



DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7412089

# A THOROUGH TYPOLOGICAL STUDY ON THE STAMPED AMPHORA HANDLES FOUND DURING THE 2013 EXCAVATION SEASON FROM THE WESTERN AREA OF LYCIAN STRUCTURE IN XANTHOS

Hülya Kökmen-Seyirci

*Department of Tourism Guidance, Faculty of Manavgat Tourism, Akdeniz University, Antalya, Turkey  
(hulyakokmen@akdeniz.edu.tr)*

Received: 29/11/2022

Accepted: 15/12/2022

## ABSTRACT

Xanthos was one of the most important cities of Lycia, in Southwestern Anatolia. In the north-east of the Ancient City of Xanthos, to the west of the Lycian Building along the western wall of this building, the soundings taken in a south-north direction revealed in the initial strata that these areas were used as workshops during the Byzantine Period. When the work continued in the south-north direction, an “annex place”, built adjacent to the west wall of the Lycian Building, was identified in 2013. From the soundings made in the area many pottery sherds belonging to the Hellenistic Period were unearthed from the filling layer during the 2013 excavation season. Among these finds, twenty-three stamped amphora handles are noteworthy. The amphora handles document the origin of the amphorae that reached Xanthos and its surroundings, and the commercial activities of the city and the Lycia Region during the Hellenistic Period. Eighteen of these stamped amphora handles are of Rhodian and five of Knidian origin. The Rhodian amphora stamps recovered from the site are generally dated to between the 3rd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D., while the Knidian amphora stamps are dated to between the 2nd and 1st century B.C. Through this study, the role of Xanthos in the distribution maps of commercial amphorae of the island/islands and Western Anatolian cities that traded with the cities in the Lycian Region during the Hellenistic Period is, to some extent, established. The information on the fabricans and the eponyms which dated them, who were active in the ancient cities of Rhodes and Knidos, with which the city of Xanthos was in commercial contact, are presented here for the first time, although it is a small group.

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**KEYWORDS:** Stamped Amphora Handles, Rhodian, Knidian, Hellenistic Amphora Stamps, Hellenistic Period, Lycia Region, Xanthos, Turkey.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Xanthos, one of the most important cities of Western Lycia, is located on the fertile valley irrigated by the Xanthos/Eşen River (Fig 1). During the Classical Period, the city was home to local kings/administrators and a residence thought to belong to one of these kings or administrators was identified. It is located on the southern slope of the great elevation called the “Roman Acropolis” to the north of the city (des Courtils, 2003: 88) and is reached by a pathway passing through the Nymphaion (des Courtils 2003: 87) whose ruins are visible just north of the triumphal arch located at the east end of Decumanus Street (fig.)

(des Courtils and Cavalier, 2001: 154 fig. 6,1 no. 5; des Courtils, 2003: 88). The building was labelled as the “Structure with Dromos” by the French researchers (des Courtils and Cavalier, 2001: 154 fig. 6,1 no.5; des Courtils, 2003: 88) and then was identified as the “Lycian Structure” during the studies conducted in this area under the direction of B. Varkıvañç between 2011 and 2016 (Varkıvañç, 2012: 55; Varkıvañç, 2013: 63-66; Karademir and Kökmen, 2014: 65-68; Varkıvañç, 2015: 3-4; Kökmen-Seyirci and Karademir, 2017: 53-55). The Lycian Structure is located in the residential area of the town center and extends over a 350 m<sup>2</sup> area (Varkıvañç, 2013: 66).



Figure 1. The Location of Xanthos

The building, which was close to a square in plan (17.00 x 18.50 m), was two-storeyed and built from large polygonal blocks which forming the structure are approximately 2.00 m long and 1.20 m wide and its surroundings were excavated during the 2011-2014 and 2016 excavation seasons (des Courtils and Cavalier, 2001: 154, fig. 6,1 no. 5; Varkıvañç, 2012: 55, fig. 2-3; Varkıvañç, 2013: 63-66; Karademir and Kökmen, 2014: 65-68; Varkıvañç, 2015: 3-4; Kökmen-Seyirci and Karademir, 2017: 53-55). As a result of the excavations carried out in and around the building for five years, it was determined that this area was where a very monumental construction stood in the Early Classical Period. Excavations carried out in 2012 outside the building revealed archaeological and architectural evidence that the area was used as a work-

shop in the Middle Byzantine Period (Varkıvañç, 2013: 63-66). In addition, excavations carried out to the west of the main structure between 2012 and 2014 unearthed an “annex place” (Karademir and Kökmen, 2014: 65-68, figs. 5-7). The Annex Place, having three opening without any door jamb, was divided into three sections by thick isodomic interior walls. Also the inner walls, inside were tied to the main rock on which the main structure was constructed, but they don’t continue beneath the main structure. When the structural details of the annex place are analysed, it is estimated that it was built at the same time as the Lycian Structure due to its architecture and its location overlooking the city. During the studies carried out in the annex place in 2013, it was observed that the fill of 3.50 m depth was quite homogeneous and

consisted of pottery sherds and Stones. As a result of the excavations in the area, a bedrock floor that does not show a smooth surface was reached at a depth of approximately 8.00 m from the western wall of the Lycian structure. A 0.45 m wide rubble, stone-mortar masonry, which was built in the Early Roman Period after the use of the “annex place” ended, was exposed in the course of excavations (Karademir and Kökmen, 2014: 66, fig. 6). When the structure of the soil and the

pottery sherds in it were analysed, it was understood that a deliberate filling layer was formed in this area. A clay oil lamp with the head of Bakkhus was recovered from the lowest layer of the deposit. Typological parallels exist between the 1st century B.C. and the 1st century A.D (Broneer, 1930: 76-78, type 22, fig. 34, profile 5; Bailey, 1988: type A, group iii; Civelek 2008: 118-119, A2). This is an important data for dating the fill layer.



Figure 2. Aerial photograph of the Lycian Structure and detail of the annex place (BK.7) and other trenches (BK-4, BK.5, BK.8) from the western area (Xanthos Excavation Archive)

Among the pottery fragments recovered from this infill there are a few vase fragments in red figure technique dating to the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., as well as oil lamp, khytridion, terra sigillata, megara and lidded bowls dating from between the 3rd century B.C. and the 1st century A.D (Karademir and Kökmen-Seyirci, 2016). Among the pottery sherds mentioned above, 23 stamped amphora handles were recovered, most of which were recovered from the fill inside the annex (BK-7) (Karademir and Kökmen-Seyirci, 2016, 109 fig. 1) and some from the other trenches (BK-4, 5, 8) in the western area (Fig.2). The majority of these handles belong to Rhodian amphorae, but stamped handles belonging to Knidian amphorae were also found. The significance of twenty-three stamped amphora handles lies in the fact that it sheds light on the Xanthos' Hellenistic Era, and it can highlight the trade network and arrangements with Rhodes and Knidos during the same period.

### 1.1 Stamped Amphora Handles

The amphora stamps were found during the excavations in the western area and no stratigraphic stratification could be determined in this area, although the finds were found in quantity in trench BK.7 (Fig. 2) (Karademir - Kökmen, 2014: 65-68, figs. 5-7). Although some of the stamps on the amphora handles were preserved intact until today, some were severely damaged and illegible. The stamps carry the names of administrators (eponyms) and fabricants, as well as on Rhodian stamps the names of the months. The inscriptions are also accompanied by symbols in relief, such as heads in profile, caduceus, amphora, rose and star. The stamped handle examples were dated, based on the names of the administrators (eponyms) and fabricants, and the period of the unreadable examples was determined based upon the profile of the handle. In this study of the stamped amphora handles recovered from the soundings in the west of the Lycian Structure of Xanthos, the administrators (eponyms) are firstly discussed in alphabetical order according

to periods. After the administrators (eponyms), the fabricants were also studied in a similar manner.

## 2. RHODIAN STAMPED AMPHORA HANDLES

The island of Rhodes was one of the states that came to the forefront in the Hellenistic Period through its wine and amphora production and trade. Rhodian manufacturers, who were engaged in production throughout the Hellenistic Period, started to stamp the handles of amphorae from the end of the 4th century B.C. (Grace and Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou, 1970: 292; Doğer, 1991: 87-89; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2005: 139-164; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2006: 105-114; Ali and Bader, 2015: 48-49; Oğuz-Kırca 2017: 33). In addition to the names of the rulers (eponym) and the names of the producers, many other symbols, especially the rose, the symbol of the island, and the god Helios, were added to the stamps on the handles. The systematically stamping of Rhodian amphora handles continued until the end of the 1st century B.C. and into the 1st century A.D. (Doğer, 1991: 89; Finkielsztein, 2000: 413-414; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2006: 111 fn. 211; Kızılarıslanoğlu and Alkaç, 2014: 56). The chronology of Rhodian amphora stamps is based upon the work of G. Finkielsztein, who has contributed to the chronology by analysing finds from the Levant in recent years (Finkielsztein, 2001: 196).

### 2.1 The Stamps of Administrators

#### Stamp No. 1 ἱερεὺς Ἀριστίων

Matrix: RE-APIΣΤΙΩΝ-005 (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015a: 346)

The name of the Rhodian eponym appears Ἀριστίων in the second lines in the nominative case (Fig. 3) (Grace, 1953: 122, no. 39). The first line of the inscription, consisting of two lines, bears the title of the "ἱερεὺς/hiereus". As in this example from Xanthos, the name of the eponym Ἀριστίων can be given with the title "hiereus" at the beginning of his name (Cankardeş-Şenol and Şenol, 1997: 53, no. 2a). His name appears with the *hiereus* title read on stamps found on Lindos (Nilsson, 1909: 394, no. 115/1), Thasos (Grace and Lenger, 1958: 415, no. 149), Alexandria in the Benaki Collection (Cankardeş-Şenol and Alkaç, 2007: 304, fn. 1046; Amphrolex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\_epon/affiche\_L\_un-nom.php) and Nagidos (Cankardeş-Şenol and Alkaç, 2007: 304, no. 6). The eponym was dated, within Period Ib, to ca. 264 B.C. and previous scholars demonstrated the connection of eponym Ἀριστίων with the fabricants: Ἄστος, Εὐφρών, Ἱεροτέλης ve Σωτᾶς I (Cankardeş-Şenol and Alkaç, 2007: 304,

fn. 1047; Lawall, 2007: 33, AH5, taf. 6; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015a: 345). *Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-4 K.32 Find level: -1.31 / -1.70 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6) with a pink slip (7.5YR 8/3) The clay is finely porous, finely grained sand and lime tempered, well fired. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: ca. 3.1 x 1.6 cm. Two lines written in ancient Greek,

ἱερεὺς  
Ἀριστίων



Figure 3. Picture of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

#### Stamp No. 2 Ἐπί Κληνο- στράτου Πανάμου

Matrix: RE-ΚΛΗΝΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ-003 (Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 413)

The name of the eponym Κληνοστράτου appears in three lines with the name of the month Panamos (Fig. 4). In the Rhodian stamp chronology, the eponym Κληνοστράτου was active in Period Vb ca. 126 B.C. (Grace, 1953: 123 No. 111; Grace and Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou, 1970: 316, E45; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015b: 402; Mandescu, 2016: 360, 363, tab. 3, pl. 3, E25). Its known that the eponym Κληνοστράτου is associated with the fabricants' Γλαυκίας, Δαμοφίλος, Εὐφράνωρ II, Μίδας, Πρώτος (Grace and Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou, 1970: 316, E45; Monachov, 2006: 83, 91, fig. 6.1-2; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015b: 402; Mandescu, 2016: 372, fig.3, pl. 3 E25). In addition, the stamps of Κληνοστράτου from the probably same die as the Xanthos example have been found in Alexandria, in Benaki Collection and from grave 08 in the Starokorsunskaja Necropolis (Monachov, 2006: 83, 91, Fig. 6.2; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015b: 413). Stamps of an eponym from different dies have been found in Alexandria today. There are 61 stamps with different month names in the Benaki Collection (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015b: 402-420) and from Tanais (Jöhrens, 2001: 394, no. 81).



Figure 4. Picture and profile view of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.39 Find level: -4.46 / - 4.57 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6) with a pink slip (7.5YR 7/4) The clay is finely porous, finely grained sand tempered, clean, well-pulped paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: 4.0 x 1.7 cm. Three lines written in ancient Greek, Ἐπί Κλήνο-στράτου Πανάμου

**Stamp No. 3** Ἐπί Ξενο-φάντου Δα[λί]ου

Matrix: RE-XENOΦΑΝΤΟΣ 02-ΔΑΛΙΟΣ-001 (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2016: 154)



Figure 5. Picture of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

The name of the eponym Ξενοφάντος II appears in three lines written in ancient Greek on a stamp together with the name of the month Dalios (Fig. 5). Two different eponyms with the same name (Ξενοφάντος I and Ξενοφάντος II) are known (Coşkun and Alkaç, 2020: 249, cat. no. 5; Grace, 1953: 123, no. 127). Ξενοφάντος I who officiated during Period IIb (ca. 210 B.C.) and his stamps are known from Alexandria, today in the Benaki Collection, were circular with the Rhodian rose as a symbol in the middle ([http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_G\\_un-nom.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_G_un-nom.php); Cankardeş-Şenol, 2016: 143-144). This stamp is remarkably similar to the stamp dies of Ξενοφάντος II known from Alexandria in the Benaki Collection (Cankardeş-

Şenol, 2016: 154-155) and for this reason, this stamp from the western area of the Xanthos *Lycian Structure*, which was uncovered is of Ξενοφάντος II who was active in Period IVb (ca. 151 B.C.) (Zeitoun et al., 1998: 375; Finkielsztejn, 2001: 193, tab. 20; Nicolaou, 2005: 294 no. 106; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2016: 149; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2017b: 328). Stamps with the eponym's name have been found different settlements. Many stamps with his name have been found in several centers including the Majestic Cinema in Alexandria (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2017b: 328, no. 12, fig. 12), Kaunos (Schmaltz, 2016: 197, KA472-KA473.), Tanais Necropolis (Monachov, 2006: 78, 82, fig. 5.3), Jerusalem (Macalister and Duncan, 1926: 210), Tell Er-Ras (Ariel, 1999: 27, no. 5), Carthage (Lund, 1993: 363), Pergamon (Börker and Burow, 1998: 36, no. 298-302, 96, no. 300) and Nea Paphos (Nicolaou, 2005: 294, no. 106). The eponym Ξενοφάντος II helped in dating the fabricants Ανδρικός (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2017b: 328, no. 12, fig. 12), Ἰέρων (Nicolaou and Empereur, 1986: 525-526 no. 10), Θεόμναστος (Zeitoun et al., 1998: 375, 383-384), Μαρσῶας and Ἴμας (Finkielsztejn, 2001: 130, tab. 8).

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.40-1 Find level: -4.57 / -5.01 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a pink fabric (7.5YR 7/4) with a very pale brown slip (10YR 7/4) The clay is finely porous, very little sand and lime tempered, well-poured paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: 4.2 x 1.7 cm. Three lines written in ancient Greek, Ἐπί Ξενοφάντου Δα[λί]ου

**Stamp No. 4** Ἐπί Πυθογένεος Ἀρτάμιου

Matrix: RE-ΠΥΘΟΓΕΝΗΣ-ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΣ

The stamp bears three lines of inscription. The name of the eponym Πυθογένης appears with the ἐπί preposition and the month name, Ἀρτάμιος in rectangular form (Fig. 6).



Figure 6. Picture of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

The eponym Πυθογένης was dated (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2016: 295; Dündar, 2017: 133) within Period IVb (ca. 150-147 B.C.). Although many stamps of the eponym Πυθογένης have been identified (Grace, 1953: 123, no. 141; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2016: 295-312), a stamp from the same dies is neither in the Alexandrian Benaki Collection ([http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_G\\_un-nom.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_G_un-nom.php)) nor in the monograph published by G. Cankardeş-Şenol (2016). Therefore, we introduce this as a new stamp dies belonging to the eponym Πυθογένης. The eponym was associated with fabricants: Βρόμιος, Θεόμναστος, Παπᾶς, Τιμῶ II, Ἡφαιστίων, Ἰέρων, Ἴπποκράτης, Κῶμος (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2016: 295).

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.41-1 Find level: -5.01 / -5.15 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6) with a very pale brown slip (10YR 8/3) The clay is finely porous, mica, sand and lime tempered, well-polished paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: 3.7 x 1.5 cm. Three lines written in ancient Greek, Ἐπι Πυθογένεος Ἀρταμτίου

#### Stamp No. 5 Ἐπι

Πυθογένεος  
Θεσμοφορι(ου)

Matrix: RE-ΠΥΘΟΓΕΝΗΣ-ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΣ-003 (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2016: 304)

The name of the eponyms Πυθογένης also appears here together with the month of Θεσμοφόριος in three very well preserved lines in genitive case (Fig. 7). It can be seen that the name of the month bears as an abbreviation on the stamp. For this, associated with fabricants, for dating and the dies, see stamp 4.



Figure 7. Picture of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.40-4 Find level: -4.57 / -5.01 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6) with a pale brown slip (2.5YR 8/4) The clay is finely porous, slightly mica and lime tempered, well-polished paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: 4.4 x 1.7 cm. Three lines written in ancient Greek,

Ἐπι  
Πυθογένεος  
Θεσμοφορι[ου]

## 2.2 The Stamps of Fabricants

### Stamp No. 6 Ἀνδρικοῦ

Matrix:RF-ΑΝΔΡΙΚΟΣ-007 ([http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_rech\\_anc\\_new.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_rech_anc_new.php))



Figure 8. Picture of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

The name of the Rhodian fabricant Ἀνδρικός appears here in the genitive case in one line (Fig. 8). Some stamps of the fabricant Ἀνδρικός are accompanied by a star, a dioskur cap or a caduceus as a symbol under his name ([http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_LRF.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF.php)). The fabricant Ἀνδρικός, is dated to (Cankardeş-Şenol, in print) Period IVb-Va (ca. 151-142/141 B.C.), based on the association with the eponyms Ἀλεξιμαχος (Finkielsztein, 2001: 193, tab. 20), Ἀνάξανδρος (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015a: 189), Ξενόφαντος II (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2016: 149, fn. 94) and Τεισαγόρας (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2017a: 1). The stamps of different dies of the fabricant have been found in Jerusalem

(Ariel, 1990: 60, S275), Tell Keisan in Israel (Halpern-Zylberstein, 1980: 250, no. 61) Alexandria (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2003: 215-216, no. 6-7), Tanais (Jöhrens, 2001: 411, no. 164-165), British Museum Collection (Mus. No. 1988,0503.36), National Museum of Athens (Jöhrens, 1999: 64, no. 164), Patara (Dündar, 2017: 188), Sinope (Conovici and Garlan 2004, 115, no. 33, pl. II) and Pergamon (Börker and Burow 1998: 82, no. 60-61).

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.41-2 Find level: 5.01 / -5.15 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6) with a very pale brown slip (10YR 8/3) The clay is finely porous, very little sand, lime and mica tempered, well-poured paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: 4.1 x 1.5 cm. Single line written in ancient Greek, Ἀνδροκοῦ

#### Stamp No. 7 Δαμοκράτους

Γ

Matrix:RF-ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ03-058

([http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_rech-\\_avanc\\_new.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_rech-_avanc_new.php))



Figure 9. Picture of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

This stamp identified as belonging to the Rhodian manufacturer Δαμοκράτης III consists of two lines (Fig. 9). The first line displays the name of the manufacturer Δαμοκράτης III, and the second line reads a letter “Γ”. The rectangular stamp bears the name of the manufacturer without the name of a month. There are three different fabricants “Δαμοκράτης” named on Rhodian amphora stamps, all of whom produced in different periods. The letter “gamma” under the name of the fabricant on this stamp from Xanthos allows us to identify the stamps as belonging to the Rhodian fabricant Δαμοκράτης III. The presence of letters or numbers under the name of the fabricant is associated with the year that the wine was produced (Grace and Savvatiadou-Pétropoulakou, 1970: 307, E18; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2003: no. 20 fig. 20). The stamps with the name of the fabricant, have been found, in the Benaki Collection in Alexandria ([http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_rech-\\_avanc\\_new.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_rech-_avanc_new.php)), in the excavations at the Gabbari Necropolis in

Alexandria (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2003: 220, no. 20, fig. 20), in Israel (Ariel and Finkielsztejn, 1994: 227, SAH 116) and in Lindos (Nilsson, 1909: 530, no. 1a), consisting of two lines with different letters in the bottom line. Similarly, examples with the letter “Γ” (gamma) under the name of the fabricant have been found at Crocodilopolis-Arsinoe in Egypt (Empereur, 1977: 212, no. 34) and in the Alexandria Benaki collection ([amphrolex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_LRF.php](http://amphrolex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF.php)). The stamps of the fabricant are dated to Periods V and VI (ca. 108-88/86 B.C.) and are associated with the eponyms Ἀντίπατρος, Αἰσχίνας, Ἀριστράτος, Ἀριστᾶναξ II, Τιμαγόρας I, Ἰέρων II, Δάμων νε Πολυάρατος II (Nilson, 1909: 530 no. 1a-b; Finkielsztejn, 2001: 156, tab. 12.2; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015b: 65, 286; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2016: 251; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2017a: 36 fn. 17, 225, 255). For the stamps by the fabricant Δαμοκράτης III, from different dies, have been found at many sites (Grace and Savvatiadou-Pétropoulakou, 1970: 307 E18; Empereur, 1977: 212, no. 34; Empereur, 1990: 208, no. 7, 112g; Jöhrens, 2001: 464, no. 116, 127).

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.38 Find level: -4.30 / -4.46 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6) with a reddish yellow slip (7.5YR 8/6) The clay is finely porous, finely grained sand, lime and mica tempered, well-pulped paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: ca. 3.8 x 1.9 cm. Two lines written in ancient Greek, Δαμοκράτους with “Γ”

#### Stamp No. 8 Δρα[κον]τίδα

Anchor (?)

The letters and symbol preserved on the stamp show that the name of the fabricant Δρακοντίδας appears in a single line and in genitive case (Fig. 10). The fabricant generally used ship anchors or caduceus as a symbols in his stamps ([http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_rech-\\_avanc\\_new.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_rech-_avanc_new.php)). Although the symbol below the inscription is not clear due to abrasion, it is thought to be a ship anchor, but the die cannot be clearly identified. The eponyms known to be associated with the manufacturer are Ἀρχέμβροτος I (ca. 134/133 B.C.) (Akamantis, 2000: 94, P99; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015a: 488, fn. 284), Ἀλεξιάδας (ca. 140-138 B.C.) (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015a: 161, fn. 91), Νικασαγόρας II (ca. 131 B.C.) (Barker, 2004: 80, fig. 14, no. 9), Ἀνάξανδρος (ca. 143/142 B.C.) (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015a: 189, fn. 109), Ἀριστακος (ca. 137/136 B.C.) (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015a: 294, fn. 170), Αὐτοκράτης I (ca. 146 B.C.) (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015a: 594, fn. 342), Λαφειδης (ca. 140-138 B.C.) (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2016: 1, fn. 3), Πολυάρατος II (ca. 125 B.C.) (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2016: 251) and Τιμόθεος (ca. 128

B.C.) (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2017a: 82, fn. 44) due to stamped amphorae with both handles preserved. The duty periods of these eponyms show that the Rhodian fabricant Δρακοντιδας carried out his activities between the years ca. 146 - ca. 125 B.C. (Nicolaou, 2005: 162-163, no. 409-411). The stamps of the fabricant are recorded at Pergamon (Börker and Burow, 1998: 88, no. 186-187), Patara (Dündar, 2017:

227-228), Palestine (Macalister, 1912: 356, no. 190), Alexandria (Sztetyłło, 1975: 179-181, no. 69-71; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2003: 221, no. 24), Nea Paphos (Nicolaou, 2005: 162-163 no. 409-411), Stobi (Anderson-Stojanovic, 1992: 93, no. 676, pl. 182), Akoris (Kawanishi and Suto, 2005: 102, no. 156), and in the Cairo Museum (Milne, 1905:113, no. 26077).



Figure 10. Picture and profile view of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.6-2 Find level: -1.20 / -1.49 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a light red fabric (2.5 YR 6/6) with a light red slip (2.5 YR 6/6) The clay is finely porous, fine sand, lime and mica tempered paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: 4.3 x 2.9 cm. Single line written in ancient Greek, Δρα[κον]τιδα and device is Anchor (?)

#### Stamp No. 9 Παυ[σα]νια

Rose

Matrix: RF-ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ 03-003 ([http://amphora-lex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/af-fiche\\_rech-avanc\\_new.php](http://amphora-lex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/af-fiche_rech-avanc_new.php))



Figure 11. Picture of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

This stamps bears the name Παυσανιας in a single line and in the genitive case (Fig. 11). A rhodian rose was used as a symbol in the second line's centre, under the fabricant's name. Three different fabricants are known with the same name (Grace, 1934: 224, no. 32; Grace, 1963: 319, 324, 326; Empereur, 1977: 225, no. 75 pl. 28; Ariel, 1990: 57-58, S248-252). The stamped amphora handles with a rose motif under the name of the fabricant belong to Παυσανιας III. Although the

fabricant was dated within Period III (ca. 198-ca. 161 B.C.) with the help of the Pergamon deposit (Börker and Burow, 1998: 51, taf. 18, no. 502), Finkielsztejn asserted that the fabricant's operational period ended at the end of Period IV (ca. 174-ca. 146 B.C.) (Finkielsztejn, 2001: 76, fn. 55). Ariel suggested that the fabricant was active at the end of Period III and the beginning of Period IV (Ariel, 2013: 333, no. 20). Since the fabricant is known to have been associated with the eponym Δραμειντος, his period of activity is understood to be within Period IVa (ca. 159/158 B.C.) (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015b: 21). Stamps of the fabricant Παυσανιας III have been found in Alexandria (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2017b: 328-329, no. 14, fig. 14), Athenian Agora (Grace, 1934: 224, no. 32), Crocodilopolis/Arsinoe (Empereur, 1977: 225, no. 75, pl. 28), Lindos (Nilsson, 1909: 469, no. 351.15-17), Jerusalem (Macalister and Duncan, 1926: 210; Ariel, 1990: 57-58, S248-252; Ariel, 2013: 333, no. 20), Nea Paphos (Nicolaou, 2005: 337-338, no. 282) and Pergamon (Börker and Burow, 1998: 51, no. 502, taf. 18).

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.40-2 Find level: -4.57 / -5.01 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6) with a very pale brown slip (10YR 8/3). The clay is finely porous, very little sand and lime tempered, well-poured paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: 3.8 x 1.7 cm. Single line written in ancient Greek, Παυ[σα]νια and device is Rose.



**Stamp No. 10** Στράτ[ων]

Rose and Cluster

Matrix: RF-ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ-005 ([http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_rech\\_avanc\\_new.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_rech_avanc_new.php))



Figure 12. Picture of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

There were three different Rhodian fabricants' names known to have begun with the letters "Στράτ" (Stratippos, Stratonikos, Straton. see, [http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_LRF.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF.php)). However, only on the stamps of the fabricant Στράτων appeared both the Rhodian rose and the bunch of grapes (Coja, 1986: 443, no. 149. see also [http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_LRF.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF.php)). On this stamp from Xanthos, the Rhodian rose is clearly preserved on the left side of the stamp while the stalk and part of the grape cluster are partially preserved on the right side, beneath the name of the producer (Fig. 12). When the symbols and the initial letters are taken into account on this stamp, it is possible to complete the name as Στράτ[ων]. The fabricant Στράτων is associated with the eponyms Ἀριστόμαχος II (ca. 107-ca. 88/86 B.C.) (Ariel and Finkielsztein, 1994: 196, SAH 22; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015a: 407) and Καλλιξείνος (ca. 107-ca. 88/86 B.C.) (Ariel and Finkielsztein, 1994: 209, SAH 60-62. 78; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2015b: 346). The duty periods of these eponyms show that the fabricant Στράτων carried out his activities between the years ca. 107-ca. 88/86 B.C. Sztetyllo has included all center and regional examples in his study (Sztetyllo, 2010: 124, no. 113). The fabricant's stamps from the same die are in the collection of the British Museum (Mus. No. 1989,0710.172, 1868,1025.24). Several stamps of this fabricant have been found also at: Histria (Coja, 1986: 443, no. 149), Israel (Ariel and Finkielsztein, 1994: 214, SAH 77), Argos (Lenger, 1955: 489, no. 6) and Kaunos (Schmaltz, 2016: 336, KA 780).

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.24 Find level: -3.09 / -3.44 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle

has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6) with a pink slip (7.5YR 7/4). The clay is finely porous, fine-grained, abundant lime and sand tempered, well-pulped paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: ca. 3.7 x 1.6 cm. Single line written in ancient Greek, Στράτ[ων] and device are Rose & Grape Cluster.

**Stamp No. 11** Caduseus

Φ[ιλ]τάτου

Matrix: RF-ΦΙΛΤΑΤΟΣ-003 ([http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/affiche\\_rech\\_avanc\\_new.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_rech_avanc_new.php))



Figure 13. Picture of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

Another stamp at Xanthos records the name of the Rhodian fabricant Φιλτάτος in a single line (Fig. 13). The name of the fabricant was given in genitive form. The horizontally placed caduceus is used as a symbol, either above or below the name, on the fabricant's stamps (Nilsson, 1909: 159). The stamps of the fabricant Φιλτάτος, thought to have been active at the beginning of Period V (ca. 145 B.C. - ca. 108 B.C.) (Mandescu, 2016: 370), found in Nea Paphos and Cetățeni, have been placed in a later period, Period VI (ca. 107 B.C. - ca. 88/86 B.C.) by Nicolaou and Mandescu (Nicolaou, 2005: 222, nos. 592-594; Mandescu, 2016: 366, pl. 4/F31-32). Stamps of the fabricant Φιλτάτος have not been found on any intact amphorae that would associate him with an eponym (Mandescu, 2016: 372, fig. 3). Stamps from different dies of the fabricant have been found at several centers, including Cetățeni in Romania (Tudor, 1967: nr. 94. 97, fig. 5/88. 5/91; Mandescu, 2016: 370, tab. 5, 377, appx. I, pl. 4 fig. F31-32), Naukratis (Coulson et al., 1986: 541, no. 16), Nea Paphos (Nicolaou, 2005: 222, no. 592-594), in the Hermitage Museum Collection (Pridik, 1917: 33, no. 857) and in Palestine (Horsfield, 1942: 122, nr. 41).

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.35 Find level: -4.00/-4.30 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a pink fabric (7.5 YR 7/4) with a very pale brown slip (10YR 8/3). The clay is finely porous, sand, lime and small amount of mica tempered, well-pulped

paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: 4.9 x 1.7 cm. Single line written in ancient Greek, Φιλάρτου and device is caduceus.

**Stamp No. 12** [ . . ]φιλ[ . . ] ?

A Head in Profile



*Figure 14. Picture of the amphora handle carrying the stamp*

On the oval-shaped stamps there is a beardless head in profile and the letters -ΦΙΑ- around it, although this is not certain (Fig. 14) (Finkielsztejn, 2000: 407-415). See below, stamp no. 13.

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.4 Find level: -1.14 / -1.20 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6) with a pink slip (7.5YR 7/4). The clay is finely porous, slightly mica, sand and lime tempered, well tempered paste. A oval matrix shape and the dimensions: 3.5 x 2.3 cm. We should note that we are not sure about the inscription. [...]φιλ[...]?, symbol is a head in profile.

**Stamp No. 13** A Head in Profile

Matrix: H (Finkielsztejn, 2000: 407-411 tab. 1)

There is only a head in profile on this stamp (Fig. 15). No letters or inscriptions were observed around the head in profile. Since the stamp is quite worn, it is not possible to determine if there was a name on it. Because the dies of the stamps on these handles are large, it is difficult to read the names on the stamps (Finkielsztejn, 2000: 411 Tab. 1). Portraits of the god Dionysus, Nympe Rhodos and Helios are also found on this type of stamp impression (Finkielsztejn 2000, 407-411, fig. 1 et al.). In a study by Finkielsztejn, the stamps forming the second group have a similar typology of heads in profile. Finkielsztejn, summarises the characteristics of the heads of this second type as "very elaborately feminine-looking heads with a low bun": "Le second type représente une tête de profil également, aux cheveux abondants rassemblés en chignon bas élaboré, qui semble bien féminine" (Finkielsztejn, 2000: 410). Amphora stamps from the same dies, with Dionysus or Nympe

Rhodos in profile without any inscription have been found (Finkielsztejn, 2000: 408, fig. 1, no. 9a-b) . Therefore, these stamps should also be considered as belonging to Period VII (Finkielsztejn, 2000: 414 tab. II). These amphora stamps have also been associated with the Early Imperial coins of Rhodos. However, the portraits on the coins usually have a garland of ivy on their heads, whereas the portraits on the amphora handles do not have any garland on their heads, as with the Xanthos example (Finkielsztejn, 2000: 410-415). However, Adamsheck notes that one example from Corinthos may have a garland on its head (Adamsheck, 1979: 28 fn. 5, pl. 6, no. 64).



*Figure 15. Picture of the amphora handle carrying the stamp*

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.11 Find level: -1.85 / -2.01 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6) with a reddish yellow slip (5 YR 7/6). The clay is finely porous, fine-grained sand, lime and mica tempered paste. A oval matrix shape and the dimensions: ca. 3.3 x 2.5 cm. We should note that there is not any inscription on it. Symbol is a head in profile.

**Stamp No. 14** [.....]?

τ[.....]

Unfortunately, most of the inscription on the stamp has not survived (Fig. 16). Only the letter "τ" can be read in the stamp area. It is also possible that the stamp consists of more than one line. Based on the handle profile, the stamp can be dated to Period III or IV (Empereur and Hesnard, 1987: 60, fig. 13; Kızırlarlanoglu and Alkaç, 2014: 58).

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.1 Find level: -0.18 / -1.14 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6) with a very pale brown slip (10 YR 7/4). The clay is finely porous, slightly lime and sand tempered, well-pulped paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: ca. 1.3 x 2.0 cm. The inscription consists of two lines and only the letter "τ" is preserved at the beginning of the second line.



Figure 16. Picture and profile view of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

**Stamp No. 15** [.....]  
[.....]  
[.....]

The stamp on the handle, although badly damaged, appears to consist of more than one line (Fig. 17). The stamp is dateable within the Period III or IV due to the handle profile (Empereur and Hesnard, 1987: 60, fig. 13; Kızırlaslanoglu and Alkaç, 2014: 58).

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.16 Find level: -2.33 / -2.92 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a pink fabric (7.5YR 7/4) with a pink slip (7.5YR 7/4). The clay is finely porous, finely grained sand, lime tempered, well tempered paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: 4.0 x 1.6 cm. The inscription is illegible.



Figure 17. Picture and profile view of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

**Stamp No. 16** [.....]  
Υακινθ[...]

One of the most important features that distinguishes Rhodian amphora stamps from the stamps of other important amphora-producing city-states was the use of the month name on the stamps. Only the first six letters of the month name “Υακινθιος” (July) can be read on this amphora handle from the western area of the Lycian Structure of Xanthos (Fig. 18). The month name must have been written either in the genitive or nominative case. Unfortunately, since the upper part of the stamp is broken, the name of the eponym or fabricant has not survived. Therefore, it is impossible to suggest a precise dating for this amphora stamp. However, it has been determined by researchers that the names of the months on Rhodian amphora stamps are found approximately between 240 B.C. and the end of the first quarter of the 1st century B.C. (Grace, 1974: 197; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2006: 20-22, 65-66).



Figure 18. Picture of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-3 K.37 Find level: -1.49 / -1.90 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6) with a very pale brown slip (10YR 8/3). The clay is finely porous, very little mica, fine-grained sand and lime tempered, well-fired. A rectangular matrix shape and the

dimensions: ca. 4.7 x 1.9 cm. The inscription consists of two lines and only the letters “Υακινθ” is legible at the second line.

**Stamp No. 17** [.....]λα  
[.....]νθίου

This Rhodian stamp consists of two or three lines. The letters preserved in the lowest line (the letter “nu” in retrograde) point to the month name “Σμίνθιος” or “Υακινθιος” (Fig. 19) (Grace, 1974: 197; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2006: 20-22, 65-66). The stamp is not fully legible.



Figure 19. Picture of the amphora handle carrying the stamp



Figure 20. Picture and profile view of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

### 3. KNIDIAN STAMPED AMPHORA HANDLES

Amphora production at Knidos continued from the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. (Grace, 1979: fig. 54; Pulak et al., 1987: 52; Tuna et al., 1987, 48; Doğer, 1991: 92; Tuna, 1993: 356; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2006: 69). It has been determined that the cananic forms of the amphorae produced began to be stamped at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., and that they continued to be stamped until the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., albeit with interruptions (Tuna, 1988: 143; Tuna et al.,

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.26 Find level: -3.44 / -3.85 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 7/6) with a pink slip (7.5YR 7/4). The clay is finely porous, finely mica, fine sand and lime tempered, well fired paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: ca. 2.3 x 1.5 cm. The inscription consists of two lines and only the letters “λα” is legible at the at the end of the first line and “νθίου” the at the end of second line.

**Stamp No. 18** [.....]δωρ-  
[.....]ς

The letters preserved on this stamp of Rhodian origin don't allow restoration of the inscription (Fig. 20).

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-8 K.18 Find level: -4.00 / -4.40 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a very pale brown fabric (10YR 7/4) with very pale brown slip (10YR 8/3). The clay is finely porous, lime, sand tempered, well fired. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: ca. 2.4 x 1.6 cm. The inscription consists of two lines and only the letters “δωρ” is legible at the at the end of the first line and “ς” the at the end of second line.



1987: 43; Cankardeş-Şenol, 2006: 72 fn. 114). There are rare stamped Knidian amphorae from the Roman Imperial Period (Dündar, 2013: 167-175 fig. 2-6). The chronology finalised by G. Cankardeş-Şenol was used in the evaluation of the Knidian amphora stamps (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2006: 73-77).

#### 3.1 The Stamps of Administrators

**Stamp No. 19** [Επι Δι]οκλεῦς  
[Αγαθίνου]  
[Κνίδι]οῦ Star

Matrix: KT 14 (Jöhrens, 1999: 169, no. 532)



Figure 21. Picture and profile view of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

The names of the eponym Διοκλῆς I and the fabricant Ἀγαθῖνος appears here together with “Κνίδιον” ethnic (Jefremov, 1995: 26) on the stamp. Moreover in the lower right corner of the stamp figure is a star symbol (Fig. 21). A crescent-shape sigma is used on the stamp. The eponym Διοκλῆς I is indicated to have officiated during Period V (ca. 146 - ca. 108 B.C.) (Alkaç, 2019: 96, fig. 10). The fabricant Ἀγαθῖνος, has been connected with: Ἀσκληπόδωρος, Διοκλῆς, Διονύσιος II, Δράκων, Εὐφράνωρ, Καλλιδάμας, Κυδοκλῆς, Φιλομβροτιδίας and Χρύσιππος all of whom officiated in Period V and the fabricant is also known to have been associated with the eponym Διονύσιος III who officiated in Period VIb (ca. 97 - c. 88 B.C.) (Jöhrens, 1999: 169-171, no. 530-539). The stamps from the same die as the Xanthos example is in the National Museum of Athens (Jöhrens, 1999: 169, no. 532), from the Chersonesos (Jefremow, 1995: 186, no. 360-361) and from Delos (TD 0794. [http://amphoralex.org/timbres\\_delos/delos\\_affiche\\_timbre\\_cnide.php](http://amphoralex.org/timbres_delos/delos_affiche_timbre_cnide.php)).

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.40-3 Find level: - 4.57 / -5.01 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a light brown fabric (7.5YR 6/4) with a light

brown slip (7.5YR 6/4). The clay is finely porous, sand and lime tempered, hard paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: ca. 3.1 x 1.9 cm. The inscription consists of three lines and bears the symbol of a star,  
[Ἐπὶ Δι]οκλεῦς  
[Ἀγαθῖνου]  
[Κνίδι]ον

### 3.2 The Stamps of Fabricants

#### Stamp No. 20 Amphora

Ἡροξείνου

The stamp bears the symbol of an amphora, with a long neck, rising flattened handles and pointed base (Empereur and Hesnard 1987, 11, fig.1), with the name of the fabricant Ἡροξείνου (Herokseinos) in the genitive case (Fig. 22). The amphora symbol is placed in the centre of the stamp and the name is surrounded by this symbol with the letters directed outwards. The stamp from Corinthos with the name of the fabricant is dated after 86 B.C. (Period VII) (Adamscheck, 1979: 26-27, Gr. 59, pl. 6). A stamp from the same die as the Xanthos example was found at Paphos (Nicolau, 2005: 254, no. 751) another was from Corinthos (Adamscheck, 1979: 26-27, Gr. 59, pl. 6).



Figure 22. Picture and profile view of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.6-1 Find level: -1.20 / -1.49 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6) with a reddish yellow slip (7.5YR 7/4). The clay is finely porous, abundant mica, sand and lime tempered, well-pulped paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the

dimensions: 3.4 x 2.1 cm. Single line written in ancient Greek, “Ἡροξείνου” and an amphora device.

**Stamp No. 21 Amphora**

Κλευ / π[ι] / θεος

Matrix: KT 2415 (Jöhrens, 1999: 237, no. 799)



Figure 23. Picture and profile view of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

The name of the Knidian fabricant Κλευπιθης appears on the stamp around the pointed bottom amphora symbol in the centre of the stamp with the letters facing outwards (Fig. 23). On the handles of Late Knidian amphorae, the amphora symbol is commonly in the stamp centre. Stamps of the fabricant Κλευπιθης from the same die as the Xanthos example, have been found and are in the British Museum (Mus. no. 1955,0920.241), the Athenian Agora (Robinson, 1959: 20, pl. 36, F96; Grace, 1985: 52), the National Museum of Athens (Jöhrens, 1999: 237, no. 799) and Corinthos (<https://ascsa.net/id/corinth/basket/-nb878%20b143%20p172>). This example from Xanthos, should be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. (Period VII), like the examples from these other centers.

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-5 K.22-2 Find level: -1.58 / -2.00 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with a reddish yellow slip (5YR 6/6). The clay is finely porous, finely grained lime and mica tempered, well-pulped. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: 3.0 x 1.9 cm. Single line written in ancient Greek, “Κλευ/π[ι]/θεος” and an amphora device.

### 3.3 Other Amphora Handles from Knidos

**Stamp No. 22 Amphora**

A symbol of an amphora with the long cylindrical neck and a pointed base appears in the center of the rectangular stamp (Fig. 24). There is no inscription around the amphora symbol, or it cannot be seen due to being badly worn down. The amphora symbol was preferred as a stamp by many workshops (Koehler, 1982; Jöhrens, 1999: 237, no. 799). Late Knidian amphora handles sometimes bear only the name of the eponym or fabricant or, as in this example from Xanthos, the amphora symbol in the centre without any inscription. These amphora stamps from Knidos belong to Period VII and date from ca. 78 B.C. - ca. end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. (Alkaç, 2019: 95-97). Among the centres where uninscribed stamps with amphora symbols have been found are Athens-Kerameikos (Stroszeck and Jöhrens, 1999: 171, no. 7, fig. 29), Athenian Agora (Grace and Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou, 1970: 354, pl. 59 E220) and Patara (Dündar, 2012: 359, kn. 40-59).



Figure 24. Picture and profile view of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-5 K.22-1 Find level: -1.58 / -2.00 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a light red fabric (2.5YR 6/6) with a reddish yellow slip (5YR 6/6). The clay is finely porous, finely grained lime and mica tempered, well-pulped paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: ca. 2.7 x 1.9 cm. There is no inscription around the amphora device.

#### Stamp No. 23 Μα (Caduceus)

This amphora stamp bears only the letters "MA" and a vertically placed "caduseus" symbol to the right of the name (Fig. 25). Although no similar example has been found, the clay (Pulak et al., 1987: 50; Zoroglu and Doksanaltı, 2020: 509; Dündar, 2017: 61) and handle features (Grace, 1934: 204, pl. II.6; Grace, 1985: 16, pl. 2.4; Grace, 1986: 552) suggest a Knidian origin.



Figure 25. Picture and profile view of the amphora handle carrying the stamp

*Description the stamp*, Findspot: Lycian Structure, West Area BK-7 K.43 Find Level: - 5.62 / -6.17 m. According of the Munsell Soil Color Chart, the handle has a reddish yellow fabric (5YR 6/6) with a reddish yellow slip (5YR 6/6). The clay is finely porous, abundant lime and sand tempered, slightly mica-tempered, well-pulped paste. A rectangular matrix shape and the dimensions: 4.4 x 2.2 cm. Single line written in ancient Greek, "Μα" and an caduceus device.

#### 4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The stamped amphora handles, dating to the Hellenistic Period found during the excavations carried out to the west of the building called the *Lycian Structure*, are important because there is no collective publication on stamped amphora handles from Xanthos to date and also because they provide

data on the trade of the region and with the city. These finds will contribute not only to the studies on the region and the city, but also to the existing knowledge of the relations of Lycia with Knidos and Rhodos and the inclusion of these new examples in studies on stamped amphora handles. It is seen that the material recovered is chronologically compatible with the material found within the fill layer in the soundings carried out in the western area of the *Lycian Structure*. A total of twenty-three stamped amphora handles were found during the excavations, eighteen of which originated from Rhodos and five from Knidos.

It is known that the relations of the region and the city with the Mediterranean, the Aegean Sea and the islands have existed since the Archaic Period (Keen, 1998; Möller, 2000: 136-137 fn. 360. 368; Adak, 2007a; Adak, 2007b; Malkin, 2012: 72 fn. 27; Tüner-Önen, 2012). The relations between the Lycians and Carians

in different regions and with each other are known from early times (Acar, 2011: 93-94; Dündar, 2014: 46 fig. 23; Diler, 2015; Dündar, 2017: 422). As a matter of fact, when the studies on amphorae/amphora fragments are analysed, the amphorae/amphora fragments documenting the commercial relations with settlements such as Clazomenai, Cos and Chios in the region date back to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. - beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Metzger, 1972: 69-70 pl. 25; des Courtils and Cavalier, 2001: 148; Yener-Marksteiner, 2002: 222, abb. 2d; Lemaître, 2007: 133, fig. 14.1-5; Dündar, 2014: 44-46 fig. 23; Dündar, 2017: 422-426; Özdilek, 2019: 366). In Xanthos, the amphora recovered during the excavations on the Acropolis of Lycia provide evidence of commercial relations with Chios dating from the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Metzger, 1972: 69-70 pl. 25 no. 111; Lemaître, 2006; Yener-Marksteiner, 2007: 217-218, 222, fig. 2d. For Chios Amphorae see, Okan et al., 2015: 262-264).

In the Classical Period, relations with Persia had a positive impact on Lycian trade compared to other regions, due to the signing of the Peace Treaty of Kallias and the establishment of the Delian League (Tekin, 2008: 104. 106-107; Dündar, 2014: 48). Relations with Greece deteriorated with the assassination of the Athenian commander Melesandros in Lycia, mentioned on the inscribed pillar monument of Xanthos (Demir, 2004: 70; Kolb, 2016: 36). There is a decrease in the number of commercial amphorae in the region during the Classical Period and this decrease is associated with the production of a new type of amphora in the region (Dündar, 2017: 425, diag. 2). The commercial amphorae recovered from Lycia indicate that commercial relations with both the islands and with Greece improved from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Dündar, 2012: 421; Dündar, 2017: 425). It should also be noted that studies on the commercial amphorae of the Classical Period in the region have not been conducted in sufficient quantity. It is understood from the finds that the commercial relations with the Mediterranean and the Islands increased during the Hellenistic Period. All of the fragments of amphora handles recovered during the excavations in the western area of the *Lycian Structure* belong to the Hellenistic Period. However, it is already known that the *Lycian Structure* belongs to the Classical Period. In addition, it is understood that the walls of the "annex place", built to the west of the building and divided into three equal spaces, were dismantled and filled with a layer of fill in the late Classical Period.

Although it seems to be insufficient for a general evaluation, considering the history of the city, it is understood that the building activities in the city

continued uninterrupted during the Hellenistic Period. It can also be suggested that the city was in a commercial relationship with Rhodos and Knidos during this period, at least through the stamped amphora handles recovered from the western area. The ancient city of Xanthos was respectively ruled by Antigonos, Ptolemy and Seleucid dynasties during the Hellenistic Period and then came under the rule of Rhodes. As a result of the Battle of Magnesia in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C., the Seleucids were defeated and the Romans left the administration of Lycia to Rhodes (Schüler, 2016: 47). The Lycians reacted to this political dependence with discomfort, rebelling from time to time and even expressed their complaints to Rome. In the face of this attitude of Rhodes, the Romans punished Rhodes, ended the domination of Rhodes in the region and Lycia gained its independence (Schüler, 2016: 48). Despite the political problems in the region, amphorae and fragments of amphora have been found proving that Xanthos and other Lycian cities maintained their economic relations with Rhodos (Lemaître, 2006: 396, fig. 6; Dündar, 2014: 33-56; Dündar, 2017: 430. 437; Uygun and Özdemir, 2019: 327-329; Özdilek, 2019: 353-354). Lemaître drew attention to the small number of Hellenistic examples unearthed in Xanthos and Letoon and underlined that very few examples from this period have been analyzed (Lemaître, 2006: 386-388 fig. 9). At the Letoon, which is also the sanctuary of the city, sherds belonging to Dressel IB and IC amphorae dating to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. - beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. were found (Lemaître, 2006: 388, fig. 7-8; Özdilek, 2019: 367; for information on the Dressel I amphorae see, Şenol, 2018: 270).

A published Rhodian amphora is known, which was recovered intact at Xanthos during the previous years' excavations. The name of the eponym  $\Lambda\beta\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$  appears on the handle of this amphora and it has been dated to ca. 85-40 B.C. (Demargne, 1958: pl. 21-1860). After 2011, when Prof. Dr. Varkıvanç assumed the excavation of Xanthos, stamped amphora handles were recovered from various sites between 2011-2019. For example, three stamped amphora handles were found during the soundings taken in the stage building of the theatre (Dönmez, 2022: 110-111 pl. 211a-b. 213a-b).

Considering the density of finds, the majority of the stamped amphora handles were recovered from the West Area of the Lycian Building. This area was defined as "West Section" trenches during the works and from the section called the Annex place which were found in trench BK-7 (Fig.1). Five of the stamped amphora handles belong to Rhodian eponyms and six to Rhodian fabricants. The stamp on two amphora handles exhibits a head in profile. These stamps are



characterized as late Rhodian amphora handles of the Dionysian or Nymphaean Rhodian type and are therefore important in showing the continuity of relations with Rhodes (Figs. 14-15) (Finkielsztejn, 2000: 407 fig. 1. 3. 6-8. 9a). The other five stamps identified are considered to be of Rhodian origin due to their inscriptions, clay characteristics and handle profiles (Figs. 16-20).

One of the handles belongs to the eponym Ξενοφάντος II (ca. 152 - ca. 146 B.C.) (Fig. 5), the other Rhodian fabricant Ανδρικός who also dates the eponym (Fig. 8). The two handle fragments recovered from the same area and layer suggest that these two fragments may be from the same amphora. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that the "The Munsell Color Chart" catalogues of these two stamped amphora handles are compatible with each other (Stamp No. 3 and 6). However, it is not possible to prove the accuracy of this without chemical analyses. The western area is thought to be a fill layer rather than a context. A stamp bearing the name of the eponym Πυθογένης with the month name "Ἀρτάμιος" (Stamp No. 4, Fig. 6). A stamp from the same die as the Xanthos example is not in the Alexandria Benaki Collection (<http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/AnsesTimbres.php>) or in G. Cankardeş-Şenol's Lexicon for Rhodian eponyms (Cankardeş-Şenol, 2016). Therefore, it should be recorded as important data to be added to the literature. Moreover, the presence of two stamped amphora handles belonging to the eponym Πυθογένης, produced in two different months, indicates the continuity of this eponym's commercial relations with the city during the year in which this eponym was in office (Stamp No. 4-5, Figs 6-7).

The geographical, cultural material, settlement, building types and belief traditions of Lycia and Caria show these two regions have been in contact since the Epipaleolithic-Neolithic Period (Diler, 2015: 148-157). The King's Peace signed in the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the suppression of the wars following the Ionian revolt against the Persians and the transfer of the administration of the two regions to the Hecatomnid dynasty by the Persian king Tissaphernes, all of them intensified cultural relations between the regions. Therefore, it would not be wrong to say that their commercial relations intensified from this period onwards (Diler, 2015: 161). As a result of the decline of Rhodes in maritime trade, Delos became a free port and Knidos began to acquire a voice in maritime trade (Şenol, 2003: 35). Caria and Lycia, being two neighbouring regions, continued their Anatolian traditions after the Dynastic Period and throughout the Hellenistic and

Roman Periods (Diler, 2015: 169). The Knidian stamped amphora handle fragments found during the sounding areas in the western area of the *Lycian Structure* are important in terms of showing that this trade continued from the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. until the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. In 167 B.C., Caria revolted against Rhodes gaining its independence. From this date onwards, the amphora stamps bear a single eponym + fabricant and symbol or device such an example was recovered from the western area of the Lycian Structure. The stamp bears the names of the Eponym Διοκλῆς I and the fabricant Ἀγαθῖνος with the Κνιδίων ethnicon and a star symbol in the lower right corner of the stamp (Stamp No. 19, Fig. 21). This example is important as it shows the continuity of Knidos' trade with Lycia after the declaration of its independence and as an example of amphora stamps issued after these political developments. Two of the stamps found bear the names of Knidian Fabricants and the amphora symbol (Stamp No. 20-21, Figs. 22-23), while another stamp bears only the amphora symbol (Stamp No. 22, Fig. 24). It is understood from the finds that Knidian amphorae had an important share of the Lycian market (Lemaître, 2004: 332, fig. 27.1-2; Lemaître, 2006: fig. 6.1-3; DüNDAR, 2012: 334-382; UYGUN and ÖZDEMİR, 2019: 329; ÖZDİLEK, 2019: 359-361).

Even though they are limited in number the Hellenistic amphora stamps analysed in this study are of considerable importance, being the first published group of stamps from the ancient city of Xanthos. The stamped Rhodian and Knidian amphora handle fragments, the subject of this article, reflect the presence of commercial activities in the city in connection with Rhodes and Knidos during the Hellenistic Period. When we look at the stamped amphora handles unearthed during the studies carried out in the western area of *the Lycian Structure*, it is noteworthy that the amphora stamps of Rhodian origin are more than those of Knidian origin. The excavations show that Xanthos continued its commercial relations with the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean during the Roman Period (Lemaître, 2004: 333). The four "Samian Cistern Type" and one "Spatheia 3" amphorae unearthed during the excavations in the West Agora are substantial evidence for the continuity in commercial relations with both the Mediterranean and the islands (Dönmez, 2018: 284, cat. no. 11-15. For the Spatheion and Samos Cistern Type amphorae also see, Şenol, 2018: 236. 431). Finally, we expected that the number of stamped amphora handles will increase during the course of future excavation seasons and increase knowledge in respect to Lycian trade during the Hellenistic Period.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This article is dedicated with my respect, sorrow at his loss, and gratitude for the opportunity he provided to study this material, to the memory of my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Burhan VARKIVANÇ. I would like to deepest thanks to Prof. Dr. Mustafa BULBA, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Erkan ALKAÇ, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nihal TÜNER ÖNEN and T.M.P. DUGGAN for reading the manuscript and providing me many helpful suggestions. I thank also the anonymous referees for useful comments.

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