

# THE MIDDLE STOA DATED BY AMPHORA STAMPS

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IN HIS ADDRESS at the celebration of the first hundred years of the Archaeological Institute of America, Kurt Bittel attributed to the work of some earlier German excavators a perhaps undue emphasis on architecture at the expense of “the observation and evaluation of small movable objects” found in excavating the buildings.<sup>1</sup> Stamped amphora

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

The present article was originally intended for the Festschrift for Homer Thompson, *Hesperia*, Supplement XX. I hope he will accept it as a further supplement to that volume. I am obliged to him for comments on the manuscript which have resulted in various needed clarifications in my text. I have profited also from helpful suggestions by other readers, in particular W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., P. M. W. Matheson, M. B. Wallace, and A. Boegehold; others are mentioned below. None of these is responsible for my errors or for my conclusions.

Works frequently cited will be abbreviated as follows:

- Agora* XII = B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.*, Princeton 1970
- Agora* XIV = H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *The Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton 1972
- Agora* XXII = S. I. Rotroff, *The Athenian Agora*, XXII, *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls*, Princeton 1982
- Amphoras* = V. R. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade*, Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 6, rev. ed., Princeton 1979
- Coulton 1976 = J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa*, Oxford 1976
- Délos* XXVII = V. R. Grace and M. Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, “Les timbres amphoriques grecs” (Chapitre XIV) in *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, XXVII, *L’îlot de la Maison des Comédiens*, P. Bruneau, ed., Paris 1970, pp. 277–382

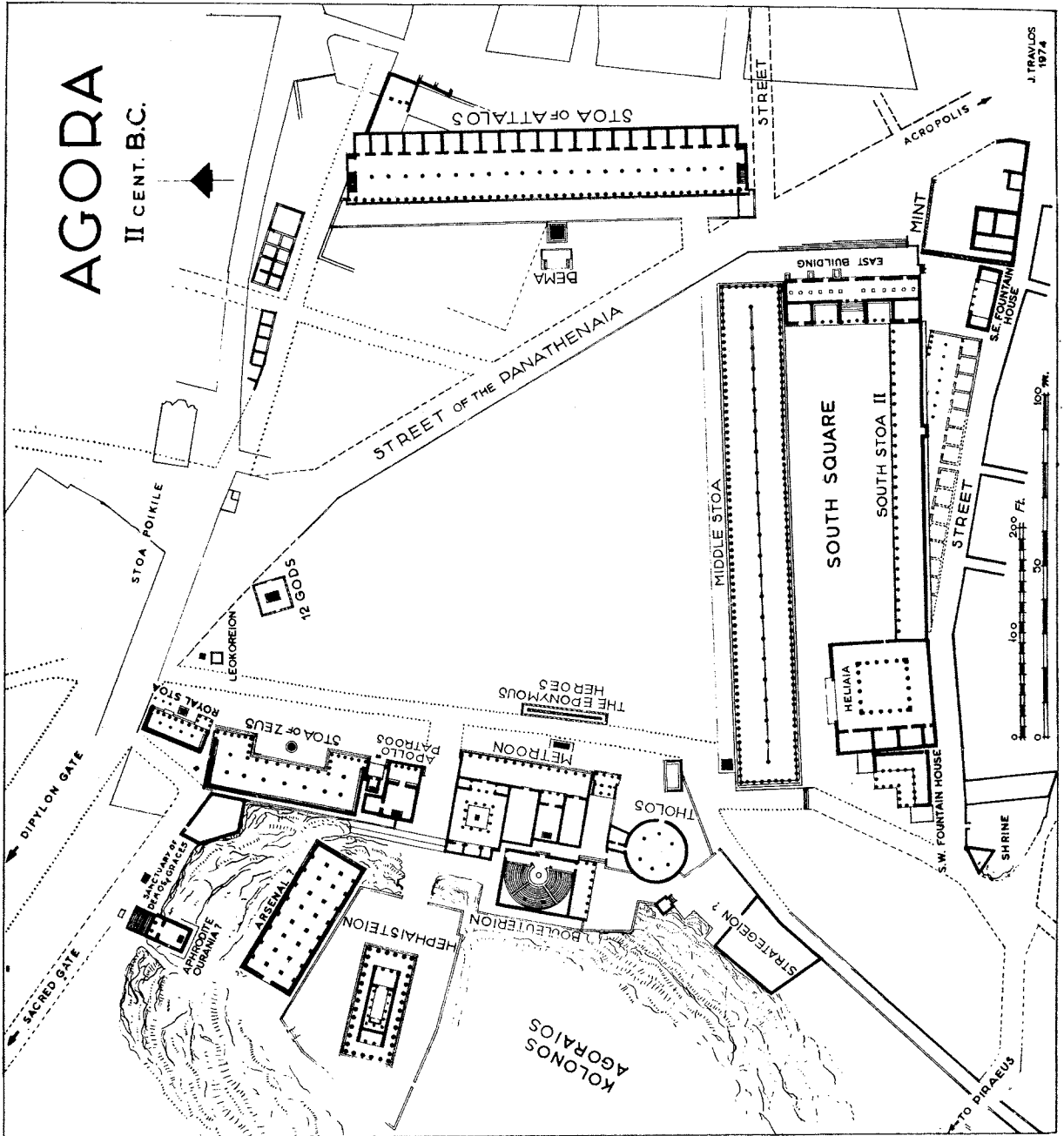


Fig. 1. The Athenian Agora

handles, to be sure, sometimes escaped such oblivious enmity in those days by dint of being counted as inscriptions rather than as small finds and by appearing in large numbers. Thus we have the excellent and still basic publication by Schuchhardt in 1895 of some 782 amphora stamps, mostly Rhodian, found in Pergamon in a filling dumped in ancient times between the foundations of a room set between the earlier and the later city walls.<sup>2</sup> Professor Bittel had more in mind than the mutual development of chronologies that might result from studies of small finds in relation to buildings. The dimension of time, however, must be set up in the best possible way before we can learn what we should in, as he suggests, the

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- Garlan 1979 = Y. Garlan, "Koukos, données nouvelles pour une nouvelle interprétation des timbres amphoriques thasiens," *BCH*, Suppl. V, Paris 1979, pp. 213–268
- Grace 1934 = V. Grace, "Stamped Amphora Handles found in 1931–1932," *Hesperia* 3, 1934, pp. 197–310
- Grace 1949 = V. Grace, "Standard Pottery Containers of the Ancient Greek World," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, *Commemorative Studies in honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*, Princeton 1949, pp. 175–189
- Grace 1952 = V. Grace, "Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Délos," *BCH* 76, 1952, pp. 514–540
- Grace 1968 = V. Grace, "Die gestempelten Amphorenhenkel aus stratigraphisch gesicherten Fundzusammenhängen," Exkurs in Ö. Ziegenaus and G. de Luca, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, XI, i, *Das Asklepieion*, Berlin 1968, pp. 175–178. The author saw no proof of this Exkurs, which contains many errors not in the manuscript.
- Grace 1971 = V. R. Grace, "Samian Amphoras," *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 52–95
- Grace 1974 = V. R. Grace, "Revisions in Early Hellenistic Chronology," *AthMitt* 89, 1974, pp. 193–200
- Grakov 1929 = B. N. Grakov, *Ancient Greek Pottery Stamps with the Names of Astynomoi*, Moscow 1929 (in Russian)
- Guide<sup>3</sup> = H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavation and Museum*, 3rd ed., Athens 1976
- Knackfuss 1924 = H. Knackfuss, *Milet*, I, vii, *Der Sudmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen*, Berlin 1924, pp. 156–176 (on the Magazinhalle)
- Nessana I = V. R. Grace, *apud* H. D. Colt *et al.*, *Excavations at Nessana I*, London 1962, pp. 106–130
- Nilsson 1909 = M. P. Nilsson, "Timbres amphoriques de Lindos," *Exploration archéologique de Rhodes V* (Académie royale des sciences et des lettres de Danemark, *Bulletin*), Copenhagen 1909
- Pnyx = V. R. Grace, "Stamped Wine Jar Fragments," in *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, *Small Objects from the Pnyx: II*, Princeton 1956, pp. 113–189
- Rickman 1971 = G. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings*, Cambridge 1971
- Schuchhardt 1895 = C. Schuchhardt, in *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VIII, *Inchriften* ii, Berlin 1895, pp. 423–499
- Tarsus I = H. Goldman *et al.*, *Excavations at Gözlu Kule, Tarsus, I, The Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Princeton 1950
- Thompson 1934 = H. A. Thompson, "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia* 3, 1934, pp. 311–480

<sup>2</sup> See Schuchhardt 1895, p. 423. For a recent discussion of the deposit, see *Délos XXVII*, especially pp. 290–291. This publication, Chapter XIV of the volume on the Maison des Comédiens on Delos, includes a general review of studies of container amphoras and their stamps (usually on the handles) with much bibliography; see pp. 278–280 for an introduction to the subject, or the reader may just consult the pamphlet *Amphoras*, in particular the text accompanying figures 21–25 in that unpaginated booklet. Third-century dates in *Délos XXVII* should be revised as indicated in Grace 1974, p. 200. Further on Grace 1974, see below, Appendix 2. Further on the Pergamon deposit, see p. 15 below with footnote 32; figures given have been somewhat revised following corrections in readings.

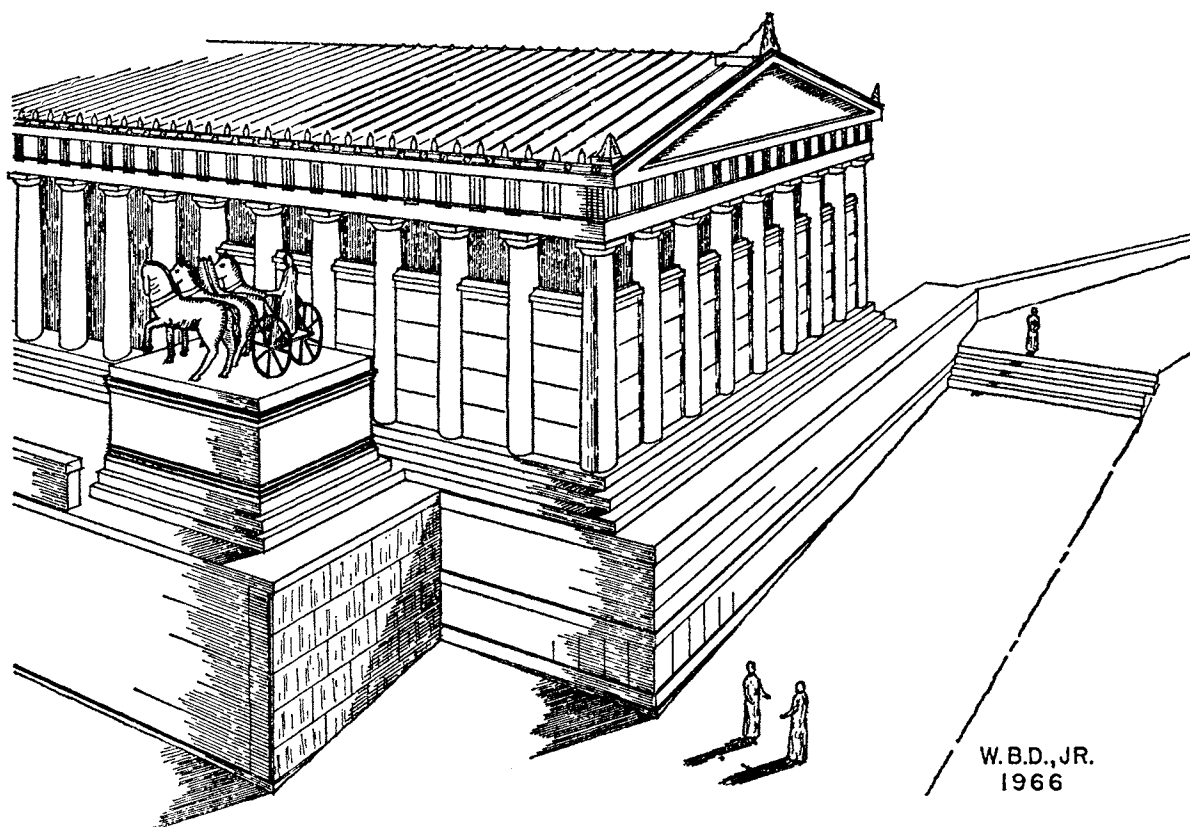


FIG. 2. Middle Stoa, West End in Original Form, from Northwest (W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr.)

economic and social fields. Such studies of material in context in a large excavation can only be enabled by a complex, well-planned, and strict system of recording, such as that devised by T. Leslie Shear for the excavations of the Athenian Agora of the 1930's and greatly developed by Lucy Talcott.<sup>3</sup> The basis of such records is, of course, the excavator's grasp of what he sees and his managing to record it while the impression is fresh. One of my early recollections of Homer Thompson is of learning from him, in 1932, that although stamped amphora handles were supposed to be Hellenistic, he had found some in definitely Classical company; he showed me several, which gave me a permanent taste for the Thasian class.<sup>4</sup> If the information no longer surprises, it is in great part because of the impact of the large group of early Thasian stamped handles excavated by Thompson at the Pnyx, in the Filling of Period III of the Assembly Place, which established the priority of the two-name Thasian

<sup>3</sup> For appreciation still felt, see Grace 1934, p. 200 with note 5; *Délos* XXVII, p. 278, last paragraph of note.

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

stamps, fixing them before about 340 B.C.<sup>5</sup> For the place of container amphoras in the general archaeological mind in 1932, I quote from a letter (of 1951) from a distinguished archaeologist, the late Professor C. H. Emilie Haspels of Amsterdam, in reference to an investigation of what must have been an ancient pottery works for the production of amphoras in Thasos, a workshop which in the light of modern information is seen to have operated from early in the 4th century B.C.: "Re the amphoras: I called them Hellenistic at the time (in 1932 or '33) for the only reason that we . . . were used to speak of 'Hellenistic pointed amphorae'. Almost a term like West Slope ware or Megarian bowls."<sup>6</sup> Here is one of the places where Homer Thompson has enabled us to take a big step forward.

### DATING THE CONSTRUCTION FILLING BY THE AMPHORA STAMPS CONTAINED

The thesis of the present paper has been known to Thompson and other interested persons since July 11, 1956, when I completed a report on the stamped amphora handles found in the building fill of the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora, about 1500 in number. The report was circulated at the Agora and has remained on file there.<sup>7</sup> The date which the handles seemed to indicate as that of the lower limit of the fill was the second decade of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>8</sup> So early a date was not generally accepted at that time; there were conflicts to be resolved: for instance some coins in the fill had been dated in the second quarter of the century. Further studies of the various stamp sequences represented in the fill continued to point to the same decade for its probable lower limit; eventually, counting the terms of dating officials in Rhodian stamps brought us to a proposed end date of the stamps in the filling of about 183 or 182 B.C.<sup>9</sup> Finally, we have in 1972 Homer Thompson's considered date for the start of construction of the Middle Stoa itself, "late in the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C."<sup>10</sup> The coins have now been published by F. S. Kleiner, who finds nothing that he need date later than about 180 B.C. More recently, the molded relief bowls in the filling

<sup>5</sup> Summary on the Pnyx: J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London 1971, pp. 466–476, with bibliography, p. 467. Summary on the Pnyx evidence dating the two-name stamps: *Délos XXVII*, bottom of p. 355. Cf. Garlan 1979, p. 246 with note 12. Most recently on the Pnyx as a whole, see H. A. Thompson, "The Pnyx in Models," *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIX, *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography Presented to Eugene Vanderpool*, Princeton 1982, pp. 133–147.

<sup>6</sup> On the Haspels investigation in Thasos, see Garlan 1979, pp. 256–258, taken from an unpublished excavation report, apparently of late 1933.

<sup>7</sup> Filed with Deposit Summaries, under its grid position H–K 12–14. Text accompanied by extensive lists, and analyses by class, of the stamped handles from the Middle Stoa construction filling, also of those from some related groups found in the neighborhood; lists also of the individual grid positions cited by the excavators. We are under considerable obligation to G. R. Edwards for making definitive the primary list, of items to be counted as coming from the filling, especially for the earlier (pre-war) finds. Cf. p. 22 below with footnote 57.

<sup>8</sup> Published statement in 1962, *Nessana I*, p. 124.

<sup>9</sup> *Délos XXVII*, p. 291, and see pp. 9, etc. below in the present article.

<sup>10</sup> *Agora XIV*, p. 67. The date given for the filling in *Agora IV* (1958), VIII (1962), and XII (1970), in the deposit lists, had been to ca. 150 B.C., a date evidently derived from that appearing in Edwards' 1956 publication; see footnote 56 below (date of filling equals that of start of long-petal bowls). Correct some references in *Agora XIV*, p. 66, note 179: the quotation actually comes from *Délos XXVII*, p. 382, and other relevant passages are evidently *ibid.*, pp. 290–291, 320.

have been described by S. I. Rotroff as "similar to those in other deposits of early 2nd century."<sup>11</sup>

The stamped amphora handles from the Middle Stoa building fill are worth a volume to themselves, so numerous and rich and varied is the material and of such wide bearing. The evidence is summarized here as a prime example of the possibility of mutual development of chronologies, in this case between the amphora fragments in the fill, a large hoard assembled as bulky rubbish to fill in for a level floor for a building 150 meters long, set on sloping ground, and the building itself, for which the detailed dating of the stamps suggests an identification. In turn, the identification implies independent support for a rather narrow dating for the cutoff point of the material in the construction filling of the building, because of the historical probabilities as to when work would have begun on such a project, as will be discussed below. What is attractive is that the archaeological indications and the historical probabilities arrive at the same date, about 183 B.C.

In the course of making a report on this material, I have found it necessary to take up matters that needed more extensive presentation than their relevance to the present discussion might justify. In order not to interrupt overmuch the account of the dating and identification of the Middle Stoa, I have put this material into appendices at the end of the main text of the article (see p. 1 above for titles).

#### SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE GROUP

Let us look now at the assortment of amphora stamps in the filling of the Middle Stoa:

Rhodian		885 or 59% of the whole number
Knidian	343	
Early Knidian	<u>39</u>	
	382	382 or 25%
Thasian		60 or 4%
Koan		53
Chian (some from lagynoi)		23
Corinthian		7
Sinopean		6
Parmeniskos Group		5
Zenon Group		5
Parian		2
Samian(?) prow stamp		1
with Latin stamp		1
miscellaneous unclassified		<u>68</u>
		1498

A detailed count of the stamped amphora handles at the Agora excavations as a whole (including those from the Middle Stoa filling) was made in 1960. I add figures from this

<sup>11</sup> F. S. Kleiner, *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 303-311. (For his separate Deposit III, p. 311, I have not been able to identify handles that we discussed in this connection, cf. his note 14.) For Rotroff's comment, see *Agora* XXII, p. 102.

count as a background for that of the Middle Stoa: Rhodian, 4432; Knidian, 12002; Thasian, 674; general total at the Agora in May 1960, 19267.<sup>12</sup> Note a reversed percentage of the two large classes: Rhodian, 23%, Knidian, 62%. We are particularly concerned here with the *end* date of the Middle Stoa filling but in considering percentages should reckon with the fact that it contained much earlier material; of the stamps, there are many Rhodian of the 3rd century and Thasian of the 4th as well as of the 3rd. Knidian stamps with names (as distinct from what we call Early Knidian, that have abbreviations, monograms, ligatures, or just devices<sup>13</sup>) do not seem to have been produced before the last quarter of the 3rd century. Once in use, stamped Knidian gain steadily on stamped Rhodian as imports to Athens. Already by the middle of the 2nd century, figures for the Stoa of Attalos filling show about 35 stamped handles to 70, Rhodian to Knidian, and none of the Rhodian is datable later than the first quarter of the century. A group of stamped handles in Athens datable in the second half of the century may be 100% Knidian: see below, Appendix 2, on Thompson's Hellenistic Group E. The shrinking of the Rhodian figures in Athens during the 2nd century B.C. (which makes something of a slide rule for dating deposits) does not reflect a decrease in production and export from Rhodes, but, according to Rostovtzeff,<sup>14</sup> "the gradual emancipation of Athens from the commercial hegemony of Rhodes, an emancipation which began earlier than 166, . . ." That there was indeed no decrease in production of stamped amphoras in Rhodes before the late 2nd century B.C. is another story, important in itself; see Appendix 4 for relevant figures derived from the Benaki collection in Alexandria.

#### EVIDENCE OF THE RHODIAN STAMPS

For the Rhodian in the Middle Stoa filling, we have an extensive correspondence with those in another big foundation filling, that in the building in Pergamon cited above (p. 3). The Rhodian in the Pergamon deposit are 782 to our 885, and there are a great number of individual parallels. A difference is that those in Pergamon are mostly close together in date, while those from the Middle Stoa filling, as noted above, include many earlier items. A difference more interesting for the lower limit of the Middle Stoa filling is that a few Rhodian eponyms (dating officials), who are named in the Pergamon deposit on as many as 4 to 24 handles per name, do not appear at all in the Middle Stoa filling. These are as

<sup>12</sup> The count of 1960 was made by M. Petropoulakou and A. Dimoulinis, to whom I owe much help in the preparation of the present article as of previous ones. The handles were counted as laid out in their classified storage, and figures include some 4865 items which have not been inventoried because they are inferior duplicates of inventoried items and have no useful excavation context. The figures are not very up to date, but in any case recent excavations have not added new stamped handles to our collection at the earlier rate. Last inventory number of the 1960 count: SS 14402; last of the 1980 season: SS 14843. Cf. *Délos* XXVII, p. 282.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Grace 1934, p. 280, no. 233, Early Knidian stamp on a whole amphora from Thompson's Group B; cf. *ibid.*, p. 202, fig. 1, no. 6, for the jar. For the date of Group B, see Appendix 2 below (date now *ca.* 240 B.C.). Cf. Grace 1952, pl. XIX:1, for another Early Knidian stamp.

<sup>14</sup> *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 1941, p. 1647. It should be remarked that the relative figures of Rhodian and Knidian handles in fillings of the first half of the 2nd century B.C., such as that of the Stoa of Attalos mentioned above, may be somewhat misleading as indications of relative volume of trade. If the Knidian production of 188–167 B.C. was under Rhodian control, then from the point of view of trade at least half of the 70 Knidian in the Stoa of Attalos filling, those dated by phrourarchoi, should presumably be counted as Rhodian. On the phrourarchoi and Rhodian control, see pp. 13–15 below, also Appendix 1, pp. 31, 32.

follows; figures in parentheses show how many handles in the Pergamon deposit name each individual:

Ἀγέστρατος 2nd	(4)
Ἀρατοφάνης 1st	(8)
Ἀριστείδας 2nd	(10)
Ἀριστόδαμος 2nd	(24)
Ἀρίστων 2nd	(20)
Ἀρχιλαΐδας	(5)
Ξενοφῶν	(4)

No one of these seven eponyms occurs in the Middle Stoa filling (an Ἀριστείδας named on a single handle, SS 12862, is readily distinguishable as a homonym of the 3rd century B.C. by the shape and finish of the handle). On the other hand, despite the steady decrease, discussed above, of Rhodian imports to Athens during the first half of the 2nd century, we do have handles at the Agora (although not in the Middle Stoa filling) that are dated by all seven of these eponyms, some from consistent post-Middle Stoa deposits: cf. four from the Stoa of Attalos filling, SS 10492 naming Ἀρατοφάνης 1st, and SS 10730, 10739, and 13370, naming Ἀριστείδας 2nd.

These seven eponyms therefore suggest a period of seven years immediately after the end date of the Middle Stoa filling but before the close of the Pergamon deposit. The suggestion is strengthened by the fact that all seven names are known on handles that bear also secondary stamps set in the common way at the attachment of the handle to the neck of the jar, a practice that was just beginning in the period of the Middle Stoa. Only one such stamp appears in the filling, a small rose with no letters, in a single example, SS 12717; for a similar stamp, better preserved, see Plate 1, 1. No part of the main stamp of SS 12717 is preserved, but this secondary stamp is known only on handles from amphoras of the potter Δαμοκράτης in the terms of Καλλικρατίδας 2nd, Κλευκράτης 1st, and Σύμμαχος; all these persons occur in both the Pergamon and the Middle Stoa fillings. The rose secondary stamp is an early one in this series, dated in the early 2nd century B.C. by context in Tarsus.<sup>15</sup> Of eponyms named in the Middle Stoa filling, only three are known to occur with secondary stamps of the slightly later kind in which a letter replaces the earlier rose, the kind that accompany the seven names listed above, those present in the Pergamon deposit but not in the Middle Stoa filling. The three in the Middle Stoa filling are Νικασαγόρας 1st, Θεαΐδητος, and Ἀθανόδοτος, perhaps in that order; for samples of the secondary stamps

<sup>15</sup> Tarsus I, p. 145, no. 75 B; the context, "top level, Middle Hellenistic Unit", indicates a date of late 3rd—early 2nd century B.C., cf. *ibid.*, pp. 30–31. Note that the restoration of the name Καλλικράτης in the main stamp of no. 75 does not now seem correct.

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

Note my suggestion, Tarsus I, p. 135, note 2, that the two betas on *ibid.*, fig. 117, 76 B and 77 B, indicate a pair of names perhaps from the same amphora was correctly discarded by D. B. Shelov, *Pottery Stamps from Tanais*, Moscow 1975 (in Russian), p. 23; the two secondary stamps are obviously not from the same die. See below, p. 9.



accompanying the first two, see Plate 1, **2b** and **3b**. These are then probably the latest Rhodian eponyms in the Middle Stoa filling and were no doubt preceded by the three mentioned as occurring with the rose secondary stamp. It seems at present a fair guess that the use of these secondary stamps, by certain potters with large output, began in or soon after 188 B.C., at the time of the chief Rhodian expansion on the continent; through the 2nd century these additional control stamps continued in use by big producers such as Μίδας (see below, Appendix 4); many stamped handles from his jars bear secondary stamps. For the end date of the Rhodian in the Middle Stoa filling, I lay out the proposed sequence of eponyms, with figures for the number of handles bearing these names in the two large deposits:

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 188–186 | Καλλικρατίδας 2nd, Κλευκράτης 1st, and Σύμμαχος  |
| 185     | Νικασαγόρας 1st (Middle Stoa filling 8; Pergamon deposit 9)  |
| 184     | Θεαίδητος (Middle Stoa filling 6; Pergamon deposit 12)   |
| 183     | Ἀθανόδοτος (Middle Stoa filling 4; Pergamon deposit 17)  |
| 182–176 | The 7 present in the Pergamon deposit and not at all in the Middle Stoa Building fill<br>(Ἀγέστρατος 2nd, etc., listed above). |

The dates assigned are supported by a variety of other bits of evidence, including other contexts, and the chain of name connections between potters and dating officials, derived from the study of pairs of names from the two series, of which the most convincing are found combined on whole amphoras or fragments preserving both stamped handles. See Plate 1, which illustrates two whole jars, **2** and **3**, from the stamped tops of the handles of which we take two such pairs of names. **2a** and **2c** show the dating and endorsing stamps respectively of **2**, an amphora of Δαμοκράτης dated in the term of Νικασαγόρας, in the month Σμίνθιος, **3a** and **3c** the stamps of **3**, an amphora of Ἰπποκράτης in the term of Θεαίδητος, in the month Πάναμος.<sup>16</sup> Each of these jars has also a secondary stamp, set on the side of the upper attachment of (in the case of these jars) the fabricant handle, actually visible in the side views of the two jars, as well as in **2b** and **3b**. Attested secondary stamps used by Δαμοκράτης (those of which we have rubbings or photographs) are the little rose (Pl. 1, **1**) and slightly variant rose types, and the letters occur, singly, A, K, C (i.e. lunate sigma), T, Y. Most of these are used also by Ἰπποκράτης, that is, the *dies* seem to have been taken over; for this and other reasons we conclude that the products of the two potters are from the same shop. The shop will have changed hands between the making of the two jars shown: **2** names the latest of many dating officials known with Δαμοκράτης, and **3** the earliest of still more known with Ἰπποκράτης, whose career can be followed to probably the middle of the 2nd century. The secondary stamp **3b** with its distinctive beta is so far on record only from jars of Ἰπποκράτης, not those of Δαμοκράτης. This may be an accident of preservation for the moment; someone may find a handle with the rose stamp of Δαμοκράτης on top and this characteristic beta stamped on its side. Otherwise the handle in Tarsus<sup>17</sup> that combines this secondary stamp with a rose main stamp naming Νικασαγόρας suggests that the change in management took place *during* the term of this eponym; which is, I suppose, more likely

<sup>16</sup> For documentation, readings, etc., of the illustrated items, see Catalogue below.

<sup>17</sup> Tarsus I, fig. 117, 76 A, 76 B. Note a second (unpublished) example of the combination: duplicates of both stamps were found on a handle in the Musée Gréco-Romain in Alexandria (AVG 1485).

than not. At present this particular beta is known only with the eponyms *Νικασαγόρας* 1st and *Θεαίδητος* and with the fabricant *Ἴπποκράτης*.

Contemporary with the activities of *Ἴπποκράτης* were those of the Rhodian *Ἀριστοκλῆς* who made and marked *Knidian* amphoras as well as producing a great number of Rhodian ones with rose stamps like those of *Ἴπποκράτης*; for some of his *Knidian* stamps, see Plate 3, 19–21. The two men seem both to have succeeded to the shop of *Δαμοκράτης*; perhaps they were brothers; in any case this *Ἀριστοκλῆς* seems to have been the son of the *Δαμοκράτης* who made the amphora on Plate 1, 2. The two contemporaries, *Ἀριστοκλῆς* and *Ἴπποκράτης*, used over the years a great number of secondary stamps, at least 25 different ones each, some of which appear to be common to both (but a study of dies has not yet been made). Oddly, although for both brothers(?) there are many known or reasonably guessed pairs with dating officials, all datable between about 183 B.C. and the middle of the century, we have up to the present no indication that both *Ἀριστοκλῆς* and *Ἴπποκράτης* ever dated jars in the same year.<sup>18</sup> During the period of production of these two, no other fabricants are known to have used secondary stamps; but about the middle of the century, their amphoras seem to have been replaced by those of *Τιμόξενος*, again bearing circular rose stamps plus secondary stamps. It is interesting to note that secondary stamps were used also on *Knidian* amphoras by fabricants named *Ἀριστοκλῆς* and *Τιμόξενος* who used rectangular main stamps; their dates correspond with those of the Rhodians of the same names. After the mid-century, other Rhodian fabricants used secondary stamps, including some whose main stamps are rectangular: cf. *Μίδας* (see Appendix 4).

Through a lapse in processing, the eponym *Ἀθανόδοτος* had not been listed in our archives as occurring with secondary stamps, but in fact there are a few handles that name him in circular rose types and bear also secondary stamps with the letters tau and upsilon (singly) like those used by both *Δαμοκράτης* and *Ἴπποκράτης* (i.e. apparently from the same dies). *Ἀθανόδοτος* had in any case been listed in my tentative sequence only a few years too early, because name connections place him closely. Potters known to have dated jars by his name are *Ἀγαθοκλῆς* 2nd, *Ἀμύντας* with wreath, *Ἀντίμαχος* with caduceus, *Ἀρίστων* with caduceus, *Σαραπίων* with asterisks, and *Φιλαίνιος*; this is to name only the “real” pairs, i.e. whole jars or tops of jars with both stamped handles preserved. The eponyms named by these potters on other jars of theirs in each case overlap the period ca. 188–176 B.C. and in some cases are only of this period. It now seems likely that *Ἀθανόδοτος* is the latest Rhodian eponym whose name is present in the Middle Stoa building fill.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> On the dynasty *Δαμοκράτης*, *Ἀριστοκλῆς*, *Δαμοκράτης* ὁ *Ἀριστοκλεῦς*, etc., cf. *Délos* XXVII, p. 280, also pp. 327–328 under E 66, and elsewhere (see index, pp. 375, 376). On *Ἴπποκράτης*, see now V. Grace *apud* J. Bouzek, *Anatolian Collection of Charles University* [Kyme I], Prague 1974, pp. 94–95, under A 3.

Note that this *Ἀριστοκλῆς* (contemporary of *Ἴπποκράτης*) is not the earliest to endorse Rhodian circular stamps with rose, but there was at least one earlier Rhodian fabricant of this name, who worked probably in the third quarter of the 3rd century B.C. For a published stamp of his, see M.-T. Lenger, *BCH* 81, 1957, pp. 164–165, no. 88, fig. 2 (from Argos). Presumably the *Ἀριστοκλῆς* named in Mlle. Lenger's stamp was the father of the fabricant of 2.

<sup>19</sup> Rose stamps naming the eponym *Ἀθανόδοτος* and accompanied by secondary stamps:

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

So much for the usefulness of eponym-fabricant name connections in building the chronology of amphora stamps, for an indication of where we find the most convincing pairs, and for the corroborative evidence supplied by secondary stamps. Whole amphoras, however, and even large fragments help, of course, in another way to supplement and consolidate the dating evidence, and that is by the evolution of the shapes and dimensions of the jars, the most obvious tendency of Rhodian ones, from the late 3rd to perhaps the late 2nd century B.C., being to grow slowly taller and slimmer, the neck and handles taller in proportion to the jar as a whole. 2 and 3 in Plate 1, closely contemporary, fit into the Rhodian series in *Amphoras*, fig. 62 after the first jar in that picture; they postdate it by about 20 years, according to the eponyms named. They are even closer, especially 3, to another published amphora, one of 'Αριστοκλήης in the term of 'Αρχιλαΐδας, an eponym present in the Pergamon deposit but not in the Middle Stoa filling, hence datable very soon after Θεαΐδητος of 3.<sup>20</sup> The stages of the change in shape, placed according to the tentative sequence of names, form a control, and thus the chronology is adjusted. Contrast in shape and dimensions of the amphoras makes it easy to distinguish between eponyms of the same name who may be two generations apart, when whole jars are preserved that name them; for instance between the Νικασαγόρας of ca. 185 B.C. who dates 2 (Pl. 1), and the later one named on an amphora of Εὐφράνωρ, perhaps there the Νικασαγόρας whose term as priest of Halios is dated epigraphically shortly after 123 B.C. The later jar (unpublished) has considerably longer neck, handles, and body, and the handles bow out noticeably, another relatively late feature; its capacity is about 25% greater than that of 2.<sup>21</sup>

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

3) with same month and probably same die as in (2), a secondary stamp is indicated in a drawing but not identified or mentioned: F. Benoit, "Nouvelles épaves de Provence," *Gallia* 16, 1958, reading on p. 33, drawing in fig. 41, p. 32 (from Anse Saint-Roch, Antibes).

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

The data for ἸἈθανόδοτος are given here in detail because this name was omitted from among the latest eponyms in the Middle Stoa building fill in information given to S. I. Rotroff: see *Agora* XXII, p. 102. It is perhaps also of interest to show for one name the kind of evidence available as documentation for statements on others.

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

<sup>21</sup> On two eponyms Νικασαγόρας and references to the two jars, see *Délos* XXVII, p. 306 under E 15 (upper paragraph). Capacity of the later jar and comparative figures, cf. "The Commercial Amphoras from the Antikythera Shipwreck," *TAPS* 55, 1965, p. 7, note 8; the jar is in the Nicosia Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. CMC 198. The "bowing out" of the handles results from drawing them in below to accommodate to a slimmer body; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 6. For the epigraphical date of an eponym Νικασαγόρας, see C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos, Fouilles de l'Acropole 1902—1914*, II, *Inscriptions* I, Berlin and Copenhagen 1941, p. 536, no. 246 (Νικασαγόρας Ἰπποκλέης); 123 B.C. is the date attributed to him as priest of Athana Lindia, cf. *ibid.*, p. 125, and the priesthood of Halios, which apparently he also held, would probably have fallen shortly afterward: on something resembling a *cursus honorum* in Rhodes, see L. Morricone, "I sacerdoti di Halios," *ASAtene* 27—29, 1949—1951, p. 375. In Rhodes, official documents were dated by the name of the priest of Halios, who was changed annually.

Historical considerations have bearing, and it may be noted that in the original publication the proposed date for the Pergamon deposit was late 3rd to early 2nd century B.C., as a time of friendly relations between Pergamon and Rhodes.<sup>22</sup> Sometimes, as with *Νικασαγόρας* 2nd just mentioned, one may suggest identifications of persons in stamps with persons known in epigraphical or literary texts. Thus it is possible that *Θεαίδητος*, tentatively listed here as the next to latest Rhodian eponym in the Middle Stoa filling, was the father of *Ἀστυμήδης Θεαιδήτου*, who was the priest of Athana Lindia in 154 B.C. and perhaps then of Halios a year or so afterward. According to Polybios, the son was sent to Rome on missions in 168, 164, and 153 B.C.; and the father, perhaps the *Θεαίδητος* of 3, died in Rome in 167/6, being then over eighty years of age.<sup>23</sup> One would like, again, to associate with the potter dynasty *Δαμοκράτης*–*Ἀριστοκλῆς*, etc. (see p. 10 above, with footnote 18), a Rhodian mentioned on a Thasian stone, *Ἀριστοκλῆς ὁ [ ]κράτεις*, secretary of the *boula* of Rhodes in the term of the priest of Halios *Θέρσανδρος*. A date of 69/68 B.C. is tentatively proposed for the stone in the publication; the authors tell us, however, that the letter forms could well be of the second half of the 2nd century B.C. Such a date would fit with that of the eponym *Θέρσανδρος* known in stamps; we have no evidence of a later homonym. In that case, perhaps the secretary of the Rhodian *boula* had actually been, in his creative youth, the *Ἀριστοκλῆς* of the stamp types 19, 20, and 21 (Pl. 3). By, say,

<sup>22</sup> Schuchhardt 1895, p. 432. In the excellent dissertation of F. Bleckmann, *De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis Rhodiis*, Göttingen 1907, Schuchhardt's dating is used and developed; see especially Bleckmann's p. 25. Cf. *Délos* XXVII, p. 290.

<sup>23</sup> For the Lindian priesthood of *Ἀστυμήδης Θεαιδήτου*, see Blinkenberg, *op. cit.* (footnote 21 above), p. 121, under the year 154, with commentary below; see further *ibid.*, pp. 488–490. (No mention in these inscriptions of a priesthood of Halios. It should be observed that Blinkenberg counted the existence of a name as eponym in Rhodian amphora stamps as sufficient evidence that the person named was a priest of Halios.) On names of Rhodian eponyms in stamps for whom identifications have been proposed with priests named in inscriptions, cf. *Délos* XXVII, p. 299 with references. Of particular interest is the triple correspondence examined *ibid.*, p. 313, under E 34, of three known stamp eponyms with three priests of Halios cited in *SEG* III, 674. The stone has been discussed recently by P. M. Fraser (*Rhodian Funerary Monuments*, Oxford 1977, pp. 60–61), but in his documentation (pp. 150–151) the author fails to use the text on E 34 with its clarification on the dates of the stamp eponyms, which is based on information not available to the scholars he quotes.

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

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

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

140 B.C., and given his family history, our man must have been a substantial citizen.<sup>24</sup> Analogous to the Rhodian potter dynasty *Δαμοκράτης*–*Ἀριστοκλῆς* would be the earlier Thasian one, again with aristocratic names, recently identified at Kalonero on Thasos by Y. Garlan. In the waste of an ancient pottery works he found many amphora fragments bearing stamps of one or other of two potters, *Ἀρισταγόρης* and *Δημάλκης*, the potter's name always combined with that of a dating official, the two series of dating officials entirely distinct from one another. Two-name Thasian stamps date from about 390 to about 340 B.C., cf. p. 18 below, footnote 43. Garlan has matched the two potters' names with those of an epigraphically known Thasian family in which fathers and sons were called successively *Δημάλκης* and *Ἀρισταγόρης*, an alternation of names that can be followed in Thasian inscriptions from about 370 B.C. for nearly a century.<sup>25</sup>

#### EVIDENCE OF THE KNIDIAN STAMPS

The Knidian amphora stamps in the Middle Stoa filling are possibly even more critical than the Rhodian for dating the filling itself as well as for establishing the earlier chronological sequence of their class, i.e. for the mutual development of chronologies. They are largely a close group. Over half are dated in 11 eponym terms, those of *Δαμογένης* 1st, *Εὐκράτης* 1st, *Θηροκράτης* 1st, *Κάλλιστος*, *Λέων*, *Λυσάνιος*, *Μητροδωρος*, *Νικασίβουλος*, *Πολιούχης*, *Σωκράτης*, *Φίλιππος* 1st; the names are variously abbreviated in the stamps. At least 9 handles in the filling are dated by each of the foregoing names; see Appendix 1 below for individual figures. Three more eponyms whose names each appear on 5 handles in the filling are *Θεμιστώνατος*, *Κλειτοφῶν*, and *Φιλιστίων* (again variously abbreviated); these probably preceded or followed pretty closely the 11. Eponyms seen on only one handle in the deposit may be earlier than the others, or they may be the very latest (no time for much breakage), or some might theoretically turn out to be impurities in the deposit.<sup>26</sup>

To help place the period of the 11 (plus) eponyms, two obvious groups of Knidian known to date before about 150 B.C. were examined: those found in Corinth and those from the construction filling of the Stoa of Attalos in Athens; from the Corinth list, certain names were omitted which clearly belong to the renewed (small-scale) activity there after the

<sup>24</sup> For the Thasian inscription, see C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, *Études thasiennes*, V, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* II, Paris 1958, pp. 26–35, no. 172; on the "écriture", see top of p. 31. The authors' date depends on their identification of a Roman governor who is mentioned; they examine seven possibilities and choose the last; the second would suit the *Θέρσανδρος* of the stamps and perhaps a date within 141–135 B.C., which seems to be available. On *Θέρσανδρος*, cf. *Nessana* I, p. 116, under no. 7. This eponym dates known whole jars of the fabricants *Ἀγαθόβουλος*, *Εὐκλειτος*, *Κάλλων*, and *Τιμάρατος*.

<sup>25</sup> See Garlan's article in *Trade in the Ancient Economy*, P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, and G. R. Whittaker, edd., London (Chatto and Windus) [1983], p. 34. Note that *Ἀρισταγόρης* regularly has the eta ending in the earlier Thasian inscriptions and stamps. Cf. J. Pouilloux, *Études thasiennes*, III, *Recherches sur l'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* I, Paris 1954, p. 273, no. 34, lines 9 (genitive) and 45. For the name unabbreviated in one of the earlier (two-name) stamps, cf. A.-M. and A. Bon, *Études thasiennes*, IV, *Les timbres amphoriques de Thasos*, Paris 1957, p. 119, no. 278. Cf. also the comment, *ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>26</sup> A small number of items among those listed by the excavators or by G. R. Edwards, or both, have been identified as impurities because they are very much too late to belong to the group. They are listed in footnote 57 below.

destruction of 146 B.C.<sup>27</sup> In a fair number of the Knidian stamps from the two sources, the eponym is entitled *phrourarchos* in the stamp. Many more of the names included occur with that title in stamp types<sup>28</sup> other than those found in Corinth or in the Stoa of Attalos filling; i.e. some potters, or their scribes, did not include the title in their stamps, although referring to the same official. These *phrourarchoi*, or garrison commanders, should date 188–167 B.C., the period of control of certain mainland states by Rhodes; it appears that some of them at least were neither Knidians nor Rhodians but mercenaries employed by Rhodes.<sup>29</sup> In contrast with what seems to have been normal for eponymous officials named in Knidian and Rhodian stamps, the terms of these *phrourarchoi* were not full years but perhaps four-month periods. Compare practice in Priene, but we have evidence for the usage in Knidos itself in a small group of stamps in which a *phrourarchos* is named in addition to an ordinary eponym, and we find (in different stamp types) two and probably three different *phrourarchoi* named with the same eponym.<sup>30</sup> Three changes per year, if throughout the 22 years from 188 to 167 B.C., call for 66 terms, and I count now in our records at least 54 different names accompanied by the title. These are the names with annotation IV A in the list in Appendix 1 below. The stamps that give the title with the name are often known in very few examples, perhaps in a single type; no doubt we lack some such types by accident of preservation.<sup>31</sup> The series may be filled out. We have, actually, some dozen eponym names which by known combinations with the names of fabricants must be close to the beginning of the period of *phrourarchoi*; although not yet known to us with the title, perhaps most of them were *phrourarchoi*. In the eponym list below, Appendix 1, they are marked III–IV, i.e. close to the end of III and the beginning of IV. (On the periods identified by Roman numerals, see the introduction to this Appendix.) They are not present in the Middle Stoa filling save for Ἀρτέ(μων) and Φιλάμπελος, a single example each.

For eponym names found in Corinth or in the filling of the Stoa of Attalos, most of those not identified as *phrourarchoi* and not dated early by association with the Middle Stoa or other early filling, or by name connections, or by what can be seen of the shape of the jar, most of these are probably to be dated *ca.* 166–146 B.C. See again Appendix 1, names marked IV B. If I have there assigned to that period one or two more eponyms than there are years, any that have been dated before 146 only by presence in Corinth should be reconsidered and possibly moved further into the third quarter; cf. footnote 27 above. On the other hand, those annotated as having examples in the filling of the Stoa of Attalos are

<sup>27</sup> Cf. now C. K. Williams, II, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, pp. 21–23.

<sup>28</sup> On Knidian stamp types, see *Délos* XXVII, p. 323. In our usage, a stamp type is a group of one or more dies having the same content and arrangement of letters or devices or of both, i.e. the same minuscule reading.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. P. M. Fraser, *The Rhodian Peraea and Islands*, Oxford 1954, pp. 93–94, with note 3.

<sup>30</sup> F. Frhr. Hiller von Gaertringen *et al.*, *Inscripfen von Priene*, Berlin 1906, p. xiii; cf. *ibid.*, p. 28 under no. 19, lines 6–8. M. B. Wallace refers me to R. Merkelbach *et al.*, *Die Inscripten von Kalchedon (Inscripten griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 20)*, Bonn 1980, p. 5 for various ancient mentions of officials serving for parts of a year rather than for the whole year. For the evidence of the stamps, see *Délos* XXVII, p. 319.

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

perhaps not later than 157 B.C., since of the eponyms of IV B only 9 have been found in that filling. Perhaps the terracing for that building was started by Attalos right after he became king, in 159.

In any case, it is plain that for the series of Knidian eponyms assembled by presence in the Middle Stoa building fill (and knitted together by the close interconnection of eponym and fabricant names) there is no possible place in the Knidian sequence between the second decade and the middle of the 2nd century B.C.

We can be more precise. The title *phrourarchos* does not occur in the Middle Stoa filling. With the Knidian as with the Rhodian, however, an overlap after 188 is clear. The eponym names in the filling include 9 which do sometimes occur with the title: Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀρχέστρατος, Ἀσκληπιάδης, Θεύφαντος, Νικασίμαχος, Φίλιππος, Φιλοκράτης, Φιλόφρων, Φίλτατος. (These names also are sometimes rather radically abbreviated.) In addition, we have two of the eponyms sometimes named in stamps in combination with various *phrourarchoi*, mentioned above, and considered to date early in the period of Rhodian control; those in our fill are Πολύχαρμος and Σωκράτης (cf. 13, 16). The first of these is present in a single example (SS 757); but note that Σωκράτης is one of the 11 Knidian eponyms listed above as the commonest in the filling. Ἀπολλώνιος and Φιλοκράτης are two of the *phrourarchoi* known to have officiated during his term; canceling these from the above list of 9, we have 7 thirds of a year left in addition to the two full years (the two eponyms named with *phrourarchoi*). Probably again, as with the Rhodian, we come down about five years after 188 B.C.

We should compare Knidian finds in the Pergamon deposit with those from the Middle Stoa filling, as we have done for the Rhodian. The import to Pergamon from Knidos was, however, very much less than that to Athens. Such evidence as there is corresponds with what the Rhodian tell us. Most of the Knidian in the Pergamon deposit are contemporary with those in the Middle Stoa filling, but a single example (Schuchhardt 1895, no. 1291, reading corrected) names a *phrourarch* Κληρόπολις not present in the Middle Stoa filling; while a second handle (*ibid.*, no. 1290, reading again corrected) apparently names Θεγγένης, another of the eponyms known with *phrourarchoi* in the same stamp, like Σωκράτης or Πολύχαρμος but not present in the Middle Stoa filling.<sup>32</sup> So the Knidian in the Pergamon deposit, like the Rhodian, go down a little later than those in the Middle Stoa fill.

For the Knidian chronology, whole amphoras, or at least joined pairs of handles, are less of a requirement than for the Rhodian, since, as remarked, the names from the two series (dating names and endorsing names) are usually combined within the stamps. In some cases, however, we do have two complementary stamps on the two handles of an amphora (Pl. 2, 4, and representations of its stamps, 7 and 8). And certainly what we can observe about the changing shapes of the jars, as with the Rhodian, supplements and

<sup>32</sup> Both corrections were made recently with the help of Dr. Börker (cited in footnote 31, now a professor at Erlangen), who is preparing a new study of the stamped handles in Berlin from the Pergamon deposit. He provided us with rubbings of the Knidian, for the identification of which our archives in Athens provide easy and reliable reference material, not available to Schuchhardt. The eponym's name in KT 210, the type of Pergamon no. 1290, is abbreviated to Θε( and the restoration is not quite certain.

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

consolidates the sequence. Again, only fragments come from the deposit we are studying, but they are filled out in this article by more or less whole jars similarly dated; the reader should fill out a little further by restoring in his mind on every jar the characteristic ringed toe which is largely broken away or concealed by marine deposit in those shown in Plates 2 and 3.<sup>33</sup> The first and earliest of the jars in Plate 2 (4) is dated in the term of Ἀρχιπιδας; a duplicate of its dating stamp is 7, and a variation of the die of its endorsing stamp impressed 8. The amphora 4 was found in Rhodes in a Hellenistic filling above and among some tombs of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., with four Rhodian amphoras of which I should date three in the next to last decade of the 3rd century B.C. and one in the third quarter.<sup>34</sup> Beside the jar from Rhodes, 5 should be slightly later; it is from the earlier of the two wrecks at Grand Congloué near Marseilles, from which the Rhodian material dates by present estimate in the last decade of the century.<sup>35</sup> It is difficult to see a development from 4 to 5. In contrast, change *is* noticeable between 4 and 6, in increased height and decreased diameter, in the narrowing of neck and mouth, in the handles of 6 that rise and arch a little from the upper attachment, instead of dropping like those of 4. This drop identifies early Knidian handles even without the jar as a whole; it is noticeable in the handle fragments 7 and 8 (see Catalogue below). The dating name of 4, Ἀρχιπιδας, occurs once in the Middle Stoa filling; that of 6, Πολιούχης, 48 times (indicating 24 amphoras, since the same stamp was impressed on both handles). Πολιούχης is in fact the commonest Knidian eponym of the filling, and perhaps therefore one of the later ones, but not datable as late as 188, as he is not known as a phrourarchos nor as an eponym contemporary with phrourarchoi. On Plate 3, 13 names an eponym Σωκράτης, apparently (chiefly according to name connections) the same one in whose term phrourarchoi sometimes accompany the eponym in the stamps, hence dating in or soon after 188 B.C. according to the hypothesis of this article. The amphora 13, so far as visible behind the marine deposit (favored by collectors) is not very different from 6. Actually no phrourarchoi are named on it, but (as with 6) the same stamp was impressed on both handles, duplicates of that shown here as 16. Perhaps general compliance was not exacted at the start of the new system of dimensions and markings of the containers; or possibly the system was altered during the term of Σωκράτης.

A noticeable change does show itself between 6 and 14 (Pl. 3). The Φίλιππος named as eponym in the stamp of 14 (see a duplicate in 17, Pl. 3) I take to be the one who dates numerous handles from the Middle Stoa filling; he is one of the 11 common eponyms. I take him to be the phrourarchos of this name and one of the earliest known with the title.<sup>36</sup> The

<sup>33</sup> For more complete shapes, see Grace 1934, p. 202, fig. 1, nos. 6–8 and *Amphoras*, fig. 64.

<sup>34</sup> The three Rhodian of the next to last decade are A 230 (MΣ 620) dated in the term of Ξενοστρατος, and A 232 and 233 (MΣ 622, 623) dated in the term of Ἀστυμήδης 1st. The slightly earlier Rhodian is A 231 (MΣ 621), dated in the term of Ξεναρέτος. All the eponyms occur in the Middle Stoa filling. The five jars, including A 236 (4, Pl. 2), were found during the excavations (1961–1964) by G. Konstantinopoulos in the Pavlides lot in Rhodes (on Lindos Street). I am obliged to Mr. Konstantinopoulos for permission to publish 4 and to mention the others; also to Olga Kakavoyannis for the information given above; also to P. M. W. Matheson for calling my attention to these stamped amphoras during our work period in Rhodes in May, 1980; and finally to I. Papachristodoulou, Ephor of the Dodecanese, for much facilitation of our work in Rhodes in recent years.

<sup>35</sup> On two wrecks at Grand Congloué and their dates, see Appendix 3 below.

<sup>36</sup> See *Délos* XXVII, p. 326, under E 62, end of comment.



evidence is chiefly the other associates of *Ἀρισταγόρας*, the fabricant of **14** (see again **17**): the dating names in his stamp types are all either of known phourarchoi or of persons known in any case to date near the beginning of the period 188–167. There is no other *Ἀρισταγόρας* in Knidian stamps. This amphora **14** should identify for us the shape of the latest Knidian container of which there are stamped handles in the Middle Stoa filling, those datable during a few years after 188 B.C. at the beginning of the period of Rhodian control of the mainland including Knidos; this is the time of the Rhodian amphoras **2** and **3**. The distinction in appearance of **14** as compared for instance with **6** (noticeable lengthening of the upper parts and narrowing of the body) is enhanced when the actual jar is seen, by its pink color, the result of a cream slip applied over the red Knidian clay of **14**, perhaps in intended imitation of Rhodian amphoras. Another Knidian amphora of close to the same date has been published.<sup>37</sup>

In **15** (Pl. 3) we see what was produced for a while after control was withdrawn: the jar is dated by its stamp (see **18**, a duplicate; Pl. 3) in the period 166–146 B.C., or perhaps 166–157.<sup>38</sup> Neck and handles have stopped pushing up to greater height; the body, while lengthening and narrowing a bit, is more slack; detail is less careful. Later Knidian amphoras show again a tendency toward longer neck and handles and better potting; see *Amphoras*, fig. 64, the central jar, third quarter of the 2nd century. In that picture, directly to the left of this tall jar, is our **14** of *Ἀρισταγόρας*, bright with its cream slip; next and furthest left in the same picture is the Early Knidian amphora from the latest part of Thompson's Group B, which he now dates at about 240 B.C.,<sup>39</sup> perhaps twenty or twenty-five years earlier than **4** of the present paper. This jar from Group B allows a guess at the reconstruction of some of the "Early Knidian" of which 39 are listed as in the Middle Stoa filling; but some of these without full names are probably (by the shape of their handles) no earlier than some of the Knidian whose stamps do have names.

*Ἀρισταγόρας* is a new name in Knidian stamps at the beginning of the period of Rhodian control, but it is not known at all in Rhodian stamps. More direct and personal intervention from Rhodes strikes us in the Knidian types of *Ἀριστοκλῆς* the Rhodian, illustrated on Plate 3, **19**–**21**. The stamp **21** is very close to the Rhodian rose types of the same potter, for instance in the term of *Ἀρχιλαΐδας*; see references in footnote 20 above. Three duplicates of **19** occur in the Middle Stoa building fill, see Catalogue below; as this type also is known on handles with secondary stamps,<sup>40</sup> no doubt the three are among the latest in the filling, after

<sup>37</sup> Grace 1934, p. 202, fig. 1, and text p. 305, no. 7. (Found in fragments in 1911: see *Ἀρχ* *Ἐφ*, 1913, pp. 215–216.) A third amphora (Agora SS 7210) of the same period is interestingly, if not fully, visible as its capacity is being taken by H. A. Thompson and E. Vanderpool in 1939: see Grace 1949, pl. 19:1–3, and see text p. 185. The single preserved stamp (one handle is missing) bears the name *Φίλτατος*, no doubt the eponym of that name, an early phourarch whose name appears in the Middle Stoa filling; the stamp is an example of KT 1254. SS 7210 is from the construction filling of Agora well L 18:1.

<sup>38</sup> The eponym *Ἀριστοκλῆς*, who dates **15**, occurs in the filling of the Stoa of Attalos (SS 11362, example of KT 214), to which the end date is possibly 157 B.C.; see above, pp. 14–15.

<sup>39</sup> See Grace 1974, p. 198, note 19; and cf. Appendix 2 below, under Group B.

<sup>40</sup> Secondary stamp with single letter theta on the side of the handle at the upper attachment on Agora SS 11952; perhaps the same (incompletely preserved) on a handle from excavations by the late John Threpsiadēs, which we were allowed to photograph in July 1959; the main stamp on both handles is an example of KT 236 as on **19**. SS 11952 is exhibited in Shop D of the Agora Museum in the Stoa of Attalos, on the south side of the glass case.

188 B.C. One would like to see whole jars with the Knidian endorsements of Ἀριστοκλῆς; one would like to know what, if any, dating stamps accompanied these circular types with bull's head, lion, and rose; no candidates have been identified. 19 and 20 (Pl. 3) are archetypes in clay, with symbols adapted from coin types of Knidos, of a long series of Knidian stamp types with bull's head, or head or forepart of lion, as device; especially numerous are the bull's head stamps of Δαμοκράτης ὁ Ἀριστοκλεῦς, who was no doubt the son of the Rhodian who used 19, 20, and 21.<sup>41</sup> Ἀριστοκλῆς himself was probably the same man whose Knidian amphoras were sometimes made of actual Rhodian clay and perhaps the one who became secretary of the Rhodian *boula* in the third quarter of the 2nd century.<sup>42</sup>

It may be observed that the ethnic Κνίδιον is not present in the first four Knidian stamps shown in Plates 2 and 3 but only in the last two, both of which are datable after 188 B.C. Most of the Knidian stamps in the Middle Stoa filling are without ethnic, and its use perhaps did not begin much before the second decade of the 2nd century.

EVIDENCE OF THE LESS NUMEROUS CLASSES (Thasian, Koan, Roman, etc., and especially of the Sinopean class)

We may have a brief look at some of the other classes of amphoras as represented by stamped fragments in the Middle Stoa filling, against the background of the Rhodian and Knidian which make up 84% of the lot. The Thasian, as already remarked, include stamps of the earlier 3rd and of the 4th century B.C. (some items as early as the first quarter of the 4th). As with the Rhodian and the Knidian, the most interesting of the Thasian for chronology may be the latest, if it turns out that, contrary to some recent opinion,<sup>43</sup> Thasian amphoras continued to be stamped after 200 B.C. All Thasian that have been found at the Athenian Agora are to be included in the new edition of the corpus of Thasian stamps.<sup>44</sup> For the Koan class particularly, the context of the Middle Stoa is of value for the chronology, for which there is relatively little other evidence; the large group of this class in the filling forms an important part of the Koan corpus of which plates and catalogue text are nearly complete. The Corinthian will be published in C. G. Koehler's forthcoming corpus of this class

<sup>41</sup> On Knidian lion types, see summary, *Délos XXVII*, p. 335, under E 103. On the son of Ἀριστοκλῆς, cf. footnote 18 above.

<sup>42</sup> For spectroscopic tests of handles from jars of probably the same Ἀριστοκλῆς, see *Délos XXVII*, pp. 319–320 with note 1, p. 320. For the secretary of the *boula*, see p. 12 above.

<sup>43</sup> Y. G. Vinogradov, "Pottery Stamps of the Island of Thasos," *Numismatics and Epigraphy X* (The Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR), Moscow 1972 (in Russian), pp. 39, 44, and 59 (table, see bottom). The evidence cited (which is not new) shows that Thasian amphoras *were* stamped as late as ca. 200 B.C. (stamps from the Pergamon deposit and from Villanova in Rhodes) but not that the practice stopped then. Now that finds at Koukos in Thasos have shown that the names in one-name Thasian stamps are very probably those of annual officials (and not of potters), we should attempt a count, starting from about 340 B.C., and making allowance for repeated names. On the Koukos finds, see Garlan 1979. My own most recent summary on Thasian stamps (*Délos XXVII*, pp. 354–357) had not the benefit of the Koukos finds and also does not discuss the Thasian stamps with names but without device (cf. *Pnyx*, pl. 52:1–4). There is much new information, and I hope to publish a revised short study of the Thasian class, including the shape development. In the meanwhile it should be said that, following further examination of Agora deposits, there does not now seem to be good evidence to date any of the Thasian stamps with names before 400 B.C., and perhaps not before 390. For the change in ca. 340 B.C. from two-name to one-name stamps in Thasos, see above, pp. 4–5.

<sup>44</sup> On the projected new corpus of Thasian stamps, see recently Garlan 1979, p. 213. The original one is the Bon volume cited above on p. 13 in footnote 25.

(cf. *Corinthian A and B Transport Amphoras*, diss. Princeton University, 1978).<sup>45</sup> For identification of the Parmeniskos Group, see *Pnyx*, pp. 168–169; a new study of this group, with much additional material, is being prepared by M. Petropoulakou. The stamps of the Zenon Group in the Middle Stoa filling are all of the later type (late 3rd—early 2nd centuries B.C.) containing usually only the two letters ZH.<sup>46</sup> The Latin stamp has been published; it is from a container of Oriental type, perhaps Punic; we know a little more about the shape of the container since the discovery of the same stamp impressed on the knob toe of what was probably a jar of one of the Punic types; independent context of about 200 B.C. exists for this fragment.<sup>47</sup> On the rather numerous items included under “Miscellaneous Unclassified”, I cannot generalize here, except to say that none has parallels suggesting a date later than that of the Rhodian and Knidian of the filling. Several match, more or less closely, stamps in the Pergamon deposit. A few are dated earlier, by the context of duplicates from 4th-century deposits: cf. a gem impression recently published, of which one of the duplicates comes from the Middle Stoa filling.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> See in the meanwhile her report, “Evidence around the Mediterranean for Corinthian Export of Wine and Oil,” *Beneath the Waters of Time: Proceedings of the Ninth Conference on Underwater Archeology* (Texas Antiquities Committee No. 6), Austin, Texas 1978, pp. 231–239. For some of Koehler’s more recent work in this field, see “Amphoras on Amphoras,” *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 284–292.

<sup>46</sup> On the Zenon Groups, the earlier and the later, see *Hesperia* 32, 1963, pp. 319, 321–322 with note 9, 331 with note 25. The article is concerned with amphora finds at Koroni in Attica, where examples of the earlier Zenon Group were found. With revised 3rd-century dating (cf. footnote 2 above and start of Appendix 2 below) one would like to accept an identification of the Ze(non) of the earlier group with Zenon of Kaunos, agent of Apollonios in Egypt, although apparently he had not come to Philadelphia by 265 B.C. Cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II, Oxford 1972, p. 286, end of note 283; V. Grace and J.-Y. Empereur, “Un groupe d’amphores ptolemaïques estampillées,” *Bulletin du Centenaire* (Supplément au *BIFAO* 81), Cairo 1981, p. 426. Particularly interesting examples of the earlier group have been found recently, some in an ancient wreck investigated by George Bass. On these, see V. R. Grace, “Some Amphoras from a Hellenistic Wreck,” forthcoming in *BCH*, Suppl. (vol. no. undetermined). The later Zenon Group may be connected with the earlier, although no context fixes the plain ZH( stamps earlier than the late 3rd to early 2nd century B.C.: in addition to the Middle Stoa context, we have an example in the Pergamon deposit (no. 1278) and one from a filling in the Stoa of Philip in Delos (TD 6231). The Rhodian stamps from the same filling date ca. 210–190 B.C.; cf. Grace 1974, p. 198, note 21.

<sup>47</sup> For the Latin stamp, which reads C.S., see V. R. Grace, “The Canaanite Jar,” in *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman*, S. S. Weinberg, ed., Locust Valley 1956, pl. XII, no. 10, cf. text pp. 97 and 109 (see here suggestions as to the shape of the jar). A second example of this stamp type may also come originally from the Middle Stoa filling: see *ibid.*, no. 11. The third example, impressed on a toe fragment, is NAΔ 890 from the excavations south of the Akropolis by the late John Meliades in 1957; he gave me permission to use it in publication. This fragment had again a context of ca. 200 B.C. (information by kindness of C. Kanellopoulou). See the comment by E. L. Will quoted on p. 97 of my publication cited: her suggestion that the letters C.S. may stand for *civitas stipendiaria*, a Spanish commune that paid a fixed impost to Rome, seems the best possibility. After Scipio’s victory at Ilipa in Spain in 207 B.C., such communes were required to deliver to Rome certain goods, including perhaps oil. Cf. *CAH* VIII, pp. 89, 306, 308, 310. Officially marked containers may have been required, the shape, that used by the Carthaginians who had preceded the Romans in Spain.

On other classes listed above, p. 6, as present in the Middle Stoa filling, see summaries with references in *Délos XXVII*, cf. index, p. 382; on Samian(?) prow stamps, see Grace 1971, pp. 82–85, with notes (note 83, p. 84, cites Middle Stoa context); the identification as Samian is not established. An article on this class is being prepared by Professor Börker of Erlangen.

<sup>48</sup> V. R. Grace, “Exceptional Amphora Stamps,” *Studies in Classical Art and Archeology, A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen*, G. Kopcke and M. B. Moore, edd., Locust Valley 1979, pl. XXXVI: 2, cf. catalogue text, p. 126, where under 2, SS 675 is listed as a duplicate from the Middle Stoa filling of two

Special mention is made finally of the Sinopean stamps present, for reasons that will appear. Cf. Plate 2, 10–12. B. N. Grakov's pioneering study of this class laid out what is still a convincing *sequence* of groups and of names, many of which are made more precise in the stamps by patronymics.<sup>49</sup> His absolute dates, a first attempt in this field, brought him down for his final group (VI) to the period 121–70 B.C. In later research, he modified at least part of his chronology but did not live to publish a general revision. (He died in September, 1970.) Four out of the six Sinopean stamps in the Middle Stoa filling are of Grakov's Group VI, including 11 and 12 on Plate 2. The filling therefore suggests for the Sinopean series as a whole an end date of not much later than 183 B.C., that of the Middle Stoa Rhodian and Knidian, as laid out above. The reasonable occasion for the discontinuation of the series from Sinope is its capture, actually in 183 B.C., by Pharnakes 1st, King of Pontos; he moved his capital to the city and no doubt made administrative changes. That the sequence of Sinopean dating officials named in the stamps ended in or close to 183 B.C. has been in fact the view of at least two Soviet scholars,<sup>50</sup> although it has not yet been generally accepted. As in the case of other classes in our filling, especially the Thasian, the Sinopean (few though they are) include something earlier than the rest of their class that is present: one stamp of Grakov's Group IV (Pl. 2, 10). It happens that we have a possible independent indication for the date of Group IV which seems to suit an end date for the whole series in 183 B.C. If working back from that year we count the astynomoi (officials named in Sinopean stamps) listed in Grakov's volume for his Groups VI, V, and IV, the over-all dates for IV would come out as 281–259 B.C., whereas Grakov's original date for IV had been 180–150 B.C. (Grakov 1929, p. 138). Discovery of a stamp of this Group in a 3rd-century context would be an indication that the Group dated in that century rather than any later. In fact, one such was found at Seuthopolis (in Thrace), the site of which seems to have been occupied only from about 359 to about 229 B.C.<sup>51</sup> The answer, however, does not come so

stamps from 4th-century deposits, SS 8210 and SS 14771; note that the illustrated example, SS 12440, is from the area of the Middle Stoa.

<sup>49</sup> Grakov 1929. Reviewed: A. Kocavalov, *PhilWoch* 53, 1933, pp. 630–647.

<sup>50</sup> Most of the work on this class of stamps has been done by Soviet scholars, since the material is found in abundance in the Black Sea area, while it is uncommon elsewhere. Sinopean amphoras are thought to have carried oil, not wine, so it is not surprising that few of the stamped fragments have been found for instance in Athens.

For the earlier end date, see V. I. Tsekhmistrenko, "Sinopean Pottery Stamps with the Names of Master Potters," *Soviet Archeology*, 1960, p. 75 (in Russian). The author cites the expansion of the Pontic kingdom and the final taking of Sinope in 183 as the reasons for the breaking off of stamping Sinopean amphoras with the names of astynomoi, although he sets the actual end of the astynome stamps in about 175 B.C. (At the same time, he puts the liquidation of the astynome magistracies in Sinope some years *earlier* than 183 B.C.; see his note 106.) The late Professor V. F. Gaidukevich, on the basis of observations during his excavations, was ready to accept 183 as the end date of the series, according to a letter he wrote in October 1957 to Emily Grace Kazakevich. He quotes the opinion of a member of the Kerch Museum staff who specialized in the stamps of Sinope (possibly Tsekhmistrenko?) that "the latest Sinope stamps with the names of astynomes go only as far as the moment of the seizure of Sinope by Pharnakes (183)." He found it most convincing, the more so when he learned that another investigator (myself) had arrived at the same conclusion independently. Cf. Grace 1968, p. 176, no. 7; also *Délos* XXVII, pp. 284–285.

<sup>51</sup> See A. Balkanska, "Die Handelsbeziehungen von Seuthopolis," *VI<sup>e</sup> conférence internationale d'études classiques des pays socialistes*, Sofia 1963, p. 52, fig. 3, no. 1, a clearly legible Sinopean stamp that names the astynomos Ἀντίμαχος with his characteristic device, a horn, and the fabricant Νικόλας, both belonging to

readily, since, I am reliably informed, many astynomoi have been added to the group lists since the publication of Grakov's book, far too many to be accommodated as annual officials in years available before 183 B.C., assuming that Group I terminated in the second half of the 4th century; and on that there seems to have been for some time general agreement.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps the terms of the astynomoi were not full years, as in the case of the phrourarchoi of Knidos. In any case, apparently these persons were not the state eponymous officials.<sup>53</sup> We had looked to I. B. Brashinsky of Leningrad, an authority on this class of amphoras and their stamps, to work out this problem; his sudden death in April 1982 is a great loss to this study.<sup>54</sup> For the present, in the light of the Middle Stoa context, I continue to feel reasonably convinced that the Sinopean astynome stamp series ended in 183.

#### THE DATE OF MOLDED RELIEF BOWLS WITH LONG-PETAL DECORATION

For the contents of the Middle Stoa filling, it remains to consider a find which, although outside the field of my competence, is naturally not outside the area of my interest. In 1953, while D. B. Thompson excavated the part of the filling within the foundations of the west

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Grakov's Group IV; see Grakov 1929, pp. 138 and 184 for the astynomos, and pp. 140 and 207 for the fabricant. Cf. the comment of I. B. Brashinsky, "Recent Foreign Research on Ceramic Inscriptions," *Soviet Archaeology*, 1966, ii, p. 334 (in Russian), where the dates of Seuthopolis are given. These dates, 359–229 B.C., come actually from the earliest and latest coins found *on the site*, those of Philip II of Macedon (359–336 B.C.) and those of Demetrios II (239–229 B.C.). The earliest of these coins apparently preceded the founding of Seuthopolis and were lost in the Thracian village that preceded it on the site. See D. P. Dimitrov (the excavator, in 1948–1954), "Neuentdeckte epigraphische Denkmäler über die Religion der Thraker. . .," *Hommages à W. Deonna* (Collection Latomus 28), Brussels 1957, pp. 181–193; cf. J. and L. Robert, *REG* 72, 1959, pp. 209–210; most recently, D. P. Dimitrov and M. Čičikeva, *The Thracian City of Seuthopolis* (*British Archaeological Reports*, suppl. ser. 38), Oxford 1978 (cf. review, *JHS* 100, 1980, p. 269). P. M. W. Matheson investigated for me the dates and provided many references.

<sup>52</sup> Grakov's original dates for his Group I were late 4th century to 270 B.C. (Grakov 1929, p. 112), but his revised view, quoted by Brashinsky in *Olbia, Temenos and Agora*, V. F. Gaidukevich, ed., Moscow-Leningrad 1964 (in Russian), p. 308, note 55, gave the period 360–330. Brashinsky himself dated the same Group 360–320 in 1963; see his "Economic Relations of Sinope in the 4th to 2nd centuries B.C.," *Ancient Town* (Institute of Archeology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR), Moscow 1963, p. 133. (See note 7 on this same page for the author's comment on the early end date proposed by Tsekhmistrenko, for which he saw difficulties.) At the Athenian Agora, stamps of Groups Ib and II have both been found in deposits of the third quarter of the 4th century, dating the change from I to II in that quarter century: SS 14823 of Ib from deposit R 13:11 and SS 11354 of II from deposit J 11:1. For Group Ib, see Grakov 1929, p. 119.

Brashinsky's date for Group I remained the same ten years later; see p. 127 of his long, useful article, "The Progress of Greek Ceramic Epigraphy in the USSR," *Eirene* 11, 1973, pp. 111–144. He also still dated (*loc. cit.*) Group VI in the second half of the 2nd century.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Grakov 1929, p. 49.

<sup>54</sup> We are much indebted to the late Dr. Brashinsky for information received in letters as well as for many offprints. Not long before his death he contributed the names in Sinopean stamps to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names being prepared under the auspices of the British Academy, a large contribution partly because of the patronymics mentioned above, which are otherwise rare in stamps. On the lexicon, see below, first paragraph of Appendix 1.

For a fairly recent summary on work in this particular field, with many references, cf. D. B. Shelov, *op. cit.* (footnote 15 above), pp. 134–140. I am obliged to P. M. W. Matheson for a translation of these pages, as of many others useful to the present study. See also M. Lazarov, "Sinope et le marché ouest-Pontique," *Varna, Narodni Musei, Ivestia* 14, 1978, pp. 11–65. The author reports, and adopts, the Sinopean chronology of the Soviet scholar B. A. Vasilenko. I owe this information and reference to Françoise Alabe.

half of the Stoa, E. Vanderpool was responsible for the part which had been thrown in south of the south foundation and north of the building marked "Heliaia" in Figure 1; here, as in the area of the actual foundations, there was need of a quantity of filling in order that the ground level to the south of the western part of the great long stoa should be even with that toward its east end, near the top of the natural east-west slope.<sup>55</sup> I quote here a note to me from Vanderpool dated July 12, 1956, following the circulation of my report of June 26—July 11 on the stamped handles:

I continue to regard the early long-petalled Megarian bowl (K 2705, P 23095) found in the settling basin in front of the west end of the north front of the Heliaia as one of the few *strictly contemporary* pieces that can be associated with the Middle Stoa. It will have been a new piece in use as work was starting on the building. It will have been broken and discarded after the settling basin had been disconnected from its water supply and just before it was buried under the building fill; (note that most of the pieces of the bowl were on top of the sand in the basin, one piece was on the strosis just outside).

Most of the Middle Stoa building fill was not strictly contemporary fill. Some layers were archaic and earlier. The layers with masses of pottery and handles must have been drawn from some old dump. After all, where would you go if you wanted such a lot of fill all at once.

The strictly contemporary pieces from the fill are relatively few, but if you add to the bowl the handles you are forced to reject in order to maintain the early date, the evidence gains weight.

That the fill rose in step with the laying of the foundation courses is shown by the fact that in some places we observed wedge shaped layers of conglomerate chips at each course. Therefore the whole space between the Middle Stoa and the Heliaia was filled in while the foundations were being laid.

We have here the excavator's impression while the excavation was still quite fresh in his mind; the detail is instructive. The implication is of an end date of not long before 150 B.C. for the Middle Stoa filling, since the start of bowls with long-petal decoration had been so dated.<sup>56</sup>

In attempting various possible explanations of the contradictory data here assembled, we cannot use the stamped handles mentioned by Vanderpool as having been rejected by me. In my report of 1956, everything ever counted as belonging to the Middle Stoa filling was duly listed, including some handles catalogued in 1933 whose precise finding places had been reconsidered and condemned by G. Roger Edwards, after investigations in the field notebooks, as impure or otherwise irrelevant (e.g. from too far north). In the end, all the amphora handles not withdrawn from the lists by Edwards or by one of the excavators have been seen to be consistent with an end date in the second decade of the 2nd century, with the exception of five Knidian datable after 110 B.C.<sup>57</sup> That this should be so is evidence of the

<sup>55</sup> H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 23, 1954 (pp. 1–67), p. 50.

<sup>56</sup> Thompson 1934, pp. 457–458. Here Thompson actually placed the start of these bowls in the "second quarter" of the century; he thus left room for the production and discard of numerous long-petal bowls found in his Group D, the end date of which he was then setting at the middle of the century (*op. cit.*, p. 370). Thompson's date for the start of long-petal bowls was rounded by Edwards: G. R. Edwards, "Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, *Small Objects from the Pnyx: II*, Princeton 1956 (pp. 83–112), p. 91 ("ca. 150 B.C."); *idem*, *Corinth*, VII, iii, *Corinthian Hellenistic Pottery*, Princeton 1975, p. 177 ("155 B.C.").

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

<sup>57</sup> The five stamps are as follows: SS 11826, example of KT 605, dated in the term of "Ερμων; cf. a duplicate published *Délos* XXVII, p. 345, E 162. SS 12918, KT 2112, which names the duoviri Λάχης and Εὐπόλεμος, on whom see e.g. *Délos* XXVII, p. 344, E 150. SS 12959, a Late Knidian belonging with *Délos*

quality of the excavating: here we have a very large and far from closed deposit, excavated over a number of years, both before and after the Second World War, by various persons; and of about 1500 stamped handles, apparently only five extraneous items have infiltrated, whether by a workman's or by a pot washer's mistake, or whether by a disturbance in antiquity not definitely recognized as such during the excavation.

No stamped handles accompanied Vanderpool's long-petal bowl, nor have I been able to identify any from a filling over its settling basin. In *Agora XXII*, S. I. Rotroff has separated the settling basin as a deposit from the Middle Stoa filling as a whole.<sup>58</sup>

There seems, however, to be a reasonable way to reconcile Vanderpool's bowl with the evidence of the handles and at the same time to resolve several other puzzles that have come up recently, and that is to make a slight adjustment in Thompson's absolute dating of the long-petal decoration. I suggest that the style began in the first quarter of the 2nd century but had at first a limited vogue, because in its first more elegant form it was difficult and fussy to engrave in the mold.<sup>59</sup> Other current styles of bowl ornament were much more showy for the trouble taken. The long-petal style is certainly not common in the earlier 2nd century, but Vanderpool's bowl is not the only one at the Agora. A fragment was found in a deposit *under* the filling of the Stoa of Attalos, a deposit in which the amphora stamps are close in date to those in the Middle Stoa filling.<sup>60</sup> Further, a bowl and a number of fragments come from a cistern shaft with 10 stamped handles; the latest handles date just after those of the Middle Stoa filling, probably still in the first quarter and certainly before 166 B.C.<sup>61</sup> There are others. One of the reasons the style had been placed late, i.e. with a start shortly before 150 B.C., was that relatively few pieces had been found in Corinth; but a large number have now been found there, in the excavations of 1980.<sup>62</sup> A tendency to place the beginning of long-petal bowls rather earlier than had been supposed is evident in two

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XXVII, p. 354, under G. SS 13056, KT 486, term of *Ἐρμῶν*; a duplicate is *Délos XXVII*, p. 343, E 147. SS 13096, KT 1578, the duoviri *Καρνεάδας* and *Εὐβουλος*; see *Délos XXVII*, p. 344, E 153, 156, 157. The first and last come from Section ΜΣ, the rest from K. See above, footnote 7.

<sup>58</sup> The settling basin is listed as I 14:2, discussed by Rotroff, *Agora XXII*, p. 102. Further on P 23095, Vanderpool's bowl, see *op. cit.*, pp. 36 and 85, where it is referred to by its catalogue number, 344. Rotroff is explicit in separating the finding place from the Middle Stoa filling; she also suggests a possible date of 225–175 for the bowl, although without excluding the possibility of a considerably later date.

<sup>59</sup> See Edwards, *Corinth VII* (footnote 56 above), pp. 177, 178, on the exacting task of incising the earlier long-petal designs in the mold and the greatly increased production after a shortcut was devised.

<sup>60</sup> The deposit is Q 8–9, the fill over the floor of the Square Peristyle, and the bowl fragment is P 20204 (*Agora XXII*, no. 325). The Rhodian stamped handles in Q 8–9 run down only to the eponym *Ἰέρων* 1st, dated tentatively 198 B.C., but the Knidian to the eponym *Φιλόφ* (SS 10799), probably the early phrourarch *Φιλόφρων*, hence not long after 188 B.C.; the same Knidian stamp type (KT 1105) is present in the Middle Stoa filling (SS 12428). On the tentative attribution of Rhodian eponym terms to specific years, see Grace 1974, p. 199.

<sup>61</sup> Long-petal bowl, P 14330 (not catalogued in *Agora XXII*), cistern shaft E 15:4. The latest Rhodian, SS 4600, is dated in the term of *Ἀρχιλαΐδας*, tentative date, 177 B.C.: he is known in the Pergamon deposit but not in the Middle Stoa filling; cf. a jar cited in footnote 20 above, also *Délos XXVII*, pp. 279 (note 2), 291. The latest Knidian is probably SS 4598, dated in the term of the phrourarchos *Ἀριστείδης*.

On deposits Q 8–9 (cf. footnote 60 above), E 15:4, and some others, cf. *Agora XXII*, p. 35 with note 90.

<sup>62</sup> See C. M. Edwards, "Corinth 1980: Molded Relief Bowls," *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pp. 189–210. I am grateful to Mr. Edwards for advance information on this important material, also for various facilitations of the present article.

recent publications, one reporting the contents of a cistern in the Piraeus, the other, the pottery found at Kenchreai; in both cases, accompanying amphora stamps suit the earlier dating. See the author's comment on bowls at Kenchreai, in her introductory text; note that there are 14 Rhodian and Knidian stamped handles from the site that are datable in the 2nd century, and all may predate 166 B.C. The end date of the stamps from the Piraeus cistern may well be before 175 B.C.<sup>63</sup>

For my part, I see now no need to separate Vanderpool's bowl from the latest part of the Middle Stoa filling as established by the amphora stamps. A context of the second decade of the century no longer seems out of line for early long-petal bowls. I expect more will be reported in the future.

#### SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE THAT BRINGS US TO CA. 183 B.C. FOR THE DATE OF THE FILLING

In the foregoing pages we have looked chiefly at the amphora stamps in the Middle Stoa filling and considered the dates suggested by their various classes. For the Rhodian and Knidian there is independent evidence that brings us by separate ways for each of the two classes to just about 183 B.C. Other classes are not as yet so closely and firmly dated; but in no case can one find significant evidence *against* a date in the second decade for the latest examples in the filling, while the proposed date for the Sinopean brings us once more to no later than 183 B.C. This then is presumably the approximate cut off point for the material assembled within the foundations of the Middle Stoa and south of them, accumulating as the foundations rose.

<sup>63</sup> On the Piraeus cistern, see I. Metzger, "Piräus-zisterne," *Δελτ* 26, 1971 [1973], pp. 41–94. Finds included fragments of long-petal bowls (*ibid.*, pl. 12 and pp. 61–62), also 35 stamped handles; the latter are not yet published, but we have records of them. The names on the 5 Rhodian handles are all in the Middle Stoa filling, the latest being that of the eponym Κλευκράτης 1st (tentatively dated in one of the years 188–186 B.C.; see above, p. 9). Of the 10 eponyms named on 18 of the 28 Knidian handles (the other 10 handles bear fabricant stamps without eponyms), 5 are in the Middle Stoa filling, others are known to be close to that in date, while one, the phrourarchos Τελεσίφρων, is the most numerous (8 handles) and probably the latest, dating certainly before 166 and maybe still in the first quarter. The fabricants in the types without eponyms (the eponyms were named on the other handles of the jars) are Ἀριστοκλῆς, Δράκων, and the Παιδία Θεωδωρίδα, all associated by name connections with eponyms of the early phrourarchos period. For this Ἀριστοκλῆς, see *Délos* XXVII, p. 319, on pairs with E 53 and E 54. For Theodoridas' Men, see *ibid.*, p. 325, E 55.

Cf. Rotroff's comment on the Piraeus cistern, *Agora* XXII, pp. 111–112. *Corrigenda* on p. 112: the first two names in the alphabetical list should read Agestratos and Aristion. Note also that Kleukrates (1st) has now been set slightly earlier. Note Rotroff's final comment (bottom of p. 35) on the date of the beginning of long-petal bowls: "somewhat ambiguous evidence."

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

For more recent comment by Rotroff on the dates of long-petal bowls, see *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 274–275, with note 67; she lists instances of early experimentation. I think that, before my present article, no close date had been proposed for the latest stamps in the filling of the Stoa of Attalos but just an end date of about mid-century. Emphasis has been placed on the absence of long-petal pieces from this relatively small group (the stamped handles are some 135 in contrast with 1500 from the Middle Stoa filling); but the long-petal fragment P 20204 should be borne in mind, to be attributed to the Stoa of Attalos filling, if not to an earlier level beneath it, cf. footnote 60 above.



## AN EPIGRAPHICALLY KNOWN ROYAL GIFT TO ATHENS DATED ABOUT 183 B.C.

To those who accept this date for the filling, there can surely be no better candidate for the princely donor, hypothesized by Thompson and others, than Pharnakes 1st, son of Mithradates king of Pontos (Pl. 4:a). "Not less significant of Athens' commercial relations are the honours conferred by her on Antiochus IV, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, and above all Pharnaces of Pontus, and the gifts received by her from them. The last of these, it is to be borne in mind, became about this time master of the two greatest commercial ports on the southern coast of the Euxine, Amisus and Sinope, both very important centres of the grain trade, and both closely connected with Athens in the past."<sup>64</sup>

An Athenian decree in his honor in Delos (then under Athenian control) informs us of Pharnakes' relations with Athens. He had agreed to pay the city a sum of money by installments, but because of other obligations and difficulties had been unable to keep them up. The Athenians praise him as a benefactor and hope to get something further on account; they send him their word that the honors paid to him will be no less than those paid to "the other kings" and his glory will be assured like that of other benefactors of the city. Golden crowns will be presented to him and to his wife Nysa and the fact proclaimed at various Athenian festivals. Bronze statues of both will be set up in Delos, thus publicizing in a more international, although still Athenian, setting the king's benefactions to Athens. The inscription is now dated 160/159 B.C. (formerly 172/171).<sup>65</sup> Durrbach, the original editor, remarks (*op. cit.*, pp. 102–103) that if one looks in the king's reign for a time when he would have had particular occasion and desire to pose as a benefactor of Athens, it would be about 183 B.C., following the conquest of Sinope. The matching dates encourage one to try relating this inscription to the history of the Middle Stoa. A large initial payment in about 183 might have taken care of the big terracing and foundation job, and perhaps also the Middle Stoa itself, the superstructure: evidence from excavations at the west end apparently allows that

<sup>64</sup> Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* (footnote 14 above), p. 630. Homer Thompson, in a letter of March 1984, has queried Rostovtzeff's description of Amisus and Sinope as "very important centres of the grain trade", noting correctly that these ports on the south coast of the Black Sea were not (and are not) backed by a grain-producing hinterland, but the great grain fields that were a major source for Athens lay to the north, in the region of the Bosphoros (Crimea). But presumably grain from the north would be the chief product carried south across the narrowest part of the Black Sea to the fine harbor of Sinope, and then transshipped or carried further in the same bottoms, no doubt after payment of port taxes; see D. M. Robinson, "Ancient Sinope," *AJP* 27, 1906 (pp. 125–153), pp. 136–137. Even ships which were not unloading would need to call for supplies, especially water, of which Sinope had an abundance.

<sup>65</sup> F. Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, Paris 1921, pp. 97–105, no. 73 = P. Roussel and M. Lau-ney, *Inscriptions de Délos*, Paris 1937, pp. 2–4, no. 1497 bis. Durrbach dated the inscription 172/1. For the redating of the Athenian archon named (Tychandros), see e.g. W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge, Mass. 1931, p. 260 and S. Dow, *Hesperia* 4, 1935, p. 91. I am indebted to M. B. Wallace and J. S. Traill for numerous references and for the information that the date 160/159 still holds. I thank also S. Tracy and M. Walbank for helpful advice on forms of epigraphical reference. None of these is, of course, responsible for my historical suggestions in connection with the inscription.

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

the colonnade and entablature were erected within a few years after the construction of the foundation and podium. See below, Appendix 2, section on the deposit H 13:1. Delayed subsequent payments could account for the piecemeal execution of the project, the way the East Building and the South Stoa are tacked on, although one would suppose it was the complex as a whole which had been intended from the beginning to replace South Stoa I: cf. Figure 1 and Plate 4:b. The date of Pharnakes' death is not precisely known but may have fallen soon after 159. So it is likely enough that no more help came to the Athenians from this source, despite the emphasis, in their application for support, on equal shares of honors for Nysa; she was a Seleucid and so might have been counted on as well disposed toward Athens. Thompson has suggested that the two later parts of the complex (of inferior workmanship and partly of secondhand material) were finally constructed by the city of Athens out of its own resources.<sup>66</sup> It would have become necessary to complete somehow the replacement of South Stoa I, to put it into working order.

### THE FUNCTION OF THE MIDDLE STOA

What then was the principal function of South Stoa I and of its replacement? Given that Pharnakes had in 183 acquired two great centers of the grain trade, it seems likely that what he would replace by a great new building, and its annexes, would be the Alphetopolis, where grain was sold. There seems to be a fair probability that the Alphetopolis was the same building as the one referred to as "the long stoa", and certainly both South Stoa I and the Middle Stoa would, each in its time, qualify for this epithet, there being no others in Athens nearly so long. For South Stoa I, a tentative identification with the Alphetopolis has already been proposed by both Vanderpool and Thompson,<sup>67</sup> following the discovery, in one of the rooms, of an inscription which had been set up by the Metronomoi and which records, *inter alia*, the handing over of bronze measures for grain. Thompson would accommodate grain storage in the upper storey he proposed for the Stoa, which would face south "on a much-used thoroughfare and (would be) readily accessible from the Piraeus Gate." Even without the upper storey, which remains a little conjectural, access to the Stoa floor from the higher level of the road behind was available by stairs at either end and grain could presumably be lowered in sacks or poured through chutes directly into the building from behind; very little of its back wall is known. Of course, not all the rooms need have been used as bins; some seem to have housed committee meetings. This building is, then, as directly accessible from the port (via the Piraeus Gate) as any of its date in the city center. The rooms, closed by wooden doors, give the necessary protection for grain from thieves, vermin, and weather. If there was an upper storey, it would provide the loft storage that, when available, has always been preferred for granaries, which ought to be dry and, if possible, ventilated below. A sort of confirmation that South Stoa I may indeed be the Alphetopolis is provided by the shape

<sup>66</sup> *Agora* XIV, p. 68. Thompson further suggested (*loc. cit.*, top of page) that the west end of the Middle Stoa itself may have been finished later than the rest of the building, even "soon after the middle of the (2nd) century." We have not, however, succeeded in finding any group of stamped handles from the attested construction fill (from within the foundations) that supports this suggestion, i.e. that is later than the fill as a whole. Naturally most of the handles come from toward the west end, where was the greatest depth to be filled.

<sup>67</sup> *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 75–76 (Vanderpool); *ibid.*, p. 56, and cf. *Agora* XIV, p. 76, note 216 (Thompson).

and arrangement of the rooms, with doors set off center, a plan which has long been recognized as adapting them for use as dining rooms. This building, constructed in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C., could thus (almost too reasonably for a joke) be the Alphetopolis assigned for dining by Praxagora in 391 B.C. (Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 684–686).<sup>68</sup>

Stoas are multiple-purpose buildings and are known to have been used for the storage of grain as well as, for instance, sometimes for accommodating a lawcourt.<sup>69</sup> One might expect Pharnakes, the great grain merchant, to prefer to put his money into something with a narrower purpose. Of buildings made in the Greek world expressly for the storage of grain on a large scale (for a military installation, for a city) apparently rather few have been identified that predate the common and well-known granaries of the Romans, the so-called *horrea*.<sup>70</sup> A feature of these latter has served to link with them and with each other some buildings remarkably separated in time and space, the so-called “Arsenals” at Pergamon, of the 3rd century B.C., and the storage buildings at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa in the Indus Valley, of about 2000 B.C. Like the Roman *horrea*, these buildings at Pergamon and in the Indus Valley have raised floors under which a free-flowing current of air was created by ventilation. The gap in space between India and western Anatolia (and points further west) we may see as bridged by the return of Alexander’s men, the engineers and architects who had laid out the new cities along his route, no doubt using, and so the better learning, any local devices that were obviously good. We have been shown how the use of the true arch may have reached the Greeks by this means, as well as a style in hats.<sup>71</sup> For the gap in *time* between 2000 B.C. and the Hellenistic period, I cannot name an eastern granary that Alexander must have seen which would match the ancient vaults of Babylon still visible in his day.<sup>72</sup> I must suppose that in the Indus Valley, granaries continued to be built in basically the same way over the centuries; this appears to have been the case in Egypt,<sup>73</sup> and Wheeler observed that the *grinding* of grain was still being done in Kashmir in his own time in the

<sup>68</sup> On South Stoa I, *Agora* XIV, pp. 74–78.

<sup>69</sup> Coulton 1976, pp. 9–11. Cf. *Agora* XIV, p. 93, on the varied uses of the Stoa Poikile.

<sup>70</sup> On Roman granaries, see in general Rickman 1971. On the predecessors at Pergamon and in the Indus Valley, see Rickman’s summary and references, his pp. 252–255.

<sup>71</sup> See T. D. Boyd, “The Arch and Vault in Greek Architecture,” *AJA* 82, 1978, pp. 83–100. P. W. Lehmann, “The So-called Tomb of Philip II: A Different Interpretation,” *AJA* 84, 1980 (pp. 527–531), pp. 528–529, develops Boyd’s suggestion by the reminder that architects for the planned new cities along his way had accompanied Alexander’s journey east. (For a continuation of the discussion, with particular reference to the Royal Tomb at Vergina, see P. W. Lehmann, “The So-called Tomb of Philip II: An Addendum,” *AJA* 86, 1982, pp. 437–442, and articles cited there.) On the hat, see B. M. Kingsley, “The Cap that Survived Alexander,” *AJA* 85, 1981 (pp. 334–335), pp. 39–46; and cf. D. B. Thompson, *Troy: the Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period*, Supplementary Monograph III, Princeton 1963, pp. 53–55, for a nice summary on this hat.

In objection to Boyd’s suggestion, it has been pointed out that other Greeks preceded Alexander in the east, for instance the Ten Thousand (W. M. Calder III, “Diadem and Barrel-Vault: A Note,” *AJA* 85 (pp. 334–335), 1981, p. 334). But this was not an outfit prepared to build cities. They did pass the ruins of Nineveh, and Xenophon describes for us its remarkable walls; but mostly the way lay through primitive villages. Engineering was rather common sense, such as going upstream in order to get across an impassable river.

<sup>72</sup> Boyd, *op. cit.*, p. 89, note 22.

<sup>73</sup> Rickman 1971, p. 298.

same rather particular way evidenced by the frames of mortars he found remaining beside the ancient granaries of Haruppa; see p. 30 below with footnote 87.

What are in general the features of a municipal granary, present to a greater or lesser extent in recognized Hellenistic buildings of this kind, in Pergamon (the "Arsenals", first half of 3rd century B.C.), Miletos (the Magazine, 2nd century B.C.), Morgantina (the Granary, early 3rd century B.C.),<sup>74</sup> and greatly developed (and the outer shape altered) by the Romans? One looks for a long, narrow building that is mostly enclosed, for security as well as against weather and vermin, yet with sufficient light, as far as possible dry and cool, and with a raised floor ventilated beneath. If the grain is stored loose, the lateral thrust is such that the walls must be very strong; if of stone, they are often buttressed, cf. the Morgantina building. A municipal granary should be not far from the city center, since the State is vitally concerned with the place of storage of grain. It should be so far as possible free from adjacent buildings, to lessen the danger of fire.<sup>75</sup> Finally such a granary should be well placed for access, the entrance open on a quiet and protected square, where handling would cause the least inconvenience; and it should be connected as directly as possible with sea transport.

These specifications come largely, and in part word for word, from Rickman's volume of 1971. Let us see how they fit the Middle Stoa, cf. again Figure 1 and Plate 4:b. Long and narrow, it had an outer colonnade largely closed by high parapets doweled in place between the columns, with an open area left at the top for light and ventilation. The screening was absent from some intercolumniations (there are drums without marks of dowels) but may have closed the whole north side as well as the east and west ends and perhaps adjacent parts of the south side. If so, our building would have considerable resemblance to the Magazine Building at Miletos, which was two-aisled and one-storeyed like the Middle Stoa, enclosed on most of all four sides, and probably entered in the middle of one of the long sides (the west side).<sup>76</sup> The Magazine Building is not peripteral but does have engaged columns decorating the most visible short side (except here, it is closely surrounded by other buildings). It is not known how this Miletos building was lighted.<sup>77</sup> The Middle Stoa is better placed as a granary in that it is more free of other buildings on its high podium and in

<sup>74</sup> For pre-Roman granaries, cf. Rickman 1971, pp. 252–257; Coulton 1976, p. 11; and references given by both. A recently excavated second granary at Morgantina has been reported: *AJA* 87, 1983, p. 226. For "royal" Macedonian granaries in Chalkis destroyed by Antiochos III in 200 B.C., see Livy, xxxi.23.7–8. Livy, writing in the time of Augustus, refers to the buildings as *horrea*. His text does not give us their shape. I owe the reference to M. B. Wallace.

<sup>75</sup> Regulations known to me are 4th century after Christ, see Rickman 1971, p. 191.

<sup>76</sup> Coulton 1976 (p. 259) states that the entrance to the Magazine at Miletos was at the south end; cf. also his p. 6, where the building is listed as "end-entered". But Knackfuss, the authority he cites (*Milet I*, vii), describes it as apparently entered from the middle of the long (west) side (Knackfuss 1924, p. 176). Cf. also G. Kleiner, *Die Ruinen von Milet*, Berlin 1968, p. 120. Coulton's useful volume has other slips: e.g. on p. 221 there is a statement that the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora has three lower column drums *in situ* "at each end", whereas of course at the west end even the stylobate is far from being *in situ*. On the remains and suggested restoration of the Middle Stoa, see *Agora XIV*, pp. 66–68, and *Guide*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 164–166.

<sup>77</sup> Knackfuss 1924, p. 176. The Magazine Building apparently had a hip roof. This would look well on the Middle Stoa, in association with the 2nd-century(?) form of the "Heliaia" (cf. Pl. 4:b); and in fact no part of a raking geison for the building has been found. But I learn from W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr. that the position of the interior supports of the Middle Stoa precludes, or practically precludes, a hip roof.

that it does open on a “quiet and protected square”, the area marked “South Square” in Figure 1. Access for the grain might be from the southwest, by the branch running north from the same east–west road from the Piraeus Gate that served South Stoa I, taken to be the earlier Alipitopolis. Or sacks might have been lowered or loose grain poured by chute through the back of South Stoa II;<sup>78</sup> as with South Stoa I, little is known of the back wall of this building. Access for carts or pack animals to the receiving and distribution area is apparently not to be expected; at any rate it is not provided in the Roman *horrea* at Ostia.<sup>79</sup>

Finally there is the matter of the raised floor ventilated below, the feature of the Indus Valley granaries which reappears so remarkably in Pergamon 1700 years later and becomes a regular feature of the Roman granaries throughout the Empire, including Britain.<sup>80</sup> We have no actual parts of such a floor from the Middle Stoa. It seems quite possible, however, that there *was* one, of wood, over most of the area of the building. Only at the east end do we find the floor level preserved; for the rest there is a gap (irregular) of a meter or more between the top of the building fill as found and the stylobate level above. Here is at any rate space for such a floor and its elevation. On the floor, whether of wood or clay, we may perhaps restore in imagination the wooden divisions of the long room into storage sections, such as are hypothesized, tentatively, for the Miletos Magazine. The remains of the Middle Stoa showed marks of strong burning, an indication that there had been much wood construction.<sup>81</sup>

Many activities must have been involved in the operation of a large municipal granary. They might have been accommodated, at least temporarily, in sections of the partitioned interior of the Middle Stoa. On the other hand, one notes in the East Building, in the long east room, certain marble bedding blocks sometimes thought to have had tables set into them;<sup>82</sup> and tables suggest cash exchanges, perhaps the business part of a municipal granary. Some of the other rooms in the East Building could be used to house committees that formerly met in South Stoa I. South Stoa II made the needed enclosure, and perhaps provided shelter for the grain as it was received, with refreshment for the porters at the drinking fountain at the center.<sup>83</sup> To complete the complex, the “Heliaia” (Pl. 4:b) may have had its roof with supporting peristyle added about when South Stoa II was built. Business connected with grain could absorb this further space. Or perhaps business connected with flour.

In this article, and often (if not consistently) in various publications, there has been an assumption that the commodity available in an Alipitopolis was grain; note that there were

<sup>78</sup> On pouring in grain at the top and extracting it from the bottom, hopper-fashion, see our fuller information from Egypt, cf. Rickman 1971, p. 298.

<sup>79</sup> Rickman 1971, pp. 8, 86, on evidence at Ostia.

<sup>80</sup> Rickman 1971, p. 255. There are fine remains of the granaries on Hadrian's Wall.

<sup>81</sup> *Guide*<sup>3</sup>, p. 166; and cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., *The Propylaia to the Athenian Akropolis*, I, *The Predecessors*, Princeton 1980, p. 35, note 1: “The fire that destroyed (the Middle Stoa) was so intense that the inner face of every architectural member is terribly mutilated.” I am obliged to Mr. Dinsmoor for finding for me this published statement. For the suggestion of wooden divisions in the Miletos Magazine, see Knackfuss 1924, p. 177. The author concludes (pp. 158–159) that the building must have been destroyed by an earthquake rather than a fire, since its remains show relatively little in the way of burning.

<sup>82</sup> H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavation and Museum*, 2nd ed., Princeton 1962, p. 102.

<sup>83</sup> *Agora* XIV, p. 69, fig. 24.

two of these facilities in our general area in the 5th century B.C., one in Athens, and an earlier one, built by Perikles, in Piraeus.<sup>84</sup> The word ought actually to mean "the place where barley meal is sold". We tend to assume that the ancients used the term loosely to refer to grain, even wheat, rather than anything *ground*. Perhaps this is partly because we do not find reference to, or evidence of, public flour mills in the Greek world before the 1st century B.C. but suppose the grinding was done with handmills in individual households. Strabo, however, does mention a watermill at Kabeira in Pontos in connection with the palace built by Mithradates the Great (132–63 B.C.), grandson of Pharnakes.<sup>85</sup> We may note that in the Athenian Agora a watermill of later times fell close to the east of where the Middle Stoa had been and another to the east of the position of South Stoa I;<sup>86</sup> possibly they had predecessors. At any rate the ancient granaries at Harappa in the Indus Valley did have associated flour mills; circular platforms have been found close by, with empty centers indicating the former presence of a wooden mortar similar to those still used in Kashmir, at any rate in 1947, for pounding grain.<sup>87</sup>

Granted that it was Pharnakes I who made possible the construction of the Middle Stoa, the Long Stoa of its time, a building "marked by craftsmanship of a high order," we do not know that he ever saw it. It would be good to think that at least this part of the complex was completed before his death and that his statue stood in the quadriga on the great monument base against the north terrace. If even he visited Athens in about 183 B.C., standing on the north terrace of South Stoa I, the old and dilapidated Alipitopolis, he could at least see the outlook to come from the terrace of his new building, over the ancient Athenian civic center, beyond the Painted Stoa to the foothills of Parnes, where Harma marks the place of Phyle on the horizon.

<sup>84</sup> W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., Munich 1931, pp. 364–365, with footnote 1 on p. 365, for Athens, and pp. 448–449 for Piraeus. Both Judeich (*op. cit.*, p. 365) and Wycherley (*The Athenian Agora*, III, *Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia*, Princeton 1957, p. 21 under no. 3) have placed the Athenian Long Stoa somewhat outside the Agora proper because of the scholion on *Birds*, 997, according to which "Kolonos", which they take to be the Market Hill, lies behind it. But apparently Kolonos in this instance is a district, not a hill, cf. Wycherley, "The Garden of Epicurus," *The Phoenix* 13, 1959 (pp. 73–77), p. 74, with reference to D. M. Lewis.

<sup>85</sup> Strabo, XII.556; cf. Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.* (footnote 14 above), p. 365.

<sup>86</sup> *Guide*<sup>3</sup>, p. 136.

<sup>87</sup> *Ancient India* 3, 1947, p. 78, and see pl. XXXIV and XXXV A (R. E. M. Wheeler). C. G. Koehler has called my attention to large mills at Pompeii which seem to have been powered by animals or possibly sometimes by hands. For photographs of these heavy "machines", see for instance A. Maiuri, *Pompeii*, 2nd ed., Novara 1943, pp. 102, 114. The oven is to be seen behind a line of mills, and there was associated also a shop for the finished products. In one oven were found 81 loaves on which the baker had closed the oven door. So that here, in the 1st century after Christ, the milling was done by the bakers, rather than at the granary.

## APPENDIX 1

## Dated List of Eponyms in Knidian Stamps

This list is subject to adjustments as new information or understanding permits us to correct and sharpen it. So it remains a work sheet, but one which should be of general use since it is the only one of its kind in print. The names with their date indications were sent in my letter of September 6, 1978 to P. M. Fraser, to be entered only in their alphabetical positions in the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names which he is preparing. On the lexicon, see *JHS* 102, 1982, pp. 237–238. On its coverage, see the second paragraph. “Artefacts”, listed as a category separate from coins, etc., must include the many thousand amphora stamps from studies of which this and other dated lists of eponyms and fabricants have been contributed to the lexicon, by the editor’s request. See also footnote 54 above.

To explain the various indications beside the names, I begin with the date equivalents expressed by Roman numerals; read “*ca.*” with all figures:

III 220–188 B.C.

IV A 188–167

IV B 167–146

V 146–108

VI A 107–98

VI B 97–88

VI C 85–78 (?)

VII later 1st B.C.

To correspond more closely with the way these numerals have been used to sort by date the Rhodian names (see below, Appendix 4), some of the earliest Knidian eponyms should rather be attributed to Period II, which, for the purpose of counting Rhodian eponyms, does not end before the last decade of the 3rd century. One of these early Knidian eponyms is certainly Ἀρχιππίδας, cf. Plate 2, 4 and 7. Not all the early ones have been sorted out yet, however, and Knidian eponyms datable before about 188 B.C. are here all included under III (which might be expanded to mean “III and a little earlier”). For the derivation of the Roman-numeral date periods as applied to Rhodian names, see *BCH* 76, 1952, p. 525; they were adapted from those by which Grakov divided chronologically the astynomoi of Sinope (cf. pp. 20–21 above), and the Rhodian names were sorted according to discovery in the Pergamon deposit, considered then to date *ca.* 220–180 B.C., or in Carthage or Corinth, both destroyed in 146 B.C., or in miscellaneous other contexts known at that time. In contrast, it has been possible with the Knidian to isolate the eponyms belonging to two periods that are administratively distinctive in Knidos: 1) the eponyms named as (or with) phrourarchoi (188–167 B.C., period of the occupation of Knidos by Rhodes, our Knidian IV A); and 2) those accompanied in the stamps by pairs of officials who may be called duoviri (the stamps often call them *andres*, and they are always two; this is our Knidian VI). Other traces (epigraphical, historical) of these pairs of commissioners have not been brought to my attention, although I published a detailed listing of them as early as 1956. They are dated for us by mass presence in destruction fillings, in Athens the destruction by Sulla in 86 B.C. and in Delos that by Mithradates in 88 B.C. I have assumed that the containers endorsed by their stamped names were part of the apparatus of Roman tax collecting in the province of Asia, brought to a halt by Mithradates, again in 88 B.C. On eponyms of the duoviri period, VI A—VI B, and VI C, see *Pnyx*, pp. 147–150, where the accompanying duoviri are named with each eponym but where some proposed explanations are probably wrong and have been superseded; see also *Délös* XXVII, pp. 320–323, for *addenda et corrigenda*, including notes on tax gatherers. The date 108 B.C. proposed for the beginning of the duoviri period is derived

by counting back from 88 B.C.; there are about 20 eponyms named with duoviri who must have preceded that date. We have an accidental synchronization with the Rhodian class for the end of Period V in that many Rhodian stamped handles have been found in Samaria which was destroyed in 108 B.C.; cf. *Délos* XXVII, p. 296. For distinguishing between eponyms of IV B and V, with Knidian as with Rhodian this depends fairly largely on presence in or absence from Carthage, Corinth, and the construction filling of the Stoa of Attalos; see discussion above (p. 31). The index of our Delos chapter (*Délos* XXVII, pp. 374–378) was carefully made and leads to information on many individual Knidian and Rhodian eponyms, fabricants, and duoviri. Its dates in the 3rd century B.C., however, are to be revised as directed in Grace 1974, p. 200; on the latter, see beginning of Appendix 2 following here.

IV A, then, is the period of the phrourarchoi, of whom apparently three served each year, in four-month terms (see p. 14 above with footnote 30); all unqueried eponyms marked IV A in the following list (save those marked IV Aa E) are known in one or more stamp types with the title, usually *φρούραρχος*, occasionally *φρουραρχῶν* or *ἄρχων*. Knidian IV A is overlapped in time by Rhodian III, of which the last seven years (“IIIc”) are at present dated *ca.* 182–175 B.C. As the minuscule c following the Roman numeral means late in the period, so a minuscule a (e.g. IV Aa) means early. Other indications: Φ identifies a phrourarch named in known stamps together with another sort of eponym; E identifies an eponym named in known stamps together with one or more phrourarchs; III–IV marks an eponym not in the Middle Stoa filling and not as yet known with the title phrourarchos but named by fabricants of late III or early IV, so that he is dated by name connections. Names of persons present in the Middle Stoa filling or in that of the Stoa of Attalos are followed in the list by (MS) or (SA), with a figure added if there is more than one example. Names listed in footnote 57 are *not* here marked (MS). Note that the presence of Knidian eponym names in the construction filling of the Stoa of Attalos may indicate for them an end date of 157 B.C. rather than 146, cf. above, pp. 14–15.

#### GENERAL LIST OF KNIDIAN EPONYMS

Ἀγαθόβουλος III–IV?	Ἀπολλώνιος IV Aa Φ (MS 3, SA; abbr.)
Ἀγαθόβουλος VII	Ἀπολλώνιος VII
Ἀγαθοκλῆς IV A (SA 2)	Ἄρης VII
Ἀγαθοκλῆς V	Ἀρίσταινος VI B
Ἀγέστρατος IV A (SA)	Ἀρίσταρχος IV A (SA)
Ἀγίας IV Aa Φ	Ἀριστείδης -as IV A (SA)
Ἀγίας VI B	Ἀριστίων IV Aa
Ἄγνω IV A	Ἀριστογένης IV Aa E (SA)
Ἀθηνοκλῆς III–IV	Ἀριστόδαμος VI B
Ἀλέξανδρος VI A	Ἀριστοκλῆς IV B (SA)
Ἀμοτέλης IV B or VA?	Ἀριστοκράτης VI B
Ἀμύντας IV B or VA?	Ἀριστομήδης VI A
Ἀναξανδρίδας VII	Ἀριστόπολις VII
Ἀναξιππίδας IV B (SA)	Ἀριστωνίδας IV A
Ἀνδρομένης VI B	Ἄρμων(?) III–IV (SA)
Ἄντανδρος IV A (SA)	Ἀρτέμων III–IV (MS, SA; abbr.)
Ἀντίπα(τρος) VII	Ἀρχέστρατος IV Aa Φ (MS)
Ἀπολλόδωρος V	Ἀρχιππίδας III (MS)
Ἀπολλωνίδας IV A	Ἀσκληπι( ) VII
Ἀπολλωνίδας VI C	Ἀσκληπιάδης IV A (MS)



Ἀσκληπιόδωρος IV A (SA)  
 Ἀσκληπιόδωρος V  
 Ἀσπασίος IV A  
 Ἀχαιός VII  
 Βίων IV A (SA)  
 Βουλαρχίδας IV A  
 Δαίδαλος VI A  
 Δαμάτριος III–IV  
 Δαμογένης III (MS 15?)  
 Δαμογένης VI C  
 Δαμόκριτος VI A  
 Δαμόκριτος VI C  
 Δαμόκριτος VII  
 Δεξιφάνης IV Aa E  
 Δημήτριος VII  
 Διασο( III ?  
 Διογένης IV B  
 Διόδοτος VII ?  
 Διόδωρος VII  
 Διοκλῆς V  
 Διοκλῆς VII  
 Διονύσιος IV A  
 Διονύσιος V  
 Διονύσιος VI B  
 Διονυσοκλῆς VI C  
 Δίων IV B (SA)  
 Δίων V  
 Δρακοντομένης IV A  
 Δρακοντομένης VII  
 Δράκων IV B  
 Δράκων V  
 Ἐπιγένης IV A  
 Ἐπίγονος IV B  
 Ἐπικράτης IV A  
 Ἐπικράτης VII  
 Ἐπικύδης III  
 Ἐπινικίδας IV Aa Φ  
 Ἐπινικίδας V  
 Ἐπιφάνης III–IV  
 Ἐπίχαρμος IV B (SA)  
 Ἑρμοκράτης IV A (SA 5)  
 Ἑρμόφαντος IV B  
 Ἑρμόφαντος VI B?  
 Ἑρμων VI B  
 [Εὔ]βουλος VI C  
 Εὔβουλος VII  
 Εὐγένης IV Aa E?  
 Εὐκράτης III (MS 19, SA)  
 Εὐκράτης IV B  
 Εὐκρατίων IV A Φ?

Εὐφραγόρας IV B  
 Εὐφραγόρας VI B  
 Εὐφραγόρας VII  
 Εὐφράνωρ V  
 Εὐφράνωρ VII  
 Εὐφρο( ? VII  
 Εὐφρων IV A Φ  
 Ζηνόδοτος IV B  
 Ἡρόφαντος V  
 Θαλιμβροτίδας V  
 Θεαίδητος III–IV  
 Θεμιστώνατος III (MS 5)  
 Θευγένης IV Aa E  
 Θεύδαμος III (MS)  
 Θεύδαμος VII  
 Θεύδοτος IV A (SA 2)  
 Θευδωρίδας IV B  
 Θεύδωρος VII  
 Θευκλῆς IV A  
 Θεύξενος IV A (SA)  
 Θεύπομπος VI C  
 Θεύφαντος IV Aa (MS)  
 Θεύφιλος III ?  
 Θεύφων IV A  
 Θηροκράτης III (MS 18)  
 Θηροκράτης IV Ba  
 Ἰάσων III (MS)  
 Ἰεροκλῆς V  
 Ἰππαρχος VI Aa  
 Ἰσιδωρος VII  
 Καλλιδάμας Va  
 Καλλιμήδης VI A  
 Κάλλιππος VII  
 Κάλλιστος III (MS 15, SA)  
 Καρνεόδοτος V  
 Κλεανδρίδας IV A (SA 2)  
 Κλέανδρος IV A  
 Κλεισιππίδας IV B (SA)  
 Κλειτοφῶν III (MS 5, SA 2)  
 Κλευκράτης III (MS)  
 Κλεῦμβροτος IV B (SA 2)  
 Κλευπίθης VII  
 Κλεύπολις IV A (SA)  
 Κλεύπολις VI A  
 Κλέων IV B or Va  
 Κληνόπολις IV A (SA 5)  
 Κοίρανος IV B  
 Κυδοκλῆς V  
 Λάκρατος VII  
 Λάχαρτος III–IV

Λέων III (MS 17)	Πυθόνικος V
Λυσάνιος III (MS 9)	Ροδοκλῆς IV A
Λυσικλῆς (?) III (MS 2)	Σικελός III
Λυσικλῆς IV B	Σιμυλῖνος IV A ?
Μεγακλῆς IV B	Σιμυλῖνος V ?
Μένανδρος III ?	Στρατοκλῆς VI A
Μενεκράτης IV Aa Φ	Σωκράτης IV Aa E (MS 11)
Μενεκράτης V	Σωσίμαχος IV A (SA)
Μενέλαος III?	Σωσίφρων VI A
Μενέστρατος IV A	Σώστρα(τος) III–IV
Μένιππος IV A?	Ταυρίσκος IV Aa Φ
Μένιππος IV B (SA 2)	Τάχιππος IV A
Μητροδωρος III (MS 15, SA)	Τελεκρέων IV B (SA)
Μόσχος IV Aa Φ	Τελεσίφρων IV A
Νικασίβουλος III (MS 16, SA)	Τιμακλε( IV Aa E
Νικασίμαχος IV Aa (MS 4)	Τιμασικράτης V
Νικόμαχος V	Τιμόθεος IV A
Νουμήνιος VII	Τιμοσθένης IV A
Ξενοκλῆς IV B	Τιμοφῶν IV A
Ὀλυμπιόδωρος IV Aa Φ	Φιλάμπελος III–IV (MS, SA 2)
Πανταλέων III (MS)	Φιλήτας III ?
Πισῖνος VI B	Φίλιππος IV Aa (MS 10, SA)
Πολιούχης III (MS 48, SA 2)	Φίλιππος V
Πολίτας III–IV	Φιλισ[ VII
Πολίτας VI A	Φιλιστίων III (MS 5)
Πολίτης III–IV	Φίλιστος IV B or Va
Πολίτης VI A	Φιλίων? III
Πολύγνωτος? IV A ?	Φιλόδαμος IV A
Πολυκράτης IV A	Φιλοκράτης IV Aa Φ (MS)
Πολυχάρης IV B (SA)	Φιλομβροτίδας V
Πολύχαρμος IV Aa E (MS, SA)	Φιλομή(δης) VII
Προμαθίων III (MS 2)	Φιλοσθένης VII
Προμη(θίων?) III?	Φιλόφρων IV Aa (MS, SA)
Πτολεμαῖος IV A (SA 2)	Φίλτατος IV Aa (MS 2, SA 6)
Πτολεμαῖος V	Φιλτίδας IV A
Πτολεμαῖος VII	Φίλων VII
Πυθόκριτος III (MS 4)	Χρύσιππος V

The general list of Knidian eponyms is followed here by a repeat of those of Period VI, annotated with the names of the duoviri that appear on the same amphoras with each of these eponyms; i.e. their terms were at least in part contemporary. Note overlaps from one term to another in some cases, as between Ἀνδρομένης and Ἀριστοκράτης; presumably these two eponyms served one right after the other. For the latest of the eponyms, examples are relatively few, and we have not yet established all the names of the duoviri of this period.

The list is somewhat revised from that published in *Pnyx*, p. 149, most of the revisions having been called for in *Délos* XXVII (see p. 321, note 2); cf. also p. 350, under E 180. The letters A, B, and C following the names refer to the chronological divisions of Period VI. For their dates, see beginning of this Appendix. VI A and VI B precede 88 B.C. and the liberation of Knidos from the Roman tax gatherers by Mithradates. The eponyms marked VI A are named on jars of the maker

Δαμοκράτης, those marked VI B, on those of his successor Διοσκουρίδας; VI C is the period of about seven eponyms whose terms fell apparently after the Romans took back Knidos in 85 B.C. Cf. *Delos* XXVII, pp. 321–323.

## KNIDIAN EPONYMS OF PERIOD VI WITH ACCOMPANYING DUOVIRI

Ἀγίας (B)	Ἀριστοκλῆς — Ἀρτέμιον
Ἀλέξανδρος (A)	Ἀριστόβουλος—Μόσχος
	Κράτης—Πολίτης
Ἀνδρομένης (B)	Ἀγησίπολις—Ἑρμίας
	Ἀγησίπολις—Ἑρμόφαντος
Ἀπολλωνίδας (C)	Δαμάτριος—Εὐφρων
Ἀρίσταινος (B)	Ἀγίας—Ἀριστογέννης
Ἀριστόδαμος (B)	Ἀπολλόδωρος—Διόγνητος
Ἀριστοκράτης (B)	Ἰάσων—Μύστης
	Ἀγησίπολις—Ἑρμόφαντος
Ἀριστομήδης (A)	Εὐκράτης—Πολύχαρμος
	Ἰππόστρατος—Πολύχαρμος
Δαίδαλος (A)	Ἀρίσταινος—Ἐρατίδας
Δαμογένης (C)	
Δαμόκριτος (A)	Κράτης—Πολίτας -της
	Κράτης—Πονοσυλέτης
Δαμόκριτος (C)	Ἄντανδρος—Ἑρμων ?
Διονύσιος (B)	Ἀγαθοκλῆς—Θεύκριτος
Διονυσοκλῆς (C)	Δεξιφάνης—[ ]άτης
Ἑρμόφαντος (B?)	Ἀθανόδωρος—Ἀπολλώνιος
	Ἀγαθόδωρος—Ἀπολλώνιος
Ἑρμων (B)	Ἀριστόβουλος—Μελάντας
[Εὔ?]βουλος (C)	
Εὐφραγόρας (B)	Εὐπόλεμος—Λάχης
Θεύπομπος (C)	Ἀριστεύς—Βάκχιος
Ἰππαρχος ὁ Διονυσίου (A)	Κρατερός—Νικασίβουλος
	Ἑρμίας—Νικασίβουλος
Καλλιμήδης (A)	Ἰππόστρατος—Πολύχαρμος
Κλεύπολις (A)	Πυθόκριτος—Τηνάδης
Πισίνος (B)	Εὐβουλος—Καρνεάδας
	Ἀπολλόδωρος—Διόγνητος
Πολίτας (A)	Ἰάσων—Κάλλιππος
Πολίτης (A)	Διονύσιος—Φιλόπολις
Στρατοκλῆς (A)	Εὐκράτης—Κλεύπολις
	Ἰππόστρατος—Κλεύπολις
Σωσίφρων (A)	Δημήτριος—Κυδοσθένης

For a concordance of duoviri with eponyms, alphabetical by duoviri, see *Pnyx*, pp. 147–149. For some *addenda* and *corrigenda* for this thirty-year-old concordance, see *Delos* XXVII, p. 321, note 2.

## APPENDIX 2

## Remarks on Revised 3rd-century Dating, on the Stamps in Thompson's Hellenistic Groups A-E, and on Agora deposits H 13:1 and Q-R 10-11:1 and 2

The article Grace 1974 is a brief report on extensive studies of the sequence of dating officials named in Rhodian stamps. It is the results of these studies that have pointed to the lowering, by about 35 years, of previously accepted dates of 3rd-century deposits at the Athenian Agora, including Thompson's Group B, bringing the chronology into fair agreement with that implied by the association of certain finds at Koroni in Attica with events of the Chremonidian War of 265-260 B.C. See Grace 1974 and its numismatic appendix by J. H. Kroll for references to articles in *Hesperia* of 1962-1964 reporting and discussing these finds. Note that the end date of the Middle Stoa filling is not affected by these revisions, nor do they lower 2nd-century dates in general. I append here my present dating of the stamps in Thompson's five published Hellenistic groups. For his publication, see footnote 1 above, under Thompson 1934; cf. also footnote 56 above. It need hardly be said that here as elsewhere we are building on Thompson's work and that before his 1934 publication there was nothing from which to depart. The very notion of publishing a group of pottery from a well or cistern as if the contents were parts of a tomb group, or coins of a hoard, dating each other, seems to have originated with this article.

For Retroff's comments on the dates of the Thompson groups, see *Agora* XXII, pp. 107-110. On Group C, cf. now also her comments in *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 276-278.

Group A (G 13:4), lower fill (depth 4.45 m.): the single stamped handle, SS 1160, is from a die that named the Thasian annual official *Τηλέμαχος*; for another impression, see A.-M. and A. Bon, *op. cit.* (footnote 25 above), p. 392, no. 1607. Third quarter of 4th century B.C. A handle (on a restored jar) stamped with another type naming *Τηλέμαχος* comes from Agora deposit F 17:3, construction filling, third quarter of 4th century; cf. *Agora* XII, p. 390, on the deposit. On the recent identification of persons in one-name stamps of Thasos as annual officials (rather than potters, who might endorse their products for 30 years) see Garlan 1979. Note that SS 1160 is a small fragment and may well be earlier than Group A as a whole.

Group B (H 16:3): end date now set at *ca.* 240 B.C.; cf. Grace 1974, pp. 194, 197, and p. 198, note 19, with Thompson's present opinion.

Group C (G 6:2): the single stamped handle, SS 282, a Knidian published with a wrong restoration in Grace 1934, p. 269, no. 199, is to be read:

Ἐπὶ Παν[τα]λέ(οντος) Κν[ί(διον)]  
monogram

The type number of the stamp is KT 1784; on Knidian stamp types, see footnote 28 above. Three other examples are now on record, two from the Agora; together they complete the reading of the type. There are two variant types with the same name and monogram, with a total of eight more examples, from Athens and Alexandria, of which one is SS 11981 from the Middle Stoa building fill (example of KT 1443). *Πανταλέων* is known in Knidian stamps only in these three types. In the published commentary on SS 282 cited above, correct the reading given for SS 556, also from the Middle Stoa filling: the reading of the name (in the genitive) should be *Φιλιστίωνος*. Eponyms named in these Knidian circular types with monograms in the center are mostly present in the Middle Stoa filling; one is *Ἀρχιππίδας*, named also on 4 and in 7 (Pl. 2). I should date SS 282 in the late 3rd century B.C., which suits Thompson's date for Group C, beginning of the 2nd century. It is true that there is only a single handle, but in this case it is not a small chip that is preserved but the whole handle with both attachments.

Group D (H 16:4): the single stamped handle, SS 336, a Knidian, is listed in Grace 1934, p. 275, as bearing an “unrestored rectangular seal”; its stamp has since been identified (chiefly by comparison with TD 3862, a well-preserved impression in Delos) and is to be restored as follows, with the reading of KT 1272:

[Ἐπὶ Θαλινβρο]  
 τ[ίδα Χαρμο]  
 κρά[τ]ε[vs] mono-  
 [Κνίδιον] gram

On *Χαρμοκράτης*, see *Délos* XXVII, p. 326, E 61. This fabricant names eponyms of the late second quarter and early third quarter of the 2nd century. Stamps naming *Θαλινβροτίδας* have not been found in the Stoa of Attalos construction filling, nor in Corinth or Carthage, up to the present. Presence of SS 336 in Group D suggests a date for D slightly later than that proposed by Thompson, “the middle of the 2nd century”.

Group E (F 15:2): the 13 stamped handles from this deposit are all Knidian. Of five eponyms named, two (*Εὐκράτης* and *Κλέυμβροτος*) are datable shortly *before* the middle of the 2nd century, a third (*Καλλίδαμος*) shortly *after* that, a fourth (*Ἀγαθοκλῆς*) further on in the third quarter, and a fifth, *Ἱεροκλῆς*, probably in the last quarter but in any case before about 110 B.C. This latest official in the deposit is also the commonest, dating five stamps from jars of four different fabricants. Name connections show that his term fell not long before the period when *duoviri* were named on Knidian amphoras; on this practice and its dates, see above, Appendix 1. On the stamps in Group E, see *Pnyx*, p. 156, under no. 145, where the eponyms are all named, and *Délos* XXVII, p. 322. Date these stamps, then, from late in the second quarter of the 2nd century to perhaps about the middle of the last quarter, in any case not after *ca.* 108 B.C., when *duoviri* began to be named.

For some deposits at the Agora of which the stamps do go down to Sulla's destruction, see *Délos* XXVII, p. 321, bottom.

I add finally notes on two Agora deposits perhaps both related to the construction of the Middle Stoa:

#### H 13:1

Fill in a shallow tiled well in the ancient road just to the west of the Middle Stoa, at a lower level. The surface of the road before the Stoa was built, and the mouth of the well, lay about five meters below the surface of the stylobate of the Stoa; cf. Figure 2, but the level of the pre-Stoa road was a little lower than that of the later one in the picture. The well was excavated in April 1948; cf. *Hesperia* 18, 1949, top of p. 224. On the road, see *ibid.*, p. 213 (Thompson). The well as found, with its ancient filling in place, was partly covered by what seemed to be the continuation of a temporary light retaining wall that lay beyond and fairly parallel with the west side of the Stoa and faced west, like the retaining west wall of the Stoa's podium. See Figure 3, from an actual-state plan, for the well (H 13:1), the light retaining wall that crossed it (X—X), and the west end of the Middle Stoa to the east. One may suggest that this temporary wall (of which only part of one course has remained) was found to be needed while the west end of the Stoa was under construction, presumably to hold an earth filling to support scaffolding for the columns and entablature of the west side and of the west end of the north side. These columns run close to the edge of the podium, with no such margin as is provided by the terrace along most of the north side of the building. Without some raising of the ground level around the podium at this end, scaffolding of a formidable height would be required, so that the heavy drums, etc., could be dropped into place by block and tackle (cf. H. A. Thompson, *The Stoa of Attalos II in Athens*, Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 2, Princeton



FIG. 3. West end of Middle Stoa, actual-state plan, with Wall H 13:1 and light retaining wall X—X

1949, fig. 23). See Plate 5 for scaffolding used in setting up an outer colonnade for the rebuilt Stoa of Attalos and imagine a further four-meter drop to be accommodated by the outer timber supports, below the steps, in the case of the Middle Stoa. The temporary earth filling was no doubt used afterward for further leveling south of the Stoa. No great weight of earth would have been required: the little wall lies close to the Stoa, enclosing just easy space for working outside the podium. We do not know how high the temporary filling was carried: any height would help, and a minimum needed would be a level bottom prepared on those slopes to take the feet of the scaffolding and of the workers.

The contents of the well H 13:1, then, perhaps give us a terminus for the erection of the west end of the superstructure of the Middle Stoa. The finds in this shallow well were few and included no coins but five stamped handles, all Knidian. Of the five names of fabricants, Ἀριστίων (on SS 10450) and Θράσων (on SS 10452) are present also in the Middle Stoa filling, while Ἀρισταγόρας (SS 10451) is the one who endorses 14 (Pl. 3). The stamp of Ἀριστίων (KT 211) combines two dating names, that of the phrourarchos Ἐπιυκίδας for the four-month period and that of a damiorgos Θευγένης for the year; the naming of both together on the same jar seems to be an early indication in the period 188–167 B.C. (cf. *Délos* XXVII, p. 319). The other dating names present, Ἀριστείδης, Εὐκρατίων, Κλεανδρίδας, and Φίλιππος, are all of 188–167, and for each there is some indication that they are nearer 188 than 167. Certainly there seems no reason to place the group later than the first quarter of the 2nd century. Of the dating names, however, only Φίλιππος is present in the Middle Stoa filling; while Θευγένης probably brings us to the slightly later period of the Pergamon deposit (cf. p. 15 above with footnote 32). So we date H 13:1 later than the Middle Stoa filling but only a little later.

#### Q-R 10-11:1, 2

Fill under floor of mud-brick building, finding place of the stamped handles SS 11621–11624, plus its construction fill, finding place of SS 11075–11085. On the deposits, see *Agora* XXII, p. 106. For the position of the building, see no. 43 (“Pre-Stoa Shops”) in the foldout plan of *Guide*<sup>3</sup>. It comprises five shoplike rooms in a east–west row across the north–south line of the (later) Stoa of Attalos, a little further south than the Bema shown in Figure 1. Of the stamped handles attributed to the two associated fills, only one may be later than the latest in H 13:1: SS 11076 which names the Knidian eponym Πολυχάρης. Not known with the title phrourarchos, he has been attributed to Period IV B; but the fabricants who date jars by his name date otherwise mostly by phrourarchoi (cf. some types of Σκίρτος, Grace 1934, nos. 112–118), and so perhaps he is also to be attributed to IV A. SS 11076 is an example of KT 1446, a type without fabricant and surrounded by a frame, which would have been supplemented on the other handle of the jar by a fabricant type similarly framed. Cf. Grace 1934, nos. 103 and 104, framed types of Δράκων; stamps of this fabricant from other dies were found in the Middle Stoa filling. (The HF referred to under 103 is the Middle Stoa filling.)

This temporary mud-brick building may, then, date possibly before the end of the first quarter of the 2nd century B.C. It had been demolished when the area was prepared to take its part of the Stoa of Attalos, possibly as early as 157 B.C. Perhaps the shops were workshops for carpenters or stoneworkers, or storage places for materials, that facilitated the construction of the Middle Stoa. Just to their north lay the Square Peristyle, from which material was drawn that eventually went into South Stoa II (*Agora* XIV, p. 68); the mud-brick building may have been a way station for this material. Temporary buildings housed materials, tools, and working space during the restoration of the Stoa of Attalos in 1953–1956; for these sheds, see *Hesperia* 25, 1956, pl. 25:a.

## APPENDIX 3

## Clarification on the Wrecks at the Grand Congloué Site near Marseilles

For general presentation of the finds underseas at Grand Congloué near Marseilles, see L. S. Casson, "Sea Digging," *Archaeology* 6, 1953, pp. 221–228; J.-Y. Cousteau, "Fish Men Discover a 2,200-year-old Greek Ship," *The National Geographic Magazine* 105, Washington 1954, pp. 1–36; and F. Benoit, *Fouilles sous-marines, l'épave du Grand Congloué à Marseille (Gallia, Suppl. XIV)*, Paris 1961; in all these, the finds are taken as from a single wreck. Because of the incongruity of date, apparently at least a hundred years, between the so-called "deck cargo" and the Rhodian and Knidian amphoras associated with the "hull cargo", I have not doubted from first acquaintance with this material (1953 or earlier) that at least two ancient wrecks were involved, one nearly on top of the other, no doubt in a place of bad currents; it is at the foot of a cliff. A part of the hull of the later ship was mistaken by the divers for deck planking of the earlier ship, despite its sheathing underneath with lead (a practice found on outer surfaces): see Cousteau, *op. cit.*, p. 24, and cf. p. 16; also Benoit, *op. cit.*, p. 17. The upper cargo consisted mainly of over a thousand long Roman jars with heavy rims (Dressel Type 1), resembling several from Athenian Agora deposit C 9:7, a context dated to the later 2nd century B.C. by several Knidian amphoras of the early duoviri period; see *Amphoras*, fig. 38, for a selection of jars from this deposit, including, to the left, one of the long Roman ones, and see also *Délos* XXVII, p. 332, under E 88. The Roman amphoras from C 9:7 are unstamped, whereas many of those from the wreck are stamped, on their rims, with an abbreviation of the name Sestius. See recently E. L. Will, "The Sestius Amphoras: a Reappraisal," *JFA* 6, 1979, pp. 339–350, for a summary of the discoveries at the Grand Congloué, with much bibliography on the jars from the later wreck and related finds from other sites, showing the confusions in chronology that have resulted for scholars who attributed all the finds at Grand Congloué to a single wreck. Mrs. Will dates the amphoras of the later wreck "in the first half of the 1st century B.C., or at any rate not much earlier than the last years of the 2nd century" (*op. cit.*, p. 340). (Here she is actually summarizing her views as given in an earlier article but seems not to have changed her mind.) For the earlier wreck, the dates she attributes here to V. Grace, "220–180 B.C." (*op. cit.*, p. 340, in note 1), should be tightened to the last decade of the 3rd century for the Rhodian and Knidian; shapes and names at 180 B.C. are very different from the ones in the wreck. See now her recent article, "Greco-Italic Amphoras," *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 338–356 (with corrigenda, *Hesperia* 52, 1983, p. 154); on p. 348 she revises the date she had given for the earlier wreck. For the Rhodian in the earlier wreck, Benoit reports one or more amphoras that name the fabricant Ἀριστίων and the eponym Κλειτόμαχος; see *op. cit.*, p. 29, and cf. the same author in *Rhodania*, 1954–1955 (Lyon), pp. 9–10; other names are more doubtfully restored. According to individual dates assigned tentatively by me to the Rhodian eponyms of ca. 225–175 B.C. (cf. Grace 1974, p. 199), the term of Κλειτόμαχος fell in 205 B.C., and those of the other eponyms named in known pairs with Ἀριστίων fell in 210, 208, 207, 204, and 199 B.C.; cf. the whole jar of this fabricant that names the eponym Δορκυλίδας (210 B.C.), published by J.-J. Maffre, *BCH* 96, 1972, pp. 64–66, with figs. 46 and 47, no. 104. For a photograph of Rhodian amphoras (large and small) from the wreck, cf. Casson, *op. cit.*, p. 227, fig. 10. Also from the earlier wreck must be the cargo of over 400 "Greco-Italic" amphoras. Mrs. Will illustrates two of these from the wreck ("Greco-Italic Amphoras," pl. 85:d and e, her Form c) and tells us (p. 348 with note 19) that the one to the right (e) bears two impressions of the same Latin stamp, one on each handle, reading TI.Q.IVENTI. Finally there is a great quantity of black-glazed table ware, mostly, I believe, of the Campana A class, "now being dated 190 B.C. or a little before by the Campana specialist, Jean-Paul Morel," as Mrs. Will reports (*op. cit.*, p. 348), citing a



recent publication by Morel. The earlier wreck at Grand Congloué is thus to be dated late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C., and the Latin amphora stamp is one of the earliest known, comparable in date to the very different one in the Middle Stoa filling; cf. footnote 47 above.

Like Mrs. Will, I called on M. Benoit in Marseilles (October 15, 1955) and saw his finds, and received every kindness, and thought he was then willing to believe in two wrecks on the site (but not more, he said). From discussions with M. Katzev, in August 1968 and again recently, I understand that to nautical archaeologists the wood fragments illustrated in the publications are readily distinguishable as coming from at least two ships; this has long been observed, although nobody has published about it, since it was now too late to rescue a study of the ships themselves. On the possibility of one ship settling upon another, cf. G. F. Bass, *Archaeology Under Water*, Harmondsworth 1970 (original text 1966), pp. 87–89; there is specific reference to the finds at Grand Congloué.

It is time now, in any case, that these finds came into their own as two separate groups, both valuable for reference. Note that a new study by Luc Long, based on further investigation of the site of the wrecks, is to appear in *Archaeonautica* 5 in late 1985. A résumé of this study is being published earlier by the same author in A. H. McCann, *The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa*. I am obliged to Dr. Long for advance information on these publications.

## APPENDIX 4

## Figures on Production of Rhodian Stamped Amphoras

For an idea of the course of actual production of stamped amphoras in Rhodes, we have figures for exports to Alexandria, from counts made in 1967 of stamped Rhodian handles in the huge Benaki collection in that city. For such a study one might be expected to use figures assembled from many sites of import, and no doubt this will be done, but it will be of little interest unless the handles from each site are first sorted as to date, using an attested chronology. Actually, the figures from Alexandria are so high, so out of scale with those from other sites, that they make in themselves an effective statement about production, and that is the case even though for this count we covered only a part of the Alexandria collections as a whole. (Note that the original collection of the Musée Gréco-Romain, not included in our count now under discussion, would add many thousands: see V. Grace, "Ancient Greek Wine Jar Fragments in Collections in Alexandria," *Year Book of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia 1955, pp. 321-326. See table, p. 323; but the Benaki collection was vastly increased in later years.)

Our counts were made on a major section of the Benaki collection, nearly 18,000 handles bearing stamps with the names of Rhodian potters and covering the alphabet as a whole; 18,000 handles in this count implies 18,000 amphoras, since we are not counting the handles with eponym stamps. The handles counted were the remainder, and much the greater proportion, of the Rhodian fabricant handles of this collection as a whole, i.e. what was left after the removal of the representative series, largely set apart by the collector as illustrating (with one or a few examples each) all the Rhodian fabricants' names present in his collection. Cf. *Archaeology* 19, 1966, pp. 286, 288. From this large remainder, there were also omitted from our count certain names which needed further study (in particular, sorting into homonyms of different dates).

Here are some results:

Period II, about 35 years (*ca.* 240—*ca.* 205 B.C.), 1200 handles dating in this period, an average of 34 per year.

Period III, about 30 years (*ca.* 205-175 B.C.), 2093 handles, average of about 70 per year.

Period IV, about 29 years (175-146), 2257 handles, average of about 78 per year.

Period V, about 38 years (146-108), 8618 handles, average of about 227 per year.

Period VI, about 20 years (108-88), 3267 handles, average of about 163 per year.

Period V gave us some large figures for individual potters: thus we counted 1283 handles bearing stamps of *Midas*, a potter known to have dated jars in the terms of 12 eponyms of Period V; on this fabricant, see above, pp. 9-10.

These figures show very considerable increase in our Period III as against the previous period, an increase, although not so great, in Period IV as compared with III, while the handles of Period V (*ca.* 146-108 B.C.) are nearly three times as numerous per year of elapsed time as those of any previous period. After that there is something of a drop, but production in the late 2nd to early 1st century B.C. seems still much greater than at any time before the middle of the 2nd century.

Cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I, Oxford 1972, p. 164: "Rhodian amphora stamps in Alexandria of the period 200-140, falling both before and after the Senate's economic sanctions in 167, are not only more numerous than at any other time; they also seem to remain fairly constant throughout the period." Fraser has it right that the Rhodian handles in Alexandria do not suggest a drop in production in Rhodes after 167. He has not got the picture straight for the later periods: his text here quoted implies a *drop* after the middle of the 2nd century, whereas there is no drop but a steep rise, as we have seen. No documentation is available for Fraser's statement quoted here.

The dates given here to the Periods are a little different from those used for Knidian names, these latter having been adjusted according to known changes in administration in Knidos. For the origin of the divisions, and for the Knidian Periods, see above, introduction to Appendix 1.

On the Benaki collection, see *Délos* XXVII, p. 285 with note 1 and references there. In 1966–1967, Barbara Turzynski (now Mrs. Drushell) made a large part of the individual counts on which the foregoing figures are based. The assembling of the figures by date was done in Athens largely by Andreas Dimoulinis.

## APPENDIX 5

Note on the Dates of Rhodian Eponyms named  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  (cf. end of footnote 23)

Here we have differences of opinion among experts which have not yet been reconciled. I cannot now place later than about 189 B.C. an eponym of this name in stamps according to the chronology laid out in the present article. But an inscription (*SIG* III, no. 644b) containing text dated in the term of the Rhodian  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma \Delta\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$  is placed by many epigraphers in *ca.* 172 or 171 B.C., most recently by J. and L. Robert (see *REG* 92, 1979, pp. 460–461). A King Antiochos referred to in the text as having offered contributions to the Rhodian navy is identified by these scholars as Antiochos IV (175–163 B.C.) rather than Antiochos III (223–187 B.C.), considered less friendly to Rhodes. It seems possible that toward the end of his reign, when he was attempting to rally Greece around him against Rome, Antiochos III might have made efforts to please the Rhodians, and also citizens of some other Greek states, as implied in the inscription. For another tentative vote for Antiochos III in this connection, see C. Börker, *op. cit.* (footnote 31 above), p. 208, note 50.

In any case according to present information the  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  2nd of the stamps is dated before 175 B.C. by his name on 21 handles in the Pergamon deposit and before *ca.* 183 by his name on 15 handles in the Middle Stoa building fill; the fact that there are no known handles on which a stamp with his name is accompanied by a secondary stamp confirms the above dates and probably pushes him back before 188 (cf. p. 8 above with footnote 15). If the date of the inscription cannot be put earlier, we must accept the fact that the eponym  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  2nd in the stamps is not the same person as the eponym  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  of the inscription, and then apparently that the stamp eponyms (often called priests in the stamps) are not the priests of Halios who date other Rhodian documents.

The difficulty over  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  is not new. In the dated list of Rhodian eponyms by Hiller von Gaertringen, in his article “Rhodos” (*RE*, Suppl. V, Stuttgart 1931, p. 837), the author dates this name “vor 172” while otherwise attributing names from the Pergamon deposit to the period 220–180; cf. the comment on e.g.  $\Delta\alpha\mu\acute{\omicron}\theta\epsilon\mu\iota\varsigma$ . Van Gelder (*op. cit.* [footnote 23 above], pp. 199–200) dates the inscription 165 B.C. and pulls down  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  and the whole Pergamon deposit with it. Cf. *Délos* XXVII, p. 290, note 5: we cannot use so late a date for the Pergamon stamped handles.

Possibly it is worth remarking that if the stamps cannot date for us a later  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$ , they do notify us of an earlier one. A small number of handles is known whose shape, and the style of their stamps, indicate that the  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  they name is datable in or about the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C. or about contemporary with the Rhodian eponyms found at Koroni (cf. Grace 1974, p. 197). This is  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  1st of the stamps. He would be contemporary with Antiochos I, Soter (280–261 B.C.) or possibly Antiochos II, Theos (261–247 B.C.). We can then take note that the Rhodian admiral Agathostratos helped Antiochos II to recover Ephesos in 259 B.C. (*CAH* VII, p. 713) and can consider whether this might have been in acknowledgment of benefactions received by the Rhodian navy during the term of  $\Delta\alpha\mu\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$  1st.

## CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATED ITEMS

Numbers in boldfaced type, here and in the Plates and in the text, are those of items in this catalogue, all of which are illustrated (Plates 1–3). All dimensions are in meters.

PLATE 1. Datable late in the period of the construction filling of the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora: Rhodian amphoras and a fragment (**1**), bearing the first few of a new series of secondary stamps. *Ca.* 188–184 B.C.?

**1.** Stamped handle from the Athenian Agora, SS 2203 found 8.III.34 in a modern wall in Section K. Main stamp (not illustrated) read and restored Δα[μοκράτεις] around a rose; cf. **2c**. Secondary stamp, on side of upper attachment of handle, rose. See p. 8 above with footnote 15, example from Tarsus. In addition to this latter and **1**, we have record of 9 handles that bear similar secondary stamps, not all from the same die. Other published (but not illustrated) secondary stamps with rose: Grace 1968, p. 175 and pl. 63:3 (eponym Σύμμαχος); Shelov, *op. cit.* (footnote 19, p. 11 above), p. 140, no. 78 (I should now restore the eponym's name as Καλλικρατίδας); R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer 1902-1905 and 1907-1909* II, London 1912, p. 358, no. 273 (eponym Κλευκράτης, inscribed in the die without upsilon, or with upsilon and kappa in the same place, a known die). I know of no whole jar, or fragment preserving both handles, that bears the rose secondary stamp. But for the eponym handle from Gezer just cited, the author identifies for us the fabricant handle, from the same jar, as one of Δαμοκράτης (*op. cit.*, p. 356, under no. 168); the identification is the more convincing in that Macalister did not know, as we do, that that was the right name for the fabricant of an amphora bearing the rose secondary stamp.

**2.** Amphora in Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain no. G. 544. Intact. H. 0.776; diam. 0.342; H. of handles *ca.* 0.274; capacity (taken with water) 24,300 cc. On tops of handles, two complementary circular stamps, **2a** and **2c**; on the side of the attachment of the fabricant handle, secondary stamp, **2b** (visible also in the photograph of **2** as a whole). On the amphora, see above, p. 9. I am obliged to Dr. Yousseff El-Ghiriany for permission to publish this amphora.

**2a.** Dating stamp of **2**.

Ἐπὶ Νικασαγόρα Σμινθίου  
rose

A stamped handle also in the Musée Gréco-Romain (AVG 1614) bears a rose type with the same reading as **2a** but combined with a different secondary stamp (a kappa like those also known to be used by Δαμοκράτης). The main stamp is similar to that of **2a** but not from the same die. Apparently secondary stamps identified individual working potters or subshops.

On the eponym, Νικασαγόρας 1st, see above, pp. 8, 9, 11. He dates 8 handles in the Middle Stoa building fill, 9 in the Pergamon deposit.

**2b.** Secondary stamp of **2**: alpha. On secondary stamps, see footnote 15 above.

**2c.** Endorsing stamp of **2**.

Δαμοκράτεις  
rose

On this endorsement, known examples of which are very numerous and widespread, see Grace 1968, p. 175, no. 2; regrettable are the 4 typographical errors in that short paragraph. See also above, pp. 8–10, 12–13. In the Middle Stoa filling, 46 stamps with this reading; in the Pergamon deposit, 55; in the Alexandria collection of which the count is reported in Appendix 4 above, 370 (by far the largest figure for Period III).

**3.** Amphora from Cyprus, now in Sarasota, Florida, in the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, acquired in 1928 from the Cesnola collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. H. 0.798; diam. 0.34; H. of handles, *ca.* 0.273, 0.28; capacity (taken with water) 24,774 cc. On tops of handles, two complementary circular stamps, **3a** and **3c**; on the side of the attachment of the fabricant handle, secondary stamp, **3b** (visible also in the photograph of **3** as a whole).

Previous publication (without illustration): I. H. Hall, "The Greek Stamps on the Handles of Rhodian Amphorae, Found in Cyprus, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York," *Journal of the*

*American Oriental Society* XI, 1885, p. 391, no. 5060 (Metropolitan Museum number). Cf. Bleckmann, *op. cit.* (footnote 22 above), Appendix I, p. 32, no. 25. In general on Hall's publication and the Cesnola group, Nilsson 1909, pp. 115–118; V. Grace, "Rhodian Jars in Florida," *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 144–147, which reports my study and recording of the jars in 1948. On the amphora, see also above, p. 9. For a published photograph of another of Cesnola's jars now in Sarasota, see *Nessana* I, pl. XXXIX, upper left, with text, p. 112. In August 1958, Mr. Kenneth Donahue, then Director of the Ringling Museum, generously gave me a "blanket permission" to publish any of the jars I studied there in 1948. Cesnola's own romantic accounts of acquiring his collection in Cyprus seem to include no mention of his Rhodian amphoras.

### 3a. Dating stamp of 3.

Ἐπὶ Θεαίδητρον Πανάμουν  
rose

Rose stamps with the same reading are known (*inter alia*): 1) on two handles in Alexandria (AVG 1487 and 1942 in the Musée Gréco-Romain) that bear also the special beta shown in 3b and 2) on two other handles combined with a secondary stamp tau; the main stamps are duplicates of 3a (i.e. from the same die) apparently where the secondary stamp is beta. See catalogue entry for 2a. On the eponym, including a possible identification of this Θεαίδητρος with a historically known person, see index of this article, and in particular footnote 23, p. 12 above. The name dates 6 handles in the Middle Stoa building fill, 12 in the Pergamon deposit.

3b. Secondary stamp of 3: beta, retrograde? On this stamp type, see especially p. 9 above 17.

### 3c. Endorsing stamp of 3.

Ἰπποκράτεις  
rose

On this endorsement, see p. 10 with footnote 18. In the Middle Stoa filling, 4 stamps with this reading; in the Pergamon deposit, again 4; in the Alexandria collection of which the count is reported in Appendix 4 above, 261.

Another amphora of Ἰπποκράτης dated in the same term as 3 is cited by Y. Calvet, *Kition-Bamboula*, I, *Les timbres amphoriques*, Paris 1982, p. 26, under no. 58: amphora in a private collection in Beirut.

PLATE 2. Datable during the period of the construction filling of the Middle Stoa: 4–9, Knidian amphoras and related stamps; 10–12, stamped handles of Sinopean amphoras, from the filling. 3rd century B.C. to second decade of 2nd.

4. Knidian amphora in Rhodes, A 236 (MΣ 625). Repaired, toe missing. P.H. 0.685. Handles bear two complementary stamps, belonging respectively to KT (Knidian Type) 2178 and KT 2199. (For Knidian stamp types, see footnote 28 above).

a) Ἐπὶ Ἀρχιπιδ[α      b) Ἀθηνίππου  
wreath                              bee

Photographs of the stamps on 4 are not yet available. See 7 and 8: 7 is a duplicate of 4a; and 8 is from a variant type with the same reading and device as 4b. For the context of this amphora, and for various acknowledgments connected with its publication here, see p. 16 above with footnote 34. *Ca.* 220–210 B.C.

5. Knidian amphora from the Grand Congloué wreck site near Marseilles, now in the Musée Borély in that city. H. 0.79; cf. F. Benoit, "Amphores et céramique de l'épave de Marseille," *Gallia* 12, 1954, p. 39, with fig. 4. No stamps mentioned, nor seen by me, but jar was not clear of marine deposit. Photograph was taken October 15, 1955, by permission of M. Benoit. See p. 16 above and Appendix 3 on the earlier and later wrecks at the site. 5 belongs to the Rhodian in the same group, also on a quantity of Campanian ware that was present; on the chronology of this class of pottery, see the work of Jean-Paul Morel referred to in Appendix 3. *Ca.* 210–200 B.C.

6. Knidian amphora (1961 NAK 205) from the Angelopoulou lot south of the Akropolis, excavations of the Archaeological Service in 1961, supervised by G.[hj]Dontas; the jar is now housed with the Angelopoulou Collection, at 32 Parthenonos Street. I am obliged to C. Kanellopoulou for showing me this and other material from these excavations in 1961; and to M. Petropoulakou for finding the present storage of the jar and taking supplementary records; and to Mrs. Angelopoulou for courtesies to Mrs. Petropoulakou on this occasion; and to G. Dontas for permission to publish it. P.H. 0.765 (tip missing); diam. 0.363, H. of handles 0.245, 0.25. Handles bear each

an impression of KT 787 (die 1), of which the reading is

Ἐπὶ Πολι(   
 Θεοφιδ(

In the Middle Stoa filling there were 7 examples of this type (of which 9 is one), also 41 more handles dated by Πολιούχης or Πολιούχος variously abbreviated or in full, named by 7 more fabricants. I count 52 examples on file of KT 787, the greater part found in Athens, but 2 in Corinth and 5 in Alexandria. The reading seems not to have been published before. *Ca.* 190 B.C.

7. Knidian stamped handle in Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain no. 15231; in 1955, exhibited in Vitrine 3, Room 21. For its exhibition 83 years ago, see G. Botti, *Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie*, Alexandria 1901, p. 225, no. 9 (I owe the reference to M. Petropoulakou). The stamp is an example of KT 2178, of which a duplicate is 4a. Reading, cf. 4a. Date as for 4. For permission to publish 7 and 8, I am obliged to Dr. Yousseff El-Ghiriany.

8. Knidian stamped handle in Alexandria, Musée Gréco-Romain, KT 2134 A 1 of our records, stored in the Museum cabinet by its KT number. Reading as in 4b, save that in the stamp of 8 the letters are written between an inner and an outer compass circle. The die of 4b is somewhat smaller; another example (unpublished) is KT 2199 ABC 1 (Benaki Collection). One other type of Ἀθήνιππος with bee is KT 2198, known now in 4 examples, of which the first (damaged) example (Agora SS 182) has been published, with a wrong restoration: Grace 1934, p. 280, no. 234. The type reading of KT 2198 is as follows:

Ἀθη-   
 bee   
 νίππου

(It does not read in a circle like 8.) The handle 8 descends from its upper attachment without arching, like those of the amphora 4. Date as for 4.

9. Knidian stamped handle from the Middle Stoa building fill, Agora SS 11977. The stamp is a duplicate of those on 6, which see. *Ca.* 190 B.C.

10. Sinopean stamped handle from the Middle Stoa building fill, Agora SS 11813.

Ἡρακλείδης   
 ἀστυνόμου bow in   
 Καλλισθένου case

No other example on file at the Agora, but in general our repertory in this class is limited.

Fabricants named Ἡρακλείδης are known in all Grakov's Periods, cf. Grakov 1929, p. 202. The astynomos Καλλισθένης, however, with this device and this arrangement of the legend, belongs to Grakov's Period IV, see *op. cit.*, p. 139. For another stamp type dated by the same official, see for instance *ibid.*, pl. 5, no. 8. Date of Grakov's IV, to which this stamp belongs, perhaps 3rd century B.C. before about 259; see p. 20 above with footnote 51.

11. Sinopean stamped handle from the Middle Stoa building fill, SS 12484.

Ἀστυ[νομόντος] [ithy-   
 Ἰκεσίον τ[οῦ] phallic   
 Ἀντιπά[τρον] herm]   
 Ἑλλά[α]

For another example of the same stamp type, see *Πηγ.*, p. 165, no. 194. We still lack the fabricant's name in full, and Grakov's lists do not supply it; cf. Ἑλλάνικος in Rhodian stamps (*Amphoras*, fig. 23). The astynomos belongs to Grakov's Period VI, see *op. cit.*, p. 149, no. 19, for his name and accompanying device, an ithyphallic herm; and cf. E. M. Pridik, *Inventory-Catalogue of the Stamps on Handles and Necks of Amphoras, and on Bricks, of the Hermitage Collection*, Petrograd 1917 (in Russian), pl. XIV:9 (text, p. 139, 8) for this astynomos combined with a different fabricant; from the latter stamp I restore the title in 11 in participial form. Date suggested by Middle Stoa context, late 3rd century to before 183 B.C.; see p. 20 above with footnote 50.

12. Sinopean stamped handle from the Middle Stoa building fill, SS 12073.

Ἀστυνόμου   
 Ἑστιαίου τοῦ   
 Ἀρτεμιδώρο[υ] krater   
 Μήνων

Three duplicates of this stamp have been found in Samaria: G. A. Reisner *et al.*, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria 1908-1910*, Harvard 1924, p. 316, D, 2 (reading corrected); J. W. Crowfoot *et al.*, *The Objects from Samaria*, London 1957, p. 385 (two examples). Both astynomos and fabricant are listed by

Grakov in his Period VI: the *astynomios*, *op. cit.*, p. 149, no. 11, with mention of the characteristic device; the fabricant, p. 150, last line. For types of the *astynomios* with various fabricants, see Pridik, *op. cit.*, p. 69, nos. 151–154 (not illustrated).

The three handles from Samaria that have the same stamp as **12** are, remarkably, half of all the Sinopean handles ever recorded from that site: see *Nessana* I, p. 106, note. If we had stayed with Grakov's original dating for his VI (122–70 B.C.), they would provide a rather close date for this *Ἑστιάϊος*, since Samaria was destroyed in about 108 B.C. As for **11**, however, the date suggested by Middle Stoa context is late 3rd to before 183 B.C.; see catalogue entry for **11**.

PLATE 3. First half of the 2nd century B.C., period of the Middle Stoa construction filling and afterward, perhaps to 157 B.C. for **15** and **18**: Knidian amphoras and stamps.

**13.** Knidian amphora from the sea, part of the collection in Syme of Demosthenes Haviaras, on which see Grace 1971, pp. 53 and 87 with note 90; see also above, p. 16. Toe chipped; much marine deposit. P.H. 0.825; diam. 0.373. Handles bear two variously incomplete impressions of KT 2038, of which the full reading is

Ἐπὶ Σωκρά-  
τους Νικα-  
σιβούλου  
trident

Five duplicates are known of the stamp, of which **16** is one. In the Middle Stoa filling, this stamp type has not been found, but both eponym and fabricant are well represented there. On the eponym, see again pp. 13, 15, 16 above.

For permission to publish **13**, I am again grateful to Mr. I. Papachristodoulou, Ephor of the Dodecanese. I do not forget the kindness of the family of D. Haviaras in facilitating our labors the day we recorded the jar in Syme, July 5, 1957.

**14.** Knidian amphora (SS 14142) from cistern A 16:4 (?) in the Athenian Agora, May 1956. The cistern was excavated under difficulties and could not be completely cleared; the precise finding place of **14** cannot be established. The rest of the amphoras and amphora fragments attributed to A 16:4

are datable shortly before the middle of the 2nd century B.C. P.H. 0.793 (tip missing); diam. 0.348; H. of handles 0.27. On one handle only, impression of KT 193, of which type the reading is

Ἐπὶ Φιλίππο(ν) (pi like nu)  
Ἀρισταγόρα  
Κνίδιον

Fifteen more examples are known of this stamp type, including **17** below; the latter was found in Corinth, the rest probably all in Athens. The reading has not been published before, but it has been cited: *Délos* XXVII, p. 317, note 2, which reports the contents of *Amphoras*, fig. 64, of which the second jar is our **14**. KT 193 has not been found in the Middle Stoa filling, but the eponym is probably the same early phrourarchos *Φιλίππος* who is named on 11 handles in the filling. See p. 16 above. Date, dependent primarily on the name connections of *Ἀρισταγόρας*, apparently about contemporary with the Rhodian **2** and **3** (Pl. 1). *Ca.* 188–183 B.C.?

**15.** Knidian amphora from John Threpsiades' excavations in the Olympieion area in 1939, given to us to record in 1962. Kept in the courtyard of the storehouse of the Third Ephoreia in Athens. I am obliged to Mrs. Karayorga, Ephor of the Third Ephoreia, for permission to publish this amphora; also to M. Petropoulakou for various facilitations. H. 0.855; H. of handles *ca.* 0.255. Handles bear two variously incomplete impressions of KT 167, of which the full reading is as follows:

Ἐπὶ Ἀριστοκλεῦς  
Ἀπολ λωνίου  
Κνίδι ον  
bull's head in center

We have listed 66 examples of this stamp type, of which 51, including **18**, come from various places in Athens; 3 are from Delos, 1 from Argos, and 11 from Alexandria. Published examples: Grace 1934, p. 248, no. 119; M.-T. Lenger in *BCH* 81, 1957, p. 166, no. 90 (from Argos); 2 more, from Athens and Alexandria, have been identified in early publications. Two examples, SS 14151 and 14155, were found in Agora cistern A 16:4, on which see above under **14**. Another bull's head type of *Ἀπολλώνιος*, dated in the term of *Θηροκράτης*, is known on a largely preserved amphora found in Corinth, C-36-2421, from South Stoa Well XIV.



On the amphora **15**, and its date, see p. 17 above with footnote 38. 166–157 B.C.?

**16.** Knidian stamped handle from the excavations by G. Siebert on Delos in 1968, in the Ilôt des Bijoux, in a deep stratum in Room AC. I am obliged to M. Siebert for the detail of its finding place as well as for permission to publish this handle, inv. no. TD 7305, also to Madame M.-T. Couilloud-Le Dinahet for an improvement in the type reading of KT 2038 based on this superior example. The stamp is a duplicate of those on **13**, which see. Early 2nd century B.C.

**17.** Knidian stamped handle from Corinth, C-47-108 from South Stoa, Well 2. Photograph published by kind permission of C. K. Williams, II. The stamp is a duplicate of the one on **14**, which see. Second decade of 2nd century B.C.

**18.** Knidian stamped handle in the National Museum, Athens, KT 167 EM 1, probably found in Athens. Study of the handles in the National Museum was greatly facilitated by Semni and Christos Karouzos, when each was Director of the Museum, and permission to publish was given by them. The stamp **18** is a duplicate of those on **15**, which see. 166–157 B.C.?

**19.** Knidian stamped handle from the Athenian Agora, SS 14002, from a late context, found in 1954 in Section HA. The stamp is an example of KT 236, of which the reading is as follows:

Ἀριστοκλεῦς

bull's head with neck

Twenty-four duplicates of the stamp of **19** are known, all probably found in Athens, including 3 from the Middle Stoa filling, SS 674, 885, 12180, of which SS 885 has been published: Grace 1934, pp. 300 (fig. 5) and 302, no. 6. (Too early a date is there suggested.) This stamp type (KT 236) is sometimes accompanied on the same handle by a secondary stamp with a single letter, as on Rhodian amphora handles of the same date (cf. **2b** and **3b** on Pl. 1); note that although **19** is from a Knidian jar, Ἀριστοκλῆς himself was a Rhodian. On **19–21**, see pp. 17–18 above with footnotes 40–42. *Ca.* 188–183 B.C.

**20.** Knidian stamped handle from the Athenian Agora, SS 5688, from a late context, found in 1936 in Section T. The stamp is an example of KT 237, of which the reading is as follows:

Ἀριστοκλεῦς

head and forepaw of lion

Nine duplicates of the stamp of **20** are known, of which 2 are in Alexandria and the rest in Athens; no useful context is available. SS 5688 has been cited: Grace 1949, p. 187 under no. 6. On **19–21**, see pp. 17–18 above with footnotes 40–42. *Ca.* 188–180 B.C.?

**21.** Knidian stamped handle from the Benaki Collection in Alexandria, KT 238 ABC 9. On the Benaki Collection, see reference at the end of Appendix 4 above. For permission to publish **21**, I am indebted to Dr. Youssef El-Ghiriany. The reading of KT 238 is as follows:

Ἀριστοκλεῦς

rose

Thirty-one more examples of KT 238 are on file with us, i.e. of this Rhodian type on *Knidian* handles, of which 15 are in Athens and very likely all 15 were found there, 1 is in Corinth, 13 in Alexandria, 1 from Memphis in Egypt is now in Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania Museum, inv. nos. 29-71-135 and M 11720), and 1 is in Delos. The Corinth example has been published: Grace 1949, pl. 20 and p. 187, no. 6. Some examples have a flaw, making the omicron look something like a rho; photographs record this flaw in ABC 3 and 5 of the Benaki Collection. ABC 5 is a rather small handle, evidently from a fractional jar. For recording the material from Memphis, I had in 1957 much help from Professor G. R. Edwards and from his volunteer assistant, Miss Shahira Khayatt of Egypt.

On **19–21**, see pp. 17–18 above with footnotes 40–42. *Ca.* 182–175 B.C.?

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	675	19 <sup>48</sup>	11981	36
	757	15	12073	47:12
	885	49:19	12180	49:19
	1160	36	12428	23 <sup>60</sup>
	2203	45	12440	20 <sup>48</sup>
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	4600	23 <sup>61</sup>	12717	8
	5688	49:20	12862	8
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## KNIDIAN STAMP TYPES CITED

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	193	48:14	1272	37
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## AGORA DEPOSITS CITED

A 16:4	48:14, 49:15	H 16:4	37
C 9:7	40	H 17:5	4 <sup>4</sup>
E 15:4	23 <sup>61</sup>	H-K 12-14	5 <sup>7</sup>
F 15:2	37	I 14:2	23 <sup>58</sup>
F 17:3	36	J 11:1	21 <sup>52</sup>
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Πάναμος, 9, 46:3a  
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## TITLES

Ἀστυνόμος, Sinopean, 20<sup>51</sup>, 47:10, 11  
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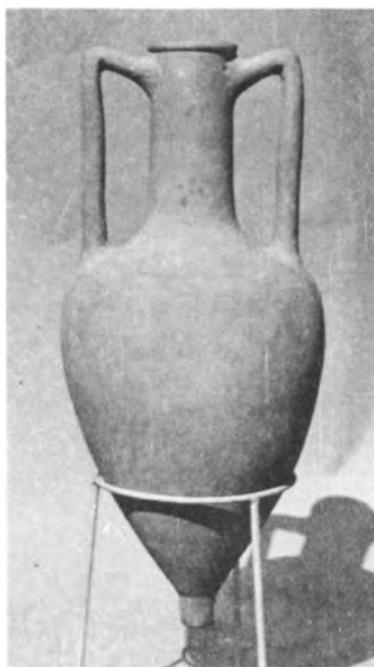
Φρούραρχος, Knidian, 7<sup>14</sup>, 14-16, 31, 32  
 Ἄνδρες (duoviri), Knidian, 22<sup>57</sup>, 31, 35 (list)

VIRGINIA GRACE

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES  
 ATHENS, GREECE



1



2



3



2a



2b



2c



3a



3b



3c

Rhodian stamped amphoras of ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (1, a fragment, and 2) and of ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (3) and their stamps, contemporary with the end date of the Middle Stoa filling. Jars at 1:10, stamps at 1:1. Second decade of 2nd century B.C.

PLATE 2



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12

Knidian amphoras and associated stamps (4-9) and Sinopean stamps (10-12), present or paralleled in the Middle Stoa filling. Jars at 1:10, stamps at 1:1. 3rd century to second decade of 2nd century B.C.





13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



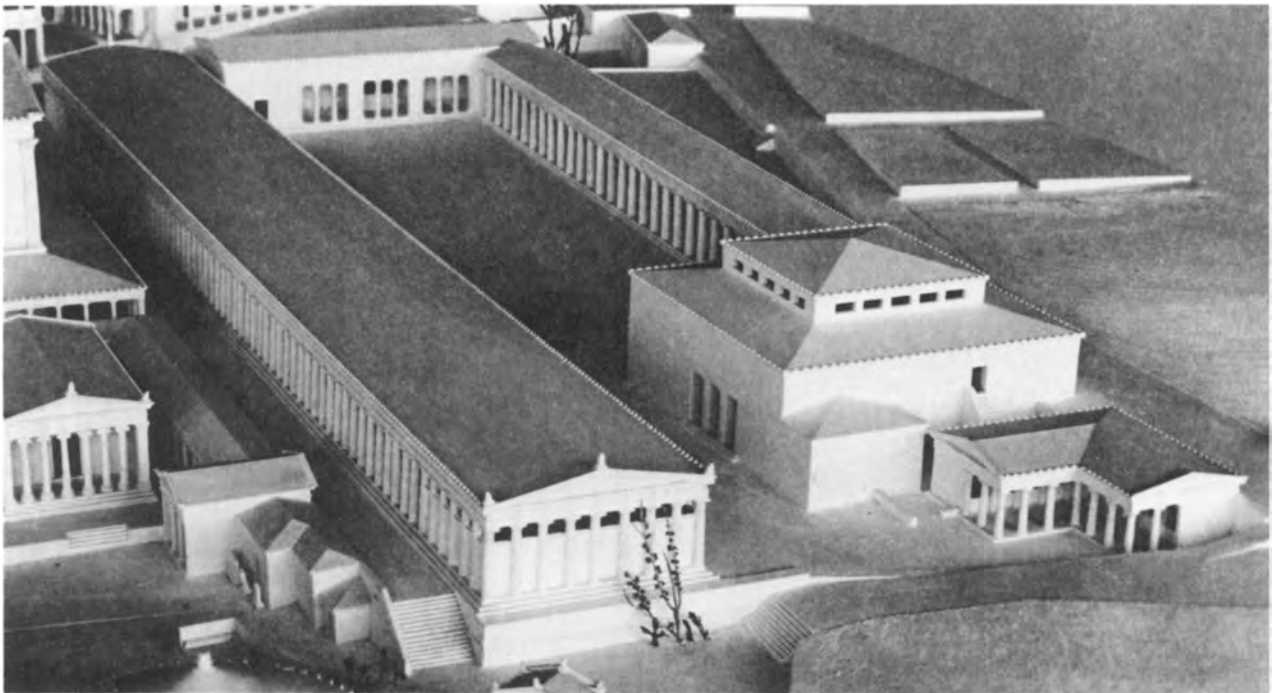
21

Knidian amphoras and associated stamps (13–18) and circular stamps of the Rhodian ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ on Knidian amphora handles (19–21). Jars at 1:10, stamps at 1:1. First half of 2nd century B.C.

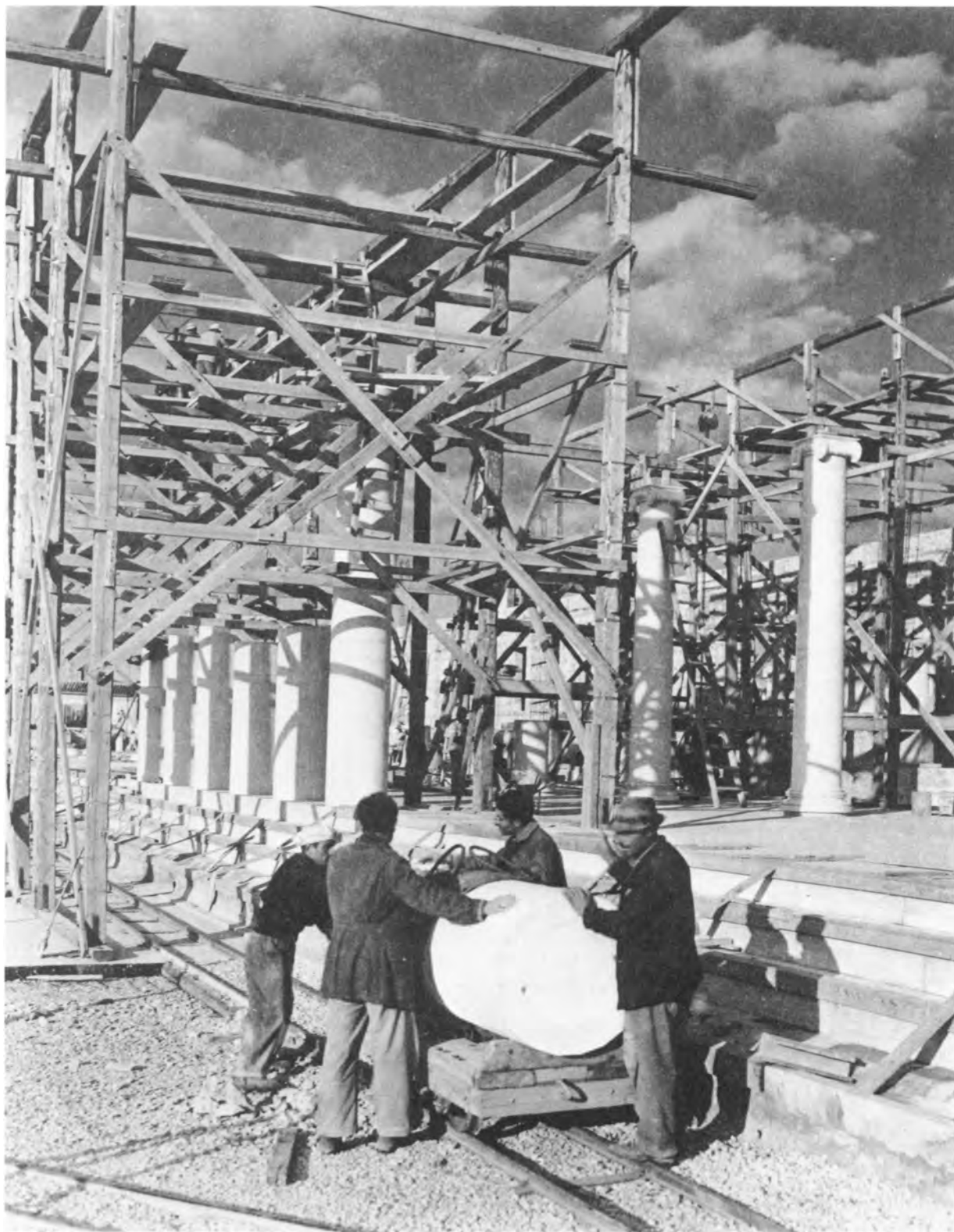
PLATE 4



a. Pharnakes I, King of Pontos



b. The Middle Stoa complex. The buildings crowding in to the left and the stairs to the north terrace are later additions



Scaffolding for setting up an outer colonnade. See Appendix 2, deposit H 13:1