





Your p.5, letter @. On secondary stamps on Rhodian amphoras, see Grace 1985, pp.8-11 with references.

Letter of Feb. 4, VG to Calvet (Kition)  
year?



Athens, December 13, 1989

To Susan Retroff

Dear Susan,

*(For this correspondence,  
see folder MISCELLANEOUS STAMPED  
CONTAINERS)*

With regard to pilgrim flasks and parallels among amphora stamps, cf. your letter of October 21, here are some notes, and enclosed are photocopies, first of the information from Roger in 1956 (now made by our better photocopier), and then of some look-alikes among amphora stamps. You will see that apparently there are none exactly the same as on the flasks; but in some cases at least, it looks as if the flasks and amphoras are quite likely to have been stamped in the same pottery works.

I do what I can about dates and possibly useful publications of the amphoran stamps. Lots of publication references are to listings with no illustrations and no dates, as for instance in IG, Nilsson, Reisner's Samarra, etc., etc.

1.) ΔΡΡΟΘΕΟΥ. A great many on file, including some in modern publications, e.g., Calvet, who illustrates (not such wonderful photos), gives his excavation context and consults us about dates; I enclose photocopies of cards <sup>3</sup>/<sub>2</sub> and <sup>4</sup>/<sub>2</sub> of the Rhodian fabricant ΔΡΡΟΘΕΟΥ (the stamp type as on the flasks) i.e. the backs of the cards, with entries of examples. The best for you probably remains the one from the "Pergamon deposit", Pergamon VIII, 2, no. 1013, since we have (kindness of Prof. Bürke no. a rubbing from no. 1013 itself. See enclosed photocopy. You will see that it is not exactly as represented in the publication (field different) but the letters are pretty close <sup>to yours</sup>. I would use this parallel, and feel pretty confident as to the date of the deposit, "ca. 205-175 B.C." (Grace 1985, p. 42, "Period III"). Note that Rhodian handles with this stamp type were found also in the Middle Stoa filling (5 examples), and in Deles in the group associated with the Stoa of Philip, on which see note in Grace 1974, p.198 and note 21; it is about contemporary with ~~the~~ the latter part of the Middle Stoa filling.

2.) ΠΟΣΕΙΑΩΝΙΟΣ. Our type, Kean, has a club below the name, not present - just not impressed? - on the flask. [How did they, anyhow, stamp these things in the middle of the side without squashing them?] Letters seem to me v. similar. Example published from Iasos: Annuaire 1961-62, p.619, no. 70, fig.49. Our Koan corpus no. 567 for the type. Another example, TD 6225, also in your photocopy, is again from the group associated with the Stea of Philip, like the handle of ΔΣΠΟ-ΘΕΟΥ.

*⊗ The two sides of the flask made individually and put together when ready. I am told (flasks of the Bronze Age were made that way)*

3.) ΑΝΤΙΑΧΟΟΣ. No stamps naming Rhodian fabricants with this name. No Kean stamps at all with this name, to my knowledge.

4.) ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΗΣ. For an amphora stamp parallel, the best we found is the one from Mirneki on a Kean handle which I illustrate (photocopy). Cf. the rho with yours. So far as I know it has not been published, we just have the photo given us by Gaidukevich, the excavator, nice and generous man, who died many years ago. It belongs to our Corpus no. 333. (Probably ignore the Alexandria item, of which I do not know a preper number.) No date to offer.

5.) ΔΣΠΟΥ. My photocopy shows a rubbing and photograph of Kε ABC 406, for comparison with your NM 2336. A dim example from Tenes, perhaps close to ABC 406, has been published with some context: Tenes I, p. 253, no. 232; cf p. 53: ca. 140-130 B.C. ?

Alexandria numbers: ABC is Alexandria, Benaki Collection. AVG is Alexandria, a mere VG number for something in the Musée Grèce-Romain which had no number. (I suggested to the disagreeable Mr. Yusuf Hanna that VG was for Victor Guirguis, (the then Director of the Musée) but he said, "Oh, no!" Mr. Yusuf was second in command. He assured me that as soon as I had gone, they would disorder all I had ordered. He was horrible to Dorothy also: joins that she had managed to make among pieces



faience, imagine of her faience Queens, he broke apart in front of her - as they had numbers, two separate numbers, they must remain separate. However, not long after the mentioned encounter with VG, something happened that left Mr. Yusuf bouleverse<sup>d</sup> along with ~~in~~ the <sup>rest</sup> most of Egypt, in the most extraordinary way: the assassination of Kennedy. After that, Mr. Y. only tried to help.

6.) ΑΠΟΛΑΣΝΙΟΥ Shown in the photocepy is a handle from an excavation by Threpsiades. In this arrangement, none in the Pergamon deposit, none in the MSBF, only 3 from the Agera altogether (SS 13163 is from Section T, South Shop Bldg., Room 3, in case that is a place that means anything to you); There are 10 or so from publications, see enclosed photocepy of entries on back of Card 2 for this reading. 2nd century ?

Publication references in this letter: you must check them yourself (or employ a MacArthur slave). By me, they have not been checked. No time, no time.

In a way relevant to your inquiry: I enclose photocepies of some photos Reger gave me 40 years ago, of pots in Rhodes, I suppose in an apotheke. Perhaps you and I have discussed them? They are two neckless containers (for dry or semi-dry contents?) that are marked by the same secondary stamps as occur on Rhodian amphoras produced by certain fabricants in the terms of certain eponyms, in this case datable a bit before and a bit after the middle of the 2nd B.C. On sec. stamps, see Grace 1985, pp.8,9, 10, 45 (under 1) They seem to be the "initials" of the actual potters, making him responsible, hence an additional control. According to the eponyms associated with these sec. stamps, the pot lower in the photocepy, marked P asterisk, should be a little earlier than the other one, marked ΙΔ. The loose handle (which is in the British Museum) marked <sup>EΦE</sup> COY comes from a similar pot. Amphoras so marked <sup>(ΕΦΕ or ΕΦΕΛΟΥ)</sup> ~~ΕΦΕΛΟΥ~~ come from the shop of ΙΙΙΙΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ (Grace 1985 passim) in the terms of ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΕΙΤΟΣ and ΠΥΘΟΦΕΝΗΣ. both datable ca. mid-2nd



Name with sec. stamps which are used also on neckless jar

P*	FAB.S	E.P.S	Period
<del>Χρυστοκλήης (12)</del>		(1) Ἀλέτριτος - μὲθ. Πειρίστη...	
		Γόργων (2)	IVc
		Εὐδemos (3)	IV?
		Ἡρακλῆος (3)	IVc
	Ἰπποκρέτης (7)		Ξυλόφαντος (3)
		Παυσανίας (3)	IV
		Πειρίστητος (3)	IV
		Τιμόχορος (3)	IV

~~ΕΦ, ΕΦΕΖΟΣ~~

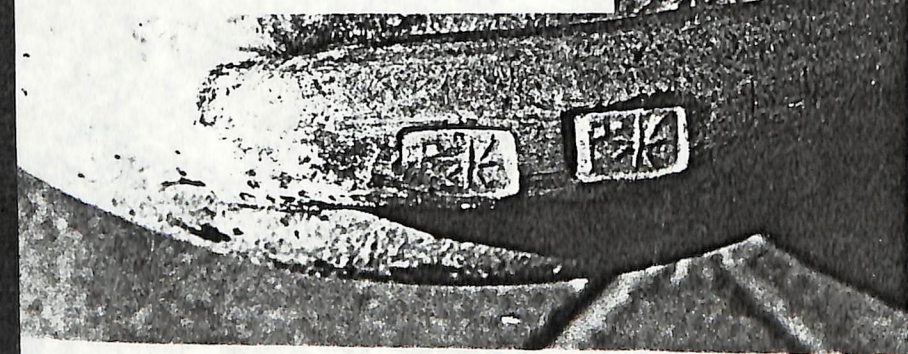
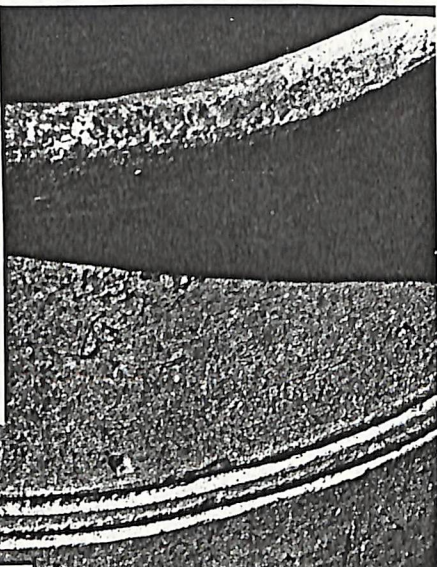
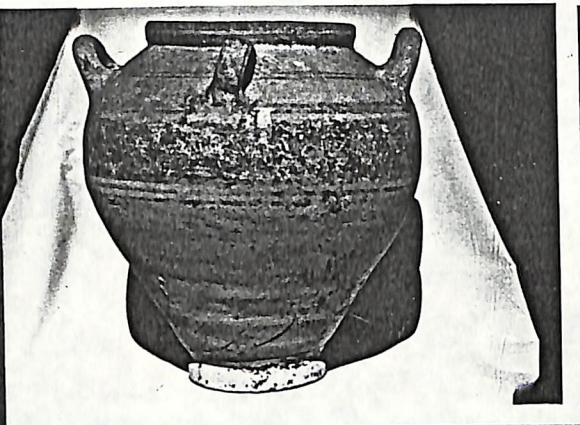
Ἰπποκρέτης	Ἀριστομένης	IVc or IVd
	Πυδομένης	IV

~~Διαιτη~~

Ἀριστοκλήης (8)	Ἀντίβατος	IV or V
	Ἀρκεσίβουδος	IV?
Δαμόφιλος (1) V	Ἀριστομένης	IVc or IVd
Τιμόχορος (4) V	Ἀστυμάχης (1)	IVa?
	Θέρσαδρος (3)	V
	Ἀρκεσίβουδος (2)	IVc or IVd
	Τεσσαρῆος (2)	IVa



RHOD. SEC. STAMPS



not similar pots  
 → Secondary Stamps  
 observed and  
 what resembled  
 Tarsian (pls and  
 thin of whole vessel,  
 a shape), but even more,  
 into material (clay  
 was fresh bands

the

gr

to

stan

H.P.

with

into

tran



HA very bright of me not to note that this was stamped.

24.X.53

For [P\*]: See all pls for new Tarsian... 2nd - of... 2nd year

For [1A]: see all pls for... 3rd year



## Earlier sec. stamps

We need to gather up a statement on these, i.e. the sec. stamps used on Rhodian envelopes before those used by Δαμακροπίτης and his successors.

For those of Δεσκος, mostly at Villanov, see <sup>next</sup> a short published notice, including a photo of one, Hesperia 51, 1982, p. 296, note 10, and of pl. 80, l. 1 and l. 3 (Matheron and Wallace). These are 1) all the same (AT), and 2) set more on top of the handle, str near the stamp, than those of Δαμ. et. and 3) almost all we know are in the Villanov lot

For those of Σωτας (? <sup>maybe</sup> also seen str early Feb.?), will refer to the Εσκήματα, and ? These also are more on top of the handle, just of one the side of the att., as with Δαμ., etc.

There is a confusion of comments on these in EAD 27 because there seems to be a late Σωτας, VT?, who also? uses sec. st. See index of EAD 27, ch. 14.

and I find one attached to the ref. Αφροσίδας. Too late for Σ., too early for Δ.?



## RHODIAN SEC. ST.S

For a more inclusive publication

Material for a dissertation: see this folder, list by AA dated 1.11.58, with comment of Today's date entered on last page.

I would publish something like AD's raisonnée list of 1.11.58, filled out by more recent finds. (I mean I would recommend this arrangement to somebody else.) The list to be carefully checked as well as supplemented. Period date to be included in the list.

The illustrator to include photos of the sec. str., arranged alphabetically in one or more plates. Should illustrate also ~~the~~ photos of the accompanying main strata. The student? undertaking the job, to learn - from Carolyn? - how to plot strata with modern equipment; and then get permission to take the photos in a music room - Roman.

Maybe Kimberly Flint, whom Coulson has assigned - persuaded? - to finish up Richard's job.





(2)

- <sup>2</sup>Αριστομένης 1st (πτε) Β, Θ?, Κ, Θ
- " 2nd (στ) ω. main st. □: IM? (you with A. 100?)
- <sup>2</sup>Αριστοβρατίδης (∇ lat) ΘΑ, Θ
- <sup>2</sup>Αριστοκλής (∇, ~στ?) non
- <sup>2</sup>Αριστοκράτης (∇ or ∇I) ω. main st. □: EP
- <sup>2</sup>Αριστοκράτης (∇) " " " " ΑΛ, 93 (M/ra)
- <sup>2</sup>Αριστοφάνης? (non ∇I) non
- <sup>2</sup>Αριστοτέλης (∇) ο; ε, ε°, θ, κ, ο, τ, θ
- " 2nd (πτε) Β, Κ, Τ
- <sup>2</sup>Αριστοτέλης 2nd (non ∇I) non
- <sup>2</sup>Αριστοβρατίδης 1st (∇) } Δ, Ε, Κ, Χ, Ο, ΕΘ, Θ
- " 2nd (∇I) } - most or only with 1st?
- <sup>2</sup>Αριστοκράτης (∇I) or later? non
- <sup>2</sup>Αριστοκράτης (lat ∇?) ω. ο: ΘΑ, ΥΑ
- " ω. □: not found
- <sup>2</sup>Αριστοκράτης (πτε) Β, Κ, Ο, Γ, Τ
- <sup>2</sup>Αριστοκράτης (∇) ω. ο: Ε?, ΥΑ ω. □: ΘΑ (rather late?)
- <sup>2</sup>Αριστοκράτης 2nd (153? πτε) ω. ο: ΕΙ, ΙΔ, ΙΚ, Ο, ΠΑ?
- " 3rd (∇II) ω. □: another? non
- Ερίταυ (∇I) non
- Εριτίδης (πτε?) ω. ο: ΘΑ
- Ερίδης (∇ or ∇I) ω. □: ΑΛ
- Ερίδης (∇ or ∇I) ω. ο: Ε, Τ
- Ερίδης (πτε?) ω. □: ΥΘ
- Ερίδης (πτε?) Β, Υ, Ο\*, Γ, Ρ\*
- Ερίδης (∇I or ∇II) non
- Ερίδης (∇I) non

stipp  
 2. A. 100  
 - Αριστοκράτης

Αβροκράτης	1στ	(IV)	IC, K, 9, 51?
"	2στ	(V or VI)	(analogy with ↑?)
Βακχίος?		(VI)	<u>nom</u>
Γάργων		(IV or V)	B, B*, I*, K, KA, O*, Π?
Δαμαίνετος		(IV)	B*, θA?, K, C
Δαμάτριος		(VI or later)	<u>nom</u>
Δημοκράτης		(VI or VII)	<u>nom</u>
Δημοφρίδης?		(VI)	<u>nom</u>
Δάμων		(VI, or later)	w. O: θA w. □: B, IC, A2
Διονύσιος		(VI - VII?)	<u>nom</u>
Δρόκων		VII?	<u>nom</u>



Ζηνόςδοτος	(VI α β γ δ)	<u>now</u>
Ηρακλής	(IV, λ α β)	ω. 0: B*, K*, O, P, T ω. □: ⊕, ⊙
Ηράκλειτος	(VI)	<u>now</u>
Θεαίδετος	(III λ α β)	A, B, T, φ
Θεοσάδης	(V)	A, θ?, ια, ις, ο, ςφ
Θεοφύλιος	(VI)	<u>now</u>
Θεοφύλακτος	(VI α β γ δ)	<u>now</u>
Γάβριελ	(VI)	<u>now</u>
Γεωργιάδης	(VII)	<u>now</u>
Γεώργιος 2ος	(V-VI)	ω. 0: A, Δ?, ς, θ, π, τ, ς ω. □: 7A, γδ
Γιαννίας	(VII)	<u>now</u>
Καδδίαδης	(VI)	<u>now</u>
Καδδικριτύς 3ος	(V)	(many)
Καδδικριτύς 2ος	III	now
Καδδίσσιος	(VI?)	<u>now</u>
Καδδιδεύς	VI α β γ δ	<u>now</u>
Καδδίκος	(VI)	<u>now</u>
Καδδιστάτης 1ος	(III, λ α β)	now
" 2ος	(IV α β γ δ)	<u>now</u>
Καδδιστής?	(VI?)	<u>now</u>
Κληρόστρατος	(V)	(many)
(Κρατίδης)	VII	⊕

	Ααφείτης	(IV α V α)	ε, ια, ιβ, κ, κ*, ο, [α']
	Ααορτίδας	(V)	(many, complex)
	Αυοίστερος	(VI α VII)	<u>non</u>
with R4?	Μαθεύτας ?	(2nd BC)	<u>non</u>
	Μαυεκάτης	(VI α VII)	<u>non</u>
	Μαυόδαας	(u...)	<u>non</u>
	Μαυοθάτης ?	(u u u ?)	<u>non</u>
	Μυροφίλος	(VI)	<u>non</u>
	Μυρτίδας	(VI α VII)	<u>non</u>
	Ναύκιλος	(VI α VII)	<u>non</u>
	Ναύκιλος	(V α VI ?)	ω, ο, θ ω, ο, α
	Νικασταγός 1st	(III, let)	A, B
	" 2nd	(V)	(many)
	Νικόμαχος	(VI)	<u>non</u>
	Νικότιμος	(VII ?)	<u>non</u>
	(Ξυνοφάνης	(III)	Δίκτος α. α.)
	Ξυνοφάντος 2nd	(IV)	β, γ, δ, κ, κ, ο*, π*
	Ξυνοφάν	(III)	γ α. α. ?
	Πασιφάν	(VI)	<u>non</u>
	Πανσουλίας 3rd	(IV)	(many)
	Παισιόστερος	(IV)	β*, κ, κ, ο*, π*, τ*
	Πολυδάτος 2nd	(V)	(many, complex)
	(Πρωτοφάνης	(III)	(Δίκτος α. α.)
	Πυθαγόρας	(IV)	εφ, εφφ, θ, ια, ιβ, κ, κ, ο, ο*



also  
to my  
sons,

I cannot

Πυθόδωρος (IV) B, I⊗, I\*, K, O\*

Πυθοκλής (V?) none

Πυθόκριτος (VI or VII?) none

~~Σθενέλας (Ic) none~~

Σιμίας (VI) none

~~Σιρυλίνος (II) none~~

Σύμμαχος (III det.) rose

~~Σώδαμος (II?) none~~

Σωκράτης (VI) □: sec. st. not identified

~~Σωσίδαμος (Ib) none~~

Σωσικλής (IV) w. O: B\*, K, T\*,  
w. □: ⊗, ⊛

? Σωσίφιλος

~~Σώστρατος (II) none~~

~~Σωχάρης (IIa) none~~

Τειθαγόρας (Va?) E, IΔ, IC, O, C.I,

Τειθαμενός (V) w. O: E, Θ, O, C, T,  
w. □: ΔΔ, Π, E, EIC not ident., <sup>A</sup>□ not ident.

Τειθομένης (V?) w □: ΔΔ, AP, ΥΞ, ΠΥΞ,

~~Τελέσιων (Ib) none~~

Τιμαγόρας = Τειμαγόρας 1 (V) w. O: Δ, Θ, θ, O, Π, E?

w. □: ΨΑ, Δ, ΥΞ, Β?, Δ not ident

Τιμαγόρας (or Τειμα-) 2 (VI) (some of Τιμαγόρας 1?)

~~Τίμαρχος (IA) none~~



- ~~Τιμαρχος (Ic) none~~
- ~~Τιμασαγόρας (III) none~~
- ~~Τιμασίθεος (IA) none~~
- Τιμόδικος (Va?) w. O: E, Θ, IC, K, K\*, O, T\*  
w. □: \*<sup>1</sup>ϛ
- Τιμόθεος (V) w. O: X, Γ, E, Θ, O, Π, Σ, Φ, Ϙ, ϙ, Ϛ, ϛ,  
≠ A? not ident., w. □: Δ
- ~~Τιμοκλείδης (II) none~~
- ? ~~Τιμοκλῆς Α (IIa?) none~~
- ~~Τιμοκλῆς 1 (Ic) none~~
- Τιμοκλῆς 2 (V or VI) none
- ~~Τιμοκράτης (IA) none~~
- Τιμοκράτης (VI or VII) none
- Τιμοθένης (VI or VII) none
- ~~Τιμόστρατος (Ic) none~~
- Τιμούρροδος (IV) B, B\*, K, P\*,
- Τιμῶναξ (VII) none
- ~~Τισαγόρας (Τεισ.) (?) none~~
- Φαινίλας (VI) none
- ~~Φιλῆνος (Ic) none~~
- ~~Φιλόδαμος (III) none~~
- ~~Φιλοκράτης (I late) none~~
- ~~Φιλωνίδας 1 (IIa D) none~~
- ~~Φιλωνίδας 2 (II early) none~~
- ~~Φρ[ασιλας] (I (C)) none~~



~~Φίλιππος? (I-Πα)~~ ~~none~~

~~Φωκίων (IA)~~ ~~none~~

~~Χαρμωκλῆς (II)~~ ~~none~~

~~Χρυσάων (V or VI)~~ ~~none~~

~~Χρυσάωρ (VI)~~ ~~none~~

~~Χρυσόσερατος (IB)~~ ~~none~~



Rhodia secondary stampsPublished notes:see Prugs indexTarsus I, p. 135 note 2, and see nos. 75-77,  
p. 137 note 9,  
p. 145

Shelov's articles ⊗

Nessana I, note 10 [<sup>publ</sup> p. 112, with note || (find on page)]

12.IV.66

Calvus de Byrsa

8.67

Skardham (assembled in index) p. 380  
of chapter XIV of Dobos 27

## In preliminary studies:

MSBF summary discusses it some length  
(Mr. B. correspondence)

4.I.88

See note; "Middle Str. Dated" (Hogrefe 1985), pp. 9-10  
and text prepared for publication of Beersheba  
handls, which is 3 lines very plain, if not  
very full. [See attached photograph]

- ⊗ D. B. Shelov, "Pattern Stamps from Excavations at Phara  
1) agoria," Materials and Studies of Archaeology in the  
USSR, no. 57 [1957] in Russian. (He calls it 1956)
- 2) D. B. Shelov, "Supplementary Stamps on Rhodia Amphora,"  
Mélanges offerts à K. Michalowski, Warsaw 1966,  
pp. 663-668. in Russian



On sec. stamps in Plurals,  
see also:

EAD 27, index, p. 380, with numerous refs.

B.B. Shelton, see earlier ref. in EAD 27.

B.B. Shelton, Problems Stamps for Taiwan  
, pp. 22 - 24

(How does it cite D.B. Shelton, "Sec. St.  
on Plur. amples, Mélanges offerts à K.  
Michalofsky, Warsaw 1966, (pp 666-7)







- 4 - (2)

month as well as the year (cf. #2, etc., of our group) may have been another device for narrowing the responsibility: it would make a smaller group for discard, in case a spot check showed a defect.) When the production was large, as in the case of the fabricant Midas (cf. #37 below), there may be 30 or more secondary stamps known in association with the same fabricant's name; we do not know if the working potters used new marks year by year.

For secondary stamps, see Grace, "Middle Stoa," pp.8-10, where are also leads to the earlier literature on the subject; *ibid.*, pl. 1 illustrates their use, and cf. text, *ibid.*, pp.45-46. On the large production of the fabricant Midas, see *ibid.*, p. 42. The most considerable study of Rhodian secondary stamps so far published is still that of D.B.Shelov, "Pottery Stamps from the Excavations at Phanagoria," Materials and Studies of Archaeology in the USSR, no.57 [1957] (in Russian), especially pp. 136-143. Secondary stamps are mentioned below under #13, #22, and #30. They suggest that #13 and #22 are from the same amphora; another possible pair are #1 and #30.

Omit under #1 the reference to a stamp thought to combine Alexandros with an eponym Molpagoras, otherwise unknown to stamps. The stamp has evidently been misread; and in any case it is irrelevant here as it is rectangular.

14.11.88 Ought to cite Shelov's most recent on see. st.;  
Shelov 1966? On Tanais?







(2)

att., of unred:

~~Pls of K...~~

1 ~~...~~

1 ~~...~~

unred unred st,

(1)

1 v. Tare

only ser. st. pres.

(17)

SS 12717



(2) ?

From  
Museum  
of  
MORF  
where

Too long  
but don't  
worry  
in  
the  
article

on handle endorsed (the 1) 4  
 Δγρο κρητεις, 2 in Athens, Ben. Coll;  
 on handle naming the cf. Radekopsiys,  
 2 (?) (one in Ben. Coll., one perhaps in Perugia)  
 on handles naming the cf. Radekopsiys, 3  
 (in Ben. Coll., at Agou, and at Gyze), a  
 handle naming Εὐπρωτος, 1 (cf. Pergam,  
 see Perseus XI, 1, p. 175 and p. 63, 3);  
 uncertain or unknown main stamp, 2 (BS  
 12 717 of MSBF, and Tarsos 75, still  
 not read)

It seems the the found at Gyze may  
 be part of an amphora of Δγρο.



Sec. st. origins of Δίσκος  
III

Δίσκος	Κρατίδας	Αρτ	R √9110
"	"	Βαδ.	15, 32, 114
"	"	Θρσ.	R √9 3, 4, 11, 22, 27
⇒	⇒	<del>Υακ.</del>	35, 37, 69
"	"	Υακ.	17, 23, 24, 26, 31
⇒	Αρτ. Ερμ. φάγος	39, 62, 87	
"	Κρ. Ερμ. φάγος	<del>Υακ.</del>	
"	"	(no name)	R √9 8, 12, 14, 57, 76, 85
"	Πρ. ατο φάγος	Δαδ.	√9 25, 23
"	"	Παυ.	√9 30

class Tarsus I  
p. 140, no. 21

(still 8.11)

What separates this lot from those that  
apparently start ca 182 BC?

- 1.) ~~They~~ <sup>Some</sup> are set as though intended to  
supplement to sprayer types, on top of the  
crankle; or on a pub. handle.
- 2.) They are almost exclusively of  
villanovan.
- 3.) There is only one sec. st.; III



Order of last 6 eps. in MSBF

<u>present sequence</u>	<u>in Orig. dup</u>	<u>in MSBF</u>	<u>what seq. sh.</u>
Kαδικρατίδας 2nd	20	18	no
Σύμμαχος	17	16	"
Κλεικέρης 1st	9	12	"
Νικασαίγος 1st	8	8	A, B, K, C
Θραϊγγός	11	6	A, B, T, φ
Χαροδοτός	17	4	T, Y
		0	
		0	
		0	
		εξ	

<u>These letters:</u>	<u>fb.</u>	<u>cf.</u>
A (flumen)	Δαμ. 1ππ	ΝΙΚΑΣ, π Θραϊγγός (Αριστοβαρμ. ??) (Ξενοφάνης)
B	1ππ.	ΝΙΚΑΣ, 1st Θραϊγγός
K	Δαμ. ακ 1ππ ακ Αριστοκ. ?	ΝΙΚ, 1st Αριστοκ. 2nd Αριστοκ. Γόργων? Ζωσικ. ?
C	Δαμ. ακ ππ	ΝΙΚ.

T

ψα.  
Δαμ.  
Ιπποκ.

φ.  
Αθανάτοτος  
Αριστοτέλης  
Αρίστων  
Αρχιδαίμων

Υ

Δαμ.  
Ιπποκ.

Αθανάτοτος  
Ξενοφών

κλειδί ←

Φ

Ιπποκ.  
Αριστοτέλης?  
(publ.)

Θεοί γυτός  
no X







It seems that ep. Ἀθανάδορος by his secret  
 associate with the eps. So did fellow  
 Νικαγόρας - Θεοφύλακος. These eps. T  
 and Y are being used by Δημοκρατίης presumably?

Early letters secret on Ph.

See notes in this folder of 8.I.82, another  
 of today's date on:

Names with Θ

" " A, a particular die?

Now see names with T " " ?

eps

facts

Ἀθανάδορος 1A1

Ἀριστογάμος ΘΚ (3)

Ἀριστὺν ΑΓΡ

Ἀρξιδάκος ΥΑΚ ??

Δημοκρατίης

Θεοφύλακος ΠΑΔ (2)

Ἰσοκρατίης (5, but probably not  
 all same) and 1, not read

Name with Y

eps

facts

Δημοκρατίης (2)

Ἰσοκρατίης (lit 1, 3)

Ἐρωφῶν ΘΕΖ (3)

• Ἀθανάδορος ΥΑΚ, but  
 no proof, don't

know die

23.I.82

Ἀθανάδορος ΘΕΖ

(Etymology, rubbing)  
 (that not be a file  
 in the ...)



Shelton on restriction on  
making counts on basis  
of sec. sts.

Potts stamps for Taiwan

"It is hardly possible, for ex., to consider as  
conclusive the count of the sp. *Nikarajopsis*  
and the prob. *Apistokidg*, merely on the basis  
of the fact that on their stamps they always  
happen to be the same sec. st. [B in red.]<sup>70</sup>

Such a simple sec. st. can be found with  
various names. etc. — He is right in the  
case, as I had been linking Taiwan 76 and 77 on the basis  
of 2 sec. sts. w. B that are not alike.

Note in recognizing that *Apistokidg* &  
*littorakidg*'s are contemporaries.

He does not wish to separate the genus of  
*Diostros* from that of *Apistokidg*'s etc.

He was not believing in sec. sts. w. the  
same *Diostros* (still p. 24)

mentis  
→



Sec. st. in slap Δαμοκρ. - Ἰπποκρ.

Note that A & B are not a sequence in date, because B<sup>B</sup> appears with ep. Νικασαγ, as well as with ep. Θεαίδητος. See published no.: Tarso I, no. 76a-b (fig. 117); ep. Νικασαγ. Παυ.

This fig. 117<sub>a</sub> shows the difference bet<sup>w</sup> the Δ of Δαμοκρ. - Ἰπποκρ., and the one of <sup>3</sup>Ἀριστοκράτης, made under (77b). Ἰπποκρ. in later times surely has the third one like the <sup>3</sup>Ἀριστοκράτης. (check).



**RHODIAN: SEC. STAMPS**

Redating of Rh. ep. "ΑΘΑΥΔΟΣΤΟΣ"

because he does occur with sec. st. (of Δαμοκρίτης) or Πύρρος

Begin after Villanove:

	Page	MSBF		
7				4. I. 88
192 193	10	7	Καλλιμάχης II	See "Midd. Sto. Dates"
191 192	17	10	Ἀρχιδάμος	Hesperia 54, 1985, pp. 10-1
190 191	17	12	Αἰργασίας II	on fitting in this ep.
189 190	17	11	Αἰργίας	evidence for this handle
	189		? ΑΘΑΥΔΟΣΤΟΣ (now 185)	the same line, and see
190	21	15	Δαμοκρίτης II	sec. st. s
189	26	15	Ἀγλαξος ? sec. st. H. h. ??	
188	20	18	Καλλιμάχης II	} sec. st. s (Δαμοκρίτης)
187	17	16	Σύμμαχος	
186	9	12	Καλλιμάχης I	
185	(on 189)		ΑΘΑΥΔΟΣΤΟΣ	sec. st., letters
189 185	8	8	Νικασαγόρας I	" " "
183 184	11	6	Θεοδότης	" " " (Δαμοκρίτης) end of MSBF
183	17	4	ΑΘΑΥΔΟΣΤΟΣ	↓ ↓
182	10	0	Ἀριστοτέλης II	Reg., and MSBF
181	20	0	Ἀρίσταρχος etc	

240.

2. I. 82

He can be added in no. with little upset, because

1.) actually 188 - 183 is six, since you find both ends and 2.) in p. 291 of EAD 27 I speak of "5 or 6" v. sec. st. in MSBF, to mention one the handle was "Aglaos" but ΑΘΑΥΔΟΣΤΟΣ, both stab., then this place







May 12, 1967

Dear Barbara,

Here is a list Andreas Dimoulinis has taken for you from our files, of Rhodian fabricants who use secondary stamps. Where you see (1), this means that only a single example is known that has a secondary stamp, which usually makes it unreliable. Perhaps some of the others have only two examples and are not reliable. The list is not at all ready for publication, having not been investigated, but just looked at. Probably not all these people used secondary stamps in just the same way; those of ΔΙΣΚΟΣ for instance seem rather different, and are certainly earlier than the regular kind, though they are preceded by a few much earlier ones (cf. ΣΤΑΣ).

Thank you very much indeed for sending me the clothesline, which I am delighted to have. I would be glad if you would bring me anything at all that has come there addressed to me, though I cannot imagine there has been anything else. (You wrote about the Middle East Studies Ass'n).

Mr. Dow was disappointed to hear that you do not like artichokes. He said it was your only flaw. We both look forward to seeing you, and I to seeing your various lists of results.

I am sure you miss Herbert very much, and hope you have good news of him on his journey. I was so sorry not to see him here.



## RHODIAN fabricants with sec. stamp

1) CIRCULAR MAIN STAMP

- 1) Ἀλέξανδρος
- 2) Ἀλίος
- 3) Ἀναξιμένης (1)
- 4) Ἀνασιππίδας
- 5) Ἀριετοκλῆς
- 6) Βάκχιος
- 7) Δαμοκράτης
- 8) Δαμόφιλος
- 9) Εὐφράνωρ
- 10) [Ζηνοδότος (1)] Not established. Based on publication
- 11) ~~Στασιππίδας~~
- 12) Φηποκράτης
- 13) Πανθεανίας (1) Not established. Based on publication
- 14) Τιμόθεος

2) RECTANGULAR MAIN STAMP

Σωτᾶς (early Rh.)

- |               |                          |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| 1) Γαλιένης   | 8) Μαρτύς                |
| 2) Δαμοκράτης | 9) Μίδας                 |
| 3) Διοδότος   | 10) Μικυθός (also early) |
| 4) Δίσκος     | 11) Ρόδων                |
| 5) Ἐπιγόνος   | 12) Στράτων              |
| 6) Ἴεροκλῆς   | 13) Σωταῖρος             |
| 7) Λίος       | 14) Φιλοτέφανος          |



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Transl. by PMWM (→ transl) YES! PTWMM 2.11.82

D.B. Shelov, Supplementary stamps on Rhodian amphoras, Mélanges offerts à K. Michalowski, Warsaw 1966.

p 663 On the handles of Hellenistic amphoras, in addition to the main stamp, in which is marked the owner of the ceramic workshop ("fabricant" stamps) or the ~~name~~ name of the eponym -- a priest of Helios (eponymous stamps) and

[Mélanges offerts à K. Michałowski, Warszawa, 1966].

21.01

for Epigraphica, 12.VII.82

/SHELOR  
Д. Б. ШЕЛОВ

ary' /

ДОПОЛНИТЕЛЬНЫЕ КЛЕЙМА НА РОДОССКИХ АМФОРАХ  
*complemental*

На ручках эллинистических родосских амфор помимо основного клейма, в котором обозначено имя владельца керамической мастерской («фабрикантские» клейма) или имя эпонима — жреца Гелиоса (эпонимные клейма) и месяц родосского календаря, иногда встречаются, как известно, небольшие дополнительные клейма. Эти маленькие дополнительные клейма имеют вид глубоко вдавленного квадратика, содержащего обычно одну-две буквы или монограмму. Они помещаются всегда на горизонтальной части ручки, около самого ее корня, но не на верхней стороне, как основное клеймо, а на боковой или даже на нижней, внутренней стороне ручки<sup>1</sup>. Исключение составляют только дополнительные клейма на амфорах эргастериарха Диска, которые всегда бывают помещены рядом с основным клеймом<sup>2</sup>. Но эти клейма на амфорах Диска вообще стоят несколько особняком среди родосских дополнительных клейм; на них мы остановимся ниже.

Хотя дополнительные клейма на родосских амфорах хорошо известны всем, занимающимся керамической эпиграфикой, их изучение специально никогда не производилось, и значение их остается до сих пор невыясненным. Предположение о том, что в буквах дополнительных клейм может читаться название месяца, очень быстро отпало, во-первых ввиду того, что во многих буквах и монограммах невозможно вычитать названия родосских месяцев, а во-вторых потому, что месяц бывает обозначен в основном клейме, сопровождаемом дополнительным<sup>3</sup>. Еще К. Шухардт, опубликовав 4 дополнительных клейма на ручках пергамского комплекса и несколько клейм Британского музея, высказал предположение, что эти клейма обозначали либо различные мастерские одного предприятия, либо разные категории амфор<sup>4</sup>. Однако обе эти гипотезы не могут быть приняты ввиду очень большого разнообразия дополнительных клейм и сравнительно редкой их повторяемости.

<sup>1</sup> Д. Б. ШЕЛОВ, Керамические клейма из раскопок Фанагории, МИА 57, 1956, рис 2. 1-4.  
<sup>2</sup> А. МАЮРИ, Una fabbrica di anfore Rodie, AnnSAI IV-V, 1924, pp. 263-264.  
<sup>3</sup> Ср. V. GRACE, The stamped amphora handles. Excavations at Gözlu-Kule, I, Princeton 1950, p. 137, note 9; Е. И. ЛЕВИ, Керамический комплекс III-II вв. до н. э. из раскопок ольвийской агоры, Ольвия, теменос и агора, М.-Л. 1964, стр. 236.  
<sup>4</sup> Die Inschriften von Pergamon, II, Berlin 1895, S. 433.

6  
C  
L



[Mélanges offerts à K. Micha Gousski, Varsovie, 1965].

for Euprosim, 12.viii.82

SHELOV

Д. Б. ШЕЛОВ

## ДОПОЛНИТЕЛЬНЫЕ КЛЕЙМА НА РОДОССКИХ АМФОРАХ

*complemental*

На ручках эллинистических родосских амфор помимо основного клейма, в котором обозначено имя владельца керамической мастерской («фабрикантские» клейма) или имя эпонима — жреца Гелиоса (эпонимные клейма) и месяц родосского календаря, иногда встречаются, как известно, небольшие дополнительные клейма. Эти маленькие дополнительные клейма имеют вид глубоко вдавленного квадрата, содержащего обычно одну-две буквы или монограмму. Они помещаются всегда на горизонтальной части ручки, около самого ее корня, но не на верхней стороне, как основное клеймо, а на боковой или даже на нижней, внутренней стороне ручки<sup>1</sup>. Исключение составляют только дополнительные клейма на амфорах эргастериарха Диска, которые всегда бывают помещены рядом с основным клеймом<sup>2</sup>. Но эти клейма на амфорах Диска вообще стоят несколько особняком среди родосских дополнительных клейм; на них мы остановимся ниже.

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<sup>4</sup> Die Inschriften von Pergamon, II, Berlin 1895, S. 433.



Лет двенадцать тому назад, готовя к изданию коллекцию керамических клейм из раскопок Фанагории, автор настоящей статьи обратил внимание на дополнительные клейма родосских амфор и высказал некоторые соображения об их назначении, датировке и пр.<sup>5</sup> Накопившийся за последнее десятилетие материал кое в чем подтверждает эти соображения, а кое в чем заставляет пересмотреть высказанные ранее догадки. Поэтому представляется целесообразным теперь вновь вернуться к рассмотрению этого вопроса.

В настоящее время можно считать твердо установленными следующие факты, касающиеся дополнительных клейм.

1. Дополнительные клейма всегда встречаются на ручке вместе с основным клеймом, причем так же часто с клеймами фабрикантскими, как с эпонимными. Это объясняется тем что дополнительное клеймо ставилось лишь на одну из ручек амфоры, безотносительно к тому, какое основное клеймо стояло на этой ручке<sup>6</sup>.

2. Дополнительные клейма имели лишь служебное назначение, они не предназначались для обозрения покупателями. Об этом говорят как размещение дополнительных клейм на малозаметном месте, так и содержание этих клейм — отдельные буквы, эмблемы, монограммы — которое ничего не могло сказать потребителю.

3. Дополнительные клейма связаны с деятельностью керамических предприятий, возглавляемых определенными, не очень многочисленными эргастериархами. Об этом свидетельствует тот факт, что хотя число эпонимных и фабрикантских клейм, сопровождаемых дополнительными, почти одинаково, фабрикантские повторяются гораздо чаще, а число эргастериархов, чьи имена встречаются в основном клейме при наличии на той же ручке дополнительного, почти в три раза меньше соответствующего числа эпонимов<sup>7</sup>. Это наблюдение, сделанное нами при изучении клейм фанагорийской коллекции, полностью подтверждается и новейшими материалами.

4. Штемпелевание дополнительными клеймами производилось не систематически, а от случая к случаю. Часто те же самые эпонимные или фабрикантские клейма, которые бывали встречены вместе с дополнительными, стоят на амфорах, на которых дополнительных клейм нет. Видимо, дополнительному клеймению амфоры подвергались только выборочно, может быть в тех случаях, когда хотели отметить для удобства счета какую-то «юбилейную» амфору — десятую, сотую — или сосуд начинающий новую серию, и т. п.

5. Основное клеймо одного и того же эргастериарха могут сопровождать разные дополнительные клейма. Так на ручках амфор, выпедших из мастерских Тимоксена и Евфранора, известно минимум по две разновидности дополнительных клейм, на амфорах Дамофила и Дамократа — по три, а на амфорах Аристокла и Гиппократа, в чьих мастерских дополнительное штемпелевание производилось наиболее регулярно — до десятка разновидностей для каждого эргастериарха.

6. Иногда, хотя и не часто, встречаются одинаковые дополнительные клейма при разных фабрикантских основных клеймах. Так дополнительное клеймо **К** попадает на ручках с основными клеймами эргастериархов Дамократа, Аристокла, Гиппократа, клеймо **□** — на амфорах эргастериархов Аристокла и Дамофила.

<sup>5</sup> ШЕЛОВ, указ. соч., стр. 136-143.

<sup>6</sup> GRACE, op. cit., p. 135, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> ШЕЛОВ, указ. соч., стр. 141.



7. Дополнительные клейма сопровождают, как правило, только круглые основные клейма. Исключение составляют уже упомянутые дополнительные клейма на амфорах Диска, стоящие рядом с прямоугольным клеймом. Другие примеры совместного нахождения основного прямоугольного и дополнительного клейма на одной ручке нам неизвестны, если не считать двух весьма недостоверных и вероятно ошибочных упоминаний таких случаев в литературе<sup>8</sup>. Такое почти исключительное штемпелевание дополнительными клеймами только тех амфор, на которые ставится круглое основное клеймо, пока никак не может быть объяснено.

Нами было высказано в свое время предположение о принадлежности дополнительных клейм мастерам-горшечникам, работавшим на предприятии того или иного эргастериарха<sup>9</sup>. Основанием для этой гипотезы явились несомненная связь дополнительных клейм с основными клеймами эргастериархов, подчиненное положение дополнительных клейм по отношению к основному фабрикантскому клейму и наличие в Керченском музее ручки родосской амфоры с маленьким дополнительным клеймом  $\begin{matrix} \epsilon \phi \epsilon \\ \zeta \delta \gamma \end{matrix}$ . Имя "Εφεσος по самому своему содержанию рабское и скорее всего могло принадлежать рабу или вольноотпущеннику-мастеру, работавшему на предприятии эргастериарха, чье имя стояло на ручке в основном клейме. Основное клеймо к сожалению сбито, от него сохранилось лишь несколько букв, позволяющих подозревать в нем фабрикантское имя 'Ιπλογράτης. Может быть тому же мастеру Эфесу принадлежит и дополнительное клеймо  $\begin{matrix} \epsilon \phi \\ \zeta \delta \gamma \end{matrix}$ , встреченное на родосской амфорной ручке из раскопок Самарии<sup>10</sup>. Предположение о принадлежности дополнительных клейм мастерам-горшечникам не вызвало возражений со стороны исследователей<sup>11</sup>, не противоречит ему и вновь найденный керамический материал.

Если принять это предположение о принадлежности дополнительных клейм, то необходимо объяснить, каким образом одинаковые дополнительные клейма могли иногда оказаться на ручках с именами разных эргастериархов. Это могло происходить либо в том случае, когда два разных мастера, работавшие в разных мастерских, употребляли одинаковые клейма, либо тогда, когда мастер, клеймивший амфоры дополнительным клеймом, переходил из одной мастерской в другую, принадлежавшую другому владельцу, сохраняя однако, при этом свое личное клеймо. Учитывая тот факт, что повторяющиеся при различных эргастериархах дополнительные клейма обычно бывают предельно просты и содержат всего по одной букве — В, К, О — надо думать, что первая возможность осуществлялась гораздо чаще, чем вторая.

Рассматривая дополнительные клейма родосских амфор, мы в нашей предыдущей работе предположительно отнесли их все к концу III—началу II вв. до н. э., то есть ко времени пергамского керамического комплекса (220–180 гг.)<sup>12</sup>. Теперь приходится от-

<sup>8</sup> M. Nilsson, *Timbres amphoriques de Lindos*, Copenhagen 1909, n° 401, 3; *Harvard excavations at Samaria*, 1908–1910, I, Harvard 1924, p. 315, n° 1.

<sup>9</sup> Шелов, указ. соч., стр. 141.


<sup>10</sup> *Harvard excavations at Samaria*, I, p. 315, n° 6.

<sup>11</sup> См. ЛЕВИ, указ. соч., стр. 236; ср. И. Б. БРАШИНСКИЙ, *Успехи керамической эпиграфики*, СА, 1961, 2, стр. 293 сл.

<sup>12</sup> Шелов, указ. соч., стр. 143.



казаться от этого предположения и признать более долгое существование обычая дополнительного клеймения. Правда, целый ряд родосских эпонимов, чьи имена встречаются в основных клеймах, сопровождаемых дополнительными, принадлежит ко времени пергамского комплекса, таковы Аратофан, Аристид, Аристодам, Аристон, Архилаид, Гиерон, Теайдет, Калликрат, Никасагор, Ксенофонт<sup>13</sup>. К тому же времени относится и деятельность тех эргастериархов, на чьих амфорах наиболее часто встречаются дополнительные клейма — Аристокла, Гиппократа, Дамократа. Поэтому и подавляющее большинство этих клейм может быть отнесено ко времени пергамского комплекса. Но если внимательно присмотреться к перечисленным именам, то окажется, что все те эпонимы, чье время может быть определено более точно, отправляли жреческие функции уже в начале II в. до н. э., во второй половине того периода, на который падает пергамский комплекс. Таковы, например, Теайдет, бывший эпонимом в 90-х гг. II в.<sup>14</sup>, Аристид, жречество которого приходится на 80-е годы<sup>15</sup>, Аратофан и Гиерон, чья деятельность в качестве жрецов-эпонимов датируется эпиграфическими памятниками или находками их клейм в археологических комплексах первыми десятилетиями II в. до н. э.<sup>16</sup> То же самое следует сказать и об упомянутых эргастериархах. Клейма Гиппократа встречаются на амфорах вместе с клеймами не только Теайдета, но и еще более позднего эпонима Ксенофанта<sup>17</sup>; Аристокл клеймит свои амфоры и при эпониме Аратофане<sup>18</sup>; время деятельности эргастериарха Дамократа определяется периодом 200–180 гг. находкой его клейм в комплексе Виллановы<sup>19</sup>.

Все вышеизложенное свидетельствует как будто бы о том, что клеймение амфор дополнительными штемпелями началось где-то на рубеже III и II вв. до н. э. В этой связи уместно вспомнить о дополнительных клеймах на амфорах эргастериарха Диска. Логично предположить, что эти клейма, единственные, помещавшиеся рядом с основным клеймом эргастериарха или эпонима, были по времени первыми в длинном ряду дополнительных клейм, и что когда ставились эти клейма система их наложения еще не была окончательно выработана. Диск изготовлял свои амфоры при эпонимах Кратиде, Пратофане, Ксенофане и Гиероне<sup>20</sup>, но характерные для мастерской Диска дополнительные клейма  стоят только на амфорах, изготовленных при первых трех эпонимах. При Гиероне предприятие Диска не снабжало амфоры дополнительными клеймами, но на амфорах этого года, выпущенных, видимо, другими мастерскими, такие клейма встречаются уже в обычном положении, на боковой стороне ручки, вдали от основного клейма. Поскольку на

<sup>13</sup> V. GRACE, Stamped amphora handles found in 1931–1932, *Hesperia* III, 1934, p. 219; V. GRACE, *Timbres amphoriques trouvés a Delos*, BCH LXXXVI, 1952, p. 525 sqq.

<sup>14</sup> F. BLECKMANN, *De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis Rhodii*, Goettingen 1907, p. 20; GRACE, Stamped amphora handles found in 1931–1932, p. 227, n° 47; GRACE, The stamped amphora handles, p. 141, n° 26.

<sup>15</sup> ШЕЛОВ, Некрополь Танаиса, М., 1961 (МИА 98), стр. 55 сл.

<sup>16</sup> BLECKMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 18; F. HILLER VON GÄRTRINGEN, Rhodes, RE, suppl. V, 1930, pp. 835 sqq., n° 50, 176.

<sup>17</sup> H. HALL, The greek stamps on the handles of Rhodian amphore found in Cyprus and now in the Metropolitan Museum, *JAmOrSoc* XI, 1885, p. 390 sqq; V. GRACE, Rhodian jars in Florida, *Hesperia* XVII, 2, 1948, pp. 145–146.

<sup>18</sup> V. GRACE, Stamped amphora handles found in 1931–1932, p. 219; GRACE, *Timbres amphoriques*, pp. 525, 528; M.-T. LINGER, *Timbres amphoriques trouvés a Argos*, II, BCH LXXXI, 1957, p. 164, n° 88.

<sup>19</sup> MAIURI, *op. cit.*, p. 528; GRACE, Stamped amphora handles found in 1931–1932, p. 238, n° 90.

<sup>20</sup> MAIURI, *op. cit.*, p. 255 sqq., 264.



амфорах с эпонимными клеймами Кратиды, Пратофана и Ксенофана дополнительные клейма в таком положении никогда не встречаются, можно думать, что Гиерон был последним по времени из этих четырех эпонимов, современных Диску. Если принять датировку В. Грэйса, помещающей срок исполнения жреческих функций Ксенофаном «несколько ранее» 200 г. до н. э.<sup>21</sup>, мы получим в качестве начальной даты дополнительного клеймения последние годы III в. до н. э.

Применявшееся особенно часто в начале II в. до н. э. дополнительное клеймение встречается иногда и в более позднее время. Известны дополнительные клейма на ручках амфор, принадлежащих следующей за пергамским комплексом хронологической группе — 180–150 гг. до н. э. Таковы дополнительные штампы сопровождающие основные клейма эпонимов Алексимаха, Автократа, Герагора, Дамайнета, Ксенофанта, Павсания (II) и др. Деятельность большинства из этих жрецов Гелиоса можно прочно датировать второй четвертью II в. до н. э.<sup>22</sup> Более условна датировка уже в пределах второй половины этого столетия еще нескольких эпонимов, чьи клейма встречаются вместе с дополнительными: Аристоклена, Аристомбротида, Аристрата, Горгона, Кленострата, Лафейда, Поллоарата, Тимотея<sup>23</sup>. Эти датировки базируются главным образом на отсутствии клейм этих эпонимов как в Пергаме и Вилланове, так и в комплексах Карфагена и Коринфа, а также на палеографических данных.

Таким образом, можно установить, что практика маркировки амфор помимо обязательных двух основных клейм иногда еще и маленьким дополнительным, предположительно принадлежавшим мастеру, впервые была применена на Родосе в самом конце III в. до н. э. и просуществовала до второй половины следующего столетия, хотя более или менее регулярно дополнительное клеймение производилось только на некоторых керамических предприятиях в первой четверти II века.

Наблюдения над дополнительными клеймами позволяют сделать новые сопоставления имен эргастериархов и эпонимов. Нам приходилось уже указывать на любопытную группу дополнительных клейм, содержащих одну из букв греческого алфавита и справа от нее звездочку (B\*, K\* и др.)<sup>24</sup>. Эти клейма принадлежат мастерской Аристокла, с основными клеймами которого они встречены в четырех случаях. Значит, родосские эпонимы, чьи имена обозначены в клеймах, сопровождаемых таким дополнительным клеймом, должны быть датированы периодом когда протекала деятельность эргастериарха Аристокла, т.-е. первыми двумя или (учитывая наличие среди этих эпонимов Павсания II<sup>25</sup>) тремя десятилетиями II в. Таким образом, мы можем отнести к этому времени эпонимов Евдама (его имя дважды встречено с клеймом P\*), Тимодика (с клеймом T\*) и Писистрата (дважды с клеймом B\*).

Едва ли можно сомневаться в том, что монограмма  $\alpha\Delta$ , сопровождающая фабрикантское клеймо Евфранора, тождественна такой же монограмме на ручке с клеймом эпонима Кленострата, тем более, что в обоих случаях одинакова и эмблема основного клейма —

<sup>21</sup> GRACE, The eponyms named on Rhodian amphora stamps, *Hesperia* XXII, 2, 1953, p. 119, n. 10, p. 120, n. 10.


<sup>22</sup> GRACE, *Timbres amphoriques* p. 525 sqq.

<sup>23</sup> Там же.

<sup>24</sup> ШЕЛОВ, *Керамические клейма*, стр. 138, n° 16 сл., стр. 142.

<sup>25</sup> G. PORRO, *Bolli d'anfore Rodie del Museo Nazionale Romano*, Ann II, 1916, p. 120, n° 162, 8.



лучезарная голова Гелиоса<sup>26</sup>. Этим устанавливается синхронизм еще одной пары имен, принадлежащей уже пятой хронологической группе В. Грэйс. Общность довольно сложного дополнительного клейма  на двух родосских ручках, найденных в Самарии<sup>27</sup>, позволяет хронологически сблизить эпонимов Поллоарата и Тимотея, чьи имена значатся на основных клеймах этих ручек.

Подобные примеры можно было бы продолжить, но и приведенные материалы достаточно показывают те возможности, которые открывают перед исследователем тщательная регистрация и изучение малозаметных и на первый взгляд не очень выразительных дополнительных клейм родосских амфор.

<sup>26</sup> Шелов, *Керамические клейма*, стр. 140, п<sup>о</sup> 32.

<sup>27</sup> Harvard excavations at Samaria, I, p. 315, n<sup>o</sup> 9, 70.



Transl. by PMWM (> time)

YES! P. TAMM  
7.ii.84

D.B. Shelov, Supplementary stamps on Rhodian amphoras, Mélanges offerts à K. Michalowski, Warsaw 1966.

p 663

On the handles of Hellenistic amphoras, in addition to the main stamp, in which is marked the owner of the ceramic workshop ("fabricant" stamps) or the ~~name~~ name of the eponym -- a priest of Helios (eponymous stamps) and a month of the Rhodian calendar, sometimes there is found, as is known, a few supplementary stamps. These small supplementary /hereinafter 'secondary'/ stamps ~~appear~~ take the form of deeply impressed squares, usually containing one or two letters or a monogram. They are always placed on the horizontal part of the handle, near its very root, ~~are~~ <sup>but</sup> not on the upper side, like the main stamp, rather on the lateral or even lower <sup>inner</sup> side of the handle.<sup>1</sup> The only exceptions are the secondary stamps on the amphoras of the ergasteriarch Diskos, which are always placed next to the main stamp.<sup>2</sup> But these stamps on the amphoras of Diskos in general are somewhat special among Rhodian secondary stamps; we will pause over them below.

Although the secondary stamps on Rhodian amphoras are well known to all who deal with ceramic epigraphy, no special study of them has ever been made, and their significance ~~remains~~ remains up to this time unelucidated. The hypothesis that the naming of a month might be read in secondary stamps was very quickly discarded, in the first place because in many of the letters and monograms it was impossible to work out the ~~name~~ name of Rhodian months, while in the second, the month was marked on the main stamp which was accompanied by the secondary stamp.<sup>3</sup> Already K. Schuchardt, in publishing 4 secondary stamps in handles of the Pergamon complex and a few stamps from the British museum, advanced the hypothesis that these stamps marked either different potters in the same business or different categories of amphora.<sup>4</sup> However both these hypotheses are unacceptable in view of the great variety of secondary stamps and their comparatively rare occurrence.

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1 D.B. Shelov, Ceramic stamps from the excavations of Phanagoria, MIA 57, 1956 Fig. 2.1-4.  
2 A. Maiuri, Una fabbrica di <sup>anfore</sup> Rodie, AnnSAT IV-V, pp 263-264.  
3 Cp. V. Grace, 1950, p 137, note 9; E.I. Levi, Ceramic complex 3rd-2nd c. BC from the excavations of the Olvian agora, Olvia, temenos and agora, M-L 1964, p 236.  
4 Die Inschriften von Pergamon, II, Berlin 1895, p 433.



664 Twelve years ago, while preparing for publication the collection of ceramic stamps from the excavations of Phanagoria, the author of the present article drew attention to the secondary stamps of Rhodian amphoras and put forth certain considerations about their significance, dating etc.<sup>5</sup> Material which has accumulated in the last decade in some ways confirms these considerations and in some ways <sup>now</sup> forces us to reconsider the conjectures put forth earlier. It therefore <sup>now</sup> appears worthwhile to turn anew to a reconsideration of this question.

At the present time we may consider as firmly based the following facts relating to secondary stamps.

11.10.83  
 But if that also - amphora  
 is in Rhodan  
 with just  
 a sec. st.  
 1. Secondary stamps are always found on a handle together with a main stamp, and just as often with fabricant stamps as with eponym stamps. This is explained by the fact that the secondary stamp was placed only on one of the handles of the amphora without relation to which main stamp was on that handle.<sup>6</sup>

2. Secondary stamps had only an official /word means 'service' or 'auxiliary' as well.../ significance; they were not intended for the view of the customers. This is testified to by the placing of the secondary stamps in ~~xx~~ a not very noticable place, and by the contents of these stamps -- single letters, devices, monograms -- which ~~would~~ could not have any meaning to the consumer.

3. Secondary stamps were connected with the ceramic businesses themselves, headed by a limited, not very large, number of ergasteriarchs. To this bears witness the fact that, although the number of eponym and fabricant stamps accompanied by secondary stamps is almost equal, the fabricant stamps are repeated much more often, while the number of ergasteriarchs whose names are found on the main stamp in the presence, on the same handle, of a secondary ~~stamp~~ stamp, is almost three ~~to~~ times <sup>smaller</sup> ~~as great~~ than the corresponding number of eponyms.<sup>7</sup> This observation, made by us in connection with the study of the stamps of the Phanagoria collection, is fully confirmed by the new material.

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 5 Shelov, op. cit. p 136-143.

6 Grace, op. cit. p 135, n.2.

7 Shelov, op. cit., p 141.



→ Check all which give of - 3 -

Agostinos, Timoxenos, etc. and later one of Agostinos

4. The <sup>practice of</sup> stamping with secondary stamps was not done systematically but from time to time. Often the same eponym or fabricant stamps which are found together with secondary stamps exist on amphoras on which there are no secondary stamps. Clearly, amphoras underwent secondary stamping only selectively, perhaps in those cases where they wanted to designate for convenience of counting, a certain "jubilee" amphora -- the tenth, the hundredth -- or a vessel beginning a new series, etc.

with this just means that we know the long handle

? on handles?

5. The main stamp of one or another ergasteriarch may <sup>be</sup> accompanied by different secondary stamps. Thus on the handles of amphoras produced by the potters Timoxenos and Euphranor there are known a minimum of two varieties of secondary stamps each, on the amphoras of Damophilos and Damokrates, three each, while on the amphoras of Aristokles and Hippokrates, among whom secondary stamping was practiced very regularly, -- up to ~~ten~~ ten varieties for each ergasteriarch.

6. Sometimes, though not often, identical <sup>secondary</sup> stamps are found with different main fabricant stamps. Thus the secondary stamp **[K]** falls on handles with main stamps of the ergasteriarchs Damokrates, Aristokles, Hippokrates, and the stamp **[O]** -- on amphoras of the ergasteriarchs Aristokles and Damophilos.

p 665

7. Secondary stamps accompany, as a rule, only round main stamps. The above-mentioned secondary stamps on the amphoras of Diskos, <sup>placed</sup> next to a rectangular stamp, constitute an exception. Other examples of main rectangular stamps and secondary stamps placed together on the same handle ~~are~~ are unknown to us, if one <sup>does</sup> ~~cannot~~ not count two highly doubtful and probably mistaken mentions of such cases in the literature<sup>8</sup>. Such an almost ~~exceptional~~ exclusive stamping with secondary stamps of those amphoras on which there is a round main stamp ~~is~~ can, for the present, in no way be explained.

We do know them - Midas etc.

<sup>8</sup> M. Nilsson, Timbres amphoriques de Lindos, Copenhagen 1909, no. 401,3; Harvard excavations at Samaria, 1908-1910, I, Harvard 1924, p 315, no. 1.



In our time we have put forth ~~the~~<sup>a</sup> proposal about the attribution of secondary stamps to master-potters, working in the businesses of one or another ergasteriarch.<sup>9</sup> As a basis for this hypothesis there is the undoubted connection of secondary stamps with the main stamps of ergasteriarchs, the subordinate position of secondary stamps ~~in~~ in relation to the main fabricant stamp, and the presence in the Kerch museum of ~~the~~ a handle of a Rhodian amphora with the small secondary stamp ΕΦΕ  
COY. The name Ephesos is in its very content servile and might most likely belong to a slave or to a freedman-potter, working in the business of the ergasteriarch whose name ~~stood~~<sup>stood</sup> on the handle in the main stamp. The ~~main~~ main stamp is unfortunately destroyed, of it there remain only a few letters, permitting ~~the~~ us to conjecture in it the fabricant name Hippokrates. Perhaps the secondary stamp ΕΦ also belongs to this potter Ephesos, a stamp found on a Rhodian amphora handle from the excavations of Samaria.<sup>10</sup> The proposal that secondary stamps belong to master-potters has not called forth objections on the part of scholars,<sup>11</sup> and newly-found ceramic material also does not contradict it.

If we accept this proposal about the attribution of secondary stamps, then it is necessary to explain how identical <sup>secondary</sup> stamps could sometimes appear on ~~the~~ handles with the names of different ergasteriarchs. This might arise either in the case ~~where~~ where two different potters, working in different potteries, used the same stamps, or where a potter who stamped amphoras with secondary stamps went ~~from~~ / 'crossed over' / from one pottery to another which belonged to another owner, however keeping there his personal stamp. Considering the fact that the secondary stamps which are repeated for different ergasteriarchs are generally extremely simple and consist in all of one letter -- B, K, O -- we must think that the first possibility was carried out much more often than the second.

Looking over <sup>the</sup> secondary stamps of Rhodian amphoras, in our previous work we tentatively attributed all of them to the end of the 3rd - beginning of the 2nd c. BC, that is, to the time of the Pergamon complex (220-

<sup>9</sup> Shelov, op. cit. p 141

<sup>10</sup> Havard excavations at Samaria, I, p 315, n° 6.

<sup>11</sup> See Levi, op. cit. p 236; cp. I.B. Brashinski, Advances of ceramic epigraphy,

SA, 1961, p 293 f.

<sup>12</sup> Shelov, op. cit., p 143.



p 666 180).<sup>12</sup> Now it is necessary to renounce this proposal and accept a much longer existence of the custom of secondary stamping. It is true that a whole series of Rhodian eponyms, whose names are found in main stamps accompanied by secondary stamps, belongs to the time of the Pergamon complex, such as Aratophanes, Aristides, Aristodamos, Arision,<sup>t</sup> Archilaides, Hieron, Theaidetos, Kallikrates, Nikasagoras, Xenophontos.<sup>13</sup> To the same time may be attributed the activity of those ergasteriarchs on whose amphoras secondary stamps are most commonly found -- Aristokles, Hippokrates, Damokrates. Thus the overwhelming majority of these stamps may be attributed to the time of the Pergamon complex. But if we look attentively at the names enumerated, it turns out that all the eponyms ~~wh~~ whose times can be determined more closely carried out their priestly function already at the beginning of the 2nd c. BC, in the second half of the period in which the Pergamon complex falls. Such, for instance, are Theaidetos, eponym in the 90s of the 2nd c.,<sup>14</sup> Aristides, whose priesthood occurred in the 80s,<sup>15</sup> Aratophanes and Hieron, whose activity as priest-eponyms is dated by epigraphical monuments or finds of their stamps in archeological complexes to the first decades of the 2nd c. BC.<sup>16</sup> The same must be said also of the ergasteriarchs mentioned. The stamps of Hippokrates are found on amphoras together with stamps not only of Theaidetos, but also ~~xxx~~ of the much later eponym Xenophontos;<sup>17</sup> Aristokles stamped his amphoras also under the eponym Aratophanes;<sup>18</sup> the time of activity of the ergasteriarch Damokrates is determined in the period 200-180 by the finding of his stamps in the complex of Villanova.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>V. Grace, Stamped amphora handles found in 1931-1932, Hesperia III, 1934, p 219;

V. Grace, Timbres amphoriques trouvés a Délos, BCH LXXVI, 1952, p 525 ff.

<sup>14</sup>F. Bleckmann, De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis Rhodii, Göttingen, 1907, p 20; Grace 1934, ~~xxx~~ p 227, n° 47; Grace 1950, p 141, n° 26.

<sup>15</sup>Shelov, The Necropolis of Tanais, Moscow 1961 (MIA 98), p 55 f.

<sup>16</sup>Bleckmann, op. cit. p 18; F. Hiller von ~~xx~~ Gärtringen, Rhodes, RE, suppl 5, 1930, pp 835 ff., n° 50, 176.

<sup>17</sup>H. Hall, The Greek stamps on the handles of Rhodian amphore /sic/ found in Cyprus and now in the Metropolitan Museum, JAmOrSoc XI, 1885, p 390 ff; Grace, Rhodian jars in Florida, Hesperia XVII, 2, 1948, pp 145-146.

<sup>18</sup>Grace 1934, p 219; Grace 1952, pp 525, 528; M.-T. Lenger, Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Argos, II, BCH LXXXI, 1957, p 164, n° 88.

<sup>19</sup>Maiuri, op. cit., p 528; Grace 1934, p 238, n° 90.



All that has been summarized above seems to bear witness to the fact that the stamping of amphoras with secondary stamps began somewhere around the turn of the 3rd and 2nd c. BC. In this connection it is to the point to recall the secondary stamps on amphoras of the ergasteriarch Diskos. It is logical to suppose that these stamps, unique ones, placed next to the main stamp of the ergasteriarch or the eponym, were the first in time in a long series of secondary stamps, and that when these stamps were put on the system of their imposing had not yet been finally worked out. Diskos manufactured his amphoras under the eponyms ~~Kak~~ Kratidas, Pratophanes, Xenophanes and Hieron,<sup>20</sup> but the secondary stamps characteristic of the potter Diskos X appear only on amphoras manufactured under the first three eponyms. Under Hieron, the business of Diskos did not supply amphoras with secondary stamps, but on amphoras of that year, clearly issued by other potters, such stamps are found already in their accustomed position, on the lateral side of the handle, <sup>at a distance</sup> ~~Kak~~ from the main stamp. Since secondary stamps in such a position are never found on amphoras with eponym stamps of Kratidas, Pratophanes and Xenophanes, it is possible to consider that Hieron was the last in time of these four eponyms who were contemporary with Diskos. If we accept the dating of V. Grace, who places the term of carrying out the priestly function of Xenophanes ~~3~~ "somewhat before" 200 BC,<sup>21</sup> we will accept as the beginning date of secondary stamping the last years of the 3rd c. BC.

↑  
different  
report

p 667

Secondary stamping, applied for the most part <sup>at</sup> ~~in~~ the beginning of the 2nd c. BC, is found occasionally also at a much later time. Secondary stamps are known on the handles of amphoras belong to the <sup>chronological</sup> group following the Pergamon complex -- 180-150 BC. Such secondary stamps accompany main stamps of the eponyms Aleximachos, Autokrates, Heragoras, Damainetos, Xenophantos, Pausanias (II) and others. The activity of the majority of these priests of Helios may be securely dated to the second quarter of the 2nd c. BC.<sup>22</sup> More conditional is the dating even to the limits of the second half of that century of certain further eponyms, whose stamps are found together with secondary stamps: Aristogenes, Aristombrotidas,

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20 Maiuri, op. cit., p 255 ff, 264.

21 Grace ~~1951, pp~~ 1953, p 119, n. 10, p 120, n. 10.

22 Grace 1952, p 525 ff.



Aristratos, Gorgon, Klenostratos, Lapheides, Polyaratos, Timotheos.<sup>23</sup>  
These datings are based for the most part on the absence of stamps of these eponyms both at Pergamon and Villanowa, and in the complexes of ~~Kar~~ Karphage and Korinth, but also on palaeographic facts.

Thus, it is possible to establish that the practice of marking amphoras sometimes with a small secondary stamps in addition to the two obligatory main stamps, the secondary stamps ~~markings~~ being assumed to belong to the potter, was first employed at Rhodes at the very end of the 3rd c. BC, and continued to exist up to the second half of the following century, although secondary stamping ~~was~~ occurred, more or less ~~is~~ regularly, only in a few ceramic businesses in the first quarter of the 2nd c.

Observation of the secondary stamps permits us to make new comparisons of the names of ergasteriarchs and eponyms. We have already had occasion to point to the curious group of secondary stamps, consisting of one of the letters of the Greek alphabet with ~~an~~ a little star to the right of it (B\*, K\* and others).<sup>24</sup> These stamps belong to the potter Aristokles, with whose main stamp they have been found in four instances. This means that Rhodian eponyms whose names are marked in stamps which are accompanied by ~~similar~~<sup>such</sup> secondary stamps must be dated to the period when the activity of the ergasteriarch Aristokles was in progress, i.e. in the first two ~~ix~~ or (taking into account the presence among these eponyms of Pausanias II<sup>25</sup>) the first three decades of the 2nd c. BC. Thus, we can attribute to this time the eponyms Eudamos ( his name is twice found with the stamp P\*), Timodikos (with the stamp T\*) and Pisistratos (twice with the stamp B\*).

It is hardly possible to doubt that the monogram ~~da~~ <sup>da</sup>, accompanying the fabricant stamp Euphranor, is identical with the same monogram on ~~the~~ a handle ~~with the~~<sup>with the</sup> stamp of the eponym Klenostratos, all the more since in both cases the device of the main stamp is the same -- the rayed head of

23 Ibid

24

Shelov, Ceramic stamps, p 138, n° 16 f, p 142.

25

G. Porro, Bolli d'anfore del Museo Nazionale Romano, Ann II, 1916, p 120, n° 162,8.





p 668

By these is established the contemporaneity of another pair of names, ~~belonging~~ belonging even to the 5th chronological group of V. Grace. The association /lit 'community'/ of the rather complicated secondary stamp HE on two Rhodian handles, found at Samaria, <sup>27</sup> ~~in~~ allows us to connect chronologically the eponyms Polyaratos and Timotheos, whose names are known in the main stamps of these handles.

Relevant examples could be continued, but ~~the~~ even the material adduced sufficiently demonstrates the possibilities which open before the scholar on careful cataloguing and study of the little-noticed, and, at first glance, not very expressive, secondary stamps on Rhodian amphoras.

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<sup>27</sup> Harvard ~~excavations~~ excavations at Samaria, <sup>I</sup> p'315, n° 9, 70.



Rhodia secondary stamps

much to other papers on this. ✓

See folder RHOD. CHRONOLOGY for  
notes on appearance in MSBF in d. w.  
appearance in Pergamon. (Typescript of  
25. VI. 55) ?  
or 26. VI. 56 ?

20. VI. 74

See index of EAD 27, dup. ~~AD~~



# RHODIAN

4. TX. 58 24.01

Toward more COMBINATIONS  
Based on secondary stamps

?Αραβανδρος:	✗	E	1Δ	0	CΦ			✗
Ταυραγόρας:			1Δ	0:		C1		

Rectangles  
marked

Αραβανδρος  
 Αραβανδρος  
 Αραβανδρος  
 Αραβανδρος  
 Αραβανδρος  
 Ταυραγόρας

?Αραβανδρος	✗	✗	✗	✗			
?Αραβανδρος	✗	✗	✗	✗			
?Αραβανδρος	1Δ		1Δ	1Δ	1Δ	1Δ	
Τυροκόπος							
?Αραβανδρος	CΦ						
Μιδας	✗						

} But for pairs, must notice them.  
 But leave rows above: Τυροκόπος Arab.  
 Ταυραγόρας

(There are other CΦ's, but these  
 are clear pairs.)

CΦ  
 CΦ

6. TX. 58

A Δ has been looking through a secondary stamps file systematically ~~analyze~~ for clear pairs, and has found a number.

Among certain groups where it seems clear contemporaries can be distinguished, we have not been able to make complete matches, because the legends on the <sup>(circular)</sup> fabril stamps are "below" ~~above~~ the rose or Helios head, while those on the sponge stamps are normal; or vice versa. The matches in the secondary stamps are close, but for the present we will not use them to make COMBINATIONS, since we have no known

OVER



pair of circular stamps in which one legend is "below," the other "above" the device. (Though we know other pairs which in other ways do not quite match, e.g. O + © Δσφοκρjα795 - see Pindar Peculiarities in RHODIAN folder.)

16. IX. 58

AS has now finished working through the sec. st. file looking for pairs. He has found:

with O main stamp -	30 pairs
" □ " " "	13 "

These are not all new name combinations, nor even different name combinations among themselves, since sets they are just with diff. months, same pair of names.

He has taken, to say, only those that otherwise match (row, ~~to~~ above, etc.), and only those when there was some exclusive similarity in the sec. st.

addition to COMB.S

Illustrations needed for this file: Reproductions should be photos, or at least duplicate rubbings. Lots are in Alex. Mus., not very accessible. Even those in Burschi Coll. are going to be difficult to find again.

When the new cards are read by Miss K., make continuous alphabetical copy of headings. ✓



Note that there are numerous other possibilities, but in those now listed the similarities seem too close to be questioned.

(See recent letter from Mr. Besselin listing additional.)






COMBINATIONS BASED ON CLOSELY SIMILAR SEC. ST.

S.I. 66 / comb. cards have been made; note they were used & made this list.

(in addition to those already on file) (aspire for art headings)

fabricants	device	shape of st.	eponyms	months	sec. st.
Δαμοκράτης	letter θ		Αἰχίνας	Θεβ.	Ⓐ
Ἀλέξανδρος	rose	○	Ἀρίστρατος	Ἀγρ.	Ε
Ἰπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Ἀλεξιμαχος	Δαλ.	Ι*
Ἰπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Ἀλεξιμαχος	Σμι.	Α
Μίδας	caduceus cluster		Ἀνάξανδρος	Διο.	⌘
Ἰπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Ἀριστόγειτος	Δαλ.	ΕΦ
Δαμόφιλος	rose (above)	⊙	Ἀριστογέννης	Παν.	ΑΘ
Εὐφράνωρ	Helios head	○	Ἀριστογέννης	Ἀγρ.	⌘
Εὐφράνωρ	Helios head	○	Ἀριστογέννης	Ἀρτ.	⌘
Εὐφράνωρ	Helios head	○	Ἀριστογέννης	Παν.	⌘
Ἀριστοκλῆς	rose	⊙	Παυσανίας	Ἀγρ.	Τ*
Ἀριστοκλῆς	rose	⊙	Πειδίστρατος	Ἀρτ.	Β*
Ἀριστοκλῆς	rose	⊙	Πειδίστρατος	Καρ.	Τ*
Ἀριστοκλῆς	rose	⊙	Πειδίστρατος	Ψακ.	Β*
Ἀριστοκλῆς	rose	⊙	Πειδίστρατος	?	Β*
Ἀριστοκλῆς	rose	⊙	Σωδικλῆς	Ἀγρ.	Τ*
Ἀριστοκλῆς	rose	⊙	Σωδικλῆς	Δαλ.	Β*
Στράτων	rose cluster		Ἀριστόμαχος	Δαλ.	ΜΙ (retr.)
Σώταιρος	cluster		Ἀριστομβροτίδας	Παν.	Β
Διόδοτος	cluster		Ἀριστόνομος	Ἀρτ.	ΕΡ
Μίδας	cluster, caduceus		Ἀριστόπολις	Σμι.	ΕΡ (retr.)
Ἀλέξανδρος	rose	○	Ἀρίστρατος	Ἀγρ.	Ε
Δαμοκράτης	letter θ		Αἰχίνας	Θεβ.	Ⓐ
Δαμοκράτης	rose	⊙	Ἰερ. Θεαίδητος	Ἀρτ.	Α



<u>fabricants</u>	<u>device</u>	<u>shape of stamp.</u>	<u>eponyms</u>	<u>months</u>	<u>sec. st.</u>
<u>Δαμοκράτης</u>	rose	⊙	Νικαβαγόρας	Άγρ.	Α
<u>Δαμοκράτης</u>	rose	⊙	Ξενοφάνης	Ψακ.	Α
<u>Δαμόφιλος</u>	rose (above)	⊙	Άριστογένης	Παν.	ΑΘ
<u>Δαμόφιλος</u>	rose (above)	⊙	Κληνόστρατος	Παν.	ΑΘ
<u>Σώταιρος</u>	cluster		<u>Δάμων</u>	Παν.	Β
<u>Διόδοτος</u>	cluster		Άριστόνομος	Άρτ.	ΕΡ
Ἐπίγονος, Π			Ἡραγόρας	Παν.	
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Εὐδαμος	Σμι.	Β
<u>Εὐφράνωρ</u>	Helios head	○	Άριστογένης	Άγρ.	
<u>Εὐφράνωρ</u>	Helios head	○	Άριστογένης	Άρτ.	
<u>Εὐφράνωρ</u>	Helios head	○	Άριστογένης	Παν.	
<u>Εὐφράνωρ</u>	Helios head	○	Καλλικράτης	Άγρ.	Α
<u>Εὐφράνωρ</u>	Helios head	○	Καλλικράτης	Θεβ.	Α
<u>Εὐφράνωρ</u>	Helios head	○	Νικαβαγόρας	Άγρ.	ΜΕ
Ἐπίγονος, Π			Ἡραγόρας	Παν.	
<u>Δαμοκράτης</u>	rose	⊙	Ιερ. Θεαίδητος	Άρτ.	Α
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Θεαίδητος	Άρτ.	Β
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Θεαίδητος	Σμι.	Φ
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Άλεξιμαχος	Δαλ.	Ι⊙
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Άλεξιμαχος	Σμι.	Α
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Άριστογείτος	Δαλ.	ΕΦ
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Εὐδαμος	Σμι.	Β
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Θεαίδητος	Άρτ.	Β
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Θεαίδητος	Σμι.	Φ
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Νικαβαγόρας	Παν.	Β
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Ξενοφών,	Θεβ.	Υ
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Ιερ. Πυθογένης	Παν.	ΕΦ



<u>fabricants</u>	<u>device</u>	<u>shape of stamp</u>	<u>eponyms</u>	<u>months</u>	<u>Sec. St.</u>
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Πυθογένης	Ύακ.	ΕΦ
Εὐφράνωρ	Helios head	○	Καλλικράτης	Ἄγρ.	Α
Εὐφράνωρ	Helios head	○	Καλλικράτης	Θεβ.	Α
Δαμοφίλος	rose (above)	⊙	Κληνόστρατος	Παν.	ΑΘ
Μίδας	cluster, caduceus		Κληνόστρατος	Καρ.	Ι
Μίδας	cluster, caduceus		Ἀνάξανδρος	Διο.	✱
Μίδας	cluster, caduceus		Ἀριστόπολις	Σμι.	ΕΡ(retr.)
Μίδας	cluster, caduceus		Κληνόστρατος	Κοιρ.	Ι
Μίδας	cluster, caduceus		Πολυάρατος	Ἄγρ.	ΑΓ
Μίδας	cluster, caduceus		Τειμαγόρας	Ἄρτ.	ΑΓ(retr.)
Μίδας	cluster, caduceus		Τεισαμενός	Ἄρτ.	ΑΔ
Μίδας	cluster, caduceus		Τεισομένης	?	ΕΥη(retr.)
Δαμοκράτης	rose	⊙	Νικαβαγόρας	Ἄγρ.	Α
Εὐφράνωρ	Helios head	○	Νικαβαγόρας	Ἄγρ.	ΜΕ
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Νικαβαγόρας	Παν.	Β
Δαμοκράτης	rose	⊙	Ξενοφάνης	Ύακ.	Α
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Ξενοφών	Θεβ.	Υ
Ἀριστοκλής	rose	⊙	Παυβανίας	Ἄγρ.	Τ*
Ἀριστοκλής	rose	⊙	Πειδίστρατος	Ἄρτ.	Β*
Ἀριστοκλής	rose	⊙	Πειδίστρατος	Καρ	Τ*
Ἀριστοκλής	rose	⊙	Πειδίστρατος	Ύακ.	Β*
Ἀριστοκλής	rose	⊙	Πειδίστρατος	?	Β*
Μίδας	caduceus, cluster		Πολυάρατος	Ἄγρ.	ΑΓ
Μίδας	caduceus, cluster		Πολυάρατος	Ἄγρ.	ΑΓ
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Ἰερ. Πυθογένης	Παν.	ΕΦ
Ἴπποκράτης	rose	⊙	Πυθογένης	Ύακ.	ΕΦ
Στράτων	rose, cluster		Ἀριστόμαχος	Δαλ.	ΜΙ(retr.)



<u>fabricants</u>	<u>device</u>	<u>shape of stamp</u>	<u>eponyms</u>	<u>month</u>	<u>sec. st.</u>
Ἀριστοκλῆς	rose	⊙	Σωαικλῆς	Αγρ.	T*
Ἀριστοκλῆς	rose	⊙	Σωαικλῆς	Δαλ.	B*
Σῶταιρος	cluster		Ἀριστομβροτίδας	Παν.	B
Σῶταιρος	cluster		Δάμων	Παν.	B
Μίδας	caduceus, cluster		Τειμαγόρας	Ἄρτ.	ΑΓ (retr.)
Μίδας	caduceus, cluster		Τεισαμένος	Ἄρτ.	ΑΔ
Μίδας	caduceus, cluster		Τεισομένης	?	ΕΥΠ (retr.)
Τιμόθεος	rose (above)	⊙	Τειμόθεος	Παν.	Σ
Τιμόθεος	rose (above)	⊙	Τειμόθεος	Παν.	Σ

17. II. 88 Does this include handles with sec. st. catalogued from the Museum (Museum - Bonn) Rhodian? Look up and see when they were catalogued.

Think of some useful and possible publications of these, i.e. presenting a good lot of sec. st. Unfortunately too few got photos, but all have rubbings.

Twentieth small percentages of known sec. st. have been published. See Jones 1985, and several articles by Shelton, but Shelton's are not illustrated with photos. Could this be a dissertation? but by somebody good. They could do their own photos in Alex., if, as I think, those things are still in numerical order.





Χρησιμοποιούνται rubbings για το sec. stamp file

A) RECTANGULAR ST.

- Μολυκλής ep sec. stamp: Ξ (Antioch b 7 - P. 2442 b)
- Κληννοστρατος, ep. Καρν. " " I (Delos: TD 1908)
- Διοκος + Κρατιδας, ep. Αρτ. " " Π (Rhodes VG 110; marked 4587)

B) CIRCULAR STAMPS

- Αλεξιμαχος, ep. Υακ. w. rose sec. stamp A (Delos: TD. 1368)
- Αριστρατος ep. " " " " A? (Delos: TD 2146)
- Καλλικρατος ep. Αρτ. Hel. head " " A (Delos: TD 4311)
- Αριστοχηνος ep. Αγγ. " " " " <sup>A</sup>CT (Cyprus 127 b)
- Γοργων, ep. Δαλ. rose " " B\* (Delos TD 3285)
- Ηρακλεως, ep. ? " " " " B\* (Alexandria VG 2035)
- Μειβοστρατος, ep. Αρτ. " " " " B\* (Delos: TD 4248)
- Μειβοστρατος, ep. ΥΑΚ. " " " " B\* (E.M.)
- Μαυθανίας ep. ΥΑΚ " " " " Γ\* (Delos: TD 2252)
- Τιμοξενος rose (above) " " E (Antioch b 452 - P 2266 b)
- Αριστοκλής rose " " Θ? (Cyprus 282 b)
- ep. Αριστωνιδας " " " " I (Cyprus 205 b)
- Μυδοδωρος, ep. Αρτ. " " " " I⊕ (Delos: TD 3088)
- Αρισταναξ ? " " " "  (Delos: TD 3831)
- Βαμοφιλιος " " " " IT (Delos: TD 1673)
- Μυδοδωρος, ep. Αρτ. " " " " I⊕ (Delos TD 3088)
- Αρχιλαιδος Σμ. " " " " K (EM N 135 EM10)
- Μειβοστρατος Καρν. " " " " K (Delos TD 56)
- Καλλικρατος ΠΑΝ. ΔΥ. " " " "  (Delos TD 3719)
- add 1. xi. 65 Τιμοξενος " " " " Σ (Delos TD 1682)
- Αριστοκλής " " " " O (Delos TD 4028)
- Αριστοκρατος Υακ. " " " " IC ( " TD 3916)
- Ηρακλεως " " " " IC ( " TD 557)
- ΤΙΜΕ ΑΡΤ. " " " " 90 (TD 1495 TD 1488)







## Χρησίμωνται rubbings για το Sec. stamp file



A) Rectangular stamps

Ἰέρων, ep.		with sec. stamp ΑΓ (retr.)	(M. Ben., from list of Febr. 1955)
" "	με Πάναμον	" " ΑΓ? (retr.)	( " , " " " " )
Μίδας	caduceus + cluster	" " ΑΤ	( " , " " " " )
? ]ων, ep.	με Υακίνθου	" " Χ	( " , " " " " )
Τιμ[.		" " Δ	( " " " " " )
? , ep.		" " ΕΥΠ	( " " " " " )
? , ep	με Υακίνθου	" " ΗΡ	( " " " " " )
Μίδας	caduceus + cluster	" " ΘΑ	( " " " " " )
? , ep.	Παναμος	" " ΙΑ	( " " " " " )
Μίδας	caduceus + cluster	" " ΙC	( " " " " " )
Δάμνων, ep.		" " ΙC	( " " " " " )
Ναύσιππος , ep.	Βαδρομος	" " Μ	( " " " " " )



B) Circular stamps

• Επὶ Νικαία Βασιλῆα Ἀραουζίου  sec. stamp.  (letter 28.2.40)!

• Επὶ Ἀραουζίαν [ month ]  sec stamp  (Hex. Benacchi sec. st. Album)

Ἀριστῆνας , ep. Ἄγγ. w. rose  sec. stamp  (Hex. Benacchi sec. st. Album)

Ναύσιππος, ep. Ὑακ. w. rose  " "  ( " " " " " )

Ἄλιος w. rose  " "  ( " " " " " )



Coulson, William D.; Mook, Margaret S.; Rehard, James W.; Grace, V.R., "Stamped Amphora Handles from Tel Beersheba," *BASOR* 306 (1997) 47-62.

On p. 48, This article contains Virginia Grace's comments on secondary stamps under the entry for the fabricant Alexandros, which, in the manuscript version she saw, was the first entry. The above citation is taken from the bibliography of the AMPHORAS Project web site: <http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/amphoras/project.html> . It does not give the pages for the whole published article.

Carolyn Koehler 13 Oct, 2000