

VRG\_Folder\_0029

26. 11. 90

Analyses out of this folder:

O-R 7-10 (Cott. file of Sq. Bldg)

~~Q 10.11 (File a treat for animal  
of Sq. Bldg)~~

See Temporary folder:

RHYS'S PROBLEM 1990



Oliver arrived about last week I think - Helen  
to come later. He had not received my letter of 1.5.86  
before leaving home. I showed him the carbon  
copy.

He has shown me some later published text  
by Susan R., with reference to later opinion of J.  
Kroll. See Hesperia 53, 1984, on pp. 348 and  
351, in her article on "Sporosaltellaria",

p. 348 "..... plate from the bldg fill of the  
Square Peristyle bldg..... whose deposit in the early  
3rd century has recently been confirmed by the identi-  
fication of a coin of Demetrios Poliorketes dating between  
300 and 295. <sup>40</sup>" [Kroll, Thompson vol. <sup>1979</sup> M. <sup>not 10</sup> is also, but  
does she mean note 11, which refers to an ASA abstract of p. 307-300.

wrongly  
X

On p. 351, in note 55, comment on date of  
Q 10:1: "Q 10:1 ..... has been associated  
with the cstr. fill of the Sq. Per. Bldg, deposited in the  
early 3rd century (see footnote 38 above)."

- does not add



SQUARE BLDG., etc

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

May 1, 1986

posted May 6 (after lunch)  
[Signature]

Dear Rhys:

Your letter of April 15 gives me the good news that you will both be here on May 21, which is Constantine and Helen Day! I take a chance that you have time to receive this before leaving.

Y. Garlan is in Greece briefly, and we have discussed the Thasian in your two deposits. Do you know his work at all - he has published extensively on Thasian amphora stamps, having excavated several factory sites in Thasos, as well as stratified deposits there. He and I found ourselves in agreement that although the absolute dates of the Thasian in your two deposits might be a little adjusted, there is no question but that those in Q 10 : 1 are distinctly later than those in O - R 7:10 - by perhaps as much as 30 years, was his reaction, but I would think, at present, more like 25 or 20. (We can't take Q 10 : 1 too far down the 3rd century, if the Hellenistic Wreck precedes Koroni.)

I shall be glad to have some footnotes to your statement about the Construction Fill that "both the pottery and the coins now indicate a date close to the end of the century for this deposit, as late as ca. 300." What I have is Kroll's "Early Athenian Bronze Coinage," from the volume for Margaret Thompson (1979), pp.145-147. The text seems to allow, if not to indicate, a date of ca. 322-315 B.C., by the evidence of the coins, for the Construction Fill. Kroll does of course date the coins a bit by the Construction Fill as context. I don't, like some, call that arguing in a circle, I say it is a confirmation if ideas from various sources arrive at an agreement, harmony. Do you have something recent specifically on the non-amphora pottery from this deposit? Perhaps a comment by Susan Rotroff? I do not know what Lucy T. was had in mind as late material when she wrote "probably not sealed over until near the end of the century." I would certainly like to ask her. Brian Sparkes remarked to me in recent years, perhaps about downdating a little Q 10 : 1, that, yes, some adjusting would need to be done on the dates of some of

⊗ Agave XII, under O-R 7-10 (2 as I should read)  
P. 396

their latest deposits, also some of their earliest, but that (in this case) the middle does seem to hold.  
Yours,  
with best wishes for a safe and pleasant journey.

⊗ 30  
golden  
COINS  
FROM  
HELL  
DEPOSITS



Department of  
Visual and Performing Arts

## CLARK UNIVERSITY

950 Main Street  
Worcester, Massachusetts 01610

15 April 1986

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

Dear Miss Grace:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 25. I am sorry to have taken so long to reply. A number of far less interesting demands intervened at about the time your letter arrived--the ASCS fellowships exams, which as a member of the Committee on Admissions and Fellowships I must read and pass sentence upon; a search for a new Renaissance art historian at Clark, meaning another committee and even more dossiers than those for the ASCS aspirants; and now just today, income tax deadline, involving by far the most paperwork of all.

I am very glad to have your updated comments on the amphoras of Depsoits O-R 7:10 (construction fill of Square Peristyle) and Q 10:1 (fill in south outer wall trench). It is interesting that the amphoras of the construction fill do not go any lower than 320 since both the pottery and the coins now indicate a date close to the end of the century for this deposit, as late as ca. 300. Thus, there seems little difference between the date of the construction fill as suggested by the ceramic and numismatic evidence and your date for the amphoras in the south outer wall fill (ca. 310-290). With the two deposits overlapping in date, the fill of the south outer wall therefore could have been taken from the construction fill (a possibility I noted in my earlier letter to you and one which I would either like to confirm or disprove). But if this is the case, I wonder why there is no overlap in the amphoras between O-R 7:10 and Q 10:1.

I look forward to discussing this and other questions with you this summer (Helen and I are scheduled to arrive in Athens May 21st). It will indeed be nice to see you and all the other Agora folks again--this past fall the Stoa was too quiet for my liking!

With best wishes,

Yours,



Rhys F. Townsend



Photocopy of original

[3.03]  
SQUAKE B.C.D.C. LST. 1 LL (O-R 7:10)  
AND Q 10:1 (FILL IN THE, FOR  
OUTER SECTOR WALL)

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

February 25, 1986

Professor Rhys F. Townsend  
Department of Visual and Performing Arts  
Clark University  
950 Main Street  
Worcester, Mass., 01610, USA

Dear Rhys:

I have your very interesting letter of January 27. It has taken me a while to look things up, as it seemed necessary to make a new comment on the stamps in O - R 7 : 10 for the Deposit Summaries, etc. I enclose a copy for you. I am sending one to HAT, partly in the hope of finding out why he does not use in his publications the fragmentary Thasian jar dated in the term of ΜΟΥΑΥΣ, the finding place of which at one time seemed to help date the temple of Apollo Patroos. It is apparently entirely confirmatory, that is, what we already know about the date of the jar. Perhaps in the meanwhile he has decided that the overlap of the temple over the drain from the pit was not enough of an overlap. (See Hesperia 6, 1937, pp. ~~101-104~~ 101-104, and figs. 54 and 126 - his article on the West Side Buildings.)

Note at the end of the comment enclosed on O-R 7 : 10 the proposed date of ca. 340-320 B.C. for the stamps in this deposit. I would say roughly 3/4 of 4th century. But the single-name Thasian stamps apparently don't begin until ca. 340 B.C. And if as I seem to have heard there are coins datable after 322 B.C. in the deposit, the stamps do not as yet allow me to insist on 325 rather than 320.

I do still think Q 10 : 1 goes down past 300 B.C., as earlier suggested by Fred Winter the Younger in connection with pottery comparanda found at Gordion. Q 10 : 1 seems to follow in date a series of 4th century fills in Thasos published by Y. Garlan in the B.C.H. of 1966, the latest of which was the Upper Layer at the Gate of Zeus (BCH 1966, pp. 628-642): the 10 Thasian eponyms in Q 10 : 1 include 5 (ΑΙΞΠΙΩΝ, ΑΙΞΠΩΝ, ΑΠΙΕΤΕΙΑΗΣ, ΑΠΙΣΤΟΑΙΚΟΣ, ΚΗΔΙΣΩΝ) in common with that Thasos



Upper Layer, as well as 5 new ones not in any of Garlan's stratified groups in his 1966 article (NIKOΔHMΩΣ 1st, ΠΟΥΛΥΑΔΗΣ, ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΚΑΙΣ, ΗΥΘΙΩΝ III, ΗΥΘΙΩΝ IV).

The Q 10 : 1 Thasian eponyms on the other hand do not include any of those at (ΔΗΜΑΑΚΗΣ, ΙΑΝΑΔΗΣ, ΚΑΕΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ), Koroni, which should date somewhere about 270 B.C. Comparative material at Koroni has suggested a date of not later than 280-275 for the Zenon Group stamps in ~~XXXX~~ Bass's Hellenistic wreck (see my article forthcoming in BCH Suppl. 13?), and the wreck had a Thasian jar with a stamp naming ΗΥΘΙΩΝ, no. V in the sequence of ΗΥΘΙΩΝ styles, whereas Q 10 : 1 has examples of II. III (2) and II. IV (3).

Q 10 : 1 may be set, somewhat negotiably, at ca. 310-290 B.C. It is certainly later than the Construction Fill. But, except for the two handles that seem to have been wrongly attributed, ~~in~~ neither of these two fills approaches a late 3rd century date, see your p.2, para 2.

I note with interest on your p.2, near top, that you say "construction necessarily began at the north where the ground was lower". It has certainly seemed to me that something similar must have been done with the Middle Stoa - at the west end, for, that - but HAT has seen the construction of that building as beginning at ~~than~~ the east, or high, end.

It will be nice to have you both back here in the summer. I'll keep my ears open for a flat. Lately the School has been celebrating octogenarian birthdays, first mine, then Mrs. Philippides, now tomorrow Paul Clement's. The celebration is taken ~~xxx~~ to the person, in my case to the Stoa. It is Steve who starts things and other kind persons who support him.

Thank you both so much for all your kindness to me in the hospital. It is evident that by this time I really am better than before the op. - if not all that better!

Yours affectionately to both,



3.05  
 American School of Classical Studies  
 54 Swedias Street, Athens 106 76, Greece

February 25, 1986

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 Department of Visual and Performing Arts  
 Clark University  
 950 Main Street  
 Worcester, Mass., 01610, USA

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Yours affectionately to both,



Department of  
Visual and Performing Arts

## CLARK UNIVERSITY

950 Main Street  
Worcester, Massachusetts 01610

27 January 1986

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

Dear Miss Grace:

Greetings from Massachusetts. Now that you have returned to Athens, I find myself back in Holden, which is bad luck for me, since there was much I wanted to ask you regarding the Square Peristyle when I was in Greece during the fall. Although I will make the trek back in the spring, I wonder if could put one pressing question to you right now.

Specifically, I would like to know what are your current views about the date of Deposit Q 10:1--Filling of the South Outer Foundation of the Square Peristyle. In July of 1983, you indicated to me that you considered it to belong to the first quarter of the third century B.C., or early third century B.C., and drew my attention to published references suggesting this date (Thasiaca, BCH Suppl. V, p. 249, n. 21; and BCH, 1982, p. 21.). In addition, in your deposit summary, written some years earlier, you remarked that "in estimating the date of this group of Thasian, it must be observed that it is clearly a stage later than that from the construction filling of the Square Building (according to the shape of handle, and character of stamp, and the way the stamp is set on the handle)...."

Do you still think that Deposit Q 10:1 chronologically is a stage later than the construction fill of the building (Deposit O-R 7-10)? The reason I ask is that, if this is the case, it may have significant implications for the history of construction of the building. As I am sure you know, during the excavation of the south outer wall, the excavators had a difficult time deciding whether the wall had actually been built, and robbed out at the time the building was dismantled; or whether the blocks had never been laid at all, the still empty trench refilled when construction of the building was curtailed. The evidence is still foggy. Although there are certain indications, noted by the excavators, that foundation blocks had not been laid, these signs are not decisive; and argument can be made, essentially on the basis of



the order or sequence of construction, that the wall naturally should have been among the earliest elements of the building to be put in place. The trench certainly was dug at the outset of construction, with the wall itself expected to follow soon thereafter. Yet the south outer wall was not the first one laid; construction necessarily began at the north where the ground was lower, and earth fill was brought in early on to level the area as the outer walls rose. At the south, at least at the southwest corner (where the fill came from), the ground was much higher--the floor of the peristyle actually lay directly on bedrock--and so, conceivably, the wall itself could wait. If it can be determined that the fill in this trench is slightly later and distinct from the construction fill of the building itself, then it is possible that the builders never got around to constructing this section, since it is hard to imagine why they would build the wall, only to dismantle it immediately. It is important, however, that the fill be chronologically distinct from the construction fill because building fill was pushed into other trenches of the Square Peristyle at the time the structure was dismantled. There was such a vast quantity of it that it formed a ready source of earth for rough grading of the area. (This can be firmly established, I believe.)

I would greatly appreciate your opinion whether the evidence of the stamped amphora handles supports the position outlined above, i.e., that the outer wall trench was filled in at a date only a little later, but still chronologically distinct from the time when the construction fill of the building was brought in. Or could it have been put in place when the building went out of use and was dismantled at the turn of the third to second centuries?

This past fall I looked at the pottery lots from the south outer wall, and, to my eye, they may contain material that is slightly later than the construction fill. But I would like Susan Rotroff to look at the lots. Hopefully, she will be able to do so this summer (there are not many lots). It is also important, of course, to establish if the deposit contains material that is much later than the early third century.

Many thanks for your help with this question. I would like to clear it up, as it is one of the last remaining stumbling blocks (pardon the pun) regarding the history of construction of the building. I realize, however, that such close dating and fine distinction of the material simply may not be possible, especially at this period. Nevertheless, I was encouraged by your comments in the deposit summary where you point out the differences between the south outer wall fill and the construction fill.

How is everything in Athens? Helen and I are looking forward to getting back in May. We hope to rent an apartment for the entire

26.11.86

-2-

\* So in looking

at 9:42, Because this is later than 10:11



summer, and in fact, would like to find a place, both pleasant and inexpensive enough to hold onto year-round. It gets very tiresome hunting up new digs every trip. If you happen to hear of anything, please keep us in mind!

All the best to you.

Yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Rhys', with a stylized flourish extending from the end.

Rhys F. Townsend



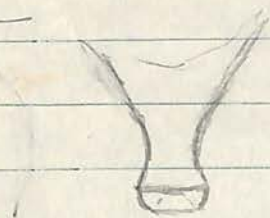
In floor of Square Bldg under S.A.

Aug. 16. 49 "cutting floor of Square Bldg"

Piers 12-14

Early Kind: handle, top part

Toe -



Trans.

Thas.

Some more

Large overporosclip (p. 844)

Toe



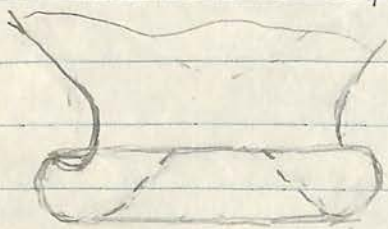
Five more  
misses

Below clif - 5 feet (p. 844)

a bit of attachment of a double handle

Does look like - early - Com. (clay

more more, more, then later on)



30 Aug

Piers 15-16 E cutting floor of Square Bldg: Stinson under  
poros clif - (p. 868)

Typical "boxed clif" toe - large (45 and smaller)

Trans. handle with most of stamp clipped off

Early Kind (?) min. pin Base of Cornelian handle

Handle - plaster mag. pin. ("orange")

(over)



Pin ~~H44~~ 16 W cutly floor of Sg. Blg. Filling of Sg

Bldg p 948

Toes: long stemmed "Mender"

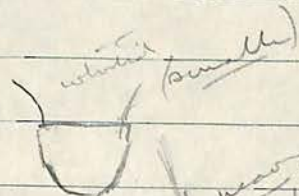
3 more as laster Thesis

Handle: a Thesis, early 3rd?

Toes: Thesis

Beachy type (pulchra)

Other:



near  
walls (as 02)

Toes: Thesis (2)

Beachy type (port exp.)



Notes - all of 13.11.76

to F. S. Kleiner, on his

publication

On coins from the 3 Strata

following this M. J. Price, Hesperia 1968 on coins for date. (Greece)

(Hesperia 1975,

pp. 302 ff)

This a. m. Fred Kleiner came to talk to me about the study he has been making in an effort to distinguish <sup>unmistakably</sup> between the fillings of

North Strata

Strata of Attalos

South Strata II

In fact, it has proved practically impossible to make such a distinction. Only 2 in the case of SS II, there were 2 coins (out of hundreds) which are apparently later than any in the other 2 Strata.

But the latest in the MSBF - <sup>on occasion</sup> 2 Fulminating Zeus types I think - are also the latest in the EABF

He is disposed to accept 183 (my date) for MSBF. But now is he to explain the fact that nothing more happened before 146 or when was end of EABF. Were no (Greek) coins minted in Athens from that time?

Some numismatists will be delighted with his findings, because they think any how that these latest coins in the MSBF (Fulm. Zeus or whatever) are from 166 B.C. They will just say, Vg must be wrong [again].

He wanted to see that I really had appreciable material in the EABF that predated MSBF. We looked at the COMBINED LIST



(Kind <sup>ephemeral</sup> of Counts - for SABF that are ~~not~~ <sup>also</sup> in MSBF. I counted 31 names cited for SABF. This does not really mean 31 years, because a) some of them are appropriate, but served '1/3 year', and b) the ones that happen to be in the part of the SABF not excavated are by no means the whole series from MSBF and pre-SABF. However, a substantial body they are.

I find I am not at all collected on the SS II fill, there have been so many bits & pieces collected.

See if John can give me a complete list, esp. of any SAG from his 1966 excavations in the upper floors - debris filling of SS I, presumably destroyed to make space for SS II.



VG: no useful mode of reference yet for most of the fills listed in your Square Bldg. analyses - but I suppose we may hope for more before the end of the summer; meanwhile there are two which have numbers (though by no means adequate lists):

Q 9:4 Trench for foundation of South Stylobate of Sq. Bldg (i.e. back fill in plundered trench)

Q 10:1 Fill in trench for outer wall of Square Bldg.

LT



7  
O-R 7-10 (not 2, I think as in Howland ms.) Construction

filling of Square Peristyle

(so cited in Howland ms., and hence can

be so used; but same considerations apply

as above.)

V<sup>L</sup> 1, 9.58''

L.T.



## SAH IN FILLS ASSOCIATED WITH SQUARE BLDG.

The SAH inventory numbers covered for each of the Square Building groups are listed at the beginning of the analysis of the group: see attached papers. Please let me know of any corrections to be made in these lists.

In summary, these seem to be the dates indicated by the handles:

0-R 7-10

Construction filling of the Square Building: third quarter of 4th century, if one discards as erroneously listed the Thasian SS 11524, and the Chian SS 11496, which belong in date with the Fill over the Floor. (Note they were listed by EV with some indication of doubt.) Also I have no good information on SS 10932 and SS 11567.

The five remaining handles are dated with unusual firmness in, or not long before, the third quarter.

Fill in trench for outer wall of Square Building: last quarter of 4th century.

Fill over floor of Square Building: 3rd century, to ca. 200 B.C. (A little before the MSBF.)

MSBF: to ca. 185 B.C.

South Stoa Building Fill: mostly MSBF types, but 2 or 3 a little later, before 166 B.C.

Water channel to east of Stoa Shops XI-XV (SS 11356-11370, ZA 1620-1636):

Mostly 188-167 B.C.; possibly a little later is SS 11358.

Construction filling of Brick Building (SS 11075-11085, and 11621-4 from beneath floor): mostly 188-167 B.C., and possibly a little later, cf. SS 11075-7, about which I am not sure of the precise date.

Trench for foundation of S stylobate of Square Building: (SS 13224-33):

mostly 188-167 B.C., but SS 13233, which names the eponym KAEYMBPOTΩZ, is later, perhaps about 150?

9 9:4  
3-10-58  
10-10-58  
10-10-58

11-10-58 Fill from floor  
ca. 185 B.C. (SS 11621-4)



Q 10:1

Agora ST no. 1 325-300 B.C. 2.VII.56

3 do. 5 find a large deposit lid.

SAH FROM EA; PIER 110, EAST. FILL IN TRENCH FOR OUTER WALL

OF SQUARE BUILDING; p.2622

SS 11483-494  
 11497-500  
 11525-526  
 11608-613  
 13221-223

P 22240

[901]

fabricant device eponym SS shape, etc  
 of stamp

fabricant	device	eponym	SS
PHASIAN $\Sigma$ AIXPIQN	10, 8	sword	11493
( AIXPQN	V	vase VIII	13223
$\Sigma$ APIETEIAHE	V	device cornucopia	11609
$\Sigma$ APIETOAIKOE	V	rosette	11484
$\Sigma$ KHPIZOPQN	V	kreagra	11487 11499
KHPIZOPQN	V	trident	13221
( NIKOAHMOZ I	—	herm	11500
NIKOAHHMOZ I	—	pomegranate	11610
$\Sigma$ POYAYAAHE	—	eel	11611
POYAYAAHE	—	head	11489
POYAYAAHE	—	turtle	11483
( NPHEINOAIZ	—	oar	11613
$\Sigma$ NYOIZN III 77	—	letter device OE	11525
( NYOIZN IV	—	lamp ?	11526
NYOIZN IV	—	shield ?	11488
NYOIZN IV	—	torch	11494
( NYOIZN V	—	device OE	13222

retr.

retr.

Q 10:1  
 cited  
 Jordan 1979,  
 p. 249  
 and G.  
 1982, p. 24

To 70  
 see below  
 p. 4

CHERSONESAN

AST.HPAKAEIOZ 11485

AST. EANOZE 11497

ASTYNOMOE 11498

11490

QUARTERED  
GROUP



	fabricant or reading	device	eponym	SS	shape, etc of stamp
IKIAN	IKION			11486	retr.
UNKNOWN ORIGIN	H			11491	
	undeciphered			11492	
	device ?			11608	o
				11612	

*Cor. B* unstamped, catalogued for its dipinto, . . . . P 22240, part of neck of jar with heavy flaring rim, roughly made of porous clay fired tan at core, light red near surface, buff surface.

SS 11483-494, 11497-500, 11525-26 from Pier 10, East. Fill in trench for outer wall of Square Building; p. 2622 ADD: P 22240, part of neck of jar with dipinto

SS 11608 from Pier 10 E. Trench for outer wall of Square Building; top. p. 2624 Same general fill as SA 1710 (SS 11483)

SS 11609-613 from Filling of plundered foundation trench for South wall of Square Building, Stoa Pier 10, E; p. 2622; cf. SS 11463 ff.

SS 13221-223 From filling of south outer foundation of Square Building, area of Stoa Piers 10-11; p. 2982

#### 1.VI.58

Of the stamps of Chersonesos found at the Agora, those listed here are three out of a total five. One of the remaining two ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> a duplicate of SS 11485 of the present deposit, SS 8929 from AA underground drain at west end of section, datable about 300(?). These four ~~are attributable~~ <sup>may all be attributable</sup> ~~apparently~~ to Akhmerov's Group I of this class, which he dates 320-250 B.C.: the name EANOZE appears only in this group, the name HPAKAEIOZ in this as well as in the other three. (The other <sup>Chersonesos</sup> handle at the Agora, SS 9171, names an astynomos listed by Akh. in his Group IV (180-100 BC), and its context - NN, Great Drain South - thus supports Akh.'s chronology.)

For the Thasian, there is not much independent context evidence for these names: at Thasos, accompanying pottery suggested a date of before 300 for APIZTOAIKOE; at Doura, the top of a jar of HPHEINOAIZ was found under a floor laid between 300 and 250



B.C.; there is nothing useful at the Agora except this deposit. (The MSBF, which has some Thasian earlier than these, does not contain stamps of any of these persons, probably - only one of a different AIZXPON, and three of one or two different men named HVOION, according to arrangement of stamps, and fabric.) Their fabric helps but to set off this group: no rims are preserved on these particular handles, on other handles <sup>rather fat</sup> with these persons named occurs the rolled rim which follows the earlier angular profile (cf. Pnyx, p.124), and is itself replaced in the third century by something <sup>much smaller</sup> ~~of much less projection~~. (Fat rolled rim known with APIETEIAHE, HPHH-  
HIOAIE, and HVOION III and IV.) Several of these handles here listed are <sup>unusually</sup> particularly broad and thin, cf. particularly those of APIETEIAHE, KHΘIZOΘON with kreagra, NIKOAEHMOZ with herm. Not only the rims, but usually also the upper attachments of handles, <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ missing, and probably most had relatively long upper parts, as on the handle of AIZXPON, Thasos 2212, preserved with both attachments, no rim. <sup>(Some of</sup> ~~The~~ less broad handles may have come from jars of less than unit size, cf. the larger and smaller jars from Pontano, Rhodes VG 125 and 126, <sup>it</sup> probably of about this period.)

In estimating the date of this group of Thasian, must observe that <sup>it</sup> is clearly a stage later than that from the construction filling of the Squ. Bldg. (according to shape, and character of stamp, and the way the stamp is set on the handle), and that it is my belief that the construction filling lot are datable later than 340 B.C., according to the type of stamp (cf. Pnyx, p.123.). This <sup>ostr. filling</sup> lot belong to the period still of the angular rim, one of which is preserved on SS 11003, while the others, as remarked, probably had ~~fattish~~ rolled rims. In the two groups, the whole jars probably looked respectively like SS 14261 (jar of THAEHAKOZ, from F 17 : 3) and SS 10340 (jar of KAEΘON, from D 16 : 1); however, SS 10340 does not have broad handles. *(non fat rim)*

For the group with stamps having letters in a <sup>or cut in 3</sup> quartered circle, which may be from Thasos (Bon nos. 2146 ff.), there seems to be no better <sup>direct</sup> evidence on date than the present deposit, but similar types occur on coins apparently of the mid-4th century (cf. Staerman, "Pottery Stamps of Tyras", p.46).

No more chronological evidence for the remaining handles of our group.



From notes taken by me on the sherds in April 1952: included were unstamped Thasian handles, some with fat rolled rim, some with a smaller, thinner rim, like that on SS 10340; also a toe of the offset kind like that on SS 14261, but the offset end is longer (0.055 instead of ca. 0.035 as on SS 14261; cf. also Bon, p.20, fig. 4, no.1, jar in Thasos, no stamp preserved).

Also included: among Chian unstamped fragments, a rim-and-handle piece, and part of a deeply pierced toe, both thought to be of the last quarter of the fourth ~~cent~~ century; a couple of bits apparently of Coan jars; ~~examples of~~ rim-and-handle fragments which present information suggests may be Rhodian, ~~from the latter~~ of the three latter-4th century Rhodian jar types. Other classes are identifiable.

The lack of normal Rhodian is in keeping with a date before 300 B.C.

1.10.70

For the date of Chersonese stamps, a little investigation of this deposit.

Comparing the Thasian with those in Garland's various groups, in BCH 1966, pp 586 ff. It seems that Q 10:1 is closest to what must be Garland's latest group, the <sup>2nd or 3rd</sup> upper group of the Ports de Zeus (catalogue, loc. pp. 628 ff.). Some names in Q 10:1, its comment, are not seen in X. Presumably, then, Q 10:1 is a little later than Garland's latest group.

Roman Thasian (Δυσσάδης, Ἰδυσάδης, & Κλειδορτορίας) are not in either. So still a bit later?



[10.01]

F

SS 11483-494 P 22240  
11497-500  
11525-526  
11608-613  
13221-223

70. 70  
 See below  
 70. 70

QUARTERED CIRCLE  
GROUP

11490      0



fabriquant or reading	device	eponym	SS	shape, etc of stamp
N IKION			11486	retr.
IKIAN				
UNKNOWN				
OWN H			11491	
IN ORIGIN				
undeciphered			11492	
device ?			11608	o
			11612	

Cor. B unstamped, catalogued for its dipinto, . . . . P 22240, part of neck of jar with heavy flaring rim, roughly made of porous clay fired tan at core, light red near surface, buff surface.

SS 11483-494, 11497-500, 11525-26 from Pier 10, East. Fill in trench for outer wall of Square Building; p. 2622 ADD: P 22240, part of neck of jar with dipinto

SS 11608 from Pier 10 E. Trench for outer wall of Square Building; top. p. 2624 Same general fill as EA 1710 (SS 11483)

SS 11609-613 from Filling of plundered foundation trench for South wall of Square Building, Stoa Pier 10, E; p. 2622; cf. SS 11463 ff.

SS 11322-223 From filling of south outer foundation of Square Building, area of Stoa Piers 10-11; p. 2982

2

# 1.VI.58

Of the stamps of Chersonesos found at the Agora, those listed here are three out of a total five. One of the remaining two is a duplicate of SS 11485 of the present deposit, SS 8929 from AA underground drain at west end of section, datable about 300(?). These four ~~may all be attributable~~ <sup>may all be attributable</sup> ~~are attributable~~ <sup>are attributable</sup> to Akhmerov's Group I of this class, which he dates 320-250 B.C.: the name EANOZ appears only in this group, the name HPAKAEIOZ in this as well as in the other three. (The other <sup>Chersonesos</sup> handle at the Agora, SS 9171, names an astynomos listed by Akh. in his Group IV (180-100 BC), and its context - NN, Great Drain South - thus supports Akh.'s chronology.)

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B.C.; there is nothing useful at the Agora except this deposit. (The MSBF, which has some Thasian earlier than these, does not contain stamps of any of these persons, probably - only one of a different ALEXSEN, and three of one or two different men named HYOION, according to arrangement of stamps, and fabric.) Their fabric helps to set off this group: no rims are preserved on these particular handles, <sup>but</sup> on other handles <sup>rather fat</sup> with these persons named occurs the <sup>rolled</sup> rim which follows the earlier angular profile (cf. Pnyx, p.124), and is itself replaced in the third century by something <sup>much smaller</sup> of ~~much less projection~~. (Fat rolled rim known with APIETEIAHE, HPHE-INOAIK, and HYOION III and IV.) Several of these handles here listed are <sup>unusually</sup> ~~particularly~~ broad and thin, of. particularly those of APIETEIAHE, KHPIEOTON with kreagra, NIKOAHMOZ with herm. Not only the rims, but usually also the upper attachments of handles, <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ missing, and probably most had relatively long upper parts, as on the handle of ALEXSEN, Thasos 2212, preserved with both attachments, no rim. <sup>(Some of</sup> ~~The less~~ broad handles may have come from jars of less than unit size, of. the larger and smaller jars from Pontamo, Rhodes VG 125 and 126, <sup>probably of about this period.)</sup>

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For the group with stamps having letters in a <sup>or cut in 3</sup> quartered circle, which may be from Thasos (Bon nos. 2146 ff.), there seems to be no better <sup>direct</sup> evidence on date than the present deposit, but similar types occur on coins apparently of the mid-4th century (cf. Staerman, "Pottery Stamps of Tyras", p.46).

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Also included: among Chian unstamped fragments, a rim-and-handle piece, and part of a deeply pierced toe, both thought to be of the last quarter of the fourth ~~cent~~ century; a couple of bits apparently of Coan jars; ~~xxxxxxxx~~ rim-and-handle fragments which present information suggests may be Rhodian, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ of the three latter-4th century Rhodian jar types. Other classes are identifiable.

The lack of normal Rhodian is in keeping with a date before 300 B.C.

1. IV. 70

For the date of Chersonese stamps, a little investigation of this deposit.

Comparing the Thasian with those in Goulet's various groups, see BCH 1966, pp 586 ff. It seems that Q 10:1 is closest to what must be Goulet's latest group, the <sup>all II</sup> upper group of the Ports & 2 ans (catalogue, see pp. 620 ff.). Some names - Q 10:1, etc. ~~commonest~~, are not common in II. Presumably, then, Q 10:1 is a little later than Goulet's latest group.

Romian Thasian (Byzantine, <sup>Idvady</sup> & Kladopros) are not in either. So still - but later?



FILL OVER FLOOR OF SQUARE BUILDING

P 20188a-h Hell. krater fr. moulded and W.S.  
P 20189 Fr. large Meg. bowl or krater  
P 20190a-b Meg. bowl frs. signed BIONOC  
P 20191 Meg. fr. of rim : Graffito MYC  
P 20192 Bowl fr. relief medallion  
P 20193a-b Fr. W.S. bowl  
P 20194 Base, large Hell. pot, B.G.  
P 20195 Lug handle open bowl, B.G.  
P 20196 Coarse amphora neck  
P 20197 Fr. plastic vase  
P 20198 B.G. plate fr.: graffito  
P 20199 R.F. stand fr.  
P 20200 B.G. cup fr. w. pigment  
P 20201 Coarse amphora lid  
P 20202 R.F. loutrophoros neck  
P 20203 R.F. lebes gamikos stand fr.  
P 20204a-b Meg. frs.  
P 20205 " "  
P 20206 Fr. of Meg. bowl or krater  
P 20207 Bowl fr., incised pentagons  
P 20208 Meg. fr., nodules  
P 20209 B.G. bowl, outturned rim  
P 20210 B.G. pyxis fr.  
P 20278 R.F. lid fr.  
P 20280 Base fr. of footed relief bowl  
P 20284 Rim fr., coarse bowl, Fehlbrad  
P 20321 Meg. fr.  
P 20327 Coarse amphora lid  
P 20328 Frag'y Meg. bowl  
P 20329 B.G. bowl fr.: graffito  
P 20330 Applique fr.  
P 20331 Unguentarium  
P 20333 Meg. fr.

L 4613 Type  
L 4615 Type  
L 4616 Type  
L 4617 Two-nozzled  
L 4618 Type  
L 4619 Type XII  
L 4620 " " moulded  
L 4621 Type XVIII fr.  
L 4633 Type XII moulded  
L 4644 Type  
L 4647 Type XVIII

SS 10777✓ S.A.H.  
SS 10793✓ S.A.H. Rhodian R.R.  
SS 10794✓ S.A.H. " ?R.R.  
SS 10795✓ S.A.H. Thasian Th.  
SS 10796✓ S.A.H.  
SS 10797✓ S.A.H.  
SS 10798✓ S.A.H.

SS 10777  
10793 - 10802  
10806 - 10809  
10811 - 10825  
10827 - 10831  
10833 - 10863  
10865, 10867 - 10890  
10908  
10934 - 9  
10958 - 10960

✓ 2 ss, check of M2 before 3 points  
listing of 3A4 by class.

[11.01]



FILL OVER FLOOR OF SQUARE BUILDING (cont'd)

SS 10799	S.A.H. Knidian ?	SS 10859	S.A.H. Thasian Th.
SS 10800	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.	SS 10860	S.A.H. Rh.
SS 10801	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10861	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.
SS 10802	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10862	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10806	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.	SS 10863	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10807	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10865	Neck.fr. w. stamp
SS 10808	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10867	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.
SS 10809	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10868	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10811	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10869	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10812	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.	SS 10870	S.A.H. Thasian Th.
SS 10813	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10871	S.A.H. " Th.
SS 10814a-b	S.A.H. Thasian Th.	SS 10872	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10815	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.	SS 10873	S.A.H. Knidian
SS 10816	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10874	S.A.H. Coan
SS 10817	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10875	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.
SS 10818	S.A.H. Rhod. Rh.	SS 10876	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10819	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.	SS 10877	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10820	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10878	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10821	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.	SS 10879	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10822	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10880	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10823	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10881	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10824	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10882	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10825	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10883	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10827	S.A.H. Thasian Th.	SS 10884	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10828	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.	SS 10885	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10829	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10886	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10830	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.	SS 10887	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10831	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10888	S.A.H. Knidian
SS 10833	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.	SS 10889	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10834	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.	SS 10890	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10835	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10908	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10836	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10934	S.A.H. Thasian Th.
SS 10837	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10935	S.A.H. " Th.
<del>SS 10838</del>	<del>S.A.H. " Rh.</del>	SS 10936	S.A.H. Knidian
SS 10838	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10937	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10839	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10938	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.
SS 10840	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10939	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10841	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10958	S.A.H. Coan
SS 10842	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.	SS 10959	S.A.H. " Rh.
SS 10843	S.A.H. " Rh.	SS 10960	S.A.H. Thasian Th.
SS 10844	S.A.H. " Rh.		
SS 10845	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.	T 2968	TC head
SS 10846	S.A.H. " Rh.	T 2970	drapery fr.
SS 10847	S.A.H. " Rh.	T 2971	heads
SS 10848	S.A.H. " Rh.	T 2972	fig. fr.
SS 10849	S.A.H. " Rh.	T 2973	fr. TC plaque
SS 10850	S.A.H. " Rh.	T 2974	TC relief
SS 10851	S.A.H. " Rh.	T 2975	fig. fr.
SS 10852	S.A.H. Rhodian Rh.	T 2976	head fr.
SS 10853	S.A.H. " Rh.	T 2977	fr. mould
SS 10854	S.A.H. " Rh.	T 2978	head
SS 10855	S.A.H. " Rh.	T 2979	torso
SS 10856	S.A.H. Thasian Th.	T 2980	mould fr.
SS 10857	S.A.H. " Rh.	T 2981	" " gorgoneion
SS 10858	S.A.H. " Rh.	T 2992	mould fr.
		T 2993	Imitation kleroterion?

✓ 2.11.58, checked before finally listing by class.



FILL OVER FLOOR OF SQUARE BUILDING (cont'd)

11.03

A 1476	Poros moulding fr.	B 889	Bronze ring
A 1479	Fr. pebble pavement		
A 1493	Fr. hypaethral tile	ST 462	Unfinished marble pestle
BI 642	Bone pin		
BI 643	" "		

CLAY FLOOR OF SQUARE BUILDING

P 20276	Meg. fr.		
P 20286	Meg. fr.		
P 20287	Fr. of large Meg. bowl or krater		
P 20295	Base fr., footed Meg. bowl		
SS 10931	S.A.H. Rhodian	<i>Ἀπὸ τοῦ κε/πτα</i>	<i>2nd 3rd?</i>
L 4648	Type XII		

SQUARE BUILDING CONSTRUCTION FILL

P 20279	B.G. Bowl: Graffito	T 2983	Head
P 20291	R.F. fr.	T 2990	Dove
P 20298	B.G. kantharos fr. dipinto	T 2991	Fig. fr.
P 20299	B.F. fr.	MC 805	Stamped pyr.loomweight
P 20303	B.G. bowl, relief medallion	MC 806	TC mould fr.
P 20318	B.G. fish plate		
P 20334	B.G. kantharos fr.:graf.	B 890	Tweezers
P 20335	B.G. pyxis base : graf.		
L 4641	Type VII	G 392	Bead
L 4642	Min. lamp	G 391	Fr.? moulded cup
L 4643	VII b	I 6228	Inscr. fr.
SS 10901	S.A.H. S. Russian eagle + dolphin Type	IL 1070	Lead weight
SS 10914	S.A.H. Thasian Type/ep/x.8a and later =		
SS 10932	S.A.H. <i>poss. Chian</i> <i>mon. 17 (new)</i>	A 1494	Hypaethral tile fr.
SS 10941	S.A.H. Thasian <i>not read (early)</i>		

PRE-SQUARE BUILDING FILLS

P 20281	B.G. bowl fr. : graffito
P 20282	B.G. kantharos fr.:graffito
P 20283	B.G.? pyxis fr.:graffito
P 20333	Coarse handle fr. : graffito
L 4634	Type VII



PRE-SQUARE BUILDING FILLS (cont'd)

11.04

- T 2994 Mould fr.
- I 6226a-c Inscr. fr. Hym.
- L 4637 Type VII b
- BI 645 Bone flute fr.
- SS 10905 S.A.H. ? *eng in O* *Liter:* / *SS 214 - 2T, possible eng 3c*  
*SS 3230 - B, well at 33/KD, statue*  
*chamber group*
- P 20294a-b B.G. pot fr.:graff.
- P 20296 R.F. fr.
- P 20297 R.F. fr.
- ST 466 Base fr. statuette, Hym.
- SS 10933 S.A.H. ~~Thasian~~ ? *devic* *27* (new) *Thasian fabric, not carlunt -*
- P 20325 Ostrakon : Sokrates
- P 20300 B.G. Pyxis fr. stamped
- P 20301 Fr.R.F. stemless cup
- P 20302 B.G. cup base, graff.
- P 20320 B.G. stamped fr.
- L 4638 Type
- A 1490 Doric cap. fr.
- BI 393 Bone stylus fr.
- P 20315 B.G. bowl
- L 4646 Type VII



[30.VIII.52]

(all my typewritten  
of I.V. 52)

BACK FILLING OF FOUNDATION TRENCH  
OF SQUARE BLDG

SOUTH OUTER WALL TOWARD SE CORNER

of EA XIV, ff. 2623 ff.

SS 11483-11494

SS 11497-11500.

SS 11525-11526.

SS 11608-11613

Pottery from here agrees very closely with that of  
H.A.T. Two Cents. Group A -  
(running into first 1/4 of II cent.?)  
III



Note

6.V.56 13.01 3.02  
 FILL OVER FLOOR OF  
 SQUARE BLDG  
 The kneeling in this fall  
 (left and right) indicates T.C. I  
 about contemporary  
 with MSBF.  
 KΛΕΡΧΟΣ  
 KΛΕΡΧΟΣ

20.III.58 [13.03]  
 BUILDING  
 T is MSBF  
 and not human  
 shape in earlier group  
 other all  
 earlier.

would suggest a  
 date after 200 BC  
 (y. P 25797,  
 before 150)

Note among Rhodi  
 SS 10843  
 Kαδδικρατῖδας "186"

APTEMIAΣPOΣ					
APTEMIAΣPOΣ					10837
ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ	rose				10822 o
ΔΙΟΣ					10880
ΔΙΣΚΟΣ				ΠΑΝ.	10835
	rose	ΔΟΡΚΥΑΙΔΑΣ	H		10816
ΕΛΛΑΝΙΚΟΣ	rose				10845 o
ΕΠΙΓΟ(ΝΟΣ)		ΕΕΝΟ(			10860
ΕΡΜΩΝ	rose				10821
		ΕΥΚΛΗΣ	Done	ΘΕΣ.	10847
		ΙΕΡ,ΕΥΦΡΑΝΩΡ	G		10830
		ΘΑΡΣΙΠΟΛΙΣ	I	KAP.	10819
ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΣ				ΔΙΟ.	10881
ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΣ				KAP.	10861
ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΣ				?	10806
		ΘΕΥΦΑΝΗΣ	H	KAP.	10883



6.VI.56

13.01

FILL OVER FLOOR OF  
SQUARE BLDG

The kneeling in this fall  
(left analyzed) indicates it is  
about contemporary  
with MSBF.

ΚΛΕΑΡΧΟΣ

ΚΛΕΑΡ-  
ΧΟΣ



8. XI. 74

Note P 20196

ca. 9 ELW, Type I  
(forming  $\Delta a$ )would suggest a  
date after 200 BC(q. P 25797,  
byron 150)

Note among Photos

SS

10843

~~Kaddi Kp. 1/86~~

1/86



Q 8-9 note 27.11.71 (date group 8) [13.03] 20.III.58

RHODIAN

J is MSBF and not hms in earlier group

Other all earlier

Note 27.11.71

RHODIAN

fabricant	device	eponym	month	SS	shape
	symbol for Helios	ΑΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ (F and D)		10836	
	ribboned trident	ΑΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ (F and D) ΠΑΝ.		10800	o
	rose	ΑΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ		10869	o
		ΑΓΛΩΚΡΙΤΟΣ F		10815	
ΑΝΑΞΙΑΔΣ	rose			10885	o
ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΣ	rose		APT.	10793	o
ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΣ	rose	ΙΕΡΩΝ 198	J	10831	o
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ				10938	
	rose	ΑΡΜΟΣΙΑΔΣ 222	G AGR.	10862	o
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΑΔΟΣ			ΔΙΟ.	10848	
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΑΔΟΣ				10837	
ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ	rose			10822	o
ΔΙΟΣ				10880	
ΔΙΣΚΟΣ			ΠΑΝ.	10835	
	rose	ΔΟΡΚΥΑΙΔΑΣ 210	H	10816	
ΕΛΛΑΝΙΚΟΣ	rose			10845	o
ΕΠΙΓΟ(ΝΟΣ)		ΕΕΝΟ(		10860	
ΕΡΜΩΝ	rose			10821	
		ΕΥΚΛΗΣ Done	ΘΕΣ.	10847	
		ΙΕΡ, ΕΥΦΡΑΝΩΡ	G	10830	
		ΘΑΡΣΙΠΟΛΙΣ 208 I	KAP.	10819	
ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΣ			ΔΙΟ.	10881	
ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΣ			KAP.	10861	
ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΣ			?	10806	
		ΘΕΥΦΑΝΗΣ 213 H	KAP.	10883	



	fabricant	device	eponym	month	SS	shape
RHODIAN	ANTIGONOS	rose	ΙΕΡΩΝ <sup>198</sup>		10831	o
		Helios "head"	ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑΣ <sup>198</sup>		10843	o
	ΚΡΕΩΝ			ΔΑΔ.	10801	
	ΚΡΕΩΝ			ΠΕΤ.	10875	
	ΚΡΕΩΝ			ΣΜΙ.	10884	
	ΛΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ	device	(ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ep.) <sup>D</sup>		10809	
	ΜΕΝΤΩΡ			ΣΜΙ.	10828	
	ΜΕΝΩΝ	rose			10868	o
	ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ	rose			10794	o
	ΜΙΚΥΘΟΣ			ΑΓΡ.	10878	
	ΜΙΚΥΘΟΣ	arrow to r.			10840	
	ΜΙΚΥΘΟΣ			ΘΕΣ.	10852	
		head of Helios	ΜΥΤΙΩΝ <sup>G</sup>		10863	
	ΕΠΙΓΟ(ΝΟΣ)		ΕΕΝΟ(		10860	
		rose	ΕΕΝΟΣΤΡΑ(ΤΟΣ) ΠΑΝ. <sup>H</sup>		10886	o
			ΕΕΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ <sup>200</sup>		10834	
		rose	ΕΕΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ	ΑΡΤ.	10846	o
		rose	ΕΕΝΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ <sup>F?</sup>	ΑΓΡ.	10813	o
	ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ				10812	
			ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ <sup>D</sup>		10833	
			ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ	ΣΜΙ.	10867	
			ΣΙΜΥΛΙΝΟΣ <sup>H or D</sup>		10807	
			ΣΙΜΥΛΙΝΟΣ	ΥΑΚ.	10808	
	ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ				10879	
	ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ	burning torch			10829	
	ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ	burning torch			10842	

XT 74  
Handle and strip  
show to earlier K.



fabricant	device	eponym	month	SS	shape
RHODIAN	ΣΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ	burning torch		10876	
		TIMOKΛΕΙΔΑΣ	Ε	ΘΕΣ.	10882
	ΦΙΛΑΙΝΙΟΣ	wreath			10877
			ΑΓΡ.		10855
					10818
					10838
	rose				10839 o
					10849

3.VI.58

A check of the Rhodian here listed indicates that the bulk of the <sup>57</sup>SS handles are of the first half of the 3rd century, and that only 6 or 7 are probably as late as 220 B.C. or later. These are the two of ANTIFONOS with rose, SS 10793 and 10831, of which the latter names also the eponym IEPSEN; two naming the eponym ΕΕΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ, SS 10834 and 10846, and two with potters' stamps which might be pairs with these, respectively SS 10880 (ΑΙΟΣ), and SS 10822 (ΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ), one naming the eponym ΔΟΡΚΥΑΙΔΑΣ (SS 10816, small fragment), and three with potters' stamps, of ΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (SS 10822, possibly a pair with SS 10846, ep. ΕΕΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ), of ΑΙΟΣ (SS 10880), and ΦΙΛΑΙΝΙΟΣ (SS 10877). All these are present in the Pergamon deposit, and also in the MSBF; I think none need date later than 200 B.C.

(X) 9.7.74 New wd date as 240 - late 3rd, with 2 at 200 B.C. and 1 at 198.



Foss over floor of Square Building

Rhodian names

	Ἀγῆσιππος, ep.	10800, 10836	handles arched
	Ἀγδάκρυτος, ep.	10815	"
	Ἀναξίδας	10885	" (broad)
	Ἀντίγονος	10793	angular
late	Ἀντίγονος, ἐπὶ Ἰέρων, ep.	10831	" short topped
	Ἀριστοκράτης	10938	angular fractional
	Ἀρμοσίλας, ep.	10862	arched angular
	Ἀρτεμίδωρος	10848, 10837	arched
	Δαμοκράτης	10822	rounded angular
late	Δίος	10880	angular
	Δίσκος (I)	10835	arched
	[Δορκυ]λίδας, ep.	10816	(small chips, rounded)
	Ελλάνικος	10845	arched
	Επίγονος	Ξενο (ep. 10860)	"
	Ἑρμῶν	10821	thick; arched down with abrupt angle
	Εὐκλῆς, ep.	10847	small curved fig.
	Ἰερ. Εὐφρανῶρ, ep.	10819	arched, toward angular
	Θαρσίπολις, ep.	10830	angular fractional
	Θεύδωρος	10881, 10861 <sup>10866?</sup>	arched fractional <sup>10881</sup>
	Θεύδωρος, ep.	10863	(battered; seems angular)
	Θευφάνης, ep.	10883	rounded angular
	Ἰέρων, ep. w. Ἀντίγονος		
	Καλλικρατίδας, ep.	10843	arched, resembles ἡ Ἀρτεμίδωρος (large fig.)
	Κρέων	10801, 10875, 10884,	arched



Μέντωρ	10828	arched
Μηνόδωρος	10794	<u>early</u> , arched
Μίκυθος	10878, 10840, 10852	arched
Ξενο φ. α' Επίγονος		
Ξενόστρατος, ep.	10886	(clipped; some rounded angular)
Ξενοφάνης, ep.	10834, 10846	(angular; not late)
Ξενοφάντος, ep.	10813	arched, incipient angle
Παυσανίας	10812, 10809	arched
Πολυκράτης, ep.	10833 <sup>?</sup> , 10867	arched (10833, uncertain reading)
Π ep.	10839	arched
Σιμυλίνος, ep.	10807, 10808	arched, toward angular
Σωκράτης	10829, 10842, 10876, 10879	angular, <u>fractional</u>
Τιμοκλείδας, ep.	10882	arched
Φιλαίνιος	10877	angular
Ἀγριάνιος	10855	rounded angular; rather rough
[Θεω]δωρος?	10806	arched
"	10818	(rounded clump)
"	10838	(much flattened)
"	10849	" " rounded angular?
"	10868	arched
"	10869	"

S. 24-50

Do not observe hairs, but have not stopped to line up  
fals. and eps. except in case of obvious possibilities, such as  
the fractional.



## Fill over floor of Square Building

## Rhodian Candles

SS 10793      SS 10837      SS 10879

10794      10838      10880

10800      10839      10881

10801      10840      10882

10806      10842      10883

10807      10843      10884

10808      10845      10885

10809      10846      10886

10812      10847      10938

10813      10848      57

10815      10849

10816      10852

10818      10855

10819      10860

10821      10861

10822      10862

10828      10863

10829      10867

10830      10868

10831      10869

10833      10875

10834      10876

10835      10877

10836      10878



Notes on Pluck in SA, bill on fly of Sq. Bely.

NO

11+1 120  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 3rd : eps <sup>3</sup>Αγέσιππος, <sup>1</sup>Αγέοκριτος,  
Εβέλης, Κεδδικράτης, Πολυκράτης, <sup>2</sup>Σπυρίδης,  
Τυμοκρίδης

13 fab. <sup>(1)</sup>Αναξίδης + τον, <sup>2</sup>Αρταμίδης,  
Μέντωρ, <sup>1</sup>Μηρόδωρος, <sup>3</sup>Μίκυθος, <sup>1</sup>Παύσανος

(with  $\frac{1}{2}$ )  
6+1 on with 3rd : eps. <sup>1</sup>Αρμόσιδας, <sup>1</sup>Ευφράνης,  
<sup>1</sup>Θεοφάνης, <sup>1</sup>Μυτίων, <sup>1+1</sup>Ξυόστρατος, <sup>2</sup>Ξυόφαντος  
fab. : <sup>1</sup>Δίσκος I, <sup>1</sup>Εδδαύικος, <sup>1</sup>Επίγονος I,  
11 <sup>3</sup>Θεόδωρος, <sup>1</sup>Μένων + τον, <sup>4</sup>Σωκράτης + τον

2 3rd  $\frac{1}{4}$  5th : eps <sup>1</sup>Δορυκίδης, <sup>1</sup>Θαρσιππίδης

2 fab. <sup>2</sup>Αριστοκράτης, <sup>1</sup>Ερμων + τον

<sup>2</sup>1+1 220-180 : eps. <sup>1</sup>Ιέρων (with <sup>2</sup>Αντίγονος), <sup>2</sup>Ξυόφάνης

<sup>5</sup> fab. <sup>2</sup>Αντίγονος + τον, <sup>1</sup>Δορυκράτης + τον,  
<sup>1</sup>Αλος, <sup>1</sup>Φιδάινος + τον

5  $\frac{2}{4}$  with  
with

5  $\frac{2}{4}$  Pluckin



29 Nov 50

nov 4. 58

## STOA OF ATTALOS \* FILL OVER FLOOR OF SQUARE BUILDING

## THASIAN STAMPS (10)\*

Bm	names	devices	SS	
148	AIΞΠΡΝ ΔΑΙ(	thyrsos	10859	
507	ΡΟΠΡΟΞ	uncertain - ladle?	10870	
645	ΕΥΑΙΝΕΤΟΞ	double axe	10934	Name not otherwise on file.
1225	ΝΙΚΑΝΡ ΗΡΗ	ivy leaf, tip r.	10814	
1264	ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΞ ΤΙ	vase, type K (frg.)	10827	
1517	ΣΑΤΥΡΟΞ	quiver?	10935	
1708	XOΙΡΟΞ	vase, type II (amph.)	10856	Same stamp on these two.
	XOΙΡΟΞ	vase, type II (amph.)	10795	
	<del>thyrsos</del>	<del>10859</del>		Name possibly Aischron.
	ΝΕ[ΟΜΑΝΑΡΟΞ??]	(not preserved)	10960	
	ΙΤΗΞ	(end of stalk? pres.)	10871	

Date: No pre-Macedonian handles, and probably all are 3rd century, possibly to beginning of 2nd. *Not there are there none of the names listed as latest ("maybe" - early 2nd.) in the MSBF, Thasian.* ①

Nikodemos Ti(mokrateos?) occurs in EE cistern at 53/B and AA cistern at 81/M, both of which suggest a date not later than the early 3rd. The two stamps with Choires and that with Nikanor Hege( are to be associated with the fill in Y cistern at 20/MB, ② where the name Choires appears in a stamp having the ivy leaf exactly as in SS 10814 here. (The Y cistern had 12 handles, Thasian, Chian?, and Rhodian (chiefly), of which only two of the Rhodian (SS 7085 and 7090) go down as late as about 200.) ②

The fabric of the group analyzed here indicates 3rd cent., acc. to present inf. Handles are ribbed, clay, in most, distinctly hard, and the single preserved rim (SS 10814) is a small rolled one, though not as small as that of SS 7663 (handle and neck fragment of jar of ΠΟΠΡΟΞ - for ΡΟΠΡΟΞ - supposed by its context to be early 2nd).

\* SS 10795, 10814, 10827, 10856, 10859, 10870-71, 10934-5, 10960.

VT. 58

AT. 78; 241-247

- ① N 21:4. Filling now thought to go as late as 250 B.C.  
 ② E 5:2. "mixed 3rd-2nd" GRT list. JAH suggest 3rd.  
 ③ K 18:2. See Goldman (pseudonym), pp. 94-95, pl. XT, 1-6.



SAH FROM 2A, FILL OVER FLOOR OF SQUARE BUILDING

[13.11]  
3.VI.58  
[Q 8-9 - 43. XRT]  
[Q 8-9:1]  
(C9K 4.10.86)

	fabricant	device	eponym	KT	SS	shape, etc.
<u>Early Knidian</u>	AOHNI(SN)		NIKAZIB(OYAOE)	79	10850	
	ALEXVAINOZ	bar		98	10889	
	HPAKAION		HPOMAΘION	681	10854	
	OEYTENHE		AAMOTE(NHE)	696	10888	
	OPAESN		ΘEMIETONATOZ	801	10873	
	NYZ(IOZ)		KAEITO(ΘEN?)	1098	10936	(retr.)
	NY(ZIOZ)		ΘIAOE(PON?)	1105	10799	
	NY[ ?		?		10939	
Early Knidian	monogram KA?				10851	
	ligature MEN/HP K				10937	(retr.)
	" /HP KN				10824	
	(not read)				10817	

The two ligatures (second and third of the Early Knidian) are both present in the MSBF, and the first (SS 10937) is duplicated in H. Hell. fill at 48-53/IB-IF, datable apparently in the third quarter of the 3rd B.C.

Among the Knidian proper, all eponyms ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ here listed appear also in the MSBF; and all stamp Types are duplicated there save KT 79 and 681.

*and in Troas, where seen & later in MSBF.*

<u>Parmeniskos Group</u>	HPHEINOZ	SS 10844
	TIMAINETOZ	10823

The second of these names is found in the MSBF, also in the Phaidon St. Cistern, South, in Section 5, deposit datable earlyish in the 3rd cent. B.C. (No specific context dating for HPHEINOZ.)



SAH FROM ~~ΣΑ~~, FILL OVER FLOOR OF SQUARE BUILDING

<u>Chian</u>	ΗΡΗΖΙΟΞ	SS 10777
		10796
	ΙΚΕΖΙΟΞ	10797

Both names found in the MSBF, and both are probably datable - according to other evidence, including context in Chios - in the first half of the 3rd B.C.

<u>Coan</u>	ΕΥΜΗ(ΑΙΟΔΡΡΟΞ?)	10874
	ΗΟΞΙ[ΔΡΝΙΟΞ?]	10968

No dates established for these.

<u>ZH group</u>	I	10798
		<del>10798</del>

Thick early Rhodian shape, dark red clay with remains of light slip. A similar stamp on a broad Knidian-type handle in the MSBF (SS 12898).

<u>Miscellaneous</u>	ΑΙΘΑΛΛΑΞ	10802	fabric rather Corinthian - - parallels MSBF, Pella
	* ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑΗΞ, rose	10865	on <u>neck</u> frg.
* No rim preserved. Clay like Chian or early Kn. On Rh.jars, no rose stamp of Aristeides. In any case, name spelled with A, not H. On Kn.jars, there is a <u>phour</u> . who spells as here.	ΑΥΞ[	10858	fabric "Sikyonian"
	B ?	10841	cf. <u>Pnyx</u> , 234-5 - - - FAP III
	Δ	10825	fabric rather "Sikyonian"
	ΕΡΑΞΙΟΞ K (retr.)	10811	" " Knidian E, 63/NA (early 3r
	ΘΕΥ framed, retr.	10853	" off. Chian
	ΑΥΚΟΞ (retr.)	10857	red clay, dark bits [mushroom rim] M 18 : 10 (ca.200)
	monogr. TE	10908	N, 4th c ho (3rd qu.4
	incuse ring	10872	earlier fabric
	not read	{ 10820 10887 10890 10959	(whole handle) buff clay, light red core roughly made, brick-like clay fabric rather "Sikyonian"

Note that for these also the context of parallels ranges from ca mid-4th century to ca. 200 B.C.



SAH FROM ZA, FILL OVER FLOOR OF SQUARE BUILDING

## GENERAL

The attached analyses cover the handles in a list (carbon copy) given me probably in 1949 by GRE, presumably based on ZA notebooks. Summarized in numerical order, they are as follows:

SS 10777  
 SA 456 10793 - 10802 p. 742  
 10806 - 10809  
 10811 - 10825  
 10827 - 10831  
 10833 - 10863  
 10865  
 SA 572-2 10867 - 10890 p. 771 Pm 18 W, 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century, see in ZA 569  
 10908  
 10934 - 10939  
 10958 - 10960

I should be very grateful for any information correcting or supplementing this list.

The assortment is as follows:

Percentage of same classes in MSBF  
 H (per cent of 1500 handles)

Thasian	10	
Rhodian	57	59
Knidian	8	
Early Kn.	$\frac{4}{12}$	12
Chian	3	1.5
Parmeniskos Grp.	2	.3
Coan	2	3.5
ZH group	1	.3
unclassified	13	4.5

Roman (c. 400 AD) 100 (each)

The group seems to be quite close in date to that from the MSBF, but to end a little earlier. For instance, as certain latest Rhodian eponyms of the 220-180 BC Pergamon deposit (ΑΓΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ, ΑΝΑΞΙΒΟΥΛΟΣ, ΑΡΑΤΟΦΑΝΗΣ, ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΑΣ, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΟΣ, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ, ΑΡΧΙΑΙΔΑΣ, and ΖΕΝΟΦΩΝ) are not found in the MSBF, so a few Rhodian eponyms who have



been noted as later than the majority in the MSBF (ΑΓΑΟΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ, ΑΙΝΗΖΙΑΜΟΣ, 190 192 183 184  
ΑΙΝΗΤΩΡ, ΑΡΧΙΑΜΟΣ, ΘΕΑΙΑΤΟΣ, and probably ΚΑΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ) are not found in the present group. The smaller size of this latter however make the absence of a name less significant than in the case of the MSBF.

This group perhaps does not go beyond 200 B.C.

25.VI.58 In a note on the Kouros  
cited by GRE (in 1950), in which  
he compares Kouros pottery with that  
of Filion Floor of Sq. Bldg. GRE  
last  $\frac{1}{4}$  of 3rd

30.VI.61 (GRE however reinterpreted this in 1953  
as part of his current opinion  
(Belgian))

22.VIII.61 LT confirms and date of  
200 B.C. to ELW for this  
filling, as generally accepted. (?!)

27.VI.71 of also to Kouros then and - MSBF  
for this as slightly earlier. 21.VI.81 Bldg  
Q 8-9 includes Kouros sp. - pp. 3 - Φιδος (pov)



24 Aug 99 [13.15]  
(with GRE)

1st Layer

are unchanged with the time the C. & Coles  
genuine Rhodod. Kind. Trees, etc.

[and G.R.E. later observes much later 4th]

26 Aug. 47

A hand-drawn diagram of a trapezoid on lined paper. A dashed vertical line inside the trapezoid represents its height, labeled with the letter 'h'. The bottom base is labeled with the letter 'b'.

King too small, of whitest class

I have:



little ones:





6. VI. 56 This lot has been included in analysis of SAEF

Free - Cloning Attalos  
19.III.52 14

SAH from water channel to east of Stoa Shops XI-XV, put out of use and probably filled in at time of construction of stoa of Attalos (XII, pp. 234I ff)  
July 27-31, 1950

See also end of  
of coll. of Brit.  
Bibb, which seems  
C. in a coll. under  
SS  
(not 300 of Attalos  
and (earthen) vessels  
300)

KNIDIAN (alph. by eponym)	fabricant	device	eponym (all with preposition)	SS	SA
	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	anchor l. trident r.	ΑΝΑΞΙΠΠΙΔΑΣ	11356	I620
	ΑΡΙΣΤΑΝΔΡΟΣ	oar	ΑΝΤΑΝΔΡΟΣ	11357	I621
	ΝΙΚΑΣΙΓΕΝΗΣ	anchor p. up	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ	11358	I622
	ΕΠΙΩΝ	trident	ΒΙΩΝ	11359	I623
	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	anchor p. up.	ΚΑΕΑΝΑΡΙ(ΔΑΣ)	11360	I624
	ΝΙΚΙΑΣ	caduceus	ΚΑΗΝΟΠΟΛΙΣ	11361	I625
	ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ		ΑΥΞΙΚΑΗΣ ? (GB)?	11362	I626
			ΦΡΟΥΡ.ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ	11363	I627
			ΦΡΟΥΡ.ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ	11364	I628
	ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ	trident		11365	I629
	ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ	trident	(ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ)	11366	I630 neck, both stamps
	ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝ	rosette (circ. stamp)	ΗΦΑΙΣΤΙΩΝ	11367	I631
	(not read ΔΡΑΚΩΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ? ΑΝΑΡΩΣΙΓΕΝΗΣ)		ΘΕΥΔΟΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ	11368	1632
				11369	1633 top of jar) (KT 2203)
THASIAN	ΠΥΘΙΩΝ	monogram Π device		11370	I634
RHODIAN	(unstamped)			11371	I635 fragmentary jar
COAN?	(unstamped)			P 22133	I636 fragmentary jar

The two handles with the stamp ΦΡ. Π(Ε)ΟΛ. (XX 1627-28) are very similar in fabric, and it is thought by the mender and other unprejudiced persons that they derive from the same jar; this would not be customary, of SS 9756 where one stamp has the phrourarch's name, the other that of the potter; but it is known to have happened, apparently by mistake, that a jar has two eponym stamps and no potter's. Note that the neck SA 1630 has the two handles both impressed with the cut die of Euboulos, so that no eponym is named.

Find no type which it would seem necessary to push later than about middle of 2nd, though 1620, of Apollonios, was a little surprising. (N)

25. IX. 61 Note the cop. are nearly all φρ.

⊗ This ought to be ca 300 BCE or earlier (no other w. A  
- see analysis of SAH from field 2 trench for other wall of  
2g. Bibb.

⊗ 15. I. 81 Same next to jar (KT 2114) of  
Apollonios - in the jar of Apollonios? or Apollonios?

5. XII. 81  
300 Analysis of jar of  
wall of 2g. Bibb



26.VIII.88

Q-R 10-11 : 1, under floor  
Q-R 10-11 : 2, cat. field

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  $\neq$  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 phrourarchos): 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: cf. BCH Suppl. 13, p.564, under no. 23 (Green 1986)  
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



See "Middle Stoa Dated"  
 Aug. 1955, p. 39

ca 188-185 BC.  
 ca 193-183

Q-R 15-11:1

22.VIII.52

1502

SAH FROM BENEATH FLOOR OF BRICK BUILDING NEAR PIER IX				SS 11621-4
	fabricant	device	eponym	SS
RHODIAN	APIETAPXOZ	asterisks		11622 (and 11623)
		Helios head	KAAAIIKPATHZ	11621 4II, 1938
KNIDIAN	ΘΠΑΞΩΝ		ΦΙΑΜΠΕΛΟΣ	11623 KT 1823
	ΜΑΡΩ(Ν)	club	ΦΙΑΜΠΕΛΟΣ	11624 2028

All four handles are datable in the first half of the 2nd century, 11621 probably in the 2nd quarter, the others perhaps in the 1st quarter.

(ca. 220-180 BC)

Rhodian: There are 20<sup>+</sup> handles of Aristarchos in Pergamon, and the fabric of Agora An examples is consistent with a date in the 1st quarter. The eponym Kallikrates is named on 10 handles at Pergamon; but fabric and name-connections indicate a homonym who held office between 180-150 (examples at Corinth; Carthage examples very likely also this K.), and fabric indicates that it is this one who is named on 11621.

Knidian: Numerous ~~examples~~ handles of Thrason and Maro(n) occur in the Middle Stoa Building Fill, and the eponym Philampelos is restored there on one example (SS 1091). Philampelos occurs in the Stoa of Attalos construction fill (SS 10804). The two Knidian are perhaps both of the 1st quarter, a little earlier than most of the Knidian from the construction fill of the Brick Bldg previously listed. This dating is based on my belief, still prevailing, that the mass of MSBF Knidian belong to the first quarter, where they still sit consistently with each other and with any other evidence so far assembled.



Additional SAH's from  
 construction fill of  
 Brick Building beneath  
 Stos of Altar.

SS 11621 H. En. Kadd  
 h. capotus

11622 Pl.  $\Delta$ ρωτάρου\*

11623 Kn.

11624

ΔΕΩΠΟ  
 = ΛΟΧΟΡ  
 AM

Kn.  $\frac{\Lambda\Upsilon\Delta\Lambda}{\Lambda\Gamma\Delta\Lambda}$



## Notes on Contr. fill of Bricks Bldg

Look up

- ✓ Vallois on addition to Stn of Philip<sup>in Dalos</sup>; handles used in dating (HAT)
- ✓ Krieger in Pergamon 220-180 deposit.

MSBF seems consistently earlier, as now wooded, except:

- 1.) Type of Dionysos w. wing leaf, which seems mid 2<sup>nd</sup> (cf. other types later similar design)
- 2.) Cut die of Euboulos, because of the largely preserved join from the water channel east of Stn Slopes XI-XV, which ought to be latest in a group which in fact looks <sup>otherwise</sup> later than MSBF (see analysis)

This all for Km. - Phe. Wd is desirable to do Thasian & mixed.

## B.B. Phodion

SS 11084 - early 3<sup>rd</sup>, fossils not in MSBF

SS 11083 - latest 3<sup>rd</sup>, none " " "

Note small frags. -  $\frac{2}{11}$ , which in MSBF they must be over half the total. <sup>as in water</sup> <sup>(1) debris in water</sup> <sup>without analysis</sup> Relation to Krieger 2:5, whereas in MSBF more than 2:1.

But of course in later fills the Phodion are mostly too early to be critical in distinguishing 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> fills.

(over)



BB Miscellaneous

Crane - SS 11079, not otherwise on file, does not look like  
(small frag., little to be made of fabric)

Unassigned - SS 11082 - early 3rd (like SS 3785,  
neck preserved, from  $\approx$  early 3rd cent. deposit at  
63/NA)

SS 11080, not otherwise on file, but apparently  
same <sup>name as, papyrus</sup> ~~as~~ as on a handle  
found at Troy in 1937 (no context, no  
Troy number known to me, vq no Iliad 50)

SS 11081, not otherwise on file.

Evidently the only critical class is —

BB Kindsia, 5 handles

<sup>(gms - a)</sup>  
2 papyrus. Aristeides: of this type of Stukos, <sup>an example</sup> has been found  
in Corinth; no other useful context except the present.  
The name is not otherwise known on kindsia stamps with the a ending.  
~~Stukos is the type of Stukos, the same appears as~~  
Aristeides (gms. - eis): regularly appears with the  
title phronarch, possibly to be restored here in the  
bottom line, with this title, he is found in the cat.  
file of the Stoa of Attalos (SS <sup>of Apollonios</sup>), in  
the K wall at 18-15/MH (SS <sup>of Thrasos</sup>), the  
wall is called "1st half of 2nd" in GRE's list), and  
in Corinth (vq 217, <sup>Antenor</sup>). Antenor not  
known in useful context except the present, but  
the papyrus that name him is datable before 150,  
~~3rd century, 1st century, 1st century~~

Angela  
Eubank  
Nelson



Perg. Kuid.  
(Gib. Sign. Kud.)

(21)

15.06

NUCROS  
Ka(ΔΔCOTOS)(40)  
φιδτατος(γ)  
Αετταγανος  
Θρυγανος(?)

Polychaetes: The only useful contact besides the present is that of 33 11050, stamp of Demetrios found in a fortifying trench of the Stron of Aittalos. Name of his fab. occurs in the MSBF.

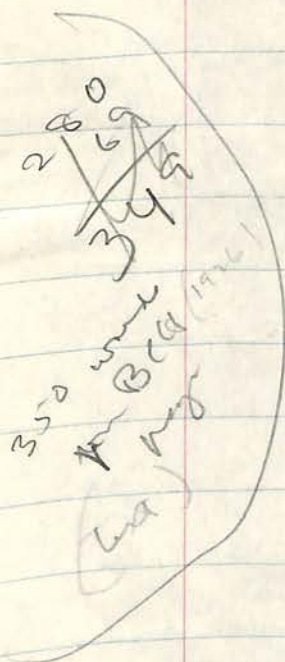
None of the spongers occurs in the MSBF, but Aristoteles and Artemon are linked to it by potters whose career covers both BB and MSBF: for Aristoteles, Thessalon; for Artemon, Aristen, Embros, Niteasboulis.

Falencas

of them, Aristoteles <sup>with a circular stamp</sup> does occur in the MSBF, but the device is different, and the fabric of the handles bearing the present device seems to me to be <sup>somewhat</sup> more advanced than that of handles bearing the MSBF device, a duplicate of the BB stamp <sup>with nos.</sup> was found in Corinth ( <sup>the name</sup> ). Hippolochos does not occur in the

MSBF. ~~but~~ Stamps of an Hippolochos are dated by 4 of the spongers in that fill: Lysanios, Philampelos, Philippos, Philittos; it is not certain that it is the same Hipp., since the variety of types endorsed by this name is large, and the study of the fabric awaits <sup>alphabet.</sup> sorting of the handles.

The stamp of Skirtos dated by ~~Ap~~ Aristoteles has been found in Corinth, as noted above; 3 more of his characteristic boukranion stamps, dated by Agathoboulos - Agathoboulos occurs also in Corinth, <sup>we have</sup> one dated by Kleinspolis for the est. fill of the Stron of Aittalos, and 2 dated by Aristoteles from the <sup>HN</sup> Koulila Factory fill and the <sup>AA</sup> Bone Well (near <sup>a</sup>).





does not occur in the MSBF, but  
 Skirtos is connected with the MSBF period by one  
 sponge, Aristion, who does occur there. [Very early  
 looking stamp of Sk., not on file in Agn.]

*add not*

Km. Name	In context	In cat. fill 2A	In other pre-150 fills	In MSBF	Period cat. MSBF names
Aρυστρίδας, sp.	CP 1783*		(K, unls 18-19/24)		
Aρυστρίδας, sp.	C-49-24	SS 11009	SS 10452		Thrasos
Aρυστράδης	CP 1808*			SS 674, 985	
Αρτέμειος, sp.					Aristion Euboulos Nikariboulos
Ἰπποδόχος	CP 1777, 1780 C 37 1573 C 38 695 C 48 129	SS 5184	(K, unls as 99/K) SS 7665		Lysanios } Philampelos } sp. Philipp } Philon }
Ποδουχάρης, sp.		SS 11050			
Σκίρτος	CP 1783* C-36-98 C-37-648 C-38-625	SS 11007	(K, unls SS 9343 (Bancall) SS 8245		Aristion, sp.

\* Same stamp as on the British Bldg handle. In other cases,  
 the name is the same, and the individual is apparently the same;  
 except that some question adheres to Hippolochos, <sup>a name which endorses</sup> ~~since there is a large~~  
 variety of pre-150 types endorsed by this name, and the  
 fabric needs to be studied not yet sorted by fabric.

To sum up: Agn. of the 4 Km. sps. appears in the MSBF,  
 but the <sup>careers of 3 fabricants</sup> ~~fills~~ overlap the period of that fill, and we  
 know of 4 other fabricants <sup>also bridge the gap</sup> ~~and overlap~~: Thrasos, Aristion,  
 Euboulos, Nikariboulos.



POST-MSBF  
PRE-SABF

12.V.52

original E.H.A.P.  
city of G.R.E.

SAH FROM 2A, CONSTRUCTION FILL OF BRICK BUILDING

SS 11075-11085

22.07.74

	fabricant	device	eponym	month	SS	etc.
RHODIAN	ΑΓΑΘΟΚΑΗΖ		ΑΓΑΘΚΡΙΤΟΖ, ep	IAN	11083 11084	framed? 211-205 240-225
KNIDIAN (alph. by ep.)	ΞΚΙΠΤΟΖ ΙΙΙΙΟΑΟΚΟΖ	boukranion	ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΑΖ, ep ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΑΗΖ	IV A	11075 11085	
			ΔΑΜ. ? ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΗΖ, ep.?	IV A M	11077	framed
	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΑΗΖ	rose	ΠΟΛΥΚΑΡΗΖ, ep.	IV B	11076 11078	framed KT 1446 framed circle
COAN?	ΠΙΘΑΥΑΡ(ΑΤΟΖ)				11079	
UNKNOWN MAKE	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΖ ΕΡΑΣΙΟΖ Κ ΘΕΡΤΑΤΟΖ Ο ΠΟΛΥ( amphora				11081 11082 11080	retr. legend

Notes from HAT 9.v.52 on this fill: The Brick Building was in use a very short time before it was put out of use by the construction of the Stoa of Attalos, now considered to have been begun about 150. An unfinished threshold block of the B.B. shows very little wear, say 10 or 20 years. So it was probably built about 170 or 160. The Middle Stoa was built not much before 160 if by Ariarathes V (163-150 BC). It was probably followed by the Stoa of Eumenes, whose reign ended in 159. There was probably not much difference in time between the construction of the Middle Stoa and that of the B.B., but one would expect the B.B. to have been a bit earlier - not to have been built after the idea of the Stoas had been conceived. HAT's opinion of these dates is based not on any of the finds, but on the circumstance of the sequence of buildings.

## COMMENT ON SAH

The two Rhodian are 3rd century, early (SS 11084) and late. The Coan is a small fragment bearing a stamp not otherwise on file, to which no very exact date can now be given. Of the 3 of unknown origin, SS 11082 is early 3rd, a duplicate (SS 3785, neck preserved) having been found in the E deposit at 63/NA; another example (SS 10811) comes from the fill over the floor of the Square Bldg. The other two are not matched on file, though a stamp with the same unusual endorsement as SS 11080 was found at Troy (no context).

These 6 non-Knidian are not paralleled in the Middle Stoa Bldg Fill, fact which has no special significance for the date of the Brick Bldg.

The evidence of the Knidian may be shown in a table:

(see next page)

8. XII. 82

The Knidian could date  
transliterated after MSBF  
(Xpoto, 1911), but for  
Ποδουχο, thought to be  
(a little) after 166.



Kn. name	In Corinth	In constr. Stoa of At.	In other pre-150? fills	In Middle St. Bldg Fill	Paired with MSBF names
Aristeidas, ep. CP 1783 <sup>1</sup> - same? as <u>TV A</u>					
Aristeides, ep. C-49-24	SS 11009	SS 10452 (K, well 18/MH)			Thrason
Aristokles CP 1808 <sup>1</sup>				SS 674,885	
Artemon, ep. <u>TV A</u>					Aristion Euboulos Nikasiboulos
Hippolochos CP 1777 1780 C-37-1573 C-38-695 C-48-129	SS 5184	SS 7665 (AA, cist. 99/K)		<u>TV A</u> <u>TV A</u> <u>TV A</u>	Lysanios Philampelos Philippos Philtatos } eps.
Polychares, ep. <u>TV B</u>	SS 11050				
Skirtos CP 1783 <sup>1</sup> C-36-98 C-37-648 C-38-625	SS 11007	SS 9347 (Koukla Factory) SS 8215 (Bone well in AA)			Aristion, ep.

<sup>1</sup>means duplicates of the same stamps as on Brick Bldg handles. In other cases, the name is the same, and the individual is apparently the same; although some question adheres to Hippolochos, a name which endorses a large variety of pre-150 types which need more sorting. The last column lists names appearing on MSBF handles which also occur in combination with the names on the Brick Bldg handles.

It will be clear that the Knidian stamps found in the Brick Bldg construction fill are dated before ca. 150 on evidence independent of this fill. It would be consistent with other SAH evidence to put them more than a decade before 150, because of the number of eponyms known to belong shortly before the mid-century, and not present in either this group or the MSBF. (I think particularly of the types of Theodosios with anchor.)

None of the Brick Bldg eponyms appears in the MSBF, but the careers of at least 2 of ~~them~~ the fabricants overlap the period of that fill, and the final column lists 4 other fabricants that also bridge the gap: Thrason, Aristion, Euboulos, Nikasiboulos. Presumably not more than, say, 15 years separates the groups.

The Knidian of the MSBF form as a whole a group closely interconnected by names, and by physical features which seem to be early. Five of its names recur in the small Knidian group with the ca 220-180 deposit of Rhodian handles at Pergamon. I should suppose it to precede the material in the Brick Bldg fill by a decade or more, on my present understanding of the sequence. The handles give of course only a terminus to the construction of the Middle Stoa, and it should be noted that there were twice as many Rhodian as Knidian in it, and most of these were of the 3rd century, old dump stuff. As to particular handles which may date later than the group as a whole: 2 Knidian handles have been listed with this group which now seem to me to date perhaps about the middle of the century, SS 589 and SS 1135. The first, GRE disqualified as from a disturbed part of the fill, on my questioning it; I don't know if the finding-place of the other would stand a challenge.

The handles, then, seem not to provide ~~positive~~ evidence that the Brick Building preceded the Middle Stoa, though they do not deny the possibility. X

They do. VG



15.1.81

On the Beal Bldg., see  
 Klein, Hesp 1978, p. 314.  
 Ref. then to Agas 70, p.  
 # 58, fig. 17. In this place,  
 one sees a bldg. w. 5 rooms  
 in a row; ~~but~~ I seem not  
 to be identifying or mentioned in  
 the text, but must be it.  
 # Klein etc. comes from the  
 full. (But nothing is like the  
 there in the MSOF — nothing  
 omitted, he says.)



5 Jul 56

EA  
pre-Brick BuildingMATERIAL SIGNIFICANT FOR DATING OF BRICK BUILDING

P 22185 WS kantharos  
 P 20918 Bowl w. graffito  
 P 20979 miniature saucer  
 P 20980 brazier lug  
 P 20981 brazier frags.  
 P 20982 brazier lug  
 P 22185 WS kantharos  
 P 22186 BG bowl  
 P 22187 BG bowl  
 P 22188 saucer  
 P 22189 BG bowl  
 P 22190 BG bowl  
 P 22191 Meg bowl  
 P 22192 Meg bowl  
 P 22193 Meg bowl  
 P 22194 Meg bowl  
 P 22195 Meg bowl  
 P 22196 pot lid  
 P 22487 BG bowl  
 P 22488 Lid  
 P 22197 Meg bowl  
 L 4753

T 3039 child's head  
 T 3040 bearded head  
 T 3041 female head  
 T 3045 TC mould, dancer

Coins:

all disintegrated

I 6552

G 408

S 1465

IL 1271 key, iron

MC 854

BI 657

SS 11075 ✓ Knidian

SS 11076 ✓

SS 11077 ✓

SS 11078 ✓

SS 11079 ✓

SS 11080 ✓

SS 11081 ✓

SS 11082 ✓

SS 11083 ✓

SS 11084 ✓

SS 11085 ✓

SS 11621 ✓

SS 11622 ✓

SS 11623 ✓

SS 11624 ✓

15.11.83

Fill "underneath floor" is listed  
 in Agn 22 as "Q-R 8-9:1".  
 Part of fill described as "clay  
 associated"

30. VIII. 84

Not - Agn XXII

P. 106, SS 11050 is  
 listed as part of the  
 coter fill, but S. 102  
 now think it is  
 wrong.

for GRE, who says: (but this is  
 "early second quarter, maybe  
 a bit earlier, of the 2nd cent.  
 earlier than the Brick Bldg  
 to 2 A"

✓ in Agn 22 9.12.52  
 "22. VIII. 82"

3 mm  
 comp. 100%



Brick BldgSee first list in Appendix 2,

It has been demolished when the area was prepared  
to take part of the Stoa of Attalos, probably as early as  
157 B.C.

2) Q-R 8-9 : 1, 2. Fill under floor of mudbrick building, finding

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

finding place of SS 11075-11085. On the deposit, see Agora 22, p. 106.

For the position of the building, see no. 43 ("Pre-Stoa Shops") in the  
foldout plan of Guide, 3. It comprises five shop-like rooms in an E-W row  
across the N-S line of the (later) Stoa of Attalos, a little further south  
than the Bema shown in Fig. 1. Of the stamped handles attributed to the two  
associated fills, only one may be later than the latest in H 13 : 1,

SS 11076 which names the Knidian eponym  $\Pi\Omega\Lambda\Upsilon\chi\alpha\phi\eta\varsigma$ . Not known with the title  
phrourarchos, he has been attributed to Period IVB; but the fabricants  
who date jars by his name, date otherwise mostly by phrourarchoi; so perhaps  
he is also to be attributed to IV A. SS 11076 is an example of KT 1446, a  
type without fabricant, but surrounded by a frame,  
type without fabricant, which would have been supplemented on the other handle  
of the jar by a fabricant type, similarly framed. Cf. Grace 1934, nos. 103  
and 104, framed types of  $\Delta\text{PAK}\Omega\text{N}$ ; stamps  
examples of this fabricant from other dies  
were found in the Middle Stoa filling. (The HF referred to under 103 is the  
Middle Stoa filling.)

as early as the first quarter of the 2nd c.  
This temporary mudbrick building may, then, date before 166 B.C. In  
any case it was demolished before about 157 (?) B.C., when work on the Stoa  
of Attalos must have been under way. Perhaps the shops were workshops for  
carpenters or stoneworkers, or storage places for materials, that facilitated  
the construction of the Middle Stoa. Just to their north lay the Square Peri-  
style, from which material was drawn that eventually went into South Stoa II  
(Agora XIV, p. 68); the Mudbrick building may have been a way station for  
this material. Temporary buildings housed materials, tools and working space  
during the restoration of the Stoa of Attalos in 1953-56; for these sheds,  
see Hesperia 25, 1956, pl. 25 a.

$\Delta\text{γη}\gamma\tau\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$   
w. handle  
(2 figs)

?  $\Delta\text{ει}\delta\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$   
(cf. 408 figs)

$\text{K}\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha\alpha\varsigma$   
w. handle

$\text{K}\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha\alpha\varsigma$   
(no handle)

?  $\text{K}\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha\alpha\varsigma$   
double on  
(cf. 408 figs)

$\Sigma\kappa\iota\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$   
w. handle

= Grace 1934  
no. 118

probably before the end of the 2nd c.  
as early as the first quarter of the 2nd c.

[add refs to Brick Bldg?]



## References on Brick Bldg

7 (1922)  
Agnes XIV, p. 58, fig. 17; p. 172:  $\frac{1}{2}$   
 of 2nd c., what appears to be a row of 2-roomed  
shops (fig. 17), somewhat lower than the level of SA.

{ Herz 19, 1950, p. 320  
 21, 1952, p. 101

Qued. II (1976)  
 fig. 56

p. 118, no. 43 - also 43 on plan (fold-out)

p. 119 for plan of room on an E-W line -  
 plan appropriate for shops

p. 316, reference to above (no. 119)

{ Kleiner, Herz 1975, p. 314, cites coins  
 from fill; nothing, later than those in  
 MSBF - nothing minted, he says.

(1982)  
Agnes 22, p. 106

Planchette article, Appendix 2, and



Q-R 10-11

Fillings Associated with Brick Building

15.14

(not cited elsewhere, but better not have  
numbers for above reasons.)

*π.72 When does SS 11068 fit in? - Context needed  
for TIMAKPOTYS*

(LT)

"1.9.58"







SAH FROM STOA OF ATTALOS

1A: Trench for foundation of S. stylobate of Sq. Bldg.

SS 13224-33

a) by fabricant

<u>fabricant</u>	device	title ofep.	eponym	KT	SS	shape, etc of stamp
ΑΘΑΝΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ	trident		ΑΝΤΑΝΑΡΟΣ φρ.	37	13232	
ΔΡΑΚΩΝ			ΘΕΥΔ( φρ	1826	13228	
ΘΕΥΔΟΣΙΟΣ	anchor p.d		ΦΙΛΑΤΑΤΟΣ φρ	738	13224 13225 13226 13227 13231 13233	
ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ	bouk.		ΚΑΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ τν β	832		

b) by eponym

ΑΘΑΝΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ	trident		ΑΝΤΑΝΑΡΟΣ φρ	37	13232	
ΔΡΑΚΩΝ			ΘΕΥΔ( φρ	1826	13228	
ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ	bouk.		ΚΑΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ τν β	832	13233	
	monogram		ΝΙΚΑΣΙ( ιν	1439	13229	O, retr.
		ΦΡΟΥΡ.	Π(Τ)ΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ φρ	1451	13230	
ΘΕΥΔΟΣΙΟΣ	anchor p.d		ΦΙΛΑΤΑΤΟΣ φρ	738	13224 13225 13226 13227 13231	

4.VI.58

In this small group of handles, all Knidian, the <sup>8</sup> dated by ΑΝΤΑΝΑΡΟΣ, ΘΕΥΔ(, ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ, and ΦΙΛΑΤΑΤΟΣ are probably datable between 188 and 166 B.C., since these are names of phrourarchoi. That dated by ΝΙΚΑΣΙ(ΒΟΥΑΟΣ) is before 188, and that dated by ΚΑΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ is between 166 and 146, I should have thought rather later than earlier in that period.



SAH FROM ~~SIOA~~ OF ATTALOS

ΣΑ: Trench for foundation of S. stylobate of Sq. Bldg.

SS 13224-33

a) by fabricant

<u>fabricant</u>	device	title of ep.	eponym	KT	SS	shape, etc of stamp
ΑΘΑΝΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ	trident		ΑΝΤΑΝΑΡΟΣ	37	13232	
ΔΡΑΚΩΝ			ΘΕΥΑ(	1826	13228	
ΘΕΥΑΘΣΙΟΣ	anchor p.d		ΦΙΑΤΑΤΟΣ	738	13224 13225 13226 13227 13231 13233	
ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ	bouk.		ΚΑΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ	832		

b) by eponym

ΑΘΑΝΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ	trident		ΑΝΤΑΝΑΡΟΣ	37	13232	
ΔΡΑΚΩΝ			ΘΕΥΑ(	1826	13228	
ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗΣ	bouk.		ΚΑΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ	832	13233	
	monogram		ΝΙΚΑΣΙ(	1439	13229	O, retr.
		ΕΡΟΥΡ.	Η(Τ)ΟΔΕΜΑΙΟΣ	1451	13230	
ΘΕΥΑΘΣΙΟΣ	anchor p.d		ΦΙΑΤΑΤΟΣ	738	13224 13225 13226 13227 13231	

4.VI.58

In this small group of handles, all Knidian, the 3 dated by ΑΝΤΑΝΑΡΟΣ, ΘΕΥΑ(, ΗΤΟΔΕΜΑΙΟΣ, and ΦΙΑΤΑΤΟΣ are probably datable between 188 and 166 B.C., since these are names of phrourarchoi. That dated by ΝΙΚΑΣΙ(ΘΕΥΑΘΣ) is before 188, and that dated by ΚΑΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ is between 166 and 146, I should have thought rather later than earlier in that period.



17May56

ΣΑ  
Trench for found-  
ation of S. stylo-  
bate of Sq. Bldg.

VG:

SS 13224	Knidian
SS 13225	Knidian
SS 13226	Knidian
SS 13227	Knidian
SS 13228	?
SS 13229	?
SS 13230	?
SS 13231	Knidian
SS 13232	Knidian
SS 13233	Knidian

This little mess of handles come from a filling which HAT thought at the time of excavation antedated the Brick Building, which in turn antedates the Stoa of Attalos. If so, the objects should date an interval of undetermined length back from the time of the construction of the Stoa. HA<sup>T</sup> may revise his opinion when he comes to reconsider the stratification beneath the Stoa. But you might like to think about them as a unit in the meantime.

The filling was one thrown back into the foundation trench for the stylobate of the Square Building after its blocks had been removed.

R

25. IV. 91

(25. IV. 91 - by later)



(orig. & HAT)

- ① Before 188 B.C.
- ② 188 - 167 B.C.
- ③ 167 - ca 146 B.C.

Latest(?) item, SS 14594: the Rhodian eponym ΤΙΜΟΔΙΚΟΣ is not established as before 146 B.C.; I think his term fell not much later than that, however.

13. VI. 67

17.02

# SAH FROM SECTION T

South Stoa II, crosscut between columns 1 and 2 from east: filling of drain trench in front of back wall; pp 6712, 6626 (section). Deposit 1-0 15:1 (a, drain)

17.01

S. Stoa II

Construction fill

6. III. 76

Note in Deposit List addition

the associated note (see 7?) SS II  
5. IV. 76 (pp 6712) "Addition included  
by HIC, 1964" Not yet in the file. See  
ΧΑΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

eponym

KT

SS

shape etc

ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ② 727 14596

ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ ② 730 14597

ΕΥΦΡΑΓΟΡΑΣ ② NEW 14595

ΘΕΥΔΟΣΙΟΣ anchor ΘΕΥΔΟΤΟΣ ② 732 14598

ΧΑΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ caduceus ΚΛΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ ② 1275 14599

ΕΥΒΟΥΝΟΣ trident (ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ) ① 629 14602

? ΙΑΝΘΟΣ ② half ship 1114 14601 ?

unclassified:  
(like Knidian)

ΑΠΙΟΥ

(Not familiar to us.)

14600

←

Rhodian:

ΤΙΜΟΔΙΚΟΣ

Month

ΔΑΛ. 14594



17.01

S. Stra II

construction bill

6, 11, 76

Note in Deposit Lists additional  
item associated with (area?) S. Stra  
5 typed pages (11/10?) "Addition indicated  
by MEC, 1964" Not yet in the file. See



(Orig. E HAT)

17.02

- ① Before 188 B.C.
- ② 188 - 167 B.C.
- ③ 167 - ca 146 B.C.

Latest(?) item, SS 14594: the Rhodian eponym ΤΙΜΟΔΙΚΟΣ is not established as before 146 B.C.; I think his term fell not much later than that, however.

13. VI. 67

### SAH FROM SECTION T

South Stoa II, crosscut between columns 1 and 2 from east: filling of drain trench in front of back wall; pp 6712, 6626 (section). Deposit 1-0 15:1 (a, drain)

	fabricant	device	<u>eponym</u>	KT	SS	shape etc
Knidian:	ΘΕΥΔΟΣΙΟΣ	anchor	ΑΣΚΗΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ <sup>②</sup>	727	14596	
	ΘΕΥΔΟΣΙΟΣ	anchor	ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ <sup>②</sup>	730	14597	
	ΧΑΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ	star	ΕΥΦΡΑΓΟΡΑΣ <sup>③</sup>	NEW	14595	
	ΘΕΥΔΟΣΙΟΣ	anchor	ΘΕΥΔΟΤΟΣ <sup>②</sup>	732	14598	
	ΧΑΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ	caduceus	ΚΛΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ <sup>③</sup>	1275	14599	
	ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ	trident	(ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ) <sup>①</sup>	629	14602	
	? ΙΑΝΘΟΣ <sup>②</sup>	half ship		1114	14601	?

unclassified:  
(like Knidian)

ΑΠΙΟΥ

(Not familiar to us.)

14600



Rhodian:

ΤΙΜΟΔΙΚΟΣ

Month

ΔΑΛ. 14594



17.VI.67

## Other SAH recently catalogued from Section T

T 3952	SS 14603	Deposit I-O 15 : 1 (a 3)	Knidian of duoviri period, not latest (KT 1641)
T 3953	SS 14604	2 " " " " " "	Knidian of 188-167 (KT 1843)
T 3958	SS 14605	South Stoa II, crosscut between columns 1 and 2 from east, from dump of all depths; p.6712. Area O 15.	Knidian of 188-167 B.C. (KT 1214)



original KHA T

SS II

17.04

added material

13. VI. 67

## SAH FROM SECTION T

South Stoa II, crosscut between columns 1 and 2  
from east, Layer IV, pp 6711, 6626 (section). Construction  
fill of South Stoa II. Deposit I-O 15:1 (α 4)  
(SS 14589 - 14593)

fabricant	device	<u>eponym</u>	KT	SS	shape etc
-----------	--------	---------------	----	----	-----------

Knidian:

ΦΡΟΥΡ. ΒΟΥΗΑΡΧΙΔΑΣ 1334 14590

KNEON

caduceus

ΕΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

914 14591

ΦΡΟΥΡ. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ

1471 14592

illeg. (unread)

14593

Rhodian:

ΓΟΡΓΩΝ

MONTH

ΠΑΝ. 14589

The three identified Knidian stamps (including the middle one, without title) all belong to the period of phourarchoi, i.e. it is assumed 188-167 B.C.

The term of the Rhodian eponym ΓΟΡΓΩΝ seems to have fallen late in the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C., according to name-connections plus an accumulation of context none of which is in itself reliably precise; there are no examples in Corinth, and no certain readings, apparently, on stamps in Carthage. (Rhodian of mid-2nd century are uncommon at the Agora, and this is only the third handle we have which names this eponym.)

V9



M-N 15:1

SAH from T, Cross Cut in S Stoa II, Layer V

## i.e. CONSTRUCTION FILL OF STOA

T 3770 -79 (SS 14385)

Section no. — 14394

fabricantdeviceeponymKTSSSection no.

KNIDIAN

ΙΕΡΟΚΑΗΞ

bouk.

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ

831

14388

3773

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

anchor

ΘΗΡΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

685

14389

3774/151

ΦΡ. ΤΙΜΟΘΕΩΝ

2100

14390

3775

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ

bee

161

14394

3779#

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΑΗΣ

2 33

14393

3778

ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΟΣ

leaf

654

14391

3776

(unmarked)

(unmarked)

14385

3770

RHODIAN?

ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ

14392

3777

#

Note that T 3779, Knidian handle of ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ, comes from Layer IV.

This collection is purely post - MSBF.

Note 2 eponyms with title phrourarchos, to be dated 188-167 B.C. Contemporary with these is the handle of ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΑΗΣ (T 3778). The handles of ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ and ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΟΣ may also be before 167.

~~After~~ After 167, though before the destruction of Corinth, seem to be the eponyms ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ and ΘΗΡΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (an earlier ΘΗΡ. is known, however).

The present lot is quite different from previous SAH listed as from the construction fill of South Stoa II, which are/ a) a series catalogued T pp. 899, ff., beginning with SS 6548, described as from "54/KET, behind Kappa building, layer of pores chips large and small;" and b) a long series (63 handles) listed T p. 4297. The earlier lots are nearly all of the MSBF period, the exceptions being SS 12190, 13170, and perhaps 12632.



20.VII.56

17.06

EV

Murray's notebook list (T p. 4297)  
 of SAH from const. fill of South Stoa  
 does not include an earlier series  
 which I must have received from  
 you, or Homer? These are  
 ss 6548<sup>✓</sup>, 6552<sup>✓✓✓✓</sup>-5<sup>✓</sup>, 6562<sup>✓✓✓</sup>-4<sup>✓</sup>, 6567<sup>✓</sup>,  
 catalogued T pp. 899 ff. The  
 description of the finding place is:  
 "54/KET. Behind Kappa Building.  
 Layer of porous chips large and small.  
 (p. 864, II)"

at your leisure, I should like to  
 know whether these should be  
 included in the S Stoa Cstr. Fill.  
 (They are mostly MSBF stuff, like  
 the rest of the S Stoa fill.)

Hamp Yes  
 (20.VII.56) YC



S.S. II BF

SAH from South Slope<sup>II</sup> Bldg. Tilt

Number comp.  
 "kilo 4297 H.  
 "conts 125 H.

SS 11921-4 (T 1865-8)

11929-11930 (T 1878-9)

11937 (T 1894)

12147-8 (T 1939-40)

12167-9 (T 1978-80)

12185-6 (T 2012-15)

12187-96 (T 2028 H.)

12552-4 (T 2063 H.)

12594-5 (T 2121-2)

12620-25 (T 2185<sup>?</sup>-)

12627-8 (T 2201-2)

12630-3 (T 2206-)

13115-7 (T 2215-)

13167-13170 (T 2461-)

13180-6 (T 2485 etc.)

13189-91 (T 2506 etc.)

13195 (T 2820)



S.V. 56

Antipaxos

MSBF

ca. left

11727

" n.

12708

12835

S.S. II BF

12628

TL SS(II) BF item (SS 12628) can  
be seen as a bit later than a MSBF  
ones: stamp is more careless.



17.VI.53

17.09

SOUTH STOA BUILDING FILL  
EXCAVATED 1953

SAH as listed by MC a couple of days ago: SS 11921-4, 11929-30, 11937, 12147-8, 12167-9, 12185-96, 12552-4, 12594-5, 12627-28, 12630-33, 13167-70, 13180-6, 13189-91, 13195. Of these, she queried SS 11921-2, 12147-8, 12167-9, as possibly not belonging. On 20.VI, she adds SS 12620-25, 13115-17.

	fabricant	device	eponym	month	SS
THASIAN	NAYTHAIOZ	yoke, monogram			12193
	NAYZIKYAHZ	oar			13185
	(not read)	(not identified)			12194
	TIMOKAHZ	double $\alpha$ + $\lambda$ + $\epsilon$ + $\omega$ ?			12623
RHODIAN	ANTIMAKOZ	caduceus			12628
	APIETOKPATHE				12168
	APIETOKPATHE	cornucopia			13184
ΔΑΜΔΚΡΑΤΗ	ZHNSN	rose			12186
ΜΑΡΤΥΑ	MENEKPATHZ	Helios head	IAZIKPATHZ		13189
	MENSN				12147
					12167
					13191
					13190
					13195
					11924
					13187
					13186
					12192
					12595
					12630
					12631
					13168
					13182
					13183
					11930
KNXIXIXX		caduceus			small fract.
EARLY	AOH				12552
KNIDIAN	ME ? (ligature)		OI ? (ligature)		12185
		device, like			12191
		P retrogr.			
KNIDIAN	ZSTISX		ETHINIKIAAZX		12190
by ep-	AOHNISN		EYKPATHE, ep.		11921
onym	AOHNISN				11923
when	MOPMIZ	boukranion	EYKPATHE, ep.		12183
known	AYEANAPIAAZ		ABSN		12632
	APIETISN		AYEANIOZ, ep.		11929
	NIKAZIBOYAOZ		AYEANIOZ, ep.		13180
			MHTPOAZPOZ, ep.		12188
			IPQMAION ? ep.		13169
			QIAHTIOZ		12189
			QIAHTIOZ		11937
					13170
					12553
					12169
					12148
					13181
					12625
					13115

\* Not in Middle Stoa Building Fill.

? Stamp included a name in this function, not yet read.



	reading	device	T	SS	O marks	circular stamp
COAN	HR..AA ΔIOZ ]2	trident ?? lyre device, unidentified	2066 2041 2201	12554 12196 12627		
PARIAN	ΠΑΡΙΩΝ		2040	12195		
CHIAN?	ΑΠΟΛΑΞΕΝΙΟΥ retr.		2121	12594	0	lagynos
UNCLASSED IFIED	ΡΟΠΡΟΥ Δ?		2209 1866	12633 11922		

This analysis has been made while the handles are still largely in the works, so it has not been possible to assemble them or make a full study of fabric, etc., nor make some checks which would be desirable.

For the latest date, by far the most important group is the Knidian. These seem all of the period of those in the Middle Stoa building fill, except for two, apparently datable still before about 150 B.C.: 1) SS 12190 (T 2031), ΣΤΙΩΝ in the term of ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΑΑΣ, which is matched in Corinth (C.28-38) and in an Agora SAK group of before about 150 in my belief (SS ~~252~~ 9541, from AA Cistern at 113/A'); 2) SS 13170 (T 2469), ΑΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ with anchor eponym not read, which is matched in SS 5183 from the construction fill of the Stoa of Attalos.

Nothing known about the rest of the handles analyzed here is inconsistent with the as the latest date date indicated by the Knidian. Of the Rhodian, Antimachos with caduceus is commonest in the 220-180 Pergamon deposit - a dozen examples - while the rest are probably third century, with some spread, with Xenophanes, at least, in the last quarter, while some are early third. There is a match of sorts in the Middle Stoa building fill for the Coan of Dios with lyre: SS 12045, with the same name and device but in a circular stamp on a handle of Rhodian shape. The stamp reading ΡΟΠΡΟΥ is matched by SS 9545, from the same deposit as SS 9541 mentioned as a Knidian parallel, of before about 150.

20.VI.53

The additional handles do not change the date. The Knidian Philadelphos is also in the MSBF (whole type). The Rhodian marzys seem later than other Rhodians in this cell, but 27 sp. in Perg. dep.



See XXII pp. 4297 ff.

SAHS from field behind Soil Stoa Back  
 Wall: Those from layers 1 possibilities of disturbance,  
 checked question!

✓ T 1865	? SS-11921 ✓	✓ T 2065	- SS 12553 ✓
✓ 1866	? SS-11922 ✓	✓ T 2066	- 12554 ✓
✓ 1867	SS-11923 ✓	✓ T 2121	- 12594 ✓
✓ 1868	- SS 11920 ✓	✓ 2012 ?	- 12185 ✓
✓ 1878	- 11929 ✓	✓ 2013 ?	- 12186 ✓
✓ 1879	- 11930 ✓	2461	- 13167 ✓
✓ 1894	- 11937 ✓	2462	- 13168 ✓
✓ 1939 ?	- 12147 ✓	2463	- 13169 ✓
✓ 1940 ?	- 12148 ✓	2469	- 13170 ✓
✓ 1978 ?	- 12167 ✓	2506	- 13189 ✓
✓ 1979 ?	- 12168 ✓	2507	- 13190 ✓
✓ 1980 ?	- 12169 ✓	2508	- 13191 ✓
✓ 2028	12187 ✓	2485	- 13180 ✓
✓ 2029	- 12188 ✓	2486	- 13181 ✓
2030	- 12189 ✓	2487	- 13182 ✓
✓ 2031	- 12190 ✓	2488	- 13183 ✓
✓ 2032	- 12191 ✓	2489	- 13184 ✓
✓ 2037	- 12192 ✓	2490	- 13185 ✓
✓ 2038	- 12193 ✓	2491	- 13186 ✓
✓ 2039	- 12194 ✓	2520	- 13195 ✓
✓ 2040	- 12195 ✓	2126	- 12595 ✓
✓ 2041	- 12196 ✓	2201	- 12627 ✓
✓ 2063	- 12552 ✓	2202	- 12628 ✓
		2206	- 12630 ✓
		2207	- 12631 ✓
		T 2208	- 12632 ✓
		T 2209	- 12633 ✓



Addition to list

~~2126~~ ~~12595~~

2185 SAM 12620

2186 21

2187 22

2188 23

2192 12624

2193 12625

2215 13115

2216 13116

2223 13117



17113

S. Ston Boog Foot.

Through T 2146.

Picture posted  
in field notebook  
Might be easiest way  
of checking.

Have you checked help to  
get the SS members.  
Enter from section notebook.  
on Cart. depts. then book?



Rh in S. Stoa

Ἀρτίμαχος w. caduceus	12 or 13 ex	in Perg.	
Ἀριστοκράτης (not Thrasyllos but likely, same name)	3 "	" "	
(Ἀριστοφάνης	none	" "	(early)
(Ζήνων w. rose	"	" "	" )
Ἰασκράτης, ep.	one	" "	rather early
(Μενεκράτης	none	" "	(early)
(Μένων	"	" "	" )
Ξυνοφάνης, ep.	7	" "	
Πρατοφάνης, ep.	2	" "	(rather early)
(Σωχάτης, ep.	none	" "	(early)
Χαρμακίδης, ep.	"	" "	"

Ἀρτίμαχος is a name which seems as late as the full swing of Perg. deposit. K. Rhodius gave impression of being more 2nd century.



Additional for Santa Sofia fill.  
(list from MC today)

~X

SS 12620  
RT 2185

Μαρούα  
Δαδίου

SS 13115

K T 2215

(early handle,  
framed stamp.)

SS 12621  
RT 2186

[Μαρούα  
(Υακινθίου)]

SS 13116

K T 2216

Αριστ[?] (2nd)

δα(φιδ[?] (π[?] δα))

SS 12622  
RT 2187

Δα[?] ο[?] ρ[?] τ[?] ο[?] ς  
rose

SS 13117

K T 2223

Ἀθ[?] ν[?] (ων)

ἐπ[?] [AN]ικ

ἄσ[?] κ[?] ρ[?] α[?] ?

SS 12623  
TT 2188

Θα[?] δ[?] α[?] ν[?] ν[?]   
double ass  
divin  
Τυ[?] κ[?] δ[?] ς

SS 12624  
RT 2192

Ζ[?] Ἰ[?] ο[?] ν[?] ο[?] ς  
rose

SS 12625  
K T 2193

(early handle,  
framed stamp)



18. VII. 56 T. C. series is not listed in the Kardup list of SS Cate. Fill, now on T p. 4297. [17.16]  
 1st half - 1st quarter? - 2nd BC

SAH from construction fill of South Stoa

	fabricant	device	eponym	month	
THASIAN	BA(TSN?) EPAT-N	fish hook			SS 6548 SS 6552 -5 K6562 -4 6567
	not read				6563
RHODIAN			EYKAHZ, ep.		6567
EARLY KNIDIAN		HEAD6T head of Dionysos			6554
KNIDIAN			ΔAM.EYKPATHZ, ep.		6553
	ΘEYFENHZ		MHTP( , ep.		6564
	ΘEYFENHZ		NIKAZIB(OYAOZ) , ep.		6552
	NIKAZIBOYAOZ		NIKAZIBOYAOZ, ep.		6555
UNKNOWN ORIGIN	ΙΑΣ[ (Thasian fabric)				6548

The Thasian 6562 is datable 1st half of 2nd, possibly earlier: an example in the Koukla Factory fill. The Rhodian is early 3rd century or earlier. The Knidian correspond with those in the Middle Stoa bldg fill, i.e. 1st quarter, according to present SAH guess; save that MHTP(OAZPOZ), a rather uncommon eponym (11 examples on file) does not occur in the MSBF, does occur in pre-Stoa of Attalos fill.

That is, the handles seem to make the S. Stoa about contemporary with the M.Stoa, and apparently earlier than the ZA, except for SS 6564 which may bring it down a few years toward the ZA; note this handle seems to have been found in the lowest stratum.

⊗ many now listed (VII. 56)



## SAH FROM SOUTH STOA II BUILDING FILL

SS 11921-930 SS 12627-628  
 11937 12630-633  
 12147-148 13115-117  
 12167-169 13167-170  
 12185-196 13180-186  
 12552-554 13189-191  
 12594-595 13195  
 12620-625

Add (from EV):

SS 6548  
 6552-5  
 6562-4  
 6567

See also at end  
 note on T 3600-02  
 (and center guide)  
 from below floor.

(See MSBF report, p. 13)

18, VII, 59  
 AD counts  
 63 counts  
 from this

	fabricant	device	eponym	month	KT	SS	shape, etc of stamp
RHODIAN	ANTIMAXOE	caduceus 1.				12628	
	APIETOKPATHE					12168	
	APIETOPANHE	cornucopia		APT.		13184	o
		rose	ΔΑΜΟΘΕΜΙΣ ΕΥΚΛΗΣ	IAN.		12192 6567	o framed
	ZENON	rose				12186 12624	o framed
		Helioshead	ΙΑΞΙΚΠΑΘΗ			13189	
	ΙΜΠΟΚΠΑΘΗ	rose				12622	o framed
	ΜΑΡΥΑΣ			ΔΑΔ.		12620	
	ΜΑΡΥΑΣ			ΥΑΚ.		12621	
	ΜΕΝΕΚΠΑΘΗ					12147 12167	
	ΜΕΝΩΝ	rose		ΘΕΛ.		12631	o retr.
	ΜΕΝΩΝ			ΚΑΡ.		13191	
			ΣΕΝΟΠΑΝΗΣ	ΥΑΚ.		13190	
		wreath	ΙΡΑΤΟΠΑΝΗΣ			13195	framed
		rose	ΙΕΡ. ΕΡΑΜΩΣ			13168	o retr.
			ΕΣΚΑΡΗΣ	ΥΑΚ.		11924	
	ΘΙΑΙΟΣ	dot				13186	o
		Helios symbol	ΚΑΡΜΟΚΑΡΗΣ			13167	
		caduceus				11930	lagynos
						12630	
			[ ? ]	BAT.		13182	
			[ ? ]	ΘΕΥ.		13183	
			[ ? ]	KAP.		12595	

(unrecorded, but  
 of A102)



	fabricant	device	eponym	month	KT	SS	shape, etc of stamp
EARLY KNIDIAN	ASH					12552	
	head of Dionysus					6554	
	device					12191	
	ΕΛ ΠΡΚΙ					12148	
	ΧΤΗ ΙΦ					12185	
KNIDIAN by fabricant	ASHNION		EYKPATHE	75		11921	
						11923	
	ASHNI (SN)		NIKAZI...		<del>1309</del> 1309	13117	
	APIETION		AYZANIOZ	213		11929	framed, retr.
	APIETI (SN)		ΔΑ(Μ)ΘΙΑΔΑ(ΡΕΛΑΟΣ)	219		13116	
						13181	
	APISTOFENHE	trident	ΦΙΑΝΗΙΟZ (ep)	1931		12189	retr.
	APISTOKPATHE		ΦΙΑΝΗΙΟZ (ep)	271		11937	
	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ(ΟΣ)	anchor	ΑΡΜΕ(	375		13170	
	ΔΡΑΚΩΝ			514		12553	framed
	EYKPATHE			637		12169	framed, retr.
	ΘΕΥ(		ΗΡΟ(ΜΑΘΙΩΝ)	1986		13169	retr.
	ΘΕΥΓΕΝΗZ		ΜΗΤΡ(	702		6564	
	ΘΡΑΞΩΝ			794		13115	framed
	ΘΕΥΓΕΝΗZ		ΝΙΚΑΖΙ(ΒΟΥΛΟΣ)	704		6552	
	ΑΥΖΑΝΑΡΙΑΔΑZ		ΛΕΩΝ	940		12632	
	MOPMIZ	bouk.	EYKPATHE	1015		12187	retr.
	NIKAZIBOYAOZ		AYZANIOZ	1068		13180	
	NIKAZIBOYAOZ		NIKAZIBOYAOZ	1070		6555	
	ZETION		ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΑΔΑZ (ep)	1215		12190	
By eponym	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ(ΟΣ)	anchor	ΑΡΜΕ(	375		13170	
	ZETION		ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΑΔΑZ (ep)	1215		12190	
	ASHNION		EYKPATHE	75		11921	
						11923	
	MOPMIZ	bouk.	ΔΑΜ. EYKPATHEZ	1380		12187	retr.
	AYZANAPIDAZ		ΛΕΩΝ	940		12632	
	APIETION		AYZANIOZ	213		11929	framed, retr.
	NIKAZIBOYAOZ		AYZANIOZ	1068		13180	
			ΗΡΟΔΩΡΟZ	1437		12188	
	ASHNI (SN)		NIKAZI...	702		1909	
	ΘΕΥΓΕΝΗZ		ΗΡΟ(ΜΑΘΙΩΝ)	704		13169	retr.
	ΘΕΥΓΕΝΗZ		ΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ	1070		1455	retr.
	NIKAZIBOYAOZ					12626	
	APIETI (SN)						



	fabricant	device	eponym	KT	SS	shape, etc of stamp
KNIDIAN by eponym	APIETI (CN)		ΔΑΜ. ΠΙΑΑΙ (ΠΕΛΑΟΣ)	219	13116	
					13181	
	ΑΡΕΥΤΟΡΕΝΗΣ	trident	ΠΙΑΙΠΠΙΟΣ (ep)	1931	12189	retr.
	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ		ΠΙΑΙΠΠΙΟΣ (ep)	271	11937	
THASIAN	ΕΡΑΤΡΗ ΒΑ	fish hook			6562	
	ΝΑΥΠΑΙΟΣ	yoke			12193	
		monogram				
	ΝΑΥΣΙΚΥΔΗΣ	oar			13185	
	ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ	double axe device			12623	
	unread				12194	
					12194, 6563	
PARIAN	ΠΑΡΙΟΝ				12195	
COAN	ΔΙΟΣ	lyre			12196	
	ΗΡΩΔΑΣ	trident			12554	
	unread ΣΩ[	diver?			12627	←
LAGYNOS (Chian)	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ				12594	o retr.
UNKNOWN ORIGIN	ΓΕΡΓΙΟΣ				12633	
	Δ ? (incised)				11922	
	ΙΑΣ[				6548	

30.VII.56

Note the addition of SS 6548 etc., catalogued in T notebook pp. 899 ff. These were the original SSBF lot, as recently confirmed by EV. He says there were no other catalogued objects from the original fill, but some pottery, I think not fully processed as yet, has been kept from the same place.

Date of most of the handles corresponds with that of those from the MSBF, names and/or actual stamp types being repeated between the two. Only in the Knidian category are there a couple of later types, distinctly recognizable:

KT 375, SS 13170, type of ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ with anchor (pt. left), term of ΑΡΜΕ(??)  
 1215 12190 " " ΔΕΙΤΙΩΝ " " ΕΡΜΙΝΙΚΙΔΑΣ Φ  
 and perhaps 940 12632 " " ΑΥΞΑΝΑΠΙΔΑΣ " " ΑΕΩΝ, though  
 this eponym name occurs in the MSBF. Another example of KT 1215 was found in ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ, Cor.  
 and a near-duplicate of KT 375 in the Stoa of Attalos fill.

5.VI.58  
 made a last time type dated in p. period,  
 but is evidently listed all time of Ελληνιστες



Certain SAH of which the finding places have been described as below the floor of the South Stoa (at one time called the Kappa Building) suggest that the layer or layers in which they were found were laid, or accumulated, <sup>somewhat</sup> ~~interxxxixixix~~ later than the building or terracing fill of this Stoa. The two lots known to me are SS 6579-6585 (T 941-7) and SS 14136-8 (T 3600-3602), catalogued respectively by EV and HAT. The first lot, analysis made 17.VI.52, include two stamps which still seem to belong to the third quarter of the 2nd cent. <sup>and/or</sup> later than the destruction of Corinth ~~xxx~~ the construction of the Stoa of Attalos, SS 6579 (KT 122, ANAEANAPOC, term of CIAINTIOC) and SS 6585 (KT 971, MENEETPATOZ, term of AIOKAHE). The second lot include SS 14137 (KT 851, IITHOAKOZ, term of EYEPATOPAZ) of which the eponym is not established as before the middle of the <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> century, though name-connections and other deposit evidence show it is datable little later than stamps found in Corinth and in the SABF. (A distinct EYEPATOPAZ holds office in the duoviri period, being named in many duoviri types.)



K 15: 1

M-N 15: 1

26.V.67 THH said it was seen but I doubt this. The material is being much assembled. To 3rd quarter 2nd

17.VI.52 17.21

SS6579-85 + 14156-8  
~~SS6580-85~~

T, SAH FROM FLOOR OF SOUTH STOA II

	fabricant	device	eponym	month	KT	SS	
RHODIAN	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	rose				6582	Layer 3
	not read					6580	" 1
KNIDIAN	ΤΙΜΟΘΕΝΟΣ ΜΕΝΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	ros., cad. sceptre	ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΔΩΤΡΟΣ, ep. (PP) ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ, ep.	1237 971	14136 6585		" 3
	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ ΙΠΠΟΛΟΧΟΣ	bar	ΕΠΙΧΑΡΜΟΣ, ep. ΕΥΦΡΑΓΟΡΑΣ, ep.	280 851	6584 14137		" 3
	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ		ΖΗΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ep. (PP) (MSBF)	466	14138		
	ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΟΣ	club	ΦΙΛΗΠΠΟΣ, ep.	122	6579		" 1
COAN	ΟΡΟΒΙΟΝ ΟΡΟΒΙΟΝ					<del>XXXXXX</del> 6581	" 3
UNKNOWN ORIGIN	ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ					6583	" 3

listed, MZ to before 166 BC (SS 14136-7),  
 The Knidian appear to belong to just before 150 (SS 6584) and the 3rd quarter (SS 6579, and 6585). The Rhodian of Apollonios is matched by two examples in the Pergamon deposit, and a Coan(?) with the name Orobion is also recorded as from that, suggesting a date of before 180 for these two. No evidence for the handle of Menodoros.

The date variation does not correspond with levels. It appears that the lower level must be as late as the 3rd quarter.

7.IV.58 Note book references:

T pp. 883-4, and 954-5. The LAYERS are described in the first, and in the second entry, without mention of layers. EV stills (p. 955) and the shreds "under the floor" 31. VII. 56 "run down into the 1st B.C."  
 T pp. 5934-5. HAT describes a supplementary invest. into the floor, from which (p. 5935) the shreds were put back into the pit down to SS 14136-8. Add now SS 14136-8, as attached from 10. VII. 56

See MSBF Report, p. 13.

7.IV.58

Now bring material above in period.



Additional handles from the South Store

(From below floor of S. Store II in test pit against back wall in east half of building xxx p 5930

†

SS 14136 T 3600 : ΕΠΙ [ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ] KT 1237  
 ΤΙΜΟΞΕΝΟΥ <sup>near caduceus</sup>  
 ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ

SS 14137 T 3601 : ΕΠΙ ΕΥΦΡΑΤΟΡΑ KT 851  
 ΠΠΟΔΟΧΟΥ  
 ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ

SS 14138 T 3602 ΙΠΘ - ΕΠΙ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΕ KT 466  
 ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ  
 ΚΝΙΔΙΟΝ <sup>reli.</sup>



HSR interests (for Paganum)

14594 - 14602 for S. Stos II, drim

Dep. II-~~24~~11

See Deposit List; 1-0 15:11 (A, drim)

ST. Y. 02-22 to 24th of 22-20 Y. 12

1408



Square Bldg., etc.

U.C.

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rec'd by mail  
ca. 28.11.61

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Princeton, New Jersey

Miss Virginia Grace  
American School of Classical Studies  
Athens, Greece

The attached paper is being circulated in the hope that it may elicit comments and criticisms of value in the preparation of the more definitive publication.

The reader will understand that the paper is only a very brief resume of a long and involved argument. Because of time limits, much evidence both literary and archaeological was left unmentioned.

*Homer A. Thompson*

Homer A. Thompson

January 11, 1961



# LAWS AND LAW COURTS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

Paper read before the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America  
Hartford, December 29, 1960

At an early stage in the negotiations about this evening's paper, the program committee suggested that it take the form of a review or assessment of the results of the excavations that have been conducted over the past 30 years by the American School of Classical Studies in the Athenian Agora. That seemed a large order. From my boyhood I recalled that judges at country fairs did not commonly eat the whole tub of butter; they contented themselves with a small sample or pat. And your program committee has now very kindly acceded to my request that we follow a similar procedure this evening. An hour or so from now, when you are thinking that you have already had quite a lot, please, therefore, console yourselves with the reflection that you are getting only the pat, not the whole tub.

One of the aims of the Agora excavations was to determine the plan and to work out the history of the Agora as the centre of community life in the ancient city state. This objective has not yet been completely realized. If, however, you will compare the picture of the Agora as it emerges from the pages of John Travlos' great book on Athens that appeared a few months ago with the account given by Walter Judeich in the second edition of his Topography of Athens that was published on the eve of the excavations, you will scarcely believe that the two authors are dealing with one and the same place.

In my sampling this evening I propose to confine my remarks to the contribution made by the recent excavations to our knowledge of civic life; more specifically, I wish to concentrate on the facilities for the administration of justice. I shall be dealing, therefore, with only a



small segment of the results of the undertaking. This fraction may serve, nevertheless, as a specimen of our new knowledge; at the same time it will, I trust, illustrate the nature of the evidence with which we have had to deal, the way we have gone about the job, and, not least, the limitations of the results.

I should perhaps warn you straight off that you have let yourselves in for a grim ordeal. You will recall that Benjamin Bickley Rogers, to whom we owe those learned yet delightful editions of the plays of Aristophanes, was a scholar only by avocation, a barrister by vocation. In the preface to his edition of the Wasps, Rogers wrote:

"Who cares to hear of dicasts and dicasteries? Law and lawcourts, no very fascinating subject even to a lawyer, are something more than dry and uninviting, they are positively repulsive to the world at large."

The dryness of my discourse, however, will be alleviated by pictures. These I owe to Miss Alison Frantz. Of the plans that I shall show you, those in black and white are the work of John Travlos, those in color are by Piet de Jong. I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to these colleagues; but all misinterpretation of the evidence and all errors of judgment I jealously claim as my own.

59-53 Before each meeting of the Athenian Assembly, as you will recall, a curse was invoked upon any speaker who deceived Boulē, Dēmos or Heliaia (οἱ τὶς ἐξαπατᾷ λέγων ἢ βουλὴν ἢ δῆμον ἢ τὴν ἡλιαίαν). This venerable formula makes explicit the threefold division of government among the executive, the legislative and the judicial branches. Through the excavations of the past 30 years, we have learned a good deal about the



physical accommodations for all three departments.

Let us begin with the legislative branch, the assembly (ekklesia). As late as 1930 there was no certainty even about the identification of the meeting place of the assembly. In that year, excavations were begun on the Pnyx by the American School of Classical Studies in collaboration with the Greek Archaeological Service. This undertaking was, so to speak, a warming-up exercise for the Agora excavations proper. As a result of the work on the Pnyx, the identification of the assembly place has been put beyond question. Like most respectable archaeological monuments, the Pnyx is now known to have had three periods, the 1st of the time of Kleisthenes, the 2nd of the time of the 30 Tyrants, the 3rd of the time of \*59-56 Lykourgos. We can now be confident that the familiar speaker's platform had been hewn from the living rock in time to be used by Demosthenes in 54-12 his later years. The excavations revealed for the first time that the assembly place of this, the third and final period, was to have been accompanied by two large and splendidly situated colonnades; their completion was prevented by the early frost of war.

(58-77 The School began its excavations in the Agora proper on May 25, 1931.  
(56-40 Within the next five years, the area to the east of the Theseum was opened up revealing a row of public buildings that had once closed the west side of the market square. Although the ancient structures had been reduced to this pitiable condition already in the 3rd century after Christ, enough 49-182 remained to permit a fairly detailed and trustworthy reconstruction on paper and in plaster.

Most significant for our immediate purpose is the compact group of three buildings in the lower left of the model. These could be identified with certainty from Pausanias' account as the Tholos, the Council



House and the Metroon. Together they constituted the headquarters of the Council of 500. The structures restored here range in date from the 2nd quarter of the 5th to the 2nd half of the 2nd century B.C.; but beneath the floors of these buildings we came on a series of earlier foundations that go back to the early 6th century. There is good reason to believe that from the time of Solon until the barbarian sack of the 3rd century A.D., the executive branch of government was based here on the west side of the Agora.

We have thus accounted for two departments of government. What of the third, the judiciary? This audience does not need to be told of the importance of legal proceedings in the life of ancient Greece and of Athens in particular. Let me only remind you that Homer for the Shield of Achilles chose a trial scene as characteristic of public life (Iliad, XVIII, 497 ff.). Among the Greeks, the Athenians proudly claimed to have been the first to establish regular legal processes (Aelian, Vera Hist. III, 38: Δίκας δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἡῶρον Ἀθηναῖοι πρώτοι). At the height of the empire, according to the author of the pseudo-Xenophontic Constitution of Athens, (III, 2) the Athenian courts had to deal with more civil and criminal cases, and to pass on more public accounts than the rest of the world together. The relative volume of forensic speeches that came to be canonized in the corpus of Athenian literature, and the innumerable references to legal procedure in the Athenian dramatists are a constant reminder of the extraordinary prominence of judicial proceedings in the life of the ancient Athenians.

What do we know of the physical accommodations for this important branch of government? The ancient authors have preserved the names, and usually, alas, little more, of about a dozen lawcourts that were functioning



in the 5th or 4th century B.C. In several cases the name betrays the location. This is especially true of the early homicide courts: one "at Delphinion" in southeast Athens, one "at Palladion" in a place near Phaleron, one "at Phreattys" in Peiraeus. The court "in the Prytaneion" presumably met in the building of that name, on the north slope of the Acropolis. None of these buildings has yet been discovered or recognized. The Council of the Areopagus when it sat as a court undoubtedly met in early times on the hill called the Areopagus; in the 4th century, however, it held some at least of its meetings in the Royal Stoa, a building that was probably one and the same with the Stoa of Zeus at the northwest corner of the Agora.

The earliest and always the most important of the lawcourts, however, was the Heliaia. Traditionally founded by Solon as a court of appeal, it later became a court of first instance. As legal proceedings increased in both volume and complexity with the foundation of the Empire, a hiving off process occurred; the so-called dikasteries were established, each of them, like the Heliaia itself though on a smaller scale, competent to act as the people of Athens in its judicial capacity. At first, each dikastery appears to have numbered 501 jurymen, later the number seems to have been reduced to 201. It was these dikasteries that handled the great bulk of regular legal proceedings in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. Other courts were associated with individual magistracies, the best known instance being the so-called Parabyston which was presided over by the Eleven and which dealt with cases of thievery and other petty crimes.

It will be my chief aim this evening to establish the location and to sketch the history of the Heliaia, the dikasteries and some of the magistrates courts. In view of the cardinal importance of the judiciary



from the earliest times, one would have expected these courts to have been based on or near the centre of community life, i.e. the Agora. This general probability is strongly supported by the combined weight of the literary evidence which has been collated many times, and need not be reviewed on this occasion.

I should like, however, to dwell a moment on one literary reference; it is drawn, like so many of the most illuminating testimonia on the courts, from a comic poet, Euboulos, active in the middle of the 4th century B.C. A fragment of his Olbia runs as follows:

"You will find everything sold together in the same place at Athens: figs, summoners, bunches of grapes, turnips, pears, apples, witnesses, roses, medlars, haggis, honeycombs, chickpeas, lawsuits, beestings, beestings-pudding, myrtle, allotment machines, hyacinth, lambs, water clocks, laws, indictments."

(Kock, C.A.F., II, p. 190; Agora III, No. 610).

I need not argue the point that the foodstuffs mentioned by Euboulos were on sale in and about the Agora; it follows that the appurtenances of the lawcourts were also familiar sights in the Agora.

\*60-224 A good many of these appurtenances have turned up in our excavations, and I should like to illustrate a selection. For home reading on this part of the subject, I would warmly recommend Agora Picture Book #4, The Athenian Citizen, by Professor Mabel Lang, available from the editor of the School's publications, price 50 cents. Let us begin with laws. We are all familiar with the sound Greek practice of inscribing laws on marble stelai and setting them up in public places so as to be readily



accessible to all the citizens. In Athens, when a specific law was published in this form, an effort was made to place the stele where it would command the attention of those parties who were most directly concerned. A case in point is the revision of the Solonian law code that was carried out by Nikomachos in the years 410-399 B.C. Of the series of multiple marble stelai on which the revised code was engraved, eleven fragments have turned up. A sufficiently high proportion of the pieces were found in the extreme southwest corner of the market square as to make it highly probable that the stelai stood in that part of the Agora. Thus placed they would have been conveniently accessible to the members and the presidents of the Council who had their seat in the Tholos and Bouleuterion. It was equally important, however, that the law code should be in a place where it could be readily consulted by the bodies responsible for the interpretation of the law, viz. the lawcourts; and the subsequent argument will show, I trust, that this would indeed have been the case. I need say no more at this time about laws, for I look forward eagerly, as I am sure you do also, to what Professor Sterling Dow will have to tell us tomorrow about these inscriptions.

\*51-50      The pedestal of the statues of the eponymous heroes served, as we know from many references in the orators, as the official notice board of the city. Prominent among the things that were posted "in front of the Heroes" were drafts of proposed laws, and notices of pending lawsuits. Here again, in keeping with the reasonable custom of the Athenians, one would expect to find such a notice board close both to the makers and to the interpreters of law. The ruins of the monument have in fact come to light just in front of the Metroon, conveniently accessible to members of the Council and to the keepers of the archives, close also, as we



52-233 shall find reason to believe, to the principal lawcourts. The sketch helps in understanding the design of this very characteristically Athenian monument.

\*52-346 Euboulos' list includes also allotment machines (klerotēria). The identification of these implements was brilliantly established in the 1930's by Professor Sterling Dow in the course of his study of a group of Agora inscriptions. For details of their working, I must refer you to Dow's articles. Let me say only that by collating the fragmentary

\*52-239 Agora material with some better preserved specimens found elsewhere, Dow was able to restore the design and to determine how the machine worked.

\*52-237 It consisted essentially of a marble stele with slots to hold the name plates of jurymen. Into a slender metal tube fastened to one side of the marble were poured a number of bronze balls, some white, some black. These balls could be released one by one by means of a crank; according as a white ball or a black ball emerged, the owner of the corresponding name plate was accepted or rejected for jury service on that day. Some 15 of these machines are now known, 10 of them from the Agora. A number of the small bronze balls that actuated the machines have also been recovered in the excavations.

59-151 The excavations have yielded further some 50 examples of a type of coin-like bronze piece which bears on one side either the head of a lion  
59-152 or the helmetted head of Athena looking extremely official. The other side is marked by a letter of the Greek alphabet on a readily legible scale. In an interesting paper read before our annual meeting in 1957 and soon to appear in Hesperia, Professor Alan Boegehold showed reason to believe that these tokens were handed out to the members of the juries as they proceeded toward their respective lawcourts, and that the letters



designated blocks of seats in the courtrooms. Subsequent investigations in the Agora have fully confirmed Boegehold's findings; last summer in fact we were able to identify some of the corresponding letters cut into the steps of one of the lawcourts.

49-210 In Aristophanes' Wasps, (l. 92 f.) the old juryman in moments of fitful slumber dreamed of the water-clock by which speeches were measured in the courts: in Rogers' translation,

"if he doze the tiniest speck, his soul

Flutters in dreams around the water-clock."

Here, as in the passage from Euboulos, the water-clock is adduced as one of the most characteristic furnishings of the lawcourts. By the extraordinary kindness of chance, we have found a water-clock dating from the very time of the Wasps. You have it here: an earthenware pot ca. 9 in. high with a carefully calibrated outlet below and an overflow hole under the rim to permit precision in filling. The running time is 6 minutes. The vessel was found in a well of the late 5th century at the southwest corner of the Agora.

60-247 "Every juryman" says Aristotle (Ath. Pol. 63, 4) "has his ticket  
49-251 (pinakion) stamped with his own name, the name of his father and the name of his deme, for the jurymen coming from each tribe are divided into 10 sections." The name plates of Aristotle's day have utterly vanished, for they were of boxwood; but those of the earlier 4th century were of bronze and well over 100 examples have survived. Most of them have been found in graves outside Athens; apparently the Athenian of the 4th century looked forward to the joys of the lawcourt even in the other world. Some 9 or 10 specimens have been picked up at random in the Agora.

The bronze ballots used by the jurymen in registering their votes



are also well represented among the Agora finds. These devices, too, correspond with Aristotle's description (Ath. Pol. 68, 2): they are of bronze and wheel-shaped, some with solid axles for acquittal, some with hollow for condemnation. Many of them are clearly labelled: ψῆφος δημοσία : official ballot. In shape and size they are admirably designed for the way of use described by Aristotle: when the axle was held by the dikast between his finger tips, the litigants could not see whether it was solid or hollow. Thus held, the ballot that was to count was deposited in a bronze urn, the other in a wooden container.

This farrago of dikastic equipment corresponds in a striking way with Euboulos' comic but evidently circumstantial account of the Agora. Particularly significant from the topographical point of view are the kleroteria and their little bronze balls, the water-clock, the official tokens and the ballots; all these devices were employed in or near the courts, and they are not likely to have been removed far from their places of use. The finding places of the bronze balls, the official tokens and the ballots have been plotted here, with the help of Miss Mabel Lang, on a plan that shows the Agora as it was in the first half of the 4th century, the period to which the objects may be assigned; the kleroteria have been omitted from this plan since all those that have been found are probably Hellenistic in date. After making due allowance for the chances of excavation, and admitting a certain amount of scatter, one cannot fail to be struck by the marked concentrations near the southwest and the north-east corners of the square.

On the assumption, which I regard as valid, that the lawcourts must have stood on or about the Agora, let us now follow these more specific clues in search of structural remains. I should warn you in the beginning



that the search is not likely to be easy. Public buildings in the Agora excavations seldom come with labels attached. Nor, to my knowledge, have lawcourts hitherto been recognized either in Athens or in any other Greek city; and you all know how helpless an archaeologist is without a parallel. Furthermore, we now know that the object of our search was capable of changing form with Proteus-like rapidity from period to period.

Despite these handicaps, which merely add zest to the game, let us begin. And let us start at the southwest corner of the square, for there are many indications that this was from very early times the principal focal point of civic life. The west side of the square, as we have seen, was occupied from the 6th century onward by accommodations for the Council. On the west side, individual buildings came and went through the centuries and the complex became larger and more involved; but for something over 800 years these facilities served one and the same branch of the government, viz. the Council. Along the south side of the square, we have now traced a comparable architectural development. Here, too, there evolved within the same time span a complex of public buildings that are best interpreted as accommodations for some important branch of government. Inasmuch as the legislative branch, the Assembly, has been provided for on the Pnyx and the executive branch, the Council, on the west side of the Agora, we are left with the judicial branch. At this stage of the argument I should like, therefore, to propose as a working hypothesis that the buildings along the south side of the Agora constituted the principal accommodations for the lawcourts. I would beg you to reserve judgment for the moment and to watch how the argument develops.

60-140      The modern street that cuts harshly through this picture from left to right immediately overlies a very ancient road which from the 6th



century B.C. onward marked the southern limit of the Agora. Beyond it the Areopagus rises rather steeply; on the near side of the road the more gently sloping land was to be exploited for the market place. In the extreme lower right of the picture you can just make out the circular floor of the 5th century Tholos.

At some time quite early in the 6th century, a group of private houses was demolished to make way for a range of stone benches here at the foot of the Areopagus. In the next view we shall be looking more closely at the remains of these benches. At one point, near the middle (60-241 of this picture, three of the benches are still in place one above the (53-78 other. There were originally four or possibly five rows, each ca. 100 ft. long. The individual bench was just over 1 ft. in width and 1 ft. in height. With these dimensions spectators could have sat only on alternate rows so that the seating capacity of the whole range would have been about 130 or about 195 according as one restores 4 or 5 rows. In front of the benches the gravelled surface of the market square sloped gently downward. We know nothing of what flanked the benches to east and west at this early period since the rock in these parts was later cut down. Far to the east, on the extreme left of the drawing, a fountain house was erected in the late 6th century, in all likelihood the one that came to be called the Enneakrounos.

The benches are made of Kara limestone, painstakingly worked in a primitive style. The construction indeed has a more ancient flavor than that of any stone masonry in Athens subsequent to Mycenaean times. The pottery from the debris beneath the benches runs down to ca. 570 B.C. This gives us an approximate date for their construction.

Permanent stone benches of this sort must have been intended for



frequently recurring and important gatherings. To the question who used them we shall return shortly.

(60-242  
(53-172 Early in the 5th century a square area above and behind the old stone benches was enclosed with a stone wall. The enclosure measured overall about 91x106 English ft. (28x32.50 m.). Its front rested on top of the old steps; at the middle of the front was a broad entrance porch supported on a mass of masonry which was set against the steps and was carefully assimilated to the old stone work in material, dimensions, and surface finish. The east wall was broken by a narrow doorway. There is no trace of interior supports and no reason to believe that the area was originally roofed. At the northwest corner of the main structure was a contemporary annex the plan of which has not yet been established, though it appears to have had a columnar porch.

60-146 The enclosure wall was supported on a light foundation of polygonal limestone. On this rested the wall blocks of Aeginetan limestone several of which remain in place at the southeast corner while several others were found re-used in late walls in the area. The workmanship is of a high  
60-152 order; even the occasional mason's marks are cut with care and feeling.

60-144 Clamps of H form occur chiefly at the junctions between walls. A Doric column capital, presumably from the annex, was found where re-used in a nearby wall of the 4th century B.C. It is very simple, having neither fluting nor necking. Note the mason's marks on the abacus, an alpha and iota similar in style to those on the wall blocks.

60-170 Of particular interest among the architectural members of this period are the crowning blocks from the enclosure wall. A half dozen pieces of this series were found some years ago under the north end of the Stoa of Attalos where they had been re-used in the 4th century B.C. in the



foundation of a building to which we shall revert later. Although the peaks of the blocks had been trimmed away by the re-users, their attribution to the square enclosure is put beyond doubt by perfect correspondence in material, dimensions and workmanship. The projecting cornice on one side has a bed-moulding in the form of a hawksbeak, delicately carved and painted. We have as yet no precise clue to the original height of the enclosure wall.

The profile of this bed-moulding (on which I am glad to have Miss Lucy Shoe's expert opinion), the style of workmanship, the letter forms of the mason's marks and the pottery associated with the foundations of the enclosure wall point to a date in the early 5th century, probably close to 490 B.C.

As to the purpose of the great enclosure, I should like to reiterate with greater boldness the hypothesis that was advanced tentatively in 1953, viz. that we have here the meeting place of the Heliaia. "The Heliaia," to quote Harpokration (s.v. "Heliaia" and "Heliastis"), "was the greatest law-court in Athens and the one in which cases affecting the state were tried before juries numbering 1000 or 1500 dikasts." With its area of over 9,000 sq. ft., our enclosure was amply large to accommodate 1500 seated persons. Its unroofed state accords with the evidence that this court, at least in its early days, met under the open sky. Thus placed on the south side of the square it nicely balances the facilities for the Council on the west side. The date of construction is also thoroughly appropriate, for it falls in the period in which the Heliaia appears to have ceased to be merely a court of appeal and became a court of first resort; thereafter it undoubtedly played a more active role and had need of more adequate accommodations.



The Heliaia as an institution, however, was much older. I have already referred with respect to the tradition that attributed its foundation to Solon. In view of the architectural links between the great enclosure and the open stone benches to which I have referred above, I would now venture to suppose that those early benches, constructed within a few years of Solon's legislation, were also intended for the use of the Heliaia.

(60-243 All this, you may object and I would freely admit, is in some measure  
(60-9 hypothetical; but if you will bear with me on that basis, I should like to proceed. In the final third of the 5th century B.C., the area to the west, i.e. to the right, of the great enclosure was cleared to make way for a public fountain house of which I show you a model. Water was supplied by a stone aqueduct that approached from the east under the ancient street. This is much the most capacious fountain house known in Athens; its construction during the Peloponnesian War was perhaps motivated by the necessity for supplying the large refugee population that had sought shelter within the city walls.

The annex at the northwest corner of the great enclosure fell victim to this fountain house. Its functions may be presumed to have been taken over by the large new building that was erected in these same years, i.e. in the closing decades of the 5th century, to the east, i.e. to the left, of the old enclosure. The excavators have designated it South Stoa I. The building was large, some 280 ft. in length, and its plan, for the period, 53-114 was unusual. Sixteen square rooms opened on a 2-aisled colonnade ca. 38 ft. wide. The construction, for a large public building of the 5th century, is remarkably economical, in consequence, no doubt, of the exigencies of wartime. You are here looking at the ruins of the building from the east. You can perhaps observe that the walls were of crude brick resting on



53-124 socles of re-used stone. Column bases and stylobate were in each case 53-123 only one course in thickness. The column capitals were carved from a very soft, cheap limestone.

53-294 It is to be noted that the doors of the rooms are all slightly off axis, in each case by the same amount. Whereas the doorways of ordinary shops are centred in the front wall, the off-axis arrangement is characteristic of ancient dining rooms. This asymmetry permitted the most economical distribution of dining couches of standard size. Each room in our building might have held 7 of these individual couches.

In a preliminary publication of the building in 1954 I suggested, in a footnote, that we might have to do with the Thesmotheteion, the building in which the thesmothetai, and, after Solon, the other archons as well, met and dined. The lexicographers classed the Thesmotheteion among the public mess-halls, or syssitia, of Athens, the others being the prytaneion and the Tholos. I should now like to raise this suggestion from footnote level into the text. The chief concern of the thesmothetai in the 5th century was the administration of the lawcourts, and particularly of the Heliaia which is repeatedly referred to in authors and inscriptions as "the Heliaia of the thesmothetai." Just as the prytaneis had in the Tholos a dining place and office conveniently adjacent to the Council House where they presided over the meetings of the Council, the thesmothetai might reasonably have asked for headquarters similarly convenient to the scene of their principal business, viz. to the Heliaia.

My growing confidence, rashness if you will, prompts me now to go one step further. I would venture to suggest that the deep colonnade in front of the square rooms was intended as the meeting place for several of the lesser courts, the dikasteries that evolved in the 5th century, as



we have seen, to share with the Heliaia the growing burden of judicial business. It seems to me altogether probable, in fact, that we have here the group of courts that are referred to collectively as τὰ δικάσθηρια by Demosthenes (XXI, 4; XXIV, 208-9), Isokrates (VII, 54) and, most specifically, by Aristotle near the beginning of his discussion of the lawcourts in Ath. Pol. 63, 2.

There is no need to boggle at the idea of a court meeting in a stoa-like building. We know that the Council of the Areopagus in the 4th century B.C. met, apparently in its judicial capacity, in the Royal Stoa. And we have good epigraphic evidence from the 4th century for courts meeting in the Stoa Poikile. In this connection, let me recall also the arrangements proposed by Praxagora in Aristophanes' Ekklesiazousai of 391 B.C. for dining arrangements in her communistic state. "The dikasteria and the stoas all of them I shall make into dining halls," declares this vigorous social planner. One is entitled to infer, I believe, that the dikasteria and the stoas were basically similar, and that both types of building would have lent themselves equally well to use for dining. That stoas were used on occasion for public banquets is well attested, e.g. in the Agora of Priene, and I have no doubt that the stoas around the Athenian Agora were commonly used in this way for such regular occasions as the public feast that concluded the Panathenaic festival.

"There are ten entrances to the dikasteria," writes Aristotle (Ath. Pol., 63, 2), "one for each tribe; and twenty allotment machines, two for each tribe; and one hundred chests, ten for each tribe; and other chests into which the tickets of the jurors drawn by lot are thrown. Two urns and a number of staves equal to that of the jurors [to be selected from each tribe] are placed at each entrance. Acorns equal in number to the



staves are thrown into the urn. On these acorns are written the letters of the alphabet beginning with the eleventh letter, namely lambda, using as many different letters as there are courts to be filled." From other literary references, especially Aristophanes' Wasps of 422 B.C., there is reason to believe that an area in front of the actual court buildings was enclosed by a wooden fence (δρύφακτοι) and that the ten tribal entrances were controlled by wicket gates (κίγκλίδες).

54-500 I would suppose that this fenced area lay to the north of South Stoa I. The northern limit of the area may in fact have determined the course of a large stone drain that was laid in this part of the Agora ca. 400 B.C. and that is indicated by a heavy dark line on the plan. I would think of the allotment machines (the kleroteria), as standing just south of that line. Praxagora in the Ekklesiastousai set up her allotment machines for assigning the citizens to their dining halls near the statue of Harmodios. Harmodios and Aristogeiton are said to have stood in the orchestra, and in fact an inscribed fragment of their pedestal has come to light in the north central part of the Agora. This slight departure from the traditional position of the allotment machines put them into a more central position with respect to all the dining halls, viz, those in the dikasteria on the south side of the square and those in the stoas which in the 4th century were still chiefly around the north part of the square.

I may observe parenthetically that the same fenced area with its 10 tribal entrances had probably been used in earlier times for the business of ostracism.

South Stoa I, as we have seen, dates from the time of the Peloponnesian War. The improved facilities were intended, I would suppose, to alleviate the great congestion in the courts of Athens that was graphically described



by the Old Oligarch at the beginning of the War. The Wasps of Aristophanes (422 B.C.) also attests the feverish activity of the courts in the war years. You will recall the delightful passage in which Philokleon dreamed of the time when every citizen might have a little dikasterion in the vestibule of his house (ll. 799-804). We now have evidence of a remarkable proliferation of lawcourts at just this time, something which adds to the point of the passage in Aristophanes.

(58-75 In addition to South Stoa I at the south side of the square, the late  
(53-345 5th century witnessed the construction or adaptation of two other complexes of buildings for use as lawcourts: one at the southwest corner of the Agora and one at the northeast corner. I shall not bore you with architectural details. Let me say, however, that these other structures exhibit signs of even greater haste and frugality than does South Stoa I. In both complexes walled but unroofed enclosures are combined with a number of rooms.

54-58 In one of the rooms of the northeast complex there came to light in the autumn of 1953 the curious, makeshift bin which appears near the middle of this view. In this container were found a half dozen ballots, a bronze ball for use in an allotment machine and a fragmentary dikast's name plate. Since several other pieces of dikastic equipment were found in the ruins of the building, we have here, in my opinion, very firm evidence for the existence of a lawcourt. Whether it will ever be possible to assign a specific name to this court or to the one at the southwest corner of the Agora is questionable.

60-168 Numerous alterations and additions were made in the northeast complex in the course of the 4th century. It was in one of the latest of these additions, dating from the 3rd quarter of the 4th century, that there were



re-used the old wall-crown blocks which, as I have argued above, derive from the great enclosure at the south side of the Agora.

60-246        Soon after this, the old northeast complex was abandoned and work was begun on a splendid new structure on exactly the same site. The new building was to have been a square peristyle with a central courtyard open to the sky and with porches of very generous width (just under 30 ft.). There was to have been a monumental entrance on the side toward the market square; a narrow doorway on the opposite side. There is reason to believe that closed rooms were planned to either side of the main entrance at the back of the porch. Work on the project dragged through the latter part of the 4th century; only the north part of the building was finished and that in a very makeshift way; the entrance was not even begun. Whether the curtailment was due to the military situation or to the fact that a building of this scale was no longer needed we do not know; I suspect both these causes were at work.

We have no specific evidence for the identification of the Square Building. Since, however, certain parts of the old complex were adjusted in such a way as to remain in use while the Square Building was under construction, there can be little doubt that the one succeeded the other in function as well as in location and that the later like the earlier was a lawcourt.

The design of the Square Building was evidently intended to combine the advantages of the great old enclosure on the south side of the Agora with those of South Stoa I. Had it been finished, it would have enjoyed the privacy of the one and the sheltering colonnades of the other.

(60-244  
(58-72        Before we leave the northeast area let me show you, not a surrealist painting, but a composite plan made by Piet de Jong to illustrate the



sequence of periods beneath the north end of the Stoa of Attalos. The small green areas mark the position of early graves. The dikastic complex of the 5th and 4th centuries is in blue. Yellow has been used for the Square Building of the late 4th century. The Stoa of Attalos of the 2nd century is here shown in red against white.

Returning now to the south side of the square, as shown on the left-hand screen, we see that in our absence the Heliaia itself has been modernized. A pleasant colonnaded courtyard has been inserted in the old enclosure, and a range of four rooms has been erected along its west side. These alterations, occurring in the 3rd quarter of the 4th century, will have furnished the occasion for the removal of the crowning members from the old enclosure wall, thus making the blocks available for re-use in the addition to the northeast complex. A public water-clock has been erected against the north face of the Heliaia, toward its northwest corner.

The introduction of the closed peristyle into the lawcourts of Athens is one more example of the greater emphasis placed by the 4th century on convenience and comfort in the facilities for civic life. The change in the lawcourts occurred in the same generation that witnessed also the remodelling of both the Theatre of Dionysos and the Assembly Place on the Pnyx and the construction of the first permanent stadium in Athens. Henceforth the lawcourts possessed some of the home comforts that Philokleon craved in the Wasps (ll. 771-774), especially shelter from the elements; but he would have had to wait a full century to see their adoption.

(60-245  
(58-76 As we move on down into the Hellenistic age, we find the Agora undergoing another major transformation. The southern part of the old open area has now been enclosed as a lesser square through the construction of the three colonnades which we have long known under their modern names



of Middle Stoa, East Stoa and South Stoa II. The three buildings were erected in that sequence in the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century B.C. The Stoa of Attalos, built about the middle of the same century on the east side of the main square, was probably an integral part of the same building program, although in function it seems to have been less closely related.

The three buildings with which we are immediately concerned were of sizeable scale. The Middle Stoa, for example, was over 60 ft. in width 60-154 and almost 500 ft. in length. All three were solidly built but austere in architectural detail. The material of all three was limestone 58-277 rather than marble. You see here the steps and stumps of columns at the east end of the Middle Stoa. And here, in model, is the west end of the same building. The order in all three buildings was Doric. The Middle Stoa had columns on all 4 sides. It was divided into two aisles by a screen wall on its long axis. Each of these two aisles, as also the single aisle of the South Stoa II, had the unusually generous width of ca. 28 ft., close that is to the colonnades in the old Square Building.

The lesser square bordered by the Middle, East and South Stoa when first cleared was tentatively identified by the excavators as a commercial agora or market place. Subsequent exploration, however, has given no encouragement to this view which must now be abandoned.

60-248 As a result of studies carried out in the summers of 1959 and 1960, I should like to make a new proposal regarding the use of the lesser square. Basic to this proposal is the observation that this lesser square of the 2nd century supplanted three older buildings or groups of buildings: South Stoa I, the Square Building at the northeast corner of the Agora and the complex of lesser buildings at the southwest corner. The Hellenistic building program was carefully coordinated to permit the old buildings



to remain in use as nearly<sup>1</sup> as possible until the new were ready. The first of the new structures was the Middle Stoa. The construction of its west end, however, was temporarily delayed so as not to disturb the old southwest complex. Next, South Stoa I was demolished and the site was graded in preparation for South Stoa II and the East Stoa. The East Stoa was then built. The Square Building at the Northeast corner of the Agora was demolished and its stone and timber were carted southward to be re-used in the construction of South Stoa II. The Stoa of Attalos is almost exactly contemporary with South Stoa II, dating ca. 150 B.C. Finally, the old Southwest Complex was demolished and the west end of the Middle Stoa was closed.

Also significant for the purpose of the new complex is its relation to the Heliaia. You will observe that this venerable building was incorporated organically into the great new group. Note, too, that all the new buildings, including the Stoa of Attalos, took their orientation from the Heliaia. Finally, let me draw your attention to the fact that the newly constituted square closely coincided with the area previously occupied by South Stoa I and the fenced space which we have recognized in front of that building.

Such intimate relationship between the old buildings and the new indicates, in my opinion, that the old and the new served the same purpose. If, then, we are right in regarding the old as lawcourts, the same, I believe, will hold for the new. Let me adduce a bit of more specific evidence. Of the ten allotment machines or kleroteria found in the Agora, no less than eight came to light along the north flank of the Middle Stoa; the find places are indicated by black dots on the plan. I have little doubt that after the erection of the Middle Stoa the machines had stood



in that building or on its terrace, very close, that is, to the position we had hypothecated for them already in the late 5th century.

The persistent sceptic may well ask how we can be sure that the old system of large jury courts persisted as late as the 2nd century B.C., since the primary literary evidence breaks off in the 4th century. The answer is given by the allotment machines themselves: most if not all of the surviving examples were made as late as the 2nd century. Undoubtedly, however, the activity of the lawcourts had shrunk greatly since the 5th and 4th centuries. And the new Hellenistic complex, grandiose though it seems at first glance, really represents a contraction in the overall accommodations. In its impressive scale and its precise, orderly planning, this group of buildings is a characteristic creation of the Hellenistic age. I would not maintain for a moment, of course, that these stoas were intended exclusively for the use of the lawcourts. At most times, I would assume, they were freely open to the public as pleasant promenades.

The next significant date in the history of our buildings is 86 B.C. In that year, after a long and bitter siege, the Roman army under Sulla smashed its way through the western walls of the city and did great harm, particularly in the area of the Agora. We had long since noted evidence of damage to the Temple of Hephaistos, to the Tholos and to various monuments along the west side. The exploration of the past two summers has shown that most of the buildings on the south side of the Agora were demolished on this same occasion. The destruction of South Stoa II, the 60-153 Heliaia and the Southwest Fountain House may be regarded as certain. As grim evidence of the manner of their destruction, I show you three stone catapult balls, each about 6 in. in diameter, found last summer in an early Roman context in the Middle of the Heliaia. After long years of



desolation the site was re-occupied in the 1st century A.D. The new residents were iron founders, marble workers, and potters. In the 2nd century the region was cleaned up and became once more a presentable part of the public square. But there is no reason to believe that our buildings were ever reconstructed in such a way as to serve again their original purpose. Pausanias, visiting Athens ca. 150 A.D., lists the ancient lawcourts. His account, however, is based not on autopsy but on the study of the classical authors. The same is true of the approximately contemporary account by Pollux.

There I must close this very hasty and partial sketch. Many parts of the picture puzzle still remain to be fitted into place; many parts are lost forever. I am conscious also that much of what I have said to-night is hypothetical; but I trust that you will derive some confidence from the existence at various points of firm and indubitable evidence, as also by the general coherence in the evolution that I have traced.

The discovery of the papyrus MS of Aristotle's Ath. Pol. in 1890 brought a most valuable addition to our knowledge of the Athenian lawcourts. Its publication stimulated many new studies of the literary testimonia, the results of which are admirably presented in the great work by R.J. Bonner and Gertrude Smith, The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle (1930-1938). The archaeological evidence which had previously been so meagre has now been enriched by the Agora excavations. I have tried this evening in a very tentative way to indicate how the old literary and the new archaeological evidence may be collated. By dint of more hard work on both the philological and the archaeological side we can, I am sure, arrive at a much clearer understanding of an institution that was, with all its virtues and its vices, so characteristic of community life in ancient Athens.



1. 59-53 Pnyx, general view from Observatory.
2. 59-56 Pnyx, speaker's platform of Period III.
3. 54-12 Pnyx, general plan of Period III.
- (4. 58-77 Agora, restored plan, 2nd century A.D.
- (5. 56-40 Agora, west side from southeast, actual state.
6. 49-182 Agora west side, model, from southeast.
7. 60-224 I 727: fragment of law-code (410-399 B.C.).
8. 51-50 Eponymous Heroes, foundation from southeast.
9. 52-233 Eponymous Heroes, restored drawing of one end.
10. 52-346 Allotment Machine from Agora.
11. 52-239 Allotment Machine from Agora.
12. 52-237 Allotment Machines, restored drawing.
13. 59-151 Bronze token; head of Athena on Obverse.
14. 59-152 Bronze token; letter mu.
15. 49-210 Water-Clock.
- (16. 60-247 Plan of Agora, 5th century B.C.
- (17. 49-251 2 bronze ballots flanking a dikast's name plate.
18. 60-140 South side of Agora from northwest.
- (19. 60-241 Heliaia, stepped benches (Isometric drawing).
- (20. 53-78 Heliaia, foundations of north side.
- (21. 60-242 Heliaia, enclosure of early 5th century (Isometric drawing).
- (22. 53-172 Heliaia, polygonal foundation in south side.
23. 60-146 Heliaia, wall block with mason's marks at SE corner.
24. 60-152 Heliaia, wall block with clamp cuttings.
25. 60-144 Heliaia, Doric capital with mason's marks.
26. 60-170 Heliaia, wall block and wall crown.




- (27. 60-243 Heliaia, SW Fountain House, Thesmotheteion, SE Fountain  
( House (Isometric drawing).
- (28. 60-9 Southwest Fountain House, Model
- 29. 53-114 South Stoa I, from east.
- 30. 53-124 South Stoa I, stylobate block.
- 31. 53-123 South Stoa I, Doric capital
- 32. 53-294 South Stoa I, dining room restored.
- 33. 54-500 Agora, restored plan, ca. 300 B.C.
- (34. 58-75 Agora, restored plan, end of 5th century B.C.
- (35. 53-345 Room of "ballot box."
- 36. 54-58 Ballots from "ballot box."
- 37. 60-168 Re-used wall crown blocks.
- 38. 60-246 Square Peristyle (Isometric restoration).
- (39. 60-244 Heliaia and neighboring buildings in late 4th century  
( Isometric drawing).
- (40. 58-72 Sequence of buildings at NE corner of Agora (de Jong drawing)
- (41. 60-245 South Square in Hellenistic period (Isometric drawing).
- (42. 58-76 Agora, restored plan of Hellenistic period.
- 43. 60-154 Middle Stoa, east end.
- 44. 58-277 Middle Stoa, west end of model.
- 45. 60-248 Agora, restored plan of Hellenistic period, find places  
of kleroteria.
- 46. 60-153 Catapult balls found in Heliaia.



"Virginia"

The following handles are associated in one way or another with building periods of the Heliaia; I would greatly appreciate your comments, especially on their dating. Perhaps you would fill out and return this sheet.

Homer"

- (Box 908) SS 14429 Thracian, late 5<sup>th</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> B.C.; cf. Heup 1934, p. 210, no. 1, context is 2T'; and <sup>Puys</sup> series Suppl. X, nos. 7-15 (all FAP III)
- SS 14430 Oup (note). Not identified with a class, and no context for the stamp but the present.
- By appearance, could well date with SS 14429
- (KT 386) SS 14434 Knidian, early 1<sup>st</sup> B.C. (Eponyme 'Ανδρα γυναικας', <sup>probably</sup> late in duviri period.)
- SS 14435 Bo (note). Not ident. with a known class, and this is only exp. of stamp, but for brief ab-  
breviations in Puys, FAP III, of Suppl. X, nos. 242-3
- SS 14436  Context of somewhat similar stamps puts this as early possibly as 3/4 4<sup>th</sup> (cf. SS 4568)
- Box 386 SS 14437 Thracian, of Αχιλλοειδης. <sup>A 17:3</sup> context as early as last 1/4. The rim on this exp. suggests still 3/4.

29.11.58 9. B.H.  
from cat. building



Dapen/Oasen

Bon

SS 14439

Thain

" = Page 4, FAP III

and it may be a copy as Ref 5<sup>th</sup>Bon 2246

SS 14440

= Page 230-232, FAP III



12. IX. 61

[20.03]

Harp 1937 p. 165, on wells  
connected with Propylon of

Boulentun; (HAT referred to the cstr.  
as contemp.? with aspects  
of Helian  
F 11 : 2 B<sub>1</sub> Well at 15/ΔΔ  
SS 2618 <sup>DELVATIS</sup> (med)

F 12 : 3

E<sub>1</sub> Well at 33/K Δ  
Bath SS 3016 <sup>corap</sup>  
chamber SS 3230 <sup>leaf in end</sup>

From L.T. :

See also

E<sub>1</sub> cstr at 18/Δ (P 10; 1)  
(Has a jar in 1 S 3  
and P 10690 in IV)



Notes on groups of SAH from HAT 1961 dig

1.) 3.VIII.61 Area to north of SW Fountain House; Layer II,

21.01

Aug. 24/61 SS

V.G.

Very many thanks for your comments on the handles from the SW corner of the Agora.

Your dating of the various groups seems to accord well with the sequence of events as indicated by the excavation. My present view, based on the collation of the evidence is that the west end of the Middle Stoa was closed ca. 150 B.C.

P.T.O.

i.e. lowest layer of Hall, gravel above cobble stones  
surface p. 3950 20-24: KZ-A K 3607-3612  
(SS 14452-14457)

<u>K</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>class</u>	<u>approx. date B.C.</u>
3607	14452	Rhett.	late 3 <sup>rd</sup> cf. Kpatidas
3608	14453	"	1/4 3 <sup>rd</sup> cf. Fawcides
3609	14454	"	1/4 3 <sup>rd</sup> cf. Fawcides + others



Aug. 24/67

V. G.

Very many thanks for your  
comments on the handle, from the  
SW corner of the Agora.

Your dating of the various groups  
seems to accord well with the  
sequence of events as indicated by  
the excavation. My present view,  
based on ~~the~~ collation of the evidence  
is that the west end of the Middle  
Stoa was closed ca. 150 B.C.

P.T.O.



The Propylon of the Helicaia, the Klepsydra  
& the Northeast Vanner of the Southwest  
Fountain House will all have been dis-  
mantled about this same time; then the  
massive retaining walls will have been  
erected along the north and west sides  
of the SWFH and the level will have  
been raised between the SWFH and the  
Middle Stoa. This adjustment of levels  
probably dragged on well down—  
into the 2nd half of the II cent.

H.A.T.



23.VIII.61

## Notes on groups of SAH from HAT 1961 dig

- 1.) 3.VIII.61 Area S. north of SW Fountain House; Layer II,  
i.e. 2<sup>nd</sup> layer of Heli. gravel above cobbled street surface  
p. 3949 20-24: KZ-A. K 3597-3606 (SS  
14442-14451)

<u>K</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>class</u>	<u>approx date</u> (B.C.)	
3597	14442	Rhodian	1/4 2 <sup>nd</sup>	cf. Apollonides
3598	14443	"	ca. 220-180	cf. Philodemos
3599	14444	"	early 1 <sup>st</sup> B.C.	(long. row)
3600	14445	Knidion <sup>KT 1176</sup>	2/4 2 <sup>nd</sup>	cf. Apollonides
3601	14446	" <sup>KT 1881</sup>	2/2 2 <sup>nd</sup>	cf. Timarchos
3602	14447	" <sup>1265</sup>	ca. 150	cf. Apollonides
3603	14448	" <sup>754</sup>	1/2 2 <sup>nd</sup>	(cf. Eusebios?)
3604	14449	" <sup>765</sup>	1/2 2 <sup>nd</sup>	Παιδ. Αρσενίου
3605	14450	" <sup>376</sup>	188-167 B.C.	cf. Philodemos
3606	14451	Koan	late 2 <sup>nd</sup> - early 1 <sup>st</sup> B.C.	Τέχνης (cf. Anja)

- 2.) 4.VIII.61 Area N of SW Fountain House; Layer III,  
i.e. lowest layer of Heli. gravel above cobbled street  
surface p. 3950 20-24: KZ-A. K 3607-3612  
(SS 14452-14457)

<u>K</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>class</u>	<u>approx date</u> B.C.	
3607	14452	Rhod.	late 3 <sup>rd</sup>	cf. Kostas
3608	14453	"	1/4 3 <sup>rd</sup>	cf. Philodemos
3609	14454	"	1/4 3 <sup>rd</sup>	Αγρίωνος + Αν



(K)	(SS)	class	approx. date B.C.
3610	14455	Kindin <sup>KT 1358</sup>	early 2nd ? <sup>sp. Δαμο(δ'ιγς?)</sup>
3611	14456	" <sup>KT 580</sup>	1/2 2nd (188-167 <sup>sp. Βίωυ</sup> <sup>pred</sup> )
3612	14457	" <sup>KT 821</sup>	1/2 2nd (114 ?) <sup>sp. Εωρεα(</sup>
3613	144		

3.) July - August 1961. Road to west and northwest of Southwest Fountain House, lowest Hellenistic ground above cobbled street surface. p. 3996 6-15: K-M

K	SS	class	approx. date B.C.
3613	14458	Plust.	2/2 3rd <sup>Κρυοσφραγίδας + Νεο</sup>
3614	14459	"	" " <sup>Αριστερος +</sup>
3615	14460	"	" " <sup>ατσινά</sup>
3616	14461	Kind <sup>KT 322</sup>	early 3/4 2nd <sup>sp. Βαθυσφραγίδας</sup>
3617	14462	" <sup>KT 1173</sup>	188-167 <sup>sp. Αρταγρος</sup>
3618	14463	" <sup>KT 172</sup>	166 - ca. 146 <sup>sp. Ουρεκρίγης</sup>
3619	14464	" <sup>KT 975</sup>	2/2 2nd <sup>sp. Πρακίδας</sup>
3620	14465	" <sup>KT 782</sup>	2/2 2nd <sup>sp. Αοκλινιδας</sup>
3621	14466	" <sup>KT 738</sup>	188-167 <sup>sp. Φιδτατος</sup>
3622	14467	" <sup>KT 822</sup>	166 - ca. 146 <sup>sp. Τελεικρεαν</sup>
3623	14468	" <sup>KT 151</sup>	ca. mid 2nd <sup>sp. Ευφραδ(ας)</sup>
3624	14469	" <sup>KT 913</sup>	166 - ca. 146 <sup>sp. Δίωυ</sup>
3625	14470	"	3/4 2nd ? <sup>in 1st 2nd</sup> <sup>(unusual)</sup>
3626	14471	" <sup>KT 614</sup>	2/2 2nd <sup>sp. Ευφραδ(ας)</sup>
3627	14472	" <sup>KT 1105</sup>	early 2nd <sup>sp. Φίδο(</sup>
3628	14473	" <sup>KT 366</sup>	3/4 2nd <sup>(Δ. δ' Αγ. στ.)</sup>
3629	14474	" <sup>KT 53</sup>	3/4 2nd <sup>sp. Διοκρίτος</sup>
3630	14475	Early Kindin	1/2 2nd ? <sup>group cluster</sup>



<u>(K)</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>class</u>	<u>approx. date B.C.</u>
3631	14476	Clison (Luggins willis)	late 3rd or early 2nd <sup>mod</sup>
3632	14477	Koan	late 3rd or early 2nd <sup>divers</sup> club + crab (note rain mus.)

- 4.) 7.VIII.61 Fountain House Drain just N of Southwest Fountain House, clearing behind W wall, probably for a repair. p. 4051 12: KE

<u>K</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>class</u>	<u>approx. date B.C.</u>
3639 <del>3640</del>	14478 <del>14479</del>	Rhodi	ca. middle of 1 1/2 2nd <sup>sp. Euphorbia</sup>
3640	14479	Kindi <sup>KT 1397</sup>	188 - 167 sp. <sup>sp. Oculodonta</sup>
3641	14480	" <sup>KT 1471</sup>	" " sp. <sup>sp. Philodonta</sup>
3642	14481	" <sup>KT 531</sup>	" " sp. <sup>sp. Acanthopora</sup>
3643	14482	" <sup>KT 654</sup>	before ca. 150 B.C. <sup>Euphorbia + wing</sup>
3644	14483	" <sup>KT 168</sup>	ca. 166 - 146 B.C. <sup>sp. Euphorbia</sup>

36

- 5.) 18.VIII.61 In NS road adjacent to SW corner of Southwest Fountain House at level of "Perivallantion Base." P. — 2: H

<u>K</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>class</u>	<u>approx date</u>
3658	14484	Kindi <sup>KT 1130</sup>	3/4? 2nd sp. <sup>sp. Acanthopora</sup>
3659	14485	" <sup>KT 724</sup>	188 - 167 sp. <sup>sp. Acanthopora</sup>



24.VII.60

Note that these are  
typo readings, and lack  
brackets and date proper to example  
readings.

22.02

3.III.60

Alt for excavations (Retained by HAT  
- on back)  
by S side of Agora

Taken from  
"Combined List"  
(EA + literature)  
but 3 lines entered  
only those appearing in EA

The report in SAEF June 1966  
(i.e. not MSBF, not of group)

?ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ  
?ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕΙΣ  
?ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΕΙΣ  
ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ

3.III.60 [22.01]

12.VII.60, p. 6610  
Cross cut in S. 8th II on 52-53 line  
Layer II, II-I B.C. late  
Date of SAEF

Plat. ca. 185-180 BC

(Pergamon dep. : 19  
MSBF : 0)

Plat. 1st 1/2 2nd B.C

Knid. 166 - ca. 146  
(KT 912)

Knid. end of 2nd or  
(KT 293) beginning of 1st B.C

~~Knid.~~  
~~KT 418~~  
~~188-166~~

Knid. 3rd 1/4 2nd  
(KT 30)

Ref. f. Agora  
M. Lang, ref. to  
Hesp. 1953, p. 35  
But there is no ancient ref.  
then

Martin, "Pachyrrhynchus" (1951)  
("Agona Graeca")  
p. 296 refers to Aristotle  
on the "from Agona", probably  
to buying, selling, etc.  
economic life, which must be  
referred to Ag. Zoogkaias  
δὲ ἀγορῆς καὶ  
κνιδίου καὶ ἀγορῆς

✓ (T 3798) ?Ενὶ φιλομυβροῦ  
δα Ἀγορίνου  
κνιδίου φηρῶν  
14416



Ref. for Communist Agor

M. Lang ref. to

Hesp. 1953, p. 35

But there is no ancient ref.  
then

Martin, <sup>at</sup> Richards sur

("Agon Grege" (1951)

p. 296 ref. to <sup>Politics IV (du)</sup> Aristotle

or to "for Agor", forbids  
to buy & selling. The  
economic one, which must be  
repeated, is to Ag. ἀγοραῖα



Taken from  
 "Combined List"  
 (EA + Gleanings)  
 but I have entered  
 only those appearing in EA.

B. 11. 60

The episode in SAREE (part 166  
 (i.e. not MSOP, not φρουρ.)

Ἀριστέως

Ἀριστογένης

Ἀριστοκλής

Ἀρμω

Ἀρτέμειος?

Δίαν

Ἐπίχαρμος

Κασσιόπιδος

Κλύμπερος

Πολυχάρης

Πολύχαρμος

Τεδοκρίων

Φιδάμπτος



24.VII.60

Note that these are  
type readings, and lack  
brackets and date proper to example  
readings.

HAT: SAW for excavations (Return of HAT  
along S side of Agora - on back)

1<sup>st</sup> lot east of door

{ T

12.VII.60, p. 6610

Cross cut in S. 8th II on 52-53 m line  
Layer II, II-I B.C. lot

Date of SAW

✓ (T 3794) Ἐπὶ Ἀρίστου

Plind.

ca. 185 - 180 B.C.

SS 14412 Βαβροπίου

(Perimeter: 19  
MSBF: 0)

✓ (T 3795) Ἰαποκρέτους

Plind.

100  $\frac{1}{2}$  2nd B.C.

SS 14413

ροσε

✓ (T 3796) Ἐπὶ Διογένη

Knid.

166 - ca. 146

SS 14414

υς Κλέων

(KT 912)

Κνίδιον cadmus

✓ (T 3797) Ἐπὶ Ἀδα

Knid.

end of 2nd or

SS 14415

Σάτυρου

(KT 293)

beginning of 1st B.C.

Ἀρχαγόρου

Κνίδιον

~~Ἐπὶ Ἀπολλωνίου~~  
~~Σάτυρου~~  
~~Κνίδιον cadmus~~

~~Knid.~~

~~KT 418~~

~~188 - 166~~

✓ (T 3798) Ἐπὶ φιλομυβροτε

Knid.

3rd  $\frac{1}{4}$  2nd

SS 14416

Σα Ἀγαθίνου

Κνίδιον (ov) pherm

(KT 30)



4<sup>th</sup> list <sup>eggs</sup> from dom

14.VII.60 South Stone II, cross  
cut at 52-53 from E from channel  
in double foundation. H cut. BE.  
(interior of 1 cut. BE.)

Date of  
SAH

✓ (T 3800) Επί Κλειστού  
SS 14418 του Κνίσιου  
Εμφάνους  
sun, pellets, amphora

Kint.

(KT 569)

166-146

✓ (T 3802) Διογύσο <sup>1/2 brick-  
handle in piece</sup>  
SS 14420 δώρου

Kint.

(KT 468)

188-166 ?

✓ (T 3801) Διογύσο  
SS 14419 δώρου

"

"

✓ (T 3803) Επί Διονυσίου  
SS 14421 Μενεστρά half ship  
του Κνί(σιου)

Kint.

(KT 972)

3<sup>rd</sup> 1/4 ?

✓ (T 3804) Επί Εὐφραγο(α) Ἐρμίου  
SS 14422 Κνί amphora δι(ον) (ατ.)

Kint.

(KT 589)

ca.  
mid 2<sup>nd</sup>

+ 2 not now identified Kint.



(3)

5<sup>th</sup> lot east of dome

{ T 14.VII.60, p. 6624  
 S. Stn II, cross cut on 79-81 m  
 Layer  
 B.C. } Date SAH

✓ (T 3809) Εὐφροσύνου

Kuid.

SS 14425 Κνίδιον very leaf

(KT 654)

ca. mid 2<sup>nd</sup>?

Like SS 14391, from

concrete floor of S Stn II

✓ (T 3810) Ἐπὶ Διογένη

Kuid.

166 - ca 146

SS 14426 Ὑσ πολυκ. ἱερὰ καὶ  
 εὐς Κνίδιο(ν)

(KT 831)

1 unrec. Kuidin

6<sup>th</sup> lot east of dome (separate bag)

✓ (T 3799) Ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίᾳ

Kuid.

166 - ca

SS 14417 Κλεωπάδης

(KT 901)

Κνίδι double axe left

Separate ✓ (T 3791) Ἐπὶ Ἀριστοκλέους

Kuid.

166 - ca 146

in a paper bag ✓ Ἀποδ πολυκ. δαυρίου

(KT 167)

SS 14410 Κνίδι ov

✓ Ξενοκλέους

Kuid.

3rd  $\frac{1}{4}$ ?

T 3805 Ἐπὶ οὐκ

(KT 1138)

(SS 14423) Φιλίππου



(6<sup>th</sup> lot, cont.)Dates of  
handles

✓ (T 3806)  $\Xi \acute{\alpha} \nu \theta \omicron \upsilon$   
 SS 14424 Kvidior

Kvid.

(KT 1114)

2<sup>nd</sup>  $\rightarrow$  3<sup>rd</sup>  $\frac{1}{4}$   
 2<sup>nd</sup>

half slip

✓ Separate (T 3792) Helios  $\epsilon \pi \iota \epsilon \nu \nu \omicron$   
 on a head  $\phi \acute{\alpha} \nu \epsilon \upsilon \varsigma$   
 paper bag  
 SS 14411

Rhodia

ca. beginning A  
 2<sup>nd</sup> B.C.

✓ 11<sup>th</sup> lot, east of door

{ T 19.VII.60 P.  
 p. 6645, East end  
 of S Str II, Among  
 cover slabs of SW door  
 chert mid II BC (but  
 on Pergamon)

(T 3812)  $\epsilon \pi \iota \epsilon \upsilon \phi \rho \alpha \gamma \omicron (pa)$   
 SS 14427  $\alpha \mu \omicron \lambda \lambda \omega$  Kvi

Kvid.

(KT 151)

ca. mid 2<sup>nd</sup>

$\delta \iota \omicron \nu$  Trident left  
 (note.)



13<sup>th</sup> let, other side of aisle { T 20.VII. 68, p. 6665-  
S. Ste, E. end, Layer III - Iron  
I end BC - 1 end AD  
Date

✓ T 3785 Ἐπὶ ἡλίου Rhodi 2<sup>nd</sup> 1/4 2<sup>nd</sup>  
(SS 14404) ἡλίου  
Σπυρίδιου

✓ T 3784 Μενό. Chian (Lagynos) (3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> BC)

✓ T 3786 Ἐπὶ Διωνος Knid. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1/4 2<sup>nd</sup> ?  
(SS 14405) Διονυσίου (KT 474)  
που Κνίδι(ον) δαίνει?

✓ T 3787 Ἐπὶ φιδιόπτου [ ] Knidion ca. mid 2<sup>nd</sup>  
(SS 14406) piloi on tree or a little later  
Knid.  
(KT 1735)

Probably from T 3788 Ἐπὶ Εὐφραγοῦ(ρα) Knid. ca. mid 2<sup>nd</sup>  
same jar as ✓ Ἀσόδδω( Knid. (KT 151)  
example (SS 14407) δίων trident left  
in 11<sup>th</sup> let? (note.)

✓ Ἐπὶ Διονυσίου Κόμπου Κνίδιον Knid. last 1/4 2<sup>nd</sup>  
(T 3789) forerunner of line (KT 926) (early in 2<sup>nd</sup>)  
(SS 14408)

✓ T 3790 Ἀγυρίποδης Ἐρμίας Knid. early 1<sup>st</sup> 13c  
(SS 14409) δουκράνι (KT 1495)

+ 2 not now read, though legible



---

 V. S.

man, thanks  
 there from all the  
 interest

Ada T.

22



Balliol College, Oxford

June 7th, 1960

Dear Virginia:

you are quite right about the need of a general booklet for the general visitor to the Agora to take the place of the folders which did go part way toward meeting this need. Let us talk it over this summer, and see what Mrs Heath has to propose. Our needs in the field of popular publication are many: a Greek version of the Guide, a new English edition of the Guide, a general book about the Agora on which I am now engaged.

Many thanks for your memorandum on dates. Since your last writing you will have received another tract on this subject from G.R.E. In my own part I assure you that I have long been aware of the broad and varied base on which your dating rests, and full of admiration for its ever increasing precision.

Upon ask about the ~~fill~~ that overlay the floor of the Square Building. I find it hard to believe that this represents a dump intended to be used eventually in the Middle Stoa; I would prefer to regard it as a terracing operation in connection with the Brick Building, & to suppose that both the building & the terrace were left unfinished when the decision was taken to construct the Stoa of Attalos.

Yours  
Homer.



# THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM



UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THIRTY-THIRD AND SPRUCE STREETS

PHILADELPHIA 4

CABLE ADDRESS "ANTIQUE"

TELEPHONE: EVERGREEN 6-1241

May 30, 1960

Dear Virginia:

I thank you for your letter and wish to say in return, even though arrival date is very close, that I entertain the hope that our ultimate discussions of deposits, which I trust I will be in a position to undertake toward the close of the summer, may be on a more temperate level than has been possible in the past. If we can manage to treat our mutual interest in perhaps the guise of a seminar discussion, good should result for us both. I am trying to build my own chronology as honestly and solidly as I can, you know, just as you are also.

If you find the chronological behavior of "artificial" fills such as MSBF and FTSB difficult to explain and understand I would suggest it would be illuminating to discuss the picture presented by comparable fills on other sites with their excavators. The employment of "imported" earth in construction, whether for fillings within foundations or for filling in behind terrace walls or for raising levels is not a phenomenon peculiar to the Agora. Other excavators attempting to set up chronologies of artifacts must have had to face the evidence such fills provide before now. The fillings of the many terraces at Pergamon would be parallel, for instance, but I suppose not much is known of their contents.

I also think of prehistorians. Even though we work in an historic period they face much the same problems in setting up dependable chronologies of artifacts of various kinds. Jack, for instance, at Lerna, is faced with a choice among deposits of a number of varieties as to which he will use in establishing the sequence of his objects. His experience certainly is pertinent. I have myself garnered a few thoughts from him, and also from Miss Goldman and Machteld.

For a filling in kind essentially parallel to the MSBF and FTSB I can point to the great (3,4,5 metre) claylayer at Gordion, one entirely brought in from some place outside to raise the level of the city after its destruction by the Kimmerians ca. 680 B.C. So far the sherds from this filling have been entirely Hittite! There is as yet no single sherd certainly from this fill of the period during which we know the layer was deposited, i.e. between ca. 680 and 550 B.C. In this case we would regard even a single sherd later than the bulk and dating within these 130 years not as an intrusion but as a godsend! Needless to say, had any of this "Hittite" fill been levelled off the sherd picture would be no different.

That, of course, is the ultimate extreme in artificial fills. The SA building fill is, as I have already pointed out, at the more desirable of the two extremes, since, along with probably some imported material, on the spot accumulation dug up in its trenches was used as well.

There may, of course, be all degrees of usefulness in between the two extremes, depending on the sources of such artificial fills.

The other seductive subjects in your letter I must leave until later. Except one. Our Egyptian department informs me that if you want a photograph of the vintage scene in the Petosiris tomb you should apply to:



Nicholas B. Millet  
Morland House  
16 Sharia el-Sheikh Barakat  
Kasr el Doubara  
Cairo, U.A.R.

Apparently part of his job is to assist scholars with just such needs as yours. Also he gets around Egypt quite extensively, has access to large photographic files, etc., so he sounds like a good bet. The tomb is ca. 250 miles from Cairo up river, not far from Amarna, so a likely vicinity for him to visit sometime or ~~other~~.

I am stopping off in Brussels on the way briefly, with the prospect of a visit to Machteld's sister on Walcheren Island sandwiched in. Lovely to contemplate, but there is a welter of preparation yet between me and then!

Yrs. 1

*Rogers*

Copy to HAT



23.V.60

Note to HAT on Stoa Fills

With reference to letters of Roger to you and me, dated respectively March 25

[23.04] 19. IV. 60  
(all columns)

Consistent post MSBF  
fill in EABF (exclusion of special  
area which was Brick Bldg  
fill)

post 166 SS

Finding floor  
quality

Ἀποτρίγυς

11358

SS 11356 - X

Ἀποκοκλῆς

11362

11370  
(Φ and post Φ)

Δία

10753

(Piers 15-16 E)

Επίχαρμος

13317

← Pier 22, Footing trench

Κατασκευαστής

1861

← Shop X

Κατασκευαστής

5378

on E wall of Room 3 of  
Brick Bldg.

Ποδὺχαρμος

13235

← Pier 12, Footing trench

Ποδὺχαρμος

11050

← Piers 10-11, Footing trench

Τελεκρέων

10966

(at N end of Brick Bldg.)

13319

← Shop XX

13233

Trench for Foundry  
Shop 759 Bldg.

SS 13371 -

13382,

13385 - L

Shop Pier 21,

Shop floor

mostly Φ.

But does GRE list this as EABF?

SS 11356 - 11370

From water channel east

Shops XI - XV

on pp 234/11.

This is the only significant group  
with little or no earlier stuff  
and including post Φ.

The thing is, weird.  
when EA was ext., special  
filling was not made. N end  
had remnants of MSBF (fill on  
floor of 3y. Bldg.) = southern  
end cross ledge, mostly only  
this little area, but to be filled  
in.

20.V.60

The card of  
SS 10777 has  
been kept out  
with this note,  
to show the  
an places where  
the Valerian Wall  
sits on the Fill on  
the Horocum  
line is not really  
relevant, it was  
serving as a building  
level.

Shop XX, and  
Note Piers 21  
and 22, are in  
the answer to the  
water, beyond the  
orig. found.  
cross wall.  
In area of peristyle  
of 3y. Bldg.

Piers 11 and 12  
are in the area of  
the peristyle on  
the other side -  
Also part of Shop X

the Brick  
considered footing  
of chamber  
which filled  
area.

neg. bands:  
P 22125-9  
P they were diff.  
(are fill only)

ΕΠΙΧΑΡΜΟΣ  
ΤΕΛΕΚΡΕΩΝ

13317  
13319

Pier 22, footing trench(?)  
Shop XX

t based on  
as one  
everything  
le before  
tury",  
relative  
onyms, and on  
his half-  
e lots of  
I try to

over the  
ou that the  
material  
st-166  
last Knidian

65  
an course)

1356-11370,  
specially  
t are probably

lg, between  
13.



[23.04] 19. IV 60  
(all colours)

20.V.60

The card of  
SS 10777 has  
been kept out  
with the rest,  
to show the  
an places where  
the Valerian Wall  
sits on the Fill on  
the floor. However  
this is not really  
relevant, it was  
seen as a building  
level.

Shop XX, and  
Note Piers ~~20~~ 21  
and ~~22~~ are in  
the area to the  
north, beyond the  
orig. found.  
~~area~~ crosswall.  
In area of peristyle  
of Sq. Bldg.

Piers ~~20~~ 11 and 12  
are in the area of  
the peristyle on  
the other side -  
Also part of Shop X

Consistent post MSBF  
fill in EABF (exclusion of special  
area under Brick Bldg.  
fill)

post 166 SS

Finding plan  
grid

Ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς

Ἀπὸ τοῦ κλῆτος

Δίωλ

Εὐρίχαρος

Κάτω τῆς τοῦ

Κάτω τῆς τοῦ

Ποδὸς χάρος

Ποδὸς χάρος

Τελερῆαν

11358 } ✓ SS 11356 - ~~11370~~  
11362 } { and post of

10753 (Piers 15-16 E)

13317 ← Pier 22, Footing found

1861 ← Shop X

5378 & on E wall of Room 3 of  
Brick Bldg.

13235 ← Pier 12, Footing found

11050 ← Piers 10-11, Footing found

10966 (at N end of Brick Bldg.)

13319 ← Shop XX

13233 Found for Found  
Shop 759. Bldg.

SS 13371 -

13382,

13385 - L

34m Pier 21,

34m full

North of p.

But does GRE list this as EABF?

SS 11356 - 11370

From water channel east

Shops XI, XV

on pgs 2341 ff.

This is the only significant group

with little or no earlier stuff

and including post of p.

The thing is, word.

when SA was cut, a special  
filling was not made. N end  
had remnants of MSBF (Fill on  
floor of Sq. Bldg.) & south  
end was built, mostly 8th  
cent. this little area had 8 & 6 fills  
in.

The group  
consisted of  
which is still  
used.

neg. bds:  
P 22125-9  
(are they not diff.  
for Fill on 30m)



23.V.60

## Note to HAT on Stoa Fills

With reference to letters of Roger to you and me, dated respectively March 25 and March 12, probably you realize that the dates of the handles are not based on any interpretation of these various fills; but as one is never as clear as one thinks, it seemed possibly useful to say it. The MSBF and the ZABF (and everything under it), supplemented by Corinth, give us a lot of Knidian types datable before about 150 B.C. With Knidian, this almost means "first half of 2nd century", since little can be attributed to the 3rd century. Inside the 50 years, relative dates depend basically on interconnection of names of fabricants and eponyms, and on the title phrourarchos which appears on Knidian jars of the middle of this half-century, the period of Rhodian occupation, 188-167. Naturally there are lots of other bits of evidence, and also things I don't fully understand yet. I try to take all into consideration,

You will have noticed that Roger and I both ~~noticed~~ found the Fill over the Floor of the Square Building close to the MSBF. Does this suggest to you that the builders of the ZA had to do some levelling here of <sup>a</sup>the dump of surplus material meant for levelling up the Middle Stoa terrace? A list of what seem to be <sup>post-166</sup>~~latest~~ Knidian in the ZABF, with their finding-places, may be useful:

Κλειβιππίδας	SS 1861	Shop X
Κλεῦμβροτος	5378	Over east wall of Room 3 of Brick Building
Δίων	10753	Piers 15-16 East (above stairs at level of 6 <sup>th</sup> foundation course)
Πολύχαρμος	10966	At north end of Brick Building
Πολυχάρης	11050	Piers 10-11, footing trench
Ἀριστογένης	11358, 11362	From water-channel east of Shops XI-XV. (SS 11356-11370, most sizeable group; apart from the two specially mentioned here (i.e. before 166), the rest are probably all 188-167)
Ἀριστοκλῆς	-	
Κλεῦμβροτος	13233	Trench for foundation of S stylobate of Sq. Bldg, between Piers 12 and 13.
Κλεῦμβροτος	13235	Pier 12, footing trench
Ἐπίχαρμος	13317	Pier 22, footing trench(?)
Τελεκρέων	13319	Shop XX



A sizable group which seem to be <sup>nearly</sup> all of the 188-167 period are SS 13371-  
~~13329~~ 13386, which are ZA fill in the area of Pier 21.

A find by Meliades on the South Slope in 1957 confirms my rather tentative dating of the C-S stamps I published in the Goldman Festschrift (pl.XII, and pp. 97, 109). One at least of the two handles seemed to be from reliable MSBF, but we have never had any other evidence to date Latin stamps as early as anybody's date for the MSBF. Now Meliades has a duplicate of the stamp of pl.XII, no.10 (SS <sup>(his)</sup> 12705), which <sup>more or less</sup> interestingly enough is on a toe instead of a handle, and fills out the picture of one of those odd long Oriental-type jars, ~~of which there are~~ like several which have been found in Corinth in a pre-Mummian well, though according to alterations in profile, these could easily be 50 years later. Checking the context of Meliades' piece, I found it comes from "an accumulation of which nothing is later than late 3rd, early 2nd." I have written Letty about this.



23.07

Caroline has put off her trip till next year, as perhaps you know, I had a letter which I MUST answer.

SQUARE BLDG  
and related

Athens, May 21, 1960  
(Constantine and Helen.)

Dear Roger,

You have bombarded me with presents, advice, bulletins, useful information, etc., so that I have not really been able to open my mouth. Of course I am sure that was not the purpose of all this attention, and I thank you very much for all, and venture here a few remarks in advance of your coming.

(Antikythera)

I am glad to have the Phil. Soc. Instruction to Authors, and particularly to have a little more time before our papers are to go in. Incidentally, when our divers Honor Frost and Dumas called recently, D. had just been photographing the mangy statues from this Antikythera group (for you?), so we got into a discussion of the wreck. He and Miss Frost immediately agreed that that was no ancient anchor, illustrated Eph. 1902, p. 171. He said he has seen the wreck (when here with Cousteau about five years ago), and believes there is a lot more stuff there, and that finds taken out now would be in much better condition than the first lot, because buried in the sand. He said that, exploring with an "airlift" (a kind of underseas vacuum cleaner), he had reached a bit of the actual wood of the ship, which he described as remarkably well-preserved, even to having still some paint! I was fairly though not absolutely convinced that he could tell which was the wreck (he saw another nearby, but that, he said, had not been touched).

I hate not seeing correspondence (serious) about subjects I also am working on, so thank you very much for sending me the copy of your letter of March 25 to Homer, as well as your letter of March 12 addressed to me. Also I think that preliminary correspondence can be very useful to a subsequent discussion, such as we hope to have. Of course you are right that "not all fillings are of equal value and dependability." Actually, I have not based handle dates on the dependability of any of these fillings under discussion - except for one basic assumption, that the MSBF and the ZABF (and everything under it) are before about 150 B.C. These fills as



ambition is for a photograph of that scene - Peter's, dim though it is, shows how much better that would be than the drawing. I thought possibly some of your Egyptian dep't might be going to Egypt, and might have time, means, kindness, to get that section of the tomb professionally photographed. Cf the bit illustrated SEHW, vol. I, pl. XII; probably it is not in such a dark corner. Many thanks for addresses of Nikita et al.

Yours,

a whole, supplemented by Corinth, establish a lot of Knidian types in the 1st half of the 2nd century. (Knidian types found in good 3rd century deposits are few and and basically peculiar.) Inside this 50 years, relative dates depend primarily on interconnection of names of fabricants and eponyms; and on the title phourarchos which appears on Knidian jars of the middle of this half-century, the period of Rhodian occupation, 188-167. When asked (as by HAT) to report on the handles in a particular fill of latest this half-century, I look first to see which of the three lots the Knidian belong to, - before 188, or ca. 188 - 167, or after 167. Naturally there are lots of other bits of evidence; and also things I don't fully understand yet; and I try to take them all into consideration, as you do.

I see that we agree that the Fill over the Floor of the Square Building is very close to the MSBF. But in the handles there is a marked difference between this fill and certain parts of the ZABF proper. The most sizable of these later lots of handles is that from the Water Channel east of Shops XI-XV (SS 11356 - 11370). Do you include this fill as part of the ZABF? I find it puzzling, if there is not some difference in the finer wares, also, between this and the Fill over the Floor, when I find them do very distinct.

If pressed to explain the earliness I see in the Fill over the Floor, directly on top of which sits the Stoa of Attalos, I must guess that at this point the builders had to level off, much or little, the residual dump of MSBF material, so no later accumulation remains for us. But of course I don't base the dates on any such guess, it is the other way about, I try to explain what I see.

On Pergamon and Dr. Schaefer: at the moment he is in Berlin, where he had to go to confer with Boehringer about the future of the dig. He is keen to see you. He expects to be working here on his Hell. pots until August 10, when he goes to Pergamon. ~~At~~ He proposes to turn over his manuscript and photographs to you then, if you like.

Thank you very much for those beautiful Goldbergs of the drawings of the Petosira tomb. I am afraid I was less modest in my desires than you gave me credit for. My

(Petosira tomb)



Copy To  
VG

March 25, 1960

Dear Homer:

Your letter of March 8 reached me only yesterday (24th) due to insufficient postage for air travel. Hence my seeming delay.

Actually, as to the sequence of constructions I do go along with you pretty much, and from what little I know of Hellenistic architecture in general I am disposed to like the idea of the Square Building and the South Complex (to coin a new name for MS, SSII and company) as legal in function. I continue to be agile, however, as regards the motivation of the construction program and the time within which it was telescoped.

The motivation of the building program, it seems to me, provides the key, and I think in your letter you do not quite come to grips with this. Why plan to abandon the site of the Square Building and set up the South Complex to replace it? There would have to be a good reason and what simpler and clearer than that the site of the Square Building was needed for the Stoa of Attalos? It seems to me that the trustworthy chronological evidence is closing in on an Attalid date for the whole enterprise now and I hope I have made it clear in my letter of the 12th addressed to Virginia that the evidence tending toward an earlier element in the sequence is definitely questionable and should not weigh so heavy in the balance, however massive, as other evidence. I do not myself see in the evidence so far brought to bear anything which would not fit without perceptible strain in an overall program originally triggered by the intention of setting up the Stoa of Attalos.

Envisaging an overall Attalid program I certainly agree that the removal of the Square Building, the construction of the Middle Stoa and (possibly) S. Stoa II would be early and initial elements in the program, no doubt, as you suggest, to provide speedy continuity in the functioning of the law, and also because of the necessity for staggering construction with the Agora constantly in use (difficult to have all three buildings in construction at once). The Stoa of Attalos, then, would physically have to be the latest element in the scheme, though conceivably its early stages might slightly overlap the latest stages of the South Complex. Conceivably the reuse of the Square Building's architecture is an indication of the speed of the program rather than of economy, and suggests that the telescoping of the program was in fact constricted.

The proposed function of the Square Building and the South Complex has considerable appeal. In form the square peristyle court as a market place would seem to have no parallel until many centuries later. If only for that reason it would be reasonable to suppose that it served some function other than commercial.

As to the kleroteria, which would appear to be telling and most attractive evidence for function, I would comment that the date of their erection on the Middle Stoa terrace would seem to be adjustable. That is to say, they could have, you know, been set up first in association with the Square Building and could have been moved as easily as the architectural members whenever the Square Building changed its address.



It does seem to me that our tripartite second century seminar is beginning to produce fertile ideas. The whole building program is beginning to come to life, for me at any rate. I wonder if you recall the decree of Colophon which Leicester Holland quoted (Hesperia XIII, p. 170) and which gives such a vivid picture of what went on when a building program was envisaged? Something of that sort must have gone on in Athens, too, must it not?

With kind regards to you and Dorothy -

GRS



Philadelphia  
March 12, 1960

Dear Virginia:

Thank you for your letter of the 4th with its enclosure dealing with the dates of the handles in the various construction fillings. I am rather sorry, actually, that you have brought up the subject in transatlantic correspondence. I have lost faith in words, written ones at any rate, as a means of communication and would have preferred to defer discussion of all this until next summer. Other varieties of beings manage this much better and I think I will apply for reassignment in my next incarnation! (I presume you would expect me in that state to say neigh?)

You sent me the copy of your letter for my comment, I assume. It is, in a nutshell, that not all fillings, of course, are of equal value and dependability. It is in this respect that your sequence, it seems to me, needs adjustment and flexibility. My more specific comments are as follows:

3 & 1. Destruction of Square Building (FFSB etc.) and Construction of Middle Stoa (MSBF)

The Fill over the Floor of the Square Building. The 1950 quote from me was an early opinion long since superseded. Although the earliness of the material in it was beguiling it is stratigraphically evident, since the fill immediately underlay the construction fill of the SA with no intervening accumulation, that its lower date is the beginning of building operations (159 or later) of the Stoa of Attalos. This quite apart from the presumably supplementary evidence of the material from the Trench for the Foundation of the South Stylobate of the Square Building, in which you find material post-dating 167.

The filling (FFSB) in character was in just about every physical respect and category for category like that of the construction filling of the Middle Stoa and I tentatively guessed that it was the residue of the filling intended for the Middle Stoa dumped here temporarily to be drawn on as needed in Middle Stoa construction as it progressed.

There is, then, in this filling a lacuna of 40 years between the date of the latest SAH and the stratigraphically indicated lower date for the filling: ca. 200 B.C. vs. 159 or later.

It seems to me an illustration of a principle in which I firmly believe that we must consider the character and source of a filling in placing dependance on it for dating of structures or in setting up object sequences. We would, e.g., place more reliance in a grave group than in a well group or a cistern group. So we would prefer an on the spot accumulation for reliability to a dump filling introduced from outside. It is on examples of the former that we must pin our faith for subterranean evidence here.

With this specific demonstration in mind it seems to me that we should and must entertain the possibility that there exists a similar lacuna in the MSBF. If such a lacuna can exist in the FFSB it may also exist in the MSBF, a filling of seemingly, perhaps actually, identical character. Even though your dating of the datable handles is perfectly correct, the lower date which they provide need not be obligatory for the date of construction of the Middle Stoa so as to preclude evidence of a stronger character. The Well in the Road to the West of the Middle Stoa would seem to supply supplementary evidence that the lacuna does in fact exist in the MSBF as well as in the FFSB.



## 2. Construction of S. Stoa II

I have a note that there was very little Hell. pottery in this fill, and that most was much earlier. I would suggest, however, that the material from the floor not be disregarded in considering the date of the structure - at least until further investigated. A floor, after all, is part of the construction. Who dug it, Missy? It seems, in the abstract, significant that the handles are in time in the close vicinity of those from the fill below. It seems a possibility that should be considered that we have the original flooring here, protected in antiquity against subsequent intrusion by some sort of paving, as perhaps would be expected in a public building.

## 4. Stoa of Attalos Construction Fill

Among our construction fills this seems to me to take top place. It is reasonably good for use in object sequences since, in contrast to the others, it includes large hunks of the contemporary landscape dug as trenches for the foundations. Your dating of the latest handles reflects this.

*other  
fills*  
(ie. fillings)  
This instance seems to me to make it probable that our difficulties do not lie in your dating of the handles which you can use for absolute dates in this half century. It seems perhaps to lie in the assumption that every filling is the same in value and reliability and that the latest handle in each must provide the lower terminal date for the filling. I hope I have demonstrated that in certain good fillings this may be true; in fillings of unreliable character (such as FFBS and MSBF) the lower date they provide may be far off (as, for instance, coins, depending on the circumstances useful or not), and we should then turn to other more dependable types of evidence for determining our lower dates. Danger does not seem to lie in the dates you provide here, only in the building up of sequences of deposits without critical skepticism as to their reliability.

-----  
I became more than ever aware, recently, in dealing with all the objects of all categories from the Antikythera wreck that every kind of evidence must be considered and weighed, not alone ours, I do look forward to the possibility of a rational round table discussion of evidence of all kinds with you and Homer next summer, if I can make it.

-----  
I have asked our photographer to photograph the vintage scene from the Tomb of Petosiris for you. I gather he is well disposed so can hope to send the prints soon. Unfortunately it is spread over two facing plates which makes an undesirable center line, but opos eenie eenie. The W. Stevenson Smith date is given in his recent The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt where another scene is illustrated on pl. 187. He gives reference, for the date of the tomb (his is ca. 325), to G. Roeder, Annales du Service des Antiquites de l'Egypte, 39, 1939, 731. I haven't looked it up.

Yrs.,

GRS

Copy to HAT



Athens, March 3, 1960

Dear Homer,

Your interesting theory on the function of the Middle and South (II) Stoa complex, and the relative dates which this idea suggests for the various buildings, are certainly not out of harmony with the evidence, as now understood, of the stamped handles in the fillings of these buildings.

1. I still think that handles of the big filling of the Middle Stoa go down to somewhere in the second decade of the 2nd century. Naturally, handle evidence does not tell me just when the columns, etc., were put up. For one thing, in Section K, at least, we did not have any of the top of the filling. See Section Summary, 1953, p.2: "[The filling] stood to a maximum height of . . . a meter or so below the level to which it originally rose."

2. Handles of the construction filling of South Stoa II go down later than those of the Middle Stoa filling, even a little beyond the end of the phrourarchos period (188-167 B.C.): included among them are 3 (SS 14388-14390) dated in the terms of ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ and ΘΗΡΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ II, who are not known as phrourarchoi, but they are not much later, since there is nearly complete overlap of fabricants between them and the phrourarchoi. Say that these bring us down to at least 165 B.C.

The handles excavated by MC and EV as parts of the South Stoa II building fill include a lot of earlier material just like that in the Middle Stoa filling, in addition to a very small number datable 188-167 (SS 12190, 13170, and perhaps 12632). Those you excavated in 1959 appear to me to be purely post-MSBF, most of them dating in the period before 167, but the 3 listed in the previous paragraph being apparently later.

3. Destruction of the Square Building. I'm not sure what group of handles would date this. The "Fill over the Floor" seemed to me to be slightly earlier in latest date than the Middle Stoa filling, say 200 B.C. or not much later. (GRE in 1950, in a note to me on the Komos Cistern, compared the filling of that cistern with the fill over the floor of the Square Building, calling both last quarter of 3rd century.) On the other hand, handles from the Trench for the Foundation of the South Stylobate of the Sq. Bldg., all Knidian, are mostly datable 188-167 B.C.; but SS 13238, which names the eponym ΚΑΕΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ, must be later, though pre-dating the construction of the Stoa of Attalos.

4. From the Stoa of Attalos building fill, in addition to a lot of earlier stuff, I count a possible 13 Knidian eponyms whose terms should be later than 167 BC. Most of these are represented by a single handle in this filling; for most there is other evidence to put them in this period.

I was glad to have a bit of news from you of Dick Stillwell. It will be nice to have him here.

Mr. Benachi reports a remarkable complex, built mostly of Egyptian amphoras of the Roman period, about 40 kilometers south of Alexandria beside the main road from Cairo. In one part there is a parterre made up of the necks of these things set in rows. They look rather like the little columns of round tiles one sees as floor-supports in Roman baths. We wonder if a potter built a bathing establishment as a sideline.

Yours,



SQUARE BLDG. AND RELATED FILLS + SOUTH STDA

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