

Stamped Rhodian Amphorae in the Güray Museum: New Eponym-Fabricant Associations

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Abstract: Stamped amphorae and their stamps on them have been the subject of scientific studies for more than a century, and the stamped amphorae found in both archaeological excavations and museum collections have been evaluated and brought to the literature. The three complete stamped Rhodian amphorae registered in the Güray Museum inventory are the subject of this study. The aim of the study is to date the amphorae and to determine the eponyms and fabricants on the stamps on their handles. In this study, on the first amphora, the eponym Aratophanes I and the month *Artamitios* and the fabricant Aristokles II; on the second the eponym Aleximachos and the month *Thesmophorios* and the fabricant Bromios; on the last one, the eponym Timodikos and the month *Sminthios* and the fabricant Nysios were detected together. In this study, new eponym-fabricant associations, which were not previously identified, were detected and the use of fabricant and eponym matrices/dies together was revealed. Thus, new contributions have been made to the understanding of the Rhodian amphora stamping system and its chronology.

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Introduction

Located in Nevşehir province, Avanos district and formed by carving the underground rock, the Güray Museum is a private museum under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Including exhibition halls and activity areas, the museum was built on an area of 1600 m², approximately 20 m under the ground. The museum has two main collections: Ancient Artifacts and Modern Artifacts. Ceramic artifacts dated between the Late Chalcolithic Period and the Seljuk Period are exhibited in the Antique Artifacts Collection, which includes archaeological artifacts. An important part of this collection is amphorae dating to the Hellenistic and Roman Periods. Belonging to the Hellenistic Period, the stamped Rhodian ones among the mentioned amphorae have been evaluated within the scope of this study.

Rhodian amphorae began to be stamped in the late 4th century BC, and this practice continued uninterrupted until the mid-1st century BC¹. It has been established that Rhodian amphora stamps constitute the largest group among Greek amphora stamp samples and are spread over a wide geographical area². On one handle of a Rhodian amphora is the name of the amphora fabricant, and on the other handle is the name of the eponym, selected from among the priests of

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¹ Grace 1953, 118. For Rhodian amphorae see also Şenol 2018, 369-370. For information on the reasons of ending amphora stamping practice in the Greek geography in the middle of the 1st century BC, see Alkaç 2014, 213-229. See Finkielsztejn 2000 for late stampings of Rhodian amphorae.

² Börker – Burow 1998, 13.

Helios and controlling the commercial production and sales activities of the island for one year³. The examples⁴ in which the names of the fabricant and the eponym appear together on the same stamp impression (double-named stamps) and the amphorae with both handles preserved, in whole or fragmentary, are important finds that prove the relationship between the eponyms and the fabricants⁵. Such stamps especially of the eponym, help to date the amphora, and also the fabricant, whose term of duty or activity is unknown. For example, the eponym names, which are seen together with the fabricant names on the stamps, are an important element in understanding how many years a fabricant had been producing amphorae, or in determining the range of years in which the amphora fabricant had been operating⁶.

Catalogue of the Rhodian Stamps

There are three stamped Rhodian amphorae registered in the Güray Museum inventory. All of the amphorae are fully preserved with their stamps. The finding spot of these amphorae, brought to the museum inventory through purchase, was recorded as the Mediterranean Region. Within the scope of the study, the aim has been to date the amphorae⁷ and to identify the names of the eponyms and fabricants on the stamps on their handles. Two of these stamped amphorae, which are the subject of this article for the first time, stand out in terms of revealing the hitherto unknown associations of the eponyms and fabricants.

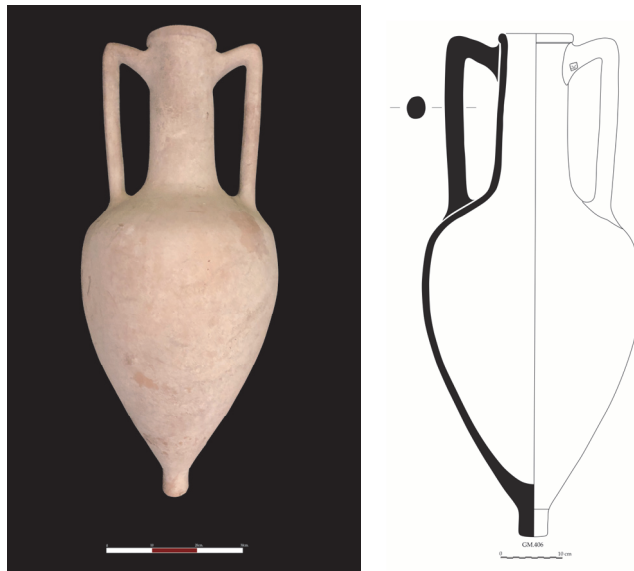


Fig. 1a-b) Amphora No. 1 (Photo: B. Tüysüz; Drawing: M. Bilgin and P. Kızıltepe Bilgin)

³ Grace 1948, 144.

⁴ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 73, RE-ΑΓΗΣΙΣ-RF-ΑΞΙΟΣ-001.

⁵ Cankardeş-Şenol 2006, 109.

⁶ Cankardeş-Şenol *et al.* 2022, 74-75. See Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 187-280.

⁷ The amphorae are dated depending on the magistracy year of the eponym whose name is appearing on one of the stamps of the amphora. In the present article the years of the eponyms presented here are according to Finkielsztejn 2001, 192, Table. 19, 193, Table 20 and 195, table 21. The years have been updated in Finkielsztejn 2021, 203-209, Table 11.1.

Gerald Finkielsztejn kindly informed me that, in Finkielsztejn 2021, Table 11.1: 1) the years BC should be corrected as overlapping two years such as e. g. (ca.) 169/8 instead of (ca.) 169, and 2) that, due to recent unpublished discoveries, all the years offering two alternatives in the form of e. g. (ca.) 146~145 should be corrected to (ca.) 146/5, since the higher year appears the closest to the actual one.

Amphora No. 1 has a thickened outer rim, a long cylindrical neck and broad shoulders. The body narrows from the shoulder and ends with a cylindrical toe. Two vertical oval-shaped handles placed opposite each other come out from under the rim and connect to the shoulder. (Fig. 1a-b). It has circular stamps on the upper part of its handles. The rose device is in the center of both stamps. One of the stamps reads the eponym Ἀρατοφάνης I and the month Ἀρταμίτιος (Fig. 1c) and the stamp on the other handle bears the name of the fabricant Ἀριστοκλῆς II (FIG. 1d).

No. 1 (FIG. 1a-b)

Museum Inv. No. 406

Diameter of the rim: 14.5 cm

Height: 78.1 cm

Diameter of the toe: 4.2 cm

Clay color: 2.5 YR 7/4 light reddish brown

Surface color: 2.5 YR 7/6 light red



Fig. 1c) The eponym stamp of the amphora No. 1 (Photo: E. Alkaç and B. Tüysüz).

Eponym Stamp of No. 1 (Fig. 1c)

Stamp shape: Circular

Stamp dimension: R. 3.1 cm

Inscription:

Ἐπί Ἀρατοφάνευσ Ἀρταμίτιου
rose

Inscription characteristics: Normal (from the left to the right), one peripheral inscription line, the letters are facing inwards.

Eponym: Ἀρατοφάνης I

Month: Ἀρταμίτιος

Device: Rose

Matrix: RE-ΑΡΑΤΟΦΑΝΗΣ 01-APTAMITIOS-007

It is understood that the eponym stamp examined here was obtained from a new matrix.

Date of the eponym: c. 169/8-167/6 BC



Fig. 1d) The fabricant stamp of the amphora No. 1. (Photo: E. Alkaç and B. Tüysüz)

Fabricant Stamp of No. 1 (Fig. 1d)

Stamp shape: Circular

Stamp dimension: R. 3.2 cm

Inscription:

Ἀριστοκλεῦς *vac.*
rose

Inscription characteristics: Normal, one peripheral inscription line, the letters are facing inwards.

Fabricant: Ἀριστοκλῆς II

Device: Rose

Matrix: RF-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ 02-002

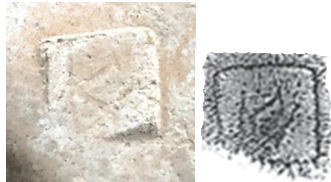


Fig. 1e) *The secondary stamp of the amphora No. 1 (Photo: E. Alkaç and B. Tüysüz).*

Secondary Stamp of No. 1 (Fig. 1e)

Stamp shape: Square

Stamp dimensions: 1.2 x 1.2 cm

Inscription:

Κ

Matrix: MC: RTS-K-001

Date of the amphora: c. 169/8-167/6 BC⁸

A bust of Helios can also be found as a device on the rectangular stamps bearing the eponym name without a month name⁹. It is established that the eponym Ἀρατοφάνης I had connections to the fabricants Ἀγαθοκλῆς III¹⁰, Ἀγορᾶναξ¹¹, Ἀθανόδοτος¹², Ἀμύντας¹³, Ἄριστος¹⁴, Ἴπποκράτης¹⁵, Καλλιώ¹⁶, Μαρσύας¹⁷, Νικασίων¹⁸ and Νύσιος¹⁹.

The stamp on the other handle bears the name of the fabricant Ἀριστοκλῆς II. This fabricant has been associated with the following eponyms: Ἀρχίδαμος (c. 180/179 – c. 178/177 BC), Καλλικράτης II (c. 177/6 – c. 175/4 BC), Νικασαγόρας I (c. 172/1 – c. 170/169 BC), Θεαίδητος (c. 171/169 BC), Ἀθανόδοτος (c. 170/168 BC), Ἀριστίων II (c. 167/6 – c. 165/4 BC), Ἀρχιλαΐδας (c. 165/4 – c. 163/2 BC), Ἀγέστρατος II (c. 161/0 BC), Πεισίστρατος (c. 160/159 BC), Τιμούρροδος

⁸ Finkielsztein 2001, 192 pl. 19; The eponym has been recently dated to c. 168 BC. See, Finkielsztein 2021, 207.

⁹ Sztetyńo 2000, 71 no. 8; Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 281-282.

¹⁰ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 274. On the question of various scholars numbering differently the homonyms see Finkielsztein 2018, 579; Thomsen – Finkielsztein 2020, 257.

¹¹ Badaliants 1980, 163.

¹² Rhodes, An unpublished amphora from Kalythies (from the archives of V. Grace).

¹³ Nicolaou 2005, 412 no. 38.

¹⁴ Garozzo 2011, 84 note 720 and 236 note 2892.

¹⁵ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 274.

¹⁶ Badaliants 1980, 165.

¹⁷ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 274.

¹⁸ Finkielsztein 2001, 110; 173 note 41.

¹⁹ Porro 1914, 381 no. 3-4.

(c. 159/8 BC), Ἀριστόμαχος I (c. 157/6 – c. 155/4 BC), Ἡραγόρας (c. 157/6 – c. 155/4 BC), Σωσικλῆς (c. 157/6 – c. 155/4 BC), Γόργων (c. 154/3 BC), Πανσανίας III (c. 152/1 BC), Ξενοφάντος II (c. 151/0 BC), Εὐδαμος (c. 150/1 – c. 147/6 BC), Τιμόδικος (c. 145/4 BC), Ἀνάξανδρος (c. 143/2 BC), Τεισαγόρας (c. 142/1 BC), Ἀριστόγειτος (c. 140/139 – c. 138/7 BC), Ἀναξίβουλος (c. 140/139 – c. 138/7 BC), Λαφείδης (c. 140/139 – c. 138/7 BC) and probably Ἀρίστρατος (c. 124/3 – c. 122/1 BC)²⁰. Based on the terms of office of these eponyms (except the latest), it turns out that the fabricant Ἀριστοκλῆς II, carried out his activities between the years of c. 180/178 and c. 140/139 – c. 138/7 BC²¹.

The connection between the fabricant Ἀριστοκλῆς II and the eponym Ἀρατοφάνης I is known from the stamps of a fully preserved amphora found in Cyprus²². In addition, this stamp of the fabricant and the stamps recovered from Egypt, Krokodilopolis/Arsinoe, Pergamon deposit and Olbia were obtained from the identical die²³. There is a letter kappa on the square shaped secondary stamp located on the lower part of the handle bearing the fabricant's stamp of the mentioned amphora in the Güray Museum inventory²⁴ (FIG. 1e).

Amphora, No. 2, has also the same form as No. 1, with a thickened outer rim, a long cylindrical neck, a body that narrows from the shoulder to the bottom, and a cylindrical toe. Two oval-sectioned vertical handles come out from under the rim and end on the shoulder (Fig. 2a-b). Rectangular stamps are seen on the upper part of both handles of this amphora. The stamps make it clear that this amphora was produced by the fabricant Βρόμιος in the year the eponym Ἀλεξιμαχος was in office.

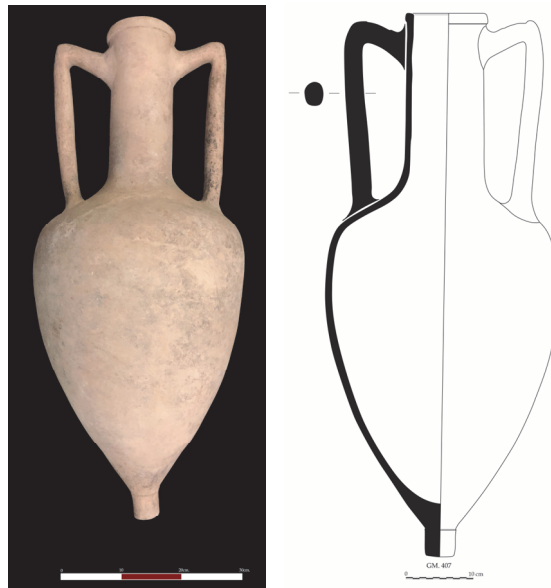


Figure 2a-b) Amphora No. 2 (Photo: B. Tüysüz; Drawing: M. Bilgin and P. Kızıltepe Bilgin)

²⁰ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 447 and note 251 (stylistic resemblance). This association may be dubious because the fabricant's activity is therefore very prolonged.

²¹ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 250. As explained in note 20 above, this production period for the fabricant is suggested.

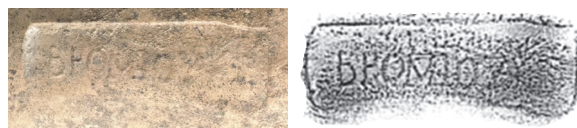
²² Grace – Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 313 E 34; Empereur – Guimier-Sorbets 1986, 130; Nicolaou 2005, 412 no. 38.

²³ Empereur 1977, 32 no. 90; Börker – Burow 1998, 45 no. 417-418 pl. 16; Levi 1964, 269 no. 218-19 pl. XV; MC: RTS-K-006. See also, http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_rech_avanc_new.php.

²⁴ For the secondary stamps seen on Rhodian amphorae, see Palaczyk 1999: 59-103; Palaczyk 2001, 319-29.

Amphora No. 2 (Fig. 2a-b)**Museum Inv. No.** 407**Diameter of the rim:** 11.5 cm**Height:** 83.9 cm**Diameter of the toe:** 4.1 cm**Clay color:** 5 YR 7/2 pinkish gray**Surface color:** 5 YR 7/3 pinkFig. 2c) *The eponym stamp of the amphora No. 2 (Photo: E. Alkaç and B. Tüysüz)***Eponym Stamp of No. 2 (Fig. 2c)****Stamp shape:** Rectangular**Stamp dimensions:** 4.5 x 1.7 cm**Inscription:**

Ἐπι Ἀλεξι-
μάχου
Θεσμοφορίου

Inscription characteristics: Normal (from the left to the right), three horizontal inscription lines.**Eponym:** Ἀλεξίμαχος**Month:** Θεσμόφοριος**Matrix:** RE-ΑΛΕΞΙΜΑΧΟΣ-ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΣ-004**Date:** c. 150/149 – c. 147/6 BCFig. 2d) *The fabricant stamp of the amphora No. 2 (Photo: E. Alkaç and B. Tüysüz)***Fabricant Stamp of No. 2 (Fig. 2d)****Stamp shape:** Rectangular**Stamp dimensions:** 4.2 x 1.4 cm**Inscription:**

Βρομίου wreath

Inscription characteristics: Normal (from the left to the right), one horizontal inscription line.**Fabricant:** Βρόμιος**Device:** Wreath**Matrix:** RF-BPOMΙΟΣ-013**Date of the amphora:** c. 150/149 – c. 147/6 BC.

The name of the eponym Ἀλεξίμαχος and the month Θεσμόφοριος (Fig. 2c) on one handle of the evaluated amphora and the name of the fabricant Βρόμιος on the other handle provide evidence for a new eponym and fabricant association. This eponym is known to have served during

Period IVb in a year between c. 150/149 and c. 147/6 BC²⁵. Recent research suggests c. 148/7 BC for the eponym's magistracy²⁶. Ἀλεξίμαχος has been linked to the following fabricants: Ἀνδρικός²⁷ (c. 164/3 – c. 162/1 to c. 140/139 – c. 138/7 BC), Ἀντίμαχος²⁸ (c. 188/7 – c. 150/149-c. 147/6 BC), Διόδοτος I²⁹ (c. 150/149 – c. 147/6 to c. 132/1 BC), Ἐρμίας³⁰ (c. 159/8 – c. 146/5 BC), Εὐκλειτος³¹ (c. 161/0 – c. 125/4 BC), Θεύμναστος³² (c. 152/1 – c. 145/44 BC), Ἴπποκράτης³³ (c. 186/5 – c. 124/3-c.122/1 BC), Μάνης³⁴ (c. 150/149 – c. 146/5 BC), Μηνόθεμις³⁵ (c. 151/0 – c. 147/6 BC) and Τιμώ II³⁶ (c. 180/179-c. 178/7 to c. 150/149 – c. 147/6 BC)³⁷. This amphora stamp was obtained from the identical die as one of the samples in the Alexandria Benaki Collection (RE-ΑΛΕΞΙΜΑΧΟΣ-ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΣ-004)³⁸.

The stamp on the other handle bears the name of the fabricant Βρόμιος (Fig. 2d). A wreath device can be seen on the right side of the stamp. This fabricant has been linked to the following eponyms: Τιμούρροδος³⁹ (c. 159/8 BC), Γόργων⁴⁰ (c. 154/3 BC), Πανσανίας III⁴¹ (c. 152/1 BC), Ξενόφαντος II⁴² (c. 151/0 BC), Πυθόδωρος (c. 150/149 – c. 147/6 BC), Πυθογένης (c. 150/149 – c. 147/6 BC), Αὐτοκράτης I (c. 146/5 BC), Τιμόδικος (c. 145/4 BC), Ἀστυμήδης II (c. 144/3 BC), Ἀνάξανδρος (c. 143/2 BC), Τεισαγόρας (c. 142/1 BC), Ἀριστόγειτος (c. 141/140 – c. 138/7 BC), Ἀναξίβουλος (c. 141/140 – c. 138/7 BC), Λαφείδης (c. 141/140 – c. 138/7 BC), Ἀλεξιάδας (c. 141/140 – c. 138/7 BC), Θέρσανδρος (c. 137/6 – c. 135/4 BC), Ἀρχέμβροτος I (c. 134/3 BC) and Ἀνδρόνικος (c. 132/1 BC)⁴³. The magistracy years of these eponyms reveal that the fabricant Βρόμιος carried out his activities between c. 159/8 and c. 132/1 BC⁴⁴. Some examples⁴⁵ from Alexandria⁴⁶ and various centers are identical to the very stamp of this fabricant (RF-BPOMIOS-013).

²⁵ Finkielsztejn 2001, 193, pl. 20.

²⁶ Finkielsztejn 2021, 208.

²⁷ Grace 1974, 96 A5.

²⁸ Pridik 1926, 331.

²⁹ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 174.

³⁰ Grace 1974, 95 A3, tab. 22.1-3; Nicolaou 2005, 416 no. 56.

³¹ Badaliants 1980, 165.

³² Zeitoun *et al.* 1998, 379.

³³ Grace 1974, 94 A3.

³⁴ Badaliants 1980, 165.

³⁵ Grace 1974, 94, A3.

³⁶ Finkielsztejn 1993, 415, Rh 18.

³⁷ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 221-234.

³⁸ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 179.

³⁹ Tiurin 2016, 128 and 132 FIG. 4 no. 4, 6 and 138 no. 4, 6.

⁴⁰ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 5.

⁴¹ An unpublished amphora from Gaza (BLA 9816). We thank K. Tréhuédic for this piece of information.

⁴² Finkielsztejn 2018, 76 no. 237.

⁴³ For the suggested latest dates for these eponyms, see Finkielsztejn 2021, 208.

⁴⁴ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 252.

⁴⁵ Tiussi-Mandrizzato 1996, 56 no. 6; Cankardeş-Şenol 2003, 219 no. 16; Kawanishi – Suto 2005, 96 no. 143; Badoud 2011, 50 no. 164; Gavrilo 2011, 335 no. 3; Avram – Conovici 2021, 99 no. 333a-c.

⁴⁶ Cankardeş-Şenol 2003, 219 no. 16.

Amphora No. 3, has a thickened outer rim, a long cylindrical neck, a body that narrows from the shoulder to the bottom, and a cylindrical toe. Its rounded handles come out from under the rim and rest on the shoulder (Fig. 3a-b). There are rectangular stamps on the upper parts of both handles of this amphora. The stamps reveal that the amphora in question was produced by the fabricant Νύσιος in the year the eponym Τιμόδικος was in charge.

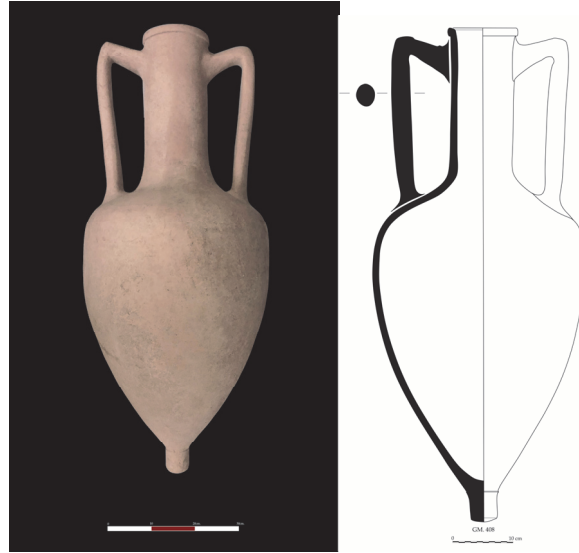


Fig. 3a-b) Amphora No. 3 (Photo: B. Tüysüz; Drawing: M. Bilgin and P. Kızıltepe Bilgin)

Amphora No. 3 (Fig. 3a-b)

Museum Inv. No. 408

Diameter of the rim: 12.2 cm

Height: 103.9 cm

Diameter of the toe: 5.2 cm

Clay color: 2.5 YR 7/4 light reddish brown

Surface color: 2.5 YR 7/6 light red



Fig. 3c) The eponym stamp of the amphora No. 3 (Photo: E. Alkaç and B. Tüysüz)

Eponym Stamp of No. 3 (Fig. 3c)

Stamp shape: Rectangular

Stamp dimensions: 3.8 x 1.7 cm

Inscription:

Ἐπὶ Τιμ-
οδίκου
Σμινθίου

Inscription characteristics: Normal (from the left to the right), three horizontal inscription lines.

Eponym: Τιμόδικος

Month: Σμίνθιος

Matrix: RE-TIMOΔΙΚΟΣ-ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΣ-004

Date: c. 145/4 BC

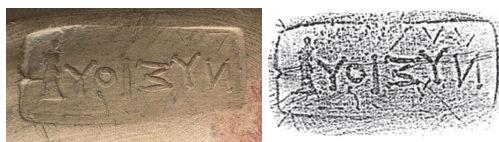


Fig. 3d) The fabricant stamp of the amphora No. 3 (Photo: E. Alkaç and B. Tüysüz)

Fabricant Stamp of No. 3 (Fig. 3d)

Stamp shape: Rectangular

Stamp dimensions: 3.7 x 1.6 cm

Inscription:

statue Νυσίου *retr.*

Inscription characteristics: Retrograde, one horizontal inscription line. Trace of the previous matrix above on the right (Δαλ[referring to the month Δα[λίου]. An eponym die was suggested to be re-engarved for the fabricant's name.

Fabricant: Νύσιος

Device: Statue

Matrix: RF-ΝΥΣΙΟΣ-004

Date of the amphora: c. 145/4 BC

The eponym Τιμόδικος and the fabricant Νύσιος reveal a new eponym-fabricant connection. One of the stamps bears the name of the eponym Τιμόδικος and the month Σμίνθιος (FIG. 3c). On some stamps, on which the name of the eponym Τιμόδικος is detected, the devices as a wheel, a grape cluster, and a rose and a star (together) are seen. Secondary stamps consisting of one or two letters are also recorded on the circular stamps⁴⁷. This eponym is known to have served in c. 145/4 BC in Period Va⁴⁸. It has been settled⁴⁹ that Τιμόδικος had connections to the fabricants Άριστοκλής II, Βρόμιος⁵⁰, Εϋκλειτος⁵¹, Θεύμναστος⁵², Ίέρων⁵³, Ίπποκράτης⁵⁴, Σωσίλας⁵⁵ and Τιμάρατος⁵⁶. This amphora stamp is identical to a stamp in the Alexandria Benaki Collection⁵⁷.

On the stamp of the other handle is the name of the fabricant Νύσιος written in retrograde, and there is a statue device on the left (Fig. 3d). Apart from this device, a statue and a star⁵⁸ and a caduceus⁵⁹ can also be seen on the stamps naming the fabricant. The fabricant have connections to the following eponyms: Θεαίδητος⁶⁰ (c. 171/0 – c. 169/8 BC), Άρατοφάνης I⁶¹ (c. 169/8 – c.

⁴⁷ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 67-81.

⁴⁸ Finkielsztejn 2001, 195 pl. 21. Recent research suggests c. 146/145 BC for the eponym. See, Finkielsztejn 2021, 208.

⁴⁹ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 215.

⁵⁰ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 67.

⁵¹ Finkielsztejn 2001, 123; 155 pl. 12.1.

⁵² Zeitoun *et al.* 1998, 389.

⁵³ Pianu 1980, 16 no. 5.

⁵⁴ Cankardeş-Şenol 2000, 217 no. 139.

⁵⁵ Nicolaou 2005, 431-432 no. 123.

⁵⁶ Avram – Conovici 2021, 15 no. 458.

⁵⁷ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 79.

⁵⁸ Sztetyło 1991, 81 no. 146.

⁵⁹ Kawanishi – Suto 2005, 135 no. 230.

⁶⁰ Cankardeş-Şenol *et al.* 2019, 13-14 no. 1.

⁶¹ Porro 1914, 381 no. 3-4.

167/6 BC), Τιμούρροδος⁶² (c. 159/8 BC), Ἀριστόμαχος I⁶³ (c. 157/6 – c. 155/4 BC), Ἡραγόρας⁶⁴ (c. 157/6 – c. 155/4 BC), Πausανίας III⁶⁵ (c. 152/1 BC), Ἀναξίβουλος⁶⁶ (c. 141/0 – c. 138/7 BC), Ἀλεξιάδας⁶⁷ (c. 141/0 – c. 138/7 BC) and Ἀριστόγειτος⁶⁸ (c. 141/0 – c. 138/7 BC). Based on the magistracy years of these eponyms, it is understood that the fabricant carried out his activities between c. 171/0 – c. 169/8 BC and c. 141/0 – c. 138/7 BC⁶⁹. The fabricant's stamp on the handle of this amphora, No. 3, is identical to a sample in the Alexandria Benaki Collection⁷⁰.

Conclusion

In this study, three stamped Rhodian complete amphorae from the Güray Museum have been examined. The stamps on the handles of all three amphorae are fully preserved (**Table 1**). Eponym and fabricant names read on the stamps in question make new contributions to Rhodian amphora stamps studies and reveal previously unknown eponym and fabricant connections. In addition, a new eponym matrix has also been identified.

Considered within the scope of the study, No. 1 was produced by the fabricant Ἀριστοκλῆς II and is dated to c. 169/8 – c. 167/6 BC, during the magistracy of the eponym Ἀρατοφάνης I. The handle with the fabricant's stamp also has a secondary stamp bearing a kappa (RTS-K-001). The connection of the fabricant Ἀριστοκλῆς II to the eponym Ἀρατοφάνης I is already known. While the fabricant's stamp was a previously known die (RF-ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ 02-002), it is understood that the eponym stamp was obtained from a new die (RE-ΑΡΑΤΟΦΑΝΗΣ 01-ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΣ-007). It was determined for the first time that the mentioned fabricant's stamp matrix and the eponym stamp matrix were used together on the same amphora.

The second amphora No. 2, was produced by the fabricant Βρόμιος and it is dated to the magistracy year of the eponym Ἀλεξίμαχος, a year between c. 150/149 and c. 147/6 BC. The association of this fabricant and the eponym was not known before, and it is presented for the first time with the help of this amphora in the Güray Museum. On the other hand, fabricant's and eponym's stamp dies (RE-ΑΛΕΞΙΜΑΧΟΣ-ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΣ-004 and RF-ΒΡΟΜΙΟΣ-013) on separate amphorae were previously known, but it is the first time that these two dies have been found on the same amphora.

The last amphora listed in the museum inventory, No. 3, belongs to the fabricant Νύσιος and is dated to the year c. 145/4 BC with the stamp of the eponym Τιμόδικος. The link between the fabricant and the eponym in question is presented here for the first time. Matrices of the fabricant's and the eponym's stamps are already known (RE-ΤΙΜΟΔΙΚΟΣ-ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΣ-004 and RF-ΝΥΣΙΟΣ-004) on separate amphorae. Like the matrices of the other two amphorae, these matrices have been detected together for the first time on the same amphora.

⁶² Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 118.

⁶³ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 174.

⁶⁴ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 174.

⁶⁵ Grace – Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970, 304-305 E 12.

⁶⁶ Porro 1914, 385 no. 47-8.

⁶⁷ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 161.

⁶⁸ Monakhov *et al.* 2022, 164 Rh. 14.

⁶⁹ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 252; Cankardeş-Şenol *et al.* 2019, 13-14 no. 1. For the latest dates of the magistracies of the aforementioned eponyms, see Finkielsztein 2021, 207-208.

⁷⁰ RF-ΝΥΣΙΟΣ-004, http://amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_rech_avanc_new.php.

It is very important for amphora stamp studies that fabricant and eponym matrices seen on these three examined amphorae are detected together on the same amphora for the first time and that the stamps on No. 2 and No. 3 reveal new eponym-fabricant connections. In addition, these two amphorae (No. 2 and 3) bearing the eponym stamps are also important in terms of presenting concrete evidence regarding the activity periods of the fabricants. It is understood by the stamps bearing the names of 19 eponyms⁷¹ identified on the amphorae of the fabricant and the magistracy years of these eponyms that the fabricant Βρόμιος produced amphorae, from the early Period IVa to early Period Vb, from c. 159/8 BC to c. 132/1 BC, according to the Rhodian stamp chronology. Thus, taking into account the above-mentioned dates and the fact that an eponym was in charge in a year, the activity of the fabricant must have lasted for at least 25 years in the light of our current knowledge. Each new eponym name found to be associated with the fabricant will increase either the number of years the fabricant had been in production, based on the magistracy year of the eponym (*ie.* if the fabricant's connection to an eponym dated before c. 159/8 BC or after c. 132/1 BC is established) or, with our current knowledge, whether the fabricant produced amphorae every year for (at least) 25 years. For, *ie.*, during Period IVa, in which the fabricant was producing, the eponyms identified as being in charge as of c. 159/8 BC are Δαμαινέτος, Τιμούρροδος, Ἀριστόμαχος I, Ἡραγόρας, Σωσικλῆς and Γόργων (c. 154/3 BC) respectively⁷². Since the fabricant was active during this period, under normal circumstances, if there had been no interruption in his activity, he must have had contact with all these eponyms. However, the finds uncovered to date reveal the fabricant's connection only with Τιμούρροδος (c. 159/8 BC) and Γόργων (c. 154/3 BC) during this period. The complete amphorae or amphora fragments that may be found in the future, or the finds that are certain to belong to the same amphora, will perhaps prove the connection of the fabricant Βρόμιος with the other eponyms who served between the dates of the magistracy years of these two eponyms. On the other hand, if no finds were to be found to show such a connection, it would mean that the fabricant might have not been active between c. 159/8 and c. 154/3 BC. Since we can never be sure that we have obtained all the finds, it is never possible to conclude that the fabricant certainly did not work during that year or those years. The eponyms in Period IVb (c. 152 – c. 146 BC), in which the fabricant continued to operate, were Πανσανίας III, Ξενοφάντος II, Εὐδαμος, Πυθόδωρος, Πυθογένης, Ἀλεξίμαχος and Αὐτοκράτης I⁷³. The finds uncovered to date have documented the fabricant Βρόμιος's connection with all other eponyms except Εὐδαμος and Ἀλεξίμαχος. The fabricant's amphora, preserved in the Güray Museum, also proved his connection with the eponym Ἀλεξίμαχος. Therefore, it is necessary to wait for a find that shows his connection with the only missing eponym Εὐδαμος during this period. Also in Period Va, his connection with the eponyms Ἀρίστακος and Ἀνδρίας (c. 137/6 BC) is yet to be documented.

The same is true for the fabricant Νύσιος. Based on the fabricant's connection with the eponyms uncovered to date, the fabricant is known to have been operating between c. 171/0 – c. 169/8 BC and c. 140/0 – c. 138/7 BC⁷⁴. Accordingly, it is understood that the fabricant had been active for a long time, about 31 years. However, it is not known whether he continued his production activities uninterruptedly during this period. In the light of our present knowledge his connection

⁷¹ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 224 and 252.

⁷² Finkielsztejn 2001, 193 pl. 20. For recently suggested dates for these eponyms see Finkielsztejn 2021, 208.

⁷³ Finkielsztejn 2001, 193 pl. 20. For recently suggested dates for these eponyms see Finkielsztejn 2021, 208.

⁷⁴ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 232 and 252.

with the eponym Θεαίδητος c.171/169 BC, at the end of Period IIIId, marks the beginning of the fabricant's career. No evidence has yet been found of the fabricant's connection with the other eponym Ἀθανόδοτος, dated to this period. Except for the eponym Ἀρατοφάνης I, who is known to have been in charge in Period IIIe, finds showing his connection with other eponyms have not been established yet. The fabricant's affiliation with 4 other eponyms in Period IVa⁷⁵, apart from the eponyms Τιμούρροδος, Ἀριστόμαχος I and Ἡραγόρας, has not yet been documented. In Period IVb, out of a total of 7 eponyms⁷⁶, only the connection with Πασσανίας III, who is dated to the beginning of this period, has been established. With the help of the amphora in the Güray Museum, the activity of the fabricant in the year of the eponym Τιμόδικος in c. 145/4 BC⁷⁷, that is at the beginning of Period Va, has been proven. With the eponyms Ἀριστόγειτος, Ἀναξίβουλος and Ἀλεξιάδας appearing on the amphorae of the fabricant, it is understood that he continued his activity afterwards until c. 141/140 – c. 138/7 BC. However, no finds proving his connection with the other 4 eponyms known to have been in charge until this date have been found yet. Therefore, it is suggested that the fabricant had a connection with these eponyms mentioned in this paragraph, whose names are not seen on their amphorae. Evidence for this is a subject that is expected to be uncovered, but if there has been no manufacturing activity of the fabricant for some years, evidence of these links will never be found.

On the other hand, as established by the current results of the matrix studies we have carried out, it is understood that the fabricant Βρόμιος used a total of 45 dies in amphora production for at least 19 years. This indicates that the fabricant's activity, most likely, had not been interrupted. However, the fabricant Νύσιος used a total of 23 dies, as far as we have established, during at least 31 years of activity, and the data that will reveal his connection with many eponyms dated within the activity period have not yet been obtained. This supports the argument that this fabricant may not have carried out production activities for some years during this period.

It is understood that the fabricant Ἀριστοκλῆς II or his workshop, known to have been producing amphorae for a very long time, had been active for about 40 years⁷⁸. The fabricant's connection with the eponym Ἀρχίδαμος shows that his production activity started during Period IIIc, in c. 180/179 BC. If we exclude the eponym Ἀρίστρατος as their association may be dubious, the last known eponyms to date the fabricant are Ἀριστόγειτος, Ἀναξίβουλος and Λαφείδης who were in charge in c. 140/139 – c. 138/7 BC. The fabricant/workshop has been linked to a total of 23 eponyms so far⁷⁹. This indicates that evidence of the fabricant's connection to 17 more eponyms is to be expected. The 72 stamp matrices that have been identified to date – and this number is likely to increase – support that the fabricant may have worked every year during this time.

As we have mentioned above, fabricant and eponym matrix pairs on the amphorae preserved in the Güray Museum have been determined for the first time. In other words, it is important that

⁷⁵ Finkielsztejn 2001, 193 pl. 20. For recently suggested dates for these eponyms see Finkielsztejn 2021, 208.

⁷⁶ Finkielsztejn 2001, 193 pl. 20. For recently suggested dates for these eponyms see Finkielsztejn 2021, 208.

⁷⁷ Finkielsztejn 2001, 195 pl. 21. For recently suggested dates for these eponyms see Finkielsztejn 2021, 208.

⁷⁸ Depending on the fabricant's association with the eponym Ἀρίστρατος based on stylistic resemblance of dies (see Finkielsztejn 2001, 156, pl. 12.2), his activity is decided to have lasted 56 years which seems too long. This association may be dubious as prolonging the activity of the fabricant. So, it will be more reasonable to suggest the end of his activity in c. 140/139 – c. 138/7 BC.

⁷⁹ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 223 and 250 (except Ἀρίστρατος).

the fabricant’s X die was placed on the same amphora as the eponym’s X die⁸⁰. In this way, it is possible to date the fabricant’s X die with the help of the eponym’s stamp. For example, it is possible to date the fabricant Βρόμιος’s matrix RF-BPOMIOΣ-013, to c. 150/149 – c. 147/6 BC. This makes and will make it possible to arrange the fabricant’s matrices chronologically, as new and more evidence of the fabricant’s association with the eponyms becomes available. In addition, when a fabricant stamp from this matrix is found during the stratigraphic excavations, it would not be wrong to date this stamp to around this date, which is directly the year of duty of the eponym, instead of dating to a wide period in which the fabricant was active. Furthermore, after knowing which fabricant’s matrix matches with which eponym’s matrix, it is possible to determine that these finds belong to the same amphora, even though they were to be found as separate handles during the excavations. These also apply to all other fabricant’s stamps that have a connection to an eponym and certain stamp matrices that have been identified. Certain stamp matrices of the eponyms found in the excavations will help to suggest which fabricants’ amphorae may belong to them, with the help of the previously determined matched eponym-fabricant matrices.

In conclusion, the three stamped Rhodian amphorae in the Güray Museum are important in terms of revealing both the new eponym-fabricant connections and the use of eponym and fabricant matrices together.

No	Eponym Stamp-Inscription	Eponym	Fabricant Stamp-Inscription	Fabricant	Date
1	Ἐπὶ Ἀρατοφάνεως Ἀραταμπίου rose	Ἀρατοφάνης I	a. Ἀριστοκλεῦς <i>vac.</i> rose b. K	Ἀριστοκλῆς II	c. 169/8 – c. 167/6 BC
2	Ἐπὶ Ἀλεξι- μάχου Θεσμοφορίου	Ἀλεξιμαχος	Βρομίου wreath	Βρόμιος	c. 150/149 – c. 147/6 BC
3	Ἐπὶ Τιμ- οδίκου Σμινθίου	Τιμόδικος	statue Νυσίου <i>retr.</i>	Νύσιος	c. 145/4 BC

Table 1) Stamps of Rhodian Amphorae in the Güray Museum

⁸⁰ For the matching eponym-fabricant stamp matrices identified so far, see Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 263-270.

Index (Rh.: Rhodes; Ep.: Eponym; Fab.: Fabricant)**A. Names**

Άγαθοκλής III, Rh. fab. 1	Διόδοτος I, Rh. fab. 2
Άγέστρατος II, Rh. ep. 1	Έρμίας, Rh. fab. 2
Άγοράναξ, Rh. fab. 1	Εϋδαμος, Rh. ep. 1
Άθανόδοτος, Rh. fab. 1	Εϋκλειτος, Rh. fab. 2, 3
Άθανόδοτος, Rh. ep. 1	Έραγόρας, Rh. ep. 1, 3
Άλεξιάδας, Rh. ep. 2, 3	Θεαίδητος, Rh. ep. 1, 3
Άλεξιμαχος, Rh. ep. 2	Θέρσανδρος, Rh. ep. 2
Άμύντας, Rh. fab. 1	Θεύμναστος, Rh. fab. 2, 3
Άνάξανδρος, Rh. ep. 1, 2	Έρων, Rh. fab. 3
Άναξίβουλος, Rh. ep. 1, 2, 3	Έπποκράτης, Rh. fab. 1, 2, 3
Άνδρικός, Rh. fab. 2	Καλικράτης II, Rh. ep. 1
Άνδρόνικος, Rh. ep. 2	Καλλιώ, Rh. fab. 1
Άντίμαχος, Rh. fab. 2	Λαφείδης, Rh. ep. 1, 2
Άριστόγειτος, Rh. ep. 1, 2, 3	Μάνης, Rh. fab. 2
Άρατοφάνης I, Rh. ep. 1, 3	Μαρσύας, Rh. fab. 1
Άριστίων II, Rh. ep. 1	Μηνόθεμις, Rh. fab. 2
Άριστοκλής II, Rh. fab. 1, 3	Νικασαγόρας I, Rh. ep. 1
Άριστόμαχος I, Rh. ep. 1, 3	Νικασίων, Rh. fab. 1
Άριστος, Rh. fab. 1	Νύσιος, Rh. fab. 1, 3
Άρίστρατος, Rh. ep. 1	Ξενοφάντος II, Rh. ep. 1, 2
Άρχέμβροτος I, Rh. ep. 2	Πανσανίας III, Rh. ep. 1, 2, 3
Άρχίδαμος, Rh. ep. 1	Πεισίστρατος, Rh. ep. 1
Άρχιλαίδας, Rh. ep. 1	Πυθογένης, Rh. ep. 2
Άστυμήδης II, Rh. ep. 2	Πυθόδωρος, Rh. ep. 2
Αύτοκράτης I, Rh. ep. 2	Τεισαγόρας, Rh. ep. 1, 2
Βρόμιος, Rh. fab. 2, 3	Τιμάρατος, Rh. fab. 3
Γόργων, Rh. ep. 1, 2	Τιμόδικος, Rh. ep. 1, 2, 3
	Τιμούρροδος, Rh. ep. 1, 2, 3

Τιμώ II, Rh. fab. 2
Σωσικλής, Rh. ep. 1
Σωσίλας, Rh. fab. 3

B. Month names

Άρταμίτιος, 1
Δάλιος, 3
Θεσμόφοριος, 2
Σμίνθιος, 3

C. Preposition

ἐπί, 1, 2, 3

D. Devices

Bust of Helios, 1
Caduceus, 3
Grape cluster, 3
Rose, 1
Rose and star, 1
Statue, 3
Statue and star, 3
Wheel, 3
Wreath, 2

E. Secondary stamp

K, 1

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Güroy Müze'deki Mühürlü Rhodos Amphoraları: Yeni Yönetici-Üretici İlişkileri

Özet

Mühürlü amphoralar ve üzerlerindeki mühürler yüzyılı aşkın bir süredir bilimsel çalışmalara konu olmuş, gerek arkeolojik kazılarda gerekse müze koleksiyonlarında bulunan mühürlü amphoralar değerlendirilerek literatüre kazandırılmıştır. Avanos'taki (Nevşehir) Güroy Müze envanterine kayıtlı tamamı korunmuş üç adet mühürlü Rhodos amphorası bu çalışmanın konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmanın amacı amphoraları tarihlendirmek ve kulplarındaki mühürlerde yer alan yönetici ve üretici isimlerini belirlemektir. Bu çalışmada amphoraların ilkinin üzerindeki mühürlerde yönetici Aratophanes I ve ay adı *Artamitios* ile üretici Aristokles II'in isimleri yer almaktadır; ikincisinde yönetici Aleksimakhos ile *Thesmophorios* ayı ve üretici Bromios; sonuncusunda ise yönetici Timodikos ile *Sminthios* ayı ve üretici Nysios'un isimleri birlikte tespit edilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, daha önce tespit edilmemiş yeni yönetici-üretici birliktelikleri belirlenmiş, üretici ve yönetici kalıplarının birlikte kullanımı ortaya konmuştur. Böylece Rhodos amphora mühürleme sistemi ve kronolojisinin anlaşılmasına yeni katkılar sağlanmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Rhodos; Hellenistik Dönem; Amphora mührü; Yönetici; Üretici; Güroy Müze.