

NOTES ON THE AMPHORAS FROM THE KORONI PENINSULA

THE excavations at the Koroni peninsula in Attika produced a group of amphoras and stamped amphora handles¹ of unusual interest, to which further reference will certainly be made. In this note I will try to give an idea of the chronological difficulties imposed by this material in the way of accepting, without some modification, the historical interpretation presented by the excavators in *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 59-60, that is, the association of their discoveries with events as late as the Chremonidean War of 265-261 B.C. For present reference I use the original publication numbers which lead directly to page and plate in *Hesperia*, XXXI, and I cite the article (*ibid.*, pp. 26-61) as "Koroni."

The remarkable composition of this group may first be outlined:

THASIAN, 11 stamped handles, with endorsements of Δημάλκης (105, 106 and possibly 107), Ἰδνάδης (97), and Κλεόστρατος (87, 95, and 96), plus four handles on which the stamps have not been read (88, 89, 104, 108).

EARLY RHODIAN, 11 or possibly 14 items, naming the eponyms Ἄγριος (27, the upper part of a jar), Ἀντιλέων (64), Χρυ(σόστρατος) (5, 11, 62, 63, 81; of these 5 is a whole jar); and the fabricants Ἀστός (109), Θεύ (or possibly Εὔ(ιος) 99, 127),² and Πανσανίας (75, with preposition *para*); plus possibly 111 which may read Ὀνα[, 110 with a monogram and 124 with a single letter, but these last three may be non-Rhodian.

ΚΟΑΝ (?), 2 items, the handle 82 with stamp of Ζώπυρος and the unstamped amphora 6.

ZENON GROUP, 8 stamped handles, endorsed Ζη/Μοο (84, 115, 116); Ζη/Σω (113, 114); and Ζη/φ (117, 118, 119).

ORIENTAL (?), 2 stamped handles (98 and 112) which were vertically set but

¹ Persons unfamiliar with material of this kind or with its archaeological uses are referred to Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 6, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade*, Princeton, 1961, hereinafter referred to as *Amphoras*.

² On 99 and its duplicate 127 which now seem to be early Rhodian: a complete example of the stamp type has been identified from the Benachi Collection and there were no further letters to the right. (For other parallels in this collection, cf. Koroni, p. 58, note 20.) The pellet to the left is possibly not a letter. In a variant early type, an upright hasta follows to the right. For the name Εὔιος in Rhodian stamps, see M. P. Nilsson, *Timbres Amphoriques de Lindos*, Copenhagen, 1909, p. 90; though certainly uncommon, it is known in full on handles of more developed, "normal" Rhodian fabric (Agora SS 8947, 13134, which have a reading that has been published from examples in Sicily: *I.G.*, XIV, 2393, 249a, b).

apparently short, as on jars of Phoenician or Punic type.³ The markings have not been deciphered.

SPANISH (?), the jar-top 44, which seems to belong to the series with mushroom rim, shoulder stop and rather long tapering toe; the toe may be hollow inside like the fragment published by Mme. Varoucha-Christodouloupoulou from a deposit related to that at Koroni.⁴ These jars are certainly from the west, where quantities have been found, including half a cellar-full at Gela most of which, like 44, have dipinti on their necks.⁵ F. Benoit discusses amphoras of this shape, including them in his class "Républicaine I"; he illustrates two examples found in the sea off Spain in the harbor of Tarragona.⁶

MISCELLANEOUS, 11 items (plus possibly 110, 111, and 124, see under Rhodian): handles stamped Ἀριστοδίκου (59, 83, and 120), Ἀπρυ[(121), Ἐρα (122), Μάνου (7, most of the jar preserved, one handle missing), and handles stamped with an unrestored name (60), a monogram (123), an incuse circle (125) and a rosette (126); and a jar-top with dipinto but no stamp (4).

In sum: Thasian, 11; Rhodian, 11 or 14; Koan (?), 2; Zenon Group, 8; Oriental (?), 2; Spanish (?), 1; miscellaneous, 14 or 11 (according to the Rhodian identification); total, 49 catalogued items.

The assortment does not correspond with finds in Athens, as the authors remark (Koroni, p. 58, with note 20), so that we get little direct help from parallels for individual items in the Athenian Agora. For context in other places, the parallels from Gela for 44 (see above) give us a lower terminus at 282 B.C., the date of destruction of the city; actually the shorter neck and handles of 44 probably place it earlier than the Gela parallels; it looks more like the two jars from the Spina tomb referred to in

³ Cf. S. S. Weinberg and others, *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman*, Locust Valley, 1956, pl. XII, 9-11; pl. XI, 1-3, pl. XII, 1-4, pp. 89, 91, figs. 6, 7, for side views of such handles in place on their jars; or *Amphoras*, fig. 38, jar to the right.

⁴ See Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1953-1954 (In Memory of G. P. Oikonomos), Part III (Athens, 1961), pl. III, nos. 3, 9; and cf. Koroni, p. 60, for notes on this article. The "shoulder stop" common on western jars is a ridge produced where the concave slope of the neck meets the convex slope of the body, no doubt an incidental feature of the particular technique of these potters.

⁵ See P. Orlandini, *Not. Sc.*, Ser. 8, X, 1956, pp. 355-357, the author's Type B. (The other amphoras in this cellar, those belonging to his Type A, are of the class tentatively identified as Corcyrean; a 4th century predecessor of these is illustrated in *Amphoras*, fig. 42, left.) I owe the reference to Professor Orlandini's article to Mrs. Doro Levi, through Mrs. Maria Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, whom I take this occasion to thank for much help in connection with this article.

⁶ *Rev. Ét. Ligures*, XXIII, 1957, p. 252, fig. 2, with note 3. The fragment from Ensérune which bears an Iberian stamp is mentioned *ibid.*, p. 254. Through the kindness of Miss Joan du Plat Taylor of the London Institute of Archaeology, M. Louis Foucher, Curator of the Museum of Sousse, Tunisia, and Dr. N. Platon, Ephor of Athens, I have information of recent discoveries of jars of this class (with mushroom rim, shoulder stop, and tapering peg toe) respectively at Motya in western Sicily, at Leptis Minor in Tunisia, and for the first time at Athens (outside the city wall). For one found in Keos, see *Addendum* to note 29.

the commentary (Koroni, p. 38); this tomb has been dated in the 4th century B.C. Gela provides also a fair parallel for the shape of Koroni 7 in an amphora exhibited in the east wing of the Gela Museum; Professor Orlandini who excavated it (and who has sent me photographs supplementing the postcard view first seen) has kindly informed me that the amphora in question (inv. no. 8906, unpublished) does in fact also come from the destruction debris of 282 B.C.; certain modifications in shape between Koroni 7 and Gela 8906 seem consistent with an earlier date for the former, on analogy with the Thasian sequence at the same stage.⁷ For the three Thasian names at Koroni, direct context evidence being in default, these had been placed tentatively at about 300 B.C., chiefly by device-association among themselves and indirectly with names more firmly fixed in our accepted chronology. A date before 300 would suit the Koan (?) jar and handle 6 and 82 in that the shape is sufficiently removed, in the right direction, from the Koan shape of the 3rd century as we have thought that we knew it.⁸ For the Zenon Group, of which the majority have been found in Egypt, we have no adequate data for a chronology. Only two handles of this class have been found at the Agora which are comparable with the Koroni series, both being duplicates of Koroni 113 and 114; of these one came from a surface filling, the other from a

⁷ In both classes, the earlier jars taper below to a little stem from which the toe flares, whereas in the later ones the narrowing is more gradual and there is no real flare at the bottom, just a knob. At the same time, the upper bodies lose in swell. This sagging above and thickening below seems to be accompanied as might be expected by a coarsening of the surface. For the Thasian sequence, I am comparing SS 8932 (jar of *Ἀσχρων*, see references in note 18) for the later stage, with (for instance) the jar of *Δεάλκος* published by I. B. Zeest, *Pottery Containers from the Bosphoros*, Moscow, 1960, pl. IX, 21b. This latter is probably closely contemporary with the Koroni material: the stamp shown in Zeest's drawing is duplicated on a handle (IP 731) from the lower filling of the Rachi south slope cistern at Isthmia where it was accompanied by a proto-Rhodian handle (IP 733) of *Ἐϋφρων* in the term of *Χρ(υσόστρατος)*. (On the cistern, see *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 18. For cordial permission to report the two handles, I am grateful to Professor Oscar Broneer, Director of the Isthmia Excavations, and to Dr. Chrysoula Kardara who excavated and will publish the Rachi section.)

There seems now some possibility that the Koroni 7 series is Parian, in which case a parallel development with the Thasian might be expected.

Of the stamp on Koroni 7, *Μάνου*, we have only two other examples on record, both in Athenian collections (Kerameikos and National Museum). *Μάνης* is the slave-name par excellence, in Aristophanes and elsewhere. In the game of kottabos, it is applied to the thing that is struck, some element in the kottabos stand, cf. B. Sparkes, *Archaeology*, XIII, 1960, pp. 205-206. On slave-names as those of amphora fabricants (in Rhodes), see Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 84 ff.

⁸ See *Amphoras*, fig. 56. Compared with the first and earliest of the Agora jars in this series (P 6353 from deposit E 14:1) Koroni 6 has shoulders that slope more gently, and its body is a little more rounded; its toe also is of an earlier kind than was that (only partly preserved) of the Agora jar; the clay of Koroni 6 is softer and contains more mica. The date of the deposit E 14:1 has recently been called "275-225 B.C." (*Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 130, note 15). The stamp on the Koan jar P 6353, *Ἀντιφάνης* with club, is duplicated on a handle from the "Third Deposit" (top stratum) of the well at the Kofina site in Chios; on the date of this deposit, see *B.S.A.* XLIX, 1954, p. 159, "ca. 275-250 B.C."; but cf. also *ibid.* p. 129, end of note 25.

3rd century B.C. well deposit.⁹ For an isolated small fragment of a jar, such context provides of course only a lower terminus.

For a few Koroni items, then, we have no indication that they were made before 300 B.C.; neither has there been evidence to set them later. For the Thasian stamps, on the other hand, and the Spanish (?) and Koan (?) amphora shapes, and for Koroni 7, a date toward the end of the 4th century would be suggested rather than one close to the Chremonidean War, 265-261 B.C., though present knowledge does not permit a very telling demonstration. On the Rhodian class however much more is known, and the combination on single jars of names from each of two series (dating and endorsing names) allows of much greater precision; as it must apply to this class, I do not see how to reconcile the proposed Koroni date with heretofore accepted Agora chronology.

The drawings in Fig. 1 show the position so far as shape goes. **1-5** and perhaps **6** may for convenience be called proto-Rhodian; they belong to a period before the single style of the typical Rhodian amphora had been settled upon.¹⁰ The rolled-rim ancestor of the later Rhodian is represented by **4**; but strictly contemporary with this style—since **2**, **3**, and **4** all bear the same eponym name, **Ἀγριος*—are the two shapes represented at Koroni, both with broad, carefully profiled rims, of which one slopes so that it projects at the bottom (**2**), while the other is a vertical band with very little projection at any point (**3**, dated by **Ἀγριος*, and **5**, the Koroni jar obviously close to it in stage of development). There are certain concomitant differences in other parts of the three contemporary types, and even in the clay, which in the rolled-rim variation (such as **4**) is closest to the later Rhodian. Many jars, or tops of jars, of the three types have been found recently in Rhodes. Some development can be detected among examples of the two forms with broad rim; before these shapes disappeared from use they evidently became more exaggerated than as seen in **2** and **5**. Available information indicates that while the three shapes were current together, individual potters used only one of them. It seems that the primitive shape among stamped

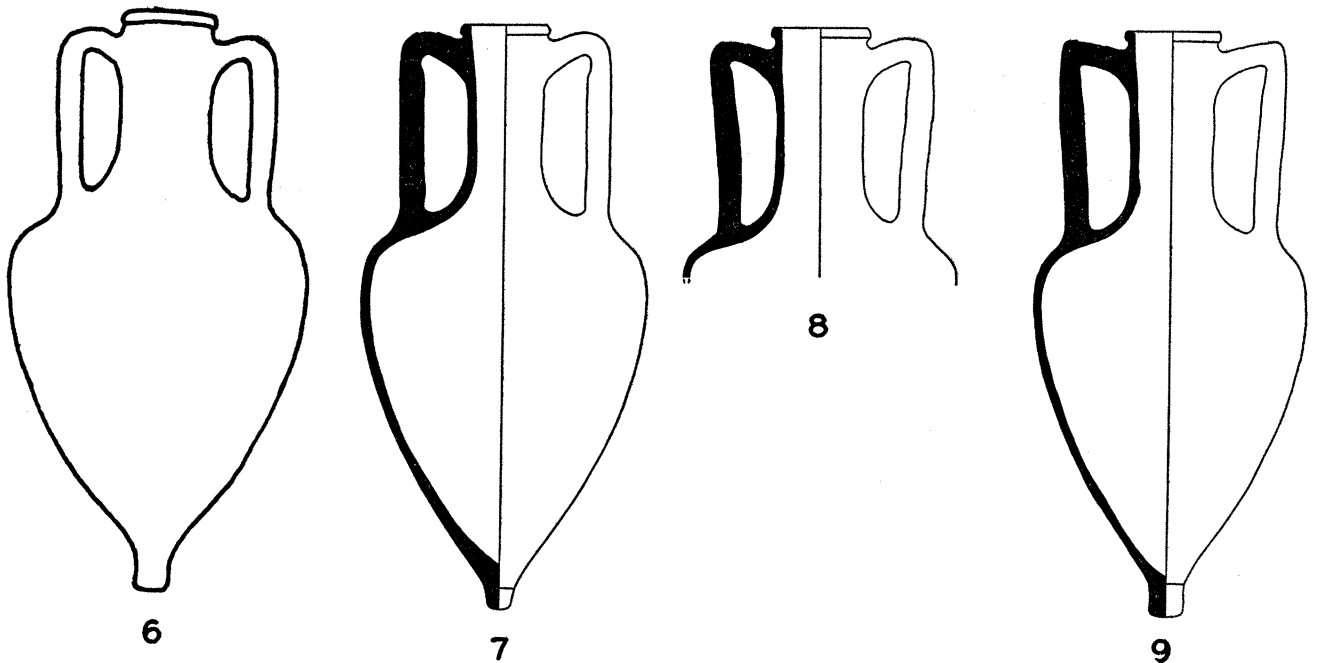
⁹ SS 255, from Agora well H 6:4, the well in which the bronze head of Nike was found. For the stamp, see *Hesperia* III, 1934, p. 284, no. 247; *ibid.*, p. 208, on the deposit ("Bronze Head Well") and its handles; further on the deposit, see H. A. Thompson, *Athenian Studies Presented to William Scott Ferguson* (*Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil.*, Suppl. Vol. I), Cambridge, 1940, p. 208 with note 2; and more recently, *The Athenian Agora, a Guide*, 2nd ed., Athens, 1962, p. 168. For further notes on the Zenon Group, see note 25 below.

¹⁰ For permission to use previously unpublished non-Agora material in Fig. 1, warm thanks are due to Mr. Lucas Benachi (for **1**) and to Dr. John Kondis (for **3**, **4**, **6**).

For published stamped proto-Rhodian jars or large fragments, see also A. Maiuri, *Annuario*, IV-V, 1924, p. 47, fig. 10 (mushroom rim; it seems likely that neck and handles are shown a little too long in the drawing); I. B. Zeest, *op. cit.* in note 7, p. 79, fig. 5 (vertical-band rim); *ibid.*, pl. XXIII, 49a (rolled rim). I can think of no others that show the shapes of the jars. Numerous stamps of this period in Rhodes have been published; for some illustrated by photographs, see *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 43, c and d; these name the Koroni eponym **Ἀγριος*; see *ibid.*, p. 124 under no. 26 for notes on this eponym and also on **Ἀγριος*. Another photograph of a stamped proto-Rhodian handle is cited in note 11, below.



1-5. Proto-Rhodian stamped amphoras found in Alexandria (1), Rhodes (3, 4), and the Koroni peninsula (2, 5). 2-4 name in their stamps the Rhodian eponym Agrios, datable in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. according to context at the Pnyx.



6-9. Development of the stamped Rhodian amphora to the last quarter of the 3rd century B.C. From Rhodes (6) and from Agora dated deposits: Thompson's Hellenistic Group B (7), the Satyr Cistern (8) and the Komos Cistern (9).

Rhodian amphoras is that of **1**, a jar of the Benachi Collection in Alexandria which names the eponym Πολυάρατος. The same high-set mushroom rim characterizes also the top of a jar of Βοΐσκος dated in the same term, although in the term of Ἄγριος (in our **4**) and as otherwise known Βοΐσκος uses the rolled-rim shape. The years of Πολυάρατος and of the three Rhodian eponyms on Koroni pieces all fall within the working period of a fabricant Εὐφρων in whose characteristic two-name stamps (often containing the preposition *para* as do types of Βοΐσκος and of Πανσανίας as in Koroni 75) these four eponym names, and six others, have been found. Of this ten-term series of stamp types of Εὐφρων, one dated like our **2-4** in the year of Ἄγριος appears on a handle found at the Pnyx in the construction packing of the Athenian City Wall attributed by Homer Thompson and Robert Scranton to the late 4th century B.C.¹¹

The proto-Rhodian variant with rolled rim develops in the direction of longer neck and handles as its toe takes the cylindrical shape familiar in later times. See **6**; at the period of **4** the toe of the rolled-rim jar is still rather wide at the top and knobby (as seen in an unstamped amphora in Rhodes, BE 1471, unpublished). The composition of the group-find at Rhodes that included **6** rather indicates that when **6** was made the two broad-rimmed proto-Rhodian types were still in production. Just when these types were dropped is not clear, but potters are known who worked before and after the change. The typical button-like stamps of Ἱεροτέλης, known in the term of Ἀγήμεων on a jar with vertical-band rim (cf. **3** and **5**) in Rhodes (BE 1347, unpublished), turn up also on the handles of a jar of revised shape in the term of Φιλωνίδας; here the potter has conformed by narrowing his rim, but has still left space above the handles as if for a rather broad rim; still on this jar the stamps include no month name.¹²

The stage of naming the month has been just about reached in **7**, as we know from large fragments of amphoras impressed with rose stamps of Ζήνων where both handles are preserved (in **7** one is restored); in these known pairs, the two handles

¹¹ *Hesperia* Suppl. X, 1956, p. 141, no. 70, the statement on context supplied by Thompson. On the date of the wall, see further H. A. Thompson and R. L. Scranton, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 333-337. For other published two-name stamps of Εὐφρων, see Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pp. 524-526, nos. 801, 804, 817, 828, and 829, from Lindos; G. G. Porro, *Annuario*, II, 1916, p. 257, from Kamiros, taken to the Terzi Museum; R. A. S. Macalister, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement for 1901*, pl. 2, no. 5, from Tell Sandahannah (ancient Marissa); E. M. Pridik, *op. cit.* in note 17 below, p. 110, no 204, from the Mithridates Mound in South Russia.

¹² See *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 42, I, and its stamps Ia and Ib. For notes on this amphora, see *ibid.*, p. 119 with note 10. No context was available to date it; further knowledge of the sequence has now placed it in the early 3rd rather than the late 4th century, still according to the Thompson chronology. Some handles bearing the button stamps of Ἱεροτέλης (fabricant or eponym types) have an additional long stamp on the side containing the name of a month, evidently a new feature introduced toward the end of the activity of this potter; the addition marks the terms of Εὐκλής, Καλλικράτης I, Πανσανίας I and Τιμοκλείδας as having fallen soon after months began to be named on amphoras. No such month stamp was found on the amphora cited. (For further remarks on stamps of Ἱεροτέλης, see note 20 below.)

bear complementary stamps of which one always includes the name of a month, while the eponyms (see note 16) are those with whom months are a new feature. The context of **7** was dated by Thompson in 1934 about 275 B.C.¹³ Comparing **7** with **6**, one sees that the shape has been somewhat fined down, and neck and handles are a little longer. Further progress in the same direction is seen in **8**, where also the tops of the handles are pulled out a little more toward the familiar Rhodian angle; before the end of the 3rd century, the angle is fairly acute and sharp, as seen in **9** from the Komos Cistern at the Agora, a jar which by the name connections of its eponym (Θέστωρ) has been dated in the last quarter of the century.

The context date of **8** has recently been called "fairly early in the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C." by Dorothy Thompson in her article on the terracottas from the same deposit, Agora N 21:4 (as named from the National grid); with the exception of one item, her no. 2, excluded as from the dump of the cistern, the terracottas seemed to fit a date before about 275 B.C., and in this to be not far from those of Group B (context of our **7**).¹⁴ Since publication, however, Mrs. Thompson has informed me that the opinion on the date of the pottery from this deposit which she quoted in her article is no longer current, and that the dates of some of the terracottas will be reexamined before final publication.¹⁵ The *opinio communis* on N 21:4 has not yet come into a clear focus. I therefore enter some notes on the amphora fragments that form part of the group, though this is not the place for a full presentation.

It will be evident I believe from their relative shapes that the date of **8** falls between those of **7** and **9**; perhaps also that it is rather closer to **7** than to **9**. Name connections enable a guess at the actual time, perhaps under twenty years, between **7**, the only Rhodian in Group B, and **8**, the latest Rhodian in Mrs. Thompson's deposit:

¹³ See *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 332: "Yet the coins from the southern chamber and the draw-shaft prove that they were open at least into the early 3rd century. For their final closing up we may suggest a date in the first half of that century, perhaps about half way along." The amphoras from the deposit are listed on the top of the same page: SS 370 (our **7**) and SS 371, and P 1112-1114. The two first are illustrated *ibid.*, p. 202, fig. 1, nos. 5 and 6; SS 371 appears also as first in the Knidian sequence in *Amphoras*, fig. 64. For P 1114 shown in the Chian sequence, see *Amphoras*, fig. 47, the jar to the left. P 1112 and 1113 (unpublished) are products of two other centers, identity not established.

¹⁴ See *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 244-262; on the date of the deposit and of Group B, p. 244; exclusion of no. 2, p. 246; date of the remaining pieces, p. 260.

¹⁵ G. R. Edwards, in a letter to me of January 29, 1963, has authorized the following quotation of his opinion on the pottery from Mrs. Thompson's deposit:

"The pottery from the lower filling of Group N 21:4 does not at present seem in accord with the dating for the group and the relationship with Group B expressed in *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, p. 244."

I should state that the present article has been written with only very general knowledge of Professor Edwards' note on the pottery from Koroni which will have appeared in *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 109-111.

the eponyms known in rose stamps of Ζήνων (as on 7) are Ἀγλώκριτος and Καλλικράτης I, and very probably also Πανσανίας I;¹⁶ these three are apparently well within one potter's working time with Ξερόστρατος, eponym of 8, since all four are named in stamps having a particular device (the "mirror" identified by Nilsson as a schematic representation of Helios), and none of them is named in the earliest or latest such type.¹⁷ Attention may be called to some chronological evidence contributed by the three Thasian items from N 21:4, which have already been published. One (SS 9473) duplicates a stamp from a cistern filling at the Pnyx dated in the first half of the 3rd century by Thompson, thus again keeping us within the quarter-century following Group B. If this date is acceptable for N 21:4, the stamps on the other two Thasian (SS 8932, restored jar, and SS 8937, top of a jar) give us a possible connection with the "real world"; they have endorsements respectively of Αἴσχρων and of Νικόδημος Τι(whom it is tempting to identify with Αἴσχρων Ἀλκίμου and Νικόδημος Τιμοκράτους who served within a year or two of each other as *theoroi* of Thasos in the period about 260 B.C.; the endorsement of amphoras in Thasos may have been the function of an office sometimes held by a man who later became a *theoros*.¹⁸

¹⁶ Of tops of jars of Ζήνων with both stamped handles preserved, bearing rose stamps, SS 3786 (from Agora deposit N 10:2, believed by the undersigned to be about contemporary with Group B) names the eponym Ἀγλώκριτος with the month Ἀγριάνιος; while SS 8936 (one of the earlier pieces from N 21:4) names Καλλικράτης I with the month Δάλιος. The connection with Πανσανίας I is based on the close similarity in fabric and in stamps (with mutually complementary types) of two handles found together (SS 3813, endorsed Ζήνωνος, and SS 3803, naming Πανσανίας with month Ἀγ[ριάνιος], also from N 10:2). On two of these eponyms and on the addition of the month name, see also note 12 above; and on the later homonyms indicated by the Roman numerals following the same two names, see note 20.

A few rose types are known which name pre-month eponyms. For most of these terms, non-rose circular types of Ζήνων are already known (with monograms or letters in the center) so these rose types no doubt belong to another fabricant. One or two remain as possibly to be restored on 7, the most likely being the one that names Φιλοκράτης (Agora SS 19, etc., cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 236, no. 82, now fully read from more complete examples). See note 17 below for this eponym, whose term fell shortly before the naming of months, hence within a very few years of Zenon's eponyms *with* months.

¹⁷ On the device, see Nilsson, *op. cit.* in note 2, p. 155. Of the 33 eponyms now on record as named in stamps with this "mirror" device, several belong to the period shortly before the month was named on the jars. For one of these, see E. M. Pridik, *Inventary-Catalogue of the Stamps on Handles and Necks of Amphoras, and on Bricks, of the Hermitage Collection* (in Russian), Petrograd, 1917, pl. I, no. 9. In this and other types naming Φιλοκράτης, the potter has added various little identifying marks below the device, suggesting an attempt to distinguish issues, which was better done soon afterward by naming the month. Of handles known to me bearing stamps with this device, the latest in appearance are Agora SS 4151 and SS 9677, which name an eponym Ξενοφα(. The chief, possibly the only, potter to put this device in his eponym stamps was probably Θεόδωρος, according to some known pairs of stamps of not entirely certain restoration.

¹⁸ Publications of Thasian from N 21:4 are as follows: (1) SS 9473, handle of Ναύπλιος, see A. and A.-M. Bon, *Timbres Amphoriques de Thasos*, Paris, 1957, p. 307, no. 1191; for its duplicate with dated context at the Pnyx, see *Hesperia* Suppl. X, p. 137, no. 63; (2) SS 8932, jar of Αἴσχρων, *Hesperia* Suppl. VIII, p. 186, pl. 19, no. 6 (shape of jar only); Bon, *op. cit.*, p. 94, no. 146, the

According to the Thompson chronology, then, 7 if not 8 is the kind of thing which should be found in the debris of an encampment in 265 B.C. of forces of Ptolemy II, whose commercial relations with Rhodes were certainly not stagnant; placing Group B no earlier than 275 B.C.,¹⁹ we still have ten years to make an old jar, demoted to water-carrying, of anything dated by that deposit, especially since it seems that Rhodian wine had to be fresh to be potable. At Koroni however we find something quite different, the close Rhodian group illustrated by 2-5 of our profiles, highly consistent in its markings as well as in the assortment of shapes known otherwise to have been mutually contemporary, the group dated before 300 B.C. according to context at the Pnyx for the eponym **Αγριος* whose name is stamped on the handles of 2-4 and closely connected by name-pairs with 5. The gap between 4 and 7 in shape-development seems to me fully great enough to corroborate the interval of 25-plus years between the dates assigned by Thompson to the Pnyx wall and to Group B; I feel also that a long step has been taken to the "normal" rose stamps of *Ζήνων* on 7 from the period of the Koroni Rhodian stamps, when *para* may introduce the name of the fabricant, and *no* preposition, commonly, that of the eponym, and when, with the omission also of the month name, the stamps look un-Rhodian in their small size, cf. Koroni 27, 63, 64, together in plate 18. Estimates of time-intervals based on such stylistic impressions are justly challenged if too dogmatic; the pace of development is not steady, and we can have no scale of years by which to measure change. In this case, however, we can apparently *count* most of the years between 4 and 7, i.e. between Koroni and the closing of Group B, by eponyms named in the button stamps of *Ἰεροτέλης*; if we omit all those with whom a separate month-stamp is known (see note 12 above) or would be expected (from other early types naming the same eponym), at least 24 remain who certainly belong to the period before months were named, and

stamp, and p. 20, fig. 4, 4, the jar; *Amphoras*, fig. 52, extreme right (jar) and fig. 55, right (stamp); (3) SS 8937, top of jar of *Νικόδημος Τι(μοκράτης?)*, Bon, *op. cit.*, p. 318, no. 1249 (stamp).

The contemporaneity of the three endorsing names is further suggested though not proved by the fact that all three have stamp types with a peculiar device which may be a yoke; see Bon, *op. cit.*, nos. 143 and 1256 for two of these, and *B.C.H.*, LXXXII, 1958, p. 395, fig. 9, 80, for an example of the third. Note that Bon, 1256, shows clearly the abbreviated patronymic (?) *Τι(* with *Νικόδημος*.

For the *theoroi* *Αἰσχρων Ἀλκίμων* and *Νικόδημος Τιμοκράτης*, see *I.G.*, XII, 8, 288, lines 20, 26. The latter full name recurs later in the lists, at suitable two-generation intervals. In addition to two patronymics which appear in full in Thasian stamps (cf. Bon, *op. cit.*, nos. 336-337, 510), some 17 abbreviations are known which seem also to be patronymics, that is, they accompany a name through a series of stamp types with different devices, and in addition to *Νικόδημος Τι(* a few more of these possible father-son pairs are matched as such in preserved Thasian inscribed lists of *theoroi*. For investigation of such names, we now have rich additional material in J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Cultes de Thasos*, I, Paris, 1954, and C. Dunant and J. Pouilloux, *Recherches sur l'Histoire et les Cultes de Thasos*, II, Paris, 1958, with its prosopography of Thasos. On dating and endorsing names in earlier (two-name) Thasian stamps, see *Hesperia* Suppl. X, pp. 125-126; see *ibid.*, p. 136, no. 55, for a Thasian endorsing name with a title.

¹⁹ An earlier date for the pottery from this cistern has sometimes been proposed; cf. the opinion quoted in *Hesperia* XXVI, 1957, p. 108.

must precede, by one or more years, our 7; these include *Λύσανδρος* (who dates 6) but according to present knowledge do not reach back to the period of the Koroni Rhodian eponyms.²⁰

The gap is thus visible *in extenso*. Because of the serial marking of the Rhodian amphoras, it cannot be closed by suggesting that potters continued to make the same shapes over a long period. If we set the lower limit of Group B at about 275 B.C., then to associate the Koroni fortress with operations of 265-261 B.C. would mean that the Rhodian amphoras carried by Ptolemy's forces were as a group at least 35 years old, which is surely absurd. What the excavators' interpretation of finds at Koroni has offered us is really not a fixed point in an otherwise vague period, but a signal that our accepted chronology may have been wrong by more than a quarter-century. For if *Ἄγριος* and those with him are to be dated near the Chremonidean War, then evidently all our early Hellenistic dates must come down also, bringing with them, for instance, the City Wall of Athens.

²⁰ Following is a list of eponyms, of the period before months appear on amphoras, whose names are on record in "button" stamps: *Ἀγέστρατος* I,* *Ἀγήμων*, *Ἀγησις*,* *Αἰνησίδαμος* I,* *Ἀρετακλῆς*, *Ἀριστάναξ* I, *Ἀρίσταρχος*, *Ἀριστεύς*, *Δαήμων*, *Δαμοκράτης* I,* *Ἐξάκεστος*, *Ἐπίχαρμος*,* *Εὐφρανορίδας*, *Κλεώνυμος* I, *Λύσανδρος*,* *Νίκων*,* *Πειθιάδας*,* *Πολυκλῆς*,* *Πολύχαρμος*,* *Σθενέλας*,* *Φιλίνος*,* *Φιλοκράτης*,* *Φιλωνίδας* I, *Φρασίλας*.

The preposition *epi* does not introduce these names in button stamps, and Nilsson (*op. cit.*, p. 151) took most of those he had seen to be fabricant types; but all the names here listed are now known with the preposition on other early handles, if one allows the restoration *Φρ[ασίλας]* for the single stamp as yet known in which the preposition introduces (probably) this name (Alexandria Museum VG 2264, an early Rhodian handle). Of the listed early eponyms, the 13 marked with an asterisk * are known also in stamps with the title *ιερέως*. The known pairs with *Ἱεροτέλης* above discussed (see note 12 and text there) confirm the fact that button eponym stamps had usually no preposition, cf. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pl. 42, 1a and b. Incidentally, the pair of button stamps on this plate and the one on the following plate which names *Πειθιάδας* show clearly the peculiar character of this series of stamps: the dies seem to have been in a cylinder the rim of which made the characteristic incuse border seen in the impressions; if then they were pulled out and the lettered band cut back when the legends needed to be renewed or changed, this would explain the *raised* band which carries the letters in the impressions. (This is all much clearer when one takes impressions of these stamps in modelling clay.) Such a die would not of course be of terracotta like the one recently found in Thasos (*B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1962, pp. 510-516), but of something relatively soft, perhaps lead, which would permit revision.

The Roman numeral I which follows six of the names listed indicates that a later homonym is known; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXXXVI, 1952, p. 525. In most of the six cases there is no problem of confusion; the time-lapse between the two homonyms has made an obvious distinction between them in the styles of both jars and stamps bearing the names. Only in the case of *Φιλωνίδας* might some doubt have been entertained, since there certainly are quite early handles the stamps of which combine this name with that of a month; however in this case we have the whole amphora, on which no month stamp was found. Other doubtful cases have been omitted from the counted list, and these include one or two types containing names which *may* be those of eponyms but we have as yet no stamps on record in which they are combined with the preposition, as for instance *Διάνδρος*, illustrated Nilsson, *op. cit.*, pl. I, 9.

Many handles with button stamps have been found in Rhodes itself, many also in Samos;

This discrepancy between the proposed dating of the Koroni material and the period to which it would have been assigned by our traditional Agora chronology, though perhaps a little blurred by the authors on Koroni in some of their general remarks (Koroni, p. 59) is actually clear in their catalogue. Citations of parallels in Thompson's Hellenistic Groups are all to items in Group A (dated by Thompson to the turn of the 4th to 3rd centuries) with a single exception: for Koroni 42 a parallel was found in Group B, B 44; Koroni 42 and B 44 are fusiform unguentaria, and possibly not very closely dated.

It seems clear that to find out what really happened, and when, we need to pool our evidence and look at it as a whole. Up to the present, I have been largely dependent for absolute dates in the early Hellenistic period on the dates given to the context of amphoras and their stamps in Agora deposits. Evidence for this chronology was set forth in detail by Thompson in 1934 in the discussions of his Groups A and B; and the work is being continued by G. R. Edwards on the basis of much new material. In the foregoing pages I have defined the gap between the Koroni Rhodian amphoras and the Rhodian amphora from Group B, which, according to the Thompson dating, should have been none too new at the time of the Chremonidean War; on this basis, the Koroni pieces cannot be later than the late 4th century, which is where they are placed by the Pnyx context for the eponym *Ἄγριος*. Further studies of Rhodian amphoras and their stamps may, by accounting as a whole for the years of production of this center, lead more or less independently to absolute dates. For the present, some outside corroboration for the late 4th century date which would have been attributed to the Koroni group has been provided by a relation noticed above between Koroni finds and examples of the same two (non-Rhodian) amphora classes dated by the destruction of Gela, a relation which suggested for the Koroni pieces a date distinctly earlier than 282 B.C.

Can we balance the evidence for the higher chronology, which we have been using until now, against that adduced for dating the finds at Koroni in the second

some have been reported from places as remote as Bulgaria, Rumania, Myrmekion in southern Russia, and Palestine (Gezer and Lachish); most recently 10 have been published from Iasos in Caria by Professor Doro Levi, see *Annuario*, XXIII-XXIV, 1961-1962, pp. 606 ff., figs. 44, 45, 46, 48, nos. 6, 19, 31, 32, 59, also p. 612, nos. 33-37, unillustrated fabricant types. Including these, some 45 button stamps have been identified by us in publications, of which 22 are fabricant types of *Ἱεροπέλης*; unless button stamps are illustrated there can sometimes of course be doubt about identifications from publications. Of this group as of other early Rhodian stamp types, many examples have been found in Alexandria. The present size of the Benachi collection there, over 54,000 Rhodian alone, and the remarkable extent to which it has been reported to us in detail by the owner (by means of rubbings and often also photographs) form the solid basis of such lists as that which heads this footnote, with its background of knowledge of other early Rhodian types in which these names, appearing always without months, are introduced by the preposition.

For opportunity to work directly on the collection in Alexandria, and for help toward transferring it to permanent storage in the city's Musée Gréco-Romain, grateful acknowledgement is made to the American Philosophical Society for two grants from its Penrose Fund.

quarter of the 3rd century? The lower dating depends on the attribution to Ptolemy II rather than to Ptolemy I of certain bronze coins found at Koroni and at the related sites reported by Mme. Varoucha, see note 4 above. Until the present there has been no real occasion to question this attribution, made by Svoronos a half-century ago. Chief among the arguments in its favor seems to be the small shield seen on these bronzes and also behind the head of Ptolemy II on a series of gold coins attributed by some numismatists to him and by others to Ptolemy III.²¹ Is it unlikely that a symbol of this kind should recur after a period of years? Such recurrence is readily demonstrable certainly in the Thasian stamp series.²² Then, a difference in wear between coins attributed respectively to Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II among those found at Koroni and the related sites has been cited as an indication of a difference in date of issue; but were the later issues necessarily those of a different sovereign? For the letters taken as regnal years in this Class Zeta of Svoronos, to the lay person they seem to suit attribution to the first rather better than to the second Ptolemy, since they would cover the twenty-year period of the former's official reign, whereas in attributing them to Philadelphos one must seek an explanation of their breaking off in the middle of the latter's forty-year reign.²³

Once released from association with Philadelphos, one might revert for instance to the suggestion originally made I believe by E. Vanderpool that Koroni was one of the roadsteads through which Athens was provisioned while Peiraeus was in different hands. In 286/5 B.C. (or a year or two earlier) the Athenians thanked Ptolemy Soter's admiral Zenon, in command of Egyptian cruisers which had been patrolling the Aegean, for thus provisioning the city.²⁴ It would be interesting to find on the Koroni

²¹ See the assembled references given by Mme. Varoucha, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-324, with notes 3 on p. 323 and 1 on p. 324.

²² Cf. for instance Bon, *op. cit.*, no. 463 with no. 336 (club), no. 720 with no. 1652 (owl), no. 1178 with no. 733 (pruning hook), no. 994 with no. 1447 (shield seen in perspective); no. 1447 is illustrated by a drawing of an incomplete example, but a fine complete example of this type has since been found in Gordion (SS 132). In each of the above pairs, the first of the two numbers is that of an early (two-name) type, on the dating of which see *Hesperia* Suppl. X, pp. 122-126; while the second (in the cases selected) will easily be recognized as of a later period by its letter-forms alone.

²³ I. N. Σβορώνος, *Τὰ Νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Προλεμαίων*, Athens, 1904-1908, IV, pp. 98, 102; D. H. Cox, *Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932-1953, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 145*, New York, 1959, p. 97. For help with the numismatic evidence I am very grateful to Professor W. P. Wallace of the University of Toronto; he is not responsible for any queries or proposals expressed here.

²⁴ The decree honoring the admiral Zenon is *I.G.*, II², 650 (= *I.G.*, II, 5, 309b), its archon Diokles being dated in this second edition (Kirchner, in 1913) 290/289 B.C. Cf. Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ (1915), 367; and W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, p. 142 with note 3. In more recent years the date has been somewhat lowered: see W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 287, summary of various dates given to this archon. The year 288/7 is used in the account by Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History* VII, Cambridge, 1928, p. 86; the same year also in the recent article on the Ptolemies by H. Volkmann, Pauly-Kroll-Ziegler, *Realencyclopädie* XXIII, Stuttgart, 1959, p. 1627. B. D. Meritt, *The Athenian Year*, Berkeley, 1961, p. 233, retains

peninsula a pied-à-terre of this officer, and to consider whether one might associate with him the eight Koroni stamped handles which, among recorded examples of the Zenon Group, are so considerable a proportion of those found outside Egypt.²⁵ Mme. Varoucha's discoveries in other parts of Attika might well identify ports used for receiving various shipments of grain, and suggest that Ptolemaic detachments conveyed it overland to within safe distance of the city walls under protection of an advanced post southeast of the city, at the modern suburb of Helioupolis where have been found so many Ptolemaic coins of the same series as those from Koroni. Indeed, the language of the decree recording the people's thanks to Zenon in itself suggests (lines 14-17) a service above and beyond mere port delivery to Attika.

As for the two gold Ptolemaic coins also found in Helioupolis which are certainly later than the reign of Soter, these had been attributed by, for instance, Newell, Noe, and Mrs. Brett to Ptolemy III.²⁶ It must be recalled that no archaeological excavations

Dinsmoor's 1954 date, 286/5. Cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XXX, 1961, pp. 211-212, with note 8, on the need for rewriting the history of these years.

²⁵ For the closer group, those combining Ζη (mostly) or Ζην with a second abbreviated name, we find now these figures: Alexandria 29, Koroni 8, Athens 3, Rhodes 2. The Alexandria figure will certainly be increased by further work in the Musée Greco-Romain; the Koroni figure remains high outside Alexandria. One of the Agora examples has been published, see above, note 9; so has Ze EM 14 (recently numbered) of the National Museum, Athens, see A. Dumont, *Inscriptions Céramiques de Grèce*, Paris, 1871, p. 322, no. 160, but read like Koroni 84, etc. For one of the Rhodes examples, see *I.G.*, XII, 1, no. 1306, 2, now in the British Museum. This stamp and its duplicate in the Alexandria museum read Ζην/Φιλα and thus would seem to supplement the briefer abbreviations in Koroni 117-119; it is possible however that the two handles from Rhodes and Alexandria are early Rhodian and wrongly included here.

For the shape of the amphora marked with two-name Zenon stamps, nothing complete or semi-complete being known, the whole handles Koroni 113 and 117, plus a fair-sized fragment from the Benachi Collection (M 454, stamp probably like Koroni 84 etc.), give an idea: the neck of the jar contracted toward the mouth, and the rim profile was a blunt drip; the handles had little arch, and their "vertical" arms were somewhat oblique, leaning toward the mouth of the jar; vertical height of the handles (from top of low arch down to level of shoulder at center of lower attachment) about 0.195; the shoulder had a gentle slope. Except for having a more pronounced rim and slightly shorter handles, the upper part of the Zenon amphora must have looked much like that of Agora P 14179 (unpublished; not stamped) from a deposit called late 4th to early 3rd century B.C. (O 20:3). The clay of our group is reddish with white and other bits and mica.

Possibly connected with the foregoing is a more numerous and widespread series of handles, of varying fabric, which bear the single abbreviation Ζη, occasionally Ζην, sometimes combined with a distinguishing mark (dot, cross, uncertain device). Cf. for instance *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 281, no. 235, and p. 286, no. 256; M. Mircev, *Amphora Stamps in the Museum of Varna*, Sofia, 1958 (in Bulgarian), pl. VIII, nos. 6-8. Figures now found: Alexandria 100, Athens 41, other sites 18. The ten "other sites," with 1 to 4 handles each, range from Memphis to Antioch to Labranda to the north shores of the Black Sea, and include three islands, Rhodes, Samos and Delos. Best context is that of SS 5746 (Ζη with cross) from Agora well C 12:2, not later than 3rd century B.C. Handles and rims and clay indicate at least two different amphora makes.

For the suggestion that the admiral Zenon may be the person named on the first series, this would presumably be in his capacity as estate-owner in Egypt.

²⁶ See A. B. Brett, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1955, p. 302.

could be carried out at Helioupolis, so that we do not know the stratigraphical relations of the various finds to each other; note also that from two of her other sites Mme. Varoucha herself reports coins too late for the Chremonidean War.²⁷

At any rate, we know that Zenon's provisions did reach the city, whereas the ancient literary sources concerning the Chremonidean War imply that the Ptolemaic troops involved at that time did not land at all in Attika.²⁸ On an inscription recently discovered at Rhamnous which might be taken to refer to a mainland camp of Patroklos, see Koroni p. 60. There is mention of shelter provided for the troops of Patroklos. It has been assumed that the barracks mentioned were at Rhamnous itself; I do not know whether it is excluded that reference is made to the camp on the island. It is worth remark that neither Rhamnous nor the Island of Patroklos are among the sites where the Ptolemaic coins in question have been found.

Looking beyond Attika, Mme. Varoucha reports (*op. cit.*, p. 329) that one of these coins was found in Keos. It is interesting to note that a proto-Rhodian handle, a duplicate of Koroni 75, has also been found there; and that a similar coin and another proto-Rhodian handle (naming Ἄγριος as priest) have been found together on the surface at Hermione.²⁹ These finds might perhaps as well be associated with Zenon's patrolling activities as with Patroklos' voyage. We know that Patroklos had a post at Keos, but not that it was new to Ptolemy's sailors in his time.

Taken as a whole, the evidence does seem to associate the Koroni finds with an earlier and more effective Ptolemaic intervention in the affairs of Athens than the assignment of Patroklos during the Chremonidean War. Even this interpretation does not give us a quite early enough date to fit comfortably with our old chronology, since presumably Zenon's operation cannot have taken place before about 290 B.C., whereas certainly the amphoras at Koroni would have been placed before 300, as noted above. The discrepancy is now however such as to invite adjustment.

Mrs. Brett quotes Newell's reasons for attributing these coins to Ptolemy III, reasons which seem never to have been published in detail.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 328-329, note 2. Cf. also Koroni 73 and 128, coins of Megara dated 223-192 B.C.

²⁸ Pausanias I, 1, 1; I, 7, 3; III, 6, 4-6. Cf. Koroni, pp. 59-60.

²⁹ The two handles are in the collection of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens. The first was picked up near the ancient site of Koressia in Keos by R. S. Stroud in July 1961. The second was found with the coin by C. K. Williams while exploring at Hermione with M. H. Jameson in August 1961; coin and handle were found on the hill behind the acropolis. I owe my information on these finds to Mr. Stroud and Mr. Williams.

Addendum. Since this article went to press, I have seen in Keos an amphora of the Spanish (?) class of Koroni 44, which thus supplements the finds common to Keos and Koroni. This jar, inv. 1830 of the current excavations of the University of Cincinnati, is mentioned by permission of Professor Caskey. It bears an undeciphered stamp on one handle, containing two apparently non-Greek characters.

DOCUMENTATION OF ILLUSTRATED RHODIAN AMPHORAS

True profiles were drawn by Andreas Dimoulinis of 2, 5, 7-9. The jars in Alexandria and Rhodes have had to be presented in profiles traced from scale prints of photographs of these pieces. The ink versions of all 9 were prepared by Hero Athanasiades.

For the Koroni items, 2 and 5, readings, measurements, etc., present in the Koroni publication are not repeated here.

1. Alexandria, Benachi Collection. Probably from Hadra or from the western cemetery, according to building operations in progress when it appeared on the market. Ht. 0.663 m., diam. 0.39 m., ht. of handles *ca.* 0.173 m. (this measurement is intended to be the vertical distance from the tops of the handles to the level of the shoulder at the center of their lower attachments; it is difficult to take and not very exact but useful for comparison). Stamps on the handles:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. Ἐπὶ Πο[λυ]
αράτο[v]
(retr.) | b. Μικύθου
(retr.) |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|

Another Rhodian eponym Πολυάρατος is known, datable in the second half of the 2nd century B.C.

2. Koroni no. 27. Eponym Ἀγριος, the other handle not preserved. Ht. of handle *ca.* 0.225 m.

3. Rhodes, MS 160, from the site of the Girls' High School, 1951. I am obliged to Mr. George Dontas for information on this and the following fragment and to Dr. John Kondis for permission to publish. Preserved ht. 0.315 m., ht. of handles *ca.* 0.21 m. Stamps on the handles:

- | | |
|---------------|--------------------|
| a. Ἀγρι
ος | b. Ἀγρησι
κλεύς |
|---------------|--------------------|

4. Rhodes, MS 158. As 3. Preserved ht. 0.294 m., ht. of handles *ca.* 0.19 m. Stamps on the handles:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. Ἐπ' Ἀ[γ]
ρίου
(retr.) | b. Παρὰ Β
οῖσκου
(retr.) |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|

5. Koroni no. 5. Ht. of handles *ca.* 0.215 m. Eponym Χρυ(σόστρατος); on the other handle no stamp is preserved. The name of this eponym, always abbreviated on the Koroni handles, is known in full in two types one of which uses the title priest. Another type, slightly abbreviated, has lettering closely similar to that of Koroni 109, hence handles with this type probably come from jars of Ἀστός.

6. Rhodes, accession no. BE 1342, from an ancient storeroom found in the Papademetriou lot in the city, 1957-1958. See now Πρακτικά for 1957, Athens, 1962, p. 129. I am indebted to Mr. Konstantinopoulos for information on this group, and to Dr. Kondis for permission to publish. Ht. 0.768 m.; ht. of handles *ca.* 0.225 m. Stamps on the handles:

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| a. Ἐπὶ Λυσ
άνδρ[ου] | b. [Σώτ]α
 |
|------------------------|--|

The fabricant stamp is restored from examples in the National Museum, Athens, and in the Benachi Collection, Alexandria. For a handle of the same fabricant, cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, pl. 61, 71.

7. Agora SS 370, from Thompson's Hellenistic Group B. Only one handle is preserved. See *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 235, no. 77 (stamp), p. 202, fig. 1, no. 5 (photograph of the jar), p. 304, no. 5 (description of the jar), and pp. 331-332 for its context. For the drawing, the rim has been supplied from Agora SS 11866, a handle bearing the same stamp. Ht. as restored 0.757 m.; diam.

0.367 m.; ht. of handle *ca.* 0.245 m.; capacity 27,000 cc., measured in 1939 with wheat. Stamp on the preserved handle:

b. Ζήνωνος
rose

The missing handle bore a rose stamp with names of eponym and Rhodian month, according to tops of jars of this fabricant of which both handles are preserved (SS 3786, 8936); see note 16.

8. Agora SS 8934, from the Satyr Cistern (N 21:4); see on this deposit D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 244-262. Preserved ht. 0.324 m.; ht. of handles *ca.* 0.25 m., 0.255 m. Stamps on the handles:

a. Ἐπὶ Ξενο
στράτου

b. Θεσμοφορί(ου)
Δίσκου

For possibly another combination of the same eponym and fabricant names, see H. Goldman and others, *Excavations at Güzlü-Kule, Tarsus*, I, Princeton, 1950, fig. 114, nos. 5 and 6, cf. text pp. 135, 138, 139.

9. Agora SS 9991, from the Komos Cistern (M 21:1); on this deposit see D. B. Thompson, above, pp. 276-291. Ht. 0.765 m.; diam. 0.356 m.; ht. of handles 0.254 m., 0.263 m., capacity 25,140 cc., measured by M. Lang in 1954 with barley. Stamps on the handles:

a. Ἐπὶ Θεόστορος
Πανάμου

b. Δίου

Note a photograph of this amphora in *Amphoras*, fig. 62, the jar to the left.

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