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*On the middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora;  
 its date and function*

In his address at the celebration of the first hundred years of the Archaeological Institute of America, Kurt Bittel attributed to the work of some earlier German excavators a perhaps undue emphasis on architecture at the expense of "the observation and evaluation of small movable objects" found in excavating the buildings.<sup>1</sup> Stamped amphora handles, to be sure, sometimes escaped such oblivious enmity in those days by dint of being counted as inscriptions rather than as small finds, and by appearing in large numbers. Thus we have the excellent and still basic publication by Schuchhardt in 1895 of some ~~732~~ 732 amphora stamps, mostly Rhodian, found in Pergamon in a filling dumped in ancient times between the foundations of a room set between the earlier and the later city walls.<sup>2</sup> Professor Bittel had more in mind than the mutual development of chronologies, that might result from studies of small finds in relation to buildings. However, the dimension of time must be set up in the best possible way, before we can learn what we should in, as he suggests, the economic and social fields. Such studies of material in context in a large excavation can only be enabled by a complex, well-planned, and strict system of recording, such as that devised by T. Leslie Shear for the excavations of the Athenian Agora of the

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1930s, and greatly developed by Lucy Talcott. The basis of such records is of course the excavator's grasp of what he sees, and his managing to record it while the impression is fresh. One of my early recollections of Homer Thompson is of learning from him, in 1932, that although stamped amphora handles were supposed to be Hellenistic, he had found some in definitely classical company; he showed me several, which gave me a permanent taste for

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the Thasian class. If the information no longer surprises, it is in great part because of the impact of the large group of early Thasian stamped handles excavated by Thompson at the Pnyx, in the Filling of Period III of the Assembly Place, which established the priority of the two-name Thasian stamps, fixing

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them before about 340 B.C. For the place of container amphoras in the general archeological mind in 1932, I quote from a letter (of 1951) from a distinguished archaeologist, the late Professor C. H. Emilie Haspels ~~XXXXXX~~ of Amsterdam, in reference to an investigation of what must have been an ancient pottery works for the production of amphoras in Thasos, a workshop which in the light of modern information ~~is~~ is seen to have operated from early in <sup>4th</sup> ~~would suppose operated largely in about the middle of the 4th~~ century B.C.:

"Re the amphoras: I called them Hellenistic at the time (in 1932 or '33)

for the only reason that we . . . were used to speak of 'Hellenistic pointed amphorae.' Almost a term like West Slope ware or Megarian bowls." Here is

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one of the places where Homer Thompson has enabled us to take a big step forward.

The thesis of the present paper has been known to Thompson and other interested persons since July 11, 1956, when I completed a report on the stamped amphora handles found in the building fill of the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora, about 1500 in number. The report was circulated at the Agora, and has remained on file there.<sup>7</sup> The date which the handles seemed to indicate as that of the lower limit of the fill was the second decade of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>8</sup> So early a date was not generally accepted at that time; there were conflicts to be resolved, for instance some coins in the fill had been dated in the second quarter of the century. Further studies of the various stamp sequences represented in the fill continued to point to the same decade for its probable ~~lower~~ lower limit; eventually, counting the terms of dating officials in Rhodian stamps brought us to a proposed end date of the stamps in the filling of about 183 or 182 B.C.<sup>9</sup> Finally, we have in 1972 Homer Thompson's considered date for the start of construction of the Middle Stoa itself, "late in the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C."<sup>10</sup>

The coins have now been published by F. S. Kleiner, who finds nothing that he need date later than about 180 B.C. More recently, the Megarian bowls in

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the filling have been described by S. I. Retroff as "similar to those in other deposits of early 2nd century."<sup>11</sup>

The stamped amphora handles from the Middle Stoa building fill are worth a volume to themselves, so numerous and rich and varied is the material, and of such wide bearing. The evidence is summarized here, as a prime example of the possibility of mutual development of chronologies, as between the amphora fragments in the fill, a large hoard assembled as bulky rubbish to fill in for a level floor for a building 150 meters long set on sloping ground, and the building itself, for which the detailed dating of the stamps suggests an identification. In turn, the identification implies independent support for a rather narrow dating for the cutoff point of the material in the construction filling of the building, because of the historical probabilities as to when work would have begun on such a project, as will be discussed below. What is attractive is that the archeological indications and the historical probabilities arrive at the same date, about 183 B.C.

*Appendix* In the course of making a report on this material, I have found it necessary to take up matters that needed more extensive presentation than their relevance to the present discussion might justify. Not to interrupt overmuch the account of the dating and identification of the Middle Stoa,

grace

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I have put the following into appendices at the end of the main text of the article, see pp. below:

1. Dated list of eponyms in Knidian stamps.
2. Remarks on revised 3rd century B.C. dating; and on the stamps in Thompson's Hellenistic Groups A - E; and on Agora deposits H 13 : 1, and Q-R 10-11 : 1 and 2.
3. Clarification on the wrecks (more than one) at the Grand Congloué site near Marseilles.
4. Figures on the production of Rhodian stamped amphoras in the 2nd to 1st centuries B.C.

~~Rhodian stamps~~

5. Dates of Rhodian eponyms named Δαμοκλῆς.

Let us look now at the assortment of amphora stamps in the filling of the Middle Stoa:

Rhodian		385	or 59 per cent of the whole number
Knidian	343		
Early Knidian	<u>39</u>		
	382	382	or 25 per cent
Thasian		60	or 4 per cent
Koan		53	
Chian (some from lagynoi)		23	
Corinthian		7	
Sinopean		6	

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Parmeniskos Group	5
Zenon Group	5
Parian	2
Samian(?) prow stamp	1
with Latin stamp	1
miscellaneous unclassified	68

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A detailed count of the stamped amphora handles at the Agora excavations as a whole (including those from the Middle Stoa filling) was made in 1960.

I add figures from this count as a background for that of the Middle Stoa:

Rhodian, 4432; Knidian, 12002; Thasian, 674; general total at the Agora

<sup>12</sup>  
in May 1960, 19267. Note a reversed percentage of the two large classes:

Rhodian, 23 per cent, Knidian, 62 per cent. We are particularly concerned here with the end date of the Middle Stoa filling, but in considering percentages should reckon with the fact that ~~it~~ contained much earlier material; of the stamps, there are many Rhodian of the 3rd century, and Thasian of the 4th as well as of the 3rd. Knidian stamps with names (as distinct from what we call Early Knidian, that have abbreviations, monograms, ligatures, or just devices <sup>13</sup>) do not seem to have been produced before the last quarter of the

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3rd century. ~~On the other hand~~ Once in use, stamped Knidian gain steadily on stamped Rhodian as imports to Athens. Already by the middle of the 2nd century, figures for the Stoa of Attalos filling show about 35 stamped handles to 70, Rhodian to Knidian, and none of the Rhodian is datable later than the first quarter of the century. A group of stamped handles in Athens datable in the second half of the century may be 100 per cent Knidian: see below, Appendix 2, on Thompson's Hellenistic Group E. The shrinking of the Rhodian figures in Athens during the 2nd century B.C. (which makes something of a slide rule for dating deposits) does not reflect a decrease in production and export from Rhodes, but, according to Rostovtzeff,<sup>14</sup> "the gradual emancipation of Athens from the commercial hegemony of Rhodes, an emancipation which began earlier than 166, etc." That there was indeed no decrease in production of stamped amphoras in Rhodes before the late 2nd century B.C. is another story, important in itself; see Appendix 4 for relevant figures derived from the Benaki collection in Alexandria.

*Evidence of the Middle Stoa*  
 For the Rhodian in the Middle Stoa filling, we have an extensive ~~correspondence~~ correspondence with those in another big foundation filling, that in the building in Pergamon cited above, cf. text with footnote 2. The Rhodian in the Pergamon deposit are 782 to our 885, and there are a great number of

individual parallels. A difference is that those in Pergamon are mostly close together in date, while those from the Middle Stoa filling, as noted above, include many earlier items. A difference more interesting for the lower limit of the Middle Stoa filling is that a few Rhodian eponyms (dating officials), who are named in the Pergamon deposit on as many as 4 to 24 handles per name, do not appear at all in the Middle Stoa filling. These are as follows; figures in parentheses show how many handles in the Pergamon deposit name each individual:

'Αγέστρατος 2nd	(4)	K 90
'Απαροφάνης 1st	(8)	B, D, F, T (all minor)
'Αριστείδας 2nd	(10)	B, K, O, F, T
'Αριστόδαμος 2nd	(24)	B, E, K, K, T
'Αρίστων 2nd	(20)	B, K, T
'Αρχιλαΐδας	(5)	B, K, O, F, T
Ξενοφῶν	(4)	Y other?

No one of these seven eponyms occurs in the Middle Stoa filling (an *Ἀριστείδας* named on a single handle, SS 12862, is readily distinguishable as a homonym of the third century B.C. by the shape and finish of the handle.) On the other hand, despite the steady decrease, discussed

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above, of Rhodian imports to Athens during the first half of the 2nd century, we do have handles at the Agora (though not in the Middle Stoa filling) that are dated by all seven of these eponyms, some from consistent post-Middle Stoa deposits: cf. four from the Stoa of Attalos filling, SS 10492 naming 'Αρατοφάνης 1st, and SS 10730, 10739, and 13370, naming 'Αριστείδας 2nd.

These seven eponyms therefore suggest a period of seven years immediately after the end date of the Middle Stoa filling but before the close of the Pergamon deposit. The suggestion is strengthened by the fact that all seven

~~filling is strengthened by the fact that all seven~~ names are known on handles

that bear also secondary stamps set in the common way at the attachment of the handle to the neck of the jar, a practice that was just beginning in the period of the Middle Stoa. Only one such stamp appears in the filling, a small rose with no letters, in a single example, SS 12717; for a similar stamp, better preserved, see Pl. <sup>III</sup>, 1. No part of the main stamp of SS 12717 is preserved, but this secondary stamp is known only on handles from amphoras of the potter Δαμοκράτης in the terms of Καλλικρατίδας 2nd,

~~Κλεοκράτης~~ Κλεοκράτης 1st, and Σύμμαχος; all these persons occur in

→ Pergamon and the Middle Stoa. In this series, both the ~~fillings~~ fillings. The rose secondary stamp is an early one, dated in

the early 2nd century B.C. by context in Tarsos.<sup>15</sup> Of eponyms named in the Middle Stoa filling, only three are known to occur with secondary stamps of the slightly later kind in which a letter replaces the earlier rose, the kind that accompany the seven names above-listed, those present in the Pergamon deposit but not in the Middle Stoa filling. The three in the Middle Stoa filling are Νικασαγόρας 1st, Θεαίδητος, and Ἀθανόδοτος, perhaps in that order; for samples of the secondary stamps accompanying the first two, see Pl. , 2b and 3b. These are then probably the latest Rhodian eponyms in the Middle Stoa filling, and were no doubt preceded by the three mentioned as occurring with the rose secondary stamp. It seems at present a fair guess that the use of these secondary stamps, by certain potters with large output, began in or soon after 188 B.C., at the time of the chief Rhodian expansion on the continent; through the 2nd century these additional control stamps continued in use by big producers such as Μίδας, on whom see below, Appendix 4; many stamped handles from his jars bear secondary stamps. For the end date of the Rhodian in the Middle Stoa filling, I lay out the proposed sequence of eponyms, with figures for the number of handles bearing these names in the two large deposits.

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- 188 - 186 Καλλικρατίδας 2nd, Κλευκράτης 1st, and Σύμμαχος
- 185 Νικασαγόρας 1st (Middle Stoa filling, 8; Pergamon deposit, 9)
- 184 Θεαίδητος ( " " " 6 " " 12)
- 183 'Αθανόδοτος ( " " " 4 " " 17)

182 - 176 the 7 present in the Pergamon deposit and not at all in the Middle Stoa Building fill ('Αγέστρατος 2nd, etc., listed above).

The dates assigned are supported by a variety of other bits of evidence, including other contexts, and the chain of name-connections between potters and dating officials, derived from the study of pairs of names from the two series, of which the most convincing are found combined on whole amphoras or fragments preserving both stamped handles. See Pl. , which illustrates two whole jars, 2 and 3, from the stamped tops of the handles of which we take two such pairs of names. 2a and 2c show the dating and endorsing stamps

respectively of 2, an amphora of Δαμοκράτης dated in the term of Νικασαγόρας, in the month Σμίνθιος; 3a and 3c the stamps of 3, an amphora of 'Ιπποκράτης in the term of Θεαίδητος, in the month Πάναμος.<sup>16</sup> Each of these jars has also a secondary stamp, set on the side of the upper attachment of (in the case of these jars) the fabricant handle, actually visible in the side views of the two jars, as well as in 2b and 3b. Attested secondary stamps used by Δαμοκράτης (those of

which we have rubbings or photographs) are the little rose, Pl. 1, and slightly variant rose types; and the letters, singly, A, K, C (i.e. lunate sigma), T, Y. Most of these are used also by 'Ιπποκράτης, that is, the dies seem to have been taken over; for this and other reasons we conclude that the products of the two potters are from the same shop. The shop will have changed hands between the making of the two jars shown: 2 names the latest of many dating officials known with Δαμοκράτης, and 3 the earliest of still more known with 'Ιπποκράτης, whose career can be followed to probably the middle of the 2nd century. The secondary stamp 3b with its distinctive beta is so far on record only from jars of 'Ιπποκράτης, ~~not~~ not those of Δαμοκράτης. This may be an accident of preservation for the moment; someone may find a handle with the ~~same~~ rose stamp of Δαμοκράτης on top and this characteristic beta stamped on its side. Otherwise the handle in Tarsos <sup>17</sup> that combines this secondary stamp with a rose main stamp naming Νικασαγόρας suggests that the change in management took place during the term of this eponym; which is, I suppose, more likely than not. At present this particular beta is known only with the eponyms Νικασαγόρας 1st and Θεαφθροτος, and with the fabricant 'Ιπποκράτης.

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think we can find out  
the (Rhodian) aspect  
later.

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Contemporary with the activities of 'Ιπποκράτης were those of the Rhodian 'Αριστοκλῆς who made and marked Knidian amphoras as well as producing a great number of Rhodian ones with rose stamps like those of 'Ιπποκράτης; for some of his Knidian stamps, see Pl. 19-21. The two men seem both to have succeeded to the shop of Δαμοκράτης; perhaps they were brothers; in any case <sup>this</sup> 'Αριστοκλῆς seems to have been the son of the Δαμοκράτης who made the amphora in Pl. , 2. The two contemporaries, 'Αριστοκλῆς and 'Ιπποκράτης, used over the years a great number of secondary stamps, at least 25 different ones each, some of which appear to be common to both (but a study of dies has not yet been made). Oddly, although for both brothers (?) there are many known or reasonably guessed pairs with dating officials, all datable between about 183 B.C. and the middle of the century, we have up to the present no indication that both 'Αριστοκλῆς and 'Ιπποκράτης ever dated jars in the same year. During the period of production of these two, no other fabricants are known to have used secondary stamps; but about the middle of the century, their amphoras seem to have been replaced by those of Τιμόξενος, again bearing circular rose stamps plus secondary stamps. It is interesting to note that secondary stamps were used also on Knidian amphoras by fabricants named 'Αριστοκλῆς and Τιμόξενος

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who used rectangular main stamps; their dates correspond with those of the Rhodians of the same names. After the mid-century, other Rhodian fabricants used secondary stamps, including some whose main stamps are rectangular: cf. Μίδας, see Appendix 4.

Through a lapse in processing, the eponym 'Αθανόδοτος had not been listed in our archives as occurring with secondary stamps, but in fact there are a few handles that name him in circular rose types and bear also secondary stamps with the letters tau and upsilon (singly) like those used by both Διοκρίτης and 'Ιπποκρίτης (i.e. apparently from the same dies).

'Αθανόδοτος had in any case been listed in my tentative sequence only a few years too early, because name-connections ~~associate him predominantly~~ place him closely.

~~with dates Period III~~ Potters known to have dated jars by his name are

'Αγαθοκλῆς 2nd, 'Αρύντας with wreath, 'Αντίμαχος with caduceus,

'Αρίστων with caduceus, Σαραπῶν with asterisks, and Φιλαίνιος;

this is to name only the "real" pairs, i.e. whole jars or tops of jars with both stamped handles preserved. The eponyms named by these potters on other jars of theirs in each case overlap <sup>the period ca. 188-176 B.C.,</sup> ~~the Period III~~ and in some cases are

only of this period. It now seems likely that 'Αθανόδοτος is the latest Rhodian eponym whose name is present in the Middle Stoa building fill.

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So much for the usefulness of eponym-fabricant name-connections in building the chronology of amphora stamps, for an indication of where we find the most convincing pairs, and for the corroborative evidence supplied by secondary stamps. Whole amphoras, however, and even large fragments, help of course in another way to supplement and consolidate the dating evidence, and that is by the evolution of the shapes and dimensions of the jars, the most obvious tendency of Rhodian ones, from the late 3rd to perhaps the late 2nd century B.C. , being to grow slowly taller and slimmer, and the neck and

*found 14 lines*

handles taller in proportion to the jar as a whole. 2 and 3 in Pl. , closely contemporary, fit into the Rhodian series in Amphoras, fig. 62, after the first jar in that picture; they postdate it by about 20 years, according to the eponyms named. They are even closer, especially 3, to another published

amphora, one of 'Αριστοκλῆς in the term of 'Αρχιλαΐδας, an eponym present in the Pergamon deposit but not in the Middle Stoa filling, hence datable <sup>20</sup>

~~of Period III, hence~~ very soon after Θεαΐδης of 3. The stages of

the change in shape, played according to the tentative sequence of names,

form a control, and thus the chronology is adjusted. Contrast in shape and

dimensions of the amphoras makes it easy to distinguish between eponyms of the

same name who may be two generations apart, when whole jars are preserved that

name them, for instance between the Νικασαγόρας of ca. 185 B.C. who dates

2 (Pl. ), and the later one named on an amphora of Εὐφρόνιος, perhaps,

there, the Νικασαγόρας whose term as priest of Halios is dated epigraphi-

cally shortly after 123 B.C. The later jar (unpublished) has considerably

longer neck, handles, and body, and the handles bow out noticeably, another <sup>relatively</sup>

late feature; its capacity is about 25 per cent greater than that of 2. <sup>21</sup>

Historical ~~considerations~~ considerations have bearing, and it may be noted that in the original publication the proposed date for the Pergamon deposit was late 3rd to early 2nd century B.C., as a time of friendly relations between

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Pergamon and Rhodes. Sometimes, as with Νικασαγόρας 2nd just mentioned, one may suggest identifications of persons in stamps with persons known in epigraphical or literary texts. Thus it is possible that Θεαΐδητος, tentatively listed here as the next to latest Rhodian eponym in the Middle Stoa filling, was the father of Ἀστυμήδης Θεαΐδήτου, who was the priest of Athana Lindia in 154 B.C., and perhaps then of Halios a year or so afterward. According to Polybios, the son was sent to Rome on missions in 168, 164, and 153 B.C.; and the father, perhaps the Θεαΐδητος of 3, died in Rome in 167/6, being then over eighty years of age. 23

One would like, again, to associate with the potter dynasty Δαμοκράτης - Ἀριστοκλῆς, etc. (see above, with footnote 18), a Rhodian mentioned on a Thasian stone, Ἀριστοκλῆς ὁ [ ] κράτευσ, secretary of the boula of Rhodes in the term of the priest of Halios Θέρσανδρος. A date of 69/68 B.C. is tentatively proposed for the stone in the publication; however, the authors tell us that the letter forms could well be of the second half of the 2nd century B.C. Such a date would fit with that of the eponym Θέρσανδρος known in stamps ~~of the 2nd century B.C.~~; we have no evidence of a later homonym. In that case, perhaps the secretary of the Rhodian ~~the~~ boula had

actually been, in his creative youth, the 'Αριστοκλῆς of the stamp types 19, 20 and 21, see Pl. . By, say, 140 B.C., and given his family history, our man must have been a substantial citizen. Analogous to the Rhodian potter dynasty Δαμοκράτης - 'Αριστοκλῆς would be the earlier Thasian one, again with aristocratic names, recently identified at Kalonero on Thasos by Y. Garlan. In the waste of an ancient pottery works he found many amphora fragments bearing stamps of one or other of two potters, 'Αρισταγόρης and Δημόλκης, the potter's name always combined with that of a dating official, the two series of dating officials entirely distinct from one another. Two-name Thasian stamps date from about 390 to about 340 B.C., cf. below, footnote 43. Garlan has matched the two potters' names with those of an epigraphically known Thasian family in which fathers and sons were called successively Δημόλκης and 'Αρισταγόρης, an alternation of names that can be followed in Thasian inscriptions from about 370 B.C. for nearly a century.

The Knidian amphora stamps in the Middle Stoa filling are possibly even more critical than the Rhodian for dating the filling itself as well as for establishing the earlier chronological sequence of their class, i.e. for the mutual development of chronologies. They are largely a close group. Over

half are dated in 11 eponym terms, those of Δαμογένης 1st, Εὐκράτης 1st, 8  
 Θηροκράτης 1st, Κάλλιστος, Λέων, Λυσάνιος, Μητρόδωρος,  
 Νικασίβουλος, Πολιούχης, Σωκράτης, Φίλιππος 1st; the names are  
 variously abbreviated in the stamps. At least 9 handles in the filling  
 are dated by each of the foregoing names; see Appendix 1 below for  
 individual figures. Three more eponyms whose names each appear on 5 handles  
 in the filling are Θεμιστόνατος, Κλειτοφῶν and Φιλιστίων (again  
 variously abbreviated); these probably preceded or followed pretty closely  
 the 11. Eponyms seen on only one handle in the deposit may be earlier than  
 the others, or they may be the very latest - no time for much breakage - or  
 some might theoretically turn out to be impurities in the deposit. 26

To help place the period of the 11 (plus) eponyms, two obvious groups  
 of Knidian known to date before about 150 B.C. were examined, those found in  
 Corinth and those from the construction filling of the Stoa of Attalos in  
 Athens; from the Corinth list, certain names were omitted which clearly  
 belong to the renewed (small-scale) activity there after the destruction  
 of 146 B.C. 27 In a fair number of the Knidian stamps from the two sources,  
 the eponym is entitled phrourarchos in the stamp; Many more of the names

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included occur with that title in stamp types other than those found in Corinth or in the Stoa of Attalos filling; i.e. some potters, or their scribes, did not include the title in their stamps, although referring to the same official. These phrourarchoi, or garrison commanders, should date 188-167 B.C., the period of control of certain mainland

states by Rhodes; it appears that some of them at least were neither Knidians nor Rhodians, but mercenaries employed by Rhodes. In contrast with what seems to have been normal for eponymous officials named in Knidian and Rhodian stamps, the terms of these phrourarchoi were not full years but perhaps four-month periods. Compare practice in Priene, but we have evidence for the usage in Knidos itself in a small group of stamps in which a phrourarchos is named in addition to an ordinary eponym, and we find (in different stamp types) two and probably three different

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phrourarchoi named with the same eponym. Three changes per year if throughout the 22 years from 188 to 167 B.C. call for 66 terms, and I count now in our records at least 54 different names accompanied by the title.

These are the names with annotation IV A in the list in Appendix 1 below.

The stamps that give the title with the name are often known in very few

examples, perhaps in a single type; no doubt we lack some such types by

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accident of preservation. The series may be filled out. We have, actually, some dozen eponym names which by known combinations with the names of fabricants must be close to the beginning of the period of phrourarchoi; though not yet known to us with the title, perhaps most of them were phrourarchoi. In the ~~list~~ eponym list below, Appendix 1, they are marked III-IV, i.e. close to the end (On the periods identified by Roman numerals, see the introduction to this Appendix.) of III and the beginning of IV. (They are not present in the Middle Stoa filling save for 'Απρέ(μων) and Φιλάρκελος, single example each.

For eponym names found in Corinth or in the filling of the Stoa of Attalos, most of those not identified as phrourarchoi, and not dated early by association with the Middle Stoa or other early filling, or by name-connections, or by what can be seen of the shape of the jar, most of these are probably to be dated ca. 166 - 146 B.C. See again Appendix 1, <sup>(names marked IV B.</sup> If I have there assigned to that period one or two more eponyms than there are years, any that have been dated before 146 only by presence in Corinth should be reconsidered and possibly moved further into the third quarter; cf. footnote 27. On the other hand, those annotated as having examples in the filling of the Stoa of Attalos are perhaps not later than 157 B.C.,

since of the eponyms of IV B, only 9 have been found in that filling.

Perhaps the terracing for that building was started by Attalos right after he became king, in 159.

In any case, it is plain that for the series of Knidian eponyms assembled by presence in the Middle Stoa building fill (and knitted together by the close interconnection of eponym and fabricant names) there is no possible place in the Knidian sequence between the second decade and the middle of the 2nd century B.C.

We can be more precise. The title phrourarchos does not occur in the Middle Stoa filling. However, with the Knidian as with the Rhodian, <sup>cf. p. 11</sup> an overlap after 188 is clear. The eponym names <sup>in the filling</sup> include 9 which do sometimes occur with the title: 'Απολλώνιος, 'Αρχέστρατος, 'Ασκληπιδῆς, Θεύφαντος, Νικασίμαχος, Φίλιππος, Φιλοκράτης, Φιλόφρων, Φίλατος. (These names also are sometimes rather radically abbreviated.) In addition, we have two of the eponyms sometimes named in stamps in combination with various phrourarchoi, mentioned above, and considered to date early in the period of Rhodian control; those in our fill are Πολύχαρμος and Σωκράτης (cf. 13, 16). The first of these is present in a single example

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(SS 757); but note that Σωκράτης is one of the 11 Knidian eponyms listed above as the commonest<sup>6</sup> in the filling. 'Απολλώνιος and Φιλοκράτης are two of the phrourarchoi known to have officiated during his term; cancelling these from the above list of 9, we have 7 thirds of a year left in addition to the two full years (the two eponyms named with phrourarchoi). Probably again, as with the Rhodian, we come down about 5 years after 188 B.C.

See p. 11

We should compare Knidian finds in the Pergamon deposit with those from the Middle Stoa filling, as we have done for the Rhodian. The import to Pergamon from Knidos was however very much less than that to Athens. Such evidence as there is corresponds with what the Rhodian tell us. Most of the Knidian in the Pergamon deposit are contemporary with those in the Middle Stoa filling, but a single example (Schuchhardt 1895, no. 1291, reading corrected) names a phrourarch Κληνόπολις not present in the Middle Stoa filling; while a second handle (ibid. <sup>no.</sup> ~~1290~~ 1290, reading again corrected) apparently names Θεουγένης, another of the eponyms known with phrourarchoi in the same stamp, like Σωκράτης or Πολύχαρμος but not present in the Middle Stoa filling. So the Knidian in the Pergamon deposit,

like the Rhodian, go down a little later than those in the Middle Stoa fill.

For the Knidian chronology, whole amphoras, or at least joined pairs of handles, are less of a requirement than for the Rhodian, since, as remarked, the names from the two series (dating names and endorsing names) are usually combined within the stamps. However, in some cases we do have two complementary stamps on the two handles of an amphora, cf. Pl. 4, and representations of its stamps, 7 and 8. And certainly what we can observe about the changing shapes of the jars, as with the Rhodian, supplements and consolidates the sequence. Again, only fragments come from the deposit we are studying, but they are filled out in this article by more or less whole jars similarly dated; the reader should fill out a little further by restoring in his mind on every jar the characteristic ringed toe largely broken

away, or concealed by marine deposit, in those shown in Plates 1 and 2. 33

*in Pl.*  
The first and earliest of the jars (4) is dated in the term of 'Αρχιπύδας;

a duplicate of its dating stamp is 7, and a variation of the die of its

endorsing stamp impressed 8. The amphora 4 was found in Rhodes in a

Hellenistic filling above and among some tombs of the 4th and 3rd centuries

B.C., with four Rhodian amphoras of which I should date ~~three~~ three in

the next to last decade of the 3rd century B.C. and one in the third quarter. 34

Beside the jar from Rhodes, 5 should be slightly later; it is from the earlier of the two wrecks at Grand Congloué near Marseille, from which the Rhodian material dates by present estimate in the last decade of the

<sup>35</sup> century. It is difficult to see a development from 4 to 5. In contrast, change is noticeable between 4 and 6, in increased height and decreased diameter, in the narrowing of neck and mouth, in the handles of 6 that rise and arch a little from the upper attachment, instead of dropping like those of 4; this drop identifies early Knidian handles even without the <sup>jar</sup> ~~jar~~ as a whole; it is noticeable in the handle-fragments 7 and 8 (see catalogue below).

The dating name of 4, 'Αρχιπίδας, occurs once in the Middle Stoa filling; that of 6, Πολιούχης, 48 times (indicating 24 amphoras, since the same stamp was impressed on both handles). Πολιούχης is in fact the commonest Knidian eponym of the filling, and perhaps therefore one of the later ones, but not datable as late as <sup>188</sup> ~~28~~, as he is not known as a phrourarchos, nor as an eponym contemporary with phrourarchoi. In Pl.<sup>2</sup>, 13 names an eponym Σωκράτης, apparently (chiefly according to name-connections) the same one in whose term phrourarchoi sometimes accompany the eponym in the stamps,

hence dating in or soon after 188 B.C. according to the hypothesis of this article. The amphora 13, so far as visible behind the marine deposit (favored by collectors) is not very different from 6. Actually no phrourarchoi are named on it, but (as with 6) the same stamp was impressed on both handles, duplicates of that shown here as 16. Perhaps general compliance was not exacted at the start of the new system of dimensions and markings of the containers; or possibly the system was altered during the term of Σωκράτης.

A noticeable change does show itself between 6 and 14. The Φίλιππος named as eponym in the stamp of 14 (see a duplicate in 17) I take to be the one who dates numerous handles from the Middle Stoa filling; he is one of the 11 common eponyms; I take him to be the phrourarchos of this name, and one of the earliest known with the title. <sup>36</sup> The evidence is chiefly the other associates of 'Αρισταγόρας, the fabricant of 14 ~~φίλιππος~~ ~~φίλιππος~~ (see again 17): the dating names in his stamp types are all either of known phrourarchoi or of persons known in any case to date near the beginning of the period 188 - 167. There is no other 'Αρισταγόρας in Knidian stamps. This amphora 14 should identify for us the shape of the latest Knidian

container of which there are stamped handles in the Middle Stoa filling, those datable during a few years after 188 B.C. at the beginning of the period of Rhodian control of the mainland including Knidos; the time of the Rhodian amphoras 2 and 3. The distinction in appearance of 14 as compared for instance with 6 (noticeable lengthening of the upper parts and narrowing of the body) is enhanced when the actual jar is seen, by its pink color, the result of a cream slip applied over the red Knidian clay of 14, perhaps in intended imitation of Rhodian amphoras. Another Knidian amphora of close to the same date has been published.

37

In 15 we see what was produced for a while after control was withdrawn: the jar is dated by its stamp (see 18, a duplicate) in the period 166 - 146 B.C., or perhaps 166 - 157. <sup>38</sup> Neck and handles have stopped pushing up to greater height; the ~~body~~ body, while lengthening and narrowing a bit, is more slack; detail is less careful. Later Knidian amphoras show again a tendency toward longer neck and handles and better potting: see Amphoras, fig. 64, the central jar, third quarter of the 2nd century. In that picture, directly to the left of this tall jar, is our 14 of 'Απιστραγόρας, bright with its cream slip; next and furthest left in the same is the Early

Knidian amphora from the latest part of Thompson's Group B, which he now dates at about 240 B.C., say, twenty or twenty five years earlier than <sup>39</sup>4 of the present paper. This jar from Group B allows a guess at the reconstruction of some of the "Early Knidian" of which 39 are listed as in the Middle Stoa filling; but some of these without full names are probably (by the shape of their handles) no earlier than some of the Knidian whose stamps do have names.

'Αρισταγόρας is a new name in Knidian stamps at the beginning of the period of Rhodian control, but it is not known at all in Rhodian stamps.

More direct and personal intervention from Rhodes strikes us in the Knidian

types of 'Αριστοκλῆς the Rhodian, illustrated in Pl. , 19 - 21. The

stamp 21 is very close to the Rhodian rose types of the same potter, for

instance in the term of 'Αρχιλαΐδας, see references in footnote 20

above. Three duplicates of 19 occur in the Middle Stoa building fill, see

catalogue below; as this type also is known on handles with secondary stamps, 40

no doubt the three are among the latest in the filling, after 188 B.C. One

would like to see ~~whole~~ whole jars with the Knidian endorsements of

'Αριστοκλῆς; one would like to know what, if any, dating stamps accompanied these circular types with bull's head, lion, and rose; no candidates

have been identified. 19 and 20 are archetypes in clay, with symbols adapted from coin types of Knidos, of a long series of Knidian stamp types with bull's head, or head or forepart of lion, as device; especially numerous are the bull's head stamps of  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma\ \delta\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\kappa\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ ,  
 41  
 who was no doubt the son of the Rhodian who used 19, 20 and 21.

$\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  himself was probably the same man whose Knidian amphoras were sometimes made of actual ~~Rhodian clay~~ Rhodian clay; and perhaps the one who became secretary of the Rhodian boula in the third quarter of the  
 42  
 2nd century.

It may be observed that the ethnic  $\kappa\nu\beta\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$  is not present in the first four Knidian stamps shown in Plates 2 and 3, but only in the last two, both of which are datable after 188 B.C. Most of the Knidian stamps in the Middle Stoa filling are without ethnic, and its use perhaps did not begin much before the second decade of the 2nd century.

We may have a brief look at some of the other classes of amphoras as represented by stamped fragments in the Middle Stoa filling, against the background <sup>of the</sup> Rhodian and Knidian which make up 84 per cent of the lot. The Thasian, as already remarked, include stamps of the earlier 3rd and of the

4th century B.C. (some items as early as the first quarter of the 4th). As with the Rhodian and the Knidian, the most interesting of the Thasian for chronology may be the latest, if it turns out that, contrary to some recent

<sup>43</sup> opinion, Thasian amphoras continued to be stamped after 200 B.C. All

Thasian that have been found at the Athenian Agora are to be included in the

<sup>44</sup> new edition of the corpus of Thasian stamps. For the Koan class particularly,

the context of the Middle Stoa is of value for the chronology, for which ~~there~~ <sup>there</sup>

is relatively little other evidence; the large group of this class in the

filling forms an important part of the Koan corpus of which plates and

catalogue text are nearly complete. The Corinthian will be published in

C.G.Koehler's forthcoming corpus of this class; cf. her dissertation of

1978 accepted by Princeton University: Corinthian A and B Transport Amphoras. <sup>45</sup>

For identification of the Parmeniskos Group, see Pnyx, pp.168 - 169; a new

study of this group, with much additional material, is being prepared by

M. Petropoulakou. The stamps of the Zenon Group in the Middle Stoa filling

are all of the later type (late 3rd - early 2nd centuries B.C.) containing

<sup>46</sup> usually only the two letters zeta eta. The Latin stamp has been published;

it is ~~from~~ from a container of Oriental type, perhaps Punic; we know a little

- 30 -

more about the shape of the container since the discovery of the same stamp impressed on the knob toe of what was probably a jar of one of the Punic types; independent context of about 200 B.C. exists for this fragment.<sup>47</sup> On the rather numerous items included under "Miscellaneous Unclassified," I cannot generalize here, except to say that none has parallels suggesting a date later than that of the Rhodian and Knidian of the filling. Several match, more or less closely, stamps in the Pergamon deposit. A few are dated earlier, by the context of duplicates from 4th century deposits: cf. a gem impression recently published, of which one of the duplicates comes from the Middle Stoa filling.<sup>48</sup>

Special mention is finally made of the Sinopean stamps present, for reasons ~~that~~ that will appear. Cf. Pl. <sup>2</sup>, 10 - 12. B. N. ~~Grakov~~ Grakov's pioneering study of this class laid out what is still a convincing sequence of groups and of names, many of which are made more precise in the stamps by patronymics.<sup>49</sup> His absolute dates, a first attempt in this field, brought him down for his final group (VI) to the period 121 - 70 B.C. In later research, he modified at least part of his chronology, but did not live to publish a general revision. ~~these dates, but did not live to publish a revision~~ (He died in September, 1970.) Four out of the six Sinopean stamps in the Middle Stoa filling are

of Grakov's Group VI, including 11 and 12 in Pl. <sup>2</sup>. The filling therefore suggests for the Sinopean series as a whole an end date of not much later than 183 B.C., that of the Middle Stoa Rhodian and Knidian, as laid out above. The reasonable occasion for Sinope is its capture, actually in 183 B.C., by Pharnakes 1st, King of Pontos; he moved his capital to the city, and no doubt made administrative changes. That the sequence of Sinopean dating officials named in the stamps ended in <sup>(or close to)</sup> 183 B.C. has been in fact the view of at least two Soviet scholars, <sup>50</sup> although it has not yet been generally accepted. As in the case of other classes in our filling, especially the Thasian, the Sinopean (few though they are) include something earlier than the rest of their class that is present: one stamp of Grakov's Group IV, see Pl. <sup>2</sup>, 10. It happens that we have a possible independent indication for the date of Group IV which seems to suit an end date for the whole series in 183 B.C. If working back from that year we count the astynomoi (officials named in Sinopean stamps) listed in Grakov's volume for his Groups VI, V, and IV, the overall dates for IV would come out as 281 - 259 B.C.; whereas Grakov's original date for IV had been <sup>180</sup> ~~180~~ - 150 B.C. (Grakov 1929, p. 138). Discovery of a stamp of this Group in a 3rd century context would be an

indication that the Group dated in that century rather than any later. In fact, one such was found at Seuthopolis (in Thrace), the site of which seems to have been occupied only from about 359 to about 229 B.C.<sup>51</sup> However, the answer does not come so readily, since, I am reliably informed, many astynomoi have been added to the group lists since the publication of Grakov's book, far too many to be accommodated as annual officials in years available before 183 B.C., assuming that Group I terminated in the second half of the 4th century; and on that there seems to have been for some time general agreement.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps the terms of the astynomoi were not full years, as in the case of the phourarchoi of Knidos. In any case, apparently these persons were not the state eponymous officials.<sup>53</sup> We had looked to I. B. Brashinsky of Leningrad, an authority on this class of amphoras and their stamps, to work out this problem; his sudden death in April 1982 is a great loss to this study.<sup>54</sup> For the present, in the light of the ~~Middle~~ Middle Stoa context, I continue to feel reasonably convinced that the Sinopean astynome stamp series ended in 183.

For the contents of the Middle Stoa filling, it remains to consider a find which, although outside the field of my competence, is naturally not outside the area of my interest. In 1953, while D. B. Thompson excavated the part of the filling within the foundations of the west half of the Stoa,

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E. Vanderpool was responsible for the part which had been thrown in south of the south foundation, and north of the building marked "Heliaia" in Fig.1; here, as in the area of the actual foundations, there was need of a quantity of filling in order that the ground level to the south of the western part of the great long stoa should be even with that toward its east end, near the top of the natural east-west slope. I quote here a note to me from Vanderpool dated July 12, 1956, following the circulation of my report of June 26 - July 11 on the stamped handles:

"I continue to regard the early long-petalled Megarian bowl (K 2705, P 23095) found in the settling basin in front of the west end of the north front of the Heliaia as one of the few strictly contemporary pieces that can be associated with the Middle Stoa. It will have been a new piece in use as work was starting on the building. It will have been broken and discarded after the settling basin had been disconnected from its water supply and just before it was buried under the building fill; (note that most of the pieces of ~~the~~ the bowl were on top of the sand in the basin, one piece was on the strosis just outside).

"Most of the Middle Stoa building fill was not strictly contemporary

fill. Some layers were archaic and earlier. The layers with masses of pottery and handles must have been drawn from some old dump. After all, where would you go if you wanted such a lot of fill all at once.

"The strictly contemporary pieces from the fill are relatively few, but if you add to the bowl the handles you are forced to reject in order to maintain the early date, the evidence gains weight.

"That the fill rose in step with the laying of the foundation courses is shown by the fact that in some places we observed wedge shaped layers of conglomerate chips at each course. Therefore the whole space between the Middle Stoa and the Heliaia was filled in while the foundations were being laid."

We have here the excavator's impression while the excavation was still quite fresh in his mind; the detail is instructive. The implication is of an end date of not long before 150 B.C. for the Middle Stoa filling, since the start of bowls with long-petal decoration had been so dated.

56

In attempting various possible explanations of the contradictory data here assembled, we cannot use the stamped handles mentioned by Vanderpool as having been rejected by me. In my report of 1956, everything ever counted as belonging to the Middle Stoa filling was duly listed, including some

handles catalogued in 1933 whose precise finding places had been reconsidered

and condemned by G. <sup>Roger</sup>~~Erfer~~ Edwards, after investigations in the field notebooks,

as impure or otherwise irrelevant (e.g. from too far north). In the end, all

the amphora handles not withdrawn from the lists by Edwards or by one of the

excavators have been seen to be consistent with an <sup>end</sup>~~an~~ date in the second

decade of the 2nd century, with the exception of five Knidian datable after

57  
110 B.C. That this should be so, is evidence of the quality of the excav-

ating: here we have a very large and far from closed deposit, excavated over

a number of years, both before and after the 2nd World War, by various persons;

and of about 1500 stamped handles, apparently only five extraneous items have

~~infiltrated~~ infiltrated, whether by a workman's or by a pot washer's mistake,

or whether by a disturbance in antiquity not definitely recognized as such

during the excavation.

No stamped handles accompanied Vanderpool's long petal bowl, nor have I

been able to identify any from a filling over its settling basin. In Agora

XXII, S. I. Retroff has separated the settling basin as a deposit from the

Middle Stoa filling as a whole.<sup>58</sup>

There seems however to be a reasonable way to reconcile Vanderpool's

bowl with the evidence of the handles; and at the same time to resolve several other puzzles that have come up recently, and that is to make a slight adjustment in Thompson's absolute dating of the long-petal decoration. I suggest that the style began in the first quarter of the 2nd century, but had at first a limited vogue, because, in its first more elegant form it was difficult and fussy to engrave in the mold.<sup>59</sup> Other current styles of bowl ornament were much more showy for the trouble taken. The long-petal style is certainly not common in the earlier ~~2nd~~<sup>2nd</sup> century, but Vanderpool's bowl is not the only one at the Agora. A fragment was found in a deposit under the filling of the Stoa of Attalos, a deposit in which the amphora stamps are close in date to those in the Middle Stoa filling.<sup>60</sup> Further, a bowl and a number of fragments come from a cistern shaft with 10 stamped handles; the latest handles date just after those of the Middle Stoa filling, probably still in the first quarter and certainly before 166 B.C.<sup>61</sup> There are others. One of the reasons the style had been placed late, i.e. with a start shortly before 150 B.C., was that relatively few pieces had been found in Corinth; but a large number have now been found there, in the excavations of 1980.<sup>62</sup> A tendency to place the beginning

- 37 -

of long-petal bowls rather earlier than had been supposed is evident in two recent publications, one reporting the contents of a cistern in the Peiraios, the other, the pottery found at Kenchreai; in both cases, accompanying amphora stamps suit the earlier dating. See the author's comment on bowls at Kenchreai, in her introductory text; note that there are 14 Rhodian and Knidian stamped handles from the site that are datable in the 2nd century, and all <sup>may</sup> ~~probably~~ predate 166 B.C. The end date of the stamps from the Peiraios cistern <sup>63</sup> may well be before 175 B.C.

For my part, I see now no need to separate Vanderpool's bowl from the latest part of the Middle Stoa filling as established by the amphora stamps. A context of the second decade of the century no longer seems out of line for early long-petal bowls. ~~I~~ I expect more will be reported in the future.

In the foregoing pages we have looked chiefly at the amphora stamps in the Middle Stoa filling, and considered the dates suggested by the various classes of these. For the Rhodian and Knidian, there is independent evidence that brings us by separate ways, for each of the two classes to just about 183 B.C. Other classes are not as yet so closely and firmly dated; but in no case can one find significant evidence against a date in the second

decade for the latest examples in the filling; while the proposed date for the Sinopean brings us once more to no later than 183 B.C. This then is presumably the approximate cut-off point for the material assembled within the foundations of the Middle Stoa and south of them, accumulating as the foundations rose.

To those who accept this date, there can surely be no better candidate for the princely donor, hypothesized by Thompson and others, than Pharnakes 1st, son of Mithradates king of Pontos (Pl.     ). "Not less significant of Athens' commercial relations are the honours conferred by her on Antiochus IV, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, and above all Pharnaces of Pontus, and the gifts received by her from them. The last of these, it is to be borne in mind, became about this time master of the two greatest commercial ports on the southern coast of the Euxine, Amisus and Sinope, both very important centres of the grain trade, and both closely connected with Athens in the past."<sup>64</sup> An Athenian decree in his honor in Delos (then under Athenian control) informs us of Pharnakes' relations with Athens. He had agreed to pay the city a sum of money by installments, but because of other obligations and difficulties had been unable to keep them up. The Athenians praise him as a benefactor, and hope to get something further on account; they send him their word that the honors paid to him will be no

Goodman  
in  
p. 65

less than those paid to "the other kings" and his glory will be assured like that of other benefactors of the city. Golden crowns will be presented to him and to his wife Nysa, and the fact proclaimed at various Athenian festivals. Bronze statues of both will be set up in Delos, thus publicizing in a more international, though still Athenian, setting the king's benefactions to Athens. The inscription is now dated 160/159 B.C. (formerly 172/171).<sup>65</sup>

Durrback, the original editor, remarks (op.cit., pp. 102-103) that if one looks in the king's reign for a time when he would have had particular occasion and desire to pose as a benefactor of Athens, it would be about 183 B.C., following the conquest of Sinope. The matching dates encourage one to try relating this inscription to the history of the Middle Stoa. A large initial

→ in about 183  
payment might have taken care of the big terracing and foundation job, and

| perhaps also the Middle Stoa itself, the superstructure: evidence from  
→ excavations at the west end apparently allows that the colonnade and entablature were erected within a few years after the construction of the foundation and podium. See below, Appendix 2, section on the deposit  
| H 13 : 1. Delayed subsequent payments could account for the piecemeal execution of the project, the way the East Building and the South Stoa are tacked on, though one would suppose it was the complex as a whole which had been intended from the beginning to replace South Stoa I:

cf. Fig. 1 and Pl. . The date of Pharnakes' death is ~~not~~ precisely known but may have fallen soon after 159. So it is likely enough that no more help came to the Athenians from this source, despite the emphasis, in their application for support, on equal shares of honors for Nysa; she was a Seleucid, and so might have been counted on as well disposed toward Athens. Thompson has suggested that the two later parts of the complex (of inferior workmanship and partly of secondhand material) were finally constructed by the city of Athens out of its own resources.<sup>66</sup> It would have become necessary to complete somehow the replacement of South Stoa I, to put it into working ~~new~~ order.

*follows  
p. 39*

~~finally constructed by the city of Athens out of its own resources. The~~

~~date of Pharnakes' death is not precisely known but may have fallen soon~~

~~after 150.~~

What then was the principal function of South Stoa I, and of its replacement? Given that Pharnakes had in 183 acquired two great centers of the grain trade, it seems likely that what he would replace by a great new building, and its annexes, would be the Alphetopolis, where grain was sold. There seems to be a fair probability that the Alphetopolis was the same building as the one referred to as "the long stoa", and certainly both South Stoa I and the Middle Stoa would, each in its time, qualify for this epithet, there being no others in Athens nearly so long. For South Stoa I, a tentative identification with the Alphetopolis has already been proposed by both Vanderpool

67  
and Thompson, following the discovery, in one of the rooms, of an inscription which had been set up by the Metronomoi, and which records, inter alia, the handing over of bronze measures for grain. Thompson would accommodate grain storage in the upper storey he proposed for the Stoa, which would face south "on a much-used thoroughfare and (would be) readily accessible from the Piraeus Gate." Even without the upper storey, which remains a little conjectural,

access to the Stoa floor from the higher level of the road behind was available by stairs at either end; and grain could presumably be lowered in sacks or poured through chutes, directly into the building from behind; very little of its back wall is known. Of course not all of the rooms need have been used as bins; some seem to have housed committee meetings. This building is, then, as directly accessible from the port (via the Piraeus Gate) as any of its date in the city center. The rooms, closed by wooden doors, give the necessary protection for grain from thieves, vermin, and weather. If there was an upper storey, it would provide the loft storage that, when available, has always been preferred for granaries, which ought to be dry and, if possible, ventilated below. A sort of confirmation that South Stoa I may indeed be the Alphetopolis is provided by the shape and arrangement of the rooms, with doors set off-center, a plan which has long been recognized as adapting them for use as dining rooms. This building, constructed in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C., could ~~this is almost too reasonable for a joke~~ thus (almost too reasonably for a joke) be the Alphetopolis assigned for dining by Praxagora in 391 B.C. (Aristophanes, Ecclesiazusae, lines 684-686).

Stoas are multiple-purpose buildings, and are known to have been used for the storage of grain as well as, for instance, sometimes for accommodating

69  
a lawcourt. One might expect Pharnakes, the great grain-merchant, to prefer to put his money into something with a narrower purpose. Of buildings made in the Greek world expressly for the storage of grain on a large scale (for a military installation, for a city) apparently rather few have been

identified that predate the common and wellknown granaries of the Romans,

70  
the so-called horrea. A feature of these latter has served to link with them and with each other some buildings remarkably separated in time and space, the so-called "Arsenals" at Pergamon, of the 3rd century B.C., and the storage buildings at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa in the Indus Valley, of about 2000 B.C. Like the Roman horrea, these buildings at Pergamon and in the Indus Valley have raised floors under which a free-flowing current of air was created by ventilation. The gap in space between India and western Anatolia (and points further west) we may see as bridged by the return of Alexander's men, the engineers and architects who had laid out the new cities along his route, no doubt using, and so the better learning, any local devices that were obviously good. We have been shown how the use of the

true arch may have reached the Greeks by this means; as well as a style in

<sup>71</sup>  
hats. For the gap in time between 2000 B.C. and the Hellenistic period,

I cannot name an eastern granary that Alexander must have seen, to match the

<sup>72</sup>  
ancient vaults of Babylon still visible in his day. I must suppose that in

the Indus Valley, granaries continued to be built in basically the same way

<sup>73</sup>  
over the centuries; this appears to have been the case in Egypt, and

Wheeler observed that the grinding of grain was still being done in Kashmir

in ~~the~~ his own time in the same rather particular way evidenced by the frames

of mortars he found remaining beside the ancient granaries of Harappa; see

below with footnote 87.

What are in general the features of a municipal granary, present to a  
greater or lesser extent in recognized Hellenistic buildings of this kind,

in Pergamon (the "arsenals", first half of 3rd century B.C.), Miletos (the

Magazine, 2nd century B.C.), Morgantina (the Granary, early 3rd century B.C.), <sup>74</sup>

and greatly developed, (and the outer shape altered) by the Romans? One looks

for a long narrow building that is mostly enclosed, for security as well as

against weather and vermin, yet with sufficient light; as far as possible

dry and cool, and with a raised floor ventilated beneath. If the grain is

stored loose, the lateral thrust is such that the walls must be very strong; if of stone, they are often buttressed, cf. the Morgantina building. A municipal granary should be not far from the city center, since the State is vitally concerned with the place of storage of grain. It should be so far as possible free from adjacent buildings, to lessen the danger of fire.<sup>75</sup> Finally such a granary should be well-placed for access, the entrance open on a quiet and protected square, where handling would cause the least inconvenience; and it should be connected as directly as possible with sea transport.

These specifications come largely, and in part word for word, from Rickman's volume of 1971, see Bibliography in footnote 1. Let us see how they fit the Middle Stoa, cf. again Figure 1 and Plate 1. Long and narrow, it had an outer colonnade largely closed by high parapets dowelled in place between the columns, with an open area left at the top for light and ventilation; ~~note that the columns are not rather unusually close together.~~ The screening was absent from some intercolumniations (there are drums without marks of dowels), but may have closed the whole north side as well as the east and west ends and perhaps adjacent parts of the south side. If so,

our building would have considerable resemblance to the Magazine Building at Miletos, which was two-aisled and one-storeyed like the Middle Stoa, and enclosed on most of all four sides, and probably entered in the middle of one of the long sides (the west side).<sup>76</sup> The Magazine Building is not peripteral, but does have engaged columns decorating the most visible short side (except here, it is closely surrounded by other buildings). It is not known how this Miletos building was lighted.<sup>77</sup> The Middle Stoa is better placed as a granary in that it is more free of other buildings on its high podium, and in that it does open on a "quiet and protected square", the area marked "South Square" in Figure 1. Access for the grain might be from the southwest, by the branch running north from the same east-west road from the Piraeus Gate that served South Stoa I, taken to be the earlier Alphitopolis. Or sacks might have<sup>78</sup> been lowered or loose grain poured by chute through the back of South Stoa II; as with South Stoa I, little is known of the back wall of this building. Access for carts or pack animals to the receiving and distribution area is apparently not to be expected; at any rate it is not provided in the Roman horrea at Ostia.<sup>79</sup>

Finally there is the matter of the raised floor ventilated below, the

feature of the Indus Valley granaries which reappears so remarkably in Pergamon 1700 years later, and becomes a regular feature of the Roman granaries throughout the Empire, including Britain. <sup>80</sup> We have no actual parts of such a floor from the Middle Stoa. However it seems quite possible that there was one, of wood, over most of the area <sup>of</sup> ~~of~~ the building. Only at the east end do we find the floor level preserved, for the rest there is a gap (irregular) of a meter or more between the top of the building fill as found and the stylobate level above. Here is at any rate space for such a floor and its elevation. On   
 → whether of wood or clay, the floor, we may perhaps restore in imagination the wooden divisions of the long room into storage sections, such as are hypothesized, tentatively, for the Miletos Magazine. The remains of the Middle Stoa showed marks of strong burning, an indication that there had been much wood construction. <sup>81</sup>

Many activities must have been involved in the operation of a large municipal granary. They might ~~have~~ have been accommodated, at least temporarily, in sections of the partitioned interior of the Middle Stoa. On the other hand, one notes in the East Building, in the long east room, certain

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marble bedding blocks sometimes thought to have had tables set into them; and tables suggest cash exchanges, perhaps the business part of a municipal granary. Some of the other rooms in the East Building could be used to house committees that formerly met in South Stoa I. South Stoa II made the needed enclosure, and perhaps provided shelter for the grain as it was received, with refreshment for the porters at the drinking fountain at the

83

center. To complete the complex, the "Heliaia" (see Plate may) ~~was~~ have had its roof with supporting peristyle added about when South Stoa II was built. Business connected with grain could absorb this further space. Or perhaps business connected with flour.

In this article, and often (if not consistently) in various publications, there has been an assumption that the commodity available in an Alipitopolis was grain; note that there were two of these facilities in our general area in the 5th century B.C., one in Athens, and an earlier one, built by Perikles, in Piraeus. 84 The word ought actually to mean "the place where barley meal is sold." We tend to assume that the ancients used the term loosely to refer to grain, even wheat, rather than anything ground. Perhaps this is partly because we do not find reference to, or evidence of, public flour mills in the Greek

world before the 1st century B.C., but suppose the grinding was done with handmills in individual households. However, Strabo does mention a watermill at Kabeira in Pontos in connection with the palace built by Mithradates

the Great (132 - 63 B.C.), grandson of Pharnakes. <sup>85</sup> We may note that in the

Athenian Agora a watermill of later times fell close to the <sup>est</sup> of where the

Middle Stoa had been, and another to the east of the position of South Stoa I; <sup>86</sup>

possibly they had predecessors. At any rate the ancient granaries at Harappa

in the Indus Valley did have associated flour mills; <sup>circular platforms have been</sup> ~~in this case it is~~

found close by, with empty centers indicating the former presence of a wooden mortar ~~suggested that the grinding element (a wooden pestle) had been powered, as it~~

similar to those still used in Kashmir, at any rate <sup>87</sup> in 1947, for pounding grain. ~~still was in 1946, by "circumambulating bullocks."~~

Granted that it was Pharnakes I who made possible the construction of the Middle Stoa, the Long Stoa of its time, a building "marked by craftsmanship of a high order," we do not know that he ever saw it. It would be good to think that at least this part of the complex was completed before his death, and that his statue stood in the quadriga on the great monument base against the north terrace. If even he visited Athens in about 183 B.C., standing on the north terrace of South Stoa I, the old and dilapidated Alphetopolis, he could at least see the outlook to come from the terrace of his new building, over the

and  
completed  
perhaps  
about  
175 BC  
see Fig. 2?  
A

2. ~~Jan~~ - 84

1.51

p. 48



Granted that it was Shamber I who  
made possible the cuts of the middle 5th, the Log 8th  
giving him, a "block" marked by approximately 9 "high  
sinks," and completed perhaps in about 175  
B.C., we do not know that he ever saw it. It  
was long ago to think

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ancient Athenian civic center, beyond the Painted Stoa to the foothills of Parnes, where Harma marks the place of Phyle on the horizon.

Appendix 1: dated list of eponyms in Knidian stamps

*replacement for pag 50*

This list is subject to adjustments as new information or understanding permits us to correct and sharpen it. So it remains a work sheet; but one which ~~should~~ should be of general use since it is the only one of its kind in print. The names ~~with~~ with their date indications were sent in my letter of September 6, 1978, to P.M. Fraser, to be entered only in their alphabetical positions in the lexicon of Greek personal names which he is preparing. On the lexicon, see JHS 102, 1982, pp. 237-238. On its coverage, see the second paragraph. "Artefacts", listed as a category separate from coins, etc., must include the many thousand amphora stamps from studies of which this and other dated lists of eponyms and fabricants have **the lexicon** been contributed to ~~this entire volume~~, by the editor's request. **See also footnote 54.**

To explain the various indications ~~indicated~~ beside the names, I begin with the date-equivalents expressed by Roman numerals; read ~~the~~ "ca." with all figures:

III            220-180 B.C.

IV A           188-167

IV B           167-146

V              146-108

VI A           107-98

VI B           97-88

- 51 -

VI C        85 - 78 (?)

VII        later 1st B.C.

To correspond more closely with the way these numerals have been used to sort by date the Rhodian names (see below, Appendix 4), some of the earliest Knidian eponyms should rather be attributed to Period II ~~which~~ which, for the purpose of counting Rhodian eponyms, does not end before the last decade of the 3rd century. One of these early Knidian eponyms is certainly 'Αρχιππιδας, cf. Plate <sup>1</sup>, 4 and 7. Not all the early ones have been sorted out yet, however, and Knidian eponyms datable before about 188 B.C. are here all <sup>2</sup>included under III (which might be expanded to mean "III and a little earlier"). For the derivation of the Roman numeral date ~~periods~~ periods as applied to Rhodian names, see BCH 76, 1952, p. 525; they were adapted from those by which Grakov divided chronologically the astynomoi of Sinope (cf. above, text with footnotes 49 - 53), and the Rhodian names were sorted according to discovery in the Pergamon deposit, considered then to date ca. 220 - 180 B.C., or in Carthage or Corinth, both destroyed in 146 B.C.; or in miscellaneous other contexts known at that time. In contrast, it had been possible with the Knidian to isolate the eponyms

belonging to two periods that are administratively distinctive in Knidos:

1) the eponyms named as (or with) phrourarchoi (188 - 167 B.C., period of the occupation of Knidos by Rhodes, our Knidian IV A); and 2) those accompanied in the stamps by pairs of officials who may be called duoviri (the stamps often call them andres, and they are always two; this is our Knidian VI). Other traces (epigraphical, historical) of these pairs of commissioners have not been brought to my attention, although I published a detailed listing of them as early as 1956. They are dated for us by mass presence in destruction fillings, in Athens the destruction by Sulla in 86 B.C., and in Delos that by Mithradates in 88 B.C. I have assumed that the containers endorsed by their stamped names were part of the apparatus of Roman tax-collecting in the province of Asia, brought to a halt by Mithradates, again in 88 B.C. On eponyms of the duoviri period, VI A - VI B, and VI C, see Phyx, pp. 147-150, where the accompanying <sup>are named</sup> duoviri with each eponym, but where some proposed explanations are probably wrong and have been superseded; and Delos 27, pp. 320-323, for addenda et corrigenda, including notes on tax-gatherers. The date 108 B.C. proposed for the beginning of the duoviri period is derived from counting back from 88 B.C.; there are about 20 eponyms named with duoviri who must have preceded that date.

We have an accidental synchronization with the Rhodian class for the end of Period V in that many Rhodian stamped handles have been found in Samaria which was destroyed in 108 B.C. Cf. Délos 27, p. 296. For distinguishing between eponyms of IV B and V, with Knidian as with Rhodian this depends fairly largely on presence in or absence from Carthage, Corinth, and the construction filling of the Stoa of Attalos; see discussions above. The index of our Delos chapter (Délos 27, pp. 374-378) was carefully made and leads to information on many individual Knidian and Rhodian eponyms, fabricants, and duoviri. Its dates in the 3rd century B.C., however, are to be revised as directed in Grace 1974, p. 200; on the latter, see ~~Appendix 2 following here~~ beginning of Appendix 2 following here.

IV A, then, is the period of the phrourarchoi, of whom apparently three served each year, in four-month terms (see above, text with footnote 30); <sup>unqueried</sup> all eponyms marked IV A in the following list (save those marked IV Aa E) are known in one or more stamp types with the title, usually προύραρχος, occasionally προύραρχων or ἀρχων. Knidian IV A is overlapped in time by Rhodian III, of which the last seven years ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ ("IIIc") are at present dated ca. 182-175 B.C. As the minuscule c following the Roman

numeral means late in the period, so a minuscule a (e.g. IV Aa) means early. Other indications:  $\Phi$  identifies a phrourarch named in known stamps together with another sort of eponym; E identifies an eponym named in known stamps together with one or more phrourarchs; III-IV marks an eponym not in the Middle Stoa filling and not as yet known with the title phrourarchos, but named by fabricants of late III or early IV, so that he is dated by name-connections. Names of persons present in the Middle Stoa filling or in that of the Stoa of Attalos are followed in the list by (MS) or (SA), with a figure added if there is more than one example. Names listed in footnote 57 are not here marked (MS). Note that the presence of Knidian eponym names in the construction filling of the Stoa of Attalos may indicate for them an end date of 157 B.C. rather than 146, cf. above, pp.

~~The general list of Knidian eponym names is followed by a reprint of~~  
~~these from Period III, completed with the names of the Knidian eponyms~~  
~~in the form of each of the Knidian eponyms.~~

(Appendix)

- 'Αγαθόβουλος, III-IV?
- 'Αγαθόβουλος, ~~VII~~ VII
- 'Αγαθοκλῆς, IV A (SA 2)
- 'Αγαθοκλῆς, V
- 'Αγέστρατος, IV A (SA)
- 'Αγίας, IV Aa 2
- 'Αγίας, VI B
- "Αγνων, IV A
- 'Αθηνοκλῆς, III-IV
- 'Αλέξανδρος, VI A
- 'Αποτέλης, IV B or Va?
- 'Αμύντας, IV B or Va?
- 'Αναξανδρίδας, VII
- 'Αναξιπίδας, IV B (SA)
- 'Ανδρομένης, VI B
- "Αντανδρος, IV A (SA)
- 'Αντίπα(τρος), VII
- 'Απολλόδορος, V
- 'Απολλωνίδας, IV A
- 'Απολλώνιδας, VI C
- 'Απολλώνιος, IV Aa 2 (MS 3, SA; abbr.)
- 'Απολλώνιος, VII
- "Αρης, VII
- 'Αρίσταινος, VI B
- 'Αρίσταρχος, IV A (SA)

- 'Αριστείδης -ας, IV A (SA)  
 'Αριστίων, IV Aa  
 'Αριστογέννης, IV Aa E (SA)  
 'Αριστόδαμος, VI B  
 'Αριστοκλῆς, IV B (SA)  
 'Αριστοκράτης, VI B  
 'Αριστομήδης, VI A  
 'Αριστόπολις, VII  
 'Αριστωνίδας, IV A  
 'Αρμω( , III-IV (SA)  
 'Αρτέμων, III-IV (MS, SA; abbr.)  
 'Αρχέστρατος, IV Aa Φ (MS)  
 'Αρχιπίδας, III (MS)  
 'Ασκληπι( , VII  
 'Ασκληπιάδης, IV A (MS)  
 'Ασκληπιόδωρος, IV A (SA)  
 'Ασκληπιόδωρος, V  
 'Ασπίσιος, IV A  
 'Αχαιός, VII  
 Βίων, IV A (SA)  
 Βουλαρχίδας, IV A  
 Δαίδαλος, VI A  
 Δαρμάτριος, III-IV  
 Δαμογέννης, III (MS 15?)  
 Δαμογέννης, VI C  
 Δαμόκριτος, VI A

Δαμόκριτος, VI C  
 Δαμόκριτος, VII  
 Δεξιφάνης, IV Aa E  
 Δημήτριος, VII  
 Διασο( , III ?  
 Διογένης, IV B  
 Διδδοτος, VII ?  
 Διδδωρος, VII  
 Διοκλῆς, V  
 Διοκλῆς, VII  
 Διονύσιος, IV A  
 Διονύσιος, V  
 Διονύσιος, VI B  
 Διονυσιοκλῆς, VI C  
 Δίων, IV B (SA)  
 Δίων, V  
 Δρακοντομένης, IV A  
 Δρακοντομένης, VII  
 Δράκων, IV B  
 Δράκων, V  
 'Επιγένης, IV A  
 'Επίγονος, IV B  
 'Επικράτης, IV A  
 'Επικράτης, VII  
 'Επικύδης, III  
 'Επινικίδας, IV Aa φ  
 'Επινικίδας, V  
 'Επιφάνης, III-IV

Ἐπίχαρμος, IV B (SA)

Ἐρμονοκράτης, IV A (SA, 5)

Ἐρμόφαντος, IV B

Ἐρμόφαντος, VI B?

Ἐρμων, VI B

[Εὔ]βουλος, VI C

Εὐβουλος, VII

Εὐγένης, IV Aa E?

VS 3.VIII.84 Εὐκράτης, III (MS 1<sup>9</sup>, SA)

Εὐκράτης, IV B

Εὐκρατῖων, IV A Φ?

Εὐφραγόρας, IV B

Εὐφραγόρας, VI B

Εὐφραγόρας, VII

Εὐφράνωρ, V

Εὐφράνωρ, VII

Εὐφρο(, ? VII

Εὐφρων, IV A Φ

Ζηνόδοτος, IV B

Ἡρόφαντος, V

Θαλιμβροτῖδας, V

Θεαίδητος, III-IV

Θεμιστῶνατος, III (MS 5)

Θευγένης, IV Aa E

Θεύδαμος, III (MS)

Θεύδαμος, VII

Θεύδοτος, IV A (SA 2)

Θευδωρῖδας, IV B

Θεύδαρος, VII

Ἐπίχαρμος, IV B (SA)

Ἐρμιοκράτης, IV A (SA, 5)

Ἐρμόφαντος, IV B

Ἐρμόφαντος, VI B?

Ἐρμων, VI B

[Εὔ]βουλος, VI C

Εὔβουλος, VII

Εὐγένης, IV Aa E?

Εὐκράτης, III (MS 16<sup>19</sup>, SA)

Εὐκράτης, IV B

Εὐκρατίων, IV A B?

Εὐφραγόρας, IV B

Εὐφραγόρας, VI B

Εὐφραγόρας, VII

Εὐφράνωρ, V

Εὐφράνωρ, VII

Εὐφρο(, ? VII

Εὐφρων, IV A B

Ζηνόδοτος, IV B

Ἡρόφαντος, V

Θαλιμβροτίδας, V

Θεαίδητος, III-IV

Θεμιστώνατος, III (MS 5)

Θευγένης, IV Aa E

Θεύδαμος, III (MS)

Θεύδαμος, VII

Θεύδοτος, IV A (SA 2)

Θευδορίδας, IV B

Θεύδαρος, VII

Θεουκλῆς, IV A  
 Θεύξενος, IV A (SA)  
 Θεύκορπος, VI C  
 Θεύφαντος, IV Aa (MS)  
 Θεύφιλος, III ?  
 Θεύφων, IV A  
 Θηροκράτης, III (MS 18)  
 Θηροκράτης, IV Ba  
 'Ιάσων, III (MS)  
 'Ιεροκλῆς, V  
 'Ιππαρχος, VI Aa  
 'Ισίδωρος, VII  
 Καλλιόδαμος, Va  
 Καλλιμήδης, VI A  
 Κάλλιππος, VII  
 Κάλλιστος, III (MS 15, SA)  
 Καρνεόδοτος, V  
 Κλεανδρίδας, IV A (SA 2)  
 Κλέανδρος, IV A  
 Κλεισιππίδας, IV B (SA)  
 Κλειτοφῶν, III (MS 5, SA 2)  
 Κλευκράτης, III (MS)  
 Κλεύμβροτος, IV B (SA 2)  
 Κλευπίθης, VII  
 Κλεύπολις, IV A (SA)  
 Κλεύπολις, VI A  
 Κλέων, IV B or Va  
 Κληνόπολις, IV A (SA 5)  
 Κοφρανός, IV B

Κυδοκλῆς, V

Λάκρατος, VII

Λάχαρτος, III-IV

Λέων, III (MS 17)

Λυσάνιος, III (MS 10)

Λυσικλῆς, IV B

Μεγακλῆς, IV B

Μένανδρος, III ?

Μενεκράτης, IV Aa Φ

Μενεκράτης, V

Μενέλαος, III?

Μενέστρατος, IV A

Μένιπκος, IV A?

Μένιπκος, IV B (SA 2)

Μητροδόωρος, III (MS 15, SA)

Μόσχος, IV Aa Φ

Νικασίβουλος, III (MS 16, SA)

Νικασίμαχος, IV Aa (MS 4)

Νικόμαχος, V

Νουμήνιος, VII

Όλυμπιόδοωρος, IV Aa Φ

Ξενοκλῆς, IV B

Πανταλέων, III (MS)

Πισίνος, VI B

Πολιούχης, III (MS 48, SA 2)

Πολίτας, III-IV

Πολίτας, VI A

Πολίτης, III-IV

Πολίτης, VI A

Πολύγνωτος, ? IV A ?

Πολυκράτης, IV A

Πολυχάρης, IV B (SA)

Πολύχαρμος, IV Aa E (MS, SA)

Προμαθίων, III (MS 2)

Προμη( , III?

Πτολεμαῖος, IV A (SA 2)

Πτολεμαῖος, V

Πτολεμαῖος, VII

Πυθόκριτος, III (MS 4)

Πυθόνικος, V

Ροδοκλῆς, IV A

Σικελός, III

Σιμυλῖνος, IV A ?

Σιμυλῖνος, V ?

Στρατοκλῆς, VI A

Σωκράτης, IV Aa E (MS 11)

Σωσίμαχος, IV A (SA)

Σωσίφρων, VI A

Σωστρα( , III-IV

Ταυρῖσκος, IV Aa E

Τάχιππος, IV A

Τελεκρέων, IV B (SA)

Τελεσίφρων, IV A

Τιμακλε( , IV Aa E

Τιμασικράτης, V

Τιμόθεος, IV A

Τιμοσθένης, IV A

Τιμοφῶν, IV A

Φιλάμπελος, III-IV (MS, SA 2)

Φιλήτας, III ?

X Φίλιππος, IV Aa (MS <sup>10</sup> 11, SA)

Φίλιππος, V

<sup>4m</sup>  
3. 8m. 84 Φιλισ[, VII

X Φιλιστῶν, III (MS <sup>5</sup> 3)

Φιλιστος, IV B or Va

Φιλῶν, ? III

Φιλόδαμος, IV A

Φιλοκράτης, IV Aa Φ (MS)

Φιλομβροτῖδας, V

Φιλομή(δης), VII

Φιλοσθένης, VII

Φιλόφρων, IV Aa (MS, SA)

Φίλτατος, IV Aa (MS 2, SA 6)

Φιλτῖδας, IV A

Φίλων, VII

Χρύσιππος, V

(App. 1)

The general list of Knidian eponyms is followed here by a repeat of those of Period VI, annotated with the names of the duoviri that appear on the same amphoras with each of these eponyms; i.e. their terms were at least in part contemporary. Note overlaps from one term to another in some cases, as between 'Ανδρομένης and 'Αριστοκράτης;; presumably these two eponyms served one right after the other. For the latest of the eponyms, examples are relatively few, and we have not yet established all the names of the duoviri of this period.

The list is somewhat revised from that published in Phyx, p. 149, most of the revisions having been called for in Délos 27, see p. 321, note 2; cf. also p. 350, under E 180. The letters A, B, and C following the names refer to the chronological divisions of Period VI. ~~For their dates,~~ For their dates, see beginning of this Appendix. VI A and VI B precede 88 B.C. and the liberation of Knidos from the Roman tax gatherers by Mithradates. The eponyms marked VI A are named on jars of the maker Δαμοκράτης, those marked VI B on those of his successor Διοσκουρίδας; VI C is the period of about 7 eponyms whose terms fell apparently after the Romans took back Knidos in 85 B.C. Cf. Délos 27, pp. 321-323.

'Αγίας (B)	'Αριστοκλῆς - 'Αρτέμων
'Αλέξανδρος (A)	'Αριστόβουλος - Μόσχος Κράτης - Πολίτης
'Ανδρομένης (B)	'Αγησίπολις - 'Ερμίας 'Αγησίπολις - 'Ερμόφαντος
'Απολλωνίδας (C)	Δαμάτριος - Εὐφρων
'Αρίσταινος (B)	'Αγίας - 'Αριστογένης
'Αριστόδαμος (B)	'Απολλόδωρος - Διόγνητος
'Αριστοκράτης (B)	'Ιάσων - Μύστης 'Αγησίπολις - 'Ερμόφαντος
'Αριστομήδης (A)	Εὐκράτης - Πολύχαρμος 'Ικπόστρατος - Πολύχαρμος
Δαΐδαλος (A)	'Αρίσταινος - 'Ερατίδας
Δαμογένης (C)	
Δαμόκριτος (A)	Κράτης - Πολίτας -της Κράτης - Πονοσυλέτης
Δαμόκριτος (C)	"Αντανδρος = "Ερμων ?
Διονύσιος (B)	'Αγαθοκλῆς - Θεύκριτος
Διονυσιοκλῆς (C)	Δεξιφάνης - [     ]ατης
'Ερμόφαντος (B?)	'Αθανόδωρος - 'Απολλώνιος 'Αγαθόδωρος - 'Απολλώνιας

Ἑρμῶν (B)	Ἀριστόβουλος - Μελάντας
[Εὐ?]βουλος (C)	
Εὐφραγόρας (B)	Εὐπόλεμος - Λάχης
Θεύπομπος (C)	Ἀριστεύς - Βάκχιος
Ἰππαρχος ὁ Διονυσίου (A)	Κρατερὸς - Νικασίβουλος
	Ἑρμίας - Νικασίβουλος
Καλλιμήδης (A)	Ἰππόστρατος - Πολύχαρμος
Κλεύπολις (A)	Πυθόκριτος - Τηνάδης
Πισῖνος (B)	Εὐβουλος - Καρνεάδας
	Ἀπολλόδωρος - Διδόγνητος
Πολίτας (A)	Ἰάσων - Κάλλιππος
Πολίτης (A)	Διονύσιος - Φιλόπολις
Στρατοκλῆς (A)	Εὐκράτης - Κλεύπολις
	Ἰππόστρατος - Κλεύπολις
Σωσίφρων (A)	Δημήτριος - Κυδοσθένης

Appendix 2: Remarks on revised 3rd century dating, and on the stamps in Thompson's Hellenistic Groups A - E; and on Agora ~~deposits H 13 : 1, and Q-R 10-11 : 1 and 2.~~ deposits H 13 : 1, and Q-R 10-11 : 1 and 2.

The article Grace 1974 is a brief report on extensive studies of the sequence of dating officials named in Rhodian stamps. It is the results of these studies that have pointed to the lowering, by about 35 years, of previously accepted dates of 3rd century deposits at the Athenian Agora, including Thompson's Group B, bringing the chronology into fair agreement with that implied by the association of certain finds at Koroni in Attica with events of the Chremonidean War of 265 - 260 B.C. See Grace 1974 and its numismatic appendix by J. H. Kroll, for references to articles in Hesperia of 1962 - 1964 reporting and discussing these finds. Note that the end date of the Middle Stoa filling is not affected by these revisions, nor do they lower <sup>2nd</sup> ~~3rd~~ century dates in general. I append here my present dating of the stamps in Thompson's five published Hellenistic groups. For his publication, see Bibliography above, under Thompson 1934; cf. also footnote 56. It need hardly be said that here as elsewhere we are building on Thompson's work, and that before his 1934 publication there was nothing from which to depart. The very notion of publishing a group of pottery from

(Amp 2)

a well or cistern as if the contents were parts of a tomb group, or coins of a hoard, dating each other, seems to have originated with this article.

For Retroff's comments on the dates of the Thompson groups, see Agora

XXII, pp. 107-110. On Group C, cf. now also her comments in Hesperia 52, 1983, pp. 276-278.

Group A (G 13 : 4), lower fill (depth 4.45): the single stamped handle, SS 1160, is from a die that named the Thasian annual official Τηλέμαχος; for another impression, see A.-M. and A. Bon, Études thasiennes IV, Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos, Paris 1957, p. 392, no. 1607. Third quarter of 4th century B.C. A handle (on a restored jar) stamped with another type naming Τηλέμαχος comes from Agora deposit F 17 : 3, construction filling, third quarter of 4th century; cf Agora XII, p. 390, on the deposit. On the recent identification of persons in one-name stamps of Thasos as annual officials (rather than potters, who might endorse their products for thirty years) see Garland 1979. Note that SS 1160 is a small fragment, and may well be earlier than Group A as a whole.

Group B (H 16 : 3): end date now set at ca. 240 B.C., cf. Grace 1974, pp. 194, 197; and p.198, note 19, with Thompson's present opinion.

Group C (G 6 : 2): the single stamped handle, SS 282, a Knidian published

corr.  
3.8.84

(App. 2)

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with a wrong restoration in Grace 1934, p. 269, no. 199, is to be read:

Ἐπὶ Παν[τα]λέ(οντος) Κν[ί](διον)

monogram

The type number of the stamp is KT 1784; on Knidian stamp types, see footnote 28. Three other examples are now on record, two from the Agora; together they complete the reading of the type. There are two variant types with the same name and monogram, with a total of eight more examples, from Athens and Alexandria, of which one is SS 11981 from the Middle Stoa building fill (example of KT 1443). Πανταλέων is known in Knidian stamps only in these three types. In the published commentary on SS 282 cited above, correct the reading given for SS 556, also from the Middle Stoa filling: the reading of the name (in the genitive) should be Φιλιστίωνος. Eponyms named in these Knidian circular types with monograms in the center are mostly present in the Middle Stoa filling; one is Ἀρχιπίδας, named also on our 4 and in our 7. I should date SS 282 in the late 3rd century B.C., which suits Thompson's date for Group C, beginning of the 2nd century. It is true there is only a single handle, but in this case it is not a small chip that is preserved but the whole handle with both attachments.

(App. 2)

Group D (H 16 : 4): the single stamped handle, SS 336, a Knidian, is listed Grace 1934, p. 275, as bearing an "unrestored rectangular seal,"; its stamp has ~~since~~ since been identified (chiefly by comparison with TD 3862, a well-preserved impression in Delos) and is to be restored as follows, with the reading of KT 1272:

[Ἐπὶ Θαλινβρο]

τ[ῖδα Χαρμο]

κρά[τ]ε[υς] mono-

[Κνίδιον] gram

On Χαρμοκράτης, see ~~XXX~~ Delos 27, p. 326, E 61. This fabricant names eponyms of the late second quarter and early third quarter of the 2nd century. Stamps naming Θαλινβροτῖδας ~~have~~ have not been found in the Stoa of Attalos construction filling, nor in Corinth or Carthage, up to the present. Presence of SS 336 in Group D suggests a date for D slightly later than that proposed by Thompson, "the middle of the 2nd century."

Group E (F 15 : 2): the 13 stamped handles from this deposit are all Knidian. Of five eponyms named, two are datable (one after the other) shortly <sup>a little?</sup> before and shortly after the middle of the 2nd century; a fourth dates further <sup>11</sup> on in the third quarter, and a fifth, Ἰερωνλῆς, probably in the last

15.1.85  
Corrected vs text  
11.24.84  
is attached to  
sent by H. Hall  
(see Group)

(A 18, 2)

grace

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quarter, but in any case before about 110 B.C. This latest official in the deposit is also the commonest, dating five stamps from jars of four different fabricants. Name connections show that his term fell not long before the period when duoviri were named on Knidian amphoras; on this practice and its dates, see above, Appendix 1. On the stamps in Group E, see Enyx, p. 156, under no. 145, where the sponyms are all named; and Délos 27, p. 322. Date these stamps, then, from late in the second quarter of the 2nd century to perhaps about the middle of the last quarter, in any case not after ca. 108 B.C., when duoviri began to be named.

For some deposits at the Agora of which the stamps do go down to Sulla's destruction, see Délos 27, p. 321, bottom.

I add finally notes on two Agora deposits perhaps both related to the construction of the Middle Stoa.

1) H 13 : 1. Fill in a shallow tiled well in the ancient road just to the west of the Middle Stoa, at a lower level. The surface of the road before the Stoa was built, and the mouth of the well, lay about five meters ~~below~~ below the surface of the stylobate of the Stoa: cf. Fig. 2, but the level of the pre-Stoa road was a little lower than that of the later one in the picture. The well was excavated in April 1948; cf. Hesperia 18, 1949, top of p. 224; on the road,

ibid., p.213 (Thompson). The well as found, with its ancient filling in place, was partly covered by what seemed to be the continuation of a temporary light retaining wall that lay beyond and fairly parallel with the west side of the Stoa, and faced west like the retaining west wall of the Stoa's ~~west~~ podium. See Fig. 3, from an actual state plan, for the well (H 13 : 1), the light retaining wall that crossed it (X - X), and the west end of the Middle Stoa to the right. One may suggest that this temporary wall (of which only part of one course has remained) was found to be needed while the west end of the Stoa was under construction, presumably to hold an earth filling to support scaffolding for the columns and entablature of the west side and of the west end of the north side. These columns run close to the edge of the podium, with no such margin as is provided by the terrace along most of the north side of the building. Without some raising of the ground level around the podium at this end, scaffolding of a formidable height would be required, so that the heavy drums, etc., could be dropped into place by block and tackle (cf. H.A. Thompson, The Stoa of Attalos II in Athens, Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 2, Princeton 1949, fig. 23). See Pl. for scaffolding used in setting up an outer colonnade for the rebuilt Stoa of Attalos, and imagine a further four-meter drop to be taken care of by the buter timber supports, below the steps, in the case of the Middle Stoa. The temporary earth filling was no doubt used afterward for further levelling south of the Stoa. No great weight of earth would have been required: the little wall lies close to the Stoa, enclosing just easy space for working outside the podium. We do not know how high the temporary filling was carried: any height would help, and a minimum needed would be a level bottom prepared on those slopes to take the feet of the scaffolding and of the workers.

The contents of the well H 13 : 1 then perhaps give us a terminus for the ~~erection~~ of the west end of the superstructure of the Middle Stoa. The finds in this shallow well were few, and included no coins but five stamped handles, all Knidian. Of the five names of fabricants, *Ἀριστίων* (on SS 10450) and *Θράσιος* (on SS 10452) are present also in the Middle Stoa filling; while

grace, replacement VII.84

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ibid., p.213 (Thompson). The well, as found, with its ancient filling in place, was partly covered by what seemed to be the continuation of a temporary light retaining wall that lay beyond and fairly parallel with the west side of the Stoa, and faced west, like the retaining west wall of the Stoa's ~~west~~ podium. See Fig. 3, from an actual state plan, for the well (H 13 : 1), the light retaining wall that crossed it (X - X), and the west end of the Middle Stoa to the right. One may suggest that this temporary wall (of which only part of one course has remained) was found to be needed while the west end of the Stoa was under construction, presumably to hold an earth filling to support scaffolding for the columns and entablature of the west side and of the west end of the north side. These columns run close to the edge of the podium, with no such margin as is provided by the terrace along most of the north side of the building. Without some raising of the ground level around the podium at this end, scaffolding of a formidable height would be required, so that the heavy drums, etc., could be dropped into place by block and tackle (cf. H.A.Thompson, The Stoa of Attalos II in Athens, Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 2, Princeton 1949, fig. 23). See Pl. for scaffolding used in setting up an outer colonnade for the rebuilt Stoa of Attalos, and imagine a further four-meter drop to be taken care of by the outer timber supports, below the steps, in the case of the Middle Stoa. The temporary earth filling was no doubt used afterward for further levelling south of the Stoa. No great weight of earth would have been required: the little wall lies close to the Stoa, enclosing just easy space for working outside the podium. We do not know how high the temporary filling was carried: any height would help, and a minimum needed would be a level bottom prepared on those slopes to take the feet of the scaffolding and of the workers.

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followed by  
72. 115

(Aph - 2)

'Αρισταγόρας (SS 10451) is the one who endorses 14 of the present article.

The stamp of 'Αριστίων (KT 211) combines two dating names, that of the phrour-  
archos 'Επινικίδας for the four-month period, and that of a damiorgos

Θευγένης for the year; the naming of both together on the same jar seems to

be an early indication in the period 138-167 B.C., cf. Délos 27, p. 319. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

The other dating names present, 'Αριστείδης, Εύκρατις, Κλεανδρίδας,

and Φίλιππος, are all of 138-167, and for each there is some indication that

they are nearer 138 than 167. Certainly there seems no reason to place the group

later than the first quarter of the 2nd century. However, of the dating names

only Φίλιππος is present in the Middle Stoa filling; while Θευγένης

probably brings us to the slightly later period of the Pergamon deposit (cf.

above, text with footnote 32). So we date H 13 : 1 later than the Middle Stoa

filling, but only a little later.

10-11

2) Q-R ~~SS~~ : 1, 2. Fill under floor of mudbrick building, finding place of

the stamped handles SS 11621-11624, plus its construction fill, finding place of

SS 11075-11085. On the deposits, see Agora XXII, p. 106. For the position of the

building, see no. 43 ("Pre-Stoa Shops") in the foldout plan of Guide, 3. It com-

prises five shop-like rooms in an E-W row across the N-S line of the (later) Stoa

of Attalos, a little further south than the Bema shown in Fig. 1. Of the stamped

30. VII. 84

SS 11050

in Agora 22

as str.

Lich. 9T

name

Παλαιός

but it is not

44th

into the

grace

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handles attributed to the two associated fills, only one may be later than the latest in H 13 : 1, SS 11076 which names the Knidian eponym Πολυχάρης. Not known with the title phrourarchos, he has been attributed to Period IV B; but the fabricants who (cf. some types of Σκίτρος, Grace 1934, nos. 112-113); date jars by his name, date otherwise mostly by phrourarchoi, so perhaps he is also to be attributed to IV A. SS 11076 is an example of KT 1446, a type without fabricant and surrounded by a frame, which would have been supplemented on the other handle of the jar by a fabricant type similarly framed. Cf. Grace 1934, nos. 103 and 104, framed types of Δρόκων; stamps of this fabricant from other dies were found in the Middle Stoa filling. (The HF referred to under 103 is the Middle Stoa filling

This temporary mudbrick building may, then, date possibly before the end of the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C. It had been demolished when the area was prepared to take its part of the Stoa of Attalos, possibly as early as 157 B.C. Perhaps the shops were workshops for carpenters or stoneworkers, or storage places for materials, that facilitated the construction of the Middle Stoa. Just to their north lay the Square Peristyle, from which material was drawn that eventually went into South Stoa II (Agora XIV, p. 63); the mudbrick building may have been a way station for this material. Temporary buildings housed materials, tools and working space during the restoration of the Stoa of Attalos in 1953 - 1956; for these sheds, see esperia 25, 1956, pl. 25 a.

grace

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Appendix 3: Clarification on the wrecks (more than one) at the Grand Congloué site near Marseilles.

For general presentation of the finds underseas at Grand Congloué near Marseilles, see L. S. Casson, "Sea ~~Recovery~~ Digging," Archaeology 6, 1953, pp. 221-228; J.-Y. Cousteau, "Fish Men Discover a 2,200-year-old Greek Ship," The National Geographic Magazine CV, Washington 1954, pp. 1-36; and F. Benoit, Fouilles sous-marines, l'épave du Grand Congloué à Marseille, Gallia, Suppl. XIV, Paris 1961; in all these, the finds are taken as from a single wreck. Because of the incongruity of date, apparently at least a hundred years, between the so-called "deck cargo" and ~~the~~ the Rhodian and Knidian amphoras associated with the "hull cargo", I have not limited from first acquaintance with this material (1953 or earlier) that at least two ancient wrecks were involved, one nearly on top of the other, no doubt in a place of bad currents; it is at the foot of a cliff. A part of the hull of the later ship was mistaken by the divers for deck planking of the earlier ship, despite its sheathing underneath with lead (a practice found on outer surfaces): see Cousteau, op. cit., p. 24, and cf. p. 16; also Benoit, op. cit., p. 17. The upper cargo consisted mainly of over a thousand long Roman jars with heavy

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rims (Dressel Type 1), resembling several from Athenian Agora deposit

C 9 : 7, a context dated to the later 2nd century B.C. by several Knidian

amphoras of the early duoviri period; see Amphoras, fig. 38, for a selection

of jars from this deposit, including, to the left, one of the long Roman ones;

and see also Délos 27, p. 332, under E 38. The Roman amphoras from C 9 : 7

are unstamped, whereas many of those from the wreck are stamped, on their

rims, with an abbreviation of the name Sestius. See recently E. L. Will,

"The Sestius Amphoras: a Reappraisal," JFA 6, 1979, pp.339-350, for a

summary on the discoveries at the Grand Congloué, with much bibliography on

the jars from the later wreck and related finds from other sites, showing

the confusions in chronology that have resulted for scholars who attributed

all the finds at Grand Congloué to a single wreck. Mrs. Will dates the

amphoras of the later wreck "in the first half of the 1st century B.C., or

at any rate not much earlier than the last years of the 2nd century," op.

cit., p. 340. (Here she is actually summarizing her views as given in an

earlier article, but seems not to have changed her mind.) For the earlier

wreck, the dates she attributes here to V. Grace, "220-180 B.C." (op. cit.,

p. 340, in note 1), should be tightened to the last decade of the 3rd century

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for the Rhodian and Knidian; shapes and names at 180 B.C. are very different from the ones in the wreck. See now her recent article, "Greco-Italic Amphoras," Hesperia 51, 1982, pp. 338-356; on p. 348 she revises the date she had given for the earlier wreck. For the Rhodian in the earlier wreck, Benoit reports one or more amphoras that name the fabricant 'Αριστέων and the eponym Κλειτόμαχος, see op. cit., p. 29, and cf. the same author in Rhodania 1954-1955 (Lyon), pp. 9-10; other names are more doubtfully restored. According to individual dates assigned tentatively by me to the Rhodian eponyms of ca. 225-175 B.C. (cf. Grace 1974, p. 199), the term of Κλειτόμαχος fell in 205 B.C., and those of the other eponyms named in known pairs with 'Αριστέων fell in 210, 208, 207, 204, and 199 B.C.; cf. the whole jar ~~being~~ of this fabricant that names the eponym Δορκυλίδας (210 B.C.) published by J.-J. Maffre, BCH 96, 1972, pp. 64-66, with figs. 46 and 47, no. 104. For a photograph of Rhodian amphoras (large and small) from the wreck, cf. ~~cf.~~ Casson, op. cit., p. 227, fig. 10. Also from the earlier wreck must be the cargo of over 400 "Greco-Italic" amphoras. Mrs. Will illustrates two of these from the wreck, see her "Greco-Italic Amphoras," p. 85, d and e (her Form c) and tells us, see her p. 348 with note 19, that the one to the

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right (e) bears two impressions of the same Latin stamp, one on each handle, reading TI.Q.IVENTI. Finally there is a great quantity of black-glazed table ware, mostly, I believe, of the Campana A class, "now being dated 190 ~~190~~ B.C. or a little before by the Campana specialist, Jean-Paul Morel," as Mrs. Will reports (op.cit., p. 348) and cites a recent publication by Morel. The earlier wreck at Grand Congloué is thus to be dated late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C., and the Latin amphora stamp is one of the earliest known, comparable in date to the very different one in the Middle Stoa filling, cf. footnote 47 above.

Like Mrs. Will, I called on H. Benoit in Marseilles (October 15, 1955), and saw his finds, and received every kindness, and thought he was then willing to believe in two wrecks on the site (but not more, he said). From discussions with M. Katzev, in August 1968 and again recently, I understand that to nautical archeologists the wood fragments illustrated in the publications are readily distinguishable as coming from at least two ships; this has long been observed, although nobody has published about it, since it was now too late to rescue a study of the ships themselves. On the possibility of one ship settling upon another, cf. G.F. Bass, Archeology

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under Water, Harmondsworth, 1970 (original text 1966), pp.87-89; there is specific reference to the finds at Grand Congloué.

It is time now, in any case, that these finds came into their own as two separate groups, both valuable for reference. Note a new study by Luc Long, based on further investigation of the site of the wrecks, is to appear in Archéonautica 5 in late 1985. A résumé of this study is being published earlier by the same author in A.H. McCann, The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa. I am obliged to Dr. Long for advance information on these publications.

#### Appendix 4: figures on production of Rhodian stamped amphoras

For an idea of the course of actual production of stamped amphoras in Rhodes, we have figures for exports to Alexandria, from counts made in 1967 of stamped Rhodian handles in the huge ~~Zoo~~ Benaki collection in that city. For such a study one might be expected to use figures assembled from many sites of import, and no doubt this will be done, but it will be of little interest unless the handles from each site are first sorted as to date, using an attested chronology. Actually, the figures from Alexandria are so high, so out of scale with those from other sites, that they make in themselves an effective statement about production, and that is the case even though for this count we covered only a part of the Alexandria collections as a whole. (Note that the original collection of the Musée Gréco-Romain, not included in our count now under discussion, would add

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many thousands: see V. Grace, "Ancient Greek Wine Jar Fragments in Collections in Alexandria," Year Book of the American Philosophical Society, 1955, pp. 321-326. See table, p.323; but the Benaki ~~collection~~ collection was vastly increased in later years.)

Our counts were made on a major section of the Benaki collection, nearly 18,000 handles bearing stamps with the names of Rhodian potters, and covering the alphabet as a whole; 18,000 handles in this count implies 18,000 amphoras, since we are not counting the handles with eponym stamps. The handles counted were the remainder, and much the greater proportion, of the Rhodian fabricant handles of this collection as a whole, i.e. what was left after the removal of a representative series, largely set apart by the collector as illustrating (with one or a few examples each) all the <sup>Rhodian</sup> fabricants' names present in his collection. Cf. Archéology 19, 1966, pp. 286, 288. From this large remainder, there were also omitted from our count certain names which needed further study (in particular, sorting into homonyms of different dates).

Here are some results: Period II, about 35 years (ca. 240 - ca. 205 B.C.), 1200 handles dating in this period, an average of 34 per year; Period III, about 30 years (ca. 205 - 175 B.C.), 2093 handles, average of

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about 70 per year; Period IV, about 29 years (~~141~~<sup>175</sup>-146), 2257 handles, average of about 78 per year; Period V, about 38 years (146-108), 8618 handles, ~~average of about 227 per year~~; Period VI, about 20 years (108-88), 3267 handles, average of about 163 per year. Period V gave us some large figures for individual potters: thus we counted 1283 handles bearing stamps of Μῆδης, a potter known to have dated jars in the terms of 12 eponyms of Period V; on this fabricant, see above, p.

These figures show very considerable increase in our Period III as against the previous period; an increase, though not so great, in Period IV as compared with III; while the handles of Period V (ca. 146-108 B.C.) are nearly three times as numerous per year of elapsed time as those of any previous period. After that there is something of a drop, but production in the late 2nd to early 1st century B.C. seems still much greater than at any time before the middle of the 2nd century.

Cf. P. M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria I, Oxford 1972, p. 164:

amphora stamps  
"Rhodian ~~amphora stamps~~ in Alexandria of ~~the~~ the period 200-140, falling both before and after the Senate's economic sanctions in 167, are not only more numerous than at any other time; they also seem to remain fairly

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constant throughout the period." Fraser has it right that the Rhodian handles in Alexandria do not suggest a drop in production in Rhodes after 167. He has not got the picture straight for the later periods: his text here quoted implies a drop after the middle of the <sup>2nd</sup> century, whereas there is no drop but a steep rise, as we have seen. No documentation is available for Fraser's statement quoted here.

The dates given here to the Periods are a little different from those used for Knidian names, these latter having been adjusted according to known changes in administration in Knidos. For the origin of the divisions, and for the Knidian Periods, see above, <sup>introduction to</sup> Appendix 1.

On the Benaki collection, see Délos 27, p. 285 with note 1, and references there. In 1966-1967, Barbara Turzynski (now Mrs. Drushell) made a large part of the individual counts on which the foregoing figures are based. The assembling of the figures by date was done in Athens largely by Andreas Dimoulinis.

~~Appendix 5: note on the date of the Rhodian coins~~

~~of the Rhodian coins~~

~~of the Rhodian coins~~

grace

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Appendix 5: note on the dates of Rhodian eponyms named Δαμοκλῆς;  
end of  
cf. footnote 23.  
Λ

Here we have differences of opinion among experts which have not yet been reconciled. I cannot now place later than about 189 B.C. an eponym of this name in stamps, according to the chronology laid out in the present article. But an inscription (SIG 3, no. 644b) containing text dated in the term of the Rhodian Δαμοκλῆς Δαμέου is placed by many epigraphers in ca. 172 or 171 B.C., most recently by J. and L. Robert, see REG 92, 1979, pp. 460-461. A King Antiochos referred to in the text as having offered contributions to the Rhodian navy is identified by these scholars as Antiochos IV (175-163 B.C.), rather than Antiochos III (223-187 B.C.), considered less friendly to Rhodes. It seems possible that toward the end of his reign, when he was attempting to rally Greece round him against Rome, Antiochos III might have made efforts to please the Rhodians, and also citizens of some other Greek states, as implied associated inscription in the inscription. For another tentative vote for Antiochos III in this op. cit. in footnote 31, connection, see Ch. Börker, ~~Das Rhodische Münzwesen~~ Zeitschrift für Numismatik 94, 1984, p. 208, note 50.

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

The difficulty over Δαμοκλῆς is not new. In the dated list of Rhodian eponyms by Hiller von Gaertringen, in his article "Rhodos", RE Supplementband V, Stuttgart 1931, p. 837, the author dates this name "vor 172", while otherwise attributing names from the Pergamon deposit to the period 220-180, cf. the comment on e.g. Δαμόθεμις. Van Gelder (op. cit. in footnote 23, pp. ~~189-200~~ 199-200) dates the inscription

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(AMP. 5)

165 B.C., and pulls down Δαμοκλῆς and the whole Pergamon deposit with it. Cf. Delos 27, p. 290, note 5: we cannot use so late a date for the Pergamon stamped handles.

Possibly it is worth remarking that if the stamps cannot date for us a later Δαμοκλῆς, they do notify us of an earlier one. A small number of handles is known whose shape, and the style of their stamps, indicate that the Δαμοκλῆς they name is datable in or about the second quarter of the ~~2nd century B.C.~~ 3rd century B.C., or about contemporary with the Rhodian eponyms found at Koroni (cf. Grace 1974, p. 197) <sup>5</sup>. This is Δαμοκλῆς 1st of the stamps. He would be contemporary with Antiochos I, Soter (280-261 B.C.) or possibly Antiochos II, Theos (261-247 B.C.). We can then take note that the Rhodian admiral Agathostratos helped Antiochos II to recover Ephesos in 259 B.C. (CAH VII, p. 713), and can consider ~~whether~~ whether this might have been in acknowledgement of benefactions received by the Rhodian navy during the term of Δαμοκλῆς 1st.

## CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATED ITEMS

Numbers in boldfaced type, here and in the Plates and in the text, are those of items in this catalogue, all of which are illustrated (Plates ).

Plate . Datable late in the period of the construction filling of the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora: Rhodian amphoras, and a fragment (1), bearing the first few of a new series of secondary stamps. Ca. 188-184 B.C. ?

1. Stamped handle from the Athenian Agora, SS 2203 found 8.III.34 in a modern wall in Section K. Main stamp (not illustrated) read and restored Δα[ποκράτεις] around a rose, cf. 2c. Secondary stamp, on side of upper attachment of handle, rose. See above, text with footnote 15, example from Tarsus. In addition to this latter, and 1, we have record of 9 handles that bear similar secondary stamps, not all from the same die. Other published (but not illustrated) secondary stamps with rose: Grace 1968, p.175 and pl.63, 3 (eponym Σύμμαχος);

D.3. Shelov, "Pottery Stamps from the Excavations at Phanagoria,"

Materials and Studies of Archeology in the USSR 57, 1957 (in Russian),

grace

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p. 140, no. 78 (I should now restore the eponym's name as Καλλικρατίας);

R. A. S. Macalister, The Excavation of Gezer 1902-1905 and 1907-1909, II,

London 1912, p. 358, no. 273 (eponym Κλευκράτης, inscribed in the die

without upsilon, or with upsilon and kappa in the same place, a known die).

I know of no whole jar, or fragment preserving both handles, that bears the

rose secondary stamp. But for the eponym handle from Gezer just cited, the

author identifies for us the fabricant handle, from the same jar, as one

of Δαμοκράτης (op.cit., p. 356, under no. 168); the identification is

the more convincing in that Macalister did not know, as we do, that that

was the right name for the fabricant of an amphora bearing the rose sec-

ondary stamp.

2. Amphora in Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain no. G. 544. Intact.

Ht. ~~0.776~~ 0.776; diameter 0.342; ht. of handles ca. 0.274; capacity

(taken with water), 24,300 cc. On tops of handles, two complementary

circular stamps, 2a and 2c; on the side of the attachment of the fab-

ricant handle, secondary stamp, 2b (visible also in the photograph of

2 as a whole). On the amphora, see above, pp.

ff. I am obliged to

Dr. Yousseff El-Ghiriany for permission to publish this amphora.

(p. 11)  
- in appendix  
447, VII, 24

humble

grace

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2a. Dating stamp of 2. Reading:

Ἐπὶ Νικασαγόρα Σμινθέου

rose

A stamped handle also in the Musée Gréco-Romain (AVG 1614) bears a rose type with the same reading as 2a, but combined with a different secondary stamp (a kappa like those also known to be used by Δαμοκράτης). The main stamp is similar to that of 2a, but not from the same die. Apparently secondary stamps identified individual working potters, or sub-shops.

On the eponym, Νικασαγόρας 1st, see above, pp.

He

dates 8 handles in the Middle Stoa building fill, 9 in the Pergamon deposit.

2b. Secondary stamp of 2: alpha. On secondary stamps, see footnote 15.

2c. Endorsing stamp of 2. Reading:

Δαμοκράτης

rose

On this endorsement, known examples of which are very numerous and

grace

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widespread, see Grace 1968, p. 175, no.2; regrettable are the 4 typographical errors in that short paragraph. See also above, pp.

In the Middle Stoa filling, 46 stamps with this reading; in the Pergamon deposit, 55; in the Alexandria collection of which the count is reported in Appendix 4 above, 370 (by far the largest figure for Period III).

3. Amphora from Cyprus, now in Sarasota, Florida, in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, acquired in 1928 from the Cesnola collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Ht., 0.798; diameter, 0.34; ~~ht.~~ ht. of handles, ca. 0.273, 0.28; capacity, taken with water, 24,774 cc. On tops of handles, two complementary circular stamps, 3a and 3c; on the side of the attachment of the fabricant handle, secondary stamp, 3b (visible also in the photograph of 3 as a whole).

Previous publication (without illustration): I. H. Hall, "The Greek Stamps on the Handles of Rhodian Amphorae, Found in Cyprus, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York," Journal of the American Oriental Society XI, 1885, p.391, no. 5060 ~~Metropolitan Museum number~~ (Metropolitan Museum number). Cf. Bleckman, op. cit. in footnote 22, Appendix I, p.32, no. 25. In general on Hall's publication, and the Cesnola group, ~~1909, Nilsson~~ <sup>1909,</sup> ~~pp. 115-118; V. Grace, "Rhodian Jars in~~

grace

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Florida," Hesperia 17, 1948, pp. 144-147, which reports my study and recording of the jars in 1948. On the amphora, see also above, pp.

ff. For a published photograph of another of Cesnola's jars now in Sarasota, see Nassana I, pl. XXXIX, upper left, with text, p. 112. In August 1958, Mr. Kenneth Donahue, the then Director of the Ringling Museum, generously gave me "a blanket permission" to publish any of the jars I studied there in 1948. ~~Cesnola's~~ <sup>Cesnola's</sup> own romantic accounts of acquiring his collection in Cyprus seem to include no mention of his Rhodian amphoras.

3a. Dating stamp of 3. Reading:

Ἐπὶ Θεαίδητου Πανάρχου

rose

Rose stamps with the same reading are known (inter alia) 1) on two (AVG 1487 and 1942 in the Musée Gréco-Romain) handles in Alexandria that bear also the special beta shown in 3b; and 2) on two other handles combined with a secondary stamp tau; the main stamps are duplicates of 3a (i.e. from the same die) <sup>apparently</sup> where the secondary stamp is beta. See on 2a. On the eponym, including a possible identification of this Θεαίδητος with an historically known person, see index of this article, and in particular footnote 23. The name dates <sup>6</sup> ~~the~~ handles

grace

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in the Middle Stoa building fill, 12 in the Pergamon deposit.

3b. Secondary stamp of 3: beta, retrograde? On this stamp type, see especially text above with footnote 17.

3c. Endorsing stamp of 3. Reading: .

\*Ιπποκράτης

rose

On this endorsement, see footnote 18 and preceding text. In the Middle Stoa filling, 4 stamps with this reading; in the Pergamon deposit, again 4; in the Alexandria collection of which the count is reported in Appendix 4 above, 261.

Another amphora of \*Ιπποκράτης dated in the same term as 3 is cited by Y. Calvet, Kition-Bamboula I, Les timbres amphoriques, Paris 1982, p. 26, under no. 58: amphora in a private collection in Beirut.

Plate 2 . Datable during the period of the construction filling of the Middle Stoa: 4-9, Knidian amphoras and related stamps; 10-12, stamped handles of Sinopean amphoras, from the filling. ~~Before~~ 3rd century B.C. to second decade of 2nd.

4. Knidian amphora in Rhodes, A 236 (MZ 625). Repaired, toe missing. Preserved ht., 0.635. Handles bear two complementary stamps, belonging

respectively to KT (Knidian Type) 2178 and KT 2199. (For ~~a reference for~~  
Knidian stamp types, see ~~above~~ footnote 28.)

*lines  
closed  
together  
(please)*

a) 'Ε]πὶ 'Αρχιπρίδ[α

b) 'Αθηνίππου

wreath

bee

Photographs of the stamps on 4 are not yet available. See 7 and 8:

7 is a duplicate of 4a; and 8 is from a variant type with the same read-

ing and device as 4b. For the context of this amphora, and for various  
acknowledgments connected with its publication here, see footnote 34  
and accompanying text. Ca. 220-210 B.C.

5. Knidian amphora from the Grand Congloué wreck site near Marseilles,  
now in the Musée Borély in that city. Ht. 0.79, cf. F. Benoit, "Amphores  
et céramique de l'épave de Marseille," Gallia 12, 1954, p. 39, with fig.4.  
No stamps mentioned, nor seen by me, but jar was not clear of marine de-  
posit. Photograph was taken October 15, 1955, by permission of M. Benoit.  
See above text with footnote 35, and Appendix 3 on the earlier and later  
wrecks at the site. 5 belongs to the earlier wreck, and its closer dating  
depends on the Rhodian in the same group, also <sup>on</sup> a quantity of Campanian  
ware that was present; on the chronology of this class of pottery, see  
the work of Jean-Paul Morel referred to in Appendix 3. Ca. 210-200 B.C.

grace

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6. Knidian amphora (1961 NAK 205) from the Angelopoulou lot south of the Akropolis, excavations of the Archeological Service in 1961, supervised by G. DONTAS ~~Ch. Kanellopoulou~~; the jar is now housed with the Angelopoulou Collection, at 32 Parthenonos Street. I am obliged to Ch. ~~Ch.~~ Kanellopoulou for showing me this and other material from ~~the~~ <sup>these</sup> excavations in 1961; and to M. Petropoulakou for finding the present storage of the jar and taking supplementary records; and to Mrs. Angelopoulou for courtesies to Mrs. Petropoulakou on this occasion; and to G. Dontas for permission to publish it. Preserved ht., 0.765 (tip missing); diameter, 0.363, ~~ht.~~ ht. of handles, 0.245, 0.25. Handles bear each an impression of KT 787 (die 1), of which the reading is:

'Επὶ Πολι(

θευφιδ(

In the Middle Stoa filling there were 7 examples of this type (of which 9 is one), also 41 more handles dated by Πολιούχης or Πολύουχος variously abbreviated or in full, named by 7 more fabricants. I count 52 examples on file of KT 787, the greater part found in Athens, but 2 in Corinth and 5 in Alexandria. The reading seems not to have been published before. Ca. 190 B.C.

grace

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7. Knidian stamped handle in Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain no.

15231; in 1955, exhibited in Vitrine 3, Room 21. For its exhibition 83

years ago, see G. Botti, Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-

I owe the reference to M. Petropoulakou.

Romain d'Alexandrie, Alexandria <sup>1901</sup>1900, p. 225, no. 9. The stamp is an

example of KT 2178, of which ~~the reading~~ a duplicate is 4a. Reading,

cf. 4a. Date as for 4. For permission to publish 7 and 8, I am obliged to Dr. Yousseff El-Ghizany. *For permission to publish 7 and 8, I am obliged to Dr. Yousseff El-Ghizany.*

8. Knidian stamped handle in Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain, KT 2134 A 1

of our records, stored in the Museum cabinet by its KT number. Reading as

in 4b, save that in the stamp of 8 the letters are written between an

inner and an outer compass circle. The die of 4b is somewhat smaller;

another example (unpublished) is KT 2199 ABC 1 (Benaki collection). One

other type of 'ΑΘΗΝΙΚΟΣ with bee is KT 2198, known now in 4 examples,

of which the first (damaged) example (Agora SS 182) has been published,

with a wrong restoration: Grace 1934, p. 280, no. 234. The type reading

of KT 2198 is as follows:

'ΑΘΗ-

bee

ΝΙΚΟΥ

(It does not read in a circle like 8.) The handle 8 descends from its

grace

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upper attachment without arching, like those of the amphora 4. Date as

for 4.

9. Knidian stamped handle from the Middle Stoa building fill,

Agora SS 11977. The stamp is a duplicate of those on 6, which see.

Ca. 190 B.C.

10. Sinopean stamped handle from the Middle Stoa building fill,

Agora SS 11813. Reading of stamp:

Ἡρακλείδης

ἀστυνόμου bow in

Καλλισθένου case

No other example on file at the Agora, but in general our repertory in this class is limited.

Fabricants named Ἡρακλείδης are known in all Grakov's Periods, cf. Grakov 1929, p. 202. The astynomos Καλλισθένης, however, with this device and this arrangement of the legend, belongs to Grakov's Period IV, see op.cit., p.139. For another stamp type dated by the same official, see for instance ~~ibid.~~ ibid. pl.5, no. 8. <sup>Date</sup> ~~ibid.~~ of Grakov's IV, to which this stamp belongs, perhaps 3rd century B.C. before about 259, see text with footnote 51 above.

grace

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11. Sinopean stamped handle from the Middle Stoa building fill,

SS 12484. Reading of stamp:

'Αστυ[νομήντος]	[ithy-
'Ικεσίου τ[οῦ]	phallic
'Αντιπ[ά]τρου]	herm]
'Ελλα[	

For another example of the same stamp type, see Phyx, p.165, no.

194. We still lack the fabricant's name in full, and Grakov's lists do not supply it; cf. 'Ελλάνικος in Rhodian stamps (Amphoras, fig.23).

The astynomos belongs to Grakov's Period VI, see op. cit., p. 149, <sup>no. 19,</sup> for his name and accompanying device, an ithyphallic herm; and cf. E.M.

Pridik, Inventory-Catalogue of the Stamps on Handles and Necks of

Amphoras, and on Bricks, of the Hermitage Collection, Petrograd 1917

(in Russian), pl.XIV, 9 (text, p. 139, 8) for this astynomos combined with a different fabricant; from this latter stamp I restore the title in 11 in participial form. Date suggested by Middle Stoa context, late 3rd century to before 183 B.C., see above, footnote 50 and accompanying text.

12. Sinopean stamped handle from the Middle Stoa building fill,

grace

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SS 12073. Reading of stamp:

Ἀστυνόμου

Ἐστιαίου τοῦ

Ἀπρεμίδωπο[υ]

krater

Μήναν

Three duplicates of this stamp have been found in Samaria: G. A. Reisner and others, Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908-1910, Harvard 1924, p. 316, D,2 (reading corrected); J. W. Crowfoot and others, The Objects from Samaria, London 1957, p. 385 (two examples). Both astynomos and fabricant are listed by Grakov in his Period VI: ~~the~~ the astynomos, op. cit. p. 149, no.11, with mention of the ~~■~~ characteristic device; the fabricant, p. 150, last line. Types of the astynomos with various fabricants, see Pridik, op. cit., p. 69, nos. 151-154 (not illustrated).

The three handles from Samaria that have the same stamp as 12 are, remarkably, half of all the Sinopean handles ever recorded from that site: see Nessana I, p. 106, note. If we had stayed with Grakov's original dating for his VI (122-70 B.C.), they would provide a rather close date for this Ἐστιαῖος, since Samaria was destroyed in about 108 B.C. However, as for 11, the date suggested by Middle Stoa context is late 3rd to before 183 B.C.; see on 11.

grace

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Plate . First half of the 2nd century B.C., period of the  
 Middle Stoa construction filling and afterward, perhaps to <sup>157</sup> ~~157~~ B.C. for  
15 and 18: Knidian amphoras and stamps.

13. Knidian amphora from the sea, part of the collection in Syme  
 of Demosthenes Haviaras, on which see ~~Klavdinos~~ Grace 1971, pp. 53 and 87  
 with note 90; see also above, text following footnote 35. Toe chipped;  
 much marine deposit. Preserved ht., 0.825; diameter, 0.373. Handles  
 bear two variously incomplete impressions of KT 2038, of which the full  
 reading is:

'Επὶ Σωκρά-  
 τεύς Νικα-  
 σιβούλου  
 trident

Five duplicates are known of the stamp, of which 16 is one. In the  
 Middle Stoa filling, this stamp type has not been found, but both eponym  
 and fabricant are well represented there. On the eponym, see again text  
 following footnote 35.

For permission to publish 13, I am again grateful to Mr. I. Papa-  
 christodoulou, Ephor of the Dodekanese. I do not forget the kindness of  
 the family of D. Haviaras in facilitating our labors the day we recorded  
 the jar in Syme, July 5, 1957.

grace

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14. Knidian amphora (SS 14142) from cistern A 16 : 4 (?) in the Athenian Agora, May 1956. The cistern was excavated under difficulties and could not be completely cleared; the precise finding place of 14 cannot be established. The rest of the amphoras and amphora fragments attributed to A 16 : 4 are datable shortly before the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Preserved ht., 0.793 (tip missing); diameter, 0.348; ht. of handles, 0.27. On one handle only, impression of KT 193, of which type the reading is:

'Επὶ Φιλίππο(υ) (pi like nu)

'Αρισταγόρα

Κνίδιον

15 more examples are known of this stamp type, including 17 below; this latter was found in Corinth, the rest probably all in Athens. The reading has not been published before, but it has been cited: ~~in~~ Délos 27, p. 317, note 2, which reports the contents of Amphoras, fig. 64, of which the second jar is our 14. KT 193 has not been found in the Middle Stoa filling, but the eponym is probably the same early phrourarchos Φίλιππος who is named on 11 handles in the filling. See above, footnote 36 and associated text. Date, dependant primarily on the name connections of 'Αρισταγόρας, apparently about contemporary with the

grace

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Rhodian 2 and 3 (Pl. ). Ca. 188-183 B.C. ?

15. Knidian amphora from John Threpsiades' excavations in the Olympieion area in ~~1939~~ 1939, given to us to record in 1962. ~~The~~ is kept in the courtyard of the ~~the~~ storehouse of the Third Ephoreia in Athens. I am obliged to Mrs. Karayorga, Ephor of the Third Ephoreia, for permission to publish this amphora; also to M. Petropoulakou for various facilitations. Ht., 0.855; ht. of handles, ca. 0.255. Handles bear two variously incomplete impressions of KT 167, of which the full reading is as follows:

Ἐπὶ Ἀριστοκλεῦς

Ἀπολ λωνίου

Κνίδι ον

bull's head in center

We have listed 66 examples of this stamp type, of which 51, ~~including~~ including 18, come from various places in Athens; 3 are from Delos, 1 from Argos, and 11 from Alexandria. Published examples: Grace 1934, p. 248, no. 119; M.-Th. Lenger in BCH 81, 1957, p.166, no.90 (from Argos); 2 more, from Athens and Alexandria, have been identified in early publications. Two examples, SS 14151 and 14155, were found in Agora cistern A 16 : 4, on which see above under 14. Another bull's head type of

grace

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'Απολλώνιος, dated in the term of Θηροκράτης, is known on a largely preserved amphora found in Corinth, C 36 2421, from South Stoa and its date,  
Well XIV. On the amphora 15, see text above associated with footnote 38.  
166-157 B.C. ?

16. Knidian stamped handle from the excavations by G. Siebert on Delos in 1968, in the Ilôt des Bijoux, in a deep stratum in Room AC. I am obliged to M. Siebert for the detail of its finding place as well as for permission to publish this handle, inv. no. TD 7305; also to Madame M.-Th. Couilloud-Le Dinahet for an improvement in the type reading of KT 2038 based on this superior example. The stamp is a duplicate of those on 13, which see. Early 2nd century B.C.

17. Knidian stamped handle from Corinth, C 47 108 from South Stoa, Well 2. Photograph published by kind permission of C. K. Williams II. The stamp is a duplicate of the one on 14, which see. Second decade of 2nd century B.C.

18. Knidian stamped handle in the National Museum, Athens, KT 167 EM 1, probably found in Athens. Study of the handles in the National Museum was greatly facilitated by Semni and Christos Karouzos, when each was Director of the museum; and permission to publish was given by them.

grace

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The stamp 18 is a duplicate of those on 15, which see. 166-157 B.C. ?

19. Knidian stamped handle from the Athenian Agora, SS 14002, from a late context, found in 1954 in Section HA. The stamp is an example of KT 236, of which reading is as follows:

'Αριστοκλεῦς

bull's head with neck

24 duplicates of the stamp of 19 are known, all probably found in Athens, including 3 from the Middle Stoa filling, SS 674, 885, 12180, of which SS 885 has been published: Grace 1934, pp.300 (fig.5) and 302, no. 6. (Too early a date is there suggested.) This stamp type (KT 236) is sometimes accompanied on the same handle by a secondary stamp with a single letter, as on Rhodian amphora handles of the same date (cf. our 2b and 3b in Pl. ); note that though 19 is from a Knidian jar, 'Αριστοκλῆς himself was a Rhodian. On 19-21, see above, text with footnotes 40-42. Ca. 188-183 B.C.

20. Knidian stamped handle from the Athenian Agora, SS 5688, from a late context, found in 1936 in Section T. The stamp is an example of KT 237, of which the reading is as follows:

'Αριστοκλεῦς

head and forepaw of lion

grace

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9 duplicates of the stamp of 20 are known, of which 2 are in Alexandria and the rest in Athens; no useful context is available. SS 5688 has been cited: Grace 1949, p. 187 under no. 6. On ~~KT 238~~ KT 238 19-21, see above, text with footnotes 40-42. ~~KT 238~~ Ca. 188-180 B.C. ?

21. Knidian stamped handle from the Benaki Collection in Alexandria, KT 238 ABC 9. On the Benaki Collection, see reference at the end of Appendix 4 above. The reading of KT 238 is as follows:

Ἀριστοκλεῦς

rose

i.e. of this Rhodian type on Knidian handles, 31 more examples of KT 238 are on file with us, of which 15 are in

15  
Athens and very likely all were found there, 1 is in Corinth, 13 in Alexandria, 1 from Memphis in Egypt is now in Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania Museum, inv. nos. 29-71-135, also M 11720), and 1 is in Delos. The Corinth ~~max~~ example has been published: Grace ~~1949~~ 1949, pl. 20 and p. 187, no. 6. Some examples have a flaw, making the omicron look something like a rho; photographs record this flaw in ABC 3 and 5 of the Benaki Collection. ABC 5 is a rather small handle, evidently from a fractional jar. For recording the material from Memphis, I had <sup>in 1957</sup> much help from Professor G. R. Edwards and from his volunteer assistant,

schmiedt  
(p. 20)  
KT 238  
cor. 47

grace

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Miss Shahira Khayatt of Egypt.

On 19-21, see above, text with footnotes 40-42. Ca. 182-175 B.C. ?

✓ added to original 23.1783  
✓ after photography was  
made

Plate . Pharnakes I, and the Middle Stoa complex.

a. Enlarged reproduction (by Chip Vincent) of coin of Pharnakes I,  
from Rostovtzeff, Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World,  
pl.IX, opposite p. 60.

b. Agora XIV, pl/ 13 A (part). From the model of the Athenian Agora.

Plate . From the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos. Photo-  
graph by Alison Frantz.

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