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Stamped Amphora Handles from Lysimachia and its Harbours



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Abstract

Stamped amphorae fragments from Cardia (Bakla Burnu), Agora/Cherronesus/Chersonesus (Bolayır) and Pactye (Maltepe Höyük) on the isthmus of Thracian Chersonesus were evaluated. The pottery fragments collected during the surveys conducted in Thrakia and the Gallipoli Peninsula (Chersonesus) under the direction of Prof. Dr. Mustafa. H. Sayar on behalf of the Istanbul University, Southeastern European Studies Center, in 2006, 2011, and 2012 were discussed within the scope of the doctoral thesis, and finds from the Prehistoric period to Byzantine period were evaluated. These settlements, which were the scene of Athenian colonisation after Miletus and Clazomenai, were united with *synoikismus* by Lysimachus in 309/8 BC in order to become the capital (Lysimachia) of his kingdom. After the death of Lysimachus in 281 BC, they were the scene of the conflicts of the Hellenistic kingdoms as well as the raids of the Galat and Thracian tribes, finally being completely abandoned in 144 BC. The site's status under the Roman administration is still uncertain, but it is known that the settlement was given the status of *ager publicus*. The stamped amphorae constitute a group of finds that best reveal the economic, commercial, and cultural structure of these settlements originally indipendent cities, later organized as an acropolis (Agora), a harbor (Cardia), and a surrounding district (Pactye)- during the 4th to 2nd centuries BC. It was observed that the settlements had commercial interactions with the cities of Mende, Parmeniskos group (Macedonia, Chalkidike), Thasos, Acanthus, Alexandria Troas, Rhodes, Cos, Cnidus, Nikandros group (Metropolis-Ephesus-Miletus), Heraclea Pontica, and Sinope.

Keywords

 $Lysimachia \cdot Cardia \cdot Agora \cdot Pactye \cdot amphora \cdot stamp$



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Introduction

Stamped handles have an important place among pottery fragments collected during the surveys conducted in 2006, 2011, and 2012 under the direction of Prof. Dr. Mustafa H. Sayar at the Istanbul University, Southeastern European Studies Center. In the doctoral thesis completed in 2021, ceramics collected during these surveys were the primary focus of evaluation.

Stamped amphorae, such as potsherds and unstamped amphorae fragments, play a crucial role in illustrating the overall condition of the autonomous cities situated on the isthmus of Thracian Chersonesus and the capital during the Hellenistic period. After the death of Lysimachus at the battle of Coroupedium, the city was being crutial role for Hellenistic kingdoms, and during the Galatian raids. In 196 BC, Antiochus III initiated the reconstruction of the city of Lysimacheia, as well as fortification of the Chersonese with the aim of establishing it as an administrative centre for his son Seleucus Philopator (Polybios, Historiai, xviii, 51, 7; Livius, Ab Urbe Condita, xxxiii, 38, 10; xxxiii, 40, 6; xxxiii, 41, 4; Appianos, Syriaka, 1,1; 1, 3; 6, 28; Cohen, 1978: 62-63).

Following the derstruction of the city by Diegylis in 144 BC, Lysimachia was deserted, and the stuation of both the city and peninusula became unclear. Additionally, a significant number of inscriptions found in the city of Lysimachia date to the Roman period, indicating that it was not completely deserted after 144 BC. After this date, though, the peninsula and Lysimachia became "Ager publicus".

The aim of this article is to provide information about the commercial relations of Lysimachia and its three predecessor free cities in the Thracian Chersonesus through collected amphora fragments, ceramics, stamped handles, as well as through the harbours and trade routes of Lysimachia. A total of fifty-eight stamps (4th-2nd centuries BC) were collected from Cardia (seven), Agora/Cherroneus/Chersonesus (fortynine), Pactye (two), and Lysimachia region as a whole, which became the capital city of Lysimachus after the three cities were united by synoikismus (309/8 BC) (Map 1 - Map 2). Three of these stamps are on red-slipped jug (No. 36), jug (No. 35) and lagynos handle fragment (No. 15) from Agora/Lysimachia. Given that some of the fifty-eight stamps were either identical or illegible, only thirty-six distinct stamps have been evaluated in this study.

Map 1 North Aegean and Thracian Chersonesus.





Map 2 Bakla Burnu (Cardia), Bolayır (Agora), Maltepe Höyük (Pactye) and Kazanağzı (Agoraion Teichus/Macron Teichus)



Map 3 Field numbers of Bolayır with the circle of find.





Map 4Bakla Burnu field numbers and slipway on the cape.



Recent publications, and newly unearthed stamps necessitated a reassessment of the subject. During the surveys, amphorae were found primarily in Cardia and Agora. Since the spatial distribution of amphora fragments and potsherds closely mirrors that of the stamped amphorae, the study has focused particularly on the stamped amphora fragments are discussed (Bektaş, 2021: 80-83, 156-161, 200-202, Map 12-15).

The city of Lysimachia, located in the present-day town of Bolayır in Thracian Chersonesus, was founded by Lysimachus in 309/308 BC by the *synoikismus* of Cardia, Agora and Pactye. It remained the capital city of Lysimachia until Lysimachus' defeat at Coroupedium in 281 BC, after which it was abandoned entirely in 144 BC. Lysimachia which the Hellenistic kingdoms always desired to acquire, lost its importance as a small settlement after the 1st century AD. The "Agoraion Teichus/Macron Teichus" located at Kazanağzı and in use from Archaic to Byzantine period, continued to serve a strategic role in protecting the Thracian Chersonesus, its trade routes, and the capital city of Constantinople (Map 2).



Since the 8th century BC, the city of Agora has held significant strategic value due to its placement along the road network linking the peninsula with other regions of Thrace and the Black Sea, as well as its dominant position overseeing both coastlines. The fact that it was called Cherronesus/Chersonesus before the synoikismus and later named Agora points to this importance and its continued function in the Hellenistic period.

Cardia is a harbour city overlooking the Melas Kolpos (Saroz Gulf) and connected to the main road, and ancient sources indicate that it was one of the most important cities of the peninsula in its period. Pactye, on the Hellespontus coast, is smaller in size and, unlike the other cities of the peninsula, is a harbour city that does not dominate the strait. The fact that it is rarely mentioned in sources and defined as the neighbourhood of Lysimachia after the synoikismus supports this remark.

Cardia, on the coast, continued to serve as the harbour of Lysimachia at Melas Kolpos with its slipway stil preserved and visible today (Map 4). Pactye is located at Maltepe Höyük today; the harbour is not visible due to alluvial fill. In addition to this evidence, the distribution of finds and the comparison with Bolayır and Bakla Burnu suggest that the harbour of Pactye was smaller and of secondary importance to Cardia.

Methods

The discovered stamps and potsherds have been evaluated by comparing them with shipwrecks and excavation data. Additionally, museum catalogues have also been used as a basis for dating. Thirty-six finds have been considered, excluding unreadable and identical examples from the fifty-eight stamps. One of these is on a red-slipped jug handle piece (No. 36), jug (No. 35) and another could belong to handles of small Thasian amphora or lagynos (No. 15), while the other fifty-five stamps are on amphorae.

Mende, Parmeniskos group, Thasos/Thasian type, Acanthus, Alexandria Troas are evaluated under the "North Aegean" amphorae stamps, while Rhodes and its peraea, Cos, Cnidus, Nikandros group (Metropolis-Ephesus-Miletus) are evaluated under "South Aegean" section. Only one, from Heraclea Pontica, is categorised in the "Black Sea" group. The illegible stamps or whose production site cannot be determined are interpreted under the "Unknown Origin" section.

The determination of the illegible stamps are specified according to the clay (Munsell Soil Color Charts (2010)) and form of rim or handles. The most clearly visible conditions of the stamps (copies, photographs or drawings) are presented in the images of the catalogue. The earliest Mendean and Thasos/Thasian type stamps are listed chronologically. Although Mende, Parmeniskos group (Macedonia and Chalkidike), and Acanthus in the Chalkidike peninsula are in the same geographical region, the Acanthian stamps found during the surveys are generally dated to the end of the 4th century BC and are listed before the Alexandria Troas in the "North Aegean" group.

During the collection of the surface finds, the fields were numbered and catalogued as follows: T1-T20 for the acropolis of Lysimachia and the ancient polis of Agora before capital city of Lysimachia; A1-A21 for Çoban Çeşme locality; B1-B30 for south of Çoban Çeşme and east of the area that may be the acropolis of Agora/Lysimachia (Map 3). At Maltepe Höyük (Pactye), finds were collected from the "summit", the "northern slope", and half of its "south" side, which has been destroyed due to a limestone quarry. At Bakla Burnu (Cardia), the fields are numbered as T1-T25 (Map 4).

With the synoikismus in 309/308 BC, the cities of Cardia, Agora and Pactye were united and became the harbours and acropolis of the capital of Lysimachia. For this reason, Cardia-Bakla Burnu, Agora-Bolayır or Pactye-Maltepe Höyük have been described as the site of the stamps that can be dated before the synoikismus. The stamps dated after the synoikismus are identified as Lysimachia/Cardia-Bakla Burnu, Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır and Lysimachia/Pactye-Maltepe Höyük with their field numbers.





North Aegean Amphora Stamps

Mende and Parmeniskos Group

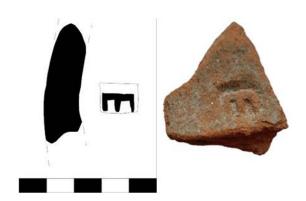
Mende, on the Chalkidike peninsula, was a city known for its wine, which later being merged via *synoikismus* and renamed Cassandria. Mende had been producing amphorae since the middle of the 5th century BC and is known to have stamped its amphorae between the end of the 5th - 4th centuries BC (Salviat, 1990: 457; Papadopoulos & Paspalas 1999: 161, 174; Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 140). Wine production was intensive throughout the Chalkidike Peninsula and particularly in Mende, and Mendean wine was especially popular (Papadopoulos & Paspalas 1999: 165; Lawall 2010: 161-162). It has been suggested that the earliest stamps were influenced by coin types and can be dated to the Late Archaic-Early Classical periods (Papadopoulos & Paspalas 1999: 165-170).

Although fragments of amphorae originating from various production centres in the northern Aegean have been identified, there have been scarce findings of amphorae from Mendean production at Cardia, Agora, and Pactye (Bektaş, 2021: 196, 287, fig. 61 no. C48-C49). Similar examples of the letter *E* (No. 1) in a rectangular stamp on the neck fragment, in terms of size and clay type are seen in Mendean amphorae¹.

The amphora stamp, partially visible within the rectangular frame (No. 2), is similar to Mendean productions in terms of texture of clay and shape of the handle. It is considered that it may have been produced in the Chalkidike peninsula (Parmeniskos group)² due to the presence of anepigraphic stamps utilising symbols such as the Satyros head, juvenile head, caduceus, crater, and floral symbols, similar to those found in Mendean amphorae in addition to its dense micaceous clay type (Papadopoulos & Paspalas 1999: 165, 172; Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 140-141; Lawall, 2010: 161).

No 3 is worn and the letters and the oval cross-sectioned handle fragment from Cardia bears a graffito inscription reading M and I (No. 3)³. The form of No. 3 closely resembles that of amphorae associated with the Parmeniskos group (Akamatis, 2000: 45-48, A3690, Π AP.73, 75-8, 88, 92).

Figure 1a/b: Bakla Burnu. Mende (No. 1)



 $^{^1}$ Monachov 1999, 212 fig. 81 no. 1; Lawall 2010, 161-162, pl. 94 no. 6 (third quarter of the 5th-middle of the 4th centuries BC); Mπαχλάς 2018, 858, pl. 5 no. 164 and 2050 (5th - third quarter of the 4th centuries BC); Lawall & Lejpunskaja et al. 2010, 384 on the suggestion of Chalkidike and Mende as the place of production of the Parmeniskos group; On the general use of the term "Mendean wine" for wines from the Chalkidike peninsula, see Papadopoulos & Paspalas 1999, 161, 174; Lawall 2004a, 241-243.

³This stamp was initially read as $\Delta\Lambda I$ by the author, but considering the other parallels of stamps and handle form, it has been interpreted that it might be M and I. Moreover, a comparable example of $\Delta\Lambda I$ was unearthed during the excavations in Athens and dated by Grace to the 5th–1st centuries BC (Grace 1956, 174, pl. 79 no. 248).



²The Parmeniskos group is thought to have been produced in Macedonia (Papadopoulou 2019, 324), but there are various opinions about the place of production. Whitbread 1995, 210-219; for the Torone suggestion see Papadopoulos & Paspalas 1999, 172; for the suggestion of Chalkidike and Mende for the Parmeniskos group see Lawall 2007, 56; Lawall & Lejpunskaja et al. 2010, 384.

No: 1 (Figure 1)

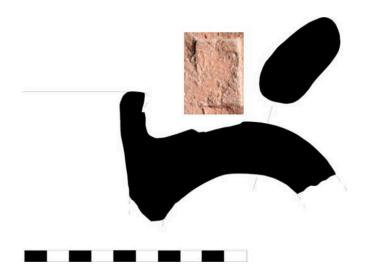
Find place: Cardia-Bakla Burnu T18

Stamp: length 1.1 cm, width 1.4 cm rectangular.

Ε

Clay: Pale red (2.5 YR 5/8 red). Hard. Contains fine to coarse silver mica and fine to medium gold mica. Dens fine to medium-sized lime and coarse white stone. Dense and medium-sized brown inclusions. Porous.

Figure 2 a/b: Bolayır. Mende (No. 3)



No: 2 (Figure 2)

Find place: Agora-Bolayır T17

Stamp: lenght 2 cm, width 0.8 cm rectangular. Left and lower side worn. Amphora is vertical.

[.....?

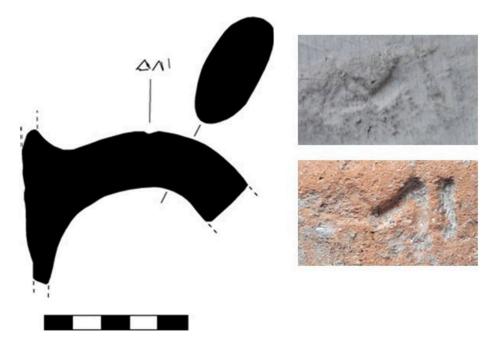
amphora

Clay: Orangish red (5 YR 6/8 yellowish red). Medium hard. Very dense fine to coarse white and black particles, and lime inclusions. The surface show increasing density of silver and gold mica on the surface. Dense fine to large porous. The surface texture is finely rough.





Figure 3a/b/c: Bakla Burnu. Parmeniskos Group (No. 3)



No: 3 (Figure 3)

Find place: Cardia/Lysimachia-Bakla Burnu T20

Stamp: height: 0,3 width: cm 0,4 unframed. Abbreviated name?. Graffiti.

МΙ

Clay: Brownish orange (5 YR 5/8 yellowish red). Hard. Medium density of lime, white particle (stone ?), silver and gold mica. Very low density of black granule. Porous.

Thasos/Thasian Type

From the late 6th century BC to the Hellenistic period, Thasos, known for producing amphorae, became famous for its various quality wines (Salviat, 1986: 145-146). It is known that Thasos stamped its amphorae and roof tiles starting from the early 4th century BC and continued to use stamps until the second half of the 2nd century BC (Tzochev, 2016: 1, 7). Although not certain, it has been suggested that there could be stamped handles (proto-stamps?) dating from the late 5th century BC to the first half of the 4th century BC (Grace & Savvatianou-Petropoulakou 1970: 355 note 6; Tzochev, 2016: 1, 7; for early Thasian types (proto-stamps) in the 5th century BC, see Garlan 1999, 54-57, 59-64 (proto Thasian type). The main types of stamps are divided into 6 groups (Garlan, 1999: 54-57; Lawall 1999, 192- 3, 210; Cankardeş Şenol 2006, 86-88) and within the Garlan's new clasification Thasian stamps were divided into 16 groups (Garlan, 2004-2005: 323-327). Studies on Athenian Agora finds have been evaluated within seven engravers (E1-E7) and 13 periods by Tzochev (Tzochev, 2016: 26-45, 99-200).

An officer's term could vary, being shorter or longer than a year and the scarcity of epigraphic sources make establishing the chronology of Thasos quite challenging (Tzochev, 2016: 46-47). Furthermore, although the style of letters on stamps remained consistent throughout the 4^{th} and 3^{rd} centuries BC, noticeable changes in the rendering of certain letters (A, Θ , E, Ω , X, and Y) occurred after the 200s BC⁴. Within the

⁴Cankardeş Şenol 2006, 86; Tzochev 2016, 46 and note 8; 50-51 (discusses changes in letters based on official names, providing detailed information about the use of the lunar and the barred sigma with).





collection, there is a wide variety of types, and numerous different objects are depicted on the stamps. These include the prow of a ship, dolphins, fishes, seashells, grape clusters, cornucopia, altars, mirrors, amphora, altars, pitchers, kantharoi, human and deity figures, and the types found on the coins. Thasos stamps feature the genitive $\Theta\alpha\sigma i\omega v/\Theta\dot{\alpha}\sigma iov$ ethnicon, as well as the names of officials (eponym/magistrate) and fabricants.

Thasian stamps from the most common group found at Bolayır, with twenty-one examples. Although a large quantity of "Thasos" or "Thasian type" amphorae were recovered from Bakla Burnu, no stamped examples have yet been found or identified. That being said, some stamps are not very clearly legible, and based on the handle's form and clay, as well as the objects and the letters are visible on the stamp, it can be said that they are of Thasos production.

Among the finds, there is a stamp that can be dated early period (410-340 BC), bearing the name of fabricant $A\lambda\theta\eta\mu(\dot{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma)$ (No. 4). In the middle, a beak-mouthed jug can be seen, and on the edge, the letters $A\lambda\theta[...]$ are inscribed vertically (Grace, 1956: 123 note 8, pl. 55 no. 32-33 (410-340 BC).

The stamp depicting an altar in the centre has only the letter A[...] (No. 5), and comparisons could be made with similar examples based on the type of the altar dated to the middle of the 4th century BC (Bon & Bon 1957, no. 384 (Aristophanes); Garlan 1999, Figure 1 no. 2 (TH 6119)).

The island of Thasos, which has quite diverse types of amphorae and stamps, also has stamps where the name of the fabricant or official cannot be identified. An example of this is a stamp with a torch device in the centre and the letters "[...] $\tau \alpha \sigma$ [...]" in the lower line along with the ethnicon in the upper line (No. 6). Although it has been determined that the short-flamed torch type was used in the late 4th century BC, it is not yet possible to say which fabricant or official it belongs to (Lawall, 2010: 163, pl. 94 no. 10 (320-270 BC)). An example with a torch type, the position of the letters, and a partially impression on the left side was recovered from Gordion, though it could not be identified by the researcher because it was worn (Bon & Bon 1957, 427, no. 1780 (Gordion SS10); For Histria stamp, Avram 1996, pl. 14 no 187). Another example of this stamp, from a different die, was also found in Gordion (330-270 BC) (Lawall, 2010: 163, pl. 94 no. 10).

The partially preserved stamps from Pactye (No. 7) and Agora (No. 8) represent some of the earliest identified specimens. The stamp from Pactye, stylistically similar to those attributed to Φειδiππος, features a central club, with an ethnicon inscribed on the upper line and the letters I and Δ legible on the lower line (Debidour 1979, Figure 4 no. 2 (club)). Other dies attributed to Φειδiππος with fish (dolphin), official name Δαμάστης on upper line, and the ethnicon along the left edge, also exhibit similarities with specimen No.6 (Bon & Bon 1957: 169, no.531; Garlan, 1999: 238, 242, no. 718 Group F2 350-345 BC). The No.7 stamp is significantly worn, and its left side is broken, which complicates its interpretation; nonetheless, it bears resemblance to both of Debidour's examples, with the ethnicon placed on the upper line, and the dies presented by Bon & Bon and Garlan, displaying different symbols and the official name Δαμάστης. In Tzochev's study of Athenian Agora stamps, the official Φειδiππος is dated to ca. 273-256 BC (chronological period VII) and official Δαμάστης II is dated to ca. 364-338 BC (chronological period II) (Tzochev, 2016: qTable 2).

The Agora find (No. 8) consists of two lines, with only the left side preserved. In the official $\Sigma\kappa\dot{\nu}\mu\nu\sigma\varsigma I$ stamps, the letter Θ of the Thasos ethnicon can be observed in the upper line, while the "[....] $\nu\sigma\varsigma$ " is seen written retrograde in the lower line⁵. The same stamp of $\Sigma\kappa\dot{\nu}\mu\nu\sigma\varsigma I$ with upper line ethnicon and lower line retrograde name from Thasos and Parion with different devices (Debidour, 1979: 285, 291, 300-301, Figure 3 no. 3; Keleş & Alkaç & Akkaş 2021: 41-42, no. 25 (vase); no. 26 (caduceus) ca. 292- ca. 274 BC). Based on the

⁵Μετάγονος (official), Μέλίνος (fabricant), Κρατίνος (official), Σκύμνος ΙΙ and ΙΙΙ? (official), last letters of these names are "-νος", but these



stamps doesn't bear retrodgrade name or ethnicon.



excavation stratigraphy of the Silenos Gate and Zeus Gate, the stamps of Φειδίππος (No. 7) and Σκύμνος Ι (No. 8) have been dated to the late 4th century BC by Debidour (Debidour, 1979: 285, 291, 300-301, Figure 3 no. 3 (Skymnos I), Figure 4 no. 2 (Pheidippos)). Fabricants Pheidippos and Skymnos stamps take part in Garlan's classification under groups C, E1, F2, and G1, without making a distinction between Skymnos I and II. However, similar to the Pactye and Agora ones, these stamps are not found in his publication (Garlan 1999, 152 (Grup C-370's BC), 182 (Grup E1-365-360 BC), 242 (Grup F2-350-345 BC), 257 (Grup G1-347-334 BC)); Alternatively, Tzochev suggests the possibility of a third official based on stamps made from different dies in his study (Tzochev, 2016: 78).

Garlan and Blondé compared the vessels and objects depicted on the Thasian stamps with the artefacts from the Thasos Museum. As a result of this study, they suggest that the artefacts in the museum and the stamps belong to same dates (Garlan & Blondé, 2004: 128-135, Figure 17c - Figure 17d). A single-handled pitcher/pithos similar to the one on the heavily worn stamp (No. 9) was seen both in this publication and identified in the Heraion Teichus excavation (335-330 BC) (Yağız, 2009: 467). Another example of a stamp was unearthed in the Qiryat Shemona excavation in Israel, with an HB monogram at the top of the stamp (Finkielsztejn, 2012: 137, Figure 8.1). The stamp, belonging to the "Late Thasos" group (Garlan, 2004-2005: 269 315), bears the name Αίσχρίων which is suggested to be the name of an official (Finkielsztein, 2012: 137). Since no letters are visible on the Bolayır handle (No. 9), it is not possible to determine whether the official is Aischrion I or II (333-second quarter of the 3rd century BC). In Garlan's classification, dates around 299 BC (Group VI) to 268 BC (Group X) are suggested for Aischrion I and II. Besides Garlan's dating recommendation for different die of both (I and II) are within Group VI (299-296 BC), Group IX (281- 273 BC) and Group X (ca. 272-268 BC) (Garlan, 2004-2005: 324-326).

The No. 10 stamp also differs from other Thasos amphorae regarding handle type. It has an oval shape and is of a size that could belong to a large amphora. In early Thasos stamps, a secondary stamp within a rectangle contained an object that could be a ring or a wheel (Pridik 1917, 42, no. 125, pl. 8 no. 4; Bon & Bon 1957, 81, nos. 85-87). On a stamp found in southern Russia, the inscription Άριστα[...] can be legible, though very few examples of this have been found. The suggested date is 330-270? BC by Bon & Bon (1957: 81, pl. VIIII no. 125 (infra 273)).

No. 11 stamp is another rare type. This stamp, which features the letter N and a round embossed device beneath it, is quite worn and therefore difficult to decipher. One of the suggestions is $Ai\sigma_X\rho i\omega v$ (official), whose stamp bears a pomegranate and the monogram HB; the placement of the letters, especially N, is comparable to that of No.11 (Bon & Bon 1957: no.117). However, based on the position of the N and size of the stamp, it may alternatively be a stamp of the official Κριτία[ς] (Bon & Bon 1957: 279, no. 1067; Avram, 1996: 159, Table XIV, pl. XLIV no. 587), dated by Avram to 310-293 BC or 316-295 BC (Avram, 1996: 159, Table X, pl. XLIV no. 587; Table XIV).

In the centre of the No. 12 stamp, there is a cornucopia device. The upper line contains the Thasos ethnicon, while the first four letters of the official's name Ἰσόδικος, can be legible in the lower line (316-295 BC) (Avram 1996: Table 1-2 (Histria and Callatis)). Stamps with this name, featuring a cornucopia and dolphin device in the centre from Callatis and Nessebar, are very rare and dated to 4th-3rd centuries BC (SEG, 30 (1980), 809, 7). In Garlan's classification, the official's stamp with the cornucopia device is known within 'Group V; which also includes the Zeus type stamp, although it is not explicitly mentioned (309-300 BC) (Garlan, 2004-2005: 324). Other stamp examples have been published by Pridik, (1917: pl. 7 V no. 28) and Bon & Bon (1957, no: 175 (Th 1219-600).

No. 13 is worn and the ethnicon $\Theta\alpha\sigma i\omega\nu$ can be read as genitive on the upper line, but the fabricant or officer name is not preserved on the lower line or short edges. According to Pridik in the stamp of the



fabricant Άριστόδικος, the device in the centre (eel?) is not known (Pridik, 1917: 38 (no. 58), Figure 4 no. 2; Bon & Bon 1957, 127, no.321). If the No. 13 is same die in Bon & Bon and Pridik's publication, fabricant Aristodikos have been classified by Garlan in Group F1 and the related officer is Φανόκριτος (Garlan, 1999: 201 (360-350 BC)). Conversally Aristodikos has been identified as official by Tzochev dated to ca. 292- ca. 274 BC (2016, Table 2,). On stamps found in Thasos and Histria, it is thought that the device in centre baget (baguette recourbée) and name of Πουλυάδης is placed on upper line (Bon & Bon, 1957: 349, no. 1393; Avram, 1996: 140, pl. 32 no. 427 (Πουλυάδης) dated to 286-274 BC; Tzochev 2016, 156 no.267 (unidenfied device- Πουλυάδης).

A stamp that could belong to the fabricant Χαιριμένης (Garlan, 1999: 201, 242, Grup F1-F2) or the official Χαιρέας (Gallet de Santerre, 1952: 277, no: 1714; Bon & Bon 1957: 411, 1692) has been found from Bolayır (No. 14). Due to the position of the letters and the type of the depiction of a grape cluster device, it resembles the stamps of the aforementioned fabricant (Garlan, 1999: 201, 242 (fabricant Χαιριμένης, Grup F1 (360-350 BC)-F2 (350-345 BC). Stamps belonging to Χαιρέας, featuring a grape cluster in the centre, have been found in Histria and classified under the official's name (274-256 BC) (Avram, 1996: Tablo VIII,10-11 (Odessus and Callatis 294-287 BC or 274-256 BC).

In 255-242 BC, there were nine known types of stamps belonging to the official Νικάνωρ Ι (No. 15). The purpose and meaning of the abbreviation *HΓH* (ήγη or ηγη) on the short side are unknown, but it is thought to be an abbreviation of a patronym (Bon & Bon 1957: 313 no. 1221 (beginning of the 4th century BC); Tzochev 2016, 75-76, Table 2 ca. 255- ca. 242 BC). Another distinguishing feature of this handle fragment, compared to other Thasos productions, is the high density of silver mica and the oval cross-section of the handle, which is thinner than that of other Thasian amphorae. These features, along with its form, suggests that it is likely a lagynos handle.



Figure 4 a/b: Bolayır. Thasos (No. 4)

No: 4 (Figure 4)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B23

Stamp: preserved length 2 cm, width 2.3-3.4 cm rectangular. Lower edge broken. Beak-mouthed jug placed vertically. Fabricant.



beak-mouthed jug Άλθ[....]

Clay: Yellowish red (5 YR 5/8 reddish yellow). Medium hard. Dusty surface. Dense lime inclusion. Less dense fine silver and golden mica, and sand. Porous.

Figure 5 5 a/b: Bolayır. Thasos (No. 5)



No: 5 (Figure 5)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B7

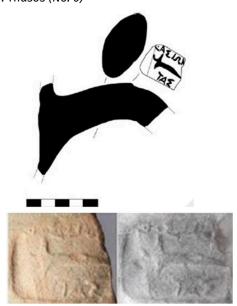
Stamp: preserved length 3 cm, width 2.1 cm rectangular. Lower edge broken. Altar in horizontal position.

[......] altar

Ά[.....]

Clay: Pale orange (5 YR 5/8 yellowish red). Medium hard. Dusty surface. Densely fine lime particles. Less dense silver mica and sand. A few and fine porous.

Figure 6 a/b/c: Bolayır. Thasos (No. 6)







No: 6 (Figure 6)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora - Bolayır B23

Stamp: Preserved length 3 cm, width 2.3 cm rectangular. Right half is broken. Partially impressed on left. Torch to the left in centre. Barred sigma.

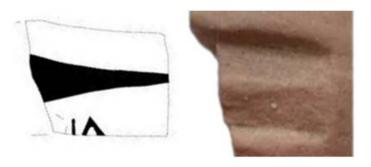
Θασίων

torch

[....]τασ[...]

Clay: Orange (7.5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow). Medium hard. Dense fine to coarse gold mica. Less dense fine to medium lime. Very few and fine black particle and porous.

Figure 7 a/b: Maltepe Höyük. Thasos (No. 7)



No: 7 (Figure 7)

Find place: Pactye-Maltepe Höyük north

Stamp: preserved length 2.3 cm, width 1.7 cm rectangular. Left side is broken. Club or fish to the left and upper line worn. Fabricant Φειδίππος or official Δαμάστης ΙΙ.

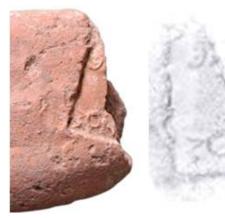
[.....]

device

[....]ιδ[....]

Clay: Pale light orange (7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow). Very hard. Medium density fine to coarse lime. Very few and fine to coarse chamotte. The surface has a medium density of fine silver mica. Few and fine porous.

Figure 8 a/b: Bolayır. Thasos (No. 8)







No: 8 (Figure 8)

Find place: Agora-Bolayır T2

Stamp: preserved length 1.3 cm, width 2.3 cm rectangular, upper left corner and lower right edge partially preserved. Barred sigma, omicron and nu are retrograde in the lower line. Official.

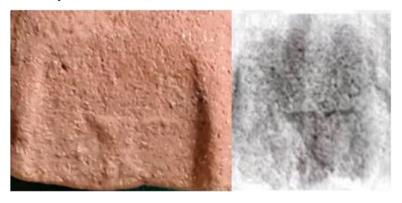
Θ[ασίων]

[device ?]

[.....]νος

Clay: Pale orange (5 YR 6/8 reddish yellow). Medium hard. Dense lime and very dense gold and silver mica. Less dense black particle (sand). Very few and fine porous.

Figure 9 a/b: Bolayır. Thasos (No. 9)



No: 9 (Figure 9)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B10

Stamp: preserved length 2 cm, width 2.3-3.4 cm rectangular. Lower half broken and worn. Vertical jug in the centre.

[.....]

jug?

[......]

Clay: Yellowish red (5YR 5/8 yellowish red). Medium hard. Dusty surface. Dense lime inclusion. Low density silver mica and sand. Porous.

Figure 10 Bolayır. Thasos (No. 10)







No: 10 (Figure 10)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B12

Stamp: preserved length 1.9 cm width 1.7 cm rectangular, double impression. Left side is broken. wheel/ring

Clay: Exterior is brownish orange (7.5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow), core is greenish brown (10 YR 6/4 light yellowish brown). Hard. Dense lime and ston inclusions. Surface is densely gold mica. Few and fine porous.

Figure 11 Bolayır. Thasos (No. 10)



No: 11 (Figure 11)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B9

Stamp: preserved length 1.9 cm, width 2 cm rectangular. Left side broken. A letter nu, is probably combined with another letter next to the unidentified object. Official $K\rho\iota\tau i\alpha[\varsigma]$ or official $Ai\sigma\chi\rho i\omega\nu$?.

[.....] N[.] pomegranade? [.....]

Clay: Yellowish red (5 YR 5/8 reddish yellow). Medium hard. Dusty surface. Densely lime inclusions, low density sand, silver and gold mica. Porous.

Figure 12 a/b: Bolayır. Thasos (No. 12)



No: 12 (Figure 12)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır A21

Stamp: preserved length 2.6 cm, width 2 cm rectangular. Cornucopia to the left. Barred sigma, retrograde sigma. Official.

Θα[σίων]

cornucopia

Ίσόδι[κος]





Clay: Reddish-orange (5 YR 5/8 yellowish red). Medium hard. Dusty surface. Dense fine to coarse lime. Medium density sand, gold and silver mica. Medium density porous.

Figure 13 a/b: Bolayır. Thasos (No. 13)



No: 13 (Figure 13)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır A10

Stamp: length 3 cm, width 2.1 cm rectangular. Lower line is worn. Official Άριστόδικος?.

Θα[σί]ων

device?

[.....]

Clay: Pale orange (5 YR 5/8 yellowish red). Medium hard. Dusty surface. Dense and fine grained lime. Low density silver mica and sand. Very few porous.

Figure 14 a/b: Bolayır. Thasos (No. 14)



No: 14 (Figure 14)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır A21

Stamp: length 3.3 cm, width 2.4 cm rectangular and worn. Horizontal grape cluster to the left in the middle. fabricant Χαιριμένης or the official Χαιρέας.

Θα[σί]ων

grape cluster

[Χ]αιρ[...]ς





Clay: Orange (5 YR 6/8 reddish yellow). Medium hard. Dusty surface. Dense lime and silver mica. Medium density sand and porous.

Figure 15 a/b: Bolayır. Thasos (No. 15)



No: 15 (Figure 15)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B1

Stamp: preserved length 1.1 cm, width 1.4 cm rectangular. Horizontal sprinkler to left in the middle. Lower edge preserved. Barred sigma. Official.

[Θασίων] sprinkler

[Νικάν]ωρ | Ήγη

Clay: Brownish orange (5 YR 5/8 yellowish red). Hard. Very dense silver mica and few lime. Low density porous.

Acanthus

Some researchers have tentatively suggested a Thasian origin due to the similarity of Acanthian amphorae in clay and forms (Grace, 1956: 150-151). However, the large quantity of amphorae discovered in the necropolis excavations at Amphipolis and Acanthus has provided more information about their forms, and more detailed clay analyses have been carried out (Rhomiopoulou, 1986: 482-483; Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 138; Garlan, 2006: 267; Filis 2013, 67). Amphipolis also used the same type of stamps on amphorae which were produced from gray clay (Rhomiopoulou, 1986: 483; Filis, 2013: 68; Lawall & Lejpunskaja et al. 2010, 377, pl. 272 L84- L85 (340-310 BC)).

Four stamps from the city of Acanthus, another wine and amphora producer on the Chalkidike peninsula, have been found in Bolayır and Bakla Burnu (Nos. 16-19). It is thought that the stamps, divided into three, four, or five sections, bear the initials of the fabricants and officials. They are named "wheel stamps" and they were mostly found in North Aegean and Black Sea settlements (Garlan, 2006: 266-267). In addition it was tought that the combination of letters could represent capacity, quantity or cost of amphora (Garlan, 2006: 269-274; Garlan, 2014: 188-200). Although it is not definitively known what these amphorae contained,

ancient sources mention the production of olive oil and wine in this region (Athenaios, Deipnosophistai, iii, 77).

The two stamps found (Nos. 16-17) are divided into four sections and, due to their low firing temperature, have a soft texture, a dusty surface and contains dense inclusions in clay. On No. 16, the letters Π , E, Ω can be seen, while the fourth letter is illegible. On No. 17, the letters P and E are legible. Since examples of these two stamps have not been identified from stratified excavations, their dates are generally based on the stamping system (340-310 BC) (Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 137-139; Garlan, 2006: 269; Lawall & Lejpunskaja et al. 2010: 377, pl. 272, L84-L85).

The Acanthus stamp detected at Bakla Burnu (No. 18) has also been found in Histria. Due to the initial of names, full names of the fabricants or officials are unknown. The stamp bearing the letters P, O, M, E was found in the Black Sea city of Olbia and is the most frequently founded stamp belonging to the city (end of the 4th century BC) (Lawall & Lejpunskaja et al. 2010, 377, pl. 272/L84-L85). The excavations of Acanthian ceramic kilns, workshop deposits and commercial shops area are dated back to end of the 5th- 4th century BC (Filis, 2021: 452-453).

The other stamp from Prikubanskiy necropolis is (burial no 412) on the "Type II" Acanthian amphorae. It is believed that the letters P and O belong to the officer, while the letters below (M and E) indicate the capacity of the amphora (Με(τρητής)), which is approximately 35-39 liters. Burial no 412 has been dated to first halfmiddle of the 4th century BC (Garlan, 2014: 192-193, 200 Figure 7c-d; Monachov, 2021: 44, 48, 58 Figure 5).

The amphora (No. 19) with an oval form and preserved mouth features a round and worn stamp on the handle. The form has been classified as "Pridik type" of Thasos dated to beginning of the 4th century-325 BC (Irimia, 2004-2005: 369, 381, Figure 8 no. 7) or "Thasian type" (Lawall & Lejpunskaja vd. 2010, 377, 403, pl. 300 no. 363). A "wheel-stamped" amphora mouth and handle fragment have also been unearthed from Olbia. When compared to this find from Olbia, the Bolayır stamp (No. 19) is larger in diameter (Lawall & Lejpunskaja vd. 2010, 403, pl. 300 no. 363 (end of the 4th century BC)). Although it is evaluated within the Thasos/Thasian type stamp group, it should be considered that it might be an Acanthus stamp (Garlan, 2014: 200 Figure 7d; Filis, 2019: 251-252 Figure 6 - Figure 7 (end of the 5th - 4th century BC); Monachov 2021, Figure 5 (Type II)). Despite its similarity to Acanthus amphorae in terms of clay and form (No. 16, 17, 18), the larger size and illegibility of the stamp prevent a definitive conclusion. However, Garlan explains that the Acanthian stamps are 1 to 3 cm in diameter (325 BC) (Garlan 2014, 188). This explanation, and resemblance to Acanthian amphorae shape dated beginning 5th- 4th centuries BC supports the view that No. 19 might be an Acanthian amphora (Filis, 2019: 251-252 Figure 6 - Figure 7 (end of the 5th - 4th century BC); Filis 2021, 468 Figure 12A, 455).

Figure 16 a/b: Bolayır. Acanthus (No. 16)





No: 16 (Figure 16)

Find place: Agora-Bolayır B2

Stamp: diameter 1.8 cm round. Divided into four sections. The second letter is worn. Epsilon, pi, omega.

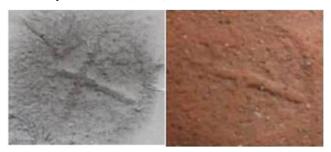


E [.]

ПΩ

Clay: Reddish yellow (7.5 YR 7/6). Soft. Dusty surface. Medium density silver mica, lime and black particles (sand ?). Very fine gold mica. Porous.

Figure 17 a/b: Bolayır. Acanthus (No. 17)



No: 17 (Figure 17)

Find place: Agora-Bolayır B2

Stamp: diameter 1.7 cm round. Divided into four sections. The second and fourth letters are worn. Rho, epsilon.

P[.]

E [.]

Clay: Reddish yellow (7.5 YR 7/6). Hard. Medium density silver mica, lime and black particles (sand ?). Porous.

Figure 18Bakla Burnu. Acanthus (No. 18)



No: 18 (Figure 18)

Find place: Cardia-Bakla Burnu T17

Stamp: diameter 1-1.6 cm round. Divided into four sections. Abbreviation. Rho, omicron, mu, epsilon.

РΟ

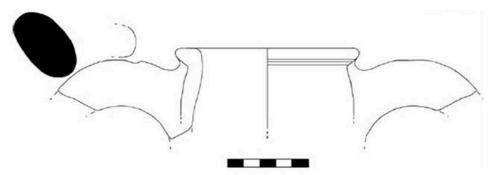
ME(





Clay: Yellowish red (5 YR 4/6). Medium hard. Very dense and fine silver mica; low density gold mica. Medium density lime. Low density of white and black particles. Porous.

Figure 19 Bolayır. Acanthus (No. 19)



No: 19 (Figure 19)

Find place: Agora-Bolayır A1

Stamp: diameter 2.1 cm round and worn.

[....]?

Amphora rim diameter: 12 cm, height: 6 cm

Clay: Reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/6). Medium hard. Dusty surface. Very dense and fine grained silver mica; low density gold mica. Medium density black and white inclusions. Porous surface.

Alexandria Troas

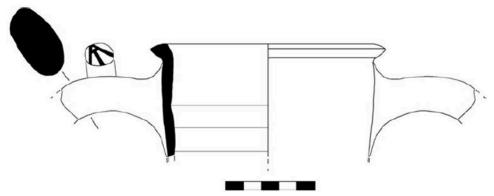
Established by Antigonus in 310 BC under the name Antigoneia, the city was restructured about 10 years later by Lysimachus and renamed Alexandria Troas. Alexandria Troas amphorae are dated from 250 BC to the late 1st century BC in excavations of Assus and Troy (Panas & Pontes, 1998: 246, Figure 11 no. 70; Cankardeş Senol, 2006: 54-55, fig. 47 (first half of the 3rd century BC)).

Only one example of a stamped amphora has been found in excavations, and due to similarities in clay and form, Grace suggested that it might be of Thasian origin (Grace, 1956: 147). The scarcity of these stamps suggests that the city's products were likely sold in local markets (Grace, 1956: 147; Panas & Pontes 1998, 234; Cankardes Senol, 2006: 54). In Troy, monogram in ligature stamps with the letters A and T are found less frequently, and due to their similarity with the rectangular type stamps of Alexandria Troas, it is thought that they were produced in this city (Panas & Pontes, 1998: 233-234; 246, Figure 11 no. 70).

There are two known types of stamps, and the type found in Bolayır from Alexandria Troas features the letters A and T in ligature form within a circle (No. 20, No. 21). While the Troy finds have a grayish white slip on the surface, no slip is observed on the Bolayır samples. Although the clay of the two handle fragments is generally similar, they differ in the inclusions of mica and black particles, and the light gray colour change in the thin layer beneath the surface (No. 21). These stamps are significant as they indicate that Alexandria Troas amphorae might contain different inclusions.



Figure 20 Bolayır, Alexandria Troas (No. 20)



No: 20 (Figure 20)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B1

Stamp: diameter 1.6 cm round. Monogram in ligature. Alpha and tau.

Diameter of the amphora rim: 12 cm, height 6.4 cm

A, T

Clay: Reddish yellow (5 YR 5/8 yellowish red). Medium hard. Dusty surface. Medium density lime and white particles. Low density silver and gold mica. Medium density fine to medium porous.

Figure 21 Bolayır, Alexandria Troas (No. 21)



No: 21 (Figure 21)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B5

Stamp: diameter 1.6 cm round. Monogram in ligature. Alpha and tau.

A, T

Clay: There are black particle instead of the white inclusion of No. 20. There is a thin layer of light gray (7.5 YR 5/1 gray) under the surface (7.5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow). The colour of the inner core is the same as No. 20.

South Aegean Amphora Stamps

Rhodes and Rhodian Peraea

Although Rhodes is famous for its wine, it is known that it not only traded wine but also exported sesame, olive oil, almonds, rose oil, dried figs, cabbage, barley, and carob (Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai*, I, 27F; Plinius, *Naturalis Historiae*, xiii, 59, xv, 13). Rhodian amphorae show a wide distribution area similar to Thasos and Cnidus. In Rhodes, which produced amphorae continuously by the end of the 4th century BC, the stamping system continued until the Augustan period.

Even though it started wine trading after Cnidus, Rhodes gradually surpassed it and reached a prominent position in a wide area from the Black Sea to North Africa and Syria. Its stamping types and amphorae forms were imitated in many regions. Researchers have determined that Rhodes continued to use monograms and symbols for stamping until the early 1st century AD (Finkielsztejn, 2000a: 413-414; Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 111; Cankardeş Şenol, 2015a: 18). The stamps of Rhodes are examined in 7 periods (Grace, 1985: 42; Grace, 1986: 551-565; Grace & Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, 1970: 286; Finkielsztejn, 2001: 196-197 Table 22.1-2; Cankardeş Şenol, 2015a: 21).

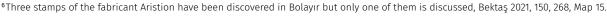
In the 240s BC (Grace, 1934: 307; for 234 BC see Finkielsztejn, 2001: 196, Tablo 22.1); Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 65-66; Cankardeş Şenol, 2015a: 19), the names of months began to be used on the amphora stamps. The annually appointed officer (eponym), who was also the priest of Helios (in Dorian dialect Halios), was responsible for supervising and controlling wine production and commercial activities (Grace, 1948: 144; Cankardeş Şenol, 2015a: 19). The names of these officials began with the preposition Έπί, which means "in the period of —" (Grace, 1934: 197).

A stamp from Pactye with the identifiable name of an official (No. 28) has been found. Although no stamped examples have been discovered from Cardia yet, eleven stamps have been detected from the Agora, one of which is an official stamp (No. 27).

Two stamps that can be dated to Period I have been picked up in Bolayır (No. 22, No. 23). During Period I, monograms, ligatures, and abbreviated names also appear on Rhodian stamps (Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 105). A ligatured monogram stamp with the letters M, A, E, and o (No. 22) was identified in Kaunos and has been evaluated within Period I of Rhodes in terms of form, clay, and slip (Schmaltz, 2016: 346-347, KA 805-806). One of the earliest Rhodian stamp dated to Period Ib (c. 270-c. 247 BC), carrying the name of the fabricant $Ova\sigma i\mu o\varsigma I$ (No. 23), has been identified (http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/database.php).

Stamps of the fabricants $Z\dot{\eta}\nu\omega\nu$ I (No. 24), $\dot{\lambda}\rho_I\sigma\tau i\omega\nu$ (No. 25)6, and $\dot{\lambda}\gamma o\rho\dot{\alpha}\nu\alpha\xi$ (No. 26) have been discovered in Bolayır. Among the $Z\dot{\eta}\nu\omega\nu$ I stamps found, only one is in the catalogue, and there are two fabricants named Zenon in Rhodes, with No. 24 belonging to Zenon I (c. 246-c. 210 BC). The difference between Zenon I and Zenon II is that the rose, the symbol of Rhodes, is depicted more realistically by Zenon I. Another distinction is two hats of Dioscuri under the rose on Zenon II's stamps (Grace, 1934: 235, no. 77; Säflund, 1980: 367, no. 8-9; http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/database.php (Alexandria Museum Benaki Collection-Delos Find-c. 246-c. 210 BC)).

An example of the fabricant "Aριστίων's stamps (No. 25) with a die error on the lower edge (No. 25) was found in the Cyprus excavations, and three stamps belonging to this fabricant are dated to Period III (Nicolaou, 2005: 138, no. 377 (c. 209-c. 161 BC); Schmaltz 2016, 213-214, KA 507-509; http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_LRF_un-nom.php (Period III/c. 198-c. 161 BC)). On the stamp of





the fabricant $Ayop \dot{\alpha} v \alpha \xi$ (No. 26), the month name $\Theta \varepsilon \sigma \mu o \phi \dot{\rho} \rho i \sigma \zeta$ can be read in the genitive in the lower line⁷.

Two stamps bearing the name of an official (eponym) have been found in Bolayır and Maltepe Höyük (Nos. 27-28). The name Άγλούμβροτος in genitive is written in two lines (No. 27). There are ten stamps without month names dated to c. 198-c. 190 BC (Period IIIa) (http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_L_un-nom.php; Cankardeş Şenol, 2015a: 74-75, no. 002).

The stamp found in Maltepe Höyük (No. 28) belongs to the official ἄγεμάχος and has three lines (Period IIIc). Although the last line is illegible, it is thought to possibly contain the month name ἄγριάνιος or Θεσμοφόριος based on comparisons with his known stamps dated to c. 182-c. 174 BC (http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/affiche_L_un-nom.php (online) (Alexandria Museum Benaki Collection-Delos Find) (Period IIIc); Cankardeş Şenol 2015a, 35-36, no. 003).

Figure 22 Bolayır, Rhodos (No. 22)



No: 22 (Figure 22)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır T1-T2

Stamp: diameter 1.7 cm round. monogram in ligature. Mu, alpha, epsilon and minuscule omicron.

M, A, E, o

Clay: Reddish yellow (7.5 YR 7/6). Hard. Very slightly dense gold mica and lime, less dense fine porous. Slip: Thick layer. Pinkish white.

Figure 23 Bolayır, Rhodos (No. 23)





Anadolu Araştırmaları-Anatolian Research, (32): 138-176





No: 23 (Figure 23)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B12

Stamp: length 3.1 cm, width 2 cm rectangular. Two lines. Fabricant. Related eponyms (Cankardeş Şenol, 2017: 187-188): Αγέσρατος (c.262-c. 247 BC), Αὶνησίδαμος (c. 245 BC). RF-ΟΝΑΣΙΜΟΣ 01-004 (Centre Alexandrin d'Étude des Amphores - Affichage du résultat de la requête).

Όνα-

σίμου

Clay: Reddish yellow (7.5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow) Hard. Very little gold mica, lime and black particle. Porous. Slip: Thick layer of pinkish white.

Figure 24Bolayır, Rhodos (No. 24)



No: 24 (Figure 24)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B2

Stamp: preserved diameter 2 cm round. Lower half is broken. Rose in the centre. Fabricant. Related eponyms (Cankardeş Şenol, 2017: 187, 189-190, 192-195, 197-198, 201): Ἄρετακλῆς (c. 235 BC), Ἑξάκεστος (c. 234 BC), Ἀριστευς (c. 233-c. 220 BC), Δαἡμων (c 233-c. 220 BC), Εὐκλῆς II (c. 233- c. 220 BC), Καλλικρατίδας I (c. 233-c. 220 BC), Νικασαγόρας (c. 233- c. 220 BC), Νίκων (c. 233-220 BC), Παυσανίας I (c. 233- c. 220 BC), Φιλοκράτης (c. 233- c. 220 BC), Φιλώνδας (c. 233- c. 220 BC), Άγλώκριτος (c. 197 BC).

[Ζ]ήνωνος

rose

Clay: Reddish yellow (7.5 YR 7/6 light red). Medium hard. Dusty surface. Very little gold mica, lime and black inclusions. Porous.

Slip: Pale brown (2.5 YR 8/3 pink).

Figure 25 Bolayır, Rhodos (No. 25)



No: 25 (Figure 25)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B1 and B4

Stamp: preserved length 3.5 cm, width 1.5 cm rectangular. Single line. Lower frame has printing error. Fabricant. Related eponyms Cankardeş Şenol, 2017: 193-197, 199): Θεύδωρος II (c. 203-c. 199 BC), Θευφάνης





II (c. 203-c. 199 BC), Δορκυλίδας (c. 198 BC), Θαρσίπολις (c. 196 BC), Ἰασικράτης (c. 190 BC), Κλευκράτης Ι (c. 174/172 BC), Νικαγόρας Ι (c. 172/170 BC). RF-ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ-006 (Centre Alexandrin d'Étude des Amphores -Affichage du résultat de la requête).

Άριστίωνος

Clay: Reddish yellow (7.5 YR 7/6). Hard. Very little gold mica, lime and black granules. Porous.

Slip: Thick layer of white slip (2.5 Y 8/2 pale brown).

Figure 26 Bolayır, Rhodos (No.26)



No: 26 (Figure 26)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B12

Stamp: length 3.4 cm, width 1.4 cm rectangular. Two lines. Upper line fabricant, lower line month name. Fabricant. Related eponyms (Cankardeş Şenol 2017, 188-198, 200-201): Ξενόφαντος Ι (c. 210 BC), Άριστωνίδας (c. 209-c. 205 BC), Άρμοσίλας (c. 209- c. 205 BC), Άρχοκράτης Ι (c. 209-c. 205 BC), Εύφράνωρ (c. 209-c. 205 BC), Μυτίων (c. 209- c. 205 BC), Άστυμήδης Ι (c. 204 BC), Εύκρατίδας (c. 203-c. 199 BC), Θεύδωρος ΙΙ (c. 203-c. 199 BC), Θευφάνης ΙΙ (c. 203-c 199 BC), Κλέαρχος (c. 203- c. 199 BC), Παυσανίας ΙΙ (c. 203- c. 199 BC), Δορκυλίδας (c. 198 BC), Θαρσίπολις (c. 196 BC), Σώδαμος (c. 195 BC), Σώστρατος (c. 194 BC), Κλειτόμαχος (c. 193 BC), Θέστωρ (c. 192 BC), Δαμόθεμις (c. 191 BC), Ἰασικράτης (c. 190 BC), Κρατίδας (c. 187 BC), Ἰέρων Ι (c. 186 BC), Τιμασαγόρας (c. 184 BC), Φιλόσαδαμος ΙΙ (c. 183 BC), Κλεώνυμος ΙΙ (c. 182 BC), Άίνησίδαμος ΙΙ (c. 179/177 BC), Αὶνήτωρ (c. 178/176 BC), Καλλικράτης ΙΙ (c.177/175 BC), Δαμοκλῆς ΙΙ (c. 176/174 BC), Καλλικρατίδας ΙΙ (c. 175/173 BC), Κλευκράτης Ι (c. 174/172 BC), Άρατοφάνης Ι (c. 169/167 BC), Άριστόδαμος ΙΙ (c. 166/164 BC), Νιασαγόρας Ι (c. 172/170 BC), Σύμμαχος (c. 174/173 BC). RF-ΑΓΟΡΑΝΑΞ-ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΣ-012 (Centre Alexandrin d'Étude des Amphores - Affichage du résultat de la requête).

Άγοράνακτος

Θεσμοφορίου

Clay: Reddish yellow (7.5 YR 7/6 light red). Hard. Very fine lime inclusion. Porous.

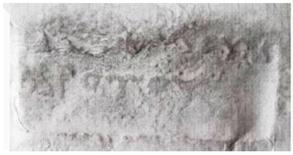
Slip: Thick layer of white slip (2.5 Y 8/2 pale brown).





Figure 27 a;/b: Bolayır, Rhodos (No. 27)





No: 27 (Figure 27)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B4

Stamp: Present length 3.4 cm, width 1.5 cm rectangular. Two lines. Eponym.

[Έπὶ Άγ]λουμ-

βρότου

Clay: Reddish yellow (7.5 YR 7/6). Hard. Very little gold mica, lime and black granules. Porous.

Slip: Thick layer white slip (2.5 Y 8/3 pale brown).

Figure 28 a/b: Maltepe Höyük, Rhodos (No. 28)





No: 28 (Figure 28)

Find place: Lysimachia/Pactye-Maltepe Höyük south





Stamp: length 3.6 cm, width 1.5 cm rectangular. The first line and last two letters of the second line are legible. Eponym. RE-ΑΓΕΜΑΧΟΣ-ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΣ-004 (Centre Alexandrin d'Étude des Amphores - Affichage du résultat de la requête).

Έπί Άγεμά-

[χ]ου

[Θ]ε[σμοφορί]ου

Clay: Reddish yellow (7.5 YR 7/6) Hard. Very little gold mica, lime and black particles. Porous.

Slip: Thick layer of white slip (2.5 YR 8/3 pale brown).

Cos

It has been determined that Cos produced amphorae from the 5th century BC to the 2nd century AD, and its Classical period amphorae are classified into three types (Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 101-102). Furthermore recent researches on Cos island have provided evidence that amphora production lasted until the Late Roman period (Hein & Georgopoulou et al. 2008, 1049; Diamanti 2024, 2-3). Dressel 2-4 amphorae are which modeled after Type I and Type II twin-handled amphorae (Finkielsztejn, 2004: 153; Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 101-105; Elmalı, 2024: 1135).

Stamps from Cos are seen on the twin handles (bifides). Due to the discovery of only handle fragments, it is not possible to classify them as Type I or Type II. On the twin handle, the fabricant's name abbreviation Άγαθα((short for Άγαθᾶναξ, Άγαθάγγελος, Άγάθανδρος or Άγαθαμερίς) is found under the club of Heracles (No. 29) (Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 102-103 (2nd-1st centuries BC); Elmalı 2024, 98 (beginnig of the 2nd century BC)). Another example shows the name $\Delta v \tau i[...]$ and a club beneath it on a twin handle (No. 30). The continuation of the name starting with $Av\tau\iota$ - is unknown. However, it is generally dated to the early 2^{nd} century BC based on the Ephesus stratigraphy (last quarter 3rd through middle of 2nd century BC) in which it was found (No. 29) (Lawall, 2007: 30 Table 1, 55, pl. 12 no. AH). A different stamp, also with a club underneath, was found in Halicarnassus and is suggested to belong to the fabricant ἄντίφιλος (2nd-1st centuries BC) (Cankardeş Şenol & Uzala, 2023: 95 no.21, Figure 23a-b; Elmalı, 2024: 157-158). Another possible names are Άντίνοος (Elmalı, 2024: 147-148; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/X__12223 (200 B.C-50 BC) and Άντιφάνης (Elmali, 2024: 154 (the second half of the 3 century-first quarter of the 2nd century BC)), who used a club device under name.

Figure 29 Bolayır, Cos (No.29)





No: 29 (Figure 29)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B4

Stamp: length 1.6 cm, width 1 cm rectangular. Club to left below single line. Fabricant. KO-AΓAΘA(-005 (Elmalı 2024, 101).

Άγαθα(

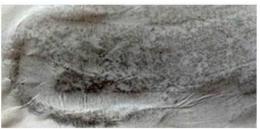
club

Clay: Pale orange (2.5 YR 6/8 light red). Very hard. Medium dense lime, black grains, gold and silver mica. Very few and very fine porous.

Slip: Yellowish white (10 R 8/3 very pale brown) of thick-layer slip.

Figure 30 a/b: Bolayır, Cos (No. 30)





No: 30 (Figure 30)

Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B5

Stamp: length 3.4 cm, width 1.2 cm rectangular. Club to left below single line. The letters at the end of the line are erroded. Fabricant Άντίφιλος, Άντιφάνης or Άντίνοος. ΚΟ-ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΣ-002, ΚΟ-ΑΝΤΙΦΑΝΗΣ-002 or ΚΟ-ΑΝΤΙΦΙΛΟΣ-002.

Άντι[.....]

club

Clay: Pale orange (2.5 YR 6/8 light red). Very hard. Medium dense lime, gold and silver mica. Very few and very fine porous.

Cnidus

Cnidus produced amphorae from the Archaic period until the 7th century AD. From the end of the 4th century BC to the middle of the 1st century BC, its amphorae were stamped (Tuna, 1987: 314-316; Tuna, 1988: 143-144; Empereur, 1988: 161; Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 70; Tuna & Sakarya, 2017: 149-150). The stamp types are evaluated within seven periods (Empereur & Hesnard, 1987: 17-71; Jefremow, 1995: 61-81; Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 72-77). The fabricant Ζήνων used the abbreviation ZH(in two finds belonging to Group B, which were recovered from fields B12 and A21 in Bolayır (No. 31, B159) (Empereur & Picon, 1986: 123, Figure 32 (end of the 3rd- beginning of the 2nd century BC); Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 73-74 (c. 280-c. 240 BC); Cankardeş Şenol, 2015b: 171, 178-179, Figure 19a-b, 20a-b, 21a-b (not later than the middle of the 3rd century BC); Madzharov & Stoyanov, 2018: 145-146 (beginning and middle of the 3rd century BC); for the B159 see, Bektaş, 2021: 270, pl. 47 and Map 15).

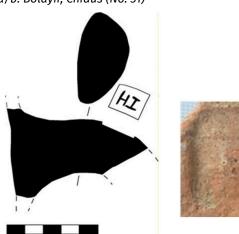
In the later stamps, during Roman rule and under Mithridates' dominance, the city's ethnicon was used in abbreviation (Jefremow, 1995: 81 (Group VIII/b); Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 76-77 (Period VII (circa 78-end of the





1st century BC), fig 85 (1st century BC)). A stamp with the abbreviation *Kvi* ((No. 32) was collected from Cardia, which functioned as the port of Lysimachia. A comparable specimen was unearthed in an olive oil workshop in Alone Abba, Israel, alongside coins dated to the early 2nd century BC. Although Finkielsztejn dated this stamp to the 1st century BC (Porat & Frankel & Getzov et al. 2012, 67, 84, Figure 14), the abandonment of Lysimachia in 144 BC raises the possibility of an earlier production date. This hypothesis is based on the morphological resemblance of the handle form to early Cnidian amphora types (Cankardeş Şenol, 2015b: 184, Figure 34c), as well as the observation that the handle (No. 32) is significantly thicker than the stamped handle from Alone Abba.

Figure 31 a/b: Bolayır, Cnidus (No. 31)



No: 31 (Figure 31)

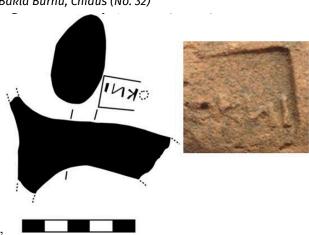
Find place: Lysimachia/Agora-Bolayır B12

Stamp: length 1.7 cm, width 1 cm rectangular. Fabricant name abbreviated.

Ζη(

Clay: Pale orange (2.5 YR 6/8 light red). Medium hard. Dusty surface. Medium density fine to medium lime and black granules. Low density gold mica. Dense porous.

Figure 32 Bakla Burnu, Cnidus (No. 32)



No: 32 (Figure 32)





Find place: Lysimachia/Cardia-Bakla Burnu T8

Stamp: preserved lenght 1.7 cm, width 2 cm rectangular. Imperfect impression on lower and left edge. Retrograde nu.

Κνι(

Clay: Reddish yellow (2.5 YR 6/8 light red). Medium hard. High density of lime. Less density of transparent and brown grains. Porous.

Nikandros Group

The amphorae of Cos with single-handled (monofide) types are referred to as the 'Nikandros group' because the name 'Nikandros' (genitive) was first seen on them (Grace & Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, 1970: 365; Finkielsztejn, 2000b: 210). They are known to have been found in many regions such as Athens, Assus, Pergamon, Ephesus, Delos, Metropolis, Patara, and Cabyle. Additionally, they have been identified in excavations in the Southern Levant and in the Benaki collection (Finkielsztejn, 2000b: 210; Finkielsztejn, 2004: 156; Cankardeş Şenol, 2010: 128). Due to the similarity of their form and the names on the stamps to those on Coan amphorae, it is thought that they were produced in this region during the second half of the 2nd century BC, when Cos had commercial and political influence in Western Anatolia (Grace & Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, 1970: 365-367; Gassner, 1997: 107; Finkielsztejn, 2000b: 210 (he suggested the date middle of 2nd century BC); Finkielsztejn, 2004: 153,158; Lawall, 2004b: 177; Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 165-166; Lawall, 2007: 48-49, pl. 2 no. AH 45; Cankardeş Şenol, 2010: 126-127). Recent research and clay analyses support the view that amphora production existed in Ephesus and its surroundings (Gassner, 1997: 105-113; Cankardeş Şenol, 2001: 102-103; Finkielsztejn, 2004: 160; Lawall, 2004b: 177 dn 50-51; Bezeczky, 2013: 195).

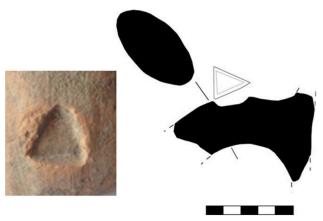
Lawall dated the earliest examples of the amphorae form to the first quarter of the 3rd century BC and the latest examples to the early 1st century BC (Lawall, 2004b: 179-180 Figure 4, 187 Table 2). He suggests that the stamps bearing names first appeared in the third quarter of the 2nd century BC and continued into the 1st century BC (Gassner, 1997: 107; Lawall, 2004: 184-186; Lawall, 2007: 30 Table 1). Although the monogrammed stamps are dated to the end of the 4th century BC (Grace & Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, 1970: Lawall, 2007: 49), the finds from Ephesus are dated between the third quarter of the 3rd and the early 2nd century BC, while in Chios, they are dated to after the middle of the 3rd century BC (Lawall, 2007: 49).

Research has been conducted on various types of amphorae that might have been produced in Ephesus, the Maeander Valley, and around Kuşadası, and it has been found that the Nikandros group with mushroom-shaped mouths share similar characteristics with Local Aegean Type 1-2. The clay type is mainly divided into three groups (Fabric A-C) (Bezeczky, 2013: 26-31, Figure 17). However, an evaluation of the finds from Metropolis in Torbalı revealed that different clays were used simultaneously by the same workshops (Cankardeş Şenol, 2001: 101-102, 106-107, no. 9-10). It has been suggested that, in addition to production in Ephesus and Metropolis-Kuşadası, they might have also been produced in Miletus (Lawall, 2007: 48 and footnote. 23).

The stamp found in Cardia consists of the letter Δ (No. 33). In general, it is dated to the end of the 3rd century BC to the second half of the 2nd century BC (Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 166 (second half of the 2nd century); Lawall, 2007: 49-50, pl. 2 no: AH 45 (end of the 3rd- 2nd centuries BC); Cankardeş Şenol, 2010: 131-132 (middle and second half of the 2nd century BC).



Figure 33 a/b: Bakla Burnu, Nikandros Group (No. 33)



No: 33 (Figure 33)

Find place: Cardia/Lysimachia-Bakla Burnu T20

Stamp: height 2 cm triangular frame.

Λ

Clay: Pale orangish yellow (5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow). Medium hard. Dense lime and black particles. Porous.

Black Sea Amphora Stamps

Sinopean amphora found from Lysimachia, is dated to the second half of the 4th to middle of the 3rd centuries BC (Bektaş, 2021: 79, 229 pl. 8, A35) and Heraclea Pontica amphorae have been found very rarely in the capital Lysimachia and its ports. The only stamped example is a Heraclea Pontica amphora collected from Bakla Burnu. No stamps have yet been identified on amphora from other Black Sea centres that are known to have produced stamped amphorae.

Heraclea Pontica

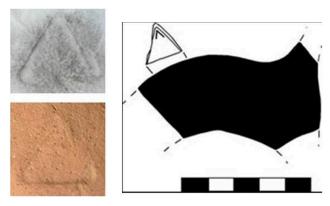
Heraclea Pontica, located in modern-day Karadeniz Ereğli, is renowned for its smooth and fragrant wine. It is known from recent excavations and research that from the late 5th century BC to the first quarter of the 4th century BC, they produced stamped amphorae (Kac, 2003: 271-272; Monachov, 1999: 188, 193; Monachov, 2003: 124; Doğer, 2004: 173; Cankardeş Şenol, 2006: 36; Petrova, 2011: 103-104; Balabanov & Garlan & Avram, 2016: 55). The characteristic feature of Heraclea Pontica is its englyphic stamps, but it also has relief (non-englyphic) stamps, which have been classified under seven groups (Kac, 2007: 234-235; Balabanov & Garlan & Avram, 2016: 79-95). Even though studies on amphorae have increased, their distribution area is not yet fully known, but they have been identified in Thracian poleis, Gordion, North Aegean, and Black Sea cities (Lawall, 2010: 162; Balabanov & Garlan & Avram, 2016: 36 Fedoseev, 2016: 6-7, 36).

Triangular stamps with the Δ monogram are also seen on "Nikandros group" amphora (see above). The Bakla Burnu find (No. 34), with its handle form and traces of red slip, indicate it belongs to a Heraclea Pontica amphora (Petrova, 2011: 102, Figure 1 no. 2). A similar example of the stamp has been found on a fully preserved amphora dated to circa 390-370 BC in the Kolokitha necropolis (Petrova 2011, 102-103, Figure 1 no. 2). The amphora found in the tumulus at Kolokita has been classified as Type I by Zeest, Monachov, and Brashinsky, and dated to the late 5th century BC to the early 4th century BC (Zeest, 1960: 100; Monachov, 2003: 126-132, pl. 86-99; Petrova, 2011: 102-103). Recent studies show that the form and stamps of the amphora were produced in the early 4th to 3rd centuries BC and underwent very few changes (Monachov, 2010: 24; Balabanov



& Garlan & Avram, 2016: 54-57). However, they are smaller, and some forms resemble Thasian amphorae. Furthermore, the characteristics of the clay exhibit significant variation. While some examples contain a low density of inclusions, similar to Thasian amphorae, others, in some cases, display a high density of inclusions, akin to Sinopean amphorae (Balabanov & Garlan & Avram, 2016: 33-34).

Figure 34 a/b/c: Bakla Burnu, Heraclea Pontica (No. 34)



No: 34 (Figure 34)

Find place: Cardia-Bakla Burnu T20 (BaklaBr.11.T19-1)

Stamp: height 1.3 cm monogram

Δ

Clay: Surface is orange (2.5 YR 6/8 light red), core is pinkish light gray (2.5 YR 5/1 reddish gray). Hard. Dense lime, black grains and white stones. Very few porous.

Slip: Traces of red slip are visible on the neck. The slip is very poorly preserved.

Unknown Origin Amphora and Jug Stamps

No. 35 is a fragment of a stamped handle of unknown origin. The thin oval cross-section indicates that the handle may belong to a jug form rather than an amphora. The ligature monogram stamp with the letters O, Y, K or Π has not yet been found in any other excavations or surveys, so its origin or dating is not possible. Considering the historical process of the Agora and the capital city of Lysimachia, it would be correct to date it to the 4^{th} - middle of the 2^{nd} century BC.

Another find from Lysimachia (Bolayır) is a red-slipped jug handle (No. 36). The jug rim and handle fragment can be dated to the Hellenistic period due to its form and slip. The origin of the round and completely eroded stamp cannot be determined.



Figure 35 Bolayır, unknown origin (No. 35)



No: 35 (Figure 35)

Find place: Agora/Lysimachia-Bolayır B13

Stamp: diameter 1.7 cm round. Monogram in ligature

 \boldsymbol{O} , Y, K or $\boldsymbol{\Pi}$?

Clay: Pale orange (5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow). Medium hard. Low density of fine to medium lime. Very few and fine porous.

Slip: Thick layer of white slip (2.5 YR 8/3 pale brown).

Figure 36 a/b: Bolayır, unknown origin (No. 36)





Find place: Agora/Lysimachia-Bolayır B1-B2 Stamp: diameter 1.7 cm round. Worn stamp

device?

Clay: Yellow (7.5 YR 7/6-8/6 reddish yellow). Very hard. Low density and very fine lime and black grains. Very few and fine to medium porous.

Slip: Thin layer of discoloured slip, red (2.5 YR 3/6 dark red) and orange (2.5 YR 5/8 red).

Conclusions

Pottery, oil lamps, coins, and stamped amphorae discovered in surveys (2006, 2011, 2012) indicate that all findings align with the historical development of Cardia, Agora, Pactye, and the Hellenistic capital Lysimachia. Furthermore, a decline in the frequency of finds was noted due to the migration of Cardia's inhabitants, affirming its role as Lysimachia's harbour along the shore of Melas Kolpos.

While the finds and amphorae fragments dated before the *synoikismus* (309/8 BC) indicate the existence of Cardia (Bakla Burnu) as a strong city, it was observed through surface finds that the quantity of amphorae and other pottery groups increased in the capital (Lysimachia) after the *synoikismus*. This situation is important, as it shows that the commercial products arriving at the port of Cardia were transported to the central station (or autonomous city Agora/Cherronesus/Chersonesus), where the population was concentrated. Particularly, fragments of amphorae have been discovered at the Çoban Çeşme site located south of the acropolis (Lysimachia) and north of Pactye (Maltepe Höyük). This area may have served as the commercial hub (agora) of Agora (later transformed into the acropolis of Lysimachia).

Pactye became a neighbourhood of Lysimachia as stated in the ancient sources. Due to the intense destruction at Pactye and the alluviation of its harbour, it would not be proper to make a definite comment about it. Nevertheless, the fact that the percentage of Hellenistic period finds at Pactye is higher than that of Cardia coincides with the limited data in the ancient sources. On the other hand, the fact that the area that may have been the harbour is not in a very dominant position over the strait (Hellespontus) is also important in terms of showing that the harbour here is of less importance compared to Cardia. Considering the distribution of the finds, especially the amphora fragments, it would be more accurate to say that Cardia was the main commercial harbour. Cardia, which dominates Melas Kolpos, played an important role in the transportation of commercial goods from the Mediterranean and the Aegean to the Black Sea, and it can be assumed that this is where Cardia gained its power before 309/8 BC.

While the capital and its predecessor settlements in the strategic location of the North Aegean hosted amphorae from Mende, Parmeniskos group (Macedonia and Chalkidike), Thasos, Acanthus, Alexandria Troas, and possibly other northern Aegean regions, it is significant to note the presence of amphorae and stamped handles from Cnidus, Rhodes, Cos, and the Nikandros group (Metropolis-Ephesus-Miletus), which played a crucial role in trade. The gradual decrease in the number of Rhodian, Coan, Cnidian, and Nikandros group finds before the complete abandonment of the city in 144 BC, along with the absence of finds indicating a period after this date, aligns with ancient sources and survey data. On the other hand, the amphorae dated from 196 BC to the middle of the 2nd century BC indicate the failure of the repopulation attempt of the Seleucid Kingdom and signal the destruction of Diegylis (144 BC). The discovery of ceramics and amphorae dated after the destruction of Lysimachia implies that the city lost its significance and had an unclear position under Roman administration, as it became ager publicus.

Both potsherds and amphora fragments show that the finds originating from the Black Sea were less favoured in commercial products. In contrast, the amphorae fragments from Thasos, Acanthus, Mende, Parmeniskos group (Macedonia and Chalkidike), Alexandria Troas, Rhodes, Cnidus, Cos, and the Nikandros group (Metropolis-Ephesus-Miletus) were preferred before and after the synoikismus. The few Heraclea Pontican and Sinopean amphorae from surveys support these observations.

It is known that Lysimachus provided or donated grain to various cities. Lysimachus dominated the grain-rich Thrace, with the capital he established becoming a key centre for the trade and redistribution of this resource. However, his selection of these three cities for the capital likely led him to favour the Melas Kolpos-Cardia harbour trade route, which had already been in use before 309/8 BC, as well as the Agora, through which the land route connecting the peninsula to the Thracian interior passed. Additionally, the location of Pactye on the strait coast and the peninsula's fortification by the Agoraion Teichus/Macron Teichus (Kazanağzı locality) must have played a role in this strategic decision.

The fact that the stamped examples of amphorae and jug fragments of unknown origin (Nos. 35-37) do not give a profile makes it difficult to suggest a place of production based on their form. Nevertheless, it is important data in terms of showing the distribution area. It is also thought that it will be useful for the evaluation of amphorae or jugs bearing these stamps in the future.

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