Hellenistic Amphora Stamps From Elaiussa

H. Asena Kızırlarslanoğlu and Erkan Alkaç

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H. Asena KIZILARSLANOĞLU and Erkan ALKAÇ*

HELLENISTIC AMPHORA STAMPS FROM ELAIUSSA**

Elaiussa is situated on the coastal strip of the Olba region, which extends between the Kalykadnos and Lamos Rivers (Map 1). The city was part of the Eastern Mediterranean trading community from the 2nd century B.C. to the 7th century A.D., due to its location on the coastal road, as well as to its access to rich natural and agricultural sources. The finds from the excavations since 1995 furnish insight into the built environment and city life in Elaiussa, especially during the Roman and Late Roman - Early Byzantine periods. On the other hand, our knowledge about the Hellenistic period is inadequate for us to comment in detail about the early periods of the city. The archaeological finds dated to the Hellenistic period in the excavations up to now include some amphora stamps pertaining to different production sites. The first article on Rhodian *amphorae* and amphora stamps from Elaiussa was published in 2014¹. Thirty more stamped amphora handles were recorded during the storage rooms works in 2015-2016. Most of the stamps were obtained from the excavations conducted on the peninsula. The purpose of this second study of Rhodian amphora stamps at Elaiussa is to reveal the production centers with which Elaiussa forged

trade links during the Hellenistic period, and the important information that they furnish about the commercial ties of Elaiussa in the Hellenistic period. In addition, we will attempt to classify and to date the stamps according to their production origins. In the discussion that follows, *comparanda* bearing the same patterns as the amphora stamps recovered at Elaiussa will be specified, as will the dates assigned to the administrator and/or fabricant names that are recorded in the stamps. The dates of unreadable stamps, meanwhile, will be specified according to the morphology of the handles and the rims. The resulting data will be evaluated in the conclusion.

A. RHODIAN AMPHORA STAMPS

The Stamps of Administrators

1. Earlier scholars established a connection of eponym Ἀρίστων II to the fabricants Ἀμύνταξ², Ἀντίμαχος³, Ἀριστοκλῆς II⁴, Δαμοκράτης I⁵, Δίος⁶, Ἑρμῶν II⁷, Ἰάσων I⁸, Ἰπποκράτης⁹, and Μαρσύας¹⁰. Grace dated the stamp naming Ἀρίστων II to ca. 183 - ca. 175 B.C.¹¹, based on its context

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**) The Munsell Color Chart (1998) was used to determine the clay color of the hands.

A chronology of Rhodian and Knidian amphora stamps was created through examining the layers, contexts, deposits, historical events and some characteristics revealed within the stamps. This chronology was divided into Periods. In this article, the chronology of Rhodian amphora stamps was grounded on Finkielsztejn 2001 and that of Knidian amphora stamps on Cankardeş-Şenol 2006 publication.

1) Kızılarşlanoğlu and Alkaç 2014.

2) Badaliants 1980: 163.

3) Nicolaou 1969: 164, n° 38, fig. 4.

4) Breccia 1921: 27, n° 51.

5) Badaliants 1980: 164.

6) Jöhrens 2001: 375, n° 1 a-c, Abb. 5.

7) Schkorpil 1935: 35, n° 84-85; Mircev 1958: 26, n° 88-89; Empereur and Guimier-Sorbets 1986: 130.

8) Cankardeş-Şenol 2015: 462.

9) Badaliants 1980: 164.

10) Finkielsztejn 2001: 109.

11) Grace 1985: 8.

Map 1.

in the fill beneath the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora. The tenure of Ἀρίστων II is further elucidated from stamps recovered from deposits assigned to Period III (*ca.* 198 - *ca.* 161 B.C.)¹² at Pergamon. Most recently, Finkielsztejn proposes *ca.* 167/165 B.C. for this particular eponym's term of office¹³. The stamps bearing this name are found in Athens¹⁴, Kaunos¹⁵, Tarsus¹⁶, Jerusalem¹⁷, Alexandria¹⁸, Hrouda¹⁹, Mleisha²⁰, Museum of Paphos²¹ and the National Museum of Athens²². The stamp in Elaiussa presents a different pattern from the samples mentioned above.

2. Previous scholars established a connection between the eponym Πυθόδωρος and the fabricants Βρόμιος, Διόκλεια, Ζήνων II, Θεόμναστος, Ἴμας, Ἰπποκράτης, and Ἰσίδωρος²³. Finkielsztejn proposes *ca.* 150 B.C. for the tenure of Πυθόδωρος²⁴. The stamps with this eponym are found in Tanais²⁵, Delos²⁶, Miletos²⁷, Kaunos²⁸, Paphos²⁹, Lindos³⁰, Nea Paphos³¹, Jerusalem³², Dor³³, Alexandria³⁴, Akoris³⁵ and the State Hermitage Museum³⁶. The stamp in Elaiussa again furnishes a different pattern from the mentioned samples.

12) Börker and Burow 1998: 24-25, n° 113-130. For the period, See Finkielsztejn 2001: 197.

13) Finkielsztejn 2001: 192, tab. 19.

14) Grace 1934: 229, n° 55.

15) Schmaltz 2016: 180, KA 432-433.

16) Grace 1950: 142, n° 36.

17) Ariel 1990: 47, n° 153-154.

18) Cankardeş-Şenol 2015: 462-468; Sztetyllo 1978: 273, n° 21.

19) Börker 1974: 36, n° 7.

20) Calvet 1986: 77, A.

21) Nicolaou 1969: 164, n° 38, fig. 4.

22) Jöhrens 1999: 55, n° 139-140.

23) Cankardeş-Şenol 2016: 313.

24) Finkielsztejn 2001: 193.

25) Jöhrens 2001: 400, n° 109.

26) Grace 1952: 529.

27) Jöhrens 2014: 201, n° 121.

28) Schmaltz 2016: 253-254, KA 600-601.

29) Nicolaou 2005: 107, n° 246; 300, n° 130; 385, p4a; 421, n° 83a; 436, n° 133a.

30) Nilsson 1909: 477, n° 367/3-7, 9-10.

31) Sztetyllo 2010: 69-70, n° 54.

32) Ariel 1990: 65, S 318-320.

33) Rosenthal Heginbottom 1995: 191, n° 70.

34) Cankardeş-Şenol 2016: 322-323.

35) Kawanishi and Suto 2005: 67, n° 82.

36) Pridik 1917: 17, n° 344-345.

3. Previous scholars demonstrated the connection of eponym Τεισόμενος to the fabricants Μίδαξ³⁷ and Δαμόφιλος³⁸. Finkielsztejn proposes *ca.* 125 - 121 B.C. for the tenure of Τεισόμενος³⁹. The stamps naming Τεισόμενος are found in Pergamon⁴⁰, Akko⁴¹, Tell Anafa⁴², Arsinoe⁴³, Alexandria⁴⁴, Museum of Nicosia⁴⁵ and Museum of Warsaw⁴⁶. Again, the stamp in Elaiussa forms a different pattern from the earlier samples.

4. Earlier scholarship established a connection between the eponym Ἀρχίβιος and the fabricants Ἀνδρόνικος⁴⁷, Εἰρηναῖος⁴⁸, Μενέστρατος⁴⁹, Πολυάρατος⁵⁰, Σώταιρος⁵¹, Φιλοστέφανος II⁵² and Φιλώτας⁵³. *Ca.* 115 B.C. is the date proposed for the tenure of this eponym⁵⁴. Stamps recording Ἀρχίβιος have been found in Tanais⁵⁵, Kaunos⁵⁶, Patara⁵⁷, Paphos⁵⁸, Tell Anafa⁵⁹ and Alexandria⁶⁰. The stamp recovered at Elaiussa exhibits the same pattern as the example from the Alexandria Benaki Collection⁶¹.

The Stamps of Fabricants

5. One stamp at Elaiussa records the name of the fabricant Κάρπος. The name is accompanied by a

reversed symbol of a herm. This symbol is not present on the stamps by that fabricant in the Benaki Collection⁶² and Histria⁶³. The stamp at Elaiussa has the same pattern as RF-KΑΠΙΟΣ-004 in the Benaki Collection and the examples in Can Taco⁶⁴. The fabricant is thought to have been active in Period III.

6. The motif of a small rose together with secondary stamps bearing monograms of A, B, K and Σ (lunate sigma) appear on the amphorae of Ἴπποκράτης. These same monograms and the rose motif appear on the amphorae of Δαμοκράτης as well. Only the monogram of B is peculiar to Ἴπποκράτης, who is a brother and contemporary of Ἀριστοκλῆς II. This fabricant produced *amphorae* for Rhodos and Knidos. The combinations of secondary stamps with double or single letters like IC, KA and Δ likewise occur⁶⁵. Some of the secondary stamps also exhibit symbols such as a seahorse and the head of Helios⁶⁶. The fabricant Ἴπποκράτης is associated with the eponyms Ἰέρων I (*ca.* 186 B.C.)⁶⁷, Θεαίδητος⁶⁸ (*ca.* 171/169 B.C.), Ἀθανόδοτος⁶⁹ (*ca.* 170/168 B.C.), Ἀρατοφάνης I⁷⁰ (*ca.* 169/167 B.C.), Ἀρίστων II (*ca.* 167/165 B.C.), Ἀριστόδαμος II⁷¹ (*ca.* 166/164 B.C.), Ἀγέστρατος II (*ca.* 161 B.C.),

37) Nicolaou and Empereur 1986: 527, n° 12, fig. 11 a-d.

38) Coulson *et al.* 1997: 54-55, n° 24.

39) Finkielsztejn 2001: 195, tab. 21.

40) Börker and Burow 1998: 100, n° 354, Taf. 30.

41) Finkielsztejn 2000b: 136, ARh 5.

42) Ariel and Finkielsztejn 1994: 219, SAH 89-90.

43) Empereur 1977a: 168, n° 567-570.

44) Cankardeş-Şenol 2000: 87, n° 24; 214-215, n° 134-135;

http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_L_un-nom.php; Sztetyllo 1975: 204, n° 157.

45) Nicolaou and Empereur 1986: 527, n° 12, fig. 11 a-d.

46) Sztetyllo 1983: 99, n° 87.

47) Cankardeş-Şenol 2000: 145-147, n° 15 ve 18.

48) Finkielsztejn 2001: 156, tab. 12.2.

49) Paris 1914: 323.

50) Jöhrens 2001: 430, n° 259.

51) Ariel and Finkielsztejn 1994: 198, SAH 28.

52) Grace and Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970: 312, E 33.

53) Cankardeş-Şenol 2015: 511.

54) Finkielsztejn 2001: 195, tab. 21.

55) Jöhrens 2001: 385, n° 31.

56) Schmaltz 2016: 286, KA 675.

57) Dünder 2012: 166, Rh. 85.

58) Nicolaou 2005: 55-56, n° 107-108.

59) Ariel and Finkielsztejn 1994: 198, SAH 28-29.

60) Cankardeş-Şenol 2015: 511-523.

61) For the stamp in the collection, see Cankardeş-Şenol 2015: 522, RE-APXIBIOS-ITANAMOS-004.

62) RF-KΑΠΙΟΣ-001 ve 005. (http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF_un-nom.php).

63) Canarache 1957: 263, n° 637.

64) Rodrigo *et al.* 2015: 40-41.

65) Cankardeş-Şenol 2000: 424-426, n° 49.

66) Porro 1916: 177, n° 113-4; Nilsson 1909: 437, n° 255, 1-2.

67) Cankardeş-Şenol 2017: 248.

68) Grace 1985: 46, n° 3, a-b, pl. I.

69) Grace 1985: 10.

70) Nicolaou 2005: 182.

71) Grace 1934: 219, fig. 2.

A. RHODIAN AMPHORA STAMPS

The Stamps of Administrators

1.

Ἐπί Ἀρί-
στονο-
ς Δαλίου

CW 121. Rectangular, 4.0 x 1.4 cm, three-line horizontal inscription, crescent-shaped *sigma* and *epsilon*, *rho* retrograd.

2.

Ἐπί Πυθοδ-
ώρου
[.....]ου

CW 113. Rectangular, 5.0 x 1.7 cm, three-line horizontal inscription.

3.

Ἐπ' ἱερέως
Τισαμένο-
υ

CW 125. Rectangular, 3.8 x 1.4 cm, three-line horizontal inscription, crescent-shaped *sigma* and *epsilon*.

4.

[Ἐπί Ἀρχιβί -
[οῦ Πανό-
μου

CW 127. Rectangular, 4.0 x 1.8 cm, three-line horizontal inscription.

The Stamps of Fabricants

5.

herme
Κόρπου

IP 11. Rectangular, 3.0 x 1.4 cm, one-line horizontal inscription.

6.

[Ἰπ]οκράτεως
rose

CW 29. R. 3.0 cm, Round, one-line circular inscription, introverted letters, inscription between two circles.

Πανσανίας III (ca. 152 B.C.), Ξενοφάντος II⁷² (ca. 151 B.C.), Πυθογένης⁷³ (ca. 150 - 147 B.C.), Πυθόδωρος (ca. 150 - 147 B.C.), Ἀλεξίμαχος (ca. 150 - 147 B.C.), Αὐτοκράτης I (ca. 146 B.C.)⁷⁴, Τιμόδικος⁷⁵ (ca. 145 B.C.), Ἀριστόγειτος (ca. 140 - 138 B.C.), Ἀλεξιάδας (ca. 140 - 138 B.C.), Θέρσανδρος (ca. 137/136 - ca. 135 B.C.), Ἀρχέμβροτος I (ca. 134/133 B.C.), Ἀνδρόνικος (ca. 132 B.C.) and Ἀρίστρατος⁷⁶ (ca. 124 - 122 B.C.)⁷⁷. The duty periods of these eponyms show that the producer carried out the activities between the years 186/124 - 122 B.C.⁷⁸. The stamps of this fabricant are recorded at Athens⁷⁹, Delos⁸⁰, Pergamon⁸¹, Kaunos⁸², Paphos⁸³, Kition⁸⁴, Tell Anafa⁸⁵, Alexandria⁸⁶, Akoris⁸⁷ and Museum of Nicosia⁸⁸.

7. The fabricant Εὐκλειτος is associated with the eponyms Ἀνδρόνικος⁸⁹ (ca. 132 B.C.), Ἀστυμήδης II⁹⁰ (ca. 144), Θέρσανδρος⁹¹ (ca. 137/136 B.C.), Ἀρίστακος⁹² (ca. 137/136 - ca. 134/133 B.C.), Ἀνδρίας⁹³ (ca. 137/136 - ca. 134/133 B.C.), Νικασαγόρας II⁹⁴ (ca. 131 B.C.), Τιμόθεος⁹⁵ (ca. 128 B.C.), Τεισαγόρας I (ca. 125 - 121 B.C.), Ἀγέστρατος II (ca. 161 B.C.), Ἀλεξίμαχος (ca. 157 B.C.) and Ἡραγόρας⁹⁶ (ca. 159/158 - ca. 154/153 B.C.). The tenures of these eponyms show that the fabricant was active in Period IV and V⁹⁷. The stamps of Εὐκλειτος are found in Olbia⁹⁸, Nessena⁹⁹, Iasos¹⁰⁰, Delos¹⁰¹, Lindos¹⁰², Kaunos¹⁰³, Patara¹⁰⁴, Salamis¹⁰⁵, Paphos¹⁰⁶, Taposiris Magna¹⁰⁷, Tell Istabab¹⁰⁸, Tel Beersheba¹⁰⁹, Magharat Ijliliya¹¹⁰, Alexandria¹¹¹, Akoris¹¹², Alba Fucens¹¹³, Monte Vairano¹¹⁴, Siracu-

72) Hall 1882-1885: 391, n° 5041.

73) Grace 1965: 7, footnote 8.

74) Nicolaou 2005: 182.

75) Nicolaou 2005: 181-182, n° 462.

76) Nicolaou 2005: 182.

77) Cankardeş-Şenol 2017: 248; Finkielsztein 2001: 192-195, tab. 19-212.

78) Cankardeş-Şenol 2017: 248.

79) Grace 1934: 239-240, n° 93-94.

80) Grace 1952: 527.

81) Börker and Burow 1998: 48, n° 462-463, Taf. 17.

82) Schmaltz 2016: 271, KA 639-640.

83) Nicolaou 2005: 181-182, n° 462; Sztetyllo 1991: 75, n° 128.

84) Calvet 1982: 26, 58.

85) Ariel and Finkielsztein 1994: 219, SAH 88.

86) Cankardeş-Şenol 2000: 424-426, n° 49.

87) Kawanishi and Suto 2005: 123-126, n° 202-209.

88) Nicolaou and Empereur 1986: 520, n° 6, fig. 5, a-d.

89) Barker 2004: 81, n° 10.

90) Jöhrens 2001: 376, n° 2, fig. 6.

91) Nicolaou and Empereur 1986: 526, 529, n° 11, 14.

92) Hall 1882-1885: 392, n° 5057; Nicolaou 2005: 408, n° 17.

93) Nicolaou 2005: n° 387, P 8.

94) Grace 1962: 116, n° 7.

95) Macalister 1912: 357, n° 216; Grace 1962: 116; Ariel 2001: 158, n° 12.

96) Nicolaou 2005: 169, n° 422.

97) Nicolaou 2005: 169, n° 422.

98) Lawall *et al.* 2010: 391, L-219, pl. 282.

99) Grace 1962, 116, n° 7.

100) Lodi 2014: 120, Inv. N° 154.

101) Grace 1952: 526.

102) Nilsson 1909: 422-423, n° 1-17.

103) Schmaltz 2016: 309-310, KA 724-727.

104) Dünder 2012: 258-259, Rh. 218-219.

105) Calvet 1972: 33-34, np. 63-64.

106) Nicolaou 2005: 168-170, n° 422-431; Sztetyllo 1991: 69-70, n° 114-119.

107) Römer 1983: 266, Nr. 3.

108) Landau and Tzaferis 1979: 154, n° 6.

109) Coulson *et al.* 1997: n° 52, n° 16.

110) Ariel 2001: 157-158, n° 12.

111) Cankardeş-Şenol 2000: 79-80, n° 13-14; 2003: 223, 30-32; Sztetyllo 1978: 282-283, n° 40-43; 1992: 167, n° 24.

112) Kawanishi and Suto 2005: 107-108, n° 165-167.

113) Diez 1980: 24, Tag. 35, pl. V. 6.

114) Bevilacqua 1980: 26, n° 6.

7.

Ε[ὐκλεί]-
του
caduceus

0 5cm.

CW 127. Rectangular, 4.0 x 1.7 cm, Two-line horizontal inscription.

8.

For the stamp obtained from the same pattern, see Cat. N° 7.

Εὐκ[λεί]-
του
caduceus

Env. No. ISO 1- 233, Rectangular, 2.0 x 1.9 cm, Two-line horizontal inscription.

9.

Σωταί-
ρου bunch of grapes

0 5cm.

CW 123. Rectangular, 4.2 x 1.9 cm, Two-line horizontal inscription.

sa Museum¹¹⁵, Warsaw Museum¹¹⁶ and the National Museum of Athens¹¹⁷. The stamp in Elaiussa and the examples in Nessena, Patara¹¹⁸, Paphos¹¹⁹, Alexandria¹²⁰, Alba Fucens and the National Museum of Athens bear the same pattern.

8. For the stamp obtained from the same pattern, see Cat. N° 7.

9. Beta appears as a secondary stamp¹²¹ on the stamps of Σώταρος in the Benaki Collection¹²² and Paphos¹²³. The fabricant generally used the symbol of a bunch of grapes. The stamps of this fabricant, who was active in Period V, are recorded at Delos¹²⁴ and Alexandria¹²⁵. The pattern of the stamp found at Elaiussa differs from the examples found at Paphos, Delos and Alexandria.

10. The fabricant Μίδαξ used the symbols of a *caduceus* and a bunch of grapes¹²⁶. The eponyms Ἀριστογένης¹²⁷ (ca. 129 B.C.), Κληνόστρατος¹²⁸ (ca. 126 B.C.), Τεισαμενός¹²⁹ (ca. 124 - 122 B.C.), Ἀναξίβουλος (ca. 142/141 - ca. 137/136 B.C.), Ἀρίστρατος (ca. 125 - 121 B.C.), Τεισάμενος (ca. 125 - 121 B.C.) and Ἀλεξιάδας¹³⁰ (ca. 140 - 138 B.C.) correspond to the period of activity of Μίδαξ¹³¹, and thus indicate that Μίδαξ was active in Period V (ca. 145 - ca. 108 B.C.)¹³². The stamps of Μίδαξ are found in Tanais¹³³, Pella¹³⁴, Delos¹³⁵, Kaunos¹³⁶, Pergamon¹³⁷, Iasos¹³⁸, Patara¹³⁹, Lindos¹⁴⁰, Salamis¹⁴¹, Paphos¹⁴², Gezer¹⁴³, Tel Beersheba¹⁴⁴, Jerusalem¹⁴⁵, Crocodilopolis-Arsinoe¹⁴⁶, Alexandria¹⁴⁷, Tanis¹⁴⁸, Akoris¹⁴⁹, Abū Mīnā¹⁵⁰, the Museum of Bonn¹⁵¹, the Museum of Warsaw¹⁵² and the National Museum of Athens¹⁵³.

115) Gentili 1958: 61, n° 97, 1-2.

116) Sztetyllo 1983: 95-96, n° 76-77.

117) Jöhrens 1999: 89, n° 237.

118) Dünder 2012: 258-259, Rh. 219.

119) Nicolaou 2005: 170, n° 429-431; Barker 2004: 81, n° 10.

120) Cankardeş-Şenol 2000: 79-80, n° 13; Sztetyllo 1978: 282, n° 40.

121) Secondary stamps were impressed underneath or alongside the handle, in addition to the fabricant and administrator stamps constituting the main stamps in Rhodian amphoras. This application started in Period III and continued in Period VI according to the Rhodian stamp chronology. The use of secondary stamps is thought to be associated with an increasing amphora production as a result of the increasing wine production and an additional control mechanism due to this increase. Cankardeş-Şenol 2006: 107-108; Cankardeş-Şenol 2000: 34. They are usually made up of monograms, ligatures, various symbols as well as letter-symbol combinations. Palaczyk 1999: 66-83.

122) RF-ΣΩΤΑΙΡΟΣ-001. (http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF_un-nom.php)

123) Nicolaou 2005: 212, n° 560.

124) Grace 1952: 537, n° 24.

125) Cankardeş-Şenol 2000: 108, n° 7.

126) Cankardeş-Şenol 2000: 83-84, 19.

127) Hall 1882-1885: 392, 5063.

128) Grace and Savvatiou-Petropoulakou 1970: 316, E 45.

129) Nicolaou and Empereur 1986: 527, n° 12.

130) Sztetyllo 2010: 115-117, n° 103-105.

131) For their years of office, see Finkielsztejn 2001: 195, tab. 21.

132) Jöhrens 1999: 90, n° 240-241.

133) Jöhrens 2001: 425, n° 232-233.

134) Akamatis 2000: 96-97, P 106-108.

135) Grace 1952: 527.

136) Schmaltz 2016: 316-318, KA 739-744.

137) Börker and Burow 1998: 95, n° 270, Taf. 28.

138) Lodi 2014: 132-133, Inv. 3289; 5619.

139) Dünder 2012: 263-264, Rh. 225-226.

140) Nilsson 1909: 457, n° 314, 1-20.

141) Calvet 1972: 35, 68-69.

142) Sztetyllo 1976: 66, n° 194; Nicolaou 2005: 193-195, n° 498-505.

143) Macalister 1912: 359, n° 321-322.

144) Coulson *et al.* 1997: 54, n° 24.

145) Ariel 1990: 66, n° 327.

146) Empereur 1977b: 223-224, n° 70-71.

147) Cankardeş-Şenol 2000: 83-84, n° 19; 2003: 230, n° 54-55.

148) Chaby 2009: 20, n° 38.

149) Kawanishi and Suto 2005: 130-132, n° 218-223.

150) Engemann 2016: 26-27, n° 25-26, Fototaf. 3.

151) Römer-Strehl *et al.* 2011: 160, n° 14.

152) Sztetyllo 1983: 98-99, n° 84-85.

153) Jöhrens 1999: 90, n° 240-241.

11. The *thyrsos* appears on the stamps of the fabricant Μενεδάμος in the Benaki Collection¹⁵⁴ and at Alba Fucens¹⁵⁵. The production of the Μενεδάμος stamps thus occurred during Periods V-VI. This stamp has the same pattern as the example in the Benaki Collection¹⁵⁶.

12. For this item the inscription cannot be read. Considering the form of the handle, we may date the stamp to the second half of the second century B.C.

13. The inscription cannot be deciphered, because the handle is broken. We can read only the name of the month Ἀρταμίτιος in the lowermost line. Considering the form of the handle, we would date the stamp to the second half of the second century B.C.

14. The inscription cannot be read, because the handle is broken. Considering the form of the handle, we would date the stamp to the second half of the second century B.C.

15. The letters in the stamps cannot be identified clearly. In view of its form, the handle must be dated to Period V-VI.

16. Only a few letters of the stamp are discernable. Given its form, the handle must be dated to the second half of the second century B.C.

B. KNIDOS AMPHORA STAMPS

17. Eponym Ἀγέστρατος officiated in Period IVA (188 - 167 B.C.)¹⁵⁷. This eponym was apparently connected to the fabricant Δημήτριος¹⁵⁸.

The name of Ἀγέστρατος appears with the title of φρούραρχος (garrison commander) on stamps recorded at the National Museum of Athens¹⁵⁹. The fabricant Ἰόσων was evidently associated with the eponym Θεοδορίδας who held office in Period IVB¹⁶⁰. Stamps presenting the same pattern as this example have been identified in Tarsus¹⁶¹ and at Delos¹⁶².

18. Φρούραρχος Ἀσπάσιος officiated in Period IVA (188 - 167 B.C.)¹⁶³. This stamp bears the same pattern as examples recorded at the Emecik Apollon Sanctuary at Knidos¹⁶⁴, the Athenian Agora¹⁶⁵ and Delos¹⁶⁶.

19. The eponym Ἀπολλωνίδας officiated at Knidos during the Period IVA (ca. 187-167 B.C.)¹⁶⁷. His name is recorded on *amphorae* bearing stamps of several fabricants, including Ἀνδροσθένης, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀριστίων and Σωτίων. The name of Ἀπολλωνίδας appears with the title of φρούραρχος on one example recorded at the National Museum of Athens¹⁶⁸. This title appears as well on the stamps found at Delos and the Athenian Agora¹⁶⁹. A good number of eponym names were identified on the *amphorae* bearing the stamps of Διονύσιος, thus, indicating that the so-named fabricant produced *amphorae* for many years. Administrators associated with this fabricant include Λέων, Λυσάνιος and Πολίτης in Period III, Ἀπολλωνίδας, Ἀπολλώνιος and Τάχιππος in Period IVA, Ἀμοτέλης in Period IVB, Δίων, Ἐπινικίδας, Νικόμαχος and Φίλιππος in Period V, Δαμόκριτος, Στρατοκλῆς, Σωσίφρων and Ἴππαρχος in Period VIA-C¹⁷⁰. Stamps bearing

154) RF-MENENΔΑΜΟΣ-001. (http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF_un-nom.php).

155) Visscher et Ruyt 1955: 87, n° 13; Diez 1980: 7, n° 6.

156) RF-MENENΔΑΜΟΣ-002.

157) Grace 1985: 32.

158) Jöhrens 1999: 124, n° 355.

159) Jöhrens 1999: 114, n° 314-315; 124, n° 355. Karia, Lykia and Knidos peninsula went under the domination of Rhodos following the Apameia Agreement signed in 188 B.C. between Seleucids and Rome. Rhodos governed Knidos through Phourarchs whose term of office was four months. This period corresponds to 188-167 B.C. in Period IVA in the Knidos stamp chronology. In 167 B.C., Karia revolted against the unwelcome Rhodian domination which lasted for 20 years. Karia and Lykia gained their independence after this revolt. Cankardeş-Şenol 2006: 74-75.

160) Jöhrens 1999: 158, n° 489.

161) Grace 1950: 147, n° 97.

162) TD 6903; TD 4374. The amphora stamps discovered in Delos are examined under the presidency of Prof. Dr. Gonca Cankardeş-Şenol from the Ege University Faculty of Arts Department of Archaeology. We kindly thank to dear Cankardeş-Şenol for this information.

163) Grace 1985: 33.

164) Attula 2006: 149, n° 320, Taf. 81,4.

165) Grace 1934: 262-263, n° 177.

166) Grace and Savvatiannou-Petropoulakou 1970: 325, E 54; Delorme 1949: 257, n° 2.

167) Grace 1985: 32.

168) Jöhrens 1999: 116, n° 318.

169) Grace and Savvatiannou-Petropoulakou 1970: 325, E 53.

170) Jöhrens 1999: 104-105, n° 275-277; 125-126, n° 358-360; 155, n° 473; 184-185, n° 584-587; 216, n° 714-716; 286, AS 64.

10.

Μίδα bunch of grapes
caduceus

Surface. Rectangular, One-line horizontal inscription.

11.

Μενεδάμος *retr.*
Head of Helios

CW 133. Round, one-line circular inscription, introverted letters.

12.

[.....]υς

CW 123. Rectangular, 3.8 x 1.3 cm, One-line horizontal inscription.

13.

Ἐπί]
 [.....]
 Ἀρ[ταμτίου]

CW 134. Rectangular, ? x 1.3 cm, Three-line horizontal inscription.

14.

[.....]τ[.....]

CW 12. Rectangular, ? x 1.6 cm.

15.

[.....]ο
 [.....]ν
 ΠΑ(

CW 125. Rectangular, 4.5 x 1.3 cm, Two-line horizontal inscription, *pi* and *alpha* ligatured.

16.

[.....]

[...] $\delta\alpha$ [...] θ [.]

PS 233. Rectangular, 3.0 x 1.5 cm, Three-line horizontal inscription.

B. KNIDOS AMPHORA STAMPS

17.

Ἰάσονος Κνί(διον)

Ἐπί Ἀγεστρά-
του trident

CW 132. Rectangular, 4.1 x 1.9 cm, Three-line horizontal inscription, crescent-shaped *sigma*.

18.

Φρουράρχου
Ἀσπασίου

CW 1562. Rectangular, 4.5 x 1.7 cm, Two-line horizontal inscription.

the same pattern are recorded at Delos¹⁷¹, Athens¹⁷² and the National Museum of Athens¹⁷³.

20. The eponym Νικόμαχος officiated in Period V (ca. 145 - 108 B.C.)¹⁷⁴. The name of this eponym appears on *amphorae* stamped by the fabricants Διονύσιος and Θεουκλής¹⁷⁵. The fabricant Ἀσκληπιόδωρος was associated with the eponyms Ἀμοτέλης and Ἑρμόφαντος in Period IVB and Ἀγαθοκλής, Ἀπολλόδωρος, Διονύσιος, Θαλιμβροτίδας, Κυδοκλής and Φίλιππος in Period V¹⁷⁶. Similar stamps are found at Delos¹⁷⁷ and at the National Museum of Athens¹⁷⁸.

21. The stamps of two different administrators named Μενεκράτης appear on Knidian *amphorae*. Μενεκράτης I officiated in Period IVA and Μενεκράτης II in Period V¹⁷⁹. The administrator in this stamp must be Μενεκράτης II because the name of Μενεκράτης II occurs together with a symbol of star. This same symbol is found on a rectangular stamp found at Delos¹⁸⁰. The names of Μενεκράτης II and the fabricant Κίλαιος are observed on the leaf-shaped amphora¹⁸¹. The stamps related to this eponym have been identified in Athens¹⁸², Tenos¹⁸³, Asine¹⁸⁴, Alexandria¹⁸⁵ and the National Museum of Athens¹⁸⁶.

22. The fabricant Καρνεάδας, Κνιδίων ethnikon and a double-axe appear together on this stamp. The name of the administrator could not be identified. The name of Ἑρμόφαντος who is thought to have officiated in Period VB (?) was identified on other *amphorae* bearing the stamp of Καρνεάδας¹⁸⁷.

23. The stamp bears the names of the administrator Ἀπολλόδωρος and the fabricant Ἀναξάνδρος. Scholars have determined that the so-named administrator held office in Period V¹⁸⁸. Elsewhere, the fabricant, Ἀναξάνδρος was associated with the fabricants Ἀσκληπιάδας, Ἀσκληπιόδωρος, Τέχνων, Διονύσιος and Μένης. He was also connected to the administrators Ἀγαθοκλής, Διονύσιος, Καλλιδήμας, Μενεκράτης, Τιμακσικράτης and Φίλιππος, all of whom officiated in Period V¹⁸⁹. Stamps bearing the same pattern as the Elaiussa find are recorded at Delos¹⁹⁰ and the National Museum of Athens¹⁹¹.

24. We would assign this handle to the second half of the second century B.C.

25. The edge of the amphora mouth is partly preserved. We assign this handle to the second half of the second century B.C.

26. As the handle is broken, only the letters of *eta*, *nu* and *omega* in the lowermost line were visible. Given the design of the rim and the handle, we would date this amphora to the second century B.C.

C. THE CHIOS AMPHORA STAMP

27. Abbreviating a name by dividing it by certain letters was common practice in the amphora stamping system at Chios¹⁹². The abbreviation Εὐρυκρά(, for example, is recorded at Chios¹⁹³, Pergamon¹⁹⁴, Delos¹⁹⁵, Athens¹⁹⁶ and the National Museum of Athens¹⁹⁷. This abbreviation is supplemented by additional stamps recording Εὐρυκράτης at Chios and Pergamon. The abbreviations Εὐρυκ(or Εὐ-

171) TD 1448.

172) Dumont 1871: 156, n° 89.

173) Jöhrens 1999: 125, n° 358.

174) Grace 1985: 34.

175) Jöhrens 1999: 181, n° 571.

176) Jöhrens 1999: 153-154, n° 467-468; 179-181, n° 567-572.

177) TD 0924; TD 0936; TD 1756; TD 3073; TD 4783.

178) Jöhrens 1999: 181, n° 571.

179) Grace 1985: 34.

180) TD 4354.

181) Dumont 1871: 214, n° 426.

182) Pridik 1896: 166, n° 203-204, 206-207; Grace 1934: 259, n° 165; 1956: 162, n° 178, pl. 70; Rotroff 1982: 434, A-B 19-20:2

183) Etienne 1986: 243, n° 85; 245, n° 113; 246, n° 127.

184) Wells 1982: 124, n° 15.

185) Neroutsos 1875: 447, n° 60.

186) Jöhrens 1999: 175-176, n° 553; 183-184, n° 581; 194, n° 625-626; 197, n° 642.

187) For the tenure of this administrator, see Grace 1985: 33; Jöhrens 1999: 225, n° 752; Grace 1934: 265, n° 188.

188) Grace 1985: 32.

189) Jöhrens 1999: 174-177, n° 548-556.

190) TD 3361.

191) Jöhrens 1999: 174-175, n° 549.

192) Alkac 2012: 96.

193) Tsaravopoulos *et al.* 2013: 113, fig. 18, second picture.

194) Börker and Burow 1998: 121, n° 564, Taf. 36.

195) TD 572.

196) SS 4921. From the archive of V. Grace.

197) X EM 20.

19.

Ἐπί Ἀπολλωνί-
[δα] Διονύσιου
[Κ]νίδιον [caduceus]

CW 112. Rectangular, 4.2 x 1.7 cm, Three-line horizontal inscription, crescent-shaped *sigma*.

20.

Ἐπί Νικο μάχου
Ἀσκληπιοδώ
ρου Κνίδιον
bucranion in the center

CW 123. Rectangular, 4.3 x 1.6 cm, Three-line horizontal inscription, crescent-shaped *sigma*, retrograd *nu*.

21.

[Ἐπ]ὶ Μεν[εκράτευ]ς [.....]
star

CW 127. Crescent-shaped *sigma*

22.

Ἐ[.....]

μ[.....]

Καρ[νε]άδα double-edged axe

Κνιδ[ί]ον

CW 4029, Rectangular, 4.4 x 1.5 cm, four-line horizontal inscription.

23.

[Ἐπί Ἀπολλοδώ-]

[Ἀναξάνδρου ρου]

[Κνίδιον] lobut

CW 127. Rectangular, 4.0 x 1.6 cm.

24.

[.....]ωρ[.....]

bucranion

CW 1171. Rectangular, 3.3 x 2.1 cm, one-line circular inscription, introverted letters.

25.

[.....]
symbol ?

CW 127. Round, one-line circular inscription.

26.

[.....]
ηνω[.] *retr.*

CW 29. Rectangular, 2.5 x 1.5 cm, Two-line horizontal inscription, retrograd inscription.

C. THE CHIOS AMPHORA STAMP

27.

[E]ῥουκρά(*retr.*

CW 123. Rectangular, 3.2 x 0.8 cm, One-line horizontal inscription, abbreviation and retrograd inscription.

ρυκρ(detected in the Benaki Collection are likewise associated with this name¹⁹⁸. The name Εὐρυκράτης has appeared elsewhere in Chian inscriptions¹⁹⁹. The stamps bearing this name have been recorded at Pergamon²⁰⁰, Chios²⁰¹, Delos²⁰², Tell Anafa²⁰³ and Soknopaionnesos²⁰⁴. Εὐρυκράτης is accompanied by the name Μαχίος on stamps recorded at Marissa²⁰⁵, Chios²⁰⁶ and Pergamon²⁰⁷.

Scholars generally assign the Εὐρυκράτης stamps to the second and first centuries B.C.²⁰⁸. This places the Εὐρυκράτης amphora stamps among latest recorded examples for Chian stamps of the Hellenistic era²⁰⁹. Although some stamp examples pertaining to the first and the third centuries A.D. have emerged at Chios²¹⁰, the high period of Chian amphora stamping ended in the late second and early first century B.C. The stamp found at Elaiussa must accord with this dating.

D. THE KOS AMPHORA STAMP

28. The abbreviation Ζώπυ(was detected in excavations undertaken at Pergamon²¹¹, Ephesos²¹², Kallatis²¹³, Akko and Jerusalem²¹⁴. According to Börker and Burow, the abbreviation may be associated with Ζωπυρίς, Ζωπυρίων and Ζώπυρος in Koan inscriptions²¹⁵. Ζώπυρος stamps are also recorded at Kos²¹⁶, Koroni²¹⁷, Didyma²¹⁸, Kaunos²¹⁹ and Iasos²²⁰. The example found at Iasos has been identified as an eponym. The stamp of Ζώπυ(is accompanied by a club on an example found at Knidos²²¹. At Koroni,

the stamps of Ζώπυ(are dated to the late 270 or early 260 B.C. As Mark Lawall suggests, the abbreviation demonstrates long-term use as the workshop's name²²². We would assign this example to the second century B.C., given the chronology of Elaiussa and the date of the other stamps found here. The Ζώπυ stamp at Elaiussa exhibits a different pattern than the examples recorded at Pergamon, Ephesos, Kaunos and Kallatis.

THE AMPHORA STAMP OF PAMPHYLIA REGION

29. The name Φεχιῶτης is observed on four stamps in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria²²³. The design of the example found at Elaiussa differs from that of the stamps recorded at this museum. During the Hellenistic era, a regularized procedure of stamping never took hold with Pamphylian *amphorae*. Despite the fact that researchers have yet to identify workshops or strata of amphora waste to substantiate the locations of amphora production sites in Pamphylia, dialectic reliance on letters such as *digamma* in Pamphylian inscriptions as well as on amphora stamps help to identify the stamps of this region. Pamphylian stamps tend to have a rectangular form, while exhibiting one or two names. The names may appear stamped in full or abridged. In addition, Pamphylian stamps omit prepositions and symbols. The *amphorae* themselves are generally believed to have transported wine and olive oil. Pamphylian

198) Alkaç 2012: 121-122, n° 64-65.

199) Picard and Plassart 1913: 221, n° 29; Fraser and Matthews 1987: 184.

200) Börker and Burow 1998: 121, n° 561-564, Taf. 36.

201) Tsaravopoulos *et al.* 2013: 113, fig. 18, first and second pictures.

202) TD 1137; TD 572 ve TD 6222 (http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres_delos/delos_affiche_timbre_chios.php).

203) Ariel and Finkielsztejn 1994: 230, SAH 132.

204) Römer 1983: 269, n° 10.

205) Finkielsztejn 2000a: 210, pin. 110-b.

206) Tsaravopoulos *et al.* 2013: 113, fig. 19.

207) Börker and Burow 1998: 121, n° 565, Taf. 36.

208) Tsaravopoulos *et al.* 2013: 112-113, fig. 18.1-3.

209) Alkaç 2011: 132; 2012: 90.

210) Tsaravopoulos *et al.* 2013: 122-124.

211) Börker and Burow 1998: 114, n° 518.

212) Lawall 2007: 54, AH 67 a, c-d Taf. 12; AH 67 b, Taf. 12 for retrograd stamp.

213) Gramatopol and Bordea 1969: 257, n° 1075.

214) Finkielsztejn 2004: 159.

215) Börker and Burow 1998: 114, n° 518.

216) Lawall 2007: 54, AH 67.

217) Vanderpool *et al.* 1962: 48, n° 82.

218) Jöhrens 2004: 160, A 31.

219) Schmaltz 2016: 375, KA 874.

220) Lodi 2004: 53, fig. 13, n° 14.

221) The amphora stamps found in Knidos have been studied by Dr. Erkan Alkaç. We kindly thank to Prof. Dr. Ertekin Doksanaltı, the Head of Knidos City Excavations, from the Selçuk University Faculty of Arts Department of Archaeology for letting us to use this information.

222) Lawall 2007: 54, AH 67 a, c-d Taf. 12; for retrograd stamp, see AH 67 b, Taf. 12.

223) Brixe 2011: 104-105, n° 185-188.

D. KOS AMPHORA STAMP**28.**

Ζώπυ(

CW 128. Rectangular, 3.6 x 0.8 cm, One-line horizontal inscription, abbreviated inscription, closed *omega*, *iota*-shaped *sigma*.

THE AMPHORA STAMP OF PAMPHYLIA REGION**29.**

Φεχιᾶτυς

CW 123. Rectangular, 4.9 x 1.3 cm, One-line horizontal inscription, crescent-shaped *sigma*.

THE TYPES OF AMPHORAE WITH UNSPECIFIED ORIGINS**30.**Σίμων *retr.*

CW 129. Rectangular, 3.3 x 1.3 cm, One-line horizontal inscription, retrograd inscription, crescent-shaped *sigma*.

Map 2.

stamps have been recorded at Delos, Nessana, Athens, Rhodes and Antiokhos. They are dated from the second quarter of the second century B.C. to the end of the first century B.C.²²⁴. The stamp bearing *Φεχιῶτος* at Elaiussa must fall within these dates.

THE TYPES OF AMPHORAE WITH UNSPECIFIED ORIGINS

30. The name *Σίμος* can be read on the stamp.

CONCLUSION

The settlement at Elaiussa was restricted mainly to the “Island” during the Hellenistic period. During the Roman period the city expanded to the mainland opposite and began to prosper. It assumed the title of “metropolis” sometime during the 2nd century B.C., and underwent large scale monumental improvements through the construction of a temple, a theatre, an agora, a public cistern and bath, and numerous temple tombs, much like neighbouring Roman-era communities at Soli-Pompeiopolis and Tarsos. The dating and sheer abundance of amphora and other ceramic finds from the excavations furnish compelling evidence for large-scale develop-

ment, population rise, and an expanding production and commercial capacity for the city.

Amphora stamps of Rhodes, Knidos, Kos, Chios, Pamphylia and still others of unspecified origin have been recorded in the excavations thus far at Elaiussa. These stamps furnish important information about the trade relations of the settlement during the Hellenistic period (Map 2). The stamp data proves, for example, that commercial relations between Elaiussa and Rhodes occurred by the mid-2nd century B.C.²²⁵, and continued until the 1st century B.C., something that was already indicated by the recovery of a nearly complete, Late Hellenistic Rhodian amphora²²⁶ during the excavations on the “Island”. With the publication of these new stamps, we can demonstrate that Rhodian trade relations with Elaiussa occurred much earlier. The administrator *Ἀρίστων* II (167/165 B.C.) and the fabricants *Κάρπος* (ca. 198 - ca. 161 B.C.), *Ἱπποκράτης* (ca. 198/ca. 161 - ca. 145/ca. 108 B.C.), *Εὐκλείτος* (ca. 160/ca. 146 - ca. 145/ca. 108 B.C.) help to assign these trade relations date at least as far back as the first half of the 2nd century B.C.

The stamps bearing the names of *Ἀγέστρατος*, *Ἀσπάσιος* and *Ἀπολλωνίδας*, who officiated between 188 and 167 B.C., furnish the earliest

224) Cankardeş-Şenol 2006: 77-78.

225) Kızıllarslanoglu and Alkaç 2014: 57, Res. 3.

226) Kızıllarslanoglu 2016: 312, Kat. N° 6.

evidence for trade relations between Elaiussa and Knidos. These stamps show that Elaiussa carried out commercial activities with Knidos as early as the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C. A nearly intact Late Knidian amphora²²⁷ found during underwater research that was conducted at the port indicates that this trade persisted into the 1st century B.C. Examples of stamps from Chios²²⁸, Kos and Pamphylia at Elaiussa are also dated to the 2nd - 1st centuries B.C. Their limited quantity prevents us from drawing any conclusions regarding the likely duration of these trading relationships for now. Notwithstanding this, finds at Elaiussa of a nearly intact DR 2-4 amphora produced at Kos (dated to the 1st century B.C. - 1st century A.D.), a large number of additional amphora fragments preliminarily identified as Koan, and still other fragments of DR 5 *amphorae*, all speak to the sustained continuity of trade relations that transpired between Elaiussa and Aegean amphora production centres during the Roman period. In addition to our research with the amphora stamps recovered during excavations conducted on the "Island" and the mainland at Elaiussa, our datasets incorporate the classification of a vast number of handles, bases, rims, and other body parts identified with *amphorae* originating from the same production centres as the stamped handles themselves.

Even though the details on Sebaste's Hellenistic period are scarce when compared to the Late Antiquity, the city is thought to have been characteristically open to development in terms of commercial activities in the Hellenistic period, given the location of the city at a critical commercial center and the fact that urban development requires

a certain level of infrastructure. Based on the statistical data obtained from the amphora stamps and the other ceramic finds, we can conclude that with respect to trade, the settlement at Elaiussa Sebaste looked increasingly toward the west during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The community imported *amphorae* produced in the Aegean region, Italy, Spain, Africa, and Cyprus; cookware produced in the Aegean region and Cyprus; and high quality African and Italian *sigillata* wares. The present study furnishes a significant contribution to our knowledge of the circulation of eastern Mediterranean *amphorae* in Rough Cilicia during the Hellenistic period. In addition to this article, we will soon present additional data concerning the transition between the Hellenistic, Roman, Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods at Elaiussa Sebaste. Our research is examining the continuity of fabrication, importation and exportation, by way of reorganising the typology and chronology of various ceramic categories, particularly the common ceramics, through detailed analysis of inventoried finds and stratigraphical records obtained during the on-going excavations. Improvements in the typological and statistical data for the ceramic materials recovered at Elaiussa Sebaste should enable us to demonstrate more precisely the city's place in the history and economy of the region. The results of the on-going excavations at Elaiussa Sebaste should enable us to test the hypotheses put forward in this study with fresh data as additional ceramic materials become unearthed.

A.K. and E.A.

227) Pipere 2015.

228) *Amphorae* of Chios in the Cilicia region were detected in the cities of Nagidos and Soloi. The earliest *amphorae* in Nagidos from the mentioned island are dated to the third quarter of the 6th century B.C. and the latest examples are dated to the early 4th and the mid-3th century B.C. Şenol and Aşkın 2007: 252-254, n° 21-28. The *amphorae* of Chios pertaining to the 4th century B.C. were found in Soloi. Yağcı 2004: 51.

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