

RHODIAN: CORRESP. WITH PETER FRASER



## **Do most people resent advice?**

**Answer:** As a rule we appreciate advice from persons we respect, for we can accept it without endangering our self-image. Through the same mechanism we tend to resent advice (particularly good advice) from persons we consider less competent than ourselves, for its acceptance places us in an inferior relationship. Of course this is not true in all cases. A bank president, afield with dog and gun, is elated to get farm-boy advice on game-bird habits.

American School of Classical Studies

6, Greece

(FRASER CORRESP)

## LEXICON OF GREEK PERSONAL NAMES

2.01

(under the auspices of the British Academy)

10/3/90

P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews  
Rms 312/315, Clarendon Building  
Bodleian Library  
Oxford OX1 3BG  
Tel: (0865) 277235 & 277231

Dear Virginia,

Thank you very much for your letter and the return of Baískos (or Baískos, as you say). I was glad to have your identification of it as ex-Benaki. While the photograph was away with you I came across a nice example of life's problems: a stone in Messene reading  $\alpha\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ ; the editor restores it as implausibly  $[N]\alpha\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ , + I thought of  $[B]\alpha\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  ~ but of course it comes to be (I probably was)  $[o\phi]\alpha\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  known from Rhodes at present.

Emperour sent me his amphora-article, and I thought that the picture of Rhodian amphora-manufacture in the Peraea, and links with Kaunos were pretty convincing. It is a good addition to our knowledge of the links between the Peraea and Rhodes itself - natural, of course, since it was wholly incorporated Rhodian deme-territory.

Your trip in the Norwegian fjordlands wonderful. Alas that such trips are no longer possible. In a week or two I am going to Split to do an epigraphical tour of the Dalmatian Islands (where there are some beautiful tombstones), but at the moment Eng. Airlines seem to be making it as difficult as possible. I shall have to go via Ljubljana - Ljubach (where Jason stayed according to Phryx).

Do you know that I am now employing Richard Catling on

14, is one

(M for Misc.,

n it another

er, setting

d provide.

Rhodian TIMQ

to write

he curve of

rhaps. But

down at the

e tend to be

examples of

ply. . . A

ings of

omega. Its

lay".

investigating

y. Sometimes

lian stamps, in

stamp eponyms,

. . . article, Hesp. 1963,

p. 323, fig. 1, nos. 2, 3, and 4 are all dated by ΑΡΠΙΟΞ. 4 would have been made in Rhodes, but 2 and 3 no doubt outside. We noticed uncharacteristic clay in a lot of Mr. B.'s early Rhodian handles. And were puzzled. But madly busy while



## LEXICON OF GREEK PERSONAL NAMES

(under the auspices of the British Academy)

10/3/90

P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews  
Rms 312/315, Clarendon Building  
Bodleian Library  
Oxford OX1 3BG  
Tel: (0865) 277235 & 277231

Dear Virginia,

Thank you very much for your letter and the return of Βαίσκος (or Βαῖσκός, as you say). I was glad to have your identification of it as ex-Benaki. While the photograph was away with you I came across a nice example of life's problems: a stone in Messene reading .αῖσκος; the editor restored it implausibly [N]αῖσκος, + I thought of [B]αῖσκος ~ but of course it could be (I probably was) [ep]αῖσκος known from Rhodes at present.

Emperour sent me his amphora-article, and I thought that the picture of Rhodian amphora-manufacture in the Peraea, and links with Kaunos were pretty convincing. It is a good addition to one's knowledge of the links between the Peraea and Rhodes itself - natural, of course, since it was wholly incorporated Rhodian deme-territory.

Your trip in the Norwegian freighter sounds wonderful. Alas that such trips are no longer possible. In a week or two I am going to Split to do an epigraphical tour of the Dalmatian Islands (where there are some beautiful tombstones), but at the moment Tug. Airlines seem to be making it as difficult as possible. I shall have to go via Ljubljana-Ljubach (where Jason stayed according to Phay).

Did you know that I am now employing Richard Catling on



The Lexicon? It is doing extremely well in unfamiliar country.

I hope to get to the Athenian fun in due course, since I ought to go to look at material in Messene Mus. But I have a "Swan" looming up, the first for 10 years, which will take me to S. Russian Eikes, including Olbia, much I have not seen, so I can see myself in difficulties since Swan does not like to leave me in Greece. Though he might...

Καγο' Τζόχα

Imr

Deser

18.I.90

Μήτσος Σίμος

2222 PRINT

από 555.19 ;

για Τζι

FRASER

- VKj
- copy of letter  
(or memo of it)
- ✓ Formen' corresp.
  - ✓ Kamos
  - ✓ Ouburoc, f.
  - ✓ Branuh /  
fai

~~PERAFA RHODIAN~~

- ✓ RHODES: PERAFA
- ✓ Vita
- ✓ ABC 'MISC.



## LEXICON OF GREEK PERSONAL NAMES

(under the auspices of the British Academy)

14/12/89

P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews  
Rms 312/315, Clarendon Building  
Bodleian Library  
Oxford OX1 3BG  
Tel: (0865) 277235 & 277231

Dear Virginia,

This last year or so I have been evacuating myself from All Souls (ήλικιάς χίρις), and in doing so I am trying to sort out photographs. Of these not a few are unfortunately loose. I have no filing-system. Among them is this item, of which I can find no note by myself. It does not look like one of your photographs, & if it were I think it would have had a note from you or me on the back. Could you perhaps identify it for me - you will tell me that you have published it somewhere, so perhaps I ought to say 'Could you remind me where I can find it'. I am interested because the name is so extremely rare, the mood so sharp and elegant. It reminds me (the lettering, I mean) of the very well moulded tiles from Kerkira and Ulysia, and the sigma is common in those parts, but the genit. in -ω does not operate there.

I also found a photograph of a stamp from Alexandria Troas, which I won't trouble you with (Κεφαλάρι); it has on the back a news bulletin from you, dated 'Princeton January 7, 1949' telling me you were taking passage in a freighter from N.Y on Jan. 25 arriving in Piraeus 33 days later. I wish that was still possible.

Happy Christmas & New Year,

Yours ever

Peter

RHODIAN = FRASEL < 1000  
 American School of Classical Studies  
 54 Swedias Street, Athens 106 76, Greece

February 28, 1990

Dear Peter,

Your handle stamped BAICKΩ, of which you sent a print on Dec. 14, is one of Mr. Benaki's ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ, to which we attached the number M ABC 86 (M for Misc., ABC for Alexandria Benaki Collection). No doubt Empereur has given it another number by this time. Our photo of the same item is somewhat sharper, setting off the apices; if you want one for publication, probably we could provide. I return yours, which is no doubt by Edouard.

As for the omega, could the name not be feminine? Like the Rhodian TIMΩ and KAAAIΩ. For the name in general, how about a non-Greek trying to write ΦΑΙΣΚΩ? The look of the stamp, big letters, and impressed down the curve of the handle, is a bit like some "Western" ones, "Greek Brindisi" perhaps. But apparently the section of the handle is broad and thin and turning down at the edges (sketch in our files), so not too right for Gk. Br., as those tend to be thick, toward circular in section. I don't know. We have no other examples of this elegant stamp. I return your picture, and regret delay in reply. . . A correction: Mr. B. had two examples of the stamp, and we have rubbings of both, but no photo of the second, incomplete at the right end, no omega. Its number is or was M ABC 130. Both have "quite fine, reddish buff clay".

I don't know if you have noticed, but J.-Y. Empereur has been investigating piles of amphora fragments laid bare by road works in coastal Turkey. Sometimes they find the kiln. In the Datcha peninsula, he finds lots of Knidian stamps, in associated groups. In Hisaröndü, he finds stamps dated by Rhodian stamp eponyms, this spot being within your Peraea. If you look at my Koroni article, Hesp. 1963, p. 323, fig. 1, nos. 2, 3, and 4 are all dated by ΑΓΡΙΟΣ. 4 would have been made in Rhodes, but 2 and 3 no doubt outside. We noticed uncharacteristic clay in a lot of Mr. B.'s early Rhodian handles. And were puzzled. But madly busy while



there. Now Picon tests samples for Empereur. I don't get much satisfaction out of the tests often, but in this case the difference must be very marked. Now among stamped handles from a German-Turkish dig at Kaunos, two so distinctive and so similar, including their stamps, that one guesses they are from the same jar, of these one says @EYAY and the other BPAXYA. In their pictures they don't look a bit Rhodian - rough surface, the stamps in a free sort of oval - but @EYAYTOE seems to be an eponym on early Rhodian handles (with the right clay) of Mr. EXX B.'s. And similar handles are impressed BPAX. And you give us BPAXYAAA@E and BPAXYAAAIAAE. People in Kaunos were neighbours to the Peraea.

That was a wonderful passage on that Norwegian freighter (line discovered by Jack Caskey). I visited the Bons, the Brintons, the Seyrigs (in Beirut, alas for Beirut). The Captain's wife joined us in a surprise visit at Marseille, which made him quite wild as he had no space for her on board and no time for her in port - port was all business and he hated it. He persuaded me to take her with me when I got off at Genoa and visited Rome on the way to rejoining the ship at Naples. I did not want to of course, and said Why do you think I will do this? And he said, Because you are so kind. It worked out all right, she found the good pension where Norwegians stayed, and the proprietress put her on satisfying bus tours while I looked up Signorina Zancani-Montuoro to whom I had two separate letters of introduction, for me a wonderful encounter.

Happy New Year to you,

*Virginia*

## BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

52 ODOSSOUEDIAS

GR-106 76 ATHENS

GREECE

6 July [1986]

TEL. OFFICE: 72 10 974  
RESIDENTS: 72 45 951

Dear Virginia,

I'm sorry we didn't have an opportunity to talk about matters  $\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  last night, but it was kind of you to have us in for a drink. I hope the visit to USA goes well, & doesn't tire you too much. By the time you get back I hope all the work on Vol I of the Lexicon will be over, & I shall look forward to hearing what reception it gets from Specialists in amphorae and other matters (coins, in particular, where we have also had a lot of original work done by numismatists).

I am sorry you didn't like my brief notice on Louis Robert. Some people did, some didn't, & that's life. Had I had time at my disposal I might have done better. For all his outstanding talents & his cordial recognition of the works of others, if they satisfied his standards, I suspect (tho' I did not say so) that he was not a just man. I wonder!

Yours ever

Peter



## The British Council

invites you to a lecture in English by

**Peter Fraser**

Fellow of All Souls College Oxford  
on «Bilingualism in the ancient world»  
on Thursday, 21 February 1980 at 8 pm.

**Admission free**

**17 Kolonaki Sq., Athens**

after the lecture

8

The Representative of the British Council  
and Mrs P. G. Lloyd  
request the pleasure of the company of

Miss Virginia Grace

for drinks

on Thursday, 21 February at 9.15 pm approx.

The British Council  
17 Plateia Philikis Etaireias  
Athens

~~RSVP~~  
Regrets Only  
3633.211

## XX, 1] THE EXTENT OF RHODIAN COMMERCE 629

whom Rhodian merchants with their money and influence were always welcome guests. The collection and examination of Rhodian stamps found outside and inside the island show that most of the Rhodian amphorae were produced between 225 and 150 B.C., especially in the early second century. Rhodian stamps are found in great numbers in Alexandria and in Egypt in general, in Syria, in Palestine, in Asia Minor (especially in Pergamum), even as far as Susa in Persia, and, in the West, in Sicily and southern Italy and at Carthage. Rhodes failed, however, to conquer the whole of the northern market for her wine, a fact which suggests that she never succeeded in becoming dominant in the north Aegean. Of the jar stamps found at Delos 70 per cent. are Cnidian, and only 25 per cent. Rhodian<sup>1</sup>. The same is true for the Aegean in general. On the other hand in South Russia of 1500 stamps found in the excavations at Olbia some scores only belong to Thasos, Cnidos and elsewhere, while the remainder are Rhodian<sup>2</sup>. During the second century Rhodes reached the Crimea by way of Olbia and her trade dominated the capital of the Scythian kings Scilurus and Palacus. In the Bosporean kingdom Rhodes is less prominent and shares her commercial influence almost equally with Thasos and Sinope. Apparently the dynasts of the Bosporus refused to submit entirely to the Rhodian maritime hegemony.

Finally, just as many foreign merchants resided at Rhodes (see below, p. 640), so Rhodians are found at this time at all the great commercial centres of the Greek world. This is abundantly proved, although all the available evidence has not yet been put together except for Alexandria, where, in the early Ptolemaic period, Rhodians play an important part. We need not be surprised to find Rhodian merchants all-powerful in many of the smaller Greek islands<sup>3</sup>.

It is not easy to say wherein lay the main business of Rhodes. The little we know shows that Rhodes, like Athens in the fifth century and London in modern times, was a great clearing-house for international commerce and exchange, especially between Greece and the Orient. Greece was at that time the main market,

<sup>1</sup> J. Paris in P. Roussel, *Délos, colonie Athénienne*, p. 29 n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> According to the calculations of B. N. Grakov, *The ancient Greek pottery stamps with the names of the Astynomoi*, p. 32 sq. (in Russian). E. Pridik in *Berl. S.B.* xxiv, 1928, pp. 342 sqq. reckons that 5100 Rhodian stamps have been found in South Russia as against 6800 stamps (mainly of Sinope) bearing the names of the *Astynomoi*.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, *I.G.* xii, 5, 2, 1010 (Ios).



January 22, 1973

Mr. H.G.Horseman  
The Clarendon Press  
Walton Street, Oxford  
OX2 6DP  
England

re. your 814278/PUB/HGH

Dear Mr. Horseman:

Up to the present I have not received any copy of Mr. Fraser's book Ptolemaic Alexandria. When one does come, I will be sure to check Vol.I to see whether the dedication seems intended for me, and will return it to you if it is the wrong one. I see that in a former book of his, the dedication in ink includes my name, not just generalized compliments, so it ought to be easy to tell if one has the wrong one.

Yours sincerely,

Virginia R. Grace

TELEPHONE : OXFORD 56767

PLEASE QUOTE 814278/PUB/HGH



*The Clarendon Press*  
*Walton Street, Oxford*  
*OX2 6DP*

16 January, 1973.

Dear Miss Grace,

At the request of Mr. P.M. Fraser, we sent you a copy of his book *PTOLEMAIC ALEXANDRIA* (3 volumes). Unfortunately some labels got mixed in our packing department, resulting in books with the wrong dedications being dispatched.

If you have received the wrong one, would you please return volume I to us for exchange. I believe volumes II and III contained no such dedication. We will gladly refund your postage of course. We hope however, that your copy may be correct, in which case perhaps you would let us know. International reply coupon enclosed.

With apologies for troubling you,

Yours sincerely,

*H. G. Horseman*

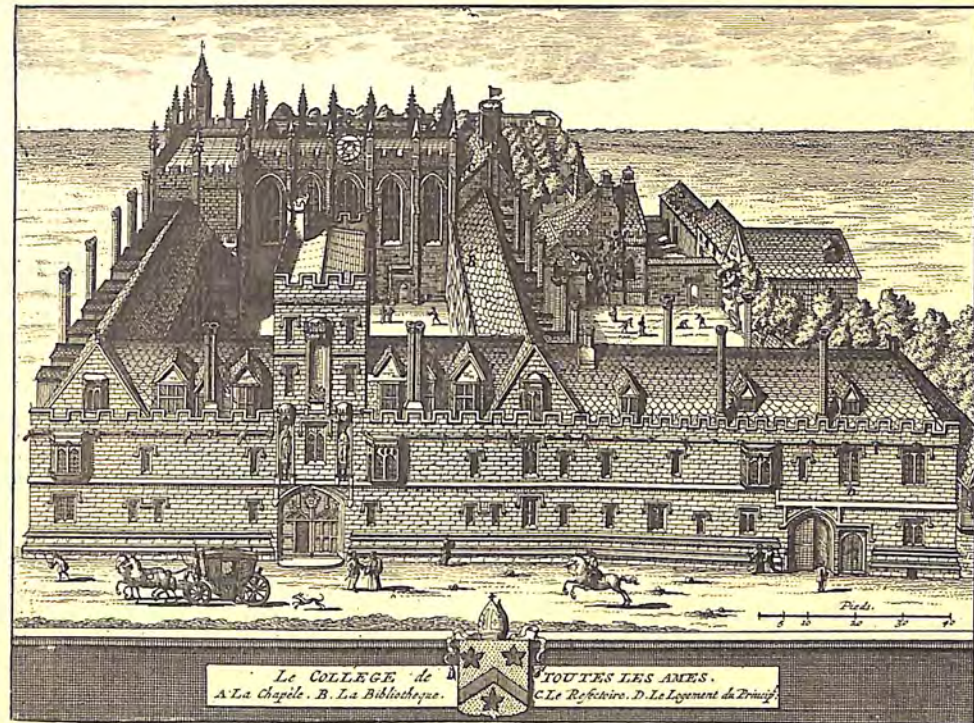
H.G. HORSEMAN

Miss V. Grace,  
American School of Classical Studies,  
54 Odos Suedias,  
Athens 140, GREECE.

1. II. 73  
Two sets were in a  
way addressed to me.  
Both returned by Talbot &  
Lyon from P.O. One was  
"dedicated" & in a strong  
Bartle School.



*University Press, Oxford, England*





Greetings from

Xmas 1971

Peter & Ruth

With love from us all

---

All Souls College, Oxford, from the South.  
From J. Beeverell, *Les Délices de la*  
*Grand' Bretagne*, iii (Leiden, 1707), after  
David Loggan's engraving of 1675.

RH. CORP. w. PMF  
All Souls College,  
Oxford

OXI 4AL Telephone 22251

3 Aug. 1972

Dear Virginia,

'Arzēroos, as you write it, is simply (as on your handle) 'Arzēroos, and that, like all names in -roos, is attested from a fairly early date: see Bechtel, p. 337, where he gives an 'Arzēroos from Thessaly. I don't recall one from Rhodes but no doubt one could be found. If you don't like the name, you have the alternative 'Arzēros attested at Casos, IG xii.1. 1060, but I don't think that necessary.

I am better than I was, but not able to cope with our friend's correspondence. I expect an Advance Copy of Alexandria tomorrow, so it may be out in October.

Yours ever

F. S.

S. MILETOS



To P. From

Athens, January 8, 1970

Dear Peter,

Looking for the negative of that photo of APHEIINIOZ with dolphin, etc., which the phot. dep't here said they would squeeze in now so you could take it before you left, I find alas that this item is on film which I gave to Barbara Turzynski (now Mrs. Drushell). I set her up with my machinery in the middle of one of my films, to take some objects which she had selected for their devices for some study of her own, out of Mr. B.'s collection. This was her first item, and no doubt I did it with her. But I kept only one set of enlargements of the things she took. So this is it, and we can't get <sup>it</sup> at twice actual here in Athens.

I think you really should get her permission to use this photograph in a i.e. at whatever size you print it. publication. I don't have an up-to-date address for her, but I think Lucas has. If you write to her, why not ask her for a bigger enlargement while you are at it? Specially because I do not feel very cordially toward her (little gold-digger, I thought), I cannot give permissions for her.

I enclose the print that there is.

Yours,

19. IV. 78  
fig. 111c  
In his book, Plinian Fossils, he publishes the photo with no ref. either to Turzynski or to Barbara's Collection, but caption it "Plinian stamped amphora handle, Athens (Agave, 668.6 R 20)". This would imply, say HAT, to identify.



FROM THE DIRECTOR

## BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY

8 December 1965

52, ODOSSOUEIDIAS,  
ATHENS, 140  
GREECE.

Dear Virginia,

Thank you very much for your note.  
The faience-bowl from Palestine is listed *See*  
*Prot. Alex.* ch. 4, note 61 along with others of the same  
type found outside Egypt.

No, there is no reason to suppose that you  
nodded in my lecture. I did not mention the Ficorini  
Cista specifically: it is one of several representations of  
the boxing-match between Polydorus & Amycus to  
which I referred. I agree, the amphorae are very rec-  
tangular, and I hope you will be able to identify them.

Yours

RF

Stoa of Attalos, December 4, 1969

Dear Peter,

As I am engaged in inserting into my proof improvements from various sources, including yourself, I come upon an article on a tomb-group in Israel which contained a fine Ptolemaic fayence bowl, R. Gaveon in The Israel Exploration Journal, 13, 1963, pp.20-29. Perhaps you do not collect such things, but if you do, you may have missed this one, since the group contained also a whole Rhodian amphora (of ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ in the term of ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ) which perhaps you would have mentioned to me if you had seen it.

I enjoyed your lecture, and noticed no longueurs, but perhaps I nodded (effects of all this proof) since I did not catch a reference to the Ficoroni Cista (amphoras and the Argonauts) on which I would be interested to hear your comment.

FROM THE DIRECTOR

## BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY

13 November 1969

52, ODOS SOUEDIAS,  
ATHENS, 140  
GREECE.

Dear Virginia,

Thank you very much for the Pergamon  
offprint, which I had not seen before. The monograms  
are intriguing and (as usual) incomprehensible. No.  
15 would come up out nicely as Kaví(ov), but I  
imagine it must be a personal name.

Yours in

Ref



Athens, August 25, 1969

Dear Peter,

I don't yet after all feel sure about the mentioned drop in import in the second quarter of the 2nd century. We have made checks and found errors in our counts and are redoing. It is very exacting and boring job to make this complex count, and made more exasperating by the realization that we have only part of the figures and possibly a somewhat weighted part. There can however be no doubt of the great increase after the middle of the century. If you want, I could give you the revised returns when you come back to Athens. Our work on this project is slowed by the fact that my mathematical aide is driven hard at his regular job these days, and some days does not get to us at all.

About the clipping, I don't want to hurt anybody's feelings. I thought it an amusing analogy to what you yourself said about your quoted statement, in your letter of 26 Oct. 1966: "This was a balloon which you promptly shot down, etc." I cannot suppose that you ever intended to publish it without verification, which could for the present come only from us here. That, if you like, would be an offence to me, though it probably would not occur to you as such; it would imply that such statements can be made out of general erudition, and that our slogging and our study of the results are works of supererogation.

Lucas's Egyptian lawyer has been here, the good Mr. Arida, with his Eg. Gk. wife and their two children, all fanning themselves in protest against the climate of Athens in contrast with that of Alexandria. They sailed to Mykonos yesterday, and return tonight with Lucas.

Yours,

21.7.70  
a subordinate of him  
has told me he is  
a bully.

775  
He did,  
though.  
(P. 124)  
P. 124)



RHOD. -  
CORRESP. W. P. M. Fraser

Athens, August 16, 1969

Rhodes.

19 August 1969

Dear Virginia,

I am returning your news paper cutting to you, since it contains an insinuation of bad faith or dishonest practice on my part which, I have no doubt, you would on reflection wish to retract.

Yours  
P. M. Fraser

muckraking image.) His technique, familiar to ace reporters like Pendennis, is to get at people in the know, speak as though he already knew the facts, and hope that they can confirm them or come up with the real story. As

18 Note that on balance you  
... (I have also looked  
Rhodian constitution,  
member we find a change  
e followed the Macedonian  
e Thasian section of the  
these introductory texts).  
containers in Thasos, the  
in Rhodes ten years or so (?)  
local affairs. Perhaps at  
e. for the commissary supply  
for the Macedonians in Egypt,  
handles has been found in  
o assume (and try to explain) any  
products dated by his name (cf.  
2). Did I, incidentally, say  
link I have looked them up  
PANOMOI in Rhodes? The title  
in perhaps half a dozen stamps  
are of unidentified class: cf.  
tations to proceed to a zusammen-  
is that I was asking your impression  
is of usage - also anomalies -  
recognized and presented, with proposed interpretations, and chronological basis,  
general view in the general introduction. I am not sure how much you cover by  
"classification" which "should not be an end". But perhaps it is a sufficient purpose

looked up the reference you  
in what is unpublished, by P. M. Fraser  
in August 5, 1969

birth  
Census  
does

Rhodes.

19 August 1969

Dear Virginia,

I am returning your newspaper cutting to you, since it contains an insinuation of bad faith or dishonest practice on my part which, I have no doubt, you would on reflection wish to retract.

Yours

Ref

on was it  
~~find in~~  
 then?  
 muckraking image.) His technique, familiar to ace reporters like Pendennis, is to get at people in the know, speak as though he already knew the facts, and hope that they can confirm them or come up with the real story. As



RHOD. -  
CORRESP. W. P. M. Fraser

opposite  
and with  
publ. ref-  
erence  
therein

On the 11th of August 5, I have looked up the reference you  
kindly gave me, and in fact Reinach's story is what is published by P. - C. in  
Annales 30-32, p. 262, no. 7, and whereas Reinach read NIKEMA (P. - C. reads NIKEM. - Reinach  
does not state to go far as I can see, (2) Kerst. consulted in about 2500s (who only dated  
± 225 B.C.) but I think mislaid, or not received, this

I might be somewhat depressed by your exhortations to proceed to a zusammenfassung since indeed it was as a feat of synthesis that I was asking your impression of the Delos chapter; the various local patterns of usage - also anomalies - recognized and presented, with proposed interpretations, and chronological basis, general view in the general introduction. I am not sure how much you cover by "classification" which "should not be an end". But perhaps it is a sufficient purpose



to produce a firm chronology, through several centuries, of commonly found objects. All statements - historical, art-historical, economic-historical - that can be made about sites or levels or finds depend for their meaning on reliable dating. When there is a conflict on the dating, as at Koroni, it is not enough for any expert simply to give judgment. For a chronology to stand, evidence has got to be presented, and in common terms, not in the jargon and with the assumptions of a particular branch. In fact we cannot use assumptions. We have to turn out our own, and we can ask the same of those who do not agree with us. The "machinery" as you call it should be demonstrated; at points where one is really concerned to know what happened (and not just playing games), it is not at all boring. You have never given me the "good and independent grounds for assigning the Ptolemaic coins with oval shield to Philadelphus" mentioned in your letter of October 1966.

A kind of "interpretation" which I think you want is supplied by statements on relative numbers found at particular sites. This is of course a proper application of the chronology, and one not entirely new to my readers. There is a nice one involving Alexandria on the last page of my Picture Book, but it is about Knidian trade not Rhodian, our data being more complete for this class. To make quite a short statement of this character, say on the relative numbers of Rhodian jars imported to Alexandria at various dates, it is necessary not only to establish a large repertory and then a detailed chronology of the stamp types, but also to identify, mark and assemble by classification numbers and sub-numbers many thousand stamped handles in Alexandria and then to make a detailed count of the handles by their particular numbers and sub-numbers (to distinguish for instance between the 4 or 5 or 6 <sup>and differently dated</sup> different Rhodian fabricants named AAMOKPATHE). Alexandria, especially for the mass of Rhodian handles, has been such a crowded salvage operation that we still do not have in Athens the name-by-name figures for a full count by date, even if we knew more fully about dates than we do. First necessities there were to identify and mark and check and install in the Museum while we still had Miss Turzynski who naturally became increasingly competent at these tasks.



(16-VII.69)

attached to a small  
clipping for "Observer" 17 VII 69  
about call - more tactics of government  
for getting  
a story  
from somebody  
who did  
better

Against this background, there was a Heichelheim flavour to the ~~statement~~ statement in the manuscript of your book, quoted in your letter of 26.X.66:  
"Rhodian amphora stamps in Alexandria of the period 200-140, falling both before and after the Senate's economic sanctions, are not only more numerous than at any other time; they also seem to remain fairly constant throughout the period." The reader is left to imagine that this is gleaned from a mastery of VG's works - from where else? Or did you not really intend to let it stand, thus unpropped?

In fact, although we are lacking anything like a full count in Alexandria - not to forget the Museum's original collection, in which the Rhodian are not even sorted - there is a certain section which has been counted in detail, a count I organized in March 1967, and it was carried out that spring. The section is the supplementary series of fabricant handles of the Benachi collection, about 20,000, what was left after the reference selection (4,451) was taken out. Doing what I can with this block of material, I make this tentative observation: the volume of import increased through the late 4th and 3rd and early 2nd centuries B.C.; it is pretty clear that there was a drop in the second quarter of the 2nd century; while in the second half of the 2nd century there is a very large increase, to 3 or 4 times the numbers at any previous period; in the late 2nd and early 1st century the volume drops again, though still more than twice that of the late 3rd - early 2nd; after that it peters out, though there are a certain number of Rhodian handles datable perhaps in the middle of the 1st B.C.

Would you attribute the drop to the Senate's sanctions, and the increase to the destruction of two other large commercial states?

Here it has suddenly got hot, and I wish I were as near to the sea as is the Fraser family, for a little longer.

26.X.94  
Actually this is  
not in Pl. in AGN  
but wrong when  
⑤ SEHAW, pp. 775-6 (partly, writing, by M.F. Family in  
Dachau 100: Wund 1971, p. 186  
(2nd offprint - Xerox - under HISTORICAL NOTE  
6.10.73 But Rod. does not state it, the dates it, i.e. are people  
right to the United States, and this ref. does not lead to any such statement.



## BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY

52, ODOS SOUEDIAS,

ATHENS, 140

Tel. 710974

5 Aug. 1965 Rhodes

Dear Virginia,

Two further points

1) In your catalogue you refer to an inscription published in RE 1904, s. Reinach, giving the epigrapher Nikomachos. I think that this must be the same as the inscription as that republished by Pythios Cornatelli in Annuario 30-32, 1952-54, p. 262, no. 7, but not having RE at hand cannot be sure. If it is the same, note (a) that the name of the priest is uncertain beyond NIKOM —, & that the it certainly looks (prosopographical arguments apart) as if it is of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent., whereas I think that Reinach dated the inscr. (if it is the same one) to the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. (no date). I'm sorry if this is a red herring, but I thought I ought to put it down.

2) Do you know the epigraphical instance of the priest Sodamos, published by Konstantinopoulos, Apex. Suppl. 21, 1966, pp. 56ff.? I expect you do.

Yours ever Peter



## BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY

52, ODOSS SOUEDIAS,

31 July 1969

Αγίου Γεωργίου 21  
Πόλη

ATHENS, 140

Tel. 710974

Dear Virginia,

Thank you for your letter. Yes, I would indeed like an offprint of your contribution to Pergamon XI, when I get back to Athens.

I'm glad you've cleared up the ΚΛΗΜΕΝΕΙΣ point. I'm shocked at Hiller's reading; he was normally so scrupulous. Or was the reading made for him by Miss Hutton (if I remember rightly she had something to do with the BM stamps in that volume — and I would go a long way to save H's reproduction!).

My reservations are not precisely about the Maeonian garnison as such; though the matter is complicated by divergent traditions I think that in fact there was one. What worries me is that you <sup>suggest</sup> ~~assume~~ a direct link between what seem to be very different spheres of activity, without having any positive evidence to connect them. It is true that the Cnidian phoeniceans form a sort of analogy, but there is a difference: the Rhodians were the great ~~ext~~ manufacturers and exporters of ~~the~~ amphorae, and known as such everywhere. It is therefore not surprising that they should intervene in the Cnidian

Have I said this? Have I given any list  
 2  
 of them in  
 names.

## BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY

52, ODOUS SOUEDIAS,

ATHENS, 140

Tel. 710974

production, a system of stamping. But  
 I find it difficult to believe that the Thaceto  
 would care about such a matter. ~~And when you press~~  
~~the matter~~ Did they for instance intervene in the emission  
 of coinage - a much more natural sphere of intervention?  
 And ~~when you~~ <sup>to</sup> press the point, I am not clear exactly  
 what you envisage is a having occurred. You say that  
 the fact that none of the names is Thacedomen<sup>(1)</sup> only  
 indicates that the practice started <sup>in</sup> Macedonia, so  
 to speak, & does not actually indicate the use of a Thaced.  
 dating-authority, if I remember you aright. In that case  
 would it not be <sup>an easier</sup> ~~more~~ hypothesis to suppose that the  
 earliest names represent those of e.g. ἀγοραῖοι, who  
 might naturally be involved in such an activity as stamping  
 handles<sup>(2)</sup>? You could of course maintain that the ἀγοραῖοι  
 had been appointed by the Thaced.arrison, but that doesn't  
 seem very likely, for Thaced. armies do not seem to have  
 intervened in domestic affairs much. I can't remember  
 whether it is certain, on your calculations of Thucydides'  
 list, that the ~~para~~ stamping started in 338 rather than  
 in 323.

(2) Who says they stamped the handles? They  
 just under the year, perhaps.



just classification, 3  
 introduction

BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY

52, ODOS SOUEDIAS,

ATHENS, 140

Tel. 710974

Of course, I realize that the Delian chapter was a considerable effort, and I hope my largely niggling and typographical observations did not make you imagine that I didn't. You are the only person in the Western world who can tell us about these things, and without your work it would still be a disordered mass of material. On the other hand I do think, & it is only a personal feeling, that classification, <sup>however refined</sup>, should not, even within one career & <sup>granted</sup> the limits of an individual's physical resources, be an end, and that interpretation of the value of the objects concerned for our knowledge of the ancient world, must follow. And in <sup>this</sup> case interpretation can only effectively be done by you, since only you have enough material to generalize from. I know that when I try to interpret the handles, e.g. in the framework of Rhodian-Alexandrian commercial relations, you think I am being rash and <sup>by a statement not in line with</sup> disregarding facts. This might be so, but I believe it at least puts the problem <sup>as</sup> (in any particular case) it must be put: as a contribution to economic history.

## BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY

52, ODOS SOUEDIAS,

ATHENS, 140

Tel. 710974

Home is down if you rain 4  
 pretend to have to us  
 what the focus

If I am wrong, then, as I see it, no great harm is done, for a window is opened, and (to change the metaphor) people can think about the material in a different dimension, and <sup>in</sup> the dimension which, ultimately, ~~is that which~~ gives meaning to all your Vorarbeiten. Of course I do realize that not everything you have to publish can be turned to historical ends, or will yield historical conclusions — and the Delian material is probably such — and my criticism, or comments, are not directed at your publications as such, but at something different, at the absence of a Zusammenfassung. My only comment, in general, of the publication is that it is <sup>your</sup> preoccupation with your 'machinery', which is naturally very complex, but is, I think, basically what we would expect, and therefore does not need description in the <sup>main</sup> body of any particular publication: as I said, it's rather like showing the workings of mathematical calculations which are presupposed in any further calculation. ~~And let me to summarize the above~~  
 I've only put all this down, because you asked me to, & I hope you will not regard it as other than



5  
BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY

52, ODOS SOUEDIAS,

ATHENS, 140

Tel. 710974

an attempt to put a <sup>by you</sup> very different  
point of view from your own - and especially not as  
an attempt to deflect you from any task you have  
on hand. It's simply that I believe the time is ripe for  
a comprehensive, & I'm sure you must write it.

Here all is well. Excavation goes on and on,  
handles turn up in franchises, and also Hellenistic  
pottery, & I suppose it will eventually be published  
in section. But I'm sorry for Konstantinosoulos  
and his crew - they are overwhelmed with work, &  
lack men & money.

Hope to see you at the end of August.

Yours ever

Pel  
—



Athens, July 26, 1969

Dear Peter,

This morning I found the Pergamon XI offprints, I mean of my ca. three pages. There are so few that I have gone through them all and corrected the spelling etc. etc. myself (I did not have proof). There is one for you however if you want it - I suppose in any case not till you come back to Athens.

I have also found the rubbing on the basis of which we identified that British Museum stamp as an example of the type of KAHN2 in the term of IEPOKAH2. The rubbing was attached to Mr. Benachi's note describing the stamp. I wish I had found it while you were here. You would have been scandalized by the I.G. only traces of letters are reading. In fact ~~almost nothing~~ preserved of the second line, read in the corpus as EYEAI029YOY. Old Hiller just thought that letters in the second line would naturally mean a month, and he made a guess, and did not indicate which letters he thought he saw, and which he restored. Our identification is based on rubbings of two examples from the same die, in one of which the whole type is preserved. In fact this eponym is not known with a month, and that was what made me suspicious, and so we got L.B. to take a rubbing. I can see that my text as it stands naturally makes one think the I.G. reference is wrong, if one looks it up. I am trying to make up something of the same length that will make things clearer.

It has been helpful to me that you took the time to read through most or all of the text of this Delos chapter. I will probably be able to remove a number of blemishes; for instance the capitalizing of <sup>IEPE22</sup> ~~XXXX~~ - I see that there are only two of these in the readings. I note your reservations on a Macedonian garrison in Rhodes, and shall find and read your article I hope. Now I would be interested to know whether the singling out of this one of my suggestions means that on the whole you find most of the others acceptable? As for instance the identification of the later <sup>Rhodian</sup> eponyms on stamps with those on stone? Or the events hypothesized in Knidos in 88-85 B.C. ? Etc. etc.



I should like to know whether it occurred to you that this chapter was a considerable achievement. And if so, whether you think the results are worth the effort; and whether you think more results would be worth more effort, and more financial investment. If you say No, I shall not be too cast down (and shall not necessarily accept the judgement in my own mind). But if you say Yes, why, it may help a bit with some current problems.

I think I did not "thank you for the food" in the proper (Swedish) manner when I saw you yesterday. Anyhow it was a very pleasant evening at Adam's, and here are late thanks.

Have a nice time in Rhodes.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

16 December 1966

Dear Virginia,

Thank you most warmly for your very helpful reply to my queries. I had indeed found your previous letters and was at times frustrated by them. I think I have now straightened out the figures, ~~and~~ by removing some of Benet's intermediate totals. I have also removed all references to you (I mean <sup>except</sup> bibliographical ones), so you are not credited with any dangerous heresies. One point only still slightly worries me: your reluctance to admit a reference to the Benet's measures of 167/6 (contra, ap. Rostovtzeff, SEHAW, iii. p. 1647, on ch. VI, note 10). Anyhow I have said that you ~~are~~ <sup>feel you</sup> no longer ~~prepared~~ <sup>in</sup> to ~~accept~~ 'have the data necessary to substantiate a link with the Benet's measures'. O.K.? Personally I do not think that the data are vital on this point: on the one hand we have a political move known to have occurred at a certain date and certainly directed against Rhodes; on the other hand there are many handles of the



2nd half of the 2nd cent B.C. ~~There~~ <sup>On</sup> that one is entitled to put what interpretation seems natural; the course there are uncertain factors. Beyond that I have no wish to go, but not to draw attention to an obviously significant event which may have some bearing on the handle-situation would be, I think, over-discreet.

The shields on the coins. No, I wasn't thinking of coins at all, but other evidence in which Philad. is associated with shields. I certainly don't want to enter into the coin-controversy, but if the link with Philad. can be established independently of the coins that would be a good thing. I shall write a short note on it, if I get time. I see meanwhile from McCreedy's Hesperia Suppl. xi, that <sup>he, or they,</sup> ~~the authorities~~ are less insistent on their early dating.

Once again, very many thanks, and Happy Christmas and New Year.

Yours

Per



December 2, 1966

Dear Peter,

On your letter of October 26, the figures you have on pp.3 and 4 of your xerox copy of the (non-final) version of my report ~~xxx~~ published in the Am.Res.Center Newsletter are as up-to-date as are available. It may be more convenient for you to cite them as to be found in Archaeology 1966, p.286; G. Weinberg has reproduced the report in somewhat abridged form, from the March issue of the Newsletter, in which it did appear; <sup>(pp. 1-5)</sup> there are a few nice pictures with it in <sup>the Archaeology</sup> ~~this~~ version. I have not yet succeeded in getting any offprints of the Newsletter version, but will eventually have some from Archaeology, of which I can send you one.

To make totals for Alexandria, combine the figures in Arch. (or your xerox) with those for the Museum in my report published in the Year Book of the Am.Phil.Soc. 1955 (you have an offprint). I have no further counts for the Museum, and I think their additions have been fairly negligible. I cannot be more precise about total number of Pamphylian; there are certainly some in the Museum. The isolating of this group in general will not be very satisfactory until the stamps also have been sufficiently studied. Some are obvious, and one sees a group, but neither Mr. Benachi or I could now be sure where to draw the line among doubtful cases; nor do I really feel sure about all that have been installed as belonging to this class. Do not quote me as stating that there are 50 left in the Benachi house; if I knew exactly which ones <sup>were Pamphylian,</sup> of those still at the house, I would have installed them; all the figures in that final group are preceded by "about" or a similar expression, and are approximations, and that is all that is ready now, until more study can be given. Last summer I installed a few more drawers, i.e. 104 handles of the Zenon Group, 36 of a class <sup>early</sup> which may be <sup>by me</sup> Hellenistic Samian (mostly with prow in the center), 57 attributed to



Kourion of the  
~~Kourion~~ in Cyprus, as well as more unclassified. I spent more time on the Rhodian. Miss Turzynski is getting on with the identification of the names on these. About the end of October she estimated she had worked through about 15,000, and thought she had found about a sixth of them illegible for the present; the rest she marked, and they are currently kept sorted by the Museum's man. When she has finished, it will be possible to make counts, and then statements about the relative quantities at various periods. It would be nice if the Museum's handles could be covered too, but I can see that they will not be by Miss T.; too bad, as she will have become very competent.

For paragraph (2) in your recent letter, I cannot remember how (or if) the statement you quote was documented by you in your text. But I feel pretty sure that nobody has had the data on which to base such a statement; and without basis it is not interesting. What is the date of the Senate's economic sanctions? Is that 167? For me to make any generalization of the sort would take quite an investigation, for which no time now; I certainly am not prepared to make this statement. My vague impression is that Mr. Benachi's masses come in the 2/2 of the 2nd century, anyhow that seems to be the date of the fabricants Eukleitos and Midas whose handles are so very numerous in his collection; but then, possibly fewer fabricants supplied the same market?

For your paragraph (1), there is a confusion in the middle of it, where you state: "L.B.' own figure (Dec.1960) was, total 77,791, of which 52,269 Rhod." These figures come from <sup>my</sup> ~~the~~ typescript comment of 11.VI.61 on your chapter on Alexandrian trade. Both figures are for Rhodian, the larger being the total of <sup>this class in</sup> both collections, the smaller being <sup>the Rhodian</sup> ~~known~~ at that time in the Benachi collection. (We have Mr. Benachi's figures for his collection in Dec.1960, and the total is something under 63,000.) The figures in your (3) also derive from my typescript of 11.VI.61, except that you have rounded them (i.e. 77,791 becomes 77,790).

Please let me know, now, whether you actually have that typescript of 11.VI.61. <sup>had</sup> If it got lost, this might explain the fact that in 1965-6 your chapter still had the same corrigenda as in 1961; I am not referring now to matters about which there might



differences of opinion. If you have not got it, let me make a photostat of my carbon. There is a good bit in it which I would not take time to repeat in a new letter. What I wrote on the manuscript was minor.

Yes, for the total of Rhodian, about 55,000 plus about 25,000 makes about 80,000. This may not include Mr. Benachi's last purchase, which just this summer got washed and rubbed, i.e. the non-special Rhodian remnant did. Due to the moving about of baskets, in the end we were not very sure how much of what we washed was new, nor are we sure it had not been counted <sup>before</sup>. I refer you to that same script of 11.VI.61 for the basis of Benachi interim counts. There ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup> possibly as much as 1000 to add to the Rhodian figure, but probably less. More serious counts will be possible, as I said, later.

I would be interested to know what you have to add in the way of "good and independent grounds" for assigning the Ptolemaic coins of Korone to Pt.II. I would hope you would give me chapter and verse, however, and would be more specific than Vanderpool, etc., who for instance in Hesp. 1964, p.73, note 14, say, "For a summary of the reasons for the attribution, see . . . Head . . . pp.850-852." This is the whole text on Pt.II, and not a specific reference for the attribution of this series, which is not made clear.

As to Pamphylian and the Aspendan stones: the stamps were first compared with the stones by Anne Jeffery, who in August 1953 copied out for me some texts from the Jahrbuch. f. Kleinas. Forsch. 11, 1952, after she had seen my photos of digamma stamps from Delos. Up to then nobody who knew anything relevant had seen any photos or rubbings of this class of stamps. Mr. Benachi remained sceptical until the following summer, when he met Woodhead, who of course agreed; I believe he had been working on Pamphylian inscriptions. Sorry about the Nessana publication, but <sup>Colt</sup> ~~they~~ never did provide offprints, and a copy of the volume only after considerable follow-up, all despite the fact that they had made me a lot of unnecessary trouble in the editing, and flattened the "bibliography" by jamming in every single reference.

Must leave now. My best to Ruth, and it would be nice to see you all in April or the summer.



All Souls College,  
Oxford.

26th October, 1966.

Dear Virginia,

May I worry you with a few minor points of detail which are still not clear to me after revising my chapter on Trade, in the light of your successive comments?

1. In Am.Res. Centre, Rep. 1966 (of which I have a 'xerox' copy of the typescript~~x~~ you lent me last year) you say that L.B.'s total collection reached 66,000 pieces, of which, I gather, you reckon ca.55,000 as Rhod. L.B.'s own figure (Dec.1960) was, total 77,791, of which 52,269 Rhod. Add to either figure your 1955 figure for the Rhod. in Mus., ca.25,000, and we seem to have a total of over 77,000 Rhod., which I am prepared to call 'ca.80,000'. Which, if any of these figures would you now accept? cf. below, 3.

2. I wrote: "Rhod. a. st. in Alex. of the period 200-140, falling both before and after the Senate's economic sanctions, are not only more numerous than at any other time; they also seem to remain fairly constant throughout the period". This was a balloon which you promptly shot down with the comment: "VG is not prepared to make this statement". Could you tell me whether you take objection to the first statement ("more numerous...") or to the second ("fairly constant..."), or both; and whether you are prepared to hazard a generalisation embracing this period in Alex.?

3. For the total Alex. figures of a.st. I utilized figures given by you to me of your count of Dec.1960: 77,790 Rhod., 6860 Cn., 1480 Coan, 190 Thas., 160 Chi., 980 with Latin legends. You comment on this: "See new notes", but I have not been able to find a list of totals published by you subsequently. I may have missed this (it is easy to do so, when one is dealing with lists of various dates); are you referring to your own unpublished notes, and, if so, might I replace your old figures of 1960 by new ones?

55,000  
25,000  
80,000

is my fig

4 These figs 77791  
add 52269  
com from my note  
C 2. 11. 11. 61

X  
Figures are  
same in  
"published"  
New edition  
also in  
Archaeology  
Oct. 1966

i.e.  
by 10.11.66

All Souls College,  
Oxford.

- 2 -

4. Do you accept a total of 650 for Pamph. handles? This was LB's figure, and your 1955 reference did not suggest that there were many in the Mus. I see in your 1966 report that you say you moved 547 to the Mus., and that there are 50 left in the LB collection. Was 650 an error, and is the Mus. total still virtually nil?

5. Also re. Pamph. Your p.324, note 4, of Yr.Book, 1955. I have an idea at the back of my mind that Woodhead pointed out that the names of the handles sometimes corresponded with the names found on Aspendan tombstones. LB, whom I asked the other day, says he cannot recollect W. making this precise point, and I can find no ref. to this in print. I can of course make my own comparison from the few published handles, but if W. has already made the point I don't wish to rob him of his priority. I only saw your Nessana publication the other day, when it arrived three years late in the Ashm., and I see from that that he is at work on a publication of these handles, so there is nothing unlikely in it. (Incidentally if you have an offprint of the Nessana article I should very much appreciate one: but since it was part of a book you may not have had any).

I should very much welcome any replies you can give to the above. I am hoping to get my watched book into the Press fairly soon, but there are innumerable odds and ends in many different fields to tidy up first.

By the way I have been pondering over Korone again, and without in any way wishing to dispute your chronology, I must say that there now seem good and independent grounds for assigning the Ptolemaic coins with oval shield to Philad: I mean independent of the single link with the Gauls.

We are all well here. I may see you in April, when, d.v., I shall pay another fleeting visit to Athens. Later in the year, if I get Alexandria right off my chest, I hope to be with you for longer; but that depends, as they say.

*Wm. en Peter*



Athen, February 10, 1966

Dear Peter,

Your manuscript chapter on Alexandrian commerce was to be left for you

30.01 will already have collected it before

ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

22 February 1966

Dear Virginia,

Thank you very much indeed both for the safe return of the MS, and also for your valuable letter, which arrived yesterday. I am really deeply grateful to you for your comments, and even where I disagree with you I shall gain by reconsideration of the problem. I must apologize for having wasted a little of your time by not having entered on the copy which you saw the alterations prompted by your previous study of the MS - it was naturally not my working-copy, which I never let out of my hands.

I do not expect you want to be troubled with my comments on your comments. I shall cut out the dead wood from my notes, and leave them much better for your comments. The Colima machine page is fascinating: I do not see how the text can be translated satisfactorily, with *21202 vskz. Div.* Perhaps Haas' solution is right, and there was a substantive masc. following in

stamped, and I have seen several whole ones in Alexandria.

p. 274 and note 202 (where you are still citing as "Latin handles" certain whole jars stamped on the rim, cf. p.1 of my comment of 1961). If you refer to "the" wreck, as if there were only one, it certainly cannot be dated late 3rd - early 2nd B.C.; even Benoit does not try that, but averages up between

Note on revised P.1 edition  
P.P.'s chapter on Alexandria

at took more extensive notes on these and 1966) ed revision. However, much of what I would 2) edition turned out to have already been 31. So that possibly the copy you gave me corrections had been made; or you had decided first time. In either case it does not seem this text now. Following are a selection of new. They are taken in the order of text.

1955  
is Chron. d'Egypte XXX, no.59, p.130. As support the statement in your text p.232

est are mostly of the 1st century." This note 163 must be replaced. Mrs. Will in dates of Latin stamps found in the collections Spain?) at an earlier period are discussed handles of such jars have more recently been collection, not in large numbers, figures class (as of many other classes) were not

note 214  
as part



ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

22 February 1966

Dear Virginia,

Thank you very much indeed both for the safe return of the MS, and also for your valuable letter, which arrived yesterday. I am really deeply grateful to you for your comments, and even where I disagree with you I shall gain by reconsideration of the problem. I must apologize for having wasted a little of your time by not having entered on the copy which you saw the alterations prompted by your previous study of the MS — it was naturally not ~~a~~ my working-copy, which I never let out of my hands. ~~£~~

I do not expect you want to be troubled with my comments on your comments. I shall cut out the dead wood from my notes, and leave them much <sup>the</sup> better for your comments. The Colli-machus passage is fascinating: I do not see how the text can be translated satisfactorily with *ἄλζορ* vs *ἄλζρ*. Div. Perhaps Traas' solution is right, and there was a substantive masc. following in



l. 3, such as  $\sigma\lambda\mu\nu\sigma$ , ~~but the poem evidently~~  
~~being incomplete~~ ~~is not a complete~~. It is an interesting detail  
 that according to the only modern editor of AP xiii,  
 9, P. has  $\alpha\omega\tau\alpha$ , suggesting an early doubt.  
 The latest editor, Gow, strongly disagrees with  
 Pf., takes  $\alpha-v$  oiv. together, & says that Philotas  
 is talking of a ποτὶπιν, & therefore irrelevant.

(Gow came out since my chapter was written, &  
 I shall have to call attention to his interpretation).  
 In any case, as you rightly say, one cannot base  
 archaeological arguments on it — and had I  
 not hoped you were going to cast your eye over  
 the chapter I wouldn't have done so!

I am afraid you have partially misunderstood  
 the nature of what you call my "extraordinary Summary"  
 on p. 302, but though I would have thought my notes  
 would have made this clear. I was of course only  
 referring to the small, almost infinitesimal groups  
 such as Parian and Coragaeian, and indeed I speci-  
 fically said 'those which do not belong to the large  
 groups' e.g. Rhodian, Thasian, & Cnidian. But if  
 I have not made it clear I must spell it out,  
 and the misunderstanding has been worth while  
 (to me!). I assume you your fierce assault on  
 my intellectual integrity is without foundation!

ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

Korone. I know how strongly you feel about this, and out of personal regard for you I said little. I think it would be better if I said even less, so I shall simply state my opinion, & leave it at that. It is an acute, difficult problem in itself, and I shall re-examine it.

Thank you once more for all the trouble you have taken. I hope that in return for your labour you picked up one or two scraps, not of course about handles, but about more general points.

I look forward very much to seeing you in Athens or Alex. in under a month. I am hoping to finish my last chapter before then, & if I do I shall enjoy myself if not....!

We are all well here. Ruth will be out with me on a cruise in August, & is looking forward for once for travelling without *trédix*!

Yours aff.

JS

JS will bring  
your  
typewriter  
with me, if I may,  
in March.



*Note on revised P. 1 edition*  
*P. P.'s chapter on Alexandria*  
 Athen, February 10, 1966

*checked from printed work*  
*(ms. no longer here)*  
 Dear Peter,

Your manuscript chapter on Alexandrian commerce was to be left for you with Mrs. Thornton, and I imagine you will already have collected it before receiving this.

*(6) Peter  
 Mignot,  
 collected  
 & Eng.  
 Feb. 13, 1966)*

I made a few marginal comments, but took more extensive notes on these and other matters which seemed to me to need revision. However, much of what I would have to criticize about your revised (?) edition turned out to have already been said in my typescript to you of 11.VI.61. So that possibly the copy you gave me this time was one on which not all corrections had been made; or you had decided not to make those indicated by me the first time. In either case it does not seem useful for me to spend too much time on this text now. Following are a selection of points about which there may be something new. They are taken in the order of the text, footnotes in order of relevant text.

note 15: the reference asked for is Chron. d'Egypte XXX, no.59, p.130. As previously observed (1961), it does not support the statement in your text p.232 for which it is cited.

*1955*

p.266, "amphora handles from the west are mostly of the 1st century." This vague statement I do not recognize, and note 163 must be replaced. Mrs. Will in my first Alexandria report summarizes dates of Latin stamps found in the collections there. Stamped jars made in the west (Spain?) at an earlier period are discussed in my Koroni article, p.320. Stamped handles of such jars have more recently been identified in Alexandria in the Benachi collection, not in large numbers, figures not yet ready. Many amphoras of this class (as of many other classes) were not stamped, and I have seen several whole ones in Alexandria.

p. 274 and note 202 (where you are still citing as "Latin handles" certain whole jars stamped on the rim, cf. p.1 of my comment of 1961). If you refer to "the" wreck, as if there were only one, it certainly cannot be dated late 3rd - early 2nd B.C.; even Benoit does not try that, but averages up between

*note 214  
 as publ.*



the dates of the two lots of material, of which one certainly is not far from 200 B.C., while the other - Sestius jars, etc. - is late 2nd if not beginning 1st according to context of Agora parallels (cf. Picture Bk. 6, jar to left in fig.38). Mrs. Will has published on the Sestius jars.

*= note 227 in book*  
note 215, for which you ask page references: Can't cite certain pages of Timbres Amphoriques de Thasos as the work of VG, but only certain pages for which VG is without responsibility (except for having supplied some photographs and data). These are the Introduction, which is signed by A.-M. Bon; plus most of the catalogue of illegibles, from no. 1860 - <sup>2145</sup>~~2155~~ (pp.441-<sup>492</sup>~~494~~). I was not able to give this latter part of the catalogue the systematic study given the earlier part, because of Daux's impatience and disinclination to facilitate our labours at that point. The Bons, who were both in France, had no sort of concordance, or card index, and the result is for instance that a number of items added in their right places in the earlier part of the catalogue <sup>also</sup> ~~still~~ appear, i.e. are repeated, among the illegibles.

*See below*  
note 220: revised figures on Alexandria (Benachi collection) will appear in a report in the Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt. Note this collection is no longer increasing.

p. 286: No documentation is provided in note 236 for your statement as it concerns Delos. Actually the opposite has been reported by me from Delos, see BCH LXXVI, 1952, p.518. (and cf. p.525).

*= note 273 in book*  
*He did use my remarks! (without add.)*  
p.290 with note 261, on the Callimachus passage: I finally found that you were using a different text from the one I knew. The way you take the passage <sup>on</sup> depends not only an interpretation but also an emendation by Pfeiffer, and probably this should be mentioned if you use it. The ms. reading is not ΑΣΤΟΖ but ΑΣΤΟΝ, a word which the poet uses also in another passage. The meaning "without ears" is given by Liddell and Scott's latest only to an adjective ΑΣΤΟΖ, which here could only agree with amphoreus, which seems ridiculous. Is this <sup>form</sup> ~~word~~ not pretty late and uncommon? (And why does it not have a nu after the



the alpha, as in its Mycenaean version.) Anyhow, the parallel Pfeiffer cites is just an odd sort of drinking cup. There is no reference, I think, to anything "without handles" that is as big as a commercial carrier for wine. Nor do we find any such in excavations or wrecks, or any record of their existence in these parts except among the much more ancient Egyptians, see Pict.Bk 6, fig. 12. <sup>(jar in middle)</sup> It is of course not necessary for containers to have been stamped in order to leave an archaeological record. To use this passage to hypothesize so strange a class of shipping containers would I am afraid be silly.

p. 302, note 305, publication of Pamphylian stamps, see Excavations at Nessana, I, pp.126-127; and cf. L. Robert, Rev. Et. Grec. 1965, p.81, under no. 40 (misprint here on the approximate number of Pamphylian in the Benachi collection). In Nessana loc. cit., I publish my reference to the wine of Coracesium, cf. your p.302, and my 1961 comment.

this series, let alone looked up their documentation, if you can see mine adequately answered by the trivial and funny response of A.V. and/or his associates in Numismatica 1964. Pectaches 19 and especially Feb.17 are surprisingly

I am enclosing a copy of a draught of my Newsletter report above-mentioned, Rhodian stamps without a great deal of special background. I am sure numismatists with statistics on the Benachi collection. It is not the final version, but the should be equally discreet about interpreting coins, and my published figures (1962, p.300) are mostly guesses, which I wish numismatists would correct. In fact I will send you an offprint of this when I have them. It may make the March issue, tried to elicit answers from Margaret Thompson and others before I published, but though sent rather late.

said that the attribution of these coins to Pt.II would never be shown demonstrated in a numismatic publication, but would be taken as a fixed point without demonstration.

Feb.18

Something, finally, must be said once more on the passage now on your p.302 which begins "The chronology of the handles, other than the Rhodian," and ends with the sentence "On the whole, those from the Islands of the Aegean seem to be of Hellenistic date." Does this extraordinary summary really represent your considered opinion? Then why have I been bothered to look up for you the handles from Pompey's Pillar, for instance? To me it seems likely that if this paragraph stands, it will mislead more than one class of reader. First those who have not read my works cited by you in extenso, but assume that you have. They will not

TH 81  
Bork p.173



gain much idea of the extent to which stamps have been dated, for instance in the Pnyx publication, and not only the Thasian and the Knidian, of which the chronology is there laid out on a large scale. Second, a more select group, those who are familiar with my works, and will therefore wonder about your generalizations in fields they do not control, i.e. how truly you have managed to synthesize from the rest of the enormous literature cited. My own output is mostly concerned with and miscellaneous other efforts, chronology - getting the readings straight, ~~xxx~~ are eventually in the service of that. If you are not convinced, but are going to list it all anyhow, then surely you should try to point out the flaws.

I must make a similar comment on what you say, is it at the end of note 263, 10.81  
= not 275  
in  
bhl  
about the Koroni articles. I cannot believe you have read with attention the texts of the two last in this series, let alone looked up their documentations, if you can see mine adequately answered by the trivial and fuzzy response of E.V. and/or his associates in Hesperia 1964. Footnotes 19 and especially 21 here are surprisingly silly: no sensible person expects to restore and interpret such documents as early Rhodian stamps without a great deal of special background. I am sure non-numismatists should be equally discreet about interpreting coins, and my published remarks (Hesp. 1963. p.330) are mostly queries, which I wish numismatists would answer. In fact I tried to elicit answers from Margaret Thompson and others before I published. MT said that the attribution of these coins to Pt.II would never be ~~shown~~ demonstrated in a numismatic publication, but would be taken as a fixed point without demonstration, as I understood; it seems they have no better reasons for their attributions in general. But E.V. etc. feature a completely circular argument: Svoronos had sorted out certain bronzes to be attributed to Pt.II; but their markings indicated only a 20-year reign whereas Pt. II reigned 40 years; so they must have been minted in Cyprus which perhaps Ptolemy held for only 20 years; so they can't be attributed to Pt.I because from 306-235 Cyprus was not under Ptolemaic control - see their note 16,



p.73, Hesperia 1964. As you told me, 24.VI.64, Newell did not accept an attribution of these coins to a mint in Cyprus.

Quite by the side, this article in Hesp. 1964 seems to me "peu aimable" as a response to my sober effort. Their first publication also contains a very understated acknowledgment for much previous use of my time and expertise, see 1962, p. 29, note 3; and no thanks at all.

The only dogmatic statement in my article, actually, concerns the relative date of the Kotroni Rhodian as compared with the Rhodian in Thompson's Group B, which must certainly be a generation later. See our correspondence of April-May 1964. I find the suggestion of Zenon an attractive one; and I have the impression that to describe the Chremonidean War as "that landmark of Athenian history" is nonsense; and I cannot follow the logic of numismatists. However, I respect Margaret Thompson's conviction as an argument in itself; and wait to see how things work out.

I have not - see start of letter - taken up everything here that was already discussed in my notes to you of June 1961. Nor repeated my comment on the book as a whole, its importance; but of course the very fact that it will carry such weight makes it matter so much that it should not mislead. The foolish remarks of Madame Bon about datation, Timbres A. de Thasos, p/p. 40 ff., have been carried far by the value and size of the catalogue of types into which I, ~~xxx~~ ironically, put so much effort.

For your note of Dec. 3, yes I do plan to go to Alexandria rather early this spring. I might make it by late March. I am much involved with Pergamon, and especially with Delos and Thasos recent finds and their finders' publications or what they expect me to get up myself. Debrouillard is the way to be.

My love to Ruth, and I hope the children thrive.

Yours  
Vignier



note 273 where can I find a Rhodian rose on a brazier?

31.06

p.295, see above, on Rhodian amphoras of the 1st century BC (Antikythera article.

p.301, note 299, did I enter on the margin the reference you wanted on Pontic found in Rhodes: Yr.Bk. Amer. Philos. Soc. for 1959, p. 476

p.302, note 305, publication of Pamphylian stamps, see Excavations at Nessana, I, pp.126-127; and cf. L. Robert, Rev.Et.Gr. 1965, <sup>p.81,</sup> under no. 40 (who has a misprint on the approx. number in the Benachi collection).

p.302, some confusion in your Samian group, the Hera head is on a different <sup>very</sup> kind of handle from those with prow types. I think it possible both classes are from Samos; but the subject needs more study and straightening out and evidence produced, and without this does not provide ~~evidences~~ basis for argument.

On the wine of Coracesium I had already given you a reference. See now passage in Nessana I above cited.

p.302 the paragraph which begins "The chronology of the handles"

See my previous typescript for a mild rejoinder, with ~~references~~ suggestions for



- (2)

(and will if you say so)  
 I could send the original plot, but  
 I think little is lost in the report, and  
 the order <sup>of your</sup> is wrong. (H, I come after J, K, L)

so I fear again a comparison may arise -  
 4) on gap between A and B in April. It is attention -  
 5) I hope the will also be in & call  
 the plates (was if not. Plates, which I  
 prefer to the report to the in the current  
 action) and not want to use figs.  
 some groups are units

On the figs: It is fig 1 that worries me,  
 as I see complicated ion lines to "original"  
 that is, the from large drawings. In  
 them I ought to say no hand section can  
 understand. In case I have not clearly  
 said <sup>again</sup> that, I must do this time on.  
 The can be attached to the drawings in the  
 manner indicated in the sketch made up of  
 Fig 1. This sketch also shows &

Some of the text  
a lot of DBT's notes  
are also in this copy (which  
and perhaps in his other.

P. Fraser's chapter on  
Alexandria trade,  
revised edition

From p. 232, note 16: "Thasian amphora  
bundles of ca 300 B.C. found at Byzodolopolis."

- a.) - Only on a Thasian, no 1.
- b.) It is called earlier than 350 B.C.

Mr. Bringer has got this straight, too.

Ref. is Chen-d'Eg. XXX, no. 59, p. 130.

\* See my typescript to him of 11. VI. 61,  
where all this is called to his attention

From p. 239, note 41

✓  
DBT  
WED  
Megarian bowls were certainly made  
in Athens (if also in other places), as witness  
many moulds; cf. Hesp. Suppl. X, pp.  
83 ff. (Purp.).

p. 245 on licenses to produce commodities  
- ξαρτυρά



ask PF  
volume 2  
Patons, various cases  
(172 to 103)

32.02

(P. T. Mann's ms.)

pp. 245-6

paper 9159 BC

→

"an Eg. named Patons has sent

P. Tab  
709

1-11

from the corner to right of distribution of  
papers for a year.

line  
(his note 68)

p. 247  
Abraham's  
next weather largely from "a vast  
transit beds" 7,

p. 250 on weathering wine, with note  
88

p. 258 paper of 250 BC speaks of a  
tax of  $\frac{1}{24}$  to be exacted on 2 jms  
of wine exported from the Heracleopolis  
now to Hieria Ness (w. note 128)

? worked? fruit? etc?

p. 266 "amphora handles from the coast are  
mostly of 1st cent." WE 163 "Infr.  
provided by Miss Virginia Grace." To be  
telling about Latin stamps? (I did not  
say?)

Now we have numerous pages of work  
- Spanish - plus of early Hall period.





and have to be supposed that the date is "late 3rd - early 2nd"

I must look in the def. pub. of Benard, and find a page reference for his dating by that time (which had changed a lot for his first articles).

p 279, note 214 associates Theopompus passage with the pseudo-Aristotle. On numerous things heard

p 280, note 215

cannot cite passage as Bon-Bon & be attributed to Vg; only certain pg. designated not to be added to Vg, i.e. the introduction, and the last part, that the editor is giving it to revise (after Bon 1860)

p 280 + note 216

\* See old note on earlier text - still not revised.

p. 282 note 220 - revision by 7th ed. 502.

p 282-3 note about relation of Plutarch & Alex.  
By 312, note relation had already changed.

p. 283, note 223 Allys - deposed his  
will in Rhodes.

No record of direct political relations bet.  
the 2 powers in the 1/2 of 3<sup>rd</sup> cent  
at least in earlier part of this period,  
probably a real lack of contact, "the  
result" of Egyptian inefficiency at sea  
as long as Demetrius's fleet remained  
intact; supremacy of D. Coast in  
286

p. 283 fix date of Chremis War.

p. 284 "Rhodians figure very prominently at  
Delos, the nodal point of Ptolemaic  
power in the Aegean [in 1/2 of 3<sup>rd</sup> cent]"

ca. 258 BC they were antagonistic, -  
then a naval defeat inflicted on Egypt  
by Rhodes in the harbor of Ephesus, &  
Ptolemaic naval base on the Ionian Coast

p. 286 No documentation is provided in  
note 236 for statement as to concern  
Delos. The fact the opposite has been  
reported for Delos, see BCH LXXVI, 1952,  
p. 518 (cf. p. 525)



"ΚΑΠΑΨ"

Rehabil. Center for Disabled  
Κέντρο Αποκατάστασης  
Προσώπων Αναπήρων

- Ψυχικό -  
- Νεώτερος Διαμανίδου

Petition to  
Γραφείο Προσώπων  
Προς Αναπήρων

From

John Bodouriglou?

I. 6.6

2. 11.66  
 Calluna from use of a WOV  
 in Hyman & Appleton: line 112  
 central, limit to  
 "wild" land

The old Loch Call. - hyperph  
 (A. W. Main, 1921)  
 on p. 306-7 given the frag.  
 w. transl. as equal by Trinity T.

The new Loch Call.  
 by Thompson, 1958,  
 pp. 248-91  
 uses current by  
 Pfeiffer in Oxford  
 Calluna  
 1949



p. 288 "empty Plodin amphora (245)"

- but it is in consignment, just  
"another Plodin jar"

under check of his figures as for 1960

- comb. of music Gr. Pan + around ABC

I say again (see old notes) that Plodin surely  
is not just BC. On late date, I

some ~~stamps~~ (my chapter of our  
see now) Antiquity publication, Transactions  
of the Am Phil. Soc. Vol. 55, Pt. 3, 1965,  
pp. 6-9.

(From  
page 100)

p. 289 w. note 250 : - quot. from P.B.G.,  
most were made for wine, many were  
used for oil, fish, etc.

p. 290, note 256, on exclusion of  
vegetable etc. = Eg. early in Hall  
period

p. 290 the Callimachos passage; interpretation  
depends on text - Frith last αὐτός  
which must be in opposition to ἐλκός  
Fraser has αὐτός which could go  
w. ἀνθρώπων. Crazy of course to  
specify an αὐτός ἐλκός.  
Find out which reading has most  
authority, Anthology 25, VIII.9  
P.F. cites Pfeiffer's edition (p. 399)



P. 288. w. note 247 (7) The figure is too large  
increasing. given this figure = Newshill  
(2 sets)

[P. 290] (w. note 261) (on Callimachus passage) "rightly" indeed!

The II cited by Pfeiffer, - Petrus, is silly  
as it is a drinking cup. (Athen.) the meaning is  
Exists no ref. to anything - as big as a house as well  
a container for wine, without  
handles.

Exist no such containers, in archaeology.  
L. & S. cites <sup>the meaning</sup> as tuberos in this passage.

[first agrees with orig. version.]

P. 291

see my previous note

(Plinian) wine, commonest stuff, vin  
ordinaire. Not necessary - or  
likely - that a "lady variety" of  
wine would be used for this.

Cf. P.B. 6. text w. fig. 31

Note 263 <sup>at least</sup> "practically" says this -

Why "on a small scale"? in Egypt?

Was there not a large garrison?

Letter part of note 263; let us

take this over in detail. (Koroni) (P.B.)

does not date just as vq does

either. - See my letter to Peter

8) 15. VII. 64 [If he still thinks so]

Laodicean wine, ment. by Strabo

are there any papyrus mentions?

- i.e. anything except Strabo

Set  
Photostat  
of note  
263



Is it a new thing or not?

note 172 [p. 292, note 271 contains various unpub. <sup>speculations</sup>  
p. 292 I think, though, they wd know  
how almost as better to ship empty  
containers as to put empty ships.

293 need wooden for the exhibiting china  
that gain was about 2 and 1/2 dollars.  
Unconvinced sleep, needless heavy.

DBT / What about buyers to Plastic? Clay old.  
295 2nd and much of the 1st cent.  
see above, ref. & Antiquity

↓ what citation for the "Brazilian" certainly not that dancing in Post.'s ill.

p. 301 with 299 : Yr. Bk. Am. Phil. Soc. for 1959  
(Pouter front = Plucker)  
p. 476

p. 302, no 305  
 Publisher of Pamphlet, stamp,  
 see Nissand I <sup>41962</sup>, pp. 126-127  
 & pl. XXXIX [and J. L. Brown,  
Rev. Bl. Gr. 1965, under no 41962]

- Confusion in the "Savanna" group - the



must have put together 2 classes  
 the Hera head (? "Xosma") is not  
 on a handle like those w. prod  
 type.

Later part of note 305: pointing  
 study to ~~the left~~ <sup>city!</sup> ~~the right~~ <sup>concern</sup>  
 with a stamp with a goat in it. Cannot  
 evaluate it here

Definitely under  
 see OVER  
 10-20-65  
 10-20-65

P. 302

# with note 307, + the note  
 silly. The study of these things  
 is not complete. The last sent  
 to most ridiculous. What about  
 Thasian?

Heather  
 Gordon's  
 finding

see note  
 10-20-65

Win of Coracorum I had already  
 given the note on. See also  
 Nussama I

Best dated series - see my previous  
note.

[I have a talk with JBT 14.17.65 on  
 this ms., and what response may be  
 useful.]

END



ms. p. 302

"The chronology of the Ceanthos, often under the  
 Plinian, is far from secure, and for those which  
 do not belong to large groups and which therefore  
 cannot be dated typologically; the only criterion  
 is the letter-forms. Here there is a particular  
 difficulty, since much of the lettering is of poor  
 quality, and difficult to date. On the whole,  
 however, those from the Islands of the Aegean  
 seem to be of Hellenistic date."

ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

3 December 1965

Dear Virginia,

Thank you very much for the offprint on the Antikythera wreck, which contains lots of information I must work through. Another "Grace" to add<sup>to</sup> my notes!

Have you made any headway with my chapter on 'Trade'? I should welcome any comments, for I really do hope to finish this job by next Summer!

I shall certainly have to pay me more visit to Alexandria, and wonder whether you still have it in mind to do so. I would think that late March/early April would suit me as well as, or better than most other times, and the weather is very good usually then. It would be enjoyable if we could be there together.

I saw Lucas Benaki in London the other day: he didn't much enjoy his trip to America I fancy, but was otherwise in good spirits.

Yours ever,  
Peter.

P.T.O.



P.S. By the way I am told that the direct air-service Athens - Alex. is now open again. If so it would be a great blessing, to avoid the Cairo détour.

Pasahon folios

26 Aug. 1965

Dear Virginia,

I am sending you under separate cover my typescript of my chapter on Alex. Trade: the text is long enough to read, but the notes are hell - for which I apologize, but you may have some amusement determining which mistakes are mine & which those of the pyxeris. On looking through it all today again, I think I would like it back: and this being so, the easiest solution would perhaps be for you to do as DBT has done, and to write comments in the margins. I am afraid it will be rather expensive to return it by post, but it may be someone from BSA will take it in their baggage, if they are returning for Christmas week! Alternatively if I am out again soon it could wait.

You will find that there ~~are~~ in the section in which ~~and~~ handles of one sort or another are discussed in the notes there are a good many (X) in red in the margin: these are the particular (but not the only!) places where I hope you will come to my aid. I am always a year or two behind with bibliography, but don't worry too much about that, for I shall hope to pick most of that up before I go to press.



2

Thank you 'εγκρίτως for the excellent lunch at the 'Ioannina'  
 yesterday. We all enjoyed it, + are sorry we were late. I spoke too soon  
 that we would get back to Athens: when I got to car, outside the 'Ioan-  
 nina', I found Ruth in despair: the key could not open the door!  
 Eventually, we had to get a mechanic from the 'οδός Τεμπέων', +  
 we got off at 4.30, so spent the night in Corinth. How I hate cars!

We leave here on Saturday 28. + shall spend Sunday + Monday  
 in Patras, whence we shall depart (via Jonnemeni). I shall be  
 back in Oxford on 15 Sept.

Yours ever

Peter

ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

7 January 1965

Dear Virginia,

I wonder if you are back in Athens yet, & not too hopelessly busy. If the answer is "Yes", and "No" respectively I wonder whether I might ask you to look at the final draft of my chapter on Alexandrian Trade. There are a lot of notes which require your comments, & I should be very unhappy to be without them. I will send them to you when you say the word.

My anonymous informant (!) tells me that you have been in the U.S. for a long time, & now have a house in Athens. Well done! We shall hope to see you in it, when we come (d.v.) in the Summer - towards the end of July. Alexandria is grinding to its end now, & I hope it will be largely off by hand by then.



At least, I haven't entirely given up hope!

We are all well here, but looking forward to seeing Greece again.

Yours

Peter

---

Correspondence with P. Fraser  
 filed in other places

See correspondence of 1 - V. 64 filed under ALEXANDRA  
 - MISCEL.

(Things in archival material  
 look up for him -  
 SAB for Pompey's Pillar  
 etc.)



ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

9 June 1962

Dear Virginia,

Rumour is, not for the first time, a lying jade. I shall not be in Greece this year, so far as I can foresee, & certainly not in the near future. Consequently, if you would like a peaceful 48 hrs in the country between June 30 & July 5<sup>th</sup>, we should be delighted to see you then. If not then, when you return. Our phone-number at home is Oxford 35530, & mine in College Oxford 49641.

It is at last getting warm here, & we are recovering our spirits.

In  
Bel  
~

I wonder if L.A.B. will get out on the 11<sup>th</sup>.

Paula Taylor  
London  
May 21, 1962

Frazer

37.02

the  
Garden  
7.14.02  
D. Fraser  
will be  
the  
high  
way  
to  
the  
house



ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

3 June 1962

Dear Virginia,

Well I suppose you are  
back from that holiday in Alex. which I  
heard so much! Lucky thing, how long  
you both (except perhaps the 'longer' of  
the apotheca). And did you bump o' 'idoc  
back into you?

I am really wishing to find  
out when you're coming to U.K. You must  
of course come & stay, & we are all quite  
enthusiastic about that (including Malcolm).  
So let us know when to expect you.

Love from all

Peg

Lorena  
—

16 July / 61

Dear Virginia

No need to apologize. We are disappointed, but don't blame you: Travelling in the summer is living, & it has become very hot here. We shall hope to re-visit here later on in Athens.

Thank you v. much indeed for the 300 Dr which I have just received. It was very kind of you to answer my SOS. There are no means whatever of getting money swiftly here.

I shall look forward to escorting you to Miss Vassou on the 24<sup>th</sup>, & hope the cruise is all you desire. I shall return on the 23<sup>rd</sup>, unless I hear that the Forests are before this time.

All news (a little of some interest) when we meet.

We will contact the 'Apostolov' by

ms  
Jelly



(+) Returned  
24. VII. 61





10. VII 61

39.03

P5. I discuss the frequency of Antiocheis at Rhodes (only Antiocheis seem to be more numerous) in my article on Sarapis (<sup>ASCS Wd 01</sup> Opusc. Alaen. 4<sup>o</sup>, III (1960) p. 40, ~~and~~ and note 6 (You really should read my articles!)

17. VII 61

See notes of today on Phoenicia  
Melita, in general RHODIAN  
STUDIES file.

14. II. 62

"The Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World"

XSCS  
Wd 01

"in Rhodes, which stood in very close commercial relations with Syria" [This is shown by the very large number of tombstones of Antiocheis and Laodiceans at Rhodes. It is of course impossible to determine which of many homonymous cities is meant by the ethnic 'Antiocheis' and 'Laodiceans', but it seems reasonable to suppose that the form without distinguishing characteristics refers to the Syrian cities. On this assumption



11.VI.61

P. Fraser, chapter on Alexandrian Trade

p.3. on SAH found at Krokodilopolis; statistics are actually as follows:

POSTE-RESTANTE 40  
 KORESSIA  
 KEA  
 KYKLADES  
 GREECE

those we found in our  
 by J. Bingen, which he  
 as one of his. It is  
 ng early - according to  
 O B.C.

16 May 1961

Dear Virginia,

Sorry I missed you. I enclose here with a rather  
 heavy version of my chapter on Alex. trade, which I see from  
 a letter from you I asked you to read as long ago as 1957!  
 I would very much welcome your corrective eye on the statistics  
 interpretation etc. of pp. 51 ff., which I have revised recently,  
 but I would like to take it with me to Alex. on or about 14  
 June. I shall be in Kea till then, but shall be back in Athens  
 a day or two before I go, & can collect the MS then, & talk it over.

Ruth will be visiting alone in Kea from mid-June  
 to mid-July (when I return, I hope with my daughter Sarah).  
 & I know she would enormously appreciate a week-end visit  
 from you, if you could manage it. If you find you can, could you  
 drop her a line when you know at the above address?

We have settled down very well, particularly Alex.  
 who is the life & soul of the village. I get quite a bit of  
 work done, & the wine is black & good.

PeZ

st have been found in  
 stic period? Then I

[17.VI.61 But now I  
 know some]  
 and sorted the published

erous early 3rd, some late 4th.

a, unread)

recks, are predominantly  
 his rather fuzzy. A handle  
 w of from the wreck are on  
 jars come from Spain and  
 o a publication or to  
 the material; I think at  
 part of the body of established  
 s in Athens this week. She  
 site.

stamped handles found in or  
 Koan, we need at present.

osto, SEHHW p.120. (Other

aped in the 4th century:  
 distinguishable classes  
 time, of which one can't  
 including Coreyrian(?),  
 as you note elsewhere,  
 unless they are to be  
 of the Chremonidean war.  
 try. In the late 5th



16 May 1961

Dear Virginia,

Sorry I missed you. I enclose herewith a rather messy version of my chapter on Alex. trade, which I see from a letter from you I asked you to read as long ago as 1957! I would very much welcome your corrective eye on the statistics interpretation etc. of pp. 51 ff., which I have revised recently, but I would like to take it with me to Alex. on or about 14 June. I shall be in Kea till then, but shall be back in Athens a day or two before I go, & can collect the MS then, & talk it over.

Ruth will be inevitably alone in Kea from mid-June to mid-July (when I return, I hope with my daughter Sarah), & I know she would enormously appreciate a week-end visit from you, if you could manage it. If you find you can, could you drop her a line when you know at the above address?

We have settled down very well, particularly Alex. who is the life & soul of the village. I get quite a bit of work done, & the wine is black & good.

PeL



11.VI.61

P. Fraser, chapter on Alexandrian Trade

p.3, on SAH found at Krokodilopolis; statistics are actually as follows:

|        |         |    |  |                                                  |
|--------|---------|----|--|--------------------------------------------------|
|        | Thasian | 1  |  | These figures include those we found in our      |
|        | Rhodian | 40 |  | trip plus the 6 published by J. Bingen, which he |
|        | Knidian | 1  |  | found himself.                                   |
|        | Koan    | 1  |  | The single Thasian was one of his. It is         |
|        | Chian   | 1  |  | remarkable because of being early - according to |
|        | Roman   | 1  |  | my lights not far from 400 B.C.                  |
|        | miscel. | 5  |  |                                                  |
| Totals |         | 50 |  |                                                  |

p.34: "We should notice that amphora handles from the west have been found in Alexandria." Are you speaking of the early Hellenistic period? Then I have not in mind what these could be.

[17.07.64 But now I know some.]

p.36, statistics on Tarentum as we have ~~xxxxxx~~ collected and sorted the published readings:

|  |         |                                           |  |                                                       |
|--|---------|-------------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------------------------|
|  | Thasian | 2                                         |  |                                                       |
|  | Rhodian | 141                                       |  | Among the Rhodian, numerous early 3rd, some late 4th. |
|  | Knidian | 8                                         |  |                                                       |
|  | Koan    | 1                                         |  |                                                       |
|  | Roman   | 68 (from ELW)                             |  |                                                       |
|  | miscel. | 66 (some of these may be Rhodian, unread) |  |                                                       |
|  |         | 286                                       |  |                                                       |

p.41, "stamped amphora handles, both on shore and from wrecks, are predominantly Latin (from Spain and Brindisi), etc." Isn't this rather fuzzy. A handle is not Latin; and in fact the Latin stamps I know of from the wreck are on the rims of Roman jars. The statement that these jars come from Spain and Brindisi needs of course a supporting reference to a publication or to information supplied by a scholar who has studied the material; I think at best it is a half-truth, and it is certainly not part of the body of established knowledge. I would consult Mrs. Will, who arrives in Athens this week. She has published on some of the jars from the wreck site.

I seem to have no record of Knidian or Koan stamped handles found in or near Marseille. Do you know of some? Especially Koan, we need at present.

p.45: The pseudo-Aristotelian passage is discussed by Rost, SEHW p.120. (Other jars beside Thasia are mentioned.)

p.46: Classes, identified as to source, which were stamped in the 4th century:

|             |                                                     |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Thasian     | A number of other distinguishable classes           |
| Corinthian  | were also stamped at this time, of which one can't  |
| Sinoean     | be so sure of the make, including Coreyrean(?),     |
| Chersonesan | Samian(?). Rhodian begin, as you note elsewhere,    |
|             | in the late 4th century, unless they are to be      |
|             | brought down to the period of the Chremonidean war. |

I haven't identified Chian stamped in the 4th century. In the late 5th century, Mendeian, also, bear a coin-type stamp.



pp. 52-3 Figures for Alexandria, through our last tally (3.XII.60):

Thasian Pontic Rhodian Knidian Koan Chian Roman Miscel. Totals

~~47xxxxixxxxxx25500xxxxx1262xx215xxxxxx~~

|               |     |   |       |      |      |     |     |      |       |
|---------------|-----|---|-------|------|------|-----|-----|------|-------|
| Museum        | 56  | 1 | 25522 | 1262 | 213  | 52  | 240 | 554  | 27901 |
| Benachi Coll. | 136 | 4 | 52269 | 5601 | 1270 | 105 | 740 | 2388 | 62513 |
| Totals        | 192 | 5 | 77791 | 6863 | 1483 | 158 | 980 | 2942 | 90414 |

Slight differences in the Museum count ~~xxxxxxfranklightx~~ compared with figures for the same published in the Yr Bk of the American Phil. Soc. derive from slight reclassifications.

The Benachi count is based on ours in early 1955, with additions from the tallies by Mr. B. For the minor groups, we make from time to time a check between the figures he gives and the individual records he sends us of items in these classes, of which the handles have serial numbers. It is very hard to count such a complicated assortment, and sometimes handles are reclassified and one has to watch they are not counted twice, or left out. The last time we did this check and revision was in April 1960; the figures given above include two tallies of additions since then, for which this check has not been made. We have of course no means of checking the count of Rhodian, and no practicable means of checking the count of Knidian, what with Time's Winged Chariot. Nobody pretends, then, that these figures are closely accurate, but just that they give a true idea of the situation. ~~subject~~ <sup>included</sup> The biggest separate lot in Miscellaneus is Pamphylian; subject to error as outlined above, the figure for these, as of XII.60, is 566. This class is of course not <sup>always</sup> easy to distinguish. *Fig. for Pamph. for Ben. Coll. only*

One must not forget that in the case of the Rhodian and Knidian <sup>and some of the Roman</sup> 100 stamped handles indicate roughly 50 stamped jars. Attention is called to this by the Russians, as well as by self in Alexandria report. A lot of recognizable jars also were not stamped, on which see further below.



p.53 Rhodian found in Alexandria surely go into the 1st century B.C., though becoming fewer in number.

pp. 54-5 Chian amphoras apparently were largely unstamped. They were - are - easy to recognize, being publicized on the coins.

p. 55 I think you have not got the Callimachus passage quite right.

A guess has been made at the identification of Lesbian jars, though certainly it has not been adequately presented. Cf. Anderson in BSA 49, p.139, etc.; my exhibition, labelled in 1956, and its typed comment of that date ("the brochure on the chain") just now in print, somewhat revised, as Agora Picture Book No.6. The identification has evidently been picked up by Mme. Zeest, one of the Russians who visited us in March 1960, whose book about amphoras found in the Bosphoros region I've had 2-3 months, but have not yet read the part about Lesbian.

on any scale  
p. 56a I think it ~~is~~ unlikely that amphoras were used for storing or transporting grain, and would want to see evidence.

There is of course very much to interest me in your hypothesis, and I look forward to having all this available in print.  
Do the papyri indicate bulk import of anything but wine or oil in amphoras? I have the idea that the multifarious uses mentioned all have to do with secondhand jars.

p.64 Up to now we seem to know of just one handle with stamp of Theangela. Does Mr. B. think it comes from a lagynos? I wouldn't have thought so.

Imports from Naxos and Byzantion: I don't know about these. There is an isolatable group once called Naxian, but this is not established; and if we have referred to "Byzantine" stamped handles, we were probably talking about the Byz. Empire (stamps that look like coins of this) and not the town.

Pamphylian are identified by rather more than their alphabet.

Coracesium (I am glad if you count this as Pamphylian) also produced wine which was brought to Egypt in the 3rd B.C. acc. to a papyros. Can you not give us more information about trade between P. and Egypt, drawn from non-stamp sources? I hoped you might, as HAThompson thinks there is not enough in my short article.



p.64, cont. Rhodian are by no means the best-dated stamps; Knidian are certainly better. Thasian are pretty good. Context has dated many handles of small groups, including presence in large groups predominantly of a well-dated class. Letter forms as you say don't work too well.

Have we papyros records ~~of~~ on large-scale commissary supplies? Have you an idea of the quantity of wine which would have been used by the Ptolemaic army?

I have the impression that the Rhodians were suppliers of wine, and would not be surprised if you were right that what the jars carried was largely not wine grown in Rhodes. I think the wine was a common sort, not ~~much~~ very steady as to quality, not worth listing as a special kind, very ordinaire. Perhaps the reason the amphoras are so seldom mentioned as Rhodian is just that this was (obviously) the regular kind, in Egypt.

There is of course very much to interest me in your typescript, and I look forward to having all this available in print.



pp. 27-8 (customs)

p. 35 (2nd cent. coin of Phil. and of Camparion which "carry a gold-mined system"

pp. 48-9

relating Phil. AP (A-R, AA-202) (to 7 years) (269-219 B.C.)

p. 51

p. 76 (Aschra)

Notes on Frazer ms., chap. on Alexander's track

"In the third cent.  
the Ptolemies held Syria"

p. 3 Only 1 Thasian known at Kish. Remarkably early.  
 given publ. ref. (Brugs).  
 Assortment for Herculaneum?

p. 11 Warn't there a gold plaque (inscribed) in Phil. tomb?

p. 13 Reasonable for clay to be shipped by river - esp.  
 downstream of pottery industry in England, dependent  
 on canals.

p. 21 οἰκοῦμενα καὶ δαῖς; rather "well built up"  
 or poss. "well governed"  
 Don't find any trans. of it as "cultivated"

p. 23 <sup>top</sup> <sub>1</sub>, seems to be with canals: "it seems probable that this site  
 would not have been first developed at such a  
 late date, etc."

p. 26

"A papyrus of 250 BC [Phil. 80 = W.  
 Christ. 290, of Phil. 154-5] speaks of a tax of 1/24th exacted  
 on two jars of wine transported from the Hieracopolite nome  
 to Hieru Nesos in the Fayyum, etc."

(Note various transport taxes within Egypt, for one part  
 to another.)



p. 28

Wick: "... we may suppose [them to] & have been a Ptolemaic invention. ... the application of it by the Ptolemies shows how a short-sighted concept of immediate profit to the crown dominated even the export trade."

p. 31

Timosthenes of Rhodes, the admiral of Philadelphus (reign. 256-246 (or earlier), went to central Africa and to Atlantic end of Mediterranean, and wrote an account of the latter trip, prob. in his *Περὶ Δοξῶν* (an important indirect source of Strabo). P.F. thinks his trip was before 263 B.C. Contributes to an impression of relation between Egypt and Carthage in 3<sup>rd</sup> B.C. (Ptolemaic silver coins also found in C.)

p. 33

bottom early Zenon papyrus mentions import of Sicilian wine to Eg. (counting <sup>to</sup> small items)

p. 34

"We should notice that amphora handles from the west have been found in Alexandria." He is talking about early Hell. period? What are their objects?

p. 35

269 B.C., 1<sup>st</sup> Punic silver coins

p. 36

"This must have been the main port of shipment."

p. 37

Note that a lot of 3<sup>rd</sup> ant., and some late 4<sup>th</sup> Ptolemaic found at Tarentum. 2<sup>nd</sup> ant. also. But at Carthage, acc. to our excavations, larger pieces are late 3<sup>rd</sup> ant. esp. 1/2 2<sup>nd</sup>, though a few early 3<sup>rd</sup> appear.



pp. 36-37 text here seems to me not to have a clear emphasis.  
Well, last sentence of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of p. 37 does not seem to  
me to rest comfortably enough on the foregoing &  
warrant a "Thus" at its beginning.

p. 41 Talking about Maesilia: "in stamped amphora  
handles there, both on shore and for woods, are  
predominantly Latin (from Spain and Brindisi) in."  
What are these "stamped amphora handles?"

p. 43, top with Rome? or with Taranto? of p. 36

p. 45 (Pseudo-Arist. passage, cf. SEHAW, p. 120)

p. 46 Revised sentences not clear.

From 5<sup>th</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> <sup>ad</sup> ant., there are quite a lot of  
non-Thasian - non-Chian jars; in fact,  
stamped Chian of 4<sup>th</sup> ant. are not known to me.  
He says: "From 5<sup>th</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> centuries we have only 2 types worth the  
stamps, those for Thasos & those for Chios."

① Classes, identical as to source, which were  
stamped in 4<sup>th</sup> ant. (a lot not ident.)

in 5<sup>th</sup> ant.  
add Mentiana

Corinthian

Corinthian(?)

Syracusan

Chersonesian

Platina (end of 4<sup>th</sup>)

? Samian

and of course many unstamped classes can be isolated;

Miletus (?)

Alise (?)

Lesbion (?)

Series of P 25944 etc.

" " P 25943, etc.

p. 47

What is this 50,000 based on?

pp. 49-50

Note the transit taxes ext. at the Bosphorus by Byzantium.

p. 50

What is the "bull witness" of S.A.H. with respect to relations of Rhodes & Alise in 200-167?

pp. 52-3

Correct figures of handles in Alise. He said note that 100 Rhod. handles = 50 Rhod. jars, but this is not true for e.g. Thasos.

p. 53

to 1st cent. B.C.

pp. 54-5

Alise amphoras largely unstamped.

55

On Lesbion jars. (But why look for handles of a "handleless jar"?) Has he an amended reading? How do we get "handleless jars"? "Consumption" on the scale implied by the "Amillia"? It depends on what you think about relation of



(p.55) of found to our existing - 10,000 jars of wine  
 presently with 20,000 st. handles sent by Rhoda  
 to Smyrna

Rhodia wine a commensal type. Is it too  
 much for that?

winning Lardicean  
 right in  
 Rhoda

p.56

Note statement of Strabo that Lardicean in Sea  
 "provides the Alexandrians with the bulk of their wine."  
 P.F. suggests p.56. "Lardicean wine was imported in Rhoda-  
 amphoras, for relief of tax?" But both scouts it, <sup>being</sup>  
 "Rhodia handles of the later Hell. age are not  
 common at Alexandria." ? May quite easily  
 have begun before time of Strabo, anyhow.

2nd II: of, Suppl. VIII. On Suppl. IX.  
 Of course they are container-measures. Of course  
 they are different.  
 Do the papyri indicate import on any  
 scale of Xca, Asopia, etc. with any  
 contents own wine? These other contents are  
 not likely to be connected with 2nd hand uses?  
 And do papyri give real wine & quantity of wine?

p.56a

What suggests that grain was stored in  
 amphoras?

What suggests retailers of jars would  
 insist on new ones?

Wine not consumed in Carthage?

again, "scale suggested by the handles"  
 in Africa, South Italy & Campania



(p. 56a) (as to case of empty amphora in Egypt,  
not the large ass. required & to supplement the  
outings)

p. 57 Reshipping. What would this involve?

p. 64 "(the handles of the domestic Lagyni in which  
Theangela being was imported silver)"  
Why Lagyni? Why domestic?  
Why handles? as there is only one  
so far as I know.

Naxos?

Byzantium?

→ Check figures here.

Pamphylian "identified by their alphabet."

Corosium (if that counts as Pamph.) also  
was a source of wine

[Can he not tell something about Pamphylian trade w. Eg. ?]

"The chronology of the handles, other than the  
Median is far from secure and for those which  
do not belong to the large groups and hence  
cannot be dated typologically, the only criterion  
is the letter-forms."

Context as for this - Median. Including  
presence in a group of handles of better dated  
classes.

Median is  
much better  
dated



p. 65 // aged perfume (Thaophrastus)

pp. 66-7 Agatharchides of Knidos, sec'y of Herakleides Lembos, minister of Pto, Philometor (181-146) Wrote his work on the Red Sea (Erythraia Thalassa) in old age, latter 2nd B.C. Based on Alex royal archive and on statements of exp witnesses and merchants - i.e. P. 70 Famous passage on control of gold mines in Lower Nubia & W. side of Akaba.

// "Periplus Maris Erythraei" attrib. to Arrian. Datable 1st AD. Foundation of modern discussion of Red Sea with the east. By an Alexandrian merchant, prob.

II Eudoxos of Knidos voyage to India ca 116 B.C.

(He has put the 2 routes of opposite direction, which given on a map.)

P. 75 "There was a convenient Ptolemaic customs post at Gaza."

(Don't understand the sentence in which this interesting fact)

p. 76 "We know further that Philadelphus and the great Maurya king of the Punjab, ASOKA, were in contact with each other."

etc.

pp. 80-81 Don't understand this sentence.

ALL SOULS COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

19 March 1961

Dear Virginia,

Thank you for your letter.

I hope to let you have some comments when I come to Athens next month, so I hope you will excuse my answering you now. I have just ceased being proctor & am very backed up with all the work that didn't get done last year, before I leave.

Yours

Let



RHODIAN: CORRESP. WITH P. FRASER

Athens, March 12, 1961

Dear Peter,

Thank you for your note of February 19, and it will be nice to see you and Ruth and Alexander next month. I shall perhaps make a short trip to Cyprus in the meanwhile, with stop-off in Rhodes, so let me know if anything can be done for you in those places.

In connection with a note planned for publication in a new Pergamon volume (on recent investigations of the Asklepieion - but it has been postponed sine die I think), I have been reconsidering the Rhodian eponyms in the original Pergamon Deposit, called 229 - 180. One way or another, there is quite a lot of evidence now on this group. The approximate date of the group as a whole does still hold pretty well, but some names are to be dropped for various reasons (including wrong readings in some cases), and we end with I think not more than 35, which I think indicates beginning the period a little later. There is some evidence for relative dating within the group, and I am interested to know whether you think some adjustments could be made in the dates of some stones that are supposed to name the same persons as appear on the stamps:

ΑΓΑΟΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΞ Cf. Fraser and Bean, p.132. The man on the stamps should be third quarter, or possibly early last quarter, 3rd c.

ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΑΞ Cf. Fraser and Bean, p.12. On stamps, there is an A. I somewhere about 300, and an A. II who should be a bit after 185. It seems to me this date, slightly later than your "ca. 200", is not excluded by your text. Is that so?

ΑΡΧΙΑΔΑΜΟΞ Cf. Fraser and Bean, p.127. The man on the stamps should apparently date a little before 188. Is this ruled out/ for the man on the stone?

glad to have your comment some day.

49

Corr. P.P. -  
✓  
on Rhodian  
eponyms on  
stone and in  
stamps.

Correy P.F. -

V5

on Platina

epoxy on

stone and in

stamps.



RHODIAN: CORRESP. WITH P. FRASER

Athens, March 12, 1961

Dear Peter, Supplement to yesterday's letter.

Thank you for your note of February 19, and it will be nice to see you and Ruth and Alexander next month. I shall perhaps make a short trip to Cyprus in the meanwhile, with stop-off in Rhodes, so let me know if anything can be done for you in those places.

In connection with a note planned for publication in a new Pergamon volume (on recent investigations of the Asklepieion - but it has been postponed since die I think), I have been reconsidering the Rhodian eponyms in the original Pergamon Deposit, called 220 - 180. One way or another, there is quite a lot of evidence now on this group. The approximate date of the group as a whole does still hold pretty well, but some names are to be dropped for various reasons (including wrong readings in some cases), and we end with I think not more than 35, which I think indicates beginning the period a little later. There is some evidence for relative dating within the group, and I am interested to know whether you think some adjustments could be made in the dates of some stones that are supposed to name the same persons as appear on the stamps:

ΑΓΑΟΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΞ Cf. Fraser and Bean, p.132. The man on the stamps should be third quarter, or possibly early last quarter, 3rd c.

ΑΡΙΕΤΕΙΑΔΑΣ Cf Fraser and Bean, p.12. On stamps, there is an A. I somewhere about 300, and an A. II who should be a bit after 185. It seems to me this date, slightly later than your "ca. 200", is not excluded by your text. Is that so?

ΑΡΧΙΑΔΑΜΟΞ Cf Fraser and Bean, p.127. The man on the stamps should apparently date a little before 188. Is this ruled out for the man on the stone?

Not very urgent, but I would be glad to have your comment some day.



March 13, 1961

Supplement to yesterday's letter.

I see that certain anomalies discussed by us in 1953 between priests of Halios known in inscriptions and eponyms known in Rhodian stamps still have not been cleared up, i.e. APIETENIAAE on stamps should be third quarter <sup>of the 3rd century</sup> and/or earlier, whereas I. Magn. 55 naming the priest of H. of this name is dated by you ca. 208-200; and ANTIOENHE of the 3rd or 2nd century in IG XII 1, 63 has never turned up on stamps, and this although the Benachi collection has well passed 60,000 as you know. New names turning up <sup>(very occasionally)</sup> now are either 4th or 1st c.

I seem to remember your stating that all(?) Rhodian priesthoods were annual - is this correct? And if the eponyms on the stamps are not priests of Halios, can we suggest another single priesthood to which they might belong? In 1951 we counted I think 85 stamp eponym names with whom the title priest occurred on the stamps, and there must be more now, and they are not confined to one period. All the names mentioned in this letter do occur with the title.

I have in mind to include some discussion of the point in a review article for which I have been collecting notes for a couple of years.



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

21.12.<sup>5</sup>33

Dear Virginia,

The cigarettes were a  
very delightful surprise. It was very kind of  
you (and Jane) to think of such a nice  
present. I have a peculiar weakness for Greek  
cigarettes.

I hope this will reach you one day.  
I presume that you were on your way to  
America, via Kensington. So it will be too  
late for Christmas, & I can only wish you a  
happy new year.

Fraser-Bean, Perale, has reached  
~~an~~ Advanced Copy stage, & I have asked the  
press to ~~publish~~ send you a copy when it is  
published, towards the end of January.

With best wishes

Yours

Peter

P.S. I send under separate cover offprint about  
 priests of Lindos  
 BRASENOSE COLLEGE, which I promised  
 OXFORD.  
 6/9/53  
 You.

Dear Virginia,  
 Many thanks for your offprint  
 of the Rhodian exonyms, & for your letter of  
 yesterday. I like the Rhodian list — it  
 is really valuable to have it: I feel that  
 my suggestion that you (we?) should do it  
 was praiseworthy!

Benediktsson: No, I've never  
 managed to locate him either, but I shall  
 try & find out, & let you know. Righier Carstelli  
 might know.

I see from some ref. that P.C. has  
 published a corpus (?) of the Inscriptions of Camirus  
 in the Annalis (same no. as Monicones' priests).  
 This is a nuisance since it's too late to alter the  
 ref. in Persea. He should be strongly discouraged  
 from publishing Corpora (Calymnos, Camirus) in  
 a periodical: they are difficult to obtain in  
 single numbers, prohibitively expensive, &  
avoid review, since the publishers don't send  
 them out. A very bad habit.  
 Pel-



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

Athens

24/7 /53

Dear Virginia,

I wonder if we shall be able to meet before I go back. I arrived in Athens, after tribulations (and successes) in Epirus & Acarnania, on Aug 17<sup>th</sup>, to find you had already ~~left~~<sup>left</sup> for Delos. I shall not be here much longer. My programme might be:

Aug 20 - 30 Epidaurus

Aug 1 - 15 Mytilene

Aug 5 - 6 Athens.

Aug 7 - leave for Olympia, + catch boat from Patras on Aug. 12. So it is a pretty tight squeeze.

Hope you are having a satisfactory time. The Agora seemed empty without you, but Talbot & Margaret Courtenay

Love

Pete

## BRASENOSE COLLEGE,

20.4.53

OXFORD.

Dear Virginia,

Your letter, arriving on a Saturday,  
gets a prompt answer. Thank you very much for the  
handsome offprint from BCH. I haven't yet read it  
(since it only came yesterday!).

On Δράκων (~~which~~ I presume you have  
added the ref. to the inscr. in which Δράκων appears as  
ἱερέως ἡλικόν in the text of your article, since it is not  
in the addenda): another one in Annuaire, ii, 1916, p. 134,  
no. 1, l. 8 (i. a. c.). It is a fairly common name everywhere  
& I wonder whether the implication of 'I have not seen it  
cited in Rh. documents earlier than 1 a. c.' is justifiable:  
the fact may be (I think, is) as you say, but does it amount  
to anything.

On the coins. One must be careful here. Head  
BMC Caria, p. civ says that the gold stater, pl. xxvi, 5,  
"must be assigned to the early part of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, ...  
perhaps anterior to the ~~early part~~ Lamprace stater", whereas  
the other one, he thinks later, though he puts all your didrachms  
before Alexander.

Inevitably the coins with EY on them  
may link up with some others observed by Head on pl. xix  
& (in detail) by Calu, Nom. Chron. 1942, pp. 82-94, and (against  
Calu) by Fraser-Bevan, p. 97 note 4. The dating of Rhodian  
coins is notoriously difficult & Stanley Robinson has on his  
hands a large unpublished hoard which confirms some  
indications he had already made in Head's classi-  
fication. If you have time I should write to him. His



address (he has now retired from the B.M.) is

E. S. S. Whiston Esq  
 Iwerne Stapleton,  
 Blandford  
 Dorset.

I shall be in Greece, but not, I fancy, in Athens  
 at all events until July/Aug. I hope the Drachma  
 will await my coming!

Yours

Peto

BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

19.2.53

Dear Virginia,

Your typescript arrived today, & this  
is just to announce its safe arrival. I shall study  
it carefully, & let you have it back by the middle  
of March.

I am very busy at present, & see no  
ceasing of pressure till the summer. Ah me,  
why does one ever begin this sort of work.

Winter's rains and mists are by no  
means over here: May God, what a winter.

The Press here have set the index to  
Persea wrong, so that won't make it any quicker.  
But it should I think be out in the summer.

Yours

Re



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

Feb. 12

31.1.53

I don't know how late you have evidence for  
the survival of *o'vor kvidia* in Egypt: it  
occurs, I see, in Platonopolis (ed. C.H. Roberts)  
1950, no. 46, l. 36 (*o'vor kvidia*); a list of  
ways back to high lagers etc, of Saec. iv. A.D.

KEE



Miss V. Grace,

Ἀγγλικανὴ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Ἑκκλησίᾳ

ὁδὸς Σουθίντ 54

Ἀθῆναι

GREECE



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

25/1/53

ackd. Feb. 12  
with carbon  
original ep.  
attached

Dear Virginia,

Thank you for your letter. I don't think Aristonides of Iuvn <sup>mag.</sup> can be shifted from 205±. It is indeed odd that he does not occur at Pergamum, & this seems to me to confirm my very real doubt about that hoards ~~has~~ being compact chronologically. You remember, when we first started corresponding in ca 1946 I suggested that it might cover a much longer time than Schuchhardt's 40 years. I should not be surprised if there were many gaps. Certainly it would be very dangerous to see in the absence of A. there <sup>to my mind</sup> an indication that the stamp-epagras are not pieces of Halios: though of course it is perfectly possible they're not (though, yet again, I think they were). Your suggestion that Aristonides & Aristokles held office only for a few months does not commend itself on principle, though you might of course be right.

I accept your rebuke about the list. I should meet me myself - if I was working on Rhodian matters, but my interest in Rhodes is, & has been for some years, very languid, & I only think about it when I get proofs of that beastly little book on the Pueria, or when I get a letter from you. So perhaps I am excused.

No; I'm not coming to Greece. You were misinformed: not until the long vacation anyway

Yr Bel

BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

4.1.53

Dear Virginia,

First, New Years greetings to you and to the Agora-Staff (If you would be so kind as to convey them. I was most touched to receive a Christmas card from the Agora).

Your letter of Dec. 15.

(a) 'Arnodéans of IG xii, 1, 63. I have never seen this stone (no doubt, like most stones Hellen saw in the 90's long since vanished). Hellen sp. not later than early ii B.C. & if the reproduction of the letters in IG is approximately correct ( $\Sigma \Sigma$ ) — it cannot be more — than an early second cent. date would be reasonable. When talking of this stone you must avoid getting involved in the ridiculous controversy as to whether this 'Arnodéans' is to be identified with the historian of Rhodes who was one of Ptolemy's sources (v. van Seldin, pp. 420-1): there is no reason whatever to identify him. See further below.

(b) 'Αποκριτή of Inscr. Mag. 55. This inscription belongs to the series of ~~reps~~ replies regarding the recognition of the Leukophrygia, & must therefore belong to ca. 2<sup>nd</sup> - 200 (for a summary of regarding the date of the Magesian request [to which almost all the donors in Inscr. Mag. are the replies] see Lowell, Roy. Cor. pp. 145ff.: or if you just want the bare facts [221/0 + 14] read Inscr. Mag. 16 = Syll. 557). This date, then, does



not seem to me disputable: '3rd quarter', alleged § 200.  
I could not admit.

(c)  $\Pi\epsilon\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\gamma \sim \Pi\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\gamma$ . Such vowel-change  $\upsilon/\epsilon$  comes not be possible until a very late date when the meaning and etymology of the words had been forgotten (\* $\Pi\epsilon\theta$ : \* $\Pi\upsilon\theta$ ).

I can have a look in the morning (I cannot get at it now) of Loewy's copy of IG xii, 1, 63 which is likely to be very accurate, & see if it adds anything to the date of  
X IG xii, 1, 63.

You say 'If I write give you an assembled list of 'authentic epigrams': do you mean names authenticated on stone? Presumably. When do you want it? I should have to compile it (you will say that that would be less arduous than <sup>the</sup> compiling of your list). Is it not probable, & the way, that Monro is producing such a list in his publication of the Rhodian list?

X Next morning.

I've looked at Loewy's facsimile based on a squeeze. The letters seem to me to have none of the features <sup>especially</sup> characteristic of the third century or of the second, so a date ca 200 would do: not much earlier or later. Onasiphon Σαδαφίων, the sculptor is not known elsewhere. You could perhaps when referring to this better mention in a note that the name is Onasiphon (not Onasiphron as Lippold gives it (a) in RE Sv. Onasiphron not in Griech. Plastik p. 362. This will cause confusion.

Wm. Pet

Athens, August 7, 1952

Dear Peter,

Here is the list of eponyms, which I am finally, as Kendrick Pritchett says, releasing. It was somewhat more trouble than probably you would suspect, owing to the number of irresponsible people who have published stamps.

I feel uncertain whether it is going into your book, owing to being late. So will you let me know? Also, when will the book come out? And is it possible to have at least a few offprints? This was managed for the first volume of Tarsus by printing some extra copies which were left unbound, and were then distributed by appropriate sections among the contributors. I would be glad to know also about when I may expect to get proof.

Sinclair Hood and Jock Anderson go back to Chios this evening, to go on with a small dig in the suburbs, where they have been reassuring me with a great many pieces of jars hitherto described by me as "Chian(?)". They are to stay until about the second week in September. Peter Corbett arrived not long ago, and is staying in our school, and working on 4th century pottery at the Agora. Doro Levi continues to tear his hair over Morricone, who has never arrived, not to say produced. Daux has been translating my Delos report for BCH: he said that what with you and Mabel Lang, the authorities would begin to ask whether this was really a French periodical.

I wish I were in the North.

Yours,



April 16, 1952

60

Dear Peter,

Sorry to be so long in answering yours of last month. You certainly, I would be glad to sign my change list if it goes into your book. ~~As to the~~ <sup>I can't really</sup> ~~I cannot~~ promise to produce it by the time specified because I have promised too many things, but it may well emerge from the works about them, in which case <sup>you can</sup> ~~I should~~ be glad to let you have it. <sup>Tell me frankly if this won't do, if you have to know</sup> I suppose you would not object to <sup>the list</sup> ~~its~~ reappearing elsewhere ~~if~~ I would like to have something from which I could get offprints, as well as in the distinguished company you propose.

Many thanks for the useful addresses. Dr. Calver was here and we discussed <sup>among other things</sup> matters kindred but he is not going down as far as my period. <sup>after</sup> ~~then~~ he left, the train sent me a bunch of Clavis, showing the 4th century amplification. Among mine of him, I am delighted to have it, <sup>especially</sup> since I have no other <sup>of the</sup> 4th century. I remember your introducing me to Mr. Bean at ~~Cambridge~~ Cambridge, and shall write to him.

I hope you had a lovely time in Paris, despite absence of the Dancs. I am off to Deles today, trip planned with the <sup>very</sup> strenuous idea that nobody else would go for Easter.

Yours

## BRASENOSE COLLEGE,

OXFORD.

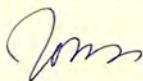
11.5.52

Dear Virginia,

Many thanks for your letter. It is very good of you to co-operate so readily on the eponym-list. Please produce it at your convenience; if it arrives before the end of June it would be very welcome; if later it can always be tucked in when the Press is looking the other way. Of course I would claim no copyright for such a list, & you would naturally be at full liberty to ~~for~~ republish it wherever you wished.

Little news here. Paris was tolerable, but hot: the conference was dominated by Robert, & I had sciatica & did Paris less than customary justice. I learned a good deal about ~~future~~ proposals regarding the publication of Rhodian inscriptions, including the Helios-priests - list: but will believe it when I see it.

I envy you your Delian syzonn. When next I go please convey my greetings to Tjerry, & of whom I have warm memories.



Peter.



## BRASENOSE COLLEGE,

OXFORD.

17.3.52

Dear Virginia

Thank you for your letter. I should  
 very much like you to give me a provisional  
 list of stamp-examples, as at present established,  
 + I should like to publish this with all the  
 caveats that you wish as one of many  
 appendices in Rhodes. Would you be willing  
 to appear as author of this appendix? I should  
 prefer this, because then you could add footnotes  
 etc. to suit yourself. I do not mind about  
length, since the book will anyhow be about  
 400 pages, + a few more won't make any difference.  
 In any case, could you let me have this list  
 by say, the middle or end of June? Or not?  
 Please tell me quite frankly, since I want to  
 have the thing off my hands before the Long  
 Vac. The Rhodian Peraea is already being printed  
 + I would like to finish with Rhodes soon.

What do you think Hagenripps + the four-grained  
 signifi? Perhaps a victory - issue like our china  
 mugs.

Cnidus: no, I know of no project to assemble  
 a Cnidian prosopography, + should I must compose

be most surprised to hear that such a project existed!  
 G. E. Bean knows Cnidos + Cnidaria stones as well as  
 anyone, + since the Persea is off our hands until  
 the proof comes he might feel willing to help  
 (but he lacks books). I think you met him  
 in Cambridge. His address is:

G. E. Bean Esq.,  
 3 MUHSINE PALAS,  
 ÇIĞANGIR ÇADDESİ,  
 Beyoğlu  
 İSTANBUL.

Try him. He may feel it's too much like Sandgren  
 (which it is). Actually I should have thought that  
 some youngster in your school, or any other, could  
 manage it. You might find that Herbert Calin, the  
 Swiss numismatist, has made something of a list:  
 he is just bringing out a book on Cnidarian coins.  
 He is at present in Istanbul + could be contacted  
 via George Bean (Dr. H. A. Calin). His home ad-  
 dress is: Dr. H. A. C.

Blochmontstrasse 19,  
 Basel.

But he is about the leading coin-dealer in the whole  
 nowadays (but a very good scholar) + would not compile  
 such a list for you! But write to him: he's very nice.

I am going to Paris for the epigr. Congress  
 + hope to meet old friends. I hope Les Deux  
 will be there

Yours, Peter



February 26, 1952

Dear Peter,

Many thanks for the reference to amphorae connected with Dioskouroi worship, something I should like to investigate.

*his letter 9  
19. II. 52*

The passage about phourarchoi seems well put. I shall be interested to learn how you came to adopt the view expressed, which I think you were not advocating when last we discussed the question.

I am delighted Rhodes is to be published, even if not in full. Study of matters Rhodian has to be at a minimum for me this year, because I am under pressure to produce a Knidian volume, and articles on Thasian chronology and Chian jars. Hiller's list is stuffed with names not in my files. Although I think most of them are based on wrong readings, one has always to think of Alexandria which I have hardly touched as yet. If you want it, I think I can give you a list of stamp eponyms <sup>names</sup> which seem to me at present established, with the understanding that it will be supplemented later from further material and also from further study, for instance of the early stamps in which no preposition is expressed. You won't be able to add up the names to give a very accurate idea of a period of time, because of the repeats, which I would not be able to list systematically at present.

I would like to exploit you a little now. Do you know of any project to put together a Knidian prosopography? Or anybody who would like, or could be persuaded, to do it? I mean of course the names on stone, coins, historical mentions, etc. Such a list ought surely to go into my Knidian volume, especially if I am right in supposing that there are considerably more names known from stamps than from other sources. I have said I will make a short report on Delos handles for the BCH, and I am thinking of including in this a full list of Knidian stamp names, without references except for an indication of which have not been found in Delos (relatively few). The general prosopography would be for the Knidian volume. But of course it would be of great use beforehand.

Sorry that you have had an inclement winter. I hope it has not entered too much into your bones.

Yours

BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

7.xii.52

Dear Virginia,

This is supplementary to my last letter which was written in haste for your sake.

With regard to Brinkenberg's list: did I say that he had all priests of Helios? Evidently if I did, I was in error. To these must be added the few who occur in Rhodian documents, ~~whom~~ who can easily be traced in Helios' list, and add those of which I sent you notice last week — and Monima's list. Even if you are not able in this list to give full references to all instances in which the name occurs, it would be a service to me if you could indicate & an asterisk or similar device which of them were authenticated by external evidence: e.g. inscriptions. After all this is the really important point: how many of these people on the stamps occur indisputably elsewhere as epigrams.

Here we are *παρρηγοί*, & have not seen another earth for about a fortnight.

T  
Pole

church  
starting  
only  
it is your  
script,  
part.  
The  
d. brief  
in English.



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

7-xii.52

Dear Virginia,

This is supplementary to my last letter which was written in haste for your sake.

With regard to Blinkenberg's list: did I say that he had all priests of Helios? Evidently if I did, I was in error. To these must be added the few who occur in Rhodian documents, ~~historians~~ who can easily be traced in Hellen's list, and add those of which I sent you notice last week — and Mommsen's list. Even if you are not able in this list to give full references to all instances in which this or that name occurs, it would be a service to me if you could indicate by an asterisk or similar device which of them were authenticated by external evidence: e.g. inscriptions. After all this is the really important point: how many of these people on the stamps occur indisputably elsewhere as citizens.

Here we are *ἀγνοῦντες*, & have not seen another earth for about a fortnight.

T  
Pellin

BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

1. XII.52.

Dear Virginia,

Your letter arrived but a few minutes ago, & I have (at least for the first time), I answer it without delay.

My half-finished letter is a dreadful sign of dereliction in me. I hope the other half has written, even if it was not posted. Otherwise I should be sending you a blank sheet. In fact that I asked you - and now ask again - whether you could either put me in touch with Lehmann <sup>so that I can ask him</sup> - Houtleber, or, if he is in Greece (I don't know him) perhaps ask him yourself whether he would allow me to have a copy of the dedication of Philip Arrhidaios found by him at Saurashtra (~~known~~ AJA 1952, p. 124). I do not of course want to publish it now, but eventually it will probably appear among my Hellenistic inscriptions, & I would like to insert it in its proper place now.

Peraea (sic). I'm not quite clear what references you want to add, & if there were time I could send you my spare persp, but it won't reach you by Dec. 6. However the book (The Rhodian Peraea and Islands by P. M. F. & S. E. Beazley) will no doubt <sup>be</sup> out by the time you get your persp & you can have your pick. Meanwhile I note the following refs: <sup>(1)</sup> Inscr. no. <sup>(2)</sup> 8 (p. 6), the text of a lease of land, is dated (8a, l. 1.) [<sup>(3)</sup> ἐφ' ἱερῶν] Ἀριστοτέλ, [ἡ] τοῦ Θεράκου, & in our commentary (p. 12) we



→ As I said at the beginning I have spare pots and, if you like, I can send you a set at once to study at your leisure. Say Yes or no. I have just published an article on Rhodes in the Journal of the B.C. of the B.C. (I send an offprint under separate cover. I have later post this now; will write later to you. See

Byz. Ant. by Jones & Champlin. I don't think I can find a date for this. I don't think I can find a date for this. I don't think I can find a date for this.

The priest of this name appears frequently on Rhodian amphora - handles found in the closed deposit of handles at Pergamon, which on general historical grounds should probably be dated before 167 B.C. A date c. 200 B.C. suits the present inscription admirably.

[I v. Grace in Hesperia iii, 1934, p. 217; and in Goedman, Jassus i, p. 136].

i.e. we date the Ins. & the priest just vice-versa.

② Ins. no. (15), p. 24, l. 1: ἐπὶ ἱερῶς θεοτορεάτου, <sup>ἱεροῦ τῆς ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν</sup> κομοφορίων διχομνησίου. Our note on this (p. 25) is:

'Peisistratos frequently occurs as the name of a priest of Helios on amphora - handles usually dated to about the middle of the second century. Our inscription appears, from the letter-forms, to belong to about this date.'

[I have to thank Miss Grace for giving us details regarding Peisistratos. The date given for him by Miller, Rhodos (cf. RE Suppl. v) col. 839 stands unchanged].

③ Ins. no. (16), p. 28, l. 1: [ἐπὶ] ἱερῶς τοῦ Ἀλίου Ἀγροσίππου, Βαδρονίου ἀμφ[φαι/κ]λίδι, <sup>ἱεροῦ</sup> Σουρίων. Our note is: 'The eponymous priest Hagesippos is found on numerous handles but is not <sup>\*</sup>datable'. The letter of the inscription is very 'neutral': i.e. ~~the~~ 2nd to 2nd cent. B.C. (the <sup>most</sup> of these ins.: 'mid-Hellenistic' would be a fit term for the writing).

This is all in the way of rep. in inscription. Anything else is unimportant. I hope you will let me at once if you disagree with our dating as given for the three priests above.

BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

(7.18.52)  
7/9

Dear Virginia,

Many thanks for your letter, &  
for the cutting from Kallipetion, which I  
was very glad to have. What a nice document:  
I hope Meritt will not delay its publication too  
long.

Thank you for being so obliging about the  
Rhodian epigraphy. If the list is going to be  
published I will let you know the references to  
the piers there are in the <sup>inscriptions in the</sup> Book on the Peace,  
~~so that~~ which the Press have announced, but  
of which (characteristically) I have seen no proof.

My greetings to Les Deux when you  
next see them. My inscriptions are proving rather  
troublesome at the moment, since I seem to lack a  
few essential squeezes of stones mostly situated in  
obscure corners of Greece, & this I mean may entail a  
further visit to Greece next year, which I do not  
feel inclined for. How does one get information about  
~~other~~ inscriptions recently uncovered at Samothrace?

One writes, I take it, to Lehmann - Hartleben:



He seems to have left out  
the 2nd page of the letter,  
Not in the envelope

VIRGINIA GRACE  
 AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES  
 ATHENS, GREECE

21. VIII. 52

Dear Peter,

That is all right; it was not very clear  
 of me not to check with you before starting  
 to put together a list. You have probably  
~~figured how insisted and definitely you~~  
 would please and back to typescript,  
 and we shall see where it will be put.

I enclose a printed notice of the  
 inscription of 336, of which I had kept  
 several copies. Sorry I leave it in English.

Yours,

Virginia



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

15/8. 52

Dear Virginia,

Many thanks for your typescript.

Now I fear very much that I have betrayed you, because it has become very evident to me in the last month or six weeks that my book on Rhodes will not come out, because I need to look at the inscriptions again - In fact I never did look at them properly: & my opinion is that the book is most emphatically not at this time worth that extra labour. So very regretfully I have decided not to proceed with it. You will probably want to stay me for not telling you earlier, but I only came to the final decision quite recently; & I had the feeling that you would really like to put this list elsewhere than as an appendix to somebody else's book, which anyhow would not be out for a long long time: & I hope that no damage is done, & that you will publish



Athens, December 15, 1952

Dear Peter,

Yours of 7.XII came after my text had gone.

As to the identifications, I had referred the reader to Hiller and Blinkenberg, also to your article as suggested. I am sorry that at present all I can do is to present a verifiable list of eponyms named on stamps. However, if you will give me an assembled list of "authentic" eponyms, with dates believed in by yourself, I will make the corresponding investigation from my material, if spared, and it can be published, possibly with the same article. Correspondences of names do not seem to me very interesting, unless the dates can be shown to match. Also I should feel that many epigraphical mentions might be escaping me, having come by chance on Agloubrotos in BCH 1934, p.353, and in Robert, Etudes Anatoliennes, p.514. XX I suppose actually one cannot quite yet use Morricone's names.

My impression is that the correspondences will turn out on the whole to be convincing. One or two anomalies now evident, perhaps you could resolve:

- 1) Antisthenes, Hiller's 45, is not to the best of my knowledge recorded anywhere on stamps, yet the inscription cited (IG XII; 1, 63) is called 3rd cent.
- 2) Aristonidas, Hiller's 83, is dated in an inscription (I. Magn.55) c.205, but the man on the stamps seems to be 3rd quarter. If epigraphical readings and dates hold, these are  $\pi$  stumbling blocks.
- 3) Do you think that  $\Pi\epsilon\iota\theta\iota\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\zeta$  (regular on stamps) could be a spelling variation of  $\Pi\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\zeta$  (twice on Morricone's stone)? The stamps might well be 4th century, though I cannot absolutely prove it.

Possibly you think there was no point in publishing the list at this stage of investigation. Unurged, I doubt of I should have put it together this year. But now that I have done the work, I want it to be out, so that people who find additional names will send me photographs. Letters (21) from Mr. Loukas Benachi since he left here October 8 have added about 8 names, mostly on late handles, 4 of them on late arrivals which materialized the other day when my ms had already left. One of them is Aglochartos, "authenticated" by Maiuri, N.S. (cf Hiller). I forget if I have told you that I have added illustrations to the article - new names, and three jars, early, middle and late in the stamped series.

Here, we still have quite a bit of summer. Lucky for me, since I have people reading stamps (Knidian) in the National Museum, who think, quite justly, that they should have been started there in May, not in November.

Yours,



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

19.2.52

Link 1) - *fronzo* (see above)  
published in *Antich* 1952  
p. 89

Dear Virginia,

ox. 67  
Not in  
A.C. 65  
Found  
in *Germ*  
Died

If I did not thank you for your last letter, I do so now. Meanwhile I have various points to you. ① I remember pointing out to you a pair or two of amphorae at Pergamum: these, I now learn, are connected with Dioskourai-worship. There are similar pairs from elsewhere: full (?) list in Ohlenutz, Kulte und Heiligtümer der Götter in Pergamon (Wien 1940) p. 194, note 8.

② With regard to Cnidus. My book on the Rhodian Persea has to go to press at the end of the month, and I have taken the liberty on inserting a note on Cnidus; I should be grateful if you would agree to it. If you want it altered I will do so in proof. It reads as follows:

'This [i.e. Cnidus being Rhodian after 188] seems the most likely explanation of the numerous phronarchoi whose names appear on Cnidian amphora stamps (v. e.g. Isophrasia, iii, 1934, pp. 262-3, no 177-179; there are many unpublished phronarchoi in Miss Grace's archive). We owe this suggestion to Miss Grace. We note that <sup>the argument</sup> in favour of Cnidus being independent after the Peace of Apamea, given by Magie, Roman Rule in Asia, ii, p. 958, note 5, is not very substantial. It is that the city aided Rome against Antiochus, but this assistance appears to have been limited to a single Cnidian ship which joined the Rhodian fleet before the battle of Side (Liv. xxxvii, 22, 2). In favour of Cnidus being Rhodian is its coinage which in this period has the Rhodian type

of Helios. Head facing on the obverse and, more important, on the reverse a Cnidian type, the forepart of a lion, or the head of Aphrodite, with a Rhodian rose in the field. Has, as at Teues during the period of Rhodian ascendancy (v. below p. ) the rose is part of the original mould and not a (possibly considerably later) counterstrike (cf. Demomelin BCN xxvi, 1903, p. 416 note 6; Hist. Num. 2, p. 493) which might indicate only a temporary commercial agreement (as for instance at Antissa, BMC Aeolis etc., p. 175 nos 4, 5, 6). The Head of Helios as an obverse type, found in <sup>incidental</sup> ~~identical~~ issues of several Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor (and Olbia) may commemorate some Rhodian occasion; in at least some of the instances it cannot reflect a lasting political relationship.

This you will see does not cover all the matter; there is nothing about the non-Doric names (which is really rather an important point, but would need separate study), + nothing about the possibility of a  $\phi\phi\phi\phi\phi\phi\phi\phi\phi\phi$  being a civil Rhodian magistrate. But it does at least raise the question in a non-controversial form. ~~Up to now this is an unimportant point, but it is a point which should be taken into consideration.~~ I am quite prepared to elaborate these arguments with you in print when you feel inclined to put your material together.

② I should have told you that I shall after all probably publish Rhodes, but in a rather different form (without part I). It occurs to me that its value might be increased if I gave a list of friends who <sup>as appearing</sup> ~~are mentioned in the text~~ <sup>in discussion</sup>, where they are certainly friends of Helios, + ② on Amphora stamps, where they probably are. ③ on coins, though they are not friends of course, but it would be useful to have a list. Now for ②, the friends on Amphora stamps I don't want simply to copy out Hellen's list, + from the



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

whether you can come to my rescue by providing me with a list of them? This is shameless exploitation, but it seems to me that a list under your name would be far more valuable than one under mine. I think that references would have to be limited to a standard list where some indication of where these stamps have turned up, could be found: e.g. your Hesperia article. This list would really be a list having for prosopographical purposes, not a historical survey. I should like to hear about this, & hope you will feel able to accommodate me, & if so, at not too great a distance: I shall want to get rid of Rhodes by the middle of June at the latest, when the academic year ends.

I hope all goes well with you. Sending you your life. Our winter has been vile, & my labours alas unremitting. It is difficult to finish a book when one's collector hides himself for months at a time in Pisidian fastnesses.

My greetings to all at the Agora.

Yours

Peter.

BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

21. xii. 51

Dear Virginia,

Many thanks for your letter: I should have answered it before, but I have been away for a fortnight & it got left behind. May I be forgiven.

I am very grateful to you for your clarifying remarks on Peisistratos. c. 150 comes so well enough for our inscription, but so, I must confess, comes c. 200, or c. 100. Such is life.

A list of Rhodian epigrams other than from stamps: speaking from memory (which I must do, since it is 11 p.m. & I cannot look the matter up now, & I am going away again early in the morning) there is a full list ~~in~~ in the Introduction to vol. I of Blinkenberg's Inscr. de Lindos. To this one only to be added the poems in our unpublished inscr. which should now see the light fairly soon (this year — 1952). But when I come back at the end of December I will investigate afresh.

Best wishes for the New Year. Christmas will have passed & the time soon past this I expect.

Yours ever

15. III. 61 Actually not only those mentioned in Lindos III are listed by Blinkenberg. Pete



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

24.10.51

ans. 19.11.51  
after view of D.D.  
The name and S.  
J. Reinisch.

72

Dear Virginia,

I hope you are well, + happily employed.

Please can you tell me (or tell me again I suspect)  
the approximate date of a Rhodian Epigram named  
Περσιόπρασος? I have an inscription dated 5<sup>th</sup> <sup>second</sup> ~~century~~  
which I should have expected to belong to the ~~second~~  
rather the third century B.C., but it is from Caria +  
the script rather outlandish. I see Hellen says "c. 150,  
Käufig". Would you agree. I - to within a century -  
would!

Its citing goes here, but I suppose even  
your summer is over. To-day we vote: the electorate  
appears suitably apathetic.

I shall shortly - I hope - send you my  
argument about Cnidos

Yours

Peter

BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

11.xii.50

Dear Virginia,

73

If you are still in Greece read on:  
if back in Princeton, read no further.

I am coming out to Athens in January  
for 6 or 9 months, + since its a long time I want to  
bring my family with me: we are 5/6 (6 = the maid)  
- 3 taxied. I am writing to everybody I can in the  
hope that someone can put me onto (if not into)  
a house, + I hope you don't mind my including you  
in my begging circles.

I want a home for 5 months from  
Feb., or ~~from~~ March etc: in other words I want  
to send my family back in June. If there is anybody  
in Athens who wants a good sized house in Oxford  
for that time, then we could do a swap - since  
houses be much better than renting a house which I  
could not afford to do (am sure at Athenian rates,  
since I am pretty poor. Perhaps a house a good way  
out of Athens (but probably not within of it) would be the  
only possibility.

If you do hear of getting, please let me know  
since time runs short.

Mrs  
Pete Rave



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

de ser  
non amovet  
W. G. Fraser  
1901

22.10.50.

Dear Virginia,

Thank you for your letter. I have had the Turkish dictionary dispatched to you, + I am sure I hope please shortly. This should (I believe) clear up the Beloch-transaction.

It is not impossible (in these bad times I dislike more positive modes of expression) that I may be in Athens from Christmas for a few months, in such case our Liverpool - Stanley meeting may yet occur. But I will let you know when I know myself. It rather depends on getting a job (part-time) in Athens, since the University would probably sock part of my stipend if I was away (as I would be) during a term. So if you hear of a job I could take (notably lecturing on Prehistoric

Histly) ~~but~~ I hope you will let me know. The real purpose of my visit is to examine a large number (c. 200) stones scattered all over Greece & the Islands, with a view to their republication, in a good many years time, in a new edition of Dittenberger, Orient. Graec., where I am doing for the Clarendon Press. Hence also my visit to Turkey in the past summer.

I am awaiting with alarm the publication of Nagels The Romans in Asia (L 6-10-0).

I hope to hear from you soon.

Yours

Pelton



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

23.9. (50?)

Dear Virginia,

An addendum to my last:

Annuaire du musée nationale archéologique Ploudiv

(Godichnik na narodna arheologicheski muzei Ploudiv)

ii, 1950, pp. 185-190; A. Aleksieva 'Margues  
d'enseignes d'amphores de Koprinka':

'8 stamps found at K. in 1948, 6 Thasian  
2 unknown:— one of the two is Kririan  
(N(Δ), but not recognised) Miss Alek.

W  
ff

BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

14.9.50

Dear Virginia,

I was going through Vestnik Drevnei  
Istorii the other day & came across publications  
of amphora-handles which possibly you may not  
have seen:

- ① Kromchkol, Vestnik, 1946(3), pp. 180-6  
'Légendes de téniers amphourques de Rhodes'  
(Fr. sub. title: all articles, also, in Russ. only)  
I don't know if there are new handles
- ② Akhmeïov, ibid. 1947(1), pp. 166-175,  
Σορρονομοι - handles  
ibid. p. 189, something about  
200 Rhodian and Sinopean handles at  
Myreia.
- ③ ? ibid., 1947(3), p. 193
- ④ Akhmeïov, ibid. 1948, (1), pp. 163-9  
Stamps from Chersonesus
- ⑤ ibid. ibid. 1948(4), pp. 160-3  
'Sinopean Hellenistic Amphorae'

Over



- ⑥ Kravchuk, ibid. 1949(2), pp. 98-100
- ⑦ Borisova, ibid. 1949(3) pp. 86-92  
(37 Zorr. from Chersonese)
- ⑧ Akhmerov, ibid. 1949(4), pp. 99-123  
(considerable study on Zorr. handles).

The Russians appear v<sub>3</sub> interested in amphora.  
Have you seen Latychev, Olbia I, 1941?

W

Petr.



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

18.8.50

Dear Virginia,

Shame does not suppress my brow, because  
I am ashamed: I have so often said to myself  
I will write to you, but never have. Now, returning  
from Turkey, I find an offprint from you:  
in which my warm thanks. I haven't yet read it,  
since I only got back yesterday, + haven't made  
up areas of sleep.

I owe you money, or its more precious  
equivalent in books - about £4:10:0 if  
I be not mistaken: I know you wanted the  
Turkish-dictionary: so you will want it: +  
what else. Please release me from a feeling  
of guilt, by telling me!

Since I last wrote lots of things must  
have happened, but none of much interest.  
I finally got rid of my magnum opus on Rhodes  
this spring, + limited it to a doctorate: it  
is two fat volumes. I doubt however if it  
will ever see the light of day in its present



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

form: uninteresting & too long. That behind me,  
I am relaxing a little - but not much.

I'll write again when I have digested  
the Tarsian hauls - but I doubt if I shall  
be able to dent your armchair!

Best wishes (& promise of good  
intentions for the future)

Yours

Peter Fraser

---

BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

7.8.49

Dear Virginia,

I must apologize for the long delay in answering your letters. But I have been correcting some examination papers: 350 Ancient History papers: my God, they were dull. And until that was done (so it now is, though the cheque, which was, as they say in the army, 'the object of the exercise', has not yet arrived!), I put away thoughts of higher things. And when it was done my collaborator in inscriptions from Caria, Serge Beau, arrives from Istanbul, to get started on a publication of numerous new inscriptions, including those which I mentioned to you, with the names of Rhodian ~~passports~~ priests of Halios in the prescript. Finally, my wife had a baby the other day, which is always (: this sounds cynical: but I have 3 now!) rather upsetting.

Your Turkish dictionary is available when you want it. I did not send it to you 'spoons' because I gathered that wasn't what you wanted. Let me know what you want done with it.



Are you coming to England? I hope so. There's so much we could talk about.

Meanwhile, more important for 'Wissenschaft' did you get to Rhodes? And if so, what happened? I cannot get the *youpouvia* there to answer letters on even the simplest matters, + I've much fear that I shall have to return there next year, + take my coat off (we historians are a lazy lot). I am particularly sorry that Morricone (who is *ongo-ed up*, + past serious work I think) has not published the eponymous list of Hales - priests: he promises it for the Della Seta Memorial Volume, but that has come and gone. Further there is a little man calls Cheritonides who has a (to me) very interesting inscription from Telos tucked away - + won't publish it. If you can get anything out of him about this (the Telian) river. I should be glad and very surprised.

I must stop. I have to go + visit my spouse and the raising. Oh how I wish I was in Greece. Write when you are idle.

W  
Pell.

Athens  
June 15, 1949

Dear Peter,

Here is Robinson's letter back. It suits my book, implying that a rose that is part of the original design does signify political control. A rose exists as a second device on several Knidian stamps of Timoxenos; I don't know of any published of these. There are a number of other Rhodian features on Knidian stamps of the period into which I won't go at the moment. You may just note that the stamp illustrated Pl. 20, 6 of my Shear article (Hesp. Suppl. VIII) is on a characteristic Knidian handle. I should perhaps have made that more obvious.

I forget whether we have discussed the early second century Knidian stamps which name a phrourarch as eponym. Does this have bearing on your investigations?

Thasian inscription: my error, there are dots at the end of line 2.

I'm glad the Beloch all arrived.

I don't think I shall get to Rhodes right away, partly because the army here has taken my most useful assistant for the kind of work I want to do there. I've just done a turn through some Ionian cities: Samos, Priene, Miletos, Smyrna, at which last I saw the British dig, where they have found (among objects of more general interest) also some jar fragments that fill out my series. I was away from here from June 2 to June 13.

Yours,



RHODIAN  
copy w. P.T.

15 June 49

Extract of letter dated 30 May 46:

Dear Fraser,

It is difficult to give you a decisive answer. First, the two cases are not quite comparable. In the Tenos coin the rose is part of the original design of the die. In the Antissa coin it is only a countermark ~~(mark)~~ which may have been put on a century or more after the original coin was made. As a countermark it need not mean more than that the coin was certified for circulation in Rhodian territory in some Rhodian emergency. It might mean that it was certified by the Rhodians for circulation in Antissa and then it would imply a measure of political control as great as that implied by the symbol on the Tenos coins. But this one could only conclude if (1) one had a considerable number of similar coins similarly countermarked and (2) known to have come from the district. The original Antissa coin looks to me a century or more earlier than the Tenos coin, say late 4th century, but I should not like to say how long afterwards the rose was countermarked on it.

The Tenos coin is second century and one might suggest that it and its fellows with the rose symbol were struck in the mint of Tenos with bullion provided by the Rhodians for the pay of their garrison.

So that failing the accumulation of a number of countermarked coins of Antissa from Antissa, the evidence for Rhodian control at Tenos is far stronger. Is this any help? I don't think there's much to be made of the actual representations of the rose.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) E.S.G. Robinson

(some further personal stuff in longhand)

Carbon copy filed under KNIDIAN notes

BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

5.6.49

Dear Virginia,

I've just received the last  
of Beloch, for which I thank you *de profundis*.

I have just been re-reading my  
stuff on Rhodian topography: + feel that  
I must revisit the island - but am daunted  
at the prospect. Are you going there?

Yours  
Peter



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

28.5.49

Dear Virginia,

First I must thank you very much for the Beloch, Griech. Sch.  $\frac{2}{3}$ <sup>rd</sup> of which has arrived: the rest, I pray, will follow, and is not being held on by customs officials at Northolt. Thank you very much. I have told Cook to send me the bill for your photos: I gather it will not arrive yet since the photographer is so slow at making out accounts.

The Thasian inscription is interesting. I suppose that l. 2  $\Gamma\Delta\Gamma$  etc must refer to a different  $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\alpha$  than those mentioned in l. 3: they can hardly be part of the same scale. I wonder what they are, if l. 3 are Korinns. You do not print <sup>interpunction</sup> dots at the end of l. 2, or at the end of l. 3: is it possible that the line was engraved after  $\Gamma\Delta\Delta$ ?

Korinos.

Difficult. Yes: in historical matters I am against Bickermann who is slovenly and ignorant (as you will discover when - if ever! - you read my chapters on Rhodian history of the period after 188), though I always consult him with the greatest respect on questions of Jewish practice in

the Maccabean Age. In the article in question, he has got his main contention right: Livy's text of the treaty is more reliable than Ptolemy's: but his 'appendix' is a hotch-potch of horrors.

Meanwhile, Cnidus again!

Coin: the <sup>Rhodian</sup> rose on the coins is paralleled from elsewhere, & cannot be used as a test of subjection to Rhodes: v. e.g. the coin of Antissa, BMC Antissa etc p. 175, N<sup>os</sup> 4, 5, 6; Miletus, BMC Caria etc p. 248, n<sup>o</sup> 198; Soloi, BMC Lycania, p. 1xxiv, n<sup>o</sup> 1. — these cities were independent of Rhodes. On the other hand the rose is also found on the coins of communities which were incorporated in the Rhodian state — Magiste, BMC Caria p. 221 — and very closely connected with it — Tenos, BMC Cyclades, p. ? = HN<sup>2</sup> p. 493, cf. Demonetico, BCH xxvi, p. 412 — and clearly Cnidus might be in either category. I enclose a letter (which I showed like back) from Stanley Robinson on this question (the coins in question are those of Antissa and Tenos): it may interest you.

In regard to the rose on Cnidian handles, the only evidence I can find (being at home, and not in the Ashmolean Museum) is your note in Hepp. iii, 1934, ff. 269-270 (N<sup>o</sup> 200). This given as you give it here is not very bulky, but perhaps it has increased. The rosette of n<sup>o</sup> 200 is surely not the same as the Rhodian rose: after all, one must allow other people to have roses of sorts. All that is left is those handles quoted from Pavell (which I have not read myself): of these one at least, the last quoted, is a very uncertain item: οὐλοῦμαι?



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

I do not think then that from the non-literary evidence a reason is possible. Now the literary evidence.

The ~~to~~ passages of Polybios and Thuc. are not conclusive for the status of ~~Cnidus~~ <sup>before 164</sup> Cnidus, as on re-reading them, I fully agree. The general fact is that after the Peace of Apamea Rhodes though she acquired 'Caria S. of the Maeander', did not thereby acquire by any means all of the Greek cities in that region. Some important ones can be inferred from chance evidence not to have been thus acquired: viz. Miletus; Heracleia-on-Latmos; Myndos; Halicarnassus; Lasos(?), Bargylia(?), Mylasa, Alabanda. Notice that the Coastal towns were nearly left independent. There is no evidence either way for Cnidus, but (a) it was on the coast, which suggests it may have been in the same boat as Miletus, (b) there is no trace of Rhodian influence in Cnidian inscriptions: this is probably insignificant, since the said inscriptions are a poor lot: v. SED 3500-3548 (except 3535b, which is interesting: Διοκὺρ Διοκυράδης, κρίει ἀντὶ τοῦ, χρεώτῃ, Χαίρει. I take this to mean that Dionysas was a Rhodian who had received citizen in Cnidus, & that it does not refer to the status of Rhodes at all).

However the really vital thing to know about these <sup>late Cnidus</sup> cities is the status they enjoyed before the Peace of Apamea: from this can be inferred their subsequent status (v. →

Bickermann's article) — + we don't know this about Cnidos.

I don't think this will help you much: ~~the~~ the existence  
 there is certainly no definite evidence one way or the other:  
 it's just a matter of probabilities. But I shall have a  
 dig (metaphorical) at Cnidian insens. in the Corpus  
 soon, & see what I can set out.

What news of Rhodes?

I don't expect I shall come to Athens this year  
 since I am very hard up at the moment. It all  
 depends: if I get more money than I ~~anticipate~~ anticipate  
 in marking some exam papers in July I shall come  
 in September: otherwise I shall have to wait till  
 next year. I hope to come: if I don't spend a  
 month or so in Greece every year I feel miserable:  
 though I am not a philhellene & sentiment.

Yrs.

Petr



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

192 1ffley Rd.  
Oxford.

16.5.49

Dear Virginia,

<sup>with request for money</sup>  
<sup>10/30</sup>  
<sup>Tuesday</sup>  
<sup>1949</sup>  
Εἰς κερδοκοίλας — My  
Belosh, Röm. Gesch. has duly arrived. I am  
very grateful to you indeed, & shall make haste  
to discharge your obligations to Cook at Cambridge.  
Belosh, G.G. has not arrived <sup>yet</sup>: I'm afraid it  
put you to a lot of trouble, & I apologise.  
I shall hold the corresponding amount in credit  
for you!

This is just to thank you. I must write  
again soon. I have been reading Miss Crossley's  
article on the Athenian dry-measures <sup>in the new number of Hesperia</sup>: rather fun,  
I thought.

I am involved in chronological meditation:  
a papyrus shows that Ptole. Philometor's reign has been  
dated a little wrong: & oh how I dislike counting.

Yrs Peter



add a note here about the content of the article about printing plan

May 5, 1949

Dear Peter,

Here I am, after all, and have your letter of March 13 (longhand) as well as your letter of April 11, which was forwarded to me from Princeton. There has been a strike of government employees which involved the post office, and one got into the habit of thinking it was no use writing letters. Beside, your business was a little complicated.

To start with that: I got the Romische Geschichte just before the strike, and it was mailed to you as soon as the strike was over, and just what those dates were I don't know and prefer not to make precise because of the state of my general correspondence. Anyway you should be getting it; it was sent registered in some way (not by air). It cost 50,000, which is about five dollars by the exchange we get. I would be glad if you would pay for some photographs I have had and am to have from the Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge: Mr. Cook will send you the bill. If there comes to be a balance in my favor I should like to keep a credit with you for other investments. As to Griechische Gesch.: Kaufmann is a little out of my orbit, and our man from the school went there to investigate for me, and the news he brought back coincided with the strike, so I didn't act on it. Here it is: and I see it is less complicated than I thought: K. has or had Vols. 2, 3, and 4, both parts of each, but apparently none of 1, alas. I shall go tomorrow morning on my way to the museum and get it - I hope it is all still there. The price of the whole set is 150,000, and may go into my credit with you if you will. (i.e. of the three available volumes)

As to the mysterious lack of references to OINOY KEPAMIA ROAIA you will have seen mention in my article. I have written to Professor Johnson in Princeton that it would be nice if he had a graduate student to investigate such references as there are - he gives a course in papyrology, and was nice to me last winter. I'd like to have a list, with dates, and comments including professional translations.

Thanks for your reading of my Shear article and the kind comments. It came too late for me to write any greetings on the offprints, for which I am sorry, and also misled ~~ingsxxxxxxxaffixintxx~~ others beside yourself as to my whereabouts. I am really obliged for your detailed criticism which shows me where I have been unclear in thought or deed. With regard to the capacity endorsement, I think that the stamp means that the jar is represented as conforming to current local regulation for its type. The date



Grand 200 15.61

ich says      + 20    Effy & Lou    just    [the]    looks  
just the same. The pilch course is somewhat mixed. It  
includes lamps and    , and one day the two that do  
the washing raked    ;    that proved to contain

M. Pouilloux, who is publishing the book  
a very generous spirit.

which would do for the AAAAAIIII.

It is certainly time all this was published.

On more of your comments. As to the 'convenient uses' of the stamp, yes, I do mean something unconnected with regulation, as you say. Somebody got to the back of his cellar and opened a prewar jar (quite distinguishable by shape as well as stamp) and noticed it was a lot better than the new stuff. And then they began noticing whether some particular year was not superior, etc., etc.

I am bothered about the question of Knidos in the early 2nd century, because it is a fact that I have not made anything like a professional investigation on this matter. There are some uses I believe on the coins, certainly on the stamps. Rostkowski speaks of it as politically dependent on Rhodes (cf. SEH 1488, note 109, right to the end of the note), but then he seems to think more of Bikerman than you do; and even then, 'occupation' may be too much to say. Of the references you give, I didn't locate last night a copy of Macca-bees in the library, and I did not feel convinced by Polybios xxxi,5 in this connection (loathsome expression); but I was so sleepy that I kept forgetting what it was all about. (We are getting up early.) Further comments from you will be welcomed.

On Rhodian trade: the jars at Byzantium probably date about



200 BC (Museum nos. 6672 and 6675, respectively of Agathokles in the term of Aineter, and of Antimachos in the term of the priest Ariston); and ~~about 25 years later~~ a little later (6667, jar of Dios in the term of Kallikrates); and ~~perhaps~~ in the second quarter of the century (6674, jar of Diophantos in the term of Nikasagoras - there were at least two N.s); and in the second half of the century (6673, jar of Lysion with anchor, name of eponym not read). A couple of dozen Rhodian handles were found at Troy: some third BC; most, second. For the mainland, remember Corinth where quite a few Rhodian were found, I haven't the number available (not masses).

I haven't been outside of Greece proper since arrival, nor managed to write to Rhodes yet. Apart from Agora material, I have under way (weigh?) an investigation of the bin of handles in the National Museum. It is the sort of thing nobody could dream of undertaking alone. The boy who is sorting for me says he has done something over a thousand, and the remainder looks just the same. The pile of course is somewhat mixed. It includes lamps and loomweights, and one day the two that do the washing raked out a little parcel that proved to contain two handgrenades. (Their packing included a newspaper dated 1941, so I suppose they were not meant for us, but still they raised rather a stir, as you can imagine.)

Thank you for the reference on Tyras.  
(just)

I've written to Pritchett about his book you want. He is now in California.

I do hope to see you in Oxford, possibly this year. But are you planning to come to Athens at the end of the summer? It should be nice to meet. But I do think of the reaction of Roger Edwards here, with whom I had had a rather heavy correspondence from Princeton about some Hellenistic deposits in Corinth that he was writing up. We had a pleasant greeting, and then after a few days I said, Well, now we don't have to write all those letters any more. Yes, he said; and then, after a pause, But I liked the letters.

Enough for the time. I must do some work.



192 Ifley Road,  
Oxford.

11 April 1949.

Dear Virginia,

I wrote you a letter the other day in the belief that you were or are in Athens. But a suspicion that I may be wrong is aroused by the arrival of a (very welcome) offprint from the Shear Memorial Number of Hesperia; but then this proves nothing. So I don't know where I (or you) am (?are).

Thank you very much for the offprint. I think it is extremely good, in fact the best summary available; and really excellent choice of photographs. I am going to use them next term in a lecture I have to give on Aegean trade in the third century.

One or two points occur to me.

You seem now to believe that the stamp denotes an endorsement of <sup>volume</sup> ~~weight~~: i.e. that it <sup>means</sup> ~~means~~ 'this jar holds x choinikes'. I find this difficult to believe, for a reason given by you on p. 176, viz. 'a difference in dimensions and outline that is scarcely noticeable to the eye can produce a difference in capacity ~~xxxx~~ of about an eighth of the total'. Now this suggests to me that, if a guarantee of content (amount of content, that is) was required, and such a considerable variation in volume was likely, then the endorsement must have recorded the precise volume; the mere fact of a government guarantee would not solve, or obviate, disputes, if it was not expressly stated on the stamp what the precise volume guaranteed was. On the other hand the state officials are not likely only to have ~~xxxxxx~~ affixed their seal to jars conforming to one ~~an~~ exact measure, since your experiments show that ~~xx~~ jars of varying content, though similar appearances were stamped. I think, at least, that if the stamp says 'this jar holds x choi.' and we know x is not constant, the absence of any indication of precise <sup>volume</sup> ~~weight~~ on surviving handles, is a bit surprising. Ancient practice was normally pretty explicit; v.e.g, the seals etc. in Rostov's, Seleucid Babylonia.

On p. 177 you say that the stamp cannot guarantee quality age, or content, but it 'may have come to have convenient uses in this connection'. You mean privately, I suppose, not so far as the state was concerned.

pp. 181-2, you give a list of jars identified by their stamped handles: add Tyras (v. Becker, N. Jahrbuch, Spbd. v, 1864-72, p. 466, para. 4). I note the Zakynthos one with pleasure. Do you remember the Rhodian peasant I mentioned to you who told me he had found a handle with ZAKYNTHIOS on it; perhaps it was really ZAKYNTHOS.

p. 183, you say, referring to Cnidian practice, also to the Rhodian occupation of the early second century. Is this certain? I know no evidence that Cnidos was ever included in the Rhodian mainland possessions. As a free city <sup>before</sup> ~~after~~ the Peace of Apameia, it would normally have remained so after it.

For me capacity = volume,  
just in case it weren't really!

Also, if the stamp states  
volume could it have been  
put on before the jar was  
brought there before it  
precise volume could be  
ascertained?



That it was independent is surely shown by Polyb. xxxi, 5, and confirmed by (what, in this matter, is I think adequate testimony, though in other respects it abounds in difficulties) I Macc. xvi, 23, ~~xxxxxx~~ Bickerman, REG, 1937, p.?, said ~~xxxx~~, or implied that the city became Rhodian, but that is characteristic

I was very interested to see that some Rhodian jars have been found at Byzantium. Have you any details that you could let me have? I have tried to collect what information there is, archaeological, literary and epigraphical, regarding trade contacts between Rhodes and Byzantium, and this would make a welcome addition--particularly if they could be dated!

I wish I had more constructive criticisms to offer. But you have studied and pondered over these blessed things so long, that you must put up with the fact that nobody can answer you back satisfactorily! So I can only say that it was most stimulating and interesting.

I have little news this end. I have written forty lectures since I came back from Greece last summer and have therefore have had little time for fresh research. I have managed to write a few minor articles, mostly on or round inscriptions, and when these see the light of day I shall send you a copy. I wish I could be as useful to ~~xx~~ you (I nearly said indispensable) as you are to me.

Finally, (a) There is a book (again!), privately printed by W.K. Pritchett, called The Five Attic tribes after Clisthenes, 1943, for which I pine. Nobody in Oxford has it, not even the Bodleian; could you explore possibilities ~~xxxxxx~~ of getting a copy?

(b) When are you coming to Oxford? I have been keeping some of my birthday cake for you, but appetite won and I consumed the last piece today.

Yours,

Peter.

\* I think he misread Liv. xxxiii, 20, 12; but he often talks nonsense.

g SEHWW p. 1488, note 109

"— since it was at this time a dependency of Rhodes, Ernst Meyer,

Die Griechen, p. 72 and p. 140

g Büchner P.W.K. xi, 920, etc.

— see also and further, and see also — states political dep. on Rhodes



192 Ifley Road  
Oxford

13.iii.49

Dear Virginia,

I should have written before, but I have been smitten with a virulent attack of flu, and am still trying to recover from it. To my consternation I found, on arising from my pallet, that I had lost your letter (a very unusual thing for me to do), + I cannot remember precisely ~~the~~ the chronology of your movements. However I believe you are now in Greece.

First, books: if you have the necessary spare cash (and I am led to believe that Americans in Greece have no currency restrictions), could you be an angel + perform the following operation (subject to repayment, either (a) in cash direct if you pass through here on your way back to the States, as I profoundly hope, or (b) through <sup>English</sup> books you require which I can send you in America as a gift.):

Kaufmann had last summer all of Beloch, Griechische Geschichte<sup>2</sup>, except i.1. I badly want i,2 - ii, 2 for myself, + all that is available for my friend Monigiano (with whose writings you are doubtless familiar): I also want Beloch's Römische Geschichte, which he

I do not think one can write a history of Rhodes, though I dare say if Pöhlis was complete it would be possible. Without a <sup>continuous</sup> literary narrative one never gets to know what <sup>ordinary</sup> people thought about <sup>political events</sup> ~~things~~: all the amphora inscriptions in the world don't compensate for that. Pöhlis' accounts of proceedings in the Rhodian assembly at the time of the Third Macedonian War give me <sup>almost</sup> only glimpses (excluding a few passages of Diodorus) of human emotions in Rhodes!

At well, its good training for anyone who studies Hellenistic history.

What are the chances of our meeting this year? I think we ought to. I want to get to Turkey later if I can: but I am very poor at the moment, & also very busy, so I think it will not be before September, if at all.

My regards to Homer Thompson, & should you see him, John Cook. I am still being plagued by that late ornament of the British School, & your friend, Daphne Hereward. I hope she will settle down on your side of the Atlantic!

W

Peterson

This is a bad letter: 'flu still hovers over me.

Eleutheriadakis, or rather the widow who superintends his foreign department, was keeping for me -

If you can discover any means of getting any of these for me I shall be much indebted: but do not worry if you can't: I have waited without them for some time past!

How are you getting on? I am anxious to hear whether you have been to Rhodes, & if so if you saw that Κερατῆς Κονδῆς; and Μορριόνη, by now perhaps dead of an overdose of Ojio. Also if you are yet able to throw light on the problem of Hellenistic imports into Rhodes.

Another point which puzzles me is the extent of Rhodian trade with other places in Greece proper except Athens. The answer is 'virtually none' I suppose. Presumably most of the imports of Hellenistic Greece came through Athens, where they passed into the hands of retail traders.

I have been noticing recently that there are <sup>(iii-ii BC)</sup> a considerable number of references in Delian inscriptions to  $\text{Οἶνον κερατῆρας}$   $\text{Κνίδος}$  and  $\text{Οἶνον κερατῆρας Κνίδος}$ , but not one to  $\text{Οἶνον κερατῆρας Ρόδου}$ : Since Delos ~~was~~ has, I gather, yielded many amphora-handles of Rhodian origin this is perhaps rather striking: I do not know if <sup>this has</sup> ~~it has~~ been noticed.

I am painfully and laboriously rewriting my magnum opus: I am supposed to submit it for a D. Phil. thesis this summer, but I am not anxious to be a Dr (which is worth nothing here), & would rather take months longer over it.



192 Iffley Road,  
Oxford.

20/xii/48.

Dear Virginia,

Best wishes for Christmas, and the New Year, which will perhaps find you in Greece. I'm sorry I've been so long in answering your letter, but life has been rather hectic for the last few weeks--I've been trying to write some new lectures, an operation which causes me much pain and weariness of spirit. X

I wrote to you about Hagesippos. I now have a photograph of the inscription in which he occurs, and my feeling is that it belongs to the third rather than the second century. But the script in Carian inscriptions is usually so formless that it is not a secure guide. One can only assume that what is small and (relatively) neat is early rather than late Hellenistic. ~~At the moment I have on hand a long and very intricate~~

At the moment I have on hand a long and very intricate lex sacra from Amos in the Rhodian Peraea, near Physkos. Among many incomprehensible items is the following phrase, of which the letters are certain  $\epsilon\phi' \epsilon\pi\epsilon\omega\varsigma \text{ O}\Sigma\text{K}$ . If this refers to a priest of Helios, as is most probable, the name is new, isn't it? Any Greek name in  $\text{O}\Sigma\text{K}$  is odd, or sounds it to me.

If you go to Rhodes, I wonder whether you will have better luck than I did. One item on which I badly want information is up your street, though not mine, namely; whether there are signs of late iv/early iii b.c., imports from Egypt into Rhodes. ~~There were signs of this~~ I had this in mind when in Rhodes, but I found nothing, chiefly perhaps because I wouldn't have recog-



nised them anyhow. I suppose that ~~in some cases~~ any Megarian ware found in Rhodes might be from Egypt, but might equally well be from some other centre. I thought also of the so-called Hadra vases, but I don't suppose they were exported, were they? I mean they were n't articles of trade in quite the same way as amphorae and Megarian ware. But even if one could not identify hellenistic imports from Egypt, I do not know how significant that would be, since I don't think imports from anywhere else have been identified either. This puzzles me continually, since even if the prosperity of Rhodes was mainly derived from harbour-dues imposed on transit trade, this does not mean that the island itself was economically self-sufficient. The Rhodians, transit trade or not, must have imported many of the commodities of daily existence--but where are they? If you see anything in Rhodes which speaks more to your trained eye and mind than to my untutored organs, please let me know.

When I know that you are safely in Athens I shall bother you (if I may) to visit Eleutheriádis on my behalf. My book-<sup>u</sup>bying operations are as involved as ever. I saw a complete set of the Exploration de Rhodes series, including Nilsson, in a Dutch catalogue the other day; I ordered it at once, but time passes and there is no sign of it.

I must stop. I am going away for Christmas, and must reduce the height of a pile of books in Bodley before I do so.

Yours,

*Reh.*



November 1, 1948

Dear Peter,

Your letter of the 26th to hand, and I have to congratulate you on having acquired a capacious house. I do not seem to have heard before whether you were married, but if that also is a recent affair, congratulations are perhaps in order, and are offered with enthusiasm.

Many thanks for your letters of the 12th and 26th of September. These were largely concerned with Ephesos. To me you confirm an opinion that this is a proper name. As to Morricone, I have not yet made any demarches, for fear, as I once heard said, of rushing in where fools fear to tread. I had a chat with Homer. He suggests I might get on better by paying a visit, which I may soon be able to do with fair convenience. But I would certainly like to see the stuff sooner. I shall probably try to do some softening with offprints.

Miss Hereward is here, as likely you have ascertained by this time. I made my own little effort for that inscription, writing to a couple of cronies of my Turkish days, as a result of which we got a letter from the archaeologically-minded British consul in Smyrna. I don't know if you picked up my trail. Anyway, no luck along there either.

Of a Rhodian amphora stamp reading  $\text{ΙΟΡΑΑΝΟΙ ΖΑΚΥΝΘΙΟΙ}$ . I should wish to see a photograph.

I expect to get off to Greece on a Norwegian freighter not long after Christmas. Slow, but has been recommended.

Needless to say, I am keen to see your conclusions on the geschichte and the Technical Questions.

Our Island Paradise is also uninhabited as of this time of year, except for the squirrels, which finally no one had the heart to evacuate from the attic. Copper Island is one of a group of small islands in the channel north of St. Joseph. (Big island.) If your friend's place is thereabout, he probably knows the Wallaces. Or has he never stayed there?

You are a smart typist, but I think it sad that you have descended to our level.

Yours,

VG

My letter was really written for, which was to observe that the Hagesinos known to me on handles is third century, not late, and probably earlyish. No evidence to suggest a late homonym. I base this on character of stamps, and of handles known at the Agora. There are not very many examples, as you say. Do let me hear when you know more of the inscription.



192 Iffley Road,  
Oxford.

26.10.48.

Dear V.G.,

You will observe that I have at last followed your advice and invested in a typewriter, in the operation of which I am in my opinion rather deft. You will further observe that I have carried out my annual move. This is not just to keep you alert. As a matter of fact the above address is likely to be permanent, since it is a house large enough to house not only me and my family, but (more difficult) my books too. I consequently have abandoned the unsatisfactory mode of life, common to married tutors, by which one has one's books in college and one's existence from 7 p.m. elsewhere. I have not yet moved to the above address, but shall be doing so on Nov. 1., so when you reply, it will be in force.

These domestic matters settled, I turn to more important <sup>and</sup> ~~matters~~. One of the unpublished inscriptions which I have from the Turkish coast opposite Rhodes--i.e. the Rhodian Peraea--contains the name of a priest of Baïios, who, if I am not mistaken is rather a rare bird, viz. Αἰώνιος. I do not know whether you have any information about him. The date of the inscription is (of course) uncertain; I have only a majuscule copy so far, with the comment, 'Hellenistic letters'. My source usually writes 'good Hell. lett.' when he means 3rd. cent. stuff. I therefore suppose that he regards the ~~script~~ lettering as characteristic of 2nd. or 1st. cent. B.C. inscriptions.



I should be glad to know what you think of this chap.

There will probably be one or two more eponyms coming along shortly; if so, I will let you know what they are.

Did you get anything satisfactory out of Morricone regarding the eponymous list? If he sent it to you, you are indeed a privileged person. I wrote to him about six weeks ago with a rather important question from Paul Jacobstam and he hasn't even answered. I wish I knew a bit more of what was in that list in the seventies and sixties of the fourth century.

Are your plans for visiting Greece maturing? I hope you manage to get there card-index and all. I am back tackling the second, and I profoundly trust, last draft of my Geschichte of the accursed Knodians.

I find I wrote a beautiful appendix two years ago called Technical questions arising out of Knodian ampora-handles. I am afraid of reading it now. But when I do, then await the post with apprehension.

My typing (as you will have observed) is becoming rather erratic. Therefore I pause.....and stop.

yours,

*Belinda*

BALLIOL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

12.9.48

Dear Miss Grace,

Many thanks for your letter. I appreciate that you should have written it during your heat-wave, which received good mention in our press. It must have been late. You are probably now just about to leave Lake Huron — I hope you had a good holiday. I know a man who owns an island on that lake, but since it is, I believe, uninhabited, I do not expect it is to be recommended as a holiday resort.

Your photographs I return herewith, with many thanks. Though the ΕΦΕΣΟΣ is not quite what I had anticipated, it is very interesting. Assuming that it refers to the place, is it, as you think, at all possible that some other subsidiary stamps could denote places rather than people? ; place indicating destination. The latter must in that case have been known before the post was made; but I don't think that is an insuperable difficulty. Εφεσος occurs as a proper-name in I.G. xi.2.158A.121 (cf Bechtel, Personennamen p.552) : τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐν οἷς Ἐφεσος κατοικεῖται κ.τ.λ. There are numerous parallels for city-names



being used as personal names: v. Bechtel, ibid.). On the  $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\varsigma$ ,  
 81½,  $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\alpha$  is found as a proper name in Aszani, CIG.iii,  
 3850 (in Pape-Benseley), +  $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ , also as prop. name,  $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma$   
 $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ , in Keil - Bremerstein, Erste Reise, 1776 (reprinted  
 in Robert, Hellenica vi. 1948 p. 106.

I wonder whether you have taken any action yet  
 in regard to the Rhodian list of Eponyms. I think, as a  
 matter of fact, that a request from an American would be  
 more readily heard than one from a British subject; that I  
 expect you have heard. However, if you have in the past  
 had  $\lambda\epsilon\gamma\lambda\gamma\lambda\omicron\gamma\pi\alpha\phi\iota\alpha$  with Kondes, or more particularly  
 Mornicone, I am surprised that they, or he, didn't mention  
 the  $\sigma\gamma\gamma\lambda\iota$  to you, since it is such an essential document  
 for you (for me, too; but in a less precise way); so  
 perhaps they want to keep it from all comers until  
 publication, being true lovers of Wissenschaft. I long  
 to get to grips with it, but feel I have no chance.

I did mention the existence of the  $\sigma\gamma\gamma\lambda\iota$  to Homer  
 Thompson, but it probably went out of his mind; I was  
 in a stinking temper about the whole thing when I  
 was in Athens, and that is probably all he remembers  
 about me!

Next point of some interest (I may have mentioned  
 this before: if so, hit me over the head: I must keep

BALLIOL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

Chief of my correspondence), is that I have got hold of a good many unpublished inscriptions from the Peraia, some of which have got the names of priests of Helios in the pre-scrip<sup>t</sup> of decree in the normal way. I shall be getting down to these shortly, and will communicate results to you.

Do you know if a girl named Daphne Hereward has yet arrived at Princeton, to 'deire' for Meritt? I've lost track of her here, and I have some information about a Smyrna inscription (or rather I've got no information, which is just as important) for her. I should like to hear if you have met her; and if so, what success.

I have a cold and too much to do. I hope you have better.

Did I tell you about the Rhodian amphora-stamp at Armithea-village (not seen, but undoubtedly in existence) which read: ΓΟΡΔΑΝΟΣ ΖΑΚΥΝΘΙΟΣ?

Yrs

P.F.



BALLIOL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

26.9.48

Dear V.G.

Further to Ephesos:

Sardis Nr. 1. ll 16-17 : ΟΙΚΕΤΩ ΟΙ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ/ἔν τῷ τόπῳ  
τῷ τόπῳ, ἐν Τραλμοῦροις Ἐφεσος Ἀθρότου, καθόας  
Ἀθρότου κ.α.α.

ilid. nr. 3 l. 3. Ἐφεσος μέγιστος.

also, I think, Mainri, Nuova Silloge, nr 428

Ἐφεσος/καὶ/ἰσιδωρ[α], which is more  
like than Mainri's effort.

I am leaving the above address next week, but  
it will give me till you get a letter.

Yrs

John F.

August 26, 1948

Dear Mr. Fraser,

With the thermometer in this room reading 93 at 11:30 p.m., it is really neater to touch the paper as little as possible. I am running away tomorrow, and by Monday afternoon, d.v., shall be in the North Channel of Lake Hiron, on the Canadian side, not to return here until about the middle of the month.

I enclose pictures of the handle with the Ephesos stamp. As you see, it is a subsidiary stamp on a handle which seems to mention the eponym Pythogenes, and the reading is not exactly as you had understood it to be. Could such a form not be a personal name?

Your news about what you saw in Rhodes is of course terrific; it has been difficult for me not to mention it to Homer Thompson, but I could not discover that he had heard anything about it from you. This stone is of course essential to my present efforts. Do you think I should not mention it to Morricone at all? As I have had occasion several times to remark to you, I have never found evidence to ~~date~~ give any Rhodian handle a date, anything definite, that is, before 300. We had things that had to be put about 300, or shortly afterward, and other things that appeared somewhat earlier. A name that occurs on ~~many~~ these <sup>apparent</sup> early handles is Sthenelas. This is the only name you mention from the second column; it does occur (as probably you have noticed by this time) in Hiller's list of Rhodian eponyms taken from the stamps, also in the Lindos catalogue of Nilsson. It is tantalizing not to know what the rest are! Anyway, I am very much obliged indeed for all the details you give.

I feel that on this as well as on other matters in your letter I can respond more usefully at a lower temperature, and had better stop here, with renewed expressions of my most distinguished sentiments, and thank you very much for putting me au courant.

I do expect to go to Greece about January. But I will be burdened as mentioned in a previous letter, and shall probably have to take a ship. So visits to England will likely have to be put off until I can travel light, perhaps next summer.

Yours



1.  
BALLIOL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

1.8.48

Dear Miss Grace,

I arrived back from Rhodes earlier than I had originally supposed I should, & found awaiting me an offprint of your article in the current number of Hesperia, & the by this time famous translation of Knickstempel, which I had already had an opportunity of reading when in Greece; for both — my thanks.

My trip to Rhodes was only moderately satisfactory: I think that the glowing accounts one hears of the island are based on flying visits to the town itself & its one large (and prodigiously vulgar) hotel. When in Athens <sup>I</sup> ~~and~~ called at the Agora & met Miss Talbot, who showed me round, and introduced me to a formidable card-index of Rhodian Amphora stamps — alleged to be your progeny. I was very interested in their museum but decided (between you and me) not for the first time that I do not like Museums.

My time in Rhodes was, as I said, not wholly profitable, because nothing I wanted to see was available; the Greeks are peculiarly touchy about

the Dodecanese, + refused me official<sup>y</sup> in Athens permission to look at anything unpublished; the unpublished material is in the hands of the Italian Morricone, who is amiable + highly intelligent; his Greek boss, Kondes, is characteristic of his type + for me at least possessed little charm.

The most interesting thing they ~~have~~ <sup>in Rhodes</sup> found/dug, the war as a result of bombardment is a list of the priests of Helios! This is to be published (? when?) & Morricone, who allowed me to look at it when the <sup>Kondes</sup> Greek was not about. (perhaps this is a little unfair to the Greek who in fact delegates responsibility to avoid unpleasantness). So your statement on p. 144 of Pass in Florida is no longer true. A few words about this list; (in case you have not been told of it & οἱ ἐν Ῥόδῳ in Rhodes you had better regard the information as for your eye alone): it is a stele containing a double column of names, broken at the bottom across (the column left and right margins <sup>intact</sup> complete, thus:



The ~~text~~ <sup>front</sup> is divided into a vertical line, i.e. to the back though this is totally uninscribed (though the surface is prepared): The list starts with 408/7 on the left column, with the words <sup>ΑΛΙΟ ΛΑΡΥΣ ΤΟΙΣ</sup> ~~ΤΟΙΣ ΛΑΡΥΣ~~ <sup>ΑΛΙΟ</sup>, followed by ~~29 names, i.e. 408/7 - 380/9, the first~~ c. 40 names, before the break; of these the first 28, i.e. to 381/0 are written of one hand; the next name ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΚΤΗΤΙΔΑ (a very odd name this) is written in much larger letters, + after him the writing of each name varies: i.e. the <sup>inscription of the</sup> first was





4.

are Nilsson's handles or not: to find out by examination we  
take months (do you fancy a winter in Lindos: in Summer it  
is unspeakable: a fine hot wind blows, such as I have never met  
elsewhere in Greece or the Aegean + there is no food other than tomatoes  
- how I loathe Tomatoes after 3 days at Lindos). According to  
the Φύληξ the Italians when rebuilding the temple found "thousands"  
+ he thinks (but he can't be sure) that these are they. They are  
all numbers, + these numbers I copied down to not correspond  
to those in Nilsson's publication, (but might have corresponded  
to N's original numbers on the spot I suppose): e.g. N. 228  
Tharsopolis had the N° 20; N. 42, Amyntas had the N° 17.  
But the numbers were written roughly in pencil + clearly did  
not denote a final arrangement. If you want more information  
the Φύληξ at Lindos, unlike his superiors in Rhodes, is very  
niggling (though I guess, not over-reliable). If you would like me  
to write for you (with: I became quite friendly with him).

I found a good many handles numbering about - especially  
in the monumental part. I kept one or two + ~~some~~ gave one or  
two to half a dozen individuals to keep in case they are required again.  
Two which my interest you from the site of Kanirios, are:

(1) oblong. no emblem. ΦΥΛΗΞ. (This is a copy of a copy made  
of me on the spot: letter-forms fairly accurate, but no guarantee!)  
This might I suppose be a female ~~or~~ in the plural, or a man in  
the nom. I see the name reappears, N. p. 533 from Kertsch + doubtless  
elsewhere.

(2) oblong. no emblem. Διόδοι Διοδοκάρη. (lettering rather squashed  
up towards end). I take it this is Διόδωρος καὶ υἱ(οί). Have we  
a parallel for this?

I don't think any of the others were particularly interesting. I have  
one at home which looks as if it may be interesting, but I haven't  
deciphered it yet.



5.

BALLIOL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

While on the subject of amphoras, I am reminded that Miss Talbot told me that they had found a Rhodian stamp - a Rose, I think it was - <sup>with</sup> the word <sup>Εφεσος</sup>: <sup>2</sup>very interesting. Have you any chance for a photograph of it yet? If so I should like to have one - very much. It recalls to me that there is a connection between Rhodian & Eph. coinage in the 3rd century (Head in Coinage of Ephesus is not, I think, quite right here); more generally <sup>the stamp</sup> it is perhaps a parallel to those issues of coinage of cities of Asia Minor who would display the Rhodian badge one side; indicating just that? v.g. Priene: v. Regling, Münzen von Priene index.

I don't think I've much else; incidentally it does occur to me (as ~~was~~ <sup>now</sup> only it has already to you) that the priests of Helios - Stele should be useful for settling the question of the names on the coin: there is I suppose still a lingering possibility that some of the names <sup>on the coins</sup> are the priests of Helios; but we shall be able to decide that categorically if no names correspond.

Our Conference meets tomorrow & Oxford will be full of learning (& hot air). I met your representative, Professor Thompson in Athens & found him more than pleasant: I'm afraid (rather appalled him this time & saying that I intended returning to England since I had nothing to do in Athens & lots to do in Oxford: I feel like a very contemptible traitor to the Greek cause.

(I hear (rumour?) that on my visit Athens in the winter will you pass this way? I hope so.

I am really going to finish my history of Rhos this year!

Yr  
P.F.

1000 (2nd) 19  
 1000 1st 19  
 1000 2nd 19  
 1000 3rd 19  
 also Florida artist

Many thanks for your letter, with its  
enclosure, and varied information. I have written  
to the "Εφορος, if such he be, & laid before him in  
my best demotic what qualifications I can muster. I  
hope he will be at the Δεῖπνον to greet me.

I shall make a point when in Athens  
of visiting Miss Talbot; I hope you do not mind if I  
use ~~of~~ your name as a passport to respectability!  
I gather that one is subject to considerable delays, in attempting  
to proceed from Athens to Rhodes; "orders" of all sorts, <sup>and</sup> ~~various~~  
are required: so I shall have plenty of time to look around.  
Though looking around in Athens is an expensive pastime.  
I am "getting on" in Rhodes.

I am "getting back" to Rhodes on a large scale at last; am trying to store the contents of inscriptions in my head. To save paper, I am wondering how I can make an intelligent study of the inscriptions without taking a complete library. (I have no idea what facilities for work exist in Rhodes, pretty few, I take it.)

I have got a new job <sup>in the University</sup> here, lecturer in Hellenistic History, which means that at the end of this term I shall be able to give up college tuition - I am extremely pleased, & I am told my pupils, & Balliol governing body are alike relieved. It means that I shall be moving ~~back~~ get again; I hope for the last time. I shall possibly return to the college I was at as an undergraduate.



~~Back~~ Brasseur, + to whom I returned for a year after the war, when I suspect I first wrote to you. However I don't really know yet. At the moment, while brooding on Rhodes (+ the T&E's thereto), I am also trying to compose three lectures on The Hellenistic Age; This, I regret to say, is no easy task, when the audience has no knowledge of it: it will try me + them ~~hardly~~ not a little.

My dates in Rhodes, in case I have not told you previously, are circa June 26 to Aug. 3/4. I should think that, if you want to write to me, ~~at~~ a suitable address would be either 70 The British School at Athens, or (a pure conjecture) apud τὸν κ.ῶν Ἐποφάν τῆς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Ὑπερσίου: a cautious person wd. write in duplicate in such circumstances!

Your remarks about broodhood find a ready sympathiser: one of his followers represented a good horse below — on my part.

I must stop.

Yrs

Peter Trapp.

P.S. I do not comment on your enclosure because I have not yet got back to my pen-handles, + I shall keep your letter till I do; so if I blot up with comments on it Aug next year when you've forgotten all about it, don't be surprised.

2.v.48

Balliol College,  
Oxford.

Dear Miss Grace,

I am much obliged to you for your notes on Rhodes. French I know slightly, having met him in Greece on various occasions, & shall contact him before I depart. It is clear from the letter you quote that the sooner someone focuses on Rhodes the better; I only hope that in 4 or 5 weeks I can get him to look at most of the stuff; I am naturally primarily interested in getting lists of unpublished inscriptions, but I imagine there must be a lot of photographs lying about here & there. I can only repeat that I wish you would come too — I know no little of archaeology.

I know the Portlano publication in Cl. Rev. II. Is the pottery now housed <sup>in chalk</sup> locally or is it in Rhodes? I certainly want to look at it, particularly for Smythian ware which is sufficiently distinctive for even me to recognise it. I read Woodhead's article in Hesp. xii, 1948. Who is he? I'm not sure he is writing you, but from his address at the bottom of his article he appears to be of Cambridge origin. His article I thought (though please don't tell him so!) shows the merits — touch. The main inscription he publishes Keitt had already acquainted me with, some time ago. I think that Keitt then & Woodhead now



lay unnecessary emphasis on the survival of Lysias.  
 It was after all only natural that the Lysians shd.  
 continue to be responsible after the squandering of  
 something which at least had its roots very probably  
before the squandering. We already knew that each  
 of the 3 cities had its own local finances. — Reappearance  
 of Lysias comes in later inscriptions though Woodhead  
 does not refer to him.

Whether that inscription shd. be ~~revised~~  
 supplemented to read  $\chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$  (I am not sure; his  
 argument for altering it seems rather extraordinary; it  
 became unnecessary. c. 460+ show Ath. contacts with this  
 area, & <sup>supplement</sup> ~~the~~ this one 'to suit the historical context'.  
 However, he may be right, & if so, it is a useful con-  
 firmation that Chalkis <sup>continued to be</sup> ~~remained~~ independent after  
 the Rhodian Secession to Sparta.

I have not yet acquired v. Gelder, Schlichte,  
 but I am convinced I shall succeed shortly, since since  
 I last wrote to you that I had acquired Krieger  
 I have now had sent me from the same source his  
 book on the Jews in Asia Minor! Clearly it is only  
 a matter of time before Schlichte turns up too.

I intend to depart hence for Rhodes c. June  
 20. I hope you will send me a list of  
desiderata if you have any.

Sometime between now + then I must try & read  
 through my BS on Rhodes again — I haven't looked  
 at it for a year, + the addenda pile up; I  
 suppose I shall have to learn most of it off by  
 heart — better than taking it.

I am thinking of the best way of your increasing  
 your hold on your landlord, but must admit  
 I see no obvious solution — unless you bring him  
 along too!

Yours

J.F.



BALLIOL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

4.4.48.

Dear Miss Grace,

My van Geeter, Knickslemp (?) duly arrived from Amsterdam, & I was able to compare it with the specimen translation which you sent me. I found the translation fairly easy to translate, as long as I followed van G. closely. Together with Knickslemp, came various van Geldernia, viz: an offprint of one article in Mnemosyne, part of a review of I.G.Xii.1. (price 1/-), & an Academy Obituary Gedächtnisrede - also in the barbaric tongue. For this bundle of junk (which is perhaps hard on old Knickslemp) I paid about 10/-

I am very much obliged to you for your information about the Tarentine stamps. It is of great interest to me, as the early names substantiate or tend to substantiate the view that I have reached, that <sup>Roman</sup> ~~Rhodian~~ contacts with Rhodes, probably via Tarentum, began in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century. I have now little doubt that the Polybios passage about Rhodes & Rome having shared τὴν κερδιστὰν καὶ ἐπιφεισεύεσθαι "ἐργον for 140 years from c. 165 backwards corresponds to some real commercial contact. The days of Hellenism (of which 18 months ago, I was a firm advocate) are

Polybios xxx, 5-6

over for me. My reasons are many, but I particularly lay emphasis on the fact that the period 310-300 in which the *Korvoria* started, acc. to the MS of Pöb., is just the period when the <sup>of Fabii</sup> *Ogulnii* at Rome were at the head of affairs, & the two things certain about them is (a) that they were actively democratic, as one can see from Bk. X. of Livy - and what more natural than that they should attempt to establish contact with the only surviving democracy (I do not think this is an overstatement, though I admit that one ought to consider Byzantium & *Gzikkos* in this respect) of the *Sk.* world? and (b) that they were philhellones, in the modern, self-conscious sense of the term (A lot of evidence for this), and that they were certainly <sup>instrumental</sup> ~~concerned~~ (rather later) in establishing <sup>or developing</sup> commercial contacts between Rome and Alexandria.

On the other side of the picture, the earliest Roman whom I have ever managed to find in the East Greek world is the man who made a ~~bi~~ bilingual ded<sup>n</sup> to Ath. Lindia, Blinkenb. Luscr. delind. I, n° 92 (= C.I.L. i<sup>2</sup> = Diehl, Altlat. Luschr. 182), & if one examines the lettering of this carefully I think one is forced to the conclusion that it belongs c. 300 BC - Compare for example the  $\Sigma$  of this inscr. with the  $\Sigma$  of those c. 250. Was he on an official visit?

There is no doubt about <sup>early</sup> contacts between Tarentum and Alexandria in the <sup>3<sup>rd</sup></sup> century - *Quethia* were at Alex<sup>a</sup> and the possibility that Roman

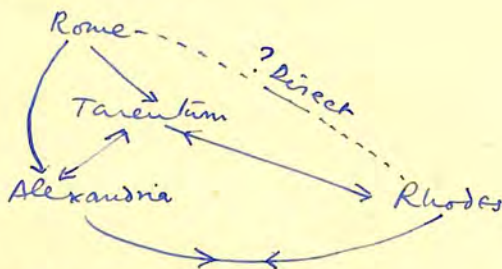


BALLIOL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

contacts with Alex. were primarily, though not wholly, through Tarentum is strengthened by the fact that the early Roman coinage which has some Ptolemaic system of numeration on it, appears to have been struck in a S. Italian, perhaps Tarentine, mint.

In these circumstances, I should have thought that the presence of early Rhodian pots at Tarentum justified one in thinking that as soon as Rome got control of Apulia, and Tar. in particular, after the Pyrrhic war, contact between Rhodes + Rome through Tarentum ~~was~~ <sup>is</sup> very probable; and further that, although politically, Rome took little interest in Tarentum in the late 4<sup>th</sup> Century, commercial contacts with Rhodes, as per Polybius - might well have begun through the same channel at that time.

i.e. diagrammatically:



What I want to know now - and I suspect nobody can tell me - is whether there was any exchange-trade from Tarentum; whether there is any Euboean-ware

in Rhodes. That I hope I may find out when I get there.

I note that you say you ought to visit Greece; but that you are weighed down by unpublished MSS. If you decide to go when I am there, I shall be able to carry the said MSS. If we could visit Rhodes together, I at least should be well pleased. I intend to be there (Rhodes) for the whole of July, except that I have arranged to visit a friend resident in Turkey to go on inspection - hunting in the Peraia with him for a week; there are numerous minor sites I long to identify. Does this lure you? I hope so.

Yours

Peter Travers.



turn the museum over to the State of Florida. The present staff is small and entirely non-archaeological. One can do as one likes in the basement, and outside its double doors (visible in the enclosed photo), where the atmosphere is casual and balmy.

I note your resolve to go to Rhodes in June. It makes me uncomfortable. I am supposed to go to Greece for part of next year, and I can well see that it would better be earlier than later. The amount of encumbrances that seem to have to go with me require a lot of energy for a starter. Who was that gentleman in George Eliot who was bowed down by the weight of unpublished material.

March 16, 1948

Dear Mr. Fraser:

Van Gelder must wait a bit. If I had spent the time with a Dutch dictionary that I have, and will, in editorial efforts, I should now have a fair command of Dutch, beside the price of the translation. But I would have missed some amenities. I give you a little preview of coming attractions:

"This one or the other finds ten or even fifty Rhodian stamps on jars. He does not know nearly anything of the thousands already far and wide edited ditto inscriptions: the literature about the subject is indeed very difficult to gather completely, even for nobody. His specimens are damaged; so he fills as good as possible up, however he makes it up somehow. Often the edition also is more or less intentionally careless; he is compelled to edit these things, isn't he? but he does not understand, that they can be of any real use, and concentrates all his editor's care on more important inscriptions, which he succeeded to trace . . . . The result was until now burdensome monotonose."

With regard to stamps at Tarentum. I tally 155 more or less that are probably Rhodian, running through IG XIV 2393 for items from this site. Of these, 42 or more seem to belong quite clearly to the periods before the large Pergamon deposit, i.e. before about the last quarter of the 3rd century, as I believe. (We have had words already about that date, and I don't know whether you remained in tacit disagreement.) The numbers (under 2393) that I have marked as belonging to this early group are: 25, 30, 146, 149, 211, 213, 216, 220, 227, 230, 231, 234-5, 270, 272-3, 281, 292-3, 357, 361-2, 364, 367, 369, 370, 387a and b, 392-3, 420, 425, 471-2a and b, 487, 512, 519-20, 521, and maybe 547. Some of these seem to be datable not long before the Pergamon period (according to name-connections and other indications). But I should guess the following held office not far from 300, perhaps earlier: Aglokritos (30), Nikon (387a and b), Socharos (471-2, 3 examples), Philonidas (512), Dionysios (213) and Agesikles (? 547) were probably contemporary with them. There may be others that should be added.

John Ringling was a circus magnate, and Mable was his first wife. They never had any children, and the Museum of Art seems to have been more or less in loco filii. It is a big thing, formal garden surrounded by long galleries full of acres of canvases. In 1928 they bought a lot of stuff from the Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan, about all they ever did get in the way of antiquities. They were terribly pleased, especially Mable. But she died not long after, and there was the depression, and the second Mrs. R. was more interested in yachting than in culture, and the antiquities, including 14 Rhodian jars, remained in the basement at the back, where stalagmites formed on them from the moisture on the walls. John Ringling died in '36, and his heirs have finally managed to



Balliol College,  
Oxford.

29. 2. 48

Dear Miss Grace,

Many thanks for your letter of 14 Feb. I am partially back in Rhodes, though not so wholly as I could wish. The struggle for existence, typified by British youth insatiate - or so it appears to me - for learning about The Revolution of the 400 (what a mess!), & questions repudiarum - continues to dominate my daily life. However I am now once again in a position to admit that Rhodes has a past.

I am therefore very glad to hear that you have got van Gelder rendered into the common tongue, even though by a dancer with a matrimonial affection for mathematics. So please, may I have a copy?

I recently saw a copy of this same work of v. Gelder - entitled Kruikstempel or something - advertised in the catalogue of an Amsterdam bookseller, price 1 guilder - so I have ordered it, but doubt whether our ~~bureaucrats~~ will allow it to reach me.

I hope you stay at the John and Mabel Ringling (what in God's name were they?) Museum



part (song, Art) was a success. I have been even more ambitious, though, I admit, less pioneering, & have just made arrangements to go to Rhodes in the Summer; I shall probably have to work my passage to Piræus - the 3rd class single from Southampton or Liverpool is alleged to cost c. £40-0-0 - but come what may - mat caelum, short of a war - I suppose it's about time we started inserting this precautionary clause again - nothing shall stop me. I must get "Rhodes" finished & off my hands this year - now or never, you know the awful fear that otherwise it will just drag on - & before I can do that I must holler about the island for a month - & if I can get to the Peraia, so much the better. I hope to leave in June & get back in August, so my sojourn will not be long. But I have not been in Greece for nearly three years, & need to smell the air. Those I shall manage to find some new handles for you.

I believe that Roman & S. Italian trade with Rhodes was much earlier than is popularly supposed nowadays; there seem to me to be good grounds for believing that the connection

between Rome and Rhodus where Poggion's date to c. 304, really does belong to that date, in spite of Holleaux's arguments. I think myself that his contact was direct, between Rhodus + Rome, + was the result of a Republic policy at Rome, in the hands of the Ogulnii, but I suppose it might also have been established via Tarentum, as early as the last decade of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Just because of that possibility, it would be very useful to know whether any of the ~~early~~ Rhodian amphorae handles in Tarentum are of markedly early date. The connections between Tarentum + Alexandria (Quattara ware) at an early date seem well established\*. Have you any figures for amph. handles in Tarentum?

This is an exorbitant request. I'd better stop. I hope Wade-Gery is recovering from the ypity, + that ATL II moves serenely towards its conclusion.

Yours

Peter Fraser.

\* And between Rome and Alexandria of course.



BALLIOL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

27. 12. 47

Dear Miss Grace,

Many thanks for your note regarding the Shear Memorial Supplement. I'm sorry that its appearance is being delayed — but am glad in another way; when it does appear, then I shall, I hope, have the leisure to read it, which would not be the case if it appeared now.

I have also to thank you for your very useful bibliographical reference to an article by Rowe; I have not yet attempted to see this, but I know it is available here.

At the moment I am brooding over Mr Lyberg's Archaeologica Record of Ancient Rome, which makes depressing reading for me to whom archaic pots are a closed book. However it is a very useful book, & suitably expensive. My mind is still full of these matters & will be for another weeks or so, by which time I will then have scratched the snake, or it will have killed me. Provided that the latter alternative does not occur, I shall then be free — in so far as one can be free if one has to teach for 15 hours a week panis causa — to contemplate Rhodian affairs again. I hope that it ('Rhodes') will be completed by next October (I shall get scalped by or 'or rather' over here if it isn't) — so perhaps it will be of some use to you before you have moved on to other fields.

I envy you your Dutch translator; she sounds nice, but don't let van Gelder corrupt her —

With best wishes for 1948

Yours

Peter Fraser.

14. 12. 48  
on board - made  
does in words  
copy to [unclear]  
[unclear]

BALLIOL COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

recd. 1 Dec.  
ans. Dec 5, with  
comment on "Waste Guy"  
"date of hour" and  
responses as indicated  
below

27. xi. 47.

Dear Miss Grace,

Thank you for your letter of elucidation.

No: I can quite well order a copy of van Gelder from here now that you have told me they are possibly available: I am stirred from my lethargy & shall take action. The truth is, it is a useful book - & he had a fairly good sense of the possible. Let me know of unsuccessful

I know the outline of his work on Knikstempels(?) but having no Dutch, have never had the patience to construe it — I am hoping to find some unwarpy Dutchman in the neighbourhood of the Bodleian one day, & use him as an amanuensis. Our Dutch girl who dances

Your note about the unstamped far at Pompeii I am grateful for; & your question regarding P. Coelius Gallus is filed (or rather put in a drawer) until 1948!

Have you any news of when the Shear-number of A.F.M. is coming out? There is an article in it of Robinson's 5th Cent. Attenuation current-decree that looks like to see. P.C. says "1948, probably first half"

It's heliothely cold here now: I hope your sufferings are less.

Yours

Pelindaba.



Balliol College,  
Oxford.

Nov. 9. 47.

Dear Miss Grace,

Thank you for your letter, + for the goodness about Van Gelder. I'm not quite clear whether you ordered this for me, or for yourself, (and are very rightly underlining my lack of initiative in not having written to the publisher myself); but in the hope that the work is ultimately destined for me, I thought I would enquire how you would like to be recompensed. Guilders 7.50 = I am informed c.14/6d of our money. Would you like me to send you some book costing somewhere round this sum, which you want? I have also an arrangement with a friend at Harvard, who keeps a sort of current a/c for me in U.S.A., so it would probably be simplest if I wrote + asked him to send you a postal order (do you have such things? Appalling ignorance!) for the amount. However if you do want any particular book - then the other way is just as good for me. (quickly)

I have just read the article of H. Radden in the current number of A.J.A.; and was very interested to read about the stamped un-bars, + your opinions thereon. Nice to hear over, then return to Rhodes.

Have you seen the new book on Pygamon? It looks a bit of a mega pygmy - but is my steady task for next vac.

Yours Peter F.

Balliol College,  
Oxford.

12. (o. 4)

Dear Miss Grace,

Very many thanks for your letter, and for the article from the Classical Journal, which arrived simultaneously. I enjoyed the article a lot, and admire the way that - unlike me - you manage to avoid controversy. The print of Fig. 8 I regard as very handsome, and it is now ornamenting my wall.

It was very kind of you to write down all the details about the Praeneste-stamps; I am very grateful to you. I hope you will excuse me not writing to you at greater length, but term began last week, & I am in a flat spin.

During the vacation I was able to examine and copy the Rhodian amphora handles - unpublished - in the Ashmolean; I came across about 20, but there are numerous more in some abysmal cellar; those I have a record of are all from Egypt. When I next write, during the vacation, I will enclose a copy of my readings, for you to catalogue or throw away. Meanwhile, on, Cicero - away, Rhodes!

Best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Peter Fraser.



I had an inquiry a year or two ago about the Edward Tamm House. George Kaufmann at Harvard, in connection with other things in the house which he wanted to date. Have you been in touch with him on matters pertinent? He is at Harvard now, but in a month or two will be going to Germany to study Miss Goldman's Phrygian-period stuff. September 27, 1947  
We have no record of any reaction from him about the dating of the temple.

Dear Mr. Fraser:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 3, with its detailed commentary on plans for a corpus, as well as much else of interest. A few days back, I sent you by sea mail an offprint of a would-be popular article of mine, which illustrates jars stamped and unstamped found in Cyprus, and referred you to more to be found in a recently received number of the AJA. This with reference to your query on unstamped Rhodian. Our tombs at Episkopi indicate that there were a lot of them about in the 1st century B.C. I am inclined to think that this was not so at an earlier period (i.e. in the 3rd or 2nd centuries B.C.), though this will want some inquiry. At any rate, I have no record of an unstamped standard Rhodian jar of the Hellenistic period, and no recollection of handles of such in sherd collections.

On handles found in Praeneste and Atruria: I presume you refer to those assembled in IG XIV: if you know of later publications, I'd be very glad of references. What I can say about dates is fairly tentative, if I cannot see the handle. However:

Praeneste. No.50. An Ainetor seems to be attributable to the late 3rd century. No.345c. An eponym Kratidas appears on a lot of whole jars in the Villanova deposit, and on a fragment of a duplicate of one of these found in Tarsos; the Villanova deposit had been dated early 2nd, and the Tarsos stratigraphical evidence corroborates this date. This item from Praeneste seems to be from a jar of Philainios, according to the way the stamp is decorated. He fits in here too. Latest date then before ca.180 B.C.

Arettium. Nos. 72 and 278 (if the latter is correctly restored), early 2nd. No. 308, could be somewhat later 2nd, but probably not after 150. No. 90, too little to go on. Latest then before ca. 150 B.C.

Faesulae. Of No. 405 there is too little to go on, but No. 131 is most probably of the second half of the 2nd century, according to type of stamp, potter-eponym associations, and frequency in various places: i.e. none at Pergamon, Carthage, or Corinth, and one doubtful example from Athens, although Nilsson lists 23 at Lindos. Mrs. Lake lists a couple from Samaria, including a ~~large~~ jar or large fragment on which he is coupled with Menestratos. Granted the preservation, you may like to say he does not long precede your Samarian terminus, and put the latest date at 108 B.C.

Clusium. No. 310b may be late 3rd century, though I have relatively little to go on.

Falerti. No.427. If this is restored rightly as Polykrates. very likely about mid 3rd century. An eponym of this name appears on a lot of early handles.



I had an inquiry a year or two ago about the Falerii handle from George Hanfmann at Harvard, in connection with other things in the tomb which he wanted to date. Have you been in touch with him on matters Etruscan? He is at Harvard now, but in a month or two will be going to Tarsus to study Miss Goldman's Phrygian-period stuff. I seem to have no record of any reaction from him about the dating of the handle.

On handles at Samaria: I take note of your remarks. One of the Pontic handles in Mrs. Lake's manuscript was dated on the term of the astynomos Hestaios son of Artemidoros, whom Grakov assigns to his Period VI, 122-70 B.C. (This is his latest period.) As to Grakov in general, I still get no response from that quarter.

I am not too depressed by your pessimism about the prospect of an absolute chronology, because I think you a) overrate what I expect and what is really necessary, and b) underrate the information to be derived from good excavation records, such as those at the Agora. Of course you are right that one cannot produce a sequence that is anything but tentative without something like the Lindian Chronicle. But we will be able to place most Rhodian stamped handles within a quarter century and many much closer. The potter-eponym-potter blocks cannot be shifted about more than a negligible distance once the jars or even the handles have been looked at. You can perhaps see this by comparing Figures 6 and 8 in my "popular" article, and then going back to Hesperia 1934, p. 202, Figure 1.5. But don't bother, because I shall get it all in a much more convenient form in my next article, d.v. For Agora evidence, cf Hesperia 1943, p. 241.

I shall be interested to hear Mr. Robinson's views on coin magistrates, with reference to our discussion.

Latest Rhodian. (I become somewhat scattered, because there are two window-cleaners straining at the leash, waiting to get into this room.) First century B.C. type, as mentioned in the first paragraph. The dating is not worked out closely, and perhaps cannot ever be very close, because the stamps, when present, are without legible names or even any names, beginning some time in this century. I do not really know the further development, but there are some objects found in context of the Roman period which look like the same thing carried further. One of these is the item mentioned in Wheeler's article, the clay of which sounded right in his description. There are odd stamps on some of these handles of pinched angular type: a fish, the letters  $\Gamma\Delta\chi$ , the word  $\nu\omicron\iota\delta\iota\alpha\chi$  !! The latter goes with a theory I have heard, that in this later period all jars were knidian - i.e. it was just a measure. The clay varies somewhat. I have not made extended investigations in Virgil or Pliny, but Natural History XIV.79, gives an effect of less familiarity than Georgics, II, 102. Or don't you think so.

I regret I have no special knowledge of Gnathia ware. I note that Swindler, Ancient Painting, has some later bibliography than Pfuhl, Gr. Vasenmalerei. But Rostovtzeff will have the best. If I hear of anything new, I'll let you know.

Congratulations on a job at Balliol, which I am assured is the best of the colleges. I understand you will be extremely rushed, so do not trouble to answer this until the Rome-Greece preoccupation is over, unless of course you have something further in that connection.

Don't forget at  
Pompeii -  
see notes on  
the quarry in  
his letter

Yours very sincerely



[Address from October, Balliol College]  
Oxford

Christ Church,  
Oxford.

103.01

\* Samson

dist. again: p 4

38.47.

Dear Miss Grace,

I must apologize for the delay in answering  
your letter, but it arrived in the middle of term, when I  
was extremely busy. So I hope you will excuse me.

First, thank you very much for your manifesto on a corpus  
of amphora-stamps. I am in full agreement with much  
of what you say. It is certainly a work for corporate scholarship  
and as things are today could only be undertaken in America.

My feeling is that before the amphorae are of much value  
as documents for the economic historian, two conditions  
remain to be fulfilled; (a) we must know the name of  
all the sponsors or potters who occur at ~~any~~ all the sites.  
While the bulk of the evidence is unpublished - e.g. Delos!

S. Russia (less so?) - I cannot see that the treatment of  
these things by, for instance, Heichelheim or Rostovtzeff  
sets us very far. If we can only say that A or B occurs  
at Alexandria, and at Pegasus or Duentum, & are unable to  
add that he does not occur, or that he was definitely present in  
or about some finds in Delos, say, then we are only starting on

half truth - the less important half. A corpus should be able to overcome this. (b) we must be able to establish both a relative and an absolute chronology - here I think you are oversanguine. It does not seem to me that on dating by external evidence you can ever get beyond termini ante + post, based on probabilities - the sort of probabilities which lead to the broad, &, I suspect, useless (because only half-true) generalizations of H. and R. et hoc genus omne. I mean: your system is based on the hypothesis that the shape of handles shows "definite changes", & (unless I mistake you) you do not admit the possibility that one type of handle may have been in fashion much longer than another type - and yet this must have happened. Again, there is the assumption - more dangerous I think - that hostility between states probably caused the flow of trade between them to be diminished, or to vanish - e.g. the common assumption re Pergamon and Rhodes.

I do not think that a precise absolute chronology can be possible even with the publication of a corpus if that we must wait for an inscription similar to that of the Lindian priests of Athana, containing the names of the priests of Helios. Till that day I resign myself to



the fact that we can shift blocks formed by potter - epigraph - potter relationships very much at will the length of a period which I cannot specify - c. 350 downwards ?? [What do you think? If all the Alexandrian stamps were published, we might be able to start looking for this upper limit, I suppose, & trying to fix up a <sup>solid run</sup> ~~gap~~ between the found<sup>n</sup> of Alex. & the ~~date~~ destruction of Karthage.] There are of course certain inter relationships - dates given by the foundation of or destruction of cities<sup>x</sup>, but these don't really assist much in an exact estimate, though they're better than nothing.

Generally speaking, our inability to make use of these stamps corresponds very much with our general ignorance of Rhodian, as opposed to Lindian etc, antiquities. Our knowledge of Rhodes (the city) <sup>gained</sup> from inscriptions etc is really far less than that gained from Ptolemy - and that is little enough. Rhodes is mysterious in many ways.

By "comparative statistics" do you mean "relative statistics" - I never knew what either means, but I don't see how the existence of a corpus "will provide sufficiently exact information on trade penetration to justify comparative statistics". - for that

and, -  
but not  
detail?  
now

I need an absolute chronology; e.g. a corpus of stamps + a list of Helios priests.

What news of Dr Snakov? Is he really likely to help?!

20mm to your letter:

Ref. Samaria. I thought that the occasion of the destruction of this city might be a terminus ante quem for the epigraphy + potters on the Rhodian Stamps because the city, unless I have overlooked some piece of evidence, was not rebuilt until the time of Galinius' governorship, & it seemed to me that as terra sigillata of c. this date is found in Palestine, one might infer that ~~the~~ Rhodian trade with Palestine - at least in this commodity - had stopped by then. However, as you say, Rome + Rhod<sup>os</sup> continued to be on good terms. I should in general, arising out of this, be very much interested to hear what your views are as to the latest possible dates for some stamps, e.g. those at Praeneste, & in Etruria which interest me greatly at the moment [I have temporarily abandoned Rhod<sup>os</sup>, & am trying to write something on relations between Rome + Greece ("social + economic" + religious rather than political) - to the end of the 3rd Cent. BC].



I am impressed by your identification of a "Rhodian unstamped" among Wheeler's Commodore find. (was unable to identify any!) Are there many of this unstamped category about? Does it not introduce another X into the whole affair - being there be a lot of these catalogued under something other than Rhodian? Relieve, if you can, my anxiety on this matter!

With regard to that King Charles Head of ones - the name on the coins - you suggest he may have been a private citizen. I wonder whether this is likely? I am no numismatist, but should have thought that such a procedure was highly improbable in the Hellenistic age, though it might be possible in the Imperial (which, rather awkwardly, is just when  $\epsilon\omega\iota$  begins, thus excluding this interpretation) - for coins of Imperial date with names of emperors on them, v. Macdonald's Coinage p. 160-1 - the only reference I have to hand. However some such practice may have obtained in the Hellenistic Age: look ask Robinson when next I see him.

This is not a very intelligent letter, but I am (as no doubt you are) compassed about by too many things to do.

and not enough time to do them in.

I shall have to give up work on Rhodes for some time now, because I am going to a teaching job at Balliol next term, & that, together with my above mentioned Rome-Greece reoccupation (which has a time-limit of January) means that research on Rhodes has to go by the boards for a few months. Not a bad thing: it enables me to come back to some of these insoluble problems occasionally with rather better hopes.

Please note that at your convenience I should very much like to hear your views as to the latest dates for Rhodian amphorae - what did Pliny and Virgil base their knowledge on? Can you trace shoges right down to the early Empire? <sup>to the</sup> <sup>12.21.47 note in the Rhod. journal</sup> <sup>Pausanias, A. M. 1.1.1, La Cour du Mémorial</sup> <sup>p. 485, Fig. 189</sup>

I suppose, like me you are on vacation now (though that is no word to call it by). You will be having Rodney with you at Princeton next term, I gather - hang out more flags.

I met red Gouffart in Oxford the other day: he said (rather pathetically) that he thought he was "petting on" a lot better with the coins [than with the Amphorae].



Finally, have you any interesting ideas about Gnathia  
Lane? Is much found in Greece? mostly Plexaurois <sup>+ Althea</sup>  
So far as I can see. It is beginning to interest me - less  
banalistic than Zupopio.

Best wishes,

Yours sincerely

Peter Trapp

22.10.47

sent to P.F. an offprint  
of Ch. J. with short  
covering note, referring to  
G.H. McF's article.

Enclosed print of Fig. 8  
for a (act. sig.) stamp  
also contact print of  
stamp of Tomb 1 for.

Sent 1st class, surface.



-2-

May 27, 1947

Dear Mr. Fraser,

There seems to be a good bit to discuss with you. I hope you have not been inconvenienced by my delays. I was extremely glad to have the Palestine lists, which I returned to you in April. I sent you somewhat later a couple of mimeographed papers, which may answer some questions; I should think they will have arrived before this does. Some hopeful people are working from different points of attack on raising the necessary funds for the corpus project discussed in these papers. It will cost a good deal - I estimate at least \$75,000 including cost of publication (i.e. printers' bills). But it would cost very much more done piecemeal. This Institute is renewing me here for one more year. If it looks as if the money will not be raised this time, I propose to publish an article on the lines of these papers, so that the blueprint will remain for execution in a happier age, when perhaps it will be a matter of Federal appropriation! I have written Mrs. Lake on publication of stamped handles by batches (she asked for a comment on her list), with a slight ferocity which I regret in view of your pleasant description of Mr. Crowfoot as an elderly gentleman who lives in Suffolk.

On the dating of Samaria handles, I should remark that I did not understand the reference in your letter of last October to "the 14(?) eponyms who appeared in the Hellenistic wall in Samaria, vol. I, pp.?", because until about last week I was not aware of Crowfoot's Samaria. Nobody had happened to mention it to me, and there are these war gaps in one's information. (I was in the Middle East.) I expect to know more about the names presently, after getting things tabulated, also of course I should like to see the handles, or photographs. But one can say that their dates correspond well enough with those of the coins of Ptolemy I-II and Antiochus III. Drakontidas and Sosikles are after 180, also very likely some of the Pausanias examples (though one cannot tell without looking at them). A good many of the other names are probably early 3rd century. I have no evidence for dating any Rhodian handles earlier than about the 305 of the coins. From all evidence given of these handles, I should be willing to accept the mid-second century date proposed for the deposit (p.120). In general, I don't quite see why 108 is a terminus for handles found at Samaria, unless they are from a particular deposit so datable. The Romans seem to have rebuilt the city pretty quickly, and Rhodes was on good terms with them. Incidentally, I was fascinated by the article by R.E.M. Wheeler in XXIX ~~XXIX~~ Ancient India, 2, 1946, about the Mediterranean stuff of around the first centuries B.C. - A.D. found in southeast India, from which the author deduces that the site was an Indo-Roman trading station. His amphora fragment No.81 seems to be late Rhodian (unstamped), most of the others apparently belonging to a type which has been attributed to Cos (again these examples are unstamped).

Things are slow coming out these days. The Shear Memorial number of Hesperia, which was to have been the first of 1947, is now to be a Supplement volume, having grown thick beyond the regular budget. It won't be ready before autumn - I've not had my first proof yet. I have a typed copy of the text (without notes or illustrations) which I can send you if it would do you any good. It is a condensed survey of my part of the corpus volume also seems to be



-2-

stuck, the Princeton Press being too full of business. I revised my chapter in December, since they had not yet looked at it, and added in a footnote (by permission of Stillwell at the University here, who is on the publications committee for Antioch) a summary of the handles at Antioch: "of a total of about 600, the nonRhodian include 7 Knidian, 4 Thasian (one doubtful), 12 Coan (? double handles), 1 of the class of Tarsus No.95 [P.F.: this is the kind illustrated by Nilsson, p.153, note 1, the facsimile to the right - the other of these two seems to be Thasian], 7 with Latin letters, and 28 miscellaneous unassigned." The total is probably short a good number of so-called illegible examples. I had been told there were "about a thousand", but the records did not bring us above 600.

Professor Casper J. Kraemer of New York University has turned over to me a mass of notes taken when he was toying with the idea of assembling a corpus of stamps, in connection with his work in papyrology. I am not sure whether he wants any of them back. There are some interesting points which had not occurred to me, for instance that the intercalary month should space out the eponyms with whose names it occurs (though of course one can think of sources of error in basing arguments on this hypothesis). Kraemer worked on the handles found in Fischer's excavations in Memphis in the 1920s, which dig has not been published at all, Fischer having died in the meanwhile, and there being apparently no competent person left who was on the dig with him. These handles are in the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, in care of their Egyptian department, where I saw them a year ago last March. There are several hundred of them, nearly all Rhodian, including quite a lot of the 3rd century B.C. The Museum also has the handles from Beisan, Palestine, and a whole <sup>stamped</sup> jar (Rhodian) given by some lady.

Brief news items: One of my contacts in Athens tells me that the total number of handles in those bins in the National Museum there is probably not 20 or 30 thousand as I believe I wrote you, but more like 8000. Mr. L. Benachi, Alexandria collector, has found several rose stamps bearing the legend  $\text{ΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΤΕΛΕΓΟΡΑΣ ΜΕΙΣ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΣ}$ .

To come down properly to your letter of, I flinch to say, January 19 last: I am much interested in the new hoard at the B.M., and await the article by Stanley Robinson. I salt down your references and animadversions until I come to grip with identities and functions, for publication. Your  $\Sigma$  "dogbody" magistrate is a nice suggestion. I feel insufficiently informed as to <sup>how</sup> ~~the~~ government worked, or can work, but is it necessary that the issuing authority was actually a magistrate at all? Could it not have been a responsibility undertaken by a private citizen? perhaps under contract? In that case, all that would be needed would be a solid member of the community, and a rich non-citizen would do. A lot of these people no doubt did hold office, of one sort or another. Many names on Thasian stamps occur and recur in the lists of theoroi see I.G.XII,8: I have some with abbreviations which appear to be patronymics, in which case the full name matches (e.g. Nikodemod Ti(mokrateos)). I don't suppose that it was as theoroi that they endorsed the jars. On full jars or empty, I think they were made, at least originally, to be filled at in the place of manufacture: and I shouldn't wonder if the great production in Rhodes was connected with port taxes: a standard container would be needed for figuring, and there seems to have been transshipment on a large scale. What do you think? Have I left out of consideration some obvious snag?

I have been very long about this, but hope you are still interested in the subject. Shall you be at Oxford next year? Things are a bit more in hand with me, and such a delay need not happen again.



\* Bagley's journal  
↓

106.01

Christ Church

Oxford.

19.1.47.

Dear Miss Grace,

I am sorry I have been so long in answering your letter of Nov. 4, but I have been brooding over its contents. First an apology for my statement (in which you rightly upbraided me in the last paragraph of your letter) that 'ENI' is found on Rhodian coins of the Hellenistic Age. This error was due, I suspect, primarily, to my habit of writing letters after lunch on Sunday and at no other time. At all events I withdraw unreservedly!

In regard to coins; I fully agree that the two mapistatēs represented by name and symbol respecting may stand for the issuing and dating authorities. (I'm afraid I don't quite see what you mean by (last of), "I should expect the endorsement to be the more explicit where there was a difference"). We know that issuing authorities could hold office for a very long time - there are ~~several~~ <sup>two</sup> people in Newell's Eastern Seleucid Mints, who were mint-masters for 36 years (at Seleucia on Tigris p. 89), and more than 30 (Cebataia p. 183). Therefore a quantity of different exonyms - syket - bearers - to one issuer would not be unduly hard to envisage. (It must be admitted that Newell's arguments are at times somewhat exiguous).

A new hoard of coins recently came to the BM and I had the opportunity of studying it. Stanley Robinson will probably publish an article on it later. It consisted of several hundred Rhodian coins of all denominations of the Hellenistic period, and, solitary interloper, one silver coin of Stratonikeia. The most interesting thing about it is that the names of a few (3 or 4) of the issuing mapistatēs are very queer! They are certainly not pure Greek, let alone "upper class" Dorian or Rhodian. ~~For~~ <sup>For</sup> example, ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Λοιβος, another Δαος. These names are in my opinion Karian (wouldn't you agree?) and they obviously resemble closely the names of the "fabricant" on the laurels. This suggests very strongly that both the coin-chaps + the amphora ones came from the same class of society, as Robinson pointed out to me, and that not a very high one. It showed me us a clue to what office they held for I have no doubt whatever that while distinguished non-Rhodian Greeks such as Poseidonios & Apameia + Apolemos the poet might become (like numerous sculptors) Πόδιοι and hold high office of state (Poseidonios was ὑπάρχων at Rhodes, Strabo 316), non-Greeks cannot hold mapistatēs office - as ἄρχη - at Rhodes or anywhere else in the Greek world. The only border-line case of which I know is the ἡγεμόνιος ὑποπαιστής who was "dogbody" in a good many Greek states, + the sort of official who did not possess ἄρχη. At Rhodes they are not uncommon (v. s.g. Amicus NS. 1-ii, 1942, Pugliese-Catellani's article on the Rhodian κοινά, Μουσ. Μ. 19+20 [I think] which mentions ἡγεμόνιος (= home born slave, the Delphian οἰκονομῆς) who became ὑπάρχων ὑποπαιστής). A list of the functions filled by these people is to be found in an article of Cardinali, Read. Linc. 1908 pp. 2, a section of which is headed ὑπάρχων. I would therefore like to think that the name on the coins is that of the ἡγ. But (as you will doubtless have already said to yourself) it's difficult to believe that people with normal aristocratic Rhodian names like Aniktor, Aristokleides etc. who appear on the coins, did not hold a more exacted position in the state. This new evidence provides a real problem, I think.

I enclose the list of amphora-stamps in the Palestine Museum, which the people there got out for me. Since it is a lengthy document, and I have not made a copy of it, I should be glad if it returns when you have ripested it.

I am very interested in your idea or plan of a Corpus of Greek Amphora Stamps. Beazley said on one occasion that <sup>the composition of</sup> a Corpus of Rhodian stamps alone would take one person a lifetime; if he was reckoning in terms of his own average working-day, you certainly have some work in front of you! I do not think that anyone can use the stamps as evidence for Rhodian trade (in what?!) until such a corpus is published, because at present the weight of the evidence is unpublished. In my opinion something a good deal fuller than the information given in I.G. xii. 1, Appendix

Received  
April 14  
(Photostat of)  
filed in  
Palestine  
Museum)



is needed, with archaeological context, as in your Herpeia publication of the Agora-stamps. I imagine that it will be no easy task, when travel is as difficult as it is today, to get a really accurate idea of what local museums in the Balkans have. Even if you got all the ones in museums, you would still be up against the person (especially the St. Xenodochy) who says "he had one of those at home when I was a kid but God knows what happened to it". However if I can help in any way over here please call on my services.

With I could make up my mind whether Rhodian amphorae were exported empty or full. I find it difficult to believe that the Greeks of the Hellenistic age had got to this stage of commercial development, though later I suppose they did (<sup>the</sup> κοῦρα Ἀγρία, and κοῦρον Ἀσκαδόν etc mentioned in the pap. of the Byz. age Pap.Ox. 1924 = Select papyri (Loeb) i. no 191 p. 422 empty vessels, or "returned empties" like empty beer-bottles, do you suppose?). Further the existence of the amphora-industry in places <sup>near</sup> where Rhodian pots were sent in quantity is a fairly strong argument against the view that they were exported empty. Would, e.g. the Olliopolitai order empty pots from Rhodes if they could get them from Tyros and save the freightage? (v. the stamp marked Τύρος in Bekker-Deubach, Suppl. v. 1864-72 p. 466 §IV) Or could not the Tyros people make enough to supply the Ollian market? But why go all the way to Rhodes to get them? In this respect a question arises in regard to the Pergamene import of Rhodian jars. The coinage of Mysia, both in the 4th Cent. + ~~later~~ in the Hellenistic age, had an amphora on the reverse (v. Head HN 555-6, + Newell Western Seleucid Mint p. 17). Do you suppose (a) means they manufactured amphorae there? Or is it a met-object? If the former, would the Pergamenes have ~~not~~ exported empty Rhodian jars (and also incidentally Mysia too!)? However I suppose the amphora might be connected with the manufacture of amphorae.

This letter is full of queries, and is certainly too long. But wishes for the new year if it is not too late

Yours sincerely  
Peter Fraser.



Dear Fraser (interest: 207, Townworth Road, Long Eaton). He has some complete vessels, and 15 amphora stamps. On the whole jar, "the collection of the French painter Millard" are stamps which I restore as *Kleukia* and *epi Kleonestraton* with a month. He asked what details I needed for publication, and I wrote him (in July) about measurements and photographs. November 4, 1946  
 least further. I should certainly like to see the pot. The other handles, of which he gave his readings, are mostly, if not all, Rhodian, and he says they were acquired from the "McGregor collection".

Dear Mr. Fraser,

I hope you can forgive the long delay in answering your two letters. You know that your queries and hypotheses cannot be answered lightly by anybody who takes things as seriously as I do; and for the past three or four months my head has not really been above water. Do not jest about the typescript: it is not only for bad handwriting, but what I write is often news to me, as I am afraid, so one wants a record. I have only admiration for you people on this score.

N On Samaria: I shall investigate the Hellenistic wall. I have never got comfort from Reiser's finding places. the documentation seems so complicated, without coming to anything, as one can never find out what other things were found with the handles. I've written Mrs. Lake your news about the publication situation, but I imagine she heard directly before my letter reached her. As to the domestic gloss, probably by this time the situation is clear to you: the present Mrs. Lake was formerly Dr. L.'s professional assistant, is still, for that matter; Agnes, whose name is now Michaels, and who teaches Latin in Bryn Mawr, is the daughter of the first Mrs. Lake, a redoubtable old lady who retired to her native England after the divorce, and was an active and praiseworthy fire warden through the war. I think in London; no doubt to Mr. Crowfoot she is the real Mrs. Lake.

The Tarsus handles were found in 1935 to 1938 or 1939. Some of the initial ones I dug up so to speak myself (I was on the staff in 1935). They are I believe in the Adana museum. I hope one gets offprints from parts of the Volume; if so, I shall certainly send you one, - except that according to present information the press (Princeton University) won't get it out before next fall, by which time I fancy you will have outgrown handles. My short survey article "Stamped Pottery Containers of the Ancient Greek World" is due to come out in the first 1947 number of *Hesperia*, the Shear memorial number; it has been turned in to the editor. For the next seven weeks or so I shall be mostly trying to boil down and clarify the idea of a corpus of Greek amphora stamps, how it could be done, why it should be done, etc., ending perhaps in a paper at the post-Christmas archaeological-philological meetings (an annual affair). Have you views on this subject? After that I hope to devote myself to as full as possible a report on Rhodian whole jars and other recognized pairs, in which I shall do what I can with the dating. I shall want to keep in touch with your findings. How soon are you expecting to come into print? Are you planning to include an extensive bibliography on Rhodian stamps? I don't know if I have mentioned it, but there are a great many unpublished pairs in my files. Heichelheim contributed a new one in a letter last June, a jar in the collection of his "friend



Gaze Cooper (address: 247, Tamworth Road, Long Eaton). He has one complete vessel, and 15 amphora stamps." On the whole jar, "acquired from the collection of the French painter Millais" are stamps which I restore as *Glaukia* and *epi Klenostratou* with a month. He asked what details I needed for publication, and I wrote him (in July) about measurements and photographs, but have not heard further. I should certainly like to see the pot. The other handles, of which he gave his readings, are mostly, if not all, Rhodian, and he says they were acquired from the "McGregor collection".

X I am obliged for the references, most of which were new to me; I have done relatively little with the literature, except for certain publications. I'd be glad to hear provenances of the Jerusalem handles; is there a plan for their publication? We have here this year by the way Mitsos, director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens; he and I figured out from his recollection of the pile of handles in his museum that there are twenty or thirty thousand there. (I have an equivalent for a cubic foot, worked out in the Alexandria museum.) Of course the handles found in Athens are preponderantly Knidian, still there must be quite a lot of Rhodian. I should be much interested to hear what you found in the British Museum. Are there actually many beside those published in IG XII.1, 1065, etc.? When I was there in 1932, I tried to see handles which had been found in Knidos, as it seemed to me there ought to be quite a lot from the excavations of the middle of the 19th century, a time when people were less blasé about handles than they afterwards became. About 15 were identified for me by Pryce and a Mr. Keat, who, I fear, found me something of a nuisance. What was baffling was that not only could I find no handles to speak of, but there appeared to be no record on the subject, no sort of list. And that's all we know about stamped handles found in Knidos, though about forty thousand Knidian handles could probably be counted in other places. Sometimes I wonder if they were made there. Knidian handles of course are not exactly in your field, still, I should think you would need to take them into account to some extent.

I hope to work further on coin analogies this next summer, but meanwhile welcome suggestions. You say that "unlike the Hellenistic coins," the fourth century ones do have names with *epi*. I cannot find in Head or the B.M. Cat. *Caria*, etc., that Rhodian coins used the *epi* phrase before the Roman Imperial period. Has this been revised? My guess is that on coins as on standard jars you have two sets of peoples' names, one of which simply provides a date while the other is that of the man who took responsibility (presumably for weight and quality of metal in the coins, for capacity in the jars). The date would have importance chiefly in pinning down the endorsement, maybe in identifying the employee involved. For a date one might replace the eponym's name with his signet. I should expect the endorsement to be the more explicit, where there was a difference. Potters - or pottery commissioners - who endorsed the jars seemed to have worked four or five ~~at a time~~ and some individuals for perhaps 15 or 20 years. I should like to discuss this with your friend Mr. Robinson, who, Meritt has mentioned, has a manuscript coming out in the Shear number of *Hesperia*. I shall try it with some less remote epigraphists. What do you think? Probably the procedure varied: they seem to think subsidiary symbols on Alexandrian coins identified units.

I shall try for Van Gelder. I need to investigate the shops.



B. 10. 46

Dear Miss Grace,

Many thanks for the offprint of your article. I'm sorry I have as yet no *discovery*. Time I hope will produce a review of Blinkenberg's Brilles de Lindos.

I don't know whether Mr Lake has heard from J. W. Crawford about her list of epigrams + letters from Samaria. I recently spent a day or two with him, + went over the list in some detail. I made one or two suggestions to him about the list which he may or may not have thought worth while to pass on to her, when he returned the MS. - which he said he would do shortly. I was not able to be of much assistance to him. He wanted to date the 14(?) epigrams who appeared in the Hellenistic wall in Samaria, vol. 1, but they seemed to me to be a peculiarly intractable collection; mostly the sort of people who, on the evidence of <sup>their</sup> ~~their~~ appearance elsewhere might belong anywhere between 331 + 108, some coming at Perg., some not, some at Kanthage, some not some at <sup>epigrams</sup> ~~letters~~. It was unable to find any confirmations which affected these <sup>epigrams</sup> ~~letters~~, + since they were all individual hands, they gave rise to none themselves.

I have had a list <sup>sent me</sup> of provenances of amphora-handles (mixed bag, to tally c. 800) ~~for~~ now in the Jerusalem Museum - mostly unpublished. Unfortunately since the stamps have never been catalogued, no names were recorded. If however the bare provenance, + ~~some~~ <sup>some</sup> notes referring to the <sup>provenances</sup> ~~provenances~~ where the pounds were found, would be of any use to you, I will with pleasure send you a copy - in slightly better handwriting than this letter!

Yours sincerely

Peter Fraser

P.S. Please note change of address -

Brasenose College  
Oxford.

18. 8. 46

Dear Miss Grace,

Many thanks for your letter, and, in anticipation, for your offprint, which has not yet arrived. First, with regard to the ms. now with Comfoot, I contacted him on your behalf - he is an elderly gentleman who lives in Suffolk - and here is what he says: "I hesitate to send Mrs Lake's list (?) away (she is the step-mother of Agnes Lake) [a domestic ~~gloss~~, the significance of which was lost on me] as I have only one copy of it." He then suggested that I should visit him to see the ms. and other material he has. I have told him that I should be able to visit him at the end of next month, so I hope then to be able to let you know what the position is. He says also "I hope it may be possible to publish the next volume about the Samaria Expedition next year, but I have unfortunately got another book on hand, which has to come first."

Next, you ask whether I have seen Heichelheim's notes on which he bases his remarks on Wortschatz. No; I must admit I should like to. I think that there must be as <sup>many papers</sup> as his knowledge, as there are in 700 and nine.

I am not in correspondence with him, because I have been rather put off, not only by R's<sup>+</sup> remarks, but also by my own reading of the book.



The Tauson handles sound interesting. When were they found?

Thank you for your notes on the list I sent you. I really do not think my theory about the S. Russian stamps is likely to stand up to further evidence.

All I meant about Myrina, was that since Myrina was in Pergamene territory (v. Ernst Meyer, Die Grenzen p. 601), the handles found at Myrina must be considered as part of the Pergamene collection; if imports at Pergamum were rigidly controlled by political conditions to the year 220-180, then one would expect imports at Myrina to be similarly controlled; and yet, ~~the handles are not~~ the two examples appearing at M. and at P. clearly destroy the validity of the time-limit 220-180.

Thank you for the reference to Aglaumbrotes in BEH 1934. Wonder whether I have collected any <sup>reference</sup> you haven't got. Here are a few somewhat obscure ones I came across more by chance than design:-

- Renan, Mission de Phénicie, p. 38 ff [Arados]  
 Woodward, B.S. Rome, xi. 1929 p. 117 [Lanuvium]  
 Helena, Les origines de Narbonne, Paris 1937, p. 386, n. 1.  
 Vischer, Archäol. und epigraph. aus Korkyra, Bale 1854, p. ? [Korkyra]  
Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung in Jahre 1900, Gordion, p. 173, n. 7.  
 [6 from Gordion]

A queer collection you might know, in:

Archaeologische Abteilung & archäologisch-numismatische Institut der Georg-Augusts Universität, published by  
 G. Huber, Sitzungen, 1887, pp. 103-107

You probably know more about unpublished amples-

stamps than 100. R. W. Hamilton, of the Museum at Jerusalem informs me that there are about 900 uncatalogued stamps in that museum; he hopes to be able to let me have provenance (but nothing more); if you have not already this information I can pass it on to you when I get it.

I have a little general information about the stamps in Copenhagen, but nothing detailed. Professor Johansen tells me that at least 20 Rhodian stamps were found in the Danish excavations at Hama, some now in Copenhagen (National Museum), some in the museum at Damascus. These will all, I gather, shortly be published. (v. also, Harald Ingholt, Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama, Dansk Vidensk. Selsk. Archaeol. Kunsthist. Medd., III. 1. 1940 p. 120 ff.)

The question, whether the εἰς + names on the handles are the ἱεροὶ καὶ ἄδελφοί has worried me a good deal; & I'm glad it disturbs you also. I think however that whether or not they are the eponymous priests of the Sun, they must at least be annual priests, since priesthoods were about the only thing at Rhodes which were annual, & not triennial.

The coin-business gets really complicated when you follow it back into the pre 4<sup>th</sup> century; (I don't know whether

you've looked into this; in case not, I give you the general idea. Unlike the Hellenistic coins, the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. ones do not have εἰς καὶ ἄδελφοί, but, simply an initial + a magisterial monogram; the difficulty is that we find the same initial (e. presumably the same magistrate, occurring under very many symbols. H. E. S. Robinson of the British Museum very kindly put me a lot of material together about this; here are a few examples; - <sup>letter</sup> I (with) symbols: eye; bird-head; οἰοχόν; ἀκόπexος; cornucopia; satyr's head; letter P, with 15 different symbols; letters EY, with grapes; thyrsos; pig;

30 prep.  
some used  
on Rhod.  
coins by  
magistrates  
perhaps?



Cornucopia: A few 4th cent. coins have names in full, e.g. Antiochos, Agendaneos, Aristononios, Antipatros, Antiochos, Erasikles, Philonidas, Aristoklos, all <sup>appearing</sup> with only 1 symbol. These might or might not be prints of the sun, but the most natural assumption is that they are the same magistrals as those represented by initials only, + that the difference only lies in the fact that the name is spelt in full. The magistrals represented by initials only were clearly issuing coins each for a <sup>series of upwards of 20 or 30 years</sup> ~~very considerable time~~; otherwise we would not, I think, expect to find, differing symbols, with the same initials. In which case they were <sup>certainly</sup> ~~clearly~~ not the prints of Helios. But who were they? Magistrals for more than one year + less than life are difficult to accept; though I suppose it is possible that the  $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota$   $\tau\omicron\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  of Rhodes are such a class (Shinkabeeg, Lundakot vi, Les pratiques de Praxinos Hippis p. 12 ff. has a lot to say about these but I'm not sure has right it. also Scungu, Atti di <sup>istitut</sup> ~~Acad.~~ Venet., 1898-9 p. 273 ff, which I haven't seen). I think if we could find out who these magistrals of the 4th century are, we might get a line on the Hellenistic  $\alpha\mu\phi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota$ - $\alpha\mu\phi\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota$ . Kephling's article on them Zeitschr. für Numism. xxiii, 1901, p. 109 ff does not, I feel, help much, since he doesn't publish - so far as I know - the names on the coins which he didn't find on amphion stamps; + when he wrote, he could only total 223 magistrals from amphionae, so the ratio probably is quite different from that given by him.

The whole matter is most obscure; have you any news on the matter? I hope to see Wrothman again before long, + will discuss the subject again, but when

we last discussed the matter, he too has no solution to offer.

One point I forgot to mention earlier is that, as I expect you know, there is a large collection of unpublished autograph-handlers in the British Museum. I hope to get to work on these within the next two months, & shall doubtless call on you in my hour of need.

I wonder whether your book-shops in America are better supplied than ours; I am in great need of a copy of v. Seltzer, since I have only a library copy. If you ever come across a spare copy - very, very unlikely I imagine - & you already possess one yourself, would you be kind enough to get it for me. I imagine there's not one chance in 10,000, but you never know.

I must apologise for always writing you in ink; I hope you can read my writing - not many people can. Your type-script put me to shame.

Yours sincerely  
Pehr Fraser.



August 3, 1946

Dear Mr. Fraser,

I am much interested in your letter of July 28th, with suggestions for the dating of Rhodian names. I had not thought of using the destruction date of Samaria. On the handles from this site, I don't know if you are aware that there is a publication by Mrs. Lake (more recently of Lake Van) which will supplement and correct Reisner's, adding new material from later excavations. She tells me that she turned in the ms some time ago, perhaps just before the war, to one Crowfoot (Cambridge? Oxford?). If you learn when this can be expected to come out, she and I would both be interested to know. In an exchange of information in 1937, she gave us copies of her cards, but unfortunately these are not available to me at the moment (they are in the Agora records in Athens).

Have you by chance had access to the notes on which Heichelheim bases his statistics ~~on Rhodian vase handles at various dates~~ <sup>on Rhodian vase handles at various dates</sup>, pp. 471 ff. of his *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums*? In a recent letter he tells me that the publication promised in his Footnote 12, p. 1072, has not been brought out, because some expected Russian publications have not appeared. But perhaps he was also discouraged by Rostovtzeff's comment (p. 1486, note 97, of the Hellenistic book). I think one has to be cautious not only because of the vast amounts of unpublished material, but also because many wrong readings have been published, and handles have been wrongly identified as Rhodian, in the early days, or more recently by those who did not make use of available reference books. I hope, as I may have mentioned, to get out a revised edition of Hiller's list in the course of 1947. This will have some new fixed points from good finding places of individual handles in stratified fill (e.g., several from Tarsos, among the 100 that I wrote up for the volume which is now in press); a lot of new pairs will help to establish names in a general period; the dates will be checked by the fabric, where handles ~~xxxxxx~~ have been examined from that point of view. (The development outlined in *Hesperia* 1934 has been confirmed by subsequent discoveries in the Agora.) There is a good deal of work to be done before this will be ready. In the meanwhile, here are a few notes on your list of ~~xxxxx~~ eponyms present only in S. Russia:

The following occur on early handles, i.e. to be dated not later than the early 3rd BC: Agesis (from Antioch, Alexandria); Polykles (Antioch); Philinos (Antioch, and a whole jar from Cyprus, endorsed by Hieroteles).

The following are the names of Knidian eponyms: Aristokles, Euphragoras, Kleombrotos, Leon, Lysikles, Xenokles, Timasikrates.

Thrasymachos appears at the Agora and in Alexandria on late handles, with late lettering, and may well suit your theory. Names in -machos



e.g. Antisthenes  
in the Pergamon deposit

seem to be in vogue at this period, so perhaps Mnesimachos can be added. I have a late handle from Alexandria with the name Antilochos; no epi is preserved, but one is perhaps to be restored.. Note that the name Archikrates is recorded from Pergamon.

I quite agree with you that it is hard to believe one can rely on dates based on presence in the Pergamon hoard; but actually the stamps attributed to it are with few exceptions a consistent group according to other evidence, and Tarsos stratification has helped to fix the group close to the dates proposed. ~~Further there was a later hoard~~ Later Rhodian stamps have been found in Pergamon than were swept into this deposit: at least I should put Eudamos and Aristogeitos in the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century (they appear in Pergamon X).

I don't quite follow your argument about the non-Pergamon handles found at Myrina, but certainly believe that Phalokrates and Thrasydamos are earlier than the period of the Pergamon hoard, at least as a whole. (It had some old stuff, e.g. Artemidoros, and Mikythos.)

I do so agree with you about the difficulty in assembling books. I imagine you know of Blinkenberg's Lindos: Inscriptions, Berlin and Copenhagen, 1941, and the list p. 23 of priests of Halios mentioned in the Lindian inscriptions. Have you seen Agloubrotos in a Carian inscription, BCH 1934, p.351?

I should like to know whether you feel quite convinced that the eponyms on the stamps are actually the eponymous priests by whom decrees ~~inscriptions~~ are dated, the state dating officials. Names with epi occur on coins, but numismatists do not seem at all agreed that they serve simply as dates.

Not to be left out of calculations: the same name certainly recurs at separated periods. As instances of such names, I may mention Kallikrates and Xenophantos, in addition to Pausanias (Hesperia, 1934, p. 224, see on nos. 36-37).

(Sending an offprint of Early Thes. Sp. Amph.)



Sarah J. Samuels  
(overleaf)

111.01  
Bresnahan College  
Oxford.

28.vii.46

Dear Miss Price,

I hope you will excuse my bothering you again, but I have recently been "reading up", as thoroughly as is possible here, Rhodian amphora-stamps, & I should very much like your opinion on a few general points.

First, I should make quite clear the limits of my interest in amphora-stamps. I am not attempting to do more than give a general picture of the part these items played in Rhodian trade, & to put them as nearly as possible in their chronological order. Thus, for the technical side of the matter, what the stamps were for, etc., etc., I have simply followed the safe course of stating the views of Schnitzler, Wilson & myself without trying to produce any new ideas.

My chief interest naturally lies in the exonyms and potters, & I have tried to divide them up chronologically, into greater detail than hitherto, on the basis of occurrence & non-occurrence at various sites. My feeling is that the only safe dates are foundation and destruction-dates, such as Alexandria & Phoenicia on the one hand, & Carthage & Samaria on the other. I should have thought that the accepted opinion regarding the 42 exonyms at Pergamon was very difficult to substantiate in view of <sup>certain</sup> facts we know concerning ancient trade; e.g. the Al Thina finds which show that Attic pottery was exported abundantly to the Roman Empire in the 5th century, and (more topical) the papyrus discussed by Rodtzeff, loc. cit. ibid. which refers to trade between Syria, Rhodes, & Egypt & which is apparently to be dated c. 258, & may thus belong to the years of the Second

Syrian War. [I am not sure of the dating of this papyrus; it appears to be by 'grouping'. Both these facts suggest that trade between Pergamon + Rhodes need not have been limited to c. 220-180. Two more precise reasons against this dating seem to me to be (α) the fact that of the 3 (certain) epigrams at Myrina, 2 are not in the Pergamon hoard (Philobrotos + Thrasymachos; in the Myrina hoard, Pothir-Rosinach, Les nécropoles de Myrina i, 1888, pp 223ff.), + yet probably came from Pergamon - the nearest large market. (β) It was after 188 that Rhodes, { the acquisition of Karia to the line of the R. Marnandros, <sup>was</sup> really began able to penetrate by land into Pergamene territory. [There is also the argument of Gellies about Bithynia, but ~~the~~ <sup>under</sup> there may be earlier.] If the years 220-180 are not fixed, & the number of epigrams in Schuchhardt's hoard, then of course it is quite possible that Rhodian trade with Pergamon went back to the establishment there of an independent dynasty which emerged as a strong power i.e. c. 260, and that the epigrams ~~represented~~ <sup>found</sup> at Pergamon + Karthage represent the years 260-146.

~~A~~ A terminus ante quem, as sure as the destruction of Karthage is probably represented by the Sack of Samaria, + certain other towns of Palestine in c. 108 of Alexander the Hasmonean. Since these were found at Samaria and other Palestinian sites c. 70 epigram also were not found at Pergamon + Karthage, I suppose that not a few of these may belong to the period after 146-108. However I don't see any way of fixing ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> these on historical grounds. I wonder if you have reached any conclusions about these ~~for~~ epigrams?

last point I would like to mention is one which has distressed me considerably, since it has more than any other brought home to me the practical difficulties of dealing with amphora-handles; namely, the inaccessibility of many publications. In checking over the S. Russian stamps against (i.e. the Rhodian stamps found in S. Russia) against the 'Mediteranean' map, i.e. Alexandria, Palestine, Athens, I found that a large number as far as I could calculate occurred only in S. Russia - I include, on a separate sheet of paper a list of these epigrams. On my calculations also most of these - possibly all, except Xenokles - did not occur at Olbia. Unfortunately however for Olbia all I have been able to consult, are the Becker publications, Reliefs grecs romains, 1-11, + the Talbot-Bryant Suppl. IV, V, VI + the few Olbian stamps published in The Hermitage



catalogue. (cannot therefore determine whether or not some of these 40-odd sponges occur at Olbia or not. If not, then the fact is important, since it raises the possibility - unfortunately no more! - that at some time or other Rhodian trade was going to S. Russia, omitting out Olbia en route; and the most likely time for that would be after the sack (? probably destruction) of Olbia by the Getae in the middle of the 1st cent. B.C. Of course these 40-odd sponges may equally well be scattered through the whole of the Hellenistic age, though I do think that the fact that they do not occur (apparently, or so far as published evidence extends) at Alex., or <sup>in</sup> Palestine, is of some weight. I should very much like to know whether you have any notes on any of these sponges, which would enable us to place them a little more closely. The few notes in v. Hiller lend a certain amount of support to the view that they belong to the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. B.C. - 1<sup>st</sup> cent. A.D. period: cf. Antiochos, Mnesimachos, Xenotimos.

You will, I hope, excuse my infringing all that on you. I am afraid my processes are somewhat primitive, but - as no doubt you are - I am much handicapped by being unable to consult many publications. I think however that you are probably better off than we are here; the Bodleian has great gaps in Russian + Rumanian publications. I am irritated that I cannot yet find in Oxford a copy of Cantacuzen's article in Revue Hist. de Sud-Est europ. 1939. The Bodleian series stops unaccountably in 1937! I should like to say in conclusion how much I enjoyed your recent article in BSA on the early Thasian stamps.

Yours sincerely,  
Peter Fraser.

Eponyms present only in S. Russia.

Aganax, Kleutarchidas

Agerarchos, Kleumachos

Agemon (per) Leon

? Aglaedon (per) Lysikles

Agria Mesimachos

(Antioch script) Anicas (per) Xenokles [? Olbia only?]

Anaxidamos Xenotimos

Anoximenes (Antioch script) Polykles [also at Varna]: v. Heller w. 247?

in N. Antiochos [c. 19 xii. 1. PP] Polyxenos

(Antioch script) Apollodotes ? Polyphalos

Antistipides Simias

(per) Aristokles Stephanos

Argy [? Archikles] Stetomitos [not in v. Heller]

Damostatos Sonikos

(per) Euphagros Timarchos [also at Varna]

Euphanorides (per) Timasikrates [v. Heller has "Bottle"; I think he means "Pr."]

? Herakleitos Timostatos

Themison Phenokles

Agria Mesimachos Phanokrates

? Anason (Antioch script) Philinos

Isodotos (per) Philinos

(per) Kleombrotos



11.2.46

Dear Miss Grace,

Many thanks for your letter and for the offprint of Hesperia which I am most pleased to have. As yet I am still very much a novice on the amphora stamps, and I have the feeling that it will be some time before I am fully able to appreciate all the material you have collected, and the conclusions you have drawn from it.

So any suggestions I may have, or comments, to offer, will probably not be yet available. I hope by next summer to be able to give more time to the question of Rhodian trade generally; at the moment I am still rather involved with political history, and I am very dubious of extent Rhodian amphora stamps can help us, or support us, there.

Yours sincerely

Peter Fraser



6  
January 4, 1945

Dear Mr. Fraser,

Thank you for your note of 15 December. I am sending you a copy of Hesperia III, 3. Corrigenda to pages 219 and 242 are attached, but I don't wish to suggest that much of the rest is not ready for improvement.

You have probably noticed numerous references to the stamps scattered through Bostovtzeff's Social and ~~Monetary~~ Hellenistic World. On p.1647 (Vol.III) is a comment on part of an unpublished report I made in 1939. I think the paragraph he refers to may be of some interest to you, hence reproduce it here:

"The Alexandria collection, so far as examined, is over 85% Rhodian, and has interested me particularly because of its proportion of later Rhodian types nearly or entirely lacking in Athens. To put it concretely: stamps naming the yearly officials Alexiadas, Anaxandros, Aristogeitos, Archembrotos and Pythogenes, and the potters Eukleitos, Hephaistion, Hieron, Imas, Midas, Nikias and Timo, together make up 126 of the 700 catalogued at Alexandria, but only 5 of the first 6612 at the Agora, or 13 % versus less than one tenth of one per cent. A few stamps of two of the potters named were found at Carthage, destroyed in 146 B.C. It seems possible to set a new date line at 166, when the Romans made Delos a free port. This move, intended to be a blow to Rhodian trade, is likely to have robbed Rhodes of at least Athens as a market, since Delos was managed under Athenian supervision. The date line should be valid as a general rule: place after 166 all eponymous Rhodian officials whose names do not appear in Athenian collections but are fairly common on angular (developed Rhodian) handles found in places other than Athens. (We have some evidence of a mild revival in trade, perhaps in the early 1st century B.C.: a few Rhodian handles of late appearance are found, together with many Knidian, in Agora deposits made up of the rubbish left after the destruction of Athens in 86 B.C. by Sulla.)"

It may be remarked that the 700 handles catalogued at Alexandria are not more than 5% of the total collected there. In view of this and similar situations, a comprehensive publication is still somewhat remote. In the more immediate future I hope to get out a report on whole jars and other known name combinations, including capacity measurements where I have them, also a new annotated list of Rhodian eponyms: there is quite a bit to add in these lines.

Similarities between Thasian and Rhodian stamped amphoras of about 300 B.C. have recently suggested to me that it may have been the Thasian Aristophanes (Schesipolios?) who endorsed a series of early Rhodian jars. The name Aristophanes is established in Thasos, apparently not so in Rhodes. I should be glad of your comment; and in general look forward with much interest to



BRASENOSE COLLEGE,  
OXFORD.

15 Dec. 45.

Dear Miss Grace,

Please excuse a  
request from an entire stranger. I am writing  
a D.Phil. thesis on the history of Rhodes from  
the middle ages onwards, & have been getting  
facts together about the amphora-stamps.

I found your article in Hesperia III very  
useful and I wonder whether it would be  
possible to get an offprint of it. Professor  
Newitt suggested that I should write to you,  
in the hope that you might have a  
spare one, you could let me have.

I should be most grateful  
if you could help me.

Yours sincerely

Peter Fraser.

---

For HAT

27. IV. 73

115.01

Why I am not willing to give  
Peter M.F. any information that  
I am not managing to get into  
print right myself. *(and why I  
would not include  
his notes -*

All Souls College.  
Oxford.

26th October, 1966.

Dear Virginia,

May I worry you with a few minor points of detail which are still not clear to me after revising my chapter on Trade, in the light of your successive comments?

X  
Figures are  
same in  
"published"  
Newspaper  
also in  
Anchorage,  
Oct. 1966

1. In Am. Res. Centre, Rep. 1966 (of which I have a 'xerox' copy of the typescript you lent me last year) you say that L.B.'s total collection reached 66,000 pieces, of which, I gather, you reckon ca. 55,000 as Rhod. L.B.'s own figure (Dec. 1960) was, total 77,791, of which 52,269 Rhod. Add to either figure your 1955 figure for the Rhod. in Mus., ca. 25,000, and we seem to have a total of over 77,000 Rhod., which I am prepared to call 'ca. 80,000'. Which, if any of these figures would you now accept? cf. below, 3.

2. I wrote: "Rhod. a.st. in Alex. of the period 200-140, falling both before and after the Senate's economic sanctions, are not only more numerous than at any other time; they also seem to remain fairly constant throughout the period". This was a balloon which you promptly shot down with the comment: "VG is not prepared to make this statement". Could you tell me whether you take objection to the first statement ("more numerous...") or to the second ("fairly constant..."), or both; and whether you are prepared to hazard a generalisation embracing this period in Alex.?

3. For the total Alex. figures of a.st. I utilised figures given by you to me of your count of Dec. 1960: 77,790 Rhod., 6860 Cn., 1480 Coan, 190 Thas., 160 Chi., 980 with Latin legends. You comment on this: "See new notes", but I have not been able to find a list of totals published by you subsequently. I may have missed this (it is easy to do so, when one is dealing with lists of various dates); are you referring to your own unpublished notes, and, if so, might I replace your old figures of 1960 by new ones?

i.e.  
typescript  
9.10.66

55 000  
25 000  
80,000

4 in fig

4 These figs 77791  
and 52269  
com for 1955  
C.B. 11.11.61



Kourion of the  
~~Kourion~~ in Cyprus, as well as more, unclassified. I spent more time on the Rhodian.  
 Miss Turzynski is getting on with the identification of the names on these. About  
 the end of October she estimated she had worked through about 15,000, and thought she  
 had found about a sixth of them illegible for the present; the rest she marked, and  
 they are currently kept sorted by the Museum's man. When she has finished, it will be  
 possible to make counts, and then statements about the relative quantities at various  
 periods. It would be nice if the Museum's handles could be covered too, but I can see  
 that they will not be by Miss T.; too bad, as she will have become very competent.

For paragraph (2) in your recent letter, I cannot remember how (or if) the statement  
 you quote was documented by you in your text. But I feel pretty sure that nobody has  
 had the data on which to base such a statement; and without basis it is not interesting.  
 What is the date of the Senate's economic sanctions? Is that 167? For me to make  
 any generalisation of the sort would take quite an investigation, for which no time  
 now; I certainly am not prepared to make this statement. My vague impression is that  
 Mr. Benachi's masses come in the 2/2 of the 2nd century, anyhow that seems to be the  
 date of the fabricants Eukleitos and Midas whose handles are so very numerous in his  
 collection; but then, possibly fewer fabricants supplied the same market?

For your paragraph (1), there is a confusion in the middle of it, where you state:  
 "L.B.' own figure (Dec. 1960) was, total 77,791, of which 52,269 Rhod." These figures  
 come from <sup>my</sup> ~~the~~ typescript comment of 11.VI.61 on your chapter on Alexandrian trade. Both  
 figures are for Rhodian, the larger being the total of <sup>this class in</sup> both collections, the smaller  
 being <sup>the Rhodian</sup> ~~these~~ at that time in the Benachi collection. (We have Mr. Benachi's figures for  
 his collection in Dec. 1960, and the total is something under 63,000.) The figures in  
 your (3) also derive from my typescript of 11.VI.61, except that you have rounded them  
 (i.e. 77,791 becomes 77,790).

Please let me know, now, whether you actually have that typescript of 11.VI.61.  
 If it <sup>had</sup> ~~got~~ lost, this might explain the fact that in 1965-6 your chapter still had the  
 same corrigenda as in 1961; I am not referring now to matters about which there might,



attached in a small  
clipping for "Observer" 17 VIII 69  
about well-known fact of growth. 5 - 3 -

for getting  
a story  
from somebody  
who did  
know.

attached in a small  
clipping for "Observer" 17 VIII 69  
about well-known fact of growth. 5 - 3 -

Against this background, there was a Reichelheim flavour to the significant statement in the manuscript of your book, quoted in your letter of 26.I.66: "Rhodian amphora stamps in Alexandria of the period 200-140, falling both before and after the Senate's economic sanctions, are not only more numerous than at any other time; they also seem to remain fairly constant throughout the period." The reader is left to imagine that this is gleaned from a mastery of VU's works - from where else? Or did you not really intend to let it stand, thus unpropped?

In fact, although we are lacking anything like a full count in Alexandria - not to forget the Museum's original collection, in which the Rhodian are not even sorted - there is a certain section which has been counted in detail, a count I organised in March 1967, and it was carried out that spring. The section is the supplementary series of fabricant handles of the Bonacki collection, about 20,000, what was left after the reference selection (4,451) was taken out. Doing what I can with this block of material, I make this tentative observation: the volume of import increased through the late 4th and 3rd and early 2nd centuries B.C.; it is pretty clear that there was a drop in the second quarter of the 2nd century; while in the second half of the 2nd century there is a very large increase, to 3 or 4 times the numbers at any previous period; in the late 2nd and early 1st century the volume drops again, though still more than twice that of the late 3rd - early 2nd; after that it peters out, though there are a certain number of Rhodian handles datable perhaps in the middle of the 1st B.C.

Would you attribute the drop to the Senate's sanctions, and the increase to the destruction of two other large commercial states?

Here it has suddenly got hot, and I wish I were as near to the sea as is the Fraser family, for a little longer.

② SEHHW, pp. 775-6 (quoted, with ref., by M.F. Finley in

Dachau 100: Wund 1971? p. 186

(3rd offprint - Xerox - under HISTORICAL NOTES

6. 10. 73 But Rod. does not state it, the eds. it, i.e., are people

rights in the United States, and his ref. does not lead to any such statements.



attached in a small  
clipping for "Observer" 17.VIII.69  
about well-known fact of growth. E - 8 -

be given  
a story  
from somebody  
who said  
this.

at  
the end  
to look  
into  
about  
marginal

(16.VIII.69)

Against this background, there was a Reichelheim flavour to the argument statement in the manuscript of your book, quoted in your letter of 26.X.66: "Rhodian amphora stamps in Alexandria of the period 200-140, falling both before and after the Senate's economic sanctions, are not only more numerous than at any other time; they also seem to remain fairly constant throughout the period." The reader is left to imagine that this is gleaned from a mastery of VC's works - from where else? Or did you not really intend to let it stand, thus unpropped?

In fact, although we are lacking anything like a full count in Alexandria - not to forget the Museum's original collection, in which the Rhodian are not even sorted - there is a certain section which has been counted in detail, a count I organised in March 1967, and it was carried out that spring. The section is the supplementary series of fabricant handles of the Bonacki collection, about 20,000, what was left after the reference selection (4,451) was taken out. Doing what I can with this block of material, I make this tentative observation: the volume of import increased through the late 4th and 3rd and early 2nd centuries B.C.; it is pretty clear that there was a drop in the second quarter of the 2nd century; while in the second half of the 2nd century there is a very large increase, to 3 or 4 times the numbers at any previous period; in the late 2nd and early 1st century the volume drops again, though still more than twice that of the late 3rd - early 2nd; after that it peters out, though there are a certain number of Rhodian handles datable perhaps in the middle of the 1st B.C.

Would you attribute the drop to the Senate's sanctions, and the increase to the destruction of two other large commercial states?

Here it has suddenly got hot, and I wish I were as near to the sea as is the Fraser family, for a little longer.

⑤ SEHNV, pp. 775-6 (quoted, with ref., by M.F. Finley in

Dachstein 100: Wm 1971? p. 186

(in opposite - XEROX - under HISTORICAL NOTES

6.10.73 But Ref. does not state it, the eds it, i.e., are people

think that, and his ref. does not lead to any such statement.



Athens, August 25, 1969

Dear Peter,

I don't yet after all feel sure about the mentioned drop in import in the second quarter of the 2nd century. We have made checks and found errors in our counts and are redoing. It is very exacting and boring job to make this complex count, and made more exasperating by the realization that we have only part of the figures and possibly a somewhat weighted part. There can however be no doubt of the great increase after the middle of the century. If you want, I could give you the revised returns when you come back to Athens. Our work on this project is slowed by the fact that my mathematical aide is driven hard at his regular job these days, and some days does not get to us at all.

About the clipping, I don't want to hurt anybody's feelings. I thought it an amusing analogy to what you yourself said about your quoted statement, in your letter of 26 Oct. 1966: "This was a balloon which you promptly shot down, etc." I cannot suppose that you ever intended to publish it without verification, which could for the present come only from us here. That, if you like, would be an offence to me, though it probably would not occur to you as such; it would imply that such statements can be made out of general erudition, and that our slogging and our study of the results are works of supererogation.

Lucas's Egyptian lawyer has been here, the good Mr. Arida, with his Sg. Gk. wife and their two children, all fanning themselves in protest against the climate of Athens in contrast with that of Alexandria. They sailed to Mykonos yesterday, and return tonight with Lucas.

Yours,



to produce a firm chronology, through several centuries, of commonly found objects. All statements - historical, art-historical, economic-historical - that can be made about sites or levels or finds depend for their meaning on reliable dating. When there is a conflict on the dating, as at Koroni, it is not enough for any expert simply to give judgment. For a chronology to stand, evidence has got to be presented, and in common terms, not in the jargon and with the assumptions of a particular branch. In fact we cannot use assumptions. We have to turn out our own, and we can ask the same of those who do not agree with us. The "machinery" as you call it should be demonstrated; at points where one is really concerned to know what happened (and not just playing games), it is not at all boring. You have never given me the "good and independent grounds for assigning the Ptolemaic coins with oval shield to Philadelphus" mentioned in your letter of October 1966.

A kind of "interpretation" which I think you want is supplied by statements on relative numbers found at particular sites. This is of course a proper application of the chronology, and one not entirely new to my readers. There is a nice one involving Alexandria on the last page of my Picture Book, but it is about Knidian trade not Rhodian, our data being more complete for this class. To make quite a short statement of this character, say on the relative numbers of Rhodian jars imported to Alexandria at various dates, it is necessary not only to establish a large repertory and then a detailed chronology of the stamp types, but also to identify, mark and assemble by classification numbers and sub-numbers many thousand stamped handles in Alexandria and then to make a detailed count of the handles by their particular numbers and sub-numbers (to distinguish for instance between the 4 or 5 or 6 different <sup>and differently dated</sup> Rhodian fabricants named ΑΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ). Alexandria, especially for the mass of Rhodian handles, has been such a crowded salvage operation that we still do not have in Athens the name-by-name figures for a full count by date, even if we knew more fully about dates than we do. First necessities there were to identify and mark and check and install in the Museum while we still had Miss Turzynski who naturally became increasingly competent at these tasks.



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

February 3, 1986

To P.M.Fraser

Dear Peter:

Thank you for your letter of January 20.

A few names in Rhodian stamps have had their dates somewhat sharpened in my article for the French Amphora Colloquium. I enclose photocopies of pp. 14 and 15 of the proof, where under numbers 22, 23, 27, and 28 are named two fabricants and some ten eponyms who are dated ca mid 3rd century (most of them), and a little after 240 B.C. (the eponyms ΕΥΚΛΗΣ 2nd, ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ 1st and ΦΙΛΩΝΙΔΑΣ, and part of the years of the fabricant ΠΟΤΑΜΟΚΛΗΣ). The typed <sup>(which)</sup> lists you have placed them in Periods I and II. Those in I should be late I, and those in II, early II. Note that the type of the fabricant ΑΡΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ published here, thought to date a little before 240 B.C., is new, and that in general the name spelled thus is rare in Rhodian stamps.

You might have another look at my letter to you of 13.X.80, which recommends more checking than had been done for the printout you had then sent me. Too many errors turned up in a spot check I made of that printout. Such errors would matter more than missing a few modernizations,

The stamp ~~series~~ series with names surrounding a prow (Hesperia 1971, pl.15, nos. 16 and 17) do not seem to mark amphoras made in Samos. This was already suspected before that article came out, see the addendum on p.84, where a 4th century context is reported, whereas for the Samian series we needed a 3rd century shape to go with the papyros of 259 B.C., see *ibid.* pp. 82-83. Prof. Börker of Erlangen thinks the prow-stamped jars are an early kind of Knidian, as he must have said in his paper at the colloquium, but of course I didn't get to those papers.

I look forward to seeing you at the time of the Centenary.

Yours,