The Marble Dedication of Komon, Son of Asklepiades, from Egypt: Material, Provenance, and Reinforcement of Meaning

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	PRESENTATION	15
	NECROLOGY: NORMAN HERZ (1923-2013) by Susan Kane	17
1.	APPLICATIONS TO SPECIFIC ARCHEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS – USE OF MARBLE	
	Hermaphrodites and Sleeping or Reclining Maenads: Production Centres and Quarry Marks Patrizio Pensabene	25
	First Remarks about the Pavement of the Newly Discovered Mithraeum of the Colored Marbles at Ostia and New Investigations on Roman and Late Roman White and Colored Marbles from Insula IV, IX Massimiliano David, Stefano Succi and Marcello Turci	22
	Alabaster. Quarrying and Trade in the Roman World: Evidence from Pompeii and Herculaneum	
	Simon J. Barker and Simona Perna	45
	Recent Work on the Stone at the Villa Arianna and the Villa San Marco (Castellammare di Stabia) and Their Context within the Vesuvian Area Simon J. Barker and J. Clayton Fant	65
	Marble Wall Decorations from the Imperial Mausoleum (4 th C.) and the Basilica of San Lorenzo (5 th C.) in Milan: an Update on Colored Marbles in Late Antique Milan <i>Elisabetta Neri, Roberto Bugini and Silvia Gazzoli</i>	79
	Sarcophagus Lids Sawn from their Chests Dorothy H. Abramitis and John J. Herrmann	89
	The Re-Use of Monolithic Columns in the Invention and Persistence of Roman Architecture Peter D. De Staebler	95
	The Trade in Small-Size Statues in the Roman Mediterranean: a Case Study from Alexandria Patrizio Pensabene and Eleonora Gasparini	101
	•	101
	The Marble Dedication of Komon, Son of Asklepiades, from Egypt: Material, Provenance, and Reinforcement of Meaning Patricia A. Butz	109
	Multiple Reuse of Imported Marble Pedestals at Caesarea Maritima in Israel Barbara Burrell	117
	Iasos and Iasian Marble between the Late Antique and Early Byzantine Eras	123

	Thassos, Known Inscriptions with New Data Tony Kozelj and Manuela Wurch-Kozelj	131
	The Value of Marble in Roman <i>Hispalis</i> : Contextual, Typological	
	and Lithological Analysis of an Assemblage of Large Architectural	
	Elements Recovered at N° 17 Goyeneta Street (Seville, Spain)	
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
	Ruth Taylor, Oliva Rodríguez, Esther Ontiveros, María Luisa Loza,	1.42
	José Beltrán and Araceli Rodríguez	143
	Giallo Antico in Context. Distribution, Use and Commercial Actors According	
	to New Stratigraphic Data from the Western Mediterranean (2 nd C. Bc – Late 1 st C. Ad)	
	Stefan Ardeleanu	155
	Augsthustus, Amaient Duopouties and Isomographic Colostion	
	Amethystus: Ancient Properties and Iconographic Selection Luigi Pedroni	167
	278,7 200,000	
2.	PROVENANCE IDENTIFICATION I: (MARBLE)	
	Unraveling the Carrara – Göktepe Entanglement	
	Walter Prochaska, Donato Attanasio and Matthias Bruno	175
	Transfer Trochasta, Donato Ittanasio ana Fiannas Drano	173
	The Marble of Roman Imperial Portraits	
	Donato Attanasio, Matthias Bruno, Walter Prochaska and Ali Bahadir Yavuz	185
	Tracing Alabaster (Gypsum or Anhydrite) Artwork Using Trace Element Analysis	
	and a Multi-Isotope Approach (Sr, S, O)	
	Lise Leroux, Wolfram Kloppmann, Philippe Bromblet, Catherine Guerrot,	
	Anthony H. Cooper, Pierre-Yves Le Pogam, Dominique Vingtain and Noel Worley	195
	Thintony 11. Cooper, There Ives De Logani, Dominique vingiain and Ivel Worldy	173
	Roman Monolithic Fountains and Thasian Marble	
	Annewies van den Hoek, Donato Attanasio and John J. Herrmann	207
	Archaeometric Analysis of the Alabaster Thresholds of Villa A, Oplontis	
	(Torre Annunziata, Italy) and New Sr and Pb Isotopic Data for	
	Alabastro Ghiaccione del Circeo	
	Simon J. Barker, Simona Perna, J. Clayton Fant, Lorenzo Lazzarini and Igor M. Villa	215
	Roman Villas of Lake Garda and the Occurrence of Coloured Marbles	
	in the Western Part of "Regio X Venetia et Histria" (Northern Italy)	
	Roberto Bugini, Luisa Folli and Elisabetta Roffia	231
	Roberto Dugini, Luisu Fotti una Lusubetta Rojjia	231
	Calcitic Marble from Thasos in the North Adriatic Basin:	
	Ravenna, Aquileia, and Milan	
	John J. Herrmann, Robert H. Tykot and Annewies van den Hoek	239
	Characterisation of White Mouble Objects from the Towns Lot A will	
	Characterisation of White Marble Objects from the Temple of Apollo	
	and the House of Augustus (Palatine Hill, Rome)	2.45
	Francesca Giustini, Mauro Brilli, Enrico Gallocchio and Patrizio Pensabene	247
	Study and Archeometric Analysis of the Marble Elements Found	
	in the Roman Theater at Aeclanum (Mirabella Eclano, Avellino - Italy)	
	Antonio Mesisca, Lorenzo Lazzarini, Stefano Cancelliere and Monica Salvadori	255

Two Imperial Monuments in Puteoli:	
Use of Proconnesian Marble in the Domitianic and Trajanic Periods in Campania	
Irene Bald Romano, Hans Rupprecht Goette, Donato Attanasio and Walter Prochaska	267
Coloured Marbles in the Neapolitan Pavements (16th And 17th Centuries):	
the Church of Santi Severino e Sossio	
Roberto Bugini, Luisa Folli and Martino Solito	275
Roman and Early Byzantine Sarcophagi of Calcitic Marble from Thasos in Italy:	
Ostia and Siracusa	
Donato Attanasio, John J. Herrmann, Robert H. Tykot and Annewies van den Hoek	281
Revisiting the Origin and Destination of the Late Antique Marzamemi	
'Church Wreck' Cargo	
Justin Leidwanger, Scott H. Pike and Andrew Donnelly	291
The Marbles of the Sculptures of Felix Romuliana in Serbia	
Walter Prochaska and Maja Živić	301
Calcitic Marble from Thasos and Proconnesos in Nea Anchialos (Thessaly)	
and Thessaloniki (Macedonia)	
Vincent Barbin, John J. Herrmann, Aristotle Mentzos and Annewies van den Hoek	311
Architectural Decoration of the Imperial Agora's Porticoes at Iasos	
Fulvia Bianchi, Donato Attanasio and Walter Prochaska	321
Tavia Banen, Donato Ittanasio ana mater Froctassia	321
The Winged Victory of Samothrace - New Data on the Different Marbles	
Used for the Monument from the Sanctuary of the Great Gods	
Annie Blanc, Philippe Blanc and Ludovic Laugier	331
Polychrome Marbles from the Theatre of the Sanctuary of Apollo Pythios	
in Gortyna (Crete)	
Jacopo Bonetto, Nicolò Mareso and Michele Bueno	337
Paul the Silentiary, Hagia Sophia, Onyx, Lydia, and Breccia Corallina	
John J. Herrmann and Annewies van den Hoek	345
,····,·	
Incrustations from Colonia Ulpia Traiana (Near Modern Xanten, Germany)	
Vilma Ruppienė and Ulrich Schüssler	351
Stone Objects from Vindobona (Austria) – Petrological Characterization	
and Provenance of Local Stone in a Historico-Economical Setting	
Andreas Rohatsch, Michaela Kronberger, Sophie Insulander,	
Martin Mosser and Barbara Hodits	363
Marbles Discovered on the Site of the Forum of Vaison-la-Romaine (Vaucluse, France):	
Preliminary Results	
Elsa Roux, Jean-Marc Mignon, Philippe Blanc and Annie Blanc	373
Updated Characterisation of White Saint-Béat Marble. Discrimination Parameters	
from Classical Marbles	
Hernando Royo Plumed, Pilar Lapeunte, José Antonio Cuchí,	
Mauro Brilli and Marie-Claire Savin	379

Grey and Greyish Banded Marbles from the Estremoz Anticline in Lusitania Pilar Lapuente, Trinidad Nogales-Basarrate, Hernando Royo Plumed, Mauro Brilli and Marie-Claire Savin	391
New Data on Spanish Marbles: the Case of Gallaecia (NW Spain) Anna Gutiérrez Garcia-M., Hernando Royo Plumed and Silvia González Soutelo	401
A New Roman Imperial Relief Said to Be from Southern Spain: Problems of Style, Iconography, and Marble Type in Determining Provenance John Pollini, Pilar Lapuente, Trinidad Nogales-Basarrate and Jerry Podany	413
Reuse of the <i>Marmora</i> from the Late Roman Palatial Building at Carranque (Toledo, Spain) in the Visigothic Necropolis	
Virginia García-Entero, Anna Gutiérrez Garcia-M. and Sergio Vidal Álvarez Imperial Porphyry in Roman Britain	427
David F. Williams	435
Recycling of Marble: Apollonia/Sozousa/Arsuf (Israel) as a Case Study Moshe Fischer, Dimitris Tambakopoulos and Yannis Maniatis	443
Thasian Connections Overseas: Sculpture in the Cyrene Museum (Libya) Made of Dolomitic Marble from Thasos <i>John J. Herrmann and Donato Attanasio</i>	457
Marble on Rome's Southwestern Frontier: Thamugadi and Lambaesis Robert H. Tykot, Ouahiba Bouzidi, John J. Herrmann and Annewies van den Hoek	467
Marble and Sculpture at Lepcis Magna (Tripolitania, Libya): a Preliminary Study Concerning Origin and Workshops Luisa Musso, Laura Buccino, Matthias Bruno, Donato Attanasio and Walter Prochaska	481
The Pentelic Marble in the Carnegie Museum of Art Hall of Sculpture, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	401
Analysis of Classical Marble Sculptures in the Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University, Atlanta	491
Robert H. Tykot, John J. Herrmann, Renée Stein, Jasper Gaunt, Susan Blevins and Anne R. Skinner	501
PROVENANCE IDENTIFICATION II: (OTHER STONES)	
Aphrodisias and the Regional Marble Trade. The <i>Scaenae Frons</i> of the Theatre at Nysa <i>Natalia Toma</i>	513
The Stones of Felix Romuliana (Gamzigrad, Serbia) Bojan Djurić, Divna Jovanović, Stefan Pop Lazić and Walter Prochaska	523
Aspects of Characterisation of Stone Monuments from Southern Pannonia Branka Migotti	

3.

	The Budakalász Travertine Production Bojan Djurić, Sándor Kele and Igor Rižnar	545
	Stone Monuments from Carnuntum and Surrounding Areas (Austria) – Petrological Characterization and Quarry Location in a Historical Context	
	Gabrielle Kremer, Isabella Kitz, Beatrix Moshammer, Maria Heinrich and Erich Draganits	557
	Espejón Limestone and Conglomerate (Soria, Spain):	
	Archaeometric Characterization, Quarrying and Use in Roman Times	
	Virginia García-Entero, Anna Gutiérrez Garcia-M, Sergio Vidal Álvarez,	
	María J. Peréx Agorreta and Eva Zarco Martínez	567
	The Use of Alcover Stone in Roman Times (<i>Tarraco, Hispania Citeri</i> or).	
	Contributions to the Officina Lapidaria Tarraconensis	
	Diana Gorostidi Pi, Jordi López Vilar and Anna Gutiérrez Garcia-M.	577
4.	ADVANCES IN PROVENANCE TECHNIQUES,	
	METHODOLOGIES AND DATABASES	
	Grainautline – a Supervised Grain Boundary Extraction Tool	
	Supported by Image Processing and Pattern Recognition	
	Kristóf Csorba, Lilla Barancsuk, Balázs Székely and Judit Zöldföldi	587
	A Database and GIS Project about Quarrying, Circulation and Use of Stone	
	During the Roman Age in Regio X - Venetia et Histria.	
	The Case Study of the Euganean Trachyte	
	Caterine Previato and Arturo Zara	597
5.	QUARRIES AND GEOLOGY	
	The Distribution of Troad Granite Columns as Evidence for Reconstructing	
	the Management of Their Production	
	Patrizio Pensabene, Javier Á. Domingo and Isabel Rodà	613
	Ancient Quarries and Stonemasonry in Northern Choria Considiana	
	Hale Güney	621
	Polychromy in Larisaean Quarries and its Relation to Architectural Conception	
	Gizem Mater and Ertunç Denktaş	633
	Euromos of Caria: the Origin of an Hitherto Unknown Grey Veined Stepped Marble	
	of Roman Antiquity	
	Matthias Bruno, Donato Attanasio, Walter Prochaska and Ali Bahadir Yavuz	639
	Unknown Painted Quarry Inscriptions from Bacakale at <i>Docimium</i> (Turkey)	
	Matthias Bruno	651
	The Green Schist Marble Stone of Jebel El Hairech (North West of Tunisia):	
	a Multi-Analytical Approach and its Uses in Antiquity	
	Ameur Younes, Mohamed Gaied and Wissem Gallala	659
	Building Materials and the Ancient Quarries at <i>Thamugadi</i> (East of Algeria),	
	Case Study: Sandstone and Limestone	
	Younès Rezkallah and Ramdane Marmi	673

	The Local Quarries of the Ancient Roman City of Valeria (Cuenca, Spain) Javier Atienza Fuente	683
	The Stone and Ancient Quarries of Montjuïc Mountain (Barcelona, Spain) Aureli Álvarez	693
	Notae Lapicidinarum: Preliminary Considerations about the Quarry Marks from the Provincial Forum of <i>Tarraco</i> Maria Serena Vinci	699
	The Different Steps of the Rough-Hewing on a Monumental Sculpture at the Greek Archaic Period: the Unfinished Kouros of Thasos Danièle Braunstein	711
	A Review of Copying Techniques in Greco-Roman Sculpture Séverine Moureaud	717
	Labour Forces at Imperial Quarries Ben Russell	733
	Social Position of Craftsmen inside the Stone and Marble Processing Trades in the Light of Diocletian's Edict on Prices Krešimir Bosnić and Branko Matulić	741
6.	STONE PROPERTIES, WEATHERING EFFECTS AND RESTORATION, AS RELATED TO DIAGNOSIS PROBLEMS, MATCHING OF STONE FRAGMENTS AND AUTHENTICITY	
	Methods of Consolidation and Protection of Pentelic Marble Maria Apostolopoulou, Elissavet Drakopoulou, Maria Karoglou and Asterios Bakolas	749
7.	PIGMENTS AND PAINTINGS ON MARBLE	
	Painting and Sculpture Conservation in Two Gallo-Roman Temples in Picardy (France): Champlieu and Pont-Sainte-Maxence Véronique Brunet-Gaston and Christophe Gaston	763
	The Use of Colour on Roman Marble Sarcophagi Eliana Siotto	
	New Evidence for Ancient Gilding and Historic Restorations on a Portrait of Antinous in the San Antonio Museum of Art Jessica Powers, Mark Abbe, Michelle Bushey and Scott H. Pike	783
	Schists and Pigments from Ancient Swat (Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, Pakistan) Francesco Mariottini, Gianluca Vignaroli, Maurizio Mariottini and Mauro Roma	
8.	SPECIAL THEME SESSION: "THE USE OF MARBLE AND LIMESTONE IN THE ADRIATIC BASIN IN ANTIQUITY"	
	Marble Sarcophagi of Roman Dalmatia Material – Provenance – Workmanship Guntram Koch	809

Funerary Monuments and Quarry Management in Middle Dalmatia Nenad Cambi	827
Marble Revetments of Diocletian's Palace Katja Marasović and Vinka Marinković	839
The Use of Limestones as Construction Materials for the Mosaics of Diocletian's Palace Branko Matulić, Domagoj Mudronja and Krešimir Bosnić	855
Restoration of the Peristyle of Diocletian's Palace in Split Goran Nikšić	863
Marble Slabs Used at the Archaeological Site of Sorna near Poreč Istria – Croatia Deni Gobić-Bravar	871
Ancient Marbles from the Villa in Verige Bay, Brijuni Island, Croatia Mira Pavletić and Đeni Gobić-Bravar	879
Notes on Early Christian Ambos and Altars in the Light of some Fragments from the Islands of Pag and Rab Mirja Jarak	887
The Marbles in the Chapel of the Blessed John of Trogir in the Cathedral of St. Lawrence at Trogir Đeni Gobić-Bravar and Daniela Matetić Poljak	899
The Use of Limestone in the Roman Province of Dalmatia Edisa Lozić and Igor Rižnar	915
The Extraction and Use of Limestone in Istria in Antiquity Klara Buršić-Matijašić and Robert Matijašić	925
Aurisina Limestone in the Roman Age: from Karst Quarries to the Cities of the Adriatic Basin Caterina Previato	933
The Remains of Infrastructural Facilities of the Ancient Quarries on Zadar Islands (Croatia) Mate Parica	941
The Impact of Local Geomorphological and Geological Features of the Area for the Construction of the Burnum Amphitheatre Miroslav Glavičić and Uroš Stepišnik	951
Roman Quarry Klis Kosa near Salona Ivan Alduk	957
Marmore Lavdata Brattia Miona Miliša and Vinka Marinković	963
Quarries of the Lumbarda Archipelago Ivka Lipanović and Vinka Marinković	979

ASMOSIA XI, INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES OF ANCIENT STONE, SPLIT 2018

Island of Korčula – Importer and Exporter of Stone in Antiquity	
Mate Parica and Igor Borzić	. 985
Faux Marbling Motifs in Early Christian Frescoes	
in Central and South Dalmatia: Preliminary Report	
Tonči Borovac, Antonija Gluhan and Nikola Radošević	. 995
INDEX OF AUTHORS	1009

THE MARBLE DEDICATION OF KOMON, SON OF ASKLEPIADES, FROM EGYPT: MATERIAL, PROVENANCE, AND REINFORCEMENT OF MEANING

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Abstract

This paper concerns a marble dedicatory plaque inscribed in Greek in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Comprising six lines of exceptional lettering, it was dedicated on behalf of Ptolemy IV Philopater and Ptolemy V Epiphanes by Komon, son of Asklepiades, identified also as oikonomos in the region of the Greek settlement at Naukratis. The presence of marble is of great interest because of the rarity of its occurrence in Egypt. Initial testing of the stone was conducted by Norman Herz, University of Georgia, who suggested three possible quarries using isotopic analysis: Doliana, Thassos/Akropolis, and Afyon. The recent study by Donato Attanasio, Istituto di Struttura della Materia del CNR in Rome, includes MGS and EPR properties in the analysis. The results indicate (although attended by some doubts) that the marble is Dokimeion from Afyon or, perhaps, Altintas, thus contributing to further discussion of Dokimeion's range of signatures.

Keywords

marble sourcing (Dokimeion), Greeks in Egypt, Ptolemaic inscriptions

The subject of this paper is the marble dedication of Komon, son of Asklepiades, to the gods Isis, Sarapis, and Apollo on behalf of the kings Ptolemy IV Philopater and Ptolemy V Epiphanes (Fig. 1). The dedication consists of six lines of text on a modest rectangular plaque measuring 17.7 cm high, 28.0 cm wide, and 2.2 cm to 4.8 cm deep, narrower at the top than at the bottom.¹

Today the plaque (Inv. 89.2.652) is on permanent display in the Egyptian galleries of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. In 1889 it was given to the Museum by Joseph W. Drexel, who originally acquired it in Thebes together with another, similar, dedication, on limestone, naming Teos, son of Horos.² Both of these inscriptions are of interest because of the shared history of their acquisition, the question of their original provenance, and their formulaic texts; but the Komon inscription has the greater textual complexity, very careful lettering despite variation in letterform height, and, above all, is cut on marble. The marble is bright white in color as seen in the broken areas, while the inscribed face is more uniformly oxidized. In my initial examination I judged the grain size to be approximately 1mm, with a distinctive sparkle. The stone appears to be more decayed on the left than on the right, affecting the preservation of some parts of the inscription. There is evidence of paint, preserved in the final upsilon of the patronymic and other serifs. The pointed chisel was used for finishing the surfaces, as seen especially on the back (Fig. 2); but all surfaces, including the back, are further smoothed. The top lateral face, however, is more finished than the bottom (Figs. 3 and 4). The inscribed face also shows a series of fine lines on its surface, indicating the polishing stage. While it is utterly simple in its presentation, my question has long been, is the plaque as simple as it first appears?

Marble is relatively rare in Egypt and its use is not heavy, certainly not the stone of choice for monumental building or statuary in Pharaonic times. But there were deposits known in three locations, all in the Eastern Desert, only one quarry among them seeming to have been worked in antiquity: Gebel Rokham, near the Wadi Mia. According to Barbara Aston, James Harrell, and Ian Shaw, "The only demonstrated uses of the Gebel Rokham marble are Eighteenth Dynasty sculptures, including several statues of Thutmose III and a few other objects from

Author's measurements. My initial study of the inscription was over three days, 30 November 2005-2 December 2005. The difference in depth of the stone from top to bottom is appreciable (more than 2 cm), and this would have reflected the manner of the original installation, probably set into a wall for viewing.

² MERRIAM 1886; GARDNER 1888, 69, no. 22. See also METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART 1898, 33, no. 345.



Fig. 1. The Dedication of Komon, son of Asklepiades. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lucy W. Drexel, 1889 (89.2.652)



Fig. 2. Back side of the Dedication of Komon. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lucy W. Drexel, 1889 (89.2.652)

the reigns of Akhenaten and Tutankhamun".³ Paul Stanwick gives one representative example of an Eighteenth Dynasty marble statue of Thutmose III from Deir el-Medina,⁴ but there are actually more examples in marble for this king, as well as some objects later in the dynasty for Akhenaten, and Tutankhamun.⁵ Alfred Lucas mentions the use of marble in Nineteenth Dynasty statuary as well, without specifying a quarry,⁶ but unquestionably it is the

same. The evidence for Ptolemaic and especially Roman⁷ use of white marble, however, is much more extensive, although Stanwick affirms that in the Ptolemaic Period, because of adherence to Egyptian tradition, it was not the norm: "Most preserved statues are made of granite or limestone . . . though a few are made of marble . . . like Greek-style works".8 Most importantly, Aston, Harrell, and Shaw state that the white marble used in these periods "may be found to come from Gebel Rokham. Most of this stone, however, was probably imported from sources in the eastern Mediterranean".9 Likewise, Lucas indicates, "Fragments of foreign marble from Greece have been found in excavations of Alexandria". In the Ptolemaic Period, therefore, use of marble may be considered a signifier for Greek identity in some capacity of the monument; and if this is true on the royal level, it would necessarily follow in a non-royal dedication such as that of Komon, written in Greek and particularly invoking, as it does, the royal nomenclature.

The identification of the marble, therefore, becomes an important point of entry to the meaning of the plaque and questions of its own provenance. Initial testing of the marble was conducted over ten years ago by Norman Herz at the University of Georgia, using stable isotopic ratio analysis.11 Three possible quarries were suggested from the isotopic analysis: Doliana (69% probability), Thassos/Akropolis (62% probability), and Afyon (50% probability). Herz identified Doliana as the local quarry in the Peloponnese that supplied the marble for the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, but a construction-only quarry. Thassos/Akropolis he associated with the small quarries on the island of Thassos having dolomitic content. Afyon he identified as ancient Dokimeion in Western Turkey, where grain size also matched the "medium-coarse grained" description given by the MET and whose vast quarries were in operation mainly from

Period, he cites Pliny 31.11, whose description of the marble sounds exactly like Gebel Rokham.

³ ASTON, HARRELL, SHAW 2000, 5-77, especially 44. The quarry was studied by BROWN and HARRELL and published in ASMOSIA III (see below, n. 23).

STANWICK 2002, 40, n. 1: Cairo JE 43507A. The same statue is listed by ASTON, HARRELL, SHAW 2000, 44, and referred to as "a beautiful small statue of Thutmose III in white marble slightly veined in grey" by LUCAS, ed. HARRIS 1962, 415 and n. 1.

⁵ ASTON, HARRELL, SHAW 2000, 44.

⁶ LUCAS, rev. J. R. HARRIS 1962, 415, seems to avoid commenting on the Ptolemaic use of marble; for "marbles of Alexandria", clearly during the Roman

⁷ Ihid

STANWICK 2002, 34, where he states, "each material [granite or limestone] comprises about 30 percent of Groups A-F in the catalogue, excluding sculptor's studies/votives". On p. 97 he further explains that Groups A-E are Ptolemaic royal portraits arranged in a chronological order, including bases; Group F has pieces of uncertain date.

⁹ ASTON, HARRELL, SHAW 2000, 45.

¹⁰ LUCAS 1962, 415.

¹¹ Letter from Norman HERZ to George WHEELER, 18 January 2006. Copy transmitted to author (10 May 2006 via Ann HEYWOOD).



Fig. 3.
Top lateral face of the Dedication of Komon.
Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan
Museum of Art, Gift of Lucy W. Drexel, 1889
(89.2.652)



Fig. 4.
Bottom lateral face of the Dedication of Komon. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lucy W. Drexel, 1889 (89.2.652)

the first century BCE to the sixth century CE. Herz's final recommendation was for Afyon, informing the MET, "... the most probable source is Afyon, a popular quarry in Roman times for statuary".¹²

The recent study made in 2014 by Donato Attanasio at the Istituto di Struttura della Materia del CNR in Rome includes MGS (maximum grain size) and EPR (electron paramagnetic resonance spectroscopy) properties in the analysis. Attanasio opens the report by discussing MGS, which this time is scientifically calculated at 0.95mm.13 The marble of the Komon dedication therefore qualifies as fine-grained, not medium-to-coarse; and from there Attanasio identifies six possible sites to consider: Carrera, Pentelikon, Hymettos, Dokimeion (Iscehisar with 3 groups), Dokimeion (Altintas), and Göktepe (with 2 groups).14 The chart showing the five discriminant variables do not, as he puts it, "suggest any obvious fit for the Met sample. Isotopic data seem to indicate Docimium, but are contradicted by the low EPR intensity that would favour alternative provenances such as Hymettos or Göktepe". 15 Further quantitative statistical

analysis of the data was therefore conducted using linear discriminant function analysis and the five discriminant variables. The conclusion favors Dokimeion as the quarry, but it is not possible to make any differentiation between Iscehisar and Altintas. The problem still resides in the low EPR intensity of the marble plaque, but it can be justified. As Attanasio explains, "If Iscehisar is considered as a single group the sample is assigned to Altintas, where samples of lower intensity can be found...

When Iscehisar is split into three varieties the low intensity group formed by quarries III and IV provides a better fit and Altintas becomes the second choice. The refinements made in this analysis are extremely illuminating, and one can say heartening, because the favoring of Dokimeion does support what Herz also concluded.

We will return to the marble at the end, but the discussion now follows the inscription itself and the nature of this dedication. The content of the text may be said to divide into three parts (Fig. 5).¹⁷ Part I, the first

¹² Ibid.

Report dated 22 July 2014 ("Re-evaluation of the analyses carried out on a marble plaque (inv. 89.2.652) from the Metropolitan Museum of Art"), sent from Attanasio DONATO to Marsha HILL, 22 July 2014 by e-mail attachment, and forwarded to the author on 30 July 2014.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ My own editing of the Komon text differs from BER-NAND 1970, 749, only in the dotting of one letterform, the nu of Νικηφόρου in line 3 (we both dot the final upsilon of the patronymic in line 3) and the treatment of the spacing between words, which I consider to be a conscious choice and highly meaningful to the text, and one comma. My full editing and palaeographic analysis is intended to be part of a larger publication on Ptolemaic plaque dedications. My facsimile drawing (Fig. 5) provides evidence for the editorial and palaeo-



Fig. 5.
Facsimile drawing of the
Dedication of Komon (89.2.652).
Original by author

three lines, constitutes the royal framework within which the dedication takes place: it is made on behalf of Ptolemy IV and his son Ptolemy V--not, and this is the important distinction, to them. The operative preposition is ὐπέρ, albeit restored. Part II is line 4, the dedication proper to the three deities receiving the dedication who are addressed in the dative: Isis, Sarapis, and Apollo. The last two lines compose Part III and concern the dedicator Komon, son of Asklepiades: Komon in the nominative, the patronymic in the genitive, the verb for the dedication understood, then the last line of the inscription amplifying Komon by giving his position as οἰκονόμος, followed by the important descriptor τῶν κατὰ Ναύκρατιν. These three sections are in extraordinary balance with each other and make the reader aware how the focus of the inscription moves around within a very strict formula and is set down physically with great skill. The inscription opens by fulfilling the propriety of giving the royal nomenclature first, then achieves the centralized location of the names of the deities, and finally reveals the dedicator, who comes forward at the end: the only name in the nominative, topped off with a biographical detail of highest significance. Indeed, it is the last line that has prompted more debate than any other part of the inscription because it has to do with the administrative level at which Komon was employed. Naukratis, the famous Greek settlement in the Delta and initial foothold of the authorized Greek population in Egypt under the Saite pharaohs, is in fact the last word of the inscription.

The inscription is extremely fine in its incision,

something I have argued elsewhere is possible only with a fine-grained marble.¹⁸ Despite the control this implies on the part of the letter cutter, there is obvious differentiation in the height of letterforms, making an overall average height difficult to determine, and to a degree this holds true for the round forms as well, which conventionally are smaller. Indeed some major fluctuations within certain lines of text may clearly be observed, the second half of the second and third lines, for example, diminishing somewhat in height but managing to hold on to the end with no internal word division. These are long lines replete, as we shall see, with the epithets of King Ptolemy IV. By contrast, the single names of the three gods exclusively occupy Line 4: Isis, Serapis and Apollo are all very full in formation, some of the largest lettering on the stone, and generously spaced. The initial sigma of Σαράπιδι, for example, measures 11.4 mm high (1.14 cm). If we do settle on an average letter height, it should be 9.0 mm (0.90 cm) and the round forms, specifically the omicron, between 6.0 and 7.0 mm (0.70 cm). The tallest letterform in the inscription is the phi of Line 2, Φιλοπάτορος at 12.8 mm (1.28 cm), and it is instructive to see how it is grounded on the baseline: the vertical, serifed on both ends, extending only into the upper zone, not symmetrically struck across the lens-shaped body of the letter. The phi in the following line is more than a millimeter shorter but is positioned the same way. A letterform that the cutter treats distinctively is the omega,

graphic commentary I make here.

BUTZ 2010, vii; and referencing articles on the marble of the Hekatompedon Inscription in ASMOSIA III, 65-72, and ASMOSIA IV, 255-260.



Fig. 6. Line 1, detail of the omega from the genitive βασιλέως. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lucy W. Drexel, 1889 (89.2.652)



Fig. 6a. Line 6, detail of the omega from the genitive $\tau \tilde{\omega} v$. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lucy W. Drexel, 1889 (89.2.652)

and one outstanding example of unusual ductus for the omega occurs early in line 1, the genitive for $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, with three, possibly even four separate strokes clearly visible, especially the swing of the letterform on the right half-circle (second stroke), flowing into the serif; a more conventional, "axial" ordering of the strokes is found in the $\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$ of line 6 (Figs. 6 vs. 6a). The facsimile drawing shows this and other variations including the phi as well.

I would not call this differentiation in size and formation irregularity, not for this inscription. The cutter has great flexibility and the palaeography reflects the textual content in striking ways. Going back up to the first three lines, the epithets for Ptolemy IV are four in number and densely packed: $\theta\epsilon[\tilde{o}\tilde{v}]$ [μ]εγάλου, Φιλοπάτορος, Σωτῆρος, Νικηφόρου. These epithets are perfectly and deliberately culled. The first epithet articulates and secures acknowledgement on the part of Komon of the divinity of his king¹⁹; the second utilizes the

personal epithet for Ptolemy IV and his queen Arsinoe III, although her name is not on the stone; the third is ancestral, referencing the Lagid founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty, Ptolemy I Soter, and the fourth, without question references Ptolemy IV's Victory at Raphia, fought on 22 June 217 BCE. Ptolemy V, after this brilliant constellation of epithets pertaining to his father, is simply called "his son". We could argue which of them is the more powerful, and this is the sophistication of the inscription because Ptolemy V in a very real sense appropriates all of the preceding epithets as well. The dating of this dedication becomes all but absolute, precisely because their names are joined. Ptolemy V was born in 209 BCE and his father died in 204 BCE. At the time of Komon's dedication, therefore, they were both alive, and that is the five-year time span allotted for the date.20 The packing of the three lines, all equal in density, was meant to be that way. They constitute half of the inscription, the longest of the three sections, and they get the message of the power and continuity of the dynasty across very strongly.

The contrast with the names of the gods in the next line is striking. We have mentioned the size and separation of these datives on the stone, but the selection and ordering of these deities is likewise very carefully done. Isis and Sarapis (Figs. 7 and 8) constitute a divine couple. Moreover, Sarapis, who occupies the center of the line, is uniquely linked to the Ptolemaic Dynasty in that he was made manifest under Ptolemy I Sotor, and consequently changed the religion of Egypt and the Mediterranean world. I use the concept of "made manifest" to tie Sarapis directly to Ptolemy V as well, who is himself Epiphanes. Apollo, the last of the three, reinforces the solar aspect of Serapis, this time with its Greek ethos (Fig. 9).

The same sensitivity is afforded line 5: Komon's own name (Fig. 10), which is very short and contains two rounded forms, omicron and omega, inviting natural compression, still manages to occupy its own space despite some damage to the area as well. But his own patronymic, as seen clearly on the drawing, rivals those of the gods in size (Fig. 11). This I find perhaps the most extraordinary part of the inscription. The visual message is "Father-loving" and hence twin to the king's own epithet. It even prompts the question, did Komon carve this himself? It would not be the first time an official in the Egyptian scribal tradition may have done so.²¹ The start

More specifically, this epithet is brilliantly split, with $\theta\epsilon[o\tilde{\upsilon}]$ closing the second line and acting as the visual "partner" of $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, literally framing and protecting both sides of Ptolemy's own name. The word $[\mu]\epsilon\gamma\dot{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon$ opening the third line is a form of enjambment and heralds the three standard epithets to come.

²⁰ BERNAND 1970, 749, no. 13.

While radically different in date, the stele of the sculptor Userwer, Twelfth Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom, is such a work referenced in ROBINS 2008, figs. 111, 116, and 117. Robins states on p. 103, "It is tempting to speculate that Userwer was making this stela for himself but did not complete it before he died" (caption to fig. 111).



Fig. 7. Line 4, detail of the dative Ἰσιδι. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lucy W. Drexel, 1889 (89.2.652)



Fig. 8. Line 4, detail of the dative Σαράπιδι. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lucy W. Drexel, 1889 (89.2.652)



Fig. 9. Line 4, detail of the dative Ἀπόλλωνι. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lucy W. Drexel, 1889 (89.2.652)



Fig. 10. Line 5, detail of the name of the dedicator Κόμων. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lucy W. Drexel, 1889 (89.2.652)



Fig. 11. Line 5, detail of the dedicator's patronymic Ἀσκληπιάδου. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lucy W. Drexel, 1889 (89.2.652)



Fig. 12. Line 6, detail of οἰκονόμος. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lucy W. Drexel, 1889 (89.2.652)



Fig. 13. Line 6, detail of κατὰ Ναύκρατιν. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lucy W. Drexel, 1889 (89.2.652)

of the last line follows the more diminutive treatment of Komon's name just above, then opens up full scale to the end with τῶν κατὰ Ναύκρατιν. This last line I have already mentioned as the most debated in the inscription for two reasons: 1) how the terminology for the position Komon held (Fig. 12) relates to the nature of his authority in the Ptolemaic administrative system and 2) how that authority concerns the location of Naukratis (Fig. 13). According to André Bernand, οἰκονόμος translates at some level of administrative stewardship as opposed to ταμίας, which has been used by some scholars to describe Komon's duties. Bernand makes clear that the latter is a treasurer, hence occupied with financial management and security.²² The plural genitive $\tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$ is also examined, whether it should be thought of as masculine plural, relating to the individuals or inhabitants of Naukratis; or neuter plural, relating to the resources or items of reckoning of Naukratis under Komon's jurisdiction. Bernand prefers the neuter plural and concludes by stating: Personellement, interprétant τῶν comme un neutre, nous voyons là l'indication du territoire de Naukratis. Komon nous paraît donc être intendant des propriétés de l'État situées dans la region de Naukratis. S'il est fonctionnaire royal, on s'expliquerait mieux que cette pierre le mentionnant ait pu, ce qui n'est pas prouvé, provenir de Thèbes, car ses fonctions ne le retenaient pas toujours à Naukratis. D'autre part, il avait un intérêt bien compréhensible à faire cette dédicace au nom du soverain regnant.23

Bernand's last remark is fully in accord with my own analysis of the first three lines of the dedication: Komon has every reason to spend half of the inscription on the names of his rulers, especially if he is a royal official. It also explains why, even though Bernand catalogued the plaque together with the inscriptions of Naukratis, he himself recognizes the provenance of the plaque could actually be Thebes where Drexel bought it in 1907. Significantly, there is no ethnic following the patronymic to link Komon in that way to Naukratis.

Provenance brings us back to the marble for the conclusion. There is one drawback to the Dokimeion identification that does not have to do with the substantive analysis of the marble: that is chronology. As stated above, Dokimeion was active from the first century BCE through the sixth century CE and considered, therefore, a major Roman quarry throughout imperial times. Evidence for tooling has been one of its contributions to marble studies; and fifty years ago Angelina Dworakowska discussed evidence for the use of the saw for cutting

Nothing more definitive is said about the Ptolemaic period, however, and this area is worthy of further investigation and the testing of actual objects as well. Brown and Harrell do give the isotopic analysis for six different subsamples from the Wadi Mia, the delta-13-carbon ranging between 3.18 and 3.54 with a mean of 3.45, and the delta-eighteen-oxygen between -11.47 and -12.25 with a mean of -11.91.²⁷ While the Komon dedication may answer visually to some aspects of the coloration and fine-grained descriptions of the Gebel Rokham marble,²⁸ the isotopic analysis is very different:

thin slabs in Roman times from these quarries.²⁴ Hellenistic use is not ruled impossible, but the end of the third century BCE, the date of the Komon inscription, is definitely early. I have considered another possibility for the marble, that instead of being imported from Greece it could have been native, obtained from Gebel Rokham if in use during the Ptolemaic period.²⁵ The quarry and its topographical associations with the Wadi Mia in the Eastern Desert were studied in a publication by V. Max Brown and James Harrel in ASMOSIA III, and the probable Roman use was discussed: The Romans were surely aware of the ancient marble quarry and, given their great interest in this type of stone, would have worked the site. This seems all the more likely given that this was the only ancient source of white marble in Egypt. The marble thus obtained was probably only used in Egypt as such stone was already abundantly available elsewhere in the Roman empire. In terms of both its isotopic character (Table 4) and brucite content (Tables 2 and 3), this marble appears to be compositionally unique among the known white marbles in the Mediterranean region.²⁶

DWORAKOWSKA, trans. KOZLOWSKA 1975, 133 and n. 99.

²⁵ DE PUTTER, KARLSHAUSEN 1992, 110. De Putter and Karlshausen do not rule out the possibility of Ptolemaic and Roman usage of the Gebel Rokham quarry either.

²⁶ BROWN, HARRELL 1995, 221-234, especially 231.

²⁷ Ibid., Table 4.

DE PUTTER, KARLSHAUSEN 1992, 108-109 and pls. 54e-f, plaquettes 20-21, which show the strong white marble with additional white and grey streaks, sometimes with yellow and beige bands and small marks of grey or black. The opacity would certainly be considered desirable by the Egyptians in my opinion, but the brilliance of the marble is also mentioned by HARRELL 2013, accessed 04/23/2015. He describes the Gebel Rokham marble as "white with even brighter white veins" (p. 6) and shows an outstanding color image of it, literally "white on white" (p. 13). The MET plaque has certain of these qualities.

²² BERNAND 1970, 775.

²³ Ibid., 776.

2.41 for carbon and -5.06 for oxygen were the figures obtained for the isotopic analysis performed by Norman Herz. It seems that the marble for the plaque cannot have come from Egypt, attractive as that alternative might be. It therefore must have been imported and probably from Dokimeion, which now requires much more study for its Hellenistic role as a quarry. Most importantly, the dedication marks Komon as a Greek in a complex and heterogeneous society by two important means: his use of the language and his choice of marble, with the inscription perhaps of his own workmanship, certainly of his direction.

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