

VRG_Folder_0024

14.X.84

Get in a.c.s to HAT / Brougholds
others,

Discussion of my text with HAT
resulted in clarification
has changed a number of points.

16.X.84

MST please bring:

mailing
manila envelopes 2, 10 x 13
1, smaller

mailing stickers, Agou 5

xerox address card

She got you Bill, and brought
mailing envelopes and stickers.

(Gina has the book about Bill Rafter's house
given me by Dina Delmonagous, she 2 white wip day
blouses, was, but I can't use them as 1) they are too small
and 2) they need underwire.)

124

Corrections in Phander article

P. 9 TTc, appearing on p. 9, has not been introduced by any account of the date-periods in this article - (Pled out by MBSW.)
Only, note 14 has a ref. to Knicker period.

p. 9 again "both the large fillings" - under explicit (USBF and Perg.) as it does not come easily - people think I refer to EA

P. 66 heading of AMP. 2: add at end

and on Agos deposits 14 13:1, and

Q-R 10-11 : 1, 2.

p. 72 6th line from bottom
i.e. its superscript

(Correction - cont.)

p. 85 add a name 7 : I am

obliged to Dr. Youssef El Ghiriani for
permission to publish this amphora

p. 90

for the content of this amphora
and for various advantages connected
with its publication there. a.

2.01

p. 91

under no. 6

Doutas (24.8.83)

Aug. 1961

under G. Dantes

"superiority of Ch. Rau."

"a method for the excavation in 1961"

p. 92

at end of 7 : For permission to

publish 7 and 8, I am obliged to

Youssef El-Ghiriani

Dr. Youssef El Ghiriani

GHIRIANI
1984

p. 91

under no. 6

Dantes (24. A. ⁸³) says he kindly excavated the
Angelus lot

under G. Dantes

"supervised by Ch. Kan."

"an instance for ^{these} ~~the~~ excav. in 1961

(Correction - cont.)

p. 85 and in same Pt 1 I am

*
p. 85

obliged to Dr. Youssef El Ghiriani for
permission to publish this amphora

p. 90

For ~~the~~ ^{an} content of this amphora

and for various acknowledgements connected

with ~~the~~ ^{its} publication ~~of~~ ^{from} ~~the~~ ^{see}

under S. Dorcas

p. 91 supervised by Dr. Randall

Ch.
Mrs. Knecht-Jordan
then
her excavation

p. 92 at end of 7: For permission to

GHIRIANY
1984

publish 7 and 8, I am obliged to

Youssef El-Ghiriany
Dr. Youssef El Ghiriani

Correction for MSBF ms.

p. 2 / change "E. Haspel" to "C. H. Fränke Haspel"

p. 3, line 6, after "Ath. Ag." add "see also, fig. 1"

p. 50 Please replace original p. 50 with the replacement provided.

p. 53 / Fifth line from bottom, add "unqueried" — "all unqueried spongers" (Possibly this correction was already made on ms. as received by edition TX. 83.)

p. 58 / under Εὐκράτης, III, correct page for Middle SGA (MS) from 16 to 19

p. 60 / read:
Λυσία, III, (MS 9) (correct for 10)
add Λυσία (?) III (MS 2)

p. 62 / under Φιδίππος, IV Aa correct page for MS from 11 to 10

under Φιδίππος, III correct page for MS from 7 to 5

p. 67 / Line 4, continue in same ¶,
"on group <," of, now also the comment
in Acop 52, 1983, pp. 276-278

To finish corrections in MSBF article

See bunch of slips with corrections on them, arranged by pages of ms. Note that, except for 1 addition (to p. 3) they now begin on p. 50. Corrections on pages before 50 were made before I sent the ms, by J. McBride, last Sept. That is, they were on the pages before Marian got it.

Now, I must see how best to do the rest. Probably again correct right on the text (photocopy of ms. sent last Sept.), and get those photocopies photocopied - perhaps here at the Agave.

There are, of course, some other matters to tend to, one overlap with Marian in recent months. E.g. spec. ref., in vol. 2, to Amphibia

Appendix 3 - Grand Congloué

4.01

American School of Classical Studies

54 Swedias Street, Athens 106 76, Greece

October 20, 1984

M. Luc Long
Conservateur à la Direction des Recherches
Archéologiques Sous-Marines

Fort Saint-Jean, 13235 Marseille Cedex 2
France

Dear M. Long,

Thank you for sending me a copy of your contribution to Anna Marguerite McCann's book, summarizing your long article on the wreck site at Grand Congloué, which will appear in full later. In return, I send you a copy of Appendix 3 of a forthcoming article of my own, to appear in Hesperia, probably in the first number of 1985; like yours, this takes up the evidence for more than one wreck at Grand Congloué. You will see that I date the Rhodian amphora or amphoras reported by Benoit in the late 3rd century rather than in the second decade of the 2nd. The date is based chiefly on potter-dating official name connections, and confirmed by the development in shape as between the Rhodian in the wreck, as illustrated by Casson, and those datable in ~~the~~ about 183 B.C., of which I illustrate two in my article mentioned.

From Mrs. Will's article I took the information I cite on Latin stamps on one of the Greco-Italic jars from the wreck. In your résumé article, you do not mention these stamps. Have you seen them?

I am happy to see that our statements about the two wrecks mostly complement each other. I am so glad that M. Tchernia got us into touch. It was also very good to meet M. Tchernia, after many years of hearing of one another. I am sorry there was not opportunity for much talk.

Thank you for your good wishes for my health. It is progressing, although not as quickly as I could wish.

Yours sincerely,

Virginia R. Grace

Let me thank you also for the two handsome catalogues of the expositions of Arles and of Antibes.

Ministère de la Culture

Direction des Recherches Archéologiques
Sous-Marines

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13235 Marseille Cédex 2
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000716

LUC LONG

CONSERVATEUR A LA DIRECTION DES RECHERCHES
ARCHEOLOGIQUES SOUS-MARINES

A

MADAME VIRGINIA GRACE

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES

SOUIDIAS STREET 54

140 - ATHENES

Chère Madame,

André Tchernia m'a récemment fait savoir que vous désiriez connaître les résultats des travaux que j'ai mené sur les épaves superposées du Grand Congloué à Marseille. Aussi, ai-je l'honneur de vous faire parvenir ci-joint la copie du texte intitulé "The Grand Congloué site : a Reassessment" telle que je l'ai rendue après correction à A.M. Mc Cann. Ces quelques lignes paraîtront dans "The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa" (Princeton), très vraisemblablement dans le début de l'année 1985. Il s'agit, en fait, du résumé d'un travail plus important ("Les Epaves du Grand Congloué", 150 pages) qui devrait paraître à son tour dans Archaeonautica 5, vers la fin de l'année 1985.

Je joins à mon courrier, pour votre information, les catalogues des expositions d'Arles (1983) et d'Antibes (1984).

André Tchernia m'a également fait savoir que vous aviez actuellement des problèmes de santé, aussi permettez-moi de vous souhaiter un prompt rétablissement.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Madame, l'expression de mes salutations les plus respectueuses.

Le Conservateur
des Recherches Archéologiques
Sous-Marines

LUC LONG

518.84 4.02
Santé en plus
Appendix 3 of MSBF article
Note in date for Rhodan
not up to date although the
date 1974 (note 6)
Marseille, le 1er octobre 1984

Two books enclosed,
catalogue of exhibits at
Arles and Antibes.

5. 8. 84
cut 5 and 9 of Appendix 3?

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The Grand Congloué Site: a Reassessment

Begun in 1952 by a team under the direction of Commandant Cousteau, the Grand Congloué excavation (off Marseilles, at a depth of between 32 and 50 meters) was the first major French effort in the area of underwater archaeology. A summary of its chief results was published in 1961 by Fernand Benoît, Director¹ of Antiquities, in a work that has attracted wide attention. Even before the appearance of his report, in fact, there arose what was to become a protracted controversy over the juxtaposition in a single wreck of several hundred Sestius amphoras, a cargo of Campanian ware, Greek amphoras, and early Greco-Italic amphoras. The fact is that, as we know today, there are two wrecks at the site. They are partially superimposed, and they differ in date by about a century. A detailed study of the notes and illustrations of the excavation journal (kept between 1952 and 1957), as well as a sounding made in 1980 on what is left of the site, have enabled us to verify beyond any further question the double wreck hypothesis. This study, the complete results of which are the subject of an article in Archaeonautica no. 4, has also made possible the assignment to each of the two wrecks of the finds which originally were part of each.

The first ship's cargo, doubtless taken on board in the Naples area, consisted of approximately four hundred Greco-Italic amphoras; some thirty Greek amphoras, mostly Rhodians; and a homogeneous lot of seven thousand pieces of Campanian A ware. On the same ship were also found several handleless Campanian lamps,

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some balsamaria, several commonware vases, and some semi-thin walled vessels of gray clay.

Although some of the shapes represented in the lot of black glaze vases are attested in Gaul as early as the end of the third century B.C., most of the other forms do not seem to have been exported before 190-180 B.C. It is, for example, at that time that they appear in the oppidum of Teste-Nègre, near Marseilles, and in that of Nages, in the area of Nîmes. The huge increase, moreover, in the exportation of wine and ceramics at the beginning of the second century was probably a direct result of Rome's victory over Carthage in 201 and the Roman expansion into Campania, an area in which the manufacture of ceramics had up to that time not been actively pursued.

For the first wreck, then, we propose a date in the first quarter of the second century, more precisely between 190 and 180. That date, moreover, accords chronologically with the dates given the Rhodian amphora stamps (240-185 B.C.) and would seem to be corroborated by tests made on fragments of wood from the wreck.

The soundings made in 1980 by the Department of Underwater Archaeological Research have permitted us to locate the bottom of the hull of this first wreck, which is situated at a depth of 40 meters at the foot of the reef. Partly crushed on the northeast under huge stone blocks, the wreck seems to extend toward the southwest of the site for more than a dozen meters. The presence of fragments of Greco-Italic amphoras, stuck to the wood by the pitch that coated them, confirms the identification of these remains.

The material of the second wreck was, even according to the excavation journal, very clearly separated over the whole site from the lower level that contained the Greco-Italic amphoras by a flooring of

OF

wood. These elements of naval architecture, of which we possess sketch drawings, were misinterpreted by the divers as the ^{DECK}~~bridge~~ of one single ship. In reality, what they found was the bottom of the hull of a second ship. Our present knowledge of ship construction no longer permits doubt on that point.

The cargo of the second wreck, which was spread in tiers down the slope at a depth of between 32 and 40 meters, consisted chiefly of wine amphoras of Dressel Form 1A (Will Type 4a). This type of jar seemingly did not appear in Gaul before the end of the third quarter of the second century B.C.⁹ These containers, the total number of which is estimated at about 1200, mostly bore on the rim the stamp of Sestius, accompanied sometimes by an anchor and sometimes by a trident.¹⁰ Stoppers that were found in place also bore the stamp of a trader, perhaps the owner of the ship, L.TITI.C.F.¹¹ Less than twenty examples were stamped at the base of the neck by another potter: D.AV.ATEC. About twenty additional jars bore no stamp at all. A variety of objects belonging to the ship's crockery and provisions was also discovered in the level of the amphoras of Dressel Form 1A. There were two so-called "Punic" amphoras datable, from comparable finds on the Cavalière¹² and Dramont A¹³ wrecks, and from the Athenian Agora,¹⁴ to the turn of the second and first centuries B.C. Also found in close association with the amphoras of Dressel Form 1A (Will Type 4a) were several Campanian vases of Type C, and in particular a small sampling of Campanian B ware. The latter clearly evoke Cosa Type II in clay and in glaze.¹⁵ Their appearance is thus characteristic of the last quarter of the second century. In this regard, it should be noted that certain shapes of this pottery group are very rare in Gaul from the first century B.C. on.¹⁶

The other factors that permit us to isolate the approximate date of the wreck are, in brief:

-- several fragments of three vases of thin walled pottery with dotted barbotine decoration. The production of such ware has now been localized in the region of Cosa in central Italy, in the second half of the second century B.C.¹⁷

-- a group of commonware vases of which parallels have been found on wreck A of Colonia Sant Jordi¹⁸ and on the Cavalière wreck, both datable about 100 B.C.

-- several fragments of Hellenistic relief bowls from the Ionian workshop of Menemakhos, which A. Laumonier dates in the second half of the second century B.C.¹⁹

Adding to the evidence in favor of the dates proposed for the diverse finds just described, the census of wrecks found off the Mediterranean coast of France seems to demonstrate that the amphoras of Dressel Form 1B (Will Type 4b), heavily standardized jars apparently produced in the same workshops as those of Dressel Form 1A²⁰ (Will Type 4a),²¹ rather suddenly took the place of the latter in the first quarter of the first century B.C. Among the various wrecks studied, no single ship carried the two types of amphoras simultaneously.²² The change in shape took place between 97 B.C., the latest consular date attested on Dressel Form 1A (Will Type 4a),²³ and 80 B.C., the approximate date of the Albenga wreck,²⁴ and was perhaps connected, directly or indirectly, with the results of the Social and Civil Wars. This mass of chronological evidence permits us to date the wreck of our second ship with probability between 110 and 80 B.C.

There no longer seems reason to doubt the Tuscan origin of the second ship's cargo and more particularly of the Sestius amphoras,

the problems surrounding which have long been debated.²⁵ The discovery in recent years in the town and especially in the port of Cosa of a massive quantity of Sestius stamps, with many different devices, seems to point to that town as a production center for the amphoras,²⁶ or at least as their port of storage and shipment. Nothing, moreover, prevents our associating such an amphora factory with an ancestral branch of the family of P. Sestius, who owned a villa at Cosa.²⁷

The remnants of wood from the second ship, partly detached at the time of the excavation in order to permit the recovery of material lying underneath, probably later suffered irreparable damage at the hands of the illegal divers who are very numerous in this area, which is a famous diving mecca. The sounding of 1980 unfortunately resulted in the finding only of some sheets of the ship's lead plating. These were discovered to the northwest of the site, in a stratum where sherds of Greco-Italic amphoras were mixed with those of Dressel Form 1A (Will Type 4a). The various illustrations in the excavation journal and especially the drawings of Y. Girault and J.Y. Cousteau nevertheless give us some details of the ship's construction. In addition, wood fragments of identical size, removed as samples from above Greco-Italic amphoras in October, 1954, and July, 1957, provide confirmation of their observations.

Covered with lead sheathing, the hull was formed of a double layer of planks, the strakes of which, 4 cm in thickness, measured between 18 and 22 cm in width. The height of the ribs varied between 8 and 9 cm, while that of the floorboards, at their highest point, attained 18 to 24 cm. This combination allowed a flooring of fixed planks, as well as stanchions 16 cm in diameter. The dimensions of the keel, finally, were between 18 and 20 cm in height and 12 to 14

cm in thickness.

The general proportions of these various parts of the bottom²⁸ of the hull, slightly larger than those of the La Chrétienne C²⁸ or Cavalière ships, signify a craft of average tonnage, the gross capacity of which must have been between 40 and ~~50~~ tons. These estimates, moreover, correspond quite well to the size of the cargo of Sestius amphoras. Those jars when full have a uniform weight of between 37 and 40 kilograms. To judge from its general proportions, this ship in all probability hardly exceeded ~~15 or~~ 20 meters in length. It could therefore easily have anchored inside the harbor of Cosa, the deep channel of which points to its having been the scene of²⁹ important commercial activity.

LUC LONG

(translated by Elizabeth
Lyding Will)

Notes

1. Benoît 1961.
2. Fluted guttus, oenochoe, fish plate, plate of Lamboglia Form 36, bowl of Lamboglia Form 27.
3. Oppida of Ensérune, Pech Maho, Montlaurès, Teste-Nègre, Nages.
4. L.F. Gantes, "Note sur les céramiques à vernis noir trouvées sur l'"oppidum" de la Teste-Nègre aux Pennes (Bouches du Rhône)," Revue de la Fédération Archéologique de l'Hérault 1 (1978), pp. 97-103.
5. M. Py, "Apparition et développement des importations de céramique campanienne A sur l'oppidum des Castels (Nages, Gard) d'après les fouilles du dépotoir J 1," Revue de la Fédération Archéologique de l'Hérault 1 (1978), pp. 43-70.
6. V. Grace, "Timbres amphoriques trouvés à Délos," BCH 76 (1952), p. 525; V. Grace, "The Eponyms Named on Rhodian Amphora Stamps," Hesperia 22 (1953), p. 122. V. Grace, Revisions in Early Hellenistic chronology - ATH Mitt, 89, T III.
7. This Carbon 14 analysis gave a terminus ante quem of 228 B.C. (Benoît 1961, p. 197).
8. The ribs of this hull bottom did not measure less than 10 cm in thickness. The thickness of the planking was 5.5 cm.
9. That is, in fact, the date of the Riou 3 wreck, the amphoras of which are similar to those found on the oppidum of Entremont, destroyed about 123. These amphoras, moreover, do not occur at Carthage, destroyed in 146 B.C. second century B.C., See Will 1979 pp. 34
10. According to a count of amphoras and stamped necks in storage at DRASM, a slight predominance of anchor over trident can

1974
article how
not given
this date
date

be observed. It should be noted, moreover, that a neck with outflaring rim bears a Sestius stamp with a new symbol. It appears to be a plant-device (oak leaf with only two lobes). *This stamp is also known from the port of Cosa, Cots. 74 and 75. See Will, Chapter IX.*

11. The very recent discovery, on the Dramont A wreck (Saint Raphaël), of an anchor stock stamped with the same name (SEX-ARRI) as that found also on amphora lids is enlightening in this matter. Our thanks to Claude Santamaria, director of the excavation, for having been kind enough to furnish us this information.

12. G. Charlin, J.M. Gassend, and R. Lequément, "L'épave antique de la baie de Cavalière (Le Lavandou, Var)," Archaeonautica 2 (1978), pp. 9-93. As on the Sant Jordi A wreck, the finds were incomplete.

13. F. Benoît, "L'épave du Dramont," Gallia 16, 1 (1958).

14. V. Grace, "The Canaanite Jar," in The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman (S.S. Weinberg, ed.) (New York, 1956), cf. p. 96.

15. D.M. Taylor, p. 71. These forms, which Professor F.E. Brown has been kind enough to permit us to study, all come from Deposit D.

16. That is particularly the case with Lamboglia Forms 1-8 and 10. As far as Form L 10 is concerned, cf. J.P. Morel, Céramique campanienne, les formes, École française de Rome (1981), p. 262, Type 3450.

17. Moevs 1973, p. 49, pls. 1 and 2; Mayet, pp. 24, 126 and 127.

18. Damián Cerdá Juan, La nave romano-republicana de la Colonia de Sant Jordi (Ses Salines - Mallorca) (Palma de Mallorca, 1980).

19. A. Laumonier, La céramique hellénistique à reliefs. 1. Ateliers "ioniens", École française d'Athènes. Exploration archéologique de Délos, 31 (Paris, 1977), pp. 11, 12. Although the products

of this workshop are datable between 166 and 69 B.C., the author thinks that Menemakhos would represent quite well the oldest trends.

20. This census, conducted by the Department of Underwater Archaeological Research, includes at present 28 cargoes of Dressel 1A and 15 of Dressel 1B.

21. Peacock, "Recent Discoveries" (cited in Chapter I, note 262), pp. 262-269.

22. Exclusive of older containers belonging to the ship's stores and certain hybrid shapes, variants of the "Dressel 1A style."

23. Zevi, "Appunti" (cited in Chapter I, note 246), pp. 212, 214.

24. N. Lamboglia, "La nave romana di Albenga," RStLig 18 (1952), pp. 166 ff.; Morel, cited in note 16, p. 64.

25. Will 1956, pp. 224-244; Manacorda, JRS, pp. 122-131; Will 1979, pp. 339, 350.

26. The reader's attention is called to the resemblance between certain amphoras published as belonging to the Cap Roux wreck, where a Sestius stamp was found (J.P. Joncheray, "Étude de l'épave Dramont D, dite 'des pelvis'," Cahiers d'archéologie subaquatique 3 [1974], pp. 21-48) and necks found at the site of Albinia (Peacock, "Recent Discoveries" [cited in Chapter I, note 262], fig. 3, nos. 1-2).

27. Will 1956. Will first advanced the hypothesis in 1956 that that amphora factory might have belonged to P. Sestius himself. In the same article, she also suggested that there must be two or more wrecks off the Grand Congloué.

28. J.P. Joncheray, "L'épave de la Chrétienne C," Cahiers d'archéologie subaquatique, supp. 1 (1975).

29. Lewis 1973, pp. 233-259.

grace

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(pieces of 72 bis)

[4.12]

Appendix 3: Clarification on the wrecks (more than one) at the Grand Congloué site near Marseilles.

For general presentation of the finds underseas at Grand Congloué near Marseilles, see L. S. Casson, "Sea ~~Bigger~~ Digging," Archeology 6, 1953, pp. 221-228; J.-Y. Cousteau, "Fish Men Discover a 2,200-year-old Greek Ship," The National Geographic Magazine CV, Washington 1954, pp. 1-36; and F. Benoit, Fouilles sous-marines, l'épave du Grand Congloué à Marseille, Gallia, Suppl. XIV, Paris 1961; in all these, the finds are taken as from a single wreck. Because of the incongruity of date, apparently at least a hundred years, between the so-called "deck cargo" and ~~the~~ the Rhodian and Knidian amphoras associated with the "hull cargo", I have not doubted from first acquaintance with this material (1953 or earlier) that at least two ancient wrecks were involved, one nearly on top of the other, no doubt in a place of bad currents; it is at the foot of a cliff. A part of the hull of the later ship was mistaken by the divers for deck planking of the earlier ship, despite its sheathing underneath with lead (a practice found on outer surfaces): see Cousteau, op. cit., p. 24, and cf. p. 16; also Benoit, op. cit., p. 17. The upper cargo consisted mainly of over a thousand long Roman jars with heavy

grace

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rims (Dressel Type 1), resembling several from Athenian Agora deposit C 9 : 7, a context dated to the later 2nd century B.C. by several Knidian amphoras of the early duoviri period; see Amphoras, fig. 38, for a selection of jars from this deposit, including, to the left, one of the long Roman ones; and see also Délos 27, p. 332, under E 88. The Roman amphoras from C 9 : 7 are unstamped, whereas many of those from the wreck are stamped, on their rims, with an abbreviation of the name Sestius. See recently E. L. Will, "The Sestius Amphoras: a Reappraisal," JFA 6, 1979, pp.339-350, for a summary on the discoveries at the Grand Congloué, with much bibliography on the jars from the later wreck and related finds from other sites, showing the confusions in chronology that have resulted for scholars who attributed all the finds at Grand Congloué to a single wreck. Mrs. Will dates the amphoras of the later wreck "in the first half of the 1st century B.C., or at any rate not much earlier than the last years of the 2nd century," op. cit., p. 340. (Here she is actually summarizing her views as given in an earlier article, but seems not to have changed her mind.) For the earlier wreck, the dates she attributes here to V. Grace, "220-180 B.C." (op. cit., p. 340, in note 1), should be tightened to the last decade of the 3rd century

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for the Rhodian and Knidian; shapes and names at 180 B.C. are very different from the ones in the wreck. See now her recent article, "Greco-Italic Amphoras," Hesperia 51, 1982, pp. 338-356; on p. 348 she revises the date she had given for the earlier wreck. For the Rhodian in the earlier wreck, Benoit reports one or more amphoras that name the fabricant 'Αριστῶν and the eponym Κλειτόμαχος, see op. cit., p. 29, and cf. the same author in Rhodania 1954-1955 (Lyon), pp.9-10; other names are more doubtfully restored. According to individual dates assigned tentatively by me to the Rhodian eponyms of ca. 225-175 B.C. (cf. Grace 1974, p. 199), the term of Κλειτόμαχος fell in 205 B.C., and those of the other eponyms named in known pairs with 'Αριστῶν fell in 210, 208, 207, 204, and 199 B.C.; cf. the whole jar ~~name~~ of this fabricant that names the eponym Δορκυλίδας (210 B.C.) published by J.-J. Maffre, BCH 96, 1972, pp.64-66, with figs. 46 and 47, no. 104. For a photograph of Rhodian amphoras (large and small) from the wreck, cf. ~~see~~ Casson, op. cit., p. 227, fig. 10. Also from the earlier wreck must be the cargo of over 400 "Greco-Italic" amphoras. Mrs. Will illustrates two of these from the wreck, see her "Greco-Italic Amphoras," pl.85, d and e (her Form c) and tells us, see her p. 348 with note 19, that the one to the

grace

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right (e) bears two impressions of the same Latin stamp, one on each handle, reading TI.Q.IVENTI. Finally there is a great quantity of black-glazed table ware, mostly, I believe, of the Campana A class, "now being dated 190 ~~190~~ B.C. or a little before by the Campana specialist, Jean-Paul Morel," as Mrs. Will reports (op.cit., p. 348) and cites a recent publication by Morel. The earlier wreck at Grand Congloué is thus to be dated late 3rd or early 2nd century B.C., and the Latin amphora stamp is one of the earliest known, comparable in date to the very different one in the Middle Stoa filling, cf. footnote 47 above.

Like Mrs. Will, I called on M. Benoit in Marseilles (October 15, 1955), and saw his finds, and received every kindness, and thought he was then willing to believe in two wrecks on the site (but not more, he said). From discussions with M. Katzev, in August 1968 and again recently, I understand that to nautical archeologists the wood fragments illustrated in the publications are readily distinguishable as coming from at least two ships; this has long been observed, although nobody has published about it, since it was now too late to rescue a study of the ships themselves. On the possibility of one ship settling upon another, cf. G.F. Bass, Archeology

Map of Ballin photo

grace

with correction of VMI.84

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feature of the Indus Valley granaries which reappears so remarkably in Pergamon 1700 years later, and becomes a regular feature of the Roman granaries throughout the Empire, including Britain. We have no actual parts of such a floor from the Middle Stoa. However it seems quite possible that there was one, of wood, over most of the area ~~of~~ the building. Only at the east end do we find the floor level preserved, for the rest there is a gap (irregular) of a meter or more between the top of the building fill as found and the stylobate level above. Here is at any rate space for such a floor and its elevation. On the floor, ^(whether of wood or clay) we may perhaps restore in imagination the wooden divisions of the long room into storage sections, such as are hypothesized, tentatively, for the Miletos Magazine. The remains of the Middle Stoa showed marks of strong burning, an indication that there had been much wood construction.

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Many activities must have been involved in the operation of a large municipal granary. They might ~~have~~ have been accommodated, at least temporarily, in sections of the partitioned interior of the Middle Stoa. On the other hand, one notes in the East Building, in the long east room, certain

grace

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with correction of VII.84

feature of the Indus Valley granaries which reappears so remarkably in Pergamon 1700 years later, and becomes a regular feature of the Roman granaries

80

throughout the Empire, including Britain. We have no actual parts of such a floor from the Middle Stoa. However it seems quite possible that there was one, of wood, over most of the area ^{of} ~~of~~ the building. Only at the east end do we find the floor level preserved, for the rest there is a gap (irregular) of a meter or more between the top of the building fill as found and the stylobate level above. Here is at any rate space for such a floor and its elevation. On the floor [✓] we may perhaps restore in imagination the wooden divisions ^(whether of wood or clay) of the long room into storage sections, such as are hypothesized, tentatively, for the Miletos Magazine. The remains of the Middle Stoa showed marks of strong burning, an indication that there had been much wood construction.

81

Many activities must have been involved in the operation of a large municipal granary. They might ~~have~~ have been accommodated, at least temporarily, in sections of the partitioned interior of the Middle Stoa. On the other hand, one notes in the East Building, in the long east room, certain

Appendix 1: dated list of eponyms in Knidian stamps

This list is subject to adjustments as new information or understanding to permits us ~~to~~ correct and sharpen it. So it remains a work sheet; but one which should be of use to others since it is the only one of its kind in print. The names ~~present~~ with their date indications were sent in my letter of September 6, 1978, to P.M. Fraser, to be entered ^{only} in their alphabetical positions in the lexicon of Greek personal names which he is preparing; but with the express understanding that the list would not be published as such, nor shown to anyone save those who made from it the necessary entries for the lexicon. As was to be expected, the present list is somewhat revised over that of 1978.

To explain the various indications beside the names, I begin with the date-equivalents expressed by Roman numerals; read "ca." with all figures:

III 220 - 188 B.C.

IV A 188 - 167

IV B 167 - 146

V 146 - 108

VI A 107 - 98

VI B 97 - 88

original 1/2 to 1/4 with little 3/4, 1/4, 84 6.01

ibid., p.213 (Thompson). The well, as found, with its ancient filling in place, was partly covered by what seemed to be the continuation of a temporary light retaining wall that lay beyond and fairly parallel with the west side of the Stoa, and faced west, like the retaining west wall of the Stoa's ~~next~~ podium. See Fig. 3, from an actual state plan, for the well (H 13 : 1), the light retaining wall that crossed it (X - X), and the west end of the Middle Stoa to the right. One may suggest that this temporary wall (of which only part of one course has remained) was found to be needed while the west end of the Stoa was under construction, presumably to hold an earth filling to support scaffolding for the columns and entablature of the west side and of the west end of the north side. These columns run close to the edge of the podium, with no such margin as is provided by the terrace along most of the north side of the building. Without some raising of the ground level around the podium at this end, scaffolding of a formidable height would be required, so that the heavy drums, etc., could be dropped into place by block and tackle (cf. H.A.Thompson, The Stoa of Attalos II in Athens, Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 2, Princeton 1949, fig. 23). See Pl. for scaffolding used in setting up an outer colonnade for the rebuilt Stoa of Attalos, and imagine a further four-meter drop to be taken care of by the outer timber supports, below the steps, in the case of the Middle Stoa. The temporary earth filling was no doubt used afterward for further levelling south of the Stoa. No great weight of earth would have been required: the little wall lies close to the Stoa, enclosing just easy space for working outside the podium. We do not know how high the temporary filling was carried: any height would help, and a minimum needed would be a level bottom prepared on those slopes to take the feet of the scaffolding and of the workers.

The contents of the well H 13 : 1 then perhaps give us a terminus for the erection of the west end of the superstructure of the Middle Stoa. The finds in this shallow well were few, and included no coins but five stamped handles, all Knidian. Of the five names of fabricants, *Ἀγαστίων* (on SS 10450) and *Ἀπόλων* (on SS 10452) are present also in the Middle Stoa filling; while

replanned

with its ancient filling in place

ibid. p. 213 (Thompson). The well as found ^{with its ancient filling in place} was partly covered by what seemed to be the continuation of a temporary light retaining wall that lay beyond and fairly parallel with the west side of the Stoa, and faced west, like the retaining west wall of the Stoa's podium. See Fig. 3, from an actual state plan, for the well (H 13 : 1), the light retaining wall that crossed it, and the west end of the Middle Stoa to the right. One may suggest that this temporary wall (of which only part of one course has remained) was found to be needed while the west end of the Stoa was under construction, presumably to hold an earth filling to support scaffolding for the columns and entablature of the west side and of the west end of the north side. These columns run close to the edge of the podium, with no such margin as is provided by the terrace along most of the north side of the building. Without some raising of the ground level around ~~than~~ the podium at this end, scaffolding of a formidable height would be required, so that the heavy drums, etc., could be dropped into place by block and tackle (cf. H. A. Thompson, The Stoa of Attalos II in Athens, Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 2, Princeton 1949, fig. 23). See Pl. 00 for scaffolding used in setting up an outer colonnade for the rebuilt Stoa of Attalos, and imagine a further four-meter drop to be taken care of by the outer timber supports, below in the case of the Middle Stoa. the steps, The temporary earth filling was no doubt used afterward for further levelling south of the Stoa. No great weight of earth would be required: the little wall lies close to the Stoa, enclosing just easy space for working outside the podium. We do not know how high the temporary filling was carried: any height would help, and a minimum needed would be a level bottom prepared on those slopes to take the feet of the scaffolding and of the workers.

The contents of the well H 13 : 1 then ~~perhaps~~ perhaps give us a terminus for the erection of the west end of the superstructure of the Middle Stoa. The finds in this shallow well were few, and included no coins but five stamped handles, all Knidian. Of the five names of fabricants, *Ἀπρίων* (on SS 10450) and *Βελών* (on SS 10452) are present also in the Middle Stoa filling; while

grace

- 71 -

Superseded

ibid. p. 213 (Thompson). The well as found was covered by what seemed to be the continuation of a temporary light retaining wall that lay beyond and fairly parallel with the west side of the Stoa, and faced west, like the retaining west wall of the Stoa's podium. One may suggest that this temporary wall (of which only part of one course has remained) was found to be needed while the west end of the Stoa was under construction, presumably to hold an earth filling to support scaffolding for the columns and entablature of the west side and of the west end of the north side. These columns run close to the edge of the podium, with no such margin as is provided by the terrace along most of the north side of the building. Without some raising of the ground level around the podium at this end, scaffolding of a formidable height would be required, so that the heavy drums, etc., could be dropped into place by block and tackle (cf. H. A. Thompson, The Stoa of Attalos II in Athens, Excavations of the Athenian Agora, Picture Book No. 2, Princeton 1949, fig. 23). See Pl. ⁰⁰ for scaffolding used in setting up an outer colonnade for the rebuilt Stoa of Attalos, and imagine a further four-meter drop to be taken care of by the outer timber supports, below the steps. The temporary earth filling was no doubt used afterward for further levelling south of the Stoa. The contents of the well then perhaps give us a terminus for the erection of the west end of the superstructure of the Middle Stoa. The finds in this shallow well were few, and included no coins but five stamped handles, all Knidian. Of the five names of fabricants, *Agrotion* (on SS 10450) and *Opion* (on SS 10452) are present also in the Middle Stoa filling; while

27. IX. 82
(in the original the names 'Agrotion' & 'Opion' were entered in ink - the last for typing)

GRACE

for Fig. 3

West end of Middle St.,
actual state plan, with
well H 13 11, and
light retaining wall X-X.

Revised 8 1/2

^{or earlier?}
at end of note 23 (footnote p. 14)

and I noted,
a reader of the article in no. has asked
a note on.

of which information we have on the Phoenician
chronology or registers, aside from what we

may learn from the stamps. Then I would

be identified by dating Phoenician inscriptions,
became the date

in the headings of which they are so called

explicitly priests of Halios. a partial ^{ancient} list

of the priests of Halios has been found,

see inscription, ^{is around to}; it begins at

404 BC, ~~dating the beginning of the~~

~~Phoenician~~ ^{as preserved,} and does not reach the

end of the 4th century BC. We know finally,

many parts of the list of the priests of
Athens Lindia, see Blundell

(2)

now dated
 presence in these lists will suggest
 a date for a time of the same person
 as priest of Helios, usually - four years
 later. These separate strands of
 info were put together by H. v. S.
 at the end of his article "Plethos" (1941)
 but since ~~the pub. of that~~ ^{the pub. of that} article, ~~was~~
 probably, considerable more ~~info~~ ^{info} has been
 accumulated, and a new edition of
 Hillen's list would be a useful piece of
 work.

27. VII. 84

Appendix 2

Lent & Susan (2/2/84)

late week

28. VII. 84

note 42

add to this a note on the fact
 that these tests have not been published
 by Sage although he accepted my
 statement in Deles 27. The tests were
 not based on (?) as guessed
 by Dupont, but referring to an earlier
 investigation (), but on the elements
 —, —, —, and —

p. 9
These seven eponyms therefore suggest a period of seven years immediately after the end date of the Middle Stoa filling but before the close of the Pergamon deposit. The suggestion is strengthened by the fact that all seven

⁶⁶Agora XIV, p. 68. Thompson further suggested (loc. cit., top of page) that the west end of the Middle Stoa itself may have been finished later than the rest of the building, even "soon after the middle of the (2nd) century". We have not however succeeded in finding any group of stamped handles from the attested construction fill (from within the foundations) that supports this suggestion, i.e. that is later than the fill as a whole. Naturally most of the handles came from toward the west end, where was the greatest depth to be filled.

2

See Schuchhardt 1895, p. 423. For a recent discussion of the deposit, see Délos 27, especially pp. 290-291. This publication, Chapter XIV of the volume on the Maison des Comédiens on Delos, includes a general review of studies of container amphoras and their stamps (usually on the handles) with much bibliography; see pp. 278-280 ~~for~~ for an introduction to the subject, or the reader may just consult the pamphlet Amphoras, in particular the text accompanying figures 21-25 in that unpagged booklet. Third century dates in Délos 27 should be revised as indicated in Grace 1974, p. 200. Further on Grace 1974, see below, Appendix 2. Further on the Pergamon deposit, footnote ³² and accompanying text; figures given have been somewhat revised following corrections in readings.

P. 8

No one of these seven eponyms occurs in the Middle Stoa filling (an Ἀεὶστρίδας named on a single handle, SS 12862, is readily distinguishable as a homonym of the third century B.C. by the shape and finish of the handle.) On the other hand, despite the steady decrease, discussed

P. 11
preserving both stamped handles. See Pl. , which illustrates two whole jars, 2 and 3, from the stamped tops of the handles of which we take two such pairs of names. 2a and 2c show the dating and endorsing stamps

P. footnote 22 (note 46)
1981, p. 426. Particularly interesting examples of the earlier group have been found recently, some in an ancient wreck investigated by George Bass. On these, see V.R. Grace, "Some Amphoras from a Hellenistic Wreck," forthcoming in BCH Suppl. VIII. The later

P. footnote 33 (note 63)
For more recent comment by Retroff on the dates of long-petal bowls, see Hesperia 52, 1983, pp. 274-275, with note 67; she lists instances of early experimentation. I think that before my present article, no close date had been proposed for the latest stamps in the filling of the Stoa of Attalos, but just an end date of about mid-century. Emphasis has been placed on the absence of long-petal pieces from this relatively small group (the stamped handles are some 135 in contrast with 1500 from the Middle Stoa filling); but the long-petal fragment P 20204 should be borne in mind, to be attributed to the Stoa of Attalos filling, if not to an earlier level beneath it, cf. footnote 60 above.

perhaps also the Middle Stoa itself, the superstructure: evidence from excavations at the west end apparently allows that the colonnade and entablature were erected within a few years after the construction of the foundation and podium. See below, Appendix 2, section on the deposit H 13 : 1. Delayed subsequent payments could account for the piecemeal execution of the project, the way the East Building and the South Stoa are tacked on, though one would suppose it was the complex as a whole which had been intended from the beginning to replace South Stoa I:

cf. Fig. 1 and Pl. . The date of Pharnakes' death is ~~not~~ precisely known but may have fallen soon after 159. So it is likely enough that no more help came to the Athenians from this source, despite the emphasis, in their application for support, on equal shares of honors for Nysa; she was a Seleucid, and so might have been counted on as well disposed toward Athens. Thompson has suggested that the two later parts of the complex (of inferior workmanship and partly of secondhand material) were finally constructed by the city of Athens out of its own resources.⁶⁶ It would have become necessary to complete somehow the replacement of South Stoa I, to put it into working ~~and~~ order.

⁶⁴Rostovtzeff, op.cit. in footnote 14, p. 630. Homer Thompson, in a letter of March 1984, has queried Rostovtzeff's description of Amisus and Sinope as "very important centres of the grain trade", noting correctly that these ports on the south coast of the Black Sea were not (and are not) backed by a grain-producing hinterland, but the great grain fields that were a major source for Athens lay to the north, in the region of the Bosphoros (Crimea). But presumably grain from the north would be the chief product carried south across the narrowest part of the Black Sea to the fine harbor of Sinope, and then transshipped or carried further in the same bottoms, no doubt after payment of port taxes; see D. M. Robinson, "Ancient Sinope," AJP 27, 1906, especially pp. 136-137. Even ships which were not unloading would need to call for supplies, especially water, of which Sinope had an abundance.

⁶⁵F. Durrbach, Choix d'inscriptions de Délos, Paris 1921, pp. 97-105, no. 73, equals P. Roussel and M. Launey, Inscriptions de Délos, Paris 1926 no. 1497. Durrbach dated the inscription 172/1. For the redating of the Athenian archon named (Tychandros), see e.g. W.B.Dinsmoor, The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931, p.260; and S. Dow, Hesperia 4, 1935, p. 91. I am indebted to M. B. Wallace and J. S. Traill for numerous references and for the information

grace

replacement VII.84 for footnote 81

81

Guide 3, p. 166; and cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., The Propylaea to the Athenian Akropolis, I, The Predecessors, Princeton 1980, p. 35, note 1: " . . . The fire that destroyed (the Middle Stoa) was so intense that the inner face of every architectural member is terribly mutilated." I am obliged to Mr. Dinsmoor for finding for me this published statement. For the suggestion of wooden divisions in the Miletos Magazine, see Knackfuss 1924, p. 177. The author concludes (pp. 158-159) that the building must have been destroyed by an earthquake rather than a fire, since its remains show relatively little in the way of burning.

p. 27

two separate groups, both valuable for reference. Note a new study by Luc Long, based on further investigation of the site of the wrecks, is to appear in Archeonautica 5 in late 1985. A resume of this study is being published earlier by the same author in A.H. McCann, The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa. I am obliged to Dr. Long for advance information on these publications.

⁷⁴For pre-Roman granaries, cf. Rickman 1971, pp.252-257; Coulton 1976, p.11; and references given by both. A recently excavated second granary at Morgantina has been reported: AJA 87, 1983, p.226. For "royal" Macedonian granaries in Chalkis destroyed by Antiochus III in 200 B.C., see Livy XXXI, 23, 7-8. Livy, writing in the time of Augustus, refers to the buildings as horrea. His text does not give us their shape. I owe the reference to M.B.Wallace.

P. 90
ing and device as 4b. For the context of this amphora, and for various acknowledgments connected with its publication here, see footnote 34 and accompanying text. Ca. 220-210 B.C.

not 54
above, which are otherwise rare in stamps. On the lexicon, see below, first paragraph of Appendix 1.

For a fairly recent summary on work in this particular field, with many references, cf. D.B.Shelov, op.cit. in footnote 15, pp.134-140. I am obliged to P.M.W. Matheson for a translation of these pages, as of many others useful to the present study. See also M.Lazarov, "Sinope et le marché ouest-Pontique," Bull.Mus. Nat. de Varna XIV, 1978, pp.11-65. The author reports, and adopts, the Sinopean chronology of the Soviet scholar B. A. Vasilenko. I owe this information and reference to Françoise Alabe.

⁵⁵ Hesperia 23, 1954, p. 50. (H.A. Thompson).

The present article was originally intended for the Festschrift for Homer Thompson, Hesperia Supplement XX. I hope he will accept it as a further supplement to that volume. I am obliged to him for comments on the manuscript which have resulted in various needed clarifications in my text. I have profited also from helpful suggestions by other readers, in particular W.B.Dinsmoor, Jr., P.M.W.Matheson, M.B.Wallace, ~~and~~ and A. Boegehold; others are mentioned below. None of these is responsible for my errors, or for my conclusions.

(Boeghold) note 21 last line: "probably have fallen shortly afterwards; on something resembling a curious honour in Plunket, etc"

Something in the way to insert (for Ad Boeghold) a summary on epigraphical sources for ^{Pl.} epigrams: (X)

- 1.) priests of Helios in date - heading of Pl. inscription
- 2.) those in Moreau's index.
- 3.) priests of A. Luidia, some of whom later became priest of Ad.

begin again, later p. 16

5.X.

add to end of note 21, in same H.

For ~~discovery~~ of information on

these epigrammatic priests, see Morrison, *Ep.* cit., pp. — — —, the publication of an

4.X.84
 I think this needs a lot of checking & I don't want to bother with it of present

inscriptions which further lists these

fragments from the beginning, around

? to 404 B.C., & from then in

the 2/2 of the 4th century (better of 5

also missing). For later times, we have

numerous headings of Ptolemaic inscriptions,

for which close dates can sometimes be

^{however} suggested because the ^{dating of} ~~change~~ can

reasonably be identified with a priest of

Athens Lentic in the well-dated lists in

Blumhumburg's work just cited; scattered

epigraphical ^{- literary} references were assembled

in 1931 by Heron G., see op. cit. in

(note 21)

Appendix 5 below. Many more

are now known, and a new

assembling of the information is long

overdue.

Note 21 also needs slight revision
 on curious business — on paper attached
 (in CORRECTIONS)

✓ P. 21 line 10 — change up for Plind.?
 or p. 22, line 6

✓ note 32 add another "a" at end
 in Pl. —
 ✓ p. 23, line 14

so on p. 27 7 text

Need various
aids - publs. 2

note 42

(get - not on file)

that Sayre is speaking on basis of new
facts, not those published, and
reported to by Dupont (was it), and
know pretty much more.

note 46

"Particularly interesting

examples of a certain group have

been found recently, some in a recent

work investigated by George Bass. On

there are U.B. Green, "Some Angles

from a Hollen's Wood," particularly

in BCH Supplement VII?

note 54?

Alabre?

note 61

full stop at end

add to notes
advise it. f
8 N W M
at
Bosch
+ H K

* see p. 8 below
- just E

- gather up - letter, later 4.8.84

23.01

going through TEXT plus NOTES

check if there corrections have

gone to editor; and prepare new
input tests

- note 1, p. 2 donees (assent)

✓ note 2 (p. no. 4) retype whole note with
addenda - corrections

7 { p. 2 C. H. Emily Haspels 'ET all in?
p. 3 Subheading DATING THE CSTR
p. 4 Subheading Appendix } o that in?

p. 5 Subheading Sign - comp. of 2 gfs

p. 6 Saxian(?) Prow-stamp series

p. 7 subheading Evidence of the
Pls. stamps

✓ p. 8 retypes with corrected text
last 4 lines of page

✓ p. 9 retype ^{was} corr. text 3 lines
after 1st 6 lines of p.

note 15 — join of $\Sigma\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma$ MS 547
— is there an A number?

(note 15, and text with it, a bit
confusing on "early" used for
the rose sec. st., whereas we
speak also of sec. st. with
 $\Sigma\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma$) add 3 words:
"... an early one" ^{in this series,} dated in

p. 11 line 11 ^{add} It is recommended

that the reader now turn
to Pl. 1. Here are illustrated
2 whole jaws from the
top of the branches of
which we take such
pairs of names.

about

p. 13 and the middle of the
century.

p. 14 bis make sure Marie has this

note 18 can I tell if that is all with Marie?
I think so — see "folly of 9 bis" is phrasal

note 63 addition to 6.8.84

begin again Text p. 38

note 64 retype^{new} draft typewritten

p. 39 add to line 43 from pencil
draft of 2.VIII.84
6.X.84

(note 65 (ref. 5 for Phnom Penh, insert)
This has been ~~revised~~, but I still
don't have full data for
the insert in Deton ref. See if
it is in my photo, I have
at 2A

note 66 retype draft typewritten

~~40~~ p. 40, to end of 1st para: see p. 10 below

p. 46 ~~with~~ ~~replacements~~ ~~with~~ ~~replacements~~

note 81 see new typewritten (in carbon copy)

(8)

(6.X.84)

25

p. 48

let's not make the suggestive
addition

(already suggests date, see

p. (39))

p. 50 (App. 1)

enter replacement of page,

correcting in line 11 "the enterprise"

to "the version"

make
2A

p. 69 on Group E

have 2 left (in copying?)
out a comment on a third
ephemeral? must have

p. 72 under (2)

Enter a corrigendum

for passing report to Ag. ~~XXII~~
XXII.

It seems SS 11050

is cited there, wrongly.
check.

make
2A

p. 72 bis, bottom

There are other refs for modern
sheds - joint paper

p. 77

at end of App. 3

Note a
pencil by Luc Fournier on p. 'England'
See pencil drawing in CORRECTIONS

p. 81

3rd line from bottom

am I going to call to the inscriber
or get in fact that it is a group of
inscribers, on same stone? Do all
have same no?

p. 90

under 4

for the content
of this amplification, ask for various
acknowledgments connected with its
publication, see footnote 34, etc.

p. 91

see pencilled corrections

88 or, p. 96

