



BRILL

ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS
FROM SCYTHIA TO SIBERIA 25 (2019) 59-78



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Once More on the Subject of Herakleian Amphorae with Stamps of the Manufacturer Etymos

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Abstract

The author of the article considers the question of the chronology of Herakleian stamps used by the manufacturer Etymos, who for the last twenty years has traditionally been assigned a date from the late-4th/early-3rd century BC. An analysis of a series of assemblages with the stamps of this manufacturer has made it possible to assign him a reliable date within the period 340-330 BC.

Keywords

amphorae – stamps – chronology – assemblages

This subject has been examined many times by several generations of scholars. V.I. Kats counted six separate attempts to arrive at a more precise date for this manufacturer (his name was found written in two different ways: ETY|MOC or ETY|MOY). His own article was the seventh,¹ while the last book written by S.V. Polin was the eighth.² We have to admit that we ourselves have undertaken similar attempts on several occasions and each time we have arrived at a different conclusion.³

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¹ Kats 2007b.

² Polin 2014, 482-483.

³ Monakhov 1993, 69; 1999, 430; 2002, 171; 2003, 142.

The arguments put forward by V.I. Kats, who assigned Etymos dates from the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century BC, appear at first glance impeccably logical. He was of the opinion that stamps carrying magistrates' names existed in Herakleia Pontica until the year 306, when the tyrant Dionysios assumed the royal title. After that, in his opinion, dies with a single name were used for stamping amphorae, *i.e.* with the name of the relevant manufacturer. All stamps with just one name (apart from those which were of a far earlier date – the beginning of the 4th century) were assigned by V.I. Kats, to the so-called “Late Manufacturers’ Group” (LMG), in which according to his calculations there were 34 names including that of Etymos.⁴ In addition V.I. Kats noted that, since there is a lunate *sigma* in one of the Etymos stamps (so far 34 impressions of three dies have been recorded⁵ and lunate *sigmas* did not appear in pottery inscriptions in Thasos, Rhodes, Sinope and Chersonesos, as far as he knew, before the early-5th/late-4th century BC, this meant that the Etymos stamps could not be earlier than that. Finally, V.I. Kats was convinced that all the pottery assemblages containing Etymos stamps dated from no earlier than the end of the 4th century BC. S.V. Polin, on the other hand, pointing to an assemblage of pottery for a feast found in the Alexandropol Burial-mound, considers that Etymos’ manufacturing activity took place in the 330s.

Meanwhile, time is moving on and it seemed to us that a new analysis of the assemblages concerned needed to be undertaken, particularly since some new ones had appeared.

The first of these assemblages was from **Burial No. 2 in Burial-mound No. 9 near the village of Peski**. Three amphorae were found there: two were biconical Herakleian ones and on one of them was the englyphic stamp ETY|MOC with a lunate *sigma* (fig. 1, 1). There was also another amphora which we in the past had classified as originating from Chersonesos (fig. 1, 2). Starting out from the chronology of Herakleian stamps drawn up by V.I. Kats, we dated this assemblage to the middle of the last decade of the 4th century.⁶ The situation has changed somewhat since then. The amphora from the assemblage, which we had defined as having been produced in Chersonesos, is not actually from that centre, as emerged very recently as a result of a new positioning,⁷ to which attention was drawn by S.V. Polin.⁸ The amphora is in fact one of those produced on Ikos, for which – as has been established on the basis of results obtained

4 Kats 2007a, 430.

5 Information provided by N.F. Fedoseev; see, also Kats 2007b, 294.

6 Monakhov 1999, 428-430, pl. 186.

7 Monakhov & Fedoseev 2013.

8 Polin 2014, 482-483.

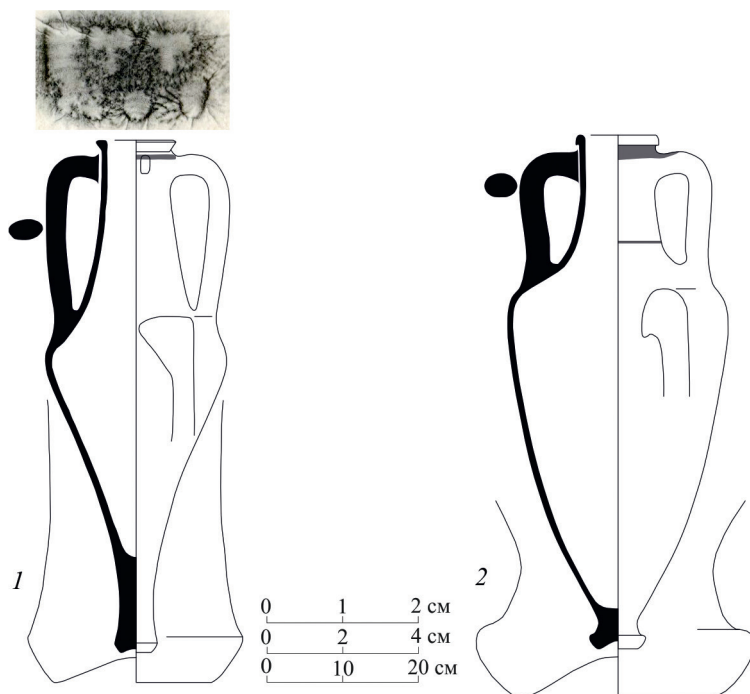


FIGURE 1 Amphorae from Burial 2 in Barrow No. 9 from the village of Peski. 1: Heraklea; 2: Ikos

through the analysis of many assemblages found in the Kuban region – the date range falls within the first three quarters of the 4th century,⁹ but no later. As we see it, this vessel from Peski belongs to one of the very last series of transport vessels from that centre, *i.e.* from the third quarter of the 4th century. It therefore follows that the Herakleian amphora with the Etymos stamp dates from that same period.

The next assemblage with the ETY|MOC stamps was from **Pit No. 105 at the Belozerskoye settlement** in the lower reaches of the Dnieper.¹⁰ Nine Herakleian amphorae were found there: five of them were of the biconical variant III-2 and four were conical amphorae of Type II-3. On three of the ical amphorae the ETY|MOC stamps were found with a lunate *sigma* (amphorae Nos. 411, 415, 416), while on two of the conical amphorae (Variant II-A) different stamps were found. In one case a stamp had been impressed twice, which was in the shape of a *kantharos* with the letter “A” inside it (No. 413) and the other

⁹ Monakhov & Kuznetsova 2009; 2011.

¹⁰ Býlkova 2005, 256; 2007, 54.

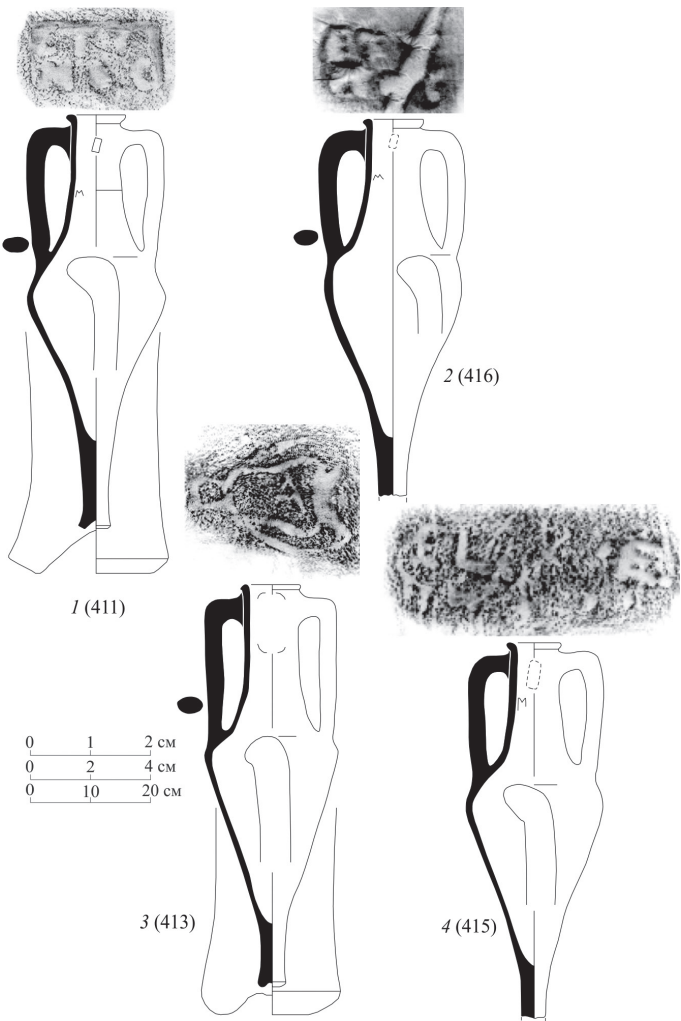


FIGURE 2 Heraklean amphorae from Pit 105 in the Belozerskoye settlement (after Býlkova 2005, fig. 3, 5)

stamp included the legend ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕ(--) (No. 415) (fig. 2, 1-5). On amphorae Nos. 411 and 414 there was an impression of the stamp made using the same die as for the vessel from Peski, while on amphora No. 416 Etymos' stamp had been applied using a different die.

In connection with the extremely rare impression of the “*kantharos* with the letter A inside” on amphora No. 413 (fig. 2, 3), it should be noted that stamps of this kind have not been recorded in other assemblages, although what are clearly typologically similar figured stamps have been found on conical

amphorae of Type II-3 in a number of assemblages. A particularly revealing assemblage is that from a burial-mound excavated by A.A. Shchepinskii in the Soviet District of the Crimea.¹¹ On two amphorae there are englyphic stamps made using extremely rare dies: in one case we find on a Type I-A vessel a cruciform stamp with the legend [A]Γ|ΑΣ(ΙΑΛΟΣ) including the emblem for a *kantharos* in the centre¹² and on the other, a Type II-1 amphora, a stamp including the abbreviation EY(-) with the emblem for a “bunch of grapes” to the left and the letter “T” at the bottom.¹³ There is no doubt at all that these assemblages should be dated to the end of the 350s or to the 340s. Morphologically these amphorae are completely identical to amphora No. 413 with the figured stamp found in the pit at Belozerskoye.

As for amphora No. 415 with the stamp ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕ(---) from the Belozerskoye assemblage (fig. 2, 4), certain difficulties arise in connection with its interpretation. S.V. Polin mistakenly reads in this poorly impressed stamp the beginning of the magistrate's name in the form ΚΑΙ(---),¹⁴ which is to be found in V.I. Kats' magistrates' group V (320-300 BC). When the Kerch collection of amphorae was recently being processed, we had the good fortune to find a similar Herakleian biconical amphora with this stamp on the neck: Διονύσι[ου] | ἐπὶ Κλε(---). It had been found in Pit No. I-7 in 2013 at Myrmekion.¹⁵ It became clear first that the name of the magistrate should have been read as Κλε(---) and secondly that the Myrmekion assemblage provided a good chronological context. Apart from an intact Herakleian amphora, stamps of the Herakleian magistrates Euryphonos, Spintaros and Ephronios were also found and these could confidently be dated to 350-330 BC. Also found there were two Sinopean stamps of the *astynomos* Habrios,¹⁶ which in their turn date from the 350s, or perhaps the 340s.¹⁷ It is evident that amphora No. 415 from the pit at Belozerskoye should be assigned a date in the third quarter of the 4th century BC.

Discovered along with the amphorae in Pit No. 105 were an Attic *lekythos* with a net pattern, fragments of a tulip-shaped *kylix*, five grey-clay cups and a coin. The *lekythos* belonging to the Bulas Group dates from the first half of the 4th century and cannot be assigned a date later than the 340s,¹⁸ the *kylix* is of an even earlier date and the coin can definitely be dated to the second quarter

11 Monakhov 1999, 351-352, pl. 152, 2, 3.

12 Monakhov 2003, pl. 92, 4.

13 Monakhov 2003, pl. 94, 6.

14 Polin 2014, 520.

15 Butyagin 2014.

16 Monakhov *et alii* 2016, 55-56.

17 Kats 2007a, 430, 434.

18 Vdovichenko & Turova 2006, 42, 116, Nos. 134-136, fig. 21.

of the 4th century.¹⁹ V.P. Bjłkova writes that “after the pit had been filled in, a building above ground had been constructed in that part of the settlement. Among the stones of its destroyed fabric a stamp was found ... from a Sinope ... amphora bearing the name of the *astynomos* Theodoridos ...”. The stamp of that magistrate, dated by N.F. Fedoseev to the last decade of the 4th century, cannot determine the *terminus post quem* of the assemblage, since it relates to a completely different site.

The general conclusion with regard to the chronology of the assemblage from Pit No. 105 is that it was definitely filled in no later than the third quarter of the 4th century BC and this coincides with the conclusions drawn by S.V. Polin.

An identical biconical Herakleian amphora bearing the stamp ETY|MOC with a lunate *sigma* was found in a cellar at Nymphaion in 1993. This complex yielded up an enormous amount of varied material.²⁰ When it came to complete and archaeologically complete transport vessels alone, 39 items were recorded (figs. 3, 4). Unfortunately it did not prove possible to reconstruct all the amphorae completely. The only Herakleian biconical amphora with an Etymos stamp in the assemblage was identical to the vessels from the assemblages in Burial 2 of Burial-mound 9 at the village of Peski and from Pit No. 105 at Belozerskoye (fig. 3, 1).

Chios amphorae with a cap foot from the cellar at Nymphaion were represented by three archaeologically complete specimens and 11 ‘complete’ but highly fragmentary vessels (as can be seen from the specimen in fig. 3, 2). They definitely date from the second or beginning of the third quarter of the 4th century. Transport vessels from Mende were represented by six or seven amphorae of the Melitopol variant (specimens can be seen in fig. 3, 3-5) of that same period, and two of them bear stamps in the form of separate letters.

Another six amphorae from the Nymphaion cellar were produced on Ikos (a specimen can be seen in fig. 3, 6). Although it has only been established very recently that the vessels came from that particular production centre,²¹ their typology and chronology have been elaborated fairly reliably, thanks to the large number of assemblages found.²² Two vessels from the collection have an indentation around their foot and belong to the first group of transport vessels from that centre, dating from the second quarter of the 4th century BC. The rest of the specimens can be dated to the third quarter of the 4th century BC.

19 Frolova & Abramzon 2005, 58f, pls. 37, 38.

20 Monakhov *et alii* 2016, 51-55, pls. 11-13.

21 Monakhov & Fedoseev 2013.

22 Monakhov & Kuznetsova 2009.

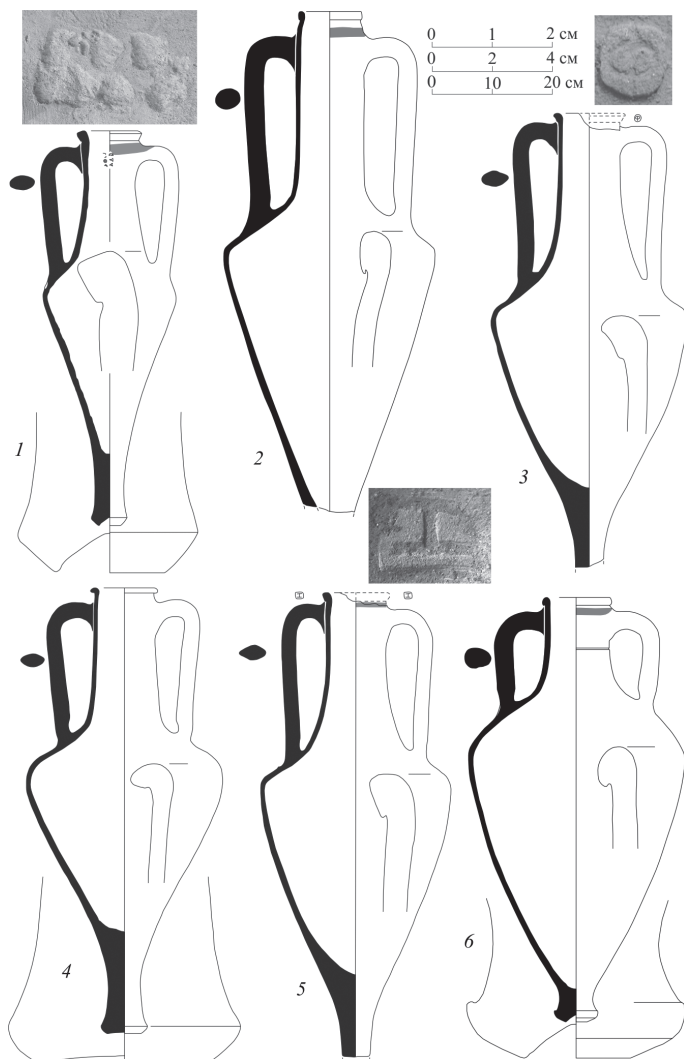


FIGURE 3 Amphorae from a Nymphaion cellar 1993. 1: Heraklea;
2: Chios; 3-6: Mende; 7: Ikos

Amphorae from Thasos were represented by two complete unstamped vessels of the “Porthmia” series of the “pithoid” type dating from the first half of the 4th century BC (fig. 4, 1). The only complete unstamped vessel was the Sinope transport amphora (fig. 4, 4). On the basis of its morphological features this amphora can be identified as belonging to Variant II-C of the “pithoid” type and dating from the third quarter of the 4th century BC. An amphora with a stamp on its neck (fig. 4, 2) had been manufactured in Erythrae in Asia

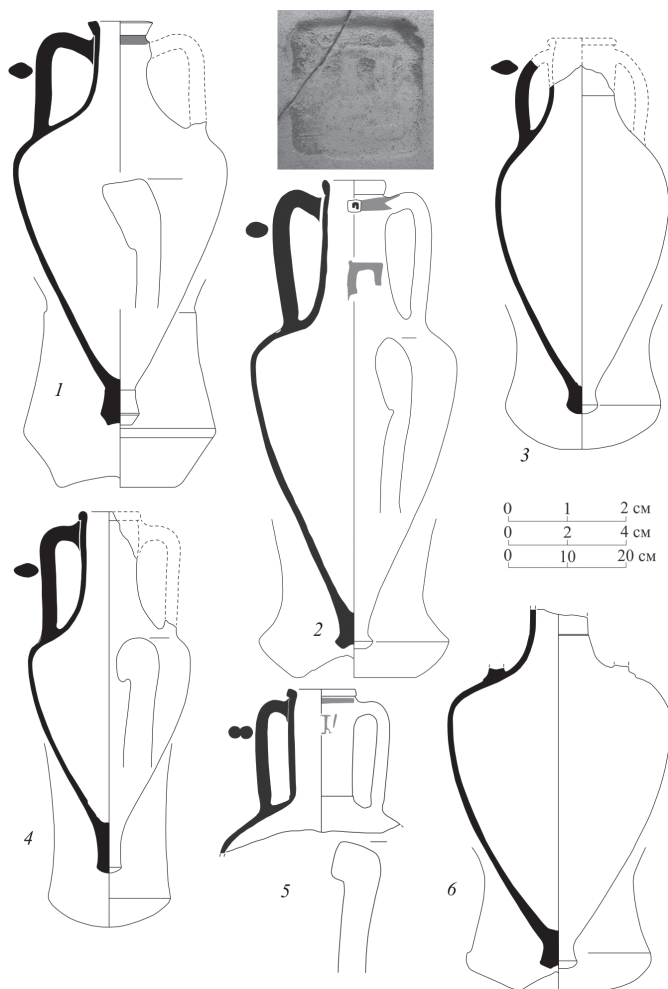


FIGURE 4 Amphorae from a Nymphaion cellar 1993. 1: Thasos; 2: Erythrae; 3: Colchis; 4: Sinope; 5: Kos; 6: unidentified centre

Minor and dates from the first half of the 4th century BC.²³ In that assemblage two identical amphora necks from Kos were also found (fig. 4, 5). Both specimens date from the second or third quarter of the 4th century BC.²⁴ Output from Colchis is also represented by two specimens (fig. 4, 3) and there was,

²³ Monakhov 2013, 37, pl. II, 12.

²⁴ Monakhov 2014, 208-210, pls. 8-39.

in addition, a fragmentary vessel from a production centre that has not been identified (fig. 4, 6).

Apart from the above, eight Bosphoran stamps on tiles were recorded among the finds in the cellar, six of which dated from 380-360 BC. A Herakleian stamp of the magistrate Alketos was also dated to that period.²⁵ Another Herakleian stamp of the magistrate Kronios, meanwhile, is of a later date – the 320s BC²⁶ – although some scholars are of the opinion that it is of an earlier date,²⁷ and we would agree. Three stamps from Sinope date from 330 or the 320s BC. In other words what we encounter are two levels of finds: 380-350 BC and 330-320 BC. It would seem that the second level consists of later rubbish and disturbed material. In general it would seem that the assemblage should be assigned a date from the end of the second or the third quarter of the 4th century BC, which once again indicates a *terminus post quem* for the Herakleian amphorae bearing Etymos' stamps.

A stamp ETY|MOC with a lunate *sigma* impressed using one and the same die as in the case of the specimen found in Burial-mound No. 9 at the village of Peski, was found in **Well No. 10 (in 1984) in Gorgippia**, which we were called upon in the past to publish.²⁸ Two fragmentary Herakleian Type-II amphorae were found there (fig. 5, 6, 7), one Sinope amphora stamp and four Herakleian ones. The legends from the englyphic stamps were reliably restored: they contained names of magistrates AY(-), Stiphones and Demetrios (Damatrios) (fig. 5, 2-4), and also a stamp of the manufacturer ETY|MOC (fig. 5, 1).²⁹ The time span is quite large, but the last magistrate Damatrios officiated in the 340s,³⁰ although V.I. Kats dates him to the 320s. The Sinope stamp can also be read with a good degree of confidence: it contains the name of the *astynomos* Hieronymos-I (fig. 5, 5),³¹ who belongs to Group II and worked soon after Habrios, which makes it possible to date it to approximately the second half of the 340s.

There was a time when we were inclined to date the whole assemblage from that well to the very end of the 4th century simply because at that particular time we were in agreement with V.I. Kats regarding the dating of the so-called "Late Manufacturers Group", of which Etymos was a member. It has since

25 Kats 2007a, 431.

26 Kats 2007a, 431.

27 Monakhov 1999, 635; Teleaga 2008, 94.

28 Monakhov 1999, 430-431.

29 Kats 2015, catalogue, Nos. 663, 734, 823-827.

30 Monakhov 1999, 430-431, 634.

31 For this stamp, see Kats 2015, catalogue, No. 1194.

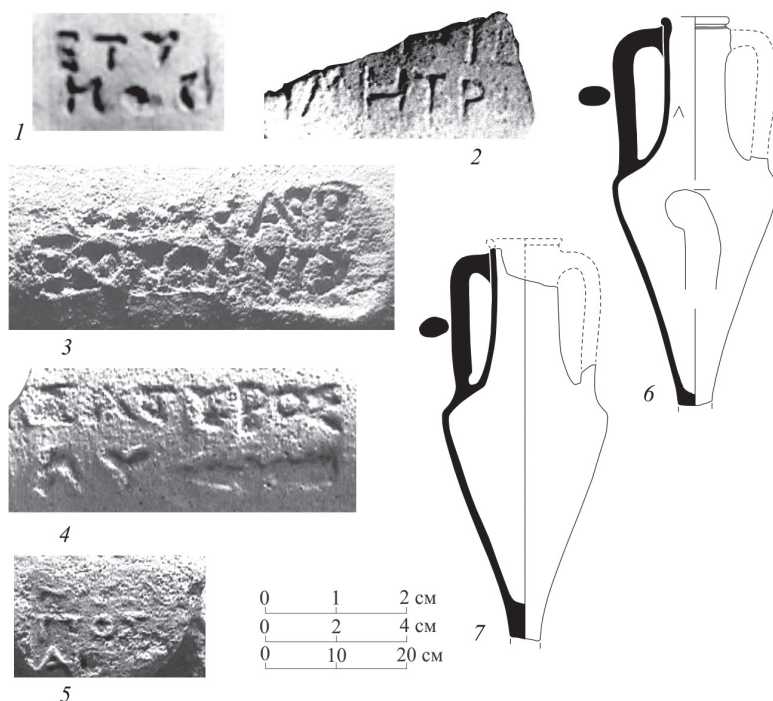


FIGURE 5 Amphorae from Well No. 10 (1984) in Gorgippia. 1-4, 6, 7: Heraklea; 5: Sinope

become clear, however, that this assemblage also makes it possible to assign Etymos a date in the 330s BC.

An Etymos stamp written as ETY|MOY (fig. 6, 1) was found in **Well No. 269 (1983) in Gorgippia**. This assemblage was also one which we published,³² – admittedly without the Etymos stamp that was found and identified later by V.I. Kats.³³ The bottom levels of the in-fill from the well yielded up three complete amphorae (produced in Thasos, Sinope and Corinth) and in addition a Herakleian stamp on a neck fragment. The Sinopean amphora – Variant I-C (fig. 6, 3) – bears a stamp of the Group I *astynomos* Nikomedes and dates from the middle or the second half of the 350s.³⁴ Nikomedes occupies the 11th or 12th place in the list of Sinope magistrates. The biconical amphora from Thasos – a mature variant – has a stamp of the magistrate Hippides on its handle, who is well-known from various impressions made in the Kalonero workshop (fig. 6, 2). Y. Garlan assigns that magistrate to the Group “G2”

32 Monakhov 1999, 383f., pl. 170.

33 Kats 2015, catalogue, No. 861.

34 Kats 2007a, 434; Kats 2015, catalogue, No. 1311.

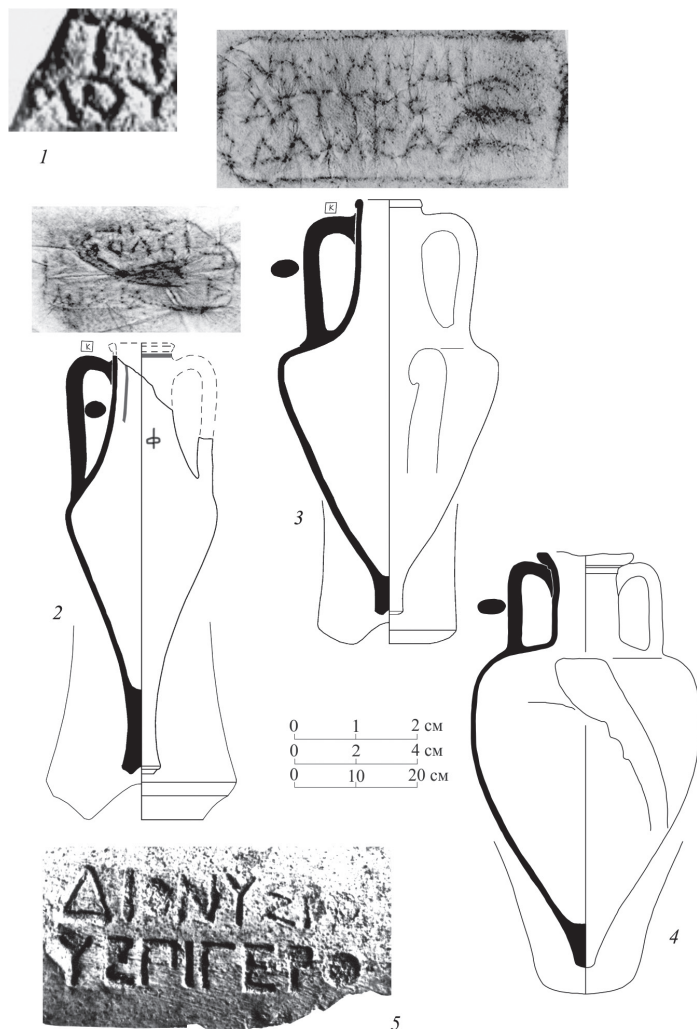


FIGURE 6 Amphorae from Well No. 269 in Gorgippia. 1, 5: Heraklea; 2: Thasos; 3: Sinope; 4: Corinth

and – taking into account possible modifications required for his chronology – assigns it a date no later than the 340s or beginning of the 330s BC, as, incidentally, does V.I. Kats.³⁵ What was a very rare find for the North Pontic region was the intact Corinthian amphora (fig. 6, 4) of the “Corinth-B” type,³⁶ which on the basis of a small number of parallels can be dated to approximately the mid-4th century BC.

³⁵ Kats 2015, catalogue, No. 108.

³⁶ Koehler 1992, 275, pls. 3, 4.

One other find from the lower levels of the well was a neck fragment from a Herakleian amphora with an englyphic stamp, which reads ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟ|Υ ΕΠΙ ΓΕΡΟ(-) (fig. 6, 5).³⁷ The magistrate Her(-) is one of the little-known magistrates and it is difficult to establish his position in the list of Herakleian magistrates. On the basis of the script used in the inscription and the name of the manufacturer Dionysios (II or III) in this stamp, all that can cautiously be suggested is that the magistrate Her(-) worked after Skyphos and even Andronikos, *i.e.* in the second half of the 350s BC.

The range of intact amphorae and stamps from various production centres, which have been examined above and which in the past have been assigned a general date – the middle and second half of the 350s – should, as we see it now, on no account be re-dated to the 340s.

Aleksandropol Burial-mound. In this exceptionally large burial-mound of the Scythians an enormous quantity of clearly identifiable date indicators was found. In the entrance pit of the central tomb the neck of a Herakleian amphora was discovered bearing the stamp ΑΥΘΓ(Ο) and also a black-glaze *pyxis*. In a side grave under the north-eastern edge of the burial-mound, two complete Herakleian amphorae were also found, which had englyphic stamps on the neck: on one there was the word ΕΤΥ|ΜΟΥ, and on the second the letters ΜΗ(--). These amphorae were lost in Kharkov during World War II, but photographs have survived,³⁸ which give us an idea of the vessels' shapes and the dies used to impress the stamp.

New data have been obtained as a result of further research into the remains of the funeral feast held at the burial-mound west of the one in which the remains of 389 amphorae from 12 different production centres were found with a total of 52 stamps.³⁹ This assemblage contained 80 amphorae from Ikos, 31 amphorae of the so-called Murighiol type and 18 Thasian vessels of the "Topraisar" series.⁴⁰ All these specimens have been assigned a date no later than the third quarter of the 4th century⁴¹ on the basis of their typology.

Information to be gleaned from the ceramic epigraphy is no less plentiful. On 27 of the Herakleian conical and pithoid amphorae stamps linked to the magistrate Theodoros are to be found and also the following manufacturers' stamps: ΕΤΥ|ΜΟΥ, ΑΥΘΓ(Ο) and ΦΙΛΙΣΚΟΥ (fig. 7, 1-5). There are four Thasian stamps of the "late" magistrate Nauson including the "shield" emblem

37 Kats 2015, catalogue, No. 654.

38 Alekseev 1986, 35-37, fig. 1; Polin 2014, fig. 418, 1, 2.

39 Polin 2010, 262f.; 2014, 490f.

40 Polin 2014, figs. 419-424.

41 Monakhov 2003.

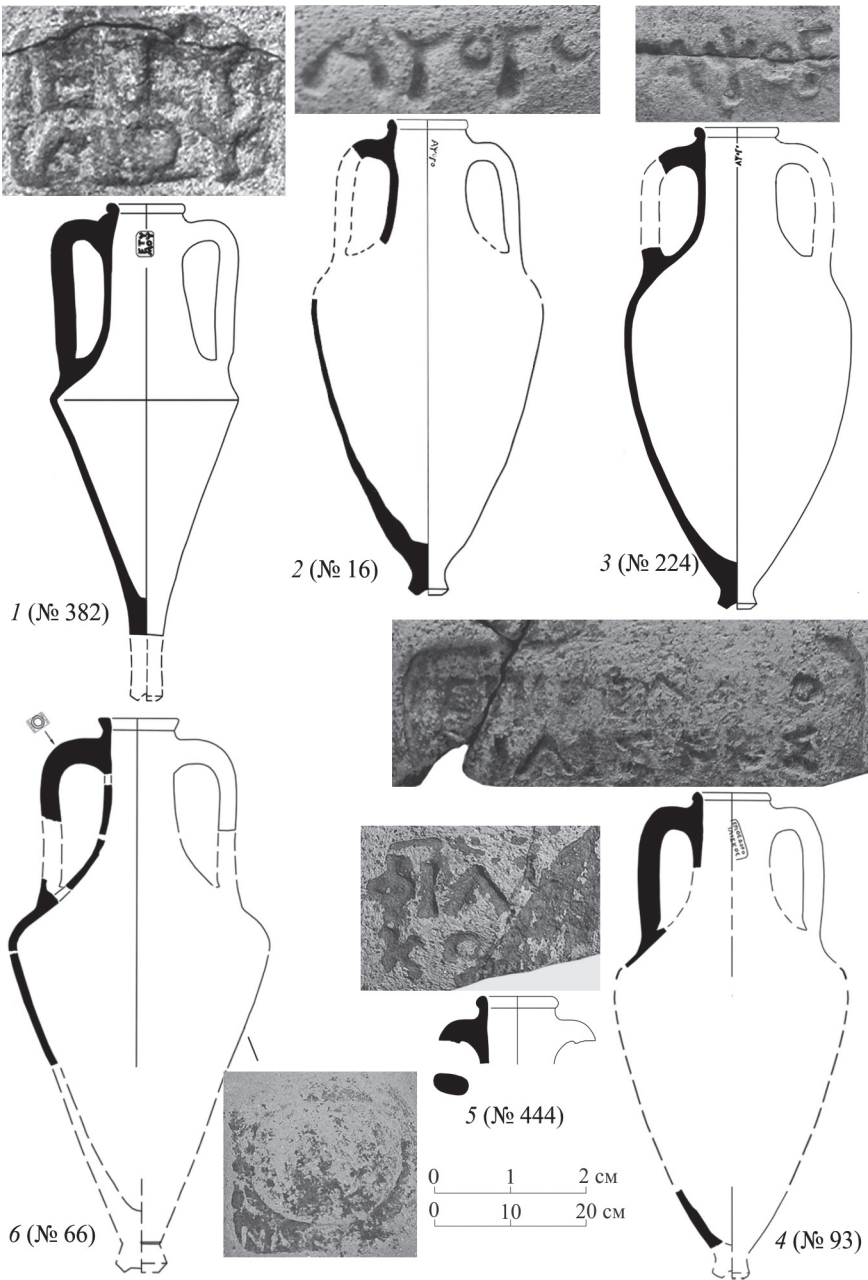


FIGURE 7 Amphora material from the Alexandropol Burial-mound. 1-5: Heraklean amphorae with stamps of Etymos, Apsogos, Philiskos, Theodoros; 6: Thasian amphora with Nauson stamps. The numbers are according to S.V. Polin's catalogue (Polin 2014, figs. 419-424).

(fig. 7, 1-5) on amphorae of the “Topraisar” series which, like the Klitos stamps, vary in date. Y. Garlan dated them to the 320s,⁴² while M. Debidour dated these stamps to either 335-325 or 322-315 BC.⁴³ The impression emerges that both Nauson and Klitos officiated as magistrates somewhat earlier – in the period between 350 and 320.⁴⁴

In the assemblage from the funeral feast near the Alexandropol Burial-mound, Chersonesan stamps of *astynomoi* Agasikles, Heroxenos and Athanodoros from Nicaea were also discovered (fig. 8, 2-5) and a Sinope stamp of an *astynomos* from the second group originating from Mnesios [Μνήσιος] [ἄστυν]νόμο(υ) [Δεληφ]ινί[ο.] (fig. 8, 1). Piecing together the legend from the last stamp was the achievement of N.F. Fedoseev.⁴⁵ The activity of the *astynomos* Mnesios falls in the period of the late 340s or 330s according to the chronology elaborated by V.I. Kats,⁴⁶ while N.F. Fedoseev suggests a date of around 347 BC.

The whole range of material from the Aleksandropol funeral feast is of the same date, since it was covered over by the rampart erected around the burial-mound (drawings and photographs of the stamps were kindly made available by S.V. Polin). The site constitutes a single discrete archaeological complex. The main range of date indicators does not really contain any evidence of a contradictory nature and makes it possible to assign the complex a date within the period of 340-330 BC.⁴⁷ The only exception is that of the Chersonesan amphorae and stamps: 36 such items were found with stamps of three *astynomoi* who, according to the chronology elaborated by V.I. Kats, should have been officiating in the period of the late-4th or early-3rd century. We find it difficult to decide how this discrepancy should be explained. It would seem that it will be necessary to analyse once again and with due care the assemblages containing Chersonesean stamps so as to establish their dates with greater precision.

After reviewing the assemblages containing Etymos stamps, it would not be out of place to draw attention to the morphology of amphorae with these stamps in the variant with a lunate *sigma* written as follows: ETY|MOC. They are all to be found on biconical amphorae. In the past we singled out two variants of Herakleian biconical amphorae.⁴⁸ On many of them there are to be found englyphic stamps of the magistrates Kromnios (380s), Alketos (370s),

42 Garlan 2004-2005, 324.

43 Debidour 1986, 324; 2011, 38.

44 Tzochet 2009, 55-72; Ivashchenko 2016, 42.

45 Parallel for the stamp see Kats 2015, catalogue, No. 1300.

46 Kats 2007a, 434.

47 Polin 2014, 498f.

48 Monakhov 2003, 139, 140, pls 98, 99.

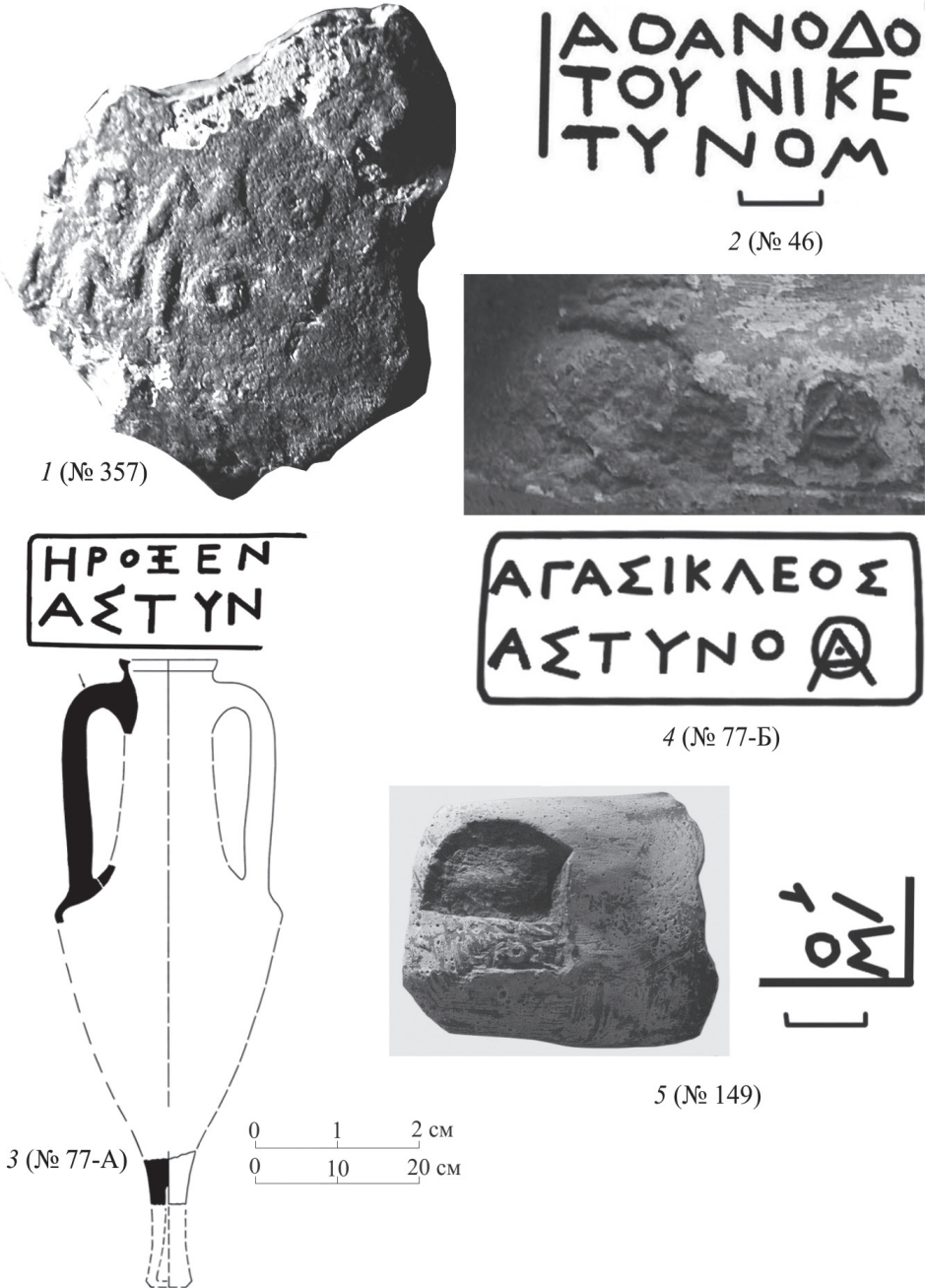


FIGURE 8 Amphora material from the Alexandropol Burial-mound. 1: Sinopean stamp; 2-5: Chersonesean stamps. Numbers according to S.V. Polin's catalogue (Polin 2014, figs. 419-424).

Silenos (Silana), Archippos and Pisistratos (330s),⁴⁹ and also Themistokles and Kronios, whom we and E. Teleaga date to the period 350-320 BC.⁵⁰ It would seem that biconical Herakleian amphorae were most probably manufactured between 380 and 320, while the later dates suggested for the stamps of Themistokles and Kronios by V.I. Kats reflect nothing other than a shortcoming in what was then the already extant chronology. That would make everything fall into place – the biconical Herakleian amphorae would be of the same date as those from Thasos, the production of which ceased in the 330s.⁵¹

When account is duly taken of the biconical Herakleian amphorae bearing stamps of Etymos and also Apsogos stamps⁵² they should be dated to the 330s. In this instance, despite the opinion voiced by V.I. Kats, who insists on dating the stamps to the beginning of the 3rd century BC,⁵³ or that voiced by N.F. Fedoseev, who dates them to the last decade of the 4th century BC,⁵⁴ we would rather support S.V. Polin, who dated them to the middle of the third quarter of the 4th century BC.⁵⁵

There now remains the final argument put forward by V.I. Kats in support of a later date for the Etymos stamps. We are inclined to point out once again that he considers that the lunate *sigma* in ceramic epigraphy from Thasos, Rhodos, Sinope and Chersonesos appeared no earlier than the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century BC, which means that it could not have appeared any earlier in Herakleia either. Yet in lapidary epigraphy scholars sometimes prefer to propose a wider date range for the appearance of the lunate *sigma* – on lead plates for instance – namely, the first half of the 4th century⁵⁶ or sometimes the second half of that century.⁵⁷ Yet the lunate *sigma* is to be found in inscriptions on Attic white-ground *lekythoi* dating from the last third of the 5th century, as has been pointed out on a number of occasions.⁵⁸ Recently S.R. Tokhtas'ev informed me that a clay tablet from Persepolis had been published dating from approximately 500 BC with a Greek inscription executed in an

49 Monakhov 1999, 635; a reading different from that of V.I. Kats, who dates them to the 320 (Kats 2007a, 430).

50 Monakhov 1999, 635; Teleaga 2003. V.I. Kats expresses a different point of view: 320-300 BC (Kats 2007a: 430).

51 Monakhov 2003, 70.

52 See Monakhov 2003, pl. 99, 5 – amphora from the burial-mound known as “Mresnota Mogila”.

53 Kats 2007a, 294.

54 Fedoseev 2014, 414.

55 Polin 2014, 482.

56 Kulikov & Saprykin 1999, 201f.; Stolba 2005, 91.

57 Vinogradov 1994, 105, No. 1, fig.1; Tokhtas'ev 2000, 296-297.

58 Kretschmer 1894, 102; Bon & Bon 1957, 40; Kurtz 1989, pls. 17, 19.

East-Ionian script, in which can be found a lunate “C” alongside a normal “Σ”.⁵⁹ In other words the appearance of a lunate *sigma* dates back to an earlier period than the one usually accepted.

Against this background new conclusions naturally present themselves. In the first place, the manufacturer Etymos was active not at the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century BC, but somewhat earlier – within the period 340–320 BC. Secondly, and this is of fundamental importance, in many well-known cases there is no straightforward pattern for the typological division of Herakleian stamps on the basis of one or two names in a stamp and then for their dating on the basis of such distinctions. Unexplained variations in the system of stamping, when the familiar formula for a stamp is not maintained for reasons that are not clear, crop up quite frequently, and indeed not only with regard to Herakleian stamps, but also on the island of Thasos, as has been recorded in the case of stamps relating to the “late” magistrates Klitos and Nauson.

Acknowledgment

Research is supported by the Russian Science Foundation, within the project “Greek amphorae (VII–II c. BC) from the Northern shores of the Pontus: the creation Museum catalogs and interactive Databases (APE)”, grant No. 18-18-00096. This is an actualized version of the article published in Russian: Monakhov 2016.

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List of Abbreviations

NANU *National Academy of Sciences of the Ukraine.*