Study of the Rhodian Amphorae Handles Stamps From 'Ammān Citadel

Sahar Mansour With a Contribution by Wedad Said and Husam Hjazeen

Our knowledge of the Hellenistic Period in 'Ammān has been gained mainly from a limited number of archaeological excavations, that have revealed remains of Hellenistic occupation. The lack of both architecture and artifacts of the early Hellenistic era is a noticeable phenomenon in all classical sites in Jordan, in comparison with the remains of the late Hellenistic Period.

Furthermore the literary records that shed any light on this period are rare: Polybius (Hist.V,71,9) relates that Antiochus III the Great launched his troops to conquer Coele-Syria after learning that his enemies were concentrated in Philadelphia. He besieged the city and installed his siege machines. The defenders surrendered when a captured prisoner revealed to the besiegers the location of an underground passageway leading to a hidden water supply. They blocked the tunnel with wood, stones and all such kind of things. These events took place in 218BC. The records of Zenon's visit to Trans-Jordan around 256BC contain no suggestion of impressive economic, demographic or cultural conditions. Therefore we cannot disregard any of the Hellenistic artifacts if we wish to create clearer information of this period.

The purpose of this study is to focus on the Greek amphora handles which were discovered during the excavations at the 'Ammān Citadel. In Jordan there are few sources that describe the stamped handles, so much so that the small collections in the Jordanian archaeological museums and stores have not, as yet, been studied.

Even though some of the handles from the 'Ammān Citadel have little chronological significance for the stratigraphy of the site, either because they were discovered in a mixed contexts or surface location, they nevertheless do provide interesting information on the prosopography of the Hellenistic Period. The study of these amphorae can provide important information for our knowledge of Rhodian fabricants and devices used in the stamps. Also they add significantly to the relatively small but growing number of published stamps from Jordan.

We cannot draw much information on commercial relations from this small group, or about the prominence of the site in the Rhodian economy. Nevertheless in neighboring sites, like Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, these commercial containers make potentially good evidence for mapping the history of trade. A line can be drawn from their place of origin to the site where they have been found. It is known that in the Hellenistic Period, major trade routes ran south from coastal Syria through Palestine and Trans-Jordan. The Greek historian Herodotos (III, 5-7) reports the largescale employment of second hand wine jars from Egypt used for carrying water to serve travelers on the desert road to Syria, Zenon (76-77, no.23) papyri mention that Milesian, Samian, Lesbian and Chian jars were reused in various ways, including shipment to other countries.

We cannot tell whether these amphorae reached 'Ammān with their original contents. Presumably they had been shipped to Egypt or Syria from their place of origin, we know, from the papyri that in Hellenistic Egypt jars of many foreign types were used to hold a variety of goods.

The results of excavations in the vicinity of 'Ammān record the presence of numerous rock-cut wine presses of varying shapes and dimensions. As is the case with other agricultural installations in these areas, it is not possible to say exactly when these wine presses were built and used. Some of them predate the Greco-Roman Periods, having been built some time during the Iron Age, like those found near al-'Umayri. Judging by three wine presses and several storage caves surrounding the administrative complex, al-'Umayri comprises a farm for the production of wine. Larry Herr suggests "that the administrators at al-'Umayri were organizing wine-production at the farmsteads for the Ammonite monarchy, hinter land regions attest to fairly extensive wine production activities in this area in the Iron Age IIC/ Persian Period, and the production of wine for export to Babylon as trib-

ute. This practice continued later and wine was sent their protection to Persia as taxes"(Herr 1995a&b).

In the historical sources there are no records supporting Herr's suggestion that Ammonites paid wine tributes to the Babylonians then to Persians.

Another Ammonite site, Rujum Abū Nuṣayr, a wine press was found (Abu-Shmais 2002-3). From a nearby site, Tall Sirān, an inscription on a bottle contains eight lines of Ammonite writing dated to around 600BC (Zayadine and Thompson 1973; Cross 1973b) with references to the centers of farming production, which including cisterns, springs, gardens and vineyard. Siran, an Aramaic word, means gardens, and is still used in Arabic dialect today (Abu-Shmais: 2003). The presence of winepresses in the regions: Hisbān (Ibach 1987: 199), and al-'Umayri (Younker 1991b: 337; Herr 1995a: 121-25; 1997d: 170; 1999b: 231-32) and Khirbat Umm al-Qanāfidh (Ibach 1987: 12, 14) attest to fairly extensive wine production activities in this area in the Iron IIC/ Persian Period, therefore an intertwined question arises about the reasons behind the import of wine from the Aegean Islands.

On the basis of the presence of wine presses in the region, the fruit of the vine and the olive are two traditional staple products of our region through the Ages. We think it is possible to conclude that the existence of these stamped Hellenistic Rhodian handles in the 'Ammān Citadel and at all the Hellenistic sites indicates a Greek settlement during the Hellenistic Period. And also wine and oil were imported from Rhodes for the garrisons posted in the region. Personal taste exercised by consumers in accordance with the fashion in wine consumption was likely to be a minor factor in the import pattern of any state, at least in comparison with economic and political factors.

Rostovtzeff states that "in Trans Jordan sideby-side with the native shaykhs and their tribes, group of towns with a mainly Greek population were in existence during the Seleucid reign" (1928b: 192). Among these was Philadelphia, which was founded on the site of ancient Rabbath-Ammon, and was later brought into the league of the ten cities, the Decapoils, and remained the case until it was annexed by the Romans.

Rhodian Amphorae

Rhodian amphorae usually had two handles both of which were customarily stamped: one bearing the name of the priest during whose term of office the potter's license to manufacture such items was obtained and dated, and the other bearing the name of the potter (Grace 1934: 197-99, 1961: 1011, 1979: 204, 1970: 280-81). "A comparatively large number of complete Rhodian amphorae are preserved. This is particularly fortunate, because the information is regularly divided between the two handles, one given the fabricant's name, the other that of the eponym or official in that year, who in this case is the priest of Helios, plus that of the month, a feature peculiar to Rhodian seals" and respect to the fabricant, "one is not, however, to imagine a craftsman, like the men who signed Attic vases, but a person responsible for an output of standard products, perhaps a pottery operator appointed as a commissioner, as we know bankers some times served as coin magistrates".

Those amphorae were employed to transport and store wine. They may have been used for other purposes. While most Rhodian amphorae were used for the transport and storage of wine, many were used for transport and storage of oil, preserved fish, pitch, water, and the like (Grace 1979: 1).

Most of the stamped handles bear the Greek formula [EIII] followed by a personal genitive. According to Grace "a name accompanied by [EIII] in the term of, is the principal expression which has been recognized as a date" (Grace 1979) and the formula was probably intended to date the license which permitted the concerned potter to manufacture and sell his wares according to specific governmental regulations regarding capacity. The reason for dating amphorae is still not well understood, it is suspected that the primary purpose was tax control based upon standardized capacities, while the secondary purpose was to date the contents and identify the vintage (Grace 1934: 198-99, 1962: 113, 1979).

Those amphorae originate in the Aegean Islands and the surrounding coastal regions, Rhodes, Thasos, Chios and Kos.

The wine of Rhodes was poor, though the pottery was fine, in contrast the wine of Chios, Lesbos and Thasos, were considered fine wines, which improved with age (Grace 1934: 198-199). The most popular imported wine jars to Jordanian sites were Rhodian.

In this article we provided only Grace's period dates, (Grace 1985: 42), following her revision in (1974: 192-200). In this way as more archaeological evidence becomes available and absolute dates for the period change, it will be possible to easily re-date previously published material. Grace's dates were based on a thorough study of Rhodian amphorae and their stamped handles. A good introduction to the making, use, and history of amphorae can be found in Virginia R. Grace's Amphora's and the Ancient Wine Trade, Picture Book 6 in the series of excavations of the Athenian Agora, and especially exports to Athens and Attica, Delos, Pergamon and Alexandria. The material from Alexandria shows a gradual increase in the production of Rhodian amphorae from Period III, culminating in Period V, after which there is a drop, but still with figures higher than any time before the middle of the second century BC. Grace spent a lifetime studying plain, transport amphorae from all over the Mediterranean, particularly those made in Greece. She developed a card-file at the American School of Classical studies in Athens of over 150.000 amphorae or amphora fragments. Her chronology of Greek commercial amphora stamps has been developed on the basis of stamp pairs' changes in the shape of the amphorae and their handles were discovered in archaeological contexts. The periods established by Grace (1970: 286, 301) and revised for the third century BC. In her revision, the earlier Hellenistic chronology (Grace 1974: 193-200) is as follows: Period I. ca. 289-240 BC. Period II. ca. 240-210 BC.

Period II. ca. 240-210 BC. Period III. ca. 210-175 BC. Period IV. ca. 175-146 BC. Period V. ca. 146-108 BC. Period VI. ca. 108-shortly after 80BC. Period VII. Up to ca. 30 BC. (?)

Of the 26 Greek amphorae stamped handles recovered during the excavations at the Citadel of 'Ammān between the years 2000-2001, 24 of them are of Rhodian origin, and they were temporarily identified within the periods defined by Grace on the basis of their legends. Seven handles were found to date to Period I, with one of them to continue to Period II, two fell within Period II, with one to continue in Period III, two fell within Period III, with one to continue in Period IV and two within Period IV, five fell within Period V, and one fell within Period VI. Two handles could not be so confidently dated, and their ware and devices may date three unreadable handles to the second century BC. These handles may be attributed to the period between the third century BC and the late second century BC. These handles seemingly match the early scholarly consensus in that the primary volume of Rhodian trade took place between 225-150BC and mainly in second century BC (Grace 1934: 200).

It seems that they fall within the third century through second century BC. These handles reflect the import of predominantly Rhodian wine to 'Ammān between the third and second centuries BC.

1-ΕΠΙΑΓΗ / Αγήσιππου CIΠΠΟΥ



Rectangular stamp measuring (3x1.5cm) on a curved horizontal part of the handle. The handle displays the qualities of the typical Rhodian amphora fabric: hard clay that fractures smoothly and feels harsh. Some small inclusions the surface is pinkish white, the core is reddish yellow (5YR6/6), and the slip is reddish yellow (5YR6/8). Small voids and very small inclusions are visible.

Aγήσιππου, a stamp bearing this name was found in the dump of the Athenian Agora and was dated to the third century BC (Rotroff 1982: 99, F.5: 1). In here revision Grace dated this eponym to the third century BC (240-225BC) (Grace 1974: 194, 199, no.126), Aγήσιππου have been found at 'Ammān Citadel (Russell 1997: 44, no.9) Samaria (Crowfoot 1957: 380), Ophel, Jerusalem (Macalister 1926: 204) Umm Qays (Weber 1986: II.F.42), and Umm Qays (Rousan 1998: 60-61, no.7)

2-ΕΠΙΑΓΩ / Επίαγλωκρίτου ΚΡΙΤΟΥ

Stamp: rectangular (4x1.9cm) found on a handle with a curved profile, legend giving Rhodian eponym in two lines and the head of Helios placed



to the left of the eponym's name. It is clear that the die struck the handle twice.

The fabric is typically Rhodian: hard smooth clay, with a harsh feel, some voids are visible. Small cracks and inclusions are infrequent. Some very small rounded pale brown and white, probably limestone inclusions are visible. The surface is very pale brown (10YR7/3) the core is (7.5YR6/ 6) and so is the slip

The eponym's name is uncommon. One example of the same name comes from the lower fill of an Agora cistern, dated to the fourth century BC, an early date suggested according to the amphora ware is in early third century (Grace 1934: 222, no.22). An eponym $E\pi(\alpha\gamma\lambda\omega\kappa\rho(\tau\sigma\nu)$ is mentioned in an inscription, Collitz-Bechtel, SGDI, 3486, dated by the editors to the second century BC by Van Gilder, ca. 227. (From Hiller's list.)

- ΑΓΟΡ[Α]ΝΑ[ΚΤΟ]Σ	Αγοάνακτος
ΠΑΝ[AM]OY	Πάναμους

A rectangular stamp with a portion of rim preserved. It is hard clay with smooth fractures and a harsh feel. The core is red 2.5YR5/6, the external is pink 5YR8/4, and the slip is yellowish red (5YR 5/8). Sparse small voids and small dull brown inclusions are visible.

In this fabricant's type the name of the month always follows his own name in the same stamp. The evidence suggests that he regularly placed a



head of Helios to the left of the eponym's name in the companion type on the other handle of the amphora.

Stamps of Ayoávaktos are known from a number of sites across the Mediterranean, including at Delos where they are associated with the month Πάναμος. Grace dated the period of this fabricant's activity to the second half of the third century BC (Periods II-III, 220-180BC) based on parallel examples from the Athenian Agora and Pergamon deposits (Grace and Petropoulakou 1970: 302, E.I). Another example comes from Rhodes with the month which, follows the fabricant's name on one handle, while on the other is inscribed the eponym accompanied with the image of god Helios (Grace 1979: fig. 25) Delos (Grace, 1970: 314, no.33). Other examples are from Umm Qays where the fabricant's name was followed by the month Αγριάνου (Rousan 1998: 112-113, pl.23, no. 48), Umm Qays (Weber 1986: II, F.16), 'Irāq al-Amir (Lapp 1983: 22, no.125), Jabal Ophel, Jerusalem (Macalister 1926: 204), and Samaria (Crowfoot and Kenyon 1957: 382).

4-ΑΓΟ[ΡΑΝΑ]ΚΤΟΣ Αγοάνακτος ΘΕ[ΣΜΟ]ΦΟΡΙΟΥ Θεσμοφόριος

The stamp is rectangular $(3.2 \times 1.5 \text{ cm})$ with a legend giving, in two lines, a fabricant name $A\gamma o d\nu \alpha \kappa \tau \sigma \sigma$, followed by the name of the month $\Theta \epsilon \sigma \mu o \phi \delta \rho \iota \sigma \sigma$ set within a frame in the same stamp, there are no missing letters but the die is not pressed well, the handle itself is of an oval cross section (3.8 \times 3.2 \text{ cm}). It is made of hard clay with smooth fractures; the slip is (5YR7/8), the core (5YR 5/8) is yellowish red, and the external is pinkish grey (5YR7/2). A few white inclusions are visible and there are infrequent very small rounded



dull brown inclusions. For dating and parallels see preceding artifact.

5-Ε[ΠΙ]ΑΝΤΙ/ [ΠΑΤ]ΡΟΥ/ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ ΠΑΝ[Α]ΜΟΥ ΕπιΑντίπατρος/ιέρωνος Παναμος



An eponym stamp belonging to $A\nu\tau(\pi\alpha\tau\rho\sigma\varsigma)$ followed by the fabricant name $I\epsilon\rho\omega\nu\sigma\varsigma$ stamped in month $\Pi\alpha\nu\alpha\mu\sigma\varsigma$ on the same handle in three lines. The impression is faint especially in the beginning of the first line, and broken at the beginning of the second line, uncertain reading.

A rectangular stamp measuring (3.5x1.5cm) is found on a curved horizontal part of the handle that is broken at the joint with the neck, it is of hard clay with smooth fractures and a harsh feel. The core is red (2.5YR5/6), the external is pink (5YR8/ 4), and the slip is yellowish red (5YR5/8). Sparse small and medium voids and small dull brown inclusions are visible.

The eponym Avtí $\pi \alpha \tau \rho \sigma_S$ is generally dated to Grace's Period V (146-108BC) and more specifically to 115BC by G. Finkielsztejn. Rectangular stamps of Avtí $\pi \alpha \tau \rho \sigma_S$ have been found at Delos, (Grace 1952: 528) Tall 'Anafa, (Finkielsztejn: 192-3) Kition (Calvet 1993: 64, fig. 36) and Rhodes including Lindos (Nilsson 1909: 372). Grace dated the farther name lé $\rho\omega\nu\sigma_S$ to late Period V or early Period VI, we also note the name lé $\rho\omega\nu\sigma_S$ as eponym (Grace 1970: 305 E. 15) in the list of (Ophel) Jerusalem (Maclister 1926: 208), and (Tall Istabah) Beth Shean (Landau and Tzaferis 1979: 155, no.10).

6- ΕΠΙ[ΑΡΙ]ΣΤΕΙΔΑ ΕπιΑριστείδας ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ Σμίνθιου



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The stamp is circular with a rose of Rhodes in the center, with the legend giving Rhodian eponym (preposition eponym) and the month framed between inner and outer circles, beginning in the upper left.

The fabric is hard clay with smooth fractures and a harsh feel. The core is red (2.5YR5/6) the external is pink (5YR8/4) and the slip is yellowish red (5YR5/8). Sparse small voids and small dull brown inclusions are visible.

Rhodian amphorae are regularly dated annually according to the change of priest at Helios. Apí- $\sigma\tau\epsilon i\delta a$ was one such priest (Grace 1948: 17). This eponym is corresponds with the fabricant Navios appearing in the Pergamon deposit but not in the (slightly earlier), middle Stoa building in Athens. Navios probably he worked into the second quarter of the second century BC (Grace and Petropoulakou 1970: 304, no. E.II). The eponym Aristeivda dated much earlier Rhodain stamps (Grace1970: 304, 291) and dated to the last quarter of the late third century and probably to early second century BC where this name appeared on a Knidian handle in the Athenian Agora (Grace 1968: 230, no. 57).

On another Rhodian handle, with a month Apταμτίου (Grace 1968: 240, no.96) from the Pergamon an Αριστείδα named on a single handle was readily distinguished by the shape and the finish of the handle as a homonym of the third century BC (Grace 1985: 32, E.8). In Samaria two eponyms Αριστείδα were dated according to Grace chronological divisions: the first to Period I (end of the fourth century BC 280 BC), while the second dated to Period III 220-180BC (Crowfoot 1957: 381). Also two eponyms Αριστείδα I were dated to 220-180BC, and Αριστείδα II was left without dating (Hiller Von Gaertringen 1931: 836, nos. 59, 60) Also see 'Amman Citadel (Russell 1997: 48, no. 28), Umm Qays (Rousan 1998: 52, no.1), Kition (Calvet 1982: 19, no. 26), Samaria (Crowfoot 1957: 381) and Jerusalem (Macalister 1926: 205).

7-[Ε]ΠΑΡΙ/ [Σ]ΤΕΙΔΑ

Αριστείδα

This is a rectangular stamp with a portion of the rim preserved. Two lines bear the Greek eponym $A\rho\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\delta\alpha$ we noted that the stamp bears the Greek formula (EII) without the letter (I: Iota) like the other stamps, this has appeared in many other examples (Macalister 1912: 363) (Liddell and Scott 1968: 821).

Fabric of handle: hard clay with harsh and smooth fractures. External fabric is red (2.5YR5/6) with reddish brown core (2.5YR5/3). Very fre-



quent small brown inclusions are visible. For a parallel example see the preceding number.



Who uses a circular stamp with the rose above the legend and survives on a portion the preserved rim. It is on hard clay with smooth fractures and harsh feel. The core is red (2.5YR5/6), the external is pink (5YR8/4), and the slip is yellowish red (5YR5/8). Sparse small voids and small dull brown inclusions are visible.

From the Pergamon deposit the year of the Rhodian eponym Aptoto8a μ os is probably between the 182-175 BC (Grace 1985: 8-9). Many examples are from Delos (Grace 1970: 334, 341 E.136 E.100), and from the Pergamon deposit (Grace 1970: 291, 304. E.11). See also Ophel, Jerusalem (Macalister 1926: 205).

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Rectangular stamp measuring (5x2cm) on a curved horizontal part of the handle is broken at the joint with the vertical and the neck of the amphora. The stamp is in three lines, the certain letter-traces in the end of the first line, and the second had suggested a reading Apiotopiéveus and the month Kapveiou. The fabric of the handle is Rhodian: hard clay with a harsh feels and smooth fractures. The external color is pink (7.5YR8/4), the core is reddish yellow (5YR6/6), and the slip is yellowish red (5YR5/8). There are many white inclusions mostly very small to small.

This stamp had been attributed to Period V (Grace 1952: 528) but a later date is more probable, Period VI, based on the appearance of two examples from Delos, and handles from Alexandria (Grace 1970: 314-315, no. E.39, E.41) (Grace 1968, no.5).

10- ΕΠΙΔ[ΑΜ]Α/ ΕπίΔαμοαίντου ΙΝ[Ε]ΤΟΥ

ΔΑΛΙΟΥ Δαλιου

A rectangular stamp given in three lines, with a legend giving the Rhodian eponym and the month. Some of the letters are worn, the handle cross-section is oval, and of a hard and well-levigated clay. Some small inclusions that are probably grog or clay pellets. The external color is pink (7.5YR8/3), slip is reddish yellow 7.5YR7/6, and core is (7.5YR 5/5).

(Grace 1950: 143, no. 48; Grace and Petropoulakou 1970: 305 no. E.7), dated to 180-150BC (Grace and Petropoulakou 1970: 304; corrected according to Grace 1974).

Additional published stamps of the eponym $\Delta \alpha$ µoα(ντου are from the 'Ammān Citadel, with the month Αρταμίτιου (Russell 1997: 48, no.32), Samaria, (Crowfoot 1957: 382) and Ophel, Jerusalem (Macalister 1926: 207).



11- ΔΑ[ΜΟΝ]ΙΚΟΣ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ Δαμόνικος Δάλιου



Rectangular stamp with a device, but the impression is very faint. The jar is a product of the Rhodian fabricant, $\Delta \alpha \mu \delta \nu \iota \kappa \sigma_S$ stamped of month $\Delta \dot{\alpha} \lambda \iota \sigma \upsilon_S$, the fabric is typically Rhodian: hard smooth clay, with a harsh feel. Clay color: the external is pink (7.5YR8/3), the core is reddish yellow (7.5YR6/6), and slip is yellowish red (5YR5/6). More than 50 amphorae of this type were found from the Soleil deposit in the city of Rhodes. This fabricant is cited with patronymic: Πυσανιας ό Tελέωνος. It is dated to the third century BC (Grace 1970: 293, E.12). Also this fabricant name

was found in Samaria (Crowfoot 1957: 383) and Ophel Jerusalem (Macalister 1926: 207).



Legend gives the Rhodian fabricant in two lines. It is a rectangular (3x1.5cm) stamp with a portion of rim. The fabric: external is reddish yellow (7.5YR7/6) slip is very pale brown, and the core (7.5YR7/6) reddish yellow. The handle displays the qualities of the typical Rhodian amphora fabric: the clay is hard and well levigated, small voids are visible and infrequent very small rounded white and brown inclusions are visible. Fabricant Διονύσιου dated to Period I-II (Grace 1950: 135, no.2, 139, no.2). An identical stamp was published by Grace in (1934: 251, no. 131). The potter's name transcribed should probably be read Aloνύσιου on our example the final S of the potter's name is clear. The dates proposed for this potter Διονύσιου (there was also a later one) and the group of eponyms and potters to which he belongs, is the late third to early second century BC (Grace1934: 241). This was later revised by Grace to the second half of the second century BC, (Knidian Group C, contemporary with Rhodian Period V (Grace and Petropoulakou 1970: 320, 323-324, 328, E.70, naming the eponym $\Phi(\lambda \pi \pi \sigma s)$. For other stamps of this type, with the name of the potter in the nominative or the genitive case, see (Dumont 1871: 208, nos.390-391), and for further stamps of the potter Διονψσιοσιν the term of another eponyms (Grace 1970: 383, no.7, 384, no.15) and without the amphora device (Grace 1970: 208, nos. 392-393.). Another identical example comes from the great temple excavations at the 'Ammān Citadel (Russell 1997: 44, no.6), and other parallel examples were found at Samaria (Crowfoot 1957: 383).

13- ΕΠΙΑΛΛΙ[Κ]ΡΤΕΥΣ Επικαλλικράτευς ΘΕ[....]



A stamp of the eponym καλλικρατευς is on a circular stamp with a rose of Rhodes in the center with a portion of rim preserved. The legend gives the Rhodian eponym and month Θεσμοφόριος or month Θευδίσιος framed between inner and outer circles, beginning in the upper left. It is of hard clay with smooth fractures; slip is yellowish red (5YR7/8), core color is (5YR 5/8) and the external is pinkish grey (5YR7/2). Infrequent very small rounded dull brown inclusions, and a few white inclusions are visible. Many examples come from Pergamon, Carthage. Hiller dated this eponym to 220-180 BC. In Thasian this stamp found with many fifth to fourth century pottery (Grace 1934: 210). There may have been more than one $\kappa \alpha \lambda$ λικράτευς year (Grace 1934: 224, no.29), Grace 1974: 197, note 17). Grace dated this stamp to Period V (Grace 1952: 529). See also Jerusalem (Macalister 1929: 208) and Kition (Calvet 1982: no.49).

14- ΜΑΡΣΥΑ Μαρυσύα ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ Αγριανιου

A fabricant's stamp, which belongs to Mapuova in two lines and is stamped with the month of Ayplavious in a big legend, the impression is clear except the letter [Y] Epsilon in both lines. The stamp, rectangular in shape (4x2cm), is on the horizontal part of the handle and is long and flat. It is broken at the joint with the vertical part of the handle and the joint with the neck. The handle displays the qualities of the typical Rhodian amphora fabric of well-levigated, hard clay, with smooth fractures



and harsh feel, and small rounded dull brown inclusions are visible. The stamp impression of the fabricant Mapuσúa is very common. They have been found in Delos, Athens, Pergamon and Rhodes (Grace, 1970: 314, E.37) Alexandria and Lindos. Additional published stamps of this fabricant are in Samaria list (Crowfoot 1957: 383), Jerusalem (Macalister 1923-25: 209), and Kition (Calvet 1982, no.68).

Usually this fabricant is linked with both eponym's ITELGLGTPATOU and $\Delta \alpha \mu \rho \kappa \lambda \epsilon_S$ Mapugúas is dated to Grace's Periods III and IV. This date has been determined by finds of intact amphorae linking Mapugúas with both Period III and Period IV eponyms (Grace 1970: 314, E.37). See also Kition (Calvet 1982, no.68).

15- MENEKΛΕΥ[Σ] Μενεκλευς

This rectangular stamp belongs to a number of slightly different readings of the name, usually accompanied below by a cluster of grapes, in this example accompanied with a hook set below horizontally. A flaw in the die is noticeable in the lower left corner of the seal. The fabric is typically Rhodian of hard smooth clay, with a harsh feel. Clay color: the surface is very pale brown (10YR 8/3), the core is reddish yellow (7.5YR 7/6), and slip is reddish yellow (7.5YR6/6).

For the name with the device see Nilsson (1909:



158) where examples from Alexandria are cited. In the Grace archive there are further examples from Alexandria, Jerusalem, Beirut, Cyprus, Delos and Rhodes. Grace saw a whole amphora of the fabricant dated in the term of Apíotpas month Aγplávos 1949 in Beirut museum, Period V (Grace 1970: 332, E.85) in her revision she dated it to the first century (Grace 1962: group L. P.II4).



A rectangular stamp measuring (3.3x1.6cm): legend is a fabricant's name, the letters are complete and clear, the handle's cross-section is oval, external color is pink (7.5YR8/4), slip color is reddish yellow (7.5YR7/6), and the core is light reddish brown (5YR6/4). It is on the flat horizontal part of the handle, broken at the joint with the ver-

tical part of the handle, the die is impressed well, with no letters missing. The handle is made of hard clay, with smooth fractures and a harsh feel, welllevigated clay, inclusions are rare in white and brown color.

A context for this fabricant found in a storeroom in the Citadel of Ankara, the same name endorses stamps on handles from Carthage of an earlier period, having with it as devices of piloi with stars, or a cluster of grapes or caduceus dated to Period 1V (Grace 1970: 331, E. 30).

The same stamp handles bearing this name were found at Samaria (Crowfoot and Kenyon 1957: 381) and Kition (Calvet 1982, nos.70.71.72).

17- ΕΠΙΞΕΝΑΡΕΤΟΥ ΕπίΞενάρτος

 18- ΧΑΡΗΤΟΣ
 Χάρητος

 ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ
 Πάναμος

 Restorable jar with two inscribed handles,



found in a small room at the west part of the casemate wall over a plastered floor with a large amount of Rhodian jar sherds and another 6 stamped handles.

The stamps are rectangular, with the two impressions have the same measurement $(2.9 \times 1.2 \text{ cm})$, the reading is fairly certain, the right stamp bears a legend giving the Rhodian eponym $\Xi \epsilon \nu \alpha \rho \tau \sigma_S$ in two lines to the left of a schematic device of wreaths. The second stamp on the left handle belongs to the Rhodian fabricant $X \alpha \rho \eta \tau \sigma_S$ and month $\Pi \alpha \nu \alpha \mu \sigma_S$ in two lines, the fabric is typically Rhodian: hard smooth clay, with a harsh feel. Clay color: the external is reddish yellow (7.5YR6/6), the core reddish yellow (5YR6/6), and the slip is very pale brown (10YR7/4). Inclusions are infrequent and well sorted. A very small rounded dull reddish brown inclusions.

The eponym $\Xi \epsilon \nu \alpha \rho \tau \sigma s$ is dated to the third century BC end of Period I beginning of Period II (Grace 1970: 301; 1985: 52, nos.16, 34) and 'Ammān Citadel (Russell 1997: 44, no.7).

The fabricant name $X \alpha \rho \eta \tau \sigma_S$ is rare. Nilsson mentions example from Lindos (Nilsson 1909, no. 433) and 4 examples are in Grace's list (Grace 1970: 335, nos. E.245, E.246, E.247). See also Kition (Calvet 1982: 14, no.96).

19- Ε[...] ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ[Σ]

Παυσανίας



The stamp is rectangular, scratched and broken from the right side and measures (3.3x1.6cm). The object was found in a mixed dump. Legend is of an eponym only $\Pi a \upsilon \sigma a \nu i \alpha_S$. The letters are complete and clear except of the last letter S, located on the upper curved bend of the handle. The handle crosssection is oval. The object was found in a mixed dump. The fabric is of hard clay with smooth fractures, infrequent very small rounded white and dark brown inclusions. The Slip color is reddish yellow (7.5YR6/6), and the external color is pink (7.5YR7/4) and so is the core.

There are different examples of this eponym Παυσανίας from different periods of time, the first is datable to about the period of Thompson's Hellenistic group B end of the fourth century BC (Grace 1963: 424, note 12, and 326, note 16.), (Grace 1960: 200-201, fig. 231, 1961: 881, fig. 5) (Grace 1968: 224-225, no.30-37). The second eponym Παυσανίας II, that identified later in the third century BC in the base of name association and shape of whole jar (Grace 1970: 304, E.12.). The third is named on many handles in the first half of the second century. Of this name Grace dated many examples respectively in Period late II and IV. Examples are from Corinth and Carthage (Grace 1970: 304-305, E.12). From the Athenian Agora came an example with the same eponym, the fabricant and month were dated to the period between 180-150BC (Grace 1934: 302, nos.5, 6). This eponym was dated by Hiller to the period between 180-150BC, (Hiller von Gaertringen 1931: 839, no.239). Publications stamps from Jordan include: two stamps from the 'Amman Citadel, the first with the inscriptions Παυσανίας; Υακνθιος dating to the middle of the second century BC, it was found in the strata which represent the Hellenistic phase (Seleucid Period) that started in Philadelphia in the year 218BC, when Antiochus II occupied the city from the Egyptian king Ptolemaic IV. In this strata were also found two coins of the Emperor Antiochus Epiphanies era, which dated back to the period between 175-164 BC (Zayadine 1973: 28, 30). The second one came from the upper terrace of the 'Amman Citadel with the legend $E\pi i \Pi a \upsilon \sigma a \nu i a \varsigma \Sigma \mu i \nu \theta \iota o \upsilon dated to the period$ between 180-150BC (Zayadine 1977-78: 37). Another example from Pella, (Tabagat Fahl) holding eponym Παυσανίας, was dated to the period between 180-150 BC (Hennessy 1980: 17), Umm Qays (Weber 1986: 11. F.14.73) provides another example holding the same legend and dated to the second half of the second century BC was found in Umm Qays (Rousan 1998: 82, no.22). See also Samaria (Crowfoot 1957: 382) and Kition (Calvet 1982: 31, nos.79,80).

ΑΡΤΑΜΙΣ	Αρταμίτιος
20- ΕΠΙΠΟ[Λ] / ΑΡΑΤΟΥ	ΕπίΠολυαράτους



Legend in large letters gives the Rhodian eponym' $\Pi o \lambda u a \rho a \tau o u$ and the month $A \rho \tau a \mu (\tau \iota o \varsigma)$ in three lines on a rectangular stamp measuring (4x1.8cm). The fabric of the handle is hard clay, with a harsh feel and smooth fractures. There are some small and medium voids, little inclusions are visible are mostly very small and rounded. Dull brown in color, some less frequent white inclusions possibly limestone are visible but are very small. The slip is reddish yellow (5YR7/6), the core is pink (5YR8/3), and the external is pinkish white (7.5YR8/2). Handle cross-section is oval (3.9x3.5 cm).

Grace dated this Rhodian eponym Πολυαράτου from impression stamp from Delos to Period V was followed in office by the eponym $K\lambda\eta\nu$ όστρατος II (Grace 1970: 316, 317 and E.45: 300).

The second example bears the Rhodian eponym $\Pi o \lambda u a \rho a \tau o u$ I is known and is datable to the second half of the second century BC (Grace 1963: 333).

The third example from the excavation of the great temple at 'Ammān Citadel has the month Baδρόμιος dated to the same period (Russell 1997: 49, no.34). Also this eponym appeared in Samaria list (Crowfoot and Kenyon 1957: 383) and Jerusalem (Macalister 1901: 128-29, no. 188).



Χρήσιμος



A circular stamp with a rose of Rhodes in the center of the legend gives the Rhodian name Χρήσιμος. The impression is faint especially in the right part towards the neck of the vessel. The fabric is typically Rhodian and is of hard clay that fractures smoothly and feels harsh. The core is light red (2.5YR7/8), slip is light red (2.5YR6/6), and the external is pink (2.5YR8/3). It is of welllevigated clay with few visible inclusions, some infrequent, very small rounded white inclusions are visible. Χρήσιμος name is rare on Rhodian amphorae, only four examples from Agora in Athena dated by their context to the third century BC (Grace 1934: 237 nos. 83, 84). Another Χρήσιμος comes from Samaria list (Crowfoot and Kenvon 1957: 384) and Kition (Calvet 1982: 35, no.97)

22-ΕΠΙ[...]ΟΥ[...]ΟΥΣ[...]



The letters are not legible. A circle stamp with a rose of Rhodes in the center of the stamp is faint and a part toward the neck is broken. It is probably dated to second century BC. For types of Rhodian's rose see Grace (1985: pl. 1: nos. 2a, 2c, 3a, 3c). The fabric is Rhodian: hard well-levigated clay, with a harsh feel, and small voids in the surfaces, from rounded to large sub-angular pale yellow-white inclusions. The core is red (2.5YR5/6), the external is pink (5YR8/4), and the slip is yellowish red (5YR 5/8).

23-X[.]O[...]ΜΑΥΛ[...]NΩN



This stamp is rounded, with a faint circular, legend and rose of Rhodes in the central device. Probably dated to second century BC. The fabric is Rhodian: hard well-levigated clay with smooth fractures and a harsh feel. Small voids and very small dull reddish brown and white inclusions are visible. The color of the core is reddish-yellow (7.5YR7/6) also the slip, and the external is pink (7.5YR8/3).





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Probably an eponym name (stamp impression is very faint) the name is not restorable. A portion of the rim is preserved, and is stamped in the month $\Pi \dot{\alpha}\nu \alpha \mu \alpha \beta$. It is of a hard clay and well-levigated, with no inclusions visible. The fabric: external is pink (7.5YR8/3), the core is reddish yellow (7.5YR6/6), and the slip is yellowish red (5YR5/6).

25- CEA /

TAIO (Origin uncertain)



No parallel is noted for this stamp and the further one (no.26) though the letters are readable they do not correspond with any name of Grace's list. The handles are different in the clay and fabric. They are probably derived from a single clay source. This clay source did not precisely match any known Rhodian clays or known local clays. The silica temper in the clay indicates that the clay sources as well, should be on or quite close to the coast.

Grace in her study indicates that the idea of two-handle pottery container made especially for transporting it seems to have originated with the Canaanites, further of the Phoenicians, in the coastal area of later Syria (Grace 1979: 1-3). A rectangular stamp measuring (3x1.5cm) has the amphora as a device on the amphora between the two lines. The handle is different to the others as it is flat and of a coarse fabric compared with the most of the other handle in the collection. The clay is well-levigated, a crack is visible in the core, also small size angular sparkling white inclusions (quartz) is common, as are rounded yellowish cream inclusions.

26- ΥΟΙΘΥΠ (Origin uncertain)



Like stamp no. 25, no parallel is noted for this stamp, nor can the origin of the handle be determined. They do not correspond with any name on Grace's list.

A rectangular stamp measuring (3x1.3cm), the handle is different to the others: it is flat, and of a coarse fabric compared with the most of the other handle in the collection. The core is light red (2.5YR7/8), slip is light red (2.5YR6/6), and the external is pink (2.5YR8/3). The clay is hard and well-levigated; a crack is visible in the core of the handle, also small size angular sparkling white inclusions (quartz) is common, as are rounded yellowish cream inclusions.

General Notes on the Rhodian Stamps

24 of 26 stamped Greek amphora handles recovered during the project excavation at 'Ammān Citadel possess legends, devices, or their fabricant attributes which suggest their Rhodian origin. Seven of them bear the Rhodian rose, one bears the head of Helios, one bears the hook, and another bears a wreath within the legends. All ten of the eponyms and nine of the probable ten fabricant names identified were previously known from other contexts as Rhodian priests of Helios or as potters (Grace 1953: 122-24). Twelve handles bore the name of Rhodian months. It is now uncommon to find a new name except on very early or very late handles (Grace and Pertropoulakou 1970: 300) but we have example no.15 which bears the name $I \in \rho \omega \nu \sigma \sigma$ as a fabricant followed by the eponym Aντίπατρος and he is known as a priest of Helios in Grace list and other publications.

Two example are not of Rhodian origin nos. 25

and 26 are different in clay and fabric. They do not correspond with any name on Grace's list, and are of undetermined origin, the Rhodian handles all have a fairly uniform fabric and slip (readings from the Munsell Soil Color Charts 1994). The Rhodian fabric consists of well-levigated clay with some small grit inclusions. The color of the fabric ranges from light red 2.5YR5/6 to reddish brown 2.5YR6/ 6 and reddish yellow 5YR7/6 various shades 5YR7/4,8/4 of pink and 7.5YR in various shades. The color of the slip ranges from shades of pink 7.5YR in various shades to very pale brown 10YR 8/3-8/4.

The percentage of the handles datable at various periods generally follows the pattern shown in Delois, Pergamon, and Rhodes. The earlier Periods (I and II according to Grace's divisions) are sparsely represented. These earlier handles nos. 2, 18 and 21 are rarely represented in the Rhodian handles.

Regardless of the contents of the amphorae, or whether they arrived to 'Ammān with their original content or a refill, the fact remains evident that 'Ammān enjoyed a prominent position with vital trade connections in this time with the Hellenistic world.

List of the Greek Stamps

This list only covers names, letters, months and devices, which have been read in the group of stamps, recovered during the 'Ammān Citadel excavations 2000-2001

1-Αγήσιππους Rhodian eponym, no. 1.

2-Αγλωκρίτους Rhodian eponym, no. 2

3-Αγοράνακτος Rhodian fabricant, no. 3 and 4 4-Αντίπατρος Rhodian eponym. no. 5 5-ΕπιΑρίστείδα Rhodian eponym, nos. 6 and 7 6-Αρίστόδαμος Rhodian fabricant, no. 8 7-Αριστομενευς Rhodian eponym, no. 9 8-Δαμαίνετους Rhodian eponym, no. 10 9-Δαμόνιτκος Rhodian fabricant, no. 11 10-Διονυσίους Rhodian fabricant, no. 12 11-καλλικράτευς Rhodian eponym, no. 13 12-Maρυσύa Rhodian fabricant, no. 14 13-Μενεκλεύς Rhodian fabricant, no. 15 14-Níκια Rhodian fabricant, no. 16 15-lépωνos Rhodian fabricant?, no. 5 16-Ξενάρετος Rhodian eponym, no. 17. 17-Παυσανίας Rhodian fabricant, no. 19. 18-Πολυαράτους Rhodian eponym, no. 20. 19-Χάρητος Rhodian fabricant, no. 18 20-Χρήσιμος Rhodian fabricant, no. 21

The Rhodian months

Χειμερινή έξάμρηνος (Winter months)
1- Θεσμοφόριος (October - November) no 4(?) 13

- 2- Διόσθυος Not represented November December)
- 3- Θευδαίσιος4?(December January)
- 4- Πεταγείτνυος (January February) Not represented
- 5- Βαδρόμιος February March Not represented
- 6- Σμίνθιος March April no. 7. Θερινή εξάμηνος (summer months)
- 7- Αρταμίτιος (April May) no,20
- 8- Aypiavios (May June) no.14
- 9- Υακνθιος (June July) Not represented
- 10- Πάναμος (July August) nos. 3,5,18,24
- 11- Καρνείος (June July) no. 9
- 12- Δάλιος (September October) nos.10, 11
- 13- λ Πάναμος β leap month, intercalary month.

The devices

Rhodian, rose. Nos. 7, 8, 13, 21, 22, 23, 24 Helios head. No. 2 Wreath. Nos. 17, 18 Amphora. No. 25 Hook. No. 15

> Sahar Mansour Department of Antiquities P.O Box 88

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