

VRG_Folder_0008

Singh Group TV, date

Note I have it also in Green 1968,

Penguin ST, 1 p. 146, m. 7,

AS 247 [Ato]vo/μou
Ato]xivo gup
Mi Dea [dety]

(continuing backwards from 183,
Druck 280 - 259 B.C.

(This is an article still with the old dating
from 3rd cent. — see the Plutarch, for example)

Corrigendum for MSBF article

On p. 8 (and in the index) an Ἀρίστου 2nd is listed (in IIIc).

It turns out there is no Ἀρίστου 1st. This listing depended on a single stamp type, which was nowhere complete; (rectangular)

[ῥω ρος

ρ ο σ ρ

] ε ω σ

Restored from SS 6057, see reading above, :

[Ἀρίστ]ῥω ρος

ρ ο σ ρ

] ε ω σ

Now a new example, from Kanous, provides a same die in the lower line. Ἀρίστου is fab.

[Ἐπ' Ἀρίστ]ῥω ρος

SS 6057 was our only basis for an early ep. Ἀρίστου. So ep. Ἀρίστου present in IIIc is the only ep. Ἀρίστου (not X. II).

All this came up because Bill Biers wants to use a Missouri handle with a stamp naming ep. Ἀρίστου

in (a new edition?) his book
 and was for some reason unable to check the
 comment given to S. Weinberg by YG, also for
 some reason doubtful that the 'Ap'iotaw
 on that handle was ep. A. II as alleged.

I check the existence of an A. I earlier
 than the one dated IIIc. And find it dependent
 on a restriction on SS 6057, which a new example
 (from Kairu) throws out. SS 6057 (+ Kairu ex.)
 name a 3rd ant. fab. 'Ap'iotaw plus a 3rd ant
 ep. 'Ap'iotéws, not a ~~the~~ little iep]s'ws (& go with
 'Ap'iotaw).

So, convergence for MSBF article p. 8
 where is listed 'Ap'iotaw II; and wherever this
 speaks.

4. III 92

simli

3.02

Further refs for MSBF ADD. A. CORR

Views of Sholov (1975) on dates of Sinopean stamps:

See section on Sinope in the small ¹⁹⁷⁵ book
on Tauris stamps, pp 134-140 (transl. PMWA 1983)

The copy ^{of the transl} I have just (referred) is in the 1st folder
of translation, etc. of this vol., kept in file USSR
alphabetized by author, under Sholov. I leave it
now on top inside this folder. ^{DT is 80%} ~~DT is 80%~~ progress

3.01 copy, but he still thinks Qyp. V & VI
not correct

Dates of
END OF
SINOPEAN

3.01

Date of
END OF
SINOPEAN

Further refs for MSBE ADD. A CORR

View of Sholov (1975) on dates of Singapore stamps:

See section on Singsen in the small ¹⁹⁷⁵ book
on Tamsis stamps, pp 134-140 (transl. PMWA 1983)

The copy ^{of the trans} I have just (re)read is in the 1st folder
of translation, etc. of this vol., kept in file USSR
alphabetized by author, under Sholov. I leave it
now on top inside this folder. It ^{is sort of} shows progress
in chronology, but he still thinks Qp. V & VI
go down well and

Transl. with ^{PMWM} letter

Aug. 26, 1991 (etc)

to Pan. etc.

letter from S. Iu. Monakhov

6. ix. 90

Much-respected Miss Grace,

I received your letter of June 6 only at the end of August because I was on an expedition for two months. Thank you very much for your detailed comments on the Rhodian amphoras found on the akropolis of Tanais. Thus it turns out that as compared to D.B. Shelov's dating, serious corrections are to be applied to amphora nr 3 — end 2c BC. For me this makes a great difference, not only because it gives one the opportunity to date more accurately the later series of Sinopean amphoras, but it also is very valuable in terms of future work. Eventually, after a few years, I will have to occupy myself fully with the shapes and chronology of the whole forms of Rhodian amphoras as well. Already today there has been assembled certain material from out of which it seems we are succeeding in isolating Rhodian jars of 4c BC of hitherto unknown types. As for the amphoras from Pietroiu (Roumania), I found your precision-giving readings of the stamps in the article of J-Y. Empereur. I.B. Brashinsky writes about the same complex in his last posthumous book (*Methods of Studying Ancient Trade Leningrad 1984*) on p141. He provides his readings of the stamps in footnote 76 of the same page:

(see his text) [not right—VG]

On p200, Table 11, no 26-28, the same reading is given but there are several mistakes in printing (typos). I.B. Brashinsky dates that complex beg 2/4 3c (before 240), taking your view of the dates into account referring to your article of 1974, pages 197, 200. The same dating is repeated on p208.

The end of the practice of stamping of Sinopean amphoras is undoubtedly tied up with the taking of the city by Pharnaces. Your opinion on this date is shared by practically all the Soviet specialists. V.I Tsekmistrenko had already written about this in 1960, and Brashinsky came to the same opinion in his latest years, and presently V.I. Kats shares it. For us your observations on the stratum at the Agora from which came 4 Sinopean stamps of Group VI are very valuable in this direction.

[p2]

I have finished my work on the classification of shapes and dates of the Sinopean amphoras and their profiled parts (rims and toes). A long article will come out on this in our collection

Greek Amphoras. I attach to my letter a summary of the typological scheme of Sinopean amphora production, for your information and acquaintance (drawing). In that scheme, the last jar to the right in the upper row comes from the latest burial in the Tanais necropolis, where it was found together with a Rhodian amphora with stamp of ep. Ἀριστείδης, and fabricant Μενεκράτης (you date it at end 2c BC). In my scheme, that Sinopean jar is placed up to mid 2c because I was basing it on general considerations of the development of the morphology of Sinopean containers and I oriented myself by the dating of the Rhodian amphoras made by D.B. Shelov. Now I can put it as a minimum 30 or 40 years later which is very good, because it is clear that the production of Sinopean amphoras did not stop entirely after the dying out of the practice of magistrate and fabricant stamping.

This summer I was able to study several southern museums new to me. Among the multitude of ordinary examples, I found several series of extremely interesting amphoras. Among these, there are several vessels of the series found in the wreck at Serçe Limani, which you conjecturally associated with Ptolemaic Egypt (BCH 1986), and J-Y. Empereur recently identified as Knidian. Photo 1. 3 of them have stamps: on one, without a toe, there is a circular "englyphic" stamp apparently an H; on the 2nd (whole) there is an unclear stamp in relief [drawing]. On the 3rd whole jar, on both handles, there is a circular relief stamp [drawing] made from the same die. Also there is a very curious amphora perhaps from Kos, with double-barrelled handles with mushroom rim, and circular monogram stamp in relief [drawing]. (I am sending photographs and rubbings for your information). Are there similar stamps in your archives?

Among the finds of this season, there is one amphora from Knidos, apparently 2/2 4c BC, a whole shape which according to publications is unknown, but similar toes have been found by Empereur in one of the factories of Knidos.

A large part of this material comes from the excavations done in beginning of the '80s in the area of Kuban, and I must arrange with the archaeologists the question of the possibility of publishing. I think that I will succeed in doing this, and in the future in several years time after I complete my work on Thasian, Chian, and Rhodian jars, I will be able to make general schemes of the amphoras of Knidos and Kos. In this [p3] time, I think I will enrich my material to a considerable degree.

Once more, thank you for your kind consultation.

I will send you with pleasure any soviet archaeological literature which you lack. If you need anything please write to me. In the next 6 months, in Saratov, we will publish 2 vols in the series *Ancient World and Archaeology*, where there will be several articles which should interest you. I will send this to you right away.

Sincerely yours,

S. Iu. Monakhov

6 September 1990

PS. I forgot one more stamped amphora of Solokh I (nr 5). On a single-barrelled handle there is a stamp Φ [but I see a tree. VG]

For MSBF article, addenda etc.: Seniper

Note that Monsieur, in letter of Sept. 1990, states that the Soviet specialist [⊗] accept the date for the end of stamping = 183 BC - still proposed in Harper 1985 (pp 20-21).

⊗ These are not people I know, the modern ones. He does list Tsedumstrenko (as known & is spelled), Not quite like perovskiy Brachinsky - or Guekov. [But note his say Brachinsky did come & thus read in his last years.]

MSB article address; SINOPOL
aftermath Ref. 2

American School of Classical Studies
54 Swedias Street, Athens 106 76, Greece

June 18, 1990

Dear Dr. Monakhov,

Thank you for your interesting ^{letter} of April 5, 1990, which has been returned to me from Canada, with a translation. Thank you also for your book about capacities, which Professor Wallace has discussed with me, as it is not just in my line.

For dating the three Rhodian amphoras from the Tanais cemetery, only one is actually of the Pergamon period, and that is no. 2, the jar of AMYNTAΣ dated in the term of APXIAIAIAΣ. I would date this eponym late in the Pergamon period, between about 182 and 176 B.C. See pp. 8 and 9 of my article in Hesperia 1985, pp.1-54. Note the ^{fabricant's} name is spelled with an upsilon, not an iota. For jar no. 1, correct the name of the fabricant, which is to be read EPMIAΣ. The eponym's name is correctly read, but there was in fact no EENOΦANTOΣ in the Pergamon deposit. A single badly preserved stamp had been mistakenly so restored, but the correct reading names the eponym EENOΦANHΣ. (For a published correction, see Tarsus I (Princeton 1950), p. 142, under no. 44. The correction has been confirmed by a rubbing brought to us by Prof. Börker of Erlangen, made from the Pergamon handle, which is in Berlin.) We know two Rhodian eponyms named EENOΦANTOΣ, one datable in the second half of the 3rd century (ca. 230 to 220?), and the other in the second quarter of the 2nd century; it is this later one that dates the amphora of EPMIAΣ at Tanais. For jar no. 3, there are 3 eponyms named APIΣTEIAIAΣ, and one is about contemporary with APXIAIAIAΣ (cf. your no.2), but the one in the Tanais cemetery must be the latest one, datable about late 2nd B.C. because that is the date of the fabricant stamp (in two lines, and it has also a bunch of grapes beside the letters). (Device not preserved in this example.). The Pergamon publication of amphora stamps was first-class, but we have more information now.

This correspondence
is filed
under
USSR;
MONAKHOV

- 2 -

For Sinopean whole stamped amphoras, I have not had the opportunity to make much in the way of original studies of this class, of which we see relatively few examples, even of just the broken-off stamped handles. It does seem to me likely that the practice of putting Greek stamps on these containers ~~is likely to have~~ stopped when there was a distinct change in administration in Sinope, as must have happened on the conquest by Pharnakes. And then, accepting Grakov's sorting of the Sinopean stamps into ~~xi~~ a sequence of six dating periods, if one finds, as we have, four stamps of Grakov's last period in a deposit (at the Athenian Agora) believed to end in about 183 B.C., why, this seems a good confirmation for ending Sinopean stamps in general at that point.

For the group of amphoras you mention that were found in Romania, I do not find a reference to Brachinsky's opinion. Can you give me one? I would like to know what readings he gives to the stamps on the Rhodian jars, some of which
(1978)
are wrongly read in Dacia, and corrections of mine have been published by J.-Y. Empereur in an article in the BCH.

For my recent suggestions on Sinopean and Rhodian - and Knidian - chronology, etc. - see my article in Hesperia 1985 above referred to.

Yours sincerely,

Virginia R. Grace

For MSBF addendum et corrigenda

Further confirmation on Siniper stamp end date

See F. Alabr, BCIT Suppl. 13, pp. ³⁷⁷⁻378, top of page.

No. of asynon	classified by Gorden into his groups:	192
" " "	called Gorden V-VI	16
" " "	" " " VII-VIII-IX	6

(Years: 300 - 70 B.C., or 230 years. Note margin.) 214 ^{years} total

Looking through more recent publications, she finds the situation little changed. A few more homonyms established — "mais les nouveaux asynones se complètent sur les doights." — in spite of the mass of material we possess. So she thinks not more than about 230 years to allow for.

230 years

183^{BC} V.G. end

413 B.C. for start of stamping in Siniper

18. VI. 87

She cites, pp. 384-5, 2 Siniper stamps
(Th. 13068 and 13087) from the Pieter Valer.

Given readings and plots. P. Valer not yet
had any ground plots.

SINOPE

Dating of Sinopean

Comparison of my data, MSBF article, p. 20,
 in finding of AMASTRIS stamps group, of
 380-284, with Sinopean stamps of Gusev
 Group III; I proposed starting fr. IV
 ca 281 B.C.

Many refs to Bulgarian publ. S,
not all in Bulgarian, but not ones
convenient for me.

20. IV - 88 3.11

MSBF Addenda + Corr

Methodological

On the end date of existence of SEUTHOPOOLIS;
See MSBF data, pp. 20-21

See The American Numismatic Society, Museum Nolin,
1987, pp. 1-10, ^{KAMEN} K. Dimitrov, "Studies of the Numismatic
Material Found at Seuthopolis: Problems, Research
Methods, and Basic Conclusions."

existence of
229

The end date of existence of the city is set at 275 B.C.
D.E., "Seuthopolis persisted as a city center and capital
of the Kingdom of Seuthus ca. 275 B.C. The absence of
coins of Antigonus Gonatas (277-239 B.C.) favors this
dating which is also supported by the general picture of
certain archaeological finds from the city (e.g.
amphora seals) and the absence of potsherds of Megara
type cups." (p. 5 of the article).

No references given on amphora stamps or other
pottery.

On p. 3, a list of foreign coins includes 5 of
Demetrius I Poliorcetes, but none of Demetrius II.

⊗ What chronology of ^{stamps} Smolen, used? Because of
Gusakov, a stamp of his IV shd dat. 180-150.

Dating the city ca 320 - ca. 275 (p. 5) still gives
useful date for ^{Cyprus} Group IV, if 281-259 B.C. (MSBF, p. 20).

21, TT.91

For MS corrigenda
— reiterations

Samin amphoras held oil.

The sponge was ^{not} "responsible" : cf S. Roth, p. 26 of
The Complete Art, 1990 (again, quite
 Phys, p. 126, note 24

Delimitation
1986
15th Sept 13)
330-331
(Cable)

Thasian from Seuthopolis in Thrace (now Bulgaria),
city founded in 323 BC and destroyed in 270 BC.

	<u>Name</u>	<u>device</u>	<u>BON no.</u>	<u>Balkanska 1984</u>
III	ΑΙΣΧΡΙΩΝ	snake	125	no 16, pl. 2 no 16
III	ΑΛΚΙΜΟΣ	cluster	177	no 8, pl. 1 no 8
III	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕ(Ε	lyre	343 (bis)	no 2, pl. 1 no 2
1/4 3rd c (A.I.) 3rd c	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝ(ΗΣ)	head of negro?	407	no 3, pl. 1 no 3
	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΗΣ	knucklebone	400	no 4, pl. 1 no 4
	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑ(ΝΗΣ)	satyr ?		no 5 and 6 pl. 1 no 5 an
III	ΔΕΑΛΚΟΣ	head	553 + 1125	no 1, pl. 1 no 1
III	ΘΑΣΩΝ	thymiaterion		no 7, pl. 7 no 7
	ΘΑΣΩΝ	trident	799	no 22 pl. 2 no 22
IV	ΚΡΑΤΙΝΟΣ	horn		no 17, pl. 2 no 17
III	ΚΡΙΝΟΜΕΝΗΣ	double axe	1038	no 9, pl. 1 no 9
III	ΜΕΓΑΚΑΕΙΔΗΣ	palmette	1136	no 11, pl. 1 no 11
	ΜΕΓΑΚΑΕΙΔΗΣ	vase IV		no 10, pl. 1 no 10
III	ΠΑΜΦΑΗΣ	boukranion	1311	no 13, pl. 1 no 13
	ΠΑΜΦΑΗΣ	vase VII	1329(part)	no 12, pl. 1 no 12
III	ΠΟΛΥΝΕΙΚΗΣ	letter H	1367	no 14, 15, pl. 1 no 14,
early 3rd c	ΠΥΘΙΩΝ IV	burning torch	1485	no 19, pl. 2 no 19

Q 10:1
(name)

On Thesie from Seuthopolis, (323-270 B.C.)
see AD's list of 4.I.91

This is taken from the volume ^(mainly in Bulgarian) Seuthopolis Vol. 1, Sofia
1984, ed. Teofil Ivanov, the chapter ^(Part Two) by Ana Balkanska,
"Amphora and Amphora Stamps," pp. 115-158 (pp. 156-8,
in English). Plats. of Thesie stamps, pp. 119-122 and p. 128
Catalogue: pp. 146-151.

AD has added in pencil, to his analysis of 4.I.91, a
column to the left with indication of where each item fits
in Debidon's chronological arrangement of Thesie
names (récents) in the table, BCH Suppl. 13, page 330 ~~th~~.
Take exception only to ^{AD's} dating of ^{then all} $\text{A}\epsilon\text{ιστοφάγος}$, as this is
^{Debidon} A. I apparently, and so fits into Group II, a little
earlier than ^{most of?} the others:

(Deb.) Grp. II : ca 335-325

" Grp. III " 325-310

" Grp. IV " 310-300 for Kεατινός

Should be checked with Debidon's 1979 text, where he
avoid ^{identical} ~~identical~~ types - differentiation - Ap. I for Ap. II; do not
find this offspring for the moment, but actually Balkanska
in her text calls ^{her name} ~~the~~ $\text{A}\epsilon\text{ιστοφάγος I}$.

The only name left a little later than the rest is
 ΠΥΘΙΩΡ , as this is Π. IV. He is dated by ^{Agnes de laet} G. 10:1:

G. 10:1 : has Π. IV (and III) ca. 290?

Hell. Wreck has Π. V (which jar), suggested date ^{Quench} 280-275
(BCH Suppl. 13, p. 561)

Karoni has developed Zanon II : ca 270

also
Kεατινός
only a
little

If all this is about right, the Thracian or the rest
apparently don't go down to the end of the history of
the city (270 BC?).

Mishkin's Debt

1. I. 91

" . . . At one point, speaking of Dintkins' role in the monetary crisis, Rohatyn quoted the founding partner of Lazard Frères, André Meyer, as having once said, "You can explain things to people, ~~but~~ but you can't understand for them."

Andy Logan, p. 134 of New Yorker Jan 5. XI. 90 ("Around City Hall").

copies made for
Thesis article

Bulgaria: Sautopolis

For MSBF add. et corr.

On date of Sautopolis, Grace 1985, p. 20:
See Dimitri P. Dimitroff and others, Sautopolis I, Sofia
1984. (Bud I rec'd it in 1986, and saw it after
return from the U.S. in 1986). On p. 156, found-
ing and destruction date of Sautus' town are given
as 323-270 B.C. The figs given Group 20 are
ca 359-ca 229 B.C. (Shed note 51) but that is for
occupation of site.

Shed do what we can to make use of the
Thracian found there any time now they are published.
Do they fit inside 323-270?

Ad to make an analysis of Thracian present
in publ. of Sautopolis, which he has already filed.
I see there are no examples of the Koron names,
Δημάδης, Ιδριάς and Κλεόστρατος, who
should be ca 270 B.C. Single ex. of any

* Πυθίας - Π. IV, see p. 120, fig 2, no. 19 (clear as a
bell), see text p. 149, no. 19. Quite a lot of Bulgarian
text, including identity of ^{stand} ~~place~~ as of Π. IV, and
mention of dates 300-290 - is this possibly context?

ROTRUFF

with best wishes - VG
Luscor

4

HESPERIA

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THE LONG-PETAL BOWL FROM THE PITHOS
SETTLING BASIN

IN A RECENT ISSUE of *Hesperia*, Virginia Grace has argued for a date in the second decade of the 2nd century for the introduction of "early" long-petal bowls.¹ The evidence cited for this early date is P 23095,² a long-petal bowl of unusual design which was found to the south of the Middle Stoa and has been associated, both by the excavator, Eugene Vanderpool, and, on his authority, by Miss Grace, with the construction of the Middle Stoa (ca. 180 B.C.). In view of the considerable re-adjustment of the dating of long-petal bowls that Miss Grace's suggestion entails, it seems worthwhile to examine the bowl and its context in more detail.

Fragments of the bowl were found in a pithos that served as a settling basin considerably to the south of the Middle Stoa, along the north side of the "Heliaina" and just short of its west end. This feature clearly functioned in concert with the "Heliaina", for a channel for a water downpipe was cut into the face of the two surviving blocks of the "Heliaina" wall just above the pithos. It is also clear, as the excavator states, that in order to bring the level of the square south of the Middle Stoa up to the level of the steps of the Stoa itself at its west end, a large amount of fill was brought in, and this fill ultimately covered the pithos and put it out of use.³ A careful investigation of the stratigraphy of this area, however, and of the pottery found here, suggests that the situation is more complicated than has previously been realized.

The strata associated with the construction of the Middle Stoa consist of 1) the fill within the foundations of the building, preserved and excavated primarily within the nine westernmost bays of the structure,⁴ and 2) the fill brought in concurrently with the laying of the Stoa foundation to raise the level of the south square, excavated in a continuous stretch south of the westernmost six bays of the building and in patches further east.⁵ This southern section of the building fill is considered to extend no further west than a line running south from the first Stoa pier from the west. No clear stratigraphic division was noted here during excavation, and it may have been obscured by the fact that the area east of this line was dug in 1953, the area west of it in 1954. In Vanderpool's final analysis of the area, however, the

¹ V. R. Grace, "The Middle Stoa Dated by Amphora Stamps," *Hesperia* 54, 1985 (pp. 1-54 [= Grace]), p. 24.

² S. Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora*, XXII, *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls*, Princeton 1982, no. 344, pls. 62, 87.

³ See E. Vanderpool's comment quoted in Grace, p. 22.

⁴ Coins from this fill were published as Deposit I by F. Kleiner, "The Earliest Athenian New Style Bronze Coins. Some Evidence from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 44, 1975 (pp. 302-330), pp. 303-309, but note that coins A-410-A-414 and A-417 in fact come from south of the building; this has no bearing, however, on Kleiner's conclusions.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Deposit II, pp. 309-311. Amphora handles from both inside the building and from the fill to the south form the basis of Grace's analysis.

Post to me
for Germany

No.
I look for
evidence,
elsewhere,
which
might
allow this
to be as
early.

(it was
the ramp)

22.11.91 Have now agreed with this offprint the notes written in the
first number of *Hesperia* 57, which I received before the offprint.

the second quarter of the 2nd century; the *duoviri* handle (SS 13503) points to disturbance also later in the century.⁹

The lots collected in Kleiner's Deposit III, however, do not seem to form a logical stratigraphic unit. No east-west section of this area was drawn at the time of excavation, and it is extremely difficult to reconstruct the stratigraphy in detail. One stratigraphic feature, however, which is mentioned repeatedly in the notebooks, is the ramp referred to above, which led up to the south square from the lower level west of the Stoa. Its sloping surface was identified at several points and the material under it excavated and stored as separate lots. The following list gives these lots, with the amphora handles they contained and Miss Grace's estimated dates:

Lot K 161, with SS 12924-12939 (latest handles in the period 167-146).
Lots K 217, 218, with SS 13767-13796 (latest handles perhaps slightly later than Middle Stoa building fill).

Lot K 221, included in Kleiner's Deposit III (see above).
Lots K 222, 223, with SS 13637-13649, 13703-13715 (latest handles in the period 146-125). *only SS 13642*

Lot K 208, with SS 13457-13467 (latest handles in the period 167-146). *(not sure)*
Lot K 164, with SS 13005-13031 (includes a handle of the 1st century B.C.).

Fill at 22/KZ, with SS 13728-13747 (latest handles in the period 188-167).

Here again we find, along with handles contemporary with the building fill, a number of pieces dating in the second and even the third quarter of the 2nd century. This would suggest that, as one might have expected, the ramp was finished considerably after the building fill was deposited, at the earliest somewhat after the middle of the 2nd century. And again a single 1st-century handle indicates even later activity in the area.

Let us turn now to the relationship of these strata to the pithos settling basin and to the long-petal bowl under consideration (P 23095). The notebook indicates that the settling basin was overlaid by a layer described as "Hellenistic fill west of the water basin [= the water clock] and north of the stepped retaining wall [= the north wall of the 'Heliata']" (lots K 144-146). This was considered part of the building fill, and handles from it are included in Virginia Grace's analysis of amphora handles from the fill. The bulk of these are contemporary with those in the building fill proper, but there is also a Knidian handle of the *duoviri* period (SS 12918);¹⁰ either the area has been disturbed or the fill was deposited much later than the building fill proper. In any event, if the earth over the settling basin contains later material, material within the settling basin itself cannot be considered a sealed deposit; it too may have been subject to later disturbance, and the stratigraphical

⁹ It seems likely that the late 2nd- and 1st-century material noted in this fill as well as in the building fill proper (Grace, p. 22, note 57) represents disturbance, rather than the date of leveling operations in this area.
¹⁰ The handle (KT 2112) names Laches and Eupolemos, associated with the eponym Euphragoras, of Grace's period VIB (97-88 B.C.); see Grace, p. 22, note 57, pp. 31, 35.

account does not provide reliable evidence for its contemporaneity with the bulk of the Middle Stoa building fill.

The long-petal bowl P 23095 had been shattered and dispersed before its deposition, as the excavation account attests. Vanderpool describes the situation: "most of the pieces were on top of the sand in the basin, one piece was on the stosis just outside."¹¹ This one piece (actually two small rim fragments) comes, in fact, from a fill specifically disassociated from the building fill by Vanderpool; it is the fill noted above as lots K 201 and K 202, included by Kleiner in his Deposit III, and containing amphora handles of the second quarter of the century. Investigation of the context pottery has turned up more fragments of P 23095: another from lots K 201, 202; one from fill over the ramp beyond the west end of the "Heliata", no further than about one meter west of the settling basin, again in fill not considered by the excavator to be building fill (lot K 142¹²); and another from slightly further west, under the surface of the ramp (lot K 218: see above), associated with amphoras dating slightly later than the bulk of the material in the building fill proper. A further chronological hint may be extracted from other strata associated with the ramp. Some of the amphora handles excavated from under the surface of the ramp date as late as the third quarter of the 2nd century, and there is one handle of 1st-century date. Strata lying over the ramp contained amphora handles dating in the second quarter of the 2nd century and later¹³ as well as fragments of a "normal" long-petal bowl (P 31719).

Although the stratigraphic picture of this area is far from clear, it seems certain that grading operations continued well into the second quarter of the 2nd century if not beyond, and that the settling basin, located about 10 meters distant from the south stylobate of the Stoa, remained open during those operations. The context of P 23095 does not, therefore, offer evidence for an early date for the inception of long-petal bowls.¹⁴

What bearing does this piece have, then, on the dating of long-petal bowls? P 23095 is quite unlike the "normal" long-petal bowls which turn up in deposits of the second half of the 2nd century and in Sullan destruction debris of 86 B.C.¹⁵ In these products of the well-

¹¹ Grace, p. 22.

¹² See footnote 13 below.

¹³ Lots K 142, 160, 204-207, 216. Lots K 205, 206, and 216 contain handles of the second quarter of the century; lot K 207 contains a *duoviri* handle indicative, probably, of a late 2nd-early 1st-century disturbance.

¹⁴ Grace also cites the contents of Cistern E 15:4 as evidence of an earlier dating for long-petal bowls (Grace, p. 23). Although amphora handles in that cistern are contemporary with those from the Middle Stoa building fill, other objects are later. There is also a fragment of a moldmade bowl decorated with *Nymphaea nelumbo* petals (P 31140), closely paralleled by a bowl in Thompson's Group E, and thus likely to date in the second half of the 2nd century (H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3, 1934 [pp. 311-480], E 79, pp. 406-409, figs. 96a, 96b). It is suggestive, though not conclusive, that this fragment physically joins another from a cistern filled with debris from Sulla's destruction of Athens in 86 B.C. (Deposit F 13:3). Further support for a late date comes from the fusiform unguentaria, which find their closest parallels in deposits of the second half of the century. For fuller discussion see comments on E 15:4 in my preface to the reprint of D. B. Thompson, "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas," in *Hellenistic Pottery and Terracottas*, Princeton 1987 (in which the H. A. Thompson article cited above is also reprinted), pp. 190, 191.

¹⁵ E.g., H. A. Thompson (footnote 14 above), D 39-40, E 74-77; Rotroff (footnote 2 above), nos. 321-324, 326-343.

She counts in stratification. These 1st BC moldmade bowls are contemporary.

established tradition, the petals are either contiguous or divided by jeweled lines, their surfaces often (though not always) flat. In P 23095 long petals overlie and alternate with pointed lotus petals, in a scheme which finds parallels in fragments from an undated context in the Kerameikos¹⁶ and in a moldmade jug from the upper fill of a cistern on the Kolonos Agoraios, probably deposited in the second quarter of the 2nd century.¹⁷ As I have pointed out elsewhere,¹⁸ the medallion of P 23095 is closely similar to that of a series of bowls manufactured by Workshop A, an atelier which was functioning in the first quarter of the 2nd century. Numerous pieces from that shop were found in the Middle Stoa building fill and roughly contemporary deposits, but we do not know how long the shop continued to function. Its products, however, are rare in deposits dating after the middle of the century, and we must assume that the shop closed, or that its products were altered beyond recognition, some time during the second quarter of the century.

It seems reasonable, as Grace suggests, to see P 23095 as an early version of the long-petal bowl. G. Roger Edwards has postulated a logical course of stylistic development for long-petal bowls, from more elaborate examples with convex petals to simple bowls with contiguous flat petals,¹⁹ but it has not, thus far, been possible to document this development with the evidence of archaeological context. But here we have P 23095, with links to a workshop of the first and probably also second quarter of the 2nd century, with a close parallel in a deposit of the second quarter of the 2nd century, and itself associated with a fill apparently of that date or only slightly later. It thus seems reasonable to view this as an early version of the type, although not so early as Grace maintains.

The final analysis of the building fills of the Middle Stoa, the Stoa of Attalos, and South Stoa II will do much to clarify the early development of the long-petal bowl. Even now it is clear that there was considerable variation in the early years of production. To the one previously recognized example from under the Stoa of Attalos²⁰ can now be added another,²¹ recovered from the pottery tins. Both are fairly delicate, with convex petals outlined by thin ridges; they are quite unlike P 23095, but on the basis of context about contemporary. Miss Grace now suggests a date of ca. 157 B.C. for the latest amphora handles

¹⁶ W. Schwabacher, "Hellenistische Reliefkeramik im Kerameikos," *AJA* 45, 1941 (pp. 182-228), pl. VII:7, 8.

¹⁷ S. Rotroff, "Three Cistern Systems on the Kolonos Agoraios," *Hesperia* 52, 1983 (pp. 257-297), p. 293, no. 79, pl. 59. Dating is based on amphora handles; the fill contained a Knidian amphora handle dating between 166 and 146 B.C. (*ibid.*, p. 274).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 274, pl. 62.

¹⁹ G. R. Edwards, *Corinth*, VII, iii, *Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery*, Princeton 1975, pp. 177-178.

²⁰ Rotroff (footnote 2 above), no. 325. Grace (p. 23) stresses that this fragment comes from "a deposit under the filling of the Stoa of Attalos" (her emphasis). While this is certainly the case, Rhys Townsend, who is at work on the publication of the Square Peristyle, tells me that it comes from an area where there was some mixing between the lower fill and its predecessors, and that it comes from an area where there was possibly some mixing with the fill of the Stoa of Attalos above it. I am grateful to Professor Townsend for several discussions of this stratigraphy in the summer of 1986 and for the opportunity to examine much of the pottery with him.

²¹ P 31470, from lot ΣA 76, also, according to Townsend, from an area of the fill over the Square Peristyle where there was possibly some mixing with the fill of the Stoa of Attalos above.

found in the building fill of the Stoa of Attalos,²² with which we now see that early versions of the long-petal bowl may be associated. This adds further confirmation to a date in the second quarter of the 2nd century for early experimentation with the long-petal bowl at Athens.

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22. Grace, pp. 14-15.

The emphasis was because there had been a lot of mixing between the lower fill and its predecessors, and that it comes from an area where there was possibly some mixing with the fill of the Stoa of Attalos above.

THE ATHENIAN AGORA

VOLUME XXIII

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with the collaboration of DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

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REPRINT

CORINTH

VOLUME XII

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By GLADYS R. DAVIDSON

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April 1987

HELLENISTIC POTTERY AND TERRACOTTAS

By HOMER A. THOMPSON, DOROTHY B. THOMPSON AND SUSAN I. ROTROFF

The articles collected and reprinted here appeared originally in the pages of *Hesperia*. "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery", by Homer A. Thompson, presented in 1934 some of the pottery found in the early excavations of the American School in the Athenian Agora. The series titled "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas", by Dorothy B. Thompson, includes ten articles that were published between 1952 and 1966. The working chronology that the authors established has made these studies basic references for investigations of Attic pottery and terracottas of the Hellenistic period, wherever found. In recognition of subsequent discoveries, the Thompson's work has now been augmented by a preface with bibliography for each, prepared by Susan I. Rotroff, which comments particularly on the changes in chronology resulting from the continuing excavations in the Agora and elsewhere. In "Afterthoughts" Dorothy Thompson has made new observations concerning certain terracottas.

Published December 1987. iv + 459 pp., 122 figs. in text, 64 pls. Quarto. Cloth. \$40.00.

ISTHμία

VOLUME IV

SCULPTURE I: 1952-1967

By MARY C. STURGEON

Although Megaw and Jenkins tentatively explored the Isthmian site in 1932, full-scale excavation of the Sanctuary of Poseidon did not begin until 1952 when Oscar Broneer located the Temple of Poseidon with the first trench cut diagonally across the temple platform. These excavations continued until 1967 under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago and in association with the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The first three volumes of the *Isthmia* series comprise Broneer's study of the Temple, the architecture of the Sanctuary, and the lamps. The publications resume with Mary Sturgeon's study of the sculpture recovered by Broneer between 1952 and 1967. The sculptures presented include an extraordinary marble perirrhanterion of about 660-650 B.C. on which are preserved traces of the original paint, reproduced here in two color plates. Later sculpture from the site is represented principally by the cult statue group of the 2nd century after Christ. The group consists of colossal figures, identified as Poseidon and Amphitrite, and reliefs of the Calydonian Boar Hunt and of the Slaughter of the Niobids, which probably decorated the base. Portraits of Hadrian, Antinous, and a group of officials from the Palaimonian, as well as other freestanding pieces and votive reliefs, add to the range of sculpture from the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia.

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08543-0631, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

For Susan, because of
some text of hers - The Conquest
Art, p. 26

Athens, 30.VII.91

The eponym named in Rhodian stamps is apparently the same annual official (the priest of Halios) whose name is used to date Rhodian inscriptions. His name dates the amphoras (the greater number are dated to the month also), but no reason to think he had anything else to do with their production. Responsibility for their standard quality is that of the fabricant, and sometimes also of an individual potter in his shop - I think the so-called secondary stamps, (a couple of letters, a device) are the working potters' marks.

Recently V. Kondarini has published inscriptions on the bases of the statues of eight or nine ~~xxxxxxxx~~ priests of Halios (found apparently in the sanctuary of Halios in Rhodes) which give the names also of the sculptors who made the (now missing) statues. The identity of the stamp eponyms with the inscription eponyms is here further strongly suggested, e.g. two eponyms whose statues were made by the same sculptor would both have been dated about the middle of the 3rd century according to stamp dating. (The rest seem to be ok too.)

VG

4. VII. 91 6

check if there are notes
for MSB/ add. et cor. or
longitudinal bridge for. in in filling
of ^{at Bergum} Great Allen, and find that
Schaefer was detecting that in
181 BC?

MSBF Supplement article

Papers have been sorted and assembled today,
e.g. End date of Smigean
Correction in name lists
Presentation of amphom material in AAT groups B and E
etc.

a few misorted paper near top.

Groups of papers clipped together under slips
with with the pencil

MSBF ADD. & CORR.

(*corresp.*
is under
G.R. 151:
GRETE!
ROMMOS) relating to Nikasion's date. Since a better reading of a stamp on an amphora from Cyprus (now in Sarasota, Florida, see Grace 1948: 146) shows that the eponym paired there with Nikasion is Aristodamos (not Eudamos or Sodamos as previously guessed), all eponyms that have been associated with Nikasion in known or reasonably guessed pairs (Agestratos 2nd, Athanodotos, Aristodamos 2nd, and Theaidetos) are now seen to date between about 184 and about 176 B.C. (Grace 1985: 8-9). This date is supported by the fact that three stamps of Nikasion were found in the Pergamon deposit (Schuchhardt 1895: nos. 1146, 1147, 1148), and none in the slightly earlier Middle Stoa construction filling in the Athenian Agora, of which the end date proves to be about 183 B.C. (Grace 1985: 24, summary on this end date, now it seems, generally accepted; *ibid.*: 7-9 on relative dates of the Middle Stoa filling and of the Pergamon deposit, which ^{letter} is shown to ^{end} be about seven years later. The one stamp of Nikasion from the Agora (SS 13761)¹⁰ was found just on top of ~~the~~ a part of the Middle Stoa filling.

10. Note that the reference R 400 in Fraser and Matthews (1987: 331) is actually not an inventory number, nor any sort of Agora number, but it identifies a name in Grace's working list of Rhodian amphora fabricants (manufacturers).

Other needs, for MSBF supplement

Profile drawing (A Δ)

P 1113 (?)

P 3402 (chain of lat: 2nd c)

~~SS 370~~ (has been drawn)

~~SS 371~~

9.02

9.01

P lots.
and drawings
needed

- needed

average are
(1:2) line
(70?), which

9.01

Plots,
and drawings
needed

9.02

14. XT 90

I must have one of the needed
prints, counted!

→ Found them

9.03-a

for MSBF Supplement:
a few photos



P

1113

preparation

ing.



9N

rose

9.03-e

ss 370

Other needs, for MSBF supplement

Profile drawing (AA)

~~P 1113~~ (?)

¹¹¹²
P 3402 (Chain of lat. 2 mic)

~~SS 370~~ (has been drawn)

~~SS 371~~

9.18.88

¹¹¹² The only ones still needing drawings are P 1113 and P 3402. But int (at 1:2) has been done only for the Profile (SS 370?), which has been illustrated in my Roman article.

16 VI -88

Photos. needed for MSBF + artist

Grp. B To be taken! - printed 1:10_{per}
 given: P 1112, 1114, SS 370, 371 (shown) but ^{type} taken
 (we have P 1113)

Grp. C To be taken! side view of handle SS 282

23. VI -88

Group E

I can use what I have, by illustrating the types (KT) of the SAH, i.e. borders for Alex, N. Mus., etc. Existing side view of the neck of ^{SS 2170} Epucyrys sp. Kaddisapoc - but perhaps the stamp could be improved? - note there is a base handle also with this type, descr. as "bin" for black earth at bottom"! i.e. suitable in itself ca 150?

Today Gary looked over my needs for Groups B and C, and listed the ~~is~~ jobs to be done.

20. V. 88

ROLL 370.16 1/10 με το χαρτάκι (3)

ROLL 493.32 1/10 με το χαρτάκι (3)

ROLL 142,33 5'34 σφραγίδα με το μίτρο του FILM 493
6x9 από (2)

SS 8901

Middle Str Dated: Suppl.

For presenting jars in HAT groups

Get out P & SS cards of these

G 13:4

For Group A

There are no whole jars. May use
SS 14261, whole jar naming same
dating name, Ty 2 spec 205. (Check readings)
Warm reader of various shape-effects
produced by water's capacities. This one
is relatively large.

H 16:3

For Group B ^{from HAT 1934, p. 332} (Litho Greece 1963, p. 325, note 13)

SS 370	Rhodia of Zy'vuu	} illustrates <u>all</u>
SS 371	Knidia, EK	
P 1112	? incomplete above	
P 1113	Nikandros Group	
P 1114	Chian, unstamped	

G 6:2

For Group C ^{Kn.} ^{use top and sides of} H. Paur & Zean SS 282

No whole jars, and lower now from outside
with this sp. Refer to 'Middle Str', pl. 2,
4, jar in Rhodes, then of 'Apx. τοίχος', also
pl. 2, 5, from Marseille Ws. I.

For content of fig 64, see EAD 27,
 with ref.s
 pp. 317-318 with note 2

H 16:4

For Group D Kn. sp. - Θαδισβοτρίττος

No whole jars, and none from
 outside with this sp.

Refer to middle jar in Amphora, fig
 64, jar of Ανδισβοτρίττος, sp. Ανδισβοτρίττος
 (Note fig. 64 has also a Kn. sp. for Group B)

F 15:2

For Group E

P 3402

Unstamped Chion

Alex, February 12, 1989

Dear Susan,

E 153, 156, 157. The first and last come from Section MZ, the rest from K.

See above, footnote 7.

58

[of Green 1985]

The settling basin is listed as I 14 : 2, discussed by Rotroff, Agora XXII, p. 102. Further on P 23095, Vanderpool's bowl, see op. cit., pp. 36 and 85, where it is referred to by its catalogue number, 344. Rotroff is explicit in separating the finding place from the Middle Stoa filling; she also suggests a possible date of 225-175 for the bowl, although without excluding the possibility of a considerably later date.

One flash of light has identified for me the place of the Middle Stoa filling that lay over the Vanderpool long-petted bowl, and you refer to it perhaps in various places in your publications, but I could not identify it (cf. Middle Stoa Dated, p. 23, near top). It had seemed to me that none of that characteristic filling (as DBT has described it to me, it was distinctive) had been found there - now has been reported that could have covered the position of the bowl, according to the excavator's identifications in his notebook. One

grace

footnotes - 30

E 153, 156, 157. The first and last come from Section MΣ, the rest from K.

See above, footnote 7.

58

[of Green 1985]

The settling basin is listed as I 14 : 2, discussed by Retroff, Agora XXII, p. 102. Further on P 23095, Vanderpool's bowl, see op. cit., pp. 36 and 85, where it is referred to by its catalogue number, 344. Retroff is explicit in separating the finding place from the Middle Stoa filling; she also suggests a possible date of 225-175 for the bowl, although without excluding the possibility of a considerably later date.

59

See Edwards, Corinth VII (see footnote 56), pp. 177, 178, on the exacting task of incising the earlier long petal designs in the mould, and the greatly increased production after a shortcut was devised.

60

The deposit is Q 8-9, the fill over the floor of the Square Peristyle, and the bowl fragment is P 20204 (Agora XXII, no. 325). The Rhodian stamped handles in Q 8-9 run down only to the eponym *Ιέπων 1st, dated tentatively

~~in the 5th century, but the evidence is too scanty to establish the date~~

Albany, February 12, 1989

Dear Susan,

Your Christmas cards are always delightful. I still have last year's Fra. Angelico Gabriel, all red and gold, serious and intent with his message.

The new one brings pleasant news of life in Princeton. I was happy that the Greek cat arrived in such good shape after having been a parcel. It is fine you will soon be here, and going to the conference in Rhodes. I wish I could hear the talks. I hope you will be here afterward, to tell us about them.

I will be interested to check some more deposits with you. I have indeed ^{BACKED-UP} backed-up things to talk about, and had in mind to write you long ago. There just seem to be so many letters needing to be written, that none get out, like voussours in an arch.

One flash of light has identified for me the part of the Middle Stoa filling that lay over the Vandaeus long-petioled bowl, and you refer to it perhaps in various places in your publications, but I could not identify it (cf. Middle Stoa Dated, p. 23, near top). It had seemed to me that none of that characteristic filling (as DBT has described it to me, it was distinctive) had been found there — none had been reported that could have covered the position of the bowl, according to the excavator's identifications in his notebook. One

but that cover nearest was said to come from "west of the water basin". For all those years, I had interpreted that as "west of the water basin not on top of it". So, it suddenly occurred to me that he was referring to the other basin, east of the one with the bowl. I thought I had straightened out those 2 basins, but it seems not entirely.

Well, if the bowl was covered, ought it not to have the same date ^{as the} latest of the filling? I think you call attention to one of the 5 late Kurian bowls having come from that deposit, hence casting doubt on its being all of one date. To me, it seems rather too removed in date to be relevant.

I'm writing uptown, and have only an opportunity of the MSD to consult, ~~and~~ none of your publication.

I think you admired a book of M. Siebert's on relief bowls. I had occasion to write him a short note (a correction) a reading we had given him years ago. He has had a rotten time over his excavation in Dabo — worked again in that house ~~with~~ where all the real impressions ^{but he has missed others} had been found, and again missed others. So they won't let him dig any more — nor, as I have heard, publish his finds. So I told him as something cheerful, about your MacArthur, and he responded ^{very} cordially. (We did not mention the bowls)

See you soon! Love to both.

Virginia Grace

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 archaeologist, the late Professor C. H. Emilie 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 is seen to have operated from early in the 4th century B.C.: "Re the amphoras: I called them Hellenistic at the time (in 1932 or '33) for the only reason that we . . . were used to speak of 'Hellenistic pointed amphorae'. Almost a term like West Slope ware or Megarian bowls."⁶ Here is one of the places where Homer Thompson has enabled us to take a big step forward.

DATING THE CONSTRUCTION FILLING BY THE AMPHORA STAMPS CONTAINED

The thesis of the present paper has been known to Thompson and other interested persons since July 11, 1956, when I completed a report on the stamped amphora handles found in the building fill of the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora, about 1500 in number. The report was circulated at the Agora and has remained on file there.⁷ The date which the handles seemed to indicate as that of the lower limit of the fill was the second decade of the 2nd century B.C.⁸ So early a date was not generally accepted at that time; there were conflicts to be resolved: for instance some coins in the fill had been dated in the second quarter of the century. Further studies of the various stamp sequences represented in the fill continued to point to the same decade for its probable lower limit; eventually, counting the terms of dating officials in Rhodian stamps brought us to a proposed end date of the stamps in the filling of about 183 or 182 B.C.⁹ Finally, we have in 1972 Homer Thompson's considered date for the start of construction of the Middle Stoa itself, "late in the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C."¹⁰ The coins have now been published by F. S. Kleiner, who finds nothing that he need date later than about 180 B.C. More recently, the molded relief bowls in the filling

⁵ Summary on the Pnyx: J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London 1971, pp. 466-476, with bibliography, p. 467. Summary on the Pnyx evidence dating the two-name stamps: *Délos XXVII*, bottom of p. 355. Cf. Garlan 1979, p. 246 with note 12. Most recently on the Pnyx as a whole, see H. A. Thompson, "The Pnyx in Models," *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIX, *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool*, Princeton 1982, pp. 133-147.

⁶ On the Haspels investigation in Thasos, see Garlan 1979, pp. 256-258, taken from an unpublished excavation report, apparently of late 1933.

⁷ Filed with Deposit Summaries, under its grid position H-K 12-14. Text accompanied by extensive lists, and analyses by class, of the stamped handles from the Middle Stoa construction 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. p. 22 below with footnote 57.

⁸ Published statement in 1962, *Nessana I*, p. 124.

⁹ *Délos XXVII*, p. 291, and see pp. 9, etc. below in the present article.

¹⁰ *Agora XIV*, p. 67. The date given for the filling in *Agora IV* (1958), *VIII* (1962), and *XII* (1970), in the deposit lists, had been to ca. 150 B.C., a date evidently derived from that appearing in Edwards' 1956 publication; see footnote 56 below (date of filling equals that of start of long-petal bowls). Correct some references in *Agora XIV*, p. 66, note 179: the quotation actually comes from *Délos XXVII*, p. 382, and other relevant passages are evidently *ibid.*, pp. 290-291, 320.

It occurred to me in bed this morning that I want to have also a ~~more~~ party even more related to the work. It will be 40 years since Maria and Andreas and I started together. In the years after that beginning, every year we had a party of all those concerned with our work, always especially Mr. Benaschi.

14 XI, 88

Addenda for MSBF article;

Date of Tycheandros, 160/159, is maintained by Halvick, Hedg, 1988, p. 239, (cf. MSBF art., p. 25, note 65)

Group E stamps to be illustrated

KT 1268	we instead of	SS 2076	SS 4848
108	"	2157	8510 (photo on file)
925	"	SS 2158	SS 2158 because of the sec. st.
566	"	SS 2160	ABC 1 (roll 598, 6)
603	"	2166	ABC 1 (319, 13)
156	"	2173	EM3+ABC 1
1093	"	2174	SS 10152
348	"	2178	2178
595	"	2170 (for 2 stamps)	enlargement is needed

22. VI. 93

The att. are photocopies of file cards that were in the envelope marked "Group E," + also that marked "for MSBF suppl. 17. VI. 88"

The file cards have now been put away (other photocopies were taken for computerization).

ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ bouk.
ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ



N.B. The majority at least of the framed circular stamps with bouk. and ep.'s name only (+ethnic) must come from same jars as these

Δαμοκράτης τοῦ Ἀριστοκλεῦς
boukranion

Hesp. III no. 201-206

ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ bouk.
ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ

22 9738, descending stamp
Δ on side of (vertical)
handle (with w. both
stamps).

ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ boukranion
ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ

Δαμοκράτης τοῦ Ἀριστοκλεῦς
Boukranion

ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ boukranion (4)
ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ

K
©

13.04

Δαμοκράτης τοῦ Ἀριστοκλεῦς
Boukranion

ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ bouk. (5)
ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ

K
©

Δαμοκράτης τοῦ Ἀριστοκλεῦς
boukranion

ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ bouk (6)
ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ

K
©

SS 13613 - Z, 14-15/10 + E, shoes 5-6, Road over Pros Blvd

ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ

book (7)

13.06

ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ

book (8)

ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ

book (9)

KT 366 Alex. Benachi 14.IV.54, no 174, 180 (with sec. stamps), 176
 Alex Benachi 26.V.54, no 340, 342, 346, 349 (w. sec. stamp A)
 " " 24.VI.54, A6, no 50, 86
 Alex. Benachi 14.VII.54, no 18, 25, 23.XI.53, no 7
 SS 14023 - K, promissionaire, un Kinaison
 Alex Benachi, letter 9, 15.XI.54 (stamp) 2 examples
 Abdura 292
 Alex. Benachi, letter 4, 1954-55
 " " 16 14.XII.54 (3 ex)
 " " 23.XI.54
 Alex. BC 1-113 (sec. st. O on 4, 5, 9, 80 and sec. A on 6, 8
 from ant. and Alex. BC 114, 115-116, 117, 118, 119-122-123, 124, 125, 126-132
 Alex. Mus. 1-36 (A 1 w. sec. stamp O, and A 36 w. sec. stamp O)
 Alex. Mus. 37, 38
 D 278, 40a and 41b (no device mentioned); 281, 57-58;
 174 ex Delos: TD 6002, 6187

KT 366 unknown prov: BM 206 (1955, 9-20, 206)
 Alexandria: BM 452 (48, 7-31, 314)
 204 Alex BC 133-135, 136-7, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152 (sec. st. A)
 D. 340, 10-12, 14; 344, 45; 360, 161; Pl. XI, 10
 pub Attica: Grundmann, p. 312, 69-70 (he reads KM1. Probably
 a misreading for the letter
 SS 9754 - NN well at 107/15, fill 2, packing behind
 tiles; p. 3136
 Syme: X. 53, 187, 192, 196, 250
 84 Alex: BC 153-4, 155, 156, 157, 158 (sec. st. A, from Caricium), 159, 160
 Cabinet des Médailles, Bon 271
 Peiraieus: MP 44
 114 Alex: ABC 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167 (w. sec. st. A), 168-9, 170, 1
 Samos: Tigani I 605
 Pellae: A 1140
 55 ex Delos: TD 6244, anastylosis operations of stoa of Philip, 1958

KT 366 - Athens: Excav. S. of Acropolis in 1957, no. NAA 570, 731
 Athens: KGA 1247
 (21) Alexandria: ABC 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177-9, 180-1, 182, 3,
 184-5, 186 (w. sec. stamp), 187, 188, 189, 190-191, 192
 Delos: TD 6546 (w. sec. stamps A) (see stamp A no)
 Delos: TD 6626, Maison de Fourni 1960
 SS 14473 - K, Road to west and northwest of Southwest
 Fountain House lowest Hellenistic gravel
 above cobbled street surface, p. 3996, 6-15: K-M
 Olympieion 1939: OA 21, 83, 251
 Alex: Ben Coll. ABC 193, 194, 195
 36 ex Delos: TD 7022
 SK 66 Delos: TD 6736, 1962 Fouilles sur la Colline en Surplomb
 SK 67 Delos: TD 6780 " " " " de Skandara

ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ

bouk.

(10)

K
©

13.08



(ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ bouk.
ΤΟΥ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ)

(1)

K
©

For unread boukranion stamps
with double frame.

Cyprus, Kition 162 (KIT.AB.II-4457) di III

B.09

KT 366 SS 40

KT 366A SS 6316 - P, dist. late Hell.

SS 6344 - P, Drain trench

SS 7753 - NN, 106-1A-1B, gravel

SS 8058 - S2, 65/1 w. seal stamp on

~~SS 9441 - NW, late Ptolemaic fill~~

~~SS 9657 - F, showing fill over great Drain, p. 2924~~

SS 9108 - NN, great Drain

SS 9208 - BB, Roman fill

SS 870 - D, MSBF !?

SS 9630 - A, cistern at 8/H

SS 9632 - Z, 9/10 p. 290

SS 34 - CP1799

SS 1250 - H, 15/H

SS 2207 - K, 69/KA

SS 2670 - F, surface

SS 3081 - B, 56/10 Drain

SS 3500 - D, 45/12, 45/13, 45/14

12 ex

(ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ bouk. (2)
ΤΟΥ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ)

©/K

13/6

For unread boukranion stamps
with double frame.

(ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΤΟΥ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ)

bouk. (3)

©/K

(ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΤΟΥ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ)

bouk. (4)

©/K

KT 366A SS 3597 - B', late mixed fill
 SS 3682 - B', burned Hell. fill, Well 9
 SS 6108 - KK, 64-65 KB-KF
 SS 6119 - KK, modern, layer III
 SS 6231 - N, 010/14
 SS 7054 - AA, modern filling
 (12) Kent 123, 188, 313 KGA 1013, 1008, 1131, 53, 201, 224, 286, 290
 291, 809, 976, 977
 Abdura 294
 K, Vg 53, VG 201, 224, 290, 809
 Delos TD 4772 5340, 5928
 SS 13827 - K, Martin in Fountain House Porch, layer 3
 SS 14014 - K, Martin over stairs at SW corner of side 157
 below digging stairs at level of top step; 464472
 374
 (Bar) ~~Delos TD 4068, 3210, 334, 1102, 302, 380, 408, 977~~

KT 366A Alex. Mus. 1-15 (A1, A2 w. sec. stamp O)
 Unknown prov. BM 200 (1955 9-20, 200)
 SS 3947^{add} B, well 9 at -5.60 to -1.80, black fill
 SS 4160 - B', well 9, at -15m
 SS 2250 - C, certain at 9410, in black earth at
 Alex. BC 1-56, 59-61, 62-65, 67, 68, 69, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76
 n BC 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88-90, 91
 SS 5924 - S, 12-14/11A-K with corner of the dog
 KR 2 180
 Syme X. 261
 1152x Rhodus VII.5 F at institute next to WC, tray 13 (card p. 18)
 Athens-Dionysia excavations in Erechtheion street 1955

KT 366A ~~Smith~~ ID 856
 (11) Alex.: Ben. Coll. 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102 (see st A)
 Athens: KGA 1310, 1624, 1789
 (12) Alex.: ABC 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114
 Athens: Excav. S. of Acropolis 1957, no. NAA 543 854
 EM 1-40 (EM 1-35 st O, EM 2, 3, 5, 35, 36, 38 w. sec. stamp A; EM 4, 6, 39 w. sec. stamp O
 EM 37 sec. st illegible)
 EM 32-35, 40 are from Olympion
 Athens: Excavations S. of Acropolis in 1959, no. NAA 211
 Alex.: ABC 115
 Delos: TD 6894, Fouilles Colline - Maison des Comédiens
 Delos: TD 7310
 1745 Belzart Queen's University Coll. no. 529 1963

(ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΤΟΥ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΥΣ)

bouk. (5)

K
©

13.12

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΑΣ. herm and bouk. ΔΑΜ.ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ, ep

K

(1)

Επί δαμιόργου 'Ιερ-
ροκλεῦς Ἀπολλωνι-
δα Κνίδι(ο)ν
herm and boukranion
bull's head

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΑΣ herm and bouk. ΔΑΜ.ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ, ep

K

(2)

366A Athens: KGA 2249
" KGA 2262
4x Tenos. A 213, A 301

13.13

KT 156 SS 827 - H context without significance
- SS 3065 - B'
- SS 4951 - H' Byz. fill
SS 6941 - AA, modern filling.
SS 7807 - OA, North slope, Channel B
SS 8765 - MN, late Hellenistic
SS 2173 - Γ, cistern at 94/Θ, HAT, groupe E. late 2nd / early 1st B.C.
Cabinet des Médailles^{BM} 118, 134
✓ Alex Benodhi 24.VI.54, A^o, n^o 124
Alex. BC 1-4, 5
(14-2) D. 163, 129 (corrected); 385, 20 (no device mentioned); Pl. XI, 1
EM 1-23
Delos: TD 6194
Athens: Excav. S. of Acropolis in 1954, no NAA 445, 498
Delos: TD 6611, Maison de Fourni, 1960
49-4 Munich. ant. Samm. No 21

KT 156 uncatal. (K), 1954, (NN) 1939
SS 14892-BE, Road SE of altar 3/6, 8-3/15, 16^{33:3}
SS 14899-BE Road SE of altar 3/6, 8-3/15, 16^{33:3}
33:3
(5x) Jasos - (no number) w. note of D. Levi of 20.XII.
1983, found by Miss Lariosa

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΔΑΣ herm and
bouk.

ΔΑΜ. ΓΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ, ep

K

see ph. under
bouk.



4951



3065



2173

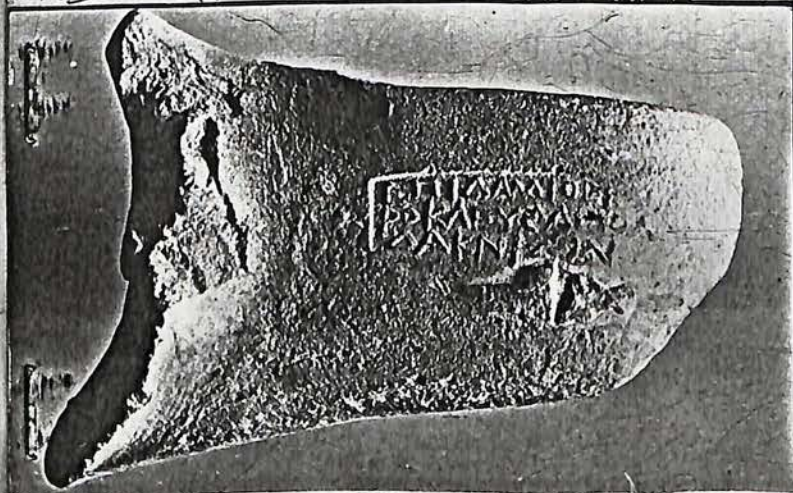


3065 vs. first ph.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΔΑΣ herm and bouk. ΔΑΜ. ΓΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ, ep

K

+ Dimant, pl. XI, 1



ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ

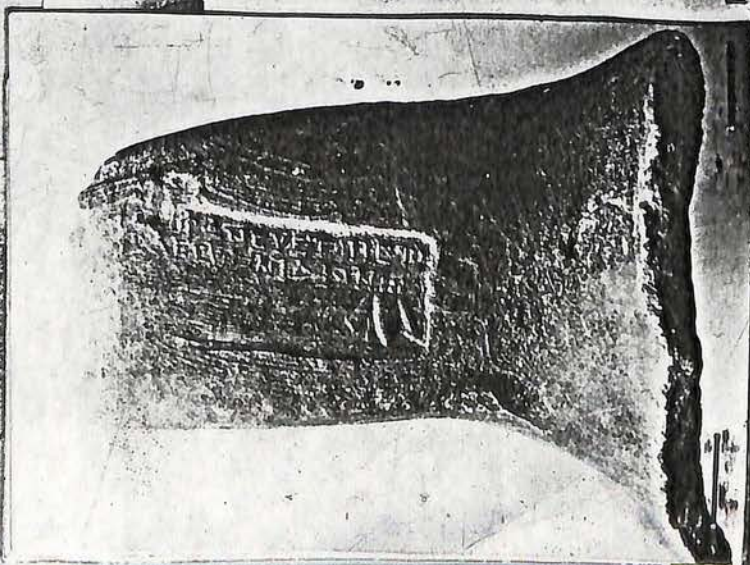
bee

ΓΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ, ep

K



Beside 10.



KT 156 SS 827 - H
SS 3065 - B'

13,15

KT 156 SS 827 - H
SS 3065 - B'

KT 566 SS 2160 - T

ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ

bee

(1)

ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ, ep

K

10. 11. 59 in N. Mus., not usually
no. of which only 10. 11. 59, and
upper part, also for reference,
27. EM 1-3, 5-7, etc.

No complete example.

No parallel in D., but
inverted arrangement
and device character-
istic of names.

Επιφάνευς(ς) ἐπὶ Ἱερο-
κλεῦς(ς) Κνίδιον bee

beach example

ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ

bee

(2)

ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ, ep.

K

ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΟΣ

cluster
(below whole
legend)

ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ, ep

150

K

note this type in group

Νουμηνίου
Κνίδιον ἐπὶ
Ἱεροκλεῦς

cluster (with stalk)

KT 566 SS 2160 - T Group E HAT
 SS 2176 - T " " "
 SS 8271 - MN modern fill at surface
 SS 8976 - MN, brown fill with Kalki Kiar. Byzantine
 Kir. Vg 210 KGA 210
 (Alex. Benachi, 26.VIII.46 rub. 7 also VG 13.XI.46 p. 3)
 Delo - TD 255, 2232, 3648, 4151, 2036 (pale)
 T, uncat. 1952
 Alex. Benachi 11.VI.51, M^o 38
 Alex. Benachi 10.V.51, M^o 298
 Alex. Benachi letter 4, 1954-55
 Alex. BC 1-5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
 Alex. Mus. 1-2
 Peiraieus, BM 352/51, 12-1, 20
 Athens: KGA 1237
 EM 1-15
 41 ex Athens: Excav. South of Acropolis in 1959 in NAA 133

KT 566 (SS 2160 - T)
 Agora uncat. 2 ex.
 3 ex Knidos penins. atelier no 2 de Rezadige (no. 8 on fig 23)
 Empereur, B.C.H. Suppl. XIII, p. 125 no. 2 / fig 26

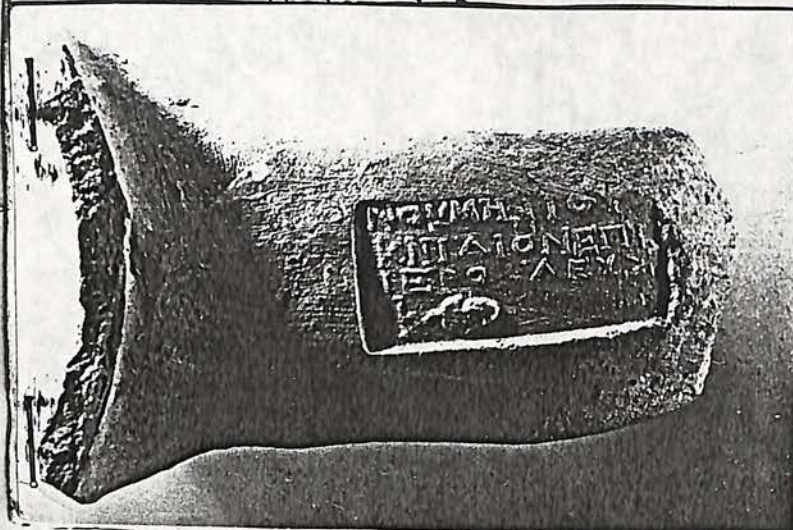
KT 1093 SS 1494 - Z disturbed
 SS 1574 - Z mixed classical level
 SS 2174 - T HAT Hesp. III, 4 Group E
 Phyx 150 PN^{AN} 254 (neck w. 2 handles) ca 100 BC to 2nd cent AD
 SS 6842 - AA, 86/VA, modern
 SS 10152 - MN, post Sullan drain
 SS 10180 - MN, p. 5898, 55-58 / great drain, sand
 SS 10674 - TT, loose red fill Hellenistic and LR
 Delos - TD 1267, 2235, 4917, 4994, 5185, 5882
 Alex. BC 1, 2
 Alex. Mus. 1
 D. 261, 93; 267, 132-132a;
 Attica: Grundmann, p. 299, 37
 EM 1-13
 32 ex Delos: TD 6551, Maison Fourmi 1969

NOYMHNIOS

cluster

IEPOKΛHΣ, ep

13.18



ΑΙΝΕΑΣ

hooked
object

ΣΩΣΙΦΩΝ, ep

Shop IV

K

VT A



ΘΕΝΗΣ
ΠΙΟΣ

ired Capacity 31 litres,
225 cc
; G. diam. 0.337;
th 0.104
and .285
... 02 beyond ring.
right handle

small
Δημητριος
.05 X .017

πὶ Σωσίφρο-
νος Αἰνέα
Κυδίου hooked objec
.043 X .019

COMBINATIONS

ΑΙΝΕΑΣ

prow

ΕΙΡΟΚΛΕΟΣ, ep

K



33

8 4/5 litres
360 cc = 1955

[2162]



COMBINATIONS

KT1093

SS 1494

SS 1574

SS 2174

13.19

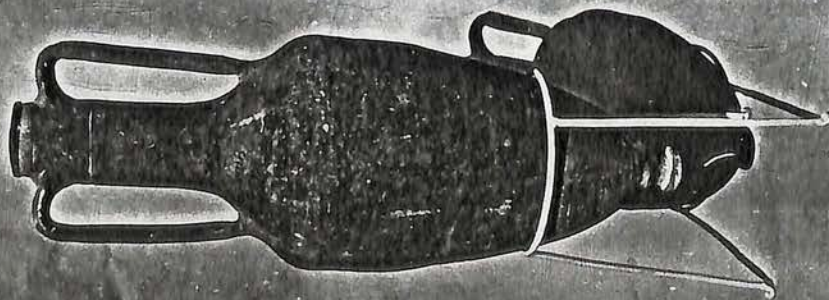
SS 6599 - NO Cistern 6/NE
JAR SERIES, SS neck

C 9:7



Alexandria Museum no. 11,792 [Alex VG 2162]

28.800 cup



ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ

ΙΜΙΑΡ.ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ, ep 452 K

VT. A, a

[]

HT 0.902 (I.60) (με AD)

Jar, one handle preserved
 PH. 0.88; G. diam. 0.319
 HH ca. .28 L. of stamp .047
 pres. w. .016

Tip broken: uneven break, below

sharp squared collar ring

Capacity 31 liters, 25cc

Επί <ΕΠ> Ἰπάρχου
 Διονυσίου Κνί-
 δίου Διονυσίου

COMBINATIONS

KT 437

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ

ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ, ep

451 K

~~KYD.~~

Jar .94 (I.60)

H .95; diam. .337

HH ca. .305

Pres. L of stamp .06

Groove ca. .07 long .05

below rim, unphot. side

(slightly damaged side)

Tip extends .055 below ring

Capacity 29 liters .875cc

a and b) [Επί Διοκλεῦς
 Διονυσίου

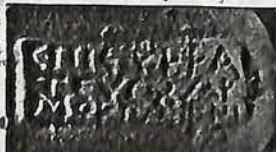
COMBINATIONS

KT 445

ΧΑΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

ΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ep

K



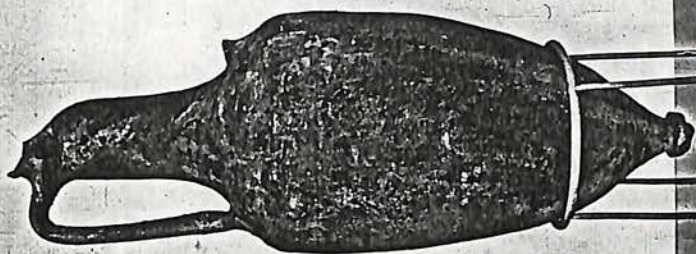
4848



Επί Εὐκρά-
 τεως Χαρ-
 μοκρά(τεως)

SS 6610 - ΠΘ Cistern 6/NE III-A3

C 9:7



Small

Small

very slightly curved ↑ XX1 - 60

13.21

SS 3219 - OE Cistern to west of Bouleuterion

II-Γ2

9 F 9:2



KT 1268 SS 2076(Γ)*, 2269(Γ), 3109(Γ), 3685(B)*†, 4118(K), 4398(Γ), 4676(ΠΘ), 4848(ΠΘ)*

*Group E of HAT (F 15:2)

†Well 19 (latter 2nd to Sulla)

*Cistern at 6/NE (2nd into 1st BC)

SS 6667, Φ, demolition

SS 7049-ΛΛ, modern filling

SS 6970-Σ, in modern fill

SS 8337-ΜΜ, modern fill

SS 9485-ΑΔ, surface

pub.

Οπετιάδης 4-Τιρανικά 1950, p. 75, 4 and fig 8 = KGA 2261

Delos, TD 2203, 2367, 3792, 4207, 5039, 261, 1823

Antesine = Ath. Mitt. 1891 p. 161, 2

Alex. Benachi 6.XI.52, No 10: 24.V.154, A⁶, No 136

Οπετιάδης Ανασκαφή 1953 (ἐπιστημονικὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐκστρατείας)

SS 13505-K, 20/ΛΔ, Hellenistic fill

Kutsch Museum: St. Paul. Bull. Ann. Sup. Arch. 1904, 11 p. 141 615

30% Alex BC 1-2.3.4.5

II'a

ΧΑΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ②

ΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ep

15

15.22

ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ivy leaf ①

ΚΛΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ, ep

K

12. 17. 59 Some ^{N.M.} ~~leaves~~ ^{leaves}
very light - cf. EM 13

Ἐπὶ Κλευμβρότου ^{reading ok}
Κνίδιον ivy leaf
Ἑρμοκράτης -

D. 263, 106 calls it a
"thyrses".

ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ivy leaf ③

ΚΛΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ, ep

K

KT 1268

D. 194, 313, 230, 525, 230, 524, 285, 87;

Alex. Mus. 1 ^{restored} ^{restored}

EM 1-19 (no 19 is from Olympia)

Athens: KGA 1564

Albania: Apollonia, see Epigraphica III,

1941, p. 287, no. 15

Athens: KGA 2103

Athens: KGA 2237

at 1st cent (Athens: KGA 2261 = Θρεψιδδους MAE 1951)South of Akropolis: ἀνασκαφὴ Ἀφροδίτης MAE 1961/488,

now in "Collection"

Pella, Jordan ^{Dub.} 22 inv. no. 25584;

24 in 25586

30x Agria uncat: 3ex

KT 603

SS 2166^v - F Group E HATSS 3465^v - E, 74/11, sandy fill on road levelSS 5896^v - KK modern fill.Agria 27, SS 9539^v - ΔΔ H. fill 113/A, 1912p163 SS 6671^v - Φ, surfaceSS 9275^v - NN Kerkira Factory fill

SS 2201 - K, 32/12, below modern floor

Ker. 258 KGA 1076

Delos TD 2813, 3309 (Paris)

Alex. Benachi - 25.VI.51, N2 1

Alex. Benachi 16.XII.53, sheet 1, 16

Alex. Benachi 6.IV.54, sheet A, 1; 24.VI.54, A⁶, N2 35

Alex. B. Ed 1-6, 7, 8, 9

Alex. Mus. 1-3

D. 263, 106 (denier called Hyge)

28x Agria uncatalogued (K. 1954; A. 1954; H. 1954; T. 1954; A. 1954)

Syme: X. 85

KT 603

SS 14256 - TT, from north-south road between Kana

Delos: TD 6334 (58AE) Aphrodision 1958, Entire Sud

EM 1-16

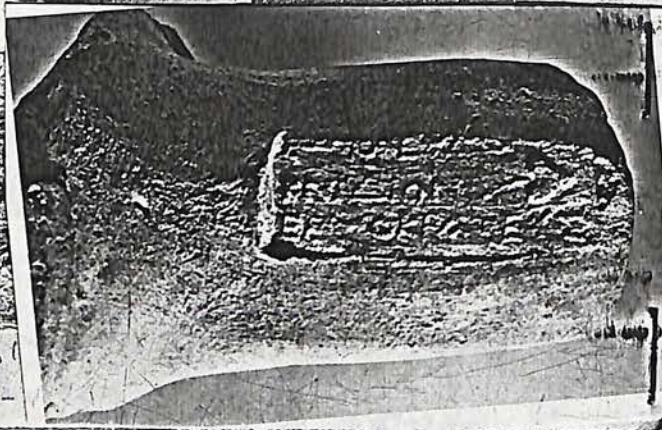
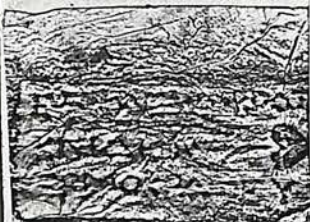
Olympieion 1939: 01 95

20ex Delos: TD 7449

ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ivy leaf

ΚΛΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ, ep

K



ARG 1

16 X 11.53 sheet 1, 1

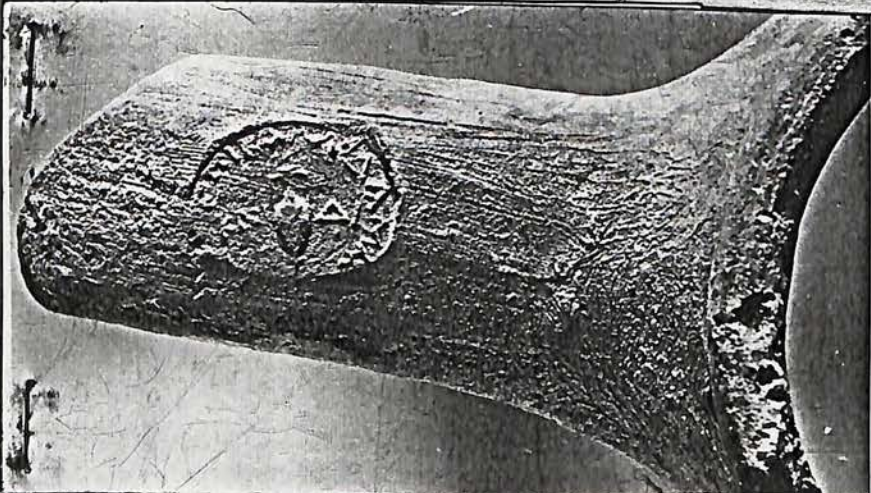
13.24

ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ

amphora (2)

ΚΑΛΛΙΔΑΜΑΣ, ep.

K



ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ

amphora

ΚΑΛΛΙΔΑΜΑΣ, ep

171

K



2170

Ἐπὶ Καλλιδάμα Ἑρμογένους
Κνίη amphora δι(ον) reading ok

KT 603 SS 2166 - T

13.25

KT 595

KT 595 SS 2170(T)*, 2251(T)*, 2425(K), 3549(B);
(84) 3725(O), 4466(T), 5210(KTA), 5623(MM).
*HAT, Group E, called end of 2nd cent.
BC. (Seems too late)

Phyx 171 Pn 162^{AH}

Phyx 172 Pn 36.40^{AH} 178

Bundia 6/10/146, with photo.

SS 9555- MM, mixed fill
(E.M. 11)

Delos- TD, 525, 2074, 3404, 5285^{Pans}

Cabinet des Médailles 22

(Alex. Benadi - late June 1951, No 79, 80, 82, 84)

(Alex. Benadi - 25.V. 51, No 29)

(Alex. Benadi 12.III.52, No 7)

(Alex. Benadi - 31.III.52, No 17)

74 ex SS 11387- T, late fill north of Church of Holy Apostles
(Alex. Benadi - 2.VI.51, No 4, 20)

ΕΡΜΟΓΕ(ΝΗΣ) (2) amphora

ΚΑΛΙΔΑΜΑΣ, ep.

OK

ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ

amphora (3)

ΚΑΛΙΔΑΜΑΣ, ep.

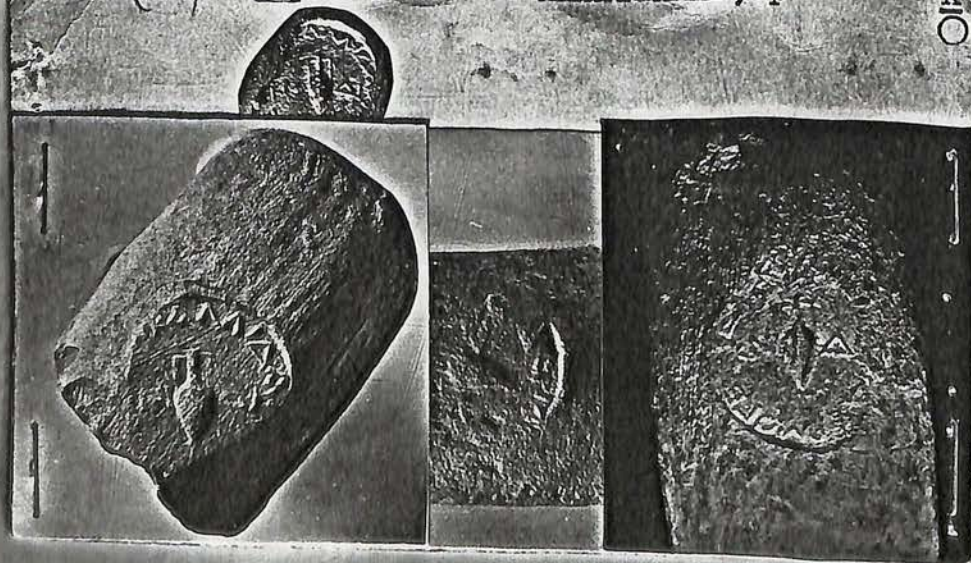
OK

ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ

amphora (1)

ΚΑΛΙΔΑΜΑΣ, ep

OK



KT 595

Alex Benachi 16.XI.53 sheet 2, 2
 Alex Benachi 28.IV.54 n° 35. 24.VI.54 A⁶ n° 55, 159, 155
 ss 13591-2, 18-23 / IE-KE, layer I, LH to ER context
 Alex Benachi 14.VII.54, n° 26
 Alex. BC 1-16
 Alex. BC 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28-29, 30, 31-2
 Alex. Mus. 1-5
 D. 262, 99, 359, 155;
 Unknown prov. BM 210 (1955, 9-20, 210)
 BM 618 (1925, 1-19, 674)
 Agon uncataligned 3 (K, 1954; NN 1940)
 Athens. Excav. S. of Acropolis in 1954 no. NAA 998
 Fri 1-23 " 1966 no. NAA 60
 Alex. BC 33, 34, 35, 36, 37
 76 ex Athens: K. GA 1429, ~~1453~~

13.27

KT 595 Pella: A 2639
~~Kenchræa: KEN 25, P 237 (Ke 857)~~
 Belfast Mus. Coll. no. 530
 3 ex Tenos 1976, A 145 = Tenos I, p. 245 no. 108
 Alexandria, Sztetglo, 1975, p. 200 no. 144
 and fig XVI (read M. Sa
 Rhodian in
 O)

KT 195
 595. ss 2170-5

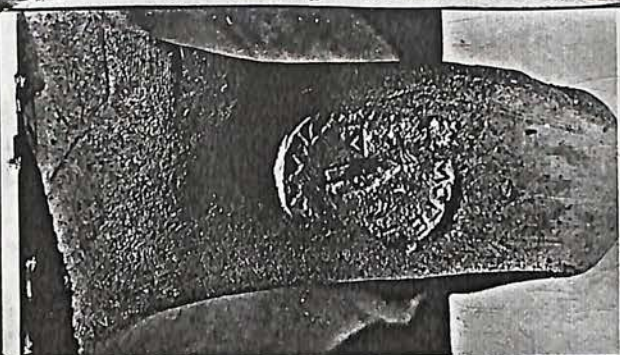
ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ

amphora

ΚΑΛΛΙΔΑΜΑΣ, ep

(KT 595)

Va



handles

*the side of the
impression is broken*

Ἐπὶ Καλλιδάμα Ἑρμογέ(νευς)

Κυ[amphora] δι(ον) St. d. .028

COMBINATIONS

KT 595

ΔΑΜΟΚ

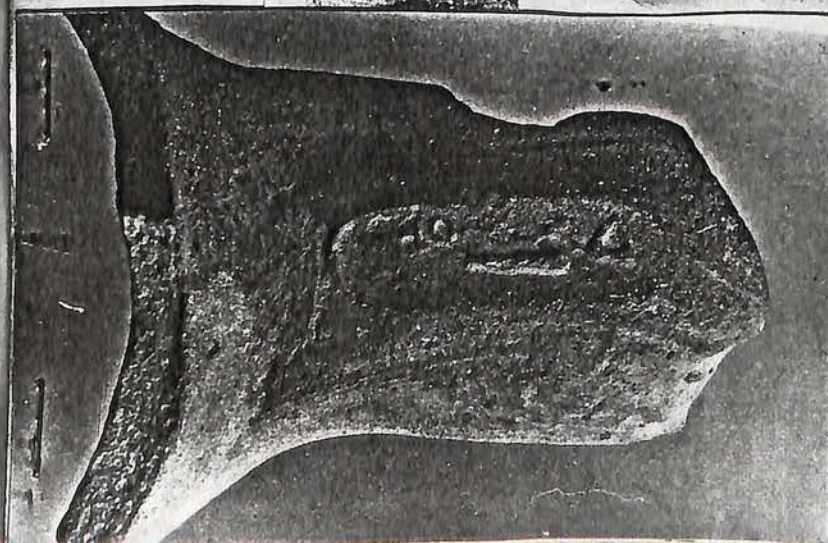
bar

Δαμοκ(
bar

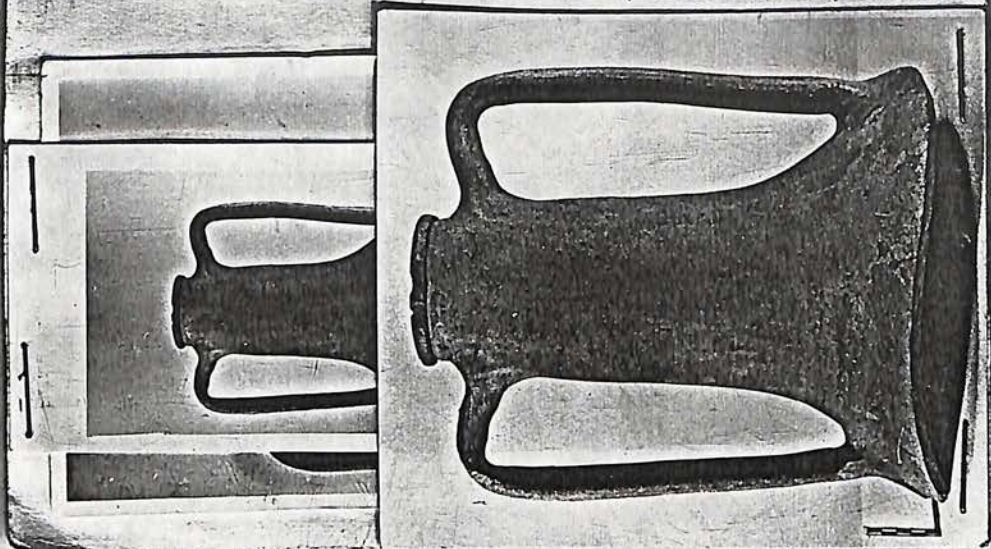
(retr.)
may be club

ΔΑΜΟΚ

bar club?



SS 2170 - F Cistern at 94/0 HAT Group E



13.29

KT 348 SS 2175 - F HAT group E

Délos TD 1440 (rais), 786

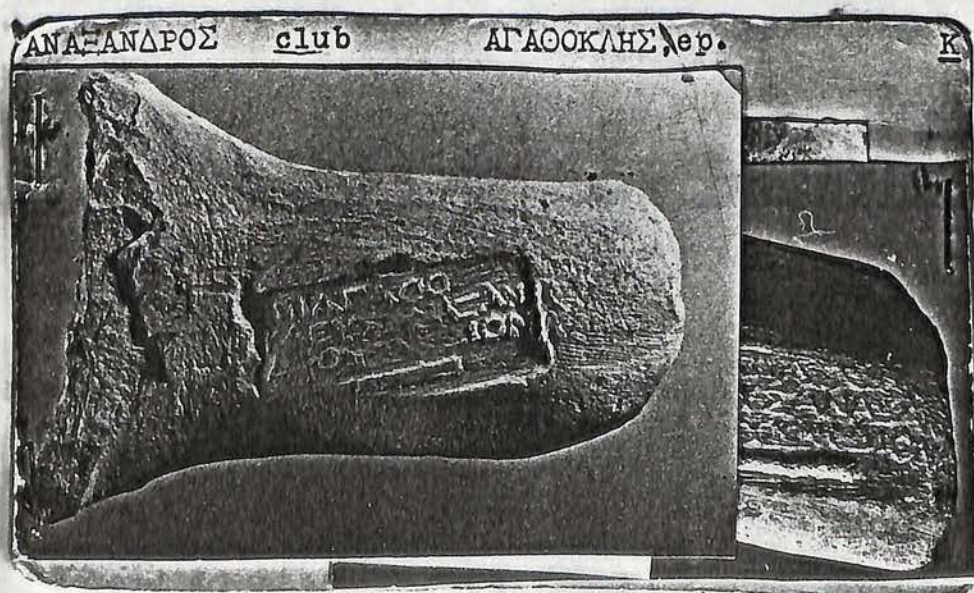
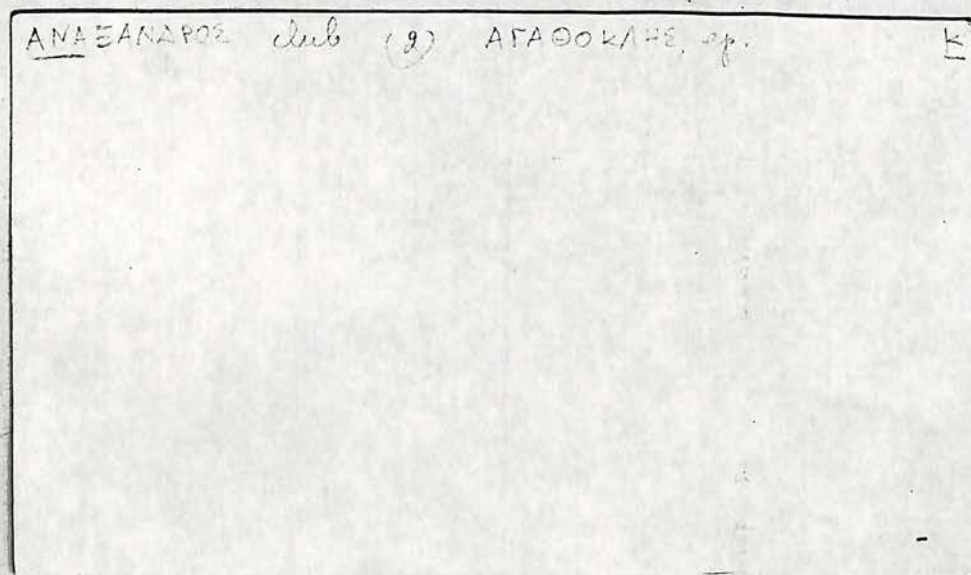
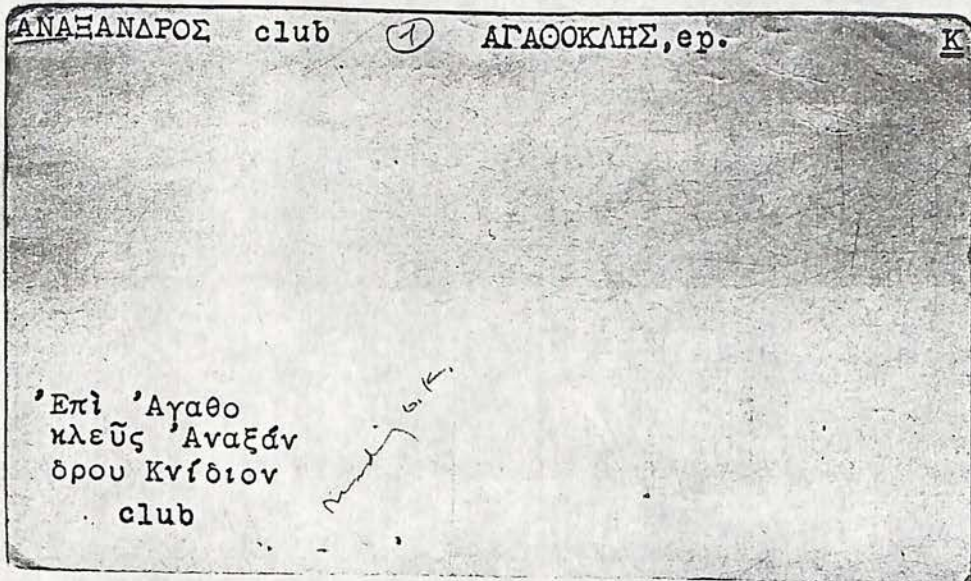
EM 1-3

Athens: KGA 1254.

Alex.: Ben. coll. 1, 2 (previous M/190, M/188)

10 ex Corinth, Co 645 (C-68-107)

KT 348 SS 2175 - F



KT 108 SS 8510 - NN, Turkish and modern fill

SS 9721 - NN, Well at 88/KA (Pm)

SS 10392 - K, Road west of Middle Stoa

SS 2157 - Γ, Well at 96/17 (Pm) 94/10

AL 580 (G A 1 of 1955)

KGA 936, KGA 801

~~KGA 117~~; ~~KGA 801~~

D. 164, 135 (corrected, no device mentioned)

Delos - TD 4795

SS 5467 - P, black earth

Alex. Benachi - 12 II SS, N 210; 24 VI 54, A 6, N 128

Alex. Benachi - 7 VI 51, N 210

BM 593 (1925.1-19.650)

SS 14019 - K, Mosaic over steps at SW corner of Middle St.

below sloping striae at level of top step of L 482

Alex. BC 1-5, 6-7, 8, 9-11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16

Alex. Mus 1-6

EM 1-23 24 - 24 ex.

KT 108

Eton. VG 195

British School Coll. H. III (From Knidos)

Uncatalogued (EE) (I) 1949:

Athen. German Arch. Institut Collection, DA 1

TT 42

SS 14878 - BE, Room II fill beneath

6 ex

Proin I (Pit 1 in L. 4)

KT 108 SS 8510 - NN, Turkish and modern fill

P.O. Box 953
BOSTON, MA. 02103

13,32-9



35 VIRGINIA R GRACE
C/O AMERICAN SCHOOL OF
CLASSICAL STUDIES
54 SWEDIAS ST
ATHENS GREECE -

13.32-6

23. ✓

Add for
new ϕ : SS 6599 (ton)

GROVE E

13.32-C

23. VI 88

Fil. cards for Group E (1987)
Some with photo. have been taken
for photocopying for makeup
of file

BOSTON, MA

**THE LOOMIS-SAYLES FUNDS
BOSTON FINANCIAL DATA SERVICES, INC.
SHAREHOLDER SERVICING AGENT FOR
STATE STREET BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
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**NO POSTAGE
NECESSARY
IF MAILED
IN THE
UNITED STATES**



SHAPES CARDS

178

MSBF SUPPLY



239.28

KT 156

EM 2

13.346



239.28

KT 156

EM 2

13.35b



NR. 5 VI. 03

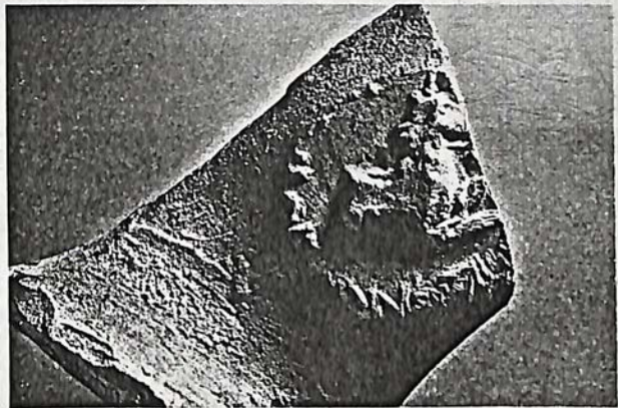
550.14

Kn. unread

KT 926

ABC 27

13.366



550.17

Kn. unread

KT 926

ABC 27

13.376



reflex

SS 2175

KT 348

13,386



reflex

SS 2175
KT 348

13.396



NIKO I 64

595 6

KT 566

ABC 1

13.406



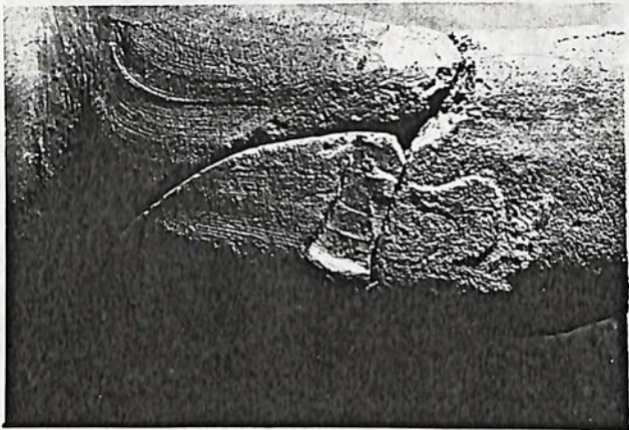
598.6
KT 566
ABC 1

13.416



13.42.6

25. 18261



SS 14261

13.436



259.1
KT 926
EM3

13.446



259.1
KT 926
EM 3

13.456



КЗПРС
с/б 10 р. 00.

КТ 928

ЕМ 1, ~

13.466



ABC DUPL.S
BROUGHT 1961

323.31
KT 928
ABC 1

13.476



KT 928

ABC 1

(323.31)

28.11.88
Dion

is not seen
with the
sp. T. p. k. s
sp. D. or k.

984.31



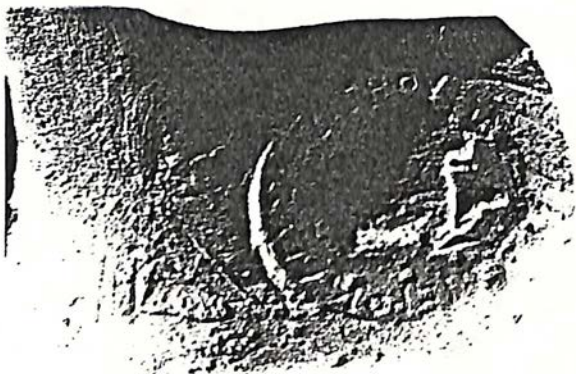
NIKO 164

603 5

27 723

11 150 6

13,496



KT 928
ABC 14

13.506



13,516

259.4

KT 928

EM ~~1~~ 0



13,526

KT 928

EM 1

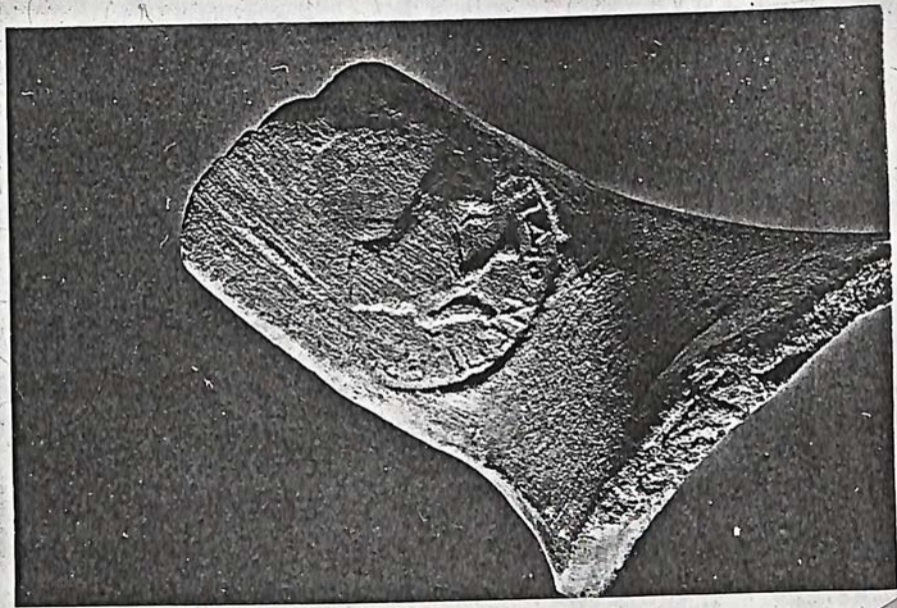


259.3

KT 928

EM 1 ~~2~~

13.536



259.3
KT 928
EMI

13.546

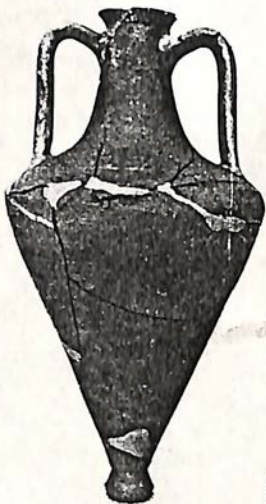


13.556



SS 14261





SS 14261 }

13.56 b



13.576

309.23

KT 156

ABC 1

ABC DUPL.S
BROUGHT V 32



13.586

KT 156

ABC1



13.59 b

XXI-80

P 3402

at the E 1/4



13.60 b

XX1-80

p 3402

at close $8\frac{1}{10}$



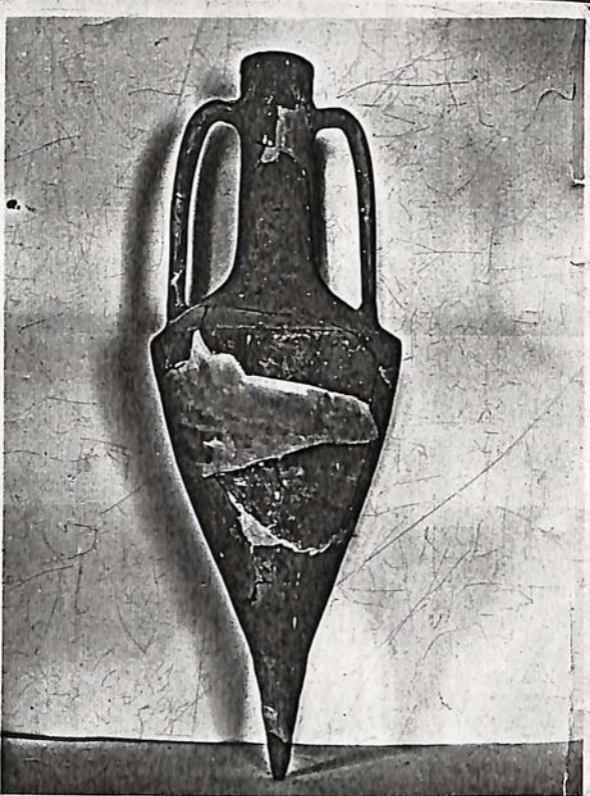
13.61 b

P III4 (HAT
Group B)

XXI-78

name

H 1.02



13.62 b

P 1114 (HAT
Group B)

XX1 - 78

H 1.02



13.63 b

000

000

SE 370

$\frac{1}{10}$



13.64 b

SS 370

$$\frac{1}{10}$$



13.65 b

2) *Eni to shigoris* *Delia*

rose

1) *Zinnia*

1550

EE 4.4

~~primarily~~

528936

(2 cm, leaf of
Kallistratus

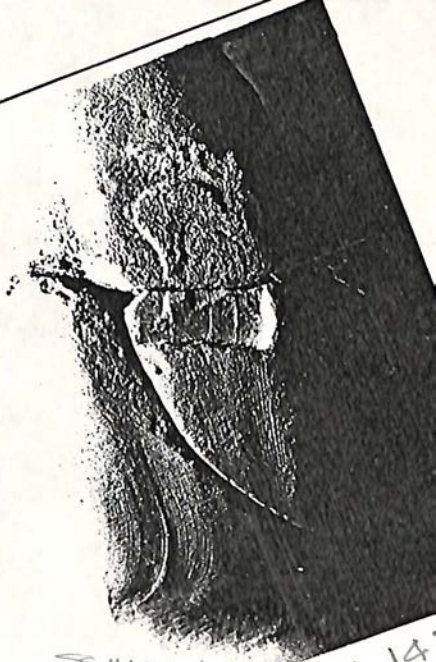


a) Ἐπὶ Καθηκρῶν Δαλίου

b) ζήνωνος rose
rose

13.66 b

EE 194
SS 8936



SS 14261

SS 14

13.676



13,486

ABC DUPLS
BROUGHT 1961

385.25

KT 366 (IV)

ABC 135



ABC DUPL.S
BROUGHT 1961

385.25
KT 366 (IV)
ABC 130

13.696



13,70 b

352 26

KT 1257

ABC 9



13.716

352.26

KT 1287

ABC 9



13.72 b

352.25

KT 1211

ABC 4

W



13.73 b

352.35

KT 1411

ABC 4

extra



13.74 b

2112



13,75 b

2111 d



13.76 b

350.14

AVG 2162

141



13.776

350.14

AVG 2162

14C



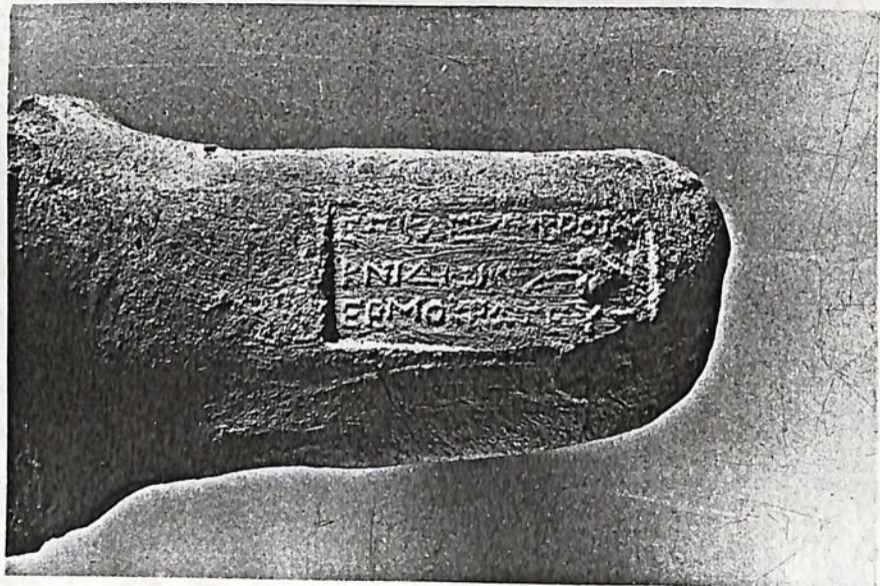
13.786

319.13

K7 603

ABC 1

ABC DUPL.S
BROUGHT V.62



13.796

319.13

KT 603

ABC 1

ABC DUPL'S

BROUGHT V.62



OKA HIRATA
IONC

13.80 6

NIKO III 60

19.29

Sh. bus. no. 1792 (right)

KT 90



13.816

19.29

Alex. Mus. No 11792 (right)

KT 90

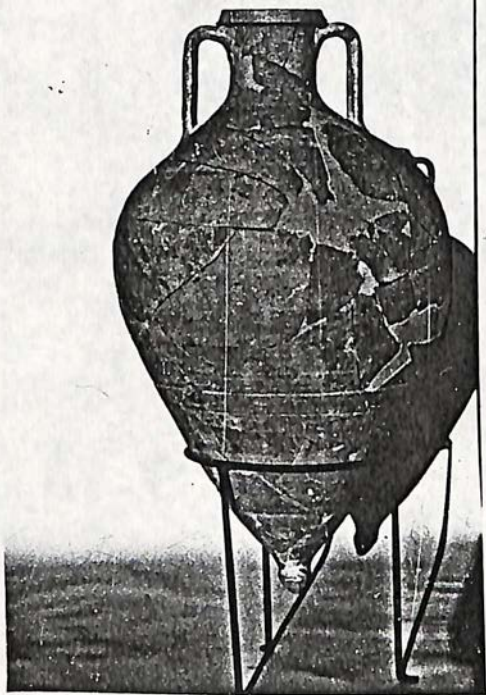


13,82-b

544.35

P. 1113

NIRO V.63



13,836

544.35
p. 1113



US

Sm.

very slightly small

SS 6610

Div

vv 5100

ref. - 'Innery

13.84 b



SS 3219

Διγ. νοτίος, cf. Διοκλῆς

13.856



KT 366 V

382.19

A4

13.866

ΚΥΠΡΟΣ

forepart
of lion (1)

ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ, ep.

K
O

27.11.63

most examples in
ABC are pretty
faint.

Not as pure
plastic impression
than on right,
distorted by

KT 926

Ἐπὶ Ἱεροκλεῦς Κύπρου Κνίδιον
forepart of lion

10.11.63

This type evidently
resembled the one
that of KT 926,
indicating that

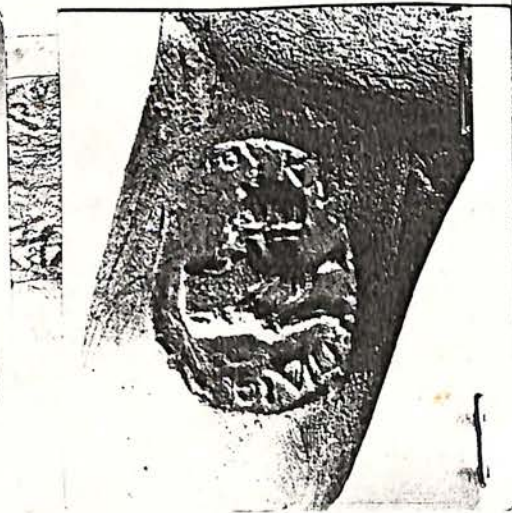
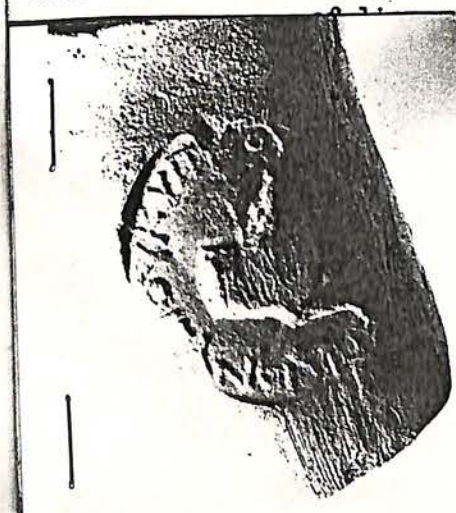
the group found
at Knidos
was mostly cut by
KT 926

ΚΥΠΡΟΣ

forepart (2)

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ, ep.

K



ΚΥΠΡΟΣ

forepart
of lion (2)

ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ, ep

K

KT 928 Delos : TD 5678, 2910, 166

(Alex. Benacchi. late June 1951 1/2 61/4)

SS 1855-I, 55/12-10, consistent 3rd c. A.D. fill

SS 608-2, 11:7, below Roman strata

? SS 2158. From -894/4 (HAT group, E), sec. stamp

SS 11782-K Late fill.

(Alex. Benacchi 24 VI. 54, A6, no 60)

Alex. BC 1-8

Alex. BC 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17

Alex. Mus. 1-2

Athens BM 366 (=4, 3-9, 9-5)

EM 1-11 (no exc. stamp)

Athens: Excavations South of Acropolis in 1959, no MAA 87

Athens: KGA 1464, 1372

49a Delos: TD 6637, Maison de Fourini, 1960

KT 926

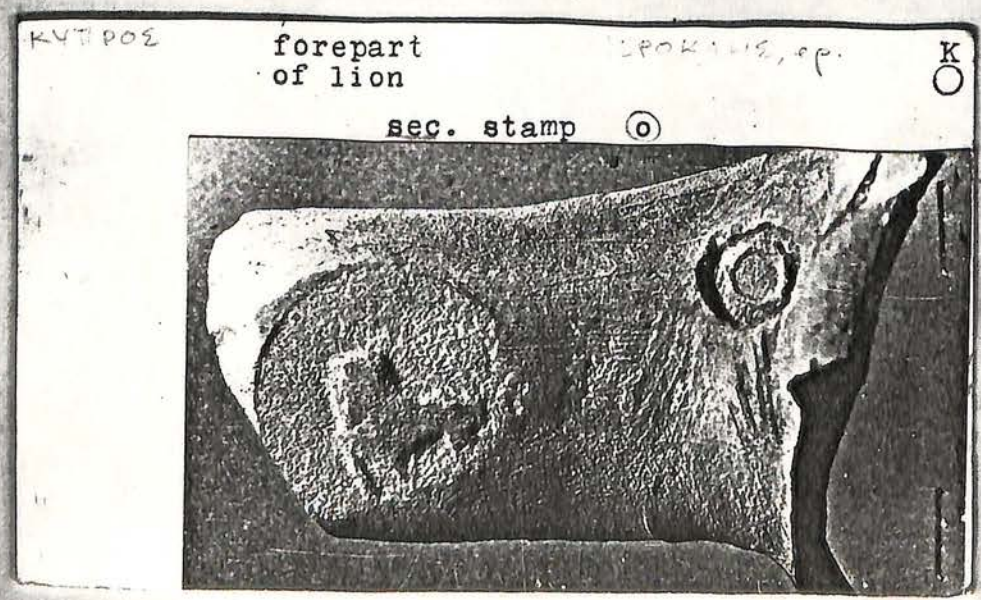
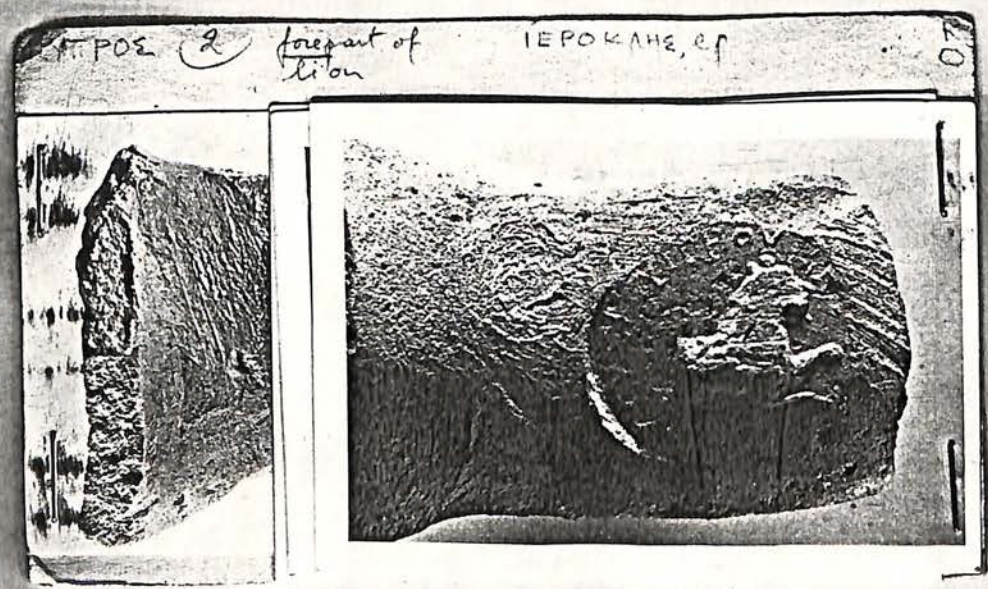
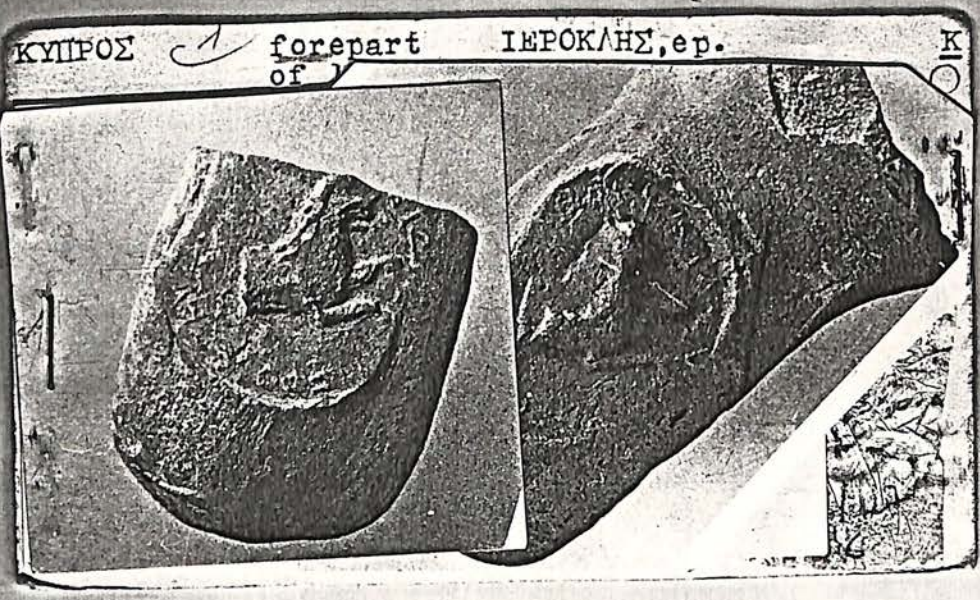
Delos: TD 2015

KT 928

Agora uncat. 2 ex

3 ex Tis: 4 3150

1389

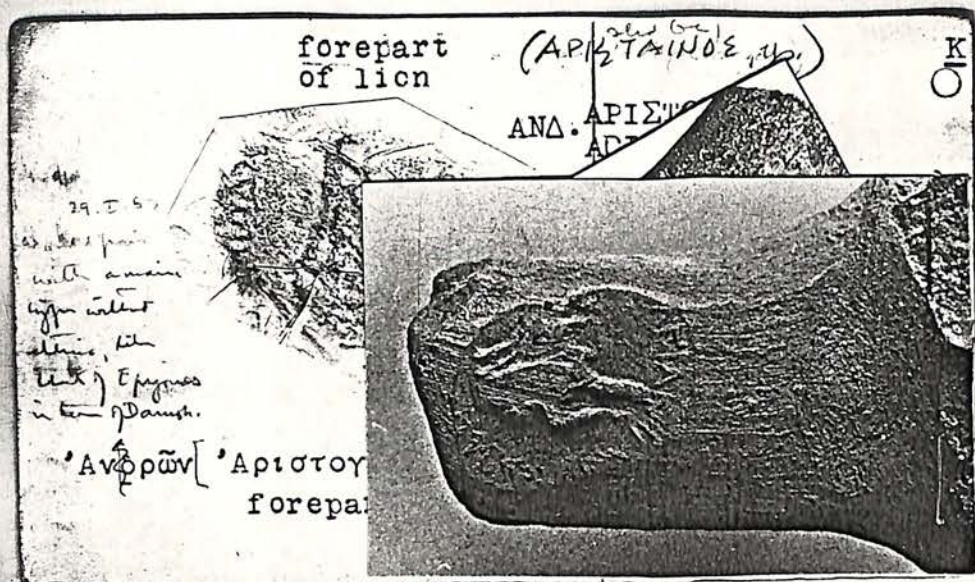


KT 928 Delos : TD 5678, 2916, 166
SS 1835, I, SS/12-10

13.90

KT 928

KT 928 SS 2158 - Γ, Well at 96/I in north cistern
arm



13.92

KT 1509 Delos : TD 4434, 6064 (found near Aphrodision sanctuary)

(EM none)

British School Collection H 30.

Agave uncat : 1 ex.

KT 926

Delos - TD 2026

SS 366 - ET' cistern deposit Hell. or later

SS 6780 - AA, 82/10, modern

15 X 86

For additions and corrigia
to MSBR Dated

date of Hodoxyas (q. p. 32)

what about Group B?

readings of HAT Group E

illustrate?

additional ep. s for list

note 2 ex. of
ex. of Group E up to 1961
in this and 1961

mention of Enys - Pico finds, pottery
- try to date relation of pots. in same series
- note year of find in the counts
corrected list (p. 7)

Survey not accepting early date - total
[give ref. to increase of public on this]

① Date of Group G. TV supported by other finds
in USSD

What I may say = Habicht - relative weight of
what "would happen" and the rest of 584

② Confirmation of date (p. 20) of Group G. TV
- see annotation in bound copy of MSBR Dated,
pp. 20-21:
A) material at 1) Amastria 2) Tauris
B) problem the later date makes for Beltrank
in the full publ. in Southgate I
[And see page of note on Muse Note and on coin of S]
Note on ref. s to Marpa Etca - epigraphical

20, II. 87

Correction of date of earlier (?) $\Delta\iota\omega\nu$? The snipe
ep. in ΣA turns out to be a missing of a KT
(MET reads it with ep. $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\nu$, pb. $\theta\pi\acute{o}\sigma\omega\nu$)
See if there is any other pre- ∇ context for $\epsilon\pi. \Delta\iota\omega\nu$.

ADDITIONAL MSBF
(2051965)

MSBF

B.I.82

15.02

SAH from excavation July 29, 1965 (MSBF)

SS 14532 - 14539

Stea crosscut Piers 19/20, terrace layers II-V, p. 2045.

From a mass of fill thrown by the builders of the Middle Stea into the foundation trench of an earlier monument; the various layers distinguished in the excavation represent only working stages; joins occurred from top to bottom.

	fabricant	device	eponym	month	SS	KT date	shape etc.
Rhodian	ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ			ΑΡΤ.	14533	211-195(?)	
		rose	ΑΡΜΟΣΙΑΣ	ΘΕΣ.	14536	222	O framed
	ΚΡΕΩΝ			ΠΑΝ.	14534	23/4 3rd	
		rose	15.01 ΝΤΟΣ	ΑΓΡ.	14538	3/4 3rd	O framed
			ΙΙΑΣ		14535	3/4 3rd	
				ΑΓΡ.	14532	3/4 3rd	
			ΗΣ	ΣΜΙ.	14537	3-4/4 3rd	O framed
					14539	KT 702	

(Wd it be possible
to add name list of
Rhodian present in field?)
- just eps?

13.I.82

Suggested dates for the Rhodian, ca. 240 - 220, save for ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ (with month), when name-connections place ca. 211 - 195 (?) B.C. The Knidian is probably after 200: shape of Agora examples of KT 702 is not very early (not descending from the upper attachment). All names are represented in the MSBF.

copy & add.
Put with MSBF

15.01

- (wd it be possible
to add name list of
Rhodin present in field?)
- just eps?

SAH from excavation July 29, 1965 (MSBF)
SS 14532 - 14539

Stea crosscut Piers 19/20, terrace layers II-V, p. 2045.
From a mass of fill thrown by the builders of the Middle Stea into the
foundation trench of an earlier monument; the various layers distinguished
in the excavation represent only working stages; joins occurred from top to
bottom.

	fabricant	device	eponym	month	SS	KT date	shape etc.
Rhodian	ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ			ART.	14533	211-195(?)	
		rese	ΑΡΜΟΣΙΑΛΣ	ΘΕΣ.	14536	222	O framed
	ΚΡΕΩΝ			ΠΑΝ.	14534	23/4 3rd	
		rese	ΕΕΝΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ	ΑΓΡ.	14538	3/4 3rd	O framed
	ΧΑΡΗΣ	Helios symbol	ΤΙΜΟΚΛΕΙΑΛΣ		14535	3/4 3rd	
		rese	ΧΑΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ	ΣΜΙ.	14537	3-4/4 3rd	O framed
Knidian	ΘΕΥΤΕΝΗΣ		ΜΗΤΡ(KT	
					14539	702	

13.I.82

Suggested dates for the Rhodian, ca. 240 - 220, save for ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ (with
month), when name-connections place ca. 211 - 195 (?) B.C. The Knidian is
probably after 200: shape of Agora examples of KT 702 is not very early (not
descending from the upper attachment). All names are represented in the MSBF.

copy 2 at.
put with MSBF

Addenda et corr. to "Middle Sto Dated"

Note the amplores of Ἀγχιπύρος with dolphin +
homogram(?) , a type counterstamp with a rose

is dated in term of same Nikeργόρας as the
amplores of Δαμοκράτης w (rose), see pl. 1, no. 2 of
article. They are pretty close in shape, but the jar

of Δαμ. is smaller? ^{ST.87} Also jar of Ἀμύνας ^{same} _{cf.}

	HT	diam.	capacity
of "Middle Sto Dated" Musei Grevio-Rom ¹ 2 Δαμ. i776		.342	24,300
Sarazm (Croat) Ἀγχιπ. .79		.352	25,824
Rhin M2 609(289) Ἀμύνας ^{Croat} .805		.353	26,240

I seem to remember being impressed by one with
the fact that jars with rose-in-O types tend to be

smaller capacities.

Counterstamp, rose. Possibly same function as
sec. stamp on jar of Δαμοκράτης? Earlier
sec. stamp of Δαμ., is a rose (no letter).

Don't recollect other counterstamps on Rhodian.

Une fois écartés les termes trop anachroniques, il est certain que certaines de ces observations demeurent valables. Mais une grande prudence est de rigueur, et il ne faut pas trop demander aux noms. Des noms allogènes ne sont pas obligatoirement « serviles », les noms attribués aux esclaves peuvent être très différents suivant les régions et les époques⁵². Tous les noms composés ne sont pas nécessairement « aristocratiques » ; à l'inverse, des surnoms ou sobriquets, parfois très péjoratifs dans leur étymologie, ont été usuels depuis une haute époque. On conclura donc en soulignant que l'utilisation des noms grecs dans un contexte « social » est une entreprise difficile, à mener avec prudence.

Olivier MASSON.

POST-SCRIPTUM. Pour le sujet traité ici, il est opportun de signaler l'important article de V. Grace, « The Middle Stoa Dated by Amphora Stamps », *Hesperia* 54 (1985) p. 1-54. Outre de nouvelles observations sur les timbres de Rhodes, Cnide et Sinope, il contient plusieurs index onomastiques fort utiles : (a) General List of Knidian Eponyms ; (b) Knidian Eponyms of Period VI with accompanying duoviri ; (c) Index, Names of Persons. Quelques brèves remarques sur des noms rares à Cnide : Φιλάμπελος nouveau et intéressant (correspond à l'adjectif chez Aristophane) ; on élimine ainsi une lecture ancienne avec un nom très difficile (dans *CIG* III et Pape-Benseler « Φιλάμβολος » ; chez BECHTEL 38 et 447 « Φιλάμβουλος », avec *SGDI* 3549, 362). Parmi les duoviri, Πονοσυλετης est curieux (serait-ce l'adaptation d'un nom carien ?) ; Τηνάδης, peut-être nouveau (déjà enregistré *SEG* XVII 430b), pseudo-ethnique de Ténos (remplace en tout cas une mauvaise lecture « Τηνάδης » de PRIDIK 1896).

(52) Voir ci-dessus les remarques concernant Rhodes, et l'exemple de l'analyse abusive du nom 'Ονασιότορος dans NILSSON 1909, p. 84.

begin

Misc. corrigenda + addenda to Green 1985

add. to mention of published (4 vs) of amples
in Ceswala collection, cf. Hesp. 1985, pp. 45-46, under
no. 3⁺ the amples [ϕ λ σ τ ϵ ϕ κ ν σ] at a top of
pl. 55 of EAD 27.

TWO WRECKS ID. AT MARSEILLE

See Archéologie Sous-Marin, Arles 1983,
a pamphlet sent to me by Luc Long, describing
excavation at Arles July-Oct. 1983

No page numbers.

Under Ép. Grand-Congloué #1, dates this on
beginning of 2nd cent. Reports 400 "Green-Glaze"
jars, from Campanian or Sicily, 700 pieces of Campanian A
of 15 different shapes. Some 30 Greek amphorae from
Rhodes and Knidos. A lot of stuff exhibited, but
only 2, incomplete, small-size, amphorae, Rhodes.

(2 more wrecks mentioned in text of pamphlet)

Under Ép. Gr. Congl. 2 : 1200 of Dressel IA,
mostly SEST Campanian B. Molded relief bowls
no earlier than 2 1/2 cent. Pottery worked at 110-80 BC.
Calls it from Cosa, in Etruria.

Good texts, short, clear, with bibliography.
Cannot see whom to cite as author or ^{too many} authors.
Luc Long sent it to me, Oct. 1984. "Midd Sh Dant"
was in 1st no. of 1985. Probably could not have used this.

See that
he →
got copy
of Midd Sh
Dant

6-8

add to MSBF add, et orig
 similar notes in other (recent?) articles

E.g. perhaps mention of Emperor's factory(?) of $\Sigma\Omega$,
 like stamp of Pileus(?) jar in the Hall. Wards, Grace
1986, p. 559, fig. 5, 24.

Write to PMWH

COMMENT IN
ADDENDUM
KTs containing ἄρχοντος

[29.01.87] *copy made by C.G.K. [22.01]*
Have shown this page, with pencil
comment, to C.G.K., about to leave for the US.
2.iv.87
cannot send direct to PMWH
because of Canadian P.O. stuff

KT 0127

T/A → 'Αρχοντος
Θευδοτου
'Ανδρροθε
νευς

*maybe
copy sent
8.11.87*

*Is reading
being changed?*

11.11.88

*Original given to
PMWH, with
discussion.*

NB: EM exs ; total . Somewhat broader hdl than KT 125,126

Period:

From: To:

ΑΝΔΡΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ fab, ΘΕΥΔΟΤΟΣ arch (= φρ.)

KT 0867

T/A 'Εν' Εύκρα
τ(ωνος) 'Αρ
χοντος 'Ιων
(retr)

*cf. EAD 27, p.324,
under E 51*

NB: EM ex ; total exs

Period:

From: To:

ΙΩΝ fab, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΩΝ arch (= φρ.)

KT 1512

'Επὶ 'Ανδρομέ
νευς 'Αθηναί
ου ἀρχόν
των

(= ἀνδρον)

'Ανδρομένης is late drawn

NB: EM exs 0; total exs . Have the lets ε and ι been erased at
end of 1st and 2nd lines?

Period:

From: To:

ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΝΗΣ arch, ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ arch

*(title goes with drawn name in
the other step; Ἀγνοῖσθαι
and Ἐπίσθαι or
Ἐπιδόσθαι)*

KT 217

'Αριστάνος
στ. Πάχυα (φρ.)
ἀρχοντος Ὀδ
μπίδου (φρ.)
(meta)

*ἀρχοντος Πάχ.
= φρ.*

*perhaps
read
later?*

KT 218

*line ↑, sl. diff.
forms*

KT 1548

' Αρχόντω
 ν Κυδοσθε
 νευς Δα
 ματος
 (retr)

(you 9 Σωτήφρων - early
 down)

NB: EM exs 19; total exs . Should this be Δαμάτ(ρι)ος?

Period:

From: To:

ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΟΣ arch, ΚΥΔΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ arch

ἀρχόντων in this case
 = downy
 (early ones)

KT 1549

' Α(ρ)χώ(ν)των (sic)
 Δαμάτ(ρι)ος
 Κυδο(σ)θε
 νης
 (retr in 0)

as KT 1548

NB: EM exs 4; total exs . MSP is ΑΧΩΝ omega not omicron?

Period:

From: To:

ΔΑΜΑΤΡΙΟΣ arch, ΚΥΔΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ arch in 0

KT 2149

Εἰρηνιδ[α φρου]
 ἄρχον[---]
 [-]τελ[---] or Ἀπολ[---]?
 (framed)

or Εἰρηνιδ[α φρου]
 ἄρχον[τος Κλην]
 [α]ιτάλ[ιος]

? ?

NB: EM exs 0; total exs .

Restore ἄρχον[τος ---] in line 2?

Period:

From: To:

ΕΙΡΗΝΙΔΑΣ fab, unread arch? framed

"MAKRA STOIA"

23.02

Makra Stoa

The reference, or perhaps to Constant, in Agnes III seems incomplete, and maybe it is, because Wyl. considered it outside to Agnes.

(p. 21)
141/0 BC In line 3 he gives a single line out of 19 II², 968 (line 14). He then refers to one or other inscr. : 19 II², 958 (see below)
19 II², 3867

and further remarks "In the 2nd decree a point ref. to Makra Stoa, implying dilapidation and repairs, is doubtfully restored in line 55-57." On line p 47, 958 is cited again and called "a decree of

23.01

on
Identification of the Stoa
(See also GRANARIES)

Try to get some epigraphs to clear it up.
ἐκπεσθῶντων
(with whom made it)

958 is a long, quite well-preserved decree, passing this date as 155/4 {Mid 2c AD for various good works but written about in Makra Stoa

968, decree much restored, again passes this Mid 2c AD see line 14 and 56 for mention of Makra Stoa

l. 14 : τῆς δὲ Κεραικῆς Μακρᾶς Στ[οᾶς
15 αἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀτέλειαν τῶν [σφαδουμένων
16 τῶν συνχρησάσθων καὶ τοῖς

23.01

on

Identification of the 3rd

(See also GRANADIES)

Try to get some epigraphs to clear it up.

"MAKRA STOIA"

23.02

Makra Stoa

The reference, or argument to basement, in Agnes 100 seems incomplete, and maybe to be, because Wylh. considered it outside to Agnes.

(p. 21)
 In line 3 he gives a single line out of
 19 II², 968 (line 14). He then refers to one or other
 inser. : 19 II², 958 (see below)
 19 II², 3867

and further remarks "In the 2nd decree & further
 ref. to Makra Stoa, implying dilapidation and repairs,
 is doubtfully restored in line 55-57." On line p
 47, 958 is cited again, and called "a decree of
151/0 B.C."

17.X.86

3867 is a base, inser. Μιδτιά[δης]
 detail mid 2nd B.C. Ζωιδ[ου]
 Μαραθ[ω]ν[ων]
 (with some made it)

958 is a long, quite well-preserved decree, praising this
 date as 155/4 {Μιδτιάδης for various good works
 but written about in Makra Stoa

968, decree much restored, again praises this Μιδτιάδης
 see line 14 and 56 for mentions ? of Makra Stoa

e. 14 : της] ἐν Κεραικῇ Μακρᾷ Στ[οῖᾳ
 15 αἱ] δὲ αὐτῶν ἀτέλειαν τῶν ἐ[παρχμῶν]
 16 τῶν συνχρησάσθ[αι] καὶ τοῖς

23.03

144/3?

(19 π², 968)

(more benefits from Μιδτιδ⁴⁵) (then —
 line 56: [τὴν μακρὴν] Στὸν οὐρανὸν
 [καὶ εἰς] φθόγγους
 line 57 [ἐπισκεύασεν] καὶ τὴν χερσὶν

(17.X.82)

Make a note ^{to add to} ~~add.~~ add. at conv. for the MSBF DATED,
 referring to pgs. 25-26, and 30 (end) Perhaps before
 they added the E bldg = SST, the MS became
 dilapidated & needed restoration. (Μακρ. Στ. = MS).
 Or they actually did some repairs on the original Long
 Stn still as late as that. (Μακρ. Στ. = SS I).

14.X.90

Anyhow, this not mean that this date (151?)
 they are still calling the bldg. just "Long Stn", not
granary, as Phaulkon not have wished. ?
 He was dead, of course, ^{so} Maybe they decided not to
 use it as he wished. But then, when was the
granary?

24.02

GRANARIES

Copy of note from MB Wallace
to Ron Stroud
about new Agave inscription
which R.S. is publishing - note TCS p?

2.VII.91
2/vii/91

Dear Ron:

I'm off to Karystos (until about July 11)
I'm not having much to say about your inscription, only that (1)
I hope about it also use most

24.01

Granaries

from Toronto but before Labour Day.

Yours,

cc Virginia

29.VII.91
measurement
of the grain
of the cup as
something as
can and does
left in the
prescribed
course of
measuring

(as I recall)

~~Granaries~~

24.01

Granaries

GRANARIES

Copy of note from MBS to Ron
 about new Agora inscription
 which R.S. is publishing - note TUSP?

2.VII.91

2/vii/91

Dear Ron:

I'm off to Karystos (until about July 11) without having much to say about your inscription, only that (1) when I talked with Virginia Grace about it she was most interested and immediately put the question that I had asked you, whether all the grain had to be measured or only a sample---the latter is potentially hundreds of times easier; (2) it seems sekoma has a broader meaning than I realized---? any object defined by its use in measuring; (3) the weight-volume ratios are a little surprising, since a C4 Attic medimnus should be about 52 l. and an Attic weight talent about 27.5 kg (cf., e.g., AGORA 10) and Peter Garnsey in his essay in CRUX gives the weight of barley as 0.643 kg/l (with wheat at 0.772, satisfying the ratio of 6 to 5 very nearly)--- $52 \times 0.643 = 33.436$.

I'll attempt more of a letter later, probably from Toronto but before Labour Day.

Yours,

cc Virginia

29.VII.91

measurement
 of the grain

of sekoma as
 something in

can and does

left in the
 prescribed
 course of
 measuring

(as I recall)

~~SEKOMA~~

17.I.86

GRANARIES

24.03

Convergenda? on MSBF article

SHIBBY

S. C. Stone III, "Sextu Parsip, Octavian and Sicily," AJA 87, 1983, p. 17 with note 51, refers to a "pottery factory in a building originally identified as a granary" and gives as reference "Stone 52-53". This is his dissertation, and not a publication. When I met him, he did not mention thinking it was not a granary, in fact he told me about their finding "a second granary".

Not that to director, Melchor Bell, still refers to the bldg. as a granary: AJA 1983, p. 226.

Ibid., p. 21 w. notes 93-95, and a ref. back to note 28, on the subject of taxes, decumana and stipendium - the latter appearing to have succeeded the former. This is on the stipendium in Sicily, actually. But does it indicate that my ref. to CAA are too out of date? (MSBF article ^{14 Sep. 1983} pp. 19, note 47)

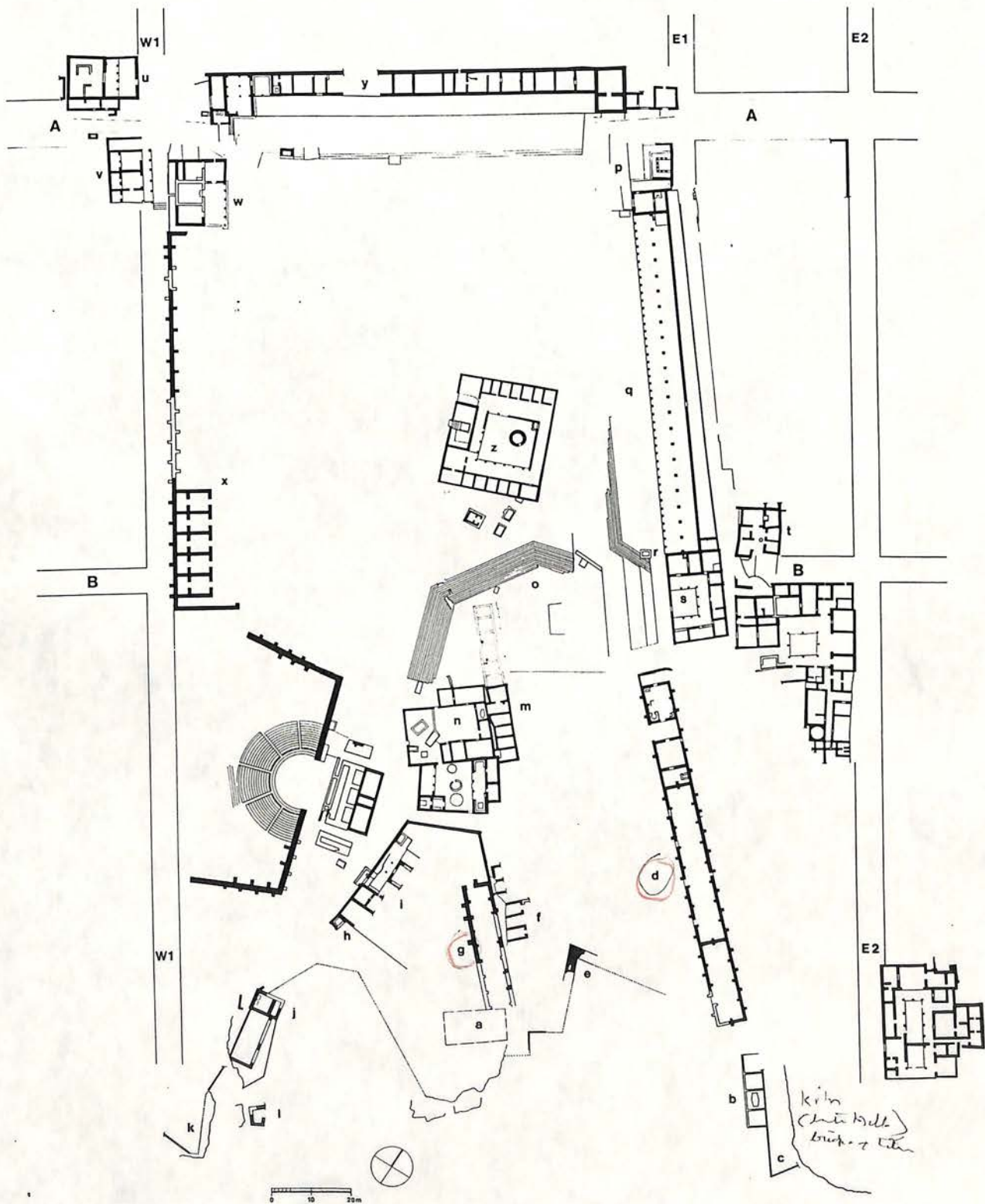


Fig. 1. Plan of the agora of Morgantina. (Drawing by M. Pinsley)

d and g, granaries

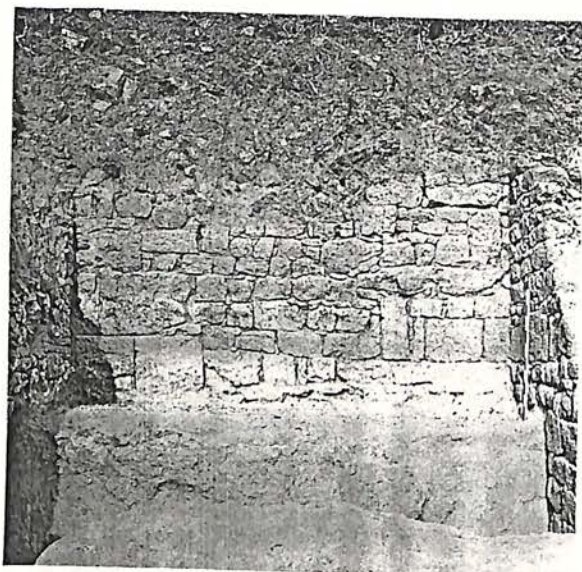


Fig. 2. *Proteichisma* wall, buttressed by the walls of the Great Kiln

della hill have shown that the Archaic city was abandoned toward the middle of the fifth century, and it seems probable that this happened as a consequence of the capture of the site by Douketios. Not long afterward the second city was founded on the adjacent Serra Orlando ridge, perhaps also as a result of Douketios's political authority over the site (see *infra*). Although the new city plan belongs to the fifth century, and possibly to the "Douketian" decade 459–450 B.C., the buildings that were shaped by its regular design are mostly much later in date, products of Morgantina's great moment in the third century B.C., when as an outpost of the kingdom of Hieron II of Syracuse the city's population reached its maximum, its houses and sanctuaries occupied the most extensive area within the walls, and the huge space of the agora was finally filled by large public buildings. This period of expansion ended abruptly in the year 211 B.C., when the city was captured by Rome at the conclusion of the Second Punic War in Sicily. Although the agora continued in use, the last two centuries of the city's history are characterized by the reuse and occasional reconstruction of the Greek buildings, and then by a rapid decline before the final abandonment in the early first century of our era.

¹³ Before the deposit of the dump there had been considerable erosion, as early photographs of the area demonstrate.

¹⁴ *AJA* 61 (1957) 158; the original dating of the kiln to the early Hellenistic period is now known to be incorrect.

¹⁵ *AJA* 64 (1960) 130–31; 65 (1961) 277–78.

¹⁶ *AJA* 61 (1957) 157–58; 64 (1960) 127.

By the fourth century the sloping floor of the agora valley had been shaped into two major terraces. The margins of these were eventually defined by public buildings: the upper agora by three large stoas, one of which (the largest) was never completed (fig. 1q, x, y), the lower agora by two large public granaries (fig. 1d, g). The interstices were filled by such structures as a fountain house and a smaller stoa in the upper agora (fig. 1p, w), and by a large sanctuary and rows of shops in the lower (fig. 1n, m, f). On the western side of the lower agora was the theater, and in the center between the two levels, the great flights of steps that served as an *ekklesiasterion*, the keystone of the whole composition. A more accurate chronology of these monumental buildings has been one of the objectives of recent work at the site; preliminary conclusions on the building history of the agora are sketched below.

FORTIFICATIONS IN THE LOWER AGORA

As has been noted, the southern boundary of the agora was determined by the city wall, the course of which was only partly established by earlier work at Morgantina. As a major objective has been the completion and publication of Carl Erik Ostenberg's study of the city walls, we returned to the problem of the agora fortifications in 1982 and in succeeding years. The ancient topography of the southern area of the agora is today obscured by modern construction and by the presence of the main excavation dump of former years.¹³ An outcropping of beds of limestone extends through the center of the valley, forming on the west side an elevated terrace that ends at the south in a bastion. Here stands today a ruined farmhouse (fig. 1a). Important ancient structures in the area include a large late Hellenistic kiln (fig. 1b),¹⁴ the East Granary (fig. 1d),¹⁵ a surviving section of the city wall (fig. 1e),¹⁶ the South Shops (fig. 1f), and the West Granary (fig. 1g). Further west is the Southwest Fountain (fig. 1h) at the corner of a walled temenos (fig. 1i) near the theater.¹⁷ The street that separates this temenos from the theater continues westward to the West Hill, running just inside the city wall and providing access to the southwestern residential quarter from the agora.

The location of the city wall has now been established on the hillsides flanking the public space at east and west. At the southeast below the limestone scarp

¹⁷ This large late Hellenistic temenos was partially excavated in the campaigns of 1962, 1966, and 1980; the deity worshipped in the prostyle, west-facing naiskos has not yet been identified. The temenos wall was constructed ca. 150 B.C.; at a later date the Southwest Fountain was added at the southwest corner of the wall.

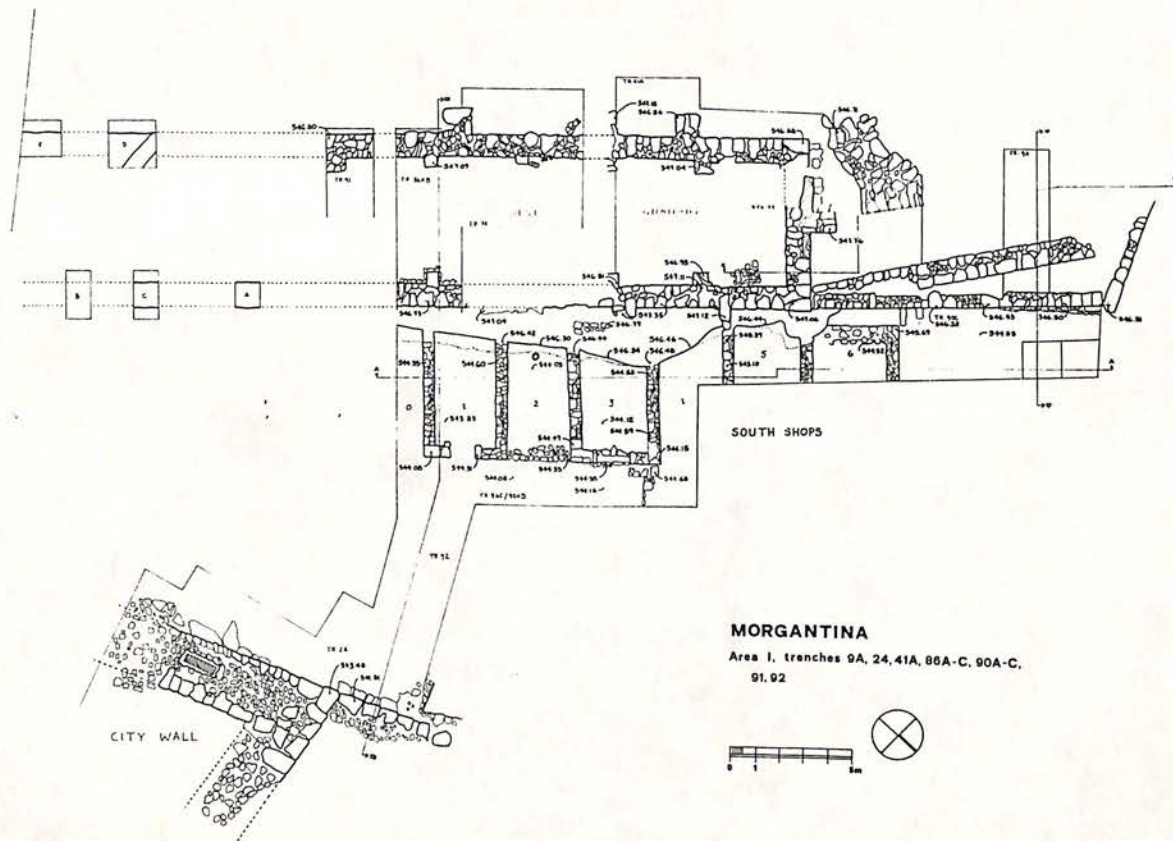


Fig. 8. Plan of Area I: West Granary, South Shops, and adjacent City Wall

cal Sikel tradition. On the other hand the inscription in Doric dialect, if incised locally, offers evidence for the presence of Greeks at Morgantina in the same period. This would not be surprising in a Douketian foundation, for the Sikel leader had a good knowledge of Greek culture and customs, and he appears to have favored cooperation between Sikels and Greeks.³⁴ If the dialect of the inscription is any indication of the sort of Greek-spoken at Morgantina in the middle third of the fifth century, it suggests that the city was already in the linguistic sphere of the Doric-speaking Greeks of Syracuse or Kamarina. These two cities would play leading roles in Morgantina's later history, Kamarina gaining control of the site from Syracuse at the Congress of Gela in 424 B.C. (Thuc. 4.65), and Syracuse maintaining hegemony over the city from 396 B.C. (Diod. 14.78.7) until the end of the Second Punic War.

³⁴ F.P. Rizzo, *La repubblica di Siracusa nel momento di Ducezio* (Palermo 1970) 158-69; D. Adamesteanu, "L'ellenizzazione della Sicilia ed il momento di Ducezio," *Kokalos* 7 (1962) 167ff.

THE WEST GRANARY

Excavations in 1955 and 1956 laid bare the north end of a large structure on the limestone terrace above and to the west of the city gate (figs. 1g, 8). Little was known about the building, which had not been mentioned in earlier reports, and so in 1980-1982 we returned to it in order to establish its dimensions and identify its function. The structure proved to be a large warehouse with a rectangular plan. At the south the walls were cut by the modern farmhouse and the total length could not be established, although it was at least 32.9 m; the width is 7.5 m. Approximately half of the floor area of the surviving building has been excavated. The roof of Laconian tiles was carried on a ridgepole and so had two slopes. The meter-thick walls were constructed of rubble masonry on shallow foundations, the stone very likely cut from the adjacent limestone beds (fig. 9). The walls were nowhere

nizzazione della Sicilia ed il momento di Ducezio," *Kokalos* 7 (1962) 167ff.



Fig. 9. West wall of West Granary, with exterior stucco. 1956 excavation.

preserved to a height of more than 0.5 m, and in the southern part of the building had been entirely robbed out. Their exterior surface had originally been coated with a thick lime plaster resembling hydraulic cement; this plaster, which served to waterproof the building, extended well below foundation level, where it was applied directly to the underlying soil (fig. 10). In the southern part of the structure the plaster below foundation level clearly indicated the course of the robbed-out walls. There was no evidence for architectural ornament of any sort.

An unusual feature of the building is the use of buttresses to strengthen the walls, both on the interior and exterior. Those within are spaced in pairs along the walls at intervals of 3.8 m. The exterior buttresses are spaced irregularly, and on the north short end there is a single central buttress. A doorway was also located on the north short end, between the central buttress and the northwest corner. Access was provided by a paved ramp leading to the doorway from the north. The ramp was supported by a heavy retaining wall of the same construction seen in the building, and a second similar retaining wall ran parallel to the ramp at a lower level to the east. The ramp provided access for wheeled traffic coming from the level of the lower agora.

The beaten earth floor of the interior was covered in most places by a thick deposit of tiles, in which were found many iron nails. When the roof fell there was

very little in the interior of the building. Between the second and fourth pairs of interior buttresses, two simple hearths had been fashioned on the beaten earth floor; in the ashes of one were found olive pits, and probably to be associated with these hearths were a few small vases and an iron knife. None of the eight coins found below the tiles was later than 200 B.C.; the latest include a Syracusan issue of 215–214 B.C. and a Roman issue of 214–212 B.C.³⁵ The building thus went out of use at the end of the third century, and it is likely that its abandonment and eventual collapse were consequences of the Roman capture of Morgantina in 211 B.C. The two hearths found within the building suggest a period of squatter occupation that has also been noted in the South Shops (see *infra*); the absence of later dating materials shows that such activity cannot have lasted very long. It may well belong to the years immediately following the capture of the city in the year 211. During this unsettled period Morgantina was handed over by the Romans to the Spanish mercenaries who had betrayed Syracuse to Marcellus in 212 B.C. (Livy 24.36.10, 26.21.14–17).



Fig. 10. West wall of West Granary, showing buttresses. 1982 excavations.

³⁵ Head of Hieronymos/horseman, inv. 80-282; and head of Mercury/prow, Crawford, 42/5; inv. 82-272.

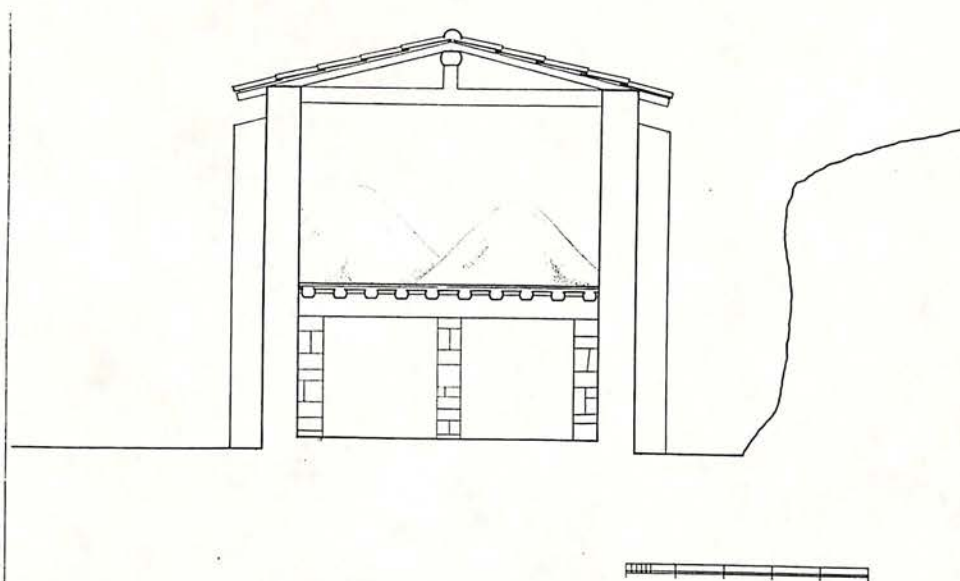


Fig. 11. Restored section, East Granary. (Drawing by J. Mygatt)

The only dating evidence for the construction of the building that has been recovered thus far is a bronze coin of ca. 310-290 B.C. from the floor packing.³⁶ A date close to 300 B.C. seems likely. The narrow rectangular plan with interior and exterior buttresses is also seen in the large building known as the East Granary across the lower agora (fig. 1d), where the exterior wall against the hillside is also stuccoed.³⁷ There are notable differences in the two buildings: the larger East Granary is more solidly built, the doors are located in the long west elevation facing the lower agora, and there are large storage chambers as well as smaller rooms of uncertain function at the north end. Even so, the two structures are very similar in their outlines, and it seems likely that the west building is an older and somewhat simpler version of the larger structure. The East Granary appears, in fact, to have been planned in relation to the older building, to which it is almost precisely parallel. The two structures thus create a corridor-like passage in the lower agora, linking the city gate to the Great Steps, the three flights of which form a transition with the broad open space of the upper agora.

The use of the east building as a place for grain storage was first proposed by Erik Sjöqvist in 1959.³⁸ No material evidence for such a use was recovered in

the excavation of either building, and it seems in any case highly unlikely that, given the conditions of the local climate, cereals would be preserved on the floors of the buildings unless they had by some chance been carbonized. One shared feature of the design of the two buildings can be adduced in support of their identification as granaries: the presence of both exterior and interior buttresses. In the long series of granaries built by Roman military architects, such heavy exterior buttresses are intended to strengthen the walls against the outward pressure of the grain deposited inside.³⁹ This is, in my view, also their function at Morgantina. Yet the paired interior buttresses, which are not seen in the Roman military granaries, are less easy to explain. In 1959 Sjöqvist suggested that they may "have served as markers or devices for a subdivision of the interior space into regular compartments."⁴⁰ The placement of the buttresses next to doors and at the center of the short walls seems to argue against such a function. Moreover, the West Granary and the long south room of the East Granary have single doors; subdivision of the interior spaces into lateral compartments would forbid access to the parts most distant from the doors.

Sjöqvist also thought that the internal buttresses had a structural purpose, and this idea seems a prom-

³⁶ Inv. 80-281, head of Persephone/bull, dated conventionally ca. 310-290 B.C. For the type, *MS II* (supra n. 2) no. 324.

³⁷ *AJA* 64 (1960) 30.

³⁸ *AJA* 64 (1960) 130.

³⁹ G. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings* (Cambridge 1971) 231, 247-48. Like the West Granary at Morgantina, the Roman military granary was entered on its short side (Rickman, 233).

⁴⁰ *AJA* 64 (1960) 131.

ising point of departure for an interpretation of these features. Neither of the granaries shows any sign of having had either a wooden floor at ground level, as in the Roman military granary, or of freestanding interior supports. In the reconstructed lateral section of the East Granary (fig. 11), the interior buttresses carry heavy joists that support the raised wooden floor on which the grain rested. The interior buttresses are smaller than their counterparts outside and so probably did not extend above the proposed upper floor level. The exterior buttresses were intended instead to prevent the walls from splaying outward under the pressure of the loose grain, and so will have been carried higher, perhaps as far as the eaves.⁴¹

If the interior buttresses supported a second story intended for grain storage as proposed in Figure 11, the valuable contents of the building will have been protected both from ground moisture and infestation by rodents, the two constant enemies of long-term storage of cereals. The large rooms below the storage chambers may have served some other function; use of these spaces as arsenals is suggested by the proximity of the two buildings to the defensive fortifications.

Other important questions are more difficult to answer. The height of the exterior walls will have determined the total capacity of the storage areas; and as the capacity of the public granaries is very likely a function of the overall grain production of the city, this is a matter of much interest, but unfortunately one about which very little can be said as yet. Other questions concern the method of depositing the grain in the elevated storage places (external doors seem most likely) and the possible existence of windows for ventilation. Arches may have been used in the external doors and openings; archivolts associated with the second scene building in the theater at Morgantina, a structure contemporary with the East Granary, indicate that arches were used by local builders in the Hiero-

nian period. As for the existence of three storage rooms in the East Granary, separate storage areas may have been required in order to divide the tithe owed to Syracuse from the supplies needed by the city or by the army units stationed there.⁴²

The two buildings at Morgantina belong to a class of narrow rectangular storage structures known elsewhere in the Greek world.⁴³ None of these has been conclusively identified as a granary, although such a function has sometimes been considered, as in the case of the so-called arsenals at Pergamon. If the proposed reconstruction of the interior arrangements of the buildings at Morgantina is correct, it suggests some of the salient characteristics of the building type of the Greek public granary, examples of which are known from literary evidence to have existed in several cities.⁴⁴ These characteristics include thick walls, exterior buttresses, exterior stucco waterproofing, and a wooden floor well above ground level. Another possibly typical feature is the siting of the granary near a city gate, in order to provide easy access from the countryside.

THE SOUTH SHOPS

Backed up against the vertical scarp of limestone that runs on a north-south axis through the lower area of the public space is a series of rooms facing east (fig. 1f, m). These rooms are divided into two groups by Theater Street. North of the street and east of the Central Sanctuary are the Central Shops, excavated in 1955 and 1956.⁴⁵ To the south, below the West Granary, are the South Shops. Recent research has centered on the South Shops (1980 and 1981) and on the northern wing of the Central Shops (1984 and 1985).

The South Shops consist of a row of six contiguous rooms whose rear walls are formed, with one exception, by the limestone scarp (fig. 8).⁴⁶ The width of the rooms ranges from 2.60–2.75 m (rooms 1–5) to 3.1 m

⁴¹ On buttresses supporting wide eaves, Rickman (*supra* n. 39) 236.

⁴² It is also possible that the Morgantina granaries, and in particular the eastern building, were used as depots for the collection of tithes owed to Syracuse by neighboring towns. On the likelihood that Morgantina and its territory were a part of the kingdom of Syracuse, Bell (*supra* n. 12); this is the implicit assumption of E. Sjöqvist, *AJA* 64 (1960) 131. Livy (24.36.10) records that grain and other supplies were maintained at Morgantina during the Second Punic War, and Sjöqvist argued that this *materiel* was stored in the East Granary.

⁴³ The arsenal of Philo at Piraeus was cited by Sjöqvist (*supra* n. 37); cf. also the covered hall at Miletos, H. Knackfuss, *Milet I.7* (Berlin 1924) 156–77; the arsenals on the citadel at Pergamon, A. von Szalay and E. Boehringer, *Die hellenistischen Arsenale* (*AvP* X, Berlin 1937) 25–28; and

the warehouse inside the west gate at Megara Hyblaia, F.S. Cavallari and P. Orsi, *MonAnt* 1 (1890) 754, pls. I–II.

⁴⁴ Livy 24.21.12 (royal granaries at Syracuse); *IG* 14.423, 1.37 (public granaries at Tauromenion). On the last-named buildings, M.A. Goldsberry, *Sicily and Its Cities in Hellenistic and Roman Times* (Diss. Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill 1973) 648–54. On grain-storage buildings including stoas, J.J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford 1976) 11. On Greek granaries (*σιτοβολῶνες*) see also Philo of Byzantium, *Mechanike Syntaxis*, "Book V," B 6–30, Y. Garlan ed., *Recherches de poliorcétique grecque* (*BEFAR* 223, Paris 1974); also pp. 370–72.

⁴⁵ *AJA* 61 (1957) 156.

⁴⁶ The northernmost of the rooms has a partially built rear wall.

belief in a canine afterlife, for the coins must be intended as payment of "Charon's fee," small change taken into the underworld to insure passage across the Styx and a safe arrival in the woods and fields of Elysium.⁷⁶

THE AGORA AT MORGANTINA

Building on both the older and more recently acquired dating evidence, we have gained a more accurate understanding of the architectural development of the agora. Six major periods have been identified.

I. Fifth century B.C.

City plan, with public area defined by streets E1 and W1

North Stoa I⁷⁷

Pottery kilns on the south slope

Possibly to period I also belongs the House of the Silver Hoard (fig. 1t), a small dwelling on the southwest corner of insula E1B; the house is, in any case, the first on its site.⁷⁸ Fifth-century habitation in insula W1C is indicated by the presence of wash deposits containing early material, on the hillside above the cavea of the theater. Other early structures in the agora proper may have been removed during the building campaigns of the third century B.C. (periods III and IV), which required the extensive cutting back of the flanking hillsides.

II. Fourth century, to ca. 275 B.C.

West Granary

Central Sanctuary⁷⁹

South and Central Shops

To this or the preceding period belongs the Southwest Tower, a structure which must have been part of an early city wall (*supra* p. 317). According to the chronology proposed by John J. Dobbins, the earliest phase of the theater is also assigned to period II; the stone cavea and the first scene building belong either late in period II or in period III.

III. Second quarter of the third century B.C.

East Stoa and terrace (*infra* n. 85)

Central Steps

Naiskos

Probably to this period should also be assigned the first phase of the East Granary (fig. 1d), and the North

Stoa II (fig. 1x); and possibly also the Bouleuterion and the Doric Stoa (fig. 1u and v). In any case these buildings belong either to period III or period IV.

IV. Second half of the third century to 211 B.C.

West Stoa⁸⁰

East Stoa Annex ("Prytaneion") and terrace (fig. 1s)⁸¹

Enlargement of the Central Steps

Enlargement of the East Granary

Either to period III or IV should be assigned the rebuilding of the southeast agora defenses, including the southeast tower and adjacent *proteichisma* (fig. 1c); and the rebuilding of the *skene* of the theater.

V. Second century B.C.

Macellum (fig. 1y)⁸²

Southwest Temenos (fig. 1i)

Rebuilding of the Northwest Stoa (fig. 1w)

Monumental base (fig. 1z)

The construction of the Great Kiln (fig. 1b) is also tentatively assigned to this period, as is the insertion of more modest kilns in several existing buildings, including the North Stoa, the East Stoa, the East Granary, and the House of the Official.

VI. First century B.C.

Rebuilding of the Fountain House

Conversion of the Southwest Tower into a shrine (fig. 1j)

To period V or VI belongs the western water conduit, which serves open basins at the theater, the Central Sanctuary, and the Theater Temenos, as well as the Southwest Fountain (fig. 1h). Also of uncertain but late date is the west-facing shrine in the Theater Temenos.

Although the buildings of the first two periods (ca. 450–275 B.C.) are in some cases aligned with the orthogonal plan (North Stoa I, House of the Silver Hoard), they do not give evidence of a developed urban architecture characteristic of more established *poleis*. For each building that follows the axis of the city plan, there are others that have an independent orientation (West Granary, Central Sanctuary) or are characterized by irregular plans, reflecting a more informal concept of urban architecture (Central Sanctuary).

southwest bastion, inv. 84-135, head of Athena I./horseman galloping r. (Hispanorum).

⁷⁶ Leslie Preston Day, "Dog Burials in the Greek World," *AJA* 88 (1984) 21–32.

⁷⁷ *AJA* 74 (1970) 364 (described as underlying the Gymnasium, the name initially given to the North Stoa II).

⁷⁸ Tsakirgis (*supra* n. 6) 42–46, 424.

⁷⁹ *AJA* 61 (1957) 155–56 (called "South Market"); 63 (1959) 168; 68 (1964) 141–44.

⁸⁰ *AJA* 65 (1961) 278; 66 (1962) 135–36.

⁸¹ *AJA* 62 (1958) 161; S.G. Miller, *The Prytaneion, Its Function and Architectural Form* (Berkeley 1978) 115–17.

⁸² *AJA* 61 (1957) 154–55; C. de Ruyt, *Macellum, marché alimentaire des romains* (Louvain 1983) 109–14.

See pp. 196-7 on GRANARY

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pp. 194-199

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for Emperor

REVIEWS

- 1) A. TCHERNIA, *LE VIN DE L'ITALIE ROMAINE: ESSAI D'HISTOIRE ÉCONOMIQUE D'APRÈS LES AMPHORES* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome CCLXI). Rome: École Française, 1986. Pp. xii + 410, 5 pls, numerous text figs, 9 maps. ISBN 2-7283-0106-9.
- SETTEFINESTRE: *UNA VILLA SCHIAVISTICA NELL'ETRURIA ROMANA*. Ed. A. Carandini and A. Ricci. 1. *LA VILLA NEL SUO INSIEME*. By A. Carandini and others. 2. *LA VILLA NELLE SUE PARTI*. By P. Baldi and others. 3. *LA VILLA E I SUOI REPERTI*. By S. Besutti and others. Modena: Panini, 1985. Pp. 206, 302, 371; 204, 360, 255 illus.

Without the use of the material remains it is clear that the study of the ancient economy is impoverished. But the debate on how to use those remains properly is only just beginning. On the one hand archaeology has something of the colour of social anthropology, and tends to provide data integrated into structures in which the dimension of time is largely absent; on the other the historicizing tendency brings the urge to ask diachronic questions of the material evidence, and to bring it into contact with the prevailing diachronic interpretations of the literary and documentary heritage of the ancient world. Both studies reviewed here incline towards the second approach, and are both 'historical' in that sense rather than archaeological. In the case of Settefinestre the historicizing choice is reinforced by conceptions of the material evidence as text, of a philology of objects, which diminishes the gap between material and written evidence but widens the gulf between this kind of archaeology and the methodologically more independent investigations of the 'anthropological archaeologist'. For André Tchernia, the accumulation of detailed information on the archaeology of Roman commerce, and particularly on the wine-trade, had reached a point of complexity which encouraged him to add a diachronic dimension to the static system of structural relationships that the amphora-experts had previously formulated (pp. 2, 7). Both works are thus important landmarks in the painful process of evolving strategies for writing helpful history from both material and written evidence.

T.'s account is not only of the highest importance to the study of the subject: it is delightful to read and infused with modesty, courtesy and good humour. This is the more welcome because the work constitutes a formidable assault on a cluster of well-entrenched preconceptions about the economic history of ancient Italy. In the first place, T.'s patient explication of the history of Roman viticulture has little place for the periods of crisis which have usually been seen in it; so it follows that many of the cherished causes of these crises, the competition of the provincial winemaker or the collapse of the slave mode of production, also come under sceptical scrutiny.

What enables T. to engage with such opponents is a deep understanding of the practicalities of growing grapes, making wine, storing it and moving it to the consumer. Different—wholly different—approaches to these activities are possible for different social and economic circumstances, with the most important boundary being the firm division between high quality and high quantity in production. But a whole classification of grape-products was in use to reflect the diversity of possible viticultural strategies, and to these T. is a sensitive guide, whether the well-known varieties of fine wine or the usually misunderstood or ignored range of cheap grape drinks, *sapa*, *lora*, *vappa*, *posca*, *temetum*. The subtlety of the calculation involved in the selection of production strategies, above all in the calculation of costs (even those of the ancillary equipment of the vineyard such as props and ties could be significant), squares well with much of the work that is now being done on the agricultural resources of the ancient Mediterranean. But, vitally, the calculation, and the choices of the producer, did not stop at the wine press; the process of distribution is susceptible to the same sharp-eyed investigation. Here T. enquires into the amphora-phenomenon itself, noting the significance of the pitched, stoppered jar in making possible the ageing of wine for a rich market, and sets alongside the other solutions: the barrel, which is ideal for bulk, low-quality production; and the *dolium*. We notice also the flat-bottomed amphora, combining the advantages for keeping and distribution of the clay vessel with the suitability for land transportation of the barrel. Not available to T. was the publication of the elegant winecart from Stabiae (MEFRA 99 (1987), 171–209) in which the high status of the contents of the great wine skin was proclaimed to those who saw it bouncing along the rutted lanes on its high wheels by the lavish bronze fittings and decorations.

One further enquiry could be made, parallel to those into the agricultural and commercial realities. The other fascinating aspect of the study of ancient food is the remarkable

classification system, which we see at its most developed in the case of wine. In origin these taxonomies are no doubt epiphenomenal to the hierarchies of status which articulated the ever-growing habit of imitating the lifestyle of the élite; but their intellectual complexity is a trait of great interest. Thus the medical classification of wines, to which T. (204) allots some importance, is one of the ways in which the adoption of aspects of élite behaviour by an ever wider public was interpreted and promoted. A fuller exploration of the significance of these descriptive systems would be welcome; but the suspicion is raised that the easy labelling of ancient wine-types as 'crus' may somewhat obscure the view of these issues. In this case the use of comparative material, which makes the book so authoritative for the most part, may perhaps make the argument less nuanced through its evocation of a similar—but not identical—social classification of a high-status nutritional product.

T. covers a very great deal of material with an originality and lightness of touch which conceal the expertise he brings to the subject, so much so that occasionally the answers he proposes can almost seem too good to be true. He is well aware—as in the charming disclaimer on p. 233—of the difficulty of harnessing intelligibly the vast and intractable pottery evidence. In fact he covers much more than his title would suggest: the wine trade of the Roman Aegean, for example, begins to emerge from these pages more than it ever has before, and it is here alone (p. 70) that the author is stern with his colleagues, in a serious—and, one must hope, effective—admonishment of Elisabeth Lyding Will for her tardiness in publishing the long-accumulated material which should form the basis of Eastern Mediterranean amphora-studies.

The picture that emerges is far from being minimalist in its interpretation of the ancient economy. The quantities of wine produced and moved over vast distances forbid that. But T. is not presenting a free market economy either, since for him these trends of production beat with a cultural pulse, and he never loses sight of the social dimension of wine drinking. So the world of wine is part of a single pattern with the practice and imitation of the life of luxury, the dissemination and elaboration of the urban values of antiquity: 'il y a toujours un lien entre vigne et villes'. His story begins with an urban cultural and alimentary revolution in Italy around the time of the Hannibalic War (58–60) and spreads with Roman power, surviving the vicissitudes of the High Empire only to end with the transformation of the world of the classical city with the dawn of Late Antiquity. In the heyday of Italian viticulture, from the last quarter of the second century B.C. onwards, it is not in the least accidental that we can observe the juxtaposition of the *villae* of the Italian coast and the vineyards of their hinterland, as in the cases of Sorrento or S. Latium (p. 65).

Such a juxtaposition is clearly to be seen in another microregion of west central Italy, the *ager Cosanus*, the coastal plain of Tuscany beside the *tomboli* and lagoons of Monte Argentario. Here, if the intrinsic importance of the region is less (so T., 162) than that of Latium or Campania, chance has given us much more evidence to go on, one of the main sections of which is the excavation of the villa at Settefinestre. The monumental project of excavation, interpretation and publication which has already made the name of Settefinestre famous, finds in these magnificent volumes a worthy definitive statement; they and the project constitute a major landmark, a watershed, in the development of our understanding of the Roman countryside. Those metaphors are appropriate, for the study does look in two directions; it is a pioneering work of transition, and not the first confident application of a newly-worked-out method. The creative process, the novelty and adaptability and freshness of the thought involved in any archaeological excavation are compelling, and to see the interpretative revolution being called into existence here to deal with the data as they emerged is a fascinating experience and one which is made the easier by the expert didactic and protreptic techniques to which the project has always given a high priority. Andrea Carandini indeed ends his introduction with the ringing claim that Italians will quickly discover in archaeology the elegance of precision alongside the beauty of the sublime.

This is indeed a most impressive publication. In part it derives from material presented in exhibition form, and the team has always made the most praiseworthy efforts to make widely available the whole process of research. Here the sense of excitement and the thrill of exploration are vividly present. Archaeology is presented as a part of a single intellectual process of research, not as an autonomous science: 'Lo scavo nella terra e del tutto analogo al processo di pensiero'. Sherlock Holmes is a favourite exegetic *muthos* for this. In fact here the demands of the stratigraphy seem to have been relatively restrained, compared, for example, with the 'hundreds of horizons' experienced by the excavators of the S. Rocco villa at Francolise in Campania. Since the intellectual process is explicitly historical in its objects (1, 13), it is not surprising to find the strata labelled as 'activities' related to each other in a kind of

matrix-diagram, which usually has little more to do than reflect the evidence for laying of foundations, building of walls, occupation and dereliction. To some extent that makes the archaeology the investigation of structures rather than deposits, and it is clear that this is above all a remarkably thorough and expert investigation of the building history of a Roman estate. One of the principal aims has been reconstruction, and with the aid of excellent draftsmanship the architecture of Settefinestre has been recovered in detail. If some of the interpretations are purely hypothetical, like the towers or the smoke-room over the kitchen chimney, that does not greatly matter provided that no conclusions are rashly drawn.

This is what the team found. First the *pars urbana*, which was really quite smartly appointed and elegantly decorated in very nearly the latest metropolitan taste: it was equipped with such luxuries as a Corinthian *oecus*, and looked out over a set of quite elaborate gardens. The importance of this section to the whole villa must not be played down; it is all very well to put agricultural implements on the cover of the volume (III) devoted to finds, but almost no such tools were actually found, whereas the detritus of the smarter life of the owner and his caretaker was considerably more prominent. Alongside the finely floored and plastered rooms of this section, and carefully separated by a substantial boundary-wall, was a compact set of rooms for the processing of agricultural produce, equipped with three wine-presses and an oil-press. Storerooms, guest rooms and accommodation for a *vilicus* make up the rest of the centre. It was approached by a road leading to a forecourt with slave quarters around it, one row of sleeping accommodation and various offices. Beyond were a walled orchard, a belvedere and a monumental granary. All this dates from the triumviral period, and survived with few changes for more than a century. Under Trajan a new set of baths, an extension to the slave-quarters and a highly sophisticated pig-sty complex were added. The villa was substantially abandoned before the end of the second century. The researches of the team did not stop with richness of their account is the attention they have paid to the setting of the villa on its low limestone knoll in a narrow centuriated valley near the sea and near the Via Aurelia, just outside the middling settlement of Cosa. But still more ideas come from the application of their ideology of understanding, which is carried on from the reconstruction of the site into the re-interpretation of the Roman agricultural writers in the light of the new evidence.

It is truly remarkable how well this villa, with its extensive repertoire of buildings and forms, instantiates the accounts of the Roman agronomists: 'the best example of Varro's *villa perfecta*' (I, 194). In detail after detail the advice of Varro and Columella is to be found in practice here—even an aviary is postulated, not implausibly, in the belvedere. The excavators might perhaps have wondered what the significance of this remarkable phenomenon was, rather than taking their good fortune for granted. At the very least it suggests, one may say, the ability of Roman landowners to buy whole sets of equipment for their improvements 'off the peg'. When the new pig-sties were added, each one had an identical stone-carved trough and door sill, all part of the contract no doubt.

Moreover, so many activities of the Roman countryside seem to be represented here that we have almost a parody of mixed farming. It becomes a question whether any one activity should be seen as the prime enterprise of the estate. For the excavators, however, it was viticulture, although taking up only one fifth of the estate, that was the principal activity of Settefinestre in its first phase (I, 146); that conclusion too squares nicely with Varro, Columella and Pliny. The three wine-presses and substantial *lacus vinarius* make it certain that, in keeping with the best opinion, there was substantial investment in vines and wine-making. But Cato had recommended three winepresses, and the whole farm has such a blueprint, buy-it-off-the-peg, doctrinaire feeling that it would be rash to argue too rigidly from their capacity. If number of presses maximizes anything, moreover, it is speed of processing rather than total capacity. However, the wine vat could hold, in its later expanded form (I, 165–8), some 15,000 litres of must, and that is a firmer statistic. What we can not tell, and the excavators should have raised the question at least, is what kind of wine was being made—the question central to the researches of T. While they raise the idea that the *dominus* eyed greedily by Varro's interlocutors, if cheap wine for the urban market were being made, 15,000 litres might fetch as little as HS 9,000 (YRS 75 (1985), 15 n. 74). Since the increase of wine production seems to coincide perfectly with the growth of this market (see also T., 264–71), it is possible that this was indeed the reason for the change. The emphasis on quick processing, which the generous provision of presses may imply, might point towards the high quantity rather than the high quality side of the great viticultural divide.

The second feature which must strike the dispassionate reader is the extraordinary monumental granary, fitted like the main villa-buildings with architectural terracottas and

MS: 2-147m x 17.5m

28 m long, 12 wide in its main part, with a great ramp leading to the first floor and much subsidiary accommodation (II, 189–208). The floor space in the main ground-floor and upper-floor areas can provide the basis for some calculations (with Carandini, I, 169–70). Allowing an over-all storage density of 300 kg/m² (which would be fine for the first floor: much more could be stored in ground floor bins, of course), and allowing generously for one third of the space being taken for access, we find that the upper floor alone could store 67,200 kg, with another 36,000 on the floor of the main ground-floor room. These figures, in Roman terms 7,906 and 4,285 *modii* respectively (we note Varro's hint that granaries' capacity was assessed in units of thousands of *modii*), would support 198+106 of the population of Rome at Geoffrey Rickman's estimate, and 284+151 at that of Lin Foxhall and Hamish Forbes. If we assume that the excavators are right in seeing the resident population of the farm as fifty-two souls, even at the more generous ration the surplus of the crop stored on the upper floor of the granary alone will have been worth some 23,000 HS at Italian prices (G. Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome*, 153). It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the builders of the granary, even if they were over-specifying, were expecting cereal production to be a very prominent enterprise on the estate. This is not to belittle viticulture, or to assert too much for arable cultivation: for all we know the farm made its money from apples or pecorino cheese, but there is in fact no archaeological trace of these activities.

Now these large figures do not force us to go beyond the modest estate marked out in the centuriated landscape by detailed investigation of the territory around the villa. Carandini has tended to be pessimistic about sowing-rates and yields on the cereal side, and if we improve his figures to 6 *modii/iugerum* and eight-fold yield, we find that 188 iugera would provide the grain to fill the upper floor of the granary and enough for next year's seed extra (for these figures M. S. Spurr, *Arable Cultivation in Roman Italy*, 56–7, 82–8). Columella managed an arable unit of 200 iugera on eight labourers (2, 12, 7–9).

It seems to me, then, that we have here a fascinating example of a farm producing grain for Rome, though also diversifying its activities as much as possible. If, over the first century A.D., it moved somewhat away from this towards extra viticulture and towards the rearing of pigs, that would hardly surprise us. If there was one privileged commodity in which competition from outside Italy might discourage Italian growers, unless they were very close to the market, it was surely annonal grain. As Claudius—and decisively Trajan—improved arrangements for the safe delivery of the *annona*, the owners of Settefinestre went to the agricultural suppliers in search of their ready-made pig-sties and extra wine-vats.

The other equipment which they bought in, at least to some extent, was of course slaves; and an important part of the interest of Settefinestre lies in the evidence revealed for the social structures of a Roman rural estate. The division of space and the movements of the *personae* have been worked out in elegant detail, the intermediate position occupied by the procurator is lucidly displayed, the finds of tableware and other domestic detritus are cleverly linked—almost for the first time—to the actual social setting in which they were acquired, used and abandoned (III, 311–17). It is only through work of this kind that we will ever be able to interpret the surface scatter of datable pottery that forms the raw material of field survey.

Evidence of social stratification is there in abundance; it is hardly rash on the basis of the literary texts to suppose that it was slaves who occupied the ranks of small rooms in the *pars rustica*. But it is important to remember that that is a supposition, and that Varro and Columella are in the end behind it: an alien archaeologist would spot the menial status of the majority of the occupants, but would not be able to deduce the phenomenon of slavery from the remains of Settefinestre. In fact there are problems in detail, since the excavators found something of an *embarras d'esclaves*. At occupation densities familiar from Roman barracks and third-world cities, the first slave-quarters could have held eighty slaves. The excavators select fifty-two (I, 157–60) as their total, because that suits their hypothesis for the agronomics better. Similarly, in the new slave-quarters, built around a square in a way reminiscent of the contemporary pig-sties, the literary tail wags the archaeological dog again in the assumption that only four slaves lived in each 'stall'. Their figures could well be right; but the process involved in reaching them only in the end implies that we can say nothing for certain about the number of slaves at Settefinestre or about their living conditions. What we do see is the way in which the staff were housed systematically in regimented accommodation worked out architecturally in pursuit of certain architectural goals, further confirmation of the doctrinaire approach to slave management which can be glimpsed in the literary sources. Even if we could guess the numbers of slaves, it would remain very likely that many of the inhabitants of these rooms spent much of their time in the activities of the *pars urbana* which (despite dismissive remarks about the domestic staff: I, 113) was growing in importance during the early history of the villa. Otherwise those who waited on the *vilicus*, never mind the *dominus* or his guests,

would be housed in notional attics above the house itself. There is no way of distinguishing an assistant cook (who might help in the vintage) from a second pigman (who could be called on for unloading the Dressel 2 amphorae when a consignment arrived in the front court): and in that case any estimation of labour relations on the estate is going to be extremely shaky. But that is not to say that the detailed calculations made here lack interest—they actually constitute one of the most sophisticated reconstructions of a Roman mixed farm and its working available, and it is a reconstruction that could fit Settefinestre; but all readers of these volumes must make the effort to see the reconstruction as a hypothesis and not as the conclusions entailed by the archaeological research.

Thus the stimulating idea that the development of the slave accommodation reflects a change (for the worse) in the ideology of slave management from the military *contubernium* model to the stock-rearing approach, and the calculations that show how the change in the social structures of slavery eventually contributed importantly to the invalidation of the agricultural practices which were most characteristic of the Italian villa, must be regarded as contributions to the debate rather than as the presentation of new evidence. It is here that the contrast is most apparent with the measured caution of T., who never fails to admit the uncertainties, and who frequently uses the metaphor of the trap: he percipiently lays bare the dangers of the distribution map and the percentage table, for example (p. 234), and shows the sensible caution about the stratigraphy of the Terme del Nuotatore dig. His whole argument for the Italian wine trade is directed against the archaeological *argumentum ex silentio*. At Settefinestre there are *silentia* too, but here the danger is putting too much into the gaps without good reason. It would be appropriate to apply the gentle caution of T. (p. 269): 'pareilles suppositions ne sont pas forcément déraisonnables, mais elles ne s'imposent pas non plus'.

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MICHAEL F. HENDY, *STUDIES IN THE BYZANTINE MONETARY ECONOMY, c. 300-1450*. Cambridge, etc.: University Press, 1985. Pp. xxi + 773. 36 pls, 36 maps, 25 tables. ISBN 0-521-24715-2.

For reasons that will be obvious, what follows is not, and cannot be, a detailed review of the rich and varied contents of this massive work, which stretches from the Tetrarchy to the end of Byzantium, from a fully Classical world to the age of the Renaissance. All that will be attempted is to delineate the main features of the book, to give some impression of some of the many interesting and important things which it has to offer to historians of Antiquity, and to discuss a few of the problems of method and approach that it raises; the review will also be tempted to look back rather frequently to the earlier Empire.

A couple of points need to be made at the outset. First, the word 'Studies' in the title needs to be taken seriously. What the book claims to be is a series of detailed and interlinked studies of aspects of its overall subject, not a complete and integrated work. Secondly, we need to attend to the word 'Economy' in the title. Like Michael Crawford's important work on the monetary economy of the Republic and the reign of Augustus, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic: Italy and the Mediterranean Economy* (1985)—see the review article by A. Burnett in *JRS* 77 (1987), 177—this book is not intended as a technical or antiquarian study of coin-types, minting, coin-legends and so forth, but as a contribution to economic and administrative history. Its ultimate concern is not with coins as such, but with monetized aspects of the economy: or, more narrowly, with monetized aspects of the operations of the state.

It is not in fact easy to say what the field covered by the book really is. The author has had some difficulty in keeping three different things in balance: the pattern and purpose of minting by the state; the overall operations of the state in conducting exchanges of value and services between itself and its subjects; and the wider economic and social framework within which the Late Roman and Byzantine state functioned.

The approach depends throughout on what one may call the Crawford thesis, propounded in 'Money and Exchange in the Roman World', *JRS* 60 (1970), 40, and revised in *La moneta in Grecia e a Roma* (1985), ch. 5: that the Roman state in minting coins did so essentially as a means of making its own payments, for public buildings, upkeep of troops and so forth, and did not pay any regard to the question of providing a medium of exchange for the civilian population. Hendy is able to produce substantial new evidence for the validity of this thesis, in the shape of the distribution of mints following the creation of the diocesan system by Diocletian. That is to say that the mints were placed where they could serve the needs of

the army and the Imperial *comitatus*, and their location did not reflect the geographical distribution of the civilian population, or of towns. In consequence, as Spain and Africa were not significant military areas, there was at no stage a mint anywhere in the Iberian peninsula, and only briefly one in Carthage (seemingly withdrawn to Ostia in c. 308/9, p. 381). H. can therefore take the absence of a mint in the still heavily-urbanized and prosperous diocese of Africa (see now C. Leppelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire* 1-11, 1979) as being the origin of the shortage of liquidity there which is reflected in *CJ* xi. 48. 5 of c. 364/8. He also brings into connection with this the stringent ruling of (perhaps) 356 (*CTh* ix. 23. 1), forbidding the export of coins for profit from one region of the Empire to another (pp. 289 f.).

Both this basic thesis and the particular illustrations of it remain highly significant; but none the less this is also one of many areas in the book where a real contradiction can be observed as between the numismatist's interest in the *minting* of coins and the historian's interest in the monetized economy, and indeed in the wider question of economic exchanges as a whole. For it is not in the least self-evident *how* important was the role played, even in the monetized section of the economy, specifically by *newly-minted* coins. To examine the limited concerns and objectives of the state in minting coins is not identical with studying the economic functions, and the patterns of circulation, of the coins once minted.

However, in spite of this contradiction, it is important to stress how much this book has to offer on the economy of the Mediterranean in its widest sense, and indeed on the ecology and geography of human habitation there. In this connection one should note its use of comparative material from the whole pre-industrial period, up to and including Ottoman Turkey of the nineteenth century. In this wider context there is a valuable emphasis on the limitations imposed by conditions and means of transport: for instance the restricted regions from which agricultural products can be exported; the geography of the production of wine and olives; and the relative mobility of animal products, as a simple function of the fact that animals can be driven.

H. also produces, for instance, a splendid map (p. 71) of the distribution of cities in Anatolia and the Balkans (this geographical focus is significant, see below). But, since his primary interest is in the operations of the state, he does not show much concern with what actually happened within cities by way of economic exchange. In this respect the work seems in some ways a little old fashioned, since even semi-reformed Cambridge primitivists have long since been showing some signs of repentance in this respect (I refer to Keith Hopkins, 'Economic Growth and Towns in Classical Antiquity', in P. Abrams, E. A. Wrigley (eds), *Towns in Societies* (1978), 35). Again the very nature of the enterprise—to make minting the focus, but also look outwards to the wider economy—may embody presuppositions about the dominance of the state in economic activity. Here there is a close parallel to the propositions of this effect put forward by Keith Hopkins with regard to the Roman state of the classical period: 'Taxes and Trade in the Roman Empire (200 B.C.-A.D. 400)', *JRS* 70 (1980), 101. We should recall also the arguments of A. H. M. Jones, that the overwhelming predominance of agricultural land in the pattern of taxation by the state itself *proves* the predominance of agriculture in the overall economy. But, while no one can, in a broad sense, doubt that predominance, we ought also to ask ourselves whether the pattern of taxation was not to a significant extent simply a reflection of the limited administrative, recording and conceptual capacities of the state itself.

The objective of setting the monetary operations of the state in the context of the wider ecology and human geography of the area naturally lends particular significance to the question of which regions were, at various times, included within the boundaries of the state. Here again I feel that there is a certain contradiction between H.'s various purposes. In geographical or ecological terms, the areas to which he gives particular attention are, as hinted above, Anatolia and the Balkans; in other words the areas that remained to a significant degree under Byzantine rule until the Middle Ages. But his interest in administrative structure, and its connection with the geographical pattern of minting, leads him to take as his starting-point the reforms of Diocletian. That is to say he is concerned to go back to the propositions set out in his article 'Mint and Fiscal Administration under Diocletian, his Colleagues and his Successors, A.D. 305-24', *JRS* 62 (1972), 75. (Note in this connection P. Bruun, 'From Polis to Metropolis. Notes on Thessalonica in the Administration of the Late Roman Empire', *Opuscula Romana* 15 (1985), 7, which is largely concerned with minting.) But of course the Roman state of Diocletian's time embraced a much larger area than that of the medieval Byzantine state; and not all of it receives, or could have been expected to receive, very detailed attention in this book. We are in any case hardly in a position to say much about the economy of Britain, Spain or Gaul in this period, or its relation to the economic or monetary activities of the state there. Africa might be another matter (Leppelley, *op. cit.* above), as might Italy; see

1



25.01



1114



P 1112

3

For presentation of
(mostly now published)
amphora material in

HAT Group B and E
(See also paper "Artis praeparat")



SS 370



41

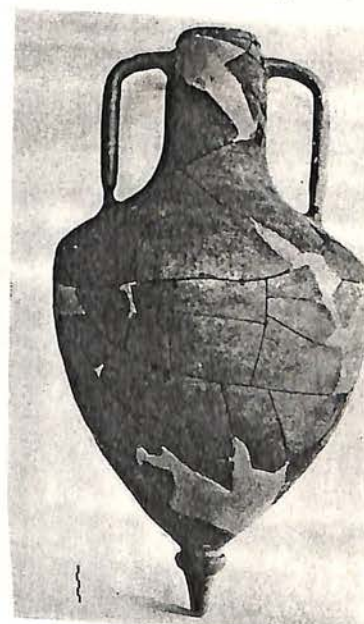


5

5a

RACE

[BCH Suppl



5

Thompson's Hellenistic Group B: amphoras from southern chamber. (Thompson
1934, pp. 331-332) Ca. 240 B.C.

25.01

For presentation of
(mostly now published.)
ampliore material in
HAT Group B and E
(See also paper "Article proposed")

1



P 1113

1



P 1114

2



P 1112

3



SS 370

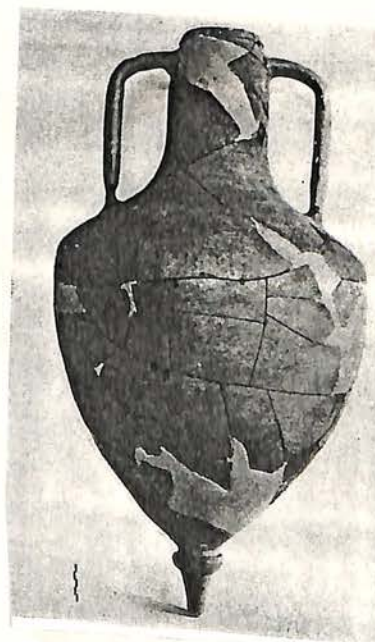


5

5a

RACE

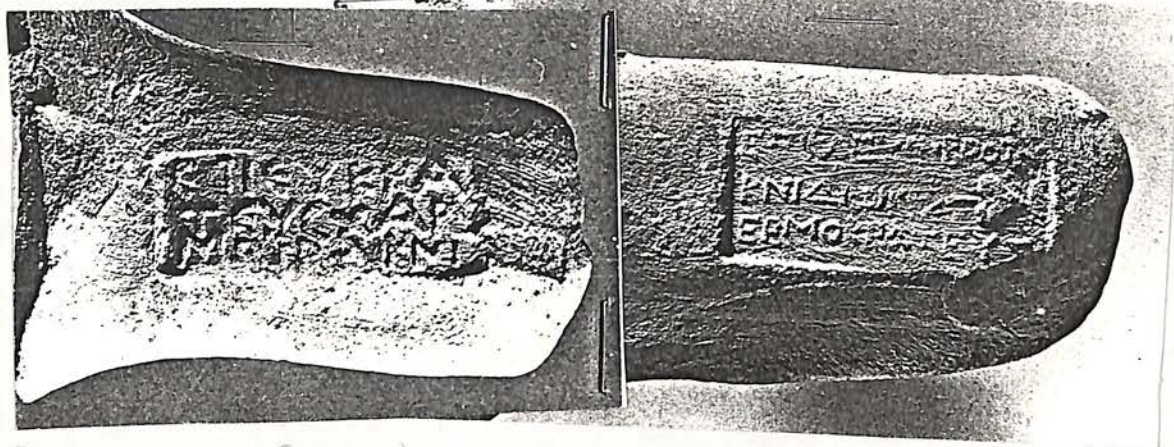
[BCH Suppl



5

Thompson's Hellenistic Group B: amphoras from southern chamber. (Thompson 1934, pp. 331-332) Ca. 240 B.C.

(2)



6) KT 1268 (Thompson 21)

7) KT 603 ABC 1

SS 2170
Eggs
K. K. 1268

SS 2170



9

10



Thompson's Hellenistic Group E: earlier Knidian stamp types represented,
plus top of Knidian jar stamped amphora from the fill with its stamp
Ca. 160 B.C. to ca. 140 B.C.

3



13 KT 156 EM 3



14) KT 566 ABC 1



15) KT 1093 (SS 10152)



16) KT 928 EM 1



17) KT 926 EM 3



19



20



21

Thompson's Hellenistic Group E: later Knidian stamp types represented,

plus Chian amphora from the Group, plus Knidian amphora (in Alexandria)

dated in the term of IEPOKANZ as are nos. 13 - 16 of the stamps.

Last quarter of 2nd cent. B.C., before ca 108 B.C.

Kn. type of Group E
already published

Ευφάγος + br., cf. Γεωργίου

BEH Suppl. 13, p. 125, no. 9

Νομφάγος + clath., cf. Γεωργίου

Pung, no 150 (note 7 & 8)

Grundmann

(Arenh., cf. Γεωργίου, find non)

Χαροκροτύς, cf. Ευφάγος

Thompson Report 1950 (= KSA 2261)

Arkesin, AE VII 1891

Skorpiu 1904

Engel, BEH Suppl. 13, p. 120, ^{cf. p. 122, plus. of mass} he says he has found

Εφρογίγος, Omphe, cf. K. A. D. ~~Suppl.~~ ^{'s article}

Pung, nos 171-2

Tent I, p. 245 no 107

Agm. S. Apion. O. w. br.

Herp. III, nos. 204-6 etc

(cite non & MSBE article)

(Εφρογίγος ^{in ent.} cf. K. A. D. Suppl., find non)

(Αραβισμός + club cf. 'Αγιδόκ, non)

Κύττος fruct. cf. Αραβισμός, see EAD 27, ^{E 72} no. 1
(also Herp. 1934, (com) (no ill.))

MATCHING FUNDS FOR MIDDLE STOA ? OR TAX ? 11.90

On Habicht's "great collection"

5/183 (a SUBSCRIPTION LIST)

cut 2A, I look up 19 II², 2332, a stone which is EM 10399, and dated 183/2. [Is this = 19 II, 983? as cited by Ferguson 1911]

The archon A.T. is restored in the title, but 26.01 is 119, where there some official

Matching funds

run for π to $\Delta\Delta\Delta$; most Δ . Δ^2 is on individuals contributing, their families. No effort to collect for.

In that part of 19 XI² or a number of similar lists, not as considerable, but st. containing same names. St. part of the heading preserved tells what the collection was for, e.g. to construct or reconstruct, a theatre.

Ferguson on Hellenistic Athens (1969/1911), speaks of the lists as part of the evidence for what the heading - controlling? - families of about them were like. He calls them a "liberal aristocracy" (p.288).

26.01

Matching funds

MATCHING FUNDS FOR MIDDLE STOA ? OR TAX ? III 90

On Habicht's "great collection"

of 183 (a SUBSCRIPTION LIST)

At EA, I look up IG II², 2332, a stone which is EM 10399, and dated 183/2. [Is this = IG II, 983? ^{as cited by Ferguson, 1910}]

The archon dating it is restored in the title, but apparently, appears in line 119, where ~~there~~ some officials of that year are listed.

Contributions listed run from π to $\Delta\Delta\Delta$; most Δ .

Commentary in IG XII² is on individuals contributing, what is known of them and their families. No effort to propose what was being collected for.

In that part of IG XII² are a number of similar lists, not as considerable, but stts. containing some names. Stts. part of the heading preserved tells what the collection was for, e.g. to construct or reconstruct, a theater.

Ferguson, ^{"subscription lists"} Hellenistic Athens (1969/1911), speaks of the lists as part of the evidence for what the leading - controlling? ^{Athenian} families of about then were like. He calls them a "liberal aristocracy" (p. 288).

19. III. 88

Sat. 26.03
at 33

Things to check in publs:

extension "the great collection" of 183 B.C.

ded. to
Fordyce?
Mabel

In C. Habicht, "The Delphic Amphiction, after 189 B.C.", Hesperia 1987, pp. 58-71, in 183 B.C.

ref. is made, pp. 63, etc. to "the great collection (epidosis)" to which all the best ^{also in the name of his children} people contributed. Ref. is made ^{in 19 II²} to 19 II² 2332, lines 56-58. See also p. 67.

H. states (p. 63) that Menodorus son of Archon, ^{Kydatheon} Kydatheon, who contributed for each of his children in 183, that shortly after 167 B.C., he "was elected to one of the most prestigious and important positions which the city of Athens could bestow: that of governor-general (epitropos) of Delos." (29) [ID, 1805]"

19 II² was known at the EA. Presumably if there was something useful published after that, Habicht would have given the reference. What he says suggests one does not know what it was for. Maybe like the lists we all contributed towards the records of the EA, to go with the Podopellus. So, 183. (understanding)

Look up further this Echedemos III (p. 67). First is the "great list" ⁽¹⁸³⁾ ^{A diploma}. Object of 2 Hell. ^{of H.} epigrams in the Anthologia Palatina. all this further detail, probably has to look in Habicht's Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit, Götting 1982 (van Ecl. I pp. 189-193) (On 5 leading families of the time.)

Robert W. Wallace, "The Athenian
Proeisphorontes," Hesperia 58, 1949, pp.
473 - 490.

1st edition;

"Between 378 and 323/2 B.C. the Athenians
levied eisphorai through a system of
contribution groups called symmories."

The 300 richest Athenians advanced the
whole amount, and then recouped from
the larger group.

I.e. a tax is being paid.

How is this related to those contributors
of later times - 3rd? and 2nd ^(183 B.C.) cent. B.C.
On this, see Habicht's article. ⊗ Surely
these latter are not paying a tax? In
Wallace's article, no reference to Habicht's,
though in his article, the contributors seem to be
the rich families. (Aristocrats too.) —
Maybe later members of the same families as
the 4th cent. proeisphorontes.

⊗ Hesp 1987, pp. 58-71

out in the volume as a whole. J. K. Davies spells them out explicitly (291), but too incidentally, and, of the chapters on particular regions or monarchies, only that on Ptolemaic Egypt by E. G. Turner provides an integrated analysis (esp. 134 f.). The narrative chapters do little to explain the unending cycles of conflicts. Y. Garlan's chapter on war and siegecraft concentrates on technical questions, though Garlan himself has played a pioneering role in the new approach to the study of ancient war (cf. his *War in the ancient world. A social history* [London 1975]). In short, topics that should be related are too often treated separately, and connections are obscured; narrative and description receive more scope than analysis and explanation. For all its considerable merits, this volume could be said to be cast within established frameworks, the validity of which is undermined by the volume's detailed contents.

M. M. AUSTIN

University of St Andrews

GAUTHIER (P.) **Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (IV^e-I^{er} siècle avant J.-C.): contribution à l'histoire des institutions.** (Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, supp., 12.) Paris: École Française d'Athènes (distributed by de Boccard). 1985. Pp. x + 236. Fr. 300.

The bestowal of honours and privileges upon benefactors constituted a familiar, indeed nearly ubiquitous, practice among Greek cities. Abundant inscriptional evidence gives that practice special prominence in the Hellenistic era. The subject has drawn increasing scholarly attention in recent years and G.'s book, building upon that work, supplies a particularly acute and fruitful analysis. Author of an earlier study on *symbola* (Greek interstate judicial agreements), G. brings to the topic not only an extensive familiarity with the epigraphic documents but a sense for the long term implications of institutional history.

The book provides close scrutiny of several texts and examination of select specifics, including some procedural minutiae. But its principal purpose is to confront broad issues and to question certain widely held assumptions. G. focuses upon the meaning of this institution, its evolution over time, the continuities across conventional lines of periodization, the expectations of benefactors, and the intentions and attitudes of communities that conferred the privileges.

The proliferation of honours and the multiplication of those honoured have suggested to most moderns a cheapening of the process, the transformation of a once meaningful institution into empty gestures. That development appears in the scholarship as a symptom of decline, a gradual sinking of civic pride and patriotic zeal in the Hellenistic age. Recent work has tended to reinforce or expand upon those conclusions. So, P. Veyne finds a major distinction between Classical Greece and the Hellenistic era in the fact that communities regularly bestowed titles and honours for civic services upon their own citizens in the later period; such services could be taken for granted in an earlier time of genuine patriotism. The change represents a shift from democratic institutions to dependence upon the patronage and protection of a few (*Le Pain et le Cirque*, 1976). A different distinction is emphasized by L. Moretti, a

geographic rather than a chronological one: Greece proper awarded the title of *euergetes* only to foreign benefactors; extension of the title to citizens came from the Ionian cities and the Greeks of Asia. Here again there is implicit contrast between authentic communal pride and a weakened civic spirit (*RivFilol* 1977). On the particular institution of *proxenia*, Fr. Gschnitzer sees the multiplication of Hellenistic *proxenoi* as signifying decline in the real function of the office, as well as in the meaningfulness of the honour (*RE Suppl.* XIII, 'proxenos', 1973).

G. challenges these presuppositions. His scrupulous study of the documents undermines both traditional periodization and geographical distinctions. The continuities receive emphasis. G. argues from the formal language of inscriptions that the official title of *euergetes* was confined largely to foreigners throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods and that this held for the most part among eastern Greeks as well as in Greece proper. Hence the title had not been cheapened, let alone did it reflect a decline in civic spirit or a growing divorce between the community as a whole and its principal leaders (especially 7-24, 27-30, 66-9). Changes, to be sure, did occur. Honours and their recipients increased in number, causing comparisons to be made between worthy honorands of the Greek past and their less deserving successors. But G. properly discerns the reasons: the emergence of new leaders from outside the traditional aristocracy who pressed for greater and more explicit distinctions, the changing conditions of warfare that placed a premium upon professional commanders, and the rhetorical *topoi* of fourth-century orators who idealized earlier political and military leaders in order to disparage their contemporaries (120-7). Nor did the proliferation of *proxenoi* debase the institution of *proxenia*. G. points out that the marked increase in documentation for the Hellenistic age may falsely exaggerate the proliferation, that the opening up of the Greek world during that age encouraged multiple *proxenoi*, and that the grants of *proxenia* generally followed concrete services rather than providing mere honorific gestures (137-48).

By no means all of the arguments are equally strong or convincing. G. endeavours to explain away the epigraphic references to citizen *euergetai* as either unofficial designations, a different type of institution, or the result of particular circumstances (15-16, 33-9). This borders on special pleading. More generally, G., although denying a sharp break between the Classical and Hellenistic periods with regard to the institutional history of most Greek cities, does believe that major changes (evidently for the worse) took place in the late Hellenistic period with the decline of Greek monarchies and the advent of Rome: 'l'évergétisme' lost the character of civic services and approximated to a 'système du gouvernement' (4, 68, 72-5, 147). That proposition needs defence and development. It receives little of either.

The contribution is none the less a welcome and important one. It adds to the growing list of works on political institutions in the Hellenistic world that enrich our understanding of that world.

ERICH S. GRUEN

University of California, Berkeley

3.I.89

There may
be something
on
Pharmer
in the
book.

21. XII. 88

Donors, including N. Stone, in A. ^{MINAR} ~~MINAR~~
 in the 2nd cent AD: JHS 107, 1987,
 pp 171-178 by J. J. Coulton (A. Minar),
 "Dionysos and the Anonymous Benefactor"

27.05a

27.04a

4.TV.86

Caroline

7237242

+

27.01

Correction

of Knidian name-
lists

27.02

but was in
S 3 list
(S 1)

OVER

Δαμοκράτης

Δαμόν[

Δωσίφρων

Θεόδυτος

Θεόδωρος

Θρασύμαχος (Sign)

Θρασύμαχος

φρ. Θρασύμαχος (S 5)

φρ. Ιπποκράτης

Καλλιμάχος

Κερίων

Μετίλαος

(prob = Kall-)

27.01

Corrections
of Kinder name-
lists

From M3T

5. IV. 88

27.02

Add to Kn. eps list

$\Delta 10 \times a'(\text{pys}) ?$

(clense on KT 2035, but was a

unknown from the ? list

suggesting $\Delta 20 \times a'(\text{pys})$)

28.V.86

27.03

Addenda to corrigendum

& MSBF
article

Ku.

mostly additional apcs

(Addendum, 1987)

Athens, KGA 2279

4.TV.86

Caroleyn

7237242

Knid - epayNat child - neg 1
D. Sum

Ἀκαρίδας

Ἀλάβενδρίδας

Ἀναβαν (δρος)

Ἀντιφάνος

Ἀγιστοτρίδης

Ἀρίστατος φρ.

(μὴτάβη Ἀγιστοτρίδης)

Δαμοκράτης

Θρασύμοχος

φρ. Θρασυκλής

Δαμόν[

φρ. Ἰπποκράτης

Δωσίφρων

Καλλίμοχος

Θεόδωτος

Κερίων

Θεόδωρος

Μενίππας

Θρασυός (Σύμ)

(μὴ = =
Καλλί)

OVER



Stockholder Relations
590 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Εγγλωσσος
Φιλόμορος
Χαρίτης

AIR MAIL



First Class Mail
Important - Proxy Enclosed

It is important to sign
and return your Proxy promptly

27.046

27.05a

28.7.86

* FILE CARDS *

for additional

1 cm. 

W

20.10.88

Add Διοξά(εγς) to epis
(later)

for MET

note mislaid

27.056

BOSTON FINANCIAL DATA SERVICES, INC.
SERVICING AGENT FOR
STATE STREET BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
P.O. BOX 953
BOSTON, MA. 02103



[Handwritten signature]

PRE-SORTED
FIRST CLASS



AIR MAIL



More MSBF corrigenda

7. XI.88

Noticed lately 3 in division list, in the pair with the sponge *Thalassopora*, the first is spelled *Aplousis*. It should be *Aplousis*, quite plain. (Have marked now in T.C. pencil in the photograph of the list at the bottom of this folder.

15. XII 87

3. IV. 86

Add Ku(of Period III

(MSB) KT 1769 4th, SS 3675 (B' and 9)

New Kuvian -onyms:

of early TVA? (not known with title)

In preparing early Kuvian bartholomew for photo-copying (by Lucy 12.), i.e. those not made in duplicate, I notice what seem to be two new ^{up.} names, presumably of period III₁ as they date types of ^{or TVA (only DZUOTOS)} 'Aθyvíw

Kapríōs (written more like Kapratos)

'Aθyvíw

vos 3th

Kapríōs

T for L

ou

KT 82 (SS 1928, 2 in Alus., 1 in Berlin, for Boileau)

Nikakrípōrys (written like Nikakrípō)

'Aθyvíw

Eri Nikakr

akrípō

KT 1909 (SS 13117, 3th SS, on from MSB, 3 in N. Mus., 1 Kuvian, 1 in Alus.)

Would like to add Kapratos and Nikakrípōrys to TVA (early) when any other names known in few types (as 3 known)

But as we have no types with title, call them
III-IV.

Surprised by the fact that those 2 names —
especially Νικολαΐδης, clear enough — are absent
from the published (with St. Date) kind of list,
from the files.
I start to check this list (no photograph). AA finds
the spongers in the files, and reads them to me. I
give him the Roman-numeral date in the printed list,
(to be entered on the first card with the sp. name)
if there is only one person under the name. Today
we got through the first two drawers of the Kudman
files, enough for one session. I am also listing
(separately)
some names in the files that only come from Demost
and we don't accept them (usually explainable errors).

ΑΘΗΝΙΩΝ

ΚΑΡΝΕΤΟΣ, ep.

K

30.02

ΑΘΗΝΙΩΝ

ΚΑΡΝΕΤΟΣ, ep.

K



1928



erlin



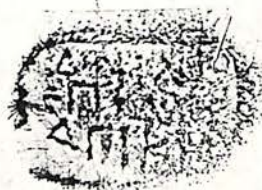
KGA 1865

K

Theophile
III 6

Αθηνι(ων)
ἐπὶ Νικ
αγικρα

x to G



filed

KT. 1904

ΑΘΗΝΙ(ΩΝ)

ΝΙΚΑΣΙΚΡΑ(, ep.

K

ΑΘΗΝΙ(ΩΝ)

(2)

ΝΙΚΑΣΙΚΡΑ(, ep.

K

ΑΘΗΝΙ(ΩΝ)

(1)

ΝΙΚΑΣΙΚΡΑ(, ep.
ΝΙΚΑΣΙΚΡΑ(

K

2. VI. 64 Αθνα

Note 2 dir

To Dir 1

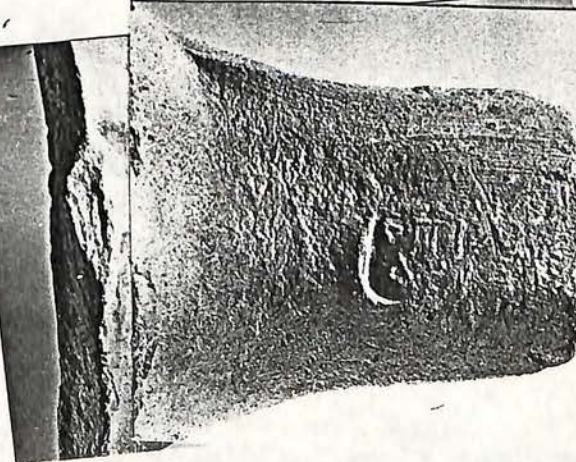
sign, a

2a SS 119

APC 1 in c

Αθηνι(ων)
ἐπὶ Νικ
αγικρα

unpublished



SS 11982 7

11. VII. 80

cards & to put away

BOTPYΣ	trident	?ΘΡΑΣΙΝΟΣ, ep. ?ΦΙΛΕΙΝΟΣ	<u>K</u>
BOTPYΣ	trident	?ΘΡΑΣΙΝΟΣ, ep. ?ΦΙΛΕΙΝΟΣ	<u>K</u>
BOTPYΣ	trident	?ΘΡΑΣΙΝΟΣ, ep. ?ΦΙΛΕΙΝΟΣ	<u>K</u>

30.03

Βότρυς Κυλ(
 'Επὶ Θρασίου ?
 trident

*J. Nider to
 p. 146 for
 kind of
 mispelling*

by counting back from 88 B.C.; there are about 20 eponyms named with duoviri who must have preceded that date. We have an accidental synchronization with the Rhodian class for the end of Period V in that many Rhodian stamped handles have been found in Samaria which was destroyed in 108 B.C.; cf. *Délos XXVII*, p. 296. For distinguishing between eponyms of IV B and V, with Knidian as with Rhodian this depends fairly largely on presence in or absence from Carthage, Corinth, and the construction filling of the Stoa of Attalos; see discussion above (p. 31). The index of our Delos chapter (*Délos XXVII*, pp. 374–378) was carefully made and leads to information on many individual Knidian and Rhodian eponyms, fabricants, and duoviri. Its dates in the 3rd century B.C., however, are to be revised as directed in Grace 1974, p. 200; on the latter, see beginning of Appendix 2 following here.

IV A, then, is the period of the phrourarchoi, of whom apparently three served each year, in four-month terms (see p. 14 above with footnote 30); all unqueried eponyms marked IV A in the following list (save those marked IV Aa E) are known in one or more stamp types with the title, usually *φρουράρχος*, occasionally *φρουραρχῶν* or *ἄρχων*. Knidian IV A is overlapped in time by Rhodian III, of which the last seven years ("IIIc") are at present dated *ca.* 182–175 B.C. As the minuscule c following the Roman numeral means late in the period, so a minuscule a (e.g. IV Aa) means early. Other indications: 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 of persons present in the Middle Stoa filling or in that of the Stoa of Attalos are followed in the list by (MS) or (SA), with a figure added if there is more than one example. Names listed in footnote 57 are *not* here marked (MS). Note that the presence of Knidian eponym names in the construction filling of the Stoa of Attalos may indicate for them an end date of 157 B.C. rather than 146, cf. above, pp. 14–15.

GENERAL LIST OF KNIDIAN EPONYMS

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| ✓ Ἀγαθόβουλος III–IV? | ✓ Ἀπολλώνιος IV Aa Φ (MS 3, SA; abbr.) |
| ✓ Ἀγαθόβουλος VII | ✓ Ἀπολλώνιος VII |
| ✓ Ἀγαθοκλῆς IV A (SA 2) | ✓ Ἀρης VII |
| ✓ Ἀγαθοκλῆς V | ✓ Ἀρίσταινος VI B |
| ✓ Ἀγέστρατος IV A (SA) | ✓ Ἀρίσταρχος IV A (SA) |
| ✓ Ἀγίας IV Aa Φ | ✓ Ἀριστείδης -as IV A (SA) |
| ✓ Ἀγίας VI B | ✓ Ἀριστίων IV Aa (MS) K7 2061 |
| ✓ Ἀγνων IV A | ✓ Ἀριστογένης IV Aa E (SA) |
| ✓ Ἀθηνοκλῆς III–IV | ✓ Ἀριστόδαμος VI B |
| ✓ Ἀλέξανδρος VI A | ✓ Ἀριστοκλῆς IV B (SA) |
| ✓ Ἀμοτέλης IV B or VA? | ✓ Ἀριστοκράτης VI B |
| ✓ Ἀμύντας IV B or VA? | ✓ Ἀριστομήδης VI A |
| ✓ Ἀναξανδρίδας VII | ✓ Ἀριστόπολις VII |
| ✓ Ἀναξιππίδας IV B (SA) | ✓ Ἀριστωνίδας IV A |
| ✓ Ἀνδρομένης VI B | ✓ Ἀρμω(ν?) III–IV (SA) |
| ✓ Ἀντανδρος IV A (SA) | ✓ Ἀρτέμων III–IV (MS, SA; abbr.) |
| ✓ Ἀντίπα(τρος) VII | ✓ Ἀρχέστρατος IV Aa Φ (MS) |
| ✓ Ἀπολλόδωρος V | ✓ Ἀρχιππίδας III (MS) |
| ✓ Ἀπόλλωνίδας IV A | ✓ Ἀσκληπι(VII |
| ✓ Ἀπόλλωνίδας VI C | ✓ Ἀσκληπιάδης IV A (MS) |

MS 21 261 IV 88
now restored:
[Επί φρουρά]
Ἀγέστ[ι]δος
φλ[ι]ων[ος]
(with see MS 21)

1 type

1 type

THE MIDDLE STOA DATED BY AMPHORA STAMPS

33

✓ Ἀσκληπιόδωρος IV A (SA)

✓ Ἀσκληπιόδωρος V

✓ Ἀσπασίος IV A

✓ Ἀχαιός VII

✓ Βίων IV A (SA)

✓ Βουλάρχιδας IV A

✓ Δαίδαλος VI A

✓ Δαμάτριος III-IV

✓ Δαμογένης III (MS 15?)

✓ Δαμογένης VI C

✓ Δαμόκριτος VI A

✓ Δαμόκριτος VI C

✓ Δαμόκριτος VII

✓ Δεξιφάνης IV Aa E

✓ Δημήτριος VII

✓ Διασο(III ?)

✓ Διογένης IV B

✓ Διόδοτος VII ?

✓ Διόδωρος 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

✓ Ἐπιγένης IV A

✓ Ἐπίγονος IV B

✓ Ἐπικράτης IV A

✓ Ἐπικράτης VII

✓ Ἐπικύδης III

✓ Ἐπινικίδας IV Aa Φ

✓ Ἐπινικίδας V

✓ Ἐπιφάνης III-IV

✓ Ἐπίχαρμος IV B (SA)

✓ Ἐρμοκράτης IV A (SA 5)

✓ Ἐρμόφαντος IV B

✓ Ἐρμόφαντος VI B?

✓ Ἐρμων VI B

✓ [Εὔ]βουλος VI C

✓ Εὔβουλος VII

✓ Εὐγένης IV Aa E?

✓ Εὐκράτης III (MS 19, SA)

✓ Εὐκράτης IV B

✓ Εὐκρατίων IV A Φ?

✓ Εὐφραγόρας IV B

✓ Εὐφραγόρας VI B

✓ Εὐφραγόρας VII

✓ Εὐφράνωρ V

✓ Εὐφράνωρ VII

✓ Εὐφρο(? VII

✓ Εὐφρων IV A Φ

✓ Ζηνόδοτος IV B

✓ Ἡρόφαντος V

✓ Θαλιμβροτίδας V

✓ Θεαίδητος III-IV

✓ Θέμιστῶνατος III (MS 5)

✓ Θεογένης IV Aa E

✓ Θεύδαμος III (MS)

✓ Θεύδαμος VII

✓ Θεύδοτος IV A (SA 2)

✓ Θεουδωρίδας IV B

✓ Θεόδωρος VII

✓ Θεοκλῆς IV A

✓ Θεόξενος IV A (SA)

✓ Θεόπομπος VI C

✓ Θεόφαντος IV Aa (MS)

✓ Θεόφιλος III ?

✓ Θεόφων IV A

✓ Θηροκράτης III (MS 18)

✓ Θηροκράτης IV Ba

✓ Ιάσων III (MS)

✓ Ἰεροκλῆς V

✓ Ἰππαρχος VI Aa

✓ Ἰσίδωρος VII

✓ Καλλιδάμας 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

✓ Κλεόπολις IV A (SA)

✓ Κλεόπολις VI A

✓ Κλέων IV B or Va

✓ Κληνόπολις IV A (SA 5)

✓ Κοίρανος IV B

✓ Κυδοκλῆς V

✓ Λάκρατος VII

✓ Λάχαρτος III-IV

1 type (with Φρ.)

1 type
1 typeΔιοχάρης VII
(MS 18)

ΕΠΙΧΡ[(MS 18)

Εὐκράτης
IV A Φ

2nd drawing

8, IV &

only in D. must (with like)
a type of AΘ (MS 18) unless
a card is sent

Καρνεόδοτος III-IV

(MS 18 20)

Signifying the Ph.
Κλεωνύμος? (MS 18)
(MS 18 20)

Κυ (MS 18)

3rd drawing

- ✓ Λέων III (MS 17)
 ✓ Λυσάνιος III (MS 9)
 ✓ Λυσικλῆς (?) III (MS 2)
 ✓ Λυσικλῆς IV B
 ✓ Μεγακλῆς IV B
 ✓ Μένανδρος III ?
 ✓ Μενεκράτης IV Aa Φ
 ✓ Μενεκράτης V
 ✓ Μενέλαος III?
 ✓ Μενέστρατος IV A
 ✓ Μένιππος IV A?
 ✓ Μένιππος IV B (SA 2)
 ✓ Μητροδώρος III (MS 15, SA)
 ✓ Μόσχος IV Aa Φ *Νικανδρος? (κατ 1036)*
 ✓ Νικασίβουλος III (MS 16, SA) *Νικασικράτης*
 ✓ Νικασίμαχος IV Aa (MS 4) *III-IV*
 ✓ Νικόμαχος V
 ✓ Νουμήνιος VII
 ✓ Ξενοκλῆς IV B
 ✓ Όλυμπιόδωρος IV Aa Φ
 ✓ Πανταλέων III (MS)
 ✓ Πισίνος VI B
 ✓ Πολιούχης III (MS 48, SA 2)
 ✓ Πολίτας III-IV
 ✓ Πολίτας VI A
 ✓ Πολίτης III-IV
 ✓ Πολίτης VI A
 ✓ Πολύγνωτος? IV A ? *(no name)*
 ✓ Πολυκράτης IV A
 ✓ Πολυχάρης IV B (SA)
 ✓ Πολύχαρμος IV Aa E (MS, SA)
 ✓ Προμαθίων III (MS 2)
 ✓ Προμη(θίων?) III?
 ✓ Πτολεμαῖος IV A (SA 2) *στς. Πτολεμαῖος*
 ✓ Πτολεμαῖος V
 ✓ Πτολεμαῖος VII
 ✓ Πυθόκριτος III (MS 4)
 ✓ Πυθόνικος V
 ✓ Ροδοκλῆς IV A
 ✓ Σικελός III
 ✓ Σιμυλῖνος IV A ?
 ✓ Σιμυλῖνος V ?
 ✓ Στρατοκλῆς VI A
 ✓ Σωκράτης IV Aa E (MS 11)
 ✓ Σωσίμαχος IV A (SA)
 ✓ Σωσίφρων VI A
 ✓ Σώστρα(τος) III-IV
 ✓ Ταυρίσκος IV Aa Φ
 ✓ Τάχιππος IV A
 ✓ Τελεκρέων IV B (SA)
 ✓ Τελεσίφρων IV A
 ✓ Τιμακλε(IV Aa E
 ✓ Τιμασικράτης V
 ✓ Τιμόθεος IV A
 ✓ Τιμοσθένης IV A
 ✓ Τιμοφών IV A
 ✓ Φιλάμπελος III-IV (MS, SA 2)
 ✓ Φιλήτας III ? *Φιλιππος?*
 ✓ Φίλιππος IV Aa (MS 10, SA)
 ✓ Φίλιππος V
 ✓ Φιλισ[VII
 ✓ Φιλιστίων III (MS 5)
 ✓ Φίλιστος IV B or Va
 ✓ Φιλίων? III
 ✓ Φιλόδαμος IV A
 ✓ Φιλοκράτης IV Aa Φ (MS)
 ✓ Φιλομβροτίδας V
 ✓ Φιλομή(δης) VII
 ✓ Φιλοσθένης VII
 ✓ Φιλόφρων IV Aa (MS, SA)
 ✓ Φίλτατος IV Aa (MS 2, SA 6)
 ✓ Φιλτίδας IV A
 ✓ Φίλων VII
 ✓ Χρύσιππος V

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

The list is somewhat revised from that published in *Pnyx*, p. 149, most of the revisions having been called for in *Délos XXVII* (see p. 321, note 2); cf. also p. 350, under E 180. The letters A, B, and C following the names refer to the chronological divisions of Period VI. For their dates, see beginning of this Appendix. VI A and VI B precede 88 B.C. and the liberation of Knidos from the Roman tax gatherers by Mithradates. The eponyms marked VI A are named on jars of the maker

Δαμοκράτης, those marked VI B, on those of his successor Διοσκουρίδας; VI C is the period of about seven eponyms whose terms fell apparently after the Romans took back Knidos in 85 B.C. Cf. *Délos* XXVII, pp. 321–323.

KNIDIAN EPONYMS OF PERIOD VI WITH ACCOMPANYING DUOVIRI

Ἀγίας (B)	Ἀριστοκλῆς — Ἀρτέμων
Ἀλέξανδρος (A)	Ἀριστόβουλος — Μόσχος
	Κράτης — Πολίτης
Ἀνδρομένης (B)	Ἀγησίπολις — Ἑρμίας
	Ἀγησίπολις — Ἑρμόφαντος
Ἀπολλωνίδας (C)	Δαμάτριος — Εὐφρων
Ἀρίσταινος (B)	Ἀγίας — Ἀριστογένης
Ἀριστόδαμος (B)	Ἀπολλόδωρος — Διόγνητος
Ἀριστοκράτης (B)	Ἰάσων — Μύστης
	Ἀγησίπολις — Ἑρμόφαντος
Ἀριστομήδης (A)	Εὐκράτης — Πολύχαρμος
	Ἰππόστρατος — Πολύχαρμος
Δαίδαλος (A)	Ἀρίσταινος — Ἐρατίδας
Δαμογένης (C)	
Δαμόκριτος (A)	Κράτης — Πολίτας -της
	Κράτης — Πονοσυλέτης
Δαμόκριτος (C)	Ἄντανδρος — Ἑρμων ?
Διονύσιος (B)	Ἀγαθοκλῆς — Θεύκριτος
Διονυσοκλῆς (C)	Δεξιφάνης — []άτης
Ἑρμόφαντος (B?)	Ἀθανόδωρος — Ἀπολλώνιος
	Ἀγαθόδωρος — Ἀπολλώνιος
Ἑρμων (B)	Ἀριστόβουλος — Μελάντας
[Εὐ?]βουλος (C)	
Εὐφραγόρας (B)	Εὐπόλεμος — Λάχης
Θεύπομπος (C)	Ἀριστεύς — Βάκχιος
Ἰππαρχος ὁ Διονυσίου (A)	Κρατερός — Νικασίβουλος
	Ἑρμίας — Νικασίβουλος
Καλλιμήδης (A)	Ἰππόστρατος — Πολύχαρμος
Κλεύπολις (A)	Πυθόκριτος — Τηνάδης
Πισίνος (B)	Εὐβουλος — Καρνεάδας
	Ἀπολλόδωρος — Διόγνητος
Πολίτας (A)	Ἰάσων — Κάλλιππος
Πολίτης (A)	Διονύσιος — Φιλόπολις
Στρατοκλῆς (A)	Εὐκράτης — Κλεύπολις
	Ἰππόστρατος — Κλεύπολις
Σωσίφρων (A)	Δημήτριος — Κυδοσθένης

Ἀριστεύς

For a concordance of duoviri with eponyms, alphabetical by duoviri, see *Pnyx*, pp. 147–149. For some *addenda* and *corrigenda* for this thirty-year-old concordance, see *Delos* XXVII, p. 321, note 2.



Alexandria Museum no. 11,792 [Inv. V.6.2162]

for now,
in full MSDP attached

SAH associated with Brick Building
- comment for Rhys Townsend

A note I have of 30.VIII.84 states: "Note Agora XXII, p.106, SS 11050 is listed as part of the construction fill [of the Brick Building], but SIR now thinks it is wrong." Evidently it is wrong: the stamps from the construction fill are SS 11075-11085, and those from below the floor are p SS 11621-11624. Although SS 11050, naming Polychares [correct Ag.XXII], does not come from these fills, SS 11076, naming the same eponym, comes from below the floor. The eponym, however, is now dated not IV B, but III-IV (i.e. IVA but not known with the title phourarchos): see Hesperia 1985, p. 39. (The updating of this eponym, which missed correction in the Knidian eponym list Hesperia 1985, p.34, is slated for corrigenda to the article.)

Note that in Agora XXII, p.106, again under Q-R 10-11 : 1, the dating of the Rhodian eponym KAAAIKPATHE (on SS 11621) is old. Present dating of the Rhodian eponyms of this name are:

240

Kallikrates 1st: after 240 BC, probably soon after

Kallikrates 2nd: "193 B.C."

Kallikrates 3rd: Period V (ca. 146-108 B.C.)

SS 11621 has the eponym in a rectangular stamp with a Helios head to the left, like other stamps known to date amphoras of Marsyas, a group which can be placed early in the 2nd century. Kallikrates 2nd dates an amphora of Damokrates, so should be Before ca. 183 BC, see Middle Stoa article.

So I date the mud brick building earlier than it is dated in Agora XXII, p. 106, i.e. "possibly before the end of the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C." see Hesperia 1985, p. 39.

copy to SIR

Y9

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copy to SIR

Y9

Discussion with Rhys Thomas
 - notes for clearing up this mess

Check SIR text Agon 22, p106, on Q-R 10-11:1
 "Fill under floor of Brink Bldg."

"In clock - excavated fill, etc."

q. with MSRT, p. 39

RT says SS 11050 does not come from
 Q-R 10-11:1
 but from P-R 6-12

9. vii. 88

SS 11621, sp. KaΔixpá 7ys; dense Helios heli,
 style is like that of ^Ptypes of Mapouas, his pass
 date to various other sps. of the 190s; and when
 you are available in photo, they seem to have
 these same angular handles, so surely KaΔ. 2nd
 of ca 193, and for a few of Mapouas.

~~On searching further, I find some papers
 on Thourion filed under ATTIRA - Laurion. Dupl.
 of which the excavator's copy is still here, and
 notes by VG, perhaps made at Thourion.~~

by counting back from 88 B.C.; there are about 20 eponyms named with duoviri who must have preceded that date. We have an accidental synchronization with the Rhodian class for the end of Period V in that many Rhodian stamped handles have been found in Samaria which was destroyed in 108 B.C.; cf. *Délos XXVII*, p. 296. For distinguishing between eponyms of IV B and V, with Knidian as with Rhodian this depends fairly largely on presence in or absence from Carthage, Corinth, and the construction filling of the Stoa of Attalos; see discussion above (p. 31). The index of our Delos chapter (*Délos XXVII*, pp. 374–378) was carefully made and leads to information on many individual Knidian and Rhodian eponyms, fabricants, and duoviri. Its dates in the 3rd century B.C., however, are to be revised as directed in Grace 1974, p. 200; on the latter, see beginning of Appendix 2 following here.

IV A, then, is the period of the phrourarchoi, of whom apparently three served each year, in four-month terms (see p. 14 above with footnote 30); all unqueried eponyms marked IV A in the following list (save those marked IV Aa E) are known in one or more stamp types with the title, usually *φρούραρχος*, occasionally *φρουραρχῶν* or *ἄρχων*. Knidian IV A is overlapped in time by Rhodian III, of which the last seven years ("IIIc") are at present dated *ca.* 182–175 B.C. As the minuscule c following the Roman numeral means late in the period, so a minuscule a (e.g. IV Aa) means early. Other indications: 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 of persons present in the Middle Stoa filling or in that of the Stoa of Attalos are followed in the list by (MS) or (SA), with a figure added if there is more than one example. Names listed in footnote 57 are *not* here marked (MS). Note that the presence of Knidian eponym names in the construction filling of the Stoa of Attalos may indicate for them an end date of 157 B.C. rather than 146, cf. above, pp. 14–15.

GENERAL LIST OF KNIDIAN EPONYMS

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Ἀγαθόβουλος III–IV? | Ἀπολλώνιος IV Aa Φ (MS 3, SA; abbr.) |
| Ἀγαθόβουλος VII | Ἀπολλώνιος VII |
| Ἀγαθοκλῆς IV A (SA 2) | Ἄρης VII |
| Ἀγαθοκλῆς V | Ἀρίσταινος VI B |
| Ἀγέστρατος IV A (SA) | Ἀρίσταρχος IV A (SA) |
| Ἀγίας IV Aa Φ | Ἀριστείδης -ας IV A (SA) |
| Ἀγίας VI B | Ἀριστίων IV Aa (MS) |
| Ἀγνων IV A | Ἀριστογένης IV Aa E (SA) |
| Ἀθηνοκλῆς III–IV | Ἀριστόδαμος VI B |
| Ἀλέξανδρος VI A | Ἀριστοκλῆς IV B (SA) |
| Ἀμοτέλης IV B or VA? | Ἀριστοκράτης VI B |
| Ἀμύντας IV B or VA? | Ἀριστομήδης VI A |
| Ἀναξανδρίδας VII | Ἀριστόπολις VII |
| Ἀναξίπιδας IV B (SA) | Ἀριστωνίδας IV A |
| Ἀνδρομένης VI B | Ἄρμων(?) III–IV (SA) |
| Ἀντανδρος IV A (SA) | Ἀρτέμων III–IV (MS, SA; abbr.) |
| Ἀντίπα(τρος) VII | Ἀρχέστρατος IV Aa Φ (MS) |
| Ἀπολλόδωρος V | Ἀρχιππίδας III (MS) |
| Ἀπόλλωνίδας IV A | Ἀσκληπι(VII |
| Ἀπολλωνίδας VI C | Ἀσκληπιάδης IV A (MS) |

(KT 2061
new
26.10.80
MS)

- Ἀσκληπιόδωρος IV A (SA)
 Ἀσκληπιόδωρος V
 Ἀσπασίος IV A
 Ἀχαιός VII
 Βίων IV A (SA)
 Βουλαρχίδας IV A
 Δαίδαλος VI A
 Δαμάτριος III-IV
 Δαμογένης III (MS 15?)
 Δαμογένης VI C
 Δαμόκριτος VI A
 Δαμόκριτος VI C
 Δαμόκριτος VII
 Δεξιφάνης IV Aa E
 Δημήτριος VII
 Διασο(III ?
 Διογένης IV B
 Διόδοτος VII ?
 Διόδωρος VII
 Διοκλῆς V
 Διοκλῆς VII
 Διονύσιος IV A
 Διονύσιος V
 Διονύσιος VI B
 Διονυσιοκλῆς VI C
 Δίων IV B (SA)
 Δίων V
 Δρακοντομένης IV A
 Δρακοντομένης VII
 Δράκων IV B
 Δράκων V
 Ἐπιγένης IV A
 Ἐπίγονος IV B
 Ἐπικράτης IV A
 Ἐπικράτης VII
 Ἐπικύδης III
 Ἐπινικίδας IV Aa Φ
 Ἐπινικίδας V
 Ἐπιφάνης III-IV
 Ἐπίχαρμος IV B (SA)
 Ἐρμοκράτης IV A (SA 5)
 Ἐρμόφαντος IV B
 Ἐρμόφαντος VI B?
 Ἐρμων VI B
 [Εὔ]βουλος VI C
 Εὔβουλος VII
 Εὐγένης IV Aa E?
 Εὐκράτης III (MS 19, SA)
 Εὐκράτης IV B
 Εὐκρατίων IV A Φ?
 Εὐφραγόρας IV B
 Εὐφραγόρας VI B
 Εὐφραγόρας VII
 Εὐφράνωρ V
 Εὐφράνωρ VII
 Εὐφρο(? VII
 Εὐφρων IV A Φ
 Ζηνόδοτος IV B
 Ἡρόφαντος V
 Θαλιμβροτίδας V
 Θεαίδητος III-IV
 Θεμιστώνατος III (MS 5)
 Θευγένης IV Aa E
 Θεύδαμος III (MS)
 Θεύδαμος VII
 Θεύδοτος IV A (SA 2)
 Θεωδωρίδας IV B
 Θεύδωρος VII
 Θευκλῆς 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
 Ἰάσων III (MS)
 Ἱεροκλῆς V
 Ἰππαρχος VI Aa
 Ἰσίδωρος VII
 Καλλιδάμας 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
 Κυδοκλῆς V
 Λάκρατος VII
 Λάχαρτος III-IV

Λέων III (MS 17)	Πυθόνικος V
Λυσάνιος III (MS 9)	Ροδοκλής IV A
Λυσικλῆς (?) III (MS 2)	Σικελός III
Λυσικλῆς IV B	Σιμυλῖνος IV A ?
Μεγακλῆς IV B	Σιμυλῖνος V ?
Μένανδρος III ?	Στρατοκλῆς VI A
Μενεκράτης IV Aa Φ	Σωκράτης IV Aa E (MS 11)
Μενεκράτης V	Σωσίμαχος IV A (SA)
Μενέλαος III?	Σωσίφρων VI A
Μενέστρατος IV A	Σώστρα(τος) III-IV
Μένιππος IV A?	Ταυρίσκος IV Aa Φ
Μένιππος IV B (SA 2)	Τάχιππος IV A
Μητροδῶρος III (MS 15, SA)	Τελεκρέων IV B (SA)
Μόσχος IV Aa Φ	Τελεσίφρων IV A
Νικασίβουλος III (MS 16, SA)	Τιμακλε(IV Aa E
Νικασίμαχος IV Aa (MS 4)	Τιμασικράτης V
Νικόμαχος V	Τιμόθεος IV A
Νουμήνιος VII	Τιμοσθένης IV A
Ξενοκλῆς IV B	Τιμοφῶν IV A
Ὀλυμπιόδωρος IV Aa Φ	Φιλάμπελος III-IV (MS, SA 2)
Πανταλέων III (MS)	Φιλήτας III ?
Πισῖνος VI B	Φίλιππος IV Aa (MS 10, SA)
Πολιούχης III (MS 48, SA 2)	Φίλιππος V
Πολίτας III-IV	Φιλισ[VII
Πολίτας VI A	Φιλιστίων III (MS 5)
Πολίτης III-IV	Φίλιστος IV B or Va
Πολίτης VI A	Φιλίων? III
Πολύγνωτος? IV A ?	Φιλόδαμος IV A
Πολυκράτης IV A	Φιλοκράτης IV Aa Φ (MS)
Πολυχάρης IV B (SA)	Φιλομβροτίδας V
Πολύχαρμος IV Aa E (MS, SA)	Φιλομή(δης) VII
Προμαθίων III (MS 2)	Φιλοσθένης VII
Προμη(θίων?) III?	Φιλόφρων IV Aa (MS, SA)
Πτολεμαῖος IV A (SA 2)	Φίλτατος IV Aa (MS 2, SA 6)
Πτολεμαῖος V	Φιλτίδας IV A
Πτολεμαῖος VII	Φίλων VII
Πυθόκριτος III (MS 4)	Χρύσιππος V

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

The list is somewhat revised from that published in *Pnyx*, p. 149, most of the revisions having been called for in *Délos* XXVII (see p. 321, note 2); cf. also p. 350, under E 180. The letters A, B, and C following the names refer to the chronological divisions of Period VI. For their dates, see beginning of this Appendix. VI A and VI B precede 88 B.C. and the liberation of Knidos from the Roman tax gatherers by Mithradates. The eponyms marked VI A are named on jars of the maker

Δαμοκράτης, those marked VI B, on those of his successor Διοσκουρίδας; VI C is the period of about seven eponyms whose terms fell apparently after the Romans took back Knidos in 85 B.C. Cf. *Délos XXVII*, pp. 321–323.

KNIDIAN EPONYMS OF PERIOD VI WITH ACCOMPANYING DUOVIRI

Ἀγίας (B)	Ἀριστοκλῆς — Ἀρτέμων
Ἀλέξανδρος (A)	Ἀριστόβουλος — Μόσχος
Ἀνδρομένης (B)	Κράτης — Πολίτης
Ἀπολλωνίδας (C)	Ἀγησίπολις — Ἑρμίας
Ἀρίσταινος (B)	Ἀγησίπολις — Ἑρμόφαντος
Ἀριστόδαμος (B)	Δαμάτριος — Εὐφρων
Ἀριστοκράτης (B)	Ἀγίας — Ἀριστογένης
Ἀριστομήδης (A)	Ἀπολλόδωρος — Διόγνητος
Δαίδαλος (A)	Ἰάσων — Μύστης
Δαμογένης (C)	Ἀγησίπολις — Ἑρμόφαντος
Δαμόκριτος (A)	Εὐκράτης — Πολύχαρμος
Δαμόκριτος (C)	Ἰππόστρατος — Πολύχαρμος
Διονύσιος (B)	Ἀρίσταινος — Ἐρατίδας
Διονυσοκλῆς (C)	Κράτης — Πολίτας -της
Ἑρμόφαντος (B?)	Κράτης — Πονοσυλέτης
Ἑρμων (B)	Ἄντανδρος — Ἑρμων ?
[Εὔ?]βουλος (C)	Ἀγαθοκλῆς — Θεόκριτος
Εὐφραγόρας (B)	Δεξιφάνης — []άτης
Θεύπομπος (C)	Ἀθανόδωρος — Ἀπολλώνιος
Ἰππαρχος ὁ Διονυσίου (A)	Ἀγαθόδωρος — Ἀπολλώνιος
Καλλιμήδης (A)	Ἀριστόβουλος — Μελάντας
Κλεύπολις (A)	Εὐπόλεμος — Λάχης
Πισίνος (B)	Ἀριστεύς — Βάκχιος
Πολίτας (A)	Κρατερός — Νικασίβουλος
Πολίτης (A)	Ἑρμίας — Νικασίβουλος
Στρατοκλῆς (A)	Ἰππόστρατος — Πολύχαρμος
Σωσίφρων (A)	Πυθόκριτος — Τηνάδης
	Εὔβουλος — Καρνεάδας
	Ἀπολλόδωρος — Διόγνητος
	Ἰάσων — Κάλλιππος
	Διονύσιος — Φιλόπολις
	Εὐκράτης — Κλεύπολις
	Ἰππόστρατος — Κλεύπολις
	Δημήτριος — Κυδοσθένης

For a concordance of duoviri with eponyms, alphabetical by duoviri, see *Pnyx*, pp. 147–149. For some *addenda* and *corrigenda* for this thirty-year-old concordance, see *Delos XXVII*, p. 321, note 2.

29, JV, 86

33

anti matter, \bar{p} .

$$\text{FNLXP} ($$

KY 2282²⁴, framed LK
(with station)

(with station)

7222378

Revere / Marine - Francis⁵

rule. ~~Algebra~~

Chirapatti de Granville

Almarcha de Yugoslav

00800

Greenabl

22. IX. 87

34.01

Kindin ep. list — MSBF article
corrigenda

Subtract from list

one of Σιγνιδίος person, probably ITA

It seems there is really only one type with
this name, as M. S. T. points out today.

Find the prosopography card. I did.
Also the analysis? 9H 12:1 Yes

2. XI. 87

Make consistent use of Σιγνιδίος
and I. Σιγνιδίος

In one list C₁ is one way, and in another
the other way.

(note calls attention. Problem for Maggi)

6. II. 87

Confirmation of June 1974

adjusted of David
 Brown's theory, for
 identifying some extra.
 on the Puyas: see
 R.A. Mayday, AJA 90,
 1986, p. 212

(Redating of Puyas wall)



THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
of Archaeology/Anthropology

OCTOBER 8 1988

DEAR MISS GRACE,

MANY THANKS FOR YOUR LETTER OF SEPTEMBER 7.
I WAS INTERESTED THAT YOU HAD SEEN MY ARTICLE IN
AJA 1985. I DO INDEED THINK THAT SECTION
OF THE WALL CAN HAVE ITS DATE LOWERED.

IRENE AND I CONTINUE TO WORK AT THE
UNIVERSITY MUSEUM. WE NOW HAVE 3 DAUGHTERS
KATY 5, AND TWINS ELIZABETH AND SARAH
14 MONTHS. LIFE IS INTERESTING.

I WILL BE IN ATHENS OCTOBER 22-23
AS PART OF A MUSEUM TOUR. BUT PERHAPS NEXT
SUMMER WOULD BE A MORE LIKELY TIME FOR A VISIT.

WITH ALL BEST WISHES.

DAVID



THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
of Archaeology/Anthropology

University of Pennsylvania
33rd & Spruce Sts.
Philadelphia, PA 19104 U.S.A.

IG Romulo / mediterranean
SECTION

in case of non-delivery
PLEASE RETURN TO
P.O. BOX 1
1145 St. Volone-Rolium

34.04



VIA AIR MAIL

VIRGINIA GRACE
AGORA EXCAVATIONS
AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
54 SOUDIAS
ATHENS . GR 106-76
GREECE

REDATING OF A PNYX WALL
= REDATING OF EARLY RHOD

American School of Classical Studies ACC. TO
54 Swedias Street, Athens 106 78, Greece

September 7, 1988

GRACE 1974

Dr. David G. Romano
Mediterranean Section
The University Museum
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA 19104
U.S.A.

Dear David:

I hope this finds you and Irene well. I hope in fact that it does find you, as I am out of date as to your address, and must use what the AJA of 1985 tells me. 1985

It was good to see, there (p.453), that the revised dating of early Rhodian amphora stamps has been found to fit nicely with a new and reasonable identification of the bit of wall in which one of the handles was found. So you tell us that we can, as I hoped (Ath.Mitt. 89, p.198) lower the date of that piece of wall. I am gratified that you had seen my article.

The hot hot Athensian summer must be nearly over. The Immerwahr's came last evening, in time for part of the gathering in aid of having the next Olympic Games in Greece. They are to stay five or six weeks, in the Wallace apartment, in the nice cool basement of the building where I live.

Please, if you and/or Irene come to Athens, let me know.

Yours sincerely,

Virginia Grace

Virginia Grace

American School of Classical Studies
54 Suedias Street, Athens 106 76, Greece

September 7, 1988

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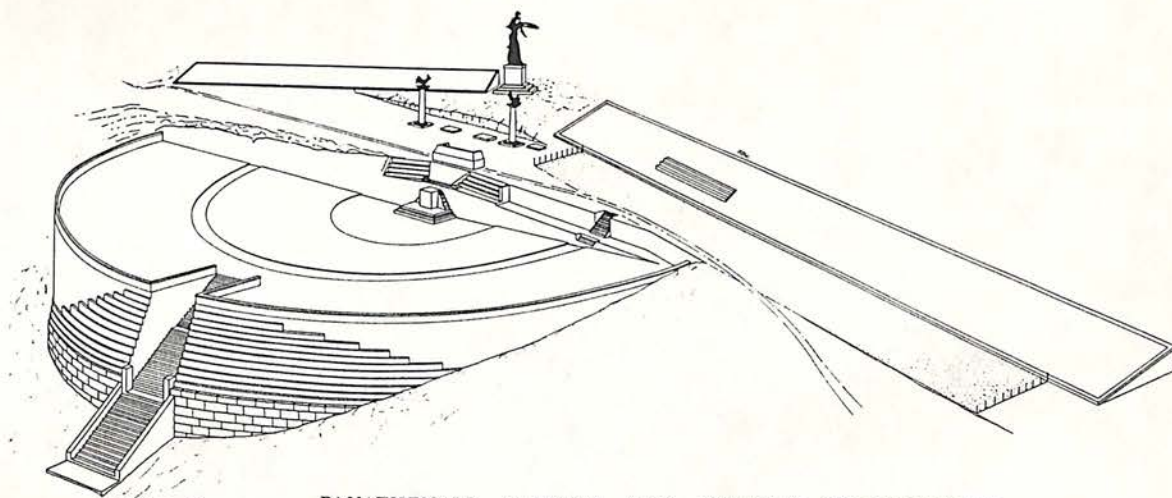
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Yours sincerely,



Virginia Grace



PANATHENAIC STADIUM AND THEATER OF LYKOURGOS
CA. 329 B.C.

III. 7. Athens, Panathenaic Stadium and Theater of Lykourgos, hypothetical view ca. 329 B.C.

probably from the Kerameikos as well. The site of the Roman stadium, on the other hand, was on the opposite side of the city, distant from Kerameikos, Agora and Akropolis, a kilometer and a half to the east. In addition, the site of the Roman stadium was always outside the city walls and, of course, across the Ilissos river.⁵⁰ In the second century A.C. Herodes had to build a bridge specifically to provide access to the stadium. There is no indication that such a major access-way existed in the Greek period.⁵¹

THE LATER HISTORY OF THE PNYX AND THE
PANATHENAIC STADIUM

The later history of the Pnyx hill may shed further light on the use of the artificial embankments and the Panathenaic Stadium. It has been suggested that in the late fourth century B.C., when Athens was besieged by the Macedonians, a wall, which the excavators named the "Compartment Wall," was constructed across the top of the Pnyx hill as part of the *diateichisma*.⁵² This wall was built over the back foundations of East Foundation B and the West Foundation and the smaller rectangular bedding which was identified as that for a propylon. Then, in the late third century B.C., for a reason which was not known until now, another wall, named by the exca-

vators the "White Poros Wall," was constructed a few meters to the south of the "Compartment Wall" which had been taken down or neglected since it was built.⁵³ The "White Poros Wall" respected the long foundations on the Pnyx over which the "Compartment Wall" had trespassed.

An inscription, *IG II² 677*, dated a few years after 277/6 B.C.,⁵⁴ which mentions repairs made on the Panathenaic Stadium, may add to our knowledge of the "Compartment Wall" and the circumstances surrounding its construction. The pertinent passage reads as follows:

[- - - - - καὶ ἀνανεωσαμένον] τοῦ δήμ[ο]-
[ν τῇ]ν θυσίαν καὶ τ[ὰ ἀγωνίσματα τῶν Παι]ναθη-
ναίων
ν τό τε στάδιον κατ[εσκεύασεν ἐπαξί]ως καὶ ἀνα-
ίθησιν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ [Νίκῃ] γραφ[ῆς] ἐχούσας ὑ-
πομνήματα τῶν [τῶν βασιλῆϊ] πεπραγμένων πρὸς το-
ὺς βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας.⁵⁵

and when the people renewed the sacrifice and the contests of the Panathenaia then he both repaired⁵⁵ the stadium in a worthy way and dedicated to Athena Nike the representations bearing the remembrances of the deeds by the King versus the barbarians for the sake of the security of the Greeks.

The inscription refers to King Antigonos Gonatas and

⁵⁰ Of course when the Roman stadium was built by Herodes Atticus (after the construction of Hadrian's Arch which marks the division between the old and the new cities of Athens), the stadium was in the city since there were no walls at that period.

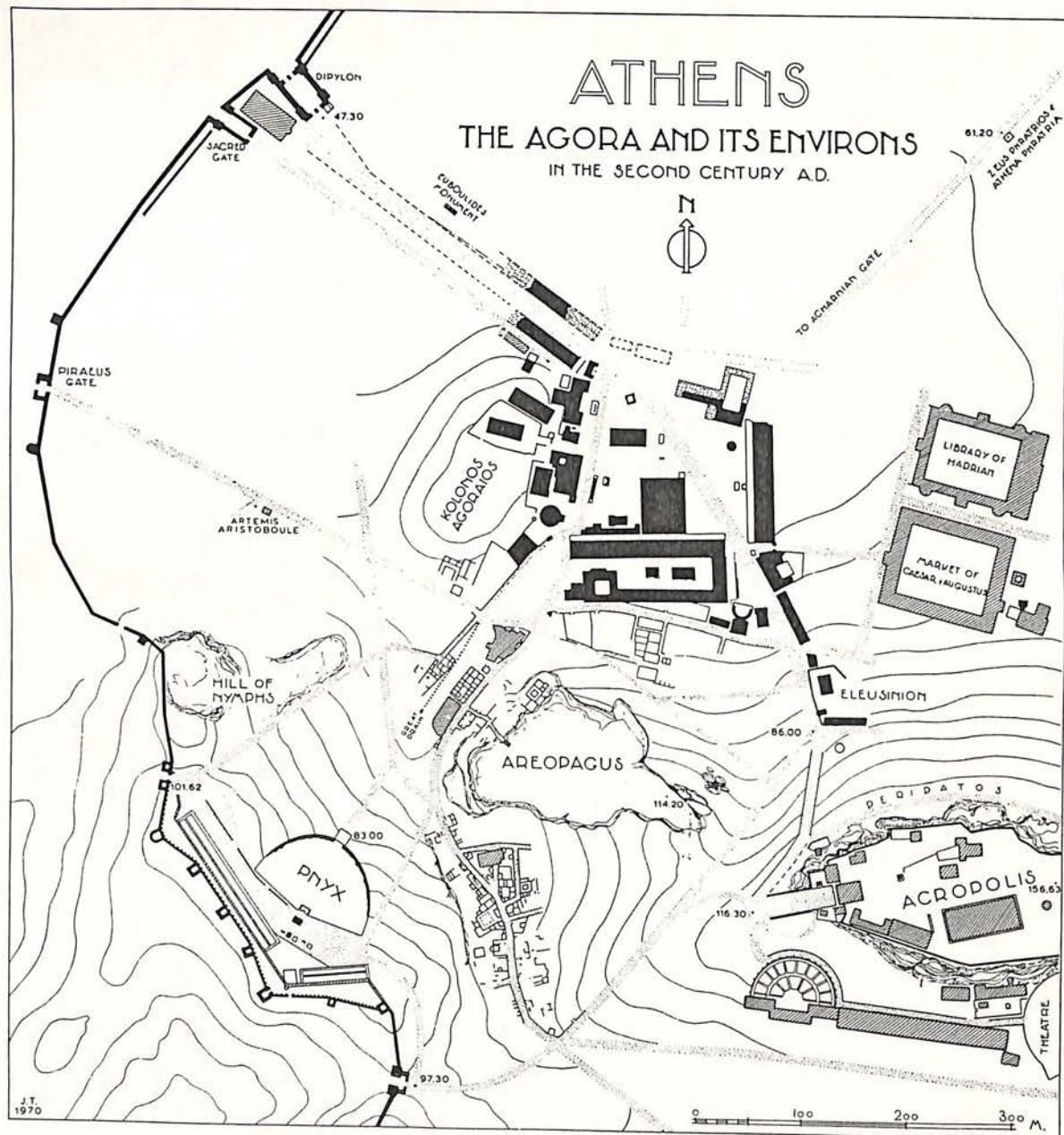
⁵¹ There is a known crossing near the Diomeian Gate and Kallirrhoe: Travlos 112.

⁵² Thompson and Scranton (supra n. 2) 307-12.

⁵³ Thompson and Scranton (supra n. 2) 340-52.

⁵⁴ See J. Kirchner, *IG II² 677*, 273-74; W. Dittenberger, *SIG³ 401*, 635-36; C. Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Munich 1979) 11, n. 18.

⁵⁵ For a discussion of the meaning of *κατασκευάζω*, see Coulton (supra n. 20) 14 n. 11 and 17 n. 1.



Ill. 8. Athens in the second century A.C. (H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* 14. *The Agora of Athens* [Princeton 1972] pl. 1)

his efforts to defeat the Gauls in the years around 280 B.C. It seems likely that the "Compartment Wall" was constructed hurriedly by Antigonos and the Athenians out of fear of an invasion at that time. In addition, Grace has suggested "a date as late as the third decade of the third century" for at least part of the "Compartment Wall"⁵⁶ on the basis of an early Rho-

dian amphora stamp found in the packing of the wall. The date of the amphora stamp would, therefore, correspond closely to the proposed dating of ca. 280 B.C. As a consequence, the "Compartment Wall" could no longer be associated with the *diateichisma*, since the only ancient source mentioning the latter—*IG II*² 463, line 53—is dated 307/6 B.C. Since the *diateichi-*

⁵⁶ V.R. Grace, "Revisions in Early Hellenistic Chronology," *Ath Mitt* 89 (1974) 198, n. 19.

sma must have been in existence at that time, it could not have been built in ca. 280 B.C.

The existing foundations for the embankments were exploited for the construction of the "Compartment Wall": the width of the rear foundation of both embankments (West Foundation and East Foundation B) was increased to receive the "Compartment Wall" and other modifications may have been made in the two spectator embankments as well. Although the specific repairs to the Panathenaic Stadium are not mentioned in the inscription, it is plausible that the text refers to a time soon after the elimination of the immediate threat, when the wall was removed from the back foundations of the two embankments to enable the stadium to be used once again for spectators viewing the contests of the Panathenaia. Then, in the late third century B.C., when the defences of the city were again strengthened, the "White Poros Wall" was constructed, totally respecting the long foundations and the smaller rectangular foundation. The shift in the line of the later wall would have afforded protection for the facilities on the Pnyx hill without interfering with their use.⁵⁷

The eastern embankment would have provided a facility at the southern end of the terraces for spectators to watch activities of the festival other than the strictly athletic ones. For instance, sacrifices and dedications made at the large altar on the Middle Terrace would have been in easy view of spectators on the

⁵⁷ The situation of the stadium at Priene, immediately adjacent to the south city wall, is worth comparing with the stadium on the Pnyx. At Priene, the lower gymnasium and the stadium were not part of the original, mid-4th c. B.C. city plan; they were added in the late Hellenistic period (I. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene* [Berlin 1904] 259-65). The stadium does not conform to the rectilinear plan of the mid-4th c. city; it was fitted snugly into available space in the lower, southern section of the city near the pre-existing city wall. The Priene stadium includes a *dromos*, partially supported by artificial fill, an embankment to the north with four sections of seats in the middle portion and, above to the north, a one-aisled stoa with a terrace open to the north. The stoa (*xystos*) and terrace (*paradromis*) are connected to and associated with the neighboring gymnasium.

⁵⁸ Agora inv. I 7181, *IG* II² 794, *IG* II² 916 and *IG* II² 1043. Was the assembly area being used for other purposes on these occasions? *IG* II² 1035 records that certain repairs were made to the *hustplex* of the starting line of the Panathenaic Stadium in the 1st c. B.C.

⁵⁹ Plutarch, *Perikles* 13.9-11, mentions that Perikles instituted the musical contests of the Panathenaia and that spectators viewed them, both at that time and from then on, in the Odeion. But there is fairly good evidence that musical contests were a part of the Panathenaia from the 6th c. B.C. (J.A. Davison, "Notes on the Panathenaia," *JHS* 78 [1958] 36-41). Plutarch may also be mistaken that the musical contests of the Panathenaia were held in the Odeion from then on. See also A.L.H. Robkin, "The Odeion of Perikles: The Date of its Construction and the Periklean Building Program," *The Ancient World* 2 (1979) 3-12.

⁶⁰ Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum* 2.1:

Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐλειτούργησεν Ἀθηναῖος τὴν τε ἐπώνυμον καὶ

eastern embankment. The large rectangular foundation (13 × 17.50 m.) directly west of East Foundation B has been interpreted by the excavators as the bedding for the foundation of a propylon; it could as well have been the foundation for a colossal statue, possibly of Athena (ill. 7).

During the Hellenistic period, the Theater of Dionysos gradually took over the function of the meeting-place for the Assembly, although a meeting of the Ekklesia in the Panathenaic Stadium is known from an inscription, *IG* II² 893 of 188/7 B.C. A number of individual inscriptions mention that the Boule met in the Panathenaic Stadium in 229/8, 216/5, 192/1 and 38/7 B.C.⁵⁸

There is little evidence that the musical and athletic contests of the Panathenaic Stadium moved,⁵⁹ and they presumably continued to be held on the Pnyx until the mid-second century A.C. when Herodes Atticus built a new stadium on the farther side of the Ilisos river (Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, 2.1; Pausanias 1.19.6).⁶⁰ Only then would the facilities on the Pnyx hill have finally fallen into complete disuse. The foundation blocks of the artificial embankments are likely to have been reused in other building projects of the Roman period; the associated monuments were probably relocated as well.⁶¹

MEDITERRANEAN SECTION
THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19104

τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων, στεφανωθείς δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων καὶ ὑμᾶς, εἶπεν ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἕξοντας καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τοὺς ἀγωνιουμένους ὑποδέξομαι σταδίῳ λίθου λευκοῦ. καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα τὸ στάδιον τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἔσω τεττάρων ἐτῶν ἀπετέλεσεν ἔργον ξυνθεῖς ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ θαύματα, οὐδὲν γὰρ θέατρον αὐτῷ ἀμιλλᾶται ἀκείνῳ περὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων τούτων ἡκούον.

Pausanias 1.19.6:

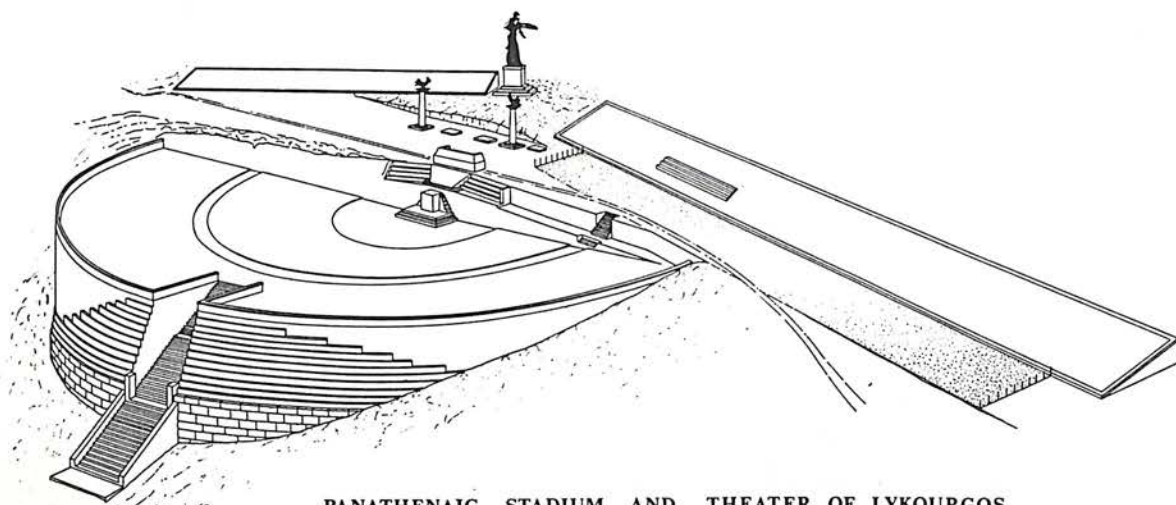
τὸ δὲ ἀκούσασι μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπαγωγόν, θαῦμα δ᾽ ἰδοῦσι, στάδιον ἐστὶ λευκοῦ λίθου. μέγεθος δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆδε ἂν τις μάλιστα τεκμαίροιο· ἄνωθεν ὄρος ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰλισσὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐκ μνηοειδοῦς καθήκει τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὄχθην εὐθύ τε καὶ διπλοῦν. τοῦτο ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος Ἱερῶδης ὠκοδόμησε, καὶ οἱ τὸ πολὺ τῆς λιθοτομίας τῆς Πεντελῆσις ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομήν ἀνηλῶθη.

For the latest study of the Roman Panathenaic Stadium, see C. Gasparri, "Lo Stadio Panatenaico," *ASAtene* 52-53, n.s. 36-37 (1974-1975) 313-92.

⁶¹ The associated monuments include the large foundation bedding next to the East Foundation identified by the excavators as that of a propylon, the various bases on the Middle Terrace, as well as the large bedding immediately to the south of the *bema*, identified as the bedding for a large altar. R. Stillwell, "Architectural Studies," *Hesperia* 2 (1933) 140-48, has discussed a monumental altar found east of the Metroon in the Agora which Thompson and Scranton, (*supra* n. 2) 299-300 n. 38, proposed was originally located on the same foundation bedding on the Pnyx. I plan to address elsewhere the possible identification of this altar and the importance of its position on the Pnyx hill.

support for early Phoenician chronology
and for use of stamps for dating astr.s

See ASA 89, 1985, pp. 452-3, on dating
of the Pnyx "compartment wall", with
reference to Grace, "Revisions".



PANATHENAIIC STADIUM AND THEATER OF LYKOURGOS
CA. 329 B.C.

Ill. 7. Athens, Panathenaic Stadium and Theater of Lykourgos, hypothetical view ca. 329 B.C.

probably from the Kerameikos as well. The site of the Roman stadium, on the other hand, was on the opposite side of the city, distant from Kerameikos, Agora and Akropolis, a kilometer and a half to the east. In addition, the site of the Roman stadium was always outside the city walls and, of course, across the Ilissos river.⁵⁰ In the second century A.C. Herodes had to build a bridge specifically to provide access to the stadium. There is no indication that such a major access-way existed in the Greek period.⁵¹

THE LATER HISTORY OF THE PNYX AND THE
PANATHENAIIC STADIUM

The later history of the Pnyx hill may shed further light on the use of the artificial embankments and the Panathenaic Stadium. It has been suggested that in the late fourth century B.C., when Athens was besieged by the Macedonians, a wall, which the excavators named the "Compartment Wall," was constructed across the top of the Pnyx hill as part of the *diateichisma*.⁵² This wall was built over the back foundations of East Foundation B and the West Foundation and the smaller rectangular bedding which was identified as that for a propylon. Then, in the late third century B.C., for a reason which was not known until now, another wall, named by the exca-

vators the "White Poros Wall," was constructed a few meters to the south of the "Compartment Wall" which had been taken down or neglected since it was built.⁵³ The "White Poros Wall" respected the long foundations on the Pnyx over which the "Compartment Wall" had trespassed.

An inscription, *IG II² 677*, dated a few years after 277/6 B.C.,⁵⁴ which mentions repairs made on the Panathenaic Stadium, may add to our knowledge of the "Compartment Wall" and the circumstances surrounding its construction. The pertinent passage reads as follows:

[----- καὶ ἀνανεωσαμένον] τοῦ δήμ[ο]-
[υ τῇ]ν θυσίαν καὶ τὰ ἀγωνίσματα τῶν Πα[ναθη-
ναίων-
ν τό τε στάδιον κατ[εσκεύασεν ἐπαξί]ως καὶ ἀνα-
ίθησιν τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ τῇ [Νίκῃ γραφ]ᾶς ἐχούσας ὑπ-
ομνήματα τῶν [τῷ βασιλεῖ] πεπραγμένων πρὸς το-
ὺς βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας.⁵⁵

and when the people renewed the sacrifice and the contests of the Panathenaia then he both repaired⁵⁵ the stadium in a worthy way and dedicated to Athena Nike the representations bearing the remembrances of the deeds by the King versus the barbarians for the sake of the security of the Greeks.

The inscription refers to King Antigonos Gonatas and

⁵⁰ Of course when the Roman stadium was built by Herodes Atticus (after the construction of Hadrian's Arch which marks the division between the old and the new cities of Athens), the stadium was in the city since there were no walls at that period.

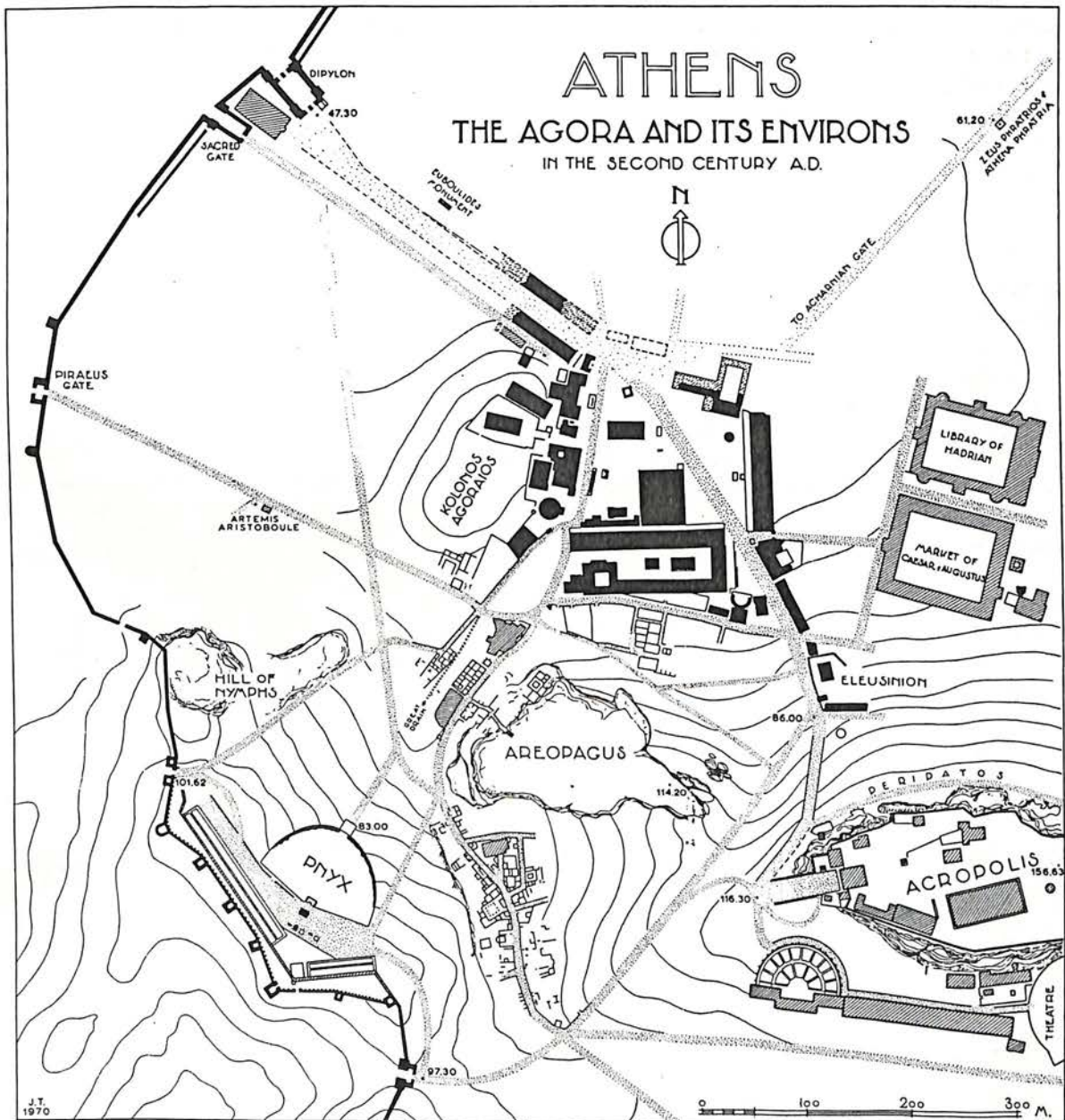
⁵¹ There is a known crossing near the Diomeian Gate and Kallirhoe: Travlos 112.

⁵² Thompson and Scranton (supra n. 2) 307-12.

⁵³ Thompson and Scranton (supra n. 2) 340-52.

⁵⁴ See J. Kirchner, *IG II² 677*, 273-74; W. Dittenberger, *SIG³ 401*, 635-36; C. Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Munich 1979) 11, n. 18.

⁵⁵ For a discussion of the meaning of *κατασκευάζω*, see Coulton (supra n. 20) 14 n. 11 and 17 n. 1.



Ill. 8. Athens in the second century A.C. (H.A. Thompson and R.E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora* 14. *The Agora of Athens* [Princeton 1972] pl. 1)

his efforts to defeat the Gauls in the years around 280 B.C. It seems likely that the "Compartment Wall" was constructed hurriedly by Antigonos and the Athenians out of fear of an invasion at that time. In addition, Grace has suggested "a date as late as the third decade of the third century" for at least part of the "Compartment Wall"⁵⁶ on the basis of an early Rho-

dian amphora stamp found in the packing of the wall. The date of the amphora stamp would, therefore, correspond closely to the proposed dating of ca. 280 B.C. As a consequence, the "Compartment Wall" could no longer be associated with the *diateichisma*, since the only ancient source mentioning the latter—*IG* II² 463, line 53—is dated 307/6 B.C. Since the *diateichi-*

⁵⁶ V.R. Grace, "Revisions in Early Hellenistic Chronology," *AthMitt* 89 (1974) 198, n. 19.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone: (609) 734-8000 Telex: 837 680

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

August 12, 1988

35.01

Article

Proposed

Corresp. with

Marian

and Homer

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I'm sad to learn that Emily's MS has not turned up,--I had heard of the
loss soon after Emily's return but not since. Of the three possible "editors"
whom you mention (Jameson, Stroud, Broughton), any of them would do a con-
job. Jameson would probably find the assignment most congenial. But both
and Stroud are pretty busy with other big commitments. Broughton is likely to
have more free time, and he would certainly do a very thorough job, though he
might not see as nearly eye to eye with Emily as Jameson would.

You ask about Meadow Lakes: we have had no regrets. We are certainly
comfortable. Meals are good and air-conditioning is excellent which in a summer
like the present means a lot. The group of people is congenial: remarkably
well read and travelled, also still intellectually active. A couple of days ago
we dined with a lady (aet. 92) who had presided for many years over Reed house
in Paris; she had been a close friend and fellow traveller of Gisela Richter in
Paris, Rome, Athens and New York, and the two must have had much in common.
This is a typical example of our fellow residents. One of the major advantages

35.01

Article

Proposed

Corresp. with

Maria

and Homer

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

Telephone: (609) 734-8000 Telex: 837 680

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

August 12, 1988

Miss Virginia R. Grace
 American School of Classical Studies
 Athens, Gr 106-76
 GREECE

Dear Virginia:

What a delight it was to hear from you by this morning's post, and to see that you are still active on many fronts. As it happened, Jack Kroll was with me at the time your letter was delivered. I had just finished reading the MS for his Ch. II: "Athenian Bronze Coinage 4th-1st centuries B.C." pp. 1-209. He had made great good use of your Middle Stoa article, and both wrote and spoke with much admiration of how you had handled that mass of evidence. He looks forward to seeing you quite soon in Athens and will deliver our warmest greetings.

I'm glad to know that you are prepared to do some up-dating of "Two Centuries." It's a pity that your contribution could not have been included with Susan's, but failing that it would be fine to have yours appear soon. About your copy of the joint offprint of the DBT/HAT Hellenistics: Susan got off the line ahead of D and me and fortunately let us know that she had already sent you a copy. We reckoned that even with your interest in the period you could probably make do with a single copy. So I'm all in favor of such an article as you have proposed to Marian.

I'm sad to learn that Emily's MS has not turned up,--I had heard of the loss soon after Emily's return but not since. Of the three possible "editors" whom you mention (Jameson, Stroud, Broughton), any of them would do a competent job. Jameson would probably find the assignment most congenial. But both Stroud and Stroud are pretty busy with other big commitments. Broughton is likely to have more free time, and he would certainly do a very thorough job, though he might not see as nearly eye to eye with Emily as Jameson would.

You ask about Meadow Lakes: we have had no regrets. We are certainly comfortable. Meals are good and air-conditioning is excellent which in a summer like the present means a lot. The group of people is congenial: remarkably well read and travelled, also still intellectually active. A couple of days ago we dined with a lady (aet. 92) who had presided for many years over Reed house in Paris; she had been a close friend and fellow traveller of Gisela Richter in Paris, Rome, Athens and New York, and the two must have had much in common. This is a typical example of our fellow residents. One of the major advantages

of the place is of course its proximity to Princeton: 1/2 hr drive. We come over almost every day.

Dorothy is making good progress on her Hell. vol. with the help of bright young assistants, one at a time, on part-time arrangements. She has recently completed the section on "Tanagras",--perhaps the largest and most interesting of her groups. Alison's vol. on Late Antiquity is about to go into page proof.

D. and I are not planning to be away from Princeton for long this summer. But we shall be making short trips, e.g. next week we shall be going north for a few days to visit Hope and Hilary. Pam, with her new husband has acquired a charming 1807 house in the Society Hill area of Phila. Her husband, Donne Tod, is a specialist in business management and is constantly called upon to give lectures or seminars in the U.K., Australia, South Africa and elsewhere. Pam has gone with him on several of these long trips, but she is now keeping more to her studio doing chiefly water colors of flowers,--she hasn't yet reached the multi-million level but she is climbing up in the hundreds.

I do hope your own health problems and the present state of Athenian society and atmosphere allow you to enjoy life. We keep a fairly close watch on you through reports from returned travellers,--no one who has met you ever forgets you, and that is true also of some who first met you long, long ago.

Yours ever,



Homer A. Thompson

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08540

35.04



VIA AIR MAIL

Miss Virginia R. Grace
American School of Classical Studies
Athens, Gr 106-76
GREECE

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35.05

Touch of Money: 31 MacArthurs

By Kathleen Teltsch

New York Times Service

THE MacArthur Foundation of Chicago, widening the scope of its awards to exceptionally gifted people, named a puppeteer, a jazz drummer and a farm policy specialist among its 31 winners for 1988.

All will receive awards ranging from \$150,000 to \$375,000 over five years. The recipients can spend the money as they wish without reporting on how they spend their time or money. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation created the "no-strings" MacArthur Fellowships with the aim of freeing exceptionally talented people from economic constraints to develop their potential. Recipients are recommended by 100 unidentified nominators around the country.

When the program began eight years ago it was quickly dubbed the "genius" awards and was regarded skeptically by more conventional philanthropies, but the program has since won praise and imitators.

"Perhaps this is an expression of our national faith in the power of the individual," said John Corbally, president of the foundation.

As in the past, many of the new awards went to scientists. But there has been a deliberate effort to look into new areas, according to Kenneth Hope, the program's director. This year's list included six women and six members of minority groups, "but that is still not enough," he said.

One of this year's awards went to Andre Dubus, a 51-year-old fiction writer in Haverhill, Massachusetts, who lost a leg and is confined to a wheelchair as a result of an accident two years ago. Dubus, the author of several critically acclaimed novellas, including "Adultery," and more recent works, "Rose" and "Molly," said the award would help pay for the home care he now needs.

Hope said he had tried without

success since Thursday to reach a lepidopterist who was among this year's winners. He is Philip James DeVries, whose work on butterflies in Costa Rica has stimulated conservation efforts for all tropical invertebrates in the Western Hemisphere. The 36-year-old scientist, who lives in Austin, Texas, was believed to be on a trip in the Ecuadorian jungles.

The puppeteer who won an award is Bruce D. Schwartz, 32, who has adapted European and Japanese traditions. His most recent work is "Marie Antoinette Tonight," using puppets, film and slides.

The jazz percussionist who won is Max Roach, 64, who helped pioneer the bebop style of jazz in the 1940s. Roach, who lives in New York, is an adjunct professor at the University of Massachusetts.

The farm policy specialist chosen for an award is I. Garth Youngberg, 48, founder of the Institute for Alternative Agriculture, which promotes nontraditional agricultural methods.

The other winners:

Charles Archaubeau, 54, a geophysicist and adjunct professor at the University of Colorado whose research in seismic source theory has had important implications for nuclear arms testing and detection.

Michael David Kighley Boxandall, 54, an art historian and critic who is a professor at the University of California at Berkeley and at the Warburg Institute at the University of London. He specializes in European art from the Renaissance to the 19th century.

Ruth Behar, an anthropologist and assistant professor at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, who studies colonial Mexican and Spanish folk religion and sorcery. At 31, she is the youngest of this year's winners.

Ran Blake, 53, a composer and improvisational pianist in Boston, who is chairman of the department of third stream studies at the New England Conservatory of Music.

Charles Burnett, 44, an independent filmmaker, writer and director in Los Angeles who is known for his portrayals of black working-class family life.

Helen T. Edwards, 52, a physicist in Batavia, Illinois, who heads the Accelerator Division of Fermi National Accelerator Laboratory.

Jon H. Else, 44, a documentary filmmaker and producer in California whose work includes "The Day After Trinity: J. Robert Oppenheimer and the Atomic Bomb."

John G. Fleagle, 40, a paleontologist and professor of anatomy in the School of Medicine at the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Cornell Fleischer, 37, an associate professor of history at Washington University in St. Louis whose speciality is the study of Ottoman Turkish society.

Getatchew Haile, 57, a philologist and linguist who specializes in ancient Ethiopian languages and literature. He is a cataloguer of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at St. John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota.

Raymond Jeanloz, 35, a geoscientist and professor of geology and geophysics at the University of California at Berkeley.

Marvin Philip Kahl, 53, an ornithologist in Sedona, Arizona, who is a leading authority on storks, spoonbills and flamingos.

Naomi E. Pierce, 33, a Princeton biologist who is an expert in plant-insect evolution. She also is a research lecturer in zoology at Oxford's Christ College.

Thomas Pynchon, 51, a writer noted for his mastery of history, science, politics and art. Pynchon, who lives in Boston, is the author of three novels: "V," "The Crying of Lot 49" and "Gravity's Rainbow."

Stephen J. Pyne, 39, an environmental historian and professional firefighter who lives in Phoenix, Arizona, and is the author of the 1987 best seller, "The Ice: A Journey to Antarctica."

Hipolito Roldan, 44, a developer of low-income housing who heads the Hispanic Housing Development Corp. in Chicago.

Anna Curtienius Roosevelt, 42, an archaeologist and great-granddaughter of President Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt, who has studied ancient cultures in the Amazon region in South America, is a research associate at the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

David Alan Rosenberg, 39, a historian of American nuclear policy who is an associate professor of strategy and policy at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island.

Susan Irene Rotroff, 41, an archaeologist who classified ancient Greek pottery. She is an associate professor of classical and Oriental studies at Hunter College in New York.

Robert S. Shaw, 41, a physicist who is a Fellow of the Center for Systems Research at the University of Illinois in Urbana.

Jonathan Dermot Spence, 51, an author of books on China who is a professor of history at Yale University.

Noel M. Swerdlow, 46, a historian who has written about the development of astronomy and who holds dual appointments as a professor in the department of astronomy and astrophysics and in the department of history at the University of Chicago.

Gary Alfred Tomlinson, 36, musicologist noted for his critical assessment of Monteverdi's works and for establishing a relationship between the madrigal and the opera. He is chairman of the music department at the University of Pennsylvania.

Alan Walker, 46, a specialist in the Pleistocene epoch of human evolution who is a research scientist for the National Museum of Kenya and a professor of anatomy at Johns Hopkins University.

Eddie N. Williams, 56, a policy analyst who heads the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington, where he studied voting patterns of black citizens.

Rita Wright, 52, an archaeologist who has specialized in the prehistoric Near East and is an assistant professor of anthropology at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia.

Altman, July 4, 1988

Dear Homer,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Marion offering a short article for Hesperia. She has replied in a sort of welcoming way, which I gather should not flatter me, since there is a shortage of articles. This ~~was~~ has not been written, but assembled. She could look for a later number, if the journal is to continue.

May I say you agree to having this material published as suggested? It seems a good idea to fill out the few voices in "Two Centuries", now all the material - Dorothy's too - has been made available. A customer for that fine large book (of which Susan has given me a copy) is the Canadian dig on Mytilene; Haddad, ^{Williams} speaking of getting it for his group & have in their excavation library. (My ~~copy~~ ^{original} offprint of your original article went for a season to Margaret with Angus.)

It seems to me Hesperia is the place for my supplementing article, as that is where my 1985 piece appeared. But even if spared, I doubt what I would send anything else there. Despite so much time spent in battling against editorial "improvements", I still come across messes in the printed ^{of my 1985 article} versions, e.g. where "incomplete references" have been filled out with some thing entirely unrelated, e.g. no. 71.

I enclose photostats of the set-up for the plates for my proposed article. Gary has indicated to some new photos.

28.VII.88

Not to bore you with instances, my Debs chapter and my At the Mill short article had each, on very small editorial change, and that is all. Do you find, looking at them, that Marian's changes would have improved them? I can't think you do. And the difference to the writer is enormous, in his strength to put out more, when he can expect his careful statements will not be muddled before they get to the printer, or his plate-references made wrong because the editor fancied a different arrangement of the plates. See those pages of convergence in Hesperia, one number after another.

It is not that I don't appreciate improvements when that is what they are. Sheas made many changes in my 1934 article, and I saw that they were improvements. I have had some good sentences from others, including yourself. I just see that it is counter-productive to put the words of an experienced writer through a sort of machine.

I wrote to you both at some length when you were about to move, but I expect it was not a moment when a letter could have much attention. From all I can hear, it has turned

out to be a good move. Not to have to get
 dinner when one comes home in the evening?
 I just wish there were a bus between Meadow
 Lakes (is that it?) and Fuld Hall. I find
 a letter from you of over a year ago, also; it brought
 a notice of the death of Harold Amiss in June
 1987. I had the pleasure of knowing him a little
 by your kindness when I visited the Institute.
 What a broad knowledge he had of Gaelic
 history, ^{language} and philosophy, and how much he
 published.

I am concerned now with a manuscript
 for a book left by my sister Emily. In fact, we
 have not found her final text, which was to
 have come from the USSR with her, but the
 valise, in which it was, never arrived in the U.S.
 There are various theories as to what became ~~of~~
 of it, and perhaps a small possibility that
 it may turn up still. In the meanwhile,
 a version of 1970 had been deposited with Jan
 PEČIRKA ^{in Prague}. By the help of Jan Bouzek, Pečirka
 has ~~agreed~~ agreed to let this be copied and the
 copy sent to me. I enclose ^{a copy of} part of a family
 letter I wrote about this manuscript in June, also
 a copy of Bouzek's ^{July} letter about the ms., including
 its title. By all this, you will see that
 Mike Jameson would like to see it through

the press; this is anyhow his wish before
 he has seen it at all. After I had talked
 with him, ^{and he had left} I found in a file a very nice letter
 Bob Broughton had written to me in 1985 about
 his visit ^{to Emily} with Annie Lee in 1970; it was
 Dorothy's suggestion that he tell me about it,
 and I was very glad to have the letter.
 This has made me think perhaps he would
 be the person to write the obituary. She was
 I think a student of his in the '30s.

When you see the title (in Broughton's letter)
 you may think it is more Don Stroed's line
 than Jameson's. But the whole winter
 Don has been in Greece, he has made no
 effort to see me, refuse invitations - put
 them off until Connie would be back. I said
 I would like to consult him about the lost
 work of Em's; I know they had had some
 correspondence, or at least exchange of offprints,
 and she had been puzzled that it broke off.
^{He could recall nothing about a manuscript for book}
 I was of course disappointed to see him almost
 not at all, as I admired him, and we were
 good friends when he was secretary of the School.

August 2

Carolyn Kochler is here now, for not much
 longer. Maggie comes in the early spring. They

both leave trainees when they leave, photo-copying, data-entering (?) etc. etc. Their own time here for understanding better the material more seems to me much, but c'est la vie, I suppose. Do not worry that I stand in their way, They take everything they want, I help all I can, Maria has been working largely for their project. (She has ^{an} anthropomorphic view ~~at~~ of the computer - "We will tell him this, he will tell us that"). It is true, I do not feel willing to "put myself in the position of having to ask permission to use my own notes, records, photographs. But they also have complete access. There is of course the question as to who, legally, owns all this stuff and that may be something of a continuing problem.

I am sad that Carolyn did not get that MacArthur a few years ago; but delighted that Susan has one. Thanks you; but perhaps you should not tell them they are candidates beforehand.

Love to you and Dorothy,

Virginia

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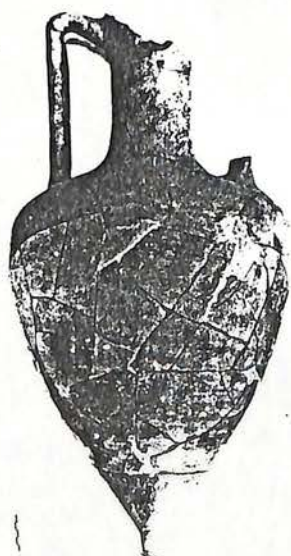
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P III2

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P III1

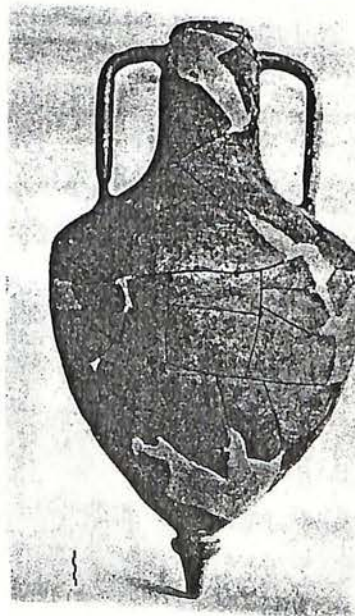


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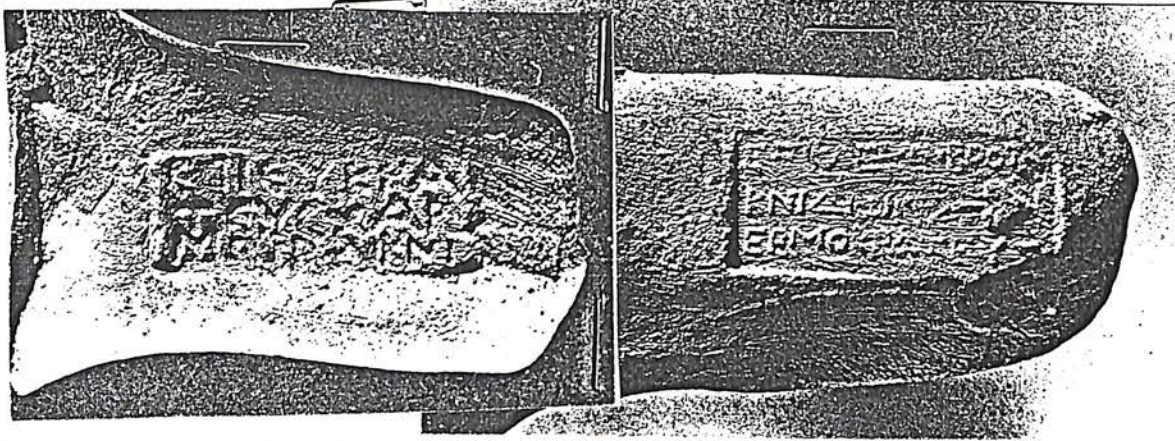
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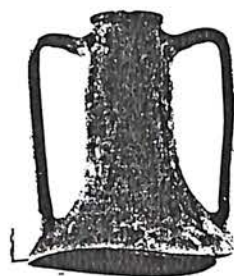


Thompson's Hellenistic Group B: amphoras from southern chamber. (Thompson 1934, pp. 331-332) Ca. 240 B.C.



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KT 602

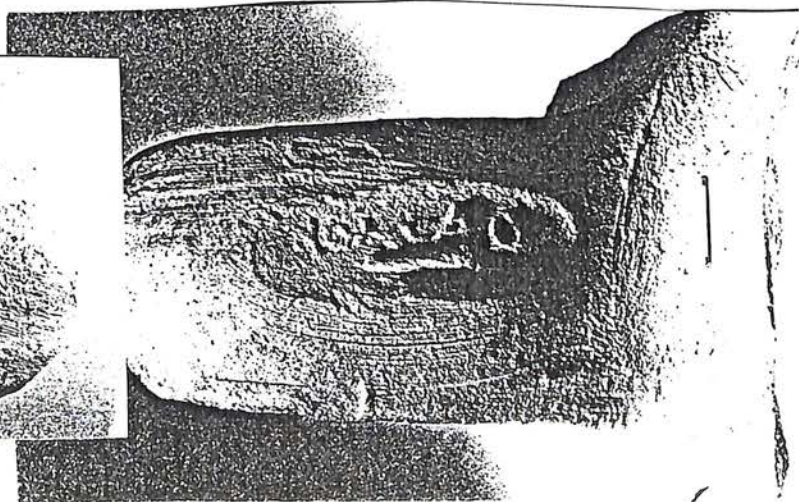
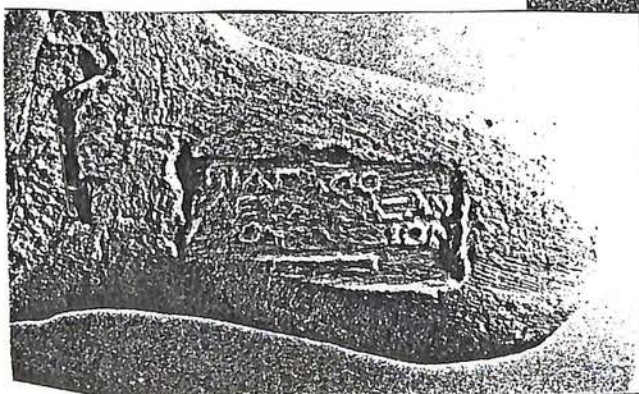


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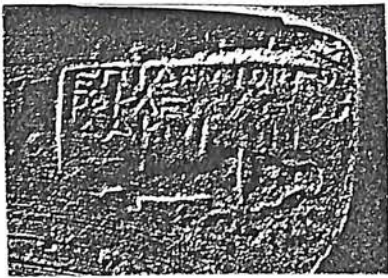
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KNI



Thompson's Hellenistic Group E: earlier Knidian stamp types represented,
 plus top of Knidian jar stamped amphora from the fill with its stamp
 ca. 160 B.C. to ca. 120 B.C.

(2)

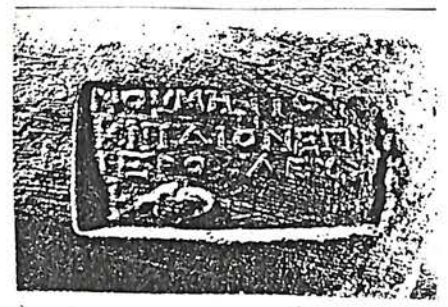


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14

AK 1



15 AT 1013 (SS 101)



16



17 K 7 926 EM 3



18



19



20



21

Thompson's Hellenistic Group E: later Knidian stamp types represented,
 plus Chian amphora (21) from the Group, plus Knidian amphora (19) (in Alexandria)
 dated in the term of LEPOKANE as are nos. 13 - 16 of the stamps.
 Last ... 108 P.C.

June 9, 1988

Dr. Virginia Grace
Agora Excavations
American School of Classical Studies
54 Souidias Street
GR-106 76 Athens
GREECE

Dear Virginia,

By all means send us your article. What better place than Hesperia? We can even assure you prompt publication.

Thank you for thinking of us. I hope all goes well with you and the Amphora Project.

Yours truly,

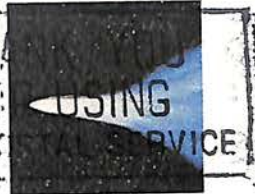
A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Marian", written in dark ink.

Marian H. McAllister

Publications Office
American School of Classical Studies
c/o Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, NJ 08543-0631



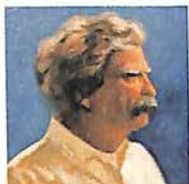
Dorothea Dix



USA 36

35.16

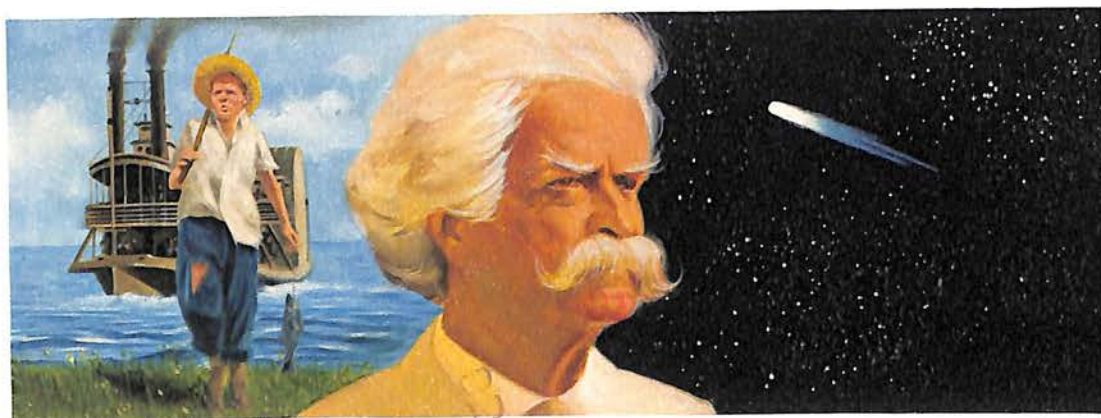
“ I came in with Halley’s Comet
in 1835. It is coming again next
year, and I expect to go out with
it. It will be
the greatest dis-
appointment of
my life if I don’t
go out with Hal-
ley’s Comet. ”



Dr. Virginia Grace
American School of Classical Studies
54 Souidias Street
GR-106 76 Athens
GREECE

AEROGRAMME * VIA AIRMAIL * PAR AVION

② Second fold



1835 · Mark Twain · 1910 · Halley’s Comet · 1985

Additional message area

© USPS 1985

For writing to Marin, on projects article
with suppl. and correction on MSBF article.

I had occasion to use note 57, and found
it impossible to find the list of ^{of later stuff in MSBF} numbers as it reads
- I had to plough through and make a list in the
margin. I look up the ms., and see that
4 semicolons (governed by a colon) have been made
into periods by editors.

This article should go into Hesperia; but if
it is "corrected" in this way, I will not send
more. I have too little time left for battling.
What I manage to write, I will send elsewhere.

Looking at proof of note 57, I see this
was already so in that, and I did not catch
it.

It is better to let things stay as the author
put them, unless it is an incoherent author.

P. 9, middle of last II, same ^{ed.} ^(a m. 3rd) alteration of the
ms. had been put into the proof; I corrected this,
but more alterations were made between me and
the printer, so now the line is meaningless.

"Improvements" - see p. 27, note 71, in
a determination to put in all the pages of
an article, where a small part was relevant,
pp. 39-46 are placed as part of pp. 334-335.

Then "improvements", done without
consultation, seem to be ^{insolent} ~~to be~~ ~~discounted~~
~~to be~~ ~~written~~, especially when they are
done carelessly: see note 71, reference for
Kingdon's article -

27. VI. 86

-- and of note 11, how the
ref. is left as I wrote it, does not cover
the whole article.

American School of Classical Studies
54 Swedias Street, Athens 106 76, Greece

September 20, 1988

Dear Marian,

I understand from Sally Immerwahr that on October 1 you are having a meeting to decide whether to carry on with Hesperia after this year. I have no manuscript ready to send to you now, but in case you do continue, would hope to send you for 1989 the short article described in my letter to you of May 31. Thank you for your reply of June 9. In the meanwhile Homer has agreed to the publication of his finds involved.

I hear that you are getting a whole house belonging to the Institute. I think it must be that nice house at the bottom end of Olden Lane, a bit beyond the birthplace of von Neumann's early computer. In the late '40s it was inhabited by my good friends Mary and Gilmore Stott and their baby; Gil was Rhodes Scholar assistant to Aydelotte, then director of the Institute. (They went on to Swarthmore.) Very nice house.

Yours,

V.P. Grace

American School of Classical Studies
54 Souidias Street
Athens GR 106-76
Greece

35.20

May 31. 1988

Mrs. Marian H. McAllister
Publications Committee
American School of Classical Studies at Athens
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey 08540
USA

Dear Marian,

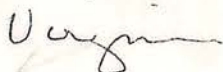
I have a certain amount of addenda and corrigenda to my Middle Stoa article, including for instance 5 or 6 names to add to the list of known Knidian eponyms.

Another part of the addenda consists in a fuller presentation of the amphoras and stamps in Homer's Hellenistic Groups. Although I have reported on these objects, and stated my beliefs about their dates, some of this material has never been illustrated, including several restored amphoras from Group B; also the stamps from Group E, and a fully restored Chian amphora from the same deposit.

A short article on this material will not change our views about the dates of the groups, but rather make use of the dates from ^{the groups for} the study of the various classes. Good idea to bring this out now, in connection with the republication of Homer's 1934 article. Should have 3 or 4 plates.

Would you like to have this for Hesperia?

Yours,



Virginia R. Grace

American School of Classical Studies
54 Souidias Street
Athens GR 106-76
Greece

35.21

May 31. 1986

Mrs. Marian H. McAllister
Publications Committee
American School of Classical Studies at Athens
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey 08540
USA

Dear Marian,

I have a certain amount of addenda and corrigenda to my Middle Stoa article, including for instance 5 or 6 names to add to the list of known Knidian eponyms.

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Would you like to have this for Hesperia?

Yours,

Virginia

Virginia R. Grace

VRG/czr

4. IV. 89

Hesperia 57, 1988, behind Table of Contents

Unless otherwise defined, bibliographical abbreviations used in *Hesperia* are those listed in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 90, 1986, pp. 384-394, and 92, 1988, pp. 629-630. If a reference is made to a part of an article, the full extent of the paper will be given in parentheses.

For Instructions for Authors, see *Hesperia* 55, 1986, pp. i-ix.