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Alexandrea in Aegypto. The role of the Egyptian tradition in the Hellenistic and Roman periods : ideology, culture, identity, and public life

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ALEXANDREA *IN* AEGYPTO

THE ROLE OF THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS:

IDEOLOGY, CULTURE, IDENTITY, AND PUBLIC LIFE

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Alexandrea in Aegypto
The Role of the Egyptian Tradition in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Ideology, Culture, Identity, and Public Life

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ALEXANDREA IN AEGYPTO
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Chapter 1 Introduction

1. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

There is no doubt that Alexandria represents a cosmopolitan city *par excellence* in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Since its foundation by Alexander the Great in 331 BC, Greeks, Egyptians, but also Persians and Jews, were part of its multicultural society. Within this environment, elements from different cultural traditions, mostly Greek and Egyptian, as well as their people, coexisted and interacted with each other.

In previous scholarly reconstructions, Alexandria was portrayed as a Greek city; Alexandria *ad Aegyptum*, meaning 'by Egypt' and not 'in Egypt'. Traditionally, Alexandria was seen as a city made by Greeks and for Greeks. In contrast, the role of Egyptian traditions in Alexandria has been discussed very little in archaeology and ancient history: it has been interpreted as secondary and therefore of minor importance to the cultural history of the city. Thus, the discussion focused on public and private issues of a 'Greek colonial' society, rather than of the capital of Egypt. The most characteristic example of this perspective is Fraser's *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972), which still is one of the most reliable and complete works on the Hellenistic city.

However, since the publication of *Ptolemaic Alexandria* various important works such as those of Bagnall (1988), Clarysse (1985) and Ritner (1992) have challenged this view. There was a need to update the traditional view of the relationship between Greek and Egyptian traditions and representatives, in Alexandria and in the Egyptian *chora* of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

In addition to these more general works, from the 1990s onwards a series of important studies was published on specific types of material, such as monumental art and architecture (Ashton 2001; 2005; Stanwick 2002; McKenzie 2004; 2007), especially after the underwater finds of the Centre d'Études Alexandrines directed by Jean-Yves Empereur (1998) and the Frank Goddio team (1998), and funerary structures (Venit 2002; Riggs 2006). From these studies on new discoveries made in Alexandria it is clear that the dogmatically Hellenic 'dress' that the city is supposed to wear, does not allow for a deeper and more detailed analysis of the phenomenon of the Greco-Egyptian interaction. More attention should be paid to the role of *Egyptian* tradition in Alexandria, both in terms of public and private life.

Several scholars have attempted to regroup the different categories of Alexandrian material evidence, combining older and more recent discoveries. Still, there exists no overview of the role of Egyptian tradition in Alexandria, in which an updated catalogue of Egyptian elements in various types of material culture is discussed within an updated theoretical context. This work aims to be the first step in that direction by offering an overview and interpretation of the Egyptian elements in the material culture of the city in Hellenistic and Roman periods. In this study an attempt will be made to achieve a better understanding of the process of Greco-Egyptian interaction and the multicultural life of the city. More specifically, we hope to gain an insight into the role of Egyptian traditions in the formation of the city's public image, ideology and further public activities, as well as in several aspects of Alexandrian society such as religion, funerary customs, expressions of cultural identity and social status.

In other words, it will be attempted to examine the Greco-Egyptian interaction from an Egyptian point of view. This is the reason behind the choice of title 'Alexandria *in Aegypto*', as a complementary view to the traditional Alexandria *ad Aegyptum*. A more prominent role for the Egyptian traditions is to be expected, as well as a redefinition of the role of the Greek element from an Egyptian point of view. The results will be presented in chronological order, taking social, cultural and political developments of the Hellenistic and Roman periods into consideration.

Interestingly, architectural structures and objects included in the catalogue below did not necessarily belong to Egyptians. On the contrary, it seems that the majority of them belonged to Greeks, mixed Greco-Egyptian or Hellenised Egyptians. Few could be attributed directly to (non-Hellenised) Egyptians. Therefore,

the object of analysis is the cultural phenomenon of Greco-Egyptian cultural interaction – and not the history of a single ethnic group, as it has often been imagined in past.

2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2.1. PTOLEMAIC EGYPT

The conquest of Egypt, without a battle, by Alexander the Great during his campaign against the Persians, marks the beginning of the Ptolemaic period. Making use of the Egyptian dislike for Persian rule[1], Alexander promoted himself as the liberator of Egypt and the new Pharaoh of Egypt, although he was never formally crowned (Burnstein, 1991, 33-34), who would 'resurrect' this land, both culturally and economically. Such a policy was later applied by the successors of Alexander the Great on the Egyptian throne. Thus, the Ptolemies managed to promote a connection with the last native Dynasty (30th), especially with the last native Pharaoh Nectanebo II (Hölbl 2001, 78-79). In this way, Egypt was ruled by legitimised successors who brought Egyptian independence by ending the Persian administration of the land, but included previous administrators, both Persians and Egyptians alike, in the emerging Greek administrative bureaucracy (Samuel, 1989, 51-55).

Alexander the Great seems to have respected and supported the Egyptian religious and political traditions. Standing *in loco Pharaonis*, he was regarded by his agents (priests, officials etc.) as the *de facto*, but not the *de jure*, ruler of the land. In this capacity, at any rate, since he was not in Egypt long enough to initiate any building program himself, Alexander's agents depicted him in Egyptian monuments such as those of Luxor in the guise of the pharaohs of old (Hölbl 1994, 78; 2001, 85).

Additionally, Alexander seems to have adapted his economic policy for Egypt to the needs of his future empire. While in terms of culture we have a revival of the 'traditional' Egyptian values, in terms of economic activity Egypt was going through radical change. This occurred with the foundation of Alexandria on the shores of the Canopic branch of theNile. Alexandria was not to become just a new Egyptian harbour, but the new international commercial centre of Egypt, much bigger and more functional than Naucratis. Through Alexandria it would be easier to reach other parts of the potential empire of Alexander the Great. In this respect, Alexander continued to found such cities (some of them named also Alexandria) throughout his conquered territory (Favard-Meeks and Meeks, 2000, 27-29).

After Alexander's sudden death and the fragmentation of the Empire, Ptolemy I, having secured Egypt for himself, seems to have successfully followed the model of his predecessor, leaving Egyptian traditions relatively intact, the administrative ones in general, but the religious ones in particular. From a political point of view, Egypt became an independent kingdom, in contrast to its political status during the Roman occupation, when it became a province of a foreign empire. Moreover, Egypt became a respectable international political, cultural, commercial and military power again. Therefore, it was of major importance for the new kings to associate themselves with the Pharaonic past in order to present an image of political continuity and coherence. The Ptolemies promoted themselves as Pharaohs, with, among other things, the execution of an extended sacred building program, especially in sites with a previous building history, such as Edfu, Dendera and Philae, continuing the Egyptian traditions and producing iconographic representations of themselves in the Pharaonic manner. However, a Hellenic royal style coexisted with the Egyptian one, both in Alexandria and in the *chora*[2].

From a social point of view, a long period of immigration into Egypt started with the conquest by Alexander the Great. Most of these immigrants were Greeks, but there were also groups from the rest of the Mediterranean and the Near East, such as Syria, the Levant and several other areas of the former Persian

[1] Nevertheless, the Persian rule may not have been as oppressive as generally thought. See: Posener, 1936, 166 and 168; Depuydt, 1995, 119-126; Burnstein, 1994, 381-387

[2] For Greek, Egyptian and Egyptianising style figures of queens see: Thompson, 1972; Stanwick 2002; Ashton, 2003

Empire. They had been attracted by the opportunities for trade, science, arts, agriculture, but mostly for military affairs. Also, thousands of enslaved prisoners of war were brought to Egypt by its new rulers. This flow of immigrants peaked in the 3rd century BC, declined in the 2nd century BC and finally ended in the 1st century BC (La'da 2003, 159). It seems that Ptolemy I and his followers perceived Egypt as their new homeland. Consequently, it was important to create, as far as possible, a common socio-cultural context for the two main ethnic groups, the Greeks and the Egyptians. For this reason, it seems that they promoted the interaction between the two cultures, resulting in mixed marriages, people of mixed ethnicity and mixed culture (ibid, 167-169).

2.2. PTOLEMAIC POLICIES CONCERNING ETHNICITY

What kind of society and state was Ptolemaic Egypt? Did the Ptolemies see the different ethnic groups from a different point of view in terms of social stratification, and the distribution of justice and wealth? Did ethnicity play some role in social stratification, and if so, how important was this role? Was Ptolemaic Egypt a discriminatory state, which through its institutions applied different policies to its Greek immigrants and to the indigenous population?

According to most studies[3], Ptolemaic Egypt, at least from 280 BC onwards, seems not to have been a discriminatory state. However, especially in the earlier years of the Ptolemaic dynasty, it could not be argued that there was full equality between Greeks and Egyptians. To be 'Greek' might have meant to be of a higher prestige than to be 'Egyptian'. During the early years of the Ptolemaic reign, only Greeks were permitted to become official citizens of Alexandria, and intermarriages between Greeks and non-Greeks were forbidden. Yet, this rigid segregation became difficult to maintain, since Ptolemaic society was marked more strongly by social stratification than by place of origin (Venit 2002, 10).

From the 2nd century BC onwards, Egyptians could reach the upper classes or high positions in state administration and the army. The exclusion of Egyptians during the early years of the empire should be considered relevant to the recently established Ptolemaic authority, which tried to secure its position, relying on a group of trustees, who were culturally and ethnically equal. The same also occurred in other Hellenistic Kingdoms such as that of the Seleucids (Ma 2003, 187; 189). Most probably, the first Ptolemies applied this policy inspired by circumstances rather than a discriminatory policy. This is indicated by the fact that Ptolemy I had among his closest confidants the Egyptian Manetho, who seems to have helped him to understand Egypt and to achieve his state model, and who significantly influenced the religious policies of the king (Hölbl 2001, 21).

The succeeding Ptolemies maintained the Greek character of the upper level of the state and army machine, since the king remained firmly Macedonian. The king wanted to have people around him who had the same ethnic and cultural background. Therefore, the use of Greek language and a certain degree of Hellenisation were the necessary preconditions for someone who wanted to reach high positions in the state machinery. This, along with the prejudice against the indigenous people from the side of Macedonians during the early Ptolemaic period, was the reason why only in the 2nd century Egyptians started gradually to reach some top posts in the administration and the army (La'da 2003, 166-167).

Hellenes and Egyptians, even if Greeks had a better economic position in general, were not classes, professional groups (at least in civil life) that were provided with privileges based on their ethnic identity, as happened during the Roman period. The inexistence of an official state definition of Hellenes and of Egyptians should be included among the results of the Ptolemaic non-discriminatory policy, since it had no use. However, it seems that local administrators made an unofficial use of ethnic categorisation for practical purposes (Goudriaan 1988, 119). According to a census of the 3rd century BC, ethnic designations were applied not only to individuals but also to entire households. For instance, the wife of a Hellen was also a Hellenis, no matter what her ancestry was (Bagnall 2000, 28). The results of the non-discriminatory policy

[3] See the following Status Questionis presented in Chapter 1, section 5

further support this picture. As has already been noted above, a long and intensive cultural and ethnic encounter occurred, resulting in mixed marriages, and consequently people with double names in private and official documents. Nevertheless, products of such mixed marriages were not counted as Greco-Egyptians, but as either Hellenes or Egyptians (Goudriaan 1988, 118).

2.3. ROMAN EGYPT: IMPERIAL POLICIES, SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND LEGAL STATUS

The defeat of Mark Antony and Cleopatra at the naval battle of Actium in 31 BC marks the end of Egypt's independence. Soon after, Egypt became a province of the Roman Empire. The Land of the Nile became the domain of the Emperor himself, as it used to belong to the Pharaoh during the indigenous dynastic period, but of course, there was no ruling family living in Egypt. A vice-ruler was the administrative head of Egypt, who was directly accountable to the emperor and who was not a member of the Senate, as was the case with the rest of the Roman provinces. Roman senators were not allowed to hold this position and moreover, the members of Rome's elite classes were forbidden from entering Egypt without the permission of the Emperor, in case they might raise an army against him (Bowman 1986, 38). Nevertheless, this policy aimed to a secured transportation of grain from Egypt, since the land of the Nile was the main supplier of Rome.

Like the Ptolemies, the Romans left the religion and culture of Egypt almost intact and even expanded the Ptolemaic innovations. The cult of Sarapis, especially, flourished all over the Roman Empire (Ashton 2003, 13). Roman emperors followed the policy of their predecessors, promoting themselves as the new Pharaonic dynasty of Egypt. In fact, the imperial cult with specific Roman roots, and royal Hellenistic cult and Pharaonic tradition merge into a ruler cult specific for Egypt. Like Alexander's agents before them, the agents of the Roman emperors handled the finances of the country, and as underwriters of architectural programs insisted on portraying the reigning Roman emperor in the guise of traditional pharaohs. Hence we see the completion or rebuilding of, or construction of additions to ancient Egyptian temples, good examples of which are those of Hathor in Dendera and Isis in Philae (Bagnall 2004, 212; Peacock 2002, 438; Herklotz 2007; Arnold 1994).

As previously noted in the section about the population in the Ptolemaic period, one basic practical distinction seems to exist in Roman Egypt: Hellenes (Greeks) and Egyptians. Hellenes were not only Greeks, but in fact, all foreign settlers in Egypt. After hundreds of years of ethnic and cultural encounters, the Romans faced a very complicated social situation in an already deeply integrated community. They tried however, to create an ethno-class based on a social structure. At the top of the Roman social pyramid were the owners of Roman citizenship as the most privileged group. Next came the Astoi, the residents of the three major 'Hellenic' cities of Egypt, Alexandria, Naucratis, and Ptolemais[4]. These cities had a more 'Greek' character than the rest of the Egyptian chora, even if their population was mixed both culturally and (in many cases) ethnically. Among them, Alexandrian citizens seemed to have had a higher prestige. The third and widest category was that of 'Egyptians'.

Within the last category, the Hellenes or Metropolitai, the residents of Metropoleis, the chief towns of the nomes, formed a subcategory. These belonged to a privileged group, since they had to pay poll tax at a lower rate than other 'Egyptians'. They also emerged as the governing class of the Metropoleis, since the Greek language became the official written language of the whole of Roman Egypt during this period. Their contact with the Roman centre is attested by a series of letters between those people and the Roman Emperor, especially during the reign of Nero. However, they were still 'Egyptians'. It is clear that the Roman approach to the word 'Hellenes' was much different from the Ptolemaic approach, since they became a subcategory of Egyptians (Bagnall 2000, 28).

[4] After the foundation of Antinoopolis, in the Hadrianic era, these cities became four.

Concerning Hellenes or Metropolitai, it is generally agreed that this category is depicted in the famous Fayum mummy portraits[5]. What becomes clear from these portraits and their mummies are the multiple ways in which these people promoted themselves. They appear Greek from their Hellenic or Hellenised names, but they also look Greek, their depiction referring to Greek tradition and/or Roman period fashion. The subjects of the mummy portraits frequently follow the fashion of Rome, a fact that reflects not only their desire to adopt a Roman lifestyle, promoting themselves as Roman citizens, but also their contact with the imperial capital. Although intermarriage for several centuries made some Greeks look more Egyptian, Greekness was prized as it brought with it 25% tax reduction. After the research of medical specialists, who identified specific facial disease signs, it could be argued from several sides for the likelihood of a general verisimilitude of the Fayum portraits. (Douglas 2001, 39-41). Finally, however, they also promote themselves as Egyptians who hope to spend their afterlife in the Egyptian underworld.

3. GENERAL THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Now that the historical background has been sketched, we need to define the terminology that is used in this study. From the overview of the historical developments it has become clear that there were several ethnic groups present in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt and that they actively interacted with each other. One of the premises of this study is that we are dealing with a quintessentially 'multicultural' society. But what, exactly, do we mean when we say that Hellenistic and Roman Egypt was 'multicultural'; what terminology is available to describe the (social and political) processes taking place; and what implications does this interpretation have for our understanding of material culture and cultural choice?

To answer these questions I have chosen not to engage with the (very extensive) theoretical debate; but to summarise a theoretical point of view that I adhere to. This paragraph is therefore not meant as a discussion of all the relevant social science theory; but as a practical explanation of what kind of terminology is used in this study, and how I understand those concepts.

3.1. CULTURAL INTERACTION, MULTICULTURALISM AND ACCULTURATION

Acculturation is the theoretical concept postulated behind multiculturalism and I will therefore start by attempting to define its meaning and its various parameters. Acculturation can be defined as "the cultural and psychological change that is brought about due to contact between peoples of different cultures, as it is observable in dress, language usage, eating habits, and celebration" (Hall, 2005, 4). Especially in the last decade, this term has been widely used to characterise Greco-Roman Egypt; but it is not very often elaborated upon. Recently, however, Naerebout (2007) discussed the process of acculturation and its results in especially Roman Egypt at length, using the temple of Ras el Soda, a suburban area between Alexandria and Abuqir, as his case study. The temple is dated to the 2nd century AD and was most probably dedicated to Isis. It is a small, private shrine that shares common characteristics with other sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods, as they were popular around the Mediterranean. At the same time it shares common features with temples and shrines from Syria, dedicated to non-Egyptian deities, which represent the eastern Mediterranean Hellenistic architectural tradition, after it had been in contact with the Romans[6]: "an architecture that elaborates on the example of the small Hellenistic temple—for instance by raising it up on a Roman style podium" (540).

The temple at Ras el Soda thus shows different elements that scholars are used to call 'Greek', 'Roman' or 'Egyptian'. But does this imply anything about the patrons of this temple, or the worshippers using the sanctuary? What segment of the population is likely to have worshipped a Hellenized Isis in Egypt itself, in the Roman period? Naerebout's assumption is that the temple at Ras el Soda (and sanctuaries like it) did not cater for a particular ethnic group, because by the Roman period, ethnicity in Egypt was no longer something that

[5] They took their name from the Roman cemetery of Hawara at Fayum (ancient Arsinoite Nome), which was investigated by Petrie from 1895 to 1913. However, such portraits have been found also in other areas of the Egyptian chora, such as those at Marina el-Alamaein. See Doxiades, 1995; Bierbrier, 1997; Walker, 2000.

[6] For Naerebout's analysis of the architecture of the Ras el Soda temple and its relation to Iseia and Sarapeia inside and outside Egypt as well as to other sanctuaries in especially the eastern Mediterranean, see 512-540.

structured this aspect of society. Nor was Isis in this period a goddess that 'belonged' to a single ethnic group. Acculturation-theory can help to define this situation. Naerebout rightly stresses that acculturation is a process of change that is multidimensional and multidirectional. Multidimensional because "it regards both observable (dress, language use, food etc) and unobservable (beliefs, values, attitudes, feelings) characteristics", and multidirectional because "the changes occur on all sides: all parties involved in the contact are affected". (542).

Processes of acculturation can have very different and differing outcomes. The five most important of these are:

- Assimilation: the absorption of one of the cultures into the dominant culture
- Integration: the two cultures accommodate, while individuals can be or have to be competent in two cultures
- Fusion: combination of the two cultures; they form a new culture
- Separation: two cultures live side by side with a minimum of interaction, individuals have a single cultural identity
- Marginalisation: a group can miss out on the process, so to speak, and end up participating in no mainstream culture at all.

Naerebout is aware, of course, that "in practice, these results are hardly ever seen in their pure form" (543) and sees acculturation in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt as being integration and fusion.

Returning to his case study, Naerebout concludes that the temple – and its hosted deities – are the result of the continuous process of Mediterranean interaction: "And thus by the second century AD this was all very much part of *Egyptian* society: a multicultural society, where Ras el Soda is at home. Ras el Soda is as Egyptian as any other temple in Egypt" (546); while on the people using the sanctuary he concludes, "To them the goddess and the temple housing her were features of their multicultural society, which they unthinkingly accepted" (549).

Naerebout (2010) takes his argumentation a step further in an article on the so-called Galjub hoard and related evidence, in which he shows that different styles of material culture (Egyptian, Greek) could be used by the same artisan who thus indeed, concerning the style in which a statuette of a god or goddess would be displayed, could ask: "how would you like your goddess"? In Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, therefore, styles of material culture do not seem to have a fixed relation to the ethnic groups around; a point further developed by Versluys (2008 and, specifically for Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, 2010) who uses the concept of 'cultural scenarios' here.

In the case of Alexandria, a wide range of terminology has been used in order to describe all aspects of Greco-Roman-Egyptian interaction; these include cultural interplay; syncretism; assimilation; adaptation; integration; cultural interaction; Hellenisation and Egyptianisation (Venit 2002 has most of them). Concerning the latter two, this terminology has been proposed in order to describe, in more specific terms, the role and/or the effect of the Greek and Egyptian cultural components in Alexandrian (multicultural) society. We could add the term Romanisation here. As these terms (Hellenisation, Egyptianisation and Romanisation) are often used to describe styles of material culture, it is useful to try and define them more in detail.

Hellenisation was the process whereby, throughout the eastern half of the Mediterranean world, Egyptians, Syrians, Arabs, Jews, and other non-Greek peoples adopted Hellenistic culture and adapted it to their own needs (Swanson 1994, 27). In Egypt, this was mostly seen with the upper classes of native Egyptians, as illustrated by Clarysse's 'double names'[7]. It was mostly achieved by obtaining a Greek education, joining in a Greek way of public life and carrying a Greek name, in order to reach higher administrative levels, among other things. Furthermore, Hellenisation concerns not only people but also

[7] See section 5.2 of this Chapter

culture, and consequently material culture. The god Sarapis presents a fine example of how Hellenisation influences all these levels. Sarapis is the most representative example of Alexandrian religion. Osiris-Apis was Hellenised in name and image and thus became (in Greek) Sarapis. His image was also Hellenised, as he was converted into a Greek, bearded god, although in some cases he retained the characteristic crown of Osiris. Similarly, Egyptianisation (or indigenisation) would mean the process whereby non-Egyptian people adopted aspects of Egyptian culture and adapted them to their own life.

Romanisation has a different meaning in the western and eastern parts of the empire. In the former, it was traditionally described as the uni-directional process of the adoption of Roman culture by people from different areas of the empire. Today, it is described in terms of cultural interaction between 'Roman' culture and the local traditions of the Roman 'periphery' (Hutchinson 2002, 108-109). In contrast, in the East, the concept of Romanisation can hardly ever be applied in such terms. As Swanson states: "the continuation of Hellenisation in Roman Egypt and in the Roman East in general, [became] combined with a growing allegiance to Roman rule among the Hellenised elite to produce what can be called "Romanisation". Romanisation meant "the identification by the elite of their own political and social interests with those of the Roman state" (Swanson 1994, 31). The principal sign of Romanisation in the 1st and 2nd centuries, it has been argued, was the adoption of Roman citizenship[8]. In cultural terms it is often argued that there was no crucial difference between Hellenisation and Romanisation, at least insofar as Alexandria and Egypt are concerned (ibid).

4. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ALEXANDRIA

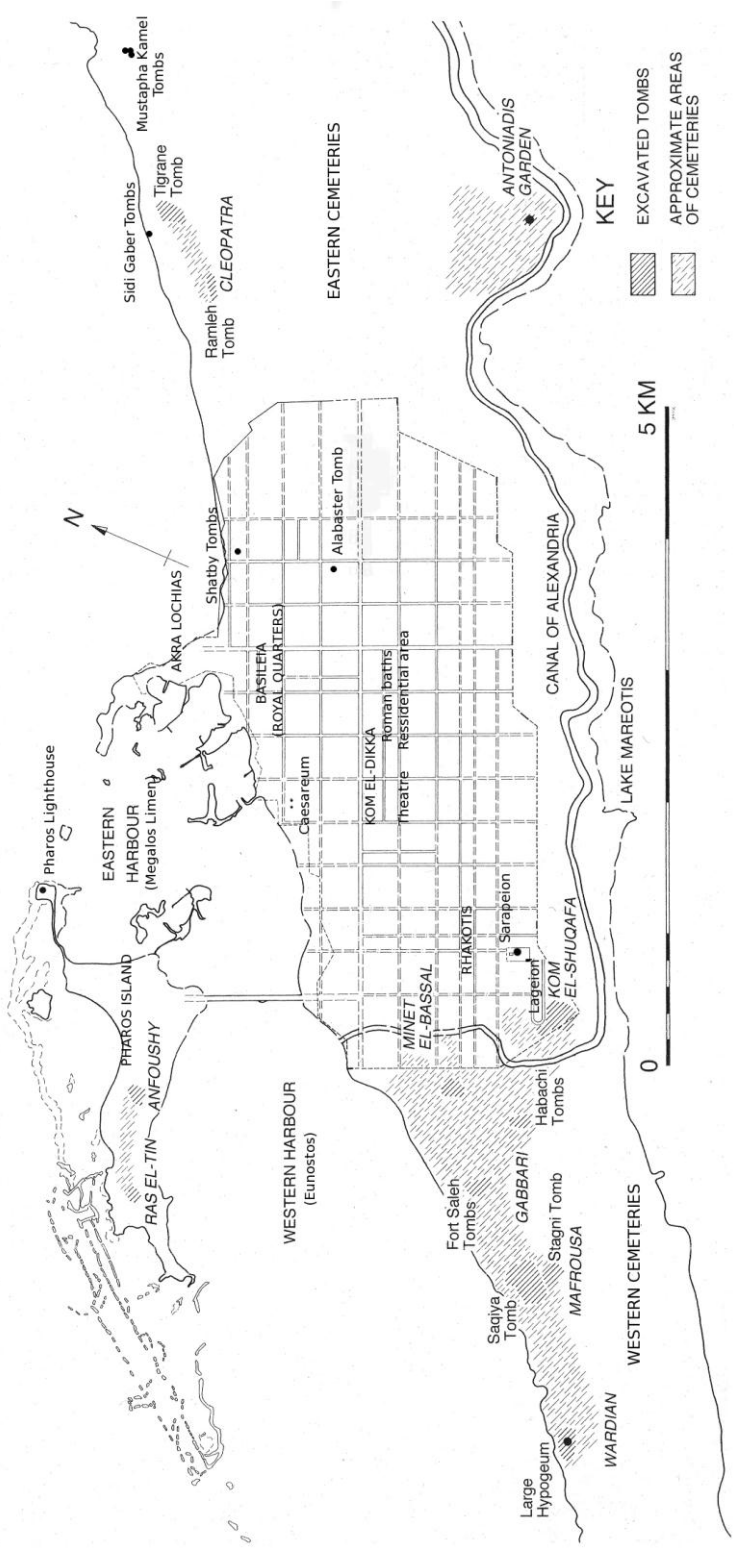
In the following section the most important elements of Alexandria's topography are presented as they were described in ancient literary sources, combined with material evidence from the relevant sites. The description of the several areas and structures depends on the detail and reliability of the available sources. Consequently, several important aspects of the city, such as the Mouseion, the Gymnasium or the living quarters outside the city centre, cannot be described in detail, since there is no clear picture from ancient sources and there are no detectable remains. This overview will form the background for the discussion in subsequent chapters of the several types of material evidence.

4.1. PTOLEMAIC ALEXANDRIA

On the 7th of April 331 BC (Bagnall 2004, 51), Alexander the Great founded the city of Alexandria on the isthmus between the 'ocean' and Lake Mareotis. This constricted piece of land was described by ancient authors as shaped like a chlamys. The new city incorporated the site of Rhakotis, which became the Egyptian district. Various literary accounts indicate that other initial settlers were incorporated into the population of Alexandria. These were the inhabitants of Canopus, the residents of 12 or 16 villages, the inhabitants of unspecified adjacent cities or, more generally, everybody who lived within a 30-mile radius from the site (Scheidel 2004, 22). Therefore, a considerable Egyptian presence is suggested, and it seems unlikely that this trend changed much over time.

The city was surrounded by a 15 kilometres enclosure (Empereur 1998, 56). Its street plan was based on the Hippodamian system with a rectangular shape, and it was divided into regular boxes. According to Diodorus**,** Alexander himself apparently laid out the plans for the most important streets on a grid system, as well as the position of the market square and individual temples (XVII, 52). The rest of the urban planning was delegated to Deinocrates of Rhodes (Bagnall 2004, 51). The two main arteries of the city were the Canopic street, orientated East – West, and the so-called Soma street, named after the re-burial of Alexander in the city, orientated South – North. Both streets were 30 meters wide and were lined with colonnades.

[8] On the Roman citizenship during the Roman period in Alexandria, see: Delia, 1993.



Map of Ancient Alexandria. (Based on the maps of McKenzie 2007)

Since its foundation by Alexander the Great, Alexandria must have anticipated an influx of Greeks. However, it was only around 305/304 BC, when Alexandria became the capital of Ptolemaic Egypt, that many immigrants such as Greeks, Egyptians, Jews, and other Semitic people arrived in the city, due to the policies of Ptolemy I.

The city itself was divided into five quarters, designated by the first five letters of the Greek alphabet. Alpha was the royal district where the palaces (Basileia), the main temple, the Mouseion, the libraries, and the gardens were situated; Beta was the district of the Greek aristocracy. Districts Alpha and Beta were also known as the Broucheion. Gamma was dedicated to the settlement of Greek commoners, and Delta was the district of foreign minorities such as Syrians, Persians, and Jews. Finally, Epsilon was the district for native Egyptians, known also, by its Egyptian name, as Rhakotis (Scheidel 2004, 51).

Alexandria was not the only new city in the eastern Mediterranean that was created and formed in such a manner. In a similar way the city of Antioch, which was founded after the defeat of Antigonos at Ipsos in 301 BC, absorbed the population of its predecessor, Antigoneia. Settlers who came from Macedonia, Crete, Cyprus and Argos were supplemented by retired mercenaries. It is also divided into quarters. According to Strabo, the original city plan included a quarter for the Greeks and another for local Syrians (Scheidel 2004, 24).

4.2. THE HARBOUR OF ALEXANDRIA AND THE ROYAL QUARTERS

Alexandria's harbour was in fact divided into two: the Megalos Limen (Great Harbour) to the east, and the Eunostos to the west, with a smaller interior harbour at its eastern end, named Kibotos. Heptastadion, the causeway that linked the mainland to the Island of Pharos, separated the two harbours. These two harbours made Alexandria a great centre of maritime activities and trade, but also a major centre of the shipbuilding industry. To the east of the city, south of the Great Harbour, were the royal quarters named Basileia. It was a city within a city, formed by groups of royal buildings and public precincts remarkable for their monumentality and splendour. All of the Ptolemies contributed to the royal quarter's formation. Strabo describes the palace quarter in the northern part of the city as follows:

"The city has most beautiful enclosures and palaces, which cover a fourth or even a third of its entire area. For just like how each of the kings, with love and splendour, used to add some ornament to the public monuments, so also would he invest himself at his own expense with a residence in addition to those already in existence so that now, to quote the poet (Homer), "there is building after building". All however, are connected both with each other and with the harbour, even those that lie outside the harbour". (Strabo 17.1.8)

Close to these installations was the Sema or Soma, the burial place of Ptolemaic Kings, also containing the body of Alexander the Great. Part of the royal quarters was also the Mouseion with its famous library. This institution was founded by Ptolemy I Soter as part of a policy of making Alexandria the centre of culture and international knowledge. It was a school of research and instruction. The library accommodated volumes from all over the Greek world and beyond, for which great efforts were expended. The first director of the library was Demetrius of Phaleron. By the end of the Ptolemaic period, the library appears to have held from 500,000 to 700,000 volumes, and Alexandria became a major philosophical, artistic and research centre (Barnes 2002 2004, 65). In addition, the royal quarter accommodated temples and chapels, and a theatre, all in luxurious materials and with rich decoration.

The part of the modern city corresponding to the royal quarter is the area east of the Cecil hotel from the Metropole Hotel, opposite the Ramleh station, to the Selsela promontory (ancient Cape Lochias) on which the new Library of Alexandria (Bibliotheca Alexandrina) now stands. A large part of the royal quarters was destroyed and got submerged as a result of massive subsidence along its coastline (ibid, 58).

One of the few remains of the royal quarters on land may be the so-called Alabaster Tomb. Even if that has to remain uncertain, it has all of the attributes of a royal tomb, and it has even been suggested that it was in fact the tomb where Alexander himself was interred. If so, it would have been his second resting place. Discovered in 1907, it is constructed in an area that might very well have been the Sema, the cemetery associated with the Ptolemies. It is notable for its formal divergence from other Alexandrian tombs. Unlike other tombs in Alexandria, it seems to follow a Macedonian architectural model, and is constructed with monolithic slabs of alabaster. However, not much remains of this tomb and its actual ownership may never be known (Venit 2002, 6-7).

The Great Harbour and the submerged royal quarters are two of the areas that have been recently investigated, revealing important information about, especially, Ptolemaic Alexandria. Frank Goddio, who investigated the area of the Great Harbour, identified the outlines of the harbour infrastructure, covered by more than a meter of sand and encrustation (Goddio 2004, 128-151). The eastern section of the port was devoted to the royal quarters. There, the Royal Harbour was deliminated at the western side of the peninsula named Cape Lochias. Southwest of Cape Lochias was the peninsula on which the Timonium, Mark Antony's palace, and the Poseideion, the sanctuary dedicated to Poseidon, were located. Behind the Poseideion was the Emporeion where the customs house was stationed. Southwest of the peninsula is the island of Antirhodos (means 'opposite Rhodes island'), while on the cape itself a palace of Cleopatra, a sanctuary of Isis and another 'royal harbour' was situated. Evidence for major building activities since the 3rd century BC has also been attested.

4.3 THE PHAROS ISLAND

The Heptastadion was a 2 kilometres long granite causeway, which linked the mainland to the Pharos Island, and it seems that it was part of the city's plan from its very beginning. The island itself was where Alexandria's famous lighthouse once stood. The lighthouse was built in the 3rd century BC and was designed by the architect Sostratos of Knidos. It was conceived and initiated by Ptolemy I Soter around 290 BC but completed after his death, during the reign of his son Ptolemy II Philadelphus. It consisted of three storeys, the first was square, the second octagonal, and the third circular. The circular storey contained a fire and a mirror which projected the image of flames far out to the sea. The Pharos was dedicated to *Theoi Soteres* (Saviour Gods): Ptolemy Soter and his wife Berenice[9].

Since 1994, underwater excavations directed by Jean-Yves Empereur have been taking place in the area around the Pharos Island, revealing considerable evidence concerning the lighthouse and its surroundings. Among the finds are 4500 architectural elements, mostly parts of columns, sphinxes and obelisks. Many of these elements date back to the Pharaonic era (Empereur, 1998, 64-87).

4.4 THE RHAKOTIS DISTRICT AND THE SARAPEION

The Egyptian village of Rhakotis, incorporated into the new capital city of Egypt when it was founded, became the south-western district of Alexandria. It contained the main body of the Egyptian population and it must have been a densely populated area. When the Egyptian village Rhakotis was integrated into Alexandria as an indigenous quarter, its inhabitants most probably retained their traditional gods and their own places of worship: none of these have been preserved. This is the traditional view on this area, as displayed in most of the works concerning the topography of Alexandria (Fraser 1972, 5-6; Ashton 2004, 16-17). However, Michael Chauveau has suggested that the ancient Egyptian phrase, which is transcribed into English as "Rhakotis" and was used in Egyptian documents when referring to Alexandria, in fact means "construction

[9] For an updated description of Paros lighthouse, see: McKenzie, 2007, 41-45

site". Hence the designation would have referred originally to the city that the Egyptians saw being built in their Delta so quickly (1999, 1-10). Still, such an interpretation remains just a hypothesis.

It was in this area that the Greek Pharaohs of Alexandria made a significant contribution. The most important sacred site of the whole city of Alexandria, the Sarapeion, dedicated to god Sarapis, was situated on a hill in the Egyptian district. Excavations in the area have unearthed foundation plaques that clearly date the main Ptolemaic temple to the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes, although earlier finds are suggestive of religious activity on the site dating back to the beginning of the Ptolemaic period or even earlier (Rowlandson 2003, 252). The Sarapeion itself was a complex of buildings, including a library (the daughter of the Great Library), lecture rooms and smaller shrines. The main temple was built in the Greek style, designed by the Greek architect Parmeniscus. The liturgical language of the cult was Greek (Cerny 1952, 137). In the huge main temple stood the famous chryselephantine statue of the god Sarapis by the Athenian sculptor Bryaxis (Fraser 1972, 249 and 256).

Sarapis was the official god of Alexandria, the emblem of Ptolemaic religious ideology. This god had a double identity, both Greek and Egyptian. As an Egyptian god, he was the substitute for Osiris. In fact, by his name, he was the Hellenised form of the name of the sacred bull Apis, who was worshipped in Memphis, in the Late Period, as Osiris-Apis (Osor-Hapis), which means he was resurrected after his death, like Osiris was. Therefore, Osiris-Apis, who was adopted by the Greeks of Memphis as Osirapis from the Late period, finally became Sarapis. As a Greek god, he was identified with gods such as Dionysus (the god of wine, fertility and mysteries), Pluto-Hades (the Greek god-ruler of the underworld), Zeus (the father of the Olympian gods), and Asklepios (the god of medicine). In fact, Greeks seem to have assimilated him to the whole Greek pantheon (Mercer 1949, 410; Ashton 2003, 12-13).

Sarapis was Egyptian in origin but Greek in fashion. He is usually depicted as an old man with a patriarchal head, close to that of Zeus. He has luxuriant hair and a long beard. On his head he wears a Modius, the basket-like symbol of fertility. His body is covered with a rich cloak. In many instances, he holds a sceptre in one of his hands. Still, it should be noticed that for the Egyptians Sarapis was still a form of Osiris in Memphis, or merely the Greek name for the ancient Osiris. Contrary to the promotion and the expectations of the religious policy, which engendered it, there was little response in Egypt to the figure of Sarapis. By contrast, Sarapis and Isis cults rapidly spread throughout the Mediterranean world, and in some regions of the Ptolemaic Empire, such as Thera and Cyprus, there is occasional evidence of the association of Sarapis' cult with the cult of the Ptolemies (Hölbl 2001, 100-101).

4.5. THE CITY CENTRE: INSTITUTIONS AND RESIDENCIES

In the middle of the city, between the palace area to the northeast and the Rhakotis district to the southwest, there were the main civic buildings. Strabo mentions the gymnasium and the law court, the Dikasterion, while the city's more strictly political institutions such as the Prytaneion or the Bouleuterion are not pointed out by him. This can be explained by the fact that the city was the centre of a royal administrative system, and not of a Greek city-state democracy. Yet the citizen body was strictly organised and regulated into tribes and demes according to a normal Greek model, and the city enjoyed its own legal system (Rawlandson 2003, 253).

Until recently, Alexandrian evidence for domestic housing of Ptolemaic date was lacking, and inferences had to be drawn from tomb architecture. Surprisingly, recent excavations have started to reveal houses dating back to the early Ptolemaic period. In the area of the Broucheion quarter, in the garden of the former British Consulate, four houses dating from the beginning of the 3rd century BC have been uncovered, complete with their courtyards, wells and a wealth of objects. A dining room was still paved with a mosaic with a central rosette motif, realised in little black –and white pebbles in a fashion similar to pavements discovered in Macedonia, from where the first settlers came with Alexander the Great[10] (Empereur 2000, 191).

[10] See also Gallo, 2009, 67-69, on a Greek house in the neighborhood area of Alexandria on the present day Nelson Island (Abukir), dating from the end of the 4th century BC.

4.6. ROMAN ALEXANDRIA

During the Roman period, even though it was no longer a state capital but a provincial capital of the Roman empire[11], Alexandria continued to be a major city and port of the Mediterranean, which still made important contributions to art, the sciences and philosophy. The population of the city is estimated by modern scholars at around 500,000, while Diodorus, just before the end of the Ptolemaic period, suggests 300,000 people (Peacock 2000, 444). The international harbour of the city played an important role in Roman trade, since Rome relied on Alexandria's grain ships to feed its population. Moreover, Alexandria was the access point for the trade route to the Red Sea, which leads to the Indian Ocean: hence contacts existed with India, Malaysia and possibly China (Ibid, 427).

The cityscape of Roman Alexandria was adorned like other cities of the East with colonnades, tetrastyles, fountains, city gates and triumphal arches. Some of these are attested in numismatic evidence. Several emperors such as Hadrian and Antoninus Pius seem to have contributed to a further monumentalisation of the city during the Roman period. Many of the Greek style facilities like the theatre, the Lageion (hippodrome), the gymnasium and the agora were preserved and renovated (McKenzie 2007, 148-149), whereas there were some new buildings such as the Hadrianeion and Caesareion. The latter was the symbol of the Roman imperial power in Alexandria, of which nothing remains today. It was initially founded by Cleopatra VII in honour – most probably – of Caesar (Ashton 2003, 29), but she never completed it due to the demise of the Ptolemaic state. Augustus completed the temple, rededicating it to himself as Augustos Epibaterios. The temple stood near the shore at the centre of the Great Harbour, where the site of today's Ramleh Station (near Saad Zaghloul Square) is situated. It was a lavish temple with porticoes, parks and libraries (Philo of Alexandria cited in Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 54).

The most famous attributes of this temple were the so-called Cleopatra's Needles that once stood in front of it. These two red granite obelisks bear the names of Tuthmosis III, Seti I and Ramesses II and were brought to Alexandria from Heliopolis by the Romans 20 years after Cleopatra's death. These giant obelisks stayed in situ, more or less, as one had fallen, until 1877 when the ruling family of Egypt gave them as gifts to the British and the Americans. One was placed on the Thames Embankment in London and the other was taken in 1878 to New York and stands in Central Park (McKenzie 2007, 176-178; 181-184).

The sanctuary of Sarapis underwent a serious renovation, which was completed in 210 AD. The new structure was more monumental and also more Roman in style, however in general terms following the example set by the Ptolemaic period structure. Before that, Hadrian had granted the Sarapeion a basalt image of the Apis-bull, the Egyptian constituent of Sarapis, in order to be venerated together with the rest of the cult images (ibid, 184-185). There were also obelisks and statues dating from the Pharaonic period, which must have been reused as part of the Roman period structure, though some of them may have already been re-employed in the Ptolemaic Sarapeion (ibid, 195-198).

The involvement of Alexandria in Roman politics caused it to experience some quite violent reactions from the side of the Romans. These bloody events occurred mainly in the centre of the city and the Royal palace area, causing extensive destruction. This was the case with Caesar's siege of the city (48 BC) and Caracalla's visit to Alexandria (215 AD), when most of the major buildings of the city suffered extensive damage. Two further accidents occurred during this period. The first was Aurelian's attack in 272 AD, again in the Broucheion area, in order to recover the city from Palmyrene occupation. The second was in 297/298 AD, when Diocletian besieged the city "to recover it from the control of the rebel Domitius Domitianus", and vowed to slaughter the populace "until the rivers of blood reached the knees of his horse". Consequently,

[11] As noted in the historical view of the Roman period (Chapter 1, section 3.3), Egypt became the domain of the emperor himself, a fact that distinguishes Egypt from all the other provinces of the empire.

during the Roman period the city underwent extensive renovations, especially in its centre (Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 54-55).

4.7. THE NECROPOLEIS OF ALEXANDRIA

Underground tombs and cemeteries are the most important and distinctive features of Alexandria's surviving archaeological remains. Among others, the elite hypogea (Greek υπόγειον: 'underground structure') of Alexandria constituted a distinctive subcategory of tombs, owing to their monumental architecture and extensive decoration. They provide us with much information about many aspects of Alexandria's identity, such as society, art, architecture, religion and afterlife beliefs[12].

Concerning the Ptolemaic period, important funerary structures have been discovered in several areas of the city. In the present day city centre, the Alabaster tomb presents a unique discovery, which might be related to the royal cemetery of the Ptolemies, as was already discussed above.

On what is now the promontory of Anfushi, formerly the island on which the Pharos stood, there are two important complexes of tombs. The westernmost complex is at Ras el Tin, while the second one is near the shore of the bay of Anfushi.

In the eastern necropolis, there are the tombs of Hadra, Sidi Gaber and Antoniadis Gardens. In the northeast of the city, the Shatby cemetery is the earliest of the city's funerary complexes, dating from the late 4th century BC. The last one on the eastern side is the Mustapha Kamel complex, which is also the best preserved.

In the western necropolis, in Wardian, the Saqiya Tomb has been discovered, which is remarkable for its paintings. Finally, at Gabbari, recent excavations carried out by the Centre d'Études Alexandrines uncovered collective tombs, dating from the middle of the 3rd century BC and in use throughout the Greco-Roman period (*Necropolis* (2001 and 2003)). From the Roman period (1st-3rd century AD), the most important tomb complexes are the Kom el-Shoqafa Great Catacomb, the adjacent Hall of Caracalla (the so-called 'Nebengrab'), the Stagni Tomb in the western necropolis and the Tigrane Pasha Tomb in the eastern necropolis.

5. STATUS QUESTIONIS

In this section, the most important interpretations of the Egyptian cultural element and its role in Alexandria will be reviewed. The overview is divided into two main sections, the first concerning the Ptolemaic period and the second concerning the Roman period. The first section is subdivided into three parts. The first part (5.1) concerns the role of Egyptian culture and people in the socio-cultural history of Alexandria, as reflected in ancient written sources. Fraser's *Ptolemaic Alexandria* will be the starting point, since it provides the most complete and reliable collection and analysis to date of this type of evidence. It will also be connected to the wider scholarly discussion concerning the relationship between Greek and Egyptian cultures and people. The second part (5.2) summarises major points to be made concerning the material evidence such as sculpture and architecture and faience oinochoai. Finally, the third part (5.3) deals with the necropoleis of Alexandria. Similarly, the section on Roman Alexandria is divided in three parts. The first part (5.4) deals with the 'Egyptian' using literary sources, sculpture and numismatics, while the second part (5.5) concerns the scholarly discussion on the Egyptians of the Roman Alexandria necropoleis. Finally the third part of the Roman period discussion (5.6) concerns one of the most recent studies of the burials of Roman Egypt, which will be helpful in the discussion on identity, religion and funerary customs.

[12] For a detailed description of the elite hypogea of Alexandria see Venit's monograph on Monumental Tombs of Alexandria (2002). See also the catalogue of tombs and loculi slabs in this work.

5.1. 'EGYPTIAN' IN *PTOLEMAIC ALEXANDRIA*

Fraser's *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972) provides the most complete socio-cultural history of the city, based on ancient written sources, mainly inscriptions. Its importance lies in the fact that it was the first work of its size, which attempted to give a complete view of the Ptolemaic history of the city, although excluding important types of material evidence[13]. It was also the first time that the role of Egyptian tradition and people in the life of the city was included in the discussion, mainly in his chapters about population and religion.

Alexandrian population

In the chapter about the organisation and composition of the population of Ptolemaic Alexandria, Fraser divided the population of the city into two main categories: The Greeks and the non-Greeks. The Greeks are divided in four subcategories: 1) the citizen body; 2) partial and probationary citizens; 3) Greeks with no particular civil status; and 4) Greeks with external ethnics. The second category consists of 1) the Egyptian population; and 2) the foreign non-Greek immigrants (Jews, Syrians, and others) and slaves (Fraser 1972, 18).

Concerning the social history of this population, he divides the Ptolemaic era into three periods. During the first one (the 3rd century until 215 BC), the citizen body was organised as an exclusive Greek polis structure, composed of demes, tribes and civil institutions, and other attributes of this type. The access to this civic body was restricted to Greeks only, but did not include all of them. Moreover, contact between the upper and middle classes and the Egyptians was probably restricted, which may conceal a feeling of hostility from the side of the Egyptians. Yet, amongst the lower classes, this gap between Greeks and Egyptians was to be bridged by intermarriage. This part of Alexandrian society, which seems to have started intermingling since the 3rd century BC, formed almost one ethnic group (73). For Fraser it was the Greek lower class that "…succumbed first to Egyptianisation, with disastrous results for the life of Alexandria" (72). However, we hear little of these lower classes until the second sub-period, when both of them, partially but increasingly Hellenised (for Egyptians) and Egyptianised (for the Greeks), became a newly important social factor in city life. This is not attested for the main civic group of the upper and middle classes (71-72).

The second sub-period, 215-145 BC] (75-86) is characterised by the demise of letters and science, but also by the international decline of Ptolemaic politics. Concerning the internal situation, the most important characteristic is the rise of Egyptian nationalism (79). At the same time an extensive process of Egyptianisation of the citizen body took place, causing a gradual change in the social structure of Alexandria. The citizen body appears to be in the same form as in the former period, but takes more actively part in political affairs. The large mass of Hellenised or Greek persons outside the citizen body enforced their authority in the city. Fraser connects this phenomenon to a social and cultural demise in Alexandria 'with catastrophic results'. Characteristically, he notes that Alexandria in this period consisted of "a mixed inferior society in which the citizen body had lost its power" (85).

During the third sub-period 145-31 BC (87-92), there is a further decline in the intellectual life of the city as well as in the influx of Greek immigrants. The reign of Cleopatra VII seems to be an exception; she apparently attempted to revitalise Egypt's cultural life and political situation. The traditional form of the citizen body continued to exist, but the citizenship was not as heavily restricted to Greeks as it was in the 3rd century (77; 87). Gradually, more Egyptians (but also Jews) appear to hold important posts in the court and administration than before. Finally, concerning the Egyptianisation and the levelling out of the mass of population, Fraser points out some characteristic aspects of this process, which became increasingly evident: the adoption of Greek names by Egyptians, the spread of the Egyptian cults, the juxtaposition of Greek and Egyptian forms of burial, and we may add "the vulgarisation and Egyptianisation of such a popular work of art as terracotta" (89).

[13] Neither sculpture and architecture nor the extensive Alexandrian cemeteries have been included in any detail. References are limited usually to the concluding parts of his chapters. The picture that arose from such types of material evidence was considered as (too) fragmentary (Fraser, 1972, vii-ix).

Religion

As far as religion is concerned, Fraser's point of departure is the difference in the religious evolution between Alexandria and the chora. In the latter, the process of religious and ethnic integration was much faster, whereas in the former, particularly in the 3rd century BC, the population was still considered in terms of identifiable ethnic elements. He also states that there is a lack of evidence for cults specific to the Egyptian population in their traditional form, and disinterest from the side of the Ptolemies for the establishment of purely Egyptian cults. Therefore, in his religious chapter, Fraser claims that he mainly considers the Greek population of the city (190).

Fraser divided the cults of Alexandria into five main categories: Olympian gods, Egyptian gods, the cult of Alexander, the cult of the Ptolemies, and others. Before starting the analysis of these categories, Fraser informs us in advance about the phenomenon of syncretism among the deities, mainly of the Greek and Egyptian religious systems (192-193). Concerning the Olympian gods, Demeter was identified with Isis, Aphrodite with Hathor, Dionysus with Osiris, and Hermes with Thoth in Memphis, Canopus and Alexandria) (193-207). In addition, in this section he includes the elusive figure of Agathos Daimon, a god related to the fate /fortune of the city, who became one of the symbols of Alexandria. In the late period he was identified with the Egyptian deity Knephis and Psais, the bringer of good luck. Knephis and Thernouthis, another serpent-female deity, became identified with Sarapis and Isis (211).

The following category of Fraser's Alexandrian religion deals with the dynastic cult, which was established by Ptolemy Soter in order to connect himself, and subsequently his dynasty, to Alexander the Great. He suggests that it was not a direct descendant of the Pharaonic cult, but was a Greek cult, with Greek hierarchy and mainly Greek-speaking worshippers (214). Still, it seems that the Pharaonic context also contributed to the development of the dynastic cult (218). Amongst other things, it was the association of the Ptolemies with various deities. For instance, in the Sarapeion, dedications are attested to the 'Theoi Euergetai' (Ptolemy III and Berenice II) and to the Sarapis' cycle, but even to earlier rulers. In these dedications, the 'Theoi Philadelphoi' appears together with Sarapis as 'Synnaoi theoi' (236). The queens were assimilated with various deities, especially Isis in several ways (237-239).

In the category of the Egyptian gods of Alexandria, Fraser discusses four main cases: the divine triad of Sarapis, Isis and Harpocrates, and Anubis. Sarapis, the head of this triad, is counted as a different case from the rest of the Egyptian gods. His cult originated in Memphis, and emerged in Alexandria possibly during the reign of Soter or Philadelphus (247). Sarapis' cult was composed of both Greek and Egyptian elements. This is further attested in the foundation plaques of the Sarapeion in Alexandria, which contain texts in Greek and Egyptian hieroglyphic (250). On the other side, concerning the Greek element of Sarapis' religious identity, his main counterparts were Hades, Dionysus, and Asclepius. The last two were also present during the Ptolemaic period in the sacred precinct of Osiris-Apis in Memphis (257).

The cult centre of this major Alexandrian deity, the Sarapeion, was situated on the hill of Rhakotis, the Egyptian district of Alexandria, but it seems that there were several minor shrines around the city. Although there is little evidence for the cult in Alexandria, it seems that the Egyptian origin of the god was never forgotten, and it is very likely that certain parts of the ritual were based on Egyptian practices (252). In addition, the presence of Egyptian sculptural and architectural elements at the site of the Alexandrian Sarapeion indicates that the Egyptian features of the Gods (not only Sarapis, but also the other 'Egyptian' co-residents) were by no means neglected (270).

Sarapis' cult won ground mainly among the upper classes of the Greek population of Egypt, while it carried no great appeal among the Egyptians (251). Since there was a special link between the crown and the cult of Sarapis, embracing the latter was also an act of loyalty to the royal house, especially for the Greeks of Alexandria and chora. According to Fraser, this link may also explain the demise of the cult after the third century, since after this period the early appeal of the cult faded and, as a result, the Ptolemies lost their interest. Furthermore, Fraser takes into account the changing ethnic composition of the administrative class and the court circles, and the growing preponderance of the Egyptian element (273).

Fraser considers the cases of Isis Anubis and Harpocrates to be different from Sarapis', because they were all long-standing Egyptian deities. Isis was one of the oldest Egyptian goddesses, well-known before the Ptolemies. During the Ptolemaic period she was identified with Demeter, Agathe Tyche and the Ptolemaic queens. Alexander himself was supposed to be the first to establish her cult in Alexandria. Yet, for the first half of the Ptolemaic period, Isis remained first and foremost the spouse of Sarapis. Isis as holy mother of the divine child Harpocrates met with great appeal especially in the late Ptolemaic period (259-261).

Under Ptolemy Philopator, Harpocrates (Horus the child) acquired his own temple in the Sarapeion, in the sacred precinct, where bilingual foundation plaques have also been found (269). However, Harpocrates' name is not included in the Alexandrian shrines of Sarapis and Isis. The structure of the divine triad seems a development of the later Ptolemaic period (262).

Finally, the jackal-head god Anubis, son of Isis and Osiris. He was the soul-leader of the dead to the other world, the high priest of the Gods and the guard of Osiris. He was included among the Egyptian gods in the Sarapeion precinct (ibid). More specifically, burial catacombs of sacred dogs have been found in the Sarapeion, dedicated to Anubis. These catacombs established a further link to Memphis, where an Anubieion existed close to the temple of Osiris-Apis with burials of sacred mummified jackals (270).

As indicated in several parts of *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, for Fraser there is a connection between the purity of the Greek population of the city and the heyday of Ptolemaic Alexandria, while the decadence (political, social, artistic) is connected with the cultural and ethnic integration of Greek and Egyptian. This interpretation involves various factors, such as the relationship between the two main ethnic groups, the Ptolemaic policy concerning ethnicity and, moreover, the vitality of the Egyptian culture during the Ptolemaic period. Therefore, for a better understanding of Fraser's view, the main categories of models, concerning the relationship between Greek and Egyptian cultures and populations, which have been proposed so far, should be now shortly described.

Since the late 19th century several opinions have been expressed on this topic, divided in three main categories. In the 19th and early 20th century, the dominant opinion was that "the conquering Macedonians and Greeks formed the ruling elite of the society, an ethno-class that ruled the vanquished and exploited masses of the natives" (La'Da 2003, 163). Since the 1970s, a second model of thoughts suggested that Greeks and Egyptians coexisted with little or no interaction between them (Preaux 1978; Samuel 1989, 10; 35-49).

Both of them met with great criticism since the 1980s. Bagnall suggested that "there is a conceptual disarray, visible at the level of detail as well of generalisation" (Bagnall 1988, 21). The model proposing little or no interaction cannot account for complicated cases of identity, such as that of a woman who was called both Apollonia and Senmonthis. Was she Egyptian or Greek? Also, there has been a lack of clarity in answering questions such as: What does the epithet 'Greek' or 'Egyptian' mean in the middle of the second century? What is the real meaning of the terms 'Hellenisation' or 'Egyptianisation'? Most scholarly discussions have focused only on the most profound results (ibid), meaning that they did not search for what is not visible/observable[14]. Finally, Bagnall concludes that both sides were not untouched by the presence of the other (Ibid, 25).

Ritner (1992) further contributes to the criticism on these two models. He suggested that neither of them is valid because they have been inspired to a large extent by contemporary social and political contexts (283-290). The idea of a lack of interaction between Greeks and Egyptians is false, since Greeks lived throughout Egypt and were integrated with the indigenous population. Specifically, he argues that: "…their experience will have been factual – not fanciful – and their concept will have changed" (284). He further explains this statement by giving a simple example: "When the Fayum gymnasium, the cultural guardian of Greek ethnicity, is dedicated to an Egyptian crocodile, something has clearly changed" (Ibid).

A crucial point in Ritner's analysis is the supposed decline of Egyptian culture and its final death during the Ptolemaic period, as reflected in those two models. He states that such models follow the so-called

[14] See section 3.1 in this chapter

biological model of civilization, which bases itself on the life-cycle of a plant: it sprouts, grows, flowers, and decays. Similarly, according to this model, Egyptian culture starts decaying during the Late period of Egyptian indigenous history, and finally dies out under the Persians and the Ptolemies (1993, 284). Thus, it could not have influenced the development of the Greek element in Egypt. However, during both the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, Egypt's cultural, literary and religious vitality is attested in our sources. For Ritner, it seems that this vitality was confused with purity and authenticity. This connection is wrong, since the flowering of Egypt during the New Kingdom also occurred within a truly multicultural context (285).

Finally, Ritner criticised the scholarly discussion since the early 20th century on the so-called decay and death of the Egyptian culture, according to which Egypt became cultureless, powerless and second-class. He also rejects the viewpoint that since the Egyptian population was exploited by the Greek 'monolithic' authority, it turned rebellious, hateful and threatening (287). Fraser's *Ptolemaic Alexandria* is a representative work of this perspective:

" Fraser constructs his entire framework of Alexandrian history, attributing the city riots of later years to the violence 'inherent in the character of the Egyptianised population of the city' (Fraser 1970, 80) (implied proof of this assertions being Polybios). Superior Greek culture had been weakened and destroyed through the 'the adulteration of the Greek by Egyptian blood' " (ibid., 84).

One of the main arguments of both Bagnall and Ritner was based on Clarysse's work on 'double names' (1985, 57-66). He examined several cases of people with double names such as was the case for Menches, the 2nd-century BC Kerkeosiris *komogrammateus*: we see the members of a whole family bearing double names, one Greek and one Egyptian. The appearance and use of this dual-name identity, the phenomenon of having two names, one Greek and one Egyptian, has produced a lot of discussion. Among other interpretations, the most common one is that in many cases people may have used the Egyptian name in private life, while in public life, especially when dealing with military and administrative affairs, they used their Greek name. It would appear, therefore, that the use of double-names was pragmatic: the Egyptian name would enable one to navigate seamlessly in a Pharaonic environment, whereas a Greek name would enable one to move chameleon-like through Greek society. This might of course be the reason why no Egyptian left his name or his dedication in an Alexandrian inscription, as emphasised by Fraser.

More recently, in his article *Encounters with Egypt: the Hellenistic Experience*, La'da (2003) summarised the whole discussion on ethnicity and provided further support for the assumptions of Bagnall, Clarysse and Ritner, maintaining that the situation was much different and more complicated than described by several of the models in use until the late 1970s. He added further arguments in this direction. Firstly, there is no usurpation of land from indigenous people by the new immigrants. Instead, there is evidence for an expansion of the cultivable land by the Ptolemies. Secondly, even if the Greek language became the official language of the upper level of the administrative system, the native Egyptian language remained widespread not only in the middle and lower levels of administration, but also in education. Thirdly, the plurality of laws and juridical structures (Greek, Egyptian and Jewish) existed and functioned alongside each other, creating a unique legal system. Fourthly, it appears that most of the Ptolemaic rebellions had no clear ethnic character, since Greeks and Egyptians could be found on both sides (163-165).

For La'da, Ptolemaic Egypt, at least from 280 BC onwards, seems not to have been a discriminatory state, as argued above. However, especially for the earlier years of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, it cannot be argued that there was a full equality between Greeks and Egyptians, especially concerning the higher administrative and social levels. In any case, being 'Greek' might have meant to have higher prestige than being 'Egyptian' (166-167).

5.2 THE EGYPTIAN ASPECT OF ALEXANDRIA IN STUDIES OF MATERIAL CULTURE

While Fraser's *Ptolemaic Alexandria* presents the most complete work on inscriptions and papyri, such a work is lacking for the material evidence, such as art and architecture. Of course, one should mention the work by

Achille Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano Serie A-C* (1961-1966), where he managed to catalogue a vast amount of material from Alexandria and the surrounding area, including tombs and related material, monumental art and architecture, minor and every day life objects, and mummy portraits. This work provides a basic instrument of almost every archaeological study on Hellenistic and Roman Alexandria, since Adriani did not only organise a vast amount of data, but also offered the ground for a better understanding of the different styles that appeared and interacted with each other in Alexandria. But for a real analysis of the archaeological material we have to turn to more recent studies.

From the end of Adriani's directorship in the Greco-Roman Museum, there was a decrease in the archaeological studies in Alexandria, ending only after the discoveries of the 1990s, which caused the interest in Alexandrian material culture to increase again. Until that point our picture was very fragmentary, based as it was on the few sites that had escaped the construction of the modern city. The only exceptions were the Alexandrian cemeteries, which represent Alexandria's best preserved archaeological remains due to their location outside the city walls. The relatively rich evidence of the Alexandrian necropoleis has produced several works since the 19th century, and for this reason, it should be examined as a separate category.

Concerning the rest of the Alexandrian material evidence before the recent discoveries, there are three works, which have offered important ideas on the Greco-Egyptian interaction and the role of the Egyptian element. The first one is by Dorothy Thompson concerning *Ptolemaic oinochoai and portraits in faience: aspects of the ruler-cult* (1973)**.** The second one is the work by Bianchi on Ptolemaic art and architecture, as summarised in his paper "The Pharaonic art of Ptolemaic Egypt" in *Cleopatra at the age of Ptolemies* (1988). The third is *The topography of ancient Alexandria* by Barbara Tkaczow (1993). In one volume, Tkaczow collected a large amount of material evidence from the city with a topographical arrangement, including as much relevant information as possible, combining ancient and modern sources.

Ptolemaic oinochoai and portraits in faience: aspects of the ruler cult by Thompson looks back both at the Greek and Egyptian ways of thinking. Figured faience oinochoai were influenced by both Greek and Egyptian art and were related to Egyptian rituals as much as Greek. First of all, faience oinochoai were related to the royal cult, probably for informal occasions, when ordinary citizens used them as libation vessels in shrines and at altars across the city. Still, the majority of these vases were found in Alexandrian cemeteries, both at the eastern and the western sides**.** The presence of oinochoai could be explained by the strong association of the Ptolemaic queens with Isis, since the latter was a guide for the dead, leading them to Osiris for judgment and pleading for them. It is also possible that rulers were remembered in those rituals, because they would be as powerful in death as in life, and they would keep a kindly eye on the dead (Thompson 1973, 119).

An Egyptian inspiration is supposed to govern the choice of the material (faience), and in the blue colour of the vessels' surface, as was a tradition in Egypt for almost two millennia (ibid., 1). In the Egyptian tradition, faience vases were used as gifts that were exchanged during New Year's Day. Like Alexandrian oinochoai, they proclaimed the nature of their contents in their inscriptions, the name of the sender and greetings such as "a gift to his majesty – may he live prosperously and be well" (ibid.).

Egyptian influence is also detectable in the faces, the draperies and the positions of the figures. Firstly, the execution of the body, fully frontally, while the head is in profile. Secondly, the long sloping profile with slightly protrusive jaw, balanced by a protruding mass of hair, seems to appear in Egyptian art since the New Kingdom (105). Thirdly, there is a deep set of cavities for the eyes (often in diamond shape), protruding narrow eyes themselves, the thin-bridged, blunt nose, and the sharp lips of certain heads, which according to Thompson's personal opinion must derive from the Egyptian tradition**.** Fourthly, the curls are arranged in short rows on either side of the face. Such a coiffure is worn by figures dressed in the Isis costume. Finally, on the few emblemata included in Thompson's catalogue, the hair is arranged in a series of tight ringlets, like the Egyptian wig worn by Hellenistic Isis and her priestess.

Concerning drapery, figures wear Greek or Greco-Egyptian dress. The latter consists of the typical Isis costume with the knot between the breasts, as worn by Isis and her priestess during the Hellenistic

period[15]. Even if the identification is not complete, these figures most probably portray human queens endowed with attributes of the goddess (57-59). Also an Egyptian adaptation was the Ia type of dress of Arsinoe II (in Thompson's division), which was the most common one. This type of himation is drawn tightly around the waist, with a corner let down to form a triangular overfold.

Figures such as Arsinoe II's show a strong Egyptian flavour. Moving to Berenike II's era (267-221 BC) Greek characteristics become gradually stronger. The rendering of faces and draperies is more naturalistic, reflecting the adaptation of Greek craftsmen to a material and subject new for them. As we come to the end of the 3rd century, quality in naturalistic style figures is weakened, while there is also another category of craftsmen with manneristic tendencies. In our latest pieces, we again meet original and lively figures in an Egyptianising manner. The style of these figures is called archaistic, reverted to Egyptian models of an earlier stage (116).

Concerning monumental art and architecture, it was the paper by Robert S. Bianchi on "The Pharaonic art of Ptolemaic Egypt" *(*1988), which developed an Egyptian archaeological perspective on several examples of Ptolemaic sculpture. According to Bianchi there is an error in the assumption that 'non-idealizing' heads of this period are actually portraits, as an indication of a Greek influence, with features matching those of specific individuals. As he states "in fact, in the Egyptian concept of 'portraiture' it is not people who are portrayed but rather their ages or stations in life" (55). For Bianchi, there was not a mixed school, composed by the two traditions. He assumed that the addition of individual characteristics in Egyptian sculpture was quite a characteristic phenomenon since the 2nd millennium BC, and therefore in accordance with the main principles of Egyptian art, especially as they are developed in the Late period. These attributes were chosen in the same way as individual Egyptian attributes were used in the decrees to distinguish individuals, and once taken into the Egyptian repertoire, these features became essentially Egyptian **(55-75)**. However, as the discussion on the written sources indicates, it would not be necessarily true that "craftsmen were able to keep the two traditions separate, as they were in the social and cultural spheres" (63).

In the last part of his paper, Bianchi He denies the existence of a mixed school of art, which incorporated elements from both cultures in order to produce several distinctively Hellenistic-Egyptian categories of art, an opinion mainly expressed by Adriani (1965; 1972). Alexandria was never the centre of artistic developments (Bianchi 1988, 75), while the Egyptian aspect, as he argued in his discussion summarised above, met a period of creativity. In contrast, he states that "each such Egyptianising object or monument must necessarily remain an enigmatic unicum unless its program can be associated with consistently recurring elements derived from the broader spectrum of Egypt's cultural heritage" (ibid, 77).

In the early 1990s two major archaeological investigations took place in the city: the first by Frank Goddio's team in the area of the submerged Royal quarters (1998; 2004); the second by Jean-Yves Empereur in the area of the Pharos Island and in the Gabbari necropolis (1998; 2001; 2003). Due to the results of these investigations, the interest in the material culture of the city has revived, since they provide for more stable ground under the feet of 'Alexandrian' scholars.

Yoyotte, who studied the finds of Goddio's expedition, introduced a new term in Alexandrian archaeology: pharaonica. With this term he intended to describe "monuments, which by the kind, style, and hieroglyphic decoration, stand out on this pinnacle of Hellenistic art and culture in the time of Pharaohs, who are, however, Macedonian in origin" (1998, 199). He distinguishes them from Aegyptiaca – these are the Ptolemaic period pharaonic statues, found in the submerged area of the Alexandrian port – because the latter have been part of the capital. Hence, he puts a borderline between the indigenous and Ptolemaic Pharaohs as well as Alexandria and the Egyptian chora.

In general, concerning the nature of the city, for Yoyotte Alexandria was made by Greeks to be inhabited by Greeks. The spoken language was Greek, as well as its gods. In another point of his discussion, he

[15] See the dress in of the queens in nos. 122-124 in the catalogue by Thompson.

further states: Alexandria "always remained a completely Greek city, outside and apart from the heart of ancient Egypt" (Ibid.). Yoyotte also refers to the 'overestimated' Egyptian character of Alexandria, promoted mainly by the media after the recent discoveries, as an invalid picture for Alexandria. According to this picture, with which he totally disagrees, Alexandria should be a more appropriate field for Egyptologists than for Hellenists (IIbid.). Concerning the nature and relationship of Greek and Egyptian traditions and peoples, Yoyotte accepts the 1970s model of coexistence rather than interaction. For him, the relationship between Greek and Egyptian people and traditions was a combat or rather "a kind of symbiosis, without any radical conflict, between the culture of the Hellenes and the immemorial past of the Egyptian culture still very much alive at that time" (202). Yoyotte rejected the idea that the Egyptian population lived under ghetto conditions, such as those of apartheid, within their own cultural environment, isolated from the rest of the city. In addition, he assumes that Hellenised forms of Egyptian gods emerged, due to a possible appearance of Egyptian temples and priests in the city, who constructed these new forms in collaboration with the Greeks. Of course, the Ptolemies promoted this policy (218).

On the question when the pharaonica were introduced into Alexandria, Yoyotte mentions two models that were under discussion at that time and concern the 'Pharos' finds'. The first model belongs to Corteggianni, Empereur and Honor Frost, and dates the pharaonica to the reign of Ptolemy II (203). The second model belongs to Gallo[16], who stated that they were installed in the Roman period as a result of Roman Egyptomania, which we find in Alexandria as we find it in Rome. For him, both in Alexandria and elsewhere, pharaonica had an ornamental role to play.

Regarding the dating of, and the role of pharaonica in Alexandria, Yoyotte concludes that they would have been part of the Alexandrian landscape since the early Ptolemaic period, but that most of them must have been brought into the city during the Roman period (204). Their primal role, as in the 'Egyptian past', was to promote the supernatural quality of the king through native art. However, since the city was Greek, new meaning and functions could be attributed to them. Objects such as those found in the waters around Pharos, indicate that the Ptolemies bestowed importance on the popular divinities, which they themselves honoured in several places, such as Memphis.

Finally, between the moment of their arrival in Alexandria and their rediscovery, Pharaonic objects have probably undergone all or part of a series of tribulations:

-Installation in Alexandrian temples, and consecration, whether or not in conformity to their original function and significance
-Ritual recycling, requiring technical alternations and epigraphic overlay
-Reshaping and cutting up blocks for masonry (which must in fact have totally destroyed a number of monuments, or at least their inscriptions). Several successive reuses of blocks are possible.
-Individual or collective transportation, disseminating the various parts of one entity over considerable distances.
-All of this being interspersed with breakage and mutilation due to natural causes, to manipulative incidents or to iconoclastic aggression (218).

A few years later, in the early 2000s, Ashton and Stanwick published two major works on the Egyptian style in royal sculpture of the Ptolemaic period. Both of them have included statues found in Alexandria, some during recent investigations by Goddio and Empereur. Ashton (2001) discussed the interaction of the Greek and Egyptian traditions in a group of pharaonic sculptures of the Ptolemaic period,

[16] Gallo's model, which was included in Yoyotte's paper, has been presented at several conferences, and I had the opportunity to discuss it intensively with him during several meetings in Alexandria. So far it has not been supported by an article, but by various lectures, and it will be hopefully presented in a forthcoming complete publication on Pharaonica of Alexandria by Pr. Gallo. It is also largely accepted by scholars such as Stanwick (2002), Ashton (2004) and McKenzie (2007).

where elements of classical portraiture were included. Within this group, the most important Alexandrian pieces were included for the first time in a discussion concerning their stylistic and historical development, and moreover their context, function, and further meaning in the life of the city. For this reason, it is important to summarise her most important points, while further data of her work will be included in detail in the discussion later on.

Greek and Egyptian-style dedications in Alexandria show that the early rulers were keen to promote themselves as both Hellenistic kings and Pharaohs. One of the earliest examples is a pure pharaonic style representation of a triad, in basalt, representing Ptolemy II, Ammon and Arsinoe II[17]. Stylistically, it has a connection with representations of the 19th dynasty (14).

The adoption of Greek elements seems to begin during the reign of Ptolemy IV or V. The early examples are close to their classical models. In the late 2nd and the 1st centuries BC there is a progression towards the production of more stylised Egyptian versions of Hellenistic prototypes (2). In all cases, the portraits are not accurate copies but Egyptian versions, carved according to the Egyptian tradition and style. "Nonetheless, such a careful attention to the detail and willingness to synthesise the royal image would suggest that the portrait became an important feature in the Ptolemaic royal statuary, from the second century BC onwards." (3).

The adoption of non-Egyptian style elements can be explained as a need for new types of representation, but in any case, the statues preserve their Egyptian nature and their essential Egyptian features. For this reason, Ashton prefers the term 'borrowing' to 'influence' in order to describe the incorporation of the Greek attributes (4). Since the reign of Ptolemy IV, a series of internal and external problems can be related to the change that occurred in royal representation. Among them were various wars, the increase of Egypt's social expectations such as participation in higher military and administrative post as well as economic privileges, and civil unrest. At the time of one of the several uprisings in Alexandria, during the reign of Ptolemy V, the capital was moved to Memphis and it is possible that the new appearance of Greek features in the Egyptian royal statuary started from that particular chronological and geographical point (14). The naturalistic features were used to distinguish the ruler from the native pretenders to the throne, while still appealing to Egyptian cultural traditions. Still, they remain essentially Egyptian (32). Moreover, it is very likely that this specific type of statue served a certain purpose and was perhaps intended for both Greek and Egyptian audiences and members of the population who shared both cultures, for instance Egyptians who became Greeks through service in the Royal army and administration. By the time of Ptolemy V, both communities must have been accustomed to both artistic traditions. This seems to have been displayed in the Sarapeion, where Egyptian statues are placed side by side with classical ones, while the opposite occurred in the Sarapeion of Memphis, where we see the combination of an Egyptian style Memphis with classical style architectural and sculptural additions (ibid.).

From the reign of Ptolemy VI to XII, the Ptolemaic period is characterised by rebellions, dynastic rivalries, civil wars and Roman political intervention. During this period, there is an increasingly wide range of royal images, particularly in the Egyptian-style statuary, which might be an indication that there was a lack of control over the royal image from the side of the central authority. Finally, under the reign of Cleopatra VII, Egypt meets with a revival and this fact corresponds to the archaising tendency reflected in her statuary, especially looking back to the 3rd century BC, the political heyday of the Ptolemaic state (16).

Female royal statues show an analogous development and function as the male ones, except for the problematic question of the Isiac association of the female royal statuary, as for a long period statues of this group were associated with Isis[18]: "This type of image represented the Ptolemaic queens in a specific role, associated with the royal cult rather than associating the subject with Isis" (53). The earlier statues are

[17] See statuary catalogue no. 3
[18] See Statuary catalogue nos.12, 13, 22

Egyptian in style, but from the 2nd century BC the artists adopt Greek attributes, while the costumes become gradually more Hellenised in appearance. In the 1st century BC the images revert to the more traditional garments and wigs, occasionally maintaining Greek features such as the cornucopia. It seems that "the two cultures were able to use iconographic attributes that were foreign to their own tradition, which illustrates a much broader syncretism than simply the imitation in style" (ibid.).

Stanwick's monograph deals with *Portraits of Ptolemies* (2003). His interpretation of the Greco-Egyptian interaction is based on the idea of the real 'melting' of the two styles, mainly expressed by Bothmer (1960; 1996). However, the interpretation of Bianchi/Ashton[19] seems more systematic, clearer, and more detailed in its conclusion, especially in terms of different time periods, where political, cultural and social conditions will have differed. Also clearer is the stylistic interpretation concerning the relation between the two artistic traditions. Indeed, there seems to be no actual melting of the two traditions. The Ptolemaic period statues with naturalistic portrait characteristics seem to respect, by all terms, the Egyptian canons of presentation. It is only the naturalistic portrait characteristics that might have been borrowed from Greek models. Even this borrowing is not unique in the art history of the Egyptian statuary. Naturalistic aspects have been included in several cases of pharaonic statuary, like in the case of Sesostris III, (1897-1878 BC), whose portraits display an aged, 'tired' pharaoh. Therefore, for this study, the Bianchi/Ashton model will be used as the proper theoretical framework, since it has been proved to be more helpful in our understanding, not only of monumental sculpture, but also of other types of material evidence.

The discussion on the contribution of the Egyptian tradition in Alexandria becomes problematic in the reconstruction of the architectural environment. No clear architectural picture survives from the city; only some architectural fragments, many out of their original context. However, two scholars who worked on Alexandrian sculpture, Ashton and Stanwick, after examining the Alexandrian architectural sources and the topographical context of the material, are certain that Egyptian elements should have existed in Ptolemaic period Alexandria. The only location in Alexandria with architectural and artistic evidence *in situ* is the Sarapeion, which has been systematically excavated, and of which the results have been published. Rowe (1946) and more recently McKenzie (2004), attempted to put all the architectural evidence of the site in order. However, the overall picture of the site still remains problematic, due to the extensive development during the ancient period and the later systematic destruction.

The paper on the Sarapeion was the introduction to the following major publication by McKenzie (2007) on the *Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt 300 BC – AD 700*. This was the first complete overview of the architecture of Alexandria, and covers the whole Greco-Roman and Late Antiquity periods. Among other things, McKenzie emphasises the importance of Greek and Egyptian traditions in the formation of Alexandrian architecture, traditions which not only coexisted, but also influenced each other (32).

Concerning the Ptolemaic city, McKenzie assumes that Alexandria had a mainly Greek architectural appearance and arrangement, but that there were also references to Egyptian tradition. Since the foundation of the city by Alexander the Great, the city plan was based on the Greek Hippodamian system with Greek style public installations, but Egyptian influences can be attested in the choice of the location of the city, the orientation of the street grid, as well the broad main street of the city (74). Alexander the Great was supposed to have been responsible for the installation of Egyptian style temples, such as the temple of Isis. Ptolemy Soter, the first king of the Ptolemaic dynasty, certainly was responsible for the construction of a sanctuary dedicated to Sarapis (30). While there is no clear indication of the style of these early structures, it is possible that there were some Egyptian style elements, such as the two granite sphinxes still in the Sarapeion.

During the reign of Ptolemy II, the city obtained several Greek style public installations that indicate a Greek way of life, such as gymnasia, theatres and market places, while the king was responsible for the

[19] For a critique on Stanwick's and Bothmers' models, see: Ashton, 2004, 543- 550.

completion of the Library, the Mouseion and the Pharos lighthouse. Nevertheless it was during his reign that several Greek and Egyptian elements coexisted in temples. In the Arsinoeion, the temple dedicated to the deified Arsinoe II, there was a single huge obelisk erected. In addition in the Zephyreion, where Arsinoe was worshipped as Aphrodite, there was a mechanical drinking pot in the shape of the Egyptian god Bes (33).

During the reign of Ptolemy III, there was important building activity taking place in the Sarapeion, with the use of both Greek and Egyptian elements. The general appearance of the statue of the god was Greek but there were also Egyptian elements, such as the above-mentioned foundation plaques, which contained both Greek and hieroglyphic inscriptions, and the Nilometer. Moreover, Egyptian influence might be found in a narrow colonnaded court, which is attested in other Egyptian temples, although in the Sarapeion there is no single axis manifest in the structures within the court (58).

During the reign of Ptolemy IV there is further sacred building activity, dedicated to local gods, such as the temple of Harpocrates in the Sarapeion, where also bilingual foundation plaques have been found. Another impressive structure of Ptolemy VI, which combines Greek and Egyptian elements, was his floating palace. Among other things, a peristyle court in the Greek tradition was included in the structure, but combined with a clerestory similar to those of Egyptian temples, forming a room that reminded one of the Egyptian oikos. In addition, both Greek and Egyptian styles were used separately to decorate different dining rooms on the boat. By the end of the third century BC, Egyptian influence becomes increasingly apparent, especially in sanctuaries and cemeteries, although most public buildings still imply a Greek way of life. These structures, even when they are Greek in appearance, contain some obvious Egyptian elements (34).

An interesting point of McKenzie's discussion of Ptolemaic Alexandria concerns the contribution of Egyptian tradition to the architectural style of Alexandrian monuments. Several monumental structures were built according to the Greek Corinthian and Doric orders, while at the same time, Egyptian architectural forms contributed to the formation of the Baroque architecture which first emerged in Ptolemaic Alexandria. This process resulted in new forms of pediments and entablatures, such as broken pediments, hollow pediments, segmental pediments etc. For example, the use of bent canes in local architecture influenced the new carved forms such as the segmental pediment, while broken lintels of Egyptian stone temples may have led to the broken pediment and the hollow pediment (35; 92-94).

Additionally, the influence of Egyptian tradition in Greek architecture resulted in the formation of the Egyptianising classical architecture. This fact is attested in architectural fragments of the Ptolemaic period buildings, until recently in the Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria, where "classical capitals are given some Egyptian features, while conversely, some Egyptian examples are used like classical ones" (115). For instance, sometimes the acanthus in Corinthian capitals is replaced by papyrus, while columns with papyrus capitals are also used on baroque supports, such as half-columns or quarter-columns (115-116).

5.3 ALEXANDRIAN NECROPOLEIS DATING TO THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

Underground tombs and cemeteries represent the most important and distinctive feature of Alexandrian surviving archaeological remains. Monumental funerary structures, known also as the elite hypogea of Alexandria, form an important subcategory of Alexandrian tombs. Monumental architecture and extensive decoration are characteristic of these underground structures, which can give an idea of the different aspects of city life, such as religion, social status and cultural identity.

Alexandrian tomb architecture and decoration consisted of elements derived from both Greek and Egyptian traditions. In regard to our search for Egyptian elements in Alexandria, it is notable that they contained the most extensive reference to Egyptian tradition found in architecture, decoration, function and further grave goods, such as everyday life objects. However, until recently most scholars treated these

Egyptian elements as of minor importance. In addition, for a long period scholarly discussion focused only on architectural and artistic development, with no real attempt to incorporate all the available information about the life of the city, religion, funerary customs, the relationship with the world of the living, and social and cultural identity.

The origin of Alexandrian tombs is an issue that has been discussed extensively by Alexandrian scholars. There is no doubt that it is crucial to define their origin and all the influences from early periods, not only for our understanding of the tombs themselves, but also of the emergence and development of Alexandrian architecture in general. Pagenstecher (1919) emphasised the Macedonian influence on the tombs, based on the 'similar' succession of rooms in the tombs. According to him, this type derives from the megaron type, common in northern Greece or elsewhere. However, such courts as we find in Alexandrian tombs did not exist in Macedonia. In regard to this, he argues that the courts of Alexandrian tombs had no other function than to provide light for the chambers (98-99). Adriani rejected the Macedonian origin of Alexandrian tombs due to their different function and context. The Macedonian tombs were covered with a tumulus, and thus were inaccessible to 'visitors' until the next funeral. Contrarily, the Alexandrian tombs were open to the community of the living, friends, relatives, priests, and others, through funeral and post funeral ceremonies as indicated by the table of offerings and altars, within or in front of the rooms of the tombs. He considers the funerary kline as a possible Macedonian influence. He concludes that the inspiration of the subterranean structure was Egyptian, the *temenos* concept of the tomb was oriental, the loculus non-classical, and the architectural forms purely Greek (1962, 168-171). Daszewski (1994) was the first to discuss the tombs in relation to the Egyptian funerary and religious tradition. Even though his comparison involved only one Egyptian cemetery from Thebes, it was possible for him to define some Egyptian elements concerning both their function and structure. He concluded that in terms of architectural structures and functions, Hellenistic hypogea from Alexandria seem to have been an i*nterpretatio Graeca* of the old funerary traditions developed in the syncretistic atmosphere of the Ptolemaic capital (57-59). The most recent and complete work on Alexandrian tombs is that by Venit (2002), who discussed the most important elite tombs of Alexandria, on the one hand reviving the interest in this unique Alexandrian material evidence, and on the other hand focusing on their architectural, religious, and artistic development. Venit also attempted to introduce questions on ethnicity and cultural identity of the Alexandrians into the discussion of the monuments.

In the introduction, Venit states that monumental tombs from Alexandria "…provide material evidence for the innovative and iconoclastic spirit transfusing this ancient centre, catalogue the contributions to the city's fabric offered by its ethnic groups, and testify to dramatic changes in the communal ethos of its population" (2002, 1-2). Alexandrians that are buried in these tombs "…despite their geographic ancestry, aimed culturally to be Greek" (Ibid). Whatever their ancestry was, "they actively sought assimilation to the group that held power. They spoke Greek, and adhered to Greek ideals, yet (and this is perhaps ironic) they were buried in tombs that do not proclaim any specific formal lineage that can definitely be defined as Greek, except the architectural elements that from their inception informed them" (Ibid). In the late Ptolemaic period, Venit continues, Egyptian religion penetrated into otherwise distinctively Hellenic venues, due to the wish of Alexandrians for a blessed afterlife (Ibid).

In the first chapter Venit develops her view on Alexandria and the relationship between Greeks and Egyptians. Alexandria was a Macedonian foundation, *ad Aegyptum*. It "sought aggressively to be Greek". Nevertheless, Alexandria had one foot in Egypt. Alexandrian cemeteries reflect the cosmopolitanism of the city (9-11). The 'absence' of Egyptians can possibly be interpreted as the result of Greco-Egyptian intermarriage; everybody in this city wanted to be or to look like a Greek. She is also aware of cases of double names discussed by Clarysse and Bagnall. Then, Venit enters into the ethnicity and culture discussion, arguing that they are constructed as two separate entities, both of which are mutable, and this explains the futility to try to distinguish between Egyptians and Greeks. The term 'Greek' should be seen as a fluid one.

In chapters two and three, concerning the late 4th to 2nd centuries BC, Alexandrian monumental tombs served as an illusionist backdrop to funerary ceremonies in which theatricality played an important role: they were essentially Greek as well their inhabitants**.** In the chapter (2) on the earlier phases of Ptolemaic period tombs (4th –3rd century BC), Venit's model seems to remain close to those of Pagenstecher and Adriani, and then preserves a distinctively classical point of view throughout Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

Monumental tombs of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC "…celebrate the emergence of a new Alexandrian identity" (2002, 68). In these tombs, there is display of cultural interplay, mainly between Greek and Egyptian traditions. Therefore, cultural identities should have been deliberately constructed from different available cultural constituents. In this chapter Venit discusses the Daszewski model, claiming that there is no direct connection between Alexandrian tombs and Theban tombs of the Late, Ptolemaic and Roman periods (94). More specifically, Venit assumes that the open-air peristyle courtyard, found since the early Ptolemaic period in Alexandrian tomb complexes, has pure Greek antecedents and, as much as in Alexandrian tombs, it is presented in pure Hellenic style (94-95). Nevertheless, Adriani suggested that the peristyle court was the main difference between Alexandrian and Macedonian tombs[20], Macedonian tombs considered the example of funerary structures in Greece closest to the Alexandrian tombs. For Venit, these tombs are "still overwhelmingly show the Greek heritage that the city chose to foreground" (95).

Similar are Venit's conclusions about the Saqiya Tomb, which represents a quite problematic case of Alexandrian funerary structure that is decorated with both Egyptian and Greek elements, just like in the case of Pharos Island cemeteries. Hence, in her conclusions about Saqiya Tomb, Venit states: "like Pharos Island, the tomb is in Greek tradition" (118). It seems clear from the above overview that Venit's work mainly focuses on the Greek aspects of Alexandrian elite funerary structures, while there is no doubt that the Egyptian tradition also played an important role. For a better understanding of Alexandrian funerary customs, and consequently of the life of Alexandria, we need to elaborate on the role of the Egyptian contribution.

5.4. EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN ROMAN ALEXANDRIA

Compared to the Ptolemaic period, Roman Alexandria is poorly documented and less systematic work has been done on it. Many issues such as Alexandria's civic structure remain obscure, for instance whether there really was a graded citizenship or not (Rowlandson 1993, 250). In her discussion about *Alexandrian citizenship during the Roman Principate* (1993), Delia defined three juridical divisions of the population, based on the rule book of Idios Logos: Roman citizens, Alexandrians and Egyptians. The category of the Egyptians also included the Hellenised elite of the nome capitals of Egypt who might have resided in Alexandria without holding official citizenship, but with the legal rights enjoyed by peregrines elsewhere. In regard to the last category, Rowlandson argues that there is a misuse of the term 'peregrine' as equivalent of the Greek term Aigyptioi. Alexandrian citizens were counted in Roman law as peregrine unless explicitly granted Roman citizenship (251). Another interesting point concerning Egyptians, is the fact that Alexandrian citizenship was not a necessary requirement in order to obtain Roman citizenship, as was hitherto believed. However, it seems to have been the most expeditious way, as the case of Harpocras, Pliny's Egyptian masseur, indicates . For the latter, Pliny further required the Alexandrian citizenship in order to "lawfully enjoy" his Roman citizenship (41-44).

Concerning Roman period material culture, the work by Dunand on religion is fundamental, based on terracotta figurines from Roman Egypt (1979; 2000a; 2000b; 2004). Her material comes from the Egyptian chora, but similar types were also found in Alexandria. Therefore, her observations on these figurines might prove very useful for our case studies.

[20] Macedonian tombs seem to present the closest example to Alexandrian tombs. For all the recent developments on Macedonian tombs, see Drougou and Paliadeli (1999)

Terracotta figurines represent the best example of popular domestic cults during the Roman period[21]. They were widespread in the Egyptian *chora*, usually found in houses, in rubbish heaps on the boundaries of the ancient cities, and in tombs, yet not in temples. As icons, they were displayed in wall niches of houses and tombs. The artisan who produced them must have taken the preferences of his clients into account. For instance, the depiction of Harpocrates as horseman, which is surprising at first glance, might have been intended for a clientele of soldiers, veterans or not. Moreover, the large quantities of Harpocrates figurines are certainly in response to a demand, while in official temple cult this god had a relatively minor place (2001, 274). The Hellenising appearance of these figures implies a distinctive popular piety, when Roman period crafts, in creating a large portion of local religious iconography, provided a principal medium for religious indigenous ideas. The result is a kind of *interpretatio Aegyptiaca*, an indigenisation of an alien iconography that brings new significance to traditional images of power. According to the distribution and quantity of terracottas, it seems that these images where intended for Greeks, but also for Egyptians, who seem to have been increasingly led to adopt these images (275).

In the same manner in which interest in the Ptolemaic period has grown, recent discoveries from the port of Alexandria also rekindled interest in the Roman period, especially concerning the Egyptian aspect of the city. In her work on *Roman Egyptomania* (2004), Ashton suggests that according to the evidence from recent excavations and surveys, Alexandria was not the bastion of Greek traditions that modern classical scholars have usually surmised. On the contrary, it had several Egyptian monuments and buildings, showing how Roman emperors such as Hadrian followed the policy of the Ptolemaic rulers, increasing the Egyptian aspect in the overall picture of the city (9). Concerning the architecture in Roman Alexandria, McKenzie (2007) offers an overview, focusing on its relationship with the Ptolemaic styles and with the architecture of the rest of Egypt.

In regard to Egyptian style architectural evidence in the rest of the city, there were architectural blocks and statues from buildings dating from the indigenous dynastic period, and brought mainly from Heliopolis and Memphis. These were concentrated in various public areas of the city such as the harbour, Kom el Dikka, the Pharos area etc. Although McKenzie believes that these blocks were not reused exclusively in Egyptian style buildings, there were several pieces, such as huge monolithic papyri columns, that must have been reused for Egyptian style installations in the Roman city. Still, it is possible that some of them were first reused during the Ptolemaic period (185-187). McKenzie also examined the architectural style of Alexandrian temples as represented in numismatic evidence. These temples could be divided into three main categories according to their styles. The first concerns Egyptian style temples, like the pylon temple of Osiris Canopus. The second category concerns Greco-Egyptian temples dedicated to local gods, such as those of Isis and Harpocrates. And finally the classical temples, dedicated to Greek and Roman gods, but also to Sarapis (187-188).

In Kom el Dikka, some Roman elite houses have been discovered, in a distinctive local Alexandrian style, which derives from the combination of Greek and Egyptian features. In these structures, a dining room with a mosaic floor, like in a Greek house, could be included, while their courtyard would be decorated with a pseudo-peristyle, which stands between the Greek peristyle court and the internal light well of an Egyptian house (150; 179-181).

5.5. ALEXANDRIAN NECROPOLEIS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

In regard to Roman tombs, Venit points out that “these tombs reflect the city’s burgeoning conversance with its Egyptian inheritance and a concurrent heightened perception of all things Egyptian that this familiarity generated” (2002, 119). She divides the tombs in two main stylistic categories:

1. Tombs with Egyptianising mortuary scenes

[21] See Appendix 1, 3 for a catalogue of terracotta figurines found in Alexandria

2. Tombs that contain scenes with aspects of the 'double style', which means the combination of forms and contents derived from both the Egyptian and Greek tradition.

For Venit, these tombs show the appropriation of Egyptian religion to serve the needs of Roman Alexandrians. Moreover, they reflect how Greek (Roman) and Egyptian styles, contents and beliefs can intermingle to produce "…a new visual semantic system" (166). Egyptian deities retained their Egyptian style image in funerary use, while some mixed forms of synergetic deities are attested, such as "Isis-Aphrodite" of the Stagni Tomb, as identified by Venit (ibid). In some other cases, like that of Tomb H in the Hall of Caracalla, the presence of the Egyptian repertoire is considered to be coincidental in terms of composition, just to create an 'Egyptianising' atmosphere (122-123).

Concluding on Roman period tombs, Venit states that the Greek element was retained, and the Roman element was added (165). Practices that were initially Greek and now also Roman, such as inhumation and cremation, were much more common than Egyptian mummification. However, as Venit also states in her introductory chapter, mummification was much more expensive and a longer process. This means that only the elite could afford the expenses for a proper mummification, and for this reason, it was mostly used for elite burials. Therefore, the mummification practice was still highly appreciated, as was the whole funerary world, but not easily approachable for everyone.

5.6. NEW APPROACHES TO ROMAN BURIALS CONCERNING ART, FUNERARY CUSTOMS AND IDENTITY

During the last years, there has been an overwhelming interest in Roman funerary customs in Egypt, giving light to a series of works, such as *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt* by Cristina Riggs (2006). Riggs offers readers a very serious collection and interpretation of funerary remains from the Greco-Roman past, such as funerary masks, portraits and coffins, shrouds etc. that come from several areas of the Egyptian chora, mainly Middle Egypt. Riggs' research concerns the coexistence and interaction of Greek and Egyptian forms and contents as reflected in this type of material remains. Apart from art historical interests, Riggs is very much aware of questions concerning funerary religion and identity.

The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt provides a clear description and interpretation of artistic phenomena that are common not only in the Egyptian chora, but also in our case study of Roman Alexandria. At the same time it demonstrates how important it is for the study of Alexandria to revisit its material remains within their social, cultural and political context. This could be achieved by the construction of the proper theoretical background, and cross-material discussions and observations.

In regard to art, Riggs does not accept the traditional approach to the Roman period masks, portraits and mummies, presented by past scholarship as a category separate from earlier material. Neither does she accept characterisations such as mixed, hybrid and Greco-Egyptian, which sometimes imply degenerated or crudely mixed styles. In contrast, Riggs believes that each element is used for a specific purpose, to serve a specific role in order for the dead to achieve what was culturally and socially desirable.

"… only by discussing precisely how the divergent pictorial and symbolic traditions interact and by imaging the funerary art of Roman Egypt in its own place and time can we begin to apprehend the meaning it embodied." (5).

This can be achieved by understanding the artistic phenomena involved: what is Greek, what is Egyptian and how do they intersect or overlap with each other? The political, economic and social context of funerary art should be taken into account: what segment of the population do they represent, what factors determined their use? In our attempt to understand this kind of art, we should be aware of a major division between Greek and/or Egyptian context and content, since a Greek form could hide an Egyptian content, or the opposite (6-14).

A quite interesting point in Riggs' study is the relation between cultural and/or ethnic identity and specific representational systems, in our case Greek and Egyptian ones (14-26). What can we say about the deceased, who, within his funerary context, is presented either in the Greek and Egyptian manner or in the Greek manner within an Egyptian religious and artistic environment? Since the Ptolemaic period, Greek and Egyptian representational systems coexisted and interacted (the Greek mainly for the image of the deceased and the Egyptian for the cultural context and content), but neither Greek nor Egyptian imagery could identify the deceased as ethnically Greek or Egyptian (see the following examples of Titus Flavius and Panakht). The combination of the two traditions in Roman Egypt describes the identity of a culture rather than of an individual, reflecting the character of Roman Egypt as a whole. In order to support this assumption, Riggs looked at the socio-political history of Egypt's population since the beginning of the Ptolemaic period. Greek and Egyptian cultures and their people seem to have interacted with each other, while the Ptolemaic authority seems to have applied a discriminatory policy[22]. Consequently, under these socio-cultural conditions, epithets such as 'Greek' and 'Egyptian' were not used in order to describe ethnicity. 'Greek' could be defined either as an individual who was able to use the Greek language, or as any non-Egyptian emigrant. The elite class was externally recognised as Hellenes because of the vehicular language and certain cultural practices (20). In any case, the term was not connected to the individual's religion, physical appearance or assets. Therefore, the new rulers did not find two separated cultural worlds, but the majority of cases show that people and traditions blended with each other. As Riggs states "living side by side, Greeks and Egyptians affected each other and even became each other, because the boundaries between the two groups were permeable" (18-19). For this reason, it was not possible to construct a social pyramid of Roman Egypt according to ethnic criteria that were applied to other areas of the Empire.

In regard to Rigg's specific case study it is very possible, although there is no direct evidence, that the mummies and mummy portraits included in Riggs' work are from metropolitai[23]. This elite group, externally characterized as Hellenes, was identified by their primary language, some cultural practices (we have to add political), and not by religion, physical appearance or other assets. In any case, we cannot claim a direct relation between Greek artistic forms and people of Greek or Roman ethnicity. A good example, among others, is the case of Titus Flavius, a local elite member whose mummy was covered with a typical gilded Egyptian mask, while the inscribed name (Titus Flavius) was Roman style. Funerary art and iconography presented in Riggs' work seem to be related to particular professions or associated with a deity, for instance. Other mummies represent the physical beauty of men who died young. Thus, mummies and portraits might have been used to explore social and personal identities (21-22).

Riggs concludes that being Greek or Egyptian were no longer discrete states, and perhaps had ceased to be so since the Ptolemaic period. After almost 300 years of interaction between Greek and Egyptian traditions, Greekness and Egyptian-ness could not be considered as separate, independent values anymore, but as characterisations dependent on the context in which they existed and interacted with each other. It was a cultural designation, not an ethnic one. Therefore, 'cultural identity' might be a more useful term than 'ethnicity' in discussing self-presentation in Roman Egypt, since being Greek or Roman was a cultural designation rather than an ethnic one. (23)

Riggs divided the funerary art in three main categories, according to their main artistic and religious characteristics. A common aspect among the different categories is the desire of the deceased to achieve resurrection and eternal life.

The first category consists of the Akhmim (nos.6-37) and Kharga Oasis (nos.1-5) groups, dated from 50 BC – early 1st century AD. In these cases, the dead obtain characteristics and attributes from Egyptian funerary gods on a gender basis, males from Osiris and females from Hathor. The representation of the dead

[22] See also section 5.1 in the same chapter about Bagnall, La'da and Ritner.
[23] See section 2.3 on imperial policies, social structure and legal status in Roman Egypt.

with attributes of these two gods contributed to the fulfilment of the desire to achieve eternal life. In general, all aspects such as coffins, masks, shrouds, texts and rituals follow the traditional Egyptian road to the afterlife. In the case of the Akhmim group, the dead are presented in Egyptian manner, while in the Karga Oasis, there was an extensive use of both Greek and Egyptian style representations, even for the same deceased. The style was a matter of choice (41-94).

The second group consists of full-size shrouds with the Egyptian phsychopomp Anubis, from the area of Saqqara (nos. 68-73), the Meir Masks Group (nos. 38-64) and the Abusir Coffin Group (nos. 65-67) (95-174). The dead is portrayed with naturalistic portrait characteristics. Nevertheless, these portraits 'functioned' according to the Egyptian rules of funerary art. They were cult images attached to mummies or were situated within naiskos-style coffins or shrouds. They served as the representative image of the dead in his liminal stage, between life and death (174). Naturalistic portraits were in contrast to the images of gods, who retain the Egyptian style appearance, as well as to the rest of the funerary attributes such as texts and mummies.

Aspects of archaism form the main characteristic of the third group (175-244). It consists of examples from the western Theban area, such as the coffins and shrouds of the Soter Group (nos.74-108), the Pebos Family mummy masks (nos. 109- 115), the Deir el-Bahri mummy masks (nos.122-150) and other Theban shrouds with naturalistic portraiture (nos. 115-121). This phenomenon of archaism is almost an exclusive characteristic of the Theban area, possibly influenced by the glorious pharaonic material remains in the region (funerary and generally religious). Still, from the late 2nd-early 3rd century onwards, naturalistic portraits are introduced in funerary art, not intended to indicate ethnicity or social status, but professional identity or cult affiliations (nos. 125 and 127).

5.7. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THIS THESIS

In the synopsis above, the most important interpretations of the Egyptian cultural element and its role in Alexandria were reviewed, in an attempt to demonstrate a series of crucial issues to which this thesis will try to contribute.

Until today, there is no complete overview of the Egyptian elements of Alexandria in which several types of material evidence are compared and combined in order to give as complete a picture as possible. There is no complete overview of the role of the Egyptian aspect in the process of cultural interaction and formation of ideology, public image, multicultural life and identity in Alexandria, within a proper socio-cultural context. Until now, most scholars concentrated on a specific type of material evidence, such as sculpture, art and tomb architecture, or public architecture. Consequently, there is no proper definition of what 'Egyptian' means in an Alexandrian context and how it the Egyptian element developed through the cultural history of the city.

In contrast, there is an extensive discussion on the Greek aspects of the city, while there is no detailed observation of the Egyptian aspects. The limited attention paid to the Egyptian elements resulted in a distorted Greek image of the city, which needs to be updated in order for the contribution of both traditions to be fairly appreciated.

The case of the Alexandrian tombs is a representative example, in which an update on the role of the Egyptian element is possible. This material has been mostly studied from a Greek point of view, with the exception of Daszewski, who examined the Egyptian roots of Alexandrian tombs. Venit's *Monumental Tombs of Alexandria* (2002) is the most recent assessment concerning the Greek perspective, summarising ideas by Adriani, Pagenstecher, Grimm and others. Therefore it should be useful to briefly discuss areas of further development regarding the role of Egyptian tradition in these tombs, which could contribute to a more balanced perspective.

We need to reconsider the contribution of the Egyptian tradition in the emergence and development of the Alexandrian tombs more seriously, even if this contribution is not profound and is hidden under a distinctive Hellenised style. This idea was discussed by Daszewski, and could be applied more systematically

to the Alexandrian hypogea, searching for Egyptian influences in a broader context. Moreover, Daszewski's discussion focused on the hypogea of Marina El Alamein and subsequently on Alexandrian tombs. The work by McKenzie on the influence of Egyptian tradition in Alexandrian architecture seems to be an appropriate paradigm. Some new evidence concerning the funerary customs of the Late and early Ptolemaic periods from the surrounding area of Alexandria can also contribute to the discussion about the origin and development of Alexandrian hypogea and the role of the Egyptian tradition therein.

In regard to other types of material evidence such as monumental art, Ashton and Stanwick have discussed several important issues, such as their symbolisms, artistic development, social, political and cultural dynamics. They have also discussed the contexts in which these monuments might have been installed. It would be interesting to combine these works with other works on monumental material evidence, such as McKenzie's, which offered the most complete overview to date of the monumental architecture of Alexandria, adding several ideas about the role of Egyptian tradition.

In the course of our work, we should bring in other types of material evidence, such as coinage, which presents the most extensive and well-dated type of material evidence from both the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. Already in 1971, Susan Handler summarised the repertoire of Roman Alexandrian coinage with divine figures and religious structures. McKenzie further developed this perspective. In the same direction, we should catalogue Egyptian elements in Ptolemaic and Roman Alexandrian coinage, such as gods, symbols and structures, whether in mixed, Hellenised, or Egyptian form.

Thus, through this comparison across different types of material, we should be able to summarise and evaluate the overall Egyptian contribution to Alexandria's public image and ideology as well as religious and public cultural life during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

Finally, in order to offer as complete a view as possible of the role of the Egyptian tradition in Alexandria, we also should take types of material related to the private life in Alexandria into account, such as faience oinochoai and terracotta figurines.

5.8. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is divided into six chapters:

Chapter 1, the present chapter, is the introduction: after the explanation of the aims and the structure of the work, a historical overview of the history of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt is provided, with a specific focus on the policies of the rulers of each period concerning ethnic or cultural groups. A topographic review of the city follows, which will help the reader to imagine the setting of the material evidence discussed in the catalogue. The remaining part provides some theoretical background on the concept of cultural interaction, which forms the general background of the thesis: an overview of opinions included in past scholarship on the definition and role of the Egyptian element in Alexandria is given, along with some definitions of the terminology related to the cultural phenomena discussed.

Chapter 2 presents the catalogue, which is the basis for further discussion. It is composed of the following categories:

1. Elite hypogea and loculus slabs
2. Statuary
3. Architecture
4. Coinage

Chapter 2 CATALOGUE of Alexandrian material evidence with Egyptian elements

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide a catalogue with all the Egyptian elements found in Alexandrian material evidence, divided into 4 main categories:

1. Elite hypogea and loculi slabs.
2. Statuary
3. Architecture
4. Coinage.

In the section concerning the Elite hypogea and loculi slabs (1), all examples will be described with emphasis on the Egyptian aspects in art, architecture and function of structures, from all periods and cemeteries. These funerary structures have been continuously involved in the scholarly discussion. Hence a contribution in this area will be attempted by means of focusing intensively on the role of Egyptian tradition in Alexandrian tombs.

The actual choice was based on Venit's *Monumental tombs of Alexandria* (2002), the most complete work on Alexandrian elite hypogea so far, both in terms of description and bibliography. Therefore, the description of this catalogue was mostly based on Venit, while alternative suggestions, more recent or personal, have been added.

In the case of statuary (2) and architecture (3), the main problem is the fragmentary picture in combination with limited sources. Architecture was mostly covered in the *Topography of Ancient Alexandria* by Barbara Tkaczow, who included the few published examples. This picture has not been changed so far, as only these examples are included in the work of McKenzie (2007). Some others will be included as they have been presented in the catalogue *Egypt's Sunken Treasures* from Goddio's expedition (2006) and in the series *Alexandrina and Necropolis* (1999-2003) of CEA.

In the statuary section, pieces from more recent catalogues, such as those of Ashton (2001) and Stanwick (2003) have been included. Finally, newly published material will be included, as recently presented in the catalogues from Goddio's expedition (2006) and from *Centre d' Études Alexandrines*, mentioned above.

The same sources provide us with examples of pre-Ptolemaic architecture and sculpture, which have been discovered in Alexandria recycled. In this section are also pictures of unpublished "Pharaonica" from Alexandria, which are distributed around the ancient sites of Alexandria.

Coins (4) occupy the biggest part of this catalogue, in terms of quantity and diversity of sites. Kings and Emperors from the Greco-Roman period minted hundreds of types, depicting Gods, humans, symbols, heroes and buildings. Coinage offers another important advantage, compared to other types of material. In most ~~of~~ cases, the date and the King/Emperor, who was responsible for their production, are included. Compared to other types of Alexandrian material evidence, their advantages make coins the most reliable source in terms of time and patron. In terms of our catalogue, they offer the possibility to make a detailed catalogue of different types of themes, in a strict chronological order, and of distribution according to various rulers.

Even today Greco-Roman coins are a very popular commercial product. This explains the wide distribution of coins in several museums and collections of the world. These museums have created extensive catalogues, though each one of them with different format or interest in terms of data: Ashmohlean museum (Milne 1933), Dattari collection (Dattari 1901), Syloge Numorum, Graecorum (SNG) (Copenhagen, Newcastle, Fitzwilliam museum etc.), British Museum Coins (BMC) ((Poole 1896), Athens museum (Svoronos) and Köln museum (Geissen 1983). In addition, the Web projects of the Ashmohlean (RPC), the Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum (SNG) and the Svoronos Catalogue Online will further contribute to the

catalogue. However, even these monumental works were unable to include all the available coins, and therefore examples from private online collections have been incorporated, citing the web reference within the bibliography of each coin.

Finally, it has been attempted to include all possible topics with Egyptian elements as minted in coins by each ruler, regardless of the material type (lead, bronze, silver, gold), while only one example of coins in each topic of each ruler has been included, despite reproductions, or the lack thereof, of specific types in the same regnal period.

A crucial question, of course, is what exactly is an Egyptian element. Throughout this book I have tried to deal with that question in a practical, applied way. Following the point Naerebout made about the Ras el Soda temple (see the theoretical framework presented in Chaper 1 Introduction, 3) that everything in Egypt is Egyptian, one could say that everything in Alexandria is, in fact, an Egyptian element. That, however, is clearly not the case.

The purpose of my work is to provide an Alexandria *in* Aegypto perspective to complement the too one-sided Alexandria *ad* Aegyptum doctrine. I have therefore defined as an Egyptian element those categories of material culture that distinctly *look* Egyptian or Egyptianising in the sense that they refer to the old-Egyptian, Pharaonic tradition. I realise that with this definition I run the risk of mixing up style with content. I have tried, therefore, to account for the relation between the two in the interpretative parts of the book.

An important case here is Sarapis. The god might look Greco-Roman; he is also thoroughly Egyptian. This becomes profoundly evident in his name and his religious identity. One could assume that only his image was Greco-Roman, but he is presented still on Ptolemaic period coinage wearing the atef crown of Osiris. In addition, in his sanctuary, Sarapis is part of a picture with several Egyptian elements, such as Egyptian style statues of the Ptolemies, the basalt statue of Apis, dedicated by Hadrian during the Roman period, as well as sphinxes and underground galleries.

Similarly, although Hellenised in image, Isis fully preserves her Egyptian identities as well as some of her key attributes like the hathoric crown. Nilus was also Greco-Roman in style, but at the same time a personification of Egypt's vital force. The following discussion in the interpretation chapter will examine whether his image might also be related to Egyptian art. Furthermore, following my definition, I have also included examples of Greek gods, heroes and ordinary humans where clear Egyptian stylistic motives or elements are visible.

There is no doubt that one can discuss the feasibility of my selection criteria. I think, however, that such a discussion, although important to further develop my conclusions, would not dramatically alter the general picture this book provides concerning the role of the Egyptian tradition in Alexandria.

2. ELITE HYPOGEA AND LOCULI SLABS

The following catalogue presents elite hypogea and loculus slabs, which contain Egyptian elements. They are divided into three main sections. Section A concerns elite hypogea, dated from the early Ptolemaic period (Late 4rth century BC) until the end of the 1st century BC/ beginning of 1st century AD. While this section concerns mainly the Ptolemaic period, there are some examples of tombs, which cannot be precisely dated. They belong either at the end of the Ptolemaic period or the very beginning of the Roman period. For this reason, they have been included in this part of the catalogue. Section B presents tombs that are clearly dated from the Roman period. Within each section (A and B) tombs are presented as distributed into the various Alexandrian cemeteries (to the west side, east side and the Pharos Island). Finally, section C presents the Roman period loculi slabs, which in fact forms a subcategory of the section B, representing a specific type of material evidence within funerary structures.

A. ELITE HYPOGEA OF PTOLEMAIC AND EARLY ROMAN PERIODS (LATE 4rth c. BC-1st c. AD)

1. PHAROS ISLAND NECROPOLEIS

1.1. THE RAS EL TIN NECROPOLIS

Evaristo Breccia, the director of the Greco-Roman museum, first seriously investigated the Ras el Tin Necropolis in 1913. He found two tombs and hundreds of mummies. Later, the following director of the museum, Achille Adriani, investigated the area, revealing many hypogea. In total, the two Alexandrian archaeologists found eleven hypogea, dating around 100 BC. Two of them are included in this catalogue: the Ras el Tin III and Ras el Tin VIII[1].

1.1.1. RAS EL TIN III (figs. 1-2)

a. Burial chamber[2]

The only Egyptian element in the decoration of this tomb was the depiction of an Apis-bull, on the back wall of the chamber room.

1.1.2. RAS EL TIN VIII (figs. 4-5)

a. The facade of the kline chamber

The rear wall of the anteroom and the façade that is formed precedes the kline chamber. It is cut with a wide central passage, flanked by narrower passages to the left and right. The columns are stuccoed and painted with zones alternating between white and red, which is a reference to Egyptian domestic architecture (Venit 2002, 73) and bear capitals of composite Greco-Egyptian style that carry an Egyptian style intermediary block and a small, low, Egyptian segmental pediment.

[1] The selection of tombs in this catalogue is based on two main criteria: Firstly the appearance of Egyptian elements in architecture, decoration and funerary practices, whether in content or form, and secondly the state of documentation in case the state of preservation is not sufficient. Other criteria will be noted in specific cases.

[2] Apart from the bicultural decoration of the Burial chamber itself, the decoration on the walls flanking the entrance of this room makes the bilingual decorative dialogue more interesting. The entrance is shaped in the form of a doorway with tympanum and jabs. On the only preserved jab the image of Hercules is depicted. Heracles was a deity, related to Alexandria and the Ptolemies in various ways, whose image is often found in the form of terracotta in Alexandrian graves (see in detail: Venit 2002, 71)

b. The wall decoration of the kline chamber

The walls of the chamber are painted with zones of small squares of different colours such as black, white and yellow. The "checker" that is created is intended to simulate small faience tiles[3]. On the back wall, the squares are to be imagined as set behind a row of painted alabaster piers of columns with pseudo-Corinthian capitals that support a segmental pediment decorated with small garlands and a cornice composed of dentils.

1.1.3 MINOR OBJECTS AND INLAYSMADE BY MOLTEN GLASS FROM RAS EL TIN NECROPOLIS (fig. 3)

In the publication of Ras el Tin Necropolis (1952), Adriani included few notes and a photo of molten glass minor objects found in tombs. As it is clear from this picture, there were objects in Egyptian style such as the two headless sphinxes, two Egyptian style heads in profile and the head of a jackal/dog.

1.2. THE ANFUSHI NECROPOLIS (Fig. 6)

The Anfushi Tombs were discovered in 1901. Giuseppe Botti, the director of the Greco-Roman museum, was the first to explore the tombs and to write publications about them. After his death, in 1903, Euaristo Breccia and Achile Adriani, his successors in the directorship of the museum, continued the work of Botti. Only five tombs from the overall complex are visible today, dating from the mid of second century BC to the middle 1st BC[4]. From these tombs, Anfushi I, II, and V will be discussed. Each of them consists of two burial units, both approached directly by the court, having also subsidiary rooms. The main characteristic of these tombs is the bilingual character of its decoration, which emerged with the redecoration of the tomb. During this process, Greek decorative elements were retained in the anteroom, while Egyptian elements were added, probably onto plaster previously unpainted[5].

1.2.1 ANFUSHI I (figs. 7-9)

a. The Egyptian style doorway of the burial units

An Egyptian element, which was probably added after the redecoration of the tomb, is an Egyptianising framing in the doorways leading to burial complexes. It is executed in "Egyptianising style with an Egyptian style lintel, with a large fillet drawn across the architrave, cornices with heavy mouldings and, on the door to the second burial complex, dentils, all crowned with an Egyptian style segmental pediment" (Venit 2002, 75).

b. Burial Unit: Rooms 1 and 2

An elaborate Egyptian style doorway, crowned with a frieze of uraei, leads from the anteroom to the burial chamber. The walls are filled with small black and white squares forming a checkerboard, interrupted by larger tiles. Three of them, on the back wall, contain representations of Egyptian royal crowns on a white background, and one to each side of the entrance shows a seated jackal, once painted in red. It is more likely that the Egyptian decoration was added to previously unpainted plaster contemporaneously with the renovation of room I, which continues a bicultural decorative scheme[6].

1.2.2. ANFUSHI II (figs. 10-20)

Two burial units compose this tomb: Rooms 1 (anteroom) and 2 (burial chamber), and Rooms 3 (anteroom) and 4 (burial chamber). The decorative program of Anfushi II starts from the stairs, where zones with painted

[3] Several parallels of glazed tile are attested in Egyptian architecture, starting with the Dynasty III Step pyramid complex of Djoser at Saqqara, which contained 36,000 of them. They appear in the Old Kingdom in the Dynasty V pyramid temple of Neferefre at Abusir. They further attested in Palatial decoration of the New Kingdom, for example in the palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata (Hayes 1959, 245-257), the palace of Akhenaten at Amarna (Hayes, 1959, 290) the Palace of Ramses II at Qantir (Hayes,1959, 332-338), and the palace of Ramses III in Medinet Habu and Tel el Yahudieh (Hayes, 1959, 367). Hence, according to Venit's personal opinion the Alexandrian tiles imitate Egyptian palatial decoration (2002, 75).

[4] During this period these tombs were redecorated

[5] The walls of the stairs, the court and the anteroom are decorated in Greek zone style, with orthostates painted with yellow ~~red~~ and red veins (see description in detail: Venit, 2002, 74-75). Other Anfushi tombs also carry similar decoration.

[6] This is Venit's opinion (2002, 76), based on the fact that the walls of some other tombs in Anfushi were also unpainted, such as Anfushi II.3.

orthostats and Egyptian style paintings are combined. Two of them were in the upper landing of the stairs, while a third was executed in the lower landing.

a. The wall painting on the upper landing of the stairs

Only one of the two wall paintings of the upper landing, the one at the bottom of the flight of stairs, is still preserved (H.90 cm x W.1.36 cm). It is adjusted in a "string course", a characteristic element of the Greek zone style decoration, indicating that it was a later addition during the renovation of the tomb. It shows the deceased flanked by Horus at the left side and a male and female at the right side. The skin of the deceased[7] is painted in red ochre. In the case of this painting, it can be assumed that this colour distinguishes the mortals from the gods, whose skin is painted in yellow. However, this point would be relevant only if the two figures at the right side are indeed gods, something that seems to be the most problematic part in the interpretation of the scene.

Horus, easily recognisable by his falcon head and traditional Egyptian dress, stands behind the deceased, placing one of his hands on his back of the deceased and raising the other him. In front of the deceased a couple in Pharaonic dress stands facing him. The male places one hand on the deceased's left shoulder, while with the other holds an alabaster vase. He wears a typical white Egyptian kilt and a nemes headdress, bound with a narrow yellow band with an ureaus, tied at the back. Adriani identified the male figure as Osiris (1952c, 64) even though he lacks all the typical Osiris' attributes such as the atef crown, while Botti as a king (1902b, 18; 1902c, 13).[8].

The female that stands behind him wears a long white garment that leaves her ankles and breast bare, like the garment of Isis and/or Ptolemaic queens occasionally does, with cross bands supporting it at her shoulders. Botti (1902b, 18) describes the female coiffed with a circle of gold and headband, and part of the band and the upright ureaus can still be seen. Although the headdress is barely visible today, vertical ghost lines suggest a layered wig (Venit 2002, 79).

Another even more traditional Egyptian scene was depicted on the lower landing of the stairs, although it is very badly preserved, and only its right side is partly readable and is further reconstructed by Adriani in his publication (1952c, 65). At the extreme right part of the panel, a mummified Osiris is depicted sitting on a throne, facing left. He wears the atef crown and holds flail and sceptre. Behind him, a jackal is depicted. Its body is turned toward to the right and its head back to the left. Also, another two figures were depicted that according to Adriani (Ibid) were Horus and the deceased, who offers to Osiris a jar, possibly the one that he received by the king in the upper landing.

b. Room 1

On the main frieze, imitations of Greek style isodomic blocks (the first phase of the wall decoration) were covered by three checkerboard style horizontal bands, each containing three rows of the small "faience" squares, composed by black and white tiles, separated by narrow horizontal bands imitating alabaster, painted yellow-blue. As in Anfushi tomb I.2, Egyptian pschent, hemhem crowns and colourful feather-crowns are depicted on white large tiles set within the middle checkerboard zone of the wall.

On the rest of the wall decoration, in the lower part, the orthostat style zone was retained, while in the upper part, at the summit of the wall, a strongly projecting crown moulding was added, combining a wide, lower flat band painted with fine garlands on a blue background, a thick torus, and a large cavetto decorated with a large Doric leaf pattern in blue, yellow, red and white. Finally, the ceiling vault of the room retained a decoration with yellow octagons and black small squares (Venit 2002, 82).

[7] The diseased was probably male, and more specifically a priest, due to his dress, the neckless and head covered with a priest's cap. Venit doubts about the gender (2002, 78)

[8] From an artistic point of view, in the Egyptian pictorial tradition usually the size indicates the importance of the figure; for instance, humans are depicted at a smaller scale than gods, and the same difference may also exist among the depicted gods or among humans (Wilkinson, 1994, 7). In the painting of the Anfushi tomb, the right-handed male figure is taller than the deceased and seems also slightly taller than Horus. Therefore, the unknown male figure has the same colour and the same size as Horus, therefore it is very possible that he is a god.

c. Egyptian style doorframe between Rooms 1 and 2

From the anteroom, an elaborate Egyptian style doorframe leads us to Room 2. The Egyptian style doorframe is more elaborated than the one of Tomb I. In front of the posts that form the uprights of the doorframe, two high bases, painted to imitate alabaster, supported sphinxes with their heads turned toward Room 1. These bases were added during the redecoration of the room in Egyptian style (Adriani 1966, 193; Venit 2002, 82). Venit offered an excellent description of the elaborated doorframe: "The doorframe itself is composed of two piers painted with bands alternating black and white, crowned with papyri form capitals set above six plastically articulated necking rings. The capitals support an architrave with a plastic fillet about a third of the way up. Above, there is a segmental pediment with a small disc at its centre, framed with denticulated cornices that conform to the vault of the ceiling. Within the bay of the doorway, a second, smaller group of framing elements composed of two pilasters, each decorated with a fillet forming a Π shape and capped with a cornice crowned with uraei, also includes an Egyptian broken lintel. Both the jambs of the door and the broken lintel have rectangular cuttings for a crossbar to secure the door between the two rooms, as seems to be the practice in most of monumental tombs" (Ibid).

d. Room 2. Wall decoration

The wall decoration has been totally executed in the Egyptian palatial decoration style, as in Room 1, but in contrast to the latter, the Greek style zone of the lower part is totally missing, replaced by the Egyptian motif. Again, as in Anfushi I, the checkerboard zone is interrupted by larger tiles with Egyptian painted crowns. However, the Egyptian style doorframe is missing from the side of the burial chamber[9]. In contrast to the intended Egyptian wall decoration, the vault of the room was treated in Hellenic style, with motifs similar to ceilings of the rest Anfushi Tombs.

e. Room 2.Egyptian style naiskos

The Egyptian character of this room is further increased by means of the presence of a large double Egyptian style naiskos made of white plaster, painted with wide vertical yellow and black bands and crowned with a shallow cavetto moulding, which forms the focal point of the burial chamber. "The columns of the inner aedicula stand atop three steps. The larger, outer aedicula, which uses the second step as its base, acts to frame the first. The larger naiskos is composed of two narrow uprights that support a complex cavetto moulding, crowned with a frieze of uraei. The space between the inner and the outer aedicula is painted red, and black is used to pick out the small, crudely cut niche on which the aedicula is placed" (Venit 2002, 83-84).

f. Room 2.The vaulted ceiling

The vaulted ceiling of the room is decorated with a "Trellis and Tapestry" design[10], decorated with multifigured scenes in its squares. Adriani (1952c, 111-112) interpreted these scenes as Dionysiac, which would be unique among Alexandrian tombs. However, the poor preservation of those scenes does not allow such interpretations.

[9] According to Venit, the absence of the Egyptian doorway as well as the absence of the zone with orthostates on the lower part of the wall decoration, indicates a much less careful execution of the decoration of this room. She adds more arguments to support her opinion: first, the earth had been incompletely levelled, which created a discrepancy in the number of row squares in the bottom zone and prevented the straight band of the socle from being delineated in some areas of the room; and second, the crown moulding that is articulated in plaster on three walls of the room is missing on the short walls flanking the entrance door, where, instead, it is replaced by small festooned garlands and a large frieze of Doric leafs, rendered in paint (2002, 83).

[10] This identification of the design belongs to Venit (2002, 85): "On the outer border multi-figural scenes were depicted, positioned so that they faced toward the axes of the room in all the panels, created by the overlapping trellis, except those at the corner where single figures were placed on the diagonals; the inner border –the compartments created by the trellis- had single figures set on axes, with those at the corners arranged on the diagonals. Imitations of tapestry designs are frequent in Alexandrian tombs, but it is also frequent in Egyptian sarcophagi and tombs. In addition to the interpretation of the design as tapestry, Adriani (ibid) and, much later, Tomlinson (1984, 263) argued that it was reminiscence of the banqueting tend of Ptolemy II, described by Callixienos (Athenaeus V.196).

g. Room 3

The decoration of burial unit Rooms 3 and 4 was never finished (Venit 2002, 85). The walls and the ceilings were covered with white stucco, which remained unpainted. The doorway between the rooms 3 and 4 is in Egyptian style, from down to upwards with a unit with two large uprights, lintel framed by a heavy fillet, a cavetto cornice, a winged sun disc at its centre, and a frieze of uraei.

h. Room 4.

Room 4 focuses on a false door set in the middle of the back wall. It has a double frame in Egyptian style, similar to the framing of the entrance door, which unlike Room 4 lacks both the crowning uraei and the solar disc. Cut into the lateral walls from the level of the pavement to top of the wall, there are two long and narrow niches that must have hosted the two mummies whose coffins were not preserved when the tomb was excavated (Ibid)[11].

1.2.3. ANFUSHI V (figs. 21-29)

Anfushi V consists of two burial units: Rooms 1 (anteroom) and 2 (burial chamber), and Rooms 4 (anteroom) and 5 (burial chamber).

a. Room 1

Room 1 combines Greek and Egyptian elements, which were planed from their inception to be viewed simultaneously (Venit 2002, 86). The wall flanking the entry door and the two long walls are decorated in the Greek style zone, but the wall facing the entrance is decorated in Egyptian style zone, with checkerboard zones interrupted with bands of fictive alabaster, while another alabaster band runs around the entire room at the top of the wall. The ceiling is decorated with a series of squares painted in white, red, black, and blue alternating with continuous bands of alabaster imitations, disposed along the length of the room.

b. Room 2

On the back wall above the funerary bed and on the lateral wall, trees alternating with piers are depicted. No attempt was made to describe either perspective or depth. Between each pier there is a date palm or a deciduous tree. These trees seem to have been painted in a cursory, decorative manner, yet within an overall plan that belies the seemingly slapdash approach. Date and deciduous trees alternate along the walls, and on the back of the wall of the chamber a pair of date trees is flanked by deciduous trees. The room depicts a garden (in detail Venit 2002, 87).

c. Room 4: wall decoration

In the vestibule, room 4, the long walls carry Greek style zone decoration with isodomic blocks and on its back wall the Egyptian motif of polychrome faience tiles. The door entrance between Rooms 4 and 5 is executed in Hellenic style. The ceiling decorated with a series of lozenges inscribed in rectangles, is in Hellenic mode (Ibid).

d. Room 4: Egyptian naiskos style loculus

The frame of this loculus represents an elaborated Egyptian naiskos, of which the interior elements, seen in iluusionistically in perspective, are indicated in several planes. On the first plane, two papiriform columns

[11] Vases seem to have been disposed along the south wall of the two mummies. At the side of the one mummy were amphorae, one of which had a Ptolemaic inscription in blank ink. Around the neck of the one of the vessels Botti (1902b, 30) noted a graffito that read Dionysos, son of Dionysos in black cursive letters.

support a narrow architrave, a Doric leaf course, and finally a segmental pediment with a disc at its centre (Venit 2002, 88)[12].

e. Room 5: wall decoration

The main in burial chamber, room 5, combines Egyptian and Greek elements in its wall decoration. The sidewalls are decorated in the Greek style zone system, and the walls at the back of the chamber are decorated with checkerboard zones alternating interrupted bands of alabaster. The vaulted ceiling of the room is decorated in Hellenisc manner manner, with hexagons executed in the white background and framed with bands and lines in white red and black.

f. Room 5: the loculus

In its painted frame, it is shown asbeing supported on an Egyptianising wooden base similar to the support for the naiskos of Anfushi II.2. It consists of white painted piers that carry anta capitals painted with a Doric leaf pattern and a low white lintel with a deep cavetto cornice painted with a lesbian leaf in blue, white, red, and black. On the walls of the loculus, trees similar to those at Anfushi V.2 are depicted with the addition of suburbs and aquatic plants (Venit 2002, 88).

2. WESTERN NECROPOLIS

2.1. WARDIAN

In 1960, Henri Riad, the director of Greco-Roman museum (1958-1967) undertook excavations in the Wardian region, uncovering four monumental tombs. From those tombs, we will discuss the so-called Egyptian elements of "Saqiya Tomb", characterised by its unique bilingual decoration of the tomb. Venit dates it between 2nd and 1st century BC, but different opinions exist[13]. The tomb is today completely lost. It consisted of a court and a large burial chamber. With their rock supports, the paintings from the tomb are installed today in the Greco-Roman museum of Alexandria.

2.1.1. THE SAQIYA TOMB (figs. 30-33)

The description will be focused on the wall decoration of the court, which bears Egyptian elements. There is no clear evidence whether this court was covered or not. Covered courts are unusual in Alexandria, but Venit argues that this specific court must once have been covered, owing to its exceptional decoration (Venit 2002, 103)

a. The east wall

This is the largest painting on the preserved slab, measuring approximately 1.40 m wide. It presents a topic unique in funerary art from Alexandria: a Saqyia or waterwheel, turned by two oxen urged on by a piping boy. The Saqyia is consigned to the middle ground of the composition. The foreground of the composition, which occupies nearly a third of the extant image, is preserved for a pond replete with plants and water birds. The

[12] Adriani proposed that the loculus slab represents a baldachin or catafalque, which took the form of a naos and which was used for the exposition of the mummy, while the body of the deceased, laid out in the loculus, was intended to be imagined as under the baldachin(1952c, 105.note 2).

[13] A lot of discussion has been done over the chronology of the tomb. There are four basic wings. The first, which is also the oldest, is represented by Adriani and Blanche- Brown, who dated the tomb to 1st century BC. In addition to them, Riad, who was the excavator of the tomb, dated the tomb as late Ptolemaic or early Roman. The second is that of Weitzmann-Fieder, Barbet, Rodziewicz ,who have interpreted the tomb as early Christian, dated to the third of fourth century BC. The third tension is this of Guimier-Sorbets and el-Din, who, comparing it to a tomb in the Kom el-Shoqafa complex, dated the tomb to first or second century BC. Finally the most recent opinion is stated by Venit, who dates the tomb to a date between the 2nd and the first century BC. She based her arguments on the topic, the style and the technique of execution of the wall paintings, and the Egyptian style wall decoration, which had similarities to Anfushi tombs' decoration. Moreover, she argued that many topics, which existed in Christian art are also presented in Saqyia tomb such as the shepherd, have long roots in Hellenic tradition. Subsequently, since the tomb is missing any other "early Christian" characteristics, they themselves are not enough to conclude in an early Christian tomb (see the discussion in detail: Venit, 2002, 109-115).

oxen plod counter clockwise around the Saqiya, which is set under an arbour around and over which a vine has been trained. They furnish the energy for the water-lifting device. From the artistic point of view, the artist must have been one of great capacity, since he represented the whole process, providing it with a semblance of three-dimensionality.

At the left of the picture, a boy, now damaged for the greatest part, is depicted. He wears a chiton that bares his right shoulder, and a petasos pushed back on his head. He raises his hands, holding panpipes to his mouth, and holds a switch or a stick in the crook of his arm that passes across his left shoulder. He walks towards the viewer that gives the impression of a three-quarter view. This boy appears to have been executed in a more cursory way than the other figures of the slab. The mural seems to have been painted as a fresco on a wet plaster, while some additions were made on it after the plaster had dried (Venit 2002, 103-104).

At the right angles to the Saqiya scene, on the north side of the projection of the east wall, there is a Herm of Pan[14] centred within an enclosure. The scene is 59 cm wide and about 1.83 m high. The painting was also executed in wet plaster. It occupies the upper part of the slab. The lower area is 65 cm high. It imitates a block. At the right angles to the herm, a herdsman and his flock decorate the projection of the east wall that was the jamb between the room with a zone style wall and the room with the Saqiya and the herm. It is approximately 0.49 m wide and 1.82 m high. The upper portion of the shepherd is damaged. His upraised arms and the upturned hoof of an animal he carries on his shoulders are all that clearly remains. He wears a short chiton and stand easily with his weight on his left leg, his right leg thrust to the side. At his right, two dogs sit, one facing out of the picture and the other looking back towards the shepherd, while in the background trees and rocks are depicted. Bellow the green line upon which the shepherd stands, in clumps of grasses suggesting fields, a small flock with a lamb gambolling next to each mother, standing with her head raised, are depicted, as well as a ship drinking from a pool; below these, on a diagonal line indicating a shadow, are two grazing sheep. At the bottom of the picture, on a green ground line bounding the panel, a bony jackal sits lurking (Ibid 105-106).

b. The south wall

The wall that once started from the southern side of the jamb to the east was decorated in the double style that is also attested in necropoleis of Pharos Island. The lower part is decorated in the Greek zone style, with a motif of painted orthostats that imitate alabaster ones. Above this, two string courses, one in yellow and one in white, are outlined. The main frieze, of which very little is preserved, was occupied by a checkerboard zone decoration with black and white small tiles[15].

c. The west wall

On the sarcophagus that is set on the western wall, a Ba-bird, the Egyptian traditional manifestation soul bird is depicted, standing on a lotus bloom. In front of the bird there is an equipment, not easily recognisable. Venit states that the closest parallels to this are New Kingdom thymiateria or altars from the Ptolemaic and Roman period, but such interpretations still remain unsafe (Venit 1988, 106).

2.2. GABBARI

2.2.1. THE GIRGHIS TOMB (figs. 34)

Adriani excavated the tomb in 1954. Two rooms were found of which only the burial chamber could be explored. It dates from the 1st century B.C. In the burial chamber of Girghis Tomb, Greek and Egyptian themes are juxtaposed. Egyptian elements are found on the back wall, where an Egyptian style naiskos similar to Anfushi II.2 and Anfushi V.4 is situated. The naiskos is flanked by arms and armour easily paralleled in Macedonian and Italic tombs (in detail: Venit 2002, 92). It is composed of three concentrated doorways. The

[14] Pan was a god who had small sanctuaries with such herms in countryside, since he has associated with landscape in general. Moreover, according to Venit, the term herm derives from Hermes, the god- leader of souls to the underworld; therefore, this may be an allusion to the journey of the soul (2002, 105)

[15] See frawing of Venit: 2002 fig.90

outermost is framed by colonnettes with bell or papyriform capitals that support a heavy lintel, divided lengthwise by a narrow torus. Below the torus, a winged sun disc is carved in very low relief. Above the torus that framed the top of the lintel, there is a frieze of uraei. The second doorway is similar to the first, but the lintel is supported on high impost blocks. It appears to have two solar discs, one above and one below the horizontal torus. The innermost doorway is flat, with a Π shaped torus moulding on its surface. It is also crowned with a frieze uraei, and its doors seem to have been presented as closed.

2.2.2. THE FORT SALEH TOMB (fig. 35)
The tomb was initially found by Breccia, but Sabotka rediscovered it in the 1970s. Finally, the tomb was rediscovered in the 1990s by Centre d'Études Alexandrines. It dates to the 1st century BC. The northern most chamber of the tomb complex of Fort Saleh Tomb, which was formed as a deep niche, contains decoration that interweaves Greek and Egyptian motifs.

a. Burial chamber: The facade
The façade of the tomb niche is in Egyptian style, framed by columns with lotus flowers inscribed near the base and crowned with composite floral capitals supporting a straight lintel. Attached to the inner faces of the columns is an Egyptian broken lintel. Behind the Egyptianizing façade, a Ptolemaic rock-cut kline-sarcophagus occupies the lower part of the niche (in detail: Venit 2002, 93).

b. Burial chamber: The wall decoration
The back wall of the kline chamber has three shallow niches, once decorated with an Egyptian decorative program. Today, only the central niche retains some images: a crown of uraei forms a pseudo-naos, within which Osiris is painted standing frontally and holding a crook and a flail. Confronted snakes rear up on the wall below the two defaced niches, and other Egyptian divinities were painted on the ends of the back wall: at the right was a seated female deity. Breccia (1932, 56) suggested that this must have been Isis, and at the left was a Thoth or a Horus in profile to the right. On the lateral walls of the tomb niche, there are traces of two figures of the mummiform Osiris.

2.2.3. THIERSCH TOMB 2 (fig. 36)
Another example of an elite underground from the Late Ptolemaic/early Roman period with a sequence of rooms towards the rock-cut innermost chamber. Stylistically, the Egyptian influence concerns the doorway leading to this inner most chamber, which consisted of a segmental pediment, similar to examples of the Anfushi and Ras el Tin necropolis, this time crowned with a series of triple uraei.

3. EASTERN NECROPOLIS

3.1. MUSTAPHA PASHA TOMB I (figs. 37-40)
The Mustapha Pasha Tombs introduced a cohesive necropolis with a coherent organization that appears to have been planned from its inception. They were discovered by coincidence in 1933. Adriani was the first who excavated the site systematically. None of them was found intact. All of them have similarities of scale and construction.

One of the most famous Alexandrian tombs is Mustapha Pasha Tomb I, owing to its exceptional state of preservation. It dates, according to Venit[16], slightly before the middle of the 3rd century BC. It consists of an access stairway leading from the west side to a rectangular court "enlivened by engaged Doric semi-columns, and ten rooms distributed at three sides of the court, the north, east and south, which communicate more or less directly with it" (Venit 2002, 51). The south side of the court, which accommodated the main

[16] For the chronology of this tombs see in detail: Venit, 2002, 51

burial rooms of the tomb, constitutes the focal point of the tomb. The north side contains rooms that were necessary for the mortuary cult, and the south.

a. The south façade of the court

Three elaborated doorways are set within the intercolumniations, piercing the south façade, in front of which six freestanding, stuccoed bases designed to carry sphinxes flanked each door. The date of these sphinxes cannot be determined, but it is not unlikely that they belonged to the initial phase of the tomb (Venit 2002, 54). They bear typical Egyptian characteristics: they are crouched and wear nemes headdress. The doors themselves were decorated in an elaborate Greek style[17], while above the central one, a Greek style painted slab is located. The slab presents three horsemen pouring libations, with the central rider flanked by two women[18]. The style of their depiction refers both to their Macedonian origin[19] and the Greek-Alexandrian identity[20].

3.2 ANTONIADES GARDENS TOMB (fig. 41)

This tomb is composed of an underground, open-air, rectangular court approached from the surface with stairs, a vestibule and a niche with a funerary bed conformed to a single axis, south to north. There are also rooms with loculi at the west and east side. The façade of the vestibule is composed by pilasters carrying a Doric frieze that leaves three openings to the vestibule. According to the picture after Thiersch, only the central opening provides passage to the vestibule. The two laterals are covered at the lower part by a low wall, which limits the physical access to the visitors. However, they permit the visual access to what is going to happen within the inner part. This arrangement indicates the more private and/or sacred character of the inner part, since only the close relatives and possibly priest could be physically present in the vestibule. However, the rest of the "audience" could visually attend the rites.

3.3. SHATBY HYPOGEUM A (figs. 42-46)

Hypogeum A presents the earliest example of elite funerary structure in Alexandria used in this study, dating from the late 4th to the early 3rd century BC (McKenzie 1989, 63-64; Venit 2002, 30-32). From the ground level, a stairway, cut down through the living rock, leads to a multi-chambered rock-cut structure, initially intended as a family tomb (Ibid, 63; Ibid, 26, respectively). This structure was articulated to recreate a monumental building, composed of a court open to the sky (f), around which initially burial rooms g and ġ, and later, c, e and h, were arranged. The façade of the anteroom (d) consists of a central doorway and two

[17] They are formed from two uprights painted ivories in yellow and crowned by projecting short cornices. The decoration of these cornices was a combination of typical Greek decorative architectural motifs such as Doric "tongue" ornaments, Ionic "eggs" and Lesbian "leaf". There are also remains of parts with red blue and golden yellow paint.

[18] The riders are each mounted on a rearing horse, which they control with one hand, while they pour a libation from a Phiale with the other hand. The three horsemen are dressed in short chitons, possibly with long tight sleeves, in musclular cuirasses, Chlamydes, and (at least the right-hand male) in high, soft boots or high-tied scandals. The two at the left of the picture wear kausias on their heads, a typical Macedonian hat, whereas the one at the right wears a helmet with cheek-pieces and a crest. Each rider wears a baldric slung across his chest from (his) left to right, which would have positioned his sword correctly at his left hip. Otherwise the horsemen are unnamed. The two women wear chitons that fall to cover their feet and himatia bound around their hips, covering about half of their lower body, and pulled up to cover their heads, or, in the case of the right-hand woman, her lower arm.

[19] The rearing pose of all horses is almost the same with this of the rearing horses in the center of the painting from the façade of the Macedonian (so-called) tomb of Phillip II, in Vergina. Also, as noted above, the central and the left-hand horsemen wear Kausias on their heads, a typical military equipment of Macedonians, which is also worn by some individuals in the Vergina's painting. In fact, it seems that the kausia was a substitute rather than a true helmet, serving also other than genuine military functions, but in any case, it must be considered as typical Macedonian (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, 1993, 134). Going further with the Macedonian identity, Macedonian horsemen formed the political military elite group of Macedonian society named "Etairoi" (the Companions). In war, the Macedonian King was the leader of the "Etairikon Ippikon" (the Etairoi cavalry), while in peace they formed a group of the King's trustees with strong influence to him (Hammond, 1995, 92). Therefore, in paintings with Macedonian influence or identity such as those of Vergina and Alexandria, a horseman should not only be seen as a reflection of power and virtue, but also as a connection with the Macedonian aristocracy.

[20] The two women reflect an elegant and sophisticated style, similar to this of the Tanagra Figurines, and consequently reflect the glamorous aspects of Alexandrian society. Especially the right-hand woman has similar dress style and pose with the Tanagra figurine GRM 9049 (fig.15), dating from 250 BC (it agrees with the date of the tomb proposed by Venit). The lower part of the figurine is very similar to both women of the painting.

lateral windows at each side, which are presented to be semi-opened. Loculi of the rooms g and e were covered with doorway style loculus slabs. Finally, in room ġ, there are funerary rock-cut klinai, similar in style to those found in Macedonian tombs of Greece, such as those of Vergina.

B. ROMAN PERIOD ELITE HYPOGEA

During the Roman period, some of the tombs were entirely new constructions, while some others were initially made during the Ptolemaic period, and they were reconfigured and expanded during the Roman period. They consisted of hypogea, following the architectural model of their Ptolemaic predecessors, often with available internal access to water sources for the needs of the funerary and commemorative rituals. They still retained the use of loculi, although these were normally re-cut in contrast to ad hoc openings during the Ptolemaic period. For the wealthier burials, freestanding limestone or rock-cut sarcophagi were added, set into arcosolia (trabeated, or actuated niches), sometimes forming triclinium-shaped burial chambers. Finally, they could also incorporate a funerary building on the surface and triclinium style dining rooms for memorial feasts.

1. WESTERN NECROPOLIS

1.1. KOM EL SHOQAFA: THE GREAT CATACOMB (figs. 47-62)

The Great Catacomb at Kom el Shoqafa is maybe the most famous burial complex of ancient Alexandria, owing to its exceptional relief decoration. It was investigated by Botti, after the coincidental discovery of an Alexandrian, Es-Sayed Ali Gibarah, in 1900. It is composed of a ground-level construction that probably served as a funerary chapel a deep spiral stairway, and three underground levels for the funerary rites and burials. The first consists of a vestibule with a double exedra, a rotunda, and a triclinium. The second consists of the Main tomb and its surrounding corridor with burials. Bellow, there is a third level of tombs, submerged in ground water. The whole complex dates from the 1st to 2nd century AD (Empereur 1995, 7).

1.1.1. The Main Tomb of the Great Catacomb

The Main Tomb is the most luxurious burial unit ever found in Alexandria. It is composed of an anteroom and a main burial chamber that contains three sarcophagi in a cross-shaped arrangement. The sculptured decoration of the Main Tomb suggests a citizen group of high economic and social status.

a. The facade

The façade of the tomb is shaped in the form of an Egyptian naos, with two columns between two pilasters-form antae. The whole decorative program of the façade is thoroughly Egyptian. The two pilasters are carved with papyrus at their feet and crowned with anta capitals in Egyptian composite form. The columns rise from disc bases and follow the scheme of the pilasters. They carry a heavy impost block and an architrave with a plain epistyle, a torus moulding, a continuous frieze centred on a winged sun-disc that is flanked by Horus-Falcons and caped by a row of dentils, and a segmental pediment with a disc centred in the tympanum.

b. The anteroom

The back wall of the anteroom forms the façade of the burial chamber, which opens into the chamber through an Egyptian style doorway. The doorframe is bound by a torus moulding and supports a cavetto cornice decorated with a winged sun disc and crowned with a frieze of rampant uraei; those at the centre are presented frontally, whereas those at either side turn slightly outward. The doorway is flanked at each side by an Agathos Daimon, standing on an Egyptian style basis, representing the guardian of burial chamber's entrance. Each wears the skhent crown, but it also supports a Thyrsus and Kerykeion in its coils.

Each one of the sidewalls had been pierced with an opening, which was later transformed to a niche, containing a statue, slightly under life size. The left niche contains a female statue, while the right niche contains a male one. Both stand in traditional Egyptian dress and pose. The man wears a short kilt, and the woman a diaphanous garment. Their portrait style is Roman. According to these portraits, the suggested date

of these statues as well as the whole Main Tomb is from the Flavian period (69-98 AD) (Venit 2002, 129-131; Empereur 1995, 4).

c. The burial chamber

Three trabeated niches are cut in the three walls of the chamber, creating a cruciform plan, giving to the room the aspect of a triclinium. In each niche a sarcophagus is placed, while the walls are decorated with sculpture reliefs that comprise the most extensive figurative program in any Alexandrian tomb yet found. The decorative program is composed of narratives derived exclusively from the Egyptian tradition.

The real wall of the central niche

The rear wall of the central niche depicts the funeral of Osiris. A mummy is laid out on a lion bier attended by Anubis, who stands behind it. The bier is flanked by the Ibis-god Thoth (right side) and by the falcon-headed Horus (left side). Beneath the lion bier stand three of the normal four Canopic jars capped with lids that indicate the sons of Horus: The guard of the stomach is the jackal-headed Duamutef, the guard of liver is the human-headed Imseti, and the guard of the intestines is the falcon-headed Qebehsenuef. Who is missing is Hapy, the guard of lungs. An elaborate Egyptian cartonage mask, typical of the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods, covers the upper 1/3 of the mummy, with a false beard on its chin. This element, together with the lion-shaped bier, the atef crown on the lion's head, and the feather of truth at the foot of the bier, is well related to Osiris (Venit 2002, 137).

Anubis wears a garment and is crowned with a solar disc with uraei. He places his right hand on the mummy, and in his left hand holds a small cup with a lotus motif, signifying ritual embalming or lustration (Ibid). Horus, at the left of the scene, wears the skhent crown, over what is apparently a nemes headdress, a pectoral and a mantel, and a kilt-like garment. He holds a was-sceptre in his right hand and a small pot with a spouting in his upraised left, symbolizing resurrection. Thoth, on the right, wears a similar garment and does the same gesture. On his head he wears an elaborate atef crown. He holds a was-sceptre and an ankh in his extended left hand, the symbol of life, conventionally crossed with lotus flowers. He holds a cup in his upraised hand.

The left wall of the central niche

The left wall of the central niche depicts a male figure at the left, facing a priest across an altar from which papyri and lotus spring in an arrangement that recalls the hieroglyphic signs of the Upper and Lower Egypt, and on which a fire burns within a cylindrical vessel. The male, crowned with a solar disc, wears a long garment bound around his waist in the manner of an initiate in the cult of Isis (Ibid, 138). He holds an object in his right hand that is difficult to interpret; it appears to be flexible and soft, and although it does not seem to follow the traditional Egyptian form, it might represent the ubiquitous strips on linen that mortuary figures often hold (Ibid). He bends slightly and raises his left hand to his face in a gesture of mourning that appears both in the Greek and Egyptian repertoires, but since the whole scene is depicted in the Egyptian manner, we should name it as an Egyptian pose of mourning. Behind him is a partial cartouche with false hieroglyphics, which reoccurs in all the two-figure scenes. Opposite the mourning male, a Lector-priest[21], barefoot and wearing a long wrapped garment and a panther skin draped over it, holds up a scroll from which he reads out the appropriate spells.

The right wall of the central niche

The right wall of the central niche is decorated with a priest facing a woman across an altar, similar to the one on the left wall. The priest wears two feathers in his headband, an element that identifies him as Pterophoros (wearer of feathers), a Hierogramatos or sacred scribe in the cult of Isis (Empereur 1995, 9-11). Kaplan (1999,

[21] A Lector Priest or Kheri-heb *(means* 'He Who Is Over the Festive Scroll') recited, sang or chanted rites directly out of the sacred books at ceremonies and processions and was responsible that they were performed correctly. They also recited formulae and prayers to appeal to the gods, and functioned as oracles for people who sought advice from the deities. They were distinguished by the broad band worn diagonally across their chests. During the Ptolemaic Period, these lector priests sometimes wore a band with two tall ostich feathers on their head and were therefore called 'Wing-wearers' (Gr: Pterophoroi). See Venit 2002, note 918.

36) identifies him as a Choachytes priest. Like the priest on the left wall, he also wears a long garment, which is slightly shorter, differently arranged and decorated, and the animal skin is also differently draped. He probably holds a lotus flower in his right hand and extends a plate that supports a spouted lustration vessel in his upraised left. The woman, crowned with a solar disc, raises her hands in a mourning gesture. She wears a layered wing and a long, clinging, fringed garment similar to the mantle worn by Isis and female initiates into her cult, although see lacks the Isiac undergarment (Venit 2002, 138).

The back walls of the left and right niche

The back walls of the left and right niche depict the same scene in an imagery view. Each shows an Apis bull facing toward the central niche and standing on a battered pedestal with a denticulated upper moulding. There is a small altar in front of the stand, similar to those of the lateral scenes. The bull, marked with a crescent on his side, wears a solar disc between his horns and a naos-shaped emblem on a cord around his neck. A string of amulets hangs from the field above him. In front of the altar, a male wearing a kilt, a short mantle across his neck and the skhent crown, holds out a decorated necklace to the bull. Behind the scene stands Isis-Ma'at, with her outstretched, holding the ostrich feather of truth in her left hand. She wears a band with an ureaus across her brow, and she is crowned with a disc fronted by a second uraeus (Ibid, 139).

The left wall of the left niche

On the left wall of the left niche, a female deity, at the left, wrapped in a mummy-like garment, faces the falcon-headed figure, identified as son of Horus, Qebehsenuef, who wears the skhent crown (Venit 2002, 139; Empereur 1995, 12). Unlike most of the confrontation on the short wall, the body is depicted in full profile. Each figure holds a sceptre in its hands that emerge from its tightly wrapped garment, and each has a decorated swath of fabric pulled tight across its shoulders that falls vertically in front of the body, so that its decoration is visible. The female figure is crowned with a solar disc and wears a layered wig and a band fronted by an ureus across her forehead. According to Rowe (1942, 25), it is a rare representation of a mummified Isis. Nevertheless, it might represent a female diseased.

The right wall of the left niche

On the right wall of the left niche, a male deity in a mummiform garment, crowned with a solar disc, is depicted. He has the characteristics of Ptah[22]. He wears a false beard and his garment is reticulated with small signs in each one of the rhomboid coffers. He faces a Pharaonic figure, wearing a kilt and crowned with the hemhem crown. The pharaoh holds the rolled cloth of authority in his lowered left hand and extends a feather of truth towards Ptah-like figure with his right.

The left wall of the right niche

The left wall of the right niche depicts a pharaoh[23] in front a deity, with slight differences compared to the one on the right wall of the left niche. His image, with the addition of the sceptre, is also close to that of Ptah. His garment is patterned with a horizontal-vertical grid, instead of reticulation, but it retains "amuletic" signs in the boxes created by the grid system (Venit 2002, 140-141).

[22] According to Venit, he must be Osiris, because the solar disc is not a usual aspect of Ptah, while he usually holds a sceptre (2002, 140). Empereur has the same opinion (1995, 11). Yet, in the Roman period Alexandrian coinage, Ptah is always depicted with a Solar disc (see Roman coinage catalogue, **nos.111** and **127**).

[23] The image of the Pharaoh continued to exist also in the Roman era of Egypt, with the Roman emperor acting as the role of Egyptian ruler. Pharaoh-Emperors are often depicted in Egyptian temples such as those of Edfu, Dendera, Philae, Luxor and Karnak. However, many times cartouches do not bare the precise name of the emperor, and this means that such a specification was not so important during Roman times, in contrast to the Pharaonic period. Venit believes that, even if there is no inscription or other indication, the figures of Pharaohs on the walls of the Main Tomb represent Vespasian, who was proclaimed pharaoh of the legions of Egypt, just after the suicide of Nero. He visited the Sarapeion in Alexandria and he participated in rituals (Venit, 2002, 143). Indeed Vesapsian visited Alexandria, but no name of the emperor is included in this tomb

The right wall of the right niche

The right wall of the right niche is similar to that on the left wall of the left niche. A mummiform figure at the left faces a divine figure, probably the baboon-headed son of Horus, Hapi, depicted as mummiform. Both figures are crowned with solar discs. Rowe (1942, 23) identifies the first figure as Imseti. In contrast, Venit assumes that this is improbable, since there is no need for Imseti's appearance, unlike Hapi, whose Canopic jar is not presented in the central niche, to be depicted, and secondly, because in this case the figure does not correspond to his corresponding in the left niche (Ibid, 141).

d. The walls flanking entrance

The walls flanking the entrance of the interior of the tomb are decorated with reliefs, depicting Anubis as Roman legionary. Anubis, according to Egyptian tradition, is the guardian of the Egyptian Necropolis. In these reliefs, the god wears the Roman garment, standing at a low naos-shaped basis.

Anubis of the right wall

Anubis, on the right wall, is presented as a jackal-head roman soldier, standing frontally, crowned with a solar disc, turned to his right and facing the entrance to the chamber[24]. "He wears a muscle cuirass with pteryges over a short chiton and has a short sword suspended at his left hip by a baldric over his right shoulder" (Ibid, 143). His right hand rests on his shield, seen in profile, while his left hand holds a spear.

Anubis of the left wall

On the left wall of the entrance, Anubis is depicted as a Jackal-headed Roman soldier, yet with a snake's tail, instead of human legs. He is also garbed in muscle cuirass with pteryges worn over a short chiton. In addition, he wears a short cloak pinned on his right shoulder, and he is crowned with an atef crown instead of a solar disc. He holds a spear on his upraised hand[25].

1.2. HALL OF CARACALLA (fig. 63)

The so-called Hall of Caracalla or Nebengrab was also discovered by Botti, adjacent to the Great Catacomb of Kom el Shoqafa. It is composed of a court with an altar at its centre. From the court, we have access into corridors that contain burial chambers.

1.2.1. CHAMBER E, TOMB H (fig.64)

It consists of an arcosolium and a rock-cut niche. Egyptian figures, in an unusual arrangement that makes our attempt to define one or more narrative scenes of mortuary content a quite complicated issue.

a. The pilasters of the niche

On their lower part, a grid-like pattern is designed. On the upper part, an Egyptian style figure is depicted with short kilt, necklace, and a headdress with a solar disc or egg. He holds a flower or sceptre in his right hand, while he himself stands on a flower- maybe papyrus. At the upper corner of each pilaster, in front of each figure, a bird is depicted. On the side walls of the pilasters, at the upper part, at least at the right side, a ba-bird is depicted.

[24] The meaning of military form of Anubis caused a lot of discussion. Leclant (in LIMC I *s.v.* Anubis) and Grenier (1977, 36-40) interpreted it as a protective figure triumphant over death, while Seyrig (1970, esp.101-107) interpreted it as apotropaic. Venit adds to these opinions the possibility of a Vespasianic connection, related also to the rest of the tomb's decoration, the depiction of Roman period "Pharaohs", as an extra layer of meaning for this specific image (2002, 143).

[25] This rare Anubis may owe his image to several factors. Grenier (1977, 36-40) connects the snake-form deity to snakes that act as guardians in Egyptian mythology, as well as to Agathos Daimon, who is the guard of the entrance of the Main tomb. Anubis himself also has snake associations, since according to the Egyptian mythology, he was transformed into a snake in order to protect Osiris from his brother Seth. It is also probably connected to the snake-formed images of Therenouthis-Isis and Agathos Daimon-Sarapis, as well as Agathos Daimon-Dionysus; therefore, the image of the snake-footed Anubis may be another result of the Greco-Romano-Egyptian syncretism. A similar, but small bronze Anubis is presented in Egyptian museum in Cairo: Cairo 32371, Edgar, 1904, 91 (for detailed discussion see Venit 2002, 144-145)

b. The pediment.
The pediment is in Δ-style. In its tympanum, a solar disc is depicted over a vase with two pairs of "horns", the one pair inside the other. The internal has shorter horns than the external. The disc is flanked by two mythological creatures, named by Venit as the Nemesis sphinxes (161), and also attested in the Stagni Tomb (see in detail in 2.1). Those sphinxes are composed of the body of a Greek griffin and the head of an Egyptian sphinx. They are depicted, each one of them, with one foot on Nemesis' wheel.

c. The Egyptian style wall painting on back wall of the niche
At the centre, Isis and Nephthys face one the other, with their wings outstretched, as they assume their traditional pose at either side of the bier, but in this scene there is no bier. Behind each figure, a crowned male stands holding a sceptre, wearing a sort kilt, and hold a sceptre.

d. The lateral walls of the niche
On the right wall, a male seated figure is presented, wearing the crown of Lower Egypt with a pseudo-beard. Possibly, Osiris (Venit 2002, 123).

1.2.2. THE PERSEPHONE TOMB II[26] (Fig. 66, 70-72)
The burial chamber of this tomb contains a niche with a very interesting but also complicated narrative decoration program. It is composed of two mythological scenes, one Greek and one Egyptian, horizontally arranged in two registers. Each one of them represents a myth of death and resurrection, specific to its own culture, Greek and Egyptian.

a. The back wall
The upper register depicts a typical funeral of Osiris. Osiris' mummy lies on royal lion-shaped bed. Anubis, who stands above him, attends the appropriate rituals. Isis, from the right side, and Nephthys, from the left side, flank the funerary couch. Finally, Horus is depicted at the two corners of the scene, at the left side in the form of a king with a human head, while at the right side, he is presented as a king with a falcon head. On the lower register, the abduction of Persephone by Hades is depicted. On the right side, the scene presents Persephone, held by Hades, on Hades' chariot, which is drawn by four horses. In the middle of the scene, Aphrodite is depicted with Eros above her left shoulder, with next to her, on the left, Athena, and finally at the end of the left side, Artemis. The narrative of each register is completed with the double scenes of the lateral walls of the niche.

b. The left wall
On the upper register, Osiris is presented between Isis and Thoth. The latter presents the animal-image of Horus, the new king of the world; Horus wears the crown of Upper Egypt. Between the gods, the Osirian symbol from Abydos, with the head of the god's sceptre is depicted. On the lower register, Persephone collects flowers with her companion in presence of Hades.

c. The Right wall
On the upper register the resurrection of Osiris is presented. The god wears his typical robe, and stands between two altars and two seated figures, Ptah-Sokar and Sekhmet. On the lower register, Persephone is presented, coming out of a cave, rising up from the underworld, in the presence of Demeter and Hermes, who assure a good passage to the world of living. At the right end Hecate is depicted, who guides Persephone with the two torches.

[26] Tomb 2 is presented first, owing to its more complete state of preservation.

1.2.3.PERSEPHONE TOMB I (Figs. 65, 67-69)

a. The central wall
The same topic and arrangement with Persephone Tomb II.

b. The left Wall
Osiris seated on a throne, in front Thoth, who also sits on a throne. Thoth presents the falcon, manifestation of Horus. Between the two figures, the Osirian symbol of Abydos is depicted.

c. The Right wall
Osiris is depicted in a pose of resurrection, between two seated figures: On the right side, Horus in the form of Harpocrates (as adolescent) is depicted, while on the left side, Sekhmet.

1.3. WARDIAN

1.3.1. THE STAGNI TOMB (figs. 73-79)
The Stagni was uncovered in May 1989 by the Italian merchant Stagni di Giovanni, in the port area of Wardian, and it was part of three monumental hypogea. Those hypogea were initially constructed during the Ptolemaic period, and were reused, refurbished and enlarged during the Roman period. The tomb is dated between the 1st and 2nd century AD (Ibid). Only part of the decoration is preserved today, in a very bad state, after being detached from the structure, giving an incorrectly truncated impression today.

a. The frieze on the façade of the tomb
The façade of the tomb assumes the form of a Δ-style naos. Confronting sphinxes are painted on the frieze. Between each pair of sphinxes and their wheels, a Hathorc crown is depicted, and another one is painted in the middle of the frieze. In the original publication of the tomb, these sphinxes had been identified as griffins (Abd el-Fattah and Choukri 1998, 40), but Venit argues (2002, 160-161) that the partially preserved heads appear more human than avian and their headdresses distinguish them from griffins. Moreover, griffins are never crowned. Their spiky crest and upright ear obviate the addition of head coverings griffins, standing with one foreleg raised to a wheel, are associated with the Greek goddess Nemesis [27].

The sphinx with one foreleg poised on the wheel is also associated with Isis, and this connection is emphasized in an emblematic way in the Stagni Tomb, by means of the Hathoric crowns of the frieze. Moreover, Isis herself was associated with Nemesis[28]. In both Greece and Egypt, sphinxes had the role of guardians, and in the case of the Stagni Tomb, sphinxes of Isis-Nemesis were the protectors not only of the contents of the tomb, but also of the afterlife of the deceased (ibid, 161).

b. The piers on the façade of the tomb
On the exterior surface of each pier, a petal-winged boy is depicted. The boys are similar but not equal. Both are nude or nearly nude and both have the same petal-like confirmation to their wings. Above their heads, blue lotus flowers are depicted. In addition, it is clear, at least on the right pier, that the boy has the forefinger of his

[27] This fact is reflected in a statue dated from the Roman Period, from the Bavarian State Archaeological Collection (Museum of Ancient and Early History), where she is depicted having a griffin with one foreleg raised to a wheel close to her feet. Nemesis, who was regarded as an avenging or punishing deity since the 5th century B.C., had been personified as a deity that punished mistreatment of the dead. In Alexandria, Nemesis' cult was important, and there was also a precinct dedicated to the deity, which was destroyed during the Jewish revolution between 115 and 117 BC (Venit 2002, 161).
[28] In the Metamorphoses of Apuleius (XI.5.19), Isis is referred to as Rhamnusia, an epithet associated with Nemesis. In Rhamnous, Attica, a temple was dedicated to her since the 5th century. In addition, Isis-Nemesis had a shrine at Delos at least since the 2nd century B.C.

left hand in his mouth. The last two elements are clearly indicating characteristics of Harpocrates. The wings are a feature of another Greek deity, Eros, who often accompanies Aphrodite[29]. Venit assumes that the winged figures of the Stagni Tomb may indicate a syncretic deity, Eros-Harpocrates (2002, 163). Each side of the piers presents a figure of Anubis. Each Anubis holds a spear set vertically at his side and places his left hand near his hips, holding either a caduceus or a sword in the crook of his left arm (the identification of the object cannot be certain due the damage of the painting). Another "Egyptian" contribution is that of the two Horus falcons, identified by the crowns on their heads, which are depicted in the pier capitals.

c. The niche

The niche that is constructed to contain a painted aedicula, is cut into the back wall of the tomb. Set within the painted aedicula in the niche, the most significant but also unclear figure of the tomb's decoration is painted. The figure stands frontally with one hip thrust forwards, her crowned head turned to her right, flanked at either side by a crouching sphinx, relaxing on a base. She holds a staff in one hand, which terminates in a lotus bud. According to Venit, she can be no other than Isis-Aphrodite. "Her seductive pose connects her to Aphrodite, while the staff with lotus bud, the crown, and the Egyptianising naos with Isis, following, or rather followed by similar encounters of Eros' and Harpocrates' characteristics in the winged figures noted above" (Ibid). The most remarkable aspect of the figure in the Stagni Tomb is her garment, which is drawn closely about her lower body and gives the impression of linen banding, similar to that of a mummy[30].

The Stagni Tomb's 'Isis-Aphrodite' is not posed as a typical mummy with a torso appearing entirely frontally, nor does she gaze directly ahead. However, it does explain a main difficulty with her pose: her hands that are clasped or clasping something at the level of her breasts, recall the way that Osiris holds his crook and flails, although with that gesture she would hold the staff with lotus bud (165).

1.4. GABBARI

1.4.1. HABACHI TOMB A (figs. 80-86)

The tomb was discovered in 1935 by Habachi at Gabbari. It dates from the late 1st century A.D. The sarcophagus burial room contains Egyptian style scenes.

a. The lateral faces of the entrance jambs

The lateral faces of the entrance jambs contain Egyptian images and signs set on horizontal panels, but only one was visible to Habachi, a djed pillar (1937, 271-272).

b. The narrow side walls of the burial room

On the right narrow sidewall of the room, the upper part contains a poorly preserved figure scene (almost nothing, only a female figure). The lower part of the wall contains an image of the Apis bull, reclining on a stand that faces the entrance of the chamber.

On the left narrow sidewall of the room, the upper part contains a female figure, possibly Ma'at with her feather of truth (Venit 2002, 120). The lower part contains a Djet pillar, flanked by two confronting deities.

[29] It is not the first time that Harpocrates "borrows" the wings of Eros. In a silver statuette from the British Museum, dating from the 2nd century A.D., Harpocrates is depicted with wings. The statuette comes from a Roman sanctuary of Isis in London. The figurine is certainly Harpocrates (and not Eros) identified by the hawk and his feet, which represent his animal manifestation in the Egyptian Mythology (Potter, 1997, 82). The wings, in both cases, reflect a stylistic encounter derived from these two deities.

[30] The style of the dressing is not similar to any style of Isis' depiction, Hellenistic or Egyptian, since the Stagni tomb's figure seems clothed, but there are two examples to which it can be compared. The first is Isis' marble statue from the Acropolis of Cyrene (Cyrene Museum 14.273) and the second is a late Roman plaster lamp from the Athenian Agora (see Grandjouan 1961, 75, no. 942, pl. 26). The marble statue has been identified as an image of an initiate into the cult of Isis, shown symbolically rising from the dead, and consequently indicating an act from Isis' cult. The figure of the plaster lamp from the Athenian Agora seems intended either as the deity herself or as a deceased assimilated to the deity. Her headdress, composed of three feathers, connects her with Isis (Venit 2002, 164).

c. The back wall of the niche
A mummy is laid on a lion-shaped bed. Three deities stood to either side, all dressed in long garment, each of whom holding out a long, vertical, seemingly soft object; according to Venit linen bands for mummification (2002, 121). The three figures at the right sides carry solar discs. The middle has been identified as Horus, while the far right has been identified as the Hippopotamus god Taueret (Habachi 1937, 276) or Sekhmet (Venit 2002, 121).

d. The lateral walls of the niche
Isis or Isis-Ma'at (Venit 2002, 121) stands in profile, outstretching her wings. She holds the feather of truth in her one hand, and the crook and the flail in the other. Behind her, a vertical row of (pseudo) hieroglyphs was presented, and a small figure of Ma'at or Isis Ma'at (Ibid) sitting in high pedestal in front of her, holding the feather of truth, the flail and the crook.

e. The scene on the face of sarcophagus
At the centre, a lion bed is depicted, possibly carrying a mummy. Two figures stand ~~on~~ at either end of the panel. The left one is crowned with a solar disc and holds an Ankh key and a piece of linen (if the interpretation of the responding object on the back wall scene is correct). According to Habachi (1937, 234), an altar is presented in front of each figure. Under the bed, two confronting winged sphinxes are presented. The left one is crowned with a solar disc.

1.4.2. THE SIEGLIN TOMB (fig. 87)
It was discovered by Sielgin in 1900. It dates from the 1st to 2nd century AD. Only the central niche is shown to have reserved decoration (according to Fiechter's drawing. Schreiber 1908, vii, 1).

a. The back wall of the niche
Osiris is depicted frontally in the centre. Two deities, Isis and Nephthys, wearing equal crowns, flank him and behind them there are another two deities, one at each side, carrying linen for mummy bandaging (Venit 2002, 124).

b. The lateral walls of the niche[31]
A Horus falcon faces to the entrance of the chamber.

c. The doorframe of the niche
It is decorated with elements derived from the Greek and Egyptian tradition. Above the entrance, a winged solar disc is depicted. On the walls of the façade: at each side, an Apis bull, a griffin, and a recumbent Apis bull are shown vertically stacked upon floral stands. According to Pagenstecher (1919, 184-185), the Egyptian figures of the lateral walls were paint over the griffins, eagles and Nikai that originally were presented.

2. Eastern Necropolis

2.1. THE TIGRANE PASHA TOMB (figs. 88-104)
The tomb was found by chance in 1952, in the Tigrane Pasha Street. The first publication belongs to Achile Adriani. It is approachable through stairs that lead to the entrance hall, with one burial room at each side. The first one contains loculi. The other consists of rock-cut, arched niches which contain rock-cut sarcophagi. The sarcophagi are arranged in a cruciform form, providing a triclinium layout. The walls of the triclinium chamber

[31] Only the right wall is visible in Fiechter's drawing.

contain a unique decorative program, deriving elements from both the Greek and Egyptian tradition. It dates probably to the Hadrianic era (Venit 2002, 147).

a. The lateral walls of the entrance corridor

A male figure (upper part) and an Apis bull (lower part) are depicted at each side of the corridor. The males wear a Nemes headdress and a short garment. Each figure is carrying a round vessel. They have been interpreted as Isis' servants (Ibid).

b. The short walls of the burial chambers

On the short walls of the burial chambers, two Agathoi Daimones are depicted, both with false bears and crowns on their head. The right one wears the skhent crown. The left one wears the Hathor crown, which is composed of a sun disc flanked by horns.

c. The central niche

The central niche shows a mummy, lying on a bed and flanked by two female figures. Behind each woman is a pedestal on which a falcon stands. The left falcon wears the crown of Lower Egypt, while the other the skhent crown. The funerary couch has been identified as being a late Greek or Roman type, like the style of the mummy, with rhomboid pattern. The two female figures have been identified as Isis and Nephthys (Ibid 151). Above the mummy, a winged solar disc holds out a garland. The upper parts of the pilasters that flank the central niche are each decorated with a seated figure of Anubis.

d. The left niche

The central painting in the left niche depicts a male figure standing frontally[32]. He is flanked by two seated jackals, two winged figures in tunics and leggings (Ibid 153), and two huge eggs tied with fillets set on high stands. On top of the scene there is a solar winged disc. The male figure clasps his hand in front of his torso, holding green palms between them. His head could be either shaved or covered with a cup, slightly turned away from the frontal position. Horus in his falcon form decorates each of the lateral walls. The left Horus wears the crown of Upper Egypt. A snake was depicted on the upper part of each pilaster, yet they are badly preserved today.

e. The right niche

On the back wall of the right niche, a male is depicted wearing a tunic, leggings and a nemes-style headdress, kneeling in front of a female. Both figures hold palm trees, while extending their arms. The female figure wears a diadem with an ureus on it. Her garment is similar to those of the female figures in the central niche. Behind the central figure, another male figure stands in profile to the right. He has his left foot advanced, standing in a traditional Egyptian pose. He holds out a large green censer in his left hand. He holds a snake-shaped crook in his right hand. Again, a winged disc flanks the scene from above. On each of the lateral walls, a Horus falcon is depicted, facing the centre of the room. The falcons are not equal. The falcon at the left side wears the Lower Egypt crown, while the falcon at the right side wears the crown of Upper Egypt. Each side of the pilasters is decorated with a seated sphinx, sitting above, and a snake below. Both sphinxes wear a nemes headdress, with uraei, and they look at the central niche in profile.

f. The central dome

It contains a central Gorgoneion, surrounded by a leafy ornament with leaping animals. A gold circle surrounds the head of the medusa, supported by four narrow stalks with heraldic eagles set half way on each and further decorated with exotic animals such as leopards and gazelles (Ibid 149).

[32] Empereur believes that it is Osiris (1995, 23-24). Venit (2002, 153) assumes that it might be the dead.

C. EGYPTIAN NAISKOS STYLE LOCULI SLABS[1]

1. ***Egyptian naiskos style loculus slab with papyriform columns and broken lintel***
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H. 138 cm
Provenance: Marfusa
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 10974

This loculus slab represents the facade of an Egyptian style naiskos with triangular tympanum. On the frieze a motif is repeated three times. It consists of two uraei that flank a lotus flower and the atef crown, one of the characteristic attributes of Osiris (Pensabene, 93). The aedicula of the naiskos is decorated with a series of uraei frontally depicted, crowned with solar discs and a block band. Inside the outer doorframe, a second doorway with a broken lintel is depicted, and within that a papyrus plant, symbol of the regeneration.

Bibliography: Breccia 1922, 199, n.6, fig.102; Noshy 1937, 22, pl.I, 2; Adriani 1962, 116, pl. 38, 138; Le Corsu 1968, 120, n.7, fig.8; Pensabene 1983, no.4, pl.X, 4

[1] These slabs are dated to the first and second century AD. For a detailed discussion as well as for bibliography see: Pensabene, 1983, 91-119

2. Egyptian naiskos style loculus slab with a male bust
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H. 60 cm, L. 49 cm, W. 49 cm
Provenance: Hadra
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 3734

The slab was originally decorated with stucco and colour. The upper part is preserved, which represents an Egyptian style doorframe with two papyriform columns. The frieze is decorated with 13 uraei crowned with solar discs, block band and cavetto cornice. Inside the doorframe, which is carved with an Egyptian style architrave, the bust of a young man is presented in Roman style appearance.

Bibliography: Botti 1900, 531, no.12; Pensabene 1983, no. 6, pl.X, 6

3. Egyptian naiskos style loculus slab
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H. 82 cm, L. 67 cm
Provenance: Hadra
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 3737

Two papyri-form columns support an Egyptian style architrave, crowned with a winged solar disc at the centre. A cavetto cornice, crowned with a solar disc, is carved. Inside the naiskos, an inner doorframe is carved, crowned with a frieze of uraei. In the inner part, a painted scene was depicted, which is not preserved today.

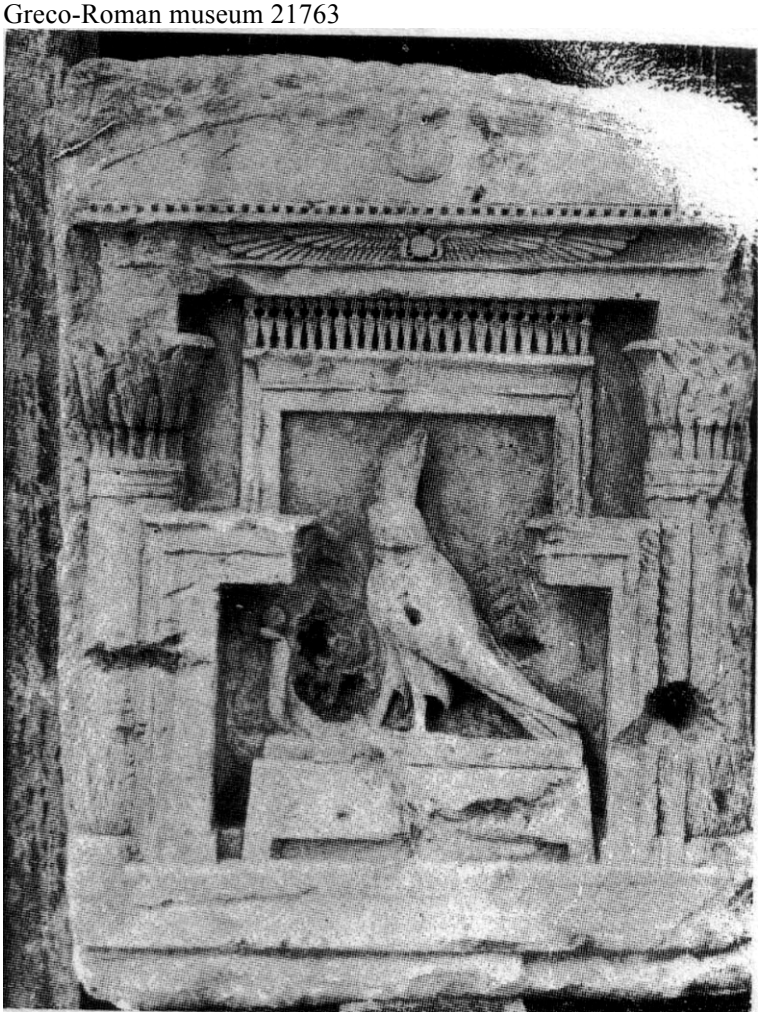
Bibliography: Pagenstecher 1919, 20, fig.78, Adriani 1962, 116, pl.38, 140; Pensabene 1983, no.8, pl, XI, 1

4. Egyptian naiskos style loculus slab, with presentation of a young man.
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H. 83 cm, L. 52 cm
Provenance: Gabbari
Location: Alexandria
Greco-Roman museum 3215

Two originally columns with composite floral capitals support an Egyptian style cavetto cornice, crowned with a winged solar disc at the centre. Above the cornice, a segmental pediment is carved, crowned with a solar disc. Inside the naiskos, an inner doorframe is carved, crowned with a frieze of uraei. Two jackals standing on bases and focusing on the centre, flank the doorway. At the centre, within the inner doorframe, a young man in tunic is carved frontally.

Bibliography: Pagenstecher 1919, 123, fig.73; Pensabene 1983, no. 9, pl.XI, 2

5. Egyptian naiskos style loculus slab, with presentation of a Horus falcon
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H. 80 cm
Provenance: Gabbari Necropolis
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 21763



Two composite columns papyri-form capitals support an Egyptian style cavetto cornice and block band, crowned with a winged solar disc in the centre. Above the cornice, a segmental pediment is carved, crowned with a solar disc. Inside the naiskos, an inner doorframe is carved, crowned with a frieze of uraei. Within the inner doorframe, at the centre, Horus is depicted in his falcon form, between the two sides of a broken lintel. He is crowned with the double crown of Egypt. In front of Horus, a serpent is depicted, crowned with a solar disc.

Bibliography: Breccia 1932, 33, pl. XXIII, 85; Gilbert 1942, 85, fig.3; Le Corsu 1966, 41, fig 4b; Lyttelton 1974, 50, pl.54, Pensabene 1983, no.13, pl.XI, 6

6. Fragment of Egyptian naiskos style loculus slab with papyriform column

Material: Limestone

Dimensions: H. 22,5 cm, L. 58 cm

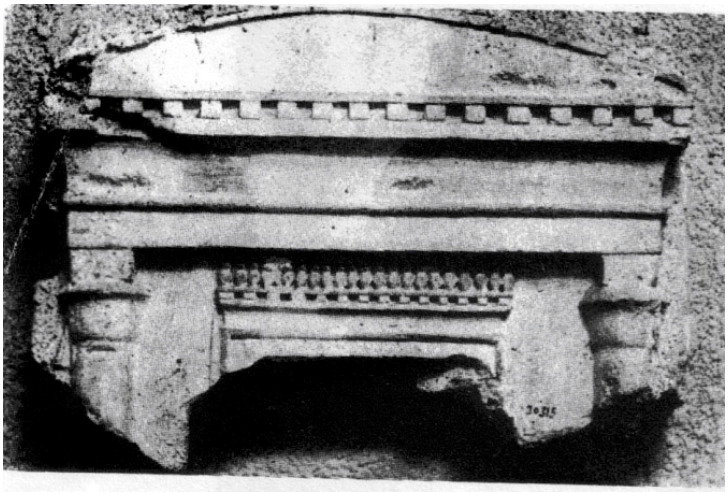
Provenance: Hadra

Location: Alexandria,

Greco-Roman museum 3749

Part of the wings of a winged solar disc is preserved in the segmental pediment.
Bibliography: Pensabene 1983, no. 18, pl.XII, 6

7. Fragment of Egyptian naiskos style loculus slab
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H. 42 cm, L. 66,5 cm
Provenance: Western Necropolis
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 20315



The slab represents an Egyptian style naiskos, with papyri-form columns and Egyptian style cavetto cornice with block band and entablature. In the inner part of naiskos, a second doorway is depicted with a freeze of uraei.

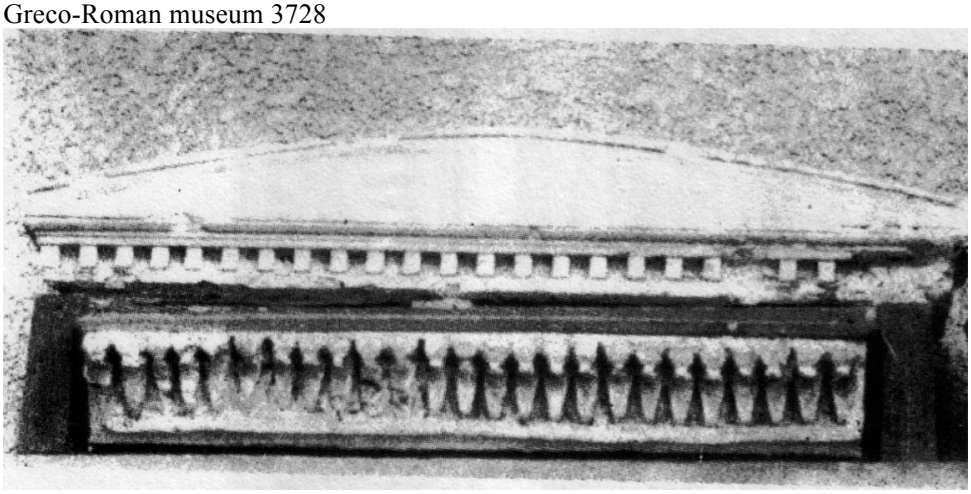
Bibliography: Pensabene 1983, 100, no. 19, Tav. XII, 1

8. Entablature of an Egyptian naiskos style loculus slab
Material: Limestone
Dimensions. H.32,5 cm, L. 101 cm, W. 17,5 cm
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 3728
Provenance: Alexandria

Segmental pediment, crowned with a solar disc with uraei, cavetto cornice and block band

Bibliography: Botti 1900, n.50, Pensabene 1983, 100, no.20, pl.XII, 2

9. Entablature of an Egyptian naiskos style loculus slab
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H. 16,4 cm, L. 37 cm
Provenance: Alexandria
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 3728



Segmental pediment withcavetto cornice, block band and frieze with uraei.

Bibliography: Botti 1900, no.50, Pensabene 1983, 100, no.21, pl. XII, 3

10. Frieze of Uraei from Egyptian naiskos style loculus slab[2]
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H. 13 cm, L. 65 cm
Provenance: Alexandria
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 21143

Frieze with uraei, crowned with solar disc.

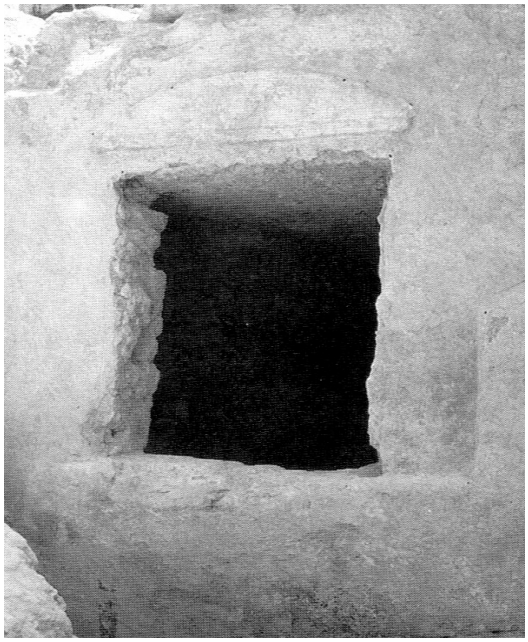
Bibliography: Botti 1900, no.50, Pensabene 1983, 100, no.22, pl. XII, 4

11. Painted naiskos style doorframe of 'Dionysia's Tomb'
Material: stucco
Provenance: Gabbari
Location: in situ (demolished)
Date: Late Ptolemaic/Roman

This is one of the many loculi discovered by Centre D' Études Alexandrines in Gabbari. Its entrance contains painted decoration in naiskos style. It is composed of a tympanum, which carries a solar disc in the middle and is supported by two columns. On its entablature is written: ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ ΧΑΙΡΕ (Dionysia farewell).

Bibliography: Empereur 1998, 175-235

12. Rock curved Egyptian style naiskos
Material: natural rock
Provenance: Tomb B41, Sector 2, Gabbari
Location: in situ (demolished)
Date: Roman in general (according to its finds)



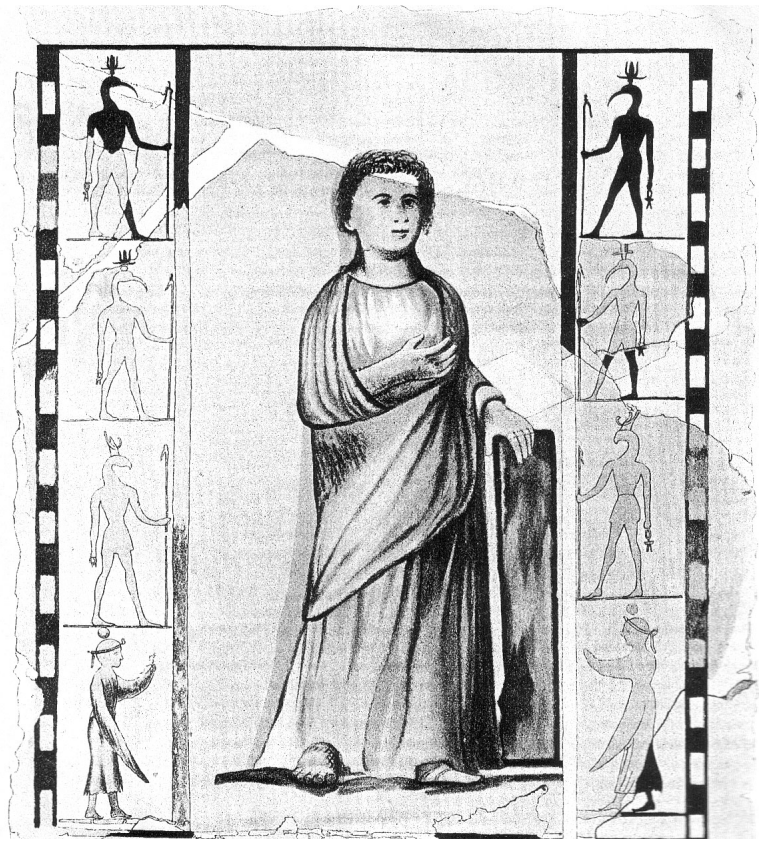
This tomb consists of a rectangular loculus, of which the entrance (90 x 75 cm) is crowned with an Egyptian style segmental pediment, curved in raised relief. In the middle of the pediment, a solar disc is situated flanked

[2] See photo above: lower part of the object

with uraei. On two lateral walls, a zone of red square tiles was painted, originally 69 cm high, but today it is lost. The loculus slab was made of limestone, containing no decoration, and it was found inside the loculus. Concerning the date, coins from the Roman period have been attested, indicating that the tomb was in use at least since the Roman period, but there are traces of more recent reuse, since Islamic ceramics were also found. The reuse is further implied by the round sarcophagus, found inside the loculus, which occupies ~~the~~ two thirds of its space. Inside the sarcophagus two skeletons were found, dating, according to ceramics found inside it, from 4th -5th century AD.

Bibliography: Empereur 2003, 61-62

13. Loculus slab with painting of a female figure
Material: Stucco
Provenance: Gabbari
Location: lost
Date: Roman (1st century AD)



A fragmentary painted female figure, flanked by Egyptian deities and arranged in vertical registers. The figure of Thoth is distinguishable more than once.

Bibliography: Pagenstecher 1919, 44, fig.29

14. Rock curved Egyptian doorway style loculus slab
Material: rock
Provenance: Gabbari (Habachi Tomb 2)
Location: in situ (lost)
Date: 1st century BC

An Egyptian style doorway loculus slab in the east loculus of the south-eastern burial room from Habachi Tomb B.

Bibliography: Habachi 1937, 283-285

D. ILLUSTRATIONS

1. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

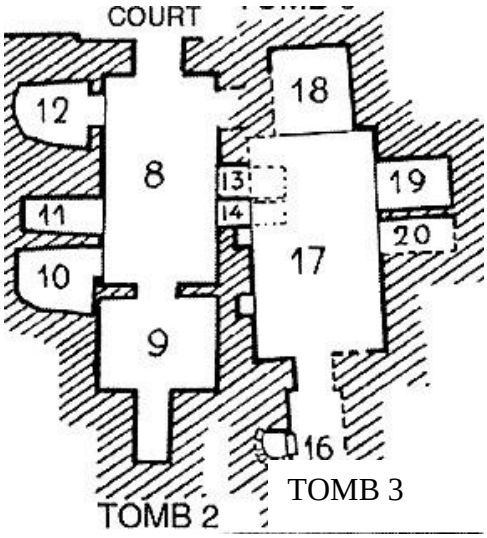


Fig. 1. Plan of Ras el Tin tomb III and its adjacent tomb 2 (Adrianni 1952b, Pl.XXX, Fig.1)

Fig. 2. Ras el Tin tomb III: Hercules as depicted on the doorframe leading to the inner chamber (Brown 1957, pl.XXX)

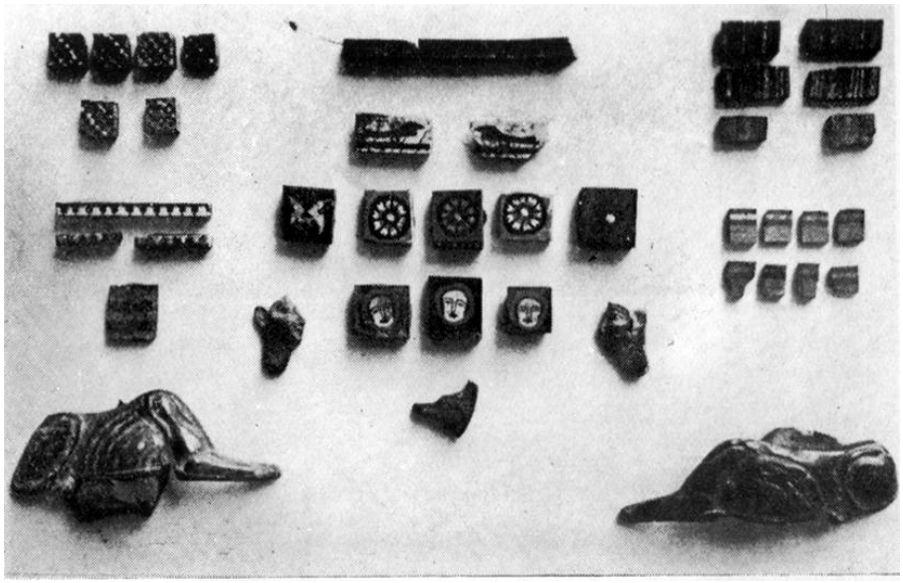


Fig. 3. Molten glass objects found in Ras el Tin necropolis (Adriani 1952b, pl.XXXV, fig.4)

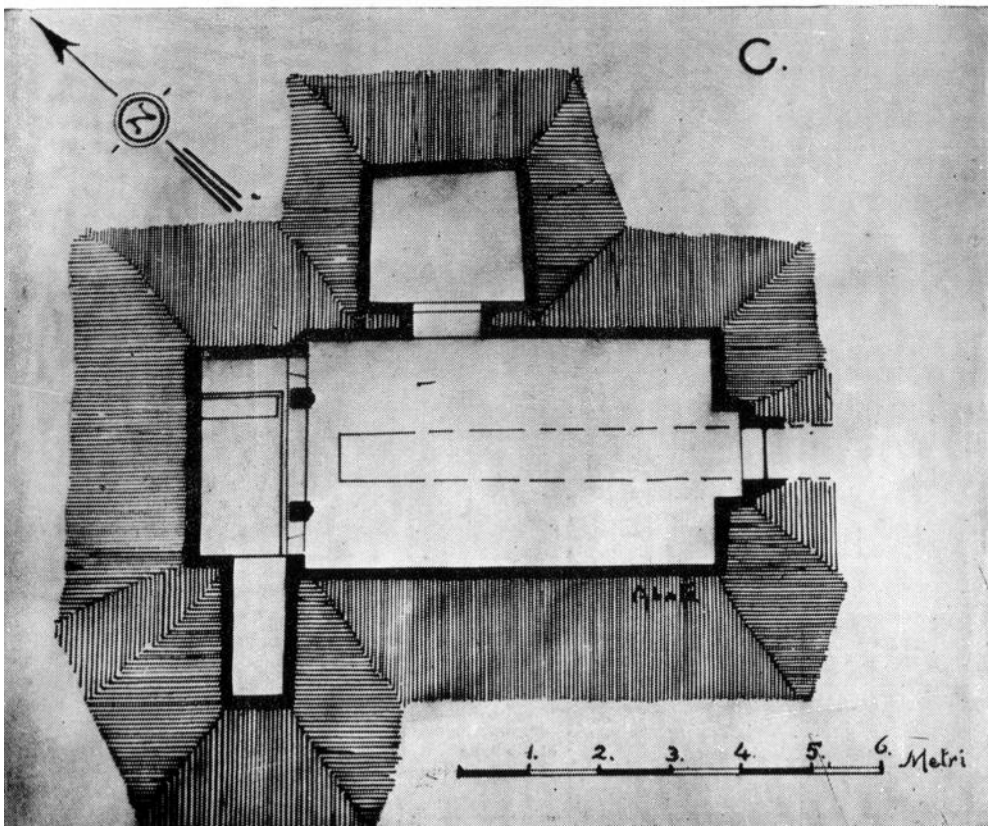


Fig. 4. Plan of Ras el Tin Tomb VIII (Adriani 1952, pl.XXXI, fig.1)

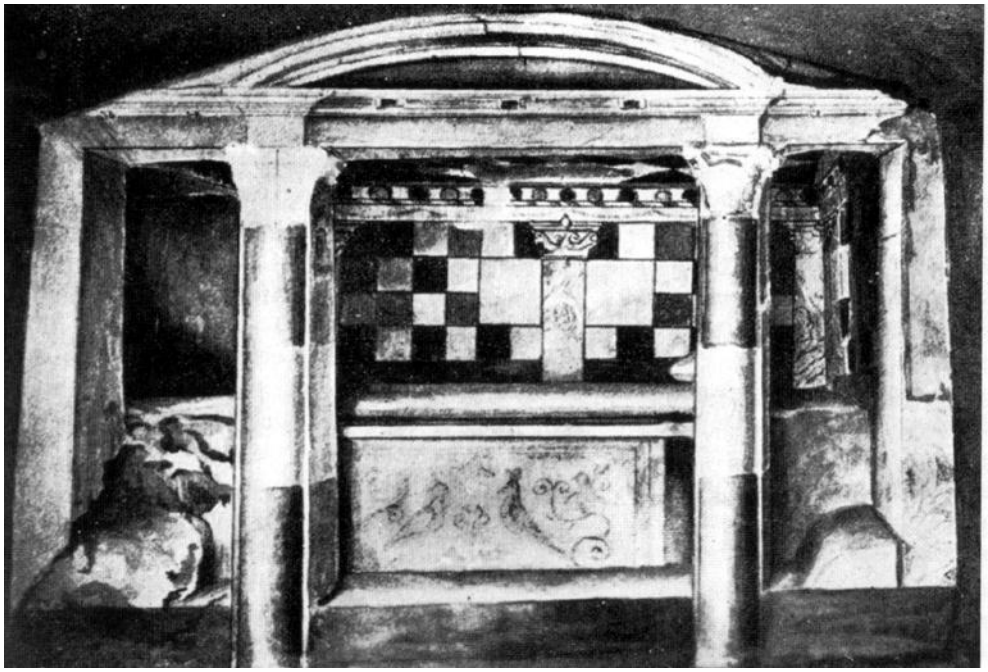


Fig. 5. Plan of Ras el Tin Tomb VIII (Adriani 1952b, pl.XXXI, fig.1)

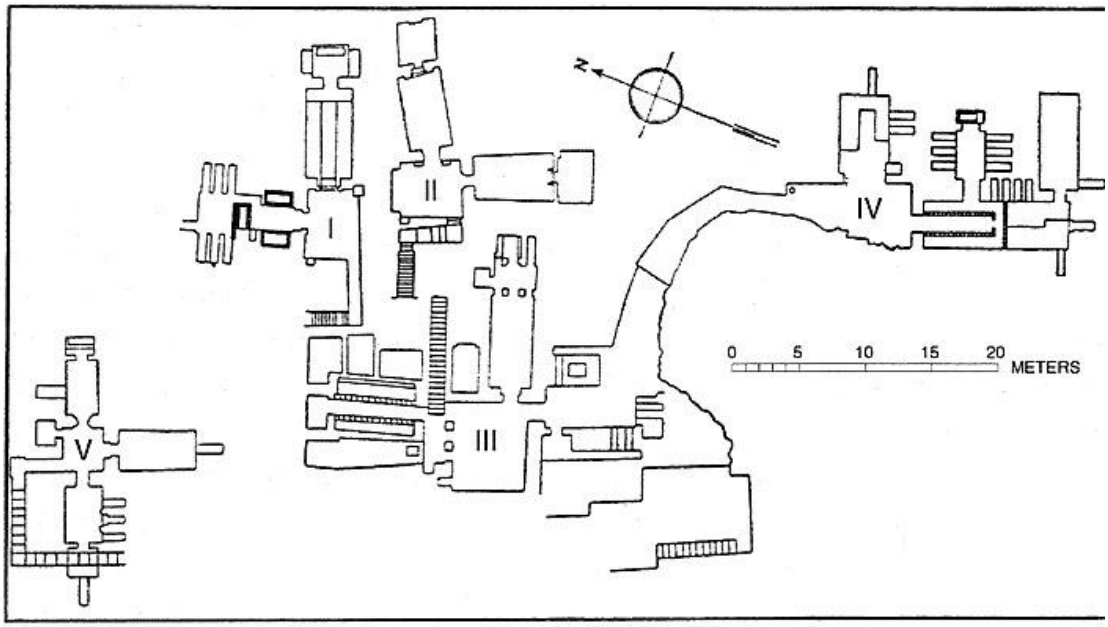


Fig. 6. Plan of Anfushi necropolis (Adriani 1952c, 55, fig.28)

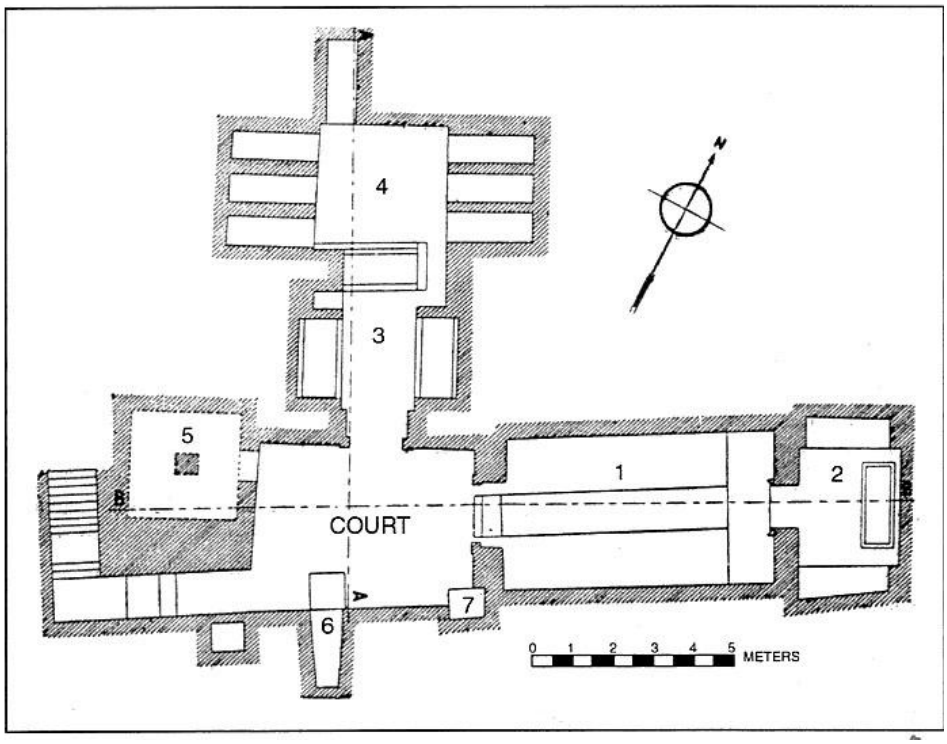


Fig. 7. Plan of Anfushi Tomb I (Adriani 1952c, 57, fig.29)

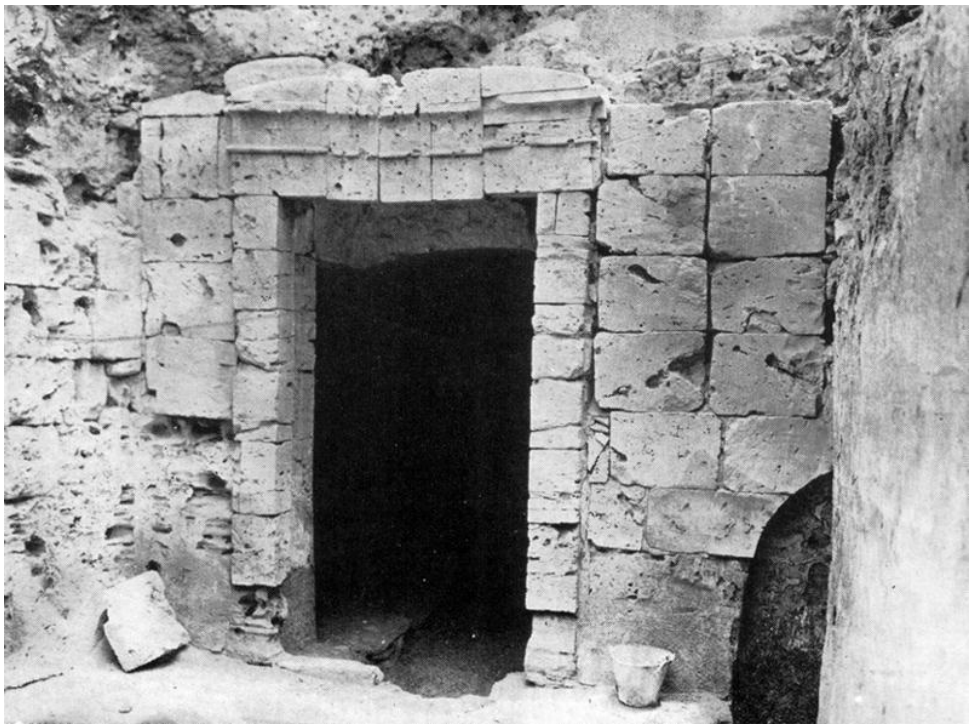


Fig. 8. Egyptian style entrance to the underground complex (Adriani 1952c, pl.XXXVII, fig.2)

Fig. 9. Anfushi I: Vestibule and the Egyptian style doorframe on the back wall (Adriani 1952c, pl.XXXVIII, fig.21)

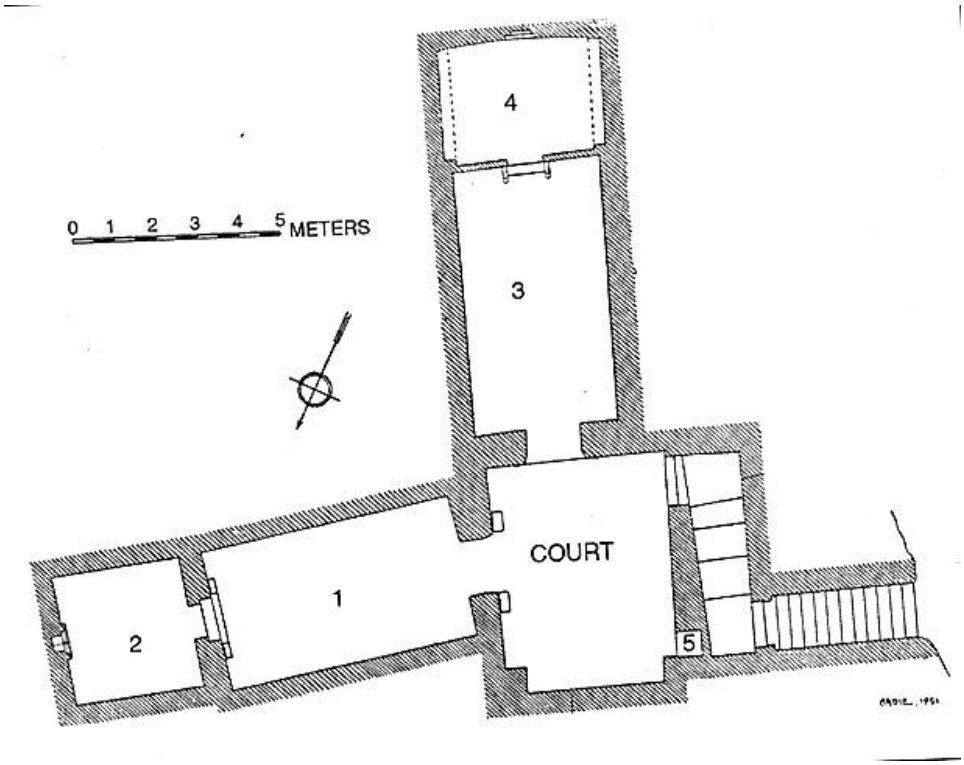


Fig. 10. Plan of Anfushi tomb II (Adriani 1952c, pl.XXXVIII, fig.32)

Fig. 11. Anfushi II:Wall painting in the first landing of the stairs leading to the court (Adriani 1952c, 62, fig.32)

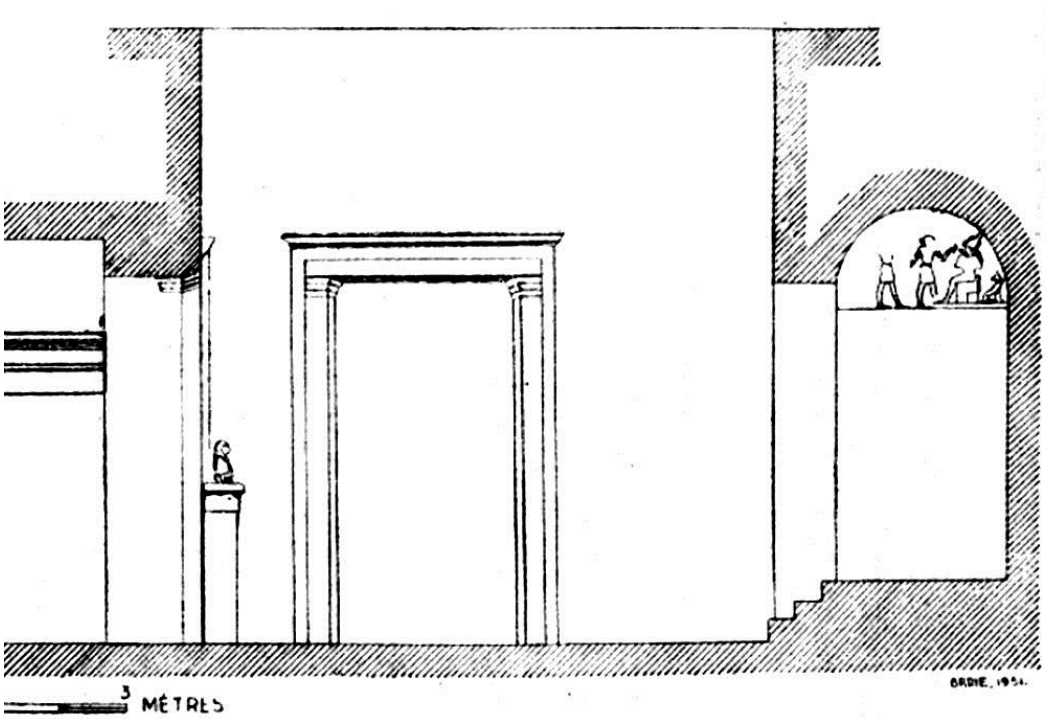


Fig. 12. Anfushi II: Drawing of court section. Wall scene of the lower landing and sphinxes, originally in font of the entrance to room 1 (Adriani 1952c, 62, fig.34).

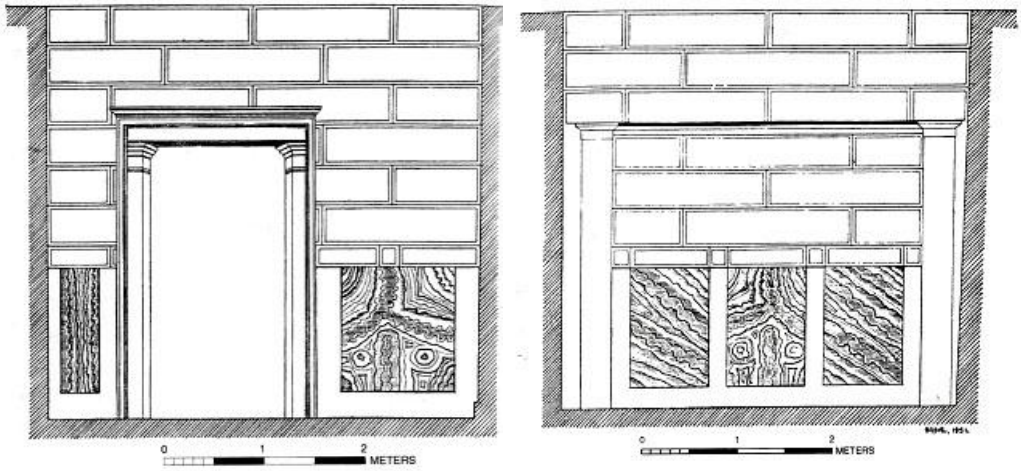


Fig. 13. Anfushi II: Zone style decoration of the court (Adriani 1952c, 65-66, fig.35-36)

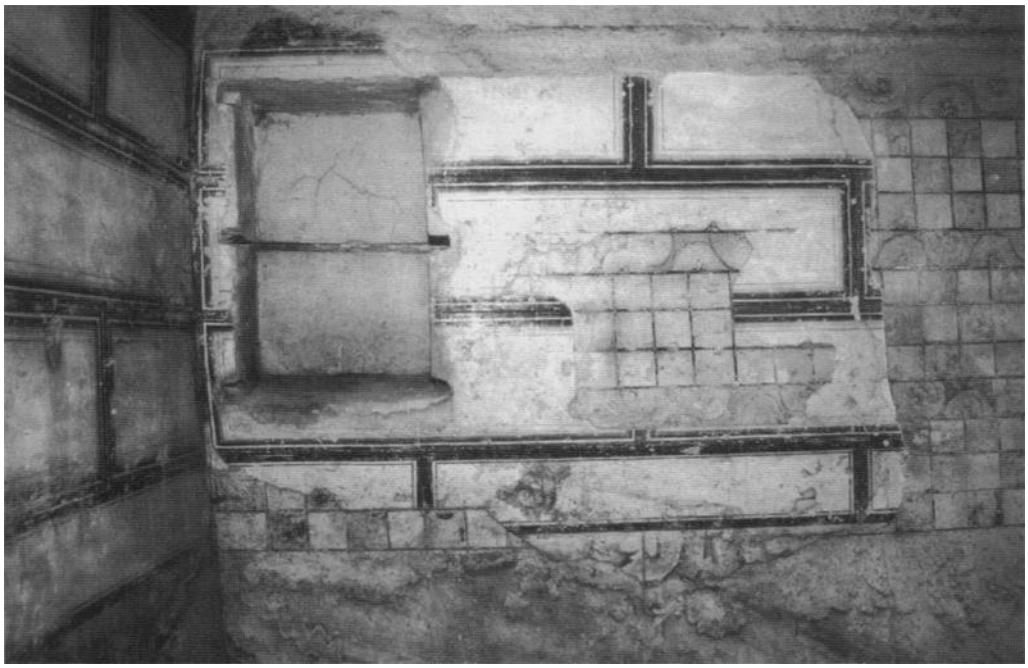


Fig. 14. Anfushi II: two faces of decoration as preserved on the wall of the vestibule (Adriani 1952c, 69, fig.39)

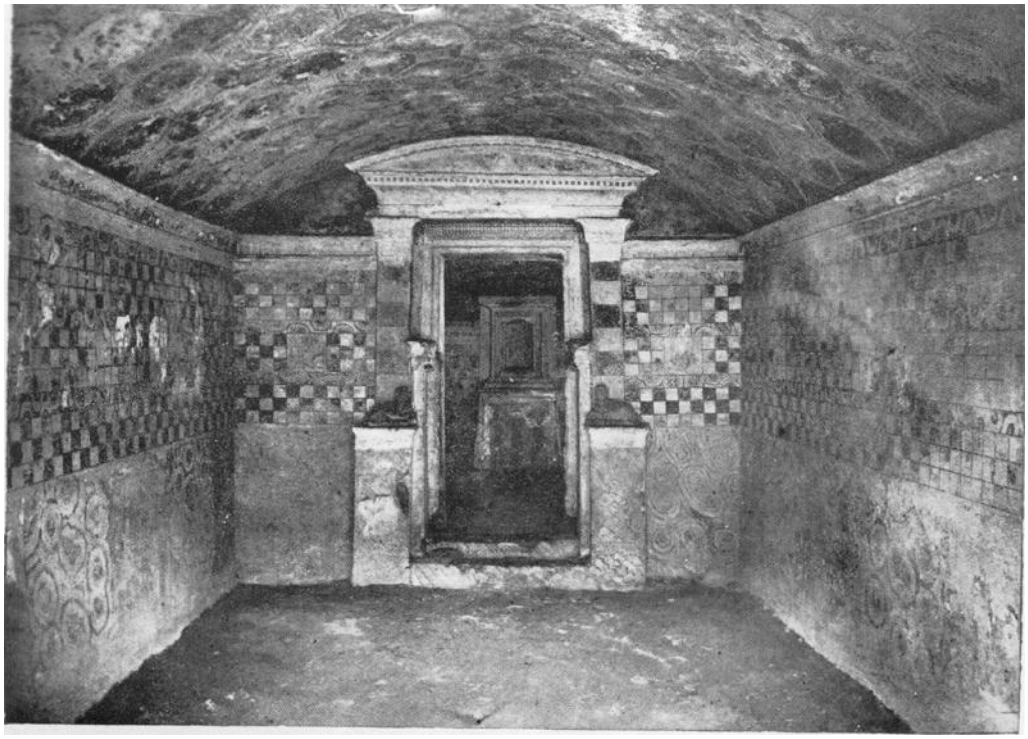


Fig. 15. Anfushi II: Vestibule. Egyptian style doorway with two sphinxes leads to the inner chamber, while the naiskos on the back wall of the later is visible. (Adriani 1952c, pl.XXXVI, fig.1).

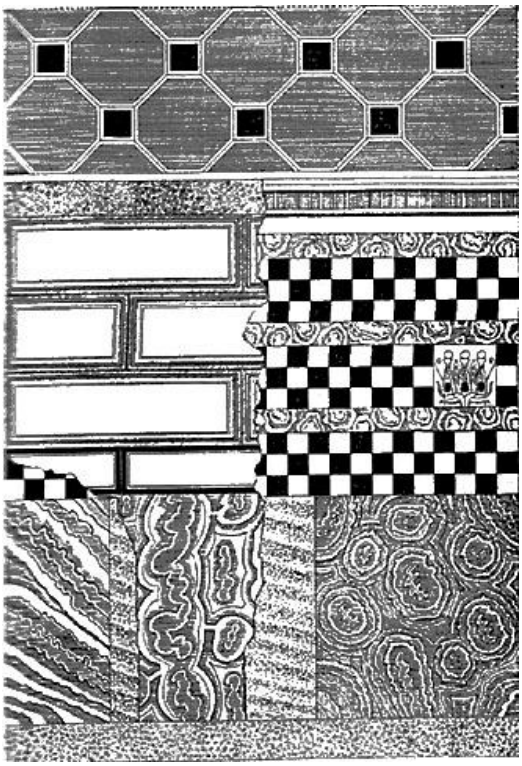


Fig. 16. Reconstruction of the different faces vestibule (Adriani 1952c, pl.XXXVI, fig.2)

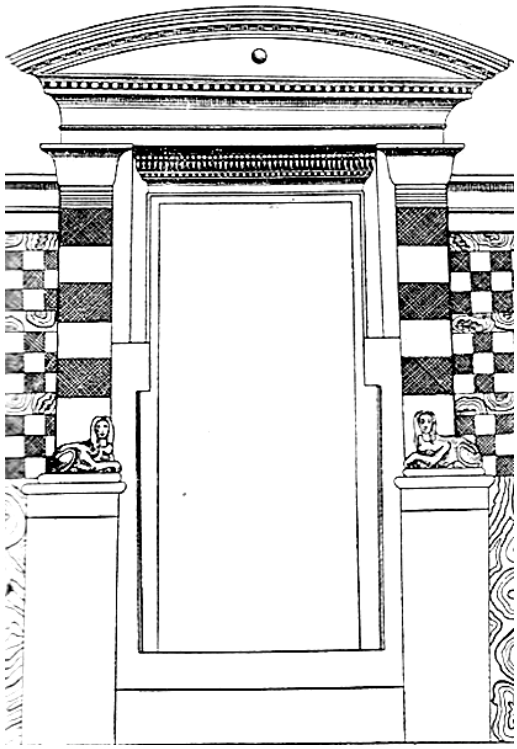


Fig. 17. Reconstruction of the Egyptian style of decoration on the doorframe of burial chamber façade wall (Adriani 1952c, pl.XXXVI, fig.1)

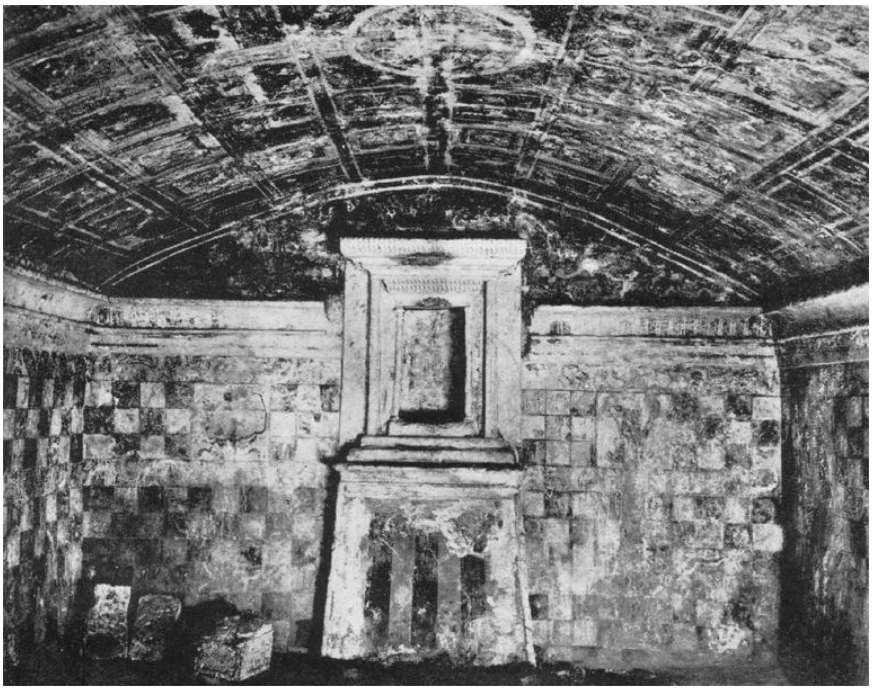


Fig. 18. Anfushi II: Burial chamber and Naiskos on the back wall. (Adriani 1952, pl.XXXVI, fig.2)

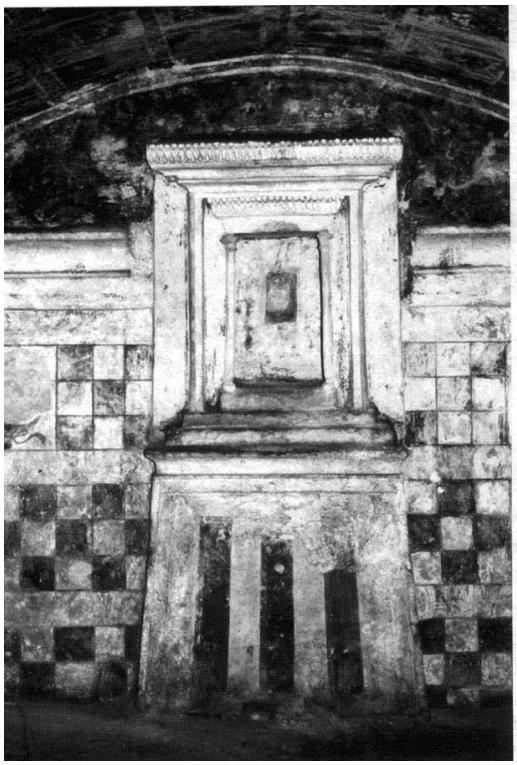


Fig. 19. Anfushi II: Detailed picture of Naiskos (Venit 2002, 83, 68)

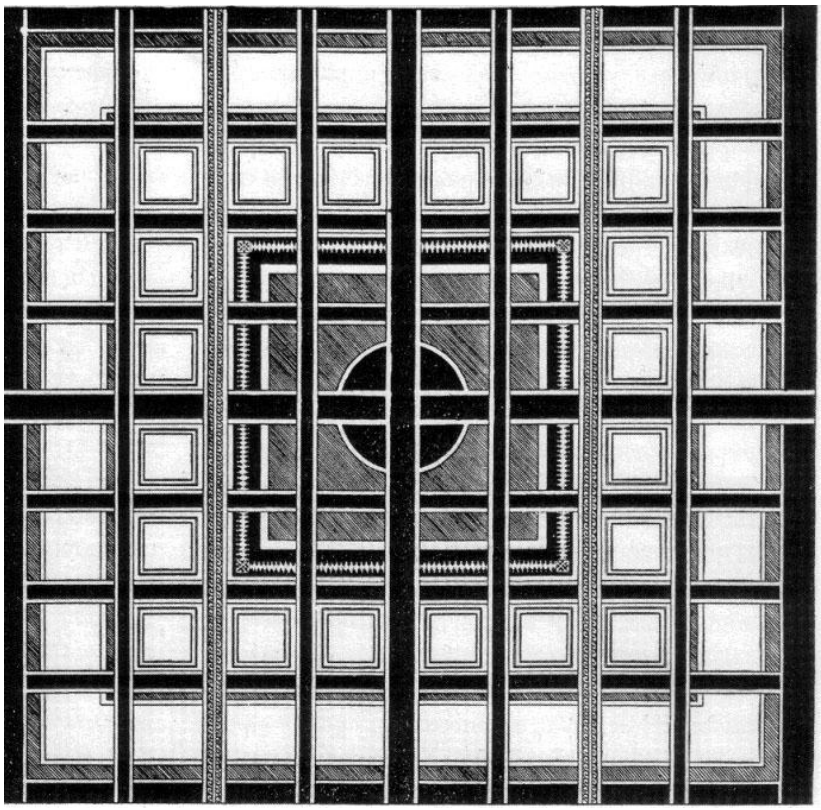


Fig. 20. Anfushi II: ceiling of the burial chamber (Adriani 1952c, 75, fig.43)

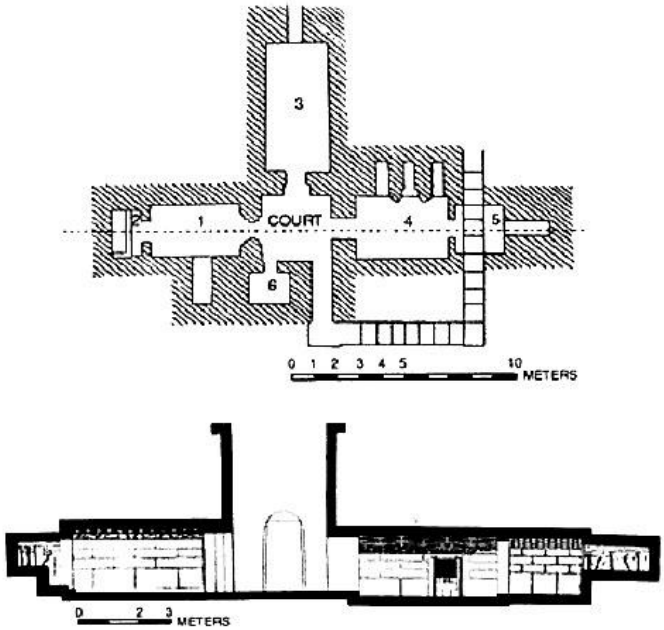


Fig. 21 Plan of Anfushi tomb V (Adriani 1966, pl.100, fig.379 and 381)

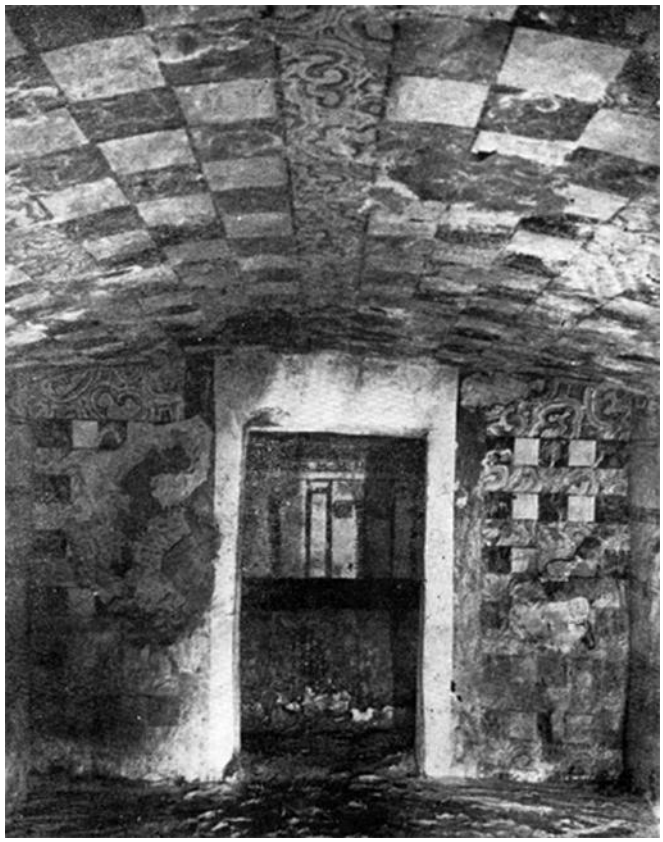


Fig. 22. Anfushi tomb V, room 1, towards room 2 (Adriani 1952c, pl.XL, fig.1)

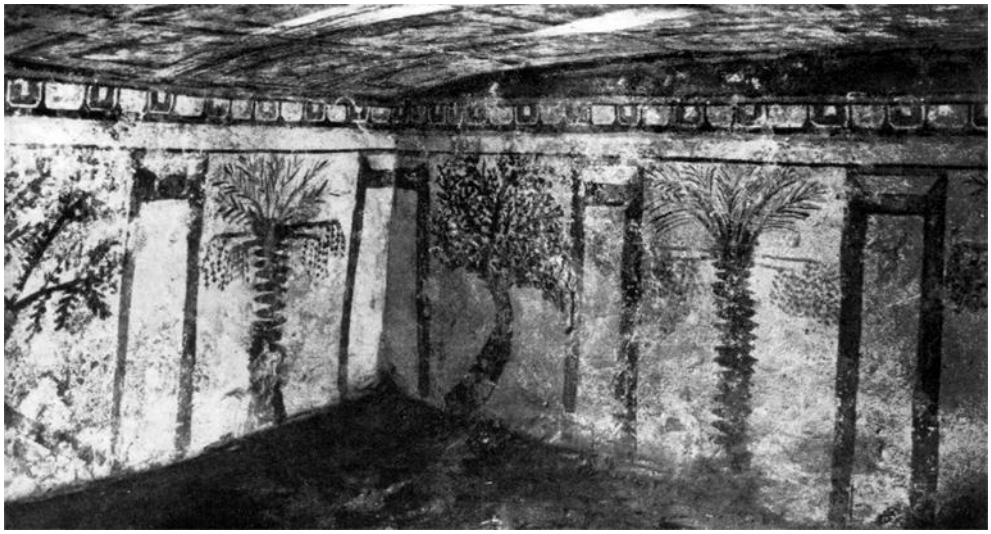


Fig. 23. Trees painted on the walls of Room 2 (Adriani 1952c, pl.XL, fig.2)

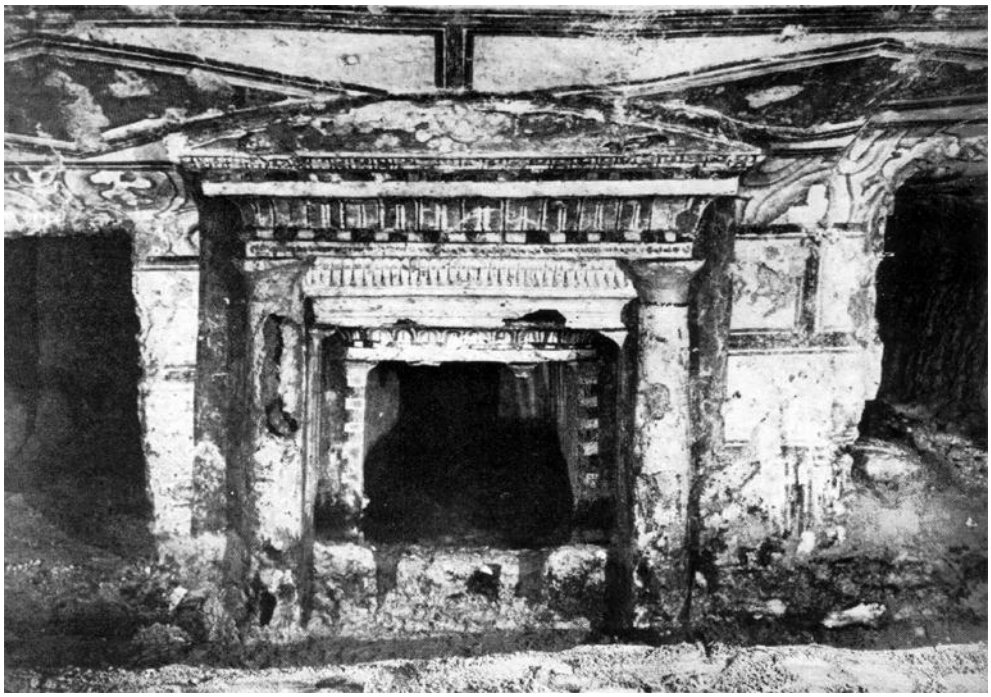


Fig. 24. Anfushi V, room 4: Naiskos style loculus slab originally closed
(Adriani 1952c, pl.XXXVIII, fig.2)

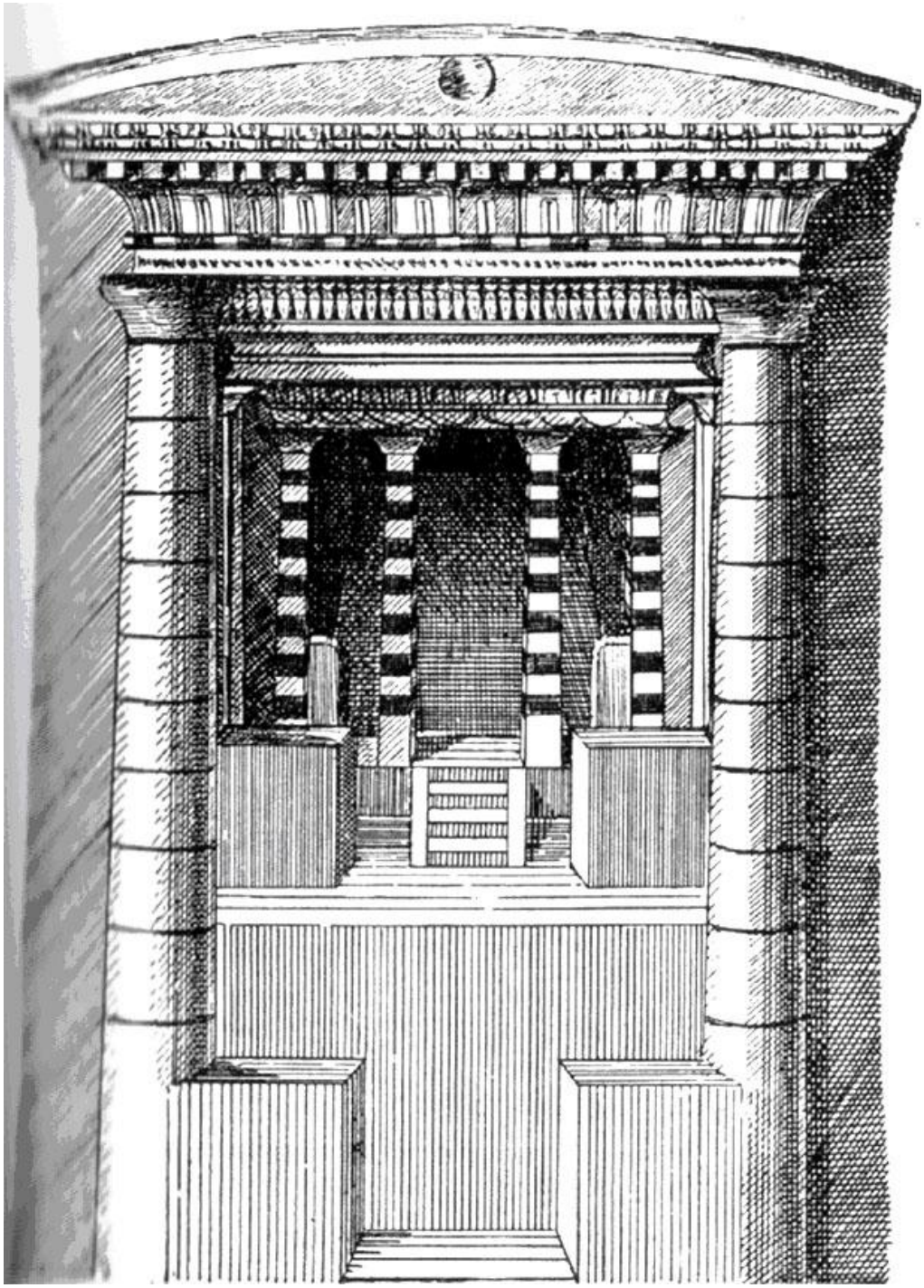


Fig. 25. Anfushi V, room 4: reconstruction of the Egyptian Naiskos style loculus slab (Adriani 1952c, 92, fig.54)

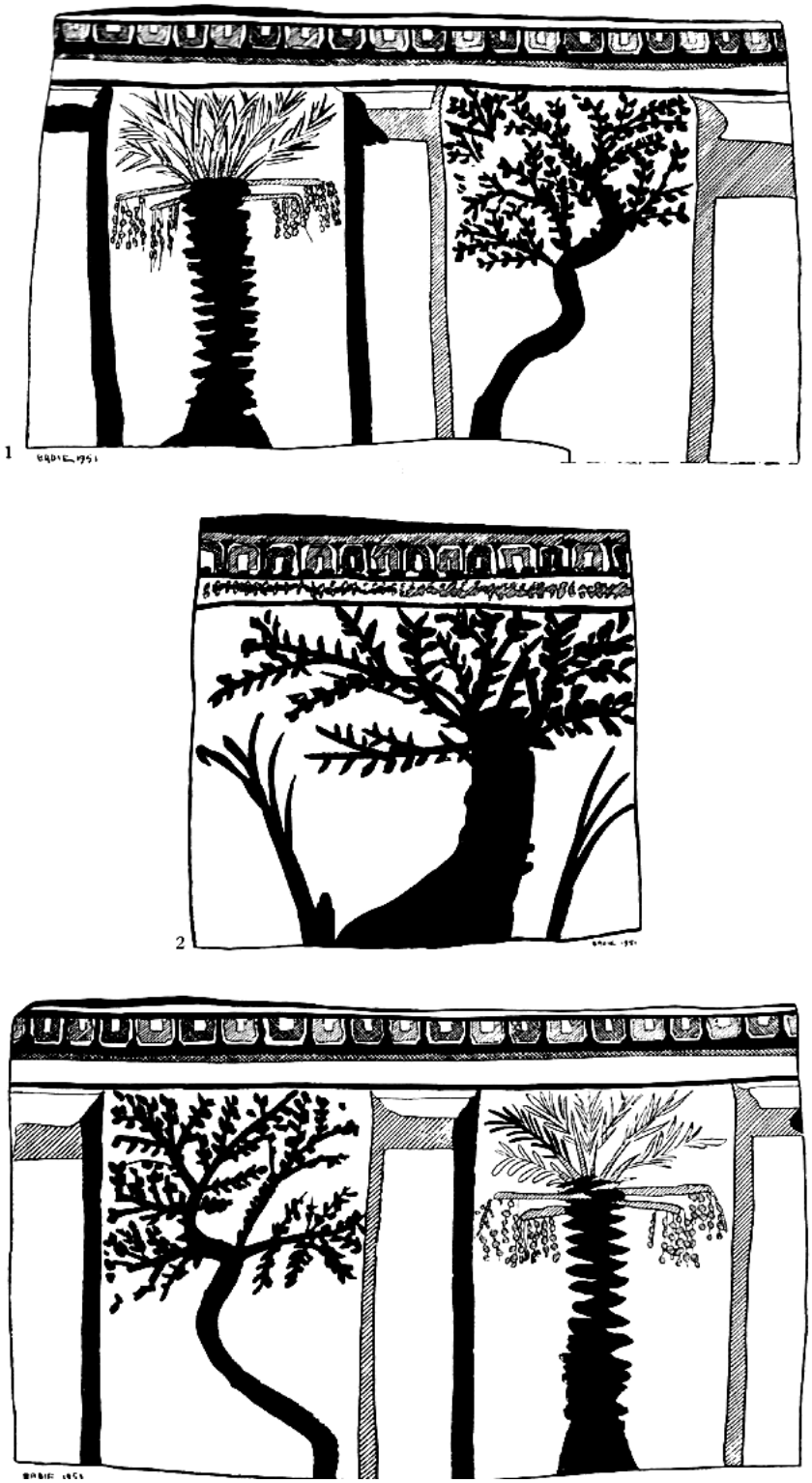


Fig. 26. Anfushi V: Reconstruction of the painted trees on the walls of room 2 (Adriani 1952c, pl.XLIV, fig.2)

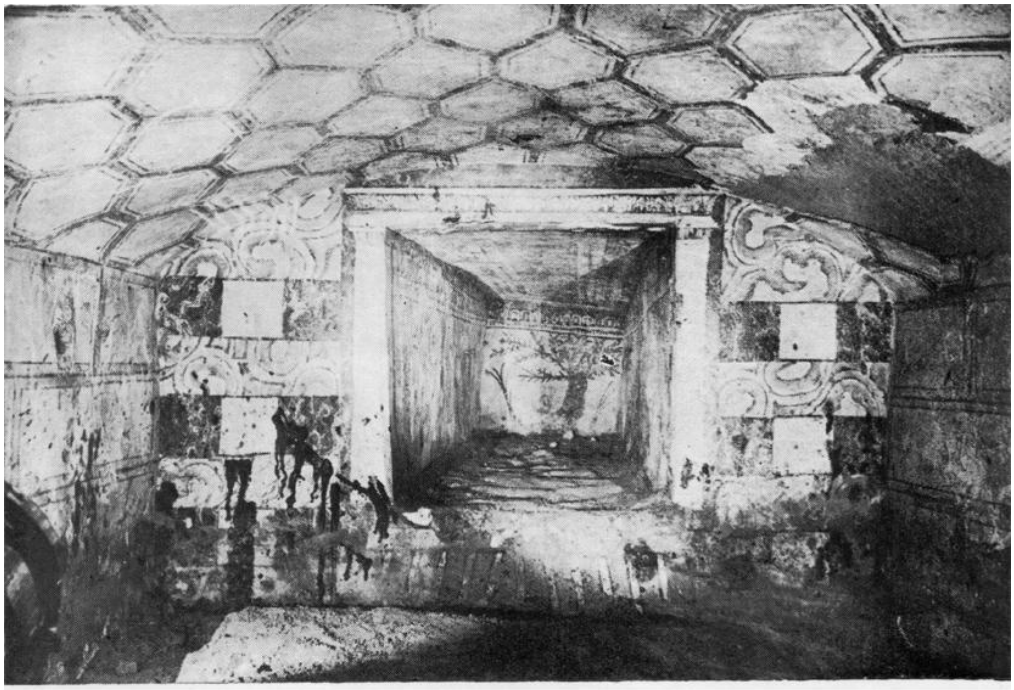


Fig. 27. Anfushi V: Room 5 towards the big loculus (Adriani 1952c, pl. XXXIX, fig.1)

Fig. 28. Anfushi V, room 5 (Adriani 1952c, pl.XXXIX, fig.2)

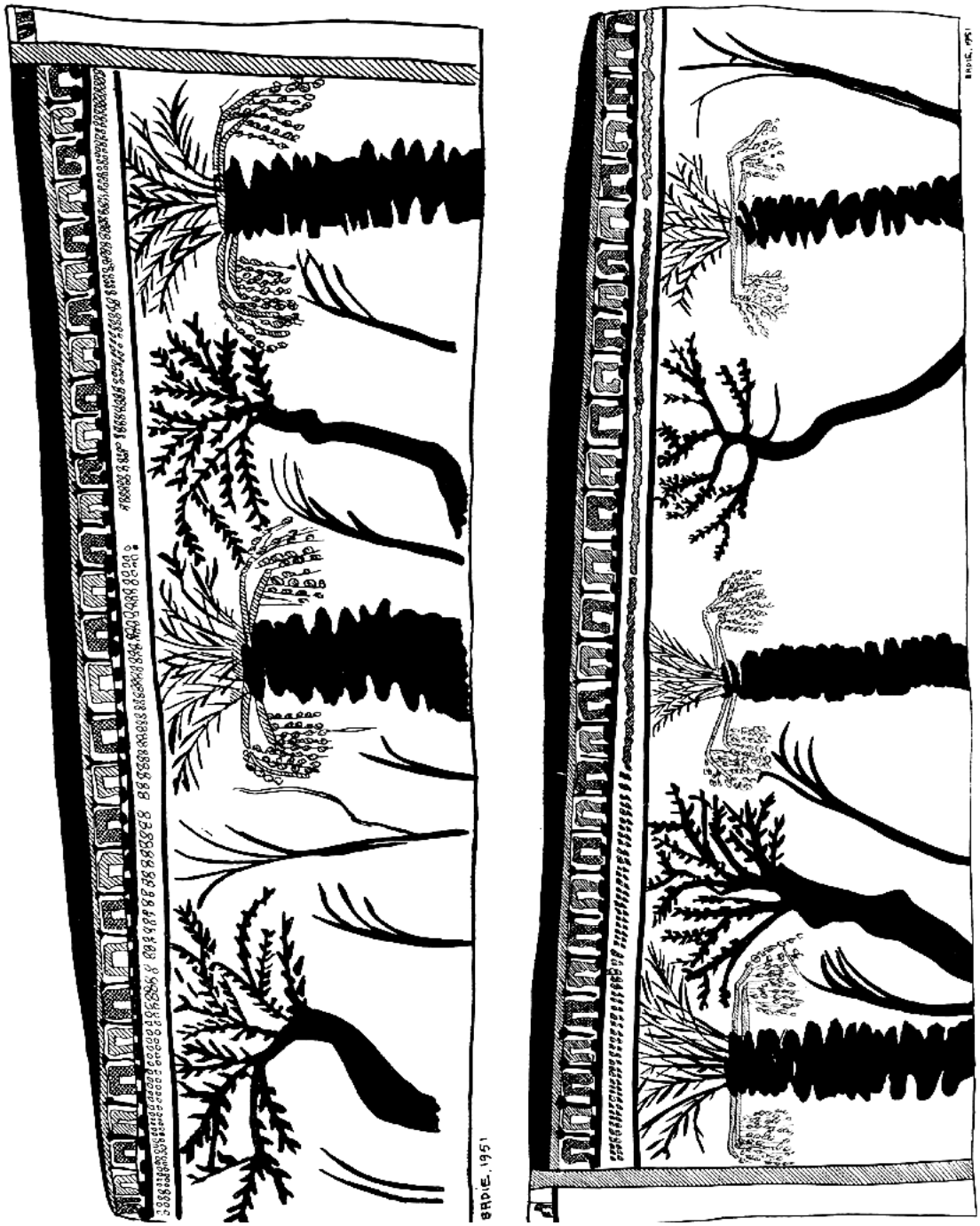


Fig. 29. Anfushi tomb V, Room 5: reconstruction of the wall decoration (Adriani 1952c, pl.XLV)

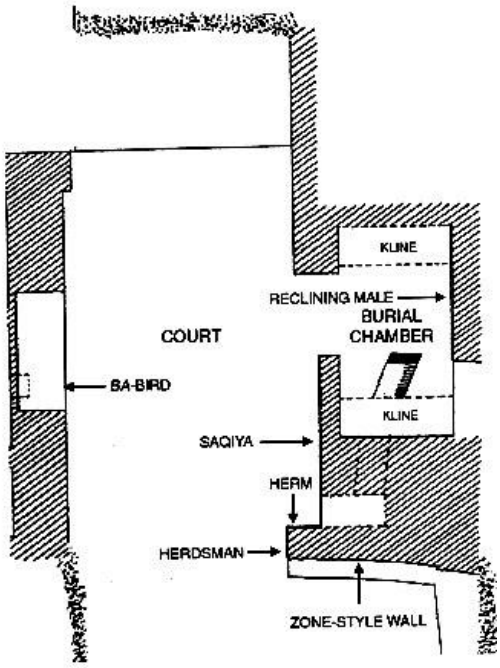


Fig. 30. Plan of Saqiya Tomb (Venit 2002, 102, fig 84)

Fig. 31. Saqiya Tomb: The Saqiya wall scene (Venit 2002, 102, fig 86)

Fig. 32. Saqiya Tomb: The ba bird and the altar on the sarcophagus (Venit 2002, 106, fig.91)

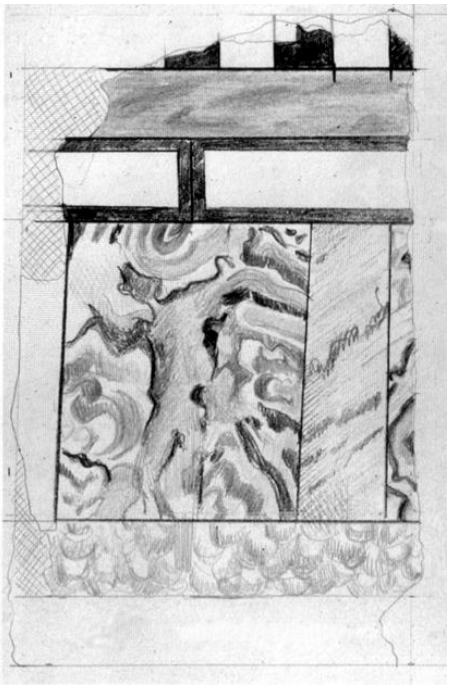


Fig. 33. Saqiya Tomb: reconstruction of the zone style wall (Venit 2002, 106, fig.90)

Fig. 34. Girghis Tomb: The back wall with the Egyptian style rock-cut naiskos (Adriani 1966, pl.75, fig.283)

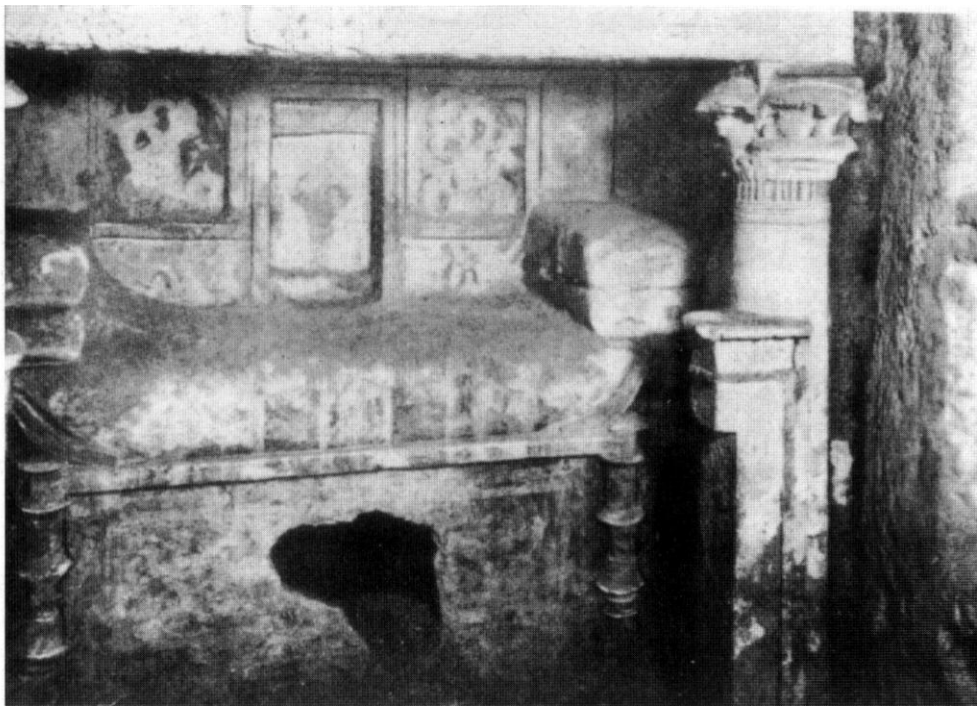


Fig. 35. The kline of Fort Saleh Tomb (Adriani 1966, pl.75, fig.249)

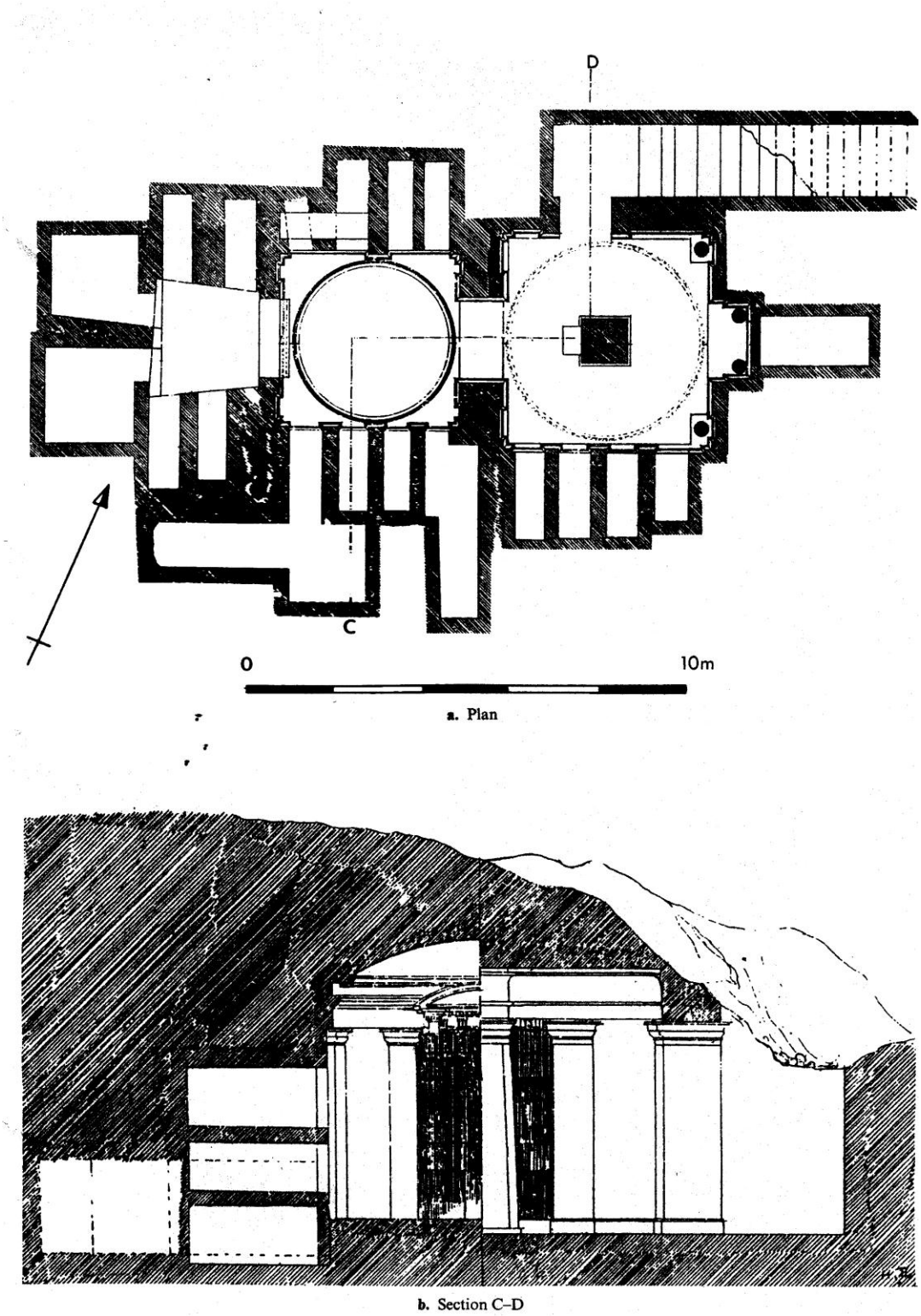


Fig. 36 (a and b). Plan and reconstruction of section C-D, towards the innermost chamber. (McKenzie 1989, pl.190)

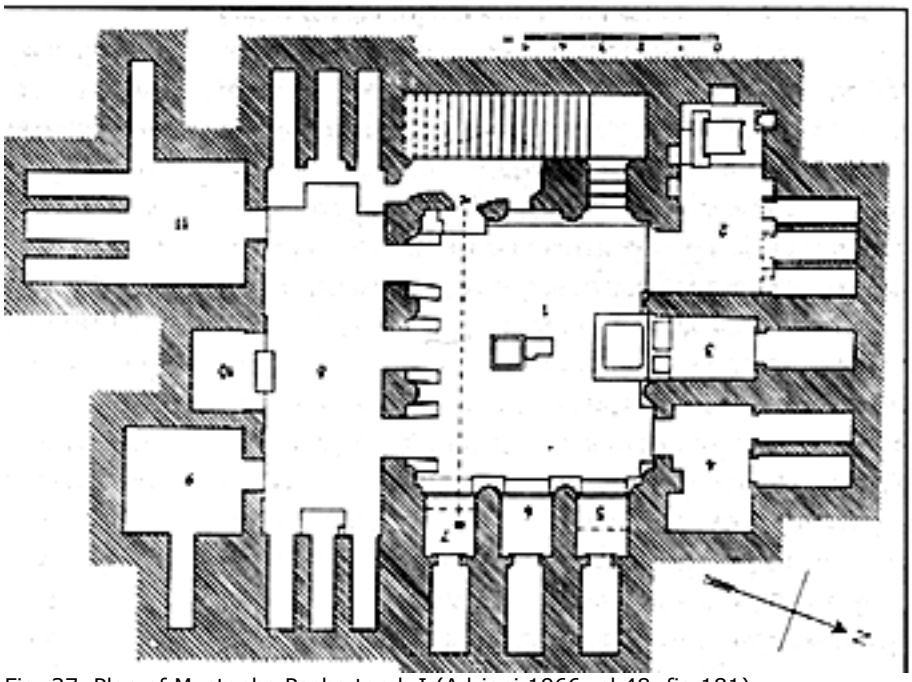


Fig. 37. Plan of Mustapha Pasha tomb I (Adriani 1966, pl.48, fig.181)

Fig. 38. Above ground view of the court of Mustapha pasha tomb I (Venit 2002, 52, fig.36)

Fig. 39. The south façade of Mustapha pasha tomb I

Fig. 40. Mustapha pasha I: The wall painting above the central door of the south façade (Brown 1957, pl.XXIV, 13)

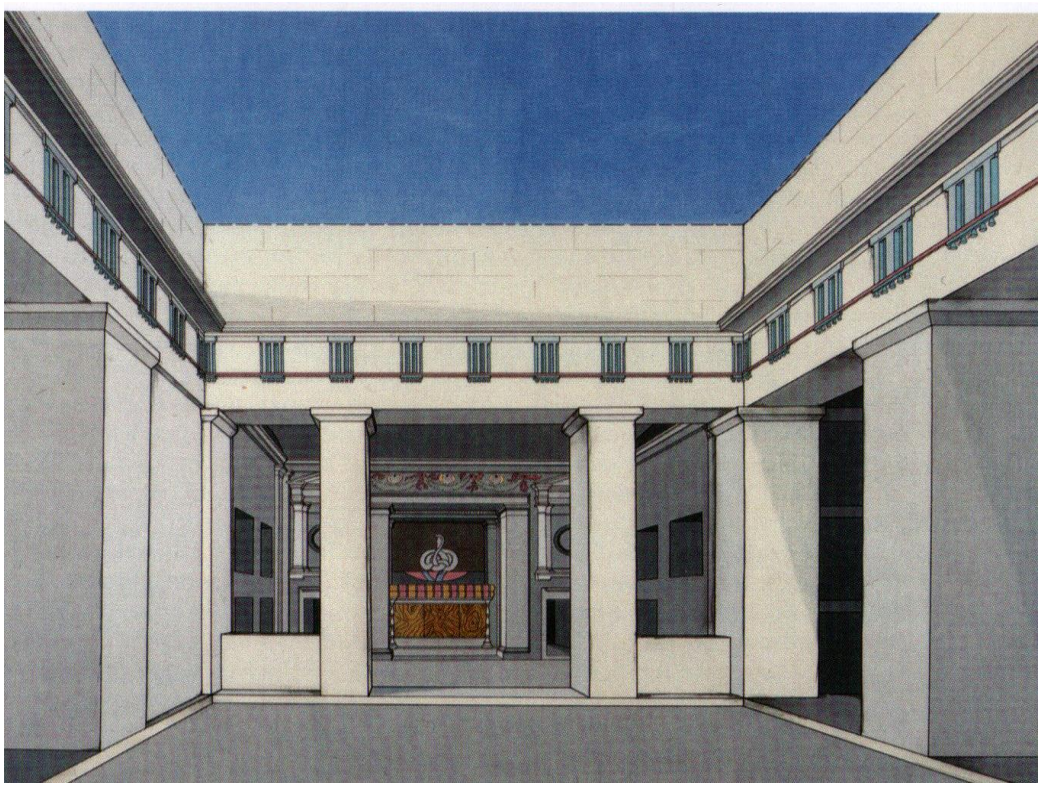


Fig. 41. Reconstruction of Antoniadis Gardens Tomb (Thiersh 1904, pl.VI)

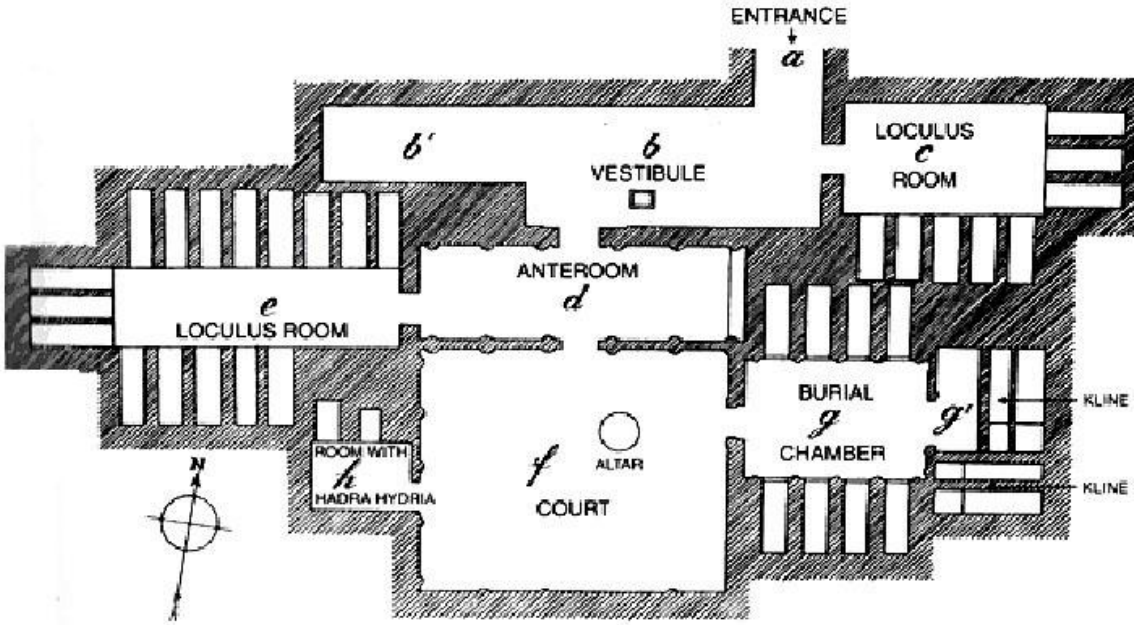


Fig. 42. Plan of Hypogeum A, Shatby (Adriani 1966, pl.44, fig.168)

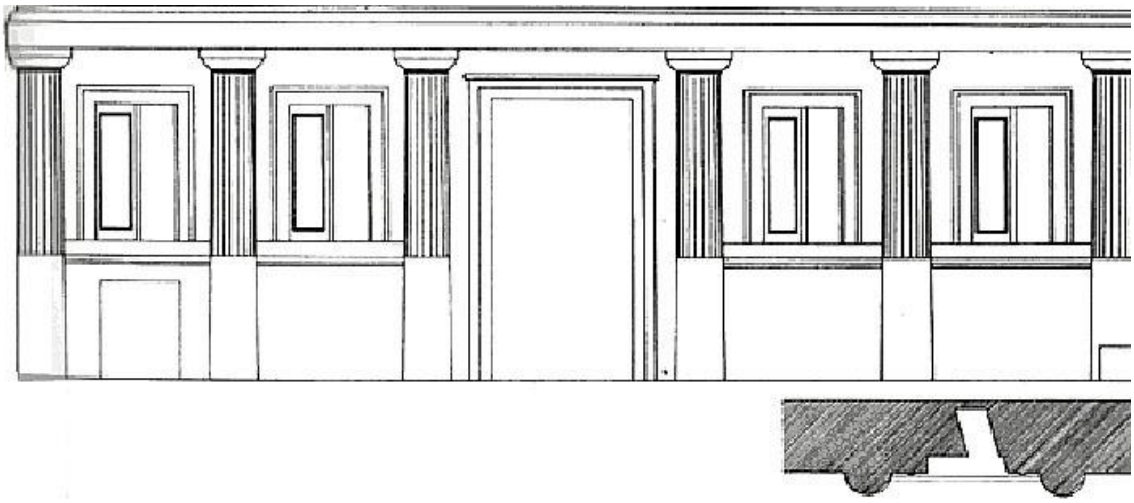


Fig. 43. Shatby, Hypogeum A: Reconstruction of the south wall of the anteroom (Adriani 1966, pl.45, Fig.171)

Fig. 44. Shatby, Hypogeum A upon excavation, looking north beyond the court at the anteroom (Breccia 1912b, pl.X)

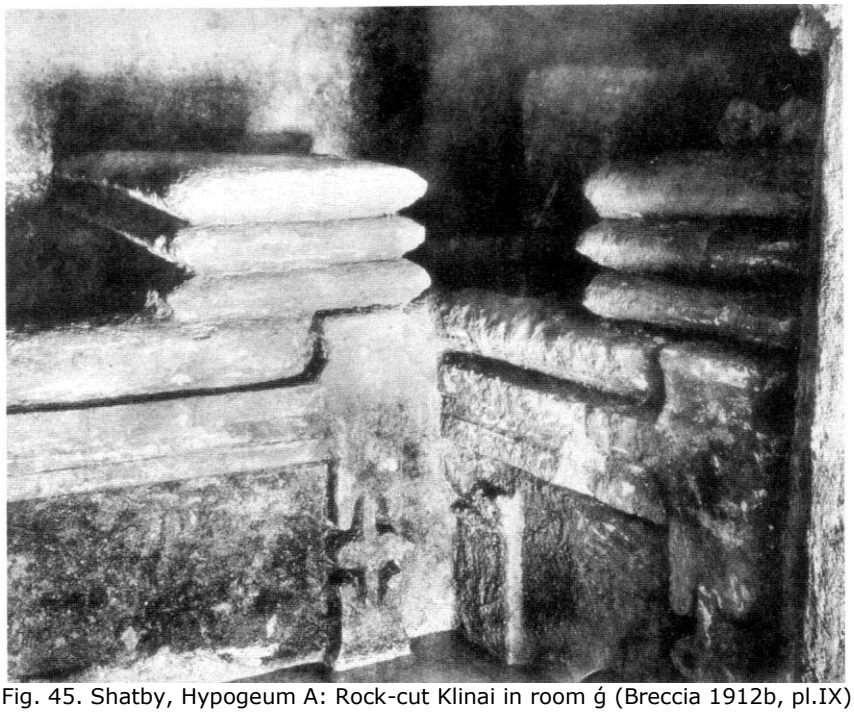


Fig. 45. Shatby, Hypogeum A: Rock-cut Klinai in room ǵ (Breccia 1912b, pl.IX)

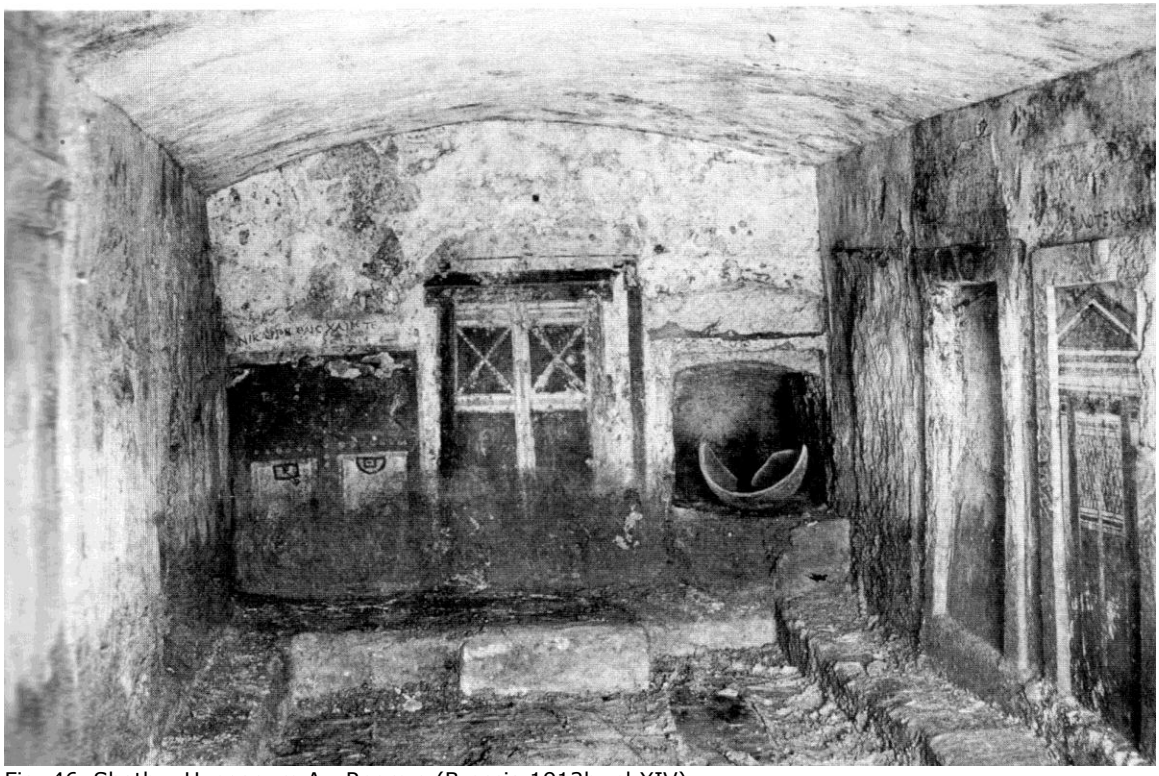


Fig. 46. Shatby, Hypogeum A: Room e (Breccia 1912b, pl.XIV)

2. ROMAN PERIOD

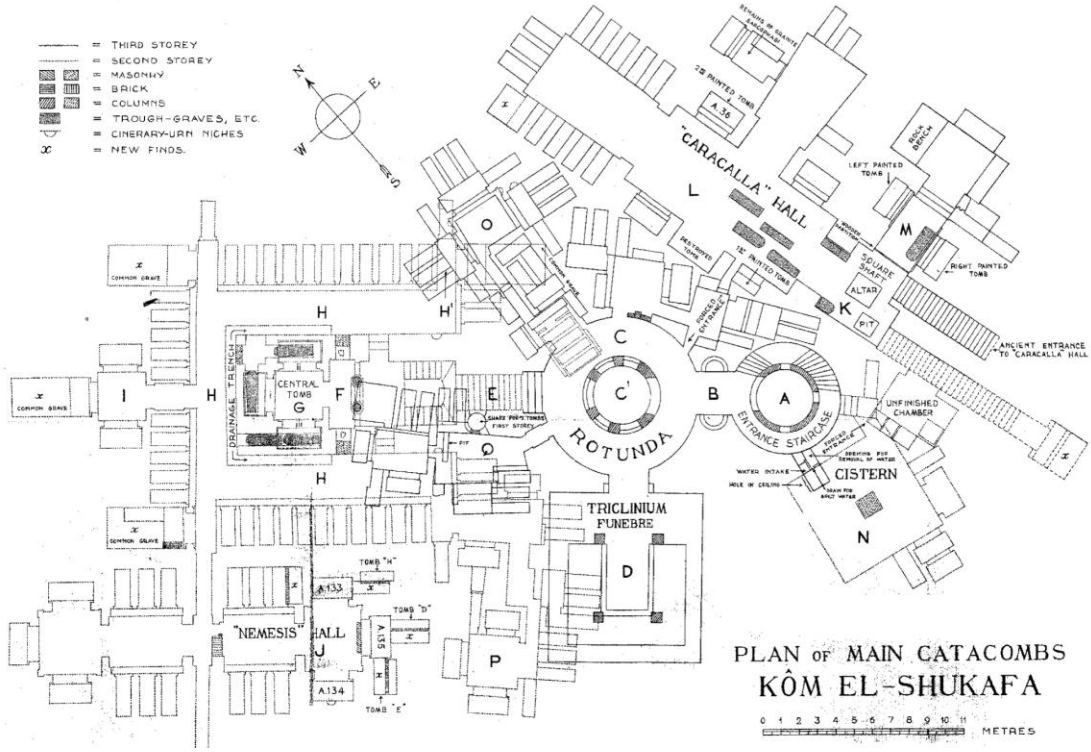


Fig. 47. Pland of Kom El Shoqafa and Hall of Caracalla catacombs (After Rowe 1942, pL.IV)

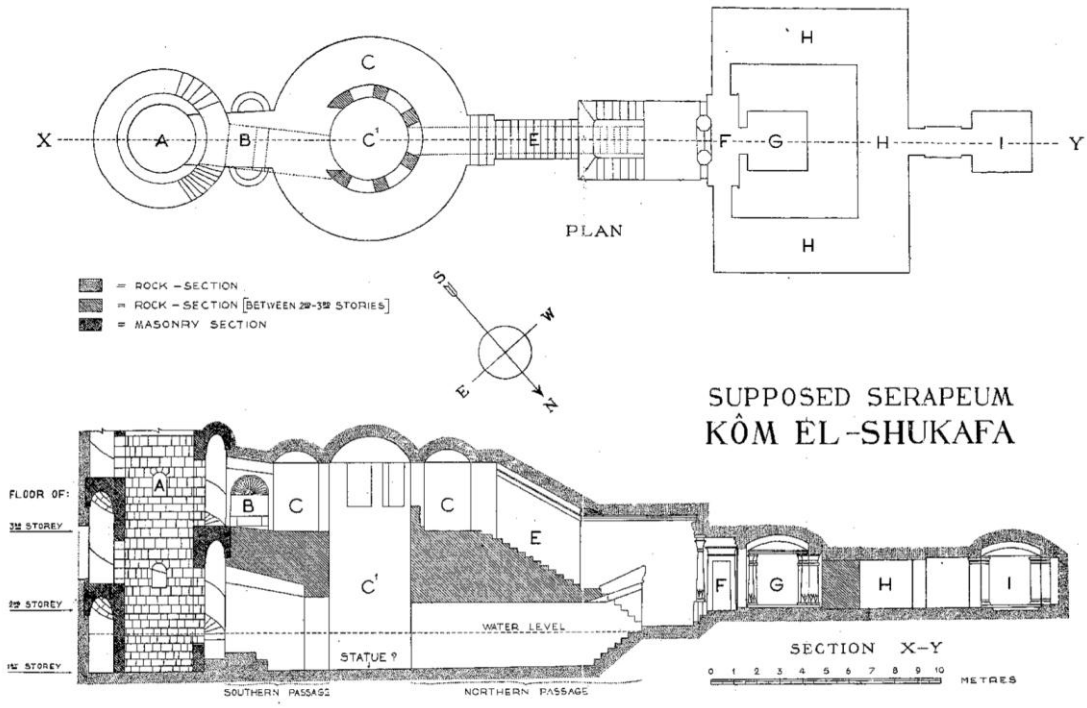


Fig. 48. Plan and section of the Main Tomb in Kom el Shoqafa.

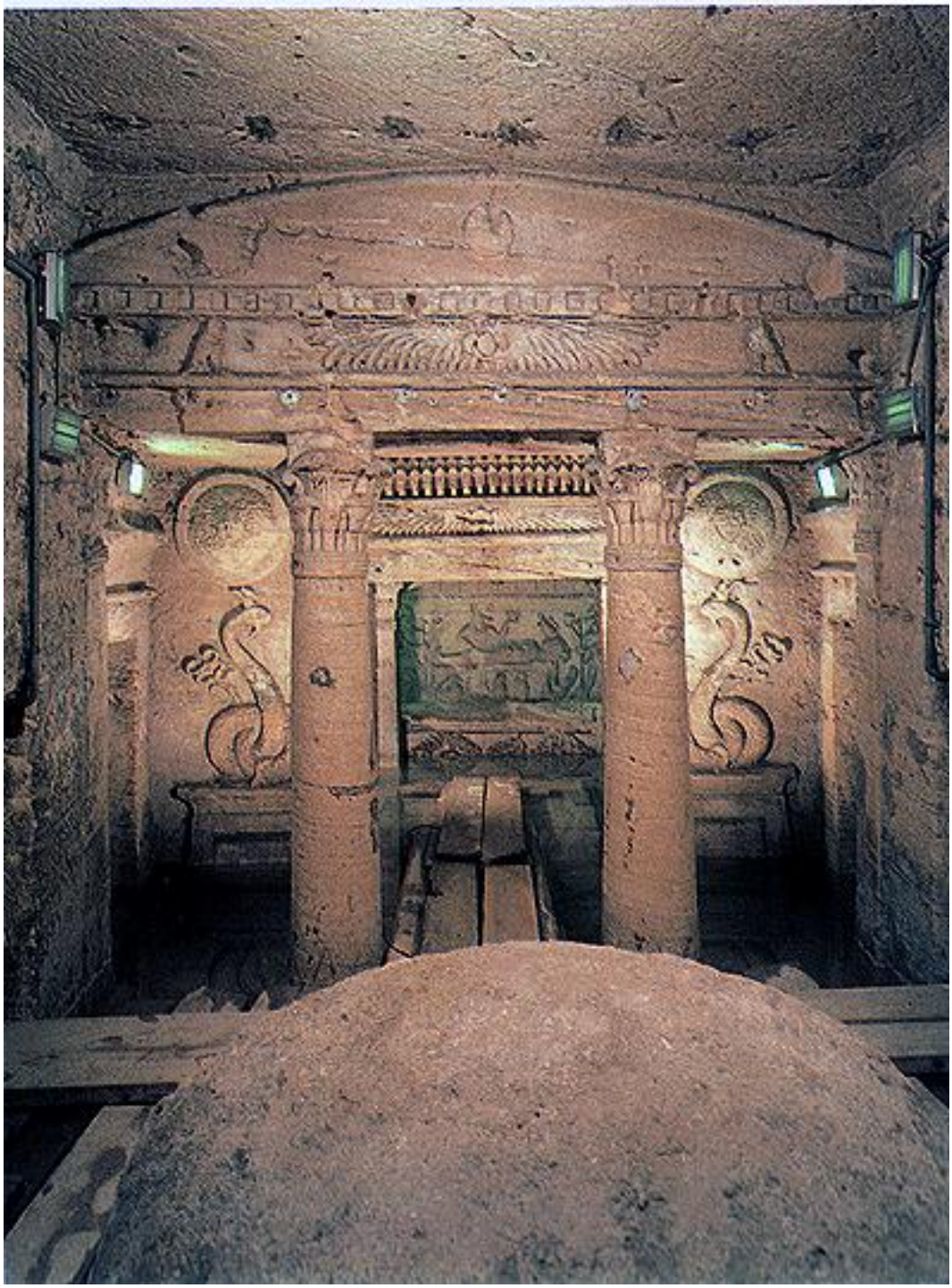


Fig. 49. Kom el Shoqafa: Façade of the Main Tomb (Empereur 1995, 6, fig.7)

Fig. 50. Female statue of the vestibule
(Empereur 1995, back cover)

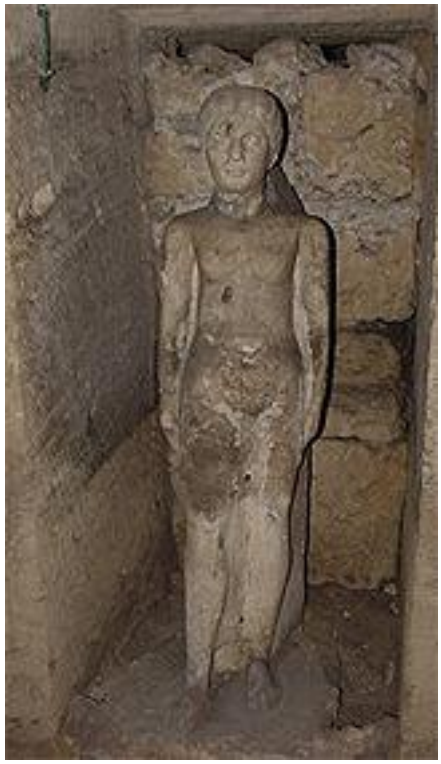


Fig. 51. Male statue of the vestibule
(Empereur 1995, back cover)

Fig. 52. Male statue in situ
(Empereur 1995, 9, fig.11)

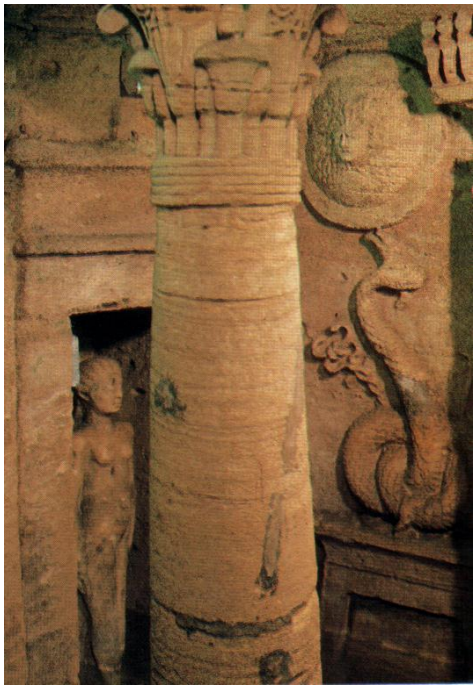


Fig. 53.Female statue in situ
(Empereur 1995, 8, fig.9)

Fig. 54. Kom el Shoqafa Main Tomb: Vestibule from the inner chamber, towards the entrance and the loculus opposite of the façade of the inner chamber(Empereur 1995, 14, fig.19)

Fig. 55.The Main Tomb: The central sarcophagus (Empereur 1995, 10, fig.12)

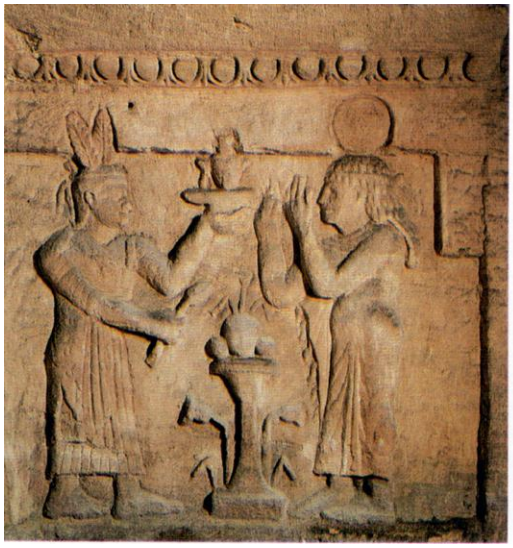


Fig. 56. Left wall of the central niche (Empereur 1995, 11, fig.14)

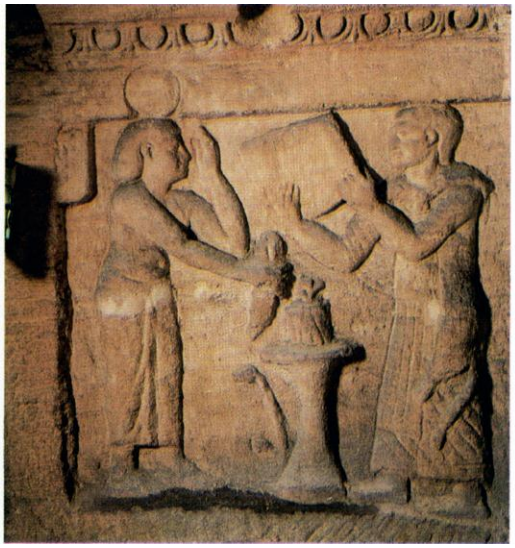


Fig. 57. Right wall of the central niche (Empereur 1995, 11, fig 13)

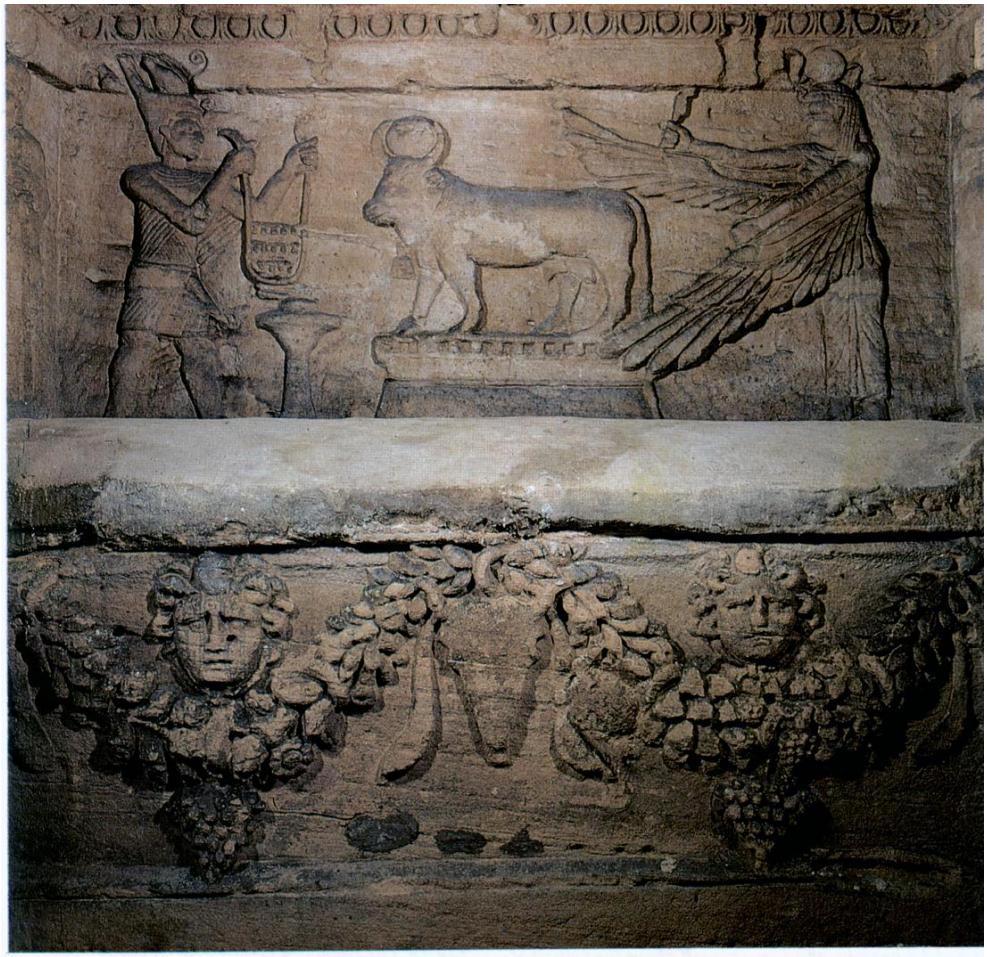


Fig. 58. The Main Tomb: One of the two identical lateral sarcophagoi (Empereur 1995, 12, fig, 15)

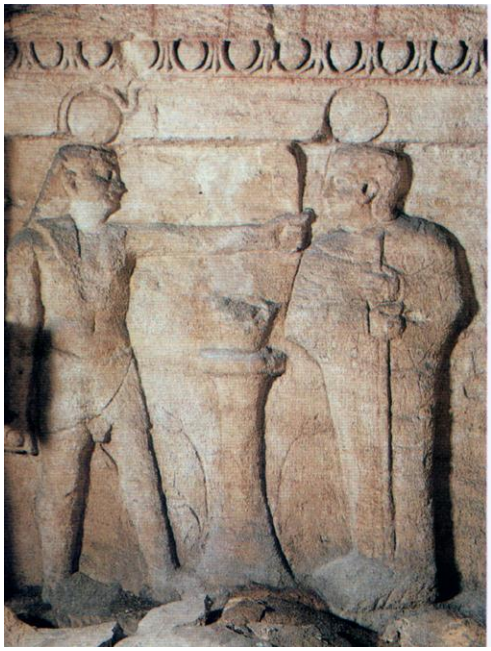


Fig. 59. Left wall of the right niche
(Empereur 1995, 13, fig 16)

Fig. 60. Right wall of the right niche
(Empereur 1995, 13, fig, 17)

Fig. 61. Left wall of the left niche
(Empereur 1995, 13, fig. 18)

Fig. 62. Right wall of the right niche
(Venit 2002, 141, fig.122)

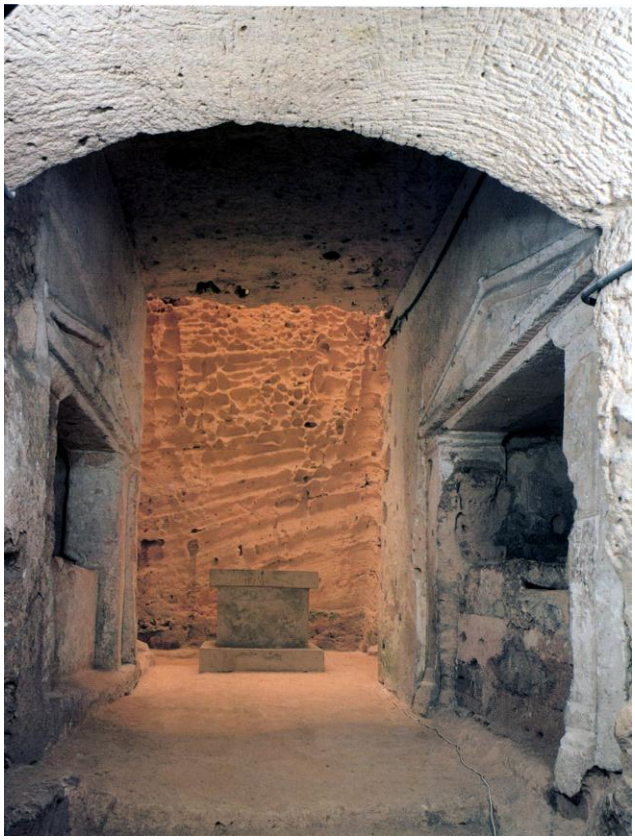


Fig. 63. Nebengrab: Two sarcophagoi that once bore painted decoration (Empereur 1995, fig.23)

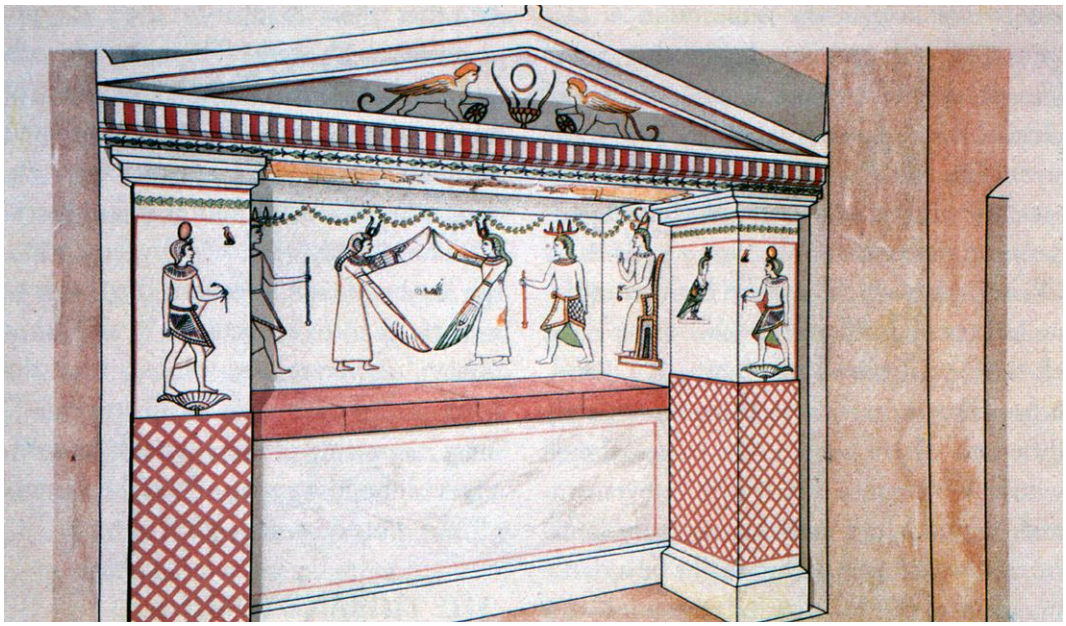


Fig. 64. Nebengrab Tomb h: Illustration (Schreiber, 1908, pl.LXII)

Fig. 65. Persephone Tomb I

Fig. 66. Sarcophagus of Persephone Tomb II

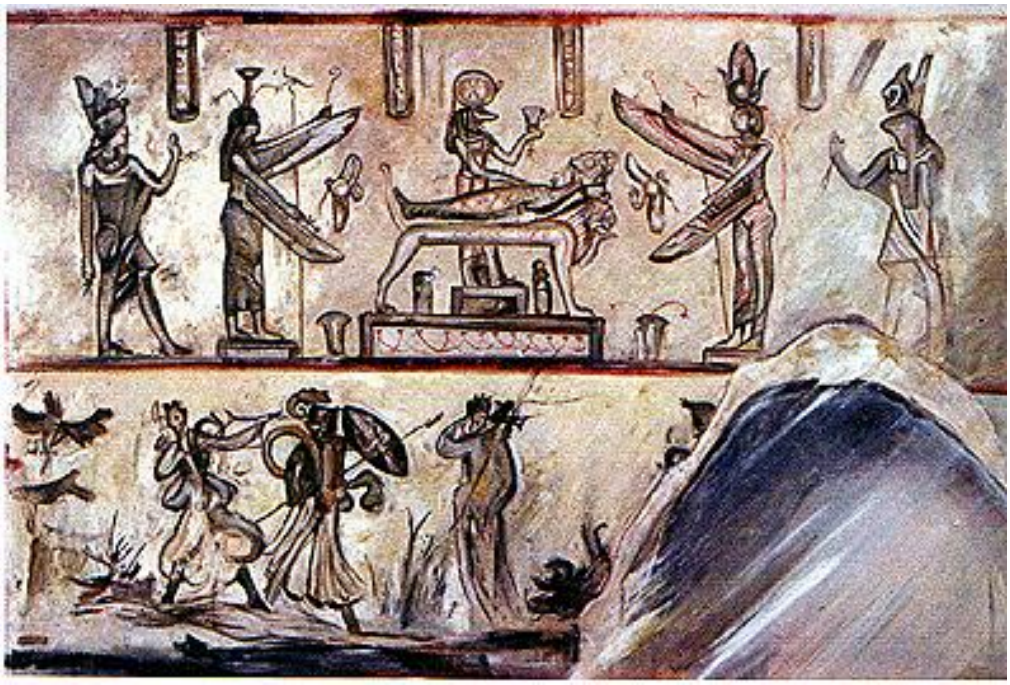


Fig. 67. Persephone Tomb I: reconstruction of the central painting on the backwall of the niche (Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2001, pl.XX, fig.1)

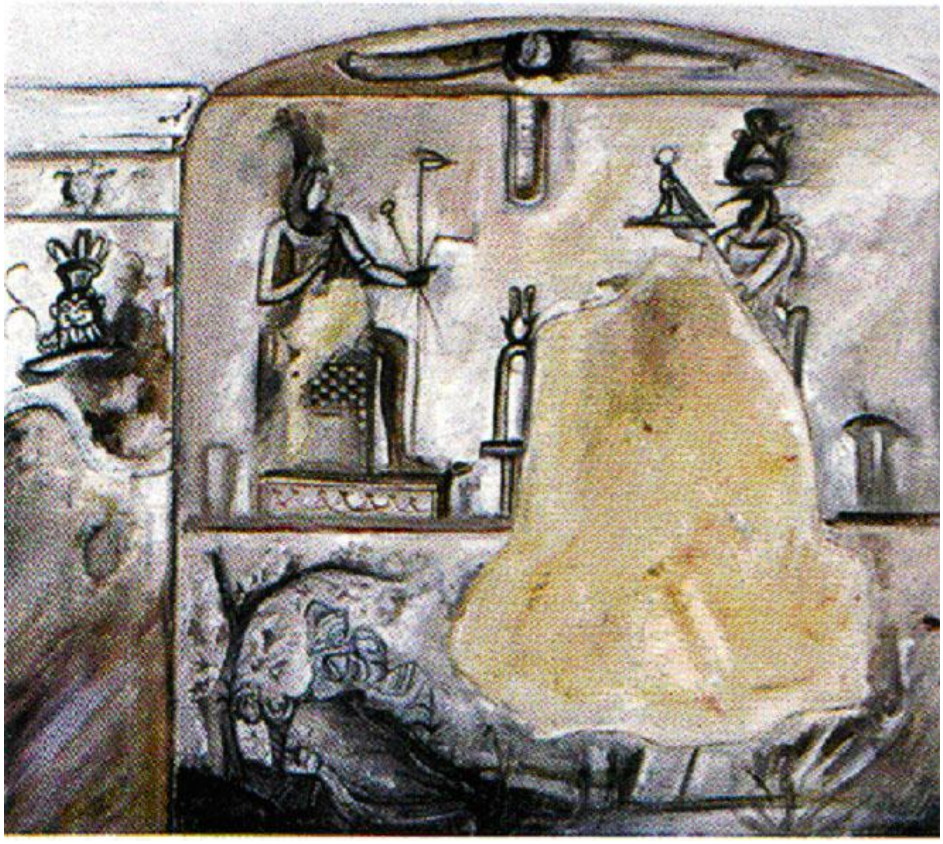


Fig. 68. Persephone Tomb I: reconstruction of the painting on the left lateral of the niche (Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2001, pl.XX, fig.2)

Fig. 69. Persephone Tomb I: reconstruction of the painting on the left lateral of the niche (Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2001, pl.XX, fig.3

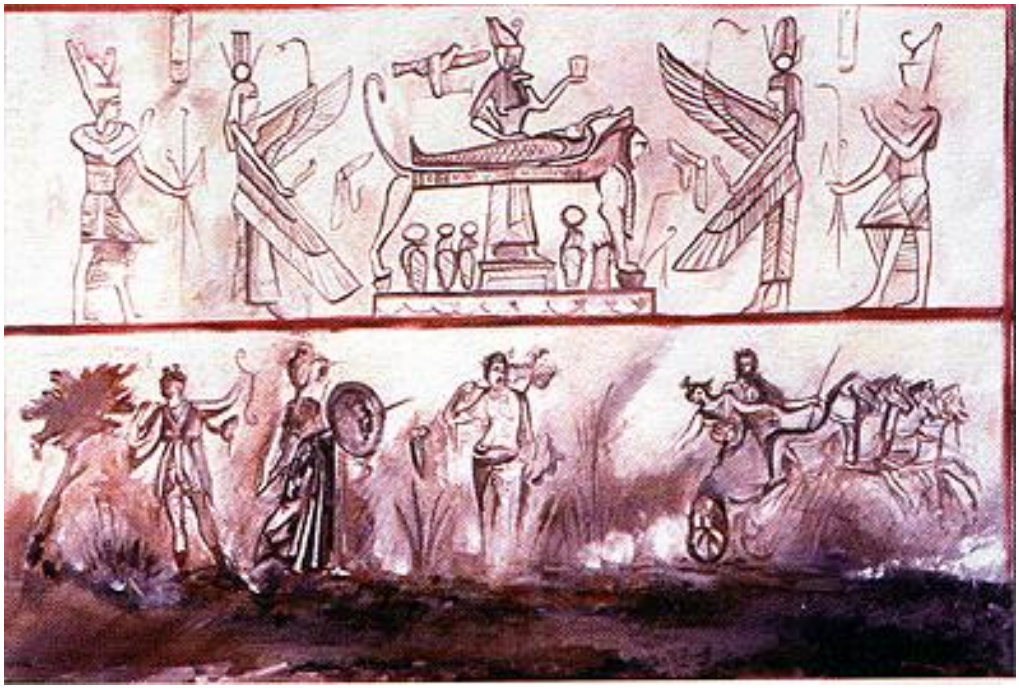


Fig. 70. Persephone Tomb II: reconstruction of the central painting on the backwall of the niche (Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2001, pl.XXI, fig.5)

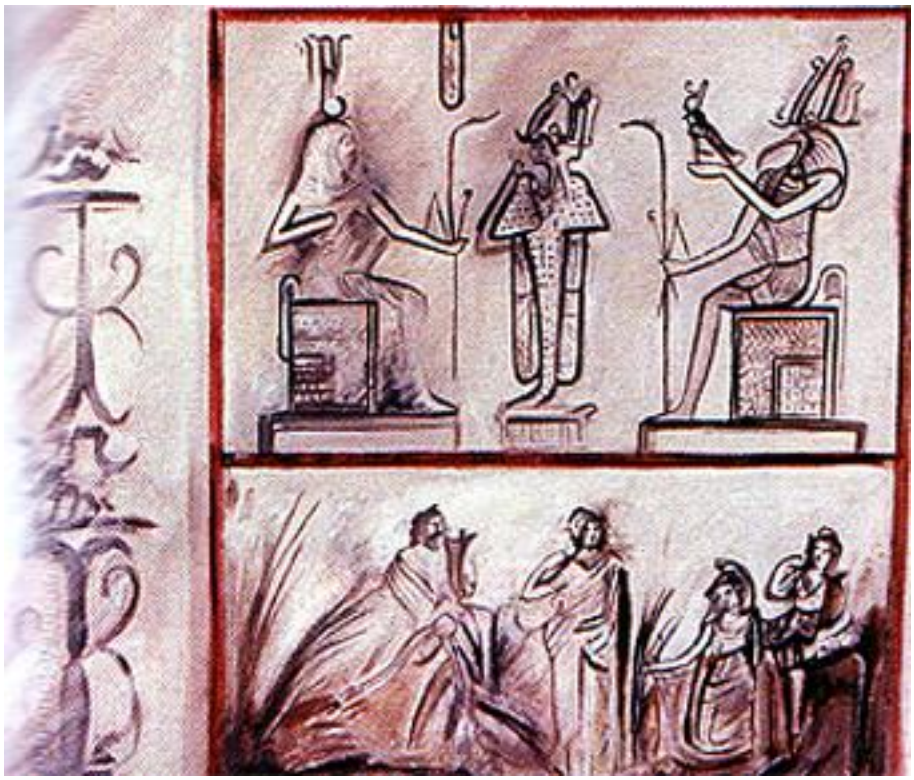


Fig. 71. Persephone Tomb II: reconstruction of the painting on the left lateral of the niche (Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2001, pl.XXI, fig.6)

Fig. 72. Persephone Tomb II: reconstruction of the painting on the left lateral of the niche (Guimier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 2001, pl.XXI, fig.7)

Fig. 73. Stagni Tomb (Empereur 1998, 187)

Fig. 74. Stagni Tomb: Nemesis sphinx on the frieze (Venit 2002, 161)

Fig. 75. Eros-Harpocrates on the left pier (Venit 2002, 162)

Fig. 76. Eros-Harpocrates on the right pier (Venit 2002, 162)

Fig. 77. Stagni Tomb: The martial Anubis from the lateral surface of the right-hand pier of the naos (Venit 2002, 144)

Fig. 78. Horus-falcons on the lateral surface of the right pier (Venit 2002, 162)

Fig. 79. Stagni Tomb: The niche on the back wall of the tomb (Venit 2002, 164)

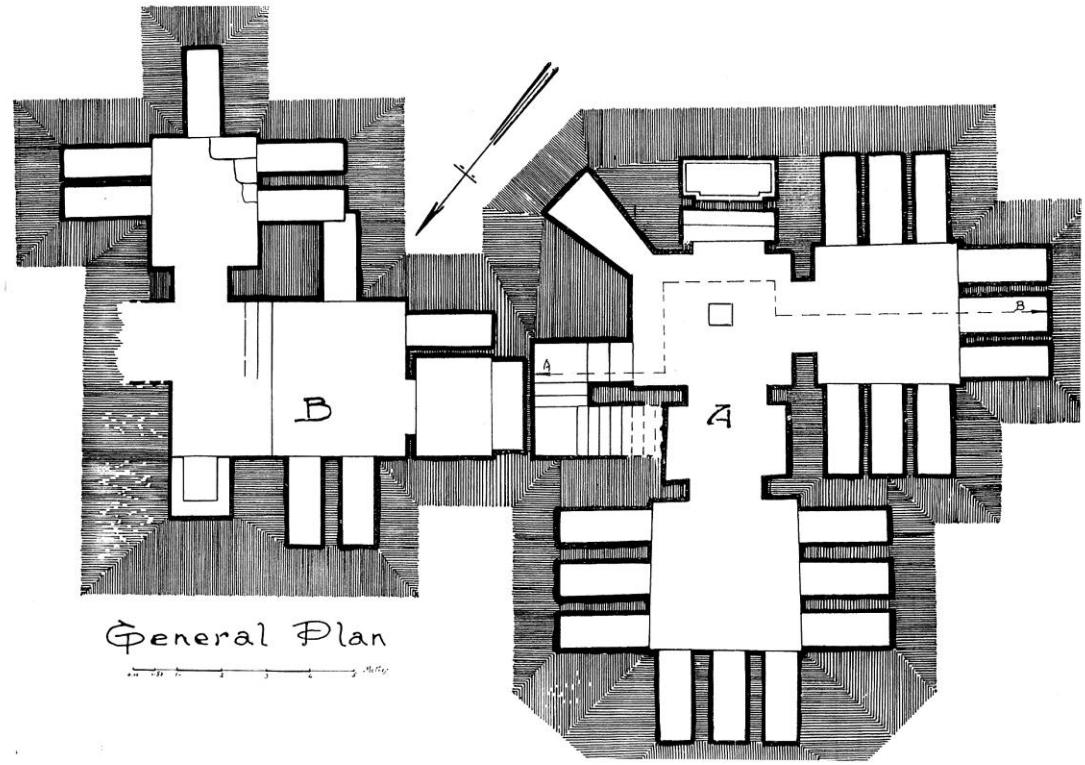
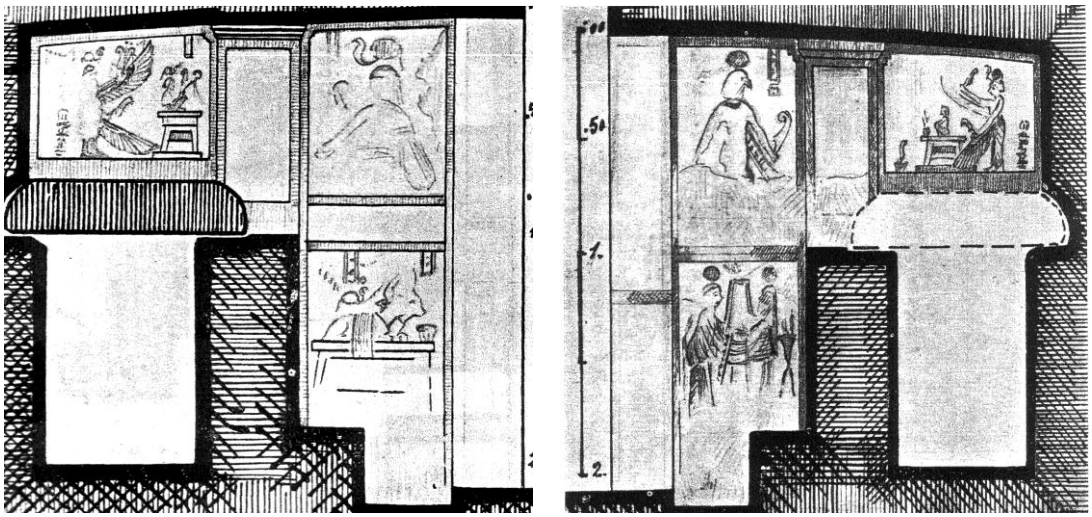
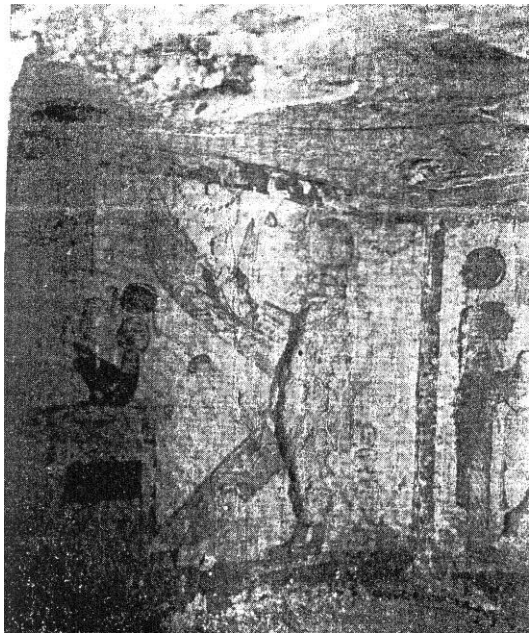
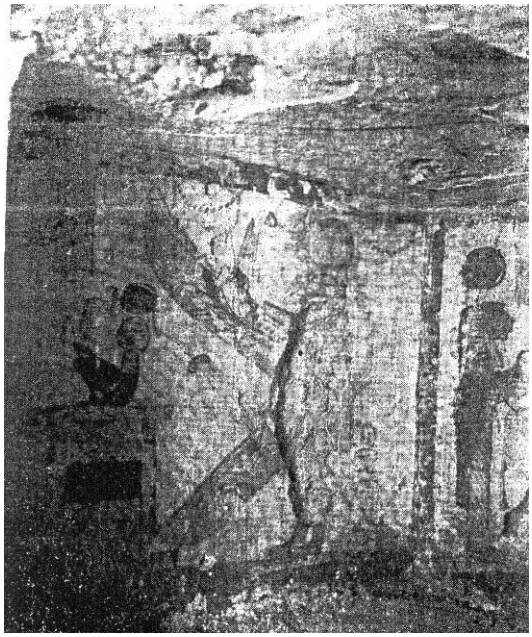


Fig. 80. Habachi Tombs plan (Habachi 1937, 285, fig.13)



Figs. 81 and 82. Habbachi Tomb A: Drawings of the right and left hand wall scenes respectively (Habachi 1937, 272-273 figs.2 and 3 respectively)





Figs. 83 and 84. Habbachi Tomb A: Inner parts of the right and left hand wall scenes respectively (Habachi 1937, 277, fig.5.A and B)

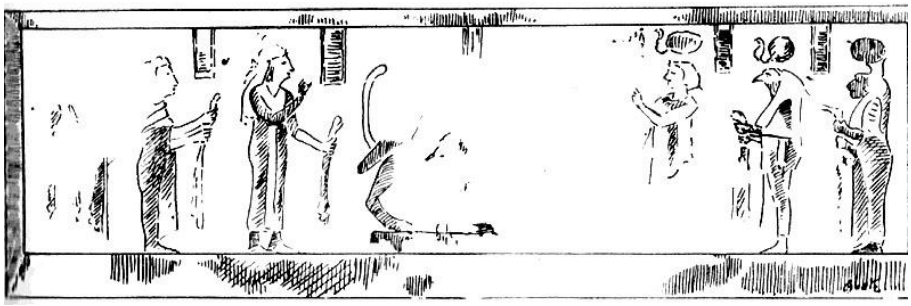


Fig. 85. Habbachi Tomb A: Drawing of the inner wall of the niche (Habachi 1937, 275, fig. 4a)

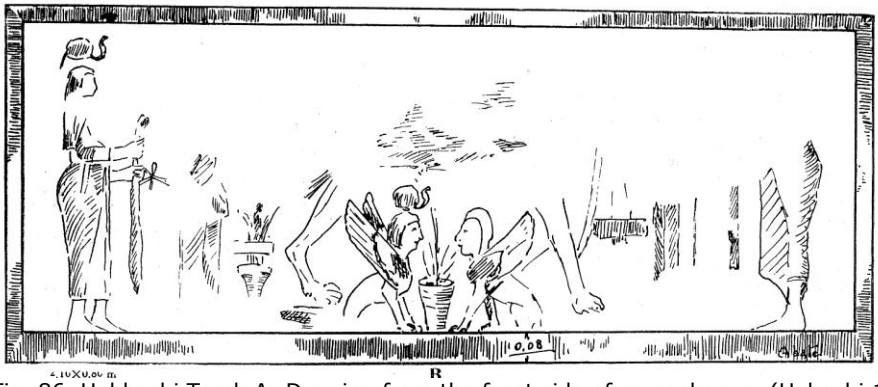


Fig. 86. Habbachi Tomb A: Drawing from the front side of sarcophagus (Habachi 1937, 275, fig 4b)

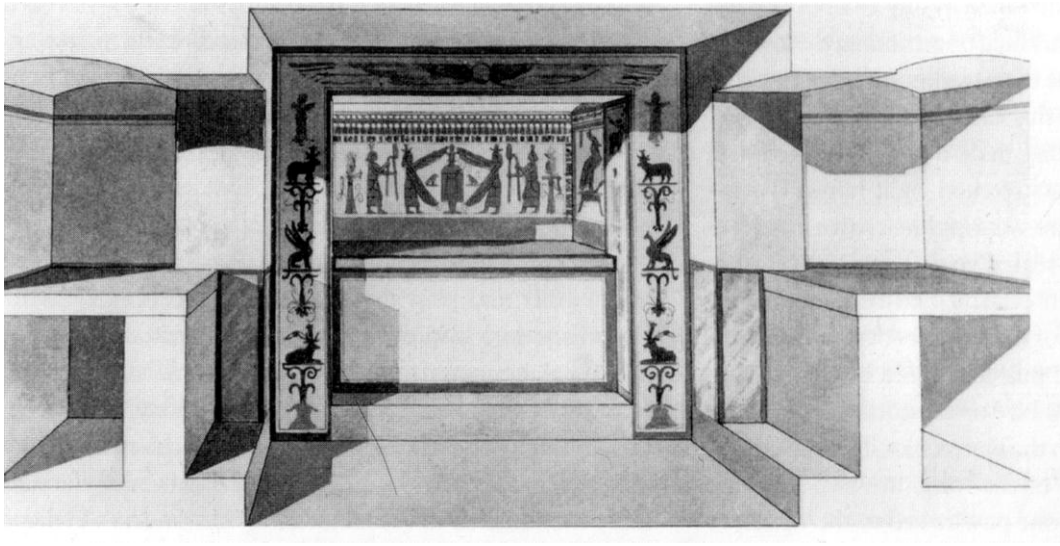


Fig. 87. Sieglin Tomb (Schreiber, 1908, vii, fig, 1)

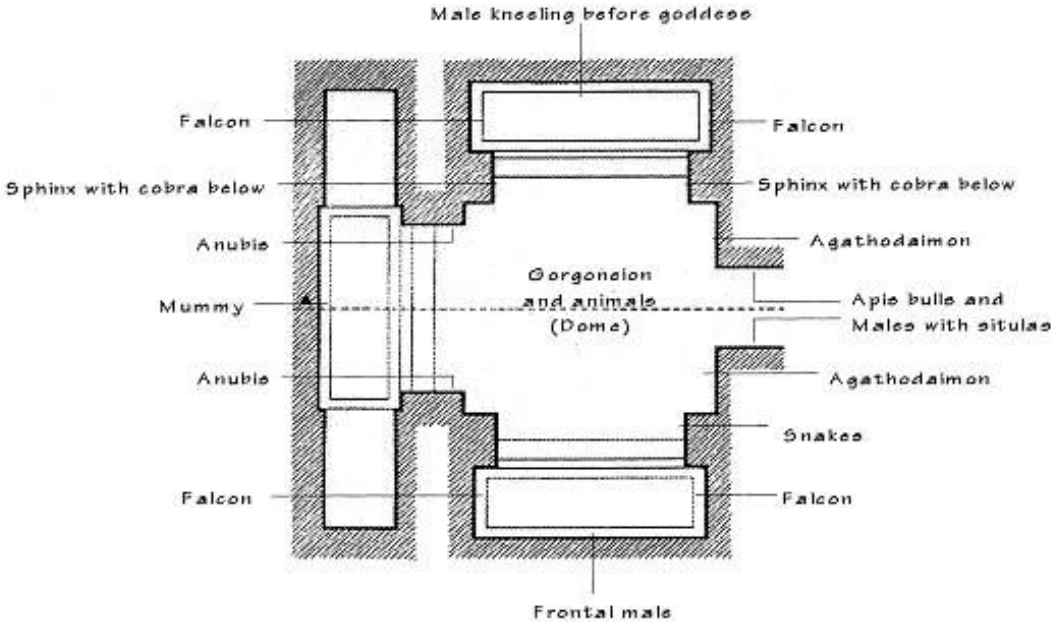


Fig. 88. Plan of Tigrane Tomb (Adriani 1966, pl.66, fig. 223)

Fig. 89. Tigrane Tomb: Male figure and Apis bull from the leftt wall of the entrance corridor
(Venit 1997, 709, fig. 2)

Fig. 90. Tigrane Tomb: Male figure from the right wall of the entrance corridor
(Venit 1997, 709, fig 3)

Fig. 91. Apis bull from the right wall of the entrance Corridor (Venit 1997, 709, fig. 4)

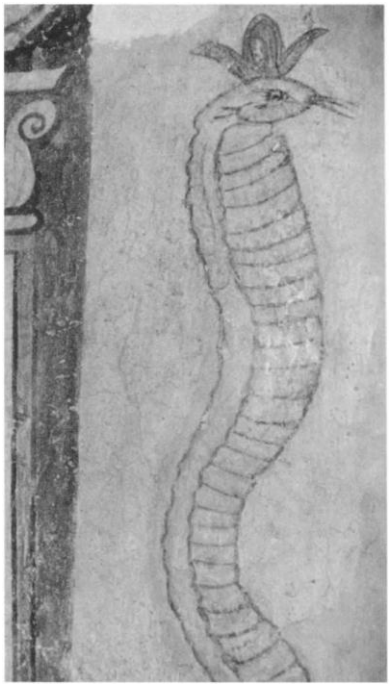


Fig. 92. Agathos Daimon from the right wall flanking door (Venit 1997, 710, fig, 5)

Fig. 93. Agathos Daimon from the left wall flanking door (Venit 1997, 710, fig, 6)

Fig. 94. Tigrane Pasha Tomb: painted scene above the central sarcophagus (Empereur 1995, 23, fig. 27)

Fig. 95. Anubis from the lateral face on the left pilaster of the central niche (Venit 1997, 713, fig. 9)

Fig. 96. Anubis from the lateral face of the right pilaster of the central niche (Venit 1997, 713, fig. 10)

Fig. 97. Tigrane Pasha Tomb: painted scene above the left hand sarcophagus(Empereur 1995, 24. fig. 28)

Fig. 98. Horus Falcon from the left wall of the central niche
(Venit 1997, 715, fig.13)

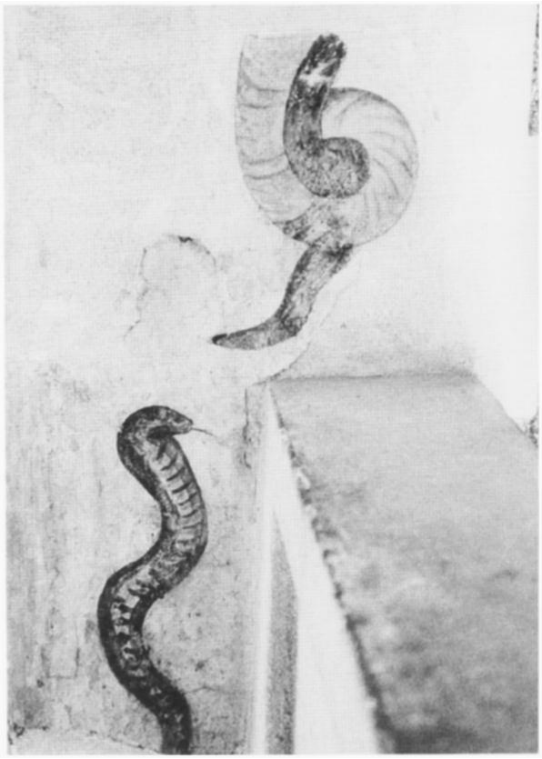


Fig. 99. Snakes from the lateral wall of left pilaster of left niche
(Venit 2002, 155, fig. 135)

Fig. 100. Painted scene above right hand sarcophagus (Venit 1997, 715, fig.13)

Fig. 101. Horus falcon from left wall of right niche (Venit 1997, 716, fig. 16)

Fig. 102. Horus falcon from right wall of right niche (Venit 1997, 716, fig. 17)

Figs. 103 and 104. Left pilaster and sphinx ofthe left lateral face and sphinx of the right right lateral face of the righ t niche (Venit 2002 128, fig.128 ; 1997, fig.18)

3. STATUARY[1]

The following part of the catalogue presents examples of monumental statuary with Egyptian elements. These elements concern either the form or the content, and thus the result could be an Egyptian, composite or Hellenised style statue. Sarapis has been included within the latter category, since the god has an Egyptian origin, as well as other cases of Greek style statues, such as priestesses of Isis, since they present subjects that have been associated with Egypt in their original cults.

In terms of chronology, the pieces have been divided into two main categories. The first one (A) concerns the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The second one (B) concerns pieces dating from the indigenous dynastic period, which were reinstalled in Alexandria during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and are widely known as Pharaonica. Finally it is necessary to note that these examples have been found across several areas of Alexandria, sometimes outside their original context. Therefore, they do not represent all the areas and periods of Alexandrian history equally, but are rather representative images of the different styles and contents that involve the Egyptian tradition in this specific type of material evidence during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

[1] Images that are not included in this catalogue are not available in any previous publication

3.1 Ptolemaic and Roman periods

1. Two monumental sphinxes with the face of a Ptolemaic ruler

Material: Red Granite
Dimensions: H. 2.06, L. 4.10 cm (east of pillar). H. 1.80 m, L. 3.0 m (east of pillar)
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria, Sarapeion, southeast and southwest of "Pompey's Pillar
Date: Third century BC[2]

West of Pillar East of Pillar

Both of the sphinxes wear a Nemes headdress decorated with a single Uraeus.

Bibliography: Breccia 1922, 102; Bothmer 1960, 168; Tkaczow 1993, no.11; Empereur 1998, 108-109; Rogge, 1999, 14; Ashton 2001, nos.1 and 2

2. Egyptian style sphinx

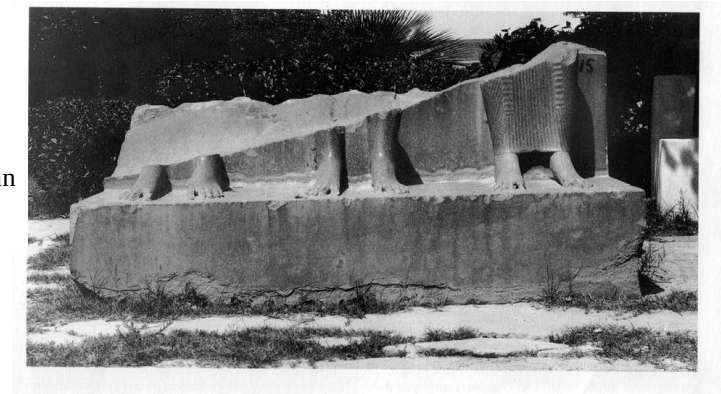
Material: Basalt
Dimensions: 57x 87 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria.
Greco-Roman museum 350
Date: Reign of Ptolemy II

Egyptian style sphinx, with the head tilted slightly forward, front paws crossed. It has been suggested that this statue would have originally been situated on the small dromos, leading to the early temple of Sarapis (Ashton, 2004, 22)

Bibliography: Breccia 1914, 165, fig.42; 1922, 143, fig.56; Tkaczow 1993, no.11A; Ashton 2004, 22

[2] Various dates have been suggested for these Sphinxes. Bothmer (1960, p.148) suggested that they belong to the reign of Ptolemy IV. In contrast, Empereur identified them as Ramses II (1998a, p.108). Finally, Ashton, suggested that they belong to the reigns of Ptolemies I and II (2001, p.21).

3. Fragmentary Basalt triad.
Material: Black Granite
Dimensions: H. 0.78 m,
Diam. 1.77 x1.28 m
Provenance: Anfushi
Location :Alexandria, Greco-Roman museum 11261 (Sarapeion, in situ)
Date: Reign of Ptolemy II



Only the feet remain. From what remains, it is likely that two males and one female are depicted. When the group was discovered, it was believed that it belonged to Ptolemy II, Arsinoe II and their sister Philoteira. However, there is no evidence for a second female figure and it would generally be a more acceptable case if the triad would have belonged to the Royal couple and Ammon (Sauneron 1960, 84; Quaegebeur 1998, 84). An Egyptian crown of Ammon, which was also discovered in Anfushi, reused as masonry infill, may be linked to this piece (Tkaczow 1993, 184-185).

Bibliography: Botti 1902a, 95; Gauthier 1916, 237, no.53; Porter and Moss 1969, 4, 1934, 6; Bothmer 1960, xxxi, 122; Sauneron 1960; Quaegebeur 1971, 210, no.6; Tkaczow 1993, no.2; Capriotti Vittozzi 1998, 55-56, fig.1; Quaegebeur 1998, 75; 85, no.1; Yoyotte 1998, 209-210; Albersmeier 2002, no.8; Stanwick 2002, no.A10

4. Statue base of Arsinoe II, dedicated by Thestor, son of Satyros
Material: Green Basalt
Dimension: H. 56, L. 82 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria, Sarapeion, in situ (missing?)
Date: 3rd century BC

This inscribed base belongs to a statue that must have been executed in Egyptian or mixed style (Tkaczow 1993, 200, no.37).

Bibliography: Botti 1897, 97-100; 125-126; Breccia 1914, 101; 1922, 116, Adriani 1965, 97, no.32; Bernard 1982, no.32; Tkaczow 1993, no.37

5. Fragment of a large female statue
Material: Aswan granite
Dimension: H. 110 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria, Greco-Roman museum 14941
Date: 3rd century BC

The statue is preserved from the knees down. It belongs to a specific type of royal representation, in which the Queens wear a knotted garment, indicated here by the central fold. It may belong to Arsinoe II (Ashton 2001, 22). Albersmaier dates the statue to the second half of the 2nd century – 1st century BC.

Bibliography: Botti 1897, 110; 125; 1898, 186; 1900, IV, 182; Breccia 1914, 186; 1922, 169; Tkaczow 1993, no.7; Ashton 2001, no.69; Albersmeier 2002, 10

6. Statue Base of Demokles or Delokles
Material: Grey Granite
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria, Greco-Roman museum P.9025

The base contains a Greek dedication to Sarapis and Isis. It was found together with a statue base of Sarapis or Harpocrates.

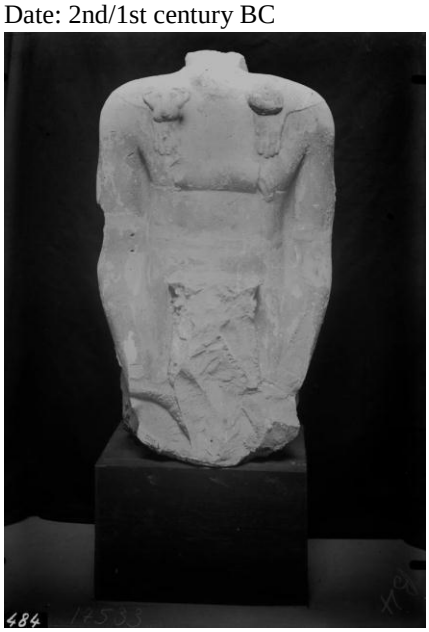
Bibliography: Rowe 1946, no.35; Wace 1944, no.2; Tkaczow 1993, no.36

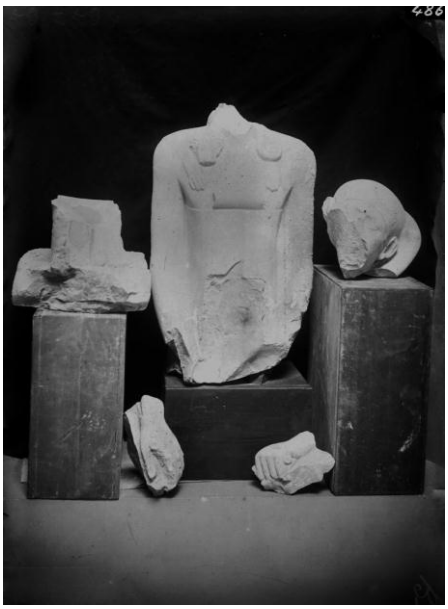
7. Statue base
Material: Aswan granite
Dimension: 42 x 75 x 108 cm
Provenance: Centre, Rosetta Gate
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 54
Date: 200 BC

The statues of this base was erected in honour of Ptolemy IV, Arsinoe III and Ptolemy V by the chiefs of the palace guard, and it was possibly executed in Egyptian style, as all the rest Ptolemaic statues of Alexandria, executed in granite (Tkaczow 1993, no.42).

Bibliography: Botti 1902a, 94-95; Breccia 1911, 31 (54); 1914, 87; 1922, 101; Adriani 1934, no.91, Tkaczow 1993, no.42

8. Pair of statues of priest Psenptah
Material: Yellowish limestone
Dimension: H. 65 and 64 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria, Greco-Roman museum 17533, 17534
Date: 2nd/1st century BC


17533


17534

Fragmentary statues of Psenptah, depicting him standing with a small naos held in his hand before him. The priest was dressed in a leopard skin and a cap on his clean-shaven head.

Bibliography: Breccia 1907, 64-66; 1914, 167; 1922, 144; Porter and Moss, IV, 1934, 3; Quaegebeur 1980, 53-59; 68; 77-78; Reymond 1981, 27-30; 105-112, no.15; Maystre 1992, 404-406, no.108; Tkaczow 1993, no.9; Yoyotte 1998, 209; 212

9. Statue of Petobastis I
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H. 60 cm
Provenance: Near Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 27806
Date: Late Ptolemaic Period

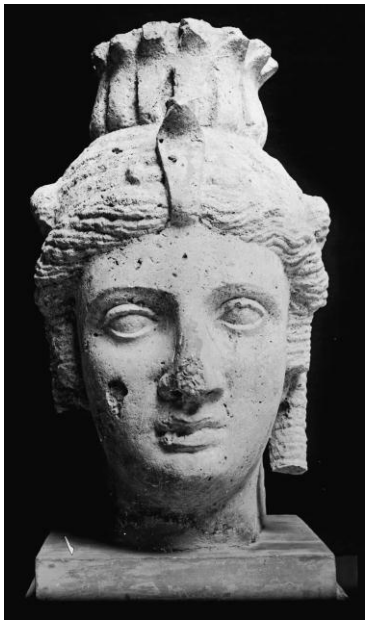
Egyptian style Naophoros Statue of Petobastis I, high priest of Memphis.

Bibliography: Bakry 1972, 75-77; Quaegebeur 1980, 53-59; 64-65; Reymond 1981, 27-30; 112-115, no.15

10. Fragmentary statue of Ptolemy VI
Material Granite
Dimensions: H.98 cm
Provenance: possibly from Alexandria
(Rowe, 1957, p.506)
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum G.378
Date: reign of Ptolemy VI

Bibliography: Rowe 1948, 43-44, fig.8; Rowe 1957, 506; Bothmer 1960, 5, no.5; Stanwick 2002, no.B.10

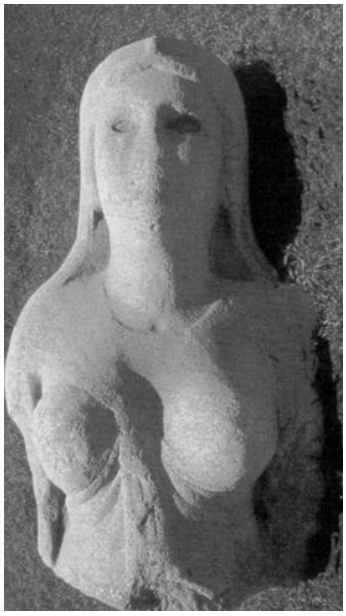
11. Colossal head of Late Ptolemaic Queen
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H. 80 cm
Provenance: city centre, Mazarita district
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman Museum 21992
Date: 2nd century BC



The statue draws equally from Greek and Egyptian traditions. The sculpture is Egyptian in style with a back pillar without inscription, and a circlet of cobras, combined with Greek portrait features[3].

Bibliography: Breccia 1931b, 264-265, no.8, pl.29: 1, 3; Kyrieleis 1975, 119; 184-185, M10, pl.103, no.4; Brunelle 1976, 92-93; Wildung and Grimm 1978, no.117; Tcaczow 1993, no.22; Svenson 1995, 88, 233, cat. no.116, pl.39; Walker and Higgs 2001, 53, cat. no.17, Ashton 2001, 104, no.45; 2003, 25; Albersmeier 2002, no.13; Stanwick 2002, no.C19

12. Statue of a Goddess or queen
Material: Aswan granite
Dimensions: H. 9.80 (including crown)
Provenance: Recovered from Alexandria harbour, 1960
Location: Alexandria,
Maritime museum
Date: around the middle of 2nd century BC



The statue has been reconstructed from three different pieces. The crown with solar disk, cow's horns and double feathers, was found more recently[4]. It represents Isis or a late Ptolemaic queen in the dress of Isis, carrying a Hathoric crown, while her garment is tied in a knot on her breast, which is a characteristic element on Ptolemaic queens' statues[5].

Bibliography: Frost 1975, 126, fig.1; Tkaczow 1993, no.1; Grimal 1996, 657, Corteggiani 1998, 36; 38-40, fig.10; Empereur 1998, 64-65; 76-77; Walker and Higgs 2001, no.24b; Ashton 2001, no.56; 2003, 26; Albersmeier 2002, no.27; Stanwick 2002, no.C27

13. Fragment of a colossal statue (crown)
Material: Aswan granite
Dimension: H.
Provenance: Anfushi
Location: Alexandria, Graeco-Roman museum
23354
Date: middle of 2nd century BC

Bibliography: Bibliography: Breccia 1921, 55, Adriani 1934, 36, fig.8; 1965, 59; Fraser 1972, II, 55, note 126; Sauneron 1983, 104; Tkaczow 1993, no.3; Albermeier 2002, no.15

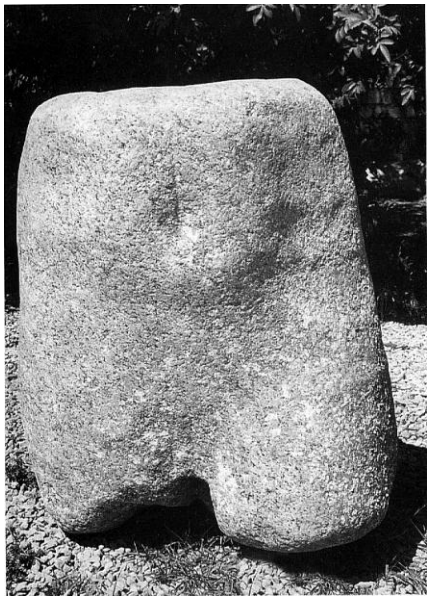
[3] For description of the Greek elements of the statue: Ashton, in Walker and Higgs, 2001, p.32, no.21 and Ashton 2004, p.25)
[4] For the state of preservation of this statue see Ashton, in Walker and Higgs, 2001, p.58)
[5] Empereur (1998) suggested that this statue belongs to Arsinoe II, but Ashton states that this is unlikely, due to the specific type of crown (in Walker and Higgs, 2001, p.58)

14. Fragment of a colossal statue (crown)
Material: Aswan granite
Dimension: H. 134 cm, W. 72 cm.
Provenance: Fort of Quait Bey, near Pharos' lighthouse
Location: Alexandria,
Kom el Dika 1017
Date: middle of 2nd century BC

It is possibly related to the statue no.13.

Bibliography: Ashton 2001, no.57; Albersmeier 2002, 25

15. Fragment of a Ptolemaic ruler colossal statue
Material: Aswan granite
Dimension: H.
Provenance: Fort of Quait Bey, near Pharos' lighthouse
Location: Alexandria, Kom el Dika 1583
Date: 2nd half of the 2nd century -1st century BC



Fragment of a colossal male statue. Only part of the belly and the kilt are preserved.

Bibliography: Corteggiani 1998, 35-40; Albermeier 2002, no.26

16. Statue of a Ptolemaic queen.
Material: Aswan granite
Dimensions: H. 125 cm
Provenance: Pharos Island coast, Fort Quait Bey, near Pharos' lighthouse
Location: Alexandria, Kom el Dikka 1005
Date: middle of second century BC

This statue was found during the excavations held by Empereur along the Pharos coast. The state of its preservation is bad. However, one can define the remains of gathered drapery, forming the knot above her right breast. The lower section of the statue has been also retrieved from the sea bed, but the two parts have not been brought together. As with the statue above, the central fold of the drapery can be seen[6].

Bibliography: Grimal 1996, 568; La Riche 1996, 95; Corteggianni 1998, 35-40; Empereur 1998, 77; La Gloire 1998, 104, no.67; Ashton 2001, 110, no.57; Albersmeier 2002, 24; Stanwick 2002, no.C27

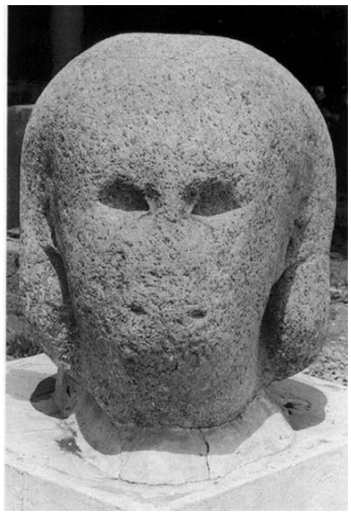
17. Colossal statue of a Ptolemy
Material: Granite
Dimensions: H. 4.55 cm
Provenance: Pharos Island coast, Fort Quait Bey
Location: Alexandria, Bibliotheca Alexandrina
Date: 2nd century BC

[6] From the same area, we have also a group of Greek style statues that very possibly belong to the reign of Ptolemy V (Ashton, 2004, p.27).

The statue is preserved to the knees. The surface is badly worn and the features have been eroded[7]. The ruler wears a nemes headdress, while an inscribed back pillar supports a double crown. The statue had inlaid yes, while hair with hair in its forehead coming out from underneath of the nemes headdress.

Bibliography: Empereur 1997, 967-968, figs.4,6; Grimal 1996, 568-570; La Riche 1996, 24-27; 41; 45; 72-73; 76; 78-79; 84-85; 88-91; 94; 114-115; 121; Corteggianni 1998, 35-40, fig.9; Empereur 1998, 76-77; Le Gloire 1998, 103; 307, no.64; Yoyotte 1998, 204, no.18; Walker and Higgs 2001, 58, no.24a; Ashton 2001, no.20 (only the head and the crown); Stanwick 2002, no.C22

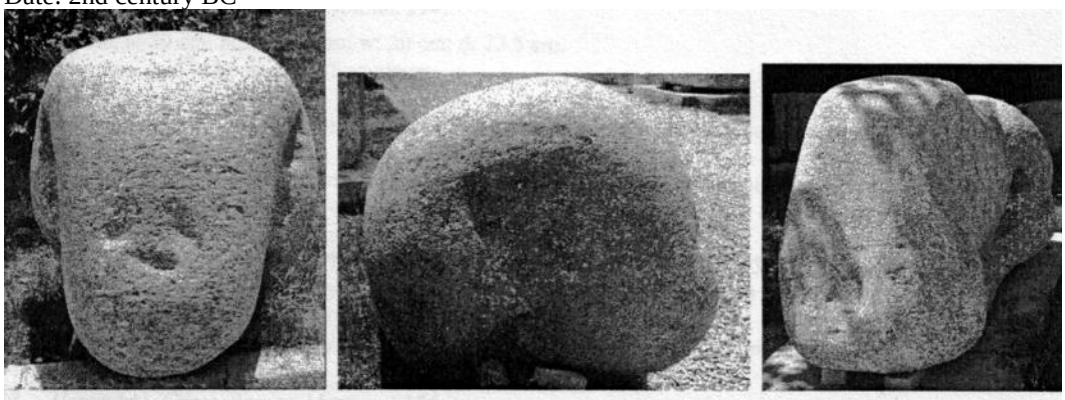
18. Head of a Ptolemaic ruler
Material: Granite
Dimensions: H. 80.cm
Provenance: Pharos Island coast, Fort Quait Bey, near the Pharos lighthouse
Location: Alexandria, Kom el Dikka 1321
Date: 2nd century BC



The head, which is badly eroded, was part of a Ptolemaic royal statue[8]. The ruler wears a nemes headdress, with hair visible beneath it[9]. He was most possible crowned, according to the whole appearing on the top of the head.

Bibliography: Empereur 1996, 967-968, fig.5. Grimmal 1996, 569; La Riche 1996, 86-87; Cortegianni 1998, 35-40; Empereur 1998, 78, Ashton 2001, no.19; Stanwick 2002, no.C.23.

19. Head of Ptolemaic ruler[10]
Material: Granite
Dimensions: H. 72 cm, W: 67 cm
Provenance: Pharos Island coast
Location: Alexandria, Kom el Dikka 121
Date: 2nd century BC[11]



The head is badly preserved. It may be associated with the body of a granite sphinx (Ashton 2001, 28)

Bibliography: Ashton 2001, no.21

[7] Ashton, 2001, p.92, 21
[8] Ashton, 2001, p.90, 19)
[9] These three statues present an example of the adoption of Greek portrait features. Characteristic is the addition of hair (Ashton, 2004, p.28).
[10] This head may be associated with the body of a granite sphinx (Ashton, 2004, p.28)
[11] According to Ashton, between the reigns of Ptolemies XIII and X (2001, p.28)

20. Sphinx
Material: Diorite
Dimensions: H.75 cm, W.140 cm
Provenance: Submerged Royal quarters
Location: Alexandria,
Roman Theatre SCA 451
Date: 1st century BC

Sphinx no.1 as well as no. 2 were found together with a granite statue of a priest holding Osiris Canopus no. 7. All of them might have been part of the same sanctuary (Kiss 1997, 175).

Bibliography: Kiss 1997, no.1185; Goddio and Clauss 2006, no.461; Ashton 2003, 30

21. Sphinx
Material: Grey Granite
Dimensions: H.70 cm, W.150
Provenance: Submerged Royal quarters,
Location: Alexandria,
Roman Theatre SCA 450
Date: 1st century BC

Bibliography: Kiss 1997, no.1198; Goddio and Clauss 2006, no.462; Ashton 2003, 30

22. Statue of a Ptolemaic ruler, possibly Ptolemy X Alexander
Material: Grey Granite
Dimensions: H.65 cm
Provenance: Sidi Bishr,
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum P.12072

Upper part (chest and head) of a life-size statue king with hair in its forehead coming out from underneath of the nemes headdress with uraeus.

Bibliography: Smith 1988, no.65; 1996, 209-210; Grimm 1998, 124; Rogge 1999, 90; Walker and Higgs 2001, 60-61, no.27.

23. Colossal head of young Ptolemaic ruler, possibly Caesarion
Material: Grey Granite
Dimensions: H.80 cm, W. 60 cm, D., 50 cm
Provenance: Submerged Royal quarters,
Location: Alexandria,
Roman Theatre SCA 88
Date: 1st century BC

A fringe of hair, coming out from underneath the nemes headdress, crowns the forehead, characteristic of the Pharaonic representations of the late Ptolemaic and Roman rulers. Above each ear a cylindrical hole, 1 cm wide, is drilled into the head, at each end of the ribbons. On the one hand, Kiss has suggested that the hole served to hold a metallic (gold) band, surrounding the forehead forming a diadem. Ashton, on the other hand, has suggested that the hole was used to hold horns, characteristic of Ammon. She has further identified the statue with Caesarion (Ashton 2003, 29-31).

Bibliography: Kiss 1998, no.1015; Goddio and Clauss; Ashton 2003, 29-31; 2006, no.463

24. Fragmentary Pharaonic statue group[1]

24A. Head of King
Material: Granite
Dimensions: H.130 cm, faceH. 61 cm;
Provenance: Hadra
Location: Male: Alexandria,
garden of the Greco-Roman museum 11275
Date: 1st century BC

Three identifications have been suggested so far: Marc Anthony, Ptolemy X, father of Cleopatra VII (Stanwick 2002, no. E.1) and Caesarion (Ashton 2003, 27-28). It was part of the statue group, together with 22B.

Bibliography: Peter and Moss 1934, 4, 1934, 3; Van de Walle 1952, 29-31, pl.7; Bothmer 1960, 132-133; Kyrieleis 1975, 37; 73-74; 120-; 175, H 5, pl.6, nos.1-2; Kiss 1984, 22-23, 1119, fig.3; Smith 1988, 87; 97; 17, no.81, pl.50: 1,4-5; Tkaczow 1993, no.29; El-Fattah and Gallo 1998, 12, n.12, Kiss 1998, 173-174, Ashton 2001, no.34; 2003, 27-28; 2004, 545 and 549-550; Stanwick 2002, no.E.1

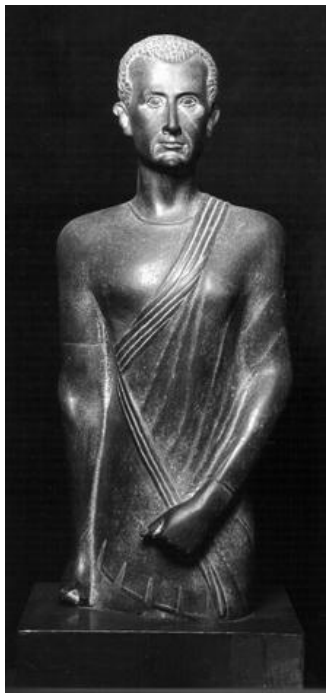
[1] The statue Group was located in a sanctuary of mixed traditions: a circular temple with sphinxes (Ashton, 2003, 28)

24B. Figure of Goddess or Queen
Material: Granite
Dimensions: H. 300 cm,
Face: H. 62 cm,
Hands L. 60 cm, W. 30 cm
Provenance: Hadra
Location: Belgium,
Mariemont museum B.505(=E.49)

The female is pure Egyptian in style, and bears distinctive characteristics of Isis. It has been suggested that the female statue represents Cleopatra VII, who used to portray herself in a more traditional manner than her immediate predecessors. This style is closer to that of the early Ptolemaic queens. It is possible that the statue group (22A and 22B) represents Isis herself, and only by association with Cleopatra VII, with one of her children.

Bibliography: Peter and Moss 1934, IV, 1934, 3; Van de Walle 1952, 29-31, pl.7; Bothmer 1960, 132-133; Kyrieleis 1975, 37; 73-74; 120-; 175, H 5, pl.61:1-2; Smith 1988, 87; 97; 17, no.81, pl.50: 1,4-5; Derricks 1990, no.40;Tkaczow 1993, 196-197, no.29; El-Fattah and Gallo 1998, 12, no.12, Kiss 1998, 173-174. Ashton 2001, no.42; 2003, 27-28; 2004, 545; 549-550; Stanwick 2002, no.E.2

25. Statue of priest Hor, son of Hor
Material: Black basalt
Dimensions: H. 83 cm
Provenance: centre
Location: Cairo, Egyptian museum CG.697
Date: 40-30 BC (Walker and Higgs, 2001, p.182, no.190)



Hor was the priest of Thoth during the reign of Cleopatra VII. His statue combines a typical Egyptian style body (dress) and gesture with a naturalistic portrait.

Bibliography: Borchhardt 1930, 39-40, pl.128; Poulsen 1938, 31; Graindor 1939, 138, no.74; Snijder 1939, 262-269; Bothmer 1960, 170-173; Grimm and Johans 1975, 19, no.16; Vandersleyen 1985, 358-370; Bianchi 1988, 57; Tkaczow 1993, no.179; Jansen-Winkeln 1998, 227-235, pl.24-25; Walker and Higgs 2001, 182-183, no.190

26. Statue base
Material: Grey granite
Dimension: 28 x 74 x 74 cm
Provenance: Eastern port/ Caesareum
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 10
Date: According to the inscription: December 28 of the year 34/33

It was dedicated to Marc Anthony by Aphrodisios or Parasitos from Aohrodisias. Due to the material and its monumental size, as indicated by the base's dimensions, it must have been Egyptian in style.

Bibliography: Breccia 1911, 41 (10); Adriani 1934, no.40, Tkaczow 1993, no.42

27. The"Mimuat statue"
Material: unknown
Dimension: unknown
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: presumably missing
Date: 1st century BC or later

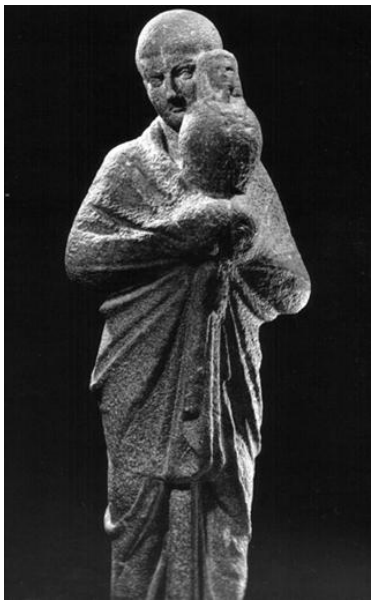
Bibliography: Dubois 1837, no.509; Botti 1897, 31; 1899, 133, no.66; Adriani 1965, 98; Tkaczow 1993, no.163

28. Statue base of gymnasiarch Lykarion son of Noumenios
Material: Aswan granite
Dimension: 38 x 59 x 50 cm
Provenance: Centre, Between Kom el Dikka and Rosetta Gate
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 19535
Date: First century BC

Like most of granite statues found in Alexandra, it is very possible for the statue to have been executed in Egyptian style (Tkaczow 1993, 202, no.41).

Bibliography: Neroutsos 1875; Botti 1899, 104-105, Breccia 1912a, 39, no.90; 1914, 150-151; 1922, 102, Tkaczow 1993, no.41

29. Statue of a priest holding Osiris Canopus
Material: Black Granite
Dimensions: H. 122 cm
Provenance: Submerged Royal quarters,
Goddio's expedition
Location: Alexandria,
National museum SCA 449
Date: 1st /1st AD century BC



This statue was found close to sphinxes nos. 21 and 22 from this catalogue. The priest is standing closely, wrapped in an ample cloak. A grove crosses the Priest's forehead from the one ear to the other. Kiss suggested that it might represent a fringe, which is not compatible, however, with the obligatory shaved skull, or a deep wrinkle (Kiss 1998, 186). Another possible explanation could be that it might represent a cap or cover on the head in order for it to look like saved. This idea could further be supported by the similarity of the priest with another figure with similar dress, possibly a priest, from Anfushi tomb 2. The figure was depicted on a wall painting on the stairway of the tomb, leading to its court. The man of Anfushi wears a cap or cover, which can be easily identifiable as not to be a fringe by its lighter colour, its shape, and from the curls of hair around it. According to Dunand, the statue must be dated to the early Roman period, because it is only during this period that Osiris Canopus' cultic form is attested in other types of material evidence such as coinage, ceramics and sculpture. (1998, 193-194).

Bibliography: Dunand 1998, 193-194; Kiss 1998, no.1199; Goddio and Clauss 2006, no.464; Gallo 2002, 21-24; Ashton 2003, 30

30. Fragmentary statue of a priest holding Osiris Canopus
Material: Granite
Dimensions: H. 89 cm
Provenance: Unknown
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 4309
Date: Late Ptolemaic-early Roman

The statue misses the head, the lower part of the feet and the vase of Osiris Canopus.

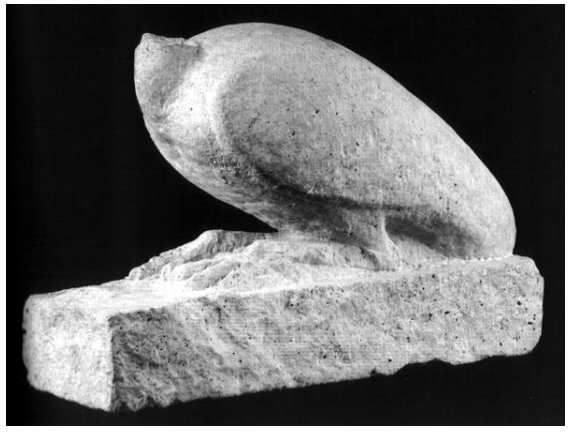
Bibliography: Gallo 2002, 21-24

31. Headless Statue of Agathos Daimon
Material: Black granite
Dimensions: H. 30 cm, W.25 cm
Provenance: Submerged Royal quarters
Location: Alexandria,
Roman Theatre SCA 543
Date: Ptolemaic or Roman period

The statue of this coiled serpent-Agathos Daimon was probably used as a cult image in a temple (Kiss 1997, 183).

Bibliography: Kiss 1998, no.1182; Goddio and Clauss 2006, no.459

32. Headless statue of an Ibis bird
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H.40 cm, W.55 cm, D.21 cm
Provenance: Submerged Royal quarters
Location: Alexandria,
Great Library SCA 87
Date: Ptolemaic or Roman period



The Ibis bird is the animal manifestation of the god Thoth. A headless marble statue of Hermes, his counterpart in Greek religion, was found in the same area (Kiss, 1997, no.1204).

Bibliography: Kiss 1997, no.1181; Goddio and Clauss 2006, no.460

33. Head of a colossal statue of Isis
Material: Aswan granite
Dimension: colossal (no further detail)
Provenance: Western port
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum G.376?
Date: Ptolemaic period in general

Botti described the head as carrying a kalathos. The pink granite head no. G.376 might correspond to the head in the catalogue of Botti, since both heads shares almost imdentical characteristics. Still, no information is preserved in museum's registers

Bibliography: Botti 1897, no.61; Tkaczow 1993, no.5

34. Figure of sphinx
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H. 56, L. 7cm
Provenance: Hadra necropolis
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 20924
Date: Ptolemaic period in general

The sphinx wears a nemes headdress with ureaus.

Bibliography: Tkaczow 1993, no.31

35. A pair of Sphinxes
Material: Limestone
Dimensions:
Provenance: Hadra necropolis
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 20897 and 20988
Date: Ptolemaic period in general

No description is available.

Bibliography: Tkaczow 1993, no.32 & 33

36. Sphinx
Material: Limestone
Dimension: unknown
Provenance: Western port
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum (XIV, 12)
Date: Ptolemaic period in general
No description is available.

Bibliography: Botti 1900, no.15; Tkaczow 1993, no.4C

37. Headless Sphinx
Material: Black basalt
Dimension: L. 78 cm, H. 45 cm
Provenance: Gheneneh
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 3223
Date: Ptolemaic period in general

No description is available.

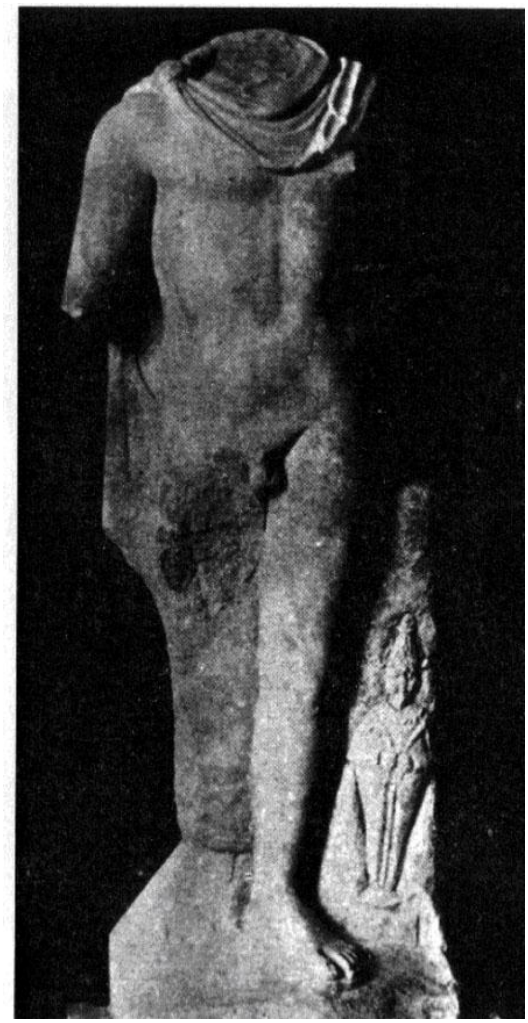
Bibliography: Botti 1894, 24; 1900, V, no.H; Tkaczow 1993, no.12

38. Pair of headless Sphinxes
Material: limestone
Dimension: L. 140 cm, H. 60 cm
Provenance: Centre
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 23892, 23893
Date: Ptolemaic period in general

No description is available.

Bibliography: Adriani 1934, no.83; Tkaczow 1993, no.17

39. Statue of a young male
Material: White marble
Dimensions: 96 cm
Provenance: eastern suburb, Hagar el Nawatieh
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 20931
Date: 1st/2nd century AD



The figure is presented wearing a cloak thrown back across the shoulders. At the feet of the figure there is a figure of Osiris carved frontally in low relief. According to Breccia, this statue had a funerary use.

Bibliography: Breccia 1921, 20; Graindor 1933, 96-97, no.44, pl.XXXVIII; Grimm 1974, 123, pl.130, 1; Tkaczow 1993, 260, no.204

40. Statue of an Apis-bull
Material: Basalt
Dimensions : 1, 90 m
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 3512
Date: Hadrianic, 2nd century AD

Statue of Apis-bull with solar disc between horn and uraeus. The dedication is on the support under the belly:
[…]CAPAΠΙΔΙΚΑΙΤΟΙC CYNNAOICΘEOIC ΥΠΕΡCΩΤΗΡΙΑC AYTOKPATOPOC KAICAPOCTPAIANOY AΔPIANOYCEBACTOY […]XHT[…]
Translation: [To the Great God] Serapis and to the Gods who are with him in the Temple, for the heath of the Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus […]

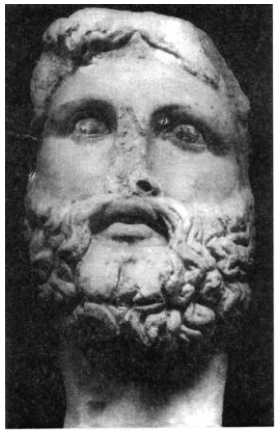
Bibliography: Botti 1987, 120; 1898, 319-320; Breccia 1914, 99, fig.23; 1922, 115; 142; Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1978, 25, no.89, Tkaczow 1993, no.161; Ashton 2005, 9

41. Black Basalt head of a statue of Sarapis
Dimensions: H: 51 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 3914
Date: 2nd Century AD

The head was part of a colossal statue

Bibliography: Botti 1902b, 15; Schreiber 1908, 62; Breccia 1914, 99; 229-230; 1922, 217; Adriani 1961, no.155; Tkaczow 1993, no.159

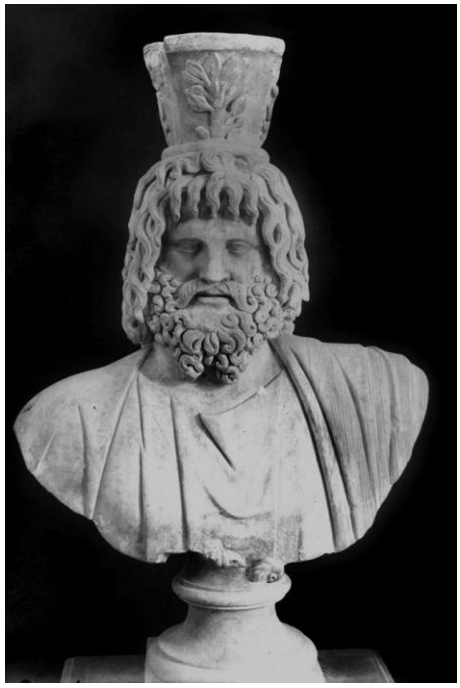
42. White Marble head of statue of Sarapis
Dimensions: H. 50 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 3912
Date: Mid 2nd century AD



Head of a colossal statue of Sarapis. Traces of polychromy are preserved: red for the hair and beard, black for the eyes and during the discovery gilding on lips

Bibliography: Breccia 1907, 74, fig.5; 1914, 100; 229; 1922, 217; Adriani 1961, no.174; Tkaczow 1993, no.160

43. White Marble bust of Sarapis
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 22158
Date: 2nd century AD



The head is crowned with a Kalathos decorated with a floral motif in flat relief.

Bibliography: Breccia 1931, 260-261; Adriani 1961, no.157; Tkaczow 1993, no.160A

44. White Marble statue of Sarapis
Dimensions: H. 190 cm
Provenance: between Geneneh and Attarin
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 3816
Date: 2nd century AD

Colossal seated statue of Sarapis. Hands are broken. The god wears a reach cloak.

Bibliography: Adriani 1961, no.154; Tkaczow 1993, no.166

45. White Marble fragment of a statue of Harpocrates
Dimensions : H. 0.17 m
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum P.8915
Date: Roman

Fragment from a large statue of Harpocrates. Only the top part of the head with the left ear and some of the hair is preserved.

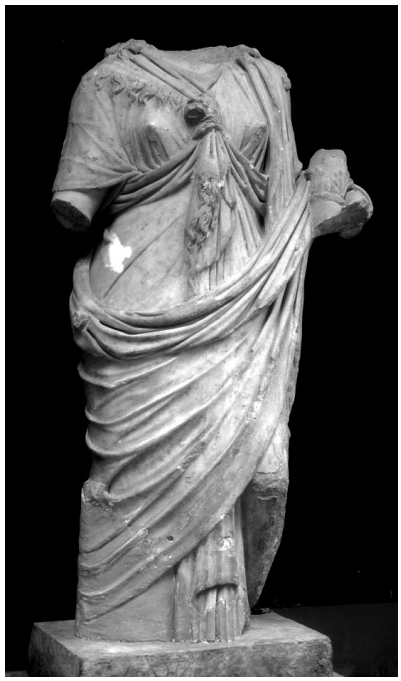
Bibliography: Tkaczow 1993, no.164

46. White Marble statue of Isis-Tyche
Dimensions : H. 1.17 m
Provenance: centre
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 3250
Date: 2nd century AD

Headless, draped female statue, holding cornucopia in the left hand. The object on the righ hand is missing.

Bibliography: Adriani 1961, no.148; Tkaczow 1993, no.170

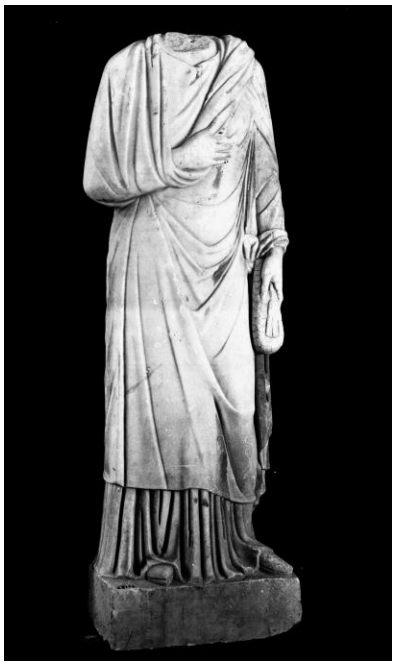
47. White Marble statue of Isis or priestess
Dimensions: H. 1, 37 m
Provenance: Centre/ Rosseta Gate
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 11311
Date: 2nd AD



Headless female figure of Isis or Priestess, as identified by the typical knot between her breasts.

Bibliography: Breccia 1906, 5; Adriani 1961, AI, no.167; Tkaczow 1993, no.183

48. White Marble statue of priestess
Dimensions: H. 1.20 m
Provenance: Abu Nawatir
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 20917
Date: 2nd century AD



Headless female figure in a richly draped robe, with Isiac symbols in relief on the shawl encircling the body. She holds a bundle of flowers and ears of corn.

Bibliography: Breccia 1912, 11; 1932, 20; Adriani 1934, 32-33; 1963, 251-252; Tkaczow 1993, no.202

49. Fragment statue of a priest or god
Material: White marble
Dimensions: H. 50 cm, W, 44 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 79
Date: Roman

The robe is decorated in raised relief with a crescent, scarabeus, snake and Mnevis bull. The hands are crossed on the chest, holding a sacrificial knife and a lituus.

Bibliography: Breccia 1906, 4; 1907, 67-69, fig.1; 1912, 13-14; Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975, 25, no.90; Tkaczow 1993, 312, no.337

3.2 MIDDLE KINGDOM TO 30TH DYNASTY

50. Fragment of a statue of a Pharaoh

Material: Black granite
Dimensions: H. 145 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Egyptian museum 384
Date: 12th Dynasty (as statue of Sesostris I?), 19th Dynasty (later usurped by Merenptah)

No details available

Bibliography: Porter and Moss 1969, IV, 3; Borchardt 1930, vol.2, 3-4; Tkaczow 1993, no.134

51. Sphinx of Sesostris III

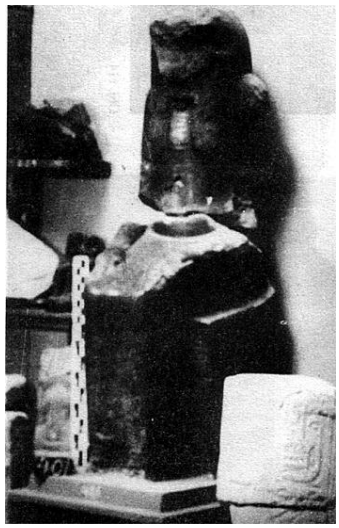
Material: Quartzite
Provenance: Helliopolis
Location: Alexandria, Kom el Dikka 2003
Date: 12th Dynasty (originally)

The sphinx was originally dedicated to Sesostris III(12th Dynasty) but it was latter usurped by Merenptah (18th Dynasty). Both of Sesostris III and Merenptah cartouches have been found on the surface of sphinx. This was a common policy also of the following pharaohs such as Seti I and Ramses II.

Bibliography: Corteggiani 1998, 29

52. Statue of Sekhmet

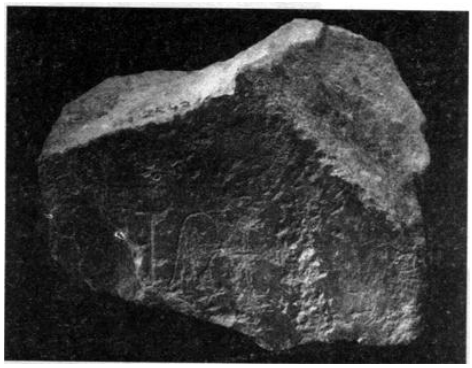
Material: Black basalt
Dimensions: 152 cm
Provenance : Geneneh
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 409
Date: 18th Dynasty

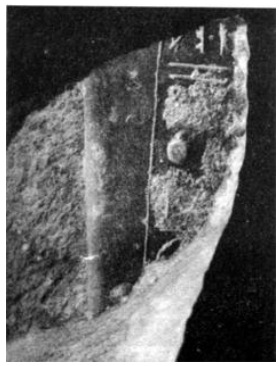


Bibliography: Botti 1893, 63; 1900, IX, 9; 1897, 125, no.11; Daressy 1904, 119, XVII; Breccia 1914, 170; 1922, 172; Tkaczow 1993, no.139

53. Fragment of a statue

Material: Grey Granite
Dimensions: 17x 22 cm
Provenance: Kom el Dikka
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum,
Kom el Dikka stores W1/2543/76
Date: 18th Dynasty (?)





Bibliography: Tkaczow 1993, no.142

54. Fragment of a statue

Material: Grey granite
Dimensions: 67 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum P.5953
Date: 18th Dynasty (Amenhotep III?)[1]

Only the upper part is preserved. According to Rowe, the statue represents Amenhotep III, while according to McKenzie an official.

Bibliography: Rowe 1942, 139; Tkaczow 1993, no.133; McKenzie 2007, 58, fig.72

55. Statuary Group

Material: Grey Granite
Dimensions: H. 204 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 346
Date: 18th Dynasty (Botti 1895, 64)

Colossal statue of a Pharaoh protected by a female divinity (Isis or Hathor[2])

Bibliography: Botti 1892, 9; 17; 1893, 64; 1895, no.6; 1897, 123, no.1; 1899, 124, no.3; Breccia 1914, 99; 1922, 114, Tkaczow 1993, no.124

[1] Chronology based on the hieroglyphic inscription
[2] Botti,1895, pp.20 and 29, described the figure as Osiris

56. Head of Amenhotep III

Material: Black granite
Dimensions: H. 45 cm
Provenance: Manshiyah district
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum P.8066
Date: 18th dynasty

The head is badly damaged, but still recognisable as Amenhoteh III

Bibliography: Tkaczow 1993, no.119

57. Sphinx

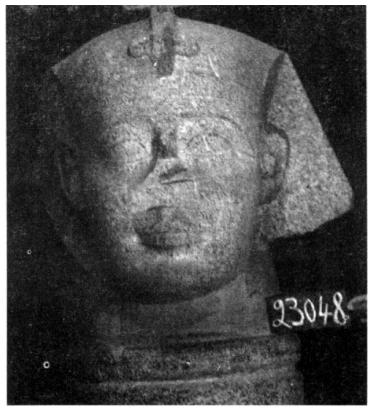
Material: Green Basalt
Dimension: L. (ca) 100 cm, H. 40 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria, in situ,
Greco-Roman museum 351b.
Date: 19th Dynasty

It contains a hieroglyphic inscription, with the cartouche of Horemheb.

Bibliography: Breccia 1907, 73; 1906, 3; 1914, 165; 1922, 142 122A, Tkaczow 1993, no.122A

58. Fragments of a statue of Ramses II

Material: Aswan granite
Dimensions: H. 95 cm and 215 cm
Provenance: Abu Nawatir (eastern suburb)
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 23048 and 23049=G.534
Date: 19th Dynasty



Fragments of a colossal statue. Head of Ramses II wearing a nemes headdress with ureaus on the forehead, and a leg with the cartouche of the pharaoh.

Bibliography: Breccia 1912c, 12; 1932, 20; Tkaczow 1993, no.152

59. Fragmentary statue of Ramses II
Material: Aswan granite
Dimensions: H. 150 cm
Provenance: Manshiyah district
Location: Alexandria, Sarapeion
Date: 19th Dynasty

It was found together with other 19th Dynasty pieces from the same area, but today they are presumably lost[3].

Bibliography: Lepsius 1971, 1, 1; Porter and Moss 1969, 2-3, Tkaczow 1993, 120

60. Statue of a Ramses II
Material: Aswan Granite
Dimensions: H. 190 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 426
Date: 19th Dynasty

Bibliography: Botti 1892, 9, 17; 1893, 64, no.1874; 1895, 20; 1897, 123, no.2; 1899, 124; Breccia 1914, 170, no.27; Daressy 1904, 114, II; Porter and Moss 1969, IV, 3, Tkaczow 1993, no.126

[3] It was found together with pieces no.120A, 120B and 120C in Tkaczow catalogue (1993, p. 230-231)

61. Sphinx of Ramses II
Material: Black granite
Provenance: Helliopolis
Location: Alexandria, Kom el Dikka 2002

The name of Ramses II inscribed in cartouche

Bibliography: Gorteggiani 1998, 29

62. Statue of Ramses II
Material: Black granite
Dimensions: 205 cm
Provenance: Manshiyah district
Location: presumably lost
Date: 19th Dynasty

Sitting figure of Ramses II, wearing a nemes headdress and a pschent crown. On the back pillar, hieroglyphic inscription with the name of the king.

Bibliography: Lepsius 1971, 1, 1, loc. cit; Porter and Moss 1969, IV, loc. cit, Tkaczow 1993, no.120A

63. Statue of Ramses II
Material: Black granite
Dimensions: 198 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Cairo,
Egyptian Museum 620
Date: 19th Dynasty

On the back pillar, hieroglyphic inscription with the name of the king.

Bibliography: Borchardt 1930, Teil 2, 165-166 and 237, no.135; Porter and Moss 1969, IV, 3; Tkaczow 1993, no.135

64. Fragment of a statue of Merenphtah

Material: Granite?
Dimensions: H. 63, 5 cm
Provenance: Hagar el-Nawateia (Eleusis ?)
Location: -
Date: 19th Dyansty

The name of the Pharaoh is inscribed in the cartouche of the statue's back pillar. He holds an ankh

Bibliography: El- Fattah and Gallo 1998, 9; 11-13

65. Fragmentary pedestal of a colossal statue bearing the cartouche of Merenptah
Material: Black granite
Dimensions: H.70 cm, W. 95 cm, D. 50 cm
Provenance: Submerged Royal quarters
Location: Alexandria,
Roman Theatre SCA 542
Date: c. 1213-1204 BC, 19th Dynasty

This is one of the several fragments related to Merenptah. Nevertheless, these fragments are considerably fewer in numbers than those of Seti I and Ramses II (Kiss 1997, 234).

Bibliography: Kiss 1997, no.781; Goddio and Clauss 2006, no.457

66. Statue of Sekhmet
Material: Black Granite
Dimensions:
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Cairo,
Egyptian museum 39067
Date: 19th Dynasty

Sitting statue of the goddess with hieroglyphic inscription on its back.

Porter and Moss 1969, IV, 3; Tkaczow 1993, no.136

67. Statuary group
Material: unknown
Dimensions: colossal, no further information
Provenance: Manshiyah district
Location: presumably lost
Date: 19th Dynasty

King and a goddess (?). The latter stands behind the king as his protector. Both statues are headless.

Bibliography: Lepsius 1971, 1, p.1, loc. cit; Porter and Moss 1969, IV, 3, Tkaczow 1993, no.120B

68. Headless sphinx
Material: Grey Granite
Dimensions: (base) 49 cm 15 cm, H. ca. 30 cm
Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 347
Date: in 19th Dynasty

No further information available.
Botti 1897, 67; 71, no.4; 1908, 332, fig.240; Tkaczow 1993, no.127

69. Colossal scarabeus

Material: Aswan granite
Dimensions: 60 cm, L. 90 cm. Base: 89x 62 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 352b.
Date: 19th Dynasty

The scarabeus is inscribed on its base. The cartouche a 19th Dynasty king is readable, but not his exact name.

Bibliography: Botti 1895, 20; 1897, 67; 71, no.3; 1900, VI, 371-372; Breccia 1914, 96; 165; 1922, 142; Daressy 1904, 113, I; Tkaczow 1993, no.129

70. Fragment of a Pharaoh

Material: Grey Granite
Dimensions: H. 84 cm
(59 cm according to Botti).
Dim. base: 92x 52 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 347
Date: 19th or 20 Dynasty

The statue represents a kneeling figure of Pharoh Ramses II or IX, holding a Canopic vase. It also contains inscriptions between the hands of the vase and the figure's torso.

Bibliography: Botti 1895, 20; 29, no.8; 1897, 67; 1899, no.1; Breccia 1914, 99; 1922, 115; Daressy 1904, 114, II; Porter and Moss 1969 IV, 3; Tkaczow 1993, no.125

71. Fragment of Ramses XI statue

Material: Red sandstone
Dimensions: H. 40 cm, L. 100 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 336
Date: 20th Dynasty

The statue represents a kneeling figure of the pharaoh.

Bibliography: Botti 1899, 124, no.4; 1900, VII, 6; 1908, 232, fig.2410; Porter and Moss, IV, 1969, 3; Tkaczow 1993, no.123

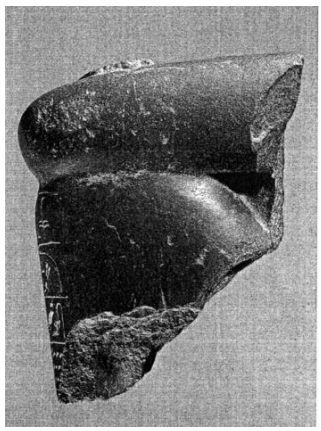
72. Kneeling statue of Psammetichus I

Material: Grey Granite
Dimensions: H. 15 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 26532+20950
Date: 26th Dynasty

Bibliography: Breccia 1906, 3; 1908, 63-64; Porter and Moss 1969, IV, 3; Tkaczow 1993, no.132

73. Fragment of a cube-style statue of Besa, officer of Psammetichus I

Material: Granite?
Dimensions: H. 115 cm
Provenance: Shouha, Vittorio Emmanuele III st.
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum P.14424
Date: 26th Dynasty



Only the frontal part of the "cube" is preserved, which bears the name of the officer.

Bibliography: El- Fattah and Gallo 1998, 9; 10-13.

74. Sphinx of Psammetichos II
Material: Calcite
Provenance: Heliopolis
Location: Kom el Dikka 1008
Date: 26th Dynasty

The sphinx has been found in remarkable state. The name of the Psammetichos II is inscribed in cartouche.

Bibliography: Corteggiani 1998, 29-30

75. Fragment of a statue of Psammetichos II
Material: Basalt
Dimensions: unknown
Provenance: Eastern port
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 409
Date: 26th Dynasty

Bibliography: Botti 1892, 15; 1893, 22; 1900, IX, 14a; Daressy 1904, 119-120; Breccia 1914, 170; Adriani 1934, no.109; Tkaczow 1993, no.147

76. Headless sphinx

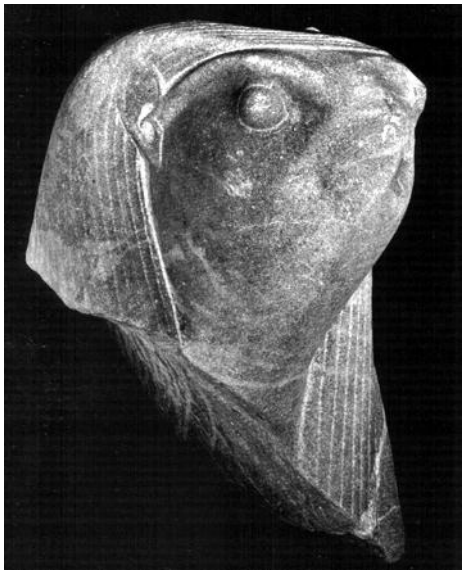
Material: Calcaire
Dimensions: unknown
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: presumably missing
Date: 26th Dynasty[4]

No further details available.

Bibliography: Botti 1897, 57; 71, no.5; Tkaczow 1993, no.128

77. Colossal head of a falcon-headed Sphinx or crocodile

Material: Black granite
Dimensions: H. 70 cm, W. 43 cm, D. 70 cm
Provenance: Submerged Royal quarters
Location: Alexandria,
Maritime museum SCA 541
Date: 7th-6th century BC



The identification lies upon the traits of the rest of the body under the head. The mass curls of the wig, instead of falling vertically at the back of the neck, incline to the horisontal, as they have just to rest on the back of the body in a stretched position. The front limbs resting flat in front. This type of headed sphinx is mostly attested in three dimensions by the XXX dynasty or the falcon-headed crocodile in the type of Horus of Sagag (Yojotte1998, 195 and 198)

Bibliography: Yoyotte 1998, 195-198; Goddio and Clauss 2006, no.458

78. Statue of Horus as Falcon

Material: Black Granite
Dimensions: 70 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 348=P.9190
Date: 26th Dynasty

[4] The statue contains a Hieroglyphic inscription of Pharaoh Ahmes, partly obliterated or, according to Botti, hammered out

The head of the statue is missing.

Bibliography: Mahmud Bey 1872, 54; Rowe 1942, 134, n.1; Botti 1895, 30, no.20; 1897, 120; 1900 VI, 371-372; Tkaczow 1993, 235, no.130

79. Pair of Sphinxes

Material: Sandstone
Dimensions: a) L. 155 cm, H. 60 cm
b) L. 148 cm, H. 59 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria. Greco-Roman museum, a) P.2136, b) P.2137
Date: 26th Dynasty

Headless sphinxes, inscribed on their breast. According to Daressy the date in the reign of Apries.

Bibliography: Botti 1900, 1; Daressy 1904, 127, XL; Breccia 1914, 287; 1922, 289; Tkaczow 1993, 233, no.122

80. Fragment of a statue

Material: Black basalt
Dimensions: H.60 cm, W.24 cm
Provenance: Eastern port
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 3064
Date: 26th Dynasty

According to the inscription on the back pillar, the statue belongs to the governor of Heracleopolis

Bibliography: Botti 1893, 23, no.3064; Tkaczow 1993, 241, no.148

81. Fragment of a statue of a Pharaoh

Material: Black granite (or basalt?)
Dimensions: unknown
Provenance: Manshiyah district
Location: Alexandria, Greco-Roman museum, no. unknown
Date: 1st half of the fourth century BC, 29th Dynasty

Part of a large statue that Daressy described it as the base of an altar, connected to pharaoh Hakori (Achoris).

Bibliography: Daressy 1907, 119 (XVII); Peter and Moss 1969, IV, 5; Lepsius 1971, 1, p.1, loc. cit; Tkaczow 1993, no.120C

82. Fragment of statue

Material: Black granite
Dimensions: 80 cm
Provenance: Eastern port
Location: Alexandria, Greco-Roman museum, without register number
Date: Fourth century BC (30th Dynasty)

The statue depicts the governor of Herakleopolis. His name is inscribed on the statue

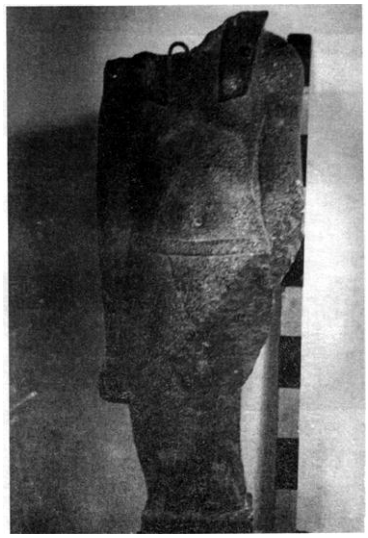
Bibliography: Botti 1897, 125, no.10; Daressy 1904, 127-128, XLI; Porter and Moss 1969, IV, 3; Drioton-Vandier 1960, 621; Vercoutter 1960, 85-114; Tkaczow 1993, no.148

3.3 Uncertain date

83. Fragmentary statue of a seated woman

Material: Black granite
Dimensions: H. 55 cm, Base: 59 x 48 cm
Provenance: Bad Sidra
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 414

Bibliography: Botti 1900, XI, 1515; Tkaczow 1993, 311, no.335



84. Fragment of Egyptian statue

Material: Granite
Dimensions: unknown
Provenance: Moharem Bey
Location: missing

Bibliography: Botti 1897, 128, no.7; Tkaczow 1993, no.362

85. Fragmentary statue of a priest

Material: Aswan granite
Dimensions: 140 cm
Provenance: Pharos' water area, near the fort of Qait Bey
Location: Sarapeion, no number

The statue misses the head, part of the shoulders and the figure's bottom. It is unnaturally flat.

Bibliography: Tkaczow 1993, 309, no.325

86. Fragment of a statue of a Pharaoh

Material: Black granite
Dimensions: H. 65 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria, Greco-Roman museum (missing)
Date: Pharaonic in general (unidentified)

No detail is available

Bibliography: Botti 1897, 124, no.5, Tkaczow 1993, no.138

87. Fragment of a statue

Material: Black granite
Dimensions: unknown
Provenance: Gabbari
Location: missing

Torso of a naked male figure

Bibliography: Botti 1897, 132, no.57; Tkaczow 1993, no.334

88. Two fragments of a colossal statue

Material: Aswan granite
Dimensions: H. 20 and 19 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum P. 5811- P. 5812

No detail is available

Bibliography: Tkaczow 1993, no.336

89. Fragment of statue of a king

Material: Basalt
Dimensions: 45 cm
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 20960

The statue has been extensively damaged and reused as building element. The nemes headdress of the statue is preserved.

Bibliography: Tkaczow 1993, no.131

90. Headless sphinx

Material: Black granite
Dimensions: unknown
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 11433

No detail is available.

Bibliography: Tkaczow 1993, no.338

91. Headless sphinx

Material: Black granite
Dimensions: 63 x 25 cm
Provenance: Centre/ Attarin
Location: Alexandria, Greco-Roman museum 27822
Date: -

No detail is available.

Bibliography: Tkaczow 1993, no.340

92. Statue (in fragments) of an official

Material: unknown
Dimensions: unknown
Provenance: Centre
Location: missing

No detail is available.

Bibliography: Tkaczow 1993, no.344

93. Headless Sphinx

Material: Black granite
Dimensions: H. 50 cm, L., 70 cm
Provenance: Centre
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum P.2135=G.861

No detail is available.

Bibliography: Adriani 1941, 109; Tkaczow 1993, no.347

94. Fragment of a statue of Isis

Material: Aswan granite
Dimensions: 1.6 (Feet or meter is unclear)
Provenance: Eastern port/ Caesareum
Location: missing

Torso of a female statue of Isis or priestess bearing the characteristic Isis' knot.

Bibliography: Saint-Genis 1818, pl.36, Figs.17-18; Tkaczow 1993, no.350

95. Fragment of a sphinx

Material: white marble
Dimensions: 17 x 41 cm
Provenance: Eastern port/ Silsileh
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 796

Only the frontal part is preserved. No further detail is available.

Bibliography: Tkaczow 1993, no.352

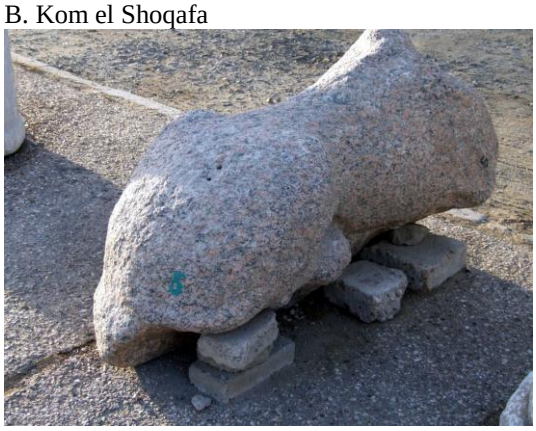
96. Figures of various unpublished pre-Ptolemaic Egyptian style material

A. Sarapeion

Two headless sphinxes

Lower part of a Baboon statue. Limestone.

B. Kom el Shoqafa



Pink granite headless sphinx

Pink granite headless sphinx

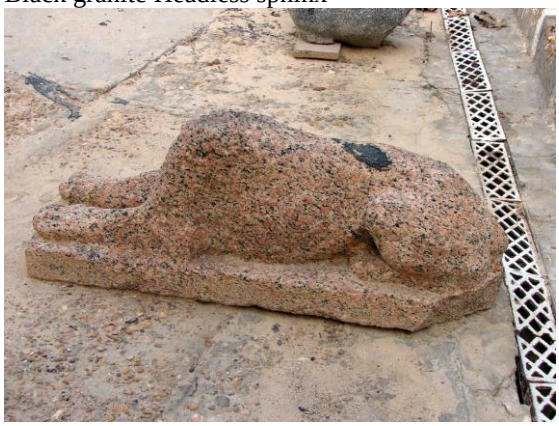
Headless sphinx

Headless sphinx

C. Mustapha Pasha Necropolis

Black granite Headless sphinx

Headless sphinx


Red granite headless Sphinx

4. ARCHITECTURE[1]

Similar to the case of statuary, this part of the catalogue presents examples (fragments) of monumental architecture that involves Egyptian elements. In terms of chronology, the pieces have been divided into two main categories. The first one (A) concerns the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The second one (B) concerns pieces dating from the indigenous dynastic period that were reinstalled in Alexandria during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and which are widely known as Pharaonica. Finally, it is necessary to note again that these examples have been found across several areas of Alexandria, sometimes outside of their original context. Therefore, they do not represent all the areas and periods of Alexandrian history equally, but they present a rather fragmentary picture of Alexandria's public environment. Still, they provide images that are representative of the different styles and contents that involve the Egyptian tradition in this specific type of material during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The foundation plaques of the Sarapis and Harpocrates temples are included in this section, as they were part of the structure and, moreover, as there is no section in this catalogue dedicated to inscriptions.

4.1 PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

1. Foundation plaques of temple of Sarapis
Material: glass, gold, silver, bronze, Nile mud and faience
Provenance: Sarapeion, temple of Sarapis
Location: Alexandria, Greco-Roman museum P.10052
Date: Ptolemy III era

Ten plaques were found at each of the southeast and southwest corners of the enclosure. The inscriptions were written both in Greek and Egyptian. Inscribed is: "King Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the Brother Gods, [dedicated] to Sarapis the temple (Naos) and the sacred enclosure" (McKenzie 2004, 81). In Hieroglyphics, Sarapis is referred to as Osiris-Apis.

Bibliography: Rowe 1946, 1-10; 51-53; 59, figs.1-3, 12, pls.1-2, 7, 9-11, 16 fig.2 hole no.6; Weinstein 1973, 368-370; 379-381 no.162; Grimm 1998, 83, fig.84a-b, d, f-g; La Gloire 1998, 95, nos.51-52; Bernard 2001, 42-43, no.13, pl.6.13; McKenzie 2004, 81-82

2. Foundation plaques from the temple of Harpocrates
Material: glass in 6 different colors, gold, silver, bronze, Nile
Provenance: Sarapeion, temple of Harpocrates
Location: Alexandria, Greco-Roman museum P.10035
Date: Ptolemy IV era

[1] Images that are not included in this catalogue are not available in any previous publication

The plaques, about 40 pieces, contain inscriptions that were written both in Greek and Hieroglyphics. Inscribed is: "King Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and queen Berenike, the Beneficent Gods, to Harpocrates by order of Sarapis" (McKenzie 2004, 84). In Hieroglyphics, Sarapis is referred as Osiris-Apis.

Bibliography: Rowe 1946, 54-58, pls.16-17; Rowe and Rees 1957, 509 Weinstein 1973, 365-366; 368-370; 383-388, no.165, 371, no.170; Fraser 1972, I, 261; 269; II, 412, n.569; Sabotka 1989, 1, 178-182; 3, fig.5, 34; 4, pls.64-67; Grimm 1998, 83, pl.84c, e; La Gloire 1998, 95, nos.50; Yoyotte 1998, 211. Bernard 2001, 60-61, no.21, pl.9.21; McKenzie 2004, 84-85

3. Hathoric capital
Material: Black Basalt
Dimension: 84 x 43 x 43 cm
Provenance: centre/Rosetta Gate
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 376
Date: Ptolemaic period in general

Bibliography: Breccia 1914, 167; 1922, 14, Tkaczow 1993, no.61

4. Fragment of sun dial
Material: Limestone
Dimension: unknown
Provenance: Eastern port/ Caesareum
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 979
Date: Ptolemaic in general

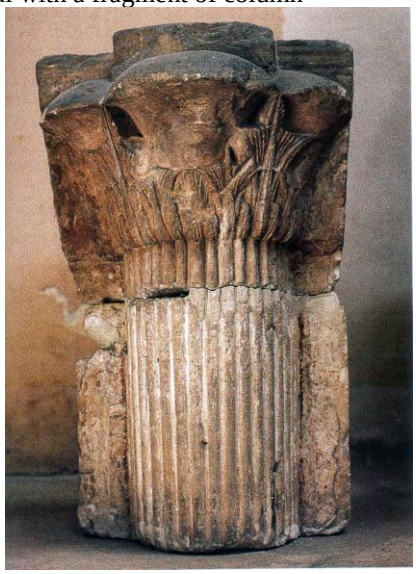
It was found reused in the construction of the base of one of the two obelisks of the Caesareum.

Bibliography: Tkaczow, 1993, no.77

5. Composite column capital with papyrus decorative elements
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: 46 x 70 cm
Provenance: Mazarita
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 24027
Date: Ptolemaic period in general

Bibliography: Tkaczow, 1993, no.97, McKenzie 2007, 117, figs.195

6. Pilasters with papyri-form capitals
Material: Limestone
Dimensions a) Total H. 72 cm; H. capital : 27 cm
b) Total H. 86 cm; H. capital 26 x 26 cm
c) Total H. 62 cm; H. capital 25 x 25 cm
Provenance: Mazarita
Location: Alexandria, Greco-Roman museum 3664, 3668, 3671
Date: Ptolemaic period in general
a) Two half columns with papyri-form capitals
b) Papyrus capital with a fragment of column
c) Papyrus capital with a fragment of column



According to Tkaczow, all of them presumably belonged to the decoration of an interior, perhaps even one room, judging by the homogeneity of the decoration.

Bibliography: Adriani 1934, no.49; Breccia 1914, 212, nos.2-4; 1922, 199, nos.2-4; Tkaczow 1993, no.99; McKenzie 2007, 117, figs.195-196.

7. Composite column capitals
Material: White limestone
Dimensions: H. 42 cm
Provenance: Mazarita
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 3860
Date: Ptolemaic period

The capital is in mixed Greco-Egyptian style. A winged solar disc decorates the abacus, while the decoration below is composed of acanthus leafs and lotus petals.

Bibliography: Botti 1898, 59; 1900, XV, 2; Schreiber op. cit, 277-278, fig.207; Breccia 1914, 215, fig.79; 1922, 202, fig.105; Noshy 1937, 64, n.1, pl.I, 4; Ronczewski 1927, 20, pl.IV; Pensabene 1984, 45, fig.30; Tkaczow 1993, no.93

8. Papyri-form Capital of a pilaster
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: 43 cm
Provenance: Hadra, necropolis
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 20923
Date: Ptolemaic or early Roman period

Tkaczow 1993, no.105

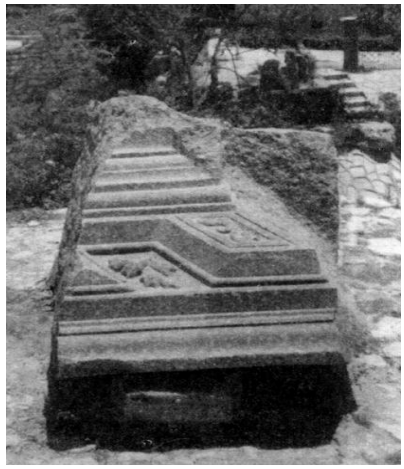
9. Composite capitals with Lotus-form elements
Material: Limestone
Dimensions: H. 35 cm
Provenance: Hadra
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 3699
Date: Ptolemaic or early Roman
(Tkaczow 1993, 288)

Bibliography: Schreiber 1908, 280, fig.210, Noshy 1937, 64, note 3; Tkaczow 1993, no.116

10. Composite capital with lotus-form elements
Material: limestone
Dimensions: H. 80 (ca)
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: in situ
Date: Ptolemaic period

Bibliography: McKenzie, Gibson and Reyes 2004, 90

11. Fragments of the "Roman portico"
Dimensions: H. 95 cm; 120 cm;
110 cm. L. 80 cm;
170 cm;
150 cm;
D. 40 cm, 50 cm, 60 cm.
Material: Aswan granite
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Sarapeion, in situ
Date: Hadrianic



The execution of the Hadrianic temple of Sarapis was done not in white marble but in a traditional Egyptian hard stone, such as Aswan granite, and might have contributed to the increase of Egyptian atmosphere at the site.

Bibliography: Botti 1897, 78(ill.on p.140) ; Breccia 1909, 7 ; Rowe 1942, 143, fig.8; Adriani 1963, 98, Tkaczow 1993, 276, no.242, Ashton 2003, 31; 2004, 9

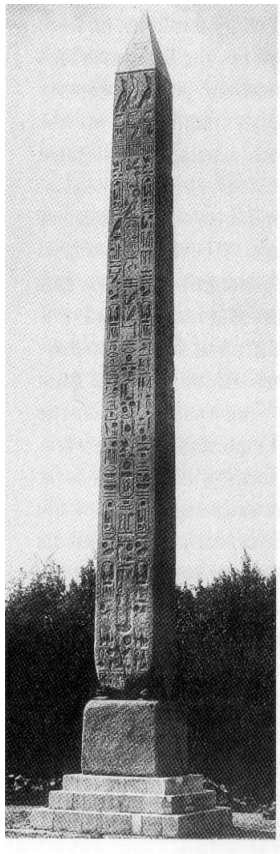
12. Red Granite Pylon
Dimensions: H. 2.26 m (ca)
Provenance: Cape Akra Lochiados
Location: Kom el Dikka
Date: late Ptolemaic/early Roman

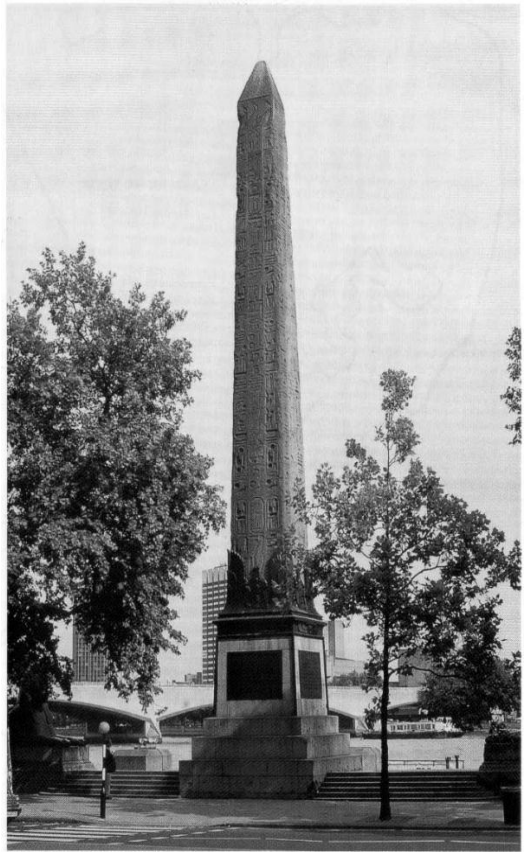
This pylon might belong to the temple of Isis of Akra Lochiados, which was situated at the same position. It is also possible that coins from the Roman period present the same pylon style temple. Nevertheless, Cleopatra VII, who was responsible for the building activity at Akra Lochiados, might have installed this structure first.

Bibliography: Tzalas, 2010, 57; Savvopoulos, 2010, 86

4.2 MIDDLE KINGDOM TO 30TH DYNASTY

13. Red granite "Cleopatra's Needles"
Dimensions: H. 21, 21m (New York); 20,88 m (London)
Provenance: Caesareum (Heliopolis)
Location: Central park, New York; Embankment, London
Date: Tuthmose III (18th Dynasty)





New York London

These obelisks, originally dating from the New Kingdom era, were transferred and reinstalled in the Caesarium of Alexandria during the Roman period. According to the incription found on the base of the New York obelisk, the erection of the two obelisks took place at the eighteenth year of reign of Caesar Augustus Octavianus in 13 BC (Neroutsos 1888, 18). Still, they are erroneously famous as "Cleopatra's Needles".

Bibliography: Neroutsos 1888, 15-20; McKenzie, 2007, 176-177

14. Fragment of an Obelisk of Seti I
Material: Black granite
Dimensions: H.56 cm, W. 200 cm, D.78 cm
Provenance: Submerged Royal quarters, Goddio's expedition
Location: Alexandria, Kom el Dikka (SCA 544)
Date: 19th Dynasty

Only one of the faces preserves some decoration. Three major gods of the Ramsside state are recognisable: Amun of Thebes, Atum-Kephri of Heliopolis and Ptah of Memphis. It is believed that this block, among others, was brought to Alexandria from Heliopolis.

Bibliography: Kiss 1997, no.747; Goddio and Clauss 2006, no.466

15. Fragment of an Obelisk of Seti I
Material: Red granite
Dimensions: H.144 cm
Provenance: Pharos submerged water area
(original provenance Heliopolis)
Location: Alexandria,
Kom el Dikka 3012
Date: 19th Dynasty

Bibliography: La Gloire 1998, no.63

16. Naos of Seti I
Material: Granite
Dimensions: unknown
Provenance: Geneneh
Location: presumably missing
Date: 19th Dynasty

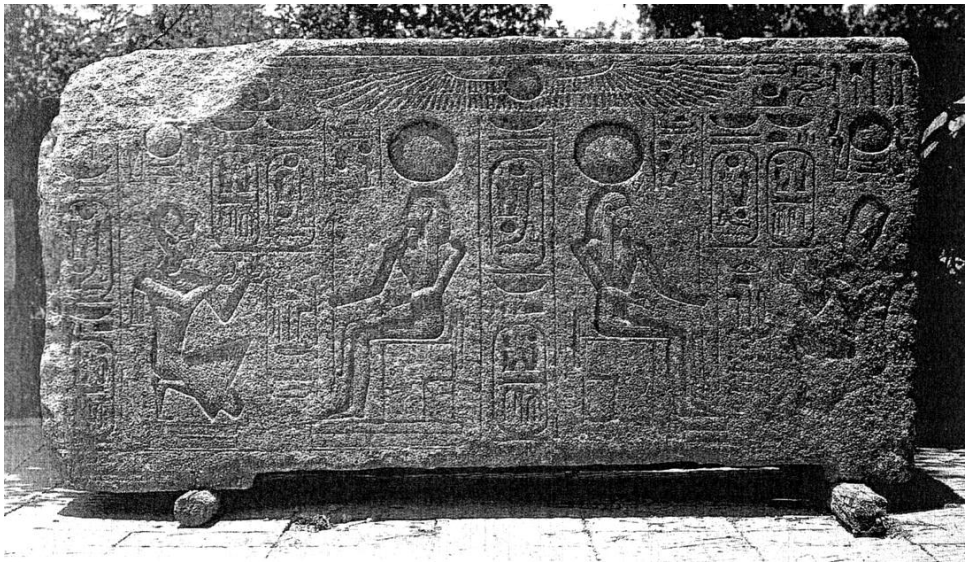
Bibliography: Botti 1897, 114, no.XCIX, Tkaczow 1993, 238, no.140

17. Fragment of a block (pedestal ?)
Material: Red sandstone
Dimensions: 118 x 62 cm
Provenance: Moharem Bey
Location: Alexandria,
Greco-Roman museum 360
Date: 19th Dynasty, period of Seti I or Ramses II

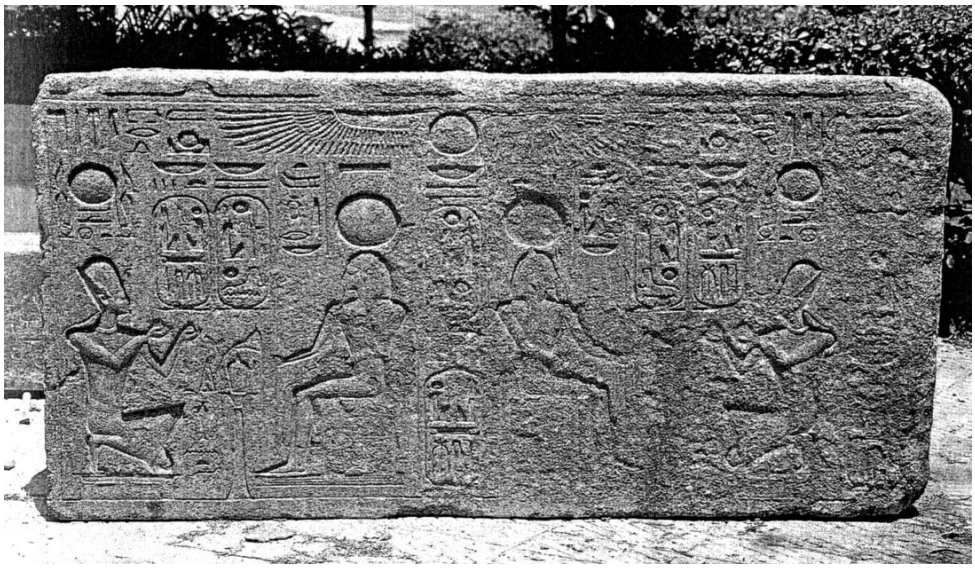
It is the half of a large block. On the one side, there is a frieze of images of falcon-Horus and fragments of hieroglyphic inscription. One the other side, there is a frieze of uraei and a fragment of a relief scene with hieroglyphic inscription.

Bibliography: Daressy 1904, 115, IV; Tkaczow 1993, no.151

18. Block bearing the name of Ramses II
Material: Grey granite
Dimensions: H. 90 cm, L. 190 cm, D., 55 cm
Provenance: centre/ cinema radio
Location: Sarapeion, in situ
Date: 19th Dynasty



Face A



Face B

At each face of the block, A and B, a symmetrical double scene is presented, depicting Ramses II as a kneeling figure making an offering to Atum. In the middle of each scene a winged solar disc is depicted. It was possibly reused during the Ptolemaic rather than during the Roman period.

Bibliography: Abd el- Fattah and Gallo 1998, 7-8; 11-13.

19. Obelisk (doorframe)
Material: Sandstone
Dimension: H. 234 cm
Provenance: western district, Geneneh
Location: Alexandria, Greco-Roman museum 420
Date: 19th Dynasty

Bibliography: Daressy 1904, 121, XXIII; Tkaczow 1993, no.121

20. Inscribed block
Material: Granite
Dimensions: unknown
Provenance: Kom el Dikka
Location: presumably missing
Date: 20th Dynasty, Ramses IX or X

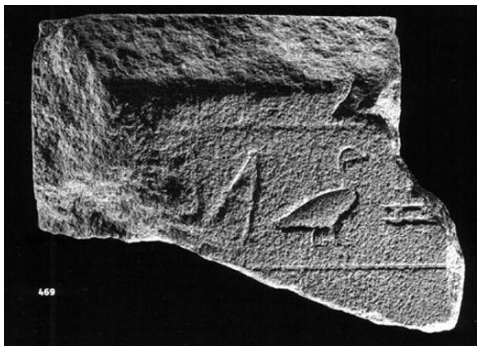
The cartouche of Ramses is inscribed on the block.

Bibliography: Botti 1897, 109, no.LXXXVII, Tkaczow 1993, no.144

21. Architectural block dated in the reign of Apries
Material: Pink Granite
Dimensions:
No. 10 (Upper part):H. 115 cm, W. 60 cm, D. 45 cm
No. 11(Lower part): H. 115 cm, W. 60 cm, D. 45 cm
Provenance: Submerged Royal quarters
Location: Alexandria, Roman Theatre SCA 539
Date: 26th Dynasty

Bibliography: Goddio and Clauss 2006, no.467 (upper) and 468 (lower); Goddio and Clauss 2006, nos.467 and 468

22. Architectural block dating in the reign of Apries
Material: Pink granite
Dimensions: H. 105 cm, W. 140 cm, D. 55 cm
Provenance: Submerged Royal quarters
Location: Alexandria,
Roman Theatre SCA 546
Date: 26th Dynasty



Part of the cartouche of Apries is preserved

Bibliography: Goddio and Clauss 2006, no.469

23. Architectural block dating in the reign of Apries
Material: Pink granite
Dimensions: H. 176 cm, W. 77 cm, D. 50 cm
Provenance: Submerged Royal quarters
Location: Alexandria,
Roman Theatre SCA 545
Date: 26th Dynasty

On the left, part of the cartouche of Apries is preserved

Bibliography: Goddio and Clauss 2006, no.470

24. Architectural block dating in the reign of Apries
Material: Pink granite
Dimensions: H. 130 cm, W. 120 cm, D. 60 cm
Provenance: Submerged Royal quarters
Location: Alexandria,
Roman Theatre SCA 548
Date: 589-570 BC

Part of the cartouche of Apries is preserved

Bibliography: Goddio and Clauss 2006, no.471

25. Part of an Architrave
Material: Pink granite
Provenance: Helliopolis
Location: Alexandria,
Kom el Dikka 1002,
Date: 26th Dynasty

On surface, cartouche of Apries

Bibliography: Corteggiani 1998, 34-35

26. Pharaonic blocks
Material: Red and pink granite
Date: 26th Dynasty
(Cartouche on the block at the right corner)
Location: Alexandria, Kom el Dikka 4148

The block at the left corner presents the image of Ptah

Bibliography: Corteggiani 1998, 34

27. Two Pharaonic blocks
Material: Granite
Dimensions: unknown
Provenance: Western port/ Minet el Bassal
Location: presumably missing
Date: a) 26th Dynasty b) unknown

Bibliography: Botti 1892, 18; 1899, 25, Dolomieu 1922, 25, note 1, nos.4 and 5

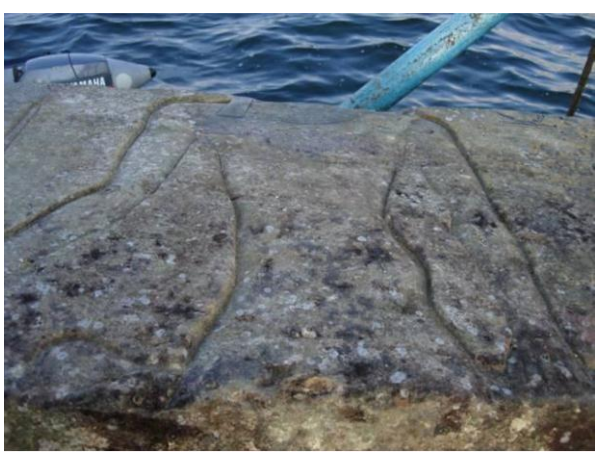
28. Six Pharaonic Blocks and a stele related to the Sed festival of Amasis
Material: Quartzite
Provenance: Heliopolis (?)
Location: Water area of the east side of Cape Lochias (In situ)
Date: 26th Dynasty

Those blocks (six architectural blocks and one stele) seem to be related with a building originally dating in the reign of Amasis (26th Dynasty, where the pharaoh is presented attending the Sed-festival. Possible provenace must be Heliopolis

28A. Block 1
Dimensions: H. 79 cm, W.190 cm, D. 78 cm
Registration number ALL 40 (2004)

Headless figure of a pharaoh holding the mase in one hand and a club in the other
The fragmentary hierogphypic inscription mentions:

= Protection, life, stab(ility…) etc

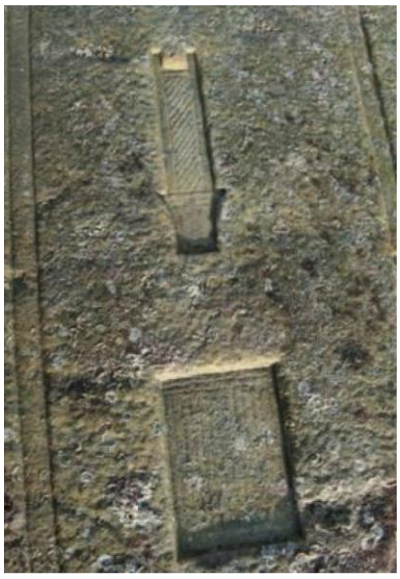


The figure of the Pharaoh

Detail of the Pharaoh's necklace

The **mace** of the Pharaoh

Detail from the left side



The left side of the figure

The right side of the figure

28B. Block 2
ALL 52 (2008)
Dimensions: H. 78 cm, L. 197cm, D. 70 cm

Relief decoration presenting the sanctuaries of Lower Egypt

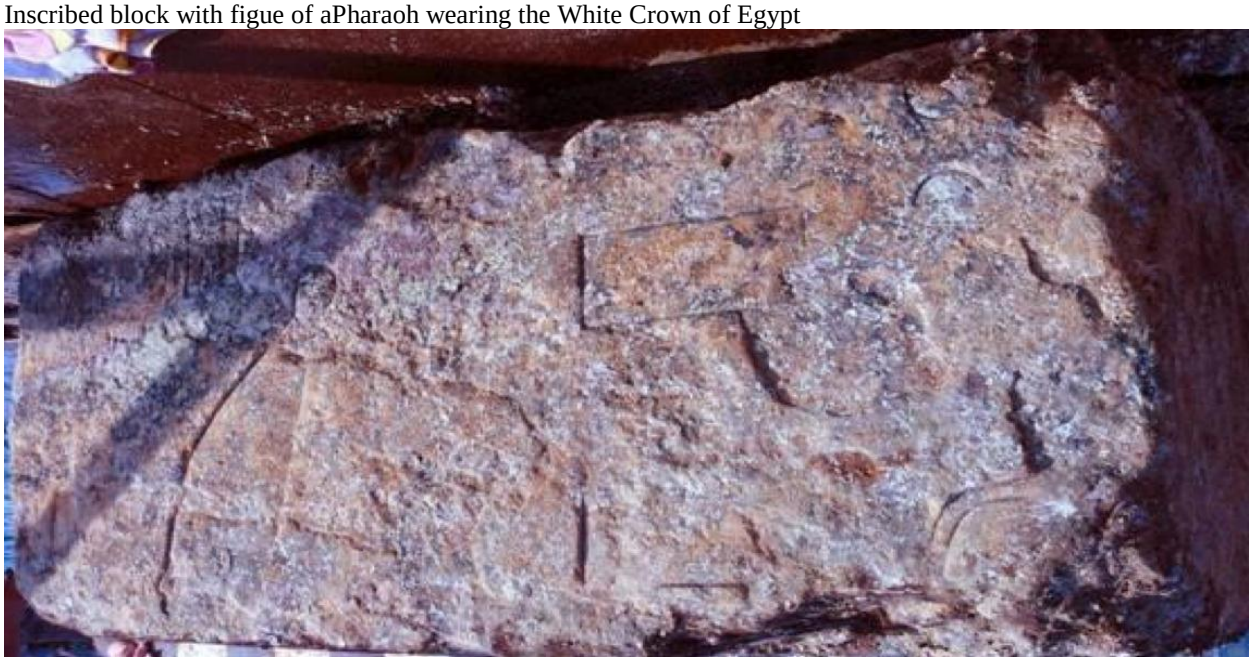
Detail of the inscription

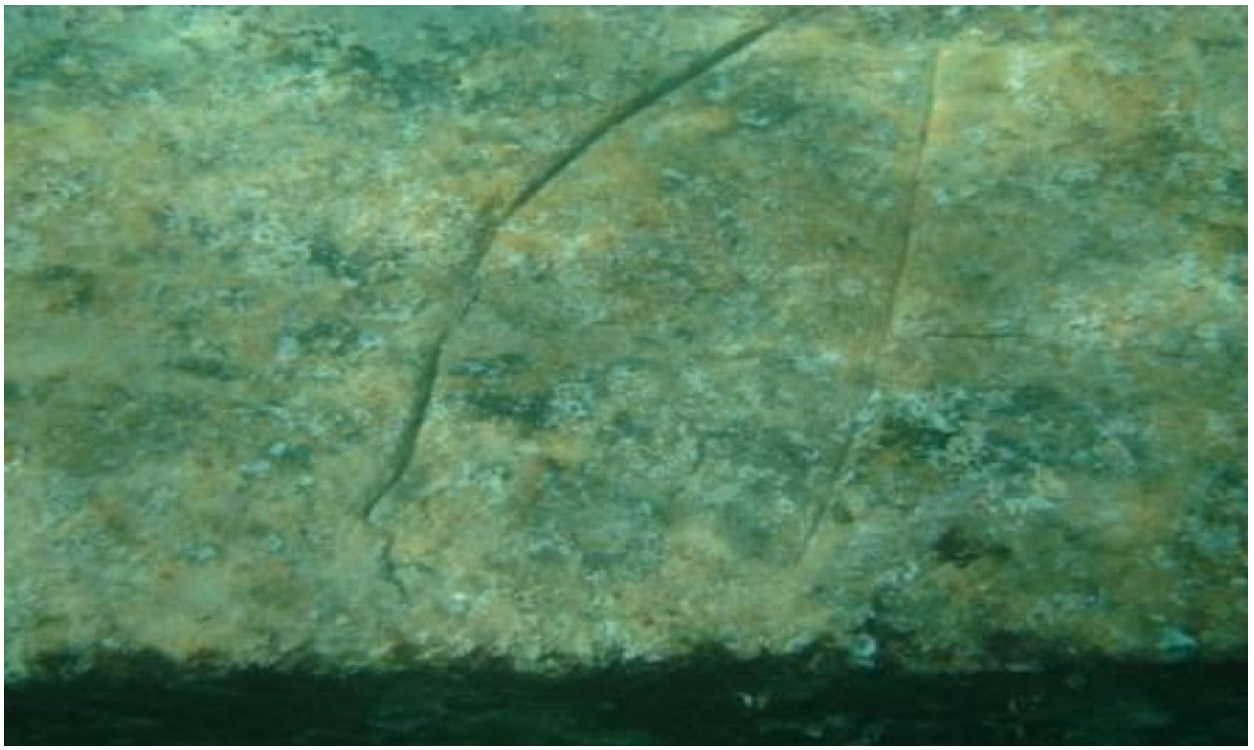
28C. Block 3
Registration number: ALL 53 (2008)
Dimensions: H. 74 cm, L. 133 cm, D. 66 cm.

Inscribed block, mentioning the sanctuaries of Upper Egypt

28D. Block 4
Registration number, ALL 44 (2007)
Dimensions: H. 82 cm, W. 175 cm; D. 82 cm

Inscribed block with figue of aPharaoh wearing the White Crown of Egypt





28E. Block 5
Registration number: ALL 43 (2007)
Dimensions: H. 85 cm, W. 194 cm, D. 75 cm

Fragmentary scene representing a Pharaoh, who sprinkle the perimeter of a batiment consecrates grains of natron

28F. Block 6
Registration number: ALL 42 (2006)
Dimensions: H. 81 cm, W. 128 cm, D. 85 cm

28G. Block 7
Registration number: ALL 41 (2004)
Dimensions: H. 105, W. 165 cm, D. 75 cm

Stele with the name of Amasis (26th Dynasty) in cartouche.

Bibliography: Gallo 2010, 64-88

29. Pharaonic blocks
Material: Sandstone, granite, alabaster
Provenance: Sarapeion
Location: Brithish Museum, in situ
Date: 12th to 26th Dynasty

Among the fragments are included: a) Fragment of an obelisk of Seti I, from the temple in Heliopolis, b) another fragment of an obelisk of Seti I, c) one block bearing the name of Psammetichos (alabaster), d) block of Sesostris II or III, e) block of Ramses II, and others.

Bibliography: Norden 1795, 16; Saint-Genis, 1818, 14, pl.34, figs.6-9; Lepsius 1971, 1-2; Botti 1897, 47-48; Porter and Moss IV, 2-3; Rowe 1942, 129; Tkaczow 1993, no.137

30. Inscribed column drums
Material: unknown
Dimensions: unknown
Provenance: unknown, probably, Manshiyah district
Location: presumably missing
Date: 30th Dynasty

On the one drum there is a Ptolemaic cartouche (?), on the other the Horus-name of Nectanebo I.

Bibliography: Lepsius 1970-1971, 1, p.1, loc. cit; Porter and Moss 1969, IV, p.5; Tkaczow 1993, no.120D

31. Sarcophagus of Nectanebo II
Material: Black granite
Dimensions: H. 118.5 cm,
D. 162 cm 313.5 cm
Provenance: Attarin Moeque
Location: London, The British Museum EA 10

One of the several sarcophagi of the king found also in other areas of Egypt. It was found in reuse as a basin. It was possibly also brought to Alexandria during the Ptolemaic period.

Bibliography: Pinch 1994, 8; Fraser 1972, 39-40

32. Basalt Screen wall of Nectanebo
Dimensions: H. 122.600 cm (max.),
D. 39. cm
Provenance: Alexandria, (originally Delta)
Location, London, The British museum, EA 22
Date: 30th Dynasty

The slab was originally from Helipolis. It presents a kneeling figure of Nectanebo
Bibliography: Smith 1998, 244-245, fig.41

5. COINAGE

Coinage forms the largest part of the catalogue, with the most extensive and multidimensional references to the Egyptian tradition. Egyptian elements are included on the reverse side themes, both in terms of content and style. During the Ptolemaic period, they can be detected in the symbols and insignia of Hellenistic figures, such as the horns of Ammon in the figures of Alexander the Great and Zeus Ammon. In addition, figures of Sarapis and Isis have been both included, because of their Egyptian origin and/or their crowns.

On the Roman period coinage, the picture becomes much more complicated. There are several pure Egyptian themes, such as Osiris, Horus (as falcon), sacred crocodiles, sphinxes and Egyptian temples. In addition, several composite or Hellenised figures and themes are introduced, such as Harpocrates, Hermanubis, Osiris Canopus, etc; and in several occasions they can be presented together with pure Greek gods such as Ares, Tyche, Demeter and Roman Emperors and related figures. The figures of Nilus and Euthenia have also been introduced on Alexandrian coinage during the Roman period. Both of them are presented in Greek style, and at first sight, nothing seems to be Egyptian, apart from the figure of the sphinx, on which Euthenia reclines. Still, here we find the Roman view of Egypt itself, representing the most important factor of economic and also cultural life in ~~the~~ Egyptian history since the foundation of the Egyptian state: the Nile river. Therefore, searching for all possible types of Egyptian involvement, we should also include cases that seemingly have little to do with Egyptian forms.

Finally, Greek themes that become universal during the Roman period are incorporated, as presented on local Alexandrian versions, different from other areas of the Roman Empire. Amongst others, Athena, Tyche and Triptolemos are presented within an indigenising (Egyptianising) environment, which can present some further ideas about the role of the local Egyptian tradition.

5.1. Ptolemaic Period

1. Silver Tetradrachm of Ptolemy I
Obv. Description: Head of Alexander the Great wearing elephant skin and horns of Ammon.
Rev. Description: Athena Promachos. Rev. Inscription: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Date: 305-282 BC
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1904, 104

2. Bronze coin of Ptolemy I
Obv. Description: Head of Alexander the Great wearing elephant skin and horns of Zeus Ammon
Rev. Description: Eagle standing on thunderbolt. Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 305-282 BC
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1904, 237

3. Bronze coin of Ptolemy II
Obv. Description: Head of Zeus-Ammon. Rev. Description: Eagle seated on thunderbolt
Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 282-246 BC
Bibliography: **Fitzwilliam museum, CM.BK-778R;** Svoronos, 1904, 708

4. Silver Tetradrachm of Ptolemy II
Obv. Description: Head of Alexander the Great wearing elephant skin and horns of Zeus Ammon
Rev. Description: Eagle seated on thunderbolt. Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 282-246 BC
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1904, 495

5. Bronze coin of Ptolemy II
Obv. Description: Head of Zeus-Ammon
Rev. Description: Eagle standing on thunderbolt
Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 282-246 BC
Bibliography: Fitzwilliam museum, CM.BK-726R; Svoronos, 1904, 462

6. Bronze coin of Ptolemy III
Obv. Description: Head of Alexander the Great wearing elephant skin and horns of Zeus Ammon
Rev. Description: Eagle seated on thunderbolt. Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 246-222 BC
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1904, 969

7. Bronze Drachm of Ptolemy III
Obv. Description: Head of Zeus Ammon. Rev. Description: Eagle seated on an thunderbolt and cornucopia
Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 246-222 BC
Bibliography: Fitzwilliam museum, CM.BK-779R; Svoronos, 1904, 994

8. Silver Tetradrachm of Ptolemy IV
Obv. Description: Sarapis wearing the Atef crown and Isis wearing the Hathor crown jugate r.
Rev. Description: Eagle with cornucopia resting on wing. Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.
Date: 222-205 BC
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1904, 1124; SNG 3, 3421; SNG 41, 197-198.

9. Bronze coin of Ptolemy IV
Obv. Description : Head of Alexander the Great wearing elephant skin and horns of Zeus Ammon,
Rev. Description: Eagle standing on thunderbolt and cornucopia. Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ.
Date: 222-205 BC
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1904, 1170

10. Bronze Drachm of Ptolemy IV
Obv. Description: Head of Zeus-Ammon. Rev. Description: Eagle standing on thunderbolt.
Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 222-205 BC
Bibliography: Fitzwilliam museum, CM.BK-732 R; Svoronos, 1904, 1127

11. Bronze Drachm of Ptolemy V
Obv. Description: Eagle. Rev. Description: Head of Isis crowned with grain. Obv. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 205-180 BC
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1906, 1233; SNG 41, 246

12. Silver Dichalkon of Ptolemy V
Obv. Description: Head of Isis. Rev. Description: Eagle. Date: 205-180 BC
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1906, 1232

13. Bronze coin of Ptolemy V
Obv. Description: Head of Zeus-Ammon. Rev. Description: Eagle standing on thunderbolt.
Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 205-180 BC
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1904, 1375

14. Bronze coin of Ptolemy V
Obv. Description: Head of Alexander the Great wearing elephant skin and horns of Ammon.
Rev. Description: Eagle standing on thunderbolt. Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
Date: 205-180 BC
Bibliography: Fitzwilliam museum, CM.BK-758R; Svoronos, 1904,1236

15. Bronze Coin of Ptolemy VI
Obv. Description: Head of Ammon-Zeus.Rev. Description: Eagle seated on a thunderbolt. Lotus flower on the field.
Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 180-170 BC
Bibliography: Fitzwilliam museum, CM.LS.1206-R; Svoronos, 1904, 1411

16. Bronze Coin of Antiochos IV
Obv. Description: Sarapis with Atef crown of Osiris. Rev. Description: Eagle standing on a thunderbolt.
Rev. Inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. Date: 169-169 AD
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1904, 1415

17. Bronze Coin of Antiochos VI
Obv. Description: Head of Isis with floral crown. Rev. Description: Eagle seated on a thunderbolt.
Rev. Inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. Date: 169AD
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1904, 1417

18. Bronze Drachm of Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII
Obv. Description: Head of Zeus-Ammon. Rev. Description: Eagle standing on thunderbolt and double cornucopia
Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 170/169 BC
Bibliography: Fitzwilliam museum, CM.BK- 710R; Svoronos, 1904, 1424

19. Bronze Diobol of Ptolemy VIII
Location, Fitzwilliam museum, CM.BK-765R
Obv. Description: Head of Alexander wearing elephant skin and horns of Zeus Ammon
Rev. Description: Eagle standing on thunderbolt. Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 145-116 BC
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1904, 1495

20. Bronze Dichalkon of Ptolemy IX (?)
Obv. Description: Head of Zeus-Ammon
Rev. Description: Ribonned cornucopia. Date: 117-108
Bibliography: Fitzwilliam museum, CM.BK-678 R; Unpublished

21. Bronze coin of Ptolemy X
Obv. Description: Head of Zeus-Ammon
Rev. Description: Two eagles standing on thunderbolts
Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 107-88 BC
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1904, 1710

22. Silver Tetradrachm of Ptolemy XIII
Obv. Description: Filleted head of Ptolemy. Rev. Description: Eagle on thunderbolt. On l., Isis crown
Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 51 BC
Bibliography: Svoronos, 1904, 1840; SNG 3, 3460; SNG 41, 397

23. Bronze Dichalkon of Ptolemy XIII
Obv. Description: Head of Zeus-Ammon. Rev. Description: Isis headdress. Rev. Inscription: ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Date: 52-47 AD
Bibliography: Fitzwilliam museum, CM.BK-676 R; Svoronos, 1904, 1845

5.2. Roman period

1. Bronze Dichalkon of Augustus
Obv. Description: Head of Augustus. Rev. Description: Crown of Isis. Rev. Inscription: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ
Date: 27/8 BC
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 8; Dattari 1901, 8

2. Bronze Drachm of Augustus
Obv. Description: Bust of Augustus. Rev. Description: Oinohoe ornamented with wreath. In front, headdress of Isis.
Obv. Inscription: ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Rev. Inscription: ΚΑΙΣΑΡ. Date: 27/8 BC
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 11; Dattari 1901, 9; Milne 1933, 2

3. Bronze of Dichalkon of Caligula
Obv. Description: Head of Zeus-Ammon. Rev. Description: Eagle. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 38 AD
Bibliography: Dattari, 1901 110

4. Bronze Dichalkon of Caligula
Obv. Description: Agathos Daimon. Rev. Description: Uraeus. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 38 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 111

5. Bronze Dichalkon of Caligula
Obv. Description: Ibis. Rev. Description: Apis Bull. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 38 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 112; Milne 1933, 5246; Geissen 1983, 34444

6. Bronze Dichalkon of Caligula
Obv. Description: Ibis. Rev. Description: Sobek. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 38 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 113

7. Silver Drachm of Claudius
Obv. Description: Bust of Claudius. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis. Obv. Inscription: TI□KL□KA CE GE AY.
Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 42/43 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 78; Milne 1933, 87

8. Bronze Dichalkon of Claudius
Obv. Description: Bust of Claudius. Rev. Description: Sobek. Obv. Inscription: TI ΚΛΑΥ. Rev. Inscription: LΓ.
Date: 43/44 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 86; Dattari 1901, 159; Milne 1933, 117; Geissen 1983, 97

9. Bronze Diobol of Claudius
Obv. Description: Head of Claudius. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus.
Obv. Inscription: TI ΚΛΑV ΚΑΙ CEBAC ΓΕΡΜΑ. Rev. Inscription: AVTO-KPA, LIA. Date: 50/51 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 80; Dattari 1901, 138; Milne 1933, 118

10. Silver Tetradrachm of Nero
Obv. Description: Head of Nero. Rev. Description: Agathos Daimon between wreaths of corn
Obv. Inscription: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΛΑΥ ΚΑΙΣ ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡ AV. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 58/59 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 171; Dattari 1901, 267; Milne 1933, 180; Geissen 1983, 113

11. Silver Tetradrachm of Nero
Obv. Description: Bust of Nero. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΛΑΥ ΚΑΙΣ ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡ AV. Rev. Inscription: LI. Date: 63/64 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 241; Milne 1933, 216

12. Silver Tetradrachm of Nero
Obv. Description: Bust of Nero. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis. Obv. Inscription: ΝΕΡΩ ΚΛΑΥ ΚΑΙΣ ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡ
Rev. Inscription: ΑΥΤΟ ΚΡΑ LIA. Date: 64/65 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 155; Dattari 1901, 253; Milne 1933, 226; Geissen 1983, 160

13. Bronze Diobol of Nero
Obv. Description: Head of Nero. Rev. Description: Apis Bull.
Obv. Inscription: ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΛΑΥ ΚΑΙΣ ΣΕΒ ΓΕΡ AV. Rev. Inscription: LIΔ. Date: 67/68 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 181; Dattari 1901, 293

14. Bronze Diobol of Galba
Obv. Description: Head of Galba. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis.
Obv. Inscription: ΛΟΥΚΛΙΒΣΟΥΛΠ ΓΑΛΒΑ ΚΑΙΣΣΕΒ ΑΥ. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 69 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 203; Dattari 1901, 319; Milne 1933, 356

15. Bronze Semidrachm of Galba
Obv. Description: Head of Galba. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: ΛΟΥΚΛΙΒΣΟΥΛΠ ΓΑΛΒΑ ΚΑΙΣΣΕΒ ΑΥ. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 69 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 205; Dattari 1901, 320; Milne 1933, 353; Geissen 1983, 241

16. Bronze Diobol of Galba
Obv. Description: Head of Galba. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΛΟΥΚΛΙΒΣΟΥΛΠ ΓΑΛΒΑ ΚΑΙΣΣΕΒ ΑΥ. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 69 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 200; Dattari 1901, 323; Milne 1933, 355;

17. Bronze Diobol of Galba
Obv. Description: Head of Galba. Rev. Description: Osiris Canopus.
Obv. Inscription: ΛΟΥΚΛΙΒΣΟΥΛΠ ΓΑΛΒΑ ΚΑΙΣΣΕΒ ΑΥ. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 69 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 204; Dattari 1901, 318; Milne 1933, 357

18. Bronze Diobol of Otho
Obv. Description: Head of Otho. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΑΥΤΟΚΜΑΡΚΟΘΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 69 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 213; Dattari 1901, 337; Milne 1933, 369

19. Bronze Diobol of Otho
Obv. Description: Head of Otho. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis.
Obv. Inscription: ΑΥΤΟΚΜΑΡΚΟΘΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 69 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 214; Dattari 1901, 333; Milne 1933, 370

20. Bronze Obol of Otho
Obv. Description: Head of Otho. Rev. Description: Osiris Canopus.
Obv. Inscription: ΑΥΤΟΚΜΑΡΚΟΘΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 69 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 216; Dattari 1901, 331; Milne 1933, 371

21. Bronze Diobol of Otho
Obv. Description: Head of Otho. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus.
Obv. Inscription: ΑΥΤΟΚΜΑΡΚΟΘΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 69 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 217; Dattari 1901, 336

22. Bronze Semidrachm of Vitellius
Obv. Description: Head of Vitellius. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus.
Obv. Inscription: ΩΛΟΥΟΥΙΤΚΑΙΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜΑΥΤ. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 69 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 375

23. Bronze Diobol of Vitellius
Obv. Description: Head of Vitellius. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΩΛΟΥΟΥΙΤΚΑΙΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜΑΥΤ. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 69 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 2198; Dattari, 1901, 342; Milne 1933, 376

24. Bronze Diobol of Vitellius
Obv. Description: Head of Vitellius. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis
Obv. Inscription: ΩΛΟΥΟΥΙΤΚΑΙΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜΑΥΤ. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 69 AD
Bibliography: Dattari, 1901, 341; Milne 1933, 378

25. Bronze Diobol of Vitellius
Obv. Description: Head of Vitellius. Rev. Description: Osiris Canopus
Obv. Inscription: ΩΛΟΥΟΥΙΤΚΑΙΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜΑΥΤ. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 69 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 220

26. Bronze Diobol of Vespasian
Obv. Description: Head of Vespasian. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: AVTOKKAIΣΣΕΒΑΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 69/70 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 269; Dattari 1901, 394; Milne 1933, 422

27. Bronze Semidrachm of Vespasian
Obv. Description: Bust of Vespasian. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis, crowned with horns and corn-wreath
Obv. Inscription: AVTTITΦΛΑVIΟVΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝ[ΚΑΙΣ. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 69 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 261

28. Bronze Diobol of Vespasian
Obv. Description: Head of Vespasian. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AVTOKKAIΣΣΕΒΑΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 71/72 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 239; Dattari 1901, 398; Milne 1933, 404; Geissen 1983, 297

29. Bronze Diobol of Vespasian
Obv. Description: Head of Vespasian. Rev. Description: Osiris Canopus
Obv. Inscription: AVTOKKAIΣΣΕΒΑΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 72/73 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 268; Milne 1933, 426

30. Bronze Diobol of Vespasian
Obv. Description: Bust of Vespasian. Rev. Description: Hawk crowned with skhent
Obv. Inscription: AVTOKKAIΣΣΕΒΑΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 73 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 275, Milne 1933, 436; Geissen 1983, 298

31.Bronze Diobol of Vespasian)
Obv. Description: Bust of Vespasian. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis, crowned with a solar disc between cow horns.
Obv. Inscription: [AVTO]K KAIΣ ΣΕΒΑ ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 74 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 384; Ashton 2005, 34

32. Bronze Diobol of Vespasian
Obv. Description: Bust of Vespasian. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Zeus-Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AVTOKKAISSEBAOVESΠASIANOV. Rev. Inscription: LH. Date: 76/77 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 258; Dattari 1901, 44; Milne 1933,450

33. Silver Tetradrachm of Titus
Obv. Description: Head of Titus. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AVTOK TITOY KAIΣ OYESΠASIANOY ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: ΣAPAΠIΣ LB.
Date: 79/80 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 281; Dattari 1901, 426; Milne 1933, 456; Geissen 1983, 319

34. Bronze Diobol of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Head of Sarapis. Rev. Inscription: ETOVΣ ΔEVTEPOV
Date: 81/82 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 466

35. Bronze Diobol of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Apis Bull with solar disc between his horns and an altar in front. Obv. Inscription: [AVT] KAIΣAΔOMITIANOΣΣEBΓEPM. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 84/85 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 575; Geissen 1983, 338; Skowronek 1998, 29

36. Bronze Dichalkon of Domitian
Obv. Description: Bust of Domitian. Rev. Description: Crocodile crown with solar disc (Sobek)
Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 85/86 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 316; Dattari 1901,498; Geissen 1983, 353

37. Silver Tetradrachm of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Triumphal arch, with triple opening, and tympanum with solar disc and uraei. Obv. Inscription: [AYT]KAIΣAPΔOMITIANOΣΣEBΓEP[M] . Rev. Inscription: LϛΔ.
Date: 86/87 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 86; Dattari 1901, 449; Milne 1933,484; Geissen 1983, 349

38. Bronze Diobol of Domitian (81-96 AD)
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Figure of a hawk, the animal-manifestation of Horus
Obv. Inscription: ΔOMITIANOΣ ΣEB ΓE[PM]. Rev. Inscription: LϛΔ. Date: 86/87 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 480; Geissen 1983, 355; Ashton 2005, 51

39. Silver Tetradrachm of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: AYTKAIΣAPΔOMITIANOΣΣEBΓEPM. Rev. Inscription: LϛΔ. Date: 86/87AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 444; Milne 1933, 483

40. Silver Tetradrachm Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Bust of Helios-Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AYTKAIΣAPΔOMITIANOΣΣEBΓEPM. Rev. Inscription: LϛΔ Date: 86/87 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 482

41. Bronze Diobol of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Head of Zeus-Ammon
Obv. Inscription: AYT ΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡ. Rev. Inscription: ΕΤΟΥΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΥ
Date: 87/88 AD. Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 534; Geissen 1983, 356

42. Silver Tetradrachm of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Seated figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AYTΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ. Rev. Inscription: LH. Date: 88/89 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 492

43. Bronze Diobol of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Isis-Therenuthis
Obv. Inscription: AYTΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ. Rev. Inscription: LI. Date: 90/91 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 483; Geissen 1983, 376

44. Bronze Diobol of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: AYTΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ. Rev. Inscription: LI. Date: 90/91 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 501

45. Bronze Diobol of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Figure of Isis Pharia
Obv. Inscription: AYTΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ. Rev. Inscription: LI. Date: 90/91AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 508

46. Bronze Obol of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Uraeus
Obv. Inscription: AYTΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ. Rev. Inscription: LI. Date: 90/91 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 625; Geissen 1983, 377

47. Bronze Diobol of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Agathos Daimon on the back of a horse
Obv. Inscription: AYTΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ. Rev. Inscription: LIA. Date: 91/92 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 334; Dattari 1901, 564; Milne 1933, 507; Geissen 1983, 378

48. Bronze Diobol of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Sphinx.
Obv. Inscription: AYTΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ. Rev. Inscription: LIA. Date: 91/92 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896; Dattari 1901, 571; Milne 1933; Geissen 1983, 396

49. Bronze Diobol of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Harpocrates wearing skhent crown
Obv. Inscription: AVT ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΔΟΜΙΤΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ. Rev. Inscription: L IA. Date: 91/92 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 306; Milne 1933, 504;

50. Bronze Diobol of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Osiris Canopus
Obv. Inscription: AYTΚΑΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ. Rev. Inscription: LIA. Date: 91/92 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 475; Milne 1933, 506

51. Bronze Diobol of Domitian
Obv. Description: Head of Domitian. Rev. Description: Agathos Daimon
Obv. Inscription: AYTKAIΣAPΔOMITIANOΣΣEBΓEPM. Rev. Inscription: LIB. Date: 92/93 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 509

52. Bronze Dichalkon of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Sobek . Rev. Inscription: LI. Date: 106/107 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1197; Geissen 1983, 469

53. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Figure of Harpocrates of Mendes seated on rocks.
Obv. Inscription: AYTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LI. Date: 106/107 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 909bis

54. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Seated figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AYT TP] AIAN ΣEB Γ[EPM ΔAKIK]. Rev. Inscription: LIA. Date: 107/108 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1026; Milne 1933, 583; Geissen 1983, 481

55. Bronze Dichalkon of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Sistrum. Rev. Inscription: LIA. Date: 107/108 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 533; Milne 1933, 627; Dattari 1901, 1114; Geissen 1983, 482

56. Bronze Diobol of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Apis bull.
Obv. Inscription: AYT TPAIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIB. Date: 108/109 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 487

57. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIB. Date: 108/109AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 470; Dattari 1901, 962; Geissen 1983, 506

58. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Two Canopoi on the doorframe of an Egyptian temple with pylons. Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK Rev. Inscription: LIB. Date: 108/109AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 511

59. Bronze Drachm of Trajan

Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Triptolemos on his chariot, driven by uraei, wearing the skhent crown. Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIB. Date: 108/109AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1040; Milne 1933, 592; Geissen 1983, 514

60. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Nilus on a chariot led by Hippopotami. In front, Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: AYTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIB. Date: 108/109AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1005

61. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Isis-Sothis on the back of a horse
Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIΓ. Date: 109/110AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 929; Geissen 1983, 531

62. Bronze Drachm of Trajan (98-117 AD)
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Zeus, standing inside a Δ-style Corinthian temple. In the middle of the tympanum there is a solar disc carried by two flying figures. Obv. Inscription: CE-B-ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIΓ. Date: 109/110 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 533; Dattari 1901, 1155; Ashton 2005, 20

63. Bronze Drachm of Trajan (98-117 AD)
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Figure of Harpocrates, wearing the skhent crown, seated on a human-headed sphinx. Obv. Inscription: AVT TPAIAN CE-B ΓEP[M ΔAKIK]. Rev. Inscription: LIΓ.
Date: 109/110 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1892, 460; Ashton 2005, 43

64. Copper alloy Hemiobol of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev: Description: Crown of horns uraei disc and plumes. Rev. Inscription: LIΓ.
Date: 109/110 AD
Bibliogrpahy: Poole 1896, 559; Skowronek, 1998, 30

65. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Two Canopoi on a base; on the left, Isis; on the right, Harpocrates of Heracleopolis, with the hem-hem crown. Obv. Inscription: AVTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK
Rev. Inscription: LIΓ. Date: 109/110 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 830

66. Billon Tetradrachm of Trajan (98-117 AD)
Obv. Head of Trajan. Rev: Agathos Daimon wearing the skhent and enfolding winged Kerykeion
Obv. Inscription: AVT[TPAIANC]-EBΓEPEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIΓ. Date: 109/110 AD
Bibliography: Pool, 1896, 391, Dattari, 1901, 704; SNG 41, 253; Geissen 1983, 568; Förschner 1987, 284; Skowronek 1998, 31

67. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Isis. On the right, tiny figure of Harpocrates with skhent crown. Obv. Inscription: AYTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIΓ.
Date: 109/110AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896; Dattari 1901, 921

68. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated on throne; on the left, standing figure of Harpocrates; on the right, standing figure of Hermanubis. Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK.
Rev. Inscription: LIΔ. Date: 110/111 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1035; Geissen 1983, 562

69. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Winged portal of an Isis' temple; above door, statue of Isis, crowned with horns, solar disc and plumes, holds situla and sceptre. Horus-Hawk looking inwards, on each tower.
Obv. Inscription: AVT]TPAIANCEB[]. Rev. Inscription: LIΔ. Date: 110/111 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 542

70. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Harpocrates of Canopus wearing the skhent crown. The lower half of his body is in crocodile form; in front of an altar. Obv. Inscription: AVTTPAIANCEBΓEPMΔAKIK.
Rev. Inscription: LI E. Date: 111/112 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 462

71. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Dimensions: D. 35 mm. Provenance: Alexandria mint. Location: Dattari collection 1158. Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Sacred bark on four wheels, carrying a naiskos
Obv. Inscription: AYTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIE. Date: 111/112 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896; Dattari 1901, 1158

72. Silver Tetradrachm of Trajan (98-117 AD)
Obv. Head of Trajan. Rev: Agathodaimon with skhent crown. Obv. Inscription: AVT TPAIAN CEBEΓEPMΔAKIK
Rev. Inscription: LIE Date: 111/112 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 392; Dattari 1901, 704; SNG 41. 253; Geissen 1983, 568; Förschner 1987, 285; Skowronek 1998, 32

73. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Demeter with the lower part of a serpent
Obv. Inscription: AVT[T PAI]ANAP ICEB[ΓEPMΔAKI]K. Rev. Inscription: LIE. Date: 111/112 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896; Dattari 1901, 845

74. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Two Canopoi on a base
Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIE. Date: 111/112AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 452; Dattari 1901, 826 Geissen 1983, 577

75. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Recling figure of Euthenia with her back on a sphinx
Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIE. Date: 111/112 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1042; Geissen 1983, 578

76. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Isis Pharia in front of Pharos
Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIE. Date: 111/1112 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 450; Dattari 1901, 935; Geissen 1983, 580

77. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis between two figures of Nike
Obv. Inscription: AYTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIE. Date: 111/1112 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1034

78. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan
Rev. Description: Demeter-Isis-Therenuthis. The goddess has the lower body of a serpent and wears a modius. She is presented within a Δ-style temple. On the left and right are two griffins on podia.

Obv. Inscription: AYTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIϹ. Date: 112/113 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1133

79. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Isis Lactans, seated on throne, suckling Harpocrates

Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIϹ. Date: 112/113AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 615

80. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Figure of Harpocrates of Heracleopolis Magna

Rev. Inscription: L I Ϲ. Date: 112/113 AD. Bibliography: Poole 1896, 455; Geissen 1983, 579

81. Bronze Diobol of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Figure of Androsphinx

Obv. Inscription: AVT]TPAIANCEBΓEPM[ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: L I Ϲ. Date: 112/113 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 506

82. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Dexiosis between Sarapis and Homonoia

Obv. Inscription: AYTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIϹ. Date: 112/113 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1031

83. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Dexiosis between Isis (right) and Isis Pharia (left)

Obv. Inscription: AYTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIϹ. Date: 112/113 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 931

84. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Elpis in front of a seated figure of Harpocrates of Mendes

Obv. Inscription: AYTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIϹ. Date: 112/113 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 875

85. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Standing figures of Isis and Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AYTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIZ. Date: 113/114 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 448

86. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Euthenia, seated on throne (right). On the left, standing figure of Demeter; also, a podium with kalathos, guarded by two serpents (Agathos Daimon and uraeus).
Obv. Inscription: AVTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIZ. Date: 113/114 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 843

87. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Isis seated on throne; on the left standing figure of Harpocrates wearing the skhent crown. Obv. Inscription: AYTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIZ.
Date: 113/114 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 926

88. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of TrajanRev. Description: Seated figure of Nilus. In front, Euthenia, on her knees, offering a crown. Obv. Inscription: AYTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIZ. Date: 113/114 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1015

89. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Kalathos with wreaths of corn, on the chariot of Triptolemos, driven by uraei. Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIZ. Date: 113/114 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 554/555; Dattari 1901, 1105; Milne 1933, 708; Geissen 1983, 649

90. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Agathos Daimon and uraeus facing each other. In the middle, kalathos on podium. Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIZ.
Date: 113/114 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 557; Dattari 1901, 1110; Geissen 1983, 651

91. Bronze Dichalkon of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Hemhem crown. Rev. Inscritpion: LIZ. Date: 113/114 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 710.

92. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Osiris Canopus
Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIH. Date: 114/115 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 669

93. Silver Tetradrachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus, crowned with lotus buds.
Obv. Inscription: C-EB ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIΘ. Date: 115/116 AD
Bibliography: Ashton 2005, 61

94. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Harpocrates of Mendes with horns of Ammon, Hemhem crown, holding sceptre and club. Behind and in front of him rams.
Obv. Inscription: AVTTPAIANCEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LIΘ. Date: 115/116 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 456

95. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Figure of uraeus wearing the headdress of Isis, enfolds corn-stalk and sistrum. Obv. Inscription: AVTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK ΠAPRev. Inscription: LK
Date: 116/117 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 505

96. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated on throne in a Δ-style temple, crowned on the tympanum with a solar disc between uraei. On the right, standing figure of Demeter. On the left, standing figure of Homonoia. Obv. Inscription: AYTT PAIANAP ICEBΓEPMΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: [L]K. Date: 116/117 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1154

97. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Nike in a Δ-style temple; in the tympanum, winged solar disc with uraei. Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB [ΓEPM ΔAKIK]. Rev. Inscription: LI[]. Date: 107-117 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 536; Dattari 1901, 1144; Geissen 1983, 738

98. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Hermanubis, infront of Sarapis, seated on throne. Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB ΓEPM ΔAKIK. Rev. Inscription: LI[]. Date: 107-117 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 540; Dattari 1901, 1030; Geissen 1983, 736

99. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Isis-Therenuthis in a Δ-style temple
Obv. Inscription: AYT TP AIAN ΣEB [ΓEPM ΔAKIK]. Rev. Inscription: LI[]. Date: 107-117 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1133; Geissen 1983, 737

100. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis between Heracles (right) and Apollo (left)(?). Obv. Inscription: [AYTT PAI]ANAP ICEBΓEPMΔ[AKIK]. Date: 98-117 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1032

101. Bronze Drachm of Trajan
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Figure of Tutu as a striding sphinx. The god wears *hemhem* crown. The short tail ends in a cobra. A crocodile protrudes from the chest. A serpent undulates beneath the paws of the sphinx. Date: 98-117 AD
Bibliography: Feuardent 1872, 1021B; Poole 1896, 506; Dattari 1901, 1180-1181; Christiansen 1988, 188

102. Silver Tetradrachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Figure of nude Harpocrates, walking to left, holding cornucopia. Obv. Inscription: AYT KAI TPAI AΔPIA CEB. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 120/121 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 786

103. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Female (Isis?) headed winged sphinx with foot on Wheel of Nemesis. Obv. Inscription: AΔIANOCCEB AVTKAICTPAIAN. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 120/121 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1993; Geissen 1983, 798

104. Silver Tetradrachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Isis, crowned with solar disc and corn wreaths, holding cornucopia, sceptre and sistrum. Obv. Inscription: AYTKAITPAI AΔPIAC EB.
Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 111/112 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1405

105. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Isis Canopus, crowned with solar disc between horns
Obv. Inscription: AVTKAITPAIANOC AΔPIANOC CEB. Rev. Inscription: LH. Date: 124/125 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 633

106. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis, crowned with solar disc between horns
Obv. Inscription: AVTKAITPAIAΔPIACEB. Rev. Inscription: LH. Date: 124/125 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 624

107. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Trajan. Rev. Description: Zodiac cycle with figures of Gods. In the middle, bust of Sarapis. Arround: Zeus, Cronos, Ares, Helios, Selene, Aphrodite and Hermes
Obv. Inscription: AYTKTAIΛAΔP ANTΩNINOC. Rev. Inscription: LH. Date: 124/125 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1079; Dattari 1901, 2982; Geissen 1983, 1491

108. Bronze Dichalkon of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of HadrianRev. Description: Crocodile, crowned with solar disc(?). (Sobek?)
Obv. Inscription: AVTKAITPAIAN AΔPIA CEB. Rev. Inscription: L EN. Date: 126/127 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 816

109. Silver Tetradrachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Osiris Canopus, crowned with solar disc between horns, ureaei and plumes, bearing figures on his body. Obv. Inscription: AVTKAITPAIANOC AΔPIANOC CEB
Rev. Inscription: ET ENAT. Date: 126/127 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 625; Milne 1933, 1097

110. Silver Tetradrachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Two Canopoi, facing with each other. The left one wears Nemes headdress, solar disc between horns, plumes and uraeus. The right one wears the atef crown
Obv. Inscription: AVTKAITPAIAΔPIACEB. Rev. Inscription: ET ENAT. Date: 126/127 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 632; Milne 1933, 1418

111. Silver Tetradrachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Figure of Ptah-Hephaistos
Obv. Inscription: AYTKAI TPAIAPIACEB. Rev. Inscription: L ΔΩΔEKATOY. Date: 127/128 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 1257-58; Geissen 1983, 981

112. Silver Tetradrachm of Hadrian
Obv. Head of Hadrian. Rev. Figure of Agathos Daimon faces uraeus, crowned with solar disc, flanked with two uraei. Obv. Inscription: AVT KAI-TPAI AΔPIA CEB. Rev. Inscription: L ΔEKATOY. Date: 127/128 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 1166; Ashton 2005, 56

113. Silver Tetradrachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Isis seated on throne, crowned with solar disc between horns and plums, suckling naked Harpocrates, with shkent, holding lotus buds; on the back, two Horus-hawks, with skhent, facing each other. Obv. Inscription: AVTKAITPAI AΔPIA CEB. Rev. Inscription: L I ς. Date: 132/133 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 762

114. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Head of Hadrian. Rev. Reclining figure of Nilus, holding at righ a reed or brunch of corns and a cornucopia at left. Obv. Inscription: AVT KAIC-TPAI AΔPIA CEB. Rev. Inscription: LIZ. Date: 133/134 AD
Bibliography: Ashton 2005, 63

115. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Head of Hadrian. Rev: Isis Pharia, holding sail and sistrum; before her, Pharos, surmounted by statue, holding situla and sceptre. Obv. Inscription: AVTKAICTPAIAN-AΔPIANOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LIH.
Date: 134/135 AD
Bibliogrpahy: Poole 1896, 757; Dattari 1901, 1767; SNG 41, 385; Geissen 1983, 1124; Förschner 1987, 490; Skowronek 1998, 40

116. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Figure of Apis-bull, crowned with solar disc between horns, in front of altar. Obv. Inscription: AVTKAITPAIAN AΔPIANOC CEB. Rev. Inscription: L IH. Date: 134/135 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 812

117. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Head of Hadrian. Rev. Bust of Sarapis and Isis facing each other. In between a figure of Nude Harpocrates, holding a cornucopia in his left arm. In the lower half, an eagle.
Obv. Inscription: AVT KAIC TPAIAN-AΛPIANOC CEB. Rev. inscription: L IH Date: 134/135 AD
Bibliography: Ashton 2005, 50

118. Silver Tetradrachm of Hadrian (117-138 AD)
Obv. Head of Hadrian. Rev. Seated Figure of Sarapis; in front, Cerberus.
Obv. Inscription: AVTKAICTPAAΔPIANOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LIH. Date: 133/134AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 622; Milne 1933, 1394

119. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Harpocrates of Heracleopolis in temple with segmental pediment. Obv. Inscription: AYTK[AITPAI] AΔPIANOCC. Rev. Inscription: LIH.
Date: 133/134 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1953; Geissen 1983, 870

120. Bronze Drachm coin of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Canopoi facing each other, in a temple with segmented pediment, crowned with solar disc with uraei. Obv. Inscription: AUT KAIC TRAIAN ADRIANOC CEB
Rev. Inscription: [L]I H. Date: 133/134 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 1431; SNG 6, 2066

121. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Compound sphinx with body of lion and the head of god Tutu, wearing the hem-hem crown. Over shoulder he carries drapery from which crocodile's head issues in front of chest, trampling on serpent. On back, there is a small female griffin, further fore-paw on wheel.
Obv. Inscription: AVTKAICTRAIAN AΔ[PIANOC CEB]. Rev. Inscription. L IH. Date: 133/134 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 852; Skowronek 1998, 42

122. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Harpocrates of Heracleopolis in front of an altar, crowned with skhent and holding a club. Obv. Inscription: [AVT] KAIC TPAIAN-[AΔPIANOC CEB]
Rev. Inscription: LENN EAKΔ. Date: 134/135 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 766 (Silver); Milne 1933, 1471; Ashton 2005, 52

123. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Egyptian style temple with obelisks in each side of the door. Above the entrance in a garland is a statue of Isis, with a sceptre in her hand.
Obv. Inscription: AVT KAIC TPAIAN-AΔPIA[OC CEB]. Rev. Inscription: L E N NE/AKΔ. Date: 134/135 AD
Bibliography: Pole 1892, 879; Ashton 2005, 22; Dattari 1901, 1172

124. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Sarapis, seated on throne and Demeter
Obv. Inscription: AYTKAICTPAIAN AΔPIANOCC EB. Rev. Inscription: L EN NE AKΔ. Date: 134/135 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1844

125. Silver Tetradrachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Nilus seated on crocodile, holding reed and cornucopia
Obv. Inscription: AVTKAICTPAAΔPIANOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LK. Date: 136/137 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 649; Dattari 1901, 1336; SNG 41, 404; Geissen 1983, 1197; Förschner 1987, 524

126. Bronze Obol of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Harpocrates of Mendes, wearing the skhent crown, seated on the back of a ram, crowned with a solar disc. Obv. Inscription: AYTKAITPAI AΔPIANOCC EB
Rev. Inscription: LK. Date: 136/137 AD.
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 1737

127. Silver Tetradrachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Figure of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris
Obv. Inscription: AYTKAI TPAIAPIACEB. Rev. Inscription: LK. Date: 136/137 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 1489; Geissen 1983, 1489

128. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis or Zeus-Osiris. The bearded man wears the atef crown. This depiction is similar to the figure of Osiris in the coin of Ptolemy IV. However, Geissen identifies him as Zeus. Obv. Inscription: AYTKAI TPAIAPIACEB. Rev. Inscription: LK. Date: 136/137 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 1208

129. Silver Tetradrachm of Hadrian
Obv: Head of Hadrian. Rev: Triptolemos wearing elephant headdress a car drawn by two winged uraei crowned with the skhent crown. Obv. Inscription: AVT KAI TPAIA AΔPIANO CEB. Rev. Inscription: L KA.
Date: 137/138 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 1528; SNG 6, 2059

130. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Harpocrates of Heracleopolis, seated on a sphinx
Obv. Inscription: AYTKAICTPAIAN AΔPIANOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LKA. Date: 137/138 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 1222

131. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Figure of Isis-Therenuthis. Rev. Inscription: LKA.
Date: 137/138 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 1223

132. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Sarapis, reclining on the open wings of an eagle
Obv. Inscription: AYTKAICTPAIAN AΔPIANOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LKA. Date: 137/138 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 742; Milne 1933, 1550; Geissen 1983, 1232

133. Bronze Obol of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Harpocrates of Mendes, crowned with the hem-hem crown
Obv. Inscription: AVTKAITPAIAN AΔPIANOC CEB. Rev. Inscription: L KB. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 764; Milne 1933, 1574

134. Bronze Drachm of Hadrian
Obv. Description: Head of Hadrian. Rev. Description: Sarapis and Hadrian stand in a Δ-style temple, consisting of two Corinthian columns and a tympanum with a solar disc. This scene must have been particularly relevant to this Emperor following his visit to Egypt in 130 AD/131 AD.
Obv. Inscription: AYTO KAIC TPAIAN-AΔPI[ANOC C]EB. Date: 117-138 AD.
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 1379; Skowronek 1998, 38; Ashton 2005, 16

135. Bronze Obol of Antinous
Obv. Description: Head of Antinous wearing the hem-hem crown. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus holding cornucopia. Obv. Inscription: ANTINOOY HPΩOC. Rev. Inscription: LK. Date: 135/136 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2089 (similar bust), 2092

136. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Euthenia, crowned with uraeus and corn, reclining on sphinx, holding a bundle of corn-ears and poppies and lotus-flower
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T] AIΛ AΔP AN[TΩNINOΣ EYΣ ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: E[Y]ΘH[NI]A ETOYΣ A. Date: 138 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1164; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/1164 or 15813

137. Bronze Diobol of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Osiris Canopus, crowned with horns, disk, plumes, and uraei, standing on cushion. Obv. Inscription: AYT K] T AIΛ AΔP [ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB
Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/16225

138. Bronze Diobol of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: bust of Isis crowned with solar disc beteen ureaei
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1902, 2640; Geissen 1983, 3469; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15199

139. Bronze Diobol of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Bust of Harpocrates, wearing the skhent crown and raising finger to lips. Obv. Inscription: [AYT K] T AIΛ AΔP ANT[ΩNINOΣ EYΣEB]. Rev. Inscription: L B.
Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 8462-3; Milne 1933, 1615; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13427

140. Bronze Semidrachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Demeter seated, holding Patera over Egyptian altar
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 8277; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15751

141. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis wearing kalathos; at the front, palm-branch. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L B.
Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2622; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15807

142. Bronze Diobol of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis wearing kalathos and laurel wreath
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: ETOYΣ B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Dattari, 1901, 2338; Milne, 1933, 1585; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13406

143. Silver Diobol of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius
Rev. Description: Harpocrates standing, facing, head, crowned with skhent rown, raising finger to lips, holding cornucopia. Obv. Inscription: AYT] K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣ[EB. Rev. Inscription: L B
Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2240 corr., pl. XIV; (rev.); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15242

144. Bronze Diobol of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Harpocrates, seated on lotus-flower, raising fingers to lips, holding lotus. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINO[Σ EYΣEB (?). Rev. Inscription: ETOYΣ B.
Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15827

145. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Head of Ammon, crowned with horns, disk, and uraei
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣ[EB (?). Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1904, 2934 (?= Savio, 1999, 8804); Milne 1933, 1166; Ashton 2005, 54; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15712

146. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Isis Pharia standing, holding sail and sistrum; at the front, Pharos. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣ(Σ)EB. Rev. Inscription: L B.
Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901 2671; Milne 1933, 1608; Geissen 1983, 3470; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13422

147. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis, between Dioskuroi.
Obv. Inscription: AYTKTAIΛAΔP ANTΩNINOΣ CEB. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2863

148. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Nilus seated on rocks, holding reed and cornucopia
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2727; Savio 1999, 8611; Geissen 1983, 1306; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14781

149. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Radiate-headed and draped bust of Sarapis-Ammon-Helios-Nilus, wearing kalathos, ram's horn round ear; at the front, cornucopia.
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 2730; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/16128

150. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated, holding long sceptre, on back of ram, crowned with disk, to r., Egyptian altar . Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB
Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983; 3482; Savio 1999, 2286; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15207

151. Bronze Diobol of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Uraeus, crowned with solar disk and horns, enfolding stalk of corn and poppy. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T] AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L B
Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 1314; Savio 1999, 9000; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14784

152. Bronze Semidrachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Figure of reclining sphinx with Nemes headdress and uraeus. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AI (Λ) AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3083; Milne 1933, 1613; Geissen 1983, 1310; Savio 1999, 8941; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13425

153. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Δ-style temple with four columns on steps enclosing Sarapis seated, holding sceptre; at his feet, Cerberus; in the triangular pediment, solar disk
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T A]IΛ AΔP AN[TΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3060 bis, pl. XXX (rev.); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15760

154. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Temple with two columns and rounded pediment enclosing statue of Isis seated with Harpocrates. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AI AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB
Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 1895(?); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15937

155. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Δ-style temple with two columns enclosing Sarapis seated, holding sceptre; at his feet, Cerberus; in pediment, disk.
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T] AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ [EYΣE?]B. Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901 3053; Savio, 1999, 8897; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15762

156. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Two Canopoi standing on cushions, facing each other; between bodies, altar. Obv. Inscription: AYT] K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣE[B. Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2498-2500, pl. XI (rev.); Geissen 1983, 1872; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15163

157. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Two Canopoi standing on cushions, facing front, on garlanded base; between bodies, altar. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB
Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 138/139 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2489; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15750

158. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Two Canopoi standing, facing each other, one on l. crowned with horns, disk, plumes, and uraei, one on r. wearing atef crown; below, eagle with spreading wings
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣ ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L TPITOY. Date: 139/140 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15725

159. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis wearing kalathos; at the front, caduceus combined with palm-branch. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB
Rev. Inscription: L Δ. Date: 140/141 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2623; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15236

160. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Sarapis-Ammon with horns, crowned with kalathos
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔPI ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L [Δ (?). Date: 140/141 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15680

161. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Busts of Sarapis and Isis jugate
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L Δ. Date: 140/141 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15520

162. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Δ-style temple with four columns enclosing statue of Nilus seated on rocks onto which a crocodile climbs, holding reed and cornucopia.
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔPI ANTΩNIN[OΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L Δ. Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901 3050 (obverse?), 3051, pl. XXIX (rev.); Savio 1999, 8894; Geissen, 1983, 1356; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14809

163. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Busts of Nilus, cornucopia at shoulder, and Euthenia, crowned with corn-ears, jugate.. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩN[INOΣ ΣEB EYΣ (?)
Rev. Inscription: L E. Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1999 1724; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13497

164. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Nilus, seated on rocks, holding cornucopia. On left, standing figure of Euthenia, offering a crown. Obv. Inscription: AYTKTAIΛAΔP ANTΩNINOΣ []
Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2775

165. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Harpocrates standing, facing, resting elbow on column, holding cornucopia. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNI[NOΣ ΣEB] EYΣ
Rev. Inscription: L E. Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2567, pl. XIV (rev.); Skowronek 1998, 51; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15354

166. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Crowned and draped bust of Isis
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T] AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L E. Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901 2642; Milne 1933, 1720; Savio 1999, 8531; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13493

167. Silver Tetradrachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Crowned and draped bust of Isis
Obv. Inscription: ANTΩNINOΣ ΣEB EYΣ(E)B. Rev. Inscription: L E. Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 8179; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14248

168. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Busts of Sarapis Hermanubis jugate, both wearing kalathos, jugate; at the front, palm-branch. Obv. Inscription: AYTOKPA] KAIΣ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ
Rev. Inscription: L E. Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15857

169. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Busts of Isis crowned with disk, horns, and plumes, r., and Sarapis crowned with taenia and kalathos, l., facing each other.
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ ΣEB EYΣ. Rev. Inscription: L E. Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 8719(?); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15530

170. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Harpocrates, wearing atef (?) crown, seated on rocks, holding long sceptre and club; either side, ram. Obv. Inscription: AYT] K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩ[NINOΣ] [
Rev. Inscription: L E. Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2578, pl. XIV (rev.); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15539

171. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Hermanubis standing, facing, wearing kalathos, holding caduceus and palm-leaf; to l., jackal. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB
Rev. Inscription: L E. Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2629; Savio 1999, 8513-14; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15848

172. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Hermanubis standing, wearing kalathos, holding caduceus downwards and palm-leaf. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINO[Σ ΣEB EYΣ (?)
Rev. Inscription: L E Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901 2627, pl. XVI (rev.); Milne 1933, 1723; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13496/

173. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Radiate-headed and draped bust of Sarapis-Ammon-Asclepius-Helios-Nilus-Hermanubis, wearing kalathos, ram's horn round ear; at shoulder, cornucopia; at the front, trident with snake twined round. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AI]Λ AΔP ANTΩNI[NOΣ] EYΣEB
Rev. Inscription: L E. Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15860

174. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Radiate-headed and draped bust of Sarapis-Ammon-Asclepius-Helios-Poseidon, wearing kalathos and atef crown (?), ram's horn round ear; at the front, trident with snake twined round it. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEBRev. Inscription: L E.
Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 1412; Savio 1999, 8725; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14835

175. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Δ-style temple with two columns enclosing statue of Hermanubis holding caduceus and palm-branch; at his feet, jackal (and small figure of Elpis)
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ ΣEB EYΣ. Rev. Inscription: L E. Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13501

176. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Temple with two papyrus columns and rounded pediment, in which disk and uraei, enclosing statue of Harpocrates, wearing skhent crown, holding cornucopia; to l., ram (or altar?). Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L E.
Date: 141/142 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3031; Milne 1933,1695a; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13956

177. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Apis-bull standing, crescent on body; at the front, Egyptian altar. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ ΣEB EYΣ. Rev. Inscription: L H.
Date: 144/145 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 8946; Geissen 1983, 1468; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14855

178. Bronze Diobol of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ
Obv. Inscription: Bust of Harpocrates, crowned with horns, uraei, and three canopic jars (?), raising finger to lips; behind, club surmounted by hawk. Rev. Inscription: L H. Date: 144/145 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2573; Savio 1999, 8464; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15555/

179. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis between Dioskuroi
Obv. Inscription: TI AI AΔPI ANTΩNINOC. Rev. Inscription: L H. Date: 144/145 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1109

180. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius

Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Figure of Elpis in a Δ-style temple. In the Tympanum, solar disc. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNIN CEB EYC. Rev. Inscription: LH. Date: 144/145AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 1484

181. Bronze Dichalkon of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Skhent crown. Rev. Inscription: L H
Date: 144/145 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15562

182. Bronze Diobol of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Hawk standing, crowned with skhent
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ. Rev. Inscription: L H. Date: 144/145 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3133; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15302

183. Bronze Diobol of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Serpent (Agathos Daimon), crowned with skhent
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩ[. Rev. Inscription: L H. Date: 144/145 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3067- 9; Savio 1999, 8918; Geissen 1983, 1467; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15561

184. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Δ-style temple with two columns, disk in pediment, enclosing statue of Athena, holding Nike, resting arm on shield; to l., altar
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ ΣEB EYΣ. Rev. Inscription: L H. Date: 144/145 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3029; Milne 1933, 1840a; Geissen 1983, 1483; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13972

185. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Triptolemos, wearing elephant's-head cap, holding seeds in chlamys, driving biga drawn by winged serpents, r.
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ ΣEB EYΣ. Rev. Inscription: L H. Date: 144/145 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 1489; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14867

186. Bronze drachm of Antonius Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antonius Pius. Rev. Description: Head of Nilus crowned with a lotus crown. Two fishes occupy the lower part. . Obv. Inscription: AVT K T AIΛ AΔP_ANTΩNE[INOC] CEB EVC
Rev. Inscription: L H Date: 144/145 AD
Bibliography: Ashton 2005, 62

187. Bronze Semidrachm of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD)
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Pharos. In either side of the latern a Triton. On summit, statue of Isis Pharia, holding sceptre. Obv. Inscription: AYTKAIΛAΔP-ANTΩNINOCCEB
Rev. inscription: L H. Date: 144/145 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1206; Dattari 1901, 3026; Skowronek 1998, 44

188. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius (138-161 AD)
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Isis, seated, wearing solar disc with horns and plumes, sukling Harpocrates, who wears the skhent crown and holding a lotus bud
Obv. Inscription: AVTKTAIΛAΔP-ANTΩNEINOCC-EBEVC. Rev Inscription: LEN-ATOV Date: 145/146 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1124; Dattari 1901, 2649; Geissen 1983, 1548; Förschner 1987, 628; Skowronek 1998, 50

189. Silver Tetradrachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Tyche in a Δ-style temple. In the Tympanum, solar disc (Tycheion). Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNIN CEB EYC
Rev. Inscription: L ΔEKATOY. Date: 146/147AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1198

190. Bronze Dichalkon of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Crocodile, crowned with disc
Rev. Inscription: L I. Date: 146/147 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15688

191. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Two zodiacs, the one within the other. Within, busts of Isis and Sarapis jugate. Obv. Inscription: TI AI AΔPI ANTΩNINOC. Rev. Inscription: L IΓ. Date: 149/150 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1078

192. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Isis-Tyche, crowned with plumes, holding rudder and small figure. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ ΣEB EYΣ. Rev. Inscription: L IE
Date: 151/152 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2895-6; Savio 1999, 8768; Milne 1933, 2156; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13747

193. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Statue of Agathos Daimon standing, facing, within a tetrastele façade (altar of Agathos Daimon). Rev. Inscription: LIE. Date: AD 151/152
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2999 bis; cf. Milne 1933, 2164; Geissen 1983, 1673

194. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: serpent with head of Sarapis, wearing kalathos, enfolding stalks of corn. Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AI(Λ) AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ ΣEB EY(Σ)
Rev. Inscription: L IZ. Date: 153/154 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2829; Milne 1933, 2243; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13811

195. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Dexiosis between Nilus (right) and Tiber (left). On the field: TIBEPIΣ OMONOIA. Obv. Inscription: AYTKTAIΛAΔP ANTΩNINOΣ CEB. Rev. Inscription: LIZ.
Date: 153/154 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2782

196. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Isis headed sphinx with foot on the wheel of Nemesis
Obv. Inscription: AYT K T AIΛ AΔP ANTΩNINOΣ ΣEB EYΣ. Rev. Inscription: L IZ. Date: 153/154 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901 3088; Milne 1933 2248; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13815

197. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Isis Euploia, holding ears of corn and rudder; to l., forepart of ship under sail; below which, female seated; to r., stern of ship, below which, bearded figure (Nilus) reclining, holding rudder. Obv. Inscription: A(Y)T K T AI(Λ) AΔP] ANTΩNINOΣ ΣEB EY[(Σ)
Rev. Inscription: L IH. Date: 154/155 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2901-2; Milne 1933, 2291; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13847

198. Silver Tetradrachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis wearing kalathos; at the front, palm-branch. Obv. Inscription: ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟ(Σ) ΣΕΒ ΕΥΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: L ΚΑ. Date: 157/158 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2247, pl. XVI (rev., wrongly numbered 2248); Milne 1933, 2346; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13893

199. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Isis-Sothis, holding cornucopia and sceptre, riding a dog. Obv. Inscription: ΑΥΤ ΑΙ ΑΔΡ ΑΝ[ΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ ΕΥ]. Rev. Inscription: L ΚΑ. Date: 157/158 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2683; Savio 1999, 8582; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/16241

200. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated, holding sceptre; at his feet, Cerberus; to l., Isis Pharia holding sail; to r., Demeter (?) standing, holding torch (?); all on galley with oars
Obv. Inscription: ΑΥΤ Κ Τ ΑΙ ΑΔΡ [ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕ]Β ΕΥ. Rev. Inscription: L ΚΑ. Date: 157/158 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15781

201. Silver Tetradrachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Radiate-headed and draped bust of Sarapis-Ammon-Asclepius-Helios-Nilus-Poseidon, wearing kalathos, ram's horn round ear, cornucopia at shoulder; at the front, trident with snake twined round it. Obv. Inscription: ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ ΕΥΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: L ΚΓ.
Date: 159/160 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 1847; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14984

202. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Serpent with head of Sarapis, crowned with kalathos, erect, on back of horse, galloping, l. Obv. Inscription: ΤΙ ΑΙ ΑΔ[ΡΙ(Α) ΑΝΤ]ΩΝΙΝ[ΟΣ Σ]ΕΒ ΕΥ
Rev. Inscription: L ΚΓ. Date: 159/160 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15974

203. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Frontal bust of Sarapis.
Obv. Inscription: ΤΙ ΑΙ ΑΔΡΙ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC. Rev. Inscription: L ΚΓ. Date: 159/160 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 1851

204. Bronze Drachm of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: draped bust of Sarapis, wearing taenia and kalathos; below, ram crowned with disk, horns, and uraei, at the front Egyptian altar. Obv. Inscription: ΤΙ ΑΙ ΑΔΡ(Ι) ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟ[Σ ΣΕΒ] ΕΥ. Rev. Inscription: L ΚΔ. Date: 160/161 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933; 2418; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15411

205. Bronze coin of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Draped busts of Sarapis wearing kalathos, r., and Isis, l., facing each other; between, Harpocrates standing, raising finger to lips, holding cornucopia (?); beneath, eagle spreading wings. Obv. Inscription: ΤΙ ΑΙ ΑΔΡ(ΙΑ) ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ ΕΥ. Rev. Inscription: L ΚΔ.
Date: 160/161 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 2856-7 corr.; Savio 1999, 8720-1, no number on pl. 148; Geissen 1983, 1893(?); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15370

206. Bronze Dichalkon of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius . Rev. Description: Ram walking, r.; at the front, Egyptian altar.
Obv. Inscription: L [. Date: 138/161 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15804

207. Bronze Obol of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Hathoric crown of Isis. Date: 138/161 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/16213

208. Bronze Dichalkon of Antoninus Pius
Obv. Description: Head of Antoninus Pius. Rev. Description: Hem-hem crown. Date: 138/161 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15819

209. Bronze Diobol of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ
Obv. Inscription: Agathos Daimon on horse galloping. Rev. Inscription: L Γ. Date: 162/163 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3637; Savio 1999, 9387; Milne 1933, 2504a; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14176

210. Bronze Dichalkon of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: Osiris Canopus, crowned with horns, disk, plumes, and uraei, standing on cushion. Obv. Inscription: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. Rev. Inscription: L Δ. Date: 163/164 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3618; Savio 1999, 9378, Geissen 1983, 2111; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14565

211. Bronze Diobol of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: Uraeus, crowned, enfolding stalk of corn and torch
Obv. Inscription: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. Rev. Inscription: L Δ. Date: 163/164 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1344; Dattari 1901, 3640; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14566

212. Silver Tetradrachm of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: Sarapis-Helius-Asclepius-Ammon (Pantheos)
Obv. Inscription: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 163/164 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 2110

213. Silver Tetradrachm of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis on eagle with open wings.
Obv. Inscription: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 165/166 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 2117

214. Silver Tetradrachm of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: Two Canopoi on eagle with open wings.
Obv. Inscription: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 165/166 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 2116, Dattari 1901, 3608; Milne 2533; Geissen 1983, 2116

215. Bronze Drachm of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: Harpocrates between Canopoi. On the lower field, eagle with open wings. Obv. Inscription: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑCEBACTH. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 164/165 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3623

216. Bronze Drachm of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated in the middle holding sceptre; at his feet, Cerberus; on throne, hawk; to l., Demeter standing, r., holding torch (?); to r., Isis (?) holding sceptre (?) and cornucopia; all on galley with oars. Obv. Inscription: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. Rev. Inscription: [L H].
Date: 144/145 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14574

217. Bronze Drachm of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: Isis Pharia in front of Pharos
Obv. Inscription: ΦΑ[ΥΣΤΙΝ] CEBEYCEB ΘΥΓΑ. Rev. Inscription: L ΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ. Date: 147/148 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3289; Milne 1933, 1968; Geissen 1983, 1943

218. Bronze Drachm of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: Egyptian style temple with two columns and rounded pediment enclosing statue of Isis seated, with Harpocrates. Obv. Inscription: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒ ΘΥΓ ΣΕΒ ΕΥΣΕΒ Rev. Inscription: L ΔΩΔΕΚΑΤΟΥ. Date: 148/149 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14741

219. Bronze Diobol of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: hawk standing, crowned with skhent
Obv. Inscription: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ ΣΕΒ[Α]ΣΤΗ. Rev. Inscription: L ΙΓ Date: 149/150 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 2068; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13678

220. Bronze Drachm of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: Triptolemos on his chariot, drive by uraei
Obv. Inscription: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ CEBEYCEB ΘΥΓ. Rev. Inscription: LΙΔ. Date: 150/151 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1332; Geissen, 1983, 1958

221. Bronze Drachm of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: Draped bust of Ammon, crowned with disk, on back of ram. Obv. Inscription: ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝ ΣΕΒ ΕΥΣΕΒ ΣΕΒ ΘΥΓΑ. Rev. Inscription: L IE. Date: 151/152 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 2154; Geissen 1983, 1963; Savio 1999, 9130?; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/1374

222. Bronze Drachm of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina. Rev. Description: Nilus reclining. Obv. Inscription: CEBACTH ΦAYCTINA
Rev. Inscription: LIϹ. Date: 152/153 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1340

223. Bronze Drachm of Faustina II
Obv. Description: Head of Faustina II. Rev. Description: Isis Sothis on the back of a dog
Obv. Inscription: ΦAYCTINA CEBACTH. Rev. Inscription: L KA Date: 157/158 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1339; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15669

224. Silver Tetradrachm of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus (on l.) and Marcus Aurelius (on r.), facing each other.
Rev. Description: Bust of Ammon, crowned with horns, disk, and uraei.
Obv. Inscription: ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 161/162 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14430

225. Bronze Drachm of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis, frontally depicted, in a Δ-style temple below, which there is a door between two standing statues (Isis and Harpocrates?); in outer intercolumniations, smaller doors. Rev. Inscription: legend obsure. Date: 161/162 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3803, pl. XXX (rev.); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14637

226. Silver Tetradrachm of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Draped bust of Nilus, crowned with taenia and lotus-buds; at shoulder, reed; at the front, cornucopia. Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕ.
Rev. Inscription: L B Date: 161/162 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14477

227. Bronze Diobol of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Harpocrates standing, raising finger to lips, holding cornucopia. Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕ. Rev. Inscription: L Γ. Date: 162/163 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3727; Savio 1999, 9472; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14592

228. Bronze Diobol of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Uraeus, crowned with disk and horns, enfolding two stalks of corn. Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕ. Rev. Inscription: L Γ. Date: 162/163 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3813; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14585

229. Bronze Diobol of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Serpend headed Sarapis with Kyrekeion and sceptre with Horus-falcon on its top. Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕ. Rev. Inscription: L Γ. Date: 162/163 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 9502; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15158

230. Bronze Semidrachm of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius VerusRev. Description: Figure of sphinx; above, draped bust of Sarapis, r., wearing kalathos. Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: L Γ. Date: 162/163 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 9501; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14605/

231. Bronze Diobol of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Bust of Harpocrates, wearing skhent crown, raising finger to lips; behind, club surmounted by hawk wearing skhent crown. Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕ
Rev. Inscription: L Γ. Date: 163/164 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 947; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/16004

232. Bronze Dichalkon of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Isis Pharia, holding sail and sistrum
Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: L Δ Date: 163/164 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3730; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14068

233. Bronze Diobol of Lucius Verus

Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Isis, crowned, seated; on knee, Harpocrates, crowned with skhent, holding lotus-flower, raising hand; behind, palm-branch. Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕ
Rev. Inscription: L Δ. Date: 163/164 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3729; Geissen 1983, 2154; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15076

234. Silver Tetradrachm of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕ. Rev. Inscription: LE Date: 164/165 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1361; Geissen 1983, 2162

235. Bronze Drachm of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Standing figures of Sarapis, between Dioskuroi.
Obv. Inscription: ΛΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΟCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 164/165 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3779

236. Bronze Drachm of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Isis Euploia, holding ears of corn and rudder; at the front, forepart of ship under sail; below which a female is reclining; behind, stern of ship, below which, bearded figure reclining, holding reed. Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: L E
Date: 164/165 AD
Bibliography: Förschner 1987, 718; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14602

237. Bronze coin of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Nilus seated on rocks up which crocodile climbs, holding reed and cornucopia. Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕ(Β). Rev. Inscription: L E.
Date: 164/165 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3747; Milne 1933, 2530; Savio 1999, 9489(?); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14092

238. Silver Tetradrachm of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Euthenia, holding wreath; Nilus, holding cornucopia and reed, seated, on rocks, up which crocodile climbs. Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕΒ
Rev. Inscription: L E. Date: 164/165 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14498

239. Bronze Drachm of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Egyptian style temple with two pylons enclosing Canopoi of Isis and Osiris on cushions. Obv. Inscription: Λ] ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ Ο[ΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕΒ

Rev. Inscription: L ς Date: 165/166 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14618

240. Bronze Drachm of Lucius Verus
Date: 165/166 AD
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Δ-style temple with two columns and disk between uraei enclosing seated Sarapis. Sarapis holds sceptre; at his feet, Cerberus; on throne, small figure of Nike;

Obv. Inscription: obscure. Rev. Inscription: [L ς]
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14616

241. Bronze Drachm of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Δ-style temple with two columns and disk between uraei on pediment, enclosing statue of Nilus seated on rocks, l., holding cornucopia and reed. Obv. Inscription: obscure.

Rev. Inscription: L ς Date: 165/166 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3802(?); Savio 1999, 9342; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14614

242. Bronze Obol of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕ. Rev. Inscription: Lς. Date: 165/166 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3752; Geissen 1983, 2170

243. Bronze Drachm of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Two Canopoi standing on cushions (and bases), facing each other, one on l. crowned with horns, disk, plumes, and uraei, one on r. wearing atef crown; (between bodies, crescent). Obv. Inscription: Λ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: L ς. Date: 165/166 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3704; Milne 1933, 2551?; Geissen 1983, 2169; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14606

244. Bronze Drachm of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Serpent headed figure of Sarapis on the back of horse
Obv. Inscription: M A KO ΑΝΤΩ ΣΕΒ ΕΥΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: L ΕΝΑΤΟΥ. Date: 168/169 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3762; Milne 1933, 2595; Geissen 1983, 2183

245. Bronze Diobol of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Bust of Harpocrates r., wears close-fitting cap with uraeus surmounted by skhent crown, his l. hand to his mouth; behind, club, on which hawk. Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: A.D. 161/162 AD
Bibliography: SNG 13, 921

246. Bronze Drachm of Lucius Verus
Obv. Description: Head of Lucius Verus. Rev. Description: Triptolemos, wearing elephant's-head cap, holding seeds in chlamys, driving biga drawn by winged serpents; to r., head with high crown surmounted by disk.
Obv. Inscription:]ΙΟΣ[.Rev. Inscription: legend obscure. Date: 161/169 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14638

247. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius Caesar
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: two serpents facing each other (to l., Agathos Daimon enfolding caduceus; to r., uraeus enfolding sistrum). Obv. Inscription: M ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ
Rev. Inscription: L IZ. Date: 153/154 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3220; Geissen 1983, 1929; Savio 1999, 12299 (on pl. 170); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15004

248. Silver Tetradrachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Bust of Ammon, crowned with horns, disk and uraei;
Obv. Inscription: M ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ (ΣΕ). Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 161/162 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 9196 http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14429

249. Billon Tetradrachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Head of Sarapis-Ammon-Asclepius-Helios- Heracles
Obv. Inscription: M ΑΥΡΗΛ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΝ ΣΕ. Rev. Inscription: L Δ. Date: 163/164
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3383; SNG 6, 2077; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14442/

250. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis, between standing figures of Dioskuroi. Obv. Inscription: M ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕ. Rev. Inscription: L [E]. Date: 164/165 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 2104

251. Bronze Diobol of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Crowned bust of Harpocrates, raising finger to lips; behind, cornucopia containing corn stalk. Obv. Inscription: M AYPHΛIOΣ ANTΩNINOΣ Σ. Rev. Inscription: L ς Date: 165/166 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3462; Milne 1933, 2565; Savio 1999, 9155; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14124

252. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Eagle with spreading wings; above, two Canopoi standing on cushions, facing each other, one on l. crowned with horns, disk, plumes and uraei, one on r. wearing atef crown. Obv. Inscription: obscure. Rev. Inscription: L ς. Date: 165/166 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14672

253. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Egyptian style temple with two pylons, each with door, enclosing Canopus, crowned with horns, disk, plumes and uraei, on cushion, above steps (?); on architrave, eagle standing, spreading wings.. Obv. Inscription: M AYPHΛIOΣ ANTΩNINOΣ ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L ς. Date: 165/ 166 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3568, pl. XXX (rev.); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14692

254. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Temple with two columns and rounded pediment enclosing two Canopoi on cushions, one on l. crowned with horns, disk, plumes and uraei, one on r. wearing atef crown; between heads, crescent. Obv. Inscription: M AYPHΛIOΣ ANTΩNINOΣ ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L ς Date: 165/166 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14685

255. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Triptolemos, wearing elephant's-head cap, holding seeds in chlamys, driving biga drawn by winged serpents. Obv. Inscription: M AYPH] ΛIOΣ ANTΩNINOΣ ΣEB Rev. Inscription: L ς Date: 165/166 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14689/

256. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Standing figures of Sarapis and Isis
Obv. Inscription: MAYPHΛIOC ANTTΩNINOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LZ Date: 166/167 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3528

257. Billon Tetradrachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: MAYPHΛIOC ANTTΩNINOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LZ Date: 166/167 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1274

258. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: banquet of the gods: couch with curved sides, on which reclines Hermanubis, Demeter, Isis, infant Harpocrates, and Sarapis; above each god, basket or box with globular top; below couch, three niches containing two Canopoi and Tyche reclining.
Obv. Inscription: M AYPHΛIOΣ ANTΩNINOΣ ΣE. Rev. Inscription: L H. Date: 167/168 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15462

259. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Nilus seated on rocks up which crocodile climbs, holding cornucopia, (from which Genius issues, holding wreath,) and reed

Obv. Inscription: Λ] ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΟΥΗΡΟΣ ΣΕ (Β). Rev. Inscription: L H. Date: 167/168 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 9495; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14629

260. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated on throne; in front, Cerberus
Obv. Inscription: [ΑΝΤΤΩΝΙΝΟCCΕΒ] ΜΑ[ΥΡΗΛΙΟC]
Rev. Inscription: L H. Date: 167/168 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3528

261. Bronze Dichalkon of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: sacred ram. Rev. Inscription: L EN.
Date: 168/169 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1901, 2596a; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14180

262. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Figure of seated Isis; on knee, Harpocrates, crowned with skhent, (holding lotus-flower), raising hand; on throne, hawk; at the front, palm-branch (?)
Obv. Inscription: Μ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: L I Date: 169/170 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 2610; Geissen 1983, 2073; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15047/

263. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Head of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: Μ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕ. Rev. Inscription: LI. Date: 169/170 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 2069

264. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Head of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: Μ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕ. Rev. Inscription: LI. Date: 169/170 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 2070

265. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Draped bust of Ammon, crowned with disk, on back of ram walking, r. Obv. Inscription: Μ Α] ΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝ[ΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: L IB.
Date: 171/172 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3553, Geissen 1983, 2076; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15050

266. Bronze Diobol of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Uraeus, crowned with disk and horns
Obv. Inscription: Μ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕ. Rev. Inscription: L IE. Date: 174/175 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13905

267. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Sacred boat of Osiris on wheels; on which, shrine, surmounted by five hawks, containing figure (Osiris?) flanked by (?); either side of shrine, hawks (?) on columns (?); inside either end of boat, (?); each end of boat surmounted by hawk

Obv. Inscription: Μ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝ[ΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ (?). Rev. Inscription: L IϹ Date: 175/176 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3557 corr., pl. XXVII (rev.), 3558(?); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15267

268. Bronze Diobol of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Apis-bull standing with disk between horns; at the front, altar. Obv. Inscription: M ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ Σ(Ε). Rev. Inscription: L Ιϛ. Date: 175/176 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 3581; Savio 9351, Geissen 1983, 2084; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14703

269. Bronze Diobol of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Isis-Therenouthis, crowned with disk, horns, and plumes, enfolding stalk of corn and sistrum. Obv. Inscription: M ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕ
Rev. Inscription: L Ιϛ. Date: 175/176 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3476, pl. XVII (rev.), Savio 1999, 9265; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15659/

270. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis frontal
Obv. Inscription: M ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕ. Rev. Inscription: LIϛ. Date: 175/176 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 2087

271. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Euthenia, crowned with uraeus and corn (?), reclining, l., on sphinx, holding two (or three) ears of corn and lotus (?)Obv. Inscription: obscure.
Rev. Inscription: L Ιϛ Date: 175/176 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3457; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/16608

272. Bronze Diobol of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Agathos Daimon, crowned with skhent, on horse galloping. Obv. Inscription: M ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕ. Rev. Inscription: L Ιϛ Date: 175/176 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3578 corr.(?); Savio 1999, 9349, 9369 corr. (on pl. 193)
http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15995

273. Bronze Diobol of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Uraeus, crowned with disk and horns, enfolding stalk of corn and sistrum. Obv. Inscription: M] ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙ [ΝΟΣ Σ(Ε). Rev. Inscription: L Ιϛ.
Date: 175/176 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15981

274. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Δ-style temple with four columns on steps, facing bust of Sarapis in pediment; between central columns, window framing facing bust of Sarapis, underneath which is a door between two standing statues (Isis and Harpocrates?); in outer intercolumniations, smaller doors.
Obv. Inscription: M ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣ. Rev. Inscription: L Ιϛ. Date: 175/176 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 2107; Savio 1999, 9345(?); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15641

275. Bronze Drachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Altar of Agathos Daimon
Obv. Inscription: M ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC KAICAP. Rev. Inscription: LIZ. Date: 176/177 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1255; Dattari 1901, 3214; Geissen 1983, 1930

276. Silver Tetradrachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Isis Pharia holding sistrum
Obv. Inscription: PHAIC KAICAPMAV. Rev. Inscription: LIZ. Date: 176/177 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3383

277. Silver tetradrachm of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Nilus reclining, holding reed and cornucopia; below, crocodile. Obv. Inscription: M AYPHΛIOΣ ANTΩNINOΣ ΣE. Rev. Inscription: L IZ. Date: 176/177 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 9206; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/16181

278. Bronze Diobol of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Serpent (Agathos Daimon), crowned with skhent
Obv. Inscription: M AYPHΛIOΣ ANTΩNINOΣ ΣE. Rev. Inscription: L IZ. Date: 177/178 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3577; Geissen 1983, 2088 Savio 1999, 9348(?); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15059

279. Bronze Diobol of Marcus Aurelius
Obv. Description: Head of Marcus Aurelius. Rev. Description: Serpent with head of Sarapis, wearing kalathos
Obv. Inscription: M AYPHΛ]IOΣ ANTΩNINOΣ ΣE. Rev. Inscription: L [. Date: 161/180 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1999, 3940; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/13929

280. Bronze Drachm of Lucilla
Obv. Description: Head of Lucilla. Rev. Description: Serpent with head of Sarapis, crowned with kalathos, erect, on back of horse, saddled and bridled, walking right. Obv. Inscription: ΛOY] KI [ΛΛA ΣEB ANT ΣE ΘY.
Rev. Inscription: L ENATOY Date: 168/169 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3822-3; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14561

281. Bronze Drachm of Lucilla
Obv. Description: Head of Lucilla. Rev. Description: Egyptian style temple with two columns and rounded pediment, in which disk, horns and uraei, enclosing statue of Isis seated, r., with Harpocrates
Obv. Inscription: ΛOYK [IΛΛA ΣEB ANT ΣE] ΘY. Rev. Inscription: L ENATOY. Date: 168/169 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 9535 and no number (on pl. 206); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14563

282. Bronze Diobol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Draped bust of Ammon, crowned with solar disk, on back of ram; at the front, altar. Obv. Inscription: AYTOK KAIΣ Λ AYPHΛIOΣ KOMMOΔOΣ. Rev. Inscription: L IZ. Date: 177/ 178 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3829 bis; Savio 1999 9544, Milne 2613a; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14182

283. Bronze Semidrachm of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Two serpents facing each other; to l., Agathos Daimon enfolding caduceus; r., uraeus. Obv. Inscription: AYTOK KAIΣ Λ AYPHΛIOΣ KOMMOΔOΣ
Rev. Inscription: L IZ. Date: 177/178 ADBibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15254/

284. Bronze Diobol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Apis-bull with disk between horns; at the front, altar
Obv. Inscription: Λ AYPHΛIOΣ KOMMOΔOΣ ΣEB YΠAT B. Rev. Inscription: L IΘ. Date: 178/179 AD
Bibliography: Savio 1999, 9546; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15137

285. Bronze Diobol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Bust of Commodus. Rev. Description: Draped bust of Hermanubis wearing kalathos; behind, caduceus; at the front, palm-branch. Obv. Inscription: M AYPH KOMMO ANTΩNINOΣ ΣE.
Rev. Inscription: L KΓ. Date: 182/183 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3918, pl. XVI (rv.), 3919; Geissen 1983, 2211; Savio 1999, 9638; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15092

286. Bronze Diobol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis-Ammon-Helios, r., wearing kalathos, ram's horn round ear. Obv. Inscription: M AYP(H) KOMM(O) ANTΩNINOΣ ΣE(B). Rev. Inscription: L KΓ. Date: 182/183 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3941; Savio, 1999, 3951;http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14544/

287. Bronze Diobol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Agathos Daimon on horse galloping
Obv. Inscription: M] AYPH KOMMO ANT[ΩNINOΣ ΣE(B). Rev. Inscription: L KΓ. Date: 182/183 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3955, pl. XXXI (rev.); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15456/

288. Bronze Diobol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis-Ammon-Asclepius-Helios-Poseidon, wearing kalathos, ram's horn round ear; at the front, trident with snake twined round it
Obv. Inscription: M A KOM ANTΩ ΣEB EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L KΔ. Date: 183/184 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/16208

289. Silver Tetradrachm of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: The emperor infront of a podium with bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: M A KO ANTΩ ΣEB EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LKΔ. Date: 183/184 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1432/3; Dattari 3847, VII; Milne 1933, 2265 ; Geissen 1983, 2212

290. Silver Tetradrachm of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: M A KO ANTΩ ΣEB EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LKΔ Date: 183/184 AD

Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1361; Geissen 1983, 2251

291. Bronze Diobol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Comodus. Rev. Description: Sarapis-Ammon-Helios- Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: MAKOANTΩ CEBYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LKE. Date: 184/185 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3943

292. Silver Tetradrachm of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Head of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: MAKOANTΩ CEBEYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LKE. Date: 184/185 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 2658, Geissen 1983, 2222v

293. Bronze Diobol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Crowned bust of Harpocrates, raising finger to lips; behind, cornucopia. Obv. Inscription: M A KO A]NTΩ ΣEB EYΣEBHΣ. Rev. Inscription: L KE. Date: 184/185 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3914(?); http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14551

294. Bronze Diobol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Nude Harpocrates, crowned with disk or egg(?), seated on lotus-flower, raising finger to lips, holding flail. Obv. Inscription: M A KO ANTΩ ΣEB EYΣEBHΣ

Rev. Inscription: L KϹ. Date: 185/186 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 2664; http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14202

295. Silver Tetradrachm of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Head of Ammon, crowned with disk
Obv. Inscription: M A KOM ANTΩ ΣEB EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L KZ. Date: 186/187 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3900; Milne 1933, 2668; Geissen 1983, 2225; Savio 1999, 9626;
http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14204

296. Bronze Diobol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Isis, crowned with disk, horns, and plumes; on knee, Harpocrates, crowned with skhent, raising hand, holding lotus-flower; on throne, hawk
Obv. Inscription: M A KO ANTΩN ΣEB EYΣEB[HΣ. Rev. Inscription: L KZ. Date: 186/187 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14553

297. Bronze Semidrachm of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Banquet of the gods: couch with curved sides, on which reclines Hermanubis, Demeter, Isis, infant Harpocrates, and Sarapis; above gods, line of baskets or boxes; below couch, three niches containing two Canopoi and Tyche reclining
Obv. Inscription: M A KOM ANTΩ ΣEB EYΣEBHΣ. Rev. Inscription: L KH. Date: 187/188 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15461

298. Silver Tetradrachm of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Hermanubis standing, facing, wearing kalathos, holding winged caduceus and palm-leaf; behind, jackal. Obv. Inscription: M A KOM ANTΩ ΣEB EYΣEB.
Rev. Inscription: L KZ. Date: 187/188 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3866, pl. XVI (rev.); Milne 2675; Geissen 1983, 2229;
http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14209

299. Silver Tetradrachm of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Seated figure of Sarapis and Kerberos
Rev. Inscription: LKH Date: 188/189 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 2674; Geissen 1983, 2232

300. Bronze Diobol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Λ AIΛ AY[P K]OM ΣE EYΣE EYTY
Obv. Inscription: Agathos Daimon, crowned with skhent crown, enfolding caduceus. Rev. Inscription: L ΛΓ.
Date: 192/193 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14557

301. Bronze Obol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Uraeus. Obv. Inscription:]Δ(?)O[ ]Σ ΣEB
Rev. Inscription: L K [. Date: 177/192 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/16207

302. Bronze Diobol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Bust of Harpocrates with the typical lock on the head, the skhent crown, and touching his lips with the index finger of his right hand.
Obv. Inscription: M A KO A]NT ΣEB EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L K[. Date: 177/192 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/15493

303. Bronze Diobol of Commodus
Obv. Description: Head of Commodus. Rev. Description: Isis-Tyche standing, crowned with plumes, holding rudder and small figure. Obv. Inscription: obscure. Rev. Inscription:] B. Date: 177/192 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/16682

304. Bronze Semidrachm of Crispina
Obv. Description: Head of Crispina. Rev. Description: Two serpents facing eachother (to l., Agathos Daimon; to r., uraeus). Obv. Inscription: ΚΡΕΙΣΠΕΙΝ] Α ΣΕΒ ΑΥΤ ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΥ ΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: L ΙΘ.
Date: 180/182 AD
Bibliography: http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/14535

305. Bronze Drachm of Pertinax
Obv. Description: Head of Pertinax. Rev. Description: Uraeus crowned with solar disc. In the field, sistrum and wreath of corns. Obv. Inscription: ΑΥΤΚΑΙ Π Ε ΛΟΥCΠΕΡΤΙ. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 193 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3978

306. Silver Tetradrachm of Pescenius Niger
Obv. Description: Head of Pescenius Niger. Rev. Description Sarapis seated on throne
Obv. Inscription: ΑΥΤΟΚΚΑΙΓΠΙΕ CΚΝΙΓΕΡΙΟΥC ΤΟ CCΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 193 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 3982

307. Bronze Drachm of Septimius Severus
Obv. Description: Head of Septimius Severus. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus. Rev. Inscription: LΔ.
Date: 196/197 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4011

308. Bronze Diobol of Septimius Severus
Obv. Description: Head of Septimius Severus. Rev. Description: Figure of Agathos Daimon, wearing the skhent crown. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 197/198 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4015

309. Bronze Diobol of Septimius Severus
Obv. Description: Head of Septimius Severus. Rev. Description: Figure of Ammon
Obv. Inscription: [] CΕΠCΕΥΗΕCΠΕΡΤ CΕΒΑΡΑΑΔΙ. Rev. Inscription: LIB. Date: 202/203 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4014

310. Bronze Diobol of Julia Domna
Obv. Inscription: Head of Domna Julia. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑCΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 196/197 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4029

311. Bronze Diobol of Julia Domna
Obv. Description: Head of Domna Julia. Rev. Description: Figure of Apis-bull, in front of an altar
Obv. Inscription: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑCΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 197/198 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901,4030

312. Bronze Diobol of Julia Domna
Obv. Description: Head of Domna Julia. Rev. Description: Ureus crowned with solar disc, in front of an altar. In the field wreaths of corn. Obv. Inscription: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ CΕΒ ΜΗΤΗCΤΡΑ. Rev. Inscription: LΘ.
Date: 201/202 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4031

313. Bronze Drachm of Julia Domna
Obv. Inscription: Head of Domna Julia. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis.
Obv. Inscription: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ CEB MHTEPCTPA. Rev. Inscription: KB. Date: 217 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4038

314. Bronze Diobol of Caracalla
Obv. Description: Head of Caracalla. Rev. Description: Agathos Daimon with skhent crown
Obv. Inscription: AYT KAMYPHΛANT ΩNINOC. Rev. Inscription: L ΔEKA. Date: 203 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4050

315. Bronze Drachm of Caracalla
Obv. Description: Head of Caracalla. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: AYPECEBANTΩNI[OC]. Rev. Inscription: LKA. Date: 212/213 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4068

316. Bronze Drachm of Caracalla
Obv. Description: Head Caracalla
Rev. Description: Seated figure of Sarapis. In front, Nike
Obv. Inscription: KM AYR[C] EANTΩNINOCΠMBPE EB
Rev. Inscription: LKA. Date: 212/213 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4073

317. Bronze Diobol of Caracalla
Obv. Description: Head of Caracalla. Rev. Description: Isis Lactans suckling Harpocrates
Obv. Inscription: [AYT K M] AYP ΣE ANTΩNI [NOΣ Π ME BPE M EY] ΣEB. Rev. inscription: LKA.
Date: 212/213 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4063, XVII; Geissen 1983, 2283

318. Bronze Drachm of Caracalla
Obv. Description: Head of Caracalla. Rev. Description: The Emperor with Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AYT K M AYP ΣE ANTΩN [INOΣΠ ME BPE M EY] ΣEB. Rev. inscription: [L] KA.
Date: 212/213 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4054; Milne 19332732b; Geissen 1983, 2284

319. Bronze Drachm of Caracalla
Obv. Description: Head of Caracalla. Rev. Description: The Emperor on a chariot in front of a bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AYT K M AYP ΣE ANTΩNINOΣ[]. Rev. inscription: [L]KA. Date: 212/213 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4056; Geissen 1983, 2285

320. Bronze Drachm of Caracalla
Obv. Description: Head of Caracalla. Rev. Description: Head of Sarapis. Obv. Inscription: [] ANTΩNINOΣ[].
Rev. Inscription: [L] KA. Date: 212/213
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4071; Geissen 1983, 2288

321. Bronze Drachm of Caracalla
Obv. Description: Head of Caracalla. Rev. Description: Sarapis, Isis, Demeter, Hermanubis and Tyche
Obv. Inscription: [AYT K M A] YP ΣE ANTΩNIN[OΣΠ ME BPE M EY ΣEB]. Rev. inscription: [L] KB.
Date: 213/214 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1478; Dattari 1901, 4076; Geissen 1983, 2294

322. Bronze Drachm of Caracalla
Obv. Description: Head of Caracalla. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Hermanubis. On a Corinthian column, sacred bark with naiskos; within. Image of Osiris. Obv. Inscription: AYT ANT Ω[NINOC]. Rev. Inscription: LKB.
Date: 213/214 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4061

323. Silver Tetradrachm of Caracalla
Obv. Description: Head of Caracalla. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Hermanubis in front of a sacred bark. Inside, Sarapis, surmounted by Canopoi and Agathos Daimon
Obv. Inscription: AYTKMAYPCEANTΩNINOC [EYTYXHCEYCEBHCCEB]. Rev. Inscription: LKB.
Date: 213/214 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1476

324. Silver Tetradrachm of Caracalla
Obv. Description: Head of Caracalla. Rev. Description: Facade of edifice, having three doorways. In the centre, chariot; at the left two figures; at the right, Nike; upon the building, Sarapis reclining, Harpocrates, Isis reclining and crowned with the Hathoric crown and plumes, Tyche and Hermanubis reclining.
Obv. Inscription: AYTKMAYPCEANTΩNIN [OCEYTYXHCEYCEBHCC]EB. Rev. Inscription: LKΓ.
Date: 214/215 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1478

325. Bronze Diobol of Geta
Obv. Description: Head of Geta. Rev. Description: Apis-bull, in front of an altar
Obv. Inscription: ΠCEPTIMIOC ΓETACKAICAP. Rev. Inscription: LIA. Date: 211 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4084

326. Bronze Drachm of Diadumenian
Obv. Description: Head of Diadumenian. Rev. Inscription: M OΠ ANT ΔIAΔOYMENIANOΣ K ΣEB
Obv. Desscription: Agathos Daimon and uraeus facing with each other. Rev. inscription: LA. Date: 217 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 2308

327. Bronze Drachm of Diadumenian
Obv. Description: Head of Diadumenian. Rev. Description: MAOΠANΔIAΔOYMENIANOCKCEB
Obv. Inscription: Harpocrates, seated on a lotus flower. On his head, solar disc. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 218 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4090

328. Silver Tetradrachm of Elagabalus
Obv. Description: Head of Elagabalus. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: A KAIΣAP MA AYP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. inscription: LB. Date: 218/219 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1493; Dattari 1901, 4117; Milne 1933, 2759; Geissen 1983, 2311

329. Silver Tetradrachm of Elagabalus
Obv. Description: Head of Elagabalus. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: A KAIΣAP MA AYP ANTΩNINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. inscription: LB. Date: 218/219 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1501; Dattari 1901, 4137; Milne 1933, 2757; Geissen 1983, 2313

330. Silver Tetradrachm of Elagabalus
Obv. Description: Head of Elagabalus. Rev. Description: The emperor infront of a column with bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AKAICAPMAAYP. Rev. Inscription: LB Date: 218/219 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4094

331. Silver Tetradrachm of Elagabalus
Obv. Description: Head of Elagabalus. Rev. Description: Alexandria holding a bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AKAICAPMAAYP CEYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 218/219 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4100

332. Silver Tetradrachm of Elagabalus
Obv. Description: Head of Elagabalus. Rev. Description: Head of Ammon
Obv. Inscription: AKAICAPMAAYP EYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 218/219 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 40148; Milne 1933, 2753

333. Bronze coin of Elagabalus
Obv. Description: Head of Elagabalus. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: AKAICAPMAAYP EYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 219/220 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4129

334. Silver Tetradrachm of Elagabalus
Obv. Description: Head of Elagabalus. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated on throne; in front, Cerberus
Obv. Inscription: EVCEB. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 220/221 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1503

335. Silver Tetradrachm of Elagabalus
Obv. Description: Head of Elagabalus. Rev. Description: Busts of Sarapis and Isis jugate
Obv. Inscription: KAICAPMAVP ANTΩNINOC. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 221/222 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 2854

336. Silver Tetradrachm of Julia Paula
Obv. Description: Head Julia Paula. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis, with the Hathoric crown and the typical knot
Obv. Inscription: IOYΛIA ΠAYΛACEB. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 219/220 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 41165; Milne 1933, 2781

337. Silver Tetradrachm of Julia Paula
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Paula. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis. Obv. Inscription: IOYΛIA ΠAYΛACEB. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 220/221 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901,4168

338. Silver Tetradrachm of Aquilia Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Aquilia Severa. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: IOYΛIA AKYΛIA ΣEYHPA ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 220/221 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1544; Dattari 1901, 4183; Geissen 1983, 2371

339. Silver Tretradrachm of Aquilia Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Aquilia Severa. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated on throne
Obv. Inscription: IOYΛIA AKYΛIA ΣEYHPA ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 220/221 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4185; Geissen 1983, 2372

340. Silver Tetradrachm of Aquilia Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Aquilia Severa. Rev. Description: Head of Ammon
Obv. Inscription: IOYΛIA AKYΛIA ΣEYHPA ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 221/222 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4186; Poole 1896, 1537; Milne 1933, 2850; Geissen 1983, 2376

341. Silver Tetradrachm of Aquilıa Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Aquilıa Severa. Rev: Description: Bust of Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΑΚΥΛΙΑ CEYHPACEB. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 221/222 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4177

342. Silver Tetradrachm of Annia Faustina
Obv. Description: Head of Aquila Severa. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus. Also in the field, Nilometer (Obeliskus). Obv. Inscription: ΑΝΝΙΑ ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 221/222 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1552; Dattari 1901, 4109; Milne 1933, 2857; Geissen 1983, 2387

343. Silver Tetradrachm of Annia Faustina
Obv. Description: Head of Annia Faustina. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: ΑΝΝΙΑ ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ CEBA. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 221/222 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1554; Dattari 1901, 4194

344. Silver Tetradrachm of Annia Faustina
Obv. Description: Head of Annia Faustina. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΑΝΝΙΑ ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ CEBA. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 221/222 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1552; Dattari 1901, 4198

345. Silver Tetradrachm of Annia Faustina
Obv. Description: Head of Annia Faustina. Rev. Description: Head of Ammun
Obv. Inscription: ΑΝΝΙΑ ΦΑΥΣΤΙΝΑ CEBA. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 221/222 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4200

346. Silver Tetradrachm of Julia Soaemias
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Soaemias. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΙΟΥΛΙΑCOAIMIACC. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 220/221 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1561

347. Silver Tetradrachm of Julia Soaemias
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Soaemias. Rev. Description: Busts of Sarapis and Isis jugate
Obv. Inscription: ΙΟΥΛΙΑCOAIMIACC. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 221/222 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1562

348. Silver Tetradrachm of Julia Maesa
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Maesa. Rev: Description: Head of Ammon
Obv. Inscription: ΙΟΥΛΜΑΙCACEBΜΗΤCΤΡΑ. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 219/220 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901,4235

349. Bronze Diobol of Julia Maesa
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Maesa. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis
Obv. Inscription: ΙΟΥΛΜΑΙCACEBΜΗΤCΤΡΑ. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 219/220 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1575; Dattari 1901, 4237

350. Bronze Diobol of Julia Maesa
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Maesa. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΙΟΥΛΜΑΙCACEBΜΗΤCΤΡΑ. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 219/220 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4238

351. Silver Tetradrachm of Julia Maesa
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Maesa. Rev. Description: Nilus seated on rocks
Obv. Inscription: IOYΛMAICACEBMHTCTPA. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 220/221 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4225

352. Silver Tetradrachm of Julia Maesa
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Maesa. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated on throne; in front, Cerberus.
Obv. Inscription: IOYΛMAICACEBAMHTCTPA. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 220/221 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1574

353. Silver Tetradrachm of Julia Maesa
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Maesa. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: IOYΛMAICACEBAMHTCTPA. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 220/221 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1573

354. Silver Tetradrachm of Julia Maesa
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Maesa. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: IOYΛMAICACEBMHTCTPA. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 221/222 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4221

355. Silver Tetradrachm of Julia Maesa
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Maesa. Rev. Description: Busts of Nilus and Euthenia jugate
Obv. Inscription: IOYΛMAICACEBAMHTCTPA. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 221/222 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1578

356. Silver Tetradrachm of Severus Alexander
Obv. Description: Head of Severus Alexander. Rev. Description: Head of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: [A KAI] ΣAP MAP AYP ΣEBHP AΛEΞANΔP[OΣ EYΣEB] . Rev. Inscription: LA.
Date: 221/222 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4343; Milne 1933, 2880; Geissen 1983, 2404

357. Silver Tetradrachm of Severus Alexander
Obv. Description: Head of Severus Alexander. Rev. Description: Head of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: A KAI MAP AYP ΣEBHP AΛEΞANΔPOΣ [E]YΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 222/223 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1668; Dattari 1901, 4328; Milne 1933, 2894; Geissen 1983, 2410

358. Silver Tetradrachm of Severus Alexander
Obv. Description: Head of Severus Alexander. Rev. Description: Head of Ammon
Obv. Inscription: MAP AYP AΛEΞANΔPOΣ KAIΣAP. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 225/226 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1581; Dattari 1901, 4249; Milne 1933, 2853; Geissen 1983, 2393

359. Silver Tetradrachm of Severus Alexander
Obv. Description: Head of Severus Alexander. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: AKAIMAYPCEVΣAΛEΞANΔPOEV. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 225/226 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 2964

360. Silver Tetradrachm of Severus Alexander
Obv. Description: Head of Severus Alexander. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: MAYPAPAΛEΞANΔPOCKAICAP. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 225/226 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1585

361. Silver Tetradrachm of Severus Alexander
Obv. Description: Head of Severus Alexander. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: MAPAYPAΛEΞANΔPOCKAICAP. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 225/226 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1586; Dattari 1901, 4243

362. Silver Tetradrachm of Severus Alexander
Obv. Description: Head of Severus Alexander. Rev. Description: Serapis seated, holding sceptre; to the left, Cerberus. Obv. Inscription: A KAI M AUP CEOUHP AΛEΞANΔPOC EUCEB. Rev. Inscription: EBΔOMOU Date: 227/228 AD
Bibliography: SNG 6, 2081

363. Silver Tetradrachm of Severus Alexander
Obv. Description: Head of Severus Alexander. Rev. Description: Busts of Nilus and Euthenia
Obv. Inscription: A KAI MAP AYP ΣEBHP AΛEΞANΔPOΣ [E]YΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LZ Date: 225/226 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1675; Dattari 1901, 4416; Milne 1933, 3019; Geissen 1983, 2445

364. Silver Tetradrachm of Severus Alexander
Obv. Description: Head of Severus Alexander. Rev. Description: Jugate busts of Sarapis and Isis.
Obv. Inscription: [A KAI M]AR AU EU ALEJANDRO. Rev. Inscription: Z. Date: 225/226 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1666; SNG 6, 2082

365. Silver Tetradrachm of Severus Alexander
Obv. Description: Head of Severus Alexander. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Alexandria holding a bust of Sarapis. Obv. Inscription: MAPAYPAΛEΞANΔPOC CE. Rev. Inscription: LIA. Date: 229/230 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4266

366. Silver Tetradrachm of Severus Alexander
Obv. Description: Head of Severus Alexander. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis with Hathoric crown and the typical knot. Obv. Inscription: MAPAYPAΛEΞANΔPOC. Rev. Inscription: LIB. Date: 230.231 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4313

367. Silver Tetradrachm of Julia Mamea
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Mamaea. Rev. Description: Head of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: IOY MAMAIAN ΣEB MHT [ΣTPA]. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 224/225
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4508; Geissen 1983, 2505

368. Bronze Tetradrachm of Julia Mamaea
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Mamaea. Rev. Description: Nilus on the back of a Hippopotamus
Obv. Inscription: IOY MAMAIAN ΣEB MHT [ΣTPA]. Rev. Inscription: LI. Date: 230/231 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4550/51; Geissen 1983, 2519

369. Bronze Drachm of Julia Mamaea
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Mamaea. Rev. Description: Busts of Sarapis and Isis jugate
Obv. Inscription: IOY MAMAIAN ΣEB MHT [ΣTPA]. Rev. Inscription: LI. Date: 230/231 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1764, XIV; Milne 1933, 3045; Geissen 1983, 2520

370. Silver Tetradrachm of Julia Mamaea
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Mamaea. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis
Obv. Inscription: IOY MAMAIAN ΣEB MHT ΣT. Rev. Inscription: LIΓ. Date: 233/234 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1752; Dattari 1901, 4496; Milne 1933, 3154; Geissen 1983, 2538

371. Silver Tetradrachm of Julia Mamaea
Obv. Description: Head of Julia Mamaea. Rev. Description: Seated figure of Sarapis holding sceptre
Obv. Inscription: IOY MAMAIAN ΣEB MHT [ΣTPA]. Rev. Inscription: LIΓ. Date: 233/234 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1750; Dattari 1901, 4517; Geissen 1983, 2540

372. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximinus
Obv. Description: Head of Maximinus. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: AYTOMAΞIMINOCEYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 226/227
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4576; Milne 1933, 3250

373. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximinus
Obv. Description: Head of Maximinus. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis with the Hathoric crown and the typical knot
Obv. Inscription: AYTOMAΞIMINOCEYCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 227/228 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4579

374. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximinus
Obv. Description: Head of Maximinus. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: AYTO MAΞIMI[N]OΣ EYΣ ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LIB. Date: 235/236 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1800; Dattari 1901, 4586; Milne 1933,3211; Geissen 1983, 2558

375. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximinus
Obv. Description: Head of Maximinus. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: AYTO MAΞIMI [N] OΣ EYΣ ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LIB. Date: 235/236 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4588; Geissen 1983, 2559

376. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximinus
Obv. Description: Head of Maximinus. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AYTO MAΞIMI [N] OΣ EYΣ ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LIB. Date: 235/236 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 2561

377. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximinus
Obv. Description: Head of Maximinus. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AYTO MAΞIMI [N] OΣ EYΣ ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LIB. Date: 235/236 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1795; Dattari 1901, 4595; Geissen 1983, 2562

378. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximinus
Obv. Description: Head of Maximinus. Rev. Description: Bust of Ammon
Obv. Inscription: AYTO MAΞIMINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LIB Date: 235/236 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1770; Dattari 1901, 4611; Milne 1933, 3245; Geissen 1983, 2566

379. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximinus
Obv. Description: Head of Maximinus. Rev. Description: Busts of Sarapis and Isis jugate
Obv. Inscription: AYTO MAΞIMINOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LIΓ. Date: 236/237 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1797; Dattari 1901, 4598; Milne 1933, 3248; Geissen 1983, 2574

380. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximus Caesar
Obv. Description: Head of Maximus Caesar. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: Γ IOYΛ OYHP MAΞIMOΣ KAI. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 235/236 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4636; Geissen 1983, 2587

381. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximus Caesar
Obv. Description: Head of Maximus. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: ΓΙΟΥΛΟΗΡΜΑΞΙΜΟCΚΑ. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 237 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1820

382. Silver Tetradrachm of Gordian II
Obv. Description: Head of Gordian II
Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: ΑΚΜΑΝΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟCCΕΜΑΦΡΕVCΕ
Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 238 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1830

383. Silver Tetradrachm of Popienus
Obv. Description: Head of Popienus. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: ΑΚΜΛΩΔΠΟΥΠΙΗΝΟCCΕ. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 238 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4674

384. Silver Tetradrachm of Balbinus
Obv. Description: Bust of Balbinus. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: ΑΚΔΕΚΚΑΙΛΒΑΛΒΙΝΟCCΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 238 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1846; Dattari 1901, 4686

385. Silver Tetradrachm of Gordian III
Obv. Description: Head of Gordian III. Rev. Description: Sarapis, seated in throne; on feet, Cerberus; in front, Nike with wreath and palm. Obv. Inscription: ΑΚΜΑΝΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟCΕVCΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 241/242 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1896

386. Silver Tetradrachm of Gordian III
Obv. Description: Head of Gordian III. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: Α Κ Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΥΣ. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 241/242 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4764; Milne 1933, 3428; Geissen 1983, 2659

387. Silver Tetradrachm of Gordian III
Obv. Description: Head of Gordian II. Rev: Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΑΚΜΑΝΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟCΕΥ. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 241/242 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1894; Dattari 1901,4771; Milne 1933; 3426

388. Silver Tetradrachm of Gordian III
Obv. Description: Head of Gordian III. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: Α Κ Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΥΣ. Rev. Inscription: LZ. Date: 243/244 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4727; Geissen 1983, 2674

389. Silver Tetradrachm of Gordian III
Obv. Description: Head of Gordian III. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: Α Κ Μ ΑΝΤ ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΥΣ . Rev. Inscription: LZ. Date: 243/244 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 2677

390. Silver Tetradrachm of Gordian III
Obv. Description: Head of Gordian. Rev. Description: Bust of Ammon
Obv. Inscription: ΑΚΜΑΝΤΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟCΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LϹ. Date: 244 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4800

391. Silver Tetradrachm of Gordian III
Obv. Description: Head of Gordian III. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: A K M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΥΣ. Rev. Inscription: LZ. Date: 243/244 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4774; Milne 1933, 3480, 3481; Geissen 1983, 2678

392. Silver Tetradrachm of Tranquillina
Obv. Description: Head of Tranquillina. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: CABTPANKYΛΛEINACEB. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 241/242 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1936; Dattari 1901, 4833

393. Silver Tetradrachm of Tranquillina
Obv. Description: Head of Tranquillina
Rev. Description: Standing of Ammon

Obv. Inscription: ΣAB TPANKYΛΛEINA ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: Lς. Date: 242/243 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1920; Geissen 1983, 2686

394. Silver Tetradrachm of Tranquillina
Obv. Description: Head of Tranquillina. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis

Obv. Inscription: ΣAB TPANKYΛΛEINA ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: Lς. Date: 242/243 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4834; Geissen 1983, 2690

395. Silver Tetradrachm of Tranquillina
Obv. Description: Head of Tranquillina. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis

Obv. Inscription: ΣAB TPANKYΛΛEINA ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: Lς. Date: 243/244 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4821; Milne 1933, 3490; Geissen 1983, 2693

396. Silver Tetradrachm of Tranquillina
Obv. Description: Head of Tranquillina. Rev. Description: Bust if Nilus

Obv. Inscription: CABTPANKYΛΛEINACEB. Rev. Inscription: Lς. Date: 243/244 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4832

397. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: A KM IOY ΦIΛ[IΠΠ]OΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 243/244 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1979; Dattari 1901, 4909, V; Milne 1933, 3516; Geissen 1983, 2701

398. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev: Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AKMIOYΦIΛ IΠΠOCEYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 243/244 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4907

399. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated on throne; next to him, Cerberus is seated
Obv. Inscription: AKMIOYΦIΛ IΠΠOCEYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 243/244 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4912; Milne 1933, 3623

400. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: AKMIOYΦIΛ IΠΠOCEYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 243/244 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4879; Milne 1933, 3626

401. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: AKMIOYΦIΛ IΠΠOCEYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 243/244 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4900; Milne 3518

402. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis with Hathoric crown
Obv. Inscription: AKMIOYΦIΛ IΠΠOCEYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 244/245 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4888

403. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: AKMIOYΦIΛ IΠΠOCEYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 245/246 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4901

404. Silver tetradrachm of Philip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Bust of Ammon, with ram's horns, a solar disc and uraeus.
Obv. Inscription: AKMIOVΦIΛIΠΠOCEVCEB. Rev. Incription: LΓ. Date: 245/246 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1943; Skowronek 1998, 69

405. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis-Ammon-Helios- Nilus-Hermanubis
Obv. IncriptionA K M IOV ΦIΛIΠΠOC EVCE. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 246/247 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4916; Milne 1933 3639; Geissen 1983, 2732

406. Billon Tetradrachm of Philip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Alexandria, wearing a cap with brim, turreted, holding a bust of Sarapis, wearing kalathos and leaning on sceptre.
Obv. Inscription: AKMIOVΦIΛIΠΠOCEVCEC. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 246/247 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 1988; Dattari 1901, 4857; Geissen 1983, 719; Förschner 1987, 974; Skowronek 1998, 71

407. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Figure of Nilus seated on rocks
Obv. Inscription: AKMIOYΦIΛ IΠΠOCEYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LΔ Date: 246/247 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4902

408. Silver Tetradrachm of Phillip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Busts of Nilus and Euthenia
Obv. Inscription: AKMIOYΦIΛ IΠΠOCEYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 246/247 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4904

409. Bronze Drachm of Philip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Harpocrates seated on a lotus flower.
Obv. Inscription: EYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LϛΔate: 248/249 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4942

410. Bronze Drachm of Philip I
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev: Description: Agathos Daimon with cadeus, and uraeus with sistrum and palm leave, facing each other.. Obv. Inscription: AKMIOYΦIΛ IΠΠOCEYCEB. Rev. Inscription: Lϛ.
Date: 248/249 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4955

411. Silver Tetradrachm of Otacilia Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Otacilia Severa. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis wearing crown composed of solar disc and plumes. Obv. Inscription: MΩTCEOV HPACE MCTPA. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 244/245 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 2029

412. Silver Tetradrachm of Otacilia Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Otacilia Severa. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: MΩTCEOYHPACEMCTPA. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 244/245 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4996

413. Silver Tetradrachm of Otacilia Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Otacilia Severa. Rev: Description: Standing figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: MΩTCEOYHPACEMCTPA. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 244/245 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4997

414. Silver Tetradrachm of Otacilia Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Otacilia Severa. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: MΩTCEOYHPACEMCTPA. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 244/245 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4992

415. Silver Tetradrachm of Otacilia Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Otacilia Severa. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: MΩTCEOYHPACEMCTPA. Rev. Inscription: LΓ Date: 245/246 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4981

416. Silver Tetradrachm of Otalia Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Otacilia Severa. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Hermanubis holding a palm leaf
Obv. Inscription: MΩTCEOYHPACEMCTPA. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 245/246 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4982

417. Silver Tetradrachm of Otacilia Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Otacilia Severa. Rev. Description Sarapis seated on throne; in front, Cerberus
Obv. Inscription: MΩTCEOYHPACEMCTPA. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 245/246 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 4999

418. Silver Tetradrachm of Otacilia Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Otacilia Severa. Rev. Description: Bust of Ammon
Obv. Inscription: MΩTCEOYHPACEMCTPA. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 245/246 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5007

419. Bronze Drachm of Otacilia Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Otacilia Severa. Rev. Description: Busts of Sarapis and Isis
Obv. Inscription: M ΩT ΣEOYHPA M ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 247/248 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 2775

420. Bronze Drachm of Otacilia Severa
Obv. Description: Head of Otacilia Severa. Rev. Description: Agathos Daimon and uraeus facing each other
Obv. Inscription: M ΩT ΣEOYHPA M ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: Lς. Date: 248/249 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5014; Geissen 1983, 2778

421. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip II
Obv. Description: Head of Phillip II. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis

Obv. Inscription: MIOYΦIΛIΠΠOCKCEB. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 244/245 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5027; Milne 1933, 3677

422. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip II
Obv. Description: Head of Philip II. Rev. Description: Bust of Ammon. Obv. Inscription: K M ΦIΛIΠΠOΣ EYΣEB
Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 245/246 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5048, V; BMC 2040; Milne 1933, 3615; Geissen 1983, 2785

423. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip II
Obv. Description: Head of Philip II. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: MIOYΦIΛIΠΠOCKCEB. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 245/246 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5034

424. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip II
Obv. Description: Head of Phillip II. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated on throne; in front, Cerberus
Obv. Inscription: MIOYΦIΛIΠΠOCKCEB. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 245/246 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5037

425. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip II
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Triptolemos on chariot led by uraei
Obv. Inscription: MIOYΦIΛIΠΠOCKC. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 246/247 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 3643

426. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip II
Obv. Description: Head of Philip II. Rev. Description: Bust of Nilus and Euthenia jugate
Obv. Inscription: MIOYΦIΛIΠΠOCKC. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 246/247 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 3678

427. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip II
Obv. Description: Head of Philip I. Rev. Description: Reclining figure of Nilus
Obv. Inscription: MIOYΦIΛIΠΠOCEYCEB. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 247/248 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 3724

428. Silver Tetradrachm of Philip II
Obv. Description: Head of Phillip II
Rev. Description: Agathos Daimon and uraeus facing each other

Obv. Inscription: K M ΦIΛIΠΠOΣ EYΣEB. Rev. Inscription: LϹ. Date: 248/249 AD
Bibliography: Geissen 1983, 2805

429. Silver Tetradrachm of Decius
Obv. Description: Head of Decius. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: A K Γ M K TPAIANOΣ ΔEKIOΣ [E]. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 248/249 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5094; Geissen 1983, 2815

430. Silver Tetradrachm of Decius
Obv. Description: Head of Decius. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: AKΓMKTPAIANOCΔEKIOC. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 248/249 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5080; Milne 1933, 3806

431. Silver Tetradrachm of Decius
Obv. Description: Head of Decius. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated on throne; infront, Cerberus

Obv. Inscription: ΑΚΓΜΚΤΡΑΙΑΝΟCΔΕΚΙΟC. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 248/249 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5089; Milne 1933, 3832

432. Silver Tetradrachm of Decius
Obv. Description: Head of Decius. Rev. Description: Bust of Ammon
Obv. Inscription: ΑΚΓΜΚΤΡΑΙΑΝΟCΔΕΚΙΟC Ε. Rev. Inscription: LA. Date: 248/249 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5093; Milne 1933, 3800

433. Silver Tetradrahm Trebonianus Gallus
Obv. Description: Head of Trebonianus Gallus. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΑΚΓΟΥΙΒΤΡΕΒΓΑΛΛCΕΥCΕΥ. Rev. Inscription: LΓ Date: 252/253 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 3852; Geissen 1983, 2839

434. Silver Tetradrachm of Trebonianus Gallus
Obv. Description: Head Trebonianus Gallus. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΑΚΓΟΥΙΒΤΡΕΒΓΑΛΛΟCΕΥCΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 252/253 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5117

435. Silver Tetradrachm of Volusian
Obv. Description: Head of Volusian. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: Α Κ Γ ΑΦ ΓΑΛ ΟΥΟΛΟUCIANOC EUC. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 252/253 AD
Bibliography: SNG 1, 488

436. Silver Tetradrachm of Valerian
Obv. Description: Head of Valerianus. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΑΚΠΙΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟCΕΥΕVC. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 258/259 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 3975

437. Silver Tetradrachm of Saloninus Caesar
Obv. Description: Head of Saloninus Caesar. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΠΛΙΚΚΟΡΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟCΚΑΙCCΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LΔ. Date: 257 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 2287

438. Silver Tetradrachm of Saloninus Caesar
Obv. Description: Head of Saloninus. Rev. Description: Busts of Isis and Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΠΟΛΙΚΟΡCΑΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟCΚCΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LZ. Date: 257 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5367

439. Silver Tetradrachm of Gallienus
Obv. Description: Head of Gallienus. Rev: Description: Busts of Sarapis and Isis
Obv. Inscription: ΑΥΤΠΛΙΚΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟCCΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: LΘ. Date: 260/261
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5263

440. Silver Tetradrachm of Gallienus
Obv. Description: Head of Gallienus. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΑΥΤ Κ Π ΛΙ [Κ] ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ. Rev. Inscription: L ΕΝΑΤΟΥ. Date: 261/262 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 2208; Dattari 1901,5260; Milne 1933, 4069; Geissen 1983, 2911

441. Silver Tetradrachm of Gallienus
Obv. Description: Head of Gallienus. Rev. Description: Osiris Canopus wearing atef crown. The body is decorated with two figures, probably Harpocrates. Obv. Inscription: ΑΥΤ Κ Π ΛΙΚ ΓΑΛΛΙΗΝΟΣ ΣΕΒ

Rev. Inscription: L Θ Date: 261/262 AD
Bibliography: SNG 68, 2088; Ashton 2005, 38

442. Silver Tetradrachm of Gallienus
Obv. Description: Head of Gallienus. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis, on a lower base; on the left, Ares; on the right, Nike. Obv. Inscription: AYT K Π ΛIK Γ[AΛ]ΛI[HNOΣ Σ]EB. Rev. Inscription: L IA.
Date: 263/264 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 2211; Milne 1933, 4097; Geissen 1983, 2918

443. Silver Tetradrachm of Gallienus
Obv. Description: Head of Gallienus. Rev. Description: Standing figure of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AYTΠΛIKΓAΛΛIHNOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LIA. Date: 263/264 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5262

444. Silver Tetradrachm of Gallienus
Obv. Description: Head of Gallienus. Rev. Description: Harpocrates of Mendes, wearing the hemhem crown
Obv. Inscription: AYTΠΛIKΓAΛΛIHNOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LIE. Date: 268/269 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5237

445. Silver Tetradrachm of Salonina
Obv. Description: Head of Salonina. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated on throne; in front, Nike on her knees, holding a crown and a palm leaf. Obv. Inscription: KOPNHΛIA CAΛΩNEINACEB. Rev. Inscription: LIΓ.
Date: 266/267 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5339

446. Silver Tetradrachm of Salonina
Obv. Description: Head of Salonina. Rev. Description Bust of Isis with Hathoric crown and the typical knot
Obv. Inscription: KOPNHΛIA CAΛΩNEINACEB. Rev. Inscription: LIΔ. Date: 267/268 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5336; Milne 1933, 4142

447. Silver Tetradrachm of Salonina
Obv. Description: Head of Salonina. Rev. Description: Busts of Isis and Nilus; in the middle palm leaf
Obv. Inscription: KOPNHΛIA CAΛΩNEINACEB. Rev. Inscription: LIE. Date: 268/269 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901,5337

448. Silver Tetradrachm of Claudius Gothicus
Obv. Description: Head of Claudius Gothicus. Rev. Description: Harpocrates of Mendes, wearing the hemhem crown, naked with chlamys. Obv. Inscription: AYT K KΛAYΔIOΣ ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 268/269 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 2326; Dattari 1901,5390; Milne 1933, 4264; Geissen 1983, 3036

449. Silver Tetradrachm of Claudius Gothicus
Obv. Description: Head of Claudius Gothicus. Rev. Description: Busts of Nilus and Euthenia
Obv. Inscription: AYT K KΛAYΔIOΣ ΣEB. Rev. Inscription: L B. Date: 268/69 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 2328; Dattari 1901,5405; Milne 1933, 4244; Geissen 1983, 3044

450. Silver tetradrachm of Claudius Gothicus
Obv. Description: Head of Claudius II. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis, wearing kalathos with lotus petal. In front, he holds Kerykeion and palm. Obv. Inscription: AVTKKΛA V[Δ]IOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LΓ.
Date: 269/270 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 2327; Dattari 1901, 5392; SNG 41, 847; Geissen 1983, 3037; Förschner 1987, 1145; Skowronek 1998, 106

451. Silver Tetradrachm of Probus
Obv. Description: Head of Probus. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis. Obv. Inscription: AKMAVPΠPO OBOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LE. Date: 281 AD
Bibliography: Milne 1933, 4605

452. Silver Tetradrachm of Diocletian
Obv. Description: Head of Diocletian. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis with Hathoric crown and the typical knot
Obv. Inscription: ΔI KΛHTIAN CCEB. Rev. Inscription: LϹ. Date: 290 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5710

453. Silver Tetradrachm of Diocletian
Obv. Description: Head Diocletian. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: AKΓOV ΔIOKΛHTIAN CCEB. Rev. Inscription: ETOYC Γ. Date: 287 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5745; Milne 1933, 5058

454. Silver Tetradrachm of Diocletian
Obv. Description: Head of Diocletian. Rev: Description: Standing figure of Alexandria, holding a head of Sarapis and a sceptre. Obv. Inscription: AKΓOVAΛ-ΔI-OKΛHTIANOCC[EB]. Rev. Inscription: L E Date: 288/289 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 2530; Dattari 1901, 5624; SNG 41, 994; Geissen 1983, 3243; Förschner 1987, 1273; Skowronek 1998, 199

455. Silver Tetradrachm of Diocletian
Obv. Description: Head of Diocletian. Rev. Description: Sarapis seated on throne; in front, Cerberus
Obv. Inscription: ΔI KΛHTIAN CCEB. Rev. Inscription: LIA. Date: 295 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5750

456. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximian
Obv. Description: Head of Maximian . Rev. Description: Alexandria holding sceptre and bust of Sarapis.
Obv. Inscription: A K M OUA MAJIM[IANO EB. Rev. Inscription: L A. Date: 285/286 AD
Bibliography: SNG 6, 2097

457. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximian
Obv. Description: Head of Maximian. Rev. Description: Bust of Hermanubis
Obv. Inscription: MAΞIMIANOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: L Γ. Date: 287/288 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5920

458. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximian
Obv. Description: Head of Maximian. Rev. Description: Busts of Sarapis and Isis Jugate
Obv. Inscription: Legend illegible. Rev. Inscription: L Δ. Date: 288/289 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896**,** 2530; Dattari 1901, 5624; SNG 21, 94; Geissen 1983, 3243; Förschner 1987, 1273; Milne 1933, 5231; Skowronek 1998, 215

459. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximian
Obv. Description: Head of Maximian. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis with Hathoric crown and the typical knot
Obv. Inscription: MAΞIMIANOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LIA. Date: 295/296 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5943

460. Silver Tetradrachm of Maximian
Obv. Description: Head of Maximian. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis. Obv. Inscription: MAΞIMIAN ΣEB
Rev. Inscription: L IA. Date: 295/96 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 5980; Milne 1933, 5230; Geissen 1983, 3345

461. Silver Tetradrachm of Domitius Domitianus
Obv. Description: Head of Domitius Domitianus. Rev. Description: Bust if Sarapis
Obv. Inscription: ΔOMITI ANOCCEB. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 297 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 6185

462. Silver Tetradrachm of Costantius I
Obv. Description: Head of Costandius I. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis.
Obv. Inscription: ΦΛAKΩCTANTIOCK. Rev. Inscription: LB. Date: 305 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 6083

463. Silver Tetradrachm of Costantius I
Obv. Description: Head of Costandius I. Rev. Description: Bust of Harpocrates wearing skhent crown
Obv. Inscription: ΦΛAKΩCTANTIOCK. Rev. Inscription: LΓ. Date: 305/306 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 6065

464. Silver Tetradrachm of Costantius I
Obv. Description: Head of Costandius I. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis with Hathoric crown
Obv. Inscription: ΦΛAKΩCTANTIOCK. Rev. Inscription: LΔ Date: 306 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 6072

465. Silver Tetradrachm of Galerius
Obv. Description: Head of Galerius. Rev. Description: Busts of Sarapis and Isis jugate
Obv. Inscription: ΓAΛMAΞI MIANOCK. Rev. Inscription: L []. Date: 295/296 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 2619

466. Silver Tetradrachm of Galerius
Obv. Description: Head of Galerius. Rev. Description: Bust of Isis . Obv. Inscription: MAΞIMI ANOCK
Rev. Inscription: L Δ. Date: 305 AD
Bibliography: Dattari 1901, 6142

467. Silver Tetradrachm of Galerius
Obv. Description: Head of Galerius. Rev. Description: Bust of Sarapis. Obv. Inscription: ΓAΛ MAΞIMI AN CK
Rev. Inscription: LA Date: 306 AD
Bibliography: Poole 1896, 2618; Dattari 1901, 615

468. Bronze Dichalkon of Maximinus II
Obv. Description: Head Sarapis . Rev. Description Nilus reclining left, holding reed in right hand, cradling cornucopia in left arm. Obv. Inscription: DEO SANCT-O SA-RAPID. Rev. Inscription: DEO SANCTO NILO LE
Date: 310/311 AD
Bibliography: http://www.coinarchives.com/a/lotviewer.php?LotID=164820&AucID=202&Lot=773

5.3. ILLUSTRATIONS PLATE I

5.3.1. PTOLEMAIC COINS

Alexander the Great

Ammon-Zeus

Sarapis and Isis

Sarapis

Isis

Isis

Eagle holding Isis crown

Isis crown

Eagle with lotus

ALEXANDER THE GREAT – AMMON-ZEUS – SARAPIS – ISIS – EAGLE - HATHORIC –LOTUS

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SARAPIS

PLATE III

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SARAPIS

PLATE IV

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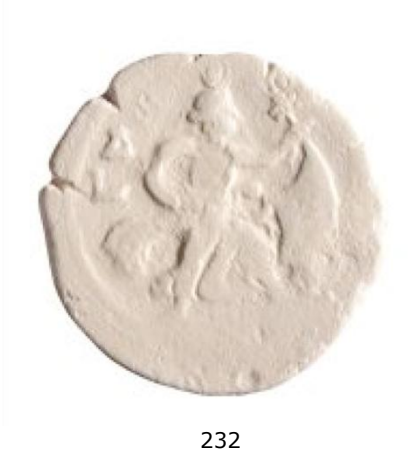

232

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SARAPIS – ISIS

PLATE V

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ISIS – HARPOCRATES

PLATE VI

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HARPOCRATES

PLATE VII

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HARPOCRATES – NILUS

PLATE VIII

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AMMON - HERMANUBIS –AGATHOS DAIMON – APIS –OSIRIS CANOPUS – SOBEK
(SACRED CROCODILE)

PLATE IX

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HORUS- PTAH HEPHAISTOS –PTAH SOKARIS – DEMETER THERENOUTHIS – TUTU
DEMETER – EUTHENIA – ANTINOUS

PLATE X

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SACRED SYMBOLS

PLAT E XI

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GROUP TYPES

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GROUP TYPES

PLATE XIII

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GROUP TYPES

PLATE XIV

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GROUP TYPES

PLATE XV

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PLATE XVI

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STRUCTURES

PLATE XVII

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STRUCTURES

CHAPTER 3. PRESENTATION OF THE EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN ALEXANDRIAN MATERIAL CULTURE: CONTENT AND FORM

This chapter will provide an overview of the catalogue in order to present the patterns, which involve Egyptian elements in terms of content and form, in the different categories of material evidence. This will be the basis for further interpretation of the Egyptian tradition in Alexandria life, concerning funerary customs, identity, ideology and public life.

1) Elite hypogea and loculi slabs: The catalogue of elite hypogea presented several representative examples, according to their distribution in the different necropoleis of Alexandria. This chapter will provide a systematic overview of the different patterns of Egyptian elements that are detectable in these examples, in chronological order. These patterns concern the art (wall decoration and statuary) and architecture of the tombs and will be discussed both in terms of form (style) and content. The different categories that will arise will also be used in the following chapter (4).
2) Monumental art and architecture: The catalogue presented various pieces of this category in a chronological order. This section will provide a presentation in terms of style and content, directly in a summarising list, since the fragmentary picture of this type of material evidence could not allow a further analysis in the form of descriptive text.
3) Coinage: The catalogue presented 491 examples of Hellenistic and Roman coins in chronological order. In this chapter, these examples will be presented according to the popularity of the topics, their durability, and diversity.

1. ELITE HYPOGEA AND EGYPTIAN NAISKOS STYLE LOCULI SLABS (ART AND ARCHITECTURE)

1.1. ARCHITECTURE

Architectural elements in Alexandrian tombs from the Ptolemaic period can be divided into four main categories:

1.1.1.GREEK STYLE WITH EGYPTIAN REFERENCES IN FUNCTION AND ARCHITECTURAL LAYOUT (FROM THE 4TH CENTURY BC ONWARDS)

These are the earliest examples of Alexandrian elite tombs, such as Hypogeum A in Shatby. In general, Greek funerary architecture, as found elsewhere in the Greek world, for instance in Vergina and Lefkadia, passes a process of indigenisation. An originally Egyptian necropolis layout, such as that of the Nelson Island necropolis[1], composed of subsequent rooms, courts and burials in loculi, is now dressed with Greek architectural decorative elements. Still, there is no visible Egyptian element, although the visitors of the tomb could possibly detect the indigenising characteristics. The Antoniadis Garden Tomb (2nd century BC) belong to the same category, but the structure is more monumental and less experimental.

1.1.2. GREEK INDIGENISING ARCHITECTURE WITH PROFOUND STYLISTIC EGYPTIAN REFERENCES (FROM THE 3RD CENTURY ONWARDS DURING THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD)

This category is related to a process of more advanced interaction between the Greek style architecture and Egyptian architectural outlines, resulting in more advanced indigenising versions, compared to some Egyptian stylistic references. A representative example from this category is Mustapha Pasha tomb I: Greek style architectural decoration in a funerary temple-tomb with Egyptian references in the plan outlines, spatial

[1] For further details on the Nelson Island necropolis see Chapter 4 section 1.4

arrangement and decoration of the façade, for instance the strongly Egyptianising doorframes, which leave rectangular openings above them. The so-called Thiersch tomb 2 belongs to the same category, dating from the end of the Ptolemaic period. The doorway leading to the burial chamber is crowned with an Egyptianising segmental pediment.

1.1.3. ELITE HYPOGEA WITH PROFOUND EGYPTIAN DECORATIVE AND RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS (2ND-1ST CENTURY BC)

The style of these structures reflects a profoundly Egyptian character, although they do not follow a specific Egyptian model. Examples of this are Anfushi tombs I, II, and V. The Egyptian elements were the doorframes with segmental pediments, lotus or papyri-form columns, broken lintels, and Egyptian style naiskoi, cut on the walls.

1.1.4. COMPOSITE-BALANCED VERSIONS (FROM THE 1ST CENTURY BC ONWARDS)

Segmental pediment (Egyptian) hosting a funerary kline (Greek)

The Ras el Tin necropolis and the Fort Saleh Tomb belong to this category. In addition, an Egyptian style naiskos was painted on the back wall of the sarcophagus niche. The case of Girghis tomb should be considered as part of this category, where also a naiskos is carved on the back wall of the funerary kline.

Δ-style naiskos with Egyptian style columns and other decorative elements such as solar disc, sphinxes, ureaoi etc.

The Tomb H from the Hall of Caracalla and the Stagni tomb belong to this category. Concerning the latter, an Egyptian style naiskos with segmental pediment is painted on the back wall of the burial chamber, hosting the image of the so-called "Isis-Aphrodite".

Funerary stelae in the form of Egyptian naiskoi present minimalist versions of these two composite types. In all cases, an Egyptian or Egyptianising structure hosts a Greek style image. Stylistically, this type is derived from both Greek and Egyptian models from the Ptolemaic period. It is a combination of the Greek style funerary stele with self-presentation of the deceased, found in Alexandrian cemeteries since the 4th century BC, with Egyptian style naiskos, attested in the city at least since the 1st century BC. Concerning the structure, nos. 3-10 and 12 belong to the first category, and nos.1, 2 and 11 to the second category.

1.2 WALL DECORATION

1.2.1. STYLE

Egyptian style decorative motifs

Imitation of checquer-board style zone with small black and white tiles (2nd-1st century BC): This type of decoration is found in Anfushi tombs 1, 2 (second decorative phase) and 5, in Ras el Tin Tomb VIII, as well as in the Saqiya Tomb.

Egyptian style figure scenes

This category refers to figures in Egyptian style, which were made to look very Egyptian even though they do not strictly follow the Egyptian canons of presentation. Still, they respect the main aspect of Egyptian rendering. There is no attempt at naturalistic design in perspective view. Everything is presented in two dimensions. The two-dimensional style of Egyptian paintings has been characterised by scholars as "a-spective", which means, among other things, that we do not see just what we can see with human eyes, but what we must see in a two dimensional frame[2]. Therefore, the following examples display figures according to

[2] For a general description of the principles of the Egyptian art see: Aldred, 1980, 11-18. For an analysis-assessment of the "a-spective" concept in the Egyptian art see: Brunner-Traut, 1974, 421-427.

this basic cannon and there is no doubt that they were looking totally Egyptian in style to the eyes of tomb visitors.

In the Pharos Island necropolis (2nd century BC-1st century AD):

-Anfushi II: The two wall paintings by the stairs depicting the dead among gods and kings.

-Anfushi V: Wall decoration with trees and doorframes

-Ras el Tin Tomb III and Fort Saleh tomb: The wall paintings on the back wall of the burial chamber depict an Apis-bull on a base.

In the western necropolis (1st-3rd centuries AD)

- Kom el Shoqafa: The whole repertoire in the three niches of the Main Tomb, including the two statues incorporated in the side walls of the pronaos

-Habachi tomb: The whole repertoire on the sarcophagus

- Ramleh tomb: The whole repertoire on the back wall of the niche and the sarcophagus

-Saqiya tomb: The two Ba-birds on the front face of sarcophagus

Greek and Egyptian style in Juxtaposition: Persephone Tombs I and II in Hall of Caracalla

This concerns the wall decoration on the three inner walls of the sarcophagus niche. The surface of the three walls is divided horizontally into two registers, both of which present a narrative about death and resurrection for nature and humans, according to the Egyptian and the Greek traditions. The upper register presents an Egyptian style scene with the death and resurrection of Osiris, while the lower register presents a Greek style narrative scene with the abduction of Persephone. Therefore, there is juxtaposition both in terms of style and content. Yet, concerning the latter, there is no scene-by-scene parallelism between the two registers. There are two different themes in two different styles, but these are not intermingled. Each is clearly separated and kept within its own environment.

Egyptianising (mixed) style: "Free style" Egyptian: Tigrane Tomb, Tomb h in Nebengrab

This category concerns a series of wall paintings with figures of mixed style. These figures aimed to look Egyptian, although they stand far from the real Egyptian rendering. On the one side, postures and gestures clearly refer to Egyptian style figures and narrative scenes. On the other side, the rendering is fleshier; there might be even shadows made by the figures, and it seems that real humans may have been used as models. It seems that the artist was not well trained or not trained at all in the Egyptian style. Thus, in this case, non-Egyptian artistic hands describe Egyptian contents, attempting to imitate the pharaonic style. The reasons for such a choice might be multiple. For instance, it might have been a matter of choice of the relatives of the dead, who followed a trend from the Roman period, according to which Greek artistic hands describe Egyptian contents. This is attested, among others, in the case of terracotta figurines. Yet, the result might not have been totally successful.

Hellenised style: Greek style rendering while preserving the Egyptian contents and attributes: The Stagni Tomb

The case of the Stagni Tomb corresponds to that of the terracotta figurines of the Roman period. In both cases, Greek style rendering is used to describe Egyptian gods. In the case of the Stagni Tomb, figures of Egyptian gods are presented in Hellenised images and naturalistic postures, while Egyptian attributes are also preserved. Through this Hellenised rendering, the three main figures obtain the stylistic characteristics of their Greek counterparts, resulting in syncretic forms of contents such as "Isis-Aphrodite", Eros-Harpocrates.

1.2.2. SUBJECTS OF WALL PAINTINGS AND RELIEFS

Death and resurrection of Osiris

This category concerns wall scenes related to the death and resurrection of Osiris. The god is presented on his funerary bed, surrounded by several deities responsible for his funeral and resurrection, such as Isis, Nephthys, Thoth, Geb, Anubis etc. This is the most common funerary scene in Alexandria, included in the central niche of the Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa catacomb, in the Persephone Tombs from the hall of Caracalla, in the Ramleh Tomb and in the Habachi Tomb. In the Persephone Tombs, there are two scenes on the lateral walls of the niche where Osiris is depicted in the posture of resurrection between Egyptian deities. Similarly, figures of Osiris are presented in other tombs, such as on the back wall of Ras el Tin III (Osiris-Apis) and on the back wall of Sieglin Tomb.

Death and resurrection of humans

This category of scenes concerns the death, funeral and resurrection of humans, with the assistance of gods such as Isis and Nephthys. Examples of this are the Tigrane and Pasha Tomb, where the funeral and the resurrection of humans are described in the niches, with the participation of Isis and Nephthys. In Kom el Shoqafa, on the lateral walls of the central niche, there are male and female mummy-form figures in front of priests and deities. In the Saqiya Tomb, two Ba-birds are presented on the frontal surface of a sarcophagus, symbolising the spirit-soul of the dead. In the Stagni tomb, on the back wall of the tomb, a female figure is presented frontally, semi-unwrapped or about to get unwrapped, in the process of "resurrection", with characteristics of Isis-Aphrodite[3]. The figure of Isis-Aphrodite is perhaps polyvalent in meaning and significance, whereas other figures, for example Nephthys or Thoth, are monovalent (we know what they mean). It seems that we deal with the concept of a "pan-iconic"/syncretistic image that attempts a synthesis of iconic figures taken from a repertoire of established Greek or Pharaonic images with a set menu of meanings and associations. Finally, figures of gods and priests that are presented on the walls of the niche in Tomb H in the Hall of Caracalla, surround the dead body that is placed inside the sarcophagus, creating a three-dimensional divine environment on behalf of the actual location of the dead body.

Other religious acts (Anfushi Tomb II, 2nd-1st century BC; The Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa, 1st century AD)

There are also other religious scenes composed of both human and divine figures, focusing on the relationship between natural and supernatural within the funerary context. In case of Anfushi Tomb II, there are two wall scenes on the two landings of the staircase leading to the court, where the dead is presented twice in front of kings. In the first scene, the one on the upper landing of the stairs, the dead is depicted as accompanied by Horus, in front of a Pharaonic couple, probably two Ptolemaic rulers though unidentifiable, who offer him a jar. In the following scene, the one on the lower landing of the stairs, the dead is depicted in front of Osiris, the king of the underworld, who is seated on his throne, offering a jar. In the Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa, there are two twin scenes on the back walls of the two lateral niches, where a pharaoh is offering a necklace to the statue of Apis-bull.

Scenes of nature

In the so-called Saqiya Tomb, in Wardian, there was a wall scene, formerly in the Greco-Roman Museum, which presents the famous Saqiya scene**.** In Anfushi Tomb V, there are two burial chambers, of which the walls show painted trees between architectural elements such as doorways, reproducing the atmosphere of a kiosk within a garden, and/or a forest. The only possible involvement might concern the inspiration of the theme, which is totally presented in Greek style.

[3] It might be the dead who is represented with the characteristics of Isis or Hathor-Aphrodite, as in Fayum and Thebes (Riggs, 2005, 53, fig. 16).

Self- presentation in Greek style within Egyptian style structures

Egyptian naiskos style loculi slabs form a special subcategory of the deceased's self-presentation in a Greek style appearance, as he used to be (or better as he wanted to be) during his lifetime. The image has been chosen in order to represent the dead in his liminal stage, passing to the other world. It is the image with which he will be presented in front of the gods, before his final conversion to a "resident" of the kingdom of the dead. At the same time, his image will be used as a representative medium for communication with the world of the living after death. This figure is presented within an Egyptian naiskos, indicating that the Egyptian funerary tradition was chosen for the funeral of this person.

1.2.3. FIGURES PRESENTED IN WALL SCENES

Egyptian gods

Osiris is the most popular figure. He is the only Egyptian god displayed in late Ptolemaic tombs, for instance in Ras el Tin Tombs III (in the form of Apis-bull) and VIII (wearing his robe). During the Roman period his "cycle" is completed by several other Egyptian gods. Osiris is attested in four different versions: a) mummy-form figure on his royal bed (Persephone Tombs, Habachi Tombs, Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa), b) wearing his robe in a pose of resurrection (Ramleh Tomb, Persephone Tombs, Fort Saleh Tomb, Ras el Tin TombVIII, c) in the form of Apis-bull (Main Tomb in Kom-El Shoqafa, Ras el Tin III), and d) in the form of a king seated on his throne (Anfushi II).

Isis is the second most popular divine figure, who must have been involved in Alexandria funerary beliefs before the Roman period, although she is not presented in Ptolemaic tombs. In the scenes of Osiris' funeral, she is depicted together with her sister Nephthys, flanking the mummy of the dead god-king. She is also presented alone, like in the case of the Tigrane Tomb (right niche). In addition, several aspects of her cult, such as eggs (related to Isiac meals), cows, situlae and crowns were also presented, thus adding Isiac atmosphere to these funerary structures.

Anubis was a jackal god who had also a multiple role in funerary wall paintings. On the one side, he is presented as the god-priest in the funeral of Osiris (the Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa, Persephone Tombs in Hall of Caracalla, Habachi Tomb, Ramleh Tomb, Sielgin Tomb). On the other side, he could be seated on a throne, like in the niche of the Stagni tomb. He is also presented in a composite form as the military guard of the dead, like in the cases of the Stagni tomb and the Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa. Finally, he can be presented in his animal-jackal form flanking Osiris or dead humans (Tigrane Tomb, Anfushi Tomb II, Gabbari Stele etc).

Horus is presented as a falcon-headed figure (Anfushi Tomb II). He is further presented as a falcon-headed Pharaoh, wearing the double crown of Egypt, attending the funeral of his father (Main Tomb Kom-El Shoqafa, Habachi tombs), guarding the dead during his trip to the underworld (Anfushi Tomb II), and he could also be depicted in the traditional animal form of the hawk wearing the Double Crown of Egypt (Stagni Tomb). In the Hall of Caracalla, Tomb H, Horus might be related with another divine figure, who is depicted on each of the two pilasters of the niche, crowned with an oval solar disc, and extending his index finger. The gesture of the index finger – still unusually far from the lips – as well as the egg, symbol of new life, might be related to Horus (Harpocrates) figures[4].

Finally, there are several other Egyptian deities related to the death and afterlife of Osiris and humans. In the Persephone Tombs there is Thoth, the scribe of the gods and one of the judges of the deceased's heart; Maat, the goddess of world order and harmony; Ptah-Sokar, a funerary deity connected to Osiris, among other things, and protector of bones; and Sekhmet, goddess of fire. Similar figures existed in the Ramleh Tomb, the Habachi Tomb and the Sieglin Tomb.

[4] See the interpretation of Tomb H in Nebengrab in Chapter 4 section 1.8.6.

Syncretic forms (polyvalent images)
Several figures belong to this category, which are displayed in the niche of the Stagni Tomb, following the architectural style of the structure. The central figure of the niche has been described as Isis-Aphrodite, or as an Isis-Aphrodite style female, unwrapping herself from bands of linen. In the two jambs of the niche, there are two Eros-Harpocrates figures, presented with wings on their backs, standing on the top of a lotus flower, and touching their lips with their index fingers. Also, the winged Sphinxes on the geison of the tympanum, having one of the two frontal feet on a wheel, present composite figures, composed of the characteristics of an Isis-headed sphinx and the griffin of Nemesis.

In the Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa, there are two syncretic forms of Anubis combining the typical animal head with the dress and postures of Roman soldiers.

Pharaohs
Anfushi II accommodates the only case of a Ptolemaic period Pharaonic couple in wall painting, on the upper landing of the stairs leading from the ground level to the court. During the Roman period there are Pharaoh figures in the two lateral niches of the Main Tomb in Kom el Shoqafa. Each of the two figures stands in front of an Apis-bull, offering a necklace to the god. There are also Pharaonic figures in the Persephone Tomb and Tigrane Tomb, but they might also be Pharaoh-style gods, such as Geb or Horus. In terms of the iconography without inscriptions, pharaonic style would connote all that is associated with terms such as Pharaonic kingship, domination of spheres (worldly and otherworldly), and the like.

Other humans
An example of this is the priest (possibly also the owner of the tomb), who is depicted on the wall painting of the upper landing, at the staircase of Anfushi Tomb II. There are also two female semi-naked figures on the walls of the entrance corridor, wearing the nemes headdress and carrying situlae. These figures were probably the so-called “servants” of Isis.

1.3. EGYPTIAN STYLE STATUARY

1.3.1 SPHINXES
Egyptian style sphinxes have been found in several Alexandrian tombs, guarding entrances at the innermost parts of the structures. In the case of the Mustapha Pasha Tomb, they are looking frontally. In case of Anfushi Tomb II, they are seated in profile while their heads are turned to the visitor’s side. There is also an extensive presentation of sphinxes on the wall decoration from the Roman period, which in fact imitates statuary sphinxes, for instance in the Tigrane and Stagni Tombs.

1.3.2. HUMANS
two persons are presented in statues, one male and one female, in the pronaos of the Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa, probably the original tomb owners, in Egyptian style and dress and naturalistic portrait characteristics.

1.4. PRESENTATION OF EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN ELITE HYPOGEA AND EGYPTIAN NAISKOS STYLE LOCULI SLABS IN A LIST FORM

1. Architecture

1.1.Greek style with Egyptian references in function, and architectural arrangements (from the 4th century BC onwards)
Hypogeum A, Shatby
Antoniadis Gardens Tomb

1.2. Greek indigenising architecture with profound stylistic Egyptian references (from the 3rd century BC)
Mustapha Pasha Tomb I
Thiersch Tomb 2
Trier Tomb IV

1.3. Egyptian style architectural elements (2nd-1st century BC)
Anfushi tombs 1, 2 and 5
Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa
Loculi Slabs no. 3-10, 12

1.4. Composite-balanced versions (From the 1st century BC)
Fort Saleh
Ras el Tin III
Girghis Tomb
Stagni Tomb
Tomb H, Nebengrab
Ramleh Tomb
Sieglin Tomb
Habachi Tomb
Egyptian naiskos style loculi slabs nos. 1,2,11

2. Wall decoration
2.1. Style
2.1.1. Egyptian style decorative motifs
Anfushi Tombs I and II

2.1.2. Egyptian style figure scenes
Anfushi Tomb II
Fort Saleh Tomb
Ras el Tin Tombs III and VIII
Ramleh Tomb
Habachi Tomb

2.1.3. Egyptianising style: “Free style” Egyptian:
Tomb H Nebengrab
Tigrane Pasha Tomb
Sieglin Tomb

2.1.4. Juxtaposition of Egyptian and Greek style
Persephone Tombs

2.2. Topics in wall paintings and reliefs

2.2.1. Death and resurrection of Osiris
The main tomb of Kom el Shoqafa
Persephone Tombs
Ras el Tin Tomb III and VIII

Sieglin Tomb
Habachi Tomb
Ramleh Tomb

2.2.2. Death and resurrection of humans
Stagni Tomb
Tigrane Tomb
The Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa

2.2.3. Other Religious acts
Anfushi Tomb II (stairs)
Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa

2.2.4. Scenes from nature
The Saqiya Tomb
Anfushi Tomb V

2.2.5. Self-presentation implying the proficiency of the dead
Anfushi Tomb II
Girghis Tomb

2.2.6. Self-presentation in Greek style within Egyptian style structures
Egyptian naiskos style loculi slabs nos. 2, 4 and 13

2.3. Figures presented in wall scenes

2.3.1. Egyptian gods
Anfushi Tomb II
Ras el Tin Tombs III and VIII
Fort Saleh Tomb
The Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa
Persephone Tombs
Tomb H, Nebengrab
Ramleh Tomb
Habachi Tomb A
Sielgin Tomb
Stagni Tomb

2.3.2. Hellenised forms
Stagni Tomb (Isis-Aphrodite)

2.3.3. Pharaohs
Anfushi Tomb II
The Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa

2.3.4. Other Egyptian style humans
Stagni Tomb

2.3.5. Greek Gods
Ras el Tin Tomb III (Hercules)

3. Statuary

3.1. Sphinxes
Mustapha Pasha Tomb I
Anfushi Tomb II

3.2. Humans
The Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa

2. STATUARY AND ARCHITECTURE

The following section will present Egyptian elements in monumental sculpture and architecture from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The surviving published material is anything but complete. Therefore, the presentation will focus mainly on the different options of repertoire and style that were available in Ptolemaic and Roman Alexandria. It will also be summarised in the form of a list. The case of Ptolemaic architecture will be presented directly in the form of a list, according to the style.

2.1. LIST OF EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN STATUARY

2.1.1.Gods:
1. Sarapis (Greek style)
nos. 41-44
2. Isis
nos. 33
3. Osiris
no. 49
4. Thoth
no. 32
5. Agathos Daimon
no. 31
6. Ammon, **(**with Ptolemy II and Arsinoe)
no. 3
7. Apis-bull
no. 40
8. Harpocrates
no. 45
9. Isis-Tyche
no. 46

2.1.2.Kings and queens:
1. Arsinoe II
nos. 2, 3, 4 and 5
2.Ptolemy VI
no. 10

3. Late Ptolemies
nos. 15, 17, 18, 19, and **20**
4. Late Ptolemaic queens in Isis dress (or Isis)
nos. 11, 12, 16 and **no.24**
5. Ptolemy X
no. 22
5. Caesarion(?)
no. 23
6. Marc Anthony
no. 26 (Statue base)

2.1.3 Other humans
1. Egyptian Priests holding Osiris Canopus **nos. 29** and **30**
2. Isis Priestess
nos. 47 and **48**
3. Pair of priest Psenptah
no. 8
4. Petobastis
no. 9
5.Hor
no. 25
6. Mimuat statue
no. 27
7. Gymnasiarch Lykarion (Statue base)
no. 28
8. Young male with Osiris at his feet
no. 39

2.1.4. Sphinxes
nos. 1 and **2** from Sarapeion
nos. 20 and **21** from the submerged royal quarters;
nos. 34-35 from Hadra;
no. 36 from the western port;
no. 38 from the centre
no. 37 with no specific provenance.

2.1.5. Groups
1 Ptolemy II, Arsinoe and Ammon
no. 3
2. Isis and Sarapis
no. 6
3. Ptolemy IV, V and Arsinoe III
no. 8
4. Royal couple from Hadra (Caesarion and Cleopatra VII).
no. 24

2.1.6. Hathoric Crowns
nos. 13 and **14**

2.2. LIST OF EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN ARCHITECTURE

2.2.1. Foundation plaques: **nos. 1** and **2** from Sarapeion
2.2.2. Column capitals with Egyptian elements: **no. 10** from Sarapeion; **no. 3** from Caesareum; **nos. 4-6** from Mazarita, **nos. 7** and **8** from Hadra
2.2.3. Architectural Fragment with sun dial: **no. 3** from Caesareum
2.2.4. Pylon: **no. 11**

3. COINAGE

The following section will provide a presentation of the Egyptian elements such as they are included in coinage from Ptolemaic and Roman periods. In both periods, the interest will be concentrated on various themes, such as gods, structures and symbols, in terms of popularity and diversity, and in the involvement of Egyptian elements in relation to the portrayed kings and emperors on the reverse sides, in terms of quantity and chronological development. A summary of this part will be also presented in the form of a detailed list[5].

3.1. Index of kings who minted coins with Egyptian Elements in chronological order

Ptolemy I
Alexander with horns of Ammon **nos. 1** and **2**

Ptolemy II
Alexander with horns of Ammon **no. 4**
Ammon Zeus **nos. 3** and **5**

Ptolemy III
Alexander with horns of Ammon **no. 6**
Ammon Zeus **no. 7**

Ptolemy IV
Alexander with horns of Ammon **no. 9**
Ammon Zeus **no. 10**
Sarapis and Isis **no. 8**

Ptolemy V
Alexander with horns of Ammon **no. 14**
Ammon Zeus **no. 13**
Cleopatra in the style of Isis **no. 11**
Isis **no. 12**

Ptolemy VI
Ammon Zeus **nos. 15** and **18**
Cleopatra in the style of Isis **no. 24** (from Cyprus)
Lotus flower **no. 15**

Antiochos IV
Sarapis **no. 16**
Isis **no. 17**

[5] See also the graphic presentation of the Roman coinage in Appendix 2.

Ptolemy VIII
Alexander with horns of Ammon **no. 19**
Ammon Zeus **no. 18**

Ptolemy IX
Ammon Zeus **no. 20**

Ptolemy X
Ammon Zeus **no. 21**

Ptolemy XIII
Ammon Zeus **no. 23**
Isis crown **nos. 22** and **23**

3.2. List of Egyptian themes

1. Ammon-Zeus
Ptolemy II, **nos. 3** and **5.** Ptolemy III, **no. 7**. Ptolemy IV, **no. 10.** Ptolemy V, **no. 13.** Ptolemy VI, **nos. 15** and **18**. Ptolemy VIII, **no.18.** Ptolemy IX, **no.20.** Ptolemy X, **no.21.** Ptolemy XIII **no.23**

2. Alexander with the horns of Ammon
Ptolemy 1, **nos. 1** and **2.** Ptolemy II, **no. 4.** Ptolemy III, **no. 6.** Ptolemy IV, **no. 9.** Ptolemy V, **no. 14**
Ptolemy VIII, **no. 19**

3. Isis
Ptolemy V, **no. 12.** Antiochos IV, **no. 17**

4. Cleopatra in the style of Isis
Ptolemy V, **no. 11.** Ptolemy VI, **no. 24**

5. Sarapis
Antiochos IV, **no. 16**

6. Isis and Sarapis
Ptolemy IV, **no. 8**

7. Isis crown
Ptolemy XIII, **no. 23**

8. Isis crown with an eagle
Ptolemy XIII, **no. 22**

9. Lotus flower with an eagle
Ptolemy VI, **no. 18**

3.3. Index of Roman imperial figures minting coins with Egyptian elements in chronological order

Augustus (14 BC – 37AD)
(nos. 1 - 2)
2 singles

Caligula (37 – 41AD)
(nos. 3 - 6)
4 singles

Claudius (41 – 54AD)
(nos. 7 - 9)
3 single types

Nero (54 – 68AD)
(nos. 10 - 13)
4 single types

Galba (68 – 69AD)
(nos. 14 - 17)
4 single types

Otho (69AD)
(nos. 18 - 21)
4 single types

Vitellius (69AD)
(nos. 22 - 25)
4 single types

Vespasian (69 – 79AD)
(nos. 26 - 32)
7 single types

Titus (79 – 81AD)
(no. 33)
1 single type

Domitian (81 – 96AD)
(nos. 34 - 51)
18 single types

Trajan (98 – 117AD)
(nos. 52 - 101)
49 in total: 30 singles (including 6 temple types) and 19 group types (including 2 temple types)

Hadrian (117 – 138AD)
(nos. 102 - 135)
34 in total: 26 singles (including 1 temple type) and 8 (including 1 temple type)

Antoninus Pius (138 – 161AD)
(nos. 136 - 208)
73 types in total: 58 singles (including 9 temple types) and 15 group types

Faustina II
(nos. 209 - 223)
16 in total: 12 singles (including 1 temple type) and 4 groups

Lucius Verus (161 – 169AD)
(nos. 224 - 246)
22 in total: 19 singles and 5 group types (including 4 temple types)

Marcus Aurelius (161 – 180AD)
(nos. 224, 247 - 279)
34 types in total: 27 singles (including 2 temple types) and 7 group types (including 1 temple type)

Lucilla
(nos. 280 - 281)
2 types in total: 1 single type and 1 group type

Commodus (177/180 – 192 AD)
(nos. 282 - 303)
27 types in total: 16 single types and 11 group types

Crispina
(no. 304)
1 group type

Pertinax (193AD)
(no. 305)
1 single type

Pescenius Niger
(no. 306)
1 single type

Septimius Severus (193 – 211AD)
(nos. 307 - 309)
3 single types

Julia Domna
(nos. 310 - 313)
4 single types

Caracalla (198/212 – 217AD)
(nos. 314 - 324)
11 types in total: 4 singles and 7 group types

Geta: **(no. 325)**
1 single type

Diadumenian: **(nos. 326 - 327)**
2 types in total: 1 singles types and 1 group types

Elagabalus (218 – 222AD)
(nos. 328 - 335)
8 types in total: 5 single types 3 group types

Julia Paula
(nos. 336 - 337)
2 single types

Aquilia Severa
(nos. 338 - 341)
4 single types

Annia Faustina
(nos. 342 - 345)
4 single types

Julia Soaemias
(nos. 346 - 347)
2 types in total: 1 single type and 1 group types

Julia Maesa
(nos. 348 - 355)
8 types in total: 6 single types and 2 group type

Severus Alexander (222 – 235AD)
(nos. 356 - 366)
11 types in total: 8 single types and 3 group types

Julia Mamaea
(nos. 367 - 371)
5 types in total: 4 single types and 1 group types

Maximinus (235 – 238AD)
(nos. 372 - 379)
8 types in total: 7 single types and 1 group types

Maximus Caesar
(nos. 380 - 381)
2 single types

Gordian II (238AD)
(no. 382)
1 single type

Popienus (238AD)
(no. 383)
1 single type

Balbinus (238AD)
(no. 384)
1 single type

Gordian III (238 – 244AD)
(nos. 385 - 391)
7 single types

Tranquillina
(nos. 392 - 396)
5 single types

Philip I (244 – 249AD)
(nos. 397 - 410)
14 types in total: 11 single types and 3 group types

Otacilia Severa
(nos. 411 - 420)
10 types in total: 8 single types and 2 group types

Philip II
(nos. 421 - 428)
9 types in total: 6 single types and 3 group types

Decius (249 – 251AD)
(nos. 429 - 432)
4 single types

Trebonianus Gallus (251 – 253AD)
(nos. 433 - 434)
2 single types

Volusian
(no. 435)
1 single type

Valerian (253 – 260AD)
(no. 436)
1 single type

Saloninus Caesar
(nos. 437 - 438)
2 types in total: 1 single type and 1 group types

Gallienus (254 – 268AD)
(nos. 439 - 444)
6 types in total: 3 single types 3 group types

Salonina
(nos. 445 - 447)
1 single type and 2 group types

Claudius Gothicus (268 – 270AD)
(no. 448 - 450)
3 types in total: 2 single types and 1 group type

Probus (276 – 282AD)
(no. 451)
1 single type

Diocletian (285 - 310AD)
(nos. 452 - 455)
4 types in total: 3 single types and 1 group types

Maximian (285 - 310AD)
(nos. 456 - 460)
7 types in total: 2 single types and 5 group types

Domitius Domitianus (295AD)
(no. 461)
1 single type

Costantius I (293-306AD)
(nos. 462 - 464)
3 single types

Galerius (293 - 311AD)
(nos. 465 - 467)
3 group types

Maximinus II (305 - 313AD)
(no. 468)
1 single type

3.4. Index of Roman imperial figures on reverse sides of coins with Egyptian Elements (listed in terms of quantity of coin types)

In total
60 emperors and related imperial figures are presented together with 120 or more different types of reverse-side themes, involving Egyptian elements
Singles 63
Groups 35
Structure types 22
Total coins: 468

Emperors

Antonius Pius seems to have produced the most types, 69, while immediately behind him is Trajan, with 61. Hadrian has 34 types. Marcus Aurelius, Anoninus Pius' successor, also had the same quantity of types, 34. Right behind him are Lucius Verus, 24, and Commodus, 22. We should also add the coins of Faustina II, 16, which were minted during the reign of Antoninus Pius and his successors. In general, this specific line of Emperors (Trajan-Commodus) marks the highest point in terms of quantity in the production of different type of coins with Egyptian elements. This is the reason why these 7 emperors, among the 60, cover the half of the catalogue. Below is the list of all the Emperors that have minted coins with Egyptian elements, concerning the quantity of type that they have produced.

The eleven Roman imperial figures most often using themes involving Egyptian elements

1. Antoninus Pius **(nos. 136-208**) 73 types in total: 58 singles (including 9 temple types) and 15 group types
2. Trajan **(nos. 52-101)** 49 types in total: 30 singles (including 6 structure types) 19 group types (including 6 temple types)
3. Hadrian **(nos. 102-135)** 34 types in total: 26 single (including 1 structure type) 8 group (including 1 temple type)
4. Marcus Aurelius **(nos. 224** and **247-279)** 34 types in total: 27 singler (including 2 structure types) , 7 group types (including 1 t structure type)
5.Lucius Veurs **(nos. 224-246)** 24 in total: 19 single 5 group (including 4 t structure types)
6.Commodus **(nos. 282-303)** 22 types in total: 19 single types and 3 group types
7. Domitian **(nos. 34-51)** 18 single types in total (including 1 structure type)
8. Faustina **(nos. 209-223)** 16 in total: 12 (including 1 structure type) single and 4 group types
9. Phillip I **(nos. 397-410**) 14 types in total: 11 single types and 3 group types
10. Caracalla **(nos. 314-324)** 11 types in total: 4 single and 7 group types
11. Severus Alexander **(nos. 356-366)** 8 single types and 3 group types

10 types in total

Otacilia Severa **(nos. 411-420)** 8 single types and 2 group types

9 types in total

Phillip II **(nos. 421-428)** 6 single types and 3 group types

8 types in total

Maximinus **(nos. 372-379)** 7single types and 1 group types
Elagabalus **(nos. 328-335**) 5 single types 3 group types
Julia Maesa **(nos. 348-355)** 6 single types and 2 group types

7 types in total

Vespasian **(nos. 26-32)** 7 single types
Gordian III **(nos. 385-391)** 7 single types

6 types in total

Gallienus **(nos. 439-444**) 3 single types 3 group types

5 types in total

Tranquillina **(nos. 392-396)** 5 single types
Maximian **(nos. 456-460)** 3 single types and 2 group types
Julia Mamaea **(nos. 367-371)** 4 single types and 1 group types

4 types in total
Otho **(nos. 18-21)** 4 single types
Vitellius **(nos. 22-25)** 4 single types
Caligula (**nos. 3-6**) 4 singles
Nero **(nos. 10-13)** 4 single types
Galba **(nos. 14-17)** 4 single types
Julia Domna **(nos. 310-313)** 4 single types
Aquilia Severa **(nos. 338-341)** 4 single types
Annia Faustina **(nos. 342-345)** 4 single types
Decius **(nos. 429-432)** 4 single types
Diocletian **(nos. 452-455)** 3 single types and 1 group type

3 types in total
Claudius **(nos. 7-9)** 3 single types
Septimius Severus **(nos. 307-309)** 3 single types
Salonina **(nos. 445-447)** 1 single type and 2 group types
Claudius II **(nos. 448-450)** 2 single types and 1 group type
Costantius I **(nos. 462-464)** 3 single types

2 types in total
Augustus **(nos. 1-2)** 2 single types
Julia Paula **(nos. 336-337)** 2 single types
Lucilla **(nos. 280-281)** 1 single type and 1 group type
Diadumenian **(nos. 326-327)** 1 single type and 1 group type
Julia Soaemias **(nos. 346-347)** 1 single type and 1group type
Maximus Caesar **(nos. 380-381)** 2 single types
Trebonianus Gallus **(nos. 433-434)** 2 single types
Salonimus Caesar **(nos. 437-438)** 1 single type and 1 group type
Galerius **(nos. 465-467)** 3 group types

1 type in total
Titus **(no. 33)** 1 single type
Crispina **(nos. 304)** 1 single type
Pertinax **(no. 305)** 1 single type
Pescenius Niger **(no. 306)** 1 single type
Geta **(no. 325**) 1 single type in total
Gordian II **(no. 382)** 1 single type
Popienus **(no. 383)** 1 single type
Balbinus **(no. 384)** 1 single type
Volusian **(no. 435)** 1 single type
Valerian **(no. 436)** 1 single type
Probus (**no. 451**) 1 single type
Domitius Domitianus **(no. 461)** 1 single type
Maximinus II **(no. 468)** 1 single type

3.5. List of reverse side themes with Egyptian Elements on Roman coinage
1. Gods and minor deities

1.1 Sarapis

1.1.1. Sarapis bust

Claudius **no. 7**. Nero **no. 12**. Galba **no. 16**. Otho **no. 18**. Vitelius **no. 23**. Vespasian **no. 28**. Titus **no. 33**. Domitian **no. 34**. Hadrian **no. 128** (crowned with the Atef crown). Antoninus Pius **nos. 142** and **203** (frontally depicted). Faustina II **no. 213** (on the open wings of an eagle). Marcus Aurelius **nos. 264** and **270** (frontally depicted).Julia Domna **no. 310**. Caracalla **no. 320**. Elagabalus **no. 329**. Julia Paula **no. 337**. Aquilia Severa **no. 338**. Julia Soaemias **no. 346**. Julia Maesa **no. 353**. Severus Alexander **no. 356**. Julia Mamaea **no. 367**. Maximinus **no. 376**. Gordian III **no. 387**. Tranquillina **no. 394**. Philip I **no. 398**. Otacilia Severa **no. 412**. Trebonianus Gallus **no. 434**. Volusian **no. 435**. Valerianus **no. 436**. Saloninus Caesar **no. 437**. Gallienus **no. 440**. Probus **no. 451**. Diocletian **no. 453**. Maximian **no. 460**. Domitius Domitianus **no. 461**. Costantius I **no. 462**. Galerius **no. 467**. Maximinus II **no. 468**

1.1.b. Sarapis seated on throne

Domitian **no. 42**. Trajan **no. 54**. Hadrian **no. 118**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 260**. Commodus **no. 299**. Pescenius Niger **no. 306**. Elagabalus **no. 334**. Aquilia Severa **no. 339**. Julia Maesa **no. 352**. Severus Alexander **no. 362**. Julia. Mamaea **no. 371**. Gordian III **no. 385**. Philip I **no. 399**. Otacilia Severa **no. 417**. Philip II **no. 424**. Decius **no. 431**. Diocletian **no. 455**

1.1.2. Standing figure of Sarapis

Lucius Verus **no. 234**. Commodus **no. 290**. Julia Domna **no. 313** . Annia Faustina **no. 344**. Julia Maesa **no. 350**. Severus Alexander **no. 360**. Maximinus **no. 377**. Gordian III **no. 391**. Philip I **no. 397**. Otacilia Severa **no. 413**. Decius **no. 429**. Trebonianus Gallus **no. 433**. Gallienus **no. 443**

1.1.3. Sarapis pantheos

-Sarapis-Ammon-Helios- Nilus-Hermanubis
Antoninus Pius **no. 173**. Philip I **no. 405**

-Sarapis-Helios-Ammon-Asclepius-Poseidon
Antoninus Pius **no. 174**. Commodus **no. 288**

-Sarapis-Ammon-Asclepius-Helios-Heracles
Marcus Aurelius **no. 249**

-Sarapis-Ammon-Asclepius-Helios-Nilus-Poseidon
Antoninus Pius **no. 201**

-Sarapis-Ammon-Helios
Commodus **no. 286**

-Sarapis-Ammon-Helios- Nilus
Antoninus Pius **no. 149**

-Sarapis-Helios-Asclepius-Ammon
Faustina II **no. 212**

-Sarapis-Helios-Ammon-Zeus
Antoninus Pius **no. 149**

1.1.4. Sarapis-headed serpent
Antoninus Pius **no. 194**. Lucius Verus **no. 244**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 279**

1.1.5. Sarapis-headed serpent on the back of a Horse
Antoninus Pius **no. 206**. Lucius Verus **no. 229**. Lucilla **no. 280**

1.1.6. Sarapis on the back of a sacred Ram
Antoninus Pius **no. 150** and **no. 204** (Bust)

1.1.7. Sarapis seated on the open wings of an eagle
Hadrian **no. 132**

1.1.8. Bust of Sarapis on the back of sphinx
Lucius Verus **no. 230**

1.1.8. Sarapis-Ammon
Antoninus Pius **no. 160**

1.1.9. Sarapis-Zeus
Vespasian **no. 32**

1.1.0. Sarapis-Helios
Domitian **no. 40**

1.2. Isis

1.2.1. Bust of Isis wearing the Hathoric crown
Galba **no. 14**. Otho **no. 19**. Vitellius **no. 24**. Vespasian **nos. 27** (floral crown) and **31** (Hathoric crown). Hadrian **no. 106**. Antoninus Pius **nos. 138, 166** and **167** (slightly different versions). Julia Paula **no. 336**. Julia Maesa **no. 349**. Severus Alexander **no. 366**. Julia Mamaea **no. 370**. Maximinus **no. 373**. Philip I **no. 402**. Otacilia Severa **no. 411**. Salonina **no. 446**. Diocletian **no. 452**. Maximian **no. 459**. Costantius I **no. 464**. Galerius **no. 466**

1.2.2. Isis Lactans
Trajan **nos.79** and **87** (at the feet of Isis). Hadrian **no. 113**. Antoninus Pius **nos. 188**. Lucius Verus **no. 233**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 262**. Commodus **no. 296**. Caracalla **no. 317**

1.2.3. Isis Pharia
Domitian **no. 45**. Trajan **no. 76**. Hadrian **no. 115**. Antoninus Pius **nos. 146** and **187**. Faustina II **no. 217**. Lucius Verus **no. 232**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 276**

1.2.4. Isis Sothis
Trajan **no. 61**. Antoninus Pius **no. 199**. Faustina II **no. 223**

1.2.5. Isis- Therenuthis
Domitian **no. 43**. Hadrian **no. 131**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 269**

1.2.6. Isis-Tyche
Antoninus Pius **no. 192**. Commodus **no. 303**

1.2.7. Isis Euploia
Antoninus Pius **no. 197**. Lucius Verus **no. 236**

1.2.8. Standing figure of Isis
Trajan **no. 67** (on the field, Harpocrates). Hadrian **no. 104**

1.1.9. Isis-headed winged sphinx with foot on the wheel of Nemesis
Hadrian **no. 103**. Antoninus Pius **no. 196**

1.1.10. Isis-Canopus
Hadrian **no. 105**

1.2. Harpocrates
1.3.1 Bust of Harpocrates wearing the skhent crown
Antoninus Pius **no. 139**. Lucius Verus **nos. 231** (with side lock) and **245**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 251**. Commodus **nos. 293** and **302** (with side lock). Costantius I **no. 463**

1.3.2. Harpocrates on a lotus flower
Antoninus Pius **no. 144**. Commodus **no. 294**. Diadumenian **no. 326**. Philip I **no. 409**

1.3.3. Harpocrates of Mendes with hemhem crown
Trajan **no. 53** (The crown is not visible), **no.94** (on throne). Hadrian **no.126** (on the back of a sacred ram), **no. 133** (bust of). Gallienus **no. 444**. Claudius Gothicus **no. 448**

1.3.4. Harpocrates, standing, naked, holding cornucopia
Domitian **no. 49**. Hadrian **no. 102** (walking). Antoninus Pius **nos. 143** and **165 (**Standing on a column). Lucius Verus **no. 227**

1.3.5. Harpocrates of Heracleopolis Magna
Trajan **no. 80** (between sphinxes). Hadrian **no. 122**

1.3.6. Harpocrates seated on a sphinx
Trajan **no. 63** *(Human-headed sphinx).* Hadrian **no. 130**

1.3.7. Harpocrates wearing crown of Horns and three Canopoi on the top
Antoninus Pius **no. 178**

1.3.8. Harpocrates seating on rocks, wearing the Atef crown
Antoninus Pius **no. 170**

1.3.9. Harpocrates with lower part of crocodile
Trajan **no. 70**

1.4 Nilus
1.4.1. Bust of Nilus
Claudius **no. 9**. Nero **no. 11**. Galba **no. 15**. Otho **no. 21**. Vitelius **no. 22**. Vespasian **no. 26**. Domitian **no. 39**. Trajan **no. 93**. Antinous **no. 135**. Antoninus Pius **no. 186**. Lucius Verus **no. 226**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 263**. Commodus **no. 292**. Septimus Severus **no. 307**. Elagabalus **no. 333**. Severus Alexander **no. 357**. Maximinus

no. 374. Maximus Caesar **no. 381**. Gordian III **no. 389**. Tranquillina **no. 396**. Philip I **no. 401**.Otacilia Severa **no. 414**. Philip II **no. 423**

1.4.2. Reclining figure of Nilus
Trajan **no. 57**. Hadrian **no. 114**. Faustina II **no. 222**. Lucius Verus **no. 242**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 277**.Caracalla **no. 315**. Annia Faustina **no. 342**. Severus Alexander **no. 359**. Maximinus **no. 375**. Maximus **no. 380**. Gordian II **no. 382**. Popienus **no. 383**. Balbinus **no. 384**. Gordian III **no. 386**. Tranquillina **no. 392**. Philip I **no. 403**. Philip II **no. 427**

1.4.3. Nilus seated on Rocks
Antoninus Pius **no. 148**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 259**. Julia Maesa **no. 351**. Philip I **no. 407**

1.4.4. Nilus seated on a crocodile
Hadrian **no. 125**. Lucius Verus **no. 237**

1.4.5. Nilus seated on the back of a Hippopotamus
Julia Mamaea **no. 368**

1.4.6. Nilus on a chariot driven by Hippopotami
Trajan **no. 60**

1.5. Ammon
1.5.1. Bust of Ammon
Caligula **no. 3**. Domitian **no. 41**. Antoninus Pius **no. 145**. Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius **no. 224**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 248**. Commodus **no. 295**. Septimus Severus **no. 309**. Elagabalus **no. 322**. Aquilia Severa **no. 343**. Annia Faustina **no. 345**. Julia Maesa **no. 348**. Severus Alexander **no. 358**. Maximinus **no. 378**. Gordian III **no. 390**. Tranquillina **no. 393**. Philip I **no. 404**. Otacilia Severa **no. 418**. Philip II **no. 422**. Decius **no. 432**

1.5.2. Bust of Ammon on the back of a ram
Faustina II **no. 221**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 265**. Commodus **no. 282**

1.6. Hermanubis
1.6.1. Bust of Hermanubis
Domitian **no. 44**. Antoninus Pius **nos. 159, 198** (without Cadeus). Commodus **no. 285**. Diadumenian **no. 328**. Aquilia Severa **no. 341**. Annia Faustina **no. 343**. Julia Maesa **no. 354**. Severus Alexander **no. 361**. Maximinus **no. 372**. Gordian III **no. 388**. Tranquillina **no. 405**. Philip I **no. 400**. Otacilia Severa **no. 415**. Philip II **no. 421**. Decius **no. 430**. Claudius Gothicus **no. 450**. Maximian **no. 457**

1.6.2. Standing figure of Hermanubis holding Cadeus and Palm-leafs
Antoninus Pius **nos. 171** and **172** (frontally). Commodus **no. 298**. Caracalla **no. 322**. Otacilia Severa **no. 416**

1.7. Agathos Daimon
1.7.1. Agathos Daimon alone
Nero **no. 10**. Domitian **no. 51**. Trajan **no. 72**. Antoninus Pius **no. 183**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 278**. Septimius Severus **no. 308**

1.7.2. Agathos Daimon on the back of a horse
Domitian **no. 47**. Faustina II **no. 209**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 272**. Commodus **no. 287**

1.8. Osiris Canopus
Galba **no. 17**. Otho **no. 20**. Vitelius **no. 25**. Vespasian **no. 29**. Domitian **no. 50**. Trajan **no. 92**. Hadrian **no. 109**. Antoninus Pius **no. 137**. Faustina II **no. 210**. Gallienus **no. 441**

1.9. Apis-bull
Caligula **no. 5**. Nero **no. 13**. Domitian **no. 35**. Hadrian **no. 116**. Antoninus Pius **no. 177**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 268**. Commodus **no. 284**. Julia Domna **no. 311**. Geta **no. 325**

1.10. Sobek (crocodile)
Caligula **no. 6**. Claudius **no. 8**. Domitian **no. 36**. Trajan **no. 52**. Hadrian **no. 108**

1.11. Falcon-Horus
Vespasian **no. 30**. Domitian **no. 38**. Antoninus Pius **no. 182**. Faustina II **no. 221**

1.12. Euthenia reclining on a sphinx
Trajan **no. 75**. Antoninus Pius **no. 136**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 271**

1.13. Tutu
Trajan **no. 101**. Harian **no. 121**

1.14. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris
Hadrian **no. 127**

1.15. Ptah-Hephaistos
Hadrian **no. 111**

1.16. Demeter-Therenouthis
Trajan **no. 73**

1.17. Demeter in front of an Egyptian altar
Antoninus Pius **no. 140**

2. Groups Types

2.1. Isis and Sarapis
Trajan **no. 85** (standing figures). Antoninus Pius **nos. 161** (Jugate) and **169**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 257** (standing figures). Elagabalus (Jugate) **no. 334**. Julia Soaemias (Jugate) **no. 347**. Severus Alexander (Jugate) **no. 364**. Julia Mamaea (Jugate) **no. 369**. Maximinus **no. 379**. Otacilia Severa (Jugate) **no. 419**. Saloninus Caesar **no. 438**. Gallienus **no. 439**. Maximian **no. 458**. Galerius **no. 465**

2.2. Agathos Daimon and uraeus
Trajan **no. 90**. Hadrian **no. 112**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 247**. Crispina **no. 304**. Diadumenian **no. 326**. Philip I **no. 410**. Otacilia Severa **no. 420**. Philip II **no. 428**

2.3. Triptolemos on a chariot with winged uraeoi
Trajan **no. 59**. Hadrian **no. 129**. Antoninus Pius **no. 185**. Faustina II **no. 220**. Lucius Verus **no. 246**. Marcus. Aurelius **no. 255**. Philip II **no. 425**

2.4. Canopoi facing with each other
Trajan **no. 74**. Hadrian **no. 110**. Antoninus Pius **nos. 156** (facing with each other) and **157** (looking frontally). Lucius Verus **no. 243**

2.4a. Canopoi on the open wings of an eagle
Antoninus Pius **no. 158**. Faustina II **no. 214**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 252**

2.5. Busts Euthenia and Nilus Jugate
Antoninus Pius **no. 163**. Julia Maesa **no. 355**. Severus Alexander **no. 363**. Philip I **no. 408**. Philip II **no. 426**. Claudius Gothicus **no. 449**

2.6. Alexandria Holding a bust of Sarapis
Elagabalus **no. 331**. Severus Alexander **no. 365**. Philip I **no. 406**. Diocletian **no. 454**. Maximian **no. 456**

2.7. Standing figure of Sarapis between Dioskuroi
Antoninus Pius **no. 179**. Lucius Verus **no. 235**

2.7.1. Bust of Sarapis between Dioskuroi
Antoninus Pius **no. 147**

2.8. Sarapis-Isis-Harpocrates on the open wings of an eagle
Hadrian **no. 117**. Antoninus Pius **no. 205**. Faustina II **no. 216**

2.9. Hermanubis, Isis, Demeter, Harpocrates, Sarapis and Tyche and two Canopoi
Marcus Aurelius **no. 258**. Commodus **no. 297**. Caracalla **no. 321**

2.10. Nilus and Euthenia offering crown
Trajan **no. 88**. Lucius Verus **no. 238**

2.11. Sarapis and Hermanubis
Trajan **no. 98**. Antoninus Pius **no. 168** (Jugate busts)

2.12. The emperor in front of a column with bust of Sarapis
Commodus **no. 289**. Elagabalus **no. 330**

2.13. Sarapis, Isis and Demeter
Faustina II **no. 216**

2.14. Sarapis, Isis Pharia, Demeter Cerberus
Antoninus Pius **no. 200**

2.15. Sarapis seated on throne, with Nike
Caracalla **no. 316**

2.16. The emperor with Sarapis
Caracalla **no. 318**

2.17. The emperor on a chariot, in front of Sarapis bust
Caracalla **no. 319**

2.18. Hermanubis in front of sacred bark of Sarapis, surmounted by Canopoi and Agathos Daimon
Caracalla **no. 323**

2.19. Sarapis-Ares-Nike
Gallienus **no. 442**

2.20. Busts of Isis and Nilus
Salonina **no. 447**

2.21. Zodiac with busts of Isis and Sarapis jugate
Antoninus Pius **no. 191**

2.22. Zodiac of Greek gods and Sarapis
Hadrian **no. 107**

2.23. Two canopoi between Isis and Harpocrates of Heracleopolis Magna
Trajan **no. 65**

2.24. Sarapis-Harpocrates-Hermanubis
Trajan **no. 68**

2.25. Bust of Sarapis between two Nikai
Trajan **no. 77**

2.26. Sarapis and Homonoia
Trajan **no. 82**

2.27. Isis and Isis Pharia
Trajan **no. 83**

2.28. Harpocrates and Elpis
Trajan **no. 84**

2.29. Eutheneia- Demeter- kalathos-uraeoi
Trajan **no. 86**

2.30. Sarapis between Heracles and Appolo
Trajan **no. 100**

2.31. Sarapis and Demeter
Hadrian **no. 124**

2.32. Harpocrates between Canopoi
Faustina II **no. 215**

2.33. Nilus and Tiber
Antoninus Pius **no. 195**

3. Sacred symbols, animals and objects

3.1 Uraeus
Caligula **no. 4**. Domitian **no. 46**. Trajan **no. 95**. Antoninus Pius **no. 151**. Faustina II **no. 215**. Lucius Verus **no. 228**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 266**. Commodus **no. 301**. Crispina **no. 204**. Pertinax **no. 305**. Julia Domna **no. 312**

3.2. Sphinxes
Domitian **no. 48**. Trajan **no. 81**. Antoninus Pius **no. 152**

3.3. The Hathoric crown of Isis
Augustus **no. 1**. Trajan **no. 64**. Antoninus Pius **no. 207**

3.4. Sacred ram
Antoninus Pius **no. 206**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 261**

3.5. Hem-Hem crown
Trajan **no. 91**. Antoninus Pius **nos. 208**

3.6. Oinochoe with wreath and crown of Isis
Augustus **no. 2**

3.7. Sistrum
Trajan **no. 56**

3.8. Skhent crown
Antoninus Pius **no. 181**

3.9. Kalathos on the chariot of Triptolemos driven by uraeoi
Trajan **no. 89**

4. Structures

4.1 Temple with segmental pediment
4.1.1. Isis Lactans in a temple with segmental pediment
Antoninus Pius **no. 154**. Faustina II **no. 218**. Lucilla **no. 281**

4.1.2. Canopoi in temple with segmental pediment
Hadrian **no. 120**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 254**

4.1.3. Harpocrates in temple with segmental pediment
Antoninus Pius **no. 176**

4.1.4.Harpocrates of Heracleopolis in temple with segmental pediment
Hadrian **no. 119**

4.2 Egyptian style temples with pylons
4.2.1. Isis in in Egyptian temple with pylons
Trajan **no. 69.** Hadrian **no. 123**

4.2.2. Canopoi in an Egyptian style temple with pylons
Trajan **no. 58.** Lucius Verus **no. 239**

4.2.3. Osiris Canopus in an Egyptian style temple with pylons
Marcus Aurelius **no. 253**

4.3. Δ-style temple with solar disc and uraeoi
4.3.1. Sarapis in a Δ-style temple with solar disc and uraeoi
Trajan **no. 96**. Antoninus Pius **nos. 153** (frontally) and **155** (Sarapis in three quarters). Lucius Verus **no. 240**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 274** (bust of Sarapis)

4.3.2. Nilus in a Δ-style temple with solar disc and uraeoi
Lucius Verus **no. 241**

4.3.3. Sarapis and Emperor in a Δ-style temple with solar disc and uraeoi
Hadrian **no. 134**

4.3.4. Sarapis with Demeter and Omonoia in Δ-style temple with solar disc and uraeoi
Trajan **no. 96**

4.3.5. Hermanubis in a Δ-style temple with solar disc and uraeoi
Antoninus Pius **no. 175**

4.3.6. Nike in a Δ-style temple with solar disc and uraeoi
Trajan **no. 97**

4.3.7. Athena in a Δ-style temple with solar disc and uraeoi
Antoninus Pius **no. 184**

4.3.8. Zeus in a a Δ-style temple with solar disc and uraeoi
Trajan **no. 62**

4.3.8. Tyche in a Δ-style temple with solar disc
Antoninus Pius **no. 189**

4.3.10. Elpis in a Δ-style temple with solar disc
Antoninus Pius **no. 180**

4.3.11. Bust of Sarapis with Isis and Harpocrates in a Δ-style temple with solar disc and uraeoi
Marcus Aurelius **no. 274**

4.3.12. Demeter-Therenuthis in a Δ-style temple with solar disc and uraeoi
Trajan **no. 78**

4.3.13. Isis-Therenuthis in a Δ-style temple with solar disc and uraeoi
Trajan **no. 99**

4.3.14. Naiskos of Osiris on a sacred bark
Trajan **no. 71** (image of Osiris not visible). Marcus Aurelius **no. 267**

4.5. Altar of Agathos Daimon
Antoninus Pius **no. 193**. Marcus Aurelius **no. 275**

4.6. Triumphal arch; tympanum crowned with solar disc and uraeoi
Domitian **no. 37**

5. Deified humans

5.1. Antinous with hemhem crown
Hadrian **no. 135**

Chapter 4 INTERPRETATION of the catalogue in terms of context and chronological development

The previous chapter presented various patterns, according to which Egyptian elements are involved in the material culture of Alexandria in Ptolemaic and Roman periods. This chapter will provide an interpretation of these elements, concerning issues of ideology and public life as well as identity and funerary customs. For such an analysis, combination of different types of material evidence is required, as provided by the catalogue.

1. TOMBS: FUNERARY CUSTOMS, ARCHITECTURE AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

The following section will try to illustrate, in chronological order, several categories of elite Alexandrian tombs with Egyptian elements, as defined by their monumental structures and extensive decoration. During the course of this analysis, it is expected to achieve a better understanding of the role of the Egyptian tradition in Alexandria in funerary customs (including funerary art, architecture and beliefs) as well as expressions of identity.

1.1. CATEGORISATION OF THE STRUCTURES

The general common aspect among all structures is the duality in terms of meaning and function. Both of them are of interest in regard to burials and funerary chapels. They represent both the last residence of the dead and, at the same time, a meeting point between the world of the living and the dead. Apart from this, they could be categorised according to their architectural style, the religious context, and the artistic repertoire. In this stage of analysis, tombs of the Ptolemaic period can be divided into three main categories.

As concluded in the previous chapter, the first category of tombs concerns the Greek-Alexandrian version of elite Hypogea, dating from 4th century BC to the end of the Ptolemaic period. Hypogeum A Shatby is the representative example from the early Ptolemaic period (Late 4th/early 3rd century BC). Mustapha Pasha Tomb I, Antoniadis tomb and Gabbari Tombs 1 and 3 represent the rest of the Ptolemaic period (3rd century BC - 30 BC).

The second category, the Egyptian-Alexandrian version of elite funerary structures, in other words Alexandrian tombs with profound Egyptian religious and decorative elements, dates from the middle of the 2nd century until the late 1st century BC/ early 1st century AD, following the Egyptian funerary tradition. Anfushi tombs I, II, V belong to this category.

The third category represents composite versions of both Greek and Egyptian elements. Ras el Tin VIII, Fort Salem Tomb, and Girghis Tomb are the representative examples.

Concerning the treatment of the dead, in the first category the main funerary practice was Greek (cremation), while both in the second and third category the funerary practice was Egyptian (mummification and relative religious programme).

1.2 OVERVIEW OF THE PAST SCHOLARSHIP CONCERNING THE NATURE OF ALEXANDRIAN TOMBS

As noted in the introduction, most of the scholars have emphasised the Greek character of these tombs, which reflect the Hellenic identity of their inhabitants and correspond to the elite social class. Pagenstecher (1919) established the ‘Oikos’ model for Alexandrian tombs. He emphasised their Macedonian origin, reflected in the sequence of rooms, from vestibule to the main burial chamber, and assumed that their structural type derives form houses of Northern Greece and elsewhere. Concerning the court of the Alexandrian structures, Pagenstecher suggested that their only function was to host visitors and to provide the inner part with fresh air and light.

Adriani rejected the Macedonian origin of Alexandrian structures, based on several differences. Among others, Macedonian tombs reflect a closer character, since they are covered by a tumulus and they have

no square. Moreover, Macedonian tombs had more individual character, compared to the collective of Alexandrian Hypogea. Moreover, they were covered with soil, and abandoned, until the next burial[1]. On the contrary, Alexandrian tombs were open to the family of the deceased, priests and friends, as reflected by the court with the altar, benches and funerary offering tables in the inner chambers such as those of Mustapha Pasha necropolis (Adriani 1936, 75; 1965b, 31). However, he also suggested an origin deriving from Greek houses (ibid 1965b, 76; 169-171).

What not only these two scholars have in common, but also most of the 'Alexandrian' archaeologists, is that they recognised the uniqueness of Alexandrian tombs in structure and function. As Venit states for the case of Hypogeum A (2002, 22):

"It epitomises Ptolemaic period attitude towards the treatment of the dead and embodies Alexandrian sentiments about the interconnection between the realms of the dead and the leaving… Illusionism can create a metaphysical space in which the living and the dead can interact".

This quotation reflects the main difference between the Alexandrian Hypogea and all the tombs of the Greek world. Yet, the origin of these new structural elements and functions has never been discussed in detail, concerning their relation to the Egyptian tradition. Adriani did not see any kind of relationship with Egyptian tradition, and identifies these unique elements as 'eastern' in general (Adriani 1965, 169). However, in the Egyptian funerary world, the dead can retain frequent contact with the world of the living through post-funerary rites, since he can be resurrected within his body. In general, death and resurrection are two basic components of the Egyptian culture.

The first to examine the possibility of Egyptian influence in the Alexandrian elite Hypogea was el-Atta (1992). El-Atta assumed that the Alexandrian peristyle Hypogea are comparable to noble tombs from the Late period (25th and 26th Dynasties) necropolis of Assasif in Thebes (1992, 17-18). In his paper, he discussed in general terms the similarities between the Sidi Gaber Tomb and the Antoniadis Tomb, and Egyptian tombs from the Old Kingdom to 3rd century BC. Among other things, he compared the Ptolemaic Hypogea with tombs of Thyi from the Valley of the Queens and the tomb of Ramosi, a high official from Thebes, both dated to the New Kingdom. Aspects similar to the Alexandrian Hypogea are the court with rooms opened at three sides. In New Kingdom tombs, the court consists of a hall, sometimes a hypostyle, while in Alexandria the court is open to the air. Finally, both cases are rock-cut structures (Ibid, 16).

Much more elaborated concerning the relation between Alexandrian tombs and the Egyptian funerary tradition was Daszewski (1994), who assumed that several structural and functional elements mentioned by many scholars would be more understandable within Egyptian funerary tradition. These elements are the adoption of an underground complex, with axial emphasis structure, the peristyle, pseudo-peristyle or without peristyle courts, and the sequence of rooms that ends to the niche. Hence for Daszewski, the Hellenistic Hypogea of Alexandria seems to have been an *Interpretatio Graeca* of the old funerary traditions developed in the syncretic atmosphere of the Ptolemaic capital (57-59).

Daszewski's point of view offers a whole new perspective concerning the origins and nature of Alexandrian hypogea. However, it still needs further elaboration. He compared Alexandrian tombs to a specific group of Egyptian Theban tombs in Assasif (Fig. 1), and this was not done directly, but through an intermediate discussion on the Hypogea of Marina el-Alamein. In addition, there is a 'gap' in his discussion between the 26th Dynasty (about 525 BC) and the beginnings of the tombs of Alexandria, while there are several stages in the development of Alexandrian tombs, and consequently in the gradual process of adaptation. We need to look in further detail at the several types of Egyptian influence in Alexandrian tombs, not necessarily in relation to a specific group of Egyptian tombs, but to the broader Egyptian religious tradition as well.

[1] For a presentation of Macedonian tombs of Vergina see Drougou and Saatshoglou-Paliadeli 1999. For reconstruction of the so-called Tomb of Phillip II see ibid 44, fig. 55

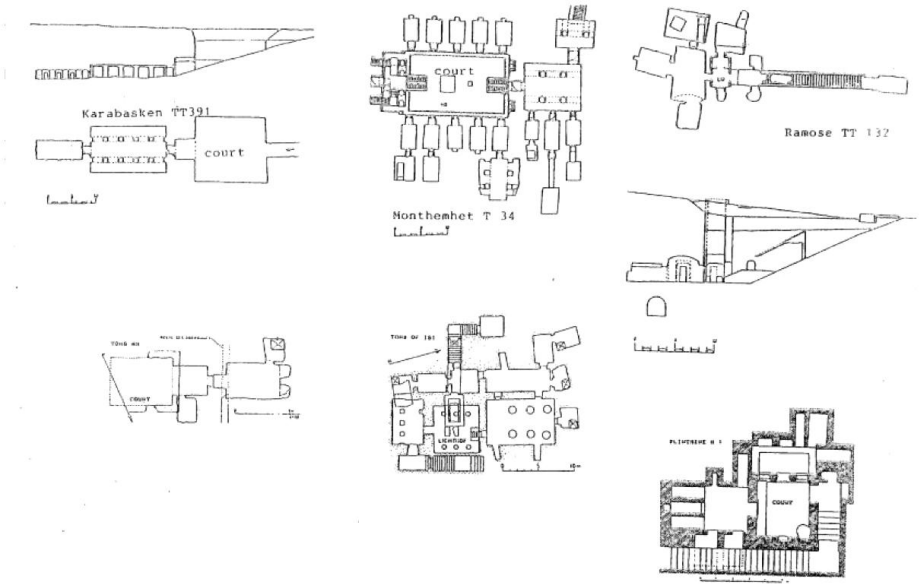

Fig. 1. Necropolis of Assasif in Thebes. 25th and 26th Dynasties. After Daszewski 1994.

1.3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ALEXANDRIAN NECROPOLEIS AND EGYPTIAN CEMETERIES

A proper discussion on the Egyptian aspects of the Alexandria Hypogea should begin with more general issues, such as the nature of the Alexandrian cemeteries. There is no doubt the Alexandrian cemeteries owe the name Necropolis[2] to their size and monumentality. It should be added that the term Polis also implies activities, which fell outside of the traditional Greek context. In Alexandrian cemeteries this might have been the continuous relationship between the city of the dead and the city of the living, as implied by the nature and function of the structures. The latter presents the most basic difference between the Alexandrian necropolis and any other cemetery of the Greek world. All other points of difference, like the plan and structural type of necropolis, but also the nature and function of tomb structures themselves, are closely related to this unique characteristic.

Alexandrian cemeteries consist of underground burials arranged in a grid system of underground corridors and subsequent rooms. The burials are placed in narrow holes cut into the walls, named loculi. Loculi contained mummies, cremated bodies and simple interments. Underground burials in corridor arrangement have been discovered in various areas in Egypt, dating from the 19th dynasty onwards, and they experienced a greater flourish during the Late, Ptolemaic and Roman periods. These have usually hosted burials of sacred animals such as bulls, hawks, Ibis-birds etc., all of them representing sacred manifestations of Egyptian gods, such as Osiris-Apis, Bastet, Horus and Thoth[3]. The animal necropolis of the Apis-bull in Memphis is the best example of such cemeteries. The mummified bodies of dead sacred bulls were placed in holes cut on the wall too, while granite sarcophagi were often placed within those holes, having the mummified body in them (Ashton 2003b, 9-28). The sanctuary of the Apis-bull in Memphis was favoured by the Ptolemies, even of Alexander the Great. According to Arrian (Anabasis III.1.2-3), Alexander himself offered sacrifices to the god.

Summarising the common aspects, we may conclude that both types of cemeteries consist of grids of underground galleries, which contain burials of dead animals and humans in their walls. In both cases, dead

[2] They were named after Strabo who visited the western cemeteries (Gabbari), (XVII.1.10)
[3] For animal necropoleis see Ikram 2005; Davis 2006

bodies are placed in holes cut on the wall, in Alexandria known as loculi. The mummified bodies of sacred animals such as Apis-bulls are placed in stone sarcophagi. In Alexandria, the most exceptional Greek burials are covered with a rock-cut funerary kline, while in the Roman period, the rock-cut kline is replaced by sarcophagi. The rest of the loculi are covered with door-like or funerary stele-like slabs. During the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods (2nd century BC- 2nd century AD) in tombs with profoundly Egyptian elements, the loculus could be sealed either with an Egyptian style naiskos or with a funerary kline within an Egyptian style kiosk-like structure[4]. Hence, Memphite animal catacombs may have been the impetus for the familial mausolea of Alexandria.

Nevertheless, there are also differences that need to be stressed. Firstly, the Sarapeion is designed as a series of corridors, with quite a different layout compared to the Alexandrian tombs discussed in this work. Secondly, concerning the size, the Memphite Sarapeion is enormous, unlike the Alexandrian funerary complexes. Thirdly, there does not appear to be an area within the Memphite Sarapeion proper for cult practice as there is in Alexandria with the altar, water provision, and room to accommodate the living.

1.4. NEW EVIDENCE CONCERNING THE RELATION BETWEEN ALEXANDRIAN TOMBS AND EGYPTIAN FUNERARY PRACTICES

The 2006 excavations of Paolo Gallo in the neighbourhood of the Alexandria area of Nelson Island brought some new evidence to light concerning the influence of Egyptian funerary tradition on the Alexandrian Hypogea: an Egyptian necropolis dating to the 30th Dynasty (380-343 BC) or slightly later[5]. In the 'Mustapha' section of the Nelson Island excavation, a collective tomb was revealed, consisting of three subsequent rooms (fig. 2). The innermost room was the main burial chamber, where mummies were discovered, dating to the 30th dynasty or slightly later, at the last quarter of the 4th century BC (fig. 3). These mummies were placed in loculi, which were cut into the three walls of the room. In 2007, another section was discovered to the right of this Egyptian funerary complex. It was a kline-room in the Greek-Macedonian style, similar to those found in Alexandrian tombs, as for example in the case of the late 4th century/early 3rd century BC funerary structure of Hypogeum A (Catalogue of elite hypogea and loculus slabs, illustrations, figs.45-46), in Shatby. In this kline-room (in the Nelson Island), Gallo discovered a coin of Ptolemy I.

Therefore, this evidence itself could give some ground for further discussion concerning the origin of Alexandrian tombs. Comparing it to Hypogeum A in Shatby, we see that in both cases we deal with a sequence of rectangular spaces (the Alexandrian tomb is better shaped) leading to the burial chamber with a radiate-like arrangement.

The Nelson Island necropolis is a unique example from the surrounding area of the underground gallery with loculi for Egyptian, dating just a few decades before the construction of the Alexandrian necropolis (or even at its very beginning). After the kline-room discovery, it could be argued that not only the model of underground loculi tombs was available in the surrounding area of Alexandria, but also Greeks were aware of such structures and they had a first hand experience, even from the period of Alexander the Great onwards.

The exact use of the room as well as the total period of use remain unclear. However, the similarity of the Nelson Island klinai room to the kline-room of the Alexandrian hypogeum A, as well as the fact that it is almost attached to an underground tomb, would entail a funerary use.

To sum up, by the time of the 4th century BC, the Egyptian elite funerary architecture had developed to such an extent that at least one model was already in place at Nelson's island. This established architectural design seems to have served as the stimulus/catalyst for the Greek tombs established on that island in close proximity to the Egyptian models that they were evoking. Should this hypothesis be true, this process resulted in the adaptation of the Greek burial practice within an original Egyptian layout and spatial arrangement. In addition, a process of indigenisation had been initiated for Greek artistic and architectural decoration in order

[4] See section 1.6 of the same chapter.
[5] For a detailed description of the Nelson Island necropolis see: Gallo 2009, 66-73

to display, in the Greek visual vocabulary, several ideas inspired by the Egyptian relationship between the worlds of the dead and the living. This must have been very beginning, which will lead in very advanced versions of artistic, funerary and other cultural interplay three centuries later.

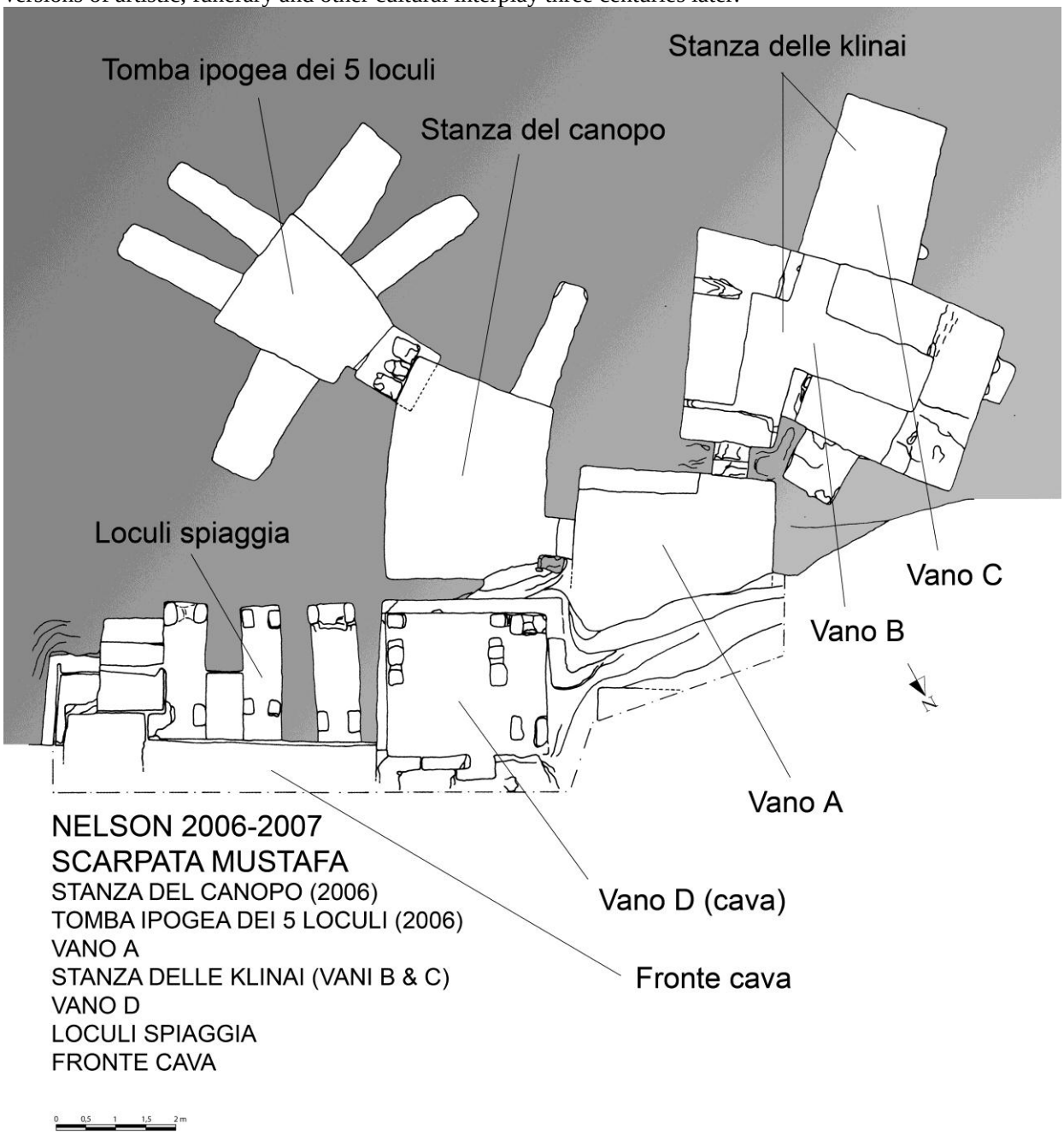

Fig.2. The necropolis of Nelson Island, with the funerary Kline room (right) and the loculi burials of the 30th Dynasty (left). After Gallo 2009

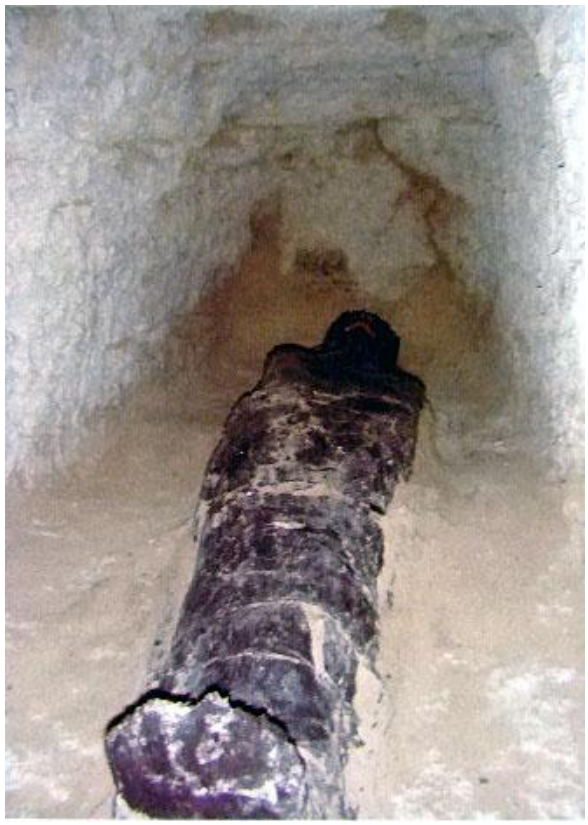

Fig. 3 Mummy found in the loculi of the Nelson Island Egyptian necropolis.
After Paolo Gallo, 2009, 71

1.5. PTOLEMAIC PERIOD: THE GREEK-ALEXANDRIAN VERSION OF ELITE HYPOGEA

This section will discuss the most representative example of the early Ptolemaic period Alexandrian necropolis, Hypogeum A in Shatby, which could be named the house of the 'living' dead. This tomb will be the first example of a group of tombs that could be identified as Greek in terms of general architectural and artistic decoration, and main funerary practice (treatment of the dead). Nevertheless, Egyptian references are included even from this chronological point, while from the 3rd century BC onwards, such references become gradually more profound and in combination with Greek elements, they form a unique bicultural funerary repertoire.

1.5.1. SHATBY, HYPOGEUM A, THE HOUSE OF THE 'LIVING' DEAD: EARLY FUNERARY EXPERIMENTS IN LATE 4TH CENTURY ALEXANDRIA

Hypogeum A represents the case of a Hellenised funerary structure. This means that Greek architectural elements often found in Greek world are adapted to an originally Egyptian layout. This adaptation is linked to the function of the tomb as a meeting place between the worlds of the living and the dead.

The first area, where this function is implied, is the open-air court with the altar that indicates the presence of visitors and rites. The façade of the tomb represents a house in ways similar to Macedonian tombs[6] (Figs.7 and 8). Nevertheless, the style of the south wall presents the only common point between the two groups of tombs. Façades of Macedonian tombs reflect the closed character of their structures. The doors and

[6] For a detailed presentation of Macedonian tombs in Vergina see Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, 1999.

windows are non-functioning renderings of real architectural elements, which only serve to reinforce the visual image of an actual façade, presented as being once and forever locked. Access inside is prohibited. The structure itself will be further isolated by the world of the living, covered with soil after the funeral.

In contrast, the south wall of Hypogeum A displays a different, more open character. The windows of the façade are depicted semi-opened, implying life inside the house rather than abandonment. It gives the visitors the impression that if they went closer, they would be able to hear or see the 'activities' inside through the opening. Although stylistically far apart, the outlines of the façade form a Hellenic parallel to façades of Egyptian tombs and temples, dating to the same period. The tomb of Petosiris from Hermopolis Magna represents such an example[7].

The tomb of Petosiris is designed to resemble an ancient Egyptian temple: a liminal architectural space designed in such manner that the Pharaoh (in practice his delegates) might encounter the godly resident within and perform the requisite ceremonies at the dawn of each day. In similar manner, the Alexandrian tombs under discussion are liminal, providing analogous spaces in which the living and the dead might similarly interact. In Hypogeum A, the upper part of the wall façade, although totally covered, depicts false windows to be semi-opened. This parallelism is not very profound at this stage, but it will be clearer in later examples, like the Antoniadis Garden and Thiersh Tombs. Both Petosiris' tomb and the Alexandrian hypogea represent last residences for the dead and meeting points between the realm of the leaving and the dead. In Petosiris' tomb the function of meeting point, of vestibule, and the function of funerary temple are well reflected. Hypogeum A seems also to have had a temple-like use, as implied by the altar, but still remains more in the form of a house.

In conclusion, the example of Hypogeum A gives us an idea about how sophisticated the interaction between the two traditions might be, even at such an early stage. The Egyptian experience seems to have offered several solutions for the needs of the recently founded city, since several aspects were adapted to the needs of the Alexandrian society. It is already part of a much wider development that occurred in Alexandria during the late 4th century and early 3rd century BC, and that brought Alexandrians closer to Egyptian Practices The following example will show a more profound use of Egyptian tradition, in a funerary 'temple' dedicated to the glorious past and prestigious present of Greek Alexandrians.

1.5.2. MUSTAPHA PASHA I: A TEMPLE DEDICATED TO HELLENISM *IN AEGYPTO*

Several tombs of the 3rd century reflect a more monumental Greek style in architectural and artistic appearance than before, while Egyptian elements become more profound, in the form of direct adoptions or adaptations to Hellenised versions. The most representative example is Mustapha Pasha Tomb I.

The tomb is situated in the Eastern necropolis and is dating to the middle of the third century BC (onwards), almost a century after the arrival of the first Greeks in Alexandria. It consists of a rock-cut underground structure, composed of a court with rooms to its three sides, containing loculi. The latter were covered either with a closing slab, representing a funerary stele, or with a funerary kline as in case of the central burial in the south façade.

In terms of architectural decoration, the tomb reflects a profound Hellenic character. The use of Doric rhythm in funerary monumental structures is reminiscent of several architectural features in Macedonian tombs. However, there are various elements that are not related to the Greek funerary tradition. Compared to Hypogeum A, there is a more advanced indigenisation of Greek funerary art and architecture, in terms of outlines, arrangements and attributes in general, derived from Egyptian funerary and religious structures. Such a discussion should begin with the pseudo-peristyle court itself. In Alexandria, courts host several rituals and visitors, as implied by the altar and the water supply. Courts are not attested in Greek tombs because they would have no use. Instead, especially during the Late and Ptolemaic periods, courts were incorporated into

[7] See in detail Smith 1958, 248-249.

Egyptian temples and funerary complexes, in front of their façades (Arnold 1994, 93-225). From the court, visitors could merely follow rituals executed inside, orally and visually, and attend others outside. Similarly, in Alexandrian tombs, visitors would follow the rituals, which could take place behind the façade and/or could have visual access without having psychical access to the inner space.

In Mustapha Pasha Tomb I, the south façade forms the focal point of the court. It is arranged in a tripartite opening (doors), guarded by six sphinxes. Doorframes leave rectangular openings above them. The opening of the central doorway is covered by a wall painting, standing in an illusion-effect manner over the rock cut kline and in front of the altar. It depicts five of the inhabitants of the tomb, each of them in an act of libation. In this painting, the owners of the tomb manifest their Macedonian origin and their elite social status through the style. Men are presented as riders, wearing the typical Macedonian dress, including the Causia, the traditional Macedonian hat. Female figures follow the style of the Greek elite Alexandrians from the Hellenistic period, known also from the so-called Tanagra figurines. Nevertheless, these figures are displayed within a 'cornice', composed by Greek, Egyptian and Egyptianising elements. First of all, we need to examine the layout of the cornice' itself more carefully.

Like in the case of Hypogeum A, the façade of the Mustapha Pasha I Tomb is reminiscent of Macedonian tombs such as those of Rhomeos and 'Phillip II' in Vergina[8]. Still, the Greek style architectural decorative elements of the façade are the only actual common point between the two groups of tombs. Façades of Macedonian tombs reflect the close character of the structure. Instead, Mustapha Pasha Tomb I reflects an open temple character, while there are also more or less profound stylistic references to the Egyptian tradition. Therefore, we should examine the arrangement and style of the south façade from an Egyptian point of view.

Openings above the doorways were often attested from Late (and before), Ptolemaic and Roman period Egyptian temples such as the Taffeh temple, today situated in Leiden (fig. 4). The temple of Taffeh dates from the late first century BC, and it is not preserved in its original design. The temple has undergone several alternations, but, undoubtedly, there is no single feature that is non-Egyptian. The temple is a triple opening, where doorframes leave rectangular openings above each doorway. Moreover, the doorways permit visual and oral access to focal points, situated at the back wall in the form of stele.

Moreover, multi-doorway façades and illusionistic elements have been featured in the temple and funerary Egyptian architecture, since the 3rd millennium BC (Arnold 1994, 149-152). An early example is the chapel of tomb of Meresankh III in Giza (4th Dynasty), where statues of her are situated at the back wall[9].

In both cases, doorways give access to the focal point of the structure, which in the case of the Mustapha Tomb I. is the kline at the centre of the wall. The reason for such an arrangement is to bring the cult interest out, while the inner part retains a more private sacred character. In the Egyptian examples, the use of openings, in the form of niches, doors and similar elements, are symbolic because although they might not function as actual openings through which objects might pass, the function is to symbolically provide the means by which the deceased might come out and communicate with the living. Similarly, this is the intention of certain architectural features in the Alexandrian tombs under discussion. Finally, Egyptian influence is indicated even in the style of the doorframes themselves, which are somehow Egyptianising in terms of outlines. In other words they are comprised as Hellenised interpretations of a heavy monumental Egyptian doorframe, with heavy lintel[10].

All these examples are used in order to indicate how complex, sophisticated and eclectic the incorporation and further adaptation of Egyptian elements in Hellenistic period elite tombs are. These elements are derived from the wider sphere of the Egyptian tradition, while various alterations might occur concerning

[8] For a reconstruction of the Rhomeos and 'Phillip II' Tombs facades see Drougou and Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, 1999, 47, fig. 60 and 63, fig. 87

[9] For the chapel in the tomb of Meresankh III Smith 1958, 55, fig. 101

[10] See doorframes in the examples described above (figs. 9-11).

their original function, since at a more recent stage they intent to serve the needs of the Hellenistic period Alexandrian society.

Fig. 4. The Taffeh temple in the Leiden Museum of Antiquities

The elements of the Alexandrian tombs discussed above belong to a repertoire of architectural forms and design elements, which are found in *grosso modo* within the enormous precinct of the Alexandrian Sarapeion. Both structures share the following common characteristics:

-Underground rock-cut holes (In Alexandria, loculi: narrow holes)
-Peristyle courts
-A temple at the head of the court that concentrates the axial emphasis
-Pools-basins
-Sphinxes
-Architectural decoration

Since the Sarapeion was central to the religious life of the citizens of Alexandria, all of its monuments combined formed a living pattern book, which could easily be visited, consulted, and adapted by the designers of the Alexandrian tombs under discussion. Still, this precinct needs a more intensive discussion concerning Egyptian references in its structure[11].

Antoniadis' tomb represents the next chronological phase in Hellenic style Alexandrian tombs, contemporary to the late phase of the Mustapha Pasha necropolis. It contains characteristics similar to Mustapha Pasha Tomb I, such as the pseudo-peristyle court with altar, tripartite arrangement façade, rock-cut kline and other loculi with slabs. In contrast to Mustapha Pasha, the Antoniadis Gardens Tomb is provided with just one doorway. In the lateral openings, semi-walls covered the lower part, permitting only visual and oral access. This development brings the Alexandrian Hypogea even closer to Egyptian temples and funerary architectural layouts from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. For instance, Petosiris' Tomb from, mentioned

[11] See Chapter 4, section 2.1.

above, are representative of Egyptian style parallels. This clearly implies that we should not limit the comparison only to funerary Egyptian structures, but that we should also take into account several temples and birth houses (mamisi) in the major religious complexes of the chora, such as Edfu, Dendera and Philae[12].

It should be recalled that all these elements are connected to the relationship of the dead with the world of the living. Nothing changed concerning the relationship between the dead and the underworld, since the dead is still treated in the Greek way.

1.5.4. OTHER TOMBS

Thiersh Tomb 2 from Gabbari is part of the same category. While the whole structure is in the Hellenic architecture-decorative style of Alexandria, the façade of the innermost chamber, according to the main axis of the tomb, is crowned with an Egyptianising segmental pediment (Tombs catalogue **Fig. 36**). Inside the chamber, 10 loculi share the back wall and the two lateral walls. No further decoration is recorded. The term 'Egyptianising' is used for this segmental pediment in order to distinguish it from the segmental pediments of the following group of tombs. In this group, pediments with traditional Egyptian ornaments are part of a more profoundly Egyptian style decorative repertoire, in terms of form. This repertoire is often combined with Greek style decorative elements (which are still more prominent), creating a bilingual artistic and architectural programme.

1.6. PTOLEMAIC/EARLY ROMAN PERIODS: ELITE BURIALS FOLLOWING THE EGYPTIAN FUNERARY TRADITION

1.6.1 CATEGORISATION OF TOMBS

This group of tombs dates from 2nd/1st century BC to 1st century AD. Unfortunately, there are no indications to suggest a more precise date. Even this chronology suggests continuity between the two periods. No radical changes occurred in funerary practices after the conquest of Egypt by Octavian. Most architectural tomb and decorative elements imply a process of natural development. Most elements from this period are permanent attributes to Alexandrian tombs from the 2nd/1st century BC until the 3rd century AD. Still, in these tombs, aspects of the Egyptian funerary tradition are combined with others deriving from the Greek tradition, forming a bilingual vocabulary, which serves not only funerary, but also cultural and social purposes.

In the presentation chapter, this group of tombs is divided into two categories: the Egyptian-Alexandrian version (with dominant Egyptian style characteristics, still within an Alexandrian context) and the composite version of elite Alexandrian tombs. However, the common characteristic in both cases is that Egyptian funerary tradition is dominant, in terms of funerary practice and wider religious context. The most representative examples from those categories will be analysed, attempting to define all the different cases of Egyptian involvement, focusing on issues of art and architecture, funerary beliefs, and identity.

1.6.2. THE EGYPTIAN ALEXANDRIAN VERSION: ANFUSHI TOMBS: I-II

The Anfushi tombs present the best preserved case of funerary architecture and decoration from this category. For this reason, they will be used as a hub in the following discussion. The double identity/function of the Alexandrian Hypogea, indicated in cases described above, is further attested in the case of the Anfushi tombs. These structures serve both as the last residence of the dead and as a meeting point between the worlds of the dead and the living. In these tombs, the relationship between the dead and the underworld, as well between the dead and the world of the living should be defined and confirmed on a regular basis.

On the one hand, as funerary temple, Anfushi II bears Egyptian style religious decoration and attributes, implying the sacred religious character. There is also a 'temple' like arrangement of the structure with more public and more sacred areas. On the other hand, as the last residence of the dead, it follows the idea

[12] For Egyptian temples and birthhouses of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods see Arnold1994, 143-273 and 285-288.

of the resurrected man who lives inside the mansion of the king of the dead, as identified by the naiskos, the crowns of Osiris, and the jackals-guards, which are depicted on the walls.

Space, accessibility and funerary beliefs

Anfushi II represents a parallel to the 'Hellenic' version of Alexandrian tombs. Apart from the connection between the worlds of the living and the dead, the tomb has to serve another important role: it should be the proper place for the mummified body to be preserved and resurrected, according to the Egyptian tradition. These function capacities are new for Alexandria, and are reflected in tomb structure and attributes as described in the catalogue and chapter 3.

The two burial units of the tomb show a gradual transition from the realm of the living to the sacred area of the deceased, the realm of the dead. In fact, it gives access just to the 'façade' of the underworld. The space that completely belongs to the underworld is implied by the illusionistic presentation of another doorframe within the naiskos' main (outer) one, indicating an *inner sanctum* to exist just behind the back wall of the inner chamber.

The sequence from the world of the living to the underworld is artistically as well as symbolically reflected in both paintings both the landings of the stairs leading to the subterranean court of the tomb complex (Figs. 14 and 15 in illustrations of tombs catalogue). In the first one, the deceased, who must have been a priest, is accompanied by Horus and receives a vase from a Pharaonic couple. The latter could be any Ptolemaic couple from the mid second century onwards. It seems that in this case the profession is more important than the names for those figures.

In the following lower painting, a vase similar to the one of the first painting is offered by the deceased to the king of the underworld, Osiris, who is seated on his throne. Stairs represent the border between the two kingdoms, each one ruled by its own pharaoh. The first, the upper one, belongs to the Pharaoh of the living, possibly a late Ptolemy, whereas the lower one belongs to the Pharaoh of the dead, Osiris. The area of the stairs and the court is equally shared between the two worlds.

Architecture, decoration and funerary beliefs

It is clear that the inspiration for many decorative architectural elements in the inner spaces of Anfushi I-III is derived from the Egyptian religious realm. In Anfushi II, two monumental gates at the courtyard, each guarded by two sphinxes[13], lead to the vestibule of each burial unit. Each gate carries an Egyptian style segmental pediment. Each vestibule bears elements that recreate the atmosphere of a holy mansion, dedicated to Osiris and the realm of the dead. In Egyptian religious terminology it can be called temple, funerary temple or tomb. The typical crowns of Osiris and the jackals-guards, depicted on the walls of the room, further support the concept that the space is the sacred realm of Osiris, king of the dead[14]. On the left wall in the vestibule of Anfushi II room 3, there is a drawing of a felucca-like boat, a typical Nile vessel. It might represent the boat by which the dead would travel across the Nile to the other world (Adriani 1952b, 57 and 77).

There is also a portrait of a bearded man with a Hellenic name. However, there is no clear evidence whether this image belongs to the owner of the tomb and/or whether he was of Greek ethnic identity[15]. Since the late Ptolemaic period, the dead, or more precisely their relatives, could choose the image on which the transfiguration to the next stage would be based. Many times the portrait is in Greek style, while the rest of the funerary repertoire as well as the function of the portrait itself follows the Egyptian funerary tradition. The style of self-presentation in elite and middle class burials must have been a matter of choice (Riggs 2006, 94). If the Anfushi portrait belongs to the owner of the tomb, it is possible that its style is according to his life appearance. This image would be visible to the visitors of the tomb on the day of the funeral or later. This must

[13] They are preserved only in the archaeological records

[14] Kàkosy further states that the popularity of the crowns in funerary structures and terracotta figurines in the Hellenistic and Roman periods is probably due to the emphasis on the royal aspect of Osiris, the prototype of the deceased, characteristic of that era (1983, 56-60).

[15] A discussion on the portrait in terms of ethnic and cultural identity of the owner of the tomb will follow in this section.

also have been the reason for its location in the vestibule. It could serve both funerary and public roles. In any case, it could be argued that artistic style is no index of ethnicity, unless there is more compelling corroborating evidence to suggest otherwise.

At the innermost part, again through a monumental Egyptian style gate guarded by two sphinxes, we pass into the most sacred actual area of the tomb: the naiskos with a sequence of inner rooms carved at the back wall. This arrangement implies further inner spaces in an illusionistic manner. These parts form the innermost sacred area where the dead will spend his afterlife, in the kingdom of Osiris. The scene on the lower landing of the stairs possibly describes this innermost area.

The only actual Greek style decorative element is the carpet/coffer-like painted decoration of the vaulted room, which once contained Hellenic style scenes (Adriani 1952c, 72-79). However, its function as a decorative element in itself as well as its position, owes much to Egyptian decorative practices. The decoration might also represent a tent, similar to Ptolemy II's famous banquet kiosk (Tomilson 1984, 263; Adriani, 1952c, 111-112). This is another case of choice from the Alexandrian repertoire. Nevertheless, it seems not to affect the main funerary practice, which remains Egyptian and aims to the afterlife of the deceased. Another interesting part in the architecture and decoration of these two burial units is a first wall decoration programme, covered by the one discussed just above. The only attested difference is the change from the Opus Isodomum to zones of small coloured tiles at the upper part of the wall decoration of the vestibule. The lower part, which is a painted imitation of alabaster orthostates, seems to have remained the same. It is not ascertained whether the gates, naiskos, and imitation of orthostates were all present from the first phase or the second one.

The reason for this change in wall decoration might have been multiple. In the earlier decorative programme, the upper part of the walls in the Anfushi vestibule followed the wall decoration of other Alexandrian tombs in Hellenic style, for instance the Mustapha Pasha Tombs, dating to the 3rd century BC. In the case that the naiskos and Egyptian style doorways were present from this stage (2nd century BC), Anfushi I and II must have been an Egyptian-Alexandrian version of Mustapha Pasha or Antoniadis Gardens and Thiersh Tombs. We should also be aware of the fact that the cemetery was situated in a district where the vast majority of the population was Egyptian. Moreover, compared to other 2nd century Hypogea in the eastern and western necropolis, the Anfushi Tombs have the most intensive Egyptian religious decoration, both in terms of content and form. They present the only example of Alexandrian tombs of the Ptolemaic period with Egyptian style scenes depicting people with an Egyptian image. Since the 2nd century BC, as far it is known, there should have been some Egyptians that climbed the upper social classes. This could have been reached through their Hellenisation: Greek names or Greek versions of their names, Greek education, and Greek way of public life (La'da 2003, 166-167). Thus, they could include both Egyptian religious elements and Greek decorative aspects, as also attested in Hellenic Alexandrian tombs from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.

At the same time, an objection to this hypothesis might be raised. It is not clear whether naiskoi and Egyptian style gates existed so early. Given that they are later additions, as shown by the change of the wall decoration, a totally different explanation could be given; the two phases may represent two owners of different ethnic identity. However, the lack of information prevents us from opening this discussion.

We can be more precise in our interpretation of the second phase of the Anfushi necropolis, where all the visible artistic and architectural elements were part of the complex. In the first century BC, there is much more extensive use of the Egyptian traditions in the arts of Alexandria. This is clear in the Alexandrian statues of Ptolemies and Ptolemaic queens in the traditional Egyptian manner. Especially, during the reign of Cleopatra VII, statues such as the Queen from Hadra-couple (Sculpture catalogue **nos. 24A** and **24B**) show some archaistic tendencies, inspired by earlier models of the Late and Ptolemaic periods, and by even earlier models from the 19th Dynasty.

Similarly, zones of tiles in Anfushi Tombs could be characterised as archaising. As noted in the catalogue, such decoration is attested both in religious and funerary structures of Egypt, since the 12th dynasty like in the case of the funerary chapel of Amenemhat in Beni Hassan[16].

Moreover, during this period there is a rise in the importance of the Egyptian priesthood in Alexandria like in the case of Hor (Statuary catalogue **no.25**). These priests had quite an active role both in royal and in religious matters of Alexandria. The special Egyptian character of the Anfushi Tombs might have been related to Egyptian owners, some of them priests. More specifically, the wall painting of the upper landing in Anfushi II might depict such a priest together with two late Ptolemies. The date for it could be set at the late 2nd century, until the reign of Cleopatra VII.

In conclusion, we see how the two traditions are combined in order to create a programme of funerary beliefs and practices, as well as social and cultural messages. This was achieved by defining the respective roles and further sharing of spaces and contents. In this specific example, Greek tradition has no religious role (at least concerning the burial itself): it serves a social-public role. Egyptian tradition is chosen to secure the transition of the dead to the other world. Compared to the Greek elements, the Egyptian ones have no real social message to carry. They are restricted to the religious context.

1.6.3. OTHER TOMBS OF THE SAME CATEGORY: ANFUSHI V, TOMB B40 FROM GABBARI

These three tombs present an alternative version of the Egyptian style naiskoi. Like in the case of Anfushi II, they act as focal points of burial. However, they do not just imply the existence of innermost spaces with illusion-effects. These spaces actually exist in the form of loculi behind naiskoi-form slabs. The tomb structures are arranged in order to lead the dead before the façade of the inner most realm of Osiris or the underworld. The last residence of the dead is inside this space. While in the Anfushi Tombs the dead passes into this world symbolically, in these three cases he passes physically, and finally rests inside the innermost area once again physically.

The environment of the afterlife: The case of Anfushi V

As noted in the introduction to this section, Anfushi Tomb V has to be examined separately because it can produce some further ideas on what the 'other world' might look like. It includes two huge loculi in the size of actual rooms (rooms 2 and 5). The decoration of each room presents a floral motif composed by various types of trees. In the case of the large loculus 1 (Room 2) this area is architecturally demarcated, giving the room the form of a kiosk inside a garden[17] or forest. In Egyptian tombs, the dead – elite, of course – often spends his afterlife time in gardens, with pools, and with any kind of fauna and flora[18]. The wall scenes of Anfushi V seem to be a late Ptolemaic (or early Roman) version of a theme originally inspired from the funerary repertoire of the indigenous dynastic period.

1.6.4. THE COMPOSITE VERSION: FORT SALEM TOMB (GABBARI, TRIER I), RAS EL TIN VIII AND GIRGHIS TOMB

Fort Salem combines a kline with naiskos, painted on the back wall of the burial chamber this time. However, the kline itself is located inside a 'true' naiskos (kiosk) with columns and segmental pediment. There is also an additional feature that will further support our hypothesis about this type of tombs: inside the naiskos at the back wall, Osiris is depicted wearing his typical robe. Now it seems quite clear that the space inside the naiskos belongs to the realm of the dead, where Osiris is the king. Ras el Tin VIII represents another case of a

[16] The interiors of tombs in Beni Hassan seemed to imitate elite houses. See in detail Smith 1958, 93-94, Fig. 165
[17] For the interpretation of the wall painting in Room 2 as a garden see: Adriani 1952c, p.90-91 and Venit 2002, p.87.
[18] For instance, a garden shrine is depicted on a wall painting from the tomb of Ipy (19th Dynasty) Smith 1958, 218. Figs., 369-370

naiskos-shaped niche, bearing a funerary kline-sarcophagus. In this case, the naiskos itself represents the final destination of the dead, where he rests for good.

Finally, the Girghis tomb stands between category A and C. It combines both a funerary kline and a naiskos, carved on the back wall. On both the left and right sides of the naiskos, there is an Egyptian style zone with small square tiles. As in Anfushi II, Girghis' Tomb offers evidence for the profession of the dead and his passing to the afterlife. On both the left and right sides of the naiskos, an armature is depicted, which probably belonged to the deceased. He could have been a high military man. Therefore his armature reflects his professional identity, which could also correspond to a high social status (also attested by the appearance of the tomb). If we could have a picture from the transition to the afterlife, we could assume that the dead, like in the Anfushi Tombs, have to pass through gates en route to resurrection: a series of architecturally defined passages given symbolic meaning as evocations of the path of the deceased toward resurrection.

In symbolic terms, the dead should have presented himself in front of the gates to the other world as a military man. This was the chosen image from his life to represent him in his liminal stage between the world of the living and the underworld (Riggs 2006, 174). After his transition, there was no further need for the armature, so it was left behind. In this case, the actual structure of the tomb still partially belongs to the world of the living: there is space for including elements concerning the lifetime of the dead. The most sacred area, the new house of the dead, is implied to be behind the naiskos at the back wall, as illusionistically implied with the inner halls inside the main doorframe of the naiskos. The funerary bed in front of the naiskos must have represented the liminal stage of the deceased, between the worlds of the living and the dead; his last stop before getting in. This could be the moment of the Prothesis rite during the funeral, which might have taken place on the rock-cut funerary bed itself. Many times, Egyptian funerary scenes depicted a mummified body on a funerary kline, while humans and gods attend the funeral. In addition, it can also imply the point of timeless rest for the dead on (in fact, in) his final kline.

1.6.5. RAS EL TIN III (COMPOSITE IN THE WALL DECORATION)

Ras el Tin III, finally, presents another case of a naiskos painted on the back wall, now lost. On the naiskos an Apis-bull was depicted, the animal manifestation of Osiris, who dies, is embalmed and resurrected in the body of the bull[19].

At the inner right side of the doorframe, between the vestibule and the burial chamber, the image of a young Hercules is depicted (Tomb catalogue **fig. 2**): he is naked, beardless and steady, holding a club. The location of Hercules on the doorjamb as well as his stance indicates a role of guard for the semi-god in the entrance to the world of the dead. Moreover, Hercules was the patron of Alexandrian gymnasia, subsequently protector of young men who would obtain Greek education and would learn the Greek way of life (Fraser 1972, 198; 208). This could be the case for the owner of the tomb, who might have been young and a member of the Alexandrian Gymnasium. The latter was of great importance in Alexandria, since it was a field of cultural 'synchronisation' and social 'upgrade' for Greeks and Egyptians.

In this context, it would not be possible to suggest whether he was Greek or Egyptian or mixed. All cases are possible, due to the socio-cultural conditions of the 2nd-1st century BC. However, we can deduce from a wide range of options that the dead in Alexandria had a choice in regard to the decorative repertoire. This programme was designed to reflect aspects from life before death and/or to include some of them in the afterlife environment, but without disturbing the funerary process that followed the Egyptian tradition. Neither the Greek style scenes and forms, nor the presence of a Greek semi-god seem to affect the afterlife process, as indicated by the presence of the naiskos and the Apis-bull.

Still, there might have been some strictly funerary messages related to the figure of Hercules. According to his last Labour (Apollodorus 2.5.1-2.5.12), Hercules got down to the underworld and returned, thus obtaining a sort of victory over death. Therefore, he could not only guard the tomb, but also accompany

[19] The figure of the Apis-bull is attested in tombs of the Pharaonic period. On coffins of the third intermediate and late periods, one finds images of the deceased lying on the back of an Apis-bull, ostensibly as a vehicle for resurrection (Winter 1978, 6)

the dead to his afterlife journey (since he knows the way). This is the reason why terracotta Hercules figurines have been frequently discovered in Alexandrian tombs[20].

In regard to space and funerary religion, the tomb, like in all other cases, seems to have been shared by the two worlds; even the innermost chamber. The presence of the naiskos implies again that its façade represents the entrance to the sacred area of the dead. The figure of the Apis-bull indicates that the realm of the dead belongs to Osiris-Apis.

1.6.6. WARDIAN: THE SAQIYA TOMB. A PROBLEMATIC CASE

This tomb produced a lot of discussion due to its problematic state of preservation in the days of its discovery and afterwards. Different opinions have been suggested regarding the date of the tomb, generally inspired by the wall paintings[21]. Among others, Venit suggested a 2nd century BC date, based on the Saqiya wall scene and the small fragment of Egyptian style tiles zone, also attested in Anfushi and elsewhere. Gummier-Sorbets suggested 1st/2nd century AD, while others date some phases of the tomb even from the Christian era. What could be concluded even from this short summary is that it is impossible to propose a unique objective date due to the fragmentary preservation and documentation of the tomb. All suggestions are based on hypothetical discussions and stylistic comparisons with no further support from archaeological evidence. For instance, in contrast to the Ptolemaic date by Venit, it could be suggested that the decoration of the sarcophagus contains elements – such as the two Ba-birds, symmetrically presented at the left and right side of the altar (see also the hawks in the Stagni Tomb) – which so far are attested in Roman funerary structures. Moreover, sarcophagi, as also noted by Venit, are related to the Roman period, like in the case of the Great Catacomb of Kom el-Shoqafa and Nebengrab (2002, 16). In the final analysis, there is no compelling reason to suggest that the preserved walls of the Wardian Tomb represent a single decorative programme, of which all elements were created at the same time. We know from Anfushi and other tombs that tombs were used over time, while alterations were made.

At last, the Saqiya scene in the countryside is the third example of this type, after those of Anfushi V. The Saqiya scene is presented in a naturalistic style, but owes to Egyptian traditions in terms of content and inspiration. Many times, in funerary wall repertoire, scenes from the agricultural and countryside life are included: scenes of harvesting, fishing and hunting imply a happy and secured afterlife. The scene in Wardian is rather a scene of relaxation and joy. It is appropriate for someone who spent his time in the countryside. Within an Egyptian context, gardens and agricultural pursuits are consistent with funerary iconography[22]. The Saqiya scene resonates with these overtones, and more specifically with the drawing of water, which is so essential to ancient Egyptian funerary practice.

As mentioned above, the choice of a naturalistic style should not be considered as representative of a Greek deceased, in terms of ethnic identity. The main funerary elements are Egyptian. Ba-birds, depicted on the face of the sarcophagus from the same room, represent a manifestation of the soul of the deceased, according to Egyptian funerary beliefs. An important function of the Ba was to make it possible for the deceased to leave his tomb and rejoin his Ka, the intellectual and spiritual power of the dead. As the physical body could no longer do this, the Ba was a bird with a human head, which could fly between the tomb and the underworld. It was also believed that the Ba could take on any form it wished to choose, and that it had to go back to the deceased every night in order for the deceased to live forever. Contrary to the Greek soul, the Ba was very much attached to the physical body. It was even thought that the Ba had physical needs, like food and water[23]. Therefore, the overall decorative programme rather represents a promotion of the available choices

[20] See the catalogue of Breccia on Alexandria terracotta figurines of the late Hellenistic and Roman periods (1930).
[21] Riad 1964, 169-172; Adriani 1966, 157 and 159; Riad 1967, 93-96; Brown, 1970; Grimm 1974, p.116; Barbet 1980; Venit 1988; 1993; Rodziewicz 1993; Gumier-Sorbets and Seif el-Din 1997, 406; Kaplan 1999, 150-151.
[22] An example of similar kind is the wall painting in the interior of the tomb of Sennedjem in Thebes, dating to the 19th Dynasty. See Smith 1958, 220, fig. 373
[23] See in detail Zabkar 1968.

from a bilingual artistic and religious repertoire, which was formed to serve the needs of a multicultural society.

1.6.7 COMPARISON BETWEEN HELLENIC-ALEXANDRIAN AND EGYPTIAN-ALEXANDRIAN TOMBS[24]

Similarities and differences between these two groups can help in drawing further conclusions about their relationship. They can also produce further discussion on their position in the development of Alexandrian funerary customs and beliefs, in relation to the general socio-cultural developments from the 4th century BC onwards. The Anfushi Tombs II and V, on the one hand, and Mustapha Pasha I, Hypogeum A and Antoniadis Gardens Tombs, on the other hand, represent these two groups.

Firstly, in both cases we deal with tomb structures composed of courts, anterooms and inner rooms. Even so, dimensions and analogies among these different parts are different. In the case of Anfushi II we see that the anteroom and inner chamber are much deeper than those of the Mustapha and Antoniadis Garden tombs, somehow closer to the Pharaonic period shaft tombs, yet this time underground. This difference indicates that actual depth was not a priority for the latter. It was enough to include and present these inner spaces of the tomb in an illusionistic manner. Contrarily, in case of the Anfushi Tombs, the depth of the inner rooms is more actual, although the illusionistic element, in which the viewer – standing in the court – is engaged, is similarly strong, if not even stronger.

Secondly, Mustapha Pasha I and the Antoniadis Gardens Tombs were designed to present several burials, at more than one side of the court. Their visibility from the court seems to have been the priority, compared to the actual depth of inner structures. In the case of Anfushi II, visibility to the inside is limited to the level that the single doorway of each room permits. A good question might be whether both doors of the vestibule and inner chamber were opened and, if so, how often. No remains of heavy doors or stone false doors have been preserved during the discovery of the tomb. This might be an indication that the doors of the rooms were not to be closed forever, or used just once or rarely. Instead, the holes on the wall and further traits on the lintel and the doorframe imply that there should have been light and probably wooden doors, which could be easily opened, indicating a more frequent use.

Structure and decoration clearly indicate inspiration from temple-funerary architecture. In such structures, there is a close relation between function and accessibility. As we move towards the inside of the tomb, there is less space available and the accessibility gradually decreases. Moreover, since the naiskos represents the world of the dead, there might be a need to imply a distance between the two worlds. In terms of the relation between the dead and the living, there is more emphasis on the location of the burials than on the presentation of each deceased. In Anfushi Tomb V, we see that each burial unit hosts a central burial, while there are also peripheral ones. The central one must have been of major importance due to the size and decoration of loculi.

Different analogies and arrangement can be explained by the different funerary traditions that they represent. The Mustapha tomb is the last residence of the corpse and memory, while the soul is gone forever. After death few rites would have taken place in relation to the afterlife for the dead themselves, but most of them would have been performed to preserve their memory in the living descendants. Therefore the tomb was designed to host several burials around a central court that offered visual and theoretically physical access to almost each one of them. The Anfushi Tomb serves different afterlife beliefs, according to which one needs actual space in order to spend his afterlife there.

1.6.8. FUNERARY RELIGION AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

The above comparison showed differences and similarities that might have occurred due to religious-cultural, social and chronological reasons. Firstly, it showed several variables regarding to how elite people dealt with the dead, taking into account various factors such as aspects of one's multicultural life and identity, social

[24] As noted above, this categorisation concerns the main funerary practice that is followed.

status and even profession. The selection of these aspects, which would determine the relationship between the dead and the underworld, as well as between the dead and the world of the living, was related to the socio-cultural context at several chronological points during the Ptolemaic period.

There is no doubt that the first decades of the Ptolemaic era represent an experimental period for two (or more) different ethnic groups that shared the same city. It was finally a period of acquaintance between Greek and Egyptian culture and their people, within a newly founded city and a new political context for Egypt, in which Alexandria held the capital position. Therefore, structures show this experimental character. There is no doubt that despite the Egyptian references indicated in the Hypogeum A 'façade', the tomb looked as belonging to Greeks, but still the cultural identity of these people is not obviously reflected, for instance by an image. It can be witnessed in the architectural decoration of the structure. The structure itself was also very modest. All these elements may imply modesty in the promotion of the identity, while a process of understanding the other's culture seems to have begun. Greeks seemed to have admirers of the Egyptian history and cultural achievements. This is further indicated by the numerous Greek tourists at ancient Egyptian monuments, such as Abu Sibel and Luxor temples, during the Ptolemaic period (Bowman 2002, 205). Besides, Alexander the Great, the founder of the city, as well as the Ptolemies seem to have seriously taken the Egyptian tradition into account. Therefore, in a way, Alexandrian society would follow the royal trend. This is clearly reflected in the case of Mustapha Pasha Tomb I, if not elsewhere too.

In the 3rd century BC, the example of Mustapha Pasha concerns Greek elites of Alexandria that are proud to promote their Macedonian origin, identity and current elite social status, while they follow the Greek funerary tradition. Therefore the architecture, decoration and function of the tomb focus on the promotion of these values, in terms of discussion with visitors of the most public space indoors. The cremated body becomes the focal point, a value itself: the ancestor, presented to the public by a portrait on the loculus slab or a funerary kline. This is something new for the post-funerary treatment of the dead body in Greek burials, and this must be related to the Greek Alexandrians opening up to the Egyptian religious and cultural world. A statuette of Harpocrates was found in the tomb. This discovery indicates that more Egyptian beliefs regarding rebirth have been introduced into the lives of these people. Residents of Mustapha Pasha were proud to be Macedonians, proud to be elite Alexandrians participating in the public life of the city, but at the same time they belong to a generation, which was born, lived and died in Egypt. Compared to their 'compatriots' in the old Greek world, Greeks of the 'Hellenic' Alexandrian Hypogea had their own local versions of architecture, art, religion and royal ideology, formed by interaction between Greek and Egyptian cultural worlds. In other words, they are Greek Alexandrians or Greeks of Egypt, Greeks from Egypt.

Anfushi II shows a parallel world to the Mustapha Pasha Tomb, an Egyptian version of Alexandrian elite funerals, however within the Alexandrian context of Greco-Egyptian interaction. Despite the Egyptian funerary and religious atmosphere, hieroglyphs are missing from the walls. Moreover, the tapestry-like decoration of the vaulted ceiling contained narrative scenes, in Greek style (Adriani 1952b, 72-76). However, these seemed not to have interrupted the main funerary process, where no elements related to Greek funerary beliefs are involved. The wall scene on the first landing of the stairs presents most possibly an Egyptian priest as one of the residents of the tomb, while the portrait on the wall of the vestibule (room 3), can be related to his public life image, before death. Still, both figures might have been related to the same person (Ibid, 57 and 77). Looking more carefully at the priest on the wall painting, we see that his coiffure, similar to that of the vestibule portrait, is visible from underneath the priestly hat of the figure. Hence, one might represent the dead in the land of the living and the living in the land of the dead, in the same way that Pharaonic tomb owners may be portrayed in life and in death. However, again, the artistic style of these two depictions cannot be taken as indices of ethnicity.

Taking everything into account, this tomb might correspond to the Egyptian version of elite Alexandrians. It might have belonged to a priest and related people, who had gone through a process of Hellenisation in terms of name, education and public life. Consequently, these people included Hellenic aspects into their tombs, since these had also been part of their lives, while they attended an Egyptian style

funeral. This might have been the case even for an Egyptian high priest like Hor (statuary catalogue **no. 25**). Such people were of Egyptian origin, but they had obtained Greek culture, a Greek public image, and sometimes even a Hellenised name. This Hellenisation in terms of name and education was the passport for participating in the upper stages of the Ptolemaic state machinery, and is also related to a Greek way of public life.

Finally, Anfushi II might offer some information concerning the nature of the priesthood, as well as the nature of some religious activities in late Ptolemaic Alexandria. The wall painting of the first landing of the stairs, leading to the underground court, displays a priest in traditional Egyptian dress in front of couple in Pharaonic dress. Interestingly, the female figure wears the Isis dress. Hence, the role of this priest might have been so important that he could have dealings with the royal couple of Alexandria, for instance in a public cult. Moreover, such a cult could have had a more Egyptian character, always within the Alexandrian context, judging from the style of the figures.

The composite versions of Alexandrian burials might also be related to the category of the Anfushi people, but it could represent also the opposite: a generation of Greek Alexandrians or even mixed people that attended an Egyptian style funeral. Yet the priority was rather given to the promotion of elite social status and of a prestigious profession. This is the case with the Girghis Tomb, where the dead promotes, on the one hand, his military identity and, on the other hand, his preference to Egyptian funerary traditions. Thus, he could have been an Egyptian, who occupied a high position in the Ptolemaic army, after being Hellenised. Such a case is attested also by literary sources (La'da 2003, 163). But it could be also the opposite: a 'native' Greek Alexandrian, who was a follower of the Egyptian religion. Similarly, Ras el Tin VIII shows a case of a person of Greek education whose funerary preferences where Egyptian, within the Alexandrian religious context. This person could be an Egyptian who obtained Greek education in order to gain a higher social position, a mixed person, or simply a Greek Alexandrian.

All these possible versions of elite Alexandrian tombs lead us to the same conclusion in terms of cultural identity: at least from the middle Ptolemaic period onwards, Greeks or Egyptians do not refer to independent ethnic or cultural values, but to characterisations dependent on the context in which they coexist and interact with each other.

1.7. MUMMIES OF ALEXANDRIA

Mummies represent an open question for the ancient remains of Alexandria. Diodorus Siculus (I.91) relates the existence of a mummy laboratory at the western side of the city, implying that mummification was a common practice during late Hellenistic and Roman periods. In addition, mummies are a common theme in funerary wall paintings of the Roman period tombs indicate their existence. According to ancient sources, even the body of Alexander the Great was embalmed in Babylon and then brought to Alexandria[25]. However, archaeological evidence concerning Alexandrian mummies is hardly preserved. There are some references by past scholars: in Hadra (Botti 1932, 10), in Gabbari where a mummy was discovered with traces of gold leaf on the face and the hands (Botti 1899b, 41, pl. 42), in Ras el Tin and Anfushi (Botti 1902b, 14; Breccia 1914, 9; 1921, 67; Adriani 1952b, 54, fig. 27;) and in Kom el Shoqafa (Rowe 1942, 29).

More recently, forensic anthropologists with the *Centre d'Études Alexandrines*, directed by Jean-Yves Empereur, have recognized signs of mummification of skeletal remains at the Gabbari necropolis in Alexandria[26]. Numerous mummies have already been found on the site, but their state of conservation is poor; all that remains are bones and occasional vestiges of cloth so fragile that they turn to dust with a breath of air. The disappearance of body tissue and cloth could be a result of the late era and poor quality of embalming, but the more likely reason is Alexandria's humidity, which tends to destroy organic material.

[25] Diodorus, XVIII.26-28. Yet, there is no clear description of Alexader's body as mummy.
[26] See in detail the online article in the website of Centre d'Études Alexandrines by Eric Boës, Patrice Georges and Aurore Schmitt: http://www.cealex.org/sitecealex/navigation/FENETR_NAVetudes_E .htm

The anthropologists observed a variety of mummification practices. In a tomb, a child of around eight years of age was found lying on a small trapezoidal plank. Traces of cloth and reeds discovered near the abdomen suggest that the plank was integrated into a structure for wrapping the body. With this type of conservation, the body is less well preserved and lasts less longer than with a more careful preparation. In certain cases the embalming is finer. One mummy was discovered in its bindings, upon which a lozenge pattern can still be discerned, while another mummy had been clearly eviscerated and then covered, at least on the face, with gold leaf. The imprint of bodily features reveals that the gold leaf was directly applied onto the body (Empereur and Nenna 2001, 523).

1.8. ROMAN PERIOD TOMBS AND FUNERARY CUSTOMS

The only subsequent addition to the examples of the late Ptolemaic and/or early Roman examples, discussed above, is the extensive funerary wall decoration of the Alexandrian elite tombs. Of course this might be a coincidence, due to the fragmentary picture of the Ptolemaic elite tombs. In Roman structures, there are extensive funerary scenes related to the cycle of Osiris, while the deceased himself is depicted attending the different stages of the funerary process. There is a great variety in the style of the decoration, while there is a wide range of combination with Greek aspects, also both in style and content, which creates a unique visual vocabulary for the projection of lifetime and funerary messages. The following section will look more carefully at the architecture and decoration, starting with the most prominent one, the Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa.

1.8.1. THE MAIN TOMB OF KOM EL-SHOQAFA: AN EGYPTIAN TEMPLE DEDICATED TO THE ALEXANDRIAN DEAD

The Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa presents a category on its own. It is the best preserved and also the most luxurious tomb of ancient Alexandria. Although unique, it shares common characteristics with other burials of minor social status, for instance, **nos. 1-12** in the catalogue of Egyptian naiskoi form loculi slabs from the Roman period. In both cases we deal with Egyptian style structures where the dead is portrayed with elite characteristics, recalling a Greek-Alexandrian lifestyle model (from the face to the whole treatment of the body). These tombs will be discussed at the end of this section.

The architecture of the Main Tomb represents the most monumental example, the most monumental funerary structure from Alexandria. It is the greatest Egyptian style tomb of Alexandrian cemeteries: it illustrates in the most effective way the development of the idea of the tomb-funerary temple, as started during the Hellenistic period, into a funerary mansion with distinctive Egyptian architectural and decorative elements.

Still, it is Egyptian within the Alexandrian context of cultural interaction. Although the architecture is Egyptian, hieroglyphs are missing as usual. In addition, there are several distinctive Alexandrian cultural elements from the Ptolemaic period, like Agathoi Daimones, and also stylistic references to the art of the Roman period. For instance the decoration of the sarcophagi with Medusa heads and garlands follows the trend of the Roman period. Also, the two Anubis guards – one with a snake tail - on the two lateral walls of the doorframe leading out of the burial chamber wear a typical Roman milirary outfit. This stylistic interruption did not come to change the funerary meaning or function of the structure in terms of funerary customs and beliefs. It is rather a stylistic reference to the artistic fashion of the period, an update of the Egyptian funerary environment to the Roman period Alexandria, adding to the prestige of this elite tomb.

Uses of space in the Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa: religion, art and cultural identity

Similarly to the Hellenistic period, an Alexandrian tomb in the Roman period should be seen as a structure belonging to the underworld, but furthermore, it should present a meeting point between the world of the living and the dead. In addition, there is a gradual limitation of the access to inner spaces, caused by the increase of sanctity, and also of the passage from one world to another. The first impression of the visitor of the Main

Tomb is that he stands in front of an Egyptian funerary style temple. From the court-pronaos[27] in front of the temple's façade, he would have a limited visual access to the main chamber and more specifically to the decoration of the central scene on the back wall, displaying the funeral of Osiris.

Moving into the pronaos, standing in front of the façade, the visitor could have access to the two statues, which are placed in niches in Egyptian style on both lateral walls of the doorframe. These statues represent two of the owners of the tomb, combining an Egyptian style body, with naturalistic, individual portrait characteristics. According to their portrait characteristics, they date from the Flavian period, most probably from Vespasian's reign (69-79 AD) (Venit 2002, 129). This should not be considered a Roman period innovation. Ptolemaic Pharaonic portraits share the same attributes, for reasons explained in previous sections. Thus, there is a stylistic royal precedence in Alexandria, though during the Roman period such statues do not represent kings any more.

Nevertheless, as noted by Bianchi in the case of Hor statue, these individual, non-idealising portrait characteristics should be confronted as corresponding to the basic idea of the Egyptian concept of 'portraiture'. These characteristics represent ages or stages in life rather than the portrait of a person (1988, 55). Therefore, although these portrait characteristics were rendered according to the Roman period trend, they still could be seen as functioning within an Egyptian context. Since the Old Kingdom, statues of the deceased pharaoh are attested in funerary complexes, such as the statue group of Mycerinus and his queen from the Valley Temple in Giza[28]. Surprisingly, the similarity in the dress between the Alexandrian and Giza statues indicate that the statues of Kom el Shoqafa are depicted in archaic Egyptian dress. Gradually, the practice spread downwards into the society, and by the era of the Middle Kingdom it became widespread throughout the middle classes. Therefore, the role of such tomb images, whether presented in statues or wall scenes, was part of various rituals, such as the 'Opening of the mouth' ceremony (David 1999, 154).

The Kom el Shoqafa statues could have been used for the ceremony of the opening of the mouth, which would re-animate the deceased. It was performed on cult statues of gods, kings, and private individuals, like the examples described above, as well as on the mummies of both humans and sacred animals such as Apis-bulls. After the execution of the ceremony, the mummy or the statue would be 'able' to eat, breathe, see, hear and enjoy the offerings and provisions brought by the priests and officials, thus to sustain the Ka (living spirit). This role is described by the hieroglyphic texts on the tomb statue group of Tjay and Naia (Cairo, Egyptian Museum[29], dating to the New Kingdom. As expected in the case of the Main Tomb, this ritual would have obtained a distinctive Alexandrian form. Unfortunately, there is no evidence that could contribute to a more detailed picture of the ritual. Given the possibility that the Alexandrian statues functioned like ka-statues, there might have been an additional role. By emerging from their niches/false doors, they greet the living accompanied by the newly arriving deceased. Hence, the entire design of the pronaos becomes liminal.

Finally, the reason for the portrait-body combination has been extensively discussed in similar cases outside Alexandria, such as the Fayum portraits, and other provincial burials from the Roman period. The use of naturalistic portraits has been interpreted from a funerary point of view as a matter of choice from the side of the dead, to enter the process after death with such an image (Riggs 2006, 174).

Funerary scenes in the burial chamber of the Main Tomb: The cycle of Osiris

The three niches of the main burial room contain scenes with two different forms of Osiris depicted on their back wall. The back wall of the central niche presents the funeral of Osiris, who is laid on his royal lion-shaped bed. The other two present the animal manifestation of Osiris in the form of the bull Apis. The central scene is quite a typical theme throughout the history of Egyptian funerary tradition, and also in Alexandria. Interestingly, scholars have observed some 'mistakes' in the scene such as the depiction of three Canopic jars

[27] According to the nature of the structure, this area seems to be the pronaos of the inner chamber, but in fact recalls the courts of Hellenistic structures such as Mustapha Pasha tombs, where there is an axial emphasis focusing to a temple-like façade, although it is not open to the sky.
[28] See in detail Smith, 1958, 59.
[29] After Bongioanni and Croce 2001, 206

instead of four. Yet, as the whole structure demonstrates, these 'mistakes' did not occur due to lack of attention or knowledge. It is a rather different treatment of the scene by the artist, differing from similar scenes from earlier periods. By the time the Main Tomb was designed, the use of Canopic jars had long disappeared from the canonical panoply of funerary equipment, since are absent from the Egyptian burials already since the Late period onwards. What is being represented here is not an archaeologically exact replication of a canonical Pharaonic Egyptian burial, but rather an evocation of the same by means of the appointment of the vignettes with elements that are reminiscent of the Pharaonic funerary ambiance.

In cases dating the indigenous dynastic period, the preciseness of the position of every element in Egyptian art, according to the strict Egyptian canons of presentation, has been interpreted as a necessary process in order for the arts to be able to function within a magical context, in combination with magical texts and rituals[30]. In contrast, in Roman Alexandria, it seems that the importance is centred on the meaning of the narrative rather than on the pictorial detail, while the central theme remains the same. The case of the Main Tomb represents a unique case of Egyptian scenes: it can be definitely described as Egyptian in terms of style, but the rendering in high relief gives a more naturalistic display of traditional Egyptian postures and gestures.

Concerning the rest of the figures of the scene, the figure on the left has been identified a Horus, son of Osiris, and successor to the Egyptian throne. The figure on the right is Thoth, the scribe of the gods, who takes part in the process of the judgment of the dead, implying his funerary role. Finally, the central figure above the bed of Osiris is Anubis in the role of high priest. Both Thoth and Anubis, in their human-body forms, represent new entries on Alexandrian funerary wall scenes. The detailed presentation of the Osiris cycle in Alexandrian funerary scenes resulted, among other things, in the introduction of a series of more traditional Egyptian funerary figures. If nothing else, these additions imply a more punctual approach as well as a deeper penetration of the Alexandrian society into the Egyptian funerary tradition. This becomes clearer in the less projected scenes on the lateral walls of the three niches.

On the back walls of the two lateral niches, an imagined scene of a Pharaoh venerating the Apis-bull is presented. Apis stands on a podium, while Isis, on the right, embraces the god with her open winged arms. The bull figure seems to represents a statue on a base, like those of the Sarapeion, rather than an actual bull. The Pharaoh figure is rather 'symbolic', evoking the ambiance rather than replicating reality, since there was no pharaoh in Alexandria during this period and no name accompanies the figure.

The posture of Apis could be discussed in relation to the scene in the central niche. There could have existed a connection between the two scenes. In the central one, Osiris is depicted fully mummified during an ongoing funerary procession. On the lateral wall, Apis stands on a podium, receiving a necklace from the pharaoh. Therefore, Apis might have been depicted after having incarnated the identity of Osiris in his body.

Taking everything into account, from a strict funerary point of view, the scene repertoire on the back walls of the three niches could be described as following. The central niche represents Osiris' funeral. This scene was the most visible scene outside the burial, displayed in an illusionistic way to the outer public as a framed relief. It seems that the topic was chosen as more appropriate to be visible for the needs of the various rites, such as the funeral of the residents of this tomb. On the back walls of the lateral niches, Apis, the incarnation of the living Osiris in his bull form, stands between his wife and sister Isis and a pharaoh figure, which could represent either the king or Horus, son of Osiris, in the form of the new living king.

[30] See Robins 1994, 1-56; Wilkinson 1992, 14-55; 1999.

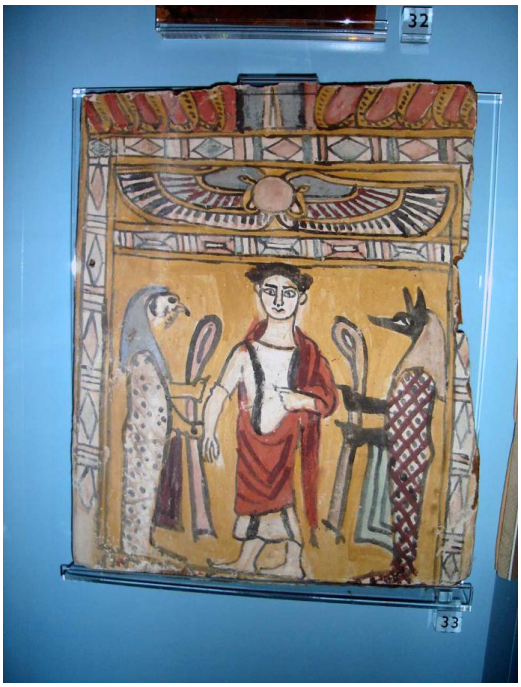

Fig. 5. Funerary stele from Roman period Saqqara. National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, no.33

In the six lateral scenes of the niches, it is the desire of the dead to be qualified for rebirth after death that is presented, after following the proper process, and not through symbolic scenes with Osiris as in the central niche. These scenes bring a series of further thoughts concerning funerary beliefs in Alexandria. Among other things, it is the most detailed case of funerary wall scenes in Alexandria, with a detailed reference to Egyptian style rituals, known mostly from the Egyptian chora. Compared to the Hellenistic period, there is a clear interest for a deeper engagement of the Alexandrian society with the Egyptian funerary tradition, which offers the happiest interpretation of the life after death. Such scenes of shared action and correspondence between gods and dead people should not be considered secondary due to the location in the three niches, but quite important in the funerary process. They are often reproduced on the surface of mummies or on panels of funerary stelae, like the one from Saqqara, now in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden: the dead is presented between two mummified divinities that are ready to start mummifying him with bands of linen (Fig. 5). The position at the areas of the tomb that were less visible for the audience (relatives and other non-priestly people, who would stand in the Pronaos) is related to their strictly funerary function, dealing with the process after death exclusively, and having no actual message to transfer onto the visitors of the tombs.

'Suspicions' for messages of ideology

The exceptional monumentality and the precise date of the tomb, in combination with the participation of 'Pharaohs' in the scenes, can lead us to a series of questions. Who are the owners of the most monumental tomb that has been preserved in Alexandria? What could be their role in the public life of Alexandria? Would it be possible that the wall scenes on the back walls of the two lateral niches represent the Roman period Alexandrian cult of Apis? Is there any political message hidden behind these scenes in relation to the Flavian dynasty and the Alexandrians?

Indeed, the monumentality of this tomb and the high quality of the architectural and sculptural decoration indicates that these people were of the highest social status. The depiction of pharaohs and the statue forms of the Apis-bull could be examined in relation to Roman acts of ideology and political

propaganda. During his visit to Egypt, Vespasian, whose regnal period corresponds with the date of the tomb, participated in rites for the Apis-bull in Alexandria. During these rites, he could have been presented to the public and before the god as a Pharaoh.

In case the residents of the tomb were truly of highest social status, they would have been representatives of the Roman authority in terms of participating in the local Alexandrian administrative machinery. Of course, for Alexandria and Egypt, this idea was often manifest in the Pharaonic image since the Ptolemaic period, and it continued to be preserved in Roman temples of the chora (Ashton 2005, 8-10). Moreover, these people might have been involved in the imperial agenda during Vespasian's visit to Alexandria[31]. To conclude, the Pharaonic figures might contain messages of ideology and political propaganda, related, among other things, to the desire of the owners of the Main Tomb (and their relatives) to promote a relationship with the Roman 'pharaohs' of Egypt as a reflection of their high status in Alexandrian society.

The Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa: Conclusion

The Main Tomb concentrates on all aspects and tendencies visible since the Hellenistic period, including Egyptian temple arrangements and function concerning the relationship of the dead with the worlds of the living and the underworld. Compared to the Egyptian chora, this relationship was not expressed in Alexandria by means of a simplified version. The Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa proves that there is both artistic competence and religious knowledge, provided there are available funds and space. Still, there is a combination of both Egyptian and Greek artistic elements, without the interruption of the Egyptian nature of the process. There is reference to public image and social status during life. Egyptian funerary customs are applied despite the ethno-cultural identity. We could include all these aspects in two simplified sentences:

-After death, it is not important how Greek or Egyptian you are, but the funeral has to be Egyptian (in an Alexandrian verxion as this implied by the environment of the tomb).
-After death, it matters who you were and your lifetime lifestyle in relation to your family and your wider social cycle and status (the public aspect of the tomb, which is related to the relatives and visitors of the dead. Such a tomb and consequently dead might reconfirm the social status of the living).

1.8.2. PERSEPHONE TOMBS IN NEBENGRAB (HALL OF CARACALLA): JUXTAPOSITION AND COMBINATION OF STYLES AND CONTENTS, CONCERNING DEATH AND RESSURECTION

The Persephone Tombs present a unique case of juxtaposition between Greek and Egyptian scenes related to death and resurrection of nature and humans in the presentation of Greek and Egyptian systems. Yet, we deal here with juxtaposition of narratives, and not of scenes at each side of the niche. From a first point of view, as already noted by scholars such as Gummier-Sorbets (2001) and (2002), the dead desired to secure his afterlife according to both these religious systems existing in Alexandria.

In fact, it would be more precise to claim that the registers should not be considered as representatives of the two parallel religious systems, but rather of the two components that form one multi-dimensional system: the Alexandrian religious amalgam[32].

This is attested by the fact that, in one way or another, all the gods depicted in one register have been associated with those of the other register: Isis with Demeter, Aphrodite and Artemis; Nephthys with Athena; Hades with Osiris, Hermes with Thoth and Anubis, etc. In order to observe whether there are additional or alternative messages and functions in this system of scenes, we should observe the details of each register more carefully.

[31] According to Venit, the Pharaoh of the Main Tomb represents Vespasian (2002, 143).
[32] With the term Alexandrian religion, we do not consider religion of Alexandria as separated from the rest of Greco-Roman Egypt, but we rather mean religious activities and expressions, which took place in Alexandria.

The Egyptian register

Apart from the central scene of the Osiris funeral, the two lateral walls display the 'judgment' and resurrection of the god of the underworld. Therefore, Isis-Maat and Thoth, on the lateral wall on the right, were common figures in the traditional funerary world of Egypt long before the Roman period. (Isis-) Maat will weigh the heart of the deceased in order to check whether it is 'lighter' than the Feather of Truth, while Thoth, the scribe of the gods, will keep the necessary records. In the scene on the right, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, the god of Memphis is presented in a funerary role together with his counterpart Memphis Sekhmet, while Osiris stands between them in a resurrection pose. Ptah-Sokar is considered to be a very local Memphite version of the god-creator, who was associated with Osiris during the New Kingdom; thus he obtained a strong funerary role in this character (Bianchi 1995, 125; 140; Shaw and Nicholson 2002, 230; 273-274).

The origin of Ptah-Sokar reveals another important aspect that will also be attested in the Sarapeion from the Roman period, as well as in coinage. It seems that there is a tendency in Alexandria during the Roman period, to include more or less traditional cult versions from the Egyptian chora. For instance, we have the introduction of the Memphite traditional figure of the Apis-bull in the Alexandrian Sarapeion, while Harpocrates of Mendes and the sacred bark of Osiris are presented in coinage from the Roman period. Thus, compared to the Hellenistic period, we see that there is a tighter cultural association between Alexandria and Egypt, both in terms of space and time[33].

The Greek register

While the abduction is the central theme, the Hades chariot is not presented in the middle of the scene, but in the right corner, symbolically on its way to the underworld. Instead, Aphrodite stands in the middle almost frontally, in a quite relaxed pose, in fact ignoring the main act. Yet, Artemis and Athena in the left corner seem to be more active, turning to the side of Persephone. In any case, figures in both corners stretch the position of the central figure of Aphrodite, with the postures of their bodies and by staring at the centre, creating a symmetric arrangement to the scene in this way.

Aphrodite is located not only in the centre of the Greek register, but also under the central figure of the Egyptian register. So, what could the relationship between the two figures be? Aphrodite is a goddess of the pleasures of the lifetime, the happiness of marriage etc. In terms of identity, she is a contrast to the mummy figure of Osiris that, in this specific scene, is more related to the sadness of death. Thus, a contradiction is created between the two figures.

Aphrodite was involved in the funerary matters from the Roman period, through her association with Isis and Hathor. In Alexandria, this is reflected in the figure of Isis-Aphrodite depicted in the Stagni Tomb, and also in terracotta figurines from the Roman period[34]. Thus, Aphrodite represents the hope for rebirth and happy afterlife also for the Alexandrians.

Taking everything into account, after 300 years or more of experience in Greco-Egyptian interaction, such scenes could be described as anything except a simple case of parallel juxtaposition of two absolutely distinct religious and artistic systems. The religious interaction offered ground for advanced correlation between the Greek and Egyptian components, resulting in multi-dimensional and multi-recipient messages, which could not be expressed within the strictly isolated, traditional context of one individual component.

1.8.3. OTHER TOMBS WITH FUNERARY SCENES RELATED TO DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF OSIRIS (HABACHI AND SILEGIN TOMBS)

In the case of the Habachi tomb we see another version of Osiris' funeral and resurrection with reference to gods that first become present in Alexandrian tombs during the Roman period. This resulted in an even more Egyptian character, as well as in a more detailed picture of the Egyptian process from death to resurrection.

[33] This connection is further shown through the introduction of Pharaonica in the public environment of the city. See section 2.3.3 of this Chapter.

34 Breccia 1930, nos. 172,235 and 297.

The common presence of figures like Maat, Nephtys, Ptah-Sokar and Sekhmet implies an actual role in the funerary process: they were not chosen coincidently in order to reinforce the Egyptianising atmosphere of the tomb. Besides, there is no doubt that Alexandrians considered death to be a serious matter, hence religious themes and other cultural messages were always carefully selected. Each god would have been chosen and placed in the scene always with the appropriate role[35], and this requires at least basic knowledge about his identity and capacities. Still, these ideas were applied according to the Alexandrian 'standards of perceiving and further adapting Egyptian elements, resulting in a kind of 'freedom' in terms of style and components of each composition. In general, due to this freedom, it is hard to find identical scenes[36].

1.8.4. TIGRANE PASHA TOMB: GODS AND HUMANS IN COLLABORATION FOR THE 'SAKE' OF AFTERLIFE

The main characteristic of the wall-scene repertoire of the Tigrane Pasha Tomb is the fact that the dead is depicted on the back walls of the niches, taking part in the process, as a more direct way to connect himself with the destiny of Osiris. This alternative option of Alexandrian funerary repertoire is not presented according to the typical Egyptian style, but in a free-style rendering of Egyptian postures and gestures.

There might be more than one reason related to the style of these scenes. Firstly, it could be a matter of time, and thus the scenes had to be executed in a short period of time, and not even by a properly trained artist. Secondly, it could be a matter of choice not to hire an Egyptian style craftsman, in order to give a different, more realistic, fleshier tone to the traditional scenes. In the latter case, it seems that the artist even used real people and objects as models to create his scenes, notably from Isiac rites. In other words, he used all possible sources without succeeding in creating a proper Egyptian style scene, although proper Egyptian models should have been available in Alexandria.

1.8.5. STAGNI TOMB: SELF-PRESENTATION AND DIVINE STATUS AT THE 'MOMENT' OF RESSURECTION

The Stagni tomb shows a case in which Greek and Egyptian contents and forms are again combined in order to describe the resurrection of a female figure, revealed by mummy wrappings. As suggested by Venit[37], it is possible that the figure represents Isis-Aphrodite accompanied by figures of Eros-Harpocrates, on the two pilasters. The artist created a Greek style in the composition, in order to describe a syncretic religious world, composed, among others, by Isis-Aphrodite, Nemesis-sphinx, Eros-Harpocrates, the Greek style tympanum with Egyptian references, the Horus-hawks, and the two Anubis figures.

Roman burials from the Egyptian chora offer some parallel examples, presenting a more Egyptian style version of the same topic. For instance, the coffin lid of Senesis from Kharga Oasis,(Allard Parson Museum, Amsterdam) depicts a female deceased with attributes of Hathor, the Egyptian counterpart of Aphrodite[38]. In regard to the equipment in the hands of the stagni tomb figure, another Roman funerary shroud from Akhmim (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 50.650) presents a female deceased holding the Pharaonic Crook and Flail of Osiris, might offer some ideas. Still in Alexandria seems to hold lotus buds[39].

1.8.6. THE BODY OF THE DECEASED AS PART OF THE FUNERARY SCENES

Tomb H of Nebengrab presents an exceptional case, once more due to its unique decorative programme and arrangement. There is a peculiarity in the choice of the figures that have led some scholars to think about mistakes or coincidental choice of figures[40]. A more precise observation will show that all the figures are

[35] Each figure displays its traditional content and function. There is always a profound reason implied for the introduction and location in the different scenes.
[36] Only the two Persephone Tombs of Nebengrab.
[37] See discussion in the catalogue of funerary structures of the Roman period Alexandria.
[38] See in detail Riggs 2006, figs.
[39] Still, Venit interprets this object as a staff with lotus bud (2002, 165)
[40] According to Habachi, the choice of the figures was coincidental and their depiction merely ornamental (1937, p.171).

reasonably included in proper position, but that indeed there is something missing. It is the body of Osiris that is expected at the centre of the back wall between the two winged figures. His absence could be explained in terms of a three dimensional arrangement of the decorative programme within the sarcophagus niche. It might have been the actual body of the deceased himself, which is placed in the sarcophagus just beneath the central scene, that the two winged figures attempt to embrace with their extended winged arms. Such an interpretation would offer a more reasonable explanation for the location of rest of the figures, such as the twin figures on the pilasters of the niche. They are depicted possibly egg-shaped solar disks on their heads, while standing on lotus flowers. This is common characteristic of Harpocrates in all types of the Roman period material evidence[41] (Roman coinage catalogue **nos. 143**, **293**, **327** and **409).** Hence, these figures could have been a symmetric and twin (one at each side) depiction of Harpocrates or another human, as manifestation of rebirth.

In regard to the main part of the wall decoration, it could be suggested that there is a completely alternative option at the three sides of the niche, where the dead participated also physically within the architectural and decorative environment of its burial, and thus the resurrection would symbolically involve the actually corpse (mummy) of the deceased more directly. While this case seems unique, there are references in Egyptian funerary customs that could be relevant. For instance, a well-known example is the sarcophagus of Tutankhamun (still insitu) in his tomb, where four winged figures of Isis, Nephtys, Serket and Neith carved in relief, embrace the four corners of the coffin, symbolically protecting the actual corpse of the king[42].

1.8.7. EGYPTIAN STYLE NAISKOS LOCULI SLABS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

These slabs were carved on the surface in order to represent the façades of Egyptian style naiskoi, within which the dead is portrayed many times. They are probably related to the Alexandrian middle or even upper class, or even to holders of the Alexandrian citizenship, but definitely citizens of lower social status than the residents of the Main Tomb in Kom el Shoqafa. The naiskos façade symbolises the liminal point between the world of the living and the world of the dead[43]. According to the naturalistic portrait characteristics and dress this category dates to the 1st -2nd century AD.

Structures

The naiskoi can be divided into two main categories. The first is the typical naiskos type with segmental pediment, Egyptian style columns, zones with uraei, and a Solar disc on the centre of the pediment (**nos. 2-10** and **12**). The segmental pediment sometimes is missing, due to the detachment of the slab from its wall, like in the case of the B41 (**no. 12**) tomb from Gabbari, where the naiskos frame was left on the wall of the open loculus.

The second type represents a Greek style temple, which is decorated with Egyptian symbols such as a solar disc and uraei (**nos. 1** and **11**). It can be described as indigenised Greek style (mixed, in any case). A similar type exists in Alexandrian coinage; the temples of Sarapis and Nilus, combining a Greek style temple with Solar discs and uraei, appear on coins **nos. 240** and **241** of Lucius Verus, for instance. This represents the most popular type of structure in the Roman period coinage, involving Egyptian elements. In fact, it presents a more indigenising version of the Greek naiskos, which is used to serve the Egyptian funerary ideas, as can be implied by a mummified body and other Egyptian style funerary decoration. This phenomenon corresponds to other types of material evidence, such as terracotta depicting similar type of structures, such as in the case of the Athena terracottas (Fig.16)

*Self-Presentation (**nos. 2, 4** and **11**)*

Roman funerary slabs present a conclusive composite version of Alexandrian loculus slabs and funerary stele, composed by the Egyptian naiskos, known from the cases of the Anfushi and Ras el Tin necropoleis, and the

[41] Breccia 1930, nos. 117,164,168,257,259,260,264 and 265.
[42] Zaky 2008, 35.
[43] See also sections 1.6.2. - 1.6.5 of this Chapter on the Anfushi and Ras el Tin Tombs.

stele-style slabs with self presentation, known since the 4th century BC, for instance from the Soldier's tomb[44]. Now, the Egyptian naiskos style slab is intended to host the image of the dead, who usually is depicted in a Greek style dress, representing his public lifestyle, education and cultural identity.

Still, it is important to sustain our interpretation within the Egyptian religious environment. A Greek-Alexandrian style deceased chose to follow such a religious life, and moreover such a manner of funerary practice, which could result in a proper afterlife according to the Egyptian tradition, as it was perceived in Alexandria since the Ptolemaic period. Therefore, all of them are depicted within their new, afterlife house, the realm of the dead, architecturally represented with an Egyptian chapel. The slab would represent not only who this person was, but also what his religious preferences were. Moreover, this motif aims to confirm the appropriate choice of the deceased in terms of funerary practice, since he is portrayed as having already passed into the stage of life after death.

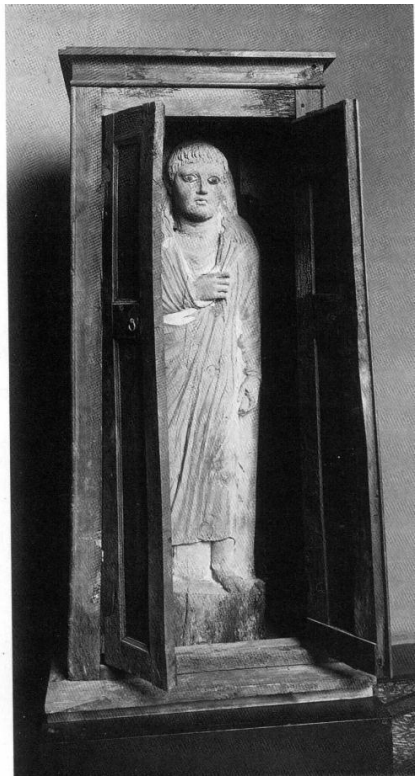

Fig. 6. Human shaped sarcophagus lid from Abusir el-Meleq, 1st century AD (Riggs 2006, no.66, fig.70)

Similar examples have been found in Abusir el-Meleq (Fig. 6), where figure-shaped coffin lids present the dead in Greek dress, while mummified. As in Alexandria, it was the image of the deceased with which he would pass into the realm of the dead, and this image was a matter of choice in terms of available options of portraying the dead. The Abusir el-Meleq sarcophagus lid is another interesting version of Greek-style self-presentation with additional attributes and symbolisations related to the Egyptian tradition. The young boy is dressed and has his haircut according to the Greek style, while, in contrast to the sarcophagus lid on the left picture, he has the so-called Horus Lock of Infancy, which derives from Egyptian repertoire[45]. In Alexandria, such a case seems similar to that of the Harpocrates terracotta figurines, where a Greek style infant has the Horus Lock of Infancy[46]).

[44] See Blanche-Brown (1957).
[45] See in detail Riggs 2006, 139-174
[46] See catalogue of Breccia on Alexandrian terracotta figurines (1930)

2. THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION IN THE FORMATION OF ALEXANDRIA'S PUBLIC IMAGE AND LIFE

For readers of Hellenistic architecture, Greco-Roman Alexandria presents one of the most disappointing cases. Almost nothing remains *in situ* from that period. Mostly fragments have been discovered so far, with little information on their exact provenance and function. Still, especially after the underwater discoveries of the 1990s and 2000s, architectural fragments have caused a lot of discussion on the style of Alexandrian monumental art and architecture throughout various periods of its history. The Sarapeion hill represents a kind of exception. It is the only ancient site that ~~it~~ was not covered by the modern city, and for this reason it was excavated several times until today.

The first part of this section will provide an overview of the Egyptian elements of the Sarapeion, focusing on the use of Egyptian tradition in various issues such as religion, ideology and the relationship between Alexandrian society and the royal house. In the second part, the involvement of Egyptian tradition will be examined in regard to other public areas of Alexandria, such as the harbour and the Pharos lighthouse area. A separated discussion on pre-Ptolemaic material evidence from the Egyptian chora, which was re-used in Alexandria, will be included as the third part. Finally, the fourth part of this section will discuss the possibility of Egyptian references in the Pharos lighthouse, the most impressive monument of Alexandria.

2.1. THE SARAPEION

The Sarapeion is the only public site of Hellenistic Alexandria that enables a discussion on architectural development. Many of the architectural fragments found there might belong to one of its various construction phases. There is a series of elements that are connected to Egyptian tradition, directly or indirectly. Nevertheless, we need to stress the fact that apart from all these elements, the main temple dedicated to Sarapis was built in Hellenic architectural style during both periods, however without following a specific Greek model (McKenzie et. al. 2004, 111).

The earliest architectural evidence dates to the reign of Ptolemy III. Before looking into it, we should refer to the ancient sources of Apulius, in regard to a temple dedicated to Sarapis and Osiris (Sarapis) during the reign of the first two Ptolemies (Fraser 1972, 248; Ashton 2004, 23). Excavations have shown that there was a pre-Ptolemy III phase in the sanctuary. Unfortunately, they could not enhance discussions on its style and components of the architecture. Still, it is possible that both colossal sphinxes from the Sarapeion (Statuary catalogue **no.1**) as well as other statues dating to the reign of the first two Ptolemies belong to this early structure.

2.1.1. ARCHITECTURAL EVIDENCE

Underground

Foundation plaques of the Sarapeion (Architecture catalogue **no.1**) by Ptolemy III are written both in Greek and Egyptian. Such a custom was not common in Greece, while it was common in Egyptian temples[47]**.** In the Egyptian part of the plaques, Sarapis is referred to as Osiris-Apis, in this way including the Egyptian identity of the god. It seems that it was important for the temple of Sarapis to be installed according to the Egyptian tradition as well. Also underground, a gallery for mummified jackals was discovered, representing another Egyptian sitmulus to the site**.** Sanctuary-galleries of sacred animals were a very popular religious destination since the Late period. Many of them are found in the Sarapeion in Saqqara, and there is no doubt that this practice was introduced to Alexandria from there.

[47] For foundation deposits of the Egyptian temples see Letellier 1977, 906-912.

The colonnaded court

Colonnaded courts are common in Egyptian religious architecture from the Old Kingdom until the end of the Ptolemaic and periods, for instance in Giza[48], Karnak and Luxor, in Philae, in Kom Ombo and in Edfu[49]. They are also attested in the monumental funerary temple-like Alexandrian tombs such as Mustapha Pasha Tombs. In contrast, colonnaded courts were not common in temples of Greece, at least during this period and before. It could have been introduced as an idea from the Egyptian tradition, but it was adapted to the generally Greek architectural atmosphere of the temple.

The Processional way with sphinxes

Three Egyptian style sphinxes dating to the late 4th-early 3rd century BC were found in the Sarapeion precinct (Statuary catalogue **nos. 1-2**). At least the two of them **(no.1)** could possibly have been part of a processional way to the main building (Stanwick 2002, 16; Ashton 2004, 21).

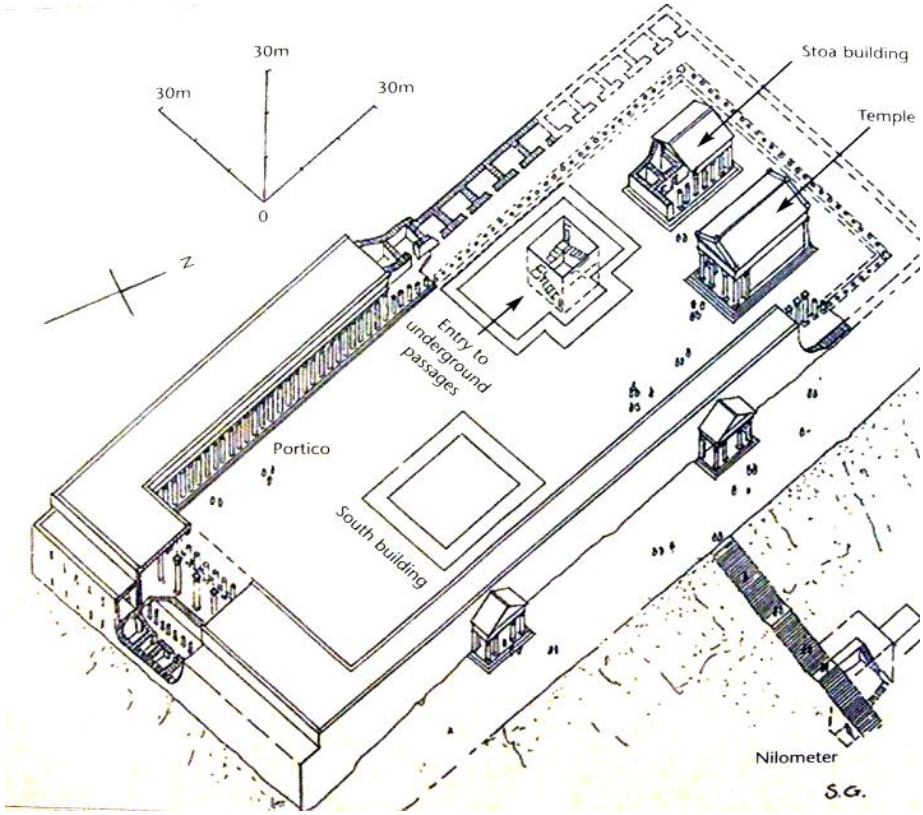

Fig. 7 Reconstruction of the Ptolemaic Sarapeion. After Gibson, in McKenzie, 2007, fig.68

Further Egyptian elements

A composite capital papyrus-form elements must have been part of the Ptolemaic sanctuary (Architecture catalogue **no. 6**). In addition, like in many Egyptian sanctuaries, a Nilometer, a pool and a birth house must have been part both of the Ptolemaic and Roman period structure (McKenzie et. al. 2004, 90, 96 and111).

[48] For a reconstruction of the colonnaded court in Cheops temple see Smith 1958, 54, fig. 94

[49] For the construction and development of Egyptian temples during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods see Arnold 1994, 143-224, 225-276 and 277-304

To sum up, the colonnaded court of the Alexandrian Sarapeion might have been borrowed from prestigious Egyptian temples, together with the foundation plaques, sphinxes, the underground galleries, the pool and the Nilometer.

The temple of Harpocrates

A temple (Birtthouse) was added to the sanctuary by Ptolemy The foundation plaques (Architecture catalogue **no. 2**) we written both in Greek and hieroglyiphic, referring to Harpocrates and Horus the child respectively.

2.1.2. PTOLEMAIC SCULPTURE IN THE SARAPEION

The statuary of the Ptolemaic Sarapeion consists of a group of sphinxes as well as royal and priest statues. Compared to the architecture, it is clear that these statues reinforce the Egyptian character of the sanctuary, with more profoundly Egyptian forms. Egyptian style statues of gods are missing from the Ptolemaic phase of the sanctuary, indicating that the Egyptian character of the site, as far as it could be judged from the evidence preserved, was based mainly on the Pharaonic identity and image of kings and priests rather than on Egyptian gods. The earliest pieces are the two sphinxes dating to the late 4th – first quarter of the 3rd century BC (Statuary catalogue **no. 1**), which in terms of style stand very close to the 30th dynasty models, indicating a stylistic continuity from the former period (Statuary catalogue **no. 1**). To the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus belongs a sphinx (Statuary catalogue **no. 2**), the statue base of Arsinoe II dedicated by Thestor (Statuary catalogue **no. 5**), two fragments from two statues of the same queen **(**Statuary catalogue **nos. 3** and **6**), and the statue base of Demokles or Delokles (Statuary catalogue **no. 7**). The sphinx of Ptolemy II Philadelphus is different in style and size. The posture of the head is more relaxed, compared to **no. 1**, while the head is slightly reclined. All these objects must be part of the earliest temple, dedicated to Sarapis (Osiris-Apis) and Isis, and were possibly incorporated in the temple of the Ptolemy III temple (Ashton 2004, 20-23). We see that on the one hand, they imply a continuity concerning indigenous tradition, and on the other hand, a tendency for further development towards a Hellenistic concept. Yet, already by the reign of Ptolemy III, Greek style sculptures were introduced to the site[50] The last chronologically dated statue (base) in Egyptian style belongs to Ptolemy VI. From this period, until the 1st century BC, there is a gap in Egyptian style royal sculpture.

Three statues of the Naophoros priest type have been discovered in the Sarapeion, dating to the 3rd century BC. They belong to Memphite high priests of Ptah, indicating the important role of the Memphis priesthood in the royal house of Alexandria, throughout the Ptolemaic period. Two statues are dedicated to Pshenptah I, (Statuary catalogue **no. 8**), while the third one belongs to Petobastis (Statuary catalogue **no. 9**). Priests of Memphis contributed considerably to the formation and development of the Ptolemaic ideology, the connection of the Ptolemaic family with the Egyptian religion, notably in the cases of Arsinoe II and Berenike II, who are also represented in the Sarapeion of Alexandria while they served as advisors at the royal court. Later during Ptolemaic period, it was the priesthood of Memphis that supported the recovery of the Alexandrian royal house after the rebellion in Thebes, while there must even have been intermarriage with members of the royal court (Hölbl 2001, 222).

2.1.3. THE ROMAN SARAPEION

During the reign of Hadrian, the Sarapeion met a new phase of construction, which in fact changed its outlines and general appearance. Fragments of the so-called Roman portico of Hadrian were made of granite (Architecture catalogue **no. 11**). In addition, a basalt statue of the Apis-bull (Statuary catalogue **no. 40**), dedicated by the Hadrian along with a shrine, was discovered in the Sarapeion (Ashton 2004, 30). These finds might reflect the desire of Hadrian to bring more 'Egypt', and this time religion, inside the Roman period sanctuary, in contrast to the nature of the god and his role in Alexandria during the Hellenistic period.

[50] Two statues of Berenike II (Tkaczow 1993, 187-188, nos. 8; 10) as well as several other fragments of Hellenic style statuary dating the reign of Ptolemy V have been discovered at the site.

Roman Emperors did not present themselves as Pharaohs in Alexandria, as occurred in the rest of Egypt. There is an absence of such type of evidence from the Sarapeion. It seems that the Sarapeion lost its political function in the Roman city, at least the part connected to the Ptolemaic ideology, although some acts of political importance might have taken place at the site during the visits of Vespasian, Titus, Trajan and Hadrian[51]. Instead, there is a very careful collection of statues from pre-Ptolemaic Egyptian history, and we should attempt to discuss the period of their installation in the Sarapeion.

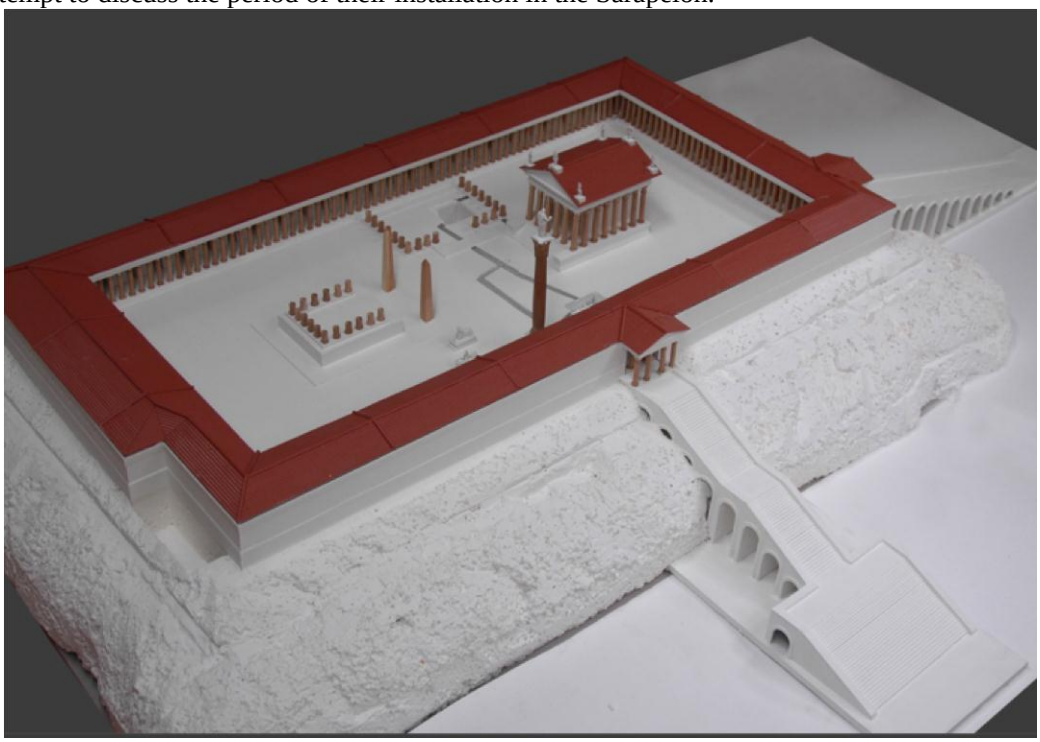

Fig. 8. Reconstruction of Serapeion. Alexandria and the Mediterranean Research Center, Bibliotheca Alexandrina

2.1.4. PRE-PTOLEMAIC PHARAONIC MATERIAL EVIDENCE FROM THE SARAPEION AS REUSED IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

As in the Ptolemaic period material evidence, the repertoire consists of royal and priest statues, sphinxes, architectural blocks and fragments of obelisks dating from the 12th until the 26th Dynasties (Statuary catalogue **nos. 52, 57, 59, 62, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74 and 78;** Architecture catalogue **nos. 29 and 32**). The discovery of diverse types of material (statuary, obelisks and blocks), which chronologically correspond with each other in the specific cult area, might lead to the idea that their coexistence in the Sarapeion is not coincidental. For instance, the obelisk of Seti I would have been accompanied by Ramesside statues and blocks. Nevertheless, we cannot have a clear view on whether these elements truly represented a religious point or whether their aim was just to present a chronologically proper architectural context to contemporary statues and obelisks, and, combined, to create a Pharaonic ambiance to the site. In any case, they seem to have been brought to Alexandria to be reused for a specific purpose, not necessarily during one specific period of time.

It is most likely that the Romans were responsible for these new additions in the Sarapeion, as in other public areas of the city. The reuse of monumental material was quite a common Roman practice, which occurred not only in Egypt but also elsewhere. In contrast, the Ptolemies seem to have spent vast amounts of Egyptian gold for the expansion of old centers and construction of new ones, rather than reusing material from

[51] See section 3.3 of this chapter.

exiting temples[52]. Of course this does not mean that some pieces would not have been brought to Alexandria during the reign of the Ptolemies as happened with the obelisk of the Arsinoeion[53].

A cross material comparison might help in the suggestion of a more precise date. From the reign of Vespasian until the reign of Commodus, there is a gradually increasing repertoire of Egyptian gods in Egyptian or mixed forms. During the same period, Alexandrian elite tombs host wall paintings on which all the important deities such as Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, Anubis and Thoth are attending various scenes, again in purely Egyptian or composite forms[54]. Concerning coinage, this phenomenon became more intensive in terms of its average during the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. It seems that Hadrian was the most willing of all to culturally connect Alexandria further with the Egyptian chora, and the Roman Alexandrian present with the Pharaonic indigenous past. This policy is further indicated by the Egyptian architectural and sculptural works dating to his reign, as noted above. A second case is that Pharaonica could have been brought by post-Hadrian rulers such as Antoninus Pius, who was responsible for several alternations and renovations in the center of Alexandria (McKenzie 2007, 137; 190).

Thus, pre-Ptolemaic material might have been brought to the Sarapeion during Hadrian's reign in order to further support the policy of 'Egyptianisation' of the Sarapeion also 'historically'. For instance, the statue of the falcon (Statuary catalogue **no. 77**) could have been part of the Harpocrates temple, adding the Egyptian version of Harpocrates, that of Horus, to the site. In case this was true, it would correspond with the addition of an Apis-bull statue by Hadrian in the sanctuary, as the Egyptian version of Sarapis. Hence it was a combination of Greek style statues, such as those of Sarapis found in the sanctuary, new Egyptian style creations such as the statue of Apis-bull, and Pharaonica in reuse.

The use of Pharaonica in the Sarapeion must have continued in the 3rd century Roman temple, not only in the wider area of the sanctuary, but also in the construction of the actual structure. This indication is derived from the description of the destruction of the temple in the late 4rth century AD by two church historians, Socrates Scholasticos (7.15) and Sozomenos (5.17), who related how blocks with Hieroglyphs were uncovered when the temple was being dismantled.

The Sarapeion, thus, was also a playground for the promotion of ideological and political messages. In regard to the Ptolemaic period, among others, this was the promotion of the Ptolemies as Pharaohs of Egypt, and not only as Greek kings of Alexandria. This might be expressed by means of a dedication of a statue to the King or to the principal deities of the sanctuary in Egyptian hard stones. What is missing from this collection, are expressions of connections between the last indigenous rulers. As far as we know, the Ptolemies were keen on promoting continuity with the 30th dynasty. It is peculiar, however, that among the mass of Ptolemaic statues and the Pharaonica material of the site, there is no such evidence.

It seems that from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, there was no commemoration of any indigenous dynasty, even if there were several stylistic references to Egyptian tradition. The Sarapeion was not meant to celebrate the Ptolemies' connection with the Pharaonic past, but with their own Pharaonic present. It celebrates the new dynasty of Pharaohs, who ruled Egypt from their new capital Alexandria, protected by the patron god of the royal house, Sarapis, who was Hellenised in style, although Egyptian in origin.

We are not sure whether or not Ptolemaic royal statues were kept in their position during the Roman period. It seems that at least during the 1st century AD they could still be part of the monumental environment. There is no evidence for the demolishing of Ptolemaic statues. In case this were true, we would have to discuss the Ptolemies' use at the Roman Sarapeion. For what reason could they have remained installed? What was their connection with the introduction of pre-Ptolemaic material in Alexandria? A first suggestion is that, by preserving Ptolemaic statues, the Romans attempted to promote continuity from the former period. However, they should also have reduced the distinctively Ptolemaic character of the site, since the preservation of their

[52] See section 2.3.
[53] For a more detail discussion on the role and date of installation of pre-Ptolemaic material evidence of Alexandria see section 2.3.3 of this chapter.
[54] See Roman Coinage catalogue

memory could be proven to be a dangerous habit. For this reason, they might have incorporated pre-Ptolemaic monumental material in order to place the Ptolemaic dynasty among various other Pharaonic pieces. In this way they would have attempted to decrease the Ptolemaic atmosphere in the Sarapeion, such as in the rest of the city, by eroding the Ptolemaic monumental image and memory and further localise Alexandria's cultural character.

2.2. MONUMENTAL SCULPTURE IN THE CITY CENTRE, PHAROS ISLAND, SUBMERGED ROYAL QUARTERS AND OTHER AREAS

Recent discoveries made by underwater missions in Alexandria revealed several architectural and sculptural finds from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, raising a great discussion on Ptolemaic period royal statuary. During the last decade, two scholars, Stanwick and Ashton, discussed their artistic and chronological development in detail, as well as several ideas on their religious, social and political context. Summarising the main points, Ptolemaic Royal sculpture of early period relies on models from the 30th dynasty and even from the 19th Dynasty in cases such as the Anfushi Triad. From the reign of Ptolemy V, there is a new type of Pharaonic statues that combines an Egyptian body and insignia with a naturalistic portrait of each specific ruler. The process of adding an individual rendering to the portraiture of Pharaonic images had a long history in Egypt. Since the Old Kingdom, several individual characteristics of Pharaohs have appeared in portrait as well as in other body characteristics and styles, for example in the naturalistic portraits of Sesostris III, dated to the Middle Kingdom or the statue of Montuemhet, dating to the middle of the 7th century BC[55]. This is the result of the Egyptian concept of 'portraiture' according to which "it is not the people who are portrayed but rather their ages or stations of life" (Bianchi 1988, 55). Therefore, Pharaonic statues of Ptolemaic rulers as well as those of high priests, such as that of Hor son of Hor, should be considered as Egyptian since they function within the Egyptian context of non-idealising portraiture, even if the naturalistic characteristics were copied by Greek style models.

This development in Ptolemaic royal statues coincided chronologically with the revolts of the late 3rd century BC, which forced the Ptolemies to create statuary with a more precise Ptolemaic identity, in order for them to be distinguished from rebels such as Herwenefer (206-186 BC)[56]. or other images of Pharaohs. This type might have come from Memphis, where Ptolemy V passed his early years under the 'aegis' of the priesthood of Ptah (Ashton 2001**,** 14). Statues from the late Ptolemaic period show an interest in earlier Ptolemaic and Pharaonic models (Ibid, 16). Additionally, the naturalistic portrait in Pharaonic statuary of the Ptolemies might imply that there was a better collaboration between Greek and Egyptian artistic hands[57] resulting in such a combination between the two traditions.

2.2.1. THE PUBLIC ROLE OF PTOLEMAIC ROYAL STATUARY: IDEOLOGY, SELF-IMAGE, POLITICAL PROPAGANDA

The only piece of Ptolemaic Royal sculpture that presents a clear relationship between the Ptolemies and traditional Egyptian gods, is the triad of Anfushi (Statuary catalogue **no. 3**). This statue group must have been related to expressions of the divine ancestry of the ruling king, which had a long tradition in Egypt[58]. As in the case of the Abu Simbel temple of Ramses II, the aim of a colossal statue within or in front of a sanctuary or temple was meant to promote the king as patron and protector of that specific area and sanctuary by means of his superhuman size and nature, as well as to promote affiliations with humans and gods[59].

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[55] Smith 1958, 102; Ashton 2001, 34; Malek 1989, 359-372
[56] See Hölbl, 2001, p.154-159
[57] With the terms Greek and Egyptian artists we imply those who were trained in Greek and Egyptian arts, without this necessarily corresponding to their ethnic identity.
[58] On the divine ancestry of the Ptolemies see Chaniotis 2003, 434-435.
[59] See in detail: Haeny 1997, 115-118.

Even Alexander the Great promoted himself as the son of Ammon and it seems that the Ptolemies further adopted this belief in their own distinctive expressions of ideology. In addition, the cults of the Ptolemies were introduced to Egyptian temples, and the kings were often worshipped as Synnaoi Theoi (Temple-sharing), receiving daily libations and incense offerings. Their Greek cult epithets such as Soter, Philadelphus, Euergetes etc. sounded Greek to the Greeks, but at the same time, they captured many of the tenets of Egyptian titulature and allowed the native population to recognise their pharaoh in them (Chaniotis 2003, 436-437).

Other statues preserve no hieroglyphic inscription and probably never had one. This is not a surprise, since Ptolemaic hieroglyphs are not so common in Alexandria, compared to the Egyptian chora. Still, even if their religious context, if any, is not clear, they seem to have a public role, in regard to various ideological and cultural messages that they might have reflected.

In Alexandria, this role could have been fulfilled by the male and female colossal statues of the late Ptolemies, found at the water area of the Pharos Island. They must have been set in an area that would have been visible both from the sea and the mainland (including the Pharos island), both by Alexandrians and travellers/visitors at sea. It has been suggested that they might even have been part of the processional road to the Pharos entrance (Stanwick 2002, 17). They could also have been related to a temple of Isis Pharia, although this temple has not yet been identified. In any case, this concentration of the 2nd and/or 1st centuries BC statuary on Pharos might indicate an alternative focal point for the Greek polis (Ashton 2004, 33). The presence of colossal Isis or Isis-dressed statues of queens – in combination with the absence of dedications to Sarapis in the Sarapeion – corresponds with the rise of the Isis cult in Alexandria, and might further indicate her upgraded role as patron goddess to the city.

We should not forget that Ptolemaic Alexandria had to be, apart from a Greek city, both a cultural and political capital of Egypt and mirror of Ptolemaic ideology. This mirror is usually located diachronically in the public and most visited areas of every capital. Therefore, whether part of a temple or freestanding, this group of statues corresponds to those found in Heracleion (Fig. 9). All of them might have served similar roles. In Heracleion, colossal statues of a Ptolemaic couple are accompanied by the statue of the fertility god Hapi. These statues were found in the submerged area of the site, once the harbour of the ancient town. Thus, they could have been installed in order to be visible both from the sea and the mainland. While in Heracleion the Ptolemies seem to promote themselves as guarantors of the fertility for the land of the Nile, as implied by the figure of Hapi, Alexandrian statues seem to carry the message both to visitors and to residents of the city that here is Alexandria, the capital of Egypt, which is ruled by Pharaohs, and quite specifically by the Ptolemies, who are favoured by gods such as Isis and share their supernatural power.

Similar roles seem to have been played by other Ptolemaic statues found in submerged royal quarters and Hadra. The head of an originally 5 meters high statue of a young Ptolemaic ruler possibly represents the young Caesarion (Statuary catalogue **no. 18**), legitimised heir of Cleopatra VII and his father Julius Caesar. The head was discovered near the Caesareum, the temple dedicated initially to Caesar by Cleopatra, and later rededicated to Octavian. For this reason, most scholars believe that it was erected there (Kiss 1998, 168; Ashton 2003, 29-31; Stanwick 2003, 18). It could have been part of the sanctuary, where the young ruler promoted his rights to the Ptolemaic throne[60]. Whether ornamented with a diadem or the horns of Ammon (Ashton ibid), the statue promoted the Pharaonic identity of the young ruler. The Hadra Couple (Statuary catalogue **no. 21**) transmits similar messages to its audience. Although there is no objective way to identify the male statue, Caesarion seems to be the most substantial interpretation[61]. In that case, we deal again with the promotion of the Egyptian nature and character of the last Ptolemaic rulers, while the son of Cleopatra is legitimised as her heir.

[60] In fact it was Cleopatra who did so on his behalf.
[61] I follow Ashton's interpretation, 2003, 29-31.

Fig. 9. God Hapi (right), as found at the port of Heracleion, Goddio and Claus, no. 103

Finally, literary sources suggest several occasions that could justify the erection of these statues and further indicate ideas in regard to their meaning. This evidence concerns the reign of Cleopatra VII, just before the war with Octavian. It was the case of the famous Donations of Alexandria ceremony, organised by Mark Antony at the gymnasium of Alexandria, when the official declaration of Caesarion as heir to the Egyptian throne took place. Caesarion was declared the legitimised heir of an eastern Mediterranean empire, as imagined by Mark Antony, ruled from Alexandria. In this ceremony, Cleopatra VII was named Queen of Kings as well as New Isis, perhaps to distinguish her from her predecessor Cleopatra III, or to emulate her father who had been the New Dionysus (Ashton 2003, 53-54). In the course of this act, the last queen of the Ptolemies presented herself in an Isis costume and Caesarion was wearing Pharaonic dress (Pollard and Reid 2006, 171). Therefore, it marked a new start for the Ptolemaic empire, in which there would be a more active and profound role for the Egyptian tradition in the incarnation of the Ptolemaic royal ideology. This could be a perfect case for the erection of the Hadra group, the Pharos colossi or statues in other public areas, since such an important message would have been expressed both to locals and visitors. Similarly, there were several occasions during the late Ptolemaic period that could relate to the promotion of Pharaonic image and ideology of the Alexandrian kings, due to the unstable political situation, for example the return of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II from his exile in Cyprus and the reinstallation of his power in Alexandria (Hölbl 2001, 197-204).

2.2.2 OTHER EGYPTIAN STYLE SCULPTURE OF GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD FROM THE SUBMERGED ROYAL QUARTERS

Similarly problematic are the initial location and date of various other objects discovered in the submerged royal quarters. While a Ptolemaic date has been suggested for them by Kiss (1998), they could easily belong to the Roman period. Such figures are well attested in Roman period coins and funerary wall decoration. In contrast, they are not often attested in material evidence from the Ptolemaic period. The Ibis bird was discovered next to the statue of Hermes, the Greek counterpart of the Ibis-headed god Thoth (Statuary catalogue **no. 32**). According to Kiss, the Greek statue dates to the Hellenistic period (Kiss 1998, 185-186), but we cannot assume the same for the statue of Ibis. The Sarapeion showed a case where the Egyptian statue of

Apis was added only in the Roman period in order to reinforce the Egyptian character of Sarapis. A similar policy might also apply to the submerged area.

Agathos Daimon (Statuary catalogue **no. 31**) is also attested in the Antoniadis gardens tomb, dating to the late Ptolemaic period, in the role of a guard, but his image as well as his altar is more often attested in material evidence from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (Roman coinage catalogue **nos. 196** and **274**). However, it would not be a surprise to have a cult image and temple at the eastern port area during the Ptolemaic period, due to its importance as one of the symbols of Alexandria. Unfortunately, the conditions of their discovery did not allow more precise suggestions.

Similar is the case for the Canopic priest statue (Statuary catalogue **no. 30**), which is almost identical to that of Sarapeion (Statuary catalogue **no. 29**). A late Ptolemaic date has been suggested for both of them, but again they could be dated to the Roman period, due to the extreme popularity of Osiris Canopus and moreover of the Canopic aspect in the Isiac cult. This is indicated by the extensive representation of Canopoi on Roman coins as well as the finds in the Roman temple of Isis in Ras el Soda (Fig. 10). The statue of the Canopic priest functions according to the Egyptian concept of presentation, since it mostly describes the profession and social status of the priest rather than his lifestyle and education. Still, this profession might have been an indication of a high social status, but this is not promoted in a direct manner.

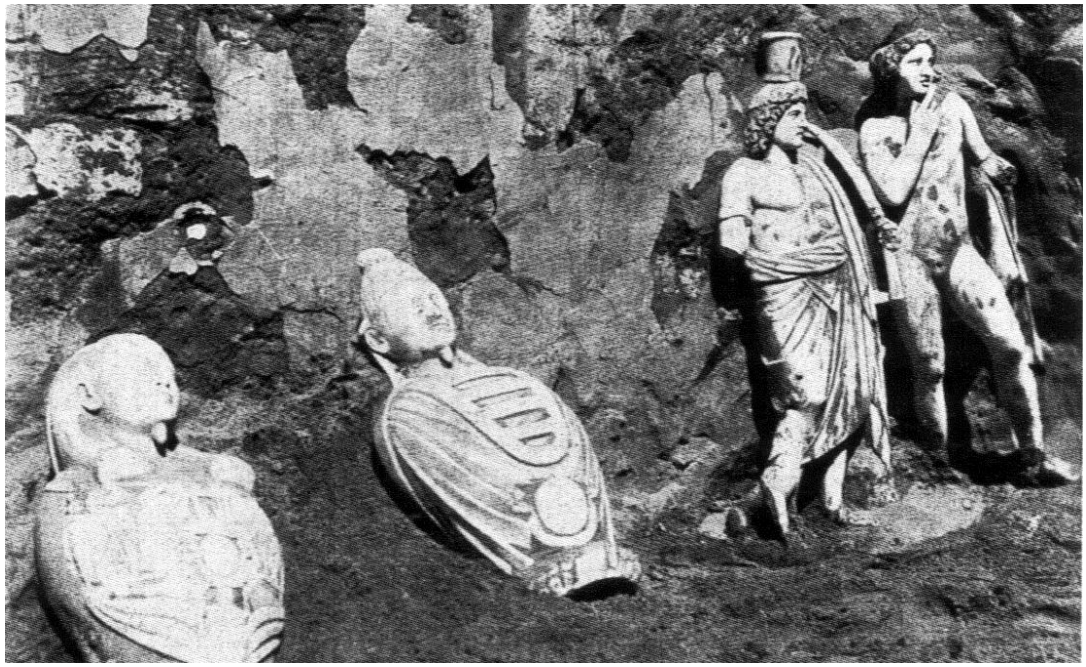

Fig. 10. Canopoi found in the temple of Isis in Ras el Soda (Adriani 1940c, pl. 59.1)

Finally, the statue of Hor found in the city centre presents the most interesting example of priestly statuary from Alexandria, already causing a long and intensive discussion around it[62]. Hor was a priest of Thoth (Statuary catalogue **no. 25**) during the reign of Cleopatra VII. In contrast to other statues of priests, the statue of Hor represents a totally different case. The priest is depicted with Greek style portrait characteristics and Egyptian style dress, while the rendering is also mostly in Egyptian style. Thus, his statue is presented in

[62] Borchhardt 1930, 39-40, pl. 128; Poulsen 1938, 31; Graindor 1939, 138, no. 74; Snijder 1939, 262-269; Bothmer 1960, 170-173; Grimm and Johanes 1975, 19, no. 16; Bianchi 1988, 55-56; Tkaczow 1993, no. 179; Walker and Higgs 2001, 182-183, no. 190.

Egyptian manner as in the case with the Naophoros type statues of Pshenptah (Statuary catalogue **no. 8**) and Petobastis (Statuary catalogue **no. 9**) from the Sarapeion, which intensively reflect religious character. It seems that the statue of Hor aimed to promote both aspects of Egyptian identity combined with partially Greek lifestyle, elite social status and not exclusively the priestly identity of Hor.

The back pillar of the statue contains information on his religious activity in Hieroglyphic, according to which Hor "loved to serve the God, being his adherent and doing what he loved" (Walker and Higgs 2001, 183). Unfortunately, his hometown is not preserved in the text, but we are informed that he renovated the temple of Thoth: thus the place is possible to be Ashmunein, as Thoth is referred to in the same text as the "lord of Ashmunein" (Ibid). Still, the discovery of a statue of Ibis bird (Ptolemaic and Roman Statuary catalogue **no. 32**) in the submerged royal quarters indicate that such a place could be also Alexandria.

In conclusion, the statue of Hor combines both Greek and Egyptian elements in a number of different roles. The traditional Egyptian aspect is used in the religious part, included in the back pillar, which was not aimed to be visible and readable in public. The naturalistic portrait is used in the promotion of his status and stage of life. Nevertheless, it is executed with distinctive Egyptian material and in combination with Egyptian style rendering, which adds an overall Egyptian atmosphere to the statue. Hence, the Egyptian proficiency and origin of Hor is presented in a more Alexandrian manner compared to the Naophoros type statues.

Combinations of Greek and Egyptian elements occurred in tomb decoration, such as that of Anfushi Tomb II, where there is an intensive use of more Egyptian traditional elements in the innermost areas, strictly related to funerary issues, while there is a more flexible combination of Greek and Egyptian motifs in the most public areas of the tomb, regarding to the relationship between the worlds of the living and the dead.

Finally, a good question concerning royal and other related Ptolemaic statuary concerns the setting where they were installed. There is evidence for Hellenic style structures in combination with Egyptian or Egyptianising style statuary. Earlier modern descriptions of Alexandria, such as that of Wilkinson, describe a Greek Tholos with Egyptian style statuary from limestone and red granite (1843, 169). The cases of the Sarapeion and Mustapha Pasha Tomb I show similar aspects: Hellenic and/or Hellenised architecture and architectural decoration in combination with Egyptian statuary. In addition, obelisks were used to further support Egyptian atmosphere in Alexandrian temples, for instance in the Sarapeion, Caesareum and Arsinoeion.

Concerning Egyptian and/or Egyptianising settings, some evidence is preserved, mainly in collections of the Greco-Roman Museum (Architecture catalogue **nos. 3-10**). However, finds of the *Hellenic Institute of Ancient and Medieval Alexandrian Studies* (HIAMAS) may shed some light on our question. A recent find of HIAMAS from the submerged area of the Akra Lochias cape in the area of the submerged royal quarters, concerns a tower from a pylon gate, about 2,45 meters high (Architecture catalogue **no. 12**). As it will be suggested later, it might belong to a structure of the late Ptolemaic or even Roman period.

Several architectural pieces were also discovered there, made out of Egyptian material such as limestone, quartzite or granite that might have been rendered in Greek architectural style. Although architectural decorative details reflected a Hellenic character, the Egyptian air of these structures must have also been strong due to the colour and quality of the material used. The Ptolemies were able to aford vast the costs for the completion of their sacred and monumental activities. This is clearly reflected in the quantity, monumentality and quality of their works in Alexandria and all over Egypt. Therefore, they could import marble as easily as they could transfer granite from Aswan.

It seems that Greek rulers desired for their Alexandrian structures to combine both Greek and Egyptian elements, reflecting their situation between Greeks and Egyptians on the one hand, and Ptolemaic Egypt and other Hellenistic kingdoms on the other. All this combined, supports the idea that there was a profoundly Egyptian character in several Alexandrian public structures, corresponding to the style of the Alexandrian Hypogea such as Anfushi and Ras el Tin, and in some cases the architectural elements of Alexandrian terracottas, especially from the late Ptolemaic period onwards (Figs.13 and 14).

At last, we should also consider the case of Soma, the collective tomb built by Ptolemy IV in order to host the body of Alexander as well as those of the dead Ptolemies. Unfortunately, nothing is preserved from its structure today, and even its exact location within the modern city layout remains an open question. According to ancient sources, such as Strabo (794-795), this tomb was a pyramidal structure[63] situated at the palace district, possibly near the coast[64]. If such were the case, it would seem that in late 3rd century BC Alexandria, Alexander and the Ptolemies were promoted to Egyptian Pharaohs, who have to be buried in an Egyptian style mausoleum that could even be reminiscent of the pyramids of the Old Kingdom. This tomb would reflect such a clear and strong message within the royal quarters that could have been perceivable by all the residents of the city, whether Greek or Egyptian, as well as its visitors. It might not be a coincidence that in 217 BC a revolt broke out in Northern Egypt led by an Egyptian military class, and another one in Thebaid in 206 BC, resulting in the emergence of the independent state in Thebes, ruled by Herwenefer (206-186 BC)[65]. The construction of the pyramid shaped mausoleum could have been the best occasion to send a clear message to everyone, 'capturing' Pharaonic Memphis and the kingship tradition within the Royal quarters of the Ptolemies[66].

Fig. 11. Naiskos with figure of Harpocrates on an elephant. From Mustapha Kamel necropolis. Greco-Roman museum, inv. no.41. Adriani 1936, 154, fig.75

Fig. 12. Athena in a temple-like building with a lotus-form column. Greco-Roman museum, no. 8730 Breccia 1930, 195, pl. XXV, 2

The lack of evidence of Pharaonic sculptural and structural activity from the Roman period might be explained by the extensive presence of Pharaonic indigenous material, which was possibly extensively used by the Romans. Indeed, underwater investigators of the submerged water area of Alexandria have discovered hundreds of Egyptian style blocks, dating to the indigenous Pharaonic history. As will be suggested in the following section, there must have been a conservative policy in terms of Pharaonic style building and artistic activity since there was so much – potentially – 'retired' available material all over the Egyptian chora.

[63] Still it would not be a surprise if some Greek style decorative elements were part of the structure.
[64] On the location see also Fraser 1972, Chapter 1, n.85
[65] See Hölbl 2001, 154-159
[66] See discussion in the following section (2.2.3) on the Pharaonica

2.3. MONUMENTAL MATERIAL EVIDENCE DATING FROM THE INDIGENOUS DYNASTIC PERIOD (PHARAONICA)

There is no doubt that the category of material evidence from Alexandria known as 'Pharaonica' or 'Aegyptiaca' represent the most problematic area of Alexandrian ancientl remains. We know little about the date of their installation, location in Alexandria, their function and their fate after the end of the Greco-Roman period. They cover a period from the Middle Kingdom until the 30th dynasty and have been discovered in the submerged royal quarter and Pharos Island water area, at the city centre and in the Sarapeion. Concerning their date of installation, scholars such as Gallo (1998[67]), Stanwick (2002, 19), Ashton (2004, 16-19; 32) and McKenzie (2007, 185-186) believe that they belong to the Roman period. Others, for instance Yoyotte (1998, 204), believe that they might have been part of the Ptolemaic city.

The transfer and reuse of monumental art and architecture is a much more common practice in the Roman period than in the Hellenistic period. There is strong evidence, in Egypt, Athens and Rome, about the transferring of statues, columns or even whole structures from one area to another. For instance the temple of Ares was dismantled from a surrounding area of Attica and reinstalled in the Athenian agora (Camp 2004, 191), and also columns from the temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens were reused in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome by Sulla (Stamper 2005, 6-18; 220-221).

In contrast, the Ptolemies seem to have built several new temples, sanctuaries and other structures on the one hand, and to have expanded older ones such as Karnak, Edfu and the Philai groups rather than dismantling them, on the other hand. There is no indication that Ptolemies used older material in order to build their own structures, even when ancient Pharaonic sites were ambandoned. Nevertheless, we should not exclude the possibility that the Ptolemies transferred isolated objects such as obelisks or sphinxes in order to support the Egyptian atmosphere in the city in specific cases. There is evidence that an obelisk was transferred and erected in the Arsinoeion, and moreover that sphinxes were brought to Alexandria from several areas of the Delta such as Sais andreused in Alexandrian boulevards (Rawlandson 2003, 252-253; McKenzie 2007**,** 51).

Pharaonica represent the diachronic character of the Pharaonic identity, in the rearrangement of the city's public space during the Roman period, rather than composing traditional religious structures. Various alternations seem to have occurred during this process, not only in terms of function, but also in terms of meaning and display.

Already since Greek classical antiquity, Egypt was perceived as a repository of ancient culture, attracting travellers and pilgrims, among others Hecateus, Herodotus and Strabo, who visited and marvelled at the impressive ancient Egyptian monuments. Several examples of graffiti on temples and statues such as Abu Simbel and the so-called Colossus of Memnon testify these visits and the admiration that these monuments caused. The role of Egypt as a repository of ancient culture might also explain the creation of Egyptianising monuments and the transfer of obelisks and statues to Rome by the emperors. Therefore Alexandria, the provincial capital of Roman Egypt, seems to obtain its own open-air 'Egyptian museum', composed by monumental representatives of this rich repository, as Bowman states, "capturing the Egyptian Memphis" (2002, 205-207).

The so-called Pharaonica are found in several areas of Alexandria next to Ptolemaic period material, for instance in the Sarapeion, at the Pharos island water area, in the submerged royal quarters and in the city centre. This fact should not be considered a coincidence. Many of these pieces seem to have been found abandoned rather than in reuse. In any case, they present a monumental type of material and hence it is expected of them to have been reused in Alexandria in monumental structures, which are usually located in public areas. Besides, they are not only stone cubes, which would have an exclusively practical reuse, but also obelisks, sphinxes and statues, objects that could have had exclusively decorative re-use in ancient Alexandria. All these public areas, where Pharaonica once stood in reuse, were of high public and consequently political-ideological importance. Hence, there might have been a political reason, among other things, for the Romans'

[67] In the text of Yoyotte, 1998, 203.

decision to intervene in the public image of Alexandria, with this type of material, next to the Ptolemaic monuments.

It seems that even during the Roman period, Alexandria, as capital of Egypt, must have had a high political risk. Alexandria had a strong international experience and potential both in terms of politics and culture. Having in its back a rich agricultural land, it could support any politically ambitious person with imperial aspirations. The case of Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII indicates the political dangers that Ptolemaic Egypt could hide. Moreover, as a society, Alexandria represented a micro model of what was culturally desirable for the whole Roman Empire: a combination of local and Hellenic cultures. During the Roman period the latter was to become a common cultural reference among the provinces of the empire. Nevertheless, Alexandria and Egypt, as representative examples of the Hellenistic East, had at least 300 years of such cultural experience.

The cultural and political achievements of the Hellenistic period contributed to the formation of a prestigious image for Alexandria and the Ptolemaic kings. This image was in favour of Alexandrians, during the Roman period, who on one side seemed not to appreciate Romans much, for instance Caracalla, and on the other side were proud to retain and develop the cultural products of the Ptolemaic period as reflected in the Roman period tombs and terracotta figurines. Within this socio-cultural environment, Romans attempted to find their position as well as to convert Alexandria from the capital of the independent kingdom of Egypt into a provincial capital. The safest interjection from the side of the new rulers would be to localise Alexandrian images and interests. Alexandria had to come closer to its province, since its role was now limited within its boundaries under the new political conditions of the Roman Empire.

This could have been achieved by adding Pharaonica in the areas where Ptolemaic ideology was promoted. In this way, on the one hand, they could blur the Ptolemaic capital image of the city, and on the other hand, they could further localise the Hellenistic cultural -and in a sense imperial- character of Alexandria and further relocated it within the much broader context of Egyptian history and culture. In this way, Alexandria could obtain a more Egyptian image, more traditional than the Ptolemaic one and more vague concerning political ideology. Within this atmosphere, Ptolemaic images monuments must have lost part of their public importance, and became more local rather than Hellenistic-international, within a diachronic Egyptian atmosphere. Yet, in any case, these ideas are merely suggestions from what we know about Pharaonica until today[68].

At this point we should discuss the Pharaonica of the 30th Dynasty, which could have been in Alexandria before the Romans. This might have occurred due to the desire of the Ptolemies to link their dynasty to the last native one. In such a way, among other things, they could promote themselves as continuers of the last indigenous pharaohs, thus legitimising their rule in Egypt. This desire was expressed in various ways. Firstly, Ptolemy I Soter married one of the living female descendants of the last native dynasty and used other relatives such as Nectanebo, grandson of Nectanebo II's sister, in the peripheral state machinery. Moreover, among the Egyptian priests who were connected to the Ptolemaic court there was Manetho, a priest from Sebennytos, the hometown of the 30th Dynasty, who was in great favour with Ptolemy I. This priest must have played a major role in Ptolemaic politics and highly affected Ptolemy's religious policies. He also wrote an Egyptian history in Greek (Hölbl 2001, 27; Lloyd 2002, 414).

Secondly, the Ptolemies promoted an Egyptian origin for Alexander the Great, the mythical founder of their dynasty. This occurred by means of the promotion of several legends, such as *Alexander Romance*[69], according to which Nectanebo II was the actual father of the great king. Nectanebo, who was a great magician, slept with Olympias in the form of Ammon in a queen's dream, when he was a refugee at the Macedonian court.

[68] Within the next years, Professor Paolo Gallo (Turin University) and his students will attempt to publish a work as complete as possible on Pharaonica of Alexandria, focusing on the different meanings (religious, cultural etc) that the Pharaonic, or 'Pharaonic-shaped' monuments did assume in Alexandria, providing a detailed catalogue with study.
[69] See Fraser, 1972, 675-684.

Thirdly, they further continued and completed sacred building activities from the 30th dynasty, for instance in Memphis, Thebes and Philai, and supported popular Egyptian cults from the Late period, such as Apis and Isis (Ashton 2003b, 218). Fourthly, during the 3rd century BC, they adapted the Pharaonic artistic style of the last native dynasty (Ibid, 213). Finally, as noted above, moving 30th dynasty monuments into Alexandria is attested in sources, such as in the case of an obelisk that was moved and erected again in the Arsinoeion in Alexandria (Stanwick 2002, 16; McKenzie 2007, 51).

Therefore, there might have been several areas in Alexandria where these pieces with relief scenes could have been installed celebrating the connection of the Ptolemaic with the 30th dynasties. The sarcophagus of Nectanebo II (Architecture catalogue **no. 31**) might represent such an example. This object was discovered at the city centre, not far from the Royal quarters and the possible location of the Soma. It might have been part of the royal funerary complex, together with other related pieces (Statuary catalogue **no. 69** and Architecture catalogue **nos. 30** and **32),** representing the cenotaph of the last native king king, the 'ancestor' and forerunner of Alexander the Great. In addition, as indicated by our catalogue of published Pharaonica, it might not have been a coincidence that 30th dynasty objects has been discovered mostly – if not exclusively - in the city centre and not in other areas where Pharaonica were found, such as the Pharos island water area and the Sarapeion. This lack might indicate a more specific area for the distribution and the function of this material in Alexandria during the Ptolemaic period.

2.4. THE CASE OF THE PHAROS LIGHTHOUSE: THE GREATEST 'OBELISK' EVER BUILT IN EGYPT

In the discussion above, it became clear that the material culture of Alexandria demands a different treatment, one that will take the contribution of the two main available traditions into account, the Greek and the Egyptian. There are often Egyptian elements in Alexandrian structures, covered underneath the Hellenic outlook. In the last part of the discussion on monumental art and architecture, we should refer to the Pharos lighthouse, the greatest monument of Alexandria, which is today lost. Yet, we are able to reconstruct its general appearance/structure, and hence we could express some further ideas concerning its form and meaning, applying both Greek and Egyptian points of view.

Pharos of Alexandria was much more than a simple port lighthouse. It was also a monument dedicated to the power of the Ptolemies as well to the 'deified' memory of the first Ptolemaic couple Theoi Soteres, the Saviour Deities, Ptolemy I and his wife. In the following discussion, Pharos will be shortly examined as monumental manifestation of the Ptolemaic ideology, in which also Egyptian elements were involved, derived from the long indigenous history. It should not be forgotten that the lighthouse was by far the highest structure in the area, which would have been visible also from the mainland. This means that messages of power were also sent not only to the citizens of Alexandria, but also to those who were entering the city from the west or east.

The Great Lighthouse of Alexandria was a tripartite structure, standing on a podium almost 10 meters above the sea. From the ground, it was composed by a square, an octagonal and cylindrical part, of 57 m, 27.5 m, and 7.5 m respectively. The square part (the lowest one) had a cylindrical core, which bore the weight of the upper stages. On the top of the cylindrical part stood a statue of Zeus or Proteus or perhaps Poseidon, which is estimated to have been 5 meters in height. The combined height of all of these elements could give a total height of almost 130m[70]. Hence, the Pharos was the third highest structure in Egypt, after the pyramids of Cheops and Chefren. In terms of material, the structure was composed of granite, limestone and marble, a combination of characteristically Greek and Egyptian materials. There were mirrors on top of the structure, which would reflect the light of the fire, during the night, or even of the sun, during the day.

A discussion on the Pharos as a landmark should start from the so-called 'Deinocrates dream'. This is a legend related to the young and ambitious architect of Alexander, Deinocrates of Rhodes, who must have

[70] For an updated view on the Pharos lighthouse, see J. McKenzie, 2007, p. 41-45.

been responsible for the layout of several cities built by Alexander the Great, including Alexandria. According to this legend, Alexander ordered the construction of a city on the shores of the Athos peninsula in Khalkidhiki, Greece. Deinocrates came with the suggestion for a city on the flat shore of the peninsula, while the rocky mountain of Athos should be sculpted into a colossal statue of Alexander the Great (Tarn 1939, 125). Thus, although this project was never completed, it presents an indication of what the ingredients of Alexander the Great's cities ought to have been: a well-designed and well-functioning city with a characteristic landmark. The same model was also followed in the Hellenistic period city of Rhodes, which obtained its famous colossus, paid for by Ptolemy Soter.

In addition, there is no doubt that monumentality forms the main characteristic of the major monuments of the Pharaonic indigenous history. Each pharaoh would spend vast amounts in order to construct colossal statues and structures, which would preserve their memory forever. Thus, from the Old Kingdom onwards, there was a diachronic competition among the monuments belonging to indigenous pharaohs of Egyptian history. The Ptolemies took part in this competition, applying an extensive sacred building activity to old and new religious centres, all over the Egyptian chora, such as on Philai Island, at Dendera, Edfu etc. Nevertheless, they did not participate in this 'contest' only with Egyptian style structures, but also with more individual ones. The Pharos lighthouse should be considered as the most distinctive case. This monument was the greatest structure in Alexandria and slightly less tall than the pyramids of Giza, the highest structures of Egypt. Thus Ptolemy would enter the Egyptian history in a quite impressive monumental way.

Fig. 13. Reconstruction of Pharos lighthouse various phases. After The Alexandria and the Mediterranean Research Center.
Bibliotheca Alexandrina

The solar temples of the 5th dynasty share some similarities in the layout of their structures with that of the Pharos complex (Fig. 14). The Abu Ghurab complex of Userkaf presents a characteristic example. Inside the square enclosure was a wide step-obelisk (compared with the later ones), composed of three different parts, like the Pharos structure. Such structures were always connected to the memory of specific pharaohs, as was the case with Pharos lighthouse.. In addition, some obelisks, such as those of Hasepsut in Karnak, were covered with golden tops in order to create reflections in the sun. Therefore, it could be assumed that also the reflection of sunlight could be part of the function of both the Pharos and an obelisk.

Even if the relationship between the solar temples and the Pharos complex was not direct, we can still assume that there must have been a relation, at least in terms of stimulus from the obelisk concept. Besides, the

section arrangement of the Pharos lighthouse might have been related, among other things, to stability issues. The step layout must have been the safest, closest version, It is reasonable to believe that the construction of a single shaped, obelisk-like construction in the dimensions of the Pharos lighthouse was impossible.

At this point, it might be useful to bring a parallel example of an impressive monument of power into the discussion, which functioned also as a lighthouse; the famous Colossus of Rhodes. This example seems even more appropriate, since Ptolemy Soter was involved in its construction, and the colossus itself was dedicated to the devotion of the Rhodeans to the king Egypt, during the wars between Alexander's successors. Both the Pharos and the Colossus of Rhodes, which was also one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, served as beacons for the two harbours into which these respective ports were divided in ancient times. The statue of Colossus represents Helios, the patron deity of the Island, thus apart from being jut impressive, it also includes a local reference, adjusted to the prestige of the structure. Such a relation should be also expected in the case of the Pharos, the most impressive structure of the Ptolemaic empire. In addition, Thompson (1993, 39-41) has already discussed some Hellenised versions of obelisks, on the surface of the faience oinochoai, a fact which would further support the idea of a similar experimentation in the most impressive public structure of Alexandria.

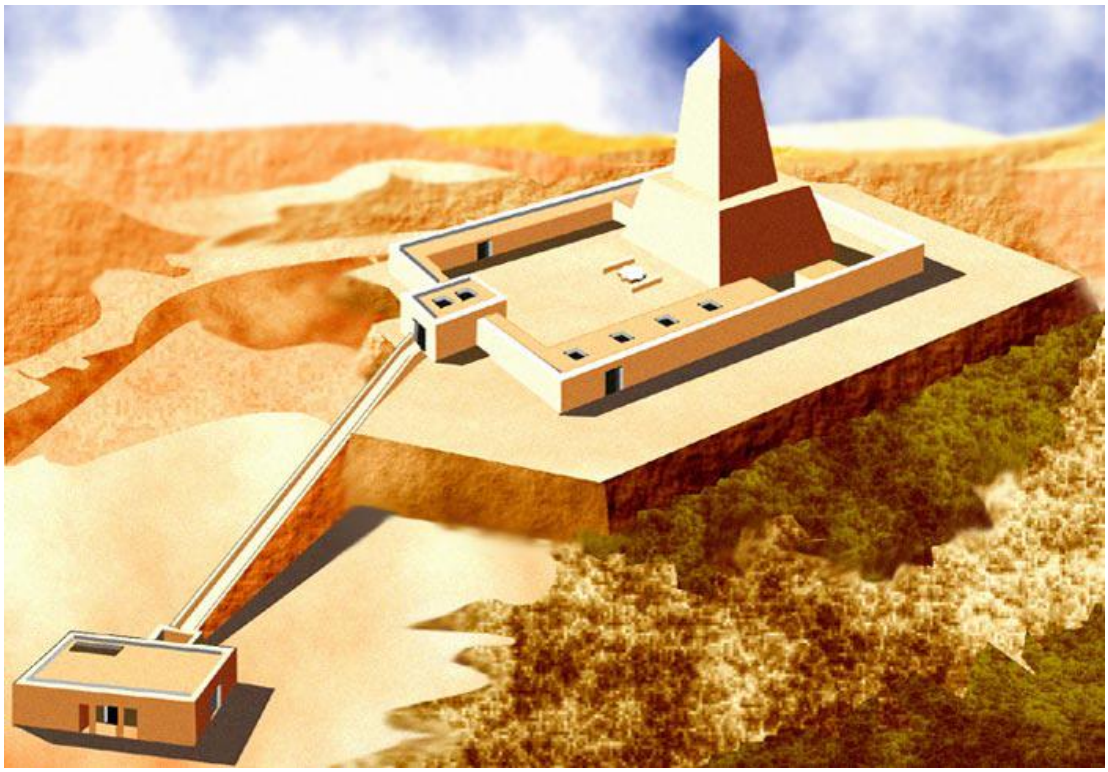

Fig. 14. Reconstruction of the Solar temple of Abu Ghurab

In a case that our theoretical discussion corresponds to the Ptolemaic idea behind the most impressive Alexandrian landmark, the Pharos should be characterised as the earliest, but also the most impressive illustration of Greco-Egyptian interaction, according to the policies of the Ptolemies. More importantly, it presents another strong indication of the need for a double perspective in order to be able to reveal all the aspects of a multicultural metropolis like Hellenistic Alexandria.

3. THE ROLE OF EGYPTIAN TRADITION: SELF-DISPLAY, IDEOLOGY AND POLITICAL PROPAGANDA AS REFLECTED IN COINAGE OF THE PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN PERIODS[71]

3.1. IDEOLOGY, SELF-DISPLAY AND PROPAGANDA AND THE ROLE OF THE EGYPTIAN ASPECT IN PTOLEMAIC PERIOD COINAGE

This section is divided into two parts. The first part concerns the period from Ptolemy I to Ptolemy III. The second part concerns the rest of the Ptolemaic period until Cleopatra VII. The division lies within the developments in the repertoire of Ptolemy IV, with the introduction of the distinctively Alexandrian figures of Isis and Sarapis.

3.1.1. THE FIRST PERIOD: PTOLEMY I TO PTOLEMY III. THE SUCCESSION OF ALEXANDER FROM AN EGYPTIAN POINT OF VIEW

The repertoire of the early Ptolemaic period consists of the Alexander the Great 'cycle', as the Ptolemaic way of thinking used to conceive it. This cycle includes Alexander himself and his divine father Ammon-Zeus. The choice is relevant to the Ptolemies' internal and international cultural and political aspirations. For a better understanding of the political and cultural aspects, we need to attentively look into the attributes of these figures. As a matter of fact, leaving aside Ammon's horns, none of the attributes of the two coinage figures are Egyptian. More specifically:

- Alexander the Great: The Macedonian king is presented wearing the skull of an elephant, bearing also the horns of Ammon on his temples, and taenia on his forehead (Ptolemaic coinage catalogue **no.1**).
- Zeus-Ammon: The syncretic God is presented in profile as bearded with curly hair and with curly horns on his temples. This image was produced throughout the Ptolemaic period (Ptolemaic coinage catalogue **no.2**).

Regarding the latter, Zeus-Ammon was known in the Greek world long before Ptolemies' chronicles. He was conceived as the syncretic version of different gods and became timeless, mostly through his famous oracle in Siwa, in the Lybian desert. Already during the 5th century BC, the human figure of Ammon with horns of ram was included onto the Cyrenaican coins, representing Cyrene as the main port of access to the oracle[72]. Alexander himself visited it in order to ask for a prophecy and thereafter he made the claim of being the son of Ammon-Zeus. Hence, in the first place, Zeus-Ammon was included onto Ptolemaic coinage as the father of Alexander, who was the symbolic, mythical founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty[73].

Ammon is the first of a series of certain multi-dimensional figures, because of their identity and the audience they refer to. He represents the local, Egyptian version of Zeus and the universal, Hellenistic version of Ammon at the same time. On the one hand, this figure represents the major god recognised by the whole Hellenistic world, Zeus, with the attributes of a major Egyptian god, Ammon. On the other hand, he represents

[71] Although this section considers mostly Alexandrian coinage, other types of material evidence have been taken into account, such as those included in the Appendix 1: Faience oinochoai, gems and cameos of the Hellenistic period and terracotta figurines of Ptolemaic and Roman periods, since they share common repertoire. In addition, conclusions deriving from the discussions on the previous sections of this chapter might contribute to a more complete picture.
[72] Steward, 1993, 234.
[73] The same idea was supported by the legend of *Alexander Romance*. See the previous discussion on 'Pharaonica', in this chapter section 2.2.3.

a human image of Ammon in Hellenised style, recognisable for the Greek immigrant of Egypt and the rest of the Hellenistic world. Therefore, apart from the religious and stylistic syncretism between Ammon and Zeus, there is also a combination of local and international perspectives found in the socio-cultural and political context of Ptolemaic Egypt.

Alexander the Great was also a popular image in the early Ptolemaic coinage. Alexander's conquest of Egypt legitimised Ptolemy's own governorship in Egypt. Ptolemy Soter spread out several stories about his blood relation to Alexander the Great, boosting, in that way, his credentials and prestige. According to these 'rumours', Ptolemy Soter was not the son of Lagos, but of Philip. This made him the brother and legitimised successor of the great conqueror, who was the son of an Egyptian god and a recognised king of Egypt[74].

Referring to Hellenistic politics, after the final fragmentation of the empire and the declaration of Ptolemy as King of Egypt in 305 BC, the image of Alexander had further messages to carry for the rest of the successors. This might have been the main reason for changes in Alexander's repertoire of insignia. Until this period, coins minted during Alexander's reign depicted the king 'identified' with Hercules, wearing a lion skin on his head. Around 305 BC, Ptolemy circulated another type of coin, depicting Alexander with the horns of Ammon and wearing an elephant scalp on his head. In contrast, Antigonus the One-eyed and Cassander maintained the Hercules version. The latter occurred possibly because the Antigonids claimed Hercules as their ancestor (Steward 1993, 261).

Both heroes, Alexander and Hercules, were semi-gods, sons of Zeus and mortal women. Both of them were great conquerors, but Alexander's labour was regarded as the greater, since he conquered an even bigger territory than Hercules did (Ibid, 236). Both types of insignia, elephant scalp and lion skin, relate to power and universal hegemony. The former is the symbol of Hercules, the powerful semi-god, who, according to the mythology from the 4th century BC, had conquered most parts of the known world. Similarly, the elephant scalp was a symbol possibly related to the glorious memories of Alexander the Great's expedition to Asia, where his army fought against the elephants of the Indian army. Therefore, it became the equivalent of the lion skin of Hercules, the symbol of the world conqueror. Compared to the Antigonids, the advantage of the Ptolemies was attributed to the fact that their proclaimed ancestor was resting in their own territory. Furthermore, 'Ptolemaic' Alexander was 'physically' furthermore oversized, since only a head of superhuman size could wear the scalp of an elephant. Hence, the new image of Alexander reflects how Ptolemy visualised his own place in the ongoing struggle of power among the successors.

3.1.2. THE SECOND PERIOD: PTOLEMIES IV-XVIII. THE INTRODUCTION OF THE ALEXANDRIAN REPRESENTATIVES

During the reign of Ptolemy IV, two major products of Greco-Egyptian cultural interaction are first introduced, as developed in Alexandria during the Ptolemaic period. This concerns the divine couple of Alexandria, Sarapis and Isis (Ptolemaic coinage catalogue **no. 8**). While both figures are presented in their Hellenised forms, they preserve the original Egyptian insignia. Sarapis is crowned with the atef crown of Osiris, and Isis with ear corns, revealing her identity as fertility goddess. Both of them, apart from the Egyptian origin, reflect their royal identity. Sarapis was the patron god of the Alexandrian royal house and the divine manifestation of the composite Ptolemaic ideology.[75] Therefore, in terms of Ptolemaic political propaganda, the presentation of Sarapis and Isis as a divine royal couple on Alexandrian coinage is related to the promotion of the royal house and ideology.

Isis had a much closer relationship with Ptolemaic queens than Sarapis with kings, while in general her cult seems to have been more popular than that of her husband, especially from the 2nd half of the Hellenistic period onwards. The gradual increase of her popularity both in Greek and Egyptian cycles is connected to her identity as goddess of motherhood and fertility, for both nature and humans. For instance,

[74] For a complete study on Ptolemy Soter's policies of legitimising himself as heir of Alexander the Great see: Steward 1993, p.229-262.
[75] See section 2.1 of this chapter on Sarapeion.

during this late period, a new priesthood for Isis emerges, namely the Sacred Foal of Isis, the Great Mother of Gods (Luther 1993, 221). Another important popular aspect of the so-called Alexandrian Isis was her identification with the Greek goddess of fertility, Demeter, already during the 5th century BC, and throughout the Greco-Roman period.

Both figures represent the double nature of the Ptolemaic ideology, as promoted in Alexandria concerning the past, the present and the future of Egypt. In this way, the Ptolemies seem to acknowledge the long history and culture of Egypt, as this was developed throughout millennia, until the Late period, when the land of the Nile was 'inherited' by Alexander the Great. At the same time, they intend to promote an updated, Hellenised universal image for their kingdom, both locally and internationally, taking into account the newly formed political, social and cultural conditions of the Hellenistic world. Therefore, aspects of the Egyptian culture would be now known and received not only by the Egyptians, but also by Greeks and others in Egypt, not to mention those anywhere in the Hellenistic world.

It is worth noting that the two gods continued to be displayed even during the intermediate period of the Syrian occupation by Antiochus (Ptolemaic coinage catalogue nos.16 and 17). The continuation of the divine protectors of the Ptolemies in the repertoire of Hellenistic coinage corresponds to Antiochus' plans and acts in Egypt. In 168 BC, after defeating the Egyptian army, he conquered a big part of Lower Egypt, arriving finally at Memphis in order to establish his rule. It is even possible that he was crowned according to the Pharaonic tradition. Still, it seems more likely that the Syrian king tried to establish a Seleucid protectorate over Egypt, of which his nephew Ptolemy VI was the official ruler (Hölbl 2001, 143-148). Therefore, nothing would have changed, not even Ptolemaic cultural products, instruments of the royal propaganda, such as Sarapis. Hence, the Alexandrian god would continue to represent the Ptolemaic authority in Egypt, even if the latter was actually to be carried out by Seleucids.

Finally, the silver Tetradrachm of Ptolemy XIII (Ptolemaic coinage catalogue **no. 22)** represents such an example, where an interesting allegorical scene is depicted on the reverse side. An eagle is represented holding a thunderbolt and an Isis crown in its claws. The eagle symbolises the Ptolemaic dynasty, while the thunderbolt represents Zeus and the Hathoric crown Isis. Thus, Ptolemaic ideology seems to have a composite, more balanced, Greco-Egyptian identity, which is symbolically represented by one Greek and one Egyptian symbol. Both of them were chosen as the most representative of the related traditions. Therefore Isis did not only represent the Egyptian aspect of Ptolemaic ideology, but also the rise of the Egyptian cultural element during the period, as indicated also by all other types of material evidence.

3.2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ISIS AND THE PTOLEMAIC QUEENS AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE TO THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD ALEXANDRIA[76]

Isis was favourable to Ptolemaic queens, a series of women with strong personality and extensive activity, inside and outside the palace[77]. It starts with Arsinoe II, wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and finish with the most famous of all, Cleopatra VII. Their relationship with Isis was part of the wider process of amalgamation between indigenous religious elements and the distinctive Ptolemaic royal ideology, among other things related to issues of the Ptolemies' legitimisation as pharaohs of Egypt, as well as their own divine ancestry[78].

Thus, most Ptolemaic queens are presented with attributes of Isis, not only in monuments but also in everyday life objects and micro-arts, for instance monumental sculpture, coinage, gems and faience oinochoai. This might be related to the fact that they share common characteristics and responsibilities. Both Queens and Isis are wives, and often also sisters of the current Pharaoh, and mothers of the future one. This correlation is visually displayed in the style of Cleopatra I's head on the coinage of Ptolemies V and VI (Ptolemaic coinage

[76] In relation to statuary and faience oinochoai, and gems.
[77] For a detailed discussion on the identity and role of Ptolemaic queens, see Ashton 2003, 49-68.
[78] For further analysis of this policy see: Chaniotis 2003, 434-437.

catalogue **nos. 11** and **23**). The queen is depicted with the hairstyle of Isis, following the style of Cleopatra's portraits in monumental sculpture. Her Isis appearance must be related to her role as mother and official regent of the king, after the murder of Ptolemy V. Her supremacy is further noted in the dating formula from this period, where she is named before her son and takes the title 'goddess'. This association forms a direct link to the earlier Egyptian queens, who ruled with their sons, and to the promotion of 'king's mother' (Ashton 2003, 62).

Still, from Arsinoe II to Cleopatra II, queens show a strong relation to Isis rather than an identification. Cleopatra III was the first queen to be declared the living personification of the goddess, mother of the Pharaoh, the living embodiment of Horus. Cleopatra VII also took the title Nea Isis, and probably built a temple dedicated to the goddess. The colossal statues of Isis-style queens from the Pharos water area and Hadra represents the best examples of the late Ptolemaic period queens, whose upgraded status is further implied by the incorporation of the Hathoric crown of Isis in their image. This Egyptian style public image represents also a series of public activities, which were held by those queens in Egyptian dress, according to ancient sources. Such might be the case with the Donations of Alexandria, a ceremony that was organised by Mark Antony at the Gymnasium of Alexandria, during which Cleopatra was named Nea Isis (Ashton 2003, 52) and presented in an Isis costume, while Caesarion was wearing Pharaonic dress (Pollard and Reid 2006, 171). Hence, the fate of the late Ptolemaic empire was connected to Egyptian tradition, especially through Isis, and how the queen becomes the human and divine incarnation of the Isis' power and protection at the same time.

Faience oinochoai of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC compose a fruitful case study concerning the relationship of queens with Isis. On the surface of these vases, we see queens sacrificing in the name of Isis and Tyche, as they were in charge of such actions. As noted already by Dorothy Thompson, (1973) oinochoai were somehow related to the royal cult, or better, to a series of cults that celebrated the relationship of the royal house with several gods, including Isis. In some of these cults, queens seem to have played a priestly role; hence, they seem to have had the privilege of direct communication with gods. Later, in the colossi of Pharos and elsewhere, Ptolemaic queens are dressed in the costume of Isis, like priestesses and Queens throughout Egyptian history until the end of the Roman period.

The privilege of direct communication between gods and kings through various rites was never part of the programme of the Greek rulers during Classical and Hellenistic periods. In contrast, it was a common aspect of Pharaonic supernatural capacities since the 3rd millennium BC. Almost all the pharaohs portrayed themselves as the ones that communicated and co-acted with gods.

3.3. IMPERIAL INVOLVEMENTS IN ALEXANDRIA IN RELATION TO THE REVERSE SIDE-THEMES IN THE ROMAN PERIOD COINAGE

Coinage of Roman Alexandria is an important source of information concerning the relationship between the city and the Roman emperors, in direct or indirect ways. Due to their precise date, their imperial portraiture and extensive reverse-side repertoire, we are able to follow a chronological development of this relationship throughout the Roman period, involving some historical events concerning the relationship between Roman emperors and Egypt. So far, the traditional conclusion has been that Egypt and Alexandria obtained a special status for the Romans. However, recent studies indicate the opposite. Egypt was a common Roman province (Riggs 2006, 24). In any case, such an answer could not be simplistic. Egypt, and more specifically Alexandria as representative of Hellenistic Egypt, was quite an experienced city in terms of politics in the eastern Mediterranean and Near east, at least as experienced as the Romans, if not more. Moreover, Alexandrian society, through the process of cross-cultural interaction, already began during the Hellenistic period, and had reached an advanced stage of multiculturalism, incomparable to any area of the Western Roman Empire, or even Rome itself. Thus, it would have been surprisingly unwise for the Romans not to take its individual local socio-cultural and political conditions into account.

The story of the relationship between Alexandria and the emperors, at least those that issued coinage with Egyptian elements, started already with Octavian, after defeating Cleopatra. Yet, during the following course of time, there is limited information available regarding imperial visits to Alexandria. By the end of the 1st century AD, one sees a gradual rise in the popularity of Alexandrian religious themes involving Egyptian elements in coinage. At the same time, it seems that the status of Alexandrian religion was raised even in the Roman court itself. Thus, it was during the reign of Nero that Chairemon, the Librarian of the Sarapeion, became the tutor of the emperor (Witt 1971, 234). Therefore, a series of imperial visits occurred in Alexandria, which are not related only to Roman politics, but also to the interest of the Roman emperors for the Alexandrian cultural life, including religious activities. Of course we should not forget that the tomb of Alexander must have been the major attraction in the Roman period city[79], while the perception of Egypt as repository of ancient culture, as discussed above, would further attract Roman Emperors to several other areas of the Egyptian chora, such as Memphis and Thebes.

The first clear evidence of imperial visits in Alexandria concerns Vespasian, who was invisted to Alexandria after becoming emperor, in order to perform miracles in the name of Sarapis. This visit must have been also related to the fact that the Jewish prefect of Alexandria, Tiberius Julius Alexander, was instrumental in helping Vespasian to gain the principate in 69 A.D. By the time of Vespasian, a link between imperial and Isiac cults had been achieved. Titus, like Vespasian, had a first-hand experience in Egyptian cults by attending rituals at the Alexandrian Sarapeion and at the temple of Ptah in Memphis. (Ibid, 233-34). During Vespasian's reign, figures of Isis, Sarapis, Apis, Nilus, Osiris Canopus and falcon-Horus become common topics. They were also reproduced during the reign of previous emperors, like Otho, Galba and Vitelius**.**

With Domitian, a rise of different types of coins with Egyptian elements took place, which inaugurate the period of the most intensive presentation of religious themes involving Egyptian elements, either in terms of content or in terms of form. This tendency of course reflects the intensive debate on religion, and coincides with the spread of the cult of Isis in various areas of the empire (Ibid, 234). It seems that the Alexandrian religious assemblage reached its most prosperous years, among other things resulting in the rise of the Isis cult as one of the main representatives of the Alexandrian pantheon throughout different areas of the empire.

Domitian seems to have appreciated Alexandria and it cults especially during his war with Vitelius in 69 AD. The emperor managed to escape from his enemies by disguising himself as priest of Isis and mingling with other priests. Later, in 80 AD, he rebuilt or enlarged the Iseum in Beneventum, where a statue presented the emperor in Pharaonic dress. Furthermore, Domitian reconstructed the temple of Isis in Campus Martius in 92 AD (Heyob 1975, 27-28), while he decided to copy several volumes of the Alexandrian library for the libraries in Rome (McKenzie 2007, 18)**.**

These events might correspond to the increase of the reverse-side religious themes, involving Egyptian elements, as well as to the depiction of a unique theme in the Roman coinage of Alexandria: a triumphal arch, crowned with solar disc and uraei (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 37).** Concerning the latter, in case the emperor truly built this monument, it could be another indication that even the most typical Roman monuments could contain some Egyptian characteristics, indicating the role and character of Alexandria during the Roman period: the capital of the Roman province of Egypt. This was also the case with the Caesarium and its famous 'Cleopatra's needles'.

Trajan represents one of the cases for which there is evidence for an imperial visit and thus it can be connected more specifically to coinage themes. It seems that the emperor was very benevolent to the city itself. There are two examples of Trajan's coinage with indirect reference to the Roman emperor and his political propaganda. In the first case, Sarapis is presented between two figures of Nike (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 77**) and in the second case with Homonoia (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 82**). These two themes might be related to specific Alexandrian matters. During that period, much trouble was caused by religious conflicts

[79] There is a wide variety of ancient sources concerning imperial visits to the tomb of Alexander. For a short summary see Green, 1996, 18.

between the Greeks and the Jews, particularly in Alexandria, which, after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 AD, became the world centre of Jewish religion and culture. It was during the reign of Trajan that a Jewish revolt occurred, resulting in the suppression of the Jews of Alexandria and the loss of all their privileges, although these were soon restored. Therefore, the Nike might indicate the victory of the Alexandrians against the Jewish community, while Homonoia represents the end of troubles and the reconciliation within Alexandrian society, after the imperial intervention.

Hadrian presents a second case, where there is both literary and archaeological evidence for an imperial visit to Alexandria. Hadrian visited the capital of Egypt in 130 AD, where he seemed to have attempted to restore the city both physically and 'mentally'. Concerning the latter, Hadrian founded a new library in the Caesareum, discussed philosophy at the Museum, and started a campaign to attract sophists such as Dionysius of Miletus and Polemon of Laodicea. This brought a minor second century revival of Alexandrian scholarship. Before this, he managed to stop one of the revolts from which Alexandria suffered during the Roman period. The Hadrianic 'saga' in Alexandria is further indicated by his sculptural and architectural works, while it is also well promoted in coinage. No. 134 presents Hadrian inside the Sarapeion, playing the role of a high priest[80]. No. 128 presents the only Roman bust of Sarapis with the atef crown of Osiris and not the typical kalathos. This type corresponds to the one of Ptolemy IV. In this case, Hadrian seems to have chosen to re-introduce the Osiris values from which originally Sarapis was born. A similar policy of the emperor is indicated by Egyptian style works in the Sarapeion, including the introduction of the Apis-bull image in the sanctuary. Finally, Hadrian was responsible for the expansion of the Sarapis cult in Palestine, in Samaria and the introduction of the Isis cult in Petra (Witt 1971, 236).

Similarly exciting, while at the same time controversial, is the case of Caracalla. The emperor visited Alexandria for intellectual and religious reasons, staying at the Serapeion and being present at the temple's sacrifices and cultural events (Ibid, 237-238). A series of coins with Caracalla before Sarapis or Sarapis' bust should be connected with these events. Another type of reverse side, which represents Sarapis together with Nikai, might be related to his notorious campaigns, claiming the victory from the Alexandrian god[81]. Still, he must have been responsible for one of the bloodiest massacres in Alexandria during the Roman period (Bagnall and Rathbone 2004, 54).

Finally, controversial was the involvement of Diocletian in Egyptian affairs, during the fourth century AD. On the one hand, he was responsible for the introduction of combined Roman-Egyptian cults in traditional Egyptian temples and sanctuaries. On the other hand, he was also responsible for a mass destruction of Egyptian documents on chemistry, and, more seriously, for a siege of several months, which led to another massacre of a considerable part of the Alexandrian population.

3.4 THE ALEXANDRIAN PANTHEON OF THE ROMAN PERIOD COINAGE: THE MULTIDIMENSIONAL CONTRIBUTION OF THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION

3.4.1. ALEXANDRIAN GODS AT THE END OF THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

The end of the Ptolemaic period sees Sarapis not very popular, especially among the Egyptians. While initially he seemed to incarnate major aspects of Ptolemaic ideology, he never became an imperial god for the Ptolemies. Instead, from Ptolemy IV onwards, the kings reduced financing the Sarapis cult to a minimum. This occurred due to the limited appeal of the cult (Hölbl 2001, 112). Even in Alexandria there are few examples of

[80] The coinage theme of an emperor before Sarapis, which was firstly introduced by Hadrian (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 134**), was repeated by Commodus (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 289**) and much later by Elegabalus (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 330**). Nevertheless, concerning the two later emperors, there is no reference of visits to Alexandria, and it is possible that they never occurred, despite their depiction on Alexandrian coins. Therefore, this theme might have functioned as a symbolic representation of recognition of the two emperors by the city of Alexandria, as expressed in the representative figure of Sarapis, and moreover, could indicate their support to the Sarapis cult.

[81] A similar case from the late 3rd century is a coin of Gallienus, which presents Sarapis, Ares and Nike (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 442**). Ares was the Greek god of war, one of the most favorite among the warrior Roman Emperors. Nike represents the desirable end of a war, the victory, while the contribution of Sarapis is also required.

theophoric names deriving from Sarapis, implying a limited penetration of his cult into society, which for Alexandrians seems to have remained an act of loyalty to the royal house. Thus, the loss of interest for Sarapis from the side of the Ptolemies meant a general degradation for the Sarapeion, as indicated by the rarity of dedications during the late Ptolemaic period (Fraser 1972, 233-234). In contrast, Isis is upgraded from counterpart of Sarapis to major god of Alexandria, the 'beloved' of the Ptolemies and Alexandrians. During the reign of Cleopatra VII, the short political and cultural revival of Egypt and Alexandria was not connected to any kind of 'resurrection' for Sarapis. Instead, Cleopatra seemed to have chosen to follow an alternative option: she promoted a strong Egyptian image both inside and outside Alexandria (along with the Greeks). Within this context she incarnates the role of New Isis, following and further developing a trend started by the first Ptolemaic queens, along with the gradual increase of Isis' popularity and importance. This is clearly reflected in the Harda couple (Sculpture catalogue **nos. 24A** and **24B**), which is as much Egyptian in style as the Pharaonic statues of the early Ptolemies, even recalling models from the Ramesside dynasty.

3.4.2. SARAPIS

Sarapis presents the most popular theme in Roman coinage, the fourth most popular in terracotta[82], while he is also well represented in monumental art (Statuary catalogue **nos. 31-44**), indicating a rejuvenation of his role during this period. Sarapis' bust was initially introduced in Roman coinage during the reign of Claudius (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 7**), while from Trajan onwards he is used by almost every emperor. In all cases, as noted above, Sarapis used to be promoted as the cultural representative of Roman Egypt, ahead of emperors, manifestations and gods. From this point of view, the Roman coin reverse sides could be described as local Egyptian examples of Roman political propaganda. In addition, already from the Ptolemaic period onwards, he was portrayed with his counterpart, Isis, and the divine child Harpocrates. This triad was also promoted as the representative of Egypt throughout the rest of the Roman Empire, as reflected by the hundreds of shrines and sanctuaries discovered all over Europe and the Mediterranean[83]. In a way, Isis has been proved to be the best representative of all, as indicated by her enormous international popularity. Finally Isis and Sarapis are proved to be the most popular group type on the reverse sides of Alexandrian coins from the 3rd century BC until almost the 4th century AD.

Sarapis Pantheos

This figure incarnated a series of individual gods of Greek, Egyptian and furthermore Eastern origin, whose cults were popular in Alexandria. Thus, attributes of several gods were incorporated within the figure of Sarapis, such as those of Zeus, Ammon, Hermanubis, Poseidon, Nilus and Helios. All these figures are presented individually on Alexandrian coins, but it seems that their cults might have reached an advanced level of association with each other at the point of the promotion of Sarapis Pantheos on Alexandrian coinage, using the figure of Sarapis and possibly also his sanctuary as common ground. In addition, it might be considered as a step to henotheism, since this figure represents a tendency for the incorporation of several capacities of different gods from the Roman period pantheon in one figure. Again, Egyptian tradition seems to make a multidimensional contribution, since several elements are included in Hellenised (Sarapis), composite (Hermanubis) and Egyptian (Ammon) forms, including traditional Egyptian insignia, for instance the horns of Ammon. Finally, it can be seen as a response to a similar process in regard to the figure of Isis, who also concentrated capacities of numerous goddesses and deities to a much wider extend.

3.4.3. ISIS

Isis had the most positive record during the Ptolemaic period. The goddess reached a high popularity in private and public religion. The all-capacities goddess continued her career during the Roman period as well, when

[82] Breccia 1903, nos.247-254
[83] See Bricault 2001.

each aspect of her multiple character, as formed since the Ptolemaic period, met its artistic expression. In regard to the style of Isis' image in terracottas of the Roman period, it should not be considered a Roman period artistic expression. Some serious preliminary work has already been done on micro-sculpture from the Hellenistic period. This was the case with the faience Oinochoai, decorated with three-dimensional Egyptianising figures of queens in Isis dress and coiffure. Yet, there is something lacking, compared to the Ptolemaic period. Isis is no longer related with the Pharaonic power that derives from Alexandria. There are no queens, kings or heirs to be associated with or protected by the goddess. While this aspect was of high priority in the city of the Ptolemies, the Roman period Isis is orientated towards her role as provider of fertility and prosperity for nature and humanity, as well as her role as protector of humans during life and death. Moreover, Isis would express the function of assuring marital happiness and maternal fertility by means of iconographic aspects of Aphrodite, aspects that were traditionally related to Hathor.

In the form of Isis-Therenuthis (for example Roman coinage catalogue **no. 43**), she incorporates the identity of the serpent goddess Renenoutet from Fayum, responsible for the harvest.[84] Isis-Sothis (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 199**) is another form of the Isis 'fertiliser' identity**.** This time, she brings fertility to the Egyptian land by riding the dog-figured star Sirius, which causes the flooding of the Nile.

Isis Lactans (for example Roman coinage catalogue **no. 188**) concerns the role of the goddess as the protector and provider of new life. Rebirth and new life concerns nature, humans, and gods. Starting from the latter, she was recognised as the cow mother of Memphis, mother of Apis. Moreover, she was further recognised as mother of Horus all across Egypt, long before the Ptolemies. There are numerous examples of wall scenes and statues, especially in the Late period, such as the statue from the Louvre Museum, dating to the 25th Dynasty, which presents the motif of Isis suckling Horus (Durand collection, N 3991). In general, this version of Isis most frequently displayed on Roman coinage and terracottas (after of course her bust type with Hathoric crown), becoming the manifestation of maternity itself, a 'mother' for all people, not only in Alexandria and Egypt, but all across the Roman Empire. Finally, in a funerary interpretation, she is the protector of the dead and provider of new life after death, and for this reason the figurines of Isis, including the Lactans type, have been discovered in tombs**.**

Isis-Tyche (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 192**), the goddess of fortune, was mistress of destiny. In Greek communities of the Hellenistic period, fortune became an all-powerful goddess (Dunand 1991, 275). Among others, she was associated with Isis and Ptolemaic queens, as reflected by the inscriptions in the Hellenistic faience oinochai. Fortune related both to the fertility of the land (close to Demeter and Isis) and to the city itself –in association with Agathos Daimon, who was already close to Therenuthis since the Ptolemaic period (Fraser 1972, 211).

Finally, Isis Euploia[85] (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 197**) and Isis Pharia (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 187**) are related to the capacity of the goddess as the mistress of the sea and the protector of sailors. The sea capacity seems to have been mostly a development derived from the Greco-Roman period, and especially from Alexandria, being the major port of Egypt. Yet, Isis has been known since the indigenous dynastic period as a great sailor herself, as she had travelled to Byblos, at the coast of the Levant, in order to bring the Sacred Ark of Osiris back (Witt 1971, 166). In the Alexandrian coinage, Isis Pharia is presented next to the Pharos lighthouse. Her image represents the so-called Isis Pelagia type, another name related to her capacity as the protector of sailors, well known all across the Mediterranean and especially at ports. A respected stylistic parallel is the statue of Isis Pelagia from Messene, which shares identical aspects and posture with that of Isis Pharia (Fig. 18).

[84] In 2nd century BC Thebes there was a shrine dedicated to Sarapis holding a large statue of Isis-Therenuthis. In such a case, local access to the capacities of fertility did not depend on festivals and processions. These shrines have a more open character compared to the traditional ones, supplemented with the traditional ways in several sites during the Roman period. In contrast to older shrines, the devotees could have visual access to the inner shrine through the central doorways where the statue was located, and they might have been able to leave the offerings directly in front of it.

[85] For an updated study on the sea-role of Isis see Bricault 2006.

The terracotta lamps and figurines of Isis (and Pharos) were possibly lit in connection to her festival in Alexandria. Their cultic roles and ritual context had such an importance, that the people would carry such figurines into their homes or tombs. It has been proposed that the image of these figures would project the powers immanent to the ritual procession itself, on the day it went out. Thus powers of procession, through figurine, would have been kept in an accessible form beyond the temporal limits set by the temple for the procession. Placed in a domestic space (an altar or niche) these figures would bring the temple's procession and all that it signified into a state of accessibility within the house, a miniaturisation that would articulate the relationship between the domestic altar and the temple altar throughout and beyond the festival (Dunand 1979, 100-102; Török 1996, 54-55).

Figs.15 and 16. Isis Lactans and Isis Pelagia from Messene. Roman Period. Ancient Messene Museum. Messsenian Archaeological Society

New evidence possibly related to a temple in the site of Akra Lochias

There is no direct reference to the Isis of Akra Lochias (Ακρα Λοχιάδος) either in coinage or in any other type of Isis presentation. Could this version be defined among the various Isis types of Roman coinage? For instance, could it be the standing figure with long spear or sceptre, which is depicted on the coin of Trajan, shaking hands with Isis Pharia (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 83**)? This standing figure looks very similar (in terms of attributes and pose) to the one standing on the doorframe of a pylon style façade (Roman coinage catalogue **nos. 69** and **123).** It seems that there is an consistency in the depicting of Isis holding the long spear or sceptre as a statue standing on such a temple. Therefore the question could be further expanded: Could this presentation of a pylon temple have been coincidental? Where was the temple? In Alexandria or elsewhere?

Until now, it has been suggested that such a temple could not have been situated in Alexandria, since such evidence was missing so far. According to McKenzie, this temple might have been the Isis temple said to have been built by Alexander the Great (2007, 39), but there is no further evidence that could support this idea. Fortunately, new evidence recently found at the cape of Lochias by the *Hellenic Institute of Ancient and Medieval Alexandrian Studies* might alter this picture, by contributing more stable ground to the discussion. This was the case with a 2.45 meters granite pylon, similar to the one depicted on coins. Such a monolithic

pylon is not attested anywhere in Egypt, while classic pylons of Egyptian temples were much bigger. The pylon of Alexandria is rather a miniature of the huge Egyptian examples. Due to the great weight of this monolithic granite block, it would be very difficult to have been transferred from anywhere else, without first having it cut into pieces.

Concluding, there seems to be a possibility the standing figure on the pylon temple of Trajanic (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 69**) and Hadrianic coinage (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 123**) to have been originally related to the temple of Isis of Akra Lochias. Although it is known that this temple existed since the late Ptolemaic period, the pylon-style structure of the coins as well as that of the Cape of Lochias, could represent a Roman contribution to the site. Besides, Romans were keen on promoting their own structures, rather than those of the Ptolemies. In any case, the discovery of the pylon in the area of Akra Lochiados indicates that structures with Egyptian and/or Egyptianising characteristics must have been part of the city's public environment and not (only) of the surrounding area, as formerly suggested.

3.4.4. OTHER RELIGIOUS FIGURES AND TOPICS RELATED TO EGYPTIAN TRADITION

The rest of the repertoire of the Roman period coinage shows several figures related to the Egyptian tradition, presented in Hellenised, composite and/or more traditional forms in terms of image and content. In fact, it is during the Roman period that we have the introduction of pure Egyptian religious forms such as Osiris (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 266**) and Apis (for example Roman coinage catalogue **nos. 5** and **283**). This picture corresponds to developments in the category of monumental art and architecture, for instance the cases of the new Apis-bull statue in the Sarapeion and the mass introduction of Pharaonica. Still, these Egyptian themes did not come to replace the composite or Hellenised versions of gods, known since the Hellenistic period. Instead, there is an extensive promotion and further development of the Hellenistic religious products, resulting in an extensive repertoire both in terms of quantity, diversity, but also provenance within the Egyptian chora, when compared to the Hellenistic period.

Harpocrates represents a quite multidimensional case. He is presented in a Hellenised form, as a young male (for example Roman coinage catalogue **nos. 139** and **143**), while his traditional Egyptian version is also included, either in its animal manifestation in the form of Horus, the falcon (for example Roman coinage catalogue **nos. 38** and **182**), or as standing on a lotus flower (for example Roman coinage catalogue **no. 144**). At the same time, he is presented in cult forms known from the Egyptian chora such as Harpocrates of Mendes and Harpocrates of Heracleopolis Magna, carrying the hemhem and atef crowns of Osiris respectively (for example Roman coinage catalogue **nos. 94** and **122**), indicating an actual familiarisation of the Alexandrian society with provincial cults, something that is missing from the Hellenistic period material evidence. Hence the context of Harpocrates in the Roman period Alexandria becomes much wider, both in terms of Greek and Egyptian forms as well as Alexandrian and provincial versions.

Although Osiris' human image is not very common in material culture from Alexandria, his presence is implied in several ways, mainly through his symbols, crowns and cult objects, often acquired by other gods and humans. There is a single type of Sarapis with the atef crown of Osiris already during the Ptolemaic period, reproduced later during the reign of Hadrian (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 128**). During the Roman period, there is another unique coin type of human-figured Osiris on his sacred ark, which is placed on a 4 wheels car (Roman coinage catalogue no. 266). Another case is the syncretic form in the Memphite version of Ptah-Sokar (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 127**). While all these cases were not frequent, the animal manifestation of the god as Apis-bull was extremely popular both in coinage and terracottas, throughout the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Finally, a relatively popular version with human characteristics is the composite figure of Osiris-headed vases, the famous Osiris Canopus.

Osiris Canopus' image was first introduced onto Alexandrian coinage during the reign of Galba (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 17**), marking the point where Osiris Canopus' cult became popular in Alexandria. The epithet Canopus is a reference to the town area of Canopus. There, already during the early 3rd century BC, along with the establishment of the Sarapis cult in Alexandria, the Ptolemies managed to

establish a cult dedicated to Osiris, and moreover to associate his name with those of Sarapis and Nilus**.** This is reflected in various inscriptions, where the three names co-exist (Fraser 1970, 252-253). In contrast, the Canopic image is totally absent from the material remains of Ptolemaic Alexandria. Similarly, there is evidence for a temple dedicated to Osiris Canopus in Alexandria. However, Alexandrian coins present a specific type of Egyptian temple with pylons, on or in which Osiris Canopus or Canopoi stand (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 58**). A first possible explanation is that Canopus' cult was included in another temple such as Isis' temple. The case of the Ras-El-Soda Isis temple further indicates that Isis shrines could include the cult of Osiris Canopus[86]. Consequently the two temples depicted on Alexandrian coinage, those of Isis and Canopus, might have been the same. The problem with this interpretation is that Isis Lochias does not coexist with Canopus on any coin type. Hence we should also consider the idea that Alexandrian coinage does not present a temple of Canopus in Alexandria from the town of Canopus. This idea is supported by McKenzie, who compared the evidence from the Palestrina Mosaic at the possible temple of Osiris in Canopus to the one depicted on Alexandrian coins. Both temples have a pylon-style façade, and indeed the temple on Alexandrian coinage could have been a minimalistic version of the Canopic temple (McKenzie 2007, 61).

Nilus is the fourth most frequent theme of the Roman period coinage. The god is presented as a flaccid, bearded and long-haired figure, seated comfortably, surrounded by symbols related to Egyptian natural and agricultural wealth. While human manifestation for river gods were common in Greek and Roman repertoire (see for instance Illissos (Parthenon) and Tiber (2nd Century AD, Palazzo Senatorio, Rome), there must have been some further Egyptian elements involved with the image of Nilus.

In Egyptian mythology, the God Hapi represented the personification of the Nile inundation. Hapi was probably a pre-dynastic name for the river. Later on, the Egyptians just called the Nile *iterw*, meaning 'the river' and thus, it became the name of the god Nilus[87]. He was usually portrayed as a fat man, implying powers of fertility. This element seems to contradict with the well-shaped bodies of Greek and Roman river manifestations. When he represents both the south and north of the Nile, he is portrayed with a papyrus on his head, holding lotus flowers, and two vases with Nile water (Shaw and Nicolson 1995, 118). It is clear from this description, that there is a parallelism between Nilus and Hapi, as both of them are presented with similar features according to the Greek and Egyptian visual vocabularies. Nilus (Fig. 17) becomes the representative alegoric figure of Alexandria and Egypt. In a coin of Trajan (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 195**), the human manifestations of Tiber and Nilus are shaking hands, symbolising an agreement between Egypt and Rome, in regard to the role of Egypt within the Roman empire: to offer the products of the Egyptian land to the capital city as well as to the rest of the Roman Empire.

Figs. 17 and 18. Nilusand Isis Euthenia, found in Sidi Bishr. Mehamara collection. Greco-Roman museum of Alexandria. Roman period.

[86] Cult images of Isis, Osiris, Hermanubis and others were discovered within the same Roman period building.
[87] Nilus (Nile) comes from the Greek corruption Νείλος of the Egyptian *'nwy'* which means 'water'.

Euthenia, the manifestation of abundance and the daughter of Nilus, should be seen as part of Isis' function and identity. Her poses, dress, and hairstyle herald an Isiac 'air', while their association meets a unified syncretic image in the statue of Isis-Euthenia in the Greco-Roman Museum (Fig. 18). The connection between Euthenia and Egypt is also indicated by the sphinx, on which she is often laid.

Hermanubis was another popular figure, a syncretic god, combining the two soul leaders of the Greek and Egyptian cultural systems, Hermes and the jackal-headed god Anubis. This is another 'flatmate' of Sarapis at his sanctuary in Alexandria, where underground galleries of jackal mummies and related statuary have been discovered. From a Greek point of view, Hermanubis could be seen as the indigenous Egyptian version of Hermes, whose popularity increased during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

3.4.5. THE INDIGENISING ENVIRONMENT AND ROLE OF THE GREEK GODS AND HEROES IN THE ROMAN PERIOD ALEXANDRIAN COINAGE

A common theme both in terracotta and coinage is that of Athena within a Greek style temple, crowned with a solar disc on its tympanum **(**fig. 14**;** Roman coinage catalogue **no. 184).** In terracotta, the tympanum stands on two papyri columns, while two sphinxes guard the processional stairs leading towards the entrance. However, the relation between Athena and Egyptian tradition is not limited to stylistic additions. The introduction of Athena as a theme in terracotta lamps indicates a further relationship with her Egyptian counterpart Neith of Sais since the 26th dynasty. The festival of the latter was celebrated at night with lamplight processions (Quaegebeur 1983, 319, n0. 73; Török 2001, 31).

Similar structures in coin types of Tyche (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 189**), Demeter (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 78**), Elpis (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 180**) and Zeus (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 62**) were well known also in the rest of the Roman world, and reflected a local character. They are presented within Greek style temples, crowned with uraei. Even these gods and deities, who retained their Greek character, are presented within an appropriate indigenising environment, which add a more local character to the figure. In addition, syncretic deities such as Hermanubis (Roman coinage catalogue **no.74**) are presented within such structures, a fact which corresponds to their Greco-Egyptian character. In contrast, gods of Egyptian origin that probably (and at least partially) preserved their Egyptian identity, such as Osiris (and Osiris Canopus), Isis and Harpocrates, seem to have been presented in more traditional Egyptian structures, such as pylon style temples (Roman coinage catalogue **nos. 58**, **69**, **129**, **239** and **253**) as well as temples and shrines with segmental pediments (Roman coinage catalogue **nos. 120**, **154**, **176**, **218** and **254**). The only exception is the group type theme of the bust of Sarapis with Isis and Harpocrates within a Greek style structure (probably the Sarapeion) (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 274**).

On Alexandrian coinage, Triptolemos' chariot is driven by uraei, the serpent-protectors of Alexandria, wearing (most of the times) the double crown of Egypt (for example Roman coinage catalogue **no.185**). There is also an alternative type of Triptolemos' chariot, where uraei drive it themselves, without Triptolemos, but with a Kalathos in his place, filled with agricultural products (Roman coinage catalogue **no. 89**). wTriptolemos' chariot can be interpreted from an Alexandrian point of view, considering the relationship of the city with the Egyptian land: uraei, crowned with skhent, drive the chariot of Triptolemos themselves in the capital city of Egypt, carrying all the goods of the Egyptian land. This is another case, among several others discussed in this work, which indicates how much Alexandria's survival and prosperity depended on Egypt.

Finally, the Dioskouroi were associated with Sobek in his twin form. (Dunand 2001, 245-246). The fact that the twin brothers are portrayed on Roman coinage flanking Sarapis, (Roman coinage catalogue **nos. 147** and **250**). The common ground between the Dioskouroi and Sarapis is that both of them are oracle owners, in Fayum and Alexandria respectively. Moreover, the Dioskouroi might have also been presented as bodyguards of Sarapis, referring to the identity of Sobek as the bodyguard of the Egyptian gods.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSIONS

As noted in the introduction of the catalogue, the material selected mostly concerns public (and only secondarily private) aspects of Alexandrian multicultural life. Indeed, this was attested in chapters 3 and 4, which revealed various patterns of the Egyptian 'face' of Alexandria, as reflected in funerary customs, identity, ideology, propaganda and public life. In this concluding chapter, the discussion will focus mainly on two subjects:

1. The development of Alexandria's monumental public image during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, according to Ptolemaic and Roman policies, as reflected in the most public areas of the city, such as the Pharos Island area, the eastern harbour, the Sarapeion and the city centre.

2. The perception and the role of the Egyptian tradition in the multicultural life of Alexandrian society, as well as the role of the Egyptian tradition in the development of Alexandrian identity; in other words, the role of the Egyptian tradition in Greco-Egyptian cultural interaction, as it developed in Alexandrian society during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

An important parameter has to be taken into account in this discussion: the flexibility of the Alexandrian multicultural identity, which was gradually obtained through the continuous process of Greco-Egyptian cultural interaction. Within this context, the relationship between style and identity is anything but stable. Hence, terms like 'Greek' and 'Egyptian' can gradually lose their absolute definitions as independent values related to specific ethnic groups, and turn into characterisations that depend on each other. Consequently, the different aspects of this process under discussion might be more properly described as characteristically Alexandrian, rather than Hellenic or Egyptian or Hellenic-Egyptian.

5.1. PTOLEMAIC POLICIES: MESSAGES OF POLITICAL PROPAGANDA, THE FORMATION OF THE CITY'S MONUMENTAL IMAGE, AND THE USE OF THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION

Since the establishment of the Ptolemaic dynasty, the new kings of Egypt seem to have seriously taken the long cultural history of Egypt into account, both in their internal and international policies. These policies could be expressed in terms of the legitimisation of the Ptolemaic dynasty, and in terms of the promotion of a new Ptolemaic imperial ideology.

Images of the horned Alexander and of Zeus-Ammon, which were already known to Mediterranean audiences before the Ptolemies, could be seen as the earliest representatives of the new imperial, universal image of Egypt, which on the one hand acknowledges the indigenous history and tradition, and on the other hand requires a Greek look, according to the common visual vocabulary in the Hellenistic Mediterranean. The continuing promotion of these figures could be interpreted as an act of legitimisation for the Ptolemies, as well as a claim towards superiority and/or priority among the other Hellenistic kingdoms, during the early years of the Hellenistic period which were crucial for the fate of Egypt and its ruling dynasty. Within this context, Egyptian elements are involved in expressions of heroisation, legitimacy, sanctity, and universality.

In the end, the Ptolemaic authorities managed to use a much wider range of Egyptian elements in their policies, creating their own Ptolemaic versions, appropriate both for Alexandrian society and for their state policies. For this reason, it seems to have been important for them to engage with their new homeland more intensively, both in terms of its history and culture. Manetho, Ptolemy Soter's Egyptian advisor, seems to have contributed to this plan. He summarised the indigenous pharaonic history for Ptolemy, and moreover, he effectively participated in the formation of a common ground between Greek and Egyptian traditions and their representatives, for instance between the cycles of Demeter and Isis[1].

The images of gods such as Sarapis and Isis in Hellenistic coinage seem to follow the rules of presentation known from the cases of Ammon and Alexander. Both of them appear in a Hellenised image,

[1] See Fraser, 1972, 247, 249, 251, 254, 505 and 510-511.

while preserving important attributes of their Egyptian identity, such as the crowns. Thus they confirm our hypothesis that the Egyptian component in Ptolemaic expressions has to be covered with a Greek dress only, while it can preserve its Egyptian identity in terms of content. This fact is usually illustrated by means of attributes such as crowns. Thus, the Greek 'gloss' in the form of a particular imagery or an added inscription in Greek, could make an Egyptian object understandable to a Greek audience.

The same pattern seems to have been followed in the formation of the monumental image of the city, notably in the Sarapeion, which is in fact the only Ptolemaic site that was spared in the construction of the modern city. The entire structure is located on a low hill in the Egyptian neighbourhood. The choice of the location must have been connected, among other things, to a policy of the Ptolemies, regarding (at least a minimum) contact between the Greeks and Egyptians of the 3rd century BC Alexandria, who resided at the east and west sides of the city respectively. On the one hand, the Egyptian population would always feel the presence of their rulers, since the main sanctuary of Alexandria is located in their neighbourhood, while on the other hand, Greek citizens and more importantly the kings and members of the court would have to cross the entire Egyptian neighbourhood in order to reach the most important sanctuary of the city.

It is uncertain whether the early sanctuary was really monumental or not: architectural pieces from the reigns of Ptolemies I and II cannot be easily identified. Still, there are indications for the use of Egyptian elements, both in the overall plan and in the attributes of the sanctuary, such as the two sphinxes, dating from the reign of the first two Ptolemies, as well as fragments of Arsinoe II statues in Egyptian style.

The Sarapeion of Ptolemy III represents a distinctive style which, despite the Greek character of its architectural appearance and decoration, acknowledges and also requires the contribution of the Egyptian tradition. The various structures of the sanctuary were located within an Egyptian layout, in terms of inspiration, and once more dressed in a Hellenised costume. Among other things, this concerns the narrow colonnaded court, which could have been inspired by the colonnaded courts of the Egyptian temples, such as those of Karnak and Luxor, since such an attribute was still not common in Greek religious architecture.

The architectural style of the structures of the Sarapeion was mostly Greek, though some Egyptian architectural elements (such as lotus capitals) were included. There were also sphinxes, which could have formed a processional pathway. In addition, several Egyptian attributes of the structure were related to the religious aspect of the Sarapis cult, which connects the sanctuary of Alexandria with Egyptian ones such as the Sarapeion in Memphis. Thus, underground galleries and a Nilometer were included in the complex, indicating the Egyptian origin of many practices and rites, although they would have been performed in Greek.

Early statues of the Ptolemaic dynasty, such as those of Arsinoe II, were possibly executed in Egyptian style, and were intended to support the pharaonic identity of the royal family in the most important sanctuary of Alexandria. Some of these statues preserve dedicatory inscriptions of Greek Alexandrians, which means that even at this early stage, Egyptian or Egyptian style media were intended to express the relation between Alexandrian authority and the Greek-speaking elite society, at least in the Sarapeion area.

In addition, it seems that this type of statue could also be found in other areas; the Anfushi Triad is an example. Yet, there are many open questions concerning the cult image of Sarapis during the Ptolemaic period, which uncertainty holds good not only for the Sarapeion, but also for the whole of Alexandria.

The very first rite in which Egyptian aspects could possibly be involved, must have been the ceremony of the placement of the foundation plaques in the two main temples of the Sarapeion. Both Greek and Egyptian texts were included in the dedications. Therefore, it would not be surprising if some parts of the ceremony were executed in Egyptian language.

The ideological connection between the Sarapeion and the Ptolemies was further promoted by the installation of the Harpocrates temple (Birthhouse) in the precinct of the Sarapeion, where bilingual

plaques were also found. This time, the Ptolemies used the Hellenised version of an Egyptian god, who represents the idea of rebirth and ancestry within the context of the legitimisation of the Ptolemies to the throne of Egypt, from Ptolemy IV onwards. Again, Egyptian tradition was dressed in a Hellenised costume in order to express issues of ideology and political propaganda to Alexandrian audiences.

This picture of the Sarapeion seems to correspond with the fragmentary picture of the rest of the city's monumental appearance, which has quite a distinctive atmosphere, being composed of Greek style works, yet made from typically Egyptian material, such as the Egyptian yellow limestone or the various types of granite. Moreover, McKenzie already pointed to the formation of a distinctive 'baroque' Alexandrian style, with contribution of Egyptian elements, such as segmental pediments and Egyptian ornaments, for instance papyri and lotus capitals.

Finally, there must have been an eclectic selection of pharaonic monuments in reuse, such as sphinxes and obelisks. Most probably those dating from the last indigenous dynasty (the 30th Dynasty) might have already been reused in the public environments of the early Ptolemaic city. For instance, the 30th-dynasty obelisk in the Arsinoeion and the sarcophagus of Nectanebo must have been part of this concept. Such a policy could be interpreted as an attempt to underline the Egyptian character of the city and furthermore, as an act of legitimisation of the reign of the Ptolemies as a continuation of the indigenous dynastic history. However, it is hard to imagine that the Ptolemies would proceed to a large-scale dismantling of the monuments of the Egyptian chora, in order to decorate their newly founded capital. On the contrary, they were famous for their extensive building activities all across Egypt. It seems that the reuse of pharaonica in Alexandria is a phenomenon that has to be dated mostly to the Roman period.

Some further ideas concerning the use of Egyptian elements in royal public acts, even those of the Sarapeion, could be derived from the faience oinochoai. Early examples of those vases present Egyptianising figures of queens such as Arsinoe II and Berenice next to pillars, and altars dedicated to, among others, Isis and Tyche. The Egyptianising style and environment of these figures imply an Egyptian touch to these rites. Although they were held by Greek subjects, and also mostly attended by the Greek elites, it seems that this Egyptianising atmosphere is related to the role of the Ptolemies as kings of Egypt and moreover as mediators between humans and gods. Alexandrian society seemed to have recognised this role as belonging to the ruling dynasty, as indicated by the wide distribution of the faience oinochoai, both in cosmic and funerary context.

5.2. MULTICULTURALISM IN ALEXANDRIAN SOCIETY: LATE 4TH-3RD CENTURIES BC

Funerary structures from the Ptolemaic period can initiate a discussion not only about the role of the Egyptian tradition in Alexandrian funerary practices and beliefs, but also about further issues such as expressions of identity, social status and ideology. Early examples, such as those of the Hypogeum A at Shatby, dating from the late 4th century/early 3rd century BC, reflect a preference for Greek style structures, though of modest monumentality and prestige. The Greek style appearance is more detectable in particular decorative aspects, than in the actual structures. The architectural layout and attributes imply a series of functions, according to which a relationship between the worlds of the living and the dead could be preserved through various post-funerary rites. This is implied by the arrangement of the structure with court, altar and, quite importantly, with limited access to the innermost areas of the tomb.

These unique elements and functions of the early Greek-Alexandrian burials seem to have been inspired by Egyptian prototypes, especially those from the Late Period, which present similar attributes. At the Nelson Island excavation by Turin University, a loculus cemetery was discovered in the neighbourhood area of Alexandria, containing mummies dating from the 30th dynasty. More surprisingly, a Macedonian kline-room was discovered, adjacent to the Egyptian structure, connected to an early Macedonian community in the area. Therefore, Egyptian funerary structures and rites must have attracted the attention of the first Greeks of Egypt, and consequently of those of Alexandria.

Thus, an Egyptian funerary structural layout was covered with a Greek dress, in order to accommodate Greek funerary practices in Egypt. Just like in Egyptian tombs of all periods, the relatives could visit their dead and preserve a relationship with them through various post-funerary rites. Still, at this early stage there is nothing in the Alexandrian hypogea that implies a change in the ideas about the fate of the deceased. The treatment of the body remains Greek: hence, unlike the Egyptian tradition, there is no resurrection within the actual body of the dead. The meeting between the two worlds concerns issues of memory and ancestry rather than actual communication with the resurrected dead, as is the case with Egyptian funerary practices.

The elite tombs during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, such as those of Mustapha Pasha, reflect a more confident Greek cultural character in terms of identity, but this time with more profoundly Egyptian references. Several messages are promulgated by these structures with regard to the cultural identity and social status of the dead, at the same time including 'an impression' of Egypt, now the homeland of Greek –Alexandrians already for one or two centuries.

In general, Egyptian elements forced this funerary structure one step further, compared to the case of Shatby A: from the situation of the 'living' house of the dead, to that of the funerary temple of the Hellenismus from or in Egypt. The occupants of the Mustapha Pasha Tomb I proudly promoted their Macedonian origin, which corresponded to their Greek-Alexandrian elite social status. Still, the Greek Macedonian 'icon' is displayed within an indigenising frame with Egyptianising decorative elements, and, moreover, with an arrangement that must have been inspired by Egyptian style structures. Again the façade was mostly covered with Greek style decoration, but its layout left more space for the Egyptian stylistic aspect. The Greek identity is illustrated by means of an indigenising version. More simply: to be an elite Alexandrian during the middle Ptolemaic period (3rd century BC) would mean to be a Greek from and in Egypt. This might be the reason why most of the Greek geographical epithets gradually disappear from the records of the Greek elites, and are replaced by the Alexandrian epithet. It was more important to follow the trends within the context of Alexandrian society, as well as to act within the context of the Ptolemaic policies, rather than being isolated within an identity exclusively connected to some geographically Greek origin.

Compared to Shatby A, it seems that Alexandrians such as the occupants of the Mustapha Pasha Tomb and their relatives knew much more about Egyptian civilisation and its monuments than previous generations. Of course, this knowledge about Egyptian tradition involves the gradual perception and adaptation of Egyptian elements in the life of the Alexandrians as a positive response to Ptolemaic policies. From this angle, the Harpocrates figurine found in Mustapha Pasha indicates that the Greek-speaking part of Alexandrian society opened themselves up to the Egyptian tradition and the values that it represented. Yet, whatever the meaning and function of this figure in the tomb may have been, it does not seem to imply any serious change in the treatment of the dead body, and consequently in the post-funerary destiny of the deceased.

The Hellenised style of Harpocrates shows once more how important the stylistic Hellenisation of Egyptian themes was for the Greek-speaking elite's perception of Egyptian cultural elements. It represents an indication of the elite's positive reaction to the Ptolemaic policies concerning the promotion of their own composite religious forms.

The coherence between the cultural expressions of society and Ptolemaic policies is further indicated by means of a comparison between public and private structures, for instance between Mustapha Pasha Tomb I and the Sarapeion. Both structures share similar attributes (at least in general terms) in architecture and decoration, such as loculi, courts, water installations, altars and gods. Consequently, these similarities in structure might imply similarities in the content and the performance of the funerary and post-funerary rituals. The rites would have been performed in Geek, but they would also have been affected by Egyptian prototypes, both in terms of content and performance, including the Egyptian gods of Alexandria, such as Isis and Harpocrates.

5.3. PTOLEMAIC POLICIES DURING THE LATE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD: THE USE OF EGYPTIAN TRADITION IN THE PUBLIC SPACE OF ALEXANDRIA

The gradual decline of the Ptolemaic authority, both internally and internationally, as well as the long interaction between Greek and Egyptian populations, mostly at the middle and lower levels, caused a series of political, cultural and social developments, both in the public and private spheres of Alexandrian multicultural life.

In terms of public image and activity, it seems that there is a lack of interest for the area of the Sarapeion from the 2nd century BC onwards, while the opposite occurred at several other public spaces in Alexandria that obtained Egyptian style monumental installations. These new monuments would contribute to a more profoundly Egyptian character of the public environment of the city, adding to the distinctive classical style described above. This must have been the case with the Pharos Island, the Hadra district and the eastern port areas. The revised Ptolemaic ideology could be discussed both in terms of internal and 'external' appeal, as expressed by means of the late Ptolemaic period monumental addition.

In the area of the Pharos Island, which in fact represents the 'reception' of Alexandria and Egypt from the sea, the visitor coming from the sea would be impressed by the monumentality of the lighthouse, and then, he would pass before the Egyptian statues of the late Ptolemies. Thus he would receive a clear message: he was to enter the capital of Egypt, the homeland of pharaohs. The Ptolemies were thus promoted as powerful supernatural human beings accompanied by divine women and/or Egyptian goddesses. The visitor's surprise would be even greater when taking the Greek origin of these kings into consideration: these people were Greeks, descendants of Alexander's general Ptolemy, but at the same time they seemed to have been or become Egyptians! This picture would be further developed when the visitor approached the eastern port, where he would see various structures made of red granite, limestone and other local material, combining both Greek and Egyptian characteristics. These structures would look familiar, in a sense 'Greek', due to the Greek stylistic aspects, but alien at the same time, due to the material chosen for the execution of these structures and also to the presence of Egyptian decorative elements. The Egyptian character would have been further promoted through the obelisks that would have come into the view at the Alexandrian skyline, just as today's minarets contribute to the oriental atmosphere of the modern corniche of Alexandria.

Similar messages must also have been displayed in other areas of the city, apart from the centre, such as in the Hadra district, where a Tholos temple was ornamented with sphinxes and a Pharaonic style statue group of, most probably, Cleopatra VII and Caesarion. Within the political conditions of the late Ptolemaic period, the internal rebellions, the political decline and the gradual increase of Roman pressure, the Ptolemies seem to have chosen to put the pharaonic concepts to more intensive use in their self-display and political propaganda, when compared to the 3rd century. For example, after the rebellions in the Theban area, the individual portrait characteristics of their pharaonic style statues would contribute to the differentiation of the image from any other usurper or past ruler.

Still, these naturalistic additions, as already noted by most scholars, did not alter the Egyptian symbolism of those statues. They rather correspond to an already well-known policy of the indigenous pharaohs, who intended to distinguish themselves from previous dynasties in various ways. To sum up, monumental evidence deriving from Late Ptolemaic Alexandria aims to promote the pharaonic nature of the Ptolemaic dynasty, with its individual political-cultural characteristics, and this had to become clear, both inside and outside Alexandria and Egypt.

The pharaonic appearance of these figures can be related to a series of crucial events in late Ptolemaic Alexandria, which also implies the importance of the Egyptian element in the actual public activities themselves and in the new state ideology. The Donations of Alexandria present an example of this. During this ceremony, Cleopatra was named New Isis and was furthermore dressed in an Isis costume. Also Caesarion, presented in pharaonic dress, was announced as the official heir to the Egyptian throne,

claiming for himself (though of course Cleopatra and Mark Antony did so on his behalf) a huge territory consisting of almost the entire eastern world, including Parthia and Armenia.

Therefore, in terms of ideology and political propaganda, it was a new 'start' for the Egyptian empire, where the Egyptian tradition was more actively involved, contributing, among other things, to the formation of the revised Ptolemaic ideology.

To sum up regarding the public image and activities in Ptolemaic Alexandria since the 3rd century BC, Alexandria acquired a distinctive 'classical' style, which acknowledges the Egyptian tradition; but still, the visual Egyptian element is comparatively limited. From the 2nd century BC, another parallel version is revealed, adding a more profoundly Egyptian character while still remaining within the Alexandrian context, sharing public space with the city's Greek component, which covered a significant part of the city's public image. The adaptation to the Alexandrian cultural context is further indicated by means of a series of borrowings between the Greek and Egyptian representational systems, for instance in the case of the naturalistic portrait characteristics of the late Ptolemies' Pharaonic colossal statues.

These installations, new to Alexandria, would have been accompanied by a series of activities that were executed by a class of officials also new to Alexandria, priests and other kinds of personnel. These would be responsible for the form of these activities, supporting a more profoundly Egyptian manner, but at the same time adapting the whole concept to the Alexandrian public lifestyle as known from earlier periods. The Canopus priests found at the eastern port might have been such people, as may have been the priest of the Anfushi necropolis or Egyptians like Hor son of Hor, the high priest of Thoth, whose statue was discovered in the centre of Alexandria**.** Such people represent several versions of Alexandrian Egyptians, who seem to have obtained a flexible, multi-facial identity, adaptable to the different occasions of their public and private lives.

Finally, duality is also detectable in other types of material evidence, such as the late Ptolemies' coinage. In the example of Ptolemy XII, the eagle of Zeus, a symbol on the coinage from the Ptolemaic dynasty, holds two cultural and ideological symbols of the Ptolemaic Egypt in his claws. At one side, he holds the thunderbolt, symbol of Zeus and representative of the Greek tradition, and at the other side, he holds the crown of Isis, which represents the Egyptian tradition. These two components shared the same space, acknowledged the existence and function of each other, and although it seems that they never formed a truly unified culture in Ptolemaic period Alexandria, they collaborated systematically with each other.

5.4. THE EGYPTIAN FACE OF THE ALEXANDRIAN SOCIETY DURING THE LATE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

As already pointed out by Fraser, one of the main characteristics of Alexandrian society during the late Ptolemaic period, was the Egyptianisation of the citizen body. This occurred because of the mixture between Greeks and Egyptians, mostly at the middle and lower levels of society, the influx of provincial population that was already mixed, but also because of the rise of Egyptians in higher positions. In regard to the latter, this could occur after a process of Hellenisation, which meant to obtain a Greek public name for public use, to learn the Greek language and also to obtain a Greek style image.

This must have been the case with the high priest Hor, during the period of Cleopatra[2]. Greek and Egyptian elements were combined in order to describe the composite identity, proficiency and social status of Hor. Nonetheless, his Egyptian origin and profession was crucial for the Alexandrian audience to promote his social status and life style. Besides, the erection of this statue could be related to the upgrade of Hor's status from a priest of Ashmunein to that of an elite 'Alexandrian'. The reason might have been included in the hieroglyphic inscription on the back pillar.

[2] Section 2.2.2. of Chapter 4.

The balance between the Greek and Egyptian elements seems to have been different in each specific case. Still, there is a clear common reference in all these cases: firstly, the use of a distinctively Egyptian material, which in any case adds an Egyptian character, and secondly, the attempt to render both Greek and Egyptian elements in Egyptian style, or rather subsume them in an Egyptian logic of representation. Even if Hor would look totally Greek during his public days in Alexandria, his statue, inscribed with a hieroglyphic inscription, was to add the Egyptian aspect, reminiscent of his origin and proficiency, to reflect the political, social and cultural conditions. Similarly, Egyptian material and possibly style were combined in statues of people who could be described from a Greek point of view as the institutional representatives of the Greek culture, such as the case of Lykarion, son of Noumerios, who, among other things, also served as a gymnasiarch.

In all these cases, the Egyptian aspect, whether we refer to the material or the style, covers the body, portrait characteristics and attributes with an Egyptian semi-transparent 'peplos' of immortality and monumentality, regardless of the identity of the person being Greek, mixed or Egyptian. As argued several times in this work, artistic and architectural styles are not indices of ethnicity. Ethnicity can be adduced only when inscriptions on these monuments place them squarely into a clearly definable ethnic ambience. Within this frame, monumental individual portrait characteristics can be incorporated, adding a more ephemeral, contemporary character to these monuments of 'eternal' memory.

In regard to funerary customs of elite Alexandrians during the late Ptolemaic period, Egyptian funerary customs are widely applied. At the same time, Egyptian architectural decorative elements become more profound within the Alexandrian funerary repertoire, resulting in a more Egyptian character, like in the case of Anfushi, or more interactive forms such as in the case of the Ras el Tin necropolis. All structures are orientated towards the deceased's gradual passing from the realm of the living into the realm of Osiris. Therefore, in comparison to Hellenic style tombs, Egyptian funerary tradition acts as the personal guidebook to a happy afterlife. Consequently, much more space and decorative repertoire is granted to the relationship between the dead and the underworld, and in this part the Egyptian religion is dominant.

Yet, we can expect that Egyptian funerary customs, apart from offering the option of blessed afterlife, must also have been a prestigious act. Mummification was a quite expensive option since it was intensive and time-consuming[3], and thus it could mainly be afforded by the elite. Therefore, even if we accept the notion that being Egyptian during the late period Alexandria was not as prestigious as being Greek, this was not the case for the Egyptian funerary tradition, which was generally perceived as prestigious, regardless of ethnic or cultural identity and social status.

Egyptian decorative elements are presented within an Alexandrian context. Thus, as the Hellenic-Alexandrian versions of elite tombs acknowledge the Egyptian tradition, the Egyptian-Alexandrian ones acknowledge the Greek component of the city, yet not in the religious part, but in its 'public aspect' in regard to the relationship between their funerary structures and expressions of identity. At this stage, the decorative programme must promote, among other things, aspects of the composite and flexible 'texture' of the multicultural Alexandrian identity, including messages about the proficiency of life and social status, religious preferences, lifestyle and education. Direct messages about ethnic identity are missing, since after the long process of Greco-Egyptian interaction and the great socio-political developments of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, boundaries between the different ethnic and social groups of Alexandria seemed no longer impenetrable. Within this flexible picture, Egyptian funerary tradition represents the common ground for a large part of the late Ptolemaic period elite in Alexandria, which might have consisted of Greeks, mixed, Hellenised or Egyptians. Besides, all the above three characterisations seem to have lost their absolute values, and, within this context at least, have all become Alexandrian.

Of course there are either more Greek or more Egyptian versions of peoples, structures and customs. It is from this period onwards that these terms will depend on one another in regard to their

[3] For a short overview of the mummification process see: Ritner, 2003 138-139.

meaning, within the context of Greco-Egyptian interaction. Thus, the military man of the Girghis Tomb, who would possibly have had a Greek name and who worked within the Greek style environment of the Ptolemaic army, managed to follow a proper religious life, which would offer him a proper life after death according to the Egyptian tradition. The deceased of Ras el Tin III, who could be a member of the Alexandrian gymnasium, managed to preserve a good relationship with Osiris, and thus managed to become a member of his 'court' after death. It is clear that there is no overlap between the two traditions. It is rather a process of choice and combination of the most appropriate aspects from both components, in order to fulfil the needs of public and private life, excluding ethno-cultural restrictions. Therefore, Alexandrians could turn to either the Greek or the Egyptian side, depending on each specific case of private or public matter, following the best available option within the multicultural assemblage of Alexandria.

This overall picture seems to be confirmed in the description of Alexandrian society given by Polybius, in regard to the Alexandrian multicultural identity from the 2nd century BC onwards: "Alexandria is inhabited by three classes of people, first the native Egyptians, an acute and civilized race; secondly by the mercenaries, a numerous, rough, and uncultivated set, since it was an ancient practice to maintain a foreign armed force that had learnt to rule rather than to obey owing to the weakness of the kings; thirdly there were the Alexandrians themselves, people not genuinely civilised for the same reason, but still superior to the mercenaries, although they were mongrels, they came from a Greek stock and had not forgotten Greek customs" (XXXIV, 14)[4].

5.5. ALEXANDRIA AS PROVINCIAL CAPITAL OF ROMAN EGYPT

The public monumental image of Alexandria during the Roman period is characterised by two elements. First of all, there is a gradual renovation of city's public space, for instance by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, while there are also new installations, such as the Hadrianeion and the Caesareum. These structures would gradually add a Roman 'colour' to the city, gradually replacing the Hellenistic one. For instance, the new Sarapeion, compared to the Ptolemaic one, is much more Roman in style. Still, the Romans managed to include Egyptian style monuments, such as the portico and the statue of the Apis-bull in the Sarapeion, added by Hadrian.

Secondly, Roman intervention in the public image of the city was not limited to this stage; it was extended in terms of time, geographical space and style. In several public areas of the city, once exclusively dedicated to the Ptolemies, monumental pharaonic material, dating from the indigenous dynastic period, and brought mainly from Heliopolis, was put to use. The so-called pharaonica in the Sarapeion, the Pharos area and the Great Harbour present the best examples of this. This policy of adding Pharaonica could be explained as part of a policy for the reformation of Alexandria, from the potentially imperial capital of the Ptolemaic state to the capital of the Roman province.

Therefore monuments representative of the Egyptian chora and the long indigenous history of Egypt seem to have been included into the monumental gallery of Roman period Alexandria. Their presence at several points of Alexandria's public space would further confine and confuse, as much as possible, the Ptolemaic image and atmosphere of Alexandria's public environment in the city. By putting Ptolemaic installations in a much wider chronological context, with the addition of the so-called 'Pharaonica', it seems that the Romans could affect the cultural memory of Alexandria through altering its public environment. The result was the formation of an open-air 'museum' of Egyptian antiquities, installed at several public points in the city. Hence, Alexandria becomes not only representative of the Hellenistic legacy during the Roman period, but also of the whole of Egyptian culture and history.

In addition, recent underwater investigations at Cape Lochias revealed an Egyptian style pylon in Alexandria, built probably during the late Hellenistic or Roman period. That pylon is similar to those of the

[4] After Goudriaan, 1988, 117.

Isis temples depicted on Roman period Alexandrian coins. This new discovery seriously altered our view of the religious structures of Alexandria. From now on, we can more positively assume that, indeed, there were public and in our case religious structures in Alexandria, recalling the aspects of the most traditional religious complexes in Egypt, such as pylon style façades.

Roman coinage of Alexandria presents an important source concerning political propaganda, using mainly religious symbolism. Emperors are depicted on the reverse sides of the coins, promoted as supporters and developers of Alexandrian religion, and, in our case, of the Egyptian gods in more or less syncretic forms, as they were inherited from the Ptolemaic period. This time the repertoire included also traditional Egyptian and provincial forms, indicating a process of better understanding between Alexandria and the Egyptian chora and tradition, indicated also by means of the monumental material evidence.

Sarapis seems to have been a major Alexandrian representative in scenes with Emperors when, during the Roman period, serious developments occurred concerning his religious identity. It is during the Roman period that the god once again meets his Egyptian counterpart from Memphis, Osiris-Apis, at its sanctuary in Alexandria. Hence, there is a turn to the Egyptian origin of the god, while the Hellenised image is still preserved. Of course this duality is not an exclusive characteristic of the Roman period Sarapeion, but of the entire material culture of Roman Alexandria, and especially in regard to the Roman period coinage, a religious theme might be presented both in composite and/or Egyptian forms, both in terms of image as well as context. More importantly, during the Roman period Sarapis was connected to a series of gods from the Asian, Greek and Egyptian pantheon, resulting in a pantheistic figure that indicates inclusive and almost 'monotheistic' tendencies in Alexandrian religion.

Another foremost religious protagonist of the Roman period is Isis. The gradual increase in her popularity since the Ptolemaic period, as well as the detachment of Ptolemaic political messages from her image, resulted in the development of numerous versions of Isis' religious capacities and identities, mostly related to the concepts of fertility, rebirth, and protection. Like most of the time in the case of Alexandria, an old Egyptian cultural value had to be adapted to the standards of the Greco-Roman period. Material evidence from the Roman period, mainly derived from the coinage, indicates some more individual Alexandrian forms of Isiac cults, which must have been installed since the Ptolemaic period. An example of this is presented by Isis in her maritime versions: Euploia, Pelagia or Pharia. Thus Isis becomes the protector of sailors as well as the patron of the most important port of the eastern Mediterranean.

Thus, in coinage from the Roman period, the figure of Isis symbolises the new role for Egypt and Alexandria as part of the Roman Empire: to provide and distribute, respectively, the products of the Egyptian land across the whole empire. Hence, Isis' identity is illustrated as being adapted to the role of the city, combining the agricultural identity with the maritime one. This was the message, indicated by the Isis Euploia figure, which is presented in between the figures of Nilus and Euthenia, with the prow of a ship also visible.

5.6. EGYPTIAN SOLUTIONS FOR A BLESSED LIFE AND AFTERLIFE THROUGH THE MULTICULTURAL 'KALEIDOSCOPE' OF ROMAN PERIOD ALEXANDRIAN SOCIETY

There is no doubt that Roman Alexandria presents an advanced case of multiculturalism, in a way that the Romans would have considered desirable for the rest of their empire. It achieved a combination of the Greek cultural tradition, now treated by the Romans as a common cultural factor for different areas of their empire, and the local tradition, in our case Egyptian. After the long process of Greco-Egyptian interaction, initiated during the Ptolemaic period, this combination had become the local Alexandrian multicultural image.

The extensive reference of religious themes to Egyptian elements in various stylistic and thematic combinations, visible both on the Roman period coinage and in terracotta figurines, reflects the penetration of Alexandrian society into aspects of the Egyptian religion, as the latter was perceived, adapted and finally inherited during the Roman period. After the decrease of political interest in Alexandria, society

turned inwards, focusing on the further development of the Ptolemaic period cultural heritage, as mostly expressed by means of religion.

Egyptian funerary customs were widely applied, as can be seen from mummies and the extensive funerary decoration. Again it seems, that these elements, although more extensive than ever, were adapted according to an Alexandrian logic, which had developed since the Ptolemaic period.

There are multiple combinations of content and forms, resulting in structures of a more profoundly Egyptian character. An example of this is the Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa, which represents the most monumental case of the notion of a tomb as funerary temple in the most Egyptian Alexandrian version, or other temples with Egyptian segmental pediments, or more composite cases such as that of a Δ-style pediment with Egyptian ornaments. Still, whatever the style of the structure was, the funerary practice remains Egyptian.

Consequently, the decoration of the funerary structures represents the desire of the deceased to achieve a blessed afterlife according to the Egyptian tradition. Nevertheless, these scenes were hardly presented in traditional Egyptian forms. They have been adapted to the Alexandrian logic, which would allow the multiple combination of Greek and Egyptian styles and forms without interrupting the main funerary practice, which was Egyptian. Thus, Egyptian funerary tradition, as treated in Roman period funerary decoration, is free from the strict canons of Egyptian funerary art, focusing more on the content, on what was described rather than on how it was described. Besides, even the Egyptianising scenes such as those of the Tigrane Tomb, aimed to look Egyptian rather than Greek. Their objective was to describe Egyptian acts (or at least they were merely Egyptian in origin). conclude

Finally, we should refer to expressions of flexible Alexandrian multicultural identity, focusing on the Roman period examples of self-presentation. After three centuries or more of Greco-Egyptian interaction both Greek and Egyptian vocabularies were included as integral components in the expressions of Alexandrian identity. Within this long process, terms like Greek and Egyptian cannot be used as absolute values, but should be used as characterisations that depend on one another. Therefore, on the one hand, the role of the Greek style image was clear as an implication of Greek-Alexandrian public lifestyle and Greek education. Yet, on the other hand, we should be careful not to remove this image from its frame, just as it literally happened with the Fayum portraits, which were detached from their mummies by Flinders Petrie. This frame includes additional messages concerning the identity of the dead. Hence, the Greek-Alexandrian image is usually displayed within an Egyptian or Egyptianising style naiskos. This frame will define the geographical origin of the Greek-style elite as being from Alexandria in Egypt, and of the ones to follow the Egyptian funerary tradition, in order to achieve the afterlife.

In the case of the Main Tomb in Kom el-Shoqafa, a naturalistic portrait is combined with an Egyptian style body on both statues of the anteroom. On the one hand, these statues reflect the social stage, education and lifestyle of the portrayed persons, which might have been of Greek-Alexandrian style. Thus, they may have acted as the representative image of the dead in the world of the living. On the other hand, such statues reflect the desire of the dead to obtain life after death, according to the Egyptian funerary tradition. Therefore, they could have also been used in funerary rites, as was the case with statues in Egyptian tombs since the Old Kingdom. In this respect, it would be interesting to imagine the Alexandrian version of several Egyptian rites, such as the Opening of the Mouth ceremony.

Other cases, such as that of the so-called Gabbari Stele, represent the Roman period version of an Alexandrian funerary slab, which was derived from the Greek style funerary stele, known in Alexandria since the early Ptolemaic period, and the Egyptian style naiskos, such as those from Anfushi. Therefore, like in the other cases from the Roman period presented above, both Greek and Egyptian visual vocabularies were used as integral components in expressions of Alexandrian multicultural identity and Roman period funerary beliefs.

5.7. A FINAL ASSESSMENT ON THE PERCEPTION AND ADAPTATION OF THE EGYPTIAN TRADITION IN ALEXANDRIA DURING THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

In the above study, an attempt has been made to show that Egyptian tradition was an integral component of Alexandrian life. Thus, during the early Hellenistic period (4th century- 3nd centuries BC) Egyptian elements were used both by the Ptolemies and by Alexandrian society in order to stabilise and legitimise their position, in Egypt and on the Hellenistic political map, and moreover to express and promote their individual political ideology, cultural identity and (Alexandrian-Greek) life, both locally and internationally. Later, from the 2nd century onwards, it was used as a medium to express the revised position and ideology of the Ptolemies, both locally and internationally, as well as to express major socio-cultural changes in Alexandrian society.

During the Roman period, the perception and use of Egyptian tradition, employed to provide a blessed life and afterlife, were continuing from the standards set in the Ptolemaic period, in terms of the perception and adaptation of Egyptian elements in Alexandrian private and public life. This resulted in a rich repertoire of Egyptian elements, which is presented in numerous forms, more or less Egyptian, and in considerable quantities, which imply the huge popularity of the Egyptian religion in its Alexandrian form.

From their angle, the Romans seem to have tried to placate the Alexandrians by further promoting this process, as well as using its components for the promotion of their own messages of political propaganda and ideology. Alexandria should continue its life according to its own cultural rules, only this time, the political part had to be dismantled. From this perspective, Egyptian tradition came to support the Roman tactics. Alexandria should represent something more than the Ptolemaic legend; an epitome of the indigenous Pharaonic history, however without totally removing the Ptolemaic aspect. It seems clear from this short summary that we deal with a single and at the same time multidimensional process of perception and adaptation of Egyptian elements in Alexandrian multicultural life, within the context of Greco-Egyptian interaction. The overall picture corresponds well to the concept of acculturation in terms of cultural change that is brought about due to contact between different cultures and peoples. It becomes also clear that this process of change is multidimensional and multidirectional, as Naerebout (2007) noted, multidimensional because "it regards both observable (dress, language use, food etc) and unobservable (beliefs, values, attitudes, feelings) characteristics", and multidirectional because "the changes occur on all sides: all parties involved in the contact are affected". (542). This process could be further illustrated with more specific terminology concerning our case study in an attempt to make the Alexandria *in Aegypto* perspective rise to prominence even further.

Hence, Alexandrianisation could be described as the process of perception and further adaptation of Egyptian cultural elements in the life of Alexandria, within the Alexandrian cultural, political and social context, as it was developed during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In other words, Alexandrianisation could mean the process of Greco-Egyptian interaction from an Egyptian point of view, on the one hand concerning the perception and adaptation of Egyptian elements in the public and private life of Alexandrians, and on the other hand, concerning the policies of Ptolemaic and Roman authorities. It is important to stress that with the term Alexandrianisation we imply a process, and not a specific result.

At this point, an attempt will be made to apply this new term to characteristic examples in chronological order, starting from the royal policies from the early Ptolemaic period. Sarapis would be seen as a major representative of the process of Alexandrianisation, where the emphasis is put on the Hellenised image and name of the god, while important parts of his Egyptian identity are also preserved. Isis, who was known to the Greeks before the Ptolemies, reaches, by means of Alexandrianisation, a stage of Hellenisation similar to Sarapis. Together with Sarapis and Harpocrates, Isis is part of an Alexandrian version of the divine family of Egyptian origin.

In other types of material evidence, such as monumental architecture, there are indications for the Alexandrianisation process, in regard to the use of several Egyptian architectural elements in what was

described by McKenzie as the distinctive classical Alexandrian architecture. Also, in examples of faience oinochoai, an Egyptian type of object was Alexandrianised in its shape, use and decoration.

Later during the Ptolemaic period, the concept of the Egyptian pharaoh was developed within the context of Alexandrianisation, resulting in the formation of a distinctive type of pharaonic representation, composed by individual Greek style portrait characteristics and Egyptian style body insignia, like in the case of Cleopatra VII from Hadra and the head of Caesarion found in the Eastern Harbour. Such monumental examples would promote a distinctive pharaonic identity for the Alexandrian kings, which could be received by all audiences, either Greeks, mixed or Egyptians. In earlier cases, it seems that Alexandrianisation might concern the placement of Egyptian style media similar to the statues of the Ptolemies, such as those of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, and the placement of sphinxes in a Hellenising setting, like that of the Sarapeion.

Concerning the Alexandrian elite society from the late Ptolemaic period, Alexandrianisation could be described as the introduction of Egyptian elites into the context of Alexandrian public life. This might be indicated by the incorporation of Greek-Alexandrian elite characteristics in the statue of the Egyptian priest Hor. Therefore, there were already some standards formed during the Ptolemaic period in regard to the quality and relationship of both the Greek and the Egyptian elements in Alexandria, intended and moulded for Alexandrian society. Consequently, the latter was achieved by means of a specific way of perception and adaptation of Egyptian elements into their lives, a process that can be described as Alexandrianisation of Egyptian elements.

During the Roman period we find is a more systematic and wider Alexandrianisation of Egyptian elements, expressed mostly through religious elements in coinage, terracotta and tomb decoration. It seems that a detailed discussion on Egyptian culture took place, by means of a process of further Alexandrianisation of Egyptian elements. Yet, Alexandrianisation during the Roman period concerned not only Egyptian, but also Greek and Roman aspects. Examples of this are the terracotta lamps of Athena, which present the goddess within an indigenising architectural environment.

The Romans seem to have supported those developments in Alexandrian society, but they also went a step further with the Alexandrianisation of monumental representatives of the long Egyptian political and cultural history, dismantling and relocating Pharaonica from their original sites to new public points within Roman Alexandria. It is a much more systematic process, compared to the reuse of Pharaonica during the Ptolemaic period. As argued above, the use of Pharaonica during the Ptolemaic period must have been limited mostly to Pharaonica from the 30th dynasty, as the Ptolemaic dynasty's means of legitimisation for the Pharaonic Throne. Romans did not really desire to promote a Roman Pharaoh in the eyes of the Alexandrians. It would be better for them to forget that Alexandria was the homeland of kings. Instead, their policy aimed to relocate the city of the Ptolemies within a more local context, both chronologically and ideologically, towards the new role of the city as a provincial capital. Therefore, Alexandrianisation of Pharaonica would mean the detachment from their original context and the relocation within Alexandrian environment, as well as the alterations concerning their function, from monuments of actual religious use, to a backdoor-provider of Pharaonic atmosphere to the city.

Finally, a continuous multidimensional process of Alexandrianisation might be detectable in the funerary practices of the Alexandrians. There, the most basic concept of Alexandrianisation concerned the perception and adaptation of the idea of the tomb structure, at least the elite one, as both the last residence of the dead and as a funerary temple, a meeting place with the world of the living. This must have been an inspiration, originally derived from the Egyptian tradition, which was adapted to the needs of the Greek Alexandrians such as those of Shatby A and Mustapha Pasha Tomb I. These two examples represent experimental and advanced cases respectively, in which Egyptian elements and attributes were used in the structures' layouts while the treatment of the body remained Greek. At this early stage, Egyptian tradition did not actually influence the treatment of the dead body and its afterlife destiny, but rather its relationship with the world of the living.

As we get further into the Ptolemaic period, it seems that Alexandrianisation gradually becomes a more precise definition than Hellenisation, since its perception and adoption was not intended for the Greeks of Greece, but for Greek Alexandrians, who lived and died in Egypt, and possibly even fought for Egypt. Hence, in the case of Mustapha Pasha Tomb I, Egyptian elements become more profound, adding an Egyptianising atmosphere to the frame of the Greek cultural image, defining it as *in Aegypto*, in and from Egypt.

In cases from the late Ptolemaic period, such as the Anfushi and Ras el Tin Necropoleis, Alexandrianisation serves a wider gamut of funerary needs. First of all, the Egyptian mummification was applied. In addition, Egyptian religious elements became dominant in terms of funerary religion and more visually detectable in the tombs' architecture and decoration, compared to earlier examples, indicating that Egyptian funerary practices should be applied within an Alexandrian context, acknowledging the Greek aspect of the city, regardless whether we consider burials of Egyptian, Greek or mixed Alexandrians. In terms of identity, a process of Alexandrianisation might have taken place in the cases of people like Hor, who would have been Egyptian by origin but Hellenised in terms of image (at least in the portrait) and/or public lifestyle. Yet again, Alexandrianisation in terms of public life did not interrupt the preservation of the Egyptian identity.

Additionally, it is during the Roman period that Egyptian funerary elements become more popular by means of a systematic Alexandrianisation of the Egyptian funerary repertoire, corresponding to the huge popularity of Egyptian themes in coinage and terracotta figurines. On the one hand, there is a much wider repertoire of Egyptian elements in terms of contents, styles and combination with Greek elements, such as juxtaposition and/or the melting of styles and themes. Yet, despite this type of combination between Greek and Egyptian aspects, the deceased desires to obtain an afterlife according to the Egyptian view.

Finally, the Greek-Alexandrian image within an Egyptian context, either within an Egyptian style naiskos façade (Gabbari stele) or with an Egyptian style body (statues in the Main Tomb of Kom el Shoqafa) could be interpreted within the context of Alexandrianisation. The Egyptian naiskos and/or body becomes the new home for the dead, typifying the adaptation of the Egyptian religious system to the standards of the upper-middle and upper classes of Alexandrian society. It seems clear now that after three or more centuries of Greco-Egyptian interaction, Alexandrian identity seems to have obtained its own media and rights of expression, thus it would not always be necessary to categorise several of its aspects in the Greek or Egyptian spheres, but rather in the Alexandrian sphere.

In this work, it has been attempted to describe and further interpret all the possible patterns of the *in Aegypto* perspective. It has been assumed that Egyptian culture forms an integral component of Ptolemaic and Roman Alexandria during its multicultural history. Alexandria *in Aegypto* existed as much as its *ad Aegyptum* counterpart, and was, using Durrell's expression, both 'real and imagined' as it contributed to the formation of this major Mediterranean cosmopolis.

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