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## INHALTSVERZEICHNIS

Vorwort der Redaktion. ....	VII
 <i>The Aegean and the Pontic region</i>	
Charikleia DIAMANTI Byzantine Emperors on stamped Late Roman/Early Byzantine Amphoras. ....	1
Cristina MONDIN La ceramica tardoantica di <i>Tyana</i> (Cappadocia meridionale): tra continuità e discontinuità nell'entroterra anatolico. ....	7
Platon PETRIDIS Pottery and society in the ceramic production centre of late Roman Delphi. ....	15
Denis ZHURAVLEV Syro-Palestinian lamps from Chersonesos and their derivatives of the Roman and Byzantine period. ....	23
 <i>The Balkans and the Danube region</i>	
Maja BAUSOVAC & Darja PIRKMAJER Late Roman glazed pottery from Rifnik near Celje. ....	33
Vesna BIKIĆ & Vujadin IVANIŠEVIĆ Imported pottery in Central Illyricum – a case study: Caričin grad ( <i>Iustiniana Prima</i> ) ....	41
Snežana ČERNAČ-RATKOVIĆ Burnished pottery from <i>Horreum Margi</i> . ....	51
Dénes GABLER Terra sigillata from <i>Aquincum</i> -Viziváros (water town). ....	57
Kristina JELINČIĆ Ceramica romana tardo antica dal villaggio romano Virovitica Kiškorijska Jug ( <i>Pannonia Superior</i> ) dalle unità stratigrafiche datate mediante <sup>14</sup> C	69
Gordana JEREMIĆ Late Roman and Early Byzantine pottery from Saldum. Reflection of change in social and historical circumstances. ....	81
Eduard KREKOVIĆ Roman Pottery in the Migration Period. ....	89
Slavica KRUNIĆ Late Roman and Early Byzantine lamps from <i>Singidunum</i> . ....	97
Marian MOCANU Late Roman fine pottery with stamped decoration discovered at ( <i>L?</i> ) <i>ibida</i> (Province of <i>Scythia</i> ) ....	107
Andrei OPAIT & Dorel PARASCHIV Rare amphora finds in the city and territory of ( <i>L</i> ) <i>ibida</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> –6 <sup>th</sup> centuries AD) ....	113
Ivana OŽANIĆ ROGULJIĆ Pottery from the workshop of Sextus Metilius Maximus (Crikvenica-Igralište/ <i>Ad Turres</i> , Northern Dalmatia) ....	125

Roberto PERNA, Chiara CAPPONI, Sofia CINGOLANI & Valeria TUBALDI	
<i>Hadrianopolis</i> e la valle del Drino (Albania) tra l'età tardoantica e quella protobizantina.	
Le evidenze ceramiche dagli scavi 2007–2009. ....	133
Angelina RAIČKOVIĆ	
Late Roman Pottery from <i>Viminacium</i> -Thermae. The excavation of 2004 .....	147
Milica TAPAVIČKI-ILIĆ	
Some observations concerning painted pottery in <i>Moesia superior</i> . ....	155

### *Italy and Cisalpine Gaul*

Michele BUENO, Marta NOVELLO & Valentina MANTOVANI	
Progetto Aquileia: Casa delle Bestie Ferite. Commercio e consumo ad Aquileia. Analisi delle anfore tardoantiche alla luce di alcuni contesti. ....	159
Marco CAVALIERI, Enrica BOLDRINI, Charles BOSSU, Paola DE IDONÈ & Antonia FUMO	
Aspetti della cultura materiale nelle fasi di riutilizzo (V–inizi VII sec. d.C.) della villa romana di Aiano-Torraccia di Chiusi (San Gimignano, Siena/Italy). Note preliminari. ....	169
Fulvio COLETTI	
La ceramica invetriata di età tardoantica a Roma: nuovi dati da recenti scavi stratigrafici. ....	181
Daniela COTTICA & Luana TONIOLO	
La circolazione del vasellame ceramico nella laguna nord di Venezia tra I sec. d.C. e VI sec. d.C. Osservazioni preliminari. ....	195
Christiane DE MICHELI SCHULTHESS & Fabiana FABBRI	
I bicchieri a bulbo dal territorio italiano: contributo per la definizione di una <i>koiné</i> produttiva. ....	205
Fabiana FABBRI	
Ceramica di epoca tardo-imperiale dalla Valdinievole e dalla città di Pistoia (Toscana, Italia). Contributo per la storia economica e commerciale dell'Etruria romana. ....	217
Archer MARTIN	
Composition by functional groups of contexts at Pompeii. ....	225
Simonetta MENCHELLI & Marinella PASQUINUCCI	
Ceramiche con rivestimento rosso nella Tuscia settentrionale. ....	229
Luana TONIOLO	
Napoli tardo-antica. Nuovi dati dal centro urbano: il contesto dei Girolomini .....	239
Paola VENTURA	
Materiale ceramico da recenti scavi presso la villa di Torre di Pordenone (Provincia di Pordenone, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Italia) .....	249

### *Sicily and Lampedusa*

Valentina CAMINNECI	
« <i>Animam in sepulchro condimus</i> »: sepolcreto tardoantico in anfore presso l'Emporion di Agrigento (Sicilia, Italia). ....	259
Armida DE MIRO & Antonella POLITO	
Lucerne in sigillata africana, ceramica fine e da fuoco dalla necropoli paleocristiana di Lampedusa (Sicilia) .....	267
Marek PALACZYK	
Spätantike und mittelalterliche Transportamphoren von <i>Ietas</i> (Sizilien). ....	273
Maria Concetta PARELLO & Annalisa AMICO	
Ceramica fine e ceramica comune di provenienza africana dal sito in contrada Verdura di Sciacca (Agrigento, Sicilia/Italia). ....	281
Maria Serena RIZZO & Luca ZAMBITO	
Ceramiche da fuoco di età tardo-antica e della prima età bizantina dal territorio agrigentino: nuovi dati da Cignana e Vito Soldano. ....	289

## *Africa*

Marzia GIULIODORI (con collaborazione di Moufida JENEN, Sofia CINGOLANI & Chokri TOUIHRI)	
Ceramica tardoantica e bizantina dal teatro romano di <i>Althiburos</i> (Tunisia) . . . . .	299
Mohamed KENAWI	
Beheira Survey: Roman pottery from the Western Delta of Egypt. Surface pottery analysis – Kilns. . . . .	309
Florian SCHIMMER	
Amphorae from the Roman fort at Gheriat el-Garbia (Libya). . . . .	319
Meike WEBER & Sebastian SCHMID	
Supplying a desert garrison. Pottery from the Roman fort at Gheriat el-Garbia (Libya). . . . .	327

## **Iberian Peninsula**

Macarena BUSTAMANTE ÁLVAREZ	
La terre sigillée hispanique tardive: un état de question à la lumière de nouvelles découvertes. . . . .	337
Macarena BUSTAMANTE ÁLVAREZ & Francisco Javier HERAS	
Nouvelles données stratigraphiques pour la connaissance de la forme Hayes 56 en ARSW-D à <i>Augusta Emerita</i> (Mérida, Badajoz/Espagne). . . . .	349
Adolfo FERNÁNDEZ FERNÁNDEZ	
Datos preliminares sobre las ánforas orientales tardías de dos yacimientos de Vigo (Galicia, España), con el ejemplo de un contexto de la primera mitad del s. VII . . . . .	355
Ana Patricia MAGALHÃES	
Late sigillata from fish-salting workshop 1 in Tróia (Portugal). . . . .	363
José Carlos QUARESMA & Rui MORAIS	
Eastern Late Roman fine ware imports in <i>Bracara Augusta</i> (Braga, Portugal). . . . .	373
Albert V. RIBERA I LACOMBA & Miquel ROSSELLÓ MESQUIDA	
Las ánforas tardoantiguas de Valentia. . . . .	385
Inês VAZ PINTO, Ana Patrícia MAGALHÃES & Patrícia BRUM	
Un depotoir du V <sup>e</sup> siècle dans l'officine de salaisons 1 de Tróia (Portugal). . . . .	397
Catarina VIEGAS	
Imports and local production: common ware from urban sites in southern <i>Lusitania</i> (Algarve). . . . .	407

## *Transalpine Gaul, Germany and Austria*

Martin AUER	
Late Roman local production in southwestern <i>Noricum</i> . <i>Municipium Claudium Aguntum</i> – a case study . . . .	419
Loes LECLUSE	
Typological characterisation of kilns in north western Gaul in the Roman period. . . . .	423



## VORWORT DER REDAKTION

Der 27. RCRF-Kongress fand vom 19. bis zum 26. September 2010 im Nationalmuseum in Belgrad statt.  
Thema des Kongresses war: „LATE ROMAN AND EARLY BYZANTINE POTTERY: the end or continuity of Roman production?“.

Von den anlässlich des Kongresses präsentierten Postern und Vorträgen wurden folgende nicht publiziert:

M. BERGAMINI, P. COMODI & I. FAGA	Scoppieto: La produzione di vasi a pareti sottili
D. BERNAL CASASOLA, M. LARA MEDINA & J. VARGAS GIRÓN	Roman clay fishing weights in Hispania. Recent research on typology and chronology
A. BIERNACKI & E. KLENINA	Red slip ware from <i>Novae (Moesia Secunda)</i> : 4 <sup>th</sup> –5 <sup>th</sup> local production and imports
M. CASALINI	Circolazione ceramica a Roma tra I eta delle invasioni e la riconquista bizantina. Nuovi dati dai contesti delle pendici nord orientali del Palatino
SV. CONRAD	Pottery of the second half of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> century from <i>Romuliana</i>
T. CVJETIČANIN	Late Roman pottery in Diocese Dacia: overview, problems and phenomena
M. DASZKIEWICZ & H. HAMEL	Roman pottery from Baalbek (Lebanon): provenance studies by laboratory analysis
J. DAVIDOVIĆ	Late Roman burnished pottery from Srem
E. DOKSANALTI	The late Roman pottery from “the Late Roman House” in Knidos and the Knidian late Roman pottery
D. DOBREVA	Late Roman amphorae on the Lower Danube: trade and continuity of the Roman production
D. DOBREVA & G. FURLAN	Progetto Aquileia: <i>Fondi ex Cossar</i> . Commercio e consumo ad Aquileia. Analisi delle anfore tardoantiche alla luce di alcuni contesti
KR. DOMZALSKI	Late Roman light-coloured ware: tradition and innovation
P. DYCZEK	Remarks on the so called legionary pottery
A. JANKOWIAK & F. TEICHNER	A household inventory of a <i>Mirobrigensis celticus</i>
G. KABAKCHIEVA	Spätromische Keramik in den Provinzen <i>Dacia Ripensis</i> und <i>Moesia Secunda</i>
T. KOWAL & J. RECLAW	Scientific Investigations – Program EU – Central Europe: The Danube Limes project
J. KRAJSEK	Late Roman pottery from <i>Municipium Claudium Celeia</i>
J. LEIDWANGER	Economic crisis and non market exchange: fabric diversity in the Late Roman 1 cargo amphoras from the 7 <sup>th</sup> century shipwreck at Yassiada (Turkey)
T. LELEKOVIĆ	Pottery from the necropoleis of <i>Mursa</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> –4 <sup>th</sup> centuries)
B. LIESEN	First century fine ware production at Xanten (Germany)
R. PALMA	La ceramica dipinta di Schedia (Egitto)
D. PARASCHIV, G. NUTU & M. IACOB	La ceramique romaine d’ <i>Argamum (Moesia Inferior)</i>
S. PETKOVIĆ	Late Roman pottery from tower 19 of the later fortification of <i>Romuliana</i>
P. PUPPO	Ceramiche comuni di VI–VII sec. d.C. nella Sicilia occidentale: produzioni regionali ed importazioni dall’Africa settentrionale
D. RADICEVIĆ	Early Byzantine pottery from Liška Čava, near Guča (Western Serbia)
D. RATKOVIĆ	The territory of Serbia in Roman times
CHR. SCHAUER	Pottery of the late Roman and early Byzantine periods in Olympia

- G. SCHNEIDER & M. DASZKIEWICZ In-situ chemical analysis of pottery using a portable X-ray spectrometer
- A. STAROVIĆ & R. ARSIĆ Cherniakhovo-type ceramic vessels from NW Serbia and the question of inhabitants of the central Balkans in the late 4<sup>th</sup> century AD
- M. TEKOCAK Roman pottery in the Aksehir Museum
- P. VAMOS Some remarks about military pottery in *Aquincum*
- M. VUJOVIĆ & E. CVIJETIĆ *Mortaria* from Komini-*Municipium S.* (Montenegro)
- Y. WAKSMAN “Byzantine White Ware I”: from Late Roman to Early Byzantine Pottery in Istanbul/Constantinople
- I. ŽIŽEK Late Roman pottery in Roman graves in *Poetovio*

Bei der Korrektur und Durchsicht der Artikel stand mir das *editorial committee* zur Seite. Ganz besonders danke ich Philip Kenrick für die zuverlässige Unterstützung und Dieter Imhäuser (ars) für die gute und freundschaftliche Zusammenarbeit bei Satz und Layout.

Die Zitierweise wurde den Richtlinien der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts angeglichen (Ber. RGK 71, 1990, 973–998 und Ber. RGK 73, 1992, 478–540).

Susanne Biegert



Charikleia Diamanti

## BYZANTINE EMPERORS ON STAMPED LATE ROMAN/EARLY BYZANTINE AMPHORAS

*To the memory of Professor N. Oikonomides*

Byzantine emperors used their seals to authenticate the state documents and to secure their correspondence or even bags containing coins, the so called *apokombia* which were ceremonial gifts distributed by them. Their own effigy was depicted on these gold (*χρυσόβουλλο*) or lead (*μολυβδόβουλλο*) seals of theirs<sup>1</sup>. From the 6<sup>th</sup> century also lead seals of *kommerkiarioi*, which were used on commercial packages as a license of circulation of the stamped commodities, depict the emperor in a way similar to that of the imperial seals or coins<sup>2</sup>. Again, the stamping of silver vessels fabricated in state workshops, sometimes with the bust of the emperor (the so called imperial series) appears in the 6<sup>th</sup> century until around 670<sup>3</sup>.

Let us proceed to examine the occurrence of effigies of Byzantine emperors on stamps of Late Roman amphoras. In a previous paper, we presented the group of stamped local amphoras of the 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century that was found at a Late Roman settlement, at Halasarna of Kos, in the southeast Aegean Sea. In addition, there was an attempt to examine the overall situation of the Late Roman/Early Byzantine amphora stamps. The basic suggestions were the following<sup>4</sup>:

1. The stamps of the Koan amphoras from Halasarna were part of a state-control financial mechanism operated by *Kommerkiarioi*, which provided an easy, quick and secure way of control: one stamped amphora could secure the circulation of a number of unstamped ones.

2. We also suggested that the monograms and the busts, which exist on some of the published stamps of the amphoras of the 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century, refer on the one hand to the *Kommerkiarioi* (monograms), and on the other to the symbol of the state, the Emperor himself (busts).

These suggestions were based, among other factors, on the observance of similarities with the two commercial stamping systems of the 6/7<sup>th</sup> century mentioned above which bear images of the emperor, the lead seals of *Kommerkiarioi* and the stamps on silver vessels.

Since then, a stamp found at Halasarna of Kos (**fig. 1**) on a locally produced amphora of the LR 13 type<sup>5</sup>, depicting the effigy of an emperor (Koan amphora stamp *type III*<sup>6</sup>) has strengthened even more these suggestions and confirmed the similarity of the Halasarnian stamped amphoras with these two kinds of state stamps. It was the first stamp of this kind of known origin: the bust of a man wearing a cross-topped crown with pendants, holding in his left hand a sceptre with a cross-shaped end. The traces of a Greek inscription [---] XOY+EΩE[---] above the bust are preserved<sup>7</sup>.

In this paper we will present another Byzantine imperial stamp on a Koan amphora II/LRA13, which also belongs to the Koan amphora stamp *type III*, very probably depicting another emperor (**fig. 2–3**).

On this new find, part of the body of a man facing the front is preserved and also his shoulders and all the left hand, which is laid on the chest holding a cross-topped sceptre. We can distinguish the neck and the outline of the whole face. The face is triangularly shaped, which is very probably the result of indicating a beard. The hair is short. The man is wearing a crown, which has survived in outline as well as its decoration on the upper part, which seems to be depicted by dots. Above the bust and at the perimeter of the stamp some letters of an inscription are preserved: [---] OY+E [---].

Iconographically, both the busts of the Koan stamps, but especially the first one (**fig. 1**), are similar to a few published examples, all also on type LRA 13, like the Koan amphoras, the provenance of which however is not known. In all of them, the man is depicted holding a cross-topped sceptre in his left hand. In addition, on the example found in Alexandria, in the surviving right hand the man is holding the mappa. All these similar busts of the man with a decorated crown and sceptre can only represent an emperor, and probably the same one<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Their image appears also, in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, on seals of imperial institutions and on the boundary markers of imperial properties: OIKONOMIDES 1986, 36; ID. 1987, 240; ID. 1995, 71. The individual portraits, if any, were a very rare exception: CHEYNET 1997, 109; 111; 114; 116.

<sup>2</sup> It is worthy to note here that in some other cases of officers' stamps the appearance of the emperor's effigy on them is connected with commercial/financial activities as well: OIKONOMIDES 1986, 36–37; MORRISON/SEIBT 1982, 222–223.

<sup>3</sup> DODD 1961; MUNDELL-MANGO 1986, 14.

<sup>4</sup> DIAMANTI 2010b, 1–6. See also EAD. 2010d, 92–107; 168–171; 209–215; 222–224.

<sup>5</sup> According to the typology of J. RILEY, 1979, 231–232; DIAMANTI 2010a, 146–147; EAD. 2010d, 80–88.

<sup>6</sup> EAD. 2010c. *Type I*: Stamps whose content has not survived (**fig. 5**). *Type II*: Stamps with a monogram and inscription. Their characteristic is their central cross-like Greek monograms which, we suggest, indicate the name of the emperor. In their perimeter, there is a Greek inscription in upper case characters containing among other things names and titles of officials, probably *Kommerkiarioi* (**fig. 4**). *Type III* (**fig. 1; 3**): Bust of an emperor and inscription on the upper part of the round stamp perimeter. Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> See DIAMANTI 2010b, 1–2 n. 9–11 and EAD. 2010c for relevant details. Here we remind that they were found at Sarāḫane of Constantinople (HAYES 1992, 77), at Pnyka of Athens (GRACE 1949, 184; 188; ID. 1956, 171), in Alexandria (SZTETYLLO/BORKOWSKI 1986) and finally on

To identify these emperors, we turned our research to iconographic comparisons with stamped silver plates and coins.

The so-called imperial series of stamps on the silver plates has been studied and dated by Erica Dodd. Usually, the stamps were five (round, square, hexagonal, long and cross-shaped stamps). The round stamp is the most interesting for our study since, according to the shape, the content and its arrangement is similar to the amphora stamps presented. In detail, the round stamps of the imperial series represent the bust of the emperor, while a name or title of an official surrounds it<sup>9</sup>. Based on comparisons with coins, Dodd distinguished eight types of busts dated from the 6<sup>th</sup> until the 7<sup>th</sup> century. We believe that type 3, which is dated most probably during the reign of Tiberius (578–582) and shows a beardless man “without a nimbus, wearing a crown with pendants and circular ornament surmounted by a cross”, can be compared to the bust of the first Koan amphora stamp we presented, and with the similar stamped amphoras known elsewhere<sup>10</sup>. This conclusion is supported by comparison with coins of Tiberius and fewer of Maurice, where one can observe characteristic similarities with the details of our stamp<sup>11</sup>.

The second amphora stamp presented (**fig. 2–3**) should be connected with type 4b of the imperial busts on silver plates which belongs to Phocas (602–610): the crown is without pendants and the short haired man has a pointed beard which gives him a triangular –shaped face, as in the coins<sup>12</sup>.

Contrary to the silver plate stamps or lead seals, amphoras most of the time give us internal data of provenance (by their fabric) as well as of dating (by their archaeological contexts). Both features are true for the stamped Koan amphoras under study: we are certain of their local provenance and based on the stratigraphy and their contexts they can be dated from the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> until the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, the one stamp bearing a bust as we saw is very probably to be identified with emperor Tiberius II (578–582), (**fig. 1**), while the other (**fig. 2–3**) is attributed to the emperor Phocas (602–610), offering a precision of probably four<sup>14</sup> and eight years correspondingly, something which is not usual at all for amphora dating, but mostly for coins.

We have suggested that the examples of Halasarna with

one stamp on each side of the neck (**fig. 5a–b**), should be the normal practice<sup>15</sup>. This theory is now strengthened by the fact that the examples of Halasarna with preserved content can be grouped into only two clearly different types. So, we suggest that on the one side (let us say the main one) of the amphora there was a depiction of the bust of the emperor and on the other his monogram, while both stamps are surrounded by the name and title of an official, probably the one to whom the seals belonged. It was he (or one of his assistants) who, while visiting the maritime amphora workshops of the provinces, stamped some of the amphoras before they were fired, confirming that the legal procedure had been followed. Obviously, both stamps were necessary and both served as an easier and faster way of checking the amphoras during a state control. Especially, the depiction of the emperor himself is an obvious and powerful proof of the importance given to the authenticity of these controls and to the smooth transaction of the economical procedure they were part of<sup>16</sup>. Indeed, since we agree with the theory that the Byzantine economy was based mainly on the land of the provinces and their agricultural products, while the main expense of the state was “the cost of running the administration and the army”<sup>17</sup>, we realize that the amphora production and distribution served correspondingly these two crucial points of the Byzantine state economy: packaging those agrarian products and sending them to cover the needs of the citizens and the army<sup>18</sup>.

Tiberius II and Phocas, very probably the emperors of the Koan stamps presented, (let us say two totally different cases of emperors in every aspect), lived in a period with many financial problems and wars, a period which ended with the Arab invasions as the Late Roman/Early Byzantine settlement of Halasarna witnesses<sup>19</sup>. In a historical time like this amphoras were the only means which could systematically be used for the transportation of annonic or free commerce products. Particularly the sophisticated system of imperial amphora stamping which was adopted just some decades before the end of late antiquity should contribute to the state coverage of civil and military needs. Moreover, the organization of the amphora production and distribution by the state is indicated by the systematic appearance of the types LRA 1 and 13 in the East Aegean Sea (production centres) and the Danube and the Black Sea area (military bases)<sup>20</sup>. Here we underline the location of another amphora workshop at Naoussa of Paros Island, where both the LRA 1 and LRA 13 types were produced<sup>21</sup>.

It is logical for one to suppose that the great network which already existed for the control of the silk commerce by Kommerkiarioi, and which was used to organize the economic life of the provinces, should have been used for the control or even state production and distribution of amphoras

Geronisos island in Cyprus (CONNELLY/WILSON 2002, 274–275) bearing the bust of an official surrounded by inscriptions which contain the name of a Ptolemaeus. It cannot be a coincidence. It is very interesting that for the one found on Geronisos island, it has been suggested among other things, that this man can be identified with a Ptolemaeus gloriosissimus who is mentioned in a papyrus from Oxyrynchus. In this case one might wonder whether it could be connected with a Koan stamp bearing the same title (ἐνδοξότατος) in Greek (DIAMANTI 2010b, 4).

<sup>9</sup> DODD 1961, 5–18.

<sup>10</sup> Type 1 is similar to coins of Justinian I and Justin II. Type 2, which belongs to the reigns of Tiberius II and Maurice, is similar to Type 1 except that the diadem is replaced by a crown with a small ornament in front. Type 3 is even more similar to the Tiberius coins “in that the Emperor is without nimbus and the crown has circular ornament supporting a cross”: DODD 1961, 9–10.

<sup>11</sup> BELLINGER/GRIERSON 1966 pl. 60–65 (esp. AV 2, AV 3, Æ 11–14); 68, Æ 44 of Maurice (582–602); MORRISSON 1970/1 pl. 26 (AV/01, Æ /06).

<sup>12</sup> DODD 1961, 10; BELLINGER/GRIERSON 1968 pl. I.4a; II.30.a.1.; IV.76.a; V.79.b.1; MORRISSON 1970/1 pl. 36, Æ/07; 37, Æ/10; ΚΥΠΡΙΑΙΟΥ 1995, 84 pl. 5, 58. See also P.GRIERSON, *Byzantine Coinage*, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection (Washington D.C. 1999) 29.

<sup>13</sup> DIAMANTI 2010c.

<sup>14</sup> Or eight years if we consider the four years of Tiberius' co-reign with Justin II (574–578).

<sup>15</sup> DIAMANTI 2010c; EAD. 2010d, 93–96; 210; 212. Until now they are the only known examples except the one from the Yassi Ada shipwreck: VAN DOORNINCK 1989, 250 fig. 1, 2.

<sup>16</sup> DIAMANTI 2010c.

<sup>17</sup> OIKONOMIDES 2002, 979.

<sup>18</sup> See DIAMANTI 2008, 19–32; EAD. 2010a, 148–149 n. 21–22; EAD. 2010b, 4; EAD. 2010c; EAD. 2010d, 164–167; 221–222.

<sup>19</sup> KOKKOROU-ALEVRAS ET AL. 2006, 60–61.

<sup>20</sup> *Supra* n. 18.

<sup>21</sup> DIAMANTI 2010e.



**Fig. 1.** Stamped Koan amphora with an emperor's bust (Tiberius II [578–582]?) and inscription [---]XOY+EΩE[---].



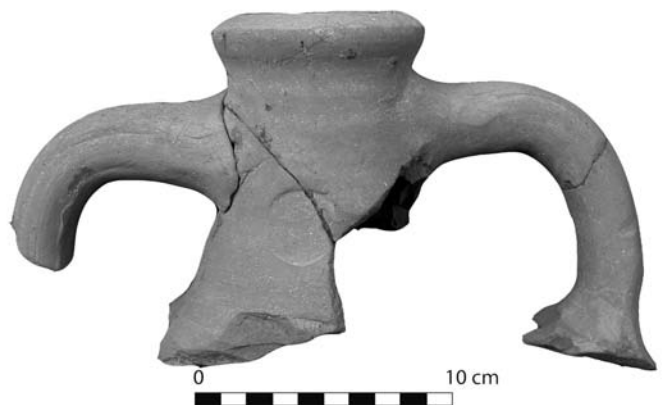
**Fig. 4.** Stamped Koan amphora with a cross-like Greek monogram Ω, Φ or PO and inscription [---]JOYEN[.] [---], (550–650).



**Fig. 2.** Stamped Koan amphora with an emperor's bust (Phocas [602–610]?) and inscription [---]OY+E[---].



**Fig. 3.** Detail of fig. 2.



**Fig. 5a–b.** Stamps on both sides of the neck of a Koan amphora (575–625).



during a critical period for the state. It is also normal to think that this substructure of provincial commerce collapsed in the parts which suffered from the Arab invasions, such as Kos Island. That would, only partly and among other reasons, explain why although during the middle and late Byzantine period there are comparatively many stamped Byzantine amphoras<sup>22</sup>, there is not until now located, at least to my

knowledge, any published examples with an emperor's bust which could be compared to the examined Early Byzantine imperial amphora stamps.

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<sup>22</sup> BAKIRTZIS 1989, 76; ΜΠΑΚΙΡΤΖΗΣ 1989, 82–84; ID. 2002; HAYES 1992, 77–78; N. GÜNSERIN 1998, 282; CH. DIAMANTI, Inscriptions on Byzantine

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