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A Group of Rhodian Stamped Amphorae and Amphora Stamps from Silifke Museum

Silifke Müzesi'nden Bir Grup Mühürlü Amphora ve Amphora Mühürleri

Celil S. HARMANDAR* Gökmen ELMALI**

Abstract: This study focuses on a group of stamped Rhodian amphorae housed in the Silifke Museum (Mersin, Türkiye) from archaeological and epigraphic perspectives. During the Hellenistic Period, Rhodes emerged as a dominant commercial power in the Mediterranean, distinguished by a highly standardized and systematically organized stamping practice that remained in use from the late 4th century BCE until the mid 1st century BCE. The research concentrates on the identification and chronological assessment of the *eponyms* and *fabricants* recorded on the stamps. By cross-referencing the information gathered from the stamps with established corpora and digital databases, the study establishes a refined chronological framework for the assemblage. The results indicate that a substantial proportion of the amphorae and handles are dated to the 2nd century BCE, corresponding to the peak phase of Rhodian commercial activity. The principal contribution of this paper lies in proposing a new association between an *eponym* and a *fabricant*, not recorded in the existing scholarly literature. This new pairing offers valuable insights into the organization of Rhodian workshops and the administrative mechanisms governing amphora production. Furthermore, by presenting a local museum collection to the international scholarly community, this study contributes to the refinement of the chronological and prosopographical frameworks essential for a more nuanced understanding of the Hellenistic economy.

Keywords: Stamped Rhodian Amphorae, Silifke Museum, Hellenistic Period, Rhodian-Cilician Trade

Öz: Bu çalışma, Silifke Müzesi'nde (Mersin, Türkiye) bulunan bir grup mühürlü Rhodos amphorasına arkeolojik ve epigrafik açılarından odaklanmaktadır. Hellenistik Dönem boyunca Rhodos, MÖ 4. yüzyılın sonlarından MÖ 1. yüzyılın ortalarına kadar kullanımda kalan, oldukça standart ve sistematik bir mühürleme uygulamasıyla öne çıkarak Akdeniz'de egemen bir ticari güç haline gelmiştir. Araştırma, mühürler üzerinde yer alan yönetici/eponym ve üreticilerin tanımlanmasına ve kronolojik olarak değerlendirilmesine yoğunlaşmaktadır. Müzede tespit edilen buluntuların kabul görmüş referans kaynaklar ve dijital veri tabanlarıyla karşılaştırılarak, çalışma içerisinde bu buluntu topluluğu için bir kronolojik çerçeve oluşturulmuştur. Sonuçlar, amphora ve mühürlü kulpların büyük bir bölümünün, Rhodos'un ticari faaliyetlerinin en yoğun evresine denk gelen MÖ 2. yüzyıla tarihlendiğini göstermektedir. Bu makalenin temel katkısı, mevcut akademik literatürde yer almayan, bir yönetici/eponym ile bir üretici arasında yeni bir bağlantının önerilmesidir. Bu yeni bağlantı, Rhodos'ta yer alan amphora üretim atölyelerinin organizasyonu ve amphora üretimini yöneten idari mekanizmalar hakkında değerli bilgiler sunmaktadır. Dahası, bu çalışma yerel bir müze koleksiyonunu uluslararası akademik camiaya sunarak, Hellenistik ekonominin daha detaylı bir şekilde kavranması için elzem olan kronolojik ve prosopografik çerçevelerin geliştirilmesine katkı sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Mühürlü Rhodos Amphoraları, Silifke Müzesi, Hellenistik Dönem, Rhodos-Kilikia Ticareti

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Introduction

Amphorae, used by ancient people to meet their storage and transportation needs, have consistently been integral to trade practices. Within the scope of commercial activities, particularly with the increased circulation of goods, hence the production, during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, new systems for control and identification emerged for the amphora-borne trade. Among these systems, systematic amphora stamping stands out as a prominent practice. Amphora stamps were employed by major production centers and adapted to their respective traditions. During the Hellenistic Period, Rhodes emerged as the leading city in terms of the highest percentage of stamped amphorae¹. From the late 4th century to the mid-1st century², Rhodes consistently applied stamps and, stamped amphora handles originated from Rhodes³ found across a wide geographical area, most notably in Alexandria⁴. As a significant production and export hub, Rhodes' relationships with recipient and consumer sites are better understood through the evidence provided by amphora stamps⁵.

Rhodian amphora stamps are important artifacts in the study of ancient Mediterranean trade and craftsmanship, offering insights into the economic, social, and administrative practices of Rhodes, as well as the other centers which produced stamped amphorae. In Rhodes, stamps, often bearing the names of fabricants, eponyms and months, served as markers of authenticity and origin, as generally accepted in the scholarship, playing a crucial role in the regulation of commerce and taxation. As is known, one handle of Rhodian amphorae bears the stamp of the eponym⁶, while the other handle bears the stamp of the so-called fabricant⁷. The names of the

¹ See Cankardeş-Şenol 2006 for the details about the system of amphora stamping through the Classical and Hellenistic periods; also see Panagou 2010, πιν. IV for the further list of the centers producing stamped amphorae.

² All dates in the article are BCE. All photos, drawings and rubbings are done by the authors. Photos and rubbings of the stamps are 1:1, while the photos and the drawings of the amphorae have been scaled down.

³ See also, www.amphoralex.org, as well as Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a; 2015b; 2016; 2017 for 259 eponym with their 8046 stamp dies; Cankardeş-Şenol 2023a; 2023b; 2024; 2025 for 449 fabricant with their 4683 stamp dies.

⁴ For the information about Rhodian amphorae see Şenol 2018, 369-370; for the disappearance of the stamping of the amphorae in the middle of the 1st century CE, see Alkaç 2014, 213-229.

⁵ Significant contributions to the establishment of the Rhodian amphora stamp chronology can be listed as Grace 1985; Empereur & Hesnard 1987; Empereur 1990, and Finkielsztejn 2001. Chronology proposed in Finkielsztejn 2001, which is a foundational study for Rhodian amphora eponym dating, covering roughly ca. 304 to the Augustan period, is generally accepted by the scholars; for the detailed list of eponym-fabricant combinations see Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 187-234, see recently Cankardeş-Şenol 2025. Further refinements on the Finkielsztejn 2001 are done through the contributions of other scholar's work, significantly Palaczyk 2001, 319-329; Lund 2011, 271-290; Badoud 2015, 250-267. See Finkielsztejn 2021, 206-208 tab. 11 for Finkielsztejn's revisions about refining the absolute dates for eponyms he presented in Finkielsztejn 2001. Chronology proposed by Finkielsztejn 2001 is used in the present article. The dates given in Badoud 2015 and Finkielsztejn 2021 are mentioned in the related footnotes.

⁶ An eponym is known to be the priest of Helios in Rhodes; Grace 1948, 144; Cankardeş-Şenol *et al.* 2024, 67-68.

⁷ For a couple of examples see, Şenol 2018, 374 no. 316, 375 fig. 316a-g; DüNDAR & TATAR 2024, 220 fig. 5a-c.

eponym and fabricant found on the two handles of the same amphora form pairs, creating combinations. Identifying these pairs provides definitive evidence for understanding the combination for a given eponym and a fabricant⁸. Combinations help to determine during which year(s) a fabricant was active, according to the eponym combinations, hence to know the career span of the fabricant, while also giving the crucial data to calculate the yearly production of amphora-borne commodities⁹. Therefore, the combinations obtained from intact amphorae significantly contribute to the chronology of Rhodian amphora stamps, enabling the dating of fabricants, determining how many years they were active, and to know the production capacity in the year of a given eponym. In return, this allows for more accurate dating of the contexts in which amphora stamps are found¹⁰.

Accordingly, amphora stamps preserved in various collections worldwide continue to be a focal point for archaeological and historical inquiry, with addition of the amphora stamps coming from excavations in the hopes of contributing to the scholar knowledge about the subject. In this manner, ten Rhodian amphorae stamps, preserved in the Silifke Museum, acquired through the gendarmerie or police officers, believed by museum authorities to have been recovered from chamber tombs in the vicinity¹¹, have been examined from this perspective, with the expectation that their study and publication could contribute meaningfully to the field of amphora stamp studies. Notably, eight of these stamps are found on complete amphorae with both handles preserved, and one of these amphorae reveals a previously unknown eponym-fabricant pair¹². This combination, seen on the Inv. No. 763, attests the connection between the eponym Θρασύδαμος and the fabricant Δίσκος I. On Inv. No. 435, the stamps of eponym Ἀγλούμβροτος and fabricant Μένων II are present, a pairing previously suggested based on stylistic similarity. This amphora is significant for confirming this previously proposed pair through a fully preserved amphora with both stamped handles intact. Inv. No. 435 holds further importance due to the presence of a new die of the eponym Ἀγλούμβροτος, with the month name Σμινθίος legible on the stamp. On one handle of Inv. No. 764, a circular stamp of eponym

⁸ Cankardeş-Şenol 2006, 109; Cankardeş-Şenol *et al.* 2024, 68.

⁹ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 187-280; Cankardeş-Şenol *et al.* 2022, 74-75; 2024, 68.

¹⁰ Chronology of the amphora stamps are more dependent on closed, undisturbed, reliable contexts. For the introduction of the contexts that set the base for the Rhodian amphora stamps chronology see, Grace & Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 289-299; see the chart in Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 21 for the Rhodian amphora stamp chronology, periods and related date ranges, prepared according to Finkielsztein 2001, 196-197 tab. 22.1-2; Grace 1974, 193-200; 1985, 42; 1986, 551-565; Grace & Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 286; Empereur 1990, 207; see also, Dobosz 2010, 100 for the table summarizing the contexts with the given dates.

¹¹ Personal communication with the museum authorities by C. S. Harmandar.

¹² As stated by Grace “For pairs of Rhodian fabricant and eponym names, we are much more dependent on physically joined pairs of handles (whole or repaired amphoras, or more or less fragmentary tops of amphoras)...”, underlining the importance of the intact amphorae for the identification of Rhodian eponym-fabricant pairs, Grace & Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 289.



Fig. 1. Silifke Museum Inv. No. 435 (Photo and drawing by C. S. Harmandar)

Παυσανίας II with the month name Θευδαίσιος is readable, while the other handle bears possibly the stamp of fabricant Δαμοκράτης I. The stamps on the handles of another fully preserved amphora, Inv. No. 762, are in a considerably poor condition; somewhat illegible. One of the circular stamps on this amphora reads the name of eponym Ξενόφαντος I, though, regrettably, the name of the fabricant on the other handle could not be identified.

The other two stamps preserved in the Silifke Museum, Inv. 2499-2500, are isolated handles, as only the stamped handles have been preserved. Both handles feature eponym stamps, showing the names of eponym Ἀθανόδοτος and eponym Ἀρχιλαΐδας, respectively. The stamp of Ἀρχιλαΐδας helped in identifying a new die for his stamps. According to museum records, these stamps were discovered during the Meydancikkale excavations.

Catalogue of Rhodian Amphora Stamps:

a) Complete Amphorae:

No. 1, Silifke Museum Inv. No. 435

Silifke Museum Inv. No. 435 (Fig. 1) is a complete amphora of a canonical Rhodian type, dated to the late 3rd century and the first third of the 2nd century¹³. The exact location where the amphora was discovered near Silifke remains unknown, as it was brought to the museum by the gendarmerie or police officers. However, it is highly probable that the amphora was found in one of the chambered tombs in Seleucia as noted by the museum authorities. The rim of the

¹³ Şenol 2018, 376 no. 318.

amphora is outcurved, displaying a rectangular form. Akin to the early amphorae of Period IIc-III d of the Rhodian amphora stamps chronology¹⁴, the handles emerge from the long cylindrical neck, rise slightly inclined in a straight manner, and then descend vertically to join the amphora at the shoulder. The widest point of the ovoid body is at the shoulder. Below the shoulder, the amphora narrows toward the cylindrical base. The amphora can be dated to *ca.* 197, thanks to the eponym stamp Ἀγλούμβροτος found on one of its handles¹⁵.

Both handles of the amphora are stamped. The rectangular stamps are naming the eponym Ἀγλούμβροτος and the fabricant Μένων II, whose combination had previously been suggested through stylistic similarity. Inventory No. 435 is particularly noteworthy as it provides evidence for a pair previously proposed through stylistic resemblance, with both handles intact on a complete amphora. Stamp of Ἀγλούμβροτος with the month name Σμινθίος allows for the identification of a new die. According to the Rhodian amphora stamp chronology, Ἀγλούμβροτος, active during Period IIIa and dated to around 197¹⁶, is associated not only with Μένων II¹⁷ but also with the fabricants Ἀγορᾶναξ¹⁸ and Σωκράτης II¹⁹. Fabricant Μένων II²⁰, besides his combination with Ἀγλούμβροτος, is stylistically linked to eponyms Ἀρμοσίλας²¹, Δαμόθεμις²², Θαρσίπολις, Θεόδωρος II, Θεοφάνης II, Ἰασικράτης, Μυτίων, Ξενοφάνης, and Σώστρατος²³. Based on the eponym links, his period of activity is dated to *ca.* 209/205–*ca.* 189²⁴. As noted above, the stamps presented here confirm the connection between the eponym Ἀγλούμβροτος and the fabricant Μένων II through this intact amphora.

Stamp No. 1a, rectangular, 3.7x1.7cm, inscription direction normal (left to right), three horizontal inscription lines. RE-ΑΓΛΟΥΜΒΡΟΤΟΣ-ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΣ-NEW.

Ἐπὶ Ἀγλουμ-

βρότου

Σμιν[θ]ίου

¹⁴ Lund 2019, 220 fig. 5.

¹⁵ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 80.

¹⁶ Finkielsztejn 2001, 192 tab. 19; previously Finkielsztejn revised the date to *ca.* 196; Finkielsztejn 2021, 207; while Badoud tends to keep Ἀγλούμβροτος at *ca.* 197, Badoud 2015, 256.

¹⁷ Finkielsztejn 2001, 104, 109.

¹⁸ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 74.

¹⁹ Archaeological Museum of Lentini-Sicily, (J.-Y. Empereur Personal Archives); Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 74.

²⁰ See Cankardeş-Şenol 2024, Μένων II for the detailed analysis.

²¹ Cy. 477a-b; from the archives of V. Grace.

²² Monakhov *et al.* 2022, 158, Rh.1; Monakhov & Kuznetsova 2023, 57 fig. 5, 2.

²³ Finkielsztejn 2001, 104, 112 table 4, and p. 124 table 6.

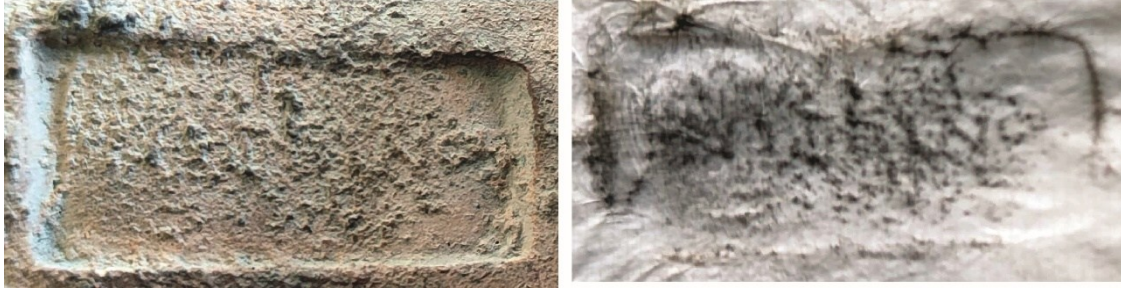
²⁴ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 231.



Parallels: -

Stamp No. 1b, rectangular, 3.7x1.6cm, inscription direction normal (left to right), one horizontal inscription line. RF-MENQN 02-001²⁵.

M[έν]ωρος



Parallels: Cankardeş-Şenol 2024, 381 (Alex ABC 0386.09 (MGR P.27542))

No. 2, Silifke Museum Inv. No. 763

Silifke Museum Inv. No. 763 is a complete amphora, which both stamped handles are preserved (Fig. 2). Morphologically, the amphora should be classified among the canonical amphorae of Rhodes, dated to the late 3rd century²⁶. The rim of the amphora exhibits an outcurved rectangular profile. The handles are long and cylindrical. According to the Rhodian amphora stamp chronology, handle profile display is akin to the ones dated to Period II and the very beginnings of the Period III, emerging below the rim from the long cylindrical neck, rising to reach its highest point at the turning point, and then descending to reattach the shoulder of the amphora. The widest point of the ovoid body is the shoulder. Beginning from the shoulder, the amphora narrows towards the cylindrical base. Silifke Museum Inv. No. 763 can be dated to ca. 219–ca. 211 based on the eponym Θρασύδαμος stamp on one of the handles²⁷.

Both of the stamped handles are intact. The stamps are naming the eponym Θρασύδαμος and the fabricant Δίσκος I. The combination between eponym Θρασύδαμος and fabricant Δίσκος I was previously unknown. Accordingly, Inv. No. 763 is of significant importance for its contribution to Rhodian stamp chronology by presenting a new eponym-fabricant combination. Furthermore, the stamp of eponym Θρασύδαμος on Inv. No. 763 is important as it was impressed

²⁵ www.amphoralex.org.

²⁶ Şenol 2018, 376 no. 317.

²⁷ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 208.



Fig. 2. Silifke Museum Inv. No. 763 (Photo and Drawing by C. S. Harmandar)

with a previously unknown die. Eponym Θρασύδαμος held office during Period IIb (*ca.* 219–210 / *ca.* 224–206), a proposed dating for the eponym is *ca.* 219–211²⁸. Previously, Θρασύδαμος is known to have dated the amphorae of three fabricants²⁹, Διονύσιος II³⁰, Ἐπίγονος I³¹, Θεόδωρος³², and Σπινθήρ³³ and now Δίσκος I must be added as a fifth name to this list.

As stated above, the other handle of the amphora bears the stamp of Δίσκος I, who was active during Period IIb-c. In addition to the fabricant's name, the stamp also includes a month name, read as Πάναμος. The eponyms dating this fabricant are Ἀριστωνίδας³⁴, Ξενόστρατος³⁵, Ξενόφαντος³⁶, Σιμυλίνος³⁷, Χαρμοκλής³⁸, and now Θρασύδαμος. The stamps of Δίσκος I are consistently rectangular in form³⁹.

²⁸ Finkielsztejn 2001, 191 tab. 18; Badoud places Θρασύδαμος to *ca.* 215; see Badoud 2015, 255.

²⁹ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 258; 2017, 208.

³⁰ Doğer 1997, 249.

³¹ Nilsson 1909, 105.

³² Finkielsztejn 2001, 99.

³³ Cankardeş-Şenol 2025, 449.

³⁴ Chetverikov & Sinika 2009, 207 no. 1, 210, fig. 3. 1, 2.

³⁵ Finkielsztejn 2001, 103.

³⁶ Nicolaou 2005, 405 no. 1.

³⁷ Lawall 2007, 42-43 AH 29.

³⁸ Information from the archives of V. Grace.

³⁹ Cankardeş-Şenol 2024, 248 Δίσκος I.

Stamp No. 2a, rectangular, 3.5 x 1.6cm, inscription direction normal (left to right), two horizontal inscription lines. RE-ΘΡΑΣΥΔΑΜΟΣ-022⁴⁰.

Ἐπὶ Θρασυ-

δάμου



Parallels: -

Stamp No. 2b, rectangular, 3.4 x 1.6cm, inscription direction normal (left to right), two horizontal inscription lines. RF-ΔΙΣΚΟΣ 01-ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ-002⁴¹.

Πανάμου

Δίσκου



Parallels: www.amphoralex.org (Alex ABC 0261.29); cf. Pridik 1917, 25 no. 599.

No. 3, Silifke Museum Inv. No. 764

Silifke Museum Inv. No. 764 represents a nearly complete Rhodian canonical amphora, except for its missing foot (Fig. 3). The morphological characteristics of this amphora indicate that its chronological placement aligns closely with that of Silifke Museum Inv. No. 763. As with the preceding amphora, the same classification is applicable to this one. The rim profile is out-curved and displays a rectangular form, while the handles are long and cylindrical. In accordance with the characteristic of the Period II and the early Period III, according to the Rhodian amphora stamps chronology, the handles go off below the rim, from the long cylindrical neck, reaching their highest point at the turn, and subsequently descend to connect with the amphora at the shoulder. The ovoid body is widest at the shoulder, tapering thereafter toward the foot, which is not preserved. The profile of these handles corresponds to Lund's Form 1b,

⁴⁰ Personal comm. with G. Cankardeş-Şenol.

⁴¹ Cf. RF-ΔΙΣΚΟΣ 01-ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ-005, Cankardeş-Şenol 2023b, 249.

dated to the final two decades of the 3rd century⁴². Furthermore, the eponym named on the stamp of this amphora, Πασσάνιας II, held office between approximately 203 and 199 further agreeing with the datation.



Fig. 3. Silifke Museum Inv. No. 764 (Photo and Drawing by C. S. Harmandar)

Both handles of the amphora are stamped. Although the stamps preserved in a significantly damaged state, they are somewhat readable. Following a challenging reading process, it has been determined that the stamps of the eponym Πασσάνιας II and the fabricant Δαμοκράτης I are present on the amphora. The combination of this eponym-fabricant was already known⁴³. The eponym Πασσάνιας II, who dates the amphora, held office during Period IIc, towards the end of the period, approximately between 203 and 199⁴⁴, according to the Rhodian amphora stamp chronology. The known fabricant links of Πασσάνιας II⁴⁵ are Ἀγησίλας⁴⁶, Ἀγοράναξ⁴⁷, Ἀναξίλας⁴⁸, Δαμοκράτης I⁴⁹, Διονύσιος II⁵⁰, Θεόδωρος⁵¹, and Κλεισιμβροτίδας⁵².

⁴² Lund 2019, 220fig. 4.

⁴³ Badaliants 1980, 164. No photo is published nor a reason for the combination is stated in Badaliants 1980.

⁴⁴ Finkielsztejn 2001, 191 tab. 18; also see Finkielsztejn 2021, 207, where Finkielsztejn updated the date of Πασσάνιας II to ca. 200. On the other hand, Badoud places Πασσάνιας II to ca. 199, see Badoud 2015, 256.

⁴⁵ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 210.

⁴⁶ Lawall 2007, 43 AH 30; with reference to a stamp from Alexandria Benaki Collection.

⁴⁷ Finkielsztejn 2001, 108 pl. VI no. 112.

⁴⁸ Cankardeş-Şenol *et al.* 2004, 356 fig. 8.

⁴⁹ Badaliants 1980, 164.

⁵⁰ Cankardeş-Şenol 2000, 120 no. 546, fn. 546; Cankardeş-Şenol *et al.* 2004, 356 fn. 32.

⁵¹ Ariel 1988, 32-35 fig. 1, 8.

⁵² Rhodes, A 131, the archives of J.-Y. Empereur; Cankardeş-Şenol 2024, 196 note 128.

The other handle bears the stamp of Δαμοκράτης I, a fabricant who was active for a long period, approximately 40 years. His career began in Period IIc and ended in Period IIIe according to the Rhodian amphora stamp chronology. The earliest eponym dating Δαμοκράτης I's activity is Θεοφάνης II, *ca.* 203–199, while the latest is Ἀρίστων II, *ca.* 167/165. Other eponyms who date the fabricant's activity are, in alphabetical order, Ἀγέμαχος⁵³, Ἀθανόδοτος⁵⁴, Αἰνήτωρ⁵⁵, Ἀρίστων II⁵⁶, Δαμόθεμις⁵⁷, Δορκυλίδας⁵⁸, Θεαίδητος⁵⁹, Καλλικράτης II⁶⁰, Καλλικρατίδας II⁶¹, Κλέαρχος⁶², Κλευκράτης I⁶³, Κλεώνυμος II⁶⁴, Νικασαγόρας I⁶⁵, Πausανίας II⁶⁶, Πρατοφάνης⁶⁷, Σύμμαχος⁶⁸, Σώδαμος⁶⁹, Τιμασαγόρας⁷⁰, and Φιλόδαμος II⁷¹.

Stamp No. 3a, circular, R: 3.1 cm., inscription direction normal (left to right), one peripheral inscription line, the letters are facing inwards, rose in the center, circle around the symbol, month name is abbreviated, RE-ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ 02-ΘΕΥΔΑΙΣΙΟΣ-001.

[Ἐπὶ Πα]υσανία Θευ[δαι(σί)ου]

rose



Parallels: www.amphoralex.org (Alex ABC 0192.22 (MGR P. 19716))

⁵³ Paris 1914, 322.

⁵⁴ Jöhrens 1999, 40, no. 94 and p. 53, no. 134; Finkielsztejn 2001, 117.

⁵⁵ Paphos, no. 26, the archives of J.-Y. Empereur; Cankardeş-Şenol 2023b, 66 note 36.

⁵⁶ Badaliants 1980, 164.

⁵⁷ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 38.

⁵⁸ Jöhrens 1999, 23 no. 34a-b; Sztetyllo 2010, 92 no. 78.

⁵⁹ Akamatis 2000, 66 no. P31.

⁶⁰ Gentili 1958, 34 no. 5.

⁶¹ Grace & Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 295.

⁶² Finkielsztejn 2001, 100, 108; Lawall 2007, 45 AH36.

⁶³ Grace & Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 295 Nicolaou 2005, 441 no. 145.

⁶⁴ Getov 1988, 397 taf. 40, no. 3.

⁶⁵ Grace & Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 306, E15; Grace 1985, 45, no. 2; Empereur & Guimier-Sorbets 1986, 130; Şenol 2018, 382-383 no. 321, fig. 321.

⁶⁶ Badaliants 1980, 164.

⁶⁷ Maiuri 1921-1922, 257-258.

⁶⁸ Grace & Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 295.

⁶⁹ Paphos, no. 23 (archives of J.-Y. Empereur); Cankardeş-Şenol 2023b, 66 note 36.

⁷⁰ Finkielsztejn 2018, 26 no. 26.

⁷¹ Grace 1950, 145 no. 72-73.

Stamp No. 3b, circular, 2.9, inscription direction normal (left to right), one peripheral inscription line, the letters are facing inwards, rose in the center, circle around the inscription. RF-ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ 01-041⁷².

[Δαμ]ο[κ]ρά[τευ]ς *vac.*

rose



Parallels: Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 80.

No. 4, Silifke Museum Inv. No. 762

Silifke Museum Inv. No. 762 is, morphologically, contemporary with previous two amphorae and, therefore, should be included in the same typological group. Silifke Museum Inv. No. 762 is a fully preserved Rhodian amphora which both of the stamped handles are intact (Fig. 4). The oval-sectioned handles emerge from below the rim, rise from the long cylindrical neck, reach their highest point at the turning point, and then descend to rejoin the amphora at the shoulder. The handles should be classified within the Form 1b of Lund according to their profile, which is dated to the Period II-III of the Rhodian amphora stamps chronology⁷³. The widest point of the ovoid body is the shoulder, and from this point, the amphora narrows toward the base. The amphora should be dated to approximately 210 through the stamp of eponym Ξενοφάντος Ι. Ξενοφάντος Ι is known to be combined with the fabricants Διονύσιος ΙΙ, Δίσκος Ι, Ἑλλάνικος, Ἐπίγονος Ι, Θεόδωρος, and Μενεκράτης Ι⁷⁴.

The stamps on the handles of the amphora are quite illegible. The name of the fabricant could not be read. The eponym's name is partially preserved and has been read as Ξενοφάντος Ι, while the name of the month could not be determined. The year when Ξενοφάντος Ι was in office is given as *ca.* 210⁷⁵. The fabricants dated by the eponym⁷⁶, listed in alphabetical order, are

⁷² The stamp in question was also compared with the stamps of the fabricant Ἴπποκράτης. It bears a particular resemblance to RF-ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ-047. However, the reading of the eponym as Πασσανίας ΙΙ and the month name as Θεωδαίσιος required the possibility of Ἴπποκράτης to be ruled out.

⁷³ Lund 2019, 220 fig. 4.

⁷⁴ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 198.

⁷⁵ Finkielsztein 2001, 191, tab. 18. Ξενοφάντος Ι is not included in the updated list in Finkielsztein 2021; however, Badoud seems to agree with the dating to *ca.* 210; Badoud 2015, 256.

⁷⁶ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 209.



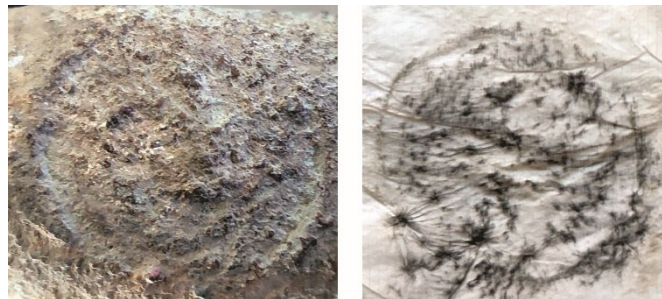
Fig. 4. Silifke Museum Inv. No. 762 (Photo and Drawings by C. S. Harmandar)

Διονύσιος ΙΙ⁷⁷, Δίσκος Ι⁷⁸, Ἑλλάνικος⁷⁹, Ἐπίγονος Ι⁸⁰, Θεόδωρος⁸¹, and Μενεκράτης Ι⁸².

Stamp No. 4a, circular, 3.1 cm, inscription direction normal (left to right), one peripheral inscription line, the letters are facing inwards, rose (?) in the center. RE-ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ 01-Month ?

[Ἐπὶ] Ξ[ενο]φάντο[υ]

rose (?)



Parallels: -

Stamp No. 4b, circular, 2.9 cm, inscription direction normal (left to right), one peripheral

⁷⁷ Doğer 1997, 249; Cankardeş-Şenol & Canoğlu 2009, 138, B61.

⁷⁸ Nicolaou 2005, 405, no. 1.

⁷⁹ Finkielsztein 2001, 112 table 4.

⁸⁰ Finkielsztein 2001, 112 table 4.

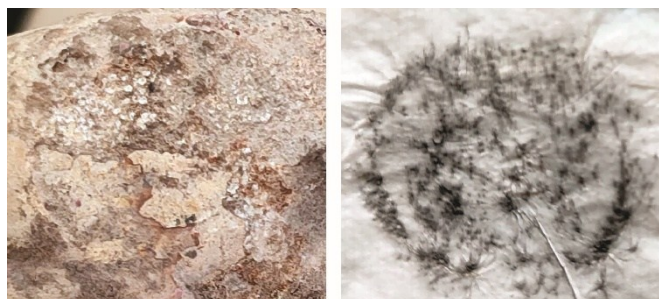
⁸¹ Grace 1963, 326; Finkielsztein 2001, 99.

⁸² Hannestad 1983, 71 no. 683-684.

inscription line, the letters are facing inwards, rose (?) in the center.

[.....]

rose



b) Isolated Handles

Silifke Museum Inv. No. 2499 and 2500 are well-preserved isolated Rhodian amphora handles with stamps. According to museum records, the stamped handles were discovered during the excavations at Meydancikkale. Both stamps in question are eponym stamps. On Inv. No. 2499, the stamp bears the name of eponym Ἀθανόδοτος along with the month Πεδαγεῖτνυος; both are given in genitive cases. Based on the Rhodian amphora stamp chronology, the year Ἀθανόδοτος held office is determined as ca. 170/168,⁸³ within Period IIIId⁸⁴. Considering the profile of the handle, it should be classified under Lund's Form 2a.⁸⁵ The fabricants whose amphorae are dated by Ἀθανόδοτος are Ἀγαθοκλῆς III⁸⁶, Ἀμύντας⁸⁷, Ἀντίμαχος⁸⁸, Ἀριστείδας II⁸⁹, Ἀρίστων⁹⁰, Δαμοκράτης I⁹¹, Ζωΐλος⁹², Ἴπποκράτης⁹³, Μαρσύας⁹⁴, Σαραπίων⁹⁵, and Φιλαίνιος⁹⁶ as listed by Cankardeş-Şenol⁹⁷.

On Inv. No. 2500, the name of eponym Ἀρχιλαΐδας is read written in genitive case. This stamp

⁸³ Finkielsztejn 2001, 192 tab. 19; the office Ἀθανόδοτος is given to ca. 169 in the updated list, Finkielsztejn 2021, 207; on the other hand, Badoud (2015, 257) dates the eponym to 170.

⁸⁴ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 99; Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 188.

⁸⁵ Lund 2019, 220 fig. 5.

⁸⁶ Grace 1949, 180; 1985, 10; Empereur & Guimier-Sorbets 1986, 130; Nicolaou 2005, 417 no. 58.

⁸⁷ Grace 1950, 135, 141; 1985, 10; Buzoianu 1980, 121; Nicolaou & Empereur 1986, 516; Nicolaou 2005, 419 no. 70.

⁸⁸ von Gaertringen 1898, 233; Buzoianu 1980, 122-123; Grace 1985, 10.

⁸⁹ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 99.

⁹⁰ Grace 1985, 10; Nicolaou 2005, 429, no. 117.

⁹¹ Jöhrens 1999, 40 no. 94 and p. 53, no. 134; Finkielsztejn 2001, 117.

⁹² Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 99.

⁹³ Jöhrens 1999, 53, no. 134; Finkielsztejn 2001, 117.

⁹⁴ Barker 2004, 80, 8; Nicolaou 2005, 424 no. 99.

⁹⁵ Grace 1985, 10; Nicolaou 2005, 429 no. 118.

⁹⁶ von Gaertringen 1898, 233; Grace 1949, 180; 1950, 135, 141; 1985, 10; Nicolaou & Empereur 1986, 518 no. 4; Buzoianu 1980, 122; Badalians 1980, 163-64; Rhodes A234/ΜΣ 456 (archives of J.-Y. Empereur); Cankardeş-Şenol 2025, 276 note 240.

⁹⁷ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 99; 2017, 188.

does not include a month name, and the eponym's name is incorrectly written on the stamp. On the left side of the stamp, a Helios disc commonly used by the eponym is present. It is known that eponym Ἀρχιλαΐδας was in office in the year *ca.* 165/163⁹⁸, within Period IIIe⁹⁹. The fabricants whose amphorae are dated by Ἀρχιλαΐδας¹⁰⁰ are Ἀγαθοκλῆς III¹⁰¹, Ἀγορᾶναξ¹⁰², Ἀμύντας¹⁰³, Ἀριστοκλῆς II¹⁰⁴, Δαμοκλῆς¹⁰⁵, Δῖος I¹⁰⁶, Δωρίων¹⁰⁷, Μαρσύας¹⁰⁸, and Νικασίων¹⁰⁹. Examining the profile of the handle of Inv. No. 2500, it is evident that the handle should be classified under Lund's Form 2b group¹¹⁰.

Stamp No. 5, rectangular, 4.1 x 1.7cm, three horizontal inscription lines. RE-AΘΑΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ-ΠΕΔΑΓΕΙΤΝΥΟΣ-002.

Ἐπὶ Ἀθα-

νοδότου

Πεδαγειτνύου



Parallels: www.amphoralex.org (Alex MGR 646.44).

Stamp No. 6, rectangular, 4.6 x 1.14cm, inscription direction normal (left to right), two horizontal inscription lines, a Helios disc on the left, frame around the inscription and device. RF-APXILAIΔΑΣ-NEW.

disc of Helios Ἐπὶ Ἀρχι-

λα(ι)δας *sic*

⁹⁸ Finkielsztejn 2001, 162 tab. 19; in 2021 Finkielsztejn revises the date of Ἀρχιλαΐδας as *ca.* 163; Finkielsztejn 2021, 207. In contrast, Badoud (2015, 257) accepts *ca.* 165 as the date of Ἀρχιλαΐδας.

⁹⁹ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 192.

¹⁰⁰ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 192.

¹⁰¹ Nicolaou 2005, 422 no. 85.

¹⁰² Nicolaou 2005, 443 no. 149.

¹⁰³ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 531.

¹⁰⁴ Grace 1949, 187 no. 4-5, pl. 20; 1985, 11; Grace & Savvatianou-Pétropoulakou 1970, 279, 291; Empereur & Guimier-Sorbets 1986, 130; Jöhrens 2001, 376, abb. 6.1; 386, no. 35; Nicolaou 2005, 419.

¹⁰⁵ Bleckmann 1907, 31 no. 1.

¹⁰⁶ Botti 1901, 225 no. 4.

¹⁰⁷ Badoud 2010, 170.

¹⁰⁸ Finkielsztejn 2001, 109.

¹⁰⁹ Barker 2004, 82 amphora 16; Nicolaou 2005, 425 no. 107.

¹¹⁰ Lund 2019, 220 fig. 6.



Parallels: -

Conclusion

Rhodian stamped amphorae in the Silifke Museum were focused, producing results expected to contribute meaningfully to research on Rhodian amphora stamps. Notably, a new eponym-fabricant pair was identified, along with previously undocumented stamp dies. Moreover, the intact amphorae examined within the scope of this article are of particular importance for tracing the year-by-year chronological development of Rhodian amphora production through eponym stamps, as well as for further understanding the typology associated with specific fabricants (Fig. 5).

Inv. No.	Eponym	Fabricant	Date
Inv. No. 435	Ἀγλούμβροτος	Μένων II	ca. 197
Inv. No. 763	Θρασύδαμος	Δίσκος I	ca. 219–ca. 211
Inv. No. 764	Παυσάνιας II	Δαμοκράτης I	ca. 203–199
Inv. No. 762	Ξενοφάντος I	?	ca. 210

Fig. 5. Rhodian Eponym-Fabricant combinations seen on the intact amphoras from Silifke Museum

Of the ten amphora stamps discussed in this article, eight are on complete amphorae with both stamped handles intact. Silifke Museum Inv. No. 435 (Stamp No. 1a-b), bearing the stamp of Ἀγλούμβροτος, who was in office within Period IIIa (ca. 198–c.190), is dated to ca. 197, and specifically to the month of Σμινθίος in that year, due to the inclusion of the month name. The other handle of the amphora bears the stamp of fabricant Μένων II, the later homonym among the fabricants named Μένων. The potential combination between eponym Ἀγλούμβροτος and fabricant Μένων II had been previously suggested in studies based on stylistic similarities observed in the dies of their stamps. However, it is through Silifke Museum Inv. No. 435 (Stamp No. 1a-b) that this pair is observed for the first time on a fully preserved amphora with both stamped handles intact, thereby providing definitive evidence to confirm the eponym-fabricant combination.

Silifke Museum Inv. No. 763 (Stamp No. 2a-b) is a complete amphora with both handles intact, both stamped. Precise chronology is achieved through the eponym Θρασύδαμος stamp, which dates the amphora to ca. 219–ca. 211, and, based on the month name Πάνναμος indicated on the fabricant Δίσκος I stamp on the other handle, specifically to the month of Πάνναμος in that year. This amphora's stamps are significant for two reasons. Firstly, the eponym stamp is impressed

with a previously unknown die, which means that a new stamp die of Θρασύδαμος without a month name is hereby documented. Secondly, this amphora establishes, for the first time, the combination between eponym Θρασύδαμος and fabricant Δίσκος I, thereby contributing a new eponym-fabricant pair to the literature on Rhodian amphora stamps. It must be emphasized that the identification of eponym-fabricant combinations is of great importance for the more accurate analysis of Rhodian amphora stamps. Primarily, considering that eponyms served for a single year, these combinations enable a more precise dating of fabricants. This, in turn, allows for the tracking of a fabricant's career, from its beginning to its end, and the determination of the period during which the fabricant was active. For instance, in this case, the activity of fabricant Δίσκος I is assigned to Period IIb-c according to the Rhodian amphora stamp chronology, based on his known associations with eponyms Ἀριστωνίδας, Ξερόστρατος, Ξερόφαντος, Σιμυλίνος, and Χαρμοκλήης. Through this study, Θρασύδαμος has been added to the list of associated eponyms, refining the fabricant's activity period to a range of *ca.* 219–*ca.* 211 to *ca.* 204. The benefits of identifying eponym-fabricant pairs are equally critical when viewed from the perspective of the eponym. Each identified fabricant combination enhances the understanding of the production and trade capacity during a given eponym's year in office, thereby facilitating a year-by-year analysis of Rhodian commercial activities. Consequently, amphora stamps, already a vital group of chronological markers, can be dated with greater precision and within narrower timeframes.

Silifke Museum Inv. No. 764 (Stamp No. 3a-b) is another amphora examined within the scope of this article. The amphora's handle is within the Form 1b of Lund. The eponym Πανσανίας II, whose name is legible with some difficulty, dates the amphora to *ca.* 203–*ca.* 199. The month name further refines this dating, to Θεωδάσιος. On the other handle of the amphora, a stamp without a month name belonging to the fabricant Δαμοκράτης I, whose combination with the eponym Πανσανίας II was previously known, is present.

Silifke Museum Inv. No. 762 (Stamp No. 4a-b) is a complete amphora with both handles stamped, chronologically consistent with the three amphorae discussed above. The stamps on the handles of this amphora are largely illegible. Only the eponym's name could be deciphered, enabling the dating of the amphora. The eponym dating the amphora is Ξερόφαντος I, who held office in *ca.* 210.

In summary, Silifke Museum Inv. Nos. 435, 762–764 are fully preserved Rhodian amphorae, each with both handles stamped. These amphorae bear the stamps of eponyms Ἀγλούμβροτος, Θρασύδαμος, Πανσανίας II, and Ξερόφαντος I. The dates assigned to these eponyms are as follows: Ἀγλούμβροτος (Period IIIa) at *ca.* 197, Θρασύδαμος (Period IIb) at *ca.* 219–*ca.* 211, Πανσανίας II (Period IIc) at *ca.* 203–*ca.* 199, and Ξερόφαντος I (Period IIb) at *ca.* 210. As evident, these fully preserved Rhodian amphorae in the Silifke Museum, which are recovered from nearby settlements, form a chronological group dated between *ca.* 215 and *ca.* 197, spanning

Periods IIb to IIIa, when examined through their eponym stamps. This observation underscores the need to investigate the reasons behind the presence of Rhodian amphorae in Silifke and its surrounding areas during this period.¹¹¹

The final two stamps presented in this study, Silifke Museum Inv. Nos. 2499 (Stamp No. 5) and 2500 (Stamp No. 6), were recovered from the Meydancikkale excavations. Both stamps bear eponym names. On Inv. No. 2499, the name of eponym Ἀθανόδοτος and the month Πεδαγείτνυος are legible. The stamp was impressed using the die RE-AΘΑΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ-ΠΕΔΑΓΕΙΤΝΥΟΣ-002. The eponym Ἀθανόδοτος held office in Period IIId according to the Rhodian amphora stamp chronology. His year in office is dated to *ca.* 170/168. On Inv. No. 2500, the name of eponym Ἀρχιλαΐδας is inscribed with an error, no month name is written. The stamp bears a Helios disc on the left side. The eponym Ἀρχιλαΐδας, dated within Period IIIe according to the Rhodian amphora stamp chronology, held office in *ca.* 165/163. Inv. No. 2500 is significant for enabling the identification of a previously unknown die of eponym Ἀρχιλαΐδας. The proximity in dating of these two isolated handles from the Meydancikkale excavations, to *ca.* 170/168 and 165/163, is significant. This dating indicates the necessity of a comparative analysis with other artifacts unearthed at the Meydancikkale excavation site.

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Rhodian Personal Names

Ἀγλούμβροτος, Stamp No. 1a, Rh. ep.

Μένων II, Stamp No. 1b, Rh. fab.

Θρασύδαμος, Stamp No. 2a, Rh. ep.

Δίσκος I, Stamp No. 2b, Rh. fab.

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Ἀρχιλαΐδας, Stamp. No. 6, Rh. Ep.

Rhodian Months

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Πεδαγείτνυος, Stamp No. 5.

Devices

Rose, Stamp No. 3a; 3b; 4a; 4b

Disc of Helios, Stamp No. 6.

¹¹¹ See Gülnar-Meydancikkale coins, group VIb: Attalos I and Eumenes II, dated *ca.* 225-c.189/8 and associated with a garrison, Planet 1991, 113; Davesne & le Rider 1989. Coins from the Patara-Tepecik settlement. For the study identifying a Ptolemaic garrison, see Lenger & Dündar 2020, 37-70.

¹¹² The index includes personal names, devices and month names discussed in the article. The abbreviations used in the index and their full versions are: Rh. Rhodes, ep. Eponym, fab. Fabricant.

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