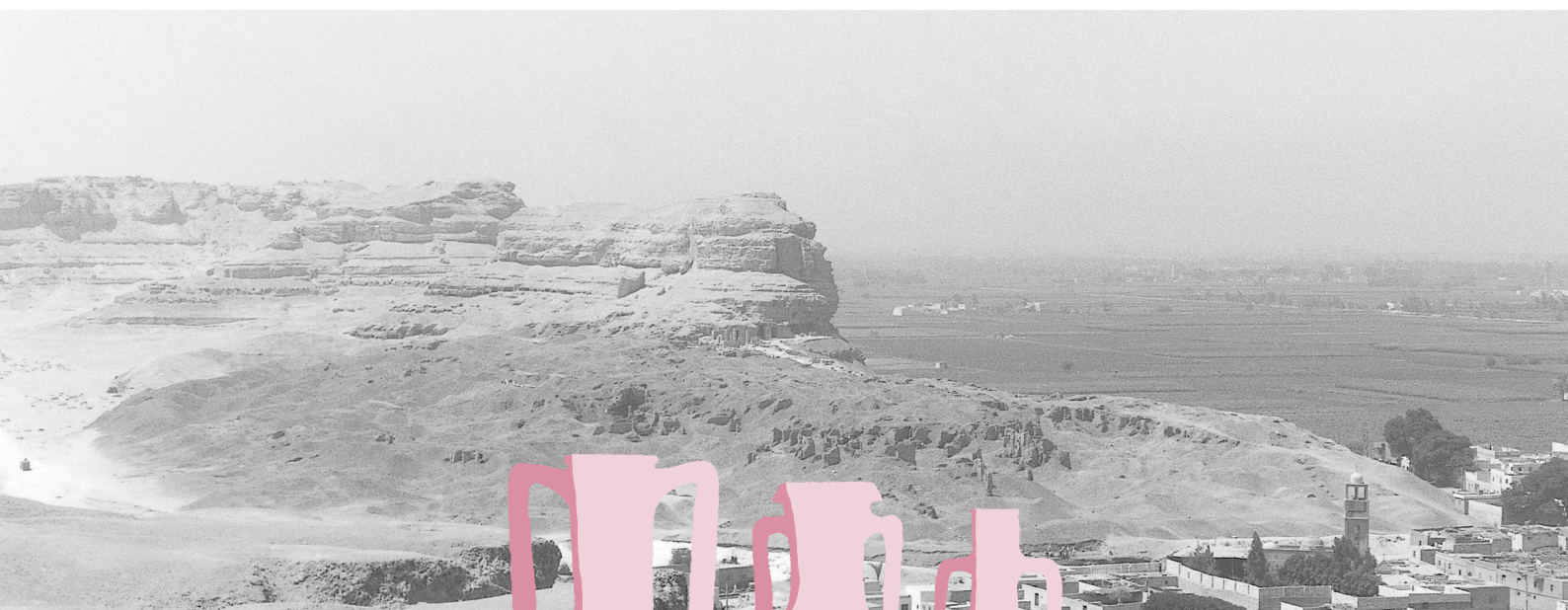


# *AKORIS I*

AMPHORA STAMPS

1997-2001



Akoris Archaeological Project

2005





EXCAVATIONS AT AKORIS  
IN MIDDLE EGYPT

Edited by  
Hiroyuki Kawanishi and Sumiyo Tsujimura

**VOLUME I**  
**AMPHORA STAMPS: 1997–2001**

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Akoris Archaeological Project

2005

Publication date : 1st March, 2005

Published by : Akoris Archaeological Project (General Director: Hiroyuki KAWANISHI), University  
of Tsukuba, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, History and  
Anthropology  
Tsukuba, Ibaraki 305-8571, JAPAN

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Printed by : Nakanishi Printing Co., Ltd.

Shimodachiuri Ogawa-Higashi, Kamigyo-ku, Kyoto 602-8048, JAPAN



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## PREFACE

The archaeological excavations executed at Akoris by the Japanese Mission trace back to 1981, and at the beginning were mainly concentrated in the Western Temple Area. The excavation came to an end in the 1992 season. Three years were then spent to prepare a general report on the twelve seasons. Thus it has become possible to trace the long process of change from the formation to the decline of Akoris as shown in the report.

The excavation re-opened in 1997 to help clarify the vicissitudes and the composition of the site in detail, and for this the north edge of the city area was chosen as the target for investigation. The excavation in this section continued until 2001, and fortunately yielded various data from the Late Pharaonic to the Ptolemaic Period, which had not been fully ascertained in our previous investigations. Among them the discovery of more than three hundred stamps impressed on transport amphoras from the Mediterranean district made an impact on us, because it was unforeseen that such a number of stamps would be unearthed in a local, inland city like Akoris. They must offer precious information not merely for the historical investigation of Ptolemaic Akoris but also for the study of the Hellenistic wine trade. Starting the publication of 1997–2001 data, we firstly chose the amphora stamps.

We would like to express our sincere gratitude to our Egyptian and Japanese counterparts who promote and facilitate our project: the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Egypt, the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture in Japan, University of Tsukuba, Nagoya University and fellow researchers and supporters. Without them, the intended objectives of this project would not have been possible to achieve.

For the publishing of this report, economic aid was granted by the SEKI Memorial Foundation for Science. We would like to express our great appreciation also to the Foundation which has understood the significance of such an academic publication.

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In 1997–1999, the field work was sponsored by the Grant-in Aid for Scientific Research, the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, Japan (No.09041005).





## I GENERAL VIEW

The site of Akoris is situated 230km south of Cairo on the east bank of the Nile, 11km north of el Minya, a major city in Middle Egypt. The major archaeological sites in this general area include Beni Hasan and Ashmunein (Hermopolis) 30km and 45km south respectively, and el-Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchus), Sharuna and el-Hiba 40, 50 and 70km north (Figs. 1, 2).

There are, in addition, many smaller sites on the east bank in the vicinity of Akoris (Fig. 3). The sites within a radius of 15km of our site, show a fluctuation both in number and scale depending on the age. The sites before the 3rd Dynasty are attested only in Zawiet al-Maietin, where Predynastic tombs of Naqada II and a step pyramid of the 3rd Dynasty are located. However, after the 4th Dynasty, the number of sites increased to include not only Zawiat al-Maietin but also Nazlet al-Shurafa, the 'Fraser Tombs', Gabal al-Teir al-Bahari, al-Babain and our site, Akoris. These sites, consisting mainly of rock-cut funerary chapels and shaft-tombs,

are small in scale. If the owners of the tombs were the officials sent from the central government, the increase in the number of tombs would mean, as generally interpreted, the intensification of control by the central government. However, if they could be regarded as the leaders of a small group such as an eminent tribe or family, it would be supposed that they had become powerful enough to be admitted into the central bureaucracy.

In the Middle Kingdom, the sites diminished conspicuously in number, but at the same time some of them became larger in scale, typically Beni Hasan, and, according to our investigation, Akoris can be numbered among such sites. Possibly as a result of the absorption of local elites into the central government during the 12th Dynasty, large tombs were no longer built in Beni Hasan, and it is quite possible that the same applied to Akoris.

In the New Kingdom, local tomb building ceased and was replaced by that of royal monuments, as shown by royal inscriptions, namely those of Amen-hotep III and Rameses III in Zawiet al-Maietin, Rameses III in Akoris, and al-Babain. Whether the royal interest in this district increased as the result of the political and religious confusion in the Amarna Age or not is an interesting problem.

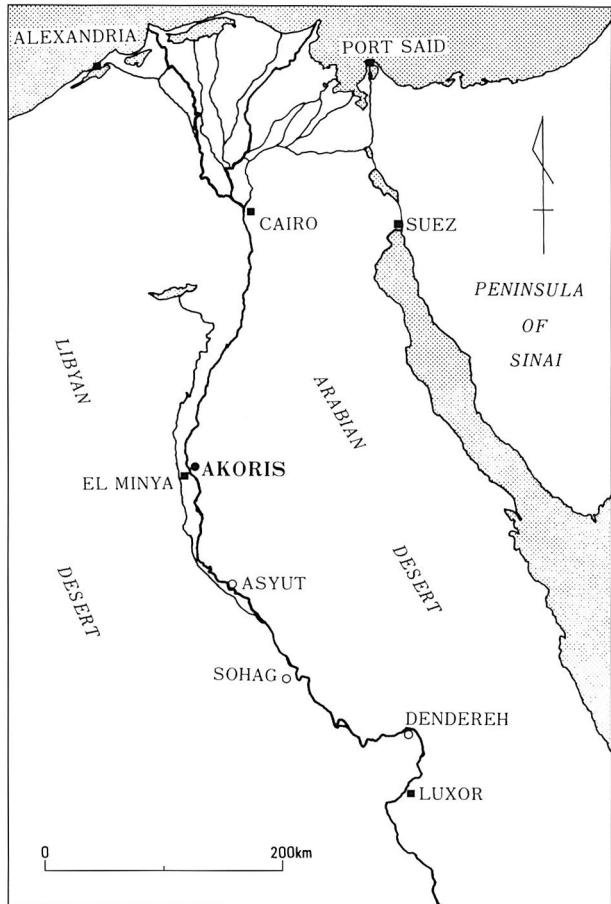
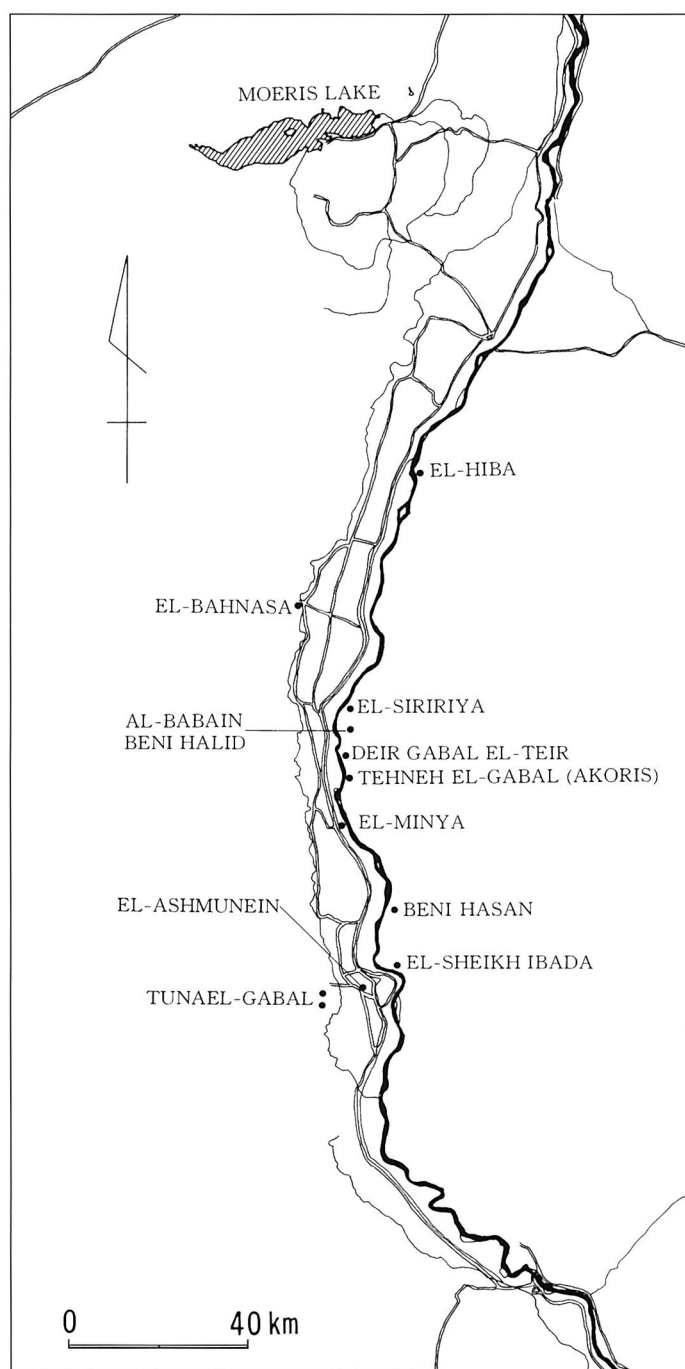
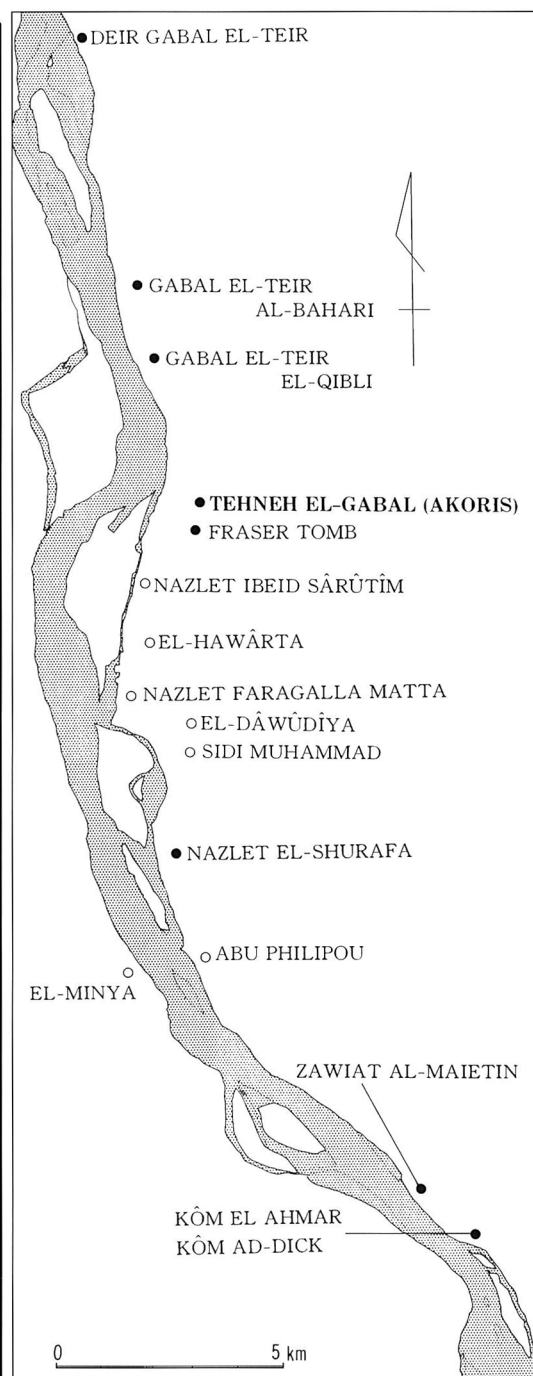


Fig. 1 Map of Egypt.



**Fig. 2** Map of Middle Egypt.



**Fig. 3** Sites and villages near Akoris.

The discovery of some new sites, including royal monuments, dating from the Third Intermediate Period, seems to suggest that urbanization continued. It is in this period that Akoris and probably Zawiet al-Maietin became urbanized. Afterwards, these fortified cities were developed under the rule of the Roman Empire. A number of sites consisting of tombs or small villages, such as Nazlet al-Shurafa, Sidi Muhammad, Gabal el-Teir al-Qibli, Gabal el-Teir al-Bahari, Bani Halid, Kom el-Ahmar, Kom ad-Dick and so on, are attested in the vicinity of these two fortified cities.

The east bank of the Nile forms a high limestone plateau where run numerous wadis, and there is a clearcut difference between it and the sandy desert on the west bank. The area occupied by Akoris is tongue-shaped with a wadi on the east and a channel on the north. The village of Tehneh, whose name is derived from the hieroglyphic T3-dhnt, lies at the mouth of the wadi. A flash flood from the eastern desert is said to hit the village once every twenty years, and a channel, bordering the northern edge of the site and passing through the village, was dug in an effort to control it.

The site is mainly composed of a city area, necropolis and quarries (Figs. 4, 5). The city area measures 600m north-south and 300m east-west and covers 14.7ha. At the south section of the city area, there rises a rocky, bald crag or monadnock whose summit is 40 m above the riverside fields. A large number of empty caves, used as tombs in the Roman Period (Fig. 6), remain on the eastern side and skirt, and five Pharaonic rock cut tombs with shafts, plus one Ptolemaic chapel referred to as Chapel F (Figs. 7–9) are lined up along the northern skirt. Four of these tombs date from the Middle Kingdom, while another one from the 20th–23rd Dynasties. One of the Middle Kingdom funerary chapels, which was set at the east end of the row, was enlarged and remodeled into a temple in the Roman Period (Fig. 6). This temple has a hypostyle hall, two courts and gates attached to it and occupies the highest point at 20m above the riverside fields. Our excavations executed during 1981–1992 were centered on this temple area including the funeral chapels.<sup>1</sup>

The city area is thought to have been separated from the eastern wadi by a huge peripheral wall built to protect it from the floods. This wall was partially exposed in our 1984 excavation. Beyond the wadi, rocky, bald mountains stretch to the Red Sea coast. From the side to the top of the mountains stretching northward from the city area, a Roman quarry spreads out over a wide area. A stele found there tells that the Roman Legion III quarried paving stones to be used in Alexandria, and a Ptolemaic rock-cut chapel with Pharaonic relief, referred to as the North Chapel, exists in this northern area facing the wadi (Figs. 10, 11). On the side and skirt lining the wadi many tunnel-type tombs dug into hard limestone layers, extend in a row to the south. Many

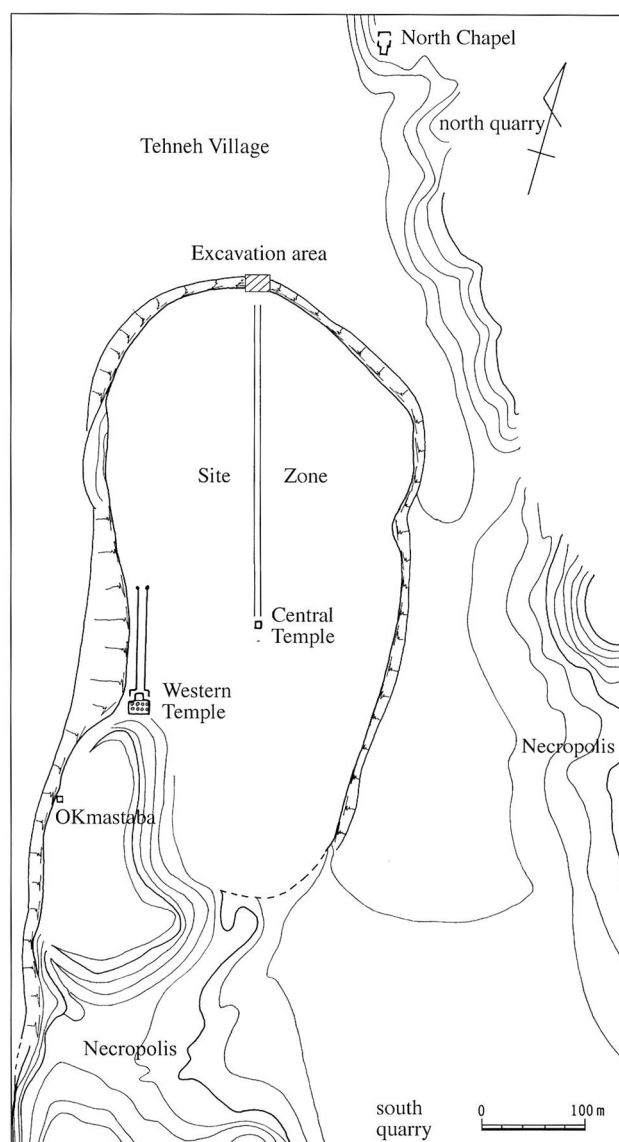


Fig. 4 Map of Akoris.





**Fig. 5** General view of the site from near the mouth of the wadi.



**Fig. 6** Front view of the Western Temple Area from the north.

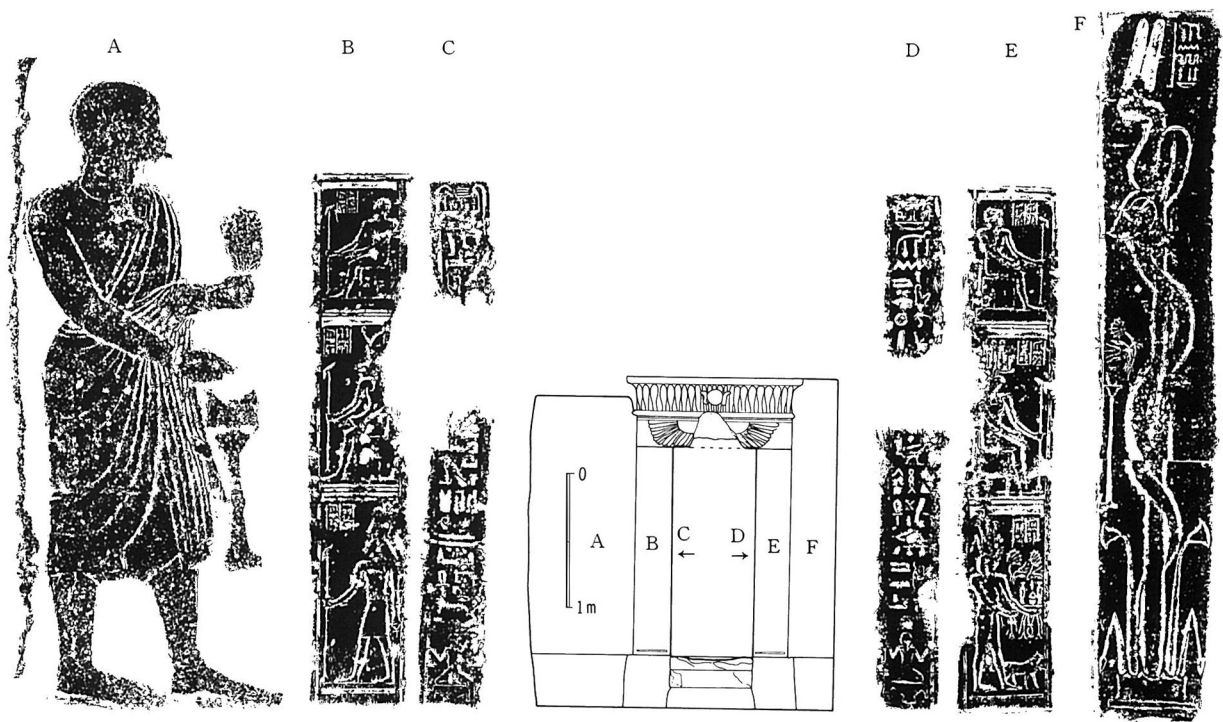


Fig. 7 Front of Chapel F.



Fig. 8 Front view of Chapel F from the west.

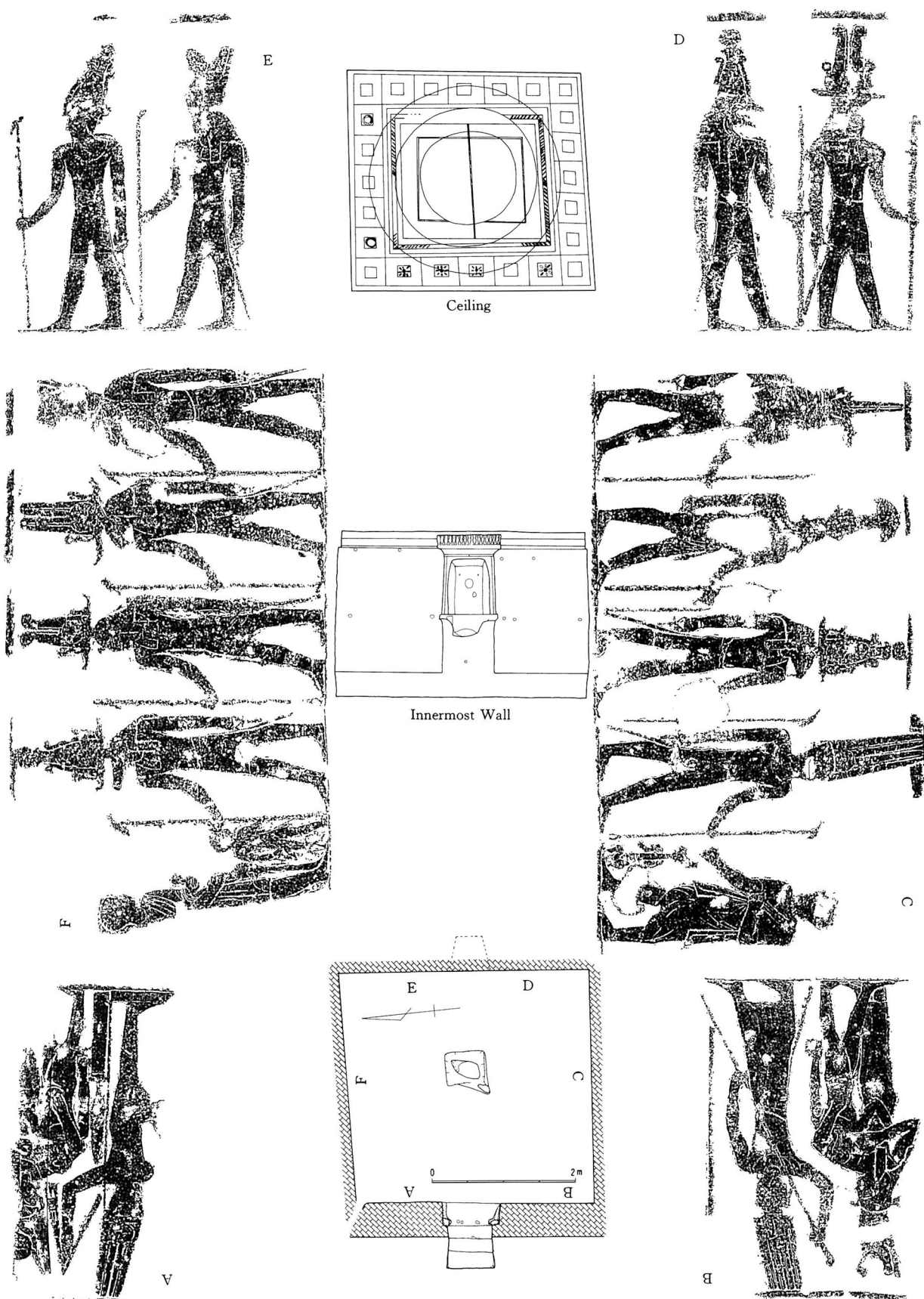


Fig. 9 Reliefs on the inner walls and paintings on the ceiling of Chapel F.



shaft-type tombs dug in the skirt here were excavated by Lefebvre in 1903. These tombs date from the Roman Period and at least some of them seem to date from the Pharaonic.

The southern saddle between the city area crag and another crag to the south forms a large-scale necropolis and includes some quarry sites (Fig. 12). Many tunnel-type tombs range in a row at the skirt of the second crag, and some shaft-type tombs and anthropoid pit graves exist in the eastern half of the south flank of the city area crag fronting the saddle. There are numerous round concave hollows in the accumulated debris in the eastern half of the bottom of the saddle. They seem to be vestiges of vandalized graves, and a large number of them are in a line. Furthermore, on the western end of the saddle some looted shaft tombs are exposed, while a large Isis-Mochias inscription of Ptolemy V remains on the cliff facing the Nile (see Chap. IV, 3).

Various types of tombs are detected in this saddle as mentioned above. It suggests a long-term use of the necropolis. According to our chisel mark chronology, some of the shaft tombs date from the Middle Kingdom, while the anthropoid pit graves date from the Ptolemaic or Roman Period.

Behind the second crag, there is yet a third one on which an enormous quarry, roughly estimated to measure more than 7ha, covers the crown of this crag (Fig. 13). Workshops indicating various work processes, with some rock-cut rooms, are left in the quarry, as for example, places where unfinished stone building parts were gathered together, where rectangularly cut



**Fig. 10** Front view of the North Chapel from the south.

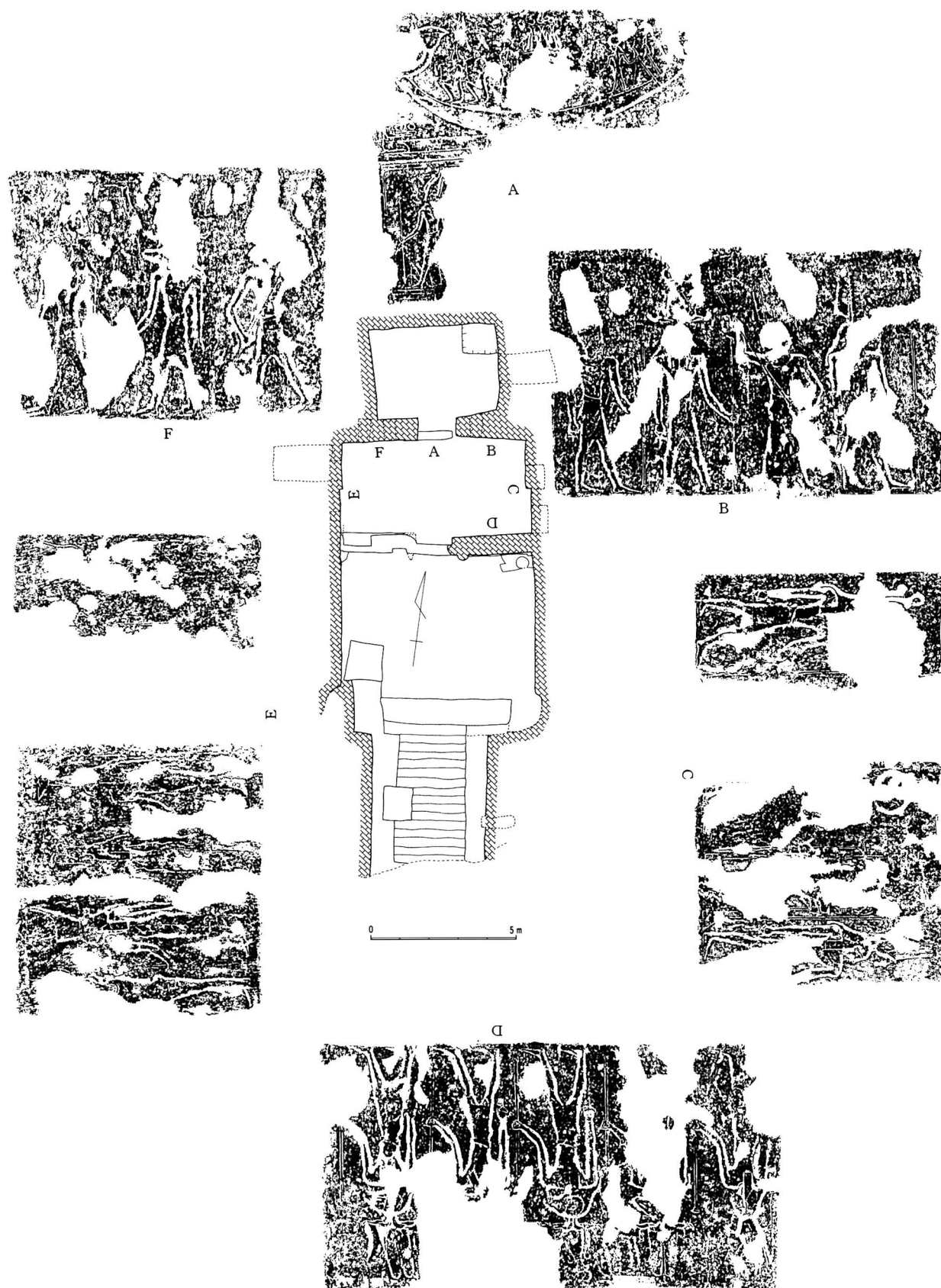


Fig. 11 North Chapel facing the wadi.



**Fig. 12** General view of the necropolis and some quarries from the northwest.



**Fig. 13** General view of the south quarry from the north.

rock is left at the bottom of an open cut, and where the traces of wedges ranging horizontally and vertically remain in the cut rock faces. According to pottery sherds scattered on the surface, it is clear that the quarry was in operation at least until the 3rd century A.D.. Roman quarries lie scattered southward and a vast Coptic quarry remains at the south end, 5km apart from Akoris.

The oldest exposed mark of human activity left at the site of Akoris is a rock-cut tomb dated from the 5th Dynasty, while visible traces of occupation in the city itself date back to the Third Intermediate Period, however, it can be assumed that settlements were in the immediate area before the time. Since the known city function came to an end in c. 700 A.D., human activity can be witnessed over a period of 3000 years, and habitation of the city itself lasted 1600 years. The site of Akoris is composed of three areas, *i.e.* the central city area, the peripheral necropolis and the outer occupational areas consisting of the western agricultural land and the north and south quarries. Though even in its thriving Roman Period, the city was by far inferior in size to nearby metropolises such as Hermopolis and Antinoe. Akoris, a local city with its necropolis and occupational areas all bearing a very long history meets the conditions to elucidate the function, the formation and the vicissitudes of a city.

<sup>1</sup> Kawanishi, H. and S. Tsujimura (eds.), *Akoris 1981–1992*, Kyoto, 1995.



## II ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION

Our re-opened excavation was centered at the north edge of the city area where a modern flood control channel has been constructed. This section lies on the line of the central road which extends north from the Central Temple, Serapeum, dated to the early Roman Period (Figs. 14, 15). Several large limestone blocks were partially exposed in the channel, and the north city gate was expected to be found there (Figs. 16, 17).

In the disordered soil covering the upper parts of these blocks, many limestone building parts consisting of cornices, column bases, capitals and so on were discovered (Fig. 18 lower). All column bases bear the same moulding and size as the Central Temple, and a cornice has the trace of Coptic repainting, while some blocks bear Coptic inscriptions. It is quite possible that a certain construction, possibly the north gate, existed from the early Roman to the Coptic Periods and then was completely lost.

A Pharaonic style limestone statue dating from the Ptolemaic Period, a bronze knocker-like door piece presenting a Greco-Roman figure, Greek and Arabic ostraca including a land tax receipt, and glazed Islamic pottery sherds from the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. were found in this disturbed soil. According to the results from the 1981–1992 excavations, Akoris seems to



**Fig. 14** Side view of Serapeum from the west.



have met its last days as an active city around 700 A.D. and thereafter transformed to unpopulated ruins. However, some Islamic finds suggest that human activities existed in the north marginal area where the present Tehneh village is situated, a little over a century after Akoris lost its city function.

Removing the disordered upper layer which inclined down to the channel, a burned soil layer, max. 2m in thickness, appeared (Fig. 19 lower right). Though this layer was cut in places by the upper layer, the top face was slanted to the north while the gently inclined bottom face gradually shifted to the horizontal (Fig. 23 upper and middle; Fig. 24 upper). The layer covered mud brick walls and ended against the lower part of limestone blocks. Under the burned soil layer, which covered the Late Period (LP) outer wall (Fig. 24 middle left), a thick sand layer containing few artificial remains emerged. It was deposited by flooding from the eastern desert.

The burned soil layer belongs to the Ptolemaic Period. A large quantity of pottery sherds, pottery lamps, terracotta figurines, unburned clay objects, stone objects and a coin as well as pottery kilns were unearthed. All of the datable finds such as pottery, terracottas and the coin show Ptolemaic traits (Fig. 19 upper, lower left; Fig. 20). Based on the chronological study of pottery lamps in Akoris and amphora stamps described later, they were dated to the 3rd-1st centuries B.C. and their chronological order is sometimes reversed in the accumulated sequence of the burned soil. Thus this fact makes us suppose that the burned soil was purposely deposited here

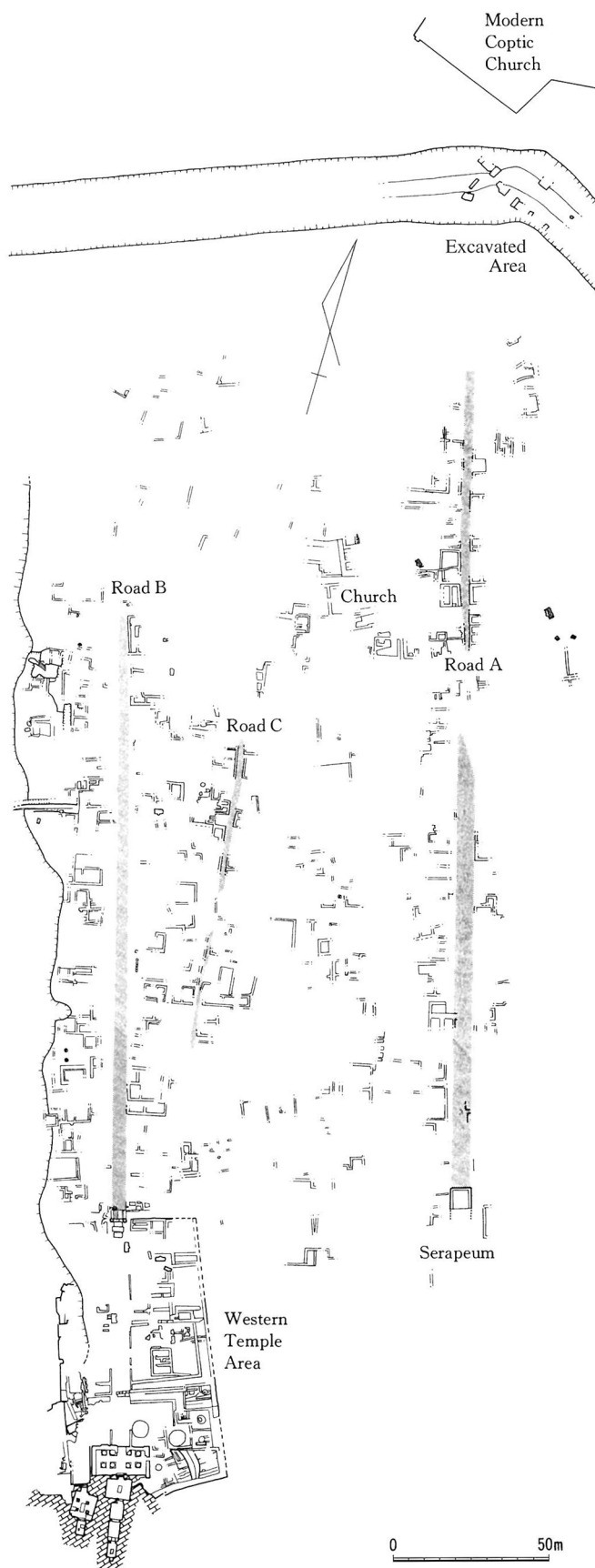


Fig. 15 Roman roads supposed in the site.



**Fig. 16** Upper: Central Road of the city as seen from the south; Lower: Limestone blocks exposed in the channel as seen before the 1995 flood.

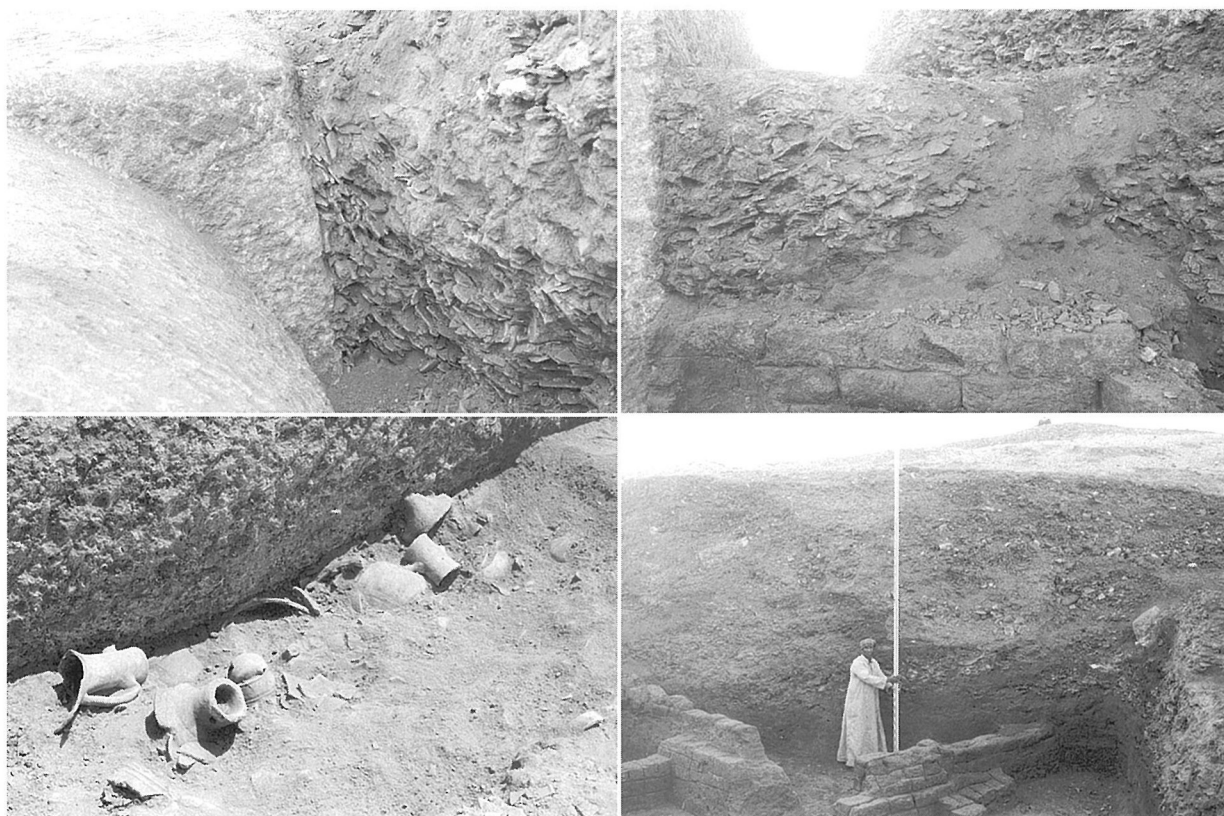


**Fig. 17** Upper: General view of the excavation area; Lower: Short-range view of the excavation area after the 1995 flood.





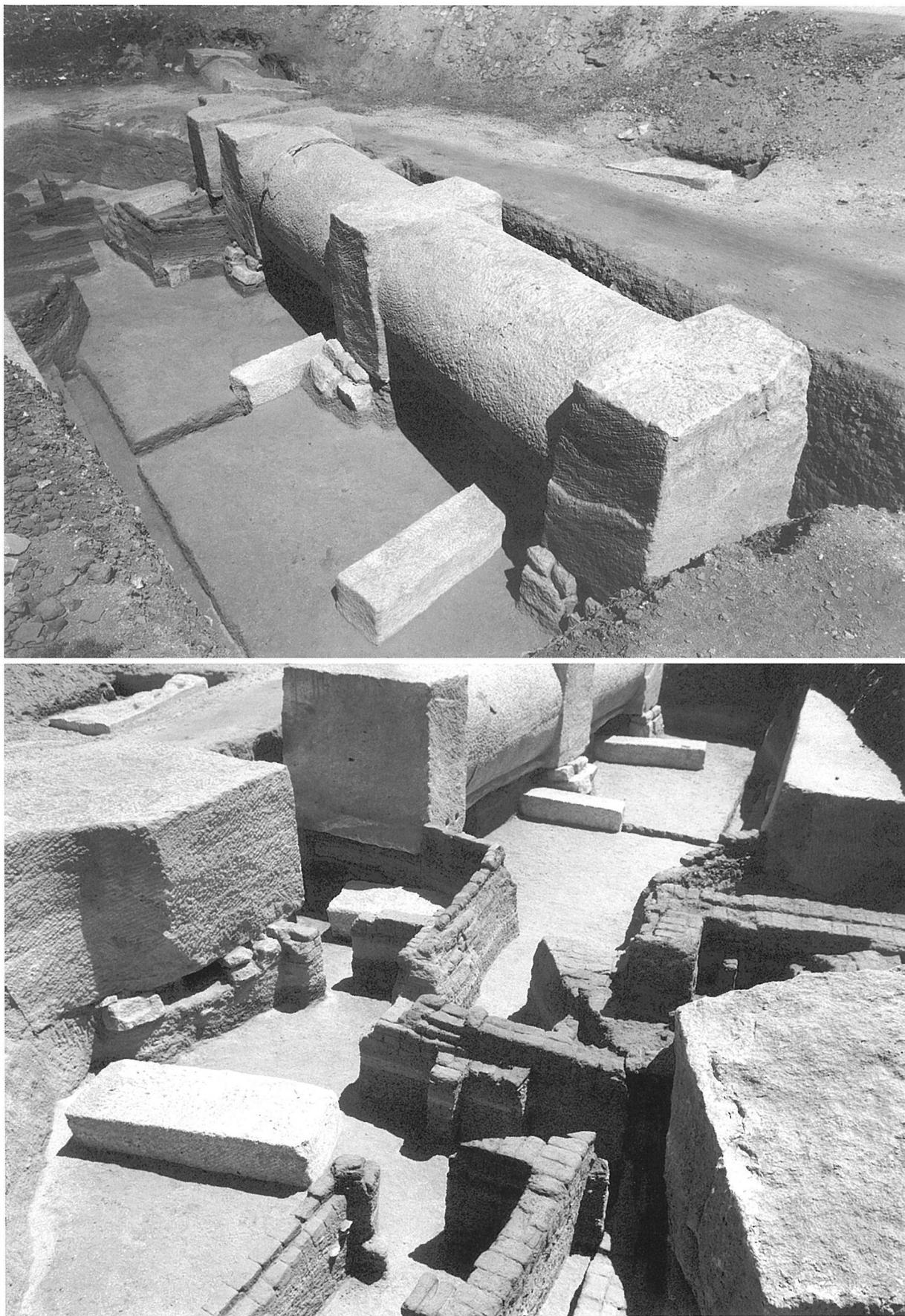
**Fig. 18** Upper: Distant view of the excavated area from the northwest; Lower: Construction limestone blocks unearthed from the upper disordered layer.



**Fig. 19** Upper: Ptolemaic layers; Lower left: Pottery unearthed from the Ptolemaic layers; Lower right: Layers from the top to the mud brick walls.

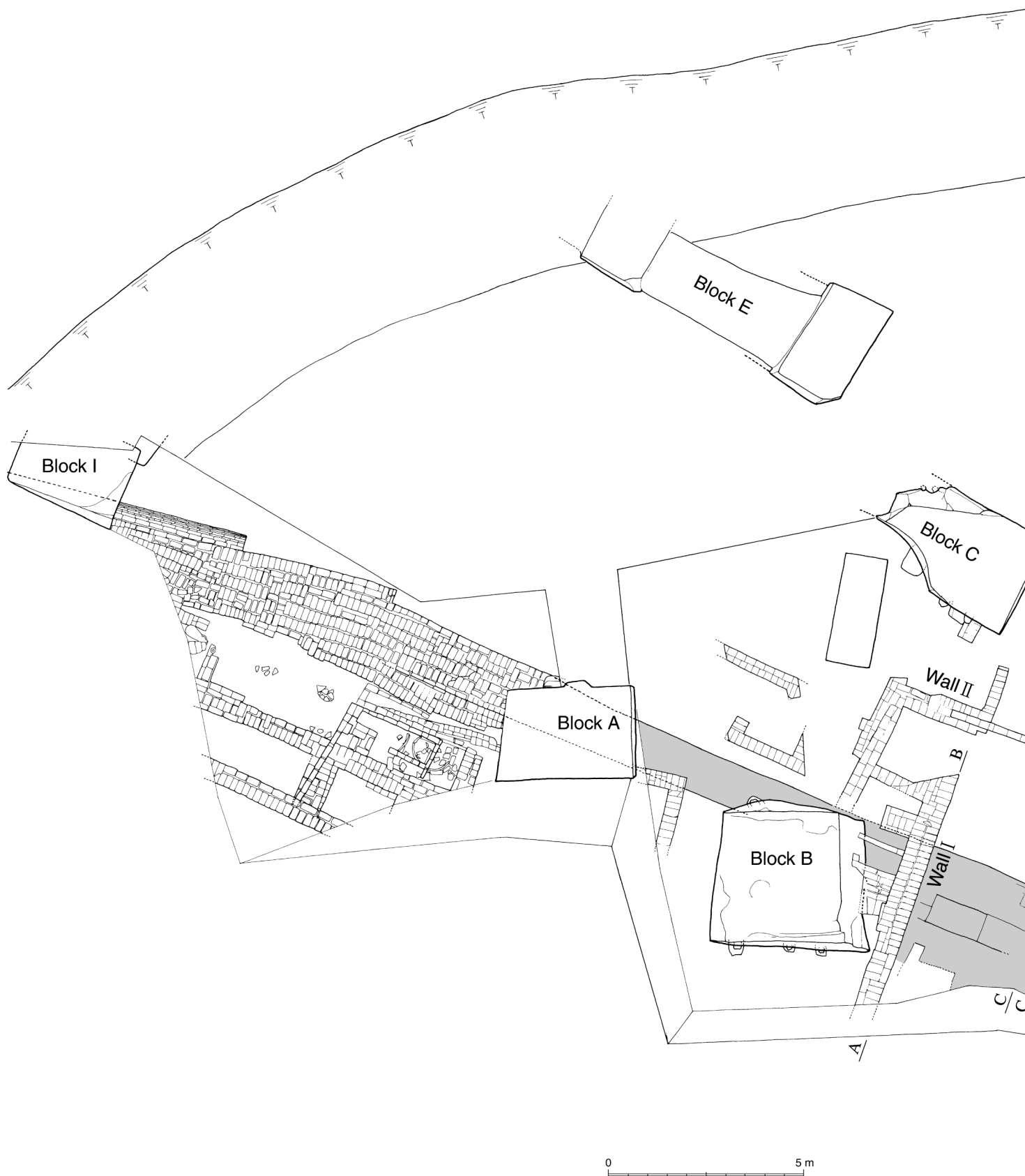


**Fig. 20** Pottery unearthed from the Ptolemaic layers.

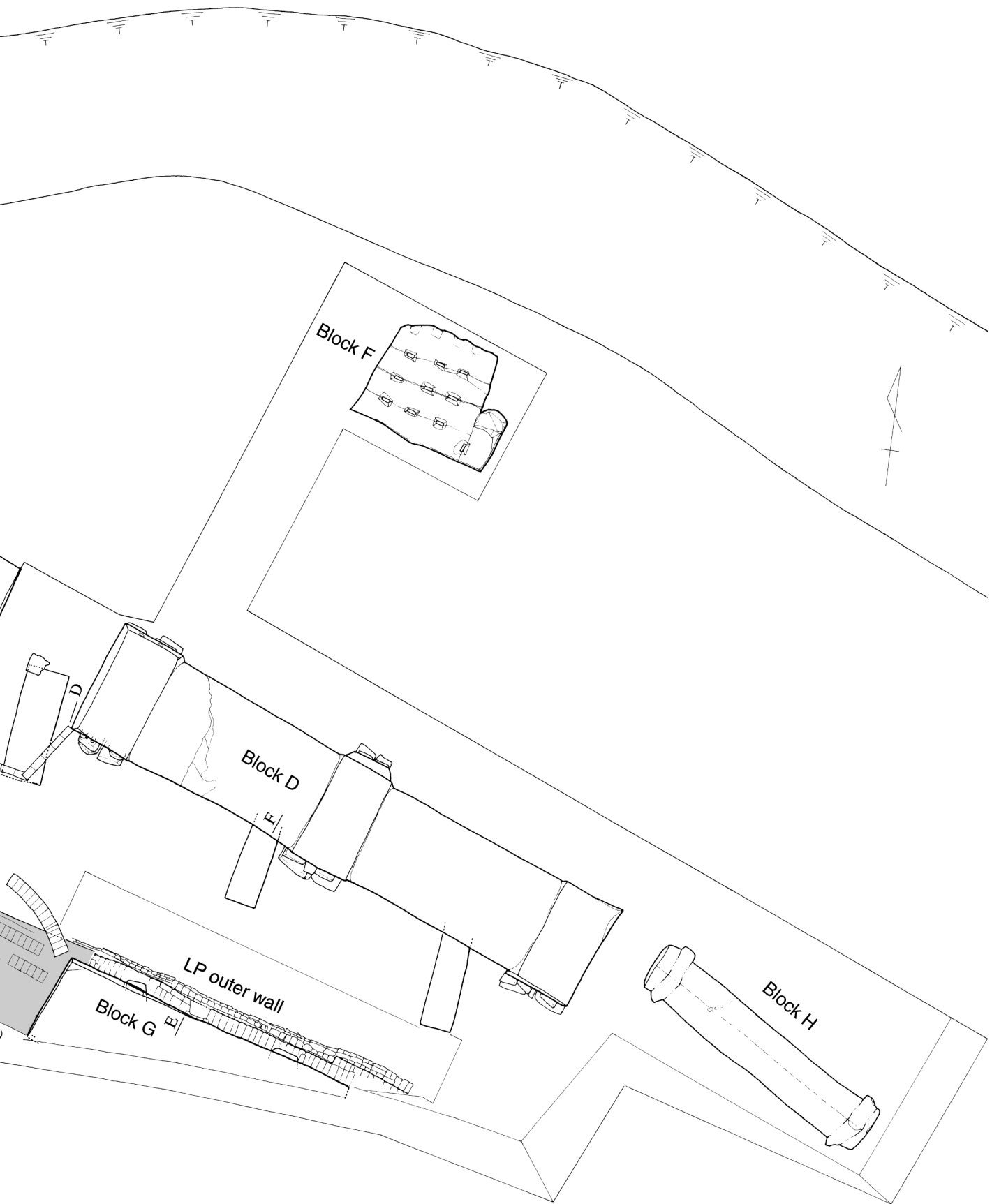


**Fig. 21** Upper: Unfinished column referred to as Block D; Lower: Mud brick walls as seen from the northwest.





**Fig. 22** Main excavated area of the north edge of the site.





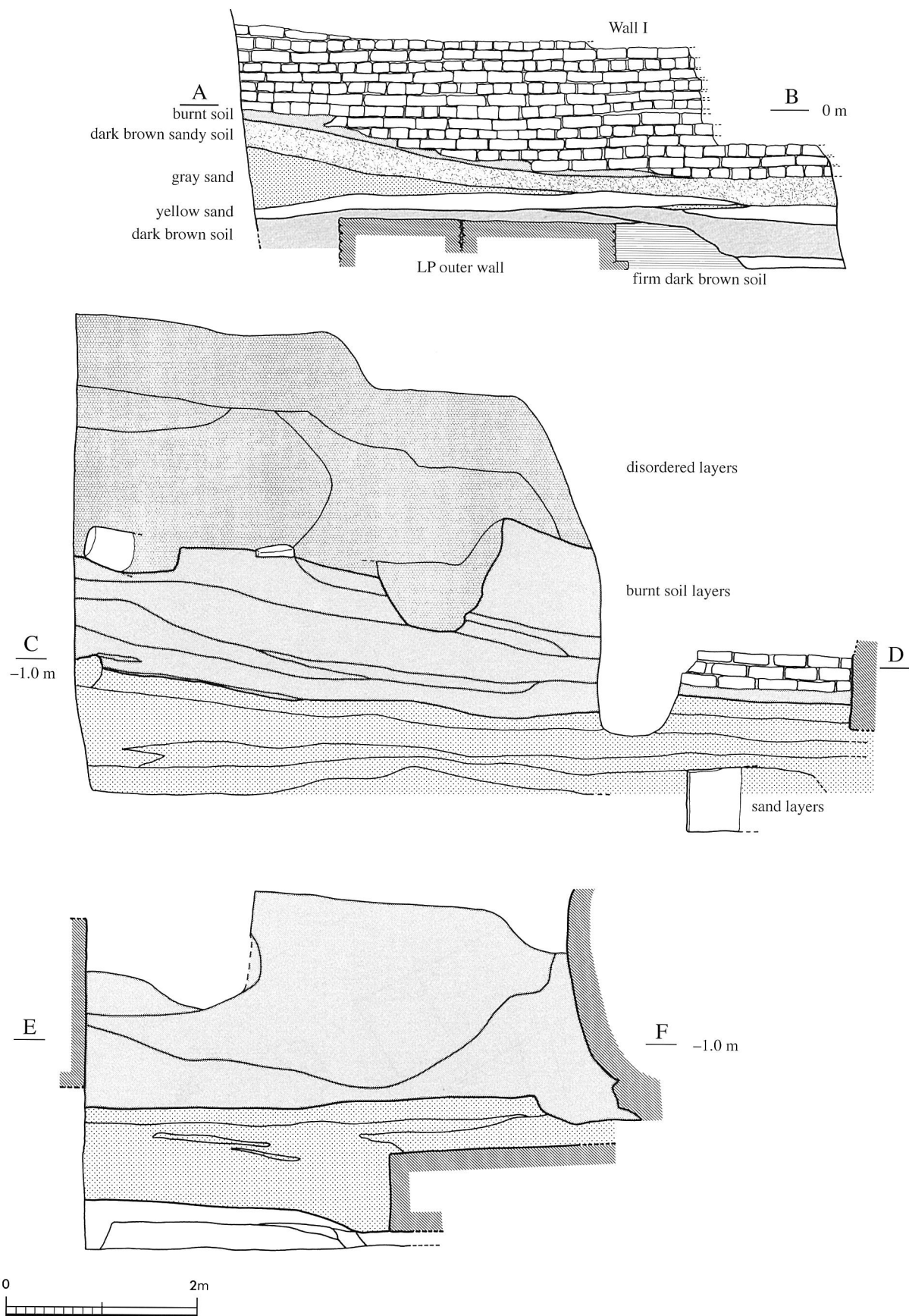
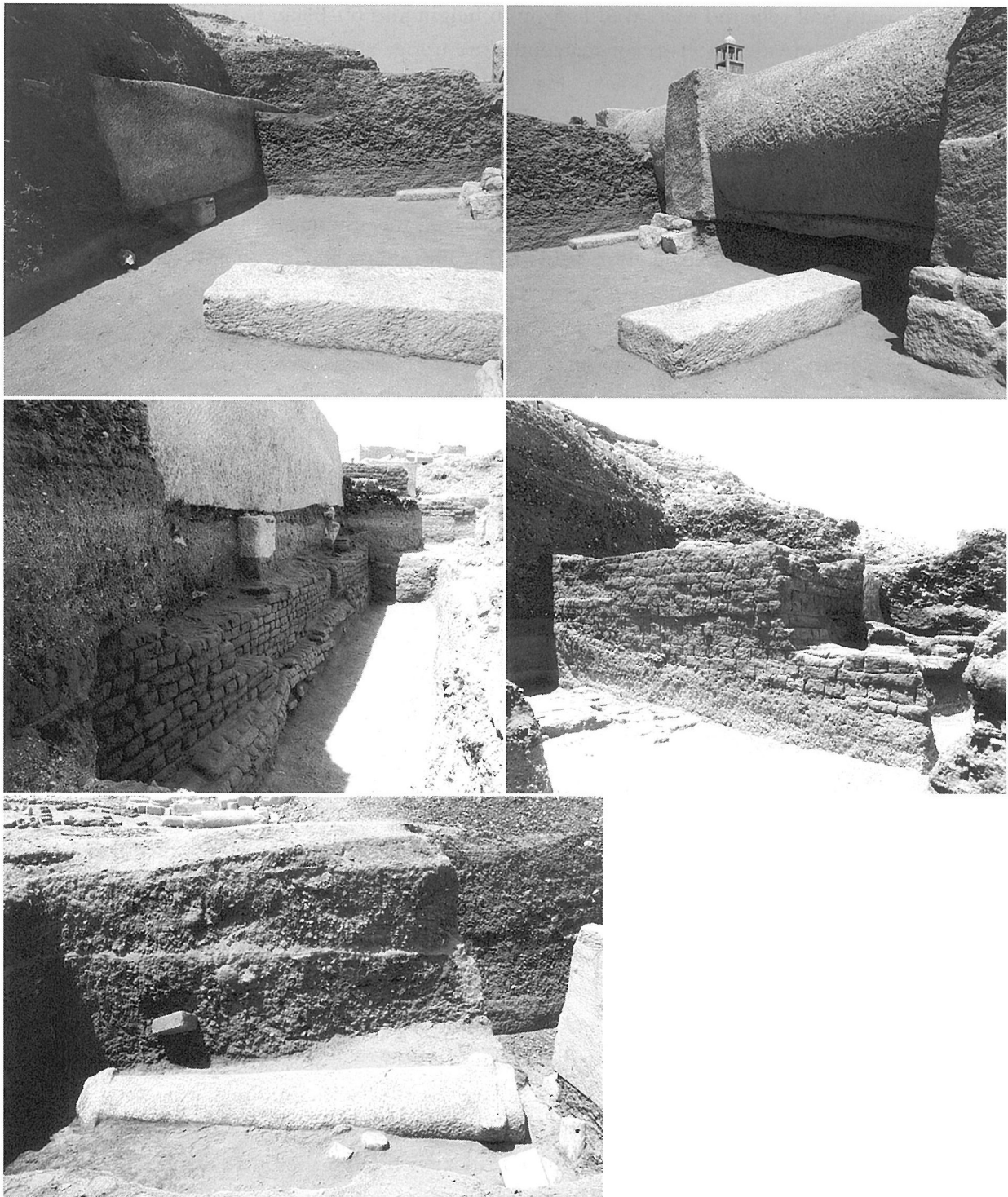


Fig. 23 Cross sections.



**Fig. 24** Upper: Cross section between Blocks G and D; Middle left: Block G and the LP outer wall; Middle right: Wall I; Lower: Smaller unfinished column referred to as Block H.

at one time which served as a dump, and in the 1st century B.C. or somewhat later.

Mud brick walls were found, however, the condition of preservation was too poor to restore to their original state (Fig. 21 lower; Fig. 22). The only exception was the LP outer wall detected in a lower layer. Most of the walls were confined to several tiers of brick at the most and some of them bear only one-line of bricks which was not suitable for house walls. In such condition, only

the north-south wall referred to as Wall I, 1.4m in height and 60–65cm in thickness, is preserved well enough to subdivide into two constructions, the upper and the lower with a thin soil layer interposed between them (Fig. 23 lower; Fig. 24 middle right). The mud brick size in each is different, the upper being  $32 \times 16 \times 10$ cm and the lower  $37 \times 18 \times 12$ cm.

The two sizes were not shared among the walls, that is, two short walls extending southward from Block C and northward from Wall II respectively have the smaller type, and the rest the larger. Based on the 1981–1992 excavations in Akoris, it was estimated that a small, thin type of  $32 \times 16 \times 7$ cm was used in the first half of the Ptolemaic Period, a large, thick type of  $38 \times 18 \times 12$ cm from the second half of the Ptolemaic to the beginning of the Roman Period, and a small, thick type of  $32 \times 16 \times 12$  around the 3rd century A.D. Even though this chronology is fundamentally free from errors, yet some revisions have been made according to subsequent results, that is, a large, thick type of  $40 \times 20 \times 10$ – $12$ cm belongs to the first half of the Ptolemaic Period and the appearance of a small, thick type traces back from the 3rd century A.D. Considering that the mud brick walls unearthed in this area were covered by the burned soil layer and most of them rest on the sand layer covering the LP outer wall, they seem to date to the second half of the Ptolemaic Period.

Nine limestone blocks were discovered in the excavated section. Blocks D, E and H are unfinished columns and the other are unidentifiable (Fig. 21 upper; Fig. 24 lower). They suggest that a masonry work was carried out here in the north edge of the city area. They have already been described with the progress of excavation in the annual preliminary reports of 1997–2001.

Blocks B, C and D were supported by stones set under the bottom face and the supporting stones were based on the lower level of the sand layer. In the case of Blocks B and G which lie on the LP outer wall, the bottom faces of supporting stones were more or less apart from the top of it, which testifies that the masonry work started shortly after the destruction of the LP outer wall. Moreover some mud brick walls, consisting of large, thick bricks, are adjacent to the limestone blocks, which means that the masonry work had already ceased when construction of the walls began. Judging from these facts, the masonry work seems to date to the first half of the Ptolemaic Period.

Block A:	l. $2.5 \times$ w. $2.3 \times$ h. $2.8$ m
B:	l. $3.7 \times$ w. $3.8 \times$ h. $1.7$ – $0.2$ m
C:	l. $3.7 \times$ w. $2.7 \times$ h. $2.4$ m
D:	l. $14.7 \times$ w. $3.2 \times$ h. $3.2$ m
E:	unmeasurable
F:	l. $3.7 \times$ w. $2.9 \times$ h. $1.0$ m
G:	l. $8.3 \times$ w. $2.2 \times$ h. $2.0$ m
H:	l. $6.2 \times$ d. $1.2$ m
I:	l. $3.0 \times$ w. $2.1 \times$ h. $1.7$ m

The following amphora stamps were mostly unearthed from the burned soil layer covering or neighboring Blocks B, C, D, G and H, and the rest from the westward excavated section set to confirm the LP outer wall. Regardless of the place of discovery, no chronological difference could not be seen among the stamps.

### III STAMPED AMPHORA HANDLES

#### 1. Introduction

Regarding Hellenistic amphorae and amphora handles a prominent ancient historian candidly observes, surely with reason, that the potential of their evidence is at once a dream and a nightmare.<sup>1</sup> One may or may not agree with his opinion, though the discovery of a substantial number of Hellenistic stamped amphora handles at Akoris was in fact a dream of which none of us had ever dreamt. In retrospect this statement sounds rather odd since an upper part of a typical Rhodian amphora with two stamped handles did have been found in the previous course of excavations at Akoris. Unfortunately, though, its identity remained unknown at that time because no one imagined that such imported objects, derived ultimately from the Mediterranean, had penetrated into a remote village of Middle Egypt in the Hellenistic times. It should also be noted that relatively little attention was paid to the Hellenistic materials in the course of previous excavations at our site because most of the artifacts from Western Temple Area and Central Temple Area were of Roman or Coptic period.

Thus it was no wonder that we did not expect to discover a pure Hellenistic deposit containing many stamped amphora handles when we started the investigations of the large limestone blocks scattered in the northernmost part of the city area. This is not to say that no historical evidence was known about Hellenistic Akoris before the commencement of our current project. On the contrary, a huge rock-cut inscription to the south of the city area announces that certain Akoris, son of Ergeus, dedicated a temple to the goddess Isis in honour of Ptolemy V in the beginning of the second century BCE (Chap. IV, 3). Also an archive centering on Dionysios, son of Kephalas, provides valuable information about the economic activities of the inhabitants of Akoris in the last decade of the same century. Furthermore, the date of several rock-cut chapels has been surmised to be Hellenistic on the ground of the Greek-style representations (Cf. Chap. I). The results of the excavations at the northernmost area, thus, finally provided ample archaeological evidence corresponding to these philological as well as iconographic references.

The total of 351 stamped amphora handles, including the two large fragments with both handles, were found during the five successive field seasons from 1997 to 2001. The sheer number of handles is worth special attention. Although the number of the excavated stamped amphora handles from the construction fill for the Middle Stoa in Athens or the famous Pergamon Complex far exceeds that of Akoris (1498 and 882, respectively), many other sites in the East Mediterranean do not yield so many handles derived from a single context. Comparing the number of the handles from Akoris with that from other important sites, e.g. the House of the Comedians in Delos (284), Ancient Athribis in Delta (271), Salamis in Cyprus (176), Tel Anafa in northern Israel (137), Arsinoe in Fayum (95), one may instantly appreciate the significance of the data recovered through our excavations.<sup>2</sup> Besides, it should be noted that the handles were found with many other classes of artifacts such as terracotta figurines and lamps as well as various shapes of vessels through systematic excavations. These artifacts are going to be published in

separate volumes in near future and they, together with the stamped amphora handles presented here, will contribute to the better understanding of the local culture and society in Hellenistic Egypt.

The assortment of the stamps from Akoris is as follows:

Rhodian	275 or 78%
Eponyms	124
Fabricants	135
Unidentified	16
Nikandros Group	6
Koan	4
Knidian	4
Miscellaneous Greek	45
Italian	19 or 5%

The preponderance of Rhodian stamped handles is not surprising since a huge number of Rhodian stamps have been reported from Alexandria, which clearly testifies the close economic relations between Rhodes and Ptolemaic Egypt. But the question why so many Rhodian and other Greek, even Italian, amphorae were transported to such an upstream settlement of Akoris needs appropriate explanation. In order to investigate the cause of this process, however, it is necessary to clarify the chronological distribution of the stamps of Rhodian eponyms represented in the material from Akoris.

The chronology of Rhodian amphorae has been established by Grace and other scholars through the examinations of the following four aspects of the jars and their stamps; (1) eponym-fabricant name connections, (2) archaeological context of closed deposits, (3) secondary stamps, (4) shape and dimension of whole jars.

(1) Rhodian amphorae of the Hellenistic times generally bear two stamps on their handles, one of fabricant and the other of eponym. Fabricant is the term conventionally used to designate the person responsible for the manufacture of amphorae, whose name appears in genitive case on the stamp. Eponym is the term for the presiding priest of Halios by whom a particular year was identified in Rhodes (cf. archon eponymous in classical Athens). While an eponym appears on the stamps of any single year, a fabricant appears on the stamps over any number of years. Thus the eponym-fabricant name connections give useful clue to build the general framework of the chronology.

(2) Also useful is the excavated deposits, the date of which can be inferred through literary sources, e.g. that of Carthage and Corinth destroyed by the Romans in 146 BCE.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the most celebrated deposit for building the chronology of Rhodian stamps is that of Pergamon Complex, though the reliability of its archaeological context has recently been disputed (see, below).

(3) A new feature of putting secondary stamps on the lower part of handles was introduced at some time in the first quarter of the second century BCE. This is another useful index in dating the stamps.



(4) The shape of whole jars, or large fragments, is also helpful for judging the relative date. From the late third to the late second century BCE the body grew taller and slimmer, the neck and handles taller in proportion to the jars as a whole.<sup>4</sup> The standard relative chronology of the Rhodian Amphora built on these criteria coupled with that of the Knidian amphora is as follows (approximate dates accepted by most scholars are put in the parentheses):

Period I	Adoption of the stamps to the introduction of month name on eponym stamps (330–240)
Period II	After the introduction of month name to the Pergamon Complex (240–205)
Period III	Pergamon Complex (205–175, formerly 220–180)
Period IV	After the Pergamon Complex to the end of Carthage and Corinth (175–146)
Period V	After Carthage and Corinth to the destruction of Samaria (146–108)
Period VI	After Samaria to the plunder of Delos (108–88)
Period VII	After Delos to the abolition of stamps (88–30)

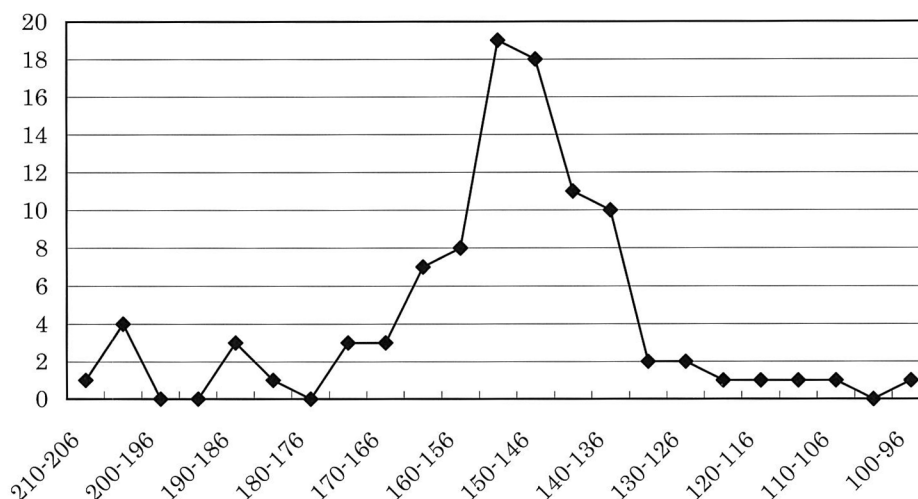
As is apparent from this table, it is the famous Pergamon Complex, discovered in 1886 on the western terrace of the acropolis of Pergamon and published in 1895, that plays a key role in the whole chronology.<sup>5</sup> Although the original suggestion of Bleckmann that some forty eponyms present in the Pergamon Complex should indicate the period of 220–180 BCE was later corrected by Grace, who opted for the span of 210–175 through the examination of secondary stamps, the importance of the Pergamon Complex as a starting point for building the chronological scheme of Rhodian amphorae has never been doubted.

But recently Lawall rightly criticized the two basic assumptions underlining the traditional chronology that the Pergamon Complex reflects the period of good political relations between Rhodes and Pergamon and that the Pergamon Complex is a closed deposit from strict archaeological point of view. Besides, Finkielsztejn established an alternative chronological chart by counting eponyms backward from destruction of Samaria (108) and Marisa (110) without leaving any missing eponyms in the period from 174 to 146.<sup>6</sup> According to Finkielsztejn the absolute dates for the Period II to V are as follows:

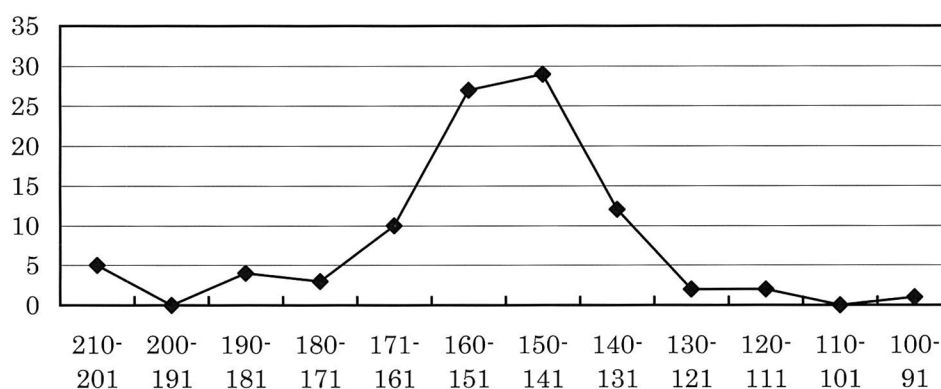
Period II	234–199
Period III	198–161
Period IV	160–146
Period V	145–108

Since the revised chronology of Finkielsztejn is based on extremely detailed and convincing arguments, I will follow his scheme in the following discussion.

Figures 1 and 2 show the chronological distribution of eponym stamps in two different intervals (5 years and 10 years respectively). These two graphs unambiguously indicate that the increase and decrease of the eponym stamps from Akoris largely follows the normal distribution. They reveal a steep increase in the number of such handles for the period after about 175 (Period IIIId, which is dated 188–183 in traditional high chronology), with a maximum in the 150s (Period IVb). This is followed by an equally steep decline from about 146 through the 120s.



**Fig. 25** Chronological distribution of the Rhodian eponym stamps from Akoris (every 5 years).



**Fig. 26** Chronological distribution of the Rhodian eponym stamps from Akoris (every 10 years).

The oldest eponym attested in the Akoris deposit is Mytion of Period IIc (No. 52). This eponym endorses an unpublished whole amphora of fabricant Hellanikos in the Akko museum.<sup>7</sup> Thus the presence of a handle of fabricant Hellanikos (No. 160) confirms that the import of Rhodian amphora into Akoris began in 210–205.

But interestingly enough, the occurrences of the stamps of the following periods are still extremely sporadic and not a single eponym of Period IIIa and IIIc is attested in the Akoris deposit. This pattern suggests that the import of Mediterranean amphorae was not a common practice at Akoris until sometime in the late 170s.

The presence of four stamps of eponym Archilaidas, whose term is dated c. 165/164, heralds a sudden change. Except for a single eponym (Sosikles) all the eponyms of Period IV are represented in Akoris deposit. The thirteen occurrences of the stamp of eponym Pausanias explicitly mark the peak of import of Rhodian Amphorae at Akoris, though after the terms of Teisagoras and Aristogeitos in the late 140s the number of the stamps steadily decreases. Two stamps of eponym Damokrates (II) with cursive lunate sigma may indicate the latest date of the transportation.

As for the chronological distribution of fabricant stamps, it corresponds well with the pattern of eponym stamp. There are eight stamps of Hippokrates and Imas, and six stamps of Bromios

and Midas. Since the stamps of Imas (Period IV) and Midas (Period V) have many common features, Finkielsztein suggests that they were successive potters of a same workshop.<sup>8</sup> Only one fragment of Rhodian amphora large enough to preserve the both two handles was found in the Akoris deposit. On this fragment eponym Pythogenes of Period IV (No. 76) endorses the amphora of a female fabricant Timo (No. 247).

During the whole century, in which Rhodian and other Mediterranean amphorae were transported to Akoris, the powerful Ptolemaic regime was gradually destabilized through recurrent civil wars and external threats. The first serious event was the great uprising of Upper Egypt from 206 to 186, when a local elite of Akoris decidedly stayed loyal to the Ptolemies (Chap. IV, 3). As we have observed, the sequence of Rhodian amphorae at Akoris, which tentatively started in Period IIc, shows two distinct interruptions, Periods IIIa and IIIc. According to the Finkielsztein's revised chronology, these two interruptions correspond to the 190s and the earlier 170s, while the traditional chronology puts them in the 200s and the later 190s, respectively. The chronological scheme of Finkielsztein may seem to fit the sequence of Akoris better, though it is difficult to explain the absence of imported amphorae for almost ten years after the crush of the revolt.

The second major trouble was the intrusion and subsequent occupation of Lower Egypt by Antiochos IV (the Sixth Syrian War). That the maritime trade between Alexandria and Rhodes was temporarily stagnated because of the siege of Alexandria by Antiochus IV in 169 is apparent through the mention of Polybios that Rhodian envoys asked the Roman senate to allow them to export the Sicilian grains.<sup>9</sup> It is thus reasonable to expect a recession of import of foreign amphorae in Egypt. In keeping with the traditional chronology, this date falls on Period IV, when the import of Rhodian amphorae was most thriving. According to the Finkielsztein's chronology, it corresponds to the transitional phase between Period IIIId and Period IV, when the number of Rhodian amphorae is not still plentiful. It should also be noted that only half of the eponyms of these periods are represented in the Akoris sequence.

The decline of the number of Rhodian amphorae in Akoris since the 140s onward should be explained through the changing economic relations between Akoris and Alexandria, since in Alexandria import of Rhodian amphorae kept a high level for the rest of the century.<sup>10</sup> It is not certain whether the civil war between Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II (132–124) had any impact on this change.

The discovery of more than 350 stamped amphora handles of Mediterranean origins has made it clear that the view that Hellenistic Akoris had been a negligible local hamlet separated from the dynamic socio-economic interaction of the contemporary Mediterranean world is demonstrably incorrect. It must have been the activities at nearby quarries that promoted the import of Greek amphorae as well as other Mediterranean cultural elements. The documents from the Arsinoite nome regarding the mission of Kleon the architect in the middle of the third century are most illuminative in this respect.<sup>11</sup> Clearly one of the duties of Kleon was the administration of quarries and the transportation of quarried stones. It is, therefore, tempting to suggest that the consumers of precious wine imported from abroad were primarily the resident Greeks of eminence who had particular duties at Akoris.

The detailed analysis of the excavated materials from Akoris in future will surely shed new



light not only on the scale and importance of amphora trade in the Mediterranean but also on the economic relation between the center and periphery in the Ptolemaic Egypt that has hitherto been inferred mainly through the papyrological evidence.

It is my pleasant duty to give sincere thanks to those who have helped to make this work possible. First I would like to express my warmest thanks to Dr. Hiroyuki Kawanishi, the general director of the Akoris Archaeological Project. If I had not participated in the campaign at Akoris in 1984 when I was a graduate student of archaeology, I would not have become a professional ancient historian. I am also most grateful to the members of the Akoris Archaeological Project and Dr. J. G. Manning of Stanford University for their encouragement. I would like to express appreciation to my colleagues at Nagoya University, especially Professor Shoichi Sato and other members of the 21<sup>st</sup> COE Program. I would also like to express my gratitude to the library of the British School at Athens and other organizations for their consistent courtesy. Last but far from least, I am grateful to my good friend Dr. Noriko Sawada, without whose stimulation I would not have plunged into the study of Hellenistic culture.

Note: This chapter presents all the stamped amphora handles, including one stamped neck (No. 313) and one stamped rim (No. 353), excavated at the site of ancient Akoris from 1997 to 2001. They are grouped into five categories: handles of Rhodian amphora with stamp of eponym (Chap. III, 2), that with stamp of fabricant (Chap. III, 3), that with mostly illegible stamps (Chap. III, 3), handles of amphorae from the Aegean islands other than Rhodes (Chap. III, 4), handles of amphorae apparently produced in Italy (Chap. III, 5). The stamps of the Rhodian eponyms and fabricants are arranged in alphabetic order of their names.

Each entry consists of the following data:

- Serial number with the corresponding number in the *Preliminary Report* in parenthesis
- Description of the shape of stamp and the device
- Photograph of the stamp (scale 1:1)
- Drawing of the handle with the squeeze of the stamp (scale 1:2)
- Brief note (if any)

The photographs are the work of Hiroyuki Kawanishi. The drawings are mainly the work of the author with the assistance of other members of the project. Handles are illustrated either by section or by profile in order to show the actual state of preservation of the fragments, often accompanied by a view from above. I will not refer to the colour of the clay and the fabric because sometimes the secondary burning and/or post-depositional processes seem to have affected the appearance of the handles severely. Only a limited note is added at each entry, since the primary object of this volume is to present the relevant date as prompt as possible. A highly valuable publication of the proceedings of the colloquium held in 2002 at Athens (J. Eiring and J. Rund eds., *Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: Acts of the International Colloquium at the Danish Institute at Athens, September 26–29, 2002*, Aarhus 2004) reached me too late to consult for the present work. Nevertheless, I hope that the data presented here will provide a

basis for future research even though further investigations at Akoris and other sites in Egypt will undoubtedly modify the various suggestions and arguments developed in this volume.

Works frequently cited will be abbreviated as follows:

*Akoris* = *Akoris: Report of the Excavations at Akoris in Middle Egypt 1981–1992*, published by the Egyptian Committee of the Paleological Association of Japan, INC., Kyoto 1995.

*Amphoras* = Grace, V. R., *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade, Excavations of the Athenian Agora*, picture Book No.6 rev. ed., Princeton 1979

BCH Suppl. XIII = Empereur, J.-Y. & Y. Garlan, *Recherches sur les amphores grecques*, BCH Suppl. XIII, Paris 1986.

*Delos XXVII* = Grace, V. & M. Savvatianou-Prtropoulakou (1970), 'Les timbres amphorique grecs', in P. Bruneau (ed.) *L'ilot de la Maison des Comédiens*, Exploration archéologique de Délos, XXVII, Paris 1970, 277–382.

*Pergamon I* = Börker, Ch., 'Der Pergamon-Komplex', in Börker, C. & J. Burow (1998), *Die hellenistischen Amphorenstempel aus Pergamon*, Berlin 1998, 1–69.

*Pergamon II* = Burow, J., 'Die übrigen Stempel aus Pergamon', in Börker, C. & J. Burow (1998), *Die hellenistischen Amphorenstempel aus Pergamon*, Berlin 1998, 71–138.

*Preliminary Report* = Kawanishi, H. (ed.), *Akoris: Preliminary Report*, Tsukuba 1998–2002.

*QEDem 30* = Ariel, D.T., 'Imported Stamped Amphora Handles, Coins, Worked Bone and Ivory, and Glass', in *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985 Directed by Yigal Shiloh*, vol. 2, *QEDem 30*, Jerusalem 1990.

*Tel Anafa I, 1* = Ariel, D.T. & G. Finkielsztejn, 'Stamped Amphora Handles' in S, C, Herbert (ed.), *Tel Anafa I, i: Final Report on Ten Years of Excavation at a Hellenistic and Roman Settlement in Northern Israel*, Ann Arbor 1994, 183–240.

*Tell Atrib* = Sztetyłło, Z., 'Pottery Stamps' in *Tell Atrib 1985–1995 I*, Valsovie 2000, 53–164.

## 2. Stamped Amphora Handles of Rhodian Eponyms

Agestratos

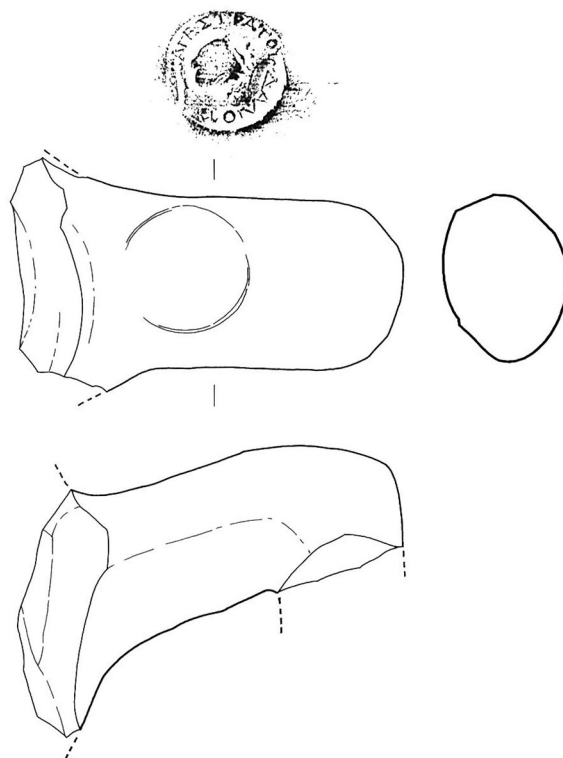
Period IIIe

1 (1998412)

Round stamp with rose



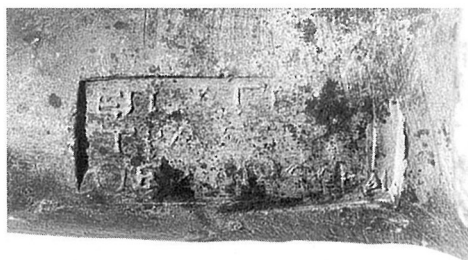
[Ἐπὶ] Ἀγεστράτου Δαλίου



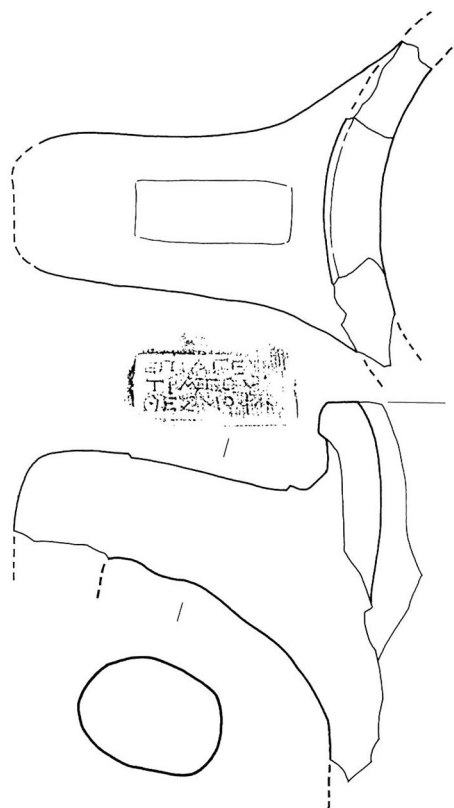
Both round and square stamps of this eponym have been found. A round stamp of the same eponym and date from Pergamon has very different letterforms<sup>1</sup>.

2 (1999200)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀγεστράτου Θεσμοφορίου



**Athanodotos**

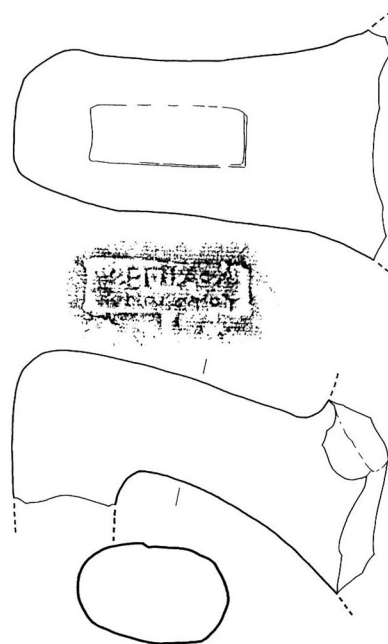
**Period IIIId**

3 (1997076a)

Square stamp with Helios



Ἐπὶ Ἀθα  
νοδότου  
--- ου



**Alexiadas**

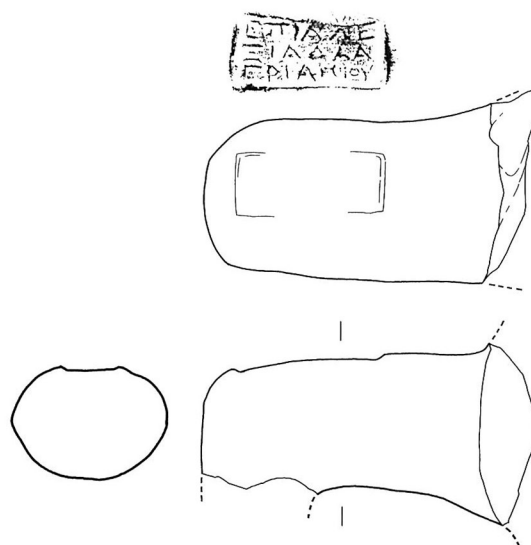
**Period Va**

4 (1998296)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀλε  
ξιάδα  
Ἀγριανίου



Grace suggests that the eponym Alexiadas seems to date at the beginning of Period V<sup>2</sup>.

**Aleximachos**

**Period IVb**

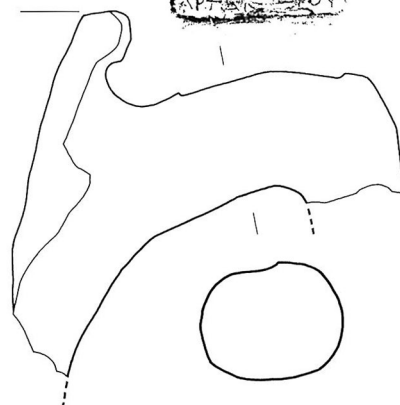
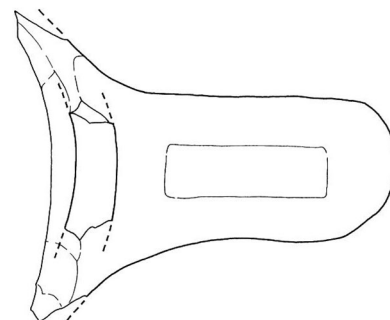
5 (1998452)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀλεξι  
μάχου  
Ἀρταμιτίου

The second line is placed in the middle of the space.



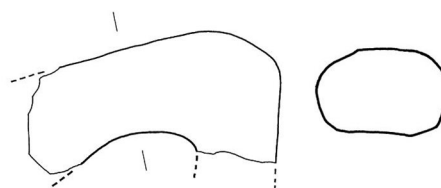
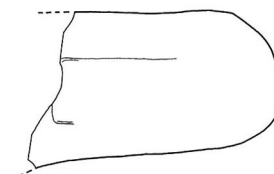
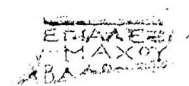
6 (1998330)

Square stamp



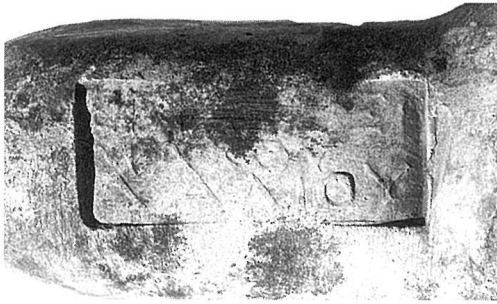
Ἐπὶ Ἀλεξι  
μάχου  
Βαδρ[ομί]ου

The surface of this handle is covered with whitish slip. The second line is placed in the middle of the space.



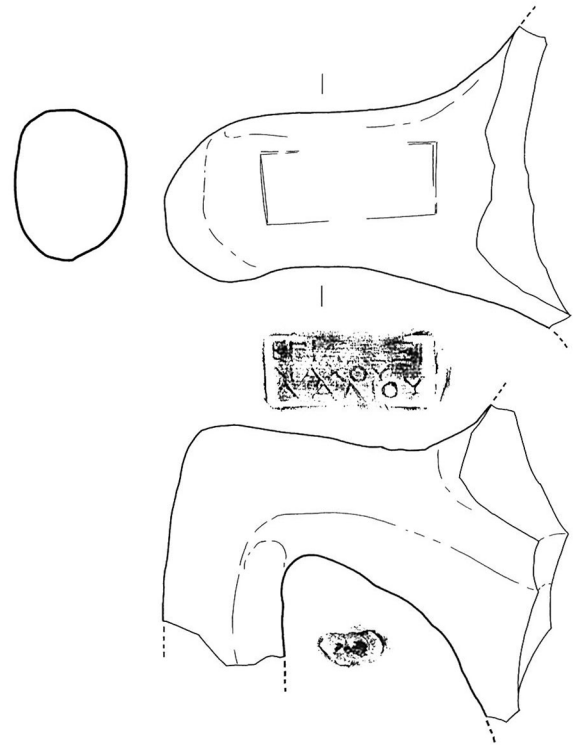
7 (1998524)

Square stamp: secondary stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀλεξι  
μάχου  
Δαλίου

The second line begins at the left edge of the stamp. There is an illegible secondary stamp below the handle.



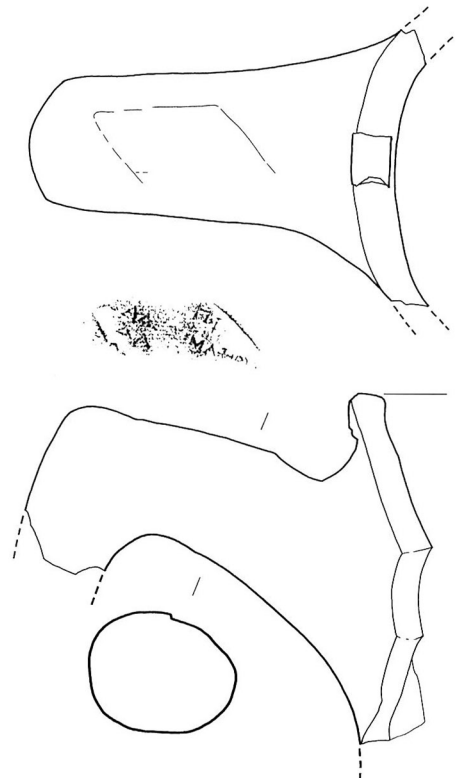
8 (1998327)

Lozenge stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀλ[εξ]ιμάχου  
Δ[αλίου]

The peculiar shape of this stamp strongly suggests that this might have been a reuse of the stamp of the fabricant Theumnastos, who consistently adopted the unique shape.

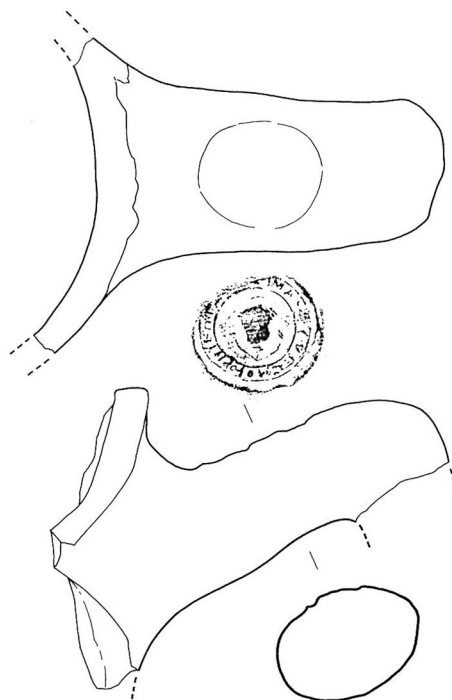


9 (1998269)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ Ἀ[λεξι]μάχου Θεσμοφορίου



Anaxandros

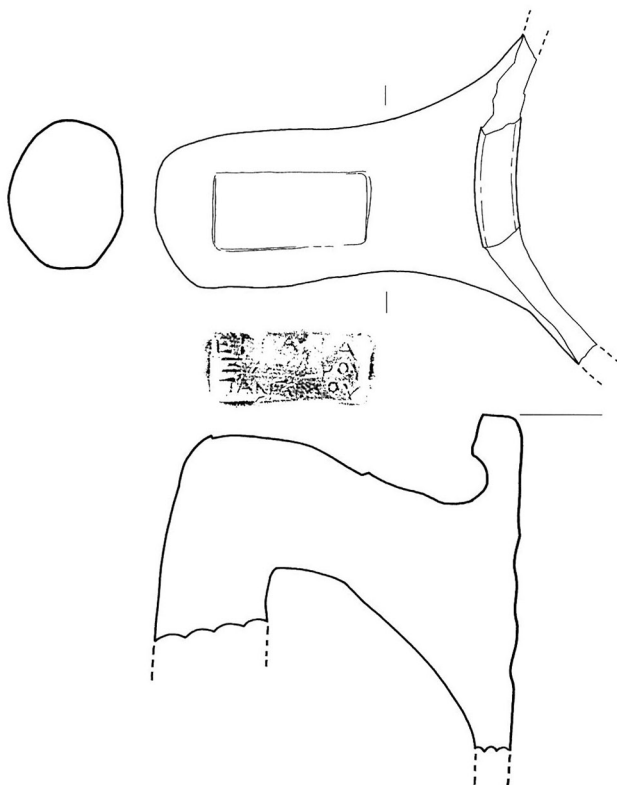
Period Va

10 (1998480)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀνα  
ξάνδρου  
Πανάμου



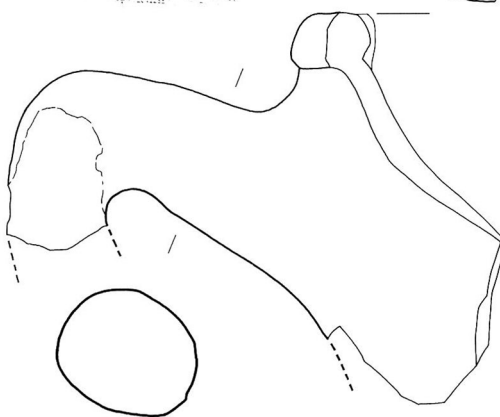
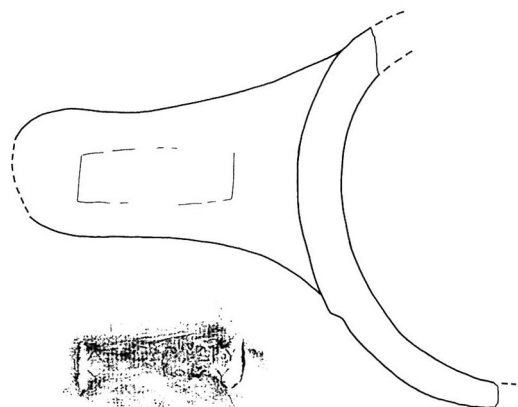
A stamp of the eponym Anaxandros of the month of Sminthios is paired with that of the fabricant Hieron on a complete amphora of the Nicosia museum (CMC 193)<sup>3</sup>.

- 11 (1998230)  
Square stamp



[Ἐπ' ἱερέως]  
'Α[ναξάνδ]ρου  
'Υ[ακιν]θίου

The reading is not certain. The beginning of the second line is definitely A. The ending of the second line -δρον near the left edge suggests that entire second line represents a name of an eponym. Thus there must have been a first line beginning with Ἐπὶ, which is now entirely illegible due to the poor stamping.



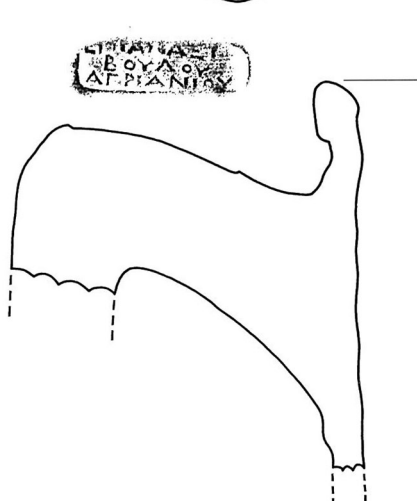
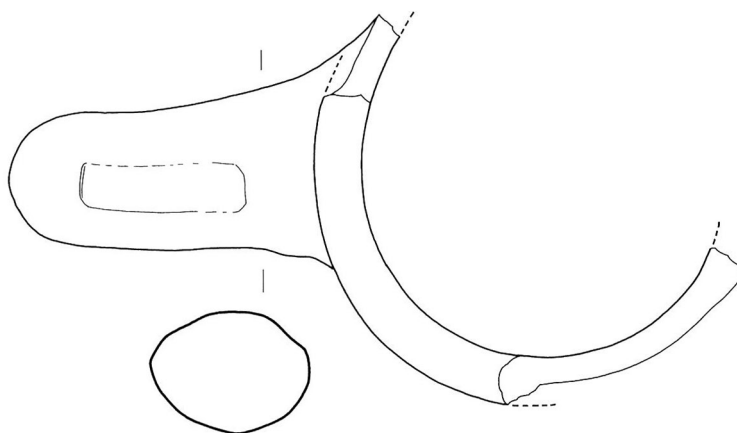
**Anaxiboulos**

**Period Va**

- 12 (1998482)  
Square, rather oval stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀναξι  
βούλου  
'Αγριανίου



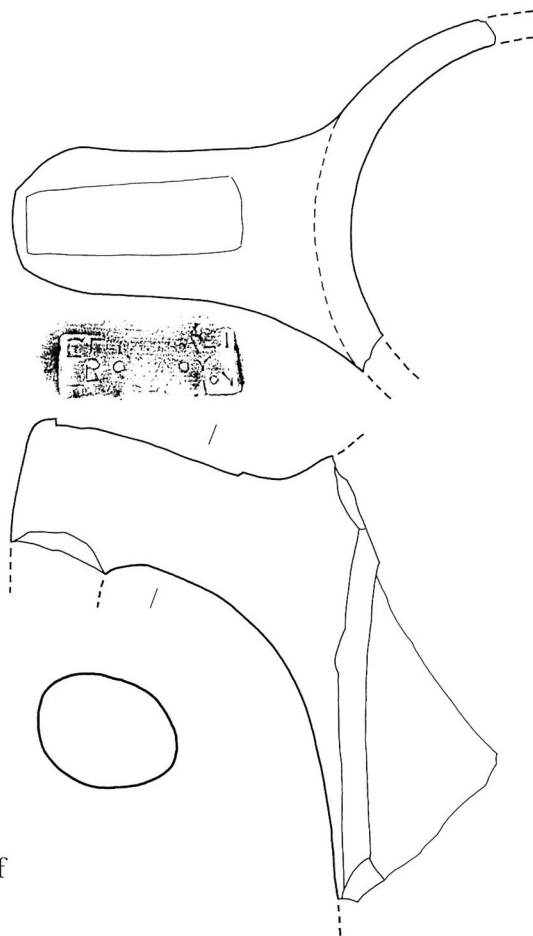
The letters are extremely dick.



13 (1998135)  
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀναξι  
βούλου  
Ἀγριανίου

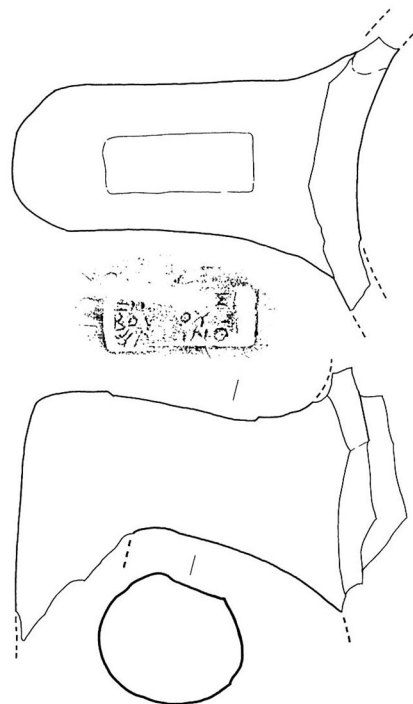


In contrast with the previous piece, the letters of this stamp are thin and loose.

14 (1998217)  
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ [Ἀνα]ξι  
βούλου  
Ἰακινθί[ου]



**Andrias**

**Period V**

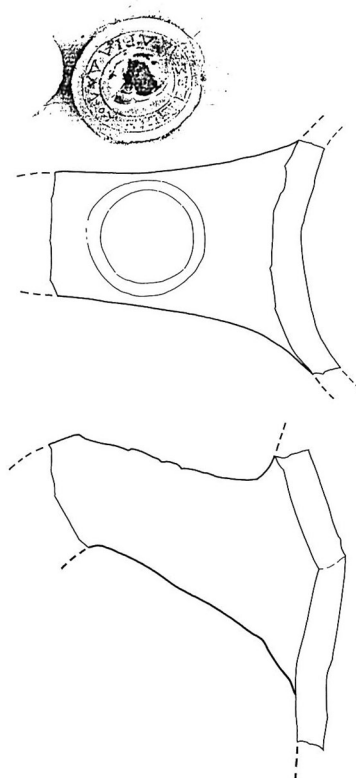
15 (1998134)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἀ[ν]δρία Δαλίου

The design of device as well as the lettering is almost identical with the stamp of this eponym from Pergamon<sup>4</sup>.

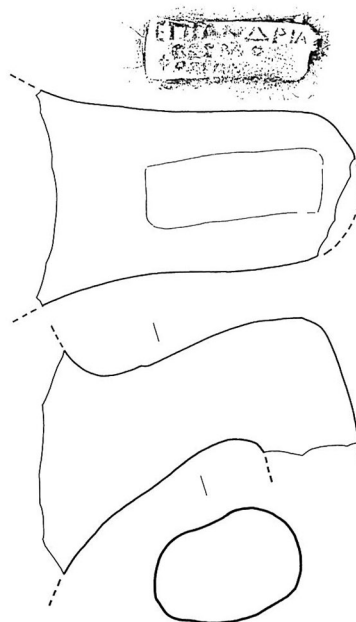


16 (2000014)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀνδρία  
Θεσμο  
φορίου



**Aratophanes**

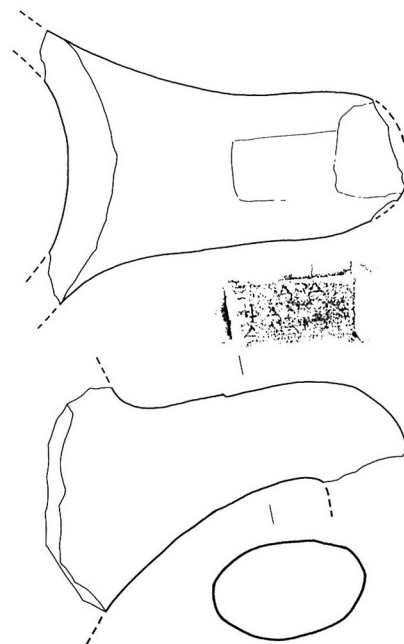
**Period IIIc or VI**

17 (1998328)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀρατο  
φάν[ευσ]  
Δαλ[ίου]



The surface is coated with reddish slip. There are two Rhodian eponyms named Aratophanes. The earlier Aratophanes belongs to Period IIIc while the later homonym dates rather early in Period VI, i.e., c.100 BCE<sup>5</sup>.

**Aristanax**

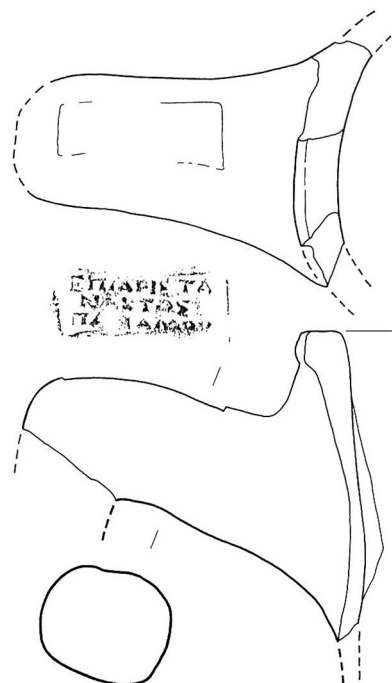
**Period Vc**

18 (1999160)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀριστανάκτος  
Πανάμου

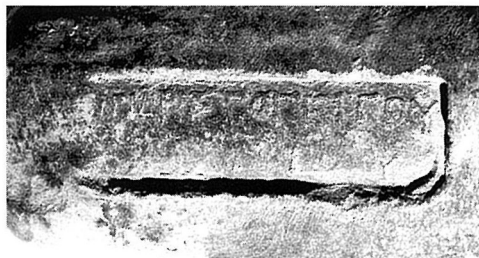


**Aristogeitos**

**Period Va**

19 (1998154)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀριστογείτου

Ἰακινθίου

A handle from Pergamon bears the stamp of this eponym of the same month in three lines.

20 (2000027)

Square stamp



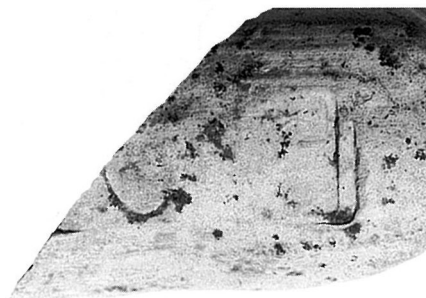
[Ἐ]πὶ Ἀριστ[ο]

γείτου

[Π]ανάμου

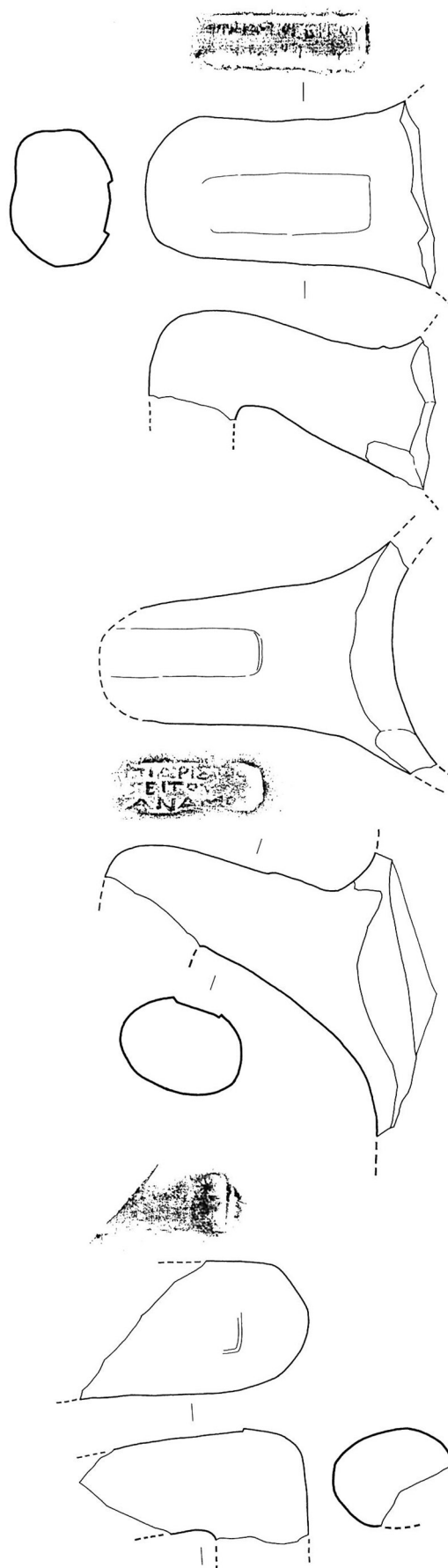
21 (2000032)

Square stamp



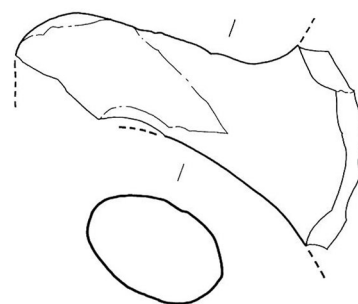
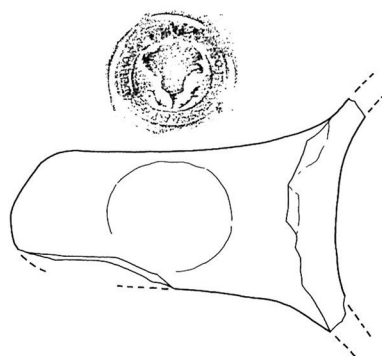
Ἐπὶ Ἀριστογείτου

--ου



22 (1998216)

Round stamp with rose: secondary stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀριστογείτου Ἀρταμιτίου

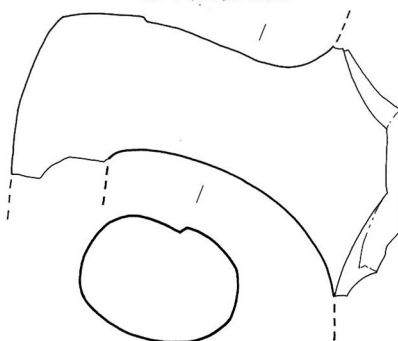
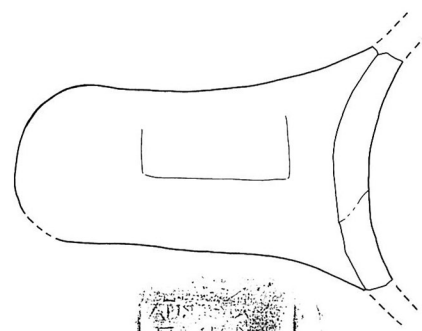
There is a secondary stamp of monogram *delta* on the lower part of the handle.

**Aristodamos**

**Period IIIe**

23 (1999112)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ [ιερέως]  
Ἀριστοδάμου  
Πανάμου

**Aristomachos**

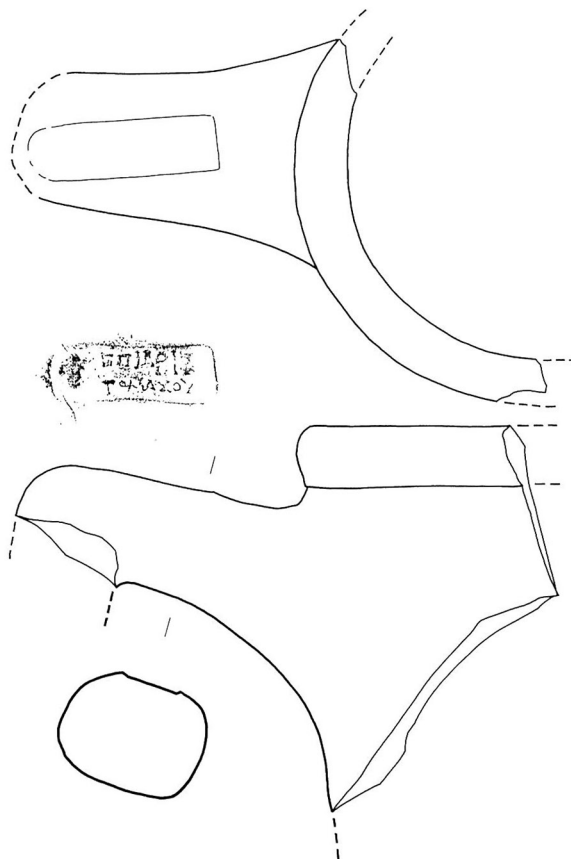
**Period IVa**

24 (1999128)

Square stamp with Helios



Ἐπὶ Ἀριστομάχου

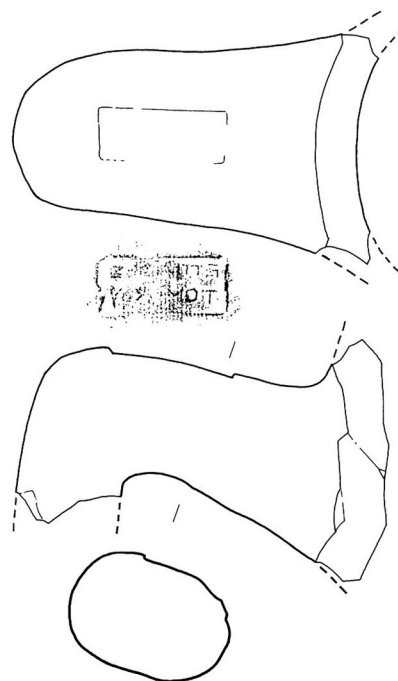


25 (1999212)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀριστομάχου ←  
τομάχου ←





**Aristombrotidas**

**Period Vc**

26 (1997122b)

Round stamp with Helios



[Ἐπὶ Ἀρισ]τομβρ[οτίδα] - - -

**Archilaidas**

**Period IIIe**

27 (1998175)

Square stamp



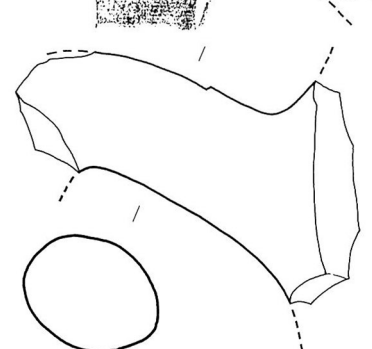
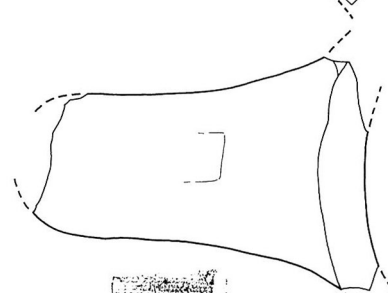
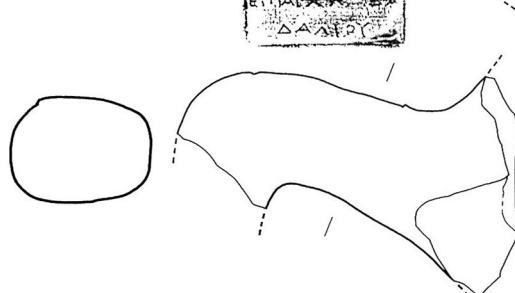
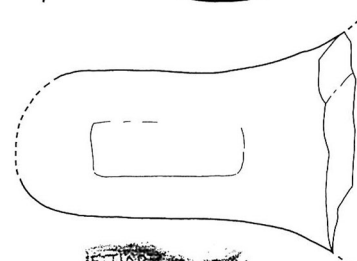
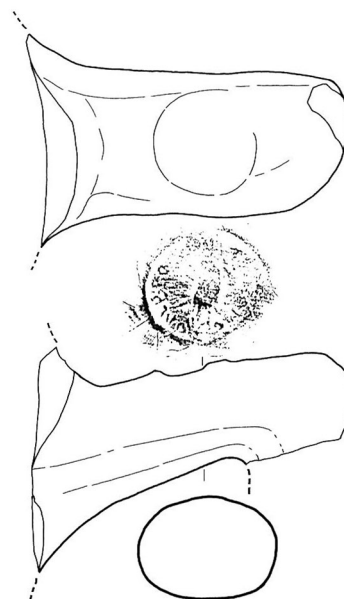
Ἐπὶ Ἀρχιλαΐδα  
Δαλίου

28 (1998500)

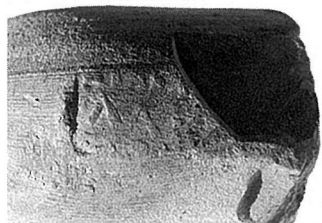
Square stamp



[Ἐπὶ] Ἀρχι  
λαΐδα  
[Ῥα]κινθίου

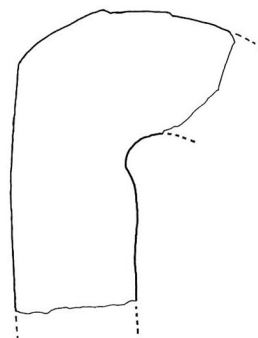


29 (1999071)  
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ [Ἀρχι]  
λα[ῖδα]

---

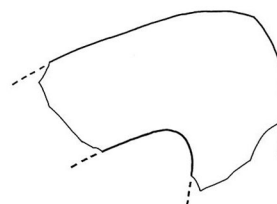
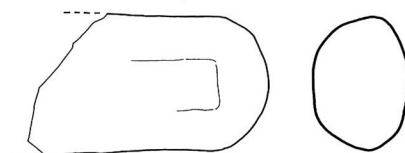


30 (1998047)  
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀ[ρ]χιλα  
[ῖδα]

---



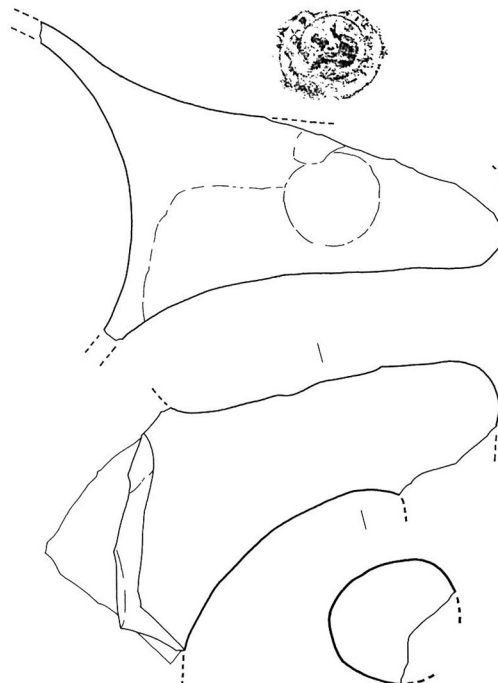
**Archokrates**

**Period IIIb**

31 (2001031)  
Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ Ἀρχοκράτειος ---



**Astymedes**

**Period Va**

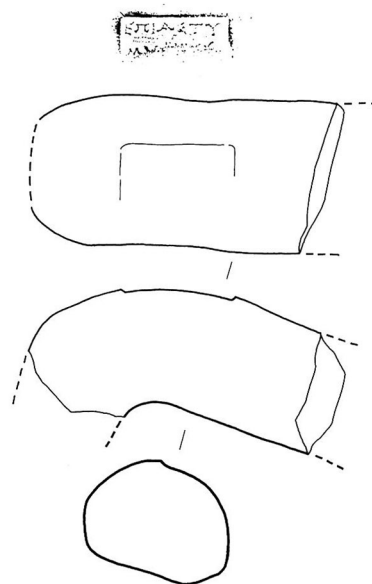
32 (1999159)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀστυ  
μήδευς

Letters are rendered in a very refined style.

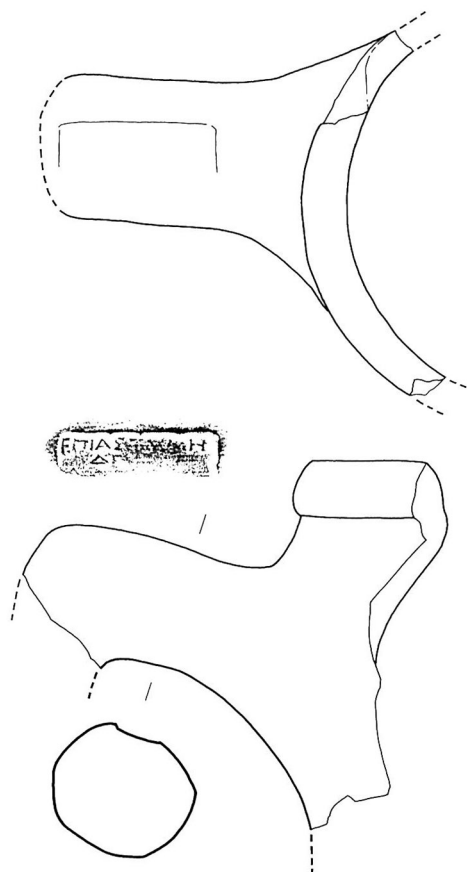


33 (1998264)

Square stamp



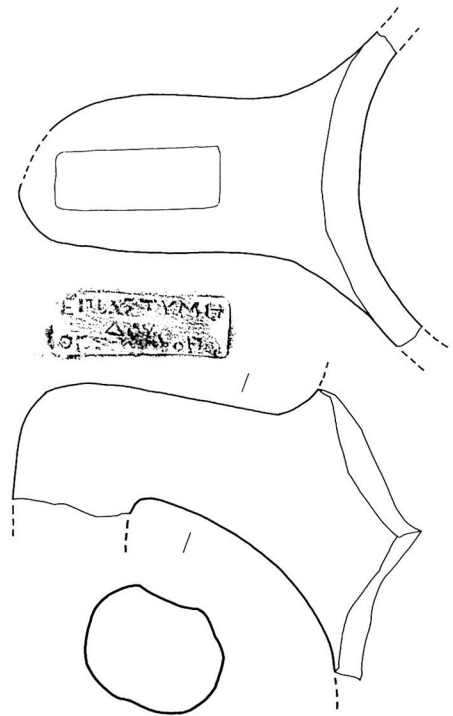
Ἐπὶ Ἀστυμή  
δε[υ]ς Δ[ι]λίου]



34 (1998149)  
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἀστυμή  
δευς  
Θεσμοφορίου



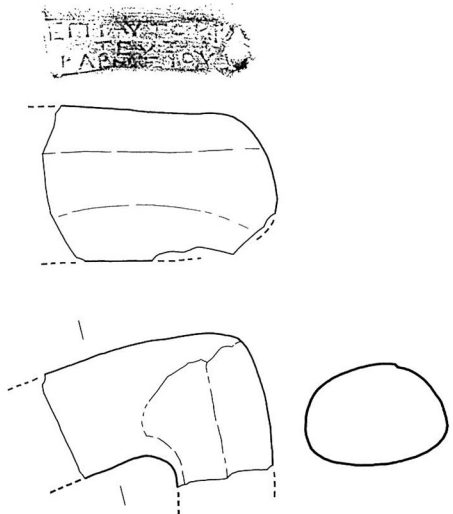
**Autokrates**

**Period IVb**

35 (1998388)  
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Αὐτοκρά  
τευς  
Καρνείου



Two whole amphoras of the fabricant Imas are dated in the term of the eponym Autokrates of Period IV, one of which is illustrated by Grace in *Amphora* fig. 31<sup>6</sup>.

**Gorgon**

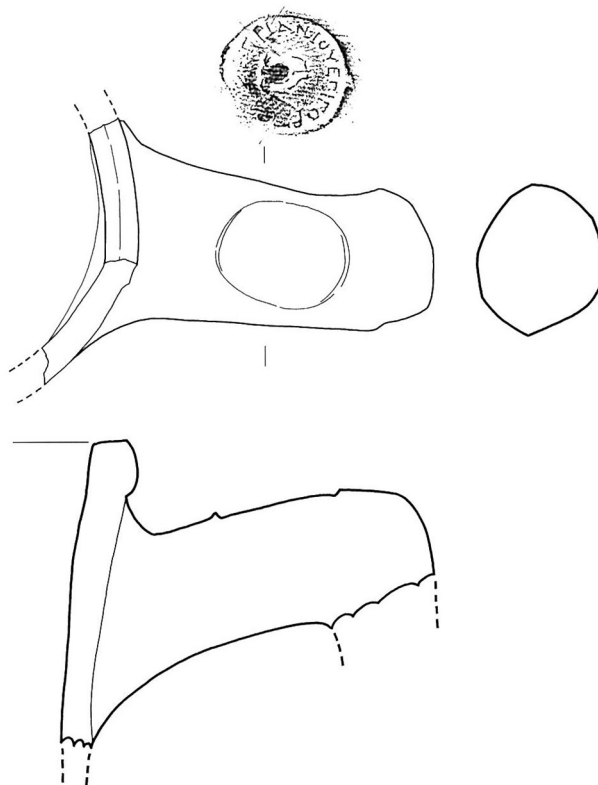
**Period IVa**

36 (1998160)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ Γόργωνος Ἀγριανίου



**Damainetos**

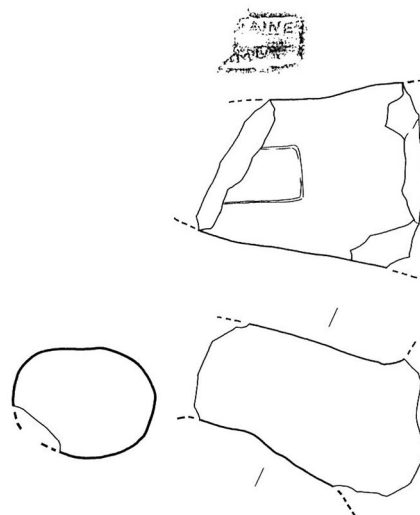
**Period IVa**

37 (1998314)

Square Stamp



Ἐπὶ Δα]μαίνε  
[του]  
[Παν]άμου



**Damokrates**

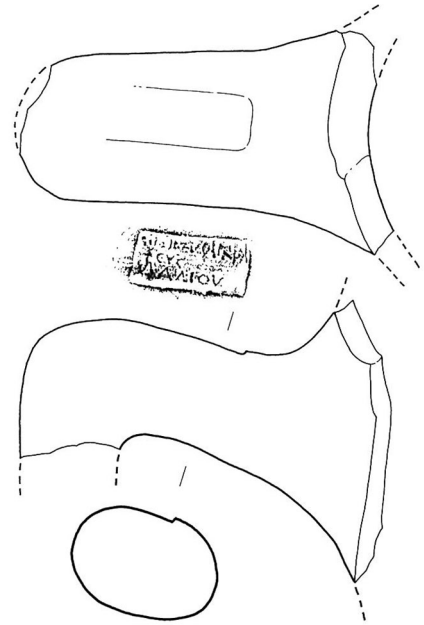
**Period VI**

38 (1998161)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Δαμοκρά  
τευς  
Δαλίου

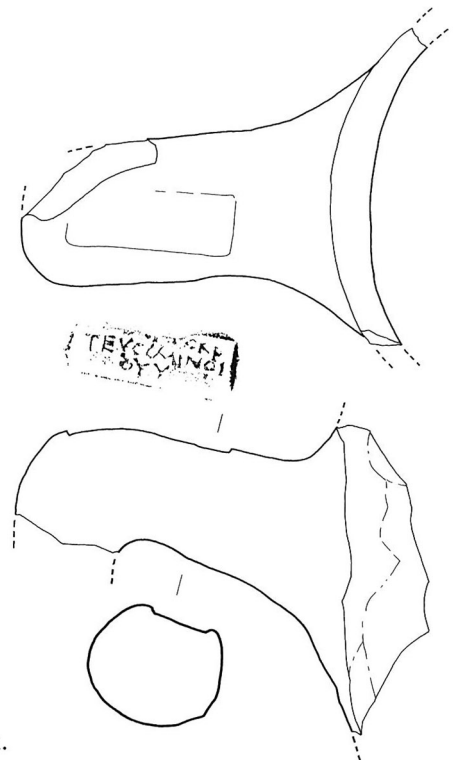


39 (1998417)

Square stamp



[Ἐπὶ Δα]μοκρά  
τευς Σμινθίου{υ}



Both stamps of the eponym Damokrates have lunate sigma.



**Eudamos**

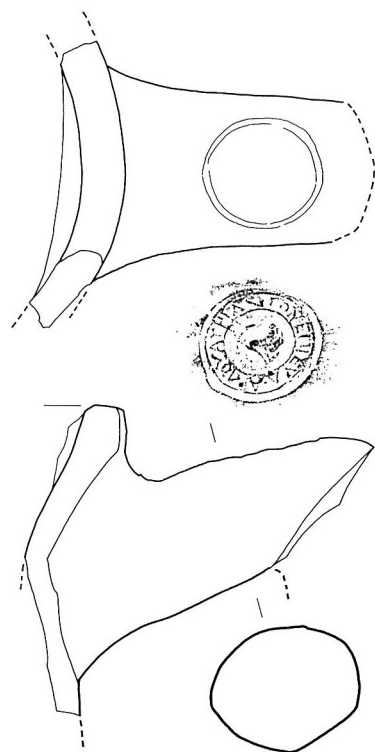
**Period IVb**

40 (1998359)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ Εὐδάμου Ἀγριανίου

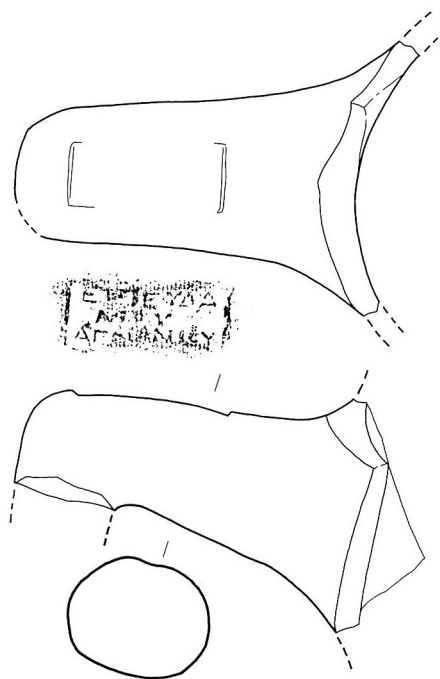


41 (1999189)

Square stamp

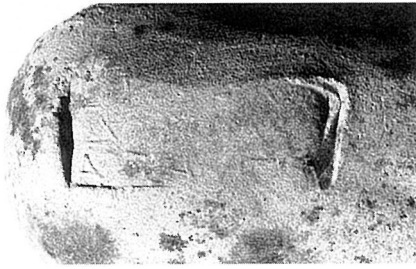


Ἐπὶ Εὐδά  
μου  
Ἀγριανίου

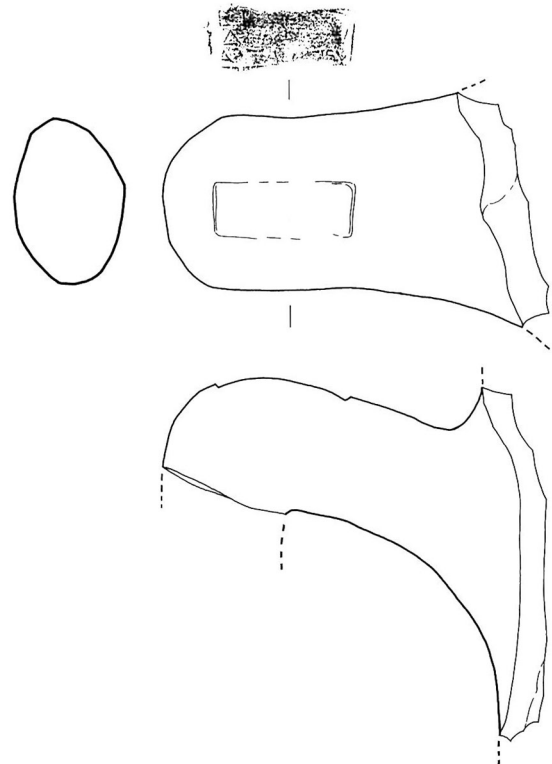


42 (1998497)

Square stamp



Ἐπ[ι] Εὐ  
δά[μου]  
Ἀρτα[μιτ]ίου



**Eukratidas**

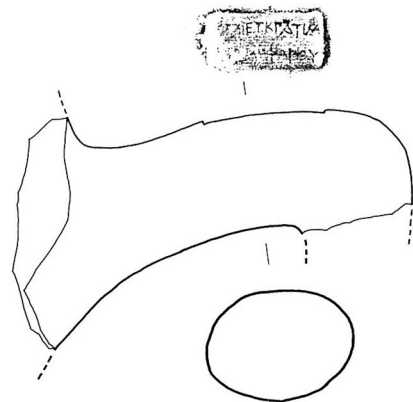
**Period IIc**

43 (1999146)

Square stamp



[Ἐπ]ι Εὐκρατίδα  
[Θεσμ]οφορίου

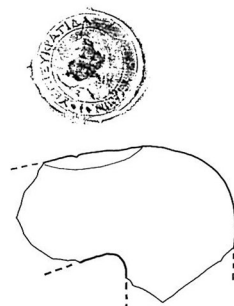


44 (1999020)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ Εὐκρατίδα (*vacat*) Ὑακινθίου

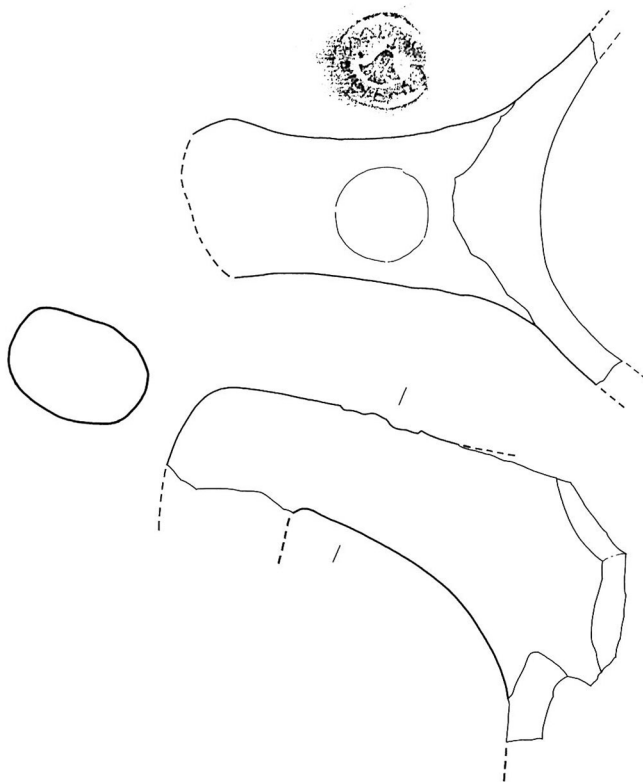


45 (1998120)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπ' ἱερέως Ε[ὕκ]ρατίδα ←

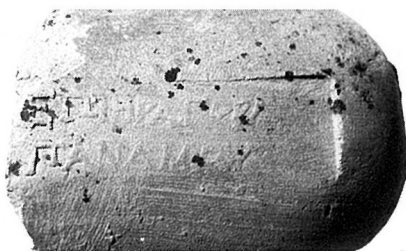


**Heragoras**

**Period IVa**

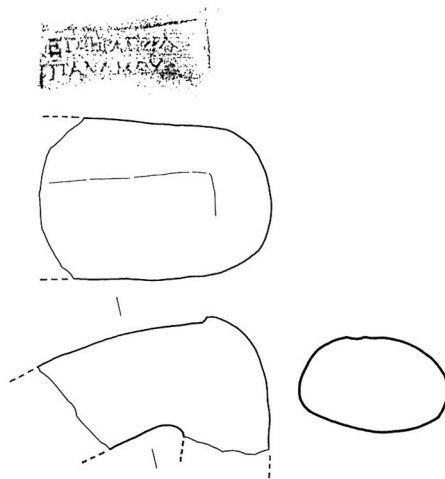
46 (1998315)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἡραγόρα Πανάμου

Heragoras officiated directly after Aristomachos and about the same time as Peisistratos<sup>7</sup>.



**Ieron (Hieron)**

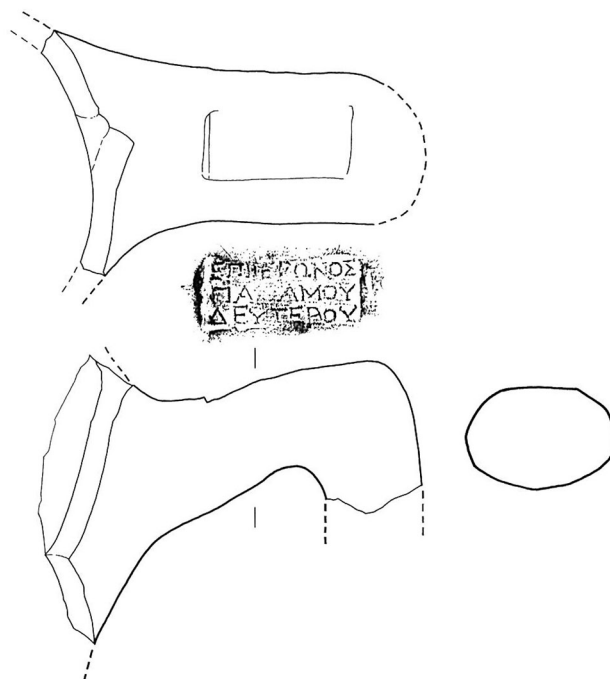
**Period IIIb**

47 (1998078)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἱέρωνος  
Πανάμου  
Δεύτερου



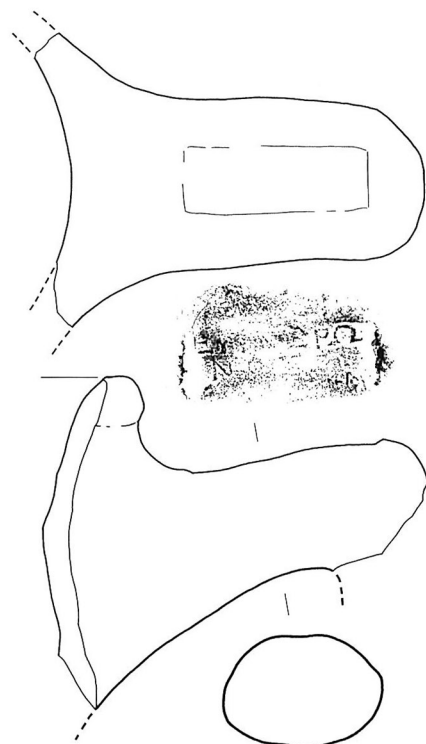
According to Nicolau and Empereur, Hieron (Rhodian Ieron) officiated in 198 BCE<sup>8</sup>. Finkielsztejn suggests the date around 186 BCE.

48 (2000024)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ἱέρω  
νος  
- - - ίου



**Kleukrates**

**Period IIIId**

49 (1999084)  
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Κ]λευ  
[κρά]τευς  
---

**Lapheides**

**Period Va**

50 (1998209)  
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Λαφείδευσ Σμινθίου

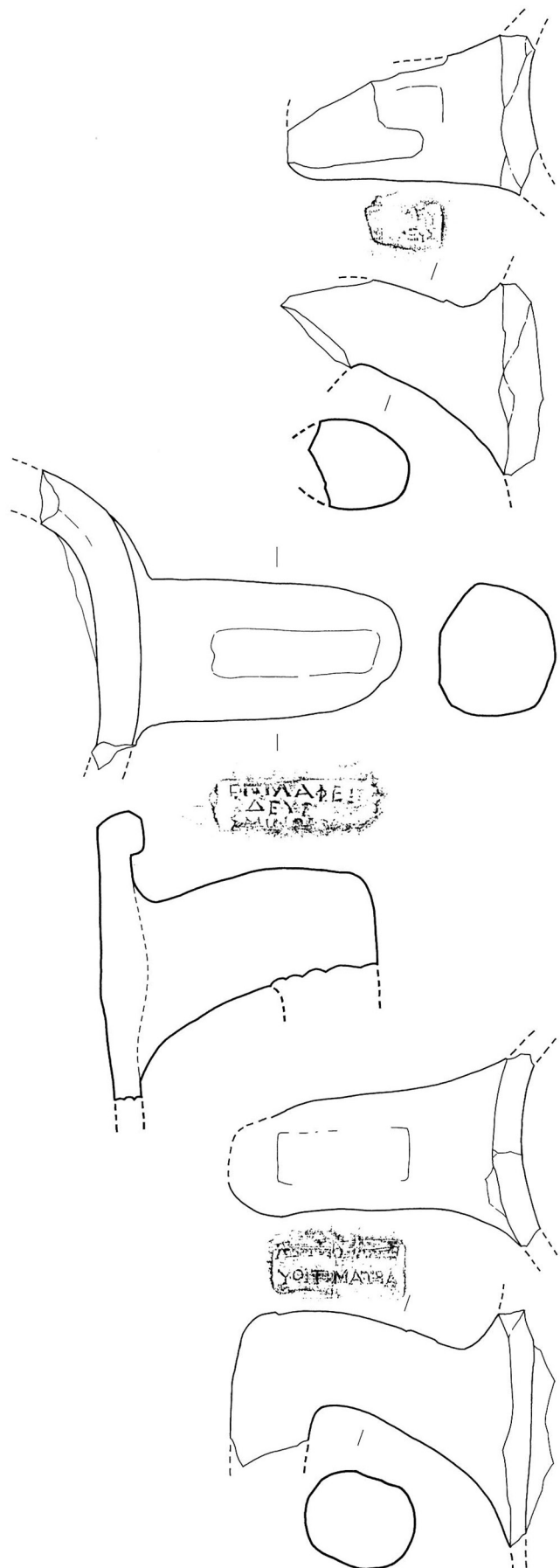
**Leontidas**

**Period Vb**

51 (1999002)  
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Λεοντίδα ←  
Ἄρταμιτίου ←



**Mytion**

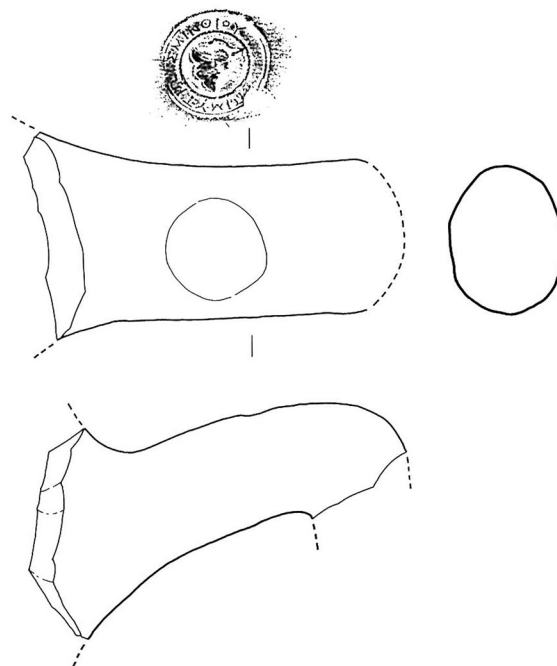
**Period IIc**

52 (1998177)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ Μυτίῳ[?] Σμινθίου



**Nikasagoras**

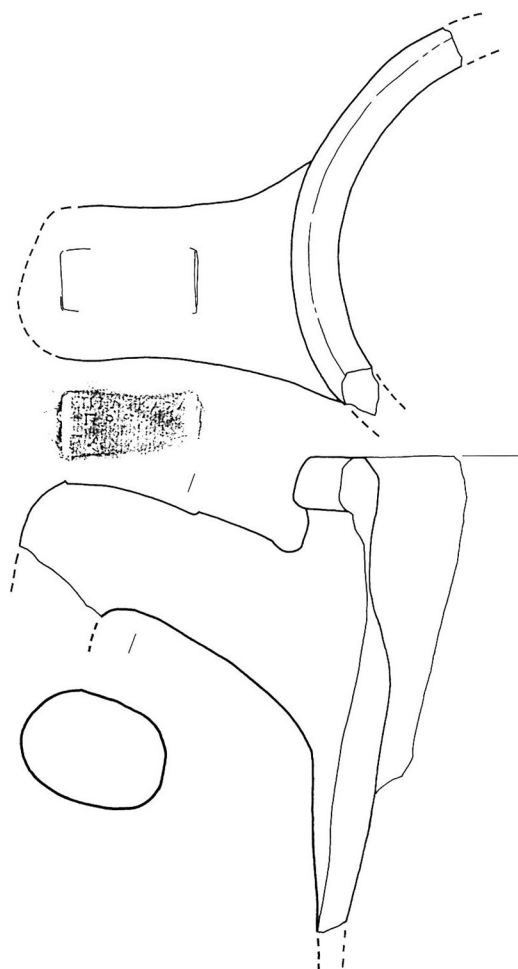
**Period IIId**

53 (1999201)

Square stamp



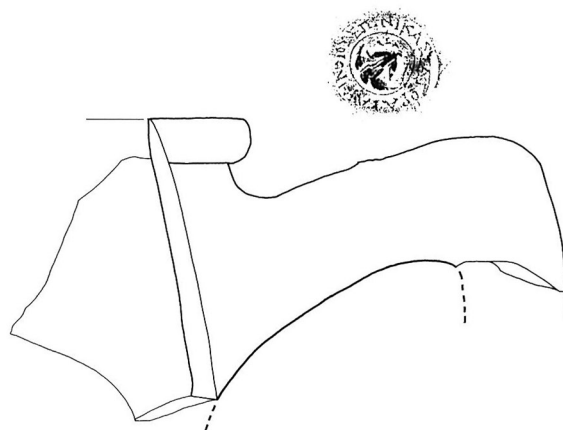
Ἐπὶ Νικασα  
γόρα  
Παν[άμου]





54 (1999110)

Round stamp with rose: secondary stamp



Ἐπὶ Νικασαγόρα Ὑακινθίου

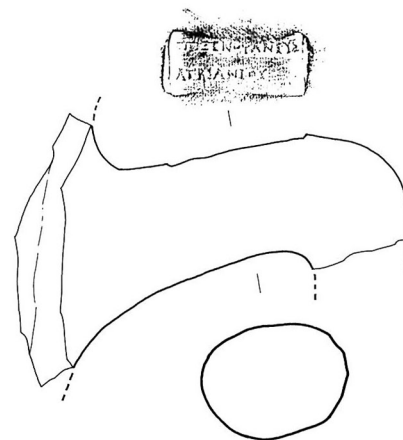
There is a secondary stamp in the shape of Y.

**Xenophanes**

**Period IIIb**

55 (1999132)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ζενοφάνεως

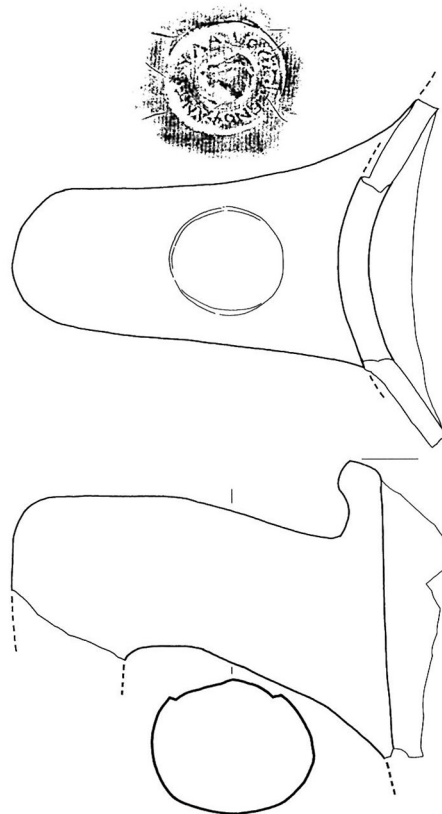
Ἀγριανίου

**Xenophantos**

**Period IVb**

56 (1997091a)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ Ζενοφάντου Δαλίου

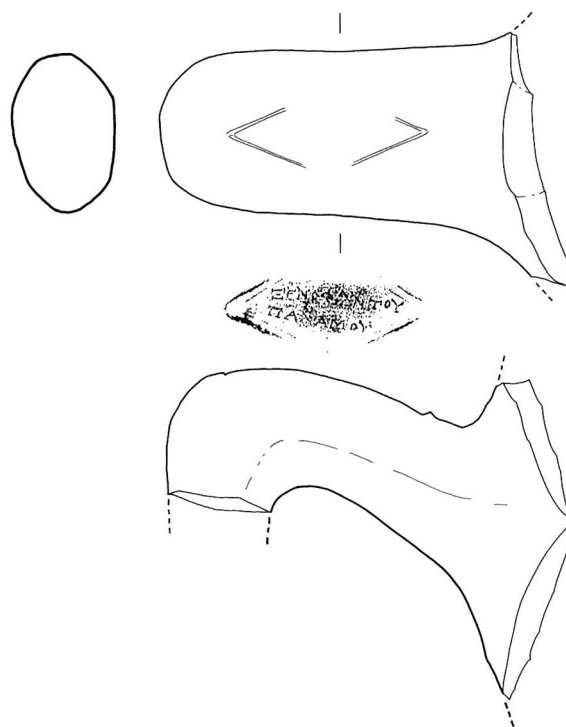
57 (1998499)

Lozenge stamp



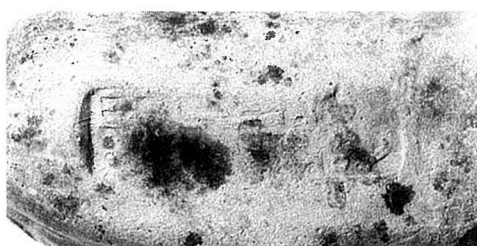
Ἐπὶ  
Ζενο[φ]άντου  
Πανάμου

The lozenge stamp has distinct double frame.

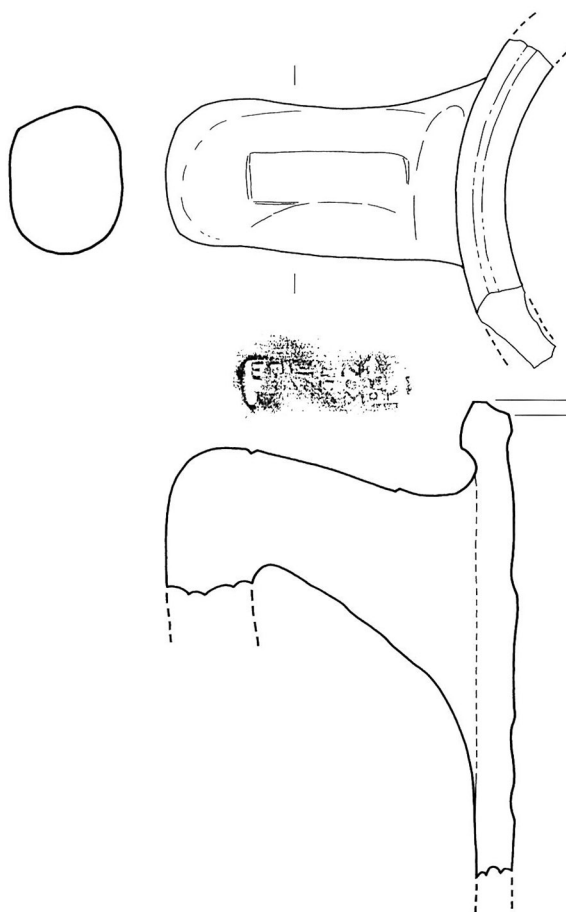


58 (1998448)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Ζενο[φ]  
[φ]άντου  
Π[αν]άμου



59 (1998526)

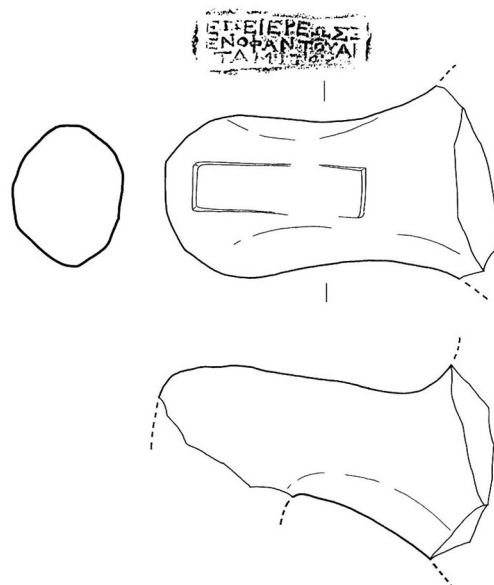
Square stamp



Ἐπ' ἱερέως Ξ  
ενοφάντου Ἀρ  
ταμίου

**Xenophon**

**Period IIIe**



60 (1997065b)

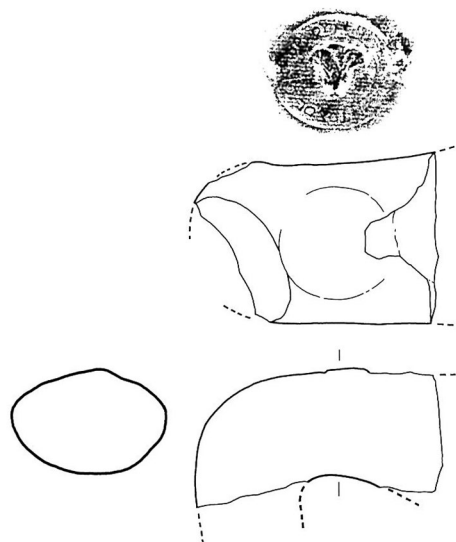
Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ [Ζενο]φώντος  
Θεσμοφορίου

**Pausanias**

**Period IVb**

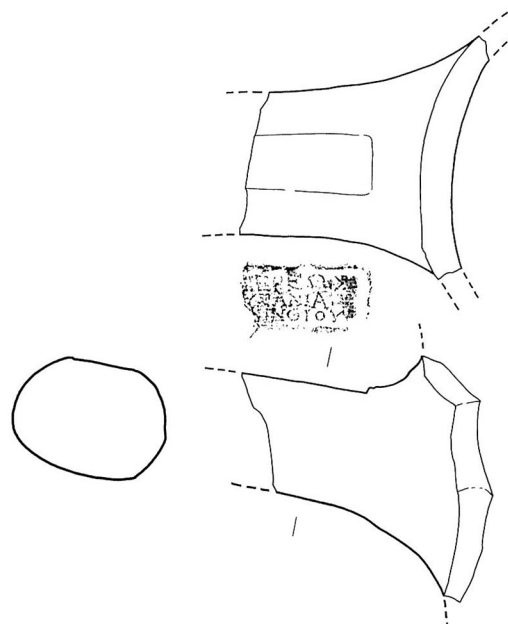


61 (1999186)

Square stamp



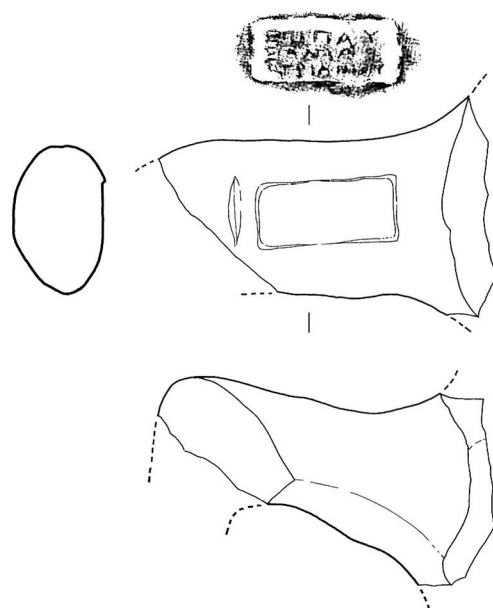
[Ἐπ'] ἱερέως  
[Παυ]σανία  
[Ῥακ]ινθίου



62 (1998551)  
Square stamp



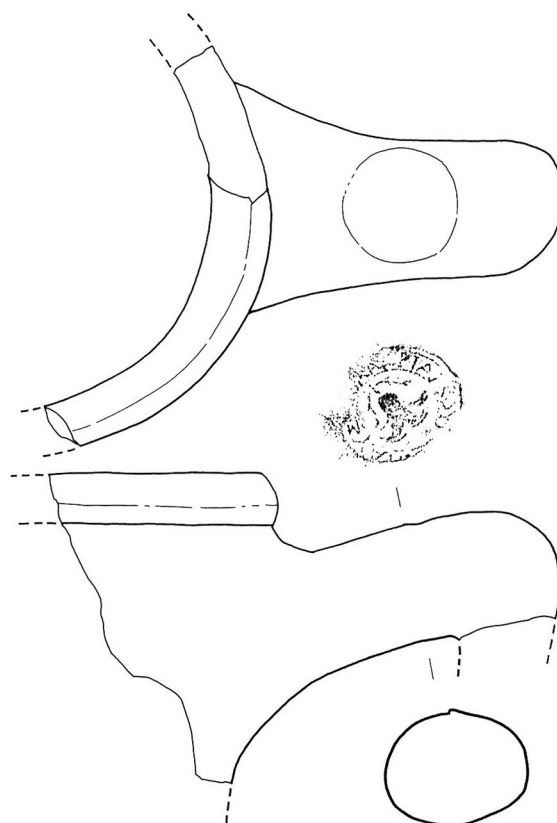
Ἐπὶ Παυ  
σανία  
Ἄγριανίου



63 (1999173)  
Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ Πausανία Ἄγριανίου

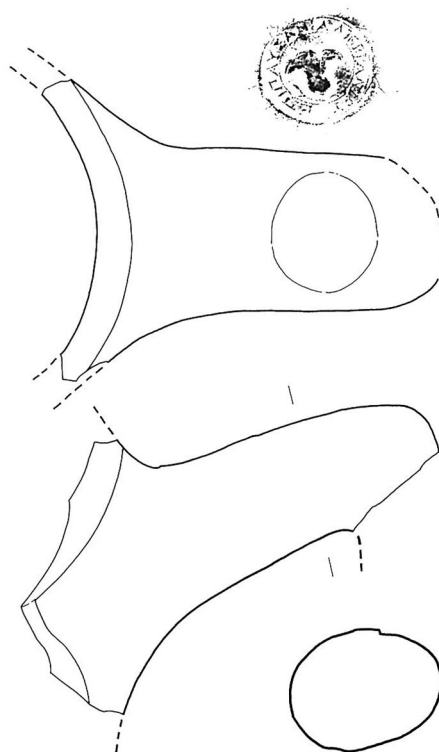


64 (2001062)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ Πausanία Ἀγριανίου

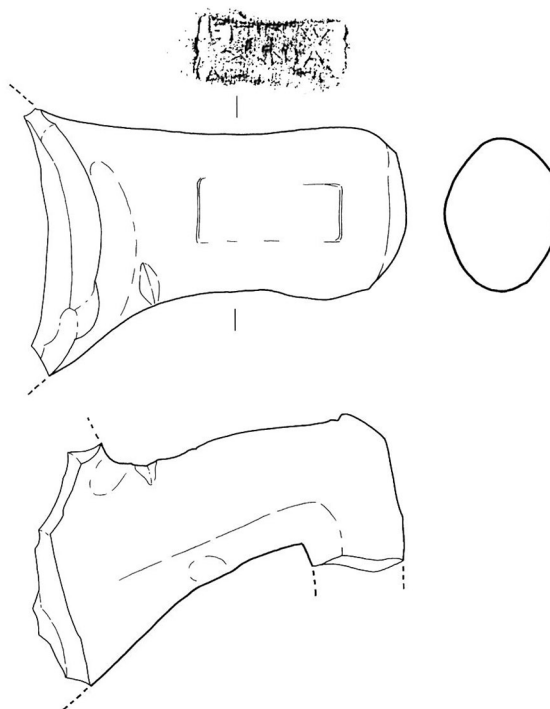


65 (1998363)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Παυ  
σανία  
Ἀγ[ριανίου]

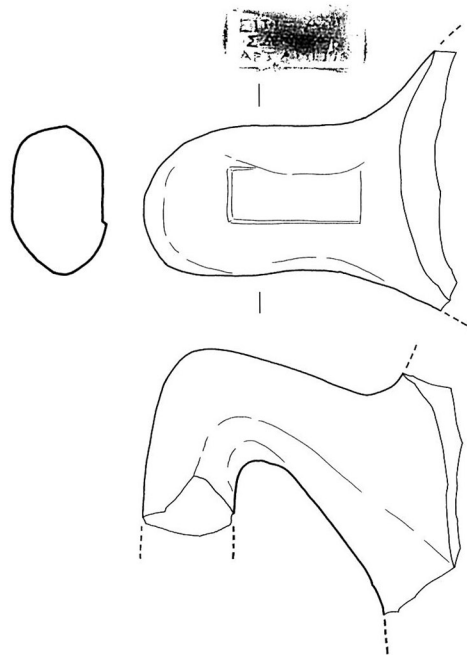


66 (1998506)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Παυ  
σανία  
Ἀρταμιτίου

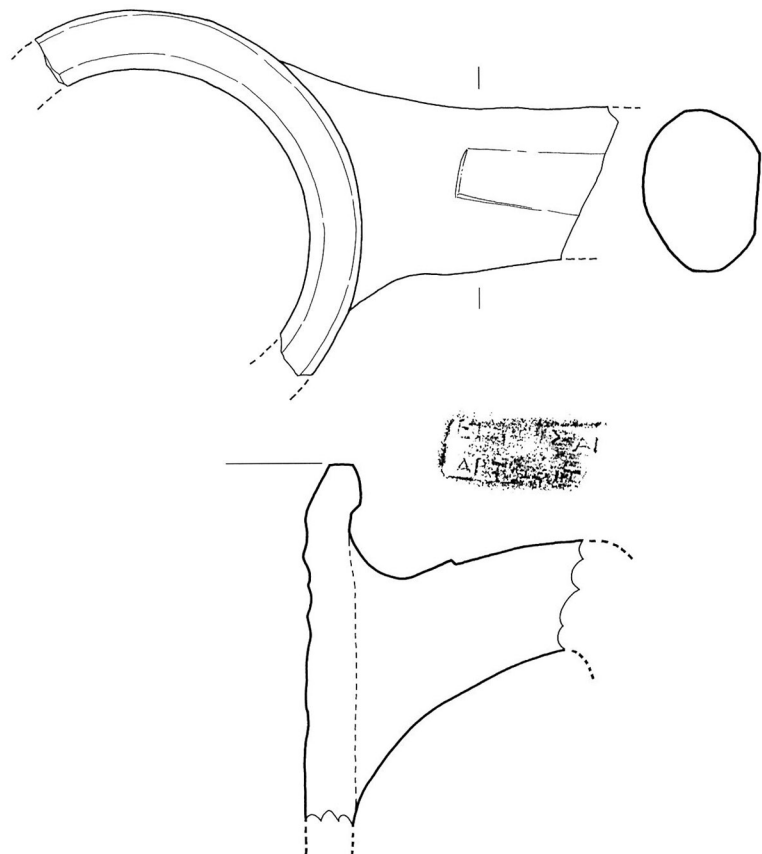


67 (1998365)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Παυ]σανία  
Ἀρτ[αμι]τ[ίου]





68 (1998275)

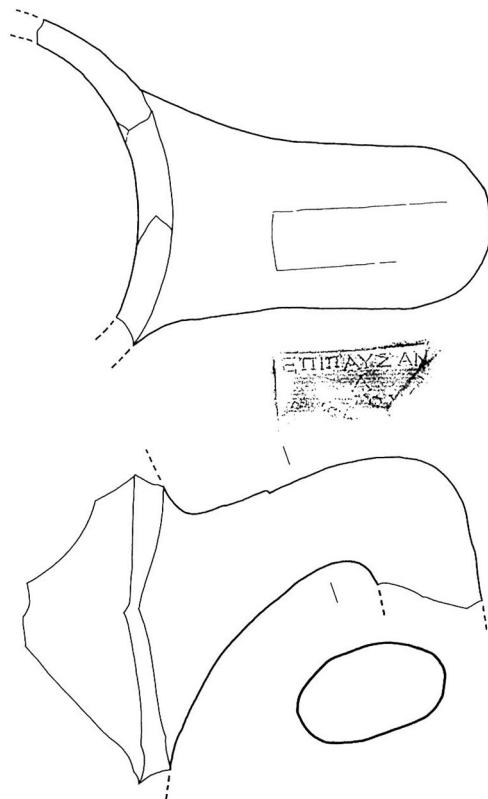
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Πausanί

α

Δ[αλί]ου



69 (1998483)

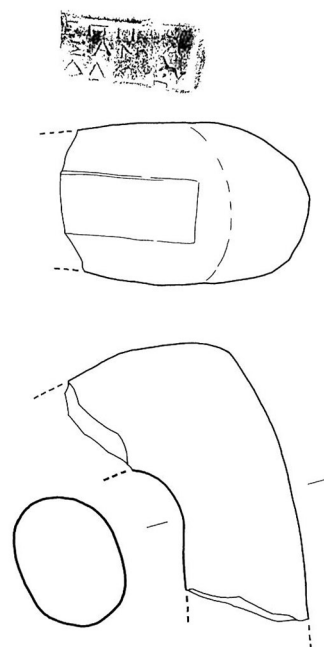
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Παυ

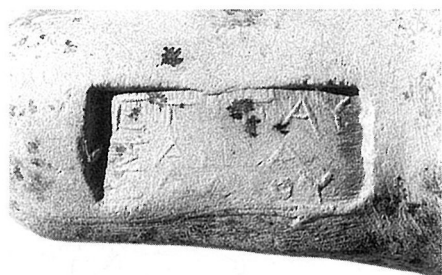
σανία

Δαλ[ί]ου

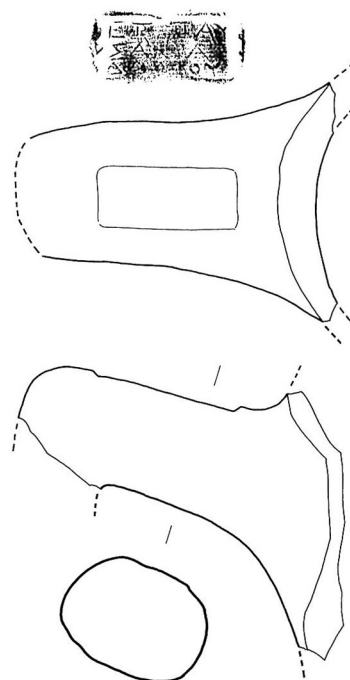


70 (1998534)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Παυ  
σανία  
Δαλίου

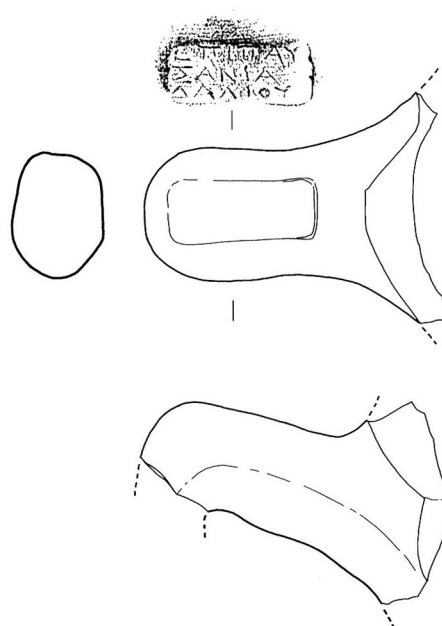


71 (1998445)

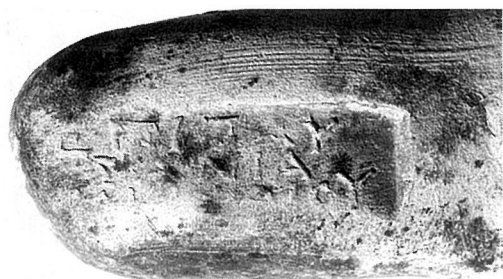
Square stamp



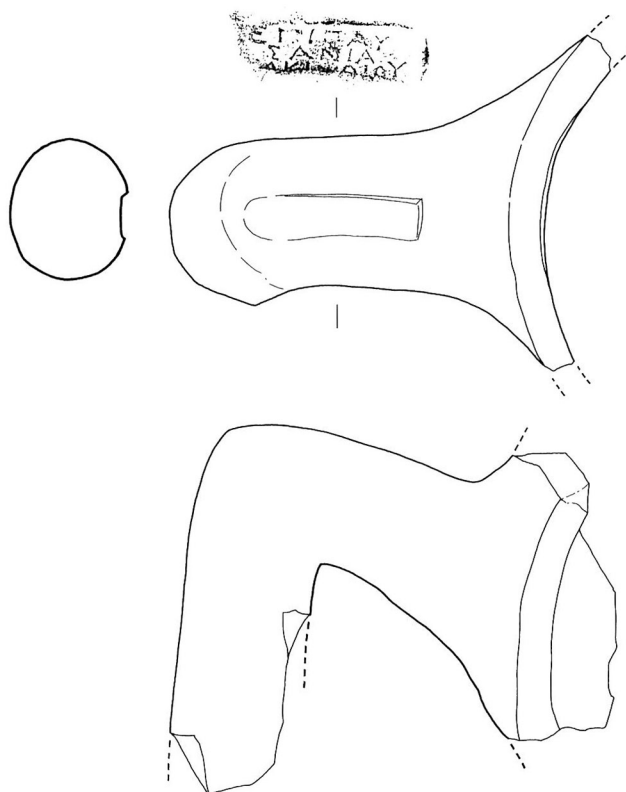
Ἐπὶ Παυ  
σανία  
Δαλίου



72 (1998386)  
Square stamp



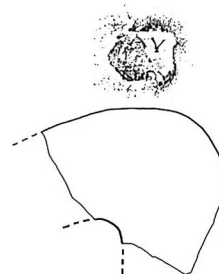
Ἐπὶ Παν  
σανία  
[Υ]ακινθίου



73 (1999072)  
Square stamp



[Ἐπὶ Π]αν  
[σανί]α  
- - - ου



**Peisistratos**

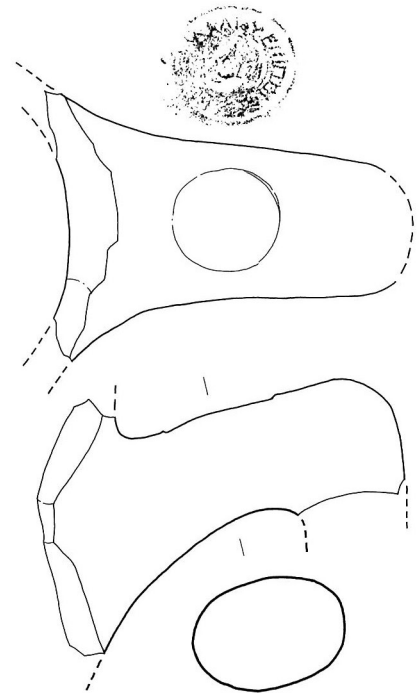
**Period IVa**

74 (1999175)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ Πεισιστράτου Δαλίου



**Protogenes**

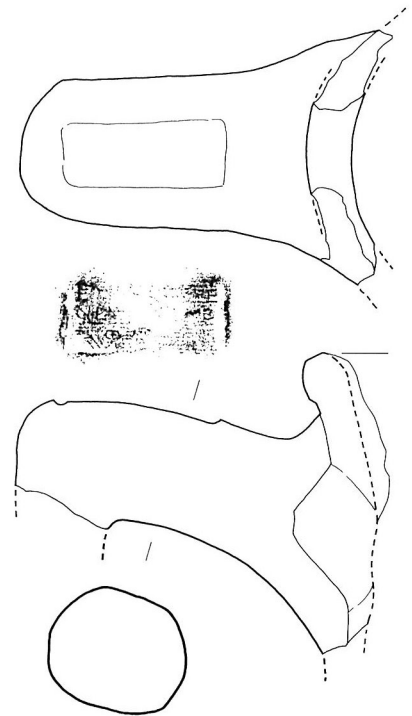
**Period VII(?)**

75 (1998257)

Square stamp



Ἐ[πὶ Πρω]τ[ο]γέ  
νευ[ς Θεσ]μο  
φ[ο]ρίου



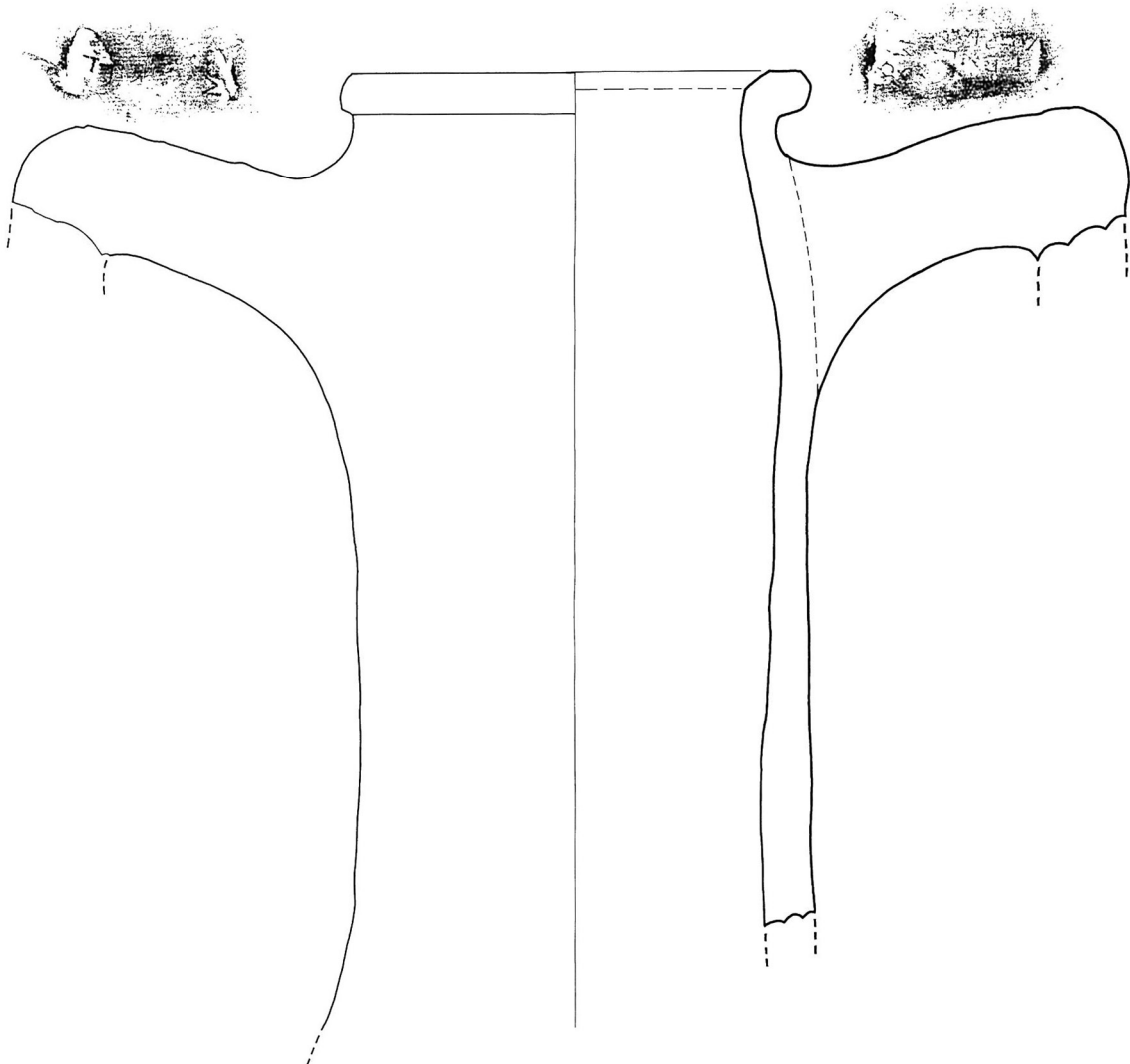
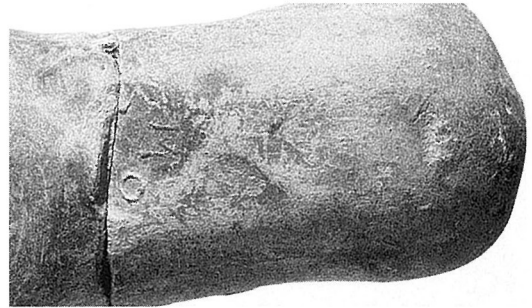
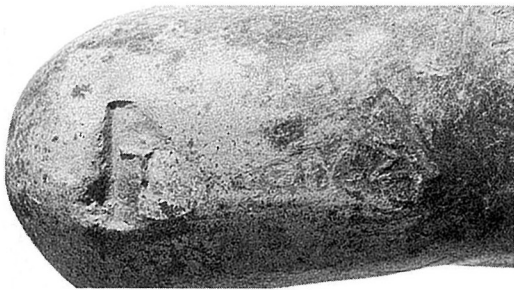
The reconstruction is not certain. Since Protogenes seems too late for our corpus, the eponym might be Pythogenes (see below).

**Pythogenes**

**Period IVb**

76 (1998211)

Square stamp (right)



[Ἐπὶ Πυ]θο

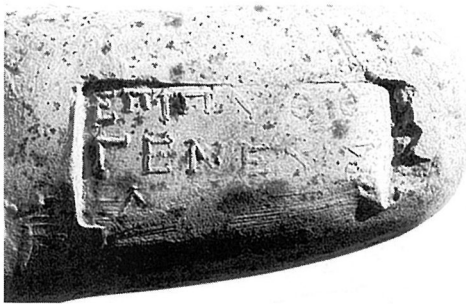
γένευσ

Ἀγριανίου

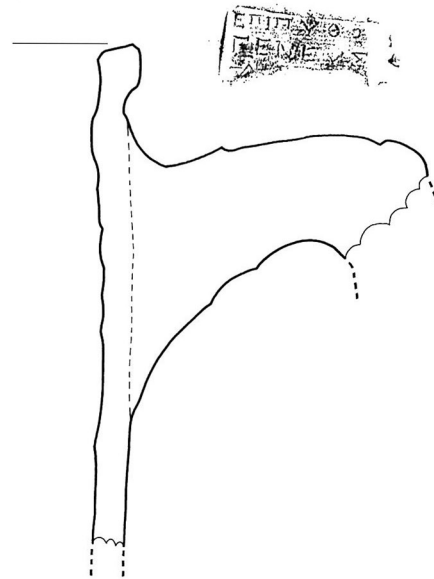
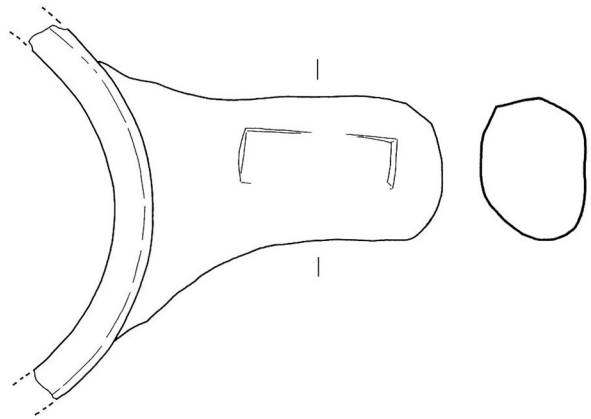
This handle is paired with the fabricant stamp of Timo (No. 247).

77 (1998498)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Πυθο  
γένευσ  
Δαλίου

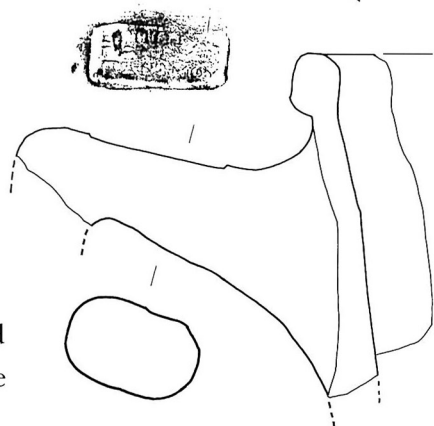
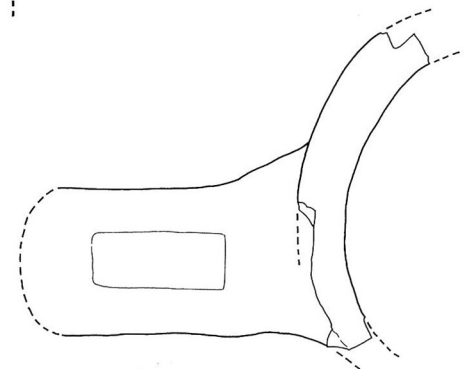


78 (1998390)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Πυ[θο]  
γέν[νευς]  
Πανάμου



Although we know only one Rhodian eponym named Pythogenes, his three stamps in the month of Panamos are remarkably different in lettering as well as in shape.

79 (1998446)

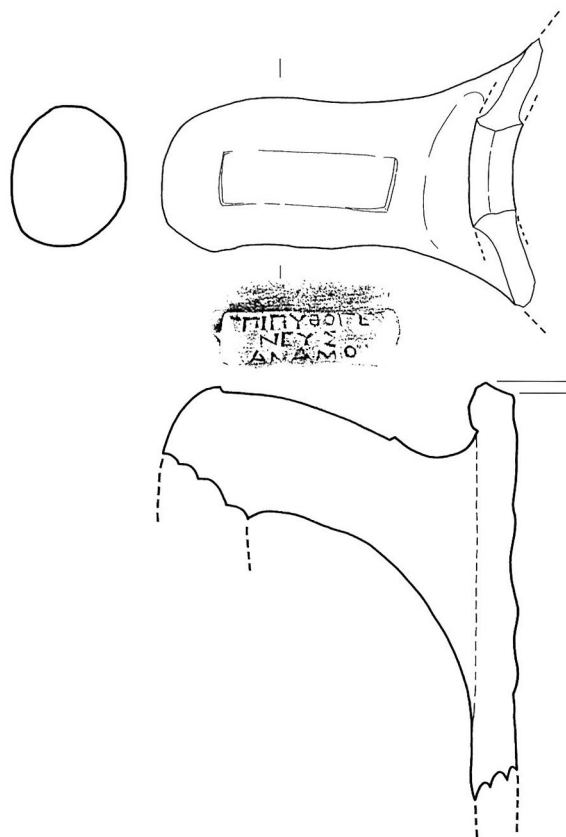
Square stamp



[Ἐ]πὶ Πυθο

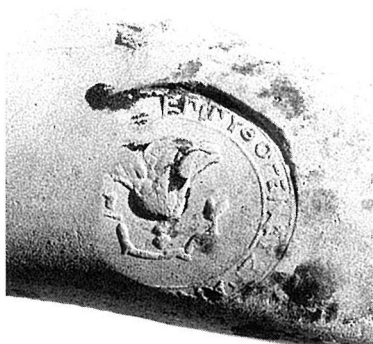
γένευσ

[Π]ανάμο[υ]

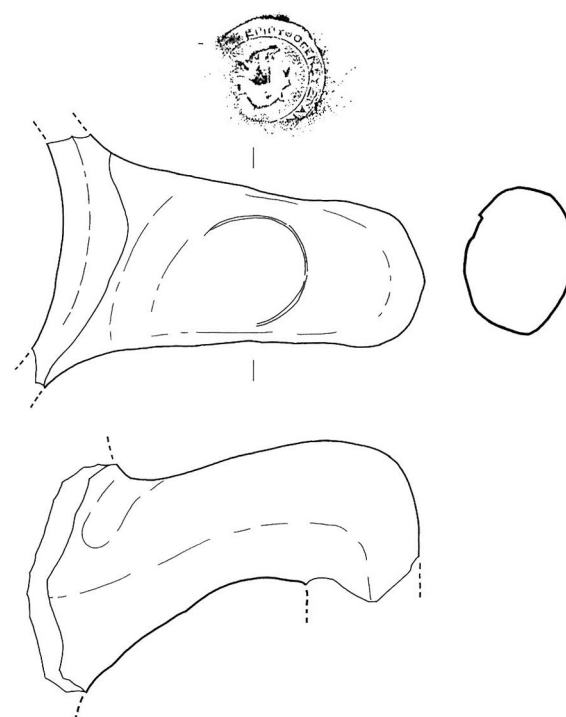


80 (1998451)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ Πυθογένευσ Πανάμου

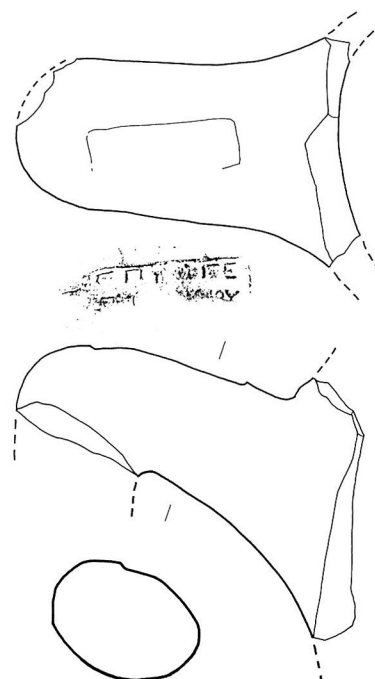




81 (1998136)  
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Πυθογέ  
[νεύς - - -]ου



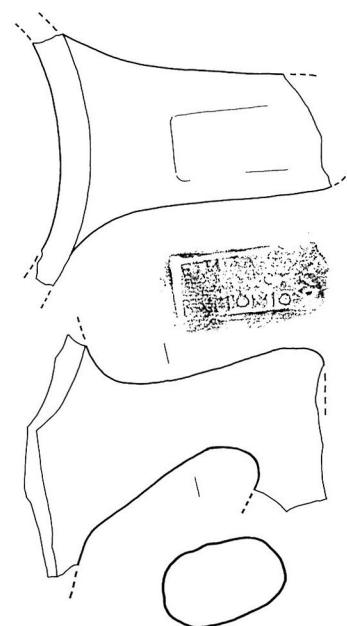
**Pythodoros**

**Period IVb**

82 (1998357)  
Square stamp

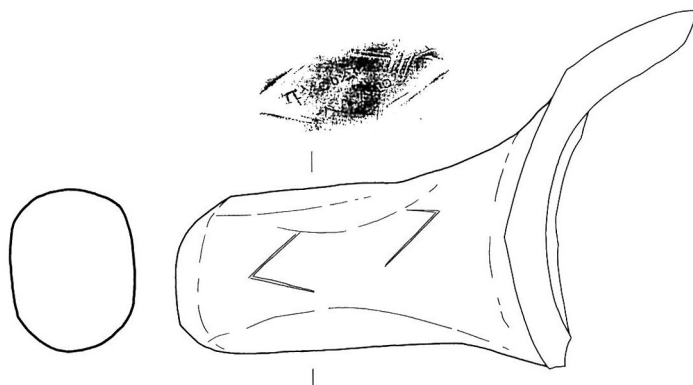


Ἐπὶ Π[υ]θο  
δώρου  
Βαδρομίου



83 (1998457)

Lozenge stamp

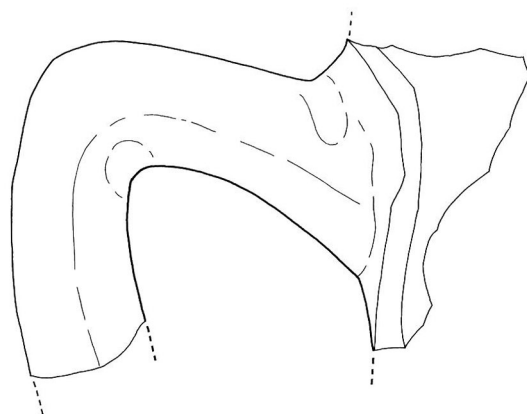


[Ἐπὶ]

Πυθοδ[ώρου]

Δαλίου

Other stamps of Pythodoros in lozenge shape are known from Pergamon, Kition, and Delos<sup>9</sup>. The characteristic shape suggests that this eponym had close relationship with the fabricant Theumnastos.



84 (1998173)

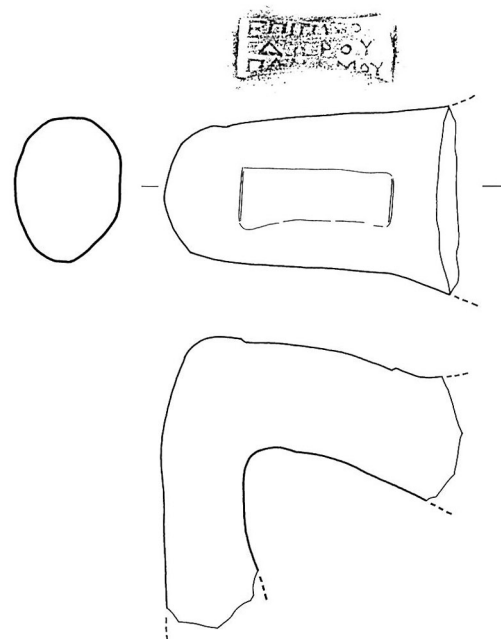
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Πυθο

δώρου

Πανάμου



**Teisagoras**

**Period Va**

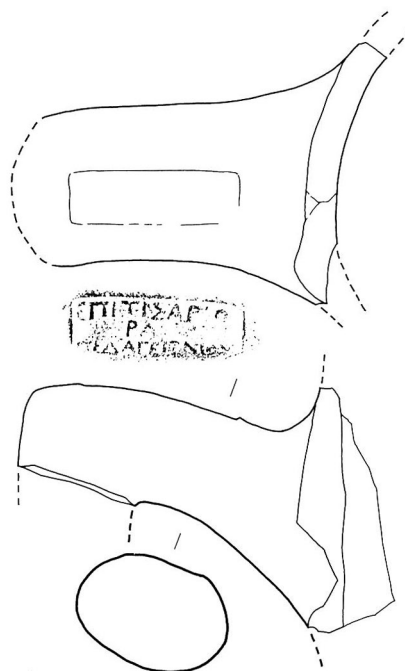
85 (1999111)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Τισαγό  
ρα  
Πεδαγειτνίου

The genitive of this rare month is normally written as Πεδαγειτνίου.

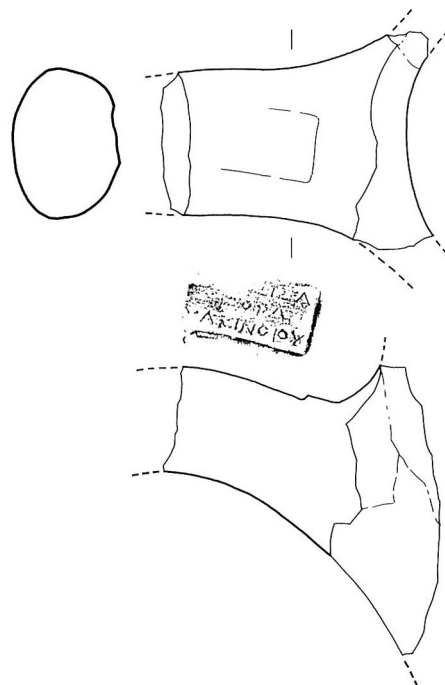


86 (1998148)

Square Stamp



Ἐπὶ Τε]ισα  
γόρα  
Ἰ]ακινθίου

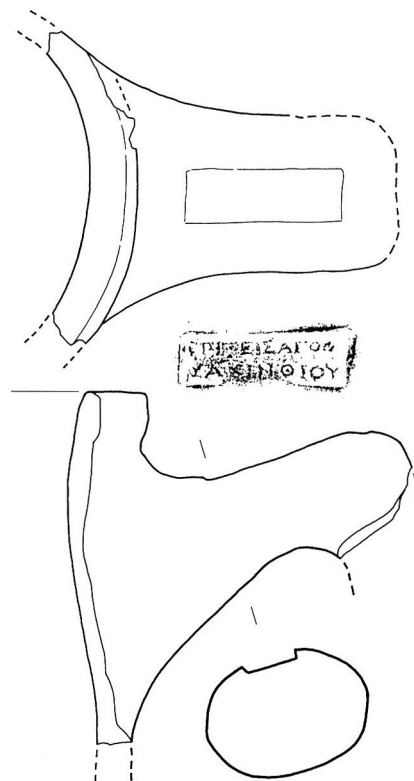


87 (1998258)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Τεισαγόρα  
[Υ]ακινθίου

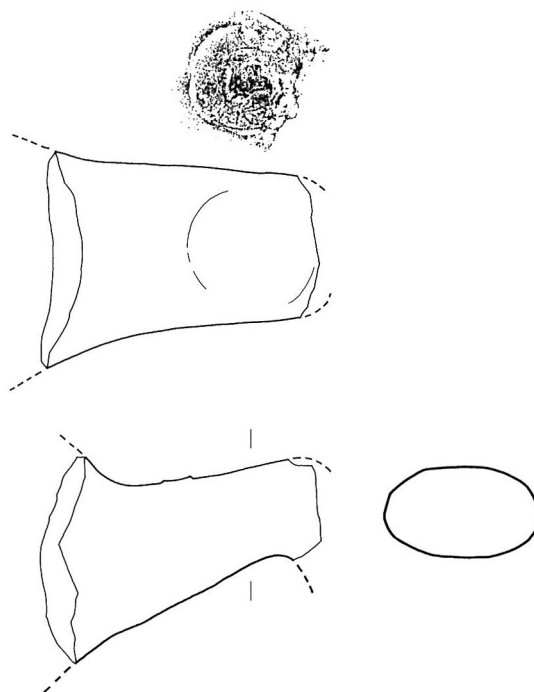


88 (1998089)

Round stamp with rose



[Ἐπὶ Τε]ισαγ[όρ]α ---



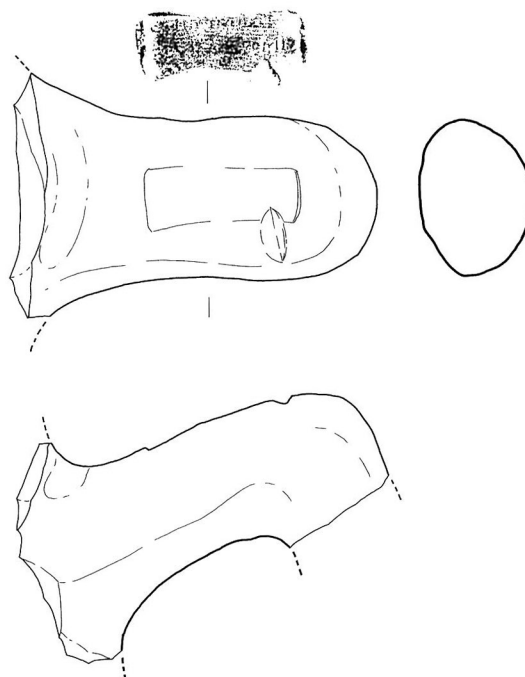
**Timodikos**

**Period Va**

89 (1998507)  
Square stamp



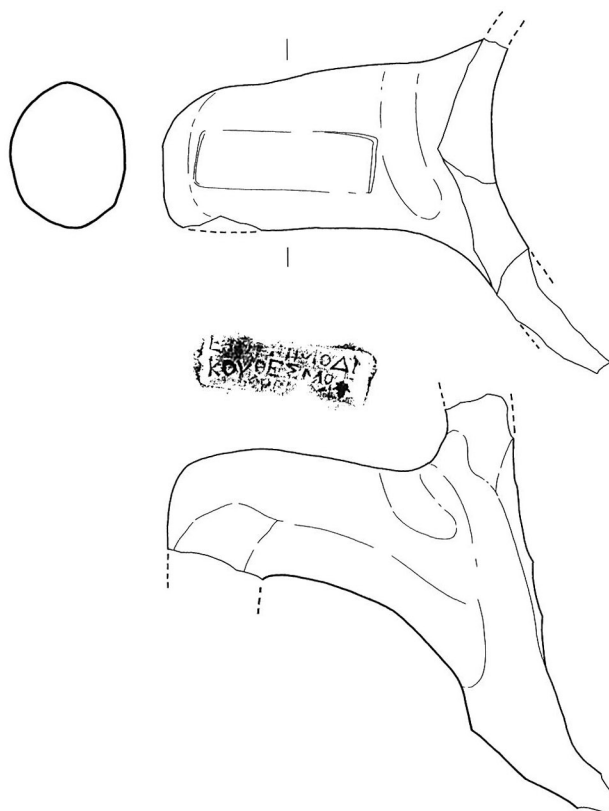
Ἐπὶ Τιμ[υ]οδί  
[κου Βαδ]ρομί  
ου



90 (1998455)  
Square stamp



Ἐ[πὶ Τιμ]οδί  
κου Θεσμο  
φορίου



**Timotheos**

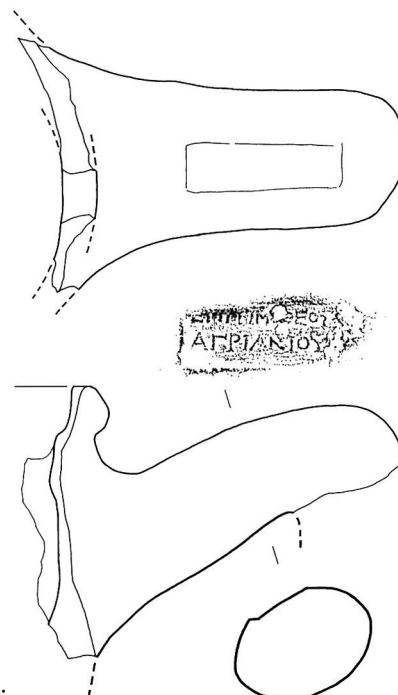
**Period Vb**

91 (1998191)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου  
Ἀγριανίου



Round stamps of this eponym are also known from other sites<sup>10</sup>.

**Timourrodos**

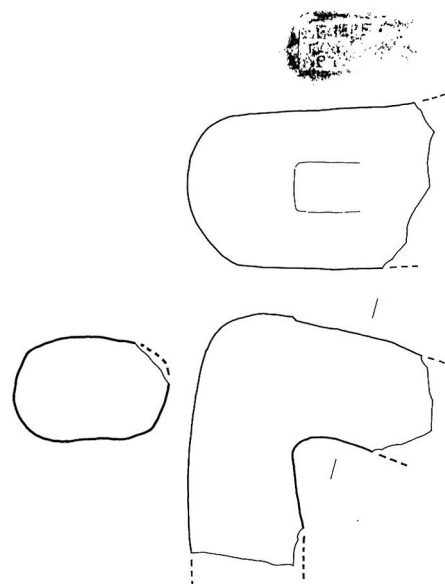
**Period IVa**

92 (1998297)

Square stamp



Ἐπ' ἱερέ[ως]  
Τιμου[ρρόδου]  
Ἀρτ[αμιτίου]

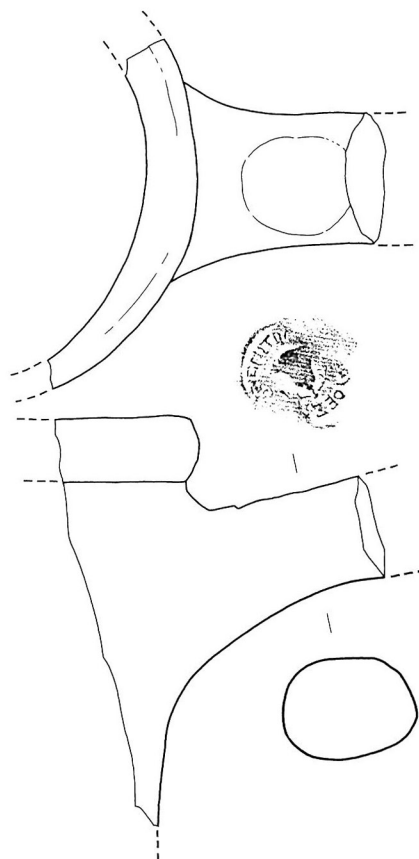


93 (1999213)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ Τι[μουρρόδου] Θεσ[μοφορίου]

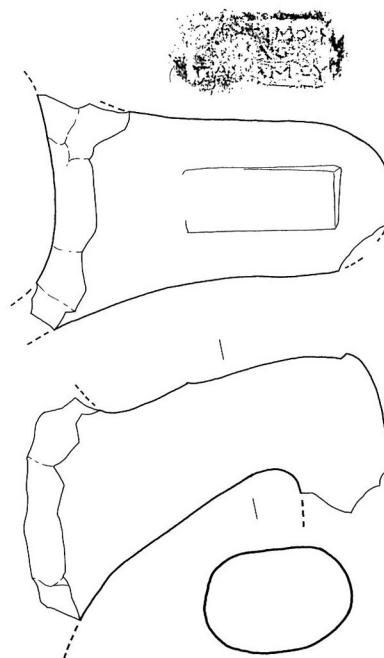


94 (1998361)

Square stamp



[Ἐπὶ Τι]μουρ[ρό]δου  
Π[αν]άμου

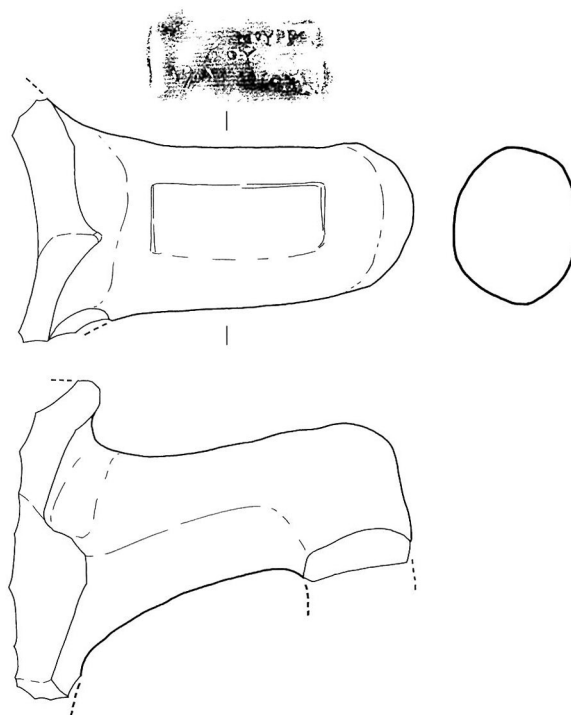




95 (1998533)  
Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Τιμουρρό  
δου  
Ἰακινθίου

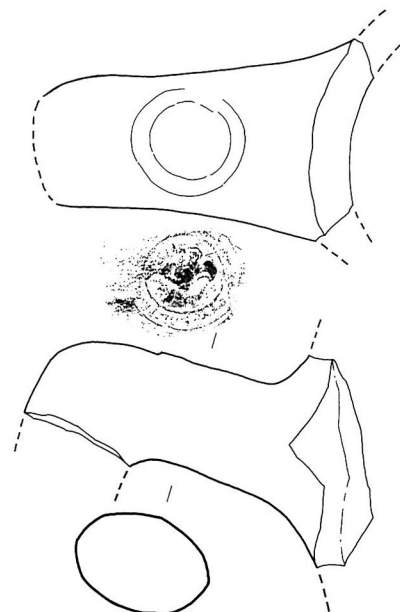


**uncertain Rhodian eponyms**

96 (1998248)  
Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ ἱερέως - - - [Θεσ]μο[φορ]ίου

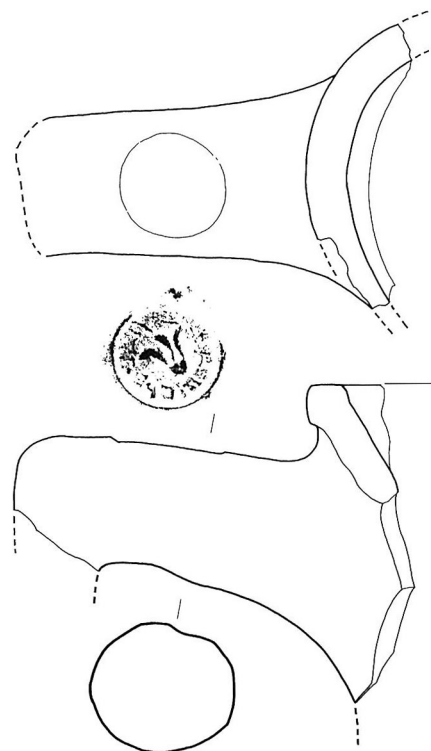


97 (1998353)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπ' ἱερέως - - -

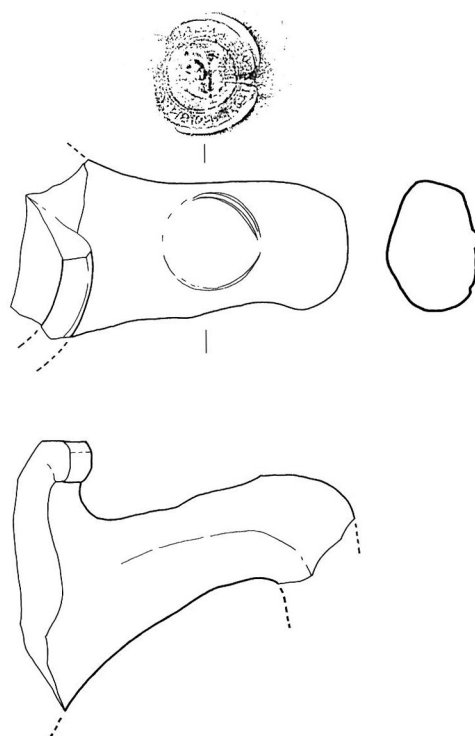


98 (1998381)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπ' ἱερέως - - -

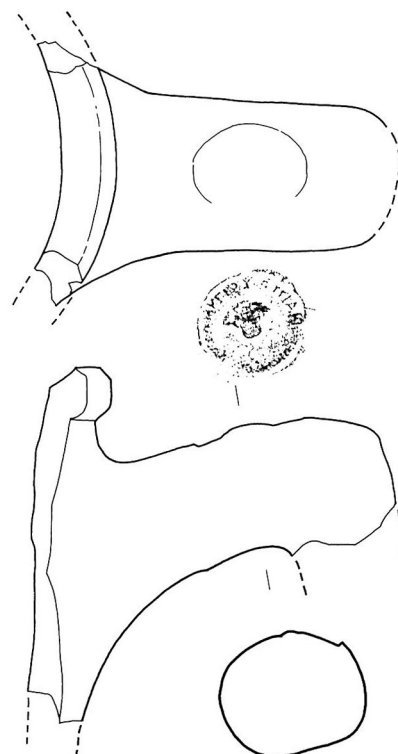


99 (1999211)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ Ἀ --- Ἀρταμιτίου

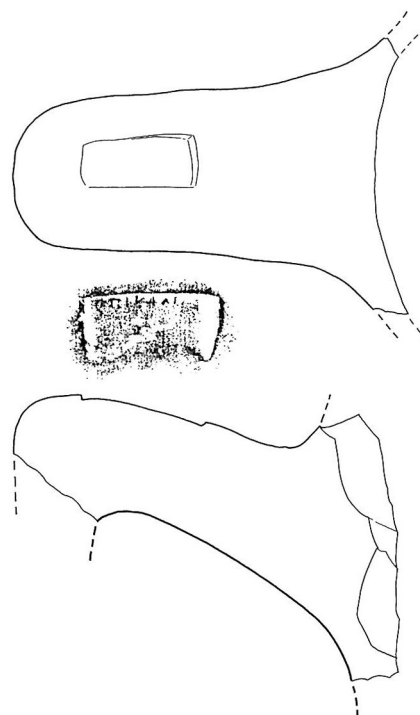


100 (1998030)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ Καλ ---

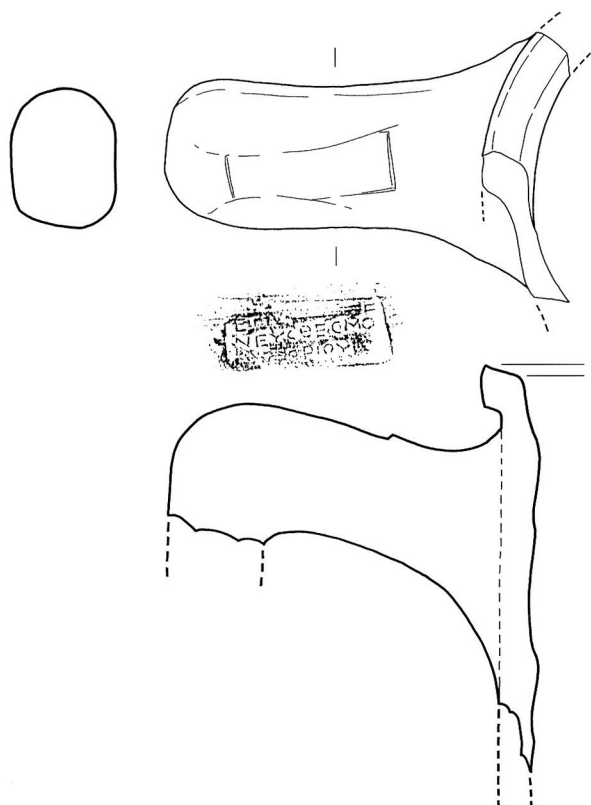


101 (1998454)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ --- ε  
νεὺς Θεσμο  
φορίου

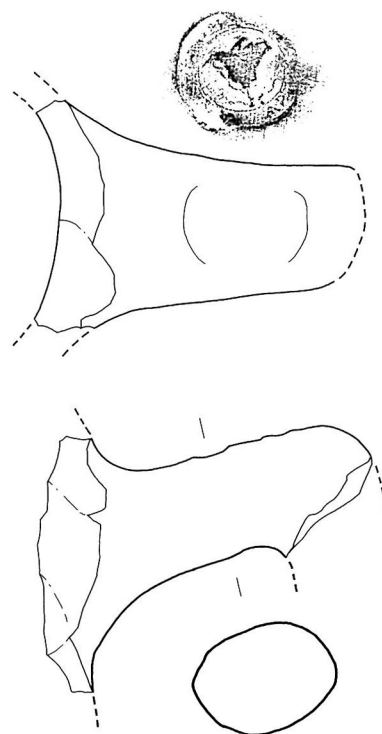


102 (1998192)

Round stamp with rose



Ἐπὶ --- ου Ἀρτ[αμίτου]

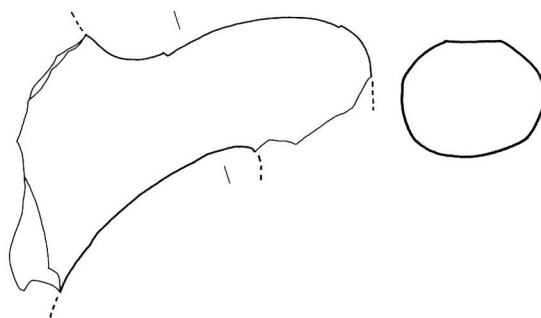
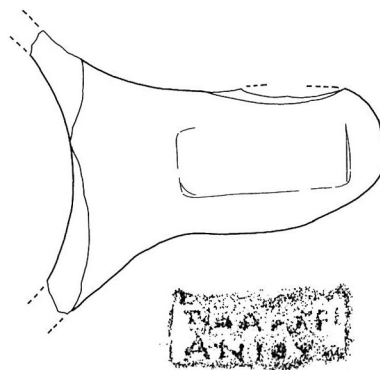


103 (2001060)

Square stamp



Ἐ[πὶ] ---  
τίδα Ἀγρι  
ανίου

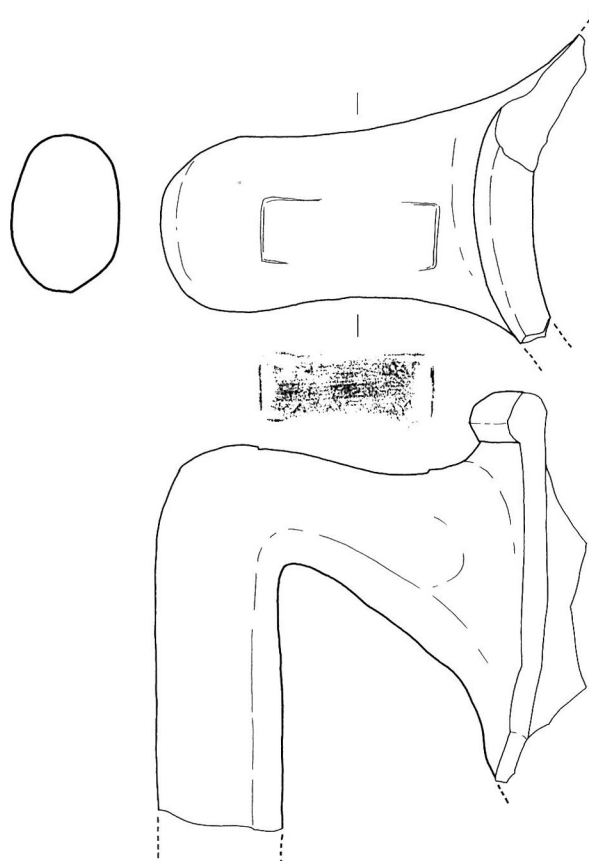


104 (1998503)

Square stamp



[Ἐπὶ] --- αρ  
---  
Ἀρταμιτίου



105 (1998079)

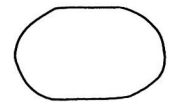
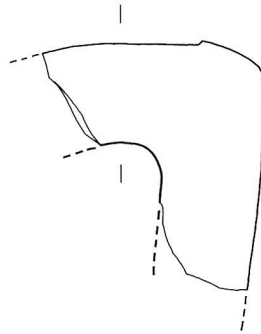
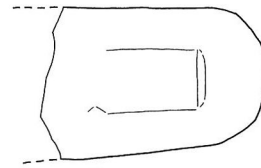
Square stamp



[Ἐπὶ] --- νο

---

Θε[σμοφο]ρίου



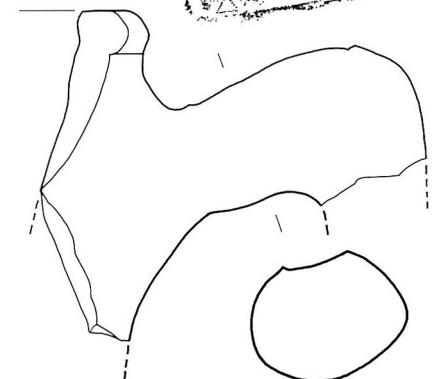
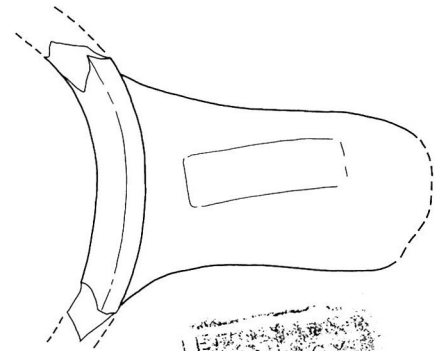
106 (1999188)

Square stamp



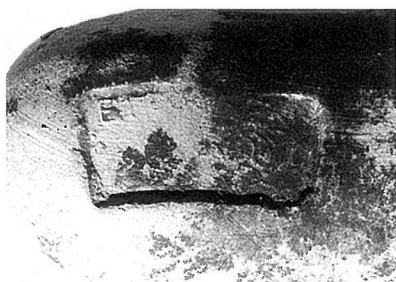
[Ἐπὶ] ---

Δα[λί]ου



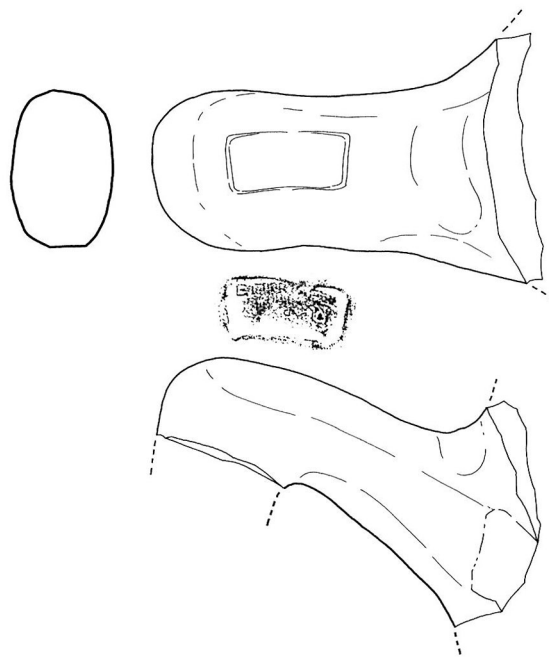
107 (1998544)

Square stamp with rose on the right



Ἐπὶ --- ε

Ἄ ---

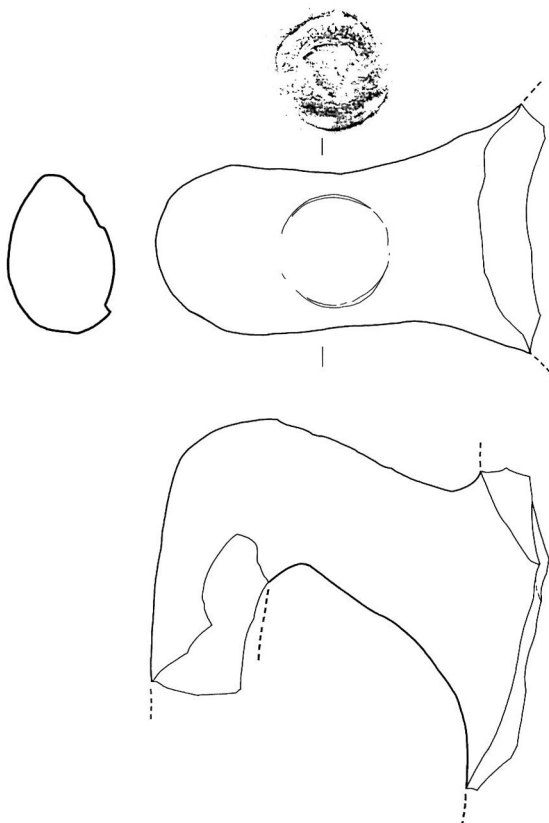


108 (1998419)

Round stamp with rose



--- ε --- στ ---



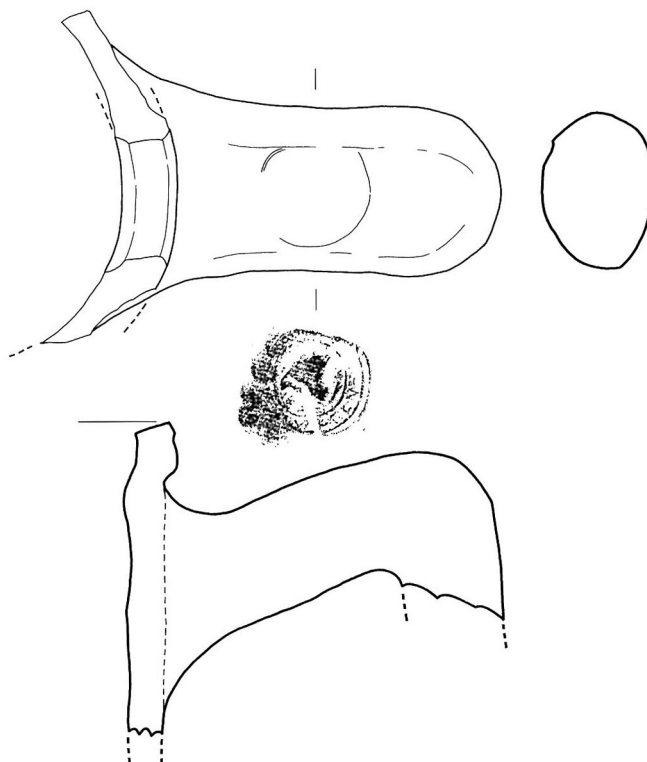


109 (1998456)

Round stamp with rose

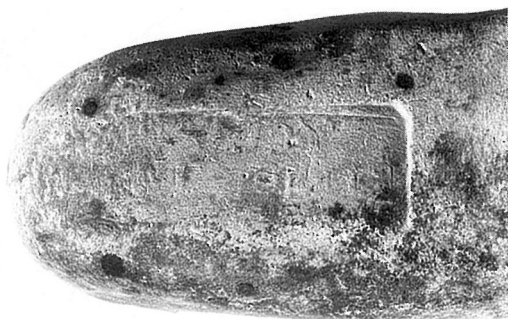


--- ΟΤΕΥΕ ---

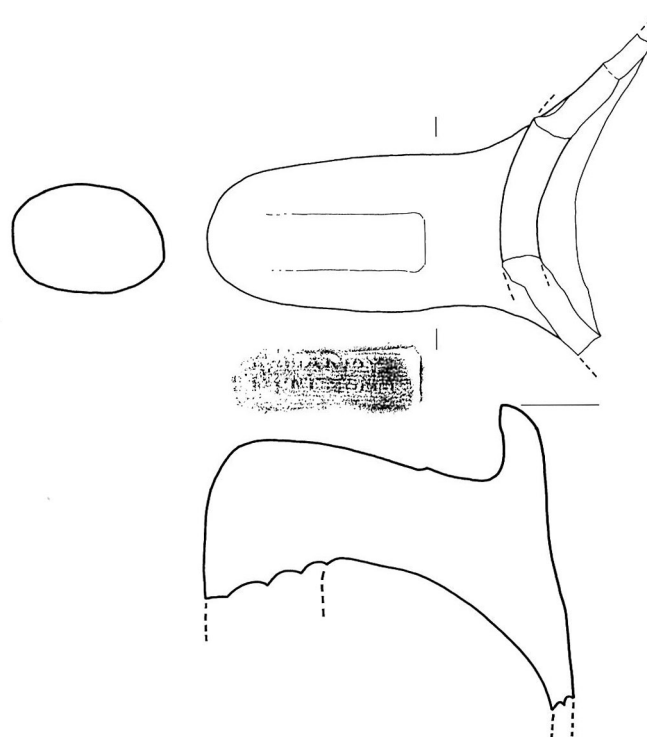


110 (1998504)

Square stamp



--- ΑΥΤΟΥ ---



This stamp may be a reuse.

111 (1999157)

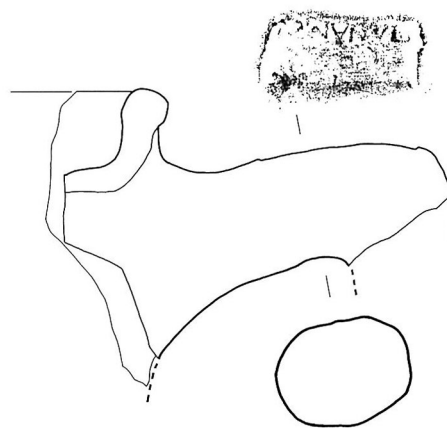
Square stamp



--- α

--- ος

Πανάμου



112 (2000017)

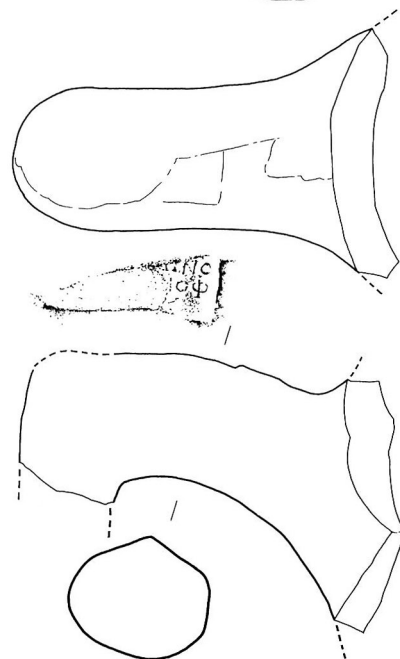
Square stamp



--- ηνο

--- [Θεσ]μοφ

[ορίου]



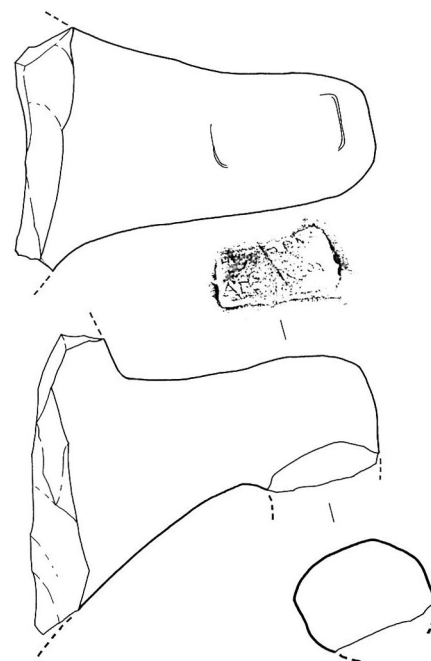
113 (2000030)

Square stamp



Ἐπὶ --- ]ονα

Ἀγ[ρια]ν[ί]ου



114 (1998548)

Round stamp with rose



--- Πα[νάμου]

115 (1998096)

Round stamp with Helios



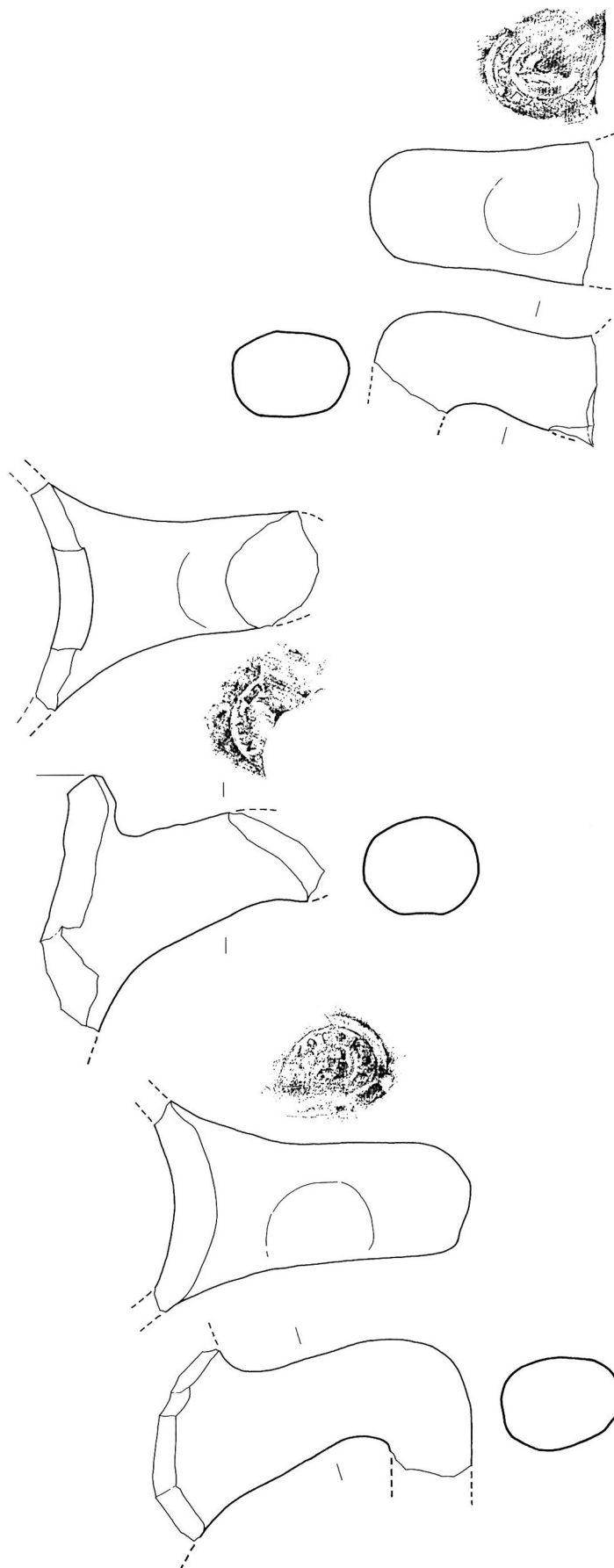
Ἐπ---

116 (1998190)

Round stamp with rose



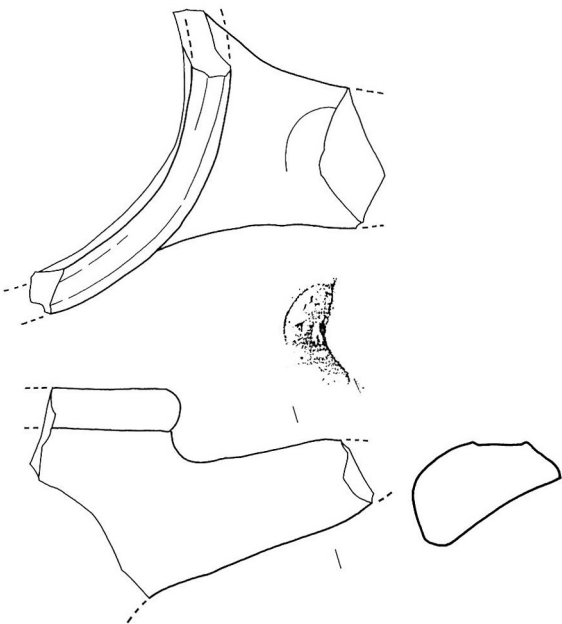
-- ου --



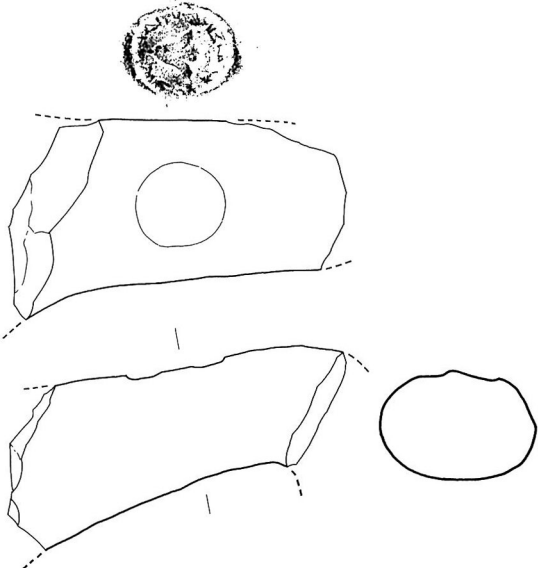
117 (1998326)  
Round stamp with rose



-- α -- α --



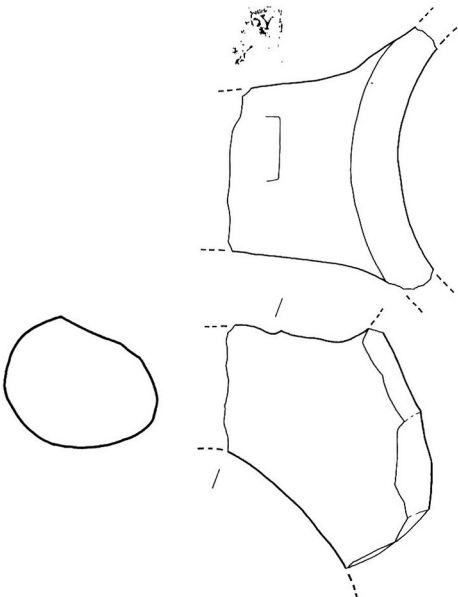
118 (1998313)  
Round stamp with rose



119 (1998303)  
Square stamp



--- ou  
--- ou



120 (1999013)

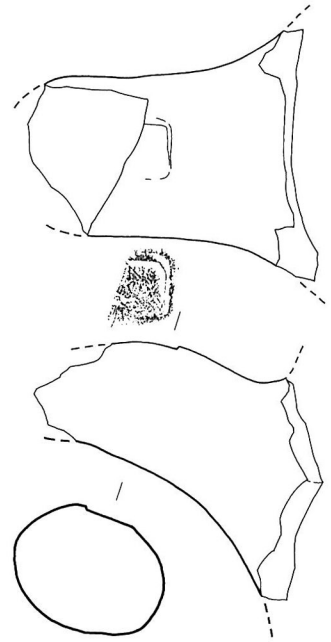
Square stamp



--- VO

--- OV

--- OV



121 (1998208)

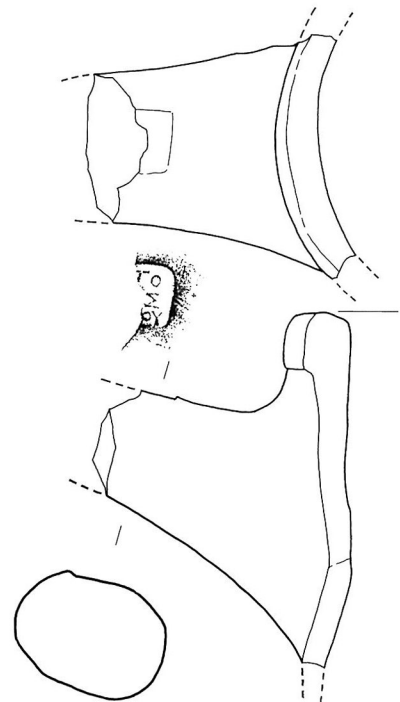
Square stamp



--- TO

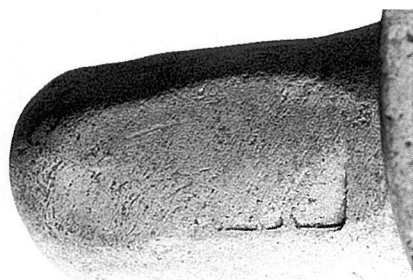
--- Σ

--- OV

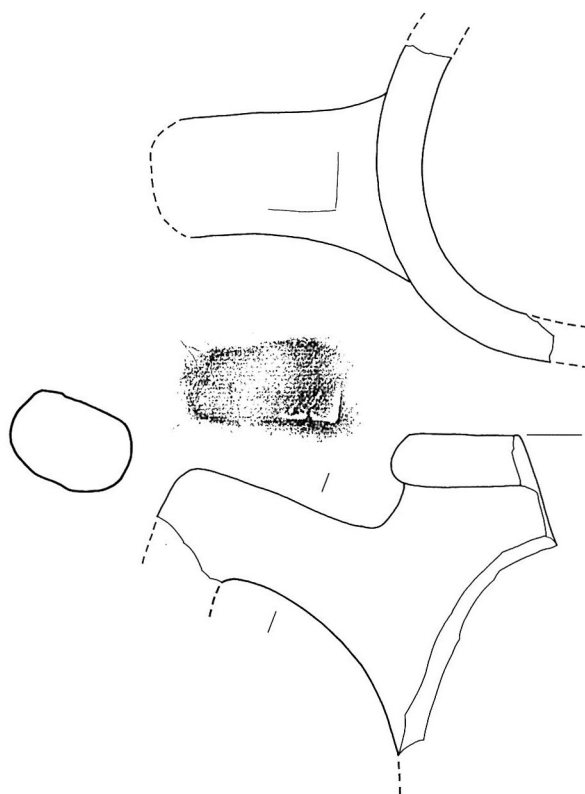


122 (1998111)

Square stamp

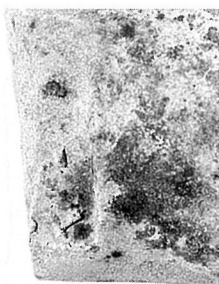


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 --- ou

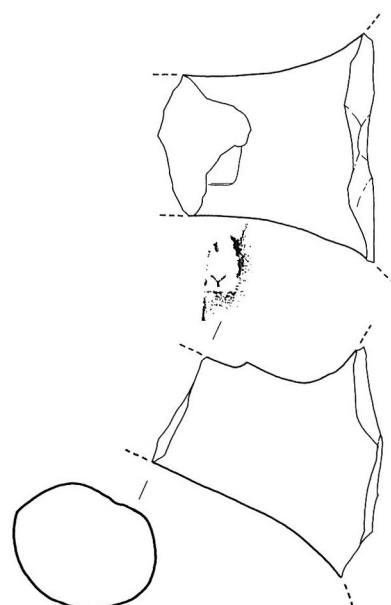


123 (1998199)

Square stamp



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 --- ou

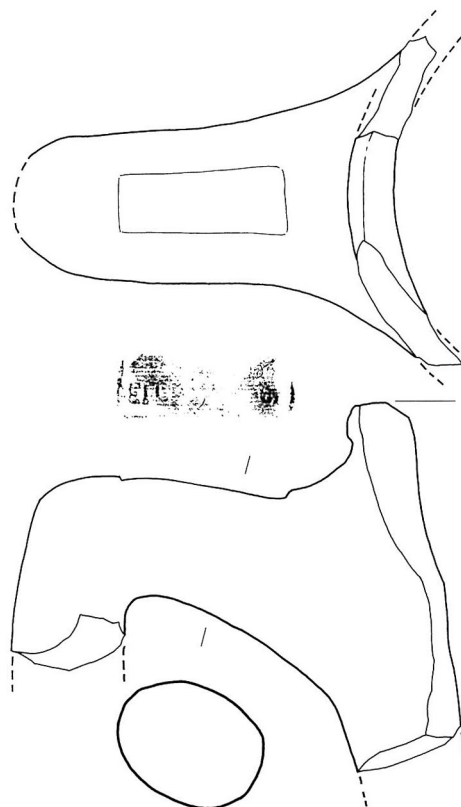


124 (1998308)

Square stamp



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 ΕΠ - -





### 3. Stamped Amphora Handles of Rhodian Fabricants

#### Hagesippos

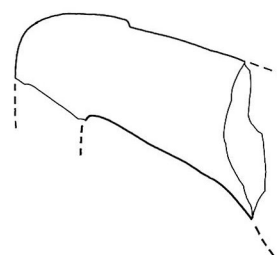
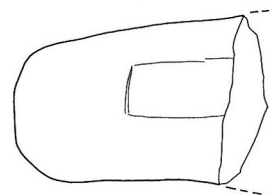
125 (1998036)

Square stamp with dolphin



Ἀγησίππου

For the *spiritus asper* for the names such as Hagemon, Hagesarchos, Hagesippos, see Pergamon I, No. 368.



#### Amyntas

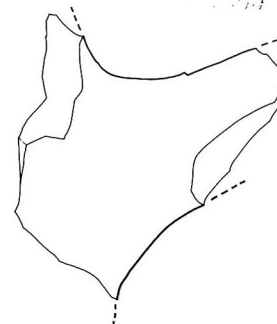
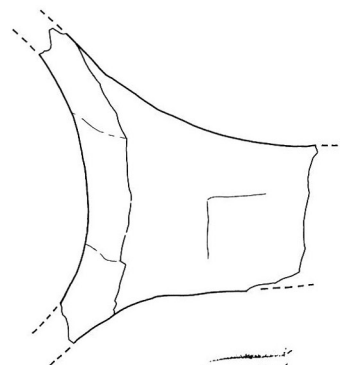
Period IIIc

126 (1998389)

Square stamp



Ἀμύν[τα]



**Andrikos**

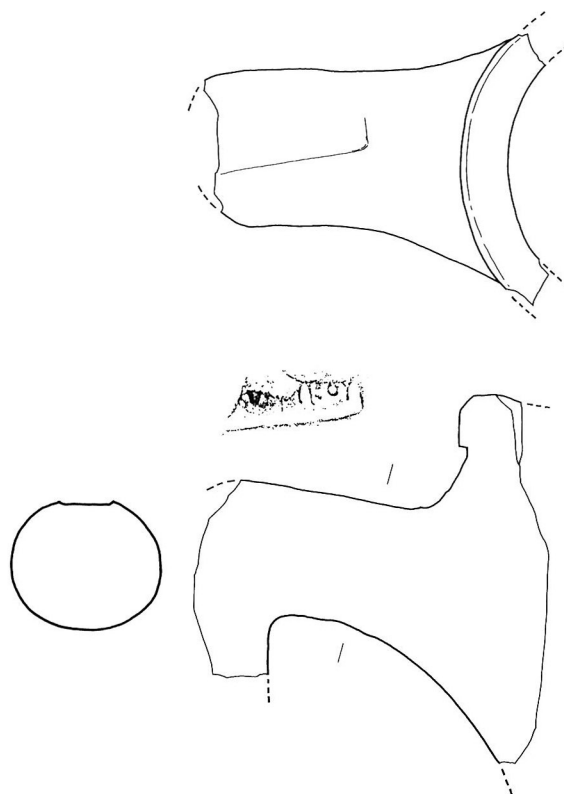
**Period III–IV**

127 (1998260)

Square stamp



[Ἀνδρ]ίκου



**Antimachos**

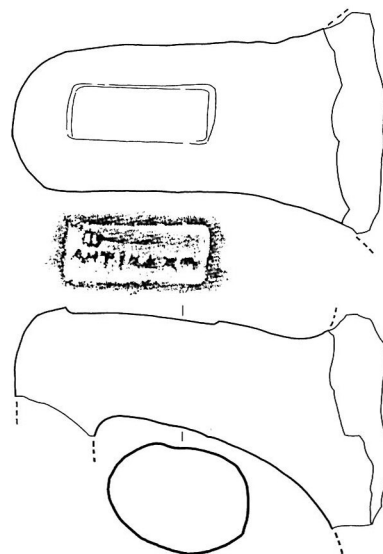
**Period III–IV**

128 (1997065a)

Square stamp with caduceus to the right above the name



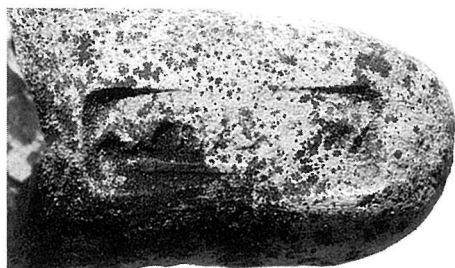
Ἀντιμάχου



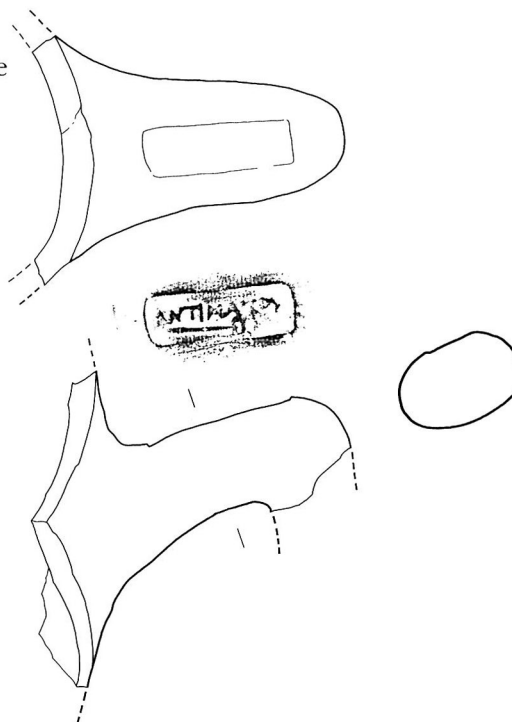
Possibly this is the same stamp from Pergamon (Pergamon I, No. 401) bearing characteristic curved axis of caduceus.

129 (1998102)

Square stamp with caduceus to the left below the name



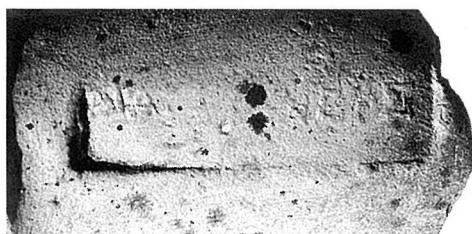
Ἀντιμάχου



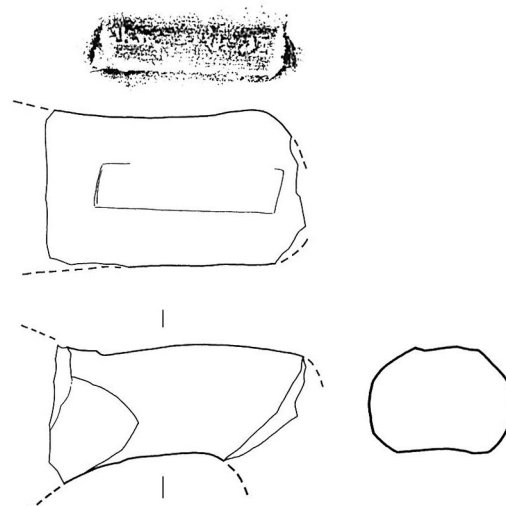
**Aratophanes**

130 (1998057)

Square stamp



Ἀρατ[οφά]νευς



**Aristion**

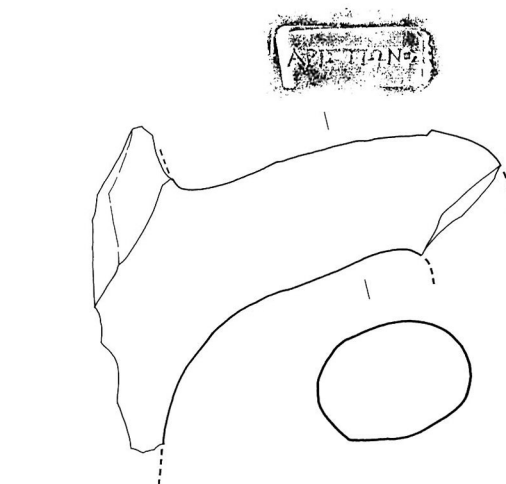
**Period IIc–IIIa**

131 (1999083)

Square stamp



Ἀριστίωνος

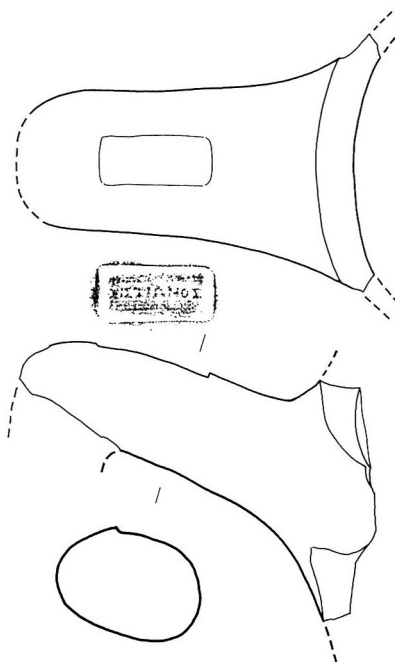


132 (1999187)

Square stamp



Ἀριστίωνος

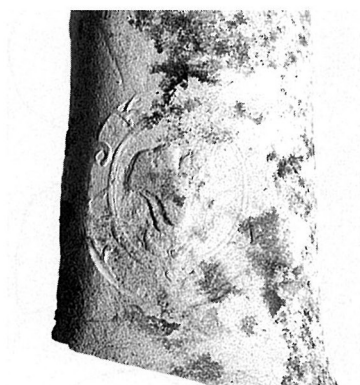


**Aristokles**

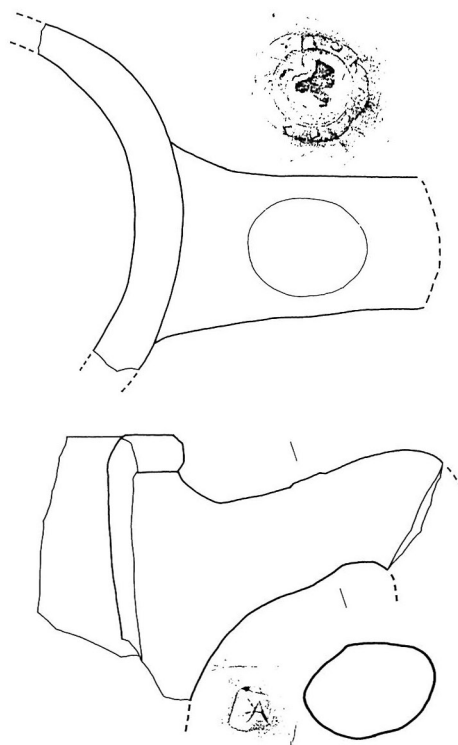
**Period III–IV**

133 (1998391)

Round stamp with rose: secondary stamp



[Ἀρι]σ[τ]οκλε[ῦς]



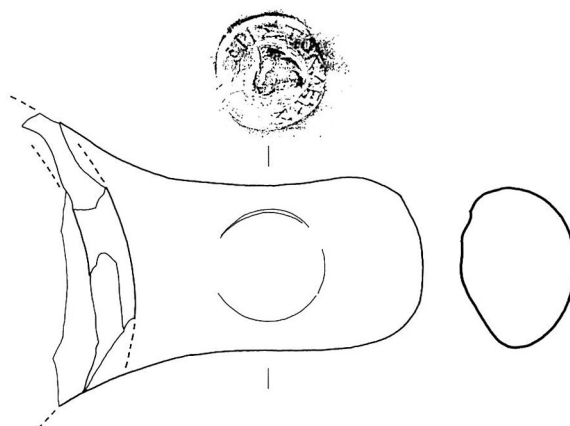
Aristokles is supposed to have been one of a son of Damokrates, since both fabricants often used round stamp as well as secondary stamp.<sup>1</sup>

134 (1998393)

Round stamp with rose: secondary stamp



Ἀριστοκλεῦς

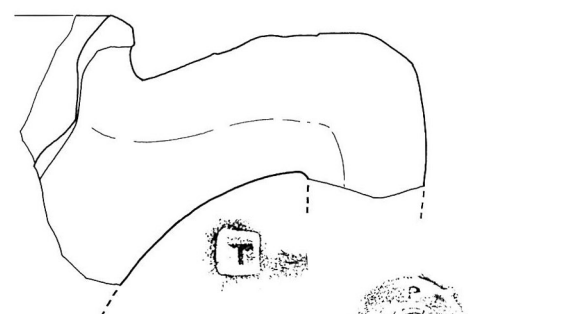


135 (1998413)

Round stamp with rose



[Α]ριστοκλε[ῦς]

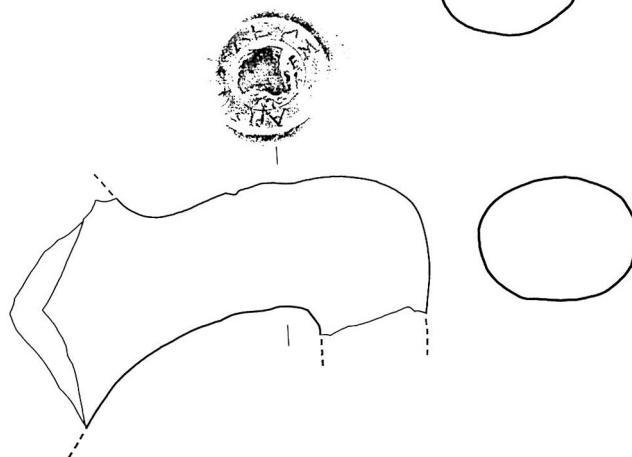


136 (1999102)

Round stamp with rose



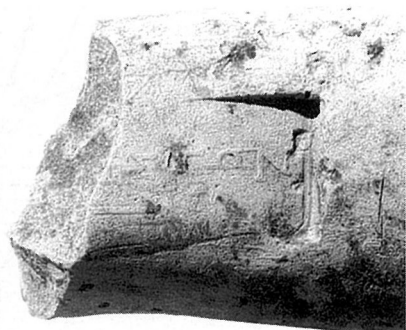
Ἀρισ[τοκ]λεῦς



**Ariston**

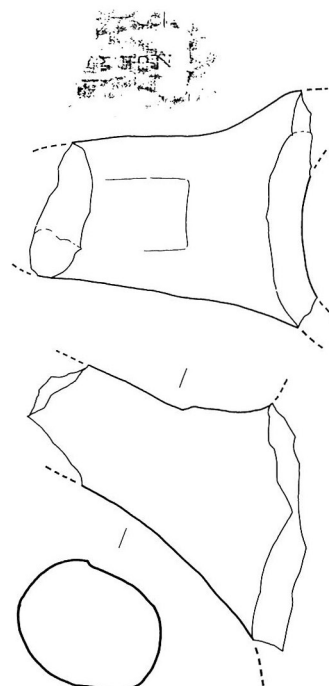
137 (1998545)

Square stamp with caduceus under the name



[Ἀρ]ιστῶν  
[ος]

A connected pair of this fabricant with eponym Athanodotos has been reported. Grace 1985, 10.



**Aphrodisios**

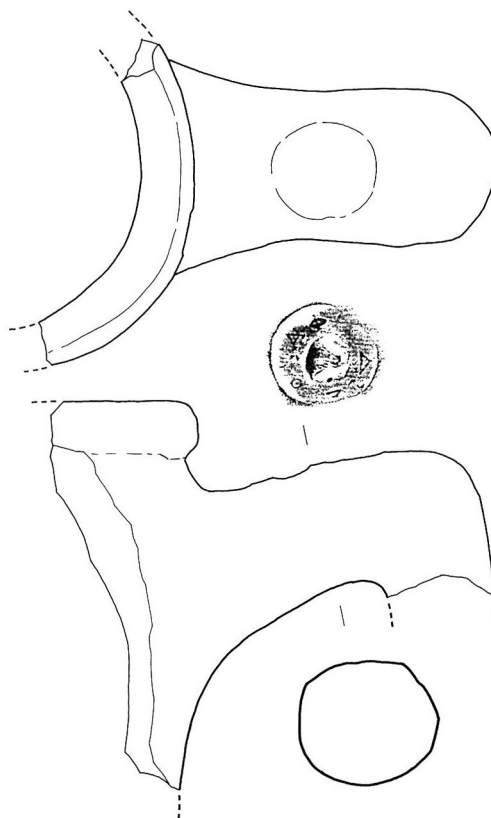
138 (1998531)

Round stamp with rose



Ἀφ[ρο]δισίου

Exactly the same stamp has been excavated from Jerusalem. *QEDM* 30, No. 49. Another stamp of this fabricant from Nea Paphos is dated in Period IV. Sztetyllo 1976, No. 150.



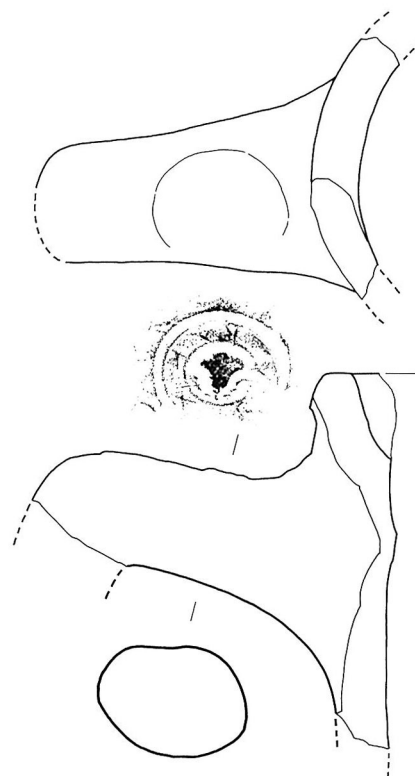
**Bakchios**

139 (1998195)

Round stamp with rose



Βακχίου



**Bromios**

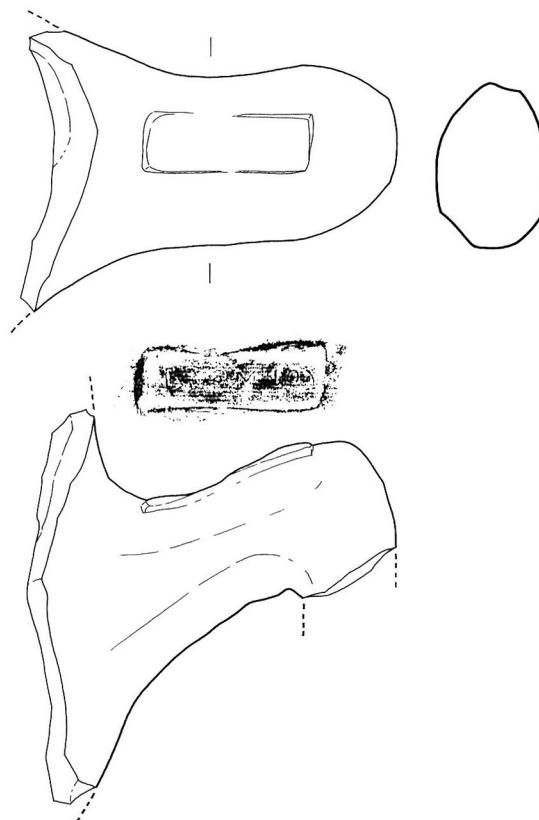
Period IV–V

140 (1998364)

Square stamp



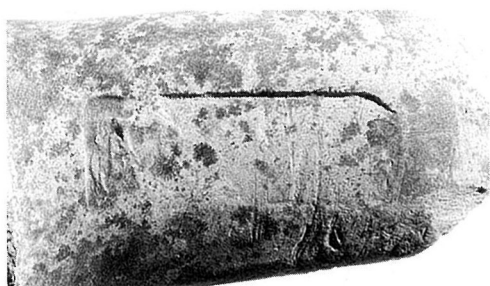
Βρομίου



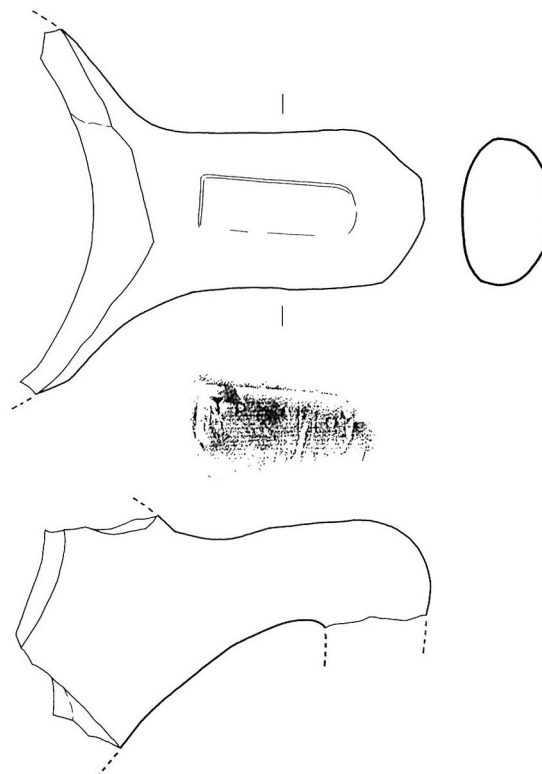
Grace suggests that the stamps by Bromios without device of wreath belong to the period after 180, though the stamps with device appear only after 150. Pergamon II, No. 131.

141 (1998387)

Square stamp

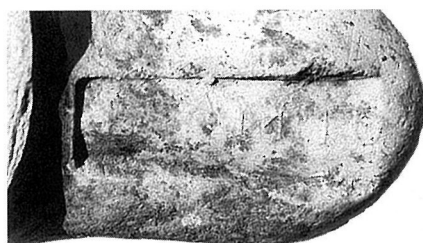


Βρομίου

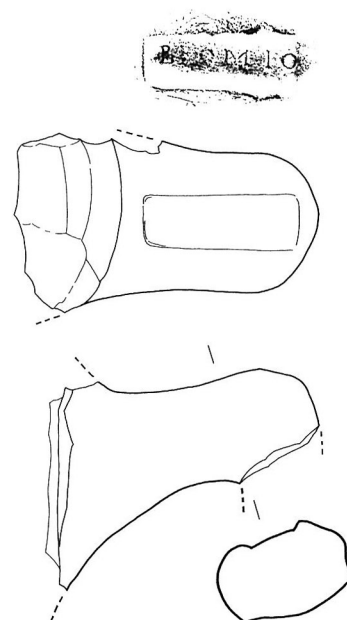


142 (2000033)

Square stamp



Βρομίου



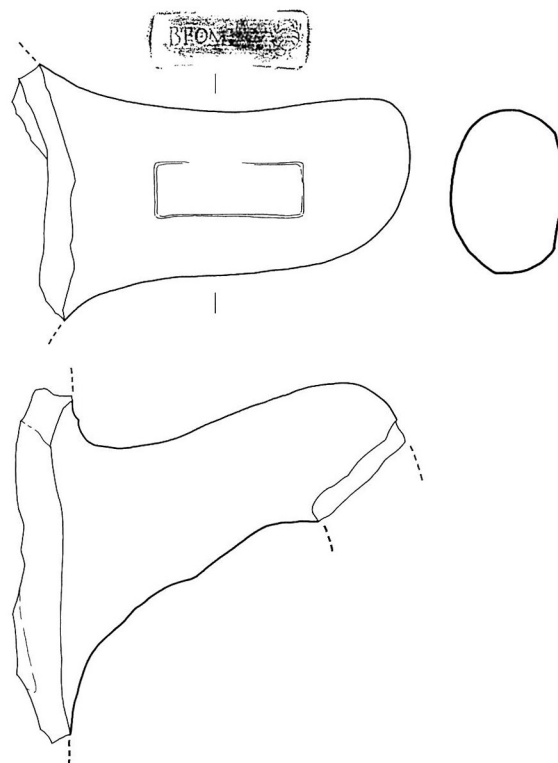


143 (1998502)

Square stamp with wreath to the right

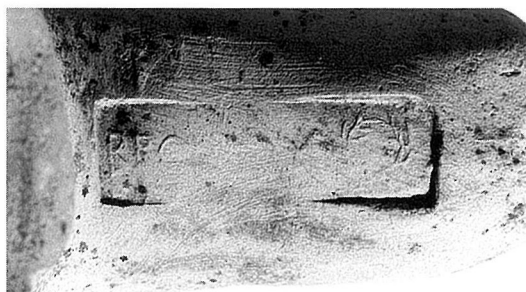


Βρομίου

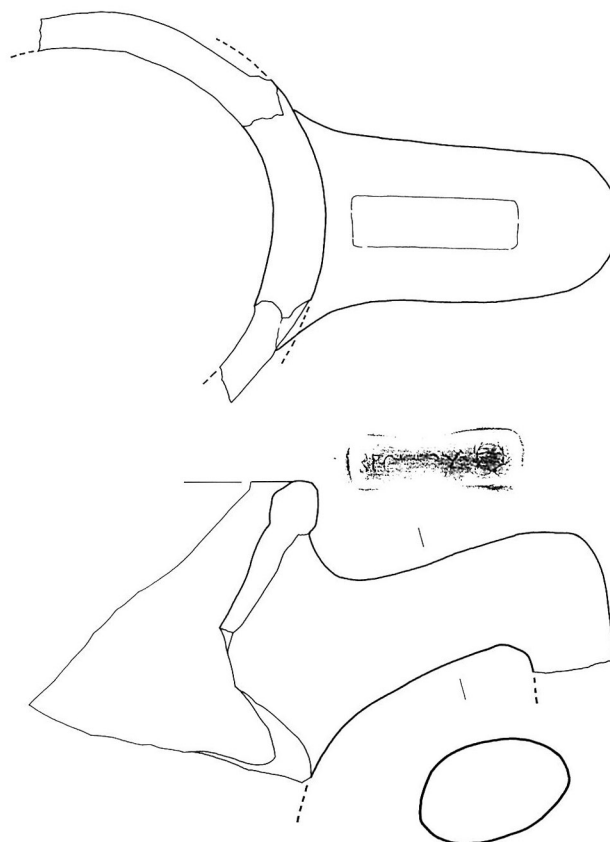


144 (1998530)

Square stamp with wreath to the right

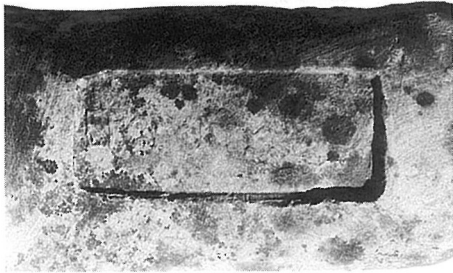


Βρο[μίου]

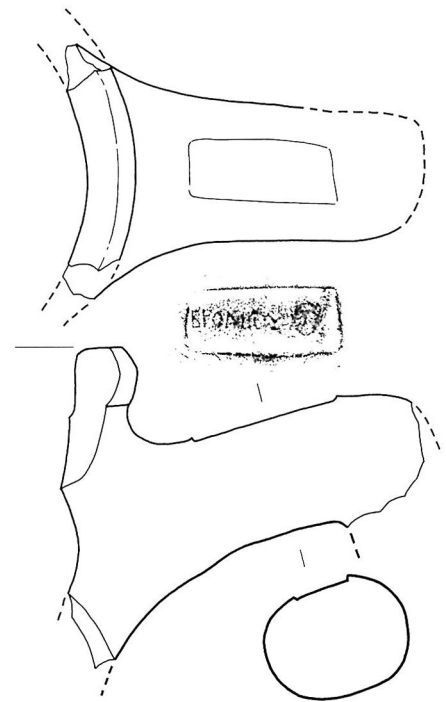


145 (1999220)

Square stamp with wreath to the right



Βρομίου



**Damokrates**

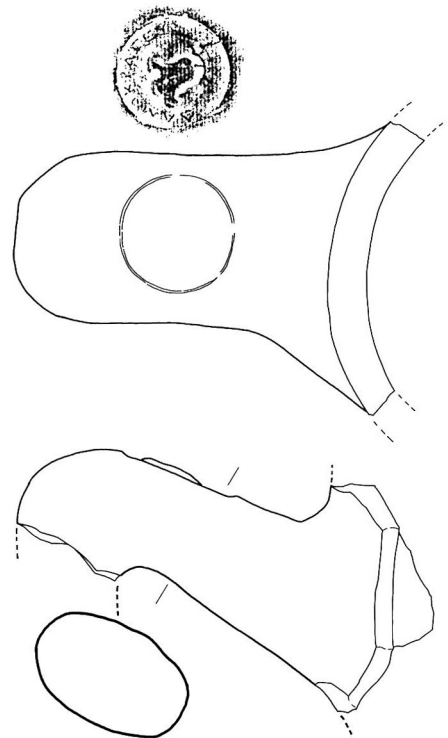
**Period II–III**

146 (1997070a)

Round stamp with rose

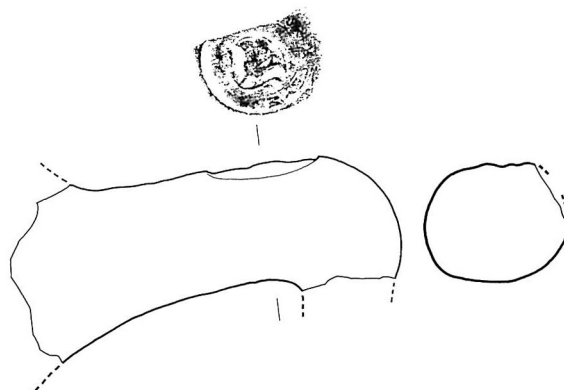


Δαμοκράτης



147 (1999019)

Round stamp with rose

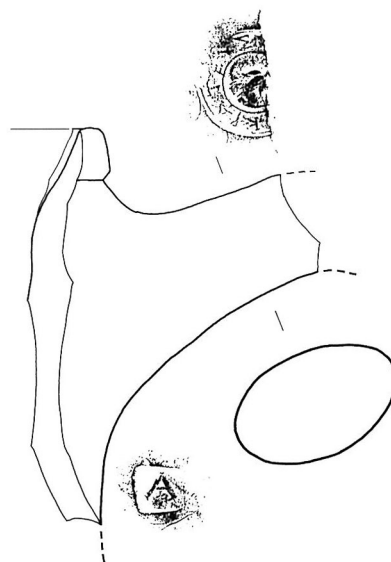


[Δαμ]οκ[ρά]τευσ

The fabricant's name can equally be reconstructed as that of Hippokrates.

148 (1999070)

Round stamp with rose: secondary stamp

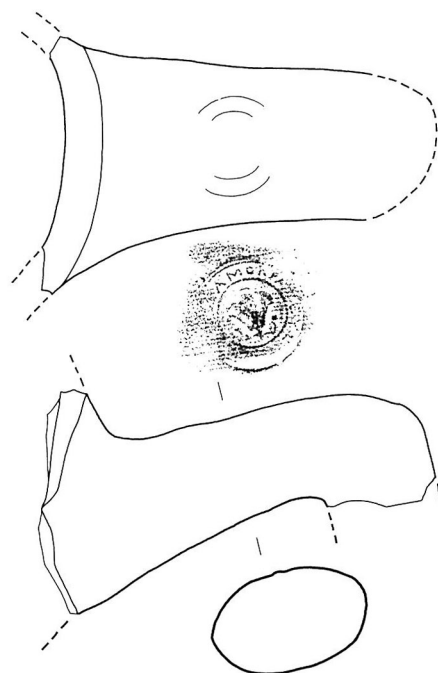


[Δαμ]οκ[ρά]τευσ

The fabricant's name can equally be reconstructed as that of Hippokrates.

149 (1999185)

Round stamp with rose



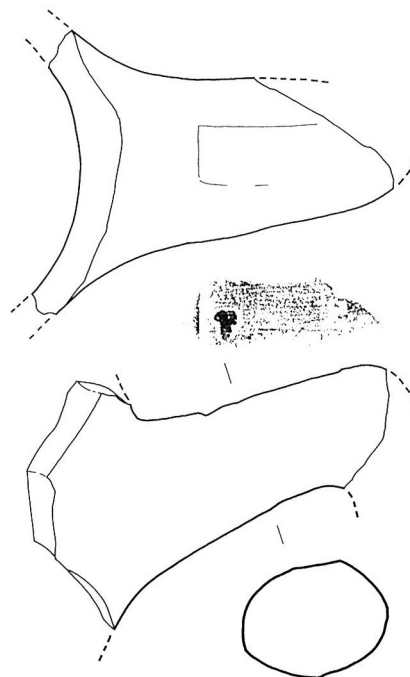
Δαμοκράτευσ

150 (1998162)

Square stamp with grape + caduceus to the left



Δαμοκράτεως

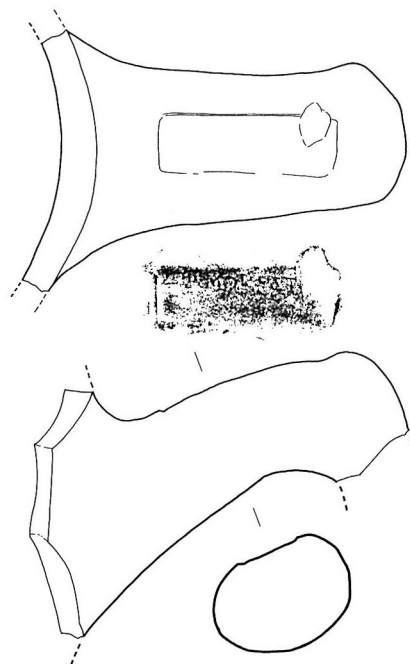


151 (2001018)

Square stamp



Δαμοκράτεως



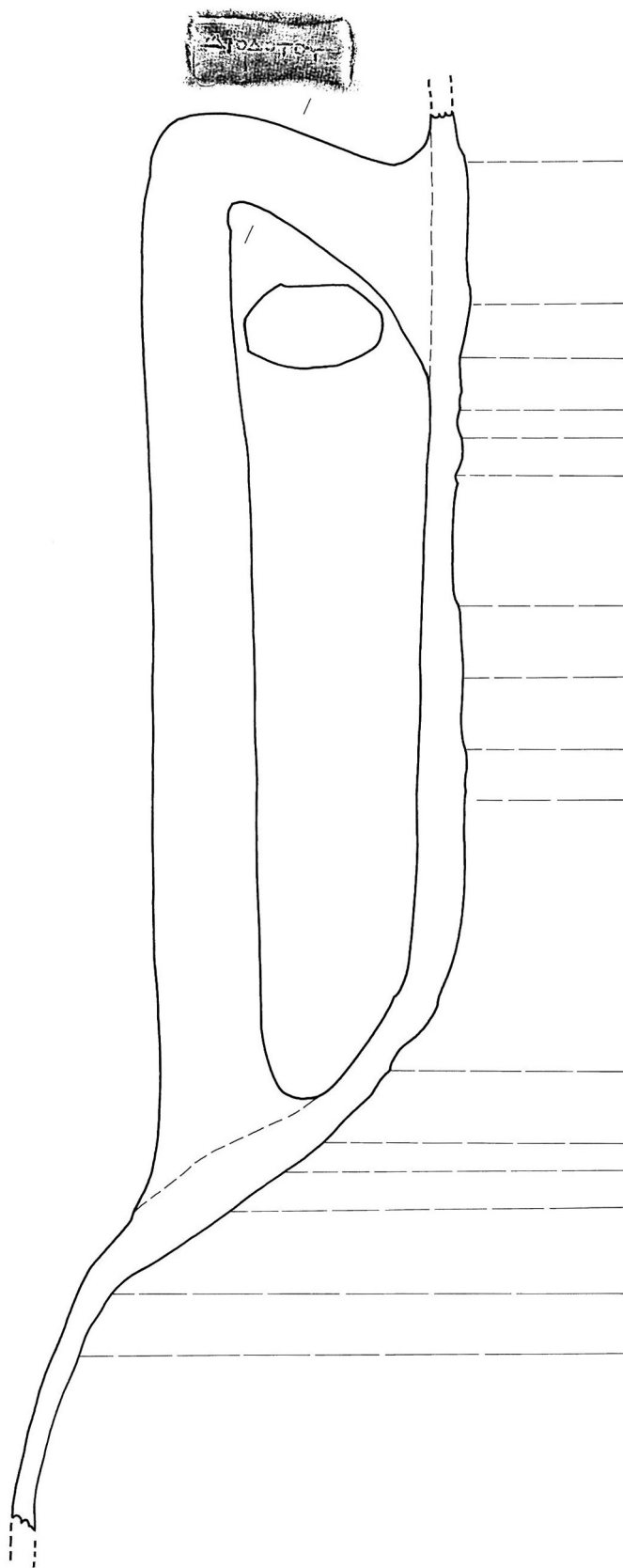
**Diodotos**

152 (1998150)

Square stamp



Διοδότου

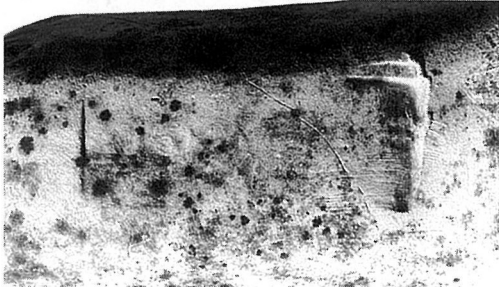


**Diokleia**

**Period V**

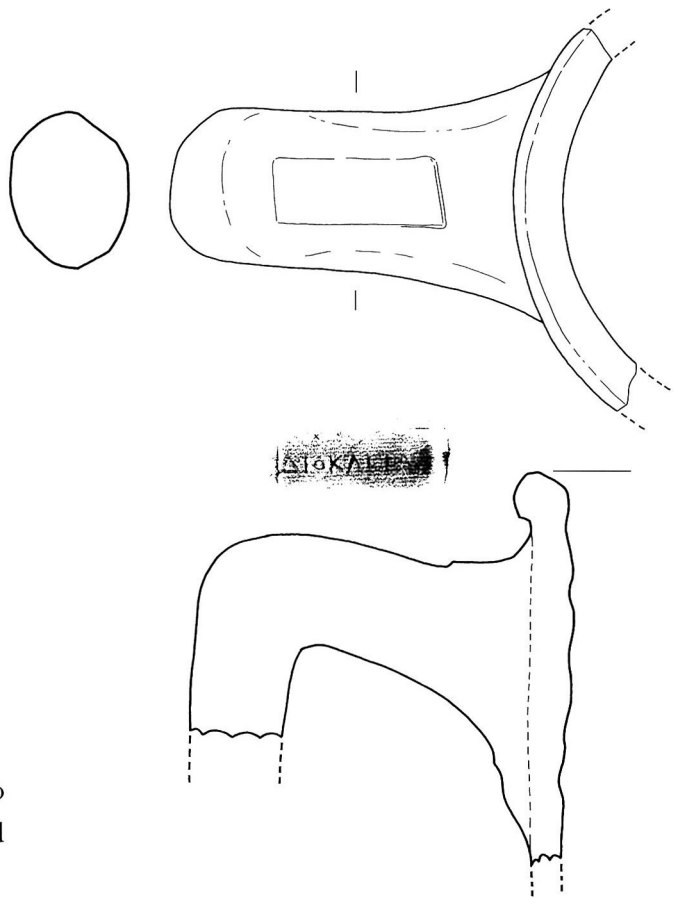
153 (1998525)

Square stamp



Διοκλείας

Apparently the fabricant was female, who was active more than 30 years in the mid 2nd century.<sup>2</sup>



**Dios**

**period III**

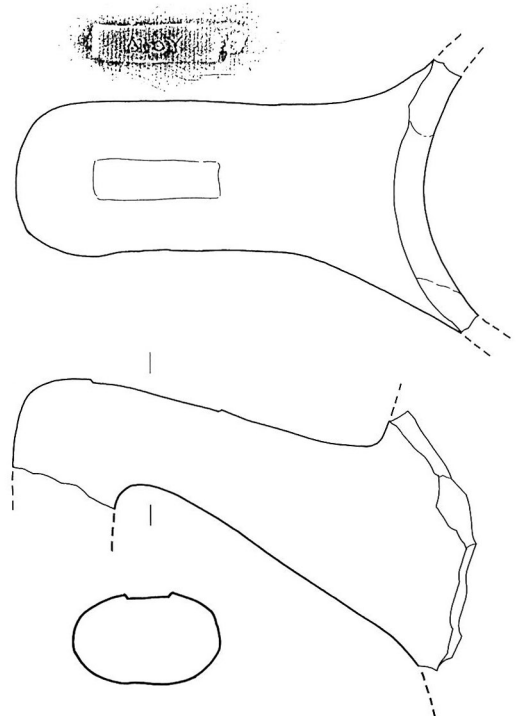
154 (1998003)

Square stamp



Δίου

A connecting pair with eponym Iasikrates has been reported.<sup>3</sup>



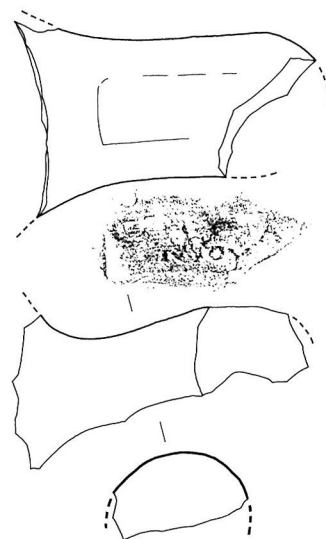
**Diophantos**

155 (1998233)

Square stamp



[Διο]φά  
ντου

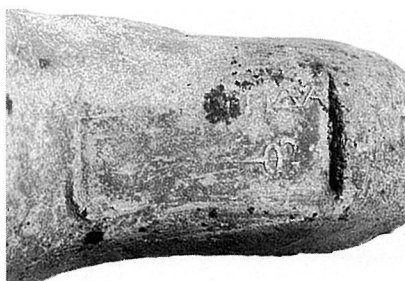


**Drakontidas**

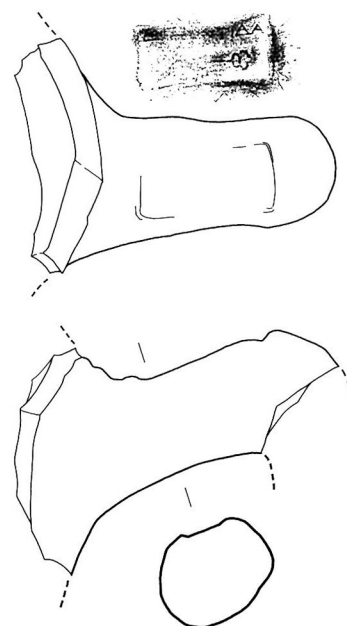
period V

156 (1998145)

Square stamp with caduceus to the left



Δ[ρακ]οντίδα



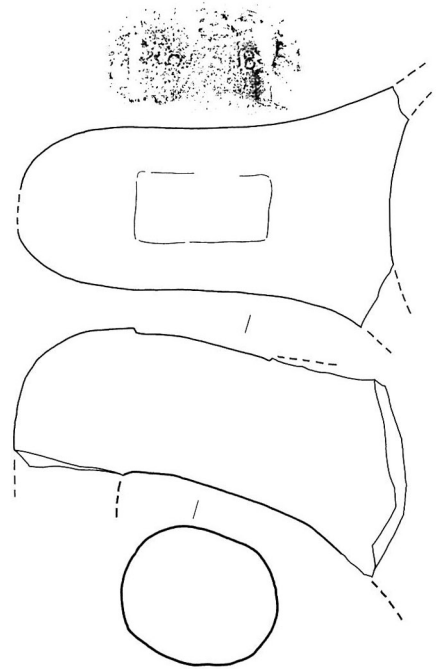
**Dorion**

157 (1999148)

Square stamp



Δωρίωνος



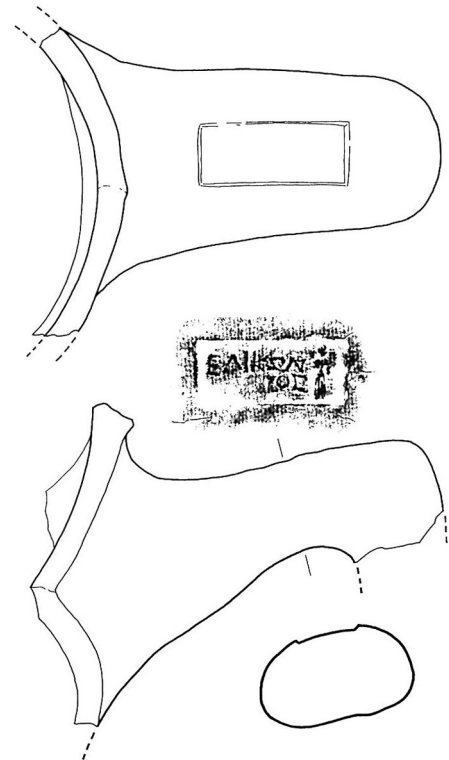
**Helikon**

158 (1997091b)

Square stamp with Nymph



Ἑλικῶν  
ος



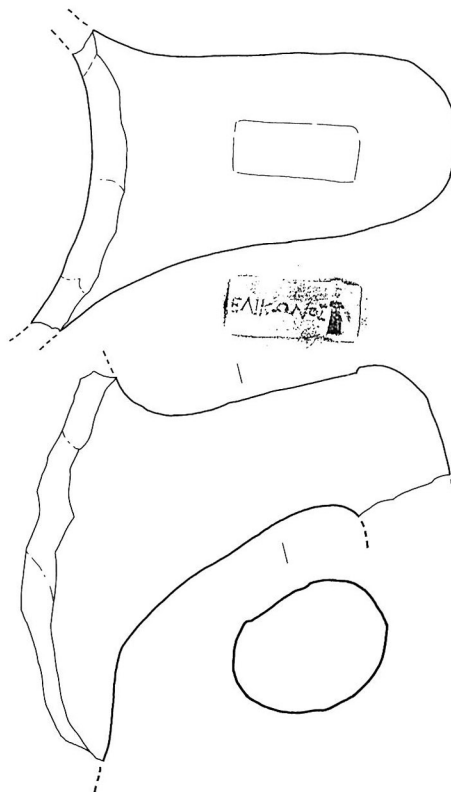


159 (1998384)

Square stamp with Nymph



Ἑλικῶνος

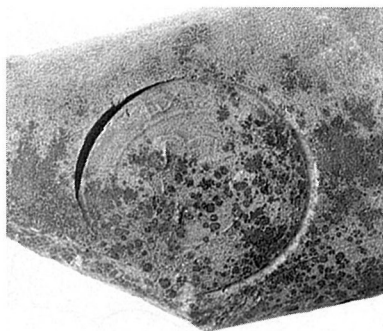


**Hellanikos**

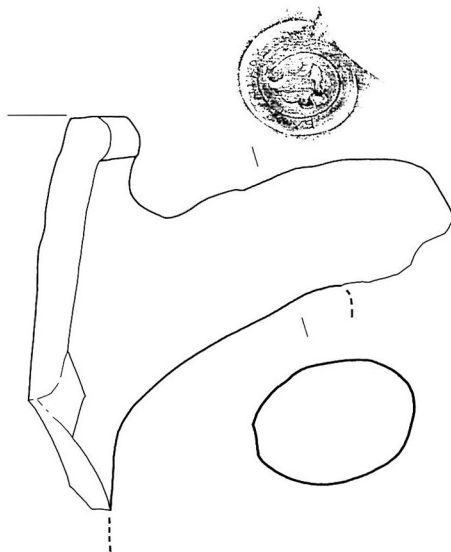
**Period II**

160 (1999113)

Round stamp with rose



Ἑλλανίκου



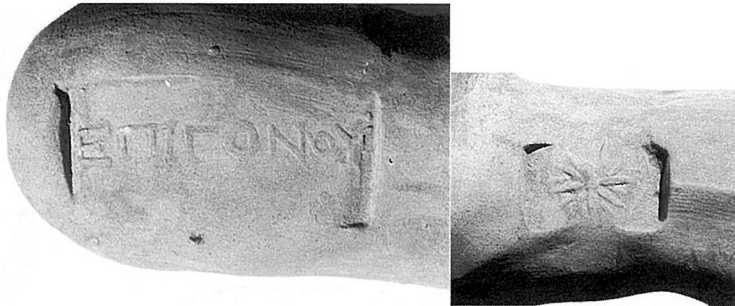
Grace gives a c. 222–216 BCE period of activity for this fabricant.<sup>4</sup>

**Epigonos**

**Period IV**

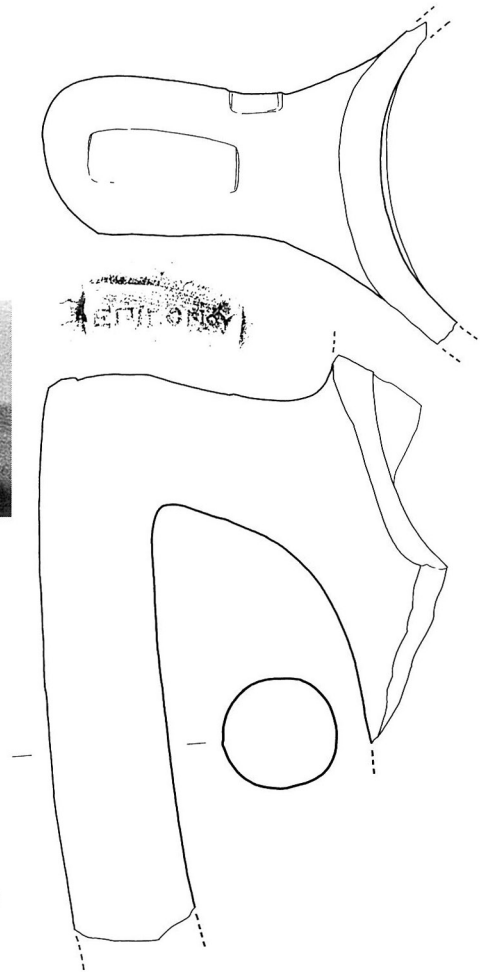
161 (1998383)

Square stamp: secondary stamp



Ἐπιγόνου

Similar, but not exactly the same, stamp with the same secondary stamp has been excavated from Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup>



**Hermias**

**Period IV**

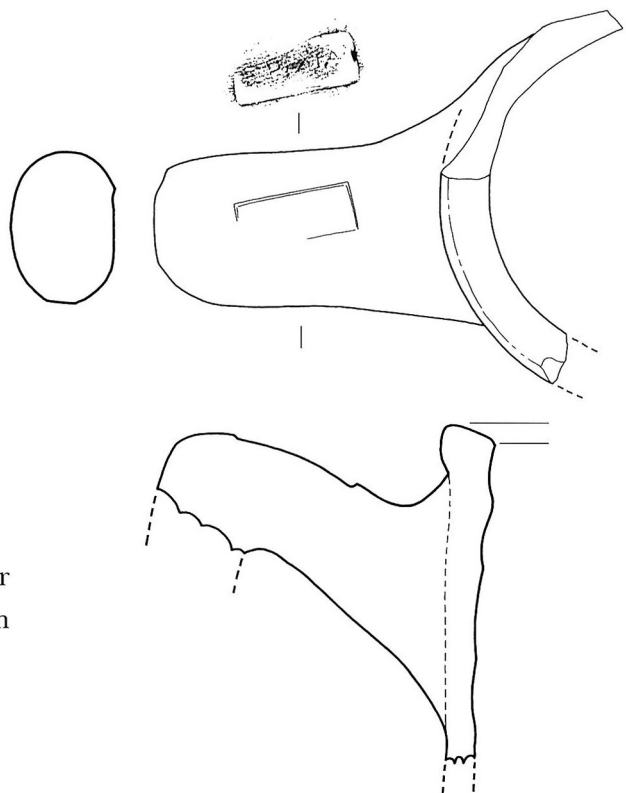
162 (1998392)

Square stamp



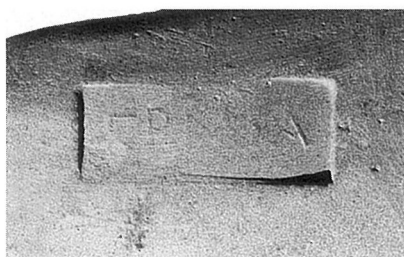
Ἑρμία

Some of the amphorae of Hermias together with that of Imas are endorsed by eponym Timourrodos.<sup>6</sup>

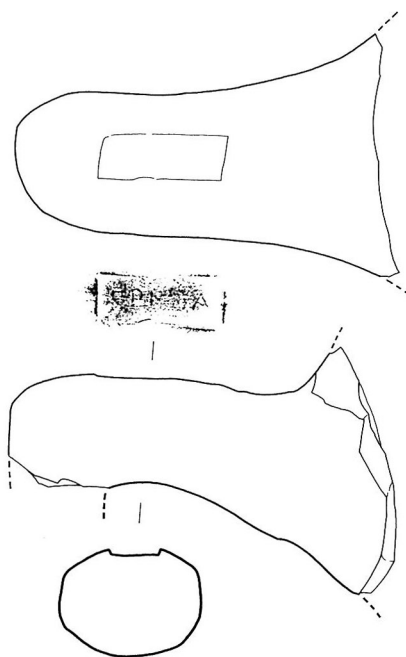


163 (1998329)

Square stamp



Ἑρμία

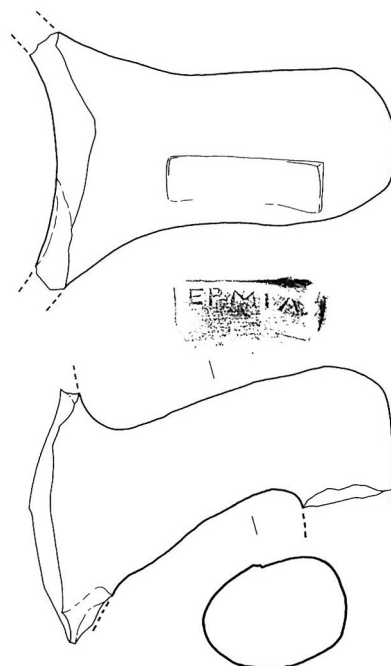


164 (1998414)

Square stamp



Ἑρμία



**Eukleitos**

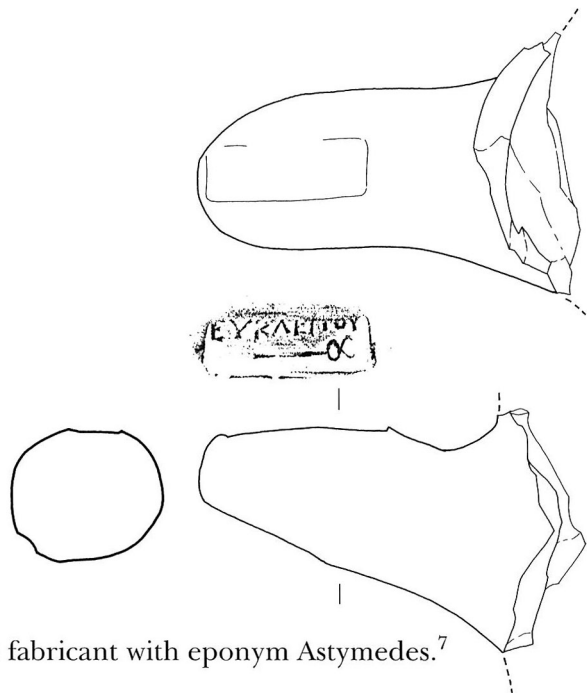
**Period V**

165 (1998155)

Square stamp with caduceus to the left



Εὐκλείτου



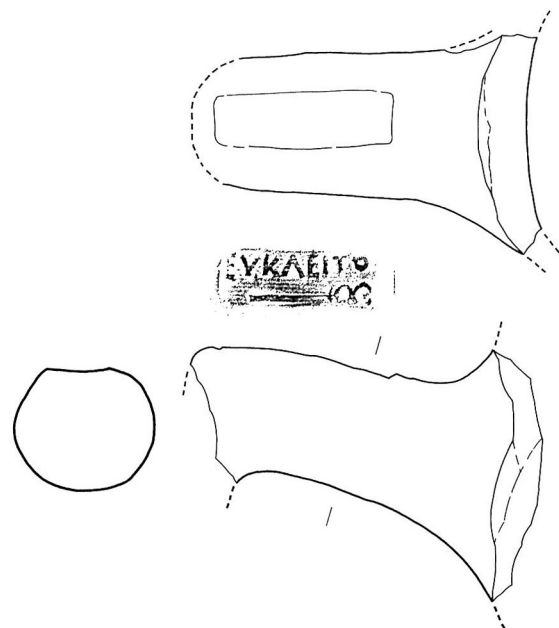
A complete amphora from Cyprus connects this fabricant with eponym Astymedes.<sup>7</sup>

166 (1998486)

Square stamp with caduceus to the left



Εὐκλείτου

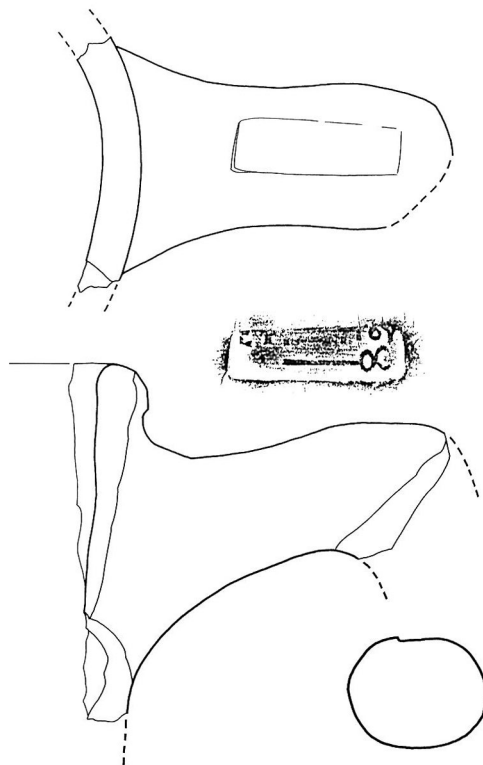


167 (1998070)

Square stamp with caduceus to the left



Εὐ[κλεί]του



**Euphranor**

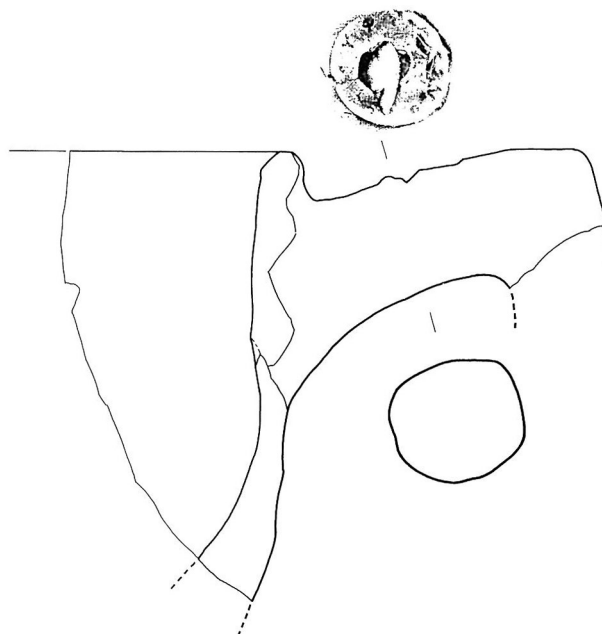
**Period V**

168 (1999085)

Round stamp with Helios



[Εὐ]φρ[ά]νο[ρος]



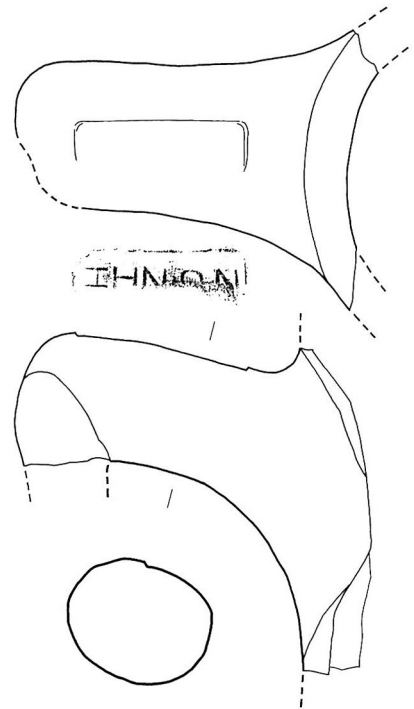
**Zenon**

169 (1998479)

Square stamp



Ζήνων

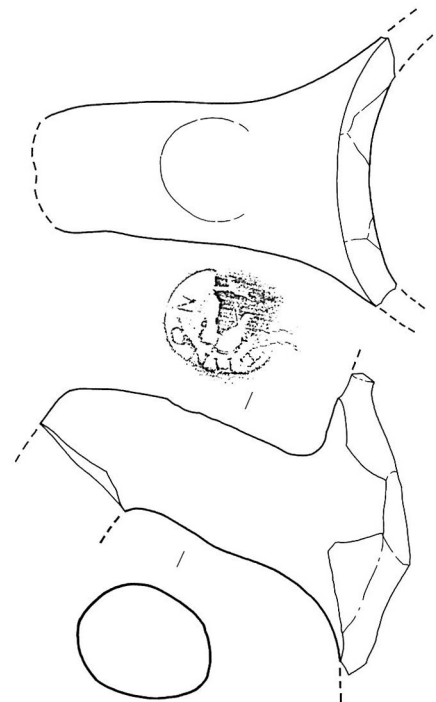


170 (1999202)

Round stamp with rose

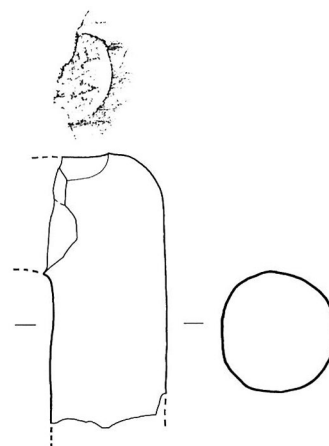


Ζήνων



171 (1999081)

Round stamp with rose



[Z]ή[νωνος]

172 (1999219)

Round stamp with rose



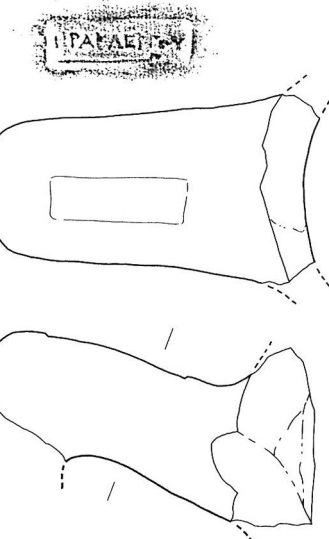
Ζήνωνο[ς]

**Herakleitos**

**Period III**

173 (1998362)

Square stamp with caduceus to the left



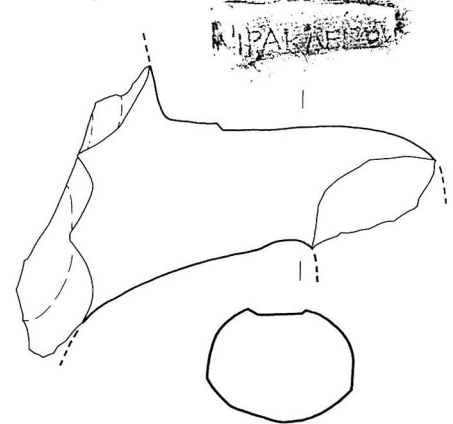
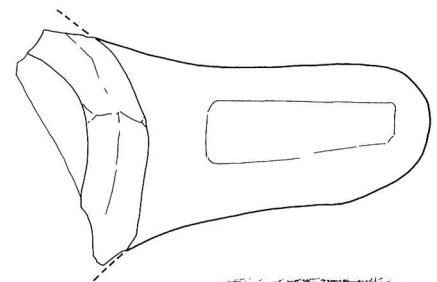
Ἡρακλείτου

174 (1998158)

Square stamp



Ἡρακλείτου

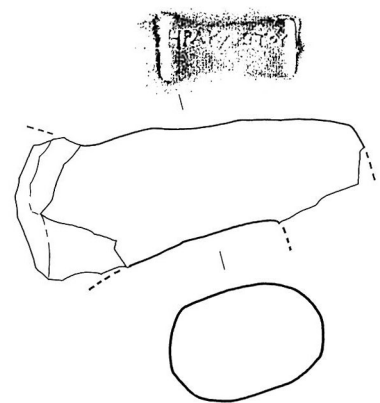


175 (1999114)

Square stamp



Ἡρακλείτου

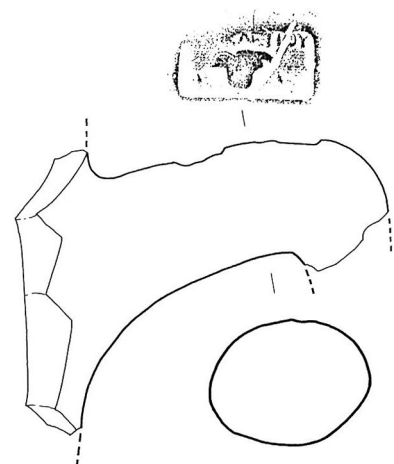


176 (1999116)

Square stamp with rose under the name



[Ἡρα]κλείτου



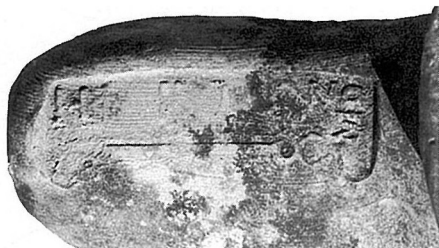


**Hephaistion**

**Period IV-V**

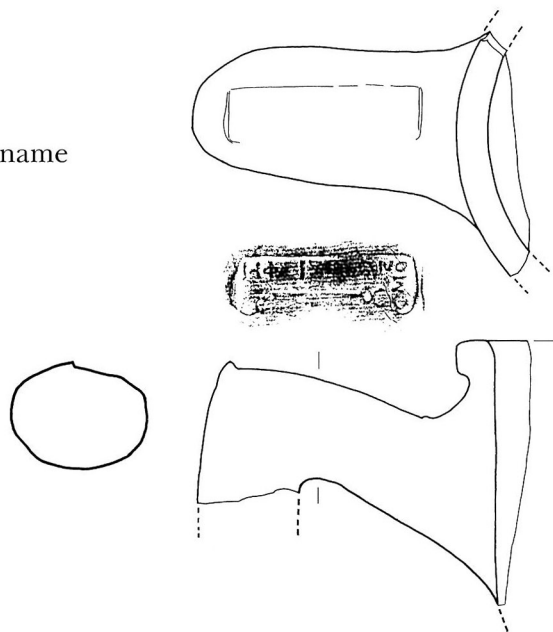
177 (1997076b)

Square stamp with caduceus to the left under the name



Ἡφαίστιωνο

ς



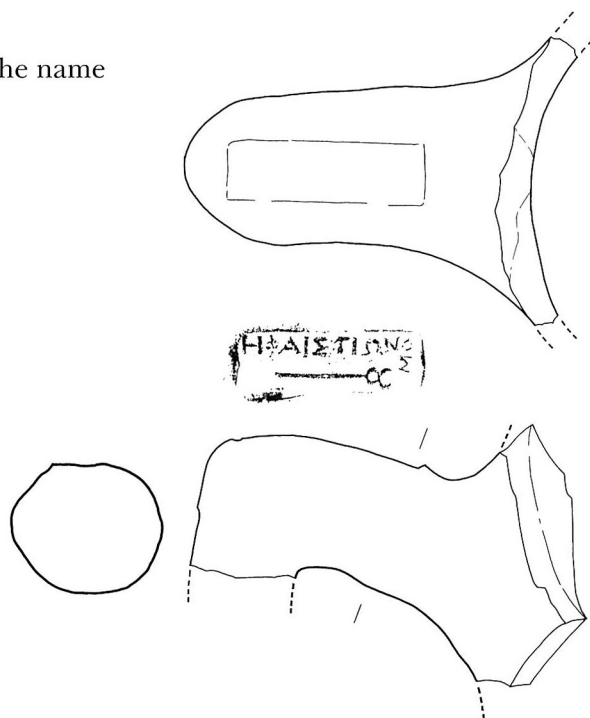
178 (1998292)

Square stamp with caduceus to the left under the name



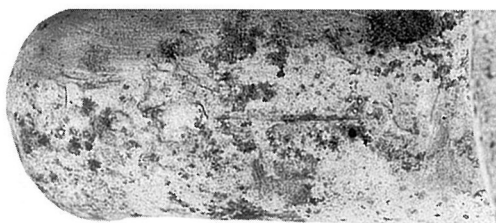
Ἡφαίστιωνο

ς



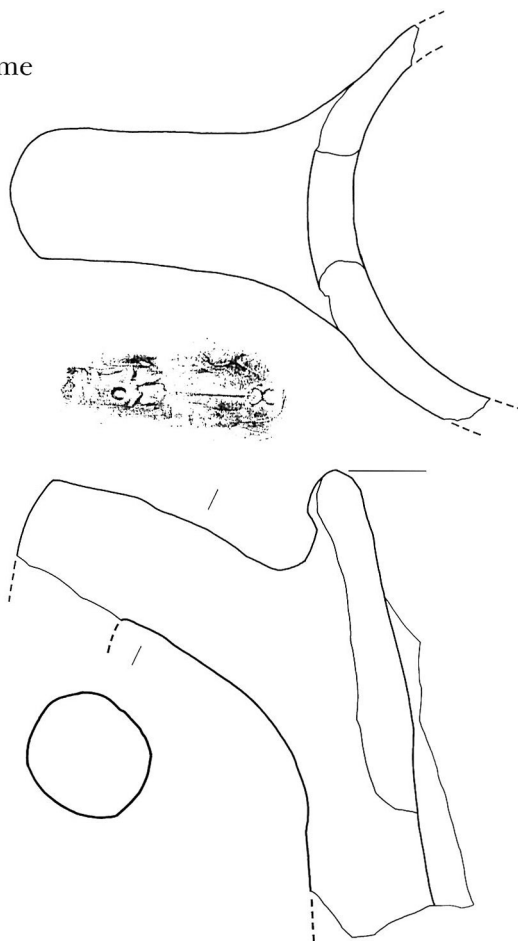
179 (2000025)

Square stamp with caduceus to the left under the name



‘Ηφαίστιων]

ος



180 (1998411)

Square stamp with caduceus to the left under the name



‘Ηφαίστι

ωνος

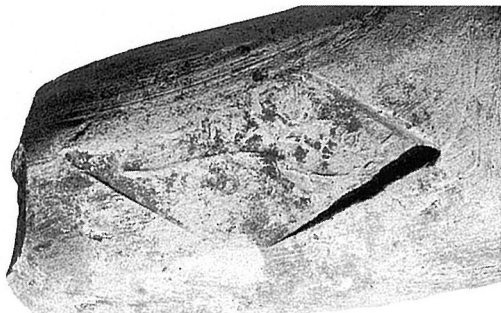


**Theumnastos**

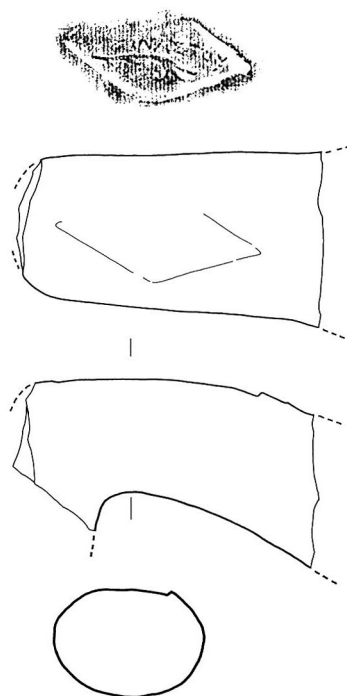
**Period IV–V**

181 (199770b)

Lozenge stamp with branch



Θευμνάστου

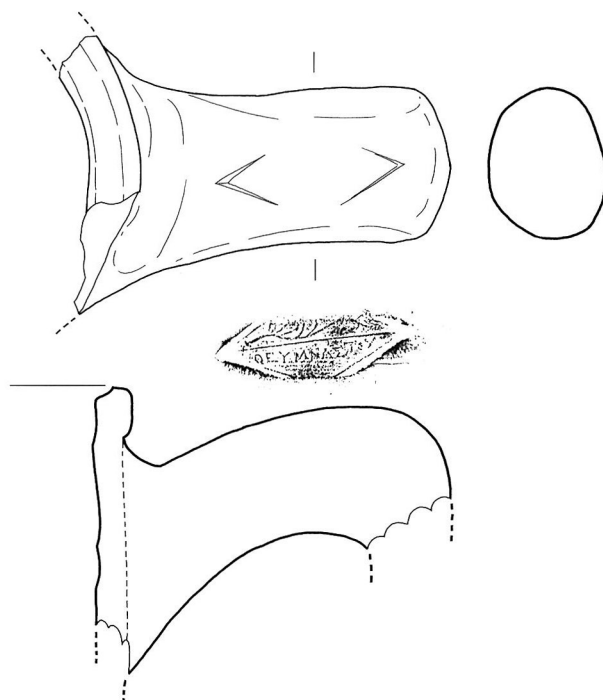


182 (1998449)

Lozenge stamp with branch

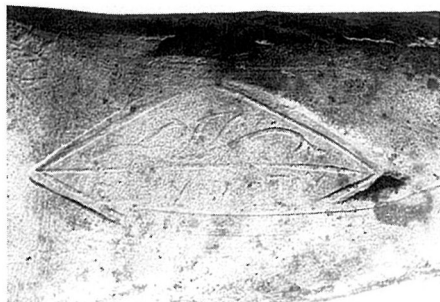


Θευμνάστου

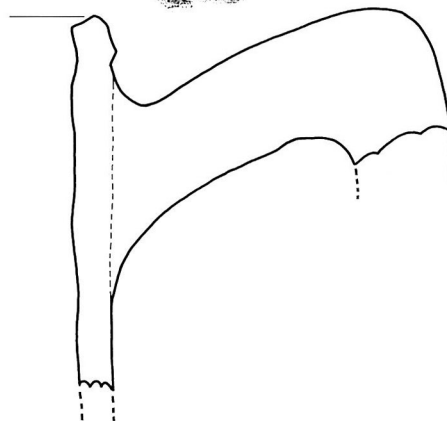
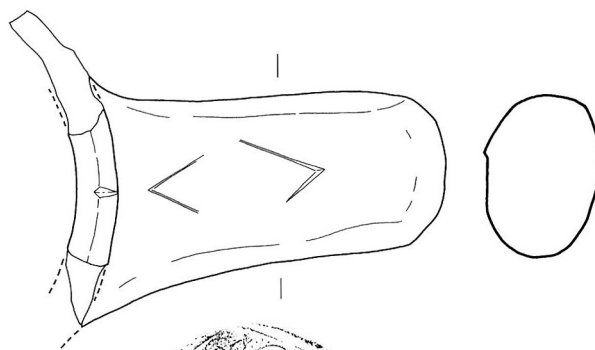


183 (1998478)

Lozenge stamp with branch



Θευμνάστου

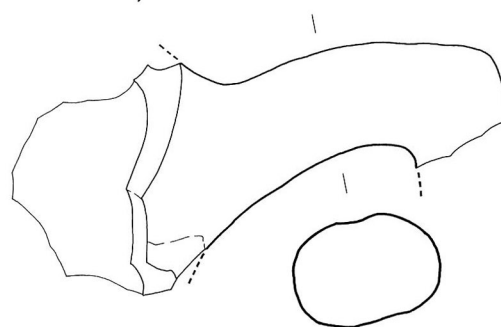
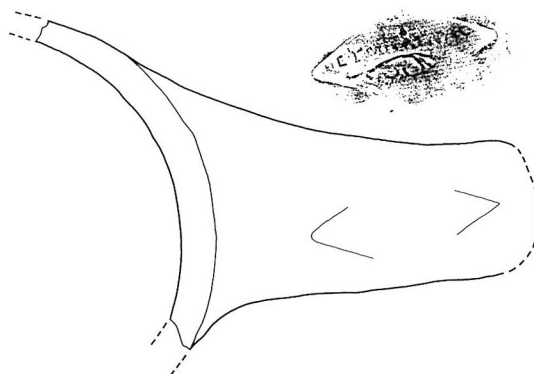


184 (1998415)

Lozenge stamp with branch



Θευμ[νάστο]υ



**Iason**

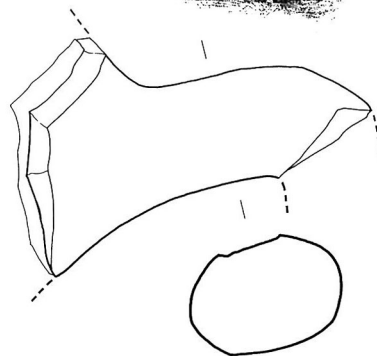
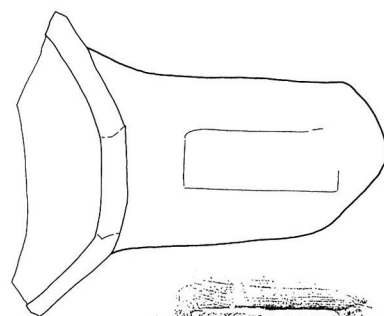
**Period V**

185 (1998227)

Square stamp with helmet



Ἰάσονος



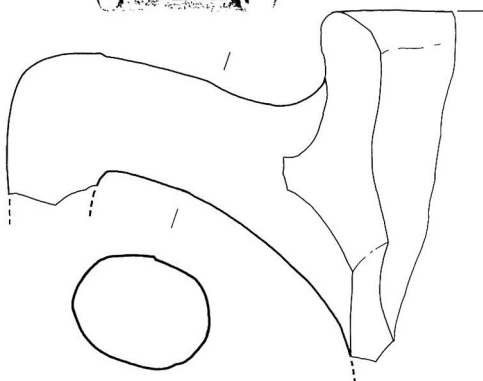
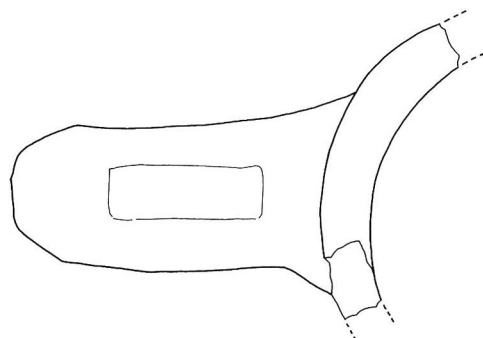
**Ierax**

186 (1998527)

Square stamp with cornu copiae + ax



Ἰέρακος



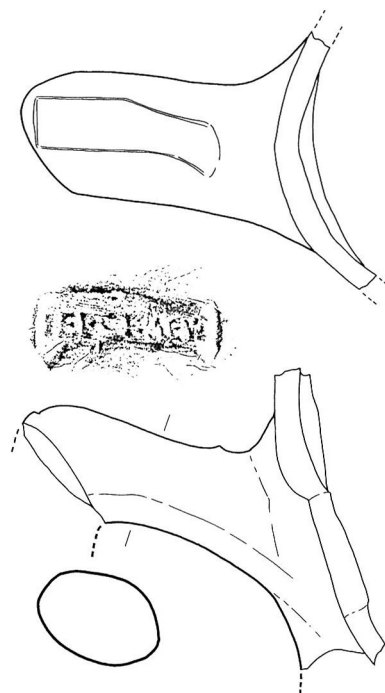
**Ierokles**

187 (1997125)

Square stamp



Ἱεροκλεῦς



**Ieron**

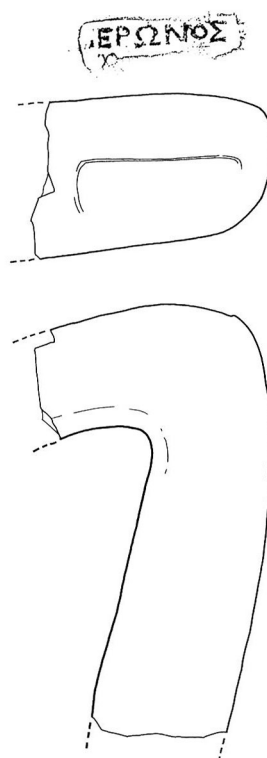
**Period Va**

188 (1998157)

Square stamp with caduceus to the right



Ἱέρωνος



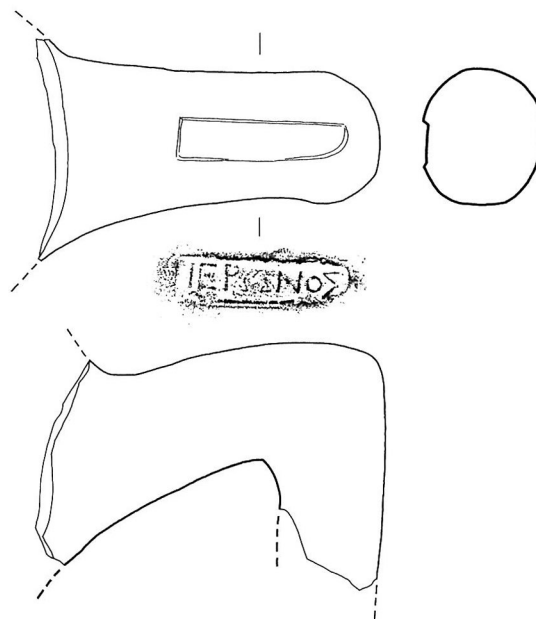
A complete amphora of this fabricant from Cyprus is endorsed by eponym Anaxandros, who is dated c.150.<sup>8</sup> Finkielsztejn dates Anaxandros 143/142.

189 (1998261)

Square stamp with caduceus to the right



Ἰέρωνος

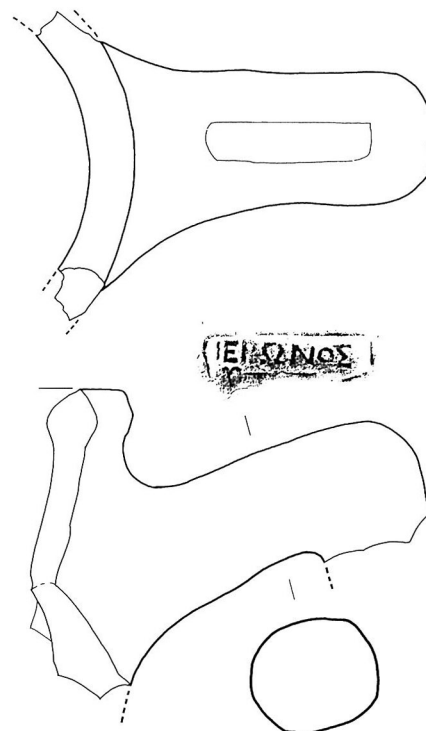


190 (1998528)

Square stamp with caduceus to the right

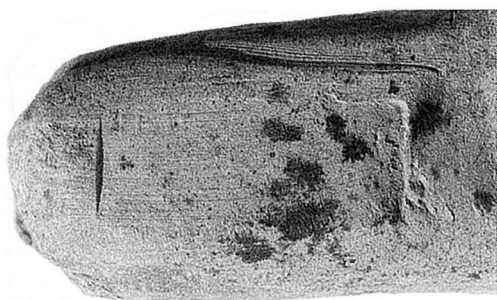


Ἰέρωνος

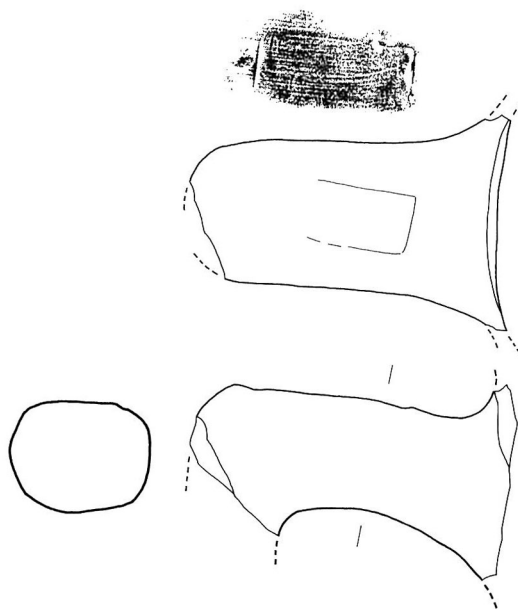


191 (1998418)

Square stamp with caduceus to the right

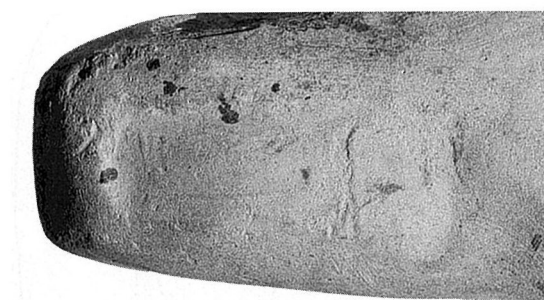


Ἰέρ[ωνος]

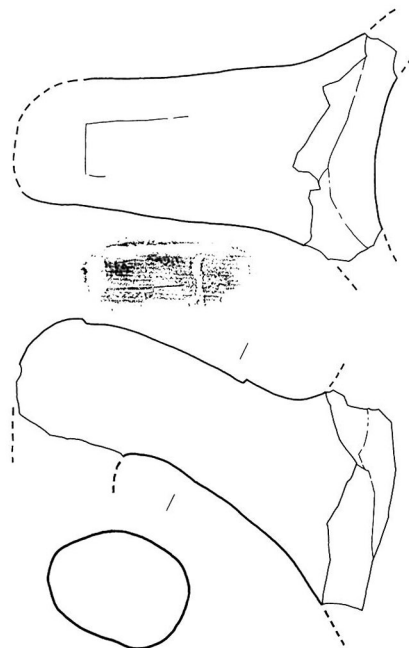


192 (1998274)

Square stamp with caduceus to the left



Ἰέρ[ρωνος]

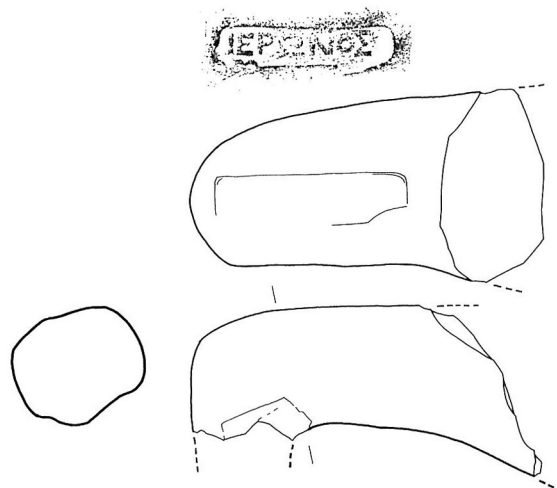


193 (2000034)

Square stamp with caduceus to the right



Ἰέρωνος





**Imas**

**Period IV**

194 (1998244)

Square stamp with cornu copiae + caduceus to the left under the name



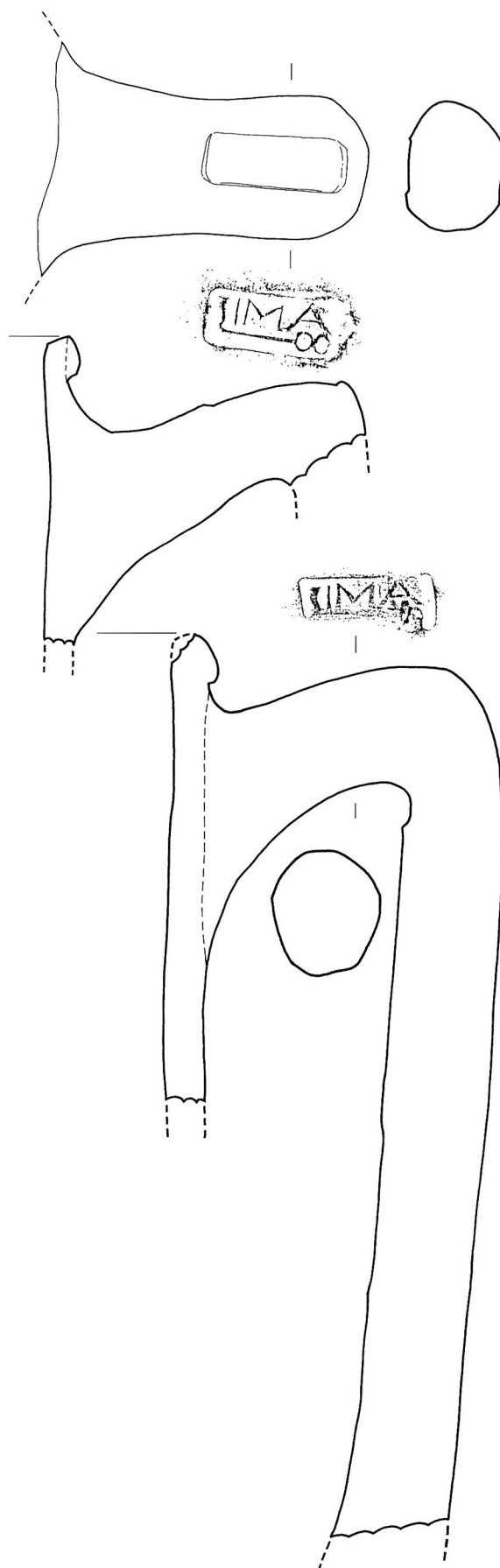
Ἰμας

195 (1998290)

Square stamp with cornu copiae + caduceus to the left under the name



Ἰμας

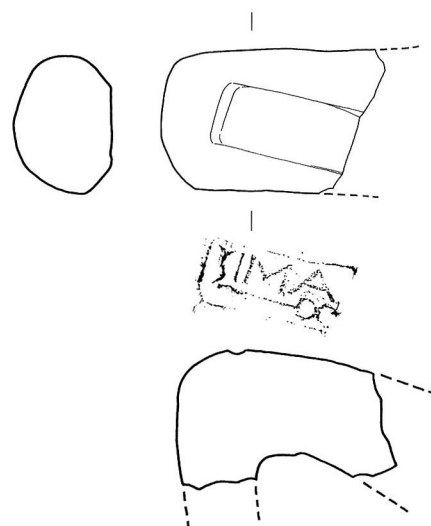


196 (1998304)

Square stamp with cornu copiae + caduceus to the left  
under the name

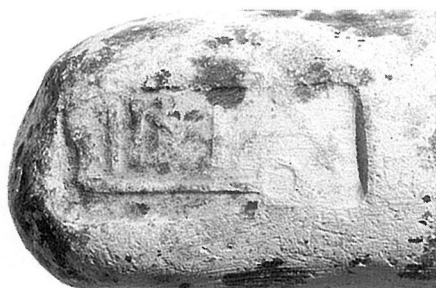


ῥίμας

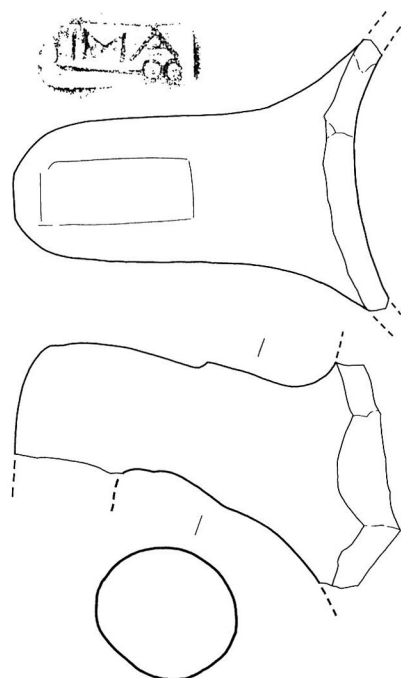


197 (1998310)

Square stamp with cornu copiae + caduceus to the left  
under the name



ῥίμας

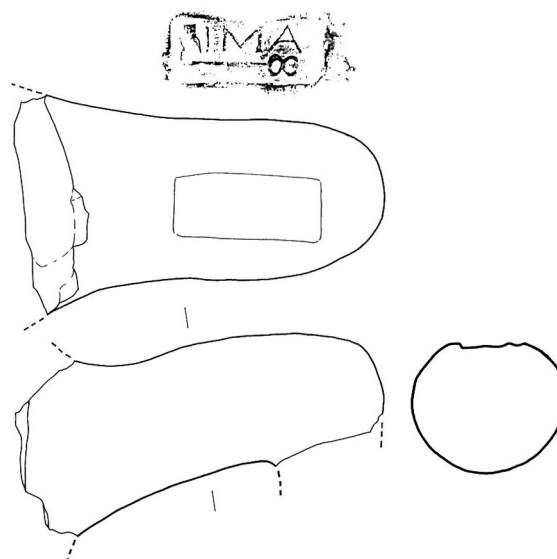


198 (1998358)

Square stamp with cornu copiae + caduceus to  
the left under the name



ῥίμας

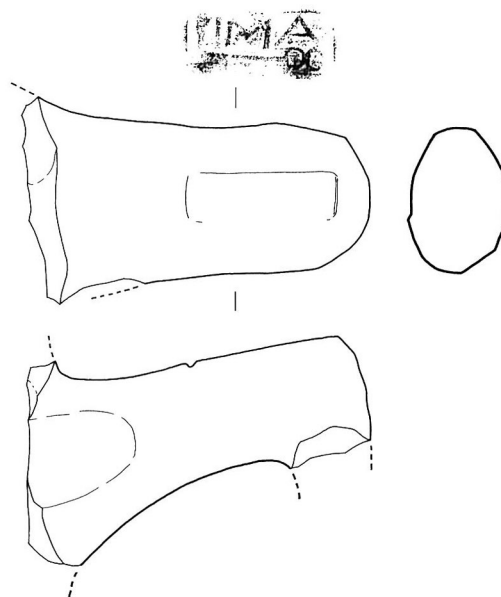


199 (1998481)

Square stamp with cornu copiae + caduceus to the left under the name



Ἰμας

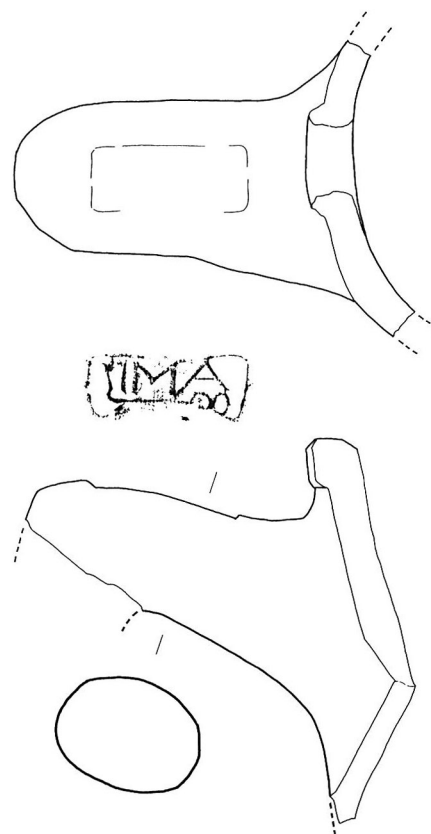


200 (1998546)

Square stamp with cornu copiae + caduceus to the left under the name



Ἰμας

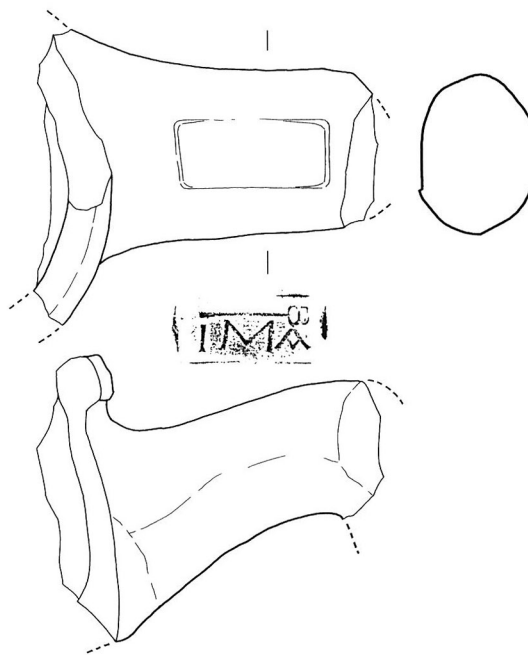


201 (1998508)

Square stamp with cornu copiae + caduceus to the left above the name



Ἰμας



**Hippokrates**

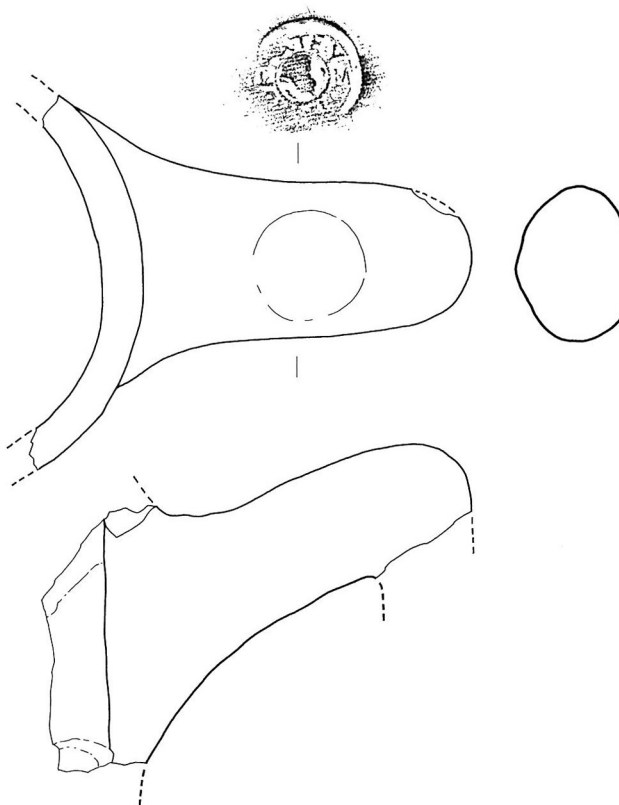
**Period IIIc-IV**

202 (1998159)

Round stamp with rose



Ἰ[ππ]οκράτεϋς

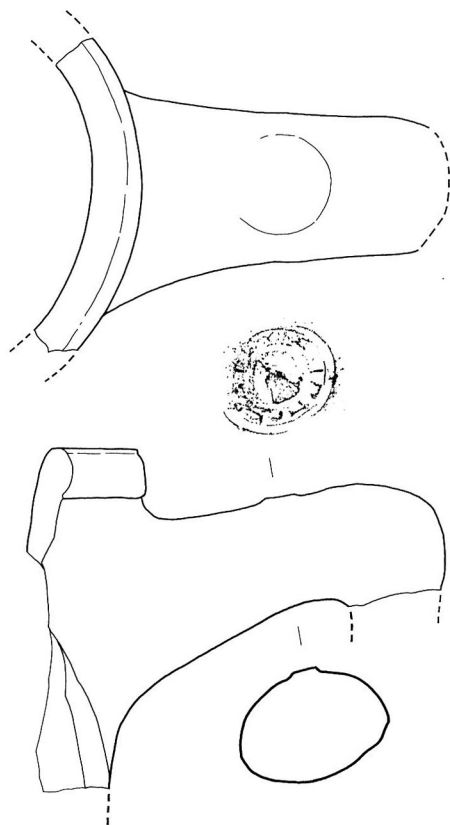


203 (1998277)

Round stamp with rose



Ἰπποκρ[άτ]ευσ

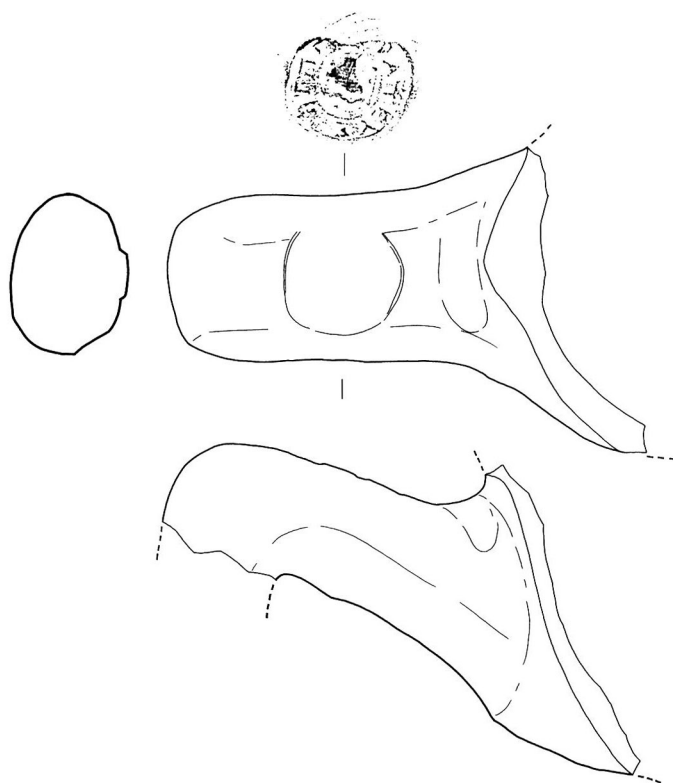


204 (1998450)

Round stamp with rose



Ἰππ[οκ]ράτευσ

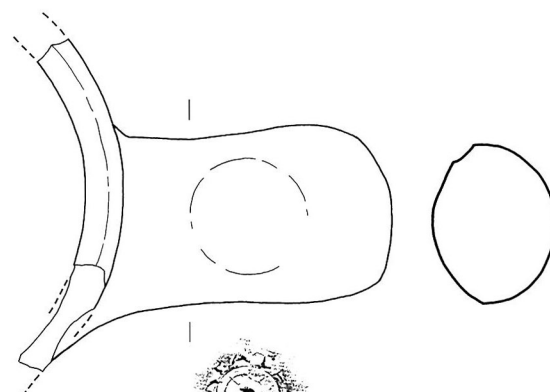


205 (1998523)

Round stamp with rose



Ἰπποκράτε[υ]ς



206 (1998259)

Round stamp with rose: secondary stamp



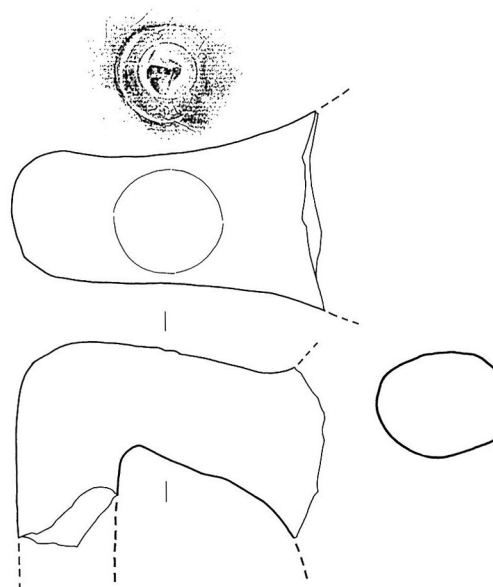
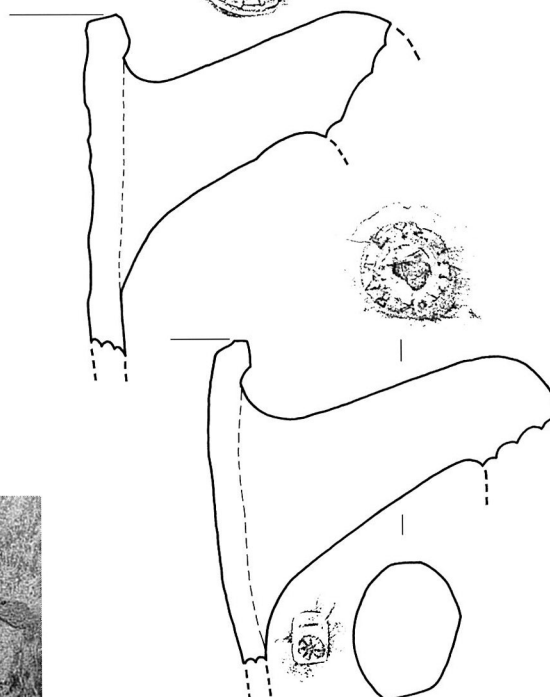
Ἰπποκράτε[υ]ς

207 (1998055)

Round stamp with rose



[Ἰπποκρ]άτε[υ]ς

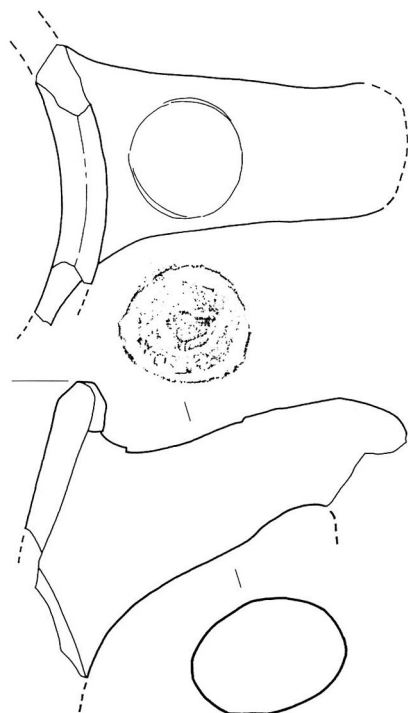


208 (1999174)

Round stamp with rose

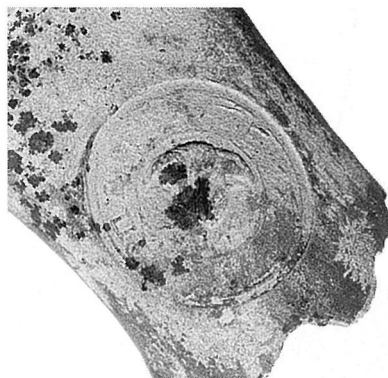


Ἱπποκράτεϋς

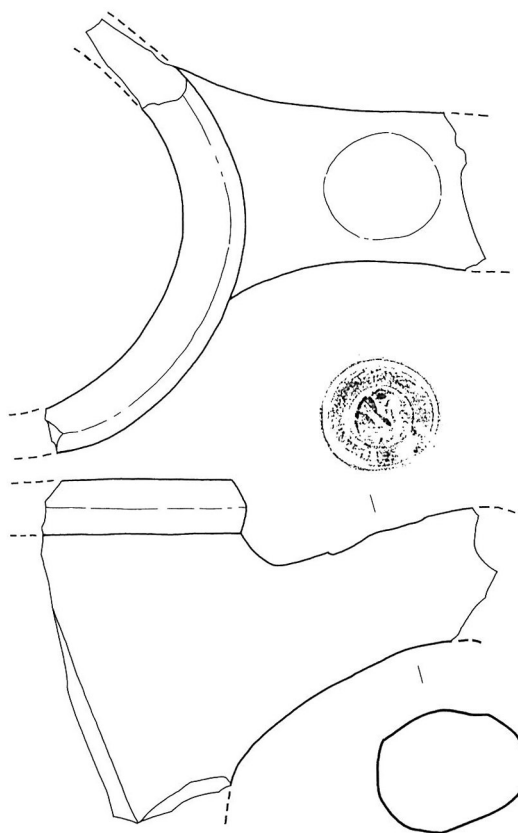


209 (1999190)

Round stamp with rose



Ἱπποκράτεϋς



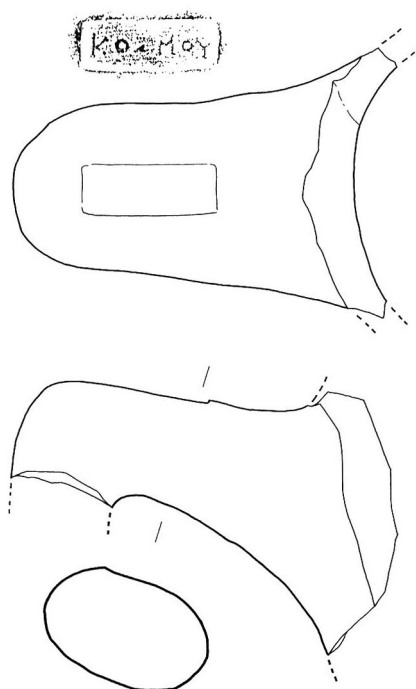
**Kosmos**

210 (1998382)

Square stamp



Κόσμου



**Kotes**

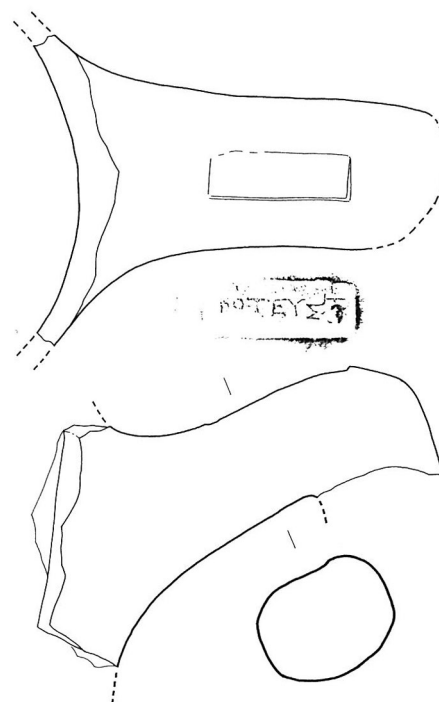
**Period III**

211 (1998354)

Square stamp with grape



Κότεις





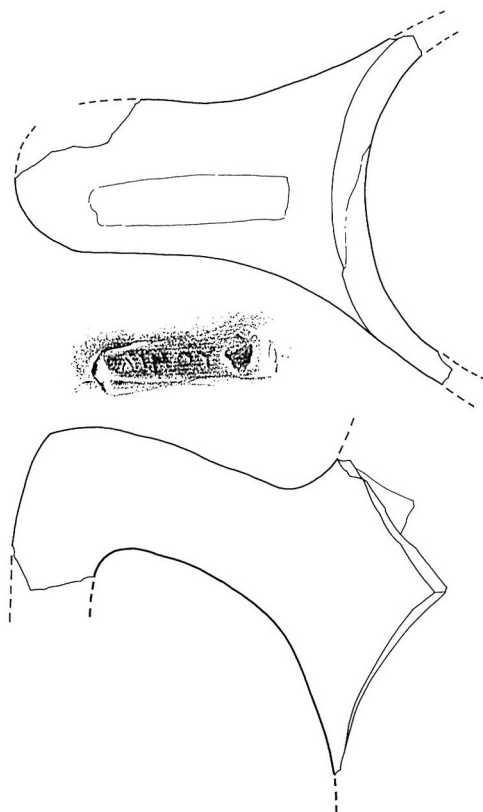
**Linus**

212 (1998054)

Square stamp



Λίνου



**Marsyas**

Period III–IV

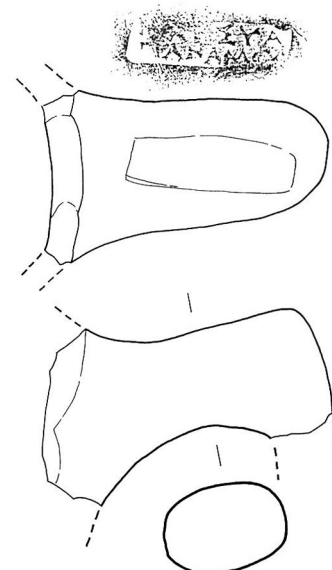
213 (1997122a)

Square stamp



Μαρσύα

Πανάμου



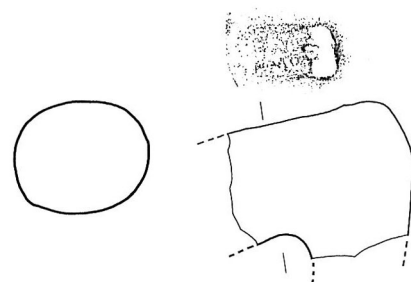
214 (1999147)

Square stamp



Μαρσύα

Πανάμου



215 (2001001)  
Square stamp



Μαρ[σύα]  
Παν[άμου]

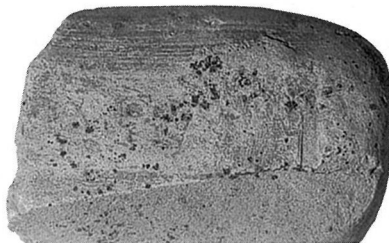
**Matrodoros**

216 (1998212)  
Square stamp

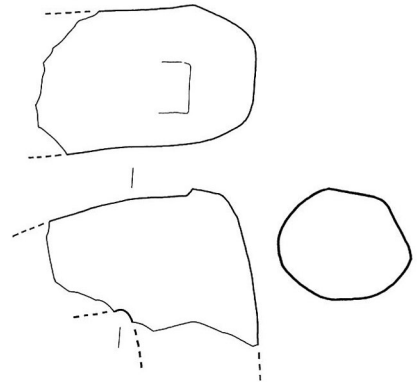
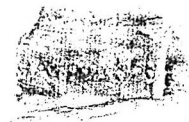
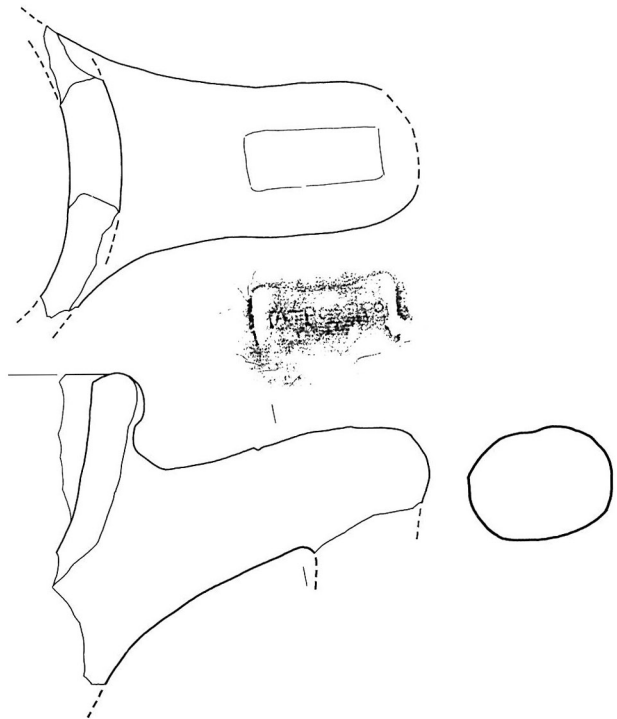


Ματροδῶρου

217 (1998232)  
Square stamp



Ματρο[δῶ]ρου



**Midas**

**Period V**

218 (1998254)

Square stamp with grape + caduceus to the left



Μίδα

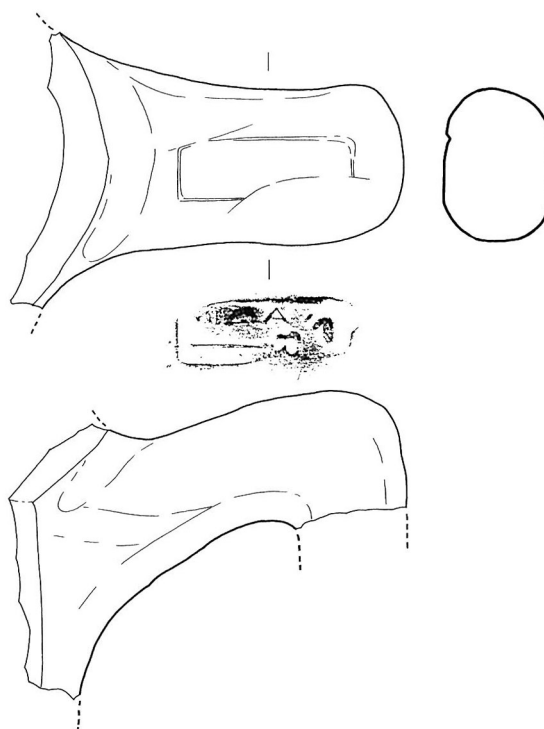


219 (1998444)

Square stamp with grape + caduceus to the left



Μίδα

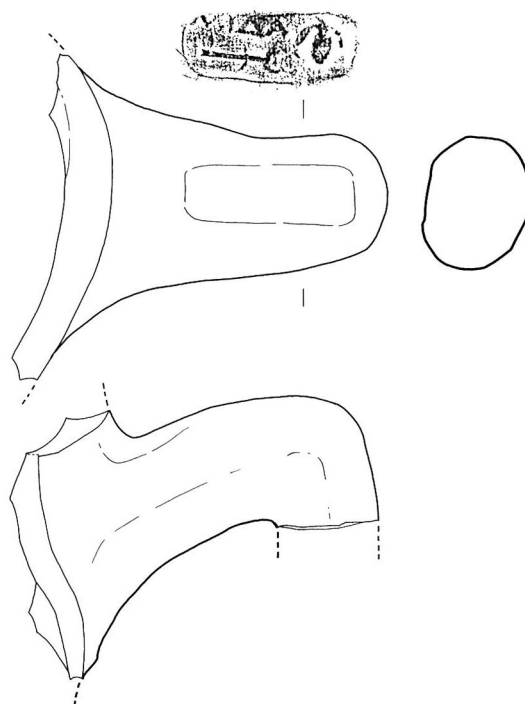


220 (1998550)

Square stamp with grape + caduceus to the left

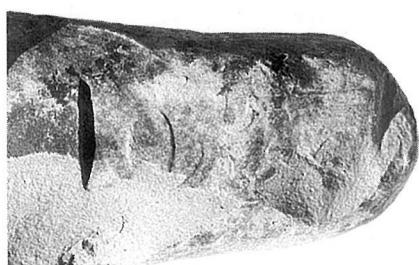


Μῖδα

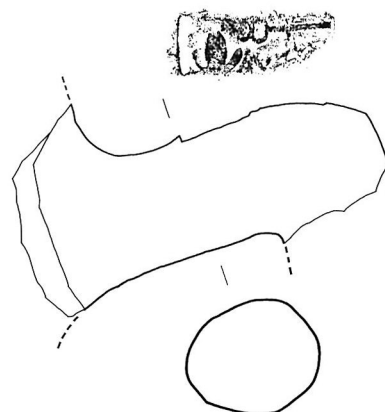


221 (1999012)

Square stamp with grape + caduceus to the left



[Μῖδ]α



222 (1999154)

Square stamp with grape + caduceus to the left



Μῖδα



223 (1998228)

Square stamp with grape + caduceus to the left



[Μί]δα

Nanis

Period IIIc

224 (1998273)

Square stamp



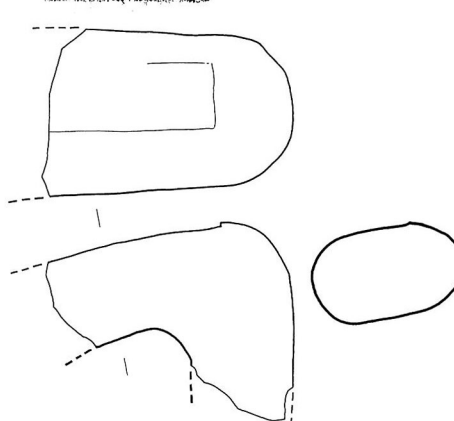
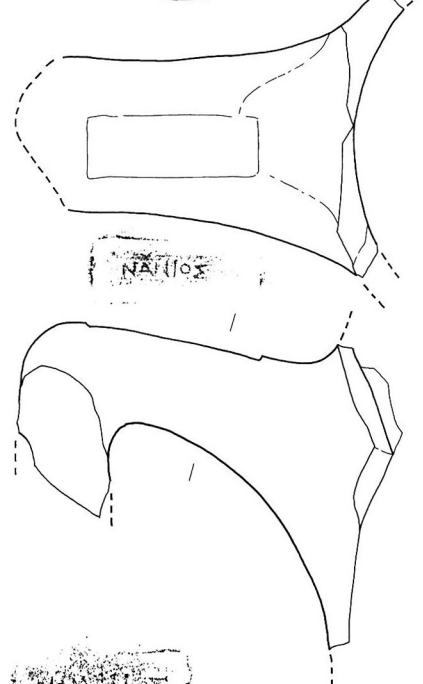
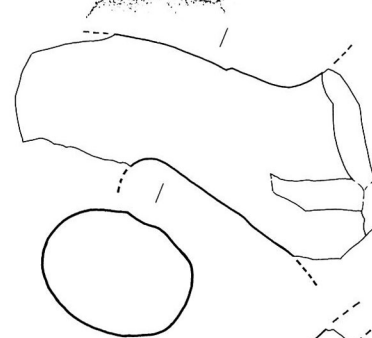
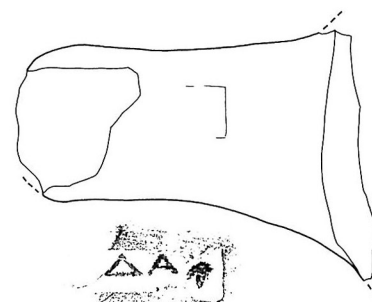
Νάνιος

225 (1999171)

Square stamp



Νάνιος

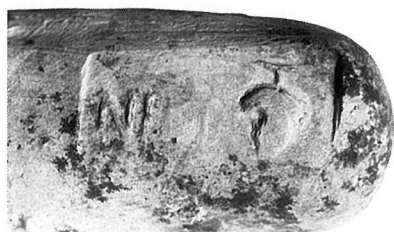


**Nikias**

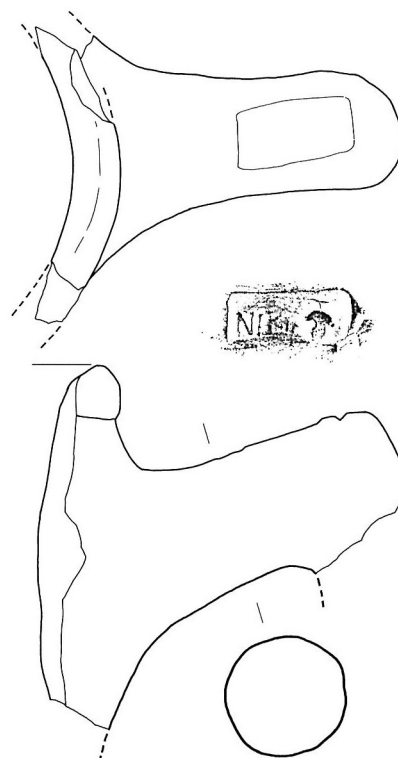
**Period IV**

226 (2000007)

Square stamp with grape



Νικία



**Nysios**

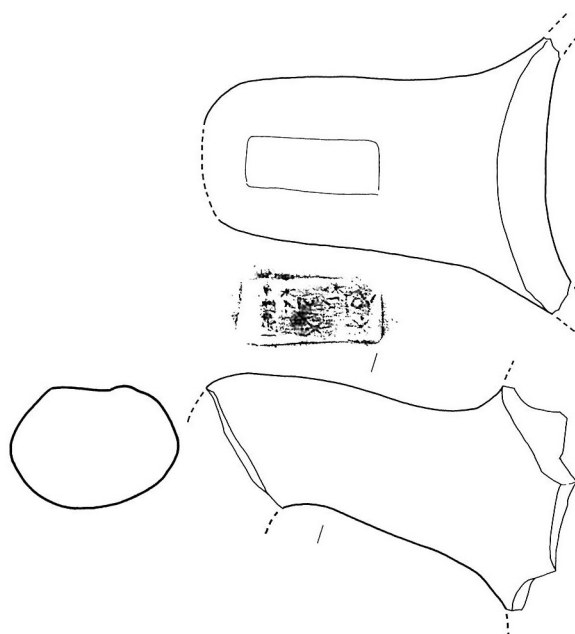
**Period III-IV**

227 (1998360)

Square stamp with statue + four stars



Νυσίου



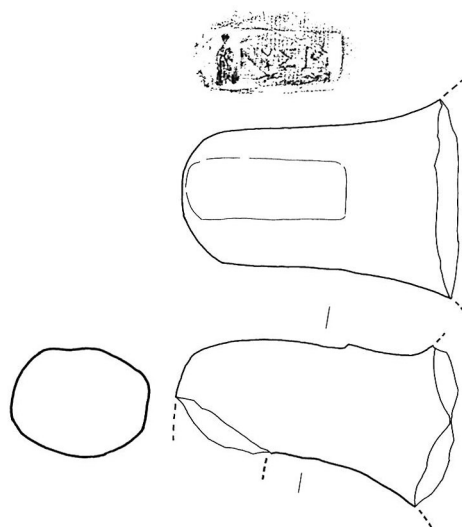
The former view that the statue depicted on the stamp of Nysios represents the famous Colossus is untenable, since it looks like a female rather than a male figure.<sup>9</sup>

228 (1998547)

Square stamp with statue



Νυσίου

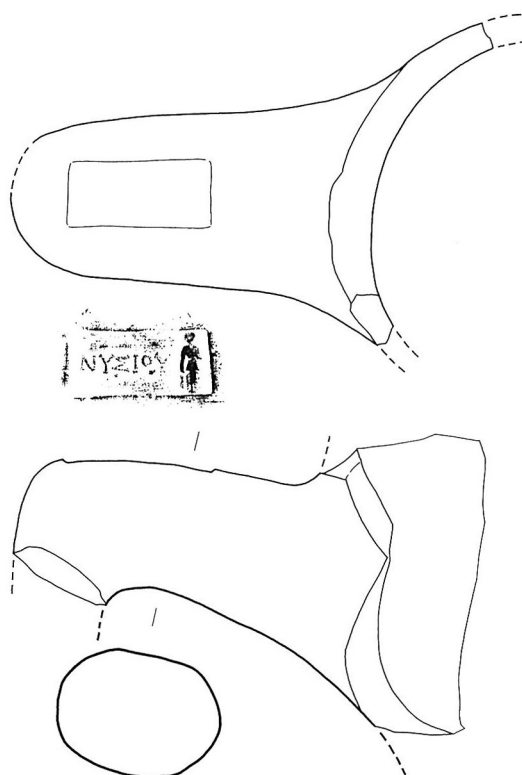


229 (1999133)

Square stamp with statue



Νυσίου

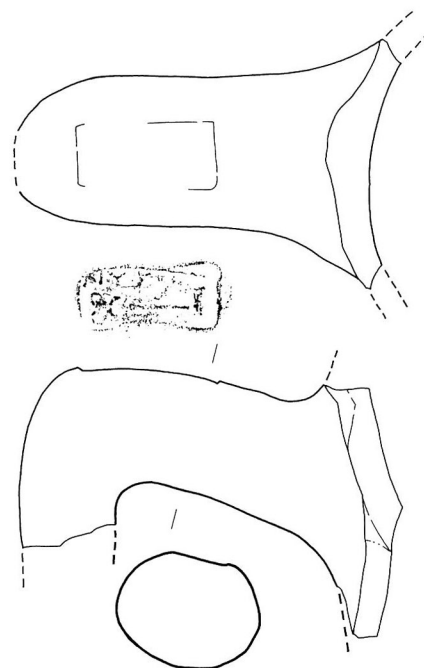


230 (1999158)

Square stamp with caduceus to the right



Νυσίου

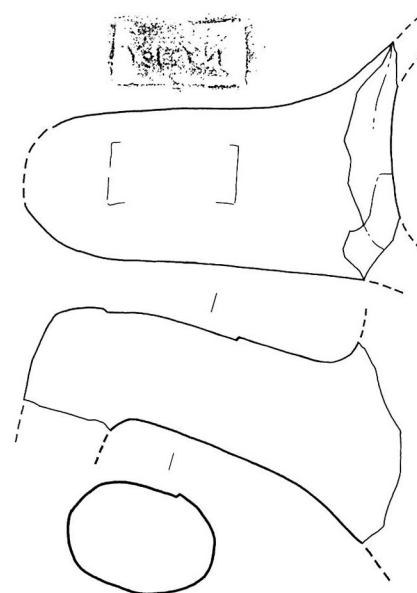


231 (1999170)

Square stamp with four stars



Νυσίου ←





**Panchares**

232 (1998501)

Square stamp with double ax



Παγχάρευς

**Papas**

233 (1998266)

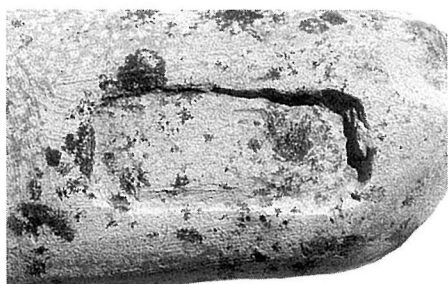
Square stamp with uncertain device



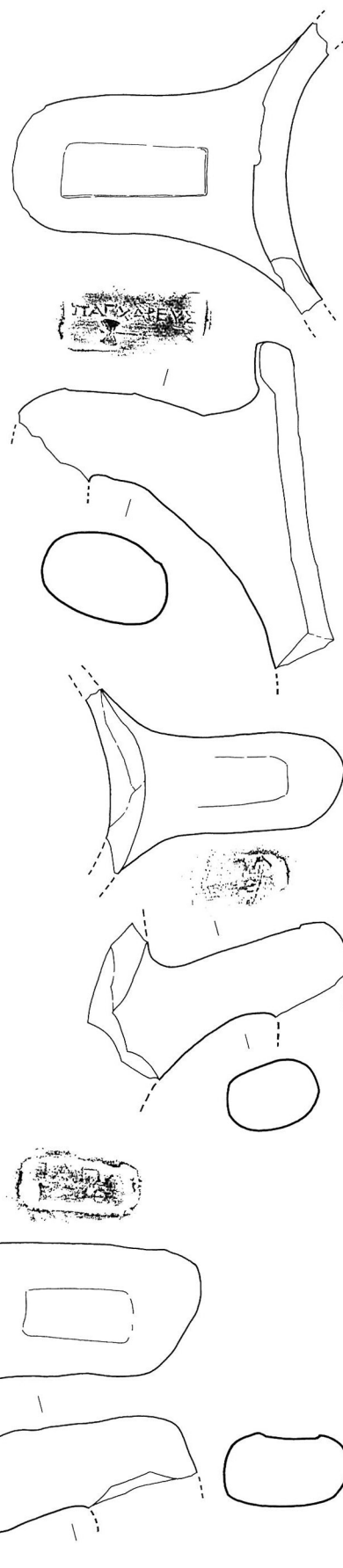
Πάπα

234 (1998312)

Square stamp with uncertain device

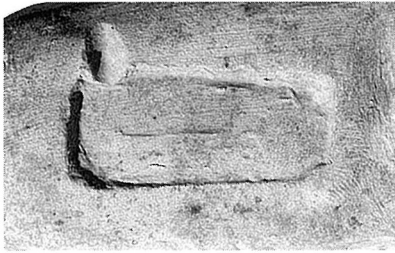


Πάπα



235 (1998395)

Square stamp with uncertain device



Πάπα

**Pistos**

236 (1998355)

Square stamp



Πάναμος

Πίστου

**Polemon**

237 (1999155)

Square stamp with sword



Πολέμωνος



**Polyaratos**

238 (1998267)

Square stamp with caduceus to the right (?)



Πολυάρατου

This stamp was originally one for an eponym but later recycled by this fabricant. The formula beginning with ἐπὶ is still visible on the stamp.

**Polyxenos**

**Period IV**

239 (1998394)

Square stamp with star(s ?)



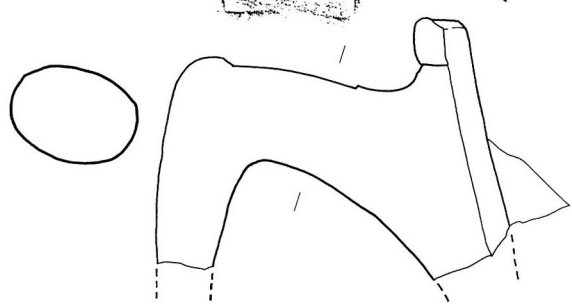
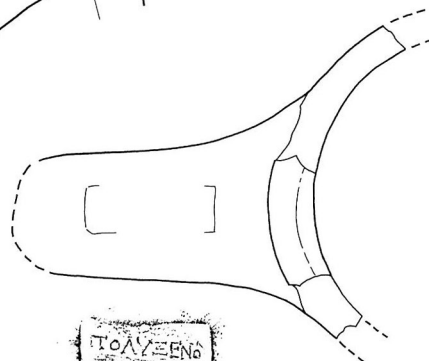
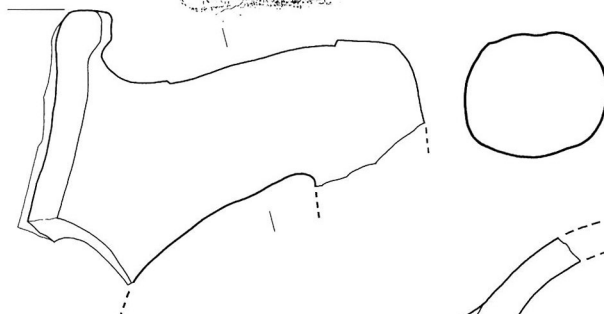
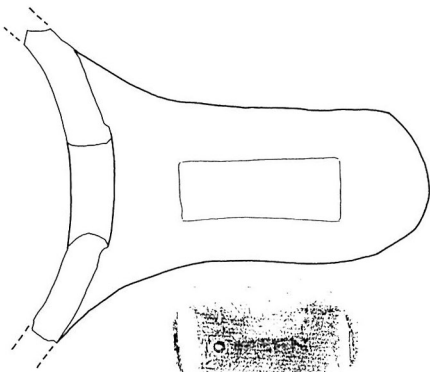
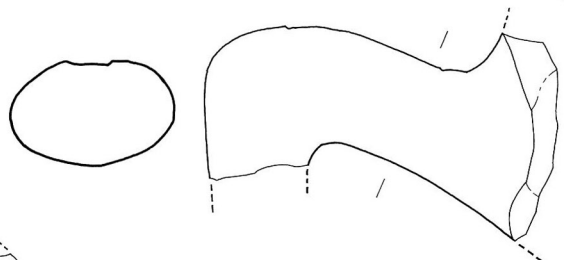
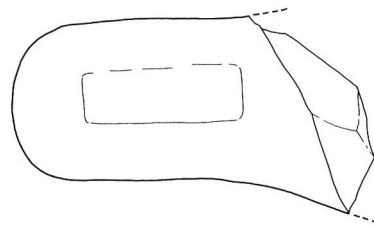
Πολυξένου

240 (2000028)

Square stamp with star(s ?)



Πολυξένου



**Sokrates**

**Period II–III**

241 (1999134)

Square stamp with torch



Σωκράτεϋς ←

242 (2001094)

Square stamp with torch

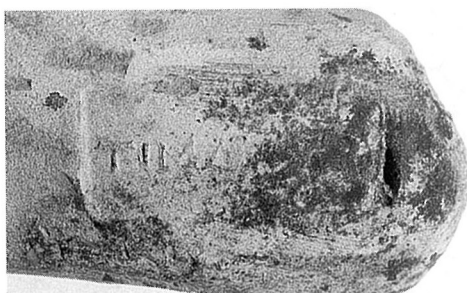


Σωκράτεϋς

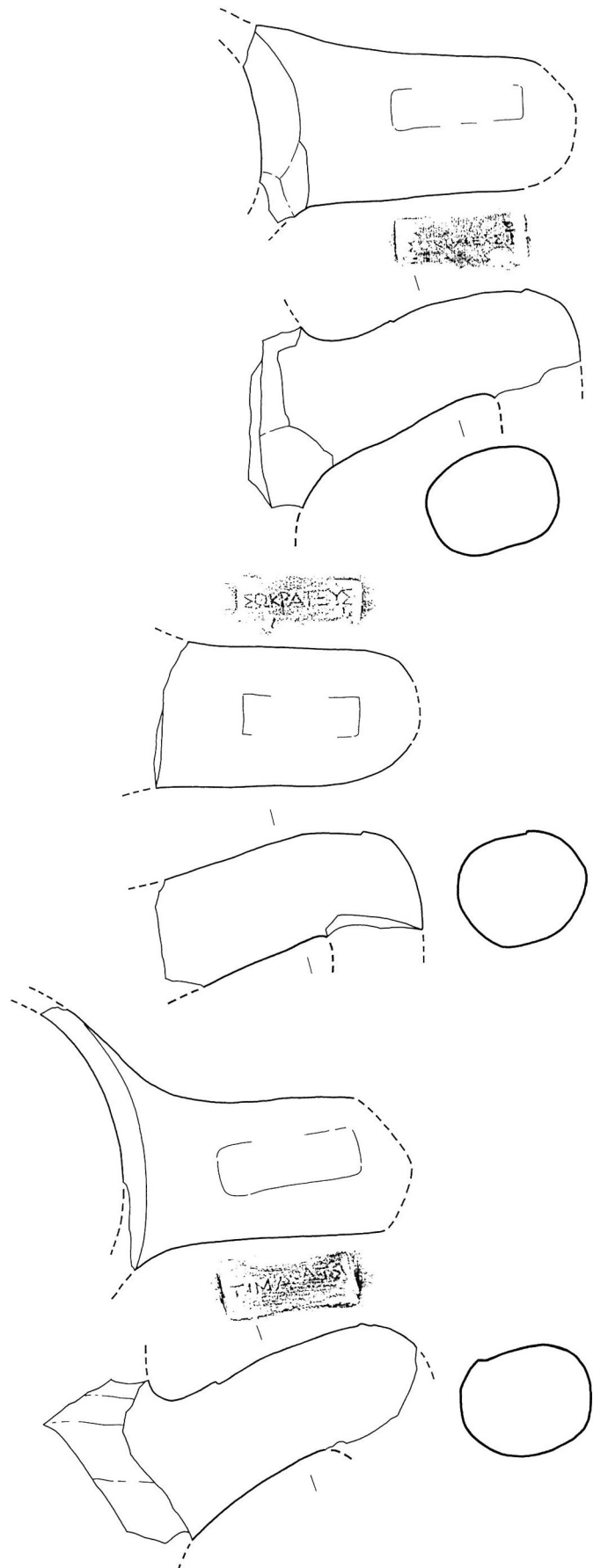
**Timaratos**

243 (1998255)

Square stamp



Τιμάρατου

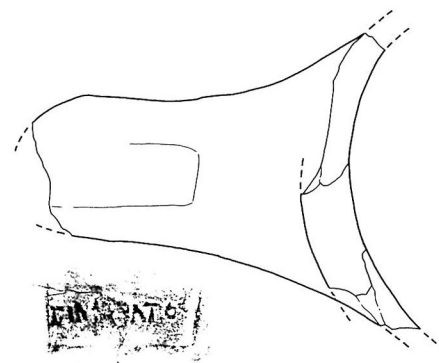


244 (1998311)

Square stamp



Τιμάρατου

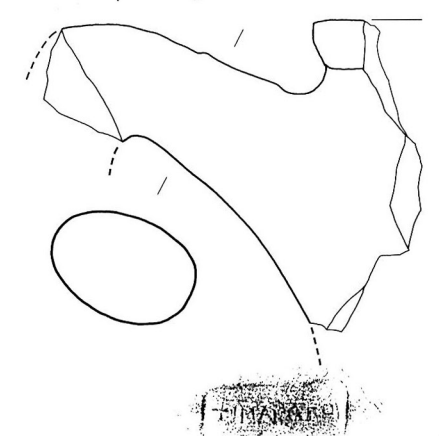


245 (1998385)

Square stamp



Τιμάρατου



**Timoxenos**

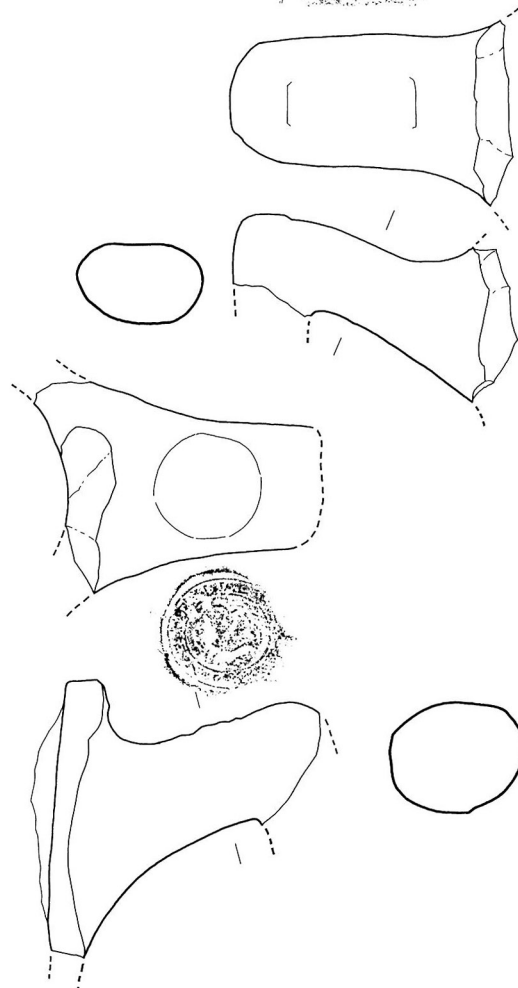
**Period V**

246 (1998200)

Round stamp with rose



Τιμ[ο]ξένου

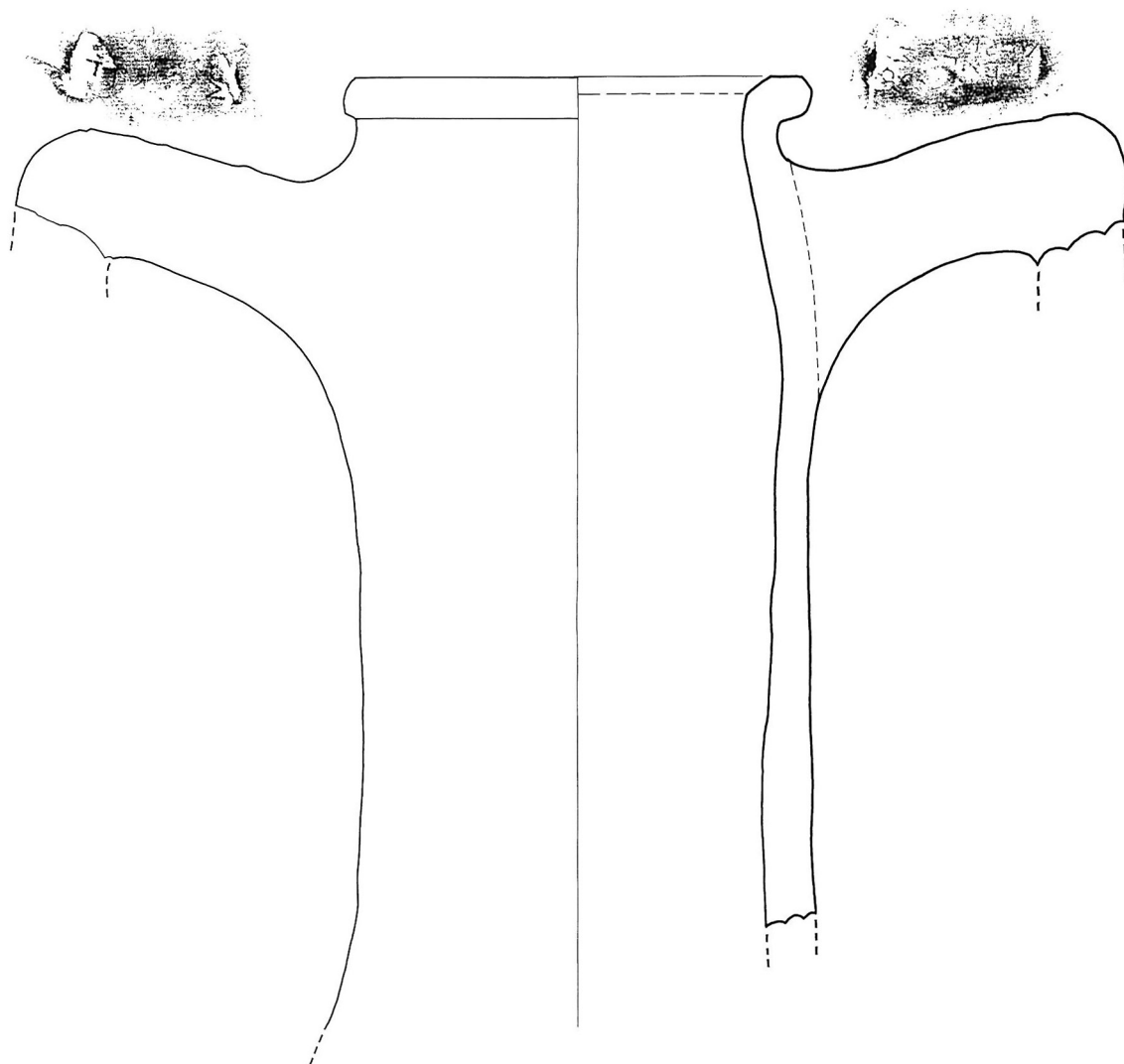
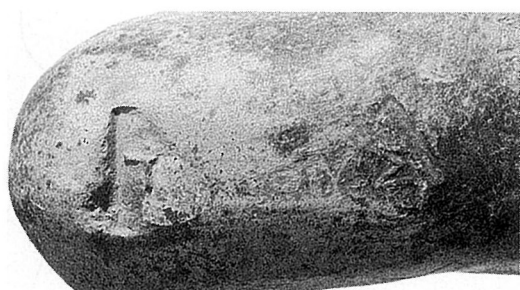


**Timo**

**Period IV-V**

247 (1998211 bis)

Square stamp (left)

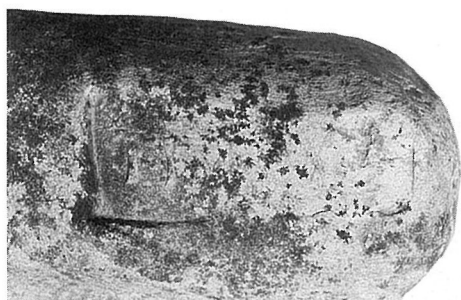


Τιμούς

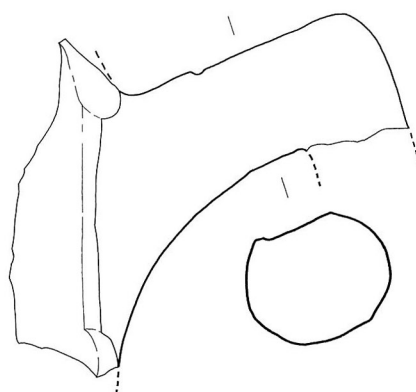
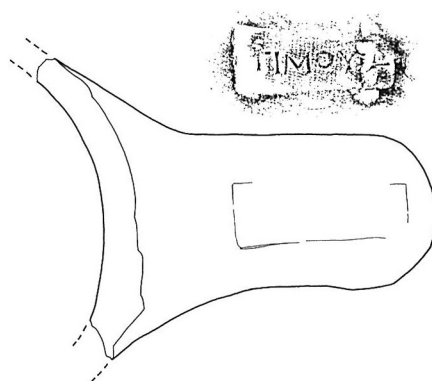
This handle is paired with the eponym stamp of Pythogenes (No. 76). Timo is one of the female Rhodian fabricants.

248 (1998231)

Square stamp



Τιμούς

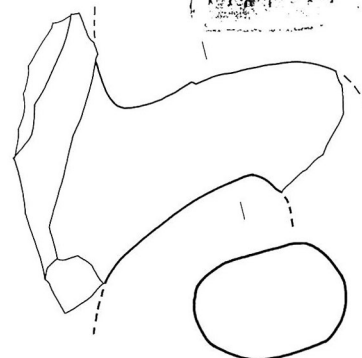
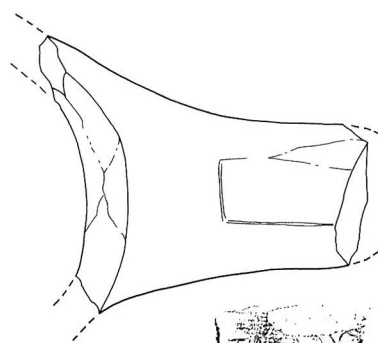


249 (1998289)

Square stamp



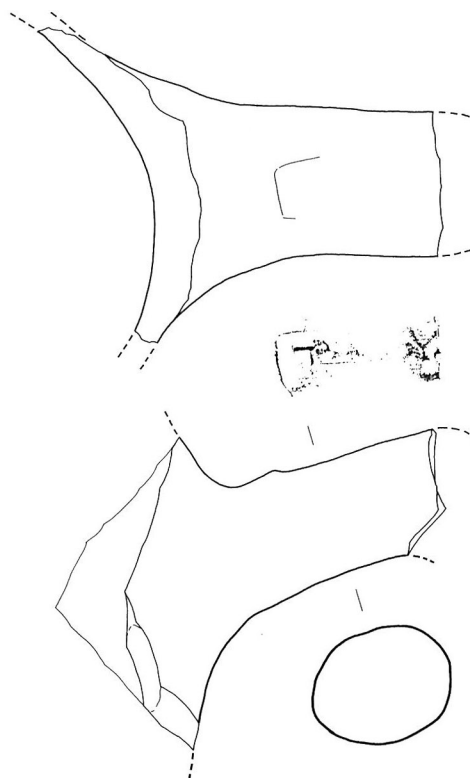
Τιμούς



250 (1998302)  
Square stamp



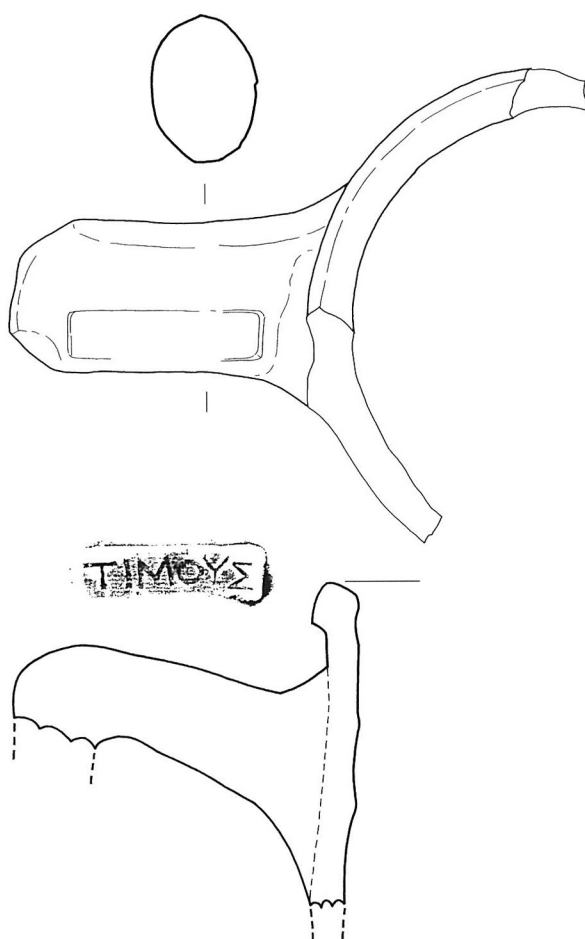
Τ[ιμο]ύς



251 (1998521)  
Square stamp



Τιμούς



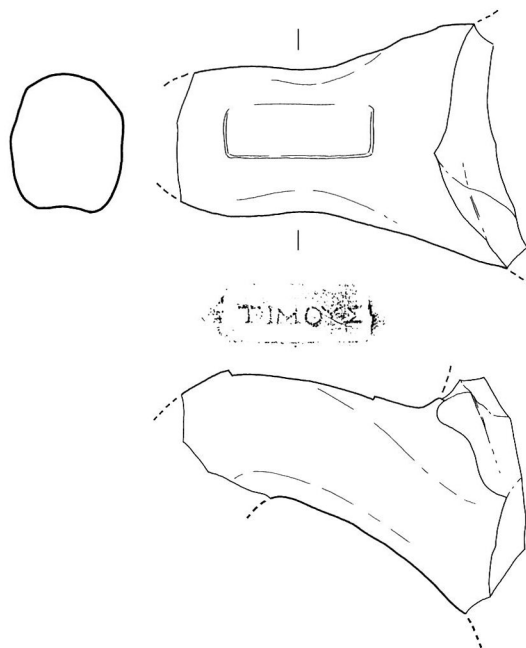


252 (1998356)

Square stamp



Τιμούς

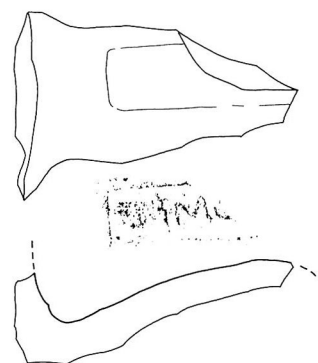


253 (1999043)

Square stamp



Τιμούς

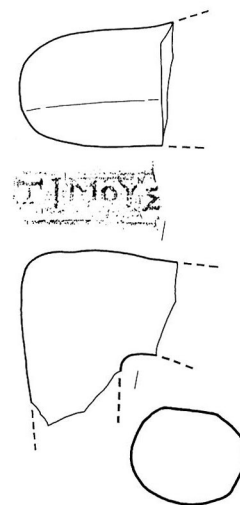


254 (1999203)

Square stamp



Τιμούς



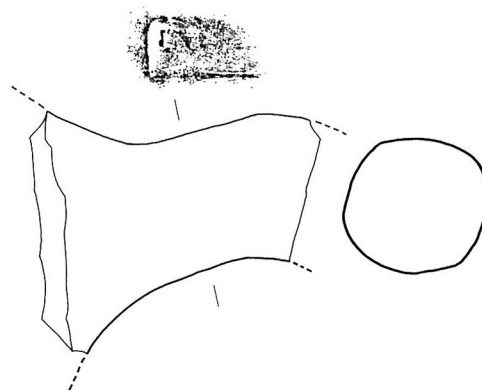
**uncertain Rhodian fabricants**

255 (1999003)

Square stamp with caduceus (?)



E ---

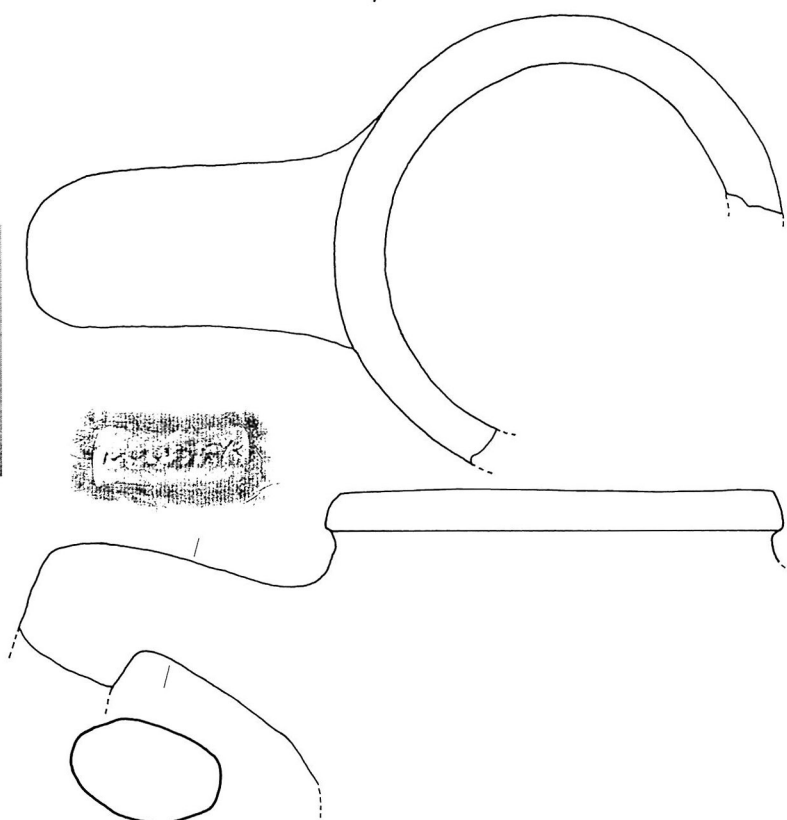


256 (1997091d)

Square stamp



M --- υς

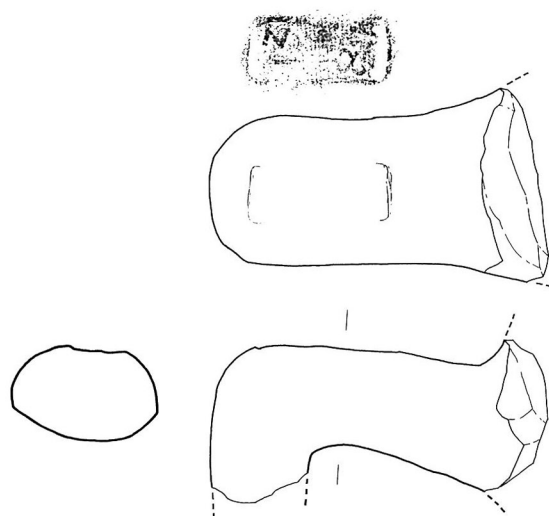


257 (1998218)

Square stamp with caduceus to the left



N ---

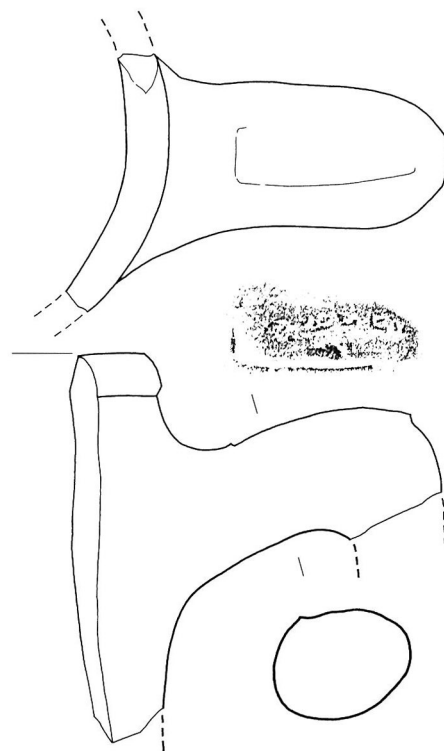


258 (1999165)

Square stamp



--- ΕΥΣ

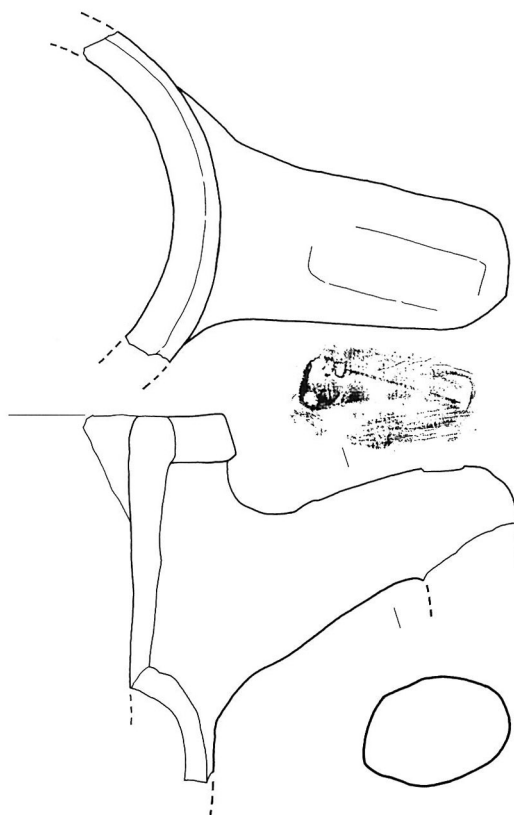


259 (1998229)

Square stamp with caduceus to the left



--- δα



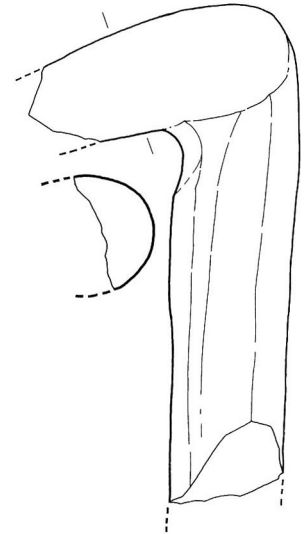
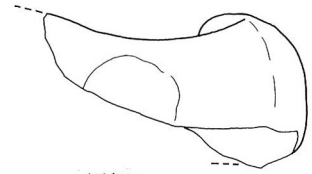
## 4. Other Rhodian Stamped Handles

260 (1997122a)

Round stamp with rose



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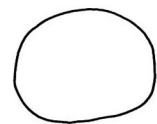
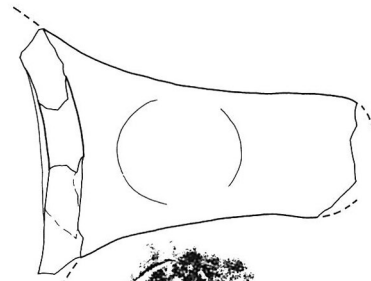


261 (1998069)

Round stamp with rose



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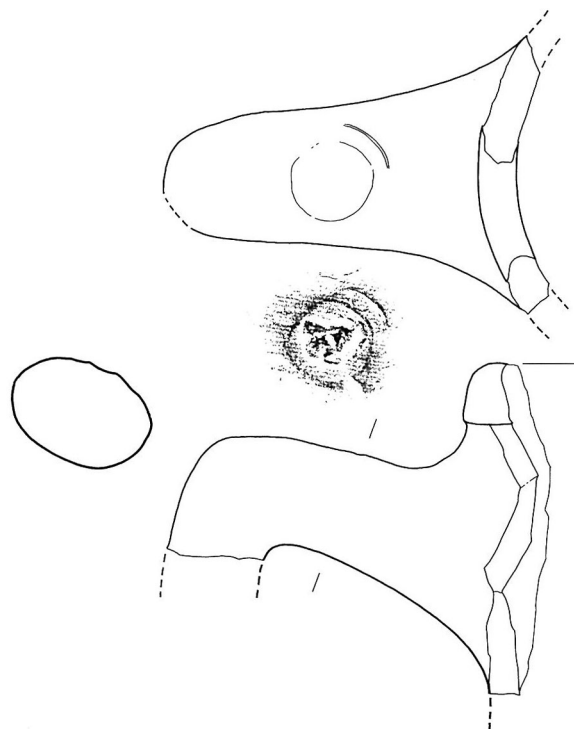


262 (1998121)

Round stamp with rose



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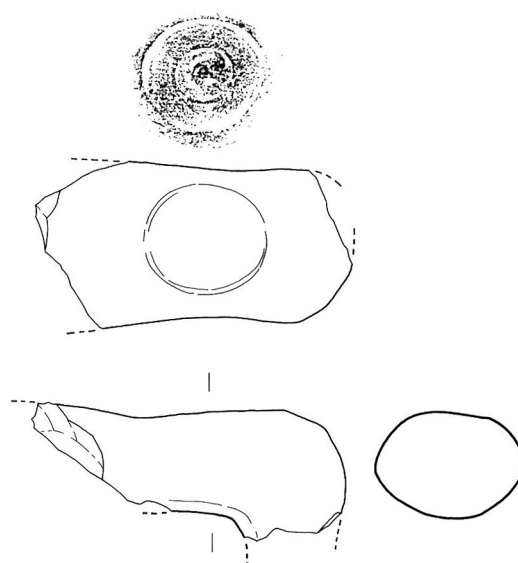


263 (1998276)

Round stamp with rose



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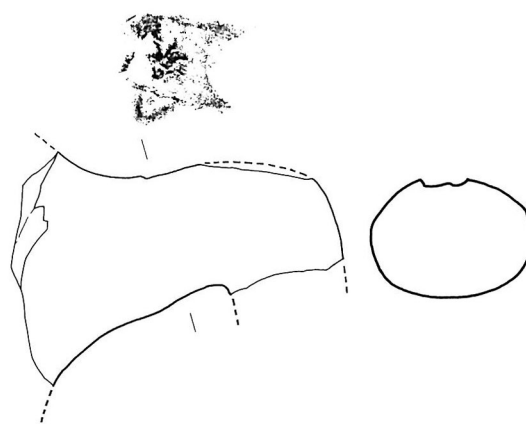


264 (1999051)

Square stamp with rose



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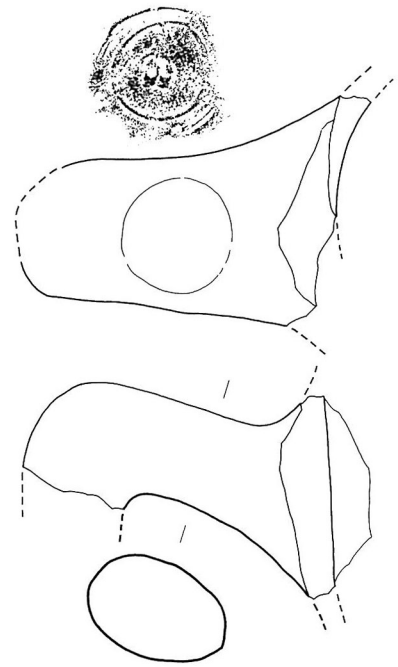


265 (1998207)

Round stamp with rose



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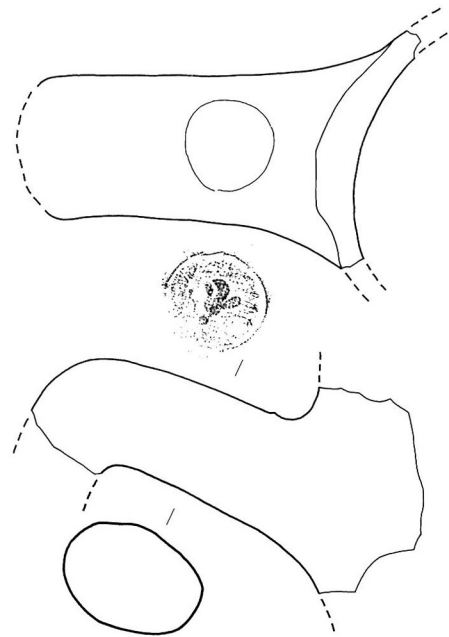


266 (1999210)

Round stamp with rose



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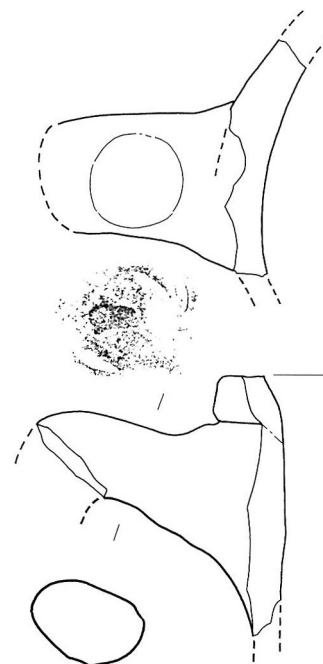


267 (1999232)

Round stamp with rose



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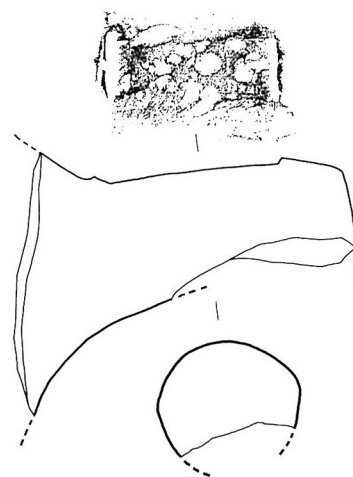


268 (1999086)

Square stamp



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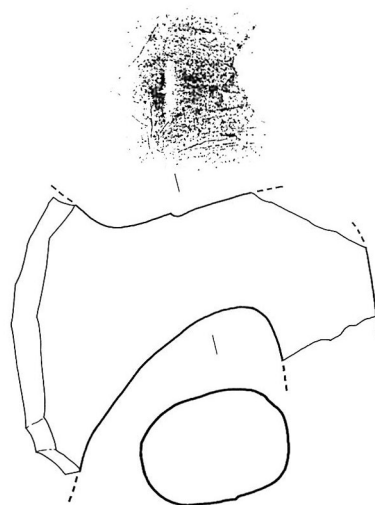


269 (1999087)

Square stamp



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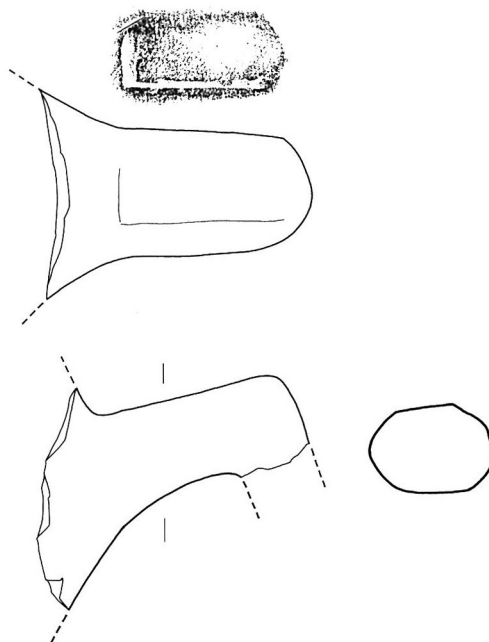


270 (1998094)

Square stamp



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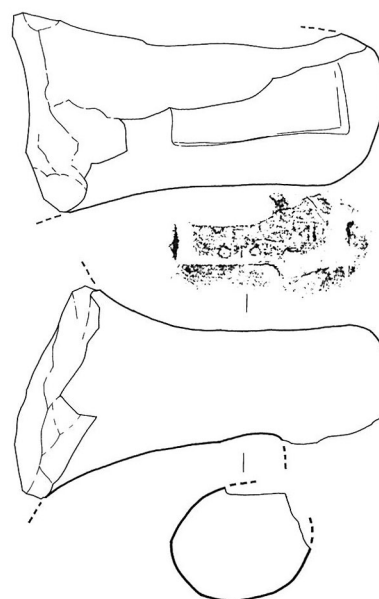


271 (1998147)

Square stamp



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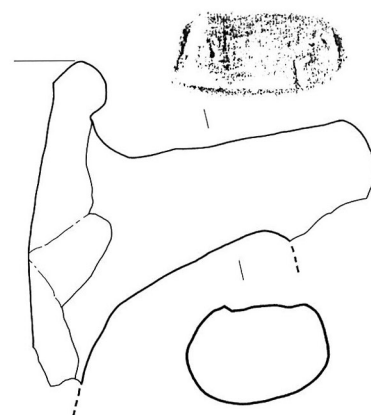


272 (1999156)

Square stamp



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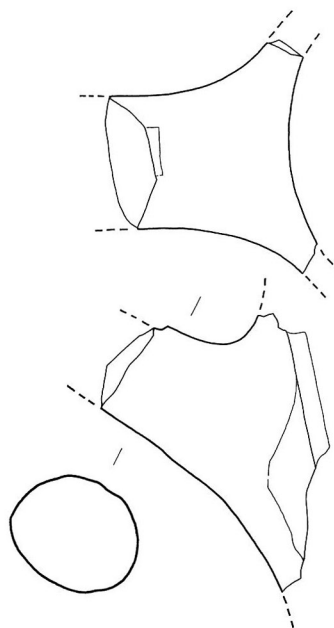


273 (1999172)

Square stamp



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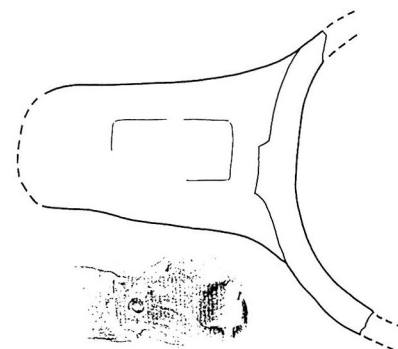


274 (1999184)

Square stamp

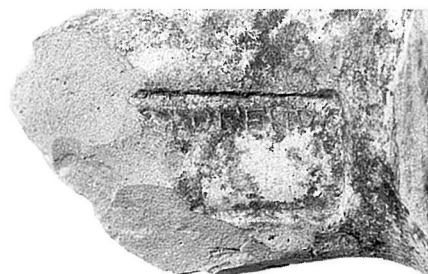


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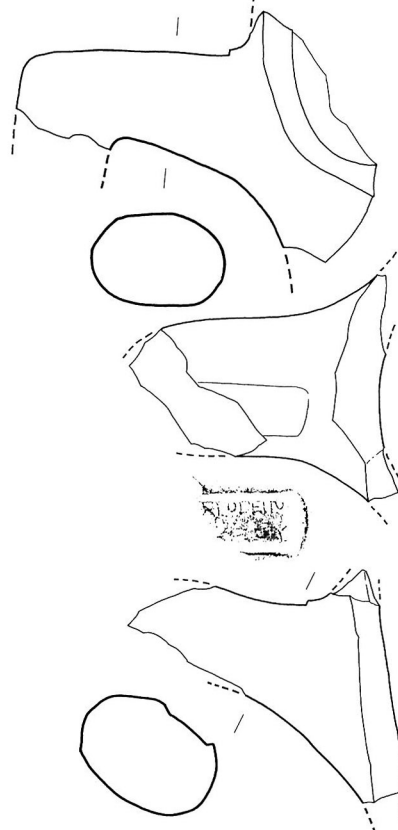


275 (2000031)

Square stamp



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## 5. Greek Stamped Amphora Handles of Miscellaneous Origins

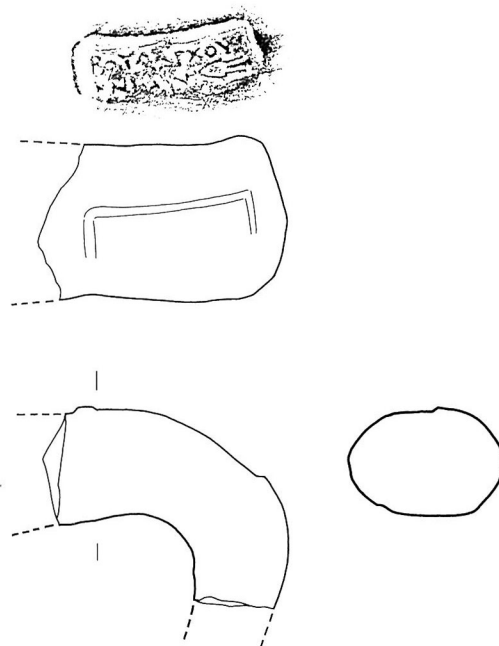
### Knidian

276 (1998056)

Square stamp with amphora



Βουλάρχου  
Κνίδιον



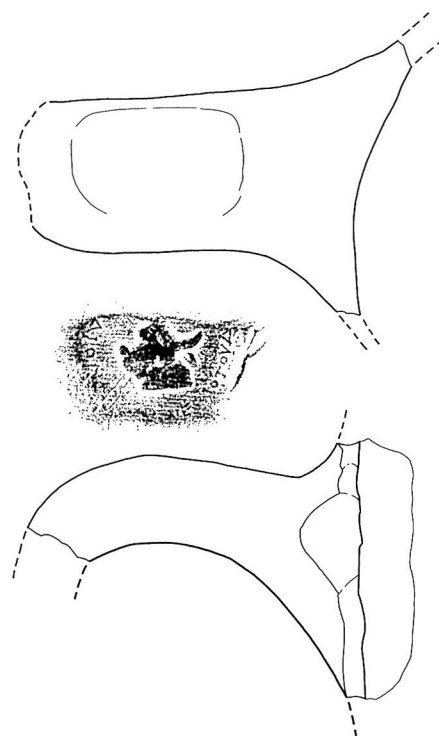
The ethnic *Knidion* clearly indicates that the handle derives from a Knidian amphora, which is ubiquitous in such sites as Athens or Delos.

277 (1998059)

Round stamp with bull's head

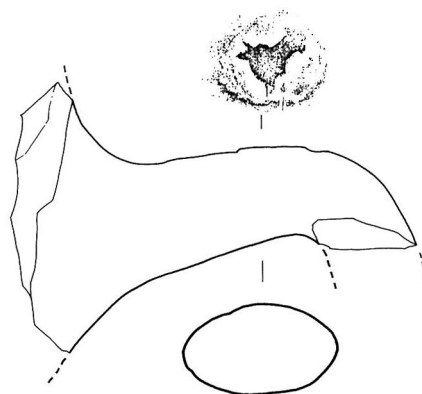


--- του Δ --- [Κνι]διον



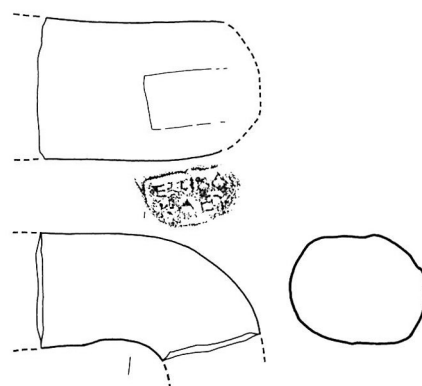
278 (1999104)

Round stamp with bull's head



279 (2001026)

Square stamp

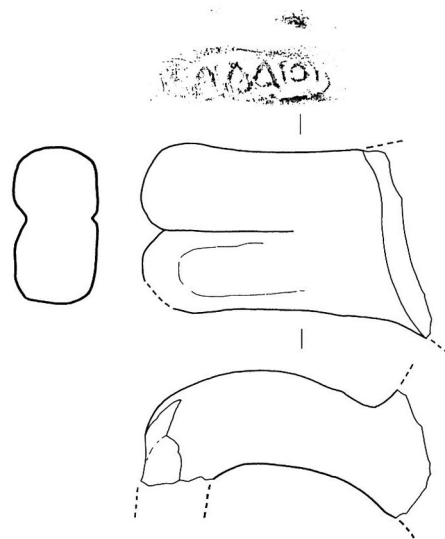


Ἐπὶ Χαρμο  
κλεῦς

**Koan**

280 (2000006)

Double handle

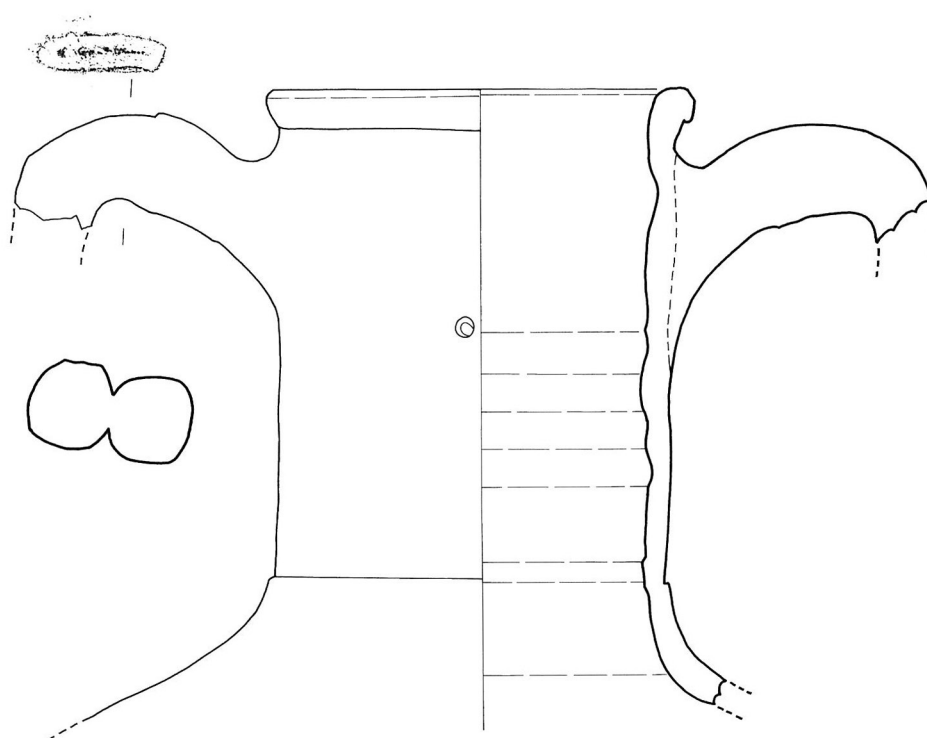


Ἀδαίου

Grace notes that various distinguished Macedonians bore this name in the earlier Hellenistic period, though this stamp may be dated to the early 1st century BCE.<sup>1</sup>

281 (1998700)

Double handle



282 (1998309)

Single handle with long narrow square stamp

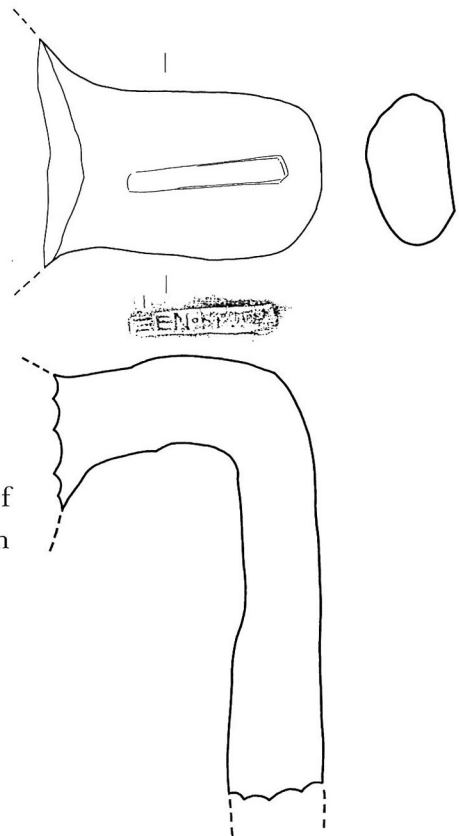
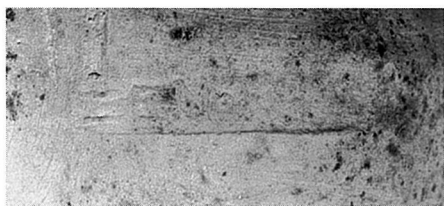


ΖΕΝΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ

The whole upper part of the jar is preserved.

283 (1998210)

Single handle with long narrow square stamp



ΖΕΝΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ

The small omicron is a common feature of the stamps of this name.<sup>2</sup> A stamp of Xenokritos on a standard Koan double handle is found from Pergamon.<sup>3</sup>

**Chian**

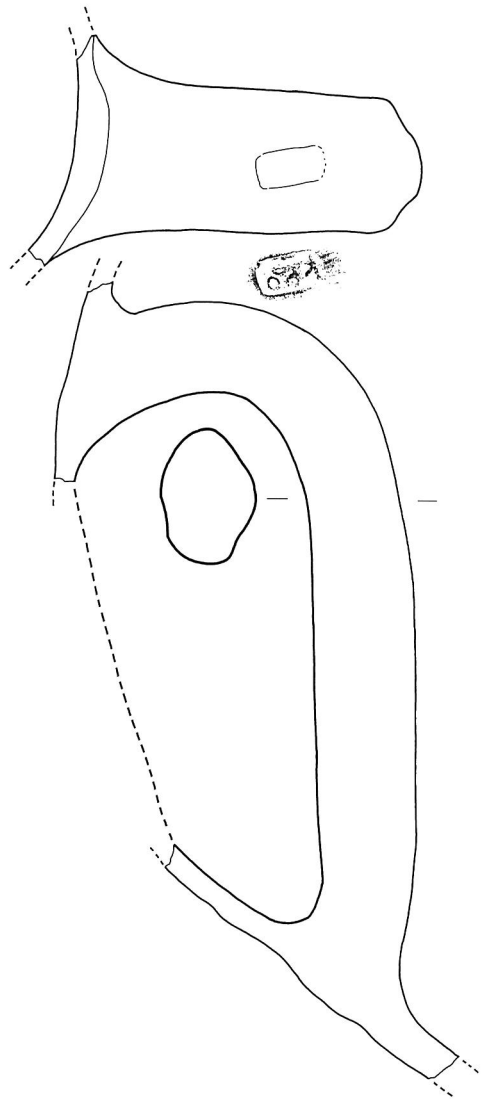
284 (1998485)

Small square stamp



KPO

Grace notes that the name Kronios, complete or variously abbreviated, is fairly common in Chian stamps, especially on lagynos handles.<sup>4</sup>



**Nikandros group**

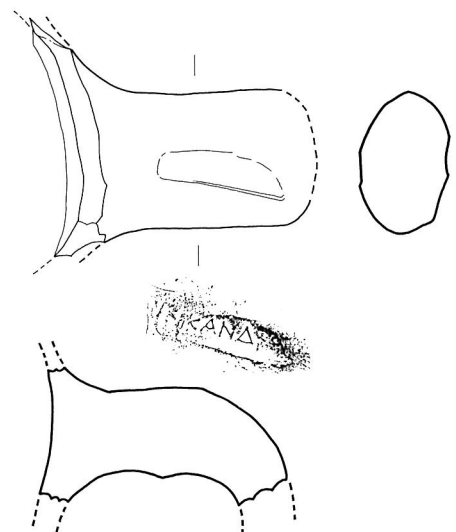
285 (1998202)

Long and narrow curved oval stamp



Νικάνδρου

Grace observes that the amphora of this group has a rather high rim folded down double, almost to touch the top of the handle.<sup>5</sup>



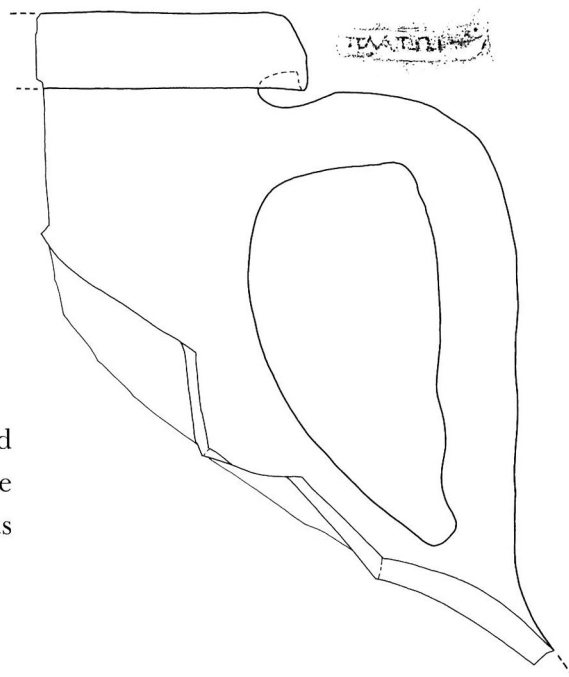
286 (1998186)

Long and narrow oval stamp



Πλάτωνος

Although Platon is not included in the standard corpus of the names of Nikandros group, the distinct shape of rim as well as stamp suggests that this stamp belongs to it.

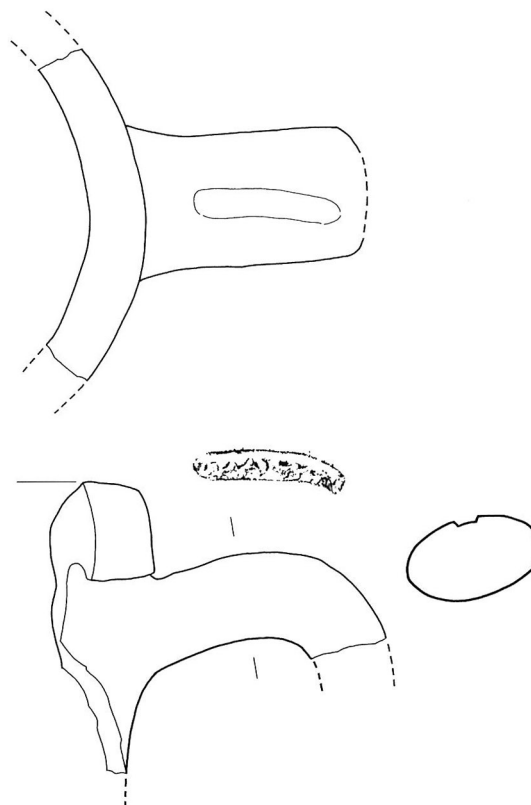


287 (1998112)

Long and narrow curved oval stamp



Πλατ ---

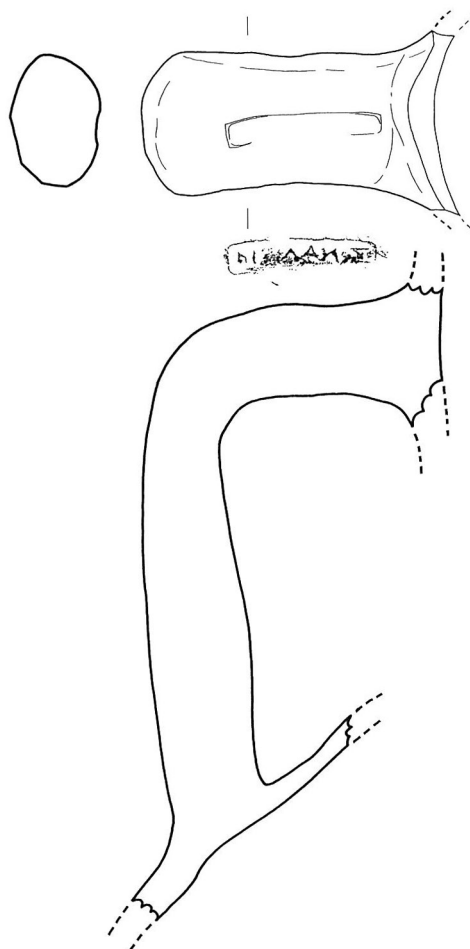


288 (1998460)

Long and narrow curved oval stamp



Μέλανος

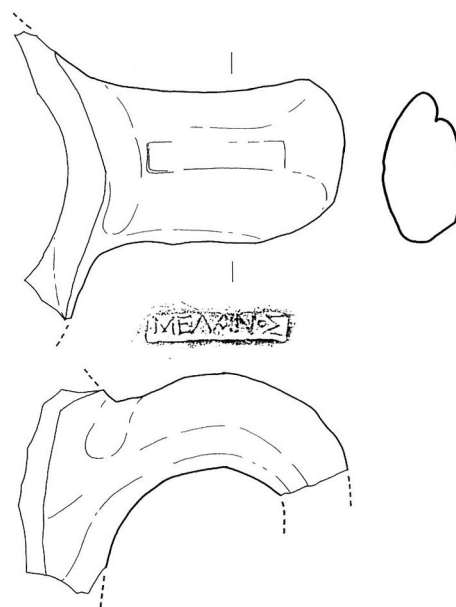


289 (1998535)

Square stamp



Μέλανος



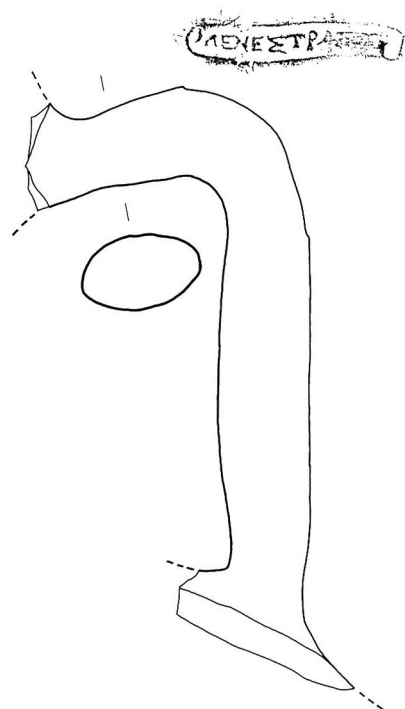


290 (1998203+206)

Long and narrow curved oval stamp



Μενεστράτου



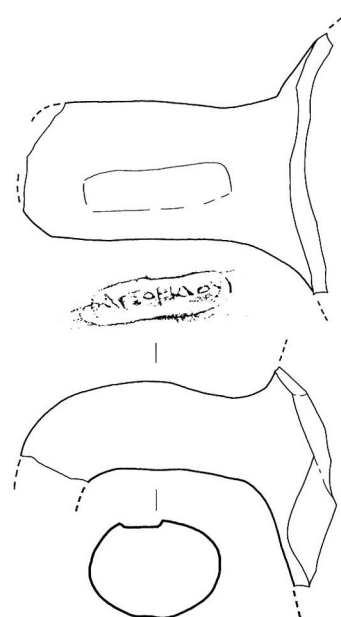
**Unknown Provenance**

291 (2000015)

Square stamp



Αἰτορίδου

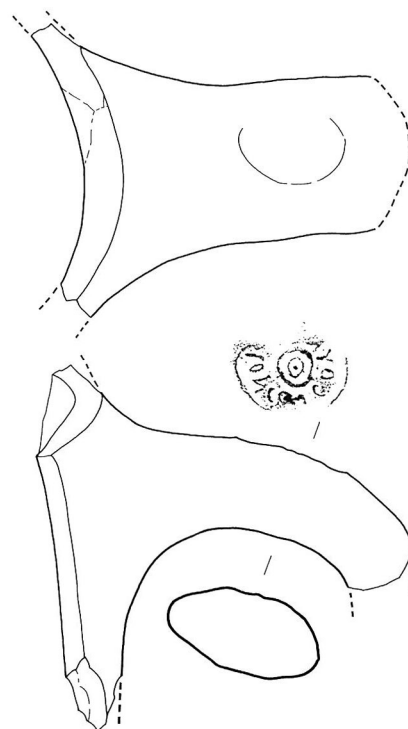


292 (1998529)

Round stamp with concentric circles



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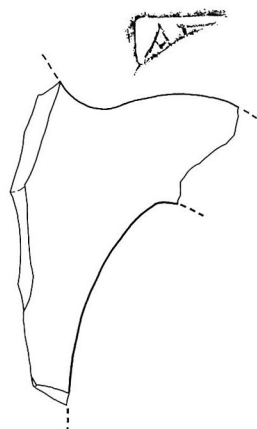


293 (1999011)

Square stamp

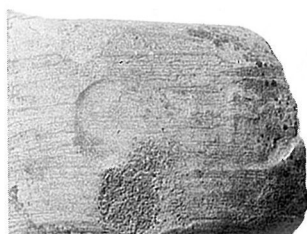


ΑΠ --

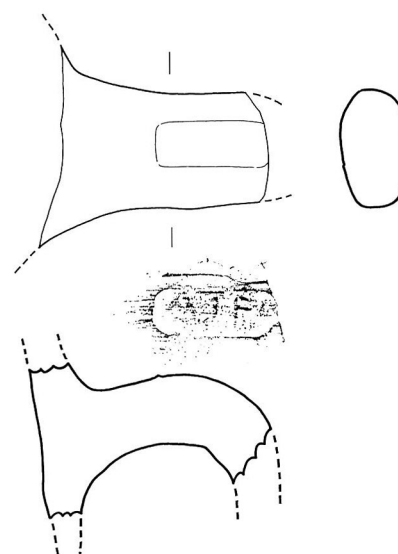


294 (1998215)

Oval stamp



ΑΤΡ

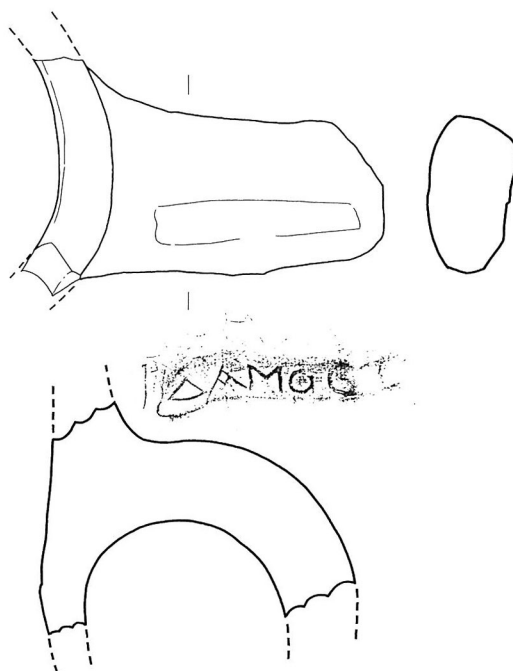


295 (1998214)

Square stamp

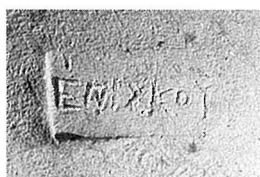


Δάμος

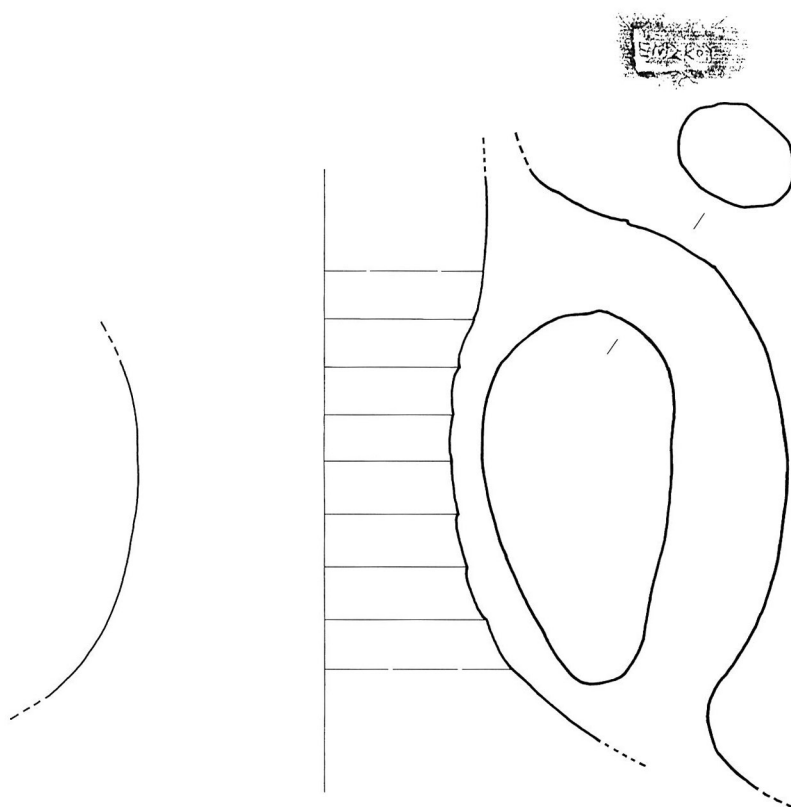


296 (1997113b)

Square stamp



Ἐνίσκου

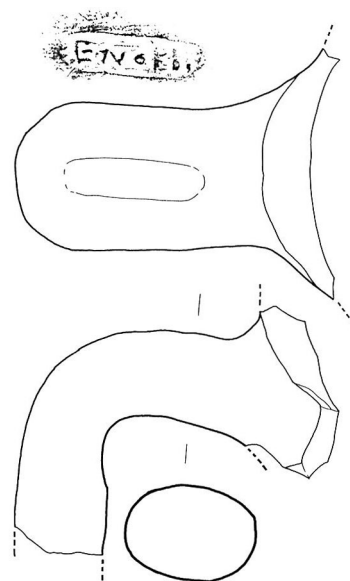


297 (1998416)

Oval stamp



- ΕΝΟΚΗ -



298 (1998301)

Square stamp



ΕΠΙ --

ΕΥΣ --

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This is exactly the same stamp with the following one.

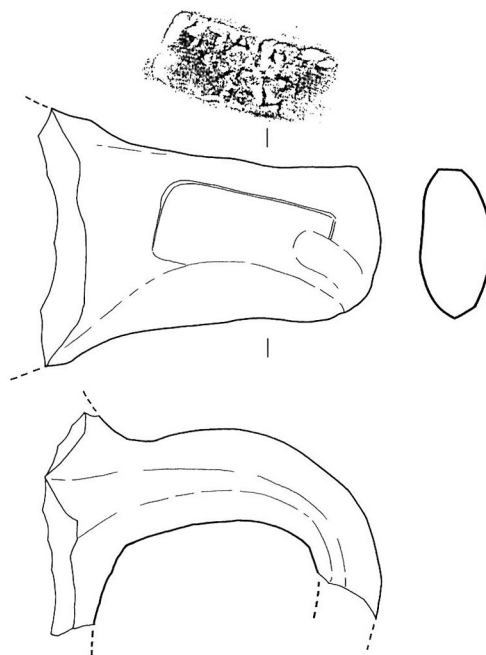
299 (1998459)  
Square stamp



ΕΠΙ ΑΓΑ --

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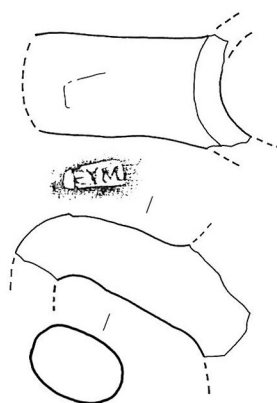
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300 (1998247)  
Square stamp



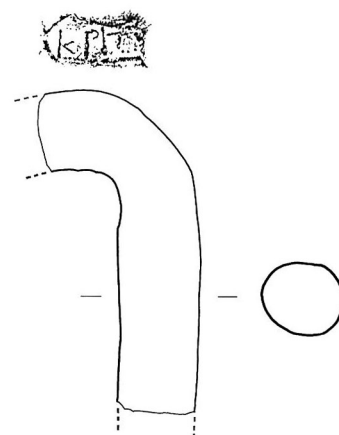
EYM



301 (2000061)  
Square stamp



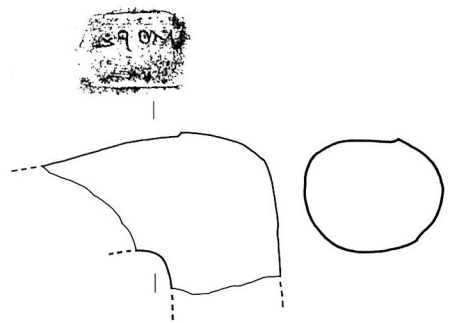
KPIO --



302 (1999004)  
Square stamp



MOP -- ←

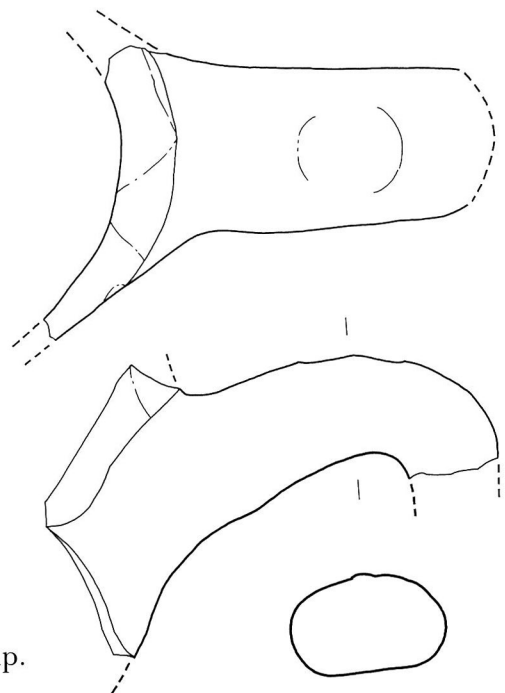


303 (2001061)  
Square stamp with dubious rose



Νικασικράτη

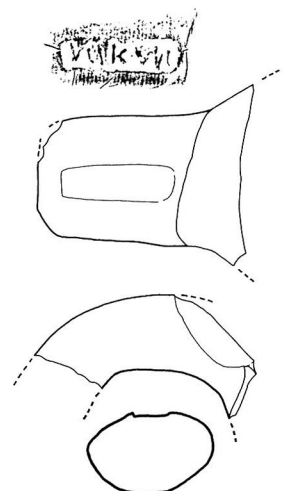
This may be a poor imitation of a Rhodian round stamp.



304 (1997091c)  
Square stamp



N - KAN ←

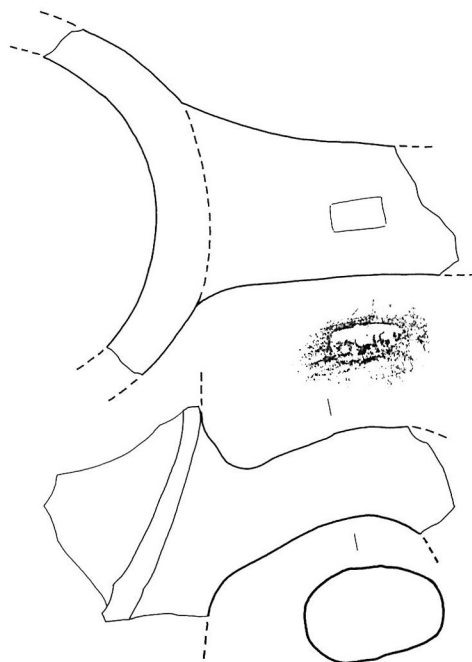


305 (1999237)

Oval stamp



OME --

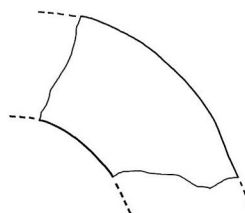
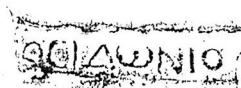


306 (2000063)

Square stamp



[Π]οσιδωνίου

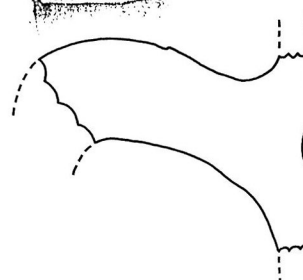
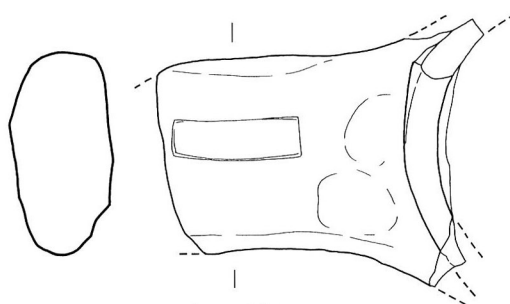


307 (1998253)

Square stamp

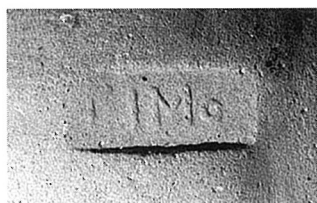


Σωπάτρου

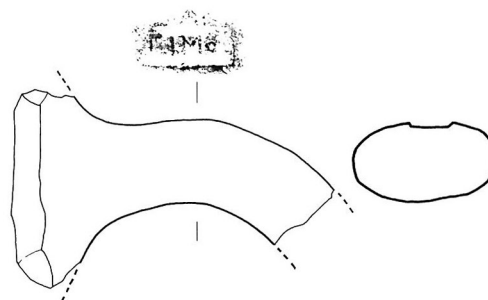


308 (1999044)

Square stamp



-- TIMO



309 (1998458)

Square stamp



Τυχώνος

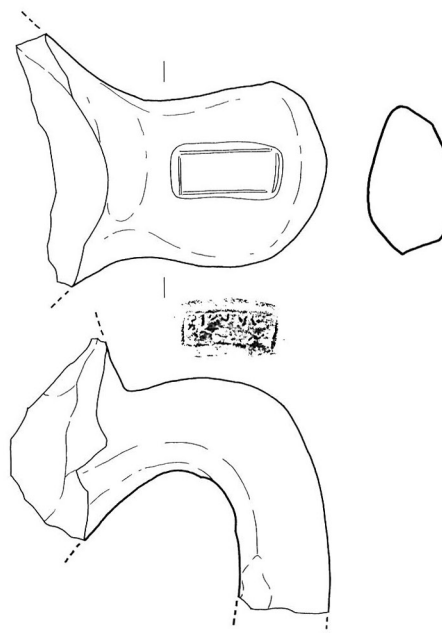


310 (1998505)

Double framed square stamp



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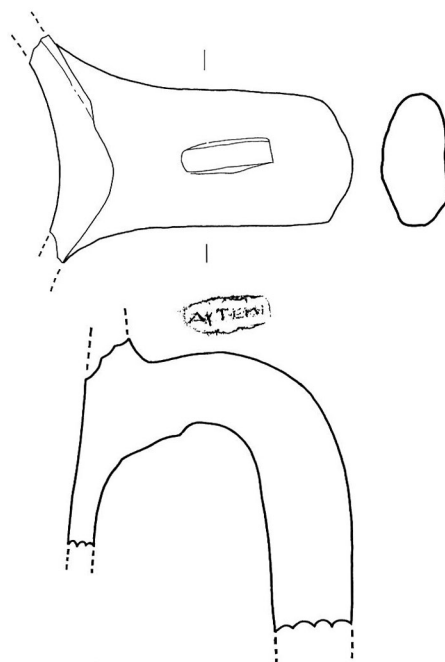


311 (1998532)

Oval stamp



Ἀρτεμί

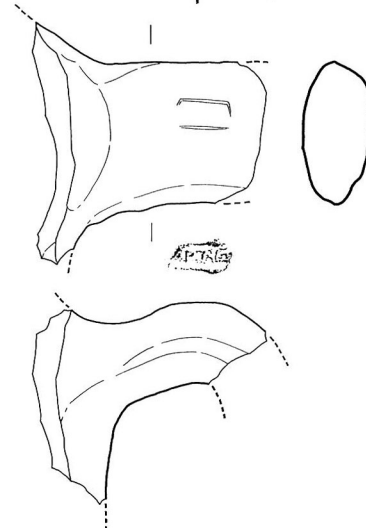


312 (1998510)

Oval stamp



Ἀρτ[εμί]



313 (1998549)

Square stamp



YOT



314 (1999115)

Oval stamp

Illegible random Greek alphabets



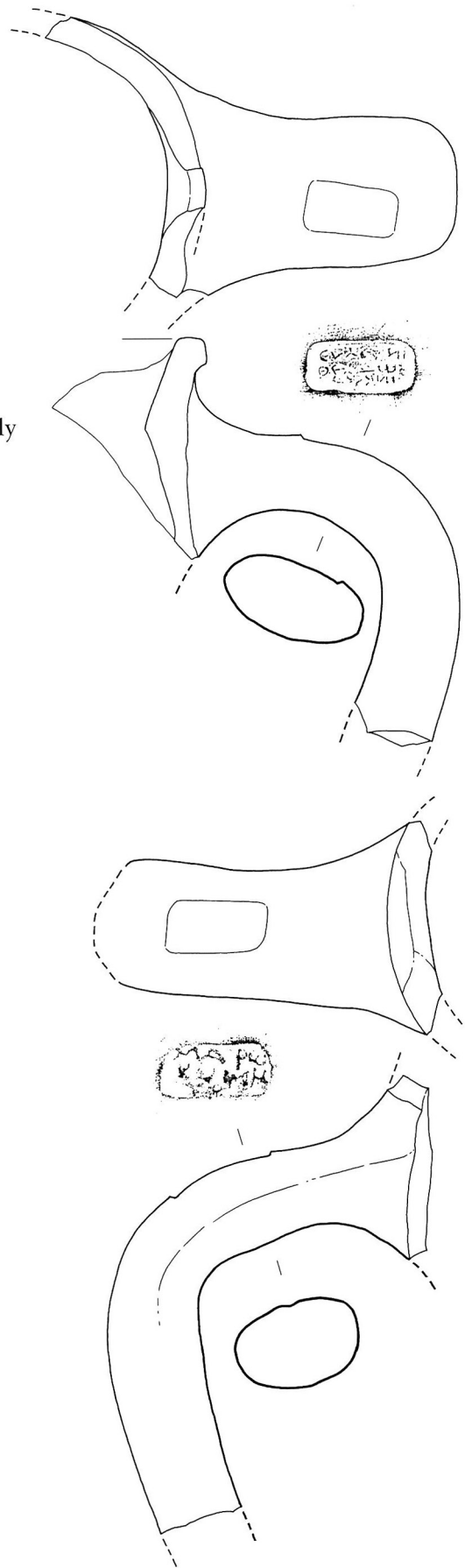
The fabric as well as the shape of this handle closely resembles that of the following one.

315 (1999127)

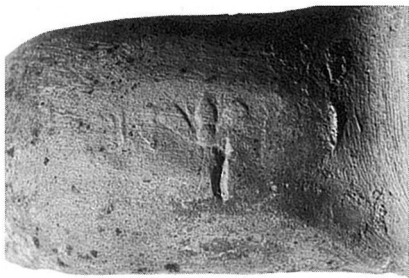


ΜΑΡΩ

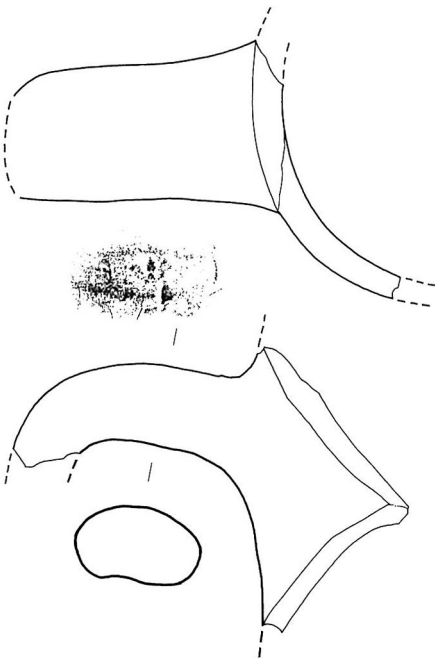
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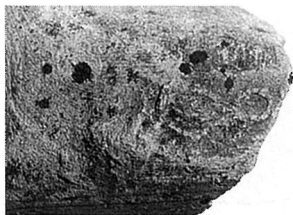
316 (1999231)  
Square stamp with illegible device



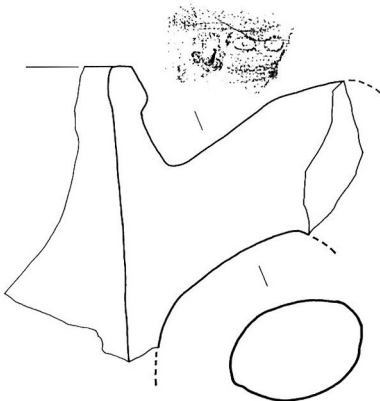
ME - -



317 (1999082)  
Square stamp



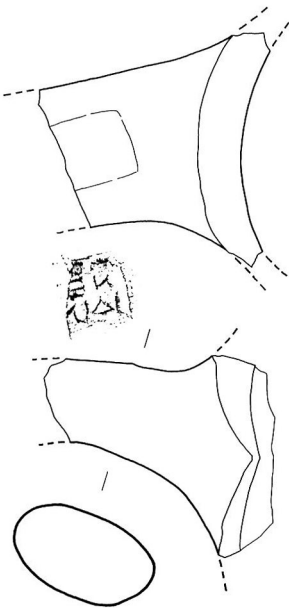
- - OO - -



318 (1998178)  
Square stamp



- - - - -

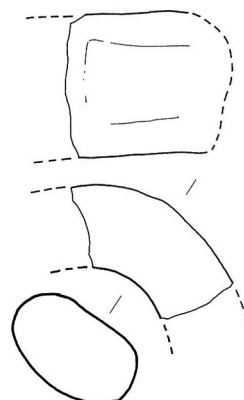
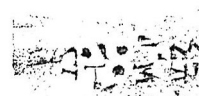


319 (1998179)

Square stamp



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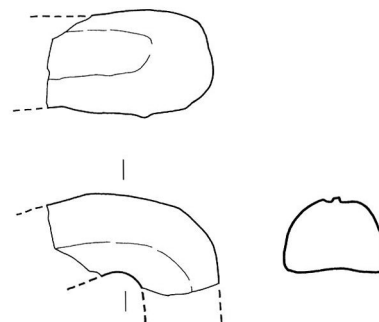
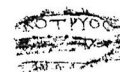


320 (1998067)

Square stamp



-- κοτρυο --

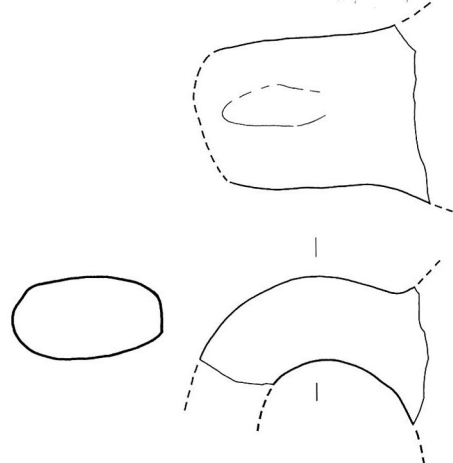
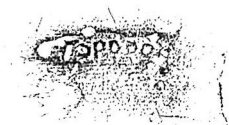


321 (1998109)

Square stamp

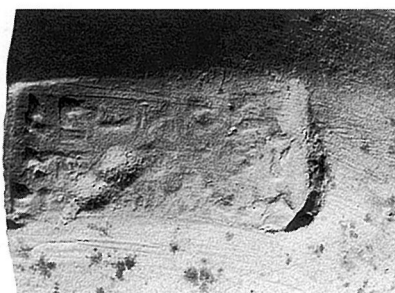


Γοροπο --



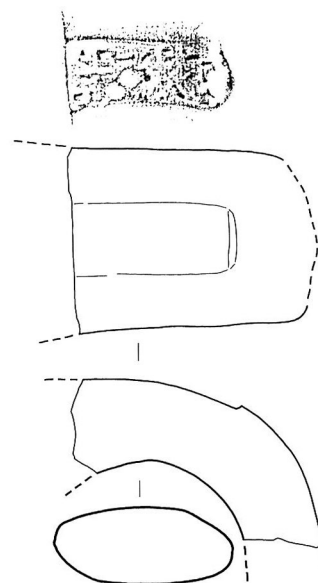
322 (1998110)

Square stamp



’ΑΠ --

ΕΥ --

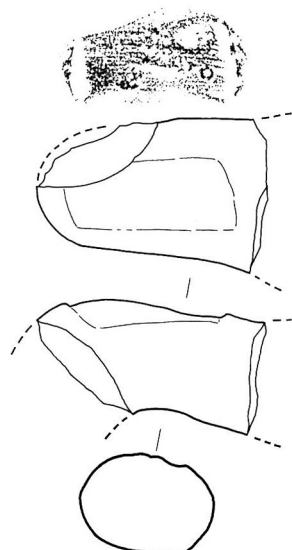


323 (1998068)

Square stamp



-- O --

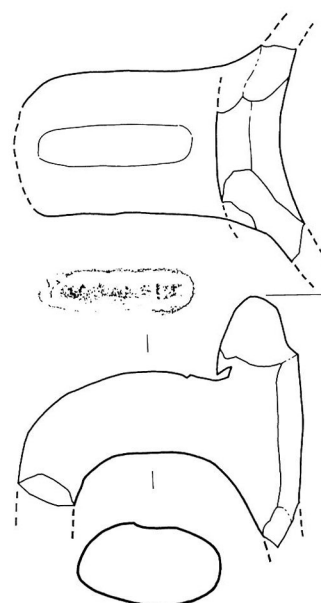


324 (1998484)

Long oval stamp

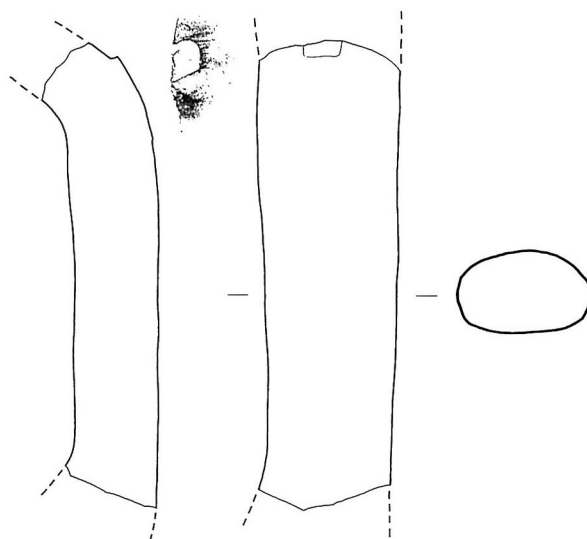


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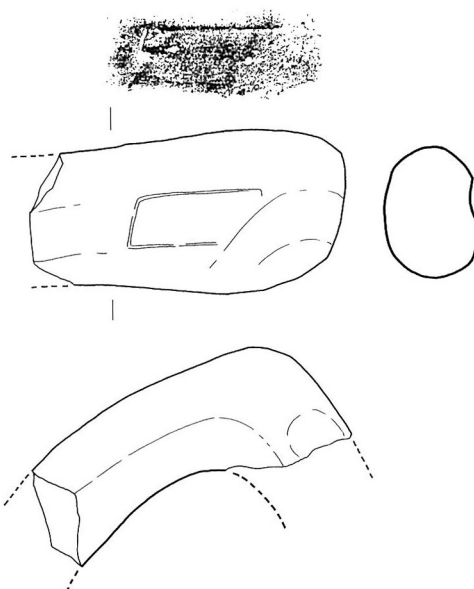
325 (1998066)

Square stamp



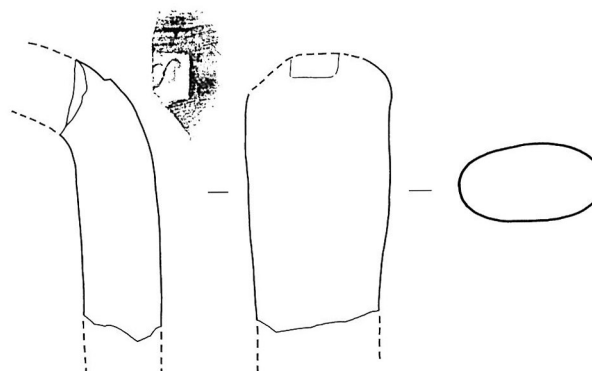
326 (1998509)

Square stamp



327 (1998080)

Square stamp

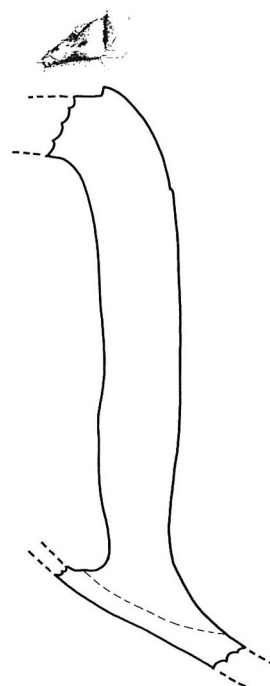


328 (1998245)

Square stamp

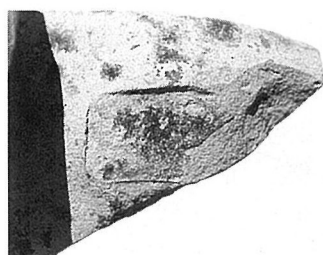


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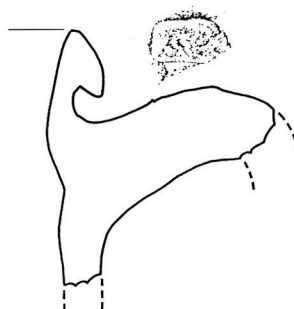


329 (1998246)

Square stamp

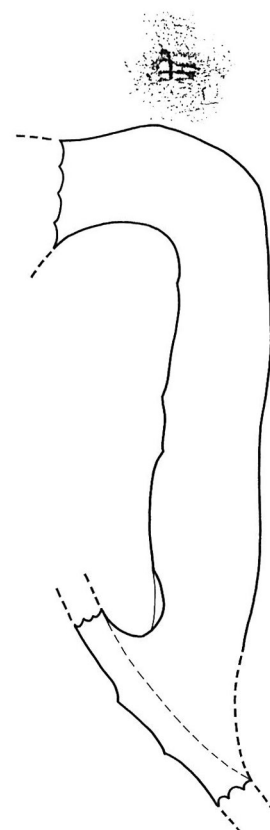


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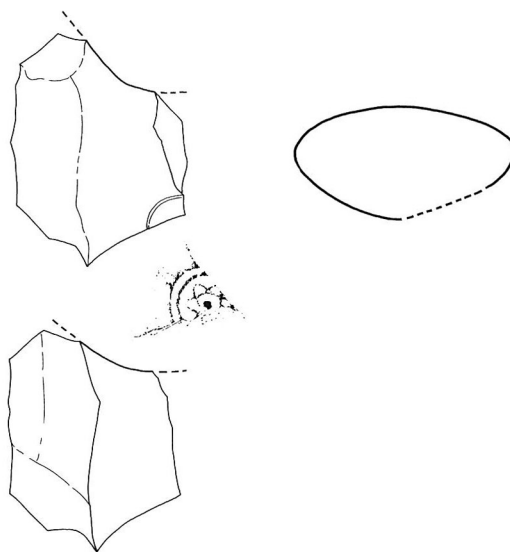
330 (1998250)

A small sign



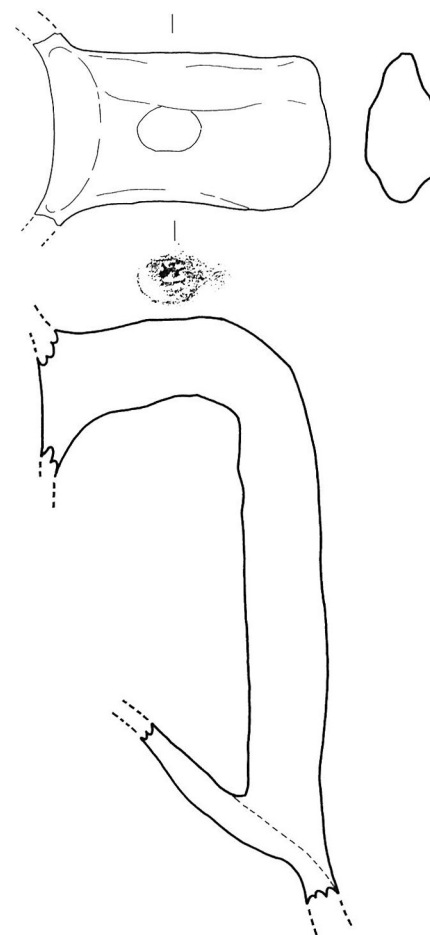
331 (2000018)

Secondary stamp



332 (1998477)

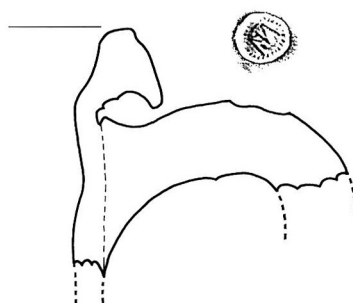
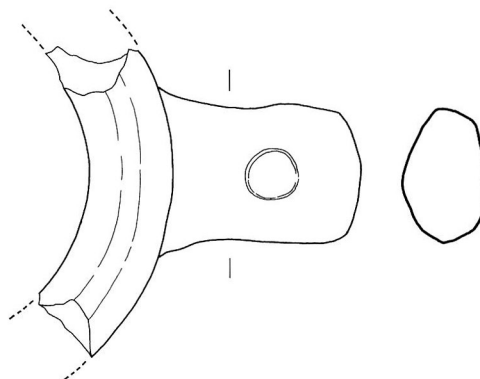
Monogram





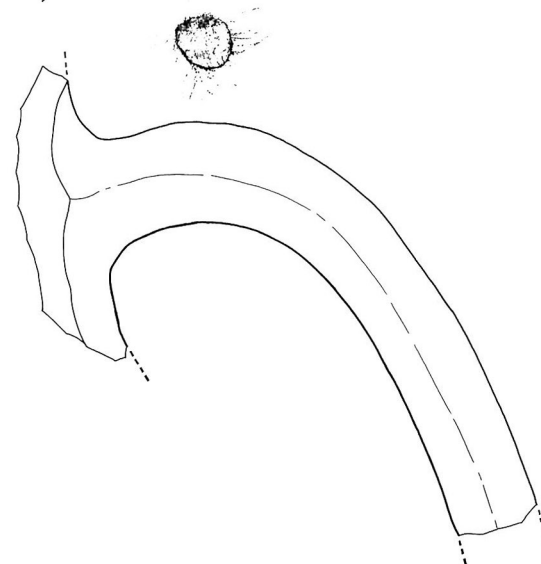
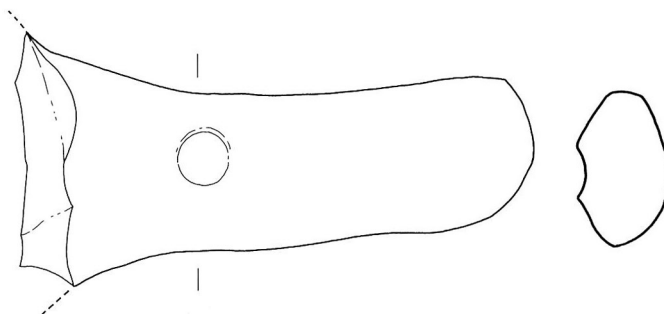
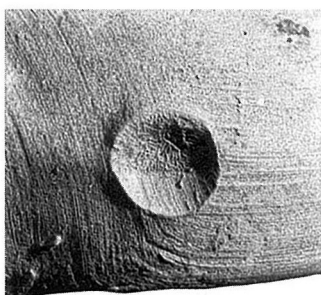
333 (1998522)

Monogram



334 (1998536)

Monogram?



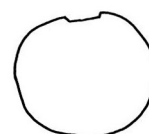
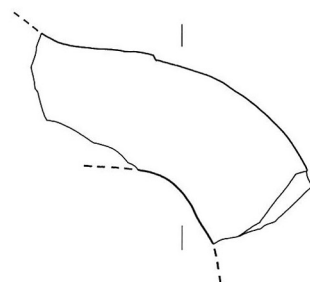
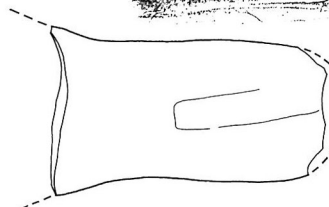
## 6. Stamped Amphora Handles of Italian Origins

335 (1998058)

Square stamp



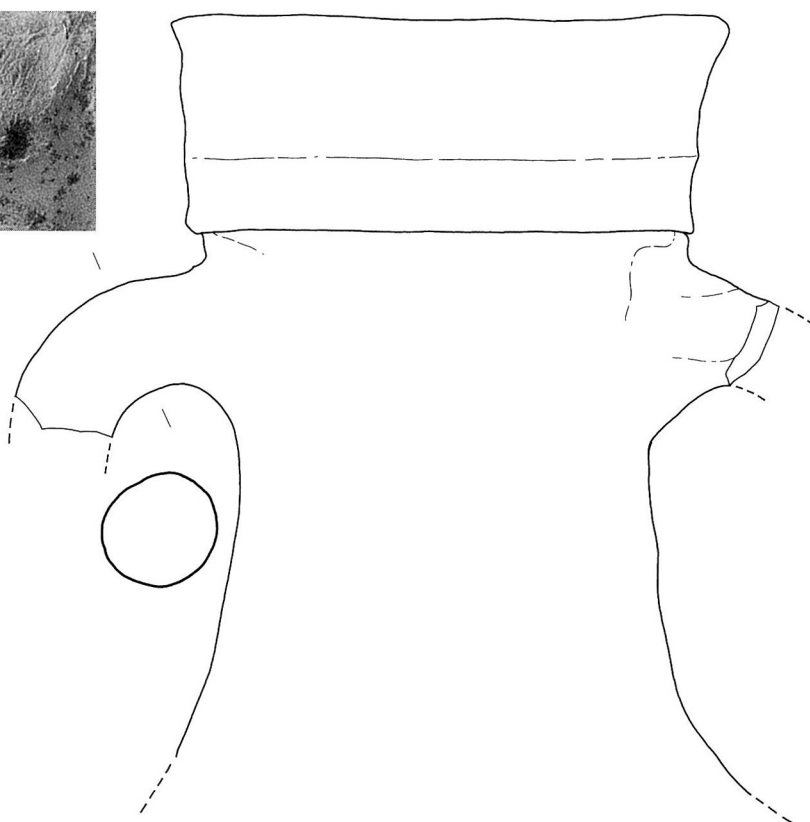
APOLLO[NID]E[S]



The provenance of this handle may be Apani.<sup>1</sup>

336 (1997113a)

Square stamp



ANINI

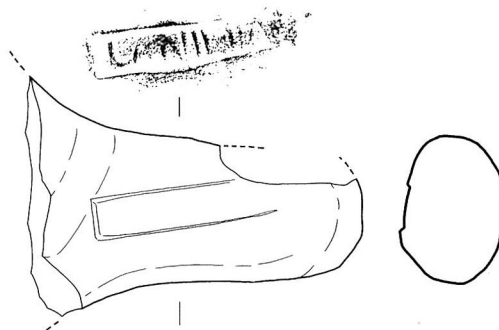
Sztetetyllo notes that stamps with Lucius and Caius Aninius from the Apani region are dated to the end of the first quarter of the 1st century BCE.<sup>2</sup>

337 (1998447)

Square stamp



C ANINIA

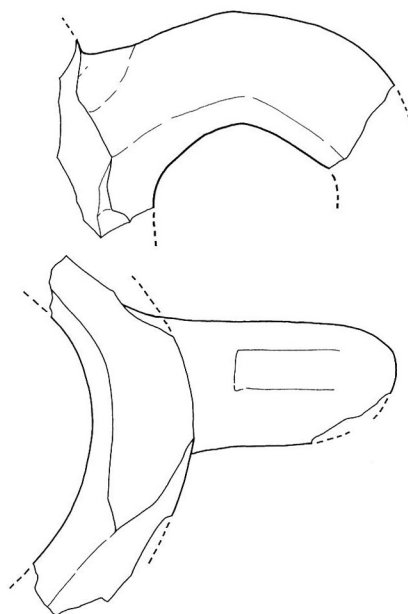


338 (1998453)

Square stamp



C ANINIA

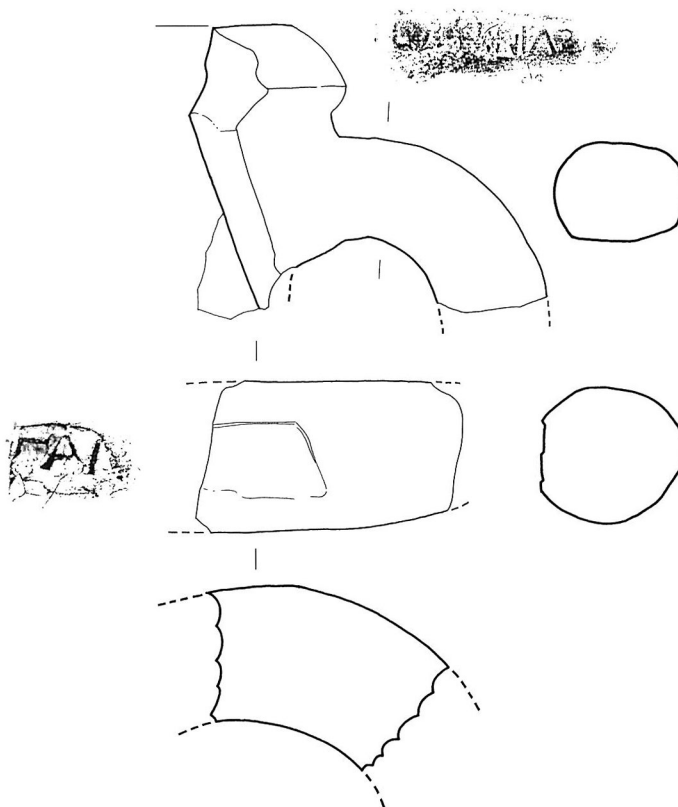


339 (1998251)

Square stamp



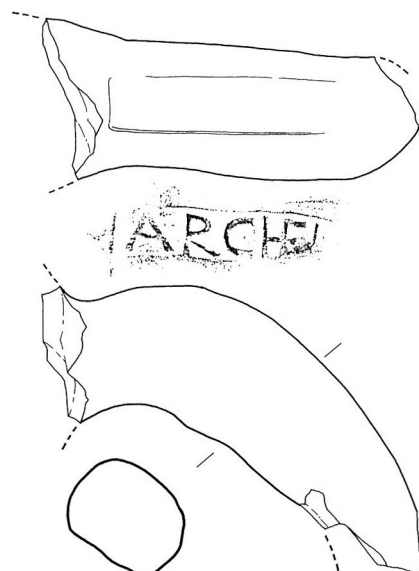
C ANIN



340 (2000029)  
Square stamp



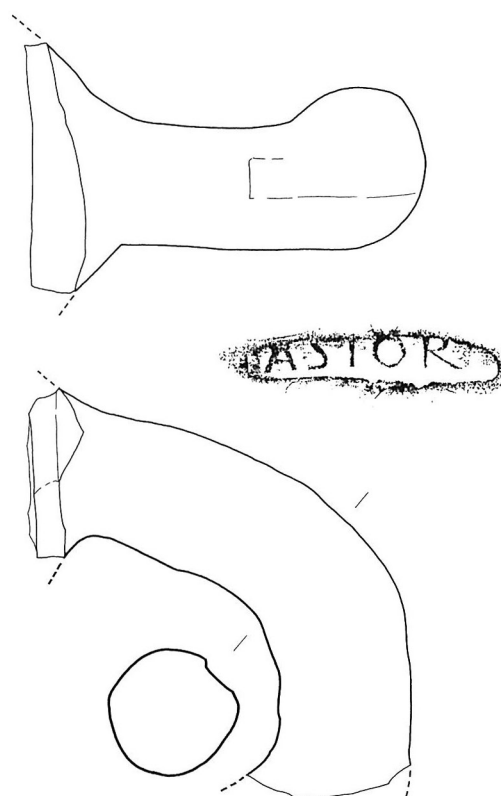
ARCHE[LA?]



341 (2000057)  
Square stamp



ASTOR



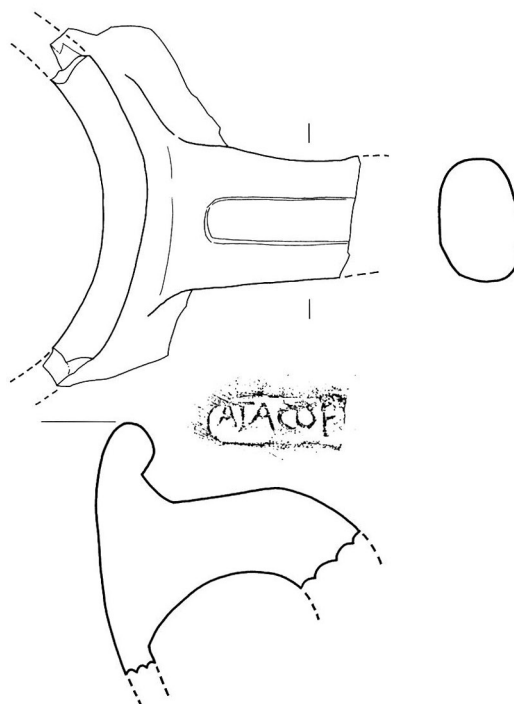
Desy quotes the suggestion by Mommsen to reconstruct the name as either Pastor or Castor. But apparently there is no space to the left of the letter A on the present stamp.

342 (1998197)

Long and narrow oval stamp



ATACOP - - -



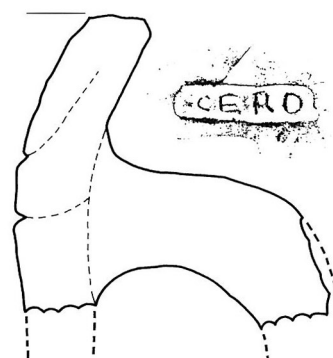
343 (1998213)

Square handle



CERD

This handle derives from an amphora produced in Giancola.<sup>3</sup>



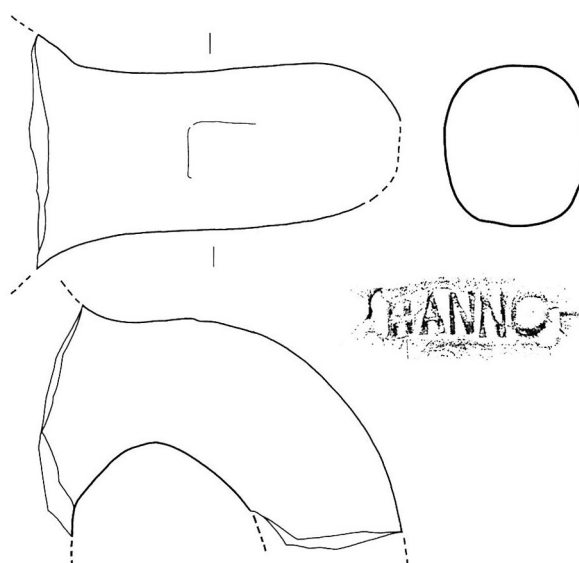
344 (2000008)

Square handle



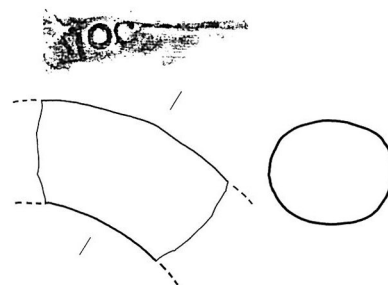
HANNO

The provenance of this handle may be somewhere around Brindisi,<sup>4</sup> though the name suggests a salient connection with the Punic region.



345 (1999052)

Square stamp

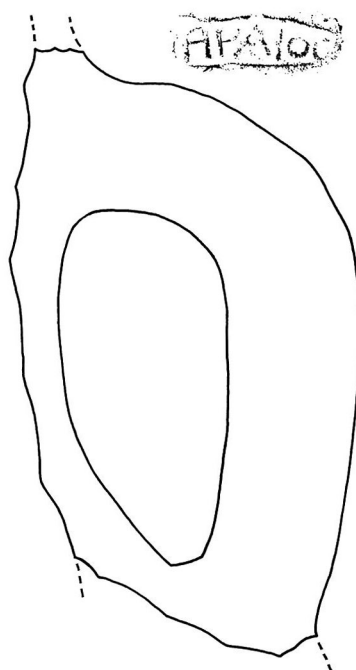
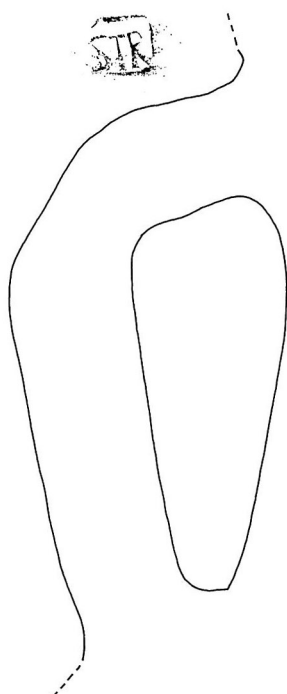
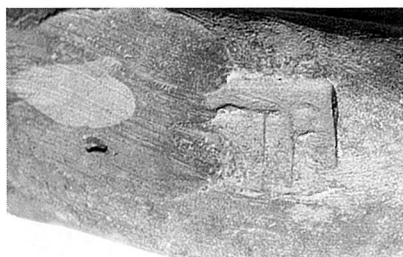


Ἡραῖος

Stamps of the name of Heraios (an Apani workshop) are dated to the middle to the late 1st century BCE.<sup>5</sup>

346, 347 (1999153 + bis)

A connecting pair of two square stamps



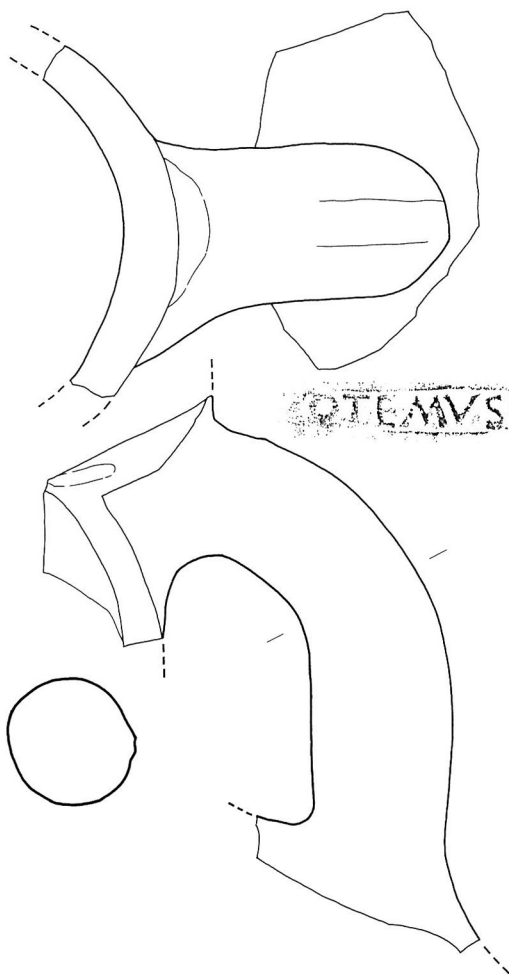
Ἡραῖος + - - STR

348 (1999001)

Square stamp



KOTEMUS

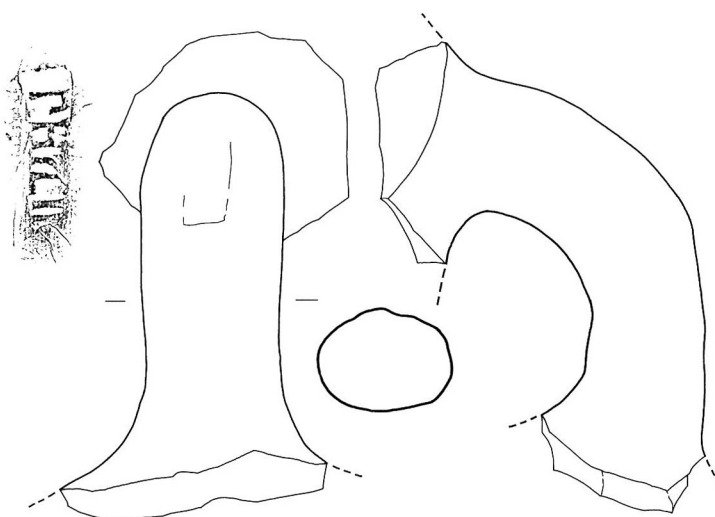


349 (1998090)

Square stamp



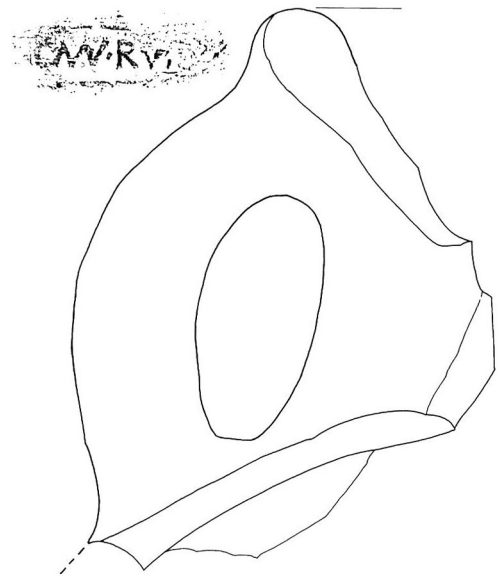
PHILI ---



350 (1998201)  
Square stamp



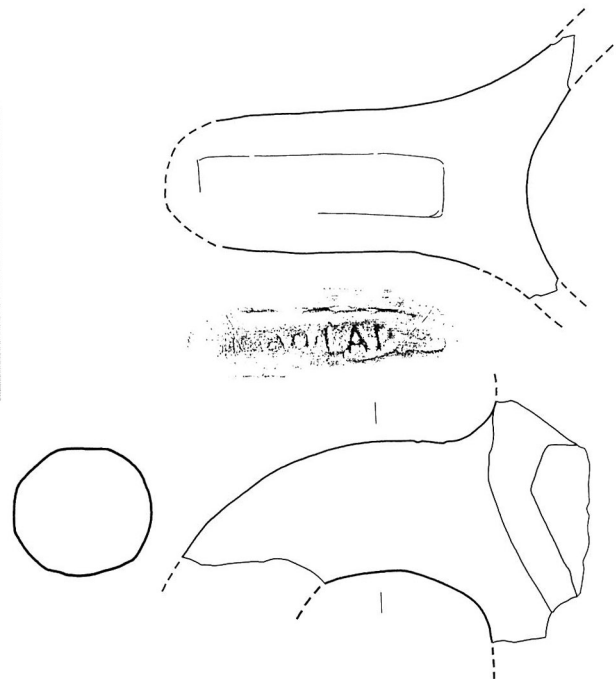
NV·RV



351 (2000001)  
Square stamp



-- AOLAC



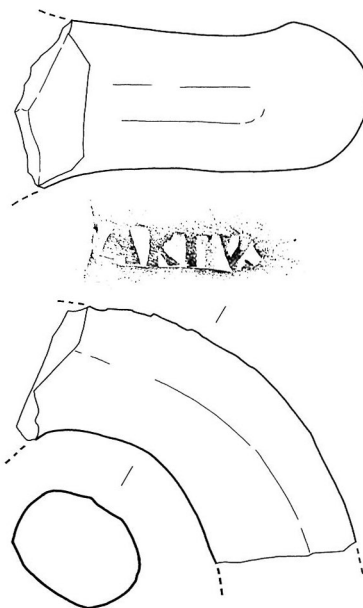


352 (2000040)

Square stamp



- ARTVS

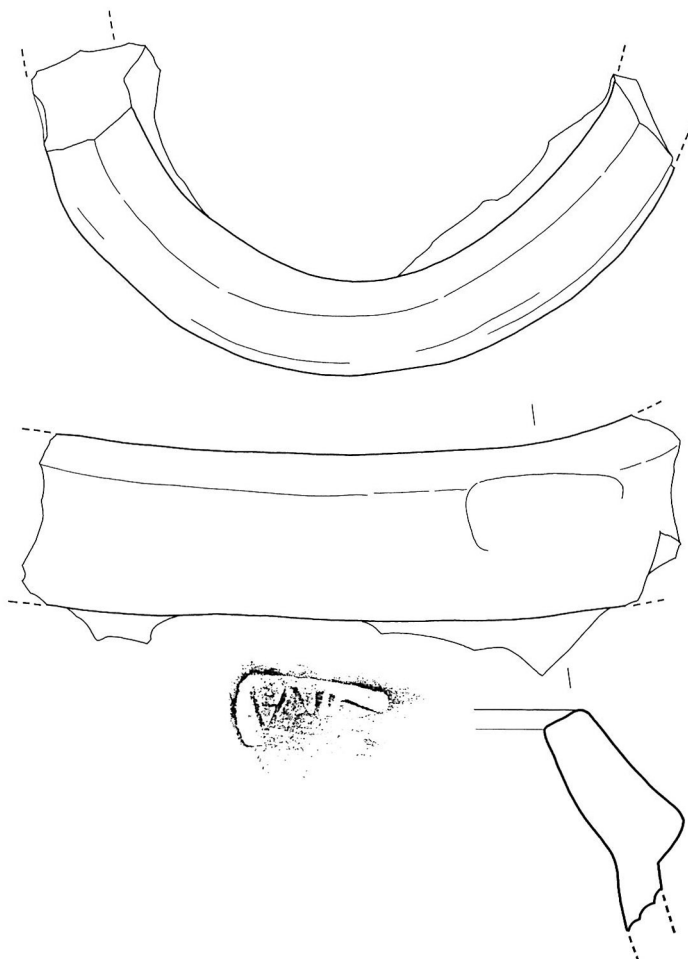


353 (2000041)

Stamp on the rim put upside down



- IRA



## Notes

### 1. Introduction —●

- <sup>1</sup> Davies (2001), 27.
- <sup>2</sup> I am referring only to the number of the excavated and published items from a relatively isolated archaeological context. More than 13000 handles have been found in Alexandria in general. Grace (1953), 117.
- <sup>3</sup> But as Grace observes, Corinth yielded amphorae of the period after its destruction in 146 BCE. *Delos* XXVII, 285.
- <sup>4</sup> Grace (1985), 11.
- <sup>5</sup> Schuchhardt (1895)
- <sup>6</sup> Finkielsztejn (2001)
- <sup>7</sup> Ariel & Finkielsztejn (1994), 204.
- <sup>8</sup> Finkielsztejn (2001), 131f.
- <sup>9</sup> Polyb. 28.2, 16.
- <sup>10</sup> Lund (1999), 195–198.
- <sup>11</sup> Lewis (1986), Ch.2.

### 2. Stamped Amphora Handles of Rhodian Eponyms —●

- <sup>1</sup> Pergamon II, No. 22
- <sup>2</sup> *Delos* XXVII, 308
- <sup>3</sup> *BCH* Suppl.XIII, 525. Pergamon II, No. 57.
- <sup>4</sup> Pergamon II, No. 59.
- <sup>5</sup> *Delos* XXVII, 313.
- <sup>6</sup> *Delos* XXVII, 304.
- <sup>7</sup> *QEDM* 30, 63.
- <sup>8</sup> *BCH* Suppl.XIII, 516.
- <sup>9</sup> Pergamon II, No. 323.
- <sup>10</sup> *Tel Anafa* I.i, 218, SAH 87.

### 3. Stamped Amphora Handles of Rhodian Fabricants —●

- <sup>1</sup> *Delos* XXVII, 327–328; Grace 1985, 9–10; *QEDM* 30, 46.
- <sup>2</sup> *Delos* XXVII, 308, E19. For other Rhodian female fabricants, see Pergamon I, No. 491.
- <sup>3</sup> *Dacia* 34, 1990, 216 No. 3.
- <sup>4</sup> *Tel Anafa* I,i, 204.
- <sup>5</sup> *QEDM* 30, 35.
- <sup>6</sup> *Delos* XXVII, E14.
- <sup>7</sup> *BCH* Suppl. XIII, 526, No. 11
- <sup>8</sup> *BCH* Suppl. XIII, 525–6.
- <sup>9</sup> For the chronological arguments against the former view, see Pergamon I, No. 495.

### 5. Greek Stamped Amphora Handles of Miscellaneous Origins —●

- <sup>1</sup> *Delos* XXVII, 364, E236.
- <sup>2</sup> Criscuolo 148, No. 149.
- <sup>3</sup> Pergamon II, 524.
- <sup>4</sup> *Delos* XXVII, 362, E228.
- <sup>5</sup> *Delos* XXVII, 365.

### 6. Stamped Amphora Handles of Italian Origins —●

- <sup>1</sup> Desy 1989, 415
- <sup>2</sup> *Tell Atrib*, 137, No. 194 ; Desy 1989, 63f.
- <sup>3</sup> Desy 101, No. 710.
- <sup>4</sup> Criscuolo (1982), 129, Nr. 186.
- <sup>5</sup> *Tell Atrib*, 140



## IV HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

### 1. The Tomb of Petosiris and the Introduction of Greek Amphorae in Middle Egypt

The archaeological site of Tuna el-Gebel near modern Mallawi covers the extensive necropolis of ancient Hermopolis, the administrative as well as religious center of the 15th nome of Upper Egypt. The site is located exactly on the boundary between the fertile Nile valley and the barren Western Desert. Today several funerary buildings of Hellenistic and Roman date in the whitish sand are visible on the ground, while there is a labyrinth of corridors full of the mummified remains of ibis and baboon under the ground. The famous tomb of Petosiris is one of the most conspicuous and well-preserved relics in the site.<sup>1</sup> It was excavated and partially reconstructed by a French team directed by Lefebvre early in the last century.

The tomb-chapel of Petosiris is composed of a square main chamber and an open *pronaos*. The inside walls of both chambers as well as the monumental facade are decorated with depictions in elaborate low relief and colorful wall paintings. A rectangular shaft of 8 meters depth leads to the underground funerary chamber, where the beautifully decorated wooden coffin of Petosiris, now exhibited in Cairo museum, was discovered. The hieroglyphic texts on the wall tell us that this building was constructed by Petosiris, who was a high priest of Thoth in Hermopolis for seven years in the reign of Philippos Arrhidaios, as the tomb-chapel for his family.<sup>2</sup>

It is true that the building complex itself is interesting from the architectural point of view, but the most remarkable feature of this tomb is doubtlessly the unique representations in the *pronaos*. As Bowman notes, the many vivid scenes on its wall are striking for their predominantly Greek style because they date to pre-Ptolemaic or very early Ptolemaic period.<sup>3</sup> Apparently this iconographic evidence suggests that there must have been some particular reason for this local elite to adorn his funerary monument with traditional Egyptian theme in the Greek way of representation. It may be possible to surmise that the artists were Greeks, or were trained in the Greek artistic tradition. But the compositional arrangement is distinctly Egyptian in style and the hieroglyphic texts attached to the relief make it difficult to suppose that they were the works of Greek sculptors. Thus it is reasonable to assume that the sculptors as well as the owner of the tomb were familiar with such daily scenes with various Greek cultural elements. But is it possible to prove this hypothesis through archaeological evidence?

The most easily recognizable Greek feature is the clothes worn by the people working in the field or making religious ceremonies. But clothes are unsuitable for archaeological argument simply because they were rarely preserved even in the arid climate of Egypt except for funerary context. Instead, one of the most promising scenes is the series of depictions of wine-production.

The wine-making scene is represented on the lowest column of the western wall of *pronaos*.<sup>4</sup> The sequence starts from the right end, where peasants and children are lively harvesting grapes under the wine trees full of bunches. To the left of them there is a treading bed, on which four peasants holding a cross bar high above their heads are treading on the grapes. The juice pours

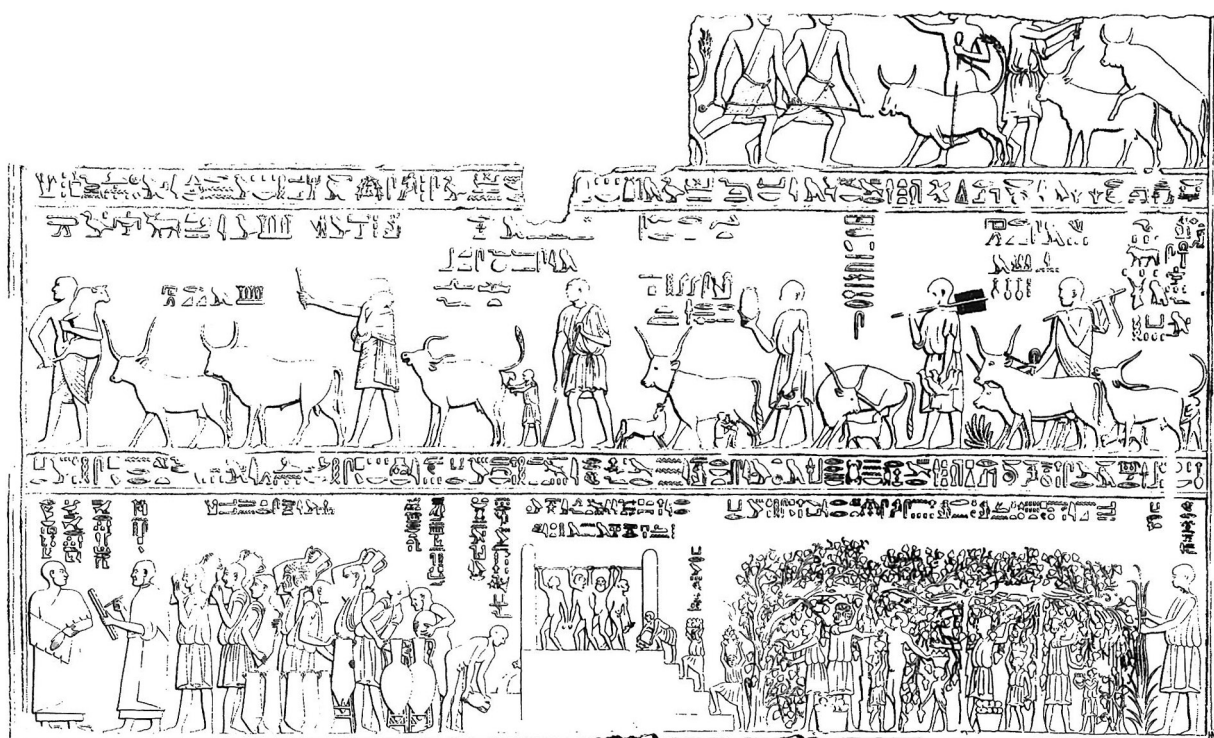


Fig. 27 Relief decoration on the west wall of the *pronaos* of the Tomb of Petosiris (after Lefebvre 1923).

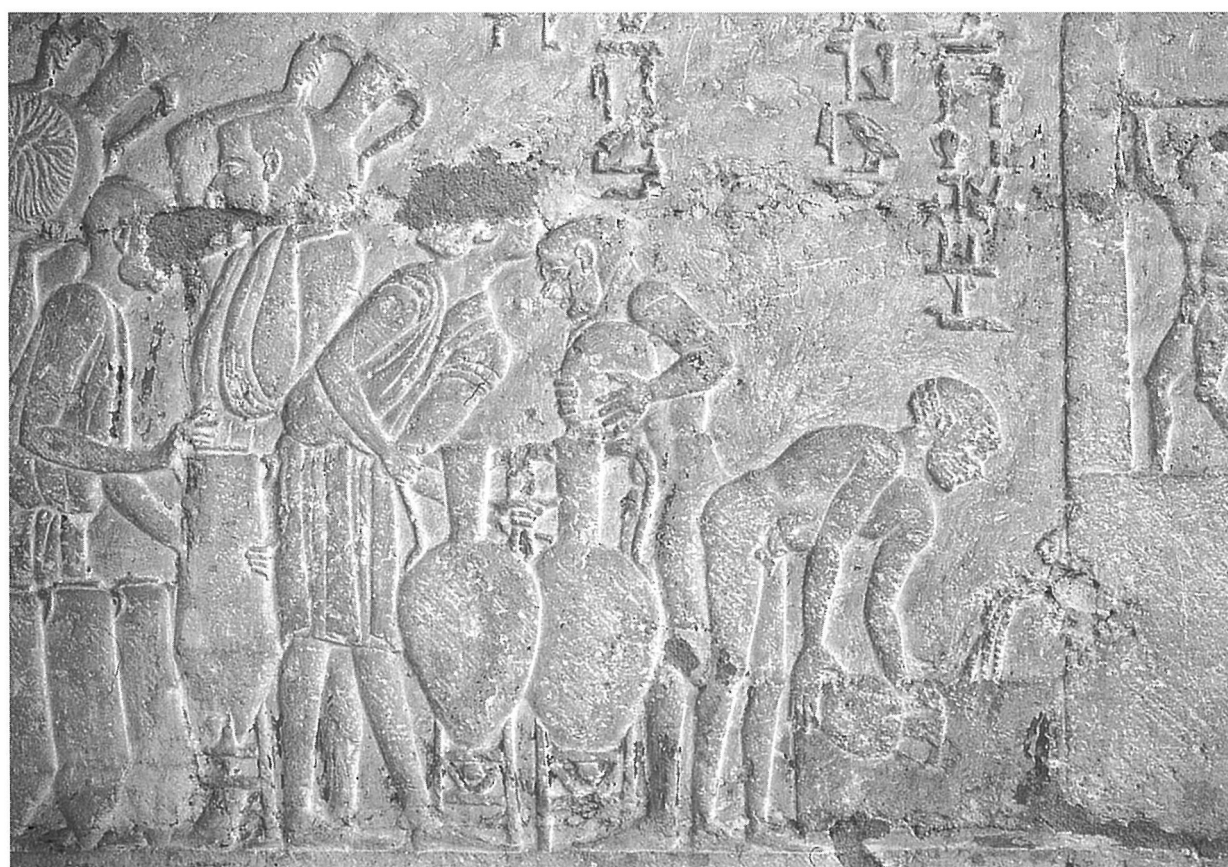


Fig. 28 Representation of amphorae in the *pronaos* of the Tomb of Petosiris.

out from the spout of the pressing bed and is collected by two men with small jugs in their hands. It is then poured into larger containers (amphorae) placed on the ground for fermentation and storage (Fig. 27). On the left end four peasants are carrying the containers with a scribe who holds a pen and a papyrus to record the products. The man wearing a mantle and sandals, who is overseeing the whole work from the left is Petosiris, the owner of the tomb.

Wine had been produced in Egypt since the Pharaonic period and wine-making scenes were often depicted on the wall paintings of the tombs of high-ranking officials such as Nakht.<sup>5</sup> The wine-making scene of the Tomb of Petosiris evidently follows this tradition, though it is remarkable that there are several novel elements that are not observable in the Pharaonic period. For example, the spout of the treading bed has the shape of a lion's head, which is a distinctive feature of the spouts of the Greco-Roman times. One of the treading beds discovered in the suburbs of Alexandria has exactly the same shape of spout.<sup>6</sup>

But the most notable feature of the whole scene is the highly realistic representation of amphorae (Fig. 28). Clearly two different shapes of amphorae are represented simultaneously in exactly the same context. One has elongated spherical body and a tall neck with two vertical handles. There are four amphorae of this shape; the two are standing on latticed stands and the other two are carried on the shoulder of the peasants who are approaching Petosiris. The other has a cylindrical barrel-shaped body, flat shoulders and a short everted rim. Two small handles are attached on the uppermost part of the body. Nine such amphorae are depicted on the scene; one stands on the latticed stand, another one is being lifted, two are carried, and other five pieces are put directly on the ground.

It is beyond doubt that the former type represents a typical Greek commercial amphora. Amphorae of this type were widely used in the eastern Mediterranean in the Hellenistic and Roman times for the purpose of transporting various kinds of liquid products, especially wine. Examinations of the stamps put on their handles suggest that a large number of amphorae containing Greek and Italian wine were imported into Hellenistic Egypt. As I have stated above in the introduction to Chapter III, we have found 353 stamped handles of Greek and Italian amphorae at Akoris. The total number of imported Amphorae into this site must have been much greater since almost one third (4358 out of c.12300) of the total sherds excavated in 1998 derive from amphorae. Thus it seems not problematic at first sight to find the representation of such imported Greek amphorae in a tomb of the local elites in Middle Egypt. But when we try to identify the exact date and provenance of the type of amphora depicted on the wall of the Tomb of Petosiris in the archaeological contexts, we are obliged to face some puzzling questions.

The origins of the Greek transport amphorae can be traced in the seventh century Corinthian amphorae that have been excavated in Corinth and Italian colonial cities.<sup>7</sup> These earliest examples have a relatively short neck with two small handles. By the end of the fourth century BCE several types of amphorae of different origins had been distributed in the Mediterranean, most notably Mendeian, Lesbian, and Thasian amphora. They usually have a swollen spherical body with a short funnel-like neck, which becomes narrow toward the rim. The handles are also modest in size.

But the shape of the amphorae depicted on the wall of the Tomb of Petosiris has rather peculiar characteristics. Although the body is still spherical, it has more slender profile than that

of the Mendeian or Lesbian amphora. It has a long straight neck, which slightly flares out toward the rim, and a pair of conspicuous large handles. In other words, it shares the features not of the amphora of Classical date but of the standardized Hellenistic amphora. Although many types of Greek amphorae have been found in Egypt, e.g. Chian, Koan, and Knidian, by far the most popular type is Rhodian. It may be natural to expect to find a vast amount of Rhodian amphorae, for Rhodes had become the most important commercial partner of Egypt since the latter half of the fourth century.<sup>8</sup> More than a hundred thousands of Rhodian stamped handles have allegedly been found in Alexandria and at Akoris almost 80% of the excavated stamped handles derive from Rhodian amphora. This suggests that the model of the Greek amphorae depicted in the Tomb of Petosiris might have been the imported ones from Rhodes.

But there is a serious chronological problem. While it is generally supposed that the Tomb of Petosiris was built toward the end of the fourth century, perhaps c. 300 at the latest, the export of Rhodian amphorae begun about the same time and the amount of the imported Rhodian amphorae in Alexandria increased dramatically only in the latter half of the third century, after c. 240. Only two alternative hypotheses may explain this situation; the export of Rhodian amphorae to Egypt begun earlier than hitherto considered and the amphorae reached Middle Egypt immediately after their unloading at Alexandria, or the decoration of the *pronaos* was executed much later than the construction of the tomb toward the end of the fourth century. But the latter hypothesis, though very fascinating by itself, is difficult to sustain in the present circumstances for two reasons.

First, as far as we know, Petosiris was the last native elite who could build his own family tomb-chapel according to the traditional Egyptian style with fairly grandiose scale. If we take the latter hypothesis, we must completely reconsider the social position of local elites in early Ptolemaic period. It is surely an important issue for the future investigations, but now I would like to turn our attention to the second reason, the chronology of the second type of amphora depicted in the relief.

This type of amphora, which has cylindrical body with two small handles on the uppermost part, is known as Levantine or Phoenician storage jar. A number of such amphorae have been discovered in the Mediterranean world under the Phoenician influence. According to Sagona, the amphorae depicted on the wall of the Tomb of Petosiris belong to his type 11, the chronological span of which extends from the sixth to the end of the fourth century.<sup>9</sup> This may be a negative evidence to date the representation later than the building of the tomb itself in the end of the fourth century.

Thus the iconographic evidence from the Tomb of Petosiris strongly suggests not only that the typical Hellenistic amphora of Greek, perhaps Rhodian, origin had already been imported into Egypt in the end of the fourth century but also that it had been perceived as *the* normative shape of the containers for wine even in the countryside of Middle Egypt. Relatively little is known about the Rhodian amphora in its earliest phase, though it may be remarkable that 343 out of 404 amphorae recovered from the Kyrenian wreck are Rhodian.

Is it possible to corroborate through evidence of other sites the idea that the relatively sudden propagation of Greek cultural elements did occur in the *chora* of Egypt at the end of the fourth century? At Elephantine, for example, many Levantine amphorae of the Sagona's type 11



have been excavated from Phase 5, which is dated to the late Saite to early Persian period.<sup>10</sup> There is also a single fragment of an amphora of Greek type with a short curved neck. Levantine amphorae are still popular in Phase 6a (fourth century) though they begin to decline in Phase 6b (third century) and entirely disappear in Phase 7 (late third – early second century). In contrast with Levantine amphorae, Samian as well as Rhodian amphorae appears first in Phase 6b and Greek amphorae of various origins predominate in Phase 7.

Thus the evidence from Elephantine clearly shows that the change from Levantine to Greek amphorae took place about the same time with the construction of the Tomb of Petosiris. The change is of course not limited to the shape of amphora. The whole ceramic assemblage seems to have changed drastically at the end of the fourth century with the introduction of such common Hellenistic shapes as the round saucer with inverted rim or jar with painted decoration. Archaeological evidence from Elephantine or Akoris apparently shows that the process of this Hellenization of material culture was not confined to the area in the immediate vicinity of Alexandria but spread out throughout the Egyptian *chora* in a relatively short time.

But how could such rapid cultural change take place in Egypt at the beginning of the Hellenistic period? Surely one reason was the influx and the following settlement of Greek population en masse, the policy promoted by the Ptolemies in the process of appropriating the traditional administrative system of rural Egypt. But the relief of the Tomb of Petosiris suggests that there were other factors which contributed to this cultural change. It should not be overlooked that inside the tomb the Hellenized scenes are concentrated on the walls of pronaos, while the main chamber is adorned with predominantly traditional Egyptian motives. Did he deliberately exploit the Greek representations that were totally irrelevant to the real circumstances in order to show them to the Greeks? Graffiti in Greek left on the walls clearly indicate that his tomb-chapel became the place of pilgrimage in later times. But it is demonstrably incorrect to suppose that Petosiris adopted the Greek scenes for that reason alone, since the facade of the building is decorated again with Egyptian themes. Material culture surrounding Petosiris and his peasants had really been changed although their religious belief was highly conservative.

The iconographic as well as archaeological evidence suggests that the material culture of Egyptian rural villages changed rather suddenly in the late fourth century or early in the third century.<sup>11</sup> Greek cultural elements such as amphorae of Greek types seem to have penetrated quite rapidly in the life of the rural population. But what was the main factor that brought about this conspicuous phenomenon? Apparently it was not a passive response of the ruled to the imposition of the culture of the rulers. The decoration of the Tomb of Petosiris indicates that the process was promoted, in part at least, by the inclination of the indigenous people themselves toward the newly introduced Greek cultural elements.

As has been argued elsewhere, several Greek-style religious facilities including a typical Doric temple and a stoa were built in Hermopolis sometime in the first half of the third century.<sup>12</sup> The remains of these buildings also suggest that Hellenization in the local cultural landscape was not only forced by the ruling Greeks but also advanced with the initiative of the local elites. Without the active corroboration of the native population this drastic cultural change had never been materialized.



An extended version of this appendix will be published in *Journal of School of Letters, Nagoya University*, Vol. 1, 2005, forthcoming.

<sup>1</sup> G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris*, 3 vol., Cairo 1923–24.

<sup>2</sup> W. Huss, *Der makedonische König und die ägyptischen Priester: Studien zur Geschichte des ptolemaïschen Ägypten*, Historia Einzelschriften 85, Stuttgart 1984, 117; B. Menu, 'Le tombeau de de Pétoisiris, nouvel examen', *BIFAO* 95, 1994, 311–27.

<sup>3</sup> A. K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs 332 BC–AD 642*, London 1986, 102.

<sup>4</sup> Lefebvre, *op.cit.* 60–63.

<sup>5</sup> For the production of wine in general, see P.T.Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, Cambridge 2000, 577–608.

<sup>6</sup> J.-Y. Empereur, 'La production viticole dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine', in M.-C. Amouretti and J.-P. Brun (eds.), *Oil and Wine Production in the Mediterranean Area*, BCH Suppl. XXVI, Athens 1993, 39–47.

<sup>7</sup> For the concise history of Greek transport amphora, see V. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade*, Excavations of the Athenian Agora Picture Book No. 6, rev.ed., Athens 1979; I. K. Whitbread, *Greek Transport Amphorae: A Petrological and Archaeological Study*, Athens 1995.

<sup>8</sup> [Dem.] 56, 29; Diod.20.81.4. For the Amphora trade of Rhodes, see J. Lund, 'Rhodian Amphorae in Rhodes and Alexandria as Evidence of Trade', in V. Gabrielsen et al. (ed.), *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, Culture, and Society*, Aarhus 1999, 187–204.

<sup>9</sup> A. G. Sagona, 'Levantine Storage Jars of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century to the 4<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.', *Opuscula Atheniensi* 14, 1982, 85–86.

<sup>10</sup> D. A. Aston, *Pottery from the Late New Kingdom to the Early Ptolemaic Period*, Elephantine XIX, Mainz 1999.

<sup>11</sup> It should be noted here that very few imported or Hellenized artifacts have been recovered from the successive excavations at the Late Period settlement area at Akoris since 2002.

<sup>12</sup> See, Chap. IV, 2.

## 2. A Greek Architraval Inscription at Hermopolis

The archaeological site of el-Ashmunein, ancient Hermopolis, is located about 40km south of el-Minya on the western bank of the Nile valley, 5.5km from the Nile river and 6.5km from the edge of the western desert. Today the settlement area spreads about 1500m from north to south and about 1000m from east to west, but the ancient remains have largely been destroyed due to the high groundwater level and the indifference of the local villagers to the antiquities.<sup>1</sup>

One of the few remnants of the glorious days of this famous religious center of Thoth in late antiquity is a reconstructed granite colonnade of Christian Basilica in the so-called Greek Agora. In front of this Basilica there are five limestone blocks bearing fine Greek letters in three lines, discovered in 1945 by É. Baraize below the level of the Basilica on the north.<sup>2</sup> The total length of these blocks reaches almost 11m, indicating that they were once parts of a large-scale building of typical Greek style. In fact the finely executed triglyphs above the inscription clearly shows that these blocks constituted an architrave of a monumental peripteral Doric temple (Fig. 29).

Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι τῶι Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης, θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν, καὶ βασιλίσσῃ Βερενίκηι  
τῇι ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναικὶ  
θεοῖς Εὐεργέταις, καὶ Πτολεμαίωι καὶ Ἀρσινόῃ θεοῖς Ἀδελφοῖς τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὸν ναὸν καὶ  
τὰ ἄλλα ἐν τῷ τεμένει  
Καὶ τὴν στοάν, οἱ τασσόμενοι ἐν τῷ Ἑρμοπολίτῃ νομῶι κάτοικοι ἱππεῖς, εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκεν τῆς  
εἰς αὐτοῦς.



**Fig. 29** General view of the Greek inscription on the architrave of a Doric temple at Hermopolis.

The text is composed of three sections. The first half of the inscription (ll. 1–2) stipulates the identity and official title of the dedicatees, the royal couple of Ptolemy III and that of Ptolemy II, both in dative case. According to the fictitious royal genealogy, Ptolemy III is regarded as the son of Ptolemy II and his sister and wife, Queen Arsinoe II, the Sibling Gods, while he was the son of Ptolemy II and Queen Arsinoe I, daughter of Lysimachos, in reality. Again, Queen Berenike is called the sister of Ptolemy III as well as his wife, contrary to the fact that she was daughter of King Magas of Cyrene, not of Ptolemy II. The royal couple of Ptolemy III is explicitly referred to as Gods Benefactors. After this lengthy introduction of the main dedicatees, the names of the subsidiary dedicatees are put simply as Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the Sibling Gods.

The second section (ll. 2–3) enumerates the details of the objects of the dedication. Four kind of religious equipment and facilities are mentioned in accusative case. *Agalmata* were the statues of the two deified royal couples that were necessary in the local dynastic cult. These statues must have been enshrined in a temple (*naos*), which stood in a sacred precinct (*temenos*) along with other religious facilities. An independent portico (*stoa*) was also dedicated, though it is not certain whether it was located inside or outside the sacred precinct.

The last section (l. 3) specifies the identity of the dedicator in nominative case and the reason of their dedication. The text declares that the dedication was made by the cavalry soldier-settlers (*katoikoi hippeis*) established in the Hemopolite nome in order to express their gratitude toward the Ptolemies. It is generally supposed that the benefaction (*euergesia*) of Ptolemy III was related

to the contribution of the king in the Third Syrian War (246–241). Accordingly, the inscription is dated to sometime around 240 BCE.

Thus, the message conveyed by this inscription leaves no ambiguity at first sight. The cavalry soldier-settlers decided to dedicate various religious buildings in honor of their Greek ruler. The structure of the text also follows the standard, rather commonplace, convention of Greek dedicatory inscriptions of the Hellenistic times.<sup>3</sup> But what draws our attention is its archaeological context, since extensive remains of a Ptolemaic sanctuary demarcated by mud-brick walls has actually come to light at the site. Doubtlessly the large-scale project announced in the inscription was not a fictive propaganda but seems to have entailed real building activities, since the text itself is inscribed on the surface of an actual architrave of a Doric temple.

As Wace observes, the importance of these remains lies in the fact that this was a first Ptolemaic sanctuary with buildings constructed in the Greek style ever found in Egyptian *chora* at the time of its discovery. Certainly there were also several other settlements with prominent Greek style buildings in Ptolemaic Egypt, not to mention the three major cities, Alexandria, Naukratis, and Ptolemais. For example, Philadelphia, where town was laid out on an orderly Greek model, had distinctive Greek cultural institutions such as a gymnasium, a theater, and a stoa.<sup>4</sup> But Philadelphia was after all a typical newly founded town of the third century with predominant Greek settlers in the community, while Hermopolis was a prestigious traditional center of Egyptian cult with influential local priestly families.

In the light of this archaeological evidence, it is necessary to reconsider the message of this inscription not as an isolated text but as an element of the general cultural and historical landscape of Hermopolis.

One of the most conspicuous features of the dedication allegedly made by the cavalry soldier-settlers at Hermopolis is the extraordinary scale of their building program. Although the physical evidence at the site as well as the architraval inscription itself may prove that the project was really completed, the general circumstances make it fairly difficult to accept the epigraphic message so literally.

First, how could the soldiers procure the necessary funds to make such extravagant dedication? The contents of the dedication are rather worthy of the Ptolemaic rulers or priests of high ranking than the secular corporate body of soldiers stationed at a rural town. For instance, the inscription over the gate of the temple of Philae proudly promulgated that the royal family of Ptolemy III dedicated the temple to Isis and Harpolrates.<sup>5</sup> The famous foundation plaques of Alexandrian Sarapeion also proclaim that Ptolemy III dedicated a temple (*naos*) and a sacred precinct (*temenos*) to the God Sarapis.<sup>6</sup> A temple and a sacred precinct were also dedicated by certain Moschos, priest of the Phrygian mother-goddess Agdistis, in honor of the royal couple of Ptolemy II.<sup>7</sup> Virtually such costly dedications seem to have been monopolized by the Ptolemies and other individuals of highest social standing.<sup>8</sup> There are, of course, several inscriptions recording the building activities by military commanders or soldiers.<sup>9</sup> A *phrouarch* (a commander of a fortress), in cooperation with the members of the Heracles-association, is known to have made reconstruction of the Arensnuphis temple of Philae.<sup>10</sup> The infantry and cavalry soldiers as well as the others stationed at Kom Ombo dedicated a temple to Apollo and the *synnaoi theoi* on behalf of Ptolemy VI and his wife Kleopatra II.<sup>11</sup> But we cannot simply compare these modest dedications

with such apparently lavish dedication by the soldiers at Hermopolis. Fraser suggests that necessary funds might have been supplied from royal sources, but no evidence may endorse this hypothesis.<sup>12</sup>

Secondly, how could the soldiers patiently wait for the completion of the large-scale project for a long time? If the archaeological remains of the Ptolemaic sanctuary at Hermopolis correspond to the building program declared in the architraval inscription, it surely took many years to accomplish the necessary works. The construction of the famous temple of Horus at Edfu, which begun in 237 BCE, was continued until its consecration in as late as 70 BCE. Although the Ptolemaic sanctuary at Hermopolis must have been far more modest than that of Edfu, it could not have been materialized in a couple of years. Hence there must have been substantial time lag between the decision of the soldiers and the completion of the relevant works.

These reflections lead us to suspect that there was not necessarily a causal relationship between the inscription and the archaeological remains on the site. At first glance this observation seems contradictory to the evidence, though in fact it is not. It is equally possible to assume that the soldiers cut the inscription on the architrave of the building that had already been built by the local priests and had stood there prior to their decision to dedicate them to the Ptolemies.

It is not without reason to assume that some Greek style religious buildings were already present in Hermopolis well before the mid-third century BCE. Regarding the relatively early introduction of Hellenistic elements in this region, the famous Tomb of Petosiris of the late fourth century BCE, which is located in Tuna el-Gebel, the necropolis of Hermopolis, is very informative (Chap. IV, 1). Petosiris was a priest of Thoth who belonged to a member of the local nobility of Hermopolis.<sup>13</sup> The fact that Petosiris did not hesitate to adorn his family tomb-shrine with such innovative style indicates that local elites of Hermopolis were willing to accept Greek culture already in the late fourth century BCE. This phenomenon suggests not only that they have already been well accustomed to the Hellenistic cultural conventions but also that they were disposed to utilize them for specific purposes. Thus it is reasonable to suppose that the local priests might not have objected to adopting such exotic style for the religious buildings in their precincts.

If these speculations are correct, what was the possible reason for the cavalry soldier-settlers to inscribe the public message that it was they, not the local priests, who dedicated these Greek-style religious buildings? Why did the priests of Thoth allow them to do that? To examine these points, we should turn our attention to the exact date of this dedication.

No inscription, in particular a monumental one, would be set up by anyone without definite motivations to transmit a specific message toward the others, and the architraval inscription of Hermopolis must have been no exception. If so, who was the expected recipient of the message in this case? The most probable candidate is none other than Ptolemy III. But was there any possibility for the king to look at the inscription by himself, who governed the Egyptian *chora* "from outside", i.e. from the remote metropolis of Alexandria?

Recently Clarysse collected the documents related to the probable sojourns of the Ptolemies in various provincial towns in Egyptian *chora* and suggested that one of the advantages of these royal visits was a more direct contact between the kings and his subjects.<sup>14</sup> In his collection there are several papyri suggesting, though indirectly, the royal visit of Ptolemy III to Fayum in late 243

to early 242. On this occasion, Philinos, a wealthy friend of Zenon, held a special banquet in Philadelphia and asked Zenon to send a bottle of sweet wine and other provisions in a hurry in order not to miss the presence of the king.<sup>15</sup> Two papyri from Tebtunis also show the situation that a special wagon was ordered upon the request from the king and best wine was procured.<sup>16</sup> It appears that a tense atmosphere prevailed over the officials in Fayum, as the new king visited there for the first time after his succession in 246.

If the royal family continued the journey as far as Philae on this occasion and made the famous dedication to Isis and Harpokrates mentioned above, it is almost certain that they also visited Hermopolis en route. In that case, there must have been some reaction to the royal visit among the local officials and priests of Hermopolis, too. It is most probable that soldier-settlers inscribed the text exactly on this occasion in order to show their loyal obedience to the new king. But why were they obliged to perform such singular textual activity following the Greek convention in the traditional religious center of Egyptian God? What was the nature of relationship between the Egyptian temple and the Ptolemaic royal army?

Recently Dietze observed that most of the temple dedicatory inscriptions in the south (Kom Ombo, Philae, Debod, Elephantine) dated from the reigns of Ptolemy VI or Ptolemy VIII. Since the role of army in securing this area must have been greatly enhanced after the end of the great secession of the south, the significance of the great temple as the place of encampment must have been increased. The kings reinforced the link between the army and the temples, since the temples played an even more important role in the south than in other regions, where Greek influence had been more strongly felt.<sup>17</sup>

These observations by Dietze may be helpful in interpreting the social context of the architrave inscription at Hermopolis. Although the exact nature of the relationship between the soldier-settlers and the local priests of Hermopolis in the mid-third century BCE is not clear, it is reasonable to suppose that the soldiers were stationed in or near the sacred precinct of Thoth and already kept a close relationship with the temple. When the royal family visited the sanctuary, both the soldiers and the priests must have felt it necessary to express the royalty to the kings in an explicit way. We cannot tell who took the initiative in the decision to engrave the text as public inscription, but there must have been some special reason for them to co-operate. But for the mutual understandings between them, an inscription recording the ostensible dedication could not have been engraved on the architrave of a temple. What, then, was the condition to make them co-operate in the whole process?

In his monograph on the relationship between Ptolemaic kings and the native priests, Huss has made an interesting observation that the toponym of Hermopolis frequently appears in the documents alluding to the hostile mentality or obvious opposition against the foreign rulers.<sup>18</sup> The evidence is inevitably scanty, but there seems to be good reason to suppose that the priests of Hermopolis were known to be potentially critical to the Ptolemies.

This reputation may have mirrored the self-confidence of the local elites of Hermopolis, but surely it must have been a risky one in the presence of the rulers. Ptolemy III had just returned from his campaign from Mesopotamia (the Third Syrian War) because of an uprising of the local Egyptians, the first of its kind in Ptolemaic history.<sup>19</sup> To declare the obedience to the king through the inscription was thus a profitable action for the residents of Hermopolis irrespective



of their social status. Although only the soldier-settlers were named as the dedicants of the religious buildings in the inscription, it should not be overlooked that this epigraphic text could not have been generated without the concession, or perhaps the initiative, of the Egyptian priests to engrave it on the architrave of a temple of their sanctuary.

It may seem rather curious that the priests did not express their loyalty in more direct way. But native Egyptians never made a dedicatory inscription in Greek in Hellenistic times (thus many priestly decrees containing Greek text, such as Rosetta Stone, were always engraved in two languages side by side). This was an important epigraphic habit of Ptolemaic Egypt, and those Egyptians who wished to make dedicatory inscription in Greek language disguised their identity as if they were Greek in origin by adopting Hellenized names (Chap. IV, 3).

The historical as well as social contexts examined here strongly suggest that the monumental dedicatory inscription at Hermopolis was engraved on the architrave of the existing Doric temple when Ptolemy III visited this famous sanctuary in 243 or 242. But there remain two significant questions to be answered. Why did the residents of Hermopolis choose the Greek-style temple as the stage for the public announcement of their loyalty to the Ptolemies? And why could they adopt such a refined epigraphic formula in generating the text?

It is a well-known fact that the Ptolemies paid particular attention to the native Egyptian temples and the priests in governing their extensive territory. The Egyptian temples were powerful landholders with developed economic institutions as well as formidable centers of cult, thus "no resident ruler could afford to antagonize the gods of Egypt".<sup>20</sup> The Ptolemies were in fact the ardent promoters of native religion and almost all the major temples constructed by them were dedicated to the Egyptian gods. Even the Ptolemies themselves were deified not as the independent gods but as the temple-sharing gods, who share the temple with other Egyptian deities.

Accordingly the temples were consistently built in accordance with the Egyptian architectural tradition. Greek style temples were extremely rare and they were built only in Alexandria and in several towns in the Lower Egypt, where Greek immigrants were the majority. As Dietze observes, it is in these Egyptian temples that most Greek dedicatory inscriptions have been found *in situ*. Dietze summarizes the message conveyed by the Greek inscriptions at the entrance to a temple, e.g. in Edfu or Philae, as follows: we do not build our own temples for our own gods, but your temple is our temple, because your gods are our gods.<sup>21</sup>

Under this peculiar circumstance, what was the decisive reason for the residents in Hermopolis to inscribe the specific message in Greek on a rare Greek-style temple? Although the text refers only to the role of the soldier-settlers, the above discussion makes it evident that the local priests played the leading part in the process of generating the epigraphic text. Since it must have been equally possible for them to inscribe the message on the blocks of other buildings of Egyptian style, it seems fairly certain that the Greek temple was deliberately chosen for the purpose of transmitting the following message: we build your temple for your gods, and our temple is your temple, because our gods are your gods. Perhaps as the Ptolemies generally tried to emphasize the intimate relationship between the rulers and local inhabitants through the various benefactions to the Egyptian temples, the Egyptian priests at Hermopolis might have attempted to evade the suspicion of Ptolemy III through the message on a conspicuous Greek

temple.

As for the refined formula of the text, I would like to stress again the significance of the lively cultural as well as economic exchange between Alexandria and Middle Egypt in the early Hellenistic times (Chap. IV, 1). Not only the iconographic evidence from the Tomb of Petosiris, but also the archaeological evidence from our own investigations at ancient Akoris eloquently testifies that local elites of Middle Egypt had ample opportunity to come in touch with the Greek cultural milieu of Alexandria and of the wider Eastern Mediterranean world. Although the diachronic process of Hellenization of the city of Hermopolis is still obscure, many architectural fragments in Greek style left on the site, such as Corinthian and Ionic columns, suggest that there was once a regular Greek shrine otherwise unknown in the Egyptian *chora*.

By way of conclusion, I should reiterate my point that the architraval inscription at Hermopolis is not a static record of a routine religious activity but a good illustration of the dynamic contention between the rulers and the local elites in Ptolemaic Egypt by means of an inscribed “text”.

The original idea has been published as ‘Social Context of an Architraval Inscription at Hermopolis: Further Thoughts on the Text and Politics in the chora of Ptolemaic Egypt’, *SITES* 2, 2004, 1–9.

<sup>1</sup> For the recent review of the topography of the city area of Hermopolis, see R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, London 2002, 238–242.

<sup>2</sup> A. J. B. Wace, ‘Recent Ptolemaic Finds in Egypt’, *JHS* 65, 1945, 109; É. Bernand, *Inscriptions grecques d’Hermoupolis Magna et de sa nécropole*, Caire 1999, n° 1.

<sup>3</sup> B. H. McLean, *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy of the Hellenistic and Roman Periods from Alexander the Great down to the Reign of Constantine (323 B.C. – A.D. 337)*, Ann Arbor 2002, 246–259.

<sup>4</sup> J. Rowlandson, ‘Town and Country in Ptolemaic Egypt’, in A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 2003, 255.

<sup>5</sup> *OGIS* 61.

<sup>6</sup> Wace, *op.cit.*, 108.

<sup>7</sup> *OGIS* 28.

<sup>8</sup> For the sacred building programs by the Ptolemies, see G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, London 2001, 85–87.

<sup>9</sup> G. Dietze, ‘Temple and Soldiers in Southern Ptolemaic Egypt’, in L. Mooren (ed.), *Politics, Administration and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World, Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Bertinoro 19–24 July 1997*, Leuven 2000, 80 and n.6.

<sup>10</sup> *I. Phil.* I, 2.

<sup>11</sup> *OGIS* I, 114.

<sup>12</sup> P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford 1972, 234.

<sup>13</sup> W. Huss, *Der makedonische König und die ägyptischen Priester: Studien zur Geschichte des ptolemäischen Ägypten*, Historia Einzelschriften 85, Stuttgart 1994, 137–8.

<sup>14</sup> W. Clarysse, ‘The Ptolemies Visiting the Egyptian Chora’, in Mooren (ed.), *op.cit.* n.9, 29–53.

<sup>15</sup> *P. Lond.* VII, 2056.

<sup>16</sup> *P. Tebt.* III, I, 748 and 749.

<sup>17</sup> G. Dietze, *op.cit.* n.9, 88.

<sup>18</sup> Huss, *op.cit.* n.13, 182.

<sup>19</sup> Just XXVII.1.9; Porph. *FGrH.* 260 F43. Hölbl, *op.cit.* n.8, 49.

<sup>20</sup> D. J. Thompson, ‘The Ptolemies and Egypt’, in Erskine (ed.), *op.cit.* n.4, 112.

<sup>21</sup> Dietze, *op.cit.*, 78.

### 3. A Rock-cut Dedicatory Inscription for Ptolemy V in Akoris

At some time in the early second century BCE a section of the steep cliff to the south of the modern village of *Tehneh*, ancient Akoris, was carefully cut and smoothed to make a square vertical rock surface. A three-line dedicatory inscription in fine Greek letters with a representation of two sitting Egyptian deities underneath was then carved on the surface, which was emphatically framed by a solid quadrilateral band. Even today the inscription is one of the most conspicuous ancient relics for those passing through this district along the eastern bank of the Nile, especially in the sunset when the shining sun above the western desert throws glorious light on the imposing cliff.

This dedicatory inscription is now known as *OGIS* 94. The cuttings of large clear letters are very carefully executed and leave no ambiguity for reading.

Ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου  
θεοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς μεγάλου Εὐχαρίστου  
Ἀκωρις Ἐργέως Ἰσιδι Μωχιάδι Σωτεῖραι

The complicated epithets in the first two lines give fairly precise date of this inscription. We know from the famous Rosetta stone that on 17 March 196 the Egyptian priests of higher rank who assembled at Memphis to celebrate the ritual accession of the young Ptolemy V called the new king with these lengthy titles. Since the name of Queen Kleopatra I, to whom Ptolemy V married in the winter 194/3, is not yet mentioned in the text, it is generally supposed that the date of this inscription falls between 197 and 194/3. The *hyper*-phrase definitely shows that it is to this king that the whole dedicatory action was made.

The third line begins with a personal male name (H)Akoris followed by a patronymic Ergeus in genitive. At first sight both names seem to suggest the Greek origin of the dedicant, though it is not the case, as neither Akoris nor Ergeus has ever been attested in the documents of Greek homeland. His prosopography will be discussed below. The goddess to whom Akoris dedicated something not stipulated in the text is called the saviour goddess Isis of Mochias. As for the enigmatic epithet Mochias some scholars supposed that Mochias should instead be read as Lochias and they sought a relationship with the name of the famous promontory of Alexandria. But as has aptly been discussed by Bernand, this epithet must have derived from the toponym Mochites, which turns up in the papyrological evidence as the name of the toparchy around the site.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the text itself makes it fairly clear that the inscription announced that Akoris, son of Ergeus, dedicated something to the local savoir goddess Isis in honour of Ptolemy V. But what did he dedicate to the goddess? Since the name of a goddess is referred to in the text, it must be something related to the sacred installments or building, such as a temple (*naos*), a statue of the goddess (*agalma*), and/or sacred precinct (*temenos*).<sup>2</sup> In fact a flight of well-preserved ancient stairs ascend from just bellow the inscription to a heavily corroded small rock-cut chapel. Though destroyed largely by the later quarrying activities, a relief of a typical Hellenistic votive alter with a flaring rim is still discernible on the recess of the chamber.





**Fig. 30** Monumental rock-cut inscription for Ptolemy V at Akoris.

If, as we can conjecture from its spatial relation with both stairs and inscription, this rock-cut chapel is in fact the temple of Isis Mochias, its moderate scale and humble appearance are rather striking. Surely it does not match the pomposity of the inscription, which should have turned the attention of those passing along the cliff up to the temple. The location of the chapel also raises doubt about the role of this chapel as the center of important religious activities. The plan of the inhabited area of Akoris shows that it had been articulated diachronically by two religious foci, which developed into the Western Temple (the so-called temple of Nero) and the Central Temple (Sarapeion) respectively. This Isis temple, however, is located just behind the butte near the saddle, which was used primarily as necropolis of the settlement.

These observations lead to the speculation that not the temple but the inscription itself was the primary concern of the dedicant. If his message was directed only to the ruler Ptolemy V, there must have been no reason to cut such a monumental inscription. A comparison of it with another inscription of Roman date, which was discovered at Akoris by our team in 1981, will further illuminate the point.<sup>3</sup> This Roman inscription declares in Greek that a sacred precinct (*to peribolon*) to the gods Souchos and Ammon was dedicated in honour of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus (Caligula). Although both inscriptions share the almost same formula, their size is again quite different. The physical dimension of the latter is far closer to that of *OGIS* 87. This comparison makes it fairly clear that the motives for cutting a large-scale inscription as *OGIS* 94

were quite different from those for setting up the normal dedicatory inscriptions in general. Then, what was the real intention of Akoris to make an announcement of his dedicatory action through the rock-cut inscription? To answer this question we must turn our attention to the prosopography of the dedicant.

Recently Clarysse collected the mainly papyrological documents referring to the name Akoris in Egypt and made an interesting prosopographical remark.<sup>4</sup> According to him the name Akoris is attested only in Middle Egypt concentrating Hermopolis and Oxyrhynchus in the late Ptolemaic to Roman period. He paid special attention to the fact that one Euphron enjoyed exceptional treatment from the court during the sixth Syrian war due to the services his father Akoris had previously given to the Ptolemies (P. Köln IV 186). Since the Greek name Euphron is a perfect translation of the Egyptian name *Hrj.w* and the latter is usually transliterated in Greek as Erius or Ergeus, Clarysse reconstructed a genealogical tree of three generations and identified this Akoris with Akoris in the epigraphic evidence. He also pointed out that Akoris in SB V 8257 (=P. Col. VIII 208) is not a toponym but the name of this very personage. Though I cannot claim any philological competence to examine his hypothesis, the general course of his inference is fairly attractive. Akoris was then a prominent nobleman of native origin in the Hermopolite nome.

But several questions arise regarding this proper name. Historically the most famous figure of this name is the king Akoris of the 29th Dynasty, who reigned early in the fourth century (390–378). Was there any connection between this king and Akoris in *OGIS* 94? Since relatively few information is available about this king except for his foreign policy, in particular his alliance with Euagoras of the Cypriot city of Salamis, the reasoning of his personal background is obliged to be speculative in nature. But a fragmentary relief of Akoris at Tod near Karnak deserves close attention. On this relief Akoris as sun priest and a baboon in front of him are worshipping the rising sun.<sup>5</sup> The baboon represents one of the most important Egyptian gods Thoth, whose center of worship was Hermopolis. This iconographic evidence suggests that the king Akoris might have had some relationship with this area. This impression will be strengthened when we recall the fact that his successor Nectanebo I also paid great attention to the cult of Thoth and carried out large building project at Hermopolis.

It is thus very tempting to assume some connection, either genealogically or imaginary, between the name of this king and that of a man of prominence who lived in the Hermopolite nome two centuries later. That they shared the same Egyptian name *Hgr* may be merely fortuitous, but what is decisively important is the fact that *Hgr* in the second century must have had the knowledge that the *authentic* transliteration of his name in Greek was Akoris and nothing else. We cannot rule out the possibility that *Hgr* might have tried to remind Greeks of his hereditary, though perhaps fictitious, high social position.

On the other hand, the link between Akoris as person's name and Akoris as toponym is more difficult to elucidate. Clarysse suggests that Akoris received the village of Tennis as *dorea* from the Ptolemies for his loyalty during the great uprisings in the south (see, below). This suggestion seems attractive at first sight, though it is difficult to imagine that such a strategically important place was generously given to a local elite. It is also worth remembering that even the largest *dorea* of the Ptolemaic period, an estate with 10,000 arouras in Philadelphia given to Apollonios the *dioiketes* by Ptolemy II, did not rename the area to, say, Apollonia or something like that.

The evidence taken together suggests that Akoris of the inscription was an influential man of the Hermopolite nome, who boasted an ancestrally prominence tracing back to the king Akoris of the Mendesian Dynasty. If these lines of inference are correct, what was his intention to cut the inscription in question?

At the time when the temple of Isis Mochias was dedicated by Akoris in honour of Ptolemy V, the *chora* of Egypt was in the midst of serious political turmoil caused by a civil war. In 206 a major revolt of native population broke out in southern Egypt and soon the rebels made the leader Herwennefer their own pharaoh in Thebes. Chaonnophris succeeded him around 200, who continued the rebellious war with the aid from Nubia. Although Thebes seems to have been temporarily retrieved by the Ptolemaic force in 199, Upper Egypt was almost an independent kingdom for twenty years until Komanos, the commanding general of the Ptolemaic force, defeated Chaonnophris at the end of August in 186. This civil war must have caused severe deterioration in the local societies, where *anachoresis* are known to have occurred frequently.<sup>6</sup>

An epistolary papyrus, though fragmentary in preservation, provides important insights into the role of Akoris in the final phase of the civil war. The papyrus SB V 8257 mentions a certain Komanos “of the first friends” and a boat sent by him with some commodities (*chremata*). The last phrase of this document is difficult to interpret, though it has usually been translated as «until its reception by those who are stationed at Akoris». It is now widely agreed that this Komanos is one and the same person with Komanos who successfully commanded the Ptolemaic force at the great campaign against the Upper- Egyptian revolt. He is also supposed to have had the honour to become the first *epistrategos* of the *chora* due to his distinguished contribution to the Ptolemaic Dynasty in the civil war.<sup>7</sup> It has even been suggested on the basis of this papyrus that Komanos had his headquarters in the town of Akoris.<sup>8</sup>

If we accept the recent argument by Clarysse, who interprets Akoris in this document not as a toponym but as a personal name, the above conjecture about the headquarters of Komanos loses its basis. The alternative idea of Clarysse is that Akoris was apparently an ally of Komanos and that his contributions to the Ptolemies were referred to in another document, which we have seen above (P. Köln IV 186). I totally agree with his conclusion on this point.

It is, nevertheless, not pertinent to underestimate the naval importance of the place which was under the control of Akoris at that time and later called just by this name. The importance of this place in the Nile traffic is well attested in the dossier about Dionysios, son of Kephalas. For example, in the document dated 16 December 108, Dionysios, son of Kephalas, who loaned thirty-three and a third artabs of wheat from Dionysios, son of Askepiades, is ordered to repay the loan with interest on the stipulated date at the port of Akoris (*epi ton kata ten Akorios hormon*). This phrase, which seems to have been the standard form to indicate the port of this town, appears twenty times in the seventeen documents out of the total of forty-three Greek papyri belonging to this corpus. These documents as well as the papyrus regarding the boat of Komanos amply testify the importance of the place in the transportation system through the Nile in the Ptolemaic period and possibly also in the Roman period.<sup>9</sup>

Our investigations at the site of Akoris have also confirmed the significance of the river-port of Akoris, which must have situated near the northern tip of the settlement area. Numerous fragments of commercial amphora excavated from this area testify that various goods, amongst

others the precious imported wines, had been discharged here from the ships sailing the river up and down. The large limestone blocks, quarried from the nearby ridge and shaped into the suitable form for water carriage, were loaded on the boats and headed for the thriving metropolis. Thus the strategic importance of the site of Akoris in the inland communication along the Nile valley must not have been overlooked by Kommanos, who was fighting against the native population in the south.

The evidence taken together suggests that the central motive of Akoris to have cut the grandiose inscription on the prominent cliff was to make an ostentatious display of his political position in the midst of the great civil war. Our inscription was not a static record of erecting a new local sanctuary but was a positive declaration toward the ruling Greeks by a native elite. What the dedicant as well as the local community in which he exercised his informal power desired to appeal was the fact that they were ally of the Greek rulers and their mainly Greek soldiers commanded by a Greek general. To meet this purpose, it was necessary to transmit their message in Greek through the cutting of conspicuous dedicatory inscription with an authorized wording.

Ancient Egypt has often been perceived as a cultural entity, which was extremely uniform throughout ages. In fact, though, despite the easy communication through the Nile valley, tension between central control and local particularism was a constant feature of Egyptian history.<sup>10</sup> In the Ptolemaic period in particular, the balance of Two Lands, the northern 'Greek' Egypt and the southern 'native' Egypt must have been most precarious, which brought about the great uprising of native populations in the reign of King Ptolemy V. During this difficult period, the villagers and the local elites of Middle Egypt, which is located in the middle of the two political centers, must have constantly been urged to decide their position in accordance with the change of political circumstances.

In the light of this historical background, the textual behavior of Akoris engraved in *OGIS* 94 has remarkable features, which pose two profound questions. Firstly, why did Akoris dare to make clear his position by means of the bold inscription as early as in the middle of the 190s, when the consequence of the revolt was still not certain?<sup>11</sup> Here again the archaeological data are most informative. Through our excavations at the north edge of the site, it has become apparent that the life at this village in the early Ptolemaic period was extremely Hellenized. Domestic utensils such as coarse ware show strong affinity with that of the East Mediterranean world under predominant Greek influence. This situation would not have been resulted without the close communication with Alexandria, the capital of the Ptolemaic Dynasty. To put it another way, Akoris in the early second century was too dependent on Alexandria to betray the Greek rulers governed from there. As has been suggested earlier, it must have been the stones from the nearby limestone quarries that connected this provincial community with the cosmopolitan metropolis. A Roman dedicatory inscription of the reign of Domitianus (82/83 A.D.), which was rediscovered by us in 2003 field season, proudly tells that Titus Ignatius Tiberianus, a centurion of the Legio III Cyrenaica, dedicated an altar to Zeus the greatest and that he supplied stones for the pavement (*strosis*) of Alexandria. Probably the stones from the quarries near Akoris were also used in the Ptolemaic period to adorn the capital.

Secondly, why did Akoris adopt the large-scale rock-cut inscription, which is least

conventional in Greek epigraphic habit, as the means to convey his political message? The question is surely more difficult to answer than the first one. My inclination, however, is to say that local epigraphic tradition exerted some influence on his choice of this rather unusual textual behavior. Besides our inscription, there are other ancient rock-cut inscriptions left in the vicinity of our site. Of special importance is the presence of a large cartouche of Rameses III and his representation with gods Amun and Sobek on the cliff to the south of the site. Even the famous boundary stela U of Amarna, which measures about 7.6m from top to bottom and occupies the entire height of the cliff to the north of the entrance to the Royal Wadi, might have been a model of the Hellenistic rock-cut inscription. It was perhaps these pharaonic relics on the cliff that gave him the idea to cut a monumental inscription for the purpose of displaying his political position.

The results of our textual examination of *OGIS* 94 and that of the archaeological investigations at the site nearby throw, thus, new light on the local politics of Middle Egypt in the middle Hellenistic times, when the districts were in the midst of serious social confusion. Our inscription shows vividly how a local elite attempted to cope with this critical situation by means of his highly original textual behavior.<sup>12</sup>

This essay is an abridged version of the paper published as ‘Texts and Local Politics in the *chora* of Ptolemaic Egypt: The Case of *OGIS* 94’, *SITES* 1–1, 2003, 1–12.

<sup>1</sup> A. Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines d'Akoris*, Caire 1988, no. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Chap. IV, 2.

<sup>3</sup> The Paleopological Association of Japan, Inc. (ed.), *Akoris: Report of the Excavations at Akoris in Middle Egypt 1981–1992*, Koyo Shobo 1995, 327–8; *IGLA* no. 2.

<sup>4</sup> W. Clarysse, ‘Hakorīs, An Egyptian Nobleman and His Family’, *Ancient Society* 22, 1991, 235–243. Although Clarysse and other Egyptologists correctly use the aspirated form Hakoris in accordance with the demotic notation *Hgr*, I will use the traditional spelling Akoris throughout this paper in order to avoid confusion.

<sup>5</sup> K. Mysliwiec, *The Twilight of Ancient Egypt: First Millennium B.C.E.*, Ithaca and London 2000, Fig. 46.

<sup>6</sup> For recent discussions of this uprising, see G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*, London 2001, 153–159 and W. Huss, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit 332–30 v.Chr.*, München 2001, 506–503.

<sup>7</sup> About Komanos and his career I learned much from the unpublished dissertation on the Ptolemaic bureaucracy by M. Fujimori of Tohoku University.

<sup>8</sup> H. Hauben, ‘The Barges of the Komanos Family’, *Ancient Society* 19, 1988, 211; Hölbl, *op.cit.* n.6, 156.

<sup>9</sup> As for the Roman period it should be noted that a *trierarchos* named Casius Rufus made a dedication to Amun and Souchos at the temple of Nero in Akoris (*IGLA*, no. 14). This votive inscription suggests that Akoris remained an important naval base well into the Imperial times.

<sup>10</sup> J. G. Manning, ‘The Land-tenure Regime in Ptolemaic Upper Egypt’, in A. Bowman and E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times*, Oxford 1999, 84; J. Rowlandson, ‘Town and Country in Ptolemaic Egypt’, in A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 2003, 249.

<sup>11</sup> Ankhwennefer is attested as pharaoh at Thebes in the seventh year of his reign (195) and his retreat began only in the beginning of the 180s. Höbl, *op.cit.* n.6, 156.

<sup>12</sup> For the revaluation of the role of local elites in the Ptolemaic Egypt, see A. B. Lloyd, ‘The Egyptian Elite in the Early Ptolemaic Period: Some Hieroglyphic Evidence’, in D. Ogden (ed.), *The Hellenistic World: New Perspectives*, London 2002, 117–136.



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## INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES ON AMPHORA STAMPS

Rh Ep = Rhodian Eponym, Rh Fab = Rhodian Fabricant, Kn = Knidian, Ko = Koan,  
Ch = Chian, Nik = Nikandros group, It = Italian, Unk = Unknown provenance.

### Greek names

Ἀγέστρατος	Rh Ep	1–2
Ἀγήσιππος	Rh Fab	125
Ἀδαίος	Ko	280
Ἀθανόδοτος	Rh Ep	3
Αἰτόριδος	Unk	291
Ἀλεξιάδας	Rh Ep	4
Ἀλεξίμαχος	Rh Ep	5–9
Ἀμύντας	Rh Fab	126
Ἀνάξανδρος	Rh Ep	10–11
Ἀναξίβουλος	Rh Ep	12–14
Ἀνδρίας	Rh Ep	15–16
Ἀνδρικός	Rh Fab	127
Ἀντίμαχος	Rh Fab	128–129
Ἀρατοφάνης	Rh Ep	17
Ἀρατοφάνης	Rh Fab	130
Ἀριστᾶναξ	Rh Ep	18
Ἀριστίων	Rh Fab	131–132
Ἀριστόγειτος	Rh Ep	19–22
Ἀριστόδαμος	Rh Ep	23
Ἀριστοκλῆς	Rh Fab	133–136
Ἀριστόμαχος	Rh Ep	24–25
Ἀριστομβροτίδας	Rh Ep	26
Ἀρίστων	Rh Fab	137
Ἀρτεμί[δωρος]	Unk	311–312
Ἀρχιλαΐδας	Rh Ep	27–30
Ἀρχοκράτης	Rh Ep	31
Ἀστυμήδης	Rh Ep	32–34
Αὐτοκράτης	Rh Ep	35
Ἀφροδίσιος	Rh Fab	138
Βάκχιος	Rh Fab	139
Βουλάρχος	Kn	276
Βρόμιος	Rh Fab	140–145
Γόργων	Rh Ep	36

Δαμαίνετος	Rh Ep	37
Δαμοκράτης	Rh Ep	38–39
Δαμοκράτης	Rh Fab	146–151
Δάμος	Unk	295
Διόδοτος	Rh Fab	152
Διόκλεια	Rh Fab	153
Δῖος	Rh Fab	154
Διόφαντος	Rh Fab	155
Δρακοντίδας	Rh Fab	156
Δωρίων	Rh Fab	157
Ἑλικών	Rh Fab	158–159
Ἑλλάνικος	Rh Fab	160
Ἐνισκος	Unk	296
Ἐπίγονος	Rh Fab	161
Ἑρμίας	Rh Fab	162–164
Εὐδαμος	Rh Ep	40–42
Εὐκλειτος	Rh Fab	165–167
Εὐκρατίδας	Rh Ep	43–45
Εὐφράνορ	Rh Fab	168
Ζήνων	Rh Fab	169–172
Ἡραγόρας	Rh Ep	46
Ἡραῖος	It	346
Ἡράκλειτος	Rh Fab	173–176
Ἡφαιστίων	Rh Fab	177–180
Θεύμναστος	Rh Fab	181–184
Ἰάσων	Rh Fab	185
Ἰέραξ	Rh Fab	186
Ἱεροκλῆς	Rh Fab	187
Ἰέρων	Rh Ep	47–48
Ἰέρων	Rh Fab	188–193
Ἰμας	Rh Fab	194–201
Ἱπποκράτης	Rh Fab	202–209
Κλευκράτης	Rh Ep	49
Κόσμος	Rh Fab	210
Κότης	Rh Fab	211



Κρό[νιος]	Ch	284
Λαφείδης	Rh Ep	50
Λεοντίδας	Rh Ep	51
Λίνος	Rh Fab	212
Μαρσύας	Rh Fab	213–215
Ματρόδωρος	Rh Fab	216–217
Μέλανος	Nik	288–289
Μενέστρατος	Nik	290
Μίδας	Rh Fab	218–223
Μυτίων	Rh Ep	52
Νάνις	Rh Fab	224–225
Νικάνδρος	Nik	285
Νικασαγόρας	Rh Ep	53–54
Νικασικράτης	Unk	303
Νικίας	Rh Fab	226
Νύσιος	Rh Fab	227–231
Ξερόκριτος	Ko	283–283
Ξενοφάνης	Rh Ep	55
Ξενοφάντος	Rh Ep	56–59
Ξενοφῶν	Rh Ep	60
Παγχάρης	Rh Fab	232
Πάπας	Rh Fab	233–235
Παυσανίας	Rh Ep	61–73
Πεισίστρατος	Rh Ep	74
Πίστος	Rh Fab	236
Πλάτων	Nik	286–287
Πολέμων	Rh Fab	237
Πολυάρατος	Rh Fab	238

Πολύξενος	Rh Fab	239–240
Ποσιδώνιος	Unk	306
Πρωτογένης	Rh Ep	75
Πυθογένης	Rh Ep	76–81
Πυθόδωρος	Rh Ep	82–84
Σωκράτης	Rh Fab	241–242
Σωπάτρος	Unk	307
Τεισαγόρας	Rh Ep	85–88
Τιμάρατος	Rh Fab	243–245
Τιμόδικος	Rh Ep	89–90
Τιμόθεος	Rh Ep	91
Τιμόξενος	Rh Fab	246
Τιμούρροδος	Rh Ep	92–95
Τιμῶ	Rh Fab	247–254
Τυχῶν	Unk	309
Χαρμοκλῆς	Kn	279

**Latin names**

APOLLONIDES	It	335
ANINIVS	It	336–339
ARCHE(LA?)	It	340
ASTOR	It	341
CERD	It	343
HANNO	It	344
KOTEMVS	It	348
NV.RV	It	350



