

# FURTHER STAMPED ROOF TILES FROM CENTRAL GREECE, ATTICA, AND THE PELOPONNESE

(PLATES 51–56)

ALMOST TEN YEARS AGO I assembled a class of ancient objects which had hitherto been virtually unnoticed: stamp impressions on Archaic and Classical roof tiles of Laconian type and on one Corinthian tile.<sup>1</sup> A feature common to all 60 fragments of tiles is that the impressions are invariably located on the lower face of the tiles which was eventually hidden, unlike the large group of tiles of Hellenistic and later date, which are always stamped on the upper face.<sup>2</sup> The late stamp marks served, as has long been accepted, to facilitate checking by the client or as protection against theft of the finished tiles. The early impressions, on the other hand, seem to have served merely as an accounting aid for internal workshop requirements or perhaps also as an advertising medium for the workshop.<sup>3</sup> In my first study I was able to assemble 35 different types of stamps, some of which had been described in scattered publications, and some which were unknown. Since that time at least 34 further types on more than 96 stamped tile fragments have come to my attention, so that the total volume of material today amounts to over 147 tiles with at least 69 different stamps.

In view of the abundance of material I can deal here only with the essential characteristics; for details the reader must refer to the Catalogue. The new stamps from the excavations at the Aphaia sanctuary and near Kolonna on Aigina are only summarily touched upon, since these finds will be published by the excavators. Similarly only the stamp representations from Nemea are considered, without discussion of the details of the roof. The new stamp impressions are listed in the Catalogue in the order of their provenance from North to South; within the topographical groups they are arranged according to subject.

At *Kynos*, the port of the Lokrian Opous, a Laconian tile with a rosette stamp (E 1) was found by Fanouria Dakoronia. To judge from its description, this stamped tile, which I have not inspected personally, should perhaps be attributed to the workshop of Dabychos,<sup>4</sup> the existence of which I established in my first report, or to its immediate sphere of influence. At *Kyparissi*, which is also situated in Opountian Lokris, Dakoronia found two Laconian tiles with the circular stamp of the Dabychos workshop;<sup>5</sup> this stamp had

<sup>1</sup> Felsch, 1979, pp. 1–40. For permission to study and publish here both new and older, so far unpublished material, I am greatly obliged to: M.-F. Billot, W. Coulson, F. Dakoronia, S. Miller, M. Ohly-Dumm, O. Picard, E.-L. Schwandner, H. A. Thompson, and C. K. Williams, II.

<sup>2</sup> G. Hübner, "Dachterrakotten aus dem Kerameikos von Athen," *AM* 88, 1973 (pp. 67–143), p. 86; *eadem*, "Antefixa deorum Athenarum," *AM* 91, 1976 (pp. 175–183), p. 180, note 29.

<sup>3</sup> Felsch, 1979, pp. 18–19.

<sup>4</sup> Felsch, 1979, pp. 14–17, fig. 10, pls. 5:6–7, 6:1–6.

<sup>5</sup> See F. Dakoronia, pp. 175–180 above.

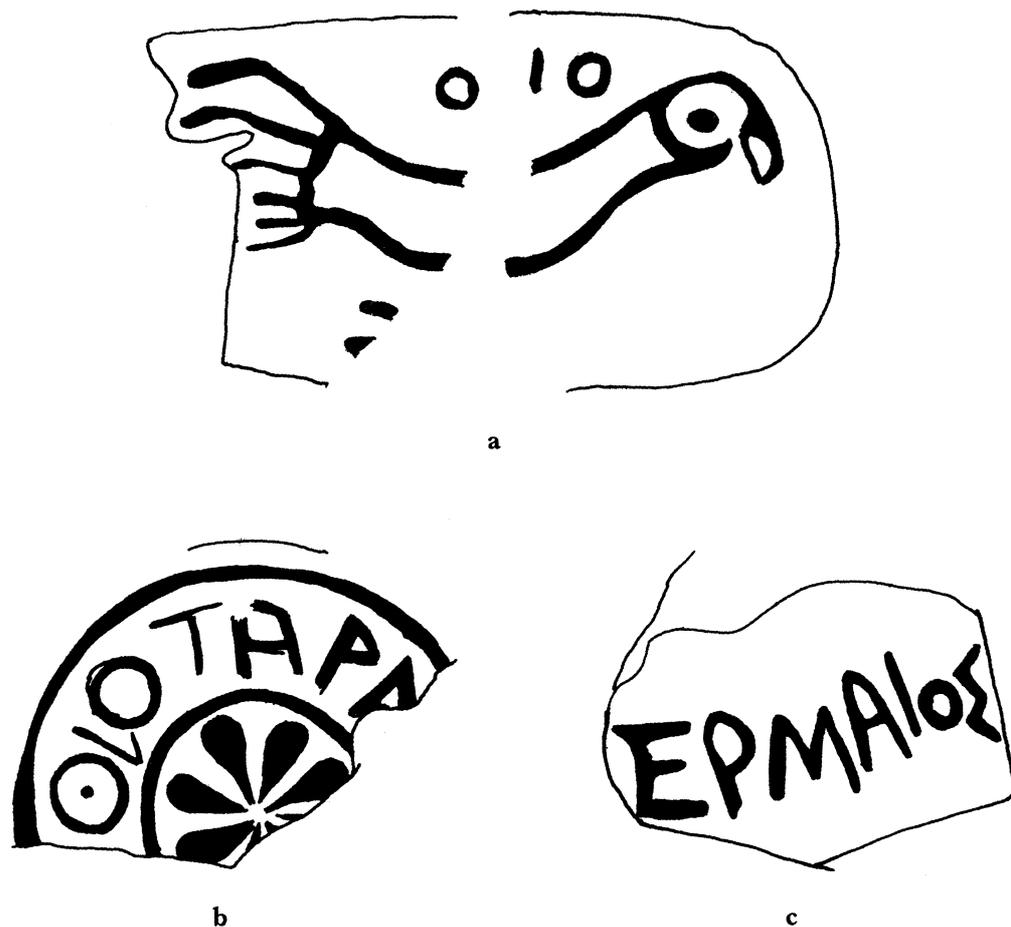


FIG. 1. a) Reconstruction of stamp Kalapodi B 2 and B 3: Stamp of OIONOΣ with representation of the mantic bird. b) Impression of Prikon's stamp, Kalapodi C 4. c) Stamp impression of EPMAIOΣ, Kalapodi A 2

previously been attested only in the near-by Phokian sanctuary of Artemis at Hyampolis, near the village of Kalapodi, and at Kolonna on the island of Aigina.

In the sanctuary of Artemis near *Kalapodi* the number of 12 stamped tiles bearing ten different stamp marks has been increased by a further nine Laconian tile fragments with three new stamp representations. Among the impressions of the stamps already known, two appearances of the Prikon stamp should be singled out (Kalapodi C 4 and C 5, Fig. 1:b, Pl. 51), since this stamp had so far been attested at Kalapodi only on a small fragment with the letter sequence -IA-.<sup>6</sup> Any objection that this fragment is too small to warrant attribution

<sup>6</sup> Felsch, 1979, pp. 14, fig. 10:9; 17; 27, C 2; pl. 6:6.

to the Prikon stamp, otherwise encountered only on Aigina, is invalidated by these new examples. The identification is especially significant because the fragment in question constitutes proof that Dabychos and Prikon were active together in a workshop which supplied both Kalapodi and Aigina.

Included in the catalogue of the first report but illustrated here for the first time is the papyrus or flower stamp Kalapodi E 6 (Pl. 51),<sup>7</sup> which on stylistic grounds might belong to the early tile stamps.

New types of stamp impressions are preserved on six tile fragments from Kalapodi. Two, perhaps even three tiles show a bird with clearly set off head, eye, and hooked beak within an elongated pictorial field (B 2–4, Figs. 1:a, 4:a, Pl. 51). From the preserved letters the legend can easily be restored as Οἰωνός, the bird of prey depicted, and obviously the visual translation of the tilemaker's name. It should be noted that one tile is stamped twice, a feature occasionally encountered on other tiles.<sup>8</sup> Another impression of late origin shows within an irregular field a degenerate palmette flanked by two equally degenerate volutes (Kalapodi E 7, Pl. 51). Finally, two tile fragments bear a name stamp within an irregularly rounded field (A 2 and A3, Fig. 1:c, Pl. 51). One of the stamps preserves only the first letter, while the other is intact. It bears the inscription EPMAIOΣ written from left to right with letter forms which do not occur before the late 5th century B.C. A date for this stamp later than the 5th century B.C. also accords with the findspot.

One Laconian pan tile from *Paralimni* in Boiotia carries on its lower face the retrograde monogram R within a large, rectangular field (Paralimni A 1, Pl. 51). Although the form of the tailed rho would point to the 5th century, the thin wash of black glaze would argue in favor of a later date.

Many years ago a stamped tile was discovered in the Amphiareion of *Thebes*; it was overlooked in my first report.<sup>9</sup> Within a circular field this stamp shows an anchor, an emblem already known from Tanagra.<sup>10</sup> Evidently Laconian tiles with anchor marks are widespread, since such tiles have also been found in the Athenian Agora (Athens, Agora E 8, E 9, and E 10, Pl. 53).

The tiles from the *Athenian Agora* constitute the largest unpublished group of Laconian tiles with stamp impressions. Among the anchor stamps, the complete specimen (Athens, Agora E 8, Pl. 53) stems from a fill which should be dated in the early 5th century B.C. The context provides a concrete indication for dating the group of anchor stamps, which does not admit of stylistic classification; this indication is supported by the context of the Theban find. Probably all anchor stamps from Athens, Tanagra, and Thebes originated from a single workshop. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that another tile from the Agora bears a stamp impression in the shape of a scallop shell (E 7, Fig. 2, Pl. 53) identical with one found at Thebes, and perhaps also with yet another from Kolonna on

<sup>7</sup> Felsch, 1979, p. 29, E 6.

<sup>8</sup> See Felsch, 1979, pp. 18–19; for emblems of the kind mentioned above, see most recently F. Brommer, "Redende Zeichen," *AA (JdI)* 103 1988, pp. 69–70.

<sup>9</sup> A. D. Keramopoulos, «Θηβαϊκά», *Δελτ* 3, 1917 (pp. 1–503), p. 264, fig. 181.

<sup>10</sup> Felsch, 1979, p. 10, fig. 8:2, pl. 5:3 (pls. 5:2 and 5:3 were reversed by error).

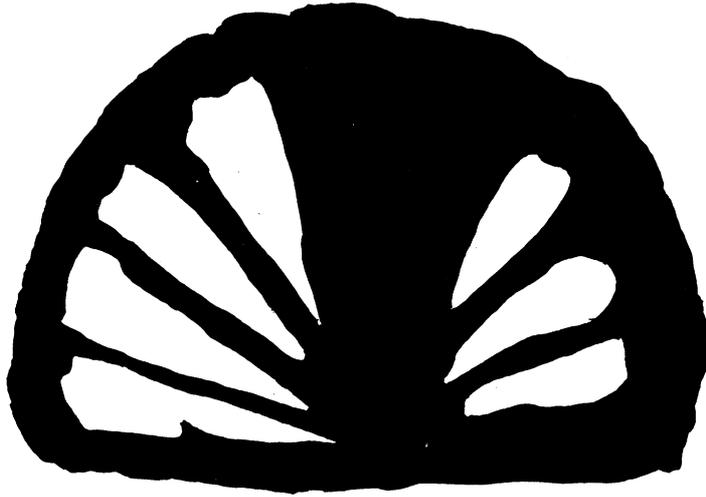


FIG. 2. Scallop-shell stamp impression, Athens, Agora E 7

Aigina.<sup>11</sup> The impressions from the Athenian Agora and from Thebes represent the third stamp for which a supraregional distribution has been proved.<sup>12</sup>

Of relatively frequent occurrence in the Agora are simple round stamps divided by two cross-bars into four equal segments (E 12–14, Pl. 54). Two of these tile fragments come from a deposit of ostraka, together with pottery dated not later than the middle of the 5th century B.C. (E 12, E 13). Further specimens with the same or similar impressions are listed in the excavation diary from tin 702. One similar impression features an additional, sunken border circle (E 14, Pl. 54). Finally, I would also include a tile fragment with a four-spoked wheel stamp (E 11, Pl. 53), despite its coming from a Late Roman fill, among the early stamp marks on Laconian tiles. A comparable stamp impression is found on a tile in the Epigraphical Museum in Athens.<sup>13</sup> One tile fragment from *Gyphtokastro* on the Boeotian border, the ancient Eleutherai, shows a similar motif (*Gyphtokastro* E 1, Pl. 54).

Another tile from the Agora bears a circular impression which, as far as can be ascertained in its damaged state, depicts within a round field eight flowers in profile (E 6, Pl. 53). They are set out in sunk relief and arranged in such a way that four flowers with intersecting stems alternate with four stemless flowers. The interplay of raised and sunken pictorial elements makes the exact representation difficult to discern.

Two Agora tile fragments are marked with the same stamp (E 3 and E 4, Pl. 52), albeit in both instances only part of the complex palmette within an irregularly rounded field is

<sup>11</sup> Thebes: Felsch, 1979, pp. 29–30, E 1, pl. 4:5; Kolonna: pp. 12, fig. 9:2, 37, E 6, pl. 4:6.

<sup>12</sup> Felsch, 1979, p. 17: workshops of Dabychos and of the “dancer’s stamp”.

<sup>13</sup> Felsch, 1979, p. 39, C 1; D. Peppas-Delmouzou, «Ἐπιγραφικὴ Συλλογὴ Ἀθηνῶν», *Δελτ* 25, 1970, *Χρονικά* (pp. 14–15), p. 15, pl. 10:g.

preserved. For this stamp too the find context provides a *terminus ante quem*, viz., the mid-5th century B.C. Yet another tile bears a stamp with a nine-petaled palmette composed of loops (E 5, Pl. 52). This tile comes from a fill of the period before 480 B.C. Its linear style is somewhat reminiscent of the bird stamp from Kalapodi (B 2–4, Fig. 1:a, Pl. 51).

Of particular interest is a larger fragment of a cover tile from the Agora (E 1 and E 2, Pl. 52). Its lower face bears the impressions of two different stamps, both of excellent quality; except for the Dabychos-Prikon tile from Kalapodi, this Agora tile is unique in being marked by two different stamps.<sup>14</sup> The impression on the left, of which only one-quarter is preserved, shows a palmette above two volutes on a horizontal base; on the right, the curved field is filled by a nine-petaled palmette above two horizontal tendril-lyres which are joined at the base and terminate in volutes. The lower angle between the lyres is filled by a bud shaped like a palmette heart. Stylistic considerations suggest a date for this ornament around 510–500 B.C.<sup>15</sup> This specimen is exceptional among stamped tiles because it confirms the supposition stated above that it was not simply by chance that individual tiles were given two different stamp marks in the workshops.<sup>16</sup>

Only two tiles from the Athenian Agora bear figural stamp impressions. One pan tile is stamped with a bird, perhaps a partridge, within a round field (D 2, Pl. 52), while on another, a rounded field with bulging rim contains a horse striding right (D 1, Pl. 52). The highly expressive depiction of the horse, reminiscent in its slimmness of the horse types of the 7th century B.C., nevertheless seems stylistically comparable to representations of horses in the early 6th century B.C. on account of its lowered head, sharply set off from neck and mane.<sup>17</sup>

Stamped representations on Laconian tiles from Attica are not confined to Athens (Acropolis, Agora, Kerameikos). Besides the stamp from Eleutherai-Gyphtokastro (Pl. 54) a Laconian tile with a stamp impression was recently reported from *Rhamnous*.<sup>18</sup> According to the excavator's report, the tile was found in the earliest strata of the sanctuary of Nemesis, directly above virgin soil. The stamp shows within a rectangular field with rounded corners a lion striding right, head turned backwards and tail raised. Between the legs a name runs right to left, read by the excavator as ΕΣΤΟΝ. In the published photograph it appears to me that there are two more letters, boustrophedon, at the beginning of the legend

<sup>14</sup> Felsch, 1979, pp. 14, fig. 10:9, 17, pl. 6:6.

<sup>15</sup> No exact parallel for this ornament seems to be known in either vase painting or relief. The closest approximations are palmette tendril-lyres such as P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, Berlin 1927, pp. 122–124, pls. 72:d (Epiktetos) and, more developed, 78:a (Douris). Comparable are some antefixes, although these feature only simple, rolled-in tendrils and no tendril-lyres: *Olympia* II, p. 194, pl. CXVIII:1.

<sup>16</sup> Felsch, 1979, pp. 18–19.

<sup>17</sup> While the slenderness of this horse is somewhat reminiscent of early Archaic equine representations (cf. J. Schilbach, "Eine Gruppe grosser protoarchaischer Pferdestatuetten aus Olympia," *AM* 99, 1984 [pp. 5–15], pls. 1–4), nevertheless the peculiarity of setting off the horse's head sharply from neck and mane and forming it as a distinct unit is in accordance with the equine types of the 6th century (e.g., E. Simon and M. and A. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen*, Munich 1976, pls. 28:a, 48 or the Attic horsehead amphorae, pl. 62). All the horses cited, however, have a thicker neck, an indication perhaps that the representation on the stamp might be earlier.

<sup>18</sup> B. C. Petrakos, «Ἀνασκαφή Ραμνοῦντος», *Πρακτικά* 1981 (1983; pp. 120–140), p. 121; *idem*, «Ἀνασκαφή Ραμνοῦντος», *Πρακτικά* 1982 (1984; pp. 127–162), pp. 135–136, pl. 91:c.

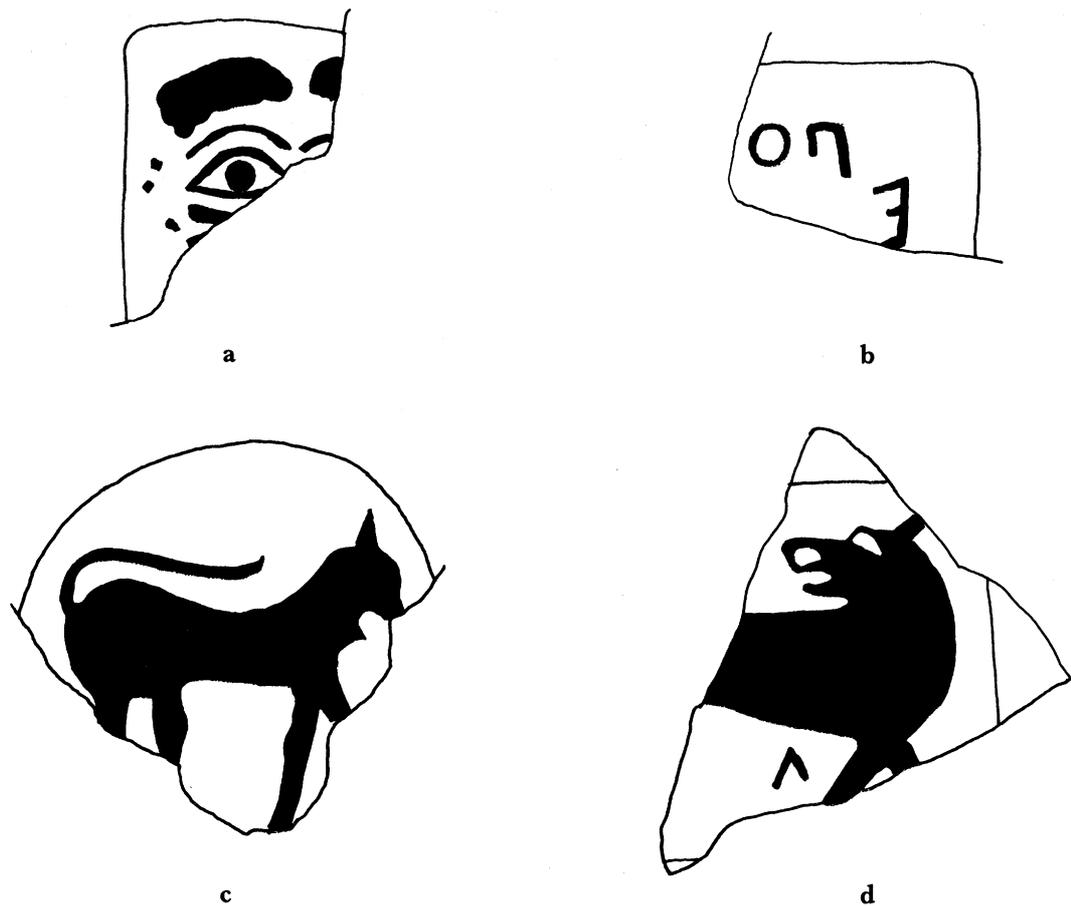


FIG. 3. a) Stamp impression with gorgoneion, Aigina, Aphaia Sanctuary D 17. b) Stamp impression with remains of letters, Aigina, Aphaia Sanctuary A 1. c) Lion stamp, Aigina, Aphaia Sanctuary D 8. d) Lion stamp, Aigina, Aphaia Sanctuary B 1

so that perhaps the craftsman's name should be read as ΑΛΕΣΤΟΝ. So far as comparison between photographs and originals is admissible, the lion stamp from Rhamnous would seem to be identical to a partially preserved stamp from the *Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aigina* (Aigina, Aphaia B 1, Fig. 3:d). This is the fourth stamp, then, for which it has been possible to prove supraregional distribution.

I do not intend to enter here into a detailed discussion of the stamp marks on Laconian roof tiles found in the course of the new excavations in the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aigina, since these will be published later. Twelve new tiles with stamp impressions have come to my attention, although the total number is probably larger. These stamps are of particular importance in that they all presumably come from the terrace fill for the later Temple of Aphaia and therefore belong to the 6th century B.C.<sup>19</sup> The well-known stamp of a lion in a

<sup>19</sup> For the dating of the terrace fill, see D. Williams, "Aegina, Aphaia-Tempel. XI. The Pottery from the

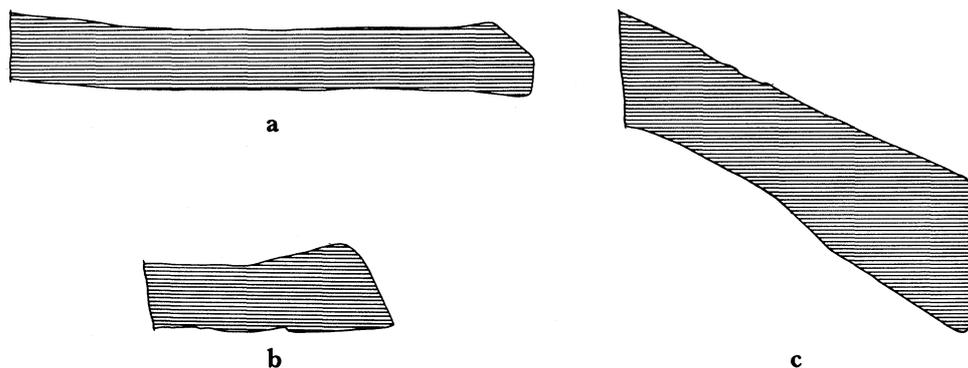


FIG. 4. a) Kalapodi B 3. b) Corinth D 1. c) Corinth E 1

round field is represented by three new impressions, of which only the best preserved is illustrated here (Aigina, Aphaia D 8, Fig. 3:c).<sup>20</sup> Three tiles likewise show the equally familiar running hare, and three others, the serpent stamp.<sup>21</sup> Previously unknown stamps include a rectangular impression of which is preserved the upper right corner with the letter sequence . . . ΕΠΟ . . . from a legend (A 1, Fig. 3:b); one rectangular stamp with a gorgoneion (D 17, Fig. 3:a); and one rectangular stamp with a lion striding right, head turned backwards, and a legend in the space between the legs (B 1, Fig. 3:d). In all probability this impression is identical with that on the tile from Rhamnous discussed above.

The excavations at *Kolonna* on *Aigina* since 1979 have also yielded new tile stamps. The director, Hans Walter, most generously put the older finds at my disposal, but my information on the more recent finds is only second-hand. According to the data available, the recently discovered impressions both repeat types I have already published, allowing corrections to be made to my reconstructions, and represent new types. Thus one rectangular lion stamp is most probably a repetition of the stamp known from the Aphaia sanctuary and from Rhamnous (cf. Fig. 3:d). It has also been claimed that for the first time Corinthian ridge tiles with rich stamped decoration have been found at *Kolonna*.

From the Peloponnese only one single Laconian roof tile with a stamp mark has come to my attention, an old find from *Corinth*. The fragmentary rectangular stamp (D 1, Fig. 4:b, Pl. 55) shows a crouching sphinx, facing right, of Late Archaic style. Presumably the composition should be restored as a pair of antithetical sphinxes.

At this time I know of no further Laconian roof tiles dating from Archaic times or the 5th century B.C. Systematic searches in museums and excavation storerooms will probably add more examples to the existing corpus, and further excavations, as those at Kalapodi and on Aigina have shown, may furnish still others. In all events, the amount of material presently available is too meager to permit conclusions regarding economy or history to be drawn.

Second Limestone Temple and the Later History of the Sanctuary," *AA (JdI 102)* 1987 (pp. 629–680), p. 629 for bibliography, pp. 669–674 for date around 500–490 B.C.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Felsch, 1979, p. 10, fig. 6:1, p. 37, Aigina, Aphaia D 1.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Felsch, 1979, p. 10, fig. 6:3, p. 38, Aigina, Aphaia D 3.

I have encountered similar stamp impressions on the lower face of tiles of the so-called Corinthian type only on the Corinthian cover tile in Munich depicting a more or less acrobatic symplegma and dating from the early 5th century B.C. A counterpart of this stamp from the same kind of roof was brought to my notice by Virginia Grace (Provenance Unknown, D 3, Pl. 56). This tile, which was given to her as a present before 1939 and had ever since been regarded as a modern fake, was donated to the collection of the American School of Classical Studies after publication of the Munich impression.<sup>22</sup>

No other Archaic Corinthian tiles are yet known which bear stamp impressions on the underside. There are, however, Archaic Corinthian tiles with such impressions on the upper face; so far they are known only from the *Samian Heraion*, which yielded twelve specimens of the monogram ΓΟ,<sup>23</sup> and from *Nemea*.<sup>24</sup>

The roof of the Nemean temple, hipped but otherwise similar to the Archaic roofs of Kalapodi, should, according to the information available from the excavators, be dated in the first half of the 6th century B.C.<sup>25</sup> According to the preliminary reports and my own investigations, there are 38 stamped tiles known from Nemea, the impressions invariably appearing on the visible upper surface. Altogether there occur four different stamps. Three are completely linear, featuring the "S-ornament" formed by two impressed lines (Nemea, E 37, Pl. 55), the "keyhole" (E 14, Pl. 55), and the "teardrop" (E 29, Pl. 55). The fourth stamp shows a thirteen-petaled rosette (E 1 and E 2, Pl. 55). A feature common to all these stamps is the absence of a framed field. Only the rosette might be regarded as evidence of a possible relationship to Laconian stamp impressions. Provided that all the stamped tiles belong to the same roof, the distribution of the impressions on the roof of the Archaic temple reveals a certain system. The "S"-stamp occurs exclusively on seven pan tiles and the "teardrop" only on three cover tiles, while the "keyhole" is found on sixteen pan tiles and three cover tiles. The most impressive stamp, the rosette, occurs on four pan tiles (eaves tiles?) and on three antefixes, twice on each. The distribution of four different stamps presumably on one roof thus manifests a definite pattern. It may well be that four individual tilers within one workshop have divided their tasks among themselves, each producing mainly one type of tile. Thus the "S"-tiler produced only pan tiles, the "teardrop" tiler only ordinary cover tiles, and the "keyhole" tiler chiefly pan tiles but also ordinary cover tiles, while the master tiler, who used the rosette stamp, was in charge of producing the more complicated antefixes

<sup>22</sup> I thank V. Grace for her kindness in acquainting me with the tile, which was then in her possession. W. Coulson most willingly granted me permission to publish it.

<sup>23</sup> See A. Ohnesorg, pp. 181–192 above. The second type of stamp impression from the Samian Heraion (Felsch, 1979, p. 39, Samos D 1) shows the Archaic cult statue on the right, and on the left the forepart of a bull turned toward the top, a representation familiar from Samian coins, confirming an early date for this stamp. The latter detail had remained unexplained until now.

<sup>24</sup> For the roof of the Archaic temple at Nemea, see S. G. Miller, "Excavations at Nemea, 1979," *Hesperia* 49, 1980 (pp. 178–205), pp. 185–187, fig. 3; *idem*, "Excavations at Nemea, 1980," *Hesperia* 90, 1981 (pp. 45–67), pp. 52–54.

<sup>25</sup> S. Miller kindly offered me the opportunity to study the entire body of relevant pottery. This seems to contain nothing which would require a date in the second quarter of the century. One find from one destruction phase of the temple still merits closer consideration as to its significance.

and perhaps eaves tiles. Such an interpretation is admittedly bound to remain pure hypothesis as long as we do not know the essential components of the roof in their entirety. The particular significance of the finds from Nemea, however, lies in the fact that they provide us with the oldest stratigraphically dated stamped tiles.

So far we cannot discern a continuous path leading from the oldest Corinthian tile stamped on the upper surface to the later canonical tiles of the same class, since the previously mentioned Classical Corinthian tile bearing an erotic scene is stamped, after the fashion of Laconian tiles, on the underside. There are only sporadic specimens of Corinthian tiles which might fill this gap.

It is only with reservations that a Corinthian cover tile from *Corinth* can be mentioned here (Corinth, E 1, Fig. 4:c, Pl. 55). The upper surface bears a stamp with a meticulously executed blossom ornament. It should perhaps be dated somewhere in the 5th or 4th century B.C. Nevertheless, a stamp from Tanagra bearing, in addition to a Hellenistic Damo-sios stamp, a mark in the form of a Boeotian shield (Tanagra E 3) should warn us to be cautious as regards dating.<sup>26</sup>

Only two further Late Classical stamp impressions on Corinthian tiles have so far come to my attention, both on cover tiles from *Argos*. Each tile carries a rectangular field in which stands a stag facing right (Argos, D 1 and D 2, Pl. 56). The depictions are stylistically consistent with the conventions of Classical gems.<sup>27</sup> It is, however, impossible to determine their precise date, which is probably as late as the end of the 4th century B.C.

With the exception of one specimen which I shall discuss below, this is the sum of early roof tiles with stamp impressions which have come to my attention since the publication of the initial catalogue. Decisive new insights are not provided by this new material. All the same, certain points can be made. A map of all the locations of finds (Fig. 5) demonstrates that stamped roof tiles occur almost exclusively in eastern Central Greece, in Attica, on Aigina, and in the northeastern Peloponnese. Supraregional workshops have been identified through tiles with identical stamp markings (Fig. 6): the Dabychos-Prikon workshop, stamps of which are found at Kalapodi, at Kyparissi, and on Aigina; the lion-stamp workshop, at Rhamnous and on Aigina; and the scallop-shell workshop, at Thebes and in the Athenian Agora. It is likely that the anchor stamps from the Agora, from Tanagra, and from Thebes also come from such a workshop.<sup>28</sup> The various workshops employed similar marking systems with a single or double stamp, or two different impressions on one tile.<sup>29</sup> The significance of these marking systems has not yet been clarified. Furthermore, the names of the manufacturers are known to us in only a few instances; we may mention Dabychos and Prikon, then Brysas,<sup>30</sup> . . . eston, Agonippas,<sup>31</sup> and Oionos, as well as three

<sup>26</sup> Felsch, 1979, pl. 3:6.

<sup>27</sup> Cf., e.g.: D. Ohly, *Griechische Gemmen*, Insel-Verlag, n.d., pl. 12; P. Zazoff, *Die antiken Gemmen* (*Handbuch der Archäologie*), Munich 1983, p. 149, fig. 42:f.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. also Felsch, 1979, pp. 17–19, “Blattstern-Werkstatt”.

<sup>29</sup> Kalapodi C 2, stamps of Dabychos and of Prikon; Agora E 1, E 2, two different palmette stamps.

<sup>30</sup> Felsch, 1979, p. 12, fig. 8:1.

<sup>31</sup> Felsch, 1979, p. 15, findspot unknown C 1.



FIG. 5. Sites where early stamped roof tiles have been found. Open dots: Corinthian tiles.

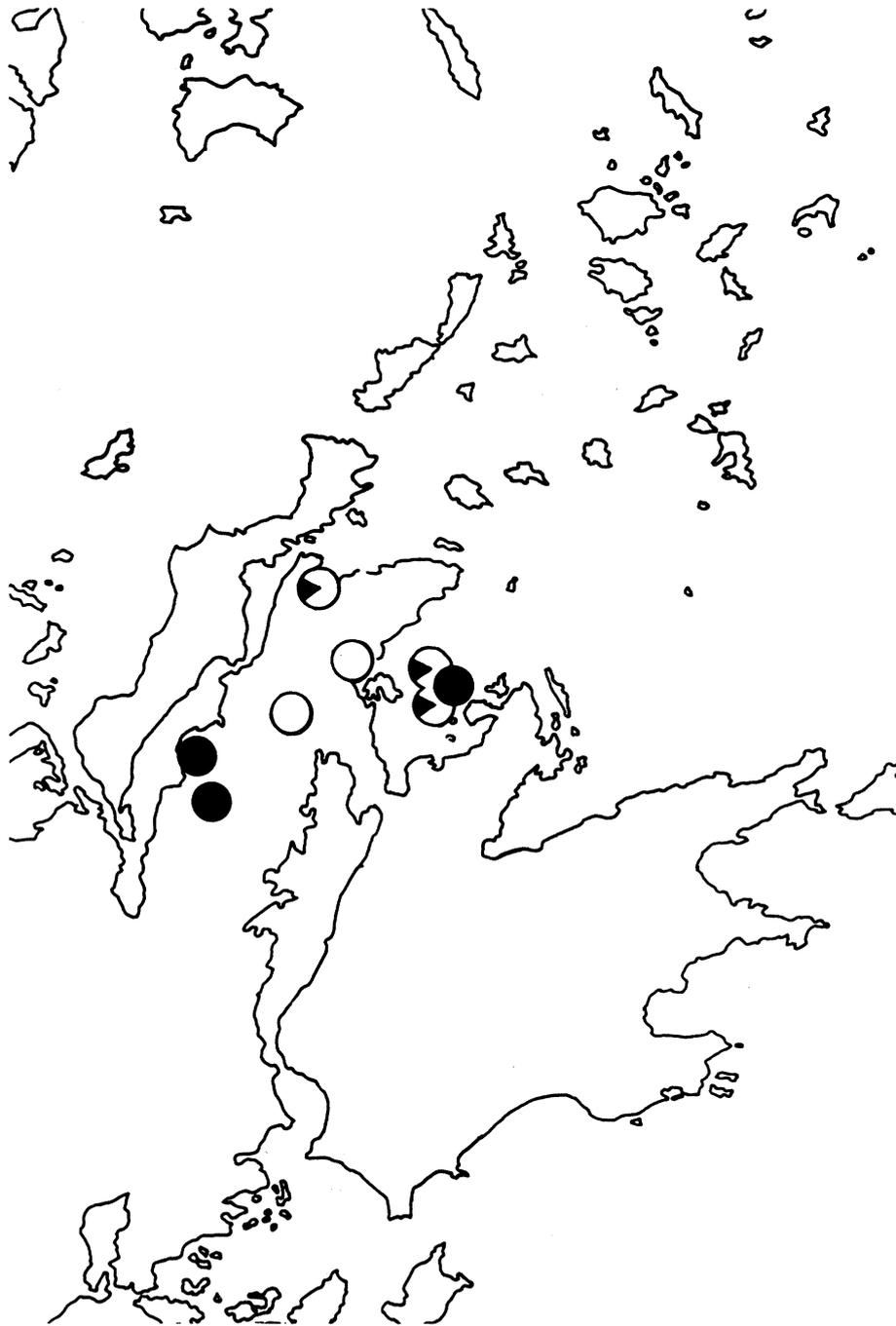


FIG. 6. Distribution of workshops. Full dots: Dabychos and Prikon. Open dots: scallop shell. Segmented dots: lion

incomplete legends.<sup>32</sup> Simple name stamps with the name Ermaios are known from Kalapodi and others from Koroneia.<sup>33</sup> They are probably the inaugurators of the series of later name stamps and should not be dated before the 4th century B.C., or perhaps even later.

Regional differences are apparent in the choice of the stamp motifs, but it is not possible to draw detailed conclusions. The earliest stamps appear to be purely figural or ornamental, without legends, while stamps which mention the manufacturer's name emerge only in the late 6th century B.C.

The chronological classification of the stamp impressions immediately raises the questions of which are the oldest tile stamps and, by implication, when did the Laconian roof in its canonical form come into being? The clues furnished by the tile stamps are so far rather scanty. On the evidence of the find contexts, the stamps from the sanctuary of Aphaia on Aigina, several from the Athenian Agora, the stamp from Rhamnous, that from the Amphiareion of Thebes, and some stamps from Kalapodi must be dated within the 6th century B.C. On the strength of stylistic criteria some stamps should be dated even earlier, probably within the 7th century.<sup>34</sup> These assignments pose certain problems, since, as far as I am aware, not a single Laconian roof has been securely dated to such an early time, although some investigators are inclined to regard the roof of the Heraion at Olympia, the oldest that is datable by stratigraphic context, as the latest Laconian temple roof (as distinguished from house roofs). Consideration of all excavation results suggest that this roof may well date after 600 B.C. and before *ca.* 570.<sup>35</sup> The question is therefore whether the

<sup>32</sup> Felsch, 1979, fig. 6:1–3; here Fig 1:a.

<sup>33</sup> T. Spyropoulos, «Ἀνασκαφή παρὰ τὴν Κορώνειαν», *Πρακτικά* 1975 (1977) (pp. 392–414), p. 401, fig. 2:4.5, -ΜΠΟΣΙΑΣ and -ΠΟΣΙ-; Felsch, 1979, p. 29, A 1.

<sup>34</sup> Felsch, 1979, pp. 4–6, Findspot Unknown D 1; p. 7, Tanagra D 1, D 2; pp. 9–11, Aigina, Aphaia D 1, D 3; p. 12, Kalapodi E 1, E 6.

<sup>35</sup> Although the *communis opinio* places the Heraion *ca.* 600 B.C., this dating is not yet considered absolutely certain. This is surprising, given the fact that the archaeological context is unequivocal: beneath the cella floor was found an Early Corinthian alabastron which can be dated around 600 (–590) B.C. and provides a definite *terminus post quem* for the building of the temple: W. Dinsmoor and H. Searls, “The Date of the Olympia Heraeum,” *AJA* 49, 1945 (pp. 62–80), p. 68, with note 57; H. Riemann, “Die Bauphasen des Heraions von Olympia,” *JdI* 61/62, 1947/1948 (pp. 30–54), p. 50; A. Mallwitz, “Das Heraion von Olympia und seine Vorgänger,” *JdI* 81, 1966 (pp. 310–313), p. 328, note 26 (recently discovered pottery, still of the 7th century B.C.), p. 357, summarized in H.-V. Herrmann, *Olympia, Heiligtum und Wettkampfstätte*, Munich 1972, pp. 93–97; W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 4th ed., New York 1975, p. 93, note 2 (although maintaining the erroneous assumption of a previous temple of the late 8th century B.C.). One would therefore have to fix the inception of the building of the Heraion somewhere around or after 600 B.C. and its completion, allowing for adequate time for construction, around 570 at the latest. Further evidence for the dating of the Heraion, providing its interpretation is correct, is the limestone head which U. Sinn, in the main following Mallwitz, has interpreted as a sphinx from the pedimental relief of the Heraion: “Ἐκτυπον. Der sog. Hera-Kopf aus Olympia,” *AA (JdI)* 99, 1984, pp. 77–87. It is dated by Sinn *ca.* 590–580 B.C. but might be later: cf. U. Jantzen, *EAA* V, 1963, *s.v.* Olimpia (pp. 635–656), p. 643: “non più antico del periodo intorno al 570.” This tallies with the assignment of the Corfu pediment around 570 B.C., a dating supported by B. S. Ridgway (*The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton 1977, pp. 191–195). The decade 590–580 B.C. constitutes a *terminus ante quem* for the inception of the Heraion, and so the duration of construction could be fixed between 600 and 570 at the maximum. A late date for the completion of the Heraion and consequently an even later one for the earliest stone replacement capital can easily be reconciled with the short time it took the Doric stone capitals to evolve within the 6th century; this view is supported by the dating of the temple at Kalapodi. For the

stamp representations on Laconian tiles, stylistically even earlier, should indeed be dated by their style or whether they belong instead to an archaizing artistic trend and should therefore be dated much later than their style would suggest. To formulate the question differently: are there any artifacts of such early times which are comparable to roof-tile stamps and which may perhaps have served as models for the earliest tile stamps?

There exists a large body of pottery, characteristic of the 7th century B.C., which bears stamped decoration and features pictorial subjects generally related to those of the tile stamps. The relief pottery of Corinth is one example;<sup>36</sup> another, more important, is the stamped relief pottery of Crete.<sup>37</sup> Particularly revealing and relevant to our argument seem to be two stamped depictions of standing warriors which on the basis of iconographic details have been convincingly dated by John Boardman to the time around or shortly after 700 B.C.<sup>38</sup> As he points out, these stamp impressions are exceptionally large, their pictorial field being over 10 cm. high. Even larger, with a height of 11.3 cm., is the tile stamp in the Kanellopoulos Museum, stylistically the earliest by far. It is related also to the Cretan stamps in its subject matter, a helmeted warrior-dancer.<sup>39</sup> It is undoubtedly of a later date than the other representations of warriors, but precisely because of its similarity to them can hardly be dated later than 650 B.C. I thus place the earliest known stamped Laconian tile, the specimen in the Kanellopoulos Museum, at about the same time the first Protocorinthian roofs known to us, those of the temples at Corinth and at Isthmia, were built.<sup>40</sup>

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distinctly later capitals at Kalapodi, the stratigraphic context has yielded a surprisingly low date, i.e., after ca. 570 and at the latest perhaps ca. 550 B.C.: Felsch, 1987, pp. 17–18, figs. 30–33, regarding the destruction layer of the predecessor and the pottery which dates the foundation deposit for the Archaic Southern Temple; pp. 22–24, concerning the Archaic Southern Temple; detail of the capital: fig. 42. These datings virtually compel us to accept the late dating of the Temple of Apollo at Corinth in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C.: S. S. Weinberg, "On the Date of the Temple of Apollo at Corinth," *Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 191–199. C. K. Williams has demonstrated the problematic character of the issue by distinguishing between a high and a low chronology ("Doric Architecture and Early Capitals in Corinth," *AM* 99, 1984, pp. 67–75) and, not yet acquainted with the dating contexts of Kalapodi, declared himself in favor of the high (p. 72, note 21). In my opinion, and provided that the pottery chronology is correct, the new contexts argue clearly in favor of a low chronology and a rapid evolution of the Doric stone capital towards the Late Archaic form.

<sup>36</sup> S. S. Weinberg, "Corinthian Relief Ware: Pre-Hellenistic Period," *Hesperia* 23, 1954, pp. 109–137, pls. 25–33; regarding the earliest stamp impressions from Corinth, precursors of the later amphora stamps, from before 750 B.C., cf. C. A. Pfaff, "A Geometric Well at Corinth: Well 1981-6," *Hesperia* 57, 1988 (pp. 21–80), pp. 39–40, pls. 31–32. The only previously known stamp on a vessel from the Geometric period comes from Pithekoussai: J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977, p. 229, fig. 75:d. The stamp is identical to the impressions on a votive tablet from the Heraion of Samos: D. Ohly, "Frühe Tonfiguren aus dem Heraion von Samos II.," *AM* 66, 1941 (pp. 1–46), pl. 11:416; cf. J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, London 1970, p. 112.

<sup>37</sup> The earliest example so far is a pithos lid from Knossos, dated to the Protogeometric to Early Geometric period: H. W. Catling, "Archaeology in Greece 1982–83," *AR* 1982–1983, p. 52, fig. 93. From the end of the 8th century B.C. there come some figural stamp impressions: J. N. Coldstream, *Geometric Greece*, London 1977, p. 276 with notes 15–17, fig. 87:f.

<sup>38</sup> J. Boardman, "Archaic Finds at Knossos," *BSA* 57, 1962 (pp. 28–34), pp. 31–32, fig. 3, pl. 4:a.

<sup>39</sup> Felsch, 1979, p. 5, fig. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Isthmia: O. Broneer, *Isthmia, I, Temple of Poseidon*, Princeton 1971, pp. 40–55. The excavators date the temple within the first half of the 7th century B.C., taking the perirrhanterion found in the rubble of the temple (*op. cit.*, p. 3, pl. 7) as the *terminus ante quem*. This assumption is not altogether secure, since the basin might

While it might be possible to rest content with this conclusion, one cannot help wondering whether there might not exist even older material. In this connection it may well be worth examining a remarkable stamp impression from *Eretria* which Claude Bérard has published and discussed in detail.<sup>41</sup> This impression is on a clay plaque (*Eretria* D 1, Pl. 56) discovered in the lowest stratum of the bothros near the Heroon. Its edge is roughly chipped into a rounded shape and the surface of the reverse is chipped away; in its present state it is 5.1 cm. in diameter and 1.7 cm. thick. Within a rectangular field a stallion trots to the left; under its hooves a fish faces right.

Bérard points out that the obverse side of the relief is completely flat and that consequently the possibility of its being a fragment of a pithos must be ruled out. He therefore regards the object as a kind of disk. Bérard rightly dates the stratum of the find to the second quarter of the 7th century B.C., while placing the creation of the relief within the first quarter of that century. Stylistically he relates the object to the glyptic art of Melos and places it within the sphere of the early votive pinakes.

Although Bérard has argued this attribution persuasively, I cannot agree with it. In the first place, the stamp is considerably larger than all known Melian and Argive seal stamps. Moreover the combination of horse and fish, as Bérard also observed, is reminiscent of the representations on some Boeotian fibulae with decorative plates. Furthermore, such "plate-fibulae" from Central Greece and Thessaly as a rule feature horses on one side of the plate and fishes on the other.<sup>42</sup> Finally, analogies may also be drawn from the contemporary three-dimensional sculpture of Central Greece. A bronze horse from Anavra in Lokris may be cited as undoubtedly related to the relief picture, both in its conception of volume and proportions and in the execution of several details, such as the shape of the muzzle and legs (Pl. 56).<sup>43</sup> These factors show that the Melian origin of the stamp impression from *Eretria* is by no means certain and that one would be equally if not more justified in attributing it to a workshop in Central Greece.

In the second place, the identification proposed by Bérard for the relief plaque as a discus or round votive tablet is not convincing. The ultimate function of the object, which has been roughly chipped into a rounded shape, seems to have been as a lid for an amphora; hundreds of such tile fragments or sherds, unevenly chipped into a circular shape, are found in most excavations, Kalapodi not excluded. In the case in point the maker of the lid has shown respect for the existing relief picture, because he either enjoyed it or regarded it as an object of curiosity. An exactly parallel situation is attested by a tile fragment from Kalapodi, a Laconian cover tile converted into a lid in such a way as to preserve the impression on the

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well be earlier and may perhaps have been transferred to the pronaos only after the erection of the temple. Corinth: Robinson (*AM*) now dates the temple *ca.* 680 B.C. (p. 57, note 5) on the evidence of the pottery in the layers of working chips, which, however, can provide only a *terminus post quem* for the temple and its subsequent roofing: Ö. Wikander, 1988, p. 205.

<sup>41</sup> C. Bérard, "Note sur la fouille au sud de l'Hérôon," *AntK* 12, 1969 (pp. 74–79), pp. 77–79, pl. 36:2.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. K. Kilian, *Fibeln in Thessalien von der mykenischen bis zur archaischen Zeit (Prähistorische Bronzefunde XIV, 2)*, Munich 1975, pp. 105–137; *idem*, "Trachtzubehör der Eisenzeit zwischen Ägäis und Adria," *PZ* 50, 1975 (pp. 9–140), pls. 24:1, 25:3–4.

<sup>43</sup> Kilian, "Trachtzubehör" (footnote 42 above), pl. 23:11.

lower surface, which is the circular stamp of Dabychos.<sup>44</sup> The significance attached to these lids may in either case have been far greater than we are able to discern today, given the fact that the Eretria lid lay in a votive bothros, while the Kalapodi lid was discovered immediately behind the votive bench within the sanctuary of the 5th century B.C.; these are circumstances which are probably no accident.

Originally the clay plaque from Eretria must surely have served a different purpose. For the votive tablet assumed by Bérard, however, this plaque, with an original thickness of at least 2 cm., seems to be too bulky. The obverse, the surface of which would offer a reliable clue for determining whether it represented a votive pinax or a Laconian pan tile with glazed upper surface, is unfortunately obliterated. An examination of the plaque at Eretria undertaken together with P. Themelis revealed that both its clay and its manner of execution are in every way in keeping with the oldest Laconian tiles; consequently the stamp impression may well be that of an early Laconian pan tile.

A clear-cut answer to this question is as yet not attainable. Nevertheless, on the evidence of the stamp impression from Eretria, it does not appear impossible that the earliest Laconian roof tiles may be traced back as far as the beginning of the 7th century B.C., a circumstance not entirely without significance for the elucidation of the emergence of the Laconian tiled roof, and that there already existed specialized workshops at this early time.

### CATALOGUE OF STAMP IMPRESSIONS

This catalogue continues the numbering begun in Felsch, 1979, pp. 26–40. The stamped representations are listed by provenance from North to South and grouped by subject:

- A: Inscription
- B: Figural with legend
- C: Ornamental with legend
- D: Figural
- E: Ornamental

The format of the first catalogue has been retained except in the case of material from the Athenian Agora; the entries for these stamps combine information from the architectural inventory of the Agora, a commentary on the dating of the individual find contexts which H. A. Thompson kindly put at my disposal, and my own remarks. I have abstained from giving descriptions and measurements of the tiles from Nemea in order not to anticipate the publication of the Archaic roof.

#### KYNOS, SETTLEMENT

##### E. ORNAMENTAL

##### E 1. Laconian tile, fragment

On the unglazed underside, round stamp-impression rosette.

Findspot: Kynos, rescue excavation directed by

F. Dakoronia.

Unpublished

#### KALAPODI, SANCTUARY

##### A. INSCRIPTION

##### A 2. Laconian pan tile, broken on all sides Fig. 1:c, Pl. 51

L. 8.25, W. 9.33, Th. 2.1 cm. Clay gray to orange buff, fine inclusions, well fired. Upper surface, blackish red glaze.

The unglazed underside bears an irregular elongated

<sup>44</sup> Felsch, 1979, p. 27, C 3, pl. 6:5, completely analogous to the Prikon stamp Kalapodi C 4 (here Pl. 51); further stamped tiles refashioned as lids: Felsch, 1979, p. 29, Kalapodi E 5, pl. 5:2; pp. 38–39, Samos A 1.

inscription stamp. Large letters in high relief, inscription running left to right: EPMAIOΣ. H. 1.2–1.3 cm.

Findspot: Kalapodi 1977, context no. 3739/12–13, layer of Hellenistic dump.

Inv. no. Z 486

A 3. Laconian pan tile, broken on all sides Pl. 51

L. 6.1, W. 10.9, Th. 2.06 cm. Clay reddish beige, well fired. Upper surface, violet-brown glaze.

On clay of underside, within a round field, the first letter of the stamp A 2 is preserved.

Findspot: Kalapodi 31.8.79, I 22, western slope, without stratigraphic context.

Inv. no. Z 258

#### B. FIGURAL WITH LEGEND

B 2. Laconian pan tile, broken on all sides Fig. 1:a, Pl. 51

L. 10.2, W. 10.5, Th. 2.05 cm. Clay with reddish beige core. Outside yellowish beige, sand and clay inclusions, well fired. Upper face with purple to blackish glaze.

On the unglazed underside, two impressions of the same stamp, their respective front parts juxtaposed and slightly intersecting. Head of a bird with hooked beak and large eye, traced in narrow relief lines. Above the head the letters OI . . . run right to left, to be restored by the letters on tile B 3 to read OION, the Greek name of the bird of prey (οἰωνός) represented.

Findspot: Kalapodi 1979, context no. 17053/18–19, slope.

Inv. no. Z 352

B 3. Laconian pan tile, fragment of edge Figs. 1:a, 4:a, Pl. 51

L. 11.7, W. 14.1, Th. 1.6–1.7 cm. Clay as B 2. Upper surface glazed, as B 2, more reddish at the edge.

On the unglazed underside, impression of an elongated stamp without distinctly recognizable termination, *ca.* one-half preserved. Hind part of the body and tail of the bird shown in B 2. Probably the same tile, although the edges do not fit together. Above the bird, within the field, the letters . . . ON . . .

Findspot: Kalapodi 1979, context no. 17033/90–91, destruction layer of Classical Temple I, after 426 B.C.

Inv. no. Z 319

B 4. Laconian pan tile, broken on all sides Pl. 51

L. 25.2, W. *ca.* 15, Th. 1.9 cm. Clay with black inclusions. Upper surface glazed violet brown.

Underside smoothed with spatula 5 cm. wide, remains of a stamp impression presumably identical to stamps B 2 and B 3.

Findspot: Kalapodi 28.8.79, context no. 12065/22, Late Classical tile fill I.

Inv. no. Z 353

#### C. ORNAMENTAL WITH LEGEND

C 4. Laconian pan tile, chipped into shape of lid; broken Fig. 1:b, Pl. 51

L. 7.82, W. 4.15, Th. 1.7 cm. Clay light gray, fine, fired extra well, identical to clay of C 3. Upper surface, thick yellow-brown glaze.

On the clay of the underside, an abraded stamp impression of which *ca.* one-third is preserved. Round stamp with band of letters around a rosette with eight petals. Diameter not determinable. Clockwise inscription: ΤΑΠΡ(Ι)ΦΟΝΕΙΑ . . . )ΟΛΟ. Identical to stamp Kalapodi C 2, left stamp, C 5; Aigina, Kollona C 5.

Findspot: Kalapodi 31.8.79, context no. 11073/27, Late Classical tile fill I.

Inv. no. Z 259

C 5. Laconian cover tile, broken on all sides Pl. 51

L. 10.3, W. 5.95, Th. 1.9 cm. Clay very fine, pale reddish to gray beige, fired ringing hard. Upper surface, shiny black wash.

On the unglazed underside, one-half of a stamp impression, identical to C 4. Diameter of stamp 6.5 cm. Clockwise inscription:

(ΤΑΠΡΙ)ΦΟΝΕΙΑ . . . (ΙΟΛΟ)

Findspot: Kalapodi 1979, context no. 15021/81, Late Antique rubble fill.

Inv. no. Z 351

#### E. ORNAMENTAL

E 6. See Felsch, 1979, p. 29. Pl. 51

E 7. Laconian pan tile, broken on all sides Pl. 51

L. 15.5, W. 16.9, Th. 1.8–2.4 cm. Clay light reddish beige, somewhat porous, with inclusions of sand and small stones. Well fired. Upper surface, thin violet-brown wash.

On the unglazed underside, stamp impression with irregular contour. Stamp: H. 6.3, W. 5.7 cm. Within the pictorial field, stylized palmette flanked by two volutes on joint base.

Findspot: Kalapodi 1979, context no. 15104/83, Late Antique or later pit.

Inv. no. Z 318

PARALIMNI

A. INSCRIPTION

A 1. Laconian pan tile, fragment Pl. 51

L. 16.5, W. 16.4, Th. 2.0 cm. Clay reddish brown, with some organic inclusions. Scattered blackish stones. 7.54R 8/8. Upper surface, thin wash of black glaze.

On the unglazed underside, rectangular stamp with large retrograde R. Stamp: H. 6.5, W. 3.5 cm.

Findspot: small tile fill beside the road about half-way along the southern shore of the lake (E. Vanderpool, 1966). Collection of the American School of Classical Studies

Inv. no. ASA.53

THEBES

E. ORNAMENTAL

E 1. Laconian pan tile, broken on all sides

L. and W. unknown, Th. 1.1–1.6 cm. Type of clay unknown. Upper surface glazed black brown or with red wash.

On the unglazed underside, round stamp impression: anchor within circle. Diameter of stamp 6.5 cm.

Findspot: Thebes, Amphiraion, rubble layer with finds dated shortly after 500 B.C. at the latest.

Publication: D. Keramopoulos, *Δελτ* 3, 1917, pp. 263–264, fig. 181.

ERETRIA, HEROON

D. FIGURAL

D 1. Laconian pan tile (? or votive pinax) Pl. 56  
chipped into shape of lid

Max. Diam. 5.1, Th. 1.7 cm. Clay brick red, coarse, little purified, with mica inclusions, somewhat brittle. Upper face (reverse) chipped over entire surface.

On the clay of the underside (obverse) rectangular, presumably square, stamp impression. Within the narrow framed pictorial field a stallion trotting left over a fish swimming right. Different posture of front and hind legs. The similarity noted by Bérard of the forelegs to the human front legs of Archaic centaurs is probably unintentional, as is shown by the shape of the rear hooves.

Findspot: bothros to the southwest of the Heroon, at the bottom of the votive deposit.

Inv. no. Eretria FK 1437

Publication: C. Bérard, "Note sur la fouille au sud de l'Hérôon," *AntK* 12, 1969 (pp. 74–79), pp. 77–79, pl. 36:3, and p. 2. For the secondary use as a lid, cf. the stamped tiles Kalapodi C 3 (Felsch, 1979, p. 27, pl. 6:5) and C 4 (above), in which the stamped representation is respected in the same way, E 5 (Felsch, 1979, p. 29, pl. 5:2, where ill. 2 and 3 have been mistakenly interchanged), Samos A 1 (*ibid.*, pp. 38–39).

GYPHTOKASTRO, CASTLE

E. ORNAMENTAL

E 1. Laconian pan tile, broken on all sides Pl. 54

L. 15.5, W. 11, Th. 1.7 cm. Type of clay not mentioned. Upper surface, black glaze.

On the rough, unglazed underside, a round stamp impression, of which *ca.* one-fourth is preserved: four-spoked wheel with unidentified filling ornament within sunken circular stamp field. Diameter of stamp *ca.* 6.5, of wheel *ca.* 5 cm.

Findspot: Gyphokastro, Western gate, 1961.

Collection of the American School of Classical Studies, Athens.

Inv. no. AST.19

I am indebted to Sarah Morris for drawing my attention to this item, as well as for its description and measurements.

RHAMNOUS, SANCTUARY OF NEMESIS

B. FIGURAL WITH LEGEND

B 1. Laconian (pan?) tile, fragment

L. 47.2 cm. Upper face black glazed.

On the unglazed underside, rectangular stamp impression with rounded corners. In the pictorial field,

lion striding right with tail raised and head turned back. Between the legs, inscription, right to left, reading (according to the excavator) ΕΣΤΟΝ; according to the published illustration it would seem instead to read ΑΛΕΣΤΟΝ or similar. Stamp: L. 7.3, H. 5.4, H. of letters 0.9 (Σ), 0.45 cm. (Ο).

Findspot: Sanctuary of Nemesis, terrace fill of the Archaic temple.

Inv. no. 500

Publication: B. Petrakos, «Ἀνασκαφή Ῥαμνοῦντος», *Πρακτικά* 1982 (1984), pp. 135–136, pl. 91:c.

Cf. Aigina B 1 and Fig. 3:d.

### ATHENS, AGORA

#### D. FIGURAL

D 1. Laconian pan tile Pl. 52

Max. dim. 8.0, Th. 1.4 cm. Broken all around. Light brown clay. Dull red glaze on concave side.

On unglazed convex side, part of a circular stamp (est. Diam. 5 cm.) with a horse in relief: head and one foreleg preserved.

From an early deposit in the valley to the west of the Areopagus (D 18) along with sherds of early 5th century B.C., some Geometric. July 30, 1947.

Inv. no. A 1284

D 2. Laconian pan tile, fragment Pl. 52

Max. dim. 13.5, Th. 1.5 cm. Red glaze on the upper slightly concave surface.

On the underside, circular stamp with bird, probably a partridge. Diameter of stamp 7.0 cm.

From road metal to northwest of the Areopagus (C 17); context of late 5th–early 4th century B.C. April 29, 1949.

Relatively late tile.

Inv. no. A 1486

#### E. ORNAMENTAL

E 1. Laconian cover tile, fragment Pl. 52

Pres. L. 28.4, pres. W. 18, H. of complete palmette 6 cm. One edge only preserved. Ash-gray clay covered with fine black glaze on outside.

On the unglazed lower side, the impressions of two different palmettes (E 1, E 2), one with single and one with double tendrils. The incomplete stamp partly covers the complete one. Complete stamp: H. 6.05, W. 6.5 cm.

From a disturbed context in area of Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. August 1967.

Inv. no. A 3622

E 2. See E 1: second stamp Pl. 52

E 3. Laconian cover tile Pl. 52

Max. dim. 7.8 cm. Glazed outside.

On the rough inside surface, part of a stamp with an elaborate palmette ornament.

From a pit in the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs. A 18–19. Deposit A 18–19:1. Cf. *Hesperia* 17, 1948, p. 193; 19, 1950, p. 337; 20, 1951, p. 253. Found together with many ostraka of the early 5th century, but the pottery runs down to the middle of the century. April 24, 1947.

Same stamp as Agora E 4.

Inv. no. A 1319

E 4. Laconian pan tile Pl. 52

Max. dim. 8.0, Th. 1.3 cm. Dull red glaze on upper surface.

Broken all around; only part of the stamp, a palmette like E 3, preserved on underside. Cf. A 1319 (E 3) from ostraka deposit in section NN.

From a well of the 5th–6th centuries after Christ at northwest corner of Stoa of Attalos. Deposit P 7:4. April 20, 1951.

Inv. no. A 2009

E 5. Laconian cover tile Pl. 52

Max. dim. 5.8, Th. 1.7 cm. Dull black glaze on outer surface.

Stamped on interior: palmette, only partly preserved.

From an early deposit to south of Tholos (G 14) along with early red-figured and late black-figured sherds, probably all pre-Persian. March 31, 1932.

Inv. no. A 1113

E 6. Laconian cover tile Pl. 53

Max. dim. 12.5 cm. Thin brown glaze on outside.

Stamped on underside: eight-petaled rosette, from a defective stamp (?).

Great Drain, West Branch, clearing east side to southeast of Tholos (H 12). Context of early 5th century B.C., including ostraka of Hippokrates and Themistokles. Probably debris from destruction in 480 B.C. of Archaic predecessor of Tholos (cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 32–33). March 1, 1938.

Inv. no. A 833

- E 7. Laconian pan tile Fig. 2, Pl. 53  
 Corner fragment of a curved pan tile, in two joining pieces. Pres. L. 27.5, pres. W. 23.5 cm. Coarse, pinkish buff clay. Painted red on top surface and unglazed below.  
 Stamped impression in shape of a scallop shell on the underside.  
 From the destruction debris of an early building (House D) to the south of the Tholos along with many roof tiles and pottery of the 5th–3rd centuries B.C. May 27, 1954.  
 Same stamp as Thebes E 1.  
 Inv. no. A 2485
- E 8. Laconian pan tile Pl. 53  
 Fragment from pan tile, broken all around. Pres. L. 10, Th. 1.2 cm. Red glaze on one side.  
 On unglazed side, circular stamp with a large relief anchor in the center; illegible smaller signs above cross arms. Diameter of stamp 4.8 cm.  
 From an early deposit at the northwest foot of the Areopagus along with many broken roof tiles and pottery of late 6th and early 5th centuries. July 6, 1949.  
 Inv. no. A 1483
- E 9. Laconian pan tile Pl. 53  
 Small piece, broken all around, from a thin, nearly flat tile. Max. dim. 12, Th. ca. 1 cm. Gritty, yellowish buff clay. Top surface covered with thin black glaze wash.  
 Unglazed underside: circular stamp with anchor.  
 From an unfinished well in the valley to the northwest of the Areopagus in context of early 4th century B.C. Deposit D 17:9. *Hesperia* 20, 1951, pp. 179–180. May–June, 1949.  
 Inv. no. A 1472
- E 10. Laconian cover tile Pl. 53  
 Fragment. Pres. L. 10.2, pres. W. 11, Th. at edge 1.6 cm. Very coarse pale pink clay, glazed black on top surface.  
 Circular stamp on underside with anchor in relief.  
 From the gravelly fill of the West Branch of the Great Drain to south of Tholos (G 13); predominantly 2nd century B.C. but with some early material. May 2, 1934.  
 Inv. no. A 434
- E 11. Laconian pan tile Pl. 53  
 Broken all around. Max. dim. 12 cm. Buff clay; black glaze on concave side.  
 On unglazed convex side, part of a circular stamp: wheel(?) in relief.  
 Late Roman fill on northeast slope of Areopagus. June 10, 1938.  
 Inv. no. A 1413
- E 12. Laconian cover tile Pl. 54  
 Part of a convex cover tile with some of the edge preserved. Pres. L. 16.5 cm. Dull reddish glaze on top surface only.  
 On underside, a large circular stamp: sunken circle with crossbars in high relief.  
 Fragments of several others with similar stamps in Tin 702.  
 Provenance as for A 1319 (E 3).  
 No wheel, but same stamp as E 13.  
 Inv. no. A 1412
- E 13. Laconian pan tile Pl. 54  
 Broken all around. Max. dim. 11.6 cm. Buff clay. The slightly concave face is covered with red glaze wash.  
 On the unglazed underside, part of a stamp: four-spoked wheel.  
 Provenance as for A 1319 (E 3).  
 Cf. E 12 for motif.  
 Inv. no. A 1538
- E 14. Laconian pan tile Pl. 54  
 Broken all around. Max. dim. 9.6 cm.  
 An emblem of a wheel has been pressed into the clay.  
 Provenance as for A 1319 (E 3). From an early deposit to the west of the Areopagus (A 20) in a context of the early 5th century B.C. May 10, 1940.  
 Stamp similar to E 12 and E 13 but with a sunken circular frame.  
 Inv. no. A 2677
- E 15. Laconian pan tile Pl. 54  
 Fragment: 9 × 6, Th. 1.8 cm. Coarse red clay. Black glaze on the upper surface.  
 Part of swastika-like stamp preserved on the unglazed underside.  
 From the filling of a cistern on the northeast slope of the Areopagus (Deposit M 20:1). Context predominantly Hellenistic. February 6–9, 1937.

Stamp of unknown type.

Inv. no. A 978

### AIGINA, SANCTUARY OF APHAIA

#### A. INSCRIPTION

A 1. Laconian tile with inscription      Fig. 3:b  
stamp?

Pres. L. 3.2, pres. H. 2.5 cm.

Underside: rectangular stamp with lettering running right to left: ΕΓΟ . . . . Possibly only the legend of a pictorial stamp.

#### B. FIGURAL WITH LEGEND

B 1. Laconian tile, broken on all sides      Fig. 3:d

H. 5.9, L. 5.0 cm.

Underside: rectangular stamp with lion striding right and head turned back. Between the legs, remains of an inscription: A(?) . . . Stamp identical to Rhamnous B 1.

#### D. FIGURAL

D 8. Laconian tile      Fig. 3:c

Underside: circular stamp with striding lion. Stamp identical to Aigina, Aphaia D 1.

D 9. Laconian tile

Underside: identical stamp, only back part of rump preserved.

D 10. Laconian tile

Underside: identical stamp, only paws preserved.

D 11. Laconian tile

Underside: rectangular stamp with coiled snake. Identical to Aigina, Aphaia D 3.

D 12. Laconian tile

Underside: same stamp, fragmentary.

D 13. Laconian tile

Underside: same stamp, only corner preserved.

D 14. Laconian tile

Underside: rectangular stamp with hare running right. Stamp identical to Aigina, Aphaia D 6.

D 15. Laconian tile

Underside: same stamp, only upper part of body preserved.

D 16. Laconian tile

Underside: same stamp, only back part of body preserved.

D 17. Laconian tile

Fig. 3:a

L. 7.3, W. 4.8.

Underside: rectangular stamp, frontal gorgoneion. Only upper left-hand corner preserved. Stamp: pres. H. 4.0, W. 2.9 cm.

### AIGINA, KOLONNA

According to the information available to me, at least four more stamps have been found, among them apparently the first complete repetition of the "dancer stamp" Aigina, Kolonna D 1 and D 2, and Aigina, Vaghia D 1. In addition there are a lion stamp, presumably a repetition of the stamp Rhamnous B 1 and Aigina, Aphaia B 1, and Corinthian tiles with hitherto unknown types of stamps, applied in a different fashion. These new finds will be published by the excavators.

### CORINTH

#### D. FIGURAL

D 1. Laconian pan tile, fragment      Fig. 4:b, Pl. 55  
of corner.

L. 8.55, W. 6.7, Th. of edge 2.8, of center 1.95 cm.

Fine clay with some reddish clay particle inclusions, orange to reddish, fired to ringing hardness.

Upper surface red glaze, at edge somewhat blackish. Underside, beige slip of finely purified clay.

On underside, rectangular stamp impression with rounded corners: squatting sphinx; scene perhaps to be restored as antithetical pair of heraldic sphinxes. Pres. H. of stamp 3.8, pres. W. 4.2 cm.

Findspot: 22.6.1962, Anaploga Well 1962:6, "well in grave 12", basket no. 35, lot 1231.

Inv. no. FM 62

Publication of find complex: H. Robinson, "A Sanctuary and Cemetery in Western Corinth," *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 1-35.

## E. ORNAMENTAL

E 1. Corinthian cover tile, Fig. 4:c, Pl. 55  
fragment of corner

L. 9.5, W. 10.55, Th. at vertex 3.3 cm. Yellow clay with black inclusions and reddish bits of clay, core fired slightly reddish. Fine greenish yellow slip, polished.

On upper surface square stamp impression: star-shaped blossom with four petals and five dots. Tile of 4th century B.C.?

Findspot: 15.5.1934, South Basilica, Roman context.

## NEMEA, SANCTUARY OF ZEUS

## E. ORNAMENTAL

E 1. Corinthian antefix tile, fragment Pl. 55

On either of the sloping upper facets, stamp impression of a thirteen-petaled rosette.

Findspot: Section J 13.

Inv. no. AT 91

Publication: *Hesperia* 49, 1980, p. 185, pls. 38:e, 39:b right.

E 2. Corinthian antefix tile, fragment Pl. 55

On upper face, as E 1, two rosette impressions, one-half and two-thirds preserved respectively. Identical to stamp E 1.

Findspot: Section H 14.

Inv. no. AT 82

Publication: *Hesperia* 49, 1980, pp. 185, 190, pl. 39:b left; 40:e.

E 3. Corinthian antefix tile, fragment

On upper face two stamps identical to E 1 and E 2.

Findspot: Section O 16.

Inv. no. AT 34

Cited: *Hesperia* 49, 1980, p. 185, note 20.

E 4. Corinthian pan tile; eaves tile?

On upper face, identical rosette stamp.

Inv. no. AT 89

Cited: *Hesperia* 50, 1981, p. 52.

E 5. Same

Inv. no. AT 116

Cited: as E 4.

E 6. Same

Inv. no. AT 206

Cited: as E 4.

E 7. Same

Inv. no. AT 207

Cited: as E 4.

E 8. Same

Inv. no. AT 222

Cited: as E 4.

E 9. Same(?)

Findspot: Section I/13,20–17/6,9, Early Christian context.

Inv. no. AT 245

Cited: *Hesperia* 53, 1984, p. 176.

E 10. Corinthian cover tile, fragment

On upper face, "keyhole" stamp impression.

Inv. no. AT 200

Cited: *Hesperia* 50, 1981, p. 52.

E 11. Same

Inv. no. AT 202

Cited: as E 9.

E 12. Same

Inv. no. AT 203

Cited: as E 9.

E 13. Corinthian pan tile, fragment

On upper face, "keyhole" stamp impression.

Inv. no. AT 94

Published: *Hesperia* 49, 1980, p. 185, pl. 39:a.

E 14. Corinthian pan tile, fragment Pl. 55

On upper face, "keyhole" stamp impression.

Findspot: Section J 13

Inv. no. AT 98

Cited: *Hesperia* 49, 1980, p. 185, note 21.

E 15. Same

Inv. no. AT 99

Cited: as E 13.

E 16. Same

Inv. no. AT 100

Cited: as E 13.

- E 17. Same  
Inv. no. AT 101  
Cited: as E 13.
- E 18. Same  
Inv. no. AT 102  
Cited: as E 13.
- E 19. Same  
Inv. no. AT 114  
Cited: as E 13.
- E 20. Same  
Findspot: Section N 16  
Inv. no. AT 27  
Cited: as E 13.
- E 21. Same  
Findspot: Section O 16  
Inv. no. AT 51  
Cited: as E 13.
- E 22. Same  
Findspot: Section O 15  
Inv. no. AT 52  
Cited: as E 13.
- E 23–E 28. Six further fragments of pan tiles.  
No data given  
Cited: *Hesperia* 50, 1981, p. 52.
- E 29. Corinthian cover tile, fragment Pl. 55  
On upper face, "teardrop" stamp on the vertical edge of the tile.  
Inv. no. AT 136  
Cited: *Hesperia* 50, 1981, p. 52.
- E 30. Same  
Inv. no. AT 197  
Cited: as E 29.
- E 31. Same  
Inv. no. AT 236  
Published: *Hesperia* 50, 1981, p. 52, pl. 15:c.
- E 32. Corinthian pan tile, fragment  
On upper face, "S"-stamp  
Inv. no. AT 209  
Cited: *Hesperia* 50, 1981, p. 52.
- E 33. Same  
Inv. no. AT 223  
Cited: as E 32.
- E 34. Same  
Inv. no. AT 224  
Cited: as E 32.
- E 35. Same  
Inv. no. AT 225  
Published: *Hesperia* 50, 1981, p. 52, pl. 15:d
- E 36. Same  
Inv. no. AT 226  
Cited: as E 32.
- E 37. Same Pl. 55  
Inv. no. AT 227  
Cited: as E 32.
- E 38. Same  
Inv. no. AT 228  
Cited: as E 32.

## ARGOS, TOWN

## D. FIGURAL

- D 1. Corinthian pan tile, fragment of Pl. 56  
corner

L. 25, W. 12, original H. of front 4.5 cm. Reddish clay with large red inclusions, top and underside with yellow-beige slip.

On the slanting upper facet, rectangular stamp impression: within pictorial field a standing stag facing right. Stamp: L. 4.5, H. 4.7 cm. Tile of the late 4th century B.C.?

Findspot: 1953, sondage in the courtyard of Psirogiannis House: G. Roux, *BCH* 78, 1954, pp. 164–167.

Inv. no. C 9927

- D 2. Corinthian cover tile, fragment of Pl. 56  
corner

L. 30, W. 9, original H. of front 6 cm. Reddish clay with large red inclusions. Top and underside with yellow-beige slip.

On the slanting upper surface, rectangular stamp impression of which only the lower half is preserved. Within the pictorial field, a standing stag facing right. Stamp identical to D 1.

Findspot: 1955, excavation in the theater: G. Roux, *BCH* 80, 1956, pp. 376–395.

Inv. no. A 528

## PROVENANCE UNKNOWN

## D. FIGURAL

D 3. Corinthian cover tile, fragment of edge Pl. 56

L. 15.1, H. 11.4, Th. 2.0 cm. Buff clay, hardly any inclusions, high mica content. Fired to ringing hardness. Upper face, thin beige slip.

On clay of underside, oval stamp impression. Within pictorial field, an acrobatic symplegma group.

Stamp identical to D 2. Representation blurred owing to vertical impression of a straw and an oblique scratch. Stamp: H. 6.3, W. 4.6–4.7 cm.

Findspot: unknown.

Provenance: Acquired before 1939 through Athenian antiques market. Dealer's mark: M/253 Dr. 500. Subsequently owned by V. Grace; now in collection of American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Inv. no. ASA.72.

RAINER C. S. FELSCH

Silker Weiche 10  
D-2057 Reinbek  
Federal Republic of Germany



Kalapodi A 2



Kalapodi A 3



Kalapodi B 3



Kalapodi C 4



Kalapodi B 4



Kalapodi B 2



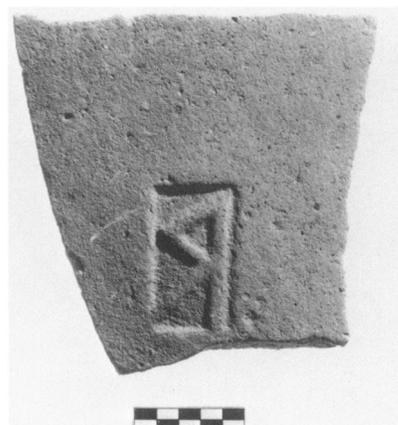
Kalapodi C 5



Kalapodi E 7



Kalapodi E 6



Paralimni A 1

PLATE 52



Agora D 1



Agora D 2



Agora E1, E 2



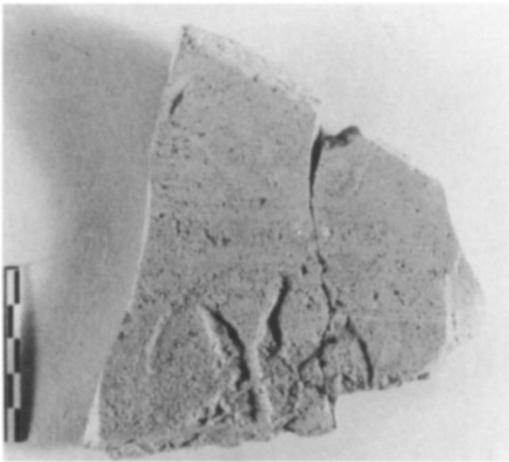
Agora E 3



Agora E 4



Agora E 5



Agora E 6



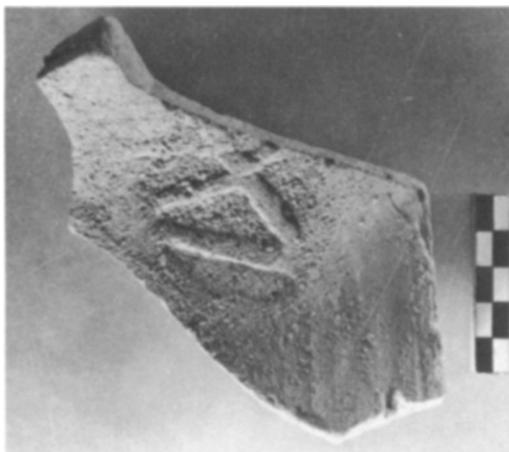
Agora E 7



Agora E 8



Agora E 9



Agora E 10



Agora E 11

PLATE 54



Agora E 12



Agora E 13



Agora E 14



Agora E 15



Gyptokastro E 1



Corinth D 1



Corinth E 1



Nemea E 1



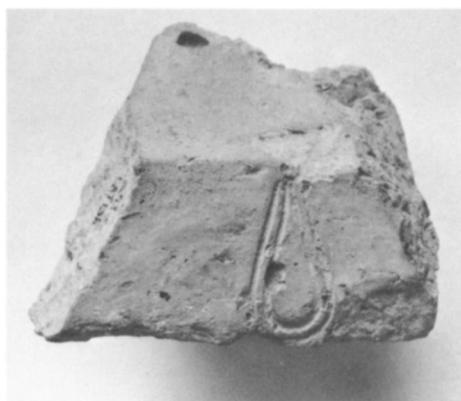
Nemea E 2



Nemea E 1, detail



Nemea E 14



Nemea E 29



Nemea E 37

PLATE 56



Argos D 1



Argos D 2



Provenance unknown D 3



Eretria D 1



Lamia Museum: Geometric bronze horse from Anavra