

RHODES : 1986 - 1988

479

1

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

August 21, 1988

Mrs. Melina Philimonos  
Ministry of Culture  
Archaeological Institute of the Dodecanese  
Rhodes

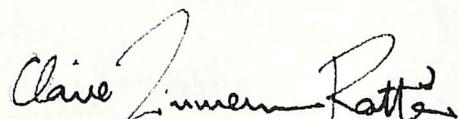
Dear Mrs. Philimonos,

Thank you for your letter of July 12. I have just returned from a long absence--hence my own delay in responding. Miss Grace thanks you for your response to her inquiries about your amphora A558. She had asked about the height of the jar since other jars of ΗΜΙΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, and another jar dated like yours in the term of ΤΙΜΟΔΙΚΟΣ (fabricant ΣΩΣΙΑΣ), are all about 10 cm. shorter than yours.

Miss Grace would be happy to see you when you come to Athens. I unfortunately will not be here much longer, so that any other correspondence would be best sent to Miss Grace.

With thanks,

Yours sincerely,

  
Claire Zimmerman Ratté

## MINISTRY OF CULTURE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF DODECANESE  
RHODES - GREECE

Ρόδος 12 Ιουλίου 1988

ΠΡΟΣ: Την Αμερικανική Σχολή Κλασσικών Σπουδών  
Σουηδίας 54

A\_θ\_H\_N\_A\_106\_76

Αγαπητή κ. Claire Zimmerman Ratte,

Ευχαριστούμε πολύ για το γράμμα που στέλλατε στην κα Γιαννικούρη από 31-5-88 και σας απαντώ, με κάποια καθυστέρηση. Οι παρατηρήσεις σας σχετικά με τον αμφορέα A 558 ήταν ιδιαίτερα χρήσιμες, δύσον δε αφορά στο ύψος του είναι αυτό που αναφέρεται στην δημοσίευση. Ελπίζω σε μια συνάντηση με την κα Grace, όταν έρθω στην Αθήνα.

Σχετικά με τον αμφορέα του τάφου 12 της Νισύρου, φωτογραφία του οποίου ζητάει η κ. Σαββατιανού-Πετροπουλάκου, δυστυχώς έχει παραμείνει στην αποθήκη του Μουσείου Νισύρου κι έτσι προς το παρόν είναι αδύνατη η φωτογράφισή του. Ελπίζουμε σε κάποια μελλοντική μετάβασή μας εκεί να είμαστε σε θέση να τον φωτογραφίσουμε και να σας στείλουμε την φωτογραφία.-

Με συναδελφικούς χαιρετισμούς

*Φιλία*

Μελίνα Φιλήμονος

Αρχαιολόγος

American School of Classical Studies  
54 Soudias Street  
Athens, GR 106-76

May 31, 1988

Mrs. Angeliki Yiannikouri  
Ministry of Culture and Science  
Archaeological Institute of the Dodecanese  
Rhodes

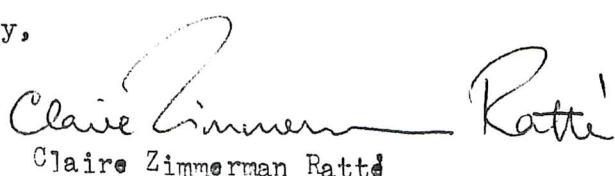
Dear Mrs. Yiannikouri,

Miss Grace has asked me to reply to your letter of January 28, 1988. She sends many thanks for the photographs of the amphora A558. She had not meant to ask for them, but to welcome their appearance in a publication.

On ΗΙΙΙΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, Mrs. Philimonos-Tsopotou should consult Hesperia 1985, pp. 9-10. Perhaps the earliest of this <sup>Potter's</sup> amphoras that we know is in the same article, Plate 1, no. 3. in the term of ΘΕΑΙΔΗΤΟΣ, datable to the 2nd decade of the 2nd century BC. Mrs. Philimonos-Tsopotou's amphora is the latest example of this potter that we know, datable somewhere around the middle of the 2nd century BC. It is useful to have the secondary stamp on a whole amphora with two main stamps. Miss Grace wonders if Mrs. Philimonos-Tsopotou could check the height of the jar, since her records suggest a height of about 80 cm. for amphoras of this type. Miss Grace sends her greetings and hopes that Mrs. Philimonos-Tsopotou will visit the Agora when she comes to Athens.

Mrs. Savvatianou-Petropoulakou would like very much to have a photograph of the amphora of Tomb 12 at Nisyros (A.A. 1980, pl. 19a). She is interested in Mrs. Philimonos-Tsopotou's date of the 3rd quarter of the 4th century BC. A photograph of the mended amphora would thus be very useful to her.

Yours sincerely,

  
Claire Zimmerman Ratté

(for Virginia R. Grace)

MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SCIENCE  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF DODECANESE  
RHODES - GREECE



My letter also refers  
to "this, do not  
find on file."

Mrs V. Grace  
American School  
of Classical Studies 54 Swedias

10680

A THENEZ



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MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SCIENCE  
ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF DODGEANESE  
RHODES - GREECE



My letter also refers  
to the do not  
put on file.

Mrs V. Grace  
American School  
of Classical Studies 54 Swedias

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A THENE



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4-6



En' The Sun Sep 1990

100

5-6



Panorama  
St.

sec. A, at base : 15

6-6



Jin's) Monographs, after Tymof'ev, Kapo  
see St. 3, gathering the 11

7-6



8-6

21, TX-87 9  
begin

## NEXT TIME IN RHODES

Among measurements needed

Check lit. of A 558 ( $\mu_2$  857) from G. T. Tok, *et al.* given in publ. as .905, may be .805?  
(Addition 1980, A, pp. 78-79.)

Gabriault, as the one in *Département 1986* (Middle States article), pl. I, no. 8, was  
to be <sup>x</sup> 106 76 the first batch he signed.

With best wishes to you and to your father,

Yours sincerely,

Sept. 17, 1987

*M. A. S.  
Near & the  
nature*

Dear Dr. Papachristodoulou,

I hope you and your father are bearing up all right in this heat. I was distressed to hear of the terrible fires in the villages, and fear your father's village may have been one of them. I hope some restoration has been possible, and help to the people.

I enclose some correspondence I have had with M. Empereur. My letter to him dated August 28 was actually not posted until Sept. 11, since a first version of the latter part did not seem entirely clear. Page 3 of my letter will concern you most directly, but the other pages perhaps give some useful background.

Please let me have any ~~διδαγμένης~~ comment that occurs to you about these or Rhodians letters. The idea that Rhodes <sup>A</sup> may have had factories on the mainland for making amphoras seems to me quite reasonable. There are certainly differences in the clay in 3rd century pieces, visible to the naked eye and very noticeable in some of Mr. Benaki's handles we worked on years ago in Alexandria. (At the Agora we have almost none of these.) But I think that what Empereur has found so far in the way of an atelier of ΙΕΡΟΤΕΑΗΣ is a thin excuse for asking to publish so much that he does not really understand. What he says he has found is an atelier of the 1st century AD with quantities of "horn-handled" Rhodian fragments. And one stamped handle from an amphora of ΙΕΡΟΤΕΑΗΣ (i.e. with a "button" stamp).

I want very much, of course, to bring out the Rhodian sequence myself. The summers of 1985 and 1986, eight months together, in the US for health purposes, have delayed me. I hope you will not have to withdraw the permissions you have given me.

I am much interested to see a photo of A 558 (*ΔΕΑΤΙΩΝ 1980*, pl. 23), jar of ΗΙΛΙΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ in the term of ΤΙΜΟΔΑΙΚΟΣ, probably one of the latest products of this

- 2 -

fabricant, as the one in Hesperia 1985 (Middle Stoa article), pl.1, no.3, must be one of the first batch he signed.

With best wishes to you and to your father,

Yours sincerely,

Virginia R. Grace

11.01

## RHODES -

x  
106 76

Sept. 17, 1987

Dear Dr. Papachristodoulou,

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OVER

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With best wishes to you and to your father,

Yours sincerely,

Virginia R. Grace

profile drawings the three look a great deal like the Knidian amphoras. Athens, August 28, 1987.

The handles do have a different tilt from those of the Knidian amphoras, perhaps the toes. Look at them. Maximos's handles do have a different tilt from those of the Knidian amphoras.

Dear M. Empereur, I am not one of those who describes them as canonical Rhodian. Quite probably the jar

they have a more Rhodian colour; I think he uses what I would call "Rhodian" when he says "canonical". Thank you for the offprints, particularly of course the Bulletin on amphoras and their stamps. This must have been a very large task, even divided among two people. I see it covers many items unknown to me. It would be fine if, for the

next number, you could manage to include an index of authors, of the articles and the dates in the first half of the 2nd century.

books covered.

In your comment, p. 90, on my published list of Knidian eponyms, you suggest that

a redating of ΕΥΦΑΓΟΡΑΣ I may be indicated by a stamp with the names of this eponym plus ΦΙΑΤΑΤΟΣ plus ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (KT 1258). However this ΦΙΑΤΑΤΟΣ is apparently a fabricant, and ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ his father. The whole reading is:

[ΕΗΙ] ΕΥΦΑΓΟΡΑ

Note that there has been a ΦΙΑΤΑΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ on the clay of one amphora that is interesting in this connection: the KNIATION in Southampton, of which I showed you a photo.

We had at first very incomplete impressions, and did not enough believe in Dumont's reading (he reads the second ΤΟΥ, see p. 197, 332). Still, I think, the preposition ον is not preserved in known examples; but the second ΤΟΥ is clear in photos of examples in the National Museum (Dumont's ?) and the Kerameikos. ΕΥΦΑΓΟΡΑΣ I

concludes many types, and their fabricants do not fit into IVA.

For the manuscripts, I am interested to see them, but think they have come into being "un peu vite". Am I right that your only evidence for a factory of ΙΕΡΟΤΕΛΗΣ is one stamped handle from one of his jars? I know of no reason that there should not have been a Rhodian factory in the general area you suggest (and apparently you found one there for Rhodian amphoras of the 1st AD - what is their clay like?); but you are not yet close to having found the factory of ΙΕΡΟΤΕΛΗΣ, are you?

1978

If you are using the Dacia article, I think you will want to correct the readings given there for the stamps on the amphora of "forme rhodica canonique", that is, no. 31, p. fig 181, whole jar shown in fig. 5, no. 3, and stamps in fig. 2, nos. 16 and 17. The fabricant is ΟΝΑΣΙΜΟΣ and the eponym ΗΟΔΥΚΑΗΣ. In date the eponym is probably not far from those named by ΙΕΡΟΤΕΛΗΣ on the amphoras published with it, and in their

2.17.2  
revised

profile drawings the three look a good deal alike to me, even perhaps the toes. Look

For my "droits scientifiques", my time is short, and I am not willing to give up my own right to make use of these amphoras in any publication where I may need doubt if most people would describe them as canonical Rhodian. Quite probably the jar of Onasimos has a more Rhodian colour: I think he uses what I would call Rhodian clay. Note for accuracy that the three jars were not found in a tomb, cf. your first page of the chronology. Further, I would like to point out that you did not publish them at present.

Amphoras of ΟΝΑΣΙΟΙΚΟΣ do have a "forme rhodien canonique" as I imagine you know. The factory of Hieroteles is almost certain to be found, or at least confirmed. Your He dates in the first half of the 2nd century.

publication of the amphoras

On differences in clay in early Rhodian, and the desirability of tests, I have published notes, cf. Hesperia 1963, p. 322, and BCH Suppl. 13, p. 560. The amphoras were 1:10 (so, spoiled for comparison). All specimens lack restoration. In the all called Rhodian because one found the same eponym named on the various kinds. Incidentally, have you had a test made of CMC 190? See your manuscript, p. 5, "Il est certain, Pyras; and if you look at my you will find that the name is restored, and should etc."

probably be read ΙΒΙ

Note that there has been a test made of the clay of one amphora that is interesting. Aristoteles remains in this connection: the "Knidian" jar in Southampton, of which I showed you a photo. Compare your Fig. 7a with your Fig. 8a.

This is one of the Rhodian with ringed toe but with rolled rim, cf. e.g. those of Hieroteles in the Dacia article.

The 3rd century amphoras in Rhodes are a complex and important material. They should not be tumbled out, but are worth all one's experience. Mr. Peacock, for whom any ringed toe meant Knidian. He concluded that they must have come from Knidos. You will help me (and others) by turning your attention elsewhere for a time, brought Rhodian clay to Datcha on purpose to make this "Knidian" jar. Others have to your investigations in Turkey, to your presentation of the big group of Roman amphoras in Delos, etc., etc. conjectured that there may be pockets of Rhodian clay on Datcha. Actually the Southampton jar is covered in marine deposit (because of which we don't know if it had stamps - I did

It gave me pleasure that you liked my suggestion about Aristoteles the Rhodian and his family. connect it with Datcha if not the ringed toe.

No more now, on "Les archives de Zenon, etc." Again I think you need more time on the text, and first on the various sites, something you are in a good position to do.

I don't really believe those very similarly shaped amphoras in the Hellenistic wreck were made in different places (a, in Egypt, and b, somewhere in the Datcha peninsula). Could you not get samples of those with №1? Some readings, of types we have more completely: your fig. 8 reads ΣΩΝ and your fig. 26 is an example of KT 2155, of which the whole

reading is ΑΘΗΝ

I(SN) ΣΗΙ Δ

ΑΜΟ(ΤΕΝΕΥΖ)

(retr.)

Athenion seems to be entirely within Period III, so that should be the right restoration for the eponym.

For my "droits scientifiques", my time is short, and I am not willing to cede my own right to ~~use~~ use any of these amphoras in any publication where I may need them. I have put much work into careful records of them, including photographs already printed to accurate scale; and the pairs of names are closely involved in the network of the chronology. Further, I would prefer that you did not publish them at present. The factory of Hieroteles is apparently still to be found, or at least confirmed. Your publication of the amphoras in Cyprus suggests you do not have time now for a careful presentation of this kind of material. In that article, the jars are not reliably at 1:10 (so, spoiled for comparison); and many statements lack documentation. In the case of your no. 8, jar of Rhodom, there should be a reference for the handle found at Byrsa; and if you look it up, you will find that the name is restored, and should probably be read HEIΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ; Peisistratos does date before the fall of Carthage. Aristratus remains in V, where attention to the shape in your fig. 7a would put it. Compare your fig. 7a with your fig. 6a.

The 3rd century amphoras in Rhodes are a complex and important material. They should not be tumbled out, but are worth all one's experience to bring them out in order. You will help me (and others) by turning your attention elsewhere for a time, to your investigations in Turkey, to your presentation of the big group of Roman amphoras in Delos, etc., etc.

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Yours sincerely,

⊗ BCH Suppl. 13, pp. 515 - 533

autres  
pas

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Note that there has been a test made of the clay of one amphora that is interesting in this connection: the "Knidian" jar in Southampton, of which I showed you a photo. This is one of the Rhodian with ringed toe but with rolled rim which you know. Stamps have not been seen, too much marine deposit. When tested, the clay turned out to be Rhodian, to the surprise of Mr. Peacock, for whom the toe meant Knidian. He concluded that they must have brought Rhodian clay to Datcha on purpose to make this Knidian jar. Others have conjectured that there may be pockets of Rhodian clay on Datcha.

No more now, on Les Archives de Zenon, etc." Again I think you need more time on the text, and first on the various sites. I don't really believe those very similarly shaped amphoras in the Hellenistic wreck were made in different places. Could you not get samples of those with №1 ?

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Yours sincerely,

18. VIII. 87 14

Emperour's proposal article  
on T<sub>2</sub>po<sub>73</sub>days give  
"factor"

He wants me to give him these jns:

Karp, 1972	A 148 = MZ 613	(T <sub>2</sub> po <sub>73</sub> + Ag <sub>73</sub> ) <sub>pw</sub>
Baranoff, 1972	BE 1347 [MZ 309]	"idem"
(confisc.) NBE 2120	= MZ 549	T <sub>2</sub> po <sub>73</sub> + ?Ag <sub>73</sub> exos c'
Skorodou, 1966	A 507 [= MZ 839]	T <sub>2</sub> po <sub>73</sub> + ?Ag <sub>73</sub> exos no c'
MIAAATZA, 1964	A 305 = MZ 582	" + ?Ag <sub>73</sub> exos yet
Kákov, 1963	A 494 = MZ 462	" idem "
Kákov, 1963	A 103 = MZ 577	Ag <sub>73</sub> exos + Ag <sub>73</sub> po <sub>73</sub> , I
Skorodou, 1966	A 409 = MZ 598	T <sub>2</sub> po <sub>73</sub> days + ?Ag <sub>73</sub> exos c'
	A 306? = MZ 583	ITOTAGMOB <sub>73</sub> s + ?Ag <sub>73</sub> K <sub>73</sub> days
		T <sub>2</sub> po <sub>73</sub> days - Ag <sub>73</sub> po <sub>73</sub>
		This is on handle, with a steep <u>not</u> a button

19. VIII.

In Peru: C, relatively late obs?

?Ag<sub>73</sub> exos reddish long handle  
with white rim

T<sub>2</sub>po<sub>73</sub> days end of T<sub>2</sub>po<sub>73</sub> days,  
white rim, length 6 cm

Almondsh.

Macrodias (T<sub>2</sub>po<sub>73</sub>)

Macrolips (T<sub>2</sub>po<sub>73</sub>), white  
handle

Type knife \*(Ag<sub>73</sub> exos; hole in rim, length 17 cm)

Athens, August 28, 1987

Dear M. Empereur,

Thank you for the offprints, particularly of course the Bulletin on amphoras and their stamps. This must have been a very large task, even divided among two people. I see it covers many items unknown to me. It would be fine if, for the next number, you could manage to include an index of authors, of the articles and books covered.

*On the  
bulletin  
on  
amphoras*

In your comment, p. 90<sup>R</sup>, on my published list of Knidian eponyms, you suggest that a redating of ΕΥΦΑΓΟΡΑΣ I may be indicated by a stamp with the names of this eponym plus ΦΙΑΤΑΤΟΣ plus ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (KT 1258). However this ΦΙΑΤΑΤΟΣ is apparently a fabricant, and ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ his father. The whole reading is:

[ΕΙΙΙ] ΕΥΦΑΓΟΡΑ  
ΦΙΑΤΑΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ  
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ  
ΚΝΙΔΙΩΝ

We had at first very incomplete impressions, and did not enough believe in Dumont's reading (he reads the second ΤΟΥ, see p. 197, 332). Still, I think, the preposition is not preserved in known examples; but the second ΤΟΥ is clear in photos of examples in the National Museum (Dumont's ?) and the Kerameikos. ΕΥΦΑΓΟΡΑΣ I dates many types, and their fabricants do not fit into IVA.

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profile drawings the three look a good deal alike to me, even perhaps the toes. Look at them. Onasimos's handles do have a different tilt from those of Hieroteles; still I doubt if most people would describe them as canonical Rhodian. Quite probably the jar of Onasimos has a more Rhodian colour: I think he uses what I would call Rhodian clay. Note for accuracy that the three jars were not found in a tomb, cf. your first page.

Amphoras of ΟΝΑΣΙΟΙΚΟΣ do have a "forme rhodien canonique" as I imagine you know. He dates in the first half of the 2nd century.

On differences in clay in early Rhodian, and the desirability of tests, I have published notes, e.g. Hesperia 1963, p. 322, and BCH Suppl. 13, p. 560. The amphoras were all called Rhodian because one found the same eponym named on the various kinds. Incidentally, have you had a test made of CMC 190? See your manuscript, p. 5, "Il est certain, etc."

Note that there has been a test made of the clay of one amphora that is interesting in this connection: the "Knidian" jar in Southampton, of which I showed you a photo. This is one of the Rhodian with ringed toe but with rolled rim, cf. e.g. those of Hieroteles in the Dacia article. The test showed the clay to be Rhodian, to the surprise of Mr. Peacock, for whom any ringed toe meant Knidian. He concluded that they must have brought Rhodian clay to Datcha on purpose to make this "Knidian" jar. Others have conjectured that there may be pockets of Rhodian clay on Datcha. Actually the Southampton jar is covered in marine deposit (because of which we don't know if it had stamps - I did suggest that if they cleaned it off they might find buttons); and there is nothing to connect it with Datcha if not the ringed toe.

No more now, on "Les archives de Zenon, etc." Again I think you need more time on the text, and first on the various sites, something you are in a good position to do.

I don't really believe those very AΘΗΝΙ(ΩΝ)  
made in different places (a, in E

you not get samples of those with

your fig. 8 reads ΣΩΦ and your  
ΕΥΑ

reading is AΘHN  
I(ΩN) EIII Δ  
AMO(ΓΕΝΕΥΣ)  
(retr.)

Ath  
be

'Aθην  
ι( επι Δ  
apo(

(retr.)



KT. 2135

profile drawings the three look a good deal alike to me, even perhaps the toes. Look at them. Onasimos's handles do have a different tilt from those of Hieroteles; still I doubt if most people would describe them as canonical Rhodian. Quite probably the jar of Onasimos has a more Rhodian colour: I think he uses what I would call Rhodian clay. Note for accuracy that the three jars were not found in a tomb, cf. your first page.

Amphoras of ΟΝΑΣΙΟΙΚΟΣ do have a "forme rhodien canonique" as I imagine you know. He dates in the first half of the 2nd century.

On differences in clay in early Rhodian, and the desirability of tests, I have published notes, cf. Hesperia 1963, p. 322, and BCH Suppl. 13, p. 560. The amphoras were all called Rhodian because one found the same eponym named on the various kinds. Incidentally, have you had a test made of CMC 190? See your manuscript, p. 5, "Il est certain, etc."

Note that there has been a test made of the clay of one amphora that is interesting in this connection: the "Knidian" jar in Southampton, of which I showed you a photo. This is one of the Rhodian with ringed toe but with rolled rim, cf. e.g. those of Hieroteles in the Dacia article. The test showed the clay to be Rhodian, to the surprise of Mr. Peacock, for whom any ringed toe meant Knidian. He concluded that they must have brought Rhodian clay to Datcha on purpose to make this "Knidian" jar. Others have conjectured that there may be pockets of Rhodian clay on Datcha. Actually the Southampton jar is covered in marine deposit (because of which we don't know if it had stamps - I did suggest that if they cleaned it off they might find buttons); and there is nothing to connect it with Datcha if not the ringed toe.

No more now, on "Les archives de Zenon, etc." Again I think you need more time on the text, and first on the various sites, something you are in a good position to do. I don't really believe those very similarly shaped amphoras in the Hellenistic wreck were made in different places (a, in Egypt, and b, somewhere in the Datcha peninsula). Could you not get samples of those with ΝΦΙ? Some readings, of types we have more completely: your fig. 8 reads ΣΩΦ BYA and your fig. 26 is an example of KT 2135, of which the whole reading is ΑΩΗΝ Ι(ΩΝ) ΕIII Δ ΑΜΟ(ΠΕΝΕΥΣ) (retr.) Athenion seems to be entirely within Period III, so that should be the right restoration for the eponym.

ΑΘΗΝΙ(ΩΝ)

ΔΑΜΟ( , ep.

15.03

K

Αθην  
ι( επὶ Δ  
αμο(

(retr.)



KT. 2135

15.04

For my "droits scientifiques", my time is short, and I am not willing to cede my own right to ~~use~~ use any of these amphoras in any publication where I may need them. I have put much work into careful records of them, including photographs already printed to accurate scale; and the pairs of names are closely involved in the network of the chronology. Further, I would prefer that you did not publish them at present. The factory of Hieroteles is apparently still to be found, or at least confirmed. Your publication of the amphoras in Cyprus suggests you do not have time now for a careful presentation of this kind of material. In that article, the jars are not reliably at 1:10 (so, ~~spoiled~~ spoiled for comparison); and many statements lack documentation. In the case of your no. 8, jar of Rhodos, there should be a reference for the handle found at Byrsa; and if you look it up,<sup>(†)</sup> you will find that the name is restored, and should probably be read ΗΕΙ[ΣΙΣΤΡΑ]ΤΟΥ; Peisistratos does date before the fall of Carthage. Aristratos remains in V, where attention to the shape in your fig. 7a would put it. Compare your fig. 7a with your fig. 6a.

The 3rd century amphoras in Rhodes are a complex and important material. They should not be tumbled out, but are worth all one's experience to bring them out in order. You will help me (and others) by turning your attention elsewhere for a time, to your investigations in Turkey, to your presentation of the big group of Roman amphoras in Delos, etc., etc.

It gave me pleasure that you liked my suggestions about Aristokles the Rhodian and his family.

Yours sincerely,

⊗ BCH Suppl. 13, pp. 515-533

† Cahiers de Byrsa, 1960-61, no. 271

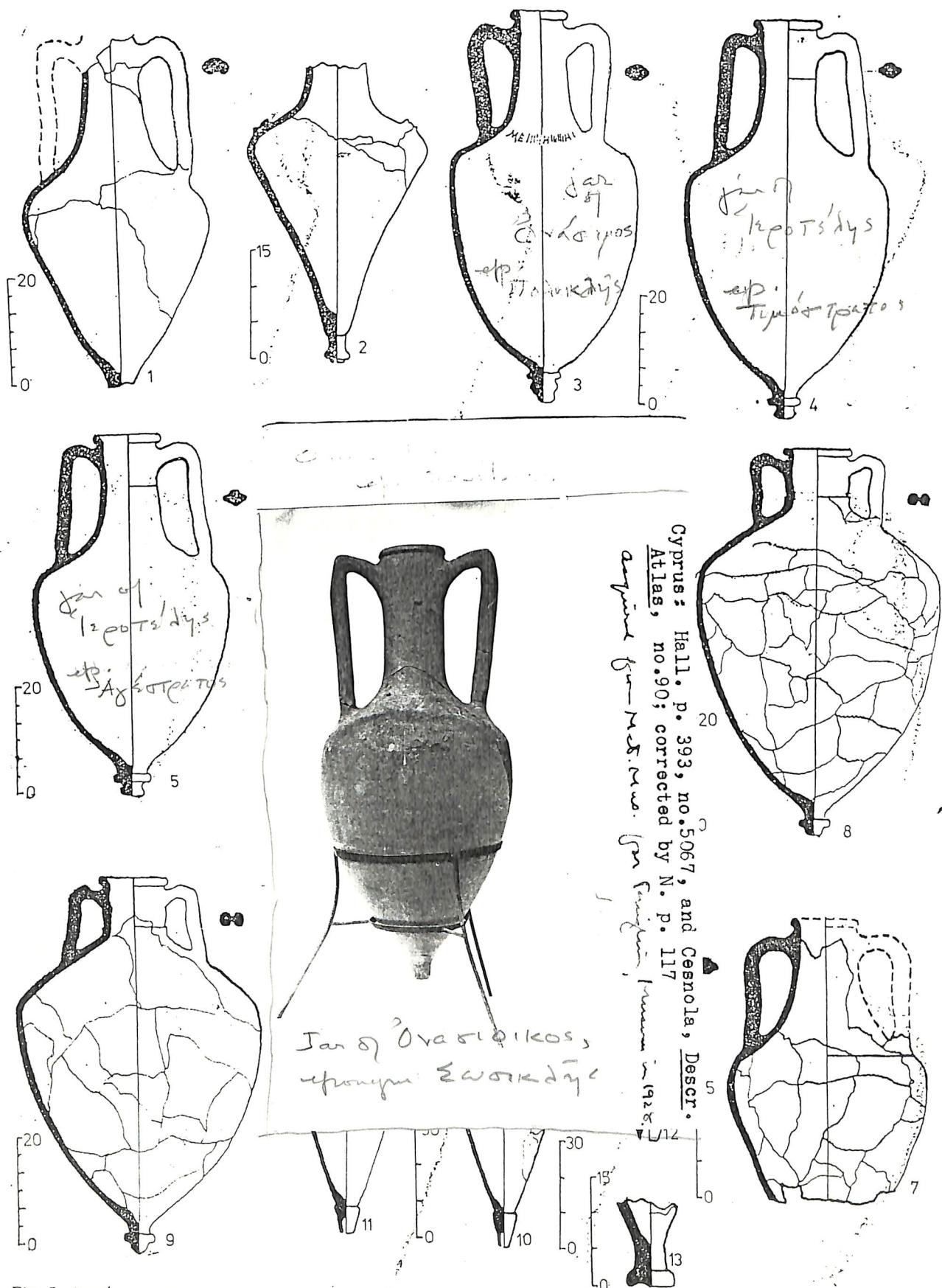


Fig. 5. Amphores hellénistiques du sud-est de la Munténie. Thasos : 1 Cegani (n° 27); 2 Bordușani (n° 28); Rhodes : 3—5 Mircea Vodă (n° 45); 11 Grădiștea Dichiseni (n° 46); 12 Jegălia (n° 47). Chersonèse Taurique : 13. Pietroiu (n° 48). Centre non identifié : 14. Pietroiu (n° 50).

16

ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'ARCHÉOLOGIE

LE SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL

6, RUE DIDOTOU  
GR - 106 80 ATHÈNES  
TEL. 36 12 518

ATHÈNES, LE

13 août 1987

353/SG/87

Miss V. Grace  
American School  
of Classical Studies  
Athènes

Chère Miss Grace,

En vue de la préparation d'un article sur l'atelier du fabricant Hiérotélès dans la Pérée rhodienne, je désirerais donner comme parallèles quelques amphores conservées au Musée de Rhodes dont on vous a sans doute accordé la propriété scientifique. Seriez-vous d'accord pour que je puisse étudier et inclure dans cet article les n° A148 = ΜΣ613 (Ιεροτέλης + Αγήμων) ; BE1347 (idem) ; ΠΒ2120 = ΜΣ549 (Ιεροτέλης + Αρισταρχος) ; A475 (idem) ; A507 (Ιεροτέλης + Αριστεύς) ; A305 = ΜΣ582 (Ιεροτέλης + Αριστίων) ; A494 = ΜΣ462 (idem) ; A105 = ΜΣ577 (Δικαιος + Δαμοκράτης I) ; sans n° (Ιεροτέλης + Αριστάνας) ; A409 = ΜΣ598 (Ποταμοκλῆς + Αρετακλῆς) que vous avez signalé dans votre article de 1986, p.564 n° 23 ; A306 = ΜΣ583 (Ιεροτέλης + Φιλόφρων).

Si vous acceptez de me céder vos droits scientifiques sur quelques uns de ces vases, je signalerai ma dette à votre égard comme il le convient. Je ne contacterai enfin l'éphore de Rhodes, M. Papachristodoulou, qu'après avoir obtenu votre accord explicite.

Je vous prie de croire, Chère Miss Grace, à l'expression de mes sentiments respectueusement devoués,

Jean-Yves EMPEREUR

Jean-Yves EMPEREUR

## Hiérotèles, fabricant rhodien de la Pérée

Dans un article de Dacia 1978, Mușeteanu, Conovici et Atanasiu publiaient 3 amphores rhodiennes trouvées dans la même tombe en Roumanie<sup>1</sup>. L'une appartient au fabricant Onasioikos et, datée de l'éponyme Polycrates, est de forme rhodienne canonique. Les deux autres portent le timbre circulaire à bouton central du fabricant Hiérotèles et sont datées des éponymes Timostratos et Agestratos, tous deux à situer entre 269 et 240 avant notre ère. Ces deux amphores ont embarrassé leurs éditeurs car elles portent des timbres indiscutablement rhodiens (mais présentent la particularité d'avoir un pied à anneau de forme cnidienne (cf. fig. 5, 4-5 p.196), des anses qui diffèrent sensiblement de celles de l'amphore d'Onasioikos et, notent les auteurs (p.182), leur pâte semble différer de celle des amphores rhodiennes, ayant une nuance roussâtre plus prononcée et un engobe plus foncé que celle des amphores de Rhodes.

Les caractéristiques de la pâte et, surtout, la forme des amphores (bien qu'à ce point de vue il y ait une légère différence, dans le sens que le pied est ici cylindrique, et non pas conique comme celui des amphores cnidiennes) semblent indiquer, à première vue, que l'on est en présence d'amphores de Cnide. Et ils concluent avec un embarras compréhensible de voir des timbres

rhodiens apposés sur une amphore plutôt de type cnidien.

La solution à ce problème qui débouche, on va le voir, sur des considérations d'ordre général sur la notion du fabricant, sera encore une fois fournie par le terrain, par la découverte d'un nouveau site de production. A environ 1km à l'Ouest de l'intersection de la route Marmaris-Datça avec celle qui mène vers la péninsule de Loryma, non loin de l'endroit où les Cni-diens avaient creusé un canal pour essayer de résister à l'agression perse, le Dr. Numan Tuna, de l'Université d'Izmir, a trouvé le dépotoir d'un atelier d'amphores éventré par la route moderne ; qu'il s'agisse d'un dépotoir d'atelier ne fait pas l'ombre d'un doute vu l'homogénéité du matériel et le grand nombre de surcuits et de ratées de cuisson. J'ai visité ce site en 1985 et en 1987 et j'ai pu identifier deux sortes d'amphores (il s'agit de morceaux épars en surface, le site n'ayant fait malheureusement l'objet d'aucune fouille ni sondage).

1) La grosse masse du matériel est constituée par des amphores de type rhodien à anse "à corne" et à pied en pointe tronconique, datant du Ier siècle de notre ère. La présence de matériel de type rhodien n'est pas surprenante dans cette région qui faisait partie des territoires intégrés de la Pérée rhodienne. Cet atelier est voisin de celui de Bayir (à environ 3km) et de

*Un pot AD,  
de jars  
au Rhodi*

Callipolis où l'on fabriquait des amphores de même type. On se référera et pour la délimitation des territoires intégrés de la Pérée et pour la localisation de ces ateliers à la carte que nous avons publiée en 1986<sup>2</sup>.

Mis à part cette masse de tessons amphoriques d'époque impériale, le nouvel atelier contient des éléments plus anciens : il s'agit de pieds annelés de type cnidien et au moins une anse timbrée : elle porte l'inscription Tiμapxos sur un timbre circulaire à bouton central, qui sans nul doute possible, appartient au fabricant Hiérotélès<sup>3</sup>. Il serait évidemment souhaitable d'entreprendre une recherche plus systématique pour ce site pour essayer d'identifier d'autres anses de ce type. Il n'en reste pas moins que cet exemplaire est à rapprocher des 2 amphores trouvées en Roumanie. On concluera en effet de cette découverte 1) que les amphores d'Hiérotélès étaient en partie au moins fabriquées dans la Pérée rhodienne 2) que la forme cnidienne de ces amphores aux timbres rhodiens trouve son explication dans le fait qu'elles n'étaient pas fabriquées à Rhodes même, mais dans les territoires intégrés du continent. C'est la solution à la perplexité des savants roumains vis-à-vis de leurs deux amphores à la forme cnidienne et à la pâte qu'ils avaient eu la sagacité de noter comme non rhodienne.

A ces certitudes, on peut ajouter quelques

hypothèses : le fabricant Hiérotélès est connu par d'autres amphores complètes. Certaines d'entre elles ont une forme rhodienne normale avec le pied en appendice cylindrique sans anneau et des anses semblables à celles de leurs contemporaines fabriquées à Rhodes ; c'est notamment le cas d'une amphore conservée à Chypre et publiée par V. Grace<sup>4</sup>.

Dès lors trois possibilités s'offrent à nous :

1) ou le fabricant Hiérotélès possédait 2 ateliers, l'un à Rhodes où il fabriquait des amphores de type normal et l'autre dans la Pérée où il différenciait ses vases par une forme cnidienne.

2) ou il a travaillé successivement dans la Pérée, puis à Rhodes : en effet les éponymes Αγέστρατος, Τιμαρχος et Τιμόστρατος (amphores de forme cnidienne) appartiennent à la période qui précède l'apparition des mois sur les amphores rhodiennes et sont à dater avant l'éponyme Φιλωνίδας (CMC 190, amphore de forme rhodienne, vers 240). *bien sûr mais*

3) ou il a travaillé dans la Pérée, fabriquant d'abord des amphores de type cnidien puis de type rhodien. Cette troisième solution peut se combiner avec la première : Hiérotélès aurait pu posséder deux fabriques, commencer dans la Pérée avec des amphores de type cnidien et y continuer avec un type rhodien, tout en ouvrant un second atelier à Rhodes.

Il est impossible, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, d'exclure l'une de ces 3 solutions. Pour exclure la troisième, il faudrait être sûrs que toutes les amphores d'Hiérotélès de type rhodien sont bien de terre rhodienne.

*He says, in  
Suppl 13,  
"surface  
proscrite"*

Il est certain que l'argile de l'amphore CMC190 est de type rhodien et donc que Hiérotélès a eu une activité à Rhodes et dans la Pérée (anse de Timarchos). *?  
Total?*

Pour que la première hypothèse devienne envisageable, il faudrait découvrir des exemplaires (de simples anses timbrées suffiraient) datés des mêmes éponymes et façonnées les uns dans une argile rhodienne et les autres dans une argile cnidienne.

La deuxième hypothèse paraît la plus vraisemblable pour le moment, vue la succession chronologique des éponymes des trois amphores en question. Hiérotélès aurait donc travaillé d'abord dans la Pérée avant de s'installer à Rhodes. *?*

\*  
\*\*\*

A travers l'examen des amphores complètes mais aussi de l'argile des seules anses timbrées des éponymes de Hiérotélès, facilement reconnaissables à leur timbre circulaire à bouton central, il conviendra de reconsidérer avant de les éliminer définitivement les

solutions 1 et 3 et, si notre hypothèse est juste, de retenir la n°2 et d'essayer de fixer en quelle année Hiérotélès a abandonné la Pérée pour s'installer à Rhodes même.

Qu'il y ait donc des fabricants rhodiens dans la Pérée, Hiérotélès nous l'a démontré. Il ne peut cependant pas se prêter à des comparaisons avec d'autres groupes peu connus, comme celui de Σω( : voisin de l'atelier de Hiérotélès, ce dernier est situé néanmoins sur le territoire de la cité de Cnide et n'entre aucunement dans le système de timbrage rhodien.

En revanche, il existe toute une série d'amphores rhodiennes qu'il conviendrait d'examiner avec plus d'attention pour décider s'il ne s'agit pas de productions de la Pérée jusque-là non identifiées comme telles : c'est le cas d'une amphore publiée par V. Grace dans son article sur les amphores de Serçe Limani et qui porte les timbres Δημη/τριου + Επι Αρε/τακλεύς<sup>5</sup> ; même chose pour une amphore du fabricant Potamoclès datée du même éponyme Arétaclès, qui possède une lèvre en ruban droit et un pied à annelet cnidien<sup>6</sup>.

Enfin, une autre amphore du musée de Rhodes number retiendra notre attention : cette amphore complète présente les caractéristiques d'une fabrication continentale (lèvre en ruban, pied annelé). Elle porte sur une anse le timbre circulaire à bouton central du

*Bud se  
Grace 1963*

fabricant Damocratès I et sur l'autre un timbre de même forme avec le nom Dikaios. L'éponyme n'est pas connu par ailleurs avec le mois et est donc à dater avant 240. Ne pourrait-on pas reconnaître dans ce Dikaios le fabricant qui a précédé Hiérotélès à la tête de l'atelier de la Pérée ?

En conclusion, beaucoup d'éléments nous manquent encore pour retracer l'histoire de la production amphorique (et donc viticole) de la Pérée rhodienne ; nous ignorons son extension géographique : nous ne possédons que 3 points sûrs de fabrication jusqu'à présent<sup>7</sup> ; il reste des zones d'ombre dans le déroulement chronologique.

Ainsi, l'atelier de Turgut nous fournit-il le début de la série avec des anses timbrées de deux lettres ou de monogrammes sur des amphores à lèvre champignon datables de la fin du IVe siècle ou du début du IIIe. L'atelier de Dikaios-Hiérotélès (+ Potamoclès et Démétrios ?) donnent des exemples de la première moitié du IIIe siècle ; par la suite (seconde moitié du IIIe et IIe siècles), nous n'avons plus aucune indication, si ce n'est une anse de l'éponyme Simylinos (env. 240-220) provenant de Gallipoli : nous ne savons ni la forme de l'amphore de la Pérée à cette époque, ni estimer l'importance de la production. Cet état de fait dure jusqu'au Ier siècle av. notre ère, où on assiste dans les 2 ateliers de Gallipoli et de Hiérotélès à une

reprise apparamment importante de la production.

Nous tâtonnons certes encore dans la datation précise des amphores à anses dites "à corne", mais nous pouvons admettre que cette forte activité s'est étendue jusqu'au IIIe siècle de notre ère, corroborant des constats faits sur des productions semblables dans des îles intégrées au territoire rhodien, notamment à Carpathos.

Ainsi, malgré les grandes zones d'ignorance qui subsistent encore, émerge peu à peu la certitude que la Pérée rhodienne a joué un rôle non négligeable dans le commerce de la grande île et que les produits de ces territoires intégrés portaient la marque de leur provenance dans la première moitié du IIIe siècle (amphores à pied annelé d'Hiérotélès), marque qu'elles ont perdue, pour une raison qui nous échappe, au Ier siècle avant notre ère (sans que nous puissions fixer la date de cet abandon du signe distinctif d'origine). Enfin, ces quelques remarques inciteront, je l'espère, à examiner d'un autre œil les productions rhodiennes que l'on considérait comme provenant toutes de l'île de Rhodes pour y distinguer peu à peu l'émergence des productions, outre des 7 îles intégrées au territoire de Rhodes, de la Pérée qui semblent devoir être largement réévaluées.

## Notes

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- 1) Cr. Museteanu, N. Conovici, A. Atanasiu, "Contribution au problème de l'importation des amphores grecques dans le Sud-Est de la Munténie", Dacia 22 (1978), p.173-199 et pour les vases qui nous intéressent, p.181-183 et p.196, fig.5 n°3-5.
- 2) J.-Y. Empereur et M. Picon, "A la recherche des fours d'amphores", BCH Supplément XIII (1986), p.113 fig. 16.
- 3) Une autre anse de Timarchos au bouton central est signalée en Roumanie dans L. Buzoianu, "Les premières importations d'amphores timbrées dans les cités grecques de Tomis et de Callatis", BCH Supplément XIII (1986), p.413 (Tomis).
- 4) Inv. CMC190 cf. dernièrement I. Nicolaou et J.-Y. Empereur, "Amphores rhodiennes du Musée de Nicosie", BCH Supplément XIII (1986), p.516 n°1.
- 5) Cf. V. Grace, "Some amphoras from a Hellenistic Wreck", BCH Supplément XIII (1986), p.560, 564 n°23 et photo p.559 n°23, 27, 28.
- 6) Musée de Rhodes, A409 signalée ibidem p.564 n°23. Peu avant 240.
- 7) Outre l'atelier de Hiérotélès, ceux de Gallipoli et Turgut (cf. Empereur-Picon, art.cit., p.118 fig.23, carte de situation des ateliers). *mentionné*

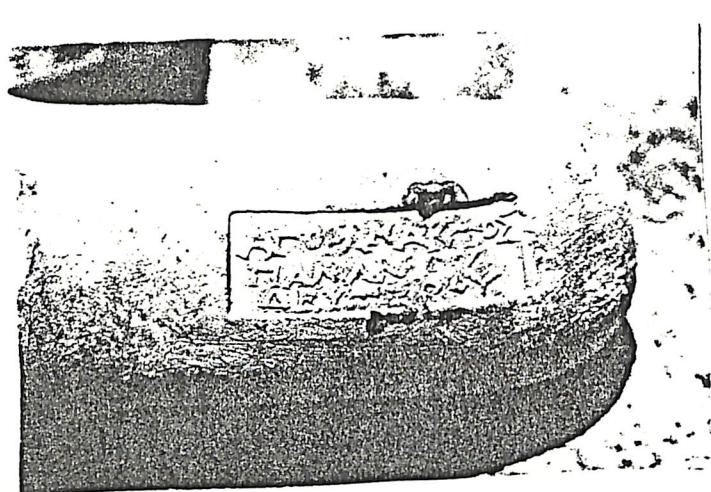


Fig. 1a = n° 1.

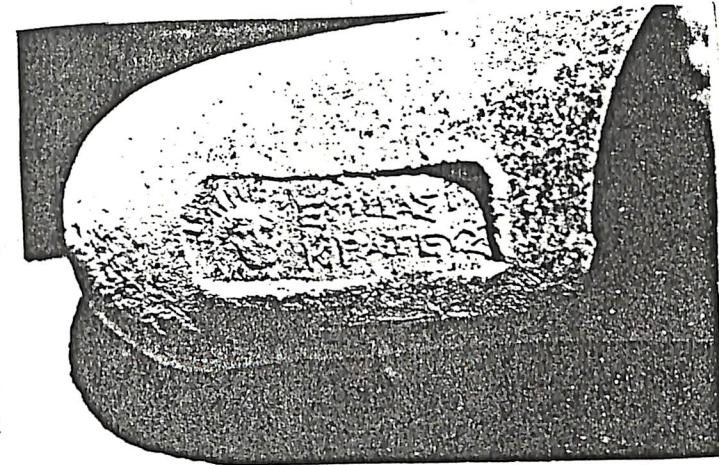


Fig. 1b = n° 2.

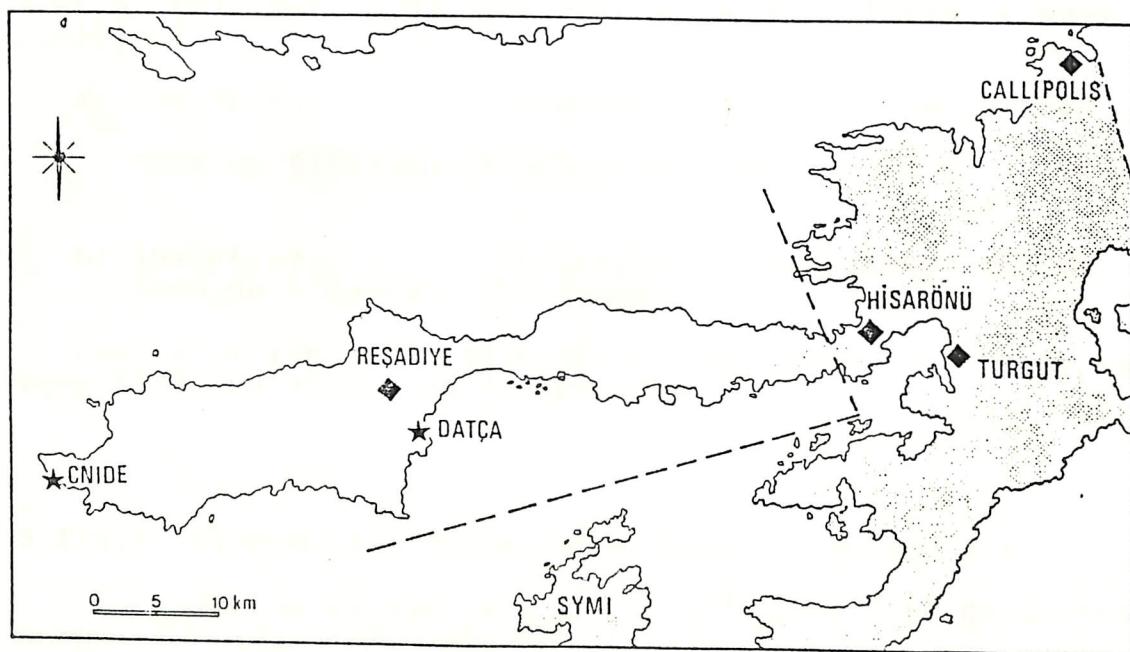


Fig. 2 Carte des territoires intégrés de Rhodes à l'époque hellénistique, avec indication des ateliers rhodiens de la Pérée (Hisarönü, Turgut et Callipolis).

Appendice 1. Catalogue des illustrations

*They have a single  
inv. number?*

1 et 2. Fig. 1 a-b : Syracuse Musée National, inv. 35398.  
2 anses appartenant à la même amphore,  
trouvées à Syracuse, au cours de la  
fouille de l'amphithéâtre :

a) Ἀγοράνακτος  
Πανάμου  
Δευτέρου

b) Tête Ἐπὶ Ιασι-  
d'Hélios κράτευς

Publiées séparément dans G.V. Gentili, "I timbri anforari rodii nel Museo Nazionale di Siracusa", Archivio Siracusano 4 (1958), p.41 n°33-9 (avec fac-similé p.38) et p.66 n°115.6. Ces anses sont rapprochées et illustrées ici pour la première fois.

*Amphore du fabricant Agranax, sous l'éponyme Iasicratès, pendant le mois intercalaire de Panamos Deύteros. Cf. supra, p.3 du manuscrit. Date : vers 210 (au tout début du Dépôt de Pergame).*

*(No ref., no acts.)*

3 et 4. Fig.4a-b. Hisarönü, atelier de Hiérotélès .2 anses isolées :

a) inv.88/26. Ιεροτέλευς circ.bouton central

Anse du fabricant Hiérotélès (269-225).

b) inv.88/47. [K]λεώνυμος circ.bouton central  
Anse de l'éponyme Cléonymos(

Pour d'autres anses timbrées de cet atelier, voir Empereur-Tuna 1989, catalogue de l'Appendice 1.

5.Fig.5. Alexandrie, Musée Gréco-Romain, inv.920.1 :

Ἀξίου au centre ; sur le pourtour Ἐπὶ Δαμοκράτευς

L'éponyme Damocratès date de la période Ic (ca.269-ca.240).

*How do you know?*

6. Fig.6. Alexandrie, Musée Gréco-Romain, inv.214.30 :

Ἐπὶ Τεισαγόρα  
Υακινθίου

28. VIII 57  
[20]

Recently catalogued items  
in RHODES

An amphora ex libris now in Nat. Museum  
Athens, see ~~is~~ p. 63 of catalog <sup>Kyrenia II</sup> of ~~exhibitions~~,  
is numbered A 290 on p. 63, but that could be  
shown to be something quite other. David  
Jordan <sup>in Allen</sup> <sup>inquired</sup> of Mr. Papa X for me, on his  
recent trip to Rhodes (for a new print of curse  
Tablets). Mr. Papa X agreed the number was  
wrong, gave another, but later <sup>in Allen</sup> telephoned from  
Rhodes to David to give another number, A 690.

Now A 690 is too high a number to be in  
our records (cut off by problems derived from  
Emperors' behavior). I asked Dr. S. if she  
would look at the stamps, take rubbings if  
possible. She wanted in any case to look at  
the exhibition, and will do it possibly next  
week, checking with Fo Zerwundaki at the  
Museum -

[Note I was in the U.S.  
from July 6 - Dec. 7, 1985]

"I. 86  
2nd  
at 33

21.01

Talks with Mr. Papachristouroulos

He has been in Athens, with his father, for  
37 days; since before Christmas, and leaves  
today for Rhodes. His father received a prize  
from the Academy for his History of Rhodes. The  
ceremony was 3 times Monday p.m. Jan. 6. He  
needed to save his strength for that occasion, so  
they did not come to Sunday lunch on the 5th.

Mr. Papax came to see me at the Stoa on Friday,  
Dec. 27. Office very cold, as nobody around to light  
the heaters early. We had a good talk. He seemed  
ready to let us do whatever was needed in Rhodes. It  
is evident the Emperor had behaved in a quite out-  
rageously bullying way (he didn't do "choses qui ne se  
disent pas" as Mme. Robert once remarked about something  
else). I spoke of Mr. Tsodikov's letter about my work in  
Rhodes, of which I received a copy. Papax said that  
was a difficult time; also, the Services tend to be  
jealous of Rhodesians in general, as being too lucky —

[7.2.84] [E. to ASGS]

(2)

why should they know that book library, and others in other parts not know on. (comes basically from the Italians; but of course one likes to contribute, to keep it up, especially if one works there.) Foreigner books worth in Rhodes share in the suspicion and jealousy - i.e. as object of it. I did not feel too anxious about this part, but was glad he wanted me to feel better.

11.I.86 8235341

Now today I called, at ca. 11:00 a.m., and found him at home, but they were preparing to leave <sup>today</sup> from Rhodes, and would not be able to come for lunch tomorrow. I said I had heard more of the plans of CGK and PMW after we spoke before, and feared their present plans were more to computerizing than to public publication. Asked if he would mind if they <sup>absorbed</sup> absorbed our Rhodes duplicates into their computer, and he said they could <sup>use</sup> any of our records. (Liliane) he wd prefer it went into books rather than computer, but he permits putting it into the computer. He notes that I need photos of ten items of which I had had rubbings: <sup>by photo</sup> wd print them, or I wd be permitted to (Dr. Tihon my collaborator.)

He plans to return to Athens before long,

22.01

(8.VI.86)

Dear Dr. P. Radhakrishnan,

A request has come to the Agora Records office for a print of a photograph published by me in BCH 1952, p. 524, fig. 3.

Rhodes

The object is a handle found in Rhodes,

with a stamp of the faber Moípixos,

having as device Helios in his Quadriga.

This handle still has the best ~~example~~  
unusual impression of this type for showing the  
name Moípixos.

I enclose a print of the photo pub-  
lished, if you are willing to have the

print go — — , will you

be so good as to <sup>have it sent</sup> ~~send it~~ to me?

— with whatever instructions you may

22.02

wish & attack.

I expect to be in America from  
July 12 for perhaps two months.

My best wishes to your father.  
I hope you are both well. Greetings  
also to Madam Angeliki, and other  
friends.

Yours sincerely,

Ρόδος 29 Ιαν. 1988

23

✓ Miss V. Grace  
American School  
of Classical Studies 54 Swedias  
106\_80\_A\_T\_H\_E\_N\_E\_S

Αγαπητή κ. Grace

Σας στέλνουμε τις φωτογραφίες του υπ' αριθ. A558  
αμφορέα που μας ζητήσατε με το από 17-9-1987 γράμμα  
σας.

Επίσης θα ήθελα να σας πληροφορήσω ότι η συνέδελφος κ. Φιλήμονος που έχει μελετήσει και δημοσιεύσει  
το υλικό στο οποίο συμπεριλαμβάνεται και ο παραπάνω  
αμφορέας θα ήθελε να μάθει τις απόψεις σας σχετικά  
με τον αμφορέα.-

Φιλικά



ΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΗ ΓΙΑΝΝΙΚΟΥΡΗ