

VRG \_ Folder \_ 0741

footnotes - 1

<sup>1</sup> Νικήτα Δ. Χαβιαρά, "Ἐνσφράγιστοι Λαβαί Ἀρχαίων Σαμιακῶν Ἀμφορέων", Μικρασιατικόν Ἡμερολόγιον τοῦ 1911 τῆς κυρίας Ἑλένης Σ. Σβορώνου, σελ. 3-6.

<sup>2</sup> See Year Book of the American Philosophical Society for 1959 (1960) (herein-  
after called Grace 1960), p. 475; ibid. for 1964 (1965), pp. 518-522; Archaeology,  
19, 1966, pp. 286-288 (taken from pp. 1-5 of the Newsletter of March, 1966, of the  
American Research Center in Egypt, the text abridged, illustrations added); there  
are further notes in Ph. Bruneau, ed., Exploration Archéologique de Délos, XXVII,  
L'Ilot de la maison des Comédiens, Paris, 1970, p. 285. This latter volume is  
herein after called Delos 27; it contains, pp. ~~277~~<sup>277</sup>-382, a chapter on Greek amphora  
stamps by V.R.Grace and Maria Savvastianou Petropoulakou.

Note that in Delos 27, and in earlier publications by V.R.Grace, Lucas Benaki's  
name has regularly been spelled "Benachi", the Italianate form used by him while  
resident in Alexandria.

For full references for other short titles used in this article, see footnotes  
below as follows: Agora XII, see our note 26; Amphoras, note 34; Barron, note 42;  
Head-Hill, note 13; Iacroyx, note 13; S.C.E., note 45; Schede, note 25; Tarsus I.,  
note 19; Technau, note 25; Zeest, note 45.

3

Here, as at other key points of the investigations leading to this article, the contribution of the former Miss Savvatianou has not been limited to normal research assistance. That we know the material that is the kernel of this study is due first to the sympathetic relations she quickly established for our group with the Haviaras family, then to her enterprise in undertaking the stormy voyage to Syme in the fall of 1968, then ~~xxx~~ to admirable performance in the classification and recording of this, to us, almost entirely new material in the short time between calls at Syme of the only available island boat. Recording included photography of nearly the whole collection, with no failures, and with appreciation of the original content and quality of the individual pieces, despite the small size of many types and the bad preservation of many impressions. ~~See especially plate~~

4

See Grace 1960, especially pp. 474-475.

5

Of the collection of Nikitas Haviaras, rubbings were taken of all the stamps, also notes on the fabric and dimensions of the handles except for the two Rhodian; also photographs of all but five (two of which were the Rhodian). In the absence of Nikitas Haviaras' daughter (now married and living in Egypt), Mrs. Petropoulakou was given every assistance and kindness by Miss Eleni Apokotou, his niece, as also

by Dr. Kostas Pharmakides, dentist of Syme, who had been a close friend of Nikitas Haviaras during his last years, and had assisted Mr. Haviaras in a study published posthumously, a first volume on the monasteries of Syme (Athens, 1962, the press of D. Frankiadakis and Chr. Fratseskakis). For a copy of this book by her father, I am grateful to Maria Haviara-Katsimbri. From the introduction we learn that it is a part-realization of a work on Byzantine and post-Byzantine remains in Syme planned for their years after retirement by the brothers Nikitas and Michael when they finished at Athens University and went to be schoolmasters of Greek communities in the Sudan and in Alexandria. Lucas Benaki tells me that Michael died in the 1950's.

<sup>6</sup>  
 From the Benaki collection, on which see note 2: 1, 2, 9, 12, 13, 25 and 26.  
 From the German excavations on Samos; 8, 10-11, 42 and 53; of these the last was found in the Kastro of Tigani, the rest at the Heraion. From Naukratis, now in the British Museum: 14. From Kos: 15. From Pella: 16. From Memphis, now in the University Museum, University of ~~Pennsylvania~~ of Pennsylvania: 17. For permission to publish these stamps, and for much courtesy and assistance during the taking of records and later, I am much indebted to Mr. Benaki, to Professors Buschor, Homan-Wedeking and Jantzen of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, to Dr. Barbara Philippaki (in 1958) and Dr. N. Zapheiropoulos and Mr. K. Tsakos of the Archaeologi-

(Κωστοφάρμακος)  
 J. T. B.

cal Service in Samos, to Dr. John Kondis (in 1957) and Dr. G. Konstantinopoulos of the Archaeological Service in the Dodekanese, to Dr. Ch. Makaronas of the Archaeological Service in Macedonia, excavator at Pella (retired), and to the authorities and staff of the British and Pennsylvania University Museums.

7

On some of my obligations, see below, notes 9, 13, 15, 20, 25, 46, 48, 54, 55, 62, 77; also the captions of Figures 2 and 3; also the catalogue text on 41 and 62-63. I add here my thanks to Mrs. Barbara Clinkenbeard for checking references for me.

8

For descriptions of the individual types, and of the handles on which they appear, see the catalogue at the end of this article.

9

J. P. Barron, The Silver Coins of Samos, London, 1966 (referred to in this article as Barron). I am obliged to Mr. Barron for several informative letters; and see further, note 62.

10

A doubtful fifth type is represented by the badly impressed (rectangular) stamp on X 489, listed below, note 22, among illegibles from the Haviaras collection.

11

See Barron, pl. XXII, trihemiohols 1-3, obverses; see text p. 114 (with mention of the necklace). The reverses of these coins are compared with the obverses of tetradrachms of Zenodotos, who is dated (see table, p. 104) ca. 370-365 B.C. The

later Hera heads, however they face, seem not to have the necklace.

12  
See note 20.

13  
Cf. B.V.Head, rev. G.F.Hill, A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks, London, 1932, (referred to in the rest of this article as Head-Hill), pl.44, 9; pl. 46, 10; pl.47, 8 and 9. Cf. L. Lacroix, Les Reproductions des Statues sur les Monnaies Grecques, La Statuaire Archaïque et Classique, Liege, 1949, pp. 176-192, on Artemis of Ephesos; and pp. 146-147 on the hanging fillets of Asiatic goddesses. For a gem with the figure of the Ephesian, see H. Thiersch, Artemis Ephesia, Berlin, 1935, pl. XLVII. For a similar figure identified as Artemis Leukophryene, cf. British Museum Catalogue of Coins, Ionia, pl. 19, no. 5 (coin of Magnesia after 190 B.C.). Mrs. Petropoulakou has called my attention to comment on the type of the Oriental goddess in connection with a new acquisition in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, see Cornelius Vermeule, in The Classical Journal, 63, 1967, pp. 58-59, and p. 56, fig. 8.

I owe my acquaintance with Lacroix's book, together with many helpful suggestions in connection with problems raised during the preparation of this article, to Professor Evelyn B. Harrison. She is of course not responsible for any unattributed opinions in this article.

14

See British Museum Catalogue Ionia, pl.37, 2 (cf. Head-Hill, pl. 48, 16),  
period of Commodus.

15

Professor Harrison called my attention to this <sup>e</sup>liklihood. On garments worn <sup>h</sup>  
by the Samian goddess, see C. Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques, Brussels,  
1900, p.678, no. 832, an inventory of the temple of Hera, dated 346/5 B.C. (by an  
archon in Samos and by the Athenian archon Archias). I owe the reference to  
Professor Henry S. Robinson.

16

Anabasis, V, 3, 12.

17

Cf. Head-Hill, pl. 20, 54, cf. text, p. 36 (Salamis, Cyprus, 351-332 B.C.);  
pl. 28, 17, cf. text, p.51 (the same city, 331-310 B.C.); pl. 34, 30, cf. text,  
pp. 60-61 (Sinope, 220-183 B.C.); pl. 34, 34, cf. text, p. 61 (Marathos, Phoenicia,  
279 B.C.); pl. 40, 15, cf. text, p.72 (Smyrna, 190-133 B.C.).

18

On these various devices see Barron's index under symbols and types. For  
barley cakes in Samian ~~xxx~~ ritual, see below, on the festival at Samos.

19

Chinaware actually from China was commonly stocked in General Stores in  
as recently as  
middle Western America, sixty years ago, as I have been informed by Mr. Ralph

Griswold, who remembers playing when a child with the huge casks in which it had been shipped from China.

Professor B. D. Meritt notes that it came to our coastal by Clipper Ship from the late 18th century onward.

On "Vasa Samia", see F. O. Waage, Antiquity, XI, 1937, pp. 46-55; numerous passages from Latin authors are assembled on pp. 54-55. Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, The Social and Economic History ~~History~~ of the Hellenistic World, Oxford, 1941, pp.

1478-1479, note 66, for further references; also H. Goldman and others, Excava-

tions at Gözli Kule, Tarsus, I, Princeton, 1950, pp. 186-187 (F.F. Jones). The

volume is referred to as Tarsus I in the rest of this article. These publications

are partly concerned with the possibility of identifying ~~and~~ an archaeologically

known ware with the "Samian" of the Romans. On this question, see further below,

53  
note ~~22~~ and accompanying text.

20

Mr. Boardman writes (December 2, 1968): "I would expect that they were all impressed by metal finger rings. This seems the usual practice on, for instance, loomweights, and the fact that you seem never to have trace of the hoop at each end would be explained by the date, since by then the hoop usually runs straight back from the bezel. . . For the sort of rings, slightly earlier, see Olynthos

- X, pls. 26-27." The rings there illustrated are mostly of bronze. Comments by Mr. Boardman are quoted in the catalogue text below as well as in the general

commentary above. He is not to be held responsible for any of my actual text, which he will not have read.

21

See Head-Hill, pl. 28, no. 19, a coin struck by Ptolemy Soter, as ruler of Egypt, between 311 and ~~305~~ 304 B.C., according to the text, ibid., p. 51, where also is the identification of the statue of Athena Alkis. For Newell's slightly earlier date for this coin, see note 33. For a recently published, and as yet unidentified, bronze coin found in Samothrace having this figure, see Hesperia XXXVII, 1968, pl. 59, b, cf. text, pp. 201-202 (J. R. McCredie).

22

X 476, with circular stamp, diam. ca. 0.017, with traces of a wreath (?) round outer part; X 489, part of a rectangular stamp, with part of a prow (?); X 490, part of a circular (?) stamp, with monogram (?); X 506, small part of circular stamp. X 507 is a handle found with the rest, but it is unstamped.

X 476, with wreath (?), may be compared with Agora SS 10912, which has a circular stamp with wreath round the outer part and an uncertain device in the middle. Though of about the same size, the two stamps do not appear ~~to~~ to come from the same die. SS 10912, which comes from a disturbed latter 4th century B.C. deposit, by its fabric is possibly also Samian; see further below, on shapes and clay of Samian amphoras.

23

The two Rhodian are X 508, with illegible rectangular stamp, and X 509 which has the reading [Ἐργασίον/Χ]ου caduceus right (restored from rubbings of better examples in the Benaki collection in Alexandria; for a published example of probably the same type, see M. P. Nilsson, Timbres Amphoriques de Lindos, Copenhagen, 1909, p.349, no. 4, 1). Known handles endorsed by this fabricant are few, datable in the 2nd century B.C., not early. X 504, of unknown origin, reads perhaps ἘΡΧΗ (0.044 by 0.023; buff clay, red at core, having small black bits). Note that we found no Knidian in this collection, although Haviaras states (see above) that he discovered "two or three". In general to reconcile our findings with his reference to "all 63 handles" (again see his quoted text): Mrs. Petropoulakou gave numbers to the Nikitas Haviaras ~~his~~ collection following the series given by us in 1957 to a part of the collection of Demosthenes Haviaras, so that Nikitas Haviaras' handles are X (for Χαβίραδος ) 441-509, or 69 handles. If we omit X 504, 508, and 509 (the non-Samian listed in this note), also 2 or 3 listed in note ~~22~~<sup>22</sup> as having little or no stamp, and/or possibly our 51, we are in agreement as to the number of Samian in the collection, fact which has some importance for definite identification of the group.

Today most number - checked  
note 25. See the checks

24

Note that the Pythagoreion referred to by Haviaras, at the end of his article quoted at the beginning of ours, is not the town (which was not so named in his day) but the Gymnasion (secondary school) of this name, which was, and still is, in Vathy, the present-day capital of the island.

*excavated sites in Samos*

25

Composition of the amphora stamps from both ~~sites~~ <sup>excavated sites in Samos</sup> together through 1957:

Samian, 4 (our 8, 10-11, 42, 53); later Samian (?), 1 (see below, note 81, mention of I 933); Rhodian, 390; Koan, 21; Knidian, 9; Zenon Group, 6 (of which 2 are uncertain while the other 4 are of the type with two-letter abbreviation; see Hesperia XXXII, 1963, p.331 with note 25); Chian, 4 (of which one is from a lagynos); Sinopean, 1 (I 566 plus 579, neck with two stamped handles, of Grakov's earliest period); Parian and Thasian, 1 each; Roman (Latin), 1; unclassified, 62; total, 500. A few more may be transferred from the "unclassified" to the Samian, e.g. from their general appearance I 861, 934, 935. Cf. also below, note 77, on I 580, 859.

*most 800  
5670*

A large proportion (about 55 per cent) of the Rhodian belong to the early period before months began to be named on Rhodian amphoras, i.e. before ca. 275 B.C. according to my present belief, cf. Delos 27 (see above, note 2), pp. 291-293. Trade relations following 322 B.C. were no doubt affected by the previous hospitality of Rhodians to Samians during the time of exile of these latter (cf.

A. Maiuri, Nuova Silloge Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos, Firenze, 1925, pp.3-4, no.1; and Hiller, the article "Rhodos", in Pauly-Wissowa, Supplementband V, Stuttgart, 1931, p. 778). Rhodian stamped handles of this period are relatively uncommon at other sites save on Rhodes itself; though numerous in Alexandria, these early Rhodian are a small percentage of the huge total of Rhodian handles found at that site.

An inscription records also a Koan citizen as benefactor to the Samians in exile, cf. M. Schede, Ath. Mitt., XLIV, 1919, p. 5, F. So it is interesting to note that the number of Koan in Samos, although these are far fewer than the Rhodian, is still relatively large: the proportion, 4.2 per cent of the total, is more than twice that of this class in Alexandria, more than 4 times that in Athens, and apparently 40 times that in Rhodes. Cf. Grace 1960 (see note 2 above), pp. 473-474, and 476, for percentages and figures on Koan at various sites; the figures for Alexandria given in Year Book of the American Philosophical Society for 1955 (1956), p. 323, should be adjusted for the greatly increased Benaki collection, see Archaeology, 19, 1966, p. 286.

For other benefactors of the <sup>Samians</sup>~~Samians~~ mentioned in inscriptions, cf. below, notes 28 (on a Magnesian) and 38 (on a Macedonian).

<sup>figures</sup>  
The ~~figures~~ given for stamped handles on Samos are based on records made there in 1958, with permission and much facilitation from Dr. Buschor, and from Dr. Barbara Philippaki for the Greek Archaeological Service. A total of 30 handles actually from both sites in Samos (despite the title of the publication) had been included by W. Technau in his article, "Griechische Keramik in Samischen Heraion," Ath. Mitt., LIV, 1929, pp. 6-64, see especially pp. 58-63. In this connection it is curious that Rostovtseff (op.cit. in note 19 above, p.1486, note

A. Maiuri, Nuova Silloge Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos, Firenze, 1925, pp. 3-4, no.1;

cf. Hiller, the article "Rhodos", in Pauly-Wissowa, Supplementband V, Stuttgart,

1931, p. 778). Rhodian stamped handles of this period are relatively uncommon

at other sites save in Rhodes itself and in Alexandria.

It should be remarked that the number of Koan in Samos, although, <sup>these are</sup> far fewer than the Rhodian, is still relatively large: at <sup>4.2</sup>  $4 \frac{1}{5}$  per cent of the total, <sup>about 4 times?</sup> it is 4 times, or more, the percentage in either Athens or Alexandria, and 40 times the percentage in Rhodes, apparently. Cf. Grace 1960 (see note 2, above), pp.473-474, <sup>and Analogy, 19, 1966, p. 286, for a record of Alex</sup> on figures for Koan at various sites. An inscription records also a Koan <sup>1</sup> citizen as benefactor to the Samians in exile, cf. M. Schede, Ath.Mitt., XLIV, 1919, p. 5, F. For other benefactors mentioned in inscriptions, cf. below, notes 28 (on a Magnesian) and 38 (on a Macedonian).

The figures given for stamped handles on Samos are based on records made there in 1958, with permission and much facilitation from Dr. Buschor, and from Dr. Barbara Philippaki for the Greek Archaeological Service. A total of 30 handles actually from both sites in Samos (despite the title of the publication) had been included by W. Technau in his article, "Griechische Keramik im Samischen Heraion," Ath. Mitt., LIV, 1929, pp. 6-64, see especially pp. 58-63. In this connection it is curious that Rostovtseff (op.cit. in note 19 above, p.1486, note

*superseded*

*Mitt  
p. 4, 2%*  
*Mitt  
p. 4, 2%*

97) remarks that Technau's publication reports a "large admixture of Sinopian handles"; in fact, Technau lists (p.60 under "II, Sinope") only the single item later inventoried as I 566 plus 579 mentioned at the beginning of this note. Inventories of the handles from both sites were made after Technau's publication, I believe in 1939, by W. Wrede for the finds in Tigani and by F. Willemsen for those from the Heraion (as I was informed by Dr. Buschor in 1958). Numbered in the Inschriften series of the site, the stamps in the two inventories are respectively I 501-640 ~~xxxxxxx~~ and I 641-862 (Heraion). In 1958 we were authorized to record the earlier finds and also to continue the "I" series (now no longer used for inscriptions) to cover the accumulation, again from both sites, through the finds of 1957, I 863-1006. The total should be 506 instead of 500 in the analysis at the beginning of this note; but in fact following wartime disturbance of the Heraion storeroom we were unable in 1958 to identify some 30 of the handles inventoried from the site. Where readings could be made (from Dr. Willemsen's careful drawings) the missing items have been included in our figures, but there remains the small residue of unidentified items. In the operation of 1958, the undersigned was aided by Maria Savvatianou (cf. note 3) and also by Andreas Dimoulinis. I take this occasion to thank Mr. Dimoulinis not only for his full share in our rather heroic work-period of 4 and 1/2 days in

next page  
 639 out of 640  
 are the  
 Tigani  
 accounts  
 to account  
 but not for a

862

Samos at that time, but also for much else he has contributed to this article, the processing of records, the compilation of figures, <sup>and</sup> in particular the original profiles from which the drawings in Figures 2 and 3 were made, and finally, many checks in the text of the article.

Unfortunately there has not been time to make the records that would be necessary for a fully up to date statement on stamped handles found on Samos. But by the kindness of Professor Jantzen, I have been able, in a short visit late in 1968, to look through more recent finds at Pythagoreion (Tiganá) and to see that here in any case no further stamps recognized as Samian seem to have been found, while at the same time sherds from the excavation <sup>apparently</sup> tend to confirm at least one of our identifications of Samian amphora shapes. Addendum, April 1970: see under 7 in the catalogue below for mention of a new handle with Samian stamp which was apparently a surface find in the Pythagoreion area.

To the above figures from two sites on Samos, we must now add (see note 23) 69 from a separate site, of which 2 are Rhodian, 1 unclassified, and most if not all of the other 66 are probably Samian. For the precise place of discovery of these fragments, certain of Nikitas Haviaras' words as reported by Dr. Pharmakides

have suggested to me a possible identification which I should like to see properly investigated. (58, 62, 63, 64, 65):  
 XXXXXXXXXXXX

might have been called Greco-Roman. Other context now available for certain gem-impressions on amphora handles should also be presented, since it would produce modifications in the current dating of ring or gem types: for instance the date suggested by a visiting expert in 1957 for the type of Hesperia III, 1934, p. 291, no. 278 (Victory before a trophy - correct the identification in the publication) was Augustan, whereas a duplicate has been found in Agora deposit J 11 ; 1, a deposit dated 340 B.C. and earlier in B. Sparkes and L. Talcott, The Athenian Agora, XII, Black Glazed and Plain Wares of the Classical Period. This volume is hereafter in this article called Agora XII; it is not yet out, and I cite deposit dates from its manuscript.

27

See B.V. Head, Historia Nummorum, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1911, p. 605; and Barron (cf. note <sup>9</sup>11), ~~pp.~~ pp. 118, 135.

28

For humped bulls in coins of Asia Minor of about the same period, cf. e.g. Head-Hill, pl. 27, 13 (Seleukos I) and pl. 28, 28 (Magnesia). Note that a Magnesian (but of which Magnesia?) was one of those honored by the Samians by a proxeny decree after their return in 322 B.C., for support during their exile.

— Cf. note 25 above; of Schede's article there cited, p. 12, N, refers to a Magnesian.

29

References for photographs are to A.-M. and A. Bon, Les Timbres

Amphoriques de Thasos, Paris, 1957. For the dates of two-name stamps, see

Grace in Hesperia, Supplement X, pp. 122-135, on finds from the Filling of

from stratification in Thasos, Assembly Place III of the Pnyx. For recent confirmation, see Y. Garlan in

B.C.H., XC, 1966, pp. 586-652, especially pp. 642-645. Cf. Delos 27, pp.

354-356.

30

Bon 703 has the legend on the two short sides of the rectangle, a

feature of that period, cf. Hesperia, Supplement X, pl. 58, nos. 57 and 58;

further,

~~SS~~ SS 11003, the illustrated example of Bon 703, came from Agora deposit

O-R 7-10, the construction filling of the Square Peristyle, dated 4th century

B.C., and mostly of the third quarter, in Agora XII. See also the catalogue text

at the end of this article under 41 for what seems to be a context of the second

half of the 4th century B.C. for some pottery measures found at Phanagoria

which bear stamps related to that of 41.

31

None were found in the Pnyx Filling of Period III, on which see Hesperia,

Supplement X, pp. 6, 119, 122-123, 171. Monograms of a sort however were found

in Agora deposit J 11 : 1 (see note 26): SS 11327, 11340, 11392-11393 (unpub-

lished).

No. called in Pnyx

32

See E. T. Newell on "Pallas Promachos" in Amer. Num. Soc. N. Mon., 19, 1923, p. 29; cited by Laeroix, op. cit., p. 116, note 2, on tetradrachms struck at Amphipolis in 326/325 B.C.

33

315 is Newell's date for the Soter coin, cf. Laeroix, op. cit., ~~p. 317~~ p. 317. Cf. also the catalogue text below under 54-56. For the Pamathenaics of 363/2, see J. D. Beazley, The Development of Black Figure, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951, p. 98.

34

34

For the 4th century Chian amphora, cf. V.R. Grace, Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade, Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book no. 6, Princeton, 1961 (hereinafter referred to as Amphoras). For the 4th century siren, see Hesperia, Supplement X, pl. 77, no. 226, from the Pnyx Filling of Assembly Place III. For a parallel in 4th century sculpture for the pose of our figure in 62 and 63, cf. for instance the relief on the inscribed treaty between Athens and Kerkyra, Athens, National Museum, 1467, dated ca. 370 B.C. in S. Karouzou, National Archaeological Museum Collection of Sculpture, Athens, 1968, p. 131; the relief is illustrated for instance in G. M. A. Richter, A Handbook of Greek Art, 6th edition, 1969, p. 165, fig. 222. The figure in 62 and 63 rather combines the poses of

the two figures in the treaty relief.

35

See Ch. Habicht, Ath. Mitt., 72, 1957, pp.159, 260.

36

Anabasis, Loeb translation, V, III, 7, ff. For the pleasure of festival at the Heraion itself, see Nikainetos (2nd century B.C.) apud Athenaios, Deipnosophists, XV, 673. For amphora stamps which apparently identified the produce of a sanctuary, cf. Delos 27, under no. E 252.

37

G. Daux, B.C.H., L, 1926, p. 214, no. 1, lines 5-6.

38

See above, text with note 21, on the Macedonian associations of this type. For homage to a Macedonian after 322 B.C., see p.11, M, of <sup>Schede's</sup> ~~Strobel's~~ article cited in note 25.

39

From the descriptions in the catalogue the expressions "short-topped" or "curving down quickly" of Mrs. Petropoulakou's notes in Syme have been omitted, as they appear very commonly. A few handles (e.g. 54, 55) do rise a little from the upper attachment. For such of the Haviaras-class handles as I have been able to handle, chiefly those of the Benaki collection, these are certainly very short-topped and without any rise from the attachment.

40

For scales, measurements, contexts, and other documentation of items in  
 Plate <sup>4</sup>, see the <sup>Documentation</sup> ~~Description~~ of this plate at the end of this article, following the catalogue of Samian stamped handles.

41

See Amphoras, fig. 48, for an old-style Chian amphora with swelling neck depicted in a stamp impressed on a new-style Chian amphora with straight neck.

Unpublished stamps of the Rhodian fabricant <sup>ΠΙΣΤΟΣ</sup> ~~ΠΙΣΤΟΣ~~ <sup>(accounted as - Pops)</sup> ~~ΠΙΣΤΟΣ~~, datable perhaps early in second half the ~~3rd century~~ of the 3rd century, have as device an amphora which is certainly

not a contemporary Rhodian shape (which should be about that shown in Amphoras, fig. 22), but, with its indication of relatively heavy rim and long tapering body, is considerably more like a Rhodian shape of at least 50 years earlier, only recently identified but now known in several hundred examples found in a wreck off Kyrenia in Cyprus; see Archaeology, 21, 1968, p.172 for a drawing, and cf. Delos 27, p.292, with note 4. <sup>On the wreck, see also below, note 68.</sup> On the wreck, see also below, note 68.

42

See J. Boehlau, Aus Ionischen und Italischen Nekropolen, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 10 ff., on the Samos cemetery; and p. 23, fig. 16, for the outline drawing of the amphora shape reproduced at a larger scale in our Figure 1, 1. Boehlau cites the use in Sicily of amphoras as urns or coffins for the burial of children; but he could not believe that those in Samos had been used in this way, since no bones

had been found in them. However the bones of small infants are apt to crumble away leaving little or no trace, and since no such interments were otherwise found, among 100 intact graves, we may take it that that is what the amphoras had been used for. For burial in amphoras of the classical period, cf. more recently Γ. Μυλωνά, Γ. Τραυλοῦ, Πρακτικά, 1952, pp. 68-69; and Γ. Μυλωνά, Πρακτικά, 1954, p. 59;

both are on amphora burials of infants in Eleusis.

43  
See Boehlau, op. cit., pp. 144 ff., for ~~this~~ discussion of the shape of the amphoras. Of his references, the rounder shape (like our Plate <sup>4</sup>, 3 and 4) is Petrie's Tanis II (Daphnae), pl. 33, 1 (I correct from Boehlau's "pl. 23, 1"); this is our Figure 1, 3. The shape Boehlau refers to that has a narrow lower body is Petrie's Tanis II, pl. 34, 39, and his Naukratis I, pl. 16, 2; the latter is our Figure 1, 2. For the scale in Figure 1, in order to reach an approximate 1 : 10, nos. 2 and 3 have been reduced respectively from the 1 : 5 and 1 : 8 stated on the pages of Petrie's publications/drawings; the ht. of no. 2 is estimated to have been ca. 0.42, and that of no. 3, if its foot were restored, ca. 0.624; while no. 1 has been set at the halfway point within the range given by Boehlau of 0.40 to 0.60 for amphoras of this kind in the cemetery, that is, it has been enlarged to 0.05 for an estimated ht. of 0.50. Boehlau remarks that in the Samos cemetery not uncommon

were also oval amphoras like Naukratis I, pl. 15 (it should be 16), 4, and Tanis II, pl. ~~XXXXXX~~ 33, 2; these shapes are archaic Chian.

44

See note 40.

45

The jars cited are as follows: Agora P 24870; Marion, Tomb 71, 6 (E. Gjerstad and others, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, hereafter called S.C.E., II, Stockholm, 1935, pl. LXXV, 1, center pot, cf. text, p. 393); Marion, Tomb 80, 17 (S.C.E., II, pl. LXXIX, 2; better, ibid., pl. CXXXII, 15; also S.C.E., IV, 2, fig. ~~5~~<sup>LVII</sup> 6, an outline drawing, not a profile; cf. text, S.C.E., II, p. 416); I. B. Zeest, Pottery Containers from the Bosporos, Moscow, 1960, pl. I, no. 3, cf. text, p. 70 (in pl. 1, see especially the detailed drawing of the foot, which is not accurately incorporated in the drawing of the jar as a whole).

P 24870 is barely visible in Amphoras, fig. 35 (the highest jar); one can see that its neck is not quite so sharply articulated below as that of its mate in Plate <sup>4</sup>, 3. Of the two jars from Marion, the one from Tomb 71 is more elongated in neck and body than Tomb 80, 17, and probably a little later; but the context in each case is called "later part of Cypro-Achaic II" or early 5th century B.C. On Mme. Zeest's amphora from Nymphaia, see further below, text with note 55.

46

P 14694 comes from Agora well S 21 : 2, a deposit dated 600-570 B.C. in Agora XII.

The fragment bears a graffito lambda. I quote from its inventory description: "Very micaceous cinammon-brown clay. Single letter, heavily scratched on neck before baking."

For the short-necked, round-bodied amphora which I saw in Pythagoreion in December, 1968, I am grateful to Mr. John Nettos for sending me a photograph of it soon after my visit; and to Mrs. Fox King for measuring its height, 0.545, during her visit to the island in April, 1970.

47

The two in Pythagoreion are in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Sartakoulis; photograph numbers VG 691.18 and 19; heights respectively 0.445 and 0.455. I am grateful to the owners for their kindness and courtesy in arranging for me to make records of these and other amphoras in their collection. For North Slope AP 1491, stored with the amphoras from the Agora, see C. Roebuck, Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 258, fig. 61, no. 335, cf. text, p. 257. Agora P 3609 (preserved height 0.415) comes from well deposit I 14 : 1, dated ca. 625-570 B.C. in Agora XII.

48

Jar in the collection of Colonel Hadjistavris in Kalymnos; photograph no. VG 392.8. I am most grateful to the owner for arranging for me and my assistant Miss Savvatiadou to record amphoras not only from his own large collection but also from other collections in the island. We thank him also for a very interesting

visit to the many other antiquities of the island.

Possibly to be associated with this series is a rather small amphora in Syme in the collection of Demosthenes Haviaras, photograph no. VG 407.26, ht. 0.62, diam. 0.363, ht. of handles (which are delicate), ca. 0.095.

49

The relief line of this fold is easily visible in the published photograph of the North Slope jar, see reference in note 47.

50

For the Thasian, cf. Bon, op. cit. in note 29 above, p. 21, fig. 5; and I. B. Zeest, op. cit., pls. VII-VIII, etc.

51

See above, note 47. Agora P 3609 is open on the break below, but this method of broaching does not seem to have been successful in the case of AP 1491, and a hole (through which a pencil fits) was bored through from a little to one side.

I cannot attempt in this article to follow the Samian amphora to the Roman period, but will call attention to two container shapes the outsides of which are familiar among finds from Roman Athens, but it may not have been generally noticed that, as in our Samian here examined (see Fig. 2), the body hollow goes deeper than the visible upper edge of the foot as seen outside. These are 1) the one-handled containers of which a study has been published by M. Lang, Hesperia, XXIV, 1955,

pp. 277-285; and see further H. S. Robinson, The Athenian Agora, V, Pottery of the Roman Period, Princeton, 1959, p. 17, under F 65; and 2) the earlier part of the series of amphoras with "tubular foot", see on the series Robinson, op. cit., p. 69, under [K 113], but the foot is not well illustrated in this volume, being in fact missing from many of the pieces. In the later jars of this kind, the foot is hardly distinguishable on the outside, cf. Amphoras, fig. 37, jar furthest right. But see Klio, 39, 1961, p. 297, no. 3, for a photograph of the rather earlier Agora P 25674, illustrated by G. Kapitän to show the restoration of amphora fragments from a wreck off the east coast of Sicily. Here the toe is distinct on the outside, while in section it is (not illustrated) rather like Robinson's section drawing, op. cit., pl. 73, P 822.

Both series need further sorting and study, in the light of additional material now available: see for instance ~~MSTIZIXXNGIXX~~ Not. Sc., ~~X~~, 1956, p. 158, fig. 9, for more one-handlers, found in Syracuse, of which one has a graffito. A good part of Miss Lang's jugs are of noticeably micaceous clay. Her description of this clay, top of her p. 278, could well suggest a Samian ware, cf. the discussion of Samian clay that now follows in this article. In size, her jugs are probably comparable with <sup>some of</sup> our early fractional Samians: cf. ~~xxxxxx~~ those in her pl. 79 with the one shown in our Plate <sup>4</sup>, 2.

53

For Zahn's original suggestion, see his section on the pottery from Priene in T. Wiegand and others, Priene, Berlin, 1904, pp. 430 (description of the clay) and 440-447. For later discussions of his hypothesis, see above, references in note 19.

54

I owe this information to Professor H. S. Robinson. He tells me that a quantity of the so-called "Samian" ware has been found in Egypt, especially in old Cairo.

55

55

See I. B. Zeest, loc. cit. in note 45 above. The class isolated by Zahn was early recognized in finds on the north shore of the Black Sea, cf. Mme.

Knipowitsch's "Die Keramik Römischer Zeit aus Olbia," Mat. z. röm.-germ. Keramik, IV, I, 1929, pp. 12 ff. In a letter of February 15, 1969, Mme. Zeest tells me that the clay of her amphora is that known in the red-glazed Samian ware (i.e. evidently that of Roman date), but also in painted pottery of the 6th-5th century B.C. recognized as Samian. The class of amphoras (of her pl. I, no. 3) is widespread in the Bosphoros area in the second half of the 6th century and early 5th century B.C., the period of lively communications of that area with the Ionian cities. Their clay is pale and very micaceous and has a layered construction ("elle a des couches").

56

Cf. Amphoras, fig. 35, the bright jar in the foreground; M. Campbell, Hesperia, VII, 1938, p.605, fig. 27, especially no. 192. Of the two classes of amphoras found in quantity in Corinth, these belong to the series sometimes attributed to Coreyra, cf. Grace apud Boulter, Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p.108, under no. 166. Note that Boshlau attributes to the amphoras from his cemetery an ~~IXIONA~~ "Ionic shape especially exemplified in Corinthian pottery," see op. cit. in note 42, p. <sup>144</sup>144. For the shape as seen by Athenians, see the Syleus Painter's pointed amphora, CVA, Brussels, II, pl.8.

57

For notes on the proposed Attic series, following it ~~into~~ through the 5th and into the ~~IXIONA~~ 4th century, see Grace apud Boulter (see note 56), pp. 101-102, no. 147. Much study and presentation remains to be done. For Attic container amphoras of an earlier period, see E. Brann, The Athenian Agora, VIII, Late Geometric and Protoattic Pottery, Princeton, 1962, pp. 32-33, under "Storage Jars"; see references there; for a summary of the development of the earlier Attic oil jar, see especially E. Brann, Hesperia, XXX, 1961, pp. 338-339, under nos. 40-41.

58

For a photograph of this amphora, see E. Brann, Agora VIII, pl. 2, no. 23 (at 1 : 10) or ~~23~~ Hesperia XIII, pl.13, R 3 (somewhat larger). Its height: 0.72. From Agora Well N 11, 6, Professor Brann's Well R, dated by her (Hesperia, XXX, p. 98) to "perhaps somewhat after 700 B.C."

N 11:6

59

They are nos. 1495 and 1496 of the forthcoming Agora XII. Heights respectively 0.302 and 0.391. I am grateful to Lucy Talcott for information on these and similar small jars, discussed in her text.

60

Agora P 21984 a (top) and b, published with a photograph of the top part in Grace apud Boulter (see note 56), p.109 and pl. 40, no. 167; a profile drawing of the foot at about 2 : 5 is shown ibid., p. 103. Context: Agora well N 7 : 3, of which the pottery as a whole is published by C. Boulter, Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pp. 59-115. Of the amphora made up as Figure 3, 1, of the present article, the height has been restored as 0.648.

61

Agora P 25426, from deposit R 11 : 3. For an amphora too from the same deposit, and perhaps to be associated with this piece, see the text below, comment on Figure 3, 3.

62

I am much obliged to Mr. Barron for discussing with me the dates of these coins, as well as for sending me numerous photographs of casts, including the two used in Plate 4. See Barron, pp. 71 and 92 for the requirements in dating the , and the table, p. 48, for Barron's tetradrachm sequence and his trihemiochols

proposed dating of the smaller coins in relation to the tetradrachms. My proposed date of 468/7 B.C. for Plate <sup>4</sup>, 6 (Barron's pl. XVI, 4b) makes it contemporary with certain of Barron's tetradrachms, his Class III, pl. X, nos. 35-37, with olive branch upright and circular incuse as in the trihemiobol. Our Plate <sup>4</sup>, 7 (Barron, p. 198, 3a) may perhaps be dated with Barron's Class IV, 460/459, again with olive branch upright and circular incuse as in the trihemiobol. Our Plate <sup>4</sup>, 8 (Barron's pl. XVI, 2a) may be as late as the tetradrachms of his Class VII with the letter theta which he dates 446/5 (his pl. XIV, 85 and 86); these are the last with the rectangular incuse as in the trihemiobol; this latter has an inverted olive branch which seems not to be matched in any of the tetradrachms.

63

Thasos, Lazarides inv. no. 555<sup>1</sup>; from the excavations of 1950. I owe the photograph and information to Mme. Lilly Kahil, who further told me that the amphora has apparently been found set in an earth floor, with blackfigure and redfigure pottery near its mouth. Unpublished.

64

Deposit S 16 : 1. The area was excavated in May, 1965, by an expedition from Brown University working in collaboration with the American School of Classical Studies, see R. R. Holloway, Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 83-84 for the well. Of the

amphora restored as Figure 3, 3, from the fragments P ~~xxxx~~<sup>27530</sup> and P ~~xxxx~~<sup>27531</sup>, the height is restored as 0.735. The deposit is dated ca. 425-400 B.C. in Agora, XII. Fig. 3, 3 may date near the beginning of this period.

65  
Agora P 27547, neck fragment, also from deposit S 16 : 1; P 28078, toe and lower body, from deposit A-B 21-22 : 1; P 26379, toe fragment, from deposit Q 15 : 2; Kos B.E. 44, ~~xxx~~ in the storeroom in the citadel (VG phot. 412.36); from the Marathon wreck, see J. Marcade, B.C.H., LXXVII, 1953, p. 141, figs. 3 c and d; the Smyrna fragments, seen and photographed (VG 201.14) in October 1952 by the kindness of J. M. Cook, and here mentioned by his permission, come from the excavations reported by Mr. Cook in B.S.A., 53-54, 1958-1959; see subsequent numbers of B.S.A. for reports on various classes of pottery from the site.

The toe P 26379 is attributed to this class with some hesitation. The style as viewed from the outside resembles that of the toe of Figure 3, 3, but the <sup>hollow</sup> interior of the body of the jar ~~xxxxxxxx~~ well above the toe as visible outside, and the fragment must come from a ~~xxxxxxxx~~ considerably larger amphora (diameter of the knob 0.075, as opposed to 0.06 for Figure 3, 3).

66  
Necks with mushroom rims of which the clay is micaceous include P 25742 from A 16 : 1 (ca. 350-325 B.C.); P 27834 from H 16 : 7 (late 4th century B.C.); and many fragments of such rims of which some were micaceous were found in J 11 : 1

(ca. 400-340 B.C.). In general similar, but of non-micaceous clay, is the fragmentary amphora P 6152 (lower part missing) from D 15 : 3 (ca. 375-330 B.C.).

67

One of these was in the office of the airport at Pythagoreion, where by courtesy of the Olympic Airlines official, and with help from John Nettos, I was able to photograph it (691.10).

68

For a preliminary report on the wreck off Kyrenia, Cyprus, see Archaeology, 21, 1968, pp. 171-173. I am much obliged to Professor Michael Katzev, the excavator, for permitting me to study and record his finds in Cyprus in the fall of 1968, and to mention here his Type X, which may be Samian. In fact, during the 1969 season an intact amphora of Type X was raised from the wreck, a jar with mushroom rim, broad, short-topped handles of which one bore a stamp with two letters, broad shoulders (more angular and less sloping than those of our Plate 4, 13), and a knob toe separated by a finger's width of stem from the body. I am obliged to Professor Katzev for drawings and photographs of this amphora, which will no doubt shortly be published. On the main cargo of the wrecked ship, see above, note 41.

69

Face Barron, the passages he cites on his p. 7, note 53, include no praise at all of Samian wine. As for Apuleius, his text without emendation actually states

16. IX. 70  
See attached  
3-page  
replaces  
note  
68

note 41

For a preliminary report on the wreck off Kyrenia, Cyprus, see Archaeology, 21, 1968, pp. 171-173. On the main cargo of the ship, see above, note 41. I am much obliged to Professor Michael Katzev, the excavator, for permitting me to study and record his finds in Cyprus in the fall of 1968, and to mention here his Type X, which may be Samian.

Addendum, September 1970. The text above, and the beginning of this footnote, were written before Professor Katzev's season on the wreck in the summer of 1969. During that season there was raised from the wreck an intact amphora (inv. no. 212) the top of which resembled the neck fragments of Type X from the 1968 season in that it had a mushroom rim, handles that were short-topped and broad in proportion (rather than roundish in section), neck and handles much shorter than on the accompanying early Rhodian jars, and the neck <sup>tapering</sup> ~~expanding~~ slightly to the shoulder (whereas on the Rhodian the neck spreads to the shoulder). The toe of no. 212, however, differed noticeably from that of no. 576, the 1968 toe fragment belonging to Type X. Tops and toe of Type X among the first-season finds could readily be isolated as belonging together by their distinct clay, which had much fine mica and on fresh breaks showed grey unevenly in layers, reminding me of the Benaki handles I had seen that bore duplicates of the Haviaras stamps. No. 576 has a carefully made knob which widens from its short stem to a sharp edge, and is bevelled steeply below this edge. The knob of no. 212 is much simpler and flatter.

Now studies of the assembled material in the summer of 1970 have finally given the excavators joining fragments to supply the whole profile of their Type X, from mushroom rim to bevelled knob toe (inv. nos. 380 plus 130). It has become clear that no. 212 is a separate shape, in body as well as in toe; the shoulder is narrower, more angular, and less sloping than that of Katzev's Type X as now complete in his restored jar; or than that of our Pl. , 13. Professor Katzev assigns the name of Type XI to the shape of his no. 212; this amphora has on top of one handle a stamp containing two large letters. There were no other examples of Type XI in the wreck.

I am obliged to Professor Katzev for photographs and a drawing of no. 212, a drawing of no. 576 (as well as of others of the earlier finds), and a photograph of the new repaired amphora nos. 380 plus 130, all seem to be published by him.

Amphoras of the late 4th to early 3rd centuries B.C. with mushroom rim still need study before they can be sorted out convincingly. We need further data on the clay, not properly obtainable from an intact jar such as Katzev no. 212. The classification problem is evident in Zeest's Type 32, "Solokha 1," see her volume cited in our note 45 above, pls. XIV (end), XV, and the first item of XVI, with her text pp. 91-92. No place of production is suggested by the author for the jars included in her Type 32, and in fact possibly they show too much variation

to be grouped as one type, without at least some internal sorting, perhaps by date.

For Katzev's Types X and XI, although these are two distinct shapes, it seems possible that both are Samian, or connected with Samos, given the political history of the Samians in the late 4th century; modifications in the shape of an official container may have been decreed by new administrations, for instance to distinguish changes in standard; cf. Belos 27, pp. 279 and 359-360 for such a procedure in Chios. For the two-letter stamp of Type XI, cf. Zeest's pl. XIV, 32a (of her Solokha Type I), the top of a mushroom-rimmed jar having on its <sup>preserved</sup> handle a stamp with the monogram eta-rho; on parallels to this stamp type, see below, in the catalogue under no. 77.

— that nobody scratches the ground to plant vines in Samos. Cf. the Budé edition (1924), where P. Valetti remarks (p. xiv, note 1) that this information surprised some critics, who corrected the text to make it say the contrary. Even as emended, this passage does not amount to praise of Samian wine.

We are indebted to Mr. Barron (again his p.7) for dispelling a former interpretation of the olive branch on the coins as being a symbol of submission to Athens. His study of the coins proves that their chronology does not allow this explanation.

For praise of Samian wine before Byron, ~~see~~ note that in 1702 the French traveller J. P. de Tournefort drank in Samos a very good sweet wine being made there on ~~xxxx~~ order ~~xxxx~~ for French merchants in Smyrna; whereas in 1610 the Englishman Sandys had found the vine quite lacking on the island. References for the travellers and a selection of their accounts are given by E. Papademetriou in the fine picture book <sup>επιτομή</sup> edited by her and published by the Institut Francais d'Athenes in 1959 (with texts also by N. M. Kondoleon and Ph. Kondoglou).

pp. 22-26

Mr. P. H. Fraser kindly refers me to a chapter on Samian wine published in 'Apocrypha', Athens 1947, pp. 165-182.

70

Anakreon, Fr. 98 Page; Persians, 882; Antiphanes or Alexis, ap. Athen.,

66, ff. The references are assembled by Barron, p. 7, notes 50-52.

71

Plutarch, Life of Solon, 24.

72

Herodotos VI, 95; ibid., 115.

ME II  
12. ✓. 70

73

I.G.I<sup>2</sup> 65. See P. Jacobsthal, A.J.A., XLVII, 1943, p. 308, with references.

— For illustrations of the relief, see A. Hess, Klio, 28, 1935, pl. 1 (opposite p. 32);

B. D. Meritt, Documents on Athenian Tribute, Harvard, 1937, p. 4, fig. 1. Jacobsthal and several other scholars identify my "upended amphoras" as money-bags. Hess (op. cit., p. 27) calls them pieces of broken amphoras with their knobbed tips upward. It was Daniel Geagan, now professor at Dartmouth, who suggested to me that the artist was trying to show inverted amphoras as behind another pot that lies below. Whether broken or merely inverted, the significance would be the same. Hess, in the article cited, lists much evidence on the use of pottery jars for the transport of money.

I am obliged to Lucy Talcott for calling my attention to this relief some years ago, and for giving me references to it.

74

See M. Lang and M. Crosby, The Athenian Agora, X, Weights, Measures and Tokens, Princeton, 1964, pp. 62-63, LM 21-27, cf. pl. 18, noting here that the same types appear on dry measures also. Since the publication of this volume, two good new impressions of the Athena head of LM 25-27 have been found on handles from a 4th century context (Agora P 27368-9). In these better-preserved examples, it is clear that a special blob of fine clay has been placed on top of the handle to take the impression of the die (noticed by Lucas Benaki). The added blob of clay is also noticeable on SS 14675, a recently catalogued handle bearing the double-bodied owl type, cf. M. Lang, op. cit., LM 21-24 (no useful context for SS 14675). Cf. Herodotus, II, 38, for reference to γῆν σφραγιστῆρα, but this was used to set a seal on papyrus wrappings, whereas on the Athenian jars it was fired with the jar.

was  
spiral  
and  
glad

75

Lang and Crosby, op. cit., pl. 18, IM 28, cf. Miss Lang's text, pp. 60-61,

63. The engraving is finer than can be seen in a photograph, and deeper than in the die of the coin type. Notice in the photograph that although the impression is deep in the upper part, it has not been deep enough to take the detail of helmet or face, which retain the grain of the surface of the handle.

76

Plato, according to Plutarch, Life of Solon, 2.

77

I am obliged to Professor Emery for permission to mention the amphora fragments (probably not all of the same class) found in his excavations of 1965-1968 under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Society. In a call at the excavations in April 1967, I had a glimpse of the pieces which had by then been found, by the kindness of H. Smith of the staff; and drawings, some rubbings of stamps, and some notes, were later sent to me by G. T. Martin and K. J. Frazer, also of the Expedition. The Sakkara eta-rho monograms resemble two found on Samos, I 580 and I ~~589~~<sup>859</sup>. A stamp with monogram eta-rho, but retrograde, appears on handles at the Agora, including one (SS 14680) fully preserved with both attachments, which apparently ~~comes~~ comes from a Samian amphora with mushroom rim (rim not preserved, but the handle is broad, very short-topped, and of highly micaceous reddish clay); ~~this handle~~

*check contents*  
 → ~~has context of the second half of the 4th century.~~ Further study among unclassified handles stamped with monograms or abbreviations will no doubt identify further Samian of this period.

78

C. C. ~~XXIII~~ Edgar, Zenon Papyri, I (Catalogue général des antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée de Caire), Cairo, 1925, no. 59015. <sup>(recto)</sup> For a more detailed account, see the same author in Annales du Service des Antiquités, XXIII, <sup>no. 75</sup> 1923, pp. 86-95.

→ The words used for the jars are  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\iota\alpha$  and  $\eta\mu\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\alpha$ . Neither oil as the cargo nor Alexandria as the port is actually mentioned in the papyrus, but the Customs' valuation and duties paid apparently leave no doubt that the contents of the jars were oil, while various considerations make the identification of the port very probable: see Edgar's remarks in Annales XXIII, pp. 86-88. For a more recent comment on the papyrus, see for instance L. Casson in Studi in Onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni, I, Milano-Varesi, 1956, p. 236.

For hemikadia, see the interesting discussion, with bibliography, by D. A. Hesperia, XXVII, 1958, pp. 186-190. Amyx, non kados and related words. However, the word is Semitic in origin: cf. Emilia Masson, Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts Sémitiques en Grec, Paris, 1967, pp. 42-44 on kados. The Greek word evidently followed the Hebrew kad as a general term for a carrier for fluids. "Most frequently [kados] occurs as a vase used to store and transport wine" (Amyx, p. 186, with references); and Mme. Masson

Cover  
Rec'd

no. 59015 (recto)  
Vol. 23, 1923

(For wt  
78  
on notes, p. 33)  
corrected on original  
of 9.V. 70

8.1.70  
MET  
p. 331  
a jar  
Fr. Sch.

(p. 44) cites the Ugaritic kd, a jar or measure specially for wine or oil. The Greeks apparently used the borrowed term interchangeably with keramion, as in our papyrus, and cf. Athenaios, XI, 473a; or with amphora, cf. Pollux, X, 71, quoted by Amyx in his note 3, p.186. Any kind of container-amphora might serve from time to time for drawing water, and excavators often find them at the bottoms of ancient wells. So it is not surprising that there is ancient reference for such use (see

— Amyx's note 4, and add now Menander. Dyskolos. 190 and 576). and such reference should not provide us that the principal...  
 XT end of note 78; Addendum: On a Rhodian amphora of the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. which seems to have been used as a property to play the "kados" need we look to identify with the word too...  
 of the Dyskolos, see S. Charitonidés, L. Kahil, and R. Ginouves, Les Mosaïques de la Maison du Menandre a Mytilene, Sechste Beiheft zur Antike Kunst, Bern, 1970, p. 101.

79  
Life of Ferikles, 26. The suggestion that the prow stamps may have been Samian was made to me 20 or more years ago in the museum of the American Numismatic Society in New York, I think by ~~XXXXXXXX~~ the late Sydney P. Noe. There is actually another state whose coinage commonly bore the prow of a galley, and that is Phaselis on the east coast of Lycia. Its geographical position would make natural the import to Egypt of products of Phaselis; but stamped handles found in the Black Sea area

8.4.70  
MET  
p. 331  
a jar

(p. 44) cites the Ugaritic kd, a jar or measure specially for wine or oil. The Greeks apparently used the borrowed term interchangeably with keramion, as in our papyrus, and cf. Athenaios, XI, 473a; or with amphora, cf. Pollux, X, 71, quoted by Amyx in his note 3, p.186. Any kind of container-amphora might serve from time to time for drawing water, and excavators often find them at the bottoms of ancient wells. So it is not surprising that there is ancient reference for such use (see — Amyx's note 4, and add now Menander, Dyskolos, 190 and 576); and such reference should not persuade us that the principal function of the kados was as a pail. Nor need we look to identify with the word too specific an ancient shape, unless in special context. Whether kados or keramion or amphora, ordinarily the term is general for a container-jar, needing a defining adjective (such as "Samian") to identify the particular style.

79

Life of Perikles, 26. The suggestion that the prow stamps may have been Samian was made to me 20 or more years ago in the museum of the American Numismatic Society in New York, I think by ~~XXXXXXXX~~ the late Sydney P. Noe. There is actually another state whose coinage commonly bore the prow of a galley, and that is Phaselis on the east coast of Lycia. Its geographical position would make natural the import to Egypt of products of Phaselis; but stamped handles found in the Black Sea area

AT end of note 78:

Addendum: On a Rhodian amphora of the beginning of the

1.40

2nd century B.C. which seems to have been used as a property to play the "kados"

of the Dyskolos, see S. Charitonidés, L. Kahil, and R. Ginouves, Les Mosaïques de

la Maison du Menandre a Mytilene, Sechste Beiheft zur Antike Kunst, Bern, 1970,

p. 101.

would seem more likely to be from Samos than from eastern Lycia. Reference to the  
prow types of Phaselis were passed on to me in 1955 by Mr. Lucas Benaki.

For previous published mention of the prow ~~type~~ class of stamps, see Grace 1960,  
p. 475, with references in note 5. The Haviaras amphora is mentioned.

80

Cf. M. Ebert, Præhist. Zeitschrift, V, 1913, pp. 30-31, with fig. 34, no.

I Qa. This object is stamped on the neck. Its producing center was perhaps  
Herakleia Pontica.

81

I 933, from the Heraion, exact provenance not known; the name has not been  
read. On inventory numbers in I, see above, note 25.

Of a total of <sup>150</sup>~~146~~ known examples, 51 have been found in Alexandria; <sup>29?</sup>~~35~~ more  
in Egypt  
(in Naukratis (chiefly) and in Tell Fara in the Delta, or, of unknown but presum-  
ably Egyptian provenance, ~~are~~ now stored in the ~~XENAKON~~ Cairo Museum); 23 in the  
Black Sea area; 8 in Athens (of the ~~4~~ 3 in the National Museum, the source is not  
strictly known, but 5 are from the Agora excavations); 7 in Syme (probably collected  
(4 in Salamis, Cyprus (recent finds); and 28) <sup>(23</sup>~~29~~  
elsewhere); ~~and 2~~ in various other places, for ~~21~~ of which the provenance is unknown

Naukratis  
(most of these are in the British Museum). The ~~Xenakia~~ examples are largely in the  
British Museum. The 35 handles formerly in the Benaki residence in Alexandria have  
now been installed in the Musée Gréco-Romain in that city.

Salamis!  
Mosaic  
Heraion  
Teos  
Herakleia

✓  
4377  
5  
counts  
29  
with 30  
frag.  
the whole  
recent  
found  
4 all  
Salamis  
to

82

The name is Θεούκλῆς in the stamps and Θεοκλῆς in the coins. See Barron, pp. 236-237, for a list of names appearing on the coins. The following names are

known in the prow stamps:

- Ἄκη(
- Ἀλεξιμβροτος
- Ἀλεξιῖνος)
- Ἀπολλ(ωνίδ(ας)
- Ἀριστόδαμος
- Ἀριστοφῶν
- Ἀρχεκρά(της)
- Ἀρχέμαχ(ος)
- Δωριγένης
- Ἐξάκεστος
- Θευκλῆς
- Κλεανθ[
- Μεγαλίων
- Μοσχίων
- Πασικρά(της)
- Παυσίμα(χος)
- Σωσικρά(της)
- Τροχιλ[
- Φαινοκλῆς
- Φιλῖνος
- Φιλίσκος
- Φιλοκράτης
- Φιλωνίδ(ης)
- Φίλτατος

83

See Tarsus I, p. 147, and fig. 118, no. 95; the comment on this stamp gives some references for published examples of the class. The Agora example that has good context is SS 667 from the Middle Stoa Building fill; on this fill, see recent notes in Delos 27 (see its index, pp. 382, and 381); the end date of the stamped handles seems to fall in the second decade of the 2nd century, but the fill contains also much earlier material. As it happens, no name has been restored in either of these two dated examples.

*addendum*  
*2 attached pages*

84

See now Delos 27, pp. 359-360.

85

For a labelled Attic 2-choe measure, see S. Young, "An Athenian Clepsydra," Hesperia, VIII, 1939, especially pp. 278-280.

86

SS 4568, Attic (?) amphora of the third quarter of the 4th century (from Agora cistern D 15 : 3) with monogram stamp on one handle; ht. 0.73, diam. 0.437, ~~supra~~ capacity 45,250 cc.; see Amphoras, fig. 42, right. SS 8214, Koan amphora of the first half of the 2nd century (from Agora well G 5 : 3) stamped [A]σκλη( on one handle; ht., 0.785, diam. 0.45, capacity 45,050 cc.; see Hesperia, Suppl. VIII, pl. 19, 8 (amphora) and pl. 20, 10 (stamp); reading of the stamp, ibid., p. 188, is to be corrected, and the capacity figure there given has also been somewhat

At the end of note 83 of "Samian Amphoras," please add the following:

Addendum. In Rhodes in June, 1970, after this article had been turned in to the editor, I was able to study some amphora fragments found in the Pipinou lot of the modern city in late 1968, in a closed deposit with two redfigured kraters. Included in the group, which apparently must date in the second half of the 4th century B.C., was a Samian (?) handle (ME 511) bearing a duplicate of the stamp of SS 10912 mentioned above, note 22; and 4 Samian (?) fragments ME 505-508) with prow types, having the names  $\Delta\omega\pi\iota\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\text{Μοο}\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , and  $\text{Κοκκιν}\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}(\tau\eta\varsigma)$ . The new find adds 200 per cent to the number of stamped fragments of the prow class known from Rhodes (there were only 2 before), without requiring alteration in the general statement above that the class has been found largely in Egypt (80 examples) and in the Black Sea area (23). It indicates that some at least of the prow series are datable in the 4th century. It ~~further~~ <sup>further</sup> adds to our knowledge of shapes of the prow-stamped amphoras, since while ME 506 (with stamp of  $\Delta\omega\pi\iota\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$ ) has a shallow rolled rim not very different from the rim of the jar in Pl. , 16, on the other hand ME 508 (with stamp of  $\text{Μοο}\chi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ) has a heavy mushroom rim, more like that of Pl. , 13. The mushroom rim has been shown above to be characteristic of Samian in the 4th century, but also of some other classes at this time.

I am greatly obliged to Dr. G. Konstantinopoulos, Miss I. Zervoudakis, and

Miss Archontidou, for permitting and facilitating my studies of this and other material in Rhodes. Of the closed deposit in the Pipinou lot, Miss Archontidou was the excavator, while Miss Zervoudaki will publish the redfigured kraters.

revised; see also Amphoras, fig. 56, second jar from the left. The third Agora jar of large capacity that has been measured is P 6795, of Korinthian type but datable about 100 B.C. (from Agora cistern C 9 : 7, on which see now Delos 27, p. 332, under E 88) and is without stamp; ht. 0.78, diam. 0.443, capacity 44,980 cc.; for a similar jar (but with neck and handles shorter in proportion) from the same deposit, see Amphoras, fig. 38, third jar from left. The capacities of the first two amphoras were taken with wheat, in 1939; the figures given are the result of a recalculation, slightly higher than as first arrived at. The third capacity was taken with barley in 1954, and I owe the figure to Professor M. Lang. Note that the average capacity of these three jars is about the same as that of the two-bath Israelite amphora of the 7th century B.C., cf. S.S. Weinberg, ed., The Aegean and the Near East, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman, Locust Valley, 1956, pp. 106-107, under no. 13, and cf. ibid., pp. 84-85.

87

Not inventoried; VG ~~photograph~~ photograph no. 278.33. Full-bellied jar with mushroom rim, neck spreading to a rather steeply sloping shoulder, and a heavy ring or knob toe with a finger-width concave stem (like that of Katzev's jar, see note 68, but the upper part of the jars are different). Ht. 0.80, diam. including marine deposit 0.46, ht. of handles ca. 0.23, capacity (water) ca. 52,875 cc. A break in the toe (later

repaired) showed reddish buff clay red at core. I am grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Karouzos for permitting and facilitating our studies in 1954 of this and other amphoras in the Museum.

88

P 14179 comes from Agora well O 20 : 5. Ht. 0.76, diam. 0.44, ht. of handles ca. 0.22. Clay orange-buff, micaceous. ~~Repaired~~ <sup>Repaired</sup> and somewhat filled out in plaster; complete with toe. Note the full height of this amphora is slightly less than that of the ~~Haviaras~~ Haviaras amphora without its toe, but the shoulder of P 14179 is higher as well as wider than that of the other, and the lower body has a full curve, all features that would give added capacity. The rim of P 14179 is a smaller roll than that on the Haviaras jar, and the handles swing out below to the wider shoulder, the jar has been cited in an attempt to guess at the shape of amphoras of the Zenon Group, of which the handles swing out similarly, cf. Hesperia, XXXII, 1963, p. 331, note 25. Taking a capacity measurement of a restored amphora, especially of a very large one, is difficult and never very satisfactory.

89

See A. Michaelis, "The Metrological Relief at Oxford," J.H.S., 4, 1883, pp. 335-350, on a relief of pedimental shape which shows the head (right) and shoulders of a man, and his arms out straight on either side, and above one arm, ~~engraved~~ <sup>engraved</sup> in the field, the ~~underside~~ <sup>underside</sup> of a foot. Cf. E. S. G. Robinson in Hesperia, Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 338, note 10, from which I take the words quoted above; as the date of the relief is called just before 450 B.C., Robinson tentatively associates the addition

MET  
15.V.70

of a foot of Attic length with the Weights, Measures and Coinage decree of 449 B.C. Michaelis (p. 339) cites a passage in Herodotos (2, 168) "in which he affirms that the Egyptian fathom is equal to the Samian fathom. Doerpfeld was right in interpreting the words of the historian as referring to the great or royal ell [rather than the smaller Egyptian one]." The Oxford relief has been illustrated recently by D. E. Haynes in Archaeology, 21, 1968, p. 209 (as one of the Arundel marbles); and by J. Boardman in J. Boardman, J. Dörig, W. Fuchs, and M. Hirmer, The Art and Architecture of Ancient Greece, London, 1967, fig. 42, above; cf. text, p. 12. Boardman dates the relief mid 5th century; Haynes, with Michaelis, puts it in the previous decade. Note that a joining fragment at the right end of the relief as shown in

Michaelis' photograph (his pl. XXXV) is missing in the two recent illustrations; Mr. Boardman has informed me (15.VI.70) that the fragment was actually a restoration.

other only for weight and volume. For a summary of the standards relationship, apparently first hypothesized by M. Lang in 1956, see now Delos 27, pp. 359-360.

It should be stated that Professor W. B. Dinsmoor considers that the second standard implied by the foot which is a seventh of the length of the "embodied fathom"

of a foot of Attic length with the Weights, Measures and Coinage decree of 449 B.C. Michaelis (p. 339) cites a passage in Herodotos (2, 168) "in which he affirms that the Egyptian fathom is equal to the Samian fathom. Doerpfeld was right in interpreting the words of the historian as referring to the great or royal ell [rather than the smaller Egyptian one]." The Oxford relief has been illustrated recently by D. E. Haynes in Archaeology, 21, 1968, p. 209 (as one of the Arundel marbles); and by J. Boardman in J. Boardman, J. Dörig, W. Fuchs, and M. Hirmer, The Art and Architecture of Ancient Greece, London, 1967, fig. 42, above; cf. text, p. 12. Boardman dates the relief mid 5th century; Haynes, with Michaelis, puts it in the previous decade. Note that a joining fragment at the right end of the relief as shown in Michaelis' photograph (his pl. XXXV) is missing in the two recent illustrations.

To the hypothetical 7 to 6 relationship between Attic and Samian standards, compare the 7 to 8 relationship between Attic and Chian standards, although these relationships would be attested in the one case only for linear measures and in the other only for weight and volume. For a summary with references on the Attic-Chian ~~relationships~~ standards relationship, apparently first hypothesized by M. Lang in 1956, see now Delos 27, pp. 359-360.

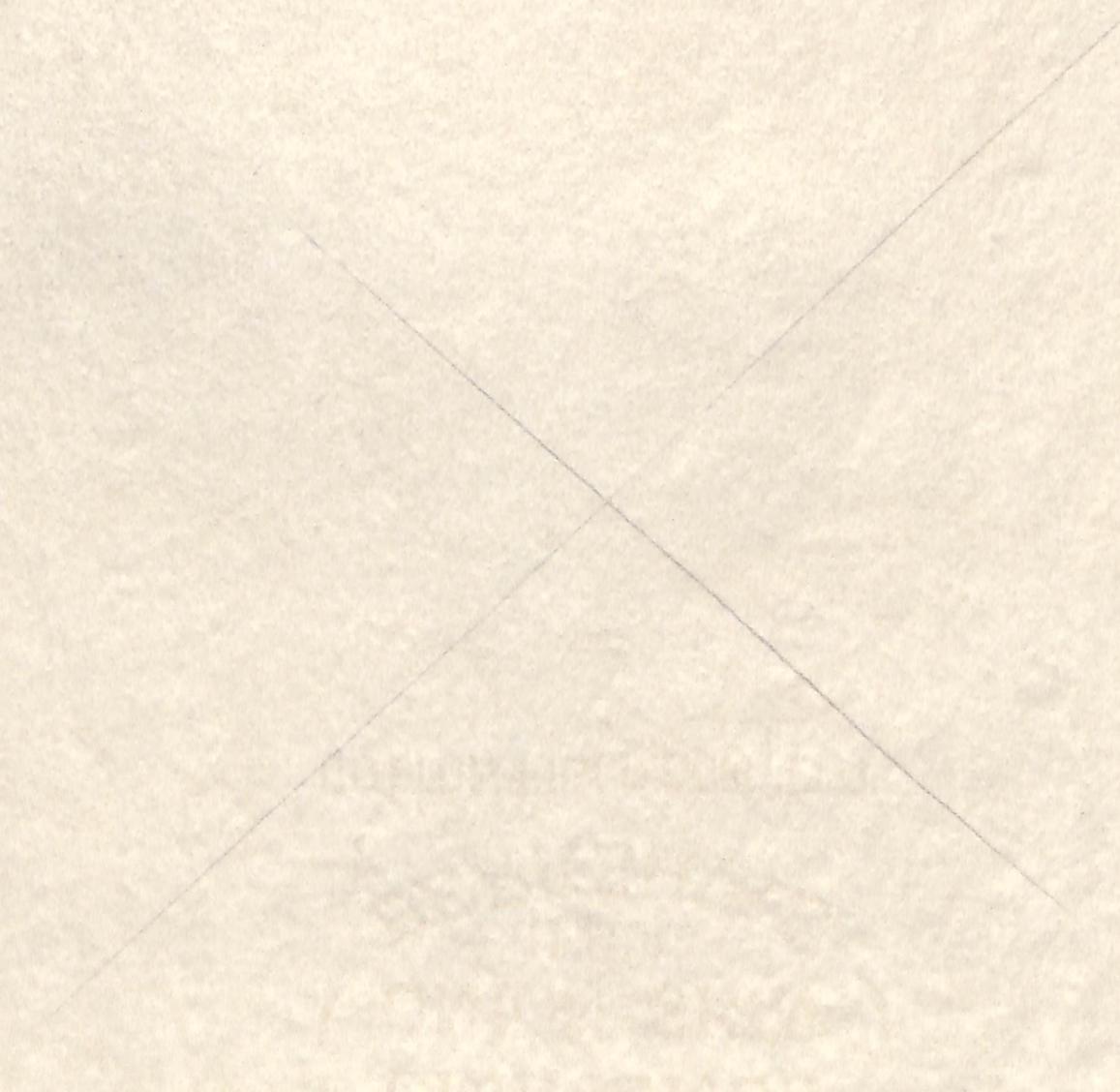
It should be stated that Professor W. B. Dinsmoor considers that the second standard implied by the foot which is a seventh of the length of the "embodied fathom"

1.49  
Michaelis' photograph (his pl. XXXV) is missing in the two recent illustrations;

Mr. Boardman has informed me (13.VI.70) that the fragment was actually a restor-

ation.

cannot be Attic, because the engraved foot is too short. He has another interpretation, to appear in a new edition of his Architecture of Ancient Greece, now in preparation. See his paper, "The Basis of Greek Temple Design: Asia minor, Greece, Italy," Atti del Settimo Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica, I, Roma, 1961, pp. 355-368, for identification of the lengths of various foot units employed in ancient Greek and Roman buildings. The paper includes (pp. 361-362) discussion of the relation of linear measures to those of capacity and weight.



~~cannot be Attic, because the engraved foot is too short. He has another interpretation, I appear in a new edition of his Architecture of Ancient Greece, now in preparation.~~

90

Published in the Ἡρόδοτος of April 21, 1876, see Rev. Arch., XXXII, 1876, pp. 295 ff.; cf. commentary on I.G.XII, 3, 83. The collector cannot have been more than about <sup>35</sup>~~30~~ at that time, ~~EM~~ since he lived until 1922. It is stated in Rev. Arch., loc. cit., that Haviaras' 3 Rhodian amphoras brought up to 8 the total then known. Dumont's fig. 1, p. 13, is fully misleading as to the Rhodian shape: see The Antikythera Shipwreck Reconsidered, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 55, 1965, p. 5, note 2 (but correct the place of publication of Dumont's book to Paris). For one more glimpse of our original collector, see A. Maiuri, op. cit. in note 25 above, p. 245: "Questa caratteristica classe di anfore, a manici bifidi mi venne già segnalata da Demostene Chaviaras, il benemerito studioso di Simi e della Perea rodia, che possiede da tempo nella sua ricchissima collezione anforaria, numerosi bolli di anfore a manici bifidi. e grazie al ~~EM~~ cui interessamento, il Museo di Rodi pote venire in possesso di tre esemplari interi di anfore del genere, tratte dalle acque del golfo di Simi dagli arditi pescatori di spugne di quell'isola."

"SAMIAN AMPHORAS" : FOOTNOTES

741