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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. ¹ Stamped amphora handles, to be sure, sometimes escaped such oblivious enmity in those days by dint of being counted as inscriptions rather than small finds, and by appearing in large numbers. Thus we have the excellent and still basic publication by Schuchhardt in 1895 of some 782 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. ² 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} in the 1930s, and greatly developed by Lucy Talcott. ³ 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~~ him, in 1932, that although stamped amphora handles ^{were} ~~are~~ supposed to be Hellenistic, he had found some in definitely classical company; he showed me several, which gave me a permanent taste for the Thasian class. ⁽⁴⁾ 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 his Period III, which established the priority of the two-name Thasian stamps, fixing them before about 340 B.C. ⁽⁵⁾ For the place of container amphoras in the general archaeological mind in 1932, I quote from a letter (of 1951) from a distinguished archeologist, the late Professor E. Haspels 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 we would suppose operated largely in the 4th century B.C. ^{about the middle} ~~about the middle~~ ⁽⁶⁾ "Re the amphoras: I called them Hellenistic at the time (in 1932 or '33) ~~XXXXXX~~ 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 one of the places where Homer Thompson has enabled us to take a big step forward.

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The thesis of the present ~~paper~~ ^{July 11} has been known to Thompson and other interested persons since ~~late June~~ of 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. ⁽⁷⁾ The date which the handles seemed to ind-
icate as that of the lower limit of the fill was the second decade of the 2nd
century B.C. ⁽⁸⁾ So early a date was not generally ^{accepted at that} ~~acceptable~~ until some time
~~later~~ 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 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 B.C. ⁽⁹⁾ Finally, in ¹⁹⁷² ~~Agora XIV~~ we have Homer Thompson's ^{revised} considered date for
the start of construction of the building, ^{used} "late in the first quarter of the
2nd century B.C." ⁽¹⁰⁾ ~~the~~ the coins have now been ^{published} ~~fully~~ studied by F. S. Kleiner,
who finds nothing that he need date later than about 180 B.C. ^{most recently} ~~Finally~~ the Megarian
bowls in the filling have been described by S. ^I ~~Retroff~~ as "similar to those in
other deposits of early 2nd century." ⁽¹¹⁾

The stamped amphora handles from the Middle Stoa building fill are worth a
volume to themselves, so rich and varied is the material, and ^{numerous and} ~~with~~ such wide
bearing. The evidence is summarized here, as a prime example of the possibility
of mutual development of chronologies, as between the stamped fragments in the
fill, about 1500 ^{bulky} a large hoard assembled as rubbish to level ^{pile in for a} ~~the~~ floor of a

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add to draught of text p.4

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(2.IX.81)

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(p.5)

In the course of reporting on this material, I have found it necessary to take up matters that needed rather more extensive presentation than their relevance to the present discussion might justify. Not to interrupt the account of the dating and identification of the Middle Stoa, I have put ^{the following} these into appendices at the end of the article:

1. Dated list of eponyms in Knidian stamps.
2. Remarks on revised 3rd century dating, and on the stamps in Thompson's Hellenistic Groups A - E. *also on Agon deposit 14 13 11.*
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.

which the detailed dating of the stamps suggests an identification.

or 59 per cent of the whole number

or 25 per cent

4

53

7

6

5

5

2

miscellaneous 68

Knidian, 12002; Thasian, 674; general total at the Agora in May 1960, 19267.

1900
1980
SS 14402
1843

6

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 ~~with~~ from what we call Early Knidian, that have abbreviations, monograms, ligatures, or just devices) do not seem to have been produced before the last quarter of the 3rd century. 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 to 70, Rhodian to Knidian, and none of the Rhodian is datable later than the first quarter of ~~the~~ 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 (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, "the gradual emancipation of Athens from the commercial hegemony of Rhodes, an emancipation which began earlier than 166, etc."

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is known stamps
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Rhod

during to 2nd cent. BCE

Removal of

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from texts beginning 30.I.81

(pp. 6-7)

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- 6 -

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 ~~IX~~ ^{referred} for figures derived from the Benaki collection in Alexandria.

For the Rhodian in the Middle Stoa filling, we have an extensive correspondence with those in another big foundation filling, that in the building in Pergamon cited above, ^{cf. note} cf. 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 of period) 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:

ΑΡΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ 2nd	(4)
ΑΡΑΤΟΦΑΝΗΣ 1st	(8)
ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΑΣ 2nd	(10)
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟΣ 2nd	(24)
ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ 2nd	(20)

16.7.81
ref. for
amphora
figures?

(8)

APXIAAIAAZ (5)

EENOΦEN (4)

No eponym by any of these names was found in the Middle Stoa filling, save for an earlier APIΣTEIAAZ on a single handle, SS 12862, readily distinguishable as of the 3rd century B.C. by its shape and finish. On the other hand, despite the steady decrease, discussed above, of Rhodian imports to Athens during the first half of the 2nd century, we do have handles at the Agora ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ (though not in the Middle Stoa filling) that are dated by all seven of these eponyms, some from consistent post-Middle Stoa deposits: cf. ^{from} ~~A~~ from the Stoa of Attalos filling, SS 10492 naming APATOΦANHZ, and SS 10730, 10739, and 13370, naming APIΣTEIAAZ 2nd.

The likelihood that the beginning of this seven-year period, ~~(possibly the~~ ^{called the *for convenience*} ~~term of APIΣTEIAAZ 2nd)~~ follows the latest Rhodian eponym term in the Middle Stoa 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 our filling, a small rose with no letters, in a single example, SS 12717. ^{for a similar} stamp, better preserved, see Pl. 1, 1. No part of

SS 12717

The main stamp of the handle is ~~not~~ preserved, but this secondary stamp is known only on handles from amphoras of the potter ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ in the terms of ΚΑΛΑΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΤΙΔΑΣ 2nd, ΚΑΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ 1st, and ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ; all these persons occur in both the large fillings. The rose secondary stamp is an early one, dated ~~not later~~ in the early 2nd century B.C. by context in Tarsos. ¹⁵ Of eponyms named in the Middle Stea 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 Pergamen deposit but not in the Middle Stea filling. The three are ^{in MS B.} ΑΘΑΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ, ΝΙΚΑΖΑΓΟΡΑΣ 1st, and ΘΕΑΙΑΗΤΟΣ. ^{perhaps in the original, for samples of a sec. st. accompanying the first two, see PD. 1/22 and 30.} These are then probably the latest Rhodian eponyms in the Middle Stea 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 chief Rhodian expansion on the continent; through the 2nd century these additional control stamps continued in use by big producers such as ΜΙΔΑΣ, 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 Stea filling, let us lay out ^{our proposed sequence of eponyms; figures in parenthesis are the} ~~what we know~~

number of handles in the M. S. fill. that bear the name:

11
b.c. p. 12
letters, singly, A, K, C, T, Y. Most of these are used also by ΙΙΙΙΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ,

that is, the dates seem to have been taken over; for this and other reasons

we conclude the products of the two potters are from the same shop. The shop

between the making
will have ~~the~~ changed hands ~~sixth century~~ of the two jars shown: 2 names the latest

of many
dating officials known with ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, and 3 the earliest of still more known

with ΙΙΙΙΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, whose career can be followed to the middle of the 2nd century.

~~possibly XXXXXXXX~~ The secondary stamp 3b with its distinctive beta is so

far on record only from jars of ΙΙΙΙΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, not those of ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ. This may be

an accident of preservation for the moment; someone may find a handle with the rose

ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ on top
stamp of ~~XXXXX~~ and the characteristic beta stamped on its side. Otherwise

the handle in ~~XXXX~~ Tarsos that combines this secondary stamp with a ^{rose} main stamp

naming ΝΙΚΑΞΑΓΟΡΑΣ suggests that the change in management took place during the

this eponym I suppose
term of ΝΙΚΑΞΑΓΟΡΑΣ; which is more likely than not. At present this particular

beta is known only with the eponyms ΝΙΚ. 1st and ΘΕΑΙΑ., and with the fabricant

ΙΙΙΙΟΚΡ.

Contemporary with the activities of ΙΙΙΙΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ were those of the Rhodian

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ who made and marked Rhodian amphoras as well as producing a great number

of Rhodian ones with rose stamps like those of ΙΙΙΙΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ. The two men seem

both to have succeeded to the shop of ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ; perhaps they were brothers;

12

in any case ^{son} APISTOKAHZ seems to have been the ~~same~~ of the ΔAMOKPATHZ who made the amphora in Pl. 1, 2. ^{the two contemporaries 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). ~~affix~~ Oddly, although for both brothers (?) there are many known or reasonably guessed pairs with dating officials, all datable between about ¹⁸³ ~~282~~ B.C. and the middle of the century, we have up to the present no indication that both APISTOKAHZ and IINIOKPATHZ ever dated jars in the same year. ¹⁸

Through a lapse in processing, the eponym AΘANOΔOTOZ 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 ΔAMOKPATHZ and IINIOKPATHZ (i.e. apparently from the same dies). ¹⁹ AΘANOΔOTOZ had in any case been listed in my tentative sequence only a few years too early, because name-connections associate him predominantly with late Period III. Potters known to have dated jars by his name are AΓAΘOKAHZ 2nd, AMYNTAZ with wreath, ANTIMAXOZ ^{APISTON with caduceus,} with caduceus, ΣΑΡΑΗΙΩΝ with asterisks, and ΦΙΛΑΙΝΙΟΣ. ^{this is a name only to} (These are all "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 late Period III, and in some cases are only of this period. It now seems likely that AΘANOΔOTOZ is the latest Rhodian eponym whose name is present in the Middle Stoa building fill.

*Calder 21/10/82
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So much for the usefulness of eponym-fabricant name connections in building the chronology of amphora stamps, ~~and~~ for an indication of where we

and for the corroborative evidence supplied by secondary stamps. find the most convincing pairs. Whole amphoras, however, and even large

fragments, help in another way to supplement the dating evidence, and that

is by the evolution of the shapes and dimensions of the jars, their most

obvious tendency, from the last quarter of the 3rd century ^{late} on, being to

grow slowly taller and slimmer, and the neck and handles taller in proportion

to the jar as a whole. Nos. 2 and 3 in Plate 1, closely contemporary, fit into

the 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 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ in the

term of ΑΡΧΙΑΙΔΑΣ, an eponym of Period IIIc, hence very soon after ΘΕΑΙΑΗΤΟΣ

of 3. The stages of the change in shape, placed according to the tenta-

tive 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 ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ of ca.

185 B.C. who dates 2 (Plate 1), and the later one named on an amphora of

ΕΥΠΑΝΩΡ, perhaps, there, the ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ whose term as priest of Halies is

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dated epigraphically shortly after 123 B.C. The later jar (unpublished) has considerably longer neck, handles and body, and the handles bow out noticeably; its capacity is about 25 per cent greater than that of 2.

Historical 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 Pergamon and Rhodes. Sometimes, as with ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ 2nd, ^{just mentioned,} one may suggest identifi-

cations of persons in stamps with persons known in epigraphical or literary texts. Thus it is possible that ΘΕΑΙΑΗΤΟΣ, tentatively listed here as the next to latest Rhodian eponym in the Middle Stea filling, was the father of ΑΣΤΥΜΗΑΗΣ ΘΕΑΙΑΗΤΟΥ, who was the priest of Athana Lindia in 154 B.C., and perhaps then of Halies a year or so afterward. According to Pelybies, the son was sent to Rome on missions in 168, 164, and 153 B.C.; and the father, perhaps the ΘΕΑΙΑΗΤΟΣ of 3, died in Rome in 167/6, being then over 80 years of age.

One would like, ^{again} ~~possibly~~, to associate with the ^{father} dynasty ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ - ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ, etc. (see above, with footnote 18), a Rhodian mentioned on a Thasian stone, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ Ο Ι [ΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ, secretary of the boule of Rhodes in the term of the priest of Halies ΘΕΡΣΑΝΑΠΟΣ. A date of 69/68 ^{B.C.} is tentatively proposed for the stone in the publication; however, the author tells us that the letter forms

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could well be of the second half of the 2nd century B.C. Such a date would fit with that of the eponym ΘΕΡΖΑΝΑΡΟΣ known in stamps of Period V; we have no evidence of a later homonym. In that case, perhaps the secretary of the Rhodian boula ~~was actually~~ ^{had actually been, in his creative youth,} the ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ of the stamp types 19, 20 and 21,

see Plate 3. By, say, 140 B.C., and given his family history, our man must

have been a substantial citizen. ²⁴ *Analogous* ^{8-10.10.82} ~~Something of a parallel~~ to the Rhodian

potter dynasty ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ - ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ would be the earlier Thasian one, again with aristocratic names, recently identified at Kalenere 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, ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΗΣ and ΔΗΜΑΚΛΗΣ, the potter's

name always ^{combined} with that of a dating official, the two series of dating officials

^{Two-name Thasian stamps date from about 390 to about 340 B.C. entirely distinct from one another. Garlan has matched the two potters'} ^{cf. below, footnote 43.}

names with those of a Thasian family "où l'en s'appellait de père au fils

Demalkes et Aristagoras," the alternation of names to be followed in Thasian

inscriptions from about 370 B.C. for nearly a century. ⁽²⁵⁾

this was p. 9
25
see the ref. in the
list of
11-10-82

The Knidian amphora stamps in the Middle Stea 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 ΔΑΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΘΗΡΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΣ, ΛΕΩΝ, ΛΥΣΑΝΙΟΣ, ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ, ΝΙΚΑΣΙΒΟΥΛΟΣ, ΠΟΛΥΟΥΧΗΣ (or -ΟΣ), ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ; the names are variously abbreviated in the stamps. At least 9 handles in the filling are dated by each of the foregoing names:

~~ΠΟΛΥΟΥΧΗΣ~~ dates 48; see Appendix 1 below for individual figures. Three more eponyms which each appear on ~~no less than~~ 5 handles in the filling are ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΑΤΟΣ, ΚΑΕΙΤΟΦΩΝ and ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝ (again variously abbreviated); these

probably followed or preceded pretty closely the 11. Eponyms ^{seen} ~~named~~ on only one handle in the deposit may be earlier than the others, or they may be the very latest - no time for breakage - or some might theoretically turn out to be impurities in the deposit.

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. In a fair number of the Knidian stamps from the two sources, the eponym is entitled phrourarches in the stamp; many more of the names included occur with that title in stamp types other than those found in Corinth or in the Stoa of Attalos filling; i.e. some petters, 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 phrourarches
 is named in addition to an ordinary eponym, and we find (in different stamp
 types) two and probably three different phrourarches named with the same
 eponym. ⁽³⁰⁾ Three changes per year if throughout the 22 years from ~~188 to 167~~
 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. The stamps that give the title with
 the name are often known in very few ⁽³¹⁾ examples, perhaps in a single type; no
 doubt we lack some such types by accident of preservation. The series may be
 filled out. In any case we have some dozen eponym names which by known
 combinations with the names of fabricants must be close to the beginning of
 the phrourarches period; though not yet known to us with the title, perhaps
 most of them were phrourarches. In the eponym list below, Appendix 1, they
 are marked III-IV, ^(i.e. close to the end of III and the beginning of IV) They are not present in the Middle Stea filling, save for
 APTE(MQN) and ΦΙΑΜΠΕΑΟΣ, single example each.

For eponym names found in Corinth or in the filling of the Stea of
 Attalos, most of these not identified as phrourarches, and not dated early by
 association with the Middle Stea 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

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Kyddon

$$(9, 13, 16)$$

example ~~for~~ (SS 757); but note that ΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ is one of the 11 Knidian eponyms

~~these is present in a single example (SS 757); but note that ΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ is one of~~
~~the 11 Knidian eponyms listed above as the commonest in the filling.~~ ΑΠΟΛΑΣΝΙΟΞ
 and ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ 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). Probably again, as with the
 Rhodian, we come down about 5 years after 188 B.C.

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 ~~from~~ ⁱⁿ the
 Pergamon deposit are contemporary with those in the Middle Stoa filling, but a
 single example (Pergamon VIII, 2, no. 1291, reading corrected) names a phrourarch
 ΚΑΗΝΟΙΟΑΙΞ not present in the Middle Stoa filling; while a second handle (ibid.
 no. 1290, reading again corrected) ^{apparently} names ΟΕΥΓΕΝΗΣ, one of the eponyms known with
 phrourarchoi in the same stamp, like ΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ^{or ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΜΟΣ} but not present in the Middle Stoa
 filling. ³²₂₈ So the Knidian in the Pergamon deposit, like the Rhodian,
 go down a little later than those in the Middle Stoa filling.

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on
year

all to
17.VI.81

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. 2, 4, and duplicates 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 our ~~filling~~ deposit, but they are filled out here 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 2 and 3. The first and earliest of the jars (4) is dated in the term of APXIIIIIIAAZ ; a duplicate of its dating stamp is 7, and a variation of its endorsing stamp is 8. A single handle in the Middle Stoa building fill names the eponym APXIIIIIIAAZ . The amphora 4 was found in Rhodes in a Hellenistic filling above and ~~among~~ among some tombs of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., with four Rhodian amphoras of which I should date three in the next to last decade of the 3rd century B.C. and one in the third quarter. Beside the

should be
jar from Rhodes, 5 is 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 century. It is difficult to see

here a development. 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~~ without
the jar as a whole. The dating name of 4, APXIIIIIAAZ, occurs once in the Middle

Stoa filling; that of 6, HOAIOYXHZ, 48 times (indicating 24 amphoras). HOAIOYXHZ

is in fact the commonest Knidian eponym of the filling, and perhaps therefore

one of the later ones, but not datable as late as 188, as he is not known as a

phtheurarches, nor an eponym contemporary with phtheurarchei. In Plate 3, 13

names the eponym ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ, apparently the same one in whose term phtheurarchei are

sometimes accompany the eponym in the stamps (see above), 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 phtheurarchei are named on it, but ~~like~~ (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

A noticeable change does show itself between 6 and 14. The ΣΛΑΙΠΠΟΣ named as eponym in the stamp of 14 (see a duplicate in 17) I take to be the one who

of the earliest known with the title. The evidence is chiefly the other associ-

his stamp types are all either of known phreaurarchei or of persons known in

APICTAΓOPAZ in Knidian stamps. This amphora 14 should identify for us the latest shape of the

after 188 B.C. at the beginning of the period of Rhodian control of the mainland

appearance of 14 as compared for instance with 6 (noticeable lengthening of the

slip applied over the red Knidian clay, perhaps in intended imitation of Rhodian

Chalkis. A third is interestingly, if not fully, visible as its capacity is

being taken by H.A. Thompson and E. Vanderpool.

In 15 we see what was produced for a while after control was withdrawn: the jar is dated by its ³⁸ stamp (see 18, a duplicate) in the period 166-146 B.C., or perhaps 166-157. Neck and handles have stepped pushing up to ~~greater~~ greater height; the 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 ^{the} picture, directly to the left of this tall jar, is our 14 of ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ, bright with its cream slip; next and furthest left in the same ~~xxx~~ is the Early Knidian amphora from the latest part of Thompson's Group B, which he now dates at about 240 B.C., ³⁹ say, twenty or twenty five years earlier than ⁴ of the present article. 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 Stea 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.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ 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 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ the Rhodian illustrated in Pl. 3, 19-21. ^{The stamp} 21 is very close to the

the Rhodian rose types of the same petter, ^{Three} in for instance in the term of
APXIAAIAAZ, see references in footnote 20 above. ~~Atxixaxixxix~~ duplicates of
19 occur in the Middle Stea 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
jars with the Knidian endorsements of APIETOKAHZ; 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 stamps with bull's head, or head or forepart of lion, as device; especi-
ally numerous are the bull's head stamps of ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ Ο ΑΡΙΕΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ, who was
no doubt the son of the Rhodian who used 19, 20 and 21. ⁴¹ ΑΡΙΕΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ himself
was probably the same man whose Knidian amphoras were sometimes made of actual
Rhodian clay; and perhaps the one who became secretary of the Rhodian boula
in the third quarter of the 2nd century. ⁴²

It may be observed that the ethnic KNIAION 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 Stea
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 Stea filling, against the background of the
dated 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 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 opinion, Thasian amphoras ~~continued~~ continued to be stamped after 200 B.C. All Thasian found at the Athenian Agora are to be included in the new edition of the corpus of Thasian stamps. For the Kean class particularly, the context of the Middle Stea is of value for the chronology, for which there is little other evidence; the large group of this class in the filling forms an important part of the Kean corpus of which plates and catalogue text are nearly complete. The Corinthian will be published in C. G. Keohler's forthcoming corpus of this class; cf. her dissertation of 1978 accepted by Princeton University: Corinthian A and B Transport Amphoras. For identification of the Parmeniskos Group, see ~~Hesperia~~ Suppl Pnyx, pp.168-169; a new study of this group, with much additional material, is being prepared by M. Petr  poulakeu. The stamps of the Zenon Group in the Middle Stea filling are all of the later type, containing only the two letters ZH. The Latin stamp has been published; it is from a container of Oriental type, perhaps Runic; we know a little more about the shape of the container since the discovery of the same stamp impressed on the knob toe of what was probably a long tubular jar. On the rather numerous items included under "Miscellaneous Unclass-

24.12.82
What was this
that happened in
1967? Roman
to over 2
see Poulakou

ref. also to
2 published
which
Gru. Hesperia

(late 3rd - early 2nd B.C.)

independent context of ca 200 B.C. exists for this frag.

ified," 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 the context of earlier, by duplicates from 4th century deposits: cf. a gem impression recently published, of which one of the duplicates comes from our filling. *Disputed by 48*

Special mention is finally made of the Sinepean stamps in the filling, for reasons that will appear. Cf. Plate 2, 10 - 12. B.N.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. 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 these dates, but did not live to publish revisions, (He died in September, 1970.) *49*

Four out of the six Sinepean stamps in the Middle Stea filling are of Grakov's

group VI, including 11 and 12 in Plate 2. The filling therefore suggests for the Sinepean ~~series~~ series an end date of not later than ~~about~~ 183 B.C., that of the

Middle Stea Rhodian and Knidian, as laid out above. The reasonable occasion for Sinepe is its capture, actually in 183 B.C., by Pharnakes 1st, son of Mithradates; he moved his capital to ~~the~~ the city, and no doubt made administrative changes. *King of Pontus*

(28)

- 17bis -

1.28

That the sequence of Sinopean dating officials named in the stamps ended in

183 B.C. has been in fact ~~the~~ the view of at least two Soviet scholars,

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 Plate 2, 12. It happens that we have a

possible independent indication for the date of Group IV which seems to suit and

end date for the whole series in 183 B.C. If working back from that year we

count the astynomei (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. *where Grakov's original date for IV had been 183-150 B.C.* 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 later.

And in fact one such was found at Southopolis (in Thrace), the site of which

seems to have been occupied only from about 359 to about 229 B.C. However, the

answer does not come so readily, since, I am reliably informed, many astynomei

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. Perhaps

the terms of the astynomoi were not full years, as in the case of the phrou-
archoi of Knidos. In any case, apparently these persons were not the state

53

eponymous officials. We had looked to I. B. Brashinsky of Leningrad, an

authority on this class of amphoras and their stamps, to work out this problem;

54

his sudden death in April 1982 is a great loss to this study. For the

present, in the light of the Middle Stoa context, I continue to feel reasonably

convinced that the Sinopean astynome ~~xxxxxx~~ 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,
E. Vanderpool was responsible for the part which had been thrown in ~~to the~~
south of the south foundation, and ~~to the~~ 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 ^{towards 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,

Found DT. SACT

Found in the

found in the
at a level
approx. 5

to begin

ca. 226

44 55

(30)

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 bowl were on top of the sand in the basin, one piece was on the strôsis just outside) %

one (corner and no fragments)

"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~~ wanted such a lot of fill all at once.

omit this
P. 23095 is

"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 foundations 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."

(31)

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.

In attempting to explain

Of various possible explanations of the contradictory data here assembled,

we cannot use the stamped handles mentioned by Vanderpool as rejected by me.

In my report of 1956, ~~all rejected items were~~ ^{everything ever counted as belonging to the Middle St. filling} ^{was} duly listed, including some ~~items~~ ^{handles}

catalogued in 1933 whose precise finding places had been reconsidered and

condemned by G. Roger Edwards, after investigations in the field notebooks,

as impure or otherwise irrelevant (e.g., ^{too far north}).

In the end, all the amphora handles not withdrawn from the lists by Edwards or ^{one} of the

excavators have been seen to be consistent with an end date in the second

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

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

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

a number of years, ^{by various persons}; and of about 1500 stamped handles,

apparently only five extraneous items have infiltrated, whether by a workman's

or a potwasher's mistake, or whether by a disturbance ^{possibly} caused in antiquity by

for instance the laying of a later drain. ~~(For most of the particular groups~~

of handles which included one of these late Knidian handles, the excavator has added a comment such as "Possibly disturbed by Drain 0."

No stamped handles accompanied ~~the~~ Vanderpool's long-petal bowl, nor have I been able to identify any from a filling over its settling basin.

In her forthcoming volume ^{Agora XXII} (see note footnote 45) S.I. Rotroff has separated ^(see footnote 11 and 12) the settling basin as a deposit from the Middle Stoa filling as a whole. ⁴⁷ ⁽⁵⁸⁾

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, ~~perhaps originating in Athens~~, 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 mould. ⁽⁵⁹⁾ ⁴⁸

Other current styles of bowl ornament were much more showy for the trouble taken. The long-petal style is ^{certainly not common} ~~uncommon~~ in the earlier 2nd century, but Vanderpool's bowl is not the only one at the Agora. A fragment was found in a deposit ^{deposit in which the} under the filling of the Stoa of Attalos, a ~~filling~~ ^{filling} close in date to ~~that of~~ ^{those in} the Middle Stoa. ⁽⁶⁰⁾ ⁴⁹ A bowl and a number of fragments come from a cistern shaft with 10 stamped handles, ^{handles} of ~~which~~ the latest date just after those of the Middle Stoa filling, probably still in the first quarter and

(33)

- 22 -

1.33

certainly before 166 B.C. 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 *relative*

few pieces had been found in Corinth; but a large number have now been

found there, in the excavations of 1980. A tendency to place the beginning

of long-petal bowls rather earlier than had been supposed is evident in two

recent publications, one ^{reporting} of the contents of a cistern in the Peiraies, the

other, of the pottery found at Kenchreai; in both cases ~~there are~~ accompany-

ing amphora stamps ~~which~~ suit the earlier dating. See the author's comment

on bowls at Kenchreai, in her introductory text; note that there are ¹⁴ ~~12~~

Phidian and Knidian

stamped ~~amphora~~ handles from the site that are datable in the 2nd century,

and all probably predate ^{166 BC} 146 B.C. by at least 20 years. The end date of

the stamps from the Peiraies cistern may well be before 175 B.C. ~~55~~ ~~52~~ (63)

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} ~~first quarter~~ of the century no longer seems out of line for

early long-petal bowls. I ~~should rather~~ ^{will} expect more to 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 the two classes to just about 183 B.C. Other classes are not as yet so closely 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 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 I, son of Mithradates king of Pontus (Pl. ⁴/₃, a). "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 ~~ports~~ commercial ports on the southern coast of the Euxine, Amisus and Sinope, both very important centers of the grain trade, and both closely connected with Athens in the

35
53 64
past." 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 less than those paid to "the other kings" and his glory will be assured like that of other benefactors of the city.

23.8.81
crowns
Golden wreaths 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 the city.

65 54
The inscription is now dated 160/159 (formerly 172/171). Durrbach, 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 payment might have taken care of the big terracing and foundation job, and perhaps for the Middle Stoa itself. Delayed subsequent payments could account for the piecemeal execution of the project, the way the East Building and the South Stoa are packed 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. (3)b. Thompson has suggested that the two later parts of the complex

(of inferior workmanship and partly of second-hand material) were 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 159.

What then was the principal function of South Stoa I, and of its replacement? Noting 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 Alphitopolis, where grain was sold. There seems to be a fair probability that the Alphitopolis 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 so long. For South Stoa I, a tentative identification with the Alphitopolis has already been proposed by both Vanderpool 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 proposes 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 by ropes on pulleys, or by

EC 140 1.36

64-55

67

EC 141

on dropped

4. VII. 81
Alphitopolis
on P. 140
The South
Stoa
149

67
with
EC 141
add the
main of
EC 141
in corner
EC 141

37

1.37

Q. also below, from South Stea II, with footings ~~17~~

reconstruction
to follow and
drawings in
ground
B. 1942

chutes directly into the building from behind; very little of its back wall
 is known. 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 left storage that,
 when available, has always been preferred for granaries, which ought to be
 dry and, preferably, ventilated below. A sort of confirmation that South Stea
 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 thus (almost too reasonably for a
 the Alphetopolis
 joke) be assigned for dining by Praxagora in 391 B.C. (Aristophanes, Ecclesia-
zusae, lines 684-686).

8.9.42

Steas are multiple-purpose buildings, and are known to have been used for
 the storage of grain as well as, for instance, sometimes for accommodating a
 lawcourt. One might expect Pharnakes, the great grain-merchant, to prefer to
 put his money into something more specific. Of buildings made 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 well-

with specific facility
with a specific purpose

outline of Pharnakes
with the Pharnakes

known granaries of the Romans, 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 horrea, these buildings at Pergamon and in the ~~Indus~~ Indus Valley have raised floors under which a free-flowing current of air was created by ventilation. The gap in space between India

31.X.81
against the
believed to
and came
with the return
of Alex's men:
AJA 85, 1981,
pp 332-334
(Friedman)
and pp. 334-
335 (Bill Calley)
They said
convinced me.
21.XI.81
72 AJA 82,
1978, p. 89,
note 22

and western Anatolia (and points further west) ^{we may see as} was bridged by the return of Alexander's men, the engineers ^{and} who ~~got the armies across rivers~~, the architects who laid out the new cities along the 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} must have reached the Greeks by this means; as well as a style in hats. For the gap in time between 2000 B.C. and the Hellenistic period, I cannot name ^{an eastern} a Mesopotamian granary that Alexander must have seen, to match the ^{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 over the centuries; ^(this appears to have been the case in Egypt) Wheeler observed that the grinding of grain was still being done in Kashmir in his own time in the same rather particular way evidenced by the frames of mortars ^{in found} remaining beside the ancient granaries, ^{of Harappa}

see below with footnote —
(p. 32)
darker

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.), and ^{7.4} greatly developed ^{can the 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; so far as possible dry and cool, and with a raised floor ventilated beneath. If the grain is ^{f.c. p.44} stored loose, the lateral thrust is such that the walls must be very strong; if of stone, they are often buttressed, ^{cf. Morgantina granary} 46. 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. ^{7.5} Finally such a granary should be well-placed for access, the entrance open on a quiet and protected square where ^{convenient} loading and unloading would cause the least inconvenience; ^{it should be connected} and connecting as directly as possible with sea transport. ^{cf. R. p. 3}

These specifications come largely, and in part word for word, from ^{Richman's volume of 1981} recent book chiefly on Roman granaries. Let us see how they fit the Middle Stoa, cf. again Fig.1 and Plate 3. 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 set rather unusually close together. The screening ^{was} ~~is~~ 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, ^{and one-aisled} our building would have considerable resemblance to
 the Magazine Building at Miletes, which was two-aisled 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). ⁷⁵ 76 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 Miletes build-
 ing was lighted. ⁷⁷ 78 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 Piræus Gate that served South Stoa I, taken to be
 the earlier Alphetopolis. ^{sacks} Or ^{loose grain} it might have been ~~drapped~~ lowered or dropped by chute
 through the back of South Stoa II; as with South Stoa I, little is known of the
 back wall of this building. ^{for carts or pack animals to the receiving and distributing} Access to the ~~unloading area for carts or pack~~
~~area~~ ^{animals} is apparently not to be expected; at any rate it is not provided in
 the Roman granaries. ⁷⁸ 79 (R. p. 8)

23.8.81

Had High mag
 after the 7th
 and low wall
 in 45, but
 to 300 ft
 says not
 possible
 because
 road
 full

see also
 p. 80

41

23.XI.81
(13.V.81)

1.41

the
Finally there is the matter of the raised floor ventilated below, a feature
of the Indus Valley granaries which reappears so remarkably in Pergamon ~~in the~~
granaries
1700 years later, and becomes a regular feature of the Roman ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
~~including Britain~~ ⁽⁸⁰⁾ actual parts
throughout the Empire. We have no ~~remains~~ of such a floor from the Middle Stoa.
However it seems quite possible that there was one, of wood, over most of the
area 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
the floor ^{in imagination}
space for such a floor and its elevation. On ~~it~~ we may perhaps restore the
wooden divisions of the long room into storage sections, such as are hypothesized
(the Magazine and the Middle Stoa)
for the Milesian Magazine. The remains of both buildings showed marks of strong
⁽⁸¹⁾ burning, a confirmation that there had been in each case much wood construction.
Many activities must have been involved in the operation of a large municip-
pal granary. They might have been accommodated, ^{at least} perhaps temporarily, in sections
of the partitioned interior of the Middle Stoa. On the other hand, one notes
in the ~~Middle Stoa~~ East Building, in the long east room, certain marble bedding
blocks sometimes thought to have had tables set into them; ⁽⁸²⁾ 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

23.11.81
13.V.81
p.158
p.166
p.262-263
#

42

- 31 -

25.XI.81
(18.V.91)

1.42

in South Stoa I. South Stoa II made the needed enclosure, and perhaps provided shelter for the grain as it was received, ^{with} and refreshment for the porters at

the drinking fountain at the center. To complete the complex, the "Heliaia"

(see Figure 1) seems to have had its roof ~~xxxx~~ with supporting peristyle

added about when South Stoa III was built. Business connected with grain

could absorb this further space; perhaps even legal business, since there

seem to have been "legal aspects of warehousing."

connected with flour.

3.XII.81

In this article, and often (if not ^{consistently} regularly) in various publications,

there has been an assumption that the commodity available in an Alipitopolis

was grain; note that there were two of these ^{in the 5th century B.C.,} buildings, one in Athens, and

an earlier one (built by Perikles) in Piraeus. 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 large-scale ~~flm~~ 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, son of Pharmakes.

= Eupator

(132-63 B.C.)
CAH TX, p. 391 (auth)

132
68
64

A

43

1.43

We may note that in the Athenian Agora a watermill of later times fell close to the east of where the Middle Stoa had been, and another to the east of the position of South Stoa I; possibly they had predecessors. At any rate, the ancient granaries at Harappa in the Indus Valley did have associated flour mills; in this case it is suggested that the grinding element (a wooden pestle) had been it was still was powered, as in 1946, by "circumambulating bullocks."

1946
6.78

87

5.80

Granted that it was Pharnakes I who made possible the construction of the Middle Stoa, the Long Stoa of its time, a building ~~marked~~ "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 Alphitopolis, he could ^{at least} see the outlook to come from the terrace of his new building, over the ancient Athenian civic center, beyond the Painted Stoa to the foothills of Parnes, where Harma marks the place of Phyle on the horizon.

15.80
6.64

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. For the Rhodian and Knidian, there is firm independent evidence, that brings us by separate ways for the two classes to just about 183 B.C.

classes are not clearly
 No other class is as yet so reliably dated, but in no case does there seem to

can one find
~~be firm evidence~~ *against* a date in the second decade for the examples in the

filling; while the proposed date for the Sinopean brings us once more to

no later than this is reasonably
 183 B.C. So this should be 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 I,

(80.3.1.2)
 son of Mithradates King of Pontus. "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 centers of the grain trade,

and both closely connected with Athens in the past. " An Athenian decree

in his honor in Delos informs us ^{by} on Pharnakes' relations with Athens. He had agreed to pay the city a sum of money ~~in annual~~ ^{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; send him their word they ~~assure him~~ that the honors paid to him will be no less than those paid to "the other kings" and his glory will be assured like that of other benefactors of the city. The inscription is now dated 160/159 (formerly 172/171). ⁵⁴

^(cp. ed. pp. 102-103)
Durrbach, the original editor, remarks 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., ~~when~~ following the conquest of Sinope. The matching dates encourage one to ^(try relating) ~~relate~~ this inscription

to the history of the Middle Stoa. A large initial payment might have taken

^{for the Middle Stoa, and perhaps to bldg deck/}
care of the big terracing and foundation job. Delayed subsequent payments

^{could}
~~might~~ 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. (3) ⁶⁻. Thompson has suggested that the two

later parts of the complex (of inferior workmanship and partly of second-hand material) were ^{fully} constructed by the city of Athens out of its own resources. ⁵⁵

^{As of 8/10}
^{P. 68}
The date of Pl. 6 deck is not precisely known, but may cover full some after 159.

What then was the principal function of South Stoa I, and of its replacement? Noting that Pharnaces had in 183 acquired two great centases of the grain trade, ^{it seems likely} that what he ^{would replace by a} replaced by his great new building, and ^{would be} its annexes, ^{where grain was sold} was the Alphetopolis. ^{Libellion} There seems to be a fair possibility that the Alphetopolis was the same building as ^{the Long Stoa} the Long Stoa, and certainly both South Stoa I and the Middle Stoa ^{each in its time} would qualify for this epithet. For South Stoa I, a tentative identification with the Alphetopolis has already been proposed by both Vanderpool and Thompson, following the discovery, in one of the rooms, of an inscription which had been set up by the Metronomoi, and which, inter alia, records the handing over of bronze measures for grain. Thompson would accommodate ^{grain storage} the Alphetopolis in the upper storey he proposes for the Stoa, which would face south "on a much-used thoroughfare ^(would be) and readily accessible from the Piraeus Gate." Even without the upper storey, which remains a little conjectural, access to the Stoa from the high level of the road behind was available by stairs; and grain could presumably be lowered

N. 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

by ropes on pulleys or by chutes directly into the building from behind. This building is, then, as directly accessible from the port (via the Peiraeus ~~gate~~ ^{gate}) as any 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 preferably ventilated below. However, a feature ^{of} in the actual rooms is a gap left in the stone foundations beneath the wooden thresholds of the doors; ~~this arrangement would drain and perhaps ventilate below the floors.~~ ^{is arranged to be for drainage} 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, 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 ^{thus} almost too ^{be for dining} reasonably be assigned by Praxagora in 391 B.C., along with the Royal Stoa and (probably) the Stoa of Zeus (Aristophanes, Ecclesiazusae, lines 684-686). ^{is actually} (The two latter buildings could provide only benches, not couches, ^{for dining}.)

13.V.81
Saw did not
follow early

5.V.81
John said, must be in it
must be in it
probably of
not had around

Don S3 - Book

1937 (don't recall Studen Vall but when I began)
1946, p. 26

28.VII.81
partly from text of 8.V.81

Whitely A. J. 1946, p. 26

Russell (A. J. II) 1924
Klein " 1968

- 27 -

2.05

Reimer 1971
Coulton 1976
(1976)

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 a

lawcourt. *On night expect Phaedrus the great grain - merchant, to wish I had his money at my disposal*
Of buildings made 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 well-known granaries of the Romans,

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 ~~the~~ Harappa in the Indus Valley, of

about 2000 B.C. Like the 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) was bridged by the return of Alexander's men, the engin-

eers who got the armies across rivers, the architects who laid out the new

cities along the route, no doubt using, and so ^{the both} learning, any local devices

that were obviously good. We have been shown how the use of the true arch

must have reached the Greeks by this means; as well as a style in hats. For

the gap in time between 2000 B.C. and the Hellenistic period, I cannot name

*Condit p. 11
p. 92 (G. J. G.)*

Reimer

*Boyd 1971
ASA 1980
L. J. 1980
B. M. 1980
A 34 1980
e.g. 1980
p. 52*

21.81.81

2.06.

then name

Use 15
150000
etc

150000
150000
150000

What are the general features of a

municipal grammar, present & a grade or less

is that in recognizing ^{Hellmuth} bldgs of the kind, a

Pagan (the "conservators"), Mulets (the "magicians"),

Morganthau (the "grammar"), and greatly developed

by the Roman. One looks for a bldg that is

mostly undecorated, for security as well as of ground

wealth and business, yet with sufficient light,

so One as possible dry, cool, and

rainfall floor ventilated beneath of the

Roman ^(the house) ~~Hellmuth~~ period such bldgs tend to be square

in plan, but in earlier times they are long
and narrow.

① Pagan, p. 2

0 or with
to Roman, a
bldg ~~conservators~~
length of long
narrow ~~from~~
or in Egypt
or in
of the
shaded
but in ~~rows~~
5 or 6

fil

a Mesopotamian granary that Alexander must have seen, to match the barrel vaults of Babylon still ^{visible} there in his day; but must suppose that in the Indus Valley granaries continued to be built in basically the same way over the centuries; Wheeler observed that the grinding of grain was still being done in Kashmir in his ^(own time) ~~day~~ in the same rather particular way evidenced by the remaining frames of mortars beside the ancient granaries.

[8.5.81?]

^{in general} What are the features of a ^{municipal} granary, present to a greater or less extent in a number of recognized buildings of the kind, in Pergamon (the "arsenals"), Miletos (the ~~granary~~ Magazine), Morgantina (the Granary), and greatly developed by the Romans? One looks for a long narrow building, mostly enclosed, for security as well as ^{against} weather and vermin, yet with sufficient light; so far as possible dry, cool, ~~uninhabited~~ with a raised floor under which a free-flowing current of air can be created by ventilation. 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. A municipal granary should be not far from the city center, since the state is

5/1/81
1.8.81

Morgantina
(W. 1. 1. 1.)

It should be as far as possible free from adjacent buildings to lessen the danger of fire

vitally concerned with the place of storage of grain; in Ptolemaic Egypt there was a network of such storehouses which were called ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΙ and served much as banks; unfortunately we do not know what they looked like. Finally such a granary should be well-placed for access, the entrance open on a quiet and protected square where loading and unloading would cause the least inconvenience; and connecting as directly as possible with sea transport.

St. H. H. W.
London
2.9.11

These specifications come largely, and in part word for word, from a recent book on Roman granaries. Let us see how they fit the Middle Stoa, cf. again Fig. 1 and Plate 3. Long and narrow, *it had an* its outer colonnade was largely closed by high parapets dowelled in place between the columns, *with* *an* having an open area at the top for light and ventilation; note that the columns are set unusually close together. The screening was absent from some intercolumniations (there are drums without marks), but may have closed the whole north side as well as the east and west ends and perhaps adjacent parts of the south side.

note that the columns are set unusually close together.
of drums

an building
If so, it would have considerable resemblance to the Magazine Building at Miletos (probably of the 2nd century B.C.) which was two-aisled 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), the most convenient point of entry to a single long building. The Magazine Building is not peripteral, but does have engaged columns decorating the most visible short side (it is closely surrounded by other

note that the columns are set unusually close together.
of drums

note that the columns are set unusually close together.
of drums

buildings). It is not known how this Miletos building was lighted. The Middle Stoa is better placed as a granary in that it does open on a "quiet and protected

square", the area marked "South Square" in Fig. 1. Access would be from the southwest, by the branch running north from the same road from the Peiraeus

Gate that served South Stoa I, taken to be the earlier Alphitopolis. Sacks of grain would be carried by ramp or stair to the enclosed square, perhaps by hand.

One more structural comparison with the Miletos magazine: this latter had a hipped roof, which perhaps might be restored on the Middle Stoa for better

protection of the material stored. Roman granaries often had a wide overhang at the eaves to shelter the grain as much as possible.

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

of the Indus Valley granaries which ~~we are~~ ^{one is} astonished to see reappear 1700 years

later in the Pergamon "Arsenals" of the 3rd century B.C., and become a regular

feature of Roman granaries. We have no material evidence of such a floor in

the Middle Stoa. However, it seems quite possible that there was ^{one,} ~~such a~~ floor,

of wood, over most of the area 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 metre

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 it

Many ~~operation~~ activities must have been involved in the operation of a large municipal granary. They might have been accommodated, perhaps 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 marble bedding blocks sometimes thought to have ~~been~~ had tables set into them; and tables suggest cash exchanges, perhaps the business of a municipal granary. Some of the other rooms in the building could be used to house ~~the various~~ committees that formerly met in South Stoa I. South Stoa II would provide shelter with drinking water, perhaps for the porters, perhaps for sorting the sacks of grain before putting them in place in the main building. To complete the complex, the "Heliaia" seems to have had its roof and its supporting peristyle added about when South Stoa II was built. Business connected with grain could absorb this further space.

However, a lawcourt might also have its place in a granary complex, since there appears to be a "legalistic aspects of warehousing." The appearance of the building rather calls for a hip roof on the Middle Stoa, cf. Pl. 3.

Flour
mills
& ~~laundries~~

(p. 31)

25. XI. 81

2.12

In this article, and often in other publications, ^{of not regularly}

it is ~~assumed~~ ^{has been} that ~~it is~~ an assumption that

the commodity available in ^{an} the Akropolis

was grain, with there were two of these bldgs.,

one in Athens and ~~the other~~ ^{in some apparently, also called "Long St."} in Piraeus. The ^{an earlier one}

word ought ^{actually} literally to mean "the place

where barley meal is sold." We tend to

assume the ancients used to turn round

to refer to grain, even wheat, rather than ^{anything} ~~anything~~ ^{supplies} ground. Perhaps this is

partly because we do not find references ^{or evidence of large-scale} into your world ^{to public or commercial flour mills}

before the 1st cent. BC

in the classical period, but supplies

Long St.

in note, put
in its called
Long St.

Strabo

Pliny

Vitruius

"A. Augustus"

64/3 BC born, lived at least 100 AD 2/

can be Pontus
died in 79 AD (Pompeii)

the grinding was done with hand mill

in individual households, at least

until the time of ^{Strabo} Pliny and Strabo.

However, Strabo does mention a

water mill (~~in the city~~) at Kabeis

in Pontus in connection with the palace

built by M. a. Augustus, son of Pharnaces.

We may note that ^{in the city} this water mill of later

times ~~of the Roman period~~ fell close to

to east of SS I and II to which Strabo

possibly they had predecessors. At any

rate, the ancient grinders at Harappa

did have associated flour mills, in

¹ K. Bittel, "The German Perspective and the German Archaeological Institute," AJA 84, 1980, pp. 271 - 277; the quotation is from p. 275.

The paper was read by H.G.Güterbock at the Eighty-First General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, in Boston, on December 28, 1979.

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27. IV. 82

3.03

24. II. 83

3.04

✓ H. Knackfuss, Milet ^I ~~II~~, 7, Der Sudmarkt
und die benachbarten Bauanlagen, Berlin
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1971.

How much
with p. 8
Hall's pub

Garlan 1979

Y. Garlan, "Koukes, données nouvelles pour une nouvelle
interprétation des timbres amphoriques thasiens," BCH-Supp. V,
1979, pp. 213-268.

Grace 1934

V. Grace, "Stamped Amphora Handles found in 1931-1932,"
Hesperia III, 1934, pp. 197-310.

Grace 1949

V. Grace, "Standard Pottery Containers of the Ancient
Greek World," Hesperia Supp. VIII, 1949, pp. 175-189.

Grace 1952

V. Grace, "Timbrés amphoriques trouvés à Délos," BCH 76,
1952, pp. 514-540.

Grace 1968

Grace 1971

V. Grace apud (BCH 77, 11) - liber for in catalog
V.R. Grace, "Samian Amphoras," Hesperia 40, 1971, pp. 52-95.

Grace 1974

V. R. Grace, ~~Revisions~~ "Revisions in Early Hellenistic Chrono-
logy," AthMitt 89, 1974, pp. 192-200.

Grakov 1929

B. N. Grakov, Ancient Greek Pottery Stamps with the Names
of Astynomei, Moscow 1929 (in Russian).

Knackfuss 1924

Nessana I

(num 1 nro 75, 02000)

V.R. Grace, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ apud H. D. Colt and others,

Excavations at Nessana I, London 1962, pp. 106-130.

Pnyx

V.R. Grace, "Stamped Wine Jar Fragments," in Small Objects
from the Pnyx; II, Hesperia Supp. X, 1956, pp. 113-189.

Rickman 1971

G. Rickman, Roman Granaries and Store Buildings, Cambridge
1971.

Nilsen 1909

How many
titles of
Hall's work

27.11.82

3.03

Grace 1968

V.Grace apud O. Ziegenaus and G. de Luca, Altertümer

von Pergamen XI, 1, Berlin 1968, pp. 175-178. I saw

no proof of this Exkurs, which contains many errors

not in the manuscript.

24. II. 83

3.04

✓ H. Knackfuss, Milet ^I~~II~~, 7, Der Sudmarkt
und die benachbarten Bauanlagen, Berlin
1924, pp. 156-176 in Die Magazinalle

Schuchhardt 1895 C. Schuchhardt, Altertümer von Pergamen, VIII, Inchriften, 2,

Berlin 1895, pp.423-499.

Tarsus I; ~~H. A. Thompson~~ H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery,"
Thompson 1934

Hesperia III, 1934, pp. ~~1577X~~ 311-480.

The present
This article was originally intended for the Festschrift for Homer

Hesperia, Supplement XX.
Thompson, I hope that he will accept it as a ^{fruit} supplement to that volume.

In addition to the abbreviations listed in AJA 82, 1978, pp. 3-10, the following are used:

~~star~~
Tarsus I = H. Goldmann & others, Excavations at
Gözlü Kule, Tarsus, I, Princeton
1950, pp. 135
(and 6 refs. also to non-VG list,
for context.)

short titles
for book 1

For short titles

Look through all footnotes, checking with list
of short titles of 16. XI. 87. The rules issued
by editor seem to expect use of these only if quite
frequent, i.e. other you refer to a previous vol.
Enter all refs. in EAD ref. column list of 16. XI. Add
here any not in list of 16. XI, and if perhaps
they should be, again entering all entries.

~~Reyn. VII, 2~~ note 2

Travels, Peter, David note 5

Jordan, Tarn? note 17 (p. 1)

Grave 1963? note 35 + ? ;

This article was originally intended for
the Festschrift for H.A. Thompson. I hope that
he will accept it as a supplement to
that volume.

- ✓ Item with Pinet check to left
- need short titles, and know bar
- list alphabetically

16. XT. 81

3.07

Titles and where they come in

19. XT 81

Eventually, → ✓ Gran 1952 App. 1, p. 1 footnote 13 ✓
 set out ✓ Pump App. 1, p. 2 cat. under # 8 footnote 4
bibliog. card ✓ EAD 27 " " " " footnote 2 ✓
 (or make Gran 1974 footnote 2
 new ones) ✓ Thompson 1934 footnote 45; App. 2, p. 1
 put all items ✓ Agan XII (App. 2, p. 2) footnote 4 ✓
 listed, with ✓ Garla 1974 footnote 33 footnote 5 ✓
 refs. to this ✓ Gran 1934 App. 2, p. 2 cat. under no. 5 footnote 3 ✓
 article on ✓ Casson 1953 App. 3, p. 1
 back ✓ Constance 1954
 ✓ Burial 1961 " " " " also cat. under no. 2 ✓
 ✓ Amphibians " " " " under no. 8 ✓
 Will 1979 " " p. 2
 (Orndorff " " " ")
 (Haffer " " " " 3)
 (Morel " " " ")
 (Bass " " " ")
 (Gran 1966 ? And. App. 4, p. 2
 (Farrar 1972 PLD Alp " " p. 3)
 ✓ Gran 1971 (cat. under no. 3) footnote 36 ✓
 Dumont 1871 " " " ")
 (Bottle " " " " 4)
 ✓ Sutro 1929 " " " " 7 footnote 38 ✓
 Priddy 1917 " " " " 7

(Reimer 1924 at. and #9)
 (Groff 1957 " " "
 Coll. at, Werra " " " forests 8✓
 (BCH 81, 1957 " " #12)
 ✓ Grass (1949) Suppl VIII at. and #17
forests 30✓ and 18

(Butler 1980 forests 1
 ✓ Schulz " 2
 ✓ EAD 27 " 2✓
 ✓ Reimer " 2
 ✓ Grass 1934 " 3✓
 (Corbett 1954 " 4)
 ✓ Agua XII " 4✓
 (Grass 1946 (ATA 1946) forests 4)
 (Trancon 1971 48 5
 ✓ Agua XIV forests 10✓
 " IV " "
 " VIII " "
 (Klein 1975 " M
 ✓ Rotoff, 1982? " 11, 45, 47
 ✓ Boisvieux 1941 " 14, 53
 (Goldman, Tansu " 17?
 (Willis 1978 " 19?)

(Frasen 1954	fortuit	20?
(Heller 1906	"	21?
(Vozgindov 1972	"	33)
Frasen 1963	"	35
(Frasen 1956 "Ancient Sea"	fortuit	36)
Frasen 1979, <u>Bland</u> ,	"	37
(Tschukmisthenko 1960	"	39
(Balkauski	"	40
(Brashinski 1966	"	40
(Dmitrov 1957, 1961	"	40
(J. & L. Robert, 1959	"	"
(Bergström 1962	"	"
(Mitschenko, 1964	"	"
(Dmitrov and ? 1968?	"	"
(Gaidukovich, ed., 1964	"	41)
(Brashinski, 1963	"	41
(Thompson Hosp. 1954	"	44)
✓ Edwards, G. D. 1956, <u>Purple</u>	"	45 ✓
✓ " 1975 (in. 1977)	"	45, 48
" C.M. 1981	"	51
(Metzger 1971		52
(Adamski 1979		52
(Dunbar 1921		54
(Dunbar <u>Arch</u> 1931		54
(Dow 1935		54

(4)

(16. 8T. 81)

3.10

↓ Coulton, 1976

↓ Rickman, 1971

Boyd 1978

Lehman 1980

DBT, Tray 3

19. XI. 81
Use in typew fair
copy of
fortuit.

(5)

(16. XI. 81)

3.11

Short titles needed

Get out also
bibling cards
and write
refs. to this
article on
back

✓ Agona XII fortuit 4

✓ Agona XIV fortuit 10

✓ Agona XXII, fortuit 11 (also in Ch. Edwards' 1980 notes)

✓ Amphioxus cat. no 8; appendix 3, p. 1

omit (Benoit 1961, no. 1 - different article
cat. under no. 2; App. 3, p. 1)

✓ Coulter, 1976

✓ ~~Della~~
~~EAD~~ 24 fortuit 2 $\frac{1}{2}$

omit (Edwards, G. R. 1956 fortuit 45, ?
" " 1975 fortuit 45, 48)

✓ Garland, 1979 fortuit 5, 33 etc
get full title etc. for transfer of note 6

Golden, note 17 - thunder = Tarsus I

✓ Grace 1934 fortuit 3 etc

(omit) ✓ Grace 1949 " 30 etc. ?

✓ Grace 1952 " 13, 34 ?

✓ " 1968

✓ Grace 1971 " 36 cat. under # 3

✓ Grace 1974 (Riviera) fortuit 2

✓ Graham 1929 etc 38 etc

(6)

(16. 8. 21)

3.12

Knecht 1924

✓ Wessman F

faint 8, 1 col. and 79

✓ Niles✓ P. naysa" 4, at. #5, App. 1
p. 2

Pardot

~~" Russell (Gunn)"~~

" 2 at

✓ Richman, 1971mt 539
19

(Rudolfzoff 1941)

" 14, 53)

~~Rodoff, 1982~~

" 11, 45, 47

✓ Schmidt (Perry)" 2, ¹⁷at. 22, 35✓ Tompson, 1934

" 45 at

*gestuht - 26**27.V.82*

Grace 1968

V.Grace apud O. Ziegenaus and G. de Luca, Altertümervon Pergamen XI, 1, Berlin 1968, pp. 175-178. I sawno proof of this Exkurs, which contains many errors

not in the manuscript.

1

K. Bittel, "The German Perspective and the German Archaeological Institute," AJA 84, 1980, pp. 271-277; the quotation is from p.275. The paper was read by H. G. Güterbock, at the Eighty-First General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, in Boston, on December 28, 1979.

2

C. Schuchhardt, Die Inschriften von Pergamon II, 1895, p. 423. For a recent discussion of the deposit, see V.R.Grace and M. Petropoulakou, in Ph. Bruneau, ed., Exploration archéologique de Delos,²⁷ Paris 1970, ~~pp. 277-382~~ especially pp. 290-291; inclusive page references for this chapter are pp. 277-382, and it is cited henceforth in the present article as EAD 27.

It includes a general review of studies of container amphoras and their stamps with much bibliography. Its absolute chronology for the 3rd century B.C. is to be revised as indicated in V.R.Grace, "Revisions in Early Hellenistic Chronology," AthMitt 89, 1974, pp. 193-200; see especially p.200 for corrigenda in EAD 27. On this article, cited here as Revisions, see further below, Appendix 2.

On the Pergamon deposit, see further below, with ^{broth} no 22. Figures given have been somewhat revised following revisions.

3

For appreciation still felt, see Hesperia III, 1934, p. 200 with

note 5; EAD 27, p. 278, last paragraph of note.

4

For the handles, see Hesperia 3, 1934, p. 210, nos. 1-3. On the deposit, Hesperia 24, 1954, Agora XII, under H 17 : 5 (stamps not cited).

Discussion of the subgroup of Thasian, AJA 50, 1946, p. 35; Pnyx, p. 127

and p. 129 under b and c; however these stamps would now be dated about

mid-4th century B.C.

5 Summary

On the Pnyx, see J. Travlos, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens,

Recent Summary on London 1971, pp. 466-476, with bibliography, p. 467. ~~More recently on the~~

~~stamps, EAD 27, bottom of p. 355. Cf. BCH Suppl. V, 1979, p. 246 with note 12 (Y. Garlan).~~

EAD 27, bottom of p. 355. Cf. BCH-Suppl. V, 1979, p. 246 with note 12 (Y. Garlan).

Garlan).

6

On the investigation in Thasos, see Y. Garlan, "Koukes, données

~~nouvelles pour une nouvelle interprétation des timbres amphoriques thasiens,~~

BCH suppl. V, 1979, pp. 256-258, taken from an unpublished excavation

report, apparently of late 1933. Garlan's article as a whole, pp. 213-

268, is referred to hereinafter as Garlan 1979.

for ref AS-4
full titles
needed here

Coordinating
refs. 8
Suppl. V

and later

7

Filed with Deposit Summaries, under its grid number H-K 12-14. Text accompanied by extensive lists, and analyses by class, of the stamped handles from the Middle Stoa filling, also of those from some related groups found in the neighborhood; lists also of the individual grid positions cited by the excavators. We are under considerable obligation to G. R. Edwards for making definitive the primary list, of items to be counted as coming from the filling, especially for the earlier (pre-war) finds. Cf. below, text with note 46.

8

Cited H.E. Colt and others, Excavations at Nessana, I, London 1962, p. 124, comment on no.24 (V.R.Grace).

9

EAD 27, p. 291, and see below.

10

H.A.Thompson and R.E.Wycheley, The Athenian Agora, Volume XIV, The Agora of Athens, Princeton, 1972, p. 67. The date given in Agora IV, VIII, and XII, in the deposit lists, had been to ca. 150 B.C., a date evidently

determined from the appearance in Edwards 1956 publications, see below, note 45 (date of filling equals date of start of long-petal bowls)

Grand reference in Agora XIV, p. 66, note 179: the quotation actually refers to EAD 27, p. 382, and still unprinted passage in EAD 27, p. 290-291, 320.

footnotes - 4

11

F.S.Kleiner, Hesperia 44, 1975, pp. 303-311. (For his separate Deposit

III, see his p.311, I have not been able to identify handles that we discussed

in this connection, cf. his note 14). S. Rotroff's comment, ^{For see Agora XXII p. 102} ~~derives from the~~

~~manuscript of her forthcoming volume on Hellenistic relief bowls from the~~ ^{of} ~~the~~

^{Vol. XXII, Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imports} ~~Athenian Agora.~~ I have profited much from discussion with her on Agora

deposits.

~~Moldmade Bowls (Princeton, in press)~~

12

^{of 1960} The count was made by M. Petropoulakou and A. Dimoulis, to whom I

owe much help in the preparation of the present article as of previous ones.

The handles were counted as laid out in their classified storage, and figures

include some 4865 items which have not been inventoried because they are inferior duplicates of inventoried items, and have no useful excavation context.

^{in any case} The figures are not very up to date, but recent excavations have not added

new stamped handles to our collection at the earlier rate. Last inventory

number of the 1960 count: SS 14,402; last of the 1980 season: SS 14,843.

13

Cf. ^{gru}~~Hesperia~~ III, 1934, p. 280, no. 233, Early Knidian stamp on a whole amphora from Thompson's Group B, cf. ibid. p. 202, fig. ~~index~~ 1, no. 6, for the jar, and see further below (date now ca. 240 B.C.). Cf. ^{gru}~~BCH~~ 76, 1952, pl. XIX, 1, for another Early Knidian stamp/

14

Social and ~~Hellenistic~~ Economic History of the Hellenistic World, Oxford 1941, p. 1647. It should be remarked that the relative figures of Rhodian and Knidian handles in fillings of the first half of the 2nd century B.C., such as that of the Stoa of Attalos mentioned above, may be somewhat misleading as indications of relative volume of trade. If the Knidian production of 188 - 167 B.C. was under Rhodian control, then at least half of the 70 Knidian in the Stoa of Attalos filling, ^{then} ~~being~~ dated by phrourarchoi, should presumably be counted as Rhodian. ^{for the last 9 years of trade} ^{then} ^{on the 87 p. 1}

see below, p. — and
~~Attalos~~

↑
not yet in
text
page

names
footnotes - 8

15

145

Tarsus I, p. 148, no. 75b; the context, "top level, Middle Hellenistic

Unit," indicates a date of late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C., cf. *ibid.*, p. 30-31.

Note that the restoration of the name KAAAIIKPATHE in the main stamp of no. 75

does not now seem correct.

On secondary stamps on Rhodian handles, usages and dates, see EAD 27, p. 380,

index to discussions on the subject in various parts of our chapter in that volume,

when reference to earlier literature on the subject will be found
Corrigendum: the early Rhodian fabricant ΣΩΤΑΣ there mentioned, now dated ca. mid3rd century B.C., does use secondary stamps: a nearly whole amphora of his in

Rhodes has a secondary stamp (with a monogram) beside each of its main stamps

(temporary inv. no. ME 547, dated by the eponym ENIXAPMEZ; mentioned here by

permission of Mr. I. Papachristodoulou). For a published Rhodian amphora that

has a secondary stamp, cf. footnote 30 below. Another whole amphora, not yet

published, demonstrates the association of the eponym NIKAZAΓOPAZ 1st with

circular
ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ who uses rose types, and bears a secondary stamp with the letter alpha:this is G. 544 of the Musée Gréco-Romain in Alexandria, previously cited, EAD 23,

p. 306, under E 15.

Noting suggestion, Tarsus I, p. 135

16

Schuchhardt 1895, p. 432.

note 2
under 117, 76 B - 74 B
indicates a pair
of stamps from Tarsus
no. 24
observing not for the same die.

footnotes - 9

3,26

17 For ~~on~~ the Lindian priesthood of ΑΣΤΥΜΗΔΗΣ ΘΕΑΙΑΗΤΟΥ, see C. Blinkenberg,

Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914, II, Inscriptions, Berlin and Copen-

hagen 1941, p. 23. On the cursus honorum in Rhodes, L. Morricone, "I sacerdoti

di Halies," Annuario ASAtene 27-29, 1949-1951, p. 375. On names of Rhodian

eponyms in stamps for whom identifications have been proposed with priests

named in inscriptions, cf. EAD 27, p. 299 with references. Of particular

interest ~~xxxxx~~ is the triple correspondence examined ibid., p. 313, under E 34,

of three known stamp eponyms with ^{three} priests of Halies cited in SEG III, 674.

The stone has been discussed recently by P. M. Fraser, Rhodian Funerary Monu-
ments, Oxford 1977, pp.60-61, but in his documentation, pp. 150-151, under

343, he fails to use the text on E 34 with its clarification on the dates of
the stamp eponyms, based on information not available to the scholars he quotes.

On Astymedes and Theaidetes in stamps, apparently ~~the~~ persons mentioned
by Polybios, see the good commentary by F. Bleckman, De inscriptionibus quae
leguntur in vasa Rhodia, Göttingen 1907, pp.19-20. Cf. recently F. W. Walbank,

A Historical Commentary on Polybios, Oxford 1979, p. 303, on persons with

these names; correct the priesthood of 154, which was that of Athana Lindia,

not that of Halies. The stamps provide an earlier eponym Astymedes, but his

year as priest of Halies should date nearer 213 than 204; they provide also

21.XII.81

3.21

footnotes - 10

tentatively

a much later one, who has been identified with a priest of Athana Lindia of

46 B.C., see EAD 27, p.299 with note 3.

Theaidetos is given a year, 188 B.C., as priest of Athana Lindia by H. Van

gives as source an inscription "not yet published" by Blinkenberg. No such 3.22

6
not
with
ing
2
inscription appears in the Lindian corpus of 1941; and P. M. Fraser kindly
informs me, in a letter of 22.VII.81, that there is no reference for any priest-
hood of Theaidetes in the records from which he is compiling the new lexicon^c
of Greek personal names.

23.XII.81
and something to say about clustering
of data naming Osiris as found in the METSF

also sitting about Sheln and
'Astynghy'?

13

Cf. Hesperia III, 1934, p. 280, no. 233, stamp on a whole amphora from Thompson's Group B, cf. ibid. p. 202, ~~xxxxx~~ fig. 1, no. 6, and see further below (date now ca. 240 B.C.). Cf. BCH 76, 1952, pl.XIX, 1, for another

Early Rhodian stamp

14

Social and Hellenistic History of the Hellenistic World, Oxford 1941, p. 1647.

15

The counts in Alexandria were made on a large ~~sample~~ ^{sample} of the Benaki collection, nearly 18,000 handles bearing potters' stamps and covering the alphabet as a whole. (Names which needed further study, and often sorting into homonyms of different dates, were omitted from the count.) Handles with the names of individual potters were counted, and the totals later sorted into the date periods. Here are some results: Period II, about 35 years, 1200 handles dating in this period, an average of 34 per year; Period III, about 30 years, 2093 handles, average of ca. 70 per year; Period IV, about 29 years, 2257 handles, average of ca. 78 per year; Period V, about 38 years, 8618 handles, average of ca. 227 per year; Period VI, ca. 20 years, 3267 handles, average of 163 per year.

— cont. —

26

On two wrecks at Grand Congloué, see Appendix 3 below.

27

Cf. EAD 27, p. 326, under E 62.

(37)

Ag. 1934, p. 202, fig. 1, no 7. a third is mentioned in the same Ag. 1949, pl. 19, 1-3

28

See Revisions, p. 198, note 19.

39

(40)

See reference to footnote 20.

(41)

29

Secondary stamp with theta on the side of the handle at the ^{upper} attachment

on Agora SS 11952; perhaps the same (incompletely preserved) on a handle from excavations by the late John Threpsiades, which we were allowed to photograph in July 1959; the main stamp on both handles is like our 16. SS 11952

is exhibited in Shop D of the Stoa of Attalos (on the 3rd floor of the glass case).

30

Ag. 1949,
Hesperia Suppl. VIII, pl. 19 and p. 186, no. 5 for the amphora; ibid.,

pl. 20 and p. 187, nos. 4 and 5 for the stamps on the Rhodian jar; ibid.

pl. 20 and p. 187, no. 6, for the Knidian rose type of ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ with rose for comparison (like our 17).

(41)

31

On Knidian lion types, see summary EAD 27, p. 335, under E 103. On the

32

33

BCH Suppl.V, 1979, pp.213-268.

[Handwritten notes on lined paper, mostly illegible due to blurring and orientation.]

the cited
also -
p. 5

interprétation des timbres thasiens,"

On the corpus, see recently Y. Garlan, op. cit. in note 33, p. 213.

On the Zenon Groups, the earlier and the later, see Hesperia 32,

1963, ~~pp. 319, 321-322~~ pp. 319, 321-322 with note 9, 331 with note 25. The

article is concerned with finds at Koroni in Attica, where examples of the

earlier group were found. With revised 3rd century dating, cf. footnote 2 and

Appendix 2 below, one would like to suggest an identification of the Zenon of

the earlier group with Zenon of Kaunos, agent of Apollonios in Egypt, although

apparently he had not come to Philadelphia by 265 B.C. Cf. P.M. Fraser,

~~Ptolemaios Alexandrius~~ op. cit. in footnote 15, II, p. 286, note 283. Whole

amphoras bearing stamps of the earlier group have been found recently in a wreck

off Turkey; I owe the information to G. F. Bass, via M. Katzev. The later Zenon

group may be connected with the earlier.

V.R. Grace apud S.S. Weinberg, ed., The Aegean and the Near East, Studies

Presented to Hetty Goldman, Locust Valley, 1956, pl. XII, no. 10, cf. text pp.

97 and 109. A second example of this stamp (which reads C.S) may come orig-

inally from the filling: see ibid. no. 11. So far as I know, no further

examples are known.

Note that most of the work on this class of stamps has been done by

Soviet scholars, since the material is found in abundance in the Black Sea

area, while it is uncommon elsewhere.

For the earlier end date, see V. I. Tsekhmistrenko, "Sinopean pottery

stamps with the names of master potters," Soviet Archaeology 1960, p. 75 (in

Russian). The author cites the expansion of the Pontic kingdom and the final

taking of Sinope in 183 as the reasons for the breaking off of stamping

Sinopean amphoras with the names of astynomes. The late Professor V. F.

Gaidukevich, in the basis of observations during his excavations, was ready

to accept 183 as the end date of the series, according to a letter he wrote

in October 1957 to Emily Grace Kazakevich. He quotes the opinion of a member

of the Kerch Museum staff who specialized in stamps of Sinope (presumably

Tsekhmistrenko?) "that . . . the latest Sinope stamps with name of astynomos

go only as far as the moment of the seizure of Sinope by Pharnakes (183). He

I liked the idea very much and found it most convincing. . . . And when I

read just now . . . that V. Grace has come to a completely identical conclusion, I was

simply amazed. Two investigators came to the very same conclusion independ-

of
ently from each other." (A translation; for Gaidukevich, who visited us at

the Stoa of Attalos in 1960, did not know English.) Of, however I. B.

See also EAD 27, pp. 283-284.

footnotes - 13

18.10.81
This is the detail
of note 41, not to be used in the HAT article
1964, p. 307, note 55, gave the period 360 - 330. Brashinsky dated the same

period 360 - 320 (op.cit. in footnote 39, p. 133). At the Athenian Agora,

stamps of Groups Ib and of Group II have both been found in deposits of the

third quarter of the 4th century B.C.: 1) SS 14823, from deposit R 13 : 11, ~~SS 14823~~ in which we have restored

name of the
the astynomos ΦΙΑΩΝ, because of the combination of symbols (kantharos and
grape cluster) and the arrangement of the stamp, which is like 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.XIII,

no. 17. See Grakov, op. cit. in footnote 38, pp. 116 on the style of stamps

naming ΦΙΑΩΝ, and p. 119 on ~~Group Ib~~ Group Ib, where ΦΙΑΩΝ is listed.

2) SS 11354, from deposit J 11 : 1, in which we restore the name of the
astynomos ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΗΣ (partly preserved), because of the symbol, lion's head

This astynomos belongs to Group II.
on face. See Grakov, op.cit. p.123.

note 41 cont.

deposits of the third quarter of the 4th century, dating the change from

I to II in that quarter century: SS 14823 of Ib from deposit R 13 : 11,

and SS 11354 of II from deposit χ J 11 : 1.

53
42

Cf. Grakov, op. cit., p. 49.

54
43

Very many thanks are due to Dr. Brashinsky for information received in letters as well as for many offprints. He has recently contributed the names in Sinopean stamps to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names being prepared under the auspices of the British Academy, a large contribution partly because of the patronymics mentioned above, which are otherwise rare in stamps.

44 55

Hesperia 23, 1954, p. 50 (Thompson).
H. A.

45 56

H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," Hesperia III, 1934, pp. 457-458. Here Thompson actually placed the start of these bowls in the "second quarter" of the century; he thus left room for the product-

(56)
 footnote (new section)
 Xfootnotes - 16

production and discard of numerous long petal bowls found in his Group D,

the end date of which he was then setting at the middle of the century (op.

date for the start of long-petal bowls
 cit. p. 370). Thompson's figure has been rounded by others: G.R. Edwards,

"Hellenistic Pottery," in Small Objects from the Pnyx, II, Hesperia Suppl. X,

1956, p.91 ~~xxxx~~ ("ca. 150 B.C."); *around 150* ibid., Corinth VII, Part III, Corinthian

Hellenistic Pottery, Princeton 1975, p.177 ("155 B.C."); S. I. Rotroff,

point to footnote "above"
~~manuscript of forthcoming volume on Hellenistic Relief Bowls at the Athenian~~

*[29.IV.81
 5 think
 said she was
 long but
 sitting
 and then]*
 Agora, p. 69 with note 175: "Thompson's conclusion is still valid; the

manufacture of long-petal bowls began around the middle of the second

century."

*On the stamps in Thompson's four groups, see
 below, Appendix 2.*

62
51

C.M.

See Charles Edwards, "Corinth 1980: Molded Relief Bowls," ~~forthcoming~~
Hesperia 50, 1981, pp. 189-210.
 grateful
 forthcoming in *Hesperia*. I am obliged to Mr. Edwards for advance information

on this important material; also for various facilitations of the present
 article.

63
52

On the Peiraeus cistern, see I. Metzger, "Piraeus-zisterne," *AEATON* 26,
 1971, pp. 41-94. Finds included 35 stamped handles (unpublished). The names

on the 5 Rhodian are all in the Middle Stoa filling, including the latest being
 that of the eponym KAEYKPATHE (tentatively 1st B.C.; see above, p. (ms. p. 7)).

Of the 10 eponyms named on the 20 Knidian, 5 are in the Middle Stoa filling,
 others are probably close in date, while one, TEAEΣIΦΩN, known as a
 phrourarchos, is the most numerous (8 handles) and probably the latest, dating
 certainly before 166 and maybe still in the first quarter.

On the Kenchreai material, see Beverly Adamsheck (correct the first name
 on the title page), *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth, IV. The Pottery*, ~~Leiden~~
 Leiden, 1979. Greek amphora stamps, pp. 25-41; ~~The author's introductory~~
~~text~~ the early 2nd century Knidian and Rhodian, nos. Gr. 60-63, 65-74.
 The author's introductory text, p. 2.

21

On two eponyms ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ and references to the two jars, see EAD 27,

p. 306 under E 15, Capacity of the later jar and comparative figures, cf.

"The Commercial Amphoras from the Antikythera Shipwreck," ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ TAPS 55, 1965, p.7, note 8; the jar is in

the Nicosia Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. CMC 198. For the epigraphical date of an

eponym ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ, see C. Blinkenberg, Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914,

II, Inscriptions, Berlin and Copenhagen 1941, p. 536, no. 246 (ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ

ΙΠΠΟΚΛΕΥΣ); 123 B.C. is the date attributed to him as priest of Athana ~~XXXX~~

Lindia, cf. ibid. p. 125, and the priesthood of Halies, which apparently he also

held, would probably have fallen shortly afterward: on the cursus honorum in

Rhodes, see L. Morricone, "I sacerdoti di Halies," ASAtene 27-29, 1949-1951, p.375.

Da Blinkenberg's documents were dated by the name of a priest of Halies, who was changed annually.

Schuchhardt 1895, p. 432. The author makes use also of the dating of

related buildings, and points out the separate contexts of certain stamps found

in Pergamon that are later than those in his deposit. He also takes up letter-

forms, and clears away an earlier view that retrograde legends in stamps

indicate, as in stone inscriptions, a 6th or 5th century date. In the

excellent dissertation of F. Bleckmann, De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in

vasculis Rhodiis, Göttingen 1907, Schuchhardt's dating ~~is~~ is used and developed;

see especially his p. 25. Cf. EAD 27, p.290.

*partially
pp. 11-13 PM WR
checked 12.11.82
(ref. Lindos)*

*see Blinkenberg
for material*

*13.11.82
PM WR
think all this
does not belong here*

date at. m. 3 and not 23

Bleckmann's

23

For the Lindian priesthood of ΑΣΤΥΜΗΛΗΣ ΘΕΑΙΑΗΤΟΥ, see Blinkenberg, op. cit. in footnote 21, p. 121, under the year 154, with commentary ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxx~~ below; see further ibid. pp. 488-490. (No mention in these in inscriptions of a priesthood of Halies. It should be observed that Blinkenberg counted the existence of a name as eponym in Rhodian amphora stamps as sufficient evidence that the person named was a priest of Halies.) On names of Rhodian eponyms in stamps for whom identifications have been proposed with priests named in inscriptions, cf. EAD 27, p. 299 with references. Of particular interest is the triple correspondence examined ibid., p. 313, under E 34, of three known stamp eponyms with three priests of Halies cited in SEG III, 674.

~~xxxx~~ The stone has been discussed recently by P. M. Fraser, Rhodian Funerary Monuments, Oxford 1977, pp. 60-61, but in his documentation, pp. 150-151, the

34

author fails to use the text on E ~~23~~ with its clarification on the dates of the stamp eponyms, which is based on information not available to the scholars he quotes; ~~so his text is confused.~~

On ~~xxxx~~ ΑΣΤΥΜΗΛΗΣ and ΘΕΑΙΑΗΤΟΣ in stamps, apparently persons mentioned by Polybios, see the commentary by ~~IX~~ Bleckmann, op. cit. in footnote 22, pp. 19-20. Cf. recently F. W. Walbank, A Historical Commentary on Polybios,

(note 27)
 Oxford 1979, p.303, on persons with these names; correct the priesthood
 of 154 B.C., which ^{was just noted} was that of Athana Lindia, not that of Halios. The
 stamps provide an earlier eponym ΑΣΤΥΜΗΔΗΣ, but his year as priest of Halios
 should date nearer 213 than ⁿ204 (cf. loc.cit.; they provide also a much
 later one, who has been identified tentatively with a priest of Athana
 Lindia of 46 B.C., see EAD 27, p. 299 with note 3).

ΘΕΑΙΑΗΤΟΣ is given a year, 188 B.C., as priest of Athana Lindia

H. Van Gelder, ^{lijke} Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen,

^{kunde}
Afdeeling Letterkunde, 5e Reeks, Deel I, Amsterdam 1915, p. 202. Van Gelder

gives as source an inscription "not yet published" by Blinkenberg. No
 such inscription appears in Blinkenberg's comprehensive volume of 1941
 above-cited; and P. M. Fraser kindly informs me, in a letter of 22.VII.81,
 that there is no epigraphical reference for any priesthood of ΘΕΑΙΑΗΤΟΣ in
 the records from which he is compiling the new Lexikon of Greek Personal
Names.

It should perhaps be mentioned that agreement
 on date as between Dissonances inscribed in stone
 and in stamps dies has also been considerably
 more difficult than with the more just discussed.
 See below, Appendix 5, on the date of the Rhodes
epi. Dyonisidēs

- footnotes - 14 -

24

For the Thasian inscription, see C. Dunant and J. Pouilleux, Recherches
sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos, II, Paris 1958, pp.26-35; on the
 "écriture", see top of p.31. The ^{author's} ~~author's~~ date depends on ^{their} ~~his~~ identification
 of a Roman governor who is mentioned; ^{they} ~~he~~ examines seven possibilities, and
 chooses the last; the second would suit the ΘΕΡΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ of the stamps, and a
 date within 141-135 B.C., which seems to be available. On ΘΕΡΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ, cf.
Nessana I, p.116, under no. 7. This eponym dates known whole jars of the
 fabricants ΑΓΑΘΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ, ΕΥΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ, ΚΑΛΛΩΝ, and ΤΙΜΑΡΑΤΟΣ.

25

See Garland's article in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, and C.R. Whittaker, eds.,
Trade and Traders in Classical Antiquity, London (now in press).

26

A small number of items among those listed by the excavators and/or by
G.R. Edwards have been identified as impurities because they are very much too
late to belong to the group. They are listed in footnote ⁵⁷ below.

27

Cf. now C.K. Williams II, Hesperia 47, 1978, pp. 21-23.

28

27

On Knidian stamp types, see EAD 27, p.323.

29

Cf. P.M. Fraser, The Rhodian Peraea and Islands, Oxford 1954, pp.93-94,
with note 3.

30

F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen and others, Inscriptionen von Priene,
1906
Berlin ~~1906~~, p.xiii; cf. ibid. p.28 under no. 19, lines 6-8. ^{For the wider of the stamp, see} EAD 27, p. 319.
^

31

M. B. Wallace suggests that particular uncommonness in some phreourarch ~~names~~ names may be compared with the "rare months" in Rhodian stamps, taken to be these of the winter, when the production of amphoras must have been reduced, cf. Nilsson 1909, pp. 126-132. A ^{four}~~three~~-month period falling mostly in the winter would see a small production.

32

Both corrections were made recently with the help of Dr. Christoph Bürker, now professor at Erlangen, who^{is} is preparing a new study of the stamped handles in Berlin from the Pergamon deposit. I note once more a Knidian stamp published with the group of the Pergamon deposit apparently by error: cf. EAD 27, p. 291, note 2.

33

(For more complete shapes,
cf. Grace 1934, p. 202, fig. 1, nos. 6-8; Amphoras, fig. 64.



The ^{name} ~~springing~~ in KT 210, the left of
Pergamon no. 1290, is abbreviated to $\Theta\epsilon$ and
the restoration is not quite certain.

23

Cf. Hesperia III, 1934, p.202, fig. 1, nos. 6-8; Amphoras, fig.64.

24

For documentation of the illustrated items, see below, pp. catalogue

25

The three Rhodian of the next to last decade are A 230 (ME 620) dated in the term of ΕΝΟΞΤΡΑΤΟΣ, and A 232 and 233 (ME 622, 623) dated in the term of ΑΕΤΥΜΗΑΗΕ 1st. The slightly earlier Rhodian is A 231 (ME 621), dated in the

All the eponyms occur in the Middle Stoa filling.
 term of ΕΕΝΑΠΑΤΟΣ. The 5 jars, including A 236 (our 14), were found during the excavations ~~1961-1964~~ (1961-1964) by G. Konstantinopoulos in the Pavlides lot in Rhodes (on Lindos Street), in a Hellenistic filling among tombs of the 4th to 3rd century B.C. I am obliged to Mr. Konstantinopoulos for permission to publish ⁴ and to mention the others; also to Olga Kakavoyannis for the information given above; also to P.M.W. Matheson for calling my attention to these stamped amphoras during our work period in Rhodes in May, 1980; and finally to I. Papachristodoulou, Ephor of the Dodekanese, for much facilitation of our work in Rhodes in recent years.

35

On two wrecks at Grand Congloué and their dates, see Appendix 3 below.

36

See EAD 27, p. 326, under E 62.

37

Grace 1934, p.202, fig.1, and text p.305, no. 7. A third amphora (SS 7210) of the same period is interestingly, if not fully, visible as its capacity id being taken by H. A. Thompson and E. Vanderpool in 1939: see Grace 1949, pl. 19, 1-3, and see text p. 185. The single preserved stamp (one handle is missing) bears the name ΦΙΛΤΑΤΟΞ, no doubt the eponym of that name, an early phourarch whose name appears in the Middle Stea filling; the stamp is an example of KT 1254. SS 7210 is from the construction filling of Agera well L 18 : 1.

38

The eponym ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ, who dates 15, occurs in the filling of the Stea of Attalos (SS 11362, example of KT 214), to which the end date is possibly 157 B.C., see above, p. 11a.

39

See Grace 1974, p.198, note 19.

40

Secondary stamp with single letter theta on the side of the handle at the upper attachment on Agora SS 11952; perhaps the same (incompletely preserved) on a handle from excavations by the late John Threpsiades, which we were allowed to photograph in July 1959; the main stamp on both handles is an example of KT 236 as on ~~12~~ 19. SS 11952 is exhibited in Shop D of the Stea of Attalos, on the south side of the glass case.

41

On Knidian lion types, see summary EAD 27, p.335, under E 103. On the son of APIETOKAHZ, cf. EAD 27, pp. 327-328, under E 66.

42

For spectroscopic tests of handles from jars of probably the same APIETOKAHZ, see EAD 27, pp.319-320 with note 1, p.320. For the secretary of the boula, text above with footnote 24.

43

Y.G.Vinegradov, "Pottery Stamps of the Island of Thases," Numismatics and Epigraphy, X, The Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow 1972, (in Russian), pp.39, 44, and 59 (table, see bottom). The evidence cited

(which is not new) shows that Thasian amphoras were stamped as late as ca. 200 B.C. (stamps from the Pergamon deposit and from Villanova in Rhodes), but not that the practice stopped then. Now that finds at Koukes in Thasos have shown that the names in one-name Thasian stamps are very probably those of annual officials (and not of potters), we should attempt a count, starting from about 340 B.C., and making allowance for repeated names. On the Koukes finds, see Garlan 1979. My own most recent summary on Thasian stamps (EAD 27, pp.354-357) had not the benefit of the Koukes finds ^{also} and does not discuss the earliest Thasian stamps with names, those without device (cf. Pnyx, pl.52, 1-4). There is much new information, and I hope to publish a revised short study of the Thasian class, including the shape-development. In the meanwhile it should be said that, following further examination of Agora deposits, there does not now seem to be good evidence to date any of the ^{Thasian} stamps with names before 400 B.C., and perhaps not before 390.

44

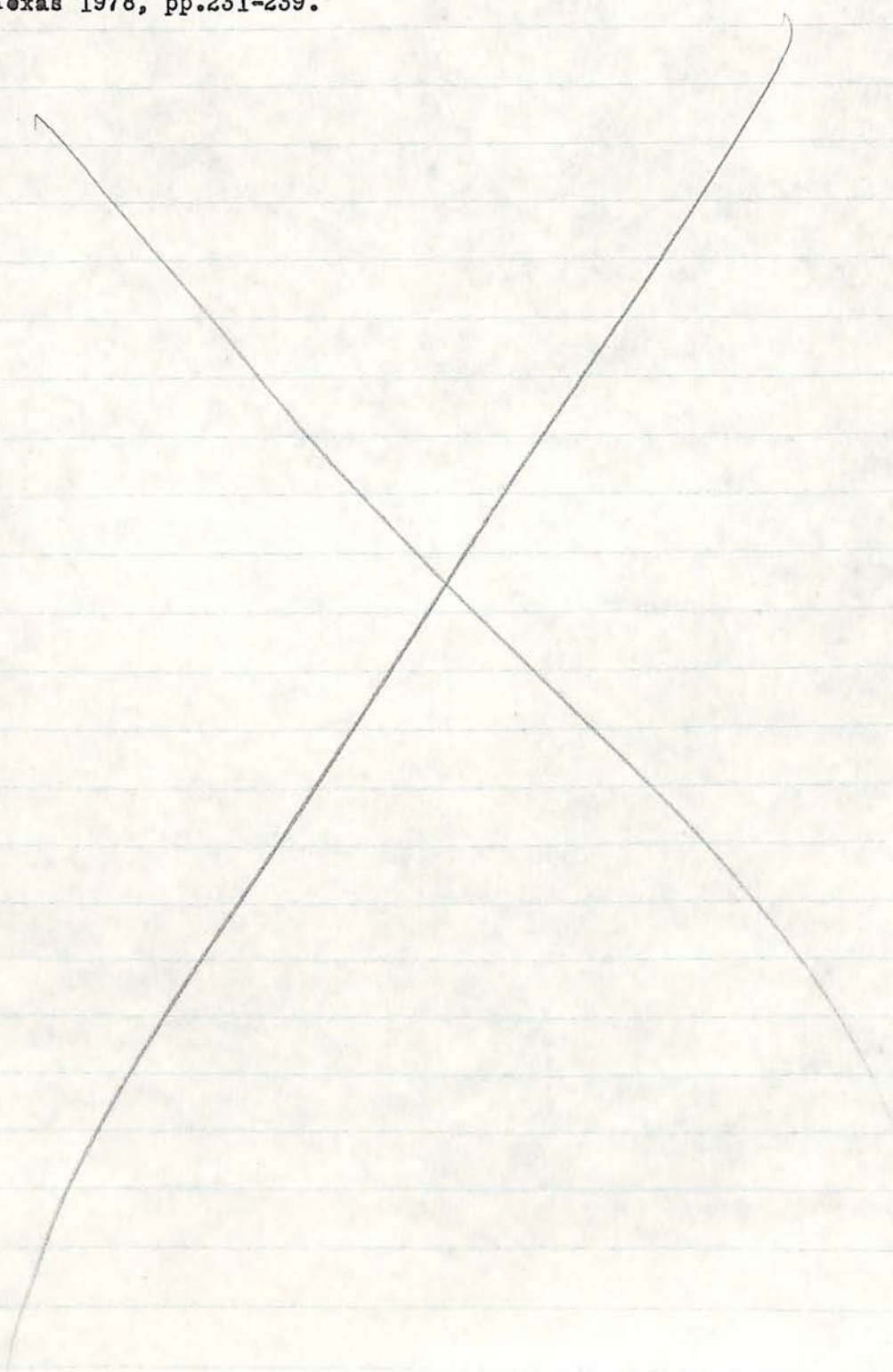
On the projected new corpus of Thasian stamps, see recently Garlan 1979, p. 213.

45

See in the meanwhile her report, "Evidence around the Mediterranean for

(note 45)

Corinthian Export of Wine and Oil," Beneath the Waters of Time: Proceedings of
the Ninth Conference on Underwater Archeology [Texas Antiquities Committee No. 6]
Austin, Texas 1978, pp.231-239.



footnotes - ²²21

3.43

46
45
On the Zenon Groups, the earlier and the later, see Hesperia 32, 1963, pp. 319, 321-322 with note 9, 331 with note 25. The article is concerned with finds at Kerani in Attica, where examples of the earlier group were found. With revised 3rd century dating, cf. footnote 2 above and Appendix 2 below, one would like to accept an identification of the Zenon of the earlier group with Zenon of Kaunos, agent of Apellonies in Egypt, although apparently he had not come to Philadelphia by 265 B.C. Cf. P. M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria II, Oxford 1972, p.286, end of note 283; V.Grace and J.-Y. Empereur, "Un groupe d'amphores ptolemaïques espampillées," Bulletin du Centenaire (Supplément au BIFAO 81), 1981, p. 426. An additional type of the earlier group, with a new second name, has been identified recently by D. T. Ariel, and will appear in his forthcoming publication of stamped handles found in excavations in the City of David, Jerusalem. Finally on the earlier group, whole amphoras bearing stamps of that series have been found recently in a Hellenistic wreck near the Glass Wreck at Serçe Liman off Turkey; I owe the information to M. Katzev; the shape of these amphoras is like early Knidian. The later Zenon Group may be connected with the earlier, although no context fixes the plain ZH(stamps earlier than the late 3rd to early 2nd century B.C.: in addition to the Middle Stea context, we have an

N.T. in
Pharos
article - G
80 in library
own.
Bonn
Katzev 8.11.81

example in the Pergamon deposit (no.1278), and one from a filling in the Stea of Philip in Deles (TD 6231, mentioned by permission of A. Vavritsas, the excavator); the Rhodian stamps from the same filling date ca. 210 - 190 B.C.; cf. Grace 1974, p. 198, note 21.

47

Latin

C.S

For the stamp, which reads ~~C.S.~~, see V.R.Grace apud S.S.Weinberg, ed.,

The Aegean and the Near East, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman, Locust

Valley, 1956, pl. XII, no.10, cf. text pp. 97 and 109. A second example of

this stamp type may also come originally from the filling: see ibid. no. 11.

The third example, impressed on a tee fragment, is NAA 890 from the excavations south of the Acropolis by the late John Meliades in 1957; he gave me

permission to use it in publication. This fragment had again a context of ca.

200 B.C. (information by kindness of Ch. Kamelipeuleu). See the comment

by E.L. Will on p. 97 of my publication cited: her suggestion that the

letters C.S may stand for civitas stipendiaria, a Spanish commune that paid

a fixed impost to Rome, seems the best possibility. After Scipio's victory

at Ilipa in Spain in 207 B.C., such communes were required to deliver to Rome certain

goods, including perhaps oil. Cf. CAH VIII, pp.306, 308, 310. Officially marked

containers may have been used, the shape, that used by the Carthaginians who had preceded (and) the Romans in Spain.

On other classes listed above, p. 4, as present in the Middle Stoa filling, see summaries with references in EAD 27, cf. index p. 382; on Samian(?) ptew stamps, see Grace 1971, pp. 82-84, with notes (note 83, p.84, cites Middle Stoa context); the identification as Samian is not established. An article on this class is being prepared by Professor Bürker of Erlangen.

(2.IV.81)

48
37

V.R.Grace apud G. Kopcke and M. B. Moore, eds., Studies in Classical Art and Archeology, A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen, Locust Valley, 1979, pl. ~~XXXVI~~, 2, cf. catalogue text, p. 126, where under 2, SS 675 is listed as a duplicate from the Middle Stoa filling of two stamps ~~from~~ from 4th century deposits, SS 8210 and SS 14771; note that the illustrated example, SS 12440, is from the area of the Middle Stoa.

49

Grakov 1929. Reviewed: A. Kecevlev, PhilWeek 53, 1933, pp. 630-647.

50

~~Note that~~ Most of the work on this class of stamps has been done by

Soviet scholars, since the material is found in abundance in the Black Sea area, while it is uncommon elsewhere. Sinopean amphoras are thought to have carried oil, not wine, so it is not surprising that few of the stamped fragments have been found for instance in Athens.

(to limit last
the ref. for
the 3)

For the earlier end date, see V. I. Tsekhmistrenko, "Sinopean pottery stamps with the names of master potters," Soviet Archeology 1960, p.75 (in Russian). The author cites the expansion of the Pontic kingdom and the final taking of Sinope in 183 as the reasons for the breaking off of stamping Sinopean amphoras with the names of astynomoi. The late Professor V. F. Gaidukevich, on the basis of observations during his excavations, was ready to accept 183 as the end date of the series, according to a letter he wrote in October 1957 to Emily Grace Kazakevich. He quotes the opinion of a member of the Kerch Museum staff who specialized in the stamps of Sinope (presumably Tsekhmistrenko?) that "the latest Sinope stamps with name of astynomes go only as far as the moment of the seizure of Sinope by Pharnakes (183)." He found it most convincing, the more so when he learned that another investigator (myself) had arrived at the same conclusion independently.

Grace 1968, p. 176, no. 7; also
Cf. ~~EAD~~ EAD 27, pp. 284-285.

51

See A. Balkanska, "Die Handels^Sbeziehungen von Southopolis," in Vie
conférence internationale d'études classiques des pays socialistes, Sofia
1963, p.52, fig.3, no.1, a clearly legible Sinepean stamp that names the
~~astynomes~~ astynomes ANTIMAXOZ with his characteristic device, a horn, and
the fabricant NIKIAZ, both belonging to Grakov's Group IV, see Grakov 1929,
pp. 138 and 184 for the astynomes, and pp. 140 and 207 for the fabricant. Cf.
the comment of I. B. Brashinsky, "Recent Foreign Research on Ceramic Inscriptions,"
Soviet Archeology 1966, 2, p.334 (in Russian), where the dates^{of Southopolis} are given. 7
These ~~days~~ dates, 359 - 229, come actually from the earliest and latest coins
found on the site, those of Philip II of Macedon (359-336 B.C.) and those of
Demetries II (239-229 B.C.). The earliest of these coins apparently preceded
the founding of Southopolis, were lost in the Thracian village that preceded
it on the site. See D. P. Dimitrov (the excavator, in 1948-1954), "Neuentdeckte
epigraphische Denkmäler über die Religion der Thraker, etc.," Hommages à W.
Deonna, Collection Latomus 28, Brussels 1957, pp. 181-193; cf. J. and L.
Robert, REG 72, 1959, pp. 209-210; most recently, D. P. Dimitrov and M.
Cičikeva, The Thracian City of Southopolis, British Archeological Reports,
suppl.ser., 1978 (cf. ^{review,} JHS 100, 1980, p.269). Mrs. P.M.W. Matheson investigated
for me the dates, and provided many references.

52

Grakov's original dates for his Group I were late 4th to 270 B.C. (Grakov 1929, p. 112), but his revised view, quoted by Brashinsky in V.F.Gaidukevich, ed., Olbia, Temenes and Agera, Moscow-Leningrad 1964, p. 307, note 55, gave the period 360 - 330. Brashinsky himself dated the same Group 360-320 in 1963, see his "Economic relations of Sinope in the 4th to 2nd centuries B.C.", Ancient Town, Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow 1963, p.133. (See this same page for the author's comment on the early end date proposed by Tsekhnistrenko, for which he saw difficulties.) At the Athenian Agera, stamps of Groups Ib and II have both been found in deposits of the third quarter of the 4th century, dating the change from I to II in that quarter century: SS 14823 of Ib from deposit ~~Rx14x~~ R 13 : 11, and SS 11354 of II from deposit J 11 : 1.

53

Cf. Grakov 1929, p.49.

54 *We are much indebted to the author*
~~Very many thanks are due to~~ Dr. Brashinsky for information received

Not doing for his
in letters as well as for many offprints. ~~He has recently~~ contributed the
names in Sinepean stamps to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names being prepared
under the auspices of the British Academy, a large contribution partly because
of the patronymics mentioned above, which are otherwise rare in stamps.

55
Hesperia 23, 1954, p. 50 (H. A. Thompson).

56 *Thompson 1934*
H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," Hesperia III,

~~1934~~, pp.457-458. Here Thompson actually placed the start of these bowls
in the "second quarter" of the century; he thus left room for the production
and discard of numerous long petal bowls found in his Group D, the end date
of which he was then setting at the middle of the century (op.cit., p.370).
Thompson's date for the start of long-petal bowls has been rounded by others:
G. R. Edwards, "Hellenistic Pottery," in Small Objects from the Payx, II,
Hesperia Suppl.X, 1956, p.91 ("ca. 150 B.C."); ibid., Corinth VII, Part III,
Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery, Princeton 1975, p. 177 ("155 B.C."); S.I.

Retreff, Agora XXII,

(cont.)

footnotes - 29

On the stamps in Thompson's five Groups, see below, Appendix 2.

46 57
(57) 45

(11.IV.81)
example of KT 605,

The five stamps are as follows: SS 11826, dated in the term of EPMSN,

cf. a duplicate published EAD 27, p. 345, E 162; SS 12918, KT 2112, names

the duoviri $\Lambda\Lambda\chi\eta\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\gamma\eta\theta\alpha\epsilon\mu\omicron\zeta$, on whom see EAD 27, p. 344, E 150; SS

12959, a Late Knidian belonging with EAD 27, p. 354, under G; SS 13056,

KT 486, term of EPMSN, a duplicate is EAD 27, p. 343, E 147; SS 13096,

KT 1578, the duoviri $\kappa\alpha\pi\eta\epsilon\alpha\lambda\alpha\epsilon$ and $\epsilon\gamma\beta\omicron\gamma\alpha\omicron\zeta$, see EAD 27, p. 344, E 153,

156, 157. The first and last come from Section M Σ , the rest from K.

cf. above, footnote 7.

The settling basin is listed as I 14 : 2.

discussed by Polignac
Agnes xxix
 (on art. in *Journal de la Société de Numismatique*), p. 102.

See Edwards, Corinth VII, pp. 177, 178, on the exacting task of

incising the earlier long-petal designs in the mould, and the greatly

increased production ~~whence~~ after a shortcut was devised.

The deposit is ~~xxxxx~~ Q 8-9, the fill over the floor of the Square

Reinsch
~~Building~~, and the bowl fragment is P) (*20204*) (*Polignac no. 325*). The Rhodian stamped handles in

Q 8-9 run down only to the eponym IEPSN 1st, dated tentatively 198 B.C., but

the Knidian to the eponym $\Phi\Lambda\Theta\Phi$ (, probably the early phrourarch $\Phi\Lambda\Theta\Phi\Omega\Omega$, hence

after 188; ^{this} the stamp type is present in the Middle Stoa filling. On the

tentative attribution of Rhodian eponyms to specific years, see *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 1974, p. 199.

Long-petal bowl, P 14330; cistern shaft, E 15 : 4. The latest Rhodian

SS 4600,

is dated in the term of $\text{APXIAAIAA}\Sigma$, tentative date 177 B.C.: he is known

in the Pergamon deposit but not in the Middle Stoa filling; on this eponym,

see EAD 27, cf. ~~index~~ pp. 272, 291. The latest Knidian is probably SS

4598, dated in the term of the phrourarchos $\text{APIETEIAH}\Sigma$.

62

See C. M. Edwards, "Corinth 1980: Molded Relief Bowls," Hesperia 50, 1981, pp. 189-210. I am grateful to Mr. Edwards for advance information on this important material; also for various facilitations of the present article.

63

On the Peiraeus cistern, see I. Metzger, "Piräus-zisterne," Deltion 26, 1971, pp. 41-94. Finds included fragments of long-petal bowls (ibid. pl.12 and pp.61-62); also 35 stamped handles, not yet published. The names on the 5 Rhodian handles are all in the Middle Stea filling, the latest being that of the eponym ΚΑΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ (tentatively ca. 187 B.C., see above, p. ⁸¹). Of the 10 eponyms named on the ~~20~~ ^{18 or 28} Knidian handles, ^(the rest are without eponyms) 5 are in the Middle Stea filling, others are probably close in date, while one, ΤΕΛΕΣΙΦΩΝ, known as a phreourarches (see ^P Appendix 1, s.v.), is the most numerous (8 handles) and probably the latest, dating certainly before 166 and maybe still in the first quarter.

On the Kenchreai material, see Beverly Adamsheck (correct the first name on the title page), Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth, IV, The Pottery, Leiden, 1979. Greek amphora stamps, pp.25-41; the early 2nd century Knidian and Rhodian, nos. Gr. 60-63, 65-74. The author's introductory text, p. 2.

53

Rostovtzeff, op. cit. in footnote 14, p. 630.

54

F. Durrbach, Choix d'inscriptions de Delos, Paris 1921, pp. 97-105,

no. 73; the inscription is here dated 172/1. For the redating of the

Athenian archon named, see e.g. W. B. Dinsmoor, The Archons of Athens in theHellenistic Age, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931, p. 260; and S. Dow, Hesperia

4, 1935, p. 91. I am indebted to M.B. Wallace and J.S. Traill for numerous

references and for the information that the date 160/159 still stands.

66

56

Agora XIV, p. 68.

19.V.82

Add this HAT's view
 that the west end was a
 bit later, also very common
 on #13:1

also
 Dittenberger
 (in front of)

= F. Durrbach - Choix d'inscriptions de Delos

Paris 1926 - , no. 1497

St. Tracy says, Wallace
 (Wallace says I used give this
 - MBW, Dittenberger)

some other, also
 help of St. Tracy,
 Wallace

67

Hesperia 37, 1968, pp. 75-76 (Vanderpool); ibid. p.56, and cf.

Agora XIV, p. 76, note 216 (Thompson). In August of 1972, E. Harrison was inclined to accept the identification for South Stea I, partly for its suitable nearness to the Eleusinion, the area of which she considered extended somewhat further north than had been supposed.

68

On South Stea I, Agora XIV, pp.74-78.

69

Coulton 1976, p. 11. Cf. Agora XIV, p.93, on the varied uses of the Stea Peikile.

70

On Roman granaries, see in general Rickman 1971. On the predecessors ~~at~~ at Pergamon and in the Indus Valley, see Rickman's summary and references, ~~his pp.~~ his pp. 252-255.

71

See T. D. Boyd, "The Arch and Vault in Greek Architecture," AJA 82, 1978, pp. 83-100. P. W. Lehmann, AJA 84, 1980, especially pp. 528-529, develops

Boyd's suggestion by the reminder that architects for the planned new cities
 his
 along ~~the~~ way had accompanied Alexander's journey east. On the hat, see
 B.M.Kingsley, "The Cap that survived Alexander," AJA 85, 1981, pp. 39-46;
 and cf. D. B. Thompson, Troy: the Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic
Period, Supplementary Monographs 3, Princeton 1963, pp.53-55, for a nice
 summary on this hat.

In objection to Boyd's suggestion, it has been pointed out that other
 Greeks preceded Alexander in the east, for instance the Ten Thousand ~~Warrior~~
 (W.M.Calder III, AJA 85, 1981, p.334). But this was not an outfit prepared
 to build cities. They did pass the ruins of Nineveh, and Xenophon describes
 for us its remarkable outer walls; but mostly the way lay through primitive
 villages. Engineering was ^{rather} ~~mostly~~ common sense, such as going upstream in
 order to get across an impassable river.

72

Boyd, op.cit., p.89, note 22.

73

Rickman 1971, p. 298.

74

For pre-Roman granaries, cf. Rickman 1971, pp.252-257; Coulton 1965, p.11;
 and references given by both.

75
74

Regulations known to me are 4th century AD, see Rickman 1971, p.191.

76
75

(end of last line p. 6, "end - entrance"),
Coulton 1976, p.259, states that the entrance to the Magazine at Miletos was at the south end, but Knackfuss, the authority he cites (Milet I, 7) describes it as apparently entered from the middle of the long (west) side. (Knackfuss 1924, p.176).
Cf. also G. Kleiner, Die Ruinen von Milet, Berlin 1968, p. 120. Coulton's useful volume has other slips: e.g. on p. 221 there is a statement that the Middle Stea in the Athenian Agora has three lower column drums in situ "at each end" (no doubt for "at the east end").

77
76

Knackfuss 1924, p. 176.

76

The Magazine Building apparently had a hip roof. This would look well on the Middle Stea, in association with the 2nd century form of the "Heliaina", cf. Plate 3; and in fact no part of a raking gison for the building has been found. But I learn from W.B.Dinsmoor, Jr., that the position of the interior supports of the Middle Stea precludes, or practically precludes, a hip roof.

75
74

On pouring in grain at the top and extracting it from the bottom, see our fuller information from Egypt, cf. Rickman 1974, p. 298.

79
78

Rickman pp. 8, 86, on evidence at Ostia.

80

Rickman 1971, p. 255.

81

Knackfuss 1924, p.158. H. A. Thompson, A Guide to the Excavation and Museum, Third Edition, 1976, p. 166;

W.B.Dinsmeer, Jr., The Propylaia to the Athenian Akropolis, I, The Predecessors,

Princeton 1980, p. 35, note 1: "... The fire that destroyed [the Middle Stea]

was so intense that the inner face of every architectural member is terribly

utilated. . . " Here, as in the case of the Stea of Attalos, we note the

luxury implied by the free use of wood in Athens, and give the donor credit for importing it.

82

H. A. Thompson, The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavation and Museum,

Second ~~Revised~~ Edition, 1962, p. 102.

Agera XIV

83

Agera XIV, p.69, fig. 24.

put
some
else
in detail
me

Ant. 1 ~~280~~ {start}
280 {reign
- 262/1 death

Hand .36, 11

Phosin admin
Agathosticta help
Ant. (III) to moon
Ephra (259)

T

3.586

Nancy
Serwint
Serwint

137

Crane

APISTO

APISTO

footnotes - 37

84

W. Judeich, Topographie von Athen, 2nd edition, Munich 1931, pp.

364-365, with long footnote 1 on p.365, for Athens; and pp. 448-449 for

Peiraius. Both Judeich (op.cit., p.365) and Wycherley (The Athenian Agora, III,

Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia, Princeton 1957, p.21 under no. 3) have

placed the Athenian Long Stoa somewhat outside the Agora proper because of the

scholion on Birds 997, according to which "Kolonos" ~~(unqualified)~~, which they

take to be the Market Hill, lies behind it. But apparently Kolonos in this

instance is a district, not a hill, cf. Wycherley in The Phoenix, 13, 1959,

p. 74 with reference to D. M. Lewis.

85

Strabo xii. 556; cf. Rostovtzeff, op. cit. in footnote 14, p. 365.

86

Judeich, op.cit. in footnote 81, p.136.

87

Ancient India 1946, p.78.

3. All. 82

Look up,

before

note 84,

that 1900

on the long

Stoa - get

it from

Wycherley.

Grace

footnotes - 10

2) with month secondary stamp upsilon like those used by
and Eton College collection, no. 138 of the
stamped handles. My records of the collection I owe to the kindness of the late
George Tait and of several of his students of the '60s, including particularly
Harington.
Nicholas ~~Harington~~

3) with same month and probably same die as in (2), a secondary stamp is
indicated in a drawing, but not identified, or mentioned: F. Benoit, "Nouvelles
épaves de Provence," Gallia XVI, 1958, reading on p.33, drawing in fig.41, p. 32
(from Anse Saint-Roch, Antibes).

4) with unrestored month, secondary stamp upsilon: D. B. Shelov, "Pottery
Stamps from the Excavations at Phanagoria," Materials and Studies of Archeology
in the USSR, no.57 [1957] (in Russian), p. 138, table, eponym entry 37. The
stamps are not illustrated, so the dies are not known. I have restored the name

of the eponym:

There is no other possibility.

The data for $\Delta\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\delta\alpha\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ are given in detail because this
name was omitted among the details of the MSBF in
information given to S. Pichoff: see Agate ~~XXII~~, p. 102. It is
Grace 1949, pl.19 and p. 186, no. 5; stamps, pl.20 and p.187, nos. 4-5;

regretably, the secondary stamp beta ^{could not be?} is not illustrated.

21 Schuchhardt 1895, p. 432.

perhaps also of
interest to others
for our name the
kind of evidence
available as shown
mountain for
stamps on other

- footnotes 11 -

21

On two eponyms ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ and references to the two jars, see EAD 27,

p. 306 under E 15, Capacity of the later jar and comparative figures, cf.

"The Commercial Amphoras from the Antikythera Shipwreck," ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ TAPS 55, 1965, p.7, note 8; the jar is in

the Nicosia Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. CMC 198. For the epigraphical date of an

eponym ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ, see C. Blinkenberg, Lindes, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914,

II, Inscriptions, Berlin and Copenhagen 1941, p. 536, no. 246 (ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ

ΙΠΠΟΚΛΕΥΣ); 123 B.C. is the date attributed to him as priest of Athana ~~ΙΙΙΙΙΙ~~

Lindia, cf. ibid. p. 125, and the priesthood of Halies, which apparently he also

held, would probably have fallen shortly afterward: on the cursus honorum in Rhodes, see L. Merricone, "I sacerdoti di Halies," ASAtene 27-29, 1949-1951, p.375.

Schuchhardt 1895, p. 432. The author makes use also of the dating of

related buildings, and points out the separate contexts of certain stamps found

in Pergamen that are later than those in his deposit. He also takes up letter-

forms, and clears away an earlier view that retrograde legends in stamps

indicate, as in stone inscriptions, a 6th or 5th century date. In the

excellent dissertation of F. Bleckmann, De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in

vaseulis Rhodiis, Göttingen 1907, Schuchhardt's dating ~~ixm~~ is used and developed;

see especially his p. 25. Cf. EAD 27, p.290.

30. VIII. 82
Use Brashinsky's
Eurein (1973)

30. VIII. 82
Use Brashinsky's
Eurein (1973)

10
S.V.82
(?IV.81)
3.62

footnotes - 27

52

Grakov's original dates for his Group I were late 4th to 270 B.C.

(Grakov 1929, p. 112), but his revised view, quoted by Brashinsky in V.F.Gaidukevich, ed., Olbia, Temenos and Agera, Moscow-Leningrad 1964, p. 307, note 55, gave the period 360 - 330. Brashinsky himself dated the same Group 360-320 in 1963, see his "Economic relations of Sinope in the 4th to 2nd centuries B.C.", Ancient Town, Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow 1963, p.133. (See this same page for the author's comment on the early end date proposed by Tsekhmistrenko, for which he saw difficulties.) At the Athenian Agera, stamps of Groups Ib and II have both been found in deposits of the third quarter of the 4th century, dating the change from I to II in that quarter century: SS 14823 of Ib from deposit R 13 : 11, and SS 11354 of II from deposit J 11 : 1.

53

Cf. Grakov 1929, p.49.

Brashinsky's date for Group I remains the same ten years later, see this long useful article, "The Peopling of the Crimea from the USSR," Eurein 1973, pp. 111-144

(64)
53

Rostovtzeff, op. cit. in footnote 14, p. 630.

(65)

54

F. Durrbach, Choix d'inscriptions de Delos, Paris 1921, pp. 97-105,

no. 73; the inscription is here dated 172/1. For the redating of the

Athenian archon named, see e.g. W. B. Dinsmoor, The Archons of Athens in the

Hellenistic Age, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931, p. 260; and S. Dow, Hesperia

4, 1935, p. 91. I am indebted to M. B. Wallace and J. S. Traill for numerous

references and for the information that the date 160/159 still stands.

(66)

55

Agora XIV, p. 68.

12.7.81

For suggestion on the date of entry of the M.S. -
likely, our belief, p. 88.

19.5.82

Add here that the
archon was not
but later, as suggested
on p. 131.

was
Durrbach
new list
(in journal)

= F. Durrbach - Choix d'inscriptions de Delos

Paris 1926 - , no. 1497

St. Tracy says, Wallace agrees
(Wallace says I should give this
- MBW, Dittenberger)

14.8.82
Tracy (p. 114, 35, 39)
doesn't say just
with 65 - a sign

somehow, also
help to St. Tracy,
W. Wallace

(44)

Appendix 1: dated list of eponyms in Knidian stamps

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 ^{sheet} may be of use to others since it is the only one of its kind in print. ^{Small list of 12 eponyms}

^(The names were given in 19 To P. M. Fraser to be included in his edition of the Ptolemaic names. In this case, differences, as pointed out in the original, are to be noted.)
To explain the various indications beside the names, I begin with the date-

equivalents expressed by Roman numerals; ^{not ca. with all figures:}

III ²²⁰ ca. 220 - ca. 188 B.C.

IV A ca. 188 - ca. 167

IV B ca. 167 - ca. 146

V ca. 146 - ca. 108 B.C.

VI A ca. 107 - ca. 98 B.C.

VI B ca. 97 - ca. 88 B.C.

VI C 85 - ca. 78 (?) B.C.

VII later 1st B.C.

To correspond more closely with the way these numerals have been used

^{below, Appendix 4}
(see above, text preceding footnote 15),
to sort by date the Rhodian names, some of the earliest Knidian eponyms

^{rather}
should be attributed to Period II 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 ΑΡΧΙΗΜΙΔΑΣ, cf. Pl.1, 1 and 4. Not all the

early ones have been sorted out yet, and ^{Knidian eponyms} all datable before about 188 B.C.

are here listed as III. For the derivation of the Roman numeral date periods

as applied to Rhodian names, see BCH 76, 1952, p.525; they were adapted from

(45)

those by which Grakov divided chronologically the astynomoi of Sinope, and
Rhodian *considered then to date at 220-180 B.C.*
the names were sorted according to discovery in the Pergamon deposit, or in
Carthage or Corinth, both destroyed in 146 B.C.; or in miscellaneous other
contexts known at that time. In contrast, it has been possible with the
Knidian to isolate the eponyms *10/11/52* (belonging to two periods that are administra-
tively distinctive in Knidos: 1) *the eponyms (on with)* ~~these~~ named as phrourarchoi (188-167 B.C.,
period of the occupation of Knidos by Rhodes, our Knidian ~~X~~ IV A); and 2)
those accompanied in the stamps by pairs of officials who may be called
this is our Knidian VI
duoviri (the stamps often call them andres, and they are always two); Other
pairs of
traces (epigraphical, historical) of these commissioners have ~~been~~ not been
although = detailed in 1956
identified. They are dated for us by mass presence in destruction fillings,
20-21. VII 81
in Athens the destruction by Sulla in 86 B.C., and in Delos that by Mithra-
dated 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 *Purpur (1956)* ~~Hepperia Suppl. X~~, pp. 147-150,
where the accompanying duoviri are named with each eponym, but where some
proposed explanations are probably wrong and have been superseded; and EAD
27, pp. 320-323 for addenda et corrigenda, including notes on tax-gatherers.

46

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 that 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. For distinguishing between eponyms of IV^V and V, with Knidian as with Rhodian this depends quite 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, EAD 27, pp. 374-378, leads to information on many individual Knidian and Rhodian eponyms and fabricants.

IV A, then, is the period of the phrourarchoi of whom apparently 3 served each year, in 4-month terms (see above, p.); all eponyms marked IV A in our list (save those marked IV Aa E) are known in one or more stamp types with the title. Knidian IV A is overlapped in date by Rhodian III, of which the last ~~10 years~~ 7 years ("IIIc") are at present dated ca. 182 - 175 B.C. As the minuscule c following the Roman numeral means late in that period, so a minuscule a (e.g. IV Aa) means early. Other indications: ϕ 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

(47a)

21.VII.81

Appendix 1 - 4

4.04

9 persons present

that appear in the Middle Stoa filling or in that of the Stoa of Attalos

are followed by (MS) or (SA), with a figure added if there is more than

one exemplw. Names listed in footnote ⁵⁷48 are not here marked (MS).

18.V.82

- Note that the person A Kn. dp. name

in the SA may indicate an end date of 157

note the 146

1 for such name, y. above, p. 11c.

f.c. 11c 20, 21

(47b)

25.VII.81

Especially strong confirmation is supplied

for the Knid dates by the abundance

known interconnection of sponge - fabric names,

y. above, up. damaged p. 9
available because most of the name for the 2

series are combined within the stamps

(App. 1)

-65-

The general list of Knidian eponym names is followed here by a repeat
 of those from Period VI, annotated with the names of the duoviri ^{that appear} ~~named~~
 on the same amphoras with each of these eponyms; i.e. their terms were at
 least in part contemporary. Note overlaps in some cases, as between
~~APIET~~ ANAPOMENHΣ and APIZTOKPATHΣ; presumably these two eponyms served one
 right after the ~~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 Pnyx, p. 149, most
 of the revisions having been called for in Delos 27, see p. 321, note 2; cf
 also p. 350, under E 180. The letters A, B, and C refer to the ^{chronological} ~~data~~ divisions
 of Period VI (see above).

~~Ag = 03/Βουλινος (C = 9)~~

26.X.82

4.06

'Αγίας (B)	'Αριστοκλῆς - 'Αρτέμων
'Αλέξανδρος (A)	'Αριστόβουλος - Μόσχος Κράτης - Πολίτης
'Ανδρομένης (B)	'Αγησίπολις - 'Ερμίας 'Αγησίπολις - 'Ερμόφαντος
'Απολλωνίδας (C)	Δαμάτριος - Εϋφρων
'Αρίσταινος (B)	'Αγίας - 'Αριστογέννης
'Αριστόδαμος (B)	'Απολλόδωρος - Διδόγνητος
'Αριστοκράτης (B)	'Ιάσων - Μύστης 'Αγησίπολις - 'Ερμόφαντος
'Αριστομήδης (A)	Ευκράτης - Πολύχαρμος 'Ιππόστρατος - Πολύχαρμος
Δαίδαλος (A)	'Αρίσταινος - 'Ερατίδας
Δαμογένης (C)	
Δαρδκρίτος (A)	Κράτης - Πολίτας - της Κράτης - Πονοσυλέτης
Δαρδκρίτος (C) (KT 2202)	"Αντανδρος - 'Ερμίας ^{WV} ? (KT 2305)
Διονύσιος (B)	'Αγαθοκλῆς - Θεύκριτος
Διονυσιοκλῆς (C)	Δεξιφάνης - []έτης (KT 2146)
[Εϋ?]βουλος (C)	
'Ερμόφαντος (B?)	'Αθανόδωρος - 'Απολλώνιος 'Αγαθόδωρος - 'Απολλώνιος
'Ερμων (B)	'Αριστόβουλος - Μελάντας
Εϋφραγόρας (B)	Εϋπόλεμος - Λάχης

Taken by AD
from Page
p. 149, with
some addition
from me.

Checked by
us:

a.) from full
original list,

to be sure

nothing omitted

(Ag = 03/Βουλινος
was)

b.) from Page
p. 149 &

catalogue

in copy
from him

Θεύπομπος (C)

Ἀριστεύς - Βάκχιος

4.07

Ἰππάρχος ὁ Διονυσίου

(A)
A

Κρατερὸς - Νικασίβουλος

Ἑρμίας - Νικασίβουλος

Καλλιμήδης (A)

Ἰππόστρατος - Πολύχαρμος

Κλεύπολις (A)

Πυθόκριτος - Τηνάδης

Πίσινος (B)

Εὐβουλος - Καρνεάδας

Ἀπολλόδωρος - Διδύνητος

Πολίτας (A)

Ἰάσων - Κάλλιππος

Πολίτης (A)

Διονύσιος - Φιλόπολις

Στρατοκλῆς (A)

Εὐκράτης - Κλεύπολις

Ἰππόστρατος - Κλεύπολις

Σωσίφρων (A)

~~Δαμάτριος~~

Δημήτριος - Κυδοσθένης

~~Δαμάτριος - Εὐφρων~~

(44)

(sent to B. P. ...
and returned 11.7.82)

17.VII.81
4.08

Appendix 1: dated list of eponyms in Knidian stamps

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} be of use to others since it is the only one of its kind in print.

(The name was given in 19...)
To explain the various indications beside the names, I begin with the date-

equivalents expressed by Roman numerals; *and ... all figures:*

- III ^{ca. 220} ca. 220 - ca. 188 B.C.
- IV A ca. 188 - ca. 167
- IV B ca. 167 - ca. 146
- V ca. 146 - ca. 108 B.C.
- VI A ca. 107 - ca. 98 B.C.
- VI B ca. 97 - ca. 88 B.C.
- VI C 85 - ca. 78 (?) B.C.
- VII later 1st B.C.

To correspond more closely with the way these numerals have been used
(see above, text preceding footnote 15)
to sort by date the Rhodian names, some of the earliest Knidian eponyms
rather should be attributed to Period II 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 APXIIIIIAAE, cf. Pl.1, 1 and 4. Not all the
early ones have been sorted out yet, and ^{Knidian eponyms} ~~all~~ datable before about 188 B.C.
are here listed as III. For the derivation of the Roman numeral date 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, and
 Rhodian ^{considered them to date from 220-180 B.C.}
 the names were sorted according to discovery in the Pergamon deposit, or in
 Carthage or Corinth, both destroyed in 146 B.C.; or in miscellaneous other
 contexts known at that time. In contrast, it has been possible with the
 Knidian to isolate the eponyms belonging to two periods that are administra-
 tively distinctive in Knidos: 1) ^{the eponyms (or with)} ~~these~~ named as phrourarchoi (168-167 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 ~~never~~ not been
 identified, ^{although - detailed in 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 Mithra-
 dated 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 ^{Purpura (1956)} ~~Hesperia~~ Suppl. X, pp. 147-150,
 where the accompanying duoviri are named with each eponym, but where some
 proposed explanations are probably wrong and have been superseded; and EAD
 27, pp. 320-323 for addenda et corrigenda, including notes on tax-gatherers.

(45)

no attention
1956This stamp
is from
Rhodes

46

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 that 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. For distinguishing between eponyms of IV^B and V, with Knidian as with Rhodian this depends quite 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, EAD 27, pp. 374-378, leads to information on many individual Knidian and Rhodian eponyms and fabricants.

IV A, then, is the period of the phrourarchoi of whom apparently 3 served each year, in 4-month terms (see above, p.); all eponyms marked IV A in our list (save those marked IV Aa E) are known in one or more stamp types with usually $\phi\rho\alpha\rho\rho\alpha\rho\alpha$, occasionally $\phi\rho\alpha\rho\rho\alpha\rho\alpha$ or $\phi\rho\alpha\rho\alpha$ the title. Knidian IV A is overlapped in date by Rhodian III, of which the last ~~ixxyxxxx~~ 7 years ("IIIc") are at present dated ca. 182 - 175 B.C. As the minuscule c following the Roman numeral means late in that period, so a minuscule a (e.g. IV Aa) means early. Other indications: ϕ 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~~ 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

47A

21.VII.81

Appendix 1 - 4

4.11

a person present
~~that appear~~ in the Middle Stoa filling or in that of the Stoa of Attalos

are followed by (MS) or (SA), with a figure added if there is more than

one exemplw. Names listed in footnote 46 are not here marked (MS).

28.V.82

- Note that the person A Kn. sp. name
in the EA may indicate some and date of 157
for such name, y. above, p. 110.

(474)

7/4
p. 46

23. VII. 87

4.12

Especially strong comparison is supplied

for ~~the~~ Kinder dates by the abundance

known interconnection of spongers - fishermen names,

of above, my design p. 9
available because most of the name for the 2

series are combined within the stops

5
one

(48)

- 'Αγαθόβουλος, III-IV?
- 'Αγαθόβουλος, ~~VI~~ VII
- 'Αγαθοκλῆς, IV A (SA 2)
- 'Αγαθοκλῆς, V
- 'Αγέστρατος, IV A (SA)
- 'Αγίας, IV Aa Φ
- 'Αγίας, VI B
- "Αγνων, IV A
- 'Αθηνοκλῆς, III-IV
- 'Αλέξανδρος, VI A
- 'Αμοτέλης, IV B or Va?
- 'Αμύντας, IV B or Va?
- 'Αναξανδρίδας, VII
- 'Αναξιππίδας, IV B (SA)
- 'Ανδρομένης, VI B
- "Αντανδρος, IV A (SA)
- 'Αντίπα(τρος), VII
- 'Απολλόδωρος, V
- 'Απολλωνίδας, IV A
- 'Απολλώνιδας, VI C
- 'Απολλώνιος, IV Aa Φ (MS 3, SA; abbr.)
- 'Απολλώνιος, VII
- "Αρης, VII
- 'Αρσταινος, VI B
- 'Αρσταρχος, IV A (SA)

- 'Αριστείδης--ας, IV A (SA)
- 'Αριστῶν, IV Aa
- 'Αριστογένης, IV Aa E (SA)
- 'Αριστόδαμος, VI B
- 'Αριστοκλῆς, IV B (SA)
- 'Αριστοκράτης, VI B
- 'Αριστομήδης, VI A
- 'Αριστόπολις, VII
- 'Αριστωνίδας, IV A
- "Αρρω(, III-IV (SA)
- 'Αρτέμων, III-IV (MS, SA: abbr.)
- 'Αρχέστρατος, IV Aa Φ (MS)
- 'Αρχιπρίδας, III (MS)
- 'Ασκληπι(, VII
- 'Ασκληπιδίδης, IV A (MS)
- 'Ασκληπιδόωρος, IV A (SA)
- 'Ασκληπιδόωρος, V
- 'Ασπείριος, IV A
- 'Αχαιός, VII
- Βῶν, IV A (SA)
- Βουλαρχίδας, IV A
- Δαίδαλος, VI A
- Δαμάτριος, III-IV
- Δαμογένης, III (MS 15?)
- Δαμογένης, VI C
- Δαμόκριτος, VI A

π - IV, 2

Δαμόκριτος, VI C
 Δαμόκριτος, VII
 Δεξιφάνης, IV Aa E
 Δημήτριος, VII
 Διασο(, III ?
 Διογένης, IV B
 Διδόδοτος, VII ?
 Διδώφρος, VII
 Διοκλῆς, V
 Διοκλῆς, VII
 Διονύσιος, IV A
 Διονύσιος, V
 Διονύσιος, VI B
 Διονυσοκλῆς, 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

III-IV, 1

(51)

* Επίσχαρμος, IV B (SA)
 * Ερμοκράτης, IV A (SA 5)
 * Ερμόφαντος, IV B
 * Ερμόφαντος, VI B?
 * Ερμων, VI B
 [Εϋ]βουλος, VI C
 Εϋβουλος, VII
 Εϋγένης, IV Aa E?
 Εϋκράτης, III (MS 16, SA)
 Εϋκράτης, IV B
 Εϋκρατίων, IV A Φ?
 Εϋφραγόρας, IV B
 Εϋφραγόρας, VI B
 Εϋφραγόρας, VII
 Εϋφράνωρ, V
 Εϋφράνωρ, VII
 Εϋφρο(,? VII
 Εϋφρων, IV A Φ
 Ζηνόδοτος, IV B
 * Ηρόφαντος, V
 Θαλιμβροτίδας, V
 Θεαίδητος, III-IV
 Θεμιστώνατος, III (MS 5)
 Θευγένης, IV Aa E
 Θεύδαμος, III (MS)
 Θεύδαμος, VII
 Θεύδοτος, IV A (SA 2)
 Θευδωρίδας, IV B
 Θεύδωρος, VII

III - IV, 1

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Θεουκλῆς, IV A
 Θεύξενος, IV A (SA)
 Θεύπομπος, 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
 'Ισιδωρος, 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)
 Κοίρανος, IV B

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Κυδοκλῆς, V
 Λάκρατος, VII
 Λάχαρτος, III-IV
 Λέων, III (MS 17)
 Λυσάνιος, III (MS 10)
 Λυσικλῆς, IV B
 Μεγακλῆς, IV B
 Μένανόρος, III ?
 Μενεκράτης, IV Aa @
 Μενεκράτης, V
 Μενέλαος, III?
 Μενέστρατος, IV A
 Μένιππος, IV A?
 Μένιππος, 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

III-IV ?

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)
 Σωφίμαχος, IV A (SA)
 Σωφίφων, VI A
 Σωστρα(, III-IV
 Ταυρῖσκος, IV Aa Φ
 Τάχιππος, IV A
 Τελεκρέων, IV B (SA)
 Τελεσίφων, IV A
 Τιμακλε(, IV Aa E
 Τιμασικράτης, V

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Τιμόθεος, IV A
 Τιμοσθένης, IV A
 Τιμοφῶν, IV A
 Φιλάρπελος, III-IV (MS, SA 2)
 Φιλήτας, III ?
 Φλίππος, IV Aa (MS 11, SA)
 Φλίππος, V
 Φιλισ[, VII
 Φιλιστίων, III (MS 3)
 Φλίστος, IV B or Va
 Φιλίων, ? III
 Φιλόδαμος, IV A
 Φιλοκράτης, IV Aa Φ (MS)
 Φιλομβροτίδας, V
 Φιλομή(δος), VII
 Φιλοσθένης, VII
 Φιλόφρων, IV Aa (MS, SA)
 Φλιτάτος, IV Aa (MS 2, SA 6)
 Φιλτίδας, IV A
 Φίλων, VII
 Χρύσιππος, V

56

15.VII.81

from text of 20, 23, III.81

4.21

Revised 3rd century dating, and to
Appendix 2 stamps in Thompson's groups
from 1974

The article "~~Revisions~~", cited above, footnote 2, 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 are} point 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

^{from 1974} See "~~Revisions~~", and its numismatic appendix by J.H. Kroll, with events of the Chremonidean war of 265 & 260 B.C. ~~xxxxxx~~ 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 2nd century dates in general.

I append here my present dating of the stamps in Thompson's five published

Hellenistic groups. For his publication, see above, footnote ⁵⁶ 25; the full

article covers pp. 311-480. It need hardly be said that here as elsewhere

we are building on Thompson's work, and that before the publication of his

"Two Centuries" there was nothing from which to depart. The very notion

of publishing a group of pottery from 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.

20. X. 82

For Pottery's comments on Thompson's groups, see
Agas XXII, pp 107-110.

Group A (G 13 : 4) lower fill (depth 4.45): the single stamped handle, annual SS 1160, is from a Thasian die that named the ~~xxxxx~~ official THAEMAXOZ; another impression ~~is~~ Bon no. 1607. Third quarter of 4th century B.C. A handle (on a restored jar) stamped with another type naming THAEMAXOZ 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 ~~above~~ footnote 33, reference to article by Y. Garlan. Note that SS 1160 is a small fragment, and may be earlier than Group A as a whole.

Group B (H 16 : 3): ~~the single stamped handle, SS 282, a Knidian published~~ end date now set at ca. 240 B.C., cf. ~~Revisions~~ pp. 194, 197; and 198, note 19, with Thompson's present opinion.

Group C (G 6 : 2): the single stamped handle, SS 282, a Knidian published with a wrong restoration in ~~Hesperia~~ 1934, p. 269, no. 199, is to be read: EHI] HAN[TA]AE(ONTOZ) KN[I(AION) monogram

The type number of the stamp is KT 1784. Three other examples are now on record, all from Athens, two from the Agora. There are two variant types

58

4.23

with the same name and monogram, with a total of eight examples, from Athens and Alexandria, of which one is SS 11981 from the Middle Stoa building fill

(example of KT 1443). ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΩΝ is known in Knidian stamps only in these

published three types. In the commentary on SS 282 cited above, correct the reading

given for SS 556, also from the Middle Stoa filling: the reading of the

(in the genitive) name should be ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ. Eponyms named in these Knidian circular types

with monograms in the center are mostly present in the Middle Stoa filling;

one is ΑΡΧΙΜΗΔΑΣ, named also in our 4 and 5. I should date SS 282 in the

late 3rd century B.C., which suits Thompson's ~~early 2nd century B.C.~~

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.

Group D (H 16 : 4): the single stamped handle, a Knidian, SS 336, is

listed ^{Grace 1934,} ~~as a~~ ^{brass} ~~seal~~ ^{stamp} ~~in~~ ^{KT 3862} p. 275, as an "unrestored rectangular seal," ; it has

(chiefly by comparison with a well-preserved impression in Delos) since been identified and is to be restored as follows, ^{with the reading of}

KT 1272:

[ΕΠΙ ΘΑΛΙΝΒΡΟ]
Τ[ΙΔΑ ΧΑΡΜΟ]
ΚΡΑ[Τ]Ε[ΥΣ] mono-
[ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ] gram

On ΧΑΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, see EAD 27, p. 326, E 61. This fabricant names eponyms

(59)

(23.III.81)

4.24

Appendix 2 - 4

of the late second quarter and early third quarter of the 2nd century.

Stamps naming @AAIMBPOTIAAE 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 second century."

24.III.81

Group E (F 15 : 2): the 13 stamped handles from this deposit are

all Knidian. Of 5 eponyms named, two are datable (one after the other)

shortly ~~just~~ before, and ^{for} another shortly after, the middle of the 2nd century,

a fourth further on in the third quarter, and a fifth, IEPOKAHE, probably

in the ^{late} last quarter, but in any case before ca. 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} duoviri were named on Knidian amphoras;

on this practice and its dates, see ^{above, Appendix 1, p. 29 (drawing)} ~~EAD 27, pp. 320-323~~. On the stamps in

^{Group E} ~~the deposit~~, see Phyx, p. 156, under no. 145, where the eponyms are all

named; and EAD 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, not after ca. 110 B.C., ¹⁰⁵ when ~~duoviri~~ ^{duoviri} began to be named.

done
by
me

(60)

For some deposits at the Agora of which the stamps do go down to

Sulla's destruction, see EAD 27, p. 321, bottom.

19.7.82 Add to end notes on H 1321 ?
(well in front of MS)

attached

add to Appendix 2, at end.

I add finally notes on the date of the stamps in deposit H 13 : 1, a shallow tiled well in the ancient road just to the west of the Middle Stea. The well was excavated in April 1948; cf. Hesperia 18, 1949, pp 224; on the road, ibid. p. 213 (Thompson). The well was partly covered by what seemed to be the continuation of a temporary retaining wall that lay a little beyond and fairly parallel with the west side of the Stea. ^{light} ~~Apparently~~ ^{On my} suggest that ^(of which only one corner has remained) this wall was needed while the west end of the Stea was under construction, perhaps to hold a temporary earth filling, which rose along with the nicely finished west wall of the podium of the Stea, and finally supported the scaffolding for the columns of the west side, which run close to the edge of the podium, with no such margin as is provided by the terrace along the north side of the building (cf. Pl.). The temporary earth filling was no doubt used afterward for levelling south of the Stea. The contents of the well should ^{not} give us a terminus for the completion of the west end of the Stea. The finds in this shallow filling were few, and included ^{no coins but} five stamped handles, all Knidian. Of the five names of fabricants, APIETION (SS 10451) and OPAZON (SS 10452) are present also in the Middle Stea filling. The stamp of APIETION combines two dating names, that of the phreurarches ENINIKIAAZ

(61)

26.V.82

NIP

this N/S in front

Newville

suggest that

(of which only one corner has remained)

A

back

to

outer

These columns

cf. Pl. 4, 3-4
for columnade
used for
SS 10451, 10452

Without some raising of the ground level outside the podium, scaffolding

of a permanent nature would be needed

first

not given

KT 211

(KT 211)

10450

14

at

of the

found

which

(to Appendix 2)

for the 4-month period, and that of a damierges ΘΕΥΤΕΝΗΣ for the year; the naming of both together on the same jar seems to be an early indication in the period 188-167, cf. text above with footnote 30. The other dating names present, ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣ, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΩΝ, ΚΑΕΑΝΑΠΙΔΑΣ and ΘΙΑΙΠΠΙΟΣ, are all of 188-167, and all date 4-month periods, and for each there is some indication that they are nearer 188 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 ΘΙΑΙΠΠΙΟΣ is present in the Middle Stea filling. So we date H 13 : 1 later than the Middle Stea filling, but only a little later.

The finds catalogued from this deposit, very few altogether, included one Megarian bowl fragment, P 15918 (not included in Agara XXII). It has floral vegetable decoration.

which Daydrops probably brings us to the 2nd c. B.C. period of the Reg. dep. (cf. footnote 32).
Bell read this, and showed me a stone plan of the west end + the retaining wall - wall.

21.5.82
i.e.
without
rebuilding
very odd
to find

I add finally notes on the date of ~~the stamps in~~ Agora deposit H 13 : 1,
 a shallow tiled well in the ancient road just to the west of the Middle Stoa.
 The surface of the road before the Stoa was built, and the mouth of the well,
 lay about five meters below the level of the stylobate of the Stoa; cf.
 Figure 2. ^{but the level of the pre-Stoa road was a little lower than that of} The well was excavated in April 1948; cf. Hesperia 18, 1949, ^{the later}
 top of p. 224; on the road, ibid. p. 213 (Thompson). ^{one in} The well as found ^{to}
 was partly covered by what seemed to be the continuation of a temporary
 light retaining wall ~~that~~ 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 podium. ^{temporary} One may suggest that this wall (of which only one course has
 remained) was found to be needed while the west end of the Stoa was under
 construction, presumably to hold ^{an} a temporary earth filling to support
 scaffolding for the columns and entablature of the west side. ^{and to the west end of the whole side} These columns
 run close to the edge of the podium, with no such ~~margin~~ margin as is provided
 by the terrace along most of the north side of the building. Without some
 raising of the ground level outside the podium, scaffolding of a formidable
 height would be required. Cf. pl. 4, 2 and 3, for scaffolding used in setting
 up columns for the rebuilt Stoa of Attalos, and imagine a ^{further} ~~four~~ four-meter
 drop to be taken care of by the outer ^{timber} supports. The temporary earth filling

62 normal
was no doubt used afterward for further levelling south of the Stoa. The contents of the well then perhaps give us a terminus for the erection of the west end of the Stoa. The finds in this shallow ^{well} ~~filling~~ were few, and included no coins but five stamped handles, all Knidian. Of the five names of fabricants, APIETION (on SS 10450) and @PAEON (on SS 10452) are present also in the Middle Stoa filling; while APIETAROPAE (SS 10451) is the one who endorses 14 of the present article. The stamp of APIETION (KT 211) combines two dating names, that of the phrourarchos ENINIKIDAEZ for the four-month period, and that of a damiorgos @EYTENHEZ for the year; the naming of both together on the same jar seems to be an early indication in the period 188-167 B.C., cf. text above with footnote 30. The other dating names present, APIETEIAHEZ, EYKPATION, KAEANAPIIDAEZ, and @IAIHIOEZ, are all of 188 - 167, and for each there is some indication that they are nearer 188 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 @IAIHIOEZ is present in the Middle Stoa filling; while @EYTENHEZ probably brings us ~~xxx~~ 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.

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

For general presentations of the finds underseas at Grand Congloué near Marseilles, see L. S. Casson, "Sea Digging," Archeology 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 all from a single wreck. Because of the incongruity of date, apparently at least a hundred years, between the so-called "deck cargo" and the Rhodian and Knidian amphoras associated with the "hull cargo", I have not doubted from first acquaintance with this material (1953 or earlier) that at least two ancient wrecks were represented, one involved 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 rims (Dressel Type 1) , resembling several from Athenian Agora deposit C 9 : 7, a context

dated to the late 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 Delos 27, p. 332, under E 88. 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 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 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,"

she had given from
Hesperia 51, 1982, pp.338-356; on p. 348 she ^{revises} ~~corrects~~ the date. For the
~~Rhodian, in the earlier wreck,~~ ^{amphoras} Bemoit reports one or more ~~stamped Rhodian~~
~~jars~~ that name the fabricant APIETION and the eponym KAEITOMAXOZ, 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 ~~xxxx~~ dates
 assigned tentatively by me to the Rhodian eponyms of ca. 225-175 B.C. (cf.
 Grace 1974, p.199), the term of KAEITOMAXOZ fell in 205 B.C., and those of
 the other eponyms named in known pairs with APIETION fell in 210, 208, 207,
 204 and 199 B.C.; cf. the whole jar naming ΔΟΡΚΥΑΙΔΑΞ (210 B.C.) published
 by J.-J. Maffre, BCH 96, 1972, pp. 64-66, with figs. 46, 47, no. 104. For a
 photograph of Rhodian amphoras (large and small) from the wreck, cf. Casson,
op. cit., p. 227, fig. 10. Also from the earlier wreck must be the cargo
 of over 400 ~~xxxxxx~~ "Greco-Italic" amphoras. Mrs. Will illustrates two of
 these: "Greco-Italic Amphoras," pl. 85, d and e (her Form c) and tells us,
 see her p.348 with note 19, that the one to the 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} Campanian A class, "now being dated 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 M. 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 (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. On the possibility of one ship settling upon another, cf. G. F. Bass, Archaeology 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.

66

Appendix 4, Figures on production of
Rhodian stamped amphoras

4.34

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 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, in themselves so out of scale with those from other sites, that they make an effective statement about production ~~in themselves~~, and that even though ^{is the case for this and} we covered only a part of the Alexandria collections as a whole. (Now that the original collector of the Benaki collection, not included in our count, would add many thousands! see table 1951)

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 rest of the alphabet} The handles counted were the remainder, and much the greater proportion, of the Rhodian ~~handles~~ 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 ^{fabrics} names present in his collection.

(57)

Appendix 4 - 2

4.35

Cf. Archeology 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-to ca. 205 B.C.),} 1200 handles dating in this period, an average of 34 per year; Period III, about 30 years (205 to 175), 2093 handles, average of about 70 per year; Period IV, about 29 years (175 to 146), 2257 handles, average of about 78 per year; Period V, about 38 years (146 to 108), 8618 handles, average of about 227 per year; Period VI, about 20 years (108 to 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 ΜΙΔΑΖ, a potter known to have dated jars in the terms of 12 eponyms of Period V; on this fabricant, see above, p. ((6a)).

These figures show very considerable increase in our Period III as against the previous period; an increase, though not quite so great, in Period IV as compared with III; while the handles of Period V (ca. 146 - 108 B.C.) are at least 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

78 x 3 = 234

-sl. more
than 227

(68)

greater than at any time before the middle of the 2nd century.

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

"Rhodian stamped handles in Alexandria of the period 200 - 140, falling both before and after the Senate's ~~XXXXXX~~ economic sanctions in 167, are not only more numerous than at any other time; they also seem to remain fairly constant throughout the period." Fraser has it right that the

Rhodian handles in Alexandria do not suggest a drop in production in

~~Dispute with previous discussion,~~
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

century, whereas there is no drop but a steep rise, as we have seen.

~~No documentation is provided for what he says here, and none could be~~
^{available} ~~his quote states~~ ^{his quote states} ~~quote here~~

provided.

^{new}
The dates given 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 period} see

above, Appendix 1.

On the Benaki collection, see EAD 27, p. 285 with note 1, and references

there. In 1966 - 1967, Barbara Turzinski (now Mrs. Drushe'll) made a large

part of the individual counts on which the foregoing figures are based. The

(69)

(29.VIII.81)

Appendix 4 - 4

4.37

assembling of the figures by date was done in Athens largely by Andreas
Dimoulinos.

9 add some published
pub. 5
pub.

Appendix 5: Note on the dates of the Rhodian eponym ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ; cf. footnote 23.

Here we have differences of opinion among experts which have not yet been reconciled. I cannot now place later than about 189 B.C. the 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 ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ ΔΑΜΕΟΥ is placed by most 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 not only the Rhodians but also citizens of other Greek states, as implied in the inscription. In any case the ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ 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 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 inscription cannot be put earlier, we must accept the fact that the eponym ^{2nd} ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ in the stamps is not the same person as the eponym ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ of the inscription; and then apparently that the stamp eponyms (often called ^{missh} priests in the stamps) are not the priests of Halios who date other Rhodian documents.

m p. 82, ↓
The difficulty over ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ has long vexed us, and was not solved by Hiller von Gaertringen. In the dated list of Rhodian eponyms in his article "Rhodos", RE Supplementband V, Stuttgart 1931, p. 837, he dates this name "vor 172", while otherwise¹ attributing names from the Pergamon deposit to the period 220-180, cf. ΔΑΜΟΘΕΜΙΣ, etc. Van Gelder (op.cit² in footnote 23, pp. 199-200) dates the inscription 165 B.C., and pulls down ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ and the whole Pergamon deposit with it. Cf. Délos 27, p.290, note 5: we cannot use so late a date for the Pergamon stamped handles.

cf. ↓
Cf. recently Ch. Bürker, "Der Rhodische Kalender," Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 31, 1978, p.208, ^{*Liter. selbst!*} footnote 50. Professor Bürker ~~also~~ suggests identification of the king with Antiochos III.

There remains the possibility that the ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ cited is ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ 1st of the stamps, datable probably in the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C.

(by the shape of the handles that name him, and by certain stamp styles).

We can then remember that the Rhodian admiral Agathostratos helped King

Antiochos II to recover Ephesos in 259 B.C., and perhaps that was (during

the term of ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ 1st.)

in acknowledgment of benefactions
received by the Rhodian navy in the time of Δ. 1st.

I have referred to the sp. Δαμ.

named on stamps of the 2nd cent. B.C. as Δ. 2nd.

A small no. of handles is known whose

shape, and the style of their stamps, indicate

that the Δαμ. the name is related ~~to~~

to ^{or about} (IB) ^{year of issue}
in the 2/4 of the 3rd century B.C.; he is

Δαμ. 1st - He would be contemporary with

Ant. 1st, Soter (280-²⁶¹~~276~~ B.C.) or possibly

" 2nd, Theos (261-247)

(see A 48.5)

29.XII.92

4.41

if

I venture to remark that although the stamps cannot date for us a later
ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ, 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
ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ they name is datable in or about the second quarter of the 3rd
century B.C., or about contemporary with the ^{Rhodian} ~~the~~ eponyms found at Koroni,
ΑΓΡΙΟΣ, ΑΝΤΙΑΕΩΝ, and ΚΡΥΣΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ. (Cf. Grace 1974, p. 197.) This is
ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ 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 ^{show} ~~consider~~ that the Rhodian admiral Agathostratos helped Antiochos
II to recover Ephesos in 259 B.C., and perhaps that was in acknowledgement
of benefactions received by the Rhodian navy in the term of ΔΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ 1st.

Source:

5.I.83

22.XI.82

Not 8 b made.

Perhaps add something
note 48, esp.

about A-HF
= MSBF

NOT USED

4.42

For using note 47 or 48
or for Appendix 6

a certain no. of stamped handles for A

MSBF ^{about} have been ^{which other have} published, or at least

^{best} cited in publications:

throughout.

Graves 1934, ^{deposited} The content (then called

cf. op. cit., p. 208 for listing of deposits)

A-HF is an MSBF. ~~MSBF handles~~

~~so far as~~ ^{the} ~~has~~ ^{not} actually published. This publication

however covers chiefly the SAA found in 1931-2,

and Section C was not excavated until 1933,

hence the ^{stamps} handles for the MSBF are mostly just

cited as Hs. But in the Appendix, pp. 296-306,

these are actually published: on p. 301, and ⁱⁿ fig. 5

on p. 300, no. 4 (SS 1355); p. 302 and fig

(SS 885, SS 674 and 1310 are cited
as duplicates of SS 885, do

fig 15 on p. 300, no. 6 (SS ~~885~~ 885) - The two plates

profile shown ^{above} ~~in~~ pl. II, nos 4 and 5, are

both from DMSBF, and show something of

the range of data in the filling. Not true to date
reprinted from SS 885-its. (ibid. p. 302) is too early; see
above, too with portrait

Amplified 1979, and its original edition

of 1961, present = fig. 59 a Krm handle with

acrob, SS 12048, which compare to MSBF

but without statement to the effect.

On the Thesis corpus of 1958, A. - A-M

Bor, etc., are included to Thesis for

the pre-war excavation of the north SBF,
(this latest date is late for most Thais)

but without mention of the context, Some 18

of above, but
with portrait 40
also Catalogue
under no. 19
in

✓ BOM
no. 18
above in:

4.44

handles are covered, ^{of the} ~~parts~~ 'ins ~~all~~

are illustrated: see under Box nos. 147,
696, 1114, 1230, 1442, and 1683.

See also above, photographs 47 and 48.

Appendix 6?

SAH directly published from
MSBF

4.45

See the deposit "Θ-HF" listed Acop. TA 1934
p. 208. Section Θ was not recorded until 1933,
hence the main part of this article does not
publish anything from this filling: only parallels
for it are cited: see especially ^{earlier parts of the} the Rhodina section,
pp. 220 ~~ff~~ - 230, 233-238, 242-246, 268

But in the Appendix, pp. 296-306, some are
actually published:

p. 301, & fig. 5 on p. 300, no. 4 (ss 1355)

p. 302, " " " " " " no. 6 (ss 885, cited also

as //s, ss 674 & 1310,

all being from Θ HF

(profiles of humuli)
p. 306, and Pl. II, nos. 4 & 5. These are ^{of the} the ^(curved) earlier

and later (angular) profiles, both from
the MSBF. Note dates on p. 306

are better than those on the drawing,
in fact quite good. On p. 306 is


a top-view plan of no. 5 (ss 671 with
type Oδp1100 + nos.). There is no plan.

of top-view of no. 4, and Tavaria, but not
is made to no. 30-35. Shd. be plan

21.I.81

So the 2 items,
ss 674 & 5, are
both from MSBF, from
3/4 3rd & 4th
level 2nd, earlier
late - to full
more spread later
than in case of the
2 humuli given in
Rhodina and 2) in
Albania

In "On Canaanite Jar" (1956), p. 97, the fill is cited ~~already~~ as "the large terrace filling laid down before the middle of the second century B.C. as part of the bldg. project of the Middle Stoa. The exact date of this filling has not yet been established, but the latest of the st. frags. contained in it are about contemporary with those in the deposit at Perg. and Villanov mentioned above [p. 94], and with those in the cistern deposit containing our earliest Hellenistic Orontid jar; the terrace filling contained as one of its latest clenda a duplicate of the rose stamp of Antigon, Pl. XI, 6." [latest? in ref. to Kparidos]

p. 109, ~~stratigraphy~~ of the plan, Pl. VII b, nos. 9 - ~~10~~ 11. The area is given, "area I 14" and "area J 12", considered probably part of the terrace fill, see p. 94. There are nos. 9 - 11 on pl. XII. They are w. stamp  and C.S. (in 2 signs), (Purvis)

In Amphora (1961), fig. 59, Kou branch w. claud. crab, 55 12048, is from the MSBF, but not stated in Amphora.

In Bon. Bon must be to Thrain from
the pre-war excavation of the MS, in Sardinia.
There is no mention of a MSBF. (Bon. Bon does not
cover beyond finds of 1951.)

From Sardinia Θ

<u>Bon</u>	147	SS 1046	φ	Λίεχρων
	166	846		Ἀλκείδης
	414	723		Ἀριστοφῶν
cf. 488		758		{ Βουλῆ κριτος AIE
	376	714		Ἀριστοφῶν
	562	503		Δεινῶπας
	696	906	φ	Ἡραχόρας
	709	727		Ἡρακλείδης
	718 e	855		{ Ἡρακλειτος H
	1050	772		Κρινομένης
	1114	840	φ	Λύσανδρος
	1230	441	φ	Νικάνωρ HGH
	1245	530		{ Νικόδημος TI
	1442	1085	φ	{ Πυθίων VII LY
	1518	678		Σάτυρος I
not in Bon		863		Φρόνικριτος
	1683	1291	φ	{ Φιδωνίδης SI
		1828		

IV 1958
 VII 1962
 XII 1970

"before" in 1958 B.C.
 "about the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C."

[Ch. I, 81]

4.48

Not some of the MSBF SAA have been published.

Hope the "O, HF" (X)

(X) 17.I.81

Actually, none published, I guess.
 Section 8 not being dug yet in 1931-2,
 but many cited, e.g. see under #81.

Born - Born (not later than 1953,
 and in any case not ref. 5 MSBF
 Golden Pterodactyl)

(X) See selection

of birds of 1933,
 esp. 300, 301, no. 3
 (Zwergsax + eagle)
 no. 6 (A. ...)
 + bull head - wood)

The SAA of MSBF are worth a

volume & their selves, as well as varied

the material, and with such well bearing. The

work is summarizing them, as a first step.

14.11.83

CATALOGUE

Still to do: anything about
item in Pl. to.

1. Phenomenology of Part (ref. to Φ)
2. Scaffolding for setting up column
in restricted ΣA . See especially with
supports to left, beyond steps
- 3.) Middle SO complex,
with ^{E. fls.} $SS \Pi$, and "Helium"
A

Catalogue of illustrated items

Plate 1. 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[ΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ] around a rose, ~~similar to Plate 1, 2a.~~ ^{2c.} Secondary
 stamp, on side of upper attachment of handle, rose. See above, text with foot-
 note 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 examples: ~~V. B. Shelev apud O. Ziegelaar and G. de Leeuw, Altortümer~~
^{Grace 1968,} (eponym ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ);
~~van Pongelen II, 1, p.175 and pl.63, 3~~ D.B. Shelev, "Pottery Stamps from the

Excavations at Phanagoria," Materials and Studies of Archeology in the USSR 57,

1957 (in Russian), p.140, no. 78 (I should

now restore the eponym's name as ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑΣ); R.A.S. Macalister, The Ex-

^{II,}
cavation of Gezer 1902-1905 and 1907-1909, London 1912, ~~xxx~~ p.358, no.273

(eponym ΚΑΛΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ), inscribed in the die without upsilon, or with upsilon and
 kappa in the same place, a known die). I knew of no whole jar, or fragment
 preserving both handles, that bears the rose secondary stamp, but for the eponym
 handle from Gezer, the author identifies for us the fabricant handle, from the

catalogue - 2

same jar, as one of ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (op.cit. p. 356, under no. 168); the identification

is the more convincing in that ^{Macalister} the author did not know, as we do, that that was

the right name for the fabricant of an amphora bearing the rose secondary stamp.

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

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 fabricant handle, secondary stamp, 2b

(visible also in the photograph of 2 as a whole). ^{on the amphora,} See above, pp. 8b, 8c, 8e,

etc., and footnotes 18 and 21.

pp. 11, 16.
print of 16.

2a. Dating stamp of 2. Reading:

ΕΗΙ ΝΙΚΑΞΑΓΟΡΑ ΕΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ

rose

A stamped handle also in the Musée Grèce-Romain (AVG 1614) bears a rose

type with the same reading as 2a, but combined with a different secondary stamp

known to be (a kappa like these also used by ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ). The main stamp is similar to

that of 2a, but not from the same die.

^{identified} Presumably not the same die.

individual I would like to see, or sub-steps.

On the app. N. 1st, see above, pp (10-12)

He date 9 handle in the Pnyx-figs, 8 in the MSBF

72

catalogue - 3

5.04

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

2c. Endorsing stamp of 2. Reading:

ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ

rose

On this endorsement, known examples of which are very numerous and wide-
spread, see Grace 1968, p. 175, no. 2; ^{negotiable} ~~we~~ regret the 4 typographical errors

^{and short paragraph above pp. 11-14}
in this small text. ^{See also Smith 1968, p. 46, fig. 1}
^{in a Roman deposit, 55}

3. Amphora in Sarasota, Florida, in the John and Mable Ringling Museum, ^{for Cyprus, 1968}

acquired in 1928 from the Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,
New York. Ht., 0.798; diameter, 0.34; ht. of handles, 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).

^(without illustration)
Previous publication: I. H. Hall, "The Greek Stamps on the Handles of

Rhodian Amphorae, Found in Cyprus, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York," Journal of the American Oriental Society, XI, 1885, p. 391, no.

5060 (Metropolitan Museum number). Cf. Bleckmann, op.cit. in footnote ²² 21,

^(See general in Hall's publication, and the Cesnola group)
Appendix I, 25 p.32, no.25. M.P.Nölsson, Timbres amphériques de Lindes, Paris

73

For the publ. of another of Consul's jars now in 5.05
(22.IV.82)
Sarasote, see Nesson F, pl. XXXIX, upper right with text p. 112
(stamp incl. ill.)

Copenhagen 1909, pp. 115-118; V.K. Grace, "Rhodian Jars in Florida," Hesperia 17,

1948, pp. 144-147, which reports my study and recording of the jars in February

1948. See also above, pp. 8b, 8c, 8d, 8e, ~~and xxxxxxxx~~ Consul's own

romantic accounts of acquiring his collection, seem to include no mention of his Rhodian suppliers.

3a. Dating stamp of 3. Reading:

ΕΙΗΘΕΑΙΔΗΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ

rose

Rose stamps with the same reading are known 1) on two 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) where the secondary stamp is beta. See on 2a. On a possible ident-

ification of this ΕΑΙΔΗΤΟΥ with an historically known person, see text above

with footnote 23. He dates 12 handles to the Perg. def., 6 in the MSBF

3b. Secondary stamp of 3: beta, retrograde? On this stamp type, see

especially text above with footnote 17.

3c. Endersing stamp of 3. Reading:

ΠΗΘΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ

rose

On this endorsement, see footnote 18 and preceding text. Only 4 isalphen

with, in the middle, 8 in filling and in the Perg. deposit
CONTINUED

74) Another amphora of *Προκρίτης* dated 27.IV.82 5.06
 in the term of *Οσαίτης* is cited by Y. Calvet, *Kition-Bambouk*
 catalogue - 5 (11.V.81)
 I, *Les Tombes Amphoriques*, Paris 1982, p. 26, under no. 58.

Plate 2. Datable during the period of the construction filling of the

Middle Stea: 4 - 9, Knidian amphoras and related stamps; 10 - 12, stamped

handles of Sinepean amphoras, from the filling. ~~Last quarter of 3rd century~~ ^{3N}

B.C. to second decade of 2nd.

4. Knidian amphora in Rhodes, A 236 (ME 625). Repaired, too missing.

Preserved ht., 0.685. Handles bear two complementary stamps, belonging

respectively to KT (Knidian Type) 2178 and KT 2199. (cf. *print 28 for*
Kn stamp type)

a) ΕΠΙΙ ΑΡΧΙΝΤΙΑΔΑ

wreath

b) ΑΘΗΝΙΗΝΟΥ

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 reading and

device as 4b. On the context of this amphora, see footnote ³⁴ 25 and accompany-

ing text. Ca. 220-210 B.C.

5. Knidian amphora from the Grand Congloué wreck site near Marseilles,

now in the Musée Borely 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 deposit. Photograph

was taken October 15, 1955, by permission of M. Benoit. See above text with

footnote ³⁵ 26, 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,

also on a quantity of Campanian ware that was present. Ca. 210-200 B.C.

catalogue - 7

75

Plate 2. Knidian amphoras and stamps of the first half of the 2nd century B.C., period of the Middle Stoa construction filling and later; to ca. 150 B.C. for 12 and 15.

6 Knidia (1961 NAK 205)

10. Amphora from the Angelopoulou lot south of the Akropolis, excavations by the Archaeological Service in 1961, supervised by Ch. Kanellopoulou;

the jar is now housed with the Angelopoulou Collection, at 32 Parthenonos

Street. I am obliged to Mrs. Kanellopoulou for showing me this and other

material from her excavations in 1961; and to M. Petropoulakou for finding

and to Mrs. Angelopoulou for courtesies to Mrs. P. on this occasion; the present storage of the jar and taking supplementary records; and to

Mr. G. Dontas for permission to publish it. Preserved ht., 0.765 (tip

missing); diameter, 0.363, ht. of handles, 0.245, 0.25. Handles bear

each an impression of KT 787 (die 1), of which the reading is:

ΕΗΙ ΗΟΑΙ(
 ΘΕΥΦΙΑ(

In the Middle Stoa filling there were 7 examples of this type (of which 13 is one), also 41 more handles dated by ΗΟΑΙΟΥΧΗΕ or ΗΟΑΙΟΥΧΟΕ 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 also 2 in Corinth and 5 in Alexandria. The reading seems not to have been published before.

Ca. 190 B.C.

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7. Stamped handle in ~~the~~ Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain no. 15231; in 1955, exhibited in Vitrine 3, Room 21. For its exhibition 82 years ago, see G. Betti, Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie, Alexandria, 1900, p. 225, no. 9. The stamp is an example of KT 2178, of which a duplicate is 4a. Reading, cf. 4a. Date as for 4.

8. 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 ΑΘΗΝΙΩΝΕΣ with bee is KT 2198, known now in 4 examples, of which the first (damaged) example *gexxx (Agera 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
ΝΙΙΝΙΟΥ

(It does not read in a circle like ~~8x~~ 8.) The handle 8 descends from its upper attachment without arching, like those of 4. Date as for 4.

9. Stamped handle from the Middle Stoa building fill, Agera SS 11977. The stamp is a duplicate of those on 6, which see. Ca. 190 B.C.

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26.IV.82
(28.V.81)

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5.09

10. Sinepean stamped handle from the Middle Stea building fill, Agera
inv. no. SS 11813. Reading of stamp:

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ
ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΟΥ bow in
ΚΑΛΛΙΣΘΕΝΟΥ case

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

Fabricants named ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ are known in all Grakov's periods, cf. Grakov 1929, p. 202. ~~ΤΗΝΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΟΥ~~ The astynomes ΚΑΛΛΙΣΘΕΝΗΣ, 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. pl.5, no. 8. Date of Grakov's ^{IV} ~~IX~~, to which this stamp belongs, perhaps 3rd century B.C., before about ²⁵⁹ ~~229~~, see text with footnote ⁵¹ ~~40~~ above.

11. Sinepean stamped handle from the Middle Stea building fill, SS 12484.
Reading of stamp:

ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΟΥ
ΙΚΕΣΙΟΥ Τ[ΟΥ]
ΑΝΤΙΠΑ[ΤΡΟΥ]
ΕΛΛΑ[Τ]

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;

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5.10

cf. ^AΕΛΛΑΝΙΚΟΣ in Rhodian stamps (Ampheras, fig. 23). The astynomes belongs to Grakov's Period VI, see op.cit., p. 149, for his name and accompanying device, an ithyphallic herm; and cf. E.M.Pridik, Inventory-Catalogue of the Stamps on Handles and Necks of Ampheras, and on Bricks, of the Hermitage Collection, Petrograd 1917 (in Russian), pl.XIV, 9 (text, p.139, 8) for this ~~xxxx~~ astynomes combined with a different fabricant; from this latter stamp I restore the title in 11 in participial form. Date suggested by Middle Stea context, late 3rd century to before 183 B.C., see above, footnote ⁵⁰ 39 and accompanying text.

12. ⁱⁿ Samoean stamped handle from the Middle Stea building fill, SS 12073.

Reading of stamp:

ΑΣΤΥΝΟΜΟΥ
ΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ[Y] krater
ΜΗΝΩΝ

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 Group VI: the astynomos, op.cit. p.149, no.11, with mention of the characteristic device; the fabricant, p.150, last line. Types of the

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astynomos with various fabricants, see Priddik, op.cit., p.69, nos. 151-154, (not illustrated).

The three handles from Samaria that have the same stamp as ¹²~~8~~ are,
remarkably, half of all the Sinopsean handles ever recorded from that site:

see Nessana I ¹~~H.D. Colt and others, Excavations at Nessana, London 1962, 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 ΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΞ, since Samaria was destroyed

in about 108 B.C. However, as for ¹¹~~8~~, the date suggested by Middle Stoa

context is late 3rd to before 183 B.C.; see on ¹¹~~8~~.

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5.12

Plate 3. Knidian amphoras and stamps of the first half of the 2nd century B.C., period of the Middle Stea construction filling and afterward, ~~xxxx~~ perhaps to 150 B.C. for 15 and 18.

13. Knidian amphora from the sea, part of the collection in Syme of Demesthenes Haviaras, on which see Hesperia 40, 1971, pp. 53 and 87 with note 90; see also above, text following footnote 26. ⁽²⁵⁾ Too chipped; much ^{marine} ~~ratine~~ deposit. Preserved ht., 0.825, diameter 0.373. Handles bear two variously incomplete impressions of KT 2038, of which the full reading is:

ΕΠΙ ΕΣΚΡΑ
ΤΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΑ
ΕΙΒΟΥΑΟΥ
trident

Five duplicates are known of the stamp, of which 16 is one. In the Middle Stea filling, this stamp type has not been found, but both eponym and fabricant are well represented there. On the eponym, see above, p. 13.

For permission to publish 13, I am again grateful to Mr. I. Papachristeou, Ephor of the Dodekanese. I ~~must~~ 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.

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14. 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 exact finding place of ¹⁴11 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 the reading is:

ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΗΠΠΙΟ(Y)

(pi like nu)

ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑ

ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ

15 more examples are known of this stamp type, including ¹⁴14 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: EAD 27, p.317, note 2,

which reports the contents of Amphoras, fig. 64, of which the second jar is

¹⁴our ¹⁴14. KT 193 has not been found in the Middle Stoa filling, but the

eponym is probably the same early phrourarchos ΦΙΛΗΠΠΙΟΣ who is named on 11

handles in the filling. See above, footnote ³⁶27, and associated text. Date,

dependent primarily on the name connections of ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ, ca. second decade

of 2nd century.

ca. 188 - 183 B.C.

Approx.

Contemporary with the Phoen 2 and 3
(Plate 1)

Phoen 2 and 3
contemporary with
approx. 188-183 B.C.

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15 = 15
A. 15
3rd edition

15. Knidian amphora from John Threpsiades' excavations in the Olympieion area in 1939, given to us to record in 1962. I am obliged to Mrs. Karayotga, opher of the Third Ephorieia in Athens, for permission to publish this amphora; also to M. Petreoulakeu 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:

ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ
ΑΠΟΛΑ ΑΣΝΙΟΥ
ΚΝΙΔΙ ΟΝ
bull's head in center

We have listed 66 examples of this stamp type, of which 51, including 18, come from various places in Athens; 3 from Deles, 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 ^{Agia} cistern A 16 : 4, ~~XXXXXX~~ on which see above under

14. Another bull's head type of ΑΠΟΛΑΣΝΙΟΥΣ, dated in the term of ΘΗΡΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, is known on a largely preserved amphora found in Corinth, C 36 2421, from South Stea Well XIV. On the amphora 15, see text above between footnotes 27 and 28. 166-157 B.C. ? since the eponym's name occurs in the filling of the Stea of Attalos (cf. above, p. 11a).

also found on p. 15?

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16. Knidian stamped handle from the excavations by G. Siebert on Deles in 1968, in the Ilet 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 Le Dinahet-Couilloud, who will publish the stamped handles from this area, for an improvement in the type reading of KT 2038 based on this superior example. The stamp is a duplicate of these on 13, which see. Early 2nd century B.C.

17. Knidian stamped handle from Corinth, C 47 108 from South Stea, Well 2. Photograph published by kind permission of C.K. Williams II. The stamp is a duplicate of ~~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 Semmi and Christos Karabuzos, when each was Director of the museum; and permission to publish was given by them. The stamp 18 is a duplicate of these on 15, which see. 166 - 157 B.C. ?

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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 the reading is as follows:

APIETOKAEYZ

bull's head with neck

24 duplicates of the stamp of 19 are known, all probably found in Athens, including 3 from the Middle Stea 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; note that though 19 is from a Knidian jar, APIETOKAEYZ himself was a Rhodian. See above, p. (16) and footnote 29. Ca. 188-183 B.C.

On 19-21, 24 above 40.
See above, p. (16) and footnote 29.
Cats with footnotes 40-42.

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:

APIETOKAEYZ

head and forepaw of lion

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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. See text above with footnote 31. SS 5688 has been cited: Grace 1949, p.187 under no. 6. Ca. 188 - 180 B.C. ?

21. Knidian stamped handle from the Benaki collection in Alexandria, KT 238 ABC 9. On the Benaki collection, see Appendix 4, with citations at the end. The Reading of KT 238 is as follows:

APICTOKAEYΣ

rose

31 more examples of KT 238 are on file with us, of which 15 are in Athens and very likely all were found there, 1 is in Corinth, 13 in Alexandria, (u. sp. Knidian), 1 from Memphis in Egypt is now in Philadelphia, and 1 is in Deles. The Corinth example has been published: Grace 1949, p.20 and p.187, no. 6. Some examples have a flaw, making the omicron look something like a rhe; photographs record this flaw in ABC 3 and 5 (Benaki collection). See above, text with footnote 30. Ca. 182-175 B.C.

HESPERIA 54 (1985) : MAIN TEXT - DRAUGHT
FOOTNOTES, APPENDIX, CATALOGUE - DRAUGHT