

VRG_folder-0732



1-b

House of Heron: Delos

Stamped STATVS on top
of both handles



The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

University of Massachusetts

Amherst 01002

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
Herter Hall

August 16, 1974

My dear Virginia,

It was marvelous to have your letter of August 5, delivered by David Mitten, and I am seizing this opportunity to reply via Maddalena Andreassi both because she is leaving for Athens in two days and because I am very eager to do whatever I can to smooth out any wrinkles there may still be in amphora communication - channels. I can only say that as soon as Fausto Zevi heard I was here (I think both via Maddalena and via ^{Frank Brown} ~~Maddalena~~), he treated me with the utmost cordiality and kindness. He first sent Maddalena to arrange an appointment, then came here twice himself to see me, also took me and Tina Panella, the Pompeii amphorist, to a fabulous meal, had us to dinner at his house as well, took me to Ostia, where we reviewed in detail the material there, spent an afternoon showing me a dazzling collection of jars at the Mkt. of Trajan, and in many other ways has made it clear that he sees me as the chief figure in a Second Coming. His total generosity and openness with all his material (urging me to make photos, etc.), plus the fact that he has never misused the photos you gave him of my material, convince me that we should extend every courtesy to him and to Maddalena. I like her. She is intelligent and energetic and has learned a lot in a short time. It seems that she is especially interested at the moment in collecting material ^{for the encyclopedia} on certain small jars at the Agora, and while she is most grateful for your kindness, it's clear that Barbara Johnson (who has never written me; in

fact, I first heard of her in your letter of August 5) has been somewhat less than nice to her. This really grieves me, though I do, remembering my own youthful attitudes, quite understand that one might feel protective towards one's material and threatened by possible poachers. I'm convinced, though, that Zevi and Maddalena are to be trusted, and I hope you will do what you can to facilitate M's work; if only because the Agora has profited so much by Zevi's kindness to me here. I have, in short, learned an incredible amount about late jars, both my Types 14 ff., and many jars which are presumably to be published by Johnson. Zevi and Panella have, by virtue of their work on the jars from Africa (esp. Types 18 and 21), clarified that murky scene considerably, and they took it upon themselves to make sure I understood the various types. My catalogue will be only much up-to-date as a result, and of course that's very important, even though the catalogue concerns itself primarily with earlier material (and there I was able to instruct them). (It does seem to me that Johnson should spend some time here if she wants to learn about the late material. There is so much here in Rome and at Ostia & Pompeii, which I hope ^(Pompeii) to visit before I leave, but it's primarily on the basis of the Cora material, which Z & P went over with me in detail, that I feel confident now about the new distinctions and characteristics. How fortunate that I came here this summer and didn't go into print with my old notions.)

The Italian encyclopedia - project is also something I feel we should support with enthusiasm. They want me to do the ^{Latin-}stamped material from the E. Med. (i.e., more or less summarize what will be in the Agora volume), and they are very eager for you to contribute a brief survey of Greek material from the Roman period. I hope you'll feel you can take



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the time for such a contribution. It can be very brief, but it's something only you can do, and I have the impression that this encyclopedia ^{Roman} amphora - supplement will be a locus classicus for some time to come. They also pay, it seems, and figured that I would get the equivalent of about \$500 for my contribution. The person in charge, Ide Baldassarre, came to see me last week and made arrangements for me to do the E. Mediterranean section. Please seriously consider helping with this.

My work on the Cosa pieces is progressing. I am now almost finished with the smaller fragments, which are here in Rome, and will go next week to Cosa for three or four days to complete work there on the whole jar and bellies (many of which are affixed to the ROOF of the excavation-house, so you can think of me as up there for at least a day during this coming week, doing a kind of amphora ballet or tight rope walk while I take dimensions with those great calipers you gave me). I came here with the impression that the Cosa material was mostly early, rather duplicating what is at Athens and Delos; but the picture has changed. What the excavators classified as "storage ware" turns out to be amphorae, so my soundings in the Cosa boxes have resulted in a tripling. I would estimate, of what needs to be

included in the Cosa catalogue. The new material is mostly unstamped and either African or what is called "Gallic." There are also some very early Roman pieces, as early as the 3rd BC, and in part resembling Azore material, things we need not be sure about the Romaness of, like the "Giesauti jar" and that whole related series. Here, dipinti in Latin seem to make the "Romanitas" of such jars certain.

Another word, I'm sorry all the ^{Roman} ~~Cosa~~ pieces, not just the stamped ones. Hugh Lynne wants me to do the same in Pergamene, and I may decide to.

See French in Italy. Cosa

Frank asked me to send you rubbings of the Cosa bricks, some of which you may already have. (Unfortunately I ran out of Egyptian rubbing paper so had to use mostly Italian paper, but the images are as clear as I could make them.)

It would be very interesting to know if any of the CB, CC, CD, CE pieces can be dated. The CB and CC things are from that Capitulum hill which looks to be as early as 200 BC.

There is no limit to the amount of time I can spend in Greece, though I must leave time for completing everything by the end of the first semester. What I particularly want to do is review the late material in the light of what I now know. Tina Panella, by the way, hopes to join me in Athens in early Nov., to help me with the late material (she has worked extensively in N. Africa and is doing all the Pompeii things) and to see the early things. She is most attractive and brimming over with detailed knowledge of African clays. She took me to the ceramics institute at the university here and showed me their collection and their methods, which involve breaking off generous samples of clay with special piers! She gave me several heaps from relevant necks. I watched in stupefaction as the surgery was performed.

If Homer is still there, please give him my best regards. What list does Charles Williams want from me? Yes, I would like the ^{fill 729} ~~maxos~~ photos. Probably better to send them to America unless someone is coming here before Sept. 2, my tentative departure - date. But

I may stay till the 30th, if I decide not to go to the conference in Madrid. Benachi, Andrews, Maria, from Kelly how to you all, esp. Mr. Benachi, Andrews, Maria, from Kelly

ROMAN

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American School of Classical Studies
54 S wedias Street, Athens 140, Greece

August 5, 1974

Dear Letty,

I have just this lucky chance of being able to write to you, the letter to go by a traveller, ^(Dane Miller) now that the mails are so uncertain. As he is leaving tomorrow, I must just write briefly, in answer to yours of July 24 from Amherst.

I was delighted to hear that the university has given you a paid leave to get on with your book, with additional travel funds. While you are in Italy, it will be important for you to get into touch with Fausto Zevi, Via Giorgio Pallavicino, 21, Roma. He is organizing a large tome on amphoras for an Italian encyclopedia, and in the interests of that, he has sent a young lady to Greece who is supposed to collect grist for his mill, especially from the Agora, where everything is so nicely documented and lined up. Her name is something like Andreoussi. I have got Barbara Johnson in correspondence with Zevi, as she is supposed to do all our Roman coarse ware, including amphoras, except for those you are covering. I think she has written to you, and you ought to write to her. Now the best thing may be for you to see her in October in Princeton, where she is to be at the Institute; and Zevi right soon in Italy; to make sure in both cases that there will not be duplication of effort, and especially in the case of Zevi, that he will not nip in and make a publication of something already knitted into your book. Sometimes it does not matter for things to ~~not~~ appear in more than one place, but it tends to make citations necessary that are a nuisance. He and his Miss A. are persistent. If you don't answer their letters, all the more important to see Z. soon, and have a cease-fire arrangement. *He is ready to write to you.*

Yes, incredible relief on the evening of July 23; but the Cyprus problem that brought it about is still serious. An all-angel government here now, but they inherited an awful mess.

It will be fine to see you on Nov. 1. I hope you are leaving yourself enough time.

Remember that Chuck Wilkin has no list from you.

Andreas did not get called up in the mobilization, but many did from his office, so he is exhausted from the extra work. Maria is away on holiday. Mr. Benaki is as you might expect in Mykonos.

AGORA EXCAVATIONS
AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
ATHENS, 140, GREECE



28 August 1974

*copy received 2 VG
30. VIII 74*

*Letter was written several
days? more? ago, and is
held up because we cannot
find an address for Zevi.
On his last letter (E.B.J) he
said we were using an old
address but did not provide
the new one. Hellenic School
does not know. Andreussi is
apparently out of town.*

*TLS
leave
Greece
today.*

*from
this
Andreussi
3.7.74*

Dr. Fausto Zevi
Via Panisperna 207
Roma
Italy

Dear Dr. Zevi:

Your recent correspondence with Dr. Barbara L. Johnson concerning the work of Dr. Andreussi, has come to my attention, and I thought to write to you in order to let you know of our plans for the study and publication of Roman amphoras from the Agora Excavations.

I was delighted to learn from your letter to Dr. Johnson of the extensive program of publications which the Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica plans to devote to the subject of Roman pottery. A series of fascicles accompanied by albums of photographs and profile drawings, such as you describe, would undoubtedly be of inestimable value not only to students of ancient ceramics, but particularly to field archaeologists like myself and many of my colleagues who often find themselves at a loss to find well illustrated examples of many Roman wares. Permit me, therefore, to wish you every success in this most worthy enterprise.

To judge from your description, the project seems to be in the early stages of planning and preliminary collection of material. For that reason, I thought to let you know of our determination to push on as quickly as possible with the publication of our amphoras and other Roman pottery. As you know, all of the Roman coarse pottery and amphoras in the Agora collections have been assigned to Dr. Johnson, whose study, I am happy to say, is progressing rapidly and well. I have no doubt that our publication of this material will be of great assistance to you and your colleagues as you proceed with the preparation of your fascicle.

With regard to the work of Dr. Andreussi, let me say that we have been glad to have her familiarize herself during the course of the spring and summer with the amphoras in the Agora. I feel sure that, after considerable study of our amphoras she must by now have formed clear impression of the scope of the material. As I am sure you know, we are always pleased to make known to visiting scholars whatever information we have on the basis of our unpublished material, though always

- 2 -

provisionally pending definitive publication by the members of the Agora staff to whom the material has been assigned. In the case of Dr. Andreussi, both Dr. Johnson and Dr. Virginia Grace have tried to be as helpful as possible in providing her with information from their files which I hope will prove useful in her study, its use, of course, being subject to prior publication of the material by Dr. Johnson.

Dr. Johnson tells me of her great interest in your project for the Enciclopedia dell' Arte, and I feel sure that she will soon be in touch with you personally again.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

TL

T. Leslie Shear, Jr.
Director, Agora Excavations

cc: Andreussi ✓
V.R. Grace
B.L. Johnson
H.A. Thompson

Translation of EV In. of letter 25 VII 74
in Italian. (H. added to it)

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mean by
opponents and
I 747

Dear. Ms. Johnson:

I finally received your letter, forwarded from my old address
(you're lucky it didn't end up at the pulp mill). I'm happy that
you write to me personally so that I may get to know you at least
by letter. (Next time please send photo). I was not aware that
you were concerned with the Roman amphoras of the Agora, nor did
I have the pleasure of meeting you at the time of my last visit
to Athens in 1967, otherwise I should have advised Andreussi to
contact you sooner to ask your help and support.

29.VII.67
and?

I suppose by now Andreussi has revealed to you the general
lines of her intended work. It deals with a project sponsored by
the IEI which, among other things, has also published the E. of
Ancient Art, well known in archaeological circles. The director
of the E of AA, the late G. Becatti, had the idea of publishing
in conjunction with the E. a series of fascicles dedicated to
Roman pottery made up of albums of drawings and profiles accom-
panied by descriptive texts. The first fascicle of this series
dedicated to stamped ware of late western production is already
in print. There will follow, I believe, one on ~~arretine~~ stamped
ware and its ~~italic~~ and Gallic etc. imitations. One of the
fascicles in this series would eventually be dedicated to Roman
amphoras. Prof. Becatti spoke to me of this project which his
untimely demise last year seemed to shelve. However in the last
couple of months the publishing committee of the E. d. A. has
resumed the program (entrusted now to Ida Baldassarre) proposing,
as Prof. Becatti had already indicated, that co-ordination of the
work be handled by Clementina Panella and me. Admittedly I was
for a long time in doubt over the appropriateness of the whole
project. It deals with a field of research still largely unexplored,
in which new discoveries and studies come forth in rapid succession.
Thus ^{definitive} volumes of even recent publication are today almost
out of date (including I. Pohl and my Supplement I of NSC 1970).
At least this is the case with amphoras. One article like that
of A. Tchernia in AEA rq. 1971 was enough to necessitate a
reconsideration, indeed to revolutionize a whole sector, as the
Dr. 2-4, in which the findings had been deemed secure. I
therefore considered (and still consider) such an undertaking pre-
mature and am certain that the resulting fascicle, no matter how
it is handled cannot but become obsolete in a short time. On the
other hand, the program had already been launched, necessary
finances earmarked, so the fascicle would have been made in any
case; furthermore the E. of A. has considered the possibility of
issuing up-dating supplements in the event they are called for by
rapid progress in the field.

(see. K. von)

As for the rest, work has only just begun and the problems of
organization of material are still under discussion. Foremost
among these is to devise tables of classification of shapes in
such a way as not to present a new canonical typology (which would
in itself give rise to new errors), but on the contrary, one which
can be as objective as possible while at the same time flexible
enough to allow inclusion of results of new research. The method-

(X) H. did not write to T. 76-78
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ology itself is uncertain and the International Congress on amphoras, held last April in the Palazzo Farnese, under the auspices of the CNRS of France, brought forth a whole new field of new prospects in method. Under discussion also are chronological limits. This work concerns chiefly imperial amphoras, but many types have their beginnings much earlier and it would be ridiculous to undertake a treatise on Rhodian amphoras, by way of example, with the year 27 B.C. Thus while discussion continues regarding the general make-up of the work, it seemed appropriate to us to go ahead and document as much as possible, if for no other reason than that greater familiarity with the material will further clarify its limits; at the same time it will be possible to begin selecting examples that could come together in the illustrated plates (particularly in the form of drawings which must all be re-done to ensure conformity). Thus the directors of the E. of A., upon the suggestion of Dr. Panella and myself, thought to take advantage of the extended stay in Greece of Dr. Andreussi, entrusting her with the task of collecting material there and naturally she began her quest in the Agora which is the most important excavation in all of Greece as far as Roman Imperial pottery is concerned. I should like therefore to emphasize, in the first place, that Andreussi is not working "for me" insofar as she is not doing research for some personal project of mine, but rather that she is working on behalf of the E. of A. and that I along with Dr. Panella have the sole task of co-ordinating all work on amphoras. But above all I should like to clarify that I cannot see how this could possibly interfere with your project of publishing unpublished Agora material. Possibly, - but I maintain hardly likely--there may be the problem of shapes known exclusively through their Agora context; in that case all proper permissions will be asked. But in this preliminary stage of investigation we are concerned only with collecting ample documentation which will not however be used without appropriate permission for particular pieces, but only as documentation of the general picture (e.g. in distribution charts of every form in the entire Roman world etc.).

I should be particularly pleased with any suggestions on your part and furthermore permit myself to ask you to look into the possibility of collaborating with us, forming part of an equipe that in our view should be as wide ranging as possible. The E. does not have great resources but is capable of sustaining expenses in documentation, and in the event of outside collaboration as would be the case with you, to meet expenses according to work done. I should have liked to have written you and especially to Miss Grace, only after further clarification of our program. But your letter forces me to do so at this stage, not only to solicit your eventual and much needed collaboration, but also your opinions and advice.

I hope with this to have cleared your questions and doubts. Dr. Andreussi, who has kindly consented to deliver my letter personally can explain any further points of confusions. You may in any case count on the discretion and propriety of an organization such as the Istituto dell Enciclopedia Italiana. As for me I should be particularly eager for any future contacts and if you should need information from Ostia (where as you know exists one of the most important collections of Roman amphoras in existence today, which A. Tchernia and myself will publish) or from Rome I will be glad to put at your disposal all the material that might be of use of you.

Luigi Zevi

The children are both at music camp (Interlochen and Greenport), and Fred will run things with the help of my mother while I'm gone. (She now lives in Amherst.)

[6]

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Amherst 01002

ROMAN



DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

Herter Hall

July 24, 1974

My dear Virginia,

I have so many important things to say to you and to discuss with you, but at the moment I'm in such a chronological bind that I must confine myself to a few essentials. I am just emerging from a very time-consuming month of teaching summer school at Tufts, and I leave tomorrow for a month in Italy; thus the rush. The Italian postal situation being what it is, it seems unlikely that I can count on getting a letter to you from there. (News today of a more settled situation in Greece a cause of much rejoicing. You must have had some uncertain moments this past week.)

The Italian trip results from an invitation from Frank Brown to look at and eventually publish the jars that have been turning up in the harbor at Cosa, and also those that are presumably being found this summer in the Wesleyan villa-dig there. I am very much pleased to have this chance to resume work on the Cosa material. I hope to get some more Sestius-insights, and in that connection, as I may have written you, Frank Brown says that most of the whole jars found in the harbor are stamped SES. This will in any case be a chance to draw some conclusions about local trade-patterns (harbor, "interland," hinterland), as opposed to international ones.

When I accepted the Academy's invitation last winter, I had no idea that I would still not have completed the Agora manuscript. This past semester has been traumatic: four courses, plus advising duties. A real miracle has, however, happened, one that made me feel quite relaxed about losing another month this summer. The university has granted me a paid leave of absence for the first semester, along with funds for a trip to Greece to check final things, and additional funds for typing and indexing. I was one of only six people here to get such a research grant, and I am terribly excited, pleased, and stupefied to be having this support, really the first support I have ever had except for the Philosophical Society travel grant in 1961. What especially pleased me was the fact that the Research Committee here found the subject of Roman amphoras in the eastern Mediterranean unusually interesting, I was told. That, plus the announcement you sent of the amphora-conference in Italy, made me feel the TIME of amphoras has finally arrived, thanks of course chiefly to your efforts. (Did you get to that meeting?).

I have made reservations to leave here for Athens on November 1. I plan to return here from Italy on Sept. 1. It does seem odd, I know, not to combine the two trips, but I feel I daren't go to Greece without having the Agora MS and plates in final form. I mustn't take the time at this stage for any but crucial additions.

Thank you for the fine Pamphylia - as Helen, which we can discuss in November. - Did Niki S. tell you that she and I are now in the same dept. here at U. Mass? - I met last week in Cambridge Peggy Thorne, who said she had seen you recently. - If someone named FAITH TIMMONS appears there, she will be my niece of a post-ficus here, Anne Fessenden. Much love from both.

25.8.74
did the
return the

Athens, August 11, 1973

20. VII. 74
more any info
7 down

Dear Letty,

I have your letter of 31.VII.73, and I thank you especially for the nice photograph of Barbara and Alex (who was about to be 15). Andreas and Maria and Evelyn have seen it, also Homer. (Maria is on holiday, but she dropped in to tell me that she has finally got all the necessary papers for a short trip to England, where she is taking her nephew Soteri, next week for ten days; this is wonderful.) I am glad to hear that you and Fred both have posts at the U. of Mass., at a time when posts are hard to get.

Let me say right away that I absolutely agree with Homer that you should get formal clearance from Charles Williams for the Corinth material you are using. Address him as Charles K. Williams II, Field Director, Corinth Excavations (and then the American School address). (He is to be referred to in that way in published acknowledgements also. By some academic accident, he does not have a doctorate.) Make a complete list for him of the items you wish to use. I think I would mention the years when your main work was done in Corinth, with perhaps some word on the reason for the delay in publication. At present, Charles is hesitating to allow our office (SAH) here to receive the rubbings of the new Corinth finds, with the help of which we have always given them readings of their new finds, and dates if they wanted them. He fears that Corinth finds entered in our files are thereby exposed to being scooped in a publication without due process, because we allow the use of our files to others who need them. Rather than risk that such scoops may take place, he prefers to do without any help we could give to his organization; I mean, new help - we have already stored in classified order his finds through 1969, and given him all sorts of lists and information on them. As for me, of course I expect that my clients will apply for permissions from the excavators, and make just acknowledgements in their publications. So please do get that clearance!

Offprints from Delos 27: we did get offprints of our chapter; they were not made of everything, but I had stipulated them before I consented to write. I think it was considered that since your contribution was short, it was enough to have the whole publication in compensating. We did not send you our chapter, since we knew you had

the book. Because this is a bit clumsy to use, I have rebound mine here into two parts, with relevant plates bound in; the break comes at the beginning of the troisieme partie (les objets). Williams, for Corinth, has had their copy divided into three, of which the last includes all stamps, plus coins, and presumably the Conclusions, etc. You might find that the most convenient.

I was glad to know you got the rubbings of "elos TD 7084-7453. We seem never to have heard whether you received other consignments:

in a letter of 26.II.69, from Maria, material from Cyprus and Corinth

" " " " 27.V.69, from Andreas, " " the Kerameikos

" " " " 21.XI.69, from Maria, apparently additional from Corinth

One more rubbing is here enclosed, of Thasos 3449; there is also a photo of this (not by us) which you can have if you want it.

Andreas has produced prints - also enclosed - of Agora P 28553, a fragmentary jar found in May 1971 in Section BA, deposit O-P 6 : 1, destruction fill of street drain in front of Greek House Delta. PH 0.82; diam. 0.38; ht of rim 0.04. ~~Re~~ "Buff-red gritty clay." (The other information as well as the description of the clay, comes from BA p. 1347 the catalogue card. Note book ref. describes ~~as~~ the context as 2/2 of 1st AD, but I expect you would not go so late with this jar.) I am sorry the prints got damaged from my anti-dehydration drink of water on my desk; they could be ironed out.

I have read with much interest the copy of your December paper which you enclose. I have jotted down some notes, points on which I would be glad of further comment. E.g., considering your point that the containers were discarded at the end of their sea voyage (which might extend up a river) what would you make of the great quantity of (Greek) SAH at Samaria? This seems to be no kind of port. At the bottom of your p. 1, it looks as if you had shown a slide of a 3rd century B.C. Roman amphora - is that one I know? Then, how do we know that the Romans began to date their wine in 121 B.C.? That piece with the 121 date is certainly interesting; I find it particularly so since you say (p.3) that it is the ancestor of the Grand Congloué (Dressel I) jars, so you must think of these as definitely later than 121. Where do you in fact now date the ones from the Gr. Cong.?

Can I still just cite "Les Amphores de Sestius"?

It is very good that you hope to get your catalogue done by the end of this month. Homer had sent me copies of his correspondence with you of November 1971, and we had some discussion, in the spring of 1972, on your plan for the volume. I think it a good plan, to present the material as soon as possible, even without much of the general text you have had in mind, which will no doubt come out much better later, when you and others have had a good look at the material laid out in order.

There is certainly real need for general access to what you know already. Somebody wanting, for instance, to include 4 or 5 Latin-stamped fragments in the publication of a new small dig in Delos (I think now of M. Siebert) can't possibly produce even literate readings by himself, let alone dates for these items. I have no very good idea as to how big the repertory of Latin stamps is, i.e. those that are apt to be found at this end of the Mediterranean; but no doubt you will give the reader help toward ~~re~~ matching his finds in other books, in case ~~they~~ ^{the matching types} are not in yours. Needed are lots of facilities for using your book - full indices (and if possible also reverse indices), cross-references back and forth between text and plates, and any hints that would lead to quick identification both of the stamp reading and of the amphora class, to carry one as ~~far~~ directly as possible to whatever is known about the date and place of origin of a jar or fragment, and of persons named in stamps on such, preferably without having first mastered the book as a whole. The classes are nicely placed both geographically and chronologically in your Nessana and Antikythera texts, and it will be good if you can do the same in your book, so far as evidence now permits; in the book of course there would be more demonstration of the evidence (deposit lists, etc.).

I think we can't really compare your material with Howland's in his lamp book, nor ~~now~~ would you want to handle yours in just the same way (cf. your letter to Homer of 15.XI.71) ~~for this~~, because basically his lamps were all made in the same place, with certain exceptions which he identifies.

I must get home now, to cope with the current set of lodgers, plus a former lodger with whom I am supposed to go out to dinner. I seem to be running a sort of Youth Hostel next week, 4 applicants. Do you think it will keep me young?



The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
University of Massachusetts
Amherst 01002

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
 Herter Hall

July 31, 1973

Dear Virginia,

The reasons for my not having written are so entangled and knotted that I think I won't ever be able to unravel them without seeing you and talking with you face-to-face. To begin with, the problems of 1963, which you may remember, more or less repeated themselves, ⁽¹⁹⁶⁴⁾ were again solved, and we then moved to Amherst, where both Fred and I are now teaching at the University of Massachusetts. Things are fine with us, but it's not been till this summer that I've felt amorphas were approaching the end. I worked on them last summer, but with interruptions. This summer, in spite of some administrative work, I am finding the time and energy to finish things up in the way I've been wanting to. I really expect to have the catalogue done by the end of August. My schedule here so far has been very heavy, and I can't count on much free time while classes are going on; thus my concern to finish by late August. "Heavy" is hardly the word for it. I have mostly lecture courses that I've had to work up from scratch: "The Material World of the Romans," "The Ancient City," "Roman Women." Not that I'm not enjoying it and feeling terribly lucky to have a job after all these years. But teaching Classics now isn't at all the way it used to be. No more sitting and reading together out of a text. One has to be a kind of performer. Anyway, the proper letter which I've been planning to write you for too long, and especially since yours of October 10 arrived, has been delayed over and over.

One of the big complications for me last year was a paper which I found myself having to give at the APA-AIA meetings last December. It was all my own fault; in fact, the idea for the symposium, "The Epigraphy of

Roman Ceramics," was mine to begin with. Howard Comfort's interest and energy brought it finally to flower but at such a late date that papers had to be written and slides made at break-neck speed. In spite of the haste, it was a very stimulating experience, for me anyway, and that ~~in~~ despite the fact that Comfort and John Hayes, who was also involved, gave things much more of an epigraphical twist than I would have wished. I had wanted things to be historically directed, but as it turned out only Herbert Bloch and I gave them that thrust. You will be amused to know about what I can only call a falling-out that Howard and I had over whether one should say "amphoras" or "amphorae." The night before the symposium he, buttressed by a BMC graduate student who is doing her diss. on Arretine, said he hoped I would realize that before "this" audience it would not be appropriate to use the term "amphoras." I replied that if the world-authority on the subject used the term it was as far as I was concerned "appropriate." It was also in the standard English dictionaries, and even if it weren't English ought to be able to affix its own plural form to the word. Citing German, French, and Italian, I pointed out that they all did so. Next day I lived up to my words, of course, but Howard's displeasure was more than obvious. (I'm enclosing a copy of the text of my paper. There were also 70-odd slides, brought in at the points marked X in the margin. Great interest expressed by such persons as Bloch and Frank Brown.)

Very many thanks for the rubbings of the more recent Delos Latins, TD 7084-TD 7453. Did you ever get any offprints of the Maison des Comédiens chapters? I never did, though a copy of the volume itself reached me, and I have xeroxed a few copies of what I wrote.

Homer has advised me to get formal clearance from Charles Williams for the Corinth material I am including. Do you feel I need to? Corinth is the only site for which I don't seem to have written permission, and I assume that is because I am included under the permission given you.

Hope all is well with you. I would like any thing to see you. Tell Mr. Benedic I am back on the air. He and Barbara are growing rapidly. He will be 15 tomorrow. They are very much involved with music, and this picture suggests. Love from Betty.

Choice wine and oil, varieties suitable for export, were shipped around the Mediterranean during Roman times, as during antiquity in general, in the amphora, the two-handled clay jar that was the standard commercial export container for liquids and perishables. Amphoras called Roman either took Italian products abroad or, as especially during the Empire, carried the exports of the Roman provinces. These were heavy bulk containers, disposable but not easily disposed of, designed to protect large quantities of liquids in their journey by sea. They were also used on land, or we should say they were reused. Owing to the high cost of land-freight in Roman antiquity, amphoras were manufactured close to the point where they were to be filled and loaded onto ships. So too they were emptied, to be reused or broken, close to the warehouses where they were unloaded. (x) If they could not be reused as storage containers in houses or in shops, or in the construction of bridges, cisterns, and wells, or as flower pots or coffins, they were broken near the docks. In Rome, Monte Testaccio, 150 feet high, an artificial hill of amphora-fragments, grew up on the Tiber at the point where sea-going ships unloaded their wares. Other, similar hills of dumped amphoras are known.

(x)
E.g.,
Samaritan
in use
part.

The history of amphoras that can be called Roman covers six or seven centuries, approximately the third century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. Their Romanness was not just a political matter. Roman amphoras had distinctive shapes that varied from place to place and time to time and that evolved. For some shapes, we can construct "family-trees." Tall slim jars with high collar-rims or fat globular jars with heavy handles represented two of the chief shapes. Roman jars also often bore stamps or dipinti or graffiti in Latin letters, marks referring to the manufacture of the amphora or to the nature or amount of its contents, marks serving both as identification and as guarantees, much as is the case with our commercial labels today. Such marks do not seem to be older than the middle of the second century B.C.; yet we are probably justified in identifying as Roman certain unstamped amphoras dating from as early as the third century B.C. Their outflaring collar- or mushroom-rims turn up all the time in early Roman contexts. But the study of the epigraphy of Roman amphoras cannot at present be

xxx

carried back beyond the middle of the second century.

The Romans began to date their wine in 121 B.C. From that year, jars containing choice wines like Falernian were painted with letters naming the consuls of the year in which the wine was bottled. Such early painted vintage-dates are today extremely rare, only a dozen or so being known. One of these, on an amphora-neck found in Fiesole, and now in the museum there, names the consuls of 121 B.C., Lucius Opimius and Quintus Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus. This neck comes from a category of jar dating from the last quarter of the second century B.C., in the dated series of Roman jars at the Agora Excavations in Athens. The Fiesole neck also bears on the handle the stamped name LICINVS, perhaps the name of the potter who made the jar. The custom of stamping Roman amphoras with the name of the pottery-owner or that of the slave or freedman who actually made the container, seems to have become common at about the same time that the dating of wine began. Both practices perhaps reflected, as did the more developed coin-types of the period, the increasing complexity of the economy as interest in foreign trade grew.

Prior to 121 B.C., the Romans had painted or stamped marks on their amphoras, but apparently not marks giving dates. A series of mid-second century B.C. jars at Corinth seems to be associated with the destruction of the city by Mummius in 146. On one of these amphoras, the first three letters of the adjective 'vetus,' in archaic script, doubtless a description of the wine in the jar, can be clearly distinguished. Other dipinti and several potters' stamps also come from this group of mid-second century B.C. amphoras. With these jars at Corinth the history of Roman stamped amphoras can be said to begin.

The remarkable series of stamped Roman amphoras found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora covers, with few gaps, the entire history of this kind of pottery. Here, as in the eastern Mediterranean in general, two periods stand out. The first century B.C. saw energetic exportation of Italian wine and oil all over the Mediterranean, to the ports of Alexandria, Athens, the free port of

Delos, to Ampurias and Marseilles in the west, and as far east as India. Another heyday of the Roman amphora was the last half of the second century A.D., when thousands of jars took Spanish oil to the farthest corners of the Empire.

During the first century B.C., several distinct types of jars were made. They are found in abundance not only at the places to which they were sent but also at what now look to be their chief points of origin, the heel and arch of the Italian peninsula and the districts of Latium and Campania. Four principal types, dating from the first half of the century, can be distinguished. One type traces its ancestry back to the Opimius neck from Fiesole. This is the ^(Dressel I) jar-type which received attention a few years ago following its discovery on the much-publicized Grand Congloué wreck off Marseilles. One example of the sort of stamp that occurs on rims of this category of amphora is this: the three letters SES, either alone or with various devices (amphora, palm branch, leaf). The stamps illustrated were found in the excavations at Cosa, but they are common also in France and Spain, and I once suggested somewhat facetiously that the stamps might name Cicero's friend, Publius Sestius, who we know owned a villa at Cosa, where he might be presumed to have produced wine. But whoever the letters refer to, they probably name the manufacturer, or the grower-manufacturer, the devices signifying the slave- or freedman-artisan.

Two other stamped Roman amphora-types from the first century B.C. also go back to second century predecessors. The first century jars of what I call Type 10 have a distinctive kind of fine clay and bear brief stamps on rim or shoulder that give the first three or four letters of names (SPE, BARN, ATR, ONE), names sounding like those of slaves or freedmen. Their second century ancestors, when stamped, also bore simple, brief rim-stamps. A relative of Type 10, unstamped, was found on the Antikythera wreck, off the southern Peloponnesus. A barnacle-covered cousin is in the museum at Gythion. On a number of grounds, most of them still quite subjective, I assign the origin of this series of jars, which probably contained wine, to the neighborhood of Taranto in the arch of Italy, where, Horace tells us (Odes 2.7), wine comparable to Falernian and oil

as good as Venafran were produced.

Another type of first century B.C. amphora, which I call Type 11, was unquestionably manufactured in the neighborhood of Brindisi and Lecce. Definite traces of kilns in which jars of this type were fired were discovered near Brindisi in the nineteenth century. The same potters' establishments can be visited today by those determined enough to seek them out. Jars of this type (their globular shape may have suggested oil, whereas the slimmer amphoras may have contained wine) bore on one handle, in the genitive case, such distinctively south Italian names as Visellius, Vehilius, and Betilienus. On the same handle, or more often on the opposite one, the name of a workman was impressed. We know that Marcus Betilienus, whose stamps are found from Spain to Egypt, had in his establishment at least eleven slaves (clearly identified as such by the letters 'M.S.' for 'Marci servus.') Vehilius, whose kiln I found near Brindisi several years ago, had at least ten workmen, and Visellius had as many or more. The stamps of Vehilius may provide us with an argument that the Romans knew about movable type, for the letters of his name were sometimes set into the die in the wrong order, though the same die was usually used with the letters set correctly.

A fourth type of first century B.C. amphora had peaked double handles regularly stamped, again, with the name of the potter, or grower-potter, and the name or mark of the artisan. Two particularly suggestive stamps bear the names P. Sulla, with various devices, and Postumus Curtius. Double-handled jars of this type, my Type 12, are often found in Pompeii. The famous frieze in the House of the Vettii shows cherubs pouring wine from the first century A.D. form of this amphora. Dare we suggest that this Publius Sulla was the consul designate of 65, the nephew of the dictator, once set up by his uncle in the House of the Faun to preside over the young colony? If so, the jars naming him might have contained the wine for which Pompeii was famous, wine exported as far east as India, for fragments of jars of this type have been found at Arikamedu. As for Postumus Curtius, the suggestion was made long ago that the stamp names Rabirius Postumus, defended by Cicero in 54, as Sulla had been in 62.

By the Augustan age, the simpler stamps of the earlier part of the century had given place to more elaborate stamps with the tria

① 2nd c. AD, apparently the same as all double-handled jars
of Roman times from Pompeii

nomina in abbreviated form. These jars were Italian, and they are found all over the Mediterranean area, but by the latter part of the first century A.D. the provinces had usurped the trade in wine and oil for export. Spain in particular, especially during the third quarter of the second century A.D., exported olive oil to the entire Empire in the distinctive spherical jars manufactured in potteries discovered long ago on the Guadalquivir. These jars bear handle-stamps, sometimes detailed, naming the pottery, and dipinti and graffiti referring to dates and capacities. It is chiefly of these jars that the upper levels, at least, of Monte Testaccio are composed. From Africa came flat-bottomed jars with detailed handle-stamps giving their place of origin as Tubusuctus in Mauretania Caesariensis. These amphoras were manufactured from the late first century A.D. to the third century, and they are found from Britain to lower Egypt. A Spanish or African origin, perhaps both, in the third century A.D., is also indicated for another major type of later Roman amphora, rather crudely designed and impractically long jars, which were sometimes reused as coffins for Christian burials. The stamps on these jars were on the neck and were often little more than circular incisions, though they sometimes name the cities of Hadrumetum and Leptis in Byzacium.

By studying Roman amphoras and their stamps we find we can give quite solid answers to questions about the jars themselves, about their chief types, when and where they were made, who made them, what they contained, and where they were sent. As a pottery genre changing from generation to generation, in shape and in the style and content of the letters stamped or painted on them, amphoras rival coins and terra sigillata as criteria for dating the contexts in which they occur. They also illuminate economic history by adding to our knowledge of trade routes and centers of exportation and importation.

November 9, 1971

Mrs F. Will
1425 Burash Avenue
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Dear Letty:

Among the visiting members at the Institute this year is Robert Broughton. The other day he gave us a very interesting talk on Trade and Traders in Roman Spain. Among the principal documents that he used, and used to great effect, were amphorae. In conversation afterwards we both lamented the fact that we don't yet have your book. Do let me know how things now stand.

Warm greetings to you and Fred.

Yours,

H.A.T.

Homer A. Thompson

11.02

84 High Point Drive
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002
November 15, 1971

ans. Nov. 17/71

Professor Homer Thompson
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Dear Homer:

Your letter of November 9 is more than good to have. It was forwarded to us from Iowa City and reached me just today. We moved to Amherst late in the summer and are beginning to feel somewhat settled after what we hope will be our last major move. Fred is teaching Comp. Lit. at the University of Massachusetts, and I have been hired by Classics as a replacement for Anne Parry, about whose death you certainly heard. Really, I was on the point of writing you just as your letter came. Things often seem to work out that way. Now that I am back in the classical world, in any case, I feel more like putting amphoras in another perspective and treating them less like a personal puzzle. I want others to know about them, and I need help and ideas from others. I have been trying, I think, to include too much in this volume: to make it a life's work rather than a collection of material on which later work would be based.

Would it be acceptable to you if I submitted a manuscript composed chiefly of a catalogue with plates (similar to Howard Comfort's Arretine corpus), with almost no introduction? There would be brief discussions of each type, somewhat in the manner of Dick Howland's lamp volume. I think that if I were relieved of the pressure of worrying about an introduction on manufacture, use, re-use, trade routes, and the like, I could retype the catalogue and finish the plates in odd moments now, in spite of my teaching duties. After all, if this job is to become permanent, I will somehow have to get the book out, and as soon as I can. So a kind of professional motivation makes a narrowing of the focus of the book even more desirable, from my own point of view. What do you think about the desirability of my getting out soon a less comprehensive treatment of the subject, and adding later, in the form of articles, or another book, whatever else I want to say? Actually, I have a feeling this is the way you wanted me to handle the subject in the first place. I will in any case look forward to hearing your present reactions; and perhaps I can give you a report in progress at Cincinnati, if you are going to be at the meetings.

Fred joins me in sending all regards to you and Dorothy.

Sincerely,
Leidy

November 19, 1971

Mrs F. Will
84 Highpoint Drive
Amherst, Mass. 01002

Dear Letty:

I'm delighted to have yours of the 15th which crossed my second appeal to you.

The scheme of publication which you outline would seem to me entirely acceptable in view of your present situation and in view also of the comprehensive treatment of the subject in the fairly recent study by the English scholar. After the appearance of your book you will, as you say, undoubtedly wish to go into some aspects of the subject in more detail in journal articles.

We continue to search for a successor to V.G. The continuation of a stipend for an Agora fellow in this department is now assured in principle. Two young people are under consideration: Mr F. Winter of the University of Pennsylvania and Miss C. Kohler of Princeton. Have you any thoughts on the subject, or any other suitable candidate to name?

Again my best to you and Fred, and all good wishes for many happy years in Amherst.

Yours,

H.A.T.

Homer A. Thompson

June 3, 1973

⊗ ELW & HAT
 96. XII. 72
 (with file)

Dear Miss Grace -

Thank you for the use of the letter. ⊕ I have spoken to Dr. Thompson about Mrs. Will, and as a result, I shall be in correspondence with her soon - I hope!

See you in a couple of months.

Barbara L. Johnson

I also showed Miss Johnson
 arrangement and making (HSR no. etc.) of gas
 of Roman peat downstairs (N.E. Basement)

Vestigia. 17. Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses^{14.01}
für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik, München 1972
Sektion 4 475

T. Robert S. Broughton

To Virginia, with
thanks and appreciation

(and a
"Broughton")

Oil-Producing Estates in Southern Spain

The evidence of stamps and painted inscriptions on amphorae (H. Dressel's type 20, M. Beltrán's Forma V) found in Monte Testaccio in Rome, and stamps on similar amphorae found in Pompeii, throughout the western, and even in the eastern, provinces shows the dominant position both in production and trade which was held by the olive oil of southern Spain during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire. In general, the evidence of the stamps, as shown by H. Dressel in CIL XV, M. H. Callender's 'Roman Amphorae', and studies by A. Tchernia and E. L. Will, deals primarily with potters and potteries, but place names on many of the stamps, and the discovery of many stamps, kilns, and even a matrix, along the course of the Baetis river between Corduba and Hispalis, suggest, as G. Bonsor and W. G. Clarke-Maxwell saw, that many of the potters and potteries belonged to oil-producing estates near the river, and probably provided the amphorae for shipping the oil produced by others at a distance.

It must, however, be admitted that expansion in production and commerce led to expansion and specialization of some potteries to serve several estates or shippers only (note stamps of F. SCIMNIAN and L. IVNIVS MELISSVS) and that, since evidence of the making of amphorae comes only from near the river, oil from estates in the large area of production at a distance from the river was brought to the point of shipment, as Bonsor suggests, "in skins on muleback" and put into amphorae there. Perhaps detailed archaeological surveys of the land, such as are now in progress, will disclose more evidence than is now known of estates, presses, and manufacture of amphorae throughout the large area where the olive was cultivated.

Even if the oil was put into amphorae only at the point of shipment it would still have been desirable to identify the original source and the amount of any given consignment. In the painted inscriptions a small number located near the handle (in the section designated ε by Dressel) appears to be the number of the amphora in a consignment. But in one or other of the lines painted in Dressel's section δ on the body of the amphora there are numerous entries which sometimes give a name in the genitive (e. g. *Gallionis*, CIL XV 4190, or *Lucreti Clari*, 3705), or an adjective ending in -*anum* (e. g. *Sabinianum*, 3818, *Messianum*, 4432, *Caesaris n. Supessianum*, 3773) frequently with a name in the

14.02

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Berichte und Vorlagen

genitive, or an adjective ending in *-ense* or *-ese* (e.g. *Frigidese*, 3927, *Turrense Gallionis*, 4221, *Singiliese*, 4456). These may reasonably be interpreted as identifying private estates, for the most part of the period before the Severan confiscations, since many of the notices are dated and on many such symbols á á, á á s, and á á á, represent the export tax. Some of those found in Monte Testaccio can be connected directly, as Callender and Beltrán also show, with names of persons or places known in the Baetican region, for example, *Salsense Clarini*, 3721, with *Arva*, *Flavianae Salvius*, 3765, and *Caesaris n. Supessianum* 3773, 154 A.D., with the *Caccilii*, shippers of *Astigi*. If this interpretation is correct, Monte Testaccio has yielded the names of a considerable number of private estates and their owners. Let us hope for further discoveries, however likely or unlikely it may be that we may locate the site of *Turrense Gallionis* or discover that of the Corduban estates of Seneca's family.

The full length article is to appear in the memorial volume for Antonio García y Bellido.

Jaroslav Šašel

Zur Erklärung der Inschrift am *Tropaeum Alpium* (Plin. n. h. 3, 136–137; CIL V 7817)

Als es für das Funktionieren des Militärgouvernements in den nordöstlich und nordwestlich der Apenninenhalbinsel gelegenen Gebiete unumgänglich wurde, entschloß sich die römische Staatsführung, alle bewohnten Täler des Alpenkomplexes zu besetzen. Das Vorhaben wurde in den Jahren 16–14 v. Chr. durchgeführt und mit der Errichtung des im Jahre 7/6 v. Chr. vollendeten *Tropaeums* gekrönt. Die Quellen, die darüber berichten, sind spärlich, eine der wichtigsten bleibt das *Tropaeum Alpium* und die dort angebrachte, dem Kaiser als Oberkommandierendem vom Senat im eigenen Namen und im Namen des Volkes gewidmete Inschrift, die Einblick in die Besiedlung der Alpen gewährt und mehr Fragen aufwirft, als man beantworten kann. Ihr Text lautet folgendermaßen:

Imperatorī Caesarī divī filio Augusto | pont. max. imp. XIII trib. pot. XVII | senatus populusque Romanus | quod eius ductu auspiciisque gentes alpinæ omnes | quæ a mari supero ad inferum pertinebant sub imperium p. R. sunt redactæ |⁵ gentes alpinæ devictæ: Trumpilini Camunni Vennonetes Venostes Isarci Breuni Genaunes Focunates | Vindellicorum gentes quattuor Cosuanetes Rucinates Licates Catenates Ambisontes Rugusci Suanetes Calucones | Brixentes Leponti Viberi

When next writing to FLW

ask her to make a modern (to her views)
comment on the "wine wags", J. Overbeck,
Pompeii (4th ed.), Leipzig, 1884, p. 579 and fig. 362

cf. her note given me on 16. VII. 51, which
says "drain the wine into the amphoras, & to store in
the cellar. Surely she was thinking this is done at
the port, and they are emptying the amphoras
into the funnel-thing."



The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
University of Massachusetts
Amherst 01002

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
 Herter Hall

December 6, 1972

Dear Homer,

*enclaved w
 letter of 1/1/73
 '9 8.3.73
 filed under
 AMPHORAS*

Amphoras are going very well, in spite (or because ?) of a heavy schedule here, and I hope to have the MS in shape for you to see by the end of the inter-session, which will extend from mid-December to late January. I've been told very clearly that I'll be recommended for tenure and a big promotion as soon as the book is out, so I am now in a position to force my subconscious to let go of this project. I will in fact give a kind of report in progress at the meetings later this month, in connection with a joint APA-AIA panel, "The Epigraphy of Roman Ceramics," that will occur on the morning of the 28th. I think I wrote you several months ago that I was interested in organizing such a panel. Your kindness in sending me the Salomonson article strengthened my determination to see if some sort of ceramic symposium couldn't be worked out. Howard Comfort was most cooperative; in fact, he did all the organizing, and both the Institute and the Association were, to our surprise, open to the suggestion that a joint panel might be a good idea. The thrust of the papers may be a bit less "historical," and more "ceramic" than was the original intention, but it will be interesting to see what comes of this kind of gathering. I'm planning, by the way, to use some slides of Agora jars and stamps. I'll assume that's all right with you, unless you let me know to the contrary. I had the slides made from prints, and I think they look all right, though they have a slightly greenish cast owing to their having had to be photographed with colored film (you can't get B&W slides any more).

Dorothy was lecturing at Mount Holyoke a few weeks ago, and we had to miss her because of commitments that couldn't be altered. We were awfully sorry.

With best regards to you both,

Letty

Elizabeth Lyding Will

To Miss Grace, from Tony Parker.

The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration (1972), 1: 225-244

Reviews

Roman amphoras: A review article

Introduction

Commercial amphoras are the most familiar artefacts found underwater in the Mediterranean. Over the 25 years or so that aqualung diving has been a popular sport, many thousands of these attractive objects have been lifted from ancient shipwreck or anchorage sites; probably only a minority have found their way to a public museum, and fewer still can be related to a meaningful archaeological context. Even so, the sheer quantity of amphoras brought to land in this way has excited the interest of archaeologists; formerly, amphoras were treated with scant interest by excavators on land, who regarded these very coarse vessels, along with large storage jars (*dolia*) and mixing-bowls (*mortaria*), as useless for chronology and of little other informative worth. But the pioneer efforts of Lamboglia and Benoit, who (in the 1950's and early 1960's) attempted to establish a usable typology of Roman amphoras, together with the work of Miss V. Grace and other scholars at Athens, gradually led to a clearer understanding of the principles involved in the classification of such coarse pottery.

These principles will bear restatement. Two amphoras may be assigned to a common class provided that they show a close similarity of 1 clay, 2 method of manufacture, 3 surface treatment, 4 lip form, 5 handle form, 6 form of spike, 7 size, 8 proportions, and, 9 stamp, if any; and, that they belong, or could belong, to deposits of similar date. There is no point in trying to place a particular amphora in an ill-defined class, such as the "Forms" which make up the well-known Table of Dressel (illustrated, for example, in Taylor, 1965: 27). Likewise, an amphora which is assigned to a named class, but without accurate illustration, is of little use to students.

These principles were first observed on any scale by Zevi & Tchernia (1969), in their study of African amphoras; and now they have been splendidly set forth in a book by Miguel Beltrán Lloris, 1970, *Anforas Romanas en España—Roman amphoras in Spain*—published as *Monografías Arqueológicas (Anejos de "Caesaraugusta")*, 8, Zaragoza. This is a massive work of scholarship, with 669 pages, 1704 footnotes, and 240 pages of figures; almost every amphora found in Spain is illustrated, as are many comparative examples

from elsewhere in Europe. There can be few publications, whether Spanish or foreign, which B. has not searched for material; the preparation and printing of the text have been accomplished with great speed, so that the book is as up-to-date as work in this field can ever be. Each amphora type which appears in the Table of Dressel, and many more, are thoroughly discussed, and the book can be recommended without reserve as a reference work for anyone who is at all concerned with underwater archaeology in the Mediterranean.

Marine archaeologists may congratulate themselves over the fact that this is, in my opinion, the first general study in Roman archaeology which takes underwater material for granted, and uses it for what it is worth. Thus, B. makes full use of the associations of different but contemporary amphoras provided by shipwrecks; and marine finds, whether wrecks or single finds, are featured on his distribution maps (though these are sometimes too limited in scope). We may indeed take pride that our technique has come so far; but it could, and should, have progressed much further. Some of the "wrecks" which B. cites consist of very badly excavated and recorded assemblages, and one feels that it would be better if some sites had been forgotten altogether; but, it is a sad thought that a number of these have now been totally destroyed, especially in France. The need to rescue Roman shipwrecks in advance of the senseless destruction which continues apace in the western Mediterranean is genuine and urgent.

However, the fact remains, that, without the large number of amphoras—especially *complete* amphoras—which have come from the sea, B. could not have written this book. It began as a *licenciatura* thesis, and some of its faults of production and presentation reflect this origin. Others may be laid at the door of the publisher; why such large margins, yet thin paper? There are, naturally enough in a work of this complexity, many minor errors. Two howlers merit quotation—the distinguished Scot (Curle) appears (p. 90) as 'Curlej', and n. 1071 refers us to *Geschitsforschung*! But I pass on to subjects of general comment.

The book

Some of B.'s principles of argument are doubtful. One regrets that, instead of publishing full details

Reviews

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These principles will bear restatement. Two amphoras may be assigned to a common class provided that they show a close similarity of 1 clay, 2 method of manufacture, 3 surface treatment, 4 lip form, 5 handle form, 6 form of spike, 7 size, 8 proportions, and, 9 stamp, if any; and, that they belong, or could belong, to deposits of similar date. There is no point in trying to place a particular amphora in an ill-defined class, such as the "Forms" which make up the well-known Table of Dressel (illustrated, for example, in Taylor, 1965: 27). Likewise, an amphora which is assigned to a named class, but without accurate illustration, is of little use to students.

These principles were first observed on any scale by Zevi & Tchernia (1969), in their study of African amphoras; and now they have been splendidly set forth in a book by Miguel Beltrán Lloris, 1970, *Anforas Romanas en España—Roman amphoras in Spain*—published as *Monografías Arqueológicas (Anejos de "Caesaraugusta")*, 8, Zaragoza. This is a massive work of scholarship, with 669 pages, 1704 footnotes, and 240 pages of figures; almost every amphora found in Spain is illustrated, as are many comparative examples

from elsewhere in Europe. There can be few publications, whether Spanish or foreign, which B. has not searched for material; the preparation and printing of the text have been accomplished with great speed, so that the book is as up-to-date as work in this field can ever be. Each amphora type which appears in the Table of Dressel, and many more, are thoroughly discussed, and the book can be recommended without reserve as a reference work for anyone who is at all concerned with underwater archaeology in the Mediterranean.

Marine archaeologists may congratulate themselves over the fact that this is, in my opinion, the first general study in Roman archaeology which takes underwater material for granted, and uses it for what it is worth. Thus, B. makes full use of the associations of different but contemporary amphoras provided by shipwrecks; and marine finds, whether wrecks or single finds, are featured on his distribution maps (though these are sometimes too limited in scope). We may indeed take pride that our technique has come so far; but it could, and should, have progressed much further. Some of the "wrecks" which B. cites consist of very badly excavated and recorded assemblages, and one feels that it would be better if some sites had been forgotten altogether; but, it is a sad thought that a number of these have now been totally destroyed, especially in France. The need to rescue Roman shipwrecks in advance of the senseless destruction which continues apace in the western Mediterranean is genuine and urgent.

However, the fact remains, that, without the large number of amphoras—especially *complete* amphoras—which have come from the sea, B. could not have written this book. It began as a *licenciatura* thesis, and some of its faults of production and presentation reflect this origin. Others may be laid at the door of the publisher; why such large margins, yet thin paper? There are, naturally enough in a work of this complexity, many minor errors. Two howlers merit quotation—the distinguished Scot (Curle) appears (p. 90) as 'Curlej', and n. 1071 refers us to *Geschits-forschung*! But I pass on to subjects of general comment.

The book

Some of B.'s principles of argument are doubtful. One regrets that, instead of publishing full details

of some important sites (e.g. the wreck at San Pedro del Pinatar, Cartagena, or the kiln at Algeciras) he refers the reader to articles which are forthcoming or at present (April 1971) not available abroad. He gives references on occasion without checking them (thus, on p. 487, the olive and date jars from Avenches are illustrated in the source quoted; but they are not Spanish). In his discussion of the end of Dressel 20 in the 3rd century AD, B. makes very curious play with the date of the Autun coin-hoard which was found in a jar of this form, stamped CAMILI SILVESTRI and not (according to my information) MELISSI, as B. has it; the date was well discussed by Zevi (1967), in an article which B. could profitably have consulted. Indeed, in his anxiety to establish a chronology, B. several times oversteps the bounds of reasonable inference: particularly in the case of the deposit of amphoras found by the city-wall of Zaragoza. Here a collection of amphoras was used in an embankment of the river; B. assumes that these amphoras are all of the same date, but in this book he gives no evidence for the view. He merely says that all the types found at Zaragoza were included in the deposit discovered at the Castra Praetoria, Rome, by Dressel long ago. However, even those amphoras at Castra Praetoria which bear a dated inscription cover a long span of time (cf. Zevi, 1966); and we may compare the point made by Callender (1965), who notes that a group of amphoras built into a cellar at Augst in Switzerland (and illustrated by him, pl. III) must have been made over a long period. The conclusion is that deposits of amphoras on land are of little use for chronology. Amphoras found in river embankments, or ditch fillings, or house construction, may have lain empty in a builder's yard or on a rubbish heap for generations before re-use. Contrast ship-wrecks, where one can normally be certain that the amphoras on board were newly-made at the time of the wreck, and where careful excavation should make possible a very close absolute date.

B. fails to come to grips with a crucial question, the relationship of form and content of amphoras. He correctly discards old theories of a functional morphology, by which thin amphoras carry wine and fat ones oil; but on p. 287 we find an *ex cathedra* statement, that the form of an amphora is related to its contents. Now, in some cases this is certainly true; for example, the many painted inscriptions which have been recorded on spherical amphoras of Dressel Form 20 never indicate any contents other than olive oil. But there was not a direct relationship in all cases. There had not been in Greece (cf. Grace, 1961,

passim), and, we may infer, there was not always a direct relationship in the Roman world either. B. describes amphoras from the coasts of southern Spain as containing fish-sauce (*sala-zones*). Was it fish-sauce, then, on which the La Tène chieftains of Hertfordshire were to make merry in the next world (cf. Stead, 1967, Snailwell burial, c. AD 10–50)? In any case, an amphora of a Baetican *salazon* form found at Mainz contained olive-oil, as a painted inscription informs us (Körber, 1909: 21). Or, because a neo-Punic amphora (Dressel 18) in the Dramont A wreck contained olives, are we to suppose that *all* amphoras of this form customarily held the same? It appears that, within the terms of present knowledge, we are not able to name the contents of many classes of amphora. Possibly wreck excavations will provide further information. The actual contents of amphoras, or painted inscriptions on their exterior, should occasionally survive, while, in many cases, knowledge of the origins and destination of a cargo will help our general assessment of the function of a particular class of amphora.

In chapter I, B. deals with the place of amphoras in Roman life, methods of transport, etc., and discusses the parts of an amphora, its lining, and the stopper and seal. B.'s remarks appear sometimes to derive from old encyclopaedias rather than from actual remains. The discussion is sometimes shallow, as, for example, p. 63, on the size of merchant ships (where many readers of this Journal could have supplied better comments).

Kilns

The section on kilns is very disappointing: B.'s sketch-plans, figs 37–38, do not show amphora kilns, while, except for no. 14, the amphora kilns which he lists are not illustrated at all. There is much of interest in this discussion, however, apart from the excellent demonstration that miniature amphoras (as in Callender, 1965: 25–26, fig. 19) are not stoppers but funerary vases. One may especially commend B.'s survey of bungs and seals, and hope that divers will come up with many more specimens.

Inscriptions

Chapter II introduces inscriptions on amphoras. These may be stamps, applied at the pottery before the amphora was fired, or *tituli picti*, painted labels, apparently put on to the jar after it had been filled and sealed. B. does not discuss graffiti—inscriptions scratched on the amphora—sometimes at the pottery, sometimes not. This is a huge subject, but one which will some day yield

results. B. is severe on stamps as a source of information; he says that, unless the form of an amphora as well as its stamp is known, the study of the stamp is worthless. This is not so. Given a careful drawing or a good photograph, it is possible to compare two stamps and decide whether they come from the same workshop, and, perhaps, even whether they were made by the same die. (For this, cf. Zevi & Tchernia, 1969.) B. gives amphora stamps far too limited a history: amphoras were commonly stamped from the 5th century BC (Grace, 1961, figs 27–28) till at any rate the late 4th century AD (cf. B., fig. 212). He sets down very clearly the nature of the information which an amphora stamp may convey—usually the abbreviated name of the owner of the pottery where the vessel was made; however, he falls down on his own stated principles of interpretation elsewhere—e.g. pp. 185–6, where he takes stamps such as HISP.SAEN to refer to *contents* (*oleum hispanum*, Spanish olive-oil), when every analogy suggests rather a personal name. Nor can I believe that the *Socii*, who appear to have stamped amphoras made near Cádiz at Puerto Real, had any connection with the makers of the delicacy called *garum sociorum* which was made at Cartagena. (How does B. explain stamps such as E, M, or Q, which appear on amphoras of the same class as those stamped SOCI?)

B. gives a catalogue of stamps found in Spain (chapter III). This is a valuable supplement to Callender's list, but there are still very many additions to be made, especially from Africa, and there are a few from Spain itself which B. has missed. This on its own is of little importance, but it emphasizes the fact that there must be hundreds of unrecorded stamps, and thousands of examples of known stamps which have yet to be catalogued and published. Amphora stamps, as Callender has stressed, can supply valuable evidence for Roman trade. Here, too, one looks to marine archaeology for important information: in any shipwreck, some amphoras will be stamped, others not—why? Are there variations of form or size to which the presence or absence of a stamp relates? Or is the presence of a stamp on an amphora merely haphazard? No shipwreck excavation has yet supplied any reply to such questions.

The second part of B.'s chapter III deals with painted inscriptions. These inscriptions, found mostly at Rome and Pompeii, are of great interest for the history of Roman trade and shipping. B. has been able to list 258 merchants or firms who appear, from the style of their inscription, to be Spanish; moreover, he has been able

to suggest an identity for 36 of these (from tombstones or other epigraphic sources), most of them clearly Spaniards. Unfortunately, the old publications on which one depends for knowledge of these inscriptions are unreliable when they classify the form of the amphora, and this creates obvious difficulties for B. These difficulties recur in chapter IV, where he tries to relate form and contents on the basis of painted labels.

Secondary use

Chapter V deals with the secondary use of amphoras, complementing the remarks of Callender (1965, ch. 3). Empty amphoras could obviously be used for all kinds of purposes, even in forming architectural domes; but to what extent were they ever *refilled*? Some *tituli picti* seem to suggest a refilling (and relabelling); but, on the whole, areas of production and consumption were too widely separated in the Roman world to make it worthwhile to return and refill used amphoras. In addition, even partial permeation of the clay must have made many amphoras sour, and unusable for food a second time.

Chapter VI, entitled "Amphoras and economic history", surveys the history of exports from Roman Spain. Here B. has bitten off more than he can chew, in this book anyway. Thus, his account of olive growing in Spain is not very convincing—Roman settlement in Spain, and the documented rise of large-scale, capitalist olive production in Italy, occurred simultaneously (2nd century BC), and are perhaps linked. The various supposed regulations of provincial vine and olive growing (i.e. in Cicero, *De Republica*, 3.9.16, Suetonius *Domitian*, 7.2, and *Scriptores Historiae Augustae Probus*, 18.8) are of doubtful interpretation and relevance. The importance of African oil in the 1st century AD is by no means certain (B.: 592–593; Zevi & Tchernia, 1969). Neither B. nor this reviewer, however, would pretend that the contribution which amphoras can make to economic history has been more than sketched in studies made up till now.

The bulk of B.'s book is taken up with a catalogue of forms, which is clearly set out and for the most part reliable and useful. B.'s major contribution is to show how all the sausage-shaped, radish-shaped and bag-shaped amphoras which had been formerly regarded as "probably Spanish" are, in fact, closely related, and made in the coastal regions of southern Spain (and of modern Portugal). He also convincingly ascribes to Spain a number of classes, including Dressel 12, which had formerly been of uncertain attribution.

B. stresses the development of Spanish amphora forms from Italian; thus, the Catalan wine amphora is given the label "Dressel 1 Pascual 1", to indicate its close relationship with Italian amphoras. I find this a fruitful line of thought, and one which B. could have followed further. Take, for example, the amphora with flange lip and flexed handles from Mahdia (Weinberg *et al.*, 1965, fig. 5; Taylor, 1965, pl. 6); comparison with B.'s illustrations shows that this is closely related with amphoras of Dressel 12 which B. correctly attributes to southern Spain. One might argue about the correctness of the Mahdia association: the amphoras are a varied assortment, from different origins, even if we may now recognize the lead ingot as Spanish. But, supposing that the Mahdia association is reliable, it provides a date of c. 100 BC for this type of amphora. Such an early date need not surprise us if we consider the close resemblance between Dressel 12 and Dressel/Lamboglia 1 C, and suppose that the latter was copied in Spain early on.

A different type of Dressel 12 was found by Tchernia (1969: 484) at the Congloué B wreck, associated with ovoid amphoras; and those amphoras may be dated in turn by comparison with those of Cap Sicié, which are apparently from the same ship as a coin hoard of c. 74 BC. I have suggested elsewhere (Parker, 1972) that at some stage in the 1st century BC, perhaps as early as the beginning of the century, Spanish potters began to imitate the spheroidal amphoras of south Italy. B. ignores the latter class, and goes to some lengths to exclude ovoid amphoras from the 1st century BC altogether. Thus he dates an example from the Zaragoza deposit too late; places ovoid amphoras from Melilla (published by Tarradell, 1954, pl. IX) in a different class; and misdates an amphora from Palamós (in the Museo Marítimo, Barcelona) which I suspect comes from the wreck at Les Formigues (Vidal Solá & Pascual Guasch, 1971). By the time one has added comparable amphoras from Cala Pedrosa, Gunugus, and even Spargi which may be dated in the 2nd century BC, it is clear that there is a long story of development behind those sausage-shaped amphoras of Augustus' reign which B. so persuasively demonstrates to be southern Spanish. (See: Pascual Guasch, 1961; Oliva Prat, 1961; Gauckler, pl. cclv; Taylor, 1965: 113.)

On the subject of sausage-shaped amphoras, I have to point out a serious mistake. B. lists a particular amphora form (Vindonissa 583) under two separate headings: once as a Catalan amphora (333, n. 692), and once as a sauce amphora from the Algarve in modern Portugal (405). In

fact, this mistake is due to a misunderstanding of an old drawing published by Leite de Vasconcelos (1900: 248, C). Leite had previously published a much more realistic drawing of an amphora from the same site, and B. would have avoided the mistake had he copied the earlier drawing (Leite de Vasconcelos, 1898, Fig. 6). Once this confusion is cleared up, we are left with sausage-shaped amphoras from southern Spain and Portugal, on the one hand, and Catalan amphoras (B.'s 'Dressel 1 Pascual 1') on the other.

In the space available, I cannot go into the many other forms of amphora which B. discusses. His interest lies in the early period, rather than the later empire, and the many cylindrical amphoras from the Christian cemetery at Tarragona and from Ampurias receive light treatment. Perhaps we may expect further work by B. on these.

In conclusion, this is a book with sins both of omission and of commission; but these are far outweighed by its virtues. It is well illustrated, thoroughly researched, and rationally argued. The detailed classification of amphora forms will have to undergo remodelling in the light of further study. Underwater excavations and improved technical aids (such as physical analysis of clays) will make changes necessary. But the book will serve as a compendium of illustrations, stamps, and other inscriptions of Roman amphoras that will last many years, and as such it is thoroughly recommended.

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A. J. PARKER

ROMAN

- PARKER

13. IX. 72 [18]

Correspondence etc. with Mr. Parker is mostly
in the folder WRECKS - PARKER. He called
yesterday on his way to be the Asst Director of the
British School in Jerusalem.

2. IV. 74

He has since left Jordan (?) and is now I
believe in Bristol.

16.III.72 [19]
- 23.VI.72

For note on Roman pub.
(FLW in HAT)

Paper & articles by Cl. Parrella
also Levi (after)

(This Parrella in her article
seems better than I thought from
her letter.

Went about Sunday
her to photo of our white
exp. in TX - But I
think she now has some at home.

Shd publish ours.
Not an FLW type -

Wm. Clark - A. G. G. G.
and his wife
retire of this

L.R.S. Broughton
Keene Valley, N.Y. 12943

1111 Roosevelt Dr.
Chapel Hill, NC. 27514

I mention FLW's
"stills" - i.e. she
does not see them
as developing class

23.VI.72
Broughton was Principal when I was there
23.V, not he is making a study of birds in Spain.
Gave him title of Spanish books on him, and now ref.

A.J. Parker's records

Consider E.W.'s
letter to me? 31.V.55
for this

23.VI.72
Through
H. AAT
8.II.72
23.VI.72
20.01

On the Roman volume

It seems to me a good plan of Letty's, to present her material as soon as possible, even without much of the general introductory text she has had in mind, which will no doubt come out much better later, when both she and the rest of us have had a good look at the material laid out in order.

Right now there is real need of general access to what she knows already. Somebody wanting, for instance, to include 4 or 5 Latin-stamped fragments in a publication of a new small dig in Delos, can't possibly produce even literate readings by himself, let alone propose a date for these items. He just has to wait for Letty to answer his letters. I have no very good idea as to how big the repertory of Latin stamps is, i.e. those that are apt to be found in the eastern Mediterranean area. If her book can't be expected to include most of them, then it could give the reader help toward matching his finds in other books. I hope she would provide lots of facilities for using her book, full indices and cross-references back and forth between text and plates, and any hints that would lead to quick identification both of the stamp reading and the amphora class, to carry one as directly as possible to whatever is known about the date and place of origin of a jar or fragment, and of persons named in stamps on such, preferably without having first mastered the book as a whole.

Note for note to Chas. Weiss
on Kapitan's inquiry

as I said, in reproduction, titles have been cut
in several cases, that I did say many weeks. See
titles marked with this pencil. Hard to follow K's
letter, uncertainty about assembling stuff for individual
~~we~~ we under.

Also, evidently at one place another, scale
has been reduced, because drawings are at less
than $\frac{1}{15}$, though now the $\frac{1}{10}$ when I wish they
were.

Could I have written CKW less had repro-
duced from? And make own reproduction
down then?

I want to check also whether I have copies of
all drawings, again for what the work gives
as boards.

1/11/72
x
note 67

I refer to my wish, and that of the rest of Letty's public, to know the new ex.s of which we may think her Types, ~~which may match something~~ we have found. place of origin of ~~find in question~~. I would hope that in the texts introducing

Types her ~~jar~~ "types", however brief, there would be some statement about where this type seems to have been made, even though it has to be vague. Possibly in the general introduction, she might say, "Types so-and-so, so-and-so, and so-and-so or in Brindisi were apparently made in Italy (or in southern Italy). Types [others specified] probably come from Spain. Etc. ~~xxxxxx~~ *I feel reasonably sure* It sometimes has seemed to me that

some series some of her Types may be later stages in the development, ~~of others~~ i.e. that a string string of them may have been made in the same production center, at successive dates. *but I have not been able to persuade her to look at the so she sees the all in stills, it may be that the long material of the* Her Brindisi Type (Type 11, unless the numbers have changed) has a solidity pro-

vided by its local habitation; Letty has published a couple of examples of this Type, see Nessana I, p. 128, with a nice plain date, too. In her Antikythera text

(T.A.P.S., 1965, p.11) she suggests for another Type "southern Italy, probably in the neighborhood of Taranto or Brindisi." But, *just as in her* ~~in her Delos 27 text (pp. 383 ff.)~~

~~the fragments from various Types, are just all called Roman~~ and in her 1954 (?)

manuscript, for the volume as a whole the Types are summarized without being

attributed to a production center; so in her Delos 27 text (pp.383 ff.) the frag-

ments, from jars of various Types, are just all Roman. Perhaps from the point of

view of commerce, given an Empire, that is all that is necessary. ~~But she should~~

Dagen

It seems to me a good plan or Lethy's

to present ^{the} ~~the~~ material without much

general introduction, text, ~~appendix~~ ^{discussion}

... Quercus on trade routes, etc., seem to

me departing secondary, inc. to ^{data} address

should come first, and a discussion

can well come later, perhaps follow

by others
Comments on an published material

W. C. I should hope would be included

would be to A facilities for using the

book, in the way of ^{bull} indices and cross references.

I would like to be able to ^{and restore} read a novel

~~be cautious of applying the example of Dick Howard's book~~ But Dick's lamps

are not a good parallel as material, because ~~most of them~~ basically they are Attic (and where they are not, he says).

Agora deposits mentioned in Koroni SAH article - Nesperia, 1963

<u>deposit</u>	<u>date assigned</u>	<u>p. no.</u>	<u>note</u>
✓ C 12:2	"not later than 3 rd B.C."		(25) ✓
✓ E 14:1	"275-225 B.C."		✓ 8
✓ G 13:4	"to the turn of the 4 th -3 rd c."	329 ✓	
Thompson Group A ✓ H 6:4	"3 rd c."		✓ 9
fig. 1, 7 ✓ H 16:3 (Thompson Group B)	"about 275 B.C."	fig. 323, 325, 326, } 327, 328, 329, } fig. 323, 325, 333 }	{ 13 ✓ 14 ✓ 15 ✓
		326 ✓	16 ✓
		327 ✓	19 ✓
		328 328	
		329 329	
		333 333	
M 21:1 (Komos Cistern)		fig. 323, 325, 334 ✓	
✓ N 10:2	about contemp. w. Group B	326	16 ✓
fig. 1, 8 ✓ N 21:4	"fairly early in 2 nd 1/4 of 3 rd B.C."	325, 326, 334	✓ 16, 18 ✓
		✓ 325 ✓ 334	15 ✓
✓ O 20:3	"called late 4 th to early 3 rd B.C."	331	(25) ✓

I managed to get photographs done too, though not of any Latin, as we don't know which ones might be needed

Hope you are all well.

6.VII.73
8.VII.72
no acknowledgment
21.01

October 10, 1972

Dear Letty,

In Delos recently I was lucky enough to have help from Margot Camp (whose brother John is one of our excavators here). One day when she had time, I asked her to take rubbings for you of the Latin stamps in the last lot of handles catalogued there, of which the inclusive numbers are TD ⁷³⁰⁷~~7084~~-7453. I enclose here those rubbings, of which there should be 28, possibly with some things done twice. I enclose also a list of the numbers of TD Latin items which include all the latest Latin items beginning with the previous batch, the inclusive numbers beginning with TD 7084, and carrying on through those of which I enclose the rubbings. These things are of course not all out in a row on long tables, but have to be got out of the various drawers into which they have been put according to their grades of size, (and then put back again) to make rubbings. The list is just taken from the duplicate readings. As you were in Delos in July 1968, I think you must have everything before TD 7084, and probably that batch too (through 7306 for incl. numbers). I can't see however that you have received before ~~the~~ rubbings of the final batch, as here enclosed. These were recorded by us in 1970. There have been no excavations since then, owing to absolutely no storage space, working space. The museum is in the course, finally, of being enlarged, but I have had no clear information of how the new parts will be divided as between display space and apotheke space.

I went to Delos for my summer holiday, a bit late for summer but tourists still pouring in from cruise ships. For the afternoon visitors, it is now so near dark that they photograph the lions with flashlights.

1 Oct. 1972

in Debs

21.02

More recent Latin Stamps (TD 7084 - TD 7453)

TD 7107	TD 7374
TD 7143	TD 7377 on body
TD 7144	TD 7378 on rim
TD 7182	TD 7395 on rim
TD 7184	TD 7396 on handle
TD 7191	TD 7412 on rim
TD 7219	TD 7413 " "
TD 7225	TD 7415 " "
TD 7246	TD 7417 " handle
TD 7299	TD 7425 " rim
TD 7325 on rim	TD 7428 " rim
TD 7333 " "	TD 7429 " "
TD 7353 " rim	TD 7430 " handle
TD 7363 " "	TD 7431 on rim
TD 7365 " "	TD 7432 " "
TD 7366 " handle	TD 7434 " rim
TD 7367 " "	TD 7435 " "
TD 7368 " rim (punch)	
TD 7369 " "	
TD 7372 on rim	
TD 7373 " "	
TD 7374 " "	
TD 7369	
TD 7372	
TD 7373	

Taken from the plates by M. Camp

Letter of 1.V.72, VG to A.J. Parker, carbon filed in folder WRECKS - PARKER,
is cross-referenced in the following files:

Kinds of amphoras

Kapitan type

Roman

Samian

Spanish

Tubular-foot type

miniatures

Wrecks, other than Parker's

Antikythera

Grand Congloue

Mahdia

The letter is concerned a) with a manuscript about to be published by
Parker about his Terraucza wreck (off Sicily), and b) with an offprint he sent
me along with the manuscript, a review of the new Spanish book about Roman
amphoras, by Miguel Beltran Lloris.

Asked him to send a copy of his
review to F.L.W.

April 1, 1970.

Dear Mr. Brashear,

Thank you for your letter of March 28.

For looking up your stamps from Monte Testaccio, you might try Roman Amphorae by M. H. Callender, which was reviewed by F. Zevi in the Journal of Roman Studies LVII, 1967, pp. 234-238. The book came out in recent years. I believe its text is not quite up to the date of its publication. However, it should lead you to the basic studies of the material from Monte Testaccio.

I myself know little about Latin stamps. For these in general, you should rather consult:

Mrs. S. F. Will
1425 Buena Vista Avenue
Iowa City, Iowa 52240
U.S.A.

Mrs. Will is publishing the Latin stamps from the Agora excavations, together with others found at the east end of the Mediterranean area.

Yours sincerely,

28. March
Athens

Dear Miss Grace—

It was a year ago that Prof. John D'Arms in Ann Arbor suggested that I get in contact with you, and although I have been in Athens a month and had expected to meet you, in the end I am writing anyway.

From the Mons Testacius in Rome I collected a dozen amphora fragments bearing Latin stamps. This was two years ago. I have not made any exhaustive attempts since then to decipher them, but neither have casual efforts paid off.

If you could direct me to some books, or if I could send a transcription of the stamps to you, I would be most appreciative. Those several which stick in my mind at the moment are: PP; NN; and the somewhat enigmatic VIP.

My address:

Studentendort 12/202

1 Berlin 38

Potsdamer Chaussee 31-33

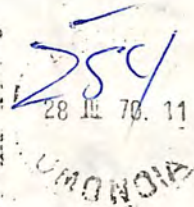
Thank you —

— Wm. Brashear

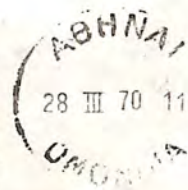
ΕΛΛΑΣ
ΕΛΛΗΝΟΝ
ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΝ



ΕΛΛΑΣ
ΕΛΛΗΝΟΝ
ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΝ



ΕΛΛΑΣ
ΕΛΛΗΝΟΝ
ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΝ



ΕΛΛΑΣ
ΕΛΛΗΝΟΝ
ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΝ



Virginia Grace
American School for Classical Studies
Soudias Odos
ATHENS

ΑΕΡΟΠΟΡΙΚΩΣ
BY AIR MAIL - PAR AVION

[24-a]

Studentendorf 12/202

1 Berlin 38

Potsdamer Chaussee 31-33

[24-6]

28 II 70 12

28 III 70

28 III 70 12

28 III 70

Athens, November 21, 1969

Mrs. F. Will
1425 Buresh Avenue
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Dear Letty,

It is a very long time we have no news from you. Cleaning today my desk, I found buried a small envelope containing some rubbings of Latin stamps from Corinth. It seems they had been taken last spring and kept aside in order to be sent to you. I am very sorry for the delay and I hope they will be useful to you.

Miss Grace joins me in sending our
best greetings

Maria

Athens, August 19, 1969

Dear Letty,

Nice to have your letter of August 9, and to hear you feel you are making progress. Take it from me, catch that drive, and finish up the book. Just bear in mind that maybe it isn't perfect, but it fills a serious gap anyhow. Don't worry that you will lose it, once it is out. On the contrary, you will just begin to deal with its correspondence.

Sorry about the reverses of your plate for Delos 27; I did not of course see it until after it had been engraved, or whatever it is they do. Perhaps that was another photo that fell off, but since they did not lose it (like the other) the printer just stuck it on himself. I am just making a guess, of course. I imagine M. Bruneau has told you that all the galleys except yours had gone, some time before, back to the printer before yours arrived. I understand that he will make ^{your} ~~the~~ corrections on the page proof. We had a time with our section, which has about a million numbers, probably still full of errors. Also, several people read large parts of the text, including P.M. Fraser, and made complaints about statements and/or usages, some of which will have to be corrected in the page proof. M. Bruneau thinks we will get that here in the second half of September.

We are not feeling terribly gay in this office, since Maria has had a final dismissal from her job at the National Museum (she was a Karouzos appointee, and these have little support under present circumstances) and my research money is running out and it is proposed to stop my salary ("fellowship") in a year or two. (I will, after all be 70. if I live +411 then!!)

26-9

(2.IV.64 - VII.69)

4.II.68

comp XV

Correspondence on ELW's contribution to
Bruneau's Delos volume on the Maison
des Comedians (Completed June 1966),
on Latin Slamps

stamp
any millionaires who would like to support the continuation of our work here? When I am not paralyzed by worries about money, I am happy enough, because I know it is good. tions to Fred about his international creative salvage. Here a number of houses along the the Agora have been demolished, and a start made at digging at the west end of the area. io, interesting early classical levels being dug on our south borders, north slope of Areiop.

(2.IV.64 - VIII.69)

4.II.68

cmt ~~XX~~Correspondence on ELW's contribution toBonneau's Delos volume on the Maison
des Comédiens (completed June 1966),
on the Latin Slamps

Koroni ms

reprints

26-b

These amplifications are included among

Add to note 4)

~~These amplifications are~~ Benoit

those grouped by M. Benoit in his

volume on the class ~~Republican~~ "Républicaine I" class;

Athens, August 19, 1969

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Nice to have your letter of August 9, and to hear you feel you are making progress. Take it from me, catch that drive, and finish up the book. Just bear in mind that maybe it isn't perfect, but it fills a serious gap anyhow. Don't worry that you will lose it, once it is out. On the contrary, you will just begin to deal with its correspondence.

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stamp
Don't you know any millionaires who would like to support the continuation of our work here? When I am doing it, and not paralyzed by worries about money, I am happy enough, because I know it is good. Congratulations to Fred about his international creative salvage. Here a number of houses along the north side of the Agora have been demolished, and a start made at digging at the west end of the area laid bare. Also, interesting early classical levels being dug on our south borders, north slope of Areiop.

28-a

1425 Burush Avenue ²⁸
Iowa City, Iowa 52240
August 9, 1969

Dear Virginia,

I'm sorry those inquiries about the Sestius - article have been coming to you. Two things are odd: one, that Ellen didn't think to look in TAPA for my address or to get it from Mackthold or Lattimore; two, that there is all this interest in Sestius. Though I must say I did find in the Fatti and Notizie last summer references to several short articles in provincial publications, things that seemed to be summaries of what I wrote. Anyway, I sent off to Ellen last night a copy of the article, one of my last offprints, in the hope that it would be useful to her and to Miss Jones and Mrs. Ginsberg.

Peter Fraser wrote me that you had been quite sick with flu last winter. I hope that by now you are fine again.

I am working well again on the book and am preparing a phone - letter for you and for Andreas and Maria. As far as the book is concerned, I don't know whether to say I feel close to the end or close to the beginning. It would help if I had someone to talk to here about

28-6

it. There isn't a soul. In spite of my having to work in this vacuum, though, I feel my old drive coming back. It's as if it were 20 years ago. I think the explanation is that Barbara goes into first grade next month, and I am about to be free from the conflict between what has to be done (at home) and what I want to do (on my work). At the moment, I feel free because my mother is here helping me while Fred spends two months in Budapest (preparing a Hungarian issue of Micromegas). Alex is away, too, at the Intedochen music camp in Michigan. I have another week before I go there to get him. School starts September 2.

It took me a long time to do the proofs for M. Bruner. There were so many corrections and additions. There is one sad note: a stamp was mysteriously inverted on the plate, and it's too late now to change it, he says. It's not the one that fell off. I've certainly learned my lesson, and will photograph all plates before I send them off, as you suggested last summer. Another stamp is also inverted, because I have changed the reading of it on the basis of last summer's work. I hope a note will suffice to explain these inversions.

Much love in the moment,
Lett



29-6

NIKO IV 64

617.28

711 1-8-35



30-6

FLV
NIKO IV 64

1013.20
TL 6545



Delas sept 63
 Maison de comedians
 Bede foto.

Grand am 21 E 64

by Mr. Parole

Tram - 1st

1st 1st 1st 1st



16. IV. 67
2. II. 67
No. 10
[33.07]
December 5, 1966
* p. 5
should be
returned
Kardak

Dear Letty,

I hope you are well, also Fred and the children. So glad to hear, now recently also from Homer, that you are again able to work on your publications, despite domestic preoccupations.

I am sorry not to have managed to answer your letter of June 16. We did send you the photographs of the jars mentioned on p. 2 (which you acknowledged); but I understand from M. BRUNEAU that they do not come from his house, but from one next door.

For some of your queries: the Latin seem to be about a tenth of the stamped jar fragments in this house, at least I believe the total number, including Latin, is 284. I am sorry not to have photographed TD 6701, so that you could see at least the shape of the rim. I do not understand your not having rubbings at all of TD 6996, 7004, 7024. I find here only the rubbings pasted for record on our small inventory card of TD 7004, of which you could not read the stamp from the photo.

Please return this small card which should not be missing from our records here.

I was much interested in your results for the Latin of this group, as seen in your letter of June 16, and also in the text of your article. I had asked M. Brunneau to lend us this, so we could incorporate your items in our number-concordances. He has been kind enough to have a photostat made for me. As for dating of the Greek stamps; the largest part of these are Knidian of the DUOVIPI period, i.e. late 2nd apparently to Mithradates. But there are also 3 "Late Knidian", which we would date after 86 B.C., perhaps in the second quarter of the 1st century B.C. The Rhodian go down to the early 1st century B.C.; there are also several of the 3rd century B.C.

It would certainly be possible for you to make changes still in your text, since I am sorry to say that my section is far from ready. (I could not start any actual text until September of this year, because of work in (and for) Alexandria. And my part of the Skardana group is a fairly formidable task in itself). I am

thinking that you may wish to ask M. Bruneau to alter slightly the text of the small note he has added at the beginning. It runs: " La présente étude a été redigée d'après photographies et des frottis, sans examen direct du matériel" Do you not want to add an acknowledgment of the source of photos and rubbings? We appreciate your warm gratitude expressed in letters, but think a small note of indebtedness here would not be out of place.

I enclose another copy of a letter to somebody who needed your address. not mine.

We never saw Fred last summer at the Stoa, and wonder if he ever came to Athens?

Please excuse some slips and extra capitals by the kind person who copied this for me.

Maria and Andreas send you their best greetings.

1425 Buress Avenue
Iowa City, Iowa
July 10, 1966

Dear Maria,

Thank you very much for sending me the pictures of jars from the Maison de la Colline (which I assume is the same as the Maison des Comédiens?). The photos are excellent, and please thank Virginia so much for them. I will write her myself in a few days (mostly about Alexandria) but meanwhile I wanted to let you know the photos had come and to tell you that these jars fit in very well with the early 1st BC date which can be given to over half of the Latin-stamped fragments. Of the five jars, two are BR's (Type 11) and three are Spe's (Type 10), both types being of course early 1st BC. I will write a note to M. Bruneau, and perhaps he can add it as a footnote to the report I sent him.

Have you been to Rhodes yet? I wish I could have made the trip with you, as Mr. Konstantinopoulos reported many newly-found Roman jars there in 1961. Perhaps I can get there next summer.

I wonder if you have seen Fred yet. I haven't yet had an Athenian letter from him, perhaps because of the strikes there and here.

With all best wishes, and further thanks,
Betty

E. Will
1425 Buresh Av.
Iowa City
Iowa 52240

Athens 5.VII.66

Dear Letty,

I am sending to you today, under separate cover the photographs ^(X) we promised you, of the jars found together in the same room of "Maison de la Colline" in Delos.

There are as you will see five jars in four (4) photographs of which you have 2 prints of each.

With my best greetings
Marix.

(X) 581.9-12

Agora excavations
Athens June 27, 1966

Dear Letty,

We are delighted to hear from you, that you have completed the study of the Latin stamps from the Delos Skardhana house.

A detailed note about the Skardhana house and about the photographs you need will follow from Miss V. Grace, I think before she leaves for Alexandria where she plans to work in the Benacchi Collection for 5-6 weeks.

I am going for three days in Rhodes, where in the last years it seems they have found a big number of whole jars.

With my best greetings
Maria

V.G.
 Congratulation
 HAT.
 1425 Buress Avenue
 Iowa City, Iowa
 June 16, 1966

Dear Virginia,

I have completed a study of the Latin stamps from the Delos Skardhana house. The catalogue is in shape, and I have only to type it and the brief text that accompanies it, and make up the plate (for it's clear that all 21 stamps to be illustrated will fit onto one of those large Delos plates, 18 being the number I'm using for the Agora series). I ought to be finished in a day or two, if the plate takes a day, as I expect it to. The work has taken much longer than I anticipated when I wrote M. Daux last month, but I couldn't foresee the complications that developed. An old song.

Most of these Roman fragments can be dated as early as the Sullan destruction of Athens, or the sack of Delos by Mithridates. 17 or 18 of the 27 pieces are that early, 10 and probably 11 belonging to Type 10 (Spe-type; 3 of the stamps occur also on jars in Deposit M 18:1, and the others are also previously known Spe-type stamps), and 7 belonging to Type 7 (of which the Pasi-jar is the ancestor). Further, 7 other pieces are at least as early as Sulla, and perhaps earlier. Those are probable examples of Types 3, 4, and 6. Only two fragments are post-Mithridates. They belong to Type 13, and they may come from the same jar. (Wish I could see them. The rims of Type 13 are regularly stamped twice.) This type I am dating "second half of the 1st BC" - for whereas the only good Agora context for it is Deposit T 17:3 (mostly late 1st BC, with a little early 1st AD), the type does occur in that amphora-wall at Carthage (with pieces bearing dates as early as 43 BC), and there are four other examples at Delos, which, with these new Skardhana stamps, must be the latest datable Latins found at Delos.

So the chief occupancy of the house must have been at about the time of the Mithridatic destruction, and the house was probably occupied during much of the first quarter of the century. The two fragments of Type 13 seem to indicate some activity on the site again toward the middle of the century, perhaps just before the last Italian traders left Delos. I don't see how Type 13 can be dated earlier than the middle of the 1st BC.

Naturally I'm very eager to know how your dates accord with those I have suggested. And is the percentage of Latins in the Skardhana house as high as it was in M. Le Roy's Fourni house? The Skardhana house and the Fourni house look to me to be very close in date. Oddly, there are no BR's in either house, though BR's are so frequent at Delos. (There were, though, in the Fourni house two double handles with BR-stamps.)

I have your letters of April 2, 1964; Jan. 30, Sept. 6, Oct. 13 & 20, and Dec. 15, 1965; and March 15, 1966, + 2 photomailer envelopes of Skardhana pictures. I also received Maria's letters of Dec. 15, 1965, and Apr. 27, 1966, dated 1965. For all of this

TD 6701 = pub. no. 28
 6771 = " " 25

- 2 -

interest and help my gratitude can hardly be expressed. It amazes me that you've had such faith in me, but I guess you know me pretty well. I really seem to be working well now. I am spending every afternoon in a study in the Iowa library. It seems that I have to get away from the house in order to accomplish anything. I will have almost full time for work next year, as Barbara will be in nursery school. (This year has been impossible: two miscarriages, an injury in an auto accident, everything.)

To return briefly to the Skardhana house: you mention in your letter of April 2, 1964, that you photographed some whole jars and would send me prints. Unless a letter has gone astray, you didn't send them, and I'm wondering if perhaps I should see them before what I have to say is printed. Let me know. I'm wondering also if you may possibly have a photo of TD 6701, one of the Type 13 stamps. Also, have you rubbings of the last 3 Latins on Andreas' list of March 15, 1966: TD 6996, 7004, 7024? Only TD 7004 is important, since I can't read it from the photo. I won't delay sending what I have to M. Bruneau until I hear from you. Surely one or two corrections can be made in the proofs, if necessary. I suspect you haven't a photo of TD 6701.

Fred is now on a six-week trip to Japan, Taiwan, and India, and he hopes to return via Athens. Naturally, he wants to see you, and in fact you may already have heard from him. If he gets to Athens, it will be in the first week of July, I imagine, since he was scheduled to get to India yesterday and will spend at least two weeks there. I gave him your address on Plutarch Street. (So glad you have that place and the privacy and space it must offer.)

Much love from now, and greetings to
Mavis & Andreas.

Letty

I hope Fred finds amphoras in India. He has a camera, tape measure, graphite, cigarette papers with him.

Athens, April, 27, 1965

Mrs E. Will

1425 Buressh Ave.
Iowa City, Iowa

Dear Mrs Will,

On December 15th, 1965, I sent to you the photographs of the Latin stamps found in Delos at the "Maison des Comediens" or "Maison de Skardhana" for your part of a joined publication by the French School.

Now it seems that the neck TD 6957 does not after all belong to the above group according to a recent note of Mr. Bruneau: "ne semble pas pro-

Delos

Col di amphora TD 6957

[rec'd 21.V.66]

[39]

Ne semble pas provenir de Skardhana

This is Prun
Wicks ELL

(I had sent her a
photo, but now
she should
omit this.)

Athens, April, 27, 1965

Mrs E. Will

1425 Buressh Ave.
Iowa City, Iowa

Dear Mrs Will,

On December 15th, 1965, I sent to you the photographs of the Latin stamps found in Delos at the "Maison des Comediens" or "Maison de Skardhana" for your part of a joined publication by the French School.

Now it seems that the neck TD 6957 does not after all belong to the above group according to a recent note of Mr. Bruneau: "ne semble pas provenir de Skardhana". So you should omit it.

With my best greetings

M. Petropoulakou
Maria Petropoulakou

[rec'd 21.10.66]

Delos

[39]

Col di amphore TD 6957

No semble par provenir de Skardhana

This is Pomona
White Ell

(Delos said her a
plate, but now
she should
omit (this.)

19.11.66
was
brought
and has
returned by
M. Bruneau
for G. Daux
who wrote
ELW
early this
month for
my collection

Athens, March 15, 1966

Dear Letty,

In a separate envelope (photomailer) I'm sending you along with this letter a few more photos of fragments with Latin stamps from the Delos Skardhana house. They consist of prints of Roll 646.36 (group of 4 fragments); and of 647. 16, 17, and 18, side views of TD 6957, 6778, and 7024, at a tenth I believe. I include also another print of 644.34 (TD 7024); we tried to get the stain off the negative (put there in Emil's shop, I regret to say), and possibly it is slightly better than the other one I sent you.

Included with this letter here is a list just made for you by Andreas to help you with your publication of this group, if as I hope you are managing to put something together. With the present sending, I have now sent you prints of all the photos listed. Most were sent by Maria on December 15.

I don't know, of course, at what stage you are in this production, but if you have not done anything in the way of actual composition, I am sure that, *faute de mieux*, they would welcome a mounted plate (or two if needed) plus a series of restored readings, all made in some order that is sensible from your background, which of course nobody else now has. It is, one might say, our fault that our publications are not out in a large way, so that people have to bother us for our help. For the size of the plates: note that this is to go into a vol. of the Delos publication, of which the plates are a good deal larger than those for instance of Hesperia.

I wrote to you in September, and twice in October, and have sent several copies of the Antikythera publication.

(X) M. Bruneau and the rest of us would be glad to have you include an opinion, if convenient as yet to you, on whether the Roman stamped fragments

Delos - maison des Comediens
Latin stamps

<u>Delos no.</u>	<u>excavation no.</u>	<u>Photo no.</u>
TD 6673	C 61 C 622	643.20 [✓] , 646.36 (part) side
6679	C 62 C 1240	643.19 [✓]
6680	C 62 C 421	643.18 [✓] , 646.36 (part) side
6683	C 62 C 505	643.17 [✓]
6701	C 62 C 449	
6709	C 62 C 124	643.16 [✓] , 646.36 (part) side
6712	C 62 C 930	643.15 [✓]
6730	C 62 C 1	643.14 [✓]
6737	C 62 C 43	643.13 [✓]
6757	C 62 C 2495	
6763	C 62 C 2036	644.8 [✓]
6764	C 62 C 2035	644.7 [✓]
6771	C 62 C 1894	644.6 [✓]
6776	C 62 C 2370	644.5 [✓] , 4 [✓] 646.36 (part) side
6778	C 62 C 1983	644.3 [✓] 647.17 (side)
6785	C 62 C 2814	644.2 [✓]
6800	C 62 C 2363	644.1 [✓]
6827	C 62 C 3347	644.44 [✓]
6874	C 63 C 1645	644.43 [✓]
6875	C 63 C 1762	613.28 [✓]
6876	C 63 C 1358	
6882	C 63 C 589	644.42 [✓]

<u>Delos no.</u>	<u>excavation no.</u>	<u>Photo no.</u>
TD 6883	C 63 C 590	644.41 ✓
6892	C 63 C 690	644.40 ✓
6957 ⊕		644.35 ✓ 647.16(side)
6996	C 64 C 1	644.39 ✓
7004	C 64 C 146	644.38 ✓
7024	D/64/C/265	644.34 ✓ 647.18(side)

V = Photo sent 15.XII.65

⊕ Not absolutely certain this belongs with
the group. To be checked with M. Brunear.

Mrs E. Will
1425 Buressh Ave.
Iowa City, Iowa

Athens, December, 15, 1965

Dear Mrs Will,

We are sending to you under separate cover 27 photographs of the Latin stamps found in Delos at the "Maison des Condiens¹". A list of them is attached. Later we'll send you some photographs of profiles of handles or big pieces.

With my warm wishes for a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year to you and your family.

Maria Petropoulakou

Maria Petropoulakou

15. XII. 65

Delos Latin stamps from "Maison des Comédiens"
 photographs sent to ^{Mr} E. Will.

TD		Roll		ELW pub-40.
	6673	Roll 643.20		18
	6679	643.19		10
	6680	643.18		1
	6683	643.17		11
	⁶⁷⁰¹ 6709	643.16		28 2
	6712	643.15		28
	6730	643.14		12
	6737	643.13		4
	6763	644.8		5
	6764	644.7		20
	6771	644.6		25
	6776	644.4, 5		13
	6778	644.3		23
	6785	644.2 (2 prints)		16
	6800	644.1		6
	6827	644.64		17
	6874	644.43		15
	6875	613.28		9
	⁶⁸⁷⁶ 6882	644.42		21 24
	6883	644.41		19
	6892	644.40		8
	6957	644.35		
	6996	644.39		14
	7001	644.38		27
	7024	644.34		3, 22

ROMAN

Athens, October 20, 1965

Dear Letty,

(13.10.65)

DELOS
Spindlers
Hans
Humbel

Writing to you recently, I forgot to mention that the Antikythera monograph is now out, though I have not yet seen anything but my own proof; no reprints and no whole copies have yet reached me here, but I have had an acknowledgement from Casson to whom Gladys sent the whole monograph (since three of the authors anyhow wanted to send him reprints for (me included) and paid for it jointly). I thought I had arranged ~~to have~~ my reprints for people in the US to be sent directly from there, in which case you would have had yours already. But it turned out that they posted them all to me here. Their bill, including postage, is dated August 30, from Lancaster, Pa. It seems as if they should have arrived, but the postal strike may have held them up. Anyhow, I fear it will be some time before the three destined for you will get back to the US.

In case you want to look at the ^{number} ~~reprint~~ in some library, it is Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 55, part 3, 1965. The chapter on "Commercial Amphoras" is on pp. 5-17. Your remarks on the Roman amphora from the Antikythera wreck are quoted on p. 11; also your opinion on Mahdia items.

Let me know if you would like more than 3 reprints, since I have plenty. (The price for a hundred was not very different than the price for 40.). Let me know also if you would like me to send one as from you to anybody in Europe.

Maria has just brought me to look at a copy of Roman Amphorae by your friend Callender (Oxford Press 1965). I imagine that you have followed this in the course of production. It looks very interesting, and I want to study it partly to see how certain problems of presentation have been solved. I gather that he is covering only finds in the west, though this is not made very definite, nor does he exactly define the line between west and east, at least

the answer does not leap to the eye. Will the existence of this book make it possible for you to simplify your forms of reference for some of the names? I shall be interested to hear your general comments on this handsome volume. We have it on order ^{at} ~~from~~ the ASCS. Maria says it costs about 1000 dr. in Athens.

The first two Delos rolls have been developed and printed. They seem not too bad. There are no Roman in these two rolls, but in the next.

My best to Fred, and I hope the children are well.

Love,

I enclose her a small envelope containing 3 rubbings Mr. Benedini brought for you in June 1963, at a time when you were not responding ~~to correspondence~~.

Mr. B. is on his way to the US, where he will be from Oct. 27 to Nov. 13. I think, but only in the East. In NY, at the Hotel Astor, Times Square. In Boston at the Sheraton - Plaza on Copley Square. He will be in NY at the beginning and end, and in Boston in the middle.

DELOS

1961
1962

Zanis Zouganelis is now a guard in the Mycenaean room in the National Museum in Athens; he wished to be in Athens. His place has been taken in Delos by one Costas, whose wife now cooks at maison de l'Ecole. Manolis Z. has also come to Athens, and the periptero is run by Fiorentinos who has the Delos Hotel in Mykonos and is said to be a very good cook. All different.

American School of Classical Studies
54 Swedias Street, Athens 140, Greece
October 13, 1965

Dear Letty,

I enclose another inquiry which is in your province rather than in mine, I believe.

With reference to my letter to you of September 6, I was in Delos from September 29 to October 9. You know how one has to fit it in at a time when the house is neither closed nor too full. When the time came to leave here, I had heard nothing from you, but I had to allow for the fact, that we had been having a postal strike and much mail had been held up. I knew I would not be able to go again this winter. So I did take for you about 30 photographs, nearly all items from the Maison des Comediens. Nothing has been processed as yet; I brought the first film to Emil last evening. (Niko is on holiday, and would not be able to print any of this material before December.) Let's hope they all come out - I took about 200 pictures altogether, including a lot of Knidian which though not the best examples known, belonged to types which have never been published. To get these out and put them away again is quite a job, especially since ^{many} ~~most~~ of the drawers are now too full. Luckily I got help from a nice young Cypriote who is a student at the University of Athens and has a summer job with Mr. Zaphiropoulos, Ephor of the Cyclades, who was kind enough to lend him to me. For most of the time, my pareia consisted just of M. Laumonier and Hero Athanasiades (drawing for M. Laum.). So it was pleasant that the young Cypriote's name ~~xxxx~~ is Leander. He did no swimming while I was there, however. He said it was winter. M. Laumonier spoke cordially of you and Fred. He continues to see the sun rise from the top of Kynthos. Descending one day, he encountered Constantine and Anne Marie paying an early visit to the island, but withdrew because he thought it not respectful to greet them in his shorts.

When and if tolerable prints emerge of the Roman fragments, I will send you a set. I hope you will be able to prepare some sort of publication. I still have no letter from you, but it is said there is still a large backlog of unsorted mail from the time of the strike - current stuff is being given priority. With love to you both,

(Note to F.W. that I am sending
a copy to H.A.T. and 8 went to
Delos etc)

I enclose two prints of a Benachi Edouard photo which you may be able to use.

(BE 75.19)

RAMAN

September 6, 1965

Dear Letty,

I was greatly relieved to have a letter from you last February, and as you know Homer also was glad to see it. In it you speak of writing soon again with more detail and particularly with pictures of children and house. I hope to see these before long. I can understand one of your big pre-occupations, the builders, because I have bought a small apartment here, (in June 1964) the first down payment long before the building was finished. My own walls were rearranged somewhat, and many things had to be watched - and were not sufficiently watched. It is at Plutasch Street no. 33, top floor. But I still mostly get mail at the School, since my doorman's family has trouble with addresses in English.

This is just a note to ask you if you have desiderata in Delos in connection with the Skardhana publication (M. Bruneau's house). I think I may go to Delos about September 24, for say a week, if convenient to Daux and the French School. He is away at the moment, so I can't make this definite, but I think late Sept. is a time when their house is no longer full but still open for, say, M. L'Aumonier. For me this would be the most convenient time to go. I must take a few more photos for my own section of the publication, so this would be the time to tell me what you need for your section.

I was in Alexandria again from early June to early August, and this time I tackled the Rhodian, with the help of two undergraduates/ volunteers. I was able to live in Mr. B.'s apartment which was of course a very great advantage, especially in summer, when there is scarcely a sofa free in a hotel.

Let me know in time about the photos, if you want some. You'd have to write right away I guess. Sorry not to have thought of all this earlier, but it just crystallized yesterday. With love to you both,

47.01
1425 Buresh Avenue
Iowa City, Iowa
February 10, 1965

My dear Virginia,

I'm most grateful to you for having enough faith in me to send the letters of November 2 and January 30, the latter of which has just reached me. Both were delayed in the forwarding process. I guess I can't put off writing any longer, can I? In any way, I wanted to have papers in order, desk straight, before beginning the final assault on amorphous, before even collecting my thoughts to write you, to whom writing a letter ought to be easiest, considering the mountains of prose I've shoveled in your direction. But clearly I can't wait any longer, so will send this something from the midst of what is still chaos.

You must have heard from Homer that I was particularly occupied last year with co-siding a new baby (Barbara Elizabeth: Sept. 3, 1963) and full-time teaching at the U. of Texas. I even nursed the baby. In spite of full-time help, I was so busy that I couldn't begin to tell you about it. I simply could not write letters but kept hoping I would; thus didn't even write notes. (I seem to fall into that pattern in the face of stress.) Any way, then, in June we moved from Austin. Not here, though Fred had

47.02

accepted a post here a year before (Iowa gave him the first year off to accept an ^{ACLS} ~~Post~~ and a Bollinger). In June, once classes were over, I shepherded the children and the faithful Mrs. Trunklein to Tübingen, where Fred had accepted an offer to teach at the Univ. in the spring semester, ^{and where he had been since May 1.} Our considerable belongings, packed somehow before we left Austin (I had a terrible case of German measles in the last week), were stored there for the summer, since, due to my last-minute illness, there had not been time to get anything to Iowa before sailing June 11; and anyway, we were building a house here, which wouldn't be ready till fall.

In Tübingen, to continue, owing to cramped quarters and lack of equipment, as well as a frantic social life with our many old friends there, I scarcely touched ground. We were there till mid-Sept. I was also madly harassed by letters from the builder here, since so many decisions could only be made by us. I recall that all my leisure went into letters to him. It would have been better if I'd written twice as much.

We had to build this house. Fred would find nothing here for us to rent, and the alternative to building was buying an old house. We felt that remodeling and repairing would take

more time in the end. Anyway, we came straight here from Tübingen, losing Mrs. Trinkel on route as she had to return to Austin and in any case we couldn't afford her any more. The house of course wasn't ready for weeks, and meanwhile we lived in a motel. Then eventually moved into the place before it was finished, onto and into the tile dust, shavings, the mice that has been built in (they are a kind of plague in Iowa, it seems, like scorpions in Texas). From that chaotic state we are just emerging. Things are beginning to look good, but my study is still hideously disarranged. Things out of place elsewhere have been put here, and excavation is still in progress. Until I can get at things, I can't begin the work broken off a year and a half ago. But I expect to be on top of things soon. At least, all my notes, profiles, photos, catalogues, and rubbings are collected in one area now, and they will soon be in order.

I'm compelled to bore you with this narrative because I can't let this long silence go unexplained. You know me well enough to realize how painful it's been to me all during this time to have to choose between duties to family and duties to work. Family just has

47.04
to come first. I couldn't stand it any other way. I could have some part-time help but haven't succeeded in finding any yet; haven't in fact had much time to make enquiries.

Your November letter would certainly have had at least this much of an answer if I hadn't had to spend some time in Chicago shortly after it came. My father, who is 81, had a massive coronary and wasn't expected to live. I took the children and stayed there for some days. Now, by a miracle, he is so much better that he expects to resume his practice soon. We are terribly grateful, but understandably apprehensive. Both parents are begging me to come for a visit with the children again, and I would have been there when your present letter arrived if both Alex and Barbara weren't sick with viruses.

Why don't I start off my renewed labours with text on the fragments from Skardhamar? I haven't your letter of April 2, 1964, in an available place at the moment, but it is safe, and will be resurrected and studied as soon as I return from Chicago. I expect to go there next Monday, the 15th, and to be away 3 days or so, so you ought to hear from me by the end of the month. I'm sorry to hear of Belle Brown's tragic death.

I will also acknowledge as soon as I can all other unacknowledged letters. You can't imagine how determined I am to finish up, now that this avalanche of domestic - academic responsibilities seems under control. I might add here that I have been approached by various ones here about teaching everything from archaeology (sic) to Latin next year and have said a flat NO. The teaching last year was forced on me by circumstances which I won't explore now.

Your news about Lucy's wedding was the first I'd had. It's all I've heard, in fact. She is probably even more out of patience with us than you and Mr. Brnach are. And will you please tell Mr. Brnach that I am about to write him at length? From you both, I can only ask humbly for forgiveness.

I'm very glad that you are well and that you got to this country in Nov. - Dec.

We like it enormously in Iowa. The impossible weather doesn't bother us at all. Our house is really very nice. I'll send a picture. Also, more importantly, me of the children.

For now, much love from
Betty

January 30, 1965

Dear Letty:

to

I enclose another letter ~~from~~ a diver to whom I have given your address or at least it is your correct address if this reaches you.

I must refer you to my letter to you of April 2, 1964, in which I ask
25
whether you are able and willing to contribute text on 24 handles and rims with Latin stamps found in Delos in the "maison en surplomb de Skardhana", stamps of which I sent you rubbings in the letter mentioned. The letter distinguishes which of the rubbings sent are from the findingplace in question plus 6957 (nos. 6673-6892). The other sections of the book to be published on the excavations of this house are apparently pretty well ready, and M. Bruneau asked if I could produce the stamps by July this year. Because of the Alexandria situation, I had to say no; but I did finally say I would try to produce something by next January 1 (1966). M. Bruneau is the new Secrétaire of the French School. His fiancée was a member of the School, and excavated with him, and her portion of the publication to try to write my part of this book, shockingly in a motor accident last 20 it was tragically unnecessary, and his Georges and Vida Daux, and the community dedicate this volume (if they do such

Τ.Χ.	Αριθ.	5987 [43]
ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΗ, ΕΥΣΤΗΘΕΝΟΥ		
κ. American School		
διαμέν.	έν	δδός
κατέθεσε την	αριθ.	195
συστημένον (*)	Proter	
πρός κ.	S F Willi	
δδός	αριθ.	
εξ		
χρον. Σήματτον	USA	
Τέλος.....		
Απόδειξ. παραλαβής.....		
Παρίγον.....		
Ενδία.....		
Ο παραλαβών		
ημεωθήτω επίσημη δειγμα, έντυπον κλπ.		

January 30, 1965

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I must refer you to my letter to you of April 2, 1964, in which I ask
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plus 6957
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M. Bruneau
shockingly in a motor accident last June. Fortunately he was not present, but it was tragically unnecessary, and has greatly distressed their School, including Georges and Vida Daux, and the community in general. I should imagine they may dedicate this volume (if they do such things) to Anne Bovon.

Τοχ. _____ Αριθ. 5987 [49]

ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ ΣΥΣΤΗΜΕΝΟΥ

κ. American School

διαμέν. _____ εν _____ δόδος _____ αριθ. _____

καιέθεσε την _____ μηνός _____ 195

συστημένον (*) _____

πρός κ. Quaker

δός S F Willi αριθ. _____

εις _____

Χρον. Σήμεντρον USA Δραχμαί

Τέλος.....

Απόδοις παραλαβής.....

Πλείγον.....

Ενός.....

παρραβών

ημεωθήτω έπιστολή, δείγμα, έντυπον κλπ.

American School of Classical Studies
54 Souidias Street, Athens 140, Greece

April 2, 1964

*Posted 4.10.1964
after checking 9.10.1964
J.F.*

Dear Letty,

Here is a little accumulation which shows we have been thinking of you
on our way:

Roll 543.8, 2 prints, KGA 1778

581.3, Delos fragments TD 6643, 6644, 6651, 6655, general view

.4, " " TD 6673, 6679, 6680

6683, 6701

.5, " " same lot

.6, " " TD 6709, 6712, 6730, 6737, 6757

6764, 6771, 6776, 6763, 6778

.7, " " TD 6709, 6712, 6730, 6737, 6757 (i.e., sl.

6763, 6764, 6771, 6776, 6778 diff. arrang.)

.8 (part) Delos Roman neck TD 6957

Roman

Rubbings of stamps in Delos:

TD 6643

6644

6651

6655

-6673 on rim

-6679 on ~~rim~~ handle; pinkish buff w. pottery bits, pale surface

-6680 on rim (may be marked 6880 still; to be corrected); pink
clay, pottery bits, buff surface

-6683 on handle

6701 on rim (very dim)

-6709 on rim

-6712 on handle

-6730 on rim

-6737 on rim

6757 on handle; rim preserved; tan buff clay, mica

-6763 on handle

-6764 on rim

-6771 on rim

-6776 on handle; part of neck and vertical-band rim pres.; tan buff
buff clay with mica

-6778 on handle; part of neck and mushroom rim preserved; ~~part~~
buff clay with pottery bits

~~6785~~

-6785 on handle

-6800 on handle(?)

-6827 on handle

-6874 on rim (vertical collar)

-6875 on handle

6876 on rim

-6882 on rim

-6883 on rim

-6892 on handle

TD 6954 on handle
~~6957~~ 6957 on rim (?)
6958 on handle
6961 on rim
6963 on rim
6990 on handle

items

Six ~~handles~~ marked with a reddish dot indicate just that the rubbings are in a separate envelope; I had forgotten to make duplicates for you.

I had meant to manage to get general-view photographs of all the fragments for you, but was much pressed, as usual. I did not bring with me on that trip apparatus for photographing stamps. Somewhere I have for you some photos of some whole amphoras found in this excavation of the house at Skardhana (Maison des Comediens, I think they call it).

The first 4 listed are from the Maison de Fourni, unstratified finds of 1961. Beginning with 6673, they are from the "maison en surplomb de Skardhana", like the ~~this~~ whole amphoras mentioned above, through TD 6892 of the above list. TD 6954 is from the Archegesion, excavations of 1962. TD 6957 is again from the Skardhan house. The last four are surface, picked up casually, or were found unidentified in the apothéke.

Yesterday M. Bruneau, the excavator of the Skardhana site, told me that the publication of this is planned as a combined effort, with the various parts done by specialists, and he asked me if I would do the stamped fragments. It is worth helping such an undertaking, I think, since Delos has never produced any such volume; they even plan a section on the coins. I told him I would think about it, though I don't have time really. It was not until I sat down to send you this accumulation that I realized what a lot of Roman stamps are included in the Skardhana lot. I would be interested to hear if you see any pattern in them, after you study the rubbings and the photos such as they are, and if you could undertake to produce a manuscript on them for publication. I think this time I would stipulate from the start that there should be offprints available. From his material, M. Bruneau is not able to ~~distinguish~~ assign the house to

one destruction rather than the other. In fact I believe he thinks it was just abandoned: they found no indications of fire except in the kitchen. I am not able yet to study the other stamped handles till we get through with record-processing and can sort. I do see one Late Knidian handle, which I would have supposed to be after say 86 B.C. by Athens.

We are all grieved at your troubles, and I hope that the teaching is not so tiring that it is not a solace as well as a support in other ways.

Mr. Benachi's father died, I think it was in January. Now he thinks he may be able never to go back to Alexandria. A good part of his non-Rhodian handles still waits to be moved to their cabinet in the Museum, and of course all the Rhodian; I am wrestling with the problem. The Latin as I asked Lucy S. to tell you, are all in place in the Museum.

3.IV.64

I have looked through - skimmed through - the copies made by Andreas and Maria from rubbings of the stamps from this Skardana group. There are two or ~~the~~ three Koan which I should much like to be able to date. I can see that the evidence of the Roman will be of much importance, perhaps the most important ~~size~~ class. I will hope to find shortly the photographs of the whole amphoras, which I know have ~~been~~ printed. In the meanwhile, do you think you could give me some kind of reply on this material? - if only to say that you cannot at present consider working on it, even to the extent of giving a tentative opinion on the date or other significance. Write to me about this, without trying to catch up on our whole lives and acquaintance at this time.

I may go again for two or three weeks to Alexandria in May.

I myself would not undertake to produce any manuscript on this material before 1966. I think that would not matter.

ROMAN

f.i.

August 1, 1969.

Mrs. Harold Ginsberg
254 Forrest Road
Merion Station, Pa. 19066

Dear Mrs. Ginsberg,

The article by Mrs. Will is the following:

E. L. Will, 'Les Amphores de ^SSeptius', Revue archae-
ologique de l'Est et du Centre-Est, VII, 1956, pp. ~~237~~
238

In case you wish to write to Mrs. Will, her address is:

224-244.

Mrs. S. F. Will
1425 Buressh Ave.
Iowa City, Iowa

As I have recently had a similar inquiry (from a Miss Jones) follow-
ing a similar suggestion from the University Museum, I am sending a
copy of this letter to Miss Kohler of that museum, so that she may
have the information to hand against any further inquiries.

A copy goes also to Mrs. Will.

⊗ See file WRECKS -
MISCEL.

Yours sincerely,

Virginia Grace

Note to copy to Mrs. Will
is a copy of another original,
but text has been made to same.

(Mary N. Lynch)

259 Forrest Road

Merion Station

52-d

Pennsylvania 19066

July 24, 1969

Miss Virginia Grace
American School of Classical Studies
Athens, Greece

Dear Miss Grace:

I am writing you at the suggestion of the University Museum in Philadelphia to get some elusive but much desired information: could you please send me the reference to Elizabeth Wills' publication of Roman stamped amphorae? I would appreciate it very much indeed.

I am sorry that I can't send you the necessary postage. If you can think of any other quid pro quo, I would be delighted.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Marion B. Ginsberg
(Mrs. Harold Ginsberg)

52-6

**HUMAN
RIGHTS
YEAR**
U.S. POSTAGE
13c



Miss Virginia Grace
c/o American School of Classical
Studies
Athens, Greece

VIA AIR MAIL • PAR AVION

SECOND FOLD

Mrs. Harold Ginsberg
254 Forrest Rd
Merion Station, Pa. 19666
U.S.A.

Athens, February 26, 1969

Mrs. F. Will
1425 Buresh Avenue
Jowa City, Iowa 52240

Dear Letty,

I am sending you nebbings of 3 Roman amphora stamps from Cyprus and of 5 stamps from Corinth with notes taken by Miss Grace.

A) From Cyprus

- 1) Cy. 611 (Found in Paphos, Oikia A. Iovissou OA 824, 12.6.64): 0.57 x 0.45. Broad thin, ravine down center; short. Hard buff clay.
- 2) Cy. 785 (Paphos, Oikia A. Iovissou OA 1172, 10-7-64) Stamp on handle heavy handle, 0.5 x 0.5. coarse clay, reddish buff surface, large grey core.
- 3) Cy. 910 (Paphos, Oikia A. Iovissou, OA 2685). Top of jar with projecting rim of 4th cent. B.C. Attic (but narrower neck) thick handle 0.4 x 0.39. Stamp on handle, buff clay w. large light grey interior, fine white bits some mica.

B) From Corinth

- Co. 538 (C-63-675) Top of jar with incuse latin inscription going down handle
- Co. 540 (C-63-680) stamp on shoulder. PH 0,83 Diam. 0.333 base missing.
- Co. 541 (C-63-708) stamp on handle
- Co. 547 (C-64-1) Top of jar, stamp on rim
- Co. 548 (C-64-2) Top of jar, stamp on rim. It is a round stamp is it uncommon?

I wish they will be useful to you. How are your children? My greetings to Mr. Will. Is your volume ready for the printer? with all my best
Maria

Mr. Nikolaou should be asked for permission to publish the stamps from Paphos.

Roman

27. V. 69

Kyria Will χαίρετε.

Σας ἀποτέλλομεν rubbings ἀπὸ Roman stamps ποὺ συναντήσαμε ἐπὶ καινουργία εὐρήματα τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ. (KGA 1980, 2117, 2122)

Ἀπ' ὅτι θυμῶμαι αἱ ἐφραγίδες αὐτῆς πρέπει νὰ εἶναι γνωστὲς, ἀλλ' ἴσως θὰ θίξετε νὰ γνωρίζετε ποὺ αἰλλοῦ ὑπάρχουν.

Θέλωμε νὰ γνωρίζετε πῶς παντοῦ καὶ πάντα ὅτον συναντήσωμεν Roman stamps, θὰ θυμώμαστε νὰ πάρωμε ἓνα δεύτερο rubbing γιὰ εἰς.

Με πολλὰς Χαιρετισμοῦ
Ἀνδρὶς Δημιουδίνης

1425 Buersh Ave.

Iowa City, Iowa 52240

October 15, 1968

Dear Maria,

Thank you very much for your letters of September 9 and 20. I'm very glad to have your notes on the pieces from the South Slope, and it was very kind of you to go to all that trouble for me. I feel much more comfortable about those pieces now.

It's good to know about the four stamps from Ephesus. Two of them duplicate stamps in the catalogue, and I will write Mrs. Leen about them.

Regards and all good wishes from

Letty

Mrs F. Will
1425 Buresh Avenue
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Athens, September 20, 1968

Dear Letty,

I hope you received my notes about the Roman amphora handles from South of Acropolis. I am glad to inform you that there are some Roman amphora stamps from the excavations in Ephesus. Unfortunately I have no rubbings to send you.

I copied them from the notes of Mrs Veronika Leon:

- 1) ~~Cadmus~~ **CAD MVS**, Ephesus 461, 61/69
 - 2) **LIGI** ~~Λ~~ on handle. Ephesus, Basilika 1964, Ki 62
 - 3) **SLE** $\frac{E}{2}$ on rim. Ephesus " " Ki 50
- A tracing from a rubbing is included
- 4) **VACTOPIA** Ephesus, Basilika 1965, ki 65

If you think they are good for you, you can write to Mrs Leon at the Austrian Arch. Institut (ΑΕΡΟΠΟΡΩΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΑΣ 26) in Athens for rubbings, photos etc.

With my best

M. Petropoulakou

much it means to me to have renewed contact with you. I feel more than ever that I am at the start of the final push now.

Before it is too late, I want to let you know that Maurice Colliander will be in Athens in several days, beginning September 20,

including you, and on his way to New England where he will spend some time. He is the Minister of Foreign Affairs and is in charge of negotiations in that department. It would be good to have him and Anna on your roof. Please let her take a message to reach him.

Katepikios Nafis "Ayrou Nikofoou" - "Ampoxwaros"
St. Nicholas Cathedral - FAMAGUSTA
Cathedral St. Nicholas - FAMAGUSTA
St. Nicholas Cathedral - FAMAGUSTA

From Maurice Colliander

I hope Betty Hill has written to you but in case she hasn't, I shall be in Athens from 21st - 24th Sept. inclusive. My wife & I are staying with the British Defence Attache, Bengades Peter Kent (C/o Bank of England). I do hope we can meet!

TAKIS GEORGIU LTD, P.O.B. 162, FAMAGUSTA

Miss Virginia Grace

33, Plutarch Street

ATHENS

GREECE



56-6



56-6

Καθεδρικός Ναός 'Αγίου Νικολάου — 'Αμμόχωστος

St. Nicholas Cathedral — FAMAGUSTA
Cathédrale St. Nicholas — FAMAGOUSTE
St. Nicholas Katedrale — FAMAGUSTA

15 September
 I hope Betty has written to you
 but in case she hasn't, I shall
 be in Athens from 21st - 24th Sept.
 inclusive. My wife & I are staying
 with the British Defence Attache,
 Pangloss Peter Kent (c/o Brit. Embassy)
 I do hope we can meet!!

Yours sincerely,
 Maurice Callender.

TAKIS GEORGIU LTD, P. O. B. 162, FAMAGUSTA


 CYPRUS
 158


Miss Virginia Grace

33, Plutarch Street

ATHENS

GREECE

57.01

1425 Buressh Ave.

Iowa City, Iowa 52240

September 15, 1968

My dear Virginia,

We returned to Iowa City almost two weeks ago, and so far I have given myself totally, but with no very great enthusiasm, to unpacking. It is a monstrous job, rendered the more difficult by ^{the first memory of} how much of myself I put into packing at the other end. I would so much rather be it work on amphorae, but it will be several days before things are at that stage. When I am able to get to work, I will write you about some amphora-matters. I haven't even sent you copies of the rubbings I made at Corinth, much less a print of the Isthmian jar I photographed illegally. Now then anything else, I feel the need to tell you how terribly grateful I am for your kindness in July, for the time and attention and ideas you gave me. You can't know how

much it means to me to have renewed contact with you. I feel more than ever that I am at the start of the final push now.

Before it is too late, I want to let you know that Maurice Allender will be in Athens for several days beginning about September 20, and he expressed great interest in meeting you. We had dinner with them in London shortly before we left. He planned then to leave England early in September for Cyprus, to spend some days there, and then to go on to Athens. You may remember that he works for the Ministry of Defence, and in fact I believe he is in charge of the Greek, Cypriot, & several other sections in that Ministry. He is visiting the Aegean for conferences with his Cypriot & Greek counterparts. It would be marvellous if you could have him and Anne for a drink (or two?) and a view from your roof. You can get in touch with him through the British Embassy, which will either take a message for him or tell you how to reach him.

This might also be an occasion for you to get in touch with Calliope, because the Calliopees know who she is and, aside from her connections with us, might like to meet such an articulate Greek woman. I think I'm right in saying that Maurice doesn't know Peter Fraser, though (from what I gather) their political leases would have about the same connection, and they could also talk about William Younger, whom Maurice knew.

The Rumanian books which Poly so kindly sent arrived yesterday and the day before, so now Iowa City can boast that it possesses Vol. 3 of Dacia, and I have two heavy mementoes of two unbelievable days in Bucharest.

A letter from Maria also came yesterday, and I will answer it promptly. You think not? Please thank her in advance.

I'm wondering about the Comédien proofs and will reserve a direct question about them for my next letter.

Much love from us all for the moment,
Lettie



Miss Virginia Grace
American School of Classical Studies
Sonidias 54
Athens
GREECE

9-85

Bangor Kent (Callie is
very with)
Mrs Friday (B.K.'s sec'y)

XI

Mrs F. Will
1425 Buena Vista Avenue
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

September 9, 1968

Dear Letty,

I hope by this time you are back at home. It took me a long time to find out some of your inquiries because the ladies (Kanelopoulou etc.) who excavated S. of Acropolis in 1961 were in vacations.

Here are my notes about:

1) NAK 887/55 : Whole handle w. both attachments. Rim is not preserved. Pale red clay surface cream. H^t handle 0,095 m.

2) NAK 341/56; Measurements Pres. Ht 0,14; Ht of rim 0,06; Diam. mouth 0,16 ; Diam. with the rim 0,19

Part of rim preserved with a small piece of the upper attach. of the handle. Fine light red clay with cream slip.

3) NAK 148/61 From ΟΙΚΟΜΕΑΟΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, ΤΜΗΜΑ Δ, Υ 19^{II}, ΝΑ 257

Pre. Ht 0,192 m. ; Diam. Mouth 0,175

I did not check the measurements. I copied them from the inventory card.

4) NAK 247/61 From ΟΙΚΟΜΕΑΟΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, ΤΜΗΜΑ Δ, Υ 19^{II}, ΝΑ 257

It is a whole jar Ht 1,015m. stamped on rim. It has been given to Mr. ΑΓΓΕΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, the owner of the field. I am enclosing a tracing of the jar, which I copied from a sketch on the inventory card.

The height is taken from the inventory card.

I do not see any way to get a photo of NAK 148/61 right now. I hope to be able to take it for you later.

My greetings to all your family

With all my best

Maria Petropoulakou

ROMAN

To ELW, recent print

she thinks I have not sent

+ extras needed

35

644. 36

34

37

38 already sent, but need ^{new} ~~app~~ plates, so she is glad to hear
file after

39

40

41

42

43

44

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

ELW in Green ¹⁹ - 29.VII.68

(The doorman at 33

TELEGR. ADDRESS: GERING

62.01

TELEPHONE: 230.651 (10 LINES)

She went to Mykonos -

Delos 23 - 25.VII.We are to go to Corinthe
and back, taken by
HSR, on Sat. 27.VII.

never delivered
this, but I took
it as I was
in with Ledy
after lunch
on Sunday.)



1968
July 20, 7 p.m.
(Sat.)

Dear Virginia,

No preamble is possible or even necessary,
I guess, since Gene Vanderpool tells me that he
very kindly rang you in Delos and told you I
was coming. I'm more eager to see you than
I can say, and I hope you'll phone me here
as soon as you're able to after you get in, which
EV thought would probably be late tonight.
I've just phoned you without success, so assume
he must be right. I am going out to supper
with Evelyn ^{at 8:30} tonight (will drop this by before I
go to the School) but ought to be back by 11 or
so. If I'm not here, please leave a message
letting me know up to what time tonight I can

Son Alex. (10 yrs. old)
coming down ^{from England} this
p.m. to spend
weekend with us
here and return
with us Monday.



(The doorman at 33
TELEGR. ADDRESS: GEEKING

62.01

TELEPHONE: 230.651 (10 LINES)

now delirious

this, but I ~~too~~

as I would

in with Lety

after lunch

on Sunday.)



KING GEORGE HOTEL
ATHENS

July 20, 7 p.m. 1968
(Sat.)

Dear Virginia,

No preamble is possible or even necessary,
I guess, since Gene Vanderpool tells me that he
very kindly rang you in Delos and told you I
was coming. I'm more eager to see you than
I can say, and I hope you'll phone me here
as soon as you're able to after you get in, which
EV thought would probably be late tonight.
I've just phoned you without success, so assume
he must be right. I am going out to supper
with Evelyn ^{at 8:30} tonight (will drop this by before I
go to the School) but ought to be back by 11 or
so. If I'm not here, please leave a message
telling me how up to what time tonight I can



call, or after what time tomorrow morning.
 I think I want to go to Delos but don't want
 to make any plans without consulting you, and
 I need to let this hotel (which is much more
 pleasant than it used to be) know by noon tomorrow
 how much of next week I'll be in Athens. I
 also want to go to Corinth but think I could get
 done in a day what I need to do there, & might
 just hire a car-cum-driver for the trip.
 (Would you be interested to go?). Mostly, though,
 I've seized this unexpected chance to come
 to Athens as a means of reaffirming my existence
 & good intentions, not only for the benefit of others,
 especially you, but also for my own sake. I'll be
 here till the 29th, when I must return to London.
 Well, I'll wait your call or message.

With love,

Liddy

Athens 26 .II.1968

63

Mrs E.L.Will
1425 Buressh Av.
Iowa City, Iowa

Dear Letty,

It is a long time we have no news from you. Miss V, Grace left a week ago for the States. I am working now on the South of the Acropolis stamps from the excavations of Mr. Meliades but unfortunately for a very short time as I have to stay with my mother some afternoons of the week. She is not well and she needs me.

I enclose a copy of the readings and suggestions, that Mr. Zevi of the Ostia Museum made last summer of some Latin stamps in the Agora.

I would like to ask you to return us the kartoula of TD 7004 from la "Maison des Comediens" we need for the files here.
How are your children? My greetings to Mr. Will.

With all my best

Maria Petropoulakou

Suggestions of Mr Zevi
of the Ostia Museum
who has seen our Latin stamps and cards

SS 3460?
5885}

HERENNIA

5400

ARCHEL

(at Ostia more complet)

8606

CRIST[ANUS] FRONT. (well known consul)

9218

SOCI

(cf Germania 1958, on Puerto Real, Cadiz excavation
Thousand of jars stamped like this on lower
curr.)

10094

CIVLI[BRNDIS]

(classical Journal, March 1948, 356)

11132

ALBIA[N

(perhaps cf w, SS 6308)

February 6, 1968.

Dr. Bernhard Schmaltz
Archaeologisches Institut
der Universität des Saarlandes
66 Saarbrücken 15, ~~den~~

Dear Dr. Schmaltz,

Thank you for your letter of January 30, referring to the nice passage in Cato, De Agri Cultura, 113,3. I am sorry I have no explanation for cuneus in this connection.

I suggest you write to our expert on western amphoras, who is also a Latinist:

Mrs. S. F. Will
1425 Buresh Avenue
Iowa City, Iowa, U.S.A.

She will know more about the shapes of amphoras in use in Italy in about 200 B.C.

Yours sincerely,

Virginia Grace

ROMAN

Archäologisches Institut
der Universität des Saarlandes
Dr. Bernhard Schmalz

66 Saarbrücken 15, den
Telefon 21351

30. 1. 68

Miss V.R. Grace
Agora Excavations
American School of Classical Studies
Athens, Greece

Dear Miss Grace,

one of my colleagues has been studying Cato's note, agr. 113, 3, on the storing of wine amphoras. The expression used is "in cuneum conponito, sc. amphoras". Two interpretations have been put forward: 1. the amphoras are placed into cuneus-shaped holders; 2. the amphoras are piled up one on top of the other; the final shape is that of a pyramid. There is absolutely no archeological evidence to prove the first theory. The second explanation could be compared with the monument in the museum in Trier, see photograph in v. Massow, Die Grabmäler von Neumagen, Berlin 1932, p. 209ff. We think that the latter way of storing the amphoras is not practicable because of (1) the size and the weight of the filled amphoras, (2) the probably low cellars of a Roman villa rustica. In addition to that we feel, that the expression "in cuneum conponere" is too vague to describe such a remarkable construction as a pyramid of piled-up amphoras must be. In his book 'Roman Amphorae' M.H. Callender just mentions the question on p. 43. For an explanation of the word "cuneus" he refers the reader to the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae s.v. Amphora. But this does not help much to solve the problem. We would be very grateful, if you could let us know what you think Cato means, when he says "amphoras in cuneum conponito". With many thanks in advance

Yours sincerely

B. Schmalz

recommended by me
with a Latinist
in ground

MIT LUFTPOST
AIR MAIL
PAR AVION



UNIVERSITAS
SARAVIENSIS



Miss V.R.Grace

Agora Excavations

American School of Classical Studies

A t h e n 140

Griechenland

UNIVERSITÄT DES SAARLANDES

Saarbrücken 15

Archäologisches Institut

120

67-6

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ZEVI

U.P. Grace
68

Reprinted from
THE JOURNAL OF ROMAN STUDIES
Vol. LVII, 1967

M. H. CALLENDER, *ROMAN AMPHORAE*, with index of stamps. London: Oxford University Press for the University of Durham, 1965. Pp. xxix+323, with 7 plates and 27 figs. £10 10s.

The need for a general treatment of Roman amphorae has been acute for some time. Dressel's studies, basic though they still are, dealt only with some aspects of a large subject, and Grenier's summary account (in Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine* vi, 2 (1934), 601) for all its brilliance was too brief and is now largely out of date. The volume of M. H. Callender thus fills a real lacuna. It is a work of undeniable merits and will be a most useful working tool for archaeologists. But it must be said at once that it is a tool to be used with some caution, and, as with many books that are destined to remain fundamental, it runs a risk of perpetuating and transmitting error and misunderstanding. The remarks that follow are not intended to be a full analysis, which would take up too much space, but are meant simply to raise those points that especially call for discussion and comment, and so to make clear the book's virtues and limitations.

If there is a criticism to be made about C.'s method, it is that he has approached his subject from a point of view that would be called provincial with regard to the ancient world. It is notable to begin with that the title, *Roman Amphorae*, promises more than the book offers. The author confines his field of study to the West and omits the complex and varied world of the Eastern Mediterranean. Yet even within the West his horizon has clear limits: from a vantage-point in Britain, his gaze takes in the plains of Gaul and Germany but stops short at the barriers of the Alps and Pyrenees; the archaeology of Italy, Spain, and North Africa is little known to him. Inasmuch as these countries have provided few studies of importance about Roman amphorae this would not be a serious matter, were it not also true that in antiquity, at any rate until the late empire, the chief producing and exporting countries were those of the Mediterranean basin, and Rome by contrast was a consumer market without equal in the entire ancient world. In studying commerce and in trying to discover where the products originated, is it not more natural to start with the centres of production than with exports to remote lands? Would we base a history of (let us say) Sheffield plate upon what is imported by Italy or India, and would we not reasonably maintain that one should begin with Britain itself, the place of manufacture? From this rather parochial view of the problems of ancient trade there derive other limitations of the book. A reader who is surprised in a book on Roman amphorae to see no chapter on the typology, methods of interpretation, or uses of *tituli picti*, will find the answer in the author's lament (p. xxiii) that so few have survived in Britain owing to its adverse climate. Chapter III ('Uses of amphorae after emptying') offers us a list of amphorae in Britain used as burial-urns, and even a catalogue of all examples from the Hadrianic and Antonine Walls known to have served as *pissoirs*. Thus the book opens with a general problem, but soon reverts to matters of somewhat local appeal.

A second limitation consists in the fact that the book is old, even though it carries a recent date. In his preface (p. vi) the author says that his work was ready in 1950 and has been published as it then stood, without further revision. Yet it is well known that the last few years have added a great deal to our knowledge of amphorae, thanks largely to the achievements of underwater archaeology, and especially to the highly successful efforts of Benoît and Lamboglia. Some of C.'s book is thus already out of date; his Index of amphora stamps remains of immense value, but it is antiquated and incomplete. A reviewer's task—ungrateful to him and doubtless unfair to the author—must be to point out the slips and omissions of which only quite recent studies have made us aware. To take one instance, we can no longer follow C. (p. 9), with reference to form 1 Dressel, that 'it is probable . . . that it was exported to the West . . . mainly from the middle of the first century B.C.'; new finds from the *oppidum* of Entremont, destroyed in 123 B.C., and the *épaves* from the coast of Provence, especially that of the Grand Congloué, must carry the dating back by at least a century. Nor is it possible to accept that the widespread globular type from Spain (form 20 Dr.) 'was exported to the West . . . to at least the end of the second century' (p. 20). As is well known, Dressel found in the Torlonia Gardens in Rome eleven fragments of this form of amphora bearing consular dates from the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus; but Italy, as noted above, seems to fall outside the author's idea of the West. Now from Autun in France there is news of a hoard buried in two amphorae of form 20; it is of silver coins mostly from the period between Elagabalus and—once more—Gallienus (*Rev. arch. de l'Est*, 9 (1958), 275 ff.). As it is hardly conceivable that these amphorae remained in use for more than fifty years before being buried, the find would prove that Baetican oil was being shipped to the West as well as Italy down to about A.D. 260; at which point, for reasons that are not quite clear, it seems to have ceased rather abruptly.

But let us look more closely at the plan of the book. The largest section consists of the Index of amphora stamps (pp. 57–280) to which we shall return below. The six preceding chapters (Nomenclature; Form and Chronology; Uses of amphorae after emptying; Amphora-borne commodities; Miscellaneous; The relative importance of the producing areas) deal with various aspects of production and trade. The book opens with a very full bibliography and some pages of introduction; these pages contain a statement of certain general principles that call for discussion, since they are central to the problems and methods of any work upon Roman amphorae.

C. rightly stresses the differences between amphorae and other classes of pottery; these were manufactured and sold as objects to be used in their own right, while amphorae were simply carriers of their contents: 'it was after all the latter (i.e. the particular commodity that they were destined to carry) which was being sold and not the amphora'. From this he concludes that, while pottery underwent changes of style in response to the changing tastes of customers, amphorae tended merely to reach an optimum shape for the purpose of shipping, and their form thereafter 'would remain . . . fairly well stabilized until the commodity ceased to export' (p. xx). Such a contention, if correct—and it is surprising that some reviewers have welcomed it with enthusiasm (e.g. J.-C. Richard, *Rev. ét. lat.* 43 (1966), 669)—will hardly gladden the hearts of archaeologists; it deprives them of a main tool of their trade, and any hope of arranging their material in a typological series and so establishing a relative chronology. But the hypothesis needs to be proved; and one should first ask whether it is not a mere impression due to the gaps in our evidence. In other passages C. expresses himself more cautiously (p. v and esp. p. 6—'there is a connexion, however vague and ill-defined it may be at present, between form and chronology and form and commodity'); but he nonetheless sees the character of the amphora as essentially utilitarian.

The subject is too large to be tackled in a short space, and a few remarks will have to suffice. Yet it is vital to realize that Roman amphorae were the products of an artisan tradition, even if organized in a sense industrially, and bear no relation to the machine-made bottles and jars of modern times. I should myself maintain that even carrying amphorae, at least certain forms of them, did broadly reflect the cultural influences of their age. A form such as Dr. 3 is only understandable as deriving closely from Hellenistic types; the amphorae from Augst (Callender, pl. III b, 2) with their distinctive and non-functional pointed handles, must be related to late Rhodian manufactures, even if they were made in Italy. The ancients themselves knew how to identify the origins and contents of vessels from the shapes; if Horace can say, 'vile potabis . . . Sabinum . . . Graeca . . . testa conditum' (*Odes* 1, 20, 1–3), it means that Greek amphorae were clearly recognizable by appearance alone apart from their contents. Other factors, moreover, which we can never hope to discover, may well have influenced changes in form, for instance a new system of stowage or a different method of sealing. In discussing Rhodian amphorae Virginia Grace has observed that in the late Hellenistic period they gradually declined in capacity from 29–28 litres to 26–25, and even as low as 22, and the shapes in consequence grew more slender and tapering (see e.g. 'The Antikythera Shipwreck Reconsidered', *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, 55 (1965), 6 f.). The very common form 1 Dr. has been divided by Lamboglia and Benoît into three successive phases of development, A, B and C; and Uenze has already applied the results to finds of the late La Tène period that contained amphora fragments of this form (*Frührömische Amphoren als Zeitmarken im Spätlattene*, Marburg, 1958).

In adopting this view, C. plainly had in mind the globular amphorae (form 20 Dr.), ungainly vessels of apparently unvarying shape, severely functional and with no possible artistic pretension. But on p. 20 he distinguishes three types of amphora in the form Dr. 20; there are differences in the rim, in the neck, and in the length of the handles, and these are said to be 'minor variations' and 'without any chronological significance'. Here I must beg to disagree: these variations have a clear chronological value. He has not taken account of Curle's observations in his publication of the fort at Newstead, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People*, 269; the amphora shown on pl. LII, 1, is the type occurring in the first period of occupation, that is between Agricola's campaign and Hadrian; pl. LII, 2, shows the type in use in the later second century. S. Loeschke, in an edition of the pottery from Oberaden (*Das römische Lager in Oberaden II: Die römische und belgische Keramik*, Dortmund 1942, 101 ff.) established that form 83 (which is equivalent to Haltern 71) is the Augustan prototype of the later form 20 Dr. (I doubt if it is comparable with the Zurich amphora published by C. in pl. 1, b, but this has in any case no connection with Dr. 26). I need not dwell on this further, since André Tchernia, in a review of C.'s book that is to appear in the *Journal des Savants*, admirably traces the steps in this development. It is true that, from the mid-second to the mid-third century, form 20 Dr. apparently remained static and we detect no further variation, but this may be simply the fault of our evidence. The fact remains that from the late first century B.C. (Oberaden, Haltern) until the mid-second century A.D., in other words for over 150 years, these globular amphorae show a clear typological progression, and the period is too long to support the assertion that 'any major changes . . . would in any case take place in the early life of a particular form, i.e. during the experimental stages' (p. xix).

Another question to which C. rightly addresses himself is the life-span of the individual amphora, or the time that elapses between manufacture and the point when it is thrown away as of no further use. This naturally carries wider implications; even admitted that an amphora form is intrinsically datable, what is its value as dating evidence when found in an archaeological context? The problem is an old one, and was once the subject of controversy between Bohn and Oxé; here C. sides with the latter in protesting against the use of 'amphorae forms alone as dating evidence'. The question is difficult, mainly because the evidence appears to conflict. From a find such as that from the Castro Pretorio in Rome, we know that amphorae dated 34 B.C. could be used to fill a ditch in the mid-first century A.D., more than eighty years later. C. himself cites also the examples of Vidy and Augst. And I would add another more striking case: in Pompeii, among a large mass of amphorae of Claudio-Neronian date, one was found that bears a date of 35 B.C. Powerful support, one would suppose, for the thesis of Oxé and C.; and if by chance that single amphora was all that had emerged from the ruins of Pompeii, what nightmareish conclusions would we have come to in our chronological discussions? Yet the advocates of the opposite view can offer a mighty piece of evidence, the huge spoil-heap of Monte Testaccio. It is impossible to believe that Testaccio was only a rubbish-tip for accidentally broken amphorae; we should have to assume that Rome imported virtually solely amphorae from Baetica, which is surely absurd; nor could we explain why it was precisely the thick, solid amphorae of form 20 that were the most subject to breakages. A. Tchernia, to my mind rightly, has proposed a simpler answer: these globular amphorae, once shipped to Rome, were there emptied and their contents probably transferred to *dolia*; whereupon they were thrown away on a public rubbish-heap. This points the way, it seems to me, to some useful distinctions that might reconcile the two apparently opposed camps. First, one must distinguish between various kinds of amphorae, those for wine, oil, *garum*, etc. Wine amphorae often had a long life; 'O nata mecum consule Manlio . . . pia testa!' sings Horace (*Odes* 3, 21, 1-4); Trimalchio at dinner calls for 'Falernum Opimianum annorum centum' (*Sat.* 34); and that there were wines over two hundred years old is plainly attested by Pliny (*HN* 14, 55). Oil, however, does not keep; it is a foodstuff for quick if not immediate consumption, and at times has to be decanted from one vessel into another. Wine improves with age, oil does not. Secondly, and from another viewpoint, it might be asked which amphora forms were chosen as most suitable for other uses. The globular form 20 Dr., for instance, is virtually unusable; they could not be employed for drainpipes or to lighten the structure of concrete vaults, for both of which the tall amphorae were preferred. A. Tchernia, in a memoir soon to appear, has discussed the Ostian amphorae of form 20 Dr., and has pointed out that in the Sepolcreto dei Poveri on the Isola Sacra, there is only one burial in an amphora of this type as against hundreds in the taller forms; and the cemetery is commonly dated to the second and third centuries A.D., the very period when the import of Spanish oil to Rome reached its maximum peak. In Britain, by contrast, globular amphorae seem often to be used for burials. But here a third factor must be reckoned with, the difference in social setting. In Rome, where thousands of amphorae were imported, their very abundance meant that they would be jettisoned if they could not be immediately utilized in other ways, while in the remoter provinces empty amphorae were probably more valuable and so survived longer. In conclusion, I see more grounds for optimism than does C. Certainly one amphora fragment will not establish a chronology, just as a single sherd of Arretine does not automatically make the level in which it lies an Augustan level. But a whole context containing many distinctive pieces of amphorae ought to be datable within reasonable limits. Further finds will surely bring greater exactitude.

Turning to the other chapters, we must pass over the few lines on nomenclature, and make a few remarks on the second chapter, 'Form and Chronology'. No other part of C.'s book reveals so clearly how vague and generic are our ideas about Roman amphorae, and how much remains to be done. Whereas Dressel's catalogue contained many dozens of amphora forms (and it is familiar that even that is very incomplete), C. discusses eleven, and of these he has been able to give a complete account only of form 20. Form 1 has been mentioned above; on the others certain points must be made without entering into details. Form 2 Callender (= 2, 3, 4 Dr.): it can hardly be right to unite Dr. 2, 3, and 4 into a single form, since the *tituli picti* from the Castro Pretorio show that the types were concurrently in use in the first decades of the Christian era; though it is certainly possible that they had a common origin. Form 3 (Dr. 26): this is a shape that bears no relation to any of the Pompeian types in Schöne's classification (*CIL* IV); hence the reference to the *tituli picti* from Pompeii is doubtfully relevant. The inscription with the Christian *chi-rho* (*CIL* xv, 4859) was found on an amphora which Dressel claimed merely as similar to, and not the same as, form 26, which is certainly of the first century A.D. Form 5 (Dr. 18): there is no real evidence for a north African origin. Form 6 (Dr. 38): C. reasonably compares this to Schöne form VII from Pompeii: but, as I hope to show in an article now in print (*Arch. Class.* 1966), Schöne must have grouped together not only the *tituli* properly belonging to form VII, but also those from vessels

of forms 7-11 Dr., which were not included in Schöne's classification; and hence I believe that *Lympha(tum)*, *Lacca(tum)*, and *Cod(. .)* were items more akin to *garum* than wine-based beverages. Form 8 (Dr. 7-9): for the Spanish origin of this form, and for its wide diffusion in the West, I refer to my article above. Form 10 (Dr. 30): I am doubtful if the types found in the Rhine *castra* really belong here, and am inclined to think that Dr. 30 in fact embraces several forms of diverse origin and date. For instance, the stamps that show an origin in Mauretania Caesariensis (Callender 769 and 1744) come from forms practically identical with Dr. 30; hence the idea that they originated in Gaul can only be accepted with great caution, though we cannot exclude that amphorae like form 30 were made in Gaul as well. Form 11 (Dr. 20): here alone the treatment is full and coherent, and has fully exploited not only the studies of Dressel and Tenney Frank, but also the author's own discoveries (see the excellent 'Corbridge amphora-stamps', *Arch. Ael.* xxvii (1949), 60 ff.).

Of Chapter III and its rather local emphasis we have spoken. Chapter IV lists the products that were carried in amphorae, drawing mainly on the painted inscriptions; reference should have been made to the work of P. Remark, *De amphorarum inscriptionibus latinis quaestiones selectae*, diss. Bonn, 1912. The last chapter ('The relative importance of the producing areas') deserves fuller discussion, as being one that embraces and in a sense justifies the results of the earlier studies. Here more than anywhere else the virtues and limitations of C.'s work are to my mind at their clearest. Especially good is his account of Gallic production and the refutation of Bohn's theories; and one can only conclude, as does C., that we cannot yet ascribe any particular kind of amphora to Gaul. In dealing with the amphorae of form 20, in general very well, he has not cited the important work of Bonsor, *The Archaeological Expedition along the Guadalquivir 1889-1901* (N.Y., 1931), and on state intervention in the oil trade of Baetica there is the learned, if somewhat one-sided, study of R. Étienne ('Les amphores du Testaccio au III siècle', *MÉFR* 61, 1949, 151 ff.). Some doubt was raised above about the early date that the author takes as marking the end of Spanish exports in the Western provinces. Even if there are clear signs of a centralizing trend in the Severan policies, it is still not sufficiently proven that Baetican oil had to go exclusively to the Roman market after the end of the second century; indeed the Severans themselves seem rather to have favoured production in the African provinces. But these are in any case unanswered problems, and discussion to some extent is still open. On one point, however, I cannot accept C.'s view; he suggests (56) that from the time of Septimius Severus, after imports from Baetica had dried up, Britain found in Aquitania a new market for the purchase of wine. But how can we be sure that the globular amphorae had contained wine? The thousands of inscriptions from Mount Testaccio offer no support for this hypothesis. The arguments of Loeschke (*Oberaden* II, cited above) and of Tchernia (*MÉFR* 1964, 419 ff.) seem entirely convincing; these amphorae were used for shipping Baetican oil, and nothing else; if Britain imported wine from Spain and Gaul it must have travelled in casks or amphorae of other types. In general C. manifestly overrates the Spanish trade which, huge as it certainly was, was not such as to strangle production in other lands. Sentences like 'the globular amphora . . . is almost without exception the only type found on second-century sites' may be right as far as concerns Britain but do not apply to Rome, where the picture is more varied and complex, nor to the Mediterranean lands in general. We may, however, agree with the author both that the second century witnessed the triumph of Spanish trade, and that from the end of the first century Italian production was plainly declining. But in talking of 'Italy' more precision is needed. For instance, the Po Valley formed a market whose pattern of supply and demand was quite peculiar; it was the natural outlet for the products of Istria (wine or oil?) that were carried in the characteristic amphorae of form 6 Dr. To suppose as does C. (49, n. 1) that C. Caristanus Fronto and T. Helvius Basila had estates in both Italy and Africa, because their amphora stamps appear simultaneously in Aquileia and Carthage (what then about their presence in Rome?), is surely to choose the hardest way out; the simple explanation is that Istrian products travelled to Africa, just as they did to Rome, Athens and over the Alps to the Danubian provinces; while in the Po Valley they occur in great profusion (cf. L. Vidman, 'K obchodu s olivovým olejem v starověké Itálii' = 'Zum Olivenölhandel im antiken Italien', *Listy Filologické* 1960, 58 ff., 222 ff.). The fact that men of the senatorial class took a large part in this trade has been sufficiently stressed by A. Degraffi ('Aquileia e l'Istria in età romana', *Studi Aquileiesi* . . . a G. Brusin (Aquileia 1953), 51 ff.; 'L'esportazione di olio e olive istriane nell'età romana', *Atti Soc. Istriana Arch. e storia patria*, n.s. iv (1956), 104 ff.), and it is unnecessary to repeat it here. But I have had occasion to note amphorae of form 6 at Reggio Calabria, at Pompeii and in great number at Rome, nor are they lacking, it seems, on the Apulian coast. To trace the expansion of trade in Istrian products may turn out to be of central importance in understanding special features about the imports into Rome itself: such as the relatively late appearance of Spanish oil when in Britain and on the Rhine, even by the beginning of the first century A.D., it had won for itself a virtual monopoly.

Apart from Istria, what is more surprising is that Chapter VI makes practically no mention of Africa, the region which 'paene ipsa omnibus gentibus usum olei praestat' (*Exp. tot. mundi* (ed.

Lumbroso), 510 ff.); its oil, as Arabic writers tell in admiration, still furnished the wealth of Sufetula in the time of Gregory the Patrician. The *Expositio totius mundi* is speaking of Byzacena, but the other areas of Africa were also rich in olives. From Lepcis Magna Caesar had exacted a huge annual tribute in oil (*Bell. Afr.* 97, 3; cf. Haywood, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* IV, 23 ff.). In the second century Cyrene exported oil to Aquileia (*Dig.* 19, 2, 61; cp. S. Panciera, *Vita economica di Aquileia in età romana*, 10 ff.). Neither for Tripolitania nor Cyrenaica can we yet identify the particular forms of amphorae used. But for Byzacena the position is happier. Here oil production seems to have developed relatively late; with the third century there sprang up a large export trade above all with Rome, first competing with (or rather accompanying) the Spanish trade and later completely dominating the market. Examination now in progress of the Ostian amphora material has led to identifying two forms of amphora that certainly derive from Byzacena; the stamps reveal the stages of their diffusion at Rome and in other areas of the West. Groups of stamps like those of ASYL (Callender no. 138) and the TOP series (no. 1732), and the TEP/SVRI (no. 678), to cite only the largest, can no longer be held to be Italian of the first half of the first century A.D., but are demonstrably African and their date must be lowered by over two centuries. The African amphora types are still at an early stage of study, and much remains to be cleared up: first, what other products were exported besides oil, and secondly, the nature and date of the trade from Mauretania Caesariensis, attested by the stamps 769 and 1744. Nevertheless it is becoming possible to sketch the outlines of the African oil trade and its markets, which, from the mid-third century onwards, stretched from Athens in the east through Malta and Italy to southern Gaul and even the shores of Spain.

This somewhat lengthy account of the early chapters in C.'s book has meant neglecting the section which might properly be considered to be really fundamental: the 'Index of Stamps'. C.'s collection differs from all previous attempts both in the size of the enterprise (he has collected virtually all the Latin stamps found in the West), and in the new form of presentation whereby the stamps are accompanied by commentaries and some 800 facsimiles reproduced to scale. The arrangement of the Index is novel as well; Dressel's system often made research difficult, and the author has preferred the very simple and practical method of listing stamps alphabetically by the first letter.

The collection is based naturally on the volumes of *CIL*, but C. has added numerous others reported in periodicals, especially English, German and Swiss; the work owes much to the author's own researches and wide acquaintance with European museums. It would be absurd to claim completeness when completeness is impossible; there is much to be done and much to be added (it would be prudent to go through *Notizie degli Scavi* and to take account of the *Supplementum Italicum* to *CIL* V, wherein Pais listed many stamps at 1077), and there are necessary additions of evidence found after 1950. A few omissions from works that were consulted might have been avoided; in a few cases cross-references are wanted where one amphora has several seals (as with Clarus, Felix, Clymen that are usually associated with stamps of C. Laecanius Bassus), or where the author has followed his own ideas (as with BVRB which he places under BARB). The number of stamps found in one site is not always given, and this particularly affects the evidence taken from *CIL* xv, 2. About this volume it should be noted that Dressel, although his task was to collect the *instrumentum domesticum* of Rome, often included material from other sites, especially Ostia, but also Velitrae, Lanuvium and others; C. refers all these stamps to Rome indiscriminately. It would be well to have a consistent rule for the names of cities which are sometimes in Latin and sometimes in a modern tongue (*Tarentum*, but Brindisi).

But these remarks, as should be obvious, are quite marginal and do nothing to detract from the value of the Index; they may, perhaps, be taken as modest suggestions to improve a work that is basic of its kind, and is one which future editions—surely indispensable in enterprises of this size—could without difficulty bring to perfection.*

FAUSTO ZEVI

23.vii.68
For another review:
A. Tchernin, *Journal des Savants*, 1967,
pp 216-234
(ELW had copy)

ROMAN

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

(Can AGORA BUSINESS)

SCHOOL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

October 31, 1967

Mrs F. Will
Burr Hill Cottage, Little Heath
Chobham, Woking, Surrey
England

Dear Letty:

Many thanks for yours of the 25th. I'm delighted to know that you are in a strong position to make the final drive on the book.

I have been looking over again our correspondence of December 1956 on the format of your text. The arrangement you then proposed seemed good to Virginia, Lucy Talcott, Lucy Shoe and me. A few suggestions were made at that time. Presumably you will take these into account now as you prepare for final typing. You might send copies of a page of catalogue as you now visualize it to Virginia and to me; I could discuss this also with Lucy T. and Lucy Meritt who are now hard at work on the proof of the big volume on Attic Plain and Black Pottery which in its basic plan has something in common with yours.

It would be grand if you could turn in your MS in time for submission to the Publications Committee at their spring meeting. For this I would need to receive the MS not later than March 1; before coming to me it should go to Virginia, or to both of us concurrently to save time. Do let us aim at this date.

About my plans: the new field director of the Agora will be T. Leslie Shear Jr. who is now in the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University with the understanding that he be free to spend one term each year in Athens for this purpose. I shall hope to get on with my own writing in which I am shamefully behind.

Your address suggests that you are very deep in the English countryside. I hope you are enjoying it to the full.

Best wishes,

H.A.T.

Homer A. Thompson

cc V. Grace.

Burr Hill Cottage, Little Heath
Chobham, Woking, Surrey, England
October 25, 1967

Professor Homer Thompson
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Homer:

Thank you so much for your letter of October 17, which has been forwarded to me here. Fred has a leave of absence for the year, and we have been in England since August.

We were very sorry to learn that you are giving up the official direction of the Agora. We had not heard that discouraging news, to which we'll probably be more reconciled when we know your plans for the future. Probably they are exciting. I hope, in any case, that you'll be having more time free for writing. There are so few people who can turn archaeology into good prose, as you do.

You can't imagine how I would like to finish up by the end of the year, especially in the face of this news. Does "end of the year" mean, as I fear, the end of 1967? It's possible that I can be finished by then, but I don't know. Fred and I think I have a chance, especially since, in despair about how slowly the amphoras were going, we looked for and miraculously found a full-time housekeeper, someone who is affronted if I try to do much around the house except on her day off. I find I can count now on six to eight free hours a day, and that is why I am bold enough to suggest again, after so many false assurances in the past, that I may be able to finish the manuscript quickly. Before your letter came today, I had set late February as a target-date, but let me see if I can be finished sooner.

What is the most efficient way for us to discuss the final details of format? Are you thinking primarily of the wording and numbering of the catalogue? I'll be glad to have suggestions from you and from Virginia about how the Latin catalogue might be made more efficient and about any other matters I need to know before typing the final draft.

Fred joins me in sending our best wishes to you both.

Sincerely,

Lilly

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

October 17, 1967

Mrs F. Will
1425 Buress Avenue
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

Dear Letty:

I write to you once more at the desire of the Publications Committee to enquire how things stand with the Latin stamps. At the end of this year I shall be turning over the official direction of the Agora to Leslie Shear Jr., and before doing so I want to clear up as many as possible of our long standing commitments.

Virginia, having just about finished that big job for the Delian French, is ready to set to and complete the Koan volume. It would be fine if the Koan and the Latin could come along together so that we might confer together on the final details of format for the two volumes.

Best wishes to you and Fred.

Sincerely,

H.A.T.
Homer A. Thompson

by Tchermine. Mr. Zair himself will publish ca.
 300 st. p. & ca 150 whole jars not stamped.
 (The third colleague is a Finn.) To be ready in 1968
 (makápi). Z. has organized it, but perhaps
 the ephor (Suzanne Squarupin) may do it instead.
 The finds are actually Z.'s, as he is in charge
 of the dig, but he has formed the others.

Spoke to HAT about his reporting to some
 of our friends. He said, if he will give me
 a list of nos. I will authorize him, and
 send a copy to ELW.

He is not ready yet with his list, until
 study at home. He will write to HAT,
 & then give him address at Institut.

copy for V.G.

ROMAN

1425 Buresh Avenue
Des Moines, Iowa 50310
November 4, 1966

71.01
rec'd
22.71.66
from
with
17.71.66
(P. 17.71.66)

Dear Homer,

Thank you more than I can say
for your letter of November 2. I'm very
glad to know that my manuscript is still
welcome in spite of its having been delayed
so long and in spite of my silence; and to
know that Virginia and M. Bruneau were
pleased with my work on the recent find at
Delos. The Delian piece, by the way, was
a great stimulus to me. Finishing it proved
to me that Barbara is at last old enough
for me to get some non-domestic work done.
I needed that boost, and your letter gives
me additional encouragement. Fred and
I have just had a long and, I think,
realistic talk about how long it will take
me to finish the Agon volume. We feel that

three to four months is a minimum:
a month more on the catalogue, a
month on plates, a month ^(on lens) on text, and a
month for typing. I will try to stick to
that time-table, and I'll keep you
informed of my progress.

Please let Lucy know about this plan.
I will write her just as soon as I can.

Fred joins me in sending very best
wishes to you and Dorothy. Remember us also
to Hope and Skip. We think of them often.

Sincerely,
Betty

Institute of Archaeology

35 Beaumont Street

Oxford

18 November 1966

Dear Miss Grace,

Thank you very much for your kind reply to my enquiry.

I am writing to Mrs Will today to explain what I am up to, and look forward to a fruitful correspondence.

Yours sincerely,

Anthony J Parker

A J Parker

Miss V. Grace



~~The Director~~

American School of Classical Studies
Odos Souidias 54
Athens

Greece



73-d

Institute of Archaeology

35 Beaumont Street

Oxford

18 November 1966

Dear Miss Grace,

Thank you very much for your kind reply to my enquiry.

I am writing to Mrs Will today to explain what I am up to, and look forward to a fruitful correspondence.

Yours sincerely,

Anthony J Parker

A J Parker

ROMAN

November 14, 1966

A.J.Parker, Esq.
Institute of Archaeology
35 Beaumont Street
Oxford, England

Dear Mr. Parker,

Professor Robinson, Director of our School, has passed on to me your inquiry of October 15. I am pleased to learn that you have found my picture book of interest. I regret that I did not manage to incorporate into it the name and address of the right person to consult on Western amphoras found in the eastern Mediterranean. It is as follows:

Mrs. S.F.Will
1425 Buresh Avenue
Iowa City, Iowa

Best wishes for your interesting studies.

Yours sincerely,

Virginia Grace

Copy to Mrs. Will

Institute of Archaeology

35 Beaumont Street

Oxford England

15 October 1966

Dear Sir,

I am sorry to trouble you with a mundane enquiry;
but I am working on trade in the early Roman Empire, and (although
I am concerned with the West) I understand that results of excavations
in Greece bear on the chronol^ogy and forms of Italian amphoras. I
wonder if you could put me in touch with Virginia Grace, whose
picture book I have read with interest? Indeed, I should be glad to
correspond with anyone who is studying Roman period amphoras in Greece.

Yours sincerely,

Anthony J. Parker

A.J.Parker

Write briefly -
give BLW's address
extra carbon for him

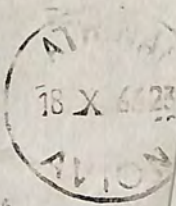
73-d

Miss V. Grace



~~The Director~~

American School of Classical Studies
Odos Souidias 54
Athens
Greece



73-6



15. $\overline{84.62}$ 74

ELW

ELW
The piece is Latin
stamp found by her in
unnumbered new lot

1.) did she ever get a
no?

2.) What was ~~the~~ subject making?

Please send after
all KGA 1181

Did not find this on 30. X. 02.
It was sealed in the

Y- period note of
on side (top) of lat
may be a was
[HERMANN]

75

MRS WILL

ROUTE 7

Box 990. B.

AUSTIN

TEXAS

for Mr. B.
8. XII. 61

1425 Burush Ave. 76-a
Iowa City, Iowa
March 10, 1966

Dear Mr. Benachi,

You couldn't please me more than by letting me know you forgive my long silence and are willing to resume our correspondence. After a series of misfortunes and accidents, I have resumed my work and am very hopeful of producing something soon. Naturally, I count on your advice in the final effort; and not only that, but I wonder if you have any insights or information from Alexandria that I could use. I promise prompt replies and comments.

Too long ago, Virginia wrote me of your mother's death, and I've intended ever since to let you know the sense of loss I too felt at the news. I will never forget her warmth and kindness to me during those two memorable Egyptian weeks. Even from the glimpses I had of her, I had a strong

impression of the sort of person she was and therefore of how much she must have meant to you. I'm very sorry that you had to run such a loss, inevitable as it surely was.

I hope you and your wife are well. Please let me know about that. Really, I have no news of you except for Virginia's writing of your mother's death, and a card which came giving your new address.

We are thoroughly settled in Iowa, permanently settled, too, we hope. Fred teaches here (at the U. of Iowa) both comparative literature and a course in how to translate. He will be on leave of absence in 1967-8, and we hope to spend the time in Athens. The children are fine. Alex is $7\frac{1}{2}$ and very tall. Barbara is just about the size and shape Alex was in 1961, in Athens.

You may not believe that I really have returned to work, but please put me to the test. Fred joins me in sending all regards and good wishes.

EW

ROMAN

See letter of 26. II. 66 & HAT
 2 AGORA BUSINESS

(Comment on M. H. Callender,
Roman Amphitheatre,

also on no word from ELW
 in connection with Roman (from
 Delos Skardhouse House)

16. VII 166

See in regard DELOS - SKARDHOUSE
 file

ROMAN

Copy brought to STS by AET.
A dealer was showing it to him
(for possible purchase by Uman
(ca 1800 AD))
ASCS has
already
ordered
it.

M. H. Callender, Roman Amphorae with
index of stamps, Oxford Univ. Press, 1965

Covers only stamp found in west, mostly (?)
from publications, and nearly all published before
1950.

There are no references to publs of Greek
stamps or amphorae ^{on p. 1, in sec 8 with list of words}
decorated: see p. 4.

One cannot understand what if any of the
introductory texts were written or rewritten
more recently than ca 1950. ^{Somebody else saw!} It through to press.

There is no index to the book itself - e.g.
to introductory matter.

1 - is Form 2 (p. 9) ¹² is double-handled.
Shows variations. Painted inscs show
variety of wines were contained. Were they possibly
various local Roman imitations. Painted inscs also
give dates, from 2/2 1st BC through 1st AD and
maybe later; one ex. seems to be dated 130 AD,
and "some export of these wines were in the third
century, since fragments of vessels of this type, though
in an extremely degenerate form, were discovered at
^{NIEDERBIEBER} Niederbieber. . . local and degenerate copies. . . ?

analysis of contents of painted inscs. Has been
studied by Tummy Frank.

pp. 23-4 Rate of accounting - use - survival - by

lasted longer than the other kinds of pots, "and that must be taken into account when using them for dating purposes." Still, when a sh.

frag. is the latest item in a fill, it must pull down the date at least to its time.

[Note that the painted dates presumably could be later than the date of manufacture of the jar.]

pp. 25 ff. *Amphora* *ovoids*.

pp. 37 ff. "*Amphora* - *borne* *commodities*"

Look to dissipate widespread misconception
that they mostly contained wine

p. 41 1,350,000 amphorae found in Tarragona,
and publ. in 1879 All upside down, sealed
by clay bungs. Contains fine clay when found
[did it wash in?]

1956, pp.224, ff.

GNOMON

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für die gesamte

klassische Altertumswissenschaft

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Seminar für Klassische Philologie

G 938

Postkarte
(mit Antwort)

V. R. Grace
Internationale
Frankfurter
Messe
27.2.-3.3.1966



Mrs. Virginia Grace

American School of Classical
Studies at Athens

Athen

Odos Souidias 54

Griechenland

79-a

Frankfurt/Main *11. 11. 1965*
Angabe

DIE REDAKTION DES GNOMON gestattet sich ergebenst anzufragen, ob Sie für den Gnomon das auf der Antwortkarte verzeichnete Werk gegen Überlassung des Rezensionsexemplars zur Besprechung übernehmen würden, oder wer sonst als Rezensent in Frage käme.

Der Umfang der Rezension wäre nach der Bedeutung des Werkes und des Gegenstandes zu bemessen. Aus Raumgründen wird jedoch gebeten, einen Umfang von 2-3 Druckseiten (je 850/1000 Silben) ohne vorherige Verständigung mit der Redaktion nicht zu überschreiten.

Frankfurt/Main, den *16/11* 1965

W. Ludwig

Erst an F. 11. 11. 65
bedenken
11. 11. 65

Letter
Latin section
near
door level of
Latin works
on fire



J. Wyllie, Esq. New Bodleian, Oxford
~~21 Leeson Rd~~ ~~MA~~ ~~NEWNHAM COLLEGE~~
B Portland Road
Queens Park Oxford
Bournemouth
Hants
CAMBRIDGE



80-6

ROMAN

October 13, 1965

Mrs. Wilhelmina Jashemski
Department of History, University of Maryland
415 Pershing Drive
Silver Spring, Maryland, U.S.A.

Dear Mrs. Jashemski:

I am sending your letter and photograph to

Mrs. S. F. Will
1425 Buress Avenue
Iowa City, Iowa

Mrs. Will knows much more than I do about amphoras made in the western Mediterranean area, as I believe your was. She may be able to read the inscription.

You have a pleasant and interesting subject of research.

Yours very sincerely,

Virginia R. Grace

Copy to Mrs. Will

↑
For covering letter, see DELOS 1961—
folder

cc VIRG ✓

April 2, 1965

Mrs. F. Will
1425 Buress Avenue
Iowa City, Iowa
U.S.A.

Dear Letty:

Virginia has shown me your recent letter to her from which I am delighted to learn that domestic stresses and strains have eased to the point where you can contemplate a return to scholarly activity. I rejoice for your sake especially, but I also relish the prospect of receiving before too long the MS for another Agora monograph. In this connection let me remind you that you need not spend your own time or money in producing a fair copy of the MS. When the time comes please let me know, and we can make suitable arrangements for the typing.

Virginia, I believe, has written to you about the study of a group of handles from a house recently dug by the French on Delos. On principle I would be inclined to try to dissuade both of you from yielding to the lure of such an agreeable diversion. But I gather from Virginia that this group is likely to provide both of you with such valuable evidence for dating that it would seem foolish to turn your backs on it.

Dorothy and I have just returned to Athens after a term at the University of Aberdeen, - a peaceful interlude among very congenial people. We have come back to a gray, raw Mediterranean.

I do hope the children flourish. Greetings to Fred and all good wishes to yourself.

Yours ever,

H.A.T.

Homer A. Thompson

American School of Classical Studies
54 Swedias Street, Athens 140, Greece

November 2, 1964

Dear Letty,

I enclose a copy of a letter to Col. Lewis, advising him to consult you about some Roman amphoras he has found.

I think, my dear, that it is time you wrote to me. I am going to America for some weeks, leaving this Thursday, Nov.5. During the rest of November I expect to be at my sister's,

Care of F.M.McPhedran
5321 Baynton Street
Philadelphia, Pa., 19144

On December 1, she and her husband move to an apartment, in Germantown also, of which I do not yet know the address.

Although I shall be in Germantown on the 6th if all goes well, I do not expect to attend the wedding of Lucy Shoe and Benjamin Meritt, which is to take place, perhaps you have heard, on Nov.7. It is to be a very small affair, to which "only family" are invited. When Lucy Talcott wrote to give the news, she and Alison did not expect to be asked. She said the Chernisses and the Thompsons would be there, Prof. Cherniss as best man, and Homer Thompson to give the bride away. Otherwise, Ben's two sons and Lucy's mother and aunts.

Yours as ever,



JAN 75

with letter of 21. VII. 73 for ELW
(Also 15 in 1. VIII. 73)

[84-6]



Barbara and Alex Will



JAN 75

84-a



Buckskin Hill (H. J. J. J. J.) 85-6
The best, Dec. 1974.

with all
17.11.74
for Dec



JAN 75

Alex Will (16 years old). 86-b

Amherst, Dec. 1974.

(He has just gotten his "W" for
work on the Williston soccer team;
thus the choice of name).

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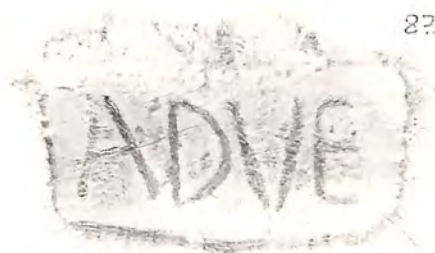
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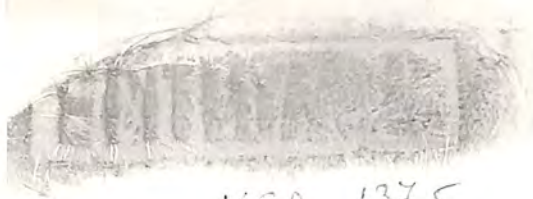
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M. H. CALLENDER, Roman Amphorae, with index of stamps.
London: Oxford University Press for the University of
Durham, 1965. Pp.xxix + 323, with 7 pl. and 27 figs.
£10.10. 0

The need for a general treatment of Roman amphorae has been acute for some time. Dressel's studies, basic though they still are, dealt only with ~~a few topics~~ ^{some aspects} in a large subject, and Grenier's summary account (in Dechelette, Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine VI,2 (1934) 601) for all its brilliance was too brief and is now largely out of date. The volume of M. H. Callender thus fills a real lacuna. It is a work of undeniable merits and will be a most useful working tool for archaeologists. But it must be said at once that it is a tool to be used with some caution, and as with many books that are destined to remain fundamental it runs a risk of perpetuating ~~and encouraging~~ ^{or transmitting} error and misunderstanding. The remarks that follow are not intended to be a full analysis, which would take up too much space, but are meant simply to raise those points that especially call for discussion and comment, and so to make clear the book's virtues and limitations.

If there is a criticism to be made about C.'s method, it is that he has approached his subject from a point of view that would be called provincial with regard to the ancient world. It is notable to begin with that the title, Roman Amphorae, promises more than the book offers. The

author confines his field of study to the West and omits the complex and varied world of the Eastern Mediterranean. Yet even within the West his horizon has clear limits: from a vantage-point in Britain, his gaze takes in the plains of Gaul and Germany but stops short at the barriers of the Alps and Pyrenees; the archaeology of Italy, Spain and North Africa is little known to him. Inasmuch as these countries have provided few studies of importance about Roman amphorae this would not be a serious matter, were it not ^{also true} that in antiquity, at any rate until the late empire, the chief producing and exporting countries were those of the Mediterranean basin, and Rome by contrast was a consumer market without equal in the entire ancient world. In studying commerce and in trying to discover where the products originated, is it not more natural to start with the centres of production than with exports to remote lands? Would we base a history of (let us say) Sheffield plate upon what is imported by Italy or India, and would we not reasonably maintain that one should begin with Britain itself, the place of manufacture? From this rather ^{parochial} ~~too local~~ view of the problems of ancient trade, there derive other limitations of the book. A reader who is surprised in a book on Roman amphorae, to ~~find~~ ^{see} no chapter on the typology, ~~the~~ methods of interpretation, or ~~the~~ uses of tituli picti, will find the answer in the author's lament (p.xxiii) that so few have survived in Britain owing to its adverse climate. Chapter III ('Uses of amphorae after

emptying') offers us a list of amphorae in Britain used as burial-urns, and even a catalogue of all examples from the Hadrianic and Antonine Walls known to have served as pissoirs. Thus the book ^{opens} ~~begins~~ with a general problem, but soon reverts to matters of ~~of~~ somewhat local appeal.

A second limitation consists in the fact that the book is old, even though it carries a recent date. In his preface (p.vi) the author says that his work was ready in 1950 and has been published as it then stood, without further revision. Yet it is well known that the last few years have added a great deal to our knowledge of amphorae, thanks largely to the achievements of underwater archaeology, and especially to the highly successful efforts of Benoit and Lamboglia. Some of C.'s book is thus already out of date; his Index of amphora stamps remains of immense value, but it is antiquated and incomplete. ~~It is~~ A reviewer's task - ^{most be} ~~to~~ ^{of} point out the slips and omissions ^{of} which only quite recent studies have made us aware. ~~It~~. To take one instance, we can no longer follow C. (p.9), with reference to form 1 Dressel, that 'it is probable... that it was exported to the West ... mainly from the middle of the first century B.C.'; new finds from the oppidum of Entremont, destroyed in 123 B.C., and the épaves from the coast of Provence, especially that of the Grand Conglaoué, must carry the dating back by at least a century. Nor is it possible to accept that the widespread

globular type from Spain (form 20 Dr.) 'was exported to the West ... to at least the end of the second century' (p.20).

As is well known, Dressel found in ~~the Torlonia Gardens in Rome~~ ^{eleven} fragments of this form of amphora, bearing consular dates from the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus; but Italy, as noted above, seems to fall outside the author's idea of the West. Now from Autun in France there is news of a hoard buried in two amphorae of form 20; it is of silver coins mostly from the period between Elagabalus and - once more - Gallienus (Rev. arch. de l'est, 9 (1958) 275 ff.). As it is hardly conceivable that these amphorae remained in use for more than fifty years before being buried, the find would prove that Baetican oil was being shipped to the West as well as Italy down to about A.D. 260~~AD~~; at which point, for reasons that are not quite clear, it seems to have ceased rather abruptly.

But let us look more closely at the plan of the book. The largest section consists of the Index of amphora stamps (pp. 57-280) to which we shall return below. The six preceding chapters (Nomenclature; Form and Chronology; Uses of amphorae after emptying; Amphora-borne commodities; Miscellaneous; The relative importance of the producing areas) deal with various aspects of production and trade. The book opens with a very full bibliography and some pages of introduction; these pages contain a statement of certain general principles that call for ^{some comment} discussion, since they are

central to the problems and methods of any work upon Roman amphorae.

C. rightly stresses the differences between amphorae and other classes of pottery; these were manufactured and sold as objects to be used in their own right, while amphorae were simply carriers of their contents: 'it was after all the latter (i.e. the particular commodity that they were destined to carry) which was being sold and not the amphora.' From this he concludes that, while pottery underwent changes of style in response to the changing tastes of customers, amphorae tended merely to reach an optimum shape for the purposes of shipping, and their form thereafter 'would remain ... fairly well stabilized until the commodity ceased to export' (p.xx). Such a contention, if correct - and it is surprising that some reviewers have welcomed it with enthusiasm (e.g. J.-C. Richard, Rev. ét. lat. 43 (1966) 669) - will hardly gladden the hearts of archaeologists; it deprives them of a main tool of their trade, and any hope of arranging their material in a typological series ^{and so} ~~==~~ establishing a relative chronology. But the hypothesis needs to be proved; and one should first ask whether it is not a mere impression due to the gaps in our evidence. In other passages C. expresses himself more cautiously (p.v and esp. p. 6 - 'there is a connexion, however vague and ill-defined it may be at present, between form and chronology and form and commodity'); but he nonetheless sees the character of the amphora as essentially

utilitarian. *Illus. Mag.* 35 (1965) 6 f.). The very common

The subject is too large to be tackled in a short space, and a few remarks will have to suffice. Yet it is vital to realize that Roman amphorae were the products of an artisan tradition, even if organized in a sense industrially, and bear no relation to the machine-made bottles and jars of modern times. I should myself maintain that even carrying amphorae, at least certain forms of them, did broadly reflect the cultural influences of their age. A form such as Dr.3 is only understandable as deriving closely from Hellenistic types; the amphorae from Augst (Callender pl. III b, 2) with their distinctive and non-functional pointed handles, must be related to late Rhodian manufactures, even if they were made in Italy. The ancients themselves knew how to identify the origins and contents of vessels from the shapes; if Horace can say, 'vile potabis?... Sabinum ... Graeca ... testa conditum' (*Odes* 1, 20, 1-3), it means that Greek amphorae were clearly recognizable by appearance alone apart from their contents. Other factors, moreover, which we can never hope to discover, may well have influenced changes in form, for instance a new system of stowage or a different method of sealing. In discussing Rhodian amphorae Virginia Grace has observed that in the late Hellenistic period they gradually declined in capacity from 29-28 litres to 26-25, and even as low as 22, and the shapes in consequence grew more slender and tapering (see e.g. 'The Antikythera Shipwreck Reconsidered',

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Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc. 55 (1965) 6 f.). The very common form 1 Dr. has been divided by Lamboglia and Benoit into three successive phases of development, A, B and C; and Uenze has already applied the results to finds of the late La Tène period that contained amphora fragments of this form (Frührömische Amphoren als Zeitmarken im Spätlatène, Marburg 1958).

In adopting this view, C. plainly had in mind the globular amphorae (form 20 Dr.), ungainly vessels of ^{variation} apparently unvarying shape, severely functional and with no possible artistic pretension. But on p. 20 he distinguishes three types of amphora in the form Dr. 20; there are differences in the rim, in the neck and in the length of the handles, and these are said to be 'minor variations' and 'without any chronological significance'. Here I must beg to disagree: these variations have a clear chronological value. He has not taken account of Curle's observations in his publication of the fort at Newstead, A Roman Frontier Post and its People, 269; the amphora shown on pl. LII, 1 is the type occurring in the first period of occupation, that is between Agricola's campaign and Hadrian; pl. LII, 2 shows the type in use in the late second century. S. Loeschke, in an edition of the pottery from Oberaden ~~which C. has overlooked~~ (Das römische Lager in Oberaden II: Die römische und belgische Keramik (Dortmund 1942) 101 ff.) established that form 83

(which is equivalent to Haltern 71) is the Augustan prototype of the later form 20 Dr. ^{I doubt if it} ~~perhaps this~~ is comparable with the Zurich amphora published by C. in pl. I, b, but this has in any case no connection with Dr. 25. I need not dwell on this further, since André Tchernia, in a review of C.'s book that is to appear in the Journal des Savants, admirably traces the steps in this ~~development~~ ^{evolution}. It is true that from the mid-second to the mid-third century, form 20 Dr. apparently remained static and we detect no further ~~development~~ ^{variation}, but this may be simply the fault of our evidence. The fact remains that from the late first century B.C. (Oberaden, Haltern) until the mid-second century A.D., in other words for over 150 years, these globular amphorae show a clear typological progression, and the period is too long to support the assertion that 'any major changes ... would in any case take place in the early life of a particular form, i.e. during the experimental stages' (p. xix).

Another question to which C. rightly addresses himself is the life-span of the individual amphora, or the time that elapses ^s between manufacture and the point when it is thrown away as of no further use. This naturally carries wider implications; even admitted that an amphora form is intrinsically datable, what is its value as dating evidence when found in an archaeological context? The problem is an old one, and was once the subject of controversy between Bohn and Oxé; here C. sides with the latter in protesting against

the use of 'amphorae forms alone as dating evidence'. The question is difficult, mainly because the evidence appears to conflict. From a find such as that from the Castro Pretorio in Rome, we know that amphorae dated 34 B.C. could be used to fill a ditch in the mid-first century A.D., more than eighty years later. C. himself cites the examples of Vidy and Augst. And I would add another more striking case: in Pompeii, among a large mass of amphorae of Claudio-Neronian date, one was found that bears a date of 35 B.C. Powerful support, one would suppose, for the thesis of Oxé and C.; and if by chance that single amphora was all that had emerged from the ruins of Pompeii, what night-mareish conclusions would we have ^{been led to} ~~drawn~~ in our chronological discussions? Yet the advocates of the opposite view can offer a mighty piece of evidence, the huge spoil-heap of Monte Testaccio. It is impossible to believe that Testaccio was only a rubbish-tip for accidentally broken amphorae; we should have to assume that Rome imported virtually solely amphorae from Baetica, which is surely absurd; nor could we explain why it was precisely the thick, solid amphorae of form 20 that were the most subject to breakages. A. Tchernia, to my mind rightly, has proposed a simpler answer; these ^{le} ~~ga~~bulular amphorae, once shipped to Rome, were there emptied and their contents probably transferred to dolia; whereupon they were thrown away on a public rubbish-heap. This points the way, it seems to me, to some useful distinctions

that might reconcile the two apparently opposed camps. Firstly, one must distinguish between various kinds of amphorae, those for wine, oil, garum, etc. Wine amphorae often had a long life; 'O nata mecum consule Manlio ... pia testa!' sings Horace (Odes 3, 21, 1-4); Trimalchio at dinner calls for 'Falernum Opimianum annorum centum' (Sat. 34); and that there were wines over two hundred years old is plainly attested by Pliny (HN 14, 55). Oil, however, does not keep; it is a foodstuff for quick if not immediate consumption, and at times has to be decanted from one vessel into another. Wine improves with age, oil does not. Secondly, and from another viewpoint, it might be asked which amphora forms were chosen as most suitable for other uses. The globular form 20 Dr., for instance, is virtually unusable; they could not be employed for drainpipes or to lighten the structure of concrete vaults, for both of which the tall amphorae were preferred. A. Tchernia, in a ^{memoir} ~~article~~ soon to appear, has discussed the Ostian amphorae of form 20 Dr., and has pointed out that in the Sepolcreto dei Poveri on the Isola Sacra, there is only ^{one} burial in an amphora of this type as against hundreds in the taller forms; and the cemetery ^e ~~dates chiefly~~ ^{is commonly dated to} from the second and third centuries A.D., the very period when the import of Spanish oil to Rome reached its maximum peak. In Britain, by contrast, globular amphorae seem often to be used for burials. But

here a third factor must be reckoned with, the difference in social setting. In Rome, where thousands of amphorae were imported, their very abundance meant that they would be jettisoned if they could not be immediately utilized in other ways, while in the remoter provinces empty amphorae were probably more valuable and so survived longer. In conclusion, I see more grounds for optimism than does C. Certainly one amphora fragment will not establish a chronology, ^{just as} ~~any more than~~ a single sherd of Arretine ^{does not} ~~automatically~~ make the level in which it lies an Augustan level. But a whole context containing many ^{distinctive} ~~pieces of~~ identifiable amphorae ought to be datable within reasonable limits. Further finds will surely bring greater exactitude.

Turning to the other chapters, we must pass over the few lines on nomenclature, and make a few remarks on the second chapter, 'Form and Chronology'. No other part of C.'s book reveals so clearly how vague and generic are our ideas about Roman amphorae, and how much remains to be done. Of the many dozens of amphora forms in Dressel's catalogue (and it is familiar that even that is very incomplete), C. ^{from these we can give an adequate account of 9} considers only eleven, and ~~of these only~~ Form 20. ^{is really} ~~adequately treated.~~ Form 1 has been mentioned above; on the others certain points must be made without entering into details. Form 2 Callender (= 2, 3, 4 Dr.): it can hardly be right to unite Dr. 2, 3 and 4 into a single form, since

show an origin in Mauretania Caesariensis (Callender 769
the tituli picti from the Castro Pretorio show that the
types were concurrently in use in the first decades of the
Christian era; though it is certainly possible that they
had a common origin. Form 3 (Dr. 26): this is a shape
that bears no relation to any of the Pompeian types in
Schöne's classification (CIL IV); hence the reference to
the tituli picti from Pompeii is doubtfully relevant. The
inscription with the Christian chi-rho (CIL XV 4859) was
found on an amphora which Dressel claimed merely as similar
to, and not the same as, form 26, which is certainly of the
first century A.D. Form 5 (Dr.18): there is no real evidence
for a north African origin. Form 6 (Dr.38): C. reasonably
compares this to Schöne form VII from Pompeii: but, as I
hope to show in an article now in print (Arch.Class.1966),
Schöne must have grouped together not only the tituli
properly belonging to form VII, but also those from vessels
of forms 7-11 Dr., which were not included in Schöne's
classification; and hence I believe that Lympa (tum), Lacca(tum)
and Cod(...) were items more akin to garum than wine-based
beverages. Form 8 (Dr. 7-9): for the Spanish origin of
this form, and for its wide diffusion in the West, I refer
to my article above. Form 10 (Dr.30): I am doubtful if
the types found in the Rhine castra really belong here, and
am inclined to think that Dr.30 in fact embraces several forms
of diverse origin and date. For instance, the stamps that

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show an origin in Mauretania Caesariensis (Callender 769 and 1744) come from forms practically identical with Dr. 30; hence the idea that they originated in Gaul can only be accepted with great caution, though we cannot exclude that amphorae like form 30 were made in Gaul as well. Form 11 (Dr. 20): here alone the treatment is full and coherent, and has fully exploited not only the studies of Dressel and ~~Terry~~^e Frank, but also the author's own discoveries (see the excellent 'Corbridge amphora-stamps' Arch. Ael. 27 (1949) 60ff.)

Of Chapter III and its rather local emphasis we have spoken. Ch. IV lists the products that were carried in amphorae, drawing mainly on the painted inscriptions; reference should have been made to the work of P. Remark, De amphorarum inscriptionibus latinis quaestiones selectae, diss. Bonn, 1912. The last chapter ('The relative importance of the producing areas') deserves fuller discussion, as being one that embraces and in a sense justifies the results of the earlier studies. Here more than anywhere else the virtues and limitations of C.'s work are to my mind at their clearest. Especially good is his account of Gallic production and the refutation of Bohn's theories; and one can only conclude as does C. that we cannot yet ascribe any particular kind of amphora to Gaul. In dealing with the amphorae of form 20, in general very well, he has not cited the important work of Bonsor, The Archaeological Expedition along the Guadalquivir 1889-1901 (N.Y. 1931): and on state intervention in the oil trade of

Baetica there is the learned, if somewhat one-sided, study of R. Étienne ('Les amphores du Testaccio au III siècle', MEFR 61, 1949, 151 ff.). Some doubt ^{was} ~~has been~~ raised above about the early date that the author takes as marking the end of Spanish exports in the Western provinces. ~~[It is possible, I would grant, that any argument from the consular dates of the Testaccio amphorae will be too generous; yet even if there are clear signs of a centralizing trend in the Severan policies, it is still not sufficiently proven that Baetican oil had to go exclusively to the Roman market after the end of the second century; indeed the Severans themselves seem rather to have favoured production in the African provinces. But these are in any case unanswered problems, and discussion to some extent is still open. On one point, however, I cannot accept C.'s view; he suggests that from the time of Septimius Severus, after imports from Baetica had dried up, Britain found in Aquitania a new market for the purchase of wine. But how can we be sure that the globular amphorae had contained wine? The thousands of inscriptions from Mount Testaccio offer no support for this hypothesis. The arguments of Loeschke (Oberaden II, cited above) and of Tchernia (MEFR 1964, 419 ff.) seem entirely convincing; ^{these} ~~the~~ globular amphorae were used for shipping Baetican oil, and nothing else; if Britain imported wine from Spain and Gaul it must have travelled in casks or~~

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(p. 58)

amphorae of other types. In general C. manifestly over-
 rates the Spanish trade which, huge as it certainly was, was
 not such as to strangle production in other lands. Sentences
 like 'the globular amphorae ... is almost without exception
 the only type found on second century sites' may be right as
 far as concerns Britain but do not apply to Rome, where the
 picture is more varied and complex, nor to the Mediterranean
 lands in general. We may, however, ^{agree} ~~accept~~ with the author
^{both} that the second century witnessed the triumph of Spanish
 trade, and that from the end of the first century Italian pro-
 duction was plainly ~~declining~~ ^{in decline}. But in talking of 'Italy'
 more precision is needed. For instance, the Po Valley formed
 a market whose pattern of supply and demand was quite peculiar;
 it was the natural outlet for the products of Istria (wine
 or oil?) that were carried in the characteristic amphorae
 of form 6/Dr. To suppose as does C. (49 n.1) that C.
 Caristianus Fronto and T. Helvius Basila had estates in
 both Italy and Africa, because their amphora stamps appear
 simultaneously in Aquileia and Carthage (what then about their
 presence in Rome?), is surely to choose the hardest way out;
 the simple explanation is that Istrian products travelled
 as far as Africa, just as they did to Rome, Athens and over
 the Alps to the Danubian provinces; while in the Po Valley
^{they occur in great profusion.}
~~their occurrence is abundant.~~ The fact that men of the
 senatorial class took a large part in this trade has been

(cf. L. Viduan, 'K etc').

sufficiently stressed by A.Degrassi ('Aquileia e l'Istria in età romana', Studi Aquileiesi ... a G. Brusin (Aquileia 1953) 51 ff.; 'L'esportazione di olio e olive istriane nell'età romana' Atti Soc. Istriana Arch. e storia patria, n.s.iv (1956) 104 ff.), and it is unnecessary to repeat it here. But I have had occasion to note amphorae of form 6 at Reggio Calabria, Pompeii and in great number at Rome, nor are they lacking, it seems, on the Apulian coast. To trace the expansion of trade in Istrian products may turn out to be of central importance in understanding special features about the imports into Rome itself: such as the relatively ^{late appearance of} ~~delay in receiving~~ Spanish oil when in Britain and on the Rhine, even by the beginning of the first century A.D., it had won for itself a virtual monopoly.

Apart from Istria, what is more surprising is that Ch. VI makes practically no mention of Africa, the region which 'paene ipsa omnibus gentibus usum olei praestat' (Exp. tot.mundi (ed. Lumbroso) 510 f.); its oil, as Arabic writers tell in admiration, still furnished the wealth of Sufetula in the time of Gregory the Patrician. The Expositio totius mundi is speaking of Proconsularis, but the other areas of Africa were also rich in olives. From Lepcis Magna Caesar had exacted a huge annual tribute in oil (Bell.Afr. 97, 3; cf. Haywood, Economic Survey of Ancient Rome IV, 23 ff.). In the second century Cyrene exported oil to Aquileia (Dig.

19, 2, 61; cp. S. Panciera, Vita economica de Aquileia in età romana 10 ff.). Neither for Tripolitania nor Cyrenaica can we yet identify the particular forms of amphorae used. But for Proconsularis the position is happier. Here oil production seems to have developed relatively late; with the third century there developed a large export trade above all with Rome, first competing with (or rather accompanying) the Spanish trade ^{and} later completely dominating the market. Examination now in progress of the Ostian amphora material has led to identifying two forms of amphora that certainly derive from Byzacena; the stamps reveal the stages of their diffusion at Rome and in other areas of the West. Groups of stamps like those of ASYL (Callender no. 138) and the TOP series (no. 1732), and the TEP/SVRI (no. 678), to cite only the largest, can no longer be held to be Italian of the first half of the first century A.D., but are demonstrably African and their date must be lowered by over two centuries. The African amphora types are still at an early stage of study, and much remains to be cleared up: firstly, what other products were exported besides oil, and secondly, the nature and date of the trade from Mauretania Caesariensis, attested by the stamps 769 and 1744. Nevertheless it is becoming possible to sketch the outlines of the African oil trade and its markets, which ^{from} ~~after~~ the mid-third century onwards, stretched from Athens in the east ^{through} Malta and Italy to

southern Gaul and even the shores of Spain.

This somewhat lengthy account of the early chapters in C.'s book has meant neglecting the section which might properly be considered to be really fundamental; the Index of Stamps. C.'s collection differs from all previous attempts both in the size of the enterprise (he has collected virtually all the Latin stamps found in the West), and in the new form of presentation whereby the stamps are accompanied by ^{commentaries and} some 800 facsimiles ^{reproduced to} ~~on the same scale and commentaries.~~ The arrangement of the Index is novel as well; Dressel's system often made research difficult, and the author has preferred the very simple and practical method of listing of stamps alphabetically by the first letter.

The collection is based naturally on the volumes of CIL, but C. has added numerous others reported in periodicals, especially English, German and Swiss; the work owes much to the author's own researches and wide acquaintance with European museums. It would be absurd to claim completeness when completeness is impossible; there is much to be done and much to be added (it would be prudent to go through Notizie degli Scavi and to take account of the Supplementum Italicum to CIL V, wherein Pais listed many stamps at 1077), and there are necessary additions of evidence found after 1950. A few omissions from works that were consulted might have been avoided; in a few cases cross-references

are wanted where one amphora has several seals (as with Clarus, Felix, Clymen that are usually associated with stamps of C. Laecanius Bassus), or where the author has followed his own ideas (as with BVRB which he places under BARB, for no good reason). The number of stamps found in one site is not always given, and this particularly affects the evidence taken from CIL XV 2. About this volume it should be noted that Dressel, although his task was to collect the instrumentum domesticum of Rome, often included material from other sites, especially Ostia, but also ~~from~~ Velitrae, Lanuvium and others; C. refers all these stamps to Rome indiscriminately. It would be well to have a consistent rule for the names of cities which are sometimes in Latin and sometimes in a modern tongue (Tarentum, but Brindisi).

But these remarks, as should be obvious, are quite marginal and do nothing to detract from the value of the Index; they may, perhaps, be taken as modest suggestions to improve a work that is basic of its kind, and is one which future editions - surely indispensable in enterprises of this size - could without difficulty bring to perfection.

ARCHEOLOGIA CLASSICA

RIVISTA DELLA SCUOLA NAZIONALE DI ARCHEOLOGIA PUBBLICATA A CURA DEGLI ISTITUTI DI
ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA DELL'ARTE GRECA E ROMANA E DI ETRUSCOLOGIA E ANTICHITÀ
ITALICHE DELL'UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

Estratto dal Vol. XVIII

ROMA - 1966

APPUNTI SULLE ANFORE ROMANE *

I - LA TAVOLA TIPOLOGICA DEL DRESSSEL

Dopo i lavori di Enrico Dressel, insuperati ancor oggi per chiarezza di metodo, acume e dottrina, gli studi sulle anfore romane non hanno compiuto molti progressi; anche il recentissimo libro di M. H. Callender, l'unico lavoro complessivo che sia stato tentato sull'argomento, è tanto accurato e utile in alcune sue parti quanto in altre deludente o errato ¹⁾. Dagli studi italiani, in particolare, non è venuto alcun contributo di rilievo ²⁾; la quantità del materiale inedito in questo settore è enorme; sembra che l'importanza delle anfore come testimonianza dei commerci dell'antichità e il contributo che il loro studio può apportare alle nostre conoscenze di storia economica, non siano stati valutati adeguatamente. Chi sfogli le quasi cento annate delle *Notizie degli Scavi*, solo in casi eccezionali troverà un disegno o una fotografia di anfore. Gli errori che inficiano il lavoro del Callender sono attribuibili soltanto in parte alla trascuratezza dell'autore, in moltissimi casi dipendono dalla insufficienza delle pubblicazioni.

Già il Dressel era costretto a deplorare questo stato di cose; pubblicando il grande deposito di anfore rinvenuto nei pressi del Castro Pretorio ³⁾, scriveva: «E' dunque questo il primo gruppo di anfore scritte, uscito dal suolo di Roma, il quale non è lasciato in deplorabile abbandono, ma viene attentamente studiato e sottoposto all'esame scientifico» ⁴⁾. Dopo quasi novanta anni, quel primo gruppo è rimasto anche l'unico ⁵⁾ e tanto più spiace questa constatazione, non solo perché il materiale anforario che si rinviene in Italia è ricchissimo, ed è di per sé grave che venga così apertamente trascurato, ma

anche perché l'aver il Dressel vissuto tanto a lungo in Italia, l'aver egli scritto in italiano e pubblicato i suoi studi in riviste italiane, poteva far sperare di assistere, proprio qui da noi, ad un particolare risveglio di interessi per questo settore delle ricerche archeologiche ⁶⁾.

Progressi nel metodo, si è detto, non ve ne sono stati, almeno di sostanziali; ciò non significa, naturalmente, che nei lunghi decenni trascorsi dalla edizione del XV volume del *Corpus* le nostre conoscenze non si siano accresciute considerevolmente: merito, soprattutto, delle ricerche condotte nei *castra* del *limes* reto-germanico, in Inghilterra, in Francia, e, in certa misura, anche in Spagna. Negli anni più recenti, un apporto di primissimo piano è venuto dalle esplorazioni sottomarine cui specialmente il Lamboglia e studiosi francesi (tra essi va ricordato il Benoît) si sono dedicati con eccellenti risultati. Ma nessuna località, sul Reno o in Britannia, ha restituito tanta varietà di tipi di anfore come il suolo di Roma. Perciò la tipologia del Dressel non è stata ancora sostituita e, con le sue 45 forme, resta di gran lunga la più ampia e completa che fino ad ora sia stata presentata; d'altro canto, i progressi della ricerca la rendono oggi per più versi superata. Gli studiosi si trovano quindi in una posizione ambigua, costretti come sono a servirsi della tipologia Dressel e, al tempo stesso, a denunciarne ad ogni momento la insufficienza; da ciò, le proposte del Pelichet dapprima, dell'Almagro poi, di proseguire la numerazione Dressel al fine di estendere la sua tipologia e far posto anche alle nuove forme che gli scavi più recenti hanno rivelato ⁷⁾; e, d'altro canto, il tentativo effettuato dal Lamboglia di rifondere la tavola tipologica del Dressel organizzando le forme secondo la loro cronologia, allo scopo di fornire agli studiosi uno strumento di pronta e facile utilizzazione ⁸⁾ (v. *Tav. LXXVIII*).

⁶⁾ Con gli studi del Dressel, si conclude in Italia tutta una tradizione di ricerche antiquarie interessate a questo settore degli studi, tra i cui rappresentanti più eminenti basti citare il Marini e il Bruzza.

⁷⁾ E. PELICHET, «À propos des amphores romaines trouvées à Nyon», *Zeitschr. f. Schweiz. Arch. u. Kunstgeschichte*, 8, 1946, p. 189 sgg.; M. ALMAGRO, «El recinto sepulcral romano tardío de "El Castellet" de Ampurias», *AEA*, 24, 1951, spec. p. 105 sgg., e *Ampurias, Las necrópolis punicas, griegas y romanas*, II, Barcellona 1955, p. 294 sgg. Il Pelichet giunge fino alla forma 49, l'Almagro ha proseguito fino alla 57. A parte l'insufficienza metodologica del lavoro del Pelichet, si consideri quanto arbitrario sia ampliare la tipologia del Dressel, che rispecchia il panorama delle forme d'anfora di Roma, con materiale rinvenuto nelle provincie.

⁸⁾ N. LAMBOGLIA, «Sulla cronologia delle anfore romane di età repubblicana», *Rivista di Studi Liguri* (in seguito abbreviata *RSL*) XXI, 1955, p. 243. Nel corso del presente lavoro vedremo come molte datazioni del Lamboglia siano da respingere; il tentativo è comunque interessante, anche se ne è discutibile la impostazione metodologica, in quanto del Dressel utilizza le illustrazioni prescindendo completamente dal testo.

* Un vivo ringraziamento debbo all'amico André Tchernia, che ha cortesemente acconsentito a leggere il manoscritto, fornendomi l'appoggio del suo consiglio e delle sue osservazioni.

¹⁾ M. H. CALLENDER, *Roman Amphorae*, Londra 1965.

²⁾ L'unica, lodevolissima eccezione, è costituita dalle ricerche di Nino Lamboglia.

³⁾ E. DRESSSEL, «Di un grande deposito d'anfore rinvenuto nel nuovo quartiere del Castro Pretorio», *BC VII*, 1879, pp. 36-112 e 143-196.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁵⁾ Vanno naturalmente eccettuate le anfore del Testaccio studiate dallo stesso Dressel.

Ma, ancor prima di ogni critica o tentativo di aggiornamento, converrà soffermarsi un poco sul lavoro svolto dal Dressel (in particolare l'articolo citato del *Bullettino Comunale* 1879 e il volume XV, 2 del *CIL*) per vedere se realmente se ne è tratto tutto l'utile possibile e, nello stesso tempo, comprendere la genesi e lo scopo della sua tavola tipologica. Il Dressel per primo affermò l'esigenza di istituire sempre un rapporto tra i titoli che si leggevano sulle anfore e la forma delle anfore stesse: con mentalità assai aperta, egli si rendeva pienamente conto della necessità di porre in relazione i risultati dell'indagine puramente epigrafica con quelli conseguibili in sede archeologica. Le sue parole in proposito sono chiarissime: « Essendo per più riguardi di somma utilità il tener conto della forma delle anfore sulle quali son tracciate le iscrizioni, massimamente per determinare a quale uso servì il recipiente, così si è avuto cura di riunire in apposita tavola le principali forme delle anfore insignite di iscrizione, ai numeri delle quali rimanderemo il lettore esaminando le singole iscrizioni: metodo già seguito nel quarto volume del *Corpus*, sebbene col solo scopo di evitare la ripetuta descrizione di anfore della medesima forma »⁹⁾. Da ciò risulta chiaro che il Dressel non aveva intenzione di elaborare una tipologia delle anfore valida in assoluto, bensì intendeva solamente illustrare con la sua tavola le forme delle anfore sulle quali si trovavano le iscrizioni raccolte nel volume. Pertanto, in sede di metodo, non appare corretto far uso della tipologia del Dressel prescindendo dal contesto dello scritto che essa era destinata ad illustrare. Ci è quindi sembrato utile rifogliare il quindicesimo volume del *Corpus*, nella parte riguardante le anfore, per cercarvi quelle indicazioni atte a gettare qualche luce sulla datazione, sul contenuto e sulla provenienza delle anfore le cui forme sono raccolte nella tavola. Il risultato verrà esposto nelle pagine che seguono.

Sembrerà forse inutile precisazione l'aggiungere che, poiché la tavola tipologica altro non è che la illustrazione del testo del *CIL* XV, 2, che raccoglie l'*instrumentum domesticum* di Roma, la tipologia del Dressel è ricavata *esclusivamente* sulla base del materiale anforario di provenienza urbana¹⁰⁾. Molta parte di questo materiale è di provenienza sporadica o, comunque,

⁹⁾ *Art. cit.* pp. 39-40.

¹⁰⁾ Non capisco come il Benoit abbia potuto formarsi la convinzione, più volte espressa, (p. es. *RSL*, XXIII, 1957, p. 247; *L'épave du Grand Congloué à Marseille*, XIV Suppl. a *Gallia*, Parigi 1961, p. 39) che il Dressel abbia compilato la sua tipologia sulla base dei trovamenti nei castra del limes renano. Tra l'altro, va osservato che molti dei più importanti siti archeologici della Renania sono stati pubblicati solo dopo le ricerche del Dressel.

non appartiene ad un contesto archeologicamente ben datato; la parte più cospicua proviene dagli scavi condotti dallo stesso Dressel sul Monte Testaccio, che hanno restituito quasi esclusivamente frammenti di anfore globulari della forma 20; ma un gruppo considerevole proviene dal Castro Pretorio, l'unico scavo che, a dire del Dressel, fosse stato condotto con criteri scientifici, e su cui varrà la pena soffermarsi un momento.

A partire dal 1870, durante i lavori per la costruzione del nuovo quartiere del Macao-Castro Pretorio, furono più volte segnalati trovamenti di anfore romane. Nella maggior parte dei casi il materiale venne riportato in luce senza controllo scientifico, oppure andò disperso; nel 1878 però il Comune condusse uno scavo regolare in un isolato tra le vie Gaeta, Montebello, Volturno e il Dressel prestò allo scavo la propria vigilanza scientifica pubblicandone i risultati nell'eccellente articolo del 1879 già citato. Le anfore, ancora in buona parte intere (quelle più in superficie erano ovviamente le meno ben conservate), erano poste nel terreno capovolte, in più strati (da tre fino a sei); il deposito cominciava a m. 1,40 dal piano e sembra scendesse anche oltre i sette metri di profondità. Data la loro posizione, e dal momento che non sembravano in relazione immediata con alcun edificio (le strutture laterizie rinvenute erano più tarde e tagliavano il giacimento), il Dressel pensò ragionevolmente che le anfore fossero state colà disposte per drenare il terreno e al tempo stesso, innalzarne il livello: e poiché il giacimento sembrava seguire l'andamento delle mura cosiddette Serviane, avanzò l'ipotesi che con tale sistema si fosse colmato un tratto della *fossa aggeris* in un periodo in cui era divenuta più d'intralcio che di utilità. Parecchie tra le 160 anfore iscritte recavano, caso fortunato, date consolari: le più tarde giungono fin verso il 40 d. Cr., e per una (ma sussistono dubbi sull'identificazione del console nominato) è possibile la data del 45 d. Cr. Il Dressel concluse quindi che il deposito e la colmatura di quel tratto della *fossa aggeris* dovevano essere avvenuti poco tempo più tardi, verso la metà del I secolo d. Cr.¹¹⁾

Lasciando da parte il problema topografico, che in questa sede non interessa, resta comunque certo che il Dressel si imbatté, presso il Castro Pretorio, in un giacimento unitario di anfore disposte ad arte nel terreno, quasi certamente per colmare un dislivello; la sua cronologia sembra assai solida, basata come è sulle date consolari, e potrà scendere forse al decennio 50-60 d. Cr. data la presenza di un'anfora globulare spagnola con il noto

¹¹⁾ *Art. cit.* pp. 194-195.

bollo di G. Antonius Quietus, che un recente, ottimo studio di A. Tchernia situa cronologicamente nella seconda metà del I secolo ¹²). Questa data costituisce, naturalmente, solo un *terminus post quem non*; alcuni tipi di anfore possono essere molto più antichi e, all'incontro, altre forme già presenti al Castro Pretorio possono aver continuato a vivere ancora per secoli: il caso più tipico è quello della ben nota forma 20. In ogni caso, quando non soccorreranno altri più precisi elementi di datazione, questo punto fisso di cronologia sarà particolarmente prezioso per inquadrare nel tempo le diverse forme. Non desterà perciò meraviglia che la tavola tipologica del Dressel comprenda un così gran numero di forme del I secolo d. Cr. ¹³): nel suo nucleo primario infatti essa si basa sui trovamenti del Castro Pretorio (cfr. *Tav. LXXVII*).

* * *

Le pagine che seguono intendono principalmente facilitare la lettura della tavola del Dressel riesaminando le iscrizioni, che raggrupperemo secondo forme anziché per date consolari o secondo l'ordine alfabetico dei nomi. Il lettore che ha conoscenza dei titoli del *CIL XV*, 2 troverà nel presente scritto solo poche novità; ma spero sia in ogni caso utile la elencazione delle iscrizioni più interessanti per ciascuna forma. Le iscrizioni non verranno riportate per intero, tranne in pochi casi in cui sembrerà opportuno, ma se ne citeranno soltanto quelle parti di maggiore interesse al fine di stabilire la cronologia, la provenienza, il contenuto delle anfore. I numeri presentati senza altra indicazione si riferiscono al *CIL XV*, 2.

* * *

FORMA 1.

Date consolari. - Le date consolari sicure sono:

- 102 a. Cr. (due volte: 4554-55);
- 101 a. Cr. (4556);

¹²) A. TCHERNIA, « Amphores et marques d'amphores de Bétique à Pompéi et à Stabies », *MEFR Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta VII*, 1965, p. III sgg.

¹³) Non coglie perciò il vero il GRENIER, quando afferma che « la majeure partie des formes représentées dans le tableau de Dressel peut être classée chronologiquement au second et à la première moitié du troisième siècle (DECHELETTE-GRENIER, *Manuel d'Archéologie gallo-romaine*, VI, 2, Parigi 1934, p. 640). Tale cronologia deriva da opinioni personali del Grenier sulla evoluzione tipologica generale delle forme d'anfora, arbitrarie e che non trovano riscontro nei fatti. A parte questa stata scritta sulle anfore romane.

- 97 a. Cr. (due volte: 4537, 4605);
- 34 a. Cr. (4606);
- 33 a. Cr. (4566);
- 25 a. Cr. (due volte: 4567, 4607);
- 20 a. Cr. (4559);
- 19 a. Cr. (4590);
- 13 a. Cr. (due volte: 4539 e 4575. Nel primo dei due titoli la data del 13 rappresenta quella della *diffusio* del vino, mentre una seconda data, il 18 a. Cr., indica l'anno in cui il vino è stato fatto).
Incerte rimangono le seguenti date:
- 129 a. Cr., che si ricaverebbe dal titolo 4596, qualora il console Q. Fabricio che appare sull'anfora assieme a C. Sempronio fosse un *suffectus* menzionato al posto del console ordinario Manio Aquilio;
- 59 o 43 a. Cr. L'iscrizione 4547 reca solo l'indicazione *Caes.Cos.* Il Dressel, considerando che la data più tarda nota su un'anfora di questa forma è il 13 a. Cr., ritiene che l'iscrizione possa riferirsi soltanto al primo consolato di Cesare o di Augusto. Ipotesi probabile anche se, naturalmente, non del tutto certa;
- 21 a. Cr. La data è incerta perché l'iscrizione 4616 è mutila all'inizio. Infine, indeterminabile cronologicamente sembra la data consolare dell'anfora n. 4558.

Le anfore di forma 1 erano perciò in uso tra il 102 e il 13 a. Cr., forse tra il 129 e il 13 a. Cr. Non fa pertanto meraviglia che esemplari ne siano stati trovati nell'*oppidum* di Entremont (distrutto nel 123 a. Cr.) ¹⁴); piuttosto è da segnalare quanto precocemente il commercio, certo per via marittima, avesse raggiunto le regioni della Gallia. Naturalmente, gli inizi della forma 1 risaliranno più indietro, forse anche di parecchi decenni; sotto questo punto di vista, non presenta alcuna difficoltà fissare il naufragio del Grand Congloué presso Marsiglia poco dopo la metà del II sec. a. Cr., e, per questo aspetto almeno, le polemiche sorte qualche anno fra tra il Benoit, il Thevenot e la Lyding Will sembrano prive di fondamento ¹⁵).

Non è necessario insistere a lungo su questa forma che, per essere così caratteristica e così diffusa, è anche una delle meglio studiate. Già il Loeschke ha tentato di deter-

¹⁴) F. BENOIT, « Typologie et épigraphie amphorique. Les marques de Sestius », *RSL*, XXIII, 1957, p. 264 sgg.

¹⁵) La bibliografia sul Grand Congloué è ormai piuttosto ampia. I lavori più interessanti sembrano: F. BENOIT, *RSL*, XVIII, 1952, p. 244 sgg.; Id., *Gallia*, XII, 1954, p. 35 sgg.; Id., *RSL*, XXIII, 1957, p. 247 sgg.; Id., *L'épave du Grand Congloué, cit.*; N. LAMBOGLIA, *RSL*, XXI, 1955, p. 247 sgg.; Id., *RSL*, XXVII, 1961, p. 138 sgg.; E. THEVENOT, *R. Arch. de l'Est*, V, 1954, p. 234 sgg.; E. LYDING WILL, *ibid.*, VI, 1955, p. 224 sgg.; J. P. MOREL, *Céramique à vernis noir du Forum Romain et du Palatin*, *MEFR Suppl.* 3, 1965, p. 26 sgg. (la cronologia ± 160 a. Cr. è accettata più decisamente dal Morel in *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta VII*, 1965, p. 96 nota 36). Riassuntivo: M. PILAR G. SERRANO, *AEA*, 33, 1960, p. 113 sgg. Va tuttavia precisato che l'argomento principale della Lyding Will non è costituito dalla tipologia delle anfore, quanto dai bolli SES che a suo avviso, farebbero scendere la datazione al I sec. a. Cr.

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Will)

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Amphores
fig. 32

minare le tappe della sua evoluzione tipologica ¹⁶); con più precisione, il Lamboglia ha distinto tre fasi, A, B, C ¹⁷); il Benoit ha apportato altre indicazioni ¹⁸). Recentemente, lo Uenze ha tentato di applicare queste distinzioni alle stazioni della tarda cultura di La Tène in cui sono state trovate anfore « greco-italiche » e di forma 1, al fine di stabilirne una più esatta cronologia ¹⁹). Ma, per ciò che riguarda il Dressel, mi sembra interessante riportare una intelligente osservazione del Loeschke ²⁰): tutte le anfore di forma 1 che recano date consolari anteriori alla metà del I secolo, con l'eccezione nel n. 4605, per il quale può trattarsi di una dimenticanza, son dette dal Dressel non di forma 1, bensì *formae 1 similis*: evidentemente egli aveva rilevato come gli esemplari più antichi fossero « simili » non identici a quelli più tardi, intuendo così l'evoluzione tipologica della forma.

I titoli dipinti non lasciano dubbio sul contenuto delle anfore e sulla regione di provenienza: trattasi di anfore vinarie destinate al trasporto dei vini della Campania e del Lazio meridionale, è incerto se anche di altre regioni, come l'Etruria. Frequentissima nelle iscrizioni ricorre la menzione del Falerno (con le specificazioni: *F(alernum) Faust(ianum)*; *Fal(ernum) Mas(sicum)*; *F(alernum) O(pimianum ?)*; *F(alernum) C(aucinum ?)*; inoltre il Cecubo, il *Fundanum*, lo *Helveolum*, il *Geminum* o *Gemellum*, e, più incerti, il *Formianum*, il *Tudernum*, il *Rheginum*, l'*Occianum*, l'*Autocratum*, l'*Arvisium* ²¹).

FORME 2, 3, 4, 5.

Abbiamo raggruppato le forme 2, 3, 4, 5, tutte di anfore vinarie, perché il Lamboglia, nella sua rifusione della tipologia Dressel, ha riunito da un lato le forme 2 e 3, dall'altro le forme 4 e 5, cui ha posto ancora insieme le forme 36, 43, 44, 45. Queste ultime sono anforette di piccole dimensioni, che conviene lasciare per il momento in disparte in attesa di occuparcene a suo luogo, anche se è possibile che effettivamente qualcuna di esse rappresenti una sottomisura delle precedenti.

Per queste forme, le date consolari sono:

Forma 2: 13 d. Cr. (4565); 29 d. Cr. (4603); 29 e 36 d. Cr. (le due date sovrapposte figurano sulla stessa anfora 4573 *formae 2 similis*); età tiberiana? (4536). Un'altra anfora *formae 2 similis* è forse data al 16 a. Cr. (4608).

¹⁶) S. LOESCHKE, in CH. ALBRECHT, *Das Römerlager in Oberaden*, II, Dortmund 1942, *Die Römische und belgische Keramik*, (citato in seguito: *Oberaden*), p. 83 sgg.

¹⁷) *Art. cit.*, RSL, 1955, p. 246 sgg.

¹⁸) *Art. cit.*, RSL, 1957, p. 263 sgg.

¹⁹) O. UENZE, *Frühromische Amphoren als Zeitmarken im Spätlatène*, Marburg 1958: è il libro più completo ed esauriente fino ad oggi apparso sulle anfore del tipo detto dal Benoit « greco-italico » e di forma 1 Dressel.

²⁰) *Oberaden*, p. 86.

²¹) CIL XV, 2, 4537 sgg.

Forma 3: 26 d. Cr. (4531); 32 d. Cr. (4576). Due anfore *simili* alla forma 3 recano le date del 28 o 27 a. Cr. (4618) e del 146 d. Cr. (4585). Inoltre un'anfora di cui è incerta la appartenenza alla forma 2 o alla 3 conteneva del vino *natum* nel 2 a. Cr. e *diffusum* nel 3 d. Cr. (4571).

Forma 4: 8 a. Cr. (4609); 4 a. Cr. (4588); 24 d. Cr. (4568).

Per la forma 5 il Dressel non registra date consolari; tuttavia due esemplari simili alla forma 5 (4646) recavano il nome di L. Volusio Saturnino, e in questo personaggio potrebbe riconoscersi il console del 12 a. Cr. o quello del 3 d. Cr. ²²). Comunque, la provenienza di alcuni esemplari della forma 5 dalla *fossa aggeris* presso il Castro Pretorio fornisce un valido *terminus ante quem*.

Dallo specchio delle date consolari, risulterebbe perciò che le forme 2, 3, 4, 5 sono all'incirca contemporanee; il loro *floruit* cadrebbe nell'età di Augusto e di Tiberio. Pertanto ogni raggruppamento del genere di quello proposto dal Lamboglia non può accettarsi come valido, perché, anche se è possibile che alcune forme abbiano un'origine comune, sembra sicuro che esse, almeno in un certo periodo, siano state contemporaneamente in uso ²³). Rimangono tuttavia dei punti poco chiari circa la cronologia, specialmente per la forma 3, per la quale i titoli 4618 e 4585 forniscono due poli di datazione troppo distanziati tra di loro; in particolare, la data del 146 d. Cr. sembra troppo bassa. Non si tratterà di emendare le letture del Dressel; ma, osservando che sia per l'una che per l'altra iscrizione il Dressel segnala che eran dipinte su anfore *simili* alla forma 3, penseremo che l'egregio studioso abbia tentato un riavvicinamento tipologico ad una forma che gli era nota di anfore che evidentemente si mostravano per qualche cosa diverse dalle solite. Vedremo che lo stesso fatto si ripeterà per la forma 26, e forse anche per la forma 10.

Sulla provenienza e sul contenuto abbiamo i seguenti dati:

Forma 2: *Amineum Campan(um)*; *Apianu(m)*; *Baeter[rense]*; *Veientanum*; *Laur(onense)*; un ipotetico *Ha[tr]anian(um)*; infine il *vinum simplex*, cioè senza aggiunte di condimenti ²⁴).

Forma 3: *Benev(entanum)*; *Laur(onense) vei(us)*; *Surr(entinum) Clod(ianum)*; *Baeter[r](ense)*; più incerti: *Am(ineum ?)*; *Lani(vinum ?)*; *Palma(tianum ?)*. Da osservare che il Surrentinum, il Baeterrense e lo Amineum sono su anfore *formae 3 similes* ²⁵).

²²) La cronologia del Castro Pretorio esclude l'omonimo console dell'87; ma, naturalmente, nulla indica che l'anfora non possa aver appartenuto ad altro personaggio della famiglia che non rivestì l'abito consolare.

²³) E' possibile invece l'accostamento della forma 5 con la 45: vedi forma 45, p.

²⁴) Nn. 4532-36-43-95-78-79; e nn. 4573 e 4603.

²⁵) Nn. 4544-77-92-42; e nn. 4534-35-76-86.

Forma 4: *Fundanum*; molto incerto un ipotetico *Licin(ianum)* che, secondo il Dressel, potrebbe venir posto in relazione con l'*oleum Licinianum* di Venafrò di cui parla Plinio (*N.H.*, XV, 8) ²⁶).

Per la forma 5, non si conserva alcun nome di vino.

Il quadro che si ricava è abbastanza confuso e insoddisfacente. E' curioso, ad esempio, che tanto la forma 2 che la forma 3 abbiano contenuto gli stessi vini, l'*Amineum*, il *Baeterrense*, il *Lauronense* (ciò che, in apparenza, potrebbe fornire un argomento a favore della proposta del Lamboglia di considerarle una forma unica). Inoltre, l'*Amineum* era uno dei più celebri vini della Campania; il *Baeterrense* veniva dalla Provenza, e il *Lauronense* era considerato il miglior vino di Spagna: ed è contrario all'uso antico, e in sé poco credibile che vini di così diverse provenienze venissero chiusi in anfore di uno stesso tipo. Ricordo che per il termine *Laur* da qualcuno venne proposta l'integrazione *Laur(entinum)* anziché *Laur(onense)*; ma il problema resta per il vino di *Baeterrae*. I disegni del Dressel del resto non sembrano molto precisi e lo stesso Dressel si mostra a volte incerto se attribuire un'anfora ad una forma o all'altra ²⁷). Il fatto reale è che le forme 2, 3, 4 del Dressel non sono sufficienti ad esaurire le varianti di una famiglia assai numerosa di anfore che, pur avendo molte caratteristiche comuni, pure spesso differiscono in elementi non apprezzabili soltanto sulla base della forma, come l'argilla, le dimensioni, il peso. Derivate tutte da prototipi greci (le anfore di Rodi e di Cos), hanno in comune caratteri quali il collo cilindrico, il corpo ad ogiva, le anse a doppio bastone e, soprattutto, l'organica costruzione dell'insieme, ben scandito nelle varie parti che lo compongono. A Pompei ed Ercolano le forme 2-4 sono le più comuni; in genere si può affermare che, per tutto il corso del I secolo d. Cr. esse rappresentino le tipiche anfore da trasporto per i vini italiani, quelli della Campania in particolare. Ciò non significa, tuttavia, che le forme non potessero venir copiate o prese a modello anche nelle province, per esempio nella Narbonese, anche se i vini di quella regione non godevano troppo buona fama presso gli antichi. Invece va considerata distinta dalle altre la forma 5, non soltanto per le sue caratteristiche morfologiche, ma anche perché le iscrizioni sono spesso in lingua greca (p. es. 4863-67-69-70-82).

Anche per ciò che concerne la cronologia rimangono larghe zone di incertezza. Il Lamboglia include le forme 2, 3, 4, 5 tra le anfore repubblicane, cronologia che non può essere mantenuta, in considerazione delle date consolari citate, ma che, in certo modo, corrisponde alla giusta esigenza di far risalire almeno al I sec. a. Cr. l'origine di queste forme ^{27 bis}). A tale proposito mi sembra utile pubblicare una fotografia, purtroppo cattiva, di alcune anfore che si trovano nel giardino del Museo Lavigerie a Cartagine

²⁶ Nn. 4568 e 4636.

²⁷ P. es. n. 4571: incerto se forma 2 o 3; 4626: forma 2 o 4; 4629: forma 3 o 4; 4652: forma 4 o 5, ecc.

^{27 bis} F. BENOÎT, *art. cit.*, *RSL*, 1957, p. 257, risale fino al II sec. a. Cr.

(*Tav. LXXIX, 1*); è quasi certo che provengano da uno dei « muri d'anfore » scoperti nella cittadella della città ²⁸) che recavano date consolari comprese tra il 43 a. Cr. e il 15 a. Cr., ma soprattutto appartenenti al quindicennio 30-15 a. Cr. Molto probabile è la loro provenienza dall'Italia. La forma è abbastanza affine alla 2 del Dressel.

FORMA 6.

Una sola iscrizione (4582) fornisce una data precisa, il 36 d. Cr.; utile per la cronologia potrebbe essere anche il titolo 4865, se il *Messalla Voluso* cui l'anfora era inviata ²⁹) potesse venir identificato con il console del 5 d. Cr. Ma è di per sé indicativa la grande abbondanza di anfore di questa forma scoperte nella *fossa aggeris* presso il Castro Pretorio, molte delle quali recavano marchi di fabbrica o iscrizioni dipinte: le anfore di forma 6 dovevano essere tra le più diffuse sul mercato romano nel secondo venticinquennio del primo secolo. Molto giustamente, pertanto, il Lamboglia le considera tipiche del I sec. d. Cr.; il loro *floruit* va infatti posto nei primi settanta-ottanta anni dell'era volgare. Tuttavia indicazioni sicure consentono di affermare che l'esportazione di anfore della forma 6 verso lontani mercati, specialmente nell'Africa proconsolare, era molto attiva già negli ultimi decenni del I sec. a. Cr. ³⁰).

Il problema si fa piuttosto complesso per il contenuto. Il Dressel (*CIL* XV, 2, p. 672) osserva che queste anfore differiscono notevolmente dai tipi precedenti sia per l'aspetto generale (soprattutto lo sviluppo della pancia), che per la particolare robustezza e il notevole peso: a vuoto, un uomo fa fatica a trasportarle. La maggior parte delle iscrizioni dipinte è di interpretazione incerta, né vi si possono riconoscere con sicurezza nomi di vini, eccettuato forse il *mulsum*; il Dressel tuttavia non ha dubbi nel classificarle tra le anfore vinarie.

Circa il contenuto, i titoli più significativi sembrano essere i seguenti:

4653: *pr idus Novemres vinum / in cuneum amfurae CCCLXXXIIX*. In realtà l'iscrizione sembra piuttosto una specie di promemoria per uso interno di cantina che una delle « etichette » che si apponevano alle anfore destinate al commercio. Il dato comunque rimane significativo, perché, anche ammettendo una riutilizzazione del recipiente, è poco credibile che sia stata riempita di vino un'anfora che aveva contenuto olio o *garum*.

4852. L'iscrizione, oltre alla data consolare già citata, reca l'indicazione: *mul fact... Nov / sum[m]issa in / vetusta [tem]*. Cioè, come intende il Dressel: (anfora contenente) *mulsum* fatto il... di Novembre e posta a invecchiare; del *mulsum*

²⁸ P. DELATTRE, « Le mur à amphores de la colline Saint-Louis à Carthage », *Bull. Arch.* 1894, p. 89 sgg.; *CIL*, VIII, 3, p. 2200 sgg.

²⁹ Il nome è infatti al dativo.

³⁰ Dai bolli si ricava che molte anfore di forma 6 sono state trovate nei « muri d'anfore » della Byrsa di cui si è parlato (v. n. 28).

invecchiato abbiamo testimonianza nelle fonti ³¹). La parola *mul(sum)* ritorna anche nel n. 4583.

Altri nomi di vini non si incontrano su anfore di questa forma. Il termine *Marit* del n. 4662 difficilmente potrà essere interpretato come *Marit(imum vinum)*, cioè «vino ricavato da viti cresciute in prossimità del mare», secondo la proposta del Dressel; la interpretazione del Remark ³²), «vino delle Alpi Marittime» è ingegnosa, ma poco convincente, se non altro perché, come vedremo, le anfore di forma 6 sembrano provenire dall'Istria. Altrettanto dubbio è che nell'espressione *Tul/vet* si celi il nome di un vino *Tullianum* sconosciuto alle fonti (n. 4594).

Tuttavia molte iscrizioni recano abbreviazioni come VE, VET, ³³) che non saprei interpretare altrimenti che *vet(us)* ³⁴); altre anfore recano iscritto il numero degli anni di invecchiamento del prodotto. Tali indicazioni, se la loro interpretazione è corretta, sembrano confarsi a prodotti che si preferivano invecchiati, come potrebbero essere il vino (e con esso il *mulsum*) o il *garum*. Il *garum* sembra da escludere, in mancanza di ogni indicazione in proposito ³⁵). Non resterebbe quindi che dar ragione al Dressel, che è seguito da altri studiosi, come il Callender ³⁶), nel riconoscere nella forma 6 un tipo di anfora vinaria.

Una diversa ipotesi è stata avanzata dal Degraffi ³⁷), il quale tuttavia prescinde dai dati archeologici e dalla forma dei recipienti e prende in esame esclusivamente i bolli: le anfore avrebbero contenuto l'olio esportato dall'Istria. Anche il Frova, pur istituendo un collegamento tra i bolli e la forma 6 ³⁸), ignora le argomentazioni del Dressel e appoggia senza esitazioni l'ipotesi del Degraffi. E' innegabile che tale ipotesi si accordi meglio con le fonti letterarie che esaltano più l'olio che il vino istriano, e soprattutto con i dati che risultano dal commercio di queste anfore che conseguono una diffusione addirittura capillare nella Val Padana, una regione che non produceva olio, ma che di vino ne aveva in abbondanza al punto da esportarlo. Il problema del contenuto resta per il momento aperto. Voglio osservare soltanto

³¹) PLIN., N. H. XXXI, 95.

³²) P. REMARK, *De amphorarum inscriptionibus Latinis quaestiones selectae*, diss. Bonn, 1912, pp. 19-20. Trattasi di un lavoro eccellente che, non so per qual motivo, è rimasto sconosciuto alla gran maggioranza degli studiosi (ne debbo la segnalazione al dott. Heikki Solin).

³³) A proposito del titolo 4597 il Dressel avanza dubitativamente l'ipotesi che la abbreviazione VE celi un nome di vino, come *Ve(suvinum)*, *Ve(nafranum)* o simili; ma tale interpretazione sembra assai improbabile.

³⁴) Tuttavia, appare piuttosto curiosa la posizione isolata di queste abbreviazioni, non accompagnate mai da un nome, *vinum*, *garum* o simili cui l'aggettivo *vetus* possa venir riferito.

³⁵) E' infatti da escludere che CVET nel titolo 4549 possa venir letto *g(arum) vet(us)*.

³⁶) Op. cit., passim.

³⁷) A. DEGRASSI, «Aquileia e l'Istria in età romana», *Studi Aquileiesi offerti a G. Brusin*, Aquileia 1953, p. 51 sgg.; Id., «L'esportazione di olio e olive istriane nell'età romana», *Atti Soc. Istriana arch. e storia patria*, n.s. IV, 1956, p. 104 sgg.

³⁸) A. FROVA, «Marche di anfore e altri bolli romani nel Milanese», *Epigraphica*, XIV, 1952, p. 49 sgg. Giusto il rapporto che il Frova istituisce tra i bolli e le anfore di forma 6, non così quello con la forma 8, che, come vedremo più oltre, è un tipo d'anfora da *garum* di provenienza spagnola.

che, per quanto a me risulta da una visita al Museo di Aquileia, la forma 6 non esaurisce la tipologia delle anfore istriane (sembra si possano distinguere almeno tre forme d'anfora). Al problema della esportazione di tali anfore che, soprattutto nell'Africa proconsolare, a Roma e in altre regioni dell'Italia meridionale (oltre che in Grecia, paesi danubiani e Val Padana) mostra tali caratteri di continuità e intensità da far pensare ad un commercio assai sviluppato e fiorente, contiamo di dedicare un prossimo articolo.

Sulle anfore di forma 6 sono rarissimi i nomi non abbreviati, indichino essi i produttori o i commercianti. Interessante per questo rispetto è pertanto un gruppo di iscrizioni di *M. Uta(ni) Hyme(naei)* (4657), un personaggio che da commerciante dovette poi trasformarsi in produttore, o almeno in proprietario di figlina, poichè esiste un bollo con il suo nome (n. 3546). Utanio utilizza anfore prodotte in varie figline: tre dei recipienti col suo nome hanno bolli diversi (3408 c, 2905, 3566), ciò che assicura della contemporaneità delle marche T. H. B. e BARBA ³⁹). Le stesse due marche, assieme ad una terza, PONTICVL (3508) ritornano in una serie di anfore, raggruppate dal Dressel sotto lo stesso numero 4660 perché le loro iscrizioni iniziano sempre con la sigla PHL o PHIL. Non saprei se nella parola *barba* vada riconosciuto un nome di servo, Barbarus, che potrebbe essere stato allora un *officinator* di T. H. B., padrone della figlina ⁴⁰); la contemporaneità dei due bolli è comunque sicura.

FORME 7 - 13: vedere oltre, a p. 229 sgg.

FORMA 14.

Mancano indicazioni cronologiche precise; nessuna delle sei anfore citate dal Dressel proviene dal Castro Pretorio, le provenienze segnalate non offrono elementi utili ⁴¹). Nessuna incertezza, invece, sul contenuto: tre iscrizioni nominano il *liquamen* (nn. 4714-16-19), una la *muria* (4729). Notevole il fatto che, a differenza dei titoli delle forme 7-13, molte delle iscrizioni siano a vernice rossa.

Sulla provenienza, rimane l'incertezza più completa: una origine italica è possibile, anche se l'iscrizione 4719 mostra elementi di affinità con quelle delle anfore spagnole 7-13 ⁴²). La cronologia Lamboglia (I sec. d. Cr.) può essere mantenuta come

³⁹) CIL XV, 2, 2905 e 3408 c.

⁴⁰) Il BOHN (*Germania*, IX, 1925, p. 83) ha avanzato l'ipotesi che nelle iniziali T.H.B. sia da riconoscere Titus Helvius Basila, legato di Claudio e di Nerone. La cronologia in effetti corrisponde. Sulla larga partecipazione al commercio delle anfore di forma 6 di personaggi della classe senatoria, basti il rinvio agli articoli del Degraffi, già citati.

⁴¹) Le provenienze segnalate dal Dressel sono l'Esquilino (2 es.), la Domus Aurea, Tor Fiscale sulla Via Latina.

⁴²) Cfr. p. 230, nota 68.

ipotesi di lavoro; infatti la assenza di tali anfore nel giacimento del Castro Pretorio non può essere considerata come una prova certa della loro receniorità rispetto alle forme colà rinvenute ⁴³). Va segnalata invece la contemporaneità delle forme 14 e 17, perchè anfore di queste due forme sono state scoperte assieme in una cella rinvenuta a Tor Fiscale sulla Via Latina, e tutte recavano iscritto lo stesso nome di Flavia Secundilla (n. 4762).

FORMA 15.

La cronologia è assicurata dal fatto che due iscrizioni provengono dal Castro Pretorio (4777 e 4854 m). L'iscrizione 4746, in vernice nera, è purtroppo mutila nella prima riga, ma l'indicazione *exce(l)lens* della seconda riga dà probabilmente ragione al Dressel che include questo titolo fra quelli relativi al *garum* o salse di pesce simili. Il personaggio cui l'anfora è intestata, P. Granius (o Grattius) Rufus non compare in altre iscrizioni del *CIL*, XV, 2.

Va quindi accolta la cronologia del Lamboglia, mentre è da respingere la associazione della forma 15 con la forma 6, con la quale non sembra avere rapporti.

FORMA 16.

L'iscrizione 4712 che fa menzione di un *liq(uamen) Antia(tinum) exc(ellens)*, ignoto alle fonti, indica la provenienza dell'anfora. Incerta rimane la cronologia (Lamboglia: dopo il III secolo).

FORMA 17.

Della contemporaneità di questa forma con la forma 14 si è già fatto cenno. Nessuna indicazione sul contenuto: si può forse pensare che, essendo un'anfora di forma 14 intestata alla stessa Flavia Secundilla che firma due anfore di forma 17 (n. 4762), anche queste, al pari di quelle, potessero contenere pesce. Di nessun aiuto la iscrizione 4765, su un'anfora simile alla forma 17, trovata all'Esquilino.

FORMA 18.

Un'iscrizione (4730) viene dalla *fossa aggeris* presso il Castro Pretorio, ciò che esclude la cronologia troppo bassa del Lamboglia; il prodotto contenuto nel vaso

⁴³) Occorre sempre ricordare che, ai fini della sua tavola illustrativa, il Dressel prese in considerazione soltanto quei tipi di anfora che avevano iscrizioni dipinte. Perciò l'assenza di una forma nella tavola tipologica del *CIL*, XV, 2 non significa necessariamente che tale forma non sia stata trovata a Roma, al Castro Pretorio o altrove. Un indizio per la datazione della forma 14 al I sec. d. Cr., può essere ravvisato nel ritrovamento segnalato a p. 230, n. 68.

era: *Hal / coc* (o *soc*) da interpretare col Dressel *Hal(ex) coc(tiva)* o *soc(iorum)*. In questo secondo caso, verrebbe spontaneo l'accostamento con il *garum sociorum*, fabbricato a Cartagene, di cui parla Plinio (*N. H.* XXXI, 94).

FORMA 20 (e FORMA 19).

Fra tutte le anfore romane, quella di forma 20 sono certo le più note e studiate. La bibliografia sull'argomento è vastissima e non occorrerà riprendere la questione della loro origine e della cronologia: grazie agli studi del Dressel ⁴⁴) sappiamo infatti che queste anfore rappresentano il classico recipiente per il trasporto dell'olio prodotto nella Spagna Betica e in parte della Tarraconense ⁴⁵). E' noto che il Monte Testaccio è costituito in grandissima maggioranza di frammenti di anfore di questa forma. Per la loro esportazione a Roma, il deposito del Castro Pretorio fornisce il primo dato certo; il loro numero si accresce considerevolmente nel corso del II secolo, che sembra segnare l'acmé di tale commercio (Testaccio). Fiorenti ancora sotto i Severi, le importazioni di olio dalla Spagna sembrano cessare poco dopo la metà del III secolo: l'ultima data consolare sicura, su un frammento trovato agli Orti Torlonia, è del 255 d. Cr., altre otto iscrizioni della stessa provenienza si datano al regno di Valeriano e di Gallieno. Sulla larghissima diffusione delle anfore globulari di forma 20 basterà il rinvio agli studi, più volte citati, del Callender e del Tchernia.

Il *CIL* XV, 2 non riporta alcuna iscrizione su anfore di forma 19; perciò sembra probabile che non si trattasse di una forma avente una vera individualità tipologica, ma semplicemente di una variante della forma 20 con la quale ha tanti elementi di somiglianza. Tale l'opinione di molti studiosi, tra i quali, per ultimo, il Callender; il Lamboglia invece ritiene conveniente mantenere separate le due forme e assegna la forma 19 ad un periodo più tardo (dopo il III secolo), ma tale datazione non può essere mantenuta, perché la forma 19 era fra quelle trovate al Castro Pretorio (cfr. Dressel, *art. cit.*, *BC.* 1879, tavv. VII-VIII, n. 10).

⁴⁴) In particolare: « Ricerche sul Monte Testaccio », *AnnInst.*, 1878, p. 118 sgg.; *art. cit.* in *BC.*, VII, 1879, specialmente p. 143 sgg.; « Scavi sul Monte Testaccio », *BC.*, 1892, p. 48 sgg.; « Eine Amphora aus Spanien mit lateinischen Inschriften », *BonnJ.*, XCV, 1894, p. 66 sgg. e *CIL*, XV, 2, p. 560 sgg.

⁴⁵) Alcuni autori hanno posto in dubbio l'interpretazione del Dressel ritenendo che, almeno in parte, le anfore di forma 20 provenissero dalla Gallia (cfr. O. HIRSCHFELD, *CIL*, XII, p. 700; O. BOHN, *CIL*, XIII, 3, p. 35, e articoli vari; A. HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, « Deux armateurs Narbonnais », *Mém. Soc. Nat. Antiq. de France*, LXXIV, 1915, p. 153 sgg.; L. CANTARELLI, « Il Monte Testaccio e la Gallia », *BC.*, 43, 1915, p. 41 sgg.; *Id.*, « I vini della Gallia Narbonese e le anfore vinarie del Monte Testaccio », *ibidem*, p. 279 sgg.). Ma le iscrizioni dipinte del Testaccio nominano Astigi, Hispalis, Corduba e altre località della Spagna, mai città galliche. Da ultimo, vedi CALLENDER, *op. cit.*, p. 19 sgg. e *passim*; e, particolarmente, il lavoro di A. TCHERNIA sulle anfore di forma 20 trovate a Ostia, di prossima pubblicazione in un volume degli *Scavi di Ostia*.

FORME 21 e 22.

Sono i tipici recipienti in uso nel I secolo per contenere frutta conservate; la maggior parte delle iscrizioni proviene dal Castro Pretorio, nelle città vesuviane forme simili sono comuni ⁴⁶). Il Loeschke fa giustamente osservare che il termine appropriato per designare tali vasi è *cadi* ⁴⁷).

Le iscrizioni sono tutte in colore rosso. In generale iniziano con una parola abbreviata che dovrebbe indicare il contenuto; segue una cifra (si tratta di numeri compresi in genere fra il 60 e l'85), indi un nome servile; dall'altra parte del vaso, un altro numero. Naturalmente, spesso si aggiungono iniziali, altre cifre, ecc.

La difficoltà consiste, ovviamente, nello sciogliere l'abbreviazione iniziale. I primi tre titoli di questo gruppo (nn. 4783-84-85), iniziano con *MAL*, seguito, in due di essi da *CUM*, e in uno da *VIR*. L'interpretazione del Dressel è *Mal(a) Cum(ana?) Vir(idia)*, probabile per la prima e la terza parola, assai incerta per la seconda, che fornirebbe preziosa indicazione della provenienza. Del tutto incerte restano le abbreviazioni *CE* (o *CF*) presente in ben sei iscrizioni, tanto sulla forma 21 che sulla 22; *LET* o *LEP*; *SC*; *COP*; *SP*, che ritorna due volte. Dai nomi servili non si ricava ovviamente nulla. L'unico elemento di un qualche interesse è costituito dal nome di L. Volusius Saturnus contenuto nel titolo 4784, per il quale il Dressel indica un possibile rapporto con il L. Volusius Saturninus noto come produttore di vini (cfr. forma 5, n. 4646). L'origine italica delle forme 21-22, forse provenienti dalla Campania o dal Lazio stesso, è comunque assai probabile.

FORMA 23.

E' una delle forme più tarde fra quelle registrate dal Dressel; la presenza del monogramma cristiano chi-rho, in due iscrizioni (4885 e 4888) fa scendere la datazione almeno al IV secolo ⁴⁸). Nella seconda di queste iscrizioni, il monogramma, che nell'altra è fiancheggiato dall'alfa-omega, è seguito dalle lettere *MTA* (*M(ι)χα(λ) Γα(β)ρι(λ)λ?*). I nomi degli arcangeli Michele e Gabriele ricondurrebbero queste anfore, secondo il De Rossi, all'ambiente siriano (cfr. forma 34); tuttavia il fatto che una parte almeno delle iscrizioni su questa forma siano in latino, rende meno probabile (a meno di una confusione del Dressel) una provenienza di queste anfore dalle regioni dell'Oriente mediterraneo.

L'iscrizione 4804 parla di *Olivas Sa...tas* (non: *Sa[li]tas*); l'anfora conteneva olive. Il n. 4803 ne porta conferma: due piccole anfore di forma 23 trovate all'Esqui-

⁴⁶) Perciò è inaccettabile la cronologia del Lamboglia (dopo il III secolo).
⁴⁷) *Oberaden*, p. 105 sgg. Poco convincente mi sembra invece il tentativo del Loeschke di ricondurre a lontani prototipi punic questi *cadi* romani; l'ampiezza della bocca e la conseguente forma particolare delle anse derivano da esigenze funzionali.
⁴⁸) Lamboglia: II-III secolo.

lino, recavano scritto: *Olivas Colonbares*. L'aggettivo Colonbares è inteso dal Dressel come un probabile riferimento alla provenienza (dall'isola Colombaria?); assai più acuta sembra l'interpretazione del Remark ⁴⁹) che vi riconosce una forma volgarizzata e tarda (non ignota del resto ad alcuni codici di Palladio) per il termine *colymbades*, che indicava le olive conservate nel proprio olio (Plinio, *N. H.*, XV, 16; Columella XII, 49, 8; altre fonti sono citate dal Remark).

FORMA 24.

Le sette iscrizioni note su anfore di questa forma ⁵⁰) non forniscono elementi per determinare contenuto e provenienza; in maggioranza comprendono iniziali di nomi, due sembrano scritte in greco. La forma 24 va attribuita al I secolo d. Cr., considerando che ben sei delle sette iscrizioni provengono dal Castro Pretorio (Lamboglia: II-III sec. d. Cr.).

FORMA 25.

La forma 25 è una delle più comuni nel deposito del Castro Pretorio, (oltre venti iscrizioni) ⁵¹). I titoli, generalmente scritti in colore rosso, sono in parte in greco, parte in latino; malauguratamente non contengono altro che iniziali di nomi, indicazioni di misure, abbreviazioni di difficile comprensione. La cronologia è comunque sicura: I secolo d. Cr. (Lamboglia: II-III secolo).

FORME 26 e 27.

Riunisco queste due forme esclusivamente perché costituiscono un tipico esempio di come, per scarsa conoscenza o voluta trascuratezza dei dati forniti dal Dressel, si sia potuti giungere a interpretazioni e opinioni errate. Il Lamboglia data la forma 26 al II-III secolo e include la 27 tra quelle posteriori al III secolo. Più oltre è andato l'Almagro, il quale, credendo di riconoscere tali forme nelle anfore usate per sepolture tarde nella necropoli di Ampurias, ha addirittura tentato una classificazione più precisa, distinguendo nella forma 26 le fasi A e B, nella 27 le fasi A, B, C, tutte del Tardo Impero. La forma 26 B arriverebbe addirittura al VII secolo ⁵²). Il peggio è che tale classificazione ha incontrato seguito presso altri studiosi spagnoli, e rischia di diventare canonica negli studi di quel paese ⁵³).

⁴⁹) *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁵⁰) Nn. 4824-25-73-81.

⁵¹) Nn. 4816-17-18-19-20-72-78-79-83.

⁵²) M. ALMAGRO, *Las Necropolis de Ampurias, cit.*, II, p. 294 sgg., 306 sgg., 321 sgg.

⁵³) Si veda ad es. M. PILAR G. SERRANO, « Anforas Romanas en las costas de Mallorca », *AEA*, 1963, 207 sgg.; R. PASCUAL GUASCH, « Las anforas de la Plaza del Rey » (a Barcellona), *Ampurias*, 25, 1963, p. 224 sgg. Vedo che anche il BENOÎT, « Nouvelles Épaves de Provence (III) », *Gallia*, 20, 1962, p. 149, considera le forme 26 e 27 del Basso Impero.

Bisogna ammettere che le forme 26 e 27 in effetti mostrano somiglianze con forme di anfore tardoromane; ma si tratta di somiglianze che riposano piuttosto sulla atipicità di certi elementi poco caratterizzati (la spalla non segnata, l'orlo e il puntale molto semplificati, ecc.) che non su motivi di reale affinità. Per la cronologia, non mi sembra sussistano dubbi: un'iscrizione per la forma 27, ben sei iscrizioni per la forma 26 provengono dal Castro Pretorio, e la datazione pertanto non può scendere oltre la metà del I secolo d. Cr.⁵⁴). I testi sono molto brevi, non contengono che iniziali, parole abbreviate ecc., poco utili ai fini di stabilirne il contenuto e la prove-

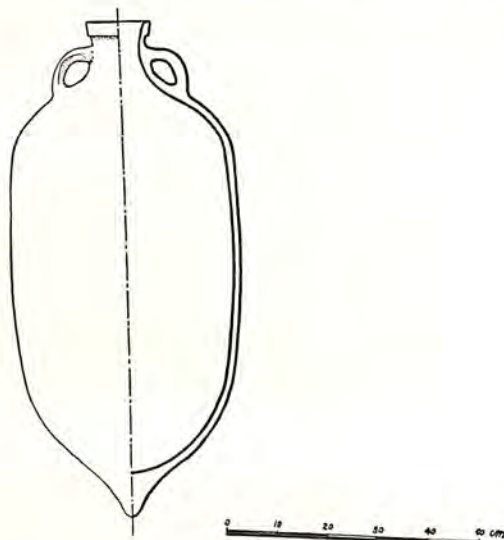


Fig. 1

nienza. Ma, per conferma della cronologia, è importante il titolo 4808, che trova confronto in una serie di iscrizioni anforarie di Pompei⁵⁵). Proprio a Pompei, anzi, credo di aver riconosciuto il tipo di anfora cui si riferiva Dressel, di cui pubblico un disegno⁵⁶) (Fig. 1; Tav. LXXX, 1). Un secondo ritrovamento significativo e recentissimo, consiste in un piccolo deposito di anfore di varie forme tornato in luce a Roma, alla

⁵⁴) Forma 26: nn. 3657-58, 4808-10-54k-98. Forma 27: n. 4875.

⁵⁵) P. es. CIL, IV, 2-3, 2604-08; 5745-60, ecc. Si noti che queste iscrizioni in cui compare la parola *mol* sono su anfore della forma XI che, tra quelle della classificazione Schöne, può esser ritenuta la più affine alla 26 Dressel. Che *mol* vada completato *mol(a)* come pensano gli editori del quarto volume del CIL, Dressel ragionevolmente mette in dubbio.

⁵⁶) Il disegno è dovuto alla Signora Maria Auricchio Oliva, della Direzione degli Scavi di Pompei, che ringrazio vivamente.

altezza del Km. 14 della via Casilina: esso comprendeva un'anfora di forma 26 (Tav. LXXX, 2) assieme due o tre anfore di forma 6, e ad un'altra anfora di un tipo ignoto al Dressel, ma ben conosciuto a Pompei⁵⁷). La cronologia del deposito della via Casilina per la presenza delle anfore di forma 6, non scenderà oltre la metà del I secolo confermando così appieno la cronologia del Castro Pretorio.

Circa la provenienza e il contenuto, nessun elemento. Il fatto che i trovamenti sicuri di anfore di forma 26 sembrano limitati a Roma e Pompei non basta per definire sicuramente italica questa forma, anche se l'ipotesi è piuttosto probabile. Non darei comunque eccessivo peso alla iscrizione punica segnalata dal Dressel al Castro Pretorio (4898) che sarebbe da tradursi «anfora tornita di olive», perché dipinta su un'anfora *simile* (non uguale) alla forma 26⁵⁸). L'idea che queste anfore possano aver contenuto olio potrebbe tuttavia cogliere nel vero.

FORMA 28.

Il Lamboglia ascrive questa forma all'età repubblicana. Non saprei dire se la sua origine sia così antica; certo essa è già presente nei *castra* di Oberaden (tipo 74) e Haltern (tipo 68) nella prima età augustea; il Loeschke segnala molti altri trovamenti in località della Germania nel corso del I secolo d. Cr.⁵⁹). Per la cronologia è di grande importanza il bollo MAES CELS, trovato sia a Oberaden che a Cartagine, proveniente dal celebre «muro d'anfore» della Byrsa, datato prima del 10 a. Cr. (CIL VIII, 3, 22637, 68).

Diffuse tra Cartagine e il Reno, come le anfore di forma 7-13 (v. oltre), le anfore di forma 28 sono, al pari di quelle, note anche a Roma: il Dressel registra due titoli dal Castro Pretorio, l'uno dei quali (4700) è determinante per stabilire la provenienza delle anfore perché nomina gli esportatori, quei due Auli Atinii che verso la metà del I secolo sembrano essere stati tra i più attivi esportatori spagnoli, e il cui nome molte volte ricorre su anfore varie per forma e contenuto, ma tutte di ben certa provenienza dalla Spagna (cfr. p. 235). L'altra iscrizione ricordata per la forma 28 (4828) è mutila; il Dressel integra il nome del commerciante in *C. Anni Catulli*. Sia il nome Annio che il cognome Catullo sono noti su altre anfore spagnole contemporanee, anche se non esiste alcun confronto puntuale.

⁵⁷) Il deposito è stato rinvenuto dalla dott.ssa Elisa Lissi Caronna alla cui amichevole liberalità debbo il permesso di pubblicare la fotografia che presento, eseguita da A. Tchernia. Assieme alla signora Lissi Caronna, mi è grato ringraziare la dott.ssa Eleonora Bracco che ha sempre facilitato con cordialità e comprensione le ricerche che ho finora condotto nei magazzini del Museo Nazionale Romano.

⁵⁸) Il Dressel segnala come simili alla forma 26 anfore disparate, tra cui una che conteneva *olivae colonbares* di proprietà dei *clarissimi viri* Lolliano e Candido (4855); un'altra, tardissima, con il chi-rho intrecciati, ecc. Abbiamo del resto già osservato che molti caratteri della forma 26 ritornano in anfore del Basso Impero.

⁵⁹) Oberaden, p. 78.

Circa il contenuto, il Dressel, basandosi sul fatto che tutte le anfore di forma 7-13 e 39 intestate agli Auli Atinii contenevano *garum* pensa che anche la forma 28 servisse al commercio di prodotti analoghi. Senonché proprio il fatto che siano già note tante forme di anfore destinate al *garum* della Spagna, fa pensare che le anfore di forma 28, così diverse tipologicamente, servissero per altri prodotti. L'elenco dei prodotti spagnoli che, a detta degli antichi (specialmente Strabone e Plinio), godevano di buona fama e alimentavano un fiorente commercio, è abbastanza lungo da consentire ampia scelta; in mancanza di indicazioni si potrà indifferentemente pensare per esempio ai molluschi, o al miele, alle olive, ecc. ⁶⁰⁾.

FORMA 29.

Dalla lettura del *CIL*, XV, 2 non si ricava alcun dato che abbia qualche utilità. Poche le iscrizioni, e non contengono che numeri e iniziali (4826-27-80); per il n. 4825, che proviene dal Castro Pretorio, il Dressel è incerto se si trattasse della forma 24 o 29. Dubbia pertanto rimane anche la cronologia. Il Lamboglia data la forma al Tardo Impero.

FORMA 30.

Come per la precedente, manca ogni elemento sicuro; quattro anfore piccole di questa forma (4821) sono ricordate dal Dressel, una proviene dall'Esquilino. Anche per questa forma il Lamboglia propone una datazione molto tarda.

FORMA 31.

La presenza del monogramma costantiniano, accompagnato dall'alfa-omega, sulla iscrizione n. 4858 non lascia incertezze sulla cronologia. Nella stessa iscrizione, l'espressione *lagonam conditam* (?) equivarrebbe, per il Dressel, a *in vestustatem repositam*; perciò si deve pensare ad un prodotto sottoposto ad invecchiamento, come il vino o, eventualmente, il *garum*.

FORMA 32: vedi Forma 34.

FORMA 33.

Due iscrizioni con lo stesso testo, che il Dressel pone fra quelle *aetatis labentis*, (n. 4586), indicano l'appartenenza dell'anfora a un *Barbarus Probianus* (larissimus) *v(ir)*, e il contenuto, forse *liquamen*. Il personaggio, appartenente alla classe senatoria,

⁶⁰⁾ Cfr. J. J. VAN NORSTRAND, *Roman Spain*, in T. FRANK, *An Economic Survey of ancient Rome*, III, rist. 1959, p. 181 sgg.

aveva un posto riservato nell'anfiteatro Flavio a Roma (*CIL*, VI, IV, 2, 32106); altro di lui non si sa; i Barbari Pompeiani, con cui molto probabilmente era imparentato, più volte ricoprono il consolato e la *praefectura Urbi* nel IV sec. e agli inizi del V ⁶¹⁾. La nostra anfora apparterrà alla stessa epoca e la cronologia Lamboglia è perciò esatta. (*V. Addendum*, p. 247).

FORMA 34.

Anforette di questa forma sono state rinvenute in varie zone della città, al Quirinale, all'Esquilino, negli scavi sotto la Chiesa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo ⁶²⁾; un esemplare inedito è a Ostia. Mentre l'anfora di SS. Giovanni e Paolo reca dipinto il monogramma costantiniano accompagnato dall'alfa-omega, altre hanno la croce accompagnata dalle lettere XMI che il Dressel, sulla scorta del De Rossi, interpreta: *Χριστός, Μιχαήλ, Γαβριήλ*.

Segue la misura della capacità del vaso, in sestarii. A proposito della forma 23, si è accennato che il De Rossi, studiando in particolare l'anfora di SS. Giovanni e Paolo, ha espresso l'opinione che queste anforette siano di provenienza siriana, perché la citazione, abbreviata alle sole iniziali, del nome di Cristo assieme a quello degli arcangeli Michele e Gabriele, sarebbe peculiare del Cristianesimo di quella regione. Quanto alla cronologia, sempre secondo il De Rossi, le anfore con il monogramma costantiniano apparterrebbero al IV secolo, quelle con la croce al V ⁶³⁾. Il Dressel apporta una nuova prova in favore della provenienza orientale di queste anfore: misurata la capacità di alcuni recipienti e confrontata la misura ottenuta con la indicazione in sestari espressa nelle iscrizioni, egli ha riscontrato che l'unità di misura usata non è il sestario romano, bensì quello detto alessandrino o siriano (litri 0,674 o 0,729).

Il chi-rho intrecciato, assieme alle lettere mi e gamma (Michael, Gabriel) ritornano anche su un'anforetta della forma 37 (4889) che, pertanto, se le idee del De Rossi sono valide, dovrebbe ricondursi anch'essa alla Siria. Del pari vanno considerate insieme le due anfore di forma 32 citate dal Dressel sotto il n. 4895, nelle quali la misura in sestarii è indicata nello stesso modo che per le anforette di forma 34.

La datazione Lamboglia, esatta per le forme 34 e 37, è forse troppo alta per la forma 32.

⁶¹⁾ Cfr. G. BARBIERI, *L'albo senatorio da Settimo Severo a Carino*, Roma, 1952, p. 659; A. CHASTAGNOL, *Les Fastes de la Préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire*, Parigi, 1962, p. 265 sgg. Gabinio Barbaro Pompeiano sarà imparentato con Gabinio Vettio Probianus, *praefectus urbi* nel 377 (*ibid.*, p. 201 sgg.). Cfr. *RE* s.v. *Probianus* (ignora le iscrizioni del *CIL*, XV), e s.v. *Pompeianus*.

⁶²⁾ Nn. 4886-90-92-93-94-95-97.

⁶³⁾ G. B. DE ROSSI, « Anfore vinarie con segni cristiani trovate nella casa dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo », *Bull. Arch. Crist.*, serie VI, I, 1890, p. 29 sgg. Non intendiamo entrare in merito alle idee del De Rossi, che riferiamo perché accettate dal Dressel. In realtà le iniziali MI sono ben note anche in altri paesi, in Egitto, in Italia, ecc. Cfr. anche forma 23.

FORMA 35.

L'unica iscrizione riportata dal Dressel (4874), consistente in due lettere greche soltanto, proviene dal Castro Pretorio. Cronologia: I secolo d. Cr. Incerto ogni altro dato.

FORMA 36.

E' nota un'iscrizione su questa forma in lettere greche: $\text{M}\alpha\rho$ (4862). L'interpretazione Dressel: vino Maroneo o Mareotico, sulla base di testi di Plinio e Ateneo, resta molto incerta. Da notare che la stessa abbreviazione $\mu\alpha\rho$ compare, sotto il monogramma cristiano del chi-rho intrecciati, nel titolo 4885 su anfora di forma 23 (v. sopra); si tratta tuttavia di elemento per nulla indicativo. Lamboglia: età repubblicana.

FORMA 37: vedi forma 34.

FORMA 38.

N. 4806 (dall'Esquilino): *Miscel / pl / C Iuli*... e, da altro mano e in altro colore: *Eucaero Matidiaes* (o *Gratidiaes*): *Eucaero Matidiaes s(ervo?)*. Il Dressel ricorda le *uvae miscellae* o, alternativamente, pensa ad un cibo, forse destinato ai servi, detto *miscellum* o *miscellanea*; il Remark si rifà a questa seconda ipotesi ⁶⁴).

FORMA 39.

Delle due iscrizioni su anfore di questa forma, una, dal Castro Pretorio, è di particolare interesse (4696): *g(ari) f(los) / AA Atiniis / Dom*...; la prima riga fornisce inequivocabile indicazione del contenuto. La menzione degli AA. Atinii, già incontrati sulle anfore di forma 28 e noti anche su anfore di forma 20 e 7-13 (v. oltre) è determinante per stabilire la provenienza dell'anfora. Un ulteriore elemento di contratto tra le anfore di forma 39 e quelle di forma 7-13, è la parola abbreviata *Dom*..., che ritorna in un'anfora di forma 7 e una di forma 13 (v. oltre). La seconda iscrizione, proveniente dall'Esquilino (4747), è mutila, ma l'aggettivo *exc(ellens)*, come vedremo trattando delle forme 7-13, sembra usato per indicare la qualità del *garum* o del *liquamen*. Resta incerto, come già osservato, il perché della notevole varietà di forme usate in Ispagna per contenere lo stesso prodotto.

La cronologia va fissata entro i limiti del I secolo; la datazione Lamboglia è assolutamente inaccettabile.

⁶⁴) *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

FORMA 40.

Una quindicina di iscrizioni proviene dal Castro Pretorio, ma, purtroppo, non offrono che iniziali, sigle, monogrammi (nn. 4813-14-15). La cronologia Lamboglia è troppo bassa.

FORMA 42.

Un'iscrizione dal Quirinale (4829) contiene solo cifre e abbreviazioni. Nessun elemento per la cronologia (Lamboglia: Tardo Impero).

FORMA 43.

Un frammento *amphorae elegantissimae* (4519), con una iscrizione purtroppo scarsamente utile, viene dagli Orti Torlonia; lo scarico degli Orti Torlonia, a differenza di quello del Testaccio, non è omogeneo, non soltanto perché comprendeva anfore di diverse forme, ma anche perché assieme a frammenti di anfore globulari con date consolari posteriori alla metà del III secolo, si sono rinvenuti bolli della seconda metà del I. Quest'ultima cronologia sembra la più probabile per la forma 43, data la forma del recipiente e la sua particolare eleganza; tanto più che la forma Dressel 43 probabilmente corrisponde alla XXXVI di Pompei, ben nota a Ercolano nella « taberna vasaria » ins. IV, n. 14 (^{64 bis}).

FORMA 45.

Due iscrizioni, in greco, sono del Castro Pretorio (4867-68). Molto affine all'anfora vinaria forma 5, come testimonia l'esitazione del Dressel nell'attribuire all'una o all'altra forma il titolo 4867. Accettabile pertanto il raggruppamento delle due forme proposto dal Lamboglia.

II - LE FORME 7-II, 12 e 13

Abbiamo preferito esaminare separatamente le forme 7-II, 12 e 13, per dedicare ad esse una trattazione più estesa che, nelle intenzioni di chi scrive, vorrebbe andare un poco oltre la semplice elencazione dei dati forniti dal *CIL*, XV, 2. E' sembrato infatti interessante porre un particolare accento sull'importanza del commercio del *garum* per l'economia della Spagna del I secolo d. Cr. e, soprattutto, mettere in evidenza come l'esportazione del

^{64 bis}) A. MAIURI, *Ercolano, i nuovi scavi (1927-1958)*, Roma 1958, p. 436; *Id.*, *Ercolano, Itin. Musei e Monum. d'Italia*, 4^a ed. 1954, tav. XXIX, 52.

garum e delle analoghe salse a base di pesce, almeno verso alcune regioni precorresse cronologicamente e inizialmente, forse, superasse per importanza l'esportazione, intensissima, del famoso olio della vallata del Guadalquivir ⁶⁵). Tuttavia non si pretenda da questa breve trattazione completezza di dati e di informazione bibliografica: il problema è ampio, non semplice, e andrà completamente rivisto con più ampia documentazione, onde ricondurre con maggiore precisione le varie forme di anfore alle città e regioni della Spagna per le quali gli antichi attestano una particolare floridezza delle industrie di pesce conservato, *garum* e prodotti consimili. La bibliografia, per il carattere stesso della presente trattazione, è quindi limitata ai contributi essenziali.

Le forme 7-11 sono così affini le une alle altre da costituire un gruppo strettamente omogeneo; per questi tipi, anzi, la classificazione Dressel è fin troppo minuziosa, né è facile distinguere quelle che possono essere semplici varianti dalle forme aventi una loro propria individualità. Lo stesso Dressel manifesta spesso incertezze nell'assegnare le anfore all'una forma o all'altra; posso aggiungere, per mia esperienza, che, qualora sia frammentaria, può divenire assai difficile assegnare con precisione un'anfora ad una delle forme 7-11. L'esigenza di raggruppare razionalmente queste forme è sentita da parecchi studiosi, anche se le soluzioni proposte presentano qualche divergenza: il Callender, ad esempio, si limita alle sole forme 7-9 ⁶⁶); Lamboglia riunisce alle 7-11 anche la forma 41, per la quale, tuttavia, non esistono indicazioni sufficienti; il Loeschke ⁶⁷) considera in un unico gruppo le forme 7-11 cui aggiunge anche la 14, che invece va distinta dalle altre ⁶⁸). Le forme 12 e 13 presentano invece notevoli varianti tipologiche (che probabilmente il disegno del Dressel ha esagerato); tuttavia l'esame delle iscrizioni indica che almeno la forma 13 va considerata strettamente collegata alle forme 7-11, nonostante le diversità apparenti. Soltanto un elementare senso di prudenza, e alcune difficoltà offerte dalle iscrizioni, consigliano invece

⁶⁵) Sul *garum*, un buon articolo di insieme è quello di C. JARDIN, « Garum et sauces de poisson de l'antiquité », *RSL*, XXVII, 1961, p. 70 sgg. (con bibl. preced.).

⁶⁶) *Op. cit.*, p. 17 sg.

⁶⁷) *Oberaden*, p. 98.

⁶⁸) E' da ricordare un recente ritrovamento in Spagna, segnalato da R. PASCUAL GUASCH, « Dos anforas del Pecio Gandolfo (Almería) », *Zephyrus*, XI, 1960, p. 205: trattasi di un'anfora di forma 14 con un'iscrizione affine a *CIL*, XV, 2, 4719 e di una della forma VII Schöne di Pompei, di cui esemplari son noti a Ostia, a Nyon, ad Augst, in Spagna, ecc. Tuttavia gli indizi per un'origine spagnola della forma 14 restano labili.

di mantenere per il momento separata la forma 12, anche se è piuttosto probabile che essa abbia in comune con le altre non soltanto la cronologia e il contenuto, ma anche la provenienza.

In molte di queste forme è caratteristico l'orlo, svasato e sagomato; agli orli di questo tipo (che saranno gli unici a sopravvivere), sembrano accompagnarsi, nel periodo più antico, anche orli di forma più rigida ⁶⁹). Caratteristiche le anse a nastro, con profilo verticale e gomito molto stretto; alcune forme presentano una scanalatura longitudinale lungo l'ansa, altre un'ansa a nastro semplice con solcature poco pronunziate. Ma specialmente tipica è l'argilla, che spesso consente di distinguere, a prima vista, anche i frammenti meno tipici: nei punti di maggior spessore, il nucleo ha un colore giallo-arancio, ma alla periferia il colore tende nettamente al giallo; l'esterno, ingubbiato, ha quasi sempre una tinta tra giallo e verdastro.

Sembra impossibile stabilire, al momento, il perchè delle differenze di forma tra queste anfore, differenze che nei casi estremi si fanno veramente notevoli e riguardano principalmente la lunghezza del collo (e conseguentemente quella delle anse) e, in particolare, il profilo della pancia del recipiente. Resta soprattutto difficile stabilire i rapporti fra le varie forme in termini di cronologia, quale cioè abbia avuto origine prima e quali più tardi, e se ve ne siano alcune che vadano considerate come evoluzione tipologica di altre. Le deduzioni che si è creduto presentare sulla base dei trovamenti nei *castra* renani non sembrano tutte soddisfacenti. Il quadro che si può ricavare a Roma, dalle iscrizioni del Castro Pretorio, mostra che tutte le forme erano contemporaneamente in uso, anche se ciò potrà sembrare singolare. Delle iscrizioni ci occuperemo più ampiamente in seguito. Ma sarà utile citare sin da ora un esempio: il nome degli stessi esportatori, i due Auli Atinii, compare su anfore delle forme 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, il che significa che queste forme erano esportate nello stesso tempo da una medesima società di navigazione, ed erano perciò tutte adoperate contemporaneamente. La presenza degli stessi esportatori rende anche poco probabile che la varietà delle forme corrisponda a diversi centri di produzione: la regione d'origine, come vedremo poi, è la stessa, la Spagna, e il contenuto dei recipienti, a giudicare dalle iscrizioni, sembra del pari fosse il medesimo per tutte le nostre anfore, prodotti cioè a base di pesce, *garum*, *muria*, *liquamen*, e altre salse ana-

⁶⁹) *Oberaden*, pp. 98-99; Haltern: S. LOESCHKE, « Keramische Funde in Haltern », *Mitt. Altertumskommission f. Westfalen*, V, 1909 (citato in seguito: *Haltern*), pp. 254-55.

loghe ⁷⁰). Del resto, è ugualmente difficile ammettere che semplici variazioni nella tecnica di fabbricazione usate nelle varie figline potessero determinare diversità di forma a volte molto rilevanti. Una spiegazione plausibile al momento sfugge; il problema rimane aperto.

Abbiamo indicato la Spagna come luogo d'origine delle anfore; alcuni autori hanno già accennato ad una possibile provenienza dalla Betica ⁷¹), ma una dimostrazione vera e propria non è mai stata tentata. Intendiamo lasciare da parte, per ora, le fonti letterarie e le testimonianze archeologiche, pur abbondanti, che localizzano le une e le altre specialmente nella zona di Cadice e sulle coste mediterranee della Spagna le fabbriche produttrici del *garum* migliore ⁷²). Ci limiteremo invece alle sole iscrizioni dipinte sulle anfore stesse.

In realtà, nessuno dei pur numerosi titoli anforari di Roma e Pompei contiene indicazioni sicure circa l'origine spagnola delle nostre anfore. Due iscrizioni di Augst menzionano il *g(arum) Hisp(anum)* e la *mur(ia) Hisp(ana)*, ma sembra fossero su anfore di altra forma ⁷³); inoltre l'editore fa giustamente osservare che l'aggettivo Hispana o Hispanica, a proposito della *muria*, non vorrà indicare tanto la origine geografica, quanto la maniera con cui era stata preparata ⁷⁴); l'iscrizione si potrà tradurre: « *muria* preparata secondo la ricetta spagnola ». Pur se è molto poco probabile, teoricamente si può arrivare a pensare che la *muria Hispanica* sia stata preparata anche fuori della Spagna.

L'elemento veramente persuasivo circa la provenienza delle anfore è costituito dalla stessa tipologia delle iscrizioni. La seguente iscrizione, trovata a Pompei (CIL, IV, 2, 5622), può essere considerata tipica: *lymp vet / allia /*

⁷⁰) Volendo ammettere, come sarebbe logico, che alle diverse forme di anfora corrispondessero prodotti diversi, per la forma 7 si potrebbe pensare che i titoli 4710-13-22 detti dal Dressel su anfore di forma 7 o 8, e i titoli 4699 e 4723 pertinenti ad anfore di forma 7 o 10, non appartenessero alla forma 7. A questa resterebbero allora soltanto speciali prodotti, il *lacca(tum)* il *Cod(. . .)*, il *Sig(. . .)* *pervet(us)*, il (o la) *mal(. . .)*. Ma, risolto in tal modo per la forma 7, il problema si ripresenta per le altre forme di questo gruppo.

⁷¹) Per limitarmi a qualche contributo recente, segnalo che tale è ad esempio l'opinione del Benoit (art. cit., Gallia, 1962, p. 176) e del Tchernia (art. cit., p. 443).

⁷²) Oltre che nelle opere citate del Remark e del Van Norstrand, una utilissima raccolta di fonti sul *garum* spagnolo si trova in L. C. WEST, *Imperial Roman Spain, The objects of Trade*, Oxford, 1929, p. 38. Si veda pure M. P. CHARLESWORTH, *Trade-routes and commerce of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1926, p. 156 sgg. Per i trovamenti archeologici vedi: M. PONSICH - M. TARRADELL, *Garum et industries de salaison dans la Méditerranée occidentale*, Parigi, 1965, p. 81 sgg.

⁷³) O. BOHN, « Pinselschriften auf Amphoren aus Augst und Windisch », *Anz. Schweiz. Altertumskunde*, XXVIII, 1926, p. 197 sgg. (nn. 2 e 4, pp. 202-204).

⁷⁴) *Ibid.*, p. 204.

XVIIIs / *M. Valeri Heliadis*. Presso l'ansa, obliquamente e in lettere più piccole, è scritto: *Materni XX*. Si tratta, come si vede, di iscrizioni complesse e ricche di dati, non tutti di facile interpretazione. Quasi costantemente tracciate con vernice nera, in lettere capitali, con caratteri piccoli (tra 0,5 a 1 cm.) e molto accurati (quelle presso l'ansa sembrano a volte tracciate più frettolosamente), queste iscrizioni mostrano grandi affinità con quelle delle ben note anfore globulari di forma 20. Il nostro titolo inizia con l'indicazione del prodotto contenuto nel recipiente: *lympa(tum?) vet(us)*; quindi la durata dell'invecchiamento: *allia* da interpretare con il Dressel: *annorum trium*. Segue una cifra, di non chiaro significato, infine, i *tria nomina* di un personaggio, al genitivo. Presso l'ansa, è un nome servile, che, in questo caso, sembra accompagnato da un numero.

Fra i vari elementi che compongono l'iscrizione, l'ultimo è il più significativo, e di per sé acquista il valore di una prova se poniamo a confronto i titoli letti dal Dressel su anfore delle forme 7-11 e quelli noti su anfore di forma 20; non le iscrizioni, più tarde e complesse, del Monte Testaccio, ma quelle più semplici e meno ricche di elementi dei trovamenti più antichi (Castro Pretorio). Orbene, a mia conoscenza, non esiste alcun altro tipo di anfora in cui riappaia quell'elemento così caratteristico rappresentato dalla scritta obliqua, presso l'ansa, a complemento della iscrizione principale sul collo o sulla pancia del vaso. Da gran tempo il Dressel ha riconosciuto, in quei nomi servili, i funzionari di modesto rango incaricati dal fisco di controllare le merci al momento dell'imbarco ai fini della tassazione; nelle iscrizioni più tarde del Testaccio, il nome è seguito dal verbo *accepit*, in forma generalmente abbreviata, dalla menzione dell'*arca* e eventualmente da altre indicazioni, tra le quali il nome del produttore, della località di provenienza e, talvolta, anche del *praedium* e della figlina da cui provengono l'anfora e il suo contenuto. Anche nel caso delle anfore 7-13 il nome presso l'ansa è certamente quello dell'addetto al fisco; in ogni caso è da escludere un rapporto fra questo personaggio e quello ai cui *tria nomina* l'anfora è intestata. Ad esempio, uno stesso *Domesticus* firma tre anfore del Castro Pretorio, una di forma 7 e due di forma 10, appartenute a diversi proprietari, rispettivamente a P. Coridio Grato, M. Bebio Clarico e P. Attio Severo (nn. 4737, 4749, 4750) ⁷⁵). A

⁷⁵) Non saprei dire se lo stesso personaggio possa essere riconosciuto in un'anfora pompeiana (CIL, IV, 2, 5716), in cui l'iscrizione presso l'ansa è stata letta: *dedomesti*. A Pompei non mancano altri esempi, ma sono più incerti; p. es. presso l'ansa di un'anfora di C. Terenzio Paolo è il nome

Pompei ci è dato cogliere una prima indicazione precisa. Nell'iscrizione *CIL*, IV, 3, 9498, su anfora di forma X della classificazione Schöne-Mau (corrispondente alla forma 20 del Dressel)⁷⁶, il nome dell'*acceptor* scritto al genitivo presso l'ansa è quello di un *Cornelius*, accompagnato dalla abbreviazione *a* (da leggere *arca* secondo il Dressel) e da una cifra. Il nome non era ignoto a Pompei; nella stessa forma, *Corneli a(rca)*, esso ritorna su due anfore della forma VII⁷⁷ che contenevano del *lump(atum) vet(us)* (*CIL*, IV, 2, 5618). Se l'*acceptor* del fisco è lo stesso, mi sembra chiaro che doveva essere lo stesso anche il porto di imbarco tanto per le anfore olearie della forma 20 come per quelle che ora esaminiamo. Ma si può obiettare, naturalmente, che il nome *Cornelius* è comune, e può trattarsi di una omonimia. Risultati più decisivi potremo ottenere confrontando i nomi dei personaggi che firmano le anfore con le proprie generalità.

E' noto che il Dressel aveva proposto di riconoscere nella persona che, per così dire, « firma » con i suoi *tria nomina* le anfore di forma 20, il produttore del loro contenuto, destinato all'esportazione; ma, prima il Remark, e qualche tempo dopo (e indipendentemente da lui) lo Héron de Villefosse, pervennero alla stessa conclusione che il nome dovesse indicare non già il produttore, bensì il *mercator*, l'esportatore del prodotto. Ora, in parecchi casi i nomi dei *mercatores* riconosciuti sulle anfore di forma 20 ritornano anche su anfore delle forme 7-13, provando così l'esistenza di esportatori « polivalenti », per usare un termine del Tchernia.

Cominciamo così a intravedere l'esistenza di fiorenti compagnie impegnate nella esportazione dei prodotti spagnoli sui mercati occidentali; oltre all'olio celeberrimo della vallata del *Baetis* anche il *garum* e altre salse di pesce preparate, in parte almeno, nelle fabbriche poste presso la foce del fiume, nelle vicinanze di Gades, e a Cartagena, a Carteia e altrove, venivano inviati oltremare; e assieme ad essi forse anche altri prodotti della stessa

[*Her*] *metis* (*CIL*, IV, 2, 5637) che ritorna su un'anfora intestata ad altro personaggio (*ibidem*, n. 5639); un *Domit...* (?) firma anfore dei Claudii e degli Atinii (*ibid.*, n. 5640, e *CIL*, IV, 3, 9516).

⁷⁶ TCHERNIA, *art. cit.*, p. 444.

⁷⁷ La forma VII della classificazione elaborata dallo Schöne per Pompei in realtà non corrisponde alle forme 7-13 del Dressel; si tratta invece di quella forma cui il Pelichet ha dato il numero 46, e che è ben nota in varie parti dell'Occidente. Tuttavia, poiché nella classificazione Schöne non compare alcuna altra forma che corrisponda alle 7-13 del Dressel, mentre queste anfore sono assai numerose sia a Pompei che a Ercolano, come ho constatato personalmente, non mi pare dubbio che le forme 7-13 siano state intese dai compilatori del IV volume del *CIL* come varianti della VII e pertanto anche le iscrizioni relative siano state raggruppate sotto questo numero. Vedremo più avanti le concordanze tra le iscrizioni di Roma e quelle di Pompei, che ci confermano in tale opinione.

regione se, come pare probabile, le anfore di forma 28 non contenevano né olio né *garum*. Le iscrizioni del Castro Pretorio permettono di conoscere i nomi di alcuni di questi intraprendenti *mercatores*. In primo luogo è da ricordare la società dei due Auli Atinii; esportatori all'ingrosso, essi firmano molte anfore di forma 20, 28, 39, accanto a quelle delle forme 7, 8, 9, 10, 13⁷⁸. Non sappiamo quale rapporto di parentela avessero con loro i due Gai Atinii, il cui nome figura su un'anfora di forma 8; considerata la rarità del nome, poco attestato nella Spagna, saranno stati un ramo collaterale della famiglia o forse i predecessori titolari della stessa ditta. Ma le anfore degli Atinii non giungevano soltanto sul mercato di Roma; un frammento d'anfora di Pompei nomina gli ... *Atinii*⁷⁹ (*CIL*, IV, 3, 9516), e un'altra anfora pompeiana (*CIL*, IV, 2, 5650) è segnata al nome di *A. Atinius Crescens*, il figlio, forse, di uno dei due Atinii, o, più probabilmente, uno degli Atinii dei titoli del Castro Pretorio rimato in commercio dopo la morte o il ritiro dagli affari del consocio.

L'attività della famiglia degli Atinii non sembra oltrepassare i confini del primo secolo della nostra era; il loro nome non compare nelle iscrizioni scoperte al monte Testaccio. Più lunga vita ebbe invece la compagnia dei DD. Caecilii, il cui nome compare già su anfore di Pompei (*CIL*, IV, 3, 9480) mentre discendenti della stessa famiglia, i DD. *Caecilii Hospitalis et Maternus*, verso la metà del II secolo saranno tra i più attivi esportatori presenti sulle anfore del Testaccio⁸⁰. Non ci è dato dire se tra i DD. Caecilii di Pompei e i QQ. Caecilii del Castro Pretorio esistesse un rapporto di parentela; il gentilizio è diffuso, e può trattarsi di famiglie del tutto indipendenti. Impegnati anche loro nel commercio sia dell'olio che del *garum*, i QQ. Caecilii firmano anfore di forma 20, di forma 9 e di forma 10⁸¹.

Queste compagnie di commercio sembra fossero costituite per lo più da membri di una stessa famiglia: gli Atinii, i Claudii, i DD. e i QQ. Caecilii saranno stati padre e figlio, o colliberti o, eventualmente, fratelli. Incerto rimane invece il rapporto di parentela fra i personaggi appartenenti ad un'altra, o a più « case » di esportazione, quella dei *Baebii*: un *L. Baebius Anthus* ascrive al

⁷⁸ Forma 20: nn. 3639/41; forma 7: 4739; forma 7 o 10: 4699; forma 8: 4699; forma 9: 4698; forma 10: 4744; forma 13: 4695 e 4697; forma 28: 4700; forma 39: 4696.

⁷⁹ Il Dressel ha già osservato la singolarità del fatto che sulle anfore degli Auli e dei Gai Atinii e dei Quinti Cecili, il nome degli esportatori è scritto al dativo anziché al genitivo, come di regola. Lo stesso caso si riscontra in questo titolo pompeiano.

⁸⁰ TCHERNIA, *art. cit.*, p. 437 sgg.

⁸¹ Forma 20: 3646; forma 9: 4753; forma 10: 4754.

proprio nome due anfore di forma 8 (n. 4704); su un'altra anfora della stessa forma si fa menzione di un *M. Baebius N...* (4735); infine un *M. Baebius Claricus* è l'esportatore di un'anfora di forma 10 (4750). Il gentilizio *Baebius* è assai diffuso in Spagna; ma è difficile non supporre un qualche rapporto tra questi personaggi, impegnati in un medesimo periodo nell'esportazione degli stessi prodotti. Non è da escludere che, in questo caso, anche liberti potessero essere stati ammessi a fare parte della società⁸²). Del resto, le fonti ci parlano di compagnie assai vaste, organizzate con la partecipazione di persone completamente estranee fra di loro: tale doveva essere il caso di quella grande ditta che a Cartagena produceva l'apprezzatissimo *garum sociorum* (Plinio, *N.H.*, XXXI, 94). L'esistenza di queste compagnie, e il loro perpetuarsi nel tempo attestano non soltanto la floridezza di questi commerci, ma anche, come ha ben osservato il Tchernia, la grande stabilità economica della Spagna nei primi due secoli della nostra era.

Di altri personaggi che firmano anfore di forma 20 e anfore di forma 7-13, come P. Cordio Grato, P. Attio Severo, A. Atilio Macro, si parlerà esaminando in dettaglio le singole forme; sembra inutile allungare qui l'elenco, quando le testimonianze invocate fino a questo momento appaiono ampiamente sufficienti a comprovare la comune origine spagnola delle anfore di forma 20 e 7-13. Ma va citato un altro confronto, interessante perché al di fuori del ristretto ambito geografico di Roma e Pompei. Il Bohn⁸³) ha pubblicato un frammento di anfora da Vindonissa, intestata a C. Nonius Omullus; al nome segue un numero, 214 1/2 che, secondo l'editore, indicherebbe il peso del recipiente espresso in libbre romane. Ora, il numero è espresso con cifre di quel tipo particolare, riscontrato dal Dressel al Testaccio, che sembra esclusivo delle anfore spagnole di forma 20; inoltre il frammento di Vindonissa, a giudicare dalla curvatura, doveva appartenere ad un recipiente molto capace, e non par dubbio perciò che esso abbia appartenuto ad una delle anfore globulari destinate al commercio dell'olio spagnolo. Ebbene, anche C. Nonio Omullo era un'esportatore polivalente, e come rileva il Bohn, il suo nome non è ignoto al *CIL*, XV, 2; un'anfora dal Castro Pretorio di forma 10 (n. 4745) reca un'iscrizione che al Dressel è sembrato dover leggere *C. Non(i) Domilli (?)*, mentre il Mommsen proponeva la

⁸²) Il caso non è raro nei titoli del Testaccio; cfr. *CIL*, XV, 2, p. 560.
⁸³) *Art. cit.*, a p. 232, nota 73.

lettura *C. Non(i) Omulli*⁸⁴). Il frammento di Vindonissa prova giusta l'idea del Mommsen, mentre, d'altro canto, la cronologia dello Schutthügel, pur nei suoi termini cronologicamente così estesi, fornisce una conferma alla datazione Dressel per il Castro Pretorio. Il nome di C. Nonio Omullo si aggiunge a quelli, già numerosi, di esportatori dalla Spagna di olio e di *garum* ad un tempo.

Ma, per la cronologia del Castro Pretorio, utile ci sembra proseguire l'esame dei rapporti con le iscrizioni di Pompei; rapporti che, a dire il vero, restano piuttosto generici poiché finora abbiamo incontrato soltanto un nome, quello degli Atinii, nell'una e nell'altra località. Personaggi con lo stesso gentilizio son noti su anfore di Roma e Pompei, i Cecili, i Terenzi, i Valeri: ma sono gentilizi diffusi, e le ipotesi restano vaghe e labili. E' possibile un rapporto tra lo Aulo Cosconio Avito del Castro Pretorio (3653, forma 20) e il Marco Cosconio Saturnino molte volte menzionato a Pompei (*CIL*, IV, 2-3, 2636-37, 5633, ecc.: anfore tutte di forma VII), poiché il nome Cosconio non è molto frequente. Un più preciso riscontro si avrebbe nel caso che le iniziali C.C.H. su anfora di forma 8 dal Castro Pretorio (4691) indicassero, come propone il Remark⁸⁵), *C. Cornelius Hermeros*, noto a Pompei come produttore di *liquamen* e altre salse analoghe (*CIL*, IV, 2-3, 2588 = 5716): ipotesi che probabilmente coglie nel segno, ma, ovviamente, lascia un certo margine di incertezza⁸⁶). Tuttavia, una visita agli scavi di Ercolano mi ha consentito di trovare un puntuale confronto: un'anfora di recente rinvenimento, di cui la cortesia del Soprintendente Prof. De Franciscis e della Direttrice degli scavi dott. Cerulli mi consente di dare breve notizia, conferma appieno la lettura che il Dressel aveva proposto per un titolo romano dipinto su un'anfora di forma 12 e, al tempo stesso sembra indicare che anche la forma 12 del Dressel va considerata in uno stesso gruppo con le altre di cui ci

⁸⁴) *Apud* Dressel, *CIL*, XV, 2, n. 4745. In realtà, dal facsimile del Dressel il cognome sembrerebbe doversi leggere OMULLI, cioè esattamente come il Bohn ha letto l'iscrizione di Vindonissa.

⁸⁵) *Op. cit.*, p. 26. In altro punto del suo lavoro (p. 34), evidentemente per confusione, il Remark identifica invece C.C.H. con C. Consius Hermeros, che è un esportatore di anfore olearie di forma 20 attivo intorno alla metà del II secolo, come risulta dalle epigrafi del Testaccio.

⁸⁶) A Pompei sono note parecchie altre anfore di forma VII con le iniziali C.C.H.; sono citate dal Remark alla p. 34 del suo volume e poste in relazione con lo stesso Cornelius Hermeros. Però è da osservare che le iniziali sono in colore rosso e non sembrano aver appartenuto alla iscrizione originaria che, come sappiamo, era generalmente in nero. In questi casi, preferirei riconoscere nelle iniziali non il nome dell'esportatore, bensì quello del negoziante che rivendeva il prodotto al minuto a Pompei o, ancor meglio, il nome del grossista che acquistava i carichi all'arrivo e li distribuiva tra i dettaglianti delle città vesuviane. Per analogia, si vedano le iniziali SCC in rosso e con altra grafia sull'anfora ercolanese di Clodio Ermete (v. nota 89).

occupiamo. L'anfora ercolanese appartiene alla forma 9 Dressel ⁸⁷⁾ (*Tav. LXXXI*); sul collo, su tre righe, reca un'iscrizione in lettere capitali tracciate in nero con molta accuratezza (alt. lett. 0,5-0,6 cm.). Il testo non è stato iscritto direttamente sull'argilla del vaso, ma la superficie è stata preventivamente trattata con una sorta di vernice biancastra stesa con larghe pennellate; sia il Dressel che il Mau e il Della Corte più volte ne hanno constatata la presenza ⁸⁸⁾ e il procedimento doveva essere comune, almeno per le epigrafi più curate. La prima riga non lascia dubbi: *gari flos*; alla terza riga figura il nome del commerciante, nel caso genitivo, come è d'abitudine, *M. Clodi Hermetis* ⁸⁹⁾. L'iscrizione di Roma (n. 4705), menziona il contenuto del vaso, *garum scombri*, e aggiunge il nome del *mercator*, purtroppo incompleto, . . . *lodi herm*. Il Dressel propose l'integrazione [*M.C*] *lodi Herm(etis)*, che il titolo ercolanese sembra ora confermare appieno. Che si tratti di un'omonimia sembra piuttosto difficile, in considerazione del contenuto delle due anfore; l'iscrizione di Ercolano verrebbe a costituire perciò una attestazione della comune origine delle anfore di forma 9 e di forma 12, e pertanto ricondurrebbe alla Spagna anche quest'ultima forma, ad onta del suo aspetto piuttosto diverso dalle altre.

Ma, se si eccettuano gli Atinii, e forse C. Cornelius Hermeros, gli altri nomi di esportatori delle anfore del Castro Pretorio sono fino ad ora ignoti all'epigrafia pompeiana; e, reciprocamente, i personaggi che sembrano essere stati i più attivi nel trasporto delle loro merci verso le città vesuviane non sono ricordati a Roma. C. Hostius Agathemerus, M. Valerius Abinnetus, M. Cosconius Saturninus, i Claudii, C. Calpurnius Placidus, C. Terentius Paullus, per non citare che alcuni dei nomi più noti, non compaiono sulle anfore del Castro Pretorio. Mi sembra che da questo si possa ricavare una conferma alla cronologia Dressel per i titoli della *fossa aggeris*: una distanza di almeno una ventina d'anni li separa da quelli di Pompei, sufficiente

⁸⁷⁾ Anse a nastro con solco mediano longitudinale. Argilla gialla, tipica di queste forme. Dimensioni: alt. cm. 95; diam. bocca 20,3; alt. orlo 4,5 circa; diam. mass. 30; ansa: lung. fra gli attacchi cm. 24; largh. al gomito 8; spessore 3.

⁸⁸⁾ Tali scritte avevano perciò la funzione di vere etichette e sostituivano i *pittacia* . . . *affixa cum titulo* di cui parla Petronio (*Sat.*, 34).

⁸⁹⁾ Dalla seconda riga non sono riuscito a ricavare un senso; le prime tre lettere sembrano sicure, LRL; quel che segue è difficilmente una M, più verosimilmente si tratta di due lettere, forse RA. Sopra la terza e la quarta lettera è un tratto orizzontale.

Sotto le tre righe dell'iscrizione in nero, alla base del collo, in rosso e con grafia assai più rozza, è scritto: SCC (alt. lett. cm. 2 circa). Tale titolo, iscritto direttamente nell'argilla del vaso, senza preparazione della superficie, è evidentemente posteriore all'altro.

perché si rinnovassero i quadri dei *mercatores* interessati alle esportazioni dalla Spagna, e perché la ditta degli Atinii, ancora ricordata in un'iscrizione pompeiana, passasse successivamente nelle mani del solo Atinius Crescens; uno spazio di tempo, d'altro canto, non così grande perché C. Cornelius Hermeros potesse forse essere ancora attivo nei commerci qualche tempo prima della eruzione del Vesuvio.

Il problema della cronologia di queste forme, o, per essere più esatti, della lunghezza della loro vita, e quello altrettanto importante della loro diffusione geografica, escono dai limiti del nostro assunto; pochi cenni saranno sufficienti. E' soltanto da notare che, mentre un gran numero di studiosi ha dedicato le proprie ricerche alla cronologia e alla diffusione delle anfore olearie di forma 20, l'interessantissimo capitolo delle esportazioni del *garum* spagnolo sembra aver attirato poco interesse. Non mancano a ciò del resto spiegazioni semplici; da un lato, le anfore di forma 7-13 non hanno lasciato testimonianze archeologiche così vistose come per le anfore globulari il Testaccio; d'altro canto, le anfore di forma 20 sono spessissimo bollate e, una volta appurato che una determinata marca appartiene a tale forma, è facile seguire attraverso i bolli la loro diffusione in tutto l'Impero. Invece, le forme 7-13 sono bollate molto di rado: ad esempio, su 138 frammenti sicuri (e moltissimi altri incerti) trovati a Camulodunum, uno soltanto recava un bollo di fabbrica, e il ritrovamento deve già considerarsi fortunato. Soltanto i profili o le fotografie consentono perciò di seguire la loro diffusione; ma le località pubblicate con adeguata documentazione sono pochissime e, basandosi su argomenti *ex silentio*, si corre il rischio di cadere in gravi errori di prospettiva ⁹⁰⁾.

Tuttavia, qualche indizio si può ricavare anche dal poco finora edito. Assieme ai prototipi della forma 20, le forme oggetto del presente studio compaiono perfettamente sviluppate già nell'accampamento di Oberaden, nella prima età augustea ⁹¹⁾; sono presenti in Gallia, quasi contemporaneamente, al Mont Beuvray ⁹²⁾; si diffondono, nel periodo augusteo e giulio

⁹⁰⁾ Senza i volumi del *Corpus* redatti dallo Schöne e dal Dressel, sulla base di quanto finora è stato pubblicato, si dovrebbe concludere che le anfore di forma 7-13, e quindi il commercio del *garum* spagnolo, non toccavano le coste dell'Italia. Invece i magazzini dei Musei di cui ho personale conoscenza sono pieni di anfore di questo tipo.

⁹¹⁾ Tipi 80-81: *Oberaden*, p. 95 sgg. Ricordo la curiosa opinione del Loeschke, espressa già in *Haltern*, p. 256 e ripetuta, sia pure in forma attenuata in *Oberaden*, p. 99, secondo cui parte almeno delle anfore di queste forme sarebbero state prodotte in fabbriche locali della Renania, p. es. a Xanten.

⁹²⁾ F. e N. THIOLLIER, *Fouilles du Mont Beuvray, Album*, St. Etienne, 1899, tav. XXIX.

claudio, in tutti i *castra* e nelle città della regione reto-germanica (Haltern, Hofheim, Vindonissa, Ginevra, Augsburg, ecc.), in Inghilterra (p. es. a Camulodunum, dove appaiono sin dal primo periodo e perdurano anche nella colonia) e, naturalmente, in Spagna ⁹³). Fin qui, la loro diffusione coincide con quella delle anfore globulari. Ma ciò che mi sembra interessante sottolineare, è che il commercio del *garum* spagnolo sembra penetrare rapidamente e senza ostacoli anche in regioni che, almeno in un primo tempo, sembrano restie ad accogliere l'olio spagnolo. Nel corso di una visita agli scavi di Ercolano non ho trovato alcuna anfora di forma 20 che provenisse dalla città ⁹⁴), mentre quelle di forma 7-13 sono numerose. Una ricerca molto accurata ha messo in grado il Tchernia di reperire a Pompei e Stabia soltanto tre bolli e otto iscrizioni dipinte su anfore globulari, testimonianza sì di un'importazione di olio dalla Spagna, ma ancora piuttosto limitata per la buona « tenuta » alla concorrenza provinciale, almeno fin verso la metà del I secolo, della produzione olearia italiana. E' interessante osservare, a questo proposito, che tanto il Mau che il Della Corte oscillano nell'ascrivere le anfore globulari ora alla forma X, ora alla forma XXIX: segno che di anfore simili ne erano scoperte di rado, esemplari interi dovevano esservene pochi o nessuno, sì che la loro tipologia restava incerta. Del resto, le iscrizioni su forma VII nel quarto volume del *CIL* sono assai più numerose.

Anche il deposito del Castro Pretorio, a giudicare dalla proporzione delle iscrizioni, sembra abbia restituito in più generosa misura anfore di forma 7-13 che di forma 20. A Ostia, i frammenti delle forme che qui interessano sono comuni già nei primi decenni dell'era volgare; con l'età di Claudio

⁹³) Haltern: LOESCHKE, *Haltern*, tipo 69; Hofheim: E. RITTERLING, « Das frühromische Lager bei Hofheim », *Nassauische Annalen*, XL, 1912, tipo 72; Vindonissa: C. SIMONETT - E. ETTlinger, *Römische Keramik aus dem Schutthügel von Vindonissa*, Basilea, 1952, tipi 586-88; Ginevra: W. DEONNA, *Anz. Schweiz. Altertumskunde*, XXX, 1928, p. 152 fig. 1; Augsburg: *CIL*, III, 12010, 48 (iscrizione su anfora: *liq(uaminis) f(los) scom(bri) excell(ens)* M. Valeri Maxumi, praticamente identica al titolo pompeiano *CIL*, IV, 2, 2588; per il profilo vedi: W. HÜBNER, *Jhb. Röm-Germ. Zentralmus.* Mainz, 5, 1958, p. 207); Camulodunum: C. F. C. HAWKES - M. R. HULL, *Camulodunum*, Oxford, 1947, tipo 186 A-B; per la Spagna, p. es., si cfr. M. PILAR G. SERRANO, *AEA*, 1963, p. 207 sgg., tipo 5 (con inaccettabili idee sull'evoluzione tipologica di queste forme dalle quali avrebbe origine nel II secolo la forma 20). Non sono del tutto certo che le anfore trovate ad Ampurias ed in altre località della Spagna, pubblicate da M. ALMAGRO, *Las inscripciones ampuritanas griegas ibéricas y latinas*, Barcellona, 1952, p. 215 sgg., nn. 229-231, siano realmente varianti della forma 9 Dressel; tuttavia almeno l'esemplare il cui profilo è pubblicato a p. 217 sinistra, sembra assai vicino alle nostre forme. Le forme 7-13 sono note sulle coste del Marocco: J. BRAVO - R. MUÑOZ, *Arqueología submarina en Ceuta*, Instituto de Estudios Africanos, Madrid, 1965.

⁹⁴) Negli scavi di Ercolano si conserva un'anfora di forma 20 che proviene però da Torre del Greco; essa comunque si aggiunge alle testimonianze raccolte dal Tchernia, nell'articolo più volte citato, sulle importazioni di olio spagnolo in Campania.

divengono numerosi, mentre la forma 20 rimane rappresentata, in questi strati più antichi, da scarsi frammenti di orli e di anse ⁹⁵). Mentre gli oliveti italiani sopportavano, forse già allora con difficoltà, la concorrenza delle province, in Italia non dovevano esistere manifatture di *garum* in grado di competere, per quantità e qualità del prodotto, con quelle della Spagna. La produzione di *garum* di Pompei, Pozzuoli, magari Anzio (cfr. forma 16, p. 220), dell'Istria, e di altre località, doveva limitarsi a soddisfare la domanda locale e in qualche caso, come a Pompei, non era sufficiente neppure per quella. Neppure l'Istria doveva essere fra i più grandi produttori: essa difonde in tutta la Val Padana le sue anfore di forma 6, che contenevano olio o vino, ma non vi è traccia, almeno fino a questo momento, di una parallela esportazione di *garum* in quella che era la sua naturale zona di espansione. Le forme spagnole 7-11 sono invece attestate anche nella pianura del Po: ho potuto riconoscerne almeno due esemplari in una serie di fotografie di anfore del Museo Civico di Verona, che ho ottenuto per il cortese interessamento del Direttore di quel Museo dott. Lanzoni.

Infine, pubblico qui una fotografia, purtroppo non buona, di un'anfora appartenente ad una delle forme che ci interessano ⁹⁶); essa si trova nel giardino del Museo Lavigerie a Cartagine, e non è l'unica che si conservi in quel Museo (*Tav. LXXIX*, 2). Non è possibile sapere, in mancanza di precise indicazioni, se l'anfora, come è possibile, provenisse dai « muri d'anfore » della Byrsa, cui si è già accennato; ciò alzerebbe la sua datazione in epoca anteriore al 15 a. C. Ma ciò che è più interessante, è che anche l'Africa proconsolare che, nel primo secolo, per le importazioni di olio e di vino sembrava rivolgersi soprattutto all'Italia, si rifornisse invece dalla Spagna per i suoi consumi di *garum* e di altre salse di pesce. Non è escluso che altre scoperte, o anche solo un più minuzioso spoglio di pubblicazioni, possano fornire altre indicazioni per assegnare un raggio ancor più ampio a questo commercio.

Questi brevi cenni saranno sufficienti, spero, a mettere in rilievo l'importanza delle esportazioni di *garum* dalla Spagna, soprattutto dalla Betica, negli ultimi decenni del I secolo a. C. e nel primo secolo dell'era volgare. Il Lamboglia data le nostre anfore al I sec. d. C., e la sua cronologia è, nel com-

⁹⁵) Saggi eseguiti nel 1965 da chi scrive nelle Terme del Nettuno (di prossima pubblicazione).

⁹⁶) E' molto vicina alla forma 9.

plesso, giusta, anche se, come si è detto, la loro origine va cercata agli inizi del regno di Augusto. Più difficile stabilirne il limite cronologico inferiore. Nel periodo giulio-claudio, soprattutto, il loro commercio si indirizza in massa anche verso l'Italia, dove le importazioni di *garum* sembrano precorrere, e inizialmente superare per importanza, quelle dell'olio spagnolo. Ancora nel 79 queste anfore erano tra le più diffuse nelle città vesuviane. E' difficile dire se oltrepassassero la fine del secolo, né saprei dire se la loro scomparsa sia stata rapida. In saggi di scavo eseguiti a Ostia da chi scrive, frammenti di anfore di questo tipo sono risultati assenti in strati pavimentali adrianei. Ma in un saggio ancora in corso, eseguito dal dott. Goffredo Ricci sotto un mosaico della casa di Giove e Ganimede, alcuni frammenti che sembrano appartenere ad anfore simili a quelle che ci interessano sono venuti alla luce nel riempimento sotto il mosaico, che si data al periodo antonino, in ogni caso sopra un precedente pavimento sicuramente dell'età di Adriano. Trattandosi di un riempimento artificiale, conseguente ad un rialzamento di livello di tutta la zona, la terra necessaria può benissimo essere stata prelevata altrove, magari intaccando strati più antichi. La conferma a questa cronologia potrà venire soltanto da ulteriori sondaggi.

* * *

FORMA 7.

Mancano elementi per una datazione precisa. Le iscrizioni però vengono tutte dal Castro Pretorio.

Circa il contenuto ⁹⁷⁾, i testi sono espliciti: *g(arum) sc(ombri)* (4710); 4713: *liq(uamen)*; 4722: *mur f / . ac / P. Cordi Grati*, da interpretare *mur(iae) f(los)*, fior di *muria*; improbabile, per la seconda riga, un'integrazione [*L*] *ac (catae)* a simiglianza dei titoli 4733 e 4741 (v. oltre). Il nome di P. Cordio Grato è noto su due altre anfore della medesima forma (4737 e 4740).

Si è accennato che il luogo di provenienza di queste anfore sembra essere la Spagna. Una conferma potrebbe venire dalle iscrizioni 4737-38-39, se la parola: MAL con cui inizia il testo potesse venir interpretata, con il Dressel, *Mal(acitana)*, inteso come apposizione di *muria*: cioè *muria* di Malaga. L'interpretazione, che trova consenziente il Remark, lascia un motivo di dubbio perché la parola MAL è stata scritta con vernice rossa, mentre il resto delle iscrizioni è in nero. Il Dressel non rileva alcuna differenza di grafia tra la parte scritta in nero e quella in rosso, e soltanto l'autopsia dell'iscrizione

⁹⁷⁾ Cfr. p. 232, nota 70.

potrebbe decidere; la prudenza consiglia, tuttavia, di considerare l'iscrizione a vernice rossa aggiunta più tardi, forse al momento dell'arrivo dell'anfora o della distribuzione presso i rivenditori al minuto della città. La *muria* è nominata anche nell'iscrizione 4723: *mur arg... / exce... / flos Cn. Domiti Feli[c]io[nis]*. Il Dressel scioglie l'abbreviazione *arg* della prima riga in *arg(emonia)*, e interpreta il tutto come: *muria* condita con argemonia, un'erba medicinale che entrava nella composizione dello *oenogarum*. Più persuasiva la lettura del Remark: *Mur(iae) arg(utae) exce[ll] (entis) flos Cn. Domiti Feli[c]io[nis]* ⁹⁸⁾: degli odori e dei sapori «arguti» dei cibi parlano spesso le fonti letterarie.

Le anfore di forma 7 contenevano anche il *laccatum* sottoposto ad invecchiamento (4733); del *laccatum* parla Apuleio ⁹⁹⁾ come di un liquore condito con un'erba medicinale di nome lacca, ma, per ciò che concerne il contenuto delle nostre anfore, sembra molto probabile che si trattasse di una salsa di pesce, evidentemente speziata con erbe aromatiche. Il *laccatum* è spessissimo nominato nelle anfore pompeiane. Così l'espressione mutila ...CARGV di un'iscrizione del Castro Pretorio (4741), si completa, come ben osserva il Remark, sulla base delle iscrizioni di Pompei CIL, IV, 2, 5645-46: LA-CARGVE, in cui si deve leggere: *lac(catum) arg(utum) ve(tus)*.

Per le altre salse contenute in queste anfore non si possono dare convincenti indicazioni, perché la mancanza di riferimenti precisi nelle fonti letterarie impedisce di sciogliere le abbreviazioni dei testi epigrafici. Così oscura rimane l'espressione *Sig(.....) pervet(us)* del n. 4740; incerte restano del pari le prime due righe dell'iscrizione 4732 il cui testo è: *Codpo.../Dom/allia/Dorionis L.D. Quieti*. Il termine *Cod(...)* seguito da altre abbreviazioni tra cui anche *vet(us)* è frequentissimo nelle iscrizioni pompeiane e si trova anche in un'iscrizione di Augst su un'anfora di forma 38-39 ¹⁰⁰⁾. Anche la parola *Dom* della seconda riga trova raffronti in titoli su altre forme; essa ritorna nei nn. 4695 e 4696, dal Castro Pretorio, su anfore rispettivamente di forma 13 e 39.

Sulla forma 7 non occorre insistere di più. Tra i nomi dei *mercatores*, il più significativo è quello degli AA. Atinii che ne comprova l'origine spagnola (n. 4739). Del nome servile *Domesticus* scritto presso un'ansa di anfora di questa forma (4737) si è già fatto cenno.

FORMA 8.

La forma è tra le più comuni nel deposito del Castro Pretorio; a parte questo, non si hanno, a Roma, elementi più precisi per la sua cronologia. Le iscrizioni forniscono invece puntuali indicazioni del contenuto: ben tredici titoli menzionano il fior di *garum*, *g(ari) f(los)*. Sappiamo che del *garum* esistevano varie qualità, a seconda del pesce

⁹⁸⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁹⁹⁾ *De medicam. herb.*, IV, 12 (citato da DRESSER, *loc. cit.*).

¹⁰⁰⁾ BOHN, *art. cit.*, p. 204, n. 7.

impiegato e del procedimento di confezione, dei condimenti, ecc.: un fior di *garum Lucr(etianum)*, secondo l'interpretazione Dressel, sarebbe menzionato nell'iscrizione 4691: si tratterebbe, cioè, di un *garum* confezionato secondo i precetti culinari di un non identificato Lucrezio.

Al *garum* era associata costantemente la produzione del *liquamen*, che deve esserne considerato una specie di sottoprodotto di minor prezzo; di *liq(uamen)* si parla nel n. 4717, mentre, a riprova dell'affinità di queste salse, nell'anfora 4718 l'iscrizione originaria in nero, *g(ari) f(los)* è stata sostituita, in occasione di una riutilizzazione del recipiente, da un'epigrafe in rosso, *liq(uamen)*.

Dei nomi più significativi degli esportatori noti su anfore di forma 8 non occorre fare di nuovo menzione: si ricorderanno i CC. e gli AA. Atinii (4699 e 4701); i Baebi (4704 e 4735) che firmano anche anfore di forma 10; C.C.H. (4691), da identificare, secondo il Remark, nel C. Cornelius Hermeros noto a Pompei ¹⁰¹).

FORMA 9.

L'anfora 4570, simile alla forma 9, recava l'iscrizione: *Ti. Caesare V Cos / Gaditanum* (anno 31 d. Cr.); il Dressel tuttavia osserva che l'iscrizione sembra averne sostituita un'altra, più antica, del tipo di quelle che normalmente si incontrano sulle forme 7-10, e l'anfora deve perciò essere stata riutilizzata. Incerto il significato di *Gaditanum*; può trattarsi di vino o di *garum*, ad altri prodotti è difficile pensare non soltanto per la forma dell'anfora, ma soprattutto perché la data consolare sembra indicare che il vaso conteneva un prodotto che si preferiva gustare invecchiato. Il Dressel rimane in dubbio fra vino, olio e *garum*; a me sembra poco probabile che si sia potuto mettere del vino in un'anfora che aveva contenuto della salsa di pesce fortemente speziata. Del resto, le testimonianze archeologiche localizzano proprio nel circondario di Gades grandi fabbriche di *garum* ¹⁰², questo *liquor exquisitus* così apprezzato dagli antichi.

Il *garum* del resto è nominato anche in altre due iscrizioni sulla stessa forma d'anfora, i n. 4690: *g(ari) f(los)*, e 4698: *g(arum) sc(ombri)*; mentre la *muria* compare nella iscrizione 4721, e il n. 4715 attesta che le anfore contenevano anche *liq(uaminis) flos*. Al *garum* del resto sembrano adattarsi anche le indicazioni *allia (annorum trium)* e *vet(us) (trium annorum)* (nn. 4753 e 4601) che il Dressel sembrerebbe più propenso ad attribuire al vino.

Un altro prodotto si incontra nel titolo 4782, (iscritto su un'anfora *ut videtur formae 9 similis, sed collum habens latissimum*): *abdomc*, da interpretare, con il Dressel, alla « ventresca » di tonno tagliata a pezzi, e forse conservata sott'olio, come ancor oggi noi usiamo; il testo epigrafico corrisponde quasi parola per parola all'espressione

¹⁰¹) V. P. 237, nota 85.

¹⁰²) V. PONSICH-TARRADELL, *op. cit.*

di Plinio, il quale, parlando dei tonni, dice appunto: *hi membratim caesi cervice et abdomine commendantur* (N.H., IX, 48).

Della provenienza spagnola della forma 9, come dei titoli che menzionano gli Atinii e i QQ. Caecilii si è già parlato. Va aggiunto che il Dressel, con una ipotesi abbastanza verosimile, pone in relazione il cognome Victor che appare in un testo mutilo su anfora di forma 9 (4758) con un Victor menzionato in un'iscrizione, del pari frammentaria, su un'anfora olearia di forma 20 ritrovata al Castro Pretorio (3673).

FORMA 10.

Prodotti a base di pesce, *garum*, *liquamen*, *muria*, *halex* sono ricordati nelle iscrizioni nn. 4699, 4720, 4727, 4731. Non par dubbio perciò che analoga salsa fosse contenuta nell'anfora 4745, in cui la parola *flos* è preceduta da un'altra in cui sembra si dovesse leggere qualcosa come *nabi* (?). La particolare forma con cui è indicata la durata dell'invecchiamento, *allia (annorum trium)*, è altresì caratteristica di questo gruppo di anfore (cfr. p. es. n. 4748).

Desta perciò meraviglia incontrare un titolo su *amphora non magna, formae 10 similis*, la menzione dell'*Amin(eum)* prodotto da C. Alfio Papiriano (4533). La lettura, a quanto risulta dal *CIL*, sembra sicura. Ora, è ben noto che l'Amineum era uno dei più famosi vini prodotti in Campania (cfr. forme 2-3, p. 214 sgg.). Pensare a una riutilizzazione del recipiente sarebbe una semplice e comoda soluzione, ma, come ho già detto altrove, sembra contrario alla logica che si riempisse con vino pregiato un recipiente che aveva contenuto del pesce. La spiegazione più probabile (anche se metodologicamente può essere pericolosa), è pensare che il Dressel abbia errato nell'identificare la forma del vaso che, non a caso, è detto « simile » alla forma 10, mentre la precisazione « *amphora non magna* » potrebbe significare che anche per le dimensioni l'anfora 4533 si distaccava da quelle normali di forma 10. La circostanza che il recipiente fosse bollato non è una prova determinante perché, come abbiamo visto, seppur molto di rado, marche di fabbrica compaiono anche su anfore di forma 7-13; esce dalla tipologia ordinaria, invece, la posizione del bollo L.V, che era impresso sul collo del vaso (n. 3476 a) ¹⁰³).

La relazione delle anfore di forma 10 con le altre del gruppo che ora esaminiamo è attestata dalla comune presenza dei nomi degli Atinii, dei Baebii, dei QQ. Caecilii. Anche nel nome servile Domesticus, iscritto presso l'ansa di anfore di forma 10 e di forma 7 si è già fatto cenno. Rimangono da aggiungere i nomi di due altri esportatori spagnoli, A. Atilius Macer, già segnalato dal Tchernia ¹⁰⁴ e P. Attius Severus (nn. 4720 e 4748-49), impegnati anch'essi, al pari degli altri, nella esportazione dell'olio della vallata

¹⁰³) CALLENDER, n. 962. Lo stesso bollo è forse stato trovato a Ampurias: cfr. ALMAGRO, *Las inscripciones ampuritanas*, cit., p. 210.

¹⁰⁴) *Art. cit.*, p. 443.

del Guadalquivir (iscrizioni al loro nome su anfore di forma 20: nn. 3636 e 3642-44-45).

FORMA 11.

Mancano dati sicuri di cronologia; però le uniche due iscrizioni che il Dressel riporta per questa forma (4761 e 4764) sono ambedue del Castro Pretorio. La prima di esse reca un nome servile, Chresimus, l'altra il nome di L. Pedianus Martialis; ambedue sono scritte in rosso, contrariamente alla regola dei titoli iscritti sulle anfore da *garum* spagnolo. Soltanto le affinità di forma persuadono a mantenere in gruppo con le altre anche le anfore Dressel 11, seguendo la proposta del Loeschke e del Lamboglia.

FORMA 12.

Varie iscrizioni del Castro Pretorio fanno menzione del *garum*, precisando, a volte, che si trattava di *garum scombri* (nn. 4705-08-09). Il titolo 4724 fa menzione di *muria* invecchiata di quattro anni.

Riguardo alla provenienza, un problema sorge dall'esame del titolo 4687, il cui testo è *g(ari) sc(ombri) f(los) / Puteolani*, e dal n. 4688, sotto il quale il Dressel riunisce tre anfore con la stessa iscrizione *g(ari) f(los) / Puteolani*. Il problema è se il termine *Puteolani* vada considerato un'indicazione della provenienza del *garum* (in questo caso le iscrizioni andrebbero lette: fior di *garum* di sgombro di Pozzuoli), ovvero per un nome di origine servile. Il Dressel sembra propendere per la seconda interpretazione, che, a mio avviso, è l'unica possibile; altrimenti, riuscirebbe più difficile spiegare, se non ammettendo una improbabile omonimia, come mai appaia su anfore di forma 12 il nome di M. Clodius Hermes che ritorna su quell'anfora ercolanese, di cui abbiamo fatto menzione, sicuramente appartenente alla forma 9 del Dressel ¹⁰⁵. Si noti altresì che la formula *aIIla* del titolo 4724 è la stessa che compare sulle anfore 7-10 e sembra anzi una maniera peculiare delle anfore di queste forme per indicare la durata dell'invecchiamento.

Al commercio delle anfore di forma 12 appaiono interessati personaggi della gens Numisia (4708-09) ¹⁰⁶, L. Verrius Aper (4767) e un Q. Granius Iun... (4724).

¹⁰⁵ Naturalmente, essendo Clodio Ermete non il produttore, ma il *mercator*, si può pensare che egli importasse da più località diverse; a rigore, se la forma Dr. 9 è sicuramente spagnola, non è detto che lo sia anche la 12 soltanto perché egli vi ha apposto il suo nome. Tuttavia il fatto che sia la forma 9 che la 12 contenessero *garum*, mi sembra renda molto improbabile questa ipotesi. Il cognome *Puteolanus* è del resto ben noto: cfr. I. KAJANTO, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, p. 191.

¹⁰⁶ Sono M. Numisio Nicerote e L. Numisio Silone. Ricordo, a puro titolo di ipotesi, che il nome *M. Num.*... ritorna in un'iscrizione di Pompei sicuramente su anfora di forma 20 (*CIL*, XV, 2, 3664).

FORMA 13.

Soltanto due iscrizioni su anfore di questa forma sono comprese nel *CIL*, XV, 2 (dal Castro Pretorio), ma per un caso fortunato, non solo indicano il contenuto, che è il *garum* di sgombro, ma, attraverso la menzione degli Auli Atinii, consentono di ricondurre alla Spagna anche la forma 13. Nella prima di queste due iscrizioni (nn. 4695 e 4697) alla terza riga compare anche l'abbreviazione *Dom*, che è nota anche in anfore di forma 7 e di forma 39.

FAUSTO ZEVI

Addendum alla forma 33. Mentre il presente articolo era in bozze, l'amico Mario Torelli ha richiamato la mia attenzione sull'importante lavoro di André Chastagnol, *Le Sénat Romain sous le règne d'Odoacre*, Bonn 1966, dedicato soprattutto alle iscrizioni dei gradini del Colosseo. In primo luogo, tra le iscrizioni inedite che egli pubblica, ve n'è una di un Virio Barbaro Probiano, non altrimenti noto. Ma ciò che è più importante è la nuova cronologia stabilita dallo Chastagnol. Come è noto, molti dei blocchi appartenuti ai gradini senatoriali recano sul retro le grandi lettere di una iscrizione monumentale che commemora i restauri effettuati al Colosseo da Valentiniano III e Teodosio II dopo il 443 (o, come preferisce lo Chastagnol, nel 438). Lanciani e Hülsen ritenevano che vecchi elementi di gradinate, con nomi di senatori del III e IV secolo, fossero stati reimpiegati per l'iscrizione di Valentiniano e Teodosio. Lo Chastagnol, con buoni argomenti, rovescia l'ordine della sequenza: i blocchi dell'iscrizione del 443 (o 438) vennero in seguito riutilizzati per comporre i due ordini di gradini riservati ai Senatori. Ciò sarebbe avvenuto all'epoca di Odoacre, tra 476 e 483. Per quanto a noi interessa, se l'identificazione del Barbaro Probiano del *CIL*, XV con il *clarissimus vir* del Colosseo è accettabile, la datazione della forma 33 verrebbe automaticamente abbassata alla seconda metà del V sec. d. Cr.

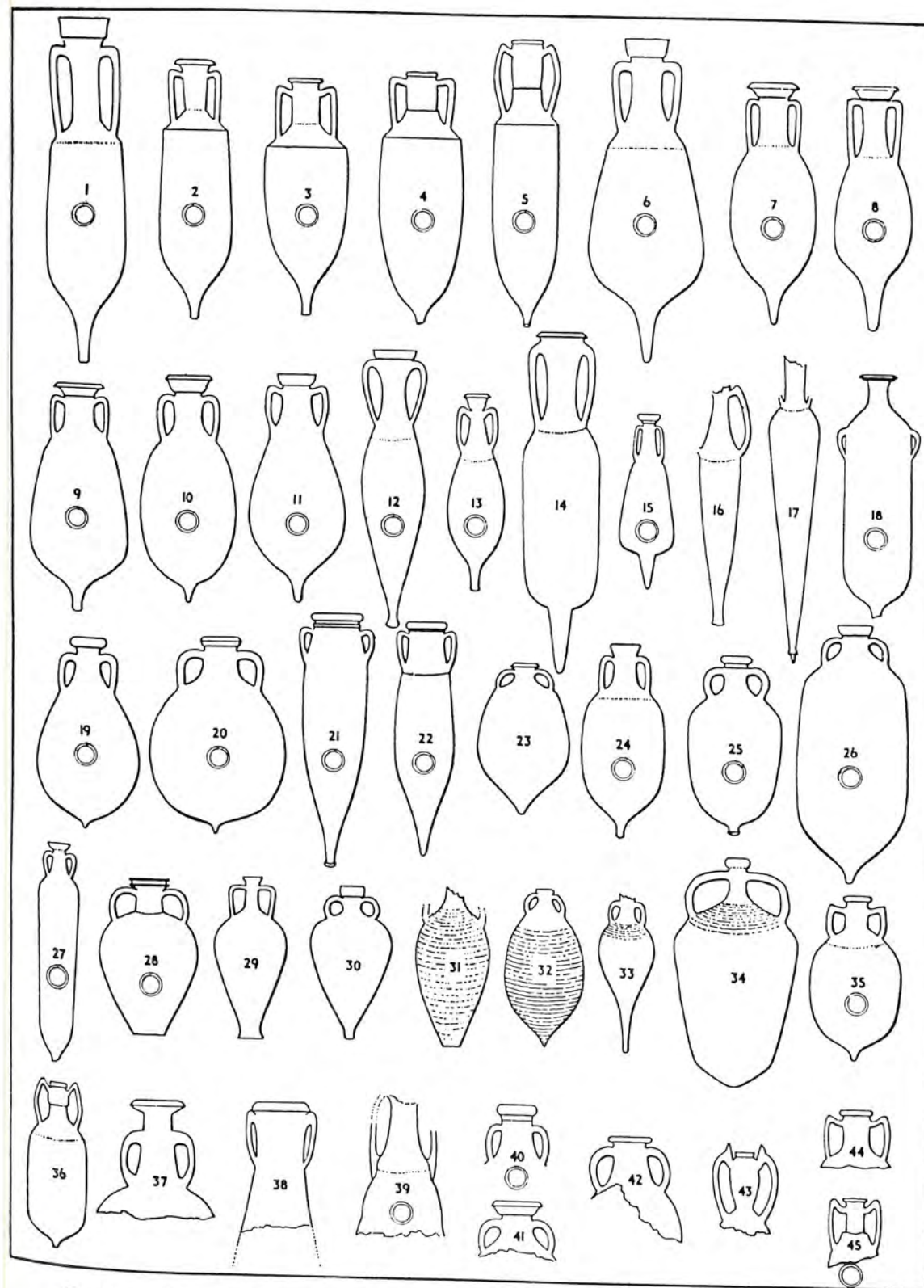
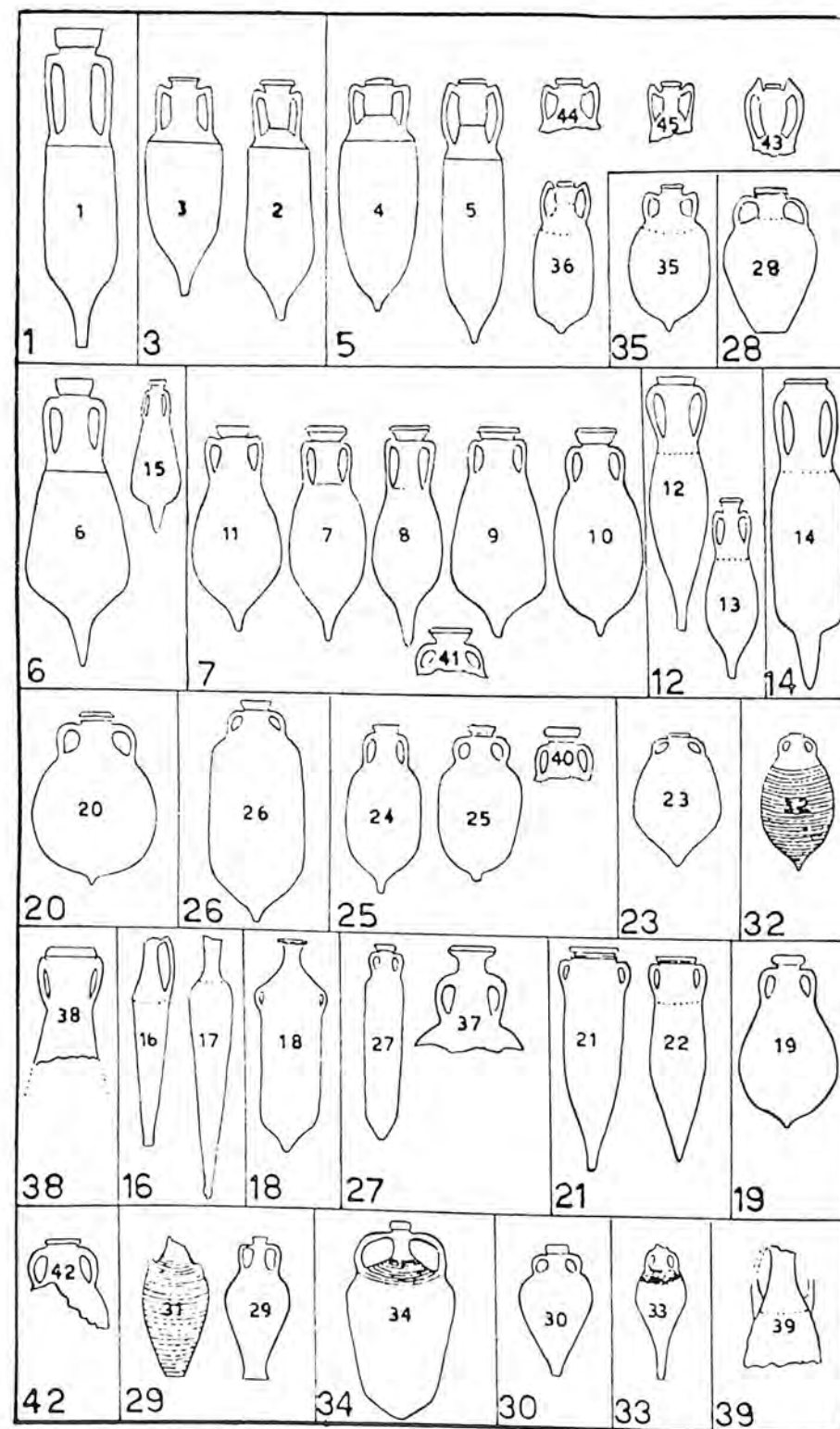


Tavola tipologica del Dressel (da *CIL* XV, 2, tav. II). Con un circoletto sono indicate le forme presenti nel deposito del Castro Pretorio.



Rifusione della tipologia Dressel proposta dal Lamboglia (da *Rivista di Studi Liguri*, XXI, 1955, p. 243).

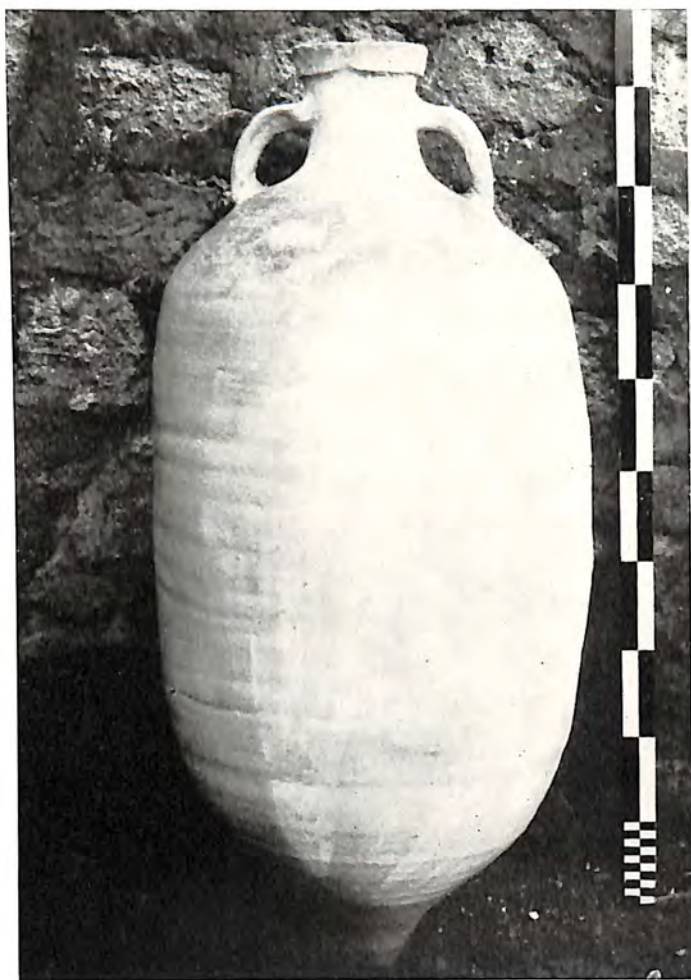


1



2

CARTAGINE, Museo Lavigerie.



1



2

1 POMPEI, Depositi; 2 ROMA, Museo Nazionale Romano.



1



2

ERCOLANO, Depositi.

Autograph
Classical 66

FAUSTO ZEVI

ANFORE ISTRIANE AD OSTIA

(NOTA SUL COMMERCIO ISTRIANO)

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FAUSTO ZEVI

ANFORE ISTRIANE AD OSTIA

(Nota sul commercio istriano) ⁽¹⁾

Nel suo magistrale studio sul deposito di anfore rinvenuto a Roma, nei pressi del Castro Pretorio, Enrico Dressel poté isolare una classe di anfore di forma particolare che più tardi, nel *CIL* XV, 2, contraddistinse con il n. 6 ⁽²⁾. Ben riconoscibili per il loro caratteristico profilo, esse si distinguevano dalle altre anche per la qualità dell'argilla, lo spessore delle pareti e, conseguentemente, il notevole peso a vuoto; molte recavano bolli o iscrizioni dipinte, ma nulla, sfortunatamente, ne indicava la provenienza. Solo nel 1909, due felici scoperte dello Gnirs consentirono di attribuire loro una patria, il rinvenimento della figlina di Lecanio Basso presso Fasana e, a Val San Pietro presso Pola, il scoprimento di un edificio a carattere industriale in cui si rinvennero moltissime anfore appartenute allo stesso personaggio ⁽³⁾.

Tuttavia, l'importanza delle scoperte dello Gnirs sfuggì alla gran parte degli studiosi. Bisogna giungere ad anni molto vicini a noi perché Attilio Degrassi, in due eccellenti articoli,

⁽¹⁾ Il termine « istriano » è usato nel presente articolo in certo modo convenzionalmente: con esso si vuole indicare l'Istria come il principale centro di un importante commercio d'esportazione. Però non è affatto escluso che a tale commercio partecipassero anche altre regioni al di fuori dell'Istria propriamente detta, p. es. le isole del Quarnaro (come già supposto dal Degrassi negli articoli citati a n. 4), la Dalmazia, ecc. Il carattere della presente trattazione non consente una disamina a fondo del problema, che è estremamente complesso e richiederebbe ben altra estensione. Sia chiaro perciò che molte delle affermazioni presentate nel corso del presente articolo vanno considerate solo come ipotesi di lavoro; ciò vale in particolare per il problema, ancora oscuro nei suoi termini, dei rapporti fra Istria e Puglia.

⁽²⁾ DRESSEL E., « Di un grande deposito di anfore rinvenuto nel nuovo quartiere del Castro Pretorio », *Bullettino Comunale* VII, 1879, pp. 36-112 e 143-196. Cfr. *CIL* XV, 2, p. 672.

⁽³⁾ GNIRS A., « Eine römische Tonwarenfabrik in Fasana bei Pola », *Jahrbuch für Altertumskunde* IV, 1910, p. 79 ss. (con una aggiunta in *Jahreshefte* XIV, 1911, Beibl., col. 35 ss.); Id., *Jahreshefte* XIII, 1910, Beibl., col. 95 ss.

il secondo dei quali pubblicato in questa stessa rivista, mettesse finalmente in adeguata luce l'importanza e l'ampiezza del commercio dei prodotti istriani ⁽⁴⁾. Non molto è rimasto da dire dopo i lavori del Degrassi. Se oggi riprendiamo in sommario esame il problema è solo per apportare qualche dato ulteriore a conferma delle sue ipotesi, e anche per mettere in rilievo l'importanza dei risultati che, in questo settore degli studi, si possono conseguire con i metodi archeologico-antiquari accanto a quelli puramente epigrafici.

Le testimonianze di rapporti commerciali con l'Istria sono ad Ostia piuttosto limitate; anzi, fino a qualche anno addietro, si riducevano ad una sola anfora, assai mutila, che la tipica forma del corpo e le caratteristiche dell'argilla consentono però di ascrivere, senza esitazioni, alla forma 6 (*Tav. I, 1*) ⁽⁵⁾. Un'altra anfora di forma 6, con il noto bollo T.H.B. impresso sulla spalla, era stata scoperta nel 1913 nei saggi sotto il lastricato di Via delle Corporazioni ⁽⁶⁾, ma successivamente andò dispersa, né oggi più esiste nelle collezioni ostiensi.

Alcune anfore intere e molte altre frammentarie vennero in luce nel 1961, durante l'escavazione, da parte del Comune, di un grande collettore da Ostia Antica al Tevere, tracciato fuori della zona demaniale in terreno di proprietà Aldobrandini. La natura, non certo archeologica, dello scavo, non con-

⁽⁴⁾ « Aquileia e l'Istria in età romana », *Studi aquileiesi offerti a G. Brusin*, Aquileia 1953, p. 51 ss.; « L'esportazione di olio e olive istriane nell'età romana », *Atti e Memorie Soc. Istriana* n. s. IV, 1956, p. 104 ss. La natura della costa d'Istria, così ricca di approdi naturali e nell'antichità ben munita di porti, facilitava la navigazione e gli scambi: cfr. DEGRASSI A., « I Porti romani dell'Istria », *Atti e Memorie* n. s. V, 1957, p. 24 ss.

⁽⁵⁾ Dai depositi del Castello senza indicazione di data e località di ritrovamento, inedita; inv. n. 16113. Priva di orlo, anse, puntale; alt. cons. cm. 73,5, diam. mass. 41. Argilla rosata, pareti molto spesse, con fessure interne di cottura; esterno ingubbiato color crema.

⁽⁶⁾ NSc 1913, p. 295. Per un errore di stampa, l'altezza è qui indicata in cm. 31,5, mentre, come risulta dal *Giornale degli Scavi* 1913, p. 209, era di cm. 81.

Il bollo T.H.B. è il più comune a Roma fra quelli su anfore di forma 6; per la sua diffusione, cfr. CALLENDER M. H., *Roman Amphorae*, Oxford 1965 (citato in Pegognaga di Mantova, Reggio Emilia, Boretto, Oderzo, Vercelli, Tortona (NSc 1878, 54 e 1880, 26; 1885, 8 e 33 e 1948, 4; 1881, 12; 1885, 31; 1953, 216; 1932, 185; 1883, 196; 1897, 373 e 1900, 314; 1897, 373), Aquileia (letto: T.H.P.) o Bergamo (PAIS E., *Supplementum italicum* al CIL V, n. 1077, 8 e 76).



Fig. 2 - Anfora istriana con bollo T. H. B.



Fig. 1 - POMPEI, Anfora col bollo M. HER. PUE.

sentì di determinare l'esatta posizione stratigrafica dei reperti; tuttavia le anfore, distribuite in due o tre gruppi distinti, erano a notevole profondità dal piano di campagna attuale (oltre 5 metri). Dai frammenti depositati presso la Soprintendenza si sono potute ricomporre parzialmente alcune anfore di forma Dressel 1, altre appartengono alle forme 7-11 o a varianti di esse ⁽⁷⁾, un frammento di bocca con orlo ampiamente svasato appartiene a un'anfora del tipo impropriamente detto « punico », dalla caratteristica argilla grigiastra: tutte forme antiche che indicherebbero una data assai alta, ancora nella seconda metà del I sec. a. C. o comunque, non oltre i limiti dell'età augustea. Ma a noi interessa un altro gruppo di anfore di uno stesso tipo, delle quali, collegando fra loro i vari frammenti, è stato possibile ricavare la forma quasi per intero, restando incerto solamente il dettaglio del puntale (figg. 2 e 3) ⁽⁸⁾. La forma è nuova in Ostia, per quanto mi risulta, e non trova confronto alcuno nella tipologia del Dressel; il tipo dell'orlo e delle anse mostrano affinità con la forma 6, mentre è diverso il profilo del ventre, qui più proporzionato e di sagoma quasi ovoidale ⁽⁹⁾. Generiche analogie mostrano alcune anfore

⁽⁷⁾ Per la cronologia e l'origine delle forme 7-11, cfr. *Arch. Class.* XVIII, 2, 1966, p. ss.

⁽⁸⁾ I frammenti in questione appartengono ad almeno sei o sette anfore; i più importanti sono inventariati con i n. 15287 (bollo *Archela*) e 16133 a-d. Le caratteristiche generali sono: alt. ricostruibile in cm. 85/90; diam. bocca 16; diam. mass. 37,5/38,5; alt. orlo 5,3; anse: lung. tra gli attacchi fra 19 e 21; sezione all'attacco sup. cm. 5,1/7 x 3,5/4; all'inferiore cm. 3,9/4,8 x 3,1/3,9. Argilla depurata e compatta di colore variabile tra giallo crema e rosa, con impurità rosse e cristallini lucenti; ingubbiatura spessa, tra biancastro e beige.

È dubbio se appartenga allo stesso gruppo il framm. inv. 16136, della stessa probabile provenienza, che reca, graffita dopo la cottura, l'iscrizione *L MA BAT*. È inoltre probabile che la parte inferiore di un'anfora, segata per far da coperchio a un'olla cineraria trovata qualche anno fa nella tomba 43 della necropoli di Porta Laurentina, appartenga alla forma 6: essa reca inciso, dopo la cottura, il nome del defunto, CN. SER. *ALEXAN* (inv. n. 15286).

⁽⁹⁾ È bene avvertire che la forma 6 Dressel non esaurisce la tipologia delle anfore « istriane ». Nel Museo di Aquileia vi sono molte anfore di forma diversa, più piccole e con la spalla arrotondata a profilo continuo con il ventre. (Cfr. p. es. *Jahrbuch f. Altertumskunde*, p. 88, fig. 12). La diffusione dei bolli su anfore di questo tipo coincide con quella della forma 6, sebbene forse in un'area più ristretta: conosco infatti un solo esemplare del tipo a Roma e non ne ho veduto nessuno a Cartagine. È su un'anfora di questa forma (anzi con il corpo ancora più slanciato, quasi a siluro) che nel Museo di Reggio Emilia è impresso il bollo IMP

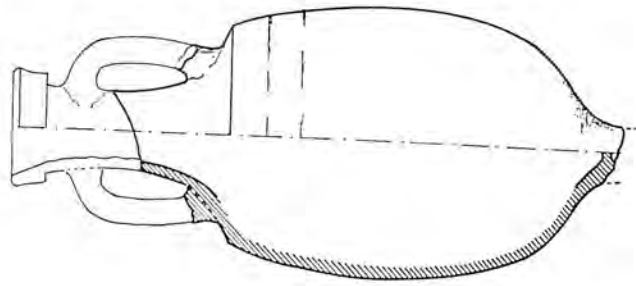


Fig. 3

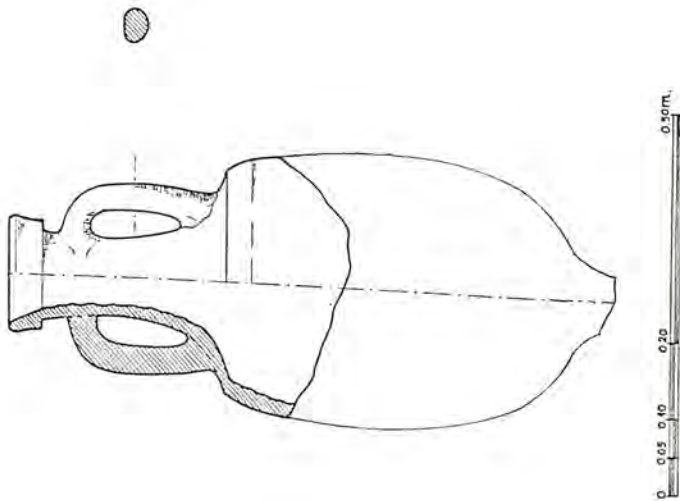


Fig. 2

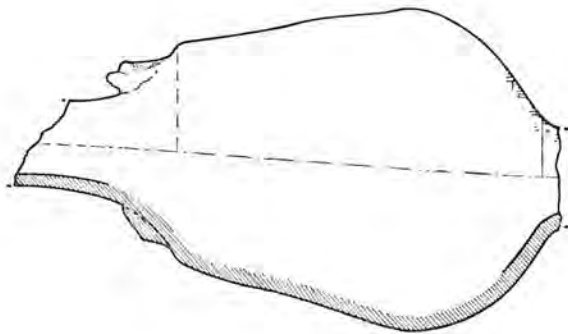


Fig. 1

inedite del Museo di Aquileia; ma una somiglianza stringente esiste fra le nostre anfore e quelle del Foro di Narona (od. Vid) che il Patsch datò, anche sulla base delle monete rinvenute insieme, alla metà circa del I sec. a. C. ⁽¹⁰⁾.

Qualche considerazione ulteriore possiamo aggiungere sulla base dell'unico bollo trovato negli scavi del collettore: è impresso sull'orlo dell'anfora riprodotta alla fig. 2, piuttosto di lato, con lettere rilevate regolari e di aspetto piuttosto antico (si noti specialmente la R). Il nome *Archela(us)*, di chiara



origine greca, indica probabilmente il servo *offinator* della figlina. Il bollo non è nuovo: con leggere varianti di matrice esso è noto a Narona, proprio su una delle anfore del Foro tipologicamente così vicine alle nostre, ad Aquileia, a Milano e, infine, a Brindisi ⁽¹¹⁾. La presenza di anfore istriane ad Aquileia e Milano non stupirà chi abbia seguito, sulla traccia del Degrassi, gli itinerari del commercio istriano: i contatti con Ostia vanno naturalmente spiegati nel quadro dei rapporti con Roma. Maggior interesse desta invece la presenza del bollo in Puglia, una regione che nessuno finora, per

AVG GER (debbo la fotografia di questo vaso al cortese interessamento del Prof. Degani e del dott. Ambrosetti, attuale Direttore del Museo, che ringrazio).

La cronologia di tali diverse forme e il motivo della loro diversità (cioè se si tratta di prodotti di diverse figline, oppure se anfore destinate a diversi prodotti, ovvero se tipologicamente derivano l'una dall'altra) sono problemi ancora mai affrontati.

⁽¹⁰⁾ PATSCH C., « Kleinere Untersuchungen ... um Narona », *Jahrbuch f. Altertumskunde*, II, 1908, p. 93, fig. 10.

⁽¹¹⁾ Narona: ibidem, p. 93, fig. 8; Aquileia: PAIS, 1077, 29; Milano: FROVA, *Epigraphica* XIV, 1952, p. 68; Brindisi: CIL IX, 6388 A, 2. Callender stranamente ignora questo bollo. Anche ad Atene sono noti bolli *Archel*, tuttavia il CIL (III, 7309, 2-3) dice che sono impressi sul collo; inoltre essi sono accompagnati da altri bolli sull'ansa delle stesse anfore. Essendo *Archelaos* un nome non raro, non mi sembra si possa affermare con certezza trattarsi dello stesso bollo noto ad Ostia.

quanto io sappia, ha indicato fra quelle toccate dalle esportazioni d'Istria: si sarebbe tentati di ridurne l'importanza nei limiti di un fatto occasionale, se altri bolli non attestassero invece relazioni più concrete e permanenti.

Anfore bollate al nome di *Niceporus*, abbreviato in vari modi, ma sempre con il caratteristico P aperto (in talune trascrizioni è reso addirittura con un *pi* greco), sono note a Pola, a Narona, forse a Salisburgo, e, contemporaneamente, a Montedoro di Taranto e ad Oria ⁽¹²⁾. Il bollo L. SALVI, di cui conosco un esemplare inedito nel Museo di Aquileia su anfora sicuramente istriana, è diffuso in Val Padana (Baggiovara) fino in Piemonte (Ivrea), a Narona e a Peripato (Taranto) ⁽¹³⁾. Tre esemplari del bollo SARAPI son noti nel Tarantino ⁽¹⁴⁾ e almeno due ad Aquileia ⁽¹⁵⁾. Testimonianze, queste, che potrebbero accrescersi (come non dubito sarà, sia per nuove scoperte, sia, soprattutto, quando verrà pubblicato il moltissimo materiale che giace inedito in quasi tutti i Musei italiani), e che al momento pongono complessi problemi di cui non è possibile dare una esauriente risposta. Fra tutti i bolli nominati, solo L. SALVI è su un'anfora di forma 6; il bollo SARAPI invece, per quanto mi risulta dall'esemplare veduto nel Museo di Aquileia, è su anfora di altro tipo che mostra grande affinità con le c.d. «olearie» della nave di Albenga ⁽¹⁶⁾. Non mi sentirei di escludere che i contatti Istria-Puglia siano stati reciproci, specialmente se tali rapporti si fossero estesi in un periodo cronologicamente ampio ⁽¹⁷⁾. Ciò che

⁽¹²⁾ Pola: *Jahrbuch f. Altertumskunde* IV, 1910, p. 180, fig. 15; Narona: *ibidem* II, 1908, p. 94; Salisburgo: *CIL* III, 6010, 151 (però non è indicato il tipo di vaso su cui il bollo era impresso); Montedoro: *NSc* 1885, p. 282; Oria: *Epigraphica* XXVII, 1965, p. 79 (con datazione a tarda età imperiale). *Callender* conosce solo l'esemplare di Montedoro. Da rilevare che il Dessau segnala a Cartagine un bollo, letto NICERI (*CIL* VIII, 3, 22637, 73) avvicinandolo a NICEPOR.

⁽¹³⁾ *Callender*, p. 165, n. 926, cui è da aggiungere Narona: PATSCH C., *Zur Geschichte und Topographie von Narona, Schriften d. Balkankommission Antiq. Abt.* X, Vienna 1907, p. 116. A Cartagine sono noti bolli SALVI (*CIL* VIII, 3, 22637, 94).

⁽¹⁴⁾ *Callender*, p. 241 n. 1570.

⁽¹⁵⁾ PAIS, 1077, 132; almeno un altro esemplare (inedito) è nel Museo di Aquileia. Colgo l'occasione per esprimere la mia gratitudine alla dott. Luisa Bertacchi, Direttrice del Museo di Aquileia, alla cui amichevole liberalità debbo la conoscenza di parte delle ricchissime collezioni aquileiesi.

⁽¹⁶⁾ *Rivista Studi Liguri*, XVIII, 1952, pp. 164-165.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Il problema rimane così vago nei suoi termini, che è addirittura impossibile

a noi interessa in questo momento constatare è che tracce di esportazioni istriane in Puglia non mancano e che le anfore ostiensi del collettore, pur non potendosi escludere un'origine diversa, hanno buone possibilità di venir assegnate all'Istria. Ciò muterebbe in maniera decisiva le prospettive che finora si potevano tracciare sul commercio istriano con Ostia; e poteva sembrar strano, del resto, che l'abbondanza di anfore di forma 6 a Roma non trovasse riscontro ad Ostia che di Roma era il porto. La spiegazione, in ogni caso, è semplice: le anfore istriane sono ad Ostia così rare perché negli scavi i livelli raggiunti sono quasi dappertutto (salvo sporadici saggi) quelli

darne una formulazione precisa. Ciò dipende, in gran parte, dal fatto che, per una deplorabile costumanza, giustificabile nel passato, ma che perdura tuttora, molto di rado vengono pubblicati i profili delle anfore e si dà notizia delle misure, del tipo dell'argilla, ecc., cioè quanto si richiede ad una normale schedatura con intendimenti scientifici. L'ipotesi dell'esistenza di anfore di fabbrica pugliese (riaffermata anche dal SUSINI, *Fonti per la Storia greca e romana del Salento*, 1962, p. 170 ss. per ciò che riguarda le anfore salentine), risale, credo al Mommsen, che in *CIL* V, p. 612-13. riferì le osservazioni di G. Tarantini su alcuni forni da vasaio, trovati presso Brindisi, costruiti anche con frammenti di anfore, molte bollate; egli perciò le raggruppò nel *CIL* sotto il titolo *Amphorae Calabrae*. È notevole che i bolli sono assai spesso sull'ansa (così anche quelli di Taranto, *NSc*, 1885, p. 280 ss.), e soprattutto il fatto che, contrariamente all'uso istriano, la gran maggioranza è costituita da nomi greci (evidentemente servili). Se questo fosse un criterio valido, dovrebbero appartenere alle *Amphorae calabrae* sia il bollo *Nicepor* che *Archela*, e con quest'ultimo, tutte le anfore del collettore di Ostia. Ma come spiegare la presenza del primo bollo a Salisburgo e del secondo a Milano? L'idea che le anfore di Narona venissero dalla Puglia è stata avanzata già dal Patsch (*Zur Geschichte u. Topographie von Narona, cit.*, p. 116); ma, dei bolli ivi rinvenuti, almeno L. SALVI e VARI PACC sembrano essere certamente istriani; anche per il bollo DION.O... lo stesso Patsch trovava confronti ad Aquileia ed Este, e SABDI era da collegare a SABDIO di Pais, 1077, 128. Era Narona, non lontana dall'Istria e ancor più vicina alla Puglia, un punto di incontro di più correnti di commercio? oppure (ma è ipotesi tanto labile che non la segnalo se non come trascrizione di un appunto personale), data la notevole antichità della nave di Albenga e la cronologia alta assegnata al Patsch alle anfore del Foro di Narona, esisteva prima della diffusione del commercio istriano un'area commerciale adriatica in cui i mercanti calabresi e apuli avevano il predominio? Probabilmente una risposta definitiva a questi problemi potrà venire soltanto dalla pubblicazione delle anfore latine di Delo: si veda in genere HATZFELD J., «Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique», *BÉFAR* 115, 1919, *passim* (a. p. 214, nota 4 egli presenta un sommario elenco dei bolli latini di Delo noti anche in altre località dell'Italia e dell'Oriente). La più recente trattazione sull'argomento è, per quanto so, quella breve ma eccellente di VIDMAN L., «K Obchodu s olivovym olejem v staroveké Itálii», *Listy Filologické* VIII, 1960, pp. 58 ss., 222 ss. (spec. pp. 60-63); circa il commercio istriano, il V. si attiene sostanzialmente alle conclusioni del Degraffi, ma sottolinea giustamente l'importanza delle esportazioni olearie dall'Italia verso l'Africa nella seconda metà del I sec. a. C., con una convincente interpretazione del noto passo pliniano (*N. H.*, XV, 1).

dei primi decenni del II sec. d. C., quando le esportazioni dell'Istria verso Roma erano praticamente cessate del tutto.

Seguiamo dunque la rotta delle navi che, cariche dei prodotti istriani, discendevano l'Adriatico: esse costeggiano le rive della penisola, fanno scalo nei porti del Piceno⁽¹⁸⁾, giungono a Brindisi, a Taranto. In Puglia, l'itinerario si biforcava, e mentre alcune navi prendevano la via dell'Oriente giungendo fino ad Atene⁽¹⁹⁾, la maggior parte piegava in direzione opposta seguendo la costa ionica dell'Italia. Cinque o sei anfore di forma 6 nel Museo di Reggio, indicano in quel porto una tappa del loro viaggio. La mèta più importante era certo il grande mercato di Roma; ma, prima di giungervi, parte delle merci venivano scaricate nei porti campani: restano inedite, nei magazzini di Pompei, alcune anfore con il noto bollo di *M. Herennius Phaedimus*, di una delle quali do qui una fotografia (*Tav. II*, 1).

L'importanza delle esportazioni istriane a Roma, testimoniata dalle scoperte del Dressel e dalle decine di anfore di forma 6 che affollano i depositi dei Musei Comunali e del Museo delle Terme, forse non è stata riconosciuta adeguatamente. Del pari si è sottovalutata l'intensità dei traffici con l'Africa: la massiccia presenza delle nostre anfore, specialmente a Cartagine, ma anche in altre località come Adrumeto, non può venir giustificata con l'occasionale passaggio di marinai aquileiesi sulle coste africane. Uno studio accurato, che prendesse a base in primo luogo la forma delle anfore, del materiale raccolto dal Dessau nel supplemento all'VIII volume del *CIL*, arriverebbe certamente alla conclusione che buona parte dei bolli ivi raccolti appartiene a figline dell'Istria (*Tav. II*, 2). Alla base di questo commercio ritengo sia da porre un fatto storico preciso, la fondazione della nuova colonia di Cartagine, progettata da Cesare e rafforzata da Augusto, cui furon necessarie, nei primi tempi della sua esistenza, massicce importazioni di

⁽¹⁸⁾ Bolli istriani sono attestati infatti, pur se raramente, sulle coste picene: p. es.: BARBARI (diffuso a Roma, in Val Padana, a Fermo, Brindisi, Cartagine (*Callender*, p. 81 n. 180); DAMALAE, noto ad Ancona, Villanova, Modena (*ibidem*, p. 118, n. 511) ecc.

⁽¹⁹⁾ cfr. DEGRASSI, *art. cit.*, p. 106.

derrate alimentari dall'Italia e da altri paesi⁽²⁰⁾. Molti bolli istriani provengono dal famoso «muro d'anfore» della Byrsa, che si data con verosimiglianza poco dopo il 15 a. C.⁽²¹⁾; e non è un caso, ritengo, che la più antica data consolare colà rinvenuta sia il 43 a. C., cioè proprio l'epoca della deduzione coloniale⁽²²⁾.

Del resto, anche altre considerazioni comprovano l'esistenza di una fiorente rete di commerci, avente a suo centro l'Istria, già negli ultimi decenni del I sec. a. C. La localizzazione della figlina Pansiana presso Monfalcone, proposta dal Gregorutti⁽²³⁾, non ha incontrato molto favore, così che non possiamo indicare nel console Vibio Pansa il primo personaggio storicamente identificabile impegnato nei traffici istriani. Un punto di riferimento abbastanza sicuro abbiamo invece con i bolli APPVLCRI, quasi certamente di Appio Claudio Pulcro, console nel 38 a. C.; la loro diffusione molto vasta (Aquileia, Este, Mantova, Milano, Bergamo, Modena, Reggio, Zollfeld presso Klagenfurt⁽²⁴⁾), indica un commercio già solidamente avviato verso la Valle Padana e le regioni transalpine, i mercati che, come ha posto in evidenza il Degrassi, costituiscono la naturale zona di espansione dei prodotti dell'Istria. Assai presto dovettero aver inizio le esportazioni verso Roma che, tra la fine del I sec. a. C. e i primi settanta anni della nostra era, raggiunsero la massima intensità; fiorenti ancora all'epoca di Lecanio Basso, il loro graduale declino si pone nella seconda metà del secolo: i bolli delle figline imperiali, da Domiziano ai primi Antonini, restano confinati in Istria e in Val Padana con sporadiche penetrazioni al di là delle Alpi^(24 bis), né, per

⁽²⁰⁾ P. es.: di *garum* dalla Spagna; *Arch. Class.* XVIII, 2, 1966, p.

⁽²¹⁾ DELATTRE P. *Le mur à amphores de la colline Saint-Louis à Carthage*, «Bull. Arch.» 1894, p. 89 ss.; cfr. *CIL*, VIII, 3, p. 2200 s.

⁽²²⁾ *CIL*, VIII, 3, 22640.

⁽²³⁾ GREGORUTTI C., *La figlina imperiale Pansiana di Aquileia ed i prodotti fittili dell'Istria*, «Atti e Memorie» II, 1886, p. 219 ss. È interessante che un bollo della figlina Pausiana sia stato trovato a Oria (*Epigraphica* XXVII, 1965, p. 83: da leggere [NER CLA]VD PANSIANA, come *CIL* V, 8110, 24).

⁽²⁴⁾ Cfr. *Callender*, p. 72 n. 111 per Modena e Zollfeld. Adde: Este (*Nsc.* 1885, p. 8); Milano (*Frova*, *art. cit.*, p. 68); Bergamo (*PAIS*, 1077, 27), Aquileia (inventari del Museo). Non conosco *de visu* nessuno di questi bolli, ma la appartenenza alla forma 6 è abbastanza probabile data l'area di diffusione.

^(24 bis) Conosco un solo bollo istriano di Nerva trovato in Svizzera presso Coira:

quanto io so, raggiungono le rive del Tevere. Il commercio istriano si rinchiude entro limiti sempre più ristretti ⁽²⁵⁾. Ad Ostia, agli inizi del II sec. le anfore istriane sono ormai scomparse del tutto.

Questa breve rassegna potrebbe concludersi qui, se, fra i tanti interrogativi che il commercio istriano pone ancora all'archeologo e allo storico, non rimanesse aperto il primo e più importante di essi: cosa dunque si esportava nelle anfore di forma 6? Il lettore che ci avrà seguito finora, avrà osservato che abbiamo sempre evitato di dare indicazioni precise. E, in effetti, il problema rimane aperto. Il Degrassi, negli articoli già citati, ha supposto che il principale prodotto d'esportazione fosse quell'olio così lodato dagli antichi, che naturalmente trovava il suo mercato specialmente in quelle regioni (come la valle del Po e i paesi transalpini) dove l'olivo non può allignare. Ma tale ricostruzione, per tanti versi soddisfacente, lascia dietro di sé una serie di interrogativi e di dubbi. Se è vero che la Campania, la Puglia e la Calabria sono menzionate dalle fonti tra le regioni produttrici di olio, pure la decadenza della produzione olearia italiana nel I sec. d.C. potrebbe giustificare importazioni dal di fuori, né farebbe certo difficoltà la penetrazione dell'olio d'Istria nel mercato romano, dove, come mostrerà più tardi la travolgente fortuna delle importazioni olearie spagnole, l'olio sabino non era in grado di reggere alla concorrenza straniera. Ma le iscrizioni che il Dressel poté leggere dipinte sulle anfore del Castro Pretorio non forniscono conferma a questa ipotesi. Nella gran maggioranza dei casi si tratta di sigle, abbreviazioni di nomi, cifre che indicano il peso, iscrizioni cioè di scarso rilievo ai nostri fini. Ma una se-

BRUCKNER, A., « Römische Amphorenstempel », in *Museum Helveticum*, 23, 1966, p. 122.

⁽²⁵⁾ Ciò non significa, naturalmente, decadenza in senso assoluto: anzi altre fonti dell'avanzata età imperiale nominano ancora la produzione olearia e vinaria dell'Istria, che dovette reggere abbastanza bene alla crisi economica del tardo impero. Tuttavia l'entusiastica lode tributata all'Istria da Cassiodoro (*Var.* XXII, 22), va intesa, ritengo, nel quadro generale delle condizioni dell'Italia nell'età di Teodorico: l'Istria, risparmiata dalle invasioni barbariche, doveva apparire un vero Eden. Dai documenti medievali, pubblicati specialmente nelle prime dieci annate di questa Rivista, si ricava che i prodotti principali continuarono ad essere olio e vino, l'ulivo coltivato soprattutto nella Polesana.

rie di anfore, pur senza precise indicazioni di nomi di vini, recano l'abbreviazione *vet* (seguita dall'indicazione del numero di anni dell'invecchiamento), che non credo sia possibile sciogliere altrimenti che in *vet(us)*, un aggettivo che all'olio certo non si adatta. Alcune iscrizioni sono più esplicite: CIL XV, 2, 4653: *Pr(idie) Idus Novemres (sic) vinum / in cuneum amfurae (sic) CCCLXXXIIX*. CIL XV, 2, 4582: *Sex(to) Papinio / et Plautio con(n)s(ulibus) (36 d.C.) / mul(sum) fact(um) — Nov(embres) / sum[m]issa in vetustatem*. Il *mul(sum)* è nominato anche in CIL XV, 2, 4583.

Sostituiremo dunque all'olio il vino (e il *mulsum*) come contenuto delle anfore di forma 6? Il nostro studio si conclude lasciando aperto questo interrogativo. Ché, se fa difficoltà l'esportazione d'olio a Pompei, molte di più ne offre l'ipotesi che nella città vesuviana le anfore giungessero piene di vino; né i vini istriani avevano presso gli antichi quella rinomanza di cui andavano orgogliosi i viticoltori del Lazio e della Campania. Anche in Val Padana, del resto, la vite era diffusa, e vino se ne esportava, specialmente dal Veronese. Naturalmente, è possibile pensare che in anfore della stessa forma 6 fossero racchiusi prodotti svariati, olio, vino, *mulsum*, e forse altri meno noti: ma ciò è contrario, per quanto sappiamo all'uso antico, e le iscrizioni «vinarie» provengono proprio da Roma, dove meno sarebbe lecito aspettarne. Una risposta potrà forse venire solo da una prospettiva più vasta di studi sulle condizioni agricole delle regioni interessate al commercio istriano.

FAUSTO ZEVI

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