Carpathus); two unpublished inscriptions from Physkos (v. [illegible], i, pp. 497ff) The inscriptions recorded between brackets mention only τοὶ κατοικεῦντες.

53. For κάτοικοι in general v. Oertel, RE, s.v. Katoikoi, cols. 1-26. For military κάτοικοι , v. for Egypt, Grenfell-Hunt, PTeb, i, pp. 545-558; Rostovtzeff, Kolonat, Index, i, s.v. κατοικία ; Lesquier, Institutions militaires des Lagides pp. 48ff; for military κάτοικοι in the Seleucid Empire, v. Griffith, Hellenistic mercenaries, pp. 148ff.
For civil κάτοικοι and κατοικοῦντες v. Cardinali, Rend. Linc. xvii, 1908, pp. 184-200 (fundamental) and the inscriptions quoted in the following notes; Bikerman, Institutions des Seleucides, pp. 103-5, who (following a suggestion of Robert) draws a sharp distinction between the meanings to be attached to κάτοικοι and κατοικοῦντες . This is a valuable distinction, but it seems possible that it is less rigid than Bikerman imagines; thus the inscriptions of Priene to which he refers, p. 103, note 5 (and one of which is quoted by me above, note 50) clearly employ κάτοικοι in the sense of κατοικοῦντες . Asboeck, Staatswesen von Priene, 1913, pp. 66ff is superficial.

54. OGIS, 229, ll. 14ff. etc (with note 13); cf. also, BCH, xi, 1887, p. 466, nr. 32; [οἱ περὶ Θυάτε[ιρα Μ]ακεδόνες [illegible] and OGIS, 290: [οἱ περὶ Ἄ]κρωτον Μακεδόνες . v. also, Launey, Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques, i, pp. 338-9.

55. v. [illegible] the references in note 52 above.

56. v. the cadastral surveys from Tebtunis, PTeb. i, nrs. 61ff: e.g. 61a, col. iii-iv a list of catoecic holdings with a note to each entry, either giving the name of the (γεω)εργός i.e. the sub-tenant of the κλῆρος , or simply adding γεω(εργὸς) ὠνός.

57. v. i, pp. 661ff.

58. Numerous views have been advanced regarding the Rhodian κατοικοῦντες and γεωργοῦντες . Cardinali, Rend.Linc. xvii, 1908, p. 189, claimed that they were either metics, or members of an analogous class; Jones, Greek City, p. 160, also regards them as metics. Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, p. 581, thought that they were 'a special class of ξένοι , probably that accorded "ἐγκτησις γῆς καὶ οἰκίας" [redacted]. Rostovtzeff, CAH, viii, p.639, id. SEHHW, ii, p. 690, suggested that they were the remnants, like the Helots in Laconia, of a pre-Dorian racial element. This is an attractive explanation, but not without its difficulties: such 'remnants' would probably have a title, like the εἵλωτες of Sparta, and the πενέσται of Thessaly, and such a title in fact existed in the Rhodian tradition, whatever its value, that the autochthonous population of the island was called ἄγνητες (v. Blinkenberg, Hermes, L, 1915 pp. 274ff). Thus had such a class survived into the Hellenistic world, it would presumably have been known by that name.

Pugliese-Carratelli, Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 175, note 4, suggests that the κατοικοῦντες and γεωργοῦντες constituted a koinon, probably organised in the same way as the other Eranoi of foreigners in Rhodes. In spite of the unpublished Lindian inscription quoted by him, which may seem to support his contention by referring to 'the katoikeuntes and georgeuntes, and the other Eranoi' , it remains true that every instance in which the katoikeuntes and georgeuntes make a dedication it is in company with the twelve demes of Lindian territory. It seems most unlikely that a single koinon of foreigners would take part in such a formal dedication. Further the participial form of the expression, τοὶ κατοικοῦντες, suggests very strongly that those so designated came together for a specific purpose, and were not a formally constituted koinon; cf. [redacted], i, p. 501, and below note 83. Finally, there are instances in which katoikeuntes do form themselves into a koinon, and they are specifically called τὸ κοινὸν τῶν κατοικούντων, (v. I.G. xii, 3, 1270, the Rhodian residents on Syme, which probably form a valid analogy in regard to the general meaning of the term). The inscription published by Segre, Historia, vii, 1933, pp. 577ff., nr. 1, which records honours paid to an individual for benefits conferred on τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκασείων καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν Ἀρκασείαι, does not support Carratelli's interpretation (as he claims), since the decree is a city-decree, and the κατοικοῦντες are therefore not necessarily connected with a koinon.

59. E.g. at Ephesus, BMI, 448 = M, 490 = Syll^3. 352, l.4: καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν Ἐφεσίους καὶ τοὺς κατοι[κοῦντας ἐνθάδε] ; at Miletus, Milet, i, 3, nr. 148 = Syll^3. 588, ll. 54-5: ἢ Μάγνητες... ἢ Μιλήσιοι

59. contd.

...ἢ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν [ἑκ]α τέ[ρ]αι τῶν πολέων. For further instances, v. Syll^3. Index, s.v. κατοικέω (b), and JHS, xi, 1891, p. 115 = M458, ll. 17-8: δι' ἧς συνβέβηκεν οὐ μόνον τοῖς πολίταις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ὑπ[άρχειν εἰς] τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν τὴν πόλιν. The same usage is illustrated by the Delian inscriptions of after 166 B.C., which begin usually ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ (κατ)οικοῦντες τὴν νῆσον : v. Inscr. Délos, nrs. 1619-1641. For the mainland of Greece, cf. the Aetolian asylia-decrees, e.g. Syll^3. 563, l. 10: καὶ μηθένα Αἰτωλῶν μηδὲ τῶν ἐν Αἰτωλίδι κατοικούντων ; Syll^3. 629, l. 19; ibid. 554, ll. 14-5 (both same for mula; both Aetolian).

Three instances from Carpathus of a similar usage may be noted: I.G. xii, 1, 994, a dedication to Domitian by ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Β[ρ]υ[κ]οντίων κ[αὶ] τοὶ κατοικεῦν[τες] ἐν Β[ρ]κοῦντι πάντες ; ibid. 995, dedication to his wife Domitia by the same bodies. These clearly refer to κατοικοῦντες of the general type, and not, in spite of the fact that Brykous was a Rhodian deme, and not a city, to κατοικεῦντες of the Lindian type, since the additional πάντες makes it evident that the term is used to include more than one type of ξένος . Historia, vii, 1933, pp. 577, nr. 1, τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Ἀρκαδέων καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν Ἀρκασίαι [illegible] is perhaps a doubtful case (cf. previous note).

60. Leros: BCH, xix, 1895, p. 551: ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστόμαχος Δρόμωνος κατο[ι]κῶν ἐν τῆι νήσωι ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου ; from Lepsia, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. [illegible],19 , p. 133, nr. 12: ἔδοξε τῶν πολιτῶν (sc. τῶν Μιλησίων) τοῖς κατοικοῦσ[ιν] ἐν Λεψίαι : from Nisyros: I.G. xii, 3, 104 (early Empire) dedication in honour of an individual who provided oil πᾶσι ἐλευθέροις καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν Νεισύρωι καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδαμεῦσιν : Amyclae: I.G. v, 1, 515 (Imperial date: v. [illegible], i, p. 561): τῶν ἄλλων ξένων [οἱ] κατοικεῦντες καὶ παρεπιδαμεῦντες : cf. also the Delian documents noticed in the previous note. In IvonPriene, 1 = GHI, 185, οἱ κατοικοῦντες is used of Prienian citizens resident outside Priene.

61. v. the Nisyrian inscription quoted in note 60, and the two Symaean inscriptions referred to in notes 52, 58. (In these instances a κοινόν has been formed τῶν ἐν Σύμηι κατοικούντων. It is probable, though not absolutely certain, that Syme was at this time a Rhodian dependency (v. 'Islands'). Guarducci, Historia, ix, 1935, p. 423, supposed on this account that the κοινὸν τῶν κατοικεύντων were Rhodian settlers on the island. If so - and it seems inevitable in view of the adoption of the term κτοινάται - then κατοικεῦντες are not 'foreigners' in the strictest sense of the term (cf. GHI. 185, [illegible] referred to in note 60). The reference in 1270, l. 17 to οἱ παρεπιδαμεῦντες τῶν πολιτῶν is [illegible] to Rhodians (as von Hiller ad loc.), since Συμαῖοι would not be so styled. von Hiller,

61. contd.

ibid., is however wrong in stating that the appellation πολίτας after the name of the honorand means that he was a Rhodian citizen. Within the Rhodian state, πολίτας can only be the Ialysian demotic (v. i, p. 417).

62. Cardinali, Rend. Linc. xvii, 1908, pp. 187ff.

63. id. ibid. p. 189

64. Inscr. i, 278.

65. The stone has been cut vertically in half at some time, and it is impossible to tell how far to the right it originally extended. But in any case the longer form is possible since the city-ethnics of the foreigners will have extended further to the right than the word

66. This occurs in the unpublished inscription referred to in note 62. See further below, p. 501.

67. For a full list of inscriptions referring to κατοικοῦντες v. above, note 52.

68. cf. above, note 52. For the formula cf. Inscr. Cos. 344, ll. 5-6: τοὶ κατοικεῦντες ἐν τῶι δάμωι τῶν Ἀλεντίων [illegible] καὶ τοὶ ἐνεκτημένοι καὶ τοὶ γεωρ-γεῦντε[ς] ἐν Ἄλεντι καὶ Πέλῃ ; also Theophr. (?) ap. Porph. De abs. iii, 29: λέγεται κοινῆς θυσίας οὔσης Ἀθηναίοις [Δίομον ἢ] Σώπατρόν τινα, τῷ γένει οὐκ ἔγχωριον γεωργοῦντα δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν, with its obvious contrast between ἔγχωριος and νεωργῶν ; and Milet, i, 3, 150 = Syll^3. 633 ll. 73ff, the language of which closely resembles that of the Coan inscription: ἐάν τινες τῶν ἐκτημένων ἐν τῇ Μιλησίων χώρᾳ ἢ γεωργούντων διάμοιρον κτήνη, κτλ.

69. Inscr. ii, 394.

70. Contrast the Coan usage, Inscr.Cos.loc.cit: τοὶ κατοικεῦντες... καὶ το[ὶ] ἐνεκτημένοι καὶ τοὶ γεωργεῦντες.

71. v. i, pp. 501ff.

72. On this term v. Guérard, Soc.Bull.Arch.Alex. xxxii, 1939, pp. 25-6.

73. v. above, note 70.
For Calymnos, v. the Calymnian (i.e. Coan: v. above Additional Note 9, p. 211) inscription, Koische Forschungen,

73. contd.

pp. 197-8: [ὁ δᾶμο]ς ὁ Καλυμνίων κα[ὶ ἡ]οὶ κατοικεῦντες καὶ ἐνκτημένοι.

74. San Nicolò, Ägyptische Vereinswesen, i, pp. 157ff., and the inscription published by Guerard, loc.cit. note 72, pp. 21-40, and his detailed discussion of the various terms, ibid. pp. 23-6.

75. I.G. xii, 1, 762, lines 17-18.

76. For the alleged ἀρεῦντες of Inscr. ii, 384b, v. below, note 82.

77. An exception to this is provided by I.G. xii, 1, 762, lines 18-20; χορηγο[ὺ]ς ἐκ τῶν κατοικεόντων καὶ γενεγονότων ἐν Λινδίᾳ πόλει, where ἐν Λινδίᾳ πόλει strictly goes only with ἐκ τῶν κατοικεόντων cf. below, note 82.

78. v. i, pp. 75-6.

79. Inscr. i, 278; cf. above, p. 497

80. This does not, however, mean that they were a permanent koinon, v. above, note 58.

81. v. the remarks of van Gelder and Blinkenberg, locc.citt. note 58.

82. The clearest evidence for ναυκλαρεῦντες comes in an unpublished inscription (that referred to in the text) from Physkos, which will be published in 'Peraea'. They also occur in two inscriptions:
(a) In Inscr. ii, 384 b, where Blinkenberg read ἀρεῦντες a form which he could not parallel and was unable to explain. Bean's conjecture [ναυκ]λαρεῦντες fulfils the requirements of the stone far better, and is certainly correct. The only possible difficulty is that ναυκλαρεῦντες are described as ἐν τᾷ Λινδίᾳ, which refers to the countryside and not to the town of Lindos (where one would expect to find the merchants); this is however met by the supposition that the ναυκλαρεῦντες lived in the coastal hamlets, the Lindian paralia. (cf. also the similar ambiguity in I.G. xii, 1, 762, note 77 above)
(b) In Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 147, nr. 20, the last lines have τοὶ κατοικεῦντες ———]|καὶ ν — — — : here ν[αυκλαρεῦντες may very probably be supplied; the stone was found in Rhodos and is alleged to be of local stone. Ἀγλαΐσχαιτος however is a common Lindian name of the Imperial period (v. Inscr.

82. contd.

Index I, s.v.), and doubtless the Ἀγλωΐχαετος honoured in this inscription is a member of the same family. Even if the inscription be of Rhodian and not Lindian origin, the honours referred to at the end may very well be - in fact evidently are, those bestowed by Lindian communities.

83. The participial form appears to be very rare in this collective sense: I find no other instance of it. cf. in general Poland, Griechisches Vereinswesen pp. 109ff.

84. id. ibid.; cf. also Kiessling, RE, s.v. Νεώκληροι (1), cols. 1837-8 (This article is unfortunately of little general value since the author does not mention that the bulk of the evidence for νεώκληροι comes from inscriptions; the article should have been called 'Νεώκληροι in Ägypten'); Wilcken, Grundzüge, pp. 377ff.

85. Poland, ibid.

86. v. Roussel, Délos, Colonie athénienne, pp. 90-92; Laidlaw, Delos, pp. 210ff.

87. v. i, p. 489. The slaves, included by von Hiller, in this category, are discussed i, pp. 504 ff.

88. v. esp. Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1941/2, pp. 168ff, nr. 21. ibid. p. 174, Pugliese-Carratelli, says that the absence of the patronymic is normal for foreigners at Rhodes; but he does not attempt to define 'foreigners', nor does he note the conflict in this respect between metics and the class now under discussion. Other foreigners of this class are recorded in Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 128ff, nr. 6.

89. v. above, pp. 497-8

90. v. below, note 119, the inscriptions preceded by a †

91. Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 168ff, nr. 21.

92. Tombstones: I.G. xii, 1, 381-479 (except 428 which bears a demotic); Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 154ff, nrs. 39; 46; 51; 65; 66; 67; 76; 80; 88; 91; 971; 100; 102(?); 106; 113; 125; 126; 127(?); Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 230ff, nrs. 109; 111; 112; 117-9; 122.

93. For ξένος in this sense v. note 59.

94. The dispute as to the existence of a separate class of has in the past largely turned on I.G. xii, 1, 383, which, as printed in the Corpus, reads: Ἐπιγόνου Ῥοδιοπολίτα μετοίκου ἐλευθερωθέντος ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλεως καὶ ξενωθέντος ὑπὸ τᾶς βουλᾶς καὶ τοῦ δάμου καὶ χορηγήσαντος δίς. Such a text evidently gives ample scope for dispute as to the relation between μετοίκου and ἐλευθερωθέντος and ξενωθέντος. v. van Gelder, GdR, p. 231, against Schumacher, De Rep.Rhod.p. 36; von Hiller, I.G. xii, 1, note to nr. 383; id. Rhodos, cols. 766 (l.67)-7. Von Hiller, however, never saw the inscription before editing it in the Corpus but relied on a copy made by Ross, Inscr. gr. ined. iii, 1845, p. 278, who in his turn relied on a copy made by the Swedish doctor Hedenborg, long resident in Rhodes. The inscription was in Smyrna, in 1875, and was published in M.K.B., 1875-6, p. 55, with the reading ξενωθέντος. This was confirmed from a squeeze by Clerc, Rév.Univ.du Midi, N.S. iv, 1898, p. 176, note 1. The reference to this inscription should therefore be removed from the entry ξενόω in LS[9]. ξενίζω normally means 'to welcome'; here it is evidently equivalent to ἐπὶ ξένια καλεῖν εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον (cf. i, p. 545.); cf. Polyb. xxxi, 17, 3: ἀφικόμενος (Ptol. Euergetes II) δ' εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥοδίων περαίαν καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δάμου (?sc. τοῦ Ῥοδίων) προσετίθετο πλεῖν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον.

This inscription removed, reference to ξένοι as a separate class at Rhodes is confined to the passages quoted in the following note.

For ξένος opposed to μέτοικος outside Rhodes, v. Syll[3]. 799 (A.D. 38; Cyzicus), ll. 24-5: ἐ[ὰν δὲ ξέ]νος ἢ μέτοικος, where the existence of the nu makes the supplement [ξέ]νος certain.

95. Diod. xx, 84, 2, quoted above, note 48, Dio Chrys. Or. xxxi, 3: εἰ μὲν ἀργύριόν τις ὑμῖν ἐχαρίσατο ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, ξένος ἢ μέτοικος, τοῦτον μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἡγεῖσθε περίεργον, κτ.λ.

96. Inscr. i, 88, l. 290 = I.G. xii, 1, 766B, l.17.

97. cf. i, p. 488.

98. I.G. xii, 1, 383, discussed above, note 94.

99. v. i, p. 153

100. For Calymnian manumissions v. BMI, ii, 306-314; Segre, Mem.FERT, iii, 1938, pp. 51ff. (discussed by Roussel, REA, xliv, 1942,

100. contd.

pp. 217-223, and Welles, Mélanges de Visscher, ii (= Rev. Inter. des droits de l'ant. iii, 1949) pp. 507-520.

101. I.G. xii, 1, 383: Ἐπιγόνου Ῥοδιοπολίτα μετοίκου ἐλευθερωθέντος ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλεως, κ.τ.λ.

102. The evidence of other cities shows that the division between those which possessed a special and permanent class of ἀπ (or ἐξ)ελεύθεροι , and those in which the freedman was included in the metic or ξένος- class, are about equal. Many of the cities of the Aegean islands and Ionia had a special class of ἀπελεύθεροι ; e.g. Coresia, I.G. xii, 5, (i), 647, l.9 (3rd. cent. B.C.) μέτοικοι and ἀπελεύθεροι are contrasted; at Amorgos the phrase ἐλεύθερα σώματα καὶ τινὰ[ς] τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ πανδαλων occurs, I.G.xii, 7, 386 = Syll^3. 521 lines 17-18 and at Andros, I.G. xii, 5 (i) 721, l. 17, the contrast is between πολῖται, πάροικοι , ἀπελεύθεροι , and παρεπιδημοῦντες ξένοι . For Ionia v. Syll^3. 742, ll. 44ff (c. 85 B.C.) where the classes are ἰσοτελεῖς , πάροικοι , ἱεροὶ (sc. δοῦλοι), ἐξελεύθεροι and ξένοι . On the other hand several lists of sections of the population from other cities omit the class of ἀπ(ἐξ) ελεύθεροι , suggesting that they were absorbed within the metic or ξένος- class: e.g. Inscr.Cos.344 I.G. xii, 5 (i), 660, l. 14; ibid. 659; ibid. 668 (all Syros). In view of this division of the evidence from other cities, and the absence of any direct evidence from Rhodes itself, no decision is possible regarding the status of the ἐξελεύθεροι at Rhodes. (For other examples of both systems, v. Calderini, La Manumissione, pp. 303-8, who however does not consider I.G. xii, 1, 383).

103. Ἐγγενής - tombstones: I.G. xii, 1, 483-9; 545; 711; 748; 75 751; 755; 873; 877; 881; 910 (bis); 917; Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 158, nr. 66; 67; 78; 97; 157; NS, 242-8; 285; 428; Robert, Études Epigr. p. 222 (in the museum in Istanbul; recognised as Rhodian by Robert); Inscr. ii, 641; 650; 658; 666; 689.

104. v. LS^9, s.v.

105. So von Hiller, I.G. xii, 1, note to nr. 483; van Gelder, GdR, p. 233; Maiuri, NS, ad nr. 242; Hatzfeld, BCH, xxxiv, 1910, p. 243; Blinkenberg, Inscr. ii, ad 630; Robert, Étud. Épigr. p. 222.
οἰκογενής in this sense is common in Hellenistic

105. contd.

inscriptions, but does not appear to have been used in Fourth Century Attica. ἔγγενής appears with the undoubted significance of οἰκογένης in one Delphian inscription, SGDI, 2092, l. 3: σῶμα ἀνδρεῖον ὧι ὄνομα Ζωΐλος τὸ γένος ~~ἐστὶ~~ ἐγγενὴ (The meaning of ἔγγενής in Id.Log. § 29, Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνγενὴς ἔχουσι οὐσίαν ὑποτρεῖων is that of the Latin ingenuus, and has no bearing on the meaning of the Greek term.)

ἐνδογένης occurs only once, also at Delphi, Syll^3.854, l.5; the Delphian ἔγγενής may be only a shortened form of this. The alternative θρεπτός occurs in one inscription at Rhodes, NS, 267, Ῥόδιος θρεπτός where it is to be presumed that Ῥόδιος is a personal name and not a city-ethnic (This instance of the term θρεπτός is omitted by Nani, Epigraphica, v-vi, 1943/4 pp. 55ff.).

106. Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 168ff, nr. 21, A, col. III, l. 19, and 25-6.

107. This rather formal distinction is necessary in view of the expression ἔγγενὴς ἐν . If it was desired to state solely that the ἔγγενὴς was from Halicarnassus, the expression would presumably be ἔγγενὴς ἀπὸ Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ .

108. There is no evidence that the term ἔγγενὴς existed in this sense at Thera or Halicarnassus.

109. Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 134ff, nr. 1, ll. 48-52, two persons called ἔγγενὴς μέτοικος

110. The very considerable supervision of the slave population implied by this may in this particular instance be explained by the fact that both the non-Rhodian ἔγγενεῖς were employed as public secretaries (a post normally held by slaves called οἱ τῆς πόλεως δήμοσιοι), and therefore the state alone was responsible for them.

111. I.G. xii, 1, 31 records the existence of a koinon of οἱ τῆς πόλεως δοῦλοι. For slaves in the larger Koina, v. I.G. xii, 1, 917 (?); 160; and, especially, 127, passim ; cf. Poland, Vereinswesen, p. 328

112. v. Francotte, Mélanges du droit grec, pp. 176ff.

113. v. Monceaux, DS, s.v. Proxenie, col. 740.

114. For purchase of citizenship v. Robert, Hellenica, i, pp.37ff.

115. As apparently at Miletus in the late third century B.C. v.Rehm, Milet, i, 3, pp. 198-9; 267.

116. Ἰσοπολίτεια is of course mainly a phenomenon of the East in the Roman Empire; instances in which Ῥόδιος is among the city-ethnics mentioned after an individual's name are: TAM, ii, 910 (Rhodiapolis); Ῥοδιαπολειτῶν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ...(ἐτείμησαν) ... [redacted] τὸν πολίτην καὶ Ῥόδιον: BGU,1074, line 23, [ὁ δεῖνα] Περγαμηνὸς καὶ Ῥόδιος: I.G. xii, 1, 92 (?; cf. note 144 below).

117. Inscr. i, 16, [redacted], and Inscr. i, 16, Append. for which v. i, pp.430-1, are both before the synoecism; I.G. xii, 1, 760, a Rhodian proxeny decree apparently erected at Lindos (v. below, p.320, note 3) is evidently of the early fourth century; Syll3. 645 (v. above, p. 178 note 143) belongs to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. There is in addition a number of bases on which it is recorded that the individual commemmorated or honoured had been made a Rhodian proxenos: I.G. xii, 1, 25 [redacted]; ibid. 32; 60 (cf. below, p.344, note 190); NS, 8 (with the supplements of von Hiller, Gnomon, ii, 1926, p. 196) Inscr. i; 120; 132 (with possible restoration given there of I.G. xii, 1, 104c) 130; 164.

118. From this ἔγκτησις γῆς must be excepted: v. i, pp.503

119. References to ἐπιδαμία are: I.G. xii, 1, 81; 11; 42(S); 73a (S); 127 (3;1S); 72a(S); 43(S); 47(S); 66(S); †157; 107(S); †317; †323; †381; 842(S); 846(S); Inscr. i, 130; 172(S); 197(S); 205(S); 224(S); 232(S); 235(S); 236(S); 246(S); 252, l. 117; 277; 281(S); ibid. ii, 327(S); 705; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 168ff, nr. 21, l.31; ibid. col. iii, l.6. In this list those who are known to have been sculptors are noted by the sign (S). Toulotmos are denoted by † (cf. above, note 90) The instances of sculptors with epidamia are in fact virtually confined to three persons or groups of persons Theon of Antiocheia, (Inscr. i, 172; 205; 224; I.G. xii, 1, 42; 73a, one of 127; 381), the family of Epicharmus of Soloi (Inscr. i, 197g; 232; 235; 236; 246; 281a; xii, 1, 43; 66; 842); Charinus of Laodicaea (Inscr. ii 327; I.G. xii, 1, 72a; 107. Per caput the incident of the term on sculptor and non-sculptor is therefore about equal.

120. v. van Gelder, GdR, p. 230; Busolt, Staatskunde3. p. 293 (note 2, of p. 292); Blinkenberg, Inscr.i, p. 582; and Rostovtzeff, quoted below, note 129.

121. v. the numerous examples given in Syll3. index, iv, s.v. ἐπιδαμέω.

122. I.G.xii, 1, 1031 (from Carpathus), l. 3:...[ἄ]νδρας καὶ τοὺς ἐ[π]ιδαμεῶντας ; Diog. Oenoand. fr. lxii William, has [τῶν εἰς τόπους τού]τους ἐπιδαμούντων ξένων φιλανθρώπων λ, which is undoubtedly used with reference to Rhodes (cf. fr. xv, ll. 9-11; fr. lxv), but in a general sense. ἐπιδαμία is found in the sense of residence, used of foreign ambassadors, judges and so on, in the Rhodian decree concerning the Cyzicene ambassadors, SGDI, 3752: ἐποιήσαντο τὰν ἐπιδαμίαν ἀξίως [ἀμφοτερᾶν] τᾶν πολίων.

123. v. i, p.501

124. v. Syll. index, iv, s.v. δίδωμι

125. Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 168ff, nr. 21, l.31:[...]ονας [Ἐ]φεσί[ους ὡς ἃ ἐ]πιδαμία καὶ [ἐ]νκ[τ]ησ[ι]ς ὑπάρ[χ]ει [- - -].

126. Inscr. i, 277. Blinkenberg's discussion of this point is astonishing; he identifies those with ἐπιδαμία with κάτοικοι , and says that the single instance of ἐπιδαμία in this inscription 'n'est sans doute pas inexplicable'.

127. v. i, pp.502ff.

128. loc. cit. ll. 3-4.

129. Thus Rostovtzeff, CAH, viii, p. 639; id. SEHHW, ii, 689, says: 'Foreigners first received the right of residence, the epidamia, and later might be advanced to the ~~xxx~~standing of a 'Rhodian', a kind of minor franchise'. This does not satisfactorily account for the material evidence noted in this paragraph.

130. v. p. 310 ,note 119 .

131. v. i, p. 503.

132. v. p. 298 note 46 , in which the career of Philocrates is discussed.

133. For Isoteleia, v. Thalheim, RE, s.v. Ἰσοτελεῖς , cols. 2231-3; Lipsius, Sächs. Bericht. lxxi, 1920, (9), pp. 5ff; Busolt, Staatskunde[3], pp. 299-300. Ἐπιδαμία might also be equated with ἀτέλεια , which equally does not occur in Rhodian documents (except one in regard to a koinon, Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 147 nr. 1, line 4); but the general concession of ateleia seems, at least at Athens, to have been supplanted by grants of isopoliteia after the middle of the fourth century.

134. v. note 119.

135. Only one instance survives of a sculptor who was a metic: Ἄνθος Κνίδιος μέτοικος whose name survives on two bases, Cl. Rh. ii, 1932, p. 198 nr. 30, and ibid. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 431, nr. 50. He worked during the Augustan age.

136. Epicharmus of Soloi appears on his earliest work, c. 150-140, as simply Ἐπίχαρμος Σολεύς (Inscr. i, 234; I.G. xii, 1, 103 = Syll^3. 673). Not long after he becomes Ἐπίχαρμος Σολεὺς ὢι ἐπιδαμία δέδοται (e.g. Inscr. i, 235-6). Subsequently, c.120, he is joined by his son who receives the title of Ῥόδιος (v. below, pp. 510ff). Their joint signature is Ἐπίχαρμος Σολεὺς ὢι ἐπιδαμία δέδοται καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος Ἐπιχάρμου Ῥόδιος ἐποίησαν (e.g. I.G. xii, 1, 43).

137. I.G. xii, 1, 127.

138. I.G. xii, 8, 157, l.5.

139. Instances of the title Ῥόδιος are: (grouped by Sculptors): Epicharmi : I.G. xii, 1, 43: 47: 66: 846: Inscr. i, 246; 281a: Cl. Rh. ii, 1932, p. 206, nr. 40; Andragoras Andragorae f: Inscr. ii, 333; 706: Aristonidas Mnasitimi, f: Inscr. 42; ibid. ii, 696a: Phatarchus Heliodori f.: I.G. xii, 1, 48: 108: 844: Inscr. i, 131b: ii, 287: 308: Pythocritus Timocharis f: I.G. xii, 1, 87, 814: 815: Inscr. i, 147: 148: 150: 155: 159b: 169: 197 : 199: 203: ii, 293a: Cl.Rh. ii, p. 193, nr.21: Annuario, N.S. i-ii 1942, p. 148, nr. 3: Mnasitimus Mnasitimi f.: I.G. xii, 1, 73b: 808: 824: 825: Inscr. 99: 109: 119: 133b: Demetrius Diomedontis f: Inscr. i, 167: 217: Cl.Rh. ii, p.192, nr. 20: Demetrius Heliodori: I.G. xii, 1, 769: Cl. Rh. ii, p. 185, nr. 11: Euprepes of Laodicaea (cf. above, i, p. 511, & note 144): I.G. xii, 1, 92; Timagoras Mnasitimi f: Inscr. 75: Cl. Rh. ii, p. 200, nr. 32; Charmolas Artemidori f: Inscr. 285: ii, 293c: 702: Cl. Rh. ii, p. 190, Nr. 19: Leon Menippi f: Inscr. 151: 157: 164: NS. 15: Cl. Rh. ii, p. 215, Nr. 54: Teleson Mnasitimi f: Inscr. 138: 247: Athanodorus Hagesandri f: Inscr.ii, 347b: Phanias Phaniae f: Hermes, 1901, p. 441, Inscr. i, 237: Menodotus Charmolae f: Inscr. ii, 302, 305: Antiphilos ?f: Inscr. i, 279; - - - ἔτης Δημητείου: I.G. xii, 1, 121; - - - θεος Ἀναξαγόρα ;I.G. xii, 1, 123; - - - ικράτης Ἀλεξίππου: Cl. Rh. ii, p. 195, nr. 23.

Apart from sculptors there are few known Ῥόδιοι: Poseidonius, the philosopher, v. note 150: I.G.xii, 1, 127 contains the names of several Ῥόδιοι not known to have been sculptors: also I.G. xii, 1, 155d, line 2: I.G. xii, 1, 728 is earlier than the synoecism.

140. v. above, note 136.

141. v. ibid. and the references given by Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, p. 54, nr.74.

142. v. I.G. xii, 1, 846; Inscr. i, 197g; 281a (all c. 120 B.C.); I.G. xii, 1, 43; 47; 66.

143. v. e.g. I.G. xii, 1, 844; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 105, nr. 2; I.G. xii, 1, 769. Other refs. in Inscr. i, pp. 55-6 (nrs. 86-7), are the normal signatures of the two brothers Plutarchus signs simply as Ἀπαμεύς in Inscr. ii, 302. For his subsequent career v. ~~i, p. 542~~ below.

144. I.G. xii, 1, 92. For multiple citizenship in which Rhodes is one of the constituent elements, v. above p. 310 , note 116. For the inclusion of Ῥωμαῖος in the list of acquired citizenships, v. Sherwin-White, Roman Citizenship, pp. 24ff (for Lycia).

145. Inscr. i, 42; ibid. ii, 696a.

146. Cl. Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 400, nr. 28; ibid. p. 405, nr. 31. For their signatures on bases v. Inscr. i, p.43, Stemma 15.

147. v. i, p.486; and above, p. 299, note 46.

148. On Cl. Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 200-1, nr. 32, Timagoras signs himself as Ῥόδιος . There is no means of establishing any chronological link between this base and the inscriptions in which Timagoras and his brother occur as Camiran Hieropoioi, but in any event the occurrence of Ῥόδιος after Timagoras' name is a serious blow to the view, frequently held, most recently by Pugliese-Carratelli, in the various articles cited in this chapter, that the son of a Ῥόδιος was admitted by right of his father's status to deme-membership. If it be supposed that the base on which Timagoras appears as Ῥόδιος is considerably earlier than that in which he appears as a Camiran Hieropoios, it nevertheless remains true that he did not acquire deme-membership automatically because his father had been a Ῥόδιος . To this it might be replied that though the award of deme-membership was in fact certain and invariable, it was preceded by a period in which the son remained a Ῥόδιος. However, for all we know to the contrary the deme-membership might have been awarded as a result of individual merit, since the son was undoubtedly still a Ῥόδιος when of mature years. And this will perhaps be considered the simplest solution. In any case his later acquisition of deme-membership must be

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regarded as certain unless it be supposed that he was admitted to the office of Hieropoios although only a Ῥόδιος ; this does not seem very likely.

Pugliese-Carratelli, in his discussion of the status of the Ῥόδιοι and their sons, Arch. Stor. Lucan.e Calab. xvii, 1947 (v. below, note 151) does not appear to have noticed the complex problem provided by the family of Aristonidas.

149. v. Pugliese-Carratelli, loc.cit. and above, p. 293 and note 14.

150. Luc. Macr. 20 = FGrHist. Nr. 87, T4: Ποσειδώνιος ὁ Ἀπαμεὺς τῆς Συρίας, νόμωι δὲ Ῥόδιος, φιλόσοφός τε ἅμα καὶ ἱστορίας συγγραφεὺς τέσσαρα καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα (sc. ἔζησεν ἔτη) The use of νόμῳ δέ here suggests very strongly that Lucian or his source was aware of the particular status of the Ῥόδιοι at Rhodes.

151. Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 151-2. There is no reason to doubt the identification, even if it cannot be proved. The significance of this inscription was emphasised by Pugliese-Carratelli, Arch.Stor. Lucan.e Calab. xvii, 1947, pp. 2ff, who saw that this established that a Ῥόδιος might hold all the offices of state. His main inference, that this ius magistratus petendi was the essential element in the status of the Ῥόδιος is, however, another matter. The uncertainties connected with that status [illegible] are such (some of them unfortunately not observed by Pugliese-Carratelli: v. above, notes 14, 148) that his conclusions need the modification given them in the text. Nevertheless here, as else-where, the author has shown a real appreciation of the problems of the Rhodian constitution, and I have derived considerable enlightenment from them in the later stages of this work.

152. I.G. xii, 1, 25; 63; 125; 387; 388; 651; 986 (Carpathus); 977 (do.); Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 167, nr. 20, l.20; 21 BII, 9, II, 12; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 220, nr. 63; Inscr. 29; 43; 86; 102; l.30; 103, L.22; 679; NS, 119, 136-7. Many of these instances are signatures of Athenian artists. In this and all following entries I have not differentiated between those instances drawn from tombstones (the majority), and those incidental references to foreigners in other types of documents.

153. Tombstones of Rhodians at Athens (and Peiraeus): I.G. ii^2, 10136 - 10142. Other references to Rhodians in Attic

153. contd.

documents are (cf. Pope, Foreigners in Attic Inscriptions, New York, 1947, pp. 136-9): I.G. ii^2, 1956 = M 605, a list, apparently of mercenaries, which contains in l.141ff, the name of at least one Rhodian, [κ]ό[ν]ων , after whose name the stone is broken. The names at the top of the succeeding column (after a lacuna of at least ten names), [Αμ]είνιχος , Ἀγέας , Δάμων , given without comment by Pope, loc.cit. as Rhodian, are not in any way characteristically Rhodian, and their attribution to a city must be left open (so also, Launey, Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques, p. 241); ii^2, 2332, ll. 72-4 (3 Rhodians), 115, 214-5, a list of epidoseis of 183/2, containing more Rhodians than any other single document; ii^2, 19 (v. above, p. 36 note 29); ii^2, 356 = GHI, 199 [redacted]; ii^2, 483, honours for a Rhodian doctor, 304/3; Hesp. ix, 1940 p, 345, nr. 44 (Rhodian officer of Alexander); [ii^2, 1024+ SEG, ii, 12 (it is very doubtful if Rhodians are mentioned here)] ; ii^2, 1938, = M 1539, l. 25 (Panaitios the philosopher in a list of Athenian hieropoioi, containing a number of Stoic names; cf. Crönert, SB. Berl.Akad. 1904, pp. 471ff; Pohlenz, Stoa, ii, p.91 ad p.180); ii^2, 3081 = Syll^3. 1090, an agonothetic dedication of c.280-270, the auletes in which is [Σω]κράτης Ῥόδιος πόλει (cf. Milet, i, 3, 360, note 1, SGDI, 2564); I omit from consideration the playright Anaxandrides, mentioned in ii^2, 2325 etc., since it is by no means certain that he was a Rhodian.

154. v. Grace, Hesperia, i, ii, 1934, pp. 197-310; the most important earlier publication is Dumont, Inscriptions céramiques de la Grèce, pt. ii, pp. 75-124 (347 Rhodian amphora-handles from Athens); cf. also above p. 129, note 79.

155. Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 169, nr. 130; Inscr. 16 (before 408).

156. Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932, p. 410, nr. 35; Inscr. 137; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, nr. 21B, I, l. 13.

157. I.G. xii, 1, 125; 871; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 178, nr. 6, ll. 26I, 281.

158. I.G. xii, 1, 127 (Amphipolis); 429-430 (Cassandrea); 305; 322; 515-6; 754; Annuario, ii, p. 139, nr. 17; Inscr. i, 277 (all 'Macedonians' or Μακεδόες); I.G. xii, 1, 75 (Olynthus)

159. I.G. xii, 1, 386; NS, 211 (Abdera); I.G. xii, 1, 389 (Ainos); 545, 877; Annuario, ii, p. 176, nr. 166; Inscr. ii, 695; NS, 217-8 (Thracians'); I.G. xii, 1, 466 (?Crobyza); 112

159, contd.

(Cypsela); 127, l.22 (Lysimacheia); 701; 788; Inscr.93b (Samothrace).

160. NS, 42 (Andros); I.G. xii, 1, 320 (Delos); 410 (Eresos); Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, nr. 21, III, l. 19; Inscr. 121; 241 (Thera); I.G. xii, 1, 539a; 977, l. 29; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, l. 22, III, l. 31; ibid. BI, ll. 8-9; Annuario, ii, p. 127, nr. 4; p. 169, nr. 130; Cl.Rh. ii, p. 169, nr. 1, l. 15; Cl. Rh. vi-vii, p. 403, nr. 30, l. 34 (Cos); I.G. xii, 1, 701, l. 14; 43 (Lemnos); Ath. Mitt. xxv, 1900, p.109, nr. 108 (Methymna); Cl.Rh. ii, p. 230, nr. 112 (Mytilene); I.G. xii, 1, 449; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, BI, l. 1 (Paros) I.G. xii, 1, 384; 570 (?); 822 (?); Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 20, ll. 21-3; 21, III, l. 14, BII, l. 29; Annuario, ii, p. 160, nr. 77; Cl.Rh. vi-vii, p. 427, nr. 46; Inscr. i, 276; 100; NS, 19; 37; 231; 417 (Samos); Cl.Rh. ii, p. 230, nr. 43 (Tenedos); I.G. xii, 1, 127, l. 13; NS, 356; 359 (Tenos); I.G. xii, 1, 113; 127, l. 78; 478; Annuario, ii, p. 157, nr. 62; NS, 8 (Chios); in addition there are Cypriots: I.G. xii, l. 867 (koinon of Lapethiastai); 140; 451; Inscr. 392 etc (Paphos); I.G. xii, 1, 63; 456; Inscr. 78 (Salamis); and Cretans: I.G. xii, 1, 408 (Gortyn); 4; 124; 812; 813 (Eleutherna); Inscr. 627 (Cnossos); Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 1 ('Cretan');

161. v. above, i, pp. 222-3 . Numerous Rhodian amphora-stamps, estimated at 15,000 (v. Roussel, DCA, p. 29, note 4), were found during the French excavations at Delos, but these have not been published.

162. I.G.xii, 1,450 (Amasis); 11; 399b; Annuario, ii, p. 159, nr.70 (Amastris); I.G. xii, 1,400; Annuario, ii, p. 178, nr. 181; Cl.Rh. ii, p. 195, nr. 22; NS 147 (Amisos); I.G. xii, 1, 424-7; 321; 158; 963; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 6; nr. 21, III, 1.40; Annuario, ii, p. 160, nr. 80; p. 177, nr. 178; Inscr. 144; 121; 194; NS, 96 (Heracleia Pontica); Annuario, ii, p. 164, nr. 106; NS, 167 (Byzantium); Inscr. i, 275, l.34; 165 (Calchedon); I.G. xii, 1, 127, l.56; 157; 541; Cl.Rh.ii, p. 178, nr. 6, l.31r (Ilion); I.G. xii, 1, 433; Cl.Rh. ii, p. 199, nr. 31; Inscr. i, 252, line 142 (Cius); I.G. xii, 1, 11; 127, l.58; 870a2; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, III, l.30; Inscr. i, 121; ii, 358 (Cyzicus); I.G. xii, 1, 465-7 (Sinope).

163. v. above, pp. 233ff.

164. I.G. xii, 1, 122; 127, l.3, 8, 73-5; 412-423; 539b; 540; 663?; 775; 940; 941; 1452; 987; Ath. Mitt. xxi, 1896, p. 47, nr.25; p.51, nr. 45-6; ibid. xxiii, 1898, p. 399, nr. 85; Annuario, ii, p. 154, nr. 39; p. 157, nr. 59; p. 174, nr. 155; ibid. viii-ix, p. 322, nr. 6; Inscr. i, 276-7; 84; 547; 632; 635; NS,45;

164. contd.

168-171; 198; 339; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, 1.25-7(3), 31, 36, III, 17, BI4, 5, 14, BII7, 26, 31.

165. I.G. xii, 1, 323; 113; 775; 819; 875; 969; Annuario, ii, p. 135, nr. 1, 1.37; NS, 12; 179-180; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, 1.28.

166. I.G. ii^2, 9358-9965; cf. Ziebarth, BPW, lxii, 1942, cols. 161-2.

167. The only Prienean within Rhodian territory is from Carpathos: I.G. xii, 1, 970.

168. I.G. xii, 1, 324; 445; 918; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, III, 22.

169. I.G. xii, 1, 145; 85; 103; 156; 250; 396≠399a; 766; 809; 810; 825; Annuario, ii, p.126, nr.1; p. 135; nr.1, 1.50; ibid. N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, III, 11.7, 25; Ath.Mitt. xxiii, 1898, p. 398, nrs. 81-3; NS, 45; 141-3; 76.

170. I.G. xii, 1, 446; 659(?); Ath.Mitt. xxi, 1896, p. 47, nr. 25; Annuario, ii, p. 158, nr. 65; p. 166, nr. 119; ibid. N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, III, 11, 21, 38, 42, BI, 25, 36; Inscr. 276; 389; NS, 37.

171. I.G. xii, 1, 127, 1.48; 150; 435; 543; 652; 937; 977; Cl.Rh. ii, p. 198, nr. 30; ibid. vi-vii, p. 431, nr. 50; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, III, 2, 13.

172. I.G. xii, 1, 490-5; Annuario, ii, p. 155, nr. 51; p. 168, nr. 125; Inscr. i, 277; 497; 690; NS, 351.

173. I.G. xii, 1, 127, 1.35; 157; 461-2; 548; Annuario, ii, p.131, nr. 21; ibid. N.S. i-ii, nr. 15; 18; Ath.Mitt. xxi, 1896, p.47, nr. 26; Cl.Rh.ii, p. 178, nr. 6, ll. 27ff. r (4 Inscr. i, 275, l. 41; NS, 186-9.

174. I assume, in view of the rarity of citizens of the other cities of Cyprus at Rhodes (v. above, note 161) that the Σολοεῖς here are all from the Cilician city of Soloi; I.G.xii, 1, 43, l. 25; 47, 1.25; 66; 127, ll. 44, 60, 69, 84; 325; 382; 469; 470; 541; 543; 742; 875; 838; 846; 862; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, III, 1.6; Cl. Rh. ii, p. 216, nr. 56; p. 230, nr. 111; p. 231, nr. 119; NS, 46; 424. The ethnic of the Cyprian city was (? invariably) Σόλιος: v. Robert, Hellen. ii, 1946, p. 72

175. I.G. xii, 1, 112; 127, l.31; 158; 159; 317-9; 384; 477; 540; 550; 1029; Ath.Mitt. 1896, p. 41, nr. 8; NS, 43; 205-6; 384; Annuario, ii, p. 131, nr. 22; p. 176, nr. 165; ibid. N.S. i-ii, 18B; 21, III, l.33, BII, l.32; Cl.Rh. ii, p. 178, nr. 6; l.24r; p. 214, nr. 53; p. 232, nr. 124.

176. I.G. xii, 1, 127, l.26; 530-538; Ath. Mitt.xxi, 1896, p. 48, nr. 30; NS, 234, 237; 241; Annuario ii, p. 161, nr. 86; p. 167, nr. 121; p. 177, nr. 173; Cl.Rh.ii, p.231, nr. 120; p. 232, nr. 123.

177. I.G. xii, 1, 521-4; 685; 879.

178. Annuario, ii, p. 128, nr. 19.

179. NS, 136; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, III, l.3.

180. I.G. xii, 1, 519-520; 952.

181. I.G. xii, 1, 502-4; 870b; 909; 951; NS, 222-4; 354; Annuario, ii, p. 162, nr. 92; Cl.Rh.ii, p. 216, nr. 56.

182. I.G. xii, 1, 508-513; 878; Annuario, ii, p. 174, nr. 157; Cl. Rh. vi-vii, p. 365, nr. 13; Inscr. i, 276; Ath.Mitt.xxi, 1896, p. 48, nr. 29.

183. I.G. xii, 1, 160; 506-7; 513 (?); Annuario, ii, p. 162, nr. 95; NS, 226-8; 384.

184. I.G. xii, 1, 546; 550; 818; NS, 136; 225; Annuario, ii, p.129, nr. 13; Inscr. ii, 687.

185. NS, 212; Annuario, ii, p. 153, nr. 34; p. 159, nr. 73.

186. For a bibliography of these up to 1909, v. Nillson, Timbres amphoriques de Lindos, and add: SB, 6320-6524; 6979-6981 = SEG, viii, 439-441; SB, 7841ff = SEG, viii, 442; Pagenstecher, Sammlung E.von Siglin, ii, 1913, pp. 155-164.

187. I.G. xii, 1, 127; 155; 390-5; 542; 1029; NS, 8; 45-6; 94; 139-40; Ath. Mitt. 1896, p. 42, nr. 9; ibid, p. 398, nr. 80; Cl.Rh. ii, p. 219, nr. 62; p. 231, nr. 118; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, III, ll.4, 36, BII, l.19; Inscr. i, 275, l. 10.

188. I.G. xii, 1, 42; 73a; 118; 127, ll. 17, 28, 42, 46, 51, 53, 67, 90; 165(?); 171; 381; 402; 404(?); 539, ab; 547; 842; 917; NS, 8; 37; 39; 41; 45; 49; 148-159; Annuario, ii, p. 127 nr. 3; p. 135, nr. 1, ll. 56-7; p. 162, nr. 91; p. 163, nr. 100; p.164, nr. 102; p. 174, nr. 153; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, ll. 23,

188. contd.

28, III, 11.1, 16, 18, 24, 41, BI1.6, 37, BII,1.27; Cl.Rh. ii, p.178, nr. 6, 11.71, 101, 141; p. 184, nr. 9. p.206, nr. 40, p. 231, nr. 117; Inscr. 275, 1.9; 276; 277 (2); 260, 1. 11; 299a, 1.18; 692; 252, 1. 119; 642, 660. It may be pointed out in favour of the interpretation given here to the term Ἀντιοχεύς that Antiocheia-on-Orontes is sometimes called ἡ μεγάλη : v. Malalas, viii, 260; ix, 279, 287, 300 etc. That this is not merely local patriotism is shown by the same author's use of Ἀλεξανδρεία ἡ μεγάλη, ix, 279, 280, 281, 290 etc., a usage which is confirmed by an inscription of the reign of Commodus from Ancyra, Jahreshefte, xxx, 1937, Beiblatt, pp. 30-3 nr. 37.

189. I.G. ii^2, 8099-8323.

190. The recent publication of the pottery from the American excavations at Antioch contains no Rhodian handles, but there is little or nothing Hellenistic in what has survived, so no conclusions can be drawn from this. The editor says, Antioch on Orontes, iv, (1), 1948, p. 2, that plain or coarse pottery was not included in the publication, because 'it was not possible to send (it) to the United States under the circumstances which prevailed when the expedition was brought to a close'. It is possible that Rhodian handles are among this unpublished material.

191. xiii, 346: καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς Θεοδόσιος περιτειχισθῆναι καὶ τὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ὄντα οἰκήματα· καὶ ἐγένετο τεῖχος ἀπὸ τῆς Πύρτας τοῦ λεγομένου φίλου αὐτοῦ ἕως τοῦ λεγομένου Ῥοδίωνος Bouchier, Antioch, p.5, may well be right in suggesting that the term is connected with rose-gardens, and not with Rhodes, since the form ὁ Ῥοδίων is difficult to explain if connected with Rhodes, unless it be regarded as a colloquialism.

192. I.G. xii, 1, 72a, 1. 13; 107; 165; 440-2; 542; 683; Annuario, ii, p. 174, nr. 154; ibid.viii-ix, p. 322, nr. 5; ibid. N.S. i-ii, nr. 21, III, 11.20, 35, BI, 11.11,18, 35; NS, 37; 175-6; 352; Cl.Rh. ii, p. 178, nr. 6, 1.121; Inscr. i, 278, 1.22; ii, 299, 1. 61; 688.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. Ol. vii, 58.

2. v. Heffter, Göttendienst auf Rhodos, iii, p. 7; Dittenberger, De sacris Rhod. i, p. iv, followed by Jensen, RE, s.v. Helios (1), col. 66, and van Gelder, p. 290.

3. v. i, p. 14, note 12. The discovery of an early [illegible] decree of the Rhodian state at Lindos, if it be not a 'wandering stone', does indicate that Lindos was founded as a genuine centre immediately after the synoecism (v. above p. 310 / note 117).

4. The Τέμενος τοῦ Ἁλίου is mentioned in I.G. xii, 1, 2, l.7, and by Eustathius, who calls it the Ἅλειον . For the possible site v. Laurenzi, Mem. FERT. ii, 1938, p. 36, who refers to the dedication to a priest of Helios, Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 218, nr. 59 , and a head of Helios, both found near the modern Kastro, in the street of the Knights. I.G. xii, 1, 2, [illegible] was found in the same neighbourhood . Cf. Cl.Rh. i, 1929, p. 46; von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 765; Erdmann, Philol. xlii, 1884, p. 226.

5. v. above, p. 11, note 136.

6. The names of the priests (with very few to be added) are listed by von Hiller, Rhodos, cols. 835-840 (309 different entries, but some are probably duplications).

7. v. Nilsson, Timbres amphoriques de Lindos (= Explor.de Rhodes, v), 1909, who gives all earlier views; and Grace, Hesperia, iii, 1934, pp. 197-206, 214-220; ead. Hesperia, Suppl. viii, (= T.L. Shear Commemorative Studies), 1949, pp. 175ff.

8. These have been regarded on general grounds, quite apart from the evidence of the list of priests, as the most probable limits of the production of Rhodian amphorae for the export market on a large scale.

9. Rhodian wine (probably only one of the many commodities shipped in amphorae; v. above p. 133 / n. 92) was known in Rome in the Imperial period, and apparently at Byzantion in the Byzantine age; v. Plin. NH xiv, (8), 10, who says that, like Coan, it was mixed with salt-water. (It cannot however be assumed on this account (as Miss Grace, Hesperia, iii, 1934, p. 198) that Rhodian wine was of poor quality, any more than it can be so assumed that Cretan vintages are today of poor quality because the barrels are 'lined' with chalk); cf. Theod. Prod. Rhodanthe, ii, lines 120-1: ἄλλοι τὸν οἶνον ἡὐλόγουν τὸν ἐν Ῥόδῳ
ὡς ἡδὺν εἰς ὄσφρησιν, ἡδὺν εἰς πόσιν.

10. This is nowhere expressly stated of the priest himself (references to whom are rare in literature), but only of the suffect ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἁλίου . This, combined with the considerable a priori probability that this was the method employed makes it virtually certain. References to the ἐπὶ ἱερέως (all to a single individual): I.G. xii, 1, 833; Inscr. ii, 312; 315; cf. Annuario, viii-ix, 1929, pp. 315-320, nr. 2 = von Hiller, Archiv für Religionswiss. xxvii, 1929, pp. 349-354; Blinkenberg, Deux Documents, pp. 11ff.

The meaning of ἐπὶ ἱερέως is not wholly certain. It is commonly, and probably correctly, taken to mean 'suffect', i.e. a successor elected by lot to take the place of a priest who died in office. Used in respect of an eponymous priesthood it can hardly mean 'one elected in addition'; cf. Aeschin. In Ctesiph. 62: Δημοσθένης, οὔτε λαχὼν οὔτ' ἐπὶ λαχόντι, ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἱερώμενος.

11. NS, 20 (as corrected by Wilhelm, Ath.Mitt. li, 1926, p. 3): [πρυτ]ά[νε]ύ[ουσ]α π[ρ]ώτα[ν] ἑξάμηνον τὸν ἐπ' ἱερέως Ἀγλωχάρετου καὶ ἐπ' ἱερέως Φαινίλα. Had Phainilas been suffect (ἐπὶ ἱερέως), the inscriptions quoted in note 10, indicate that he would be so designated. Jahreshefte, iv, 1901, pp. 161ff = Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 142ff., nr. 11: [σ]τεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ τᾶς βουλᾶς τᾶς βε[βουλευκυίας τὸν θερι- sive χειμερι]νὸν ἑξάμηνον τὸν ἐπ' ἱερέως Μνεσθέως, κ.τ.λ. is not necessarily conclusive since the semesters may not have been successive.

12. This reversal of order of the semesters is shown by two contemporary documents, Annuario, iv-v, 1924, pp. 223ff, = SEG, iii, 674 = Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 158-165, nr. 18, and Syll^3. 644.

As contrasted with I.G. xii, 1, 4. In the two former inscriptions, of which the first belongs to c. 200 (but can be dated only by the lettering), and the second to c. 172 B.C. (v. above, p. 178 note 143), the month of the summer semester of one specific year precede those of the winter: Syll^3. 644 contains a grant of proxeny in successive sessions of the ecclesia (v. below note 37), in the year of the Halios-priest Damocles. The first entry is made in the month Δάλιος which belonged to the summer semester (v. below note 37), the following in the month Βαδρόμιος , which belongs to the winter semester. Similarly, SEG. iii, 674 etc. records the months in the order Κάρνειος , Πάναμος [redacted] (which Maiuri, Annuario, iv-v, p. 232 wrongly identified with the intercalary Πάναμος β'), Πεδαγείτνιος , Βαδρόμιος with the beginning of the year in Ἀρτεμίσιος (summer semester).

12. contd.

For Polybius' confusion between the semesters, in xxvii, 7, 2-3, when recording a date contemporary with Syll^3.644, v. above p. 174 note 103 and Pugliese Carratelli, Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 160 note 1, whose explanation is convincing: cf. also Fraser, Berytus [illegible] (cf. above p. 175 note 118)

I.G. xii, 1, 4, of Flavian date, records the names of those who are to provide the oil for daily use in the gymnasium, gives the reverse sequence for the months, with the winter months, preceding the summer: Θεσμοφόριος [illegible] (cf. I.G. xii, 1, 3 = Syll^3. 974, line 5), Θευδαίσιος (?), Πεδαγειτνιος (?) Διόσθυος (?), Βαδρόμιος (?), Σμίνθιος, Ἀρταμίτιος, Ἀγριάνιος (?) Ὑακίνθιος, Πάναμος Α', Δάλιος (?), Κάρνειος (?) Πάναμος Β' : cf. v. Hiller ad loc.

v. in general, Nilsson, Timbres amphoriques, pp. 121-137; Bischoff, RE, s.v. Kalendar, col. 1581; Hiller, Rhodos, col. 743-6 (for the assumption that all Dorian months of the same name occupied the same position in their respective calendars, v. Pritchett, AJA, L, 1946, pp. 358-360).

13. M535 = SGDI, 3751 = Syll^3. 644, ll. 12-3: ἐπ' ἱερέως Δαμοκλέους τοῦ Δαμέου, πρυτανίων τῶν σὺν Ἀστυμήδει τῶι Ἀρχοκράτευς; ibid. ll. 16-7: ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δαμοκλέους, πρυτανίων τῶν σὺν Ἀστυμήδει : ibid. II. 18-9: ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δαμοκλέους, πρυτανίων τῶν σὺν Βαδρομίωι Ἱπποκλεῖ (For a similar expression used of a prytanic college v. M, 1342 (Ilion, i, B.C.); ἐπεγράψαμεν εἰς στήλην κατὰ τὸν νόμον Ξεροφίλου πατρὸς οὗ ἂν χρηματίσῃ ἐξημμένου ὑπὸ τῶν πρυτανέων τῶν περὶ Διοφάνην) The Rhodian decree relating to Cyzikos, or, more precisely, the surviving Cyzikene version SGDI 3752 has only ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἀρατοφάνευς, Σμινθίου πρ(ώ)τει ἐξ Ἰκάδος, thus conforming in its present form, to the usage of private documents: v. below, note 15.

14. SGDI, 3754 = (with improved text), Pugliese Carratelli, Stud. Ciaceri, 1940, p. 255, nr. II: [ἐπ' ἱερέως Ἀ[ρ]τεμοῦς πρυτανίων τῶν σὺν Μενελεῖ τῶι Δαμαγόρα, γραμματεύοντος βουλᾶς [illegible] καὶ μάχου Διοφάνου, καθὸ ἀρχε- cf. below, pp. 546-7.

15. Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 156-165, nr. 18 (cf. above, note 12), A, l. 2: ἐπ' ἱερέως Ἀρατοφάνευς Πανάμου ἑβδόμαι ἐπὶ δέκα : A, l. 19: ἐπ' ἱερέως Ἀγοράνακτος Σμινθίου ἑβδόμαι ἐπὶ δέκα ; B, ll. 3,5,8: ἐπ' ἱερέως Ἀρχίνου Καρνείου πέμπτει ἱσταμένου ; l. 14 : ἐπ' ἱ[ερέως Ἀρχίνου Π]εδαγειτνίου τρίτει ἐξ Ἰκάδο[ς]

16. The γραμματεὺς ἱερέως Ἁλιάδου καὶ ἱεροθυτῶν occurs only once, in the inscription (i. B.C.) published by Segre, PP., x, 1949, pp. 72-82, where a list of priests and hierothytai is followed by Εὔκλεῆς Ξενοφ[άνευς] γραμματέως ἱερέω[ς Ἁ]λιάδου [καὶ ἱερ]οθυτῶ[ν]

17. I.G. xii, 1, 832, l. 14; Inscr. ii, 465, 3, l.10; f, l.8 = I.G. xii, 1, 839, II, ll. 25-6; g, 8 = I.G. xii, 1, 839, III, l. 40 new fragment (with addition of -[ἀρ]μάτων καὶ τᾶ μεγάλᾳ π[ό]λει Ῥόδῳ ; Inscr. ii, 486, l.7 (all Antonine or later).

18. I.G. xii, 1, 52; 57, l. 13; 96; 383; Lind.Chron. D, ll. 95-6, 102, 112 (all narrative); Inscr. ii, 449, l.14 (ii. A.D.); Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 144, nr. 13 (v. below, note 190); Inscr. ii, 384b, l. 14, the phrase ἡ κοινὰ πόλις occurs.

19. I.G. xii, 1, (810, l.2); 824, l.6; 833, l.7; Inscr.i, 135; (245); 246; 250; ibid. ii, 283; 312; 315; 420b5, (13); 421, l.2; 437; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 149, nr. 4; these inscriptions are of all dates from the third century B.C. onwards.

20. ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ῥοδίων : I.G. xii, 1, 56, 1; 61, 1; 65,1; 82a1; 83,1; (86,1); 89,1; 90,1; 91a,1; b1; 92-3; 95a1, b1; (97,1; 100,1); NS, 2; 23; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 198, nr. 30; M21 = SGDI, 3749 = Syll^3. 581 = Schwyzer, 288 = Inscr. Cret. III,iii, 3, p. 32, l. 9 (cf. below, p. 666); Lind. Chron. C, 102; Inscr. 117; 160; 438; 449; 454; Annuario, ii 1916, p. 145, nr. 15-17; 19 (=improved text of I.G.xii, 1, 83).
οἱ Ῥόδιοι = ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ῥοδίων is found only in the longest of all surviving Rhodian documents concerned with foreign affairs, the Rhodes-Hierapytna alliance (cf. above), in which it occurs passim; ὁ δᾶμος ὁ Ῥοδίων occurs in l.9.
The phrase τὸ πλῆθος τὸ Ῥοδίων occurs in I.G. xii, 1, 85, l.4; 90, l.7. It also occurs, but probably without constitutional significance, in Xen.Eph. i, 12 (p.341, Hercher), v. 13 (p.397, 6 and 16H), v, 15 (399, 21H). The same author once (again in a general sense) uses the phrase ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ῥοδίων in v, 13 (p. 397, 21H). ἡ τῶν Ῥοδίων πόλις in Mithridates' letter to Leonippus (88/7 B.C.) Syll^3. 741 = RC, 74, ll. 3-4, has likewise no constitutional significance.

21. I.G. xii, 1,2; 3; 51; (57, l.16); 58; 75; 383; (829a, 5); 844, l. 30; 890, ll. 20, 31; 922; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 169, nr.1; ibid. p. 198, nr. 20; SGDI, 3752; SGDI, 3750 = REG, xii, 1899, p. 21 A1.1; Lind.Chron. C, ll. 85, 97; Inscr. 88; 151; 193; 209; 215; 224; 247; 249; 258; 272; 293c; 37; 299c, 42; 308b, 38; 312; 322; 324, ll. 33-4; 347, ll.53 and 118; 384d, 6; ibid. 438, Λίνδιοι ἐτίμασαν τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Ῥοδίων is unique as a formula, and of interest as a stage in the development of the idea of personification which, in Rhodian subject territory, takes the form of the establishment of a cult of the Rhodians; v. my remarks on this in 'Peraea'.

22. I.G. xii, 1, 762; (829,13); 847, 15; 848; 852; 1032,l.32; 1033, l.30 (cf. note 24); 1035, l.10; NS, 25, Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 429, nr. 49; Inscr. 216; ibid. ii, 281a17, b18; 297,13; 305, 17; 307,13; 328; 330,15; 332,9; 333, 15; 338,6; 345; 379b7; 384a17; 392a4, b3; 395,7; 398,18; 404a6, b15; 406,8; 415,13.

23. For ὁ σύμπας δῆμος at Mylasa, v. LBW, 394 = M472; 403; 406; 408 = M473; 409 (cf. Wilhelm, Beiträge, p. 313, addnl. note to p. 164), etc.

24. Syll^3. 45 = GHI, 25, line 41; cf. also at Magnesia, I.von Mag. 100 = Syll^3. 695, line 11, and Priene, I. von Priene, 109, lines 197-8.

25. εὐνοίας ἕνεκα, ἂν ἔχων διατελῇ εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ Λινδίων: I.G. xii, 1, (829a, 12); 846-7; 849-853; (856); 922; ὁ δὲ αἱρεθεὶς ποιησάσθω αἴτησιν (or αἰτησάσθω) τοῦ στεφάνου, καὶ ἀνάθεσιν τῶν στηλῶν ἐν τῶι δήμωι τῶι Λινδίων / I.G. xii, 1, 1032 = Syll^2. 491 = M 436 = Schwyzer, 295; 1033 = M 437 = Syll^3. 570 (both from Carpathos).

26. v. the instances of ὁ δὲ αἱρεθείς, quoted in the preceding note.

27. v. [illegible] i, p[illegible]. 527.

28. v. i, pp. 480 ff.

29. v. i, pp. 141-2 for a possible prepluism in 312 B.C.

30. I.G. xii, 1, 3, l.1: [ἔδοξεν τῶι δάμωι ἐν τᾶι ἐκλησίαι ἐν τῶι Ἀρτεμισίωι μηνί. This does not of course prove a monthly session.

31. Syll^3.644.

32. b, ll. 16ff: ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δαμοκλέους, πρυτανίων τῶν σὺν Ἀστυμήδει· τοῖσδε ἐδόθησαν προξενίαι ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἐκκλησίας· Δίωνος· Εὐδήμ(ωι) Νίκωνος Σελευκεῖ / c: ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δαμοκλέους, πρυτανίων τῶν σὺν Ἰατροκλεῖ, Βαδρομίου· ἔδοξεν τῶι δάμωι ἐν τᾶι δευτέραι ἐκκλησίαι· τοῖσδε προξένους εἶμεν Ῥοδίω[ν] Εὐδήμου Νίκωνος Σελευκῆ.

33. Xen.Hell. iii, 3, 8, speaks of ἡ μικρὰ καλουμένη ἐκκλησία at Sparta; cf. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde^3, p. 693. The μεγάλαι ἀπέλλαι at Gythion are referred to in I.G. v, 1, 1144, l.20, and ibid. 1146 = Syll^3. 748, l.41.

34. For the ἔσκλητος at Syracuse v. Hesychius, s.v. ἔσκλητος· ἡ τῶν ἐξόχων συνάθροισις ἐν Συρακούσαις; cf. Hüttl, Verfassungsgeschichte von Syrakus, p. 73, note 3

35. v. Ἀθπ. 41, 3-4; Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde^3, pp. 987-8.

36. v. Vollgraff, Mnemos, xliv, 1916, pp. 46-8.

37. The first date given in Syll^3. 644 is in extract a, which precedes the passage quoted in note 32, above: a reads ἐπὶ ἱερέως Δαμοκλέους τοῦ Δαμέου, πρυτανίων τῶν σὺν Ἀστυμήδει τοῦ Ἀρχοκράτευς / Δηλίου. b, another extract, gives

37. contd.

Δαισίου , unknown as the name of a month at Rhodes, or elsewhere. It may be an error for Θευδαίσιος (as Wilhelm, ad loc.) or for Δάλιος (Nilsson, Timbres amphoriques, p. 131, note 1). The third document, a decree, apparently confirming the proxenia provisionally proposed in b, has Βαδρομίου . Δάλιος was the last month of the summer semester (v. Jahreshefte, vii, 1904, pp. 92ff., ll. 8-9: ὁ τόκος διανέμηται τοῖς θερινοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐπὶ τῇ γενεθλίῳ τοῦ ἡμέρᾳ, Δαλίου νουμηνίᾳ: cf. Nilsson, op.cit. pp. 126ff), Βαδρόμιος the fifth of the winter; there is therefore a period of five months between the original proposal in Dalios, recorded in a, ἐκ τῶν δεκωμάτων and its final confirmation in Badromios (since the summer semester preceded that of the winter in the eponymous year at this time; v. above, p. 321, note 12). The preliminary grant, indicated by the intermediate stage b might have been taken at the same session of the ecclesia, immediately after the proposal, in Dalios (reading Δαλίου for Δαισίου); in that case it is unlikely that the two sessions (?) of the ecclesia, referred to as ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκκλησίαν and ἐν τῇ δευτέραν ἐκκλησίᾳ were consecutive, since there is a gap of five months. If, on the other hand, Θευδαισίου be read for Δαισίου , there is only a gap of one full month between b and c, and the sessions would probably be successive. In view of the ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκκλησίαν and ἐν τῇ δευτέραν ἐκκλησίᾳ, this seems the most reasonable explanation.

38. Cic. De Rep. iii, 35, 48: M(ummius): Quam igitur relinquis populari rei publicae laudem? Tum ille (i.e. Scipio): Quid? tibi, tandem, Spuri, Rhodiorum, apud quod nuper fuimus una, nullane videtur esse respublica? M.: Mihi vero videtur: et minime quidem vituperanda.S.: Recte dicis: sed, si meministi, omnes erant iidem tum de plebe tum senatores, vicissitudinesque habebant, quibus mensibus populari munere fungerentur, quibus senatorio: utroibique autem conventicium accipiebant: et in theatro et in curia res capitales et reliquas omnes iudicabant iidem: tantum poterat tantique erat, quanti multitudo, senatus.....

This passage has recently been discussed by Pugliese Carratelli, PP., xi, 1949, pp. 168ff., who attempts to connect this conception of the Rhodian constitution with Panaetius.

39. Pol. 1293a, 9-10: διὸ γίγνεται τὸ τῶν ἀπόρων πλῆθος κύριον τῆς πόλεως πολιτείας ἀλλ' οὐχὶ οἱ νόμοι.

40. v. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde[3], p. 921.

41. v. i, pp. 80ff.

42. v. i, pp. 104ff.

43. Syll^3. 581 (cf. above, note 20)

44. SGDI, 3750 = REG, xii, 1899, pp. 20ff, Decree A. For the occasion, v. i, pp. 262-3.

45. SGDI, 3752. The date of this decree cannot be determined: v. above p. 122, note 41, at end.

46. Decree C of REG, xii, 1899, pp. 21ff., which expresses the steps to be taken to implement the terms of decree A:
[ἔδοξεν τᾶι βουλᾶι καὶ τῶι δ]άμωι· ἐπειδὴ Ἰασέων [σ]υ[νγ]ενῶν καὶ φίλ[ων ἐπιδεχόντων κ.τ.λ.]

47. Syll^3.644c.

48. Since however the probouleuma was on a subsidiary topic, it is possible that it was never brought before the ecclesia.

49. The Cyzicene ambassadors in SGDI, 3752; the Iasian ambassadors in REG, xii, 1899, pp. 21ff., decree A, ll. 13-4; the decree of the Bargyliots in honour Poseidonius, Holleaux, REA, xxi, 1919, pp. 1ff. = Etudes, ii, pp. 179ff., C, ll. 42, 51-2.

50. Polyb. xv, 23, 2; cf. i, p. 266

51. Polyb. xxix, ll. 1-2: this does not expressly state that the ambassadors appeared before the ecclesia, but that is the most natural inference from the compact expression: συναχθείσης τῆς βουλῆς παντάπασιν θορυβώδης ἦν ἡ ἐκκλησία.

52. For the notable absence of honours bestowed on foreigners v. above, pp. 506ff.

53. v. note 101, below.

54. Honorific decrees by the δᾶμος alone are: I.G. xii, 1, 61; 82; (86); 89-91; (100) 833; NS, 23; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 198, nr. 30; Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 145, nr. 14; Inscr. i, 88a, l.2; 117; ibid. ii, 322; 449; 454.

55. Honorific decrees passed by the βουλά and δᾶμος: I.G. xii, 1, 56; 65; 83 (= Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 147, nr. 19, improved text); 92; 95; NS 33; (2); Inscr. ii, 420; Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 145ff., nrs. 15-7.

56. v. the tables in Larfeld, Hdbuch, ii, pp. 602ff.

57. v. Accame, Lega, pp. 234-5.

58. This is expressed in the common formula, στεφανωθέντα (or στεφανωθεῖσαν) ὑπὸ τᾶς βουλᾶς(τᾶν βουλᾶν), found in : I.G. xii, 1, 51; 58, l. 14; 77; 701, l. 16; NS, 26; Inscr. ii, 384d, lines 13-14; ibid. e, line 3; 392b, line 5; 420a, line 3; ibid. b, line 7; 421a, lines 3-4; Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 142-3, nr. 11, passim; ibid. N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 154, nr. 14, lines 15-16; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 206-7, nr. 41; ibid. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 428, nr. 47; cf. also, below, note 101.

59. v. i, p. 345ff.

60. Syll^3. 644a, l. 14: Ἐπίνικος Εὐκλέ[ου]ς Κνιδόσεὺς εἶπε . Van Gelder, GdR, p. 247, recognising the significance of the events of 171-168 B.C. as an indication of the power of the ecclesia, explains them in what appears to be a very perverse manner; 'Im vierten Jahre jedoch siegte die makedonische Partei und wurde ein römerfeindlicher Beschluss genommen. Darüber belehrt uns ein leider allzukurzer Auszug aus Polybius (xxix, 10). Wie war das aber möglich, wenn die Volksversammlung keine Initiative besass, und Senat und Prytanen römerfreundliche waren? Die Schwierigkeit ist aber, wie ich meine, nicht so gross als sie scheint. Das Fragment des Polybius ist nämlich verloren gegangen, worin er berichtete, wie der römerfreundliche Rath, die römerfreudliche Prytanen allmählich durch die Gegenpartei ersetzt wurden'. Such an argument can by itself carry no weight, and in fact the narrative of Polybius, though it does not expressly state that the issue was undecided until the debate in the ecclesia, implies this: xxix, 10, 1ff: προτεθείσης χειροτονίας τοῖς Ῥοδίοις ἐνίκων οἷς ἤρεσκε πέμπειν τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν διαλύσεων . . . . . §3 (sc. τὸ διαβούλιον): ἐν ᾧ πλεῖον ἐφάνησαν ἰσχύοντες οἱ τὰ τοῦ Περσέως ἀρεσκόμενοι τῶν σώζειν σπουδαζόντων τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς νόμους. It seems almost impossible to understand this passage, and particularly Polybius' indignation, unless the vote in the assembly was something utterly unexpected, and also not a reflection of official Rhodian policy.

61. Polyb. xxx, 31, 16: ἀπολυλεκὼς ὁ δῆμος τοὺς πρόσοδους, τὴν παρρησίαν, τὴν ἰσολογίαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον πᾶν ἀναδεχόμενος διατετέλεκεν.

62. In fact used only of his suffect: v. i, p. 525, and note 10.

63. An official called κληρωτὰς τῶν δικαστῶν is referred to in NS, 18, l.7; I.G. xii, 1, 55; Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 151-2, nr. 7. Apparently an official or board of officials was elected to supervise the election by lot of dikastai, some, perhaps all,

63. contd.

jurors. The office is, I think, not known elsewhere, but their function is admirably illustrated by the duties assigned to the Smyrniote ἐξεταστάι in the treaty between Smyrna and the inhabitants of Magnesia ad Sipylum, OGIS, 229, ll. 52-3: ἐπικληρωσάτωσαν δὲ ο[ἱ ἐξεταστ]αὶ εἰς τὰς φυλὰς τὰ ἀνενεχθέντα ὀνόματα πάντα καὶ ἀναγραψάτωσαν εἰς τὰ κληρωτήρια [redacted] (cf. I.G. ii^2, 972, l. 10: κληρωτήριον λιθι[νόν...] ; for this machine v. Dow, Hesperia, Suppl. i, 1937, pp. 198-215).

64. This is stated of the ἀγορανόμοι (v. below, note 173), and of the ἐπιστάται (v. below, note 190).

65. For Athens, v. Ἀθ. Πολ. 43, 1; cf. Busolt, Staatskunde^3, pp. 468ff, and Glotz, DS, s.v. sortitio, pp. 1414ff.

66. For Tenos, v. I.G. xii, 5 (2), 801, lines 15-16 (the alternative supplement suggested by von Hiller, ibid. index, p. 361, s.v. κληροῦν is improbable); τὴν δὲ βουλὴν κ[αὶ τοὺς ἄρ/χοντας τοὺς ἀεὶ λαχόντας ἐπιμ[ελεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ.]

67. v.'Islands'.

68. v. i, pp. 580ff.

69. Instances from mainland Greece: Argos: I.G. xii, 3, 1259 = Syll^3. 261 = Schwyzer 85, cf. Vollgraff, Mnemos. xliv, 1916, pp. 61-4; von Hiller, SB. Berl.Akad. 1919, pp. 660-1. The reading of this inscription at the line in question, l.15, is certain: .ωλ.σδευτερας ; the interpretation of the reading less so. It is supposed that the text should be interpretated as [β]ωλ[ᾶ]ς σ[ὺ]ν τέρας -- i.e. the second council of the year, but the alternative [β]ωλ[ᾶ]ς <ς> εὐτέρας (sc. ἀρήτευε) is not unattractive. There is no independent evidence for the existence of a semestrial council at Argos.

The Thessalian koinon: I.G. ix, 2, 506; 539; 542; etc. The phrase used, as at Rhodes, is ἀπρώτα and δευτέρα ἐξάμηνος . The same division also existed at Krannon: I.G. ix, 2, 463. In none of these inscriptions is there reference to the semestrial election of the Boule, but it is implied, here as elsewhere, in the election of the senior magistrates. For the semestrial Boule at Delphi in the fourth century, v. Bourguet, L'administration financière, pp. 44ff, and for the changes in the Hellenistic age (ii-i, B.C.) v. Daux, Delphes, pp. 425-430.

The same system is also found at Gela, the Rhodian colony in Sicily I.G. xiv, 256 = SGDI, 4250 (Phintias); v. below, note 80.

69. contd.

An inscription from Dyme, SGDI, 1614 = Syll^{3}. 531, refers, ll. 5-6, to a πρώτα ἑξάμηνος : [τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ ἐν]τᾶι πρώτωι ἑξαμήνωι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν [ἐν τῶι δεκάτωι μηνί, ὡς οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἄρχοντι but this does not apparently refer to a semestrial administration, [redacted] but to a period of six months from the date of the decree. [redacted]
The same usage is found in an unpublished inscription from Amos in the Rhodian Peraea.

70. CIG, 2654: [τὸν δεῖνα] Ἀθηναίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου τοῦ Ἡε[ρακλέ]ους στρατη[γήσ]αντα τῶν [δ]ε[υτέρ]ων ἑξάμηνον [τὸν ἐπὶ δ]αμιούργου . . . [ου] Φλά[κ]κου, κ.τ.λ.

71. BCH, xv, 1891, pp. 423ff., nr. 4: [οἱ σ]τρατηγοὶ οἱ ἀρ[ξ]αντες τὸν χειμερινὸν τὸν ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Μενίτορος τοῦ Ἀπέλλου ; Robert, Etud. anat. p. 546, nr. 6: ἀποδεικνύ[σα]ντα τὸν θερινὸν ἑ[ξά]μηνον.

72. Dio Chrys. Or. xxxiv, §§ 35-6.

73. I. von Mag. 61 = OGIS, 233, ll. 61ff: τῆς πρώτης ἑξαμήνου δόγματα ἐκκλησίας κυρίας.

74, Mélanges St. Joseph, xxvi, 1944/6, pp. 61ff: Γάϊον Ἰουλίου Γαΐου Ἰουλίου Τουσκούλου υἱὸν . . . ἀγορανομήσαντα τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἑξαμήνῳ τοῦ ΣΠΡ' ἔτους

75. Robert, Syria, vi, 1925, pp. 365-6 = SEG, ii, 841, + vii, 321: γυμνα[σιαρχήσαντα] καὶ ἄρξαντα τὴν β' ἑξ[άμηνον]

76. Inscr. Cos, 10d, ll. 73ff; 11; 34, l. 14; Herzog, Koische Forschungen, pp. 26ff., nr.9, ll. 3ff: τοὶ μὲν τὰν χειμερι[νὰν] ἄρχοντες Γερμιστίου ΚΞ· τοὶ δὲ τὰν θε[ρι]νὰν ἄρχοντες. [redacted] cf. id. Heilige Gesetze, p. 50: [ἀνοιγ]όντω δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν με[τὰ τοῦ ἱερέως τοὶ προστάται ἅπαξ καθ' ἑκά]στων ἑξάμηνον (improved reading of NS, 442, ll. 6-7. Maiuri's reference, NS,442, ad l.7, 'Hg. 93-5', should read 'Hg--i.e. Herzog, Koische Forschungen--9, ll. 3-5').

77. I.G. xii, 5 (2), 881-6: e.g. 884: ἄρχοντος Ἀντιγόνου οἵδε ἦρξαν τὴν πρώτην ἑξάμηνον. On the use of ἑξάμηνος in this and all the preceding inscriptions as a noun of feminine gender, v. Welles, RC, p. 333, s.v. ἑξάμηνος

78. v. [redacted] 'Islands' and 'Peraea'.

79. v. i, pp. 77ff.

80. Of the communities listed in the preceding notes as using the semestrial system, Argos (if it did use it), Gela, Cos and Cnidos were Dorian, while Tarsus claimed to be (v. Ruge, RE,s.v.

80. contd.
Tarsos, col. 2416).

81. As e.g. at Lindos in the fifth century; v. i, pp. 426-7

82. v. [redacted] p. 321 , note 12

83. Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 142-3, nr. 11; Inscr. ii, 420a, 49, b8; 707.

84. v. [redacted] p. 321, note 12.

85. v. i, p. 526.

86. For ἁ βουλά with reference to a particular semester v. Inscr. ii, 384d (9 B.C.) where ἁ βουλά is contrasted with previous βουλαί.

87. For ἁ βουλὰ ἁ βουλεύουσα (or βουλεύσασα or βεβουλευκυῖα) τὰν θερινὰν (or πράταν, or χειμερινὰν or δευτέραν) ἐξάμηνον v. Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 142-3, nr. 11. ll.2, 4-5, 7, 9-10, where θερινά and χειμερινά are used repeatedly; Inscr. ii, 392b; 420b; 707.

88. I.G. xii, 1, 53.

89. v. above, note 87. In one inscription, I.G. xii, 1, 51 occurs the phrase, στεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν [προτερῶν βο]υλῶν : [redacted] where προτερῶν seems the only possible supplement.

90. v. above, note 38.

91. For the exceptions, Plutarchus and Poseidonius, both of Apamea, v. above, p. 512 and note 151

92. Cic. loc.cit. note 38: utroibi autem conventicium accipiebant. Dio Chrys. Or. xxxi, § 102: καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ δικανῶν φήσετε τῶν τότε μᾶλλον· τότε μὲν γὰρ εἰς πάνθ' ὅσα καὶ νῦν ἀνηλίσκετο, πανηγύρεις, πομπάς, ἱερουργίας, εἰς τὰ τείχη, τοῖς δικάζουσι, τῇ βουλῇ. At Athens the βουλευτικὸς μισθός was very small; v. Ἀθ. 62,2.

93. The karyx is first mentioned in Hell. Ox. (FGrHist. 66), ch. 10; cf. above, p. [redacted] 284 , and note 149 where; he occurs again in NS, 20, ll. 13-4.

94. v. below, p. 546.

95. Polyb. xxvii, 4, 4: οἱ (i.e. the envoys of Perseus) καὶ παραγενηθέντες ... μετά τινας ἡμέρας ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν βουλὴν παρεκάλουν τοὺς Ῥοδίους, κ.τ.λ.
cf. above, note, 49.

96. Polyb. xxviii, 17, 13: Ἔγραψε δὲ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ῥοδίων.
ibid. § 13, Hagepolis on his return from Macedonia told certain friends, ὅτι παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκίου κατ' ἰδίαν ἐντολὰς εἴληφε μνημονεύειν πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαλύειν τὸν πόλεμον. This was probably a verbal message by Marcius to the βουλά as distinct from the official letter which he addressed to the damos.

97. Polyb. xvi, 15, 8.

98. Diod. xx, 94.

99. Syll. 644d: Ἔδοξε τᾶι βουλᾶι ; cf. above, note, 37.

100. ibid. ll. 23ff; cf. above, note 148, p. 179.

101. For honours conferred by the βουλά alone v. above, note 58, and add: I.G. xii, 1, 53, 84; (829); Inscr. ii, 707.

102. I.G. xii, 1, 58.

103. Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 142-3, nr. 11.

104. v. the inscription quoted above (cf. note 102) (πλειονάκις); Inscr. ii, 421 (ἐννεάκις); 454 (an individual honoured πεντάκις by his damos and four times by his diagonia)

105. Annuario, ii, loc.cit.: σ]τεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ τᾶς βουλᾶς τᾶς βε[βουλευκυίας τὰν θερσ- sive χειμερι-/ν]ὰν ἑξάμηνον τὰν ἐπ' ἱερέως Μενεσθέως [χρυσέωι στεφάνωι καὶ στε/φ]ανωθέντα ὑπὸ τᾶς βουλᾶς τᾶς βεβουλευκυίας τὰν χειμερινὰν sive θερινὰν ἑξάμη/νον τὰν ἐπ' ἱερέως Ξενοτίμου δὶς χρυσέοις στεφάνοις καὶ ἀνδριάντι/ καὶ προσώπωι ἀρετῆς, καὶ στεφανωθέν[τα ὑπὸ τᾶς βουλᾶς τᾶς βεβουλευ/κ]υίας τὰν θερινὰν ἑξάμηνον etc. etc. in the same manner.

106. In spelling this magistracy I have substituted the Attic, and Koine form πρυτάνεις , since the Rhodian form πρυτάνιες , ~~Keine~~ when anglicised, is liable to confusion with the plural of the singular 'prytany', the period for which a tribe or college exercised the πρυτανεία .

107. (1-2), I.G. xii, 1, 49; 50. Von Hiller originally thought that these two inscriptions contained the names of six prytaneis, but subsequently, Hermes, xxviii, 1903, pp. 147-9, he showed that they only contained five prytaneis; in I.G. xii, 1, 50, one name (l.7, 1) is in smaller lettering than the rest which

107. contd.

indicates that it is the name of an adoptive father - for the use of smaller letters for the names of adoptive fathers, v. ibid. ll. 191, 27r; I.G. xii, 1, 819 - and von Hiller therefore read, loc.cit. ll. 6ff., [ὁ δεῖνα Λ sive Πα]υσανία [καθ' ὑοθεσίαν δὲ Ἀπολ]λοδότου. In I.G. xii, 1, 49 the top of the list of prytaneis is missing. On the right there are seven tamiai recorded, which is the normal number; the word [ταμίαι] may therefore be placed with certainty above Ἀνα̣ξί[λας - - -]. If the missing word [πρυτάνεις] in the left column is - as may be supposed - to be set opposite [ταμίαι] there is again only room for five prytaneis (v. von Hiller, Hermes, loc.cit. wrongly van Gelder, GdR, p. 240). Both these important inscriptions therefore contain the names of five prytaneis; for the dates of the inscriptions v. below, note 137.

Minor contributions to the question of the number of the Rhodian prytaneis were made by Selivanov, Hermes, xxviii, 1903, p. 146, and Holleaux, ibid. pp. 638ff. = Etudes, i, pp. 399-400.

(3) Ath. Mitt. xx, 1895, pp. 382ff., nr. 4 = SGDI, 3789; v. van Gelder, ad loc.; id. GdR p. 240, believed that there had been a further name at the top of this stone, but the evidence in favour of five prytaneis removes the possibility of this.

(4) Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 197-8, nr. 31.

(5) SB 1526 = Segre, Bull. Soc. Arch. Alex., X, 1939, pp. 131ff. (This inscription has been much discussed; a full bibliography to 1939 is given by Segre, loc.cit. p. 132; add Habachi, Ann.Serv. antiq. xlii, 1943, pp. 392-3; cf. Tod. JEA, xxxi, 1945, p. 102). This inscription was originally published in Ann.Serv.antiq. ii, 1901, and attributed to an alleged Dorian settlement in Egypt. Wilamowitz, SB, Berl. Akad. 1902, p. 1096, was the first to attribute it to Rhodes. Its Rhodian origin was finally proved by Segre, loc.cit. who showed that the fourth prytanis mentioned Μικύλιος Εὐελθόντος, was a Camiran who was Hieropoios, Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 401, nr. 29. Another inscription from Alexandria to which a Rhodian origin has sometimes been attributed, SB, 3996 (cf. Wilhelm, Beiträge, pp. 323-4, and 379) is not Rhodian but Alexandrian; v. Segre, op.cit. pp. 135-6.

(6) Segre, op.cit. p. 133.

108. Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 198, nr. 32. Von Hiller, ap.Jacopi, Cl.Rh.ad loc. (cf. id. GGA, 1933, p.23), suggested that the sixth name may have been that of a prytanis ἐπιλαχών. But an additional designation such as ἐπιλαχών or ἀντιπρυτανεύσας (cf. above, p. 321, note 10) would be natural. [illegible] The style of lettering in this inscription does not differ markedly from that of the others

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which record only five prytaneis, being, like them, characteristic Hellenistic script; it cannot therefore be argued safely that the size of the college changed permanently from five to six or from six to five. On the other hand the sixth may be the Secretary of theCouncil. At Samos the secretary of the Council is mentioned alongside the five prytaneis, while at Iasos a similar discrepancy to that which exists at Rhodes has been explained on the hypothesis that the Council-Secretary is present unrecorded; v. Swoboda, Griech.Volks. beschlüsse, pp. 71-4; Plaumann, Ptolemais, pp. 18-9 (discussing the same phenomenon there).

109. v, i, p. 561.

110. Particularly within the range of Rhodian influence: the five prostatai at Cos, Riv.Fil. lxi, 1933, p. 365; five prytaneis at Iasos (?on the Rhodian model). CIG, 2677, l. 10, six in M 460 = Syll^3. 169, in the time of Maussollos (cf. preceding note); five prytaneis at Stratonicaea, BCH, xi, 1887, p. 238, (39 B.C.). There can be little doubt that this, like other elements in the Rhodian constitution, is due to Rhodian influence (v. 'Peraea'). Outside the Rhodian sphere are the five prytaneis at Samos, I.von Priene 37, = Syll^3. 599 = Schwyzer, 289, ll. 29ff (cf. Swoboda, Griech Volksbeschlüsse pp. 73-4), and Ptolemais (Plaumann, loc.cit. note 108, above); cf. also the five tribes of the city [redacted] described in PHibeh, i, 29 = W. Chrest. 25, which may be Alexandria or (in spite of Plaumann, loc.cit.) Ptolemais. A correction between these hellenistic colleges of five, and the five Spartan ephors (for whom v. Chrimes, Ancient Sparta pp. 167, 403f) does not seem probable.

111. Inscr. Cret. III, iii, 3 (cf. above, note 20), line 87: κυρωθέ-
ντας δὲ τὰς συνθήκας ἐξέσθω ὁ δᾶμος ἄνδρας πέντε [redacted] cf. ibid.
ll. 101ff., where they are listed as ὁρκωτάι.

112. v. Busolt, Staatskunde^3, pp. 476-7.

113. v. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde^3, pp. 1028ff.

114. v. above, note 110. For evidence for the existence of the college at Halicarnassus, Erythrae, Tenos and elsewhere v. Busolt, op.cit, p. 476, note 4.

115. v. i, p. 345ff.

116. v. above, note 13.

117. For the Boule v. i, pp. 537-8.

118. I. von Mag. 55, ll. 16ff. Polyb. xxvii, 7, appears to combine the two phrases redundantly, when he says Στρατοκλέους πρυτανεύοντος τὴν δευτέραν ἑκκαιδεκάτην but as Pugliese Carratelli has pointed out in another context (v. above, p. 322, note 12), the phrase τὴν δευτέραν ἑκκαιδεκάτην is probably due to the influence of the Achaean calendar, and only Στρατοκλέους πρυτανεύοντος, is of Rhodian origin.

119. Polyb. xxii, 5; cf. i, p. 329. This episode suggests that the president of the prytaneis presided, as did the epistates at Athens, over the sessions of the ecclesia, since he would otherwise hardly have considered it necessary, before stating his own point of view, to give a survey of the opinions expressed on either side.

120. Polyb. xxvii, 3, 3-5; i, pp. 345-6

121. ibid. chs. 7, 3-4; 14; i, pp. 349-350.

122. v. i, pp. 350-1

123. Diod. xx, 98, 7; cf. i, pp. 154ff. The word πρυτάνεις in this passage is a supplement of Dindorf; *Wurm, in his translation of Diodorus (Stuttgart, 1827) preferred which is equally possible, and will still refer to the prytaneis.

124. Diod. ibid. § 9.

124A. Lind. Chron. D, III, lines 100, 105.

125. Polyb. xiii, 5, 1-2; cf. i, p. 260.

126. Polyb. xv, 23; cf. i, p. 266

127. Polyb. xxvii, 4, 4.

128. Inscr. Cret. III, iii, 3 (cf. above, note 20), ll. 88, 92.

129. Polyb. xxix, 10, 4: οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις παράχρημα πρεσβευτὰς κατέστησαν τοὺς διαλύσοντας τὸν πόλεμον.

130. REG, xii, 1899, p. 23, B, l. 31: δεδόχθα[ι τᾶι βουλᾶι καὶ τῶι δάμωι/ ἐλέσθαι πρεσβευ]τὰς ἤδη δ[ύο], κ.τ.λ. Polyb. xxx, 5, 4: ψηφισάμενοι τῇ Ῥώμῃ στέφανον... καὶ καταστήσαντες πρεσβευτὴν... / The subject of the second participle, and of the main verb, must be the same as that of ψηφισάμενοι ; i.e.

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οἱ Ῥόδιοι. cf. ibid. 23, 2: οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι ... θεωροῦντες οὐκ ἀναλήψουσιν τὴν ὀργὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ... προσβεντὲς κατεσκόπουν. The present passage alone mentions the prytanic college.

131. This may be inferred from the instances quoted in the preceding notes from the narrative of Polybius, showing that the college, or part of it, was also available (esp. Polyb. xv, 23, 2). The statement of Schol. B. Iliad ix, 70 (iii, 375 Dind.); καὶ ὁ Ῥοδίων δὲ νόμος τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς κελεύει συνεισπέσθαι τοὺς ἀρίστους, περὶ τῶν ἔνθεν πράξειν βουλευομένους, also suggests that higher magistrates were always available.

132. v. Ath. 44, 1.

133. It was in the prytaneion that Polybius saw the letter of Theophiliscus: Polyb. xvi, 15, 8. (cf. above, i, p. 21). λευκώματα at Rhodes are referred to in Syll³. 644a: ἐκ τῶν λευκωμάτων . For the nature of the λευκώματα v. Wilhelm, Beiträge, pp. 272-5.

134. Polyb. xxix, 11. 6: cf. i, p. 362 , and note 158, p. 180.

135. I.G. xii, 1, 85 (?restoration in l.2); NS, 2 (certain supplement in l.7); ibid. 3 (both NS, 2 and 3 are 2nd or 3rd. cent. A.D.). The gift of sitesis does not appear to have been very common. In Athens σίτησις ἐν πρυτανείῳ was largely confined to those who had been ambassadors and strategoi; v. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde³, p. 953.

136. v. Busolt-Swoboda, ibid. note 2.

137. The lists of Rhodian συνέδροντες are three: I.G. xii, 1, 49 = Cauer², 182 = M663 = SGDI, 3788 = Syll³. 619; I.G. xii, 1, 50 = SGDI, 3790; and Ath. Mitt. xx, 1895, pp. 382ff., nr. 4 = SGDI, 3789. It is important to establish the dates of these three inscriptions.
(i) I.G. xii, 1, 49: this contains among the synarchoi an ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ Καύνο[υ], an ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ Καρίας, and an ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ Λυκίας. These magistrates, or at least the last, can only have been appointed when Rhodes controlled Lycia and Caunos, and this she only did between 188 and 166 B.C. This must be the date of this inscription. After the Peace of Dardanus, 85 B.C., Sulla restored some of the Rhodian empire, namely a small area of Caria and Caunos. At the same date time he guaranteed the liberty of the Lycians: App. Mithr. 61, § 250. This excludes the possibility that the inscription, containing a reference to the

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ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Λυκίας can belong to this later period. Holleaux, Rev. Phil. 1893, pp. 182-3 = Etudes, i, p. 394 rejected the statement of Appian regarding Lycia for no better reason than that he found what he thought to be prosopographical links between this inscription and I.G. xii, 1, 46, which belongs to c.80 B.C. (v. Holleaux, loc.cit. pp. 171ff = 381ff; Benediktsson ap. Blinkenberg, Deux Documents, pp. 27-8, has fixed the occasion of the inscription to the φωμαΐδ of 69 B.C., but this is too exact). There is, however, no independent evidence to suggest that Lycia was free after 84, while the danger of arguing from identity of name can nowhere be better exemplified than here; for Blinkenberg, Les prêtres de Poseidon Hippios, p. 30, has found an identification (perhaps no more valid than that of Holleaux), according to which the ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Καρίας of I.G. xii, 1, 49, Theugenes, the son of Pistocrates, is the son of the priest of Poseidon of c. 218 B.C., Pistocrates, the son of Theugenes. This identification at least neutralises the force of that indicated by Holleaux. In fact the only really valid evidence is that of the existence of the ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ Λυκίας who cannot have existed after the Peace of Dardanos.

(ii) I.G. xii, 1, 50. The exact date cannot be established. The list, which is missing at the bottom, differs in the offices and sequence of offices from the foregoing inscription. In particular, it does not appear to have contained the ἀγεμόνες . (After the ὑπογραμμ[ατεύς] in l. 41r, there are four lines missing, one of which was probably occupied by θεοῖς ; the intervening three lines might have held the name of a single magistrate - perhaps one ἀγεμών - who had been adopted, thus: [ἀγεμὼν ἐπὶ (e.g.) Κώνου ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος | καθ' ὑοθεσίαν δὲ τοῦ δεῖνος | θεοῖς] Certainly all three ἀγεμόνες cannot have been recorded). Thus it is not likely to belong to the period 188-166 B.C. The letter-forms of both this and the preceding inscription are wholly unreliable being based on very indifferent copies, so that lettering is no criterion here. Prosopographical links, for what they are worth point to a date in the first century (v. Holleaux loc.cit.) The later date is reconcileable with the absence from among the stratagoi of any specific designations, such as στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πέραν , and στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τᾶς Χώρας , which occur in (i) above. The argument cannot, however, be pressed, since though the stratagoi have no specific titles, the college is even larger than that in (i).

(iii) SGDI, 3789 is connected, by the reappearance of four names, one further identified by identity of adoptive father, with (i) above. It also, like it, contains stratagoi with specific titles. If the four names which appear in both texts

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may be held to belong to the same individuals (iii) is probably later than (i), for the following reasons:

In (i) Peisianax, son of Apollodotus, by adoption of Gorgon, (v. Hiller reads [Ἀγη]σιάναξ) is a stratagos; in (iii) he is a prytanis.

In (i) Nicocrates, son of Pausion, is a tamias; in (iii) he is a stratagos.

In (i) Menippus, son of Ouliades, is a tamias; in (iii) he is a stratagos.

In (i) Theugenes, son of Pistocrates (given by von Hiller as Θευμένης) is ἄρχων ἐπὶ καρίας ; in (iii) he is στρατηγὸς εἰς τὸ πέραν (cf. Ernst Meyer, Grenzen, pp. 58-9; von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 793, l. 48).

Thus, to summarise, (i) and (iii) record the condition of magistrates in the period 188-166, (ii) in the period of Rhodes' limited recovery after 85 B.C.

138. I.G. xii, 1, 49, l.8; SGDI, 3789; I.G. xii, 1, 50, is a dedication to the γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆι by οἱ συνάρχοντες . Further indication of the close connection between the prytaneis and the γραμματεὺς βουλᾶς is perhaps provided by a metrical epitaph of the third century B.C., Inscr. i, 197f, ll. 9-10: στᾶσε δέ με κλεινὰ πρύτανιν Ῥόδος | ἡδ' ἐπὶ βουλᾶς γράμμασιν. v. also, note 108, above.

139. v. above, note 14.

140. I.G. xii, 1, 829a: the μάστροι and Lindians honour a fellow-Lindian (ll.3ff) ταμι[εύ]σα[ντα ἐν Ῥόδωι (better, ἐν τῶι ἄστει) καὶ γραμματεύσαντα] βουλᾶς καὶ [πάντα συμβουλεύσαντα καὶ] πράξαντα τὰ συμφέροντα τῶι δάμωι ἐν τῆ]ι τᾶς ἀ[ρχᾶς αὐτοῦ χρόνωι...] The supplement ἀ[ρχᾶς] seems certain.

The term of office of πρυτάνεις is expressed by the phrase ἐν τῶι τᾶς πρυτανείας χρόνωι (or καιρῶι); I.G. xii, 1, 52; 58; ll. 11, 38. [redacted] . For ἐπιστάτης τοῦ [ἀεὶ] ἐν ἀρχᾶι [ὄντος at Lindos, I.G. xii, 1, 761-2; [redacted] see II, 419, l. 58.

141. v. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde[3], pp. 1033ff.

142. v. above, note 14.

143. I.G. xii, 1, 49; SGDI, 3789; In I.G. xii, 1, 50 = SGDI, 3790, the ὑπογραμματεὺς βουλᾶς καὶ πρυτανέων comes after the στρατηγοί, ταμίαι , and ἐπισκόποι, towards the end of the list. He is followed by an unidentified ὑπογραμμ[ατεύς---] cf. note 137 (ii).

144. The evidence for the size of the college of stratagoi is fundamentally the same three inscriptions, I.G. xii, 1, 49-50, and SGDI, 3789. In I.G. xii, 1, 49 and SGDI, 3789 there are eight unspecified stratagoi, followed by ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν and ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πέραν, giving a total of ten. I.G.xii, 1, 42 and Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 198-200, nr. 31 have ~~xxxxx~~ eight unspecified stratagoi only (the former has a total of fifteen names, entitled without distinction στρατηγοὶ καὶ ταμίαι . They are probably to be divided as eight stratagoi and seven tamiai, since the college of tamiai invariably consists of seven members, and not as ten stratagoi and five tamiai, as Foucart, RA xi, 1865, pp. 293f., followed by von Hiller ad I.G. xii, 1, 42, and van Gelder, GdR, p. 253.

145. v. Ἀθ. 61, 1, and Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde[3], pp. 1121ff.

146. I.G. xii, 1, 50.

147. van Gelder, Mnemos, xxiii, 1895, p. 83; cf. id. GdR, p. 253, explained it plausibly as a later development; and on the existing evidence it might seem so; but that evidence is so slight, in all only four inscriptions, that little can be based on it.

148. v. above, note 10 for the ἐπὶ ἀρχῶν ἱερεὺς Ἁλίου , and i, pp.565-6 for the ἀνταρμίας . Ἀντιστράτηγος in the sense of 'general in place of another' appears once in Egypt in the second century B.C.: OGIS 165. (For its varied usages to denote Roman magistracies, v. Magie, De Romanorum vocabulis, Index, I, s.v. ἀντιστράτηγος)

149. this is expressly stated in NS 18, ll.9-11, of the renewal of Polycles' στρατηγία: στρατηγήσαντα ἐν τῶι πέραν καὶ ἐπιχειροτονηθέντα τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἐπιχειροτονηθέντα τὸ τρίτον.

150. i.e. in the three synarchia-lists, all of which contain the semestrial prytaneis.

151. This is shown by the inscriptions relating to Nicagoras, the son of Pamphilidas, recorded above, p. 153 note 256 . He is stated to have held the στρατηγία εἰς τὸ πέραν for four successive periods of office, and it is known (v. ibid.) that those four periods occupied the years 201-197 B.C.

152. I.G. xii, 5.

153. v. i, p.551.

154. A prolongation of office in war-time such as is here suggested, is theoretically envisaged by any constitution which permitted

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iteration of the strategia (as Athens: Ἀθ. , 62, 3; cf. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde[3], p. 1069, note 1).

155. Instances of κατὰ πόλεμον are: I.G. xii, 1, 1036 = Syll[3]. 586; I.G. xii, 3, 103 = Syll[3]. 673; Annuario, iv-v, 1921/2, pp. 479ff, nr. 33 = SEG, iv, 178; Inscr. i, 151; 704; NS, 18, 1.3, 8 (cf. 13).

156. References to στρατηγὸς (ἐς) τὸ πέραν ; I.G. xii, 1, 49 (στρ.[ἐπὶ ᾧ ἐς] τὸ πέραν); ibid.1036 = Syll[3]. 586; (στρ. ἐ[πὶ ᾧ ς] τὸ πέραν - Nicagoras); Inscr. i, 151 (same expression - also Nicagoras); NS, 18, ll. 9-10 (στρατηγὸς ἐν τῶι πέραν); Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 188. nr. 18 (στρ. ἐπὶ τᾶς εἰς τὸ πέραν χώρας); ibid. p. 192, nr. 20 (στρ. ἐν τῶι πέραν); SGDI, 3789 (στρ. εἰς τὸ πέραν). NS, 18 indicates that the office existed in the first century, probably (but not certainly, since the date of Polycles' tenure of this office cannot be determined) after the Peace of Dardanus (cf. above, note 137); JHS, xvi, 1896, p. 271, nr. 15 (from Cyllanda in Rhodian Caria)(στρ. ἐπὶ τὸ πέραν - undoubtedly a Rhodian).

157. The authority of the office was undoubtedly at its height after 188, but that it existed before that time is shown by the title of Nicagoras in the years 201-198 (v.above, note 156). The various problems regarding the distribution of military commands in the Peraea will be considered in 'Peraea'. Here is suffices to note the greatest incongruence in that organisation, namely the unique appearance of a στρατηγὸς ἐντῶι(sic) ἀ[πείρωι] in Annuario, iv-v, 1921/2, pp. 479ff, nr. 33 = SEG, iv, 178 (which worried Ernst Meyer, RE, s.v. Peraia (2),col. 567) now disappears since a new reading of the stone reveals στρατηγήσαντα ἐν τῶι ἄστει , the whole of the last word being fully and easily legible.

158. Instances of στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τᾶς χώρας τᾶς ἐν τᾶι νάσωι: I.G. xii, 1, 49, and SGDI, 3789 (both στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰν χώραν); I.G. xii, 1, 701, and Inscr. ii, 325 (certain supplement) (στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τᾶς χώρας τᾶς ἐν τᾶι νάσωι); NS, 21; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 188ff., nr. 18, ll. 17-8; ibid.nr. 19, l. 14; ibid. nr. 22, b8; Inscr. i, 153; 172 (all στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τᾶς χώρας)

159. Selivanov conjectured,* Topogr. Rhod. p. 104, that νάσωι referred to the place known by the ethnic (?demotic), Νάσιος (I.G. xii, 1, 290: Chaviaras, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ 1922, p. 51, = SEG iii, 681,/ii, 1916, p. 146, nr. 17), but this is surely wrong. A small town or village would not require a strategos in charge when the whole of Lycia and almost the whole of Caria, were administered or commanded by Ῥοδίων . Νάσιος is clearly Rhodes itself.

*recting huario,

160. v. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde^3, p. 1121, esp. note 3.

161. e.g. the στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας of Aphrodisias (LBW,1604; 1611; cf. Ath.Mitt. v, 1880, pp. 340-1; Rev. Phil. xxxviii, 1914, pp. 211-4; CIG,2837); Stratoniceia (BCH, xv, 1891, p. 423); Tralles (BCH, xxviii, 1904, pp. 79-80); Alabanda (BCH, v, 1881, p. 180; cf. ibid. x, 1886, p. 313, a στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς δήμους, also at Alabanda). The suggestion that such στρατηγοὶ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας were police-officials responsible for public order outside the cities was made by Henzen, Annal. Istit. Archeol. 1852, pp. 118ff.

162. στρατηγὸς ἐκ πάντων : I.G. xii, 1, 700; 701; I.G. xii, 3, 103 = Syll^3. 673 (for the reading v. von Hiller, Syll^3.ad loc); Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, pp. 210-211, nr. 48; Inscr. i, 151; 222.

163. At Athens: Ἀθη. 61, 1, of all military offices: χαροτονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας, στρατηγοὺς δέκα, προκρίνοντες μὲν ἀφ' <ἑκάστης> φυλῆς ἕνα, νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἁπάντων. Ptolemy Soter's constitution for Cyrene, SEG, ix, 1, ordains the following procedure for the election of stratagoi: (ll.26ff): αἱρεθήτωσαν στρατηγοὶ πέντε ἐκ τῶν μήπω ἐστρατηγηκότων μὴ νεωτέρους πεντήκ[οντα] ἐτῶν· ἐὰν δὲ πόλεμος ᾖ, ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ πολιτεύματος.

164. So taken by von Hiller, Rhodos, col. 768. His earlier view, that the phrase referred to command exercised over troops from the entire Rhodian territory (Arch.ep.Mitt. xvi, 1893, p. 248), accepted by van Gelder, GdR, p. 255, hardly explains the proposition .

The interpretation of ἐκ πάντων as ἐκ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν is supported by the rubic in the Camiran damiouroi-list, δαμιοργοὶ ἀφ' ᾧν ἔδοξε ἐκ πάντων αἱρεθῆναι, where ἐκ πάντων means 'from the entire Rhodian state' (cf. above, p. 255 , note 117). The statement of Blinkenberg, Les prêtres de Poseidon Hippios, p. 16, note 1, that ἐκ πάντων is equivalent to ἐκ τοῦ συμπαντος δήμου , is based on a misunderstanding of the meaning of the latter phrase; v. i, pp.527ff.

Segre, Riv.Fil. lxi, 1933, p. 391, note 2, held that the στρατηγοὶ ἐκ πάντων were equivalent to those citizens mentioned in the first clause of the Cyrene-edict quoted above, note 163: ἐκ τῶν μήπω ἐστρατηγηκότων , i.e. that they had never held military office before, and had been elevated to the strategia, 'in via straordinaria'. He supports this by the statement that in every instance the post of στρατηγὸς ἐκ πάντων is mentioned early in the list of offices held by an individual, and therefore supposes that it was an office held especially by young men, who had not reached the necessary age for election to the strategia in the ordinary way. Thus in I.G. xii, 3, 103 = Syll^3. 673, the στρατηγὸς ἐκ πάντων subsequently holds a lower rank, that of στρατευόμενος , according to Segre; but there can

164. contd.

be no absolute guarantee in any particular instance that the offices held are recorded in chronological order (for one exception v. below, note 224). Further it is now evident that the office was not always held in youth; Nicagoras, the son of Pamphilidas, the στρατηγὸς ἐκ πάντων in the Peraea, from 201 B.C., was Hierothytas at Lindos c. 240 (Inscr. i, 102; Νικαγόρας Παμφιλίδα καθ' ὑοθεσίαν δὲ Νικαγόρα .). The most likely explanation of the fact that the strategia ἐκ πάντων is mentioned first in some instances is that it did not constitute a normal peace-time office.

165. v. above, note 163.

166. v. i, pp. 480 ff.

167. v. Syll^3. 673, quoted in note 155, above.

168. v. the instances collected in note 162; In Syll^3. 673, the name of the honorand is missing. The exception may be I.G. xii, 1, 700, where the στρατηγὸς ἐκ πάντων appears without demotic. The inscription is a dedication made by him on the Camiran acropolis after having been honoured by the Camirans. This, however is not adequate proof of the hypothesis suggested in the text, that the στρατηγοὶ ἐκ πάντων included non-demesmen, since omission of the demotic, if not common, is at least well testified in the most varied documents in which by strict usage they would be employed. Plutarchus of Apamea, the Rhodios, was an ordinary στρατηγός: v. i, p. 512

169. Dio Chrys. Or. xxxi, § 134: ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς δῶτε τὴν τιμήν (i.e. of having a statue erected to him) οὐκέτ' ἔστ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν τὸ ἐᾶν ἔχειν κύτον. ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔχει τοῦ τοῦ κύριος ὁ στησάμενος. cf. ibid. § 132: ἐπὶ πάντι συμβῆναι δυνατόν ἐστιν [redacted] (i.e. of having ones name erased from an honorific statue-base, and somebody else's substituted), ἐφ' ὅτῳ ποτὲ ἂν δόξῃ τῷ στησαμένῳ [redacted]: § 141: λέγω δ' οἷον εὐθὺς τοῦτο φασὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν συντετριμμένων καὶ οὐδὲ ἐφεστώσιν ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως· τούτους γὰρ ἀπηρτῆσθαι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὑποσκάψαντας καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ποιοῦντας ἕτερους. In I.G. xii, 1, 2, l.7 probably refers to this practice.

170. I.G. iv, 1 = M340 = OGIS, 329, ll. 48-9: τῆς [δὲ] ἀναθέσεως τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιησάσθ[ω] τοὺς στρατηγούς.

171. Three in I.G.xii, 1, 49: ἀγορᾶν ἐπὶ Κώνό[υ], ἀγορᾶν ἐπὶ Καρίας, ἀγορᾶν ἐπὶ Λυκίας (none surviving in I.G. xii, 1, 50, or SGDI, 3789, but both stones are broken); ibid. 819, without specific titles;

171. contd.

that the inscription is later than 188-166 B.C., can be seen from the apicated letter-forms, Π , Κ , Η , etc., and therefore Holleaux's view (BCH, xvii, 1893, p. 57, note 2 = Etudes, i, p. 414, note 2 - in BCH, xviii, 1894, p. 398 = Etudes, i, p. 435, he is less certain) that these ἡγεμόνες are those of Caunus, Lycia and Caria must be rejected (v. above, note 137). They are probably the three ἡγεμόνες ἐπὶ τᾶς χώρας τᾶς Λινδίας, τοῦ Καμίρου, and τοῦ Ἰαλύσου (v. i, p.553), though why they should join in a dedication at Lindos is not clear; it is not likely that they are Lindian ἀμφικτιονικοὶ ἡγεμόνες, in spite of the absence of demotics, since the full Lindian συναρχίαι, (v. i, pp.454ff.) include no ἡγεμόνες.

172. Λίρεθεὶς ἡγεμών : NS, 22, l.1 (with Blinkenberg's restoration, Inscr. i, 415, note to l.7; v. below, note 176; ibid. 18, l.8: ὑποταχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δάμου ἡγεμόνα τῶν ἡγεμόνων.

173. v. [illegible], i, pp.548-9

174. Annuario, ii, 1916, pp. 138ff., nr. 10 = Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 165, nr. 19.

175. qv.i, pp. 662-3, for Hagemones as officers in the Rhodian army; the title was also given to officials of the Rhodian navy, v. i, pp.636-7

176. The ἡγεμὼν ἐπὶ Λυκίας is only referred to in I.G. xii, 1, 49. Inscr. i, 160, a dedication by οἱ Ῥόδιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι to (possibly) Halios, Athana Lindia and Zeus Polieus, after some action in the Antiochic War, mentions the commander of Lycia, the son of Eudamus, probably the Rhodian admiral, but neither the name of the son, nor the precise nature of the command (ἡγεμονία or στρατηγία) survives. Blinkenberg, ad loc. combined the evidence of this inscription with that of NS, 22, which mentions -----ndros, the son of Eudamus as ἡγεμών, and has restored in Inscr.i, 160, ἡγεμονεύοντος ἐπὶ Λυκίας, and in NS, 22, ἡγεμόνα τὸν [ἐπὶ Λυκίας Ἀπολλώνιον. This restoration, if correct, suggests that the post of ἡγεμὼν ἐπὶ Λυκίας, found in the peace-time administration of Lycia, originated in the military command during the Antiochic War.

177. The ἡγεμὼν ἐπὶ Καύνου occurs only in I.G. xii, 1, 49.

178. There were in addition numerous separate smaller areas administered by individual ἡγεμόνες, subordinate to the ἡγεμὼν ἐπὶ Καρίας. These, like the Rhodian Hagemones in the old

178. contd.

cities [redacted] were probably military δρομάδες, with particular posts -- they, and the areas they commanded will be fully discussed in 'Peraea'. Here it must suffice to notice the various titles containing reference to the particular area administered: ἀγορῶν ἄμισθος ἐπὶ τε Ἀρτεμίβαν καὶ Πταβδάλας, SGDI, 4275; ἀγωνόμενος ἐπὶ Ἀπε[ίρου] καὶ Φύσκου καὶ [Χε]ροδ[ά]μ(ο)υ καὶ Σύμας, ibid. 4267; ἀγορῶν εἰς Ἄπειρον καὶ Φύσκον καὶ Χερσόνασον, unpublished; ἀγωνόμενος ἐπὶ Χερσο[νά]σου καὶ Σύμας, Syll. 819, and Inscr. i, 189; (In the second century A.D. this command has become a Rhodian strategia. This is shown by Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1911, pp. 60ff., nr. 52 = Wilhelm, Neue Beiträge, iii, pp. 52-3 quoted, Syll³. 819, note 3: Ἡροκλέους Ἡλιοδώρου Νε(γιδέα), στρατηγήσαντος Χερρονήσου καὶ Σύμης); Annuario, iv-v, 1921/2, pp. 479ff., nr. 33, = SEG, iv, 178, l. 14, refers to someone as ἀγορανόμα [γενόμ]ενον ἐν Μεγ[ί]στ[ῃ] κατὰ πόλεμον, but Megiste was usually commanded by an epistates (a lower official; v. i, pp. 555ff., and 'Peraea'). The chronology of all these inscriptions will be discussed in 'Peraea'.

179. NS, 18, ll. 4-5. In two inscriptions, I.G. xii, 1, 44, and Inscr. ii, 482, reference is made to an ἀγορανόμος ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας (in the second, κατὰ πόλεμον). In this instance, for a reason unknown, the Hagemon is probably holding the general command over all the island normally exercised by the στρατηγός; it does not seem likely that the title refers to the tenure of the ἀγορανόμα over a single city.

180. v. [redacted] i, pp. 556ff.

181. v. i, p. 558 and note 201.

182. NS, 18, l. 9, quoted above, note 173.

183. NS, 18, l. 4; SGDI, 4275.

184. Inscr. i, 151-2. Maiuri, NS, 18, ad loc. maintained that the ἀρχὴ τῶν ἀγορανόμων was elected, 'with the function of control and supervision over the officials of his own rank, mid-way between the college of strategoi and the ἀγορανόμος.

185. It is of course evident from the discovery of the various dedications to the local ἀγορανόμος and the descriptions of their activities (v. note 178) that they resided in the territories for which they were responsible; but there is no sign of any dedication to the ἀγορανόμος ἐπὶ Κάνου, Λυκίας and Καρίας from the Peraea.

186. v. ~~Ἀθπ.~~ 29, 5: ὡς δ' ἀρχὰς ἐμισθοῦς ἔλεγεν ἀπαίρας εἶναι ὃν ὁ πάππος ἦν.

187. Inscr. i., 224, ll. 35-7.

188. Inscr. ii, 419, II. 66-7: προθέ[ντ]ων ἰδίως τοῖς χρήσουσι στρατιώτας [ἐ]φοδιά[ζει]ν δωρεάν, κ.τ.λ. The title ἔμισθος occurs, used of mercenaries, in OGIS, 266, and in the [illegible] unpublished mercenary-inscriptions from Delphi, relative to the garrison at Lilaea (v. recently, Bengtson, Strategie, ii, pp. 203-4; Hansen, Attalids, pp. 209ff). In the first inscription, the contract between Eumenes I and the mercenaries of Paramonos, Eumenes in his oath swears to be equable to all the various categories of mercenaries, including οἱ ἔμισθοι and οἱ ἄμισθοι - volunteers. Bengtson, loc.cit. p. 204, note 2, explaining this term as corresponding to στρατῶται πολιτικοί, as opposed to mercenaries, says this is also the meaning at Rhodes; but the χρεμών was normally a Rhodian citizen, so that the emphasis would be pointless.

189. For Antigonid and Seleucid epistatai v. Holleaux, BCH, lvii, 1933, pp. 26-30 = Etudes, iii, pp. 216-9; Tarn, Greeks in Bactria, pp. 23ff.

190. Inscr. i, 193: αἱρεθεὶς ἐπιστάτας ὑπὸ τοῦ δάμου ; ibid. 209-210: ἐπιστάτας καταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δάμου ; 215: χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπιστάτας ὑπὸ τοῦ δάμου ; 224, ll. 32ff.: καὶ ἐπιστάτας ὁ καταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δάμου Ἀγαθίνικ Ἀθηνοδώρου καὶ ἐπιστάτας Ἔμισθος ὁ αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δάμου Δάρδανος Σώφρονος. ibid. ii, 258: ἐπιστάτας ἀποσταλεὶς ὑπ[ὸ τοῦ δάμου] [illegible]; 324: ἐπιστάτας ὁ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δάμου, etc. The use of the different aorist participles, αἱρεθεὶς, χειροτονηθεὶς and καταχθεὶς can hardly indicate different methods of election. In Inscr. 224, quoted above, two colleagues are referred to as καταχθεὶς and αἱρεθεὶς respectively. The explanatory phrase was perhaps added in Lindian inscriptions to distinguish the Rhodian epistatas from the Lindian magistrates of the same name (v. i, pp. 454ff.)

Two inscriptions of the Roman period may suggest that at this time the office of epistatas was open to foreigners. I.G. xii, 1, 60 reads thus: -- Μάξι[μον - -]|[- - ἐπι]στάτ[ην - -]|- - πρόξε[νον - -]| [illegible] - - ἀπὸ προ[γόνων]. This appears to indicate that - Maxi(mus) -- was epistatas and proxenos, and therefore not a Rhodian citizen; the stone is only a small fragment of large statue-base, and its content cannot therefore be exactly determined, but it is difficult to believe that the two terms [- - -]στάτ[ην [illegible] and πρόξε[νον do notrefer to the honorand. It is, however, equally possible to supply προ]στάτ[ην ; if this is taken to refer to the prostates who supervised metics (v.i, pp. 491-2), it is

190. contd.

difficult to see the significance of the word here; but the fact that the prostates here would have to be a foreigner is at least not fatal to this interpretation, since this was possible at Rhodes, v. above, p. 297 note 42.

The second inscription is Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 144, nr.13, inadequately edited by Maiuri. (i) The editor omitted to transfer from the stone to the text the first two surviving lines of the inscription. These read in his sketch as:

[illegible] Ω1.Γ
ΛΙΩΝΕΠΙΤΩΙΚΑΙΕΙ

Of the last five letters no sense can be made, and it does not seem likely that they have been correctly reproduced. Before these, the supplement ⁻ρο]δίων seems certain. Line 1 may probably be restored as [τῶι δ[άμωι] . The arrangement of the lines is awkward for the otherwise obvious restoration δεδόχθαι τ]ῶι δ[άμωι τῶν Ῥο]δίων ἐπ[ί]....Maiuri marks nothing after Γ in l.1.

(ii) ll. 3-4; Maiuri takes this as referring to one man, i.e. that is the epistatas; but the use of δὲ καί shows conclusively that this is not the case. A trace of the name of the epistatas is perhaps to be found in the nu before ἐπαινέσαι but I would expect a patronymic, ending e.g. in -- ου , or -- ευς .

(iii) In l.6 υστον ἐπιστατην can hardly refer directly to Σω — , since the name of his adoptive father must have ended in a genitive form. It may represent a Roman proper name, e.g. Φ]ῦστον , or it may be part of a participial phrase τοῦ]ς τὸν ἐπιστάτην[, though the sense cannot be recovered.

Apart from these difficulties it seems fairly clear that the honours enumerated in the text are all given to So---. The document may then be a decree of the Rhodian people recording the appointment of a new, probably a special, ἐπιστάτας , and the honours granted to somebody called So--; but it is by no means certain that So---is himself an epistatas. If he is, he may be the retiring one. Since the honours in the last lines, which show that the recipient was not a Rhodian citizen belong to So--, (cf. ἐπαινέσαι in l.4), it cannot be argued here that the epistatas was not a Rhodian citizen.

190A. This is perhaps supported by the reference in an inscription of Carpathus to someone as αἱρεθεὶς ἐπιστάτας ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη, Segre, Riv.Fil. lxi, 1933, pp. 380ff.

191. Ἐπιστάτα in the Peraea: the island of Megiste: SGDI, 4330-4332; BCH, xvi, 18-93, pp. 304-5 (= ibid. p. 52) = Etudes, i,

191. contd.

p. 409, nr. II; Rev. Bibl. 1917, p. 293; ibid. p. 555. The first four of these inscriptions were discussed by Holleaux, op.cit. pp. 52ff = Etudes, loc. cit.; Kastabos: SGDI, 4332 (ἐπιστατήσας ἔν τε Καστάβωι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου τοῦ ἐν Μεγίστηι); Tarmianoi: SGDI, 4276, a dedication ὑπὲρ Σωσικράτους Σωσιγένους Ῥοδίου τοῦ ἐπιστάτου, Stratonicaea, M, 479 (cf. Oppermann, Zeus Panamaros, p. 22, nr. 47) [illegible]; Daedala: TAM, ii, 163 (cf. Davies, JHS, xv, 1895, p. 101). All these epistatai will be discussed in 'Peraea'.

192. Lindian inscriptions referring to Rhodian epistatai are: I.G. xii, 1, 844; Inscr. i, 140; 149; 154; 193; 195; 200; 202; 209; 212; 213; 215; 249; 253; 258; 272; 308b, lines 36ff; 324, lines 24-5; 343, lines 33-5; 347a, lines 52ff; ibid. b, lines 114ff; 430 (?).

193. Exceptions are the Τήλιος and Χαλκήτας of I.G. xii, 1, 844. For the status of these islands v. 'Islands'; Chalke was connected with Camirus in the early Hellenistic age, I.G. xii, 1, 694 (cf. [illegible], i, pp. 445ff.) and was certainly Camiran in the later Hellenistic age, since a Χαλκήτας appears as Camiran δαμιοῦργος before the office was thrown open to demesmen of the other cities (v. Benediktsson, Deux Listes, p. 34, line 54). What independent evidence there is for the attribution of Telos to one or other of the old cities is ambiguous; legend connected it with Lindos, while its eponymous magistracy, the δαμιουργία, points rather in the direction of Camirus. The certainty that Chalke was Camiran, carries with it the [illegible] probability that Telios was not Lindian, and that the *demotics* were used here, and only here, because, unlike the other epistatai, these were not Lindian.

194. The earliest is Inscr. i, 140. The priest of Athana Lindia mentioned in it, Polyaratus the son of Xenophantus, appears as eighteenth on the fragment 'S' of the list of [illegible] priests of Athana (v. above, p. 268 notes 33-34.). This will give a date between 211 and 199 B.C.

195. v. i, pp. 261-2.

196. Blinkenberg, Inscr. i, p. 200, and Segre, PP, vii, 1948, p. 68, supposed that the dedications by epistatai all belonged to time of war. The epistates however is nowhere in the Hellenistic world found as an active-service commander, but only as a garrison commander, in peace as in war. The presence of

196. contd.

οἱ συστρατευόμενοι does not prejudice this fact, since a tour of duty in a garrison could clearly be called a στρατεία in the sense of 'military service' (v. LS[9], s.v. στρατεία, and cf. the normal meaning of συστρατιώτης, as 'fellow soldier', without specific reference to actual warfare.

197. Inscr. i, 140; 151; 154; 160; 200; 209[illegible]8; 212: 215: 253. None appears to be later than the late second century B.C.
Outside Lindos the same type of dedication is found at Loryma, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1911, p. 52, nr. 17: [βωμὸν] Δ[ι]ὸς Ἀταβυρί[ο]υ ἱδρύσατο – – – Σ[ωκρά]τη[ς] Φιλοδάμου [ἐξ Ἀργείας] ἐπὶ σ[τ]ατ[ή]σ[ας] καὶ τοὶ συνστρατευόμενοι. Ἐπ[ι]στ[ά]τ[η]ς though not read by the editor is quite certain; Megiste: SGDI, 4331: Ἐπικράτ[ε]ος Ἀναξικράτους ἐπιστάτος καὶ τοὶ συνστρατευόμενοι [Δ]ιοσκόροις: 4332; a dedication by an epistatas to Hermes προπύλαιος does not mention the συστρατευόμενοι

198. cf. above, note 192.

199. v. SGDI, 4332 (note 197, above).

200. Absent in Inscr. ii, 378, where their absence may be connected with the presence in the same inscription (l. 77) of the title στεφανηφόροι (whose names were never cut), who may be Rhodian officials. v. i, pp. 460ff.

201. Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 422, nr. 43; cf. Segre, Riv.Fil. lxi, 1933, p. 384, note 2, and p. 392.

202. Riv. Fil. lxi, 1933, pp. 380ff., republished by Blinkenberg, Inscr. ii, pp. 1007-1010, as part of I.G. xii, 3, 1033. [illegible]

203. For Rhodian arbitration, and the activity of the δικασταί, v. I. von Priene 37 = Schwyzer, 289 (Priene-Samos: 300 B.C. onwards); Syll[3]. 614 (Amphissa-Delphi; 180/179 B.C.); In Milet, i, 3, 148 = Mezger, Inscr. Miles. de pace inter Miles. et Magnet. facta, = Syll[3].588, Rhodes is one of many συνλύσαντες.

204. I.G. xii, 5 (1), 652; cf. Holleaux, BCH, xvii, 1893, p. 55, 59-60 = Etudes, i, pp. 412, 416-7; van Gelder, GdR, pp. 261ff. Holleaux, locc.citt. claimed that two other inscriptions also contained references to the especially - appointed epistatas, namely SGDI, 4276, a dedication by the κοινὸν τῶν Ταρμιανῶν, and Holleaux, loc.cit. p. 54 = p. 411, nr. V = M479 = G 29, (cf. Oppermann, Zeus Panamaros, p. 22) a decree of the κοινὸν τῶν

204. contd.

πρυτανεῖς. There seems, however, no reason to doubt that they belong to the category of regularly appointed epistatai. The first is a dedication in honour of a Rhodian epistatas, ὑπὲρ Σωσικράτους Σωσικράτου Ῥοδίου τοῦ ἐπιστάτου εὐνοίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης. This phrase is not sufficient evidence for supposing, as does Holleaux, that the epistatas had legal functions, and that he was especially appointed to settle certain disputes; δικαιοσύνη is a common word in honorific decrees, and certainly not to be pressed; v. Syll^3. Index, s.v., and OGIS index, s.v. The second honours the adoptive son of Nicophanes, ἀποδεδοκιμασμένος ἐπιστάτης ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥοδίων, who, commanded a φυλακὴ τοῦ χώρου with distinction (v. above, p. note), probably during Philip's campaign in Caria. He is also said to have acted as mediator in many private suits (τούς τε διαφερομένους τῶν πολι[τῶ]ν, τοὺς μὲν συνλύσαι, τοὺς δὲ διακρίναι). This might clearly be effected by any superior magistrate, because of the weight of his authority alone, whatever the nature of his appointment.
Holleaux further argued that Rhodian epistatai were usually exceptional magistrates, with a specific mandate, and that the regular, apparently annual, command was to be regarded as an exception. The evidence from Lindos is sufficient to show that this is not correct.

205. I.G. xii, 4 (1),652, ll.12-6.

206. v. i, pp. 280ff.

207. Polyb. xxii, 5, 8: οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι προχειρισάμενοί τινας τῶν πολιτῶν ἐξαπέστειλαν τοὺς διαπράξοντας τὰς κατὰ Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίαν πόλεσιν, ὡς ἕκαστα δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι. Holleaux, argued that these πολῖται were themselves epistatai, but Polybius was so familiar with the Rhodian constitution that had they been called epistatai, it is probable that he would have used the term. cf. above, p. 166, note 28.

The status of the epistatas at Syros cannot of course be determined. It is possible that, like the other epistatai, he was elected by the Damos, but a special appointment is not impossible. Equally uncertain is whether he was responsible only to the Damos, or whether he was subordinate to the ὁ διοικητὴς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥοδίων ἦρχεν ἐπί τε τῶν νήσων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσων τῶν νησιωτικῶν (v. i, p. 636).

208. v. i, pp. 555 ff.

209. I.G. xii, 1, 49-50 (cf. above, note 137); NS, 20. In honorific and sepulchral inscriptions the office of tamias is usually mentioned before that of stratagos or prytanis, thus indicating

209. contd.

a lower status: e.g. NS, 21; Inscr. i, 172.

210. I.G. xii, 1, 49-50; ibid. 42 (cf. above, note 144). In 50 the secretary is missing and was probably not recorded since the last tamias is followed by the episkopoi, without a break.

211. v. Schwahn, RE, s.v. Tamiai, cols. 2103ff.

212. In the Rhodes-Hierapytna decree, Syll^3. 581 (cf. above, note 20) ταμίαι are twice mentioned; the first instance is vague: after the procedure for the taking of the oath has been prescribed, the next clause runs: (l.92), τοὶ δὲ ταμίαι πολεσκόντων τὸ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου γεγραμμένον. Subsequently, ll. 99-100, the money required for the erection of the stele (which is not to exceed 100drs.) is to be disbursed by the tamiai: τὸ δὲ εὕρον τοὶ ταμίαι δόντων ἀπὸ τῶν ἐς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἐκκειμένων. The τὰ ἐς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἐκκείμενα is the central fund for defraying these expenses; cf. I.G. ii2, 212, ll. 39-42; τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον διδόναι τοῖς ἀθλοθέτας ἐς τοὺς στεφάνους τὸν τοῦ δήμου ταμίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα τῶι δήμωι με[ρι]σθέντων.

213. I.G. xii, 1, 49, ll. 42-7, with a secretary ibid. 1.48.

214. v. i, pp. 540-1.

215. I.G. xii, 1, 50, ll. 34-7; no secretary is mentioned. For the date v. above, note 137.

216. The post of episkopoi in the Athenian Imperial administration of the fifth century is defined by Harpocration, s.v. quoting Antiphon, ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Λιπτίνου φόρου καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λεωσθένους· ἔοικεν ἐκπεμπόμενοί τινες ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὰς ὑπηκόους πόλεις ἐπισκεπτόμενοι τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις.

(= ATL, i/ii, T.14); cf. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde^3, p. 1055. It is not impossible that the Rhodian episkopoi had a similar function, namely that of touring Rhodian possessions on the mainland and in the islands, but this can only be one of several possibilities. ἐπίσκοποι occur rarely in Ptolemaic Egypt: PPetr. iii, 36, AII, 1.17; they appear to be judicial officials (cf. ibid. ii, 39d.3), but this meaning is unlikely in Rhodes which retained the old jury-system of citizen dikastai (cf. above, note 63).

Civil ἐπίσκοποι also occur in the Nabataean kingdom: LBW, iii, 1989, 1900, (with Waddington's commentary): ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Θαῖμος Ναέμου, Σάβλος Σίχμου, Βλοσσος Οὐλπίου, Βόρδος Σα[ρ]λου, ἐπίσκοποι ἐκ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔκπλων. ἔτους ρμϛ' (A.D. 252). Charisius, ap.Dig. L,4, 18,7 (quoted by Waddington) defines the function of civil episkopoi in the time

216. contd.

of Constantius as; episcopi qui praesunt pani et ceteris venalibus rebus, quae civitatem populis ad quotidianum victum usui sunt. Jones, CERP, p. 467, note 90, says of the Nabataean episkopoi of LBW, 2412e and IGR, iii, 1284, that they were 'supervisors of the city', but this too general a term to be satisfactory. It is perhaps permissible, in view of the passage of Charisius, to suggest that the Rhodian episkopoi were responsible for the administration of the city's notable system of food-liturgies (Strab. 652-3).

Ἐπίσκοποι occur at Ialysus in the list of officials of the Temple of Apollo Erethimios, I.G. xii, 1, 731 (v. above, p. 257, note 124), (cf. Deissmann, Neue Bibelstudien pp. 57-8; Bauer, Wörterbuch[3], s.v. ἐπίσκοποι), but the episkopoi occur at Rhodes in a secular context, and are not likely to have had a sacral function.

217. I.G. xii, 1, 49, ll. 50-8, five ἐπιμεληταί and γραμματεύς Annuario, N.S. i-ii, pp. 151-2, nr. 7, Plutarchus of Apameia (v. i, p. 512) described as αἱρεθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ξένων.

218. I.G. v (1), 515.

219. As does Oehler, RE, s.v. ἐπιμεληταί , col. 167.

220. I.G. ix, 1, 333 = GHI, 34.

221. TAM. iii, 508.

222. NS, 20, with improvements by Wilhelm, Ath.Mitt.li, 1926, pp. 3-4: the prescription runs, [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος | πρυτ]ά[νε]ύ[σας πρ]ώτα[ν]| ἐξ ἡμῶνον | τὰν ἐπ' ἱερέως Ἀγλωχάρτου καὶ ἐπ' ἱερέως Φαινίλα καὶ τοὶ συνάρξαντες. The (successive) years of Aglochartos and Phainilas are not known. Maiuri dates the inscription to the first century B.C., but this sketch suggests a mid second-century date. Similarly he dates the amphora-handle with the name Phainilas on it to 'not earlier than i. B.C.'; but letter-forms are unreliable guides to date on amphorae. Ἀγλώχαρτος does not occur on handles, but the name is common at Lindos in the Roman period: v. above, p. 305, note 82.

This inscription, unlike I.G. xii, 1, 49-50, does not give the name of individual officials, but simply names the colleges; the size of the colleges cannot therefore be determined.

223. For ἀσυνόμοι at Tenos, v. I.G. xii, 5, (2), 880-4 = M 661.

224. I.G. xii, 1, 55. In ibid. 44, where the office of ἀσυνόμος

224. contd.

is placed in the cursus of an individual career after the stratagia, the trierarchia and the Hagemonia, it is evidently to be regarded as having been held first, though normal custom would indicate the reverse.

225. v. ἈΘΠ. 50, 2; Arist. Pol. 1321a-b; cf. Oehler, RE, s.v. ἀστυνόμοι cols. 1870-2.

226. I.G. xii, 1,1.

227. N.S. 20, ll. 9-10 (to be read, with Wilhelm, loc.cit., as ἀγορανόμοι, ἐμπορίου ἐπιμεληταί, [redacted] not, with Maiuri, ἀγορανόμοι ἐμπορίου).

228. SGDI, 4276. cf. [redacted] Jones C.E.R.P. p.50; Oppermann, Zeus Panamaros, pp 14ff
The survival of Rhodian administrative forms in the Peraea and in Caria will be discussed in 'Peraea'.

229. 'Peraea', and v. meanwhile, Oppermann, Zeus Panamaros, pp. 14-5.

230. I.G. xii, 1, 3, l.11; ibid. nr.4 is the type of inscription (though not the actual one) referred to in ibid. 3.

231. NS, 20, ll. 9-10.

232. ἈΘΠ. 51, 4; at Alexandria there was an ὑποστάτης τοῦ ξενικοῦ ἐμπορίου : SB, 5021; at Memphis, ἐμπορίου ἐπιμεληταί, Dain, Inscr. Louvre, nr. 152, corrected by Robert RA,1933, p. 139, who gives many other instances of the office.

233. NS, 20, l.12.

234. ἈΘΠ. 51, 3; cf. Sauciuc-Săveanu, Cultura Cerealelor, pp. 116ff.

235. For Rhodian connections with the sitonai at Delos, v. M346 = G95 = I.G. xi, 4, 1025, 1055; Syll. 493 = Choix, 50; M1156 = I.G.xi, 4, 1116 = Choix, 69; cf. Rostovtzeff, SEHHW? iii, p. 1485, note 95.

236. I.G. ii^2, 744; 792; cf. Busolt, Staatskunde^3, p. 433, note 1.

237. Inscr. ii, 486 (c.A.D.200). Evidence for the office in Asia Minor in the Imperial age is given by Sauciuc-Săveanu, op.cit. pp. 193ff.

238. NS, 20, l.11.

239. For πεδονόμοι v. Schulthess, RE, s.v. πεδονόμοι cols. 2387-9. For ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἐφήβων, I.vonPriene, 112, l. 73.

240. v. i, p. 538

241. Syll^3. 581, ll. 97-8: τοὶ δὲ πωλῆται ἀποδόσθων, καθ' ἃ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων συγγράψῃ, ὅπως ἐργασθῆι πέτρ[ας] λαετίας μὴ τὰ κεκυρωμένα περὶ τᾶς συμμαχίας ταῖς πόλεσι ἀνγράψῃ καὶ τεθῆι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, μὴ [πλέ]ον τέσσαρα πλήθη ποιοῦντες. Same formula in I.G. xii, 1,1.

242. For the part of the [illegible] tamiai, v. above, p.349, note 212.

243. Ἀθήν. 47, 2: μισθῶσι (sc. οἱ πωλῆται) δὲ τὰ μισθώματα πάντα, κ.τ.λ.

244. v. Syll^3. 581, quoted above, note 241: τοὶ δὲ πωλῆται ἀποδόσθων, καθ' ἃ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων συγγράψῃ, κ.τ.λ. I.G. xii, 1, 1: [τὸ] δὲ ἔργον ἀ[π]οδόσθων τοὶ πωλῆται] καθ' ἃ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιτέ[κτων συγγράψῃ...] Lind. Chron. A = Syll^3. 725, ll. 5-6: τοὶ δὲ αἱρεθέντες κατασκευάξαντω στάλαν [λ]θου λαετίου καθ' ἃ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων γράψῃ κτλ.] where the function of the architectones extends to the preparation of the stele; cf. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde^3, p. 627.

245. Inscr. ii, 486 (iii, A.D.); Stud. Ciac. pp. 256ff., nr. III, l.6 (3rd cent. A.D.).

246. I.G. ii^2, 1077, lines 13-14: ἀ[ντ]άρχοντος τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ἀγ|[ῶνος τοῦ π]ανελληνίου.

247. Sardis, 8, XII, 1.133: ἀντάρχων τῶν στρατηγῶν ; [illegible] Mytilene; I.G. xii, 2, 35 = IGRR, iv, 33e: ἄρχων [ἢ ἀν]τάρχων. In Syll^3. 785, l.17 (Chios), the ἄρχοντες ἢ ἀντάρχοντες are Roman magistrates or pro-magistrates. Cf. also the Ptolemaic ἀντιστράτηγος above, note 148.

248. In Bull.Inst.franc.arch.Cair. xli, 1942, pp. 44ff ('PFouad, Inv. 211[1]) col.ii, line 1, and ἀντιαρχιερεύς appears, who is probably derived from a Hellenistic original. Scherer, in his discussion of this title, sadly confuses those titles in ἀντ- which are translations from the Roman, and those which are of Greek origin. On p. 59, note 1 he compares with it (a) ἀντιβασιλεύς in D.H. ix, 69 (given by Scherer as 'DH69') which is simply Dionysius' translation of the Latin interrex, and (b) ἀντιστρατηγός and ἀντιταμίας which are both normally also translations from the Latin.

249. Inscr. ii, 486.

250. e.g. at Keos: I.G. xii, 5 (1), 595B, l. 16; at Alexandria: PHal. 1, 239; cf. Latte, RE, s.v. θεσμοφύλακες cols. 29-31.

251. Inscr.ii, 482.

252. Amorgos: I.G. xii, 7, 3, ll.30ff; Cos: Inscr. Cos. 368, vi, 37; vii, 41 (καθ' ὑποθεσίαν τὰν ἐπὶ χρεοφυλάκων); Chios: Ps. Arist. Oecon. 1347b, 35ff; Asia Minor: list in Dareste, BCH, vi, 1882, pp. 241-5; Tod, Sparta Catalogue, p. 354, note to nr. 204.

253. v. in general, Dareste, loc.cit.

254. It may perhaps be conjectured on the analogy of theCoan inscription quoted above, note 252, that the χρεοφύλακες were the authorities at Rhodes responsible for a certain type of adoption - and adoption at Rhodes was already common in the third century.

255. Stud. Ciac. pp. 256ff., nr. III, l.5.

256. I.G. vii, 1826: Δέκμος Στερτίνιος Εἰσίων, λιμενάρχης δίς : cf. PGiess 10, line 4: ... ὥστε λιμενάρχαις . Seven λιμενοφύλακες head the magistrates in the Carystian lists, I.G. xii, 9, 8 = Syll^3. 951; ibid. 9. An Athenian document speaks of an ἐπιμελητὴς ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα , I.G. ii^2, 1012 = Syll^3. 706. This is clearly a different office from the ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν νεωρίων , of whom ten were elected annually, (for whom v. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde^3, p. 1130), since the two occur together in I.G. ii^2, 2336 ; cf. Oehler, RE.s.v. ἐπιμελητής, col. 165.

257. v. Strab. 653: τῶν δὲ νεωσοίκων πυὰ καὶ κρυπτὰ ἦν καὶ ἀπόρρητα τοῖς πολλοῖς, τῷ δὲ κατοπτεύσαντι ἢ παρελθόντι εἴσω θάνατος ὥριστο ἡ ζημία.

258. Stud. Ciac. pp. 256ff., nr. III, ll.7-8.

259. ἐπιστάτης δημοσίων ἔργων occur in I.G. ii^2, 1672, lines 5, 43, Aeschines, iii, 14; but they appear to have been extraordinary officials (also at Cyzicus, Ath.Mitt. xvi, 1891, p. 144).
The ἐπιμελητὴς πλεόνων (or δημοσίων) ἔργων in the Roman East (Idebessos: TAM, ii, 831; 835; 838; Hierocaesarea: Robert, Hellenica,vi,p. 49, nr. 14, l.6; ibid. p. 34, nr. 27; Sardis; nr 10, l.6; ibid. nr. 11, which are all of imperial date) may be modelled on the Roman curatores operum publicorum (for whom v. Kornemann, RE, s.v. Curatores, cols. 1787-1790), who were known in Greek as ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων , IGR, iii, 174-5

259. contd.

(Ancyra): ὁ δεῖνα ἐπιμελητὴς δημοσίων ἔργων ἐν Ῥώμῃ (quoted by Magie, De Romanorum vocabulis, p. 101), but the Athenian analogies suggest that the office may have been pre-Roman in theGreek cities.

260. I.G. xii, 1, 7; ibid. 31; 701, ll. 19-20; Jahreshefte, iv, 1901 p. 162, nr. II (bis); Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 168ff, nr. 21, A, col.III, l.3.

261. This is evident from Jahreshefte, loc.cit. in which the son of a γραμματεὺς δημόσιος , himself called ὑπηρέτης δημόσιος , had acquired citizenship, being called Ἐπίγονος Ἰάσονος and in I.G. xii, 1, 701, the name of one of three ὑπηρέται is followed by the patronymic, suggesting a higher status than that of the slave.

262. I.G. xii, 1, 31. The dedication is made ὑπὲρ τῶν κυρίων Ῥοδίων , with which may be compared LBW, 1228, from Balbyra: Βαλβουρέων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότας Ὀνήσιμος δημόσιος.

263. LBW, 1212, mentions among the good offices of a citizen δημοσίους δούλου[ς] ἀγνει[κ]ήσαντα ἑκατὸν ἑπτά.

264. v. Cardinali, Rend.Linc. 1908, pp. 157-165; O. Jacob, MB,xxx, 1926, pp. 57-106.

265. I.G. xii, 1, 157 (R?C?); 383 (R); 762B(L); 836; 838; NS, 18, ll. 16-8 (R); 21 (R?C?); Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 151, nr. 6, l. 2 (R?). (R denotes a choragia held at Rhodos, L and C indicate that the context suggests that the choragia may have been performed at Lindos or Camirus, which had their own choragic systems for their own local festivals (cf. the choragic festivals of the Attic demes)). The extension of the choragia to foreigners at both Rhodos and Lindos is shown by I.G. xii, 1, 762 (of A.D.23), containing a Lindian decree for the provision of choragoi for the Lindian Sminthia: ll. 9-10: τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα γενέσθαι περὶ τ[ὰ]ν Σμινθί[ω]ν κατὰ τὰ πάρ[χαιον ἔθ]ισμα Λινδί[ων, πορ]ευέσθων[δὲ τοὶ ἐπιστάται] τοὶ ἀεὶ ἐν ἀεχα [ε]ὄντες περ[ὶ τοῖς ἐκ πο-λειτᾶν] ἱερουμένοις, χορηγοῖς καὶ ἄλλο[υ]ς χορηγο[ὺ]ς ἐκ τῶν κατοικούντων καὶ γενεμενόντων ἐν Λινδίᾳ πόλει ξένους ἐς ἀεὶ κα[μὴ]τινες ὀφειλόμαντι. For repetition of the liturgy v. I.G. xii, 1, 157 (τρίς); 383 (δίς) For the choregia in general v. Reisch, RE, s.v. Χορηγία cols. 2409-2422.

266. ἀγωνοθέται at Rhodes (for letters after inscriptions v. note 265): I.G. xii, 1, 127 (a koinon); 705 (C); 707 (C); Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p. 393, nr. 21; nr. 20; 30; 36-44 (all C); Cl.Rh.

266. contd.

ii, 1932, p. 205, nr. 38 (C); Inscr.i, 167; 197ff; 228; 247; (262); 263; 270; ibid. ii, 294; 378; 381; 384(?) (all L); 451 (R?L?); 470(L); 482 (R); 696(L, acc. Reinach, REG, xvii, 1904, p.210, nr.3, R, acc.Blinkenberg, ad loc.; either is possible); Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 151-2, nr. 7; NS, 20; 21(?); 38; Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 146, nr. 18; I.G. xii, 1, 55; 70; Inscr. ii, 449; 465; 482 (all R).

267. The ἀγωνοθέτας occurs in the Camiran συνέδρεῖς (v. the inscriptions in Cl.Rh. vi-vii, quoted in note 266), and also in the συνέδρεται and συναγχέλαι of Lindos.

268. v. above, note 137.

269. NS, 20; cf. above, note 222.

270. NS, 18, 1.5: γυμνασιαρχήσαντα φυλ[ᾶς] καὶ νικήσαντα [π]ανσείδεια καὶ Ῥωμαῖα καὶ Ἀλίεια καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντα νεώτερον; ibid. 20 (γυμνασίαρχοι); 21 ([γ]υμνασι[αρ]χήσαντα πρεσβυτέρω[ν]); 36 (two gymnasiarchoi κατὰ μεγάλα Ἀλίεια); 38 (an individual performing simultaneously the function of γυμνασίαρχος , ἀγωνοθέτης and ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἁλίου, in ii, A.D. cf. Oehler, RE, s.v. γυμνασίαρχος col. 1982); I.G. xii, 1, 46 (list of citizens honouring a γυμνασίαρχος πρεσβύτερος κατὰ Ῥωμαῖα); (127, γυμνασιαρχία within a koinon); 839 (γυμνασίαρχος νεώτερος ἐπώνυμος); Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p. 190, nr. 19 (γυμνασιαρχήσαντα φυλᾶς κατὰ ~~μεγάλα~~ Ἀλίεια μεγάλα) ibid. 20 (γυμνασιαρχήσαντος φυλᾶς); Inscr. i, 222 (γυμνασιαρχήσαντα φυλᾶς); ibid. ii, 384b, l.7 (γυμνασιαρχήσαντα νεωτέρων); ibid. d: l.8 (γυμνασιαρχήσαντα πρεσβύτερον); 449 (γυμνασιαρχήσαντα); [redacted]; 454 (γυμνασιαρχήσαντα νεώτερον); 465a (γυμνασιαρχήσας νεώτερος); ibid.b,c,d; ibid. e,f, g (all speak of individuals as δι' αἰῶνος καὶ ἐπώνυμος γυμνασίαρχος νεώτερος); 482 (γυμνασίαρχον νεώτερον κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν); 707 (γυμνασιαρχήσαντα νεωτέρων); Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 104, nr. 14 (γυμνασιαρχήσαντα [νεω]τέρων). All these references are apparently to the tenure of the γυμνασιαρχία at Rhodes, and there is no indication that the liturgy [redacted] existed in the old cities.

For all matters connected with the gymnasiarchia, v. the indispensible article of Oehler, RE, loc.cit., where a vast amount of material is sorted and arranged in a wholly admirable manner. I refer to this article instead of quoting the actual texts.

271. NS. 18; cf. above, previous note for this and other instances of the γυμνασίαρχος φυλᾶς and the γυμνασίαρχος πρεσβύτερ(ος or ων) and νεώτερος (or ων).

272. The addition of the προσβύτερος and νεώτερος is not uncommon elsewhere, and refers to the division of the gymnastic games into two halves according to the age of the participants; cf. the γυμνασιάρχος των νεών at Cos, Iasos and Halicarnassus (Oehler, col. 1978); the γυμνασιάρχος προσβύτερος also occurs at Cos, Inscr.Cos. 119, I. von Mag. 163, and Iasos, REG, vi, 1893, pp. 166, 176, 187, cf. Oehler, col. 1979; Forbes, NEOI, pp. 60-1.

273. There is no reference to the ephebeia in any Rhodian inscription; ἔφηβος is restored in I.G. xii, 1, 95 = Inscr. ii, 473, l. 9.

274. v. the relevant inscriptions quoted above, note 270. The inscriptions in which the γυμνασίαρχος is called ἐπώνυμος are all of the Imperial period. The γυμνασίαρχος occurs as an element in the date at several other places, sometimes in the Hellenistic age: v. Oehler, col. 1981. The αἰωνία γυμνασιαρχία with which it is combined is frequent in the Roman period: Oehler, col. 1993.

275. It appears probable from the use of the eponymous γυμνασιάρχος in other cities that he was simply added in certain instances to the prescript of the documents (e.g. ephebic-lists, etc.), and not that the normal eponymos was withdrawn, from it: v. e.g. M, 612 (Thurii); 643 (?Apollonia Lydiae); 901 (Samos).

276. Certain lists contain the names of a few religious officials and priests of Rhodos, but they are not complete lists of συνιερεῖς : v. PP, x, 1949, pp. 72-82; Bull.Soc.Arch.Alex. xi, 1941 pp. 29ff; I.G. xii, 1, 15 (?; v. above, p. 93 note 87).

277. v. i, pp. 523ff.

278. References to the office of προφάτας : I.G.xii, 1, 833; Inscr. ii, 312, 315, 384d, l.7 (all except the last inscription apparently refer to the same individual; v. Blinkenberg, Deux Documents, pp. 11-2); PP, x, 1949, pp. 72ff., ll. 13-4. One probable list of Rhodian προφάται survives, published by Maiuri, Annuario viii-ix, 1929, pp. 315-320, nr. 2, republished by von Hiller, Archiv. für Religion, xxvii, 1929, pp. 349-354, and by Blinkenberg, Deux Documents, pp. 10-26. This consists of a list of names, between which are interposed in smaller letters, and underneath the left part of the names, a list of festivals of the Rhodian state. The list (of which the top is preserved) is headed by a descriptive title of which only the letter π remains (facsimiles in Annuario, loc.cit., Deux Documents, loc.cit.). This was taken by Maiuri to represent a demotic of a name in the previous line; but there was no previous line.

278. contd.

von Hiller therefore supplied π[οσειδῶνος] . Blinkenberg, loc.cit. supplied π[ροφᾶται] because nr. 15 in the list, Ζηνόδοτος , is the individual known to have been προφάτης from the first three inscriptions quoted above. Since Zenodotus is also known to have been ἐπιλαχὼν ἱερεὺς Ἁλίου , the list might be one of ἐπιλαχόντες , but then another explanation would have to be found for the pi. Blinkenberg's explanation therefore seems very probable.

279. For this temple v. above, p. 27 note 124.

280. v. Segre, PP, x, 1949, pp. 372ff. (who also discusses the emergence in the first century B.C. of the form Πυθαεύς for Πύθιος); for the προφήτης in the Greek world in the Hellenistic age, outside Jewish and, later, Christian sources, v. Fascher, Προφήτης , Eine sprach- und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung, 1927, pp. 40-51.

281. Bull.Soc.Arch.Alex. xxxiv (1940), pp. 29-39 , nr. 7, ll. 20ff (four Hierothytai); PP loc.cit. (five Hierothytai); I.G. xii, 1, 43, l. 23; 67, l.3 (both as offices held in individual careers); 131 (?dedication by ἱεροθῦται);

282. v. i, p.526.

283. v. i, pp. 466ff.

284. I.G. xii, 1, 1035.

285. Μελίνθος Μενεκράτευς Βρυκούντιος and Ζωσίπολις Ἀρχικράτους Βρυκούντιος. The third is from Nisyros, which may be the island, or the place of that name on Carpathus; if the latter, then the σύμμας δᾶμος may be not Rhodes, but Carpathus, and the inscription of only local significance; v. 'Islands'.

286. For ὁ σύμμας δᾶμος v. i, pp. 527-8

287. I.G. xii, 8, 190, l.45 (Samothrace); Inscr. Delos, 291B, l.8.

288. Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, p. 154, nr. 14 (γενόμενον ξεχίθεωρον ἰς Ὀλυμ-); I.G. xii, 8, 153; 184; 239; also the Rhodian ξεχίθεωροί at Delos, above, pp. 207ff., Addnl. Note 8.

CHAPTER V. NOTES.

1. For the passage from the Catalogue, B, ll. 653 ff., v. above, p. 235 note 1 . For the thalassocracy-list, given in Diod. vii, ll=Euseb. Chron.i, p.225, Schoene, v. Myres, JHS, xxvi, 1906, pp.84 ff, who asserted its historicity, followed by Burn, JHS, xlvii, 1927, pp. 165 ff. (who differs in some details); against its historicity v. Fotheringham, JHS, xxvii, 1907, pp. 75 ff. (reply to Myres, loc.cit.); Aly, Rh.Mus. lxvi, 1911, pp.585 ff. (the best account); Helm, Hermes, lxi, 1926, pp. 241 ff., and following Aly, Kubitschek, RE, s. v. Kastor (8 col. 2355. Aly seems to have shown that the entry relating to Rhodes is a late invention.

2. v. i, p.382.

3. v. above, p. 13 , note 2.

4. Thuc. vi, 43.

5. v. i, p.47.

6. v. i, p. 53.

7. v. i, p. 54, and above, p. 19 , note 54.

8. ibid., and above, p.21, note 60.

9. v. i, pp. 79 ff.

10. v. i, pp. 86 ff.

11. Diod. xvi, 21, 2; cf. i, pp. 102-3.

12. v. i, p.115.

13. v. i, p.116.

14. v. i, pp. 5ff.

15. v. Tarn, Hellenistic Developments, pp. 122 ff., on which the following remarks are based.

16. ~~xxTarn~~ Arr. Anab. ii, 21,9; cf. Tarn, op.cit. p.130.

17. v. Tarn, op. cit. pp. 124 ff; id. JHS, xxv, 1905, pp. 150ff.; id. Mariner's Mirror, xix, 1933, pp. 67-73.

18. Tarn, Hellenistic Developments, pp. 132 ff.

19. v. i, p. 136.

20. Arr. Anab. ii, 20,2.

21. i, pp. 582f.

22. i, p. 139.

23. i, p. 141.

24. ibid.

25. ibid. p. 143.

26. Diod. xix, 73,3; i, p. 146.

27. v. i, p. 581

28. In 312 Antigonus sent Polemaeus to Greece with 150 warships (Diod. xix, 77,2), and at Cyprian Salamis Demetrius had a fleet of one hundred and eight hepterers and other heavy vessels, and probably nearly one hundred triremes, while on the same occasion Ptolemy disposed of 140 penteres and tetreres (Diod. xx, 49,2; 50,2).

29. Diod. xx, 82, 4; cf. i, p. 154.

30. Diod. xx, 84,5. The phrase αἱ ἄριστα πλέουσαι evidently refers to the speed of the ship: v. Thuc. ii, 83,5; 89,8; Hell. v.1,27 (a decisive instance: τὰς μὲν οὖν βραδύτατα πλεούσας ταῖς ἀρίστα πλεούσαις ταχὺ κατειλήφθη); Philo Mech. iv, 103 (Diels-Schramm, p. 83).

31. Diod. xx, 86, 3-4; v. further, i. pp. 596 ff.

32. ibid. § 3.

33. Diod. xx, 88, 3-4.

34. ibid. § 4: τρεῖς ναῦς τὰς κρατίστας ἐπλήρωσαν: the κράτιστα ναῦς are clearly in contrast here to the ἄριστα πλέουσαι ναῦς, of ch. 84,5 (cf. note 30).

35. ibid. § 5.

36. ibid.

37. Thuc. vii, 34,5; cf. ibid. ch. 36, the Syracusians copy Polyanthes' use of ἐπωτίδες : ἐνόμισαν γὰρ οἱ Συρακόσιοι πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀντινενυσπιγμένας, ἀλλὰ λεπτὰ τὰ πρῴραθεν ἔχουσας διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀντιπρῴροις μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἢ ἐκ περίπλου τὰς ἐμβολὰς χρῆσθαι, οὐκ ἔλασσον σχήσειν. For the ἐπωτίς v. the reproductions in Baumeister's Denkmäler, quoted by Assmann, RE, s.v. col. 251; and the interesting (though conjectural) remarks of Brewster, Harvard Studies, xliv, 1933, pp. 210-2.

38. Diod. xx, 88,6.

39. ibid. 91,1: Δημήτριος ... ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ θάλατταν προσβολὰς ἐπιτυγχάνων, διὸ τῆς γῆς διέφερε τὰς ἐπιθέσεις ποιεῖσθαι.

40. v. i, pp. 156-7.

41. Diod. xx, 93,2.

42. ibid.

43. I.G. xii, 1,45: ἀγεμόνα τετρήρεων καὶ φυλακίδων τετρηρέων : Cl.Rh. ii,1932, p.169, nr.1: ἐπιβάτας ἐπὶ τὰν φυλακίδων. In Syll.^{3} 1225, l.7, Blinkenberg suggests [φυλακίδ]ι for the commonly accepted [ναυαρχίδ]ι. : v. above, p. 84 note, 43. I.G. xii, 1,45 suggests very strongly that the φυλακίς was not a particular type of ship, but a ship used for a special purpose, while the passage of Diodorus suggests that it was a vessel of a particular type. If it was only a trireme, for instance, on special duty, it is perhaps surprising that Diodorus' source should have mentioned it. That the term φυλακίς was not confined to Rhodes, though Diodorus rather suggests it was, is shown by the Athenian inscription, Hesp. xi, 1942, pp. 292-3, nr.57 : οἱ πλέοντες ἐν ταῖς φυλακίσιν τρ[ι]ημιόλιες: cf. below, p. 374, note 204.

44. Diod. xx, 93,2.

45. ibid. §§ 3-4.

46. ibid. § 5.

47. v.i, p.158.

48. Diod. xx, 97,5.

49. ibid.: νεῶν τῶν ἄριστα πλεουσῶν : cf. above, note 30.

50. ibid. §§ 5-6.

51. v.i, pp. 159-160.

52. v. Addnl. Note ii, pp. 406 ff

53. v. i, p.227 (Earthquake of 226); i,p.336 (Perseus' gifts); above, p. 178 note 143 (Antiochus Epiphanes' gifts).

54. v. i, p. 643.

55. The oarsmen alone number 170 in I.G. ii^2, 1951 (early iv. B.C.); cf. Hdt. vii, 184: ὡς ἀνὰ δικοσίους ἄνδρας λαγχομένοισι ἐν ἑκάστῃ νηΐ. There are no figures available for the Hellenistic age.

56. Diod. xx, 93,6.

57. v.i, pp. 628-9.

58. v. in particular: I.G. xii, 1,44; NS, 18; Cl.Rh.ii,1932, p.190, nr.19; Inscr.ii, 707.

59. For hagemon, v.pp. 662-3.

60. v. Memnon, 13,2.

61. This number is conjectural and based on the figures Polybius gives (i,26,7) for the Roman pentere, vessel of the same type but smaller; of this vessel the total rowing strength seems to have been about 300 (v. Tarn, Hellenistic Developments, p.140), that is five men on each oar, with a total of sixty oars, thirty on either side); on this basis, the heptere would have a crew of 7x60=420.

62. v. i, p.154.

63. v. Tarn, Hellenistic Developments, pp. 144-5: and, on the change of tactics in the fifth century, Rodgers, Greek and Roman Naval Warfare, pp. 192-4; Köster, ap. Kromayer-Veith, Heerwesen, pp. 197-200; Henderson, The great war between Athens and Sparta, pp. 92-8.

64. Thuc. i,44,7.

65. Thuc. vii, 34,5; cf. above, note 37.

66. Diod. xiii, 99.

67, cf. Tarn, op.cit. pp. 144ff.

68. cf. the emphasis laid on the need for plenty of room to manoeuvre in Thucydides' account of the naval operations of the Siege of Syracuse, vii, 70,4: ξυμπεσουσῶν δὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ πλειόνων νεῶν... αἱ μὲν ἐμβολαὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὰς ἀναπλοὺς καὶ διέκπλους ὀλίγαι ἐγίγνοντο, αἱ δὲ προσβολαί, ὡς τύχοι ναῦς νηὶ προσπεσοῦσα ἢ διὰ τὸ φεύγειν ἢ ἄλλη ἐπιπλέουσα, πυκνότεροι ἦσαν: ibid, ii,83: ὁ γὰρ Φορμίων παρεκελεύοντας αὐτοὺς ἔξω τοῦ κόλπου στῆναι καὶ τῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ ἐπιθέσθαι. Phormio's words on the subject in Thuc. ii,89,8, give the best account of the dangers to fleets of considerable manoeuvrability of a sea-battle in a confined space.

69. v. note 34, above.

70. v. note 37, above.

71. Tarn, Hellenistic Developments, p.150: cf. Corbett, Drake and the Tudor Navy, i, pp.2 ff.

72. Diod. xx, 52.

73. ibid. 84, 6: οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν λίμενα κατασπῶσαι συνέκαμνον.

74. ibid. 93, 2.

75. Diod. xiii, 13,6-7.

76. id. xiv, 73, 2-5.

77. v. Arr. Anab. ii, 19,1-4; Curt.Ruf. iv,3,2-4; cf. i,p.597.

78. Diod. xx, 86, 3-4.

79. Diodorus is quite explicit: loc.cit.: τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιδιώξαντες προσέπλεον ταῖς μηχαναῖς ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν ὕλην ὑφῆψαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ πλοίῳ χάλκῳ καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι (i.e. of Demetrius' crews) ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι, συνηναγκάσθησαν χωρεῖν εἰς τοὔπισθεν. τῆς δὲ φλογὸς ἐπισχούσης, ὀλίγοι μὲν κατασβέσαντες ἐπανῆλθον σὺν τοῖς σκάφεσι, οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲ, μικρομέλεια τῶν δικρότων, ἐξεκολύμβησαν. Rodgers, Greek and Roman Naval Warfare, p.248, supposes that it was the sailors of Demetrius who attempted to save themselves, but this is obviously incorrect; cf. the Tyrian method described below.

80. v. note 77.

81. v. i, pp. 180 ff.

82. Polyaen. v, 18; cf. i, pp. 195 ff.

83. ibid.: Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ῥοδίους ἐξῆρε ἐπὶ μίαν ναῦν (cf. Thuc. ii, 84, 1: οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ μίαν ναῦν τεταγμένοι περιέπλεον) καὶ φανερὸς γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπιπλέουσι μετέστρεψε μετωπηδόν, κ.τ.λ.

84. Polyb. v, 88-90; v.i, pp.224 ff.

85. ibid. 89,1: ἐπηγγέλατο δὲ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος αὐτοῖς... ξύλα... ναυπηγήσιμα δέκα πεντήρων καὶ δέκα τριήρων. For the reading δέκα, v. above p. 113 note 63.

86. ibid. §8: Σέλευκος δ' ὁ παρ' Ἀντιόχου ... χωρίς... πεντήρεις μὲν δέκα κατηρτισμένως, κτλ.

87. i.e. accepting δέκα as in note 85.

88. Polyb. iv, 50,5; cf.i,pp. 233 ff.

89. v.i, p.234.

90. Polyb. iv, 53,1.

91. Polyb. xvi, 2,9: δεκήρης, ἐννήρης, ἑπτήρης, ἑξήρης, are mentioned in ibid. 7,1; the ναυαρχὶς δεκήρης of ibid. 3,1, is the same as that mentioned in 7,1; two octeres are mentioned, ibid. 3,2, and 3,10 -- both were sunk. The ἑπτήρης of 3,7, may be the same as that in 7,1. For the type of vessel known as the πρῶτις v. Torr, Ancient Ships, p.121.

92. ~~Polyb.=xvi,=3,6,=ibid.=6,2,=tetreres,=ibid.~~; Polyb. xvi, 2,10.

93. Penteres, Polyb. xvi, 3,6; ibid. 6,2; tetreres, ibid.; triemioliai, 3,4 (same ship mentioned as is sunk in 7,3); ibid. 3,14.

94. Penteres, id.xvi, 5,1; 5,4; 7,4 (two penteres sunk of which one has been previously mentioned); trireme, ibid. 7,4.

95. In all, the allies had nine triemioliai of which at least two were Pergamene (v. above, note 93); in addition to the trireme mentioned in the previous note, there is the possibility that two or three of the three mentioned in 2,10 were Rhodian.

96. Polyb. xvi, 5,8: συνέβη δὲ δύο γενέσθαι ναυμαχίας πολὺ διεστώσας ἀλλήλων 'Right' and 'Left' are horribly confused in the narrative of Polybius. The Macedonian fleet faced about in the course of the engagement, and the two flanks therefore changed names; v. Holleaux, Klio, x,1909, p.452,note 6, and RÉA, xxiii, 1921, p.185, note 1. The terms are employed in the text as they are given by Polybius.

97. The διέκπλους is first mentioned by Hdt. vi, 12, with reference to the manoeuvres of the Ionian fleet before the battle of Lade in 494, and again in the account of Artemision, ibid. viii, 9-10, but in the former instance the manoeuvre is used only as an exercise, in the second it does not appear to have been completed; cf. Rodgers, Greek and Roman Naval Warfare, pp. 68-9. For Phormio's use of the διέκπλους v. Henderson, The Great War between Athens and Sparta, p. 92ff.

98. v. Tarn, Hellenistic Developments, pp.146-9.

99. Thuc. ii, 83.

100. ibid. 84.

101. Polyb. xvi, 4,4.

102. v.i,pp.612-3

103. Polyb. xvi, 4,8.

104. ibid. §§ 9-10.

105. ibid. § 14.

106. ibid. § 11.

107. ibid. § 12.

108. v. Tarn, Hellenistic Developments, p.147, note 1.

109. This view was originally held by Tarn, JHS, xxv, 1905, p.155, followed by Rodgers, Greek and Roman Naval Warfare, p.382, who introduces, however, the anachronistic concept of a 'water-tight deck'. If there were any indication that the ancient pentere could take on water, the problem of the διέκπλους would be quite different.

110. Tarn, JHS, xxv, 1905, p.141.

111. Polyb. xvi, 3,8.

112. JHS, op.cit. p.155.

113. Polyb. xvi, 3,8: Δεινοκράτης μὲν πρὸς ὀκτήρη συμπεσὼν αὐτὸς μὲν ἔξαλον ἔλαβε τὴν πληγήν, ἀναστείρου τῆς νεὼς οὔσης, τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων πρῶραν ναῦν ὑπὸ τὰ †βίαχα† τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἐδύνατο χωρισθῆναι, κ.τ.λ.

113(contin.).
ἀνασπείρου τῆς νεὼς οὔσης is commonly translated as 'having a high prow', but σπεῖρα is the forepart of the keel (v. Cartault, La trière ath, pp. 33-35), and Deinocrates' ship may therefore have been protected in some way by an unusually high keel covering its hull. A high prow would not have the effect described by Polybius. The corrupt ὑπὸ τὰ † βίαχα † (for emendations v. Büttner-Wobst, ad.loc.) clearly indicates that the Pergamene ship rammed below water, that is, in the normal way (v.note 110), and does not imply any special construction.

114. The losses on either side are given by Polyb. xvi, 7. The lists are,however, incomplete, and to be supplemented from the narrative of the engagement by the following items: one Macedonian octere sunk, xvi, 3,2; one captured, ibid. 3,7-11; two Pergamene tetreres captured, ibid. 6,2ff (from Holleaux,REA, xxiii, 1921, p.186, notes 3-4; his suggestion, note 4, that δύο τετρήρεις (7,2) may be in the wrong place, and belongs in fact to the list of Attalus' losses seems improbable).

115. v.i, p.274, and above, p.141, note 152, (1).

116. v. i, pp.20-1.

117. Polyb. xvi, 15,1.

118. ibid. 2, μιᾶς νηὸς ἐπαρμένης τὸν δόλωνα. The δόλων was the lateen-sail fastened to the foremast, i.e. the jibsail. It was particularly used as an additional sail to catch the wind, when escaping from a battle; v.Cartault, La trière ath. pp. 183-4, Assmann, RE, s.v. Dolon (3), cols.1288-9, Köster, Seewesen, pp. 171ff.

119. Polyb. xvi, 9,1; cf.above, p.142, note 152 (4).

120. ibid.15,3.

121. ibid.§§ 4-5.

122. v. i,p. 612

123. v, i, pp. 278-9. A tetrere was also sent to Tenedos the same year; Liv (P), xxx, i, 16,7.

124. ibid. pp. 280 ff.; for the League v. 'Islands'.

125. The first sign of combined force of Rhodian and Nesiotic

125 (contin.).
ships is in the Delian honorific decree for Epicrates, I.G.xi,4,751=Syll.³592=Choix, 67: ἀποσταλεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ καταφράκτων πλοίων κατὰ πόλεμον, συστρατευομένων αὐτῶι καὶ τῶν νησιωτικῶν τριήρων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἑλκάστων. (= Addnl Note 10, nº10)
This inscription has been assigned to 190 B.C. In the latter year according to Liv(P). xxxvii,13,ad fin., Epicrates was sent to Cephallenia ad fretum Cephalleniac tuendum, but the event commemorated in the inscription cannot be that referred to by Livy, because, when sent to Cephallenia, Epicrates commanded only a small detachment consisting of two Rhodian tetreres, while the inscription shows that he held a place of importance, in command ἐπὶ καταφράκτων πλοίων κατὰ πόλεμον.
It is possible as Roussel, I.G.xi,4, ad loc. (followed by Durrbach, Choix, p.90) suggests, that the inscription refers to a subsequent command of Epicrates in the Antiochic War, though there is no mention of such a command in Livy. Durrbach, BCH, x,1886, p.111, and v.Hiller, Syll.³ 592, prefer a date in the second Macedonian War, which is equally possible, although Epicrates is not referred to in surviving accounts of that war. The reference to Athenian ships in the inscription is testified for both wars (Liv.(P)xxxi, 22,8; id.xxxvii,14,1). Which ever date be correct, the inscription is still the earliest evidence for a combined Rhodian and Nesiotic fleet. The other Delian inscription recording honours for a Rhodian official in the Cyclades, I.G.xi, 4,752-3=Syll.³ 583 (nr.752 only)= Choix, 63 (= Addnl Note 10, nº11) is probably of a slightly later date: v.'Islands'. For the later, permanent Nesiotic naval force under Rhodian command, v.i, p.636.

126. Liv.(P) xxxi, 46,6; cf.i,p.303.

127. ibid. 47,2.

128. Liv.(P) xxxii, 16,6. The naval campaign was limited to the capture of Carystus and Eretria, in which the Rhodians took no part: ibid.16,7-17,3.

129. Liv(P) xxxiv, 26,11.

130. v. i,pp. 581-2

131. Liv.(P) xxxiii, 19,10-11. These figures have been suspected by De Sanctis, SdR. iv, 1,p. 121, note 16, on the grounds that at no subsequent time during the war did Antiochus put an hundred cataphracts to sea, and that, when he crossed to Greece in 192 he had forty cataphracts and sixty aphracts. Thiel, Roman Sea-Power, p.273, note 343, rightly points out that much of Antiochus' fleet was

131 (contin.).
lost by storm in 196 (Liv. xxxiii, 41,7); his second point, however, that Hannibal's fleet at Side comprised forty-seven ships of the line, and that of Polyxenidas eighty-seven, making a total of one hundred and thirty six ships of the line, does not take into account the fact that most or all of these were brought by Hannibal from Syria, and, therefore, cannot be used to confirm the figures for the earlier fleet.

132. Liv. (P) xxxv, 43,3.

133. For the size of Demetrius' fleet, v.i,p.582.

134. Liv. (P) xxxvi, 41, ad fin.; cf. i,p.304.

135. Liv. (P) xxxvi, 45, 5-6. Pausistratus is probably to be identified with the στρατηγὸς εἰς τὸ πέραν of 197 (Liv.(P) xxxiii, 18; cf.i, pp.295-6, and 'Peraea'). App. Syr.22, says that there were twenty-two Rhodian ships. This figure (accepted by Holleaux, CAH, viii, p.218) is probably due to the inclusion of the two Coan ships mentioned as separate units by Livy in his account of the Rhodian disaster at Panormus the following spring, Liv.(P) xxxvii, 11.13; v. further below, note 140.

136. Liv. (P) xxxvi, 45,6.

137. id. xxxvii, 8,3.

138. ibid. 9,5.

139. ibid. chs. 10-11; App. Syr.24. The site of Panormus has been disputed (v. Schmidt, RE, s.v. Panormus (6), col.636), but it was undoubtedly on the island, and not in the Samean Peraea; v. Pozzi, Mem.r.accad.Torin, Lxiii, 1913, p. 340, note 6; de Sanctis, SdR, iv, p.184, note 116.

140. v.Additional Note, ii, below, p.406.

141. Liv. (P) xxxvii, 11,13. Further accounts of the fire-baskets, described in connection with this occasion, are App. Syr. 23, Polyb. xxi, 7. For fire-devices in general v. Graefe, Hermes, lvii, 1922, pp. 433 ff. A representation of the fire-basket is to be found on a graffito of the Ptolemaic period, Bull. Soc.Arch.Alex., iv,1902,p.27, quoted by Tarn, Hellenistic Developments, p.147, note 3; v. also the description in Schiff, Alexandrinische Depinti, pp.40-50. Credit for the recognition of the fire-baskets

141 (contin.).
on the graffito must go to Paul Meyer, Klio, ii, 1902, p. 477, though he thought that the stern of the vessel was represented, and that the purpose of the fire-baskets was to ward off pursuers.

142. Schiff, op.cit. p.50, suggests that an 'enterprising and intrepid' enemy might shear off the poles from which the fire-baskets were suspended. Graefe, Hermes, loc.cit. p.435, note 5 remarks with justice: 'Das scheint mir leichter gesagt als getan.'.

143. Arr. Anab. ii, 19.

144. Liv. (P) xxxvii, 11,13.

145. Liv. (P) xxxvii, 12,9.

146. At Side in 190 all the ships which included those of Eudmaus, were tetreres except four triremes, Liv. (P) xxxvii, 23, 4-5. The two triremes are those mentioned as having been commanded by Epicrates when he set off for Cephallenia, ibid. 13,11-2; cf.note 125 above.

147. Liv. (P) xxxvii, 13,12-14,2.

148. ibid. 16,1.

149. ibid. § 3.

150. Liv. (P) xxxvii, 22,2.

151. ibid. § 3.

152. ibid. § 4.

153. ibid. § 5.

154. ibid. 23,6.

155. ibid. § 4; Livy previously (22,4) said that Eudamus received six aphract vessels on arrival at Rhodes. No indication of what happened to the two not mentioned as forming part of the fleet is given, but the tetreres are two in excess of those mentioned as constituting the individual detachments. Perhaps the most probable solution is that Livy has erred, and that there were in fact 30 tetreres and 6 triremes. The total is at all events correct (36).

155 (contin.).
Thiel's solution, Roman Sea-Power, p.340, note 574, that two of the apertae naves were tetreres, though arithmetically plausible, can hardly be right: aphract tetreres would be nautical monstrosities. The Coan and Chidian quadriremes mentioned in xxxvii, 22,2 are omitted from the total given in 23, as not being Rhodian.

156. Liv. (P) xxxvii, 23,5.

157. ibid. § 8. The battle is described, ibid.23,9-24,11. Modern accounts: Rodgers,Greek and Roman Naval Warfare, pp. 408-412; Thiel, Roman Sea-Power, pp.338-345.
There is some confusion over right and left in Livy's account. Hannibal commanded the Syrian left, Apollonius the right (23,7); Eudamus commanded the van of the Rhodian line (ibid. § 8), and subsequently the right, against Hannibal's left (ibid.§ 10): festinans ipse praepropere cum quinque solis navibus Hannibali occurrit). In 23,11, in dextro cornu must, therefore, refer to the Rhodian right against the enemy left, and not to the right of the enemy line. After this the narrative shifts to the Rhodian left, in shore, the battle there is described; this is clear from 24,2, omnes quae in dextro cornu vicerant, which must refer to the Syrian right. Then the account of the action returns to the Rhodian right, to which assistance was now brought by the Rhodian left, which had conqueres the Syrian right. Rodgers, op.cit. p. 410 (as Thiel, Roman Sea-Power, p.343, note 583, points out) has made a serious mistake, assuming praetoria nave, 24,4, to refer to Apollonius, and the right mentioned in in dextro cornu to be the Rhodian. Thiel's account contains an equally serious error; he supposes, p.342, note 580, that the Rhodian ships for whom there was originally no room left on the Rhodian left (23,11-24,2) came up on Eudamus' right. This is impossible since Eudamus would not have been ceteris omnibus longe praestantem , 24,4. The ships on the left, as Livy, 24,1, says, terram dedere, 'gave ground', as each ship came up on its left, and as the line was in motion some sort of order was established, though not necessarily a perfectly dressed line.

158. Liv. (P) xxxvii, 24,3.

159. ibid. §§ 6-9.

160. ibid. § 9: veriti ne includerentur vento in nostium ora;

160. (contin.)
cf. Arr. Anab. ii,20, for the importance of friendly shores: εἰς τὴν γῆν φιλίαν οὖσαν.

161. ibid. §§ 12; 13; 25,3. The precise allocation of ships after the battle is, however, not clear. v. note 164.

162. ibid. 30,1. App. Syr. 27, gives twenty-five Rhodian ships. Since the precise composition of the fleet cannot be determined, this figure cannot be rejected out of hand, but in view of other mistakes of Appian in regard to the size of the Rhodian fleet (v. below, Addnl.Note ii,), Livy's figure is probably preferable.

163. Of the original twenty, four had gone with Livius to Lycia, and Eudamus had taken thirteen with him: v. Addnl. Note ii, p.406.

164. The twenty-two ships at Myonnesus cannot be identified with certainty, since no information is given of those ships of the fleet which either are not specifically mentioned as having returned with Eudamus, Liv. (P) xxxvii, 24, 13, or as having stayed in Lycia (in number, 20; v. ibid. § 12) or as having been sent there afterwards (in number, 4; v. ibid. 25,3). Nor indeed is it clear whether the four that Pamphilidas took with him were from the seven maximae naves which Eudamus brought back, or whether others unrecorded also returned. It is, at all events, certain that twenty-two ships could be provided from the thirty-nine which Rhodes had at sea, and that there is no need to postulate further ship-building. Perhaps the most likely solution is that Eudamus kept his ten ships (i.e. the three already at Samos, and the seven which he brought back from Side), and that Pamphilidas also brought back some ships including the four recorded as having been redispatched to Lycia with him. Since twenty stayed originally in Lycia and Eudamus had seven more, the balance cannot have been more than nine; in that case, after the departure of Pamphilidas there were at Samos fifteen Rhodian ships at the very most. Seven may then have been recalled from Lycia before the battle. It is also possible thatthe allied ships mentioned incidentally in the account, that is the Mitylenaean, Erythraean, Smyrniote, Coan and Cnidian, were included in the Rhodian twenty-five(cf. Kromayer, Ant. Schlacht, ii, p. 160, note 1). But, on the other occasion when Livy mentions ships serving with the Rhodian fleet, but not as an integral part of the Rhodian navy, they are mentioned separately (v.e.g. the Coan and Cnidian penteres of xxxvii, 22,2, and the two Coan ships which escaped at Panormus, ibid. 11,13).

165. Liv. (P) xxxvii, 30,1.

166. ibid. § 2. App. Syr. 27, gives the Seleucid fleet as 90 strong, the Roman as 83.

167. The battle is described, Liv. (P) xxxvii, 30; App. Syr. 27. Modern accounts in Rodgers, Greek and Roman Naval Warfare, pp. 412-7; Thiel, Roman Sea-Power, pp.352-7.

168. App. Syr. 27. This important piece of information, which shows the use of fire-baskets at the opening of the advance, is not recorded by Livy.

169. Liv. (P) xxxvii, 30,2 and 6.

170. The losses, given by Livy, ibid.(id.xl, 52, 5-6, the tabula triumphalis of Aemilius Regillus, gives sixty-two enemy ships captured) are: 42 Seleucid ships lost, of which 13 were captured, the rest burnt or sunk. On the allied side, two Roman vessels were shattered, several damaged, and one Rhodian ship captured. Appian's figure, Syr. 27, for the Seleucid losses, are: διεφθάρησαν Ἀντίοχου νῆες μιᾶς δεούσαι τριάκοντα, ὧν τρισκαίδεκα αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἑλήφθησαν. Since these figures, if added, give 42, the total Seleucid losses recorded by Livy, it seems necessary to read καὶ ἑπτὰ ὧν (with Schweighauser, ad loc. and Nissen. Krit.Unters. p. 191; Viereck, ad loc. retains ὧν , with the comment, 'incertum, Appiani an librarii error sit'), though the corruption, if such it be, is not easy to explain.

171. v. i, pp. 650 ff.

172. v. Tarn, Hellenistic Civilisation, pp. 90ff.

173. v. i, pp. 506 ff.

174. v. Tarn, Hellenistic Developments, pp. 30 ff.

175. v. Polyb. xvi, 4,4; Liv (P) xxxvii, 29,9; 30,2 (speed); ibid. 24,1 (usus rei maritimi: cf. 20,2); App. Mithr.25 (ἐμπειρία); ibid. νῆας ταχυναυτοῦσαι : id. Syr. 24 (training); ibid. 27 (ἐρέται ἔμπειροι); Diod. xxxvii, 28 (τεχνὴ κυβερνητῶν, τάξις τῶν νεῶν, ἐρετῶν ἐμπειρία, δυνάμεις ἡγεμόνων, ἐπιβατῶν ἀρεταί); Strab. 652 (ἐπιμέλειαν περὶ τὰ ναυτικά); ibid. 653 (contributions by the rich, ὥστε ..... τὴν πόλιν τῶν χρειῶν μὴ καθυστερεῖν καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς ναυστολίας); Diod. xx, 81 (ἰσχύουσι ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσι).

176. Chief among these are the gifts made by Perseus to the Rhodian navy in 178 (v. i, pp. 335ff.), Polyb. xxxv, 4,10. The Rhodian navy carried out a full review at this time, and Perseus crowned each aphract with a gold band. But Polybius does not say how many aphracts there were, nor can the absence of any reference to cataphracts be regarded as significant.

In c. 172, Antiochus Epiphanes promised Rhodes some material for ship-building, Syll? 644d, cf. above, p.178 note 143. No details are available.

In 172/1, Hagesilochus, the chief prytanis, persuaded the Rhodians to make ready 40 ships for the Roman cause (v.i, pp. 345 ff.), Polyb. xxvii, 3. The number is not exceptionally high; it was doubtless helped by the gifts of Perseus and Antiochus.

In 171, when Rhodes sent her detachment to join the Roman squadrons at Chalcis, not forty, but five ships were sent. (Polyb.xxvii, 7,14.) However, no naval action was contemplated and the ships returned home. This is the last we hear of the Rhodian fleet up to the time of the alliance with Rome.

177. v.i, pp. 625 ff.

178. On these two classes v. especially Tarn, Hellenistic Developments, p. 126; Köster, Antikes Seewesen, p.116, Blinkenberg's interpretation of καταφρακτα as 'navires pontées' (Inscr. ii,pp. 1015-6) is a retrograde step. The Latin translation of these terms, employed by Livy (e.g. xxxi, 46,6; xiiv, 28,3) is tectae and apertae naves.

179. For the identification of the παρεξειρεσία as 'outrigger' v. Assmann, ap. Baumeister, Denkmäler, p.1609; Tarn, JHS, xxv, 1905, p.141, note 10; id. Hellenistic Developments, p.125; Brewster, Harvard Studies, xiiv, 1933, pp. 209ff.; the identification is contested by Alexanderson, Comment. philol. in hon. Joh. Paulson, 1905, pp.25-40, and id. Den grekiska trieren, p.51 followed by Blinkenberg, TRIE MIOLIA, p.38, note 1. [illegible]

180. v. Rodgers, Greek and Roman Naval Warfare, pp. 209-210.

181. The view of Thiel, Roman Sea-Power, p.340, note 574, that some Rhodian tetreres were aphract is unsupported by any evidence; cf. above, note 155.

182. As passenger-ships Cicero did not think much of Rhodian aphracts; ad Att, v,12,1: inde Gyarum saevo vento, non adverso: hinc Scyrum inde Delum, utroque citius quam vellemus, cursum confecimus. Iam nosti ἄφρακτα Rhodiorum; nihil quod minus fluctum ferre potuit. For passages praising the speed of the Rhodian ships v. above, note 175.

183. Thus there is a reference to Mytilenaean dicrota in Cic. ad Att. v,11,4: aphracta Rhodiorum et dicrota Mytilenaearum habebam et abiquid ἐπικώπων a Milesian ναῦς δίκροτος occurs in Inscr. Délos, 1855-6; a Smyrniote one, ibid. 1857.

184. Diod. xx, 86,3; cf. i,p. 583.

185. Thuc. iv,67; Strab.495, quoted below, note 190.

186. Hdt. vii, 186.

187. Hermesianax, fr.7, l.4, Powell, where it is called the κοινὴ ἄκατος

188. Polyb. i,73,2.

189. cf. Luebeck, RE. s.v. ἄκατος, cols. 1158-9.

190. Strab. 495, says of the pirates of the Caucasian coast, that for their piratical raids they used ἀκάτια ... λεπτὰ στενὰ καὶ κοῦφα, ὥστον ἀνθρώπους πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δεχόμενα, σπάνιον δὲ τριάκοντα τοὺς πλείστους βαστάζοντα· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὰ οἱ Ἕλληνες κωμάρους. These ἀκάτια were apparently roofed in: Aul. Gell, NA, x,25.

191. Luc. VH, i,5.

192. v. i, pp. 628-9

193. Inscr. ii, 707 (2nd half of first cent. B.C.). The τριηραρχία of a δίκροτον was apparently quite a humble post; the same man later became τριήραρχος of an ἄφρακτον

194. Annuario, ii, 1916, p.143, nr.12.

195. v.Tarn, JHS, xxv, 1905, pp.143-8; id. Hellenistic Developments, App. iv, pp.122-6, where the proof of the type of the dicroton is given.

196. v. Tarn, Hellenistic Developments, loc.cit.

197. Ps. Luc. Amores, 6; τῶν δικρότων ἃς μάλιστα χρῆσιν Λιβυρνοὶ δοκοῦσιν: Tarn, loc.cit.

198. App. Mithr. 92; Tarn, JHS, xxv, 1905, p.145, note 22.

199. v.i, pp. 639.

200. If this conjecture be correct, the vessel was probably not normally used in war, where craft particularly suitable for the use of soils would be of little value. except in flight or pursuit (cf. Assmann, op. Baumeister, Denkmäler, s.v. Seewesen, pp. 1617 ff). The name δίκροτον shows that the vessel was originally mainly used with the oar.

201. Diod. xx, 93, 2-3.

202. Inscr. ii, 445.

203. The fundamental study is that of Blinkenberg, TRIEMIOLIA, Kopenhagen, 1938, which supersedes all earlier discussions. v. following note.

204. This is the thesis maintained by Blinkenberg, op.cit. It has rightly been attacked by Robert, Rev.Phil. 1944, pp. 11-7, who refers to several inscriptions from Athens, showing that the τριημιολία was employed in the Athenian Navy; add. Hesp. xi, 1942, pp. 292-3: πλέοντες ἐν ταῖς φυλάκισιν τρι[η]μιολίαις (cf. above, note 43). Neither Blinkenberg, nor Robert have noted PHamb.57, ll. 19 ff.: οἱ τέσσαρες ναύαρχοι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Νικάδους τ[ρη]μιολίας μισθοφόρου, which might refer to a Rhodian ship, but more probably to an Egyptian one; v. 'Islands'.

205. I.G. xii, Suppl. p.139, nr.317 (found at Tenos): ἀγεμόνος τᾶν ἡμιολίων : I.G. xii, 3,201, an Astypalaean dedication cannot be regarded as Rhodian, since Astypalae certainly did not belong to the Rhodian state at the time of the Mithridatic War, to which the inscription belongs; v. above, p. 262, note 144

206. v. above, note 204.

207. Lexic. s.v. ἡμιολία: τριημιολία δέ, οὐ τριπλασία τούτης, ἀλλὰ τριήρης (quoted, Blinkenberg, op.cit. p.5, nr.6).

208. Ap. Athen. 203d. The word τριτριημιολίας was emended by Blinkenberg, op.cit., p.9, followed by LS?, s.v. τριημιολία to τριημιολίας ; but perhaps unnecessarily.

209. v. Blinkenberg, op.cit. p.6. The meaning of the prefixes themselves, ἡμι = ½, and τριημι = 1½ is, of course, not in dispute. The question is: to what do the figures refer?

210. Blinkenberg, op.cit. p.42; LS[9], s.v. ἡμιολία.

211. App. Mithr. 92: ἀντὶ τῆς γῆς ἐναρποῦντο τὴν θάλασσαν, μυοπάρωσι πρῶτον καὶ ἡμιολίοις, εἶτα δικρότοις καὶ τριήρεσι κατὰ μέρη περιπλέοντες.

212. For this relief v. Blinkenberg, op.cit. pp.22-30; Inscr. i,p.169. cf. further Marcade, RA, 1946 (2), pp. 147-152, who discusses similar monuments. There has been some confusion as to whether the prow or the stern of the ship is visible. It is, of course, the stern, as the ἄσφλαστον shows. Von Hiller, Rhodos, col.762, and Thiersch, Gött. Nach. 1931, p.356, call it the prow, Blinkenberg, op.cit. p.23, rightly calls it the stern, but, ibid. p.27, writes, 'Le vaisseau fait semblant de sortir de l'entrée étroite d'un port'. This implies that it was coming out stern first. It is, perhaps, easier to suppose that it was going into port in the normal way.

213. v.Note 216.

214. v. the reproduction in Blinkenberg, op.cit. pp. 24-5. id. p. 29 attributes this absence to the difficulties of artistic execution; but the work otherwise shows full mastery of the intricacies of ship-construction.

215. These measurements are taken verbatim from Blinkenberg, op.cit. pp.22,29.

216. v. Blinkenberg, op.cit. pp.30-7. The inscription is Inscr. 88.

217. Agathostratus, the son of Polyaratus; v.i, pp.195 ff.

218. l.2: τοὺς πλευσάντας ἐν τριημιολίαις, κ.τ.λ.

219. [τοὶ ἄ]ρχοντες τοὶ ἐπὶ ν̣αυ̣αρχεῦντος τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ Δ[ημοσθένου]. Blinkenberg, op.cit. p.14; Segre, Cl.Rh. viii, 1936, p.231, suggests [τοὶ ἄρχοντες τοὶ ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος τριημιολίαν τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ Δημοσθένου, which is perhaps preferable, since the presence of two trierarchs shows that it is a dedication by a squadron, and a squadron was commanded by an archon. From the point of view of the architecture of the inscription the reading is immaterial.

220. op.cit. pp. 35ff.

221. I.G. xii, 1,766=Inscr. i,88,ll.275 ff.

222. v. Blinkenberg, op.cit. pp. 35,44.

223. op.cit. p.44 = Inscr.i, pp. 307-8.

224. v.i,pp. 638ff.

225. v. above, p.note 55.

226. cf. Tarn, Mariner's Mirror, xix, 1933, pp.73-4.

227. For this term, with reference to the Greek trireme, v. Tarn, JHS, xxv, 1905, p.139; Rodgers, Greek and Roman Naval Warfare, pp. 34ff. The work of Admiral Fincati, Le triremi, 1881, in which the comparisons between the Greek and Venetian navies were first elaborated, I have been unable to see.

228. Tarn, JHS, xxv, 1905, p.141, nr.10. But it still does not explain the τριήρεις —. Can it refer to the number of the crew? '1 1/2 times the complement of a ___ '.

229. Arr. FGrHist. 156F11, §39; cf.i,p.139.

230. v. I.G.ii^2, 2336, 11.18,87,142; 3494; cf. Robert, Rev. Phil. 1944, p.14, note 2.

231. For the Spartan nauarchs v. in general Pareti, Mem.r. accad.Torin, lix, 1909, pp.71 ff.; esp.pp.154 ff.

232. Polyb. xxx, 4, 4-5; cf. i,pp. 368.

233. For the interpretation of this passage v. above p. 186 note 195.

234. Polyb. ibid. § 5: τὴν γὰρ ἐξουσίαν εἶχε ταύτην ὁ ναύαρχος ἐκ τῶν νόμων

235. He died in Rome not long after Polyb.xxx,21,1: ἔτη γὰρ εἶχε πλείω τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα.

236. v. i, pp. 642-3

237. Polyb. xxxiii, 15,3: πρεσβευτὴς ἅμα καὶ ναύαρχος καθεστάμενος.

238. Polyb. xviii, 1,4: cf.i,pp.292-3.

239. Polyb. xvi,9.

240. ibid. § 4; cf. i,pp.271.

241.Liv. (P) xxxiv,30, ad fin.; Inscr.i,156; cf.i,p.303.

242. NS, 18,1.14. App. Mithr. 25 records that Damagoras commanded the Rhodian fleet against Mithridates.

243. e.g. Thuc. ii,85,1 (Brasidas and two colleagues sent as σύμβουλοι to Chemus after the battle of Naupactus); id. iii,69,1 (Brasidas σύμβουλος to Alcidas commander of the fleet destined for Lesbos); id.v.63,4 (King Agis forbidden to lead the Lacedaemonian army without approval of ten σύμβουλοι): id. viii,39,2 (the eleven σύμβουλοι of Astyochus).

244. e.g. Astyochus in 412. It is possible that the three Spartans who were sent to Rhodes in 391/0, ἀφηγησόμενοι τῶν ἁρχόντων (Diod.xiv, 97,3) (cf.Addit.Note 3 p. 195, above) were σύμβουλοι . With the Spartan σύμβουλοι may be compared the Carthaginian γερουσιασταί mentioned by Polyb. vii, 9, in his version of the treaty between Hannibal and Philip V: ὅρκος ὃν ἔθετο Ἀννίβας ὁ στρατηγός, Μάγωνος, Μύρκανος, Βαρμόκαρος, καὶ πάντες γερουσιασταὶ Καρχηδονίων οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. cf. Groag, Hannibal als Politiker, p.82, note 5.

245. Another office common to both the Rhodian and Spartan navies may have been the epistoleus, who in the latter was an officer of some importance. (Thus in 406 Lysander, who had already been nauarch, was sent out as ἐπιστολεύς Xen. Hell.ii,1,7; cf. also ibid. iv,8,11, where the ἐπιστολεύς is mentioned in association with the nauarch). But the only evidence for a Rhodian ἐπιστολεύς is Inscr. i,77: --- Φιλίωνος | [ἐπιστο]λεύσας | [Ἀμμ]ωνι καὶ Παρέμμωνι καὶ Ἥραι Ἀμμωνίδι where in the context [ἀμφιπο]λεύσας is perhaps more probable. In any case, ἐπιστολεύω is untestified.

247. NS, 18.

248. For these lists v. above p. 335 note 137.

249. v. van Gelder, GdR. p.250. The four passages are: (a) and (b) those referring to Theaedetus and Astymedes, whose commands were exceptional (v.i,pp. 630-1) and therefore cannot be used as evidence. Moreover, the first was not elected at the beginning of a war; (c) the account of the Rhodian activity at the beginning of the Byzantine war, Polyb. iv, 50,5 (cf.i, p.236), in which Polybius says that the Rhodians sent ships to the Hellespont, ναύαρχον προχειρισάμενοι Ξενόφαντον. It appears possible that Xenophantus was made nauarch for the purpose of the expedition; but the sentence could hardly have been expressed differently if he had been elected at the usual time for the

249 (continued).
annual command; (d) App. B.C. iv, 66 (§ 282): οἱ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐκ τούτων εἵλοντό σφισι πρυτανεύειν ... καὶ ναυαρχεῖν Μυασέα, referring to the Rhodian preparations before the attack by Cassius in 43 B.C. Since, however, the passage mentions the election not only of a nauarch, but, governed by the same main verb, of a prytanis also, since the latter was certainly elected in peace-time, it can hardly be argued that this provides evidence that the former was not also.

250. v.i, pp. 635-6

251. For Theophiliscus v.i, pp. 270-1.

252. Ibid. and above, p. 142 note 152 (4)

253. Liv. (P) xxxi, 46,6; id. xxxii, 16,6; cf.i,pp.290-1.

254. v.i, p.303.

255. Liv.(P) xxxvi, 45,5.

256. id. xxxvii, 9,5.

257. v.i, pp. 307 ff.

258. I.G. xi, 4, 1128=Syll^3. 455=Choix, 38; cf.i,p.204.

259. I.G. xi, 4, 1135=Choix, 40; [illegible] Peisistratus is possibly the same as the ἀρχιθέωρος at Delos, in the middle of the third century: v. Addnl Note 8, p. 208, under I.G xi,2,226.

260. I.G. xi, 4, 1133. This Aristoteles, as the lettering of the inscription indicates, belongs to the first half of the third century, and as the original editors (BCH, xxix, 1905, p.217) rightly point out, is not to be identified either with the Aristoteles mentioned in Polyb. xxx, 23,2, or with another mentioned in PsArist.Oecon. 1348a35, who was governer of Phocaea.

261. I.G.xi, 4, 596=Choix, 39; cf. i,pp.219-220.

262. ll. 3ff.

263. v. above, p. 110 note 48

264. v. i, p.549

265. I.G. xi, 4, 751=Syll^3. 582=Choix, 67: cf. [illegible] 'Islands'.

266. For ἔχοντες as commanders of individual ships v. Inscr. ii,420, ll.11-2, and 12-3 (referring to two different ships); ibid. 445. Both references are to a triemiolia, and both belong to the Imperial age. In the latter inscription, as in I.G.xii, 5(2), 914 (200-150 B.C.) the archon appears with the trierarch of the ship. In I.G. xii, 5(2), 914, the archon need not be the archon of the individual ship; he might be the archon of the squadron one ship of which was commanded by the trierarch who made the dedication.

267. Cl.Rh.viii, 1936, p.229 (found on Cos); I.G. xii,5,913 (found at Tenos); Inscr. Cret. i,p.143, nr.35 (found at Lato, in East Crete).

268. So Segre, Cl.Rh. op.cit. p.231.

269. In each of the instances in note 267 there are only two trierarchs mentioned. It must therefore be presumed that the third trierarch -- if he was present in the squadron -- did not join in the dedication, since his ship was commanded by the archon as his flagship. cf. i, pp. 638-9

270. NS, 18,l.7; I.G. xii, 1,43; Cl.Rh. vi-vii, 1932/3, p.429, nr.48 (where Jacopi has [ἐ]ξὸς ἀφράκτ[οις] instead of [ἐ]ξὸς ἀφράκτ[ων]); Inscr. i,156; ibid. 189; ibid.ii, 322; I.G. xii, 5,913; Cl.Rh.viii, p.229.

271. Inscr. ii, 303, ll.5,12,13.

272. Inscr.Cret. i,p. 143, nr.35.

273. Inscr. ii,420,ll.11-2.

274. v.i, pp. 582 ff.

275. v. below, Addnl.Note ii, p.406.

276. Cl.Rh. ii,1932, pp.188 ff.,nr.18,l.22; ibid. p.192,nr. 20,l.7 (Jacopi has omitted from the text of the inscription the words φυλὰς καὶ τριηραρχήσαντος which appear clearly on the facsimile, ibid.); ibid. nr.21;22; NS, 18,l.15; ibid. nr.21; I.G.xii,1,44; SGDI, 3781; Hermes, xxxvi, 1901, pp.440 ff. nr.1; Inscr. i,156; ii,303; 445; 449; 707; Annuario, N.S.i-ii, 1942, p.153, nr.13; ibid. nr.16; Inscr.Cret. i,p.143, nr.35; I.G. xii,5,913; ibid.914; Cl.Rh. viii, p.228; (a necessary supplement ad init.v.Segre, ibid. p.231); ibid. p.229; SEG.i,345; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. ,1913,pp.15-16, nr.49 (from Nisyros.).

277. For the trierarchic liturgy at Athens, v. Brillant, DS. s.v. trierarchia, pp. 442-465, Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde^{3}, pp. 1199 ff.

278. Pol. 1304b, 11.27 ff.; v.i,pp.104 ff.

279. v.above, Addnl.Note .

280. The need for repayment at Athen was obviated by the establishment of the system of symmories, which reduced the burden on individuals: v. Brillant, op.cit. pp.446 ff.

281. NS, 18, 11.15-7: καὶ τριηραρχήσαντα τετρήρεις...καὶ τριηραρχήσαντα τετρήρεις κατὰ πόλεμον: Cl.Rh. ii,1932, p.195, nr.21, refers to a man as having performed the liturgy three times. For another liturgy held more than once v. above, p. 354, note 265.

282. v. above, note 276.

283. v. note 267.

284. Polyb. xvi, 5,1.

285. ibid. §6.

286. v. note 269.

287. Penteres: Cl.Rh. ii,1932, pp.188 ff.,nr.18,1.22; NS, 21; Inscr. i,156 (πε[ντηρέων]); Tetreres: NS, 18,1.15; ibid. 1.18; ἀφράκτον : I.G. xii],44;Inscr. ii,707,1.6; δίκροτον : Inscr. ii, 707,1.2.

288. v.i,p. 644.

289. This is the view of Segre, Cl.Rh.viii, 1936, pp.232-3.

290. Cl.Rh. op.cit., p.228, ad init.

291. Inscr. ii, 420a.

292. ibid. 11.10-2; 12-4.

293. Inscr. ii, 303, 11. 12ff.

294. Polyb. xvi, 5,1.

295. loc.cit. note 289.

296. v.i,p. 642.

297. v.above, note 266.

298. Inscr. ii,420a, note to ll.11-2.

299. s.v. δίοπος. cf. also, EM, s.v. ἀδιόπτον · διόποι γὰρ λέγονται οἱ τῆς νεὼς φύλακες.

300. PTeb. 701, l.214: καὶ εἰς τὸν ἰχθὺν ἐπιπλοῖς κ[αὶ] π.. οις (where Schmidt, BPW, lxiv, 1934, col.1306, suggests πλ[οῖ]οις, which can hardly be combined with ἐπιπλοῖς); BGU, 1742, l.17; ibid. 1743, l.13 (= Archiv.viii, 1927, pp. 188-9, nrs.2-3); PCZ, 59389 (τῶι ἐπιπλεόντι). The instances in Preisigke, Wörterbuch, iii, s.v. ἐπίπλοος are all of the Roman period.

301. v. Brillant,DS. s.v. Trierarchia, p.461.

302. Inscr.Cret.i,p.143, nr.35: τριηράρχων Ἀγησιδάμου τοῦ Ἀμήτορος, Κλεωνύμου τοῦ Θεώρου. κρ. Τελέσωνος τοῦ Φιλοξένου, καὶ τοῦ ἐπαποστολέντος ὑπὸ Ἀγησιδάμου / where both the trierarch and his ἐπαποστολεύς are recorded; NS.5; ἐπιμεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ το[ῦ] τρι[ηράρ]χου.

303. By Segre, Cl.Rh. viii, pp.232-3; since the trierarch and the ἐπαποστολεῖς are both recorded as present in the inscription quoted in the preceding note, Segre's view that the ἐπαποστολεύς was identical with the ἔπιπλους was self-contradictory, since he held that the ἔπιπλους commanded in the absence of the trierarch.

304. LS[9], Add. s.v. ἐπαποστέλλω (cf. ibid. s.v. ἔπιπλοος) accepts Segre's interpretation without comment.

305. I.G. xii,1,45.

306. I.G. xii, 1,701 (von Hiller, ad loc. has [στρατε]σαμένου. van Gelder, GdR. p.252, suggested [ἀγη]σαμένου which is accepted by Segre, Cl.Rh. viii, p.233. Since the previous office recorded is that of στρατηγός mention of his early career as oarsman or marine would clearly be out of place here, so van Gelder's supplement is preferable).

307. NS, 18,l.8.

308. Annuario, iv-v, 1921/2, pp.479 ff.=SEG, iv,178 (to be republished in 'Peraea').

309. I.G. xii, Suppl. p.139, nr.317.

310. Cl.Rh.viii, p.232, note 5.

311. For instance when a nauarch was appointed with a purely diplomatic mission; cf.i, pp.629 ff.

312. Cl.Rh. viii, pp.227 ff; this has numerous prospogographical links with I.G. xii,1,46 (for which v. above, p.336 note 137), and thus belongs to the early part of the first century B.C., and doubtless to the time of the Mithridatic war.

313. Annuario, ii,1916, p.136, nr.2 (= Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1915, pp.128-9); NS, 18 (improved text of SGDI, 4335); this inscription appears to contain fragments of the names of the crews of two ships, since certain posts are repeated.

314. Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p.176, nr.5.
Inscr. i, 88 (for which v.i,pp. 627-8) contains the names of the crews only, without indication of office (other than the senior officials named in the title of the inscription), and is therefore not utilisable for the present purpose.

315. This may be inferred from the fact that the last, i.e. previous, post held by the honorand was (ll.7-8), πρωιρατεύσαντα ... τετρήρεις κατὰ πόλεμον.

316. v. notes 328; 330; 339.

317. Cl.Rh. viii, loc.cit.; he is mentioned first, and is the only individual of higher rank than the honorand who took part in the dedication. In Cl.Rh.ii, loc.cit., the κυβερνάτας precedes the πρωιρεύς. In NS, 5 he comes third on the preserved list -- after the ἐπισταμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ τριηράρχου and the γραμματεὺς [τριηρ]ά[ρ]χου καὶ ταμίαι. In the Coan dedication, IG. xii, 8,260, and in the Attic list, I.G. ii^2,1951, ll. 94 ff., the κυβερνήτης is first on the list after the trierarch.

318. v. Cartault, La trière ath. pp. 226-9; Glotz, Hist. Grec. ii, p.360.

319. Polyb. xvi, 5,1: ἦν ἐκυβέρνα μὲν Αὐτόλυκος, ἐπέπλει δὲ Νικόστρατος.

320. Another form of this word is πρωιράτης e.g. in I.G.ii^2, 1951, l.104. At Rhodes only the substantive πρωιρεύς is used.

321. v. above, note 315.

322. Cl.Rh. ii,1932, p.176, No.5, l.3 ; NS, 5, l.91.

323. I.G. xii, 1,43,l.20: καὶ πρωιρατεύσαντα τριήρεων : Annuario,iv-v, 1921/2, p.479 f. nr.33=SEG, iv,178.

324. v. Glotz, Hist.Grec. ii,p.360.

325. Xen. Oecon. 8,14: τὸν... τοῦ κυβερνητοῦ διάκονον, ὃς πρωρεὺς τῆς νεὼς καλεῖται cf. Arist. Pol. 1253b28 ff., where the πρωρεύς is described as an ἔμψυχον ὄργανον of the κυβερνήτης : and Plut. Agis,i: οἱ πρωρεῖς τὰ ἔμπροσθεν προορώμενοι τῶν κυβερνητῶν ἀφορῶσι πρὸς ἐκείνους / καὶ τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπηρετῶσιν τοιοῦτοι ν.
id. Mor. 812c.

326. I.G.xii, 1,42.

327. Cl.Rh. viii, loc.cit. l.7.

328. Cl.Rh. ii, p.176, nr.5, l.5; NS, 5,l.111; not mentioned in complete list, Cl. Rh.viii, loc.cit., or Annuario, ii, 1916, p.136, nr.2.

329. v. Suidas, s.v. κελευστής· μεγίστην δὲ παρέχονται χρείαν οἱ κελευσταί· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἥρωας δεόντως πεῖθωσι, καὶ συντελοῦσι τὸ μέτρον ἐν τῷ δεῖπνεῖν οἱ κωπηλάται, τούτοις ἔστιν ἐπιτελεῖς· οἴνου, κρέως, ἐλαίου καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων... Ἀρριανός
cf. Cartault, La trière ath.pp.162-6.

330. Cl.Rh. ii, p.176, nr.5, l.7r; NS, 5,l.131,6r (cf. above, note 313).

331. Dem.1,25: διὰ γὰρ ἐκείνου πεντηκοντεχοῦντος καὶ ἠγοράσετο καὶ ἀπηλώσκετο.
Cartault, La trière ath.pp. 233-4, in drawing attention to this passage, pointed out that the πεντηκόντεχος cannot have been in charge of fifty oars since in the Athenian list, I.G.ii^{2}, 1951, there is only one πεντηκόντεχος to each ship, whereas if he had been in charge of fifty oars, at least three such officials would be needed for a trireme.cf. below, note 343.

332. Cl.Rh. viii, loc.cit. l.11; in NS, 5,l.15r, the supplement ν[υπαγοί] seems assured by the sequence in the left-hand column.

333. v. e.g. Thuc.i, 13,3 (Ameinocles of Corinth); cf.ibid.31,1.

334. I.G.ii^{2}, 1951, l.102; cf. PsXen.i,2; Luc. Navig. 2ff.

335. cf. the Coan inscription already referred to, I.G.xii, 8,260.

336. Cl.Rh. viii, loc.cit.l.6.

337. By Segre, ibid.p.234, and (for ἐργαζόμενοι) p.237.

338. ibid. ll.15 ff.

339. As are the κελευστάς and the πεντηκόνταρχος (v. above, notes 328 and 330).

340. As in Polyb. v,3,6: αὐτὸς (sc. ὁ Φίλιππος)δὲ περιήει τὴν πόλιν, ἐπισκοπῶν πῶς δυνατὸν εἴη προσάγειν ἔργα τῷ τείχει καὶ μηχανάς, κ.τ.λ.

341. NS, 5,l.5. In the original publication, SGDI, 4335, [να]υάρ-χου was printed from the copy sent to von Hiller, who, however, suggested (ibid. note ad loc.) [τριη](ρ)άρχου. Maiuri's photograph, NS,5, shows ——αρχου. It seems quite clear that [τριη](ρ)άρχου is required, since the γραμματεὺς of a ~~ναύαρχος~~ Ναύαρχος would not be included among the crew of a tetrere. Segre, Cl.Rh. viii, p.238, note 5, says that the reading at the end of the line should be τ̣αμί̣α(ς) but there is no parallel in the Rhodian lists of crews for two officials being mentioned on one line, joined by καί .

342. Cl.Rh. viii, p.240, ll.7-8,

343. v.the passage of Demosthenes quoted in note 331. Segre, Cl.Rh. p.238, note 5, questioned Cartault's interpretation of πεντηκοντάρχος since this would, he supposed, have implied a reduplication of the functions of the γραμματεὺς τριηράρχου καὶ ταμία, who, as NS, 5, shows, served on the same boat as the πεντηκόνταρχος. A more probable explanation, and one equally in keeping with the interpretation of the passage of Demosthenes, is that the πεντηκόνταρχος was responsible for expenditure incurred in the purchase of foodstuffs etc., while the tamias and his secretary supervised the whole field of expenditure, like a modern purser, and was responsible to the government.

344. SEG, i.345. I do not know why LS^{9} s.v. δεκατάρχης regards this inscription as referring to the Roman fleet.

345. It is used in the Roman Imperial fleet as a translation of the Latin decurio, in I.G.(v.(1),818,l.5 [illegible].

346. Without prejudice to the type of ship in which the post was held.

347. For the τοίχαρχος, v. Artemid, i,35; ii,23; cf. Luc. DMeretr. 14,3: τοίχαρ ἄρχω τοῦ δεξίου [illegible]: cf. Cartault, La trière ath. pp.167ff. 230-1; Köster, ap. Kromayer-Veith, Heerwesen, p.189.

348. Cl.Rh. viii, p.228,l.13.

349. Aristoph. Equit. 542 ff. ἐρέτην χρῆναι πρῶτα γένεσθαι πρὶν παλαιοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν, κἄπ' ἐντεῦθεν στρατεῦσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους διαθρῆσαι, πᾶτα κυβερνᾶν αὐτὸν ἑαυτῷ.
cf. Cartault, loc.cit. and Segre, Cl.Rh. viii, p.234.

350. He is a σάμιος :for the ship's doctor, v.i.p.650.

351. Cl.Rh. ii, p.176, nr.5,l.9r; NS,5,l.17l; ibid.12r (supplying [ἐλεγάσμενοι] after Φίλιοκ[ος] -- not, as Maiuri, ad loc. Φιλίοκ[ου] -- with Segre, Cl.Rh.viii,p.237. There is no division on the stone between τιμο- and Ἀριο- ll.16-7, as printed by Maiuri).

352. Cl.Rh. ii, loc.cit.ll.9ff.r.

353. NS,5 (cf. above, note 351).

354. v. F.C.Lane, Venetian Ships and Shipbuilders, p.10.

355. Annuario, ii,1916, p.135, nr.2,l.4 [κω]πόδετα[ς], supplement by Segre, Cl.Rh. viii, p.235); Cl.Rh.viii, p.228,l.13r.

356. Pollux, i,87; cf. also the lexicographical notices quoted by Segre, op.cit. p.237.

357. Only in Cl.Rh.viii, loc.cit., l.9r: [ἐλαι οκ]ρίσται should perhaps be read, as Segre, Cl.Rh. viii, p.236 suggests, in Cl.Rh.ii,p.176, nr.5,l.2, rather than the [καθ]ρισταὶ suggested by von Hiller ad loc. There is no evidence that καθαρισταὶ were used on ships, though τριηρεώληψ and κώλητης are known as members of the Athenian crew, I.G.ii, 1951, l.99.

358. cf.Segre, op.cit. p.237.

359. Annuario, ii.1916, p.136, nr.2b,l.6: ἀρχινα υφύ[λακ]: ibid. l.8 [φ]ύλακ (with Chaviaras, Ἐφ.Ἀρχ. 1922,p.50; Maiuri, Annuario, loc.cit. reads: ἀρχινα υφύλακ in both lines. The ναυφύλαξ is testified in the Ptolemaic marine reorganization by Pteb.802, ll.4 ff: παρὰ Παλ[λ]ᾶ τος τοῦ Ἀρειμάου τοῦ[ ]|ναυφυλακοῦντος τὴν Ἀπολλωνί[ου]|... θαλαμηγόν.

359 (contin.).
(135 B.C.) Anecd. Graec. p.283 defines νεωφύλακες thus: ζεχονιές τινες εἰσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν νεῶν φυλακῆς. Naufylaces occur in the Roman Imperial fleet stationed at Misenum: v. CIL, x, Index, p.1131, s.v.; cf. Chapot, La flotte de Misène, pp. ; Starr, The Roman Imperial Navy, p.56, says that the Roman naupylax took the place of the Greek πεντηκόντεζος ; he has not noticed the Rhodian or Ptolemaic officials. The definition of Ulpian, Dig.4,9, 1§3: Et sunt quidam in navibus qui custodiae gratia navibus praeponuntur ut νεωφύλακες et diaetarii, indicates that the Roman naufylaces had the function envisaged here for the Rhodian.

360. SEHHW, ii, p.686; id. CAH, viii, pp.635-6, suggested that they belonged to the dockyard-police. Chaviaras, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1915. p.12 , thought that the ζεχινεωφύλακες were the equivalent of the Attic νεωροί (who were, in fact, called ἐπιστάται τῶν νεωρίων from 377/6 B.C. onwards), for whom v. Busolt-Swoboda, Staatskunde, p.1130; neither interpretation explains why the νεωφύλακες were on board the ship, like ordinary members of the crew.

361. Cl.Rh. viii, p.228, l.11r.

362. I.G. xii, 8,260, l.11.

363. I.G. xii, 1,1032.

364. Annuario, ii, 1916, p.136, nr.2, ll. 10 ff.

365. Syll.^{3} 1225: πλεόντων ἐν τᾶι [ναυαρχίδι] (or [φυλακίδι]) ἐν τοῖς παρακαθημένοις cf. above, p. 84 note 43, for a further discussion of this inscription.

366. The normal meaning of the term is 'those seated near' in a general sense. The nearest approach to a specialised sense, outside Rhodes, appears to be in Cod.Iust. i,4,34,3 and 7, where it appears to mean 'be accessory to'.

367. Suggested by Rostovtzeff, CAH viii, p.636, note 2; id. SEHHW, ii, p.686, and iii, p.1487, note 101; followed by Segre, Cl.Rh. viii, 1936, p.239.

368. von Hiller, Syll.^{3} ad loc., note 5.

369. Mommsen, ap. von Hiller, Ath.Mitt. xx, 1895, p. 224f, quoted with apparent approval by van Gelder, ad SGDI, 3835. This interpretation is also retained by LS?, s.v. The view of Chaviaras, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1915, p.129, that the word refers to judges, based on the use of καθήμενοι in this sense (v. the instances quoted by him), is impossible since judges would not be included in a ship's crew.

370. v. i, p. 653

371. A Καισαρεύς from the Peraea; for the deme v. 'Peraea'.

372. v. Busolt, GG², iii, p.55, esp. note 4.

373. ibid. note 5; and for νεῶται ἄστοι v. I.G. ii², 1951, ll. 46ff., 110ff., 198ff., 341ff.

374. Aristoph. Vesp. 1117-9: τοῦτο δ' ἔστ' ἄλγιστον ἡμῖν, ἢν τις δοριάστατος ὢν ἐκφορῇ τὸν μισθὸν ἡμῶν, πρὸς τῆς χώρας ὕπερ, μήτε κυσὶν μήτε λόχμην μήτε φλύκταιναν λαβών.

375. Their patronymics are given; cf. above, p. 385 notes 355, and [redacted] 357.

376. v. i, pp. 587 ff.

377. v. above, p. 371, note 175.

378. Cl. Rh. ii, 1932, p.176, nr.5, l.4: [ἐπιβά]ται followed by sixteen names; Cl.Rh. viii, p.228, l.17r: ἐπιβάται followed by nineteen names; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p.169, nr.1, ἐπιβάτας ἐκ τῆς περαίας... ἐπιβάτας ἐκ τῶν φυλακίδων: Polyb. xvi, 5,4: τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀπέβαλε τῶν ἐπιβατῶν ἐπιφανῶς ἀγωνισάμενος.

379. I.G. ii², 1951, ll. 82ff., 315ff; cf. Segre, Cl.Rh. op.cit. p.238. In the Coan inscription I.G. xii, 8,260, there are at least twenty ἐπιβάται

380. The list in Cl.Rh. viii is complete, and there can thus be no doubt of the number.

381. Cl.Rh. ii, p.169, nr.1, ll. 9ff., quoted above, note 378.

382. Segre, Riv.Fil. lx, 1932, pp. 455ff. put forward the view (subsequently retracted by him, Cl.Rh. viii, p.238) that the two ἐπιβάται of this inscription were high naval officers like the Spartan ἐπιβάται (v. Thuc.

382 (contin.).
viii, 61,2; Xen. Hell. i,3,17). The fact that the ἐπιβάται are mentioned between a καταπαλτάφετης and a τῶν ξένων τῶν μισθοφόρων makes this very unlikely.

383. This is based on Cl.Rh. ii, p.176, nr.5, ll. 6ff., and Cl.Rh.viii, p.228, ll. 17ff.r.

384. Cl.Rh. viii, loc.cit. ll. 30-39.

385. v. i, pp.662 ff.

386. Cl.Rh. viii, loc.cit. ll. 33ff. (six); Cl.Rh. ii, p.176, nr. 5, ll. 13ff.l (of τ[ὸξότα] only the tau is preserved, but the supplement, suggested by Segre, Cl.Rh. viii, p. 238, note 2, seems certain) (three names followed by an empty space, have been included in the next line, thus giving at least five τοξόται but such a deep inset for κατ' ὀοθεσίαν is unusual: cf. Cl.Rh.viii, p.228, l.25, and l.21r, where in both cases κατ' ὀοθεσίαν is directly under the preceding name with no marginal indentation: v. photograph, ibid. p.227).

387. Cl.Rh. viii, loc.cit. ll.30-2 (two); Cl.Rh. ii, p.169, nr. 1,ll.7-8 (one).

388. v. Tarn, Hellenistic Developments, pp. 120ff.

389. v. Inscr. ii, 445 (c. A.D.80) ἄρχων τριημιολίας...τριήραρχος... καὶ οἱ ἐνπλέοντες, cf. Inscr. i, 88: πλεύσαντες ἐν ταῖς τριημιολίαις [redacted] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1913, pp. 9ff, nr.9 (from Nisyros) ὅπο.... πλεόντων ἐν τριημιολίᾳ : SEG, i,345, τοίδε ἔπλευσαν [ἐν τᾷ εἰ]ρήνᾳ Σεβάστᾳ : the expression is not so specifically Rhodian as Blinkenberg, TRIEMIOLIA, p.15, note 1, thought: v. Robert, Rev.Phil. 1944, p.13.

390. Inscr. ii, 421a (A.D. 25-30), ll.8-9: στεφανωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν δύο πληρωμάτων.

391. Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 142, Nr.11, l.13; ibid. nr.14; Inscr.ii, 392b; 394, l.7; 420a; Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p.190, nr.19, l.10; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. [redacted], 1913, p.10, nr.9,l.7; I.G. xii, 1,41:43.

392. Annuario, ii, 1916, p.145, Nr.14; I.G. xii,1,41; 43. Inscr. ii, 292; 702; 707; cf. Blinkenberg, Inscr.ii, p.1015 (ad 1001).

393. Cl.Rh. ii, p.190 nr.19; I.G.xii, 1,43 (both have στρ. ἐν πρπ. καὶ ἐν ταῖς καταφράκτοις νεωσί); ibid. 58; Cl.Rh. viii, p.228, ll.4-5; Cl.Rh. vi-vii, p.433,nr.53; Annuario, ii, 1916, p. 146, nr.18.

394. Individuals described as στρατευσάμενος [redacted] are: I.G. xii, 1,41; 73; 701(where στρατευσάμενος does not come first); Cl.Rh.ii, 1932, p.210, nr.48, l.2; SGDI, 4275(στρατευσάμενος after ἀγεμών : inscription from Tarmianoi in Rhodian Caria); NS, 18,1.3; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. [redacted] 1913, p.10, nr.9; Cl.Rh. viii, p.228, ll.4-5; Cl.Rh.vi-vii, 1932/3, p.433, nr. 53; I.G. xii, 3,104.

395. For naval dedications of this type v. Cl.Rh. viii, p.228.

396. v. above, note 391-2.

397. v. i,pp. 672 ff. for reference to these κοινὰ τῶν συστρατευσαμένων

398. v. above, p. 371 note 175.

399. The only possible reference to the size of the navy is very vague: Diod. xx, 81,2, ἰσχύουσα ναυτικαῖς δυνάμεσι, where even so the reference may be rather to the efficiency than to the size of the fleet.

CHAPTER VI. Notes.

1. Lind.Chron. B. ix, C. xxiii.

2. Thuc. vi, 43.

3. Xen. Anab. iii, 3,16-8; ibid. 4,15-6; ibid. 5,8. There were at least two hundred of these Rhodians: iii, 3,20.

4. op.cit. iii, 3,16. From this passage it is evident that these Rhodians were not at the time employed as a specialist force, but were serving as ordinary soldiers, and were pulled out for this special task because of their known aptitude. At the same time, the fact that they had their led bullets with them suggests that they had originally been employed in a specialist capacity.

5. Lippelt, Die griech. Leichtbewaffneten, p.54; Lammert, RE, s.v. σφενδονῆται col. 1698.

6. cf. Fougères, DS, s.v. Glans, p.1609.

7. v. the lead missiles with the names of communities etc. on them: v. Vischer, Kl.Schr. ii, pp.240-284, and the list given by Fougères, op.cit. p.1610, and Lammert, loc.cit. For Rhodian glandes, v. CIG, 8530; Reinach, RÉG, ii,1889, pp. 384-9.

8. v.Griffith, Hellenistic Mercenaries, Index, s.v. Achaeans and Cretans; Launey, Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques, , pp. 130-143 (Achaeans), 248-286 (Cretans): van Effenterre, La Crète, pp.173-200 (Cretans).

9. v. i, p.120; Kahrstedt, RE, s.v. Memnon (3), cols.652-4; ibid. s.v. Mentor (6), cols. 9645.

10. v. above, p. 315 note 153 for reference.

11. PsOecon. 1348a, ll.35ff.; the date of the event is not known.

12. Aeneas, Tact. xviii, 13ff.; the event is not otherwise recorded. Aeneas' treatise was apparently completed before 346 B.C.: v. Hunter, ed. pp. xi-xii.

13. Diod. xx, 88,9; cf. ibid. 94,1, and Klein.Hist.Pap: 8, ll.26ff (cf. above, 2, note 20). Ptolemy later sent fifteen hundred more mercenaries (Diod. xx, 98,1), but no Rhodians are mentioned.

14. The treaty regulating relations between Eupolemus and Theangela, Coll. Froehner, nr.52, which belongs to the closing years of the fourth century, refers to some Ἐφεσίας as having assisted Theangela, and it was supposed by Rostovtzeff, in his original publication of the inscription, REA, xxxiii, 1931, pp. 12-13, that these were the Rhodian demesmen of the Peraea of that name. It seems, however, most improbable that a single Rhodian deme should be sent by Rhodes to fight on its behalf, and certain that even if it did, the troops so send would be called Ῥόδιοι and not Ἐφεσίας in an external document of this sort. It seems wiser therefore to regard these Ἐφεσίας as not connected with the Rhodian Ἐφεσίας ; the alternative, to regard them as the same Ἐφεσίας , but as not yet incorporated in the Rhodian state, is very drastic: v.Peraea.

15. v. 'Peraea'.

16. v. i, p.198.

17. ibid. pp. 295-6.

18. ibid. p. 371; 'Peraea'.

19. ibid. pp. 331ff.

20. v. 'Peraea'.

21. v. i, pp. 670 ff.

22. For stratagoi, v.i. pp. 547ff.

23. For the area Hagemones, v.i, pp. 552 ff. and above, p. 342, note 178.

24. Inscr. i, 151; cf. above, p. 153, note 256.

25. v. i, pp. 548-9 .

26. v. Griffith, Hellenistic Mercenaries, p.84, note 3.

27. v. OGIS, 86; 738 (Ptolemaic: cf. Lesquier, Institutions Militaires, pp. 83ff); 211; 217 (Seleucid); 266; 280 (Pergamene; cf. Cardinali, Regno di Pergano, p.212; Rostovzeff, CAH, viii, pp. 594-5).

28. Cl.Rh. ii, 1932, p.169, nr.1; cf.i, p.181.

29. Syll.^{3} 1225; cf. above, p. 84 note 43.

30. v. von Hiller, ibid. note 7: 'nihil igitur obstat eundem esse censeamus atque πεντηκοντάρχου'

31. For this official v. Griffith, Hellenistic Mercenaries,p.84.

32. v. i, pp. 662-3 In addition the ἡγεμών in Inscr. Cret. i, p.143, nr.35 (cf. i,p. 665) may refer to a hagemon of mercenaries. The word may, however, be purely general in this instance, and the rank of the ἡγεμών could then have been e.g. ὀκταδράχμου. A similar uncertainty exists regarding the Milesian Athenagoras, of the time of the siege of 305/4, called (in one source) ἡγεμὼν τῶν μισθοφόρων: v. above, p. 70 note 113.

33. v. above, p.153, note 256.

34. v. PPetr. iii, 14, l.17; 2, l.3; 12, ll.14-16; cf. Lesquier, Institutions Militaire, pp.345, 366-7.

35. v. i,p. 653 .For Ἱστάνιος and Ἄργεος v.i, pp. 412, 417.; for Καραρεύς ,'Peraea'.

36. e.g. Xen. Anab.vii, 2,36 (cf. Griffith, Hellenistic Mercenaries, p.295); schol. Men. Kol. l.29; Arr. Anab. vii, 23: καταλέγει (sc. ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος) αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς Μακεδονικὰς τάξεις, δεκαδάρχην μὲν τῆς δεκάδος ἡγεῖσθαι Μακεδόνα, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ διμοιρίτην Μακεδόνα καὶ ~~ἐπὶ~~ δεκαστάτηρον, οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς μισθοφορᾶς, ἥντινα μείονα μὲν τοῦ διμοιρίτου, πλείονα δὲ τῶν οὐκ ἐν ζυμῇ στρατευομένων ἔφερεν.

v. Griffith, op.cit. p.299, note 1, ibid. vi, 9,3, fin.; 10,1.

37. Arr. Tact. vi,2: ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἑνωμοτίας ἀμφιγνοοῦμενόν ἐστιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ὄνομα τῷ λόχῳ εἶναι τοῦτο, οἱ δὲ τὸ τέταρτον τοῦ λόχου ἑνωμοτίαν καλοῦσιν, καὶ ἑνωμοτάρχην τὸν τούτου ἡγούμενον, τὰς δὲ δύο ἑνωμοτίας διμοιρίαν καὶ τὸν ἡγούμενον τούτου διμοιρίτην.
It seems probable that this use of the term is simply an extension of the original meaning.

38. v. i,p.672.

39. v. i,pp.666-7.

40. It does not seem likely that ξένοι is here used in the narrow sense of 'foreigners resident in Rhodes without the status or metics', for which v. i,pp. 502-4

41. Inscr. Cret. i, pp. 143-4, nr.35.

42. This follows from his use of the patronymic, l,8; Εὔδαμος Ἐπαρμόστου. No demotics are recorded in this inscription.

43. v. above, note 32.

44. Inscr.Cret. iii, pp. 32ff.,nr.3=Syll.^{3} 581, Schwyzer,288. For the approximate date v. above, p.225, Addnl. Note 15.

45. ll. 15-22.

46. ll. 22-24.

47. ll. 24-29.

48. ll. 29-35; with this clause cf. Diod. xv, 70,1, referring to the mercenaries sent by Dionysus I to assist Sparta in 369/8: εἰς μῆνας πέντε τοὺς μισθοὺς εἰληφότες.

49. ll. 39-44; 82-4; I omit ll. 35-39 from this abstract as referring to normal military alliance and not to mercenary troops.

50. ll. 44-5, 84-5; cf. Diod. xix, 60,1 (315 B.C.): Aristodemus, envoy of Antigonus Monophthalmos, πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐξουσίαν ξενολογεῖν, στρατιώτας ἤθροισεν.

51. ll. 45-48, 77-79.

52. v. above, note 8.

53. Inscr. Cret. iii, pp. 24ff., nr.1. This inscription was attributed to the reign of Doson, by Tarn, AG, p.471, on the ground that it showed similarity of lettering to Inscr. Cret.ii, pp. 58ff., nr. 20, recording a similar agreement between an Antigonus and Eleutherna, and which he attributed to Doson on account of the formula, ll.3-4, Ἀντίγονον καὶ Μακεδόνας which he, JHS, xxix, 1909, pp.269ff., believed was introduced in the time of Doson to replace the Ἀντίγονος Μακεδών-formula which Gonatas had used. The two inscriptions certainly appear to be approximately contemporary, but the argument from the use of the phrase Ἀντίγονον καὶ Μακεδόνας is of doubtful validity: v. Dow-Edson, Harv. Stud. xlviii, 1937, pp. 127ff., esp. 134ff., and p. 135, note 13; Walbank, Philip V, p.4, note 1.

54. Liv. (P) xxxii, 23,1; cf.i, p.291.

55. v. above, p.154, note 258.

56. Theodotas, the general of Antiochus I, mentioned in Luc. Zeux, 9; cf. Launey, Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques, i,pp. 241-2.

57. SB, 6831, from the Fayûm, contains the names of nine Greeks, including four Rhodians, Λύσων, Κλειτόμαχος, Ἀγίας, Διονυσόδωρος. The inscription has been dated (Fox, AJA, xix, 1915,p.72) to between the beginning of the dynasty and 260 B.C. There is no evidence that these persons are mercenaries, but they probably were; the names of mercenaries are not infrequently found inscribed in this manner; Launey, op.cit. p.242 calls them soldiers, without comment. Other Rhodians, probably mercenaries, are: SB, 2119, 690, 1851; Peleph. iii, l.8; the writers of graffiti in the Valley of the Kings, Baillet, Inscr. gréc. et lat. des tomb. des rois ou syringes à Thebes, nrs. 30, 156, 221, 471, 512, 747 (=SB,1791), 877, 1699, are sightseers and need not have been mercenaries (747 is of very late date and cannot be a mercenary; in 512 the reading Ῥόδιος is very uncertain); the only dated graffito is 30, which reads Εὐφράνωρ Φίλωνος Ῥόδιος ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμ[αίο]υ Lz μηνὸς Παυνίου, and may refer to the reign of Philadelphus: v. Baillet, ad loc.

These names are all to be found in Heichelheim, Auswärtige Bevölkerung , p.106, and id. Archiv, ix, 1930, p.54; and also in Launey, op.cit. p.242. Reference may also be made to two high officials, probably Rhodians,in the Egyptian administration; Inscr. i,139, in honour of a certain Ptolemaios, found at Lindos, which suggests that Ptolemaios was a Rhodian from Lindos. The other Rhodian, or probable Rhodian, is Seleucus the son of Bithys, the governor of Cyprus in the reign of Euergetes II. The inscriptions referring to him and his family are OGIS, 150-162, cf. Launey, op.cit. pp. 244, note 7, 245, notes 1-2. His ethnic is given as Ῥόδιος in OGIS, 151, as Ἀλεξανδρεύς in ibid. 150; in the other inscriptions no ethnic is given. It cannot be determined whether he was by birth a Rhodian or an Alexandrian. The explanation of P.Meyer, Heerwesen, p.79, that he altered his nationality on account of the noted hostility of Euergetes II to the Alexandrians is rightly rejected by Dittenberger, OGIS, 151, note 1, as unnecessary. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that he was Alexandrian by origin, and that for services unknown he was made a Ῥόδιος and that he thereafter preferred to call himself Ῥόδιος. This would probably indicate that he had at some time resided in Rhodes (cf. 1,pp. 510ff)

58. v,i.pp.558ff.

59. ibid.

60. v. 'Peraea'.

61. v. 'Peraea'.

62. v. i,p. 214; cf. 'Peraea'.

63. i, pp. 320ff.

64. ibid. p.326.

65. Liv. (P) xxxiii, 18.

66. v. i, pp.295ff.; 'Peraea'.

67. v. ibid., and above, p. 153 note 256.

68. Liv. loc.cit. The text here printed is that of Madvig[3], followed by Zingerle, ed.mai. 1890. The words dextro cornu sinistro mercenarios, which occur in ed. Mogunt. between milites and lectam, but are not in B, are regarded by Madvig, doubtless correctly, as an interpolation (v. ed., 1884, p.x; so also, Weissenborn-Müller, ed. pars, iv, fasc. i,p.vi; and Zingerle, ad loc.) Weissenborn also proposed a lacuna after Achaeos, but this does not appear to be necessary. The position of medios in Weissenborn-Müller is ambiguous, and the punctuation of Madvig[3], followed by Zingerle, seems the most satisfactory. The text suggested by Müller, loc.cit. is a counsel of despair.

69. v. above, p. 154 note 258.

70. v. i,p. 666.

71. ex vario genere, ibid. §2, ex pluribus gentibus, ibid, § 11.

72. v.above, p. 154, note 258.

73. v. ibid., and 'Peraea'.

74. v. ibid. For Laodicaeans in Rhodes, v.i,p.519

75. v.i, pp.655.

76. v. Annuario, ii, 1916, p.139ff., nr.10=Annuario, N.S. i-ii, 1942, pp. 165ff., nr.19.

77. ll.11-14.

78. v. Poland, Vereinswesen, pp.57ff., 74ff.; Pugliese Carratelli, Annuario, N.S. i-ii, pp.188-9.

79. Very often the two elements of the koinon, that signified by the termination in -- ιδται and that signified by the ending in -- εῖοι are found together in the name of a single koinon (v. the list of koina in Pugliese Carratelli, op.cit.pp. 176ff.) In such instances the two aspects of the life of the koinon, deriving from their different origin,were both developed.

80. v. Annuario, ii,1916, p. 139f., nr.10=Annuario, N.S.i-ii, pp.165ff., nr.19, l.33: καὶ ὑπὸ ἀρχόντων Ἀγητορείων. [redacted] These ἀρχόντες are doubtless of a piece with the eleven ἄρχοντες who served under Nicostratus, who were presumably called ἄρχοντες Νικοστράτειοι : v. above, p.153, note 256.

80A. v. ibid. ll.19, 35.

81. I.G. xii, 2, 640 (Rhodian from Tenedos); I.G. xii,1, 101; Inscr. ii, 292; 392b, ll.16-7.

82. In Xen.Resp.Lac. v.2, τὰ συσκήνια is equated with τὰ φιδίτια.

83. I.G. xii, 2,640.

84. Inscr. ii,292; 392b, ll.16-7.

85. I.G. xii, 1,101.

86. v.Poland, RE, s.v. σύσσιτοι col. 1830, ll.38ff.

87. Inscr. ii,292.

88. Demotics are not used, but all have their father's name added; cf. i,p. 480.

89. v. Poland, loc.cit. col.1833, against San Nicolò, Ägypt. Vereinswesen, i,pp. 206ff.

90. Thus at Thebes, BCH, 1,1926, p.399, nr.17: τοὶ συσ[σιτ]οι Διὶ Καραιοῖ ἀνέθεαν. At Astacus: SEG, i,213, there are five συνέσταοι who are clearly religious magistrates.

91. v.Strack, Dynastie, nrs. 161 (Thracians); 127 (Cilicians); 112 ('forces in the island'); JHS, ix,1888, p.242, nr.60 (Ionians). For further on these koina v. Lesquier, Institutions militaires, pp. 124ff.; 142ff.; Mitford, JHS, lvii, 1937, p.35; id. Mnemos. 1938, p.114, note 3; id. Archiv, xiii, 1938, p.21, note 1.

92. v.i,pp. 494 ff.

93. ibid. pp. 480 ff.

94. v. OGIS, 229, ll.98ff.; cf. Griffith, Hellenistic Mercenaries, pp.154ff.; Milet,i,3,nrs. 36ff., and Rehm, ad loc.; cf. above, p. 116 note 71.

95. v.i,pp. 506ff.

Additional Notes to Part II.

Additional Note 1.

(cf. pt.ii,ch.ii, note 40, p. 271)

The Lindian tribal-cycles.

Blinkenberg's important discovery (Inscr. i, pp. 95-6) of the 'triennial rule', according to which priests of Athana Lindia who were related or belonged to the same deme followed each other in office at three-yearly intervals, or in multiples of that (i.e. at intervals of six, nine or twelve, or longer, yearly intervals) was not fully exploited by him. An attempt is here made to take the subject further than Blinkenberg did, by constructing a tribal-cycle of demes.

A few preliminary points may be made:

(a) It is evident that once it has been established that the triennial rule was applicable to demes, the fact that it applied to related persons is of minor importance: it applied to them as members of the same deme, and not because they were, e.g. father and son, or two brothers.

(b) The existence of the deme-cycle is a sure indication that the Lindian demes were divided for purposes of election into three groups. It seems natural to conclude that these three divisions were the tribes, which otherwise played little part in the constitution. If so, then Blinkenberg's apparent theory Inscr. ii, pp. 1012-4, that there existed four tribes at Lindos (in fact there is some confusion here in Blinkenberg's arguments : on p. 1012, under nr. 471, he says Ἀργεία , nom d'un phyle lindienne', but on p. 1014 he counts φυλὰ Ἀργεία as Rhodian, i.e. as one of the four tribes of Rhodos) cannot stand.

(c) I assume there were three tribes at Lindos (v. above, pp. 385ff.) of which we know the name of one only - Ἀργεία .

. The basis of the following table is: the priest who, on Blinkenberg's arrangement, held office in 165 B.C., was at some time phylarchos of the φυλὰ Ἀργεία : Inscr. i, 199. His deme is not recorded. But it is certain from the fact that the priest of 120 B.C., who occupied the same position in his cycle as that occupied by the priest of 165 in his, (3 x 15 cycles) was an Ἀργεῖος , that Ἄργος belonged to the same tribal group, i.e. that of φυλὰ Α(ργεία) . The priest of 165 B.C. may himself have been an Ἀργεῖος or may have belonged to one of the other three demes of the tribe: the point is of no significance in this context.

(d) The tables that follow are based on the three continuous stelai, FGH; there is thus no question of a possible alternative order of names, or of a gap which would dislocate sequence. The absolute date of the priests on these stelai is irrelevant to the present enquiry, and for convenience I have accepted the system of Blinkenberg (v. however, p. 268 note 34). I have carried the table down to include the names on stele J. I think it very probable that the first name on J follows immediately on the last name on HIII, as Blinkenberg supposed, but it cannot be proved. Overlapping names and relationships show that the gap, if any, was of three years or multiple of three.

(e) The order of the tribes as given below depends on the fact that the calculation begins in 165 B.C. It cannot therefore be assumed that φυλὴ Ἀ(ιγεῖς) was I, φυλὴ Β II, φυλὴ Γ III.

(f) The tables, and information in them, are based on Blinkenberg's publication of the list of priests as Inscr. i, 1, I have inserted in the tables all known instances of relationship, as these are confirmatory evidence, even when the deme to which the persons involved belonged is unknown. The inscription itself does not record demotics.

The table gives the following distribution under tribes:
A. Αἰγεῖος : Πάγιος : Λινδοπολίτας : Βουλίδας.
(Λινδοπολίτας occurs twice under A, and once under Γ;
Αἰγεῖος occurs once under Γ ; once or twice (including 165 B.C.) under A.)
B. Κλάδιος : Νεττίδας : Λαδάρμιος : Καμύνδιος : [Καισαρεύς]
(Νεττίδας occurs twice under Γ ; five times under B).
Γ. Πεδιεύς : Βράσιος : Καττάβιος : (Δρυίτας)
(Βράσιος occurs twice under A, eight times under Γ ;
Καττάβιος once under A, eleven times under Γ).

The only island demotic not occurring in the lists is Δρυίτας . The only vacant space is in Γ , of which it must constitute the fourth deme.

The interpretation of the irregularities depends largely upon whether the individual in question was adopted or not. Frequently when a child, or adult was adopted, he was adopted into a different deme, and he then normally bore the demotic of his deme-by-adoption. Such persons, if priests of Athana, became members of a recognised category, which in some obligations apparently differed from the category of those who had not entered the priesthood by way of adoption (Inscr. ii, 419, lines 86ff: ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς ὁ καθ' ὑοθεσίαν [γενό]μενος ἐπ[άν]αγκες πάντα π[ρασσ]έτ[ω] καθὰ καὶ οἱ ἄλλ[οι ἱε]ρεῖς, κ.τ.λ.

Year B.C.	Deme	Tribe
165	Ἀρρεῖος ?	A
164	–	B
163	–	Γ
162	Brother of 168 and 156	A
161	–	B
160	–	Γ
159	–	A
158	–	B
157	–	Γ
156	Brother of 168 and 152	A
155	Father of 116	B
154	–	Γ
153	–	A
152	–	B
151	–	Γ
150	–	A
149	–	B
148	–	Γ
147	–	A
146	–	B
145	–	Γ
144	–	A
143	Κλάσιος	B
142	–	Γ
141	–	A
140	–	B
139	–	Γ
138	–	A
137	Nephew of 167: brother of 125 : father of 89	B
136	Πεδιεύς	Γ
135	–	A
134	Λαδάρμιος: father of 107	B
133	–	Γ
132	Brother of 129	A
131	Κλάσιος: grandfather of 65.	B
130	–	Γ
129	Brother of 132	A
128	–	B
127	Son of 166	Γ
126	–	A
125	ΝΕΤΤΙΔΑΣ : Brother of 137	B
124	Βρόσιος : Grandfather of 52	Γ
123	–	A
122	–	B
121	Βρόσιος : Grandfather of 70	Γ
120	Ἀρρεῖος	A
119	–	B
118	Καττάβιος : father of 82	Γ
117	–	A

Year	Deme	Tribe
116	Son of 165	B
115	–	Γ
114	–	A
113	–	B
112	Father of 61	Γ
111	–	A
110	–	B
109	[ΝΕΤΤΙΔΑΣ]: Brother of 100	Γ
108	–	A
107	Λαδάρμιος : Son of 134: father of 74: uncle of 68.	B
106	–	Γ
105	–	A
104	–	B
103	Father of 67	Γ
102	–	A
101	–	B
100	Πεδιεύς: brother of 109	Γ
99	–	A
98	–	B
97	Greatgrandfather of 7	Γ
96	–	A
95	Κλάσιος	B
94	–	Γ
93	–	A
92	–	B
91	Βρόσιος : father of 58	Γ
90	–	A
89	Νεττίδας : father of 62: Son of 137	B
88	Πεδιεύς.	Γ
87	Father of 60	A
86	Κλάσιος : brother of 83	B
85	Ἀρρεῖος.	Γ
84	–	A
83	Κλάσιος: father of 86: grandfather of 14	B
82	Καττάβιος : Son of 118	Γ
81	–	A
80	–	B
79	–	Γ
78	–	A
77	–	B
76	–	Γ
75	–	A
74	Λαδάρμιος: Son of 107	B
73	–	Γ
72	Πάγιος	A
71	Καταρεύς	B
70	Βρόσιος: grandson of 121	Γ
69	Brother of 66.	A
68	Λαδάρμιος: father of 44: nephew of 107	B

Contd.on next page...

Year	Deme	Tribe
B.C.		
67	Son of 103	Γ
66	Brother of 69	A
65	Brother of 59: Grandson of 131	B
64	Βράσιος	Γ
63	—	A
62	Νεττίδας: Son of 89: Brother of 56	B
61	Son of 112	Γ
60	Brother of 54 and 51: Son of 87	A
59	Brother of 65	B
58	Son of 91	Γ
57	—	A
56	Νεττίδας: Son of 89: Brother of 62	B
55	Καττάβιος: Father of 28	Γ
54	Brother of 60 and 51: Son of 87	A
53	—	B
52	Βράσιος: Grandson of 124	Γ
51	Brother of 60 and 54: Son of 87	A
50	Καμινδιος	B
49	Καττάβιος: Brother of 40.	Γ
48	—	A
47	—	B
46	Brother of 43	Γ
45	—	A
44	Λυδάρμιος: Son of 68	B
43	Brother of 46	Γ
42	Grandfather of A.D. 25	A
41	—	B
40	Καττάβιος: Father of 49	Γ
39	[Καττάβιος]	A
38	—	B
37	Καττάβιος: father of 10.	Γ
36	—	A
35	—	B
34	Father of A.D. 6	Γ
33	Λυσσπολίτας: father of A.D 16	A
32	—	B
31	—	Γ
30	—	A
29	—	B
28	Καττάβιος: father of A.D 9: Son of 55.	Γ
27	—	A
26	—	B
25	—	Γ
24	—	A
23	Κλάριος.	B
22	—	Γ
21	—	A
20	—	B
19	—	Γ

Year	Deme	Tribe
18	—	A
17	Father of A.D. 11	B
16	[Λυσσπολίτας]	Γ
15	—	A
14	Κλάριος: Grandson of 83.	B
13	—	Γ
12	[Βράσιος]	A
11	—	B
10	Καττάβιος: father of A.D. 21: Son of 37.	Γ
9	[Βράσιος]	A
8	—	B
7	Great grandson of 97	Γ
6	Βουλίδας	A
5	Καμινδιος	B
4	—	Γ
3	—	A
2	—	B
1	Καττάβιος	Γ
A.D.		
1	—	A
2	—	B
3	—	Γ
4	—	A
5	—	B
6	Son of 34 B.C.	Γ
7	—	A
8	—	B
9	Καττάβιος: Son of 28 B.C.	Γ
10	—	A
11	Son of 17 B.C.	B
12	Βράσιος	Γ
13	—	A
14	—	B
15	—	Γ
16	Λυσσπολίτας: Son of 33 B.C.	A
17	—	B
18	Βράσιος	Γ
19	—	A
20	—	B
21	Καττάβιος: Son of 10 B.C.	Γ
22	—	A
23	—	B
24	—	Γ
25	Grandson of 42 BC	A
26	—	B
27	—	Γ

stele J.

The irregularities in question are:

(1) Βράσιος , which occurs twice under A, in 12 and 9 B.C. The first of these instances cannot be explained by adoption. It is probably due, as Blinkenberg suggested ad loc, to the fact that it occurs in a disturbed part of list J, where several names appear in the wrong order. The triennial rule is broken in 11 B.C. (tribe B) which was the year of office of the brother of the priest of 18 B.C. (tribe A) (demotic unknown). Blinkenberg, adloc., suggested that the Βράσιος given under 12 B.C. was in fact priest in 13 B.C., while the priest of 13 was priest in 11, and the priest of 11 in 12 B.C., thus: 13: Νικασικράτης ; 12: Ἀριστόφυλος ; 11: Μνασίας . This seems a reasonable explanation, in view of the other dislocations in J (v. Blinkenberg, Inscr.i, pp. 101-2).

The second Βράσιος apparently out of his true cycle-place is in fact not so. He is known to have been adopted, but it is not known into what deme he was adopted. Choice must be limited to those belonging to tribe A.

(2) Λινδοπολίτας , which occurs once under Γ , in 16 B.C., is probably also due to adoption. He became a Λινδοπολίτας by adoption, and should therefore be reckoned as Λινδοπολίτας in this list. It seems possible that in this instance the original deme, belonging to tribe Γ , was retained, though if, as Blinkenberg suggested, ad loc. he is the brother of the priest of 30 B.C., then like him he must have belonged to A. No obvious explanation can be given of this instance.

(3) The Ἀφεῖος of 85 B.C., again belonging to Γ , cannot be explained at present. There can be no doubt that Ἀφεῖος normally belonged to A(v.preliminary observation (c)).

(4) The two instances of Νεττίδας under 154 and 109 B.C. are straightforward. The attribution of the first to Nettidas is unsound being based only on the fact that the individual was honoured by the Νεττίδαι for his εὔνοια towards them (Inscr. i, 216; I.G. xii, 1, 856). There was however nothing to prevent an individual being honoured by a deme other than his own; there are other instances of it (v. page 263, note 148). [redacted] In view of the irregularity caused to the tribal cycle by this attribution it is preferable to suppose that he belonged to another deme.

The second is a case of adoption. This priest was adopted from Πεδιεύς to Νεττίδας . Since Πεδιεύς was in Γ it seems reasonable to suppose that the priest retained his original demotic here.

(5) The Καττάβιος of 39 B.C., belonging to A, is another instance of adoption. His new deme is not recorded, but evidently he changed to one belonging to tribe A.

(6) Καδαρεύς, a Peraean deme, occurs once under B, making the total number of demes in that tribe five. This is the only Peraean deme known from the list of priests; the addition of the demes of the Lindian Peraea would of course destroy the cycle of the twelve demes, and it must, I think, be assumed that these demes were excluded. Similarly they do not appear in the dedications to the priest of Athana which are made by the twelve demes only (Inscr. ii, 347 = Syll^3. 765; cf. [illegible] above, p. 248 note 82). The Καδαρεύς here mentioned was in fact only a Καδαρεύς by adoption, being by birth a Βρύσιος; but it cannot here be supposed that he retained his natal demotic, since Βρύσιος belonged to Γ, and not to B. Here too there is no obvious solution of the problem.

It is not possible to reconstruct the tribal-cycles for a considerable span for any other part of the list, since the names are not directly recorded, and where they are inserted in the list from other documents there can be no certainty that the ~~inscription~~ insertion has taken place in exactly the right year. There are, however, two fragments of sufficient length, and sufficiently securely dated, for a few consecutive years, for some conclusions to be possible. First is the fragment containing the priests of the years from 339 to 326 B.C. The dates here are absolutely fixed (v. above, p. 269 note 34(5)). If the gap between the year 165 and 326 be calculated in terms of the cycle, it becomes evident that there has been some alteration in the cycle. If the same cycle as is found in 165 is continued backwards until 326, it results that demes are found both in a different relation to each other (Πάριος and Λινδοπολίτας are no longer in the same tribe, although Πάριος and Κλάριος are still in the same relation), and consequently that they are in different tribes from those which they occupied after 165 (thus Λινδοπολίτας in 326 is in tribe B, while after 165 it is in A). There must then at some time have been a reorganisation of the demes within the tribes. It is perhaps to this that Blinkenberg is referring, Inscr. i, p. 96, note 1, when he says that the grouping of demes was altered in 325, but since the list is not extant for 325 it is difficult to see how he arrived at this conclusion - on the evidence available to him it might have happened at any time after 326 - and since he never at any time published his own account of the grouping of demes, it is not clear what he had in mind.

The dates of this reform can be more precisely determined by an examination of fragment S, the exact dates of which are not known, but which, owing to the evidence for triennial dating contained within it, can be dated to a series of years all contiguous to each other: 228 to 205, or 225 to 202, or 222 to 199, or 219 to 196, or 216 to 193. (v. above, p. 270 note 34(8)). This list of twenty-four names also shows variations from the tribal-cycles after 165 B.C. Κλάσιος (1.9) and Βράσιος (1.4) are no longer in the same relation to each other as they are in the later period. It thus seems reasonable to assume that the change in the distribution of the demes came between the latest date in S, between 205 and 193 B.C., and 165 B.C. Whether a different cycle began with the alteration of the demes cannot be definitely determined, but it seems very probable.

For convenience I append a list of the two fragments.

Year	Deme	Tribe
339	–	A
338	Λινδοπολίτας	B
337	–	Γ
336	Κλάδιος	A
335	Λινδοπολίτας	B
334	Πάγιος : brother of 331.	Γ
333	Κλάδιος	A
332	–	B
331	Πάγιος : brother of 334	Γ
330	Κλάδιος	A
329	Λινδοπολίτας : brother of 326	B
328	–	Γ
327	–	A
326	Λινδοπολίτας : brother of 329.	B

*Year	Deme	Tribe
228	–	A
227	–	B
226	–	Γ
225	Βράδιος	A
224	–	B
223	? Λινδοπολίτας	Γ
222	–	A
221	Κλάδιος	B
220		Γ
219		A
218		B
217		Γ
216		A
215		B
214		Γ
213		A
212		B
211		Γ
210		A
209		B
208		Γ
207		A
206		B
205		Γ

* As is noted above, the first year of this list may be either 228, 225, 222, 219 or 216; but this does not affect the calculation.

Relationship of the deme-cycle to the deme-order in other inscriptions.

Certain Lindian inscriptions preserve lists of the twelve demes. One, Inscr.ii, 347 = Syll^3. 765, is a dedication in honour of the priest of Athana of 42 B.C. The demes are recorded in the following order: Λαδάεμιοι, Βρύασιοι, Καττάβιοι, Πεδιεῖς, Λινδοπολεῖται, Καμιρεῖς, Πάγιοι, Νεττίδαι, Κλάσιοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Βουλίδαι, Δρυεῖται. Another inscription, ibid. 349, appears to preserve a list in similar order. A third, Inscr. ii, 378 which is not a dedication by the demes, but contains a list of the mastroi of each deme, records them in the following, wholly different, order: Λινδοπολεῖται, Καττάβιοι, Πάγιοι, Βρύασιοι, Δρυεῖται, Βουλίδαι, Πεδιεῖς, Κλάσιοι, Καμιρεῖς, Λαδάεμιοι, Νεττίδαι, Ἀργεῖοι.

It is difficult to know the significance of these varying lists, neither of which can very well be regarded as 'official' order, such as existed at Athens side by side with the wholly different tribal-cycle order. Neither of the two lists bears any resemblance to the order of the demes in the Lindian cycle, as the following table shows:

Deme	Position in Cycle	Position in 347	Position in 378.
Ἀργεῖος	A	10	12
Πάγιος	A	7	3
Λινδοπολίτας	A	5	1
Βουλίδας	A	11	6
Κλάσιος	B	9	8
Νεττίδας	B	8	11
Λαδάεμιος	B	1	10
Καμιρεύς	B	6	9
Πεδιεύς	Γ	4	7
Βρύασιος	Γ	2	4
Καττάβιος	Γ	3	2
Δρυίτας.	Γ	12	5

Evidence for the tribal-cycle at Camirus.

Evidence for the existence of a tribal cycle at Camirus is confined to the list of damiourgoi (v. above, p. 272-3 notes 3-4). The uncertainty of the order and sequence of these fragments makes it desirable to restrict investigations to any single blocks, and not to overlap from one block to another. Benediktsson, Deux Documents, p. 10, note 1, has observed the

validity of the general rule, but has not pursued the matter further.

It is not possible to determine the deme and tribe attributions for the main, early, part of the list, since demotics are rarely known; though - what amounts to the same thing - tenure of office ~~by~~ can be shown to be regulated from the beginning by the triennial rule. Here I content myself with illustrating the validity of the triennial rule, for those stones, on which the demotic of the damiourgos is given. Demotics begin on p. 33, l.40, Benediktsson, They continue to the end, but the sequence of demes is disturbed by the change in election, evidenced by the rubric, p. 34, l. 56B.

It cannot be determined whether the demotics after this entry (in all only four) follow a new cycle; certainly the old one was discontinued, since had it been continued, in spite of the change in procedure, for some reason (for instance if on election the damiourgoi from outside Camirus were admitted to within the old demes, so as not to disturb the existing cycle), Σιλύριος in l.58, would fall into tribe 3, and not, as during the existing cycle, into tribe 1.

Benediktsson, CII, ll.40-55.

Year	Demotic	Tribe
40=1	Πλῶιος	1
2	-	2
3	-	3
4	Σιλύριος	1
5	Πλάριος	2
6	Ῥογχίδας	3
7	Πλῶιος	1
8	Εὐριάδας	2
9	Λοξίδας	3
10	Πλῶιος	1
11	Πλῶιος	2
12	-	3
13	Χαλκήτας	1
14	Λέλιος	2

This gives the following distribution:
Tribe 1: Πλῶιος: Σιλύριος: Χαλκήτας: ?
" 2: Πλάριος: Εὐριάδας: Λέλιος: ?
" 3: Ῥογχίδας: Λοξίδας: ? : ?

There is an evident irregularity in nrs. 10-11; in the latter Πλῶιος is obviously out of place; why, cannot be determined.

It is noticeable that in this list, unlike its Lindian counterpart, demotics of the Peraea appear. Tlos (Islands and Chalce) was certainly in the Peraea, and is the island of that name. The location of the others except Ῥογχίδας, is uncertain, and some may have been in the Peraea.

Demes known to have been Camiran (v. i, pp. 413ff), and at present unattributable to tribes are: Κυμισαλῆς, Ἠριεῖς, Ἀμνίστιοι, Φυσάϊοι(?).

Additional Note II.

The Size of the Rhodian Fleet in the Antiochic War (190B.C.).

Estimation of the number of ships put to sea by Rhodes in 190 B.C. depends on the trustworthiness of the figures given by Livy for the Rhodian fleet at the time of the disaster at Panor[illegible]. Livy says, xxxvi, 45,6, that 25 cataphracts sailed in autumn 191, under Pausistratus, but the battle of Corycus being over, returned home. These twenty-five ships will therefore be included in any subsequent totals. In March 190 the Rhodians sent out thirty-six ships, Liv.(P) xxxvii,9,5; of these an unspecified number was dispatched on foraging duties (Liv. ibid.10, 11: partem navium ad commeatus arcessendos Halicarnassum, partem Samum ad urbem misit; App. Syr. 23 [ὁ Πανορμαχος] παρχν πστεύδς ἐξέλυσε τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ ἐς σπλαγίδν καὶ αὐτὸς περιέπεμπεν. The disaster occurred shortly afterwards, so these ships clearly were not involved. From the disaster, according to Liv.ibid. 11,13, five Rhodian and two Coan ships escaped. Livy does not state the number of ships captured, but the absence of the foraging detachment makes it certain that it was not 36-7, but (36-x)-7. This unknown quantity can be supplied from another passage in Livy and from Appian. Liv. xxxvii, 11,5, speaking of the Syrian fleet before the Rhodian disaster gives its strength as seventy cataphracts; in the summer of that year it consisted of eighty-nine ships (Liv. xxxvii, 30,2; ninety, according to App. Syr. 27). This increase in twenty ships exactly corresponds with the number of Rhodian ships recorded by Appian, Syr.24 ad fin. as having been captured at Panormus. There can thus be little doubt that the Rhodians lost twenty ships, and that five (excluding two Coan) escaped. The strength of the foraging party will then have been eleven ships, and these, no doubt, will have returned quickly to Rhodes when they heard of the loss of the other ships. After the news of the disaster reached Rhodes twenty ships were dispatched north in two batches of ten, Liv. xxxvii, 12,9, and shortly afterwards three more were attached to C.Livius for his Lycian operation, Liv. ibid. 16,3; a total of twenty-three ships, of which 11+5 were survivors from the earlier campaign, and seven were new. The total number of ships fitted out up to this point is therefore 36+7=43.

The next set of figures are those relating to the battle of Side. Eudamus, who was at Samos with the twenty Rhodian ships, was called home to go to Lycia; he brought thirteen ships with him, Liv. xxxvii, 22,2. These cannot, therefore,

Additional Note II (contin.)

be included in the total. Pamphilides was sent a day or two before with thirteen ships from Rhodes, and he collected four more on his route East, ibid. § 3. Eudamus, on arrival at Rhodes, was given six aphract vessels, ibid. These ships have not been previously mentioned -- 23 in all, of which 17 were cataphracts and six aphracts. The total number of Rhodian ships from the beginning of the year to the battle of Side is therefore sixty-six. No more ships appear to have been added subsequently. This is the largest number of ships Rhodes is ever known to have possessed. Tarn, Companion to Latin Studies, p. 759, arrives at a figure of 77 ships, apparently through a failure to recognise that eleven ships were absent at the time of the disaster of Panormos. Kromayer, Ant.Schlacht. ii, p.159, note 2, makes the same error. He supposes that the whole fleet, less those ships which escaped, were either captured or destroyed, citing App. Syr. 24: οἱ μὲν ἐλήφθησαν, οἱ δ' ἀπώλοντο. It is true that the twenty ships of the Rhodians are mentioned by App. ibid., not as having been destroyed but as having been captured; and this would support Kromayer's view. However, the use of the contrasting μέν and δέ makes it clear that in fact all the ships which did not escape were captured: καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἑπτὰ μὲν... ἔφυγον, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς εἴκοσιν ὁ Πολυξενίδας ἀναδησάμενος εἰς τὴν Ἔφεσον κατήχθη. Kromayer's statement, Ant.Schlacht. ii, p.159, note 4, that the Rhodians only had 39 ships at sea at once is correct, but the conclusion he draws from it, that they were 'an der Grenze ihrer Leistungsfähigkeit angekommen' (he compares the latter figures of the time of the Roman civil war, which never exceed fourty by much-- cf. id. Philol. N.S. x, 1897, pp. 479--) is hardly fair, since the war stopped before any further call was made on Rhodian strength. Thiel, Roman Sea-Power, p.270, note 331, follows Kromayer's view about the 'Leistungsfähigkeit' of the Rhodians; 'They certainly did not possess more than 43, because the supreme limit of their maritime efforts always lay in the neighbourhood of forty ships' , but realising that the total Rhodian figure for the year was far higher, he supposes (ibid.p.270) that the Rhodians built new ships. This is very likely; but the important point is that in the course of a single campaigning season, the Rhodians put over sixty ships to sea, and that even if they never had more than forty ships at sea at the time, they must have had crews ready in reserve, as they had at the time of the disaster at Panormus, and therefore

Additional Note II (contin.)

the naval potentialities of the city must be calculated on the assumption that it could man considerably more than must be forty ships.

Thiel's own figure, ibid. p.271, of 'roughly forty sail', is based on a misunderstanding. He says, 'We arrive at a sum total founded in reality by adding the twenty ships that were lost in the spring of 190... to the maximum of thirty-nine sail of August 190'. He has not observed that the twenty-three fitted out after Pausistratus' disaster are fully accounted for, and must be kept separate from the new ships constructed some time during the summer, at least before Side. Therefore the total of new ships is 23 (for Side)+7 (sent to Eudamus and given to Livius)=30, which must be added to the original thirty-six.

The figures given by Appian, Syr. 22, are wrong. He gives the strength of the Rhodian fleet of 191 as 27, and not, as Livy, 25. These two extra are doubtless to be explained as representing the two Coan ships which Livy mentions separately in his account of the next year. Appian's main mistake, however, seems to lie in not realising that the fleet of 191 returned to Rhodes and that a new fleet of thirty-six ships was sent out in 190. Thus he makes the total number of ships at Panormus 27, the same size as the fleet of 191. That this, in his opinion, is the total is clear from the fact that he records Pausistratus -- whom, by yet another error, he calls Pausimachus -- as having passed the winter of 191 in Aeolis, practising out his first fire-baskets. At the same time his figures of seven saved (five Rhodian and two Coan according to Livy) at Panormus, is correct, as we learn from the additions to the Syrian fleet (v. above)