

Alexandria and Alexandrianism



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Papers Delivered
at a Symposium Organized
by The J. Paul Getty Museum and
The Getty Center for the History
of Art and the Humanities
and Held at the Museum
April 22-25, 1993

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Bernard V. Bothmer

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Foreword

The papers published in this volume were first presented at a symposium held at the Getty Museum in April 1993. The symposium, jointly sponsored by the Museum and the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, encouraged participants to range widely over the Alexandrian landscape and to examine not only the ancient city but also its enduring legacy. Speakers were asked to elicit dual or multiple readings of the material remains of Hellenistic Alexandria from both Egyptian and Greek points of view and to consider the modern conception and re-creations of that city, which is as legendary as its founder. The breadth of the speakers' interests is reflected here in the scope of subjects, from Alexander's Alexandria to *The Continuing Influence of Alexandria*.

Although most papers are focused on the visual arts of Alexandria during the Hellenistic period, the allure of the city in later times emerges throughout. One of the basic questions the two institutions wanted to explore in organizing this symposium was whether or not truly Alexandrian attributes can be seen in the arts created there—whether there is such a thing as an “Alexandrian style.” In Alexandria, where people in subsequent ages up to the present have built their cities on top of those who preceded them, little of the ancient world is available for excavation and direct examination, so much is left to speculation and nostalgia. Participants were asked to consider the possibility that the Alexandrian associations of certain materials and techniques, certain subjects, and certain elements of style, might be based at least in part on what our age imagines Alexandria to have been, on the myth of its own nature. The symposium also examined the many-sided cultural and intellectual character of the city from other vantage points, helping to portray a richer context by considering literature, science, medicine, anthropology, and city planning. An introduction and a summary of papers looking at the enduring influences of Alexandria from post-antique to modern times further put these discussions in perspective, reminding us again of the distance that separates us from the ancient city.

We are delighted to have had the opportunity for our sibling institutions to offer the forum for this fascinating material and thankful to the speakers for their papers and contributions to the discussions. And we are grateful for the work of our staff, in particular Marion True and the members of the Antiquities Department of the Museum, and members of the Center's staff.

John Walsh
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The J. Paul Getty Museum

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The Getty Center for the History
of Art and the Humanities

Introduction

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Alexander's Alexandria

Peter Green

A recent Italian article asked, in its title, the (not entirely rhetorical) question, "Egyptian Alexandria—a myth?"¹ Wisely, the writer omitted a main verb. If *is* evokes memories of E. M. Forster, Constantine Cavafy, and Lawrence Durrell,² *was* takes us back to the Alexander Romance, to the grandiose dreams and processions of Ptolemy Philadelphos, to Cleopatra's suicide after Actium, to the Arian and Monophysite heresies.³ Alexandria has always had a mythic quality about it. Cavafy, the poet of homosexual nostalgia ("Days of 1896 . . ."), reached back into the city's Hellenistic and Byzantine past for imagery and examples: Sophists and soldiers, political lies, dynastic fantasies, moments of memorable defeat,⁴ and always, unchanging down the ages, ephemeral yet eternal in their agonizing beauty, the young men for whom his heart and body hungered. Though Alexandria had had a reputation for good-looking and available boys almost since its foundation—Herodas in the early third century B.C. mentions them in the same breath as gaudies, philosophers, and gold⁵—it remains true that Cavafy (like Durrell after him, like André Gide in Algeria) was in effect shamelessly using another country as a name for his own obsessions.⁶ This habit has not been restricted to poets and novelists.

Another factor encouraging mythicization has always been Alexandria's more-than-symbolic separation from Egypt. Both in the Hellenistic and in the Roman periods it was officially known as "Alexandria *by* Egypt," seldom as "Alexandria *in* Egypt."⁷ This was appropriate in more than one sense. It distinguished the royal foundation of the Graeco-Macedonian ruling elite from the old pharaonic capitals of Memphis. It enshrined the concept of a government that regarded Egypt as alien "spear-won territory," fit for economic exploitation. It rubbed in the fact that no Ptolemy until the last representative of the dynasty, Cleopatra VII, ever bothered to learn Egyptian, preferring to operate through a corps of Greek-speaking Egyptian interpreters. Seers at its foundation had prophesied, accurately, that the city would be a melting pot of all nations,⁸ perhaps what Durrell's Nessim meant when he characterized Alexandria as "the great wine-press of love,"⁹ and this was to remain true throughout Alexandria's long and colorful history, except

that the nations never, in any important sense, included Egypt itself until after the 1956 Suez War. Mohammed Ali was a nineteenth-century Turkish adventurer who operated much in the spirit of the Ptolemies or Alexander's governor, Kleomenes (of whom more later): "He exploited the fellahin by buying grain from them at his own price: the whole of Egypt became his private farm."¹⁰ Neither Cavafy nor Durrell, we may note, cultivated Egyptian friends or made any serious attempt to integrate Egyptian realities into their Alexandrian myth.¹¹ In this they were simply adhering to an age-old tradition.

The magic of Alexandria, in fact, can be seen from start to finish as the powerful by-product of a cosmopolitan and (in Graham Greene's sense) seedy colonialism, at once rootless and exploitative, of which the casual pick-ups of Herodas and Cavafy, not to mention Durrell's grisly child prostitutes, can serve as an eloquent symbol. Alexandria became the embodiment of Hellenistic culture precisely because it had no national basis. The Cynic philosopher who proclaimed himself a *kosmopolites*, a "citizen of the world," might well have had the Ptolemaic capital in mind. The scholarship and the editing in the Mouseion, the obsessional search for past literature that characterized the Library (and at least one monarch, Ptolemy III Euergetes I, who forfeited his fifteen-talent deposit so as to keep the official Athenian copies of Aeschylus, Sophokles, and Euripides¹²); the scientific expertise that went into the construction of the Pharos, the great lighthouse that guided night travelers through the shoals and reefs outside Alexandria's main harbor; the medical pioneering work of an Erasistratos or a Herophilos that depended on royal protection against current religious prejudice to allow human dissection and vivisection;¹³ the literary activities of a Kallimachos or a Theokritos, blissfully innocent of any influence from native Egyptian literature: all these things were imported, imposed, alien. Hybridization, when it came, began in the lower strata of society, a fertile seed bed for exotic superstition and religious syncretism.

Thus the regret sometimes expressed by romantic Hellenists for the post-1956 demise of the "old Alexandria" has an ironic twist to it: The nostalgia might well be regarded as akin to that of displaced French *pieds noirs* for the opium dens of the Casbah, and Islam's wary suspicion of the city from the time of its conquest by Amr (A.D. 640) was no less national than religious in nature. The silting up of harbors and canals can perhaps be ascribed in part to ingrained Arab distrust of the sea and of naval warfare;¹⁴ but Forster was surely right in essence when he wrote that "Amr and his Arabs . . . instinctively shrank from Alexandria; she seemed to them idolatrous and foolish . . . though they had no intention of destroying her, they destroyed her, as a child might a watch."¹⁵ But it was not until the regime of Gamal Abdel Nasser, the

first truly Egyptian ruler of Egypt in two and a half millennia, that Alexandria was finally integrated into the body politic on which for so long it had existed as an alien and exotic growth. Readers of Cavafy and Durrell may perhaps reflect that this change was, on balance, no bad thing: that exoticism can be bought at too high a price.

Those researchers who, like myself, normally react to a myth by wanting to get behind it have a more than usually tough problem on their hands with Alexandria, not least if they hope, as I do, to clarify the circumstances of the city's original foundation. When we look at our literary evidence, it at once becomes clear that mythification began very early. The Alexander Romance, despite a stratum of valuable early Hellenistic evidence, ascribes Alexander's begetting to the last independent pharaoh, Nektanebo II; cites his correspondence with the Amazons; has him arrive in Egypt after a *razzia* through Sicily, Italy, and Africa; and describes his exploration of the sea bottom in a magical diving bell.¹⁶ The historian Ammianus Marcellinus, writing in the fourth century A.D., had Cleopatra VII responsible for building both the Pharos and the Heptastadion (the seven-furlong causeway linking the island of Pharos and the mainland), though both in fact antedated her by almost three centuries.¹⁷ The earliest detailed description of the city to survive is that by the geographer Strabo,¹⁸ who was in Alexandria from 24 to (probably) 20 B.C.¹⁹ and is thus, similarly, three hundred years out of date, the difference, to take a modern parallel, between the London of Samuel Pepys and the city I know today. By the date of Strabo's visit the original foundation had already been transformed almost beyond recognition, since Diodorus Siculus (who was there only a few years before Strabo) writes that "all subsequent kings of Egypt vied in the city's development. Some adorned it with splendid palaces, some with dockyards and harbor works, and others again with various further notable dedications and works of art, to the point where most people reckon it the first or second city of the inhabited world."²⁰

The normal recourse in such circumstances would be to the so-called hard evidence of papyrology, epigraphy, numismatics, and the archaeological record. But here Alexandria presents an unusual and frustrating case. Though the city has survived without interruption from antiquity, nevertheless from the Middle Ages until the advent of Mohammed Ali in 1805 only the western part, in particular the silted-up neck of the former Heptastadion, remained under continuous occupation. As Fraser says, "even within living memory much of the area east of the Great Harbour consisted of sand-dunes."²¹ Since this was precisely where the interior of the Ptolemaic city was located, it might have been thought that the opportunities for excavation were excellent. Two factors, one man-made, one natural, combined to render such a project all

but impossible. The rapid expansion of Alexandria as a port during the nineteenth century, in particular under Khedive Ismail, not only effectively buried the ancient strata under new buildings but also, in the construction of the Corniche (1906), created an artificial coastline up to 300 m in depth.²² To make things even worse, in many districts ancient sherds were redeposited, in complete confusion, on top of the later strata.

But such frustrating human activities were eclipsed by those of nature. Over the centuries there has taken place, partly through seismic disturbance, partly through the weight of the silt washed down by the Nile, a general subsidence of up to four meters. As a result, much of the coastal section of the Ptolemaic city (which, as we know, included at least some of the royal palaces), now lies under the waters of the Mediterranean, and the on-site papyrological evidence, which could have told us so much about the capital's functioning, has been totally destroyed.²³ Thus if we want to understand the circumstances of Alexandria's foundation, we find ourselves compelled to reexamine the literary evidence within the framework of various historical factors: strategic, economic, commercial, cultural, even religious. Some of these are perennial, so that, surprisingly, we find modern Alexandria shedding light on its ancient counterpart.²⁴

Let us begin, then, with the enigmatic founder himself. Alexander III of Macedon from adolescence on made a habit of creating or taking over cities and naming them after himself. His first recorded venture of the sort was at the tender age of sixteen. Appointed regent while Philip was campaigning against Byzantium and Perinthos, he dislodged a group of rebellious Thracian tribesmen and established a military outpost, Alexandropolis, to match the Philippopolis his father had set up two years previously.²⁵ Alexander never lacked the competitive spirit. Plutarch (*Mor.* 328E) credits him with no less than seventy foundations in all: each named Alexandria, and many of them no more than frontier fortresses. Alexandria-by-Egypt proved by far the most successful. It was also the one in which he seems to have taken the most personal interest.²⁶ We may legitimately ask ourselves why.

This question forms part of a larger problem: why did he choose to go to Egypt at all? After the battle of Issus (September 333) why did he not at once pursue the defeated and disorganized forces of Darius eastward to Babylon? Why, instead, did he march over three hundred miles out of his way down the coast of the Mediterranean, spend seven months besieging Tyre and a long winter in and around the Nile Valley, and not resume his career of conquest until late April of 331? To understand this we must appreciate (as Alexander himself undoubtedly did) the dangerous and fluid situation that had developed behind his advance, in Asia Minor and the Aegean, and that now seriously threatened his ever-lengthening lines of communication.

Since his siege and capture of Miletos in 334, Alexander had operated, except for one small transport squadron, without a fleet. Various reasons have been suggested for this; but the truth of the matter seems to have been that the bulk of the navy was supplied by his reluctant Greek allies, whom he distrusted so deeply that he actually preferred the risk of rebellion in his rear, not to mention the challenge of neutralizing every key port from the landward side, to their continued presence.²⁷ Worse, the Persians had also decided to carry out an aggressive, and highly successful, naval campaign in the Aegean, for which they mainly employed the large Phoenician fleet. After Issus, Darius gave this campaign top priority: Miletos and Halikarnassos were recaptured, and King Agis III of Sparta, already planning a nationalist rebellion, was furnished with gold and no less than eight thousand mercenaries, while the Persian cavalry commander, Nabarzanes, campaigning in Anatolia, threatened to sever Alexander's landward lines of communication.²⁸

In the circumstances, the sea lanes and ports of the eastern Mediterranean assumed enormous strategic importance. Alexander had done what he could to secure them as far as Cilicia. What remained now were Phoenicia and Egypt,²⁹ on both of which Persia, being herself a nonmaritime inland country, habitually drew for her fleet. It should now be immediately apparent why Alexander spent seven months besieging the great offshore stronghold of Tyre. Tyre's neighbor and rival Sidon, having been reduced savagely by Artaxerxes Ochus in 345 after an attempted rebellion,³⁰ welcomed the Macedonians with open arms. But Gaza also gave Alexander trouble, and another two months were spent in reducing it. Besides being a spice entrepôt at the head of the Eastern caravan routes, the city could serve as a military fortress guarding the land approaches to Egypt.³¹

From Gaza Alexander made the 200 km to the frontier stronghold of Pelusium, at the mouth of the Nile, in just under a week. The small fleet he retained got there before him, and he found it at anchor in the harbor.³² Since Artaxerxes Ochus had earlier (343) dealt with Egypt just as bloodily as he did with Sidon,³³ Alexander met with no opposition at Pelusium and was indeed welcomed as a liberator.³⁴ Both Phoenicia and Egypt were now safely under Macedonian control.

Alexander's strategy at this point is clear enough. It would take Darius at least a year to recruit, train, and deploy a new army. Since there was nothing Alexander wanted more than another full-scale, and, with luck, decisive, engagement, he was well content to let Darius prepare for this, while he himself dealt with other pressing problems. So far, he had secured Cilicia and the Phoenician coast, thus safeguarding much of the East Mediterranean sea route, but there still remained North Africa. To the west of Cyrene lay "barbarism and Carthage,"³⁵ about which not much could be done as yet. But Cyrene itself, and a fortiori

the Nile Delta, had to be made safe. Whatever other considerations Alexander had in mind as he marched through the desert to Heliopolis, this one was surely prominent.³⁶

Mazaces, the Persian satrap, whose garrison had been taken from him to fight at Issus and who was thus virtually defenseless, crossed the river from Memphis and surrendered the city to the Macedonians, together with eight hundred talents and the royal furniture.³⁷ In Memphis, according to the Romance,³⁸ Alexander was not only enthroned as pharaoh but also, on being shown a statue of Nektanebo II, the last Egyptian pharaoh, inscribed with a prophecy that he would come again to rid Egypt of the Persians, declared himself Nektanebo's son—perhaps, if there is any truth in the story, to strengthen his own claim as Egypt's new ruler. At the same time, while duly sacrificing to the Egyptian gods, Alexander also held lavish Greek-style games, both musical and athletic, with top-level competitors imported from the Greek mainland,³⁹ a nice example of his increasing need, as his career of conquest advanced, to be all things to all men. While in Memphis (perhaps after a tour of inspection through the nearby countryside), he settled the future administration of Egypt in his usual manner: that is, by changing nothing apart from those in charge at the top.⁴⁰

What he did next has been the subject of considerable disagreement among historians, ancient and modern alike. Both Quintus Curtius Rufus and Diodorus clearly state that his next act was to pay a visit to the oracular shrine of Zeus Ammon (of which more in a moment) in the Siwah Oasis. In particular they, like Justin,⁴¹ place the foundation of Alexandria *after* this visit, though it is only the Alexander Romance that develops the *post hoc, propter hoc* argument that Alexander's purpose in visiting the shrine was to discover what site the god favored for his new city, and that Ammon duly responded with an oracle instructing the king to “found his famous city across from Proteus's isle.”⁴² On the other hand, both Arrian and Plutarch⁴³ appear to place the foundation of Alexandria *before* the visit to Siwah. We have here what has more often than not been taken (mistakenly, I think) as a fundamental conflict of primary sources.

Bradford Welles, in an influential article,⁴⁴ argued that the Alexander Romance was right: that no Greek city could be founded without divine approval and that the evidence of Arrian and Plutarch must therefore be rejected. Previously “Alexander historians [had] unhesitatingly accepted the Ptolemaic version” of Arrian.⁴⁵ Now, for a while, Welles's thesis gave rise to a *simpliste* and misdirected debate between the advocates of “before” and “after.”⁴⁶ It was Brian Bosworth who looked in the right direction for a solution to this problem. There was no reason, he argued, why Alexander should not have picked on a site first, then have obtained divine approval for it at Siwah, and finally have

established an official “foundation day” on his return. One might also stress the fact that oracular consultants, including would-be colonists, habitually framed their questions in such a way as to solicit approval for a choice *already made*.⁴⁷ With these considerations in mind, we can make our sources yield a fairly consistent and plausible account of what actually happened.

From Memphis Alexander sailed down the Canopic branch of the Nile.⁴⁸ He already had in mind the determination to found a new city in the area. It was to be large, well populated, prosperous, with a good, safe harbor.⁴⁹ Arrian on several occasions mentions Alexander’s motives in founding cities.⁵⁰ While he had an eye for a strategically or otherwise advantageous site, his main concern always seems to have been to leave a large and famous memorial of himself, an extension of his quest for glory (*kleos*). This was why every such foundation bore his name, to shed a natural luster on it. His other recipe for success was a large population, so that we regularly find him not only directing Greek and Macedonian colonists into his new cities but forcibly relocating indigenous inhabitants from surrounding areas. It is also clear that his motivation was very often, in part at least, commercial. This being so, during his voyage he must at the very least seriously have considered the claims of a famous Greek emporium already long established on the Canopic branch of the Nile: Naukratis.⁵¹ Naukratis had been a privileged commercial entrepôt for the Greeks at least since the early sixth century, and it is hard to believe that the rich businessmen, who surely went out of their way to entertain the Macedonian conqueror when he reached Naukratis during his tour of inspection, did not try also to sell him the idea of turning Naukratis into the city of his dreams. It is even possible that they for a brief while succeeded. Plutarch, in a passage that has elicited surprisingly little comment, records that on the advice of his technical consultants Alexander had already selected a site—was, indeed, on the point of measuring it off and enclosing it—when a prophetic dream turned his attention to the offshore island of Pharos.⁵² That this was Naukratis is made even more probable by the fact that one of his advisers, Kleomenes, was himself a native of the city, and almost certainly (as his subsequent career suggests) one of its leading financiers.⁵³

During the night, according to Plutarch, Alexander dreamed that a white-haired and venerable old man stood beside him and declaimed two lines from Homer’s *Odyssey* (4.354–55): “There is an island in the ever-surging main, / offshore from Egypt: Pharos is what men call it.” The king’s religiosity was one of his strongest characteristics.⁵⁴ Struck by this vision, he sailed on to the coast, explored Lake Mareotis, and examined Pharos itself. His first instinct seems to have been to follow his dream to the letter and build a city actually on the island, being dissuaded from this plan only by the realization that Pharos was not

big enough for what he had in mind.⁵⁵ But then, surveying the long limestone ridge between lake and sea, noting the natural deep-water harbor, the protection afforded by Pharos, and the lack of comparable facilities elsewhere along the coast, he decided, Plutarch says, that Homer “was not only extraordinary in other respects but also a very clever city planner.”⁵⁶

At this point, says Arrian (3.1.5), “a longing [*pothos*] for the work took hold of him,” and in his usual impulsive, enthusiastic manner, he began marking out the future city’s main features: the site of the agora; the number and location of temples—mostly to Greek gods but also to Egyptian Isis and Serapis (the Homeric dream may even have taken place during an incubation in the existing shrine of Serapis at Rhakotis⁵⁷)—the streets, laid out in a right-angled grid pattern and so placed as to catch the cool prevailing breeze;⁵⁸ hugely strong ramparts; and a massive great royal palace.⁵⁹ These features are all specifically attributed to Alexander rather than to his successors. One further feature for which he can safely be given the credit is Alexandria’s remarkable system of underground drains, conduits, cisterns, and sewers.⁶⁰ This clearly had to be in place *ab initio*. It is referred to by the author of the *Alexandrine War*,⁶¹ and (according to the Alexander Romance) was actually recommended to Alexander by one of his technical advisers.⁶²

One factor that undoubtedly influenced Alexander as a strategist in favor of the site was its striking resemblance to that of Tyre.⁶³ Again, he found an offshore island capable of controlling access to the mainland, and his original notion of establishing Alexandria on Pharos itself confirms the comparison. That the island was too small to contain the kind of city he had in mind was not the only argument, however, in favor of preferring a site centered on the limestone ridge known as Rhakotis. What Alexander had done at Tyre by driving a great causeway from shore to island, others might yet achieve here.⁶⁴ Better to anticipate them. What was more, Alexander at once perceived that the existence of such a causeway, quite apart from its strategic advantages, would greatly improve the docking facilities.⁶⁵ From an open roadstead merely sheltered by Pharos, the port of Alexandria would at one stroke acquire major eastern and western harbors, each easily protected against both violent storms (from whatever quarter) and attack from the sea. For these reasons I am inclined to believe that the Heptastadion formed part of Alexander’s original plan and was implemented during his lifetime. In a passage much contaminated with later myth, Ammianus picks up one tradition that has the ring of truth about it: the Heptastadion, he reports, was remarkable not only for its size (it was nearly a mile in length) but also for the “scarcely credible speed” with which it was built.⁶⁶ The kind of speed that amazed those who saw it (and a fortiori those who became its victims) was, of course, one of Alexander’s best-known characteristics.

That Alexander's purpose in founding Alexandria was at least as much strategic as commercial seems certain.⁶⁷ Egypt's remarkable ability, even under the most inept of the Ptolemies, to resist successful invasion by land or sea testifies in retrospect to his foresight. His acquisition of the Nile Valley guaranteed him almost inexhaustible supplies of grain and other produce. Memphis gave him control of the Delta. Pelusium had only limited facilities for the maintenance of a fleet; but with the establishment of a deep-water port in Alexandria (at the one point on the Egyptian littoral where this was possible) Alexander clinched his domination over the eastern Mediterranean. Two world wars have amply confirmed the port's crucial importance as a naval base. Alexander's emphasis on the size and strength of the city walls suggests a determination to make his foundation equally invulnerable from the landward side.

The site of Rhakotis had been used for a defense post in earlier periods. Strabo describes how the pharaohs established a garrison there, to keep out foreigners, primarily Greeks (on economic grounds, it is alleged, which sounds like an anachronism from Ptolemaic times), and "gave them as a dwelling place the area known as Rhakotis, now that part of the Alexandrians' city situated above the dockyards, which was then a village; and the land around the village they gave to herdsmen, who also were able to prevent incursions by outsiders."⁶⁸ Strabo's evidence is confirmed in some detail by the Alexander Romance, where, in a difficult and in places corrupt passage, we hear of a dozen small villages surrounding Rhakotis itself, which served as their administrative center.⁶⁹ Even more intriguing, though extremely hard to evaluate, are the extensive underwater ruins of a huge harbor complex lying to the north and west of Pharos: They could be a millennium older than the foundation of Alexandria, and the most plausible theory identifies them as part of the Minoan thalassocracy centered on Knossos.⁷⁰ Pottery deposits suggest, as we might expect, a Greek presence in the area at least since the mid-seventh century.⁷¹ Herodotos and Thukydides both refer to garrison posts in the area, the one in the sixth century, the other in the fifth, in each case as part of a description of Egypt's general defense system.⁷² There is no reason to suppose that Alexander, who had all Homer and a good deal of Euripides by heart, would not also be familiar with the two great exponents of his own themes of conquest and empire.

The shape of the original city wall is likened by several of our sources to a *chlamys*, a Macedonian military cloak,⁷³ which was formed from a rectangular piece of cloth shaped somewhat like the segment of a circle: a convex lower edge subtended to two straight sides converging on a much narrower top edge, the latter straight or slightly curved.⁷⁴ The city's dimensions are also variously reported, Strabo's figures—30 stades from east to west, but no more than 7–8 north to south, between Lake Mareotis and the sea⁷⁵—being probably the most accurate. Strabo also makes it clear that the city boundary stopped short, in the west, of the

suburb known as Nekropolis, “in which there are many graves and gardens and embalmers’ parlors.”⁷⁶ A similar terminus ad quem is provided in the east by the cemetery of Shatby.⁷⁷ Insofar as the chlamys image bore any relation to reality, it seems to have envisaged an area roughly rectangular but narrowing northward as it approached the harbor area.

If Alexander wished to obtain divine approval for his foundation, it first had to be defined. This is the true *raison d’être* behind the most famous anecdote concerning his activities at the site: most of our sources record it, but none perceives its relevance.⁷⁸ When Alexander had fixed on the site at Rhakotis, as we have seen (p. 10 above), he strode around, Arrian says, marking out (we are not told how) various features of his new city. But the chalk or lime used for marking ran out and was replaced, in this emergency, by the barley meal or polenta that formed the troops’ and workmen’s rations (what they had to say about losing their lunch is not recorded). A vast swarm of seagulls and marsh birds appeared and devoured the barley meal. Alexander, superstitious to a degree, was concerned as to what this might portend but got welcome reassurance from Aristander and his other seers, who declared that the city would abound in wealth and provide sustenance for men of every nation.⁷⁹

What has escaped notice about the barley-meal anecdote is that in every version of it what Alexander is marking out is, specifically, the city’s perimeter, its fortifications, its defining boundary walls.⁸⁰ This lends some credibility to the generally disregarded comment of Quintus Curtius Rufus, who informs us that the use of barley meal to establish the outer circuit, what a Roman would call the *pomerium*, of a new city was “a custom of the Macedonians.”⁸¹ In any case what Alexander was doing was making a ritual declaration of intent, at least as much for divine as for human notification. He then “offered sacrifice for these actions, and the sacrifice appeared favorable.”⁸²

At this point Alexander’s lieutenant Hegelochos arrived by sea with welcome news from the Aegean, where the naval campaign was everywhere turning in the Macedonians’ favor.⁸³ It was now that, once again, Alexander was seized by a sudden urge, a *pothos*, to visit the shrine of Zeus Ammon in the Libyan desert.⁸⁴ This *pothos* may not have been exclusively religious in nature. Alexander still needed to secure Cyrene. Here luck was on his side. Before he reached Paraetonium (Mersa Matruh), envoys met him from Cyrene bearing rich gifts and soliciting a treaty of alliance, which he was only too glad to grant them.⁸⁵ Hogarth argued that Alexander only went to Siwah at all because he now had no need to proceed to Cyrene and felt he might as well make the long march worthwhile.⁸⁶ Alexander’s religious nature suggests otherwise; but Hogarth is undoubtedly right in his contention that the journey was also strategically motivated.

We are only concerned here with two facets of this much-discussed episode: the possibility that one reason for Alexander's foray into the desert was to secure Ammon's blessing on the proposed new city, and a search for evidence establishing the chronology of both the pilgrimage itself and the city's foundation. The sole source claiming that Alexander consulted the oracle regarding his proposed foundation is provided by the *Alexander Romance*.⁸⁷ Though as an unsupported witness this text does not inspire confidence, Welles has offered convincing reasons why in this case we should believe what it tells us. As he says, "Did any Greek individual or community ever found a new city without first consulting an oracle? . . . Anyone in antiquity knew that Alexander must have had divine guidance in founding his name city."⁸⁸ The oracle, according to the *Romance*, instructed the king to do so "opposite the isle of Proteus," just as he had hoped, "over which Aion Ploutonios himself presides,/ turning the boundless world on its five-hilled ridges."⁸⁹ This deity, the *Romance* duly informs us, was none other than Serapis.⁹⁰ Though the degree of Alexander's personal involvement in the Serapis cult is much debated,⁹¹ the existence of a serapeion in Rhakotis seems certain, and it clearly occupied the same site as the later temple, that is, the southwest part of the city, on the little hill where "Pompey's Pillar" (actually part of the temple itself) still stands.⁹² That Alexander received approval for his foundation from Ammon, and that this approval was in some way linked to the cult of Serapis, seem highly probable.

The journey to Siwah was marked by two phenomena that enable us to date it with reasonable precision: heavy rain,⁹³ and a sandstorm,⁹⁴ produced by the southwest khamsin winds. Both these are restricted to the winter months.⁹⁵ Alexander had arrived in Egypt during November 332: he probably consulted the oracle in late December or early January. The *Alexander Romance* offers an Egyptian date, 25 Tybi, for the foundation of Alexandria.⁹⁶ Conversion to a Julian date depends on whether the writer of the *Romance* was calculating from the Ptolemaic calendar, which gives us April 7, or from Augustus's Roman calendar, which works out at January 20.⁹⁷ Since a few lines earlier he equates Tybi with January, the latter seems more probable and fits very well with the climatic evidence. In any case, Alexander left Memphis for Phoenicia "at the very first sign of spring,"⁹⁸ and this will certainly have been before the second week in April. The one true inconsistency in our testimonia (which also baffled Arrian, who reports it) concerns his route back. Did he return by the same route (thus Aristobulus, followed by Quintus Curtius Rufus), or make the shorter, but far more dangerous trek across the desert through the Qattara Depression, directly to Memphis?⁹⁹ The only reason he would have chosen to do the latter would be if he was pressed for time. With a January rather than an April date he had no such urgency. He was also, undoubtedly, eager to see his now di-

vinely sanctioned project under way. I therefore believe that Aristobulus was right and that Alexander traveled back via Paraetionium and the coast road to Rhakotis.

In a brief notice Diodorus records the sequence of his actions at this point: “King Alexander charged certain of his Friends with the building of Alexandria, made all arrangements in Egypt, and set out back for Syria with his army.”¹⁰⁰ Who were these Friends, and what precisely were the instructions they received? We have already met the dubiously named Hyponomos, who (according to the *Alexander Romance*¹⁰¹) advised Alexander on the installation of a sophisticated underground system of water supply and sewers, the existence of which is confirmed both by later literary evidence and by archaeology.¹⁰² With him are also named Numenios, a stonemason; Krateros of Olynthos (not the Macedonian general); and Kleomenes of Naukratis, described as an engineer (*μηχανικός*). The first two are otherwise unknown. Kleomenes, on the other hand, together with the architect Deinokrates (whom the *Romance* also mentions¹⁰³), was directly responsible for the implementation and initial development of Alexander’s dream city. Justin bluntly states that Kleomenes “built Alexandria.”¹⁰⁴ If he built it, Deinokrates was responsible for its unusual design.¹⁰⁵ Both of these larger-than-life men are worth a closer look. Alexandria would not have been Alexandria, perhaps might not even have survived, without them.

Vitruvius, the Roman architectural writer, describes in detail¹⁰⁶ how Deinokrates, armed with letters of introduction, sought Alexander’s patronage. Impatient at the delay in obtaining an introduction to the king, Deinokrates hit on a decidedly theatrical scheme. Being a tall, handsome, well-built man, he stripped off at his lodging house, oiled himself, put on a wreath of poplar leaves, draped a lion skin over his left shoulder, and marched out, grasping a club, to the tribunal where Alexander was giving judgment. The appearance of this deuterio-Herakles caused a sensation. Alexander, curious, summoned him. The sales pitch was ready. Deinokrates, who had a taste for the kind of public gigantism that afterwards distinguished the Ptolemies,¹⁰⁷ and who clearly shared Disraeli’s belief that when flattering royalty you should lay it on with the proverbial trowel, announced a plan to carve Mount Athos into the likeness of Alexander himself, with one hand holding a basin to collect the flow of water, and the other supporting a city of ten thousand inhabitants.¹⁰⁸ Alexander announced himself pleased with this monstrous piece of vulgarity but, with his usual practical eye for logistics, asked whether the city had an adequate local grain supply. When he heard that all grain would have to be imported, he killed the plan—but at the same time expressed approval of the concept¹⁰⁹ and enrolled Deinokrates as a member of his staff, intending to make use of his services.

This revealing anecdote tells us a lot not only about Alexan-

der's architect but also about Alexander himself and his grandiose plans. Deinokrates went to Egypt in the king's train and was there commissioned with the planning of Alexandria¹¹⁰—in the king's name, which suggests that he was given a free hand to improvise during Alexander's absence in the East. Nevertheless, it seems likely that much of the essential planning was done with Alexander's prior approval and that some of it may be attributable to the king himself. Blanche Brown reminds us of Alexander's interest in siege craft, harbor dredging, and drainage schemes.¹¹¹ Was he responsible for the underground water-supply system? Very probably. We may also detect his hand in the creation of vital canals: one linking the Western Harbor with Lake Mareotis, another—some miles in length—between Lake Mareotis and the Nile, thus connecting the country's internal and external transport systems.¹¹² Deinokrates was responsible for the chlamyslike shape of the city perimeter¹¹³ and for the orthogonal street system, though it may have been Alexander who insisted that at least the two main-axis streets should be (like those of Brigham Young's Salt Lake City) a *plethron*, that is, no less than a hundred feet in breadth, a most unusual stipulation for that day and age.¹¹⁴ The Alexander Romance, on the other hand, represents both Deinokrates and Kleomenes as dissuading Alexander from creating an over-large territory (*χώρα*, *chōra*) for Alexandria, arguing that he would never be able to find enough people to fill it;¹¹⁵ the king seems to have taken their advice, since the actual territory the Romance tells us he agreed on more or less coincides with historical fact. The same source states (§ 8) that he ordered anyone living within thirty miles of the city boundary to move into the city itself, at the same time granting them land and Alexandrian citizenship. Curtius adds that he evacuated some other local towns and “filled the new city with a vast population.”¹¹⁶

Kleomenes of Naukratis is an altogether more formidable figure. It may have been his engineering skills (p. 14 above) that first led Alexander to enlist his services for the building of Alexandria; but it very soon became apparent that this ambitious Greek's chief qualification was as a tough, and highly unscrupulous, financier and administrator.¹¹⁷ His first official appointment was as tax collector for the region east of the Delta and subsequently for all Egypt and the adjacent part of North Africa.¹¹⁸ His instructions were to let the nomarchs continue to rule their districts in accordance with long-established tradition but to extract tribute from them, which they for their part were ordered to pay. So successful was he that Alexander soon established him as governor of Egypt, the equivalent of a Persian satrap.¹¹⁹ In that capacity he ruled Egypt from Alexandria until 323/322. After Alexander's death, however, when Ptolemy got Egypt as his own satrapy, Kleomenes was demoted to deputy governor.¹²⁰ Ptolemy, however, had no intention of retaining so ambitious and unscrupulous an administrator, whose reduced position

was an open invitation to conspiracy: indeed, rumor had it that Kleomenes was already in secret communication with Ptolemy's *bête noire*, Perdiccas. It is, then, not surprising that almost as soon as Ptolemy arrived in Egypt, he had Kleomenes arrested and executed.¹²¹ Inspection of the treasury revealed that his predecessor had managed to amass no less than eight thousand talents during his years in office.¹²²

A great deal of this money had been acquired by manipulating the grain market. Demosthenes (or whoever wrote the speech against Dionysodoros) draws a graphic picture of price-fixing and resale deals by a cartel consisting of men who were all "subordinates and confederates" of Kleomenes.¹²³ Further details are provided by the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica*,¹²⁴ which not only confirms the price-fixing charges but gives us a glimpse of Kleomenes' other activities. In particular, he was responsible for implementing Alexander's relocation policy, which included the area of Canopus, together with its public market. His dealings with the priests and property owners are instructive. First he announced he would transfer them. They then bribed him to leave the market where it was. He accepted—until the building material was ready. Then he returned and demanded a vast sum, "which he said represented the difference to him between having the mart near the Pharos and at Canopus." When they told him this was impossible, he transferred them anyway. (Readers of *The Alexandria Quartet* will at once recognize a spiritual ancestor of Memlik Pasha.) All the anecdotes concerning him exemplify his ingenious ways of extracting money from the unwilling and the unwary.

None of this, clearly, bothered Alexander, who was quite happy as long as Kleomenes did his job efficiently and remained loyal. The governor, for his part, made sure that Alexander got the lion's share of any profits (one extract from a letter he wrote to the king lists smoked quail and thrushes by the thousand).¹²⁵ Toward the end of his life Alexander wrote to Kleomenes, instructing him to erect a shrine to Hephais-tion—"of vast size and unparalleled magnificence"—on the island of Pharos, name it after Hephais-tion, and issue a decree obliging business contracts to have Hephais-tion's name written into them. Do this, Alexander concluded, "and any wrong you have done in the past, I will pardon, and in the future, however you may err, you will suffer no harm from me."¹²⁶ This attitude profoundly shocked the respectable Arrian, who characterizes Kleomenes (quite justifiably) as "a bad man who had perpetrated many injustices in Egypt" and cannot bring himself "to approve such a mandate from a great king to a person ruling over so wide an area and so many people."¹²⁷

Yet, like him or not, this was the man who guided and formed Alexandria through the first crucial decade of the city's existence, and we can be certain that he left his own idiosyncratic stamp on Alexander's

original plans. It seems clear that one of the first things Kleomenes established in Alexandria—just as we might expect, considering his commercial instincts—was a functioning mint.¹²⁸ His dealings in grain show that right from the start the new foundation formed a natural entrepôt for East-West trade. Mercantile requirements suggest that the harbors and docks—and, naturally, the Heptastadion—had priority when it came to construction work, along with the city walls. Alexander's palace and the shrine of Serapis were, similarly, features that no prudent governor would neglect. Nevertheless, it is worth emphasizing that at the time of Kleomenes' death none of the major features we associate with Alexandria—the Pharos, the Mouseion, the Library, the royal mausoleum (Sema), the more extravagant palaces—had even been started. The cross formed by the two great central thoroughfares must have been in place, but many smaller streets and alleys were left to evolve at random, with little regard for the orthogonal grid.¹²⁹

This natural deviation from rectilinear consistency may have been responsible in part for the persistent denigration of Mahmoud Bey's pioneer work in plotting the remains of the ancient city. He, like almost every scholar since, assumed that the street plan was absolutely regular throughout. The most trenchant criticism came from D. G. Hogarth, who, with E. F. Benson, excavated briefly in Alexandria in 1895.¹³⁰ His chief complaint (apart from generalized sneers at Mahmoud Bey's amateur status, incompetence, and lack of experience) was that the orientation of streets on Mahmoud Bey's map could not be reconciled with that of walls and pavement found by Hogarth himself.¹³¹ Since both men believed in a strict axial grid, it is easy to see how this misunderstanding came about; but it was doubly unfortunate in that Hogarth's strictures meant that Mahmoud Bey's work was almost wholly neglected until very recent times. Now, however, excavation has to a surprising degree vindicated his original plan.¹³² We still know very little about early Alexandria in archaeological terms; but what we do know—for example, that the Canopic Way followed the line of modern rue Rosette, today the Sharia Horreya—¹³³ we owe largely to Mahmoud Bey.

If we have succeeded to any degree in rescuing Alexander's Alexandria from myth, this is scarcely due to the eponymous founder himself, whose main contribution was to add some highly potent myths of his own. As Hogarth pithily reminds us, Alexander “stayed in the Nile Valley just about the time that an ordinary tourist spends on a single visit, and he never returned to it except as an embalmed corpse.”¹³⁴ In death he ceased to be a tourist, and became a tourist attraction. Ptolemy Soter diverted the funeral procession and in effect hijacked Alexander's body to Egypt, where it remained on permanent display (rather like Lenin in Red Square), first in a gold coffin and then (when a later Ptolemy sold that for cash to pay mercenaries) in a replacement of

glass or alabaster. Julius Caesar meditated over him. Augustus accidentally broke off a bit of his nose. Caligula stole his breastplate for personal use. Septimius Severus restricted access to the tomb. Caracalla, in an unwontedly generous gesture, took off his own purple toga, his rings, and jewels and placed them on the bier (A.D. 215). After that, oblivion. The tomb, its occupant, and the palace area generally were probably destroyed about A.D. 273, during the disturbances of Aurelian's reign. A century later John Chrysostom is asking, rhetorically: "Tell me, where is Alexander's tomb? Show me, tell me the day on which it ceased to exist!"¹³⁵

Despite this, from antiquity to the present day hopeful fantasists have continued to search for the Macedonian conqueror's last resting place: Alexander's posthumous charisma (which so inhibited his successors that they held council meetings in the presence of his empty throne and regalia¹³⁶) still retains all its old magnetism.¹³⁷ The quest has mostly concentrated on the mosque of the prophet Daniel on Nabi Daniel Street, the presumptive site of the Sema. Despite the archaeologists' flatly negative findings,¹³⁸ optimists, mostly amateurs, continue undeterred.¹³⁹ My own favorite "sighting" is one which Forster records, by a dragoman of the Russian Consulate ("probably a liar," Forster mildly comments) who in 1850 claimed to have seen through a hole in a wooden door "a human body in a sort of glass cage with a diadem on its head and half bowed on a sort of elevation or throne. A quantity of books or papyrus were scattered around."¹⁴⁰ Wishful thinking is a great promoter of visions.

We know a little of Alexander's plans for Alexandria; we know virtually nothing of its ultimate importance in his scheme of things had he lived, much less how close a resemblance (if any) the shape that the city finally assumed bore to the vision he had in mind as he strode about the site at Rhakotis, architects and aides scrambling behind him, dribbling trails of barley meal over dark soil and limestone outcroppings (cf. p. 12 above). Victor Ehrenberg's romantic assumption¹⁴¹ that Alexander planned to make Alexandria-by-Egypt the capital of his empire is wholly unsupported by evidence and unlikely in the extreme: the capital, as has often been said, was wherever Alexander happened to be, his notion of imperial rule being (to put it kindly) dynamic rather than static. Even Fraser's claim that he "continued to take an interest in the city until he died" rests on nothing more than the king's request for an outsize monument to Hephaestion and his awareness of Kleomenes' financial peccadilloes (p. 16 above).¹⁴² Alexander never saw Alexandria in his lifetime, even though he became the city's resident *daimon* once he was dead. Could he miraculously have come back to see what had been done in his name, would he have approved what he saw?

The city indeed became large and populous, though with a

ribald cosmopolitanism that might have disconcerted him, since his notions of fusion always left the Macedonians firmly in charge. On that score the Ptolemaic court and the Alexandrian bureaucracy, while allaying his fears, would also have aroused his puritan antipathy to luxury and self-indulgence. The harbors, docks, canals, and city walls probably turned out much as he had envisaged them. The Pharos would have pleased his taste for practical science while also appealing to his sense of gigantism. Aristotle's pupil, who had taken endless geographers, botanists, and historians with him on his conquest of the East, can hardly have failed to approve of the Mouseion and Library, though the backbiting antics of its resident faculty would no more have appealed to him than they did to Timon of Phlius when he wrote: "In the polyglot land of Egypt many now find pasturage as endowed scribblers, endlessly quarreling in the Muses' birdcage."¹⁴³

Where I suspect he would have felt most alien from the Alexandria of later myth is in the solipsistic sexual phantasmagoria that proved so potent a stimulus to Forster, Cavafy, and Durrell—or, for the matter of that, to Kallimachos. Despite Hephaestion (whom Cavafy, for one, would have dismissed as the most stunning of square bores), despite the Persian eunuch Bagoas—so tantalizingly romanticized by Mary Renault—Alexander would surely have found the "great wine-press of love," not least its too-seductive dregs, both repellent and terrifying. In a moment of unguarded candor he once declared that he was never so conscious of his own mortality as when asleep or in the act of sex.¹⁴⁴ Offered two beautiful boys, he asked the donor what shameful quality he had perceived in his king that he should make such foul proposals. Soldiers guilty of rape he ordered put to death "as wild beasts born for the destruction of mankind." Persian women he described as "irritants to the eyes."¹⁴⁵ So much for Justine, Durrell's child prostitutes, and the seedier denizens of the rue Lepsius. Perhaps, had Alexander lived, the city he founded at the crossroads of East and West might have assumed a different character. Perhaps: but at heart I doubt it. The melting pot of all nations proved as mythically durable as its founder, even throwing up, in Cleopatra VII, a figure whose brilliance and charisma matched Alexander's own. Only by turning back to Egypt could the multiracial spell be broken: and for that the city had to wait over two millennia.¹⁴⁶

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Notes

- 1 S. Daris, "Alessandria d'Egitto: un mito?" *Paideia* 45 (1990): 103–20.
- 2 Cf. J. L. Pinchin, *Alexandria Still: Forster, Durrell and Cavafy* (Princeton 1977).
- 3 Expounded with clarity and wit by E. M. Forster in what Bonamy Dobrée once described as "surely the best guide-book ever written": *Alexandria: A History and a Guide*, introduction by L. Durrell (rev. ed., New York 1982), pp. 79–82.
- 4 I am thinking particularly of the strange poem Ἀπολείπειν ὁ θεὸς Ἀντώνιον, its title and theme taken from Plutarch's *Life of Antony* (ch. 75), in which the defeated Roman hears ἀόρατος θίασος νὰ περνᾶ μὲ μουσικὲς ἐξάσεις, μὲ φωνές—a sign that the god "to whom he most likened and attached himself" was abandoning him.
- 5 Herod. *Mim.* 1.29: cf. P. Green, *Alexander to Actium* (rev. ed., Berkeley 1993), p. 245.
- 6 The idea is Ernest Gellner's: see his review article "The Mightier Pen? Edward Said and the Double Standards of Inside-Out Colonialism," *Times Literary Supplement* 4690 (19 February 1993): 3–4. Gellner continues: "No doubt it was easier to find attractive homosexual partners in Biskra than among the *haute bourgeoisie protestante*, but this does not mean that the Algerian oasis was a residue of ancient Mediterranean sensuous harmony, liberty and fulfillment." Nor, he might have added, was the ancient Mediterranean. Mutatis mutandis, the same criticism can be leveled at both Cavafy and Durrell.
- 7 P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1972), p. 107; vol. 2, pp. 196–97 nn. 110–18 (hereafter "Fraser, 1" and "Fraser, 11"). The Roman prefect's title was *Praefectus Alexandriae et Aegypti*, and Romans in Alexandria write of traveling *to* Egypt (much as a modern Greek would speak of going *to* Europe).
- 8 Plut. *Alex.* 26.10; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀλεξάνδρεια. The seers told Alexander to be of good cheer: πολυαρκεστάτην γὰρ οἰκίσεισθαι πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ πανταδαπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔσομένην τροφόν.
- 9 L. Durrell, *Justine* (London 1957, repr. 1985), p. 14.
- 10 Forster (note 3 above), pp. 95–96.
- 11 Cf. M. Manzalaoui, "Curate's Egg: An Alexandrian Opinion of Durrell's *Quartet*," *Études Anglaises* 15.3 (1962): 248–60.
- 12 Galen *Comm. in Hipp. Epidem.* iii (cited at length by Fraser, 11 [note 7 above], p. 480).
- 13 H. von Staden, *Herophilus: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria* (Cambridge 1989), ch. 6, pp. 138–53; Green (note 5 above), pp. 859–60 with further refs.
- 14 A. L. Udovitch, "L'énigme d'Alexandrie: Sa position au moyen âge d'après les documents de la Geniza du Caire," *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 46 (1987): 71–79.
- 15 Forster (note 3 above), pp. 62, 84.
- 16 Ps.-Call. 1.4–12, 3.25–26, 1.29–30, 2.38 (ed. H. Van Thiel). The best available translations in English are those by Ken Dowden, *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, ed. B. P. Reardon (Berkeley 1989), pp. 650–735, and by R. Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance* (London 1991).
- 17 Amm. Marc. 22.16.9–11.
- 18 Strabo 17.1.6–10 (C. 791–95).
- 19 Fraser, 1 (note 7 above), p. 7; Fraser, 11 (note 7 above), pp. 12–13 n. 29.
- 20 Diod. Sic. 1.50.6–7: οἱ κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς βασιλεύσαντες τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάντες ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν εἰς τὴν ταύτης αὔξησιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ βασιλείους μεγαλοπρεπέσιν, οἱ δὲ νεωρίους καὶ λιμέσιν οἱ δ' ἑτέροις ἀναθήμασι καὶ κατασκευάσμασιν ἀξιολόγοις ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐκόσμησαν αὐτὴν ὥστε παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις πρώτην ἢ δευτέραν ἀριθμῆσθαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πόλεων.
- 21 Fraser, 1 (note 7 above), pp. 8–9.
- 22 Ibid. Cf. also M. Rodziewicz, "Le débat sur la topographie de la ville antique," *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 46 (1987): 39–48.
- 23 How much would have come down to us even granted optimum physical conditions for survival remains a matter for debate. It is a curious fact that documents referring to Alexandria

- from elsewhere in Egypt only begin about the middle of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos (283–246), that is, in the mid-third century (Fraser, I [note 7 above], p. 6; Fraser, II [note 7 above], pp. 9–10 n. 23); whether this is evidence for the slow bureaucratic growth of the capital, or (more likely) for the gradual extension of Alexandrian control over the *chora*, remains uncertain.
- 24 Of especial value in this context is P. M. Fraser's illuminating article "Alexandria from Mohammed Ali to Gamal Abdal Nasser," in N. Hinske, ed., *Alexandrien: Kulturbegegnungen dreier Jahrtausende im Schmelztiegel einer mediterranen Großstadt* (Mainz am Rhein 1981), pp. 63–74.
- 25 Plut. *Alex.* 9.1; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια (no. 3); Theopompus fr. 110.
- 26 Arrian 7.23.7; cf. A. B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire: The Reign of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 246–47.
- 27 E. Badian, "Alexander the Great and the Greeks of Asia," in *Ancient Societies and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg on His 75th Birthday* (Oxford 1966), pp. 37–69, esp. p. 48.
- 28 P. Green, *Alexander of Macedon, 356–323 BC: A Historical Biography* (Berkeley 1991), pp. 211–12, 216–18, 242–43; A. R. Burn, "Notes on Alexander's Campaigns, 332–330 BC," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 72 (1952): 81–91.
- 29 D. G. Hogarth, "Alexander in Egypt and Some Consequences," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 2 (1915): 53–60.
- 30 A. T. Olmstead, *A History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago 1948), pp. 436–37.
- 31 Bosworth (note 26 above), p. 68.
- 32 Arrian 3.1.1; Curt. 4.7.2.
- 33 Olmstead (note 30 above), pp. 437–40. In addition to looting the temples and committing other outrages, Ochus drove into exile the last native pharaoh, Nektanebo (Nekht-har-hebi) II—later touted in myth as the father of Alexander (see p. 5 above).
- 34 Diod. Sic. 17.49.1–2; Curt. 4.7.1; P. A. Brunt, *Arrian*, vol. I (Cambridge, Mass. 1976), p. 223 n. 3.
- 35 Hogarth (note 29 above), p. 54.
- 36 Arrian 3.1.1–3.
- 37 Curt. 4.7.4–5; Arrian 3.1.2.
- 38 Ps.-Call. 1.34: ἐνεθρονίασαν αὐτὸν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι . . . ὡς Αἰγύπτιον βασιλέα.
- 39 Arrian 3.1.4.
- 40 Curt. 4.7.5: *a Memphi eodem flumine uectus, ad interiora Aegypti penetrat, compositisque rebus ita ut nihil ex patrio Aegyptiorum more mutaret adire Iouis Hammonis oraculum stauit*; Diod. Sic. 17.49.2: καταστήσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον προήλθεν εἰς Ἄμμωνος.
- 41 Just. 11.11.1–2, 13: *reuersus ab Hammone, Alexandream condidit et coloniam Macedonum caput esse Aegypti iubet*.
- 42 Ps.-Call. 1.30–31, esp. 1.30.5: κτίζει πόλιν περίφημον ὑπὲρ Πρωτηΐδα νήσον.
- 43 Arrian 3.1.5–2.2, 3.3.1ff.; Plut. *Alex.* 26 passim.
- 44 C. Bradford Welles, "The Discovery of Sarapis and the Foundation of Alexandria," *Historia* (Wiesbaden) 11 (1962): 271–98. Though I regard his fundamental premise as misconceived, I would emphasize that there is a great deal of original valuable scholarship in Welles's article on points of detail.
- 45 A. B. Bosworth, "Errors in Arrian," *Classical Quarterly* 26 (1976): 136 n. 102.
- 46 See, e.g., E. N. Borza, *Historia* 16 (1967): 369; P. M. Fraser, *Opuscula Atheniensia* 7 (1967): 30 n. 27.
- 47 Cf. H. W. Parke, *Greek Oracles* (London 1967), ch. 5, "Oracles and Colonisation," pp. 44ff., esp. p. 45.
- 48 Arrian 3.1.4.
- 49 Arrian 3.1.5, *εὐδαίμονα*; Plut. *Alex.* 26.4, *μεγάλην καὶ πολυάνθρωπον*; Diod. Sic. 17.52.1, *μεγάλην*; Curt. 4.8.2, *magnae sedis*; Vitruv. II *praef.* 1.4, *portum naturaliter tutum*.
- 50 Arrian 4.1.3–4, 24.7; 6.15.2, 22.3; 7.31.7.
- 51 For a useful survey of Naukratis, see J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade*, 3rd ed. (New York 1980),

- pp. 117–34, with further bib. For a description of the emporium in the Archaic period, cf. Hdt. 2.178–79, with the commentary of A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Commentary* 99–182 (Leiden 1988), pp. 222–31.
- 52 Plut. *Alex.* 26.4: λέγουσι γὰρ ὅτι . . . τινα τόπον γνώμη τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων ὄσον οὐδέπω διεμετρεῖτο καὶ περιέβαλλον.
- 53 H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, vol. 2 (Munich 1926), p. 210, no. 431, asserts that Kleomenes “vermutlich der höchsten Finanzaristokratie von Naukratis angehört [hat].”
- 54 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 85–100, assembles the evidence.
- 55 Curt. 4.8.1–2: *contemplatus loci naturam, primum in ipsa insula statuerat urbem nouam condere; inde ut apparuit magnae sedis insulam haud capacem esse, elegit urbi locum, ubi nunc est Alexandria.*
- 56 Plut. *Alex.* 26.7: εἰπὼν ὡς Ὁμηρος ἦν ἄρα τὰ τ’ ἄλλα θαυμαστός καὶ σοφώτατος ἀρχιτέκτων.
- 57 On Alexander’s relations with Serapis, see Welles (note 44 above): 283ff.
- 58 Diod. Sic. 17.52.2. Cf. R. Martin, *L’Urbanisme dans la Grèce antique* (Paris 1956), pp. 42–43. I am no more convinced than was Martin that the orientation of Alexandria’s street plan had a religious or ritual significance.
- 59 Diod. Sic. 17.52.3, 4: τὸν μὲν περίβολον αὐτῆς ὑπεστήσατο τῷ τε μεγέθει διαφέροντα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὄχυρότητα θαυμάσιον . . . προσέταξεν δ’ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ βασιλεία κατασκευάσαι θαυμαστὰ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ βάρος τῶν ἔργων.
- 60 Mahmoud Bey, *Mémoire sur l’antique Alexandrie* (Copenhagen 1872), pp. 29–32.
- 61 [Caes.] *Bell. Alex.* 5.1: *Alexandrea est fere tota suffossa specusque habet a Nilo pertinentis, quibus aqua in priuatas domus inducitur.*
- 62 Ps.-Call. 1.31: The adviser’s name is given as Hyponomos (though this may be no more than the excuse for an aetiological pun): οἶστος συνεβουλευσεν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ θεμελίων κτίσαι, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ καὶ ὕδρηγους πόρους καὶ ὀχετηγούς ἐπιρρέοντας εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. καλεῖται δὲ ὑπονόμος διὰ τὸ ὑποδεῖξαι <αὐτὸν> ταῦτα.
- 63 Cf. R. Cavenaile, “Pour une histoire politique et sociale d’Alexandrie: Les origines,” *L’Antiquité Classique* 41 (1972): 94–112.
- 64 For the siege of Tyre in general, see Green (note 28 above), 247–63, with testimonia there cited.
- 65 Strabo 17.1.6, C.792, who in his discussion of the Heptastadion informs us that originally it also served as an aqueduct to Pharos.
- 66 Amm. Marc. 22.16.10: *heptastadium sicut uix credenda celeritate, ita magnitudine mira construxit.*
- 67 Cf. Cavenaile (note 63 above): 103ff.
- 68 Strabo 17.1.6, C. 792: κατοικίαν δ’ αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν τὴν προσαγορευομένην Ῥακῶτιν, ἣ νῦν μὲν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἐστὶ μέρος τὸ ὑπερκείμενον τῶν νεωρίων, τότε δὲ κόμη ὑπῆρχε· τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ τῆς κόμης βουκόλοις παρέδοσαν, δυνάμενοι καὶ αὐτοῖς κωλύειν τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπίοντας.
- 69 Ps.-Call. 1.31.2, best studied in the text and commentary provided by A. Ausfeld, “Zur Topographie von Alexandria und Pseudokallisthenes 131–33,” *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 55 (1900): 348–84, esp. pp. 350–53. Cf. also Fraser, I (note 7 above), pp. 5–6; Fraser, II (note 7 above), p. 7 n. 18.
- 70 See Fraser, II (note 7 above), pp. 8–9 n. 21, for a good bibliographical survey of the scholarship on these tantalizing underwater ruins. The Cretan connection was first advanced by R. Weill, “Les ports antehelléniques de la côte d’Alexandrie et l’empire crétois,” *Bulletin de L’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale* 16 (1919): 1–37.
- 71 See in particular M. S. Venit, “Two Early Corinthian Alabastra in Alexandria,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 61 (1985): 183–89; earlier bib. in Fraser, II (note 7 above), p. 6 n. 16.
- 72 Hdt. 2.30; Thuc. 1.104.1, with the analysis of Cavenaile (note 63 above): 103–5.
- 73 See, e.g., Diod. Sic. 17.52.3; Plut. *Alex.* 26.8; Strabo 17.1.8, C. 793; Plin. *NH* 5.62.
- 74 F. B. Tarbell, “The Form of the Chlamys,” *Classical Philology* 1 (1906): 283–89, esp. 284–85.

- 75 Strabo 17.1.8, C.793; Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Ἀλεξάνδρεια (34 × 8 stades); Diod. Sic. 17.52.3 (40 stades × 1 plethron); Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* 2.16.4 (30 × 10 stades); Plin. *NH* 5.10 (24 km circumference). Cf. Fraser, II (note 7 above), pp. 26–27 n. 64.
- 76 Strabo 17.1.10, C.795: ἐν ᾧ κῆποι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ταφαὶ καὶ καταγωγαὶ πρὸς τὰς ταρχείας τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτήδεια.
- 77 Fraser, I (note 7 above), p. 13.
- 78 Arrian 3.2.1–2; Plut. 26.8–10; Curt. 4.8.6; Strabo 17.1.6, C. 792 ad fin.; Ps.-Call. 1.32; cf. Amm. Marc. 22.16.7; Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Ἀλεξάνδρεια.
- 79 If this is an example of Alexander’s alleged policy of racial fusion, we should bear in mind that the fusion was to be carried out under strict Graeco-Macedonian overlordship: as Justin (note 41 above) reports, Alexandria—by Egypt but not of it—was to be not only the capital but “a Macedonian colony.”
- 80 Strabo: τὴν τοῦ περιβόλου γραμμῆν; Plut.: κυκλοτερῆ κόλπον; Arrian: τὸν κύκλον . . . τοῦ περιτειχισμοῦ; Curtius: *orbem futuri muri*; Ps.-Call.: τὸ περίμετρον τῆς πόλεως; Amm. Marc.: *ambitus lineales*; Steph. Byz.: τὸ σχῆμα.
- 81 Curt. 4.8.6: “*ut Macedonum mos est.*” The fact that this custom is not reported elsewhere does not offer *prima facie* grounds for rejecting it.
- 82 Arrian 3.1.5: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἐθύετο, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἐφάινετο.
- 83 Arrian 3.2.3–7.
- 84 For this episode, see Arrian 3.3.1–4.5; Curt. 4.7.6–32; Plut. *Alex.* 26.6–27; Diod. Sic. 17.49.2–51.4; Just. 11.11.2–12.
- 85 Diod. Sic. 17.49.2–3; Curt. 4.7.9.
- 86 Hogarth (note 29 above): 57–58.
- 87 Ps.-Call. 1.31–33 *passim*.
- 88 Welles (note 44 above): 275–76.
- 89 Ps.-Call. 1.30.5–7: ὑπὲρ Πρωτηίδα νῆσον | ἧς προκάθητ’ Αἰὼν Πλουτάνιος ἀπὸς ἀνάσσων | πενταλόφοις κορυφαῖσιν ἀτέρμονα κόσμον ἐλίσσων.
- 90 Ps.-Call. 1.33.1–4, 8.
- 91 See, e.g., Welles (note 44 above): 282ff.; Fraser, I (note 7 above), pp. 248ff.
- 92 Strabo 17.1.10, C.795; cf. Mahmoud-Bey (note 60 above), pp. 53–56; Fraser, I (note 7 above), pp. 268–70; Fraser, II (note 7 above), pp. 84ff. n. 190.
- 93 Diod. Sic. 17.49.3–5; Curt. 4.7.14; Plut. *Alex.* 27.1; Arrian 3.3.4.
- 94 Diod. Sic. 17.49.5; Plut. *Alex.* 27.3; cf. Curt. 4.7.11–12.
- 95 Welles (note 44 above): 278–79 with n. 36.
- 96 Ps.-Call. 1.32.6.
- 97 See Fraser, II (note 7 above), p. 3 n. 9, with bib.
- 98 Arrian 3.6.1: ἄμα τῷ ἡρὶ ὑποφαίνοντι. R. S. Bagnall, “The Date of the Foundation of Alexandria,” *American Journal of Ancient History* 4 (1979): 46–49, argues for April 7 on the grounds that no Alexandrian would receive a traditional date in January that he then converted to Tybi. Perhaps not; but this assumption underrates both the cosmopolitanism of Roman Alexandria and the fact that the city’s foundation date must have been common knowledge, and indeed a public holiday, in either (adjusted) calendar. The meteorological evidence also gives us a *terminus ante quem* (February at the latest, I would judge): I am not convinced that Arrian’s phrase cited above is as vaguely flexible as Bagnall would like it to be. The fact that Alexander *could*, in theory, have left Memphis as late as April and still have kept his date with destiny at Gaugamela is no proof that in fact he *did*; and the other evidence is all against it.
- 99 Arrian 3.4.4, cf. Curt. 4.8.1. A. B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian’s History of Alexander*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1982), p. 274, has a brief but sensible discussion of the problem, suggesting, plausibly, that Arrian may well have misinterpreted his sources: “If Aristobulus had a detailed statement that Alexander returned via Paraetonium to Egypt while Ptolemy said baldly that Alexander returned to Memphis, it would have been possible for him to draw a mistaken inference from Ptolemy’s brevity and assume that two routes were at issue.”
- 100 Diod. Sic. 17.52.6. More detailed accounts in Arrian 3.5.2–7; Curt. 4.8.4–9.

- 101 Ps.-Call. 1.31.9–10.
- 102 [Caes.] *Bell. Alex.* 5.1; Mahmoud-Bey (note 60 above), pp. 29ff.
- 103 Ps.-Call. 1.30.6.
- 104 Just. 13.4.11: *Cleomenes, qui Alexandriam aedificauerat.*
- 105 Vitruv. 2 *praef.* 4; Plin. *NH* 5.62; Val. Max. 1.4.7, ext. 1; Amm. Marc. 22.16.7.
- 106 Vitruv. 2 *praef.* 1–4.
- 107 Among other things, he had a hand in designing the vast new temple of Artemis at Ephesos: Strabo 14.1.22–23, C. 640–41, cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* (3rd rev. ed., London 1950), p. 224.
- 108 Vitruv. 2 *praef.* 1–3; Plut. *Alex.* 72.3–7; Strabo 14.1.23, C.641.
- 109 Vitruv. 2 *praef.* 3: “*formationem puto probandam.*”
- 110 Vitruv. 2 *praef.* 4: *Ibi Alexander* [after noting the advantages of the site] . . . *iussit eum suo nomine ciuitatem Alexandriam constituere.*
- 111 B. R. Brown, “Deinokrates and Alexandria,” *Bulletin, American Society of Papyrologists* 15 (1978): 39–42, esp. 41–42.
- 112 Strabo 17.1.4, C.789.
- 113 Pliny *NH* 5.62: *metatus est eam [Alexandriam] Deinocrates . . . ad effigiem Macedonicae chlamydis.*
- 114 Diod. Sic. 17.52.3; Strabo 17.1.8, C.793.
- 115 Ps.-Call. 1.31 *passim.*
- 116 Curt. 4.8.5: *ex finitimis urbibus commigrare Alexandream iussis nouam urbem magna multitudine impleuit.* How quickly was this relocation carried out? Even if the new Alexandrians were summoned to build their new homes from scratch on the land allotted them—private enterprise at the service of public works—a considerable period must have elapsed before the new city was ready for occupation.
- 117 For a thorough, if over-kind, study of Kleomenes (represented as the victim of Ptolemaic propaganda: cf. also Fraser, I [note 7 above], p. 7), see J. Seibert, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Ptolemaios’ I* (Munich 1969), pp. 39–51.
- 118 Arrian 3.5.4 specifies the more limited area of “Arabia towards Heroönpolis”; Curt. 4.8.5 refers to “*eiusdem* [i.e., “*quae Aegypto iuncta est*”] *Africae Aegyptique.*” The natural inference is that his authority was extended as time went on.
- 119 [Arist.] *Oecon.* 1352^a 17; Arrian, τὰ μετ’ Ἀλεξ. 1.5^a, 2^b Roos; [Dem.] 56.7; Paus. 1.6.3.
- 120 Arrian, *ibid.*; Just. 13.4.11.
- 121 Paus. 1.6.3.
- 122 Diod. Sic. 18.14.1.
- 123 [Dem.] 56.7ff. Demosthenes is appealed to as a witness at the close of this speech (§ 50); but it has been argued that his name was inserted by a later scribe when the speech had found a place in the Demosthenic corpus. In any case, since Kleomenes’ tenure of office is spoken of as over (§ 7 refers to the *ὑπηρέται καὶ συνεργοὶ . . . Κλεομένους τοῦ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρξαντος*) the speech must have been delivered, at the earliest, only a month or two before Demosthenes’ flight and death in 322.
- 124 [Arist.] *Oecon.* 2.2.33a–f, 1352^a 17–1352^b 25, *passim*; 2.2.39, 1353^b 1–7.
- 125 Cited by Athenaeus, *Deipnos.* 9.393c.
- 126 Arrian 7.23.6–8: *εἰ τέ τι πρότερον ἡμάρτηκας, ἀφήσω σε τούτου, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν, ὀπηλικὸν ἂν ἀμάρτης, οὐδὲν πείσῃ ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἄχαρι.*
- 127 Arrian 7.23.8, 6: *Κλεομένει, ἀνδρὶ κακῷ καὶ πολλὰ ἀδικήματα ἀδικήσαντι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ . . . τοῦτο ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι πολλῆς μὲν χώρας, πολλῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐκ βασιλέω μεγάλου ἐπεσταλμένον, ἄλλως τε καὶ κακῷ ἀνδρὶ, οὐκ ἔχω ἐπαυέσαι.*
- 128 Fraser, I (note 7 above), p. 13; Fraser, II (note 7 above), p. 10 n. 25.
- 129 Rodziewicz (note 22 above): 45–46.
- 130 D. G. Hogarth and E. F. Benson, “Report of Prospects of Research in Alexandria, with Note on Excavations in Alexandrian Cemeteries,” *Egypt Exploration Fund* (London 1895?), pp. 1–33.
- 131 *Ibid.*, p. 17, where Hogarth writes: “For in-

- stance, his Canopic Street (on which all of his *grille* of streets depends) lies at an angle which fits very ill with the direction of the walls found by me to the south of it.”
- 132 Rodziewicz (note 22 above): 44–47: “Des fouilles récentes de plus en plus nombreuses ont montré que ce plan était juste et que nous avons là le seul plan fiable des rues principales” (p. 47).
- 133 Mahmoud-Bey (note 60 above), pp. 18ff.; cf. now Diana Delia, “From Romance to Rhetoric: The Alexandrian Library in Classical and Islamic Traditions,” *American Historical Review* 97 (1992): 1456 with n. 26.
- 134 Hogarth (note 29 above): 53.
- 135 Diod. Sic. 18.26.3, 28.2–4; Paus. 1.6.3; Strabo 17.1.8, C.794; Ael. VH 12.64; Curt. 4.6.29, cf. Lucan 10.16–52 (Caesar); Suet. *Div. Aug.* 18.1; Dio Cass. 51.16.3–5 (Augustus); Suet. *Calig.* 52 (Caligula); Dio Cass. 70.13 (Septimius Severus); Herodian 4.8.9 (Caracalla); John Chrysost. *Orat.* 26.12: *ποῦ γάρ, εἶπέ μοι, τὸ σῆμα Ἀλεξάνδρου; δεῖξόν μοι, καὶ εἶπέ τὴν ἡμέραν καθ’ ἣν ἐτελεύτησε.*
- 136 Curt. 10.6.4; Diod. Sic. 18.60 passim, 19.15.3–4; Plut. *Eum.* 13; Nep. *Eum.* 7.2–3; Polyæn. 4.8.2.
- 137 For a comprehensive (though unevenly documented) survey, see Fawzi el Fakharani, “An Investigation into the Views Concerning the Location of the Tomb of Alexander the Great,” *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University* 18 (1964): 169–99, with figs. 1–11.
- 138 See Fraser, I (note 7 above), pp. 15–17; Fraser, II (note 7 above), pp. 34–41 nn. 82–90; Delia (note 133 above): 1456 n. 27.
- 139 The most recent attempt I have seen is that of Thomas Stelios (described as an international executive and a Fellow of the AIA[?]) in *The Mediterranean* 1.2 (1985): 26–33.
- 140 Forster (note 3 above), pp. 112–13.
- 141 V. Ehrenberg, *Alexander und Ägypten*, vol. 7 of *Beihefte zum Alten Orient* (Leipzig 1926), p. 28.
- 142 Fraser, I (note 7 above), p. 7; Fraser, II (note 7 above), p. 10 n. 24.
- 143 Timon of Phlius fr. 60 Wachsmuth, cited by Athen. *Deipnos.* 1.22d: *πολλοὶ μὲν βόσκονται*
ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολυφύλῳ | βιβλιακοὶ χαρακίται
ἀπείριτα δηριόωντες | Μουσέων ἐν ταλάρῳ.
- 144 Plut. *Alex.* 22.6: *ἔλεγε δὲ μάλιστα συνιέναι*
θηγτὸς ὦν ἐκ τοῦ καθεύδειν καὶ συνουσιάζειν.
Cf. *Mor.* 65F, 717F.
- 145 Plut. *Alex.* 22.1, 4; 21.10: *ἀλγηδόνες ὀμμάτων*
αἱ Περσίδες.
- 146 I record with grateful thanks the generous help I have had in the preparation of this paper from my friend Professor Diana Delia, who put her great knowledge of Alexandria—and her remarkable collection of rare or inaccessible Alexandrian scholarship—freely at my disposal. Naturally she is not to be held responsible for any of my errors or wilder flights of fancy.

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The City of Alexandria in the Hellenistic Period

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Egyptian Influence on Daily Life in Ancient Alexandria

Henri Riad

There is no more impressive or majestic reflection of the achievements of the Greeks in Egypt than the great city that carries Alexander's name. Alexandria has often been celebrated by the writers of antiquity. Greek and Roman writers, in inscriptions and papyri, almost always accompany the name of the city with laudatory epithets: the great, the very great, the rich, the very noble, the very happy, the splendid, the town that possesses all that one can have or desire. Even the Arabic historian Al Makrizy thinks that God is referring to Alexandria when mention is made in a verse of the Koran of a city "which has no like in the world."¹

In the Roman period, Alexandria was not considered a part of the imperial province of Egypt, either in title or in law. Its official nomenclature was *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*—Alexandria by Egypt rather than *in* or *of* Egypt, and the full title of the prefect of Egypt was *praefectus Alexandriae et Aegypti*²—prefect of Alexandria and of Egypt.

The Alexandrians were celebrated for their love of work and of money, for their mocking spirit, their novelties, and their revolts. They bestowed nicknames upon everyone, even on their kings. His loving subjects called Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II *physkon*, or "fatty." Ptolemy XIII was nicknamed "the flute player."³

The geographer Strabo visited the city in the first century of Roman rule and gave us this vivid description: "The whole city is crisscrossed with streets suitable for the traffic of horses and carriages and by two that are very wide, being more than one *plethrum* [about 30 m] in breadth, these intersect each other at right angles. The city has magnificent public precincts and royal palaces which cover a fourth or even a third of the entire city."⁴

The city was divided into five sections designated by the first five letters of the Greek alphabet. To the east was the Δ quarter, and there as well as in a substantial part of the Β quarter lived the important Jewish community of Alexandria. Native Egyptians were concentrated in the west, around the site of the old village of Rhakotis. In the other quarters lived the majority of the Greek or hellenized population of the city.⁵

The first Ptolemies attracted immigrants to the new city from many areas of the Mediterranean world: from Thrace, Macedonia,

mainland Greece, the Aegean islands, the coastal cities of Asia Minor, from Persia, Syria, and Judaea. The flow of immigrants probably never dried up completely. Later, Romans or Italians were attracted by trade, or perhaps they stayed on after completing military or administrative service. We may add to this long list Libyans, Cilicians, Ethiopians, Arabs, Bactrians, Scythians, and Indians. And there was also, of course, a steady influx of Egyptians from up-country ready to seize the opportunities offered by trade and commerce and, after a time, by the gradual opening up of official positions to non-Greeks.

The native Egyptians formed the majority of the population on whose labors the economic prosperity of the country depended and with whom the Greek settlers were in daily contact. They were, however, entirely excluded from citizenship, although individuals from time to time were able to acquire it.⁶ The policy of the first three Ptolemies was strongly Macedonian and Hellenic; they treated the natives frankly as a conquered race. The Jews were also denied citizenship, although they possessed their own particular privileges, which, among other distinctions, set them apart from the rest of the populace.

The distinctions between Egyptians and Greeks created tension and resentment between them. Such feelings can surely be seen in demotic literature. Among the romantic tales compiled and circulated in the Ptolemaic period, there is a prophecy piece called "Oracle of the Potter," which says,

And then the Guardian Spirit will desert the city which they founded and will go to god-bearing Memphis and it will be deserted. That will be the end of our evils when Egypt shall see the foreigners fall like leaves from the branch. The city by the sea will be a drying place for fishermen's catch because the Guardian Spirit has gone to Memphis, so that passers-by will say, "this was the all-nurturing city in which all the races of mankind live."⁷

The message is quite clear: The foreigners are the Macedonian rulers, their city is Alexandria; Memphis will rise again. It is a tangible product of the native hostility to Macedonian rule and prophecies the departure of the guardian spirit, *agathos daimon*, from the city of Alexandria for Memphis. This feeling, however, did not prevent the desire and need of their rulers to transmit the native Egyptian historical tradition into Greek. This brought the Egyptian priest Manetho of Sebennytos to Alexandria to write three volumes on the history and religion of Egypt, probably early in the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.

In order to unite Egyptians and Greeks, there was a need for a deity who could be worshiped by them both. During the reign of Ptolemy I a new deity was created, the god Serapis, who combined Egp-



FIG. 1
Statue of Serapis in the shape of the bull Apis as worshiped by Egyptians. Black basalt. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum.



FIG. 2
Statue of Serapis as worshiped
by Greeks. Marble. Alexandria,
Graeco-Roman Museum.



FIG. 3
Bust of Serapis as worshiped
by Greeks. Marble. Alexandria,
Graeco-Roman Museum.

tian and Greek elements. His name is Egyptian, a combination of Osiris and Apis; it refers to the Apis bull who was worshiped in Memphis and who after his death became an Osiris (fig. 1). His Greek form is an old, bearded man clad in a chiton, resembling their supreme god, Zeus (figs. 2, 3). The new god became a national god similar to Amen, Ra, and Horus. As his wife, he was given Isis, a purely Egyptian goddess, and as a son Harpocrates, or Horus the child, son of Isis. And so the Egyptians and Greeks were united in a common worship.⁸ In addition, the Greeks identified their gods with the Egyptian deities: Amun and Zeus, Horus and Apollo, Thoth and Hermes, Hathor and Aphrodite, Hephaistos and Ptah, and so on. However, there is little evidence in the Ptolemaic period for priests in Egyptian cults being given Greek names.

Egyptian habits and customs also gained ground among the new settlers. From the earliest period, the stability of the royal family was reinforced in pharaonic Egypt by the practice of naming a son and heir during the reign of the father and before the latter's death, as was the case with Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Ptolemy I Soter at the end of 285 B.C.⁹ Less remote from Greek conceptions was the worship of the living Ptolemy. When Alexander conquered Egypt, he was received by the Egyptians as liberator. As king of Egypt, he became a pharaoh and was therefore divine. When Ptolemy I made himself king, he, too, became divine. After his death, he was deified by his successor, as was his wife Berenike, under the name Soter, or savior, a title granted to him by the Rhodians. When his sister-wife Arsinoe II died in 270 B.C., Ptolemy II deified her as Arsinoe Philadelphos, "the brother loving," and since the king could not be left out of the cult of his wife, the two were associated as *theoi adelphoi*, or "the fraternal gods." So the Ptolemaic ruler cult was extended to the living king, and all the reigning Ptolemies with their wives were worshiped in temples as in pharaonic Egypt.¹⁰

The marriage of brother and sister was common in pharaonic Egypt, even among ordinary people, and especially in the Roman period, but it was quite abnormal to the Greeks. Consanguineous marriage in ancient pharaonic times was practiced in the ruling families to keep their noble blood pure. The Ptolemies imitated the pharaohs, and the first consanguineous marriage occurred between Ptolemy II Philadelphos and his full sister Arsinoe II; the practice was maintained until the end of the dynasty.¹¹

The arrival in Egypt of these new settlers brought an interesting problem: how would a minority of Greeks with their Greek tongue and Greek culture coexist with the mass of native population, with its own language and culture? Greeks and Egyptians tried by all means to understand each other, especially through language. In a letter dating from the second century B.C., a mother writes to her son, "I congratulate you and myself on the news that you are learning Egyptian, for now

when you get to the city [Alexandria], you will teach the children at the house of . . . the physician.”¹² It is indeed significant that a knowledge of Egyptian should improve the prospects of a Greek in the capital city. In actuality, no monarch until the last Cleopatra (VII) learned to speak Egyptian. It was one of several languages in which she could converse without an interpreter. Knowing both languages was necessary; Ptolemaic contracts (marriage, division or sale of property, and the like) in demotic or a mixture of Greek and demotic suggest the adoption of both languages. In fact, existing writing exercises, numerous tax receipts, and contracts tend to suggest that written demotic was accessible to the Egyptians in the same way that Greek documents were to the Greeks; a demotic tax receipt or contract with a Greek docket or the reverse shows how both languages functioned.

In religion, Ptolemy I was careful enough to realize the importance of being conciliatory toward the Egyptian priesthood while at the same time perceiving that its power might be dangerous to the royal authority. So he took the management of the sacred land possessed by the temples into his own hands, administering it for the benefit of the temples and at the same time keeping it under his control. In addition, the taxes paid by the priests were lower than average, and they seem to have been exempt from the poll tax.¹³

Although the Ptolemies levied a monopoly on trade, they allowed the priests to carry on their usual industries but under their strict control. For example, the art of weaving the fine byssus linen for which Egypt was famous was a specialty of the temples; after holding back the quantity necessary for ritual purposes, the priests were required to deliver to the king a fixed quantity of the linen, which became a valuable item in the export trade.¹⁴ The Ptolemies strengthened their control of the temples by appointing to each an overseer, or *epistates*. The priests, on the other hand, received a regular salary from the government and seem further to have been exempted, at least in part, from the obligation, or *corvée*, that required personal work on the dikes.¹⁵ In fact, the policy of the powerful Ptolemies toward Egyptians was a mixture of benevolent patronage and strict control.

As time passed and the dynasty weakened, there was a shake-up. After the Battle of Raphia in 217 B.C., which gave confidence to the native Egyptian soldiers, revolts began to occur. The later Ptolemies were compelled to make concessions that their predecessors would certainly not have contemplated.¹⁶ It is certain that at the end of the Ptolemaic period the position of Egyptian priests was stronger than it had been in the third century B.C.

One of Octavian's tasks was to curb this dangerous power. There seems to have been a certain restriction on the right of asylum. Large tracts of sacred land were confiscated to the benefit of the royal

domain. Priests were exempted from the poll tax in limited, fixed numbers, but there was no exemption, in principle, from liability to the *corvée* or other obligations to do state services. The temples were required to make an annual audit of their property, of the temple inventory, and of all the categories of priests. Periodic visits were made by government inspectors to examine the accounts, check the accuracy of the returns, and arrest any offenders.¹⁷ The sacrifices and other details of the temple cult were strictly supervised.

In spite of these restrictions, the Egyptian priesthood, which still enjoyed the protection of the state, does not appear to have been hostile to Roman rule before the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180), when a revolt led by a priest broke out in the Delta. There must thus have been some discontent among the priests. As a result of that revolt, the number of priests in some temples certainly declined, due in part to the limited exemption from poll tax and the *corvée*. The senates granted by Septimius Severus at the beginning of the third century to the capitals of nomes, including Alexandria, meant, as Wilcken says, “the complete subjection of the Egyptian ‘church’ to the state and the assimilation of the priests to the rest of the population.”¹⁸ The progressive decline of the Egyptian cults continued, and at the end of the third century the rise of Christianity was everywhere threatening the old religion.

We know very little about industry and trade in ancient Alexandria. Food stuffs, clothing, domestic wares, and many other items necessary for daily use were manufactured there. The main industries of the city seem to have been different kinds of metalworking, glassworking, and the manufacture from raw materials of scents and unguents, which found a wide market. These industries were mainly in the hands of Egyptian craftsmen.

Metalworking probably enjoyed the highest reputation. The account of the Rhodian historian Kallixeinos shows the wealth of precious metals that the Ptolemies possessed at that time: “Victories with gold wings, abundant gold jewelry worn by women; gold crowns with floral and other decoration in gold leaf; golden cornucopias; a golden altar, golden mixing bowls and tripods; and cups and pitchers of various kinds, carried by Satyrs and Sileni.” Not all these various objects were manufactured in Alexandria; a considerable amount of fine metalwork in the Greek style was made in Memphis by the Hellenomemphites, who used to produce that type of Egyptian-flavored Greek work characteristic of the early Ptolemaic finds. However, in the later Ptolemaic period much metalwork was produced in Alexandria as a result of the gradual decline of Memphis.¹⁹ Silver vases from Alexandria have been discovered as far away as central Europe. The “Tazza Farnese” dish of the first century B.C. is a masterpiece of Alexandrian artistry (see Kozloff fig. 9, below). Carved from sardonyx, it represents the Nile god as an old

man holding a cornucopia. At his feet, Isis reclines on the head of a sphinx, and the central figure of Horus-Triptolemos carries a knife and a bag of seeds.²⁰

Glassmaking had always been an important industry in Egypt, and it continued to be so in Ptolemaic Alexandria. It sprang into new life under the Ptolemies, and for many centuries Alexandria was the center of the fabrication of articles in glass. Strabo refers to glassmakers of the city in a way that shows that they were a substantial, well-established body of craftsmen. Alexandrian glassmakers, like metalworkers, not only continued and modified native traditions but also produced imitations of metal vases.²¹

Egypt had no rivals in the manufacture of papyrus. It had been used in Egypt since the very early period and was certainly available to the Greek world from the fifth century B.C. onward. It was utilized not only as a writing material but also in making various objects of daily and domestic use, such as mats and simple wrapping paper. In the Ptolemaic period, the papyrus industry was a royal monopoly, but free markets also existed. Strabo tells us that in his day, papyrus did not grow abundantly in the immediate neighborhood of Alexandria, although it did generally in the Lower Delta. Nevertheless, the manufacture of papyrus was also carried out in Alexandria under the Ptolemies.²²

The source of the high-quality pottery frequently encountered in Alexandria is uncertain. The doubt arises primarily from the absence of adequate potter's clay in the neighborhood of the city. The famous Alexandrine Tanagra figurines are made of inferior clay that had been considerably washed and refined (figs. 4, 5). There were, however, beds of fine clay both in Upper Egypt, at Qena, and in the Delta; these were probably the main sources of Alexandria's potting clay.

Two main types of pottery cinerary urns are associated with Alexandria: black-glazed ribbed vases with floral decoration in white and sometimes in relief, and the Hadra vases (fig. 6). The first group occurs elsewhere in the Hellenistic world but is sufficiently more numerous in Alexandrian tombs to oblige us to suggest that this variety is Alexandrian. The Hadra vases fall into two distinct classes. The first and larger group, frequently found in Ptolemaic tombs, consists of fine, well-fired clay decorated with panels, flowers, scrolls, and palmettes, as well as scenes of animals or human figures applied in black on the pale buff of the terracotta. The second, less frequent type consists of vases painted white and decorated with polychrome objects such as an altar, a sword, or a pair of shoes. These two groups are contemporaneous and frequently appeared at Shatby, a district of Alexandria; the origin of both types is probably Alexandrian.²³

Faience was another very popular type of pottery in Alexandria and was produced locally as well as elsewhere in Egypt. Among the



FIG. 4
Alexandrine Tanagra figure.
Terracotta. Alexandria, Graeco-
Roman Museum.



FIG. 5
Alexandrine Tanagra figure.
Terracotta. Alexandria, Graeco-
Roman Museum.



FIG. 6
Hadra hydria. Alexandria,
Graeco-Roman Museum.

most notable products in faience are the “royal oinochoai,” which show in relief the figure of a Ptolemaic queen pouring a libation on an altar. This type is apparently almost totally confined to the third century B.C. There is no doubt that this hellenized faience is essentially the product of Alexandria.²⁴

Weaving reached a very high standard of perfection in ancient Egypt. Linen production was one of the most important industries in Alexandria, along with the weaving of tissues and cloth of more than ten different varieties. Carpets, dyed purple, and embroidered cloth with figures of animals and birds were also manufactured in the city.

Alexandria was famous for the manufacture of natural products for which Egypt had no rival: perfumes, unguents, and other aromatics, such as incense and myrrh. The raw materials for perfumes, extracted from flowers and plants, were for the most part cultivated in Egypt; whereas the aromatic gums and resins were mainly imported from Somaliland, Arabia, and India. Although perfumes of various types were widely used in the pharaonic period, their manufacture was perfected in Alexandria.²⁵

In a letter to his brother-in-law Servianus concerning the inhabitants of Alexandria, Emperor Hadrian says,

[It is] a city rich, opulent, productive, in which none lives idle. Some are glass blowers, some makers of papyrus, some linen weavers, all have some art or other. The gouty have something they can do, the blind likewise, not even those with gout in the hand are idle. Their own god is nothing [that is, “money”]; this Christians, this Jews, this all alike venerate.²⁶

Their love of work and of money was equaled by the love of public spectacles, of gymnastics, feasting, and material pleasures. But it must not be thought that Alexandria was entirely given up to frivolity and amusement. At this same time, Saint Clement was founding the great school of Christian theology in Alexandria, which had so immense an influence on the thought of the Church while pagan philosophy still flourished in the city.

One of the first aims of Octavian after the Roman conquest of Egypt was to exploit its rich grain lands. He engaged the Roman army to rebuild the dikes and clean the canals, which had suffered from neglect during the late Ptolemaic period. In some years the Nile flood was too low or too high, and a shortage of grain resulted. Moreover, native revolts occasionally caused devastation of grain lands in parts of Egypt. In A.D. 100, famine in Egypt was so serious that Emperor Trajan ordered the grain fleet to return from Rome to Alexandria in order to relieve the suffering of the Egyptians.

The transport of the grain tribute that Rome levied on Egypt was probably the most ambitious maritime enterprise of the ancient

world. During the first three centuries of the Roman period, 150,000 tons (twenty million *modii*) were sent annually from Alexandria to Rome, on the largest and fastest ships of the day. At Alexandria, the grain was stored in great granaries to wait for the shipment to Rome. The grain fleet usually sailed as a unit at the beginning of spring, probably in April. The journey would have taken at least a month, sometimes two; the fleet arrived at the seaport of Rome, probably at the beginning of May. The return trip could be made in two or three weeks if the winds were favorable. A quick turnaround might result in another sailing before winter.

During that period, there were two seafaring divinities: Isis and Serapis. Isis became the goddess of the sea; festivals in her name marked the beginning of the sailing season. On those occasions a ship, or a model, with embroidered sails and decorated with offering scenes and lights, was launched on the Mediterranean to open the way for safe sailing. The second deity, Serapis, was also one of the important seafaring gods and was found as an object of worship in almost all the big ports in the Mediterranean.²⁷

Owing to the location of Alexandria, between the Mediterranean to the north and Lake Mareotis to the south, its cemeteries must inevitably have been located to the east and west of the city. Excavations undertaken since the middle of the nineteenth century in the eastern suburbs have brought to light extensive cemeteries dating from the earliest Ptolemaic period. During that time, those buried in the eastern cemeteries were almost exclusively Greeks and other foreigners, while in the western cemeteries the majority were Egyptians. At the close of the Ptolemaic period and during the Roman period, the eastern cemeteries were still in use for burials, but in much smaller numbers than the western.

Mummification was practiced exclusively in the western cemeteries, where native Egyptians were buried. Although the early Greek settlers preferred cremation, they later imitated the Egyptians and chose embalming rather than cremation. When the dead were cremated, the ashes were preserved in an urn, which usually had the form of hydria. In 1880 at Ibrahimieh, a district to the east of the city, a tomb was found that contained several rows of niches housing the cinerary urns of the numerous mercenaries who served under the early Ptolemies, as well as urns of the religious envoys from various Greek towns. Such urns were also found in great numbers at Shatby, at Hadra (hence the name Hadra vases), and in the western cemeteries at Gabbari and Wardian.²⁸

Several of these urns bear, painted or engraved, the names of the deceased, often accompanied by the father's name and that of his country. A group of these inscriptions allows us to fix with precision the date of their use. They belong to mercenaries who came from Thrace, Crete, Thessaly, and other cities, or to ambassadors who in connection

with religious feasts were sent to Alexandria, where they died and were buried.²⁹ During the long course of ancient Egyptian history, many customs concerning death and burial remained remarkably similar. One procedure that underwent subtle change was mummification. In later pharaonic history it was common to envelop the entire bandaged body of the deceased in cartonnage, which consisted of linen reinforced with plaster, modeled to the outline of the embalmed body. The section covering the head was usually fashioned as a conventional and idealized portrait of the deceased, while the portion covering the body was frequently decorated with scenes of deities and the netherworld. During the Ptolemaic period, the use of cartonnage was confined to certain portions of the linen-wrapped mummy—the head, chest, stomach, thighs, and feet. The head was then covered with a mask decorated with a winged scarab beetle, while around the neck was placed an elaborate collar with terminals in the form of falcon heads. The area between the head and the feet was decorated with deities and religious scenes. Mummification continued to be practiced even in early Christianity.

According to tradition, Alexandria's involvement with Christianity started in the middle of the first century A.D. when the evangelist Saint Mark came to Alexandria preaching a new religion. On his arrival, he was fascinated by the beauty of the city. He was wandering through its streets looking at the magnificent buildings, when one of his sandals became torn. He went to a shoemaker by the name of Anianus to have it repaired. When the shoemaker took the awl to work on the sandal, he accidentally pierced his hand; Saint Mark held the cobbler's hand, preaching the Gospel, and the man's hand miraculously healed. The cobbler and the members of his family were converted to Christianity and were baptized.³⁰ After that Alexandrian Christians gradually multiplied in number until the pagans took notice of them and sought to arrest the evangelist. In A.D. 68, during the celebration of the festival of Serapis, Saint Mark was arrested, tortured, and put to death.³¹

During the first century and the first half of the second century, the spread of Christianity in Alexandria and some parts of Egypt was not considerable. According to his letter to Servianus, Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117–138) had seen the Alexandrians worshiping Serapis and Christ impartially. "Those who worship Serapis are Christians, and those who call themselves bishops of Christ are devoted to Serapis."³² They saw no great difference between the two religions. But from the time of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193–211) the development of Christianity was very rapid. The catechetical school—a Christian theological university—was founded at that time. Though Christianity had made great progress, it was largely confined to the lower and middle classes and made little impression on the aristocracy.

Christianity, however, did not enjoy an easy growth. It suf-

ferred bloody persecutions under the rule of Septimius Severus (A.D. 204), under Decius (A.D. 250), and under Valerianus (A.D. 251). The greatest persecution of the Christians occurred in the time of Diocletian, who was so detested by Egyptian Christians that, later, the church dated the Era of Martyrs from the first year of his reign in A.D. 284.³³ In addition to these persecutions, isolated incidents, such as Caracalla's massacre of the Alexandrian populace, resulted in a steady surge of Alexandrian nationalism in the late second and third centuries.

Reports of violence continued. A visitor to Alexandria in the third century writes to his parents in his hometown of Oxyrhynchus in Upper Egypt saying, "Things have happened the like of which hasn't happened through all the years. Now it is cannibalism, not war. . . . So rejoice the more, lady mother, that I am outside the city."³⁴ Most of the violence in Alexandria was linked to struggles between pagans and Christians. The disturbance of A.D. 412–415 culminated in the murder of the pagan teacher of philosophy, Hypatia.³⁵

Alexandria thence became a growing center of Christianity. When Emperor Theodosius gave the final blow to paganism by officially adopting the Christian religion in A.D. 389, he gave the task of abolishing paganism in Alexandria to the patriarch Theophilus, who, with great energy, persecuted all those who refused to embrace the new religion and set about the destruction of temples, monuments, and statues. Among others, the celebrated temple of Serapis, along with its admirable statue, were destroyed. A church dedicated to Saint John was erected on the site of the Serapeion.³⁶

Nevertheless, Alexandria was still an important commercial and administrative center, although its days, even as such, were numbered. It was occupied by Persians when they conquered Egypt, then recovered by the imperial forces. When the Arabs invaded Egypt, the Arab army, with the help of native Egyptians, marched into Alexandria, which they reached on 29 September 642. The Arab forces marveled at the magnificence of Alexandria's palaces and marble colonnades. A few years later, the city was recovered by the Romans, but the Arabs soon took it again.

Although Alexandria continued for a time to have some importance as a naval center, it gradually sank into decay. Its great buildings disappeared one after the other, and earthquakes shook the land and lowered the ground level so that much of the old city is now under the sea. Nothing remains of the old magnificent Alexandria but fragments of sculpture and inscriptions in museums—shattered remnants of a glorious past.

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- 1 E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (Bergamo 1920), p. 34.
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- 3 See Breccia (note 1 above), p. 34.
- 4 H. L. Jones, *The Geography of Strabo* (London and New York 1932), p. 33 (= 17.1.8). See also Fraser (note 2 above), pp. 7ff.
- 5 I. Bell, “Alexandria,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 13 (1927): 174; Breccia (note 1 above), p. 68; Fraser (note 2 above), pp. 34–37.
- 6 Breccia (note 1 above), pp. 31–32; Fraser (note 2 above), pp. 38–92.
- 7 P. Oxy. 2332; see Fraser (note 2 above), pp. 509, 681, 684; A. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (Warwickshire 1986), p. 31.
- 8 Breccia (note 1 above), pp. 110–15; Fraser (note 2 above), pp. 206, 246.
- 9 Bowman (note 7 above), pp. 23–24.
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- 12 U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit* (Berlin-Leipzig 1927–), no. 148 = L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1912), no. 136.
- 13 Bell (note 10 above), pp. 50ff.
- 14 Bell (note 10 above), pp. 52ff.
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- 16 Bell (note 10 above), p. 53.
- 17 Bell (note 10 above), p. 54.
- 18 Mitteis and Wilcken (note 12 above), p. 115; Bell (note 10 above), p. 55.
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- 21 Fraser (note 2 above), p. 137.
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- 23 Fraser (note 2 above), pp. 138–40.
- 24 Fraser (note 2 above), p. 140; in general, see D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience* (Oxford 1973).
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- 28 Breccia (note 1 above), p. 222.
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- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 163.
- 32 Butcher (note 26 above), p. 40.
- 33 Bowman (note 7 above), p. 45.
- 34 P. Oxy. 3065; see Bowman (note 7 above), p. 214.
- 35 Bowman (note 7 above), p. 214.
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“All Army Boots and Uniforms?” Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt

Diana Delia

Theokritos’s *Adoniazousai* (*Idylls* 15) begins with a description of the crush of people on the streets of Alexandria amidst the celebration of an Adonis festival during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos. Undaunted by the swarm of pedestrians and cavalry, Gorgo, Praxinoa, and their companions are borne by the surge of celebrants along a thoroughfare leading to the royal palace, where the festivities will take place. The crowd is described by the disgruntled women as “all army boots and uniforms” and, en route, Praxinoa is nearly trampled by a royal horseman. On finally reaching her destination, piqued by the pushing and shoving in which she herself had also heartily indulged, Praxinoa responds to a stranger’s hushing of her chatter by demanding to know his origin. Swelling with condescension, she announces that she and her companions are Syracusans, which by extension makes them Corinthians, and that as Peloponnesians, they speak in the Doric dialect. With this voluble retort, she dismisses both critic and criticism.

While much of the *Adoniazousai*, like any work of literature, may be pure invention, two aspects are highly provocative and warrant further investigation: first, the poet’s impression that soldiers were preponderant in third-century-B.C. Alexandria and, second, the emphasis placed on ethnic identification. Since the Ptolemaic army extensively employed foreign mercenaries, both issues find a common denominator in the nature of ethnicity in Alexandria. This paper will address that subject, focusing on the late fourth through early second century B.C.—before the repressive measures of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II reversed the “brain drain” to Alexandria characteristic of preceding centuries.

One may as well begin by posing the historian’s conventional litany: who came to Alexandria? whence? and why? Didorus Siculus and Polybios relate that prominent political figures were brought to Alexandria as hostages. Conspicuous among these was Pyrrhos of Epiros, who arrived in 298, married Ptolemy I Soter’s daughter, and with his help regained an empire the following year. Subsequently, Chremonides and Glaukon, sons of the Athenian Eteokles, secured their father’s pact with Philadelphos by distinguished service under him and his successor, while

Andromachos, father of the Asian ruler Achaios and brother-in-law of Seleukos, resided in Alexandria as a royal prisoner in 220 B.C.¹

Other nabobs deliberately sought political asylum here. Pursuant to the Antigonid conquest of Athens in 307, Demetrios of Phaleron took refuge in Alexandria, where his stellar rise to intimate counsellor of Soter appears to have occasioned odium and subsequent disgrace under Philadelphos. Andronikos of Olynthos, who had refused to surrender Tyre to Soter in 312, was later warmly received and honored by him at Alexandria. Hippomedon of Sparta joined the court of Euergetes I and was subsequently sent out to govern the Hellespont and Thrace. His compatriot Kleomenes III was not as fortunate; having fled to Alexandria with three thousand Spartan soldiers and high hopes of obtaining Philopator's assistance in regaining his throne, he died attempting to escape from this haven.² As Alexandria was a new city foundation, the early Ptolemies necessarily recruited foreign talent as "friends of the king" to serve as chief ministers and advisors, commanders of their bodyguard, ambassadors, governors of overseas possessions, court philosophers, physicians, and royal tutors.³ Active networking ensured that friends and relations would be considered for important posts.⁴

In the polygamous milieu of the royal household, foreign women secured positions of influence as official wives or concubines. Thus the notorious Athenian hetaira Thais maintained intimate relations with Ptolemy Soter, despite his marriages to Eurydike, the daughter of Antipater, and to Berenike. Arsinoe I, Lysimachos's daughter, was married to Philadelphos to secure Egypt's alliance with Thrace; among her husband's many mistresses was a foreigner of such surpassing charm that the cult of Aphrodite Bilistiche was instituted in her honor in Alexandria. Berenike II brought her father's kingdom of Cyrene as a dowry when she married Euergetes I, and the union of Cleopatra I and Epiphanes sealed the pact ending the Fifth Syrian War. In the next generation, Agathoklea of Samos exploited her influence as Philometor's mistress to advance the court career of her brother, a royal catamite.⁵

The narrative of Polybios is rife with notices of diplomatic missions to and from the city of Alexandria in connection with the Macedonian and Syrian wars or petitions of Ptolemaic allies seeking protection or protesting the malfeasance of neighbors. Cinerary urns from Hadra contain the remains of Athenian, Chian, Rhodian, Cyzican, and Cyrenaean ambassadors who died on their missions.⁶ Other Hadra vases contain the ashes of sacred envoys, *θεωροί*, dispatched by various Greek cities to participate in festivals at Alexandria, to offer sacrifices at Alexandrian shrines, or simply to announce forthcoming festivals celebrated in their homelands.⁷ A number of Hadra urns have been discovered outside of Alexandria; these were carried back to the homelands of ambassadors, or *θεωροί*, identified on the urns.⁸ Streams of foreign dele-

gations arriving in, touring, and departing from the city must have been a regular feature of Alexandria.

The Ptolemies invited foreign priests to institute popular mystery cults at Alexandria. Soter brought the Eumolpid Timotheos from Athens to establish the cult of Demeter in a suburb of the city, appropriately dubbed Eleusis. The fledgling cult no doubt benefited from the religious expertise of the famous Athenian Philochoros, who lived in Alexandria during Philadelphos's reign.⁹ His contemporary Philiskos of Korkyra presided over the rites of Dionysos.¹⁰ Foreigners often held the eponymous priesthood of Alexander and supervised the dynastic cult.¹¹

Numerous professional schools sprang up in Alexandria under the early Ptolemies, and it was to these that many foreign pupils flocked: the anatomist Praxagoras of Kos settled in Alexandria during the reign of Soter and opened a medical school that trained, in successive generations, Herophilos of Chalcedon, Kleophantes of Keos, Philinos of Kos, and Chrysippos of Rhodes.¹² To this group our learned colleague Heinrich von Staden would add Erasistratos of Keos. Hence it is not surprising that Alexandria became so highly reputed as a center for medical studies that, centuries later, Ammianus Marcellinus observed that a physician merely had to claim that he had studied at Alexandria for his credentials to be considered impeccable.¹³ Likewise, the mathematician-astronomers Euclid and Aristarchos of Samos left Athens for Alexandria by the early third century B.C. Their studies attracted Konon of Samos, Eratosthenes of Cyrene, Archimedes of Syracuse, and Apollonios of Perge to Alexandria, and the research of these scholars, in turn, inspired the mechanical studies of Ktesibios and Philon of Byzantium. Such studies did not develop in a vacuum but built upon available models and the progress of theoretical knowledge.¹⁴

After the Mouseion was founded by Soter, talent scouts were dispatched throughout the Mediterranean to recruit leading pundits and entice them to relocate to Alexandria by prospects of royal patronage, extensive research facilities, and the opportunity to associate with the greatest minds of the day.¹⁵ Some scholars took up permanent residence in the city, others visited only temporarily. Demetrios of Phaleron had already initiated the transplant of philosophical thought from Athens to Alexandria, and he was soon joined by a fellow peripatetic, Straton of Lampsakos, and the Stoics Eratosthenes of Cyrene and Sphairos of Bosphoros.¹⁶ The comic writers Philemon of Syracuse and Machon likewise came, followed by the poets Kallimachos of Cyrene, Herakleitos of Halikarnassos, Hermesianax of Kolophon, Herodas of Kos, Theokritos of Syracuse, and the epigrammatist Hedylos.¹⁷ Numerous historians, ethnographers, and biographers took up residence in Alexandria, while Kallixeinos of Rhodes was so impressed by the city that he composed an essay on it.¹⁸ The Library's superb resources attracted to Alexandria

generations of grammarians, who edited and commented on Homeric, Archaic, and classical literary works. Discussed at length by Peter Fraser, these require no further comment here, apart from the observation that the origins of many scholars—particularly Cyrene, Kos, and Samos—coincided with areas under Ptolemaic control.¹⁹ Accordingly, one wonders whether Aristophanes of Byzantium's circumstances really ought to be considered unique: his father immigrated to Egypt to enter Ptolemaic service as a mercenary and brought the family along; other mercenaries surely did likewise.²⁰

A new city foundation provided extensive opportunities for architects and engineers such as Deinokrates, who laid out the original city plan, and Sostratos of Knidos, the designer of the Pharos lighthouse.²¹ Alexandria's splendid situation on the Mediterranean, with natural harbors and access by Nile canals to upper Egypt and by overland routes to the Red Sea, rapidly promoted the city as a mecca for business and commerce.²² The Zenon archive conveys a good sense of how extensive such interests had already become by the reign of Philadelphos, for Zenon from Kaunias commuted between Alexandria and foreign lands transacting business—banking and trading—on behalf of his employer, the *dioiketes* Apollonios. The Zenon papyri also reveal the variety of products imported by Apollonios into Alexandria: wine and cheese from Lesbos, Knidos, and Chios; oil from Samos and Miletos; and Lycian honey, to name a few.²³ Although Apollonios employed his own agents and fleet to provision his household, such products probably typify those brought to Alexandria by foreign traders for general sale.

In 1955, Virginia Grace sorted more than fifty-five thousand amphora handles belonging to the Benaki and Graeco-Roman Museum collections in Alexandria. The lion's share of these bear Rhodian stamps, although Knidian, and, to a lesser degree, Koan, Thasian, and Chian stamped vessels also abound.²⁴ Fraser's surmise that empty Rhodian vessels were shipped to Alexandria in vast quantities is no doubt correct, just as Arnold Enklaar demonstrated the Cretan origin of Hadra vases, imported into Alexandria for some twenty years before the manufacture of local Alexandrian imitations began.²⁵ Just as foreign talent sparked the development of a native tradition of philosophical, scientific, and literary studies in Alexandria, foreign-manufactured wares furnished the impetus for the production of local imitations. Merchant ships ordinarily did not return home empty but were laden with cargoes of grain, papyrus, perfumes, unguents, spices, and aromatics for which Egypt was justly famous. Alexandria thus functioned as a grand entrepôt of the eastern Mediterranean, attracting foreign shippers, shipbuilders, sailors, merchants, and the moneylenders on whom they all necessarily relied to finance commercial ventures. Opportunities such as these encouraged

massive immigration of both foreigners and Egyptians to Alexandria.²⁶ Many of the former were buried in the cemeteries of Shatby, Hadra, and Ibrahimieh, commemorated by modestly painted cinerary urns or loculus slabs preserving merely their names, patronymics, and ethnics.²⁷

On the eve of the Fourth Syrian War, Nikagoras of Messenia sailed to Alexandria with a cargo of horses that he sold to a royal agent.²⁸ Horses were vital for the cavalry, encamped along with the rest of the army some distance outside the city walls, probably in the vicinity of Bulkeley, at the location later occupied by the Roman *castra Alexandrina*.²⁹ Although it is impossible to assess with any certainty how many troops this garrison may have housed, Polybios indicates that around 220 B.C. three thousand Cretans, one thousand Peloponnesians, and numerous Syrians and Carians constituted merely a portion of it.³⁰

The proliferation of ethnics in Polybios's catalog of the Ptolemaic army, which was preparing at about the same time for the Fourth Syrian War, is similarly revealing: Eurylochos of Magnesia commanded the Royal Guard; Sokrates the Boeotian led a contingent of peltasts; Andromachos of Aspendos and Ptolemy, son of Thraseas, supervised the phalanx; Phoxidas the Achaean commanded the Greek mercenaries; Polykrates supervised the cavalry of the guard and Libyan and Egyptian horsemen; Echekrates of Thessaly commanded the Greek and mercenary cavalry; Knopias of Allaria and Philo of Knossos led the Cretan contingent; Ammonios of Barca commanded Libyans armed in Macedonian fashion; Sosibios was in charge of the Egyptians; and Dionysos the Thracian supervised the Thracians and Gauls.³¹ Although this military buildup was of limited duration, funerary inscriptions and cinerary urns from Shatby, Hadra, and Ibrahimieh, on which the names of soldiers are accompanied by foreign ethnics, corroborate the view that a great many soldiers stationed at Alexandria were foreign in origin.³² Egyptians also enlisted in the Ptolemaic army, but prior to the Battle of Raphia in 217 B.C. their service appears to have been restricted to the native corps of μάχιμοι; hence it is not surprising that Egyptian names have not turned up among the military personnel in these cemeteries.³³

During the half century that preceded Raphia, Egypt had engaged in four Syrian campaigns as well as the Chremonidean War against Macedonia, resulting in the occupation of numerous Aegean islands and bridgeheads on the coast of Asia Minor. The solid gains of Philadelphos and Euergetes I established the Ptolemaic overseas empire, in striking contrast to the earlier, ephemeral conquests of Soter. Hardly a season passed that did not witness military action in Syrian or Aegean theaters. After Raphia, the Ptolemies engaged in yet another Syrian war and spent two decades suppressing widespread native revolts in Upper Egypt. It is no wonder that the Ptolemies were constantly in need of seasoned

soldiers and commanders. Likewise, they extensively employed foreigners to train recruits and to command overseas military operations and garrisons.³⁴

Polybios did not have to attend a festival in downtown Alexandria in order to report that foreign mercenaries constituted a major segment of the population of this city in his day. Nevertheless, he seems to echo Praxinoa's sentiments in characterizing them as *βαρὺ καὶ πολὺ καὶ ἀνάγωγον*—oppressive, abundant, and uncultivated—noting as well that they posed a significant menace whenever Egyptian dynasts were weak.³⁵ In addition to the garrison outside the city, the Ptolemies maintained household troops (*τὰ θεραπεῖα*) and a royal bodyguard (*τὰ περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν φυλακεῖα*) inside it; commanders and other soldiers were often present at court.³⁶ Another garrison, serving primarily as a customs post, was stationed nearby at Schedia.³⁷

For administrative purposes, the city of Alexandria was organized into five districts, numbered after the first five letters of the Greek alphabet, but population settlement did not conform to the same pattern. Instead, the literary and documentary sources reveal a patchwork of scattered ethnic neighborhoods, or *λιμένες* ("shelters"), throughout the city.³⁸ For example, the oldest Jewish neighborhood, where the great synagogue described in the Talmud must have been located, appears to have been situated in the Δ district, east of Silsileh, yet Philo relates that Jews resided in all of the other districts as well.³⁹ Likewise, Rhakotis, located in the south-central sector of the city, appears to have been the oldest Egyptian settlement, predating even the foundation by Alexander; yet, by the time of Caesar, the island of Pharos constituted a suburb boasting an Egyptian population so massive that it occasioned comment.⁴⁰ So, too, the various Alexandrian *deme* headquarters, no doubt located in the oldest sections of the city, scarcely reflected actual residence patterns of Alexandrian citizen *deme* members and their families centuries later. Other ethnic groups also maintained central headquarters in the city, likewise situated in the neighborhoods first settled by fellow countrymen.⁴¹ Ethnic communities fostering common social and cultural bonds developed wherever foreigners settled in the city and were replenished and revitalized by the constant influx of new immigrants.

For the various reasons noted above, Alexandria steadily absorbed a stream of foreign immigrants during the fourth through mid-third century B.C. The numerous funerary stelae and cinerary urns of this period belonging to men and women possessing foreign ethnics suggest that, after the initial settlement at the time of the foundation of the city, few foreign settlers acquired the Alexandrian franchise.⁴² Residing for much or all of their lives in a city not their own, without *politeia* or autonomy, the use of ethnics by foreign residents signified more than mere statutory compliance with Ptolemaic regulations. For ethnics preserved

national identity while simultaneously distinguishing between immigrants from Greek cities and Egyptians and other non-Hellenes.⁴³ Likewise, at Alexandria, in the Delta and in Upper Egypt, at Cyrene, and wherever large numbers of foreigners resided, ethnic associations known as *πολιτεύματα* were founded to perpetuate national cult practices. Primarily religious in nature, *πολιτεύματα* nevertheless modeled their internal structure and procedures on democratic institutions: they met as assemblies, where members deliberated matters, voted decrees, and elected magistrates.⁴⁴ In cities such as Alexandria, membership in a Greek *πολίτευμα* probably sufficed to ensure the enrollment of sons in the local gymnasium, in much the same way that the designations *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου*, *οἱ μητροπολίται*, and *οἱ κάτοικοι* perpetuated Hellenic status in enchoric metropoleis during the Roman Principate.⁴⁵ Precisely because *πολιτεύματα* and gymnasia perpetuated elitist social status distinctions undesigned by law, these institutions were assiduously cultivated by strangers in a strange land as hallmarks of Hellenic or quasi-Hellenic civilization.

As a Syracusan at Alexandria, Praxinoa behaved in a manner that is not difficult to comprehend. The city was teeming with foreigners, many of them mercenaries deprived of the privileges and benefits enjoyed by citizens. In flaunting her Greek origin, Praxinoa summoned to her defense the one status badge that foreigners might actually possess—a Greek ethnic. Served up by a quick mind and a ready tongue, it was not to be taken lightly.

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Notes

- 1 Pyrrhos: W. Peremans, E. van't Dack, et al., *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (hereafter *PP*) 6.14566; Chremonides: *PP* 6.14636; Glaukon: *PP* 6.14596; Andromachos: *PP* 6.16140.
- 2 Demetrios: *PP* 6.16742; Andronikos: *PP* 4.10062a; Hippomedon: *PP* 6.14605; Kleomenes: *PP* 6.16118.
- 3 P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1 [hereafter *Fraser*] (Oxford 1972), pp. 102–3; F. Heichelheim, *Die auswärtige Bevölkerung im Ptolemäerreich*, *Klio*, Beiheft 18 (Leipzig 1925), passim. For example:
- Chief ministers and advisors: Kaphisophon of Kos: *PP* 6.14990; Agathokles of Samos: *PP* 6.14576.
- Commanders of the bodyguard: Sosibios of Tarentum: *PP* 2.4331 and 6.14630; Polykrates of Argos: *PP* 6.15233, and F. Preisigke et al., eds., *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* [hereafter *SB*] (Strasbourg 1915), 1, no. 3659 (Alexandria); and his brother Ptolemaios: *PP* 6.15770.
- Ambassadors: Theodoros of Cyrene: *PP* 6.16761; Demetrios of Athens: *PP* 6.14754.
- Governors: *PP* 6.15031ff. See also R. S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions Outside of Egypt* (Leiden 1976), pp. 229–35 and passim. Fraser, pp. 66–67, astutely observed that a majority of Ptolemaic officials at Delos, Thera, and Crete possessed Greek city ethnics other than Alexandrian.
- Court philosophers: Demetrios of Phaleron: *PP* 6.16742; Diodoros Kronos from Iasos: *PP* 6.16746; Menedemos of Eretria: *PP* 6.16770; Mnesistratos of Thasos: *PP* 6.16772.
- Physicians: Chrysisippos of Knidos: *PP* 6.16646; Philippos of Kos: *PP* 6.16640, and Fraser, pp. 369–70.
- Tutors: Philitas of Kos: *PP* 6.16724, and Fraser, pp. 309 and 450; Straton of Lampsakos: *PP* 6.16786; Apollonios of Naukratis “Rhodios”: *PP* 6.16511; Aristarchos of Samothrace: *PP* 6.16512, and Fraser, p. 462.
- 4 See, e.g., C. C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, 4 vols. [hereafter *P. Cair. Zen.*] (Cairo 1925–1931), II, nos. 59045–46 (Philadelphia, 257 B.C.)
- 5 Athenaeus 13.576e–f; Berenike I: *PP* 6.14497; Thais: *PP* 6.14723; Arsinoe I: *PP* 6.14491; Bilistiche: *PP* 6.14717; Berenike II: *PP* 6.14497; Cleopatra I: *PP* 6.14515; Agathokleia: *PP* 6.14714.
- 6 *PP* 6.14788ff. See also P. M. Fraser, “Inscriptions from Ptolemaic Egypt,” *Berytus* 13 (1960): 159–61; T. Rönne and P. M. Fraser, “A Hadra Vase in the Ashmolean Museum,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39 (1953): 84–94; B. F. Cook, *Inscribed Hadra Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York 1966), pp. 23–34, nos. 7 and 8 = *SB* (note 3 above), 1676 and 1642, respectively; E. Breccia, ed., *Catalogue général des antiquités Égyptiennes au Musée d’Alexandrie*, nos. 1–568: *Iscrizione greche e latine* (Cairo 1911), no. 190 = *SB* (note 3 above), 1, no. 1686.
- 7 *PP* 6.14996ff.; see also Cook (note 6 above), pp. 20–25, nos. 1 (from Apollonia), 3 (Phocaea), 7 (Achaia), 8 (Boeotia), and 10 (Delphi).
- 8 A. Enklaar, “Chronologie et peintres des hydries de Hadra,” *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 60 (1985): 145.
- 9 Timotheos: *PP* 6.16718; see also Kallimachos’s hymn to Demeter, and Fraser (note 3 above), pp. 199–201; Philochoros: F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* [hereafter *FGrH*] (Berlin 1923–1958), III B, no. 328.
- 10 Philiskos: *PP* 3.6541. Likewise, a temple of Cybele was built nearby at Canopus by the reign of Euergetes II: E. Breccia, “La Μητρόνη θεών a Canopo,” *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d’Alexandrie* 17 (1919): 188–92.
- 11 E.g., Kallikrates of Samos (272/271 B.C.): *PP* 3.5164; Patroklos of Macedon (271/270 B.C.): *PP* 3.5225; Pelops of Macedon (265/264–264/263 B.C.): *PP* 3.5227; Glaukon of Athens (255/254 B.C.): *PP* 3.5071; Neoptolemos of Pisidia (252/251 B.C.): *PP* 3.5204; Tlepolemos of Lycia (247/246 and 245/244 B.C.): *PP* 3.5288; Agathokles of Samos (216/215 B.C.): *PP* 3.4986. See also J. Ijsewijn, *De sacerdotibus sacerdotiisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidorum* (Brussels 1961), and Fraser (note 3 above), pp. 215 and 222.

- 12 Praxagoras: Fraser (note 3 above), p. 345; Herophilos: *PP* 6.16606; Kleophantos: *PP* 3.16615; Philinos: *PP* 6.16639, and Fraser, p. 359; Chryssippos: *PP* 3.16646, and Fraser, pp. 346–47. On Erasistratos, see *PP* 6.16597; cf. Fraser, p. 347.
- 13 22.16.18.
- 14 Euclid: *PP* 6.16541, and Fraser (note 3 above), pp. 387–96; Aristarchos: *PP* 6.16526, and Fraser, pp. 396–99; Konon: *PP* 6.16545, and Fraser, pp. 400–401; Eratosthenes: *PP* 6.16515, and Fraser, pp. 402, 414–15; Archimedes: *PP* 6.16528, and Fraser, pp. 399–414; Apollonios: *PP* 6.16525, and Fraser, pp. 396, 415–22; Ktsebios: *PP* 6.16546, and Fraser, p. 431; Philon: *PP* 6.16561, and Fraser, pp. 428–34.
- 15 D. Delia, “From Romance to Rhetoric: The Alexandrian Library in Classical and Islamic Thought,” *American Historical Review* 97 (1992): 1451–52.
- 16 Demetrios: *PP* 6.16742; Straton: *PP* 6.16786; Eratosthenes, *PP* 6.16515, and Fraser (note 3 above), p. 483; Sphairos: *PP* 6.16788.
- 17 Philemon: *PP* 6.16723; Machon (from Corinth or Sikyon): *PP* 6.16702; Kallimachos: *PP* 6.16517, and Fraser (note 3 above), pp. 452–55, 717–93; Herakleitos: *PP* 6.16689; Hermesianax: *PP* 6.16685; Herodas: *PP* 6.16691; Theokritos: *PP* 6.16696; Hedylos (from Athens or Samos): *PP* 6.16688.
- 18 Hekataios of Abdera: *PP* 6.16915; Timosthenes of Rhodes: *PP* 5.13794; Lykos of Rhengion: *PP* 6.16931; Theopompos of Chios: *PP* 6.16924; Demetrios of Byzantion: *PP* 6.16910; Apollodoros of Athens: *PP* 6.16822, and Fraser (note 6 above): 153–58, no. 13; Hermippos of Smyrna: *PP* 6.16918; Satyros of Kallatis: *PP* 6.16948. Regrettably, only the fragments of Kallixeinos survive (quoted by Athenaeus 1.196a and 203e = *FGrH* III C, no. 627).
- 19 Zenodotos of Ephesos: *PP* 6.16516, and Fraser (note 3 above), pp. 450–52; Alexander the Aetolian: *PP* 6.16509, and Fraser, p. 449; Lykophron of Chalkis: *PP* 6.16519, and Fraser, p. 450; Eratosthenes of Cyrene: *PP* 6.16515, and Fraser, pp. 457–58; Euphronios of Cheronesos: *PP* 6.16853; Aristophanes of Byzantium: *PP* 6.16513, and Fraser, pp. 308, 459–61; Agallis of Korkyra: *PP* 6.16814; Aristarchos of Samothrace: *PP* 6.16512, and Fraser, pp. 642–47. See also B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London 1898–), x, no. 1241.ii (second century A.D.) and Fraser, pp. 330–38 on the succession of Library directors.
- 20 Fraser (note 3 above), pp. 307–8, 459–61.
- 21 Deinokrates: Rhodian? *PP* 6.16530, and B. R. Brown, “Deinokrates and Alexandria,” *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 15 (1978): 39–42; Sostratos: *PP* 6.16555.
- 22 Agatharkides: C. Müller, ed., *Geographici Graeci Minores*, vol. 1 (Paris 1855), pp. 111–95; Strabo 17.1.6–7; *Periplus Maris Erythraei*.
- 23 *P. Cair. Zen.* (note 4 above), 1, no. 59110; see also E. Leider, *Der Handel von Alexandria* (Hamburg 1933), pp. 26–27.
- 24 V. Grace, “Ancient Greek Wine Jar Fragments in Collections in Alexandria,” *Year Book of the American Philosophical Association*, 1955: 321–26.
- 25 Fraser (note 3 above), pp. 167–68; A. Enklaar, “Les hydries de Hadra, II: Formes et ateliers,” *Bulletin Antieke Beshaving* 61 (1986): nos. 43 and 63.a. Cretan Hadra vessels begin to appear at Alexandria about 260 B.C., with decorated pots ceasing by the early second century B.C. and nondecorated pots continuing to be exported to Alexandria into the first century B.C. Enklaar dates Alexandrian-manufactured Hadra ware within the years ca. 240 to 190 B.C. See also T. Neroutsos, ΚΕΡΑΜΙΩΝ ΛΑΒΑΙ ΕΝΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΟΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΑΙ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΙ (Athens 1875), p. 42 and passim; E. Breccia, “La necropoli de l’Ibrahimiéh,” *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d’Alexandria* 9 (1907): 74–86. Note Diodorus Siculus 20.81 on the extensive trade between Rhodes and Alexandria.
- 26 On Egyptian immigration to Alexandria, see H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte Ägyptens in der ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit*, Bonner historische Forschungen 26 (Bonn 1964), pp. 75–80.
- 27 My preliminary survey of the funerary evidence of Ptolemaic date yielded the following results (see also soldiers discussed at note 32 below):
One Mamertine: *SB* (note 3 above), 1, nos. 417f. (Hadra).
Three Macedonians: Breccia (note 6 above), no. 278 (Shatby); A. Adriani, “La nécropole

d'Ezbet el Makhlof," *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain*, 1935–1939 (Alexandria 1940): 121, no. 4; Cook, (note 6 above): 16.

Three Thessalians: Breccia (note 6 above), no. 243 (Ibrahimieh) and 275 (Shatby); *SB* I, no. 5696 (Hadra).

One Aetolian: *SB* I, no. 407.

One Malian: R. Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis: Untersuchungen über Gestalt und Entwicklung der alexandrinischen Grabenlagen und ihrer Malereien* [hereafter Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*] (Leipzig 1919), p. 45, no. 22.

One Locrian: *ibid.*, p. 61, no. 82.

Two Boeotians: *SB* I, nos. 2107–2108 (Hadra).

Three Akarnians: Breccia (note 6 above), nos. 192 and 293 (Hadra); Cook (note 6 above), pp. 27–28, no. 16.

Six Athenians: *SB* I, no. 453 (Ibrahimieh); Breccia (note 6 above), nos. 205 (Hadra), 210, and 248 (Ibrahimieh); *SB* V, no. 7793 (Hadra); *SB* VIII, no. 9863 (Serapeion).

One Megarian: Breccia (note 6 above), no. 256 (Ibrahimieh).

One Achaian: Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 59, no. 73 = Breccia (note 6 above), no. 283 (Ibrahimieh).

Two Arcadians: Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 47, no. 25 = Breccia (note 6 above), no. 246 (Ibrahimieh); Adriani (this note), p. 121, no. 7 (Ezbet el Makhlof).

One Argive: Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 59, no. 70 = Breccia (note 6 above), no. 232 (Hadra).

One Epidaurian: *SB* I, no. 2130 (Ramleh).

Twelve Cretans: Breccia (note 6 above), nos. 197–98, 230 (Hadra), 245 and 252 (Ibrahimieh), 276 (Shatby); Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 60, no. 79 (Hadra); Cook (note 6 above): 9 n. 7, 21–22 no. 4 (Hadra), 26 no. 12, 30 no. 21; Fraser (note 6 above), p. 145, no. 9.

Three Theraians: *SB* I, no. 299 (Mex/Gabbari); B. R. Brown, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style* [hereafter Brown, *PPM*] (Cambridge, Mass. 1957), p. 19 (Ibrahimieh); Cook (note 6 above): 16 n. 60.

Three Thracians: Breccia (note 6 above), no. 250 (Ibrahimieh); *SB* III, no. 6679 (Hadra); Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 60 no. 78.

One Istrian: Brown, *PPM*, p. 25, no. 17 = Breccia (note 6 above), no. 234 (Hadra).

One Maroneitan: Cook (note 6 above): 26, no. 12 (Hadra); see also J. Bingen, "Vases d'Hadra et prosopographie ptolémaïque," *Chronique d'Égypte* 43 (1968): 389–90.

One Samothracian: Cook (note 6 above): 22, no. 5 (Hadra).

One Cypriot: Breccia (note 6 above), no. 292 (Hadra).

Five Rhodians: *SB* I, no. 2119 (Hadra); J. G. Milne, ed., *Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Greek Inscriptions* (Oxford 1905), p. 47, no. 27530 (Hadra); *SB* III, no. 6676 (Hadra); *SB* V, nos. 7767–68 (Hadra).

One Mysian: Breccia (note 6 above), no. 249 (Ibrahimieh).

Two Assians: Breccia (note 6 above), nos. 282 (Shatby) and 233 = Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 59, no. 74.

One Chian: Brown, *PPM*, p. 62, no. 45 = Cook (note 6 above): 30, no. 22.

Six Milesians: Breccia (note 6 above), no. 236 = Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 48, no. 37 (Shatby); Breccia (note 6 above), no. 273 = Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 50, no. 42 (Shatby); Breccia (note 6 above), nos. 285 (Hadra) and 286 = Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 61, no. 84; Breccia (note 6 above), no. 315.

One Mylasian: Breccia (note 6 above), no. 308.

Two Magnesians: *SB* III, no. 6240 = 6685 and 6683 (Hadra).

One Bithynian: Breccia (note 6 above), no. 231 = Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 48, no. 35.

One Herakleotan: Breccia (note 6 above), no. 299a (Shatby).

Four Galatians: Breccia (note 6 above), nos. 195, 268a = Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 60, no. 75; Brown, *PPM*, p. 17, no. 6 = Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 53, no. 52 (Ibrahimieh); Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 47, no. 30.

- One Celt: Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 58, no. 65.
- One Pisidian: Breccia (note 6 above), no. 289 (Hadra).
- One Pamphylian: *SB* I, no. 1724 (Hadra).
- Four Syrians: *SB* I, no. 2109 (Hadra); Breccia (note 6 above), nos. 294 (Hadra) and 307; *SB* III, no. 6689 (Hadra).
- One Phoenician: Breccia (note 6 above), no. 251 (Ibrahimieh). Note also the Aramaic funerary stela of Aqabiah from the same cemetery: Breccia (note 25 above), p. 40.
- Eleven Cyrenaean: *SB* I, no. 2066 (Hadra); *SB* I, no. 1676 (Hadra); Breccia (note 6 above), nos. 199 and 240 = Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, pp. 36–37, no. 6 (Shatby); Breccia (note 6 above), nos. 257 (Hadra), 266, and 300 = Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 60, no. 81 (Hadra); Adriani (this note), pp. 121–22, nos. 5 and 13; *SB* III, no. 6680 (Hadra).
- 28 Polybios 5.37.
- 29 On the location of the *castra Alexandrina*, see Strabo 17.1.10; Josephus *Bellum Judaicum* 4.11.5. Cf. A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, vol. 1.1 (Milan 1988), p. 148; J. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Cairo 1918), pp. 389–90. Tomb I at Mustafa Pasha, dating from the late third to the early second century B.C., had a pediment on which cavalrymen were depicted: A. Adriani, “La nécropole de Moustafa Pasha,” *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain*, 1933/1934–1934/1935 (Alexandria 1936): 102–12 and 173–74; Brown (note 27 above), pp. 52–53, no. 34—an exemplary study that has become all the more valuable with the passage of time since this and many other monuments recorded by the author have deteriorated.
- 30 Polybios 5.36.4.
- 31 Polybios 5.79 and 82. Agathokles' arrangements in 206 B.C. indicate that a substantial number of mercenaries continued to be stationed in Alexandria: Polybios 15.25.3 and 17–18.
- 32 Macedonians: A. Adriani, “Nouvelles découvertes dans la nécropole de Hadra,” *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain*, 1940–1950 (Alexandria 1952): 25–27 = Brown, *PPM* (note 27 above), p. 28, no. 26 (Hadra); Breccia (note 6 above), no. 237 = Brown, *PPM*, p. 26, no. 21 (Shatby).
- An Epirot: Brown, *PPM*, p. 26, no. 22 (Hadra).
- Thessalians: Breccia (note 6 above), no. 242 = Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis* (note 27 above), p. 51, no. 45 = Brown, *PPM*, pp. 25–26, no. 20 (Ibrahimieh); Brown, *PPM*, p. 16, no. 4 (Ibrahimieh); Breccia (note 6 above), no. 238 = Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, pp. 52–53, no. 50 (Shatby). On Thessalians, see also M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, 2 vols. (Paris 1949–1950), I, p. 217.
- An Actolian: *SB* (note 3 above), I, no. 2110 (Hadra).
- Akarnians: *SB* I, no. 2104 (Hadra); Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 51, no. 44.
- A Keian: Cook (note 6 above): 20–21, no. 2 (Hadra). See also Launey, *Recherches*, I, p. 205.
- Cretans: *SB* v, no. 7794 (Alexandria); Breccia (note 6 above), no. 194 = *SB* I, no. 2106 (Hadra); Breccia (note 6 above), no. 188 = *SB* I, no. 2102 (Hadra). See also Launey, *Recherches*, I, pp. 250–51.
- A Rhodian: Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 46, no. 26 (presumably from Alexandria).
- A Colophonian: P. M. Fraser, “Inscriptions from Greco-Roman Egypt,” *Berytus* 15 (1964): 71, no. 1 (probably from Alexandria). See also Launey, *Recherches*, I, p. 431.
- Bithynians: *SB* III, no. 6241 = Brown, *PPM*, p. 28, no. 27 (Gabbari). See also *SB* IV, no. 7456.
- Galatians: Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 46, no. 25 = Brown, *PPM*, p. 18, no. 9 (Alexandria); Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 52, no. 47 (Hadra); Brown, *PPM*, p. 16 no. 3 (Ibrahimieh); *SB* I, no. 2116 = Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 45, no. 23 = Brown, *PPM*, pp. 17–18, no. 7 (Hadra); Pagenstecher, *Nekropolis*, p. 48, no. 31 = Brown, *PPM*, p. 18, no. 8 (Ibrahimieh); Brown, *PPM*, pp. 16–17, no. 5 (Ibrahimieh). See also A. J. Reinach, “Les Gaulois en Égypte,” *Revue des Études Anciennes* 13 (1911): 33–74 and 182; idem, “Les Galates dans l'art Alexandrine,” *Monuments et Mémoires, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 18 (1910), pp. 37–116; and Launey, *Recherches*, I, pp. 511–13.
- A Cyrenaean: Breccia, p. 284 (Ibrahimieh). The

- funerary stela of a Roman mercenary, Silvanus, was also unearthed at Shatby: *SB* 1, no. 674.
- 33 J. Lesquier, *Les institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (Paris 1911), pp. 5–10. Tomb 1 at Anfushy, which once contained a painting in which the deceased wore a military helmet, may well have been decorated for an Egyptian serving in this corps. See G. Botti, “Première visite à la nécropole d’Anfouchy,” *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d’Alexandrie* 4 (1902): 17–18; Brown, *PPM* (note 27 above), pp. 53–54, no. 35.
- 34 Myrmidon of Athens: *PP* 6.15223; Antigonos of Macedon: *PP* 6.15178; Killes of Macedon: *PP* 2.2164 and 6.14609; Nikanor of Macedon: *PP* 2.2169 and 6.14616; Praxagoras from Crete: *PP* 6.15234; Kallikrates of Samos: *PP* 6.14607; Patroklos of Macedon: *PP* 6.15063; Kallikratidas of Cyrene: *PP* 6.15212; Agathokles of Samos: *PP* 6.14576; Nikolaos of Aetolia: *PP* 6.15231; Andromachos of Aspendos: *PP* 2.2150; Polykrates of Argos: *PP* 6.15233; Echekrates of Thessaly: *PP* 2.2161; Phoxidas of Meleta: *PP* 2.2182; Eurylochos of Magnesia: *PP* 2.2160; Sokrates of Boeotia: *PP* 2.2178; Knopias of Allaria: *PP* 2.2165; Philon of Knossos: *PP* 2.2301; Ammonios of Barca: *PP* 2.2148; Dionysos of Thrace: *PP* 2.2157; Hippolochos of Thessaly: *PP* 6.15208; Skopas of Aetolia: *PP* 6.15241; Theodotos of Aetolia: *PP* 6.15045; Bolis from Crete: *PP* 6.14750; Dorymenes of Aetolia: *PP* 6.15199; Euphrainetos of Aetolia: *PP* 6.15203.
- 35 Polybios 34.14 in Strabo 17.1.12. On this passage, see my essay, “Egyptians and Greeks,” forthcoming in F. B. Tichener and R. Moorten, *Mimesis: The Reciprocal Influence of Life and the Arts in Graeco-Roman Antiquity. Essays in Honor of Peter M. Green Presented on His 70th Birthday*.
- 36 Polybios 15.25.17 and 16.21.8. Lesquier (note 33 above), pp. 2–4; Fraser (note 3 above), vol. 2, pp. 152–53 n. 224.
- 37 G. L. Avarnitakis, “Sur quelques inscriptions relatives au canal d’Alexandrie,” *Bulletin de l’Institut d’Égypte*, ser. 4.3 (1902): 21; see also Fraser (note 3 above), p. 149.
- 38 Ps.-Kallisthenes 1.32. See also Calderini (note 29 above), pp. 79–80, and D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate* (Atlanta 1992), p. 52 n. 11. *Λιμὴν* denotes a landing place in a harbor, a haven or retreat; *Λιμὴν ἑταυρείας* signified a place of fellowship,
- hence, by extension, an ethnic neighborhood: for this use, see *P. Cair. Zen.* (note 4 above), no. 59034.7 (Philadelphia 257 B.C.).
- 39 Josephus *Contra Apionem* 2.33–36; Josephus *Bellum Judaicum* 2.495; Philo *In Flacc.* 55; *Tosefta Sukkah* 4.6.
- 40 Ps.-Kallisthenes 1.31.4; Caesar *Bellum Civile* 3.112.2; Strabo 17.1.6; Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 5.62; Calderini (note 29 above), p. 39.
- 41 Delia (note 38 above), pp. 81–82 and n. 44.
- 42 See note 27 above.
- 43 Ptolemaic law distinguished three official legal status categories among subjects: citizens of Greek cities, soldiers, and everyone else. These last were required in official documents to append to their names patronyms, ethnics, and class, i.e., elite social status designations, when applicable: P. M. Meyer, ed., *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek* (Leipzig-Berlin 1911–1924), 1, no. 168 (third century B.C.); W. M. Brashear, ed., *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin 1980), vol. 14, no. 2367 (third century B.C.). Likewise, the amnesty decree of 118 B.C. (B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly, eds., *The Tebtunis Papyri*, vol. 1 [London 1902], no. 5.207–20) reaffirmed that Greek courts of law (*chrematistai*) were to handle cases involving Greek litigants, while Egyptian parties were to seek justice in Egyptian courts (*laokrítai*). See also J. Méléze-Modrzejewski, “Entre la cité et le fisc: Le statut grec dans l’Égypte romaine,” in *Symposion* (Valencia 1985), p. 243. Such distinctions became even more conspicuous during the Roman period, when Roman citizenship was esteemed as the highest legal status, and Hellenism was endorsed as an elite social status distinction. Nevertheless, the influence of Egyptian culture on the development of mathematics, mechanics, and science at Alexandria and the impact of Egyptian intellectual and religious ideas and practices on Greeks and Romans in Egypt were substantial although not always acknowledged by ancient authorities. Indeed, one-dimensional cultural interaction—the hellenization of Egyptians without a corresponding egyptianization of Hellenes—is inconceivable within the multi-cultural context of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt.
- 44 D. Delia, “Politeia, Politeuma and the Jews of Alexandria” (forthcoming); see also Launey, *Recherches* (note 32 above), II, pp. 1079–80.

- 45 That this state of affairs was not wholeheartedly endorsed by Alexandrian citizens is revealed by the *Boule* papyrus (G. Vitelli and M. Norsa, eds., *Papiri greci e latini*, vol. 10 [Florence 1932–], no. 1160), in which Alexandrian citizens at the time of the Roman annexation of Egypt (30 B.C.) envisage the duties of their prospective city council to be scrutiny of ephebic candidates in order to exclude youths subject to the poll tax (i.e., anyone lacking Roman citizenship or citizenship in a Greek city), and preservation of the purity of the citizen body.

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City Planning?

Günter Grimm

*To Peter Marshall Fraser
with gratitude
on the occasion of his
seventy-fifth birthday*

With the Greek foundation of Alexandria¹ in the year 331 B.C.² a new era was dawning in the age-old history of Egypt. Eventually the kingdom on the Nile opened up to the Mediterranean world, and, heralding the wind of change, a completely different type of city emerged: the Royal City³ (see fold-out map). Unlike any *polis* familiar to the Greeks, this new capital and residence of the Macedonian sovereigns was governed more or less by the Ptolemaic rulers alone. It still developed quickly into the true center of the whole Hellenistic world and became the main focus of trade, arts, and sciences within a few decades.

Alexandria was laid out on a narrow, hilly cape between the Mediterranean Sea to the north and Lake Mareotis to the south, her shape reminiscent of an outspread chlamys. The so-called Heptastadion, a dike extending over seven stades, connected the town and the island of Pharos, which gave its name to its celebrated lighthouse. West of the dike the Eunostos Harbor took form; east of it lay what was to be called the Great Harbor. The southern quarters of the city were mainly composed of residential houses but also included the Serapeion, while the northern section saw the rise of the royal palaces (the Basileia), the Museion, the Library, and the Paneion (an artificial hill with gardens and a sanctuary of the god Pan) as well as the construction of the theater, the gymnasium, temples, parks and gardens, and also of the Sema, the burying place of Alexander the Great and the Ptolemaic kings.

Only a few years after Octavian's conquest of the Nile metropolis, presumably sometime between 24 and 20 B.C., the geographer and historian Strabo visited Alexandria and left us a valuable description in his *Γεωγραφία* (Book 17).⁴

Even so, research into ancient Alexandria did not start until relatively late in the nineteenth century. The Alexandrians' general lack of interest in the past of their own town was only one reason for this; another was the enormous changes in the town's panorama due to "a general subsidence, probably of about four metres, which has taken much of the coastal region of the ancient city beneath sea level" and aggravated by the immense building activities under the successors of Mohammed Ali.⁵

As a noteworthy exception, Mahmoud Bey (El Falaki, i.e., “The Engineer”), astronomer to the khedive Ismail, was commissioned to excavate and catalogue the remains of ancient Alexandria between 1863 and 1865. As luck would have it, the project was furthered by the most distinguished circles. Apparently the French emperor Napoleon III had not been very happy at having to do without a good, detailed map of the ancient city while working on his monumental *Histoire de Jules César*. He had conveyed his regret to Viceroy Ismail, who immediately took action, assigning the work to Mahmoud Bey and providing him with a group of technical officials and two hundred workmen. A manuscript plus seven maps and drawings, including our first plan of ancient Alexandria based on the evidence of excavations, were completed by December 1866 and sent to Louis Napoleon in 1867. The republic of letters, however, had to wait six more years before Mahmoud Bey’s work was made accessible: it was printed and published in Copenhagen on the occasion of an official visit paid to Denmark by the engineer himself on behalf of the Egyptian viceroy in 1872.⁶

Mahmoud Bey’s results were revised and improved by Ferdinand Noack in accordance with further evidence of his own excavations during 1898 and 1899.⁷ Thanks to Evaristo Breccia, Achille Adriani, and others who have considerably increased our knowledge of the ancient city,⁸ numerous investigations followed in the first half of this century.⁹ The most substantial contribution yet, *the* book on Ptolemaic Alexandria, was finally presented in three volumes by Peter Marshall Fraser in 1972; this monumental, epoch-marking opus of outstanding quality has become absolutely indispensable.¹⁰

Based on all the preceding research and on his personal observations, Wolfram Hoepfner drew a new city map of early Ptolemaic Alexandria, published in 1990.¹¹ According to him, Alexandria was divided into a system of equal rectangles of 310 by 277 meters each.¹² One *insula* measured 150 by 300 feet (with 29.4 cm to the foot), and the individual allotments contained therein had a size of 75 by 75 feet, covering roughly 486 square meters each. The regular *insulae* were subdivided by streets 50 feet wide (= 14.70 m), whereas the main axes—one major road running east–west and, as Hoepfner postulates, two more leading north–south—broadened to 100 feet (29.40 m). If Hoepfner’s street map of Ptolemaic Alexandria were correct, there should have been about fifty residential quarters, each composed of 144 houses. All told, the number of residential houses would thus have amounted to something like seven thousand, accommodating more than 100,000 people!

To check these figures, we should first of all review the location of the city walls. Let us begin with literary evidence. Arrian¹³ mentions Alexander’s personal role in the siting of the main points of the city (“ . . . where the agora should be constructed, and how many temples there should be, . . . those of the Greek gods and of Egyptian Isis”) and

especially in the course of the city wall. The latter is also confirmed by Diodorus: “Alexander also laid out the walls so that they were at once exceedingly large and marvelously strong . . . and he laid out the site and traced the streets skillfully.”¹⁴

Second, we have some important information from Pseudo-Kallisthenes’ *Life of Alexander*,¹⁵ or strictly speaking, from those sections of it that are authentic, that is, of Hellenistic origin. The *Life* reports that Alexander, in founding his new city, was assisted by two men: Deinokrates of Rhodes and Kleomenes of Naukratis.¹⁶ Other sources corroborate that Deinokrates was indeed the architect of Alexandria;¹⁷ he seems to have been the author of the city’s first design. Involved in the business was also Kleomenes, Alexander’s governor in Egypt, whom Ptolemy I eliminated in 323 B.C. Kleomenes was responsible for the finances in general and the monetary system in particular. We may assume considerable building activity during his reign (331–323 B.C.). At least the Ptolemaic mint was working that early, starting probably in 331/330 or, at the latest, in 326/325.¹⁸ Unfortunately we have no material proof of that or of where the mint was located in the new capital. The question arises, however, where else to look for it in this country without any local tradition in minting and coinage. And if the mint was actually established in Alexandria, it must certainly have been well protected from the very beginning.

While discussing the emperor Vespasian’s visit to the Alexandrian Serapeion and the origin of the god Serapis, Tacitus provides us with another relevant piece of information.¹⁹ The Egyptian high priests assured him that Ptolemy I had equipped the newly founded city with walls, temples, and cults: *moenia templaque et religiones addidit*. If the word *moenia* refers to the city enclosure,²⁰ this implies the completion of the wall during the reign of Soter. But even leaving this possibility aside, it seems somewhat hard to believe that Alexandria could have been left completely exposed between 331 and 323 B.C. Anyhow, in the early third century B.C. the Alexandrian city wall was definitely there, for Kallimachos asked the scholars of the city to assemble “in the shrine before the wall.”²¹

In our literary sources we have neither a hint indicating where we should assume the city wall to have run nor a description of its appearance (with the exception of a reference in Pseudo-Kallisthenes’ romantic account, but in a passage that does not have credibility).²² Even Strabo, writing about his visit to Alexandria, does not explicitly mention a city wall. He does, however, use the expression *περίβολος* (enclosure).²³

Let us now look for archaeological evidence. Unfortunately, there is none. In spite of Mahmoud Bey, who claimed to have discovered remains of the Ptolemaic city wall at various points during his excavations, there is no proof that these remains belonged to the original city wall.²⁴ Nevertheless we are still able to approximate the position of the



early walls in the eastern and western parts of the town, as Fraser has already pointed out.²⁵ In accordance with universal Greek practice, all burial areas must have lain outside the city walls. In the eastern part of Alexandria, the northern burial ground underneath modern Shatby is generally considered to be the oldest extant necropolis. Late Attic red-figured ware clearly indicates such an early date.²⁶ What we cannot tell exactly is when the Shatby necropolis was eventually abandoned. But seen in the light of recent research, the theory of its end in the late fourth century B.C. looks very unlikely indeed;²⁷ it seems to have been in use over a considerably longer period.²⁸

In any event, the fact that similar late Attic red-figured ware of an even earlier date has come to light in the region of modern Hadra, south of Shatby, seems to have passed largely unnoticed. On the whole, the tombs of Hadra are dated to the second half of the third century B.C. and to the earlier part of the second,²⁹ although there is enough evidence of burial activity having started in this region as early as the late fourth century. Two Attic hydriai of the second half of the fourth century were found during the last decade of the nineteenth century. One specimen (figs. 1a–c),³⁰ datable between 330 and 320 B.C., shows dancing women, a flute player, a winged Eros, and palmettes below the handles. The second one, of the same date and until now unpublished, is decorated with a woman's head (fig. 2).³¹ A pelike, again of Attic origin (figs. 3a, b),³² showing a pillar, a discus, and three youths framed by kymatia and wearing himatia, was even manufactured before the middle of the fourth century. Two of these vessels were published with complete disregard for their obvious value in the reconstruction of the topography of ancient Alexandria. A beautiful faience vessel of the early third century B.C., depicting a statuette, three masks of the god Bes, and bands of ornamental motifs as well as animals, was found in another tomb at Hadra together with five coins of Ptolemy I (figs. 4a, b).³³

FIG. 1a
Hydria, from Shatby. Front. Ca. 330–320 B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 8667. Photo by D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI, Cairo, neg. F 26930–26932.

FIG. 1b
Side view of hydria, figure 1a. Photo by D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI, Cairo, neg. F 26935–26937.

FIG. 1c
Back view of hydria, figure 1a. Photo by D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI, Cairo, neg. F 26933–26934.



2



3a



3b

FIG. 2
Hydria, from Shatby. Ca. 330–320
B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman
Museum 8668. Photo by
D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI,
Cairo, neg. F 26921–26923.

FIG. 3a
Pelike, from Shatby. Front. Ca.
360 B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-
Roman Museum 8669. Photo by
D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI,
Cairo, neg. F 26924–26926.

FIG. 3b
Back of pelike, figure 3a. Photo by
D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI,
Cairo, neg. F 26927–26929.

FIG. 4a
Faience vessel, from Hadra. Early
third century B.C. Alexandria,
Graeco-Roman Museum 19462.
Photos by D. Johannes, DAI,
Istanbul.



4a



4b

FIG. 4b
View of vessel from Hadra,
figure 4a.



FIG. 5
Alabaster tomb in the Latin Cemetery, Alexandria. Third century B.C. Photo by D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI, Cairo, neg. F 7033-7034.



FIG. 6
Stag-hunt mosaic, from Shatby. Ca. 300-250 B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 21643. Photo by D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI, Cairo, neg. F 17445.

The positions of these burial places (Hadra and Shatby) provide us with welcome clues concerning the topography *extra muros*. On the other hand, there is no reason at all to regard the so-called Alabaster Tomb in the Latin Cemetery (fig. 5) as being inside the area enclosed by the city wall. Breccia's proposition that the Alabaster Tomb should be identified with the Nemeseion, founded by Julius Caesar to honor Pompey, has rightly been rejected by Adriani.³⁴ The Alabaster Tomb was indeed part of a tomb.

Supposing that this must have been built outside the city wall, we can deduce that the wall should have run immediately west of it. The stag-hunt mosaic of the first half of the third century B.C. (fig. 6),³⁵ showing three hunting erotes surrounded by a border of animals, proves that the residential quarters of Alexandria cannot have been far away. We may therefore assume with some confidence that the foundations of the eastern wall, running from north to south, lay somewhere between the stag-hunt mosaic house and the Alabaster Tomb.

Strabo mentions only the western necropolis of Alexandria, which in his day served as the main burial place. His information that beyond the canal "there is only a small part of the city and then you come to the suburb Nekropolis"³⁶ is of extreme importance, for the western cemetery was surely situated beyond the city wall, and the course of the canal in question was, at least partly, more or less that of the modern Mahmoudiya Canal.

FIG. 7

Kantharos, from Gabbari. Ca. 250–225 B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 8512. Photo by D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI, Cairo, neg. F 26468–26469.



7

FIG. 8

Kantharos, from the Athenian art market. Ca. 250–225 B.C. Heidelberg, Originalsammlung der Universität H 20. Archäologisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg, neg. N.S. 882 D.



8

FIG. 9a

“Plaquette” vase, from Minet el-Bassal. Front. Ca. 300–250 B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 21541. Photo by D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI, Cairo, neg. F 11704.



9a

FIG. 9b

Side view of “plaquette” vase, figure 9a. Photo by D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI, Cairo, neg. F 11707.



9b

The archaeological evidence leaves no doubt that the Gabbari and Mafrusa regions, together with the whole district east of them up to the outlet of the Mahmoudiya Canal into the Mediterranean Sea (Minet el-Bassal), were used as necropoleis from the first half of the third century B.C. onward. This is attested by Attic West Slope ware of about 250 B.C. or slightly later, such as, for example, a kantharos from Gabbari (preserved in Alexandria) decorated with a checkerboard pattern and concentric squares (fig. 7).³⁷ A close but somewhat squatter parallel (fig. 8), now in Heidelberg, comes from the Athenian art market.³⁸ Furthermore we know of a “plaquette” vase from Minet el-Bassal (figs. 9a, b) showing a figure of the seated Herakles, a seated woman, two fighting youths, one of them on horseback, and Jason with the dragon.³⁹



FIG. 10a
Black-glazed amphora, from
Fort Saleh, Mafrusa. Front. Ca.
300–250 B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-
Roman Museum 27811. Photo by
D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI,
Cairo, neg. F 12806.

FIG. 10b
Side view of black-glazed
amphora, figure 10a. Photo by
D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI,
Cairo, neg. F 12811.

A related amphora was found at Fort Saleh, Mafrusa (figs. 10a, b),⁴⁰ but both vessels cannot yet be dated any more precisely than roughly to the first half of the third century B.C.⁴¹ There is no Attic red-figured ware at all, and there is no indication of any burial activity before the first half of the third century B.C. This hints of a time lag between the foundation of the eastern and that of the western wall. The eastern area of Alexandria was for practical reasons the first to need good protection. At the end of the fourth century, any enemy would have tried to approach Alexandria from the east, as Perdikkas did.⁴²

In summary, when Strabo visited Alexandria, he must have seen the Ptolemaic city wall—in whatever condition—where it had been in the late fourth and early third centuries. In the western part of Alexandria he noticed a large burial area, beyond the city wall. In the eastern part of the town, however, the situation was completely different. The course of the city wall did not seem to matter anymore, as people, especially the Jewish population, were living in and among the tombs and graveyards.⁴³ Probably the eastern city wall had been extended during the Ptolemaic period, and the old part of it was just being ignored, by the people, and by Strabo.

In any case, the position of the early eastern (city) wall clearly indicates that, at least during the late fourth and third centuries, the land allotted for exclusively residential purposes, that is, those quarters devoid of any official architecture reflected in Strabo's account and mirrored by archaeological evidence, must have been considerably smaller than alleged. Incidentally, Hoepfner⁴⁴ himself reduced the number of fifty residential quarters displayed on his map to thirty-five, in his own

FIG. 11

The Serapeion seen from the northwest. In the foreground, remains of older building; to the left, parts of the temple of Euergetes I. Photo by D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI, Cairo, neg. F 14700–14701.



comments on it, assuming that the total number of inhabitants ranged somewhere between 75,000 and 100,000. But even these lower figures must be further diminished by roughly twenty percent, for the whole region east of R'2 (see fold-out map) undoubtedly served as a cemetery already by the end of the fourth century.

The construction of the city wall was presumably begun under Kleomenes and only accomplished in the time of Ptolemy I, while the Heptastadion “was carried out either by Kleomenes or Ptolemy Soter.”⁴⁵ The famous lighthouse,⁴⁶ the Pharos, was probably built owing to Ptolemy Soter’s own plan and initiative, or it “was built in the reigns of Soter and of Philadelphos, or in that of the latter alone.”⁴⁷

Ptolemy II in his turn contributed a zoological garden,⁴⁸ and he himself or possibly his predecessor, Ptolemy I Soter, built a small temple for the worship of Serapis in the southwest section of the city on an artificial hill raised over bedrock (fig. 11 and fold-out map). Only a few traces of it can be recognized underneath the later structures.⁴⁹ The location of this shrine in Rhakotis, that is, in the only quarter within Alexandria’s city walls that was apparently being inhabited by native Egyptians before the foundation of Alexandria in 331 B.C., was certainly no random choice. Which place could indeed have been more appropriate for the introduction of a new, artificially composed deity like Serapis, who was, after all, meant to provide the scope for the conceptual and cultural fusion of Egypt’s old and new sovereigns?



FIG. 12
Gold foundation plaque, from the Serapeion. H.: 5.9 cm; L.: 17.3 cm. Ca. 246–221 B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum P 8357. Photo by D. Johannes, DAI, Istanbul.

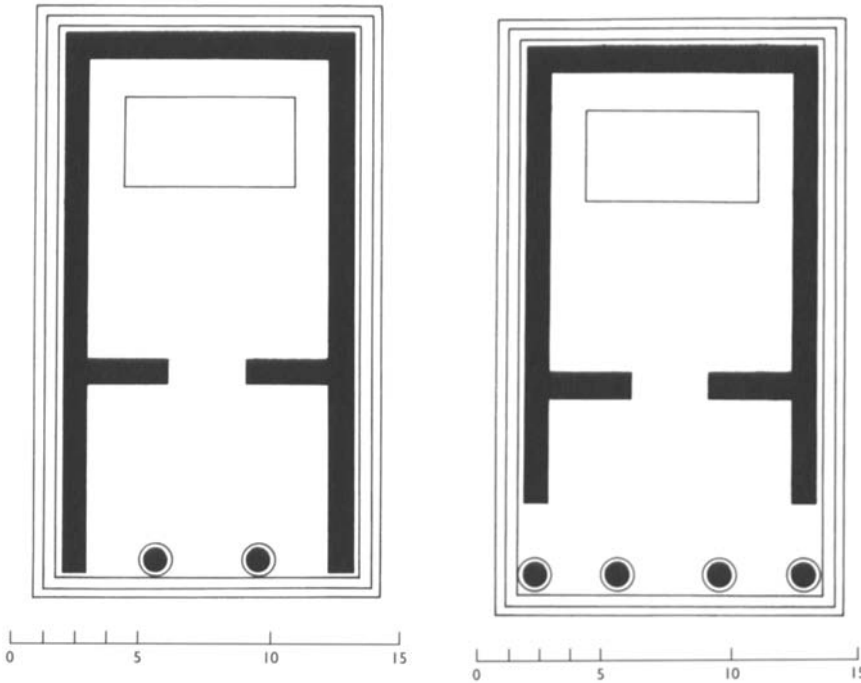


FIG. 13
Temple of Serapis, reconstructed as a *templum in antis*. Drawing by Michael Sabottka.

FIG. 14
Temple of Serapis, reconstructed as a *prostylos tetrastylus*. Drawing by Michael Sabottka.

It is not surprising, then, that Ptolemy III chose precisely the same locality for ancient Alexandria's most celebrated main sanctuary, namely, the Serapeion. But famous though it was, hardly anything of it or of its transformed successor from Roman imperial times has remained. Today, the scanty visible proofs of its former splendor have been reduced to a few overgrown foundation trenches: a view from the northwest may help to illustrate its present condition (see fig. 11).

Fortunately, however, between 1943 and 1945 thirty foundation deposits were unearthed in pits designed as receptacles for this special purpose. They came to light from beneath the southeast and southwest corners of the Ptolemaic enclosure wall and the southeast corner of the temple proper. They contained foundation plaques, small inscribed tablets of glass, faience, and mud brick, and metal sheets of gold, silver, and bronze. Their Greek and hieroglyphic inscriptions certify the dedication of the temple and of a sacred enclosure to the god Serapis by Ptolemy III Euergetes and Arsinoe III (fig. 12).⁵⁰

FIG. 15

Gold foundation plaque, from the sanctuary of Harpokrates. H.: 5.1 cm; L.: 10.9 cm. Ca. 222/221–205/204 B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum P 10035. Photo by D. Johannes, DAI, Istanbul.



Some years ago, Michael Sabottka⁵¹ managed to retrieve the approximate outline of the complex and presented us with more than a vague idea of its original appearance. Using all the data he could possibly extract from the size, position, and arrangement of each single trench, he reconstructed the plan, which consisted of either a *templum in antis* (fig. 13)⁵² or a *prostylos tetrastylus* (fig. 14).⁵³ The relatively small temple can have been no longer than 22 m and no wider than 12 m. To its eastern wall, a small sanctuary of Harpokrates was attached during the reign of Ptolemy IV, “by command of the gods Isis and Serapis,” as again attested on foundation plaques (fig. 15).⁵⁴

Ptolemy IV also instigated the building of the Sema, that is, the mausoleum of Alexander, the founder of the city, and of the Ptolemaic kings.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, however, we have no clue either to its exact location within the Basileia or to its design. I am sorry to add that the same is true of the once widely renowned Mouseion containing a court and an exedra, of the grave of Cleopatra and Mark Antony, and of the so-called Timoneion; in the last case we do at least know of its position (see fold-out map).⁵⁶ It was built by Antony after his defeat at Actium (31 B.C.) and named by him after the legendary misanthropist Timon of Athens, who had, in the time of Perikles, found himself exposed to the same sort of unkindness from his contemporaries that Antony had to go through in his awkward predicament preceding his death. Plutarch, in the *Life of Antony*, tells the story:

And now Antony forsook the city and the society of his friends and built for himself a dwelling in the sea at Pharos by throwing a mole out into the water. Here he lived in exile from men and declared that he was contentedly imitating the life of Timon, since, indeed, his experience had been like Timon’s; for he himself also had been wronged and treated with ingratitude by his friends and therefore hated and distrusted all mankind. . . . He forsook that dwelling of his and the sea, which he called Timoneum.

In the case of the “Caesareum” (“Kaisareion,” “Sebasteion,” “Augusteum”),⁵⁷ with its large-scale parks, porticos, propylaia, and libraries, we do know of its dimensions and of its position near the “Great Harbor” (see fold-out map), thanks to “Cleopatra’s Needles.” For in the year 13/12 B.C. Augustus had these two obelisks removed from Heliopolis to Alexandria, where they were reerected in front of the Caesareum. One of them went to London in 1877; the other, with its important inscriptions, arrived in New York’s Central Park in 1879.⁵⁸ What had most probably been contrived and built for the cult of Caesar and Mark Antony eventually turned out to be the center of Alexandria’s worship of Augustus.⁵⁹

According to Strabo, a quarter or even a third of the whole city was “royal territory,” and this Basileia of roughly 1,600 m in diameter must have presented herself basically as a spacious landscape of parks and pleasure gardens with scattered sanctuaries, palaces, royal buildings, shrines, and profane architecture gradually springing up here and there.⁶⁰

Something like consistent city planning is nowhere manifest. Every Ptolemaic king was obviously free to choose whatever and wherever he wanted to build, and due to the immense proportions of Alexandria’s parks and gardens, building land was amply available. This again is affirmed by Strabo: “And the city has very fine public sanctuaries and ‘The Palaces,’ which form a quarter or even a third of the entire enclosure. For each of the kings added some adornment to the public dedications and also added privately further residential blocks to those already existing.”⁶¹ This is further confirmed by Diodoros: “And not only Alexander but those who after him ruled Egypt down to our own time with few exceptions have enlarged this [i.e., Alexandria] with lavish additions.”⁶²

Some of the projects were not even considered worth finishing, as is possibly demonstrated by a huge building site with many different compounds, abandoned in the early second century B.C., right in the heart of the city (fold-out map: Temple of Poseidon?). Hoepfner, thinking of a new fashion, now suggests “that the unfinished buildings were looked at as a welcome enrichment of the parkland and that the predilection for the inchoate, including unfinished architecture, evolved exactly in this period.”⁶³ This fascinating hypothesis⁶⁴ seems to be supported by a remarkable object from Varapodio (Tresilico) near Reggio di Calabria⁶⁵ (fig. 16), now kept in the National Museum of Reggio. The circular tortoiseshell box lid was allegedly discovered around 1924 in a tomb that was said also to have produced Hellenistic pottery. The top of the lid is decorated with gold- and electrum-leaf inlays forming a landscape similar to those known from Pompeian wall paintings; the side bears a frieze of hovering butterflies. The whereabouts given as its finding place



FIG. 16
Lid of a tobacco box. Nineteenth century. Reconstructed by Ulrike Denis after E. Galli, *Rivista del R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 6 (1937): 37, fig. 7.

had been noted by archaeologists already in 1904 when excavations in the vicinity uncovered several tombs of Hellenistic date, one of them containing⁶⁶ pottery, gold earrings, and a since-famous gold-glass bowl.⁶⁷ According to Michael Pfrommer's investigations, the earrings,⁶⁸ which end in antelopes' heads, were made about 200 B.C., a type linked to the Hellenistic East. This provides us with important clues concerning both the date and the landscape where the gold-glass bowl was manufactured. It could also have helped to assign the tortoiseshell lid to its proper place in time and area of origin. In the meantime, however, it turned out that the object in question came from someone's private property (and not from a tomb), and several colleagues from Italy recognized it for what it, in all probability, really is: the lid of a tobacco box from the nineteenth century.⁶⁹

In summary, the shape of the city, the course of her walls, the system of her streets, and certain important points such as the agora and the position of a few temples were fixed by her founder, Alexander the Great. It was not foreseen in what way the new royal city would unfold and develop.⁷⁰ Detailed, farsighted, or consequential city planning should therefore not be reckoned with, as it apparently did not exist.

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Notes

- 1 The following considerations on the urban development of Alexandria under the Ptolemaic kings represent a partial result of the author's more extensive contributions to the *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Alexandria*, which will be published by the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin. The project was supported in many ways by the Cairo branch of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI Cairo). I wish to express my gratitude to its former director, W. Kaiser, and to his successor, R. Stadelmann. Thanks are due also to my friend Dieter Johannes, photographer at the DAI Cairo until early 1993, who made the negatives of the photographs reproduced in figures 1–7, 9–12, and 15. These, like the complete set of new photography for the above-mentioned dictionary, are preserved in the archive of the Forschungszentrum Griechisch-Römisches Ägypten at University of Trier.
 - 2 P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1972), p. 4; vol. 2, p. 3 n. 9 (hereafter abbreviated "Fraser, 1" and "Fraser, 11"); R. S. Bagnall, "The Data of the Foundation of Alexandria," *American Journal of Ancient History* 4 (1979): 46–49.
 - 3 W. Hoepfner, "Von Alexandria über Pergamon nach Nikopolis: Städtebau und Stadtbilder hellenistischer Zeit," in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Mainz 1990), pp. 275–78.
 - 4 Fraser, 1 (note 2 above), pp. 11–37; Fraser, 111 (note 2 above), pp. 119–20.
 - 5 Fraser, 1 (note 2 above), pp. 8–9; idem, "Alexandria from Mohammed Ali to Gamal Abdal Nasser," in *Alexandrien: Kulturbegegnungen dreier Jahrtausende im Schmelztiegel einer mediterranen Großstadt*, Aegyptiaca Treverensia. Trierer Studien zum griechisch-römischen Ägypten, vol. 1 (Mainz 1981), pp. 63–74.
 - 6 *Mémoire sur l'antique Alexandria, ses faubourgs et environs découverts par les fouilles, sondages, nivellements et autres recherches . . .* (Copenhagen 1872); A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano* C, vol. 1 (Palermo 1966), pp. 55–57, no. 6; vol. 2 (Palermo 1963), pl. 3, fig. 6 and pl. 4, fig. 7 (hereafter abbreviated "Adriani, 1" and "Adriani, 11"); Fraser, 11 (note 2 above), p. 13 n. 31. For both maps of ancient Alexandria, cf. *Mémoire*, pp. 129–30; for Mahmoud Bey's stay in Denmark, see *Mémoire*, p. 131 (addendum, written on September 6, 1872, in Copenhagen). The engineer's scholarly achievements and his map of the Nile metropolis came too late to be taken into account in Napoleon's *Histoire de Jules César*. The second and last volume (*Guerre des Gaules*), which appeared in Paris in 1866, ends with Caesar's crossing the Rubicon in 49 B.C. The remaining period until Caesar's death, and consequently the Alexandrian war of 48/47, could not be taken into consideration by the French emperor, who died in 1873.
- Unfortunately not many copies of Mahmoud Bey's pioneering studies seem to have appeared in print; their accessibility may have been too limited for the public to realize fully the scholarly profile of this learned man, who had been brought up and educated in Paris. Regarding this drawback, his authorization of a German summary of his results, granted in 1872 to Heinrich Kiepert in Berlin, looks all the more important (Mahmoud Bey's map of Alexandria was also made available for Baedeker's *Reiseführer* and its French and English translations; cf. note 7 below): "Zur Topographie des alten Alexandria. Nach Mahmûd Beg's Entdeckungen . . .," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 7 (1872): 337–59, pl. 5. Kiepert's map, reproduced on pl. 5 of his work (on a scale of 1 : 20,000 as opposed to Mahmoud Bey's 1 : 10,000), focuses on the ancient city, leaving its modern state out of account. During a stay in Alexandria (March 1870), Kiepert had the opportunity to acquaint himself with the layout of the town and the problems raised by it. His version of Mahmoud Bey's plan differs from its model in that the columns discovered and the road sections explored by "The Engineer" have been indicated.
- 7 F. Noack, "Neue Untersuchungen in Alexandria," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 25 (1900): 215–79, pls. 9–11. Noack's important investigations were carried out exactly a hundred years after the first creditable inventory of Alexandria's visible ancient remains had been drawn up by a group of most remarkable scholars ("Commission des sciences et des arts"), whom Napoleon the Great had appointed to work in the wake of his army in 1798 and 1799 (for maps of the city resulting from this French survey, cf. Fraser, 1 [note 2 above], pl. 1 [frontispiece], and pl. 2 [following p. 20]; Fraser, 11

[note 2 above], p. 20 n. 34 [cf. p. 13 n. 31 § 1]; cf. also the map on pp. 112–13, in Morsi Saad El-Din et al., *Alexandria: The Site and the History* [New York 1993]). Noack himself was a member of the so-called Sieglin Expedition, a team assembled and sent to Alexandria to clarify certain unsettled topographical questions that had arisen while a new map of the Egyptian metropolis was being drawn in Berlin. The mission was financed by Ernst (von) Sieglin, an industrialist from Stuttgart, on behalf of his brother, Wilhelm Sieglin, who in those days held the chair of geography (as the successor of Heinrich Kiepert [note 6 above]) at University of Berlin. A second campaign in which Noack was supposed to partake, scheduled for the winter of 1899–1900, had to be canceled on account of a plague epidemic in Alexandria. Afterwards Noack was appointed to the chair of classical archaeology at Jena and hence had to discontinue his work for the Sieglin Expedition altogether. W. Sieglin's new map of Alexandria was eventually reproduced in the third edition of Baedeker's popular traveler's guide (*Aegypten: Handbuch für Reisende. Erster Theil: Unter-Aegypten bis zum Fayum und die Sinai-Halbinsel* [Leipzig 1894], following p. 8), replacing the one that had been drawn according to Mahmoud Bey's map of the city in the two earlier editions (see first ed. [Leipzig 1877], following p. 224). Sieglin's map had been published in 1893: Adriani, I (note 6 above), pp. 53–55, nos. 4–5; Adriani, II pl. 2, figs. 4–5. There is another, more extensive map by Sieglin in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria, showing the columns discovered and the road sections explored by Mahmoud Bey, too. E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (Bergamo 1922), fig. 25; Adriani, I (note 6 above), p. 55; M. Rodziewicz, *Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie à la lumière des fouilles Polonaises à Kôm el-Dikka*, Alexandria, vol. 3 (Warsaw 1984), p. 317, pl. 2.

- 8 Fraser, II (note 2 above), pp. 14–16 n. 31.
- 9 Adriani's map showing the area of the "Basilica" with a synopsis of the whereabouts of all itemized discoveries proved particularly relevant: "Saggio di una pianta archeologica di Alessandria," *Annuario del Museo Greco-Romano* 1 (Alexandria 1934): 56–96, nos. 1–121.
- 10 See note 2 above.
- 11 Hoepfner (note 3 above), pp. 275–78, fig. 2; cf. also figs. 1, 3. The plan presented here (fold-out map) generally follows Hoepfner's important re-

construction of Deinokrates' layout of the city, though the unproven course of the city wall was taken over from Mahmoud Bey (note 6 above) and Kiepert (note 6 above). Going back to these two, I have further sketched in the two bridges of the Heptastadion (cf. Strabo 17.1.6; Caesar, *Bellum Alexandrinum* 19) as well as the colonnades extending alongside both main roads ("Canopic Street" and "Palace Street"), which are indicated on Kiepert's map but had indeed, at least partly, been discovered already by Mahmoud Bey (for the Hellenistic period, cf. H. Lauter, *Die Architektur des Hellenismus* [Darmstadt 1986], pp. 80–82). As the colonnade of "Palace Street," according to Kiepert's map, almost came up to the city wall, I have further added several residential quarters in the southeastern region. On the other hand the course of the eastern wall has been altered, thereby reducing the number of residential quarters. Furthermore it appeared useful to sketch in the early necropolis in the eastern and western areas of Alexandria (cf. Fraser, I [note 2 above], map following p. 8) and to mark out the positions of the Alabaster Tomb, the recently found mosaics (see note 35 below), and the house with the stag-hunt mosaic. During the first century B.C.(?) the town expanded considerably toward the east, and "Canopic Street" seems to have been extended correspondingly. An enthusiastic description of these colonnaded main roads is preserved in Achilles Tatius's novel *Clitophon and Leucippe* (5.1) of the later second century A.D. (cf. H. Heinen, "Alexandrien: Weltstadt und Residenz," in *Alexandrien* [note 5 above], pp. 5–6); P. M. Fraser, "Byzantine Alexandria: Decline and Fall," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* (Alexandrian Studies in Memoriam Daoud Abdu Daoud) 45 (1993): 93. Achilles Tatius (Loeb Classical Library), with an English translation by S. Gaselee (London 1917), pp. 237–38: "After a voyage lasting for three days, we arrived at Alexandria. I entered it by the Sun Gate, as it is called, and was instantly struck by the splendid beauty of the city, which filled my eyes with delight. From the Sun Gate to the Moon Gate—these are the guardian divinities of the entrances—led a straight double row of columns, about the middle of which lies the open part of the town, and in it so many streets that walking in them you would fancy yourself abroad while still at home. Going a few hundred yards further, I came to the quarter called after Alexander, where I saw a second town; the splendour of this was cut into squares, for there was a row of columns intersected by another as long at right angles. I tried to cast my eyes down every street, but my gaze was still unsatisfied, and I

- could not grasp all the beauty of the spot at once; some parts I saw, some I was on the point of seeing, some I earnestly desired to see, some I could not pass by; that which I actually saw kept my gaze fixed, while that which I expected to see would drag it on to the next. I explored therefore every street, and at last, my vision unsatisfied, exclaimed in weariness, 'Ah, my eyes, we are beaten.' Two things struck me as especially strange and extraordinary—it was impossible to decide which was the greatest, the size of the place or its beauty, the city itself or its inhabitants; for the former was larger than a continent, the latter outnumbered a whole nation. Looking at the city, I doubted whether any race of men could ever fill it; looking at the inhabitants, I wondered whether any city could ever be found large enough to hold them all. The balance seemed exactly even." Our slightly modified plan (fold-out map) was drawn after Hoepfner's reconstruction by Ulrike Denis, draughtswoman at the Archaeological Institute of Trier University.
- 12 Hoepfner (note 3 above), pp. 275–78, figs. 1, 3. For the problems in connection with the Ptolemaic road system and the city gates, cf. the discussion by Fraser, I (note 2 above), pp. 13–14; Fraser, II (note 2 above), pp. 26–30 nn. 64–69. His rather pessimistic point of view ("and the whole network of streets traced by him [i.e., Mahmoud Bey] is best ignored") is not affirmed by Hoepfner's considerations. Fraser obviously does not put much confidence in the results of Noack's excavations carried out in 1898 and 1899 (see note 7 above), which had principally corroborated Mahmoud Bey's street system. His comment appears rather to be influenced by D. G. Hogarth's opinion expressed in 1895 (D. G. Hogarth and E. F. Benson, "Report on Prospects of Research in Alexandria, with Note on Excavations in Alexandrian Cemeteries," *Egypt Exploration Fund: Archaeological Report* 1894–1895 [London 1895]: p. 17 n. 1). Hogarth had drawn quite an unfavorable picture of Mahmoud Bey's achievement without investigating the matter himself. "I am glad, therefore, that I can avoid basing any of my own work on his. I feel the greatest uncertainty as to his rectangular map of the city." Noack, however, verified the alleged street layout only a few years later by digging down to the bedrock at many points in the royal quarter, where he could clearly see that the Ptolemaic streets ran exactly underneath the medieval and Roman ones mapped out by Mahmoud Bey, albeit on a much deeper level. (For the widths of the Hellenistic streets, cf. Hoepfner [note 3 above], p. 275.) Some caution seems advisable concerning Hogarth's point of view, as is suggested by his prejudging Noack's work even a year before the results were published by the latter; cf. D. G. Hogarth and R. C. Bosanquet, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 19 (1899): 326.
- 13 *Anab.* 3.1.5; Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 3; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 1 n. 3.
- 14 17.52. *Diodorus of Sicily* (Loeb Classical Library), with an English translation by C. Bradford Welles, vol. 8 (London 1963), p. 267; Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 4; Fraser, II (note 2 above), pp. 2–3 n. 6.
- 15 Fraser, I (note 2 above), pp. 4–6.
- 16 Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 4; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 4 n. 11.
- 17 Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 4; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 4 n. 12 and p. 10 n. 24; B. R. Brown, "Deinokrates and Alexandria," *The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 15 (1978): 39–42.
- 18 Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 7; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 10 n. 25.
- 19 *Hist.* 4.83.1; Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 12; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 25 n. 55.
- 20 This conclusion looks likely but not altogether compelling, as the term *moenia* can apply to city walls as well as to any other type of fortification. Taking into account that Caesar (*Bellum civile* 3.112) calls a smaller part of the *regia*, a part connected with the Great Harbor, *arx*, the term *moenia* here might also refer to some minor fortification within the Basileia of Alexandria (I owe this suggestion to my friend and colleague Heinz Heinen, Department of Ancient History at University of Trier).
- 21 *Fr.* 191, lines 9–11; Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 12; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 25 n. 56.
- 22 2.28: *τείχη πύργους ἐνμήκους καὶ μεταρσίους*; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 26 n. 63.
- 23 17.1.8–10; Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 11; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 25 n. 53.
- 24 Mahmoud Bey (note 6 above), pp. 12–18; Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 13; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 26 n. 63.
- 25 For the size and dimensions of Ptolemaic Alexandria, see Fraser, II (note 2 above), pp. 26–27 n. 64.

- 26 E. Breccia, *La necropoli di Sciabbi*, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes, Musée d'Alexandrie, vol. 1 (Cairo 1912), pp. 49–50, nos. 91–92, fig. 36; *ibid.*, vol. 2, pls. 47–48, nos 71–74.
- 27 H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 3 (1934): 315 n. 1 and 348 n. 1. Adriani and also (but more reservedly) Fraser had already expressed their doubts concerning any exclusive early dating into the late fourth century B.C.: Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 32; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 103 n. 240.
- 28 W. D. E. Coulson, "Chatby Reconsidered," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987): 234–36; S. I. Rotroff, in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Mainz 1990), pp. 174, 177–78.
- 29 Fraser, I (note 2 above), pp. 32–33; Fraser, II (note 2 above), pp. 104–5 nn. 249–50.
- 30 Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 8667 (found in 1896; H.: 25 cm); C. Clairmont, "Greek Pottery from the Near East," *Berytus* 11 (1955): 124, no. 232, pl. 28.1a, b; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1963), p. 1455.
- 31 Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 8668 (found in 1899; H.: 16.5 cm; foot restored). Publication permission was granted by Youssef el-Gheriani.
- 32 Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 8669 (found in 1895; H.: 20 cm); Clairmont (note 30 above), p. 123, no. 225, pl. 27.2a, b.
- 33 Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 19462; G. Grimm, "Orient und Okzident in der Kunst Alexandriens," in *Alexandrien* (note 5 above), pp. 19, 20 n. 42, pl. 17a (with further lit.); R. S. Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, exh. cat. (The Brooklyn Museum 1988), p. 226, ad no. 118.
- 34 Adriani, I (note 6 above), pp. 140–43, no. 89, and 230, *s.v.* Nemesion; Adriani, II (note 6 above), pls. 61–63, figs. 211–18; Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 34; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 108 n. 263.
- 35 Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 21643; W. A. Daszewski, *Corpus of Mosaics from Egypt*, vol. 1, *Hellenistic and Early Roman Period*, Aegyptiaca Treverensia. Trierer Studien zum griechisch-römischen Ägypten, vol. 3 (Mainz 1985), pp. 103–10, no. 2, pls. C, 4, 7a, 10, 11, 12b, c. This part of the town had apparently been the site of pompous mansions belonging to leading personalities at the Alexandrian court. Only very recently (1993), while preparing the foundation walls of the new Alexandrian library in Shatby, were two more mosaics of the early second century B.C. discovered near the house with the stag-hunt mosaic (I owe this piece of information to my friend and colleague W. A. Daszewski); see D. Said, *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 94 (1994): 377–80, color illustrations on pp. 487 (A, B) and 489 (C, D).
- 36 17.1.10; Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 13; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 26 n. 61; J. Fedak's remark (*Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age: A Study in Selected Tombs from the Pre-Classical to Early Imperial Era, Phoenix*, Supplementary volume 27 [Toronto 1990], p. 129), "the western necropolis of Gabbari, Wardian, Mafrusa, and Mex came more and more into use from the later second century onward," is of course correct. But this is only half the truth.
- 37 Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 8512 (found between 1890 and 1900; H.: 13.5 cm); C. Watzinger, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 26 (1901): 76–77, no. 21; R. Pagenstecher, *Die Gefäße in Stein und Ton, Knochenschmitzereien*, in *Die griechisch-ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin*, vol. 2, part 3 (Leipzig 1913), p. 18, fig. 24. The following references are due to Michael Pfrommer, whose kind readiness to help I gratefully acknowledge: With the exception of the but slightly differing proportions of neck and body, our West Slope kantharos from Gabbari-Alexandria finds a very close analogy in northern Pontic Olbia (St. Petersburg, Hermitage Ol 4355; T. N. Knipovic, *Sovetskaja archeologija* 11 [1949]: 274, 282, figs. 3, 4). Although the Gabbari vessel is not datable by archaeological contexts at the moment, the clearly established earlier stages of typological development of our type provide a well-founded terminus post quem. For an earlier example with squat and rounded body, see B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery*, vol. 12 of *The Athenian Agora* (Princeton 1970), p. 287, no. 721, pl. 29 (ca. 325–310). Still less advanced than the Alexandrian vessel is a kantharos with rotellae-decorated handles from Kalymnos, now in Brussels, Musées Royaux A 1717; G. Kopcke, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 79 (1964), p. 53, Beilage no. 44.6; M. Pfrommer, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und groß-*

- griechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit*, *Archäologische Forschungen* 16 (Berlin 1987), p. 176 n. 1245 (first half of third century). Our kantharos is not only far more slender and its body deeper, it is already decorated with typical West Slope motifs (concentrical rectangles and checkerboard pattern). For the rise of these motifs among Attic parallels, see Thompson (note 27 above), p. 349, no. C 11, fig. 30. If we balance the evidence, it is hardly possible that our kantharos predates the middle of the third century.
- 38 Originalsammlung der Universität Heidelberg H 20; Watzinger (note 37 above), p. 77 n. 1; Pagenstecher (note 37 above), p. 18, fig. 25 left; R. Hampe and H. Gropengießer, *Aus der Sammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität Heidelberg* (Mainz 1967), pp. 79, 112, pl. 33 (the photograph was kindly provided by T. Hölscher).
- 39 Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 21541 (found in 1923; H.: 44 cm); E. Breccia, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain 1925-1931* (Bergamo 1932): 34-35, pl. 24, figs. 89, 90; G. Andreassi, in *Studies in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall* (Sydney 1979), p. 28 n. 33. T. Dohrn, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 92 (1985): 98, 100, 104 ("B.C. 310/305-275"). The amphora was discovered in the easternmost area of the western necropolis, a region near the outlet of the canal into the Mediterranean (rue des Soeurs), which was partly built over by constructions of the "Société de Pressage et de Dépôts." The cinerary urn was found intact in a burial niche and broke only while being "rescued." Other niches in the same tomb contained three broken vases of the Hadra type. A black-slip hydria "avec des décorations en couleur blanche superposée, les anses . . . travaillées comme des cordes, pourvues de masques plastiques au point d'attache sur l'épaule" was acquired in 1923 by a certain Mr. Mills, then director of the company mentioned before; it has been missing ever since.
- According to the inventory of the museum, these finds were made in May 1923. This statement is also supported by the order of inventory numbers; Breccia's erroneous reference to the year 1930 as the date of the discovery should therefore be deleted.
- 40 Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 27811 (found in February 1965 by Dr. Henri Riad; H.: 39 cm; minor restorations). Permission to publish it has been granted by H. Riad.
- 41 New evidence on "plaquette" vases and their chronology is promised by the forthcoming dissertation of Martha Aeissen (Bonn). For provisional orientation, see G. Grimm, in *Götter, Pharaonen*, exh. cat. (Essen, Munich, Rotterdam, and Hildesheim 1978-1979), no. 107 with ill. and no. 109 with ill.; Andreassi (note 39 above), pp. 21-29, pls. 5-6; K. Parlasca, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 79 (1984): 453 n. 3; Dohrn (note 39 above), pp. 77-106, pls. 62-75; K. Parlasca, in A. Cambitoglou and E. G. D. Robinson, eds., *Classical Art in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney* (Mainz 1995), pp. 199-201, pls. 62-64.
- 42 Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 31 n. 79.
- 43 Fraser, I (note 2 above), pp. 31-32; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 102 n. 236.
- 44 Hoepfner (note 3 above), pp. 276-78.
- 45 Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 21; Fraser, II (note 2 above), pp. 56-57 nn. 129-32.
- 46 Fraser, I (note 2 above), pp. 17-20; Fraser, II (note 2 above), pp. 42-54 nn. 94-124.
- 47 Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 36.
- 48 Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 15; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 30 n. 76.
- 49 G. Grimm, "Zum Ptolemäeraltar aus dem alexandrinischen Sarapeion," in *Alessandria e il mondo hellenistico-romano: Studi in onore di Achille Adriani*, vol. 1 (Rome 1983), pp. 70-73, pl. 8; Daszewski (note 35 above), p. 114, no. 8, pl. 16; M. Sabottka, "Das Serapeum in Alexandria: Untersuchungen zur Architektur und Baugeschichte des Heiligtums von der frühen ptolemäischen Zeit bis zur Zerstörung 391 n. Chr.," vol. 1 (diss., Technische Universität, Berlin 1985), pp. 30-55; *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 58-70 nn. 1-87; *ibid.*, vol. 3, figs. 4-7; *ibid.*, vol. 4, pls. 8-19. An earlier dating of the first building into the reign of Ptolemy I is suggested by Sabottka's observation that its axis deviates 4 to 5 degrees from the regular orientation of the Ptolemaic road network (vol. 1, pp. 30, 53-55), whereas the later temple of Serapis erected by Euergetes aligns exactly with the street layout. A probable reason for this deviation could lie in the possibility that in the earliest stage of Alexandria's urban development the road network had not yet been expansive enough to cover the southwestern quarters of the town. For the location of the temple in the quarter of Rhakotis, see Fraser, I (note 2

- above), pp. 5–6; Fraser, II (note 2 above), pp. 6–9 nn. 15–20 and 22.
- 50 Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum P 8357; Grimm (note 41 above), no. 92 with ill.
- 51 The important still-unpublished results achieved by M. Sabottka (note 49 above) have certainly cleared and changed our picture of the Serapis sanctuary in Alexandria (cf. the recent discussion by P. Pensabene, “Elementi architettonici di Alessandria e di altri siti Egiziani,” in *Repertorio d’Arte dell’Egitto Greco-Romano*, serie C, vol. 3 [Rome 1993], pp. 195–203, based on a level of knowledge prior to Sabottka’s research).
- 52 Sabottka, I (note 49 above), pp. 166–67; Sabottka, III (note 49 above), figs. 31a–c and 33b.
- 53 Sabottka, I (note 49 above), pp. 167–68; Sabottka, III (note 49 above), figs. 31d, 32a, b, 33a.
- 54 Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum P 10035; Grimm (note 41 above), no. 93 with ill.
- 55 Fraser, I (note 2 above), pp. 15–17; Fraser, II (note 2 above), pp. 30–42 nn. 77–92.
- 56 Mouseion: Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 15; Fraser, II (note 2 above), pp. 30–31 n. 77. Grave of Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony: Fraser, II (note 2 above), pp. 33–34 n. 81; Timoneion: Plutarch *Life of Antony* 69 and 71 (Loeb Classical Library), with an English translation by Bernadotte Perrin, vol. 9 (London 1920), pp. 297, 301; Adriani, I (note 6 above), p. 255; Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 24; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 66 n. 153; G. Alföldy, *Der Obelisk auf dem Petersplatz in Rom: Ein historisches Monument der Antike*, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, no. 2 (Heidelberg 1990), p. 46.
- 57 Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 24; Fraser, II (note 2 above), pp. 68–70 nn. 155–63; cf. also K. Tuchelt, “Zum Problem ‘Kaisareion-Sebasteion’.” Eine Frage zu den Anfängen des römischen Kaiserkultes,” *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 31 (1981): 167–86. In 1874 massive foundation blocks of both limestone and sandstone (measuring 3.50 m and 2.50 m across, respectively) were discovered immediately south of “Cleopatra’s Needles.” These blocks had doubtlessly supported the largest part of the “Caesareum” at one time; cf. T. Néroutsos, *L’ancienne Alexandrie: Étude archéologique et topographique* (Paris 1888), pp. 10ff., map following p. 132. This allows us to approximate the dimensions of the “Caesareum,” which must have taken up almost a complete *insula*, thus hardly leaving enough room for the sundial in the Forum Iulium (Forum Augusti, Sebaste Agora). Geza Alföldy (note 56 above), pp. 38–49, figs. 11, 12, has suggested locating it in this area, which in no way detracts from his brilliant deduction that the so-called Obelisk of Gallus on the Piazza di San Pietro in Rome is very likely once to have formed part of a sundial that Cleopatra VII erected in Alexandria and that served as model for Augustus’s sundial on the Campus Martius (Alföldy, pp. 55–67).
- 58 E. Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile*, vol. 2, *The Obelisks of Istanbul and England* (Copenhagen 1972), pp. 90ff.; L. Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt: Skyscrapers of the Past* (New York 1977), pp. 176–82, figs. 47–50; Alföldy (note 56 above), p. 43 n. 78 and p. 52 n. 100 (with further lit.).
- 59 Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 24; Fraser, II (note 2 above), pp. 68–70 nn. 155–63; H. Heinen, “Die Anfänge des römischen Kaiserkultes,” in H. Temporini, ed., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 18,5 (Berlin 1995), pp. 3152–55.
- 60 See note 61 below. Hoepfner’s statement (note 3 above, p. 277) that a quarter or a fifth of the city had been “royal territory” is certainly applicable to the situation neither before Strabo’s visit nor in his day and rather more likely to be true for the Imperial age only.
- 61 17.1.8; Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 14; Fraser, II (note 2 above), p. 30 n. 70.
- 62 17.52; Bradford Welles (note 14 above), p. 269.
- 63 Hoepfner (note 3 above), p. 277.
- 64 For the same phenomenon in more recent times, see R. Zimmermann, *Künstliche Ruinen: Studien zu ihrer Bedeutung und Form* (Wiesbaden 1989).
- 65 E. Galli, “Riflessi di pittura alessandrina in Calabria,” *Rivista del R. Istituto d’Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte* 6 (1937): 32ff., figs. 7, 8, 9, 11 and pl. 1 (color reconstruction); D. B. Harden, *Journal of Glass Studies* 10 (1968): 33.
- 66 Harden (note 65 above), pp. 32–33, nos. a–j (with further lit.); M. Pfrommer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie früh- und hochhellenistischen Goldschmucks*, *Istanbuler Forschungen*

- 37 (Tübingen 1990), p. 237, ad no. FK 63 (with further lit.).
- 67 Harden (note 65 above), pp. 32–33, no. 4, figs. 31–32 (with further lit.); Pfrommer (note 66 above), p. 237 n. 1801 (with further lit.). See also U. Hausmann, *Griechische Weihreliefs* (Berlin 1960), pp. 81–82, fig. 51 (probably Alexandrian, first half second century B.C.).
- 68 Galli (note 65 above), fig. 10; Pfrommer (note 66 above), p. 169 (OR 22), p. 237, no. FK 63, pls. 30, 45. Area of origin and distribution of the antelope-head earrings: Pfrommer, pp. 171–72, fig. 31.
- 69 Information kindly provided by Dr. Elena Lattanzi (Soprintendenza archeologica della Calabria, Reggio C.).
- 70 Fraser, I (note 2 above), p. 36; Hoepfner (note 3 above), p. 277.

Cults in Hellenistic Alexandria

Lilly Kabil

Alexandria is the first Greek town to become the base of a Greek monarchy in Egypt. Her double character as a traditional city and the capital of a kingdom gives her a special character, that of a town in which the power no longer comes from the citizens and that must invent a new relationship with the population, based on authority but also on care for this population. The native monarchy remained isolated, and international dynastic prestige was reserved for Greeks and Macedonians. The court, the festivals, and the monuments were the instruments of the delicate balance between Egyptians, on the one hand, and Greeks and Macedonians, on the other, realized under Ptolemy II, which made Alexandria the center of a new world (see Strabo 17.1.6–12, which gives a very detailed description of the town as it was about 25 B.C.). We have no time to dwell on this fascinating text, which describes the district of the palaces, the Basileia with the royal gardens, the Mouseion, the Library, and the Sema, which Ptolemy IV considered the grave of Alexander the Great, and which was also the grave of the first Ptolemies.

What was most remarkable was the Serapeion, the sanctuary that became the biggest of the town. It was in the new town, Neapolis, where the agora, the tribunals, the theater, the boule, and maybe the gymnasium had been erected. But it lacked an important divinity, which was unusual since it was not far from the civic center, and most Greek cities had sanctuaries in such an area. The vast sanctuary of Serapis was built much further south, on a hill overlooking the district that kept the ancient Egyptian name, Rhakotis. Some scholars think that the Serapeion was perpetuating an older, local cult. But this is not proved. The form of this sanctuary and the cult of Serapis, as well as the place where the temple was built, could merely indicate the will of the first Ptolemies to underline a symbolic continuity with Egyptian heritage.

Paradoxically, very little is known about the Egyptians in Alexandria during the third century. On the other hand we know much about the Celtic mercenaries because of their many tombs in the third and second centuries in Alexandria. This is also the case of the Jews, who perhaps were established by Alexander the Great himself but in any



FIG. 1
Statue of Serapis, from the
Faiyum. Sycamore wood. Roman
period. Alexandria, Graeco-
Roman Museum.

case constituted an important community from the time of Ptolemy VI and were grouped in one district at the end of the Ptolemaic era.

I will not speak of the Egyptian religion and its relationship with the pharaohs. It is very difficult to try to summarize the significance of the cults in Hellenistic Egypt. The leitmotif of the Egyptian religion is in fact the passage from life to death and the question of what happens in the other world. It is not everyday life that concerns Egypt but the uncertainty of what happens after death. For the Egyptians it seems to be the same life but in another form, more spiritualized. Mummification, the building of the tombs, the decoration of the tombs with statues, reliefs, stelae, and gifts—from a simple pot to the most beautiful gold—and the cult offerings in the tombs and temples all suggest that after physical death there is a continuation of life.

Through art, we have in some way a description of the future, of an eternal, more beautiful existence. Egyptian religion deals with the same problem as all religions: what is the contact between man and god. The gods have their plans, and man answers gods with prayers and offerings. But in Egyptian religion, not every man is allowed into the vicinity of the god, but only the king, the pharaoh, and his priest. This attitude is

certainly one that lasted many thousands of years. During the period that interests us—the Hellenistic period of the Ptolemies—the new leaders, Greeks who now ruled the land of the Nile and were living in the most beautiful city, Alexandria, tried to understand the power of God and his omnipresence. They also tried to find a form that suited Egyptians as well as Greeks. They did it with success, and they found a name, Serapis, the new artistic creation of the new pharaoh, Ptolemy I Soter. The creation was a brilliant idea that tried to unify the ethnic, cultural, and social differences between the old and the new leaders of Egypt.

We know that for hundreds of years, Greeks and Egyptians had been in contact and that they already had the same beliefs about some deities. With the foundation in about 620 B.C. of Naukratis, a Greek colony that became extremely prosperous, and even before that time, contacts were maintained. It is enough to read Herodotos (middle of the fifth century) to see how close the parallels were between some Egyptian and some Greek gods.

Serapis is the hellenized form of Osor-Hapi, whose cult was established in Memphis in the late period and who was in fact the bull Apis (see Riad fig. 1 above), who, after his death, became an Osiris, as did all who died. This god, who at first was little known except in Memphis, was represented as a hybrid, with the body of a mummified man and a bull's head, carrying the solar disk between his horns. But the god who appeared to Ptolemy had the aspect of an old, imposing man with a beard (fig. 1), holding a scepter, with the dog Kerberos seated at his side. This image, which would be the iconography of Serapis for the coming centuries, has nothing to do with the old Egyptian iconography.

Yet Serapis presented aspects that linked him to his Egyptian past. He is a god of the dead, a sort of double of Osiris, and like him, a god of fertility: he wears a *modius* on his head (see Riad fig. 3 above). But he is also a healing god, and this is a new element, for the Egyptians had no gods with such a specialty. Serapis became closely linked to the royal couple of the Ptolemies and their wives in all sorts of prayers.

The great Temple of Serapis in Alexandria, with its precious foundation deposits laid by the first Ptolemies, attests, especially after Ptolemy III (246–221), to official intervention of royal power during the construction of the temple. The archaeological exploration on this site has been very difficult: The site has been altered many times, and it has been disturbed.

In fact, many sources tend to identify Serapis with Hades, the Greek god of the dead, and the advisors of the king persuaded him that Hades-Pluto was the Greek name for the Egyptian name Serapis.

From the description by Rufinus of Aquileia we can get an idea of the splendor of the Serapeion, its immense esplanade surrounded by walls, with exedras, rooms for priests, and taller buildings where the

guardians and priests lived together. In the center of this vast ensemble the temple rose with ornate columns and an exterior built of marble. The Serapeion's glory was immense, and its destruction by the Christians in A.D. 392 was felt in all Egypt as a scandal and a cause for mourning.

During the first century B.C. there was no conflict between the different cults that coexisted in Alexandria. It has been thought that the cult of Serapis, so much favored by the Ptolemies, had one objective—to unify the different elements of the populations living in Egypt. But this is only a guess. In the third century B.C. the Greeks played a major role in society and had privileges. Intermarriage was forbidden in Naukratis and probably also in Alexandria. The kings wanted to preserve a privileged position for the Greeks, and so it is improbable that they would have tried to achieve religious integration, which they refused elsewhere. The cult of Serapis concerned the royal court, the Greek population of Alexandria, except in Memphis, where the cult was assimilated to the cult of Apis. One should consider Serapis not as a god unifying different populations but as the god of Alexandria, as the god of a *polis* that patronized the new dynasty of the Ptolemies and its power.

Memphis is more interesting than Alexandria from the point of view of the integration of Greeks and Egyptians. In Memphis during the second century B.C., Greeks and Egyptians were both serving the god whose official name was Serapis but also Apis (he was worshiped in the shape of a bull living in a sacred precinct). There, in Memphis, the integration was a fact, and the believers recognized their god in his different shapes. Third-century Alexandria, with its culture and religion, was above all a Greek town. But some of the Egyptian gods there were already well known to the Greeks and belonged also to their universe: Athena was Neith, Aphrodite was Hathor, and so forth. And it was in Alexandria that traditional religion combined with Greek artistic techniques and modes of expression, giving the Egyptian gods a different and often more complex image. This supposes not only work from the artists who combined Greek and Egyptian elements but also mental, philosophical, and sometimes theological reflection, as we can see in Plutarch, for instance. In fact, we cannot speak of a mixed Graeco-Egyptian religion or civilization but of mutual influences, particularly in the cult of Serapis, who became universally known, with his very Greek image as Hades or Plouton. Like him, Isis was also represented, but more often under a hellenized aspect, invented in Alexandria, and not under her traditional, Egyptian aspect.

Nevertheless, an important Jewish community in Alexandria was also influenced by the Greeks, but there were conflicts between Greeks and Jews starting in the third century, not only for religious reasons, but for administrative or fiscal ones. However, the extension of Christianity in the third and fourth centuries was also one of the causes;



FIG. 2
Head of Alexander the Great.
Granite. First century B.C.
Alexandria, Graeco-Roman
Museum 3242.

the conflicts became more and more violent, and Egyptian religion itself would vanish.

This is not the place to go into greater detail about the different elements that constituted Alexandrian religion. Let us remember only that many Greek divinities were worshiped but that Isis and Serapis played the major role: The Ptolemies had adopted them, and the rulers were both pharaohs and kings. We must also not forget the importance of the festivals attached to a number of these cults. In a pamphlet written probably under the emperor Trajan, Dion of Prusa reproached the Alexandrians for passing their time with what he called “trivial entertainments,” such as dancing, music, and horse racing. He compared them to maenads and satyrs, their life being just a komos, and not an agreeable one but a savage one: people dancing, singing, and pouring blood. Yet under the first Ptolemies, the artistic performances were not comparable to those mentioned by Dion of Prusa.

A few of these festivals must be mentioned, especially the great procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. It was described at the end of the first century B.C. by Kallixeinos of Rhodes and mentioned by Athenaios of Naukratis, a later Egyptian writer from the third century A.D. who was recalling the former splendor of his now-ruined country. In fact this festival was probably the Ptolemaia, celebrated first in honor of Ptolemy I Soter, between 279/278 and 271/270 B.C., a celebration considered equal to the Olympic Games in Greece. Three dates are given, the inauguration 279/278, the Penteteris of 271/270, and also 275/274.

These dates are not important in themselves. What is important is that the celebration commemorated the admission of Ptolemy into Olympus, where he joined Alexander the Great. Therefore, the Dionysiac part of the festival occupied the primary place, for the god Dionysos was

considered to be an ancestor of the dynasty. In the second century B.C. Satyros had written a treatise assuming that through his mother, Arsinoe, Ptolemy I was a descendant of Borkos, the brother of the king of Macedonia, Alexander the Philhellene, descendant himself, like Philip and Alexander, from Temenos, son of Hyllos, son of Herakles and Deianeira, herself the daughter of Dionysos. This complicated genealogy partially explains how the great procession was organized: in the Dionysiac procession there were statues of kings, namely the historic or mythical ancestors of Alexander the Great (fig. 2) and Ptolemy I.

The Ptolemaia was not easy to organize. Many representatives of Greek states were invited, as were artists. Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 5.194–95 is particularly interesting on this point. In it we learn that soldiers, artists, and foreign delegations were sheltered under tents, the most beautiful of these being that of the official banquet. The procession began with the section dedicated to the parents of the kings, followed by the procession of “all the gods,” and finally that of the evening star. A great number of animals were sacrificed, and on another day there was certainly a military parade of infantry and horsemen.

Dionysos appeared first as the founder of the dynasty but also as the god who presided over all dramatic contests, where actors, poets, musicians, and singers were competing. A number of persons were disguised as satyrs and silenoi, and the statue of the god was carried on a chariot with four wheels: around it were all the cult officers, the priests, the priestesses, the thiasoi, the new initiates, all sorts of maenads (Macedonian, Thracian, and Lydian). They were all crowned with wreaths of serpents and held serpents and daggers in their hands. This was the beginning of the secret procession, which ended with the apparition of two *emblemata*: a gilded thyrsos 135 feet long, and a phallos, also gilded, 180 feet long, on top of which was a star. Mythological scenes illustrated the gods’ aspects; a mechanical figure dressed as Nysa, the god’s nurse, stood in her seat, poured a libation, and sat down again. Other chariots carried additional mythological scenes: the cave where Dionysos as an infant had been nursed by Hermes and the nymphs, and the altar of Rhea where Dionysos and Priapos had found refuge from Hera.

Some chariots glorified Dionysos as the god of wine. One carried an immense winepress, where a chorus of fifty satyrs with flute players pressed wine grapes while singing; a silenoi was watching them. Another chariot carried a gigantic skin (this time not a goatskin but a pantherskin) from which wine dripped; 120 satyrs and silenoi filled gold vases from it. On a third chariot a huge, beautifully decorated krater of silver was carried. In this procession old and young men carried precious objects from the pharaoh’s storeroom: the objects were meant not only to honor the god but also to prompt admiration from the crowd. A chorus of six hundred singers and three hundred musicians playing kitharas

accompanied the procession, wine was distributed, and from the cave of the nymphs pigeons and other birds were released. Those who had the privilege of being seated in the stadium could drink sweet wine served by young men.

This procession to Dionysos was preceded by Victories with gilded wings who held thymiateria with gilded leaves. Then came allegories of the year and the seasons, and in the procession in honor of Dionysos a *pompe* depicted the triumphal return of the god from India. A chariot with four wheels bore the figure of the victorious god sitting on the back of an elephant. His army followed: five hundred young girls; 120 satyrs; five squadrons of asses mounted by sileni; elephants; chariots drawn by horses, by camels, and by all sorts of other animals from the forest and desert. Some later sarcophagi show us this imagery.

Then came the prisoners and the booty; women in chariots; camels; Ethiopians carrying gold, ebony, and elephant tusks; followed by the hunters with their dogs, the bird-catchers with cages full of birds, and finally, exotic animals.

The last chariot in the procession carried the religious and political message: the statues of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II with crowns of ivy on their heads. Near Ptolemy I were figures of Arete and Corinth and a procession of women depicting the cities that Ptolemy had liberated during the time of Alexander the Great and had kept independent. Thus, the Macedonian dynasty of Egypt was proclaiming its philhellenism. Other gods followed: Zeus was first, and Alexander closed the procession on a chariot drawn by elephants; at his side were Athena and Nike. This is only a short resume of Athenaeus's text, which is very long, and it is strange that we never find any mention of Herakles.

I will not elaborate on another festival, that of Demeter, the Thesmophoria, in which Demeter is assimilated to Isis. But I will deal briefly with the festival in honor of the cult of Adonis, which was firmly rooted in Alexandria, coming from nearby countries, such as Phoenicia and Cyprus. The best description of this feast is a poem by Theokritos, *Idylls* 15 (278–270 B.C.). It evokes an annual celebration of the cult of Adonis organized inside the palace walls by Queen Arsinoe II. There was perhaps not only a religious festival organized by the queen but also a military parade organized by the king. The queen gave this feast to thank Aphrodite for having deified Queen Berenike, the wife of Ptolemy I Soter, and Adonis, the divine spouse of Aphrodite, who was protectress of both Berenike and Arsinoe II. This festival had a different sense than the usual one; it was not celebrating a myth concerning immortality.

Theokritos's *Idylls* is a short, comic piece of verse in which two young girls from Syracuse are visiting the palace on the first day of the festival to Adonis; it tells us nothing about the gardens of Adonis.

One of the young girls is called Praxinoa; with her friend Gorgo and two servants she goes to the palace and meets many soldiers. The husbands of the two girls do not play any great role; one of them is only hungry and awaits his lunch. As usual during a feast in honor of Adonis, the women had a certain liberty and could visit the palace. Inside, in the entry room, pictures illustrated episodes in the legend of Adonis. A statue of the god depicted him lying on a bed of silver. A female singer from Argos sang in honor of Adonis, describing the klismos on which the god was lying, under a green bower where little erotes were flying from one branch to another. On the ends of the klismos were representations of the eagle carrying off Ganymede, also an apotheosis. All around were all sorts of offerings: fruits, flowers, alabaster with Syrian perfumes, and sweets. Naturally, there was much singing. The songs must have had a religious meaning and announced the ceremony of the second day.

As these examples show, the cults of the Ptolemies were sumptuous. The court wanted the Graeco-Roman population of Alexandria and the Egyptians to share in the cult activity. The exercise of the power to establish a cult seems to be a sign of divine nature. This process started in Greece in the fourth century, and especially in Macedonia. As soon as Alexander died, Ptolemy, the first satrap of Egypt, diverted this body from Macedonia to Alexandria. He built a magnificent tomb, the Sema, for Alexander and instituted a cult in his honor as founder of the city (we do not know if the Sema is preserved or where it lies). In about 280, Ptolemy II deified his parents, Ptolemy I and Berenike. He then instituted his own cult, associated with the cult of his wife, Arsinoe II, who died in 270. They were then called "the gods' brother and sister" (fig. 3).

This dynastic cult would continue to associate the living king with his deceased ancestors. It would be a cult celebrated in the Greek way, by priests and priestesses of Greek origin. The traditional ritual of Greek religion was preserved, with sacrifices, victims, and libations. One could suppose that this ideology came from the traditions in Egypt, in which the pharaoh was son and successor of the gods. Here the Greek ideal of *arete* (virtue) revealed the divine nature of the ruler, who was the embodiment of justice, generosity, military courage, and so on. The thunderbolt of Zeus and the cornucopia, symbol of prosperity, frequently appear on the coins. Perhaps it is this royal cult that was the real instrument of unification for a population of very different origins. The royal cult therefore had two levels: one Greek, especially in Alexandria, and one Egyptian in other sanctuaries of the country, and yet they do not contradict each other.

We have already spoken of Serapis and the role he played. But other Egyptian gods were as important, especially Isis (fig. 4), who had several temples in Alexandria, one at Cape Lochias, another on the



FIG. 3
Octadrachm with double portraits of Ptolemy I and Berenike I (obverse), Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II (reverse). Third century B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 25018.

FIG. 4
 Statue of Isis, from Ras el-Soda
 (Alexandria). Marble. Ca. A.D.
 140–150. Alexandria, Graeco-
 Roman Museum 25783.



island of Pharos. She was the protectress of mariners and of navigation. Her cult was extremely important in Alexandria already in the time of Alexander the Great. Arrian mentions that Alexander the Great erected a temple in honor of Isis the Egyptian. In the Hellenistic period Isis was certainly one of the most popular divinities of Egypt, a universal goddess. Before the foundation of Alexandria she already had a temple in Piraeus. She was identified by the Greeks with Demeter, and her image was mostly anthropomorphic. But she was also often identified with Aphrodite. It was during the Ptolemaic period in Alexandria that the Egyptian gods often got a new look. The Isis from Alexandria wore a dress of Egyptian origin but in a Greek fashion. She had no wig, her hair was floating or curled. She could be completely nude and reminds us then of an orientalizing Aphrodite. Her attributes, the *sistrion*, the discus, and the situla, were borrowed from an Egyptian repertoire but corresponded now to a Greek symbolism.



FIG. 5
Statue of Euthenia. Marble.
Ca. A.D. 160-180. Alexandria,
Graeco-Roman Museum 24124.

We could say the same of the Nile, which was now depicted in the Graeco-Roman tradition, no longer the Egyptian, and of Euthenia (fig. 5), who depicted abundance and fertility. The Egyptians in Alexandria quickly got used to the new look of their old gods, but in the country it took much longer, and it was only under the Romans that these images were spread widely, probably because of the coinage.

Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae

PARIS

Body and Machine: Interactions between Medicine, Mechanics, and Philosophy in Early Alexandria

Heinrich von Staden

At different historical moments of exceptional cultural efflorescence, science plays strikingly divergent roles. Theoretically inclined, original “research” scientists represent a more conspicuous strand in the intellectual texture of early Alexandria than, for example, of Periklean Athens or of Augustan Rome (despite the brilliant technological, architectural, and general cultural virtuosity of Athens and Rome). Scientists were, of course, active in many Greek cities throughout the Hellenistic epoch, including Syracuse, Athens, Rhodes, Kos, Pergamon, Smyrna, Ephesos, Laodicea-ad-Lycum, and Antioch,¹ but a thick texture of scientific activity is a particularly distinctive feature of Alexandrian culture in the third century B.C. How many other ancient Greek cities could, within a single century, count Euclid,² Aristarchos of Samos,³ Archimedes of Syracuse,⁴ Konon of Samos, Dositheos, Eratosthenes of Cyrene,⁵ and Apollonios of Perge⁶ among its resident (or closely associated) mathematical scientists? And how many cities could, simultaneously, claim brilliant mechanicians such as Ktesibios,⁷ his pupil Philon of Byzantium,⁸ and Dionysos of Alexandria⁹ among its technological innovators, not to mention, among its physicians, both Herophilos (the first person to conduct systematic scientific dissections of human cadavers)¹⁰ and the founders of the influential Empiricist “school”?¹¹

Collectively, these and other figures make for an exceptional century of scientific activity within a single city. Not only is the number of innovative scientists in Alexandria noteworthy, however, but so are the interactions between different branches of science and the heterogeneity of rival points of view advocated by Greek scientists associated with the city. It is in these contexts, too, that one should locate two new, fundamentally divergent, rival scientific models of the human body developed in the third century B.C. by the Greek pioneers of systematic human dissection.

The exceptional constellation of factors that, for the first and last time in antiquity, permitted systematic scientific human dissection—and systematic vivisectionary experimentation on condemned criminals¹²—in the early third century B.C. needs no renewed rehearsal here (see note

10 above). But it should perhaps be underscored again that any mono-causal explanatory hypothesis is likely to be inadequate. Instead, on our horizon of explanation we have to accommodate a variety of interactive factors, including the thick texture of scientific activity in Alexandria; the attested royal support of this activity; the cultural ambitions of early Hellenistic rulers; the relation of culture to political power; the Ptolemies' own violations of Greek taboos; an intellectual environment in which bold, erudite experimentation coexisted with conservative tradition; the impressive example of Aristotle's scientifically productive dissections and vivisections of animals (never of humans) in the previous century; the philosophical secularization of the corpse by Aristotle and the Stoics (the latter classified it among the *ἀδιάφορα*, that is, things that are morally "indifferent"); and the possibility of expropriating the age-old Egyptian practice of mummification as a "legitimizing" precedent and as proof that a cadaver may be opened with impunity (although no respectable historian of science has confused *religious* mummification with *systematic scientific* dissection; the motivations, methods, contexts, aims, and results of these two kinds of activity were quite different). Out of the systematic human dissections made possible by these and perhaps by other interactive factors arose two rival models of the body articulated most clearly by Herophilos and Erasistratos. I turn first to Herophilos, then to Erasistratos.

Herophilos

To the vast new world opened up by the founder of their city, Alexandrians in various domains responded with extremes of cultural smallness and bigness, on the one hand exploring and creating the miniature, on the other hand embracing the gigantism that became a conspicuous feature of Hellenistic siege technology, of sculpture, of architecture, of shipbuilding, of ostentatious victory games, of religious processions, and so on. The Kallimachean poetics of smallness, the miniaturization of mechanical technology by Ktesibios and others, and miniaturization in the decorative arts all belong to the "culture of smallness." So does a noteworthy feature of Herophilos's model of the body—what one might call his "miniaturization of anatomy."

Herophilos was not satisfied with describing only larger bones, organs, vessels, and muscles; rather, he carefully differentiated among human parts barely distinguishable by the naked eye, and in the process he created a new nomenclature for the body—a detailed new language of the body that extensively deploys vivid metaphors drawn from Alexandrian artifactual culture, such as the Pharos.¹³ Through his repeated, meticulous dissections Herophilos not only discovered the existence of nerves but also accurately described the paths of at least seven pairs of cranial nerves and recognized the difference between motor

and sensory nerves. He distinguished between the ventricles of the brain, and he carefully differentiated between four membranes of the eye, bestowing upon subsequent nomenclature the terms *cornea* and *retina*.¹⁴ He also discovered the heart valves, the systematic anatomical distinction between arteries and veins, and numerous other smaller features of the vascular system.

The miniaturization of anatomy was, of course, not Herophilos's only anatomical accomplishment. He also offered the first accurate description of the human liver, conducted the first investigation of the pancreas, and provided a descriptive and functional anatomy of the reproductive parts that was not improved upon for centuries.¹⁵ Furthermore, he demystified the womb by discovering the ovaries and the Fallopian tubes, by establishing the anatomical impossibility of a wandering womb that causes hysterical suffocation, and by abandoning the traditional idea—later revived by the influential Galen—of a bicameral uterus (with a cold left chamber for the gestation of the female fetus and a hot right chamber for the gestation of the male).¹⁶ But many of his greatest advances lay precisely in the exploration of minute parts unknown to—or poorly recognized by—the Hippocratics, Aristotle, Diokles, Praxagoras, and other precursors.

A second conspicuous feature of Herophilos's version of the body is that it is a “dynamic” model that deploys, inter alia, principles that display affinities with theories of magnetism. In the extant remains of his writings Herophilos did not make explicit the similarities between his theory of “faculties” or capacities (*δυνάμεις*) and magnetism, but Galen later did so,¹⁷ possibly drawing on Stoic sources (this would not be surprising, since several of Herophilos's views have much in common with Stoic theories). In particular, Herophilos seems to have believed that the body is a material continuum that harbors no void, and that invisible, innate capacities or faculties control and regulate all bodily functions, often by attracting or pulling various forms of matter—liquids, solids, air—through ducts and other spaces in the body toward their appropriate destinations. These innate faculties are thoroughly secularized; no claim of divine design or divine force is made for them.

Thus an invisible, innate faculty (“vital *dynamis*”?), extending from the heart throughout the walls of the arteries, maintains pulsation in the form of simultaneous dilatation and contraction of the heart and of all arteries. This *dynamis* thereby pulls or “attracts” a mixture of blood and pneuma (the latter ultimately derived from respiration) from the heart through the entire body via the arterial system.¹⁸ Blood (without pneuma) apparently is similarly moved through the veins, while pneuma—by means of which at least some sensory and voluntary motor activity is conducted—is moved through the nerve ducts.¹⁹ Innate faculties likewise seem to govern the movements and proportional relations

of the traditional humors. Other motive faculties apparently reside in the muscles, the lungs, the digestive organs, and so on. According to Herophilos, respiration, for example, is due to a special capacity or faculty that displays itself as the lungs' natural tendency to dilate and contract. All bodily matter, in fact, seems to be regulated by such faculties. Herophilos explicitly says, for example, that the uterus "is woven from the same things as the other parts and is regulated by the same faculties" (*ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν δυνάμεων*) that govern the rest of bodily matter (*ἕλας*).²⁰ All the body's natural processes and motions, voluntary and involuntary, like all its materials, therefore are regulated or managed (*διοικεῖσθαι*) by nature-given capacities or faculties or powers (*δυνάμεις*) capable of moving matter through bodily ducts and spaces, especially by means of magnetlike attraction.

A third noteworthy feature of Herophilos's dynamic, magnetic model of the body is his tendency to quantify or to mathematicize aspects of both the exterior and the interior of the body, including its internal motions. The traditional view that Greek science, unlike modern science, was largely qualitative rather than quantitative in nature has been shown by Geoffrey Lloyd and others to be in need of significant qualification.²¹ In certain important respects Herophilos's mathematicizing aspirations go beyond those of earlier Greeks. Unlike the Hippocratics, Herophilos tries to extend precise measurement beyond pharmacology, stages in the embryo, and the periodicities that appear in physical disorders such as fevers. And unlike Polykleitos's *Canon*, with its measurement of fixed proportionalities, its "nonnaturalistic" *μέσον*, its *συμμετρία*, and its *κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα*,²² Herophilos extends the process of measuring into small interior structures of the body and into individual internal physiological and pathological processes.

Although Herophilos uses quantification to define generalizable bodily laws, as had the Hippocratics and Polykleitos, he leaves ample room for individual variability among human bodies (in this respect, too, following some Hippocratics)—as does much of Hellenistic art. His version of the body is inspired neither by an aestheticizing mathematicism nor by a mathematicizing aestheticism, but by the aspiration to define precisely as many natural structures and processes in the body as possible, while recognizing that not all bodily features will submit to quantification or generalization.

His attempts to measure bodily processes are perhaps also to be understood in the context of the renewed, more extensive preoccupation with scientific measurement in the third century B.C. Eratosthenes' *On the Measurement of the Earth* (see note 5), Aristarchos's *On the Sizes and Distances of the Sun and the Moon*, Archimedes' *On the Measurement of the Circle*, and Erasistratos's quantitative experiments are among the many manifestations of this interest. I cite only two brief examples

of Herophilos's participation in this richly attested dimension of early Alexandrian science—pulse rhythms and the healing of wounds.²³

Perhaps prompted in part by the native Egyptian concept, known from pharaonic medical papyri, of “counting” the body's vessels,²⁴ Herophilos became the first to develop an elaborate quantitative theory of the pulse. To measure differences among the pulses of people at different stages of life, he drew on precise musical units, including the *πρῶτος χρόνος* (“primary time unit”) and the *ἄλογος* (“irrational unit”), possibly borrowed in part from Aristoxenos of Taras's *Elements of Rhythm*.²⁵ The primary differentiae of pulse types, he argues, are rhythm, speed, size, and vehemence or strength—all eminently quantifiable. Rhythm, which he defines as “a motion having a defined regulation in time,” is central to his classification of normal, healthy pulses according to human stages of life. We all pass from a naturally pyrrhic pulse rhythm (∪∪) in infancy through a trochaic pulse (∪-) in adolescence to a spondaic prime of life (--), and eventually on to an iambic pulse rhythm (-∪) in old age.²⁶ Nature's music in our arteries hence displays mathematically formulable proportions of such absolute regularity that deviations, and hence illness, can be determined by exact measurement. This also holds true of the other pulse differentiae, notably of speed or frequency.

To measure the pulse Herophilos constructed a portable clepsydra that could be precisely calibrated to fit the age-group of each patient. The device was used to measure the deviation of the *frequency* of the patient's pulse rhythms from normal frequency and thus to measure, in particular, the patient's body temperature or fever, since Herophilos held pulse frequency to be a correlate of body temperature.²⁷ Herophilos's device was perhaps inspired in part by the rich native Egyptian tradition of time-measuring devices, such as a famous alabaster clepsydra of the second millennium B.C., and in part by the sophisticated refinement of water-clock technology by contemporary Alexandrian mechanicians such as Ktesibios.²⁸

Among the mechanical devices invented by Ktesibios is an intricate automatic water clock, which, unlike the sundial, operated equally precisely by night and by day, in summer and in winter.²⁹ Particularly interesting in our context is the clock's mechanical seasonal adjustability. The principle of an adjustable timing device was hardly new; some of the pharaonic and Greek precursors of Ktesibios's device also could accommodate seasonable variations (see notes 28–30). But Ktesibios's mechanisms for ensuring a regular flow and for adjusting this flow seasonably were apparently sufficiently novel and striking to have drawn the attention of Vitruvius and his source(s). In particular, Ktesibios's clock could be adjusted easily by a series of wedges to accommodate shortening or lengthening of the days in different months of the changing seasons.³⁰ The same principle of easy adjustability to seasons centrally

informs Herophilos's portable timing device—although here it is not the seasons of the year but the seasons of life, the *ἡλικίαι* of his patients, that call for quantifying adjustment. The similarities should not be pressed too far, but in both cases the mechanical adjustability of a timing device to accommodate regularly occurring, *quantifiable changes* within a larger order of *measurable regularity* is central to the efficacy of the measuring device.

A second example illustrates the diversity of contexts in which Herophilos mathematicized the body. Responding to the question why round wounds heal with more difficulty than others, Herophilos, according to Cassius, “accounts for the cause by giving a geometric demonstration” (*γεωμετρικὴ ἀπόδειξις*) of the surface area of circular shapes in relation to their diameter and circumference.³¹ The question was well known to the Greeks, but Herophilos seems to have been the first to address it by means of mathematical proof. This effort, and others like it, of course should not be mistaken for a “geometric” conception of the body as a whole; Herophilos's version of the body is far too dynamic internally, too minutely detailed, too individually variable, and too provisional (see below) to accommodate overall paradigmatic notions such as Polykleitos's canon or the famous *quadratum*. Rather, his geometric proof here reflects his aspiration to deal with all bodily phenomena, large and small, normal and abnormal, with as much precision as possible, and to achieve such precision by mathematical or other quantitative means whenever possible.

These examples of Herophilos's interactions with geometry, with the mathematical features of Aristoxenos's musical theory, and with a flexible Egyptian-Alexandrian technology of precise measurement illustrate the extent to which his new, dynamic-magnetic version of the body, minutely detailed anatomically, regulated by incessantly active innate powers that continually also pull—rather than merely push—matter through it with meticulous regularity and precision,³² is also projected as mathematically and technologically verifiable.

A fourth noteworthy feature of Herophilos's version of the body should not be overlooked: his insistence on its provisionality. For all his precise formulations of regularities in quantitative terms, he argues that all causal theory—and hence all explanations of bodily functions or dysfunctions—must have a merely hypothetical status; cause cannot be known or articulated with certainty but only *ex hypothesi*.³³ Experience (*ἐμπειρία*) is important to Herophilos, and he believes that we have no choice but to begin with the surface world of phenomena: “Let the appearances (*φαινόμενα*) be stated first even if they are not first.”³⁴ But the good scientist, trying to understand *how* the body works, will also have to investigate *why* things work the way they do. This will make it necessary to engage in inferences from the visible to the invisible and hence

in the construction of theories, notably of causal theories (for example, about invisible faculties that regulate the body). It is in this causal domain, in particular, that Herophilos insists on the hypothetical nature of his version of the body. It is important not to mistake this epistemological stance for that of Hellenistic skepticism. Herophilos's hypotheticalism does not entail suspension of all judgment. His minute anatomical investigations, his theory of faculties, and his efforts at quantification illustrate that his aim is not skeptical *epochē*, and that he is not reluctant to construct theories. Rather, he welds his impressively detailed observations to a bold insight into the provisionality of their explanation, no matter how precisely mathematicized these explanations might be.³⁵

Erasistratos

Whether Erasistratos, the author of the major rival Greek version of the human body in the early Hellenistic period, ever practiced in Alexandria, is controversial. Geoffrey Lloyd and most modern scholars believe that he did, at least for a substantial period of time, whereas Peter Fraser has revived the view that only Seleucid connections are attested for Erasistratos.³⁶ It is a pity that many, though not all, scholars have felt obliged to choose between Alexandria and Antioch. There is in fact evidence that not only Erasistratos but also several of his relatives, pupils, and associates were active as physicians both in Seleucid Antioch and in Ptolemaic Alexandria.³⁷ One neglected, albeit problematic, ancient source, Saint Augustine's acquaintance Vindician, claims that Erasistratos, like Herophilos, conducted pathological examinations "*in Alexandria*" by means of dissecting human cadavers; and another, Caelius Aurelianus, refers to a remedy that Erasistratos sent or promised to send to one of the Ptolemies (*Ptolemaeo regi promittens*).³⁸ The mobility of the Hellenistic scientific community is well attested, and ancient sources allude to Erasistratos's presence not only in Antioch and Alexandria but also in Keos, Athens, Knidos, Kos, and other localities.³⁹ More pertinent for present purposes is that, wherever he conducted his investigations, Erasistratos's theories show close interaction with Alexandrian science. Four related features of Erasistratos's model of the body are noteworthy in this context.

First, Erasistratos refines and extends Herophilos's anatomical and physiological discoveries, for example, by making an even clearer distinction between motor nerves and sensory nerves, by specifying more precisely the origin of the nerves in the brain as well as the nervous connections between the brain and the spine, and by demonstrating the function of the heart valves.⁴⁰ In addition, he seems to have been the first to extend the systematic use of human dissection to pathology and to deploy experimentation regularly in order to verify his physiological theories.⁴¹

Second, epistemologically less reticent than Herophilos, Era-

sistratos distinguishes between the conjectural, or stochastic, branches of medicine (therapeutics, semiotics) and its scientific branches (etiology, physiology).⁴² For the latter Erasistratos claims certainty, and in this context he tries to develop a more comprehensive systematic model of all major bodily functions as interdependent, interactive processes. Respiration, appetite, digestion, maintenance of body temperature, sensation, muscular activity, the nervous system, pulsation, and the distribution of blood and pneuma by the vascular system all are depicted as interdependent parts of a unitary system.⁴³ Abandoning the Herophilean model of material processes regulated by invisible innate faculties (*δυνάμεις*), and likewise jettisoning the theory of the four humors, Erasistratos instead uses his “miniature” anatomical knowledge to develop a more mechanistic version of the body.

According to Erasistratos, the body consists of particulate or corpuscular matter, which always acts in accordance with the principle that matter will rush into any space that is being emptied (*ἡ πρὸς τὸ κενούμενον ἀκολουθία*).⁴⁴ Erasistratos, in other words, denies the possibility of any continuous or massed void. But he acknowledges the distinction between massed void and disseminate or dispersed void.⁴⁵ The latter is not the continuous void postulated by Epicurus and other atomists but the interstitial void perhaps accepted by Erasistratos under the influence of his older contemporary, the Peripatetic Strato of Lampsakos (d. 269/268 B.C.), a tutor of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. In Strato’s view void exists, but only in the three-dimensional interstices between imperfectly fitting particles of matter—particles of which all objects, animate and inanimate, are composed—since matter would immediately rush in to fill any larger, more continuous, massed void.⁴⁶ Wherever Strato might belong in Erasistratos’s intellectual genealogy, it seems clear that Erasistratos shares these general principles and that, characteristically, he performs a simple experiment to illustrate them. It is striking that a similar experiment is found both in early Alexandrian mechanics and in Peripatetic writers.⁴⁷

Third, on this material basis, Erasistratos consistently applies principles that also appear in Alexandrian mechanics, notably in pneumatics, hydraulics, and hydrostatics. Herophilos had confidently brought mechanical means—a measuring device—to the body surface to measure nature’s music in the body, but Erasistratos now places natural “machines” *inside* the body. Indeed, the body *is* a machine according to the Erasistratean version: a perpetual nature-given automaton. There is no need for hidden invisible faculties (*δυνάμεις*), he believes; all physiological processes are explicable in terms of the material properties and structures of the parts of a mechanistically operating body. Yet, as will be shown below, Erasistratos preserves a teleological perspective by depict-

ing most of these parts as being purposive, that is, as serving or effecting an identifiable function or end. He depicts the body, in effect, as an autonomous machine within which many interrelated, smaller machines with mostly purposive parts are continuously operative. A natural automaton in perpetual motion for the duration of human life, the human body keeps mechanically distributing blood from the heart and liver through the veins, vital pneuma from the heart through the arteries, and psychic pneuma from the brain through the nerves, all in accordance with *πρὸς τὸ κενούμενον ἀκολουθία* (matter “following toward that which is being emptied”),⁴⁸ and all without prompting by any external agency or by invisible internal faculties. A closer look at one of these purposive parts within the “body machine” might offer a useful illustration of Erasistratos’s reasoning.

A major “submachine” within the larger body machine is the heart, which Erasistratos depicts as an automatic, double-action, suction-and-force pump or, to use his own metaphor, bellows. This cardiac bellows-pump is equipped with superbly functional valves that ensure the irreversibility of the flow both of what rushes into its two chambers and of what it pumps out.⁴⁹ The parallels between Erasistratos’s model of the heart and central features of the new Alexandrian mechanical technology are striking. I offer only one example: the water pump invented by Ktesibios during Erasistratos’s lifetime.⁵⁰

1. Like Erasistratos’s version of the heart, Ktesibios’s water pump has two chambers.
2. Both the cardiac pump and the water pump are equipped with valves to ensure the irreversibility of the flow. As Vitruvius says of Ktesibios’s pump, “in this chamber there are circular valves [*asses*] placed in the upper orifices [“nostrils”] of the tubes with an accurate fitting. And these valves, by closing up the apertures of the orifices [“nostrils”], do not permit that which has been pressed into the chamber by means of air to return.”⁵¹
3. As in Erasistratos’s model of the heart, so in Ktesibios’s pump there are four sets of valves, two controlling intake and two regulating outflow from the two chambers.
4. Furthermore, Ktesibios uses valves to ensure the irreversibility of the flow of either liquid or air (both here and in several of his other machines). Erasistratos likewise describes the heart valves as ensuring the unidirectional flow of either air (*πνεῦμα*, breath) or liquid (blood): two sets of cardiac valves, he says, control the flow of pneuma (respectively *into* the left

chamber of the heart from the lungs and *out* of this left chamber into the aorta), while two other valve sets ensure unidirectional flow of blood into and from the right cardiac chamber.

5. Ktesibios's water pump has forked pipes (*fistulae furcillae*), and Erasistratos's vascular system is similarly dependent on forking vessels.
6. Both Erasistratos's version of the heart and Ktesibios's pump centrally depend on the principle of an intermediate valved chamber (*medius catinus*, see note 50). The Erasistratean heart serves as a double intermediate chamber, on the one hand, for blood between the vena cava (coming from the liver) and the pulmonary vessels that carry blood to the lungs, and, on the other hand, for pneuma between the lungs and the aorta.⁵²
7. Just as Ktesibios's water pump is constructed with twin cylinders (*modioli gemelli*) sitting in a round space, so Erasistratos's heart is a two-chambered machine that sits in a larger roundish space, the thorax.⁵³
8. As compression and expansion alternate in each chamber of Ktesibios's water pump, so contraction continuously alternates with dilatation in Erasistratos's cardiac bellows-pump.
9. More fundamentally, the mechanical principles are similar in the two cases: propulsion of matter into a contiguous space by compression or contraction and drawing in of contiguous matter by expansion or dilatation, based on the recognition that continuous—as opposed to disseminate—void does not exist naturally. (It should not be overlooked, however, that Erasistratos in his extant remains explicitly applies the theory of interstitial void only to the movement of liquids through the body, not to the compressibility of air.)

As always, similarity should not be mistaken for identity, nor does affinity necessarily entail influence. But the parallels between Erasistratos's model of the heart and Ktesibios's water pump are numerous, nontrivial, and nonmarginal. Whether Erasistratos borrowed from Ktesibios or Ktesibios from Erasistratos, or neither from either, is unclear, but it is evident that Erasistratos's version of the body has much in common with early Alexandrian technology. Furthermore, for whatever reasons, both Erasistratos and some early Alexandrian mechanics, such as Ktesibios and Philon of Byzantium, developed versions of "machines"—Erasistratos to explain natural physiological processes, the others to explore new technological possibilities—that had at least some

elements in common with Strato's theory of void and of particulate matter.⁵⁴ It also is striking that later Alexandrian writers on mechanics, such as Heron, probably drawing on early Hellenistic sources, invoke medical instruments and medical practices in support of their views on interstitial void and on pneumatics.⁵⁵ Heron's elaborate description of the design of medical devices that deploy his pneumatic principles, such as a cupping tool (*όκύα*) that does not require heating and a syringe for drawing off pus (*πυουλκός*, "pus puller"),⁵⁶ further illustrates the interaction between Hellenistic medicine and mechanical technology.

Fourth, ever since antiquity the conspicuously mechanistic features of many of Erasistratos's physiological and pathological explanations have tended to obscure another major feature of his version of the body: teleology. In some of his extensive anti-Erasistratean polemics, Galen suggests that Erasistratos's teleological statements were merely rhetorical, hypocritical, Peripatetic window dressing, and that they were blatantly contradicted by Erasistratos himself, for example, when the latter fails to specify a function for the spleen, the omentum, the renal arteries, and yellow bile.⁵⁷ But the ancient evidence offers no compelling reason to accept Galen's judgment. Indeed, Galen's own reports leave little doubt that Erasistratos unequivocally articulated a teleological approach to the body: "Erasistratos himself supposed that nature (*φύσις*) is capable of forethought (*προνοητική*) for the living being and capable of *technē* (*τεχνική*)," and "Erasistratos seems to have sound sense, since he thinks that all parts of the body are both well placed (*καλῆς τεθῆναι*) and well shaped (*διαπλασθῆναι*) by nature, . . . and he calls nature 'capable of *technē*' (*τεχνική*)." ⁵⁸ Similarly, Galen reports, "nature does nothing without reason (*ἀλόγως*), for he [Erasistratos] himself says this"; ⁵⁹ "up to the point where he [Erasistratos] sings a hymn to nature as being capable of *technē*, I [Galen], too, recognize the opinions of the Peripatos" (and, adds Galen, Erasistratos's followers also claim that he associated with the Peripatos); ⁶⁰ "only one [opinion about nature] will be found to be the same for Erasistratos and for those authors [*sc.* the Peripatetics], namely that nature makes all things for the sake of something and nothing in vain." ⁶¹ Plutarch (or pseudo-Plutarch) seems to allude to this fundamental feature of Erasistratos's conception of natural beings: "For, everywhere nature (*φύσις*) is exact (*ἀκριβῆς*), fond of *technē* (*φιλότεχνος*), without deficiency (*ἀνελλιπής*), and without superfluity (*ἀπέριττος*), having, as Erasistratos says, nothing tawdry (*ῥωπικόν*)." ⁶²

It is significant that Erasistratos emphasizes not only nature's purposiveness, providentiality, and aesthetically (*καλῶς*) directed accomplishments but also its craftsmanship (*φύσις τεχνική, φιλότεχνος*). *Technē* has a rich philosophical history as a paradigm of purposive or goal-directed activity, and hence Greek philosophers often use *technē*

and its cognates to refer to teleological processes, also in cosmological contexts.⁶³ Erasistratos's Stoic contemporaries—all ardent teleologists—describe nature (*φύσις*) as a “fire capable of *technē* (*πῦρ τεχνικόν*), which methodically proceeds toward the creation of the world” or as “fire endowed with *technē*” (*πῦρ ἔντεχνον*), and they similarly refer to the *pneuma* of which the entire universe is constituted as “endowed with *technē*” (*πνεῦμα ἔντεχνον*) or as “*technē*-like” (*τεχνοειδές*, i.e., “artistically purposively designing”?).⁶⁴ And about the goal-directed nature of their conception of *technē* the Stoics leave no doubt: according to a popular definition by Zeno of Citium, “*technē* is a system (*σύστημα*) composed of cognitions unified by practice with a view to some goal (*τέλος*) useful for things in life.”⁶⁵ Indeed, at times the Stoics describe nature and craft, *physis* and *technē*, in identical terms, as “a disposition (*ἔξις*, “tenor”) that effects all things methodically.”⁶⁶ Furthermore, a number of Greek philosophers described *technē* as imitating nature (in a stronger, more comprehensive sense than the topos “art imitates life”).⁶⁷ The link between Erasistratos's conception of *physis* as a lover of *technē* (or as capable of it) and his teleological reading of natural organisms is therefore best understood in the context of such philosophical traditions.

These traditional affinities between *physis* and *technē* may also, in part, have informed Erasistratos's combination of mechanism and teleology: his view seems to be that, just as *technē* proceeds in a methodical, goal-directed fashion to the construction of mechanical devices, so nature methodically (re)produces purposively structured natural machines, including the human body. But equally important for understanding the nature and limits of Erasistratos's teleological commitments are the models of teleological explanation that prevailed in the Peripatos in the late fourth and early third centuries B.C.

Aristotle's version of teleology, like Erasistratos's (and unlike Plato's, the Stoics', and Galen's), is explicitly limited: according to Aristotle, not everything has a final cause, not even in nature. This holds not only for events that Aristotle classifies as chance or coincidental occurrences but also in cases of systematic failures or of specieswide traits that cannot be explained in teleological terms. In *Parts of Animals*, for example, Aristotle remarks:

It is likely that the gall (*χολή*), when it is present in the area of the liver, is a residue and not for the sake of anything (*οὐχ ἔνεκά τινος*). For although nature sometimes makes use even of residues, one should not on this account seek purpose (*ἔνεκα τίνος*, “for the sake of what,” “final cause”) in all things (*πάντα*). Rather, while some things *are* of such a nature [*sc.* purposive], *many* others occur as a result of these by necessity.⁶⁸

Similarly, elsewhere in *Parts of Animals* Aristotle not only calls the growth of horns in certain animals useless (*ἄχρηστων*) but even adds

that, in such cases, horns “do more harm than good.”⁶⁹ Moreover, Aristotle offers purely mechanistic explanations of the growth and shedding of horns. Aristotle might be famous for his refrain “Nature makes nothing in vain,” but he does not believe it as literally, comprehensively, and absolutely as Galen did. Aristotle’s world, like Erasistratos’s, has its share of things that serve no identifiable final purpose, although some might be the necessary by-products of processes that themselves exist for the sake of something.

Aristotle’s successor Theophrastos, with whom ancient sources associate Erasistratos directly or indirectly (see note 74 below), went even further, fundamentally questioning the scope of teleological explanation even while affirming his basic commitment to it. In his *Metaphysics*, for example, Theophrastos argues that we must accept certain limits to purposiveness (τὸ ἔνεκά του) in nature and that we must not posit either purposiveness or a tendency toward the best to exist in all cases (ἐπὶ πάντων) without qualification (ἀπλῶς).⁷⁰ Indeed, he says, many natural things either exist in animals “in vain, as it were” (τὰ μὲν ὥσπερ μάταια), such as nipples in males or hair in certain places, or are such as to have an unspecifiable purpose (τίνος ἔνεκα). There is much in nature, Theophrastos adds, that neither obeys nor receives the good; even the natural placement of certain bodily organs, such as the wind-pipe, is poor. Nature simply does not always do what is best among the possibilities for each organ, nor does it invariably make a structure the way it is because it thereby is τιμιώτερον, “more worthy, valuable or honorable.”⁷¹ Furthermore, Theophrastos’s view entails that neither the universality of a trait within a species nor the regularity of its reproduction is sufficient to establish that something exists for the sake of some end. And, like Aristotle and Erasistratos, Theophrastos accommodates mechanistic explanations within his larger teleological approach.⁷² All three seem to believe that one can coherently hold that, in certain cases, once nature has assembled matter in a purposive way, natural *mechanisms* will ineluctably produce the results we observe.

As indicated above, the ancient evidence suggests that Erasistratos may have had personal opportunities to become acquainted with the Peripatetics’ circumscribed teleology. Strato’s presence in Alexandria (in the period before he succeeded Theophrastos as head of the Lyceum in Athens in about 288 B.C.) is attested,⁷³ and the explicit ancient evidence of Erasistratos’s connections with Peripatetics, including Theophrastos, is accepted as valid by most modern scholars. As suggested above, Aristotle’s scientific dissections and vivisections of animals—never of humans—perhaps also provided a point of reference for Alexandrian dissection.⁷⁴

Erasistratos’s combination of (a) mechanistic principles similar to those used by the mechanical technology of his time, and (b) limited teleological explanation that finds no specifiable functions for

certain organs and substances, might have seemed an outrageous contradiction to Galen, who held a more Platonically colored belief in the absolute, comprehensive, directed purposiveness of nature. But relocated within the intellectual contexts of his own times, Erasistratos's position is historically plausible and coherent. He tries to rein in teleology without abandoning it, to recognize nature's providential craftsmanship in the body without making overstated claims for it, and to analyze the largely well-designed bodily machines through which nature effects some of its discernible purposes. These efforts render him an intriguing participant in a lively debate that stirred many a fourth- and third-century-B.C. thinker⁷⁵—a debate that, despite Galen's polemical efforts to render it obsolete, is not over yet.

Erasistratos's combination of a teleological and a mechanistic version of the body therefore offers a further example of the interactive nature of the early Hellenistic scientific community, notably, in this case, of interaction between medicine, mechanics, and philosophy. Such exchange may have been partly stimulated, or at least facilitated, by institutional and political features of scientific life in Alexandria, such as the Mouseion and multidimensional royal patronage, even if, as suggested above, Erasistratos was active in other Hellenistic cities, too.⁷⁶

The two versions of the body presented above not only illustrate some resonances between Alexandrian medicine and other branches of Alexandrian culture; they also illustrate the rich Alexandrian competition between rival scientific theories, rival methods, divergent epistemological postures, and diverse rhetorical commitments.⁷⁷ It is a complex, rich, productive scientific agon in the most vibrant of Greek traditions, yet it is accommodated, paradoxically, not in democratic Athens but in an autocratic new state in Africa with Macedonian rulers.

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Notes

- 1 The Hellenistic scientific community was mobile, but it is attested that, at least for certain periods of time, Archimedes worked in Syracuse; Theophrastos, Eratosthenes, and Strato in Athens (but the latter two also in Alexandria); Dionysos the Alexandrian and the astronomer Hipparchos of Nicaea in Rhodes; Praxagoras and many subsequent doctors in Kos. Pergamon and Rhodes were known centers of mathematics, Smyrna became famous for its school of Erasistratean physicians, and Men Karou (near Laodicea-ad-Lycum) for its school of Herophilean doctors. Apollonios of Perge was in Ephesos for at least some time and maintained active contact with Pergamon.
- 2 For Euclid's connections with Alexandria, see Proclus, *In primum Euclidis Elementorum comment.*, ed. G. Friedlein (Leipzig 1873), p. 68.10–20; *Scholia in Euclidis Elementorum librum 1*, in J. L. Heiberg, ed., rev. E. S. Stamatis, *Euclidis Elementa*, vol. 5.1 (Leipzig 1977), p. 40.23–25; Pappus, *Collectiones* 7.35 (Heiberg p. 678).
- 3 Aristarchos perhaps studied in Alexandria with Strato of Lampsakos (the Peripatetic): see Stobaeus *Eclogae* 1.16.1; Diogenes Laertius *Vitae philosophorum* 5.58.
- 4 On Archimedes' Alexandrian associations, see Diodoros of Sicily *Bibliotheca historica* 5.37.3. For Archimedes' extant prefaces addressed to Alexandrian mathematicians, see J. L. Heiberg, ed., rev. E. S. Stamatis, *Archimedis opera omnia*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart 1972), e.g., vol. 1, pp. 2–4 (to Dositheos), 168–70 (to Dositheos, with mention of Konon), 246 (to Dositheos); vol. 2, pp. 2, 262–66 (to Dositheos, but both with mention of Konon), 426–30 and 528 (both to Eratosthenes).
- 5 Better known to some as an Alexandrian librarian, literary critic, and poet, Eratosthenes also was a scientist. For his famous attempt to measure the circumference of the earth, see *Cleomedis Caelestia*, ed. R. Todd (Leipzig 1990), 1.7 (pp. 33–37, with further useful refs. to ancient accounts of Eratosthenes' measurements; see also *ibid.*, pp. xxiii–xxv, for relevant modern lit.).
- 6 In its field, Apollonios's *Conics* became what Euclid's *Elements* were in basic geometry. See J. L. Heiberg, ed., *Apollonii Pergaei quae Graece exstant*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1890–1893); T. L. Heath, ed., transl., *Apollonius of Perga, Treatise on Conic Sections* (Cambridge 1896); G. J. Toomer, ed., transl., comm., *Apollonius, Conics v to vii: The Arabic Translation of the Lost Greek Original in the Version of the Banū Mūsā* (New York 1990); B. L. van der Waerden, *Erwachende Wissenschaft* (Basel 1956), pp. 395–436; O. Neugebauer, "Apollonios-Studien," *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik*, Abt. B, 2 (1932): 215–54.
- 7 See Vitruvius *De architectura* 9.8.2–7, 10.7–8; Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 4.174b–e, 11.497b–e; A. G. Drachmann, *The Mechanical Technology of Greek and Roman Antiquity: A Study of the Literary Sources* (Copenhagen 1963), pp. 10, 156, 189–90, 192–93, 202–3; *idem*, *Ktesibios, Philon and Heron: A Study in Ancient Pneumatics* (Copenhagen 1948).
- 8 H. Diels and E. Schramm, *Philons Belopoiika*, *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl., 16 (1918); *idem*, *Exzerpte aus Philons Mechanik B. VII und VIII*, *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl., 12 (1919); R. Schoene, *Philonis Mechanicae Syntaxis libri quartus et quintus* (Berlin 1893); C. de Vaux, "Le livre des appareils pneumatiques et des machines hydrauliques de Philon de Byzance," *Notices et extraits* 38 (1903): 27–235; Drachmann (note 7 above); E. W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery: Technical Treatises* (Oxford 1971), pp. 105–84; *idem*, *Greek and Roman Artillery: Historical Development* (Oxford 1969), pp. 3–6, 25–26, 36–37, 39–42, 61–62, 75–76, 89–91, 113ff., 117, 124f., 199–206.
- 9 On Dionysos's repeating catapult, probably designed and built in Rhodes, see Philon of Byzantium *Belopoiika* 73–77 (= Diels and Schramm [note 8 above], chaps. 51–60); Marsden, *Artillery: Technical Treatises* (note 8 above), pp. 146–52, 177–84, esp. Diagram 9 (p. 179); H. Diels, *Antike Technik*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig 1924), pp. 104–6; Marsden, *Artillery: Historical* (note 8 above), pp. 89, 94; J. G. Landels, *Engineering in the Ancient World* (London 1978), pp. 123–26, with fig. 44. It is not clear whether Biton's famous treatise, *On the Construction of Instruments for Warfare and of Catapults* (Marsden, *Artillery: Technical Tre-*

- tises, pp. 61–103), addressed to a King Attalos, belongs to the third or second century B.C. (i.e., whether its addressee is Attalos I of Pergamon or Attalos II or III), but in any case there seems to be little, if anything, that connects it *directly* to Alexandria. Marsden, *Artillery: Technical Treatises*, p. 6, and *Artillery: Historical*, p. 3, argues that Biton's treatise was written about 240 B.C.
- 10 See L. Edelstein, *Ancient Medicine* (Baltimore 1967), pp. 247–301; idem, "The Development of Greek Anatomy," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 3 (1935): 235–48; F. Kudlien, "Antike Anatomie und menschlicher Leichnam," *Hermes* 97 (1969): 78–94; I. Garofalo, ed., *Erasistrati fragmenta* (Pisa 1988), pp. 20–29 (hereafter *Erasist.*); H. von Staden, *Herophilus: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria* (Cambridge 1989), pp. 138–53, 187–89 (hereafter *Heroph.*); idem, "The Discovery of the Body: Human Dissection and Its Cultural Contexts in Ancient Greece," *The Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 65 (1992): 223–41. See also notes 36, 38, 41 below.
 - 11 See K. Deichgräber, *Die griechische Empirikerschule*, 2nd ed. (Berlin 1965); on Philinos as founder, pp. 163–64, 254–55. Celsus (*Medicina*, prooemium 10), however, seems to make Serapion the founder (*primus omnium*) of the Empiricist school, while Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis historia* 29.5) claims that it started with Akron of Agrigentum in Sicily. See note 77 below.
 - 12 Celsus *Medicina* prooemium 23–26 (*Heroph.* [note 10 above] fr. 63a, p. 187; *Erasist.* [note 10 above], fr. 17A); John of Alexandria *Commentaria in Librum De sectis Galeni* ad cap. 5, 5ra35–42 (pp. 57–58 Pritchett = *Heroph.* fr. 63b, p. 188); Agnellus of Ravenna(?), *In Galeni De sectis comm.* 23, ad cap. 5 (*Arethusa* Monographs 8 [1981], p. 92 = *Heroph.* fr. 63c, pp. 188–89). Both Herophilus and Erasistratus continued to dissect and vivisect animals as well: Galen *De anatomicis administrationibus* 6.8, in *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, ed. C. G. Kühn (Leipzig 1821–1833 [hereafter Kühn's edition = K.]), vol. 2, p. 570 (= *Heroph.* fr. 60), and 7.16 (vol. 2, pp. 646–49 K. = *Erasist.* fr. 49A, 52); idem, *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 7.3 (vol. 5, p. 609 K.; *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* [hereafter CMG], 5.4.1.2, p. 446 De Lacy = *Erasist.* fr. 42A); idem, *An in arteriis natura sanguis contineatur* 5.2 and 8.4, 5 (vol. 4, pp. 718, 733–35 K.; D. J. Furley and J. S. Wilkie, *Galen on Respiration and the Arteries* [Princeton 1984], pp. 162, 179–80 = *Erasist.* fr. 47).
 - 13 Galen, *De anatomicis administrationibus* 10.7 (vol. 2, p. 51 Simon; p. 56 Duckworth) = *Heroph.* (note 10 above), fr. 92 (cf. fr. 79).
 - 14 See *Heroph.* (note 10 above), pp. 138 ff., esp. 155–61, 195–208. Our terms *cornea* and *retina* are derived from Latin translations of Herophilus's Greek terms.
 - 15 See *Heroph.* (note 10 above), pp. 161–77, 182–86, 200–27.
 - 16 *Heroph.* (note 10 above), pp. 167–69, 183–86, 214–20, 296–99, 365–72. Herophilus's identification of the broad ligaments (*Heroph.* fr. 114, 61), i.e., two bilaminar lateral ligaments of the uterus that pass from the side of the uterus to the walls of the pelvis, probably was crucial to his apparent abandonment of the idea of a wandering womb, inasmuch as the broad ligaments help to hold the uterus in place. (Between the two layers of each ligament also pass the Fallopian tubes—discovered by Herophilus—and some blood vessels.)
 - 17 See, for example, Galen's use of "attractive faculty" (*ἑλκτική δύναμις*) to attack atomistic explanations of magnetism in *De naturalibus facultatibus* 1.14, 3.15 (vol. 2, pp. 44–56, 206–14 K. [note 12 above]; *Galenus, Scripta minora*, 3 vols., ed. J. Marquardt [vol. 1], I. Müller [vol. 2], and G. Helmreich [vol. 3] [Leipzig 1884–1893], hereafter *Scripta minora*, vol. 3, pp. 133–42, 251–57 Helmreich); *Ad Pisonem de theriaca* 3 (vol. 14, pp. 224–25 K.); *De locis affectis* 1.7 (vol. 8, p. 66 K.). For an ancient doxography of theories of magnetism, see Alexander of Aphrodisias, *Naturales quaestiones* 2.23 (*Supplementum Aristotelicum*, vol. 2, part 2, pp. 72–74 Bruns), which might, in part, rely on Theophrastos.
 - 18 See H. von Staden, "Cardiovascular Puzzles in Erasistratus and Herophilus," in xxxi. *Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Medicina, Bologna, 1988* (Bologna 1989), pp. 681–87; *Heroph.* (note 10 above), pp. 129–30 (fr. 57), pp. 242–43, 262–88, 322–61 (esp. fr. 144, 145a, 155, 164, 184.18, 19).
 - 19 *Heroph.* (note 10 above), pp. 247–73; see also notes 21–22 below. Demetrios of Apamea and Chrysermos of Alexandria are among later Herophileans who continued Herophilus's emphasis on faculties as an explanatory mechanism: see *Heroph.*, pp. 331 (fr. 156), 469–70 (fr. 284), 526.
 - 20 *Heroph.* (note 10 above), pp. 365 (fr. 193), 318–22 (fr. 141, 143a–c), 255–62, 297, 311;

- cf. also pp. 465–67, 469–70 (fr. 280, 284: later Herophileans and Stoics on faculties).
- 21 G. E. R. Lloyd, *The Revolutions of Wisdom* (Berkeley 1987), chap. 5 (“Measurement and Mystification”). Cf. P. Pellegrin, “Quantité et biologie dans l’antiquité,” in D. Gourevitch, ed., *Maladie et maladies: Histoire et conceptualisation. Mélanges en l’honneur de Mirko Grmek*, École Pratique des Hautes Études, IV^e section, Sciences historiques et philologiques, v: *Hautes études médiévales et modernes*, 70 (Geneva 1992), pp. 151–69.
 - 22 See G. V. Leftwich, “Ancient Conceptions of the Body and the Canon of Polykleitos” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1987).
 - 23 For reflections of Herophilos’s interest in measurement (size, weight, volume, etc.) and quantification, see notes 26–30 below, and *Heroph.* (note 10 above), pp. 182–87 (fr. 60a–63a), 209–11 (fr. 96, 98a–b, 99, 100a–b), 297, 301, 305, 324–25 (fr. 146), 344–61, 365 (fr. 193), 375 (fr. 206, 207), 391–93, 421–24 (fr. 255, 257–59). But for an example of qualitative differentiation, see also *ibid.*, p. 326 (fr. 149.5–7); cf. *ibid.*, p. 19.
 - 24 See, e.g., H. Grapow, H. von Deines, and W. Westendorf, *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, 7 vols. in 9 (Berlin 1954–1962), vol. 4.1, pp. 1 (Ebers papyrus), 172 (Edwin Smith papyrus, Case 1).
 - 25 Cf. L. Pearson, ed., *Aristoxenus, Elementa Rhythmica* (Oxford 1990), pp. 6–9 (*Elem.* 2.10–12), 12–17 (*Elem.* 2.20–22, 25), 22–27, 28, 32–35, 54–55, 61, 64–70; *Heroph.* (note 10 above), pp. 273–85 (esp. 278–80), 356, 392–93.
 - 26 For the definition of rhythm, see ps.-Soranus *Quaestiones medicinales* 172, in V. Rose, *Anecdota Graeca et Graecolatina*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1870), p. 265 = *Heroph.* (note 10 above), fr. 172; see *Heroph.*, pp. 273, 276–83. On the pulse at different stages of life, see Rufus of Ephesos(?), *Synopsis de pulsibus* 4, in C. Daremberg and C. E. Ruelle, eds., *Rufus d’Ephèse* (Paris 1879), pp. 223–25 = *Heroph.*, pp. 350–51 (fr. 177). On pulse rhythm, see also *Heroph.*, pp. 335–38, 340–42, 346–49, 354–61, 391–93; on pulse speed, size, and vehemence, pp. 273–75, 284–86, 327–28, 352–54, 356–59.
 - 27 For Herophilos’s clepsydra, see Marcellinus *De pulsibus* 11, in H. Schöne, “Marcellinos’ Pulslehre: Ein Griechisches Anekdoten,” *Festschrift zur 49. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* (Basel 1907), pp. 448–72, on p. 463 (= *Heroph.* [note 10 above], fr. 182, pp. 353–54). See also *Heroph.*, pp. 282–83, 392, and, on pulse frequency and fever, pp. 283–85, 302–4, 336, 339, 354–56 (fr. 183), 377–78 (fr. 211, 215), 380–83 (fr. 217a–b, 222).
 - 28 On pharaonic water clocks and timing devices, see O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, vol. 3 (Providence, R.I., 1969), pp. 12–14 (with pl. 2), 42, 47, 60, 152; L. Borchardt, *Die ägyptische Zeitmessung* (Berlin 1920), pp. 6ff., 60ff. On Ktesibios, see notes 29–30, 50–51 below. On ancient clocks, see also Diels, *Antike Technik* (note 9 above), pp. 155–232; A. Rehm, “Horologium,” in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 8.2 (Stuttgart 1913), cols. 2416–33 (2428ff. on water clocks); C. R. Tittel, “Heron (5),” *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. 8.1 (Stuttgart 1912), cols. 992–1080, esp. 1052–54; Drachmann, *Ktesibios, Philon and Heron* (note 7 above), pp. 16ff.; M. C. P. Schmidt, *Die Entstehung der antiken Wasseruhr* (Leipzig 1912); Landels (note 9 above), pp. 188–89.
 - 29 Vitruvius *De architectura* 9.8.4–7, esp. 9.8.6. Vitruvius’s use of the plural (*Ctesibios . . . horologiorum ex aqua comparationes explicuit*, 9.8.4) suggests that he is singling out for description only one of several Ktesibian water clocks. The *merkhet*, or alabaster, water clock from the reign of Amenhotep III (fourteenth century B.C.), apparently invented by Amenemhet (court astronomer to Amenhotep I), also is said to have been designed to mark the hours of the night at any season (see note 28 above). In the fourth century B.C. Aeneias “the Tactician” (*How to Survive under Siege* 22.24–25) likewise describes a clepsydra that is adjustable for the seasonal lengthening and shortening of nights. A night clock (*ὠρολόγιον νυκτερινόν*) of the clepsydra type is also ascribed to Plato: see Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 4.174c; H. Diels, “Über Platons Nachtuhr,” *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie*, Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl. (1915), pp. 824–30.
 - 30 Vitruvius *De architectura* 9.8.6: *In his autem aut in columna aut parastatica horae describuntur, quas sigillum egrediens ab imo uirgula significat in diem totum. Quarum breuitates aut crescentias cuneorum adiectus aut exemptus in singulis diebus et mensibus perficere cogit*: “In these [clocks] the hours are drawn either on a column or on a pilaster, and a figurine ascending from the bottom indicates with a rod the

- hours for a whole day. And the addition or removal of wedges forces it to effect the shortnesses or increases of [the duration] on individual days and in individual months." In 9.8.7 Vitruvius describes an alternative to this "wedge method" that may be closer to pharaonic and other predecessors (see notes 27–29 above). For reconstructions of Ktesibios's water clock, see Diels, *Antike Technik* (note 9 above), pp. 204–11 (fig. 71); J. Soubiran, *Vitruve, De l'architecture, livre IX* (Paris 1969), pp. 272–87 (with further lit.); F. Granger, ed., *Vitruvius on Architecture*, vol. 2 (London 1934), pl. N; Rehm (note 28 above), cols. 2429–31. See also W. Schmidt, ed., *Heronis Alexandri opera, col. 1: Pneumatica et automata* (Leipzig 1899), pp. 456–57 (Heron, from Proclus), 506–7 (from Pappus); Tittel (note 28 above), esp. cols. 1052–54 (on Heron's lost work on water clocks, which reflects at least some technical concerns similar to Ktesibios's); D. R. Hill, *Arabic Water-clocks* (Aleppo 1981), p. 13; cf. idem, *On the Construction of Water-clocks* (London 1976).
- 31 Cassius Iatrosophista *Problemata* 1, in J. Ideler, ed., *Physici et medici Graeci minores*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1841), p. 144 = *Heroph.* (note 10 above), fr. 236 (pp. 411–12). Cassius starts out by attributing this view to "the Herophileans" (*Heroph.* fr. 236.2), but he then proceeds to identify the view with Herophilos himself (fr. 236.13). See also J. Jouanna, "Pourquoi les plaies circulaires guérissent-elles difficilement? Un nouveau témoignage inédit (Scorialensis F III 12, fol. 420v)," in *Maladie et maladies* (note 21 above), pp. 95–108.
- 32 On pulling (ἔλκειν, ἐφέλκειν, ὀλκῆ) vs. pushing (πέμπειν, ἀπωθεῖν, etc.), see, e.g., Galen *An in arteriis natura sanguis contineatur* 8 (vol. 4, p. 732 K. [note 12 above]; Furley and Wilkie [note 12 above], p. 176 = *Heroph.* [note 10 above], fr. 145a); idem, *De pulsuum differentiis* 4.6 (vol. 8, p. 733 K. = *Heroph.* fr. 144); ps.-Galen *De historia philosopha* 103, in H. Diels, ed., *Doxographi Graeci* (Berlin 1879), p. 639 (= *Heroph.* fr. 143c); ps.-Plutarch *Placita* 4.22 (*Moralia* 903F–904B).
- 33 Galen *De procatarcticis causis* 13.162–64, 16.197–204 (CMG [note 12 above], *Suppl.* 2, pp. 41–42 Bardong) = *Heroph.* (note 10 above), fr. 58, 59a.
- 34 Anonymus Londinensis 21.18–32 = *Heroph.* (note 10 above), fr. 50a; Galen *Methodus medendi* 2.5 (vol. 10, p. 107 K. [note 12 above] = *Heroph.* fr. 50b). On experience, see *Heroph.* fr. 52–53. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 115–37; R. J. Hankinson, "Saying the Phenomena," *Phronesis* 35 (1990): 194–215.
- 35 Herophilos's position reflects the growing Greek concern with theories of scientific method in the third century B.C. The Empiricists seem to have been the first group whose adherents defined themselves in terms of a methodological and epistemological model (ἐμπειρία and its subdivisions) rather than after a founding father (Hippocratic, Socratic) or after a place or structure (Academy, Stoa, Lyceum, Kepos). This nomenclative move, too, reflects the increasing preoccupation with method. See J. Barnes et al., eds., *Science and Speculation: Studies in Hellenistic Theory and Practice* (Cambridge 1982); R. J. Hankinson, ed., *Method, Medicine and Metaphysics: Studies in the Philosophy of Ancient Science = Apeiron* 22.2 (1988); *Heroph.* (note 10 above), pp. 115–37.
- 36 G. E. R. Lloyd, "A Note on Erasistratus of Ceos," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 95 (1975): 172–75; P. M. Fraser, "The Career of Erasistratus," *Rendiconti del Istituto Lombardo, Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche*, 103 (1969): 518–37; W. D. Smith, *The Hippocratic Tradition* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1979), pp. 190, 195. See also R. Fuchs, "Lebte Erasistratos in Alexandria?" *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 52 (1897): 377–90; F. Susemihl, "Chrysippus von Knidos und Erasistratos," *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. 56 (1901): 313–18; R. Helm, "Über die Lebenszeit der Ärzte Nikias, Erasistratos, Metrodor und Chrysippos," *Hermes* 29 (1894): 161–70; M. Wellmann, "Erasistratos (2)," *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 6.1 (Stuttgart 1907), col. 335; C. R. S. Harris, *The Heart and the Vascular System in Ancient Greek Medicine* (Oxford 1973), pp. 177–78; *Erasist.* (note 10 above), pp. 17–22.
- 37 I am inclined to agree with P. Green, *Alexander to Actium* (Berkeley 1990), p. 490: "Erasistratus worked in Antioch as well as Alexandria" (although my assessment of the historical value of the evidence concerning Erasistratos and Stratonike has become more complex and reserved than Green's and Fraser's, as will be shown elsewhere). See *Suda*, E.2896, s.v. Erasistratos (II, pp. 402–3 Adler); Georgius Syncellus *Ecloga chronographica* 520.13–17 (Olymp. 130.2; p. 330 Mosshammer); *Scholia in Theocritum*, ad *Idyll.* XI (p. 240 Wendel); Valerius Maximus, 5.7. ext. 1; Plutarch, *Vit. Demetrius* 38; Appian *Historia romana: Syriac.* 59–61, 308–27. Among Erasistratos's associates and

- relatives, the Erasistratean Apollophanes, who is identified as being from Seleucia, became an advisor and probably a personal physician to Antiochos III (Polybios 5.56 and 5.58), whereas Apollonios from Egyptian Memphis, a pupil of Erasistratos's close associate Strato (the doctor, not the Peripatetic), appears to have been active in the Alexandrian sphere. Apollonios seems to be the first follower of Erasistratos to have defined the pulse—a characteristically Alexandrian undertaking: see Galen *De pulsuum differentiis* 4.2 and 4.17 (vol. 8, pp. 719, 759–61 K. [note 12 above]); *Heroph.* (note 10 above), pp. 267–88, 322–61, 446–49, 462–65, 560–63. Erasistratos's brother, Kleophantos, perhaps practiced in Alexandria: Galen *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum III comment.* 2.4 (vol. 17A, p. 603 K.; CMG [note 12 above], 5.10.2.1, p. 77.20 Wenkebach); on Kleophantos's family connection, see Rufus of Ephesos *De renum et uesicae affectionibus* 4.1 (Daremborg and Ruelle [note 26 above], p. 32; CMG 3.1, p. 128.5 Sideras). Their father, Kleombrotos, might have been in Antioch as the physician of Seleukos I Nikator (cf. Pliny *Naturalis historia* 7.123 and 29.5), as was maintained on less than secure grounds by M. Wellmann, "Zur Geschichte der Medicin im Altertum," *Hermes* 35 (1900): 349–84 (esp. pp. 380–82; cf. also pp. 371, 382 on Kleophantos). Chrysispos, a son of Erasistratos's Knidian teacher Chrysispos, apparently became a personal physician to one of the Ptolemies (Diogenes Laertius 7.186).
- 38 Vindician *Gynaecia* praef. 2 (= *Heroph.* [note 10 above], fr. 5 and 64 = *Erasist.* [note 10 above], fr. 17B); Caelius Aurelianus *Tardae passionis* 5.2.50 (= *Erasist.* fr. 267).
- 39 *Suda*, E.2896, s.v. Erasistratos (II, pp. 402–3 Adler); Wellmann (note 37 above), pp. 370, 380–82; Strabo 9.5.6; Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 29.5; Sextus Empiricus *Aduersus mathematicos* 1.258; Diogenes Laertius 5.57 and 7.186; Stephanus of Byzantium *Ethnica*, p. 335 Meineke; Stobaeus *Anthologium* 3.7.57 (p. 325 Hense); ps.-Galen *Introductio siue medicus* 4 (vol. 14, p. 683 K. [note 12 above]).
- 40 Rufus(?), *Anat.* 71–72 (Daremborg and Ruelle [note 26 above], pp. 184–85) = *Erasist.* (note 10 above), fr. 39; Galen *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 6.6.4–11, 6.6.19, 7.3.6–13, 7.8.12 (vol. 5, pp. 548–50, 552, 602–4, 646–47 K. [note 12 above]) = CMG [note 12 above], 5.4.1.2, pp. 396, 398, 440–42, 476 De Lacy) = *Erasist.* fr. 201, 289, 42A. See also notes 42, 47 below.
- 41 On pathological dissection, see Caelius Aurelianus *Tardae passionis* 5.8.111 = *Erasist.* [note 10 above], fr. 251; Vindician *Gynaecia* praef. 2 (see note 38 above). On Erasistratos's experiments, see Harris (note 36 above), pp. 224, 378–88; H. von Staden, "Experiment and Experience in Hellenistic Medicine," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 22 (1975): 178–99; Furley and Wilkie (note 12 above), pp. 47–57 (by Wilkie).
- 42 Ps.-Galen *Introductio siue medicus* 5 (vol. 14, p. 684 K. [note 12 above]).
- 43 See Furley and Wilkie (note 12 above), pp. 26–37; *Erasist.* (note 10 above), pp. 31–46; von Staden (note 18 above); Harris (note 36 above), pp. 195–232.
- 44 See, e.g., Galen *De anatomicis administrationibus* 7.16 (vol. 2, pp. 648–49 K. [note 12 above], esp. 649.17 = *Erasist.* [note 10 above], fr. 49A); Galen *De naturalibus facultatibus* 1.16, 2.1 (vol. 2, pp. 60–67, 75 K.; *Scripta minora* [note 17 above], vol. 3, pp. 145–50, 155 Helmreich = *Erasist.* fr. 74, 136); Galen *De purgantium medicamentorum facultate* 2 (vol. 11, p. 328 K. = *Erasist.* fr. 93); Galen *An in arteriis sanguis natura contineatur* 2 (vol. 4, p. 709 K.; Furley and Wilkie [note 12 above], p. 150 = *Erasist.* fr. 109); Galen *De pulsuum differentiis* 4.2 (vol. 8, p. 703 K. = *Erasist.* fr. 110); Galen *De uenae sectione aduersus Erasistratum* 3 (vol. 11, pp. 153–56 K. = *Erasist.* fr. 198, 212). See also note 49 below.
- 45 Erasistratos and his followers distinguish between "massed void" (*κενὸν ἀθρόον, κενὸς ἀθρόως τόπος*), i.e., the "empty" that is "large, clear, perceptible or evident" (*κενὸν μέγα, σαφές, αἰσθητόν, ἐναργές*), on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the "empty" or "void" that "is in the state of being dispersed (*παρέσπαρται*) at short intervals (*κατὰ βραχύ*) throughout bodies": Galen *De naturalibus facultatibus* 2.1, 2.6 (vol. 2, pp. 75–76, 95–99 K. [note 12 above]); *Scripta minora* [note 17 above], vol. 3, pp. 155–56, 170–73 Helmreich = *Erasist.* [note 10 above], fr. 95, 96, 136, 138, 147); Anonymus Londinensis 26.48c, 27.6–7, 25–39. *Κενὸν ἀθρόον*, for "massed" or "continuous void" (as contrasted with "disseminate" or interstitial void, *διεσπαρμένον* or *παρεσπαρμένον κενόν*), apparently became a technical expression, also in mechanics; it is conspicuous, for example, in the prooemium to Heron's *Pneumatica* 1 (1, pp. 4.3–4, 6.12–14, 8.22, 16.20–26, 26.23–28.11 Schmidt; 104.29, 109.13, 112.14, 115.18, 116.4 Gottschalk) and

- in *Pneum.* 1.2 (1, p. 36.10–11 Schmidt), 1.4 (1, p. 46.3–4 Schmidt). See also notes 46, 55–56 below. H. Diels, “Über das physikalische System des Strato,” *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin*, phil.-hist. Kl. (1893), pp. 101–27, esp. pp. 105–17 (repr. in Diels, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte der antiken Philosophie*, ed. W. Burkert [Hildesheim 1969], pp. 239–65), argued that Strato of Lampsakos influenced both Erasistratos and Alexandrian mechanicians, but Diels made overconfident use of Heron to reconstruct Strato. See L. Repici, *La natura e l’anima: Saggi su Stratone di Lampsaco* (Turin 1988), pp. 85–90.
- 46 See F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, vol. 5, *Straton von Lampsakos* (Basel 1950), fr. 54–67; Diels (note 45 above); I. M. Lonie, “Medical Theory in Heraclides of Pontus,” *Mnemosyne*, 4th ser. 18 (1965), pp. 126–43; H. B. Gottschalk, “Strato of Lampsacus: Some Texts,” *Proceedings of the Leeds Literary and Philosophical Society* 11 (1965): 95–182, esp. 127–41; idem, *Heraclides of Pontus* (Oxford 1980), p. 143; J. T. Vallance, *The Lost Theory of Asclepiades of Bithynia* (Oxford 1990), pp. 9, 12–14, 49, 56, 58–59; D. J. Furley, *Cosmic Problems* (Cambridge 1989), pp. 149–60.
- 47 See Galen *De naturalibus facultatibus* 2.1 (vol. 2, pp. 75–76 K. [note 12 above]; *Scripta minora* [note 17 above], vol. 3, pp. 155–56 Helmreich; *Erasist.* [note 10 above], fr. 95, 136); Erasistratos submerged a tube in water, emptied out the air in it, and observed the contiguous portion of water immediately moving into the space from which the air had been removed. See also Philon of Byzantium *De ingenii spiritualibus* 3 and 6 (in W. Schmidt, *Heronis Alexandrini Opera*, vol. 1 [Leipzig 1899], pp. 462–64, 470–72); Heron *Pneumatica* 1.2 and 1.4 (1, pp. 36, 42–46 Schmidt); Themistius *In Aristotelis De caelo paraphr.* 4.5, ad 312b5–14 (p. 241.13–27 Landauer); Simplicius *In Aristotelis De caelo comment.* 4.5, ad 312b2 (p. 723.18–36 Heiberg).
- 48 See notes 44 and 49; von Staden, “Cardiovascular Puzzles” (note 18 above).
- 49 See notes 40 and 43–44 above, and Galen *An in arteriis natura sanguis contineatur* 8.4–5 (vol. 4, pp. 733–34 K. [note 12 above]; Furley and Wilkie [note 12 above], pp. 178–80 = *Erasist.* [note 12 above], fr. 51); Galen *De anatomicis administrationibus* 7.11, 7.16 (vol. 2, pp. 624, 646 K. = *Erasist.* fr. 202, 52); Galen *De usu partium* 6.12, 7.8 (vol. 3, pp. 465, 537–40 K.; 1, p. 339 Helmreich = *Erasist.* fr. 84, 103–4); Galen *De locis affectis* 5.3 (vol. 8, p. 316 K. = *Erasist.* fr. 105); Galen *De usu respirationis* 2.1, 2.10, 5.1 (vol. 4, pp. 474–75, 482, 502 K.; Furley and Wilkie [note 12 above], pp. 82–84, 94, 120 = *Erasist.* fr. 106, 108, 112); Caelius Aurelianus *Celeres passiones* 2.34.180 (= *Erasist.* fr. 183); Galen *De pulsuum differentiis* 4.17 (vol. 8, p. 759 K. = *Erasist.* fr. 205); Galen *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 6.6.4–11 (vol. 5, pp. 548–50 K.; CMG [note 12 above], 5.4.1.2, p. 396 De Lacy = *Erasist.* fr. 201).
- 50 Vitruvius *De architectura* 10.7.1: *Insequitur nunc de Ctesibica machina quae in altitudinem aquam educit, monstrare. Ea sit ex aere. Cuius in radicibus modioli fiunt gemelli paulum distantes, habentes fistulas furcillae [sunt (del. Rose)] figura similiter cohaerentes, in medium catinum concurrentes:* “Now we proceed to give an indication concerning the machine of Ktesibios, which raises water to a height. It should be of bronze. In its base [“roots”] are made twin cylinders, a small distance apart, having [outlet] tubes in the form of a fork; these tubes are attached to them [i.e., to each of the cylinders] in a similar way, and the tubes converge in a main chamber [vessel] in the middle.”
- 51 Ibid.: *In quo catino fiunt asses in superioribus naribus fistularum coagmentatione subtili conlocati; qui praeobturantes foramina narium non patiuntur <redire (add. Rose)> quod spiritus in catinum est expressum* (the codices read *spiritus: spiritu* is Fra Giocondo’s emendation). For a similar device, see Heron *Pneumatica* 1.28 (1, pp. 130–36 Schmidt, with fig. 29; cf. 1, pp. xxxiii, xxxv with fig. 29a).
- 52 See, e.g., Galen *De placitis Hippocratis et Platonis* 6.6.4–11 (vol. 5, pp. 548–50 K. [note 12 above]; CMG [note 12 above], 5.4.1.2, p. 396 De Lacy = *Erasist.* [note 10 above], fr. 201). Cf. *Erasist.*, pp. 23–26, 36–43. See also notes 40, 44, 49 above.
- 53 Vitruvius 10.7.1–3. See notes 50–51 above.
- 54 See notes 45–46 above.
- 55 Heron *Pneumatica* prooemium, vol. 1, pp. 8.23–10.13, 16.10–16, 20.24–25, 26.23–25 Schmidt. Cf. Philon of Byzantium *Mechanica Syntaxis* 4.60 (p. 77.28–32 Thévenot = p. 152.18–20 Marsden) on Ktesibios, and 7–8.iii.72–73 (p. 96.15–26 Thévenot = pp. 65–66 Diels and Schramm, 1919 [note 8 above]). See notes 45, 56.

- 56 Heron *Pneumatica* 2.17–18 (I, pp. 250–54 Schmidt).
- 57 Galen *De naturalibus facultatibus* 2.2, 2.4 (vol. 2, pp. 78, 91 K. [note 12 above]; *Scripta minora* [note 17 above], vol. 3, pp. 157, 167 Helmreich); *Erasist.* (note 10 above), fr. 81.
- 58 Galen *De naturalibus facultatibus* 2.2, 3 (vol. 2, pp. 78, 81 K. [note 12 above]; *Scripta minora* [note 17 above], vol. 3, pp. 157, 159–60 Helmreich); *Erasist.* (note 10 above), fr. 79. See also Galen *De venae sectione adversus Erasistratum* 4 (vol. 11, pp. 157–58 K. = *Erasist.* fr. 80): “You [Erasistratos] marvel at nature as being at once capable of *technē* (τεχνική) and of forethought (προνοητική) for living beings.”
- 59 Galen *De usu partium* 4.15 (vol. 3, p. 315 K. [note 12 above]; I, p. 231 Helmreich = *Erasist.* [note 10 above], fr. 82).
- 60 Galen *De naturalibus facultatibus* 2.3, 4 (vol. 2, p. 88 K. [note 12 above]; *Scripta minora* [note 17 above], vol. 3, p. 165 Helmreich).
- 61 Galen *De naturalibus facultatibus* 2.4 (vol. 2, p. 91 K. [note 12 above]; *Scripta minora* [note 17 above], vol. 3, p. 167 Helmreich = *Erasist.* [note 10 above], fr. 81).
- 62 Plutarch(?), *De amore proles* 3 (*Moralia* 495C) = *Erasist.* (note 10 above), fr. 83. See idem, *Quaestiones convivales* 7.1 (*Moralia* 698B–D) = *Erasist.* fr. 114.
- 63 E.g., Plato *Timaeus* 33d1; here the cosmic demiurge himself, like the lesser gods who assist him, is a craftsman using *technē* to create the universe (δημιουργός, 29a3, 41a7, 41c4–5, 75b7–8; μηχανάομαι, 34c1, 37e3, 40c2, 45b6, 70c4, 73c2, 74b4, 77a3; see also τέχνη μηχανῶνται in an analogy, 50e6). Furthermore, the universe itself, like the nature of all its parts, is “technically crafted” (δεδημιουργημένος, φύσις, 80e4; οὐρανός δεδημιουργημένος, 31a2–4; δέρμα δημιουργηθέν, 76d5–6), and its elements behave like craftsmen (γῆ, 40c1–2; πῦρ, 59a5–6; cf. 47a6, 46e4).
- 64 H. von Arnim, ed., *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* (hereafter SVF), 4 vols. (Leipzig 1903–1924), vol. 2, fr. 1027 (Aëtius *Placita* 1.7.33); Diogenes Laertius 7.156 (SVF, vol. 2, fr. 774); Cicero *De natura deorum* 2.57 (SVF, vol. 1, fr. 171); Galen *Methodus medendi* 1.2 (vol. 10, pp. 15–16 K. [note 12 above] = SVF, vol. 2, fr. 411); ps.-Galen *Historia philosopha* 6 and 8 (vol. 19, pp. 246, 252 K. [note 12 above]; *Doxographi Graeci*², p. 618); ps.-Galen *Definitiones medicae* 95 (vol. 19, p. 379 K.; SVF, vol. 2, fr. 1133); Clement of Alexandria *Stromateis* 5.14.100.4 (SVF, vol. 2, fr. 1134). See also SVF, vol. 2, fr. 1135–39.
- 65 Olympiodoros *In Platonis Gorgiam* 12.1; for parallel passages, see SVF (note 64 above), vol. 1, fr. 73.
- 66 SVF (note 64 above), vol. 1, fr. 73.
- 67 E.g., Aristotle *Meteorologica* 4.3.381b6; idem, *Physica* 2.2.194a21–22 and 2.8.199a11–20; idem, *Poetica* 4.1448b4–9 and 1448b20–27; idem, *Protrepticus* fr. 13–14 Ross; ps.-Aristotle *De mundo* 5.396b11–12; Theophrastos *De lapidis* 60; idem, *Metaphysics* 4.1.7a5; idem, *De causis plantarum* 2.18.2 Cf. the Hippocratic treatise *On Regimen* 1.11–16 (VI, pp. 486–90 Littré; CMG [note 12 above], 1.2.4, pp. 134–38 Joly/Byl).
- 68 Aristotle *De partibus animalium* 4.2.677a12–19.
- 69 Ibid., 3.2.663a8–11.
- 70 Theophrastos *Metaphysics* 9.2.111a1–16; see also 4.2.7a19–22. Cf. Marlein van Raalte, *Theophrastus, Metaphysics* (Leiden 1933), pp. 485–587; A. Laks and G. W. Most, *Theophraste, Métaphysique* (Paris 1993), pp. 18–22, 74–88.
- 71 Theophrastos *Metaphysics* 9.1–4.10a21–12a2.
- 72 See, e.g., Aristotle *De partibus animalium* 2.14–15.658a11–b26; J. G. Lennox, “Theophrastus on the Limits of Teleology,” in W. W. Fortenbaugh, ed., *Theophrastus of Eresus: On His Life and Work*, Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities, vol. 2 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1985), pp. 143–63; J. Cooper, “Aristotle on Natural Teleology,” in M. C. Nussbaum and M. Schofield, eds., *Language and Logos* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), pp. 197–222; J. Cooper, “Hypothetical Necessity and Natural Teleology,” in A. Gotthelf and J. G. Lennox, eds., *Philosophical Issues in Aristotle’s Biology* (Cambridge 1987), pp. 243–74; A. Gotthelf, “Aristotle’s Conception of Final Causality,” *Review of Metaphysics* 30 (1976): 226–54 (reprinted in *Philosophical Issues* [above, this note], pp. 204–42); D. M. Balme, “Teleology and Necessity,” in *Philosophical Issues* [above, this note], pp. 275–90; W. Kullmann, “Different Concepts of Final Cause in Aristotle,” in A. Gotthelf, ed., *Aristotle on*

- Nature and Living Things* (Pittsburgh 1985), pp. 169–75; G. W. Most, “The Relative Date of Theophrastus’ *Metaphysics*,” in W. W. Fortenbaugh and R. W. Sharples, eds., *Theophrastean Studies*, Rutgers University Studies in Classical Humanities, vol. 3 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988), pp. 224–33; W. Kullmann, *Die Teleologie in der aristotelischen Biologie*, Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., vol. 2 (1979); idem, “Wesen und Bedeutung der ‘Zwecksursache’ bei Aristoteles,” *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 5 (1982): 25–39; G. Wöhrle, *Theophrasts Methode in seinen botanischen Schriften* (Amsterdam 1985), pp. 90–94; L. Repici, “Limits of Teleology in Theophrastus’ *Metaphysics*?” *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 72 (1990): 182–213.
- 73 Diogenes Laertius 5.58: Strato received eighty talents for tutoring Philadelphos. See notes 3 and 46 above; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1972), pp. 114, 311, 322, 427–28; Green (note 37 above), pp. 86, 88, 494, 611–12.
- 74 On Theophrastus and Erasistratos, see Diogenes Laertius 5.57 = *Erasist.* (note 10 above), fr. 7. See also Pliny *Naturalis historia* 29.5 = *Erasist.* fr. 8; Sextus Empiricus *Adversus mathematicos* 1.258 = *Erasist.* fr. 5; Galen *De naturalibus facultatibus* 2.5 (vol. 2, p. 90 K. [note 12 above]; *Scripta minora* [note 17 above], vol. 3, p. 166 Helmreich = *Erasist.* fr. 6). See Green (note 37 above), p. 494; but for a more skeptical view, cf. J. Scarborough, “Erasistratos, Student of Theophrastus?” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 59 (1985): 515–17.
- 75 See notes 63–72 above and, e.g., Plato’s criticism of Anaxagoras, *Phaedo* 97b8–99d2; Aristotle’s numerous criticisms of Demokritos’s ateleological mechanism, also in biological contexts (e.g., Aristotle *De generatione animalium* 2.6.742b17–25, 5.8.788b8–29; cf. Aristotle *De caelo* 3.4.303a3–b8; Aristotle *De generatione et corruptione* 1.8.324b35–326b6; Aristotle *Metaphysica* A.4.985b4–22). For Epicurus’s ateleological perspectives, see, e.g., *Letter to Herodotus* 73–74, *Letter to Pythocles* 88, and Lucretius 4.823–57, 5.156–234. For Stoic teleology, see notes 64–66 above and, e.g., *SVF* (note 64 above), vol. 2, fr. 1021, 1152, 1163, 1169–70, 1172; *SVF*, vol. 3, fr. 371, 616.
- 76 No evidence explicitly connects either Erasistratos or Herophilos with the Alexandrian Mouseion as such. But patronage can take many forms: see *Heroph.* (note 10 above), pp. 26–30, and von Staden, “Discovery of the Body” (note 10 above), esp. p. 231. Connections between the Ptolemaic royal court and some early Alexandrian scientists are well attested: kings gave Herophilos and Erasistratos condemned criminals for vivisectionary experimentation (Celsus *Medicina prooemium* 23: *qui nocentes homines a regibus ex carcere acceptos uiuos inciderint*; *Erasist.* [note 10 above], fr. 17A; *Heroph.* fr. 63a). Erasistratos prescribed a plaster for a King Ptolemy who suffered from gout (Caelius Aurelianus *Tardae passiones* 5.2.50 = *Erasist.* fr. 267). And the son of Erasistratos’s teacher Chrysippos became a Ptolemaic court physician (Diogenes Laertius 7.186), as did Herophilos’s pupil Andreas (Polybius 5.81.1–7; see *Heroph.*, pp. 472–75). One Apollonios dedicated a sundial to Ptolemy Philadelphos (*Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* 24; see Diels, *Antike Technik* [note 9 above], pp. 176–78), and Ktesibios dedicated a famous rhyton with an automatically operating trumpet in honor of Arsinoe Philadelphos in the temple at Cape Zephyrion: Hedyllus, in Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 9.497D–E; cf. A. S. F. Gow, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge 1965), vol. 1, ll. 1843–52, and vol. 2, pp. 292–93. And in the later third century B.C. Philon of Byzantium claims that the development of the technology of artillery owes much to the systematic application of the principle of calibration, which “the *technitai* in Alexandria have succeeded in doing since they obtained, for the first time, abundant production funds (*μεγάλην χορηγίαν*) thanks to the provision made by ambitious (*φιλοδόξων*) and *technē*-friendly (*φιλοτέχνων*) kings” (*Belopoeica* [= *Mechanica Syntaxis*, Book 4], p. 50 Thévenot = p. 108 Marsden). Fraser (note 73 above), vol. 1, chap. 6, and pp. 371, 446.
- 77 Scientists of this period also display disparate moral sensibilities. The Empiricists, for example, rejected vivisection as immoral and scientifically worthless (and they likewise spurned dissection as having no clinical value). See Celsus *Medicina prooemium* 40–44; Deichgräber (note 11 above), fr. 24 (esp. p. 105.23–29), fr. 66–70.

Arts of Hellenistic Alexandria: Greek and Egyptian Contributions

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Alexandria and the Origins of Baroque Architecture

Judith McKenzie

It has generally been assumed that the architecture of Ptolemaic Alexandria has been lost beyond recall. Sufficient of it in fact survives, however, to suggest that there was a classical architecture that was distinctly Alexandrian and that this includes the earliest surviving baroque architecture. Furthermore, it can be shown that this architecture is reflected in the architecture at Petra and in Second Style Pompeian wall painting. Finally, it can be suggested that there is a largely unrecognized continuity of tradition of it.

This paper is limited to a discussion of our knowledge of the classical architecture of Alexandria, based on the little-known archaeological remains found in Alexandria itself. It will focus on the style of architecture, not the topography, except for initial brief comments on the Ptolemaic city layout based on a detailed reexamination of the record of the archaeological evidence. Thus, it touches on only a small fraction of my broader study of the architecture of Alexandria, approximately from 300 B.C. to A.D. 700, which concentrates on the monumental architecture of the city and the rest of Egypt and also considers the topographical development of the city. This larger study is based on the evidence provided by archaeological remains and textual sources.

The textual sources provide more information than is usually realized about the development of the topography of the city right through to the Byzantine period, while the archaeological remains give a picture of what the architecture looked like, at a level of detail not generally provided by the written sources. For a complete picture, one needs the combination of textual and archaeological evidence. In confining ourselves to the latter in this paper, we gain only a glimpse of the whole picture.

Ptolemaic Grid Plan

The modern visitor to Alexandria always remarks on how few traces apparently survive of this famous ancient city. He visits the site of the Temple of Serapis and discovers only "Pompey's Pillar," the sole column in the city that has survived standing through centuries of earthquakes. He finds Fort Kait Bey marking the site of the lighthouse, the Pharos,

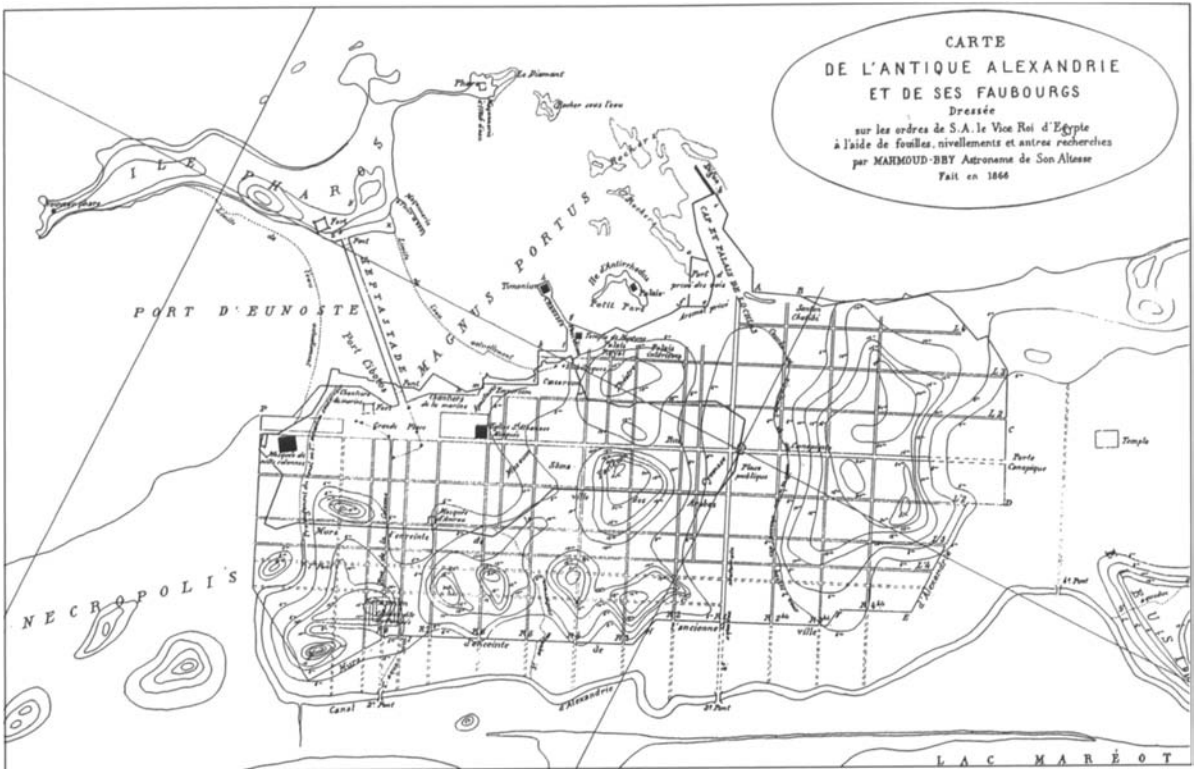


FIG. 1
Plan of Alexandria made by Mahmoud Bey in 1866. From M. El Falaki, *Mémoire sur l'antique Alexandrie* (Copenhagen 1872), reproduced in G. Jondet, *Atlas historique de la Ville et des Ports d'Alexandrie* (Cairo 1921), pl. 37.



FIG. 2
Detail of Mahmoud Bey's plan of Alexandria showing surviving paving and columns in 1866 ("12a" equals 330 m, cf. fig. 4). Drawing by the author, based on H. Kiepert, "Zur Topographie der alten Alexandria: Nach Mahmud Begs Entdeckungen," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 7 (1872): 337-49, pl. 5, map opposite page 384.

and discovers that no other trace of it remains. Even the site of the entrance to the Caesareum, the Temple of Caesar, is no longer marked by "Cleopatra's Needles." Instead, the tourist can find them at home, one on the Thames Embankment in London, the other in Central Park in New York, to where they were removed late in the nineteenth century.

From the ninth through the fifteenth century the ancient architectural remains of the city were methodically removed for reuse in other buildings, such as the mosques of Cairo and even of Istanbul.¹

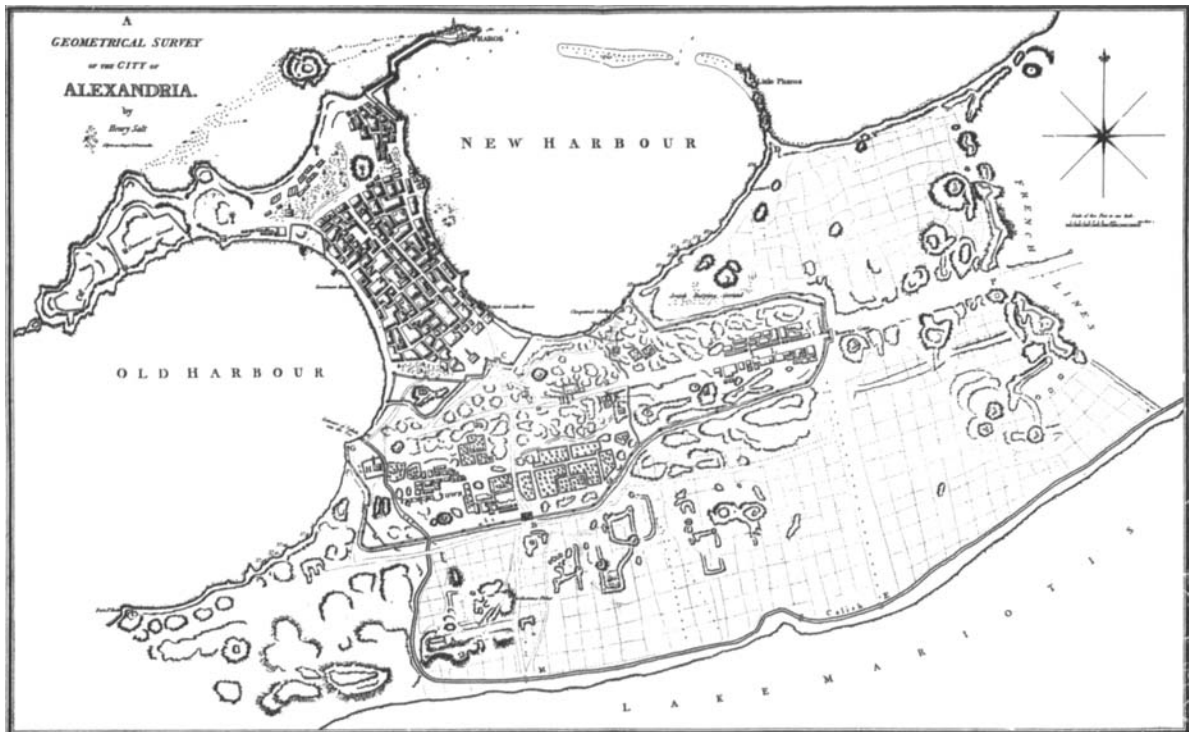


FIG. 3
Plan of Alexandria made by
H. Salt in 1806. From G. Valentia,
*Voyages and Travels to India,
Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and
Egypt in the Years 1802-1806*,
vol. 4 (London 1811), first fold-
out map. Courtesy of The New
York Public Library.

This process was assisted by the earthquakes, which were particularly destructive in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.²

Thus, few remains of the ancient buildings were still standing by the late eighteenth century when European interest in the town began to develop. Traces of the layout of the ancient city were, however, still visible. By 1880 most of these traces had been built over or destroyed by the modern city, but before this happened, they had been recorded in more detail than is usually appreciated.

In 1866 an Arab surveyor, Mahmoud Bey, recorded the remains of the grid plan (fig. 1).³ However, his plan, and even its orientation, were disbelieved by the English archaeologist David George Hogarth, who has been followed by other scholars writing in English.⁴ The plan published by Richard Allan Tomlinson was an excellent reflection of how little English scholars thought was known about the plan.⁵ Their continental colleagues were slightly less skeptical of Mahmoud Bey's work.⁶

If one reads the text that Mahmoud Bey published in French in 1872 to accompany his plan, however, one discovers that he was very careful to record where columns or paving survived. Furthermore, he acknowledged (quite correctly) that those he was recording were Roman rather than Ptolemaic.⁷ These are visible on various German copies of Mahmoud Bey's plan, such as those of Kiepert (fig. 2) and Sieglin.⁸

It has not previously been recognized that confirmation of the accuracy of Mahmoud Bey's record of the archaeological evidence is to be found in the map made by Henry Salt in 1806 (fig. 3).⁹ This plan was made over half a century before Mahmoud Bey's and shows street lines

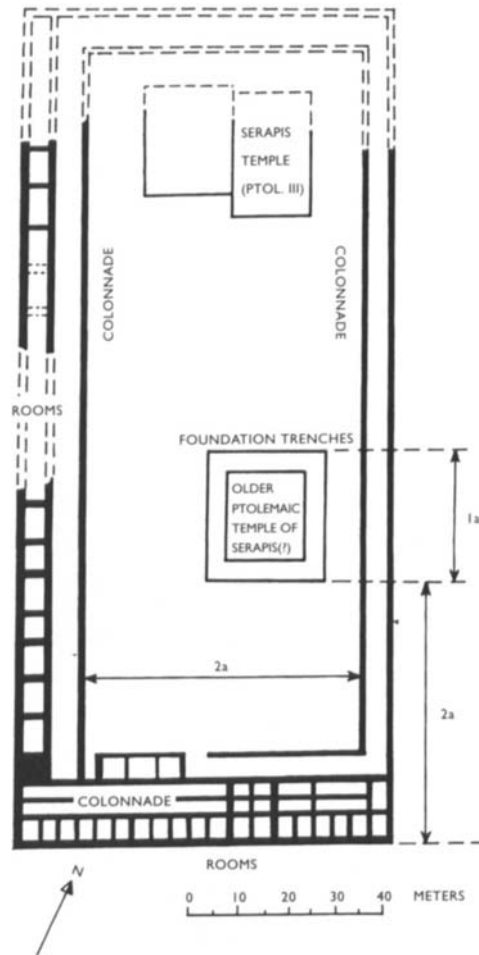


FIG. 4
Plan of the Ptolemaic Serapeion, Alexandria ("a" equals 27.5 m, or $1/12 \times 330$ m). Drawing by the author, based on details of A. Rowe and B. R. Rees, "The Great Serapeum of Alexandria," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester* 39.2 (1957): 485–520, plan opposite page 492.

existing where Mahmoud Bey later recorded them. Furthermore, Salt's plan confirms Mahmoud Bey's interaxial grid width of 330 m. This is the distance between the center line of each of the main north-south streets. This dimension is three times the average used in the Seleucid cities of Syria.¹⁰ It is notable that traces of the plan have survived in Alexandria through the Roman, Byzantine, and Islamic periods, just as they did in Syria.

Most of the surviving Roman remains, such as those uncovered at Kom el Dikka,¹¹ are built on the same orientation as this grid as are most Ptolemaic ones, including notably the Serapeion. The hippodrome adjoining it, whose existence was recorded by the Napoleonic expedition as well as by Henry Salt, was also built on this same orientation.¹² This structure, called the Lageion after the father of Ptolemy I, was situated southwest of Pompey's Pillar. Although it was as large as the Circus Maximus in Rome, by the end of the nineteenth century it had disappeared under housing.

The foundations of the Serapeion, or Temple of Serapis built by Ptolemy III about 246–222 B.C., have survived. They are clearly marked and reliably dated because Ptolemy left foundation plaques in holes at the corners inscribed both in Greek and in Egyptian hiero-

FIG. 5
 Ptolemaic architectural fragments
 in the Graeco-Roman Museum in
 Alexandria as they appeared ca.
 1920. From E. Breccia, *Alexandria
 ad Aegyptum* (Bergamo 1922),
 fig. 103.



glyphs.¹³ On examining the plan from Rowe's excavations, which were done in the 1940s and 1950s, it becomes apparent not only that the temple and its enclosure were laid out on the same orientation as the grid but also that the gross unit of their plan, 27.50 m, is exactly one-twelfth of the interaxial grid width recorded by Mahmoud Bey and Salt (see figs. 2, 4). This would tend to confirm the Ptolemaic origin of the basic grid and its orientation. The use of a subdivision of the street grid dimensions and the same orientation as on the Serapeion, which is reliably dated to Ptolemy III, suggest that the basic dimensions and orientation of the street grid recorded by Mahmoud Bey had a Ptolemaic origin. They were then preserved in the Roman grid, which he recorded.

What the Architecture along These Streets Looked Like

We now come to what the architecture along these streets and inside the colonnaded courts off them looked like. Some of this architecture, particularly in the early third century B.C., was similar to that at other Hellenistic sites, such as the fragments republished by Wolfram Hoepfner, from a building in the palace area.¹⁴

Fragments in the Museum. This paper will concentrate on the fragments in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, which indicate that a classical architecture developed that was distinctively Alexandrian.

There are over one hundred published architectural fragments preserved in the museum that were still on display in 1982 (fig. 5). Many of these can be shown to date to the Ptolemaic period. Most of them were no longer on display by 1992, however, despite the fact that they give the best available indication, at a general level, of the architectural details that might have been used on Ptolemaic structures, such as the colonnades of the ancient Mouseion or Library.

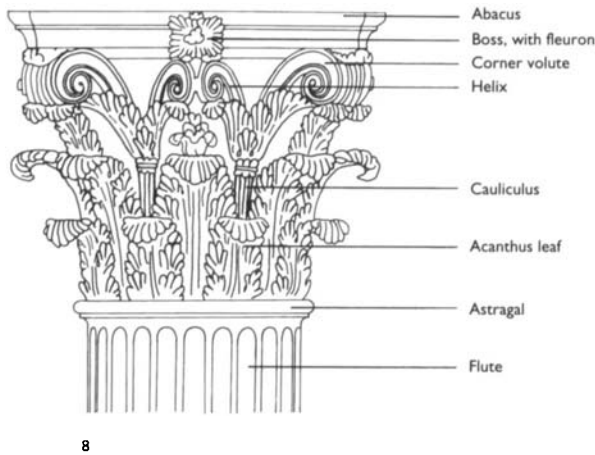
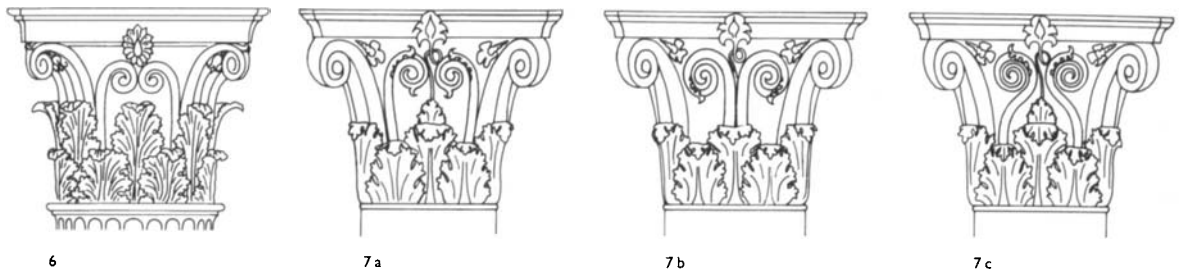


FIG. 6
Epidauran Corinthian capital.

FIGS. 7a - c
Corinthian capital types.
a: Type I Alexandrian capital;
b: Type II Alexandrian capital;
c: Type III Alexandrian capital.

FIG. 8
Roman "normal" Corinthian capital.



FIG. 9a
Type I Alexandrian capital, from the Chantier Finney. Ca. second century B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum. From A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain*, 1935-1939, pl. 15.1.

FIG. 9b
Type II Alexandrian capital, from the Chantier Finney. Ca. second century B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum. From A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain*, 1935-1939, pl. 16.1.

FIG. 9c
Type III Alexandrian capital, from the Chantier Finney. Ca. second century B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum. From A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain*, 1935-1939, pl. 17.4.

From the fragments in the Graeco-Roman Museum it is possible, first, to define specific details of capitals and cornice types as distinctively Alexandrian and, second, to determine that the earliest examples of various new baroque structural features, such as half-pediments and curved entablatures, survive from Ptolemaic Alexandria.

Most of these fragments were loose finds, although one important group, from the "Chantier Finney," was found together and appears to come from one building. I reproduced the published pieces in *The Architecture of Petra*.¹⁵ Since then, Pensabene's large volume has appeared, which gives many more examples, reflecting the remarkable consistency of the evidence.¹⁶

The basis for the chronology of the tombs in Alexandria has been given elsewhere.¹⁷ Suffice it to say that when the tombs are re-examined in detail, it becomes clear that while most of them cannot

FIG. 10
Type IV Alexandrian capital.



10

FIG. 11
Type IV Alexandrian capital. Ca. second century B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum. From K. Ronczewski, "Kapitelle des El Hasne in Petra," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1932, 37–90, fig. 22.



11

FIG. 12
Acanthus column base, from the Chantier Finney. Ca. second century B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum. From A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain*, 1935–1939, pl. 16.6.



12

reliably be dated to within approximately a quarter of a century, it is generally clear whether they are Ptolemaic or Roman, dating to the third or second century B.C. rather than the first century A.D.

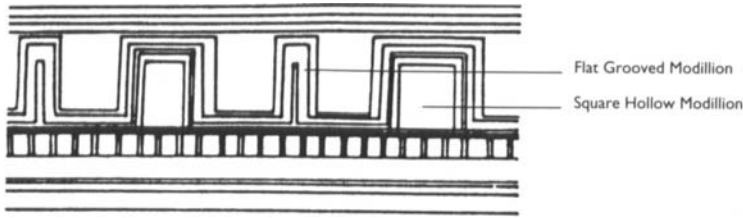
For example, Tomb 2 at Mustafa Pasha is dated to about the second century B.C., based on the evidence of the coins, pottery, and epigraphy. Tombs 1 and 3 at Mustafa Pasha are close to it in date. Based on a comparison with these, the group of architectural fragments from the Chantier Finney, which was in the area of the palace quarter, may be dated to about the second century B.C.¹⁸

Capitals. The Corinthian capitals surviving in Alexandria from the Ptolemaic period fall into a number of distinct types. The first three are related to that used on the Tholos at Epidauros. Like it (fig. 6), the Alexandrian ones have the helices springing directly from the collar of acanthus leaves (fig. 7a–c). By contrast, the Roman "normal" Corinthian capital is characterized by the sheath called a cauliculus, from which the helices and corner volutes spring together (fig. 8).

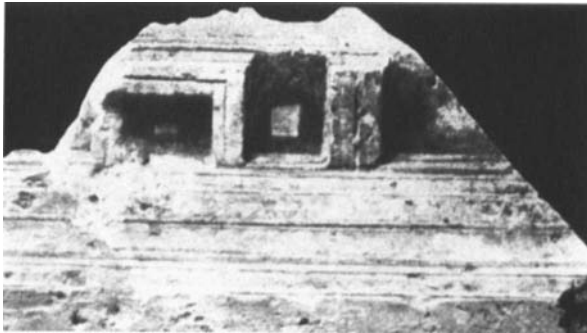
The Alexandrian Corinthian capitals were classified by Ronczewski.¹⁹ Type I, which has the helices facing each other,²⁰ includes some examples from the Chantier Finney building (see figs. 7a, 9a). It also had examples of Type II on which the helices are back to back²¹ (see figs. 7b, 9b). On Type III the helices are again back to back²² but spring from further apart, as seen on the Chantier Finney examples (see figs. 7c, 9c).

Type IV capitals are characterized by the lack of a collar of acanthus leaves and by the corner volutes continuing into spirals back to back in place of the helices.²³ Some examples of this type are contemporary with the examples of the other types from the Chantier Finney (figs. 10, 11).

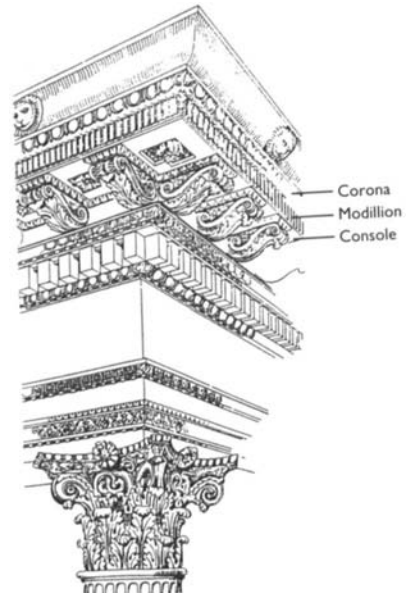
Also supporting one of the capitals from this building was an acanthus column base (fig. 12). These were common in Alexandria²⁴ and are found later at other sites in the eastern Mediterranean.



13



14



15

Cornices. The capitals from the Chantier Finney building supported cornices with the distinctively narrow, flat grooved modillions and square hollow modillions (figs. 13, 14). Many of these modillion cornices survive in Alexandria.²⁵ By contrast, a typical Roman cornice does not have these plain modillions but is more ornate (fig. 15). These modillion types are distinctive to the architecture of Alexandria and are found only at sites influenced by it. They have a long continuity in Egypt, as is shown below.

New Baroque Structural Features. The fragments in the Graeco-Roman Museum also include the earliest surviving examples of baroque forms of pediments and entablatures. It should first be explained what is meant by “baroque” in this context. The normal ancient Greek method of building, used on the Greek temples such as the Parthenon in Athens, involved a post-and-lintel system of straight stone or timber beams with a triangular pediment (fig. 16). By contrast, “baroque” architecture involves breaking away from this system. The architecture is treated as a facade, and new structural elements are introduced, such as the half-pediments framing the circular structure depicted in the House of the Labyrinth in Pompeii and carved on the Khasneh at Petra (figs. 17–19).

The first stage in the development of baroque architecture is the attachment of pilasters or columns to a wall; the wall is treated as a facade. This began in Greece by the fifth century B.C.²⁶ The development that appears to have occurred in Alexandria is the introduction of the baroque forms of pediments and entablatures.²⁷ These include the half-pediment, segmental pediment (fig. 20), and curved entablature.

FIG. 13
Underside of modillion cornice of
Alexandrian Corinthian order.

FIG. 14
Fragment of modillion cornice
block, from the Chantier Finney.
Ca. second century B.C. Alexan-
dria, Graeco-Roman Museum.
From A. Adriani, *Annuaire du
Musée gréco-romain*, 1935–1939,
pl. 15.5.

FIG. 15
Roman Corinthian order.

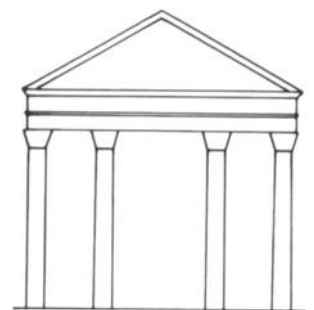


FIG. 16
Triangular pediment.

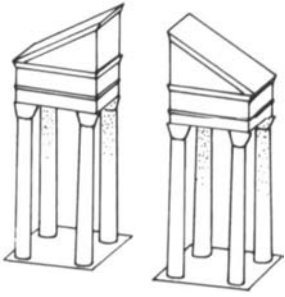
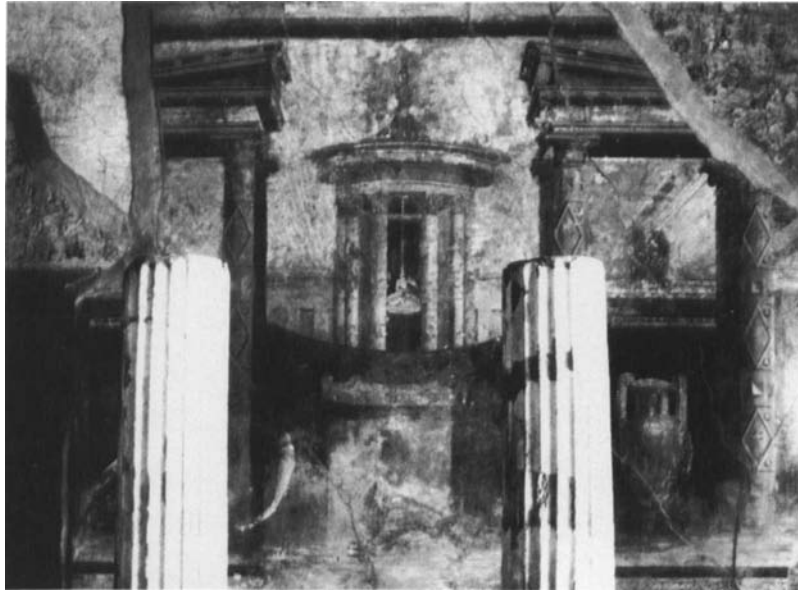


FIG. 17
Broken pediment consisting of two half-pediments of single pitch.

FIG. 18
Roman wall painting from the House of the Labyrinth, Pompeii. First century B.C.



18

FIG. 19
The Khasneh, Petra.

FIG. 20
Segmental pediment.



19



20



0 5 10 cm



The earliest surviving examples of these are in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria. The half-pediment and curved entablature illustrated here (figs. 21–23) both have a Hellenistic date, based on their long, narrow dentils. Note the distinctive Alexandrian modillions, which never occur in Roman architecture. The segmental pediment illustrated is from Chamber 2 of Tomb 2 at Anfushy, which is probably late Hellenistic (fig. 24).

Hans Lauter has suggested that the stimulation for breaking away from the rigid post-and-lintel system was provided by local Egyptian influence.²⁸ For example, the curved shape formed by the bending of canes would result in a segmental pediment rather than a triangular one. A similar Egyptian origin can be suggested for the acanthus column base.

The distinctively Alexandrian architecture is observed at other sites influenced by it. Of particular importance is Iraq al-Amir in Jordan, firmly dated to the early second century B.C. The recent full publication of it confirms the existence by this date of a distinctively Alexandrian architecture, including even the use of the Ptolemaic cubit as its basic unit of design.²⁹ It has Alexandrian decorative details, such as Corinthian capital types, as well as acanthus column bases.

The relationship between the Khasneh at Petra and the architecture depicted in Second Style Pompeian wall painting has long been a mystery (see figs. 18, 19). This is because the wall paintings are dated to the first century B.C., when there is no contemporary Roman baroque architecture. The chronology of the Khasneh at Petra has, however, now been slightly clarified,³⁰ confirming that it is approximately contemporary with the wall paintings. They are in fact both a reflection of the architecture of Alexandria.³¹ The wall paintings include decorative details, such as the hollow modillions, which are never used in Roman architecture.³²

FIG. 21
Half-pediment. Hellenistic.
Alexandria, Graeco-Roman
Museum. From P. Pensabene,
“Lastre di chiusura di loculi con
naiskoi Egizi e stele funerarie con
ritratto del Museo di Alessandria,”
in *Alessandria e il mondo
ellenistico-romano: Studi in onore
di A. Adriani*, vol. 1 (Rome 1983),
pp. 91–119, figs. 8, 9.

FIG. 22
Half-pediment. Hellenistic.
Alexandria, Graeco-Roman
Museum. From H. von Hesberg,
“Lo sviluppo dell’ordine corinzio
in età tardo-repubblicana,” in *L’Art
décoratif à Rome: A la fin de la
République et au début du Princi-
pat*, table ronde, Rome 10–11
May 1979 (Rome 1981), pp. 19–
33, fig. 35.

FIG. 23
Vertically curved entablature.
Hellenistic. Alexandria, Graeco-
Roman Museum. From P. Pensa-
bene, "Lastre di chiusura di loculi
con naiskoi Egizi e stele funerarie
con ritratto del Museo di Alessan-
dria," in *Alessandria e il mondo
ellenistico-romano: Studi in onore
di A. Adriani*, vol. 1 (Rome 1983),
pp. 91–119, figs. 3, 4.

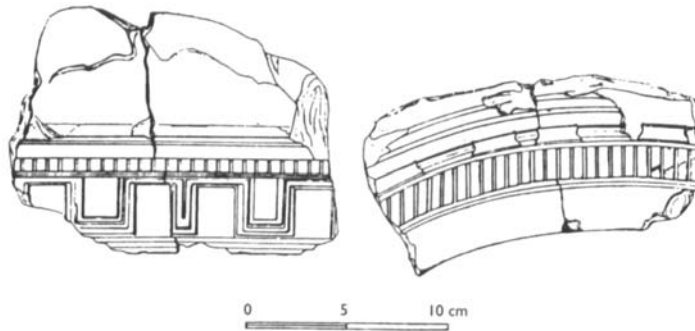


FIG. 24
Segmental pediment, from Tomb 2,
Anfushy, Alexandria. From
A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée
gréco-romain*, 1940–1950, fig. 40.

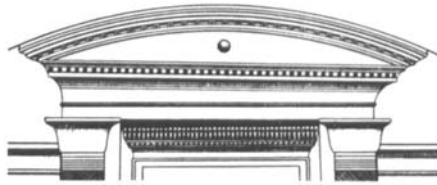


FIG. 25
The Market Gate, Miletos. Second
century A.D. Berlin, Pergamon
Museum.



By contrast, when the Romans started using baroque structural features, particularly in the second century A.D., they did not use the Alexandrian decorative details of capital and cornice types, but their own. The best-known examples of Roman baroque architecture have survived in Turkey, from the early second century A.D., such as the Market Gate from Miletos, which has a broken pediment; it is now in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin (fig. 25). The Library of Celsus at Ephesos has segmental pediments.³³ Both structures consist of an articulated facade, with the entablatures broken forward, as earlier seen on the facade

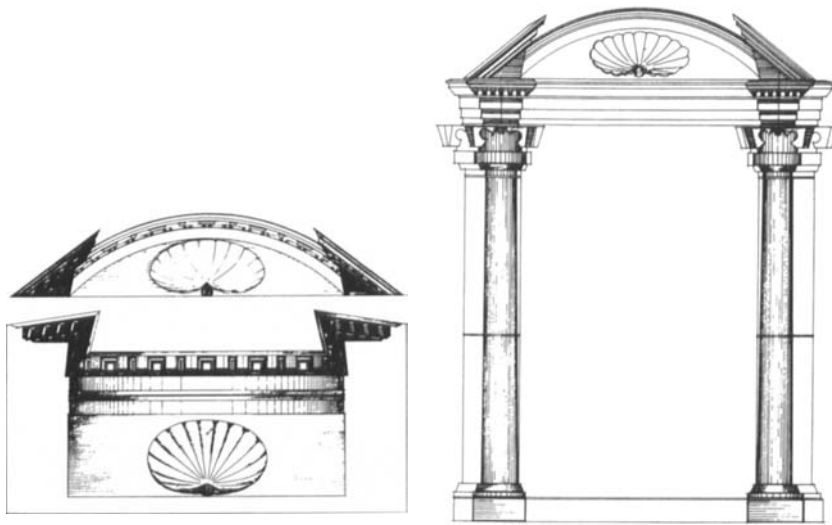


FIG. 26a
Broken-pediment niche head, from House 9, Marina el-Alamein. From W. Daszewski et al., *Marina el-Alamein: Archaeological Background and Conservation Problems*, vol. 1 (Warsaw 1991), p. 26, fig. 11.

FIG. 26b
Broken-pediment niche head, from House 9, Marina el-Alamein. From W. Daszewski et al., *Marina el-Alamein: Archaeological Background and Conservation Problems*, vol. 1 (Warsaw 1991), front cover.

of the Khasneh at Petra. The Temple of Hadrian at Ephesos has an arched entablature.³⁴ Note the ordinary Roman capital and cornice types on these examples.

Continuity of Alexandrian Architecture

Meanwhile, at sites under the influence of Alexandria there is a strong continuity of its architecture. The Palazzo delle Colonne at Ptolemais in Libya has Alexandrian Corinthian capital types as well as broken pediments decorated with Alexandrian flat grooved modillions.³⁵ Similarly, at Cyrene in Libya in the first century A.D. Alexandrian Corinthian capital types were used.³⁶ In Cyprus the Alexandrian influence is visible in the Hellenistic and early Roman capitals and cornices.³⁷

At Marina el-Alamein, near the site of the World War II battle about a hundred km west of Alexandria, there has recently been much building activity, during which a very important niche head was uncovered (figs. 26a, b). It consists of a broken pediment framing a conch and is decorated with square hollow and flat grooved modillions. It has been suggested that it is dated to the first century A.D.³⁸

Distinctively Alexandrian architecture continues in Egypt into the late antique and early Christian periods in the so-called Coptic architecture of the Egyptian Christians. These broken-pediment niche heads do not survive outside Egypt after the Roman period.

Many examples of these niche heads are found at the sites along the Nile (fig. 27). Examples decorated with square hollow or flat grooved modillions survive at Ahnas, Oxyrhynchus, Ashmunein, and in situ in the little-known church at Deir ez-Zawiah. Such niche heads even survived at Bawit and Saqqara.³⁹

These niche heads were also carved as far south as Sohag on the so-called White Monastery,⁴⁰ which was the main church of the monastery complex. My detailed, first-hand examination of the church structure reveals that the niche heads were made for it and contempo-

FIG. 27
Broken-pediment niche head,
from Egypt. Late antique. Berlin,
Museum für Spätantike und
Byzantinische Kunst.



FIG. 28
Modillion cornice from the White
Monastery at Sohag. Ca. A.D. 440.



rary with the modillion cornice (fig. 28), which runs around the inside of the building in situ above the inscribed lintel, which is dated to about A.D. 440.⁴¹ The church was built by the Egyptian abbot Shenute, who went to the Council of Ephesos with Cyril of Alexandria. The noticeably Alexandrian and classical influence on this architecture accords with recent, more detailed reevaluations of the writings of Shenute, which contain a greater knowledge of Greek culture than has previously been appreciated.⁴²

On Coptic buildings further south, such as the churches at Dendera and Luxor, the flat grooved modillions survive into the fifth or sixth century.

The continuity of the distinctively Alexandrian classical architecture at these sites clearly has serious implications for the history of the development of early Christian architecture in Egypt. It suggests that the so-called Coptic architecture perhaps more directly reflects the late antique and early Christian architecture of Alexandria than has been recognized, and perhaps there is not the amount of influence from Constantinople that is usually assumed. It is only now since the characteristic features of the Ptolemaic classical architecture of Alexandria have been defined that it has been possible to ascertain the strength of its continuity.

Just as there is a continuity of the distinctively Alexandrian architecture in Egypt itself, so there is also a continuity of the depiction of it, particularly in the east. The broken-pediment niche head from Marina el-Alamein confirms the allusion that similar structures make to Alexandria, for example, the ivory from the sixth or seventh century A.D. that is now in Milan and depicts Saint Menas, whose shrine was at Abu Menas west of Alexandria.⁴³ This motif is also used on the

sixth-century Rossana Gospels to frame Saint Mark, who is credited with evangelizing Alexandria.⁴⁴

The depiction of Alexandrian architectural motifs occurs particularly on gospel manuscripts, such as those of the Armenian, Syriac, and Ethiopian churches, where the circular structure is related to that in the Pompeian wall paintings, with the tent roof crowned by a capital.⁴⁵ The Monophysite churches, independent of influence from Constantinople, appear to have provided the contact for this continuity.

In the eighth century, Islamic wall mosaics in the Great Mosque in Damascus depict the two-storey building with half-pediments. Although much later than the Roman wall paintings, the scenes in the Great Mosque bear a remarkable similarity—not only in details but also in the types of scenes—to the wall paintings, such as the room from Boscoreale near Pompeii, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. In both, the same types of scenes are combined: monumental architecture, cityscapes, and garden scenes.⁴⁶

The strength of continuity of the architecture of Alexandria and of its depiction in the east would suggest that Alexandria perhaps remained more active artistically than is generally assumed. This is certainly suggested by the Byzantine texts pertaining to church building in the fourth and fifth centuries, which I have recently been analyzing in detail.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the spectacular Dionysos tapestry of the fourth century A.D. confirms the picture given by the textiles recently illustrated by Rutschowskaya that Hellenistic culture, which began in Egypt with the foundation of Alexandria, had a strong continuity along the Nile.⁴⁸

Before concluding, it is worth mentioning that in the later architecture of the Renaissance and Baroque periods (Baroque with an uppercase *B*), the baroque structural elements that had first been used in Ptolemaic Alexandria were again used, as they had been by the Romans. For example, on the Basilica of Saint Peter in Rome, the segmental pediments are used, the earliest examples of which survive in Alexandria.

Thus, the architectural fragments once displayed in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria are the earliest reflection of the lost architecture of Ptolemaic Alexandria: the inventive source from which are derived both early and later baroque architecture. These fragments are also the most accurate indication at a general level of what the architectural decorative details of specific Ptolemaic buildings might have been like, such as the colonnades of the Mouseion or the Library.

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Notes

- 1 E.g., Mosque of Süleymaniye: J. M. Rogers, "The Stones of Süleymaniye," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14 (1982): 71–86, esp. 75–79.
- 2 P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1972), p. 8.
- 3 M. el Falaki, *Mémoire sur l'antique Alexandrie* (Copenhagen 1872).
- 4 D. G. Hogarth and E. F. Benson, "Report on Prospects of Research in Alexandria," *Extract from the Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund* (London 1895?), esp. pp. 17–18. It should be noted that Hogarth did not have a copy of el Falaki's publication but a "manuscript translation" of it provided by Admiral Bloomfield. Fraser (note 2 above), p. 13.
- 5 R. A. Tomlinson, *From Mycenae to Constantinople: The Evolution of the Ancient City* (London 1992), fig. on p. 46.
- 6 E.g., A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano C*, vol. 1 (text) (Palermo 1963–1966), fig. 1; B. Tkaczow, reproduced in P. Pensabene, "Elementi di Architettura Alessandrina," *Studi miscellanei* 28 (1984–1985 [1991]): 29–85, fig. 82; W. Hoepfner and E.-L. Schwandner, *Haus und Stadt im klassischen Griechenland* (Munich 1994), pp. 235–56. See also note 11 below.
- 7 El Falaki (note 3 above), pp. 18–23, 27.
- 8 H. Kiepert, "Zur Topographie der alten Alexandria: Nach Mahmud Begs Entdeckungen," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 7 (1872): 337–49, opp. p. 384, pl. 5 map; Sieglin's map is reproduced in M. Rodziewicz, *Les Habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie* (Warsaw 1984), p. 365.
- 9 H. Salt, in G. Valentia, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt in the Years 1802–1806*, vol. 4 (London 1811); reproduced in G. Jondet, *Atlas historique de la Ville et des Ports d'Alexandrie, Mem. Soc. Sultan. de Geogr.* 2 (Cairo 1921), pl. 28.
- 10 Average: F. E. Peters, "City Planning in Greco-Roman Syria: Some New Considerations," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 1 (1983): 269–77, esp. 269. Seleucid block sizes: Tomlinson (note 5 above), p. 228.
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From the Double Crown to the Double Pediment

John Onians

We are used to seeing the Pantheon (fig. 1) as a Roman interpretation of a Greek tradition, but it may be just as appropriate to see some of what we think of as essentially Roman in this building as essentially Egyptian. This paper proposes that an Egyptian architecture was developed in the Nile Valley in the Ptolemaic period in conscious opposition to the imported Greek tradition, and that it was there ready to be used for similar purposes by the country's new conquerors, the Romans. It also argues that the psychological and intellectual framework that allowed the Egyptians to develop their new anti-Greek style was deeply embedded in the Egyptian mind since the first dynasties. The basic proposition of this paper, alluded to in the hieroglyphic of the title, is that the alternating pediment decoration of the Pantheon interior is a direct descendant of the Pharaoh's double crown. The attitudes to geography, history, art, and ultimately to culture that allowed the formulation and development of this tradition in Egypt and its inheritance by the Romans were not only alien to Greek views but constituted a critique of Greek culture and an illustration of some of its fundamental limitations.

This argument may not please everyone. We like to pride ourselves on being heirs to a distinctively Greek tradition and are especially proud of the way our great intellectual institutions are based on theirs. Nowhere is this more true than in the Getty Museum, which can claim an unusually direct descent through the Villa dei Papiri from the Mouseion and Library at Alexandria. It is certainly from the scholars of the Mouseion that the West inherited its confidence that it had little to learn from non-Greeks. Yet the Mouseion and Library themselves can only be explained as conscious imitations by the Greek invaders of Egyptian institutions. In the Greek world there was no tradition of buildings housing communities of scholars working on large collections of texts. In Egypt every great temple had its staff of priests and its papyrus library. Greece may, in the schools of the Sophists and philosophers, provide the model for the Western teaching institutions, but the ultimate model for the great Western research institutions is Egyptian.

Such a point of view is difficult for us to accept. It is hard for us to turn the clock back and open our minds to Egypt, to view it not



FIG. 1
Interior of the Pantheon,
Rome. Ca. A.D. 120. Photo by
N. Batcock.

just as the Greeks and Romans did, that is, as a granary, a reservoir of taxes, a source of exotic flora and fauna, and a land of mysterious ruins. The Greeks believed in one cultural system, theirs, with themselves at the center. Their model for culture was the single mind, whether it was the mind of the individual human or the one divine mind that ruled the universe. Philosophically they were monotheists, and they were also uniculturalists. The Greeks did not like there being two of anything. The Greek state was typically ruled by a single leader—whether king, tyrant, or *strategos*—or by a single class, be it the nobility or the *demos*. In the balance between the sexes, men were superior to women, who were typically regarded as defective males. Few Greeks could speak two languages, which is why the only Ptolemy who could speak Egyptian was the last—Cleopatra. The Greeks also had only one type of pediment, the triangular one.

The Romans, on the other hand, thought in terms of twos, and this is where this inquiry begins. Not only did the Romans have two types of pediments, the triangular and the segmental, they also were happy to have two of most things. Indeed, their culture was founded on the importance of dualism. Their state was ruled by two consuls. In the



FIG. 2
Pharaonic crowns: Upper Egypt,
Lower Egypt, and double (after
Emery).



FIG. 3
Hieroglyph with shrine of Upper
Egypt.



FIG. 4
Hieroglyph with shrine of Lower
Egypt.

home, man and woman had considerable equality. Most importantly, in the field of culture, Romans were happy to speak not only their own language, Latin, but Greek as well. In all this not only were the Romans the opposite of the Greeks but they were also just like the Egyptians. The Egyptians acknowledged dualities in many areas and above all in both religion and politics. In religious terms the Egyptians recognized two worlds, that of the living and that of the dead, and they gave expression to this division in cities of the living to the east of the Nile and cities of the dead to the west. In politics, too, the Egyptian pharaoh was the ruler of two lands, Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt, and that double kingdom was in some measure reflected in the pharaoh's marriage often with a sister, who was in many ways his equal. Women figure prominently in state reliefs, both as spouses and as partners, and Egyptian tombs are full of statues of symmetrical couples. More prosaically, the Egyptians also recognized two equal roof silhouettes, the curved and the flat.

What is the core of the Egyptian interest in duality? The answer is hinted at in the double crown (fig. 2). Worn by the pharaoh for nearly three thousand years, the double crown was emblematic of the double kingdom, that of the Delta, Lower Egypt, and that of the Nile Valley, Upper Egypt. Historically it was on the union of those kingdoms that the strength of the Egyptian state was founded. Although what happened in reality was that one dynasty, and perhaps even one race, conquered another, from the earliest times rituals and apparatus of the state made visible a continuity of the two institutions. Most important was the sacred ritual of the Heb-Sed at which the pharaoh ran between two shrines representing the capitals of the two kingdoms. The two kingdoms were also represented more widely through two shrines of carefully distinguished forms. The shrine of Upper Egypt has an essentially flat top but with a strangely asymmetrical curved coping that appears originally to have represented the line of the back of an animal (fig. 3). The shrine of Lower Egypt is completely symmetrical and has a top that is much more steeply and symmetrically curved as if it represents an arched roof (fig. 4). This origin is confirmed by some representations of the shrine that show it surmounted by what looks like a dome or vault. Parallel to the distinction between the two shrines is a difference of material and technology between the architectural traditions of the two kingdoms. Upper Egypt is rich in stone and rapidly became the center of the world's first great tradition of stone architecture. Moreover, it did this so early that the structural types that developed there—the walls, lintels, copings, and so on—are palpably masonic in character. As a result, the system of horizontal coursing rising to horizontal lintels spanning doors and horizontal slabs spanning roofs acquired its own integrity. The buildings that resulted were typically flat roofed and had the profile and configuration that we consider typically Egyptian. In Lower Egypt, by contrast, where stone was not available locally, but

reeds, palm trunks, and sun-dried brick were, the architecture rapidly acquired a flexibility of vocabulary, with curved roofs covered with reed mats and brick vaults and domes producing quite different forms and configurations. The two shrines naturally became emblematic of the two kingdoms because they alluded through their different architectures to their different geographies.

Another way in which the geographical distinction between the two kingdoms could be characterized was by vegetation. The papyrus, which grew in profusion in the Delta, rapidly became the emblem of Lower Egypt, and the lotus or water lily that of Upper Egypt (fig. 5). It is in this guise that each bloom decorates one of the great square piers that carried the roof of a hall of Thutmose III in the great temple at Karnak. That to the south is decorated with gigantic lotus, that to the north by gigantic papyrus. What makes this pairing more remarkable is that it is associated with the inscriptions on the Sixth Pylon on the approach to the temple: the pylon is covered with cartouches constituting geographical lists. These are divided so that those on the northern half of the pylon are the names of communities north of Egypt, in the Levant, while those on the southern half are those of communities south of Egypt, in Nubia. The two emblematic plants are evidently part of a larger mapping enterprise.

The connection between the piers and the geographical lists reminds us that fundamental to the Egyptian way of thinking was the ideographic system of hieroglyphic characters. The hieroglyphic script changed much throughout its history, but it always preserved the power, which it derived from its origins, of capturing in images references not just to things but also to concepts. This resource ensured that differentiated pictures, whether of the crowns, shrines, or plants, could represent the fundamental difference between the two kingdoms. The richness of the system is expressed in the way that each pair articulated another type of difference. While the two crowns articulated a difference of history and of political identity, the two shrines alluded to differences of geology and climate, and the two plants alluded to similar differences of hydrography. The dominant role of hieroglyphic imagery in Egyptian art and culture meant that all members of the population, not just those who knew the full language system, would have been much more alert to the meaning of art than in other cultures.

In a culture in which the highest social and intellectual expression took the form of images of things, it was inevitable that images of things generally, and even things themselves, would have an exceptional importance. This had a particular significance for architecture. If variation in the representation of a shrine could represent a difference of reference to geography and culture, it was inevitable that *any* differences of architectural form would have been liable to a reading in broader



FIG. 5
Hieroglyphs with lotus and papyrus plants representing Upper Egypt and Lower Egypt.

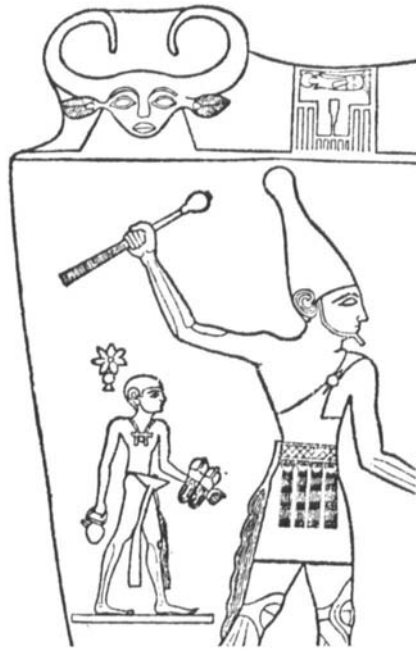


FIG. 6
Detail of Narmer Palette. Early
third millennium B.C. Cairo, The
Egyptian Museum.

terms. The same would have been true of plants. The meaning of the lotus and papyrus in the script was that their combination in another context, such as in the piers of Thutmosis III, could refer to the primary geographical division of the Nile Valley and ultimately by extension of the whole world. Indeed, the tendency to see meaning in representational form led to formal resemblances being far more important than in other cultures, so that, for example, the resemblance between the Southern Crown and a mace head so evident on the Narmer Palette (fig. 6) effectively leads to the crown and thus the king himself acquiring the principal attribute of the mace, that is, its effectiveness in skull crushing. It is tempting to suggest that the crown may have been given this shape in order to invest it with that meaning.

In all this there could hardly be a greater contrast with the Greeks, for whom script and art rapidly became little more than transcriptive systems. Greek letters served principally as a notation for a sequence of sounds—much as a modern digital audio system provides a transcription of music—while art essentially did the same for visual reality. Greek art developed progressively as a notation for what was seen until it almost matched the directness of writing as a notation for what was heard. A sculptor who carved both figures and inscriptions was working in the same mode in both activities. The one-dimensionality of his approach was just one aspect of the single-mindedness noted earlier.

It might be thought that the Greek use of variant forms, such as different letter forms for Doric and Ionic dialects or different architectural forms for Doric and Ionic buildings, constitutes some parallel to the Egyptian dualism, but these differences were understood above all as marginal variations of nature and custom within a single population rather than as the representation of two separate worlds. Ionic culture

was seen basically as only a variant of Doric. Since the Ionians were thought of as more feminine and the Dorians as more masculine, this produced a parallel with the field of sex difference. In general, the differences within the Greek tradition were seen as trivial compared to the absolute divide between Greeks and the rest of the world.

The integration and coherence of the Greek approach meant that it could be taken over more or less in its entirety by outsiders. It could be adopted voluntarily by neighbors, such as the Macedonians of Alexander's generation. It could equally be imposed to some extent by the same Macedonians on those they conquered. A Greek education gave one a Greek mind, a Greek physical training gave one a Greek body. It was as Greeks that the Macedonians went to Egypt, and it was through members of the local population who voluntarily or involuntarily became to some extent Greek that the Macedonians administered the territory.

The degree to which the Greeks were seen as outsiders and, indeed, thought of themselves as such is well expressed in the notion that the plan of Alexandria, the Nile kingdom's new capital, corresponded to the shape of a Macedonian cloak, a rectangle with rounded corners. Like a garment thrown down on a field, the city was an alien artifact in the Egyptian landscape, and it is tempting to think that it was the hieroglyphically oriented Egyptians who read it that way. Within the city the Macedonians lived out Greek lives in Greek buildings surrounded by Greek artifacts. Outside, on the other hand, the strength of Egyptian culture required that they not only tolerate but also support the maintenance of local ritual and artistic traditions. The Egyptians who moved to Alexandria would have been well prepared to collaborate with their newest oppressors. The rivalries of the predynastic period had been succeeded by the uncertain balance of the united crowns and that in turn by alternating periods of self-rule and external domination by the Hyksos, the Assyrians, and the Persians. Habituated to being conquered, the Egyptians were equally used to recovering their independence from invaders, who typically allowed themselves to be culturally absorbed by their subjects. This at least was true until the arrival of the Greeks for whom, as we saw, there was in a sense only one culture, their own. Admittedly the Greeks went on constructing temples and commissioning sculptures and paintings in traditional style for the use of the native population, but for themselves they preferred their own forms.

After the first conquest, however, the Egyptians soon started to assert their identity not just in Upper Egypt, where the Greeks hardly made an impact culturally, but at the new capital. This is most evident in the cemeteries. During the second century B.C. Egyptian-type burials increasingly rivaled Greek cremations, and soon the local population, following millennia-old practice, established its own city of the dead to the west of the city of the living, leaving the Greeks in the east. Increasingly, too, the forms of Egyptian sculpture and architecture reasserted them-

FIG. 7
Interior of Tomb 2, Anfushy,
Alexandria. Second century B.C.



FIG. 8
Shrine. Second century B.C.
Alexandria, Graeco-Roman
Museum.



selves. The traditional Greek tomb facade was opened up, as was usual in Egyptian architecture, to produce a complex mixture of portals, low walls, windows, and half- and full columns. More significantly, some forms are used with a new assertiveness, and none perhaps so forcefully as the segmental pediment (fig. 7). This shape had, as noted, a long history in Lower Egypt as a form expressing that area's separate architectural identity and cultural traditions. Now it reappeared opposed not to the flat-roof stone architecture of Upper Egypt but to the triangular pediment of the Greeks. In its dynamic curve it now seems to express directly the energies of a people anxious to throw off oppression by those constrained by the triangle's geometry. Along with the surging columns of budding lotus and papyrus, the huge curved cornices, and the crowning rows of uraei, the curved pediment gave architecture a vital energy it never had before (fig. 8). This is almost certainly because the Egyptians had never before seen their culture so clearly opposed to something as stiff and hard as the Greek architectural vocabulary.

The Greeks were not insensitive to this challenge. As in the establishment of the Mouseion and Library and in so many other areas, the Ptolemies hastened not to imitate their subjects but to adapt their own culture so that it could claim similar properties. It was thus perhaps in a new awareness of the power of organic forms that they were the leaders in the introduction of the Corinthian order on the exterior of buildings such as the Arsinoeion and Propylaia at Samothrace. If we knew more of their architecture in Alexandria, we might be able to confirm what is suggested by the first textual reference to the form in a text of Kallixeinos, preserved by Athenaeus, that it was a favorite form in that city. Kallixeinos tells how the order was used in Ptolemy IV's celebrated Nile barge, the *thalamegos*. There it was harmoniously paired with a flowery Egyptian columnar form with whose vitality it might have seemed contaminated.¹ A similar vitalization of architecture was evident in Ptolemy II's festival tent with its thyrsus-like columns (fig. 9), its hangings, and its raised clerestory.

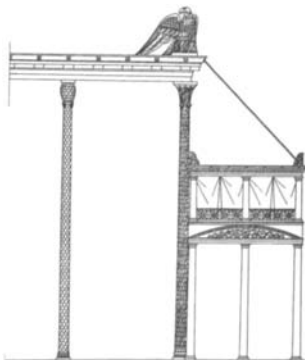


FIG. 9
Reconstruction of tent of
Ptolemy II. Third century B.C.
(after Studniczka).

Much of the architecture of Lower Egypt had always been in-

spired by buildings in temporary materials, and now at last the Greek tradition was infused with the same flexibility and freedom. Whether or not the Palazzo delle Colonne at Ptolemais is Ptolemaic and dates from the early first century B.C., the complexity and diversity of its forms certainly reflect Egyptian values.² As others have suggested, the broken pediment found there and elsewhere almost certainly goes back to the broken lintels of fifteen hundred years earlier.³ The Egyptians, who had long ago broken architecture up into its elements to use as hieroglyphs, had no problems exploiting half-columns, half-walls, windows, aedicules, and other fragmentary architectural forms. The Greeks, who required that architecture, like writing and the representational arts, transcribe nature, had problems with anything that was not a complete wall, a complete column, a complete door, a complete triangular pediment, or an unbroken horizontal entablature. It was only in Egypt that the Greeks acquired from their subjects a more dynamic conceptual and formal approach. This is evident both in real and in painted architecture. The correspondence of the more advanced so-called Second Style paintings found at Pompeii not just with what can be reconstructed as Ptolemaic architecture and architectural painting but also with Egyptian painted architecture of fifteen hundred years earlier shows once again how important Egyptian traditions were. No painted architecture in a pure Greek tradition has anything like the complexity and variety of the painted decorations of Egyptian Middle Kingdom tombs. Such properties only enter the Classical world in the ultimately Ptolemaic tradition of scenes such as those from Boscoreale. The same is in many ways true of portrayals of landscape. Unlike the Greeks, the Egyptians had a long tradition of showing humanity of all ages, sexes, and races at ease in both urban and rural environments. The longer the Greeks stayed in Egypt, the more they were liberated by that land's tradition of material expression, a tradition so much longer and stronger than theirs.

The Greeks elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean, such as the Seleucids in Syrian Antioch, felt something of the same influence. Those who lived in mainland Greece, on the other hand, and especially the Athenians, were unlikely to have approved of the contamination of their inheritance. The same must have been true of many Athens-educated Romans. Many must have been appalled at the corruption of the Greek culture they sought to imitate, and before the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C. there was almost certainly a rivalry of cultural affiliation between those, such as Augustus, who vaunted a relatively pure Greek taste in opposition to wanton oriental extravagance, and those, such as Antony, who were enthused by the cultures of the East. It has been well argued that it is this opposition that underlies the difference between the drier and plainer Temple of Apollo built by Augustus on the Palatine and that constructed below by the Tiber by Antony's associate Sosius (figs. 10, 11).⁴ The combination in the latter temple of segmental pediments,

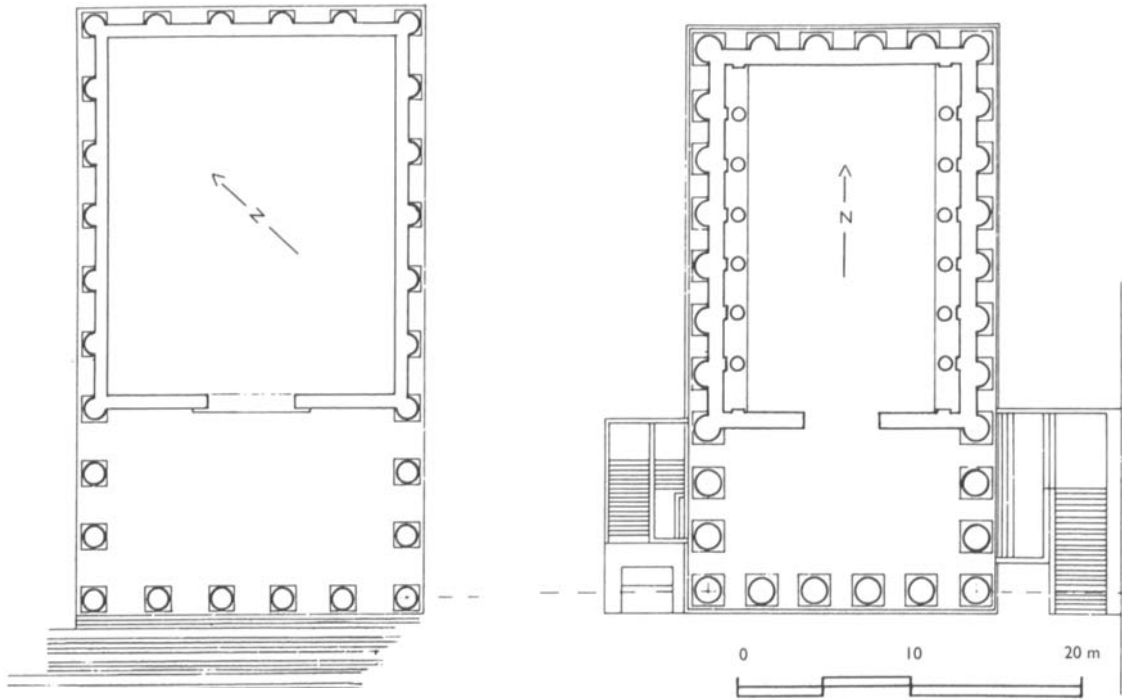
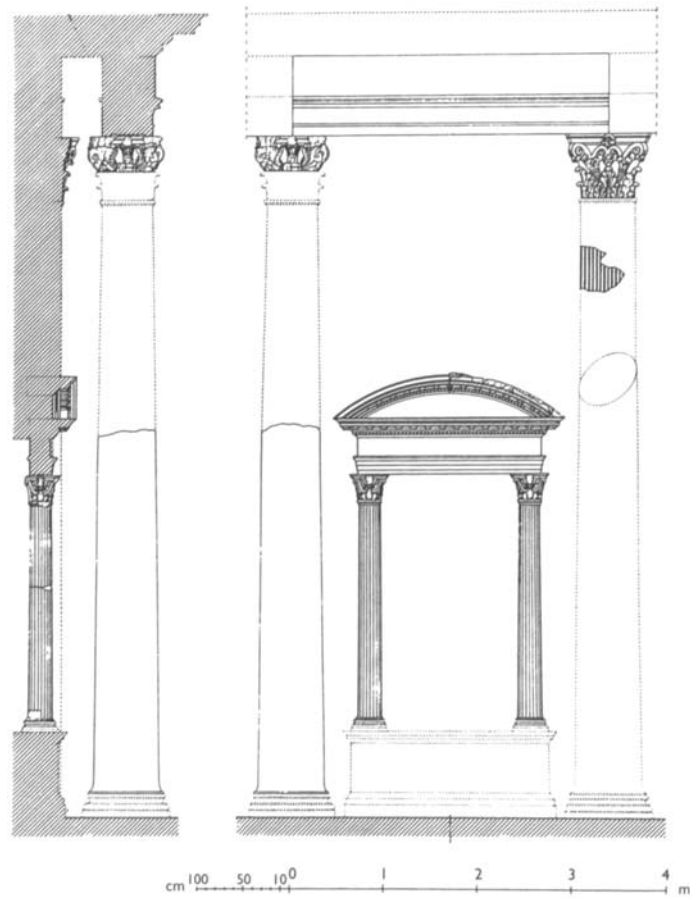


FIG. 10
Plans of Temple of Apollo on the
Palatine Hill and Temple of Apollo
Sosianus, Rome. Ca. 20 B.C. (after
Zanker).

FIG. 11
Interior details of Temple of
Apollo Sosianus, Rome (after
Zanker).



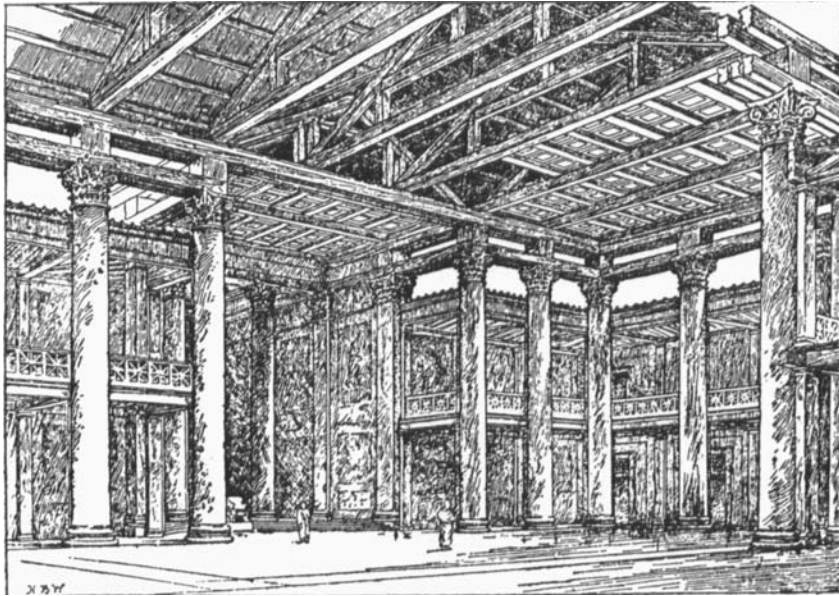
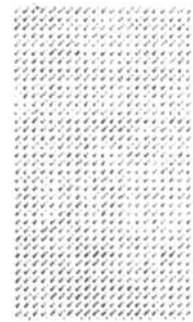


FIG. 12
Basilica at Fano. Reconstruction
after Vitruvius.

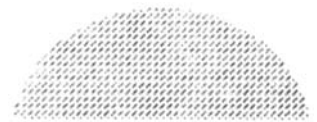
canted cornices, and exuberant organic vitality can only be explained by an Egyptian inspiration.

The painted equivalent of such Egyptian-style architecture was what we now call the Third Style. There can be little doubt that the combination of pediments and roofs carried by flowering stalks against which Vitruvius railed in *De architectura* 7 has its origin in the Nile Valley, where flowers had supported massive masonry for two millennia. Only in the years after Actium was Augustus able to make this tradition—like the land of Egypt itself—his own, and Vitruvius himself had no hesitation in designing a basilica for the emperor at Fanum Fortunae, which combined columns of different sizes and clerestory lighting in imitation of Egyptian hypostyle halls (fig. 12). Rome, which had long ago welcomed the Egyptian structural vocabulary of arches, vaults, and domes, came increasingly to feel more comfortable with the Egyptian critique of Greece than it was with the pure Greek tradition. With the passing of time, as the Romans felt increasingly threatened by all aspects of Greek culture, good and bad, this tendency was only accentuated.

A decisive factor in the Roman identification with the dynamically curved Egyptian forms was almost certainly a recognition that the Roman toga, with its nearly semicircular form, differed from the rectangular Greek tunic in much the same way as the segmental pediment differed from the triangular (fig. 13). Slaves were proud that when they were freed, they cast off square clothes and put on round ones. To match this, there is also parallel evidence that some Romans actually thought of themselves as physically round as if in opposition to the Greeks, who had lavished praise on men who were square.⁵ It was this sense of the relation between curved and angular form that almost certainly led to the introduction, first, of the alternating round and square niche and, then, of segmental and triangular pediments, with the round niche and seg-



GREEK TUNIC



ROMAN TOGA

FIG. 13
Greek tunic and Roman toga.
Drawing by the author.

FIG. 14
Exterior of Trajan's Markets,
Rome. Ca. A.D. 110. Photo by
D. Hemsoll.



mental pediment typically in the more important position. The alternation of triangular and segmental pediments is first found in Vespasianic structures, such as the Eumachia building at Pompeii, and it is significant that at the same time a new capital type was invented combining the Ionic and Corinthian capitals as an emblem of Roman domination over the Greek world.⁶ The new capital could be read as a hieroglyph much like the double crown of Egypt; at the same time Quintilian, the official teacher of rhetoric appointed by the emperor, wrote a treatise proposing a memory system using *signa*, or “signs,” in a way similar to hieroglyphs to summarize and recall the contents of a speech.⁷ The use of sacrificial instruments on the entablature of the Temple of the Deified Vespasian as a summary of sacrificial ritual reflects a similar desire to compress communication into visual ideograms. The new capital type, the relief frieze, and the double pediment all can be read emblematically in a close parallel to Egyptian ideograms. In the Markets of Trajan the way the segmental pediment is made to break the triangular form in half may even express the victory of one culture over another, just as the high crown of one kingdom dominated the low form of the other in early dynastic Egypt (fig. 14).

It is, however, under Hadrian, an emperor who expended much effort in bringing unity and security to his empire, that Egyptian



FIG. 15
The Canopus at Hadrian's Villa,
Tivoli. Ca. A.D. 130. Photo by
N. Batcock.

and Roman cultures come closest, both in thought and material expression. Like the pharaoh, Hadrian traversed his realm from end to end, and, also like the pharaoh, he constructed a building in which he could conveniently mimic that journey on a small scale. In his Villa at Tivoli, with its Canopus, its Academy, and its Tempe, he could cover thousands of miles in a few yards, just as the pharaoh could in the court of the Heb-Sed festival. In the Villa Hadrian also combined round and square in the arches and horizontal entablatures of a colonnade in yet another variation of the earlier expression of biculturalism (fig. 15). The combination of Greek and Egyptian sculptures on the pavement underneath made it clear that the synthesis of Greece and Rome was parallel to that of Greece and Egypt. Round and square were also combined in Hadrian's tomb, the present Castel Sant'Angelo, which enclosed a Roman circular cone within a Greek rectangular platform, just as the Egyptian double crown combined the emblems of Upper and Lower Egypt. The point, of course, is not that the one imitates the other but that the whole way of thinking habitual in Egypt was enthusiastically taken up and applied by the Romans.

Finally, the building that most eloquently articulates Egyptian thought is the Pantheon. This not only combines a rectangular Greek colonnaded pediment with a round Roman dome as well as rectangular niches on the minor axes with round ones on the main ones (see fig. 1) but it reinforces the message of the alternation of segmental and triangular pediments on the interior by coupling the segmental Egyptian form with shafts of Egyptian porphyry that are unfluted, following Egyptian

tradition, and the Greek triangular pediment with marble shafts that are fluted, as they always were in Greece.⁸ Even as the Romans took the segmental pediment and unfluted column as their own, they always remembered their Egyptian origin, as if in assertion that in their proudest attribute, they identified more with that enduring empire than with the upstart unreliability of Greece.

We cannot trace the full story of the earlier conflict of architectural form and idea that took place in Ptolemaic Alexandria, but we find decisive testimony to its existence in the architecture of Rome. Whatever their debt to Greece in terms of dry detail, the Romans owed more to the Egyptians in terms of their ideas and the larger features of style. The Roman use of the dynamic curving forms of arch, vault, unfluted column, and the segmental pediment, all deriving not from Greece but from Egypt, eloquently documents this. So, too, does their fondness for energetic organic plant forms on friezes and capitals. It is salutary to realize that when Brunelleschi used unfluted columns in San Lorenzo, or when Michelangelo used a broken segmental pediment in the New Sacristy next door, both were reviving the forms not of Attica but of the Nile Valley. Since Augustus absorbed Cleopatra's kingdom, Western buildings have to be read not as careful exercises in formal design in the Greek tradition, but, like Egyptian monuments, as compressed hieroglyphs of geography, history, and culture.

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Notes

- 1 Kallixeinos is quoted in Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 5.38–39.
- 2 See G. Pesce, *Il Palazzo delle Colonne in Tolemaide* (Rome 1950), passim.
- 3 J. McKenzie, *The Architecture of Petra* (Oxford 1990), pp. 75–77.
- 4 See P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988), pp. 65–70.
- 5 *Sapiens, fortis et in se ipse totus teres atque rotundus*, Hor. *Sat.* 2.7; cf. Plato, quoting Simonides on the perfect “square” man, *Protagoras* 339ff.
- 6 J. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Princeton 1988), pp. 41–44.
- 7 Quintilian *Inst. Or.* 11.2.19. See J. Onians, “Quintilian and the Idea of Roman Art,” in M. Henig, ed., *Architecture and Architectural Sculpture of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1990), p. 4.
- 8 See K. de Fine Licht, *The Rotunda in Rome* (Copenhagen 1968), p. 111.

From Hellenistic Polychromy of Sculptures to Roman Mosaics

W. A. Daszewski

The Ptolemaic portraits in Greek style executed in marble are characterized by a number of technical and stylistic features that set them apart from other royal portraits of the Hellenistic period. These features have long been well recognized by scholars.¹

Many Ptolemaic heads have composite character. The front part, including the face, neck, ears, and hair, was sculptured in one piece of marble, the rear part and top of the head were made separately and adjoined later, or they were completed in a different material, usually stucco. The lack of local marble in Egypt and the elevated cost of imported material were understood to be the main causes for the use of such marble-saving techniques. It is also characteristic that although marble heads of Ptolemaic kings and queens are quite numerous, they are not accompanied by comparable numbers of statues or fragments of statues. As a matter of fact, practically no marble statues may be associated with royal portrait heads. On the other hand, ancient written sources give ample evidence that royal statues did exist in considerable numbers.² Some were made of bronze and possibly of precious metals, but they did not have marble heads. A logical conclusion is that marble heads were destined for acrolithic statues. The heads were combined with figures made of perishable material, most likely wood, but perhaps also gypsum. Some heads themselves must have been enriched with attributes of different materials, or even provided with wigs.

A specific, very soft modeling of the surface of many portrait heads, with little emphasis on precise rendering of contours, a technique known as *sfumato*, was long considered another characteristic feature of the Ptolemaic-Alexandrian sculpture inherited from the Praxitelean tradition. Helmut Kyrieleis correctly pointed out that *sfumato* should not be considered for its own sake as a special finishing of Alexandrian sculptures but only as a reflection of the amorphic rendering of the surface. The original form had been defined by features sharply and linearly accentuated by painting. The polychromy was thus of prime importance. It was also needed to conceal the difference in materials, marble and stucco. The polychromy was supposedly executed in strong and contrasting colors, with black and red the dominant hues. The brightness



and aggressivity of color finishings of Ptolemaic portraits were emphasized by Kyrieleis and more recently also by Konstantinos Yfantidis in a thesis on the polychromy of Hellenistic sculptures.³

The strong coloring of the heads is generally considered to have been inherited from or influenced by local Egyptian tradition, as opposed to the much more restrained polychromy of purely Greek sculptures outside Egypt. The mummy masks and mummy portraits of the Roman period are quoted as expressing the same Egyptian tradition continuing in more recent times. Indeed, the masks and mummy portraits often seem to corroborate the statement about the brightness and aggressivity of the polychromy, but they are all much later than the portraits in question.⁴ For the earlier period, that is, the Hellenistic period, there is little reliable evidence. With regard to what painted marble heads really looked like, we are confined to conjectures based on minute traces of faded colors, usually of black, red, and occasionally brown, that are still recognizable on better-preserved pieces, while some idea of the polychromy of acrolithic statues may perhaps be gathered from an analysis of painted terracotta figurines. However, considering the small size and mass production of terracottas, they cannot be taken as conclusive evidence for the standard of official Ptolemaic statuary.

FIG. 1
Female head, from the Serapeion.
Alexandria, Graeco-Roman
Museum. Photo by D. Johannes,
courtesy of the DAI, Cairo.

FIG. 2
Mosaic, from Thmuis, second
copy. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman
Museum 21736. Photo by
D. Johannes.

Of special interest with regard to the reconstruction of original coloring are two royal heads from the Serapeion in Alexandria, usually interpreted as Ptolemy IV and his sister-wife Arsinoe III; a head of a queen now in Kassel, identified as Berenike II; and a head now in the Musée de Mariemont.⁵ It was the female head from the Serapeion (fig. 1) that allowed Kyrieleis to draw a suggestive picture of its original polychromy and to stress the crucial importance of painting for its final appearance. Kyrieleis underlines the sharpness and linearity in the use of colors. Considering, however, that only traces of the strongest colors are preserved while more delicate hues, shading, and gradation of colors are gone forever, the faded remains of coloring on these heads and others do not allow any conclusive interpretation. What we have are the remains of a skeletal grid of colors, the filling between the main lines having disappeared. We may thus put forward two contradictory suggestions. Either the Ptolemaic portrait heads were brightly colored and aggressive, or they were toned down and delicate. Until now there was little to prove or disprove either assumption. I would like therefore to add a brief commentary to this subject in the hope that it may shed new light on the problem of polychromy of Hellenistic portraits in Egypt.

A comparative analysis of two Hellenistic monuments that have been known for quite a long time but never before used in discussions of polychromy may perhaps help us. These monuments, more or less contemporary with the above-mentioned heads, are two splendid mosaic *emblemata* executed in *vermiculatum* technique. Both mosaics were found in Tell Timai, ancient Thmuis in the Nile Delta, but they are obviously products of a metropolitan workshop from Alexandria. Both show a bust of one and the same woman in a rather strange attire.⁶ I have considered these to be two stylistically slightly different copies of some late third-century-B.C. painting executed for the royal court circles in the capital. The two faces differ slightly and represent two modes of expression. One is highly emotional, the other is more calm and subdued (fig. 2). These two modes of expression reflect the prevailing sculptural styles of the period in Ptolemaic portraiture, exemplified, for instance, by the Boston head of Arsinoe III and the Serapeion head, perhaps of the same queen. In the *Corpus of Mosaics from Egypt*, I suggested, based on a detailed iconographical analysis, that the woman may actually be an ideal presentation of a Ptolemaic queen as *thea synnaos*, representing various aspects of the Ptolemaic power on land and sea.

More recently, after careful examination of several original Ptolemaic marble portraits retaining traces of color, I have realized that their present polychromy is in fact a faded version of what one can see on a full scale and with all details on the mosaics from Thmuis. Let me quote here, translated by me into English, the description given by

Kyrieleis of color finishing of the Serapeion portrait, which is a typical example, and compare it with the two faces on the mosaics.

The eyelids are even now marked by thick black lines, the eyelashes are in the form of short strokes directed upwards and downwards. The eyebrows were large thick bands. The rugged surface retains considerable traces of dark brown iris. Clearly visible are the remains of linear strands of hair on forehead and temples. The heavy red and black paint on the mouth, nose, and eyes stood glaring against the white surface. Painted forms must have dominated its whole appearance.⁷

Line after line, trait after trait, we find on the mosaics all the polychromatic details preserved on the marble head, and much more. For the first time we can admire a broad spectrum of halftones, gradations, and shading. One may, of course, object on the grounds that the polychromy of sculptures cannot be judged by a representation on mosaics. This objection is justified, but only to some extent. The two mosaic busts from Thmuis are so far absolutely unique, and they are probably the earliest *emblemata* known to us. They have no iconographic parallels among other Hellenistic mosaics or paintings in the Mediterranean. I know of no other representations of heads on mosaics, be they Hellenistic or Roman, where minor details of the face would be indicated in the same way. Especially characteristic is the rendering of the eyes and eyelashes, nose, and mouth. On the other hand, this way of presentation of eyelashes and of the use of colors for other details is found on Ptolemaic portrait sculpture in marble and occasionally on Roman mummy masks and mummy portraits. The mosaics from Thmuis thus seem deeply anchored in the Ptolemaic-Egyptian context. The question remains, however, whether the Thmuis busts are copies of a painting or perhaps a reflection of an acrolithic statue. The latter hypothesis is very tempting. Be that as it may, thanks to these two faces of stone, re-examined from a different point of view, we may better visualize what a marble head, perhaps part of an acrolithic statue of a Ptolemaic ruler, might have looked like in full polychromatic splendor. Although the mosaics from Thmuis betray appurtenance to the Ptolemaic-Egyptian context, they testify to the way colors were used to emphasize facial features. Unlike mummy masks—which, after all, are mass products—the faces on mosaics as a whole are neither excessively sharp nor too aggressive. In fact, they probably are not different from what one might expect in the context of the purely Greek or Hellenistic koine, except for one important detail: The eyes are emphasized to a degree that recalls age-old Egyptian tradition.

Although Hellenistic mosaics in Egypt are not numerous, some of them are not only beautiful but also of great importance for the

study of the development of this type of decoration, as proved by the mosaic of the Hunting Erotes from the Shatby region in Alexandria. I have dealt with this problem elsewhere.⁸ A foreign invention, mosaics were brought to Egypt by the Greeks in the late fourth century B.C. This type of decoration was intimately linked, first, with the Graeco-Macedonian settlers and, then, with the Graeco-Egyptians but always with a thoroughly hellenized part of the population. The high quality of some examples and the relative lack of simple mosaic floors indicate that mosaics in Hellenistic Egypt were the privilege of rich people and of the royal court.

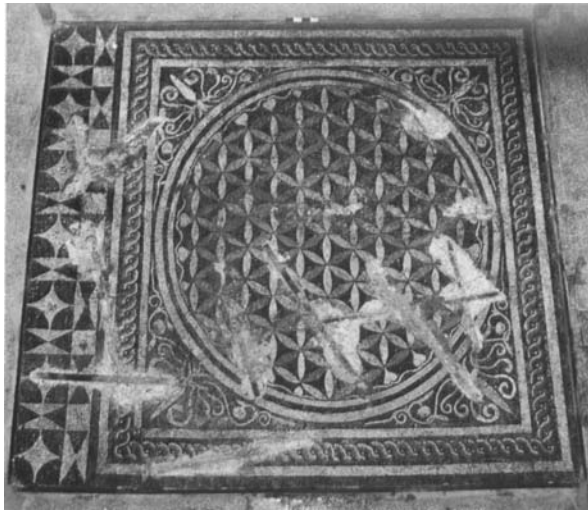
Roman Egypt presents a very different picture. Mosaic decoration became more frequent, although, with the exception of Alexandria and its vicinity, mosaics never achieved the immense popularity they enjoyed in other parts of the Roman world, even in places as close to Egypt as Cyrene or the Syro-Palestine region.

According to my inventory based on local visits, excavation reports, museum records, and files of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities, some 160 mosaics are now known from all over the country, many of them preserved only in fragments. One can distinguish four main areas with mosaics of unequal importance both in quality and in quantity of the monuments: First, Alexandria and its immediate neighborhood; second, the region of the Nile Delta; third, the Faiyum Oasis, Middle and Upper Egypt, a very large area with very few items; and, fourth, the Sinai Peninsula from the Mediterranean coast southward to the Monastery of Saint Catherine. Scanty remains of mosaic decoration are recorded from the western desert, notably from Abu Mina and Kellia.

If the first three areas are more or less related to one another and stand under various degrees of Alexandrian influence, the mosaics from the northern Sinai, especially from Sheikh Zuede,⁹ belong to the sphere of influence of the Syro-Palestine region, especially the area of Madaba, Rihab, Ma'in, and Mount Nebo in present-day Jordan.¹⁰

The wall mosaics in the Monastery of Saint Catherine stand apart from all other examples in the area and have little to do with Egypt. They provide us with a splendid example of the best products from the Justinian period, most probably executed by some metropolitan expert mosaicist from Constantinople.¹¹

The greatest number of mosaic floors, some sixty-seven items and sixty-three larger fragments, come from Alexandria and its vicinity. I am referring to such places as Abu Kir¹² (Canopus), Maamurah,¹³ and the part of the Mareotis region closest to the capital, such as the islet of Mahar Shaaran.¹⁴ It is highly probable that all these mosaics were actually made by the same metropolitan workshops. The composition, motifs, and execution of a large mosaic floor found by the German expedition on Kom esh-Shugafa in Alexandria¹⁵ are very similar to those of a



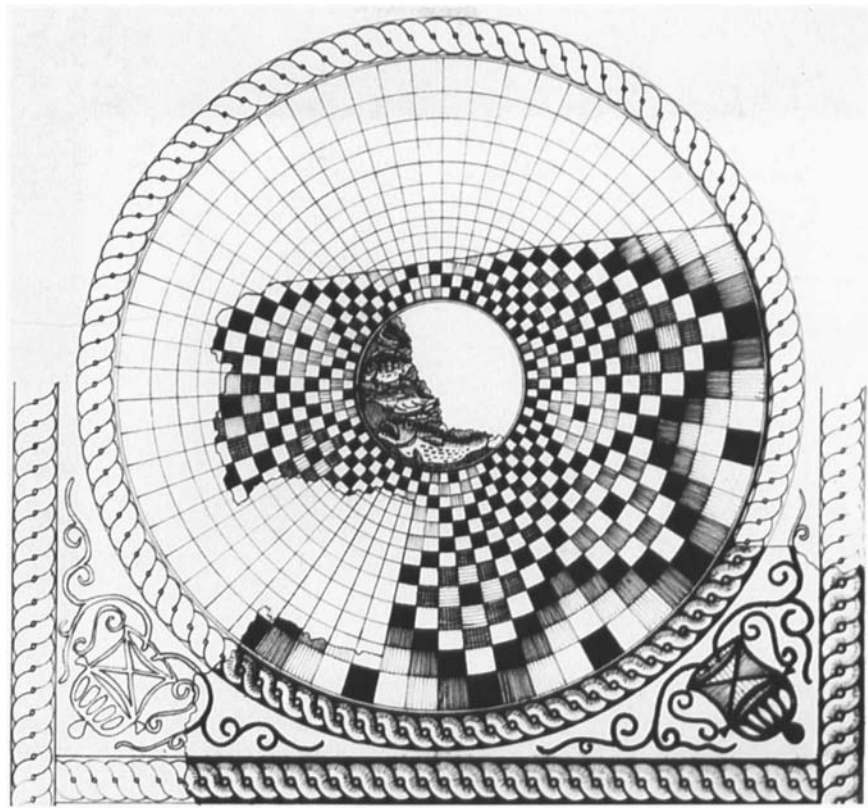
mosaic from Maamurah (fig. 3). The same is true for some fine-quality examples found isolated in the *chora*. A good example is provided by a polychrome shield of scales with the representation of a pygmy carrying water. Years ago Klaus Parlasca saved this fine mosaic, which is now in the Ciba Building in Basel, Switzerland, from oblivion.¹⁶ The piece supposedly comes from Memphis. I have serious doubts about its provenance. It would be a unique mosaic from this town, where extensive excavations have been carried out for many years. Since Hellenistic times a “circle in square” composition, initially with a shield of scales and later with a rosette (fig. 4), triangles, or squares, is very characteristic of many Alexandrian floors.¹⁷ The mosaic in Basel thus seems more likely to have been made either by a migrant artist from Alexandria who brought with him to Memphis not only the technical know-how but also the necessary materials, or it comes from the region of the capital but the provenance has been falsified, as is often the case with finds coming from illicit excavations.

A figured mosaic from Sheikh Abada, ancient Antinoupolis in Upper Egypt, represents a very different case. It was uncovered in a private house by the Italian Mission of Sergio Donadoni.¹⁸ Fragments of a geometric mosaic floor were also recorded from another location in this town founded by Emperor Hadrian in memory of his dead friend. The figured mosaic, which was in a poor state of preservation, depicts an *aucupium*, or bird-catching scene, surrounding panels probably showing Artemis, Apollo, and Daphne. The bird-catching motif is rare in Egyptian floor mosaics, as are figured representations. It is not a problem of bad preservation, as has sometimes been suggested, but rather the result of a deliberate choice or taste. It is remarkable that apart from a few *emblemata* only four floors with figured representations are known

FIG. 3
Mosaic, from Maamurah-Kharaba. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 8473. Photo by D. Johannes, courtesy of the DAI, Cairo.

FIG. 4
Mosaic, from Shatby. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 10200 (5395). Photo by the author.

FIG. 5
Mosaic, from Shatby. Alexandria,
Graeco-Roman Museum 25093.
Drawing by K. Kaminski, Polish
Centre of Archaeology, Cairo.



from Roman Alexandria. One of them depicts various birds, another fish (fig. 5), the third (now lost) contained a bust of Dionysos, and the fourth (also now lost) had a representation of human figures.¹⁹

Two figured mosaics are known from Thmuis. One is the famous Banquet Scene among Nilotic marshes, aquatic animals, and pygmies; the other redraws one of the most famous ancient tales of passion and death, namely, the myth of Alpheus and Arethusa.²⁰

Geometric mosaics in the Delta are recorded in greater quantity. They are bichrome, usually black and white. In this they recall the situation in the capital, whereas from the later first century A.D., black-and-white mosaics with various geometric motifs dominate the scene, although polychrome floors are also present. The great majority of Egyptian mosaics in all areas, and especially in Alexandria, share one common feature. They are usually deprived of their original architectural context and lack precise criteria for dating other than stylistic or historical ones. Only a few floors can be dated on more secure archaeological grounds. These few exceptions are therefore of particular importance. They serve as parallels for other, undated monuments. The most outstanding such group is a set of mosaic pavements discovered by the Polish Archaeological Mission at Kom el Dikka in the center of Alexandria.²¹ In late antiquity this area comprised in its western part several public buildings, an odeon, a bath, and assembly halls. To the east was a



FIG. 6a
Mosaics, from House A, Kom el
Dikka, Alexandria. Photo by
W. Jerke, courtesy of the Polish
Centre of Archaeology, Cairo.

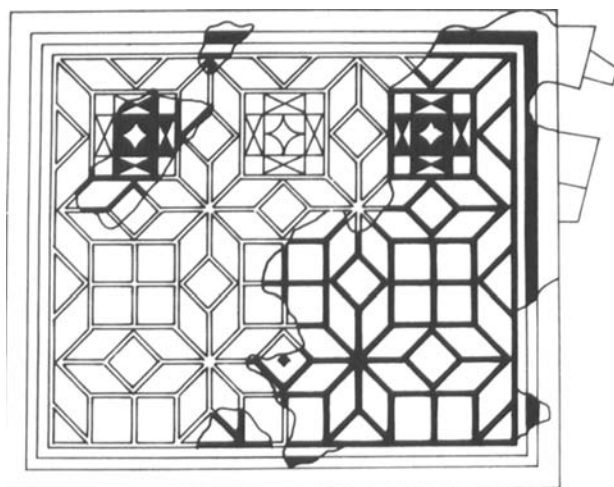


FIG. 6b
Upper mosaic from House A, Kom
el Dikka, Alexandria. Drawing by
R. Sobolewski, Polish Centre of
Archaeology, Cairo.



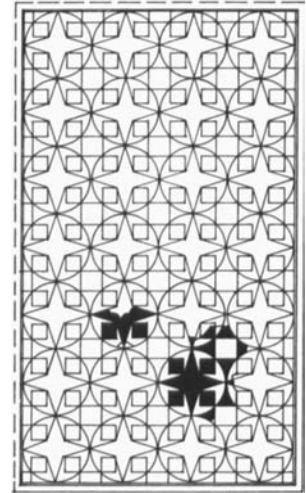
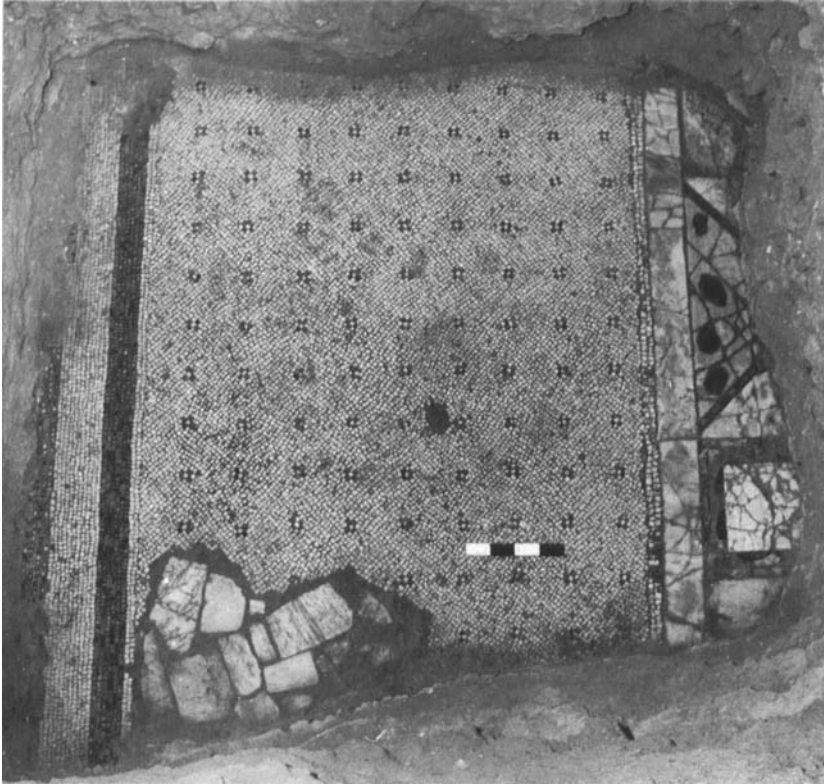


FIG. 7
Mosaic from House A, Kom el
Dikka, Alexandria. Photo by
A. Bodytko, courtesy of the Polish
Centre of Archaeology, Cairo.

FIG. 8
Mosaic from House B, Kom el
Dikka, Alexandria. Drawing by
R. Sobolewski, Polish Centre of
Archaeology, Cairo.

residential quarter occupied between the fourth and seventh centuries by modest dwellings and workshops of craftsmen and small merchants. Below these late buildings were uncovered remains of richly decorated wealthy houses with peristyle courts and large dining rooms. Many contained mosaic floors of fine quality, sometimes in two superimposed layers (figs. 6a, b). Stratified pottery finds give the early second half of the first century A.D. as a *terminus post quem* for their execution. Final destruction of all houses in the area occurred by the end of the third century.

Frequent repairs in mosaics of the second layer testify to their long use. The earliest level comprised two bichrome, black-and-white mosaics set in grayish mortar of lime and ashes on an earlier pavement of red mortar resembling *signinum* floors. One mosaic was a combination of a black-and-white *tesselatum* frame with a pattern of small crosslets bordering an *opus sectile* panel (fig. 7). The other one presented a combination of black-and-white squares with inscribed black-and-white circles. There should be no doubt that these Alexandrian pavements were made in the latter half of the first century or slightly later. Soon after the first two mosaics were laid, four new pavements were added, some of them superimposed. Three other mosaics were executed in the neighboring building. Five mosaics out of the total of seven were bichrome, black-and-white (fig. 8).

In their compositions and motifs these mosaics all find their



FIG. 9a
Mosaic with birds from House A,
Kom el Dikka, Alexandria. Photo
by A. Bodytko, courtesy of the
Polish Centre of Archaeology,
Cairo.

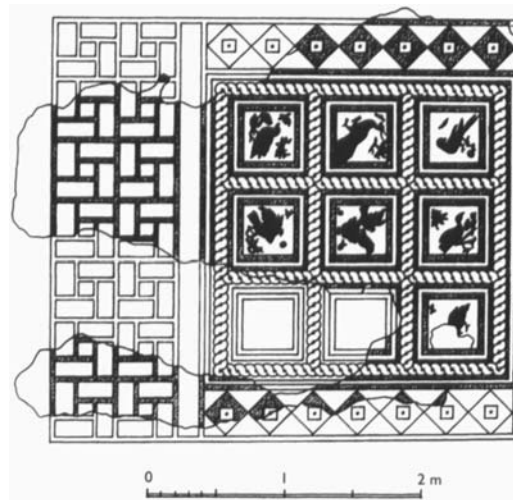


FIG. 9b
Mosaic with birds from House A,
Kom el Dikka, Alexandria.
Drawing by R. Sobolewski, Polish
Centre of Archaeology, Cairo.

closest parallels in Italy. One need only mention mosaics from Pompeii and Aquileia of the late first century and especially of the first half of the second century. Some mosaics from Kom el Dikka have almost carbon copies among undated mosaics from Canopus, thus facilitating their chronological assignment and proving links with Alexandrian workshops. Two mosaics contained polychrome panels within black-and-white geometric borders.

The panels with birds (figs. 9a, b) remind us of such representations on Hadrianic floors in Ostia. However, aquatic birds on the Kom el Dikka floor deserve special attention in view of the existence in late Hellenistic times of similar representations on mosaics from Canopus, and later in Thmuis on the mosaic with the Banquet Scene.

There is one more peculiar detail of technical execution worth mentioning because it sets the representations from Kom el Dikka apart from all other such depictions of birds. At Kom el Dikka the eyes are made not of *tesserae* but of specially prepared glass roundels that imitate the sequence of color zones in an eye. Suffice it here to recall the

FIG. 10
 Mosaics from House Γ, Kom el
 Dikka, Alexandria. Photo by
 A. Bodytko, courtesy of the Polish
 Centre of Archaeology, Cairo.



centuries-long tradition of mosaic glass manufacture in Alexandria.

The same layer from the late first and early second centuries A.D. comprising rich residential houses has been identified in the western part of Kom el Dikka, where two mosaics were found. One is an old find of 1895, made by D. G. Hogarth and mentioned by Parlasca.²² The floor, incompletely recorded in a drawing, shows a shield of triangles and a fragment of a geometric border. According to a description, it also contained a representation of birds and an *opus sectile* part. It can now be dated more securely to late Hadrianic times.

The other mosaic, found in an early Roman house located partly below the odeon, displays a black-and-white panel containing a sort of reinterpretation of a meander of swastikas, or latchkey pattern, set within an adjusting border of irregular *tesselatum*.²³ The third house in the eastern part of the Kom was the largest of all and is later in date according to pottery finds. Within it, three tessellated mosaics and one *opus sectile* floor were found.²⁴ Only one mosaic was black and white, the other pavements are polychrome throughout (fig. 10). They display decorative motifs that, when taken individually, find parallels in the late second century but, when considered as a whole, should not be placed

before the second quarter or even the middle of the third century. Especially characteristic in this respect is the polychrome orthogonal pattern of adjacent squares in five colors combined with a polychrome double guilloche and an adjacent panel of intersecting circles with inscribed concave lozenges. All mosaic pavements and the *opus sectile* floor reveal traces of repairs. The discovery of mosaics in a stratified excavation at Kom el Dikka and their chronological assignment allow us to draw several conclusions of a more general nature.

1. Mosaic decoration in Roman Alexandria must have been much more popular than hitherto suspected. Within a relatively small area of Kom el Dikka were found in situ sixteen tessellated floors, three *opus sectile* pavements, and hundreds of small, loose fragments. One *emblema vermiculatum* with figured representation was also found.²⁵
2. Mosaics from Kom el Dikka help fix approximate dates for many undated floors in Alexandria and Canopus, the architectural context of which is unknown.
3. If considered together with many floors from other Alexandrian sites not mentioned in this paper, the mosaics from Kom el Dikka strengthen the conclusion that in the first and second centuries A.D., black-and-white floors with geometric ornaments dominated. In this respect Alexandrian mosaics stay in line with contemporary developments in Greece, Cyrenaica, and, especially, Italy. It is with Italy rather than Greece, however, not to mention Syria, that black-and-white mosaics in Alexandria appear to have had special links with respect to motifs and their use in overall compositions.
4. Certain representations that were popular already in earlier periods, namely birds, flowers, and fruits, persist in Roman times.
5. The astonishing popularity of the "circle in square" composition and the predilection for all kinds of rosettes are demonstrated on mosaics in Kom el Dikka and other Alexandrian sites.
6. Mosaics from Kom el Dikka indicate that the scarcity of figured representations on mosaic pavements in Egypt as a whole and in Alexandria in particular is not accidental but reflects a certain trend or a deliberate choice.

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Notes

- 1 E.g., A. Adriani, *Lezioni sull'arte alessandrina* (Naples 1972), pp. 47ff.; H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (Berlin 1975), pp. 126ff.; R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford 1988), pp. 86ff.
- 2 Athenaeus 5.196, 198, 201.
- 3 K. Yfantidis, "Die Polychromie der Hellenistischen Plastik" (Ph.D. diss., Mainz 1984), pp. 96ff.
- 4 G. Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden 1974), passim; K. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Serie B., vols. 1–3, *Ritratti di mummie* (Palermo 1969–1980).
- 5 Serapeion heads: Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 46ff. and p. 171, D 3, pls. 34, 35; pp. 106ff., and p. 182, L 5, pl. 25; Kassel head, *ibid.*, pp. 98 and 180, K 1, pl. 83; Mariemont head, *ibid.*, pp. 99 and 181, K 5, pl. 87; see also Smith (note 1 above), pp. 91–92.
- 6 W. A. Daszewski, *Corpus of Mosaics from Egypt*, vol. 1 (Mainz 1985), pp. 142–60, pls. A 32, 33.
- 7 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), p. 109: "Die Auglider sind noch jetzt als dicke schwarze Linien markiert, die Wimpern führen als kurze Striche nach oben und unten. Die Brauen waren als breite, dichte Bänder in Schwarz aufgemalt. Die gerauhte Oberfläche bewahrt noch starke Reste der dunkelbraunen Iris, und an Stirn und Schläfen erkennt man deutlich Farbspuren von linear aufgemalten Lockensträhnen. Insbesondere die starke rote und schwarze Bemalung an Mund, Nase und Augenpartie hob sich ursprünglich grell von der weißen Oberfläche ab. Die gemalten Formen müssen den ganzen Eindruck beherrscht haben."
- 8 Daszewski (note 6 above), p. 103 and passim.
- 9 J. Clédat, "Fouilles à Cheikh Zonède," *Annales du service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 15 (1915): 15ff.; P. Hoffmann, "Der Mosaikfußboden von Ismailia," in Armant, *Deutsch-Arabische Kulturzeitschrift* 3 (1969): 188–97.
- 10 M. Piccirillo et al., *I Mosaici di Giordania*, exh. cat. (Regione Lazio Assessorato alla Cultura 1986), pp. 78, 95, 98, esp. 117–27.
- 11 G. H. Forsythe et al., *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai* (Ann Arbor 1973), pp. 11–20, and ills.; K. Weitzmann, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai* (Princeton 1982), pp. 9–18.
- 12 Black-and-white mosaic showing intersecting circles with inscribed triangles and squares. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 8472.
- 13 Multicolored shield of scales within a square frame of bead-and-reel motif, Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 8470; see E. Breccia, *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* 8 (Alexandria 1905): 105ff. pl. Yet another mosaic displays a shield of intersecting circles within a square frame of guilloche, Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 8473; *ibid.*, pp. 107ff. and pl.
- 14 Four geometric black-and-white mosaics decorating four contiguous rooms: G. Botti, "Studio sull'111 nomo dell'Egitto inferiore e più specialmente sulla regione mareotica," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* 4 (1902): 80ff. and pl.
- 15 T. Schreiber, *Expedition Ernst Sieglin*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1908), p. 80, pls. 12–14.
- 16 K. Parlasca, *La mosaïque Gréco-Romaine*, vol. 2 (Paris 1975), pp. 363–68, pl. H.
- 17 For example, a fine, multicolored mosaic with a shield of radiating scales found in the region of Moharem Bey in Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 3224A; see G. Botti, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie* (Alexandria 1892–1898).
- 18 G. Uggeri, in *Antinoe (1965–1968)* (Rome 1974), pp. 125–28, pls. 57–60.
- 19 For birds, M. Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie*, vol. 3 (Warsaw 1984), p. 44. For fish, A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie*, 1935–1939 (Alexandria 1940): 149, pl. 61; for Dionysos, M. Donderer, *Die Mosaizisten der Antike und ihre wirtschaftliche und soziale Stellung* (Erlangen 1989), pp. 107–8; for mosaic with human figures, E. Breccia, *Rapport sur la marche du service du Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie pendant l'Exercice 1921–1922*, p. 4; *idem* (note 13 above), p. 56 n. 1.
- 20 Banquet Scene, Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 21641 and 21641A, see E. Breccia, *Le*

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- 21 Z. Kiss, "Les fouilles polonaises en Égypte et au Sudan en 1973," *Africana Bulletin* 21 (1974): 230ff., ill. p. 231; M. Rodziewicz, *Études et Travaux* 9 (1976): 170ff., and 262f.; idem, *Alexandrie* (note 19 above), pp. 33ff.
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- 23 Kiss (note 21 above), p. 231.
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- 25 W. A. Daszewski, "An Old Question in Light of New Evidence," *Das Römisch-Byzantinische Ägypten*, Akten des internationalen Symposions, 26.–30. September 1978, Trier. *Aegyptiaca Treverensia*, vol. 2, ed. G. Grimm, H. Heinen, and E. Winter (Mainz 1983), pp. 161–65, pl. 31.1.

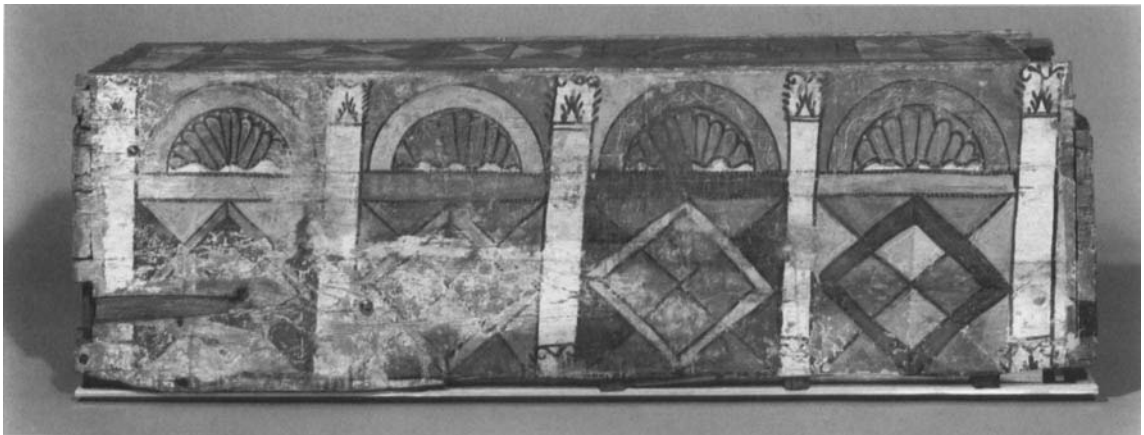
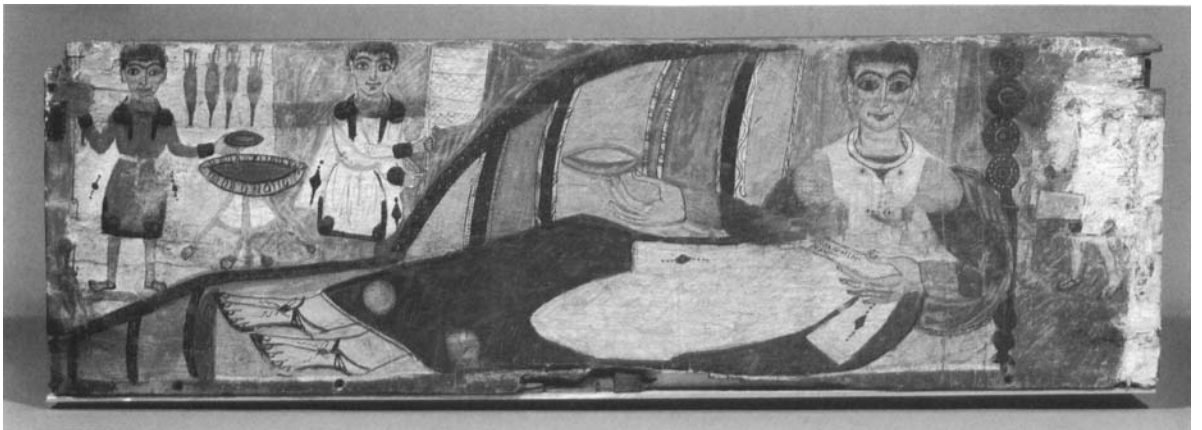
Ein spätrömischer bemalter Sarg aus Ägypten im J. Paul Getty Museum

Klaus Parlasca

Die mit dem Thema des Symposiums "Alexandria and Alexandrianism" verknüpften Probleme sind nicht auf die Kultur dieser Weltstadt beschränkt. Die Akzente der griechisch-orientalischen Kulturbegegnung sind in dieser antiken Weltstadt und im eigentlichen Ägypten, der sogenannten *Chora*, teilweise sehr verschieden. Im Lichte unserer archäologischen Quellen überraschen die vielfältigen Erscheinungsformen dieser Symbiose. Dazu kommen charakteristische Unterschiede in zeitlicher Hinsicht.

Vor allem sprechen zwei Argumente für die Einbeziehung von Funden aus anderen Landesteilen in unsere Thematik. In Alexandria sind verschiedene Facetten der materiellen Kultur während der fast 1000 Jahre dauernden politischen Zugehörigkeit zur klassischen Welt nicht belegt. Deshalb muß man nicht selten auf Funde aus anderen Gegenden Ägyptens zurückgreifen, natürlich mit dem Vorbehalt eventueller regionaler Unterschiede. Andererseits ist die unterschiedliche Ausprägung der Kulturmischung ein instruktiver Gradmesser für das Übergewicht der einen Kultur bzw. der Resistenz der anderen. Dabei sind die Vorzeichen dieser Polarität in Alexandria und auf dem flachen Land, der "Chora," gegensätzlich. In Alexandria erfolgte eine schrittweise Durchdringung des griechischen Erscheinungsbildes mit ägyptischen Elementen. Demgegenüber haben sich im übrigen Ägypten die "europäischen" Komponenten des archäologischen Erbes nur zögernd durchgesetzt. Das Griechische ist hier selten und zumeist auf den frühen Hellenismus beschränkt. In jedem Falle sind die Resultate der sich daran anknüpfenden Analysen für beide Aspekte dieses Problems—also des ägyptischen sowie des griechischen—sehr lehrreich. Zur Vermeidung voreiliger Verallgemeinerungen sind jedoch getrennte Untersuchungen erforderlich, die den jeweiligen Gegebenheiten—Gattungen, Perioden und Regionen—Rechnung tragen.

Im Jahre 1982 erwarb Jiří Frel für das J. Paul Getty Museum einen in allen wesentlichen Teilen vollständigen, bemalten Holzsarg—zusammen mit einer Serie teilweise fragmentierter, nach Aussage des Vorbesitzers zugehöriger Kleinfunde. Davon wurde bisher nur das Bruchstück einer beschrifteten Holztafel publiziert.¹ Vom Sarg selbst



wurde in den vergangenen Jahren nur die Malerei der Frontseite mehrfach abgebildet (Abb. 1a).² Erst in den Jahren 1992/1993 erfolgte eine eingehende Restaurierung und technische Untersuchung. Danach wurde der Sarg in seiner originalen Form anlässlich des Alexandria-Symposiums erstmals der Öffentlichkeit vorgestellt; er fand in der Schausammlung des Museums einen angemessenen Platz.³ Die erhaltenen Teile des nach seiner Auffindung zersägten Sargs umfassen die beiden Langseiten (Abb. 1a, b), eine Schmalseite (Abb. 1c) und den Deckel (Abb. 1d). Somit fehlt, abgesehen von dem vermutlich unverzierten Boden und den aufgesetzten Leisten an den Enden des Deckels, nur die andere Schmalseite. Ihr Fehlen ist leicht zu erklären. Die Oberfläche der anschließenden Partien der beiden Langseiten ist durch Wassereinwirkung stark beschädigt. Deshalb war vermutlich auch die Malschicht dieser Partie weitgehend zerstört. Mit Ausnahme der Schmalseite bestehen die erhaltenen Partien jeweils nur aus einem Brett. Im Hinblick auf die gute, bereits in vorhellenistischer Zeit praktizierte Stückungstechnik ist dieser Aufwand überraschend. Die Gründe für diese Praxis sind jedoch, wie wir noch sehen werden, deutlich.

Eine C-14-Analyse hat ergeben, daß das Holz wesentlich älter ist als seine Verwendung für den Sarg. Die sorgfältige Untersuchung

ABB. 1a
Holzsarg, Langseite A. Malibu,
J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AP.75.

ABB. 1b
Langseite B des Holzsargs,
Abb. 1a.

ABB. 1c
Schmalseite des Holzsargs,
Abb. 1a.

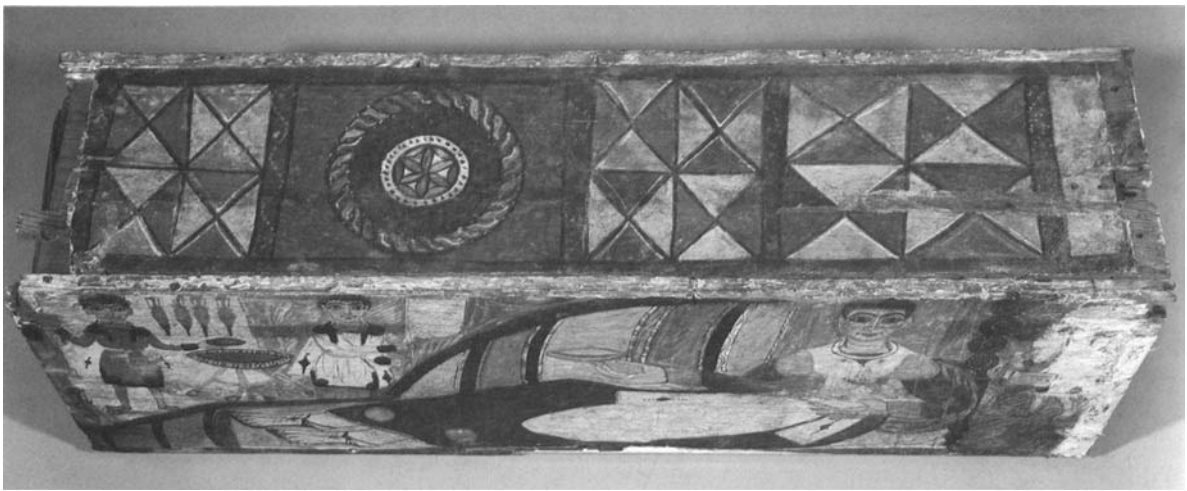
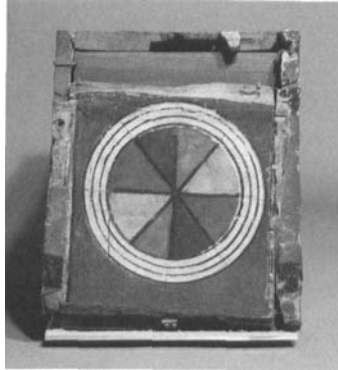


ABB. 1d
Gesamtansicht mit Deckel des
Holzsargs, Abb. 1a.

des technischen Befundes lieferte ferner den Nachweis, daß die Bretter zunächst einem anderen Zweck gedient haben. Dabei bildeten die beiden Langseiten ursprünglich ein einziges Brett (Mindestlänge 3,06 m), dessen originale Breite sich durch die an einer Seite verkürzten Einsatzleisten (s. unten) auf etwa 75 cm berechnen läßt. Zur Erstnutzung gehört auch eine Serie kleiner Bohrlöcher, deren unregelmäßige Verteilung allerdings keine Rückschlüsse auf den ursprünglichen Verwendungszweck ermöglicht. Die Löcher wurden bei der Zweitverwendung kaschiert.

Die Form des Sargs ist auffallend schlicht; bei den Holzteilen fehlen völlig im eigentlichen Sinne tektonische oder dekorative Elemente. Sogar auf die sonst üblichen Eckpfosten wurden verzichtet. Die vier Seiten bestehen ebenso wie der Deckel und der fehlende Boden aus glatten Flächen ohne Profile. An beiden Schmalseiten des Deckels waren Leisten von 4,3 cm Breite befestigt. Sie dienten wohl primär als Schiebegriffe für den Deckel, doch können sie auch als flache Giebel dekorativ ausgestaltet gewesen sein. An den Ecken sind die Einzelbretter sorgfältig verzapft und zusätzlich noch durch dicke Nägel gesichert.

In auffallendem Gegensatz zu den überaus schlichten Formgebung des Sargkastens steht die bemerkenswert sorgfältige handwerkliche Gestaltung der wiederverwendeten Bretter. Abgesehen von der Schmal-

seite (s. unten) besteht jede Fläche aus einem einzigen Brett, das jeweils aus der Mitte des Stamms einer mächtigen Libanonzeder herausgesägt ist. Auf diese Weise bestand das geringste Risiko, daß sich das Holz im Laufe der Zeit verzieht. Außerdem befinden sich in den langen Brettern rechteckige Bohrungen, in die mit erstaunlich sauberer Fügung fünf bzw. sechs lange Leisten aus Hartholz eingezogen sind. Dadurch erzielte man eine zusätzliche Stabilität. Diese Leisten sind in den Brettern der Langseite von unten bis etwa $\frac{2}{3}$ der Höhe eingefügt. Der Deckel weist eine ähnliche Armierung auf; hier wurden von jeder Seite aus sechs bzw. fünf solcher Leisten in annähernd gleicher Länge eingezogen. Einer Verwerfung des Holzes mußte besonders beim Deckel vorgebeugt werden, um sein einwandfreies Funktionieren bei späterer Öffnung zu gewährleisten. Dem Verklemmen in den beiden Falzen wurde zusätzlich entgegengewirkt durch eine geringe, mit bloßem Auge nicht wahrnehmbare Verjüngung des Bretts (die Breite beträgt an den Enden 25,0 bzw. 23,6 cm). Daraus ergibt sich, daß der Deckel von der linken Seite eingeschoben wurde.

Die alten Bretter hatten teilweise längere Risse, die durch Leinwandstreifen kaschiert wurden. Zusätzlich mußte eine Fehlstelle im Deckel durch ein Flickstück geschlossen werden. Die Oberfläche erhielt dann eine Kreidegrundierung für die Malerei. Auch die Innenseiten wurden mit einem Kreideüberzug versehen, um ein Verziehen des Holzes infolge des Trocknens der äußeren Schicht zu vermeiden. Der Boden war in einer besonderen Nut eingefügt und zusätzlich durch Eisennägel in vorgebohrten Löchern mit den senkrechten Teilen verbunden.

Die andere Langseite des Sargs ist durch ihren schlichteren Dekor deutlich als Rückseite charakterisiert (Abb. 1b). Sie wird gegliedert durch fünf Pilaster mit korinthisierenden Kapitellen und Blattkelchdekor am unteren Ende. Basen sind nicht angegeben, ebensowenig ein Sockelstreifen auf der in voller Höhe erhaltenen Wandung. Die Bodenplatte war, wie bereits erwähnt, in eine Nut der Langseitenbretter eingefügt. Der architektonische Charakter der Malerei wird unterstrichen durch die verbindenden Arkaden mit Muscheln in den Bogenfeldern. Vielleicht ist hier eine Nischengliederung gemeint, doch wurde nur deren oberer Abschluß einigermaßen korrekt wiedergegeben. Die annähernd quadratischen Felder darunter enthalten nur geometrische Muster. Diagonale Linien und breite, auf die Spitze gestellte Vierecke gliedern die Fläche in kleine Quadrate und Dreiecke.

Als Vorbild dieser Komposition dienten vielleicht Wandmalereien mit derartiger Gliederung, wenn auch in Ägypten hierfür keine entsprechenden Parallelen erhalten sind. An Säulensarkophage darf man in diesem Zusammenhang nicht denken; Reliefsarkophage waren im Lande weitgehend unbekannt; auch importierte Exemplare sind im Innern Ägyptens nicht einmal in Resten nachzuweisen. Die geometrischen Muster sind vielleicht als Weiterbildung von Inkrustationsmalerei zu

ABB. 1e
Detail mit Inschrift des Holzsargs,
Abb. 1a.



verstehen, obgleich die für diese Gattung charakteristische tektonische Gliederung sonst anders gelöst ist. Der Blattkelch am unteren Ende der Pilaster ist ein vor allem in der oströmischen Architektur weit verbreitetes Motiv, das auch in Ägypten seit der mittleren Kaiserzeit vielfach belegt ist.

Auch der Sargdeckel zeigt in unregelmäßiger Aufteilung eine rein ornamentale Malerei (Abb. 1d). Zwei Felder enthalten gegenständige Dreiecksmuster. Das Restfeld an der einen Schmalseite ist unverziert. Das asymmetrisch in die eine Hälfte verschobene Rechteck enthält ein schildartiges Motiv auf grünem Grund. Die dunkelviolette Fläche mit schwarzen Punkten wird von einem Flechtband eingefasst; in der Mitte sitzt eine sechsblättrige Rosette, die aus dem bekannten Muster verschränkter Kreise entwickelt ist. Die unregelmäßige Aufteilung des Dekors läßt vermuten, daß das Hauptfeld die Position der Kopfpartie der Mumie andeuten sollte. Der Befund des Deckels spricht jedoch dafür, daß die Mumie tatsächlich anders herum gelegen hat.

Die erhaltene Schmalseite ist mit einem vierfachen Kreis-
muster auf weißem Grund verziert, dessen Innenfläche durch radiale Linien in acht ungleiche Sektoren aufgeteilt ist. Die verbleibende äußere Fläche ist dunkelgrün (Abb. 1c).

Die mehrfigurige Malerei der Hauptseite des Sargs zeigt in der Mitte den auf einer Kline gelagerten Verstorbenen (Abb. 1a). Dieser Teil der Darstellung nimmt fast die gesamte Breite ein. Die unregelmäßig geformte Kline hat nur in ihrer rechten Partie eine hohe, mit Stoff gespannte Rückenlehne. Der untere Teil ist nicht wiedergegeben; die Liegefläche schließt mit der Unterkante des Sarges ab. Nur am rechten Rand der Kline ist ein gedrehseltes Bein wiedergegeben, das sich in einer Serie



ABB. 1f
Zwei Knaben als Diener des
Holzsargs, Abb. 1a.

von vier scheibenartigen Elementen bis zur Oberkante der Rückenlehne fortsetzt. Der Tote ist offenbar ein Knabe; die geringen Abmessungen des Sargs schließen ohnehin die Verwendung für einen Erwachsenen aus. Seine reiche Gewandung wird später im Zusammenhang mit der Tracht der anderen Personen zu besprechen sein. Der Inschriftenstreifen neben der linken Hand des Toten nennt seinen Namen—Ammonios (Abb. 1e). Die Deutung der Buchstaben in der zweiten Zeile ist unsicher. Offenbar ist die Buchstabenfolge fehlerhaft. Vielleicht ist NTON in ETΩN (im Alter von . . .) zu emendieren. Die Ziffer des erreichten Alters blieb offen. Da der über den Zahlbuchstaben übliche waagerechte Strich angegeben ist, sollten sie offenbar nachgetragen werden. Einen orthographischen Fehler muß man auch annehmen, wenn die Buchstaben zum Vatersnamen gehören sollten. Vielleicht war es (A)NTON(ιov).⁴ Allerdings fehlt am Anfang am Original kein Buchstabe!

Der Blick des Knaben fixiert den Betrachter; seine ausgestreckte Rechte ist jedoch einem der Pagen zugewendet, der die von Ammonios mit spitzen Fingern gehaltene flache Glasschale füllen soll. Dieser uralte, seit dem 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. belegte Gestus⁵ hat sich im Zusammenhang mit kleinen, henkellosen Trinkschalen lange gehalten. Die einzuschenkende Flüssigkeit hat, wie man am Inhalt des Kessels der kleinen, vom Pagen gehaltenen Schale sehen kann, eine helle, grünliche Färbung. Demnach könnte es sich um Weißwein handeln. Beim Inhalt der Becher, die verschiedentlich in der Hand später Mumienbildnisse zu sehen sind, ist hingegen sicher Rotwein gemeint.⁶

Die Kline wird von drei Pagen flankiert, die den Toten bedienen. Der eine steht ganz links vor einem gelblichen Hintergrund neben einer Serie von vier Spitzamphoren (Abb. 1f). In der erhobenen rechten Hand hält er einen langen, bronzenen Schöpflöffel, mit dem er aus einer fünften Amphora Wein entnommen hat, um damit den rechts neben ihm



ABB. 2
Römischer Fächer. University of
California at Berkeley, Phoebe A.
Hearst Museum of Anthropology
6-20548.

stehenden Kessel und seine in der linken Hand gehaltene Schale zu füllen. Der ungeschickt wiedergegebene, aber sicher rund zu denkende Kessel hat einen ornamentierten Rand. Der Farbe nach zu urteilen ist es ein Bronzegefäß, das auf einem drei- bzw. fünfbeinigen Gestell aus demselben Material mit Andeutungen von Füßen in Form von Löwentatzen steht. Rechts daneben steht ein weiterer Page, dessen Füße von der an dieser Stelle relativ niedrigen Klinenrückwand verdeckt sind. Er hält einen großen, rechteckigen Fächer aus Flechtwerk in der linken Hand; ein originales Gegenstück aus Tebtynis im Fayum befindet sich in Berkeley (Abb. 2).⁷ Von dem ganz rechts neben der Kline stehenden dritten Pagen sind nur noch Reste erhalten; die Malerei ist in diesem Bereich größtenteils verrieben. Trotzdem sind verschiedene Einzelheiten noch deutlich zu erkennen. Im Unterschied zu den beiden anderen frontal stehenden Knaben ist er vor dunkelgrünem Hintergrund auf einer gelblichen Standlinie schreitend dargestellt. In der rechten Hand erkennt man eine große Buchrolle, am Handgelenk einen querrechteckigen Gegenstand an schwarzen, geflochtenen Bändern; vermutlich ist ein großformatiges Polyptychon gemeint.

Noch ein Wort zu den Größenverhältnissen der vier Personen. Man hat die relative Kleinheit der Pagen als Ausdruck eines niedrigeren sozialen Status interpretiert.⁸ Diese Folgerung ist sicher unrichtig. Es ist bestimmt kein Zufall, daß die Gewandung aller vier Personen teilweise identisch ist, so z. B. die kleinen Ziermuster auf den frei herabhängenden Stoffpartien. Hierbei handelt es sich um lose Ärmel.⁹ Auf Einzelheiten der Gewandung und ihrer Verzierung kann an dieser Stelle nicht eingegangen werden. Interessanterweise gibt es aber auch in der palmyrenischen Grabkunst des 3. Jahrhunderts Dienerfiguren—auch hier spricht man gern von Pagen—die wie der Grabherr reich verzierte, parthische Gewänder tragen.

Es ist sicherlich kein Zufall, daß die Streifengliederung des Klinenstoffs bei unserer Sarkophagmalerei auf die Oberkörperpartie des Toten Rücksicht nimmt. Dies hat kaum den rein ästhetischen Grund, störende Überschneidungen des Stoffmusters mit dem Kopf zu vermeiden. Die diesen unmittelbar umgebende Fläche bildet ein grüngrundiges Rechteck. Es liegt nahe, hierbei an den rechteckigen Nimbus zu denken, der im koptischen Ägypten verschiedentlich belegt ist. In diesem Zusammenhang ist die besonders von W. de Grüneisen behandelte Frage nach den eventuellen paganen Vorstufen dieses Motivs von Bedeutung.¹⁰ Im Rahmen seiner Ausführungen spielen Mumienporträts auf Leinentüchern von Antinoopolis eine gewisse Rolle. Es ist deshalb vielleicht kein Zufall, daß auch für unseren Sarkophag die Herkunft aus Oberägypten in hohem Maße wahrscheinlich ist.

Die Abmessungen der Kopfpartie des Sarkophagporträts entsprechen ungefähr den Maßen später Mumienbildnisse. Es liegt nahe,



ABB. 3
Schmalseite eines Holzsargs mit
Porträt. Paris, Musée du Louvre
E. 22309.

hier bewußte Zusammenhänge zu vermuten. Wahrscheinlich legte man Wert auf die Wiedergabe des Porträts ohne die religiösen Implikationen, wie sie bei den paganen Porträtmumien gegeben waren.¹¹ Ein derartiger Zusammenhang ist am besten verständlich in einer Gegend, in der auch in der späten Kaiserzeit die Ausstattung von Mumien mit gemalten Bildnissen üblich war oder wenigstens gelegentlich vorkam.

In Ausnahmefällen gab es auch auf paganen Sarkophagen gemalte Porträts im allgemeinen Sinne des Wortes. Hierzu rechne ich nicht die flüchtige Wiedergabe der Verstorbenen im Rahmen von Totengeleitszenen ägyptischer Prägung, bei denen die Charakterisierung als Sterbliche auf Tracht und Darstellungsweise—frontale Kopfwendung—beschränkt blieb. Im Louvre befindet sich die Schmalseite eines Sarkophags aus der späten Kaiserzeit mit dem Brustbild eines Knaben in langärmeligem Chiton (Abb. 3).¹² Er hält einen schmalen Becher sowie eine Handgirlande. Die Büste wird flankiert von zwei Falken auf Konsolen. Eine gebogene Girlande umrahmt den Kopf des Knaben. Auf dieser, vermutlich bald nach der Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts datierbaren Malerei begegnen uns in reduzierter Form typische Elemente des paganen Totenglaubens, insbesondere die beiden Falken in der Funktion als Schutzgottheiten des Toten. Die Handgirlande ist trotz ihres heidnischen Ursprungs—bei den Ägyptern in der Bedeutung als “Kranz der Rechtfertigung” im osirianischen Totengericht—durch ein Miniaturporträt in Kairo auch noch für die koptische Zeit—etwa 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.—belegt.¹³

Im Zusammenhang mit der religionsgeschichtlichen Interpretation des Sargs drängt sich die Frage auf, ob der große Aufwand an handwerklichem Können für einen äußerlich keineswegs präntösen Sarg vielleicht triftige Ursachen hat. Dies gilt insbesondere für die Herichtung der Verschußplatte. Derartige Schiebedeckel sind vor allem

von kleinen Holzkästchen bekannt. Diese Konstruktion setzt bei den vorliegenden Abmessungen eine überaus sorgfältige Verarbeitung voraus. Offenbar sollte der Deckel im Bedarfsfalle auch über einen längeren Zeitraum hin leicht zu öffnen sein. Aus diesem Befund ergeben sich einige aufschlußreiche Konsequenzen. Offenbar wurde der Sarg nach der Trauerfeier nicht endgültig beigesetzt, wie dies unseren modernen Vorstellungen entspräche. Literarische Zeugnisse belegen die pagane Sitte, den Verstorbenen mitunter noch lange Zeit hindurch die Grabesruhe vorzuenthalten, auch noch für die koptische Zeit. Der Vorbehalt, den Sarg jederzeit öffnen zu können, hat die Mumifizierung des darin bestatteten Knaben zur Voraussetzung. Wir wissen, daß eine derartige Behandlung der Leichen auch in koptischer Zeit noch praktiziert wurde.

Deshalb kann die Vorrichtung für ein leichtes Öffnen des Deckels nur den Zweck haben, Berührungskontakte mit der Mumie zu ermöglichen. Diese Sitte ist, soweit ich weiß, im ägyptischen Totenkult der Zeit literarisch nicht belegt. Andererseits kennen wir eine derartige Praxis aus einer historischen Quelle der klassischen Welt. Für Augustus ist überliefert, daß er beim Besuch Alexandrias den Sarkophag des großen Makedonenkönigs öffnen ließ und seine Mumie berührte.¹⁴ Dazu kommen zwei archäologische Parallelen, auf deren Bedeutung ich bereits in anderem Zusammenhang hingewiesen habe. Der Deckel eines wohl frühkaiserzeitlichen Sargs aus el-Bagawat (Kharga Oase) in Kairo, Ägyptisches Museum, kann von der einen Langseite eingeschoben werden.¹⁵ Ein um 100 n. Chr. datierbarer Sarg unbekannter Herkunft in Berlin hat eine vertikal bewegliche Schmalseite.¹⁶

Es fällt auf, daß die bildlichen Darstellungen des Sargs keine deutlichen Hinweise auf die religiöse Sphäre des Verstorbenen enthalten. Dieser Befund wäre nur bei einem christlichen Knaben nicht überraschend. Wir wissen, daß bei den frühen Christen die Demonstration eigener Symbole in der Öffentlichkeit—trotz ihrer bei zahlreichen Martyrien bewährten Glaubensstreue—nicht üblich war. Es sei nur an den bekannten Brief des Clemens von Alexandria erinnert, der den Gläubigen empfohlen hatte, sich bei Fingerringen mehrdeutiger Symbole zu bedienen.¹⁷ Ein solches Verhalten wird anscheinend auch durch unseren Sarg illustriert. Außerdem ist seit jeher das Fehlen eindeutiger, archäologischer Zeugnisse für die zahlenmäßig bereits bedeutende vorkonstantinische Christengemeinde in Ägypten aufgefallen.

Im Gegensatz zu ihren christlichen Landsleuten bestand für die an paganen Glaubensvorstellungen festhaltenden Teile der Bevölkerung in dieser Hinsicht kein Grund zu besonderer Zurückhaltung. Ein Blick auf sicher pagane Darstellungen im Bereich der Grabkunst lehrt, daß bei ihnen stets eine mehr oder minder ausgeprägte Ausstattung mit eindeutig heidnischen Motiven und Symbolen zu beobachten ist.

Meine Auffassung, daß der Sarg in Malibu für einen christ-

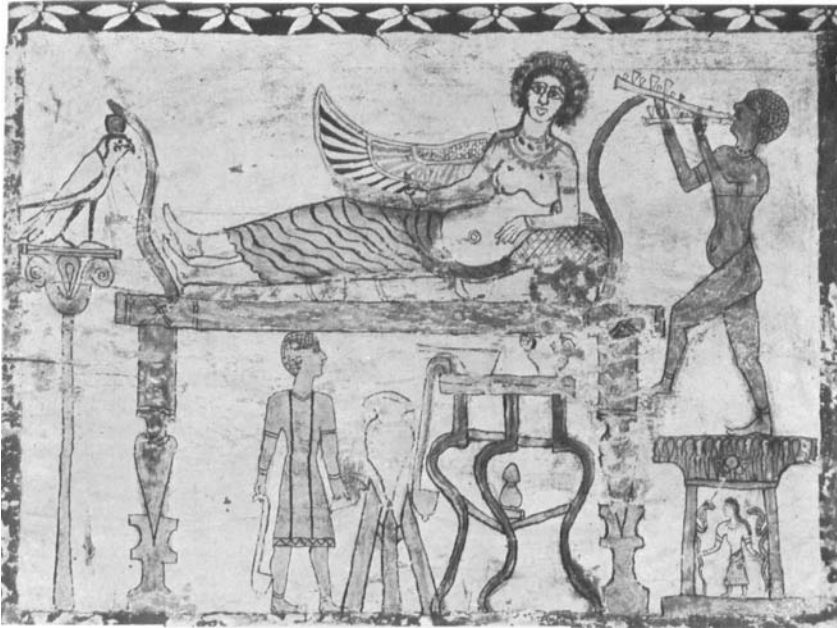


ABB. 4
Brett eines Sarkophags. Ehemals
Kunsthandel, New York. © 1975
Sotheby's, Inc.

lichen Knaben bestimmt war, erfordert eine sorgfältige Prüfung eventueller Gegenargumente. Einen scheinbaren Hinweis zugunsten einer paganen Deutung bietet der theophore Personennamen. „Ammonios“ ist von dem Namen des Gottes Ammon abgeleitet.¹⁸ Es ist aber häufig zu belegen—diese Feststellung gilt nicht nur für Ägypten—daß derartige Personennamen noch lange nach dem Ende der heidnischen Zeit in Gebrauch gewesen sind. Deshalb kann auch unser Ammonios durchaus Angehöriger einer christlichen Familie gewesen sein.

Ein anderes Problem betrifft die religionsgeschichtliche Einordnung bzw. Bewertung des ikonographischen Themas. Totenmahldarstellungen begegnen uns in der griechischen Welt mit zunehmender Häufigkeit seit dem mittleren 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Solche Szenen bzw. einzelne auf einer Kline gelagerte Tote sind in der ägyptischen Grabkunst, besonders auf Grabreliefs, während der ganzen Kaiserzeit überaus häufig.¹⁹ Sie liefern uns ein lehrreiches Anschauungsmaterial für den typologischen Spielraum dieser Gattung einschließlich bestimmter Sonderformen. Daraus wird deutlich, daß ägyptische Elemente nur dann fehlen, wenn die Darstellung auch sonst einen deutlich reduzierten Typus repräsentiert. Für entsprechende Reliefs hellenistischer Zeit bestanden natürlich andere Voraussetzungen, die in griechischen Glaubensvorstellungen und entsprechenden künstlerischen Traditionen wurzelten. Auch in der Kaiserzeit findet sich sehr häufig das Motiv des Trinkgefäßes in der ausgestreckten Rechten des Toten. Der Doppelsinn dieser auffallenden Geste—Trankspende an den heroisierten Toten bzw. seine Bedienung mit Wein im Diesseits²⁰—blieb im frühen Christentum erhalten. Dieser Gedanke bildet eine religiös nicht genau festgelegte Konstante in der frühchristlichen Grabkunst, wobei die Nuancen der jeweiligen Vorstellungen vielfach nicht genauer zum Ausdruck gebracht wurden. Dar-

aus wird deutlich, daß auch bei unserem Beispiel diese Szene keineswegs als spezifisch pagan interpretiert werden muß. Begnügen wir uns zunächst mit der vorsichtigen Feststellung, daß die Totenmahlszene auf unserem Sarg, isoliert betrachtet, keine eindeutige Festlegung in religiöser Hinsicht erlaubt. Einen instruktiven Vergleich bietet eine sicher nicht christliche, vermutlich gleichfalls von einem Sarg stammende Holztafel, die sich 1975 im New Yorker Kunsthandel befunden hat (Abb. 4).²¹ Hier sieht man auf einer hochbeinigen Kline eine gelagerte Frau. Ihr scheinbar entblößter Oberkörper ist wohl nur die ungeschickte Wiedergabe eines durchsichtigen Chitons. Der dahinter dargestellte einzelne Flügel beruht vermutlich auf der mißverstandenen Entlehnung aus einer Vorlage, bei der am Kopfende der Kline eine Schutzgöttin mit ausgebreiteten Flügeln stand. Die Möglichkeit, daß auf diese Weise eine Deifikation angedeutet sein könnte, ist nicht auszuschließen. Vor der Kline—gleichsam unter derselben dargestellt—steht ein Mundschenk mit den üblichen Requisite: ein dreibeiniger Tisch mit zwei Trinkgefäßen und eine Spitzamphora in Dreifußständer. Rechts sieht man auf pylonartigem Sockel einen nackten, tanzenden Musikanten mit Doppelflöte. An speziellen religiösen Motiven findet sich auf dieser Tafel, abgesehen von dem oben erwähnten Flügel, nur ganz links der auf einer Art Standarte sitzende Horosfalke und rechts im Bildfeld des Musikantensockels eine Göttin, die zwei aufgerichtete Schlangen hält.

Die Klinenszene mit der Darbietung von Wein könnte man vielleicht im dionysischen Sinne interpretieren. Der für Totenmahldarstellungen ansonsten charakteristische Tisch mit Eßwaren fehlt. Kindliche Symposiasten sind in der paganen Grabkunst Ägyptens nicht ungewöhnlich. Es ist aber meiner Ansicht nach nicht zwingend, die betreffenden Kinder als echte Mysterien, also als Eingeweihte der dionysischen Mysterien, zu interpretieren. In unserer archäologischen Überlieferung gibt es einige Parallelen bei den Grabreliefs. Hier finden sich z. T. auffallend niedrige Altersangaben. Das bekannteste Beispiel ist das vermutlich aus Alexandria stammende Relief des dreijährigen Knaben Souper in Bologna.²² Im übrigen ist die Wiedergabe von Verstorbenen beiderlei Geschlechts auf einer Kline in der kaiserzeitlichen Grabkunst des Nillandes ganz geläufig, wie ein Exemplar im Brooklyn Museum illustriert, das zur umfangreichen Gruppe der Terenuthisstelen gehört (Abb. 5).²³ Bei der Überprüfung anderer Interpretationsmöglichkeiten bietet sich eine überraschende Alternative. Enge formale Beziehungen bestehen nämlich zu den griechischen Heroenreliefs. Das älteste erhaltene Exemplar dieser umfangreichen langlebigen Gruppe, ein um 450 v. Chr. datierbares Relief aus Thasos in Istanbul,²⁴ zeigt links neben der Kline einen großen Dinos auf hohem Untersatz und einen Mundschenk. Die Übernahme einer paganen Bildtradition war im vorliegenden Falle nur eine äußerliche, formale Entlehnung. Dabei wurde dem paganen



ABB. 5
Grabstele aus Terenuthis
(Nildelta). H.: 37,5 cm; B.: 31 cm.
The Brooklyn Museum 72.60.

Thema der Heroisierung vermutlich ein veränderter Gehalt im Sinne der neuen christlichen Lehre unterlegt.

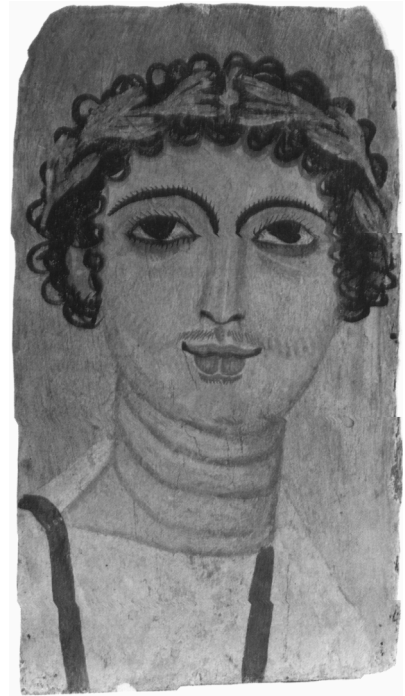
Verschiedene Punkte der Beschreibung haben die Bedeutung dieses singulären Sargs verdeutlicht. Um so wichtiger ist die Klärung seiner zeitlichen und religionsgeschichtlichen Einordnung. Für die Chronologie liefern die Ergebnisse der C-14-Analysen folgende Eckdaten: zwischen 265 und 420 n. Chr.²⁵ Meine erste, auf stilistischem Wege unter Einbeziehung antiquarischer Kriterien gewonnene Datierung—Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts—ist mit dem naturwissenschaftlichen Befund gut vereinbar. Nicht unerwähnt bleiben darf einer der angeblichen Beifunde des Sargs, das Fragment einer Holztafel mit einem 474 n. Chr. datierten Kaufvertrag.²⁶ Die erhebliche Zeitdifferenz zum spätestmöglichen C-14-Datum einerseits und dem stilistischen Datierungsspielraum andererseits schließt seine Zugehörigkeit zu unserem Kindersarg aus.

Für eine Stilanalyse empfiehlt sich vor allem ein Vergleich des Ammonios mit späten Mumienporträts, deren jüngste nach bis vor kurzem einhelliger Meinung gegen Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts zu datieren sind. Diese Erkenntnis wurde zuerst von Heinrich Drerup erarbeitet;²⁷ andere, darunter Günter Grimm,²⁸ David L. Thompson²⁹ und ich selbst,³⁰ sind ihm darin gefolgt. Gegen diese *communis opinio* wurde jüngst die Behauptung aufgestellt, die spätesten Mumienbildnisse seien in severischer Zeit entstanden. Eine nähere Begründung der bisher nur im Rahmen eines Vortragsresumes bekanntgemachten Hypothese steht noch aus. Die im folgenden herangezogenen Beispiele dieser Gattung sprechen m.E. entschieden dagegen. Drerup hatte bereits erkannt, daß die Mumienbildnisse der nachkonstantinischen Zeit, also der beiden

ABB. 6
Mumienporträt aus Er-Rubayat
(Ägypten). Ende des vierten
Jahrhunderts n.Chr. Temperafarbe
auf Holz. H.: 28,2 cm. Malibu,
J. Paul Getty Museum 79.AP.129.



ABB. 7
Mumienporträt. Wien,
Kunsthistorisches Museum x 432.



Generationen zwischen der Mitte und dem Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts, nur allgemein als stilistische Gruppen datierbar sind.³¹ Innerhalb dieses Zeitraums wird man die Gruppe des Brooklyn Malers relativ früh anzusetzen haben—etwa Mitte bis 3. Jahrhundertviertel. Sie wird unter anderem repräsentiert durch zwei Bildnisse von Erwachsenen im J. Paul Getty Museum³² bzw. in Edinburgh.³³ Einer jüngeren Stilstufe sind einige andere Mumienbildnisse zuzurechnen, so z.B. zwei Kinderporträts in Athen,³⁴ ein bereits von Drerup analysiertes Exemplar heute ebenfalls im J. Paul Getty Museum (Abb. 6),³⁵ sowie ein Jünglingsporträt in Wien (Abb. 7).³⁶ Letzteres darf als besonders nahe stilistische Parallele zum stilisierten Gesicht des Ammonios gewertet werden. Da innerhalb der gemalten Sepulkralporträts keine Exemplare bekannt sind, für die sich eine spätere Datierung wahrscheinlich machen läßt, ergibt sich für den Sarg des Getty Museums eine approximative Gleichzeitigkeit mit den jüngsten Mumienporträts, also ein Ansatz gegen Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts.

In verschiedener Hinsicht repräsentiert der Sarg des Getty Museums somit ein singuläres Zeugnis des frühen koptischen Kunstschaffens. Er vermittelt darüber hinaus wichtige Aufschlüsse über die religiösen Verhältnisse im Bereich der ägyptischen Grabkunst während der relativ langen Übergangsphase von der paganen zur frühchristlichen Periode.³⁷

Frankfurt am Main

GERMANY

Anmerkungen

- 1 Inv. 82.AI.76; W. Brashear, "A Byzantine Sale of Land," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 11 (1983): 161–68. Abb. 1. 2. Das anpassende Fragment befindet sich als Teil der Schenkung Kiseleff in Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum Inv. K 1022. Die Urkunde ist 474 n.Chr. datiert.
- 2 Inv. 82.AP.75; *The J. Paul Getty Museum, Handbook of the Collections* (Malibu 1986 = 1988), 55 mit Abb. (nicht in der Neuauflage von 1992). K. Parlasca, in *Giornate di studio in onore di A. Adriani*, Rom, 26–27 Nov. 1984 = *Studi miscellanei* 28 (1991): 115, 125f. Abb. 1A; ders., in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (1991), 2003, Abb. auf S. 2005 oben, s.v. Portraiture, Coptic (third and fourth centuries).
- 3 Maße: L: 1,56 m; H: 0,47 m; Br.: 0,35 m. Informationen über die Ergebnisse ihrer bisherigen, intensiven Untersuchungen und konservatorischen Maßnahmen verdanke ich Maya Elston.
- 4 Diesen Vorschlag machte Prof. Diana Delia während der Diskussion im Anschluß an meinen Vortrag. Einen verschriebenen(?) Vatersnamen erwog auch G. W. Bowersock in einem persönlichen Gespräch.
- 5 B. B. Shefton, in *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syrienne* 21 (1971): 111, Taf. 22.9–11.
- 6 K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden 1966), 144 (mit Nachweisen).
- 7 Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology Inv. 6-20548; Maße: 22,7 × 18 cm; Länge des Griffs: 63,5 cm. Grabung B. P. Grenfell und A. S. Hunt 1899–1900; unpubliziert. Photo und Publikationserlaubnis verdanke ich Frank A. Norick.
- 8 *Handbook* (a.O. Anm. 2), 55.
- 9 Nach einem Hinweis, den ich E. R. Knauer (Philadelphia) verdanke, die den "sleeved coat" und verwandte Trachten und deren langjährige Geschichte eingehend analysiert hat in *Expedition* 21.1 (Fall 1978): 18–36, sowie in H. Temporini, ed., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Band 12.2 (Berlin 1985), 578–741.
- 10 Parlasca (a.O. Anm. 6), 221, Nr. 47; 223, Nr. 61 (Beiträge von W. de Grüneisen).
- 11 Die Porträtmumien stehen in der Tradition der pharaonischen anthropoiden (besser: osirisförmigen) Särge. Sie sind auf dieser Weise mit der paganen Osirisreligion unmittelbar verknüpft.
- 12 Inv. E 22309 (ehemals Musée Guimet Inv. 4810); 29,5 × 42,0 cm; G. Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden 1974), 125, Taf. 109.1; K. Parlasca, *Ritratti di mummie = Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, Serie B, vol. 3 (Rom 1980), 49, Nr. 601, Taf. 143.1.
- 13 Inv. JE 68825; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts* (a.O. Anm. 6), 211, Taf. 53.4; N. P. Ševčenko, in K. Weitzmann, Hrsg., *The Age of Spirituality*, Ausstellungskatalog (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), 551f., Nr. 496, Abb.
- 14 Nach einem U. Hausmann verdankten Hinweis; D. Kienast, *Augustus Princeps und Monarch* (Darmstadt 1982), 64, 451 Anm. 72 (zu Casius Dio 51.16.5).
- 15 Inv. JE 56228; Parlasca, in *Giornate* (a.O. Anm. 2), 125, Abb. 12, 13.
- 16 Inv. 16-83; ebendort 124f., Abb. 10, 11.
- 17 Th. Klauer, in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 1 (1958): 21ff.; L. Eizenhöfer, ebenda, 3 (1960): 51ff.; ders., ebenda, 6 (1963): 173f.
- 18 F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen . . . Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden . . . Ägyptens sich vorfinden* (Heidelberg 1922), Sp. 26; Th. Hopfner, *Archiv Orientální* 15 (1943): 8; *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, Band 1 (1991), 113; G. Wagner, *Les Oasis d'Égypte* (Kairo 1987), 70f., 229 mit weiteren Nachweisen.
- 19 K. Parlasca, in *Roma e l'Egitto nell'antichità classica*, Kairo 6–9 Feb. 1989 (Rom 1992), 265ff., Abb. 11–15.
- 20 Parlasca, *Mumienporträts* (a.O. Anm. 6), 144 mit Hinweis auf K. Friis Johansen, *The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period* (Kopenhagen 1951), 85.
- 21 Auktionskatalog Sotheby-Parke Bernet, New York, Nr. 3753, 2 Mai 1975, Nr. 58, Abb. (57,2 × 41,9 cm).
- 22 H. Wrede, *Consecratio in formam deorum*

- (Berlin 1981), 32f., 36, 62f., Nr. 179, Taf. 24.1; K. Parlasca, in *Ägypten: Dauer und Wandel* (Mainz 1985), 101f. (jeweils mit weiterer Literatur).
- 23 Inv. 72.60, 37,5 × 31 cm; B. V. Bothmer, in *The Brooklyn Museum Annual Report, 1972–1973*: 11, mit Abb. Hier nach einer B. V. Bothmer verdankten Photographie mit freundlicher Genehmigung von R. Fazzini.
- 24 M. Schede, *Griechische und römische Skulptur des Antikenmuseums (Istanbul)* (Berlin 1928), 3f., Taf. 5; J.-M. Dentzer, *La Motif du banquet couché dans le Proche-Orient et le monde grec du VII^e au IV^e siècle avant J.-C.* (Rom 1982), 605, Nr. R 316, Abb. 565.
- 25 Die Erstverwendung der Bretter ist zwischen 95 vor und 50 n.Chr. datierbar. Jerry Podany informierte mich freundlicherweise darüber, daß ergänzende C-14-Analysen, besonders von den angeblichen Beifunden, geplant sind.
- 26 s.O. Anm. 1.
- 27 H. Drerup, *Die Datierung der Mumienporträts* (Paderborn 1933; Neudruck 1968), 24, 43ff.
- 28 Grimm (a.O. Anm. 12), 106.
- 29 D. L. Thompson, *North Carolina Museum of Art Bulletin* 14.2–3 (1980): 7, 14; ders. *Mummy Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu 1982), 10.
- 30 Parlasca, *Mumienporträts* (a.O. Anm. 6), 200f.
- 31 Drerup (a.O. Anm. 27).
- 32 Inv. 79.AP.142; Thompson, *Mummy Portraits* (a.O. Anm. 29), 57, 66, Nr. 11, Farbtafel auf S. 56.
- 33 Inv. 1902.70; Parlasca (a.O. Anm. 6), 25, Farbtafel G.
- 34 Inv. ANE 1630; Parlasca, *Ritratti di mummie* (a.O. Anm. 12), 111, 66, Nr. 671, Taf. 158.3. Das andere Porträt wird im Band 4 meiner Publikation vorgelegt.
- 35 Inv. 79.AP.129; Drerup (a.O. Anm. 27), 47f., 66, Nr. 34, Taf. 20b; Thompson (a.O. Anm. 29), 58f., 67, Nr. 12, Taf. auf S. 59.
- 36 Inv. X 432; M. Zaloscer, *Porträts aus dem Wüstensand* (Wien 1961), 30, 67, Taf. 47: "typisch . . . Sonntagsmalerei" (*sic!*).
- 37 Die religionsgeschichtliche Forschung über diesen Problembereich basiert so gut wie ausschließlich auf papyrologischen und literarischen Quellen. Die spärliche archäologische Überlieferung bleibt weitgehend unberücksichtigt. Vgl. zuletzt Ewa Wipszycka, "La christianisation de l'Égypte aux IV^e–VI^e siècles: Aspects sociaux et ethniques," *Aegyptus* 68 (1988): 117–65; R. S. Bagnall, "Combat ou vide: Christianisme et paganisme dans l'Égypte romaine tardive," *Ktema* 13 (1988) [1992]: 285–96 (jeweils mit älterer Literatur).

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Roots and Contacts: Aspects of Alexandrian Craftsmanship

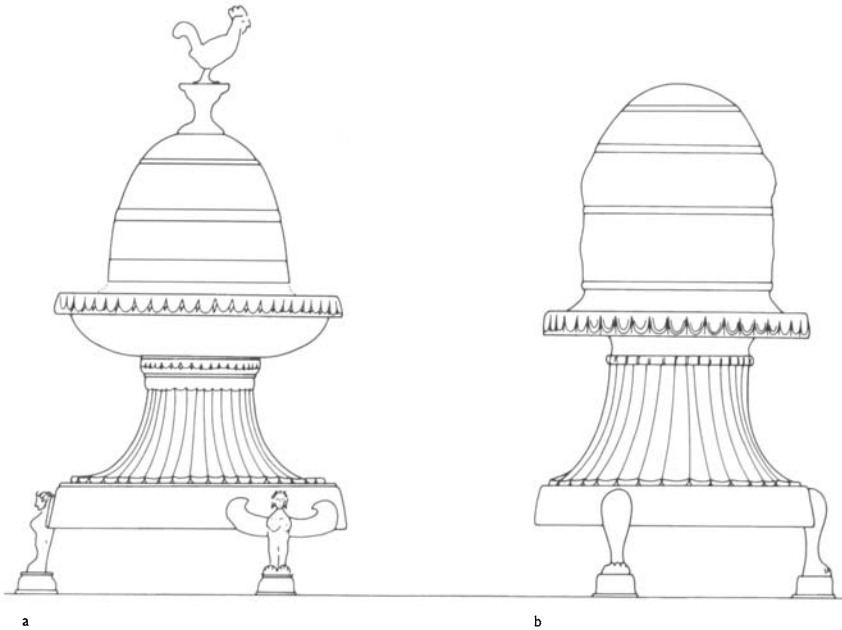
Michael Pfrommer

Shortly after the middle of the third century a small sanctuary located in a fortress in the eastern part of the Delta close to the modern village Tukh el-Quarmous, burnt down to ashes, burying the small treasure of the sanctuary. Obviously nobody survived to report on the buried hoard, and that can mean only that the destruction of the fortification and sanctuary was not caused by accident but by war or local sedition.

The fortress seems to have belonged to the eastern Delta fortifications of the first Ptolemy, founded already before 316 B.C. under the nominal patronage of Philip Arrhidaios.¹ The dating of the foundation and the disaster are fairly well fixed by a huge sequence of coins.²

To establish a historical background for the destruction, it is interesting to keep in mind the geopolitical situation of the years in question. In 246 B.C. the Seleucid Antiochos II Theos was married to Berenike Syra, the sister of the third Ptolemy. When Antiochos died at Ephesos under obscure circumstances that same year, his divorced wife Laodike claimed the throne for her sons, whereas Ptolemy III Euergetes tried to preserve the rights of his sister Berenike Syra and her infant son. The young Ptolemy, himself just enthroned a few months earlier, led his armies against Seleucid Syria to rescue his sister, who was besieged in Antiochia. But he arrived too late. Both mother and son had already been murdered by members of Laodike's entourage.

Condemning this ruthless crime, the cities of Asia went over to Euergetes, who at the same time regained power over the coastal regions of Asia Minor and Thrace. In addition, on the famous inscription at Adulis Ptolemy III Euergetes claimed power over almost all the Middle East, from the Mediterranean to the borders of India.³ As Justinus stated, without sedition in Egypt itself, Euergetes would have conquered all Asia.⁴ Because of the sedition, however, the young king was forced home in 244. With his sister dead and her child murdered, his claim to the Seleucid throne and his power over the territories of the Middle East were ephemeral and in the end remained just court fiction. But he firmly controlled the coasts of Asia Minor and the Aegean, and consequently the regnal years of the third Ptolemy, between 246 and 222/221, must be considered the climax of Ptolemaic power.



FIGS. 1a, b
Sketch of two incense burners,
from Tukh el-Quarmous. *a*: Cairo,
The Egyptian Museum JE 38089/
90; *b*: Cairo, The Egyptian Mu-
seum JE 38088/91. Drawings by
the author.

The war is called the War of Laodike, or the Third Syrian War, and it is in the wake of the local uproars in Egypt that we may place the destruction of the sanctuary and fortress of Tukh el-Quarmous. The treasure remained untouched until 1905, when the leg of a donkey broke into the cavern where the treasure was hidden, and the modern history of our hoard started.⁵

Among the vessels and jewelry unearthed by the animal's lucky owner and by the subsequent excavations of the Egyptian Archaeological Service, two thymiateria, or incense burners, corroborate the sacred connotation of our hoard (figs. 1a, b).⁶ The type proper was originally derived from oriental prototypes, but by the early Hellenistic period thymiateria had long become an integral class of the Greek repertoire.⁷ The pair from Tukh el-Quarmous belongs to two different phases of typological development. The older (fig. 1a) follows late Classical prototypes represented, for example, by an incense burner from Cumae;⁸ the other (fig. 1b), without the rounded bowl, must be considered a transitional shape, mediating between the earlier examples and the types of the second half of the third century.⁹

From the viewpoint of Greek typology, these incense burners provide no difficulties. When we shift our attention to the decorative elements of the second thymiaterion (fig. 1b), however, an entirely different observation emerges. Its spherical lid is decorated with three tiered friezes and a small Egyptian leaf calyx on top (fig. 2). Just below runs a narrow frieze of lotus flowers and tightly bound palmettes (see fig. 3b), which cannot hide its Achaemenid ancestors (figs. 3a, c, d).¹⁰

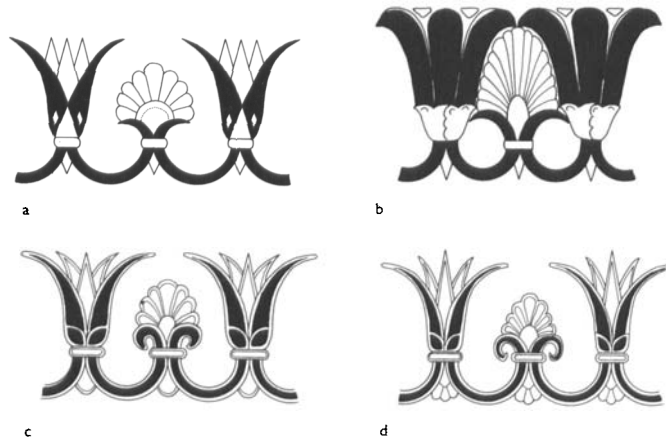
Although our craftsman compressed his Near Eastern prototype considerably, he was entirely aware of the Achaemenid system, and only minimal changes give away the later creation. The somewhat ser-



FIG. 2
Lid of incense burner, fig. 1b.
Cairo, The Egyptian Museum
JE 38091. Photo by D. Johannes,
courtesy of the DAI, Cairo, neg.
F 12605.

FIGS. 3a–d

a: Architectural decoration from Susa; b: Sketch of the lotus frieze on the lid of the incense burner, fig. 2; c: Frieze on an Achaemenid amphora-rhyton from Kukova Mogila (Thrace), Sofia, Archaeological Museum 2; d: Frieze on an Achaemenid rhyton, New York, Norbert Schimmel collection. Drawings by the author.



FIGS. 4a, b

a: Tendril on the base of the incense burner, fig. 1b; b: Tentative correction according to Greek standards. Drawings by the author.



rated leaves of the base calyxes of the lotus flowers recall Greek lotus types, and the little bars beneath the flowers can only be seen under the little “palmettes.”¹¹ The craftsman even quoted from the “oriental original” the tiny decorative elements in the interstices below the basic semi-arches of the frieze.¹²

The familiarity with Achaemenid traditions is further documented by the frieze of striding lion-griffins. Only the heads turned *en face* toward the visitor seem to be a tribute to the conventions of Greek art. The Bes masks in perfect Egyptian style in the middle frieze are no surprise, given the provenance of our vessel.

Our silversmith obviously had no difficulties in mastering the non-Egyptian type of the incense burner, but the tendril on the base of the vessel (fig. 4a) clearly betrays the craftsman as a non-Greek native. Figure 4b provides a tentative “correction” of the artist’s atrocious “misspelling” of Greek decorative forms.¹³

This insufficient familiarity with Greek standards not only reveals the craftsman’s non-Greek *ethnikon*, it also demonstrates that even in the early Ptolemaic period the blend of cultures was far from perfect. The Greek vessel shape was adopted, but the handling of Greek decorative elements is still disappointing in non-Greek ateliers. Given the early Hellenistic date of the treasure and thymiaterion, it is surprising that our craftsman had only minor difficulty in handling the decorative repertoire of the collapsed Achaemenid empire, a realm that in the fourth century dominated Egypt only for a few years under Artaxerxes III.

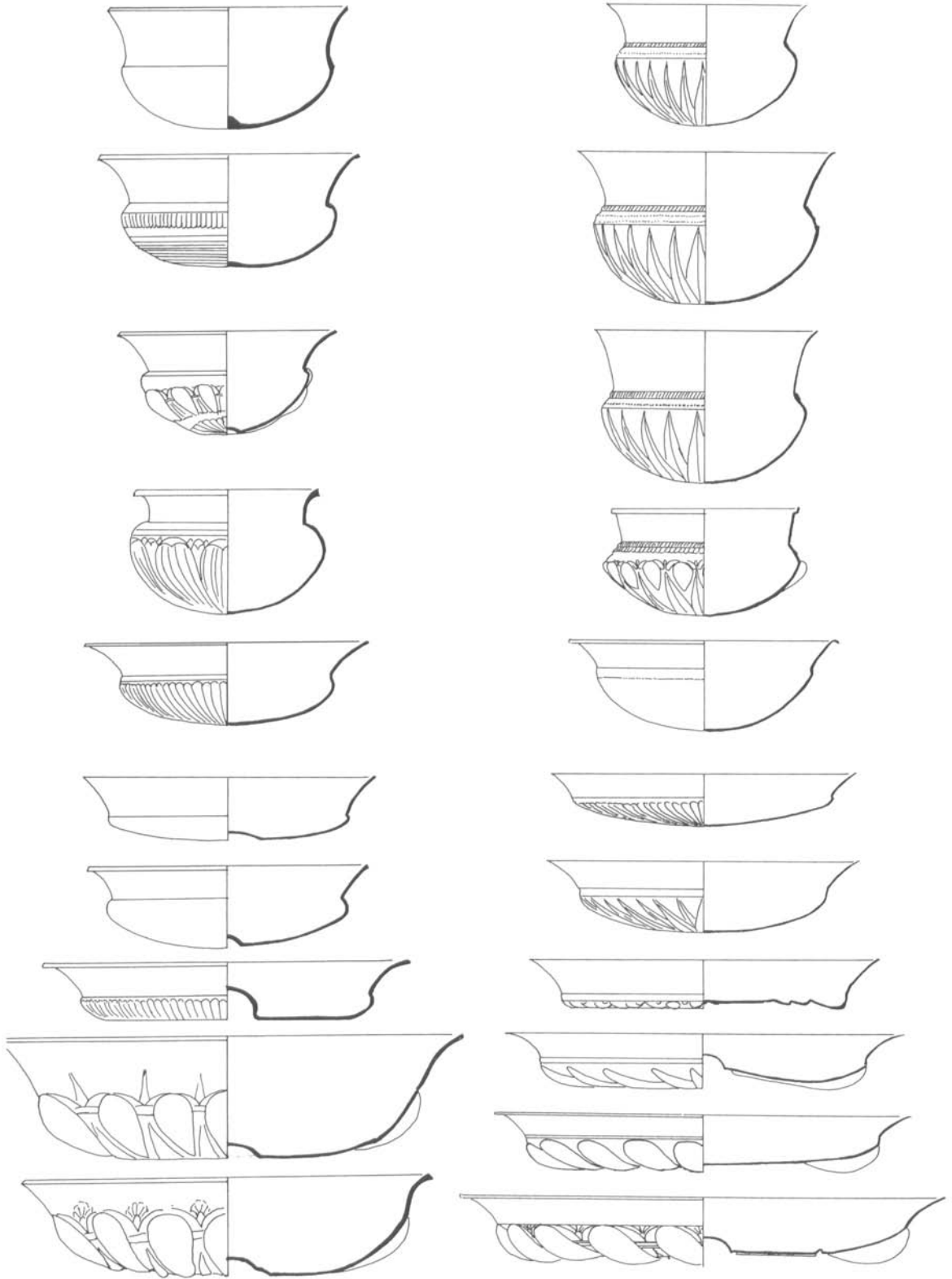


FIG. 5
Vessel shapes represented in Tukh el-Quarmous (left) compared with vessels from the north Syrian necropolis of Deve Hüyük (right). Drawings by the author.

This strong affiliation to Achaemenid standards is not unique to Tuh el-Quarmous. If one lists, for example, the drinking vessels of our treasure and parallels them with vessels found in an Achaemenid necropolis at Deve Hüyük in northern Syria, a cemetery of the fifth and early fourth centuries at the latest, we encounter an astounding situation: for almost all the drinking vessels from Tuh el-Quarmous we can quote Achaemenid–Near Eastern counterparts (fig. 5).¹⁴ From a typological angle the whole set from Tuh el-Quarmous belongs to the category of “achaemenizing” silver. Greek forms are almost entirely absent. And all this in a sanctuary that belonged in its entirety to the early Ptolemaic period. Even if we exclude some pre-Hellenistic vessels from Tuh el-Quarmous, the picture does not change considerably.¹⁵

The situation is strongly reminiscent of the famous workshop representations on the reliefs from the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel (see Kozloff fig. 7 below).¹⁶ Depicted is an Egyptian atelier with Egyptian craftsmen who are manufacturing vessels of a basically Near Eastern type: Achaemenid deep cups,¹⁷ phialai with flaring rims, rhyta with protomes of lion-griffins and, last but not least, an incense burner that can easily be compared with the typologically less advanced thymiaterion from Tuh el-Quarmous. Even the Petosiris rhyta find a typological counterpart in the famous griffin rhyton from Tuh el-Quarmous (see Kozloff fig. 6 below).¹⁸ Although here, in contrast to the Petosiris situation, the griffin is entirely Greek in style, the Achaemenid traditions still show in the horizontally fluted horn of the vessel.

The only possible conclusion is that one branch of native Egyptian crafts of the early Ptolemaic period was still strongly influenced by the repertoire of the former Achaemenid empire. This was obviously the case not only in provincial ateliers but even in workshops in the vicinity of the old Egyptian centers. These achaemenizing tendencies can be encountered already in Egyptian treasures of the later fifth and the first half of the fourth centuries.¹⁹

Greek influences were rising, however, as the adoption of the Greek type of thymiaterion or the griffin rhyton from Tuh el-Quarmous demonstrates, but if we were to speak of a Greek domination over native ateliers, we would be entirely mistaking the situation. What we are actually encountering is a slow, almost shy convergence of two cultures; the old, pre-Hellenistic traditions were still strongly alive.

Are we justified in transferring the picture “Tuh el-Quarmous/Petosiris” to all Ptolemaic ateliers of the late fourth and third centuries? Certainly not. Let us glance briefly at Memphis, the old capital, which originally housed the tomb of Alexander the Great. The plaster casts of ancient metalware and models of helmets found at modern Mit Rahine shed an entirely different light on Ptolemaic craftsmanship of



FIG. 6
Plaster cast of tendril decoration
on a helmet from Memphis.
Hildesheim, Pelizaeusmuseum
1146a-f.



FIG. 7
Wall painting of a tendril from
a Thracian tomb, Kasanlak,
Bulgaria. Drawing by the author.

the third and earlier second centuries.²⁰ They are almost entirely Greek in style and of the best quality, and they cover even figural art, not only ornaments. Interestingly enough, a certain Achaemenid influence is nevertheless documented in an unmistakable preference for budded plates,²¹ a tendency otherwise hardly traceable among Hellenistic metalware.²²

Considerable numbers of the Memphis casts and models were contrived as decoration for weaponry. The Italianizing tendril decoration of a helmet (fig. 6) illustrates the strong affiliations of this Ptolemaic atelier to Macedonian traditions.²³ The originally South Italian spiral-tendril was adopted by Macedonian ateliers in the second half of the fourth century and is subsequently traceable even in Macedonian-influenced Thrace, as is documented by the wall paintings of the famous Thracian tomb at Kasanlak in Bulgaria (fig. 7).²⁴ As models for helmets from



FIG. 8
 Decoration of a shield model, said
 to be from Memphis. Limestone.
 Diam.: 64 cm. Ca. 150 B.C.
 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson
 Museum 7879.

Memphis show, the similarity of our tendril to decorations from the Macedonian sphere is not unique in Ptolemaic Egypt.²⁵

This decorative axis “Macedonia-Egypt” can hardly be a surprise in a country such as Ptolemaic Egypt, whose kings not only were Macedonians by descent but even claimed Alexander the Great as ancestor of their dynasty.²⁶ In connection with this “Macedonian tendency” on the Memphis weaponry, attention should be drawn to the model of a “Macedonian shield” with the inscription “Πτολεμαίου” around the central gorgoneion (fig. 8),²⁷ and it is worth mentioning that under the fourth Ptolemy, native Egyptians were trained for the first time in a specifically Macedonian manner for the famous Battle of Raphia against Antiochos the Great.²⁸

These Macedonian affiliations were by no means limited to weapons or minor arts; they can be found even in Ptolemaic architecture. Although the Augustan author Strabo informs us that the Basileia, the palace quarter, covered a quarter or perhaps even a third of Alexandria and that each Ptolemy erected his own palace in connection with



FIG. 9
Reconstruction of the facades of the *thalamegos*, the luxury yacht of Ptolemy IV. Drawing by the author.

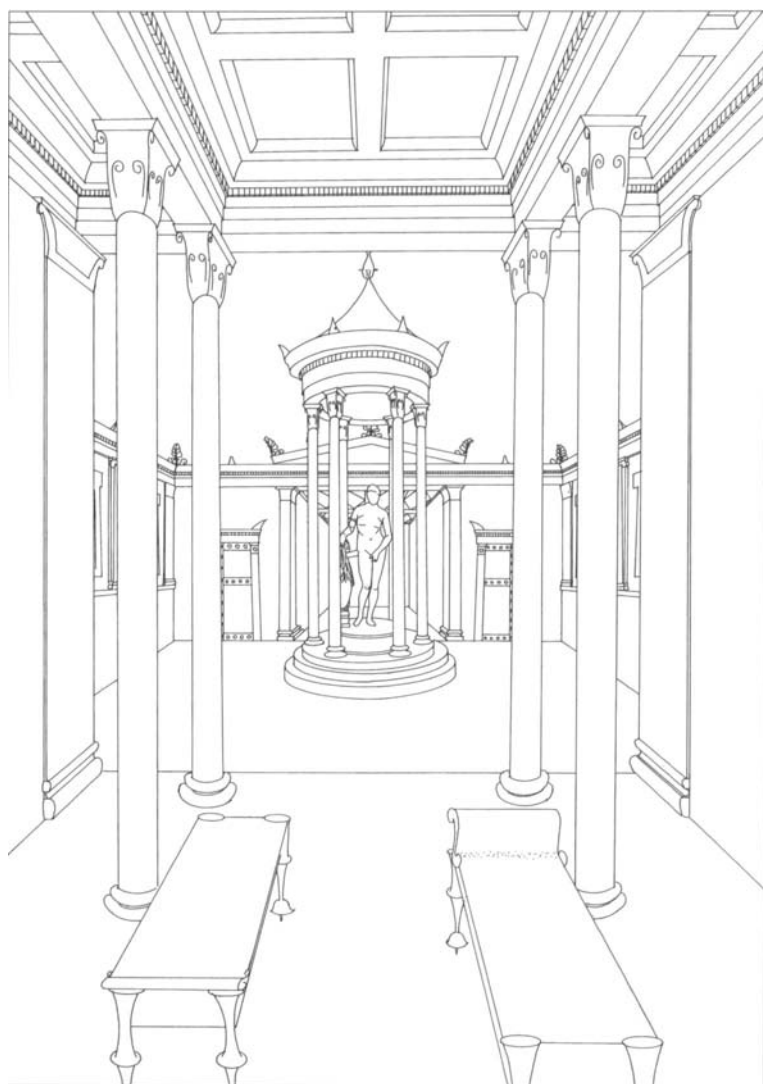


FIG. 10
Reconstruction of the temple of Aphrodite on the second floor of the *thalamegos*. Drawing by the author.

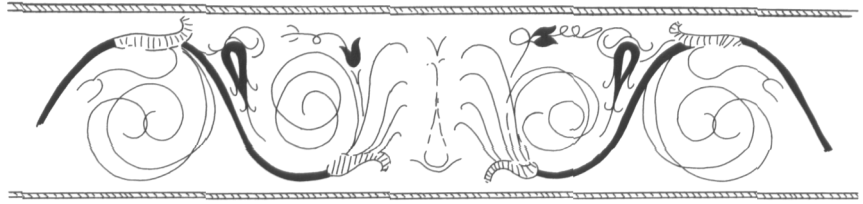


FIG. 11
Tendril decoration on a hydria,
from Shatby, Alexandria, Graeco-
Roman Museum 10433. Drawing
by the author.

the buildings of his predecessors,²⁹ little is actually known about Ptolemaic palatial architecture. An exception, however, is the extensive description by Kallixeinos of Rhodes of the famous riverboat of Ptolemy IV Philopator: the *thalamegos* (figs. 9, 10).³⁰

As the name and our ancient source reveal, the *thalamegos* was a floating palace, quite unlike any other ship. Attention should be drawn to the facade and its architectural structure (fig. 9). Our ancient source describes the facade of the *thalamegos* as colonnaded on the ground level but with a closed upper storey (*krypton*). There we find windows over a balustrade. This description caused some problems in the past, but today, with Macedonian architecture unearthed, it provides little difficulty. The entirely non-Greek appearance of the windowed upper floor with its “Macedonian ledge” resembles at first glance the famous Macedonian tomb of Lefkadia and related facades.³¹ If we compare the architectural order of the *thalamegos*, there can be no doubt that the concept of the facade is closely connected to Macedonian prototypes.

The interior of the yacht, however, provides much more than just an equivalent of a Macedonian palace. Kallixeinos mentions a little tholoid temple of Aphrodite on the upper floor, framed by two dining rooms (fig. 10).³² The real implications of this strange concept are missed unless one knows that Aphrodite-Isis was the immortal equivalent of the most famous Ptolemaic queens, from Arsinoe II down to Cleopatra VII.³³ With this temple we suddenly enter the field of Ptolemaic dynastic cults, which is essentially so unlike Macedonian concepts.³⁴ In the case of the *thalamegos*, the Macedonian-type facade is nothing more than a Macedonian shell. But the architectural language of the facade was nevertheless very clear, and that means in our case basically Macedonian.

With this background, it cannot be surprising that our Macedonian tendril decorations were not limited to weapons or architecture.³⁵ Reference should be made to an unpublished scroll on a ceramic hydria from the Alexandrian necropolis of Shatby (fig. 11).³⁶ The rather squat type of vessel recalls hydriai of the fifth or earlier fourth century,³⁷ but the tiny tendril decoration of almost extravagant elegance proves its early Hellenistic date. The three-dimensional spirals are closely connected to the scrolls mentioned above from Mit Rahine and Kasantak (see figs. 6, 7).

In the context of our Italianizing Macedonian tendrils, attention should be drawn to Ptolemaic wooden sarcophagi and their scroll decoration. Again we are confronted with the question of whether they show Macedonian influence or direct South Italian contacts.³⁸ The ques-



tion is hard to answer, as the details allow no clear-cut conclusions at the moment, but it should be kept in mind that Alexandria is still our major source of Italian Gnathia pottery in the eastern Mediterranean.³⁹ In view of this, direct South Italian influences can be ruled out only in the case of italianizing decorations with explicitly Macedonian references.

In connection with Gnathia imports, two points deserve further clarification. First, although dozens of fragments are known from Alexandria, Gnathia pottery and related vessels form just a small minority of Alexandrian pottery. Second, at least some of the Alexandrian Gnathia might well actually be Alexandrian imitations and not imports.⁴⁰ The last point is clearly illustrated by material from a Cretan tomb group (figs. 12, 13).⁴¹ Some of the vessels quote familiar Gnathia motifs, but the decoration and the fabric speak in favor of local Cretan or perhaps even Alexandrian potters and strongly against any South Italian attribution. In the case of a high skyphos (fig. 12), the spray of myrtle beneath the rim is clearly derived from the Gnathia repertoire, but the rose blossom finds analogies in Crete itself and on a Hadra hydria.⁴² The pigeon-and-flower frieze (fig. 13) of a squat skyphos, however, is best represented among Alexandrian Gnathia fragments from Shatby.⁴³ In comparison with the Alexandrian material, the execution seems somewhat inferior, and we might consequently see Cretan “pseudo-Gnathia” as an intermediary between material from South Italy and from Ptolemaic Alexandria.

A glance at the distribution of Gnathia and pseudo-Gnathia in the western Mediterranean would be rewarding. In fact, the provenances cover more or less the regions and territories controlled by the Ptolemies in the middle and the later half of the third century, mentioned in the inscription from Adulis noted above (fig. 14).⁴⁴ Alexandria as a Gnathia center has already been mentioned. Cyprus was firmly in Ptolemaic hands, and the Aegean was a Ptolemaic stronghold. Rhodes and

FIG. 12
Gnathia imitation pottery, said to be from Crete. Germany, private collection. Photo courtesy of the owner.

FIG. 13
Gnathia imitation pottery, said to be from Crete. Germany, private collection. Photo courtesy of the owner.

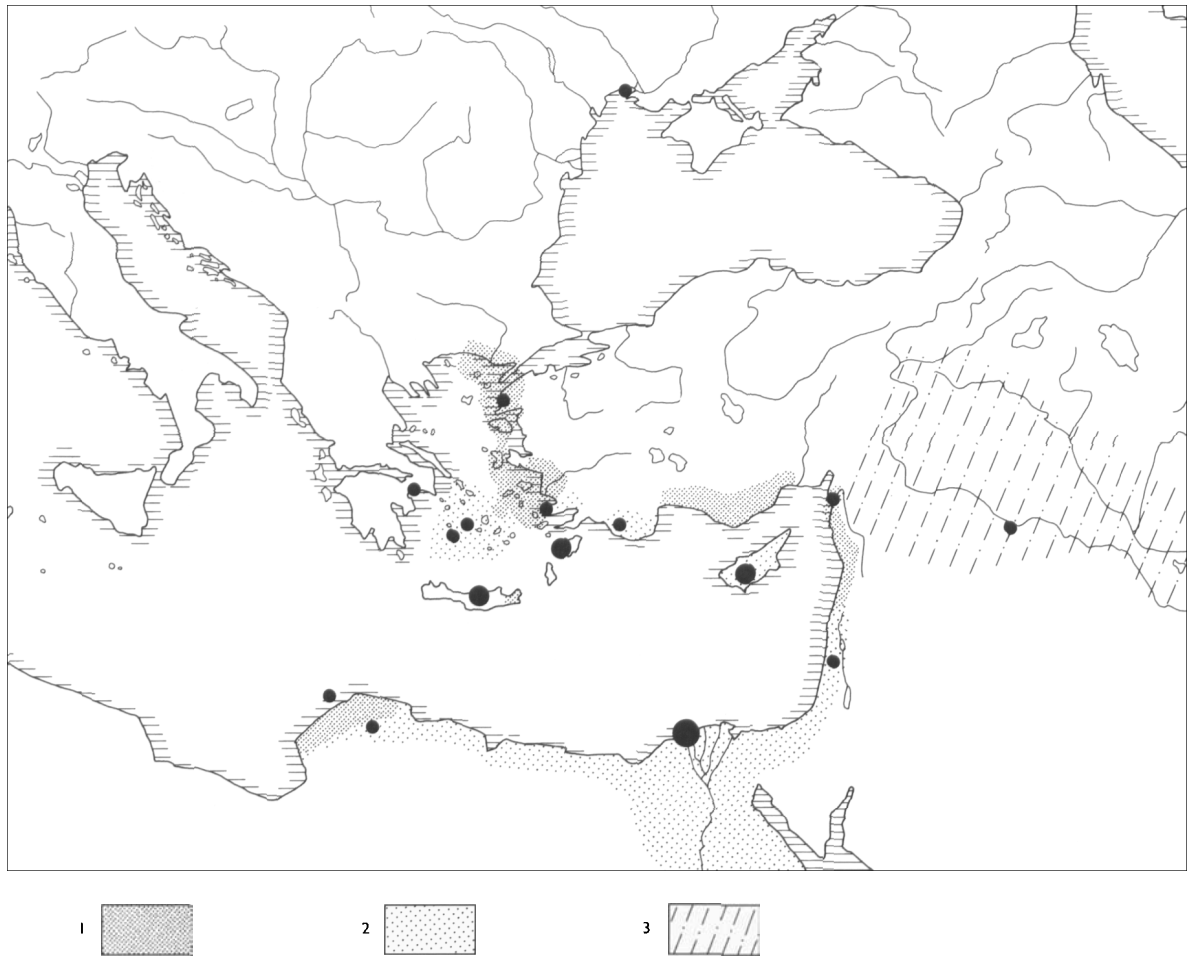


FIG. 14
Distribution of Gnathia pottery
in the eastern Mediterranean.
1: territories conquered during the
Third Syrian War; 2: territories
Ptolemy III inherited from his
father; 3: fictitious domination
over Mesopotamia and farther
east, based on the inscription
from Adulis. Drawing by the
author.

Alexandria had traditionally close economic affiliations,⁴⁵ and Crete, whose eastern part around Itanos was under Ptolemaic control anyway, must be considered one of the main sources for Ptolemaic mercenaries.⁴⁶ It is thus hardly in doubt that the distribution of Gnathia ware reflects Ptolemaic economic connections and that we should see Gnathia-type pottery in the western Mediterranean primarily under a Ptolemaic viewpoint. The example of Gnathia ware illustrates the transition from economics to artistic reception. Alexandria and Ptolemaic Egypt seem to have been not only a focus for commerce but also subsequently the source of local imitations of products formerly foreign to the Ptolemaic repertoire and as such imported into Egypt.

The achaemenizing tendencies of the native Egyptian repertoire of the early Ptolemaic period and the Macedonian and South Italian connections give rise to the question of what was authentic in the Graeco-Ptolemaic repertoire. Can Ptolemaic craftsmanship be regarded only as a heterogeneous blend of foreign influences?

To consider this point, let us return to Tukh el-Quarmous and the jewelry of this treasure.⁴⁷ In the case of the jewelry, we are deal-

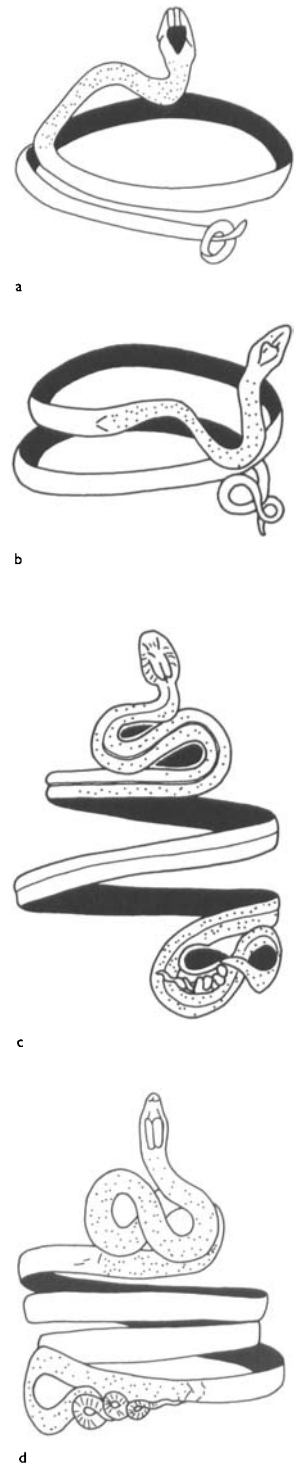
ing not with provincial workshops but with products from top ateliers, working in an entirely Graeco-Hellenistic style. A snake bracelet, for example, one of the major types of Hellenistic jewelry, reveals at first glance the already familiar similarities between Egypt (fig. 15a)⁴⁸ and the Macedonian sphere of influence (fig. 15b).⁴⁹ Snake-type jewelry developed considerably over the generations and reached almost baroque forms with vivid depictions of coiled animals in the second century B.C., each object composed of a single snake (figs. 15c, d).⁵⁰

This one-snake concept seems to be supplemented by Ptolemaic ateliers with a double-snake variety, with animal heads at both ends. The Egyptian attribution of this type is suggested by a jewelry hoard from Egyptian Balamun and by representations on Egyptian mummy masks.⁵¹ The date of the Balamun hoard is debated, but a Hellenistic date is argued from the nonimperial typology and especially from the addition of typically Hellenistic Herakles knots (fig. 16).⁵²

In contrast to the single-snake types, double-snake examples exist in closed, rigid (see fig. 16) and flexible, open versions and vary considerably in design and execution, leaving the double-animal concept as the prime element of comparison. A rather closed, rigid variant of this class belongs to a brilliant set of Ptolemaic jewelry, which has recently found its way into the Getty collections (fig. 17), a group that seems almost tailor-made to confirm my recently questioned chronology of Hellenistic jewelry.⁵³ It is worth mentioning that as an aspect of an authentic Ptolemaic repertoire the set contains a pair of one-snake bracelets fashioned with a joint and differing in that detail from the Greek koine types.⁵⁴ With the double-snake concept, Ptolemaic-Egyptian jewelry developed an independent type, but this variant is not represented until the late third century.

This growing emancipation from the early Hellenistic-Macedonian repertoire is likewise documented by earrings with antelope heads from the set of jewelry in the Getty Museum mentioned above (fig. 18).⁵⁵ This variety developed from the Macedonian lion's-head earrings and was almost entirely absent in the Macedonian sphere. As antelope-head earrings seem to have been part of the treasure in Tugh el-Quarmous, the emergence of this variant may have taken place in the second quarter of the third century, or the middle of that century at the latest.⁵⁶ The earrings are also, although rarely, represented in Syria, and it is tempting to consider them primarily Ptolemaic in type but of course not in manufacture.

We can see clearly the rise of types favored in Ptolemaic Egypt, a repertoire of jewelry that emerged slowly around the middle of the third century. We can nevertheless expect in Ptolemaic Egypt the presence and general knowledge of Hellenistic "koine standards," a point that deserves no further elaboration in a country devoted so extensively to international exchange and trade.



FIGS. 15a–d
a: Bracelet, from Tugh el-Quarmous. Cairo, The Egyptian Museum JE 38078; *b*: Bracelet, from Kralevo, Bulgaria; *c*, *d*: Bracelets, said to be from Thessaly. Athens, National Museum. Drawings by the author.

FIG. 16
Double-snake bracelet, bought in
Balamun, Egypt. Silver. New York,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
26.7.1463.



FIG. 17
Double-snake bracelets. Gold.
Malibu, The J. Paul Getty
Museum 92.AM.8.7.1-2.

FIG. 18
Antelope-head earrings. Gold.
Diam.: 2.0 cm. Malibu, The
J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.3.

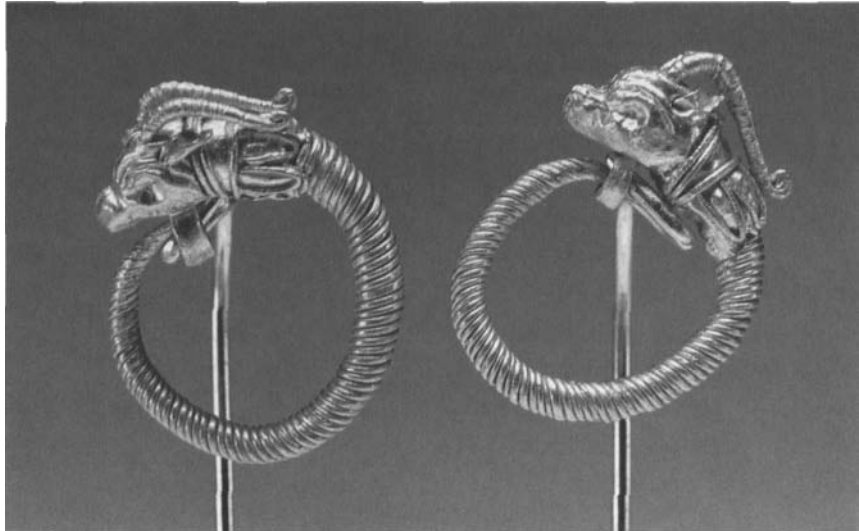




FIG. 19
Antelope-head bracelet, said to be from Egypt. Silver. Formerly art market.

To what extent, however, these koine types stood side by side with specific Ptolemaica is hard to tell, because so little datable material is known for the second and first centuries. Of interest is a small set of second-century silver that appeared on the art market in recent years and that, according to reliable sources, was found in Egypt. An antelope-head bracelet from this hoard follows a type already known in Achaemenid times and is likewise well represented among early Hellenistic jewelry (fig. 19).⁵⁷ According to Hellenistic conventions, the rather unusual preference of silver, already encountered in Balamun, points to a local atelier. This attribution is corroborated by the incised and cross-hatched “cuffs” behind the animals’ heads and the similarly incised, large, triangular tongues behind these cuffs.⁵⁸ Among Hellenistic jewelry these elements are normally individual adjuncts, cut from thin sheets of gold and soldered on.

The highly stylized forms of the animal heads still recall Achaemenid and early Hellenistic conventions, but the heavy ring, almost two centimeters in diameter, speaks unmistakably in favor of a second-century date.⁵⁹ The “heavy” variety of the antelope-head bracelets is known from a brilliant fragment from Asia Minor,⁶⁰ a comparison that underlines the provinciality of our Ptolemaic example. The silver bracelet also illustrates that even provincial Ptolemaic ateliers of the second century not only preserved old traditions but adjusted their repertoires to conform to contemporary standards.

To the same second-century hoard belongs an excellent hemispherical silver cup with parcel-gilt calyx decoration (fig. 20).⁶¹ The decoration associates the cup with silver and gold-glass vessels from Egyptian Faiyum and Canosa in Italy.⁶² The Faiyum-Canosa group contains four silver examples of two entirely different techniques—low and extremely high relief—and no less than three exquisite gold-glass bowls.

FIG. 20
Cup, said to be from Egypt.
Parcel-gilt silver. Formerly art
market.



Our cup is the third from Egypt proper, and it corroborates the Ptolemaic attribution of the whole group.

The Faiyum-Canosa group not only underlines again the Italian connection of Ptolemaic exports but is likewise remarkable in comparison with silver from the Seleucid sphere. Nevertheless, although several examples of similar calyxes are known from Seleucid-influenced territories, no precise parallel for our calyx composition can be cited.

If we study the decorative layout of the pieces in the Faiyum-Canosa group, however, the basic outline of the leaf decorations is almost identical throughout the group (fig. 21).⁶³ Variations are limited to the differing flower types. Depictions have become standardized, a feature that had always been typical of Egyptian craftsmanship.

In summary, we are dealing with a remarkable complexity of influences and tendencies in Ptolemaic ateliers. First, there is a decisive achaemenizing tendency, at least in the earlier decades. Second, there is a strong affiliation with early Hellenistic-Macedonian tastes and traditions. Third, there is the slow, almost tentative emergence of an authentic Ptolemaic repertoire. And fourth, there is a certain desire for clear-cut standards. That this tendency toward standardization is, however, in no way combined with a decline in quality is borne out not least by the Faiyum-Canosa group, which reveals glimpses of the excellence we connect with Ptolemaic Egypt.

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FIG. 21
Leaf-calyx composition from
two sandwich-glass bowls, from
Canosa. London, The British
Museum 71.5-18.1/2. Drawing
by the author.

Notes

- 1 A faience plaque bearing the name of Philip Arrhidaios was acquired during the excavations: E. Naville, *Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias*, in *Egypt Exploration Fund, 7th Memoir, Extra Volume 1888/1889* (London 1890), pp. 29, 55, pls. 8 B, 17.8. M. Pfrommer, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und großgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit*, Archäologische Forschungen 16 (Berlin 1987) (hereafter Pfrommer, *Studien*), pp. 148–49. For a new reading of the demotic inscriptions on the vessels, see K.-T. Zauzich, *Enchoria* 21 (1994): 101–6.
- 2 For the coin hoard, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 142 n. 925.
- 3 Adulis is located close to Suakin on the Red Sea. For the inscription, see E. Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 2nd ed. (Chicago 1968; 1st edn. 1927), pp. 192–93. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1972) (hereafter Fraser, 1), pp. 203, 208; vol. 2, p. 344 n. 106 (with refs.) (hereafter Fraser, 2).
- 4 Justinus 27.1.5ff.
- 5 For the treasure, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 142–59. For the jewelry, see M. Pfrommer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie früh- und hochhellenistischen Goldschmucks*, *Istanbuler Forschungen* 37 (Tübingen 1990) (hereafter Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*), pp. 208–9, pls. 8.1, 2; 15.1, 3; 19.1, 2; 21.3–5; 23.1; 25.1, 2, 8 (with refs.).
- 6 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 38089/90: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 266, KTK 2, pls. 2, 3 (here fig. 1a). Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 38088/91: Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 266, KTK 3, pls. 4, 5 (here fig. 1b).
- 7 For an Achaemenid thymiaterion with the typical horizontal cannelures and the stepped lid, see an example in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 1980.11.12: D. von Bothmer, *Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* 42, no. 1 (1984): 44, no. 68, with ill. For the development of Classical and Hellenistic thymiateria, see my remarks in Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 25–41.
- 8 E. Gabrici, *Monumenti antichi* 22 (1913): 657–58, pl. 108.4.
- 9 See the famous “Rothschild” thymiaterion from Taranto (Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 36–38, 207, KT 52, pl. 32).
- 10 Figure 3a here, from Susa: R. de Mecquenem, L. Le Breton, and M. Rutton, *Mémoire de la mission archéologique en Iran* 30 (1947): 79, fig. 48. Figure 3c here is taken from an Achaemenid amphora-rhyton from Kukova Mogila (Thrace). Sofia, Archaeological Museum 2: M. Pfrommer, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 23 (1990): 193–96, fig. 1.1. Figure 3d here depicts the frieze of a rhyton in the Norbert Schimmel collection (*ibid.*, p. 193 n. 18, fig. 1.2, with refs.).
- 11 For Greek friezes with these Near Eastern “bars,” see my remarks in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 37 (1987): 160, pls. 44.1; 45.1; 46.1.
- 12 For a Hellenized version of this composition, see two plaster casts from Memphis/Mit Rahine. Hildesheim, Pelizaeusmuseum 1109; 1110: C. Reinsberg, *Studien zur hellenistischen Toreutik*, *Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge* 9 (Hildesheim 1980) (hereafter Reinsberg, *Studien*), pp. 306–7, nos. 26, 27, figs. 36, 37 (with a dating around 340/330, which is too early).
- 13 The type of tendril with small semipalmettes in the interstices between the main body of the scroll and the helices is often encountered in red-figured vase painting of South Italy. See P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen* (Berlin 1927), pls. 108.b, 111, 144.b (Apulian amphora: Karlsruhe, Museum 388; Apulian hydriai: Berlin, Museum F. 3290/3291 and Naples, Museum H. 3244; Campanian amphora: Stoddard coll.). Tendrils with palmettes can, of course, not be confined to a single artistic province, but in connection with our Hellenistic thymiaterion it should be noted that the palmette-tendril is derived from late Classical prototypes.
- 14 For Tukh el-Quarmous, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, pls. 10, 14, 25. For Deve Hüyük, see P. R. S. Moorey, *Cemeteries of the First Millennium B.C. at Deve Hüyük, near Carchemish, Salvaged by T. E. Lawrence and C. L. Woolley in 1913*, *British Archaeological Reports*, International Series 89 (Oxford 1980), p. 33, fig. 6.
- 15 See Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 152–55.
- 16 G. Lefèbvre, *Le tombeau de Petosiris* 1 (Cairo

- 1924), pp. 52–55, pl. 8. S. Nakaten, in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4 (Wiesbaden 1982), pp. 995–998.
- 17 For the Achaemenid deep bowl or Achaemenid cup, see Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 42–74. The Achaemenid derivation established by D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (London 1966), pp. 99–101 was erroneously questioned in a recent article (L. Byvanck-Quarles van Ufford, *Bulletin antieke beschaving* 66 [1991]: 159–63), a problem that will be discussed in another context.
- 18 Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 38093: Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 156–58, 266, KTK 1, pl. 1 (with refs.).
- 19 Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 75–91, 142.
- 20 For the casts, compare Reinsberg, *Studien*. For the helmets, see G. Gagsteiger, *Die ptolemäischen Waffenmodelle aus Memphis*, Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 36 (Hildesheim 1993). On pages 25–47 and 76 Gagsteiger connects the decorations primarily with the Macedonian repertoire, an observation that corrects my earlier statements to see specific Italian connections. See M. Pfrommer, “Großgriechischer und mittelitalischer Einfluß in der Rankenornamentik frühhellenistischer Zeit,” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 97 (1982): 119–90, esp. 184 (hereafter Pfrommer, “Einfluß”).
- 21 See Reinsberg, *Studien*, pp. 294, 297–99, 314, nos. 3, 10, 11–13, 42, figs. 4, 18, 20–22, 61.
- 22 That is even valid for the Seleucid sphere of influence. See M. Pfrommer, *Metalwork from the Hellenized East: Catalogue of the Collections, J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu 1993). These complexes do not contain a single example.
- 23 Hildesheim, Pelizaeusmuseum 1146 a–f: Reinsberg, *Studien*, pp. 301–2, no. 16, fig. 24. Pfrommer, “Einfluß,” 185, fig. 35 (with a discussion of Macedonian analogies).
- 24 For Italo-Macedonian tendril decorations, see Pfrommer, “Einfluß.” For Kasanlak, see Pfrommer, “Einfluß,” 135–36. Our drawing (fig. 7) is based on L. Shivkova, *Das Grabmal von Kasanlak* (Recklinghausen 1973), p. 65, pl. 19. For the primarily Thracian interpretation of the figural frieze of the wall decoration, see P. Zazoff, C. Höcker, and L. Schneider, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1985: 623, 642–43.
- 25 See note 20 above.
- 26 See Fraser, 1, pp. 202–3, 215–16, 224–26.
- 27 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 7879: W. von Bissing, *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* 9 (1934): 221–30, fig. 2. Gagsteiger (note 20 above), pp. 54–59, 89, no. 23, pl. 22. For the Macedonian tendencies in Ptolemaic Egypt, see my remarks: “Göttliche Fürsten in Boscoreale: Der Festsaal in der Villa des P. Fannius Synistor,” 12. *Trierer Winckelmannsprogramm* 1992 (Mainz 1993): 38–42, 60–64; L. Koenen, in A. Bulloch et al., eds., *Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenistic World* (Berkeley 1995), p. 35 (a native Egyptian serving as a “Macedonian of the cavalry settlers”).
- 28 See Polybius 5.65. For the rise of the Egyptian element, M. Rostovtzeff, *Die hellenistische Welt: Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft*, vol. 2 (Tübingen 1955), pp. 559–61. Fraser, 1, pp. 60–61.
- 29 Strabo 17.1.8.
- 30 Kallixeinos, quoted in Athenaeus 5.204d–206c. For modern reconstructions, see F. Caspari, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 31 (1916): 1–74, fig. 10. A. Köster, *Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Seewesens, Klio* Beiheft 32 (1934; 2nd ed. Aalen 1963), pp. 20–53. For the palatial interpretation, see my remarks in *Antike Paläste, Akten des Symposiums Berlin* 1992 (forthcoming).
- 31 P. M. Petsas, *Ho taphos ton Leukadion* (Athens 1966), p. 82, fig. 29. M. B. Hatzopoulos and L. D. Loukopoulos, eds., *Philip of Macedon* (Athens 1980), p. 150, fig. 80 (color reconstruction). For the “Macedonian ledge,” see H. Lauter, *Die Architektur des Hellenismus* (Darmstadt 1986), pp. 141, 152, fig. 44.a, pl. 48, based on V. Heermann, *Studien zur makedonischen Palastarchitektur* (Ph.D. diss., University of Erlangen-Nürnberg 1986), pp. 283, 373–75, pls. 11, XI.
- 32 Athenaeus 5.205d.
- 33 Fraser, 1, pp. 239–44.
- 34 In Macedonia no institutionalized ruler cult existed. It is sufficient to recall here the resistance to Alexander’s ideas for his personal deification.
- 35 For references, see Pfrommer, “Einfluß,” 175–87.
- 36 Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 10433:

- E. Breccia, *La necropoli di Sciatbi, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie* (Cairo 1912), pp. 29–30, no. 40, pl. 37, fig. 46, mentioned in passing in Pfrommer, "Einfluß," 184 n. 332.
- 37 See E. Diehl, *Die Hydria* (Mainz 1964), pls. 11, 17.
- 38 With short references: Pfrommer, "Einfluß," 177–80. In detail: M. Pfrommer, *Chronologische Überlegungen zu frühhellenistischen Holzarkophagen aus Ägypten*. Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums in Delphi 1988 (forthcoming).
- 39 For Gnathia fragments from Alexandria, see Breccia (note 36 above), pp. 188–90, pl. 81, figs. 277–79, pl. 82. Pfrommer, "Einfluß," 176 n. 280 (with further refs.). For the distribution of Gnathia in the western Mediterranean, see J. R. Green, in A. Cambitoglou, ed., *Studies in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall* (Sydney 1979), pp. 81–90, pls. 20–22.
- 40 For the problem of imitations, see Pfrommer, "Einfluß," 176. For an imitation of a South Italian amphora from Shatby (Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 16034), see Pfrommer, "Einfluß," 181 n. 316. G. Grimm, in *Götter Pharaonen*, exh. cat. (Mainz 1978), no. 108, with color ill. (with refs.). For further Gnathia imitations, see the tomb group from Crete (note 41 below).
- 41 E. Bielefeld, *Eine Fundgruppe griechischer Vasen in Deckfarbentechnik, Galerie für griechische, römische und byzantinische Kunst* (Frankfurt 1970). The bulk of the unpublished material is in a German private collection, whose owner has generously provided the photographs. The major piece of the group is in Bloomington, Indiana, University Art Museum 71.97: Bielefeld, op. cit., no. 1, figs. on pp. 5, 9, 11. P. Callaghan, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 76 (1981): 63–64, fig. 2 (Cretan). Idem, in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano*, Studi in onore di Achille Adriani, vol. 3, *Studi e materiali* 6 (Rome 1984), p. 792, pl. 124.5, 8.
- 42 Plate from Crete. Paris, Louvre: R. Pagenstecher, *Die calenische Reliefkeramik, Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Ergänzungsheft* 8 (Berlin 1909), p. 7, pl. 1. Hadra hydria: R. Pagenstecher, *Die griechisch-ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin, Expedition E. v. Sieglin*, vol. 2, part 3 (Leipzig 1913), p. 46, fig. 50.
- 43 Breccia (note 36 above), pl. 82, figs. 284, 285.
- 44 The distribution is given according to Green (note 39 above). For Adulis, see note 3 above. For the extension of Ptolemaic control in general, see W. Huss, *Untersuchungen zur Außenpolitik Ptolemaios' IV.* (Munich 1976). R. S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leyden 1976).
- 45 It is worth mentioning that sometimes goods from Ptolemaic Palestine reached Egypt by way of Rhodes: M. Rostovtzeff, *Die hellenistische Welt: Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft*, vol. 1 (Tübingen 1955), pp. 175–76.
- 46 For Itanos under the third Ptolemy, see Bagnall (note 44 above), pp. 117–23. For Cretan mercenaries, see G. T. Griffith, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge 1935), p. 245. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, vol. 3 (Oxford 1972) (hereafter Fraser, III), index, s.v. Crete.
- 47 For the jewelry, see note 5 above.
- 48 From Tukh el-Quarmous, Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 38078 (CG 52094): Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 132, 134–36, 348, SR 6, fig. 18.3, pl. 21.4 (second quarter of third century; with refs.).
- 49 From Kralevo: G. Ginev, *Sukrovisteto ot Kralevo* (Sofia 1983), pp. 11, 61, figs. 17, 18. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 129–30, 132, 351, SR 41, fig. 18.4.
- 50 From Thessaly (so-called Carpenisi hoard), Athens, National Museum: P. Amandry, *Collection Hélène Stathatos: Les bijoux antiques*, vol. 1 (Strasbourg 1953), p. 117, nos. 256, 257, 260, 261, fig. 70, pls. 46, 47. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 132, 134, 136, 349, SR 17, 19, figs. 18.26, 27.
- 51 For "double-snake" bracelets and finger rings, see Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 135–37, figs. 18.9, 10, 21, 25; pl. 22.6. For Balamun, see Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, p. 208, FK 4, pls. 14.4, 5, 22.7, 8 (with refs.). To be added is a pair of silver bracelets from the art market, sold with an "Alexandrian attribution" (Sotheby's, London, Dec. 14 and 15, 1981, p. 69, no. 203A, B, with ill.). For the sole exception of the double-snake concept outside Egypt, see a tiny finger ring from Taranto in Berlin, Antikemuseum 1980.21: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 132–33, 350, SR 31, fig. 18.17; pl. 22.3. The noncanonical ring with its closed, rigid spi-

- ral could be interpreted as a clue to a Ptolemaic connection with the Taranto hoard. I suggested this already in *Goldschmuck*. For the snake bracelets in Malibu, see note 53 below. For mummy masks, see G. Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden 1974), pls. 13.1, 14, 15.
- 52 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.7.1463; Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 76, 136, 300, HK 10. pl. 14.5. For the Macedonian affiliation and the typology of the Herakles knot, see Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 4–80.
- 53 Snake bracelets: Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.7. For the opportunity to illustrate this bracelet and the earrings (see below, fig. 18) I am indebted to Marion True, who generously provided me with photographs and slides of the whole hoard. In her recent review of my *Goldschmuck*, St. G. Miller (*American Journal of Archaeology* 97 [1993]: 580f.) vividly questioned almost all results of my study without presenting any new evidence. The new Malibu complex renders this unfounded criticism completely invalid. The set displays almost all the typological features and even the regional preferences of Hellenistic jewelry of the late third and early second centuries described in my *Goldschmuck*. Short references should be given to the colored Herakles knots, to the type of snake bracelets with meandering but not intertwined bodies of the animals (for another detail see note 51 above), to the heavy finger rings, and even to minor details such as the leaf-calyx medallions without stone inlays of the erotes' earrings and to the alleged Ptolemaic preference for antelope-head and bull-head earrings (see note 55 below). Even the possibility of a "propagandistic connotation" of some details is corroborated by the telling features of the Malibu hairnet with its Aphrodite medallion (*The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 21 [1993]: 188–89, no. 12, fig. 12), the Dionysiac masks, and the Herakles knot. Aphrodite was a well-documented divine equivalent of many of the most famous Ptolemaic queens, and Dionysos and Herakles were regarded as divine ancestors of the house of Ptolemy.
- 54 Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.6.
- 55 Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum 92.AM.8.3.
- 56 For the distribution, see Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 171–72, fig. 31. For the examples from Tukh el-Quarmous in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1926.105–7, see Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 168–72, OR 9, pls. 25.2, 30.40.
- 57 Unpublished. In 1992 in the New York art market. One of the two bracelets is now in Trier, collection of the Archaeological Institute (= Collection Simonian). For antelope-head bracelets, see Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 115–18.
- 58 The same decoration shows a somewhat smaller, very provincial bracelet with horned, stylized heads from the same hoard. The second-century date of the bracelets corrects my totally wrong dating of a similarly decorated silver bracelet with goat heads from Egyptian Mit Rahine (Cairo, Egyptian Museum JE 41037, CG 52587): E. Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries, Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Cairo 1927), p. 188, CG 52587, pl. 21. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 114, 345 n. 650, TA 155 (late sixth or fifth century). The bracelet should likewise be placed in the second century. The same is valid perhaps in the case of a goat-head bracelet in Geneva with a very ornamental rendering of the animals' beards (Geneva, Musée d'art et histoire: Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 114, 347 n. 650, TA 173).
- 59 For these comparatively "heavy" derivatives of the Hellenistic animal-head bracelets, see Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 107–8, 112, 114, 118, 332–33, 340, nos. TA 6, 13, 109, figs. 16.33, 47, 53.
- 60 Paris, Louvre: H. Hoffmann and P. F. Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, exh. cat. (Brooklyn Museum 1965), pp. 147–51, no. 53, figs. 53a–f, color plate IV. Pfrommer, *Goldschmuck*, pp. 107, 112, 114, 332, TA 6, fig. 16.47. The type is nevertheless different, because the piece was originally composed of two parts, each with two animal heads.
- 61 Unpublished. In 1992 in the New York art market, whereabouts unknown.
- 62 For the Faiyum-Canosa group, see D. Ahrens, *Münchener Jahrbücher der Bildenden Kunst* 19 (1968): 232–33, figs. 5, 6. Pfrommer, *Studien*, pp. 111–16, 263–65, KBk 117/118, 121/122, 128, pl. 58a. Pfrommer (note 22 above), p. 5, fig. 43.
- 63 The drawing is based on Canosan sandwich-glass bowls in London, British Museum 71.5-18.1/2: D. B. Harden, *Journal of Glass Studies* 10 (1968): 23–25, figs. 1–9. Pfrommer, *Studien*, p. 264, KBk 121, 122 (with refs.).

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Pharaonic Egyptian Elements in the Decorative Arts of Alexandria during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods

Robert Steven Bianchi

Although there is art in Alexandria, I seriously question whether that art is distinctly Alexandrian. I am able to demonstrate the validity of that assertion by summarizing several of the conclusions reached in my essay in the Festschrift for Dr. Daoud.¹

I turn my attention first to glass because the older literature maintains that Alexandrian workshops were primarily responsible for the introduction of both so-called millefiori² and cameo glass. One now recognizes that the native Egyptians were already exploiting the uses of millefiori glass during the fourth century B.C., as the examples decorating the wooden shrine inscribed for Nektanebo II in the Brooklyn Museum clearly reveal.³ Recent investigations now suggest as well that cameo glass, once considered to be an Alexandrian art form, was first manufactured instead in Italian Roman workshops during the reigns of the Julio-Claudian emperors.⁴

Hadra hydriae, too, were long considered foundation stones in the edifice of Alexandrian art. Their floral decoration eventually gave rise to the putative tradition of a *ghirlandomania alessandrina*, which was suggested to have been a particularly Alexandrian cultural predilection. Alas, we now recognize that many of these vases—and these do include the more artistically accomplished examples of this class—are known to have been manufactured in Crete and subsequently imported into Alexandria.⁵ Like the Hadra hydriae, the so-called Tanagra terracottas, which had long been unconditionally regarded as paramount examples of Alexandrian art, are now known to have been developed first in workshops outside Egypt, on mainland Greece and elsewhere. Many were, like the Hadra hydriae, imported into Alexandria as well.⁶

There are, of course, other typologies that I could pass in review, once considered to be exclusively Alexandrian art forms but subsequently proved to be otherwise. One can no longer blindly accept on faith what earlier scholars had to say about Alexandrian art, for an Alexandrian provenance for examples of any typology, as we have just seen, is no guarantee of an Alexandrian workshop.

The role of Alexandria as an artistic center for the production of those minor arts is being successfully and successively challenged,



FIG. 1
Bracelet, from the Nile Delta.
Silver. Roman Imperial period.
New York, The Metropolitan
Museum of Art 26.7.1454,
Carnarvon Collection, Gift of
E. S. Harkness, 1926.

with the result that the city of Alexandria can no longer be taken for granted as a leader in the creation and distribution of such art forms.

The number of minor-art typologies once attributed to Alexandrian workshops is diminishing, for there are actually very few typologies into which the minor arts produced by the native Egyptians during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods can be placed. The two most ubiquitous categories of pharaonic minor arts during these two periods are, of course, the so-called sculptor's models/trial pieces—plaques and statuettes in limestone that I maintain were employed as *ex-votos*⁷—and glass inlays.⁸

With the exception of these two statistically numerous classes, there are very few examples indeed of the minor arts in pharaonic Egyptian style in numbers sufficient to draw inferences about their style and development. The excavations of Ptolemaic and Roman tombs at Thebes by the Metropolitan Museum of Art earlier this century,⁹ the early excavations of the Egyptian Department of Antiquities at such sites as Zeitoun,¹⁰ and even the most recent excavations by the French in the cemeteries of Douch¹¹ and by the Poles at Marina el-Alamein¹² have not produced the kinds of assemblages of objects that can be used to define the nature of pharaonic decorative arts during these two periods. The same generalization appears to obtain for other excavations, such as those by the British at Saqqara, which have yielded large numbers of

metal vessels, utensils, and the like.¹³ The published examples are so banal and so artistically unaccomplished, however, as to be of little value for establishing dating criteria or examining the exchange of artistic influences.¹⁴ I know of almost no examples from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods of any pharaonic furniture, save items such as traditional funerary beds.¹⁵ Moreover, there is virtually not a single scrap of anything resembling an excavated piece of pharaonic jewelry,¹⁶ with the exception, perhaps, of a hoard of twenty-one silver serpent-form bracelets and armlets found in a large pottery jar during the course of an unsupervised excavation in the Delta; they are now in New York and suggested to be of Roman Imperial date (fig. 1).¹⁷

So universal is this absence of assemblages of objects in large numbers from archaeological contexts from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt that one cannot simply ascribe this remarkable circumstance either to the hazards of excavation or to the prior pillaging of the sites. There seems to be a deeper cultural significance behind the absence in great numbers of such objects. I should, therefore, like to offer one possible explanation for this striking phenomenon.

I will begin by reaffirming the general consensus that Ptolemaic Egypt was characterized by two societies, the immigrant Greek and the native Egyptian, which were separate and in many ways unequal.¹⁸ The cultural values and traditions of the native Egyptians were perpetuated by the priests of the temples, who more often than not worked in isolation, developing local traditions within their limited geographic spheres of influence. Evidence for the strength of local, pharaonic traditions derives from the universally accepted observation that the inscriptions and relief decorations of each major pharaonic temple of the Ptolemaic period are characterized by their own idiosyncratic epigraphic and decorative repertoire, termed in the literature "*la grammaire du temple*."¹⁹ The individuals responsible for these activities belonged to a statistically small, hereditary²⁰ elite²¹ estimated to have been less than one percent of the total population,²² whose members were simultaneously the secular and clerical authorities of the local regions in which they lived and worked.²³ Many of these individuals were wealthy and worked within highly centralized local administrations through which they might maximize their revenues.²⁴

The most important cultural characteristic of this elite was the literacy of its members; they knew and understood the hieroglyphs,²⁵ and they were reluctant to share this knowledge.²⁶ As a result, one might say that the material culture of Ptolemaic Egypt was rooted in the hieroglyphs.²⁷ Its members would, therefore, quite naturally favor the development of only those artistic traditions, such as temples and their concomitant types of statuary, that can be understood solely within the hieroglyphic traditions of ancient Egyptian art.²⁸ Within such a cultural

context, the members of this elite would invest large sums of capital for their own funerary establishments,²⁹ with their accompanying stelae and adorned mummies,³⁰ but they would avoid quantities of grave goods, particularly imported Alexandrian luxury goods.³¹ The manufacture of these last-mentioned objects and the motifs decorating them are not in keeping with the scribal, hieroglyphic nature of the traditions this elite was perpetuating. That there should be this tight connection between the approach to the temple and the tomb by members of this elite should come as no surprise, for the same members of this privileged class were serving, if the model derived from Edfu can be applied to the whole of the *chora*, as both temple and funerary clerics.³²

What is more remarkable is that some members of this native Egyptian elite, belonging to prominent families of Edfu (Apollinopolis Magna) and later having been buried at el-Hassaia some ten kilometers to the south, are suggested to have had both purely Greek and purely Egyptian funerary stelae in the same necropolis, if not in the same tomb.³³ In certain cases, the very same individual was honored on separate Greek and Egyptian tombstones under two different names.³⁴ This conscious compartmentalizing of two distinct traditions, the Greek and the pharaonic Egyptian, by members of the native elite finds its exact correspondence in the observation that the Ptolemies themselves, ruling from Alexandria, were able to compartmentalize their roles as Egyptian pharaohs and as Hellenistic monarchs and were able to keep these two different roles separate and distinct.³⁵ The Macedonian Ptolemies and the native Egyptian priests understood the stylistic differences that distinguished Alexandrian, Classical art forms from pharaonic ones. As these two stylistically different art forms and the historical circumstances during which both were created clearly reveal, Greeks and Egyptians alike avoided creating works of art in what some earlier scholars have erroneously defined as a mixed style.³⁶

The cultural traditions of the elite members of Egyptian society during the Ptolemaic period were thus rooted in the hieroglyph tradition, which tended to find its consummate expression in temple and funerary inscriptions and scenes rather than in other forms of art.³⁷ One might define this cultural tendency as a scholastic one, rooted in a long, bookish, scribal tradition, not primarily a visual one. Furthermore, both the members of this elite and also, to an extent, the Ptolemies understood the differences between their two cultures and consciously created monuments in one or the other of these traditions.

The historical record confirms that high-ranking members of this Egyptian elite were in direct personal contact with the Ptolemies themselves. I cite as evidence the personal address by the Egyptian priest Hor to the royals accompanying Ptolemy VI Philometor,³⁸ the interaction between Ptolemy V Epiphanes and the synod of Memphite priests in

186 B.C.,³⁹ and the apparent personal nomination by Ptolemy XII Auletes of a high priest at Memphis.⁴⁰ However pragmatic these associations may have been for political or economic reasons, some evidence also suggests that the leading intellectuals of the day, both members of the native Egyptian elite and those of the Alexandrian court, engaged in intellectual dialogues with one another. This is certainly the scenario suggested by at least one scholar in his evocative character sketch of the career and interests of the anonymous, so-called learned priest who wrote the treatise contained in the Papyrus Jumilhac.⁴¹ In such putative discussions, native Egyptian prelates were clearly taking the initiative in this transfer of information, as the information within the archive of the individual named Menkhes, a village clerk,⁴² and the recent discussion about the development of the Coptic language demonstrate.⁴³ These dialogues must be regarded against the background of the activities of the Crown, whose financing of the Egyptian temples was a quid pro quo with the Egyptian elite to maintain the status quo of the country. The ramifications of the syntaxis for a temple in Elephantine, initiated under Ptolemy II Philadelphos but begun under the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor, is a case in point.⁴⁴

During the course of these suggested dialogues, members of the Egyptian elite communicated their pharaonic ideas and concepts to their Greek counterparts not as *objets d'art* whose forms and motifs might be copied but rather as intellectual ideas born of the bookish traditions to which that Egyptian elite was so bound. It remained for the Alexandrians to clothe these ideas in visually understandable terms.

The earliest and best-known exemplar of this phenomenon is, of course, the introduction of the hellenized god Serapis by the early Ptolemies.⁴⁵ The artificially formulated tenets of this cult ostensibly make manifest intellectual aspects of Egyptian funerary beliefs, combined with those from Greece, in an Alexandrian visual tradition. The precedent established by the creation of the cult and image of Serapis, despite the failed attempt to convince the Egyptians to embrace its worship, was so profound that it influenced the ways in which many subsequent appropriations of the Egyptian cultural record by the Alexandrians were effected.

These visual images of Serapis, devoid as they are of all references to pharaonic Egypt, cannot be fully understood by a modern who relies solely on formal, art-historical analysis. The themes associated with these images of Serapis are comprehensible only when one considers the religious contexts provided by the literary tradition. A formalistic approach to Alexandrian art in all of its manifestations fails because this methodology relies exclusively on stylistic analysis and never considers the documentary evidence so crucial for a fuller understanding of the work of art under investigation. Without the knowledge of this evidence,



FIG. 2
Figurine with images of Isis and
the dog, from Faiyum. Terracotta.
Berlin, Staatliche Museen—
Preußischer Kulturbesitz,
Ägyptisches Museum und
Papyrussammlung, inv. 9956.

one might hypothetically consider images of Serapis in isolation as the exclusive expressions of Hellenistic Greek concepts.

This phenomenon of cloaking pharaonic Egyptian concepts in Alexandrian Greek visual garb, which begins in the Ptolemaic period, is contemporary with a related practice, that of inscribing a pharaonic work of art with an epitome, usually in Greek, but occasionally in another script as well. Someone not conversant with ancient Egyptian visual conventions is thus provided with a gloss by which the image could be rendered comprehensible.⁴⁶ The most famous example of this practice is the stela of Pasos in Cairo, dedicated to Apollonios in the mid-third century B.C.⁴⁷ I know no other object from Egypt in a Classical artistic idiom that is provided with an epitome in hieroglyphics for the benefit of an Egyptian percipient. This observation is in keeping with the xenophobia of the native Egyptian elite, who were not interested in foreigners and made no attempt at achieving an intellectual rapprochement with them. The non-Egyptian communities, on the other hand, including the Greeks, habitually attempted to achieve such a rapprochement, as the use of these epitomes demonstrates. This practice of providing epitomes for works in Egyptian style continued into the Roman Imperial period, at least until the late first century A.D., at which time, or so it would appear, the Egyptians ceased creating statues in pharaonic style.⁴⁸

The penchant for translating pharaonic, Egyptian concepts into Alexandrian works of art accelerated, however, during the Roman

FIG. 3
 Votive stela with Athena, Tutu,
 and Nemesis as a griffin. Vienna,
 Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv.
 AOS 5077.



Imperial period.⁴⁹ This is nowhere more evident than in the subjects of some of the Faiyumic terracottas of the period. A popular type depicts a goddess in some association with a dog. On the basis of religious tenets already firmly in place in the pharaonic period, this subject can readily be identified as the goddess Isis. She is associated with Sothis. In the form of the Dog Star, Sothis appeared in the August sky as the harbinger of the fructifying Nile flood, which was believed to be controlled by Isis, at the beginning of the New Year (fig. 2).⁵⁰ The Isiac associations of the dog and Harpokrates are also evident in a bronze group, which, together with the presence of the turtle, have been interpreted as symbols of the rising Nile and renewed fertility.⁵¹

This appropriation of pharaonic religious tenets and their subsequent translation into Alexandrian visual images are sometimes quite sophisticated, as Quaegebeur demonstrated in his discussion of several stelae that depict Athena, the composite genie Tutu, and the griffin (fig. 3).⁵² Reviewing pharaonic precedents, he demonstrated that the griffin, long identified in Egypt as the incarnation of the divine and/or royal might, punitively directed against the forces of chaos, is here associated also with Egyptian concepts of divine retribution, over which Neith, here represented as Athena, and her charge, Tutu, preside.⁵³ There are, of course, other examples, such as the use of pharaonic crowns and headdresses, that are not purely decorative motifs on the bandolier of this priestess⁵⁴ but rather represent emblems of funerary practices, derived from pharaonic precedents, in the Roman Imperial period. Similar crowns with similar meanings adorn the walls of Tomb 2 at Anfushy.⁵⁵

In conclusion, the number of typologies into which one can place objects classified as minor arts from Hellenistic-Roman Alexandria and pharaonic Ptolemaic-Roman Egypt are less numerous than one might expect. One of the reasons contributing to the diminution of pharaonic minor arts in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt may be ascribed not to the hazards of excavation and the vagaries of pillage but rather to the cultural traditions of the native Egyptian elite. More often than not, these traditions were conveyed in a scribal rather than a visual idiom.

There was ample opportunity in both Ptolemaic and Roman periods for members of that elite to engage in a dialogue with their Alexandrian counterparts. As a result of that dialogue, pharaonic ideas were made manifest either by the addition of a written epitome on a pharaonic work of art or by the visual manifestation of those concepts utilizing Alexandrian nonpharaonic motifs. This hypothesis explains why the material culture of pharaonic Roman Egypt consists almost exclusively of temple and tomb decoration with its accompanying cartonnage or other two-dimensional decorations. And these cultural expressions can best be understood as belonging to the scribal intellectual tradition of the Egyptian elite, which was always the cornerstone of its civilization. Within such a cultural background, there does not appear to have been a so-called mixed school of art in which two distinct artistic styles reflecting the characteristics of the two traditions were consciously conflated.

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Notes

- 1 "De Rogato Artium Elegantiorum Alexandrinarum," *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* 45 (1993): 35–44.
- 2 A. Oliver, Jr., "Millefiori Glass in Antiquity," *Journal of Glass Studies* 10 (1968): 48–70, suggests that the adjective "millefiori" is to be preferred to "mosaic" when describing this particular type of glass.
- 3 The Brooklyn Museum 37.258 E: Oliver (note 2 above): 68; R. S. Bianchi, in R. A. Fazzini et al., *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn 1988), no. 79.
- 4 D. B. Harden, *Glass of the Caesars* (Milan 1987), pp. 53–84.
- 5 The suggestion was first made by B. Cook, "A Dated Hydra Vase in the Brooklyn Museum," *The Brooklyn Museum Annual* 10 (1968–1969): 115–38, and unequivocally confirmed by P. Callaghan, "Excavations at a Shrine of Glaukos," *Bulletin of the British School of Archaeology, Athens* 33 (1978): 10–30. For a summary of the evidence leading to this revisionist assessment for that classification, see R. S. Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, exh. cat. (The Brooklyn Museum 1988), pp. 226–27.
- 6 R. A. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines* (Princeton 1986); N. Himmelmann, *Alexandria und der Realismus in der griechischen Kunst* (Tübingen 1983).
- 7 "Ex-votos of Dynasty xxvi," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 35 (1979): 15–22.
- 8 Bianchi (note 5 above), p. 108, where I summarize my earlier arguments appearing both in *Journal of Glass Studies* 25 (1983): 25–35, and in *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar of New York* 5 (1983): 9–29.
- 9 Inter alia, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Departmental Files, Tomb Cards 4582 and 5270: unpublished. I wish to thank Dorothea Arnold for granting me access to these records as I work toward preparing a manuscript for volume 3 to complete the series begun by W. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, vol. 1 (New York 1953), and vol. 2 (New York 1959).
- 10 A. Kamal, "Un tombeau à Zeitoun," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 4 (1903): 95–96.
- 11 F. Dunand et al., *La nécropole de Douch (Oasis de Kharga)*, vol. 1 (Cairo 1992).
- 12 W. Bentkowski, "The Activities of the Polish-Egyptian Mission at Marina el-Alamein in 1988," *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean: Reports 1989–1990*, vol. 2 (1989–1990): 38–43; and W. A. Daszewski, "Marina el-Alamein 1991," *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean: Reports 1991*, vol. 3 (1992): 29–38. See also the comments elsewhere in this volume by Judith McKenzie about some of the architectural fragments recovered from this site.
- 13 F. A. Hooper, *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou* (Ann Arbor 1961), pp. 1–7; A. Abdalla, *Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt* (Liverpool 1992), pp. 6–7, passim, for Abydos and Dendera. The subject matter of the deceased on a kline offering a libation, which is frequently encountered on these stelae, is also the principal motif of the Getty sarcophagus discussed elsewhere in this volume by Klaus Parlasca.
- 14 C. I. Green, *The Temple Furniture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara, 1964–1976* (London 1987); to which compare F. Petrie, *The Funeral Furniture of Egypt* (London 1937), pl. xxxix.
- 15 L. Castiglione, "Kunst und Gesellschaft in römischen Ägypten," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 15 (1967): 124; Dunand et al. (note 11 above), pls. 60, 61.
- 16 C. Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London 1990), p. 199; so, too, U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Noch einmal SOLL UND HABEN IN PANTHYRIS. 'Was Petosiris ausgegeben hat.': Pheidelberg Inv Dem 763 Recto Zl. 10–19," *Ägypten und Altes Testament* 20 (1990): 175–82; and J. Tait, "A Demotic List of Temple and Court Occupations: P. Carlsberg 23," in H. J. Thissen and K.-T. Zauzich, eds., *Grammata Demotika: Festschrift für Erich Lüdeckens zum 15. Juni 1983* (Würzburg 1984), pp. 211–33. In his lecture during the symposium Michael Pfrommer discussed several aspects of Hellenistic Greek jewelry, focusing his

- attention on a group now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, 92.AM.8.
- 17 The Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.7.1454–1474, twenty-one bracelets and armllets, reportedly from Balamun and acquired from the Carnarvon collection: M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1941), p. 378, and pl. XLV.2, 3, where the lot is dated, incorrectly to my mind, to the Hellenistic period; see T. G. H. James, *Howard Carter: The Path to Tutankhamun* (London 1992), pp. 164–65, for the circumstances surrounding its discovery. I understand that there may be additional objects belonging to this group in the Carnarvon collection in Highclere Castle in the United Kingdom.
 - 18 A. E. Samuel, *The Shifting Sands of History: Interpretations of Ptolemaic Egypt* (New York 1989), pp. 9, 36, 39, 40, 48; J. D. Thomas, “Compulsory Public Service in Roman Egypt,” *Aegyptiaca Treverensia*, vol. 2 (1983), pp. 35–39.
 - 19 Although this phenomenon was already recognized both by H. Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte* (Leipzig 1906), pp. 1–3, and by H. W. Fairman, “Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu,” *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 43 (1943): 194, P. Derchain was the first clearly to articulate its principles: “Un manuel de géographie liturgique à Edfou,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 73 (1962): 31–65. Derchain’s lead has been followed by virtually all subsequent commentators on these temple texts, inter alia, E. Winter, “Weitere Beobachtungen zur ‘grammaire du temple’ in der griechisch-römischen Zeit,” *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 46 (1987): 61–76; and more recently E. Vassilika, *Ptolemaic Philae* (Leuven 1989), pp. 5–17.
 - 20 M.-T. Derchain-Urteil, *Priester im Tempel: Die Rezeption der Theologie der Tempel von Edfu und Dendera in den Privatdokumenten aus ptolemäischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1989), pp. 158, 169–86.
 - 21 J. Baines, “Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990): 21–23; H. te Velde, “Scribes and Literacy in Ancient Egypt,” in H. L. J. Vanstiphout et al., eds., *Scripta Signa Vocis: Studies about Scripts, Scriptures, Scribes and Languages in the Near East, Presented to J. H. Hospers by His Pupils, Colleagues and Friends* (Groningen 1986), pp. 254–64; J. C. Goyon, “Ptolemaic Egypt: Priests and the Traditional Religion,” in Bianchi (note 5 above), pp. 29–40. Oftentimes these same priests intermarried to consolidate their advantaged status, as argued by D. J. Crawford, “Ptolemy, Ptah and Apis in Hellenistic Memphis,” in D. J. Crawford, J. Quaegebeur, and W. Clarysse, eds., *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* (= *Studia Hellenistica* 24) (Leuven 1980), p. 22.
 - 22 H. te Velde, “Some Remarks on the Mysterious Language of the Baboons,” in J. K. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagtendonk, eds., *Funerary Symbols and Religion: Essays Dedicated to Professor M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss on the Occasion of His Retirement from the Chair of the History of Ancient Religions at the University of Amsterdam* (Kampen 1988), pp. 129–36.
 - 23 H. de Meulenaere, “Les stratèges indigènes du nome tentyrite à la fin de l’époque ptolémaïque et au début de l’occupation romaine,” *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 34 (1959): 18.
 - 24 J. H. Johnson, “The Role of the Egyptian Priesthood in Ptolemaic Egypt,” in L. H. Lesko, ed., *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker: Presented on the Occasion of His 78th Birthday, December 10, 1983* (Hanover 1986), pp. 70–84.
 - 25 Derchain-Urteil (note 20 above), pp. 169–86; F. Daumas, “Du phonème au symbole dans l’écriture hiéroglyphique ptolémaïque,” *Courrier du CNRS* 29 (July 1978): 20.
 - 26 S. Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, trans. A. Morrisett (New York 1960), p. 118; R. S. Bianchi, “An Ideal Image,” in *The Greatest of Seers: Essays in Honor of Cyril Aldred*, in press.
 - 27 J. Assmann, “Der Tempel der ägyptischen Spätzeit als Kanonisierung kultureller Identität,” in J. Osing and E. K. Nielsen, eds., *The Heritage of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of Erik Iversen* (Copenhagen 1992), p. 23.
 - 28 Bianchi (note 5 above), pp. 55–59, furthering the perceptive comments of H. G. Fischer, *L’écriture et l’art de l’Égypte ancienne: Quatre leçons sur la paléographie et l’épigraphie pharaoniques* (Paris 1986).
 - 29 Johnson (note 24 above).
 - 30 Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 7069; D. Kurth, *Der Sarg der Teüris: Eine Studie*

- zum Totenglauben im römerzeitlichen Ägypten (= *Aegyptiaca Treverensia* 6) (Mainz am Rhein 1990), for which he demonstrates that the decorative and textual components, far from being aberrant and misunderstood as they are generally portrayed in the literature, are in fact carefully planned and derive from a purely pharaonic tradition, divorced from outside influences. This same conclusion was reached independently by L. Corcoran, "A Cult Function for the So-Called Faiyum Mummy Portraits?," in J. H. Johnson, ed., *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyse to Constantine and Beyond* (Chicago 1992), pp. 57–62.
- 31 Johnson (note 24 above), pp. 70–84.
- 32 Derchain-Urteil (note 20 above), pp. 247–53.
- 33 W. Clarysse, "IV. Inscriptions, 1–2," in E. van't Dack, et al., eds., *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103–101 B.C.: A Multilingual Dossier Concerning a "War of Scepters"* (= *Collectanea Hellenistica*, vol. 1) (Brussels 1989), p. 85, citing the classic work on this subject by J. Yoyotte, "Bakhtis—religion égyptienne et culture grecque à Edfou," in idem, ed., *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine: Colloque de Strasbourg, 16–18 mai 1967* (Paris 1969), pp. 127–41.
- 34 W. Clarysse, "Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Army and Administration," *Aegyptus* 55 (1985): 57–66.
- 35 Ibid., 64; see also note 21 above.
- 36 Bianchi (note 5 above), pp. 55, 63–69; see also note 53 below, and the succinct survey of the historiography of Alexandrian Classical art history by Andrew Stewart in this volume.
- 37 L. Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae* (Hanover 1988), pp. 135–60, for creative, native Egyptian hymns to Isis at Philae composed during the Ptolemaic period, which inspired the later Isis aretologies of the Roman period; and S. Sauneron, *L'Écriture figurative dans les textes d'Esna* (Cairo 1982), for the extraordinary, elaborate prayers created during the Roman Imperial period by the Egyptian elite in honor of the god Khnum at Esna.
- 38 J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (London 1976), p. 120.
- 39 Crawford (note 21 above), p. 36.
- 40 Crawford (note 21 above), p. 39.
- 41 P. Derchain, "L'auteur du papyrus Jumilhac," *Révue d'Égyptologie* 41 (1991): 9–30.
- 42 N. Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Oxford 1986), pp. 104–23.
- 43 D. R. McBride, "The Development of Coptic: Late-Pagan Language Synthesis in Egypt," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 19 (1989): 90–91.
- 44 U. Kaplony-Heckel, "Zum demotischen Baugruben-Graffito vom Satis-Tempel auf Elephantine," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 43 (1987): 167–68.
- 45 There is a growing consensus that Alexander the Great encountered an Egyptian cult of Osiris-Apis in place in Alexandria at the time of his "founding" of that city, as argued by D. J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton 1988), pp. 116 n. 57, 194; A. Swiderek, "Sarapis et les Hellénomemphites," in J. Bingen, G. Cambier, and G. Nachtergaele, eds., *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels 1975), pp. 670–75; S. K. Heyob, *The Cult of Isis among Women in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden 1975), pp. 2–4. I thank Lorelie Corcoran both for discussing this point with me and for providing the cited documentation. See, too, the comments on this point made by Lilly Kahil elsewhere in this volume.
- 46 R. S. Bianchi, "The Cultural Transformation of Egypt as Suggested by a Group of Enthroned Male Figures from the Faiyum," in Johnson (note 30 above), pp. 23–24; see Yoyotte (note 33 above) for another example of this same practice by the Greeks, which is again without apparent parallel for the Egyptians.
- 47 Cairo, The Egyptian Museum JE 44048: Bianchi (note 46 above), pp. 15, 23.
- 48 Bianchi (note 46 above), pp. 15–26.
- 49 Castiglione (note 15 above): 31, already perceptively recognized this trend.
- 50 Berlin 9956: G. Clerc, "Isis-Sothis dans le monde romain," in M. B. de Boer and T. A. Edridge, eds., *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren: Recueil d'études offert par les auteurs de la Série Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain à Maarten J. Vermaseren à l'occasion de son soixantième*

- anniversaire le 7 Avril 1978*, vol. 1 (Leiden 1978), pp. 247–81. This theme is of great antiquity in pharaonic Egypt; see C. Desroches-Noblecourt, “Quatre objets protodynastiques provenant d’un ‘trésor’ funéraire,” *Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 2 (1979): 108–17.
- 51 M. Malaise, “Les animaux et la pot d’Har-pocrate: Contribution à l’iconographie du fils d’Isis,” *Bulletin de la Société française d’Égyptologie* 122 (1991): 13–35.
- 52 Vienna 5077: J. Quaegebeur, “De l’origine égyptienne du griffon Némésis,” in *Visages du Destin dans les mythologies: Mélanges Jacqueline Duchemin. Travaux et mémoires: Actes du Colloque du Chantilly, 1–2 mai 1980* (Paris 1983), pp. 41–54; J. Quaegebeur, W. Clarysse, and B. van Maele, “Athena, Neith, and Thoeris in Greek Documents,” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 60 (1985): 217–32. One can profitably compare this typically pharaonic nature of Nemesis with its Roman nature, as defined by K. M. D. Dunbabin, “Inbide calco te . . . Trampling upon the Envious,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband 18 (1991): 26–35.
- 53 For a temple to Tutu dating to the Roman Imperial period, see C. Hope, “The 1991 Excavations of Ismant el-Kharab in the Dakhleh Oasis,” *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 2 (1991): 41–50; C. Hope and O. E. Kaper, “Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab—1992,” *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 3 (1992): 41–49; C. Hope et al., “Dakhleh Oasis Project: Ismant el-Kharab 1991–1992,” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 19 (1989): 8–9, reinforce the observation that Classical motifs are kept separate and distinct from pharaonic motifs (note 36 above). These two styles were rarely commingled in antiquity to produce what some modern commentators have termed a “mixed school of art.”
- 54 L. Kákosy, “Die Kronen in spätägyptischen Totenglauben,” *Aegyptiaca Treverensia* 2 (1983): 57–60.
- 55 The crowns are also used in isolated squares in the checkerboard decoration of Chamber 1 (j) of Hypogeum 2 at Anfushy. J. MacKenzie, *The Architecture of Petra* (Oxford 1990), pp. 67–68, considers the checkerboard decoration to be “of Egyptian origin” and the appearance of that decorative scheme in this chamber to be no earlier than the late Hellenistic period

or beginning of the Roman period, to which consider the comments by M. Rodziewicz, “Opus Sectile Mosaics from Alexandria and Mareotis,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, Ergänzungsband 18 (1991): 204, passim.

Ptolemaic Portraits: Alexandrian Types, Egyptian Versions

R. R. R. Smith

This paper describes some characteristic aspects of the Ptolemaic royal image in the third century and then explores in more detail the reception of Alexandrian portrait types in Egyptian workshops in the second century.

Ptolemaic portraits have been the subject of much recent study and interpretation,¹ and several distinctive features of royal style at Alexandria can be readily agreed on. Two such characteristics are well exemplified by a pair of bronze statuettes in London (fig. 1)²: first, the heavy deployment of attributes, and second, the prominent role and distinctive representation of the queen.

The London statuettes provide our best evidence for the appearance of full Ptolemaic statues in the third century. The queen wears a stephane and carries a double cornucopia, the personal symbol of Arsinoe II,³ while the king, Ptolemy II, wears tall boots and an elephant-scalp headdress and carries a club. The boots and elephant skin refer to Dionysos and Alexander, who conquered India, and the club to Herakles.⁴ The figure was thus designed to embody the official royal mythology in which the kings claimed Argead descent via Alexander from Dionysos on one side and Herakles on the other.⁵ The meaning is that the king has powers like those of his divine forebears.

The imposing bust of Ptolemy III on his gold coinage presents a classic image of Ptolemaic kingship heavily accoutred with divine symbols (fig. 2).⁶ The king has (1) the rays of Helios attached to his royal diadem, signifying the idea of manifest royal divinity, *basileus theos epiphanes*; (2) an aegis worn like a royal chlamys, the Zeus-like attribute of Ptolemy I Soter, the dynasty's founder; and (3) a royal scepter crafted as a trident of Poseidon—the king also rules the sea. Each attribute was carefully adapted to its nearest royal analogue—diadem, chlamys, scepter—to create new divine attributes peculiar to the king and different from those of the old gods.

These attributes were part of the larger shaping of a distinctive Alexandrian court style. The Antigonids and Seleucids favored an energetic and dynamic royal image, expressive of martial heroism in the manner of Alexander, an overtly charismatic style that does not rely



FIG. 1
Statuettes of Arsinoe II and
Ptolemy II (282–246 B.C.), from
Egypt. Bronze. H.: 39 cm.
London, The British Museum
38443 and 38442.

on external attributes.⁷ At Alexandria, on coins from Philadelphos to Epiphanes, one sees the emergence and sharp definition of another royal style: calm and impassive in demeanor, precise and rather mannered in form, courtly and refined in effect.⁸ This was the Ptolemaic alternative to the heroic vigor prescribed for the Successors by Alexander. The difference in ideology is that to be found between the ideal dashing Diadoch, *deinos* and *drasterios*, portrayed in Plutarch's account of the royal style of Demetrios Poliorketes, and the dazzling encomium of the majesty of Ptolemy Philadelphos in Theokritos 17.⁹

The Ptolemies were unusual in giving real prominence to their queens—in royal ceremony, cult, and public documents. And the queens appear more regularly on coins and in surviving sculpture than in any other kingdom, and it was doubtless their images that defined the visual ideal of female power for other dynasties and more widely for the wives of the Hellenistic city elites. The coins of Arsinoe II present a striking female edition of Ptolemaic court style, a highly mannered, angular portrait, with thin, sharp features and wide-staring eyes contained in a tight controlling contour.¹⁰ This highly austere ideal was tempered in the fuller-faced portraits of Berenike II.¹¹ Both were widely imitated.¹²

In the second century, there are two connected aspects that perhaps deserve more attention. The first is the use of official or centrally provided types in the creation and dissemination of royal portraits, a practice more familiar in the Roman period. The second is the nature or question of Greek elements in Egyptian sculpture of the period. It has been argued recently that Egyptian sculptors borrowed little or nothing



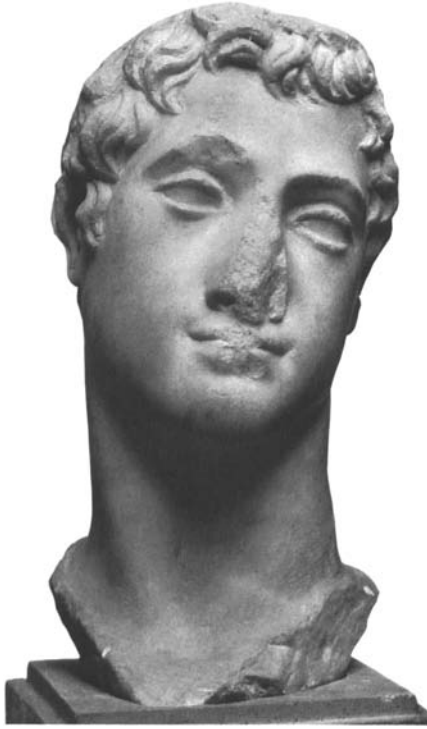
FIG. 2
Alexandrian octadrachm of
Ptolemy III (246–222 B.C.). Gold.
Ca. 220 B.C. Diam.: 2.5 cm. New
York, The American Numismatic
Society.

from Alexandria.¹³ On this view, most things in late-period Egyptian sculpture are to be explained in terms only of the rich pre-Ptolemaic tradition. Here I would like simply to examine a few second-century Alexandrian royal portrait types in relation to which the character and extent of Egyptian reception of Greek sculptural ideas can be demonstrated and measured. Here we can, as it were, follow a few Alexandrian models into the Egyptian hard-stone workshops. This in turn may help our understanding of second-century developments in the Ptolemaic image more generally.

Traditional hard-stone statues and reliefs of the Ptolemaic rulers were made throughout the Ptolemaic period for the native temples of Egypt.¹⁴ Their context is well illustrated by decrees of the Egyptian priesthood, such as that preserved on the Rosetta stone. Unlike earlier invaders, the Macedonian Ptolemies came with their own ideas about royal representation that were radically different in basic principles of form, iconography, and style from pharaonic images. The priests and their sculptors were free to ignore or take notice of these differences as they saw fit. Their response, though varied, was always slight in the context of the whole statue. Adjustment and accommodation were confined to the head. In place of a purely pharaonic scheme, the head might add Hellenic hair over the brow and take on varying degrees of naturalism. These were obviously intrusive elements designed to represent the different or foreign character of the king. That is, the head of a statue might express merely “traditional pharaoh,” or by importing a few elements of Greek royal style, it might express the ideas of both “pharaoh” and “Ptolemy.” My purpose here is to show how Egyptian sculptors could sometimes go considerably further.

Many Alexandrian royal portraits in marble were also highly generalized, ideal images that expressed forcefully the idea of *Basileus Ptolemaios* without specifying which one.¹⁵ Others, however, reproduce the particulars of a defined portrait type that can sometimes also be found on coins and seals. A fine head in Alexandria is typologically related to a rare coin portrait type of Ptolemy VI Philometor and clearly represents him (fig. 3).¹⁶ The surface is smooth and even, with very sparing physiognomic detail, but the posture, long face, and prominent chin give the whole a strongly individual effect.

We happen also to have two hard-stone heads of Philometor. The first, a granite head in Athens with *nemes* and double crown, is identified by the cartouche on its back pillar.¹⁷ On the basis of the physiognomy alone, one would not have identified it as the same king. There is, however, a clear connection in the hair arrangement over the forehead. The marble head has a thick central lock, turning to the right, framed by two smaller locks curling inward on both sides. This scheme is reproduced on the granite head, only with a flatter, more symmetrical



handling. Such repetition of hair schemes is, of course, more fully attested among the abundant copies of, for example, Julio-Claudian portrait types. That this hair scheme was really a defined feature of Philometor's portrait type is shown by the second hard-stone head, a fragment of a colossal granite statue from Canopus (fig. 4).¹⁸

Here the hair arrangement is almost exactly the same as that of the head in Athens, only with a more detailed and lively "Hellenistic" rendering. The repeated hair scheme would probably be enough to connect the Canopus head with Ptolemy VI. The identity is, however, clearly demonstrated by the face, which is a version of the same physiognomical type as the marble head—tall narrow face, full mouth, deep chin. These are sufficient to establish the connection.

It is important to emphasize that the connection is not merely a portrait resemblance, that these two heads are close enough to represent the same person, but rather that they have a definable relationship to the same sculptured type. That is, they contain repeated elements from an "official" portrait of Philometor. There is no reason to think the Alexandria head is the "original"; indeed it is unlikely, given that the Canopus head has more detailed hair. They are both, then, secondary versions or interpretations of an Alexandrian court portrait. The marble head is summary in the handling of the hair and perhaps adds a layer of dynamic vigor. The Canopus head is naturally static in posture and flattens the side of the long face into broad, unnatural planes. It also exaggerates the eyes, which on the marble head are uncommonly small, outlined above by heavy lids. The marble head is a perhaps intensified

FIG. 3
Head of Ptolemy VI (180–145
B.C.). Marble. H.: 41 cm.
Alexandria, Graeco-Roman
Museum 24092. Photo courtesy
of the DAI, Cairo, neg.
F 12679–12680.

FIG. 4
Head of Ptolemy VI (180–145
B.C.), from Canopus. Granite.
H.: 61 cm. Alexandria, Graeco-
Roman Museum 3357. Photo
courtesy of the DAI, Cairo, neg.
11135–11140.

FIG. 5
Head of Ptolemy VIII (145–116
B.C.). Marble. H.: 23.5 cm. Private
collection, on loan to Yale
University Art Gallery, New
Haven. Photo: Sotheby's, Inc.

FIG. 6
Head of Ptolemy VIII (145–116
B.C.). Diorite. H.: 51 cm. Brussels,
Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire
E 1839.



Hellenistic rendering of the type; the granite head is a thoughtful translation or adaptation for a traditional Egyptian statue.

Ptolemy VIII Euergetes Physkon issued rare tetradrachms and diadrachms (the latter dated in 138/137 B.C.), on which he wears the radiate diadem and aegis of his great third-century forebear Ptolemy III Euergetes.¹⁹ It is a plump-faced, wide-eyed image that combines a pronounced physiognomical profile—large nose, small pouting mouth, weak chin—with an impressive royal bearing. This coin gives the key to a series of related images, some typologically, some generically, related.

A small stucco head in Hildesheim is a precise version of the same portrait type,²⁰ and an important marble head in New Haven also belongs here (fig. 5).²¹ This is a lifesize portrait with hair and one ear added in stucco. It has a long face in the tradition of Philometor, with sharply cut features laid over a plump, rather formless, polished facial structure. The roughly worked hair follows precisely the same line and relation to the brow as the stucco head, and it, too, is probably a version of the same type. Again, the New Haven head is surely not the original court portrait but an interpretation of it. It seems to have enlarged the wide, staring eyes and accentuated the aggressive pout of the lower lip. One might note also the closeness of the eyes.



A fine diorite head in Brussels is clearly an Egyptian version of the same portrait type of Ptolemy VIII (fig. 6, and Bothmer fig. 20 below).²² It wears a double crown, supported behind by a tall, broken back pillar. Unusually for this category of hellenizing pharaonic royal portrait, no hair emerges from beneath the crown as an immediately identifying “foreign” element. The portrait effect is carried by the face alone, and the Egyptian sculptor has made a very careful copy of its identifying physiognomy: fat cheeks, small pouting mouth, weak chin, prominent nose, and large, round eyes. To capture the essence of the type, the sculptor seems also to have intensified certain features, for example, the closeness of the eyes and the fatness of the face, which is rendered with a degree of surface plasticity not present in any of the Greek versions of the type. The shaping of the eyes is a little asymmetrical—one is wider than the other—which perhaps indicates a certain unfamiliarity with the appropriate forms of enlarged Alexandrian ruler eyes. That apart, it is a remarkably careful and instantly recognizable translation of Ptolemy VIII’s portrait type into pharaonic form and material.

There must then have been models of the “official” Alexandrian portraits of Ptolemies VI and VIII available in the native workshops that produced the Canopus and Brussels heads, and a certain constituency—surely some of the Egyptian clergy—wanted to see those models employed. The face of the statues denoted the distinctive and special character of the Ptolemaic pharaohs in general and of Philometor and Physkon in particular. The statues are striking monuments of priestly accommodation to the Macedonian rulers.

The Brussels Physkon is a near-perfect Egyptian replica of the king’s Alexandrian portrait type. We may look now at the image of a

FIG. 7
Head of Ptolemaic queen. Black stone. Mid- to late second century B.C. Lifesize. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 406.

FIG. 8
Head of Ptolemaic queen, from
Egypt. Marble. Mid- to late
second century B.C. H.: 37 cm.
Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 3546.



contemporary queen and at a case of syntactically awkward translation. An important head in Vienna (fig. 7),²³ broken from a traditional pharaonic statue with back pillar, may be viewed as a female counterpart to the Brussels Physkon, only here the sculptor had difficulty in capturing the essence of the Alexandrian portrait he was attempting to reproduce. The head is an Egyptian rendering or reception of a novel female royal style that emerged at Alexandria in the mid-second century B.C. Several major sculptures from this context, for example, a bronze head in Naples and a marble head from Alexandria in the Louvre (fig. 8), have a forceful, energetic, almost “masculine” expression.²⁴ This royal style is a striking departure from the passive beauty of Arsinoe and Berenike in the third century and was probably designed for the series of powerful queens in the second century, Cleopatras I–III, who ruled on behalf of or through boy kings and weak kings.

Like the Alexandrian portraits, the Vienna head wears diadem and Isis locks, but it has so heightened some features—the strong double chin, wide mouth, and masculine naso-labial folds—that the subtle balance of the Alexandrian type between traditional beauty and executive capacity has been all but destroyed. The sculptor seems both to have misunderstood and to have mismanaged the forms of a complex and unusual image.

Among the later Ptolemies, IX–XI, whose portraits have been much studied in recent years and considerably expanded by new pieces,²⁵ there are several further examples of hard-stone heads based on Alexandrian portrait types, but none with such clear typological connections as those seen in the cases of Philometor and Physkon. A granite bust from Alexandria, recently published, is perhaps a loose Egyptian version of

the same late Ptolemaic type preserved in the provincial limestone statue from Aphroditopolis.²⁶ And a lost granite head, formerly in Berlin, was surely based on a portrait from the same environment as a late Ptolemy (IX or X) at the Getty.²⁷

This demonstrable use of Alexandrian types by the Egyptian hard-stone workshops comes in the well-defined context of the king's image. Since he was both Macedonian *basileus* and Egyptian pharaoh, Ptolemy was a unique figure of common property between the Greek and the indigenous inhabitants of Egypt. It is precisely this statuary context that is so well brought to life by the inscriptions of the Egyptian clergy in the later third and second centuries, such as the Canopus and the Rosetta decrees.²⁸ These inscriptions are edicts of the assembled Egyptian priests meeting to vote cult and statuary honors to the Ptolemaic kings in the native temples of Egypt. They document how "the native clergy, through decrees made at synods, incorporated an Egyptian version of the Hellenistic cult of the Ptolemies into the priesthoods and rituals of the local temples."²⁹ It is against the background of this larger phenomenon that the hard-stone version of Alexandrian royal types should be set.

Royal interest in the dissemination of images in the temples is plainly stated in the Mendes stela, and the priests' interest in the style or "manner" (*tropos*) of the statues is explicitly attested in the Rosetta decree.³⁰ The clergy's decision to have Ptolemy's features represented in a Hellenistic idiom in some statues in addition to the usual statues with purely pharaonic features was analogous to their decision to publish their decrees in the Greek language as well as Egyptian. This measurable iconographic assimilation of the traditional image of pharaoh to Ptolemaic royal style and to particular types was meant to represent to the Egyptian temple-goer the distinctive nature and identity of the Ptolemaic pharaoh residing in his foreign capital at Alexandria. In the examples we have examined the sculptors went beyond the simple importation of a few Greek elements that indicated "Ptolemy" to the reproduction of a defined portrait model that specified which Ptolemy. They show that in some Egyptian temples, at least in the second century, the acquiring and use of an "identifying" Alexandrian model was considered desirable for the manufacture of some of the reigning Ptolemy's statues. The context and origin of this phenomenon, it may be guessed, was Memphis, whose culture has been so well described by D. J. Thompson in her *Memphis under the Ptolemies*.³¹ These images may be seen as the visual counterpart of the policy of accommodation with the Macedonian rulers pursued by the Memphite clergy through the medium of the royal cult.

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Notes

- 1 H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (Berlin 1975); E. Brunelle, *Die Bildnisse der Ptolemäerinnen* (Ph.D. diss., Frankfurt 1976); R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford 1988), ch. 9, "The Ptolemies and Egypt." Much material also in H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka, eds., *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (Mainz 1978); and R. S. Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, exh. cat. (The Brooklyn Museum 1988). Some recent articles: A. Linfert, "Neue Ptolemäer: Ptolemaios II. und Arsinoe II.," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 102 (1987): 279–82; G. Dontas, "Zu einem Herrscherkopf in Museum von Kos," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 104 (1989): 159–63; M. Prange, "Das Bildnis Arsinoes II. Philadelphos, 278–70 v. Chr.," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 105 (1990): 197–211; H. P. Laubscher, "Ptolemäische Reiterbilder," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 106 (1991): 223–38.
- 2 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 20, 82, B 1 and J 2, pls. 8.5, 6, 9; 72.4; Smith (note 1 above), pp. 44, 91, app. VIII, no. 9, pl. 70.6; N. Himmelmann, "Ein Ptolemäer mit Keule und Kothurn," in *Festschrift für J. Inan*, vol. 1 (Istanbul 1989), pp. 391–95; Laubscher (note 1 above): 230.
- 3 Arsinoe's *dikeras*: Athenaeus 11.497B–C.
- 4 On royal elephant *exuviae*, cf. Laubscher (note 1 above): 232–35.
- 5 *Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, p. 54 = M. M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation* (Cambridge 1981), p. 221; Satyros, F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 631, F 1, with P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972), vol. 1, pp. 202–3; vol. 2, p. 120 n. 48.
- 6 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 28–29 with n. 120, p. 148, pls. 17.1–4; Smith (note 1 above), p. 44, pl. 75.9.
- 7 On Seleucid royal portraits, see now R. Fleischer, *Studien zur Seleukidischen Kunst*, vol. 1, *Herrscherbildnisse* (Mainz 1991).
- 8 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 18, 29, 42–43, 52, pls. 8, 17, 30, 40; Smith (note 1 above), pp. 91–92, pls. 75.3–11.
- 9 See esp. Plutarch, *Dem.* 2–4, probably from the early Hellenistic history of Hieronymos—so J. Hornblower, *Hieronymos of Cardia* (Oxford 1981), pp. 67–71. On the reflection of royal ideology in this passage, cf. Smith (note 1 above), p. 52. On Theokritos 17 = Austin (note 5 above), p. 217; cf. Fraser, vol. 1 (note 5 above), pp. 666–67.
- 10 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 79–80, pl. 70.
- 11 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 94–96, pl. 82.
- 12 Two widely separated examples, one royal, one "private."
(1) Coins of Queen Philistis at Syracuse: C. M. Kraay and M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (London 1966), pl. 49; G. K. Jenkins, *Ancient Greek Coins* (New York 1972), fig. 603.
(2) Limestone female head from Arsos, Cyprus: J. B. Connelly, *Votive Sculpture of Hellenistic Cyprus* (Nicosia 1988), p. 36, no. 3, pl. 12. The extent of this phenomenon is best illustrated by the great number of "private" Hellenistic female heads that archaeological literature has, at one time or another, identified as Arsinoe II or Berenike II. On this, cf. Smith (note 1 above), pp. 89–90, with examples cited at note 24.
- 13 Bianchi (note 1 above), pp. 55–80, and on cat. nos. 2, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38, 39, 42–47, 52, 53. For example, on the Brussels Ptolemy VIII (here fig. 6): "Because the head in Brussels conforms to established pharaonic traditions that were current in the third and second centuries B.C., its resemblance to images of any Ptolemaic ruler in a Hellenistic idiom may be gratuitous" (p. 149, cat. 53).
- 14 There is no full study of this material. See B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn 1960). On the context, further below at note 28.
- 15 See, for example, Kyrieleis (note 1 above), B 6, 8, 10, C 1–7, 10, and D 5, 6; with Smith (note 1 above), pp. 88–89 and app. v.
- 16 Marble head: Kyrieleis (note 1 above), p. 60,

- F 3, pls. 49.2, 50, 51; Smith (note 1 above), p. 93, cat. 55, pls. 38.1, 2. Coin: Kyrieleis (note 1 above), p. 59, pl. 46.3; Smith (note 1 above), p. 93, pl. 75.14. This rare silver hemidrachm makes the clearest typological connection with the Alexandrian marble head. The portrait on the better-known Phoenician tetradrachms (Kyrieleis [note 1 above], pl. 46.1; Smith [note 1 above], pl. 75.13) is probably of the same type. There was also a quite separate, earlier, more youthful Philometor portrait type, attested by the unique gold octodrachm in London: Smith (note 1 above), p. 93 (with lit. n. 38), pls. 75.15, 16.
- 17 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 59–60, F 1, pl. 47; Smith (note 1 above), p. 93, cat. 71, pl. 46.2.
- 18 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), p. 60, F 2, pls. 48, 49.1; Smith (note 1 above), p. 93, cat. 72, pls. 46.3, 4.
- 19 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), p. 63, pl. 52.1; Smith (note 1 above), p. 94, pl. 75.17.
- 20 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), p. 64, G 1, pl. 52.2, 3.
- 21 Smith (note 1 above), pp. 96–97, 124, cat. 58, pls. 39.3, 4—there noted as close to Ptolemy VIII (p. 96), but catalogued as “a late Ptolemy, probably Ptolemy IX or X.” It seems to me now more clearly a version of Physkon’s main Alexandrian type. Also illustrated in R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London 1991), fig. 241.
- 22 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), p. 64, G 2, pls. 52.4, 53; Smith (note 1 above), pp. 93–94, cat. 73, pls. 47.1, 2. Cf. Bianchi (note 1 above), pp. 148–49, cat. 53 (quoted note 13 above).
- 23 Smith (note 1 above), pp. 94–95, cat. 74, pls. 48.1, 2.
- 24 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 120–21, M 12, pls. 104.1, 2 (Louvre); Smith (note 1 above), pp. 75–76, 94, cat. 24 and 56, pls. 19.1, 2 and 38.3, 4 (Naples and Louvre).
- 25 K. Parlasca, “Ein verkanntes hellenistisches Herrscherbildnis,” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 82 (1967): 167–94; Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 64–75; A. Krug, “Die Bildnisse Ptolemaios IX, X, und XI,” in H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka, eds., *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (Mainz 1978), pp. 9–22; H. Maehler, “Egypt under the Last Ptolemies,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London* 30 (1983): 1–16;
- R. R. R. Smith, “Three Hellenistic Rulers at the Getty,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 14 (1986): 59–78, at 70–78.
- 26 Granite bust, Alexandria P 12072: P. E. Stanwick, “A Royal Ptolemaic Bust in Alexandria,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 29 (1992): 131–41, figs. 1a, b. Aphroditopolis statue: Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 70–71, H 3, pls. 59.3, 4; Smith (note 1 above), p. 97, cat. 61, pls. 41.1–3. There seems to be a distinct echo of a common image between these two portraits, notably in the similar formulations of the eyes and chin.
- 27 Berlin head: Kyrieleis (note 1 above), p. 72, H 7, pls. 63.1–3; Smith (note 1 above), p. 96, cat. 75, pls. 48.3, 4. Getty head: Smith (note 25 above): 70–78, figs. 6a, d; Smith (note 1 above), p. 96, cat. 59, pls. 40.1, 2. These heads were both probably simplified versions of a single Alexandrian type.
- 28 Canopus: *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, p. 56 = Austin (note 5 above), p. 222. Rosetta: *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, p. 90 = Austin (note 5 above), p. 227. For essential background on the Egyptian temples and clergy, see esp. D. J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton 1988), ch. 4, “Ptolemies and Temples”; and out of many articles by J. Quaegebeur, his “Cleopatra VII and the Cults of the Ptolemaic Queens,” in Bianchi (note 1 above), pp. 41–54. Also on the priests: J.-C. Goyon, “Ptolemaic Egypt: Priests and the Traditional Religion,” in Bianchi (note 1 above), pp. 29–39.
- 29 Quaegebeur (note 28 above), p. 42, following D. J. Crawford, “Ptolemy, Ptah and Apis in Hellenistic Memphis,” in D. J. Crawford, J. Quaegebeur, and W. Clarysse, *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis. Studia Hellenistica* 24 (Louvain 1980): pp. 1–42, esp. 27–36.
- 30 Mendes stela: “His majesty ordered to erect her [*sc* Arsinoe’s] statues in every temple, this was pleasing to their priests . . . her cult-statues were made in each nome.” Trans.: J. Quaegebeur, “Documents Concerning a Cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos at Memphis,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 30 (1971): 239–70, esp. 242 n. 13; also idem, in Bianchi (note 1 above), p. 43. In the context of this document, we can well imagine a request for and the distribution of portrait models from Alexandria.
- Rosetta stone, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 90, line 39: “the statues shall be

made in the native (or Egyptian) manner (*tropos*)." The word for "native/Egyptian" is restored in the Greek text from the hieroglyphic and demotic versions: E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Rosetta Stone* (London 1929), pp. 88, 117. The surviving portraits show how far the priests were willing to see this order compromised.

31 Thompson (note 28 above).

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Hellenistic Elements in Egyptian Sculpture of the Ptolemaic Period

Bernard V. Bothmer

Norma Jean Bothmer thanks Paul Stanwick for preparing the article for publication and for completing the notes. This article is published posthumously.

In the last thirty years, the study of Late Egyptian sculpture has made great progress, mainly as a result of three landmark publications: *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* in 1960, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* in 1975, and *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* in 1978. They in turn have generated numerous studies and articles in the scholarly literature, including *Cleopatra's Egypt* in 1988¹—the catalog of the exhibition in Brooklyn on Ptolemaic Egypt, which contains some novel as well as bizarre ideas. Thus, accurately dated material for each successive century from 800 B.C. to the Roman conquest in 30 B.C. has been well defined, although such secure attributions are disseminated very slowly, especially in the academic world.

Among the problems remaining is, for instance, the difficulty in distinguishing the royal likenesses of Dynasty xxx (380–343 B.C.) from those of a hundred years later.² As research on the last four centuries of ancient Egypt is now being conducted in the great Egyptological centers of the West, we now know that many elements of Egyptian statuary of the Ptolemaic Period (305–30 B.C.), once considered to be of foreign origin, have been found to stem from native sources, for example, the rich drapery of the male costume (figs. 1, 2).³ On the other hand, new features have come to light that were overlooked until recently and are now recognized as non-Egyptian. This was due to the presence and, after Alexander's death, to the predominance of the Greeks in the Nile Valley. Among these new features are matters of substance and of style, but in the most prominent Egyptian art form—sculpture in the round—Hellenistic influence does not become evident until well past the beginning of the third century B.C. One can see the emergence of this influence especially in the naturalistic rendering of the real hair (fig. 3).⁴ This shift in style persists until the middle of the first century B.C., as is evident in the Brooklyn “Black Head” (fig. 4);⁵ although the hair is highly patterned, it still shows natural locks. Royalty, too, is thus portrayed, even under the traditional Egyptian headdress (figs. 5a, b).⁶

A more summary execution of the coiffure may not have developed until the second century B.C., as can be seen in two heads with short-cropped hair, one in Stockholm (fig. 6)⁷ and another in Cleveland (fig. 7).⁸ The new treatment of the hair is accompanied by the represen-



1



2

FIG. 1
King Sety I (1306–1290 B.C.),
from Abydos. Schist. H.: 21 cm.
Cairo, The Egyptian Museum
CG 751. Photo courtesy of the
Institute of Fine Arts, New York
University.

FIG. 2
Draped male torso, from Tell el-
Timai (Thmuis). Basalt. Ptolemaic
Period. H.: 96.5 cm. Alexandria,
Graeco-Roman Museum 20949
(= G. 214). Photo courtesy of the
Institute of Fine Arts, New York
University.



3



4

FIG. 3
Male head, provenance unknown.
Basalt. Second century B.C. H.:
20.2 cm. Munich, Staatliche
Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst
Gl.WAF 328.

FIG. 4
The Brooklyn “Black Head,”
provenance unknown; reportedly
from Mitrahineh. Diorite. About
80–50 B.C. H.: 41.4 cm. The
Brooklyn Museum 58.30, Charles
Edwin Wilbour Fund.

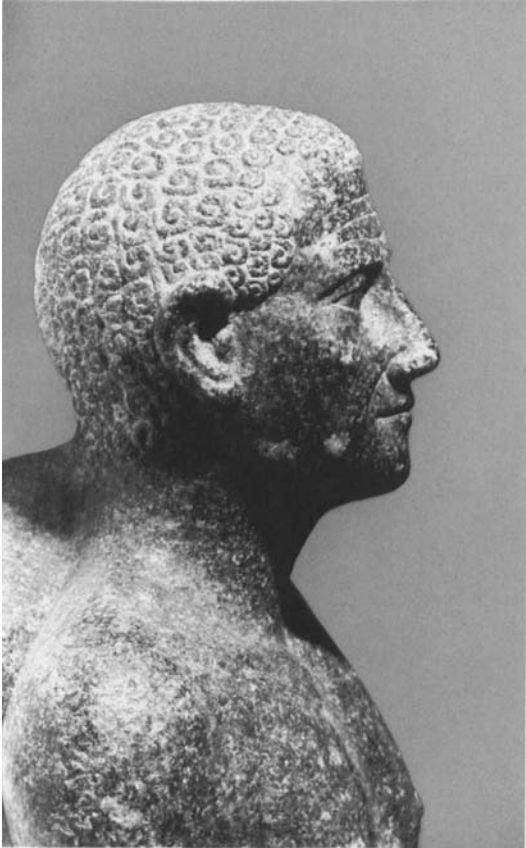


5a



5b

FIGS. 5a, b
Ptolemy VI Philometor
(180–164/163–145 B.C.), from
the sea at Aegina. Granite.
H.: 62.5 cm. Athens, National
Archaeological Museum ANE 108.



6



7

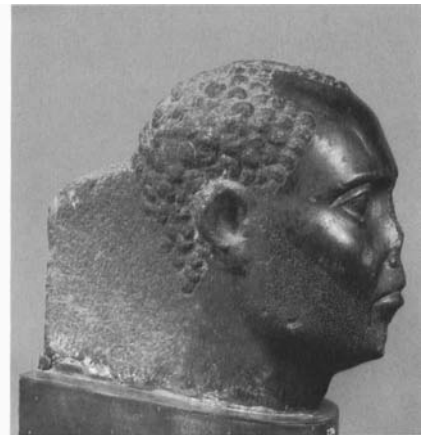
FIG. 6
Head of male statue, provenance:
unknown. Granite. Second century
B.C. H. (of head): 12.2 cm.
Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet
NME 73.

FIG. 7
Head of bearded male statue, from
Cyrenaica. Basalt. Second century
B.C. H. (of head): 7.9 cm. The
Cleveland Museum of Art 91.26.

FIG. 8
Male head with diadem,
provenance unknown, said to be
from Dime. Granite. First century
B.C. H.: 34.5 cm. Munich, Staat-
liche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst
Gl. 30.



8



9

FIG. 9
Male head, from Tanis. Basalt.
About 80–50 B.C. H.: 34 cm.
Alexandria, Graeco-Roman
Museum 3204.



FIG. 10
Bust of a king, provenance unknown. Diorite. About 220–180 B.C. H.: 44.5 cm. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery 1.1.1953 (on loan from the Peabody Museum of Natural History, Yale University).



FIG. 11
Royal head with diadem, provenance unknown. Granite. About 60–30 B.C. H.: 10.5 cm. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico KS 1803.

tation of whiskers, sideburns (fig. 8),⁹ a thick mustache, or a stubbly (fig. 9)¹⁰ or full beard (see fig. 7).

While most Ptolemaic pharaohs are represented in the traditional *nemes* headdress (fig. 10),¹¹ some of them, although sculptured with a back pillar, wear the typically Hellenistic tie or band around the head (fig. 11);¹² queens, too, are thus shown (fig. 12).¹³ Not all of those adorned with ribbons or bands on their hair are royal figures, since these insignia, as well as the laurel wreath, also distinguished certain members of the priesthood (fig. 13).¹⁴

A band of rosettes, however, primarily identified a nomarch.¹⁵ For example, the statue of Pamenkhes, a provincial governor in the time of Cleopatra VII (51–30 B.C.), wears such a diadem (fig. 14),¹⁶ as do



FIG. 12
Queen's head, provenance unknown. Limestone. Ptolemaic Period. H.: 13.7 cm. The Brooklyn Museum 71.12, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund.

FIG. 13

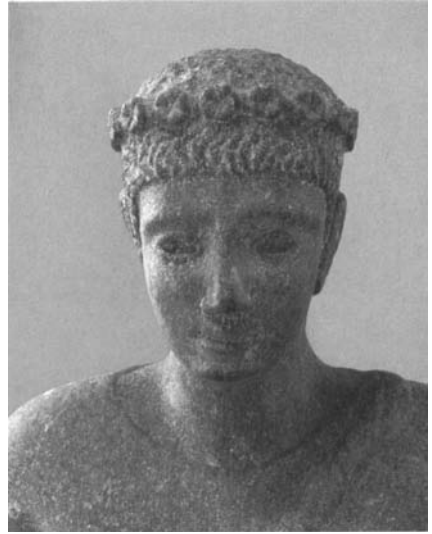
Head with laurel wreath, from Tell Umm el-Briegat (Tebtunis). Limestone. Late Ptolemaic Period. H.: 8.5 cm. Cairo, The Egyptian Museum JE 65424 A.



13

FIG. 14

Statue head of Pamenkhes with rosette wreath, from Dendera. Granite. About 50–30 B.C. H. (total statue): 130 cm. Cairo, The Egyptian Museum JE 46320 (statue base is CG 50047).



14

FIGS. 15a, b

Statue head of Hor, son of Tutu, provenance unknown, said to be from Sais. Granite. End of fourth century B.C. H. (total statue): 113 cm. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 2271.



15a



15b



FIG. 16

Head with *kausia*, provenance unknown. Terracotta. Ptolemaic Period. H.: 9.5 cm. Amsterdam, private collection.

other officials in positions of political power. We also know of at least one instance where the rosettes were removed for reasons not known and replaced by natural hair (figs. 15a, b),¹⁷ perhaps because the owner lost his exalted position before he died.

A typically Macedonian headdress, the *kausia*, makes its appearance in the terracottas of private persons after Ptolemaic rule was established in the Nile Valley, as shown by a fine example in a private collection (fig. 16).¹⁸ That this kind of cap or hat was also worn by Ptolemaic pharaohs has been known from seal impressions for some time. The seals were found at Edfu, Delos, Kallipolis, and Nea Paphos.¹⁹ Only recently did a Ptolemaic ruler's head wearing the *kausia* appear in



FIG. 17
Royal head with *kausia*, provenance unknown, said to be from the Faiyum. Limestone. Mid-first century B.C. H.: 23 cm. Harmon Fine Arts/Leonard Stern. Illustrated by permission of Leonard Stern, New York.

FIG. 18
Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–205 B.C.), from Canopus. Granite. H.: 150 cm. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 3364.

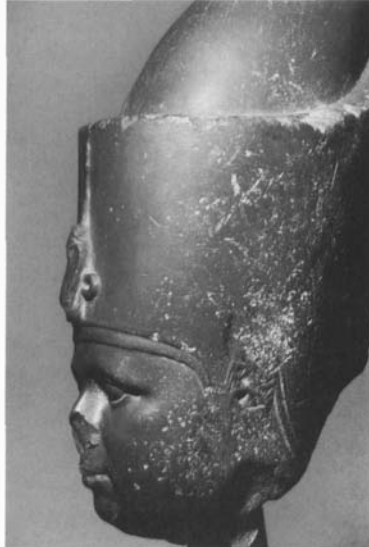


FIG. 19
Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–180 B.C.), provenance unknown. Alabaster. H.: 7.6 cm. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 13457.

FIG. 20
Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (170–163/145–116 B.C.), provenance unknown. Diorite. H.: 51 cm. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire E. 1839.

a private collection in New York (fig. 17).²⁰ It represents a royal youth adorned with uraeus, Hellenistic hairstyle, and a full-sized unscribed back pillar. The eyes and eyebrows were once inlaid. Stylistic considerations suggest that the head should be attributed to the middle of the first century B.C. The delicate, idealizing features are paralleled in a first-century limestone sphinx in New York;²¹ the style of the locks, with short curls over the forehead, can be compared to a similar treatment in the Brooklyn “Black Head” (see fig. 4). Literary evidence is likewise supportive of a mid-first-century attribution; a passage in Plutarch’s *Life of Antony* (54.5) relates that a son of Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII was dressed up in a *kausia* and diadem.²²

The question of true portraiture in ancient Egypt is still much debated, mainly because we do not have corroborative sources to indicate how the people thus represented looked in real life.²³ In Ptolemaic

FIG. 21
Ptolemy x Alexander I (107–
88 B.C.), from Memphis. Plaster.
H.: 16.5 cm. Geneva, Musée d'art
et d'histoire 20240. © Musée d'art
et d'histoire.



FIG. 22
Head with realistic features,
provenance unknown. Dark stone.
Ptolemaic Period. H.: 18.5 cm.
Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet 17.

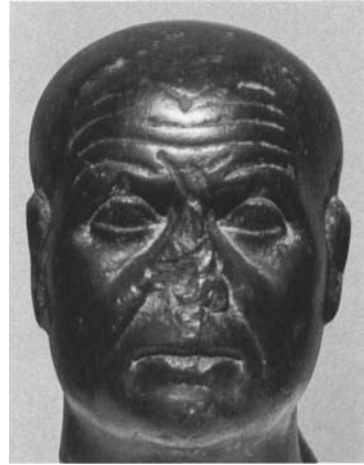
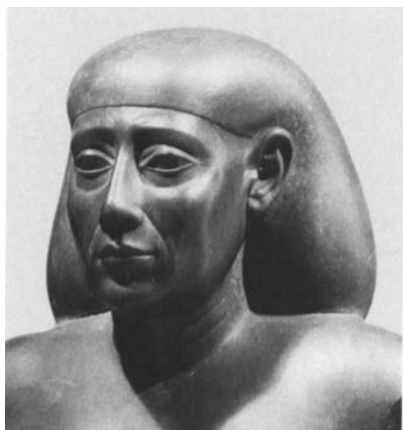


FIG. 23
Head with realistic features, from
the Temple of Mut, Karnak.
Granite. Middle Kingdom.
H.: 18.5 cm. Petrie Museum of
Egyptian Archaeology, University
College London, UC. 16451.

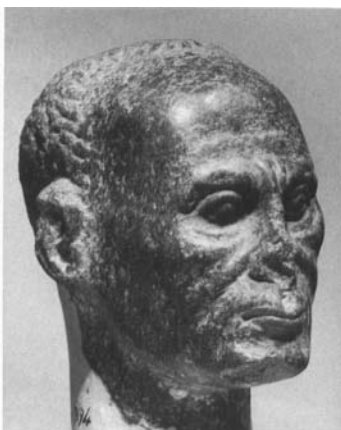


statuary, however, some of the rulers have been identified by name from sculptures and coin portraits. Among them are Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–205 B.C.; fig. 18),²⁴ Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–180 B.C.; fig. 19),²⁵ and Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–164/163–145 B.C.; see fig. 5). Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (170–163/145–116 B.C.) has also been recognized by his full face and wide-open eyes in a unique head, now in Brussels (fig. 20 and Smith fig. 6 above), that reproduces precisely this king's portrait type as known from coins.²⁶ The likeness of Ptolemy X Alexander I (107–88 B.C.) is probably reflected in a plaster profile, now in Geneva (fig. 21),²⁷ and in a stucco mask in Munich that was first published as a likeness of Nektanebo I (380–362 B.C.).²⁸ It is probably also to be found in a small basalt head in Paris.²⁹ Few such identifications exist for the numerous private Egyptian sculptures whose realistic features (fig. 22)³⁰ are well known from the publication in 1960 of *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* and from two studies of the origins of Roman Republican verism.³¹

The attempt to decide to what extent such realistic features are true likenesses, rendering the very essence of a definite person eternally in stone, is probably futile. Harsh realism in the image of mature Egyptians with furrowed features goes back to the Middle Kingdom (fig. 23)³² and was revived as an archaism in the eighth and seventh cen-



24



25



26



27



28

FIG. 24
Head with realistic features,
provenance unknown, said
to be from Memphis. Schist.
Dynasty XXVII (525–404 B.C.).
H.: 25.1 cm. Paris, Musée du
Louvre N. 2454.

FIG. 25
Head with realistic features, from
Dime. Granite. Ptolemaic Period.
H.: 19.5 cm. Alexandria, Graeco-
Roman Museum 3194.

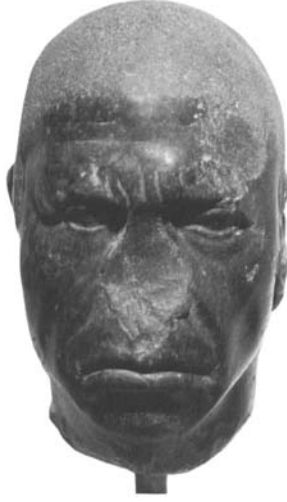
FIG. 26
Head with realistic features and
shaven pate, provenance unknown.
Granite. Second century B.C.
H.: 13.9 cm. Paris, Musée du
Louvre E. 8060.

FIG. 27
Head with rosette diadem, from
Aquileia. Basalt. Second century
B.C. H.: 18.5 cm. Trieste, Civici
Musei di Storia ed Arte 2187.

FIG. 28
Statue of man in pensive mood,
provenance unknown. Basalt.
Second century B.C. H.: 49 cm.
London, The British Museum
34270.



29



30



31

FIG. 29
Cocked statue head with realistic features, provenance unknown. Steatite. Second century B.C. H. (of head): 7.2 cm. Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 10972.

FIG. 30
Head with gloomy features, provenance unknown. Basalt. Second century B.C. H.: 2.8 cm. Venice, Museo Archeologico di Venezia, no. 34.

FIG. 31
Head with parted lips, provenance unknown. Black marble? Ptolemaic Period. H.: 15.2 cm. New York, Antiquarium, Ltd.

turies B.C. Skin folds, wrinkles, and crow's-feet at the outer corners of the eyes were for so long part of the Egyptian sculptor's repertory that it is hard to tell what in the Ptolemaic age is Egyptian tradition and what is Hellenistic influence. Compare, for example, a head with realistic features (fig. 24)³³ of Dynasty xxvii (525–404 B.C.) with two Ptolemaic sculptures, one in Alexandria (fig. 25)³⁴ and another in Paris (fig. 26).³⁵ It is also difficult to establish how much of the realism of a Greek portrait is rendered in the features of an anonymous Egyptian nomarch (fig. 27).³⁶ What is novel in this stark realism, however, is first of all the pensive mood (fig. 28),³⁷ occasionally indicated by the inclination of the head to one side (fig. 29).³⁸ Gloom and melancholy also emanate from these intelligent faces (fig. 30),³⁹ sometimes with the lips slightly parted (fig. 31).⁴⁰ It is very difficult to see this new spirit through the facade of realistic representations that to the uninitiated may resemble those of an earlier age. It is the "mood" that makes the likenesses of the Ptolemaic Period differ from those of the preceding periods, surely as a result of the Hellenistic presence.

What is new in Egyptian sculpture of the Ptolemaic age is the blending of the art of both nations, Egyptian and Greek (fig. 32),⁴¹ achieved in a series of likenesses that combine, in Egyptian materials and techniques, Hellenistic concepts and features. The finest examples of the mixture of two worlds, one aged, one youthful, are the Harris head from Alexandria in the British Museum (fig. 33)⁴² and the statue of a royal personage, possibly Caesarion (41/36–30 B.C.), in The Brooklyn Museum (fig. 34).⁴³ Both show the stylized treatment of natural hair, while the latter also has the band of the Hellenistic ruler with uraeus, his eyes wide open, like those of Alexander the Great, the mouth disdainful, the whole expressing the thoughtfulness and melancholy of the human face that came to Egypt with the Greeks.

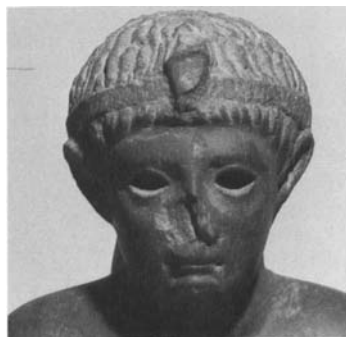


32

FIG. 32
Ptolemy III? (246–222 B.C.),
provenance unknown. Schist.
H.: 37 cm. New Haven, Yale
University Art Gallery 4.1.1953
(on loan from the Peabody
Museum of Natural History,
Yale University).



33



34

FIG. 33
Head with curly hair, provenance
unknown, said to come from
Alexandria. Schist. First century
B.C. H.: 24.5 cm. London, The
British Museum 55253.

FIG. 34
Head of a royal statue, provenance
unknown. Basalt. First century
B.C. H. (total statue): 30.5 cm.
The Brooklyn Museum 54.117.



FIG. 35
Head of a kore, from Memphis.
Limestone. Late sixth century B.C.
H. (total statue): 72 cm. Cairo,
The Egyptian Museum CG 27431.



FIG. 36
Queen's bust with corkscrew locks,
provenance unknown. Basalt. Late
Ptolemaic Period. H.: 41 cm.
Rome, Museo Barracco 42. Photo
courtesy of H. W. Müller-Archiv,
Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg,
neg. no. 11/794.

In closing, it may be useful to mention certain features of Egyptian statuary of the Ptolemaic Period that until fairly recently were often and wrongly cited as showing Greek influence. Among them are:

1. the draped garment of the male figure with numerous folds and pleats;⁴⁴
2. the serrated scarf with fringed borders;⁴⁵
3. the pleated female costume;⁴⁶
4. deviation from the traditional attitude of arms by the side;⁴⁷
5. representation of apotheosis;⁴⁸
6. emphasis on the shapely female figure;⁴⁹
7. the receding hairline above the temples;⁵⁰
8. exuberant torso modeling.⁵¹

There are, however, two features of the sculptor's craft frequently found in statuary of the Ptolemaic Period whose origins are complex: inlaid eyes and corkscrew locks. While inlaid eyes appear fairly often in Egyptian sculpture from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom, after the Ramesside period (ended 1070 B.C.), they can be found only in a few examples: on a gray granite head of King Osorkon II (883–855 B.C.) from around 870 B.C., now in Philadelphia;⁵² on a schist head of King Shabako (712–698 B.C.) of about 705 B.C., now in Brooklyn;⁵³ and on a gilded figure of Isis with Horus, dated by the cartouches of Psamtik I (664–610 B.C.), now in London.⁵⁴ A little later, from Egypt, although not strictly Egyptian, is a limestone kore from Memphis that has been attributed to the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. (fig. 35).⁵⁵ Finally, a male diorite head, which may date to Dynasty xxx (380–342 B.C.), has both inlaid eyes and eyebrows.⁵⁶ After this rather sparse use of inlaid eyes, they appear quite often in the Ptolemaic Period, in stone sculpture for private persons as well as for royalty (figs. 34, 36).⁵⁷ Therefore their frequent use in Egypt after Alexander the Great may well be due to the presence of the Greeks whose own statuary often shows this element in sculpture in the round.

The second feature, namely, corkscrew locks on sculptures of women in the Ptolemaic Period, has thus far been considered to be of Egyptian origin.⁵⁸ It must be noted, however, that the corkscrew locks had appeared in Greek art long before they were seen in Egypt,⁵⁹ and it is a question whether the hairstyle was not adopted by Greek women before it appeared in Egyptian statuary (fig. 36). The use of corkscrew locks was thus perhaps inspired by a Greek prototype, but it was the Egyptian adaptation of the hairstyle that eventually pervaded the Hellenistic world.

While Egyptian statues of the Ptolemaic Period hold closely to long-established native canons, Greek influence sometimes is betrayed in the treatment of facial features, coiffure, and costume. There is an increased emphasis on the naturalistic modeling of the human head, especially in the execution of the hair, beard, and mouth. The tilt of the head and the turn of the torso in relation to a strictly frontal position of the figure are also new. Another change is the wearing of Greek headdresses, notably the Macedonian *kausia*. Egyptian Ptolemaic sculpture exemplifies a successful blending of two separate traditions, a native one, nearly ended, and a younger one, vitalized by the spread of Greek ideas through the legacy of Alexander the Great.

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Notes

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- 1 B. V. Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*, exh. cat. (The Brooklyn Museum 1960) (hereafter *ESLP*). H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (Berlin 1975). K. Parlasca, "Probleme der späten Ptolemäerbildnisse," in H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka, eds., *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (Mainz 1978), pp. 25–30, figs. 36–51. R. S. Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, exh. cat. (The Brooklyn Museum 1988) (hereafter *Cleopatra's Egypt*).
- 2 J. Josephson's forthcoming study on fourth-century-B.C. royal portraiture, *Egyptian Royal Sculpture of the Late Period: 400–246 B.C.*, will discuss how Dynasty xxx styles can be distinguished from those of the third-century Ptolemies.
- 3 The former figure: L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 3 of *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Berlin 1930), p. 74, pl. 139; V. Solia, "A Group of Royal Sculptures from Abydos," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 29 (1992): 121–22 n. 30, fig. 26.
The latter figure: H. De Meulenaere and P. MacKay, *Mendes*, vol. 2 (Warminster 1976), p. 200, no. 74, pl. 27d. R. S. Bianchi, "The Striding Draped Male Figure of Ptolemaic Egypt," in H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka, eds., *Das ptolemäische Ägypten* (Mainz 1978), pp. 95–102, discusses the draped male figure of the Ptolemaic period.
- 4 S. Schoske and D. Wildung, *Ägyptische Kunst München. Katalog—Handbuch zur Staatlichen Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst München* (Munich 1985), pp. 121, 122, 154, cat. 86, ill.; *Cleopatra's Egypt* (note 1 above), pp. 133–34, cat. 38, ill.
- 5 *ESLP* (note 1 above), pp. xxxix, 128, 138, 143, 156, 172–73, 176, cat. 132, pls. 123–24, figs. 329–31; R. Fazzini et al., *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn 1988), cat. 92, ill.
- 6 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 37, 59–62, 174, cat. F 1, pl. 47.1–3; R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford 1988), pp. 87, 93, 170, cat. 71, pl. 46.2.
- 7 *ESLP* (note 1 above), p. 156; B. George and B. Peterson, "Egypten," in *Medelhavsmuseet: En Introduktion* (Stockholm 1982), pp. 100–1, ill.
- 8 G. Pesce, *Il "Palazzo delle colonne" in Tolemaide di Cirenaica* (Rome 1950), p. 80, figs. 97–99; R. S. Bianchi, "Collecting and Collectors, Egyptian Style," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 79 (May 1992): 144–51, ill.
- 9 Schoske and Wildung (note 4 above), pp. 120, 122, 154, cat. 85, ill.; *Cleopatra's Egypt* (note 1 above), pp. 84–85, cat. 2, ill.
- 10 *ESLP* (note 1 above), pp. 170–72, 173, cat. 131, pl. 122, figs. 327–28; D. Wildung and G. Grimm, *Götter, Pharaonen*, exh. cat. (Essen, Villa Hügel 1978), cat. 129, ill.; B. V. Bothmer,

- "Egyptian Antecedents of Roman Republican Verism," *Quaderni di "La Ricerca Scientifica"* 116 (Rome 1988): 47–65, figs. 1–20, esp. 63.
- 11 *ESLP* (note 1 above), pp. 132, 141–42, cat. 109, pl. 101, figs. 270–71; G. D. Scott III, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale* (New Haven 1986), pp. 165–67, cat. 94, ill.
 - 12 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 75, 177, cat. H 19; C. Govi et al., *Il senso dell'arte nell'Antico Egitto*, exh. cat. (Bologna, Museo Civico 1990), p. 199, cat. 152, ill. For a discussion of the Hellenistic diadem, see Smith (note 6 above), pp. 34–38.
 - 13 "Additions to the Museum Collections, Department of Ancient Art," *The Brooklyn Museum Annual* 12 (1970–1971): 20–21, ill.
 - 14 A. Adriani, "Ritratti dell'Egitto greco-romano," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 77 (1970): 72–109, pls. 32–51, esp. p. 91 n. 85, pl. 46.1; G. Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden 1974), pp. 48, 75, pl. 27.2; E. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor* (Austin 1989), pp. 199–201, no. 91, ill.
 - 15 See *ESLP* (note 1 above), pp. 156–57.
 - 16 E. Driorton, *Encyclopédie Photographique de l'Art, Le Musée du Caire* (Cairo 1949), pp. 32, 47, fig. 209; A. Farid, "General Hathor, Daughter of Strategos Hjärgs-Pakom," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 41 (1990): 57 n. 1, 58, 63.
 - 17 Bothmer (note 10 above): 48, 61; *Cleopatra's Egypt* (note 1 above), pp. 125–27, cat. 31, ill.; K.-H. Priese, ed., *Das Ägyptische Museum Berlin* (Mainz 1991), pp. 183, 194–95, cat. 116, ill.
 - 18 Unpublished. For a discussion of the *kausia*, see C. Saatsoglu-Paliadeli, "Aspects of Ancient Macedonian Costume," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 113 (1993): 122–47, figs. 1–5, pls. 1–IV, with earlier bibliography. Robert Lunsingh Scheuleer pointed out this sculpture to me.
 - 19 For some examples with *kausia*, see P. A. Pantos, *Ta Sphragismata tēs Aitōlikēs Kallipoleōs* (Athens 1985), pls. 35.258, 37.263, and H. Kyrieleis, "Bildnisse des Kaisarion zu Siegelabdrücken aus Nea Paphos," *Akten des XIII. internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie* (Mainz 1990), pl. 67c.
Previous discussion and bibliography on the clay sealing portraits appear in Smith (note 6 above), pp. 14, 95–96; P. E. Stanwick, "A Royal Ptolemaic Bust in Alexandria," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 29 (1992): 135 n. 16.
 - 20 R. S. Bianchi, "Alexander the Great as a Kausia Diadematophoros from Egypt," in *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday* (Budapest 1992), pp. 69–75, pls. 11–111. Although Bianchi attempts to attribute the head to the fourth century B.C., there is very strong evidence to place it in the first century B.C., as my arguments in this article demonstrate.
 - 21 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art 30.8.71; provenance unknown. *ESLP* (note 1 above), pp. 162, 179, cat. 125, pl. 116, figs. 313–14.
 - 22 The author thanks Jack A. Josephson for pointing out this passage. The wearing of the *kausia* in the first century B.C. may have been part of a deliberate attempt by the Ptolemies to legitimize their rule in politically unstable times by invoking Alexander the Great and his Macedonian ancestry; see C. Bohm, *Imitatio Alexandri im Hellenismus* (Munich 1989), pp. 130–52.
 - 23 There is extensive literature on the subject of portraiture. See, with prior bibliography, J. Assmann, "Die Hieroglyphe Mensch: Ägyptische Porträtkunst," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 28 March 1987; D. Spanel, *Through Ancient Eyes: Egyptian Portraiture*, exh. cat. (Birmingham Museum of Art 1988), and the review of this book by R. Tefnin in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 48 (1991): cols. 117–19; J. Assmann, "Das Bildnis in der ägyptischen Kunst: Stile und Funktionen bildlicher Selbstdarstellung," chap. 6 in idem, *Stein und Zeit: Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten* (Munich 1991), pp. 138–68.
 - 24 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 37, 44–46, 171, cat. D 2, pl. 33.1, 2; Smith, pp. 87, 97, 171, cat. 80, pl. 49.6.
 - 25 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 54, 134–36, 172, cat. E 2, pl. 42.1, 2; *Cleopatra's Egypt* (note 1 above), pp. 152–53, cat. 56, ill.
 - 26 H. Kyrieleis and R. R. R. Smith also attribute the head to Ptolemy VIII: Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 64, 174, cat. G 2, pls. 52.4, 53.1, 2; Smith (note 6 above), pp. 87, 93–94, 170, cat. 73, pl. 47.1, 2. R. S. Bianchi prefers to see

- the head as an ideal *physkon* type that belongs somewhere in the third to second century B.C.; *Cleopatra's Egypt* (note 1 above), pp. 148–49, cat. 53, ill. However, given the strong resemblance to coin portraits (Kyrieleis [note 1 above], pl. 52.1; Smith [note 6 above], pl. 75.17), the view that the Brussels head represents Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II must be correct.
- 27 Parlasca (note 1 above), p. 26, fig. 39.
- 28 Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst AS 5339; provenance unknown. H. W. Müller attributed this sculpture to Nectanebo I; see H. W. Müller, *Die Ägyptische Sammlung des Bayerischen Staates* (Munich 1966), cat. 66; idem, "Bildnisse König Nektanebos I. (380–362 v.Chr.)," *Pantheon* 28 (1970): 89–99, figs. 5–7. Parlasca (note 1 above), p. 26, fig. 36, re-attributed the work to Ptolemy X.
- 29 Paris, Musée du Louvre E. 8061; provenance unknown. Originally attributed to Nectanebo I in *ESLP* (note 1 above), pp. 90–92, 134, 177, cat. 73, pl. 69, figs. 177–80. C. Aldred, in his review of *ESLP* (*American Journal of Archaeology* 66 [1962]: 207–9), argued that the head should be placed in the Ptolemaic Period and suggested Ptolemy V Epiphanes. Although Parlasca (note 1 above), p. 26, successfully re-attributed the work to Ptolemy X, *Cleopatra's Egypt* (note 1 above), p. 143, cat. 48, ill., continued to hold the incorrect view that the Louvre head represented Nectanebo I.
- 30 T. Devéria, "Catalogue des monuments égyptiens au Musée d'Aix," *Bibliothèque égyptologique*, vol. 4 (Paris 1896), p. 238.
- 31 Adriani (note 14 above); Bothmer (note 10 above), pp. 47–65.
- 32 A. Page, *Egyptian Sculpture, Archaic to Saite, from the Petrie Collection* (Warminster 1976), p. 94, cat. 105, ill. Page mistakenly attributes the sculpture to Dynasties xxv/xxvi; see B. V. Bothmer, "Egyptian Antiquities," in *Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis* (Mainz 1987), p. 94.
- 33 S. B. Shubert, "Realistic Currents in Portrait Sculpture of the Saite and Persian Periods in Egypt," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 19 (1989): 37–38, attributes the Louvre bust to the fourth century B.C. I, however, would still hold to a Dynasty xxvii date based on the stylistic and epigraphic evidence discussed in *ESLP* (note 1 above), pp. 71, 81–83, 105, 118, 134, 140, cat. 67, pls. 64, 65, figs. 160–63; Bothmer (note 10 above), pp. 53, 58, fig. 6.
- 34 H. S. K. Bakry, *5000 ans d'art égyptien*, exh. cat. (Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts 1960), p. 32, cat. 86.
- 35 Bothmer (note 10 above), pp. 59, 62, fig. 17.
- 36 S. Curto, *L'Egitto antico*, exh. cat. (Bologna, Museo Civico 1961), p. 91, cat. 77, pl. 42, fig. 77. Adriani (note 14 above), pp. 74–75 n. 7, pls. 33.1, 34.2.
- 37 W. Seipel, *Gott, Mensch, Pharao*, exh. cat. (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 1992), p. 446, cat. 183, ill.
- 38 Bothmer (note 10 above), pp. 50, 59, 62, fig. 18.
- 39 G. Traversari, *Museo Archeologico di Venezia: I ritratti* (Rome 1968), pp. 113–14, no. 104 (the plate is erroneously marked "105"); Adriani (note 14 above), p. 76, pl. 36.3, 4; Govi (note 12 above), pp. 199–200, 202, no. 153, ill.
- 40 Unpublished. *ESLP* (note 1 above), pp. 180–81, discusses the use of parted lips in Egyptian sculpture of the Ptolemaic period.
- 41 Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 37–42, 44, 136, 170, cat. C 16, pl. 28.1–3; Smith (note 6 above), pp. 87, 93, 169, cat. 70, pl. 46.1; *Cleopatra's Egypt* (note 1 above), pp. 147–48, cat. 52, ill.
- 42 Adriani (note 14 above), pp. 86–87 n. 64, 103, pls. 43.1, 44.4; T. G. H. James and W. V. Davies, *Egyptian Sculpture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp. 56–57, fig. 63.
- 43 *ESLP* (note 1 above), pp. 133, 176–77, 179, cat. 135, pl. 127, figs. 338–39; Kyrieleis (note 1 above), pp. 75, 177, cat. H 18.
- 44 Bianchi (note 3 above), pp. 98–99.
- 45 Bianchi (note 3 above), pp. 97–98.
- 46 R. S. Bianchi, "Not the Isis Knot," *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 2 (1980): 9–31, figs. 1–13.
- 47 J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, vol. 3, *Les grandes époques: La statuaire* (Paris 1958), pp. 228–29, VII, 23 I, XIII, pls. LXXVI.2, 3, LXXVII.3.

- 48 B. V. Bothmer, "Apotheosis in Late Egyptian Sculpture," *Kémi* 20 (1970): 37-48, pls. VI-XIII.
- 49 J. Vandier, "Trois statues égyptiennes au Musée du Louvre," *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 11 (1961): 247-54, figs. 5-9.
- 50 Bianchi (note 3 above), p. 99.
- 51 *Cleopatra's Egypt* (note 1 above), pp. 67-70. Contrary to the discussion there, however, I still maintain that classic tripartition was introduced in mid-Dynasty XXVI, around 600 B.C.; see *ESLP* (note 1 above), pp. xxxv, 54.
- 52 Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum E 16199, from Tanis. The head joins to a kneeling statue, Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 1040. B. V. Bothmer, "The Philadelphia-Cairo Statue of Osorkon II (Membra Dispensa III)," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 46 (1960): 3-11, pls. 1-VI; H. K. Jacquet-Gordon, "The Inscriptions of the Philadelphia-Cairo Statue of Osorkon II," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 46 (1960): 12-23, pls. VII-VIII; K. Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI-XXX* (Mainz 1988), pp. 16, 24, 115, pl. XXIA-d.
- 53 The Brooklyn Museum 60.74, provenance unknown. S. Wenig, *Africa in Antiquity: The Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan*, vol. 2, exh. cat. (The Brooklyn Museum 1978), p. 170, cat. 80, ill.
- 54 London, British Museum EA 23050. H. De Meulenaere, *Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque* (Istanbul 1966), p. 5 n. 13.
- 55 G. M. A. Richter, *Korai* (London 1968), p. 94, fig. 540, no. 170.
- 56 Private collection, provenance unknown. *ESLP* (note 1 above), pp. 65, 105-7, cat. 84, pl. 80, figs. 107-9.
- 57 For the latter figure, see *ESLP* (note 1 above), pp. 158, 170 (erroneously listed as Rome, Museo Barracco 29); G. Careddu, *Museo Barracco di Scultura Antica: La collezione egizia* (Rome 1985), pp. 38-39, cat. 43, fig. 43a-c.
- 58 W. Needler, "Some Ptolemaic Sculptures in the Yale University Art Gallery," *Berytus* 9 (1949): 138-41; E. J. Walters, "Attic Grave Reliefs That Represent Women in the Dress of Isis," *Hesperia*, Supplement 22 (Princeton 1988), p. 12; *Cleopatra's Egypt* (note 1 above), p. 170.
- 59 See, for example, two late sixth-century-B.C. korai illustrated in Richter (note 55 above), figs. 358-67 (Athens, Acropolis Museum 598 and 682, respectively); and the goddess Eirene and Ploutos of the second quarter of the fourth century B.C. (Munich, Glyptothek 219, a Roman copy), illustrated in A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration*, vol. 2 (New Haven 1990), figs. 485-87.

The Alexandrian Style: A Mirage?

Andrew Stewart

My original charge was to tackle the question “An Alexandrian Style: Does It Exist?” Since this is one of the main themes of this meeting and has already been addressed by several speakers, I would like to do two things. First, to put it in context, both to situate our enterprise historically and to use past scholarship to illuminate and occasionally to critique our present concerns. For as Santayana has warned us, those who ignore history are doomed to repeat it. And, second, I want to offer some brief remarks on three test cases, each very different in character, as a positive contribution to the debate.

The concept of a specifically Alexandrian contribution to Hellenistic art is just over one hundred years old. It was the creation of one man, Theodor Schreiber. For most of the nineteenth century it was commonly accepted that Alexandrian art was trivial to nonexistent. The orthodox view was neatly summed up by Heinrich Brunn when he declared that Alexandria produced nothing to match the achievements of the Pergamene and Rhodian schools, presumably because the strength of the native Egyptian tradition inhibited creativity there. As Brunn remarked on another occasion, since Alexandria had no good stone within reach and no incentive to carve it, one might as well expect to find a school of skating there as a school of sculpture. Johannes Overbeck and Lucy Mitchell accepted this judgment without demur in their handbooks of Greek sculpture, first published in 1881 and 1883, respectively.¹

In the last fifteen years of the century, however, the climate of opinion changed abruptly, at least in some quarters. The catalyst was an article by Theodor Schreiber in the *Athenische Mitteilungen* of 1885, publishing four bronzes in the Demetrio collection.² A grotesque, an Atlas, and two caricatures of blacks (figs. 1, 2), they had recently been transferred to Athens from Alexandria and were then on display with other items of the collection in the National Museum.

In his article, Schreiber announced what was to be his mission for the next thirty years, namely, to show that far from being negligible or derivative, Alexandrian art had taken a number of paths that were strikingly new and original.³ In suggesting this, he pointed to the huge discrepancy between the archaeological record and Alexandria’s incom-

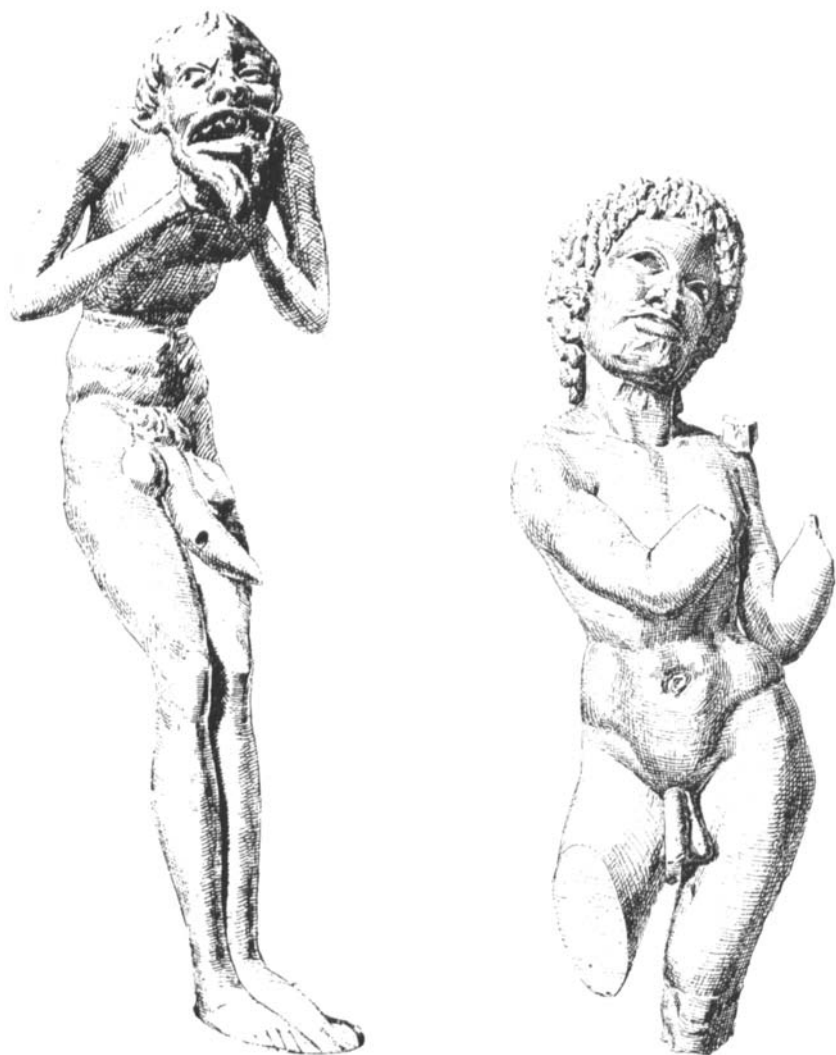


FIG. 1
Grotesque, from Alexandria.
Ex-Demetrio collection. Athens,
National Museum. From
T. Schreiber, *Mitteilungen des
Deutschen Archäologischen
Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 10
(1885), pl. 10.

FIG. 2
Black boy, from Alexandria.
Ex-Demetrio collection. Athens,
National Museum. From
T. Schreiber, *Mitteilungen des
Deutschen Archäologischen
Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 10
(1885), pl. 12.

parable achievements in literature and learning, not to mention the ancient descriptions of Ptolemaic material culture, such as Athenaios's accounts of Ptolemy Philadelphos's great procession and symposium tent and of Philopator's fabulous riverboat (see Pfrommer, figs. 9, 10 above). As Nikolaus Himmelmann has remarked, behind Schreiber's whole project was the conviction that even in the Hellenistic period, regional styles were still alive and potent.⁴ Here, Schreiber was swimming in the mainstream of late nineteenth-century art history, which was fascinated with regionalism and its artistic manifestations. But there is more: only five years before, in 1880, the first slabs of the Great Altar of Pergamon had gone on display in Berlin, causing a sensation.⁵ Hellenistic art, hitherto restricted to individual masterpieces such as the Nike of Samothrace and a mass of copies, was now very definitely on the map. Schreiber's promotion of Alexandria's claim to fame was surely his way of responding and perhaps of securing for himself a new piece of the action.

In a brilliantly evocative ten pages, Schreiber sketched a vivid picture of a “flourishing, new Greek local school,” a major center of Hellenistic art. Its products, he asserted, were patronized by the Alexandrian populace on the one hand and the court on the other; were characterized by specific local techniques, subjects, and styles; and profoundly influenced the art of other Hellenistic centers and of Roman Italy.⁶

Basing his approach on the opinion of contemporary German historiography that the essence of Alexandrian culture was cosmopolitanism, Schreiber argued that Alexandrian art was essentially cosmopolitan, too. It often made use of certain Egyptian techniques, such as stucco and piecing, and tended to use Egyptian motifs in decorative contexts. The small-scale genre figures (and their counterparts, the marble peasants, fishermen, and derelicts) were made for the Alexandrian populace. Stressing their extreme realism that often shaded into cynicism, he saw them as either uncensored vignettes of street and country life or parodies on the dissolute orgies of the Canopus. At this level, he observed, the Alexandrian aesthetic privileged truth over beauty—in stark contrast to the Attic school. The court, on the other hand, employed immigrant artists to create royal portraits and ideal works in an atticizing (by which he meant Praxitelean)⁷ style characterized by soft, fluid modeling and a suppression or slurring of secondary detail. If all this sounds remarkably familiar, it is because it has been repeated in a hundred handbooks over the years, often with little or no change but usually without acknowledgment—or perhaps even recognition—of its original source. And in a final flourish, Schreiber listed a series of “Alexandrian” motifs in Romano-Campanian architecture, sculpture, and painting and even characterized the House of the Faun in Pompeii as thoroughly Alexandrian in style and decoration—including, of course, the Alexander Mosaic and the Nilotic landscape that fronted it.

Excessive though some of this was, it should not lead us to overlook Schreiber’s extraordinary originality. If anyone were to ask me to compile an anthology of the twenty most influential articles in the field, this article would definitely be among them. Written at a time when most work on ancient art was positivist in the extreme, it has much to teach us. On the one hand, its evocative integration of political and social history, literature, and art is both powerful and strikingly modern, but, on the other, its narrow factual basis made its whole thesis dangerously unstable and prone to spin out of control.

Over the next quarter century, it proceeded to do just that, as Schreiber proceeded to pile more and more upon it. Soon he had added the Hellenistic and Roman landscape reliefs, wall encrustation in colored marble and its plaster imitations, most if not all Graeco-Roman embossed metalwork, and even many portraits of Alexander the Great to the achievements of the Alexandrian school.⁸ Many of the works he in-

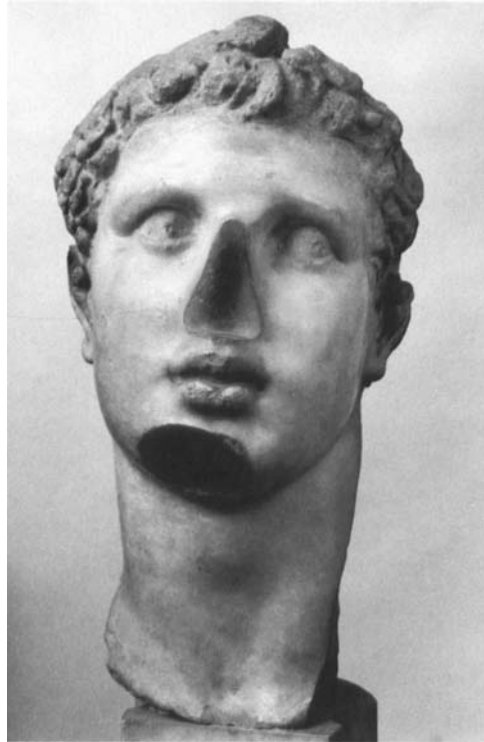
cluded were without provenance or came from outside Egypt—an ominous development.

Schreiber's vision of Alexandria as the radiant center of Hellenistic and early Roman art, illuminating all who came into contact with it, attracted many followers. This was, after all, the high summer of European expansionism, German as well as French and British, and cultural imperialism was very much in vogue. Two of them deserve mention here for the remarkable longevity of their ideas: Edmond Courbaud, who reduced Schreiber's rich and variegated construction to a simple contrast between Pergamene "realism" and the Alexandrian "picturesque," and Werner Weisbach, who located the origins of impressionism in Alexandrian tomb painting.⁹

Needless to say, Schreiber's shining edifice of hypothesis did not go unchallenged. Critics swiftly spotted its weaknesses and politely but relentlessly set about exposing them. In 1895 Franz Wickhoff disputed the Alexandrian origins of the landscape reliefs, claiming them for Roman art on the grounds that they had mostly been found in Italy but never in Alexandria, were usually of Italian marble, and were best paralleled in Romano-Campanian painting and on the Ara Pacis.¹⁰ In 1897, Ernest Gardner pointed out yet again that the ancient sources tell of no great Alexandrian sculptors and that archaeology had so far revealed no great monument of Alexandrian art. He was, however, prepared to concede at least a share in the creation of the landscape reliefs to the Alexandrian elite's desire to escape "the dreary level of the Delta" for "the trees and mountains and breezes of Cos and Sicily."¹¹ But with this partial exception, he clearly thought that Alexandrian art was neither particularly original nor particularly creative. In 1903–1904, A. J. B. Wace noted that the small-scale grotesques were found as much in Asia Minor as in Egypt, and he argued that the "revolting brutality" of the marble peasants, fishermen, and derelicts was un-Hellenic and therefore Roman. As he drily remarked, "Such art goes beyond nature in its search for subjects to give a fillip to the jaded tastes of its patrons." He also marshaled more arguments against the supposed Alexandrian origins of the landscape reliefs.¹² And in 1910, M. A. Ruffer traced the history of the grotesque in Egypt back to the early third millennium, thereby reclaiming the genre for Egyptian art.¹³ So by the outbreak of World War I, what its critics now derisively termed "pan-Alexandrianism" was under heavy attack from all sides.

Yet just when it seemed that Schreiber's position was no longer tenable, salvation of a sort came in the form of new finds of marbles, plaster casts, silverware, paintings, and terracottas in and around Alexandria, in the Delta, and elsewhere. These gave welcome support to some of his ideas, though they complicated the picture quite considerably on other fronts.¹⁴ These developments prompted the young

FIG. 3
 Ptolemaic king, probably Ptolemy
 IV Philopator, from the Serapeion
 at Alexandria. Ca. 217–205 B.C.
 Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 3168.
 Photo: Documentation photogra-
 phique de la Réunion des musées
 nationaux.



A. W. Lawrence to issue what was clearly intended to be the coup de grâce to pan-Alexandrianism in 1925.¹⁵

In a magisterial and devastating first footnote, Lawrence dismissed the landscape reliefs once more, reassigned most of the terracotta grotesques and plaster molds to the Roman period, limited Alexandrian priority to the First Style of Pompeian mural decoration, commended the city's "good record" in ceramics and silverware, lambasted the poor quality of its jewelry, and noted the painted gravestones without comment. His main target, however, was Alexandrian sculpture, and he characteristically made his opinions about it clear from the very start. "It has been said that an Alexandrian School existed with ideals markedly different from those of the rest of the Hellenistic world. This question must be settled if the development of Hellenistic sculpture is to be traced; I have therefore collected what remains of Graeco-Egyptian work in the round, and I wish people to look at the collection and see that it is bad."¹⁶

Relying upon works actually found in Egypt, Lawrence noted that the term "Alexandrian" was overly narrow, for taken literally it excluded material from the *chora*.¹⁷ He then traced four main phases in what he called Graeco-Egyptian sculpture. First, under Ptolemy I, came a period of eclecticism, with Praxiteles the main source of inspiration, as in the other Hellenistic centers. Next, under the second and third Ptolemies, sculptors turned to passionate extravagance, exaggerating and distorting their work for expressive effect. (Excoriating the head illustrated in figure 3 here, he singled out that of a Ptolemaic queen [see Daszewski

fig. 1 above], now dated almost a century later, as the finest work in this otherwise lamentable style.¹⁸) Yet a naturalistic reaction was already underway by about 250, and by the end of the century it dominated the sculptural scene. Then, after the native revolts of the late third and early second centuries and the depraved rule of Philopator, the art went rapidly downhill, as exemplified by the sculptures of the Serapeion at Memphis and the Copenhagen Soter. Finally, at the end, “later artistic movements in the country are semi-oriental: thus a revival in native sculpture occurred in the first century B.C., when some curious portraits were turned out under Graeco-Roman influence.”¹⁹

Lawrence thus saw the history of Ptolemaic sculpture as a classic colonial progression of subjugation, domination, retrenchment, decadence, and finally collapse. So authoritative, not to say authoritarian, was his survey that Bernard Ashmole felt able to echo its dismissive tone in his and John Beazley’s handbook of 1932. Ibrahim Noshy, too, borrowed its chronological framework (though not its negative tone) when under Ashmole’s tutorship he wrote his book-length survey of Ptolemaic art in 1937.²⁰ Noshy also concluded that each community kept to itself and that cross-fertilization was minimal; he believed that the grotesques, for example, were “purely Greek.”²¹ Yet though Noshy’s book is derivative and little read today, it is interesting that he did not entirely buy into his mentors’ colonialist line: In his view, Egyptian characteristics predominated in the so-called Graeco-Egyptian work in hard stone, because when the two races did intermarry, the Egyptian “cast of mind” won out.²²

In 1939, Frederik Poulsen posed the question anew in an article entitled “Gab es eine alexandrinische Kunst?”²³ He accepted the all-pervasive influence of Praxiteles upon Ptolemaic sculpture but constructed a new chronology for it based upon a partial separation of genres—a new and significant step. After an initial period of eclecticism, the portraits of the kings become masklike, women more naturalistic, and gods frankly baroque—at least from the second century. Like Noshy, Poulsen also accepted Alexandrian primacy in the grotesque and in caricatures, and Alexandrian influence upon Pompeian painting. He also took up a thought of Friedrich Wilhelm von Bissing that the so-called Graeco-Egyptian portraits might have inspired Roman republican verism. He was, incidentally, the first Hellenist that I know of to treat them sympathetically.

Meanwhile, publication of finds in the Alexandria museum had been proceeding apace, directed first by Evaristo Breccia and then by Achille Adriani, who succeeded Breccia in 1932. In 1958, after he had retired to Palermo, Adriani published a summary of his opinions for the *Enciclopedia dell’arte antica, classica e orientale*.²⁴ In it, he refined Poulsen’s chronology for the sculpture, arguing that Praxitelean sfumato,



FIG. 4

Bronze cup with landscape scene. Early(?) third century B.C. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 25263. From A. Adriani, *Divagazioni intorno ad una coppa paesistica del Museo di Alessandria* (Rome 1959), pl. A.

so far from waning as the years progressed, eventually came to dominate the Alexandrian style to the exclusion of all else, emptying its products of spiritual content. Reasserting Alexandria's claim to have had a major impact upon Hellenistic and Roman landscape, Adriani announced his forthcoming publication of a bronze cup in Alexandria with a landscape scene (fig. 4) in support.²⁵ He took Alexandrian primacy in the grotesque and in caricatures as a foregone conclusion and cautiously accepted Alexandrian impressionism in painting. He also says not a word about possible Egyptian influence upon Alexandrian art. In this he conformed completely to contemporary orthodoxy, which, as we have seen, rightly or wrongly inclined to a kind of cultural apartheid.

Yet it is Adriani's summary of Alexandrian achievements in the arts that is of greatest interest, for it puts our present problem in the strongest perspective.

Alexandria was indeed a fervid and fecund center of Hellenistic art. In its long history, its art manifests a singular plurality of aspects. It was an art both of pure Greek traditions and eclectically Graeco-Egyptian; it loved the most dreamy idealization

and the crudest realism; in sculpture it had a taste for sfumato, for sketchy pictorialism, but just as much for the minutest detail; like none other, it was an art for a refined, decadent elite, but also a popular one too; unequal in the quality of its production.²⁶

Although Adriani proclaimed himself a moderate and explicitly disclaimed any thoughts of reverting to turn-of-the-century pan-Alexandrianism, his sympathies are clear. Though he obviously believed, like Schreiber, that cosmopolitanism was the essence of Alexandrian art, just as it was the essence of Alexandrian society, the incoherence of his summation is telling, for it points to a peculiar dilemma. Those who believe in a “fervid and fecund” Alexandria, to use Adriani’s own words, find themselves overwhelmed by the chaotic diversity of the far-flung material confronting them, while the minimalists have far less trouble in characterizing an Alexandrian style but can only disparage it once they have done so. Together, they suggest that to look for an overarching, important, and authentically Ptolemaic style is to pursue a mirage and that the answer lies elsewhere.

In his article, Adriani called for renewed investigation of individual genres and groups of monuments, a process that he himself did much to further with his *Repertorio dell’Arte dell’Egitto greco-romano*. In recent years many scholars have answered the call. I single out five: Blanche R. Brown’s monograph on the paintings and mosaics, Helmut Kyrieleis’s on the ruler portraits, Nikolaus Himmelmann’s on the grotesques, Wiktor Daszewski’s on the mosaics alone, and Michael Pfrommer’s on the metalwork and jewelry.²⁷ They implicitly base themselves on the suspicion that genre style may be more important than period style in the Hellenistic age, but they are also receptive to the old idea that the Hellenistic koine does not explain or account for everything—that in the Hellenistic period local styles might still be a potent force.²⁸

Indeed, some of these scholars have gone further, reviving another old notion, that the local milieu eventually had a profound and lasting effect upon the genres they have studied; they discern, in other words, a gradual egyptianizing of certain genres as time progresses. Suggested by Kyrieleis as an explanation for the stereometric character of many of his ruler portraits, this idea was recently taken up on a grand scale by Günter Grimm in a brief but wide-ranging survey of Ptolemaic arts in a volume expressly dedicated to cultural interchange in Egypt.²⁹ So by the 1980s the climate had clearly changed: with imperialism now discredited, multiculturalism was again in the air. Meanwhile, among some Egyptologists, a kind of feisty nationalism had taken hold, reclaiming the so-called Graeco-Egyptian portraits in hard stone for Egypt, re-evaluating their artistic and social worth, and soon denying that the

genre looked to Greek art at all.³⁰ So as the colonizing West gradually capitulates to the local milieu, the colonized East gets its revenge: here, as so often in the humanities, contemporary politics and contemporary cultural values shape our discipline, often more than its practitioners recognize or perhaps care to admit.

I hope that this extended preamble has helped to put the art-historical issues before us in context. It should also have shown that what goes around, comes around: Fashions may change, but the same questions often persist long after their usefulness is over, and the same stale answers have a habit of resurrecting themselves. Now it is time to come clean with my own opinions.

First, it is indeed time to take stock; I would like to think that this was the point of my original charge, to address the question “An Alexandrian Style: Does It Exist?” As has appeared, scholars have attempted to chase the mirage of an authentically Alexandrian art style over and over again in the past century with conspicuous lack of success. Given the city’s complex history, intricate culture, and mangled archaeology, on the one side, and the range of genres and media it produced, on the other, their failure is hardly surprising. For even in the most favorable circumstances, any generally acceptable definition would be at best crudely reductive, at worst as incoherent as Adriani’s.

So should the question be reformulated; should Alexandrian *styles*, in the plural, be the focus of inquiry? Even this seems too formalist and counter to the drift of current scholarship. For in recent years, several cherished icons of Alexandrian art have fallen like ninepins, from Hadra vases, to “rough” bronzes, to pictorial impressionism. Late fourth-century Vergina has produced a painted landscape that casts anything from Egypt into the shade.³¹ Perhaps it is time to add Praxitelean-style sfumato to the list, for hundreds of Delian sculptures and dozens of statuettes in the magazines of the Athenian Agora display the same characteristic surface modeling—unless one should revert to turn-of-the-century practice and label them Alexandrian too!

Instead, we should ask how much the city contributed to the various genres of Hellenistic art and what the nature of that contribution was, genre by genre. Adriani, Brown, Kyrieleis, Daszewski, and Pfrommer have blazed the trail, and others are now following their lead. Full and up-to-date publication of the architecture, bronzes, terracottas, plaster molds, decorative metalwork, coins, and so on, are desperately needed to keep the debate from getting out of control and to quash the temptation to build castles in the air. Pan-Alexandrianism is by no means dead, and eternal vigilance is required to keep it in check. And second, as much assistance as possible must be given to the Egyptian authorities to stop the plundering of sites and to limit the trade in illegal antiquities.

For not only are thieves and smugglers destroying contexts at a catastrophic rate, but dealers' provenances cannot be relied on and so make the objects they sell all but useless for our inquiry.

To return to genres and the eternal question of the "Alexandrian contribution": Here, by way of example, are three test cases, each manifesting problems of a quite different kind. The first concerns a genre that apparently hardly existed in Alexandria; the second addresses a controversy over how a distinctive characteristic of another genre is to be interpreted; and the third focuses on a feature of several genres that clamors for more attention than it has yet received.

First, the missing genre: private, nonroyal portraiture in marble or bronze. Honorary and votive portraits of private persons abound in the Hellenistic cities of Greece and Asia Minor, attested not only by surviving portraits of this ilk but also by thousands of inscribed statue bases. Yet there are not only very few Alexandrian candidates for private portraits to set against the dozens of royal ones that have survived, but a quick look through Wilhelm Dittenberger's *Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, the *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*, and part of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* has turned up hardly any inscribed statue bases of this kind. This is very odd indeed—until one realizes that exactly the same situation seems to have prevailed at two other royal capitals, Pergamon and Antioch.³²

One explanation is that although Ptolemy Soter gave Alexandria a titular independence in the form of a council and an assembly, in reality the city was his own possession. Perhaps, then, the mechanisms of social exchange that generated much Hellenistic private portraiture in the independent or quasi-independent *poleis*—private benefactions to the municipality, and so on—simply did not function there. In this connection, it is interesting that in Ptolemaic Egypt, private citizens often made their dedications to the gods *on behalf of* the king.³³ Clearly, they felt it necessary to include him in the transaction. Since the inscriptions also prove that they often commissioned royal portraits too,³⁴ it is possible that these actually substituted for their own on numerous occasions.

Second, the debate about whether the stereometric character of many third-century royal portraits in marble (cf. Daszewski fig. 1 above) is due to the sculptors' slow adoption of Egyptian style or to a desire to classicize. The egyptianizing theory was first proposed by Lawrence and seductively argued by Kyrieleis, while a classicizing trend is championed by Martin Robertson and R. R. R. Smith.³⁵ The latter is perhaps more plausible, for three main reasons. To begin with, exactly the same development is to be seen in the Alexander coins that Soter minted from around 321 until his assumption of the diadem in 305. Aggressive and craggy at first, Alexander's face soon becomes rounder and



FIG. 5a
Tetradrachm minted by Ptolemy I
Soter of Egypt, obverse. Silver.
Ca. 315–305 B.C. Hess/Leu sale,
15 April 1957, lot 313. Photo:
Hirmer Fotoarchiv no. 15.0797 V.



FIG. 5b
Reverse of tetradrachm, fig. 5a.
Athena, legend ALEXANDROU.
Photo: Hirmer Fotoarchiv no.
15.0797 R.

fuller. The modeling is smoother and blander, the features more stylized, the expression more composed; a halo of hair now frames the face, easing the transition to the semidivine and divine attributes that encase it (figs. 5a, b). Alexander's driving energy and irresistible charisma give way to the stately repose of the universal monarch. This is not egyptianizing but classicizing, the construction of a god on earth.

Next, like the coins, the marble portraits were aimed at an audience that was largely Greek. Now, Greeks would not only naturally interpret this kind of simple structure as classicizing but they would also judge any major attempt at egyptianizing pejoratively, as a capitulation to the conquered. From the late third century in particular, with the regime increasingly under threat, any hint of such weakness would surely be studiously avoided by king and sculptor alike. Echoes of the classical, on the other hand, would have had decidedly positive connotations, suggesting (among other things) social and political stability, adherence to tradition, close ties to the Greek motherland, perhaps even the resurrection of a past golden age. And finally, the portrait of that most ecumenical of the Ptolemies, Cleopatra VII, the only one among them to learn Egyptian,³⁶ exhibits not a trace of Egyptian style. Instead, she models herself firmly and decisively on the greatest of the Ptolemaic queens, Arsinoe. A fortiori, then, we should not expect her predecessors to have trod where she so conspicuously refrained.

Third, there is a characteristic of Alexandrian art that, while certainly not exclusive to Alexandria, seems to have been particularly at home and particularly well developed at the Ptolemaic court: a dedication to allegory, symbol, and metaphor. Among the most recent of a long line of scholars to identify an interest in allegory, allusion, and signs as particularly characteristic of the Hellenistic period is John Onians. In his provocative book *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age*, he points to such well-known monuments as the Tyche of Antioch and the Calumny of Apelles.³⁷ Though not the first to observe this phenomenon, he does, however, pursue it considerably further than many of his predecessors and integrates it more firmly into the Hellenistic social context. Yet while he, too, correctly treats it as a panhellenic preoccupation, it is worth remarking that the largest and richest body of hard evidence for it comes precisely from Hellenistic Alexandria, leading one to suspect that the taste for it was particularly well developed there and arose at a particularly early date.³⁸ Examples are numerous and begin at the very start of the Ptolemaic regime.

From 321, Ptolemy's Alexander coins showed him with elephant scalp and ram's horn, and from around 314 these attributes are joined by a forehead band, or *mitra*, and scaly aegis (see fig. 5a). The elephant scalp is presumably Alexander's own answer to the lion scalp of Herakles, and the others are attributes of Ammon, Dionysos, and Zeus.

Together, they function as interlocking visual metaphors, inviting us to compare Alexander's powers with those of Herakles and the gods, to speculate upon Alexander's unique position in the cosmos. The impetus, as Kyrieleis has seen, may come from the Egyptian practice of investing kings with multiple attributes.³⁹ If so, it is a particularly early example of what Bianchi has aptly called the Ptolemaic tendency to cloak Egyptian concepts in Greek garb. Yet Kyrieleis does not mention that a monument paid for by Alexander himself and erected by his governor, Kleomenes, offers a perfect precedent: the Shrine of the Bark at Luxor.

There, in the early 320s, Alexander appears no less than forty-two times in the presence of Ammon and various other gods. He often carries the ankh, symbol of longevity, and wears a variety of crowns, sometimes two or more together: white, blue, red, double, Nemes, Atef, horned, double-feather, and gold-ribbon. His titles are voluminous and varied, in the ancient Egyptian tradition.⁴⁰

Soter also introduced this practice of what one might call syncretistic symbolism into sculpture in the round. A series of replicas show Alexander diademed and wearing a long chlamys-shaped aegis, which not only again recalls his father, Zeus, but also clearly alludes to the city of Alexandria, which was shaped like a chlamys. In his right hand he held a scepter, in his left, probably the Palladion.⁴¹ In my view, this statue was probably the cult image of the cult of Alexander, which Soter established at the Sema between 311 and 285: this, then, is Alexander the divine protector of city and dynasty alike.

The later Ptolemies both continued this tradition and introduced it into narrative contexts. Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Arsinoe II appear in two well-known bronze statuettes in the British Museum (see Smith fig. 1 above): he with elephant scalp and club, she with stephane and double cornucopia. Next, Ptolemy III Euergetes dons the diadem, solar crown, trident, and scaly aegis and also, it seems, commissions a group of himself as a diademed Hermes-Thoth subduing a Syrian opponent in the so-called Laodikean War of the 240s.⁴²

Soter also inaugurated another long-lived Ptolemaic practice: that of showing the ruler surrounded by personalities and personifications that together made up a kind of allegorical narrative. In the Tychaion at Alexandria, next door to the Mouseion, he placed Alexander in the center of the room; the personified Earth, Ge, was crowning him, while she, in turn, was being crowned by Tyche. Statues of Nike stood on either side of Tyche, making the composition roughly T-shaped in plan.⁴³ Similar allegorical tableaux appeared in the grand procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos in 275. The most elaborate of these showed Alexander and Philadelphos (both wreathed with golden ivy crowns), Arete, Priapos, and Corinth in a chariot, followed by women representing the Greek cities of Ionia liberated by Alexander.⁴⁴ The symbolism is complex

and by no means totally transparent but certainly alludes to the excellence and potency of the regime, its legitimization by Alexander and the League of Corinth, and its pretensions to assuming the great conqueror's mantle in the Aegean.⁴⁵ The most spectacular essay in this genre to survive is, of course, the Tazza Farnese (see Kozloff fig. 9 below), though at this point it is best to refrain from speculating which, if any, Ptolemy it celebrates.⁴⁶

It seems to me that we would do well to spend more time on these peculiarly Alexandrian products, for their variety and inventiveness are truly astonishing. Questions that beg to be addressed include the following: What kinds of allegory and symbolism are we looking at, and what is the relation between them? What functions did they serve? How do reality and fantasy interact and to what effect? What overlap, if any, is there between genres? What links, if any, exist with Alexandrian literature? What degree of engagement, if any, is there with native Egyptian culture and its thought patterns? What impact, if any, did these products have on the wider world or upon the art of Rome?

Of course, I have mentioned only a few selected examples of the genre. Other Alexandrian allegories include at least two more by Apelles, the sculptures of the Serapeion at Memphis, and a particularly tasteless picture described by Aelian. "Ptolemy Philopator," he says, "founded a temple to Homer and set up a fine cult image of him there. In a circle around the image he placed the cities who laid claim to the poet. Galaton the painter then painted a picture of Homer throwing up, and all the other poets gulping down his vomit."⁴⁷

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Notes

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- 1 H. Brunn, *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler*, vol. 1 (1st ed., Stuttgart 1852; 2nd ed., Stuttgart 1889), p. 595; J. Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, vol. 2 (3rd ed., Leipzig 1882), p. 199; L. M. Mitchell, *A History of Ancient Sculpture* (London and New York 1883), p. 606. The pages that follow do not pretend to give a complete account of the “pan-Alexandrian” debate, still less of the scholarship on Alexandrian art per se; extensive bibs. will be found in A. Adriani, *Enciclopedia dell’arte antica, classica e orientale*, vol. 1 (Rome 1958), s.v. Alessandrina, arte, pp. 232–35; G. Grimm, “Orient und Okzident in der Kunst Alexandriens,” in G. Grimm, H. Heinen, and E. Winter, *Alexandrien: Kulturbegegnungen dreier Jahrtausende im Schmelztiegel einer mediterranen Großstadt* (Mainz 1981), pp. 22–25; and J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge 1986), pp. 300–301, 316–17.
- 2 T. Schreiber, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 10 (1885): 380–400.
- 3 *Ibid.*: 386.
- 4 N. Himmelmann, *Alexandria und der Realismus in der griechischen Kunst* (Tübingen 1983), p. 21.
- 5 See esp. M. Kunze, ed., “Wir haben eine ganze Kunstpoche gefunden!” *Ein Jahrhundert Forschungen zum Pergamonaltar* (Berlin 1986), p. 60.
- 6 Schreiber (note 2 above): 391–99.
- 7 Praxiteles himself entered the equation shortly afterward: W. Amelung, “Sull’arte Alessandrina,” *Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* 25 (1897): 110–42, esp. 138–40.
- 8 T. Schreiber, *Die Wiener Brunnenreliefs aus Palazzo Grimani* (Leipzig 1888); *idem*, *Die hellenistische Reliefbilder* (Leipzig 1889–1894); *idem*, “Alexandrinische Toreutik,” *Abhandlungen der königlichen Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 14.5 (Leipzig 1894); *idem*, *Der Gallierkopf des Museums in Gize bei Kairo* (Leipzig 1896); *idem*, “Die hellenistische Reliefbilder und die augusteische Kunst,” *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 11 (1896): 78–101; *idem*, *Studien über das Bildnis Alexanders des Grossen: Ein Beitrag zur alexandrinischen Hellenismus* (Leipzig 1903); *idem*, “Über den Charakter der alexandrinische Kunst,” *Actes du 11e Congrès archéologique* (Cairo 1909). For an update on Schreiber’s reliefs, see J. Sampson, “Notes on Theodor Schreiber’s *Hellenistische Reliefbilder*,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 42 (1974): 27–45.
- 9 E. Courbaud, *Le Bas-relief romain à représentations historiques*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 81 (Paris 1899), p. 251; W. Weissbach, *Impressionismus: Ein Problem der Malerei in der Antike und der Neuzeit* (Berlin 1910), pp. 9–15.
- 10 F. Wickhoff, introduction to *Die Wiener Genesis* (Vienna 1895), pp. 17–20.
- 11 E. A. Gardner, *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* (1st ed., London 1896–1897; 2nd ed., London 1915), pp. 475–76. On p. 479, for example, he accepted Wickhoff’s contention that many of the landscape reliefs were Roman but weakly ascribed “the influence under which they were made” partly to Egypt, partly to Asia Minor.
- 12 “Apollo Seated on the Omphalos,” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 9 (1902–1903): 211–42, esp. 228–29; “Grotesques and the Evil Eye,” *Annual of the British School at Athens* 10 (1903–1904): 103–14. For a bib. of more recent work on the latter, see B. H. Fowler, *The Hellenistic Aesthetic* (Madison 1989), p. 66 n. 1. See also J. Fischer, *Griechisch-römische Terrakotten aus Ägypten: Die Sammlungen Sieglin und Schreiber* (Tübingen 1994), pp. 70–73; and R. Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1995), pp. 105–22.
- 13 M. A. Ruffer, “On Dwarfes and Other Deformed Persons in Ancient Egypt,” *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d’Alexandrie* 13 (1910): 162–75; see most recently A. Badawy, “Le Grotesque: Invention égyptienne,” *Gazette*

- des beaux-arts* ser. 3.66 (1965): 189–98; V. Dasen, *Dwarves in Ancient Egypt and Greece* (Oxford 1993); and Fischer (note 12 above).
- 14 See, e.g., O. Rubensohn, *Hellenistisches Silbergerät in antiken Gipsabgüssen*, Pelizäusmuseum, Hildesheim, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung 1 (1911); R. Pagenstecher, “Alexandrinische Studien,” and idem, “Über das landschaftliche Relief bei den Griechen,” *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1917, no. 12, and 1919, no. 1. The first, and so far only, published corpus of Ptolemaic coins also appeared during these years: J. N. Svoronos, *Ta nomismata tou kratous ton Ptolemaion*, 3 vols. (Athens 1904).
 - 15 A. W. Lawrence, “Greek Sculpture in Ptolemaic Egypt,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 11 (1925): 179–90.
 - 16 *Ibid.*: 179–80.
 - 17 A point recently and independently restated by Günter Grimm: Grimm (note 1 above), p. 18 (offering some chronological distinctions to nuance Lawrence’s observation).
 - 18 Recently, Kyrieleis has argued that these two heads, both from the Serapeion, probably belong over half a century later. They apparently formed a group with a Serapis and so are likely to be Ptolemy IV Philopator and Arsinoe III, incorporated with him after Raphia in 217: “Ein hellenistischer Götterkopf,” in *Stele: Tomos eis Mnemon Nikolaou Kontoleonos* (Athens 1980), pp. 383–87; cf. A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven 1990), figs. 756–58.
 - 19 Lawrence (note 15 above), p. 190.
 - 20 B. Ashmole, in J. D. Beazley and B. Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting* (Oxford 1932), p. 70; I. Noshy, *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Oxford 1937), pp. 83–97.
 - 21 *Ibid.*, p. 101, regarding them as racist caricatures.
 - 22 *Ibid.*, p. 146, making it clear that he found such work highly distasteful.
 - 23 V. Poulsen, “Gab es eine Alexandrinische Kunst?” *From the Collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 2 (Copenhagen 1939), pp. 1–52.
 - 24 Adriani (note 1 above), with exhaustive bib., pp. 232–35.
 - 25 A. Adriani, *Divagazioni intorno ad una coppa paesistica del Museo di Alessandria* (Rome 1959); on the date of the cup, see C. Rolley, *Greek Bronzes* (London 1986), p. 214.
 - 26 Adriani (note 1 above), pp. 231–32.
 - 27 B. R. Brown, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957); H. Kyrieleis, *Die Bildnisse der Ptolemaier* (Berlin 1975); Himmelmann (note 4 above); W. Daszewski, *Corpus of Ancient Mosaics from Egypt*, vol. 1, *Hellenistic and Early Roman Period*, *Aegyptiaca Treverensia* 3 (Mainz 1985); M. Pfrommer, *Studien zur alexandrinischer und grossgriechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin 1987); idem, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie früh- und hochhellenistischen Goldschmucks*, *Istanbuler Forschungen* 37 (Berlin 1990)—though Kyrieleis, Himmelmann, and Pfrommer all base their arguments partly on material with no provenance. On the tomb paintings as ancestors of the Pompeian Second Style, see A. Rouveret, *Histoire et imaginaire de la peinture ancienne*, *Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome*, 274 (Rome 1989), pp. 190–201.
 - 28 Cf. the present writer’s remarks in *Attika: Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (London 1979), pp. 17–21, 146–48.
 - 29 E.g., Kyrieleis (note 27 above), pp. 126–28; Grimm (note 1 above), *passim*.
 - 30 B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period: 700 B.C. to A.D. 100*, exh. cat. (The Brooklyn Museum 1960); R. S. Bianchi, “The Pharaonic Art of Ptolemaic Egypt,” in R. S. Bianchi, *Cleopatra’s Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, exh. cat. (The Brooklyn Museum 1988), pp. 55–80.
 - 31 Hadra vases: reattributed to Crete by P. J. Callaghan, “Knossian Artists and Ptolemaic Alexandria,” in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: Studi in onore di Achille Adriani*, vol. 3 (Rome 1984), pp. 789–94. Rough bronzes: see the critiques by Rolley (note 25 above), p. 217, and M. True, in A. Kozloff and D. G. Mitten, eds., *The Gods Delight: The Human Figure in Classical Bronze*, exh. cat. (The Cleveland Museum 1988), pp. 126, 131, 135–36. Impressionism: demolished by Brown (note 27 above), pp. 90–92;

- J. J. Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art* (New Haven 1974), pp. 328–31; Rouveret (note 27 above), pp. 104 and 225 argues that fourth-century *skiagraphia* is the true ancestor of impressionism. Vergina landscape: M. Andronikos, *Vergina* (Athens 1984), figs. 57–71.
- 32 The numerous portraits of Diodoros Paspáros at Pergamon are the exceptions that prove the rule, for these were erected during the Mithradatic Wars, a generation after Attalos III willed his kingdom to Rome: cf. Stewart (note 18 above), pp. 51–52, fig. 872.
- 33 *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, nos. 16–18, 21, 28, 29, etc.
- 34 *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, nos. 19, 30, 32, etc.; cf. Kyrieleis (note 27 above), pp. 143–50.
- 35 Lawrence (note 15 above), p. 187; Kyrieleis (note 27 above), pp. 134–35, 163; C. M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975), pp. 522–24; R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford 1986), p. 88; idem, *Hellenistic Sculpture* (London 1991), p. 208.
- 36 Plut. *Ant.* 27.
- 37 J. Onians, *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age* (London 1979), ch. 3; on the Calumny, see most recently J.-M. Massing, *Du texte à l'image: La Calumnie d'Apelle et son iconographie* (Strasbourg 1990). On Greek allegory in general, see esp. R. Hinks, *Myth and Allegory in Ancient Art* (London 1939) with, most recently, Rouveret (note 27 above), pp. 342–54; A. Stewart, "Narration and Allusion in the Hellenistic Baroque," in P. Holliday, ed., *Narrative and Event in Ancient Art* (Cambridge 1995), pp. 130–74.
- 38 See Rouveret (note 27 above), pp. 345 and 353 for the suggestion that Apelles may have been the prime mover here.
- 39 Kyrieleis (note 27 above), pp. 148–49; on the chronology of Ptolemy's coins, see A. Stewart, *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (Berkeley 1993), pp. 231–33. One should note in this context, though, that modern communications theory recognizes that an increase in information actually inhibits communication: T. Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis 1983), p. 101.
- 40 See M. Abd el-Raziq, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexanders des Grossen im Tempel von Luxor*, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 16 (Cairo 1984); Stewart (note 39 above), pp. 173–78, figs. 53–54.
- 41 On the type, see Stewart (note 39 above), pp. 246–51, figs. 82, 83; on the city's shape, see Diod. 17.52; Strabo 17.792; Plin. *NH* 5.62; Plut. *Alex.* 26.8.
- 42 H. Kyrieleis, "ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ ΕΡΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΩΡΟΣ," *Antike Plastik* 12 (Berlin 1973): 133–60.
- 43 Pseudo-Libanios (Nikolaos Rhetor), *Progymnasmata* 25 (Libanios vol. 7, pp. 530–31 Foerster); comments, Stewart (note 39 above), pp. 243–46.
- 44 Kallixeinos of Rhodes, *Peri Alexandreias* frag. 2.198–214 (Athen. 5.201d–e = F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 627 F2).
- 45 Stewart (note 39 above), pp. 252–60; cf. E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos* (Oxford 1983), pp. 102–10.
- 46 For the two most recent suggestions and exhaustive bib., see E. J. Dwyer, "The Temporal Allegory of the Tazza Farnese," and J. Pollini, "The Tazza Farnese: 'Augusto Imperatore Re-deunt Saturnia Regna!'" *American Journal of Archaeology* 96 (1993): 255–82, 283–300, respectively.
- 47 Ael. *VH* 13.21; also schol. Luc. *Charon* 7; cf. Rouveret (note 27 above), pp. 345, 353 n. 144.

Is There an Alexandrian Style— What Is Egyptian about It?

Arielle P. Kozloff

To many Egyptologists, Ptolemaic art and its by-product Alexandrian style look foreign.¹ Not only is the style itself strange but some of the materials are also new to us. There is a decline in the quality of native stone sculpture and a rise in the quality of, for example, terracotta, which was never a traditional Egyptian favorite. Not knowing what to make of Alexandrian art, many Egyptologists ignore it, taking safe refuge in the inscriptions of the period or those found nearby, such as the Rosetta stone. Alexandria's art has also been confusing to modern writers such as Forster, who said that Graeco-Egyptian art is "not as interesting as one might expect. No living art was born from the union."²

If that is true, how do we explain the brilliant works of art attributed to Alexandria that are now in museums and private collections around the world? Take, for example, Cleveland's bronze statuette of an African beggar (fig. 1), identified by John D. Cooney as Alexandrian on the basis of three points: its exotic subject matter, a traditional theme in Egyptian art; the silver and copper inlays, an Egyptian practice since her beginnings in bronze casting; and, finally, its brilliant aesthetic quality, the hallmark of Egyptian art throughout millennia of production. In 1988 Marion True reconsidered the bronze as probably Alexandrian, partly on the basis of the perfection of its surface finish, with its silky black sheen.³

Ultimately, both the identification and the appreciation of Alexandrian style may lie in what is and is not Egyptian about it. We might begin with the style of the city itself, which was founded by Alexander the Great after his coronation as Egypt's pharaoh in the traditional capital, Memphis, south of Alexandria. In that ceremony, Alexander was endowed with all the appropriate and traditional Nilotic titles and nomenclature—King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Meryamen Setepenra, Son of the Sun God, Arksandres.⁴ Alexandria's design has been described by Owens as "rooted in Classical planning traditions [while] at the same time it looks forward to the great achievements of the Hellenistic world."⁵ And both Alexander and his Greek city planner have been credited with the originality of Alexandria's design.⁶

The elements that were new to the Greek world—monumentality far exceeding the Athenian Acropolis, “buildings arranged into interconnecting complexes and ensembles,”⁷ the canals, even the suggestion of carving the king’s image into the face of a mountainside—were, however, far from original. They were long-standing traditions in Egypt. The grandeur of Memphis, which Alexander revisited while his new city was being built, must have eclipsed any that even the well-traveled Macedonian had ever seen.⁸ Memphis’s cemeteries alone stretched thirty km along the desert escarpment, and the city, to tell from the little that is visible today and from inscriptions naming temples yet to be found, was indeed a vast site of buildings arranged into interconnecting complexes and ensembles.⁹ For example, the great Temple of Ptah “Hikuptah,” which probably gave rise to the Greek name for Egypt, *Aigyptos*, was connected to another sacred precinct by a broad processional way.¹⁰ These features have been perhaps better preserved, at least better recorded, at el-Amarna, where Akhenaten had a broad avenue built for the express purpose of running his chariot, and at Luxor (ancient Thebes), which Amenhotep III organized into a series of temples and ensembles connected by broad processional routes, and where Alexander added a shrine to himself as sun god.

Thus, the one-hundred-foot-wide, east-west avenue bisecting Alexandria, from the public buildings near the Heptastadion past temples and parks to the palace area,¹¹ was in good Egyptian tradition and would have made a perfect venue for the famous Ptolemaic processions,¹² those, too, being a distant mirror of long-standing Egyptian practice.

Even Alexandria’s Heptastadion causeway, which connected the mainland to the island of Pharos, thus forming the harbor, was not a new idea but an earthwork in good, ancient Egyptian tradition. Pharaohs throughout the millennia had created artificial harbors, irrigation systems, and jetties by moving and reshaping vast amounts of earth at Thebes, along the Red Sea, and at the Faiyum, the latter having been witnessed and described to the Greeks by Herodotos and certainly read about by Alexander.¹³ Egyptians regarded such labors as a fact of both life and the afterlife.¹⁴ Even the servant figures they carried with them to their tombs were traditionally inscribed with the prayer, “O shabti, . . . if I be summoned . . . to do any work . . . of flooding the banks or conveying sand from east to west; ‘Here am I,’ you shall say.”¹⁵ And so, Alexandria itself must be recognized not as an entirely new invention of Greek city planning but as an overlay of classical format on a fundamentally Egyptian foundation. If each Ptolemy changed or added buildings or left some unfinished along the way, so had his predecessors at Memphis and Thebes.

A red granite portrait of Alexander in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria shows a similar overlay of format over substance



FIG. 1
Statuette of a beggar, probably Alexandrian. Bronze with copper and silver inlays. Hellenistic, ca. 100–50 B.C. H: 18.5 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr., Fund, 63.507.

(see Kahil fig. 2 above). The tilt of Alexander's head slightly to the left and his melting glance, apparent despite the loss of the inlays, recalls Plutarch's description of Lysippos's rendering of Alexander. Yet the hair is formed like a headcloth or wig, rather unlike the massive, curly hair of true Greek portraits; just above the cowlick on his brow is the trace of a traditional Egyptian uraeus coiled in a figure eight, not the diadem eventually worn by Ptolemaic royalty. The face is highly polished, and the finish of the hair is matte, a type of surface texturing on hard-stone sculpture that occurred repeatedly throughout the history of Egyptian art. Inlaid eyes were also an ancient tradition in Egyptian stone sculpture, while it seems to have become popular in Greek stone sculpture first during Hellenistic times.

Red granite from the quarries at Aswan in southern Egypt is extremely difficult to carve because of its hardness and structural coarseness. The technical skill represented by the Alexandria head required a practiced hand, perhaps that of an Egyptian carver working from a Greek model and with Greek vocabulary but with an unavoidably Egyptian accent. Some of the same observations apply to a statuette of a kouros from the second quarter of the sixth century B.C., said to have been found at Naukratis and now in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow,¹⁶ its twin being in Cairo. While the Greek type is obvious, the smooth rendering of anatomical forms and the oriental appearance of the facial features and hairstyle suggest non-Greek work. They are carved in Egyptian alabaster, suggesting local production.

Sculptured portraits of Alexander's eventual successors (see Smith fig. 4 above) are rather rare compared to those of previous Egyptian pharaohs of similar wealth. Those carved in imported marble usually tend to be Hellenistic in style rather than Egyptian and are individualized enough to be good likenesses of their subjects. Few, however, can be called brilliant in quality, perhaps because, like Egyptian limestone portraits, they were finished with gesso and paint, which have since disappeared, and they are now viewed in a rather rough state.

Most portraits of the Ptolemies in native Egyptian stone nevertheless depict them in Egyptian haberdashery, and the portraits were probably meant for Egyptian temples. The kings are shown striding forward in a hieroglyphic pose and with all the accoutrements that would allow the Egyptian people to "read" these sculptures as their kings even though neither the people nor the Macedonian kings could read the inscriptions.

At odds with Egyptian tradition, however, is the degree to which these Egyptian stone portraits are homogenized. They were not painted, and technically they are well carved, and yet it is very difficult to tell one Ptolemy from another not only in sculpture in the round but also on temple wall reliefs, such as at Dendera, Esna, Edfu, and Philae.

If the cartouche is missing, as it often is, it is difficult to divine which Ptolemy is represented.

This is not true of traditional Egyptian pharaonic portraiture wherein the “perfected likeness” or “living image,” the *tut ankh*, of an individual pharaoh was of paramount importance. A portrait of pharaoh was a receptacle of the divine essence, and it needed to be recognizable to function correctly.¹⁷ The portrait, which I define as the discernible likeness of a specific individual, had been an essential element of Egyptian art as early as the beginning of the third millennium B.C. and continued unceasingly for the two-and-a-half millennia preceding Macedonian rule. Certainly, Egypt is the birthplace of portraiture, and the Greeks had many centuries of contact during which to absorb this tradition gradually into their own.¹⁸

One can only guess why the *tut ankh*, the perfected likeness, was not achieved in a consistent manner in hard stone under the Macedonians. Perhaps the Ptolemies, coming from a background that had repeatedly noted the darkness of Egyptian skin in both art and literature, found it ironic and possibly even unpleasant to have their true images carved out of dark Egyptian stone.¹⁹

The individual, recognizable images of the first Ptolemies are clearly recorded on the coins minted in Alexandria, though even in that medium their likenesses suffered some cloning after a time.²⁰ In the early years, however, we find the energetic face of Meryamen Setepenra Ptolemais, a.k.a. Ptolemy I Soter, with his jutting chin, long, drooping nose, heavy eyebrows, and deep-set eyes, and there, too, Userkaenra Meryamen Ptolemais, a.k.a. Ptolemy II Philadelphos, with his double chin (see Kahil fig. 3 above).

A brilliant and creative man, Ptolemy II is well remembered for his legendary buildings and for commissioning the translation of the Pentateuch and Manetho’s history. But his most important accomplishment while on Egypt’s throne was the creation of an economy within Egypt that was completely independent of the worldwide economy.²¹ It was an economy that must have affected the artistic production of the time.

Following a path begun by his father, Ptolemy II achieved a royal monopoly in Egyptian currency by reducing the weights of gold and silver coins struck in Egypt for use in Alexandria, by excluding foreign coins from the Egyptian market,²² and eventually by minting for use in the Egyptian countryside large bronze coins that were attractive to the local populace but were difficult to place internationally and are rarely found abroad. From this time forward, silver and gold were restricted to royal hands, silver coinage eventually diminishing, since the ore came from lands not in Ptolemaic control, unlike Nubian gold and Cypriot copper.²³ Therefore, the Ptolemaic coinage monopoly must also have

FIG. 2
Portrait of a man, from Egypt.
Green schist. First century B.C.
H: 21.5 cm. Berlin, Ägyptisches
Museum inv. 12500.



been a monopoly in metals, and I shall return to this point later.

Two portraits of private individuals in identical, hard, greenish stone, one in Boston²⁴ and one in Berlin (fig. 2), are among the few supremely fine portrait heads of private persons to have been carved in Egypt during the entire Ptolemaic period. Certainly, one master carved both, since the approach to the masses and the tool-working of surface details are identical on the two heads. Their crispness and severity, their very quality, speak of an Egyptian sculptor, as does the stone itself. Their facial features are true *tut ankhs*, down to the mole on the left cheek of the one. As Bianchi quite fairly pointed out in the catalogue for the exhibition *Cleopatra's Egypt*, the nature of these portraits is within the millennia-old Egyptian tradition of private portraiture.²⁵ In general, however, most Ptolemaic renditions of private persons are far more generalized and less satisfying as portraiture than the Berlin and Boston heads. Even so, they often have strength and must have communicated to their audience as the traditional hieroglyphic form of the human figure in action.

Statues of women present another set of issues. A limestone statue in Alexandria belongs to the long Egyptian tradition of stepping,

draped female figures (fig. 3). Again the structure is hieroglyphic. The figure has an unusually voluptuous and rather mature look, however, even for Egyptian art. Perhaps it is a comment on the actual appearance of a Berenike or an Arsinoe, but their representations on the faience oinochoai, or “queen’s bottles,” made in Ptolemaic Egypt vary between flat-chested and full (fig. 4).²⁶

Voluptuousness is depicted sporadically in Egyptian art, for instance in late Dynasty XVIII and again in the Saite period. Much closer chronologically, however, was the influence of western Asia, which continuously from the beginning of the second millennium B.C. through the late first millennium produced statues and figurines of full-figured women, and during the time Egypt was, in fact, ruled by Asiatics.

Such was the figure style of statues made for native Egyptian consumption but not for the Greek patrons of Alexandria. Nico, a mid-third-century-B.C. Alexandrian priestess, is shown on her limestone grave stela, now in Cairo, demurely clothed in body-obscuring drapery, and her pose is that of women on stelae in Classical Athens (fig. 5). The subject matter, however, is actually more Egyptian than it first appears, since Nico receives a harp, and Greek women were always shown receiving a jewelry box or a mirror from their servants.²⁷

At first blush the carving appears Greek in style, though unsophisticated in execution, but a second look turns up at least two details traditional to Egyptian art. First, the carver has splayed out Nico’s footstool so that both the front and the side can be seen. Showing two dimensions of an object, either side by side or one above the other, was an accepted aesthetic device in Egyptian art from the Old Kingdom through the Ptolemaic period.²⁸ The other detail is the awkward position of Nico’s arm. In good Egyptian artistic tradition it, like the footstool, is presented as a hieroglyph in the position that makes it most legible, if somewhat awkward to a post-Renaissance eye.

Though the quality of Ptolemaic stone carving often leaves something to be desired, the smaller arts are without equal. In them we see a taste for high quality and color in an astounding variety of materials, just as one finds in the smaller arts of ancient Egypt.

Dozens of beautiful painted terracotta statuettes of women, often called Tanagra figures after the birthplace of the type,²⁹ are the high point of the Alexandria museum for many visitors (see Riad figs. 4 and 5 above). These colorful ladies with their Classical melon coiffures are almost always extremely demure. They are swathed in drapery that conceals their sexual attributes, if occasionally not their bellies. Their medium—molded terracotta (I understand that some pieces have been analyzed and shown to be made of Egyptian clay)—was not a favorite in Egypt, as it had been in Greece, and the statuettes’ general style and modesty seem to speak in favor of manufacture by imported Greek



FIG. 3
Headless statue of a woman,
from Shatby. Limestone. Third
century B.C. H: 50.2 cm.
Alexandria, Graeco-Roman
Museum 1332.

FIG. 4
"Queen vase" with portrait
of Berenike II, probably from
Alexandria. Faience. 246–222 B.C.
H: 22.2 cm. New York, Barbara
and Lawrence Fleischman
collection.

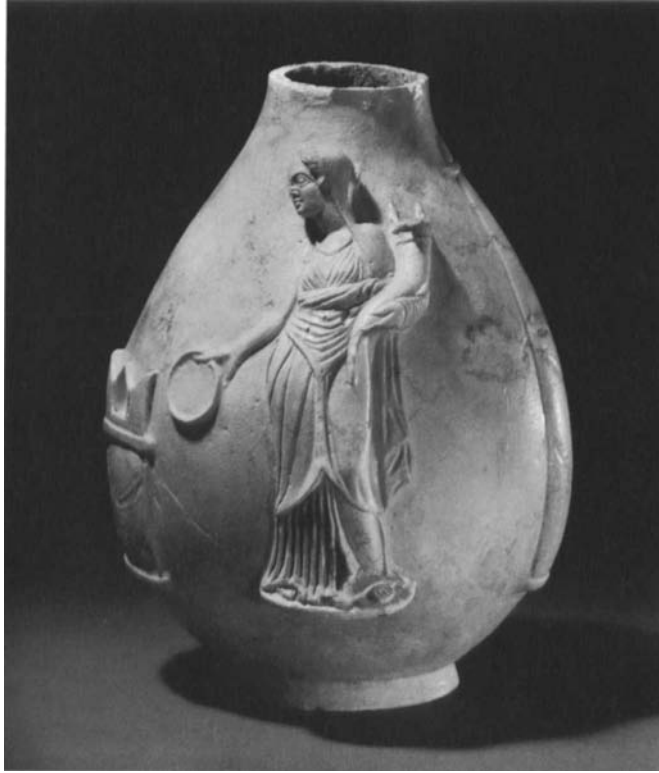


FIG. 5
Grave stela for Nico. Limestone.
Mid-third century B.C. Cairo, The
Egyptian Museum.





FIG. 6
Griffin rhyton, from Tukh el-
Quarmous. Silver. Ca. 270 B.C.
H: 17 cm. Cairo, The Egyptian
Museum JE 38093.

craftsmen, though some of my later arguments may tip the balance in favor of native artisans.

Traces of local influence have crept in. As in Nico's stela, many of the figures hold or play musical instruments rather than participate in traditional Greek feminine pursuits. The drapery on one figure is sculptured low to reveal a well-rounded breast, a bit of peekaboo more suited to the new Alexandrian taste than to the traditional Greek one. Many of the figures wear earrings, necklaces, and snake bracelets in amounts standard for Egyptian women but not typical of Greek women before the Hellenistic period. If precious-metal currency was restricted to royal hands, gold jewelry must also have been a perquisite of the Ptolemaic nobility, undoubtedly given as gifts by the palace, much as it had been in dynasties past.³⁰

One of the most spectacular Ptolemaic hoards ever recorded includes pieces of gold jewelry found in 1905 near Bubastis in the Delta, with early third-century B.C. coins providing the terminus post quem (fig. 6).³¹ The brilliant objects from this treasure mix Persian, Greek, and Egyptian motifs,³² leaving their place (or places) of manufacture an open question. One piece in particular, a silver rhyton with a griffin protome, is convincingly Asiatic in style, yet reliefs on the walls of the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel near Hermopolis in Upper Egypt leave no doubt that works of art in this foreign style were being made in Egypt during the fourth century B.C. (fig. 7).

More typical of the shape and decoration of Hellenistic silver found in Egypt are several bowls in the Cairo museum and one in

FIG. 7
Detail of relief sculpture from the
tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel
(Hermopolis Magna). Limestone.
Mid-fourth century B.C.



Brooklyn, which was reported to have been found in Egypt with coins of the late third century B.C.³³ And, indeed, it is difficult to date any Ptolemaic silver after the third century. Coincidentally this is the point at which the Ptolemaic issues of silver coinage became rarer because of the expense of importing the ore from abroad.

On the other hand, few Ptolemaic bronze statuettes can be attributed before the third century B.C., despite the huge numbers of bronze cats, ibises, ichneumons, and all manner of sacred animals that were made previously during the Late period. Few if any Hellenistic statuettes from Egypt can be dated early, according to archaeological evidence, and the circle of bronze statuettes once dated by style to the fourth or third century B.C. is gradually shrinking because the statuettes in museum collections, like the ones studied by Marion True in *The Gods Delight*,³⁴ are being redated to the late Hellenistic or early Imperial period. A rare exception is the Metropolitan Museum's Dancer (ex-collection Walter Baker), which True attributes to Alexandria,³⁵ and whose sensuous, curvaceous line is one beloved in ancient Egyptian art.³⁶

The Ptolemies first gained control of Cyprus and its copper mines in the early third century B.C., and from that time on they gradually began replacing silver coinage with bronze. By 210 B.C., only the large bronze slugs could be used within Egypt. Is it possible that the Ptolemies restricted use of their Cypriot copper to the production of cheap local currency and limited the fabrication of bronze statuettes in Egypt in those early years? The method of manufacture of the terracotta figurines in the Alexandria museum that date to the third and second centuries B.C. was similar to that of bronze statuettes, which is to say, piecemeal casting and then assemblage of the parts.³⁷ Did the terracotta-figurine industry supplant bronze casting in Egypt, at least during the third and second centuries B.C.?

Clearly, the Ptolemaic economy was based on exporting as much as possible and on importing as little as possible. If the manufacture of silver vessels and bronze statuettes can be tied to the economic policy of the Ptolemies, then very possibly the issue raised earlier about the poor quality of stone sculpture in the round and in relief stems from this policy as well. The importation of fine marble sculpture or even raw, uncarved marble would not have served the Ptolemaic economy well. Bryaxis's monumental Serapis, imported perhaps before the policy was in place, would have been one of the rare exceptions to the rule.

This policy would also explain why corrections were made in gesso and plaster to the marble sculpture that does exist. It was simply too expensive to throw out mistakes and to start over with a new block. It also explains why so much Egyptian limestone was used in Alexandria, even though the Egyptian tradition was to use limestone only in funerary contexts. Local Egyptian stone was cheap, since it would have been bought with grain or Ptolemaic bronze. Moreover, one could imagine that the colored stones did not appeal to the Greeks, even though they did eventually capture the Roman fancy.

The protectionist economic policy of the Ptolemies was not new. It was perhaps invented by, and certainly had been practiced for millennia by, pharaohs of the past, even the wealthiest ones such as Amenhotep III. He imported very little from abroad, even silver, although he had more than one royal father-in-law in the East, where silver was found. For the most part, Amenhotep III and other pharaohs used the materials to which they had economical access and which they probably preferred aesthetically—electrum and gold, for example—and on which they maintained a royal monopoly.

The bronze-statue industry did seem to blossom in Egypt again late in the second century B.C. We start seeing figures of dwarves, Hellenistic-style Horus boys wearing double crowns and carrying cornucopia,³⁸ Isis figures, and Serapises copying Bryaxis's lost original. The Mahdia and Antikythera shipwrecks testify to the degree to which Hel-



FIG. 8
Alabastron, from the Mediterranean area. Core-formed glass. Late fourth–early third century B.C. H: 16.5 cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund 94.9.

lenistic bronzes traveled, and, thus, Alexandrian bronze statuettes could have traveled throughout the late Hellenistic world. Just because statuettes with exotic subject matter, inlays, and Egyptian attributes can be found throughout the late Hellenistic world does not mean, however, that they all came there from Alexandria, as True pointed out in 1988.³⁹ By now, Europe, western Asia, and North Africa were becoming parts of the Roman Empire, and bronze workshops were being founded everywhere in that realm, all turning out similar sorts of statuettes.

Another medium also flourished: glass. Core-formed glass vessels and their offshoots, millefiori glass, and so on, began to be manufactured in large numbers in the fourth century B.C. (fig. 8). Because the vessels of this date are entirely classical in shape and have been found in large numbers around the Mediterranean, scholars have suggested that they were not manufactured in Egypt.⁴⁰ If faience “queen bottles” in oinochoe shape were made in Egypt, however, and if all manner of objects were being made in Classical style in Egypt, there is no reason why glass bottles could not have been made in Alexandria on the palace grounds—the traditional location for glass workshops—in shapes that would have pleased the Ptolemies.

Remember that at the height of the industry during the Bronze Age, many of Amenhotep III’s Malkata Palace glass vessel shapes bore little resemblance to the shapes of native Egyptian pottery. In fact, one of the favorite New Kingdom shapes was the lentoid flask, a shape imported from Cyprus. The Egyptian glass versions were then traded abroad and have been found as far away as Cyprus and Greece.

Every student and lover of Alexandria bemoans the fact that little of the city has been excavated or at this late date even retains very much worth finding. But there is one important source on Alexandrian art that is often overlooked: the lovers of art and archaeology who grew up there, people who saw objects washed up on the subsiding beach or dug up in the foundation pits of new buildings or in the plow furrows of Delta fields. Ask them if there is such a thing as Alexandrian style, and they answer in the affirmative. Ask them what makes Alexandrian style, and they answer, each one echoing the other, “Quality.” When pressed to be more specific on the subject of bronzes, one Alexandrian said to me, “It’s the quality of the craftsmanship of details—look at their hands.”

I applied that premise to objects in other media, for example, to the Tazza Farnese (fig. 9), which is from a group of objects—agate vessels—that could have been made in Alexandria. The hands, indeed, are brilliantly achieved, and they remind me of hands in many Egyptian banqueting scenes, one of the most famous versions having been preserved in the tomb of Tutankhamen, on the back of the king’s throne.

In the end, Alexandrian style is probably just what we thought it was all along: a basically Egyptian foundation, formatted in



FIG. 9
Cameo bowl, the so-called Tazza Farnese, possibly from Alexandria. Banded Indian sardonyx. Ca. 100 B.C. Diam.: 20 cm. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico.

Hellenistic style, with an overlay of Egyptian touches in the form of attributes, figural details, and surface enhancement. But exactly which medium was being developed at any given time changed from one century to the next, according to the materials available within Ptolemaic economic restraints. Through it all there is one constant of Alexandrian style, at least in the smaller arts, and it is that constant that separates Alexandrian art from its copyists: quality of craftsmanship. It was in perfectly good Egyptian tradition.

The Cleveland Museum of Art

CLEVELAND, OHIO

Notes

- 1 I would like to thank Biri Fay, Betsy M. Bryan, Lawrence M. Berman, and John Ross for providing photographs or for helping me obtain them.
- 2 E. M. Forster, *Alexandria: A History and a Guide*, introduction by L. Durrell (New York 1982), p. 125; see also p. 39: "Greek and Egyptian motives did not blend in Art as they did in Religion; attempts occur, but they are not notable and on the whole the city follows the general Hellenistic tendencies of the time."
- 3 The Cleveland Museum of Art 63.507. M. True, in A. P. Kozloff and D. G. Mitten, eds., *The Gods Delight: The Human Figure in Classical Bronze*, exh. cat. (The Cleveland Museum of Art 1988), no. 20, pp. 128–31. See entry for previous bib.
- 4 For a discussion of the history and organization of pharaonic names, see S. Quirke, *Who Were the Pharaohs?* (London 1990), esp. pp. 40–41 and 74–77 for Alexander and the Ptolemies.
- 5 E. J. Owens, *The City in the Greek and Roman World* (London 1992), pp. 68–69.
- 6 P. Green, *Alexander of Macedon, 356–323 B.C.: A Historical Biography* (Berkeley 1991), p. 275.
- 7 Owens (note 5 above), p. 69.
- 8 Green (note 6 above), p. 276.
- 9 A modern village and farmland now cover the ancient ruins, preventing much excavation, yet partial exploration has revealed the enclosure of the vast Temple of Ptah and an avenue leading from it past a northern sacred enclosure with finds of Dynasty xxvi and Dynasty xxx, the latter dating to the fourth century B.C.
- 10 We probably know less about Memphis's design than we do about Alexandria's, but ancient Thebes, for example, with its ensembles of temples and long processional ways, is comparatively well known, and there one can walk through the ancient buildings and along the processional ways even today. See B. M. Bryan, in A. P. Kozloff and B. M. Bryan, eds., *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World*, exh. cat. (The Cleveland Museum of Art 1992), pp. 73–115; D. G. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis*, vol. 1 (London 1985).
- 11 See Diodorus Siculus 17.52; Strabo 17.1.6–10 (791–95) for descriptions of Alexandria.
- 12 See J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge 1986), p. 280, for a translation of Kallixeinos's account of Ptolemy II's festival pavilion and procession.
- 13 Herodotos 2.149–50.
- 14 Just before coming to Egypt, Alexander suffered local ridicule at Tyre for the massive efforts involved in his construction of an earth-mole military structure. See Green (note 6 above), pp. 252–54.
- 15 R. O. Faulkner, in C. Andrews, ed., *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (Austin 1990), p. 36.
- 16 Inv. no. 1, ra 3000. See *Aus den Schatzkammern Eurasiens: Meisterwerke antiker Kunst*, exh. cat. (Kunsthhaus Zürich 1993), pp. 190–91.
- 17 See Bryan (note 10 above), p. 127.
- 18 Gisela Richter's assessment of Egyptian portraiture as sporadic creations, completely formulaic, and indifferent to the features of a specific person, as stated in G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, abr. and rev. by R. R. R. Smith (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984), p. 35, must be put aside. The author refers the reader to Bryan (note 10 above).
- 19 The lightest stone used would have been the sandstone of temple wall reliefs. Even this is a golden brown, several shades darker than the island marble apparently preferred by the Ptolemies. Relief sculptures were generally painted, the male's skin red, and the female's skin yellow. This also could have displeased the Greeks, who left the marble skin of their own painted statues unpainted.
- 20 O. Mørkholm, in P. Grierson and U. Westermark, eds., *Early Hellenistic Coinage from the Accession of Alexander to the Peace of Apamea (336–188 B.C.)* (Cambridge 1991), pp. 102, 104.
- 21 I am indebted to Leo Mildenberg for advice and suggestions.
- 22 Mørkholm (note 20 above), p. 66.

- 23 Mørkholm (note 20 above), pp. 105–6. silver from Tell el-Maskhuta (Pithom), now in Brooklyn.
- 24 R. S. Bianchi, in R. A. Fazzini et al., *Cleopatra's Egypt: Age of the Ptolemies*, exh. cat. (The Brooklyn Museum 1988), p. 140, cat. no. 45.
- 25 Bianchi (note 24 above).
- 26 See D. B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience: Aspects of the Ruler-Cult* (Oxford 1973). As for the recognizability of the portraits themselves, Thompson seems to admit that only three of her group are recognizable as individualized portraits; see *ibid.*, p. 81.
- 27 See S. B. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt from Alexander to Cleopatra* (New York 1984), p. 165. B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, vol. 1, *The Styles of ca. 331–200 B.C.* (Madison 1990), p. 364.
- 28 H. Schäfer, in E. Brunner-Traut, ed., *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford 1974), p. 139, figs. 119, 120a, 121; p. 140, figs. 122, 123.
- 29 For full discussion of type and bib., see Bianchi (note 24 above), nos. 112–14, pp. 220–22; and more recently, D. Said, “Tanagra Ladies: The Tanagra Collection (of the Alexandria Museum),” *Franco Maria Ricci* 57 (August 1992): 131–44.
- 30 Pomeroy (note 27 above), p. 42, discusses the Hellenistic idea that honoring wives honors their husbands as well.
- 31 See H. Hoffmann and P. F. Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, exh. cat. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1966), no. 64 (bracelet with Isis bust), pp. 173–74, for history and bib.; also, S. Curto and A. Roccati, *Tesori dei Faraoni*, exh. cat. (Palazzo Ducale, Venice, 1984), nos. 62–67 (color ills. of pectoral, two bracelets, three statuettes), pp. 185–89; also Pollitt (note 12 above), p. 255 (rhyton and bowl).
- 32 Very similar in style to this find are small cloisonné animals in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See A. P. Kozloff, “A New Species of Animal Figures from Alexandria,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 80 (1976): 183–85.
- 33 See A. Oliver, *Silver for the Gods: 800 Years of Greek and Roman Silver*, exh. cat. (Toledo Museum of Art 1977), no. 11, p. 41; see also nos. 7, 8, pp. 32–34, for fourth-century-B.C.
- 34 True (note 3 above).
- 35 True (note 3 above), pp. 44–45.
- 36 For example, a Dynasty XVIII tomb painting; see A. P. Kozloff, in Kozloff and Bryan (note 10 above), pp. 267, 347, 350.
- 37 True (note 3 above), p. 45.
- 38 The Cleveland Museum of Art 72.6 Harpokrates. See True (note 3 above), no. 21, pp. 132–36.
- 39 True (note 3 above), pp. 43–45; no. 14, pp. 102–6; no. 19, pp. 124–27; no. 20, pp. 128–31; no. 21, pp. 132–36; no. 22, pp. 137–41; no. 24, pp. 147–50; no. 25, pp. 151–53.
- 40 D. F. Grose, *The Toledo Museum of Art: Early Ancient Glass* (New York 1989), p. 110. See further discussion below.

The Continuing Influence
of Alexandria

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Late Antique Alexandria

G. W. Bowersock

A few years ago some lines from an unfinished poem by one of the greatest of all the Alexandrian poets, Constantine Cavafy, were published for the first time in an Italian journal of Byzantine studies.¹ The lines were written in 1916 as the beginning of a new poem, and they go as follows:

My imagination takes me now
not to Alexandria of the Ptolemies,
but of the fifth and sixth century
—I love its every form and moment.

Nine years later, in revising his poem, Cavafy changed the chronological frame to the sixth and the seventh centuries, down to what he called the arrival of “the powerful Arabism” (*ὁ κραταιὸς Ἀραβισμός*). Cavafy was one of the few modern admirers of ancient Alexandria to prefer the late antique period to the Hellenistic one. The city’s cultivation of Greek culture and its lively conflict between polytheism and Christianity on the eve of the Arab conquest were more congenial to a Greek of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries than the proud and confident Hellenism of the capital of the Ptolemies. Late antique Alexandria was a totally different place from the city that fell to Octavian in 30 B.C.

To understand just how different, we have to look briefly at the more than three centuries intervening between the collapse of the Ptolemies and the emergence in the fourth century of the city that Cavafy admired so much. Upon the establishment of the Roman Empire, Alexandria was no longer a royal capital. But it was a city that retained its physical splendor. Its economic importance was undiminished as the guardian of two of the most important harbors in Egypt. The geographer Strabo, relying on his own experience in Egypt in the company of his friend, the prefect Aelius Gallus, described a city full of magnificent buildings (especially in the old royal quarter), crossed by wide streets that could accommodate the most luxurious vehicles.² The mixed population of Egyptians, Jews, and Greeks made civil disturbances inevitable. Alexandria became notorious for its unruly citizenry. With a diminished political role in the world at large, Alexandria could devote itself to its own internal enthusiasms and animosities.

In an address to the Alexandrians, delivered either under Vespasian or under Trajan (for our purposes the date is immaterial), the rhetor and philosopher Dio of Prusa chastised the people of the city for their frivolity and unruliness.³ He began his speech with a question: "Gentlemen, won't you be serious for just a moment and give me your attention?" He signaled for particular comment their enthusiasm for chariot races and for performances on the kithara. The latter predilection was no doubt why the emperor Nero was so fond of Alexandria, and the former represents an early stage in a passion that was to become a conspicuous feature of late antique Alexandria. Ethnic tensions, particularly between Greeks and Jews, are well documented in the papyri of the Julio-Claudian period and above all in the writings of the Jewish philosopher Philo. His *in Flaccum* shows that racial tensions could easily be exacerbated by the Alexandrians' fondness for public entertainments. Public spectacles included Jews being scourged, hanged, turned on the wheel, maltreated, and led through the midst of the theater on their way to death. After this, according to Philo, came performances by dancers, mimes, and flute players.⁴

Just as the political influence of Alexandria declined sharply during the period of the Roman Empire, so, too, did its cultural influence. The city played almost no role in the movement known as the Second Sophistic.⁵ None of the Sophists registered by Philostratos came from the city, and few inscriptions of Sophists of the period show any Alexandrian connection. Obviously, there were teachers and schools, but the hegemony of Alexandrian intellectuals in the Hellenistic period had come to an end. Yet by the third century, Alexandria had acquired a new kind of intellectual distinction. The common denominator was Platonism, whose philosophy was mastered and interpreted by Neoplatonists and Christians alike. Clement and Origen, the two greatest fathers of the early Church under the influence of Platonic thought, both worked in Alexandria. Similarly Ammonius Saccas, the teacher of Plotinus, held his school there.⁶ The rivalry between the polytheist Neoplatonists and the Christian Platonists effectively set the stage for the struggles that characterized Alexandria in the centuries ahead.

Yet even with such distinguished figures as Clement, Origen, and Ammonius Saccas in the third century, Alexandria continued to be a marginal city within the Roman Empire. The emperor Caracalla, who disliked philosophers, felt free to carry out a massacre there in 215, and he abolished financial support for the Mouseion.⁷ The invasion of the Palmyrenes in A.D. 272 brought substantial damage to the monuments of the city and may even have led to the destruction of the Mouseion complex itself.⁸ The city was overwhelmed a third time in A.D. 295.⁹ The promise of Alexandria for the future was certainly not bright.

It was all the more remarkable that Alexandria managed to

rise from the rubble so successfully in the fourth century that it not only recovered but even surpassed its earlier renown as an intellectual center in the early third century so as to challenge Constantinople, Antioch, Beirut, and Athens for leadership in the Greek world of late antiquity. Cavafy, good Alexandrian that he was, understood all this very well. In a poem concerned with the third-century city, he evokes a student of Ammonius Saccas who grew bored with his studies.

He stayed as a student of Ammonius Saccas for two years,
but he grew tired both of philosophy and of Saccas.
And so he turned to politics.
But he gave that up too. The prefect was such a fool.

Next the young man tried the Church and thought of becoming baptized as a Christian; but, realizing that his parents would disapprove and cut off his allowance, he gave up that option as well and turned to selling his body.¹⁰ Cavafy has rightly discerned in this poem that the most profitable careers in Alexandria at that time lay, within the confines of decency, in philosophy, politics, and the Church. In subsequent centuries the situation was not much different, except that philosophy, politics, and the Church could sometimes be fused into a single calling.

Perhaps the most eloquent ancient testimony for late antique Alexandria comes near the beginning of the age in the pages of Ammianus Marcellinus. He declared Alexandria to be the pinnacle of all cities (*vertex omnium civitatum*) in its nobility and magnificence.¹¹ There, says Ammianus, salubrious breezes blew, and the air was gentle. There was hardly a day on which the citizens did not see the sun. Among the principal sites were the celebrated lighthouse and the connecting Heptastadion and more than one large library housed in the great Serapeion, a temple that in its magnificence could be equaled only by the capital at Rome. For Ammianus these libraries did not constitute the Hellenistic Alexandrian library, which he believed contained 700,000 volumes that were burnt up in the time of Julius Caesar. But as Diana Delia has recently argued, the damage from a conflagration under Caesar seems to have been greatly exaggerated in some sources.¹²

Ammianus's praise of cultural life of Alexandria has a somewhat elegiac tone.¹³ This was perhaps inevitable because the greatest days of the late antique city were to come long after Ammianus had written. In his time the best he could say was that "not even now" (*ne nunc quidem*) were various fields of learning unrepresented in the city. The teachers of disciplines were still alive "in a certain way" (*quodam modo spirant*), and geometry was still studied. Not yet, says Ammianus, had music altogether dried out (*exaruit*) in Alexandria, nor was harmony silent. And there was study of the motions of the earth and the stars and of mathematics. Medicine comes in for particular praise. A doctor who

proclaimed that he was trained in Alexandria was entitled to special appreciation.

Ammianus did not know that shortly after he wrote his lines about Alexandria the city would be convulsed in a civil uprising led by the patriarch that would destroy the great Serapeion and bring the Christian and polytheist segments of the population into open and violent conflict. This happened in 391.¹⁴ The libraries of the Serapeion must have been eliminated along with the temple. The date marks the beginning of the era that Cavafy must have had in mind when he thought of Alexandria in the fifth, sixth, and early seventh centuries. It had already become evident in the fourth century that Christian Alexandrians saw in the patriarchate of their city an opportunity, through the structure of the Church, to restore Alexandria to a grandeur comparable to that of the Hellenistic period. The repeated returns of Athanasius to the city symbolized its importance in the evolving struggle over the nature of Christ. By the mid-fifth century the Alexandrian patriarch was acknowledged as the leader of Monophysite Christianity.

Together with the growing importance of the patriarch came a strong revival in pagan learning, exemplified in the early fifth century by the eloquent teacher Hypatia, whose lectures even eminent Christians, such as Synesius, praised. The murder and dismemberment of Hypatia in what is perhaps the most notorious of all Alexandrian riots turned this philosopher and teacher into a martyr of the pagan cause and a heroine of feminist movements of modern times.¹⁵ But her death by no means extinguished polytheist learning in the city. The younger Horapollon, from a distinguished pagan family in Alexandria, continued to teach and conduct his research on Egyptian antiquities well into the last years of the fifth century.¹⁶ His surviving treatise on the interpretation of the hieroglyphic symbols was a valiant attempt to explain the ancient inheritance of Egypt in the lingua franca that Greek had now become.

In a company that is both highly knowledgeable and creatively diverse I might venture at this point to mention an opinion of mine that I cannot prove but that seems with every passing year to have more and more to be said for it. The example of Horapollon and his brethren suggests that the living polytheism of late antique Egypt was rooted in the old Egyptian cults. By contrast, wherever purely classical Greek paganism turns up in literature or art (Apollo, Dionysos, Herakles, Zeus, and so on), it appears to be an elegant or erudite pleasure of Christians. I think of the marvelous fourth-century Dionysos textile at the Abegg Stiftung from a Christian burial,¹⁷ probably the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnos in the fifth century,¹⁸ and above all the Greek poems of Dioskoros of Aphrodito in the sixth century.¹⁹ Genuine polytheism in

late antique Egypt, as opposed to aesthetic polytheism, was fundamentally Egyptian.

Alexandria's aspirations in the hierarchy of the Church were dealt a severe, if not terminal, blow by the Council of Chalcedon in 451, when the Alexandrian patriarch Dioskoros was defeated in his attempt to ensure the authority of Monophysite doctrine. Until that moment the Alexandrians had dared to hope that, at least in the community of the Church, Alexandria could be a rival capital to Constantinople; but, with the victory of the Constantinopolitan doctrine at Chalcedon in 451, Alexandria could no longer hope for preeminence. Hostility to Constantinople grew over the years that followed. The rivalry of the two cities as centers of overseas Greek culture never altogether died, and this, to a substantial degree, explains Cavafy's fascination with late antique Alexandria.²⁰

The most valuable descriptions of Alexandria in the post-Chalcedonian period are the Syriac *Life of Severus* by Zacharias Scholasticus and the Greek *Life of Isidore* by Damascius. In both of these precious biographies we can see a city that is still intellectually exciting in the pagan and Christian communities alike. It is a city full of churches and even urban monasteries. According to the *Life of Severus*, Greek and Latin were both taught in Alexandria, and many of the great polytheist teachers lectured, like Hypatia, to Christians as well as pagans. Horapollon is mentioned by name, as is Isidore. Others, such as Heraiskos and Asklepiodotos, who are also known from other sources (including epigraphical ones), are named among the leading teachers of the late fifth century.²¹ During his student days in Alexandria, Severus went on an expedition to the outskirts of the city to intimidate and forcibly disrupt a pagan community. Zacharias described this ungenerous mission in detail. We hear of the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the walls of the house of the pagans and of the interior wall that was built up to conceal the idols. The Christian militants broke into the hiding place of the pagan gods and discovered both the idols themselves—images of Egyptian deities, not Greek ones—and an altar covered with blood. In an excess of pious zeal, Severus and his friends destroyed virtually all these objects and did their best to convert the pagans of the village as well as to prop up the wavering sentiments of those Christians who had some lingering belief in the power of idols. On Easter Sunday morning

all the people of Alexandria at the time of mass were made to hear thousands of imprecations against Horapollon. And they cried out that he should no longer be called Horapollon but Psychapollon—"he who destroys souls" . . . the patriarch of God made known to everybody in his sermon the description of

the idols that we had taken out, what they were made of, and their number. As a result the people were inflamed and brought together all the idols of pagan gods, wherever they could be found—in the baths or in the houses—and they put them on a pile and set fire to them.

But the Christians of Alexandria were not all destructive bullies. Indeed it is not altogether clear whether raids of the kind described in the *Life of Severus* were much more than student high jinks. The city in the late antique period is particularly well known for its Christian church workers (perhaps social workers) called *philoponoi*. They appear several times in Syriac transliteration in the *Life of Severus*.²² They are perhaps best known through the name attached to one of Alexandria's most distinguished late antique philosophers, John Philoponos, whose extensive commentaries on Plato and Aristotle have only recently begun to receive the detailed attention they deserve. The union of service and high intellectual distinction in John Philoponos may well reflect a recognition on the part of the patriarchate of Alexandria that Monophysites might as well give up aspirations to universal authority and concentrate on work at home.

In any case, the future of Egyptian Christianity no longer lay in Alexandria but in the countryside and particularly farther south in the young church of the Copts, founded by the great Shenoute two centuries before. Monophysite hostility to Constantinople also meant that Christians of this persuasion were more inclined to support the enemies of the Byzantine emperors. In Alexandria that meant the Arabs. The best chronicle that we possess on the final century of Greek Alexandria, the era of Philoponos, is the account of John of Nikiou, known to us only through an Ethiopic translation of an Arabic translation of his original text. But even at such a distance his narrative gives us a vivid glimpse into the still rich Greek culture of Alexandria on the eve of the Arab conquest.

When the text of John of Nikiou was first published, in 1883, its greatest revelation was the primary role that the Alexandrians played in the overthrow of Phokas and the elevation of Heraklios in the years 609 and 610.²³ No one would have credited or had credited Alexandria with so important a role, and the circus factions in support of the charioteers—the so-called Greens and Blues—are explicitly associated with the overthrow of Phokas. As Alan Cameron recognized in his study of the factions in the early Byzantine period,²⁴ the Alexandrian Greens and Blues were major players, but together and not in opposition to one another. Both supported Nicetas, the local sponsor of Heraklios. That factions in the eastern cities occasionally played a political role was inevitable: they were organized, rowdy, and experienced in riots. But they

had no platform and no fixed political positions. The case of Alexandria as shown by John of Nikiou proved to be one of the most instructive examples for the whole of late antiquity.

This has to be said because the excellent publication of graffiti from the theater at Alexandria by the Polish scholar Zbigniew Borkowski included a valiant though ultimately unsuccessful attempt to interpret inscriptions of the Greens and the Blues in terms of political divisions within the city of Alexandria.²⁵ Overall, of course, we have reason to be particularly grateful for the Polish excavations at Alexandria not only for the theater texts of the Greens and the Blues but for the only physical evidence that we have of the late antique city: the theater itself, some baths, part of the necropolis, and some residential quarters. For the years following the accession of Heraklios, the *Life of John the Almoner*, who was patriarch at the time, affords precious glimpses into the city precisely where even the text of John of Nikiou fails us because of a lacuna. The already mixed population was substantially enlarged by the arrival of refugees from Syria and Palestine fleeing the Persian invaders.²⁶ The safe haven they found lasted only a short time.

Unfortunately no circus factions or rioting students could stem the tide when the Arabs came in 642. The extant text of John of Nikiou gives the whole story and blames the fall of Alexandria on the failure of the Church to espouse the Monophysite cause. According to John, “all these things fell out because they divided Christ into two natures.” For the chronicler the supporters of Chalcedonianism were naturally weak of spirit, and it was no surprise to him that many promptly converted to Islam:

Now many of the Egyptians who had been false Christians denied the holy orthodox faith and life-giving baptism and embraced the religion of the Moslem, the enemies of God, and accepted the detestable doctrine of the beast. . . . One of them, named John the Chalcedonian of the Convent of Sinai, embraced the faith of Islam, and, quitting his monk’s habit, he took up the sword and persecuted the Christians who were faithful to Our Lord Jesus Christ.²⁷

From a Chalcedonian and Constantinopolitan perspective the continuing animosity of Monophysite Alexandria to the central government had played into the conqueror’s hands. In any case, the Arab conquest—what Cavafy called “the powerful Arabism”—abruptly halted that complex culture, embracing both Greek and Egyptian traditions, that had been the glory of Alexandria even in its darkest days at the end of the third century. Cavafy himself is the best proof that it never disappeared altogether. Late antiquity had seen a new vitality at Alexandria through its patriarchs, its Neoplatonist and Christian philosophers, its

old Egyptian polytheist cults that refused to die, and its two great circus factions. Alexandrian life reached a kind of fever pitch that made the city unique in the Byzantine world. Its proud independence and fierce rivalry with the government in Constantinople were paradoxically to be its undoing.

In another poem, Cavafy described the impact of the Arab conquest from a Greek perspective in a moving poem named for a fictional character called Aemilianus Monai.²⁸ In the title Cavafy equipped his “Aemilianus Monai, an Alexandrian,” with dates for birth and death, “A.D. 628–655.” In other words, Monai was born in the final years of the Greek city and died a little over a decade after the Arabs arrived. This young Greek is the speaker as the poem begins. He says that he will construct a splendid suit of armor for himself, a suit of armor composed of “words, appearance, and manners” (*μὲ λόγια, μὲ φνισιογνωμία, μὲ τρόπους*). With these he will be able to hold out against evil men. These were the components of Greek culture, as Cavafy understood it. But they hardly sufficed against an external invader. The poem ends with the young Aemilianus Monai dying in Sicily at the age of twenty-seven. He left his city, presumably in 642 when the Arabs came. The poet asks himself,

I wonder if he ever used this suit of armor;
in any case, he didn't wear it for long.²⁹

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PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Notes

- 1 R. Lavagnini, "Sette nuove poesie bizantine di Costantino Kavafis," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* 25 (1988): 217–81, for the present text 276–77: Ἡ φαντασία μου μὲ πιαίνει τῶρα ἢ ὄχι στὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια τῶν Πτολεμαίων, ἢ ἀλλὰ τοῦ πέμπτου ἢ τοῦ ἕκτου αἰῶνος. ἢ Κάθε μορφή της καὶ καθ' ἐποχὴ της ἀγαπῶ.
- 2 Strabo 17.1. 6–10, 791–5C.
- 3 Dio Prus. *Orat.* 32, on which see C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978), pp. 36–44. See most recently H. Sidebottom, "The Date of Dio of Prusa's Rhodian and Alexandrian Orations," *Historia* 41 (1992): 407–19 (for a Trajanic date), and W. D. Barry, "Aristocrats, Orators, and the 'Mob': Dio Chrysostom and the World of the Alexandrians," *Historia* 42 (1993): 82–103 (for a Vespasianic date and depreciating the value of Dio's testimony).
- 4 Philo in *Flaccum* 85.
- 5 As noted in G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969), pp. 20–21.
- 6 On the Platonism of Clement and Origen, see H. Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition* (Oxford 1966), pp. 31–94. For Ammonius Saccas, see J. M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (London 1977), pp. 380–83.
- 7 Cassius Dio 78.22–23; Herodian 4.9.4–8; *Historia Augusta, Carac.* 6.2–3; Malalas *Chron.* 4.590.
- 8 Amm. Marc. 22.16.15. Cf. *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Quadriga* 3.1.
- 9 Malalas *Chron.* 4.601; John of Nikiou 77.1–6 (Charles).
- 10 K. P. Kavafis, *Ποιήματα* (1919–1933), ed. G. P. Savidis (Athens 1991), pp. 34–35. The lines quoted come from the beginning of the poem: Ἐμεινε μαθητῆς τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου Σακκά δυὸ χρόνια. ἢ ἀλλὰ βαρέθηκε καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφία καὶ τὸν Σακκά. ἢ Κατόπι μπῆκε στὰ πολιτικά. ἢ Μὰ τὰ παραίτησεν. Ἦταν ὁ Ἐπαρχος μωρός.
- 11 Amm. Marc. 22.16.7.
- 12 Ibid., 22.16.7–12. Cf. D. Delia, "From Romance to Rhetoric: The Alexandrian Library in Classical and Islamic Traditions," *American Historical Review* 97 (1992): 1449–1467. Delia (this note): 1458 note 38, says that Ammianus, at 22.16.13, "confused main and Serapeum libraries." Not necessarily: the text is troubled here, but the plural *bybliothecae fuerunt* is not in doubt, nor that these libraries were in the Serapeion (*in quo*). The numeral *duo* is, however, in doubt.
- 13 Amm. Marc. 22.16.17–18.
- 14 For the date, see now the full discussion by T. D. Barnes in his review of J. F. Matthews's work on Ammianus, *Classical Philology* 88 (1993): 61–62. As a result of Barnes's arguments, I withdraw my earlier support for 392.
- 15 For a recent account, pending the forthcoming book on Hypatia by Maria Dzielska, see P. Chuvin, *A Chronicle of the Last Pagans* (Cambridge, Mass. 1990), pp. 85–90.
- 16 Cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Ann Arbor and Cambridge 1990), pp. 60–61. Still important is J. Maspero, "Horuspollon et la fin du paganisme égyptien," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale de Caire* 11 (1914): 164–95.
- 17 D. Willers, "Dionysos und Christus—ein archäologisches Zeugnis zur 'Konfessionsangehörigkeit' des Nonnos," *Museum Helveticum* 49 (1992): 141–51.
- 18 P. Chuvin, "Nonnos de Panopolis entre paganisme et christianisme," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 45 (1986): 387–96, and also Willers (note 17 above).
- 19 L. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and His World* (Berkeley 1988).
- 20 At the age of nineteen, on 23 June 1882, Cavafy went to Constantinople with his mother twelve days after the so-called "massacre of the Christians" at Alexandria. Cavafy began an English-language diary entitled *Constantinopoliad an Epic*, which will be edited and published by Diana Haas.
- 21 Zach. *Vit. Severi*, pp. 16 and 22 (Kugener).
- 22 E.g., Zach. *Vit. Severi*, p. 12 (Kugener), *pyl-*

- ρωνω*. Also note p. 26: *tgm' hw dmtqr' dpylw-ρωνω* [sic] (the τάγμα called [τάγμα] of the φιλόπονοι).
- 23 See R. H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John* (c. 690 A.D.), *Coptic Bishop of Nikiu* (London 1916), p. iv.
- 24 A. Cameron, *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1976).
- 25 Z. Borkowski, *Alexandrie*, vol. 2, *Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie* (Warsaw 1981), pp. 59–70. Borkowski's case depends largely on his interpretation of his text no. 39 (showing total victory of the Greens over the Blues). The word *γεννεωτάτων* [sic] is applied to the Greens, and Borkowski believes that the use of *γενναιότατος* for *fortissimus* in papyri proves that a military action is recorded here.
- 26 Leontius of Neapolis, *Life of John the Almoner* 6.1–2 (A. J. Festugière, *Vie de Jean de Chypre, dit l'Autônier*): Ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις οἱ Πέρσαι ἀνελθόντες αἰχμαλώτευσαν καὶ ἐπρέδουσιν Συρίαν, with 11.8–12, Τοῦ ἀμνηστῆτος πλήθους τῶν φευγόντων ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν, ὡς ἤδη προλέλεκται, καταλαμβάνοντος τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ στενώσεως πολλῆς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἀνελεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ συνήθειαν τροφῶν γενομένης.
- 27 John of Nikiou 121.10–11 (Charles).
- 28 K. P. Kavafis, *Ποιήματα* (1897–1918), G. P. Savidis, ed. (Athens 1991), p. 84.
- 29 Loc. cit., lines 11–12: Ἐν πάσῃ περιπτώσει, δὲν φόρεσε πολὺ. Ἡ ἑξήκοσι ἐπτὰ χρονῶ, στήν Σικελία πέθανε.

Medieval Alexandria: Some Evidence from the Cairo Genizah Documents

Abraham L. Udovitch

Among historians of a generation ago, the reputation of Alexandria in the early Islamic period had fallen on hard times. By comparison to its dazzling brilliance during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, to its turmoil and vitality in the early Byzantine era, and to its commercial and cultural resurgence in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Alexandria in the high Middle Ages seemed like a sleepy town indeed. A number of Egyptian historians writing during the past twenty years or so—one might call them Alexandrian “patriots”—have valiantly tried to restore to medieval Islamic Alexandria a modicum of its former (departed?) glory. I am thinking in particular of such estimable historians of medieval Islamic Egypt as ‘Abd al-‘Azîz Sâlim and Jamâl al-Dîn al-Shayyâl.¹

In the introduction to his 1967 book entitled (in Arabic) *The History of the City of Alexandria during the Islamic Era*, Shayyâl protests against those scholars who point to Alexandria’s Islamic period only to “demean its importance and unjustly characterize it as an era of decline, backwardness, and evanescence,” and he asserts quite explicitly and without apologies that the purpose of his study is to re-establish the city’s reputation during these medieval Islamic centuries. Yet even Shayyâl is perplexed by certain anomalous features concerning Alexandria’s medieval past. How is it, he asks, that “the Arabs did not compose any special history for this important border outpost [*thaghr*] during the Islamic period? . . . while [at the same time] they did not leave any of their cities, large or small, without its own chronicle.”²

For a variety of cultural and religious reasons, local histories celebrating the monuments, climate, scholars, holy men, and other notables of a town, city, or region proliferated in the medieval Islamic context. Identifying with the accomplishments of local scholars and saints was one of the ways the very local, individual believer could bridge the gap between himself and God. Not only were such major centers as Baghdad, Damascus, Aleppo, and Qayrawan the subject of one or several local histories, but the same was true for distinctly minor towns such as Qûs or Tinnîs.³ Consequently, it is surprising indeed that no local history of medieval Alexandria, nor any significant biographical com-

pilation of its scholars and notables, has come down to us. Shayyâl's extensive search in medieval Arab bibliographic sources (for example, Ibn Nadîm's *Fihrist* and Hajjî Khalîfa's *Kashf al-zunûn*) yielded only a single reference to a fourteenth-century local history, now apparently lost, and mention of a few short treatises of the *fadâ'il* category, praising the city's merits and virtues.

While it may have had no exclusive local history of its own, Alexandria was by no means neglected or forgotten by medieval writers. Considerable information about the city is to be found in chronicles, geographic literature, and other contemporary literary and, as we shall see, documentary sources. We have no extant local histories, however, nor any of the usual collections of biographies of local scholars, notables, and holy men. Is it possible that medieval Alexandrians and their Egyptian contemporaries viewed the city somewhat differently from other urban agglomerations?

In what follows, I do not pretend to offer any definitive answers or explanations to this enigma. I do believe, however, that focusing on medieval Alexandria's incontestable status as Egypt's *second* city, subsidiary to Cairo in almost every significant respect, may help us understand some apparent anomalies concerning its history during the Islamic period. I propose, therefore, first, to explore some of the structural changes brought about by the advent of a new Islamic political and cultural system that placed Alexandria in a strategically subordinate position vis-à-vis its inland rival; and, second, to examine some new evidence for the eleventh and twelfth centuries garnered from the documents of the genizah in Cairo concerning Alexandria's very distinctly subsidiary role in economic and commercial matters.

In its transition from the late antique and Byzantine spheres to that of Islam, Alexandria's geographic position did not change in any way. Its natural advantages in terms of its harbor, its location, and its relationship to other important Mediterranean ports remained as favorable as they were when the city was first established at its site in 332 B.C. What *did* change radically was Alexandria's relationship to the center of political and military power in Egypt and in the region. Since its inception, Alexandria served, in one manner or another, as a capital city, either of an empire or of a region, or, at the very least of a country and/or major province, that is, Egypt. With the advent of the Arab conquests, Alexandria's situation changed in almost every respect. It was displaced as a political and military focal point, and its importance as a regional center of religious power and administration declined considerably. A similar statement can be made about its role in Mediterranean commerce, which, even if it did not completely disappear as claimed by Henri Pirenne in his famous thesis, certainly entered a phase of contraction during the seventh and eighth centuries.⁴

Alexandria's changed and relatively diminished position following the Arab conquests was not peculiar to that city alone but was a fate shared with most pre-Islamic coastal towns of the eastern and southern Mediterranean. An examination of the distribution of urban centers in the Middle East during the Middle Ages reveals a rather striking fact: no major political or administrative center was located on the seacoast. Furthermore, even though there were numerous Islamic coastal towns of some economic and commercial importance, the major entrepôts of trade and economic life were invariably located some distance inland. On the Mediterranean coastline that came under Islamic domination in the seventh and eighth centuries, Antioch and Caesarea gave way to Damascus and Ramleh; Alexandria yielded to Fustat-Cairo, and Carthage to Qayrawan.⁵

An ambivalence and wariness with regard to the sea and other maritime matters characterized the pre-Ottoman Muslim polities of the Mediterranean basin. The sea was a menacing frontier to the early Muslim rulers of the Middle East. This view of the sea and the cautious and defensive policies that it engendered are a motif of Islamic political and military thinking from the earliest years of the Islamic hegemony until the advent of the Ottomans in the early sixteenth century. The few instances in which Islamic rulers adopted a relatively sustained, confident, and aggressive naval policy in the Mediterranean are only the exceptions that prove the rule. Uneasiness and anxiety about the sea derived not from the unpredictable dangers of its winds, storms, and waves. These, after all, were risks shared by all people, of all creeds, who went down to the sea in ships. The threat, or perceived threat, of the sea to the medieval Islamic world of the Mediterranean was a "strategic" one. The sea was the one vulnerable frontier from which Islamic control of the lands bordering on the Mediterranean could be seriously threatened.

In the early years of Islam, during the reign of the caliph 'Umar (A.D. 634–644), he reportedly recommended

that the Muslims be kept away from seafaring. [And, indeed,] no Arab travelled by sea except those who did so without 'Umar's knowledge or they were punished by him for it. 'Umar thus punished 'Afrajah ibn Harthamah al-Azdî, the chief of the Bajîlah [tribe]. He sent him on a raid against Oman, and he learned [later] that he had raided it by sea. He disapproved of his having made the raid by sea, and told him so in no uncertain terms.⁶

'Umar refused repeated requests by the future caliph Mu'awiyah, at that time his military commander in Syria, for permission to raid the island of Cyprus. In his futile attempt to persuade the caliph 'Umar, Mu'awiyah maintained that the Byzantine-held outposts on Cyprus were so close to the Muslim-held Syrian coast that the Muslims could hear

“the barking of the dogs of the Christians.” Our sources abound with many other instances of the caliph ‘Umar’s displeasure and distress at any attempt of Arab tribal warriors to traverse large bodies of water in pursuit of their conquests. Ibn Khaldûn attributes ‘Umar’s policy to his recognition of the fact that “the Arabs were not skilled in navigation and seafaring,”⁷ skills that their adversaries at that time—the Byzantines and European Christians—possessed to a high degree.

In subsequent centuries, the Muslims of the southern and eastern coasts of the Mediterranean did indeed acquire many of the maritime skills of their predecessors and adversaries and ventured forth, with intermittent boldness and success, onto the waters of the great middle sea. This is exemplified by the stunning victory of the Umayyad fleet over the Byzantine defenders of Constantinople in the Battle of the Masts in A.D. 655. Nevertheless, ambivalence toward the sea and naval activity persisted. Throughout the Middle Ages, the coastal towns of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt were regarded as frontier outposts. Tyre, Sidon, Ascalon, Damietta, and Alexandria were invariably designated by the Arabic term *thaghr* (frontier fortress), the identical term used to designate the march areas of raids and counterraids on the shifting borders separating Islam from Christendom. Crete, Cyprus, Sicily, and other Mediterranean islands held by the Muslims were similarly called *al-thughûr al-jazariyya* (island frontier fortresses). Even at such points as Alexandria and Damietta, where the Mediterranean coastline for hundreds of miles in either direction had been firmly under Muslim control for many centuries, the hostile and threatening area was perceived as beginning at land’s end.

The naval efforts of successive Muslim states bordering on the Mediterranean were sporadic in character. For long periods there was no permanent navy or fleet.⁸ Throughout the medieval period, the coasts of Syria, Egypt, and North Africa not only were vulnerable but were actually attacked frequently by Christian raiding parties. Muslim policy was reactive. Flurries of naval activity, as occurred in Egypt, for example, during the reign of the ‘Abbasid caliph Al-Mutawakkil (847–861) or under the early Fatimids (969–1187), alternated with long periods of quiescence.⁹ The successful role of naval power in bolstering the Crusader presence in the Levant for approximately two centuries not only reinforced Muslim wariness of the sea but gave rise in the eastern Mediterranean to a distinct aversion on the part of Muslim powers to naval confrontations. Beginning with Saladin in the late twelfth century and culminating in the period of Mamluk rule (ca. 1250–1517), the attitude of indifference toward the sea turned into one that David Ayalon has aptly characterized as “decidedly negative.” Indeed, the Mamluks embarked upon a systematic policy of destroying the fortifications of the cities and towns of the Syro-Palestinian coast, thereby denying to any

potential enemy a coastal foothold from which he might then penetrate inland and threaten the very foundations of their power. Ports and coastal towns of Egypt were not as severely affected by this policy as those on the Syrian coast.¹⁰

In a section of his *Muqaddima* devoted to the requirements for town planning, Ibn Khaldûn offers the following advice and analysis:

In connection with coastal towns situated on the sea, one must see to it that they are situated on a mountain or amidst a people sufficiently numerous to come to the support of the town when an enemy attacks it. The reason for this is that a town that is near the sea but does not have within its area tribes who share its group feeling, or is not situated in rugged mountain territory, is in danger of being attacked at night by surprise. Its enemies can easily attack it with a fleet and do harm to it. They can be sure that the city has no one to call to its support and that the urban population, accustomed to tranquility, has become dependent on others for its protection and does not know how to fight. Among cities of this type, for instance, are Alexandria in the East, and Tripoli, Bone, and Sale in the West. . . . Alexandria was designated a "border city" (*thaghr*) by the 'Abbasids, although the 'Abbasid sway extended beyond Alexandria to Barqah (in Libya) and Ifriqiyya (Tunisia). The designation of Alexandria as a "border city" expressed 'Abbasid fears that attacks against Alexandria could be made from the sea. Such fears were justified in the case of Alexandria because of its exposed situation. This situation was probably the reason why Alexandria and Tripoli were attacked by the enemy in Islamic times on numerous occasions.¹¹

In this passage Ibn Khaldûn expresses an insight distilled from the medieval Islamic experience, to wit, that the sea and its coastline were totally dependent on the hinterland for their safety and protection. This strategic reality had profound military, naval, and political implications; it also affected the pattern and organization of trade, especially in the eleventh and later centuries, when international commerce across the Mediterranean was in a period of full expansion. Militarily it meant that in Fatimid Egypt, for example, Cairo rather than Alexandria would serve as the primary naval base for warships. Similarly, in the commercial sphere, it was Fustat-Cairo rather than Alexandria that served as the focal point of an extensive network of Mediterranean exchange, even though Alexandria was the port through which most of the merchandise constituting this trade was carried.¹²

How did Alexandria's peripheral political and commercial status affect the city's life and institutions? For the eleventh through

thirteenth century the documents of the genizah in Cairo offer us some original and unmediated insights into this question. These documents were found in an abandoned storage room of an ancient synagogue in Old Cairo (Fustat), stored there together with tens of thousands of no-longer-usable fragments of religious and ritual texts. According to Jewish custom, these were intended for interment in the hallowed ground of an adjacent cemetery. For reasons unknown, the discarded papers were left to accumulate above ground for a period of over eight centuries. The bulk of the documentary material, such as letters, contracts, and court records, dates from the eleventh through thirteenth century. Most were written in Judaeo-Arabic, that is, the Arabic language expressed in Hebrew characters. In addition to specifically religious material, this trove contains voluminous and uniquely valuable material bearing on social, economic, and other aspects of what we might term “secular” life. Although the letters derive from a Jewish milieu, the practices and reality they mirror were those of the general society in which these Jewish merchants lived and worked. Numerically, the largest component of this latter category of documentary material consists of business letters exchanged between merchants and others involved in the expanding Mediterranean trade of the times as well as the commerce between the Mediterranean world and the lands bordering the Indian Ocean. Their geographic provenance includes numerous ports and inland towns extending all the way from Spain to India. An inordinately large proportion of these letters, perhaps as much as twenty percent, passed between Alexandria and Fustat.

In discussing Egyptian urban life in the high Middle Ages, S. D. Goitein has written that “the unmistakable testimony of hundreds of Geniza letters proves that Fustat, the inland city, was also the commercial and financial capital of the country on which Alexandria, the originally Greek maritime town, was economically dependent in every respect.”¹³ With the exception of its important port facilities, the image of Alexandria emerging from this voluminous correspondence is that of a very provincial town. In administrative and technical matters relating to trade and exchange, Alexandria depended on Fustat.

Fustat was Egypt’s money market and banking center. Foreign currency, even from regions with which Alexandria had maritime ties, was available primarily in Fustat. When they were in need of such currencies, Alexandrians had to look to Fustat for their supplies, and when they had such currencies in their possession, they were obliged to send them to Fustat to exchange them for coins that were accepted and legal tender in Egypt. Typical in this respect is a passage from a letter sent from Alexandria to Fustat in or around 1050: “I sent you two purses containing 205 Nizâriyya dinars, coined in al-Mahdiyya. Kindly

work to exchange them into local tender and hold the money thus obtained until my arrival.”¹⁴

In another letter from about the same time, an Alexandrian trader addresses his associate in Fustat as follows:

I sent you a purse with fifty dinars, which are no longer current here in Alexandria but are excellent and first-class in Fustat. Please exchange them for Syrian dinars, whose legends are arranged in lines. These should be coins of good quality of the type you usually procure. . . . Your commission shall be one dinar for every hundred changed. I shall send you another purse by the end of the holidays. Please execute the order immediately, for I need these coins urgently.¹⁵

Some banking and exchange activity must certainly have occurred in medieval Alexandria’s marketplace, yet these passages and the many others like them found in business letters sent from Alexandria make it abundantly clear that most serious banking and financial transactions relating to international commerce took place in Fustat rather than in Alexandria.

What was true for money and finance was also true for the major commodities on which international trade was based. Fustat was the emporium, the entrepôt of the entire region. Merchandise from all corners of the globe was amassed and stored there and subsequently redistributed from Fustat. Its markets were rich, well supplied, and cosmopolitan. This was in contrast to the markets of Alexandria, which in terms of variety were much less well furnished. Even commodities from Mediterranean countries that were imported via Alexandria often had to be obtained from Fustat when they became scarce in Alexandria.

In a late eleventh-century letter written from Alexandria to Fustat, the writer tells his associate in Fustat:

Please take note that neither pepper, cinnamon, nor ginger are available in Alexandria. If you have any of these commodities then keep them, for the Byzantine merchants are keen solely on them. All the Byzantine merchants are about to leave for Fustat. They are only waiting for the arrival of two additional ships from Constantinople.¹⁶

This excerpt clearly illustrates that the important transactions of international commerce took place in Fustat rather than in Alexandria. Alexandria was a point of entry and departure for goods and people involved in Mediterranean commerce, but it was much less a center of distribution and exchange. Also, its markets were much less well stocked than those of Fustat in the major commodities of long-distance maritime

trade. In another letter from Alexandria written somewhat earlier in the century, the addressee in Fustat is instructed to hold his date-palm fiber until the arrival of the foreign merchants, thus confirming the relative poverty of medieval Alexandrine markets.¹⁷

One should definitely *not* infer from these examples that large and significant commercial transactions with European and other foreign merchants never took place in Alexandria. They did, and the genizah texts testify to many such occurrences. In the latter half of the eleventh century and during the twelfth century the demand emanating from Europe was quite powerful, and foreign merchants coming to Egypt were voracious in their eagerness to acquire merchandise for their home markets wherever they could find goods. The commercial correspondence of the genizah, however, leaves no doubt that, with the possible exception of raw silk, Alexandria was distinctly a secondary supply market—one might even say, a distant second—when compared to Fustat-Cairo.

Prices for such staples of the trans-Mediterranean trade as pepper, silk, and sal ammoniac were apparently higher in Alexandria than in Fustat.¹⁸ This would tend to confirm our contention that it was in Fustat, to the exclusion of Alexandria, that the “wholesale,” large-volume market for these goods was located.

The narrower choice of goods and their limited availability on the Alexandrian markets extended beyond the major commodities of Mediterranean trade. Ordinary commodities for daily life such as shoes, certain kinds of clothing, parchment, ink, and implements of different sorts were regularly acquired by Alexandrians in the bazaars of Fustat. Apparently they were not available in such variety and quality in Alexandria. A refrain in many genizah letters from Alexandria, referring to their markets, is “Nothing is worthwhile buying here.”¹⁹ This phrase often prefaces requests to friends in Fustat to send various supplies to Alexandria. In a letter from about 1060, Ibrahim b. Farah, the representative of the merchants (*wakīl al-tujjār*) in Alexandria, ordered two ounces of ink to be bought in Fustat “from the Persian at the gate of the mosque.”²⁰ Although a resident of Alexandria, Ibrahim b. Farah was a frequent commuter between that city and Fustat and was, as this passage indicates, intimately familiar with the markets of the capital city. For merchants like Ibrahim, Alexandria was functionally very much akin to a suburb of Cairo.

The supply of goods Alexandrian merchants kept in stock does not seem to have been very large. One genizah letter reports that during a Muslim festival, no decent item of clothing was available in the town since everything had been sold out.²¹

Throughout the eleventh and for most of the twelfth centuries, flax was probably the single most important commodity exported from Egypt to the West. Acquiring sufficient supplies of this commodity

in the Egyptian countryside where it was produced was a major pursuit of the genizah merchants during the winter months. From October through February they fanned out into the towns and villages of the Delta and the Faiyum to buy raw flax in anticipation of the trading season beginning in the early spring. In the context of eleventh-century Mediterranean trade this was a crucial activity. Quite a number of letters concerning these flax-gathering expeditions have been preserved in the genizah, including many to and from traders who were from Alexandria. Virtually all the flax acquired during this period of feverish activity was destined for markets in Europe and North Africa, and many of the bales would be shipped by sea via Alexandria. Yet, the entire endeavor was coordinated, administered, and financed not from Alexandria but from Fustat, and the hundreds of bales of flax purchased in the countryside were sent first to depots in the Egyptian capital to be stored until they were sold or reshipped via Alexandria. In the export of flax as with so many other trade commodities Fustat was the entrepôt and distribution center, and Alexandria was basically a port and transit point.²²

A somewhat similar tendency toward transience is discernible among the Mediterranean merchants who hailed from Alexandria. We can compile an impressive list of eleventh- and twelfth-century traders who settled or made their permanent base in Alexandria. Yet by comparison to those whose base was in Fustat, the Alexandrian merchants tended to travel and move around much more. They were what Goitein has called “peregrinators.” The center of sedentary trade and sedentary traders was Fustat-Cairo.

For foreigners as well, Alexandria was a more transitory place than Fustat. People from abroad stayed for shorter periods, just to do their business and then leave. In Fustat, foreign merchants would frequently spend a large part of the trading season and occasionally stay over the entire winter. The very temporary and transitory nature of the foreign presence in eleventh- and twelfth-century Alexandria may have contributed to the rowdiness, drinking, and similar behavior to which the genizah documents occasionally attest. Unruliness and unrest among the ordinary people within the Jewish community of Alexandria and among the general Alexandrine population seem to have been characteristic.²³

One could translate Alexandria’s medieval condition into Braudellian terms by stating that during this period there was a disjunction between its long-term structural (= geographical) position and its middle- and short-term distance from the center of political and economic power. This disjunction was bridged, at least in commerce, by a “community of information” between the two cities. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the genizah documents attest to an intense exchange of people and information.

The commercial mail service between Alexandria and Cairo in the latter half of the eleventh century was regular and prompt. Several mail couriers—both Muslims and Jews—operated on fixed schedules between the two cities, thus providing an active and frequent service. Letters carried by the regular mail service took from four to six days to travel from one city to a destination in the other; there was, as well, a *fayj tayyâr*, a “flying courier,” who provided an express service, and one special messenger is recorded as having made the round-trip between Cairo and Alexandria within seven days.²⁴ In addition to the commercial mail service, merchants availed themselves of the services of colleagues, friends, and travelers who regularly journeyed between Cairo and Alexandria to carry letters, news, and goods from one place to the other.

It was not only letters that were exchanged frequently. There seems to have been an unending stream of merchants traveling back and forth between Alexandria and Fustat. Plans for travel from one city to the other are mentioned in almost every business letter.

The frequency of personal and epistolary communication created a community of information on a wide range of economic, commercial, and financial matters. This community of information, so clearly reflected in the genizah letters, was largely responsible for making the commercial distance between Alexandria and Fustat significantly smaller than the geographical distance between the two cities.

Much of the discussion at the conference that gave rise to the present volume was framed by the notion of *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*: Alexandria by Egypt. In the fields of art, culture, ideology, and religion, we were exposed to a variety of perspectives concerning the extent to which Hellenistic and Roman Alexandria was either *by* or *of* Egypt or, more plausibly in my view, both *by* and *of* Egypt. With the coming of Islam in the seventh century, the notion of *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* was radically transformed. Alexandria was designated by the Arabic term *thaghr*: border or march city. This transformation entailed the slight northward shift of Alexandria’s imaginary boundary from the southern edge of its city limits—a boundary that though porous was thought somehow to separate and distinguish Alexandria from Egypt while still leaving it connected to other parts of the Mediterranean world—to the very edge of the sea. While the geographical distance covered by this shift in boundaries was almost negligible, the cultural and historical distance this border shift entailed was enormous, since it reversed the Hellenistic and Roman cultural and political topography of the city. It erased forever the imaginary line that separated Alexandria from Egypt while complicating its relationship to the rest of the Mediterranean. The language of Alexandria and the language of Egypt were no longer distinct but became one and the same. Within a century of the conquest of Alexandria by the Muslims, Arabic became the dominant language of

the city and of the region. While in some instances Greek and Coptic bilingualism lingered for some time, Arabic quickly achieved the status of the common medium of exchange. With a new common language came a new shared social and intellectual culture. The religious transformation progressed more slowly. It appears that it was not until sometime in the eleventh century that a majority of Egyptians adopted Islam.

As far as we know, Alexandria was no different from the rest of Egypt in this respect. In its diversity, in its slow movement toward islamization, it conformed to the general trends discernible in the rest of Egypt. Thus, with the coming of Islam, Alexandria moved definitively from being *by* Egypt to becoming permanently *in* and *of* Egypt. It remained so throughout the Middle Ages, throughout the pre-modern period, and even throughout its fascinating cosmopolitan phase in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I believe that it is safe to conclude that the change the city experienced in the seventh century was irrevocable and that Alexandria forevermore will be *in* and *of* Egypt.

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Notes

- 1 Jamâl al-Dîn al-Shayyâl, *Ta'rikh madînat al-iskandariyya fi 'asr al-islâm* (Alexandria 1967); Al-Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azîz Sâlim, *Ta'rikh madînat al-iskandariyya wa-hadâratihâ fi al-'asr al-islâmî*, 2nd ed. (Cairo 1969). The books cited here are comprehensive surveys of Alexandria's history during the Middle Ages. Both Shayyâl and Sâlim have contributed many other articles and book-length studies on the history of the city during the early Islamic period.
- 2 Both quotations are from Shayyâl (note 1 above), introduction, p. iii.
- 3 For a concise but highly informative survey of local histories in the medieval period, see F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden 1968), pp. 150–72.
- 4 H. Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (London 1958).
- 5 See S. D. Goitein, "Cairo: An Islamic City," in I. M. Lapidus, ed., *Middle Eastern Cities* (Berkeley 1969), p. 82; idem, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 4 (Berkeley 1984), pp. 6–10; A. L. Udovitch, "A Tale of Two Cities," in D. Herlihy, H. A. Miskimin, and A. L. Udovitch, eds., *The Medieval City* (New Haven 1977), pp. 144–48; also Al-Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azîz Sâlim, *Takhîr madînat al-iskandariyya wa-'umrânihâ bil-'asr al-islâmî* (Dâr al-ma'ârif, Lubnân 1964), pp. 50–55.
- 6 Ibn Khaldûn, *The Muqaddima: An Introduction to History*, vol. 2, trans. F. Rosenthal (Princeton 1970), p. 39.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 See, for example, the Egyptian chronicler Al-Maqrîzî's compact and perceptive summary of the naval history of the Islamic world up to his time (fifteenth century) in his *Al-mawâ'iz wal-'tibâr bi-dhikr al-khitat wal-athâr*, vol. 2 (Bulaq A.H. 1270), pp. 189–97.
- 9 Ibid., p. 19.
- 10 See D. Ayalon, "The Mamluks and Naval Power—A Phase of the Struggle between Islam and Christian Europe," in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, vol. 1, no. 8 (1965). This brief, lucid paper is a seminal contribution to our understanding of medieval Islamic attitudes toward naval matters. Although Ayalon focuses on Egypt between 1250 and 1500, many of his ideas are relevant to earlier periods as well.
- 11 Ibn Khaldûn (note 6 above), pp. 248–49. I have slightly altered Rosenthal's translation in some instances.
- 12 A. M. Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organization in the Eastern Mediterranean* (Cairo 1966), pp. 48–50; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1 (Berkeley 1967), p. 296; Al-Maqrîzî (note 8 above), p. 193.
- 13 Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (note 5 above), p. 7.
- 14 Oxford University, Bodleian Library, ms. Heb. d68, fol. 108, l. 11; Goitein (note 12 above), p. 234.
- 15 Cambridge University Library, T.S. 8 J 18, fol. 27, ll. 5–10; Goitein (note 12 above), p. 238.
- 16 Goitein (note 12 above), p. 44; ref. is to Cambridge University Library, T.S. 12, fol. 369v, ll. 9–16.
- 17 Palm fiber reference is to Cambridge University Library, T.S. 10 J 16, fol. 2, l. 18.
- 18 For pepper, see Goitein (note 12 above), p. 221; silk: *ibid.*, p. 223; sal ammoniac: *ibid.*, p. 229.
- 19 Jewish Theological Seminary Library (New York), ENA 1822, fol. 47, l. 23. This letter, dating from the latter half of the eleventh century, was sent from Alexandria to Fustat in midwinter by the well-known Alexandrian merchant Isaac Nîsâbûrî; concerning him, see S. D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton 1973), p. 244. Earlier in the same letter, the writer complains of the sluggishness of the Alexandrian markets.
- 20 Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (note 5 above), p. 349 n. 22, referring to Cambridge University Library, T.S. 13 J 17, fol. 15v, ll. 8–9.
- 21 Goitein (note 12 above), p. 195.
- 22 Goitein (note 12 above), pp. 224–28.
- 23 Goitein (note 12 above), p. 17.
- 24 Goitein (note 12 above), pp. 285–90.

Alexandrian Culture in Modern Times: Egyptian Identity and Cosmopolitan Aspects

Mohamed Ghoneim

The arrival of Mohammed Ali in Alexandria in 1805 set in motion a chain of events that would see a small, desolate town—victim of centuries of Ottoman neglect—develop into a major trading city. This town, aided and abetted by its ancient foundation and associations, was, a century and a half later, to develop an almost mythical status as the epitome of Levantine cosmopolitanism. Alexandria, the ultimate polyglot, a mixture of languages, races, and religions, has become one of the most potent of metaphors, a symbol of cross-cultural dialogue, the focus of nostalgia for something that, if it ever did exist, existed in too small a measure ever to be quantified.

This paper explores the realities behind the mythical city. I shall examine the metropolitan development of the city from the arrival of Mohammed Ali until the early years of the present century. In so doing, I hope to demonstrate both the emergence of a clear Egyptian identity within this most promiscuous of cities and the importance of the dialectical relationship between the Egyptian residents of the city and their foreign counterparts in establishing the ambience that has allowed Alexandria to be so lionized.

Mohammed Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, intended “the gradual modernization of (Egyptian) society along Western lines” to go hand in hand with “the Egyptianization of the life of the nation.”¹ It was a policy that saw Alexandria thrust into the limelight, since Alexandria was Egypt’s Mediterranean port, and no modern nation-state could emerge in the nineteenth century without establishing trading credentials.

September 19, 1807, saw the evacuation of British troops from Egypt. The first phase of superpower rivalry over Egypt was completed. Napoleon’s ill-fated Egyptian expedition had come to an inglorious end—militarily at least—and the British had begun the process that eventually was to establish Egypt as their province. But in the meantime, the house of Mohammed Ali was to come into its own. He arrived in Alexandria the day after the British evacuation, ushering in a period that was to see the gradual erosion of Alexandria’s position as a direct dependency of Istanbul.² For centuries the Ottomans had viewed the city as

little more than an extension of their own capital, much as in an earlier period the Greeks had considered Alexandria “*ad Aegyptum*,” an extension of their own homeland. It was the beginning of the long process of integration whereby Alexandria, historically isolated from the rest of Egypt, was to become the nation’s second city.

The most potent symbol of that integration was perhaps the cutting of the Mahmoudiya Canal. Alexandria was at last to be linked with its Egyptian hinterland. And the canal, providing a channel for trade, an improved water supply, and the potential to increase the area of arable land through increased irrigation, was to provide the foundation for the modern development of the city.³

Between 1810 and 1839 Mohammed Ali saw the fruition of many of his plans. Alexandria’s harbor was widened and deepened, the famous shipyard established, the lighthouse constructed, and with the completion of the arsenal, the city emerged as both a military and a naval base. As Mohammed Ali pursued his policy of establishing Egypt as a preeminent trading nation, so the city began to attract foreign merchants and entrepreneurs.

When Mohammed Ali first came to Alexandria, it was a town of seven or eight thousand inhabitants.⁴ When the viceroy died in 1848, it was a city whose population exceeded a hundred thousand.⁵ This development was ad hoc but not an outgrowth of economic shantytowns. Indeed, in 1845 James Augustus St. John was able to write in *Nubia and Egypt* that Alexandria, after such hasty development, was “a residential place without any doubt preferable to all other cities in Egypt. In some respects . . . it could even hold up in comparison with the ports of Italy and France.”⁶

Foreign Communities and the Beginnings of the Manifestations of the Cosmopolitan Spirit

At the start of the French expedition to Egypt (1798–1801), the number of foreigners living in Alexandria did not exceed one hundred. But by 1833, due to the favorable circumstances created by the viceroy, Alexandria had almost five thousand foreign inhabitants.⁷ They were attracted by the preferential treatment they were accorded by the viceroy, including concessionary taxes for foreign merchants that saw them paying less than the rates imposed on Egyptian traders.⁸

Foreigners were encouraged to invest in the city’s markets, which became major trading venues for a vast array of commodities, and a number of foreign consulates began to spring up in the city. By the late 1820s Britain, Russia, Austria, Sardinia, Holland, Spain, Sweden, Tuscany, Sicily, Denmark, Prussia, Greece, the United States of America, and France had all established consular relations in Alexandria.⁹

From the beginning in 1807 to the end of his reign in 1848,

Mohammed Ali's policies toward Alexandria were geared toward the establishment of an international trading center. He was careful to secure an environment that would be hospitable to Europeans. Accordingly, all restrictions on the freedoms of Christians were removed. Church bells were allowed to ring out over the city, and many religious foundations were established.¹⁰ As the city expanded, a commercial zone was established to the southeast of the old town containing consulates, offices, hotels, restaurants, coffeehouses, foreign churches, and hospitals. These ambitious urban developments more often than not were planned by foreigners commissioned by the viceroy to oversee the development of his modern, "European" city. Along the north-south axis of the Mahmoudiya Canal foreigners were granted plots of land on which to build, and a residential suburb was established consisting of large houses set in spacious gardens.¹¹

But foreign influence was not to be restricted to the physical appearance of the city. The influx of foreigners was to affect every sphere of civic life: not least, the foreign communities, particularly the French, were to leave their imprint on the education system. In addition to the founding of elementary and secondary schools, a medical school was established, together with naval and maritime academies.¹²

Alexandria's second great period of urban development occurred during the reign of Ismail Pasha (1863–1878). It was the khedive Ismail who was to announce that Egypt no longer belonged to Africa but was a part of Europe. And certainly, to all appearances, Alexandria was the quintessential northern Mediterranean port.

Ismail was, if anything, more anxious to modernize than his grandfather, Mohammed Ali. But his plans needed capital investment. Banks began to spring up all over Alexandria, investing capital in the city that by 1873 was processing ninety-four percent of Egypt's exports.¹³ Foreigners continued to flock into the city, and a further expansion was necessary. The Raml suburb developed, as villas and mansions were built in an eclectic mixture of European styles, from Baroque and Venetian Gothic to the most austere Classicism.

As a European city, Alexandria centered on Mohammed Ali Square (previously La Place des Consuls), officially inaugurated in 1860, three years before the ascension of Ismail. To the southeast were the Exchange Market building (destroyed by fire in 1977) and the Banco di Roma, imposing architectural monuments to a period of mercantilist optimism.¹⁴ In 1872 a bronze statue of Mohammed Ali was erected in the square named after him, a fitting monument to the founder of modern Egypt, lying at the heart of the europeanized city he did so much to create. It seems somehow appropriate that the statue should be by a French sculptor, Jacquemont.

Ismail, too, left his monuments, not least among them the

Nouzha Public Gardens. It was during Ismail's reign that "the Europeans became not only part of Alexandrian society but also partners in the municipal administration. The police force included 50 foreigners, the majority of them Swiss."¹⁵ But it is important to remember that the real nature of the bilateral relations between European governments and Egypt during Ismail's reign was less geared toward mutual cooperation than toward European economic domination. Van Bembelen, a Dutch judge sitting on the Mixed Court of Alexandria, realized this when he characterized such relations as being aimed solely at the implementation of a European policy whose objective was to protect the interests of European governments and their citizens resident in Egypt. The policy was, he concluded, utterly selfish, since it barely took Egyptian interests into account.¹⁶

But times were changing. The emergence of the revolutionary nationalist movement led by Orabi in 1881–1882 was aimed as much against foreign hegemony as against the despotism of the khedive Tawfik. Orabi's movement constituted the first real threat to the foreign communities in Egypt, a threat that was fully realized by the European governments. In 1882 the British and French fleets arrived at Alexandria, and tensions finally reached the surface on June 11 when thirty-eight foreigners and eleven Egyptians were killed in the Alexandrian Massacre. Within a week, thirty-two thousand foreigners had evacuated the city. By July 11, when the British began to bombard Alexandria, over sixty thousand foreigners had left—practically the entire foreign population.¹⁷

The foreign communities only returned after the British occupation of the city. By 1897 foreigners constituted some fifteen percent of the city's total population, according to the census of that year. The Greek community alone consisted of over fifteen thousand people. There were also sizable communities of Italians (over eleven thousand), British (eight thousand), and French (five thousand). By 1927, just thirty years later, the total foreign population had expanded to almost a hundred thousand.¹⁸

As Alexandria entered the twentieth century, it was a unique melting pot, a city that consisted of numerous autonomous but integrated communities that preserved their ethnic traditions and were allowed to practice their religious rites. These communities enjoyed a sense of solidarity that was founded on a flourishing economy and that was underwritten by the "Capitulations," treaties that exempted foreigners from Egyptian law and placed them under the jurisdiction of their own courts.¹⁹

What image of Alexandria did these foreign communities produce? Certainly in the literary outpourings that the city inspired one finds very little acknowledgment of the social realities that underwrote the existence of the foreign literati. Rather, Alexandria becomes a reposi-

tory of feelings, of responses that are not necessarily directed toward the city as it was: rather they encompass a place that had, to some extent, become the victim of its own mythology.

In assessing the cultural impact of Alexandria's foreign communities, it is perhaps most convenient to look at the practical ramifications of the foreign presence first and then to move on to the various fictive accounts of the city.

From its earliest days Alexandria had been linked, both practically and imaginatively, with Greece (the city was, after all, founded by Alexander the Great). It was therefore hardly surprising that the Greek community should be among the largest and most influential of the foreign groups inhabiting the city. Their influence had been noticeable in a number of spheres, not least in the field of education. In addition to establishing primary and secondary schools, they also founded an evening school specializing in the study of foreign languages. Serving the Greek community was an active publishing industry. Daily and weekly newspapers were produced in Greek, together with less frequent periodicals.²⁰ Publishing houses consolidated their activities, producing an extensive list of titles, including a Greek-Arabic dictionary that appeared in 1898, and three translations of the Holy Quran. Between 1862 and 1972 some five thousand titles appeared.²¹ The Greek reading public was well served, both in the dissemination of news and in their access to cultural and literary periodicals. Further enriching the cultural life of the community were the numerous associations that organized a wide variety of events, ranging from conferences and exhibitions to amateur dramatic productions.²²

If there existed a historical precedent for Greek influence in the city, there was a similar precedent for Italian influence. Alexander may well have founded the city, bequeathing it to his general, Ptolemy, but the Ptolemaic dynasty ended when Cleopatra and her lover, Mark Antony, were defeated by Octavian.

By the end of World War I the number of Italians in Egypt exceeded fifty thousand, half of whom resided in Alexandria. Their community was well organized within the civic structures of the city, and, largely because they arrived early in the nineteenth century, the Italians had become extraordinarily well integrated in the city's social and economic fabric. They retained long-established links with the Egyptian community, which facilitated their economic life. The Italians in Alexandria were chiefly tradespeople, some wealthy, some not so wealthy. They comprised, so to speak, the trading middle classes, technicians and craft workers, as well as the more usual professionals and entrepreneurs.

They established a number of schools, the most famous being the Don Bosco Institute; they published the Italian-language newspaper *Il Messaggero Egiziano*; and they founded the Italian Hospital.²³

Along with the Greeks and Italians, the French, too, played an important role in the development of the Mediterranean character of Alexandria. Their influence was felt most strongly in the field of education. Some thirty educational institutions, including La Mission Laïque, which governed Le Lycée d'Alexandrie, and the Frère des Écoles Chrétiennes, which controlled both the Saint Marc and Saint Catherine colleges, contributed to a thriving francophone community.²⁴

Although far less well integrated socially, the British, too, left an overwhelming impact on the city. They displayed a tendency to “keep themselves to themselves,” a characteristic that marked the experience of British colonialism for many countries.²⁵ Nevertheless, they did establish a number of schools; hospitals; and social, literary, and sporting clubs, whose influence on the tone of the city's cultural life was immense. The vast majority of these institutions continued to operate until the abdication of King Farouk in 1952 and the subsequent establishment of the republic, which effectively brought an end to British control of Egypt. Among the most significant British institutions established in Alexandria were Victoria College (which was open to pupils of all nationalities), Saint Andrew's School, the Scottish School for Girls, the British Boys' School, the British Book Club, the Society for Amateurs of Drama and Music, the Sporting Club, the Union Club (whose first president was Lord Cromer), the British Boat Club, and scout troops for boys and girls.²⁶

The foreign communities already mentioned enjoyed a homogenous identity based on national origin. The same cannot be said about the Jewish community in the city, whose identity was based on religion, though this does not mean that we can disregard their impact and influence on the cultural and socioeconomic life of the city. The number of Jews in Alexandria began to increase during the reign of Mohammed Ali. By 1850 the community was sufficiently strong to warrant a new synagogue, and the Eliahou Hannabi Synagogue was established. A newspaper published in French but financed and controlled by Jewish interests, *La Liberté*, was initially established in support of the Egyptian Nationalist Movement led by Saad Zaghloul against British occupation. This newspaper is perhaps the most eloquent testimony to the degree of integration achieved by the Jewish community in the centuries in which they played an active part in the civic life of Alexandria.²⁷

All the communities contributed, on a day-to-day level, to the cosmopolitanism that had characterized the city since its initial expansion under Mohammed Ali. But it is to writers that we must turn if we want to understand just how that image came to be fixed in the imagination, particularly in the imagination of non-Egyptians.

Let us first examine the work of Constantine Peter Cavafy, since he provides the paradigm for many later literary outpourings that

base themselves ostensibly on a contemporaneous response to the author's experience of Alexandria.

Cavafy was born in Alexandria in 1863. Two years after the death of his father in 1870, Cavafy left with his family for England, only to return to the city in 1879. What distinguishes the poetry of Cavafy is its complex intermingling of the Alexandria he knew with its ancient past. The city operates, metaphorically at least, as the location of the meeting between past and present.

"Cavafy gave," according to Jane Lagoudis Pinchin, "the city a new mythology and Alexandria gave the poet a history and a setting in which he could ground his poems and hear his voice."²⁸

The past remains eternally present, time enters into a flux which, exploited in the description of psychological moods, precludes any clear definition between what has been and what is.

Cavafy's characters are, more or less, linked with Alexandria. He is much praised by critics for

his realistic descriptions of everyday life in Cosmopolitan Alexandria of his time, as well as his ambiguous impressions concerning the Egyptian landscape ("Morning Sea"). From the beginning of the twentieth century, there is also a poem by him which constitutes protest at bloody actions undertaken by the British colonial rule against the Arab population ("27 June, 1906, 2 p.m.").²⁹

In his historical poems, Cavafy remains always a Hellenist. Strange then that he should have chosen Mark Antony to represent the defeated Greek hero who "no longer deserting oriental Hellenism in disgust, no longer deserting his city, is now a true Greek, with the courage to watch Alexandria abandon him, and the knowledge that nothing that beautiful would ever appear again."³⁰ In the poem "The God Abandons Antony" Cavafy reaches a final synthesis between past and present, between myth and reality, between history and actuality, and, most significantly, between poet and hero. Mark Antony is, after all, none other than Cavafy.

When at the hour of midnight
an invisible choir is suddenly heard passing
with exquisite music, with voices—
Do not lament your fortune that at last subsides,
your life's work that has failed, your schemes that
have proved illusions.
But like a man prepared, like a brave man,
bid farewell to her, to Alexandria who is departing.
Above all, do not delude yourself, do not say that

it is a dream,
 that your ear was mistaken.
 Do not condescend to such empty hopes,
 like a man for long prepared, like a brave man,
 like to the man who was worthy of such a city,
 go to the window firmly,
 and listen with emotion,
 but not with the prayers and complaints of the coward
 (Ah! supreme rapture!)
 Listen to the notes, to the exquisite instruments
 of the mystic choir,
 and bid farewell to her, to Alexandria whom you are losing.³¹

If we take Cavafy as the paradigm, it is precisely because of this confusion between an inviolate past informing the present in such a way that the nostalgia prevents any tarnishing of the surface. Alexandria is, to Cavafy, everything. This is not to say that actuality plays no part at all in Cavafy's art. But we have to view Cavafy's city not just from the perspective of the poet, in itself deliberately confused, but from a perspective that contains its own nostalgias, propagated through the writings of others.

Not everyone was quite as noble as Cavafy when it came to bidding a fictional farewell to the city, least of all Lawrence Durrell, whose four novels, *Justine* (1957), *Balthazar* (1958), *Mountolive* (1958), and *Clea* (1960) together form the *Alexandria Quartet*. The massive success of these novels, published in rapid sequence after the Suez crisis, could well be attributed to the functions they served in explaining to an entire generation the reasons why the sun had set over the empire on which it was supposed to shine eternally.

But before examining the role of Durrell in fixing the image of the city for a vast English-reading public, we should examine the work of E. M. Forster. In many ways Forster is much closer to Cavafy than he is to Durrell, and it is no coincidence that in *Pharos and Pharoslon*, Forster's second book on Alexandria (published in 1923), there should appear an essay on the Greek poet.

Forster arrived in Egypt in 1915, at the height of World War I. As a Red Cross volunteer, he was stationed in Alexandria. His fascination with the city resulted in *Alexandria: A History and a Guide*, which is often lauded as the finest guidebook ever written. In compiling his guide, Forster was much influenced by Cavafy's preoccupation with the city's past. But unlike Cavafy, Forster does not restrict himself to Alexandria's classical heritage. He does not shirk the Islamic period, and he refutes the classical predilections of so many of his contemporaries when he writes: "The Arabs were anything but barbarians; their own great city of Cairo is sufficient answer to that charge."³²

Despite the emphasis on establishing a historical perspective, the content of Forster's first book on Alexandria does not belie its title. Amid the undeniably literary impressions of the city are comprehensive maps and plans of the most important sites, together with meticulous descriptions of the squares and streets, the palaces and gardens, mosques and churches, monuments and museums, banks and casinos, baths and bathing places that formed the physical environment in which Forster lived. Even after seven decades, Forster's guide retains a startling immediacy for anyone who knows the city.

Pharos and Pharillon, the second of Forster's literary excavations, in fact consists of pieces that first appeared in the *Egyptian Mail*. Again the book is organized around the Cavafian conceit that Alexandria now is merely an amalgam of its past. The first part of the book, *Pharos*, deals exclusively with times past. Personal impressions and contemporary history are allowed to impinge only in the second part of the book.

Forster's empathy with Egyptians was unusual within the British community. In fact, upon his return to England, he wrote a pamphlet whose opposition to the British occupation of Egypt almost certainly contributed to the pressure that would enable Viscount Allenby, the high commissioner for Egypt, to force British recognition of Egyptian sovereignty in 1922.³³

Durrell also arrived in Egypt during a time of war. He entered the country in 1941, fleeing before the Nazi invasion of Greece. For three years he lived in Cairo, working at the British Embassy, before being transferred to Alexandria. It was Durrell's knowledge of Greek that persuaded his superiors to send him there. From the start his attitude to the city that was to provide the setting for his best-known works was ambivalent. In the poem "Conon in Alexandria," he describes the city as an "ashheap of four cultures."³⁴ For Durrell they were already cultures in decay. Alexandria was for him always a poor replacement for the Greece he loved.

Capitally, what is this city of ours? What is resumed in the word Alexandria? In a flash my mind's eye shows me a thousand dust-tormented streets. Flies and beggars own it today—and those who enjoy an intermediate existence between either.³⁵

So opens *Justine*, the first novel in the quartet. If, throughout the novel sequence, Alexandria remains present, Durrell's major preoccupation was, as G. S. Fraser explains, always "centered on his ambivalent characters, for whom the city, being a genius loci, played havoc with their lives and relations."³⁶

Throughout the Suez crisis—an event that saw the wholehearted realization of Egyptian nationalism—as the government sought to acquire control of Egyptian assets, Gamal Abdel Nasser was systemati-

cally demonized in the British press. Hardly surprising then that Durrell's *Alexandria Quartet* should find such an appreciative public. For what, after all, does Durrell do but demonize the city? If in the past Alexandria had been culturally promiscuous, she was now little better than a whore. It is the image of the prostitute that dominates Durrell's depiction of the city in which he was forced to live. It is a place imagined, and it is important to remember that the first volume of the quartet appeared a full decade after Durrell had abandoned the city. In her study of Durrell's *Quartet*, Mona Anis hits on a key point when she writes that any account of the novels should "take into consideration, besides the artistic value of the *Quartet*, the necessity of that work and its mythology—like Egypt as a means of defying the reality of the end of the British Empire and the Suez war."³⁷

Unlike both Forster and Cavafy, Durrell clearly had an axe to grind. The imprecision that Cavafy had exploited in using the city as his confessional, as the means to articulate personal states of being, takes on an ideologically loaded direction in Durrell.

In the work of Giuseppe Ungaretti, we find an eloquent testimony to the lingering inspiration provided by the polyglottal city. Ungaretti was born in Alexandria of Italian descent in 1888. His father ran a bakery in the Moharram Bey district. Typically in this multilingual city, Ungaretti first began writing poetry in French. He soon moved on to translating Edgar Allan Poe. In 1912, he abandoned Alexandria for Paris, where he was to become involved with many leading exponents of Modernism, among them Henri Bergson, Guillaume Apollinaire, Pablo Picasso, Georges Braque, Fernan Léger, Giorgio De Chirico, Amedeo Modigliani, and Filippo Tommaso Marinetti. Marinetti is himself an example of the fact that cultural traffic was not entirely one way. The leader of the Italian Futurists was himself born in Alexandria.³⁸

It is to be expected that Alexandrian cosmopolitanism should have its casualties. Ungaretti was shocked by the suicide in Paris in 1913 of his closest Egyptian friend, Mohammed Shehab. How did Ungaretti rationalize the death of his friend? The formula was concise: he said quite simply that his friend "no longer had a home-land."³⁹

Though distance intervened, Ungaretti himself was never to face this dilemma. His emotional ties to the city of his birth sustained both the man and his poetry until his death in 1970. The tone of Ungaretti's work is explicit in its nostalgia. This is perhaps clearest in the poem *Fase*:

Walk walk
I've rediscovered
the well of love
In its thousand-and-

one-nights eye
 I've rested
 Upon the abandoned gardens
 she alit
 like a dove
 Inside the air
 of a noontide
 that was a single swoon
 I picked her
 oranges and jasmine.⁴⁰

Despite Alexandria's constant reappearance in his poetry, Ungaretti was to revisit the city only twice between 1912 and 1970.⁴¹ Such is the potency of this dream city.

The Assertion of Egyptian Identity as Manifested in Alexandrian Culture

Whatever the position of Alexandria as a literary metaphor, whatever its status as a dream city, a city remembered more for what it might once have been than for what it was, Alexandria the place could not escape the exigencies of realpolitik.

It had never, in fact, been anything other than an Egyptian city, inasmuch as it was located in Egypt, even though its complexion might at times have seemed more Levantine than purely Egyptian. This might seem a mundane comment to make, but behind its outward banality lies the fact that Alexandria was always inhabited by a majority of Egyptians.

Like their compatriots all over Egypt, the Egyptians in Alexandria, throughout the reign of Mohammed Ali and his successors, adopted, more or less, "those traditional patterns which were common among Egyptians prior to the introduction of European manners and customs."⁴² A "true" Egyptian is the natural offspring of his richly diversified ancient past. Yet he has proved to be, from a historical perspective, the legitimate son of closely connected Islamic and Arab cultures. To a "true" Egyptian the monotheistic faith of Islam and its noble humane principles of peace, love, justice, dignity, and tolerance are the main achievements to strive for, and these principles are therefore integrated into the Egyptian self as sound behavioral patterns and beliefs. In effect, many devout Egyptians "identify with the great figures of the Arab past. The clemency of Abu Bakr, the noble self-effacement of Umar, the intrepitude of Khalid Ibn Al-Walid, the glitter of Harun Al-Rashid, the chivalry of Saladin—these are not simply historical personalities, but ideal types."⁴³

More important still is the indisputable role that the Holy

Quran has played in spreading, preserving, and reviving the Arabic language and culture. Other Egyptian qualities assimilated from the treasures of Arab heritage are epitomized in the glorification of manliness, with its significant characteristic—courage—and its sharp sense of humor. All these attributes have been absorbed and reshaped in an Egyptian mold unique in itself.⁴⁴

From the earliest days, the political will of “Egyptian” Alexandria accorded neatly with that of the rest of Egypt. Alexandrians were as supportive of Mohammed Ali in his struggles with both the Mamelukes and the Turks as any other Egyptian faction, in spite of the fact that such support ran counter to the will of the Porte in Istanbul. By supporting Mohammed Ali in his struggles against his nominal overlord, the Ottoman sultan, the people of Egypt—not least among them the Egyptian inhabitants of Alexandria—laid the cornerstone for the gradual movement that by 1919 exploded into a full-scale nationalist revolt.

Of course, Alexandria’s position would seem ambivalent at times, and just as her support of Mohammed Ali was to mark the first push toward Egyptian independence, so many of Mohammed Ali’s actions after he assumed control of Egypt were to result in the foreign domination of Alexandria despite which the Egyptian population of the city never quite lost sight of that ultimate goal, independence.

Egypt had, for centuries, been colonized. It had suffered innumerable invasions, by the Hyksos, the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Turks, French, and British. Yet throughout this, Egyptians, in a very real sense, maintained an idea of their own identity as Egyptians, as a people having a profound realization of their own distinct cultural and national identity. Egyptians have always been proud of their contributions to human history and have been fully aware of their Arab and Islamic heritages. They developed, one might argue, an uprooted sense of possessing a proverbial cultural entity as well as an extreme ability to absorb and assimilate foreign cultural influence without losing their cultural or national character.⁴⁵ National character is the key phrase. For in examining the gradual emergence of Alexandria’s Egyptian identity, one is in fact plotting the emergence of the nationalist movement that exploded onto Egypt’s streets on 23 July 1952.

Alexandria was to play an important part in the emergent nationalism. During the rule of Tawfik (1879–1892), Egyptian determination to shake off the yoke of foreign oppression finally gelled into action with the nationalist revolution led by Orabi in 1881–1882. Ismail had been deposed, a victim of the financial machinations of the great powers. During Orabi’s revolution, Alexandria backed the nationalists to the hilt against first the khedive and later the British.

The struggle against British occupation was, to a great extent, conducted in Alexandria. The city was the scene of Mustafa Kamel’s

most important speeches directed against British imperialism. On 22 October 1907 he delivered in the Zizinia Theatre his celebrated speech that included the much-quoted nationalist slogan, "If I had not been born Egyptian, I would have longed to be Egyptian."⁴⁶

Under Khedive Abbas Helmi II (1892–1914), the Egyptian political arena opened up to a degree of political pluralism. Amongst the several emergent parties were the Umma and the National Party. The former produced a manifesto based on the assertion of national independence:

Egypt could not be liberated except by the Egyptians themselves and through reform. The Khedive's power . . . should be assumed by the representatives of the people. (Turkey was regarded as helpless and actual Turkish rule was out of the question.) Foreigners in the service of the government should be gradually replaced by native Egyptians.⁴⁷

When the British deposed the khedive Abbas Helmi II in 1914, declaring Egypt a protectorate, they must have hoped that their action would bring an end to nationalist agitation. It did, however, rather predictably, have the opposite result. It contributed to the resentments that were to culminate in Saad Zaghloul's revolution in 1919, the seminal event of Egypt's early modern history. The British were not tardy in realizing the threat posed by Zaghloul. Almost immediately he was exiled to Malta with three of his followers. Yet the movement of which he was spokesman had gained its own momentum. In reaction to Zaghloul's deportation, the nationalists organized a "systematic sabotage of communications, followed by a general strike and political boycott."⁴⁸ Alexandria was in the forefront of this resistance.

By 1922, when Britain recognized limited Egyptian sovereignty, a large number of Alexandrians had been killed in the battle for independence. Yet, amid the politicking, day-to-day life continued. The period leading up to 1922 saw the emergence of a specifically Egyptian cultural movement in fields as diverse as painting and operetta. Given Alexandria's traditional dominance of Egyptian cultural life, it is not surprising that the major figures in the cultural renaissance should be Alexandrian.

If the ambitions of the great Egyptian reformers of the nineteenth century, exemplified in the works of Rifa'a El-Tahtawi (1801–1873), were simply one aspect of a wider project whose main target was the assertion of national identity, we see these ambitions reaching fruition in the early years of this century in Alexandria.

In colonized countries, nationalism goes hand in hand with modernization. The nascent Egyptian nationalist movement maintained its hold on its traditional supporters while at the same time propagating

social and cultural projects whose informing elements were anything but traditional. Men such as Imam Mohammed Abdu were promoting liberal religious reforms, and the Alexandrian Qassim Amin was initiating the call for the emancipation of women.

The press was instrumental in articulating this new sense of a cohesive national culture. Alexandria was particularly well served in this respect. Between 1873 and 1929 over 130 journals and periodicals were published.⁴⁹ Early publications had been controlled largely by Syrian and Lebanese immigrants, people such as the Takla brothers, Selim and Bishara, who founded *Al-Ahram Daily* in Alexandria in 1875. No less important is the figure of Abdallah El-Nadim (1845–1896), the popular satirist born in Alexandria, who later became the spokesman during Orabi's revolution.

El-Nadim was perhaps the first Egyptian to realize the power of the popular press. He used journalism as the vehicle to attack the British occupiers and to criticize the Egyptian government. His magazine *Al-Tankeet wal Tabkeet* was one of the most articulate opponents of British rule. It was followed by his weekly newspaper *Al-Taif*.⁵⁰

Alexandria's thriving press doubtlessly spent a good deal of space covering the city's diverse cultural activities. Alexandria was, after all, the birthplace of Egyptian theater. Before Selim Naqqash formed his company in Alexandria, theater had been viewed as little more than staged prostitution. It became a respectable art form, not in Cairo, until today home of the National Theater, but in Alexandria.⁵¹

Alexandria also profoundly influenced the course of modern Egyptian music. Though he died at the age of thirty-one, Sayed Darwish (1892–1923) revolutionized not just the form but also the content of Arabic music. He established a tradition that has been a source of inspiration to several generations of Egyptian musicians. In examining his works, it is impossible to ignore the nationalist overtones. Darwish was the first musician to use popular, folkloric themes. He applied harmony and counterpoint to traditional melodies, and in so doing opened up the horizons of Arabic music. He admired both Verdi and Wagner, whose influences can be seen in many of the twenty-two operettas he composed.⁵² It is quite appropriate that Egypt's current national anthem ("Beladi Beladi") should have been composed by this fervent nationalist. There is no doubt that Darwish deserves the title bestowed upon him by everybody in the country: "The Musical Composer of the People."⁵³

In his librettos, Darwish elegantly combined Egyptian colloquial and classical Arabic. The movement toward a vernacular literature was further advanced by Mahmoud Bairam Al-Tunsi. Born in Alexandria in 1893, Al-Tunsi died in Cairo in 1961. Throughout his lifetime, Al-Tunsi often found himself in opposition, both to the British and to Egypt's ruling family. His parody of King Fouad resulted in his exile to

France in 1920. Perhaps the most important of his poems are those informed by the nationalist rebellion against the British, and the group that celebrates the daily life of ordinary Egyptians. Ironically, his best-known poem, "El-Maglis El-Baladi," is written in classical Arabic, a biting repudiation of Alexandria's civic authorities and their decision to impose yet heavier taxes on the city's Egyptian population.⁵⁴ In fact, Al-Tunsi wrote poetry not only as an artistic means of expression but also as an effective political tool that paves the way for justice and national liberation.⁵⁵

If Alexandria was to dominate the musical and literary representation of an emergent Egypt, it was equally to dominate the visual representation of this new land, this Egypt for Egyptians. Among the proto-Modernists who did so much to revitalize the plastic arts in Egypt, the names of Mohamed Nagui and Mahmoud Said are preeminent. These two artists used Alexandria, that most promiscuous of cities, as a vehicle for their articulation of what constitutes Egyptianness:

The world represents mysterious unknown forces that govern human fates. States of nature form a part of the eternal and semipiternal laws. In order to survive, all that man can do is to reach for a common formula of the psychological balance with nature. Thus, he reflects the traditional culture which formed an important part of the Egyptian temperament through generations. It is a culture which his social status helped to deepen. It became one of the basic elements of "the Egyptian character."⁵⁶

The above was written about Mahmoud Said and his view of the organic relationship between culture and the people. In many ways, it may serve as a paradigm for both Said and Nagui since what is being articulated in both artists' work (by Nagui in paintings such as "The School of Alexandria" and "The Procession of Isis," and by Said in "The Alexandrian Women," "Girls from Bahari," "The Family," "The Town," and "Bathing Girls") is less the development of the image of a specific place than the delineation of an Egyptian character.

Foreign Cultural Relations

CAIRO

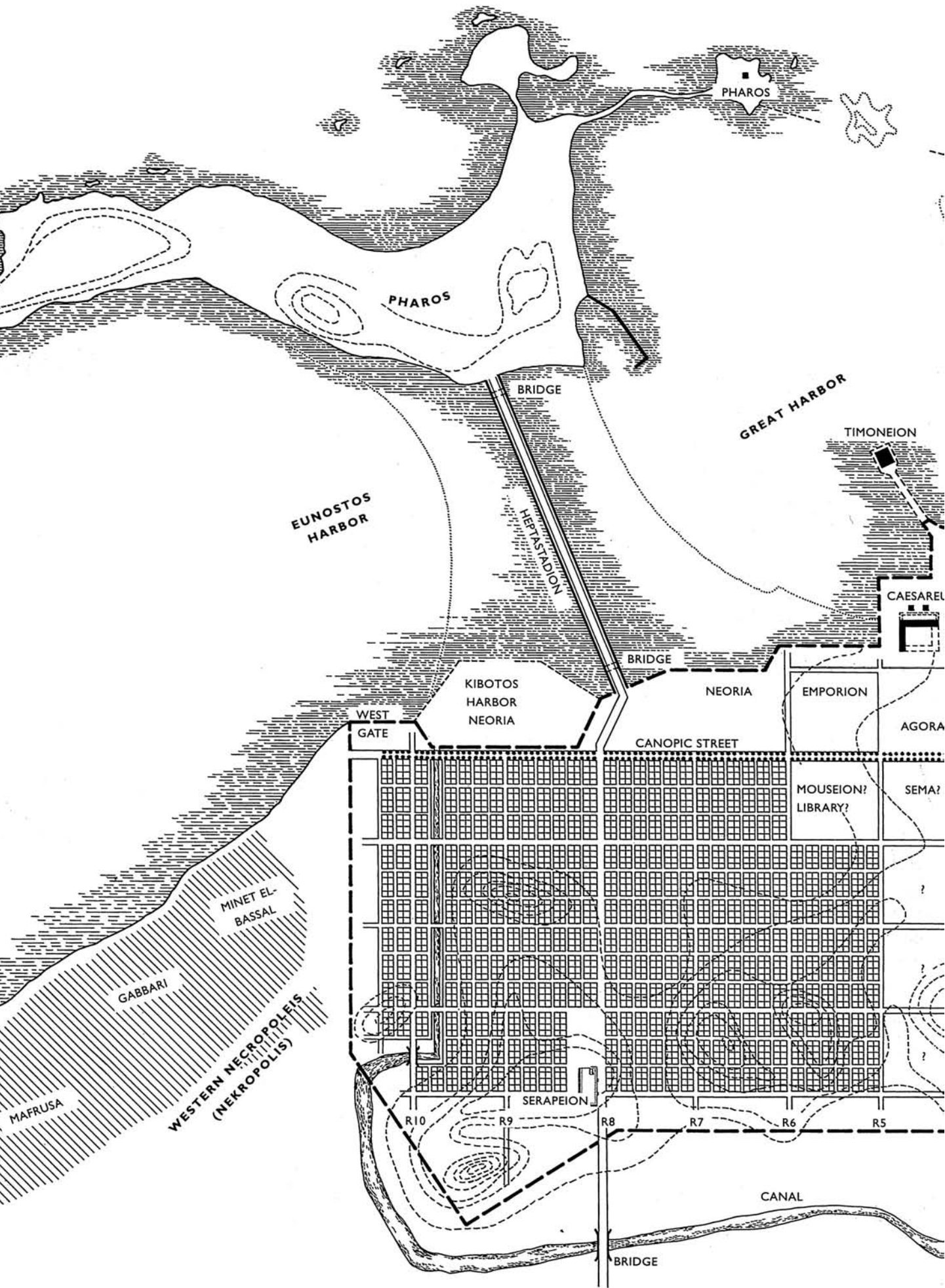
Notes

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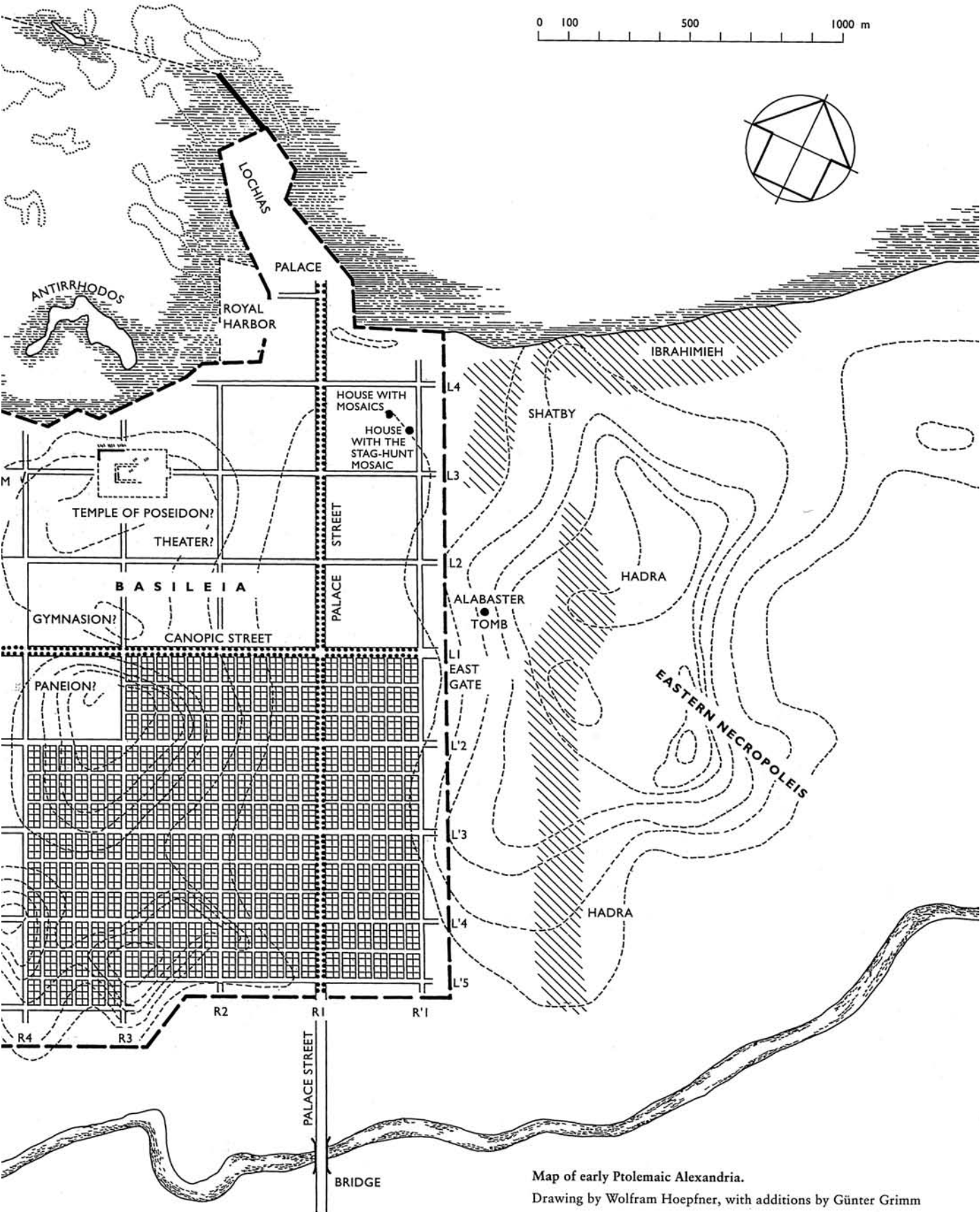
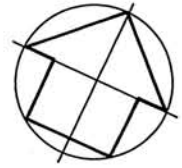
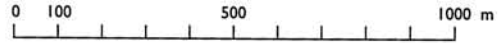
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Reigns of the Ptolemies

Ptolemy I Soter	305–282 B.C.
and Ptolemy II Philadelphos	285–282 B.C.
Ptolemy II Philadelphos	282–246 B.C.
Ptolemy III Euergetes I	246–222 B.C.
Ptolemy IV Philopator	222–205 B.C.
Ptolemy V Epiphanes	205–180 B.C.
Ptolemy VI Philometor	180–164 B.C. and 163–145 B.C.
Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator	145 B.C.
Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II	170–163 B.C. and 145–116 B.C.
Ptolemy IX Soter II	116–107 B.C.
Ptolemy X Alexander I	107–88 B.C.
Ptolemy IX Soter II	88–80 B.C.
Ptolemy XI Alexander II	80 B.C.
Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos	80–55 B.C. and 55–51 B.C.
Cleopatra VII	51–30 B.C.
and Ptolemy XIII	51–47 B.C.
and Ptolemy XIV	47–44 B.C.
and Ptolemy Caesarion	44–30 B.C.



Ptolemaic Alexandria



Map of early Ptolemaic Alexandria.

Drawing by Wolfram Hoepfner, with additions by Günter Grimm

