7

"Is This Like the Nile that Riseth Up?"

Ethnic Relations at Thmuis

ROBERT J. LITTMAN AND JAY E. SILVERSTEIN

Colonialism is often seen as the deliberate extension of control over a weaker people by a stronger power, usually where an indigenous majority is dominated by a minority of foreign invaders.[1] In its most widespread form, colonialism has been an aspect of imperialism and is often part of a deliberate strategy that serves economic and territorial ambitions of the stronger power, which often exploits the resources of the conquered people. Yet colonialism is not intrinsic to imperialism, and foreign control does not automatically imply a colonial relationship.

For instance, Egypt was subject to conquest by many powers in its history, including the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Empires. The Persian occupation encompassed Egypt from 525–402 B.C.E. and again from 343–332 B.C.E., and it is during this period just prior to the Macedonian "liberation" of Egypt that the Mendesian nome formed a center of Egyptian resistance and leadership. Most occupations treated Egypt as a vassal state with limited importation of population or culture.

This changed with the Macedonian rule as well as other conquests that followed. One great power after another conquered and exploited Egypt: the Greeks (332–30 B.C.E.), the Romans (30 B.C.E.–641 C.E.), the Arabs (641 C.E.), the Ottomans (1516 C.E.), the French (1798–1801), and then the British (1882–1953). In many of the periods there was a tremendous influx of foreign populations, but few as dramatic as that of the Hellenistic period.

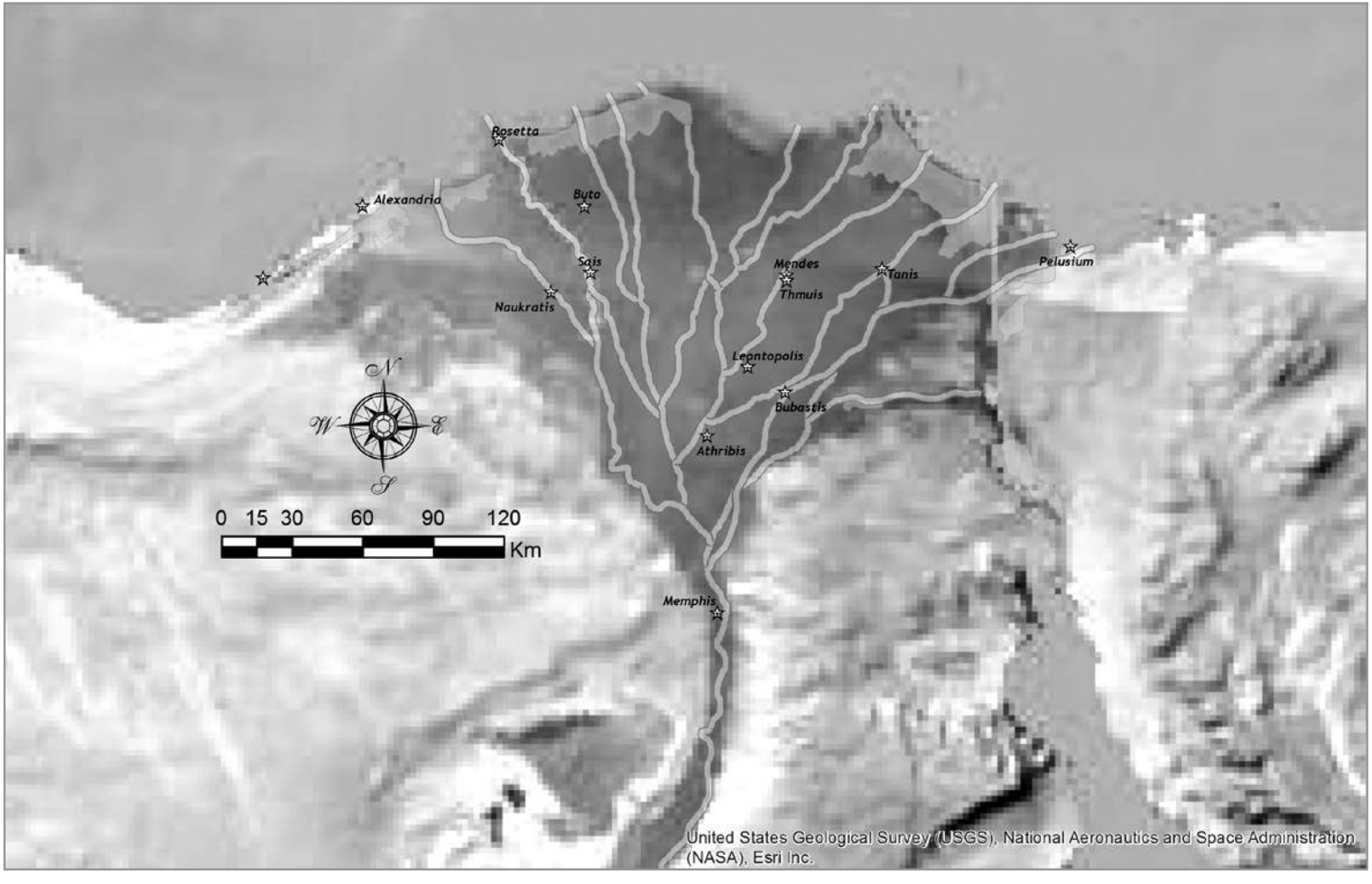
During the first millennium B.C.E., imperial economies exploited Egypt as a tributary province as opposed to a colony in which direct intervention controlled the fiduciary capital for investment in economic growth and the means and modes of production (see Manning 2003). The scope of imperialism shifted under Hellenistic control. To a greater degree than before, Hellenism heralded

the gradual dissolution of the power of the priestly temple complexes that had managed economic, political, and spiritual control of the Egypt for thousands of years, replacing traditional institutions with more secular administration. Accelerating this trend was the fact that the Ptolemaic Empire itself, with the collapse of the Alexander's empire, was embedded within its own occupied colony. While Alexandria served as a very Greek metropolis and capital, different in population and structure from most of Egypt, the *chora* maintained its Egyptian identity and infrastructure until, through various gradual and punctuated transitions, the hinterland was molded into a form consistent with the Ptolemaic and later Roman political economies.

What most sets the Ptolemaic Empire apart from those that preceded it was the geographical reality that the occupiers ruled and existed side by side with the occupied: the coterminous geography of Hellenes and Egyptians. The asymmetrical Greek-Egyptian sociopolitical relationship engendered an economic environment that required much greater intervention than Assyrian, Babylonian, or Persian hegemony had demanded.[2]

Colonialism has often been the servant of empire; however, Ptolemaic Egypt differs greatly from some other examples of colonial imperialism in which the colony is established and draws political authority from the imperial core, as in the case of Aztec Oztuma (see chapter 11, this volume). The United States of America after severing its ties with Europe, the Boers in South Africa, or the Romans in Britannia when support from Rome ceased circa 410 C.E. all represent scenarios of colonial imperialism in which the occupiers and the occupied became one nation, leading to a range of adjustments including culture-cide, apartheid, and often if not inevitably after several hundred years, assimilation into a hybrid culture. For example, 500 years after *La conquista* in Mexico, the ethnic, linguistic, and political identities of Chontal and Nahuatl have become nearly invisible. Likewise, in Muslim Egypt the Coptic Church is perhaps the last vestige of ancient ethnic divides, and without that one might be hard pressed to draw direct correlations between Muslim and Copt regarding their Egyptian, Greek, or Roman antecedents.

In this chapter we focus on the period of Greek rule in Egypt and the influence of Hellenism from Alexander's conquest of Egypt in 332 B.C.E. to the death of Cleopatra VII, the last Ptolemaic pharaoh, in 30 B.C.E. We attempt to discern some of the particulars of the imposition of imperial authority and the transition to a Greek model of administration represented in the documents and archaeology of Thmuis as opposed to the temple complex rule of adjacent Mendes. The most recent archaeological discoveries from the city of Thmuis in



Map 7.1. Landsat image of the Nile Delta with Hellenistic rivers and lakes superimposed, Tell Timai.

the eastern Nile Delta offer a new perspective on the process of Hellenism and the agency of the Egyptian people and priests in the complex milieu of colonialism, assimilation, exploitation, and resistance (Map 7.1).

Hellenism in Egypt

Hellenism encompassed an amazingly diverse portion of the world, stretching from North Africa to India. Upon this ethnic mosaic, Hellenic values, ideology, economy, and populations were injected with unprecedented vigor and scale. With the death of Alexander the Great of Macedon, and the death of his son Alexander IV before he reached adulthood, collapse threatened the Macedonian world system. Alexander's generals, called the Diadochi, seized the various territories of the empire as their own, all sharing common values of Hellenism and legitimacy ascribed by their association with Alexander the Great. Ptolemy, one of Alexander's closest generals and friends, claimed Egypt as his own. Soon the young kingdoms entered into fierce internecine conflict.

Overshadowed by the phenomenon of Hellenism, and under-recorded in history, are the social, economic, and ideological forces that solidified and resisted the rule of the Diadochi. At Thmuis we are gaining insights into the dynamic between Egyptians and their Macedonian overlords and the strategies employed by the Ptolemaic dynasty to effect rule over Egypt. The processes at work in the archaeology of Thmuis can be interpreted within the larger context of Hellenism and the Egyptian reaction to it.

Alexander entered Egypt in 332 B.C.E. as a liberator of a people who had violently resisted Persian rule earlier in the fourth century. He quickly set about solidifying his position by co-opting the accepted Egyptian institutions and trappings of legitimate rule. He visited the Oasis of Siwa, where the Oracle of Amun revealed him as son of Amun, recast as Zeus-Ammon, and he was crowned as pharaoh on November 14, 332, in Memphis. Alexander promulgated the syncretism of local gods and cultures with Greek gods, a practice continued by his successors with such success that many of the cults spread throughout the Hellenistic world and carried on into the Roman Empire. He assumed the status and symbols of a pharaoh, identified with Osiris and Horus: his name appeared in a cartouche in hieroglyph inscriptions and documents, and he is depicted wearing the *pschent*, the crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. It was during his stay in Egypt that Alexander identified the location and laid the foundation for the city of Alexandria,[3] one of nearly twenty cities he named after himself (Fraser 1996).

Alexander went on to defeat the Persian Empire in 331 and to push east into India. He reached the Indus River by 326 and, with his army exhausted, turned back and marched to Babylon, where he died in 323. The conquered Persian Empire was now part of the unified Macedonian empire of Alexander the Great, and the peoples within that empire, whether through fear, admiration, or awe, accepted and venerated Alexander.

With the death of Alexander the Great in 323, the dream of a unified dynastic empire dissolved and Egypt, like the other territories of Macedonian conquest, became an independent kingdom. In 311, Cassander, regent of Macedon, had the young Alexander IV and his mother, Roxanne, assassinated. In 304, Ptolemy, now Ptolemy I Soter (Savior), had himself crowned pharaoh, officially assuming the status from Alexander the Great and declaring unequivocal independence from the Macedonian homeland. This represents the official inauguration of the Ptolemaic dynasty, that lasted until the death of Cleopatra VII in 30 B.C.E. Under Ptolemy I and his successors, tens of thousands of Greeks immigrated to Egypt and dominated much of the Delta (Fisher-Bovet 2007; Lewis 2001). The new capital was Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great but built by Ptolemy I and his successors.

Each of the successor kingdoms of the Diadochi faced vastly different challenges based on the physical and cultural geographies of their realms, and the analysis of pan-Hellenism must avoid overgeneralization. The establishment of Ptolemaic rule in Egypt differed in a major way from other conquests and examples of colonialism. As Manning (2009:36) notes, "the ancient experience is sufficiently different to warrant caution in analyzing Ptolemaic state formation through the lens of either the nineteenth-century nation state colonial experience or twentieth century postcolonial reactions to colonization." Davies (2002:6), using the model of the British Raj, says that Hellenistic states were "predatory, exploitative, monopolist, racist and colonialist." Conquest brought many routine trappings of colonization, such as the foundation of new towns, Greek administrative structure of the country, and the billeting of soldiers in rural areas; however, Ptolemaic Egypt lacked many features we normally associate with colonization. Certainly, hallmarks of Hellenism spread in Egypt through the immigration of large numbers of Greeks, the use of the Greek language for official documents, and a royal court who maintained their Hellenic culture for three hundred years. Hellenistic values were encouraged in various ways—for example, an exemption of the salt tax for teachers of the Greek language (Clarysse and Thompson 2006:52–53). Yet all of the apparent manifestations of Hellenism are balanced against the impact of Egyptian religion

and symbolism on the Hellenistic world. In spite of the right inherent in the Hellenistic concept of "spear won land," rule in Egypt had to be consistent with Egyptian ideology and consent of the established theocracy and acceptance of commoners. The usual Hellenocentric view of Ptolemaic Egypt has yielded to a more nuanced and complex dialectic of cultural interactions (Hornblower 1996; Manning 2009).

In the case of Egypt we have a vast corpus of papyrus documents both in Greek and Demotic Egyptian that give an introspective view into the relationship of Greeks and Egyptians (Lewis 2001; Manning 2009). These documents reveal a coexistence of new Ptolemaic structures and ideologies with older Egyptian ones. Although Greek became the administrative language, Demotic Egyptian script continued at the local level, and hieroglyphs continued to be used by the temple administrative complex. Thus the wealth of textual records provides a level of insight into Greco-Roman Egypt unparalleled in the ancient world. They reveal a level of detail about Greek colonialism in Egypt which shows that this colonialism differs in important ways from apparent other colonial analogies (Manning 2009; Tsetskhladze 2006). A number of unique circumstances must be taken into consideration when considering the colonial experience of Egypt in the Ptolemaic period.

To begin with, the land colonized by the Hellenes was not a territory of decentralized chiefdoms or city-states but rather a vast, centralized complex society layered with ancient institutions of state religion and a legacy of empire itself. Second, Egyptian and Aegean peoples had a long complex history beginning with trade relations of at least a thousand years prior to the arrival of Alexander the Great (Barber 1991). Mycenaean Greeks were trading with Egypt at least since the fourteenth century B.C.E. (Kelder 2009). The turbulence of the late Bronze Age washed against the shores of New Kingdom Egypt as the Sea Peoples (Aegean Greeks) invaded Egypt in the twelfth century (Cline 2014). Greek myth also reflects Helleno-Egyptian interactions in the late Bronze Age. Homer's *Odyssey*, a work of the eighth century but with an oral tradition that dates back hundreds of years before, records the words of Odysseus, who, upon being captured during a raid on the Egyptian coast, reports, "I stayed seven years, and much wealth did I gather among the Egyptians, for all men gave me gifts" (14:285). Even the Egyptian female pharaoh Tausert (Nineteenth Dynasty, 1187–1185 B.C.E.) finds a mention in the *Odyssey* (14:228–275). By the seventh century, with the rise of the Saite Dynasty in the Nile Delta, Greek mercenaries and merchants were established in enclaves in Egypt, and settlements at Daphnae, Heracleion, Naucratis, and other locations were embedded within

the Egyptian economy[4] and power structure (Boardman 2006; Leonard 2001; Manning 2009; Möller 2000; Spalinger 1976; Thompson 1988). Already, two hundred years before Alexander, Hellenic ideas had cachet in Egypt and were recognized as an important part of a worldly education for some elites. Herodotus (2:154) notes that

> to the Ionians and Carians who had lent him their assistance Psammetichus assigned as abodes two places opposite to each other, one on either side of the Nile, which received the name of "the Camps." He also made good all the splendid promises by which he had gained their support; and further, he entrusted to their care certain Egyptian children whom they were to teach the language of the Greeks.[5]

A third factor that sets colonialism of the Ptolemaic period apart from many other colonial experiences is that the Ptolemaic dynasty was a displaced monarchy dispossessed of their homeland. The diasporic nature of Hellenistic imperialism is perhaps best illustrated in the story about Seleucus I Nicator, founder of the Seleucid Empire and once friend and companion of Alexander and Ptolemy. At nearly eighty years of age he was murdered in 281 B.C.E. in Thrace during his attempt to return to his Macedonian motherland, a home he had left in 334 B.C.E. when he marched off with Alexander's army of fifty thousand to build an empire (Kosmin 2014:94–100). For Ptolemy I Soter, ambitions of reclaiming the homeland were transcended by the dream of building a new homeland. Ptolemy launched his effort first by kidnapping the body of Alexander as it was being transported home for burial and entombing his remains in Alexandria, thereby establishing Alexandria Egypt as a new Macedonian homeland. It was in Alexandria that Ptolemy built a city that became the archetype of the Hellenistic ideal. From this city, the Ptolemaic dynasty built an identity very much apart from the indigenous Egyptians yet still embedded within the realm it ruled. Finally, Hellenism brought with it unprecedented agricultural expansion through hydrographic engineering, mining, and interstate commerce facilitated by a common tongue, new canals, and garrisoned roads. The opening of new lands and economic opportunity complemented the vast cadre of retiring soldiers looking to homestead. Further, young Hellenistic states were anxious to settle non-native soldiers in strategic places to secure economic resources and to mitigate the threat of rebellion (Fisher-Bovet 2007). What Lewis (2001) refers to as "El Dorado on the Nile" was in many ways a case of colonialism within a colony (Manning 2009).

The embedded nature of Ptolemaic rule in Egypt created an imperial anom-

aly, a domestic empire without allegiance to a foreign state. This has led some scholars to debate if Ptolemaic Egypt even qualifies as an empire, since their primary foreign possession was also their homeland (Mueller 2006:42–55). In the end, the territorial and maritime reach of Ptolemaic Egypt earns its place in history as a thalassocracy (a state with primarily maritime realms) of notable imperial accomplishment. The internal relationship between Hellenes and Egyptians, however, does challenge models of colonial imperialism based on other analogies. Legitimacy to rule Egypt could not be obtained without consent of the theocratic infrastructure. Egyptian religion could not be ignored if the Greeks hoped to co-opt the temple priests and win acceptance of the people. Here, more than in any other aspect of Greco-Egyptian relations, legitimacy depended upon compromise, syncretism, and accommodation. While the Ptolemaic dynasties Hellenized the Egyptians, the Egyptians in turn Egyptianized the Hellenes. The new pantheon that emerged was rooted in Egyptian ideology with a distinctly Hellenistic character. The Ptolemaic rulers became the embodiment of the holy trinity of Serapis, Isis, and Harpocrates (cf. Osiris, Demeter, Horus) (Witt 1997). Serapis was an amalgamation of the Egyptian god Osiris, the Apis bull as the Ka of Osiris,[6] and Zeus. The general representation of Serapis followed Hellenic styles for Zeus or Hades, often accompanied with symbols associated with fertility, such as the modius carried on the head of Serapis and symbols of the underworld such as Serapis's three-headed companion, Cerberus. Harpocrates, derived from the Graecized Egyptian name Harpa-khered, which means "Horus the child," is depicted as a naked youth with his finger on his mouth (Malaise 2005).

The Ptolemaic pharaohs also were routinely shown in their deified royal position in a manner that fused Greek concepts of kingship with Egyptian iconographic representations of kingship. For example, in the Raphia decree of 217 B.C.E., Ptolemy IV is represented wearing Macedonian armor but also the double crown of Egypt. The child pharaoh Ptolemy V is often depicted with the hair sideknot of Horus, and the queens of Egypt are regularly depicted as Isis.

The Ptolemies imposed on Egypt a new bureaucracy with a professional army garrisoned throughout Egypt, and with Greek urban centers that appeared not only in the Delta but also in Upper Egypt, the Fayum, and the coast of the Red Sea. In Egypt the temples and the priesthoods controlled vast estates and, following the lead of Alexander, the Ptolemies left these as well as private landholding in place (Manning 2003). Priestly appreciation of the Ptolemaic dynasty's founder is articulated in the Satrap Stela of 316 B.C.E. Ptolemy I is lauded for his military prowess, for being a man of his word, and for restoring

the statues and lands of the Temple of Buto in the Nile Delta that had been taken by the Persians (Mueller 2006:18). This was not just manifestation of religious toleration, but a pragmatic program of rule that took advantage of millennia of development of a theocratic state economy in which temples coordinated land management, kept records, and were economic centers (Haring 1997).

Settlement reorganization in other parts of the Hellenistic world has been described in terms of the consolidation of populations into urban centers (synoecism) or the relocation of urban centers (metoecism) (Demand 1990; Kosmin 2014:192–199; Mueller 2006:72–73). These strategies allowed the movement of peoples according to economic and military objectives, depopulating strongholds that might support rebellion and exploiting agricultural lands opened by aggressive programs of canal construction and land reclamation. The Ptolemaic Empire certainly engaged in such practices in their non-Egyptian territories (Mueller 2006), but the degree to which it was practiced within Egypt seems much more limited. The Egyptian settlement of Rakote, which was later absorbed as a suburb of Alexandria, translates to "construction site" and may well have been a settlement that grew specifically to house the workers building the new city (Chauveau 2000:57; cf. Mueller 2006:15–22). Likewise, the canalization and growth of agriculture in the Fayum greatly expanded under Ptolemaic rule, leading to the foundation of no fewer than thirty new settlements, the majority of which would have been Egyptian, indicating that relocation and consolidation must have been in play in order to tend the newly available fields. New settlements were also put in place along the Red Sea coast associated with elephant hunting, exploration, and trade in the south and east. Elsewhere in Egypt, the impact of resettlement appears minimal.

Greek colonists tended to establish new urban centers such as Alexandria or to assume control of newly reclaimed land in the *chora* as estate gentry called *cleruchs* (the land allotment is called a *kleros*). In some cases, districts of colonists might settle on the fringes of existing cities, but in all cases they remained apart from the subjugated populace. New or expanded settlements often grew on the outskirts of Egyptian cities rather than attempting to enter into a program of usurpation of older structures and urban core renewal. Thmuis is a good example of this pattern. Maturing from a tributary settlement just a half kilometer south of the primate center of Mendes, it grew to become a major Greek urban center. There are indications that the relationship between the Ptolemaic dynasty and the Mendesian priests of the ram god Ba-neb-djed was a mutually beneficial one throughout the first half of the third century B.C.E. The Great Mendes Stele illustrates the symbiosis achieved between the temple

Figure 7.1. Statue of Queen Arsinoë II deified as Isis (Tell Timai).

complex and Ptolemy II. This stele recounts the visit and support of Ptolemy to the Mendesian temple complex, his participation in rituals there, and the establishment of a temple to the deified Queen Arsinoë II (Clarysse 2007) (Figure 7.1). In spite of the bureaucratic harmony evidenced in the mid-third century B.C.E. between Egyptian and Hellenistic religious and political institutions, the degeneration of the succeeding generations of rulers from the founding Diadochi, the widening internecine conflicts of succession, the slowdown of economic growth, the devaluation of bronze currency, and inflation associated with the funding of war fed the friction between the classes. Hazzard's (1995:82–85) analysis of Ptolemaic coinage discusses the 210 B.C.E. Copper Standard imposed by Theogenes, the *dioiketes* (minister of finance) under Ptolemy IV. The new Copper Standard essentially devalued bronze against silver, reducing the value of bronze to about one-quarter of what it had been. This effort to increase revenues and the value of those invested in gold and silver had a devastating impact on those of the *chora* who lived on the bronze coin economy. The inflation that stemmed from this economic reform exacerbated the tensions between colonists and indigenous peoples that already simmered across the Hellenistic world (Chauveau 2000; Hazzard 1995; Kosmin 2014).

Greco-Egyptian Relations

Manifestations of the strain between Greek and Egyptian occur throughout society. Thanks to an array of legal archives and documents, we are given a very personal view worthy of American daytime television (Lewis 2001; McCoskey 2002). One particularly vivid example of the little ways in which ethnic tensions between Egyptians and Greeks played out in the colonies occurred in May 218 B.C.E., after a century of Greek domination. In this legal petition to Ptolemy IV, a Greek woman complains:

> I am wronged by Psenobastis who lives in Psya in the aforementioned district. For in the 5th year of the tax-calendar on the 21st of Phamenoth I went to Psya in the same district on some private business. As I was going along . . . an Egyptian woman, whose name is said to be Psenobastis, leaned out and poured urine all over my clothes so that they were soaked. When I was angry and reproached her, she was abusive. When I was abusive back . . . Psenobastis . . . assaulted me . . . and she spat in my face in front of some people. . . . So I beg you, your majesty, not to ignore the fact that I have been assaulted so unreasonably by an Egyptian woman, me being a Greek. . . . Farewell, Year 4. (English translation, Lewis 2001: 61)

Evidence of Greek efforts to maintain policies of tolerance is exemplified in documents like a papyrus from Saqqara (Peukestas papyrus) where Peukestas, commander in Memphis, orders the Greek soldiers in Egypt to respect the sacred space of the Egyptians.[7] Such efforts, however, were hardly adequate to convince Egyptians to accept a secondary status in their own homeland.

The first major resistance to Ptolemaic rule occurred in 245 B.C.E., and by the end of the third century revolt was a constant factor in Ptolemaic Egypt (McGing 1997:273). Yet not all Egyptians were ill disposed to Ptoelamic rule. Several temple complexes and their constituents, such as the priests of Ptah, sided with the Ptolemaic pharaohs. While the complexities of motives for rebellion certainly go beyond what can be discerned from the limited sources available, factors such as anti-Greek Egyptian nationalism and socioeconomic inequality were leading causes (McGing 1997; Veïsse 2004). As is inevitable with colonial rule, the cracks of socioeconomic discontent open to fissures of rebellion when the opportunity presents itself. War can offer opportunities for empowerment and change.

The Fourth Syrian War and the Great Revolt

The Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires engaged in a hundred-year conflict known as the Syrian Wars. The First Syrian War raged from 274–271 B.C.E., and the Sixth Syrian War from 170–168 B.C.E. The largest battles of these wars occurred in the Fourth Syrian War, 219–217 B.C.E. In the largest battle of the age, Ptolemy IV Philopator (reigned 221–204 B.C.E.) fought Antiochus III the Great (241–187 B.C.E.), culminating in the the Battle of Raphia in 217 B.C.E. According to Polybius (5:107), Ptolemy IV was outnumbered by the Seleucid forces until he recruited twenty thousand native Egyptian troops, which gave him a slight numerical advantage. On June 22, 217, the forces met near Gaza at Raphia. Ptolemy IV was victorious, confirming Ptolemaic control over Coele-Syria and opening the door for further inroads north. However, the Battle of Raphia contributed to further upheaval in Egypt. After Raphia these Egyptian troops were disbanded and returned to their cities, but their recruitment, training, and victory gave them new confidence and created a cadre of veteran warriors who could support future native Egyptian revolt. Polybius recognizes this in his analysis of the problems in Egypt:

> As for Ptolemy, his war against the Egyptians followed immediately on these events. This king, by arming the Egyptians for his war against Antiochus, took a step which was of great service for the time, but which was a

> mistake as regards the future. The soldiers, highly proud of their victory at Raphia, were no longer disposed to obey orders, but were on the lookout for a leader and figure-head, thinking themselves well able to maintain themselves as an independent power, an attempt in which they finally succeeded not long afterwards. (Polybius 5:107, Events of 204–186 B.C.E.)[8]

The Great Revolt broke out in 207/206 B.C.E. in Edfu in Upper Egypt and lasted until 186 B.C.E. With support from the Kushite pharaoh of Meroë, two native Egyptian kings emerged in Upper Egypt in Thebes: Har-wennefer (Haronnophris) and Ank-wennefer (Chaonnophris). Haronnophris was crowned pharaoh in Thebes in 205 B.C.E. and ruled until 199 B.C.E., when he was killed in battle against the forces of Ptolemy V. This did not end the revolt, since Chaonnophris crowned himself pharaoh in Thebes. Although Ptolemy apparently regained Thebes, we find that Chaonnophris continued his activities until he was finally defeated by the general Komanos in 186 B.C.E., south of Thebes. Although the revolt in Upper Egypt was more successful, revolt was also present in the Delta. Our understanding of the Great Revolt comes from an assortment of historical and monumental references. The Greek historian Polybius (200–118 B.C.E.) was a contemporary of the events, and *The Histories* covers the period of Greek history from 264–146 B.C.E. In addition, numerous inscriptions and papyri from Egypt deal with the events. For example, the Second Decree of Philae is a demotic and hieroglyphic text found on the walls of the Temple of Royal Birth (mammisi) at Philae.[9] It describes the victory of Komanos over Har-wennefer:

> On the 3rd of Mesore it was announced to his Majesty: Hr—wnf has been captured alive in the battle against him in year 19, on 24 Epeiph. His son was killed, the commander of the army of impious men, together with the leaders of the Ethiopians who fought on his side. He was brought to the place where the king was. He was punished by death for the crimes which he had committed, and so were the other criminals, those who had rebelled in the sedition, which they had made.

The most famous of these inscriptions is the Rosetta Stone. This diorite stele was found in Lower Egypt in the town of Rashid (Rosetta) in 1799 by Pierre-François Bouchard, a soldier in the army of Napoleon. The Rosetta Stone is a version of the Third Memphis Decree issued on March 27, 196 B.C.E. The Rosetta Stone decree reaffirms the support of priests of Ptah for the Ptolemaic dynasty, recognizes the Ptolemaic house as the manifestation of the holy trinity of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, and prescribes annual rituals celebrating the birth and corona-

tion of Ptolemy V and temple and shrine dedications and statuary. It goes on to recognize the generous contributions of comestibles and coin Ptolemy V granted to the temple. The decree promises to end conscription of priests operating boats between Memphis and Alexandria and grants amnesty to prisoners. It also recounts the siege of rebel strongholds in the Delta, to the west of Thmuis:

> he went to the fortress of Sk3n [which had] been fortified by the rebels with all kinds of work, there being much gear and all kinds of equipment within it; he enclosed that fortress with a wall and a dyke (?) around (lit. outside) it, because of the rebels who were inside it, who had already done much harm to Egypt, and abandoned the way of the commands of the King and the commands [of the god]s; he caused the canals which supplied water to that fortress to be dammed off, although the previous kings could not have done likewise, and much money was expended on them; he assigned a force of foot soldiers and horsemen to the mouths of those canals, in order to watch over them and to protect them, because of the [rising] of the water, which was great in Year 8, while those canals supply water to much land and are very deep. (Rosetta Stone, Simpson 1996:258–271)

Various sources tell of the decades of rebellion that stretched from Upper to Lower Egypt wracking the country with violence and civil war that threatened to unseat Hellenistic rule. In the aftermath of the rebellion there was some political and economic realignment in the relationship between temple complexes and the Ptolemaic dynasty. At Mendes, Redford (2010:199–201) notes:

> By the beginning of the second century B.C., however, the end was in sight for Mendes of old. Coins from the harbor facilities come abruptly to an end with the death of Ptolemy IV (who, incidentally, is the last Ptolemy to contribute to the temple's decoration), and some of the storage buildings were abandoned at about the same time. It is a fair guess that Mendes became caught up in the unrest which ravaged the Delta from the last decade of the third century B.C., although it was certainly not the center of the rebellion. While the uprising in Upper Egypt was essentially political in nature, resulting in an independent Thebaid which survived for twenty years, the Lower Egypt uprising combined aspirations of independence with social grievances.

Redford (2010:201) goes on to note that, contemporaneous with this, the meander of the Nile to the east eventually left the harbor of Mendes derelict. Thus

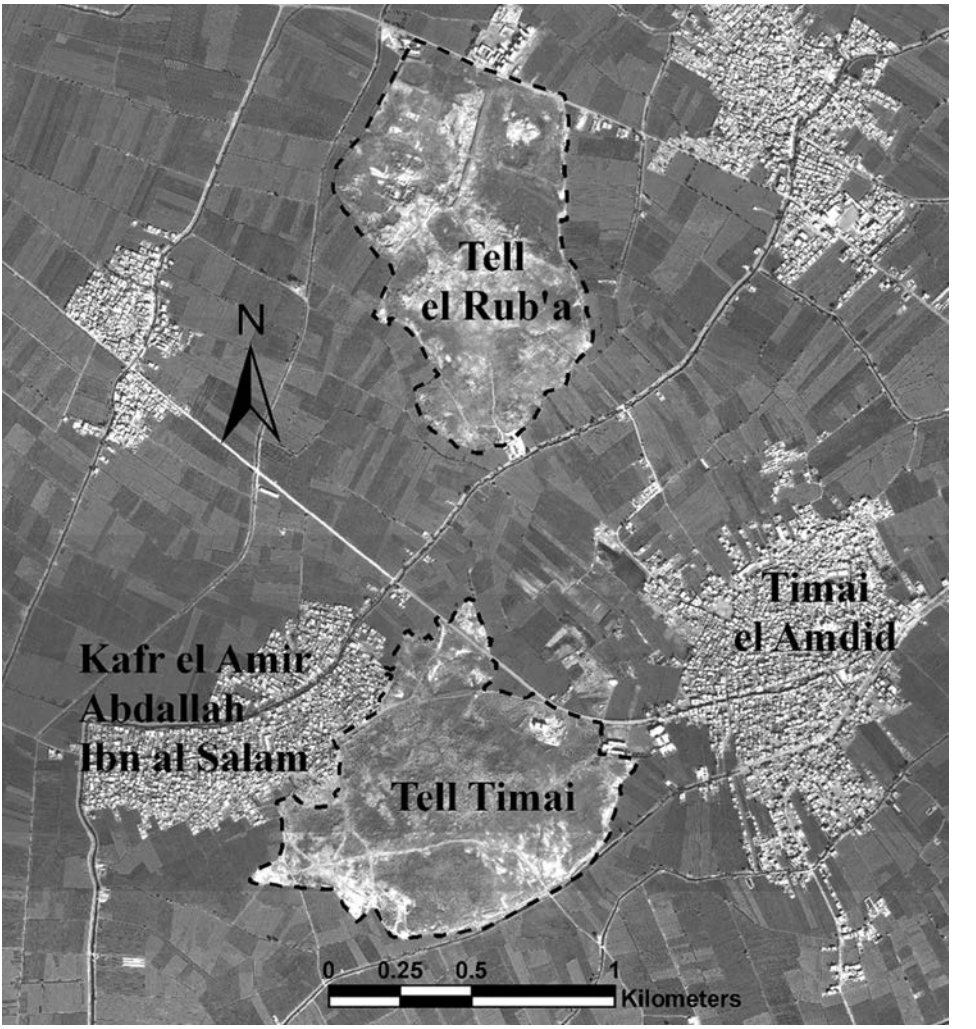
the priests of Ba-neb-djed appear to have been abandoned by the dynasty that had, fifty years before, paid them the honor and support outlined in the Mendes Stele. Meanwhile, the Memphite priests of Ptah flourished in a refortified alliance with their overlords. The Second Decree of Philae, for instance, reaffirms in no uncertain terms the favor of Ptah (declared by the priests of Ptah) for Ptolemy V and his family. Likewise, priests are granted rights and protections in the Third Memphis Decree of the Rosetta Stone. In one rare example of elite Greco-Egyptian marriage, the high priest of Ptah, Psenptah II, marries Berenike circa 122 B.C.E. (Reymond 1981).

Yet in spite of the magnitude and duration of this conflict, there has been little evidence for the rebellion itself in the archaeological record. What has been noted in the form of nontextual evidence has been inferred from changes at Mendes and modification of artistic styles. Our recent discoveries at Tell Timai appear to present a much more dramatic archaeological signature of the Great Revolt, a destruction episode followed by a horizon of rebuilding that coincides with the rise of Thmuis as a Greek metropolis and the loss of royal support for the temple complex at Mendes. Excavations in the north part of Tell Timai are providing a glimpse into the violence of Egyptian resistance, the impact of Greek suppression, and an aftermath that includes assertion of Greek political and cultural authority at Thmuis, a polis destined to become the very Hellenistic colonial capital of the Mendesian nome.

Tell Timai

The ruins of the Greco-Roman Egyptian city of Thmuis are found at Tell Timai near the city of El-Mansoura. Thmuis is about a half kilometer south of Tell el Rub'a, the site of the ancient city of Mendes (Holz et al. 1980; De Meulenaere and McKay 1977; Redford 2010) (Map 7.2). Tell Timai has a perimeter of approximately 5.4 km and covers more than 90 ha. The well-preserved core of the city has streets and alleys defined by mudbrick buildings, some with walls still two or three stories tall (Map 7.2). The high point of the tell is 12.5 m above sea level with the outer edges sloping to 1 m above sea level. The tell is flanked by the modern towns of Kafr el Amir Abdallah Ibn al Salam and Timai el Amdid, both of which have begun to encroach on the site.

Across time the usual looting of construction material has taken place. Of particular importance here is that in the 1920s industrial extraction of mudbrick resulted in the north portion of the tell being stripped almost uniformly to a first century B.C.E. strata. An area of approximately 2.2 ha in



Map 7.2. Tell Timai (Thmuis) and Tell el Rub'a (Mendes).

the north had been slated for leveling for the construction of a stadium. The entire outer perimeter of the north half of the tell was subjected to salvage pitting which generally consisted of 5-×-5 m pits with minimal recording. In 2007 the authors, under the auspices of the University of Hawai'i, conducted a survey of the site to determine if there should be an attempt to save it from destruction. A 50-×-50 m alphanumeric grid[10] was superimposed on the site as a control for research, and this remains the primary control for excavation designations. In 2009 the authors received the concession for the site from the Egyptian Supreme Council for Antiquities (SCA) and initiated excavation of the site. The first objective was to study the areas slated for destruction. The

preleveling salvage work had left hundreds of units open which still offered a chance to collect a wealth of data. Fortunately, based on discoveries made by the University of Hawai'i and SCA, a case was eventually made to halt the construction. While working in this salvage area evidence began to build indicating widespread destruction overlaid with a uniform episode of leveling and reconstruction. The archaeological correlates for a Great Revolt destruction event follow, presented generally following the pattern of discovery that led to the conclusion that the episode correlated with the Great Revolt. Most of the Hellenistic discoveries are from the northern portion of the tell.

The Archaeology of Destruction

From the surface, the northern expanse of the tell appears to be a sunken silt basin flanked on the west by a limestone casemate foundation from a temple to a deity yet to be determined (Grid M6). This plain silt basin is the consequence of the systematic removal of eight centuries of history in which all mudbrick, redbrick, and limestone, along with items of archaeological interest, were stripped away. A French company had actually built a miniature railroad at the site to facilitate the removal of *sebbakh* (mudbrick) to extract nitrates for fertilizer and armaments. The tragic loss of this history offered one benefit; it opened a wide expanse of occupation dating to the first century B.C.E.

In 2009, when the University of Hawai'i project began, we faced a situation where, within a season or two, the entire area was slated to be leveled by bulldozer for construction. The salvage work done prior to the leveling had been systematic, but it was mostly done in haste and with inconsistent analysis. The area was a chessboard of open units generally to a depth of 1.0 to 1.5 m below the surface, the level where the water table interfered with further work. Our first objective was to capture what details we could of the open pits in the north, particularly in an area that consisted of a complex of kilns (see Figure 7.2).

During the 2009 and 2010 seasons, the most obvious observation about the kilns exposed in the salvage work was that they had all been truncated at the same level, suggesting that the manufacturing area had been closed down and built over in a single episode of reconstruction rather than piece by piece. Materials from the area indicated Late Persian occupation (mid-fourth century B.C.E.) evidenced by Late Persian wares and a body sherd from an Athenian Red-figure krater (Hudson 2010–2011). The kilns appeared to be used for ceramic production including aryballoi (perfume bottles/ungunetaria). Of particular interest was the discovery of two amphorae not far from the kiln complex filled with fine imported clay. One amphora was a reused Knidian import, but XRF analysis

Figure 7.2. Kilns from the northern portion of Tell Timai, Unit N7-11.

showed that the clay within it had been imported from the Esne-Edfu area in Upper Egypt. Possible implications of this will be discussed below.

Curiously, on top of one of the kilns was a human body. Because the context above the remains had been opened without documentation, it was originally assumed that the body was an intrusive burial from a later period. However, subsequent excavation of the remains suggest that it was not a burial at all, but simply a body discarded on top of the broken kiln, or one that collapsed into the truncation level when the roof of the kiln was caved in. Skeletal analysis indicated a male, in his late teens or early twenties, with no associated materials. It seemed that the body was not formally buried. The poor state of preservation made further analysis impossible.

Commensurate with the truncation of the kiln complex was a distinct and very systematic fill and leveling, clearly in preparation for a new episode of construction. The kiln complex appeared to represent an industrial area south of Mendes that supported the perfume industry for which Mendes was known and that was in operation prior to the Macedonian conquest of Egypt, yet with established ties, if not occupation, by Greeks (de Rodrigo 2000).

In 2010 a magnetometer survey was completed over the area not yet dis-

turbed by salvage operations and that expanded on an earlier excavation. Here, well-defined walls and roads indicated dense occupation and a settlement that grew by accretion, with curved and irregular, non-orthogonal streets. A new series of excavations were put in place to explore these buildings. The magnetometer data served as a guide to select excavation units that would help determine the use of buildings in the area west of the kiln complex.

In Grids N6 and N7, southwest of the kiln complex, evidence of a violent destruction layer was found under a uniform level, as was apparent in the kiln complex. Burning, *in situ* ceramics, and ballistae stones (Figure 7.3) were found in the first units. One collection of stacked drinking bowls articulates with a multiroom house to the west. In one room in this house (Unit N6-5), an excellent collection of *in situ* ceramics was found and a small collection of large coins were buried under the same floor. The ceramic assemblage falls squarely into the period of 200–175 B.C.E. (Hudson 2010–2011). The coin assemblage consisted of 13 large (33.7–46.2 mm) Ptolemaic coins attributable to Ptolemy II, Ptolemy III, and Ptolemy IV (285–203 B.C.E.), yielding a *terminus post quem* circa 203 B.C.E.

In the leveling fill above the destroyed house a coin was found attributable to Ptolemy V or VI (see Figure 7.4). Also, the fill layer contained ceramics apparently taken from a single dump area. In Units N7-1 and O6-18, two sherds

Figure 7.3. Examples of a ballistae stone (*left*) and an iron arrowhead (*right*) from the early-second-century B.C.E. destruction layer at Tell Timai.

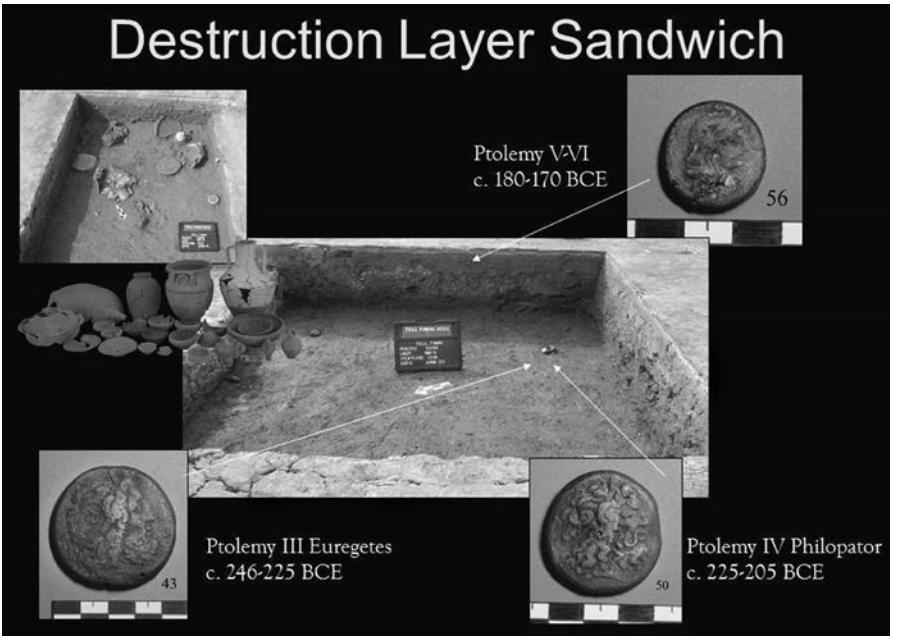


Figure 7.4. Assemblage from N7-5, Tell Timai, including ceramics and coin from destruction event and coin found in leveling fill above destruction event.

from the same amphora were recovered from fill deposits approximately 80 m apart. This indicates that the fill was part of a unified construction effort that used leveling material from the same source midden to spread and prepare the surface for new construction.

Between the house and the kiln compound in Unit N7-6, a skeleton was found on the floor of the destruction layer (Figure 7.5). It appears to have been left or dumped there upon death, and there were no indications of a burial. It was a robust man in his fifties with signs of combat-related trauma both in his youth and at death. Most striking was a healed parry fracture on his left arm with a massive osseous callus that had led to the near fusion of his radius and ulna. Even more revealing was the perimortem parry fracture on top of the healed one. Other perimortem damage included a powerful blow that broke his lower left molars and mandibular ramus, and possible blunt trauma fractures to the left fibula, the C1 and C2 vertebrae, and some ribs.

A number of other pieces of evidence correlating with the destruction episode have been found in the north area near Unit N6, including a midden deposit that may have been part of the cleanup of debris from the destruction. In this mixed fill material, a human skull cap and a terra-cotta figurine head were recovered. The figurine is consistent with representations of Ptolemy V (Figure 7.6).[11]

Figure 7.5. Human remains from Unit N7-6, Tell Timai. Insert shows close-up of left radius and ulna, illustrating both healed and perimortem fractures.

Figure 7.6. Figurine of Ptolemy V (*left*), Tell Timai, Unit N6-7, circa 200–185 B.C.E, destruction layer. Ptolemy V portrait on coin (*right*), 202–200 B.C.E. (Private collection.)

Northwest of the house, in Unit N6-9, an iron arrowhead was found in the fill layer. In 2012 an emergency salvage recording was made at Unit S10-1, at a municipal construction site on the east edge of the tell, 300 m to the east of the north salvage area. Evidence of a destruction episode with intense burning appeared to correspond to the same early second century B.C.E. horizon as the destruction layer in the north. Also, a deep sondage in the center of the tell at Unit R13-2, almost 400 m southeast of N7, contained a layer of burning and destruction that corresponds to the same time period.

Analysis

Three episodes of occupation became apparent in the northern salvage area: one dating to the Late Persian or Early Hellenistic, one that ended abruptly and uniformly in the early second century B.C.E., and one that was then placed on top of the second one and ran at least until the first century B.C.E. The abrupt ending shows clear signs of widespread destruction, unburied remains (one with signs of violent death), and some weaponry. It is also worth considering the age at time of death of the man found in N7-6. If he died circa 185 B.C.E. in his fifties, at the time of the Battle of Raphia he would have been in his late twenties or early thirties, an age appropriate for a warrior. His healed parry fracture is likewise consistent with the occupation of a soldier, a set of circumstances that teases at the idea that he may have been one of those veterans who returned to Egypt and became involved in rebellion.

The chronology for the destruction is quite well and consistently fixed in the first quarter of the second century B.C.E. based on ceramics and coins. The aftermath of the destruction include a well-organized effort to level by truncating architecture and filling the interstitial space to create a completely new and clean surface for rebuilding. Paralleling these events is the abandonment of the Mendes harbor and the disenfranchisement of the temple of Ba-ned-djed by the Ptolemaic dynasty.

The ram god cult itself may offer some insights into the network of temple complexes and placement of allegiances during the rebellion. As discussed above, fine imported clay arrived at Thmuis from Esne-Edfu in Upper Egypt. The dominant deity at Esne was Khnum, who, like Ba-neb-djed, appeared as a ram god. That Khnum was the creator of the human body who fashioned bodies from clay on a ceramic wheel and placed them in the womb suggests that the imported clay may have had a particular symbolic or ritual significance. It is worth considering the possibilities that the deities of Mendes and

Esne shared more than an anthropomorphized ram representation, and that temple networking might have extended to economic interaction.

Historically, the events of the Great Revolt included the military intervention in the Delta described in the Rosetta Stone (see above) and the eventual treacherous end of the rebel leaders described by Polybius in the Delta at Saïs, some 70 km west of Thmuis.

> Polycrates got the rebels into his power. For Athinis, Pausiras, Chesufus and Irobastus, the surviving chieftains, forced by circumstances, came to Sais to entrust themselves to the king's good faith. But Ptolemy, violating his faith, tied the men naked to carts, and, after dragging them through the streets and torturing them, put them to death. On reaching Naucratis with his army, when Aristonicus had presented to him the mercenaries he had raised in Greece, he took them and sailed off to Alexandria, having taken no part in any action in the war owing to the unfairness of Polycrates. (Polybius 22:17)

In the aftermath of the Great Revolt there were clearly concessions made to priests as well as to the people of Egypt, but there were also consequences. Iconographic representations of the pharaohs went through a reform with a new emphasis on Hellenistic rather than Egyptian motifs. Stanwick (2002:50), in his analysis of Ptolemaic portraits, observed that "the earliest and most securely attributed examples of Hellenized, Egyptian-style royal portraits fall in the reigns of Ptolemies V and VI, coinciding with the disastrous native rebellion of 206–186 B.C. and its aftermath." Clearly, those who supported the victorious Ptolemy V fared better than those on the losing side.

The abandonment of the harbor at Mendes and rise of Thmuis as a metropolis and the seat of the nomarch of the Mendesian nome is often attributed to meanders of the Nile that were the consequence of natural forces and engineered hydrology to support agriculture and transport (see, e.g., Blouin 2014; Redford 2010). Yet it is oddly coincidental that after two thousand years the siltation of the harbor happens to coincide with the events of the Great Revolt. Furthermore, Hellenism in Egypt saw some of the most remarkable feats of hydraulic engineering, including a program of canalization that revolutionized transport and agriculture. It is inconceivable that, had there been a desire to maintain the harbor of Mendes, the Greco-Egyptian engineers could not have done so. That said, the Rosetta Stone does describe a devastating flood in the eighth year of the reign of Ptolemy V, even as sieges progressed in the Delta. It

is certainly possible that this contributed to changes in the Nile in the Mendes-Thmuis lands, and this may have even been exacerbated as an unintended consequence of some of the anthropogenic changes to the hydrography of Egypt, or even as a consequence to the modification of waterways associated with siege activities.

We suggest that other ethno-political factors should be taken into consideration when considering the transition of power in the Mendesian nome. The rebellion may have provided the *raison d'être* for a shift from the long-held system of temple administration that lasted throughout thirty dynasties of Egyptian pharaohs, as well as for urban renewal at Thmuis. The influx of Greek colonists and the first four Ptolemaic pharaohs now resulted in a transition to a system more in line with the Greek ideal of the *polis* and the rule of aristocracy. The friction that persisted seemed in many ways to have reached a point of assimilation and acceptance in the final decades of Ptolemaic Egypt. By the reign of Cleopatra VII (51–30 B.C.E.), Greeks and Egyptians were better integrated, and in fact Cleopatra was the first of the Ptolemies to speak Egyptian. But a new wave of conquest and colonization, that of the Romans, inaugurated a new cycle of cultural and political imperialism that manifests as Greco-Roman Egypt.[12]

Colonial Imperialism

More often than not, history is the chronicle of unintended consequences that extend far beyond the lifespan of the agents. From a diachronic perspective this is easily observed in colonial endeavors that foreshadow the rise and fall of empires, the creation of nations, the devastation of peoples, and the birth of new ethnic identities.

The reasons for migrations are manifold, fueled by economic, environmental, political, and ideological forces that drive people to seek new lands and opportunities. In cases where migration is encouraged or mandated by a political superpower, the motivation of the individual is subsumed in the motivation of the state. Colonies established and supported by an imperial metropole represent a strategic motive usually rooted in economic exploitation and security (see chapter 1, this volume). This accounts for the common practice in history of retiring soldiers on homestead lands in conquered provinces, particularly those with security vulnerabilities (similar cases are discussed in chapters 3 and 4 of this volume).

At least by the reign of Ptolemy II, cleruchic lands were being granted

to Greek soldiers, most pronouncedly in reclaimed lands in the Fayum and Middle Egypt. These soldiers provided the labor, or at least the management of labor, along with a security presence in the *chora*. The wealth and social power of the cleruchs outstripped that of their indigenous peers, and reduced tax liabilities ensured an uneven economic playing field, as may be inherent in colonial relations. However, the exclusivity of the foreign cleruchs began to break down sometime after Raphia (217 B.C.E.) and the Great Revolt of 205–186 B.C.E., during the rule of Ptolemy VIII (145–116 B.C.E.), when Egyptian soldiers were admitted to the cleruchy (Thompson 2012), a major step forward in cultural and economic fusion of conqueror and conquered. It is in this same period that we see the marriage of Psenptah II, high priest of Ptah, to Berenike, presumably a woman of the Ptolemaic royal household, suggesting that after nearly two centuries of Greek rule, socioeconomic barriers had become permeable.

Set in the middle of this transition is the shift of power from Mendes to Thmuis, a shift paralleled at other cities in Egypt. The change is profound in that, as is well illustrated in the carbonized fiscal archives from Thmuis for the second century C.E. (Blouin 2014), it encompasses an administrative shift from a temple to a secular bureaucracy (Manning 2003). As Egyptian temples yield to obsolescence, their written script fades to an enigma along with multilingual proclamations like the Rosetta Stone. These events are manifestations of prolonged colonial contact that resulted in the eventual assimilation of colonizer with colonized and the genesis of new institutions and socio-ethnic groups. It is a process that was fraught with violent convulsions, as evidenced by the violence at Thmuis in the early second century B.C.E.

Imperial colonial relationships are one of the most volatile forms of human organization. All parties are forced to confront alien ways of life in an environment that engenders conflict and struggle for control or parity. Imperial colonies are rooted socioeconomic asymmetries dependent on a minority's ability to maintain control in a foreign land that it is destined to lose control of through assimilation, liberation, or rebellion. Thmuis provides an example of how Ptolemaic institutions backed by a powerful military imposed control, yet rebellions and concessions of Greek privilege continued along the inevitable path toward assimilation and admixture.

Notes

1. For a theoretical view see Osterhammel 2005.
2. Note that Kushite rule of the 25th Dynasty actually represented a revitalization of many

early Egyptian traditions, and although it could certainly be discussed in terms of an imperial conquest, the cultural continuities could be viewed as an internecine political struggle that differed significantly from other foreign invasions.

3. See description of the foundation by Plutarch, *Life of Alexander* 26:3–10.

4. The Naucratis Decree Stele is written in hieroglyph only, but it lauds the virtues of the pharaoh Nectanebo I and discusses a 10 percent import tax on goods and trade from the "Sea of the Greeks."

5. Herodotus, *The Histories,* trans. Tom Holland (New York: Random House, 2013). For the Greek text, see Herodotus, *Herodoti Historiae,* volume 1, books 1–4, ed. Carolus Hude, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927).

6. The association of the Apis as the herald of Ptah and a manifestation of the god associated with the pharaoh diminished in the Ptolemaic period, yet the strong connection between the priests of Ptah and the prominence of Serapis suggests that this relationship bears much closer examination.

7. See Thompson (1988:106–54) for Ptolemaic policies toward Egyptian religious shrines.

8. Polybius, *The Histories,* trans. Robin Waterfiled and Brian McGing (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). For the Greek text, see Polybius, *Historiae,* edited by T. Büttner-Wobst, 5 vols. (Teubner: Leipzig, 1889–1905).

9. For the text see Müller (1920:59–88). A recent copy of the Philae Decree was uncovered in Taposiris Magna in 2015.

10. Alphas run west to east and numbers run north to south. The northern area discussed here encompasses Alphas N-P with a North-South range from 4 to 7.

11. The style of this figurine matches that of an alabaster figurine identified as Ptolemy V or Ptolemy VI at the Ägyptishes Museum, Berlin, 14568. Stanwick (2002:56–57, Figures 46–47) identifies as the portrait as one of the boy kings, Ptolemy V or Ptolemy VI. The pointy chin is slightly more consistent with Ptolemy V.

12. For Thmuis under Roman rule see Blouin (2014). For Roman Egypt see Bowman (1996), Bagnall and Frier (1994), and Riggs (2012).

References Cited

Bagnall, Roger S., and Bruce W. Frier

1994 *The Demography of Roman Egypt.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Barber, Elizabeth

1991 *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neoltihic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean.* Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Blouin, Katherine

2014 *Triangular Landscapes: Environment, Society and the State in the Nile Delta under Roman Rule*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Boardman, John

2006 Greeks in the East Mediterranean (South Anatolia, Syria, Egypt). In *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, edited by Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, pp. 507–34. Brill, Leiden.

Bowman, Alan K.

1996 *Egypt after the Pharaohs: 332 BC–AD 642.* University of California Press, Berkeley.

Chauveau, Michel
2000 *Egypt in the Age of Cleopatra.* Translated by David Lorton. Cornell University Press, Ithaca.
Cline, Eric H.
2014 *1177 B.C.: The Year Civilization Collapsed*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
Clarysse, Willy
2007 A Royal Journey in the Delta in 257 B.C. and the Date of the Mendes Stele. *Chronique d'Egypte* 82(163/64):201–206.
Clarysse, Willy, and Dorothy J. Thompson
2006 *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt.* 2 vols. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Davies, John K.
2002 The Interpretation of Hellenistic Sovereignties. In *The Hellenistic World: New Perspectives,* edited by Daniel Ogden, pp. 1–21. Classical Press of Wales, London.
Demand, Nancy H.
1990 *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece: Flight and Consolidation*. Bristol Classical Press, Bristol.
De Meulenaere, H., and Pierre McKay
1977 *Mendes II.* Aris & Phillips, London.
de Rodrigo, Alicia D.
2000 An Ancient Mendesian Industry. *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 14:33–39.
Fisher-Bovet, Christelle
2007 *Counting the Greeks in Egypt: Immigration in the First Century of Ptolemaic Rule*. Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics, Stanford.
Fraser, P. M.
1996 *Cities of Alexander the Great*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
Haring, Ben J. J.
1997 *Divine Households: Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes.* Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden.
Hazzard, R. A.
1995 *Ptolemaic Coins: An Introduction for Collectors*. Kirk and Bentley, Toronto.
Holz, Robert K., David Stieglitz, Donald P. Hansen, and Edward Ochsenschlager
1980 *Mendes I*. Edited by Bernard V. Bothmer and Emma Swan-Hall. American Research Center in Egypt, Cairo.
Hornblower, Simon
1996 Hellenism, Hellenization. In *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* edited by Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth, pp. 677–679. 3rd ed. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
Hudson, Nicholas
2010–2011 Preliminary Report on the Pottery at Tell Timai (Thmuis). Unpublished report.
Kelder, Jorrit M.
2009 Royal Gift Exchange between Mycenae and Egypt: Olives as "Greeting Gifts" in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 113:339–352.

Kosmin, Paul J.
2014 *The Land of the Elephant Kings: Space, Territory, and Ideology in the Seleucid Empire*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
Leonard, Albert, Jr.
2001 *Ancient Naukratis: Excavations at a Greek Emporium in Egypt. Part II: The Excavations at Kom Hadid*. American Schools of Oriental Research, Atlanta.
Lewis, Napthali
2001 *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt: Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
Malaise, Michel
2005 *Pour une terminologie et une analyse des cultes Isiaques.* Académie Royale de Belgique, Brussels.
Manning, J. G.
2003 *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Structure of Land Tenure*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
2009 *The Last Pharaohs: Egypt under the Ptolemies, 305–30 BC*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
McCoskey, Denise E.
2002 Race before "Whiteness": Studying Identity in Ptolemaic Egypt. *Critical Sociology* 28(1–2):13–39.
McGing, B. C.
1997 Revolt Egyptian Style: Internal Opposition to Ptolemaic Rule. *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 43:273–314.
Möller, Astrid
2000 *Naukratis: Trade in Archaic Greece*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
Mueller, Katja
2006 *Settlements of the Ptolemies: City Foundations and Settlement in the Hellenistic World*. Studia Hellenistica 43. Peeters, Leuven.
Müller, W. M.
1920 *Egyptological Researches III: The Bilingual Decrees of Philae.* Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, D.C.
Osterhammel, Jurgen
2005 *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview.* Translated by Shelley Frisch. Markus Weiner, Princeton.
Redford, Donald B.
2010 *City of the Ram-Man: The Story of Ancient Mendes*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
Reymond, Eve A. E.
1981 *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis,* Vol. 1. Oito Harrassowitz Wiesbaden.
Riggs, Christina (editor)
2012 *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
Simpson, R. S.
1996 *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees*. Griffith Institute, Oxford.

Spalinger, Anthony John
1976 Psammetichus, King of Egypt: I. *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13:133–147.
Stanwick, Paul E.
2002 *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek King as Egyptian Pharaohs.* University of Texas Press, Austin.
Thompson, Dorothy J.
1988 *Memphis under the Ptolemies*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
2012 Cleruchs, Egypt. Thomson, Dorothy J. In *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History,* edited by Roger S. Bagnall, Kai Brodersen, Craige B. Champion, Andrew Erskine, and Sabine R. Heubner. Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford. DOI: 10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah22057.
Tsetskhladze, Gocha
2006 *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas,* Vol. 1. Brill, Leiden.
Veïsse, Anne-Emmanuelle
2004 *Les "Révoltes Égyptiennes": Recherches sur les troubles intérieurs en Égypte du règne de Ptolémée III Évergète à la conquête romaine.* Studia Hellenistica 41. Peeters, Leuven.
Witt, R. E.
1997 *Isis in the Ancient World*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.