



## Imported Hellenistic Stamped Amphora Handles and Fragments from the North Sinai Survey<sup>1</sup>

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### Introduction

The 1972–1978 archaeological survey of North Sinai (›The North Sinai Expedition‹) encompassed an area of ca 2000 square km, which included the ›Ways-of-Horus‹, part of the all-important long-distance trade route, the ›Via Maris‹<sup>2</sup>. Consequently the recovery of quantities of fragments of transport amphoras was to be expected. This is especially true of the

- 1 I would like to thank Eliezer D. Oren for his invitation and support to study this material towards publication. My research continued from 1993 through April 2007, when the comprehensive opus of Herbert Verreth (VERRETH 2006) became available to me. Some of the amphora material, added here, used Verreth's work, despite the fact that I had no opportunity to locate a few of the original articles which he cited. Like Verreth, who completed his work in 1998, and continued to add to it, but ultimately realized that publication was preferable to perfection, my research on the Hellenistic stamped amphora handles and fragments from the North Sinai Survey was first completed in 1993, but continued to undergo revision. The latest significant revision, in 2007 as noted, was followed by the addition of some comments on the coin finds from the North Sinai Survey, when a draft of Robert Kool's unpublished report appeared on the internet, it itself having been completed in 2007.

It is appropriate to cite some newly-published key research that was not consulted here. In addition to the few items appearing as *non vidi* in the bibliography (these are partially ›covered‹ by VERRETH 2006), the main book that was not consulted is by Ino Nicolaou (NICOLAOU 2005). Also not examined were the four volumes of the ›Lexicon of Eponym Dies on Rhodian Amphora Stamps‹ by Gonca Cankardeş-Şenol (CANKARDEŞ-ŞENOL 2015–2017). As a result, the identities for the eponym stamps were not checked. Nathan Badoud's important work, since 2007, on Rhodian amphoras, culminating in his magnum opus (BADOUD 2015), which included discoveries that impact on the Rhodian stamping practices, is not used here. It will take quite some time before Badoud's results will be properly digested. As the key works of Finkielsztein (esp. FINKIELSZTEJN 2001) have been used, one can rest assured that the dates provided here are quite well founded, even for 2017.

Most references here to information from the files of the Athenian Agora project were culled during a visit there by the author in October 1993. The visit was supported by the Athenian Agora Project and the Tel Anafa Project. Thanks to Carolyn G. Koehler, Maria Savvatianiou-Pétopoulakou, Andreas Dimoulis, and Sharon C. Herbert. All references in the following catalogue to information provided by the late Virginia R. Grace (where not otherwise noted) date to that visit. I also benefited from the physical examination of some of the finds by Gérald Finkielsztein. Thanks are also due to Yaffa Vaknin-Naftalovitch for her administrative assistance, Patrice Kaminsky for arranging the images and making the plates, and Finkielsztein again for his significant support during the revision periods.

- 2 FIGUERAS 1985–1988; ARTHUR – OREN 1998, 193; For the North Sinai Expedition, see OREN 1993a, 1386.

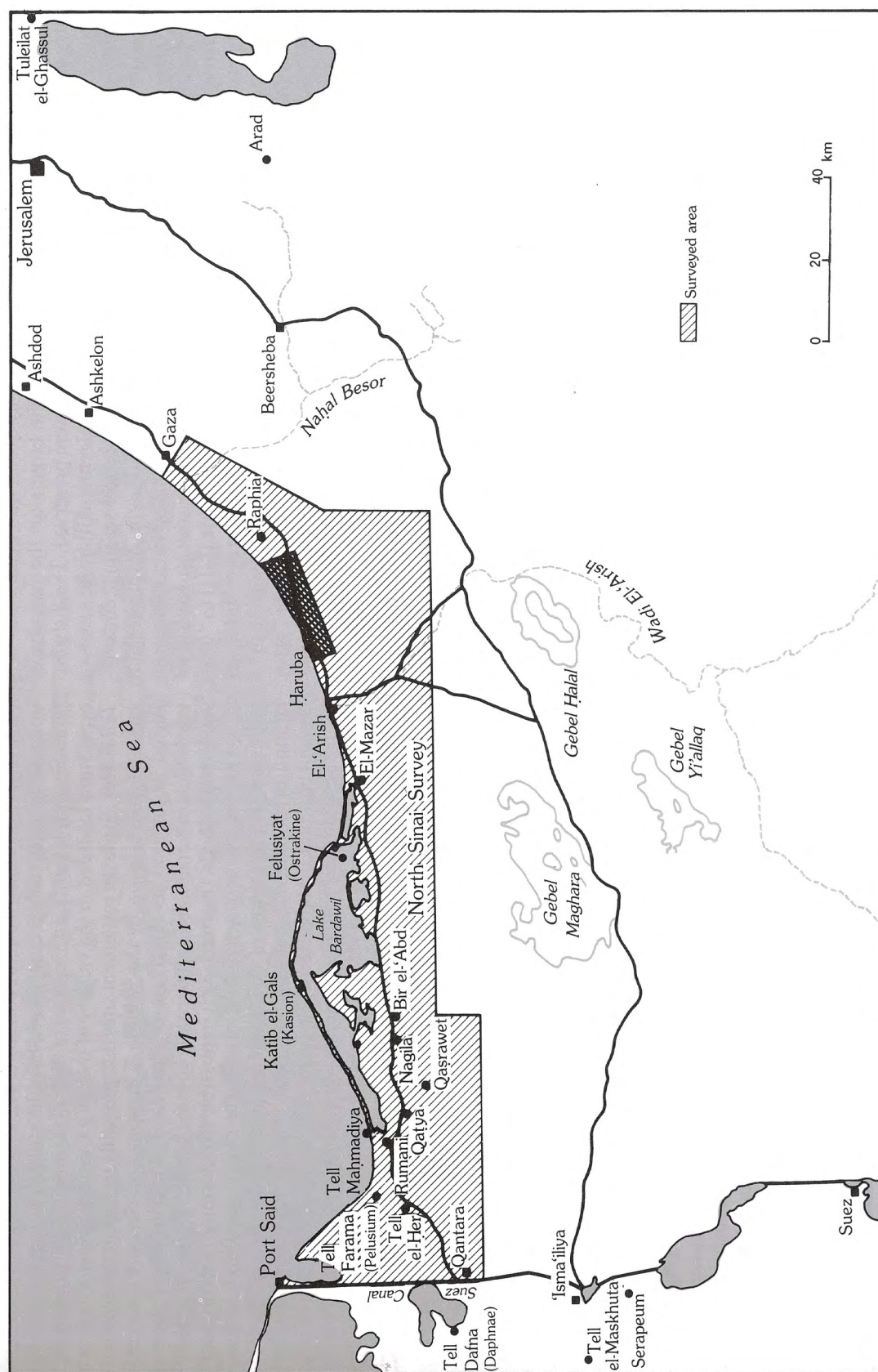


Fig. 1: Map of North Sinai Survey (from OREN 1993a, 1387).

major coastal stations known from ancient written sources. In fact, out of 1,300 settlement sites recorded, and more than three hundred of these with »Hellenistic and principally Roman« remains<sup>3</sup>, most of the stamped material come from three of these stations, Pelusium (T-300)<sup>4</sup>, Tell el-Her (T-58D)<sup>5</sup> and Qasrawet (D-50 to D-54)<sup>6</sup> (**fig. 1**).

The amphoras in this report comprise the Hellenistic transport amphora material which was considered to be imported. Much if not most of the amphora material found in the survey was probably imported to the North Sinai, and not produced there, being the vessels containing the perishables (generally liquids) carried by the traders plying the »Via Maris«. This assemblage consists of the amphoras broken during transport, or left behind by traders for any of a number of other reasons. This report is divided into two sections. The first deals with stamped amphora handles. The second relates to unstamped amphora fragments.

Although we noted that much if not most of the amphora material was probably imported, the fragments which, based upon their ware, appear to derive from the Delta, or elsewhere in Egypt, west of the Sinai, have been considered by us also to be local. Consequently, the material treated here is actually the imported amphora finds *excluding* the Egyptian material, the latter having been included in the local category<sup>7</sup>. This imported amphora material comes from further afield: notably from Italy, the Northern (Black Sea?) region, Anatolia and especially its nearby islands: Kos, Chios (?), Rhodes and Cyprus. Preliminary reports of the survey and its associated excavations have also mentioned material from Athens, Samos, Lesbos<sup>8</sup>, Knidos<sup>9</sup>, Corinth and Tripoli<sup>10</sup>. The first three may be references to pre- or post-Hellenistic amphoras, as material of those classes have not been identified in the material seen by us. The last two sources, Corinth and Tripoli, are explicitly designated as Hellenistic, but again, were not identified by us. The amphoras in this report are Hellenistic. One stamped handle, **68**, dates to the 4th century BCE, and so could also be Persian. The chronological range of other (unstamped) fragments may continue into the 1st century CE.

Earlier amphora finds from the area of the North Sinai Survey have been read and reported. Clédat published six stamped Rhodian handles from excavations at Qasrawet (D-50 to D-54 in the survey)<sup>11</sup>. Petrie and Ellis' *Anthedon, Sinai* produced amphora material from Tell el-Zuweid<sup>12</sup>.

Amphora material found in Franco-Egyptian researches after the North Sinai Survey have also been published<sup>13</sup>. Carrez-Maratray, Wagner, el-Taba'i and el-Gindi published 67 Hellenistic amphora stamps from the area of Pelusium (T-300), 59 from Tell el-Farama and 8 from Tell el-Her<sup>14</sup>. Most are Rhodian, but a certain number came from Egypt or Italy. Excavations at Tell el-Mufariq near Tell el-Her in northwestern Sinai yielded 32 stamps with

3 OREN 1993a, 1394.

4 OREN 1993a, 1394.

5 OREN 1993a, 1394.

6 OREN 1993a, 1394; OREN 1993b.

7 To roughly gauge the relationship between what I am calling the actual imported amphora finds and the Egyptian material, at Tell el-Her (T-58D) Verreth cited (general) pottery percentages of »other imports« at 53 % and »Egyptian imports« at 47 % (VERRETH 2006, 776).

8 ANONYMOUS 1977, 56.

9 OREN 1993b, 1215 = VERRETH 2006, 665.

10 ARTHUR – OREN 1998, 197.

11 CLÉDAT 1912, 165–168 = VERRETH 2006, 666–669.

12 PETRIE – ELLIS 1937. Tell el-Zuweid = Tell Temilat or Tell Abu Selima; VERRETH 2006, 227–231, nos. 4–26; a single find there is noted by Clédat (CLÉDAT 1915, 48 no. 42) and noted in VERRETH 2006, 231 no. 27; R-51 in the North Sinai Survey; OREN 1993a, 1393.

13 Noted by ARTHUR – OREN 1998, 194 note 5.

14 CARREZ-MARATRAY ET AL. 1996.

Greek inscriptions, most from Rhodes<sup>15</sup>. Additional amphora fragments are noted from the excavations after 1985 in the region<sup>16</sup>. In those excavations it is likely that stamped amphora handles also were found.

### I. Stamped Amphora Handles

In the North Sinai Survey Hellenistic amphora fragments were found in 163 sites, out of a total of some 1300 sites of all periods. Some 28 sites were excavated and in a further 21 sites more intensive surveys were conducted. These latter two operations yielded most of the 76 stamped handles, which were found in nineteen sites<sup>17</sup>. Sixty-four stamped amphora handles belonged to the Rhodian class. Of these 38 were well identified. The other classes represented were Koan (65–67), Kourioti (68), Zenon Group (69), and Latin (mostly Brindisian; 70–76)<sup>18</sup>. In this report no attempt is made to grapple with the question of the spatial distribution of the different classes, or even of the different chronological ranges of the finds, over the many sites in the survey in which they were found. Some remarks may be found on this issue in ARTHUR – OREN 1998, 197 and 209.

A full 60 % of the stamped handles derive from seven excavations that were conducted – at six sites – in conjunction with the survey. In five sites only one stamped handle was found: BM-010 (76), R-10 (64), R-21 (48), R-51 (1), and T-150 (60). In the sixth site (T-58D / T-58E) 41 stamped handles were excavated. Of these, all but one (8 in T-58E) were uncovered in T-58D (Tell el-Her; 3–6. 9–10. 12–18. 20–32. 36. 39–40. 50–56. 66. 68. 70. 75). In other words, while the first section of this report purports to relate to surveyed material, most of the stamped handles in fact derive from one site. A similar example of this was seen in the survey of the Western Galilee<sup>19</sup> where more than 35 % of the material derived from one site (Tel 'Emeq, Site 34). In both cases, in the great majority of the surveyed sites which yielded stamped handles, only one handle was found. Standard archaeological surveys rarely yield large numbers of such finds. Consequently the numbers of eight handles from Pelusium (T-300) and nine from Qasrawet (D-50 to D-54) should certainly be viewed as significant. In the Tel 'Emeq site noted above, the disproportionate number of stamped handle finds did not derive from the survey *per se*, but were found at the site over a period of years, and added to the other surveyed material. In the case of the North Sinai Survey site T-58, excavations were conducted in the wake of the survey. For the latter site, therefore, a great deal more may ultimately be able to be said about the handles, when the details of their contexts are published.

The 40 stamped handles from Tell el-Her (T-58D) derived from twelve contexts (100. 300. 301. 302. 303. 400. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505). These were designated loci, but the question of their specific definitions, and the stratigraphic ranges of the dates of those finds are great, at least 65 years for L. 302, and at least 32 years for L. 40020. A third case, L. 505, is more promising

15 ABDALLAH ET AL. 1996 = VERRETH 2006, 784.

16 ARTHUR – OREN 1998, 194 note 5.

17 We included in this number the stamped handle of a lagynos (63) which, although not deriving from an amphora, is generally studied with amphora finds. Unstamped lagynoi are also considered (below).

18 An additional handle, never seen by us, may be pl. 5, 9 below.

19 ARIEL 2001.

20 I also examined Kool's conclusions about the coins from Tell el-Her (Kool unpublished), because of the disproportionately high number of stamped amphoras from there. In general, almost 30 % of the coin finds of the North Sinai Survey date to the Hellenistic period. Almost 90 % (62 coins) of these come from the nearby sites in the Pelusium area (Pelusium [T-300] and Tell el-Her [T-58D]), which, in fact, are 10 km apart. Kool found that the Hellenistic coins from Tell el-Her had the broadest chronological range possible: from the reign of Alexander the Great (no. 4), through a full range of Ptolemaic coins (Ptolemy I – X). Incidentally, Ptolemy X was a contemporary of the Judean King Alexander Jannaeus (104–76 BCE), and, remarkably, a coin of that king was also found at that site. Therefore, both the stamped amphora handles and the coins from Tell el-Her exhibit particularly long chronological spans.



(3. 13. 15. 22. 25). The dates for the five stamped handles from that context fall in Periods II and IIIa (ca 134–190 BCE), but may date to as short a range as ca 205–197 BCE. Unfortunately, no eponym-fabricant combinations were possible for these handles.

It is the excavations conducted at Tell el-Her which created the uneven distribution between the nineteen sites with stamped handles. The finds from there are over five times the quantity deriving from the site with the next largest number (Qasrawet, 9 handles). The three largest sites (Pelusium, Tell el-Her and Qasrawet) produced roughly three-quarters of the stamped amphora handles found in the survey.

Two classes may have items falling outside of the Hellenistic period. They are the Kouriotote class (in our case 4th [–3rd?] century BCE)<sup>21</sup>, and the Latin class, where stamps of course also date from the Roman period. In the latter case, all of the better identified stamps are Brindisian, i.e., date to the 1st century BCE. This too straddles the Hellenistic period, at its lower limit.

The predominance of Rhodian stamps vis-à-vis the other classes is in keeping with the plentiful finds of stamped amphora material in Egypt (especially Alexandria) and Syro-Palestine<sup>22</sup>.

For the Rhodian class, Virginia R. Grace's chronological frameworks have long provided a quite secure basis for dating, including dating of sites and other classes. Grace's 1974 refinement<sup>23</sup> heralded the introduction of – within a small range of error – exact years (for eponyms) or ranges of years (for fabricants) into discussions of specific stamps. G. Finkielsztein's researches raised a problem with Grace's framework vis-à-vis her Period IV<sup>24</sup>. This problem has brought Finkielsztein to propose a revised chronology, changing in effect Grace's dates for Periods I through IV. Grace's published datings for names (until and including Period IV) are roughly eleven years earlier than Finkielsztein's chronology. Finkielsztein's chronology has been adopted here. All dates given as specific years derive from summary tables in FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 188–195, unless otherwise noted.

### Chronological Distribution

The value of surveyed material is enhanced by the quantities involved. This assemblage of stamped amphora handles and other amphora fragments, while not small, is not large enough to draw any far-reaching conclusions, especially when considering the fact that they derive from a large number of far flung sites in a region with not a small amount of geographical diversity. Additional complexity is added by two factors: the strategy of artefact recovery (only diagnostic sherds were ultimately saved), and the current level of knowledge of the typology of Hellenistic amphoras and wares, at least on the part of the author. The surveyed ceramic material was first sorted to separate the amphora material. Afterwards, the imported amphora fragments were separated from the local material, and a typology was made. The author then attempted to sort the Hellenistic amphora fragments from earlier and later types. This was an extremely difficult task (see below, unstamped amphora fragments section). What resulted was, to a large extent, an assemblage of Rhodian and Koan amphora fragments, along

21 Tell el-Her had significant Persian-period remains (OREN 1993a, Oren 1394), and this is represented both in the amphora stamp and coin finds. The single stamped handle of the Kouriotote class (68) is the only 4th-century BCE handle from the Survey. The only stamped handle from L303 at Tell el-Her (T-58D), it finds a chronological parallel in the find of the only Persian-period coin from the survey, described as a Philistian obol (no. 1). Dated by Kool to the mid-5th – 4th century BCE, but probably late 5th – early 4th century according to the latest chronological thinking, the obol is close in date to the Kouriotote handle. Unfortunately, Kool's draft does not detail the locus, if any, from which it derived.

22 ARIEL 1990, 17 table 1; LUND 1993, 367–369; FINKIELSZTEJN 1995.

23 GRACE 1974a.

24 FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 171–174, and noted also in ARIEL – FINKIELSZTEJN 1994, 215, under SAH 80.

with a few other pieces recalling other Hellenistic classes. Extreme weathering of some pieces complicated their identification even further.

It is therefore no coincidence that the assemblage of unstamped material appears to mimic the stamped finds. Some observations may nevertheless be noted regarding the unstamped material but they are better understood after an examination of the chronological distribution of the stamped handles.

Chronologically, one should begin by examining the site with the most handles: T-58D. This is the only site where one may speak of an internal chronological distribution. There, the earliest dated handles were found (7. 68), as well as one of the latest (75). There, too, almost all of the classes were represented: Rhodian, Koan, Kourioté, and Latin. What may be said is there is no significant difference in chronological distribution between T-58D and the stamped amphora handles from the survey as a whole.

The entire assemblage of stamped handles may now be considered. The chronologically-relevant sample is much smaller than the total of seventy-four handles uncovered. Thirty seven handles of the Rhodian class are well identified and thirty-six are well dated (1–40). The Koan, Kourioté, and Zenon Group classes are only roughly dated as classes. The Latin class as well may all belong to the 1st century BCE (see above). Regarding overall range, then, the Kourioté handle is the earliest (4th [–3rd?] century BCE), and the Latin stamped handles are the latest (1st century BCE). The whole Hellenistic period may therefore be said to be represented. There is also no incontrovertible evidence of gaps within the Hellenistic period. However, looking more closely at the finds of the predominant Rhodian class, some observations are in order. The Rhodian finds from the survey date from the mid-3rd through last quarter of the 2nd century BCE. The less well dated ›Early Rhodian‹ handles (8 and 16) certainly moves the beginning date of the Rhodian class in the survey back to the first half of the 3rd century BCE. This is all the more the case because in fact the production of ›Early Rhodian‹ stamped amphoras was small and sporadic relative to the heyday of Rhodian amphora production in the second half of the 3rd century and the 2nd century BCE.

The small amount of Period V handles (ca 146–107 BCE) and the near absence of Periods VI–VII (ca 107–50 BCE) appears to be more significant, as Period V material was certainly plentiful in Egypt<sup>25</sup>. The latest stamped Rhodian handles date from ca 128 BCE (11) and ca 107 BCE (6). This suggests that the level of trade through the northern Sinai dropped towards the end of the 2nd and early 1st centuries BCE. Such a possible gap finds support in the absence of any stamped handles of the Knidian class, which were most prevalent in the later 2nd century BCE, and appear in Egypt and Syro-Palestine in small but not-insignificant quantities. Of course other classes may have ›replaced‹ the Rhodian and Knidian in the late 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, namely the Koan and Latin (Brindisi) classes. Therefore, it is unwise to posit a more complete break of commerce along those trade routes during that time. Moreover, it should be noted that while the stamped Rhodian amphora material is not found beyond ca 107 BCE, unstamped Rhodian fragments have been identified (figs. 7–14), some dating from roughly the second half of the 1st century BCE.

While caution is in order we can summarize in the following way. The Early Hellenistic period is represented in the bulk of the amphora material. By the mid-2nd century BCE, there is evidence of a drop in commercial activity in the region, or at least along the ›Ways-of-Horus‹ road. This drop, which may actually have been a break, is only known to change with the appearance of handles of the Latin classes, roughly in the 1st century BCE.

This summary for the bulk of the material, however, does not appear to apply to Qasrawet, 8 km southeast of the nearest way station on the road (Qatya). The poorly dated stamped Rhodian and Latin handles from Qasrawet point to a later Hellenistic horizon. Although 41–46 are Rhodian handles with illegible stamps, the profile drawings of 41–45 (fig. 4, 1–5) suggest that they are mostly from the second half of the 2nd century BCE or later. The remaining three

25 GRACE 1985, 42.



stamped handles from Qasrawet bear Latin stamps. 71 is either from a Brindisian or Greco-Italic amphora, and 72–73 are unidentified and undated, but their Latin inscriptions provide generally later dates than the Rhodian material. To this may be added the numismatic material from Qasrawet. Out of 232 identified coins coming from the site, seven are Hellenistic<sup>26</sup>. Kool stated that the range of the Hellenistic material was »Ptolemy VIII – Nabateans« and provided dates of 145–104 BCE<sup>27</sup>. Although the dating of both the Ptolemaic and the earliest Nabatean coin series have changed significantly in the decade since Kool's manuscript, it is nevertheless interesting that his date for the Hellenistic Qasrawet coins also seem to fall in same chronological period as the amphora handles. The coins and the stamped handles of the North Sinai Survey from Qasrawet all seem to provide dates in the second half of the 2nd century BCE and later.

This dating is also consistent with the amphora readings published by Clédat for Qasrawet<sup>28</sup>. All but one<sup>29</sup> of the six Rhodian amphora stamps Clédat published from the site belong in the second half of the 2nd century BCE or later<sup>30</sup>. In addition, the fact that Clédat's finds produced a high number of Latin stamped handles (11) relative to Rhodian handles is congruent with the later date range<sup>31</sup>.

Oren<sup>32</sup> viewed the numerous Hellenistic sherds embedded in the mortar of walls in the Qasrawet temple quarter as evidence of a Hellenistic occupation nearby. In other words, the date of some of the coins and many of the amphora stamps provide a second half of the 2nd century BCE date for the beginning of the as yet undiscovered Hellenistic settlement at Qasrawet. This is a refinement of the general 2nd century BCE date that both Oren<sup>33</sup> and Verreth<sup>34</sup> proposed for the beginning of settlement at Qasrawet.

### Catalogue

The arrangement of the handles and conventions regarding the readings follows FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 213–216. Rhodian stamps with names not read are organized by context.

#### Rhodian stamped handles

- 1 Δ 28628, Context R 51, L. 113 (fig. 2, 1)  
Rectangular stamp, red spot

Ἀγαθοκλεῦς

The fabricant Ἀγαθοκλεῖς 2nd, who placed the month on the stamps bearing the eponym's name, was active in the early 2nd century BCE. Based upon connections noted in JÖHRENS 1998, 63 no. 162 and JÖHRENS 2001, 409 under no. 153, the range of Ἀγαθοκλεῖς 2nd was ca 183–161 BCE at least. Three handles found in the North Sinai apparently belonged to amphoras produced by this fabricant: one from Tell Temilat (CLÉDAT 1915, 48 no. 36 = VERRETH 2006, 227 no. 4) and two from Tell el-Mufariq (ABDALLAH ET AL. 1996, nos. 21–22 = VERRETH 2006, 784).



26 KOOL UNPUBLISHED.

27 KOOL UNPUBLISHED.

28 CLÉDAT 1912.

29 The exception may be CLÉDAT 1912, 165 no. 1 (= VERRETH 2006, 666 no. 4), which Verreth restored as the eponym Ἀριστοφάνης. However, according to FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 179, this eponym is a »floater« and cannot yet be dated.

30 CLÉDAT 1912, 165–168 nos. 1. 11. 14. 21. 23–24 = VERRETH 2006, 666–667 nos. 2–7.

31 For Clédat's Latin stamped handles, see CLÉDAT 1912, 166–167 nos. 3–7. 9–10. 15–16. 18–19 = VERRETH 2006, 667–668 nos. 8–18.

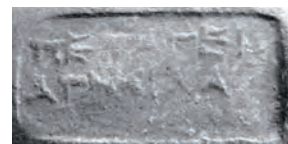
32 OREN 1993b, 1213.

33 OREN 1993b, 1215.

34 VERRETH 2006, 107.

- 2 Δ 25171, Context A 224 (fig. 2, 2)  
Rectangular stamp

Πε{δ}αγεί(τνυος)  
Ἀγησίλας



A *tau* is written instead of the *delta* in the first line. The fabricant Ἀγησίλας may be dated to between ca 196 and ca 190 BCE at least, based upon the dates of three eponyms in whose terms he was active (JÖHRENS 1998, 36 no. 83 and JÖHRENS 2001, 410 no. 154). A drawing of a complete amphora of Ἀγησίλας 1st dated by the term of Δαμόθεμις is published in BEN DOV 1982, 71.

- 3 Δ 25098, Context T-58D, L. 505  
Rectangular stamp

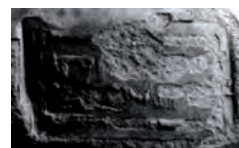
Ἀγλουμβρότου  
Υακίνθιος



Although the preposition ἐπι does not appear, this stamp apparently refers to the eponym of this name. The late Virginia R. Grace kindly confirmed this for me in a personal communication. A stamp of probably the same die (with month in nominative case) was found in Samaria (REISNER ET AL. 1924, 312 no. 1). Another example of this eponym appearing without the preposition is published (as a fabricant) in SZTETYLLO 1983, 72 no. 16. That stamp names a different month. The eponym is dated to ca 197 BCE in FINKIELSZTEJN 2001.

- 4 Δ 23051, Context T-58D, L. 504  
Rectangular stamp

Ἀγορ[άνακτος]  
[Ἀρτ]αμί[τίου]  
in frame



Ἀγοράναξ shared a workshop with Μαρούας and Πασίων (who also employed frames on his stamps (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 106). ARIEL – FINKIELSZTEJN 1994, 212 noted that Ἀγοράναξ and Πασίων overlapped there for nine years. FINKIELSZTEJN 2000b, 217, gave the range for the linear framed stamps of Ἀγοράναξ (with Helios head) as 203–193 BCE. Another stamp from an amphora of Ἀγοράναξ, is known from the eastern site of Tell Temilat (PETRIE – ELLIS 1937, pl. 51= VERRETH 2006, 228 no. 7).

- 5 Δ 25017, Context T-58D, L. 302 (fig. 7, 6)  
Rectangular stamp

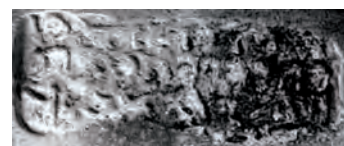
Ἀγοράνακτος  
Βαδρομίου



See 4 above. The chronological range of this type, without frame, has not been established. It certainly falls within the larger range of the fabricant's period of activity. Grace had suggested at least a 23-year range in her chronology (GRACE 1974a, 200). Finkielsztejn has suggested that other types of the fabricant Ἀγοράναξ were dated—in his chronology—to somewhere within the 26-year range of 212–187 BCE (FINKIELSZTEJN 2000b, 217).

- 6 Δ 25101, Context T-58D, L. 302  
(figs. 2, 3; 8, 3)  
Rectangular stamp

Ἀρτεμιτίου  
ἐπ' ἐρέως Ἀγο  
ρά{ρα}γάς  
το[ς] all retrograde



This stamp of the cursive style was read by G. Finkielsztejn, and its rubbing was almost identically read by A. Dimoulis. The eponym Ἀγοράναξ has been dated by Finkielsztejn to ca 108 BCE.



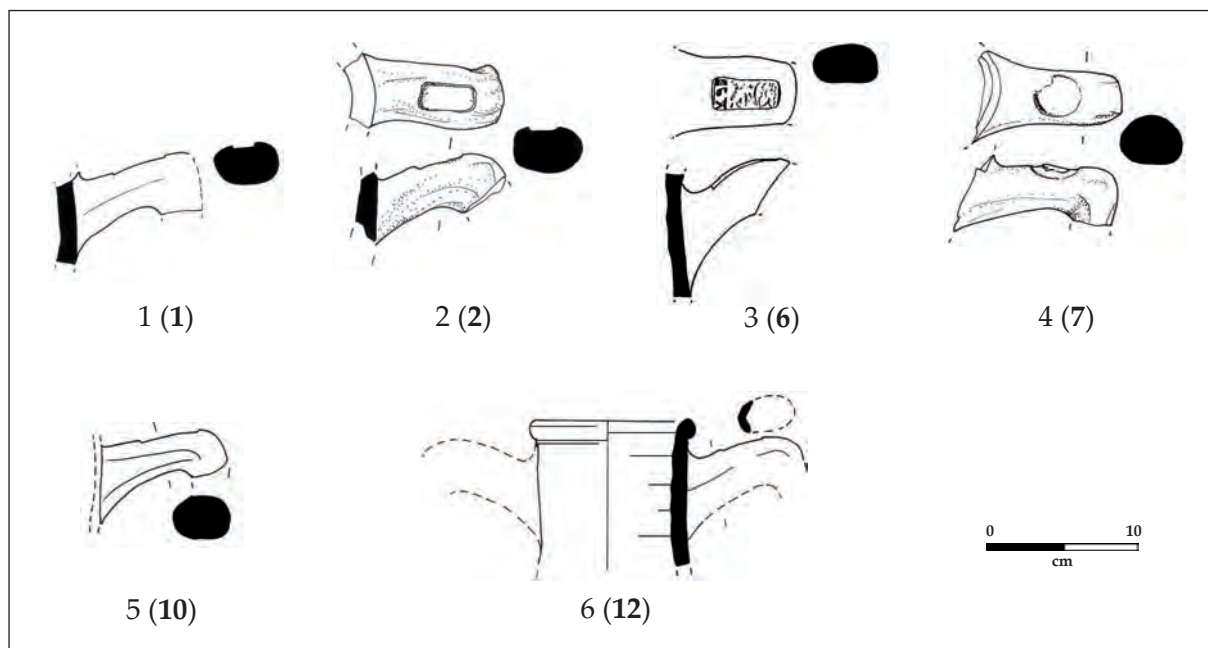
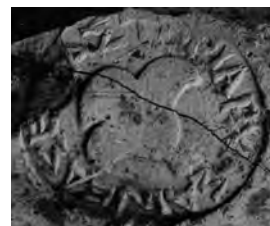


Fig. 2: Rhodian stamped handles (nos. 1. 2. 6. 7. 10. 12).

- 7 Δ 25093, Context T-300 (fig. 2, 4)  
Circular stamp

ἐ[ργ]αστηριάρχας Αἰνέας  
rose

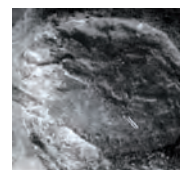
The stamp is identical to one from Lindos (NILSSON 1909, 359 no. 28. 4; pl. I, 5, as well as two stamps from the Athenian Agora on file in Athens. This fabricant is the first of two homonyms. The second employed a rectangular stamp with a bunch of grapes on the right of his name, an arrangement which belongs to the second half of the 2nd century BCE (PÂRIS 1913, 157 no. X-3, and NICOLAOU 1991, 204 no. 34). Αἰνέας 1st is discussed in GRACE 1974b, 92–94, A2, where seven probable non-joining connections to eponyms are noted. Θέστωρ and Δαμόθεμις are named. These eponyms have been dated consecutively by Finkielsztein to ca 192 and ca 191 BCE respectively. A third eponym, Ἀρχίδαμος, is named as associated with another Αἰνέας type, which is also apparently associable with the first fabricant homonym. The date of Ἀρχίδαμος (ca 180 / 178 BCE, no. 12 below) suggests Αἰνέας 1st was active between ca 192 and ca 180 / 178 BCE at least.



- 8 Δ 4936, Context T-58E, L. 500 (fig. 7, 1)  
Circular stamp

[Α]λ  
κ[ισ(]  
[centre]

The reading of this stamp was kindly provided by A. Dimoulinis from a rubbing, on the basis of unpublished parallels on file in the Amphora Project offices in Athens. It is an ›Early Rhodian‹ type of Ἀλκισθένης. LUND 2002, 169, H58, dated this fabricant to Period I.



- 9 Δ 25090, Context T-58D, L. 503 (fig. 7, 13)  
Rectangular stamp

Ἀρισ[τί]φωτος

This fabricant of this name was originally dated by GRACE 1950, 140 no. 17, to Periods I–II. BRUGNONE 1986, 48–50 nos. 68–70, lowered his period of activity to ca 210–186 BCE. See also SZTETYŁO 1991, 63 nos. 97–99, and p. 37 note 136 (end of 3rd and

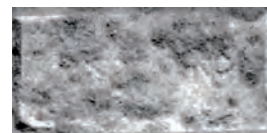


beginning of 2nd century BCE). GRACE 1985, 40, had noted a twelve-year range for the fabricant, with Δορκυλίδας (15) as perhaps the earliest. Finkielsztein's datings of the eponym connections noted by Brugnone expand the range significantly, to over thirty years. However, the earliest and latest dated eponyms associated with the fabricants Αριστίων (Θεύδωρος 2nd [ca 203–199 BCE] and Αγατοφάνης 1st [ca 169 / 167 BCE], respectively, according to FINKIELSZTEJN 2001) are only noted as possible connections in BRUGNONE 1986. Discounting those two eponyms yields an only slightly shorter period of activity, throughout the first quarter of the 2nd century BCE. CONOVICI – GARLAN 2004, 112 no. 21) maintained a short period of activity, in the end of Period II and beginning of Period III.

- 10 Δ 23045, Context T-58D, L. 400 (fig. 2, 5)  
Rectangular stamp

[Αρι]στίωνο[ς]

See 9 above.



- 11 Δ 25080, Context R 22 (fig. 8, 2)  
Rectangular stamp

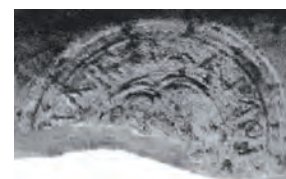
Ἐπὶ Ἀριστο  
γενεῦς  
Ἀρτ[αμυτίου]



The eponym is dated ca 129 BCE in FINKIELSZTEJN 2001. Considering the eponym's date and the stamp's style, it may be that the fabricant was Μίδαας, for whom a connection is already known (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 132).

- 12 Δ 25018, Context T-58D, L. 400 (fig. 2, 6)  
Circular stamp

[Ἐπ]ὶ Ἀρχιδάμου [- - -]  
rose



The eponym is dated ca 180 / 178 BCE by FINKIELSZTEJN 2001.

- 13 Δ 25099, Context T-58D, L. 505  
Rectangular stamp

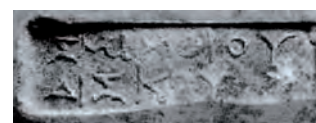
Διοκλῆς  
Υακινθίου



The *nu* is retrograde, and the final *omicron* and *upsilon* are ligatured. In all likelihood this stamp names a fabricant, who from the curved profile of the handle and appearance of the month, dates to Period II (ca 234 – ca 199 BCE). Grace (from files in Athens) corrected a reading of a stamp from Gezer reading ΔΡΟΚΑΣΙΣ/ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ to have the above reading (MACALISTER 1912, 356 no. 191). However, Conovici and Irimia (CONOVICI – IRIMA 1991, 164 under no. 278) identify an eponym of this name from the same period, appearing on a particular flower-shaped stamp identified by Finkielsztein (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 103) as characteristic only of the fabricant Ἐπίγονος 1st (GRACE 1953, 121 had rejected a Διοκλῆς as eponym). The period of activity of Ἐπίγονος 1st falls between ca 219 and ca 205 BCE. Conovici and Irimia's identification is based upon a restoration Διο(κλῆς) (?) provided in NILSSON 1909, 91 and 105–106. See GRACE 1934, 234, under no. 75. Finkielsztein apparently considered the restoration as incorrect, preferring to view the three letters on Ἐπίγονος 1st's as the beginning of the month Διόσθηνος.

- 14 Δ 25021, Context T-58D, L. 302 (fig. 7, 7)  
Rectangular stamp, red spot

Σμινθίου  
Δίσκου



In the lower right corner of the stamp are the remains of a sigma — evidence of double stamping (upside down) of the handle. Δίσκος 1st is differentiated by his more prolific later homonym by the appearance of the month on stamps bearing his name. He worked in the term of Ξενόστρατος (GRACE 1963, 334

no. 8) who is dated by Finkielsztein to Period IIb (ca 219–210 BCE), but with the notation that he may date later (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 191).

- 15 Δ 25100, Context T-58D, L. 505  
Rectangular stamp

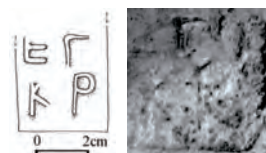
Ἐπὶ Δορκυλίδα]  
Θεσ[μοφορίου]



The eponym is dated by Finkielsztein (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001) to ca 198 BCE.

- 16 Δ 25083, Context T-58D, L. 502 (fig. 7, 2)  
Rectangular stamp

Ἐπ[·]  
κρ(



A. Dimoulinis identified the handle as ›Early Rhodian‹ on the basis of unpublished parallels on file in the Amphora Project offices in Athens. The reading given there is Ἐπικρ(άτης). An even closer parallel is very similar stamped handle in the collection of Kibbutz Yavneh reading Ἐπι/κρά(της) (IAA 1996–5099). The later Period IV homonym fabricant, designated Ἐπικράτης 1st, is discussed by Conovici and Garlan (CONOVICI – GARLAN 2004, 115 no. 35).

- 17 Δ 23039, Context T-58D, L. 302  
Rectangular stamp

Ἐρωφος  
caduceus, right



There are a number of homonyms with this fabricant's name. One who employs the caduceus device is published in PRIDIK 1926, 324. A connection of this homonym to the eponym Ἀρχέμβροτος (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001: ca 134 / 133 BCE) is on file at the Athenian Agora in Athens, and places the Ἐρωων homonym with caduceus in Period V. Finkielsztein (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 135) discussed contemporary fabricants utilizing caduceus devices, which were common in that period.

- 18 Δ 25094, Context T-58D, L. 400  
Rectangular stamp

Ἐπ[ὶ Εὐ]δά  
μου  
Δαλίου



The reading of the eponym's name was kindly provided by A. Dimoulinis. The eponym is dated to Period IVb (ca 152–146 BCE) based upon the name's appearance on rhomboid stamps of Θεύμναστος (FINKIELSZTEJN 2000b, 218).

- 19 Δ 25086, Context T-300 (fig. 7, 3)  
Rectangular stamp

Εὐφρα  
νόρ[ου]



Because of the handle's curved profile the fabricant can only be Εὐφράνωρ 1st. He is dated by CRISCUOLO 1982, 97–98 no. 106, to Period I.

- 20 Δ 25020, Context T-58D, L. 504 (fig. 7, 8)  
Rectangular stamp, red spot

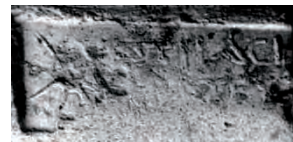
Helios Ἐπὶ Θεῶ  
head δώρου  
in frame



The only published example of this type is from Gezer (MACALISTER 1912, 358 no. 252). It belongs to Θεόδωρος 2nd, whose term is placed by Finkielsztein (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001) between 203 and 199 BCE. Based upon the devices the amphora was made by Ἀγοράναξ (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 108, Style T1a). Another stamp in the year of Θεόδωρος 2nd comes from Tell Temilat (CLÉDAT 1915, 48 no. 43 = VERRETH 2006, 229 no. 16).

- 21 Δ 23042, Context T-58D, L. 100  
Rectangular stamp

Star Ἐπὶ Ἰασι  
κράτευσ



The eponym is dated by FINKIELSZTEJN 2001 to ca 190 BCE. The particular large star device on the left or right of the stamp is characteristic of two fabricants only (and see below, 22 and 53). Because of the eponym's date, the fabricant of this amphora was most likely Ἀριστείδας 2nd. Based upon eponym connections to Ἀριστείδας 2nd gathered by JÖHRENS 1998, 67 no. 175, and Finkielsztein's dates for them (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001), the period of activity of Ἀριστείδας 2nd began (at least) three years earlier than the year of Ἰασικράτης, in ca 193 BCE (under Κλειτόμαχος). No association of Ἰασικράτης with Ἀριστείδας 2nd has heretofore been noted.

- 22 Δ 23052, Context T-58D, L. 505 (fig. 7, 14)  
Rectangular stamp

Star Ἀρταμι(τίου)  
Ἰεροκλ(ῆς)



This is the earlier of two fabricants who employed the large star device on the left or right of the stamp. He was the first of two homonyms, and was active after their appearance of months on stamps, ca 234 BCE (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 196). See GRACE – SAVVATIANOU-PÉTROPOULAKOU 1970, 309, E 24. ARIEL 1990, 63, S 302 should be corrected to belong to this fabricant. The surveyed handle's profile clearly places it late in the fabricant's career which, because of the stylistic similarities with stamps of Ἀριστείδας 2nd, may have been followed directly by the latter. See 21 above and 53 below.

- 23 Δ 23048, Context T-58D, L. 302  
Rectangular stamp

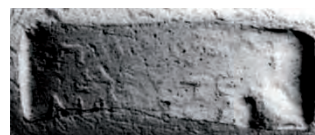
Κ[ρ]έοντ  
ος



This fabricant was active late in Period I and in Period IIa, until ca 220 BCE. See JÖHRENS 1998, 46 no. 111. Finkielsztein (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 57) noted two contemporary fabricants who may have been associated with Κρέων. A stylistic association (FINKIELSZTEJN 1990, under no. 238) with the eponym Ἀγλώκριτος may extend Κρέων's period of activity into Period IIb (ca 219 – ca 210 BCE). A later homonym(s?) has been proposed by Basal'yants (BADAL'YANTS 1980, 177–178: Periods III–IV) and Szetyllo (SZETYLLO 1976, 63 no. 182: Period VI).

- 24 Δ 23037, Context T-58D, L. 502  
Rectangular stamp

Πα[νά]μο[υ]  
δευτέρ[ου]  
Μα[ρσ]ύα(ς) cluster  
[device?]



The identification of the cluster was kindly provided by A. Dimoulinis. The range of certain types of this fabricant's stamps (with Helios heads) has been given as ca 186–151 BCE. This handle has a different type. All of the eponym connections noted in SZETYLLO 1991, 75–77 nos. 131–135, and JÖHRENS 1998, 71–72 nos. 186–189, fall in the above mentioned range, except for Κρατίδας, who would extend the period of activity of Μαρούας noted above one year backward, to include ca 187 BCE. This handle should also date in that range.



- 25 Δ 25019, T-58D, L. 505 (fig. 7, 9)  
Circular stamp

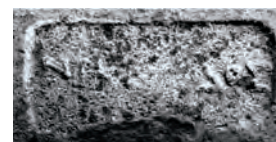
[Ε]πὶ Μυτίων[ος]  
grape cluster



Μυτίων is dated in FINKIELSZTEJN 2001 to between 209 and 205 BCE. See also discussion in ARIEL – FINKIELSZTEJN 1994, 204 under SAH 45. The appearance of the grape cluster device on a circular stamp is extremely rare. I know of two published examples. One (KENT 1953, 132 no. 9) appears on a stamp dated by Ἀγέμαχος, who is dated by Finkielsztein (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001) to 181 / 179 BCE. The other appears on a stamp found in a site identified as the workshop of the fabricant Ἰεροτέλης. It was restored by Grace to provide the name of the eponym Εὐφράνωρ (EMPEREUR – TUNA 1989, 297–298 no. 24). This eponym was a contemporary (same time frame) of Μυτίων. Grace identified the fabricant of the Εὐφράνωρ stamp as Διονύσιος on the basis of a stylistic detail. Although the grape cluster on this stamp is quite different in style from the one on the stamp naming Εὐφράνωρ, it is likely that Διονύσιος too was the fabricant of this stamp, owing to the rarity of the cluster device on circular stamps. It would be difficult to associate Διονύσιος with the stamp naming Ἀγέμαχος, because of the large difference in dates.

- 26 Δ 23053, Context T-58D, L. 502 (fig. 3, 1)  
Rectangular stamp

Νικάγιδος



The stamp may be identical to one from Pergamon (BUROW 1998, 95 no. 278). Based upon the few eponyms published as officiating on stamps of amphoras produced by Νικάγης, this prolific fabricant was active from late in Period II, and well into Period III. Νικάγης produced an amphora in the year of Ἀστυμήδης 1st (ca 204 BCE in FINKIELSZTEJN 2001). See GRACE 1968, 177 no. 12. From an amphora of Νικάγης dated by Καλλικρατίδας 2nd (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, ca 175–173 BCE), we know that Νικάγης was active until at least Period III. See FINKIELSZTEJN 1993, 384.

- 27 Δ 23040, Context T-58D, L. 300  
Rectangular stamp

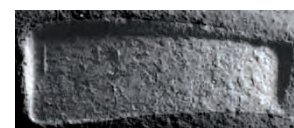
[Νυσ]ίου  
caduceus, right



The restoration of the name was provided by A. Dimoulinis. For the fabricant's Period III date, see ARIEL 1990, 56, S 230–233. Νύσιος produced amphoras in the terms of two Period IV eponyms (JÖHRENS 1998, 73 no. 192). For the possibility that the fabricant remained active until early Period V, see SZTETYLLO 2000, 108 no. 97. Finkielsztein (pers. comm.) suggested a period of activity of ca 169 / 167 – 140 / 139 BCE.

- 28 Δ 23049, Context T-58D, L. 504  
Rectangular stamp

Ἐπ[ι] Ἐ[ε]νο  
φάντου



Ἐενοφάντος 1st is dated by Finkielsztein (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001) to ca 210 BCE. Ἐενοφάντος 2nd has been dated ca 151 BCE (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001). By virtue of the handle's profile, we believe this handle names Ἐενοφάντος 2nd.

- 29 Δ 5097, Context T-58D, L. 300 (fig. 7, 10)  
Circular stamp

Ἐπὶ Ἐενοφάντου [Β]αδρομίου  
rose



This handle was dated by Ἐενοφάντος 1st (ca 210 BCE) because of the handle's profile. See 28 above and 30 below.

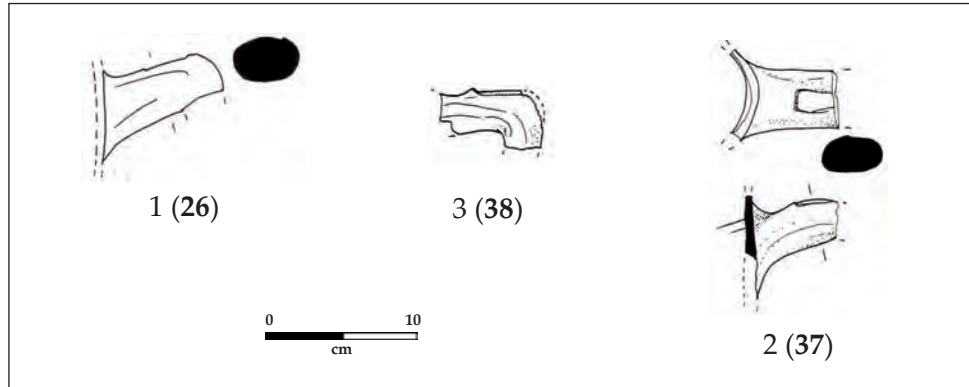
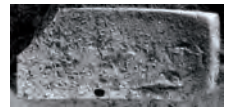


Fig. 3: Rhodian stamped handles (nos. 26. 37. 38).

- 30 Δ 5175, Context T-58G, L. 100 (fig. 7, 11)  
Rectangular stamp

[Ἐπὶ Ξ]ε[ν]οφάντου  
Υα[κινθ]ίου



This handle was also dated by Ξενόφαντος 1st (ca 210 BCE) because of the handle's profile. See 28–29 above.

- 31 Δ 5114, Context T-58D, L. 302 (fig. 7, 4)  
Rectangular stamp

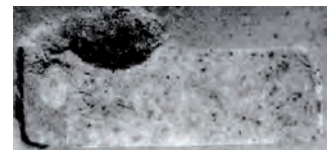
Παυσα  
νίας



A fabricant homonym of this name was active in the 3rd century BCE. Conovici and Irimia (CONOVICI – IRIMA 1991, 166 nos. 308–310) suggested a range of almost all of Period II. For a discussion of the homonyms, including Παυσανίας 2nd of Periods III–IV, see FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 76, note 55. This handle belongs to the earlier homonym on the basis of the profile of the handle. JÖHRENS 1998, 17 no. 16, discussed Παυσανίας 1st and eponyms associated with him. Based upon Finkielsztein's dates of these eponyms (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001), Παυσανίας 1st was active possibly only in Period IIa (ca 234–220 BCE). The only outlier eponym, Αἰσχύλιος, a 'probable' association according to Jöhrens, dates in Period IIb (ca 219–210 BCE).

- 32 Δ 23054, Context T-58D, L. 503 (fig. 8, 1)  
Rectangular stamp

Helios Ἐ[πὶ] Πάυ  
head σάνια



For the three homonyms of this eponym see GRACE – SAVVATIANOU-PÉTROPOULAKOU 1970, 304–305, under E 12. This handle apparently belongs to the third eponym, of Period IV, which Finkielsztein (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001) dated to ca 152 BCE. The Helios head type makes Μαρούας the fabricant of this amphora.

- 33 Δ 25022, Context T 90 (fig. 7, 5)  
Circular stamp

Ἐπὶ Παυσανία [Πα]νάμου  
rose



On the basis of the curved profile of the handle, the stamp probably names Παυσανίας 1st, dated by Finkielsztein (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001) to within Period IIa (ca 233–220 BCE). CALVET 1972, 32 no. 60 is a published example of the type.

- 34 Δ 25091, Context T-300 (fig. 7, 12)  
Rectangular stamp

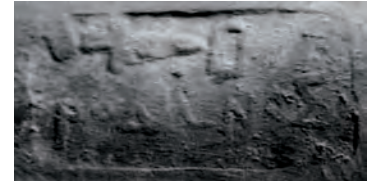
Ἐπὶ Π[α]υσανία  
Σμινθίου



This stamp apparently names Παυσανίας 2nd, based upon the profile of the handle. Παυσανίας 2nd is dated by Finkielsztejn (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001) to within Period IIc (ca 203–199 BCE).

- 35 Δ 25352, Context R 89.  
Rectangular stamp

herm, left  
Ρόδωνος



Ρόδων 2nd is discussed by Finkielsztejn (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 154). Four eponym's are associated with the fabricant, yielding a period of activity possibly as restricted as the third decade of the 2nd century BCE (ca 129–[124–122] BCE).

- 36 Δ 25096, Context T-58D, L. 400  
Rectangular stamp

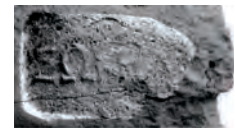
Σωκράτεως burning torch



Finkielsztejn (FINKIELSZTEJN 2000a, 145, CRh 16) dated the range of the prolific fabricant Σωκράτης 2nd to ca 204–172 BCE. Another stamp of an amphora of Σωκράτης 2nd was reported from the same site (CARREZ-MARATRAY ET AL. 1996, 192 = VERRETH 2006, 777 no. 19).

- 37 Δ 25087, Context T-300 (fig. 3, 2)  
Rectangular stamp

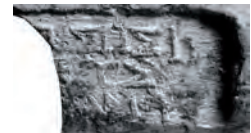
Σωκρά[τεως burning torch]



See 36 above.

- 38 Δ 25092, Context T-300 (fig. 3, 3)  
Rectangular stamp

[Ἐ]πὶ Σωσι  
[κλ]εῦς  
[Παν]άμος



The eponym dates to ca 159 / 158 – 154 / 153 BCE (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001). See ARIEL 2000, 271 no. 13. One example of this type is published (PORRO 1916, 121 no. 180, 2).

- 39 Δ 25095, Context T-58D, L. 504  
Rectangular stamp

Φιλαινίου

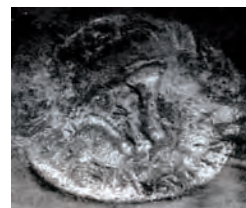


Based on the confluence of eponym connections (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001, 124) and Finkielsztejn's proposed dates for them, the period of activity of this fabricant may be placed between ca 189 and ca 161 BCE.

- 40 Δ 25082, Context T-58D, L. 400 (fig. 7, 15)  
Circular stamp

Ἐπὶ [Φιλο]δάμου [Π]ανάμο(υ)  
rose

The reading is restored, with the help of A. Dimoulinis, on the basis of an identical die from the Athenian Agora. The eponym officiated ca 183 BCE (FINKIELSZTEJN 2001).



#### Rhodian stamped handles: Names not read

- 41 Δ 21321, Context D-54 (fig. 4, 1)  
Illegible rectangular stamp

- 42 Δ 22312, Context D-54 (fig. 4, 2)  
Illegible circular stamp

- 43 Δ 22313, Context D-54 (fig. 4, 3)  
Illegible rectangular stamp

- 44 Δ 28612, Context D-50 (fig. 4, 4)  
Illegible rectangular stamp

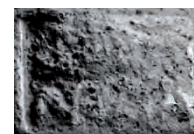
- 45 Δ 8034, Context D-50 (fig. 4, 5)  
Illegible circular stamp with Helios head device

The Helios head device in circular stamps dates to Periods V and VI. See ARIEL – FINKIELSZTEJN 1994 passim.

- 46 Δ 22314, Context D-54  
Illegible rectangular stamp

- 47 Δ 18629, Context M 30  
Rectangular stamp

Ε[- - -]  
νίδα



This is the reading of A. Dimoulinis based upon a rubbing. Dimoulinis thought the handle may not be Rhodian. Nevertheless, Finkielsztejn, who examined the object, suggested it may read Σ[θεν]/νίδα. Comparisons to stamps published in BINGEN 1955, 131 no. 2, CRISCUOLO 1982, 104–105 nos. 119–121 and MELAERTS 1994, 347 no. 18, this suggestion is possible if not likely. The stamp would consequently name an early Rhodian fabricant, whom Bingen and Criscuolo dated to the first half of the 3rd century BCE.

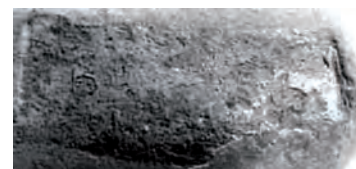
- 48 Δ 25081, Context R 21, L. 168 (fig. 4, 6)  
Rectangular stamp

[- - -]  
[Π]ανάμου



- 49 Δ 2810, Context S 32A (fig. 4, 7)  
Rectangular stamp

[- - -]  
σ[- - -]  
[- - -]





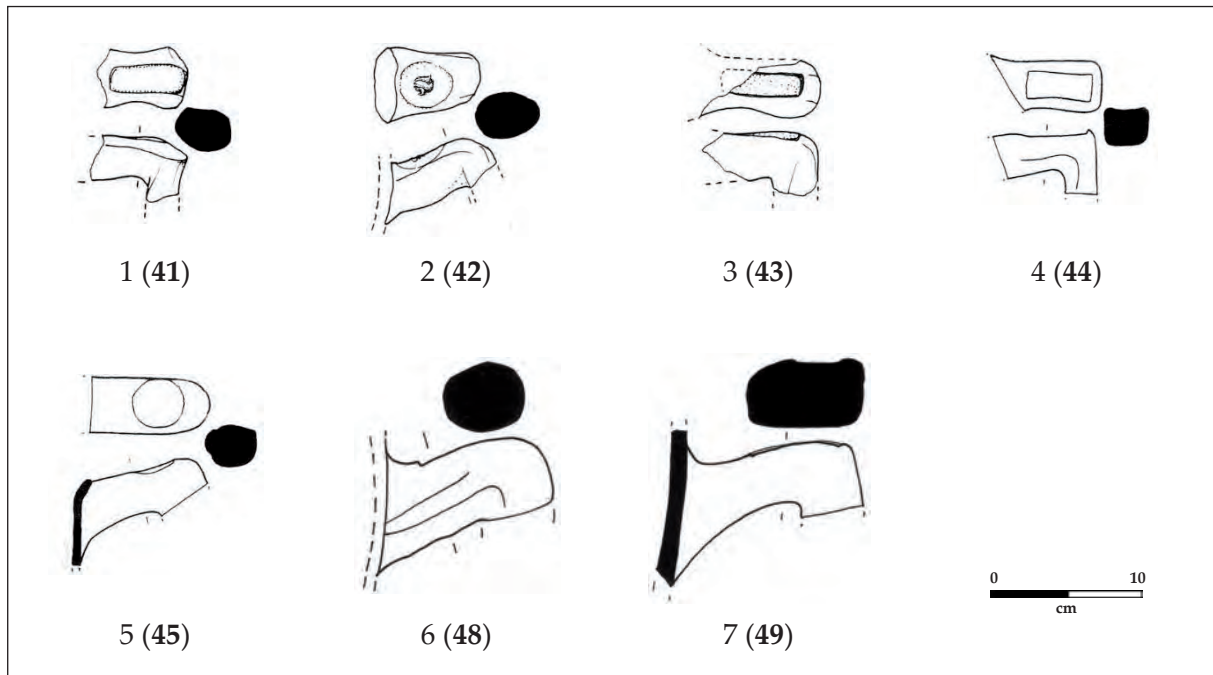
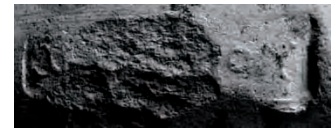


Fig. 4: Rhodian stamped handles (nos. 41–45, 48, 49).

- 50 Δ 23038, Context T-58D, L. 100  
Rectangular stamp

caduceus, left [- -]ου  
in frame



- 51 Δ 23041, Context T-58D, L. 502  
Circular stamp

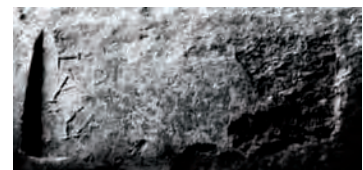
]ουματευς  
rose



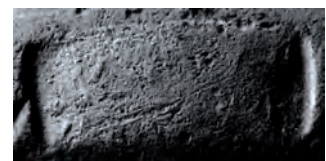
The stamp is poorly impressed.

- 52 Δ 23046, Context T-58D, L. 400  
Rectangular stamp

Ε[πὶ  
αὐ[ retrograde  
Υακ[ινθίου]



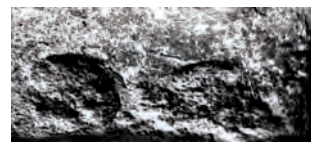
- 53 Δ 23047, Context T-58D, L. 502  
Illegible rectangular stamp with large star on left



As noted above, the large star device on the left or right of the stamp is characteristic of two fabricants only: Ἱεροκλῆς 1st and Ἀριστείδας 2nd (and see above 21–22). This handle therefore dates to Periods II and III. From the handle's somewhat angular profile, it appears more likely that it belongs to Period III. Early in that period the fabricant Ἀριστείδας 2nd began producing amphoras. Ἀριστείδας 2nd's period of activity, based on the evidences noted under 21 above, fell between ca 193 BCE and ca 174 / 172 BCE at least.

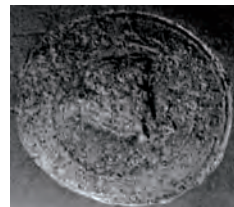
- 54 Δ 23050, Context T-58D, L. 300  
Rectangular stamp

]ς



- 55 Δ 23055, Context T-58D, L. 400 (fig. 5, 2)  
Circular stamp

Ἐπ[ι- - -]οκρᾶ Βαδρομίου  
rose

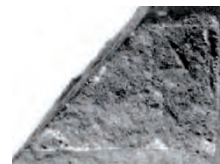


- 56 Δ 25102, Context T-58D, L. 500  
Illegible rectangular stamp



- 57 Δ 25023, Context T 90  
Rectangular stamp

]ιδ  
[- - -]



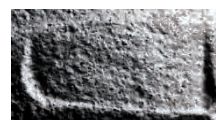
- 58 Δ 28850/1, Context T 90 (fig. 5, 1)  
Illegible rectangular stamp

- 59 Δ 28852, Context T 90 (fig. 5, 4)  
Illegible rectangular stamp

- 60 Δ 27460, Context T 150, L. 800 (fig. 5, 3)  
Illegible rectangular stamp

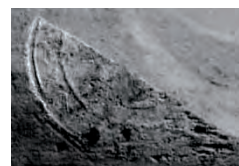
- 61 Δ 2827, Context T 260  
Illegible rectangular stamp

The handle has a curved profile and a very small stamp. It may not be Rhodian.



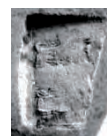
- 62 Δ 25097, Context T-300  
Circular stamp

[- - - Πα]νάμο[υ  
rose



- 63 Δ 25088, Context T-300 (fig. 5, 5)  
Rectangular stamp

E[  
ε[



### Rhodian stamped lagynos handle

- 64 Δ 25032, Context R 10, L. 143 (fig. 8, 7)  
Anepigraphic rectangular stamp with Helios head device (?)



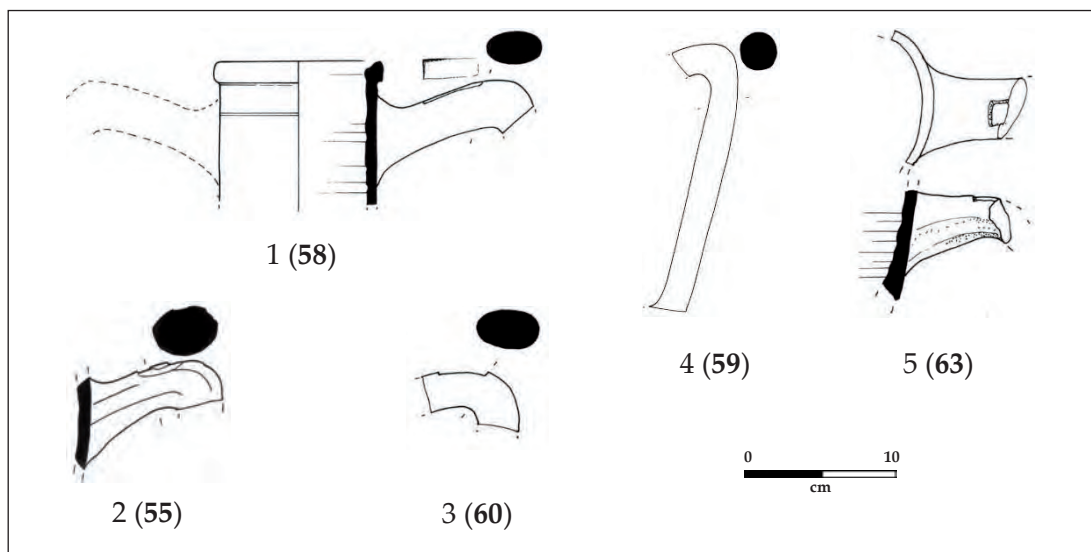


Fig. 5: Rhodian stamped handles (nos. 55, 58–60, 63).

A. Dimoulinis, on the basis of ›rays‹ which he discerned in a photograph, identified this poorly preserved stamp as above. Upon examining the object, G. Finkielsztejn preferred a rose identification. For the type see ARIEL 1990, 79, S 477.

#### Koan stamped handles

- 65 Δ 25089, Context T-300 (fig. 10, 2)  
Rectangular stamp

Θευδ  
ώρου



The ware of the handle is red-brown, with a light brown slip. The handle is double-barreled, and therefore belongs to the Koan class. No stamps of this type have previously been noted in the extensive files of that class in the Amphora Project offices in Athens. The closest parallel on file there reads: [Θ] εὐδωρ(ος), and has a club device below. It is Koan Type 355 and is published in BRECCIA 1921, 52 no. 260. See also GRACE 1962, 121 no. 18 (names beginning Θευ[ ]).

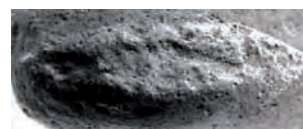
- 66 Δ 23044, Context T-58D, L. 302 (fig. 10, 3)  
Rectangular stamp

Ραι[



The handle's ware is also red-brown, but with a light green / buff slip. No stamps of the Koan class on file in the Amphora Project offices were able to definitively restore this stamp's fragmentary reading.

- 67 Δ 4222, Context T 72 (fig. 10, 4)  
Illegible rectangular stamp with club (?) device



#### Kouriotē stamped handle

- 68 5115, Context T-58D, L. 303 (fig. 11, 6)  
Oval stamp

The ware of the handle is brown, with many white grits. On the small Kouriotē class, see GRACE 1979b. Examples of the class come mostly from Cyprus and Alexandria. This type belongs to a series within the class bearing a tripod as its main device. As described in GRACE 1979b, 180, to the right and left are the letter *alpha*



and monogram *alpha-rho*. Below the tripod are found changing subsidiary devices. Grace's discussion included the following: double ax, bird (?), lamp (?), and monogram. The device under the tripod in our stamp is clearly identified as a flower. No other example of the flower subsidiary device is on file at the Amphora Project offices in Athens. The flower, described by Finkielsztein (FINKIELSZTEJN 1990, no. 449), appears on another Kouriotie stamp type found in Samaria (IAA 36–666). Meyza (MEYZA 2004, 277 pl. 14) noted a lotus flower on yet another Kouriotie stamp, but there the flower indeed looks different. The rough date for stamped handles identified in this class is the 4th–3rd centuries BCE, and perhaps a bit later (MEYZA 2004, 274).

### Stamped handle of the Zenon group

- 69 Δ 19419, Context Y 14 (Deir el-Balah) (figs. 6, 1; 9, 4)  
Rectangular stamp with rounded corners

Zη

This stamp (without abbreviated second name) belongs to the second Zenon group, dated by Empereur and Tuna (EMPEREUR – TUNA 1988) to the end of the 3rd – beginning of the 2nd century BCE. For a summary of findspots, date and provenance see ARIEL 1990, 76–77, S 464. See RUSSELL 1997, 51 no. 49 (a first Zenon group find in Amman).

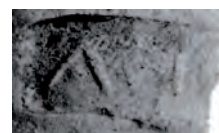


### Latin stamped handles

- 70 Δ 23043, Context T-58D, L. 501 (fig. 12, 1)  
Rectangular stamp

AOI[

The handle is curved in profile and flattish in cross-section. Its ware is pink with a buff surface. The ware has grey and dark red inclusions. While not in Desy 1989, its general appearance points to a Brindisian origin.



- 71 Δ 8063, Context D-52 (fig. 6, 2)  
Rectangular stamp

CARI2TO

The reading of the stamp is of interest. Desy published stamps reading CARITO (or CARITON), including some found in Egypt, and presumed this to be a potter's name (DESY 1989, 173) associable with the Brindisi series. See DESY 1989, 101 no. 709 and p. 136 no. 1036. BLANC-BIJON ET AL. 1998 (e.g., p. 21 no. 487) published stamps reading CARI2TO. They identified them as belonging to the Greco-Italic series, and appear to associate it with another Greco-Italic stamp in Greek, yielding the name *Gaius Ariston*. It is likely but not definite that the CARITO and CARI2TO stamps are associated. The North Sinai survey stamp has a small sign under the left arm of the T. It may be that in many if not all cases of readings of CARITO, this was overlooked, as we originally did. That sign appears to be a retrograde S.



- 72 Δ 22315, Context D-54 (fig. 6, 3)  
Rectangular stamp

LVI

The closest parallel in Desy's corpus reads L VIIVI MYRTILI (DESY 1989, 157 no. 1224). According to him it is a unique stamp of an uncertain type. But our stamp apparently has only the letters read above. See also GRACE 1962, 128 no. 38 (LVCO), and dates in the century before 50 BCE, based on its context (see DESY 1989, 111 no. 804 – Lvc(c)o, a Brindisian potter (?); DESY 1989, 180). Rebuffat (REBUFFAT 1999, 84 no. 1196) published a stamp reading LV[...], and noted parallels reading L · V · IV and LVIVCV. Blanc-Bijon, Carre, Hesnard and Tchernia published stamps reading LV[...] (BLANC-BIJON ET AL. 1998, 276 no. 1368) and LVD (ibid, 276 no. 1369).



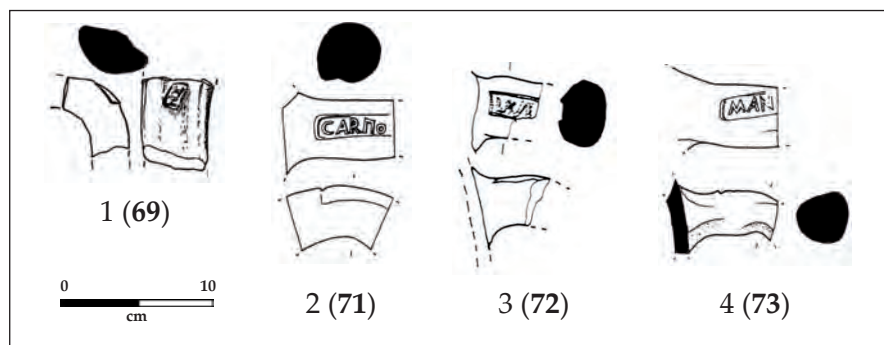


Fig. 6:  
1. Stamped handle of the Zenon group (no. 69);  
2–4. Latin stamped handles (nos. 71–73).

- 73 Δ 8062, Context D-50 (fig. 6, 4)  
Rectangular stamp

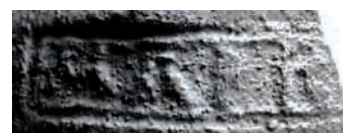
MAN[



Based on Desy's corpus, possible restorations are MANIS, MANISA, and MANVSA – all types of the Brindisi series (DESY 1989, 103 nos. 730–732 and p. 106 no. 766). Desy believed these names are of potters (DESY 1989, 181). Blanc-Bijon, Carre, Hesnard and Tchernia added two other possible restorations. MATIVSM, deciphered by them as *M. Ativs M[* is unclassified (BLANC-BIJON ET AL. 1998, 142 no. 461). *M · ANTO*, in their Pascual 1 category, is a second possibility (ibid, 159 no. 955). The *N* and *T* are ligatured there, but on the North Sinai handle the *N* is not completely preserved, and the possibility of a ligature cannot be rejected.

- 74 Δ 25103, Context R 51 (fig. 12, 2)  
Rectangular stamp, framed

MAPIÇ[



The handle's ware is pink, micaceous, with many inclusions forming an irregular surface, with a buff slip. MAP may itself be a Greek abbreviation. See DESY 1989, 83 nos. 543–544; 123 no. 909; 126 no. 944; 137 no. 1050. All of these read MAR (according to Desy, a potter), but see p. 181 there. MAPIÇ, however, does not appear in DESY 1989, CARRE ET AL. 1995 or BLANC-BIJON ET AL. 1998. A Brindisian origin is nevertheless possible for this handle.

- 75 Δ 25084, Context T-58D, L. 301 (fig. 12, 3)  
Rectangular stamp

PIL · BETIL · M



Desy (DESY 1989, 89 no. 600; 134 no. 1020; 138 no. 1055; 144 no. 1115) has four variants of the same person's stamps, which he identified as belonging to the Brindisi series. On two handles with the same stamp published by PALAZZO 1990, 148–149 nos. 9–10 (= BLANC-BIJON ET AL. 1998, 87 no. 723, and p. 101 no. 774) a secondary stamp, depicting an unidentifiable object, is preserved. On one (PALAZZO 1990, 148–149 no. 9) a full profile (rim to shoulder) is preserved. Desy identified P(h)il as a potter (DESY 1989, 177), and M. Betilienus as a master (DESY 1989, 166). Desy's no. 1115 derived from Qasrawet (= CLÉDAT 1912, 167 no. 15 = VERRETH 2006, 667 no. 10), while no. 75 is from Tell el-Ħer.



- 76 Δ 36060, Context BM 010, L. 60  
Rectangular stamp

VJEHIL[



Desy (DESY 1989, 170) identified Vehilius as a Brindisian master. BLANC-BIJON ET AL. 1998, 98–100 nos. 761–769 (in their Italian Ovoid category), publish a number of stamp variants. See ARIEL 2003, 199, SAH 22. In addition to the other stamped handles of the Latin class which may be Brindisian, a typical Brindisian amphora button base with biconical section was found in the survey (fig. 12, 4).

## INDICES

### A. Names of Persons: Greek

Names are Rhodian unless otherwise noted.  
Boldface numbers refer to catalogue numbers of words published here.

Αγαθοκλῆς 2nd	Fab. <b>1</b>	Θέστωρ	Ep. <b>7</b>
Αγέμαχος	Ep. <b>22</b>	Θεύδωρος 2nd	Ep. <b>9. 20</b>
Αγησίλας 1st	Fab. <b>2</b>	Θεύδωρος <i>Koan</i>	<b>65</b>
Αγλούμβροτος	Ep. <b>3</b>	Θεύδωρος Ὀνάσανδρος	<b>20</b>
Αγοράναξ	Fab. <b>4. 5. 20</b>	Θεύμναστος	Fab. <b>18</b>
Αγοράναξ	Ep. <b>6</b>	Ίασικράτης	Ep. <b>21</b>
Αινέας 1st	Fab. <b>7</b>	Ίεροκλῆς 1st	Fab. <b>22. 53</b>
Αινέας 2nd	Fab. <b>7</b>	Ίεροτέλης	Fab. <b>25</b>
Αλκισθένης	Fab. <b>8</b>	Κρατίδας	Ep. <b>24</b>
Αρατοφάνης 1st	Ep. <b>9</b>	Κρέων	Fab. <b>23</b>
Αριστείδας 2nd	Fab. <b>21. 22. 53</b>	Μαρσύας	Fab. <b>4. 24. 32</b>
Αριστίων	Fab. <b>9. 10</b>	Μίδαξ	Fab. <b>11</b>
Αριστογένης	Ep. <b>11</b>	Μυτίων	Ep. <b>25</b>
Αρίστοφάνης	Ep. <b>P. 26, note 29</b>	Νικάγης	Fab. <b>26</b>
Αρχίδαμος	Ep. <b>7. 12</b>	Νύσιος	Fab. <b>27</b>
Αστυμήδης 1st	Ep. <b>26</b>	Ξενοφάντος 1st	Ep. <b>28. 29. 30</b>
Δαμόθεμις	Ep. <b>2. 7</b>	Ξενοφάντος 2nd	Ep. <b>28</b>
Διοκλῆς	Fab. <b>13</b>	Ξενοστρατος	Ep. <b>14</b>
Διονύσιος	Fab. <b>25</b>	Πασίων	Fab. <b>4</b>
Δίσκος 1st	Fab. <b>14</b>	Παυσανίας 1st	Fab. <b>31</b>
Δορκυλίδας	Ep. <b>9. 15</b>	Παυσανίας 2nd	Fab. <b>31</b>
Ἐπίγονος 1st	Fab. <b>13</b>	Παυσανίας 1st	Ep. <b>33</b>
Ἐπικράτης	<b>16</b>	Παυσανίας 2nd	Ep. <b>34</b>
Ἐρμων	Fab. <b>17</b>	Παυσανίας 3rd	Ep. <b>32</b>
Εὔδαμος	Ep. <b>18</b>	Ρόδων 2nd	Fab. <b>35</b>
Εὐφράνωρ 1st	Fab. <b>19</b>	Σθεννίδας	Fab. <b>47</b>
Εὐφράνωρ	Ep. <b>25</b>	Σωκράτης 2nd	Fab. <b>36. 37</b>
Ζή(νων) <i>Zenon</i>	<b>69</b>	Σωσικλῆς	Ep. <b>38</b>
		Φιλαίνιος	Fab. <b>39</b>
		Φιλόδαμος 2nd	Ep. <b>40</b>

**B. Names of Persons: Latin**

ANTO		73	MANIS	Potter?	73
ARISTON		71	MANVSA	Potter	73
ATIVS		73	MARIC[	Potter?	74
BETIL(ienus)	Master	75	PIL(=P(h)il)	Potter	75
CARI2TO (or CARITO)	Potter	71	VEHIL(ius)	Master	76
LVCO	Potter	72	Vinius Myrtilus	Master	72

**C. Rhodian Months**

Ἀρταμίτιος	4. 6. 11. 22	Πάναμος	33. 38. 40. 48. 62
Βαδρόμιος	5. 29	Πάναμος Δεύτερος	24
Δάλιος	18	Πεδαγείτνυος	2
Διόσθνυος	13	Σμίνθιος	14. 34
Θεσμοφόριος	15	Υακίνθιος	3. 13. 30. 52

**D. Titles**

ἐργαστηράρχας	7	ἱερέως	6
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**E. Devices**

Bird?	68	Herm	35
Caduceus	17. 27. 50	Lamp?	68
Club	65. 67?	Rose	12. 29. 33. 40. 51. 55. 62
Cluster	7. 21. 25	Star	21. 22. 53
Double ax	68	Torch, burning	36. 37
Flower	68	Tripod	68
Helios head	20. 32. 45. 64	Unclear device	75

## II. Unstamped Amphora Fragments

On the need for examining unstamped amphora fragments as a complement to the often more exacting results derivable from the stamped fragments, see ARIEL 1990, 82. Work on amphoras found in the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean has lagged poorly behind more developed and much better published research regarding western Mediterranean site finds<sup>35</sup>. A summary of Greek amphoras, with the most photographs, is GRACE 1979a. EMPEREUR – HESNARD 1987 is more updated, and has good line drawings.

While it may be presumed that all of the stamped handles found in the survey were brought to the attention of this author, it should be noted that the unstamped fragments were processed by him in a much less thorough way. As noted, the stamped handles were thoroughly studied, including having problematic stamps re-examined by the Amphora Project in Athens. At the same time, for the unstamped fragments, the author does not know what exactly the strategy of their selection was during the survey; i.e., whether all diagnostic fragments were saved or not. Moreover, the fragments that were saved underwent two additional selections by the North Sinai staff, and only afterwards were they shown to the author. The first selection was a typologically quantitative one. In other words individual fragments of similar types were noted in the computerized data base, so that one exemplar of each type was saved for examination. The second selection created the local and imported categories. It must be assumed that this selection was largely based on questions of fabric, the survey team being most familiar with the local (and Egyptian) fabrics.

Arthur and Oren cited Hellenistic amphora fragments from the Rhodian, Koan, Chian, Knidian, Tripolitanian, Brindisian, and perhaps Black Sea classes<sup>36</sup>. The only class I did not identify of that list was Tripolitanian. Perhaps they were referring to **fig. 14, 13** of what I have designated Dressel 2/4. In the same article, they also published forms of some four fragments<sup>37</sup>. Their Koan rim to double-barreled handle<sup>38</sup> is **fig. 13, 2** below, which I called Dressel 2/4, i.e., conceptually the same. My Rhodian lagynos handle on **fig. 8, 8** was identified by them as »miniature Koan?«<sup>39</sup>. Finally, their »Black Sea?« fragment<sup>40</sup> is my **fig. 11, 3** and only has a semantic change, as I call it Northern.

From the remainder, the author was asked to select from among the imported category the fragments dateable by him to the Hellenistic period. This third selection was probably the most difficult of the three. While the forms and wares of the large (often stamped) Hellenistic classes (Rhodian, Koan, Knidian, Chian) are well known, the task of differentiating between the less well-known Hellenistic classes and their Roman period descendants (or Egyptian imitations) was truly daunting. Our success rate would have been higher had we felt more comfortable in clearly identifying the Roman classes. Of course our work was further hampered by the fact that we were dealing with small fragments rather than complete forms.

The difficulty in sorting was exacerbated by the fact that certain Hellenistic classes (especially the various Italian classes) have a large variety in their forms and wares. Moreover, there is little that differentiates this variety from their immediate post-Hellenistic, Roman imperial amphora classes. Some fragments have in fact been retained on the plates, although it is more likely that they date to the beginning of the Roman period (e.g., Dressel 2/4).

35 RILEY 1979, 112.

36 ARTHUR – OREN 1998, 197.

37 ARTHUR – OREN 1998, 198 fig. 4, 1–4.

38 ARTHUR – OREN 1998, fig. 4, 2.

39 ARTHUR – OREN 1998, 198 fig. 4, 3.

40 ARTHUR – OREN 1998, fig. 4, 4.





Nevertheless, this selection was accomplished in one day, in the spring of 1994, with the invaluable assistance of Gérald Finkielsztein<sup>41</sup>.

An additional problem lay in the fact that in many cases forms alone do not allow for certain identification. The wares of the fragments contribute much toward the identification of the provenance of amphoras. Toward that end samples for petrographic analysis were taken. The samples were kept by The North Sinai Expedition for further study.

After the selection of the sherds was done, the author was provided with a database which included our preliminary identifications, fabric readings, including Munsell numbers (MUNSELL 1975; for most of the fragments, made by members of the North Sinai staff), and scale drawings. It then became apparent then that no quantitative data was found in the database. On the face of it this would mean that there was no typological duplication in the fragments selected. While that is in fact possible, because of the resulting lack of clarity, our operative assumption has been that the database should not be regarded as quantitatively reliable. Also, by virtue of the above mentioned research process, the quantitative relationships between our imported amphora fragments and the so-called local fragments is no longer clear.

By the time the database of selected imported unstamped Hellenistic amphora fragments was prepared there was no opportunity to re-examine the fragments, nor to complete the missing fabric readings, or check the reliability of the prepared readings and the drawings. This was because the fragments were already in the process of being returned to the Egyptian authorities, an effort completed in December 1994<sup>42</sup>. There remained for the author to select those fragments from this database he found worthy of publication in plates. Thanks are due here to Barbara L. Johnson for her subsequent aid in preventing overlaps in the amphora material studied by me, and the enormous amount of material which became her lot in the publication project. As a consequence of that examination conducted with Johnson, some four fragments – which I had never seen – were added to my material (**figs. 12, 4; 14, 2–4**).

The following analysis, therefore, suffers from problems arising mostly from the time-frame restrictions, or in other words, from our inability to re-examine the objects. It should be made clear that the author, and not the North Sinai publication team, takes responsibility for the deficiencies arising from the above. Nevertheless, given the importance of the unstamped amphora material as an adjunct to the stamped handle report, we believe the following analysis has sufficient value to justify its publication in this state. In short, the material selected for the plates appears sufficiently accurate to permit analysis. This is certainly true of the profiles of the stamped material appearing on the plates. It is also the case for the unstamped fragments, especially as the reader is now aware of the problematic background to this part of the author's research. It may also be noted that the author's one time examination of the material is more than can be boasted by Barbara L. Johnson, whose work had to be based almost exclusively on the North Sinai staff's drawings and fabric readings.

### **Rhodian (figs. 7–8)**

The drawn fragments of the Rhodian class appear on **figs. 1–5, 7–11**. For **figs. 4, 1–5; 7, 3–5; 7, 10–12; 9, 1–3. 5** the profiles played a contributing role in determining the handles' dates. There follows a selection of a rim (**fig. 8, 4**) and bases (**fig. 8, 5–8**) belonging to the class. The ceramic typology of the Rhodian class is quite well understood. Typological discussion has been usually subsumed within discussion of other aspects of the class (the stamps and their

41 My thanks to Gérald Finkielsztein for sharing his breadth of knowledge (especially in the busy days before the material was returned to Egypt). Thanks are also due to Mark L. Lawall for his constructive comments on an earlier draft of this report. The responsibility for the conclusions, however, are the author's alone.

42 The materials' return to Egypt was part of an agreement signed between the two countries, stipulating the restoration of all archaeological artefacts excavated by Israeli archaeologists in Sinai.

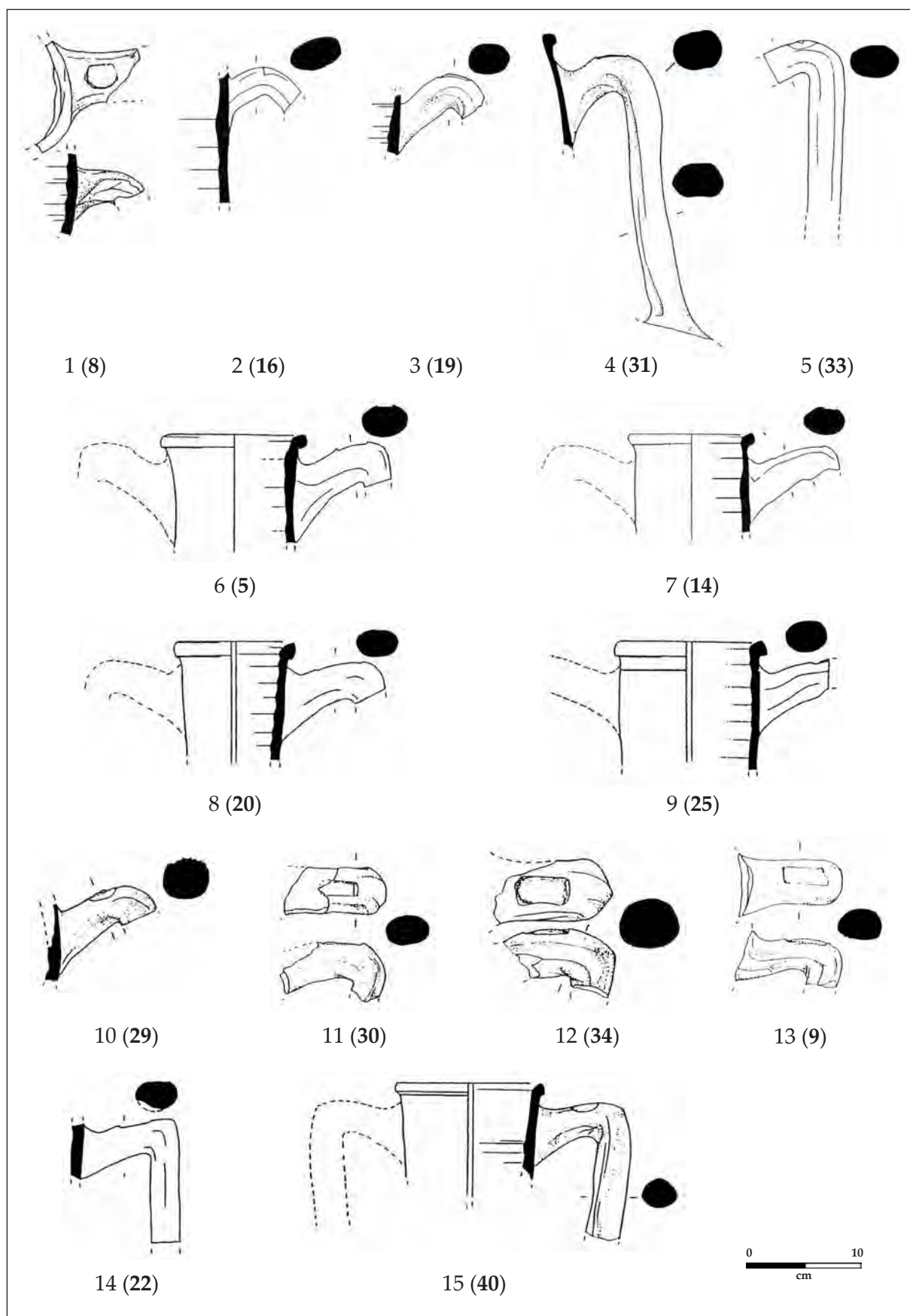


Fig. 7: 1-14. Rhodian amphora handles (nos. 5, 8-9, 14, 16, 19-20, 22, 25, 29-31, 33-34); 15. Rhodian amphora top (no. 40).

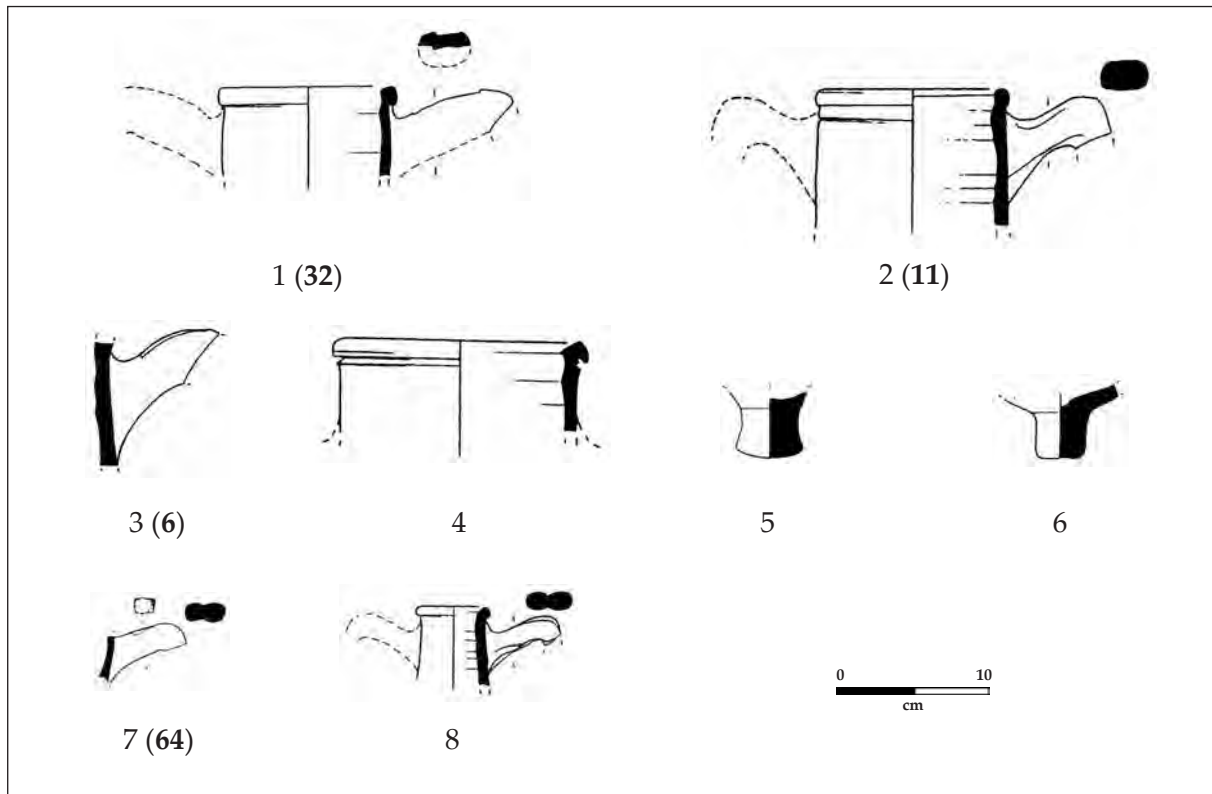


Fig. 8: 1–6. Rhodian amphoras (nos. 6. 11. 32); 7–8. Rhodian lagynoi (no. 64).

functionality, or issues relating to standardization of the volume of the amphoras)<sup>43</sup>. Fragments of the Rhodian class in its period of high production (second half of 3rd through the end of the 2nd century BCE) are easily identified on the basis of their characteristic fabric: a very well levigated and fired clay whose core is light red to reddish yellow, with a pinkish to very pale brown slip. In the fragments appearing on **figs. 7–14**, a number of the other typological features of the Rhodian class are found: everted rounded rim, cylindrical neck, handles extending from under the rim to the top of the shoulder. The stamped handles are arranged in chronological order, thus showing their development from curved to angular profiles in the last quarter of the 3rd century BCE. The shortening and narrowing of the upper portion of the angular handles in the second half of the 2nd century BCE is also seen. The rim (**fig. 8, 4**) is of characteristic Rhodian ware, but is unusual in that its profile is complex. The cylindrical toes (**fig. 8, 5–6**) both belong to the period of high production noted above. The form of **fig. 8, 6** is unusual, although its ware places it in the Rhodian class.

Two lagynoi handles (**fig. 8, 7–8**) – one stamped (64) – are securely identified as Rhodian because of their fabric<sup>44</sup>.

43 See GRACE 1934, 203; GRACE 1963, 323; GRACE – SAVVATIANOU-PÉTROPOULAKOU 1970, 289–302.

44 But see ARTHUR–OREN 1998, 198 fig. 4, 3 (Koan). – See ARIEL 1990, 82 and ARIEL–FINKIELSZTEJN 1994, 229, SAH 130.

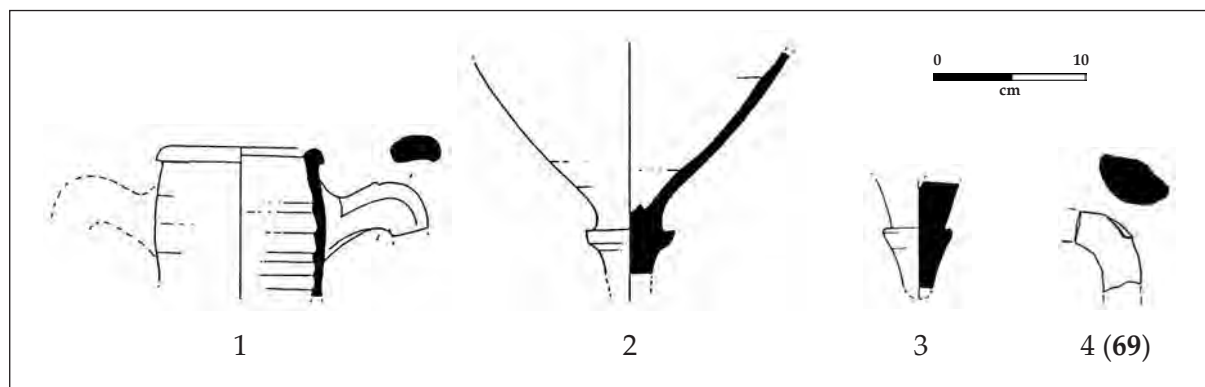


Fig. 9: 1–3. Knidian amphoras; 4. Handle of the Zenon group (no. 69).

### Knidian (fig. 9, 1–3)<sup>45</sup>

Most Knidian ware is coarse (though well levigated) and reddish, and sometimes slightly micaceous. The core is often grey. Sometimes the clay can be very Rhodian in appearance. The only feature of the Knidian amphora's form seen on fig. 9, 2–3 is its knobbed toe<sup>46</sup>, typical of the Knidian class through the first quarter of the 2nd century BCE. After that point it develops into a ringed toe<sup>47</sup>. It should be noted however that other classes also have knobbed toes (e.g., the Zenon Group). In our cases, the ware makes their association with the Knidian class certain<sup>48</sup>. It may also be that fig. 9, 1 is Knidian.

A Knidian stamped handle is found further east, at Tell Temilat by Petrie and Ellis<sup>49</sup> and dates in the last quarter of the 2nd century BCE. Oren also cited Knidian amphora fragments at Qasrawet<sup>50</sup>, although none was identified by me.

### Zenon group (fig. 9, 4)

This stamped handle is identified as belonging to the Zenon Group on the basis of its stamp alone (69). The handle's curved profile is otherwise quite uninformative. Grace identified these mid-3rd century amphoras as »Ptolemaic (?)«<sup>51</sup>, and of Egyptian origin. This provenance has been challenged by Empereur and Tuna<sup>52</sup>, who found that stamped handles of this type (bearing only the *zeta-eta* abbreviation) had chemical profiles similar to Knidian wares, and therefore located their provenance in the vicinity of Knidos. We have accordingly located fig. 9, 4 after the Knidian class<sup>53</sup>.

45 For the Knidian class, see GRACE 1934, 205, and GRACE – SAVVATIANOU-PÉTROPOULAKOU 1970, 317–324.

46 GRACE 1985, 16–17.

47 GRACE 1974b, 89–90.

48 See also RILEY 1979, 129 no. D 35.

49 PETRIE – ELLIS 1937, pl. 51 no. CW? X = VERRETH 2006, 231 no. 28 (this and the Rhodian stamps noted from there may come from nearby Tell el-Sheikh, VERRETH 2006, 238 and 242 note 851).

50 OREN 1993b, 1215 = VERRETH 2006, 665.

51 GRACE 1986, 557–560.

52 EMPEREUR – TUNA 1988.

53 See also ARIEL 1990, 76–77, S 464 and pl. 1.



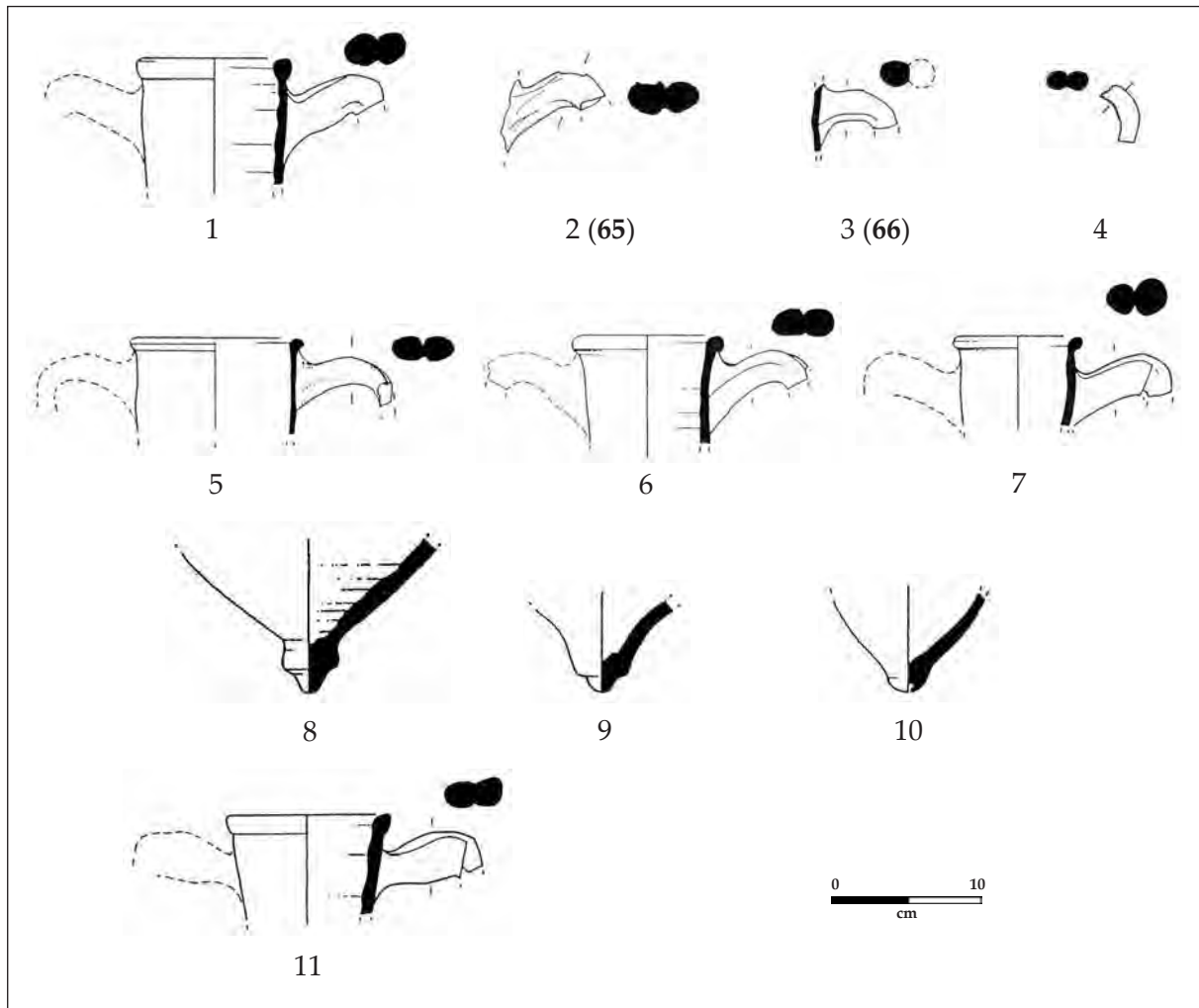


Fig. 10: 1–10. Koan amphorae (nos. 65–66); 11. Pseudo-Koan amphora.

#### Koan (fig. 10, 1–10) and Pseudo-Koan (fig. 10, 11)<sup>54</sup>

Koan ware is thought to be distinguished from its imitations by a characteristic reddish clay with a light greenish surface. Mica is also common. The North Sinai fragments shown here, where we have Munsell readings, range from pink to light reddish brown. Our original examination identified **figs. 10, 2–10**, however, as true Koan. Even though **fig. 10, 1** is characterized by a double-barreled handle, it was first thought to be Chian, because of its more orange hue. But this ware can nevertheless be true Koan<sup>55</sup>. The typology of these fragments is definitely Koan, Pseudo-Koan, or Dressel 2/4, having everted rolled rims, cylindrical necks, and especially double-barreled handles (**figs. 10, 1–7**). A minority of these handles were stamped, the relation of unstamped (e.g., **fig. 10, 4**) to stamped (**fig. 10, 2–3**) being roughly 100 : 156. Bases of Koan amphorae have numerous variations, but may be generally described as having short, somewhat pointed toes or buttons. On the basis of its ware one fragment was identified by us as Pseudo-Koan (**fig. 10, 11**). This is a contemporary Hellenistic type distinguished from true Koan by its differing ware, and yet not a later derivative of Koan, as in Dressel 2/4 (below).

54 For the Koan class see GRACE 1949, 186 no. 8; GRACE 1965, 5. 10 and GRACE – SAVVATIANOU-PÉTROPOULAKOU 1970, 363–364.

55 M. L. Lawall, pers. comm.

56 EMPEREUR 1982, 226–227.

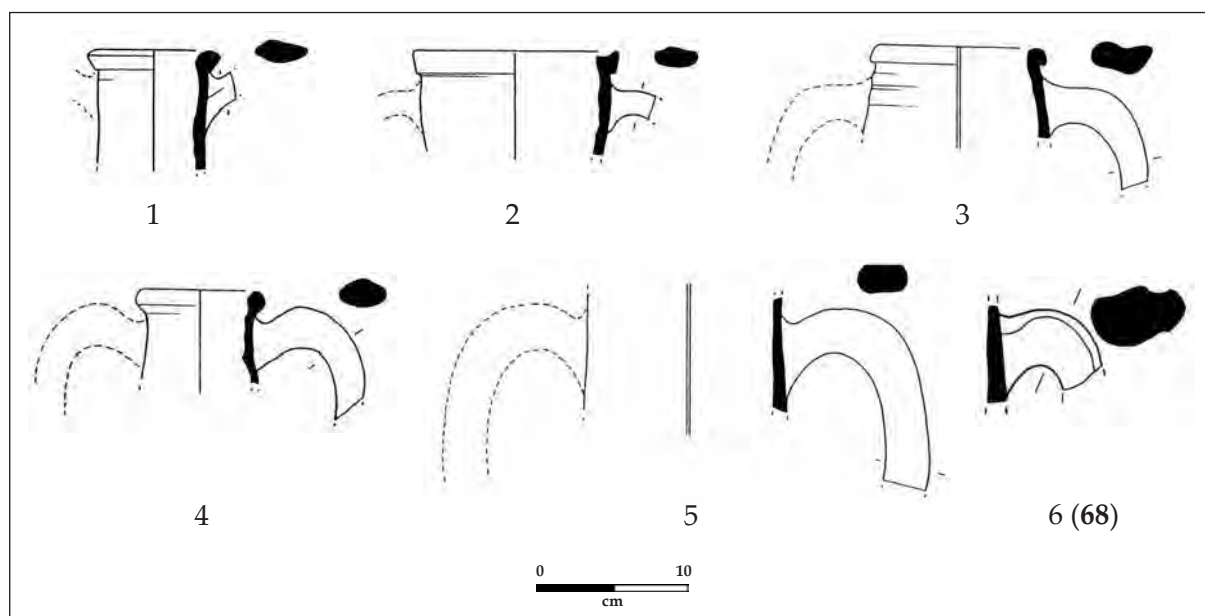


Fig. 11: 1–3. Northern (Black Sea?) amphoras; 4–5. Pamphylian amphoras; 6. Kouriotē amphora (no. 68).

#### Northern (Black Sea?) (fig. 11, 1–3)

These three fragments were originally identified as deriving from a Northern (Black Sea?) source on the basis of the characteristic black grits in their fabric. **Fig. 11, 3**'s pinkish grey colour clay also is characteristic. (The North Sinai data-base had originally given this piece a Roman date.) The Munsell reading of **fig. 11, 1** – pale yellow surface over a light brownish grey core – is less so. It may be North Aegean<sup>57</sup>. Fragments of amphoras from the Black Sea in regions contiguous to the North Sinai are known from Alexandria, Marissa and Samaria<sup>58</sup>.

#### Pamphylian (?) (fig. 11, 4–5)

The Pamphylian class was most fully treated by V. Grace<sup>59</sup>. Our identification of two fragments is based on considerations of form and colour. Handles of the Pamphylian class are curved and are attached just below the rim and join to the body on its sloping shoulder<sup>60</sup>. Regarding the fabric, the Munsell readings taken do not appear to reflect Grace's description of the clay as usually having a light red core and light buff surface<sup>61</sup>. Fragments of the Pamphylian class were found near the North Sinai in Nessana, where in fact the class was first tentatively identified in a publication<sup>62</sup>. The North Sinai data-base had originally given **fig. 11, 4** a Roman date.

#### Kouriotē (fig. 11, 6)<sup>63</sup>

The fragment profiled on **fig. 11, 6** was identified as Kouriotē by its stamp (68). The profile demonstrates the Kouriotē amphora's characteristic curved profile and short upper

57 M. L. Lawall, pers. comm.

58 GRACE 1962, 106 note.

59 GRACE 1973.

60 GRACE 1973, 199 fig. 11.

61 GRACE 1973, 187.

62 GRACE 1962, 126–127.

63 For this class see GRACE 1979b.

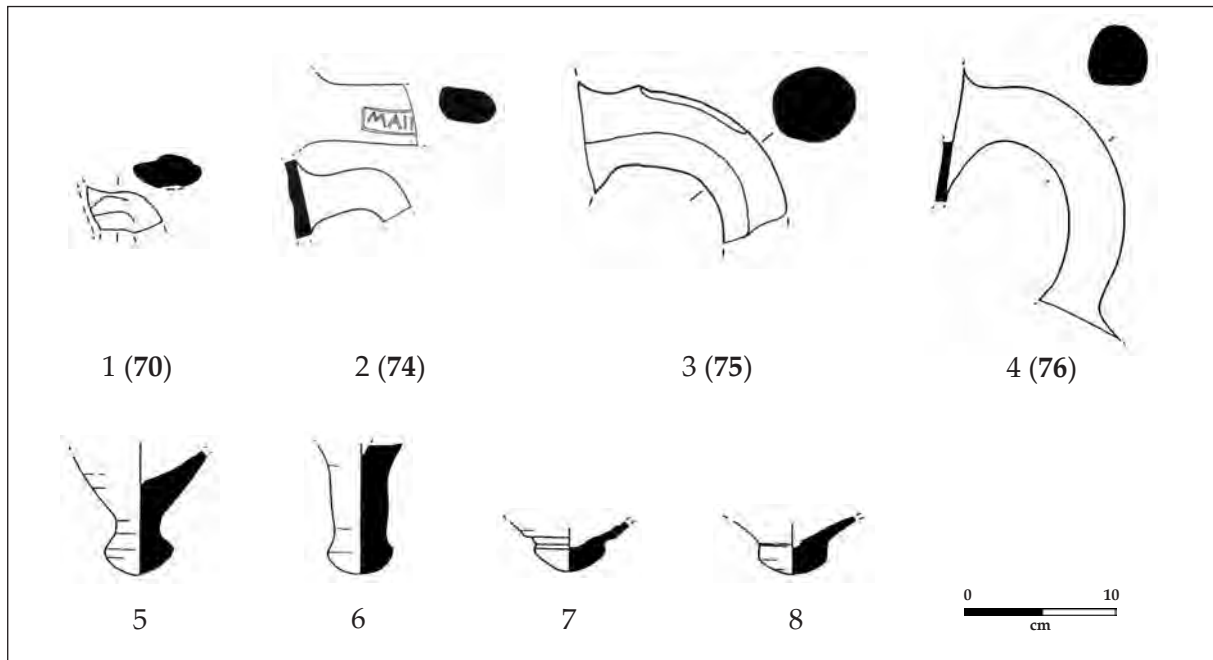


Fig. 12: 1–6. Amphoras from Brindisi (nos. 70. 74–76); 7–8. Republican ovoid amphoras.

arm. For the profile see also CALVET 1982, 43–44. Although no Munsell readings were recorded, the fabric was described by the author as being brown in colour, and having many white grits of many sizes.

#### Brindisi (fig. 12, 1–6)

This class of Late Hellenistic stamped and unstamped amphoras from the region around the city of Brindisi in south-eastern Italy has been studied by C. Palazzo, E. Lyding Will, and P. Desy<sup>64</sup>. The class dates from the late 2nd through mid-1st century BCE. Shown here are profiles of three stamped handles (fig. 12, 1–3) and one typical button base with biconical section (fig. 12, 5)<sup>65</sup>. There exists some variety in fabrics for the class. The pink surface of the base of fig. 12, 5 is one of the choices given<sup>66</sup>.

#### Republican ovoid (fig. 12, 7–8)

The name for this group, coined by Empereur and Hesnard<sup>67</sup> refers to Italian, non-Brindisian, ovoid amphoras from the late 2nd – early 1st centuries BCE – within the Roman Republican period. Described by Cipriano as Adriatic Ovoid, this generic term includes a large number of Hellenistic ovoid categories published in the literature<sup>68</sup>. Many are wrongly identified as Brindisian or Lamboglia 2 – also produced in the (north) Adriatic region. These identifications are often uncertain, and the wares vary considerably<sup>69</sup>. Only bases of these amphoras have been identified in the survey. The rich variety of forms for Republican Ovoid amphora bases range from button-like (fig. 12, 7–8) to simply pointed ones. Cipriano dates the

64 PALAZZO 1989; LYDING WILL 1989; DESY 1989.

65 See BALDACCI 1972, 116 and fig. 16; PEACOCK – WILLIAMS 1986, 82; and PALAZZO 1989, 548 and 550 fig. 1, types 2 and 4.

66 See also FINKIELSZTEJN 1993, 444.

67 EMPEREUR – HESNARD 1987, 35.

68 CIPRIANO – CARRE 1989, 77–80.

69 CIPRIANO – CARRE 1989, 77–80.

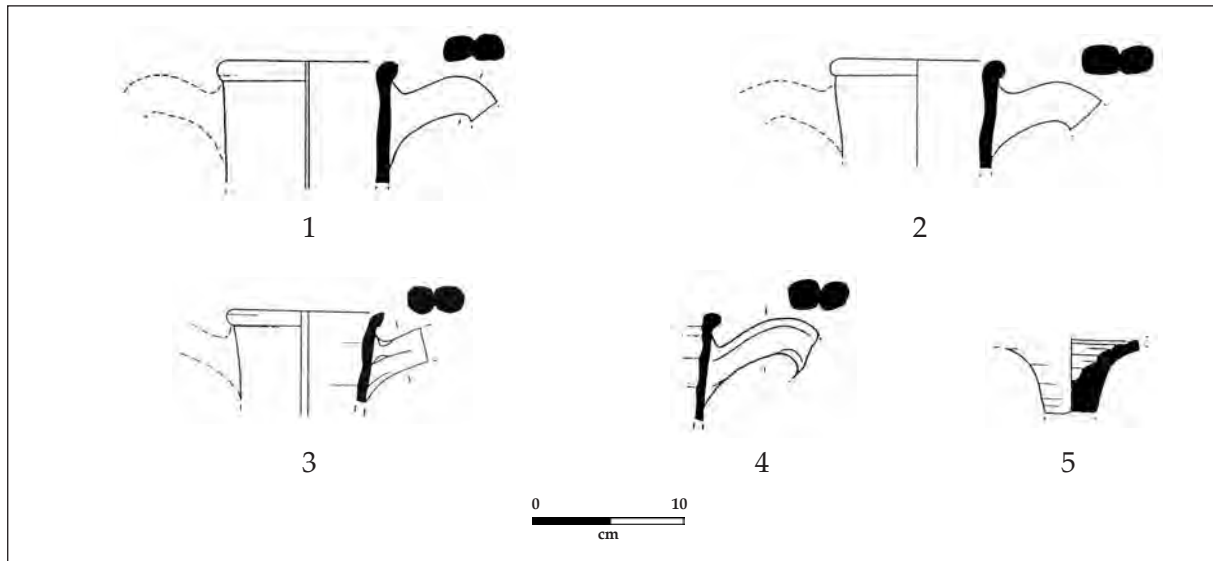


Fig. 13: Amphoras of type Dressel 2/4.

Republican Ovoid class to between 50 and 30 BCE<sup>70</sup>, while Empereur and Hesnard date them more generally to the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE<sup>71</sup>.

#### Dressel 2/4 (fig. 13, 1–5)

Also known as the ›Greco-Roman amphora‹ or the ›Koan type‹, this class clearly derives from the Hellenistic traditions of islands off Anatolia. Yet production sites for the type are also found in Italy<sup>72</sup> as well as two sites in Egypt<sup>73</sup>. The Alexandrine sites began production sometime in the Late Hellenistic period and continued functioning until the mid-3rd century CE. Hence our inclusion of the Dressel 2/4 class in this report. Fragments of this class are distinguished (often with some difficulty) from the Koan prototype by their wares<sup>74</sup>. On all of the handles shown here (fig. 13, 1–4) one can see the characteristic simple rounded rims and double-barreled handles. Bases are solid and generally slightly flared<sup>75</sup>. Fig. 13, 5 does not appear flared.

#### Unclassified (fig. 14)

This group by definition is the most poorly understood. While we believe the pieces to be Hellenistic in date, there is no doubt that some fragments may rather come from Early Roman amphoras. In fact, the North Sinai data-base had originally given fig. 14, 7, 9–10 and fig. 14, 12 Roman dates. Our selection was based largely upon the different wares which looked to be less red in colour, and less well levigated, as those are characteristic of many imported Roman period classes.

The rim in fig. 14, 1 is similar to one from Benghazi<sup>76</sup>, though its colour is different. There described as a collar rim of Dressel 1b, it should be noted that fig. 14, 1 is thinner than the very thick bodied Dressel 1 class.

<sup>70</sup> CIPRIANO – CARRE 1989, 79.

<sup>71</sup> EMPEREUR – HESNARD 1987, 35.

<sup>72</sup> PEACOCK 1977, 261.

<sup>73</sup> Both in the vicinity of Alexandria; EMPEREUR – PICON 1989, 225–229.

<sup>74</sup> See BALDACCI 1972, 129; EMPEREUR – HESNARD 1987, 36.

<sup>75</sup> PEACOCK – WILLIAMS 1986, 105–106 Class 10.

<sup>76</sup> RILEY 1979, 135 no. D 48.



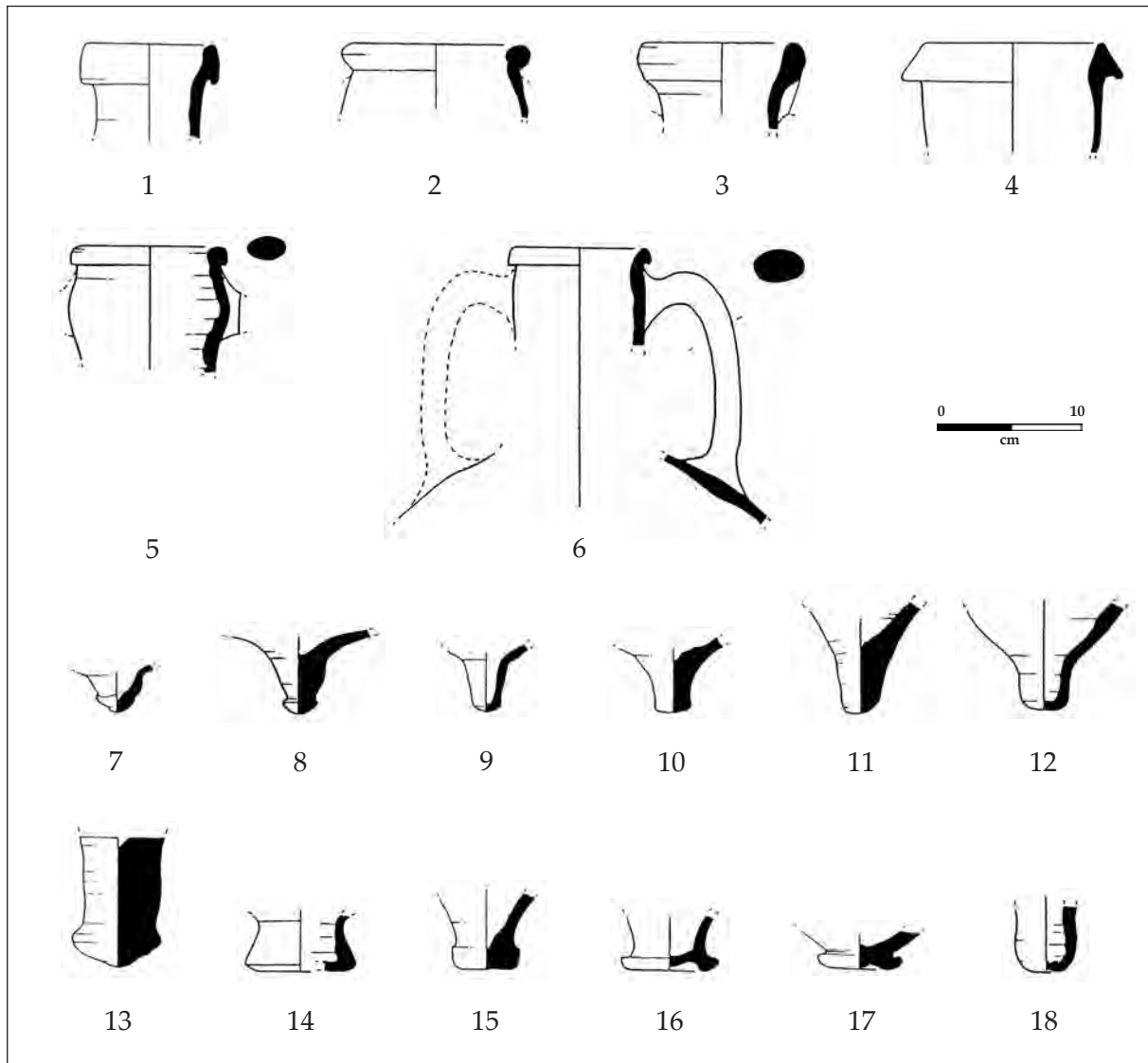


Fig. 14: Unclassified amphoras.

**Fig. 14, 5** exhibits a slightly bulging neck, which though that characteristic appears in some Roman period classes, it is also characteristic of the early (Persian period) Chian and Mendeian classes<sup>77</sup>.

**Fig. 14, 6** may belong to the Nikandros Group. The first publication noting the isolation of this group of amphoras was by Grace and Savvatiou-Pétropoulakou<sup>78</sup>. The lower arm of this fragment is not as vertical as is described as being characteristic of the group by Grace and Savvatiou-Pétropoulakou. Otherwise the other typological and colour considerations do fit the identification. A number of stamped handles of this group have been identified in excavations in the Palestinian region: one each at the Jewish Quarter in Jerusalem<sup>79</sup>, and

<sup>77</sup> See GRACE 1979a, fig. 43, in front, for a Mendeian amphora, and fig. 46 for a Chian amphora, with bulging neck.

<sup>78</sup> GRACE – SAVVATIIOU-PÉTROPOULAKOU 1970, 365–366.

<sup>79</sup> ARIEL 2000, 274–275 no. 31.

Giv'at Yasaf, north of 'Akko<sup>80</sup> and two from Maresha<sup>81</sup>. Of those, the best preserved fragment, from Giv'at Yasaf, has a similar profile to **fig. 14, 6**.

**Fig. 14, 7** may be a variety of a Brindisian button base, as in **fig. 12, 5**<sup>82</sup>. On the other hand, some of the bases in **figs. 14, 7–12** may belong to the pointed bases of the Republican Ovoid class, which, as noted have often been confused for Brindisian amphoras. Though we haven't found an exact parallel, **fig. 14, 13** may belong to the Dressel 2/4 class (see **fig. 13, 5**). **Fig. 14, 11** is a more elongated pointed base. In the Hellenistic period, there are two very different classes to which it may belong. One is the Italian Lamboglia 2 class<sup>83</sup>. The other is a very different form, dating to the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic periods, the ›loop-handle jars‹, now known to be of Cypriote origin<sup>84</sup>.

**Fig. 14, 14–17** are all flat or ring based amphora fragments. Ring base amphoras are known in Greek amphora traditions. For a parallel to **fig. 14, 17**, see ZEMER 1978, 28 no. 23 (of the 5th century BCE). A closer parallel for **fig. 14, 15** may come from a more local tradition. This small disk base resembles a photographed base of the Egyptian ›Petos Group‹, dating from sometime between the second half of the 3rd century and the mid-1st century BCE<sup>85</sup>.

Nevertheless, the flat or ring based amphora types are definitely more common beginning in the Roman Imperial period. **Fig. 14, 15** has a similar form to an early Roman amphora fragment from Benghazi whose context suggests an Augustan date<sup>86</sup>. (The North Sinai database had in fact originally given this piece a Late Roman date.) Early Roman flat and ring based amphoras appear to belong to a tradition which developed in Spain and France in the 1st century CE<sup>87</sup>, and reached the eastern Mediterranean in the beginning in small quantities<sup>88</sup>. Later types, most notably the ›Hollow Foot‹ amphora<sup>89</sup>, are like **fig. 14, 16**, and come likely from the Aegean, with a wide distribution in the East.

80 ARIEL 1999, 28\*–29\* no. 13.

81 ARIEL – FINKIELSZTEJN 2003, 145, and the second noted in ARIEL 1999, 28\*–29\*, under no. 13.

82 See also ARIEL 1990, 88 pl. 3, 12.

83 See PEACOCK – WILLIAMS 1986, 98–101 Class 8; EMPEREUR – HESNARD 1987, 33–34.

84 HUMBERT 1991, 588, and 589 fig. 10, a. – See also RILEY 1979, 143 no. D 87 (from the miscellaneous Hellenistic amphora group), and ARIEL 1990, 88 pl. 3, 10.

85 GRACE – EMPEREUR 1981, 413–414.

86 RILEY 1979, 176 no. 210 fig. 81, 210.

87 LAUBENHEIMER 1989, 125.

88 PEACOCK – WILLIAMS 1986, 136. 142 Classes 25 and 27.

89 PEACOCK – WILLIAMS 1986, 193–195.



Appendix to Part II. Description of the Amphoras on Figs. 7–14.

Fig. No.	Reg. No.	Locus	Context	Stamped handle No.	Description	Core		Surface Exterior		Surface Interior		Temper, hardness, other
						Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	
RHODIAN												
7, 1	4936	500	T-58E	8	handle							
7, 2	25083	502	T-58D	16	handle							
7, 3	25086		T-300	19	handle							
7, 4	5114	302	T-58D	31	handle							
7, 5	25022		T 90	33	handle							
7, 6	25017	302	T-58D	5	handle							
7, 7	25021	302	T-58D	14	handle							
7, 8	25020	504	T-58D	20	handle							
7, 9	25019	505	T-58D	25	handle							
7, 10	5097	300	T-58D	29	handle							
7, 11	5175	100	T-58G	30	handle							
7, 12	25091		T-300	34	handle							
7, 13	25090	503	T-58D	9	handle							
7, 14	23052	505	T-58D	22	handle							
7, 15	25082	400	T-58D	40	handle							
8, 1	23054	503	T-58D	32	handle							
8, 2	25080		R-22	11	handle							
8, 3	25101	302	T-58D	6	handle							
8, 4	25030	127	R-010		rim	dark gray	7.5 YR 8/4	very pale brown	10 YR 8/4	reddish yellow	7.5 YR 7/6	some minute buff grits; very hard

Fig. No.	Reg. No.	Locus	Context	Stamped handle No.	Description	Core		Surface Exterior		Surface Interior		Temper, hardness, other
						Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	
8, 5	21604		R-63		base	reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/3	pink	5 YR 7/3			some minute to small brown grits; very few minute buff inclusions; very hard
8, 6	35887		R-15		base	light brown	7.5 YR 6/4	pink	5 YR 7/4	pink	5 YR 7/3	some small to large red brown grits; few minute to medium white inclusions; few minute to small dark brown grits; very hard
8, 7	25032	143	R-10	64	lagynos handle							
8, 8	25034	118	R-57		lagynos handle	pink	5 YR 7/4	dark gray	7.5 YR 8/4	pink	5 YR 7/4	few small black grits; very hard
<b>KNIDIAN ?</b>												
9, 1	27480	800	T-150		handle	pink	5 YR 5/6	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/4	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/4	many minute to medium dark gray grits; some minute to small white inclusions; few minute to small red brown grits; very hard
<b>KNIDIAN</b>												
9, 2	28825		T-90		base	yellowish brown	5 YR 5/6	pink	5 YR 7/4	reddish yellow	5 YR 7/6	some minute to medium dark gray grits; some minute to small buff inclusions; some minute to small red brown grits; very hard
9, 3	27893		R-30		base	reddish brown	5 YR 5/4	pink	5 YR 7/4			many minute to small white grits; some minute to small dark brown inclusions; very few small black grits; very hard
<b>ZENON GROUP</b>												
9, 4	19419		Y-14	69	handle							





Fig. No.	Reg. No.	Locus	Context	Stamped handle No.	Description	Core		Surface Exterior		Surface Interior		Temper, hardness, other
						Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	
KOAN												
10, 1	25358	117	R-27		handle	gray	5 YR 5/1	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/4	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/4	many minute buff sand inclusions; few minute to medium white grits; very hard; skin: light brownish gray (10 YR 6/2)
10, 2	25089		T-300	65	handle							
10, 3	23044	302	T-58D	66	handle							
10, 4	4222		T-72		handle							
10, 5	21607		R-63		handle	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/4	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/4	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/4	some minute to meium buff grits; some minute to small brown inclusions; some minute to small dark brown grits; very hard
10, 6	25029	135	R-10		handle	reddish brown	5 YR 5/4	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/4	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/4	some minute to medium buff grits; some minute to small brown inclusions; few minute sparkling inclusions; very hard
10, 7	25031	131	R-10		handle	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/4	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/4	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/4	many minute to meium buff grits; some minute to small brown inclusions; few minute to small dark gray grits; very hard
10, 8	28836		T-90		base	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/4	pink	5 YR 7/4	pink	5 YR 7/4	some minute to medium buf grits; few small to large gray inclusions; very hard
10, 9	34197		M-42		base	pinkish gray	5 YR 6/2	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/4	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/4	some minute to small red brown grits; some minute to medium buff inclusions; very hard

Fig. No.	Reg. No.	Locus	Context	Stamped handle No.	Description	Core		Surface Exterior		Surface Interior		Temper, hardness, other
						Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	
10,10	34186		A-2		base	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/3	pink	5 YR 7/4	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/4	many minute to small dark brown grits; some minute to small buff inclusions; some minute sparkling inclusions; very hard; skin: white (2.5 Y 8/2)
<b>PSEUDO-KOAN</b>												
10,11	25026	128	R-27		handle	light brown	7.5 YR 6/4	light gray	10 YR 7/2	very pale brown	10 YR 7/4	some minute to small buff grits; some minute sparkling inclusions; very hard
<b>NORTHERN</b>												
11, 1	28771		R-55		handle	light brownish gray	2.5 YR 6/2	pale yellow	2.5 YR 7/4	pale yellow	2.5 YR 7/4	many minute to medium dark gray grits; very hard
11, 2	35145		T-70		handle							many minute to small dark brown grits; some minute to small buff inclusions; very hard
11, 3	35870		T-57		handle	pinkish gray	7.5 YR 6/2	pinkish gray	7.5 YR 6/2	pinkish gray	7.5 YR 6/2	many minute to medium black grits; some minute to large buff inclusions; few minute to medium gray grits; very hard
<b>PAMPHYLIAN ?</b>												
11, 4	34342		T-90		handle	light red	2.5 YR 6/6	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/4	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/2	some minute to medium brown grits; few minute to small buff inclusions; some minute sparkling inclusions; very hard
11, 5	35867		R-20		handle			reddish yellow	5 YR 6/6	reddish brown	5 YR 5/4	some minute to small buff grits; many minute sparkling inclusions; very hard



Fig. No.	Reg. No.	Locus	Context	Stamped handle No.	Description	Core		Surface Exterior		Surface Interior		Temper, hardness, other
						Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	
KOURIOTE												
11, 6	5115	303	T-58D	68	handle							
BRINDISI												
12, 1	23043	501	T-58D	70	handle							
12, 2	25103		R-51	74	handle							
12, 3	25084	301	T-58D	75	handle							
12, 4	5055	400	T-58		handle							
12, 5	30671		T-300		base	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/4	pink	5 YR 8/4			many minute to very large white grits; some small to medium gray inclusions; few minute to small red brown grits; very hard
12, 6	5063	501	T-58		base							
REPUBLICAN OVOID												
12, 7	26567	162	R-21		base	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/4	light gray	10 YR 6/1	light gray	10 YR 6/1	many minute to small white grits; very hard
12, 8	25373	113	R-27		base	light reddish brown	5 YR 7/6	reddish yellow	5 YR 7/6	reddish yellow	5 YR 7/8	some minute white grits; very few minute sparkling nclusions; very hard
DRESSEL 2/4												
13, 1	25079		R-22		handle	red	2.5 YR 5/6	weak red	2.5 YR 5/1	gray	2.5 YR 5/4	many minute to small buff grits; a few minute black inclusions; few minute to small red brown grits; skin: 5 YR 7/1; database says stamped (!)

Fig. No.	Reg. No.	Locus	Context	Stamped handle No.	Description	Core		Surface Exterior		Surface Interior		Temper, hardness, other
						Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	
13, 2	18636		M-17		handle	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/3	pink	5 YR 7/4	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/3	many minute black grits; few minute white inclusions
13, 3	25024	52	A-259		handle	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/4	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/3	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/3	some small dark brown grits; few minute to small gray inclusions; few minute to small buff grits; very hard
13, 4	26564	166	R-21		handle	pink	5 YR 7/4	dark gray	7.5 YR 8/4	dark gray	7.5 YR 8/4	some minute dark gray grits; few minute white inclusions; very few minute to medium red brown grits; hard
13, 5	21966	150	R-10		base	white	10 YR 8/2	pinkish white	7.5 YR 8/2	pinkish white	7.5 YR 8/2	some minute dark gray grits; few minute to small red brown inclusions; very hard
<b>UNCLASSIFIED</b>												
14, 1	34339		T-70		rim	pink	5 YR 7/3	very pale brown	10 YR 7/3	very pale brown	10 YR 8/3	many minute to medium many colour grits; very hard
14, 2	35861		E-108		rim	reddish yellow	5 YR 7/6	pink	7.5 YR 7/4	pink	7.5 YR 7/4	Knob rim<; some minute to small white grits; few minute to small gray inclusions; date: 1st c. BCE – 1st c. CE (PA, provate communication to BLJ)
14, 3	34223		R-88		rim	light gray	10 YR 7/2	pink	7.5 YR 7/4	very pale brown	10 YR 8/3	Round-off rim<; few minute to small red/brown grits
14, 4	36550	502	T-58		rim	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/4	pink	5 YR 7/4	reddish yellow	5 YR 7/6	Triangular rim<; some minute to small dark gray grits; few minute white inclusions; many minute sparkling inclusions



Fig. No.	Reg. No.	Locus	Context	Stamped handle No.	Description	Core		Surface Exterior		Surface Interior		Temper, hardness, other
						Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	
14, 5	27317	100	C-86		rim	pink	5 YR 7/4	pinkish white	7.5 YR 8/2	dark gray	7.5 YR 8/4	some minute to medium buff grits; few minute to small dark brown inclusions; very hard
14, 6	28632	104	R-51		handle	dark gray	7.5 YR 8/4	white	10 YR 8/2	white	10 YR 8/1	
14, 7	34200		R-47		base	pink	5 YR 7/3	pink	5 YR 7/4	pink	5 YR 7/4	some minute to small dark brown grits; few minute red brown inclusions; very hard
14, 8	34346		R-88		base	light red	2.5 YR 6/8	pink	5 YR 7/4	light red	2.5 YR 6/6	some minute to medium buff grits; some minute to small red brown inclusions; very hard
14, 9	34185		M-17		base	pink	5 YR 7/4	pink	5 YR 7/3	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/4	many minute gray grits; some minute to small dark brown inclusions; few minute buff grits; hard
14, 10	35865		M-2		base	light red	2.5 YR 6/8	reddish yellow	15 YR 7/6	light red	2.5 YR 6/6	some minute to large white grits; few minute to small red brown inclusions
14, 11	25374	400	R-27		base	pink	5 YR 7/4	pink	5 YR 7/4	pink	5 YR 7/4	many minute to medium white grits; few minute to small brown inclusions; very hard
14, 12	34190		T-70		base	light brown	7.5 YR 6/4	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/4	pinkish gray	7.5 YR 6/2	many minute to small dark brown grits; some minute to small light gray inclusions; few minute to small buff grits; very hard
14, 13	25033	127	R-10		base	pink	5 YR 7/4	pink	5 YR 7/3			some minute to small buff grits; few minute to small red brown inclusions; some minute sparkling inclusions; hard

Fig. No.	Reg. No.	Locus	Context	Stamped handle No.	Description	Core		Surface Exterior		Surface Interior		Temper, hardness, other
						Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	Colour	Munsell No.	
14,14	21602		R-63		base	light reddish brown	2.5 YR 6/3	pink	5 YR 7/4	pink	5 YR 6/1	many small to medium red brown grits; some minute to small dark brown inclusions; some minute to small buff grits; very hard
14,15	35881		T-61		base	brown	7.5 YR 5/4	light gray	5 YR 6/1	light gray	5 YR 6/1	some small black grits; few minute to small red brown inclusions; very hard
14,16	34199		T-77		base	very pale brown	10 YR 7/3	light gray	10 YR 7/2	light gray	10 YR 7/2	some minute dark brown grits; very hard
14,17	34192		M-2		base	brown	7.5 YR 5/2	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/4	pink	5 YR 7/4	some minute to small buff grits; few minute to small dark brown inclusions; very hard
14,18	26619	173	R-21		base	light reddish brown	5 YR 6/4	pinkish gray	5 YR 6/2	pinkish gray	5 YR 7/2	some minute to small buff grits; few minute sparkling inclusions; hard

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