

VRG — Folder — 0015



<sup>1</sup>  
K. Bittel, "The German Perspective and the German Archaeological Institute,"  
AJA 84, 1980, pp. 271-277; the quotation is from ~~page~~ p. 275. The paper was read  
by H. G. Güterbock at the Eighty-First General Meeting of the Archaeological Insti-  
tute of America, in Boston, on December 28, 1979.

The present article was originally intended for the Festschrift for Homer  
Thompson, Hesperia Suppl. XX. I hope he will accept it as a further supplement  
to that volume.

In addition to the abbreviations listed in AJA 82, 1978, pp. 3-10, the  
~~marks cited below repeatedly will be abbreviated as follows~~  
following are used:

- ✓ Agora XII      B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, The Athenian Agora, XII, Black and  
Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C., Princeton 1970.
- ✓ Agora XIV      H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, The Athenian Agora, XIV, The  
Agora of Athens, Princeton 1972.
- ✓ Agora XXII      S. I. Rotroff, The Athenian Agora, XXII, Hellenistic Pottery:  
Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls, Princeton 1982.
- ✓ Amphoras      V. R. Grace, Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade, Excavations of the  
Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 6, revised edition Princeton 1979.
- ✓ Coulton 1976      J. J. Coulton, The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa,  
Oxford 1976.
- ✓ Délos 27      V. R. Grace and M. Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, "Chapitre XIV, Les



timbres amphoriques grecs," in Ph. Bruneau, ed., Exploration archéologique de Délos, XXVII, L'îlot de la Maison des Comédiens, Paris 1970, pp. 277-382.

- Garlan 1979 Y. Garlan, "Koukos, données nouvelles pour une nouvelle interprétation des timbres amphoriques thasiens," BCH-Supp. V, 1979, pp. 213-268.
- Grace 1934 V. Grace, "Stamped Amphora Handles found in 1931-1932," Hesperia 3, 1934, pp. 197-310.
- Grace 1949 V. Grace, "Standard Pottery Containers of the Ancient Greek World," Hesperia Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 175-189.
- Grace 1952 V. Grace, "Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Délos," BCH 76, 1952, pp. 514-540.
- Grace 1968 V. Grace, "Die gestempelten Amphorenhenkel aus stratigraphisch gesicherten Fundzusammenhängen," Exkurs in O. Ziegenaus and G. de Luca, Altertümer von Pergamon, XI,1, Das Asklepieion, Berlin 1968, pp. 175-178. I saw no proof of this Exkurs, which contains many errors not in the manuscript.
- Grace 1971 V.R. Grace, "Samian Amphoras," Hesperia 40, 1971, pp. 52-95.
- Grace 1974 V.R. Grace, "Revisions in Early Hellenistic Chronology," AthMitt 89, 1974, pp. 193-200.



- Grakov 1929 B.N.Grakov, Ancient Greek Pottery Stamps with the Names of Astynomoi, Moscow 1929 (in Russian).
- Guide, 3 H. A. Thompson, The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavation and Museum, Third Edition, Athens 1976.
- Knackfuss 1924 H. Knackfuss, Milet I, 7, Der Sudmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen, Berlin 1924, pp. 156-176 on the Magazinhalle.
- Nessana I V.R.Grace, apud H.D.Colt and others, Excavations at Nessana I, London 1962, pp. 106-130.
- Nilsson 1909 M. P. Nilsson, Timbres amphoriques de Lindos, in Exploration archéologique de Rhodes, V, Copenhagen 1909.
- Pnyx V.R.Grace, "Stamped Wine Jar Fragments," in Small Objects from the Pnyx: II, Hesperia Supp. X, 1956, pp. 113-189.
- Rickman 1971 G. Rickman, Roman Granaries and Store Buildings, Cambridge 1971.
- Schuchhardt 1895 C. Schuchhardt, in Altertümer von Pergamon, VIII, Inchriften, 2, Berlin 1895, pp. 423-499.
- Tarsus I H. Goldman and Others, Excavations at Gözld Kule, Tarsus, I, Princeton 1950.
- Thompson 1934 H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," Hesperia 3, 1934, pp. 311-480.



2

See Schuchhardt 1895, p. 423. For a recent discussion of the deposit, see <sup>Délos</sup> ~~EAD~~ 27, especially pp. 290-291. This publication, Chapter XIV of the volume on the Maison des Comédiens on Delos, includes a general review of studies of container amphoras and their stamps (usually on the handles) with much bibliography; see pp. 277-280 for an introduction to the subject, or the reader may just consult the pamphlet Amphoras. Third century dates in <sup>Délos</sup> ~~EAD~~ 27 should be revised as indicated in Grace 1974, p. 200. Further on Grace 1974, see below, Appendix 2. Further on the Pergamon deposit, footnote <sup>32</sup> ~~27~~ and accompanying text; figures given have been somewhat revised following corrections in readings.

3

For appreciation still felt, see Grace 1934, p. 200 with note 5; <sup>Délos</sup> ~~EAD~~ 27, p. 278, last paragraph of note.

4

For the handles, see Grace 1934, p. 210, nos. 1-3. On the deposit, Hesperia 24, 1955, p. 185 under no. 25 (P. E. Corbett); Agora XII, p. 393, under H 17 : 5; Corbett cites the publication of the stamped handles. Discussion of the sub-group of Thasian, Phyx, pp. 127 and 129 under b and c; however these stamps would now be dated about mid 4th century B.C.



5 on  
Summary ~~in~~ the Pnyx, see 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, <sup>Délos</sup> ~~EAD~~-27, 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. below, text with footnote 46. <sup>57</sup>

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



9 <sup>Delos</sup>

SAD 27, p. 291, and see below in the present article.

10

Agora XIV, p. 67. The date given for the filling in Agora IV (1959), VIII (1962), and XII (1970), in the deposit lists, had been to ca. 150 B.C., a date evidently ~~derived~~ derived from that appearing in Edwards' 1956 publication, see footnote <sup>56</sup> 45 below (date of filling equals <sup>that of</sup> start of long-petal bowls).  
 some  
 Correct references in Agora XIV, p. 66, note 179: the quotation actually comes from <sup>Delos</sup> SAD 27, p. 382; and other relevant passages are evidently <sup>ibid.</sup> pp. 290-291, 320.

11

F.S.Kleiner, Hesperia 44, 1975, pp. 303-311. (For his separate Deposit III, see his p. 311, I have not been able to identify handles that we discussed in this connection, cf. his note 14.) For Retroff's comment, see Agora XXII, p. 102.

12

The count of 1960 was made by M. Petropoulakou and A. Dimoulinis, to whom I owe much help in the preparation of the present article as of previous ones. The handles were counted as laid out in their classified storage, and figures include some 4865 items which have not been inventoried because they are inferior duplicates of inventoried items, and have no useful excavation context. The figures are ~~not very up to date, but in any case recent excavations have not added new~~



not very up to date, but in any case recent excavations have not added new stamped handles to our collection at the earlier rate. Last inventory number of the 1960 count: SS 14402; last of the 1980 season: SS 14843. Cf. Delos

27, p. 282.

13

Cf. Grace 1934, p. 280, no. 233, Early Knidian stamp on a whole amphora from Thompson's Group B, cf. ibid. p. 202, fig. 1, no. 6, for the jar. For the date of Group B, see Appendix 2 below (date now ca. 240 B.C.). Cf. Grace 1952, pl. XIX, 1, for another Early Knidian stamp.

14

Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World, Oxford 1941, p. 1647. It should be remarked that the relative figures of Rhodian and Knidian handles in fillings of the first half of the 2nd century B.C., such as that of the Stoa of Attalos mentioned above, may be somewhat misleading as indications of relative volume of trade. If the Knidian production of 188 - 167 B.C. was under Rhodian control, then from the point of view of trade at least half of the 70 Knidian in the Stoa of Attalos filling, those dated by phrourarchoi, should presumably be counted as Rhodian. On the phrourarchoi and Rhodian control, see below, text with footnotes 20 and 21, also Appendix 1, text on Knidian Period IV A.



15

75 B

Tarsus I, p. 145, no. ~~75~~; the context, "top level, Middle Hellenistic Unit," indicates a date of late 3rd - early 2nd century B.C., cf. ibid., pp. 30-31. Note that the restoration of the name Καλλιπράτης in the main stamp of no. 75 does not now seem correct.

On secondary stamps on Rhodian handles, usages and dates, see Délos SAD 27, p.380, index to discussions on the subject in various parts of our chapter in that volume, where references to the earlier literature on the subject will be found. Corrigendum: the early Rhodian fabricant Σώτρας there mentioned, now dated ca. mid 3rd century B.C., does use secondary stamps; a nearly whole amphora of his in Rhodes has a secondary stamp (with a monogram) beside each of its main stamps on the tops of the handles (temporary inv. no. MZ 547, dated by the eponym 'Επίχαρμος; mentioned here by permission of Mr. I. Papachristodoulou).

Note my suggestion, Tarsus I, p. 135, note 2, that the two betas on ibid., fig. 117, ~~76B~~ 76B and ~~77B~~ 77B indicate a pair of names perhaps from the same amphora was correctly discarded by D. B. Shelov, Pottery Stamps from Tanais, Moscow 1975, (in Russian), p.24<sup>23</sup>; the two secondary stamps are obviously not from the same die. See below.

16

Schuchhardt 1896, p. 432.



16

For documentation of the illustrated items, see catalogue below,

pp.

17

Tarsus I, fig. 117, 76 A, 76 B. Note a second (unpublished) example of the combination: duplicates of both stamps were found on a handle in the Musée Gréco-Romain in Alexandria (A VG 1485).

18

On the dynasty *Δαμοκράτης, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Δαμοκράτης* *Ἀριστοκλῆς*, etc., cf. Délos 27, p. 280, also pp. 327-328 under E 66, and elsewhere (see index, pp. 375, 376). On *Ἰπποκράτης* see now V. Grace apud J. Bouzek, Anatolian Collection of Charles University [Kyme I], Prague 1974, pp. 94-95, under A 3.

Note that this *Ἀριστοκλῆς* (contemporary of *Ἰπποκράτης*) is not the earliest to endorse Rhodian circular stamps with rose, but there was at least one earlier Rhodian fabricant of this name, who worked probably in the third quarter of the 3rd century B.C. For a published stamp of his, see M.-Th. Lenger, BCH 81, 1957, pp. 164-165, no. 83, see fig. 2 (from Argos). Presumably the *Ἀριστοκλῆς* named in Mlle. Lenger's stamp was the father of the fabricant of our 2.



19

Rose stamps naming the eponym 'Αθανόδοτος and accompanied by

secondary stamps:

1) with month Δάλιος, secondary stamp tau like those on handles of  
Δαμοκράτης and 'Ιπποκράτης: handle in the Benaki collection in  
Alexandria, classified under RE 16 (the eponym's number); rubbings brought to  
Turzynski.  
the Agora in January 1967 by B. ~~Turzynski~~



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

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

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

The data for *Ἀθανόφειτος* are given here in detail because this name was omitted from among the latest eponyms in the Middle Stoa building fill in information given to S. I. Rotroff: see Agora XXII, p. 102. It is



perhaps also of interest to show for one name the kind of evidence available as documentation for statements on others.

20

Grace 1949, pl.19 and p. 186, no. 5; stamps, pl.20 and p. 187, nos. 4-5; regrettably, the secondary stamp beta is not illustrated.

21

On two eponyms *Nikaraipos* and references to the two jars, see Belos 27, p. 306 under E 15 (upper paragraph). Capacity of the later jar and comparative figures, cf. "The Commercial Amphoras from the Antikythera Shipwreck," TAPS 55, 1965, p.7, note 8; the jar is in the Nicosia Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. CMC 198. The "bowing out" of the handles results from drawing them in below to accommodate to a slimmer body; cf. op.cit., p.6. For the epigraphical date of an eponym *Nikaraipos*, see C. Blinkenberg, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902-1914, II, Inscriptions I, Berlin and Copenhagen 1941, p.536, no. 246 (*Nikaraipos Innoklezos*); 123 B.C. is the date attributed to him as priest of Athana Lindia, cf. ibid. p. 125, and the priesthood of Halios, which apparently he also held, would probably have fallen shortly afterward: on the cursus honorum in Rhodes,

✓  
P. 121  
pp. 425-490  
(int. 23)



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

375. In Rhodes, official documents were dated by the name of the priest of Halios, who was changed annually.

22

Schuchhardt 1895, p. 432. In the excellent dissertation of F. Bleckmann,

De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis Rhodiis, Göttingen 1907,

Schuchhardt's dating is used and developed; see especially Bleckmann's p.

25. Cf. Delos 27, p. 290.

23

For the Lindian priesthood of Ἀστυπύργου ἑταίρου, see Blinken-

berg, op.cit. in footnote 21, p. 121, under ~~xxxx~~ the year 154, with

commentary below; see further ibid. pp. 488-490. (No mention in these

inscriptions of a priesthood of Halios. It should be observed that

Blinkenberg counted the existence of a name as eponym in Rhodian amphora

stamps as sufficient evidence that the person named was a priest of Halios.)

On names of Rhodian eponyms in stamps for ~~which~~ <sup>whom</sup> identifications have been

proposed with priests named in inscriptions, cf. Delos 27, p. ~~290x~~ 299

with references. Of particular interest is the triple correspondence



examined ibid., p.313, under E 34, of three known stamp eponyms with three priests of Halios cited in SEG III, 674. The stone has been discussed recently by P. M. Fraser, Rhodian Funerary Monuments, Oxford 1977, pp.60-61, but in his documentation, <sup>pp.</sup> ~~xxx~~ 150-151, the author fails to use the text on E 34 with its clarification on the dates of the stamp eponyms, which is based on information not available to the scholars he quotes.

On Ἀρχυρίδης and Θεορίδης in stamps, apparently persons ~~mentioned~~ mentioned by Polybios, see the commentary by Bleckmann, op.cit. in footnote 22, pp. 19-20. Cf. recently F. W. Walbank, A Historical Commentary on Polybios, Oxford 1979, p. 303, on persons with these names; correct the priesthood of 154 B.C., which (as just noted) was that of Athana Lindia, not that of Halios. The stamps provide an earlier eponym Ἀρχυρίδης but his year as priest of Halios should date nearer 213 than 204 (cf. loc. cit.; they provide also a much later one, who has been identified tentatively with a priest of Athana <sup>Lindia</sup> ~~known~~ of 46 B.C., see Delos 27, p. 299 with note 3).

~~is cited as a year, but 204, as priest of Athana Lindia by~~  
~~W. H. C. Lee, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1979, p. 100.~~  
~~W. H. C. Lee, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1979, p. 100.~~  
~~W. H. C. Lee, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1979, p. 100.~~



Α Οὐλοῖςτος is given a year, 188 B.C., as priest of Athana Lindia by  
 H. Van Gelder, "Over Rhodische Kruikstempels en hun Belang voor onze Kennis  
 van den Rhodischen Handel," Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Koninklijke  
Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, 5e Reeks, Deel I (Amsterdam  
 1915), p.202. Van Gelder gives as source an inscription "not yet published"  
 by Blinkenberg. No such inscription appears in Blinkenberg's comprehensive  
 volume of 1941 above-cited; and P. M. Fraser kindly informs me, in a letter  
 of 22.VII.81, that there is no epigraphical reference for any priesthood of  
Οὐλοῖςτος in the records from which he is compiling the new Lexicon of  
 Greek Personal Names.

It should perhaps be remarked that agreement on date as between homonyms  
 inscribed in stone and in stamp dies has sometimes been considerably more  
 difficult than in the case of the names just discussed. See below, Appendix  
 5, on the dates of the Rhodian eponym Ἀποκλῆς.

24

For the Thasian inscription, see C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux,

Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos, II, Études thasiennes, V,

Paris 1958, pp.26-35; no. 172; on the "écriture", see top of p. 31. The authors'



date depends on their identification of a Roman governor who is mentioned; they examine seven possibilities, and choose the last; the second would suit the *Θεσσαλίας* of the stamps, and perhaps a date within 141-135 B.C., which seems to be available. On *Θεσσαλίας*, cf. Nessana I, p. 116, under no. 7. This eponym dates known whole jars of the fabricants

*Ἀγαθήσωνος, Εὐκλείτου, Κάλδου, and Τυμπαίου.*

25

See Garlan's article in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, and G.R. Whittaker, eds., Trade in the Ancient Economy, p. 34. Note that *Ἀετῶν* regularly has the eta ending in the earlier Thasian inscriptions and stamps. ~~Ετῶν~~ Cf. J. Pouilloux, Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos I, Etudes thasiennes III, Paris 1954, p. 273, no. 34, lines 9 (genitive) and 45. For the name unabbreviated in one of the earlier (2-name) stamps, cf. A.-M. and A. Bon, Les Timbres amphoriques de Thasos, Etudes thasiennes IV, Paris 1957, p. 119, no. 278. Cf. also the comment, ibid., p. 118.

26

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

27

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



28

On Knidian stamp types, see Delos 27, p. 323. In our usage, a stamp type is a group of one or more dies having the same content and arrangement of letters and/or devices, i.e. the same minuscule reading.

29

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

30

F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen and others, Inscriptionen von Priene, Berlin 1906, p. xiii; cf. ibid., p. 28 under no. 19, lines 6-8. M. B. Wallace refers me to R. Merkelbach and others, Die Inscriptionen von Kalchedon, Inscriptionen Griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 20, Bonn 1980, p. 5, for various ancient mentions of officials serving for parts of a year rather than for the whole year. For the evidence of the stamps, see Delos 27, p. 319.

31

M. B. Wallace suggests that particular uncommonness in some phourarch names may be compared with the "rare months" in Rhodian stamps, taken to be those of seasons not best suited for the production of amphoras. A four-month period falling mostly in the winter might see a relatively small production of Knidian jars. On seasonal production in Rhodes, cf. Nilsson 1909, pp. 126-132, also the recent study by Ch. Börker, "Der Rhodische Kalender," Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 31, 1978, pp. 193-218; and cf. comment, REG 92, 1979, p. 460.

32

Both corrections were made recently with the help of Dr. Börker (cited in footnote 31, now a professor at Erlangen), who is preparing



new study of the stamped handles in Berlin from the Pergamon deposit. He provided us with rubbings of the Knidian, for the identification of which our archives in Athens provide easy and reliable reference material, not ~~unavailable~~ available to Schuchhardt. The eponym's name in KT 210, the type of Pergamon no. 1290, is abbreviated to  $\theta\epsilon$  (and the restoration is not quite certain.

I note once more a Knidian stamp published with the group of the Pergamon deposit apparently by error: cf. Delos 27, p. 291, note 2.

33

For more complete shapes, see Grace 1934, p.202, fig.1, nos. 6-8;

Amphoras, fig. 64.

34

The three Rhodian of the next to last decade are  $\bar{\rho}$  230 (MZ 620) dated in the term of  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\acute{o}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , and A 232 and 233 (MZ 622, 623) dated in the term of  $\Lambda\sigma\tau\upsilon\mu\eta\varsigma$  1st. The slightly earlier Rhodian is A 231 (MZ 621), dated in the term of  $\Xi\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ . All the eponyms occur in the Middle Stoa filling. The five jars, including A 236 (4 of the present article), were found during the excavations (1961-1964) by G. Konstantinopoulos in the Pavlides lot in Rhodes (on Lindos Street). I am obliged to Mr. Konstantin-



opoulos for permission to publish <sup>in</sup> 4 and to mention the others; also to Olga Kakavoyannis for the information given above; also to P.M.W. Matheson for calling my attention to these stamped amphoras during our work period in Rhodes in May, 1980; and finally to I. Papachristodoulou, Ephor of the Dodekanese, for much facilitation of our work in Rhodes in recent years.

35

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

36

See Délos 27, p. 326, under E 62, end of comment. *end of comment*

37

(Found in fragments in 1911: see ArchEph 1913, pp. 215-216.)

Grace 1934, p.202, fig. 1, and text p. 305, no. 7. A third amphora

(Agora SS 7210) of the same period is interestingly, if not fully, visible as its capacity is being taken by H. A. Thompson and E. Vanderpool in 1939: see Grace 1949, pl.19, 1-3, and see text p. 185. The single preserved stamp (one handle is missing) bears the name *ΦΙΛΤΑΤΟΣ*, no doubt the eponym of that name, an early phourarch whose name appears in the Middle Stoa filling; the stamp is an example of KT 1254. SS 7210 is from the



construction filling of Agora well L 18 : 1.

38

The eponym *Ἀριστοκλῆς* who dates 15, occurs in the filling of the Stoa of Attalos (SS 11362, example of KT 214), to which the end date is possibly 157 B.C., see above, pp.

39

See Grace 1974, p.198, note 19; and cf. Appendix 2 below, under Group B.

40

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



41

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

On the son of Ἀειστοκλῆς, cf. footnote 18 above.

42

For spectroscopic tests of handles from jars of probably the same

Ἀειστοκλῆς, see Délos 27, pp. 319-320 with note 1, p. 320. For the secretary of the boula, text above with footnote 24.

43

Y. G. Vinogradov, "Pottery Stamps of the Island of Thasos," Numismatics and Epigraphy, X, The Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow 1972 (in Russian), pp. 39, 44, and 59 (table, see bottom). The evidence cited (which is not new) shows that Thasian ~~amphoras~~ amphoras were stamped as late as ca. 200 B.C. (stamps from the Pergamon deposit and from Villanova in Rhodes), but ~~was~~ not that the practice stopped then. Now that finds at Koukos in Thasos have shown that the names in one-name Thasian stamps are very probably those of annual officials (and not of potters), we should attempt a count, starting from about 340 B.C., and making allowance for repeated names. On the Koukos finds, see Garlan



grace

footnotes - ~~20~~  
21

1979. My own most recent summary on Thasian stamps (Délos 27, pp.354-357)

had not the benefit of the Koukos finds, and also does not discuss the

~~earliest~~ Thasian stamps with names, <sup>but</sup> ~~those~~ without device (cf. Pnyx, pl.

52, 1-4). There is much new information, and I hope to publish a revised

short study of the Thasian class, including the shape-development. In the

meanwhile it should be said that, following further examination of Agora

deposits, there does not now seem to be good evidence to date any of the

Thasian stamps with names before 400 B.C., and perhaps not before 390.

44

On the projected new corpus of Thasian stamps, see recently Garlan  
1979, p. 213. The original one is the Bon volume cited above in footnote 25.

45

See in the meanwhile her report, "Evidence around the Mediterranean  
for Corinthian Export of Wine and Oil," Beneath the Waters of Time:

Proceedings of the Ninth Conference on Underwater Archeology [Texas

Antiquities Committee No.6] Austin, Texas 1978, pp. 231-239. For some

of Koehler's more recent work in this field, see "Amphoras on Amphoras,"

Hesperia 51, 1982, pp.284-292.



46

On the Zenon Groups, the earlier and the later, see Hesperia 32, 1963, pp.319, 321-322 with note 9, 331 with note 25. The article is concerned with amphora ~~finds~~ finds at Koroni in Attica, where examples of the earlier Zenon Group were found. With revised 3rd century dating, cf. footnote 2 above and Appendix 2 below, one would like to accept an identification of the Ze(non) of the earlier group with Zenon of Kaunos, agent of Apollonios in Egypt, although apparently he had not come to Philadelphia by 265 B.C. Cf. P.M. Fraser, Ptolemaic Alexandria II, Oxford 1972, p.286, end of note 283; V.Grace and J.-Y. Empereur, "Un groupe d'amphores ptolemaïques estampillées," Bulletin du Centenaire (Supplément au BIFAO 81), 1981, p.426. Particularly interesting examples of the earlier group have been found recently, some in an ancient wreck. I hope to publish soon a short report on this material, which should be illustrated. The later Zenon Group may be connected with the earlier, although ~~xxx~~ no context fixes the plain **ZH** stamps earlier than the late 3rd to early 2nd century B.C.: in addition to the Middle Stoa context, we have an example in the Pergamon deposit (no.1278), and one from a filling in the Stoa of Philip in Delos (TD 6231), ~~mentioned by Fornication of A. Jannitsas, the excavation~~



the Rhodian stamps from the same filling date ca. 210-190 B.C.; cf. Grace 1974, p.198, note 21.

47

For the Latin stamp, which reads C.S , see V.R.Grace, "The Canaanite Jar," in S.S. Weinberg, ed., The Aegean and the Near East, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman, Locust Valley, 1956, pl.XII, no.10, cf. text pp. 97 and 109 (see here suggestions as to the shape of the jar). A second example of this stamp type may also come originally from the Middle Stoa falling: see ibid. no. 11. The third example, impressed on a toe fragment, is NAA 890 from the excavations south of the Acropolis by the late John Meliades in 1957; he gave me permission to use it in publication. This fragment had again a context of ca. 200 B.C. (information by kindness of Ch. Kanellopoulou). See the comment by E.L.Will quoted on p.97 of my publication cited: her suggestion that the letters C.S may stand for civitas stipendiaria, a Spanish commune that paid a fixed impost to Rome, seems the best possibility. After Scipio's victory at Ilipa in Spain in 207 B.C., such communes were required to deliver to Rome certain goods, including perhaps oil. Cf. CAH VIII, pp. 89, 306, 308, 310. Officially marked containers may have been



required, the shape, that used by the Carthaginians who had preceded the Romans in Spain.

(ms pp. 5-6) On other classes listed above, p. , as present in the Middle Stoa filling, see summaries with references in Delos 27, cf. index, p.382; on Samian(?) prow stamps, see Grace 1971, pp.82-84<sup>85</sup>, with notes (note 83, p.84, cites Middle Stoa context); the identification as Samian is not established. An article on this class is being prepared by Professor Bürker of Erlangen.

48

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

49

Grakov 1929. Reviewed: A. Kocevalov, PhilWoch 53, 1933, pp.630-647.

S.I.83

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50

Most of the work on this class of stamps has been done by Soviet scholars, since the material is found in abundance in the Black Sea area, while it is uncommon elsewhere. Sinopean amphoras are thought to have carried oil, not ~~wine~~<sup>wine,</sup> so it is not surprising that few of the stamped fragments have been found for instance in Athens.

*Oil, not wine; see VIII. 83  
Bessudnyy 1963, p. 138  
note into 29 p. 144*

For the earlier end date, see V. I. Tsekhmistrenko, "Sinopean pottery stamps with the names of master potters," Soviet Archeology 1960, p.75 (in Russian).

The author cites the expansion of the Pontic kingdom and the final taking of Sinope in 183 as the reasons for the breaking off of stamping Sinopean amphoras with the names of astynomoi, although he sets the actual end of the astynome stamps in about 175 B.C. (At the same time, he puts the liquidation of the astynome magistracies in ~~Sinope~~<sup>Sinope</sup> some years earlier than 183 B.C., see his note 106.)

The late Professor V. F. Gaidukevich, on the basis of observations during his excavations, was ready to accept 183 as the end date of the series, according to a letter he wrote in October 1957 to Emily Grace Kazakevich. He quotes the opinion of a member of the Kerch Museum staff who specialized in the stamps of Sinope (possibly Tsekhmistrenko?) that "the latest Sinope stamps with the names of astynomes go only as far as the moment of the seizure of Sinope by Pharnakes (183)." He found it most convincing, the more so when he learned that another investigator (myself) had arrived at the same conclusion independently.



~~conclusion independently.~~

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

51

See A. Balkanska, "Die Handelsbeziehungen von Seuthopolis," in

Vie ~~conférence~~ conférence internationale d'études classiques des pays

socialistes, Sofia 1963, p. 52, fig.3, no.1, a clearly legible Sinopean

stamp that names the astynomos <sup>u</sup>~~Antipaxos~~ with his characteristic device,

a horn, and the fabricant ~~Nikias~~, both belonging to Grakov's Group IV, see

Grakov 1929, pp. 138 and 184 for the astynomos, and pp. 140 and 207 for the

fabricant. Cf. the comment of I. B. Brashinsky, "Recent Foreign Research

on Ceramic Inscriptions," Soviet Archeology 1966, 2, p. 334 (in Russian),

where the dates of Seuthopolis are given. These dates, 359-229 B.C., come

actually from the earliest and latest coins found on the site, those of

Philip II of Macedon (259-336 B.C.) and those of Demetrios II (239-229 B.C.).

The earliest of these coins apparently preceded the founding of Seuthopolis,

~~were~~ were lost in the Thracian village that preceded it on the site. See

D.P. Dimitrov (the excavator, in 1948-1954), "Neuentdeckte epigraphische

Denkmäler über die Religion der Thraker, etc., "Hommages à W. Deonna,



Collection Latemus 28, Brussels 1957, pp.181-193; cf. J. and L. Robert, REG 72, 1959, pp.209-210; most recently, D. P. Dimitrov and M. <sup>U</sup>Cicikova, The Thracian City of Seuthopolis, British Archeological Reports, suppl.ser., 1978 (cf. review, JHS 100, 1980, p. 269). P. M. W. Matheson investigated for me the dates, and provided many references.

52

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

(Grakov 1929, p.112), but his revised view, quoted by Brashinsky in V.F.

Gaidukevich, ed., Olbia, Temenos and Agora, Moscow-Leningrad 1964, p. 307, (in Russian), 308

note 55, gave the period 360-330. Brashinsky himself dated the same Group

360-320 in 1963, see his "Economic Relations of Sinope in the 4th to 2nd ~~centuries~~ centuries

B.C.", Ancient Town, Institute of Archeology of the Academy of

Sciences of the USSR, Moscow 1963, p.133. (See this same page for the

author's comment on the early end date proposed by Tsekhmistrenko, for

which he saw difficulties.) At the Athenian Agora, stamps of Groups Ib and

II have both been found in deposits of the third quarter of the 4th century,

dating the change from I to II in that quarter century: SS 14823 of Ib

from deposit R 13 : 11, and SS 11354 of II from deposit J 11 : 1. Far

Group Ib, see Grakov 1929, p. 119.



Brashinsky's date for Group I remained the same ~~ten~~ years later, see p. 127 of his long ~~and~~ useful article, "The Progress of Greek Ceramic Epigraphy in the USSR," Eirene XI, 1973, pp. 111-144. He also still dated (loc.cit.) Group VI in the second half of the 2nd century.

53

Cf. Grakov 1929, p. 49.

54

We are much indebted to the late Dr. Brashinsky for information received in letters as well as for many offprints. Not long before his death he contributed the names in Sinopean stamps to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names being prepared under the auspices of the British Academy, a large contribution partly because of the patronymics mentioned above, which are otherwise rare in stamps.

For a fairly recent summary on work in this particular field, with many references, cf. D.B.Shelov, op.cit. in footnote 15, pp. 134-140. I am obliged to P.M.W. Matheson for a translation of these pages, as of many others useful to the present study.

Hasperia 23, 1954, p. 50 ~~from~~ (H. A. Thompson).



56

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

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

57

The ~~five~~ five stamps are as follows: SS 11826, example of KT 605, dated in the term of Ἐρμῶν, cf. a duplicate published Délos 27, p. 345, E 162; SS 12918, KT 2112, which names the duoviri Λάκκς and Εὐπρόδρος, on whom see e.g. Délos 27, p. 344, E 150; SS 12959, a Late Knidian belonging with Délos 27, p. 354, under G; SS 13056, KT 486, term of Ἐρμῶν, a duplicate is Délos 27, p. 343, E 147; SS 13096, KT 1578, the duoviri Κορυθαῖος and Εὐβουλος, see Délos 27, p. 344,

16.VI.88  
all the  
scenaria  
were  
changed  
by editor  
into  
periods



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

See above, footnote 7.

58

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 Ἰέρων 1st, dated tentatively 130 B.C., but the addition to the eponym Φίλων probably the early



198 B.C., but the Knidian to the eponym *Φιλόφρων* (SS 10799), probably the early phrourarch *Φιλόφρων*, hence not long after 188 B.C.; the same Knidian stamp type (KT 1105) is present in the Middle Stoa filling (SS 12428). On the tentative attribution of Rhodian eponym terms to specific years, see Grace 1974, p.199.

61

Long petal bowl, P 14330 (not catalogued in Agora XXII): cistern shaft,

E 15 : 4. The latest Rhodian, SS 4600, is dated in the term of *Ἀρξιδείδης*,

tentative date, 177 B.C.: he is known in the Pergamon deposit, but not in

the Middle Stoa filling; cf. a jar cited in footnote 20; also Délos 27, pp.

279, 291. The latest Knidian is probably SS 4598, dated in the term of the

phrourarchos *Ἀρξιδείδης*.

On deposits Q 8-9 (cf. footnote 60), E 15 : 4, and some others, cf.

Agora XXII, p. 35 with note 90, also p. 118. ~~Corrigenda on p. 118: the first~~

~~two names in the alphabetical list must should read Agoristratos and Aristion;~~

~~and we now suggest a date of 187 for Kleustratos.~~

62

See C. M. Edwards, "Corinth 1980: Molded Relief Bowls," Hesperia 50,



1981, pp.189-210. I am grateful to Mr. Edwards for advance information on this important material; also for various facilitations of the present article.

63

On the Peiraeus cistern, see I. Metzger, "Piräus-zisterne," Deltion 26, 1971, pp. 41-94. Finds included fragments of long petal bowls (ibid., pl.12 and pp. 61-62); also 35 stamped handles, not yet published but we have records of them. The names on the 5 Rhodian handles ~~xxxxx~~ are all in the Middle Stoa filling, the latest being that of the eponym <sup>Κλινκράτης</sup> ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ 1st (tentatively dated in one of the years 188-186 B.C., see above, p. ). Of the 10 eponyms named on 18 of the 28 Knidian handles (the other 10 handles bear fabricant stamps without eponyms), 5 are in the Middle Stoa filling, others are known to be close to that in date, while one, the phrourarchos <sup>Τελειόφρων</sup> is the most numerous (8 handles) and probably the latest, dating certainly before 166 and maybe still in the first quarter. The fabricants in the types without eponyms (the eponyms were named on the other handles of the jars) are <sup>Ἀριστοκλῆς</sup> ~~Δράκων~~, and the <sup>Παίδης Θεοδορίδα</sup> ~~Παίδης Θεοδορίδα~~, all associated by name-connections with eponyms of the early phrourarchos period. For this <sup>Ἀριστοκλῆς</sup> ~~Ἀριστοκλῆς~~, see Délos 27, p.319, on pairs with E 53 and E 54. For Theodoridas' Men, see ibid., p. 325, E 55.



Cf Retroff's comment on the Peiraeus cistern, Agora XXII, pp. 111-112.

Corrigenda on p. 112: the first two names in the alphabetical list should

read Agestratos and Aristion. Note also <sup>that</sup> ~~also~~ Kleukrates (1st) has now been

set slightly earlier. Note Retroff's final comment, bottom of her p.35, on the date of the beginning of long-petal bowls, "somewhat ambiguous evidence."

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

64

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

65

F. Durrbach, Choix d'inscriptions de Délos, Paris 1921, pp.97-105, no.

73, equals F. Durrbach and others, Inscriptions de Délos, Paris 1926-<sup>1927</sup>, no. 1497. Durrbach dates

the inscription 172/1. For the redating of the Athenian archon named <sup>(Tychandros)</sup>, see

e.g. W. B. Dinsmoor, The Archons of Athena in the Hellenistic Age, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931, p.260; and S. Dow, Hesperia 4, 1935, p. 91. I am indebted to M.B.Wallace and J. S. Traill for numerous references and for the information



that the date 160/159 still holds. I thank also S. Tracy and M. Walbank for helpful advice on forms of epigraphical reference. None of these is of course responsible for my historical suggestions in connection with the inscription.

It should possibly be mentioned that poorly preserved parts of this inscription have suggested to some that Pharnakes' gift was intended to be an annual contribution, hence perhaps the maintenance of a festival. Cf. Durrbach, Choix, p. 102. All that seems clear, however, is that it was to be paid in installments (and was in arrears).

66  
Agora XIV, p. 68. Thompson suggests (loc.cit., top of page) that the west end of the Middle Stoa itself was finished as late as "soon after the middle of (2nd) century." We have not succeeded in finding any group of stamped handles from the filling that supports this suggestion. It would also seem an unusual method of construction, to begin at the shallow end. Is it possible that the deep west end of the foundation, with its noticeably different material, was the first part constructed? For some suggestions as to the closing of the west end, see below, <sup>near</sup> end of Appendix 2, comment on the well deposit H 13 : 1.

67  
Hesperia 37, 1968, pp. 75-76 (Vanderpool); ibid. p. 56, and cf. Agora XIV, p. 76, note 216 (Thompson).



*and*  
to the Eleusinion, the area of which she considered extended somewhat further north than had been supposed.

68

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

69

*pp. 9-11.*  
Coulton 1976, p.11. Cf. Agora XIV, p. 93, on the varied uses of the

Stoa Poikile.

70

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

71

See T. D. Boyd, "The Arch and Vault in Greek Architecture," AJA 82, 1978, pp.83-100. P. W. Lehmann, AJA 84, 1980, especially pp.528-529, develops Boyd's suggestion by the reminder that architects for the planned new cities along his way had accompanied Alexander's journey east. (For a continuation of the discussion, with particular reference to the Royal Tomb at Vergina, see P. W. Lehmann, AJA 86, 1982, pp.437-442, and articles cited there.) On the hat, see



B.M.Kingsley, "The Cap that survived Alexander," AJA 85, 1981, pp. 39-46;

and cf. D. B. Thompson, ~~Boyd~~ Troy: the Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period, Supplementary Monograph 3, Princeton 1963, pp. 53-55, for a nice summary on this hat.

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

72  
Boyd, op. cit., p.89, note 22.

73  
Rickman 1971, p. 298.

74  
For pre-Roman granaries, cf. Rickman 1971, pp.252-257; Coulton ~~1965~~, <sup>1976</sup>, p.11; and references given by both. A recently excavated second granary at Morgantina has been reported: AJA 87, 1983, p.226.



75

Regulations known to me are 4th century after Christ, see Rickman 1971, p. 191. ✓

76

✓ Coulton 1976, p. 259, ~~states~~ states that the entrance to the Magazine at Miletos was at the south end; cf. also his p.6, where the building is listed as "end-entered". But Knackfuss, the authority he cites (Milet I,7), describes it as apparently entered from the middle of the long (west) ~~side~~ side (Knackfuss 1924, p.176). Cf. also G. Kleiner, Die Ruinen von Milet, Berlin 1968, p.

120. Coulton's useful volume has other slips: e.g. on p. 221 there is a statement that the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora has three lower column drums in situ ~~at each end~~ "at each end", whereas of course at the west end even the stylobate is far from being in situ. On the remains and suggested restoration of the Middle Stoa, see Agora XIV, pp.66-68, and Guide 3, pp. 164-166. ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓

77

✓ Knackfuss 1924, p. 176. The Magazine Building apparently had a hip roof. This would look well on the Middle Stoa, in association with the 2nd century (?) form of the "Heliaia", cf. Pl. ; and in fact no part of a raking geison



for the building has been found. But I learn from W.B. Dinsmoor, Jr., that the position of the interior supports of the Middle Stoa precludes, or practically precludes, a hip roof.

78

On pouring in grain at the top and extracting it from the bottom, hopper-fashion, see our fuller information from Egypt, cf. Rickman 1971, p. 298. ✓

79

Rickman 1971, pp. 8, 86, on evidence at Ostia. ✓

80

Rickman 1971, p. 255. There are fine remains of the granaries on ~~Hadrian's~~ <sup>Hadrian's</sup> ~~Hadrian's~~ <sup>Hadrian's</sup> Wall. ✓

81

For Miletos, Knackfuss 1924, p. 158. For the Middle Stoa, Guide 3, p.166; ✓  
and cf. W.B.Dinsmoor, Jr., The Propylaia to the Athenian Akropolis, I, The  
Predecessors, Princeton 1980, p.35, note 1: ". . . . The fire that destroyed  
(the Middle Stoa) was so intense that the inner face of every architectural  
member is terribly mutilated." I am obliged to Mr. Dinsmoor for finding for  
me this published statement. ✓



82

H. A. Thompson, The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavation and Museum,  
Second Edition, 1962, p. 102.

83

Agora XIV, p.69, fig. 24.

84

W. Judeich, Topographie von Athen, 2nd edition, Munich 1931, pp. 364-  
365, with long footnote 1 on p.365, for Athens; and pp.448-449 for Peiraeus.  
Both Judeich (op.cit., p.365) and Wycherley (The Athenian Agora, III, Literary  
and Epigraphical Testimonia, Princeton 1957, p.21 under no. 3) have placed  
the Athenian Long Stoa somewhat outside the Agora proper because of the  
scholion on Birds 997, according to which "Kolonos", which they take to be  
the Market Hill, lies behind it. But apparently Kolonos in this instance is  
a district, not a hill, cf. Wycherley in The Phoenix, 13, 1959, p.74, with  
reference to D. M. Lewis.

85

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



86

Guide 3, p. 136.

87

(R.E.M. Wheeler).

Ancient India 3, 1947, p. 78, and see plates XXXIV and XXXV A. C.G.

Koehler has called my attention to large mills at Pompeii which seem to have been powered by animals, or possibly sometimes by hands. For photographs of these heavy "machines", see for instance A. Maiuri, Pompeii, 2nd edition, Novara 1943, pp. 102, 114. The oven is to be seen behind a line of mills, and there was associated also a shop for the finished products. In one oven were found 81 loaves on which the baker had closed the oven door. So that here, in the 1st century AD, the milling was done by the bakers, rather than at the granary.



PRINTERS COPY, CARBONS, FOOTNOTES