

جمعية الآثار بالأسكندرية

SOCIÉTÉ ARCHÉOLOGIE D'ALEXANDRIE

BULLETIN 46



ALEXANDRIAN STUDIES II
In Honour Of
MOSTAFA EL ABBADI

VOLUME EDITORS

MOHAMMED ABD-EL-GHANI

SOHEIR Z. BASSIOUNI

WESSAM A. FARAG

COPY EDITOR MOHAMMED H. ELWAN

ALEXANDRIA 2000

ALEXANDRIAN STUDIES II
In Honour Of
MOSTAFA EL ABBADI

CONTRIBUTIONS BY HIS FRIENDS



MOSTAFA EL ABBADI

Table of Contents

Table Of Contents

Table of Contents

List of Colour Plates

List of Black and White Plates

Foreword.....I-VIII

I) History

- 1) Abou-Bakr F., The office of the phylarch at oxyrahynchus..... 1-6
- 2) Bagnall R., A heavy artaba and its ninety six loaves..... 7-12
- 3) Bowman A., Some Romans in Augustan Alexandria..... 13-24
- 4) Hanafi A., A List Of Names..... 25-28
- 5) Oates J., Observations on a demotic will (69 B.C.) of a katoikikos hippeus..... 29-38
- 6) Rathbone D., The Muziris papyrus (S B XVIII 13167): Financing Roman Trade with India..... 39-50
- 7) Tataki A., Macedonian Presence in Alexandria..... 59-64
- 8) Thomas J. D., C P R I 233 reconsidered..... 65-70
- 9) Thompson D., Alexandria ; the city by the sea..... 71-78

II) Archaeology

- 1) Abd - el - Fatah A., Two monuments from ancient eleusis site..... 79-86
- 2) Awad ; Mohamed..... 87-94
- 3) Bakhoum S., L' image de livie sur le monnayage alexandrin et romain..... 95-100
- 4) Bedier Sh., Eine unveroffentlichte Mekes Szene aus philae. Berliner photo..... 101-110
- 5) Bonacasa N., Egypt and Sicily in the Hellenestic period..... 111-124
- 6) Guimier Sorbet , Anne Marrie..... 125-134
- 7) Hawass Z., The Discovery of the temple and statue of the God Bes at Baharia Oasis..... 135-152
- 8) Mächler , Hervicky..... 153-166
- 9) Metzger C., Table d'Alexandrie..... 167-176
- 10) Morcos S., Gaston Jondet..... 177-180
- 11) Nenna Marie Dominique, Éventails, boîtes à fard et candélabres en faïence 181-192
- 12) Noeske H., New Considerations about an old Alexandrian Hoard of gold coins and jewellery. 193-216
- 13) Seif El – Din M., Bronze hoards from Sais (Sa el – Haggar.)..... 217-236
- 14) Shaheen B., Roman Black and White mosaics from Alexandria..... 237-244
- 15) Stanwick P., Two Ptolemies in Alexandria..... 51-58

III) Literature

- 1) Bing P., The writing on the girdle..... 245-248
- 2) El – Nowicemy , Catullus and the tradition of the Recusatio poems..... 249-278
- 3) Simon R., Sindbad the survivor..... 279-288

List of color plates

Mostafa El Abbadi

Guimier Sorbet, Anne Marie

- Fig. 1 : Fragment de mortier incisé trouvé dans le terrain de la future
Bibliotheca Alexandrina. (cliché CEA, A. Pelle) 135
- Fig. 2 : Restitution d'un méandre à svastikas et carrés en perspective
sur un tracé préparatoire (dessin CEA, V. Atef)..... 135
- Fig. 3 : Détail du plafond aux Eroles de la Tombe B24 du Chantier
du Pont de Gabbari (cliché CEA, Th. Gonon).....136
- Fig. 4 : Détail de la couverture du lit funéraire de la Tombe B26 du
Chantier du Pont de Gabbari (cliché CEA, M.-D. Nenna)..... 136

Metzger Catherine

- Fig 1 Table en marbre rouge photo CEA,J.-Fr.Gout..... 173

List Of Black And White Plates

Bagnall, Roger

Fig 1.....	11
------------	----

Stanwick, Paul Edmund

Fig 1a.....	56
Fig 1b.....	56
Fig 2a.....	57
Fig 2b.....	57

Abd El Fatah, Ahmed

Fig.1 Cart of ancient Alexandria after EV.Breccia,Alexandria ad Egyptum.....	85
Fig.2 The site of the column after the excavatien.....	85
Fig.3 Plan and Section of the smouha sarcophagus.....	86
Fig.4 Smouha sarcophagus in the site of Kom-El-Shugala.....	87

Awad, Mohamed

1a.....	96
1b.....	96
2a.....	96
2b.....	96

Bakhoum, Soheir

Fig 1.....	102
Fig 2.....	102
Fig 3.....	102
Fig 4.....	102
Fig 5.....	102
Fig 6.....	102

Bedier, Shafia

Fig.1 Berliner photo NV.281.....	111
----------------------------------	-----

Bonacasa, Nicola

Platel,1 Morganting, Agora. Thev east stoa.....	123
Platel,2 Solus posityle house, with sign inum floor.....	123
Platel,3 Syracuse, Archaeological museum marble statue of a fisher man.....	124
Platel,4 Syracuse, Archaeological museum satyr sailing on winesking polychrome terracotta.....	124
Platell,1 Syracuse, Archaeological museum Female pathetic portrait, marble.....	125
Platell,2 Palermo, C Bronze statutte of harpocrate, from solus.....	125
Platell,3 Palermo, Archaeological museum.Female statutte ("Tanagra"), from solus, polychrome terracotta.....	126

PlateII,4 Palermo, Palermo, Archaeological museum polychrom pand with scenis mask fruits and bands (2th pompeian style), from solus.....	126
--	-----

Hawas, Zahi

Fig 1 Plan of templ	143
Fig 2 Coppers bowls (no.5a and b).....	144
Fig 3 Incense burnes (no.6).....	145
Fig 4 Pottery bowl (no.8).....	146
Plate1 View of temple	147
Plate2 Ditto.....	147
Plate3 Statue of the god Bes.....	148
Plate4 Ditto.....	148
Plate5 Details of the face of the statue.....	149
Plate6 Details of the back of the statue.....	149
Plate7 Faince shwabti (no.1).....	150
Plate8 Stauette of horus (no.2).....	150
Plate9 Stauette of a sphinx (no.3).....	151
Plate10 Gaming board (no.4).....	151
Plate11 Decorated copper bowl (no.5a).....	152
Plate12 Un Decorated copper bowl (no.5b).....	152
Plate13 Copper incense burner (no.6).....	153
Plate14 Cat amulet (no.7).....	153
Plate15 Pottery bowl (no.8).....	154
Plate16 Ditto.....	154

Mäehler, Herwig

Photo 1.....	160
Photo 2.....	160
Photo 3 inv.24008.....	161
Photo 4 inv.29449.....	161
Photo 5 inv.25780.....	162
Photo 6 inv.3557.....	162
Photo 7 inv.24006.....	163
Photo 8 inv.3244.....	163
Photo 9 inv.3887.....	164
Photo 10 inv.292581.....	164
Photo 11 inv.3868.....	165
Photo 12 inv.17838.....	165
Photo 13.....	166
Photo 14.....	166
Photo 15 inv.22405.....	167

Metzger, Catherine

Fig 2 Table en marbre rouge Dessin CEA,st. Rousseau.....	174
Fig 3 Incription grecque. Photo CEA,J-Er Gout.....	175
Fig 4 Incription grecque Dessin CEA,st. Rousseau	176
Fig 5Table en marbre gris photo CEA,J.-Fr.Gout	176
Fig 5Table en marbre gris Dessin CEA,st. Rousseau.....	177
Fig 7 Table, Musée du louvre.....	178

Nenna, Marie Dominique

Fig. 1a-c : Élément d'éventail. Musée gréco-romain, inv. 20121.Cliché CEA, A. Pelle.....	191
Fig. 2 : Élément de collier. Musée gréco-romain, inv. 16603. Cliché CEA, A. Pelle.....	191

Fig. 3 : Réceptacle de boîte à fards. À gauche : Musée gréco-romain, inv. 5779 ; à droite Musée gréco-romain, inv. 18245 .	
Cliché CEA, A. Pelle.....	192
Fig. 4 : Fouilles de la nécropole de Gabbari : Fragment de chapiteau campaniforme (GAB97.4.10.4). Cliché CEA, J.-Fr. Gout.....	192
Fig. 5 : Fouilles de la nécropole de Gabbari : Fragment de chapiteau campaniforme (GAB97.4.10.4). Dessin CEA, A. Lamarche.....	192
Fig. 6 : Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery : Support de lampe (inv. 48.458A-B). Cliché Courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.....	193
Fig. 7 : Fouilles de Tanis : Chapiteau campaniforme. Dessin MFFT.....	193

Noeske, Hans

Fig 1 Gold medallion of Gallienus A 26. Hoard from Alexandria, rue Octavien Auguste (E. Breccia 1932, pl. XX).....	212
Fig 2 Bronze medallion of Gallienus. Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (F. Gneccchi 1912, 109 no. 32; tav. 114 no. 10).....	212
Fig 3 Gold necklace B 1. Hoard from Alexandria, rue Octavien Auguste (E. Breccia 1932, pl. XXI 78).....	212
Fig 4 Gold necklace B 1A. From Memphis. Metropolitan Mus., New York (C.C. Vermeule 1975, 17).....	213
Fig 5 Gold necklace B 1B. From Assuan. KHMus., Vienna (K. Gschwantler-W. Oberleitner 1974, 102 Nr. 340).....	213
Fig 6 Golden spacers B 1D. From Isny. Prähist. Staatsslg. München (J. Garbsch-P. Kos 1988, Taf. C).....	213
Fig 7 Gold necklace B 1C. From Egypt. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (R.Zahn 1929, 54 No. 11).....	214
Fig 8 Fragment of a pendant (?) from a necklace (?) B 6. Hoard from Alexandria, rue Octavien Auguste (E. Breccia 1932, pl. XXI 79(left)).....	214
Fig 9 Gold ingot C 1-3. Hoard from Alexandria, rue Octavien Auguste (E. Breccia 1932, pl. XXI 79 (bottom)).....	214
Fig 10 Golden tubes of open-work B 2-3. Hoard from Alexandria, rue Octavien Auguste (E. Breccia 1932, pl. XXI 79 (right)).....	215
Fig 11 Gold necklace B 2-3A. From Naix. Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (P. Bastien-C. Metzger 1977, pl. de comparaison B).....	215
Fig 12 Gold necklace B 2-3B. From Alexandria. Metropolitan Mus., New York (W. Dennison 1918, pl. XXVII).....	215
Fig 13 Gold necklace B 2-3D. From Aboukir. William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City (P. Bastien-C. Metzger 1977, pl. de comparaison A).....	216
Fig 14 Gold necklace B 2-3E. From Beaurains near Arras. Different Coll. (P. Bastien-C. Metzger 1977, pl. IX-X).....	217
Fig 15 Golden finger ring B 8. Hoard from Alexandria, rue Octavien Auguste (E. Breccia 1932, pl. XXII 82 (bottom, second from right)).....	217
Fig 16 Golden finger ring B 9. Hoard from Alexandria, rue Octavien Auguste (E. Breccia 1932, pl. XXII 82 (top left)).....	217
Fig 17 Golden finger ring B 10. Hoard from Alexandria, rue Octavien Auguste (E. Breccia 1932, pl. XXII 82 (bottom, second from left)).....	217
Fig 18-19 Golden finger ring B 11. Hoard from Alexandria, rue Octavien Auguste (E. Breccia 1932, pl. XXII 82 (top right and bottom left (?)).....	217
Fig 20 Fragments of golden bracelet B 4. Hoard from Alexandria, rue Octavien Auguste (E. Breccia 1932, pl. XXII 80-81).....	218
Fig 21 Golden bracelet B 5. Hoard from Alexandria, rue Octavien Auguste (E. Breccia 1932, pl. XXI 79 (top)).....	218
Fig 22 Golden bracelet. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles (P. Bastien-C. Metzger 1977, pl. VI).....	218

Fig 23 Golden bracelet. Röm.-Germ. Mus., Köln (Gallien in der Spätantike. Kat. z. Ausstellung Mainz 1980/1. Mainz 1980, 65 Nr. 53).....	218
Fig 24 Funeral statue. From Kasr el-Gamil (E. Breccia 1932, pl. XL 146)...	218
Fig 25 Funeral statue. From Oxyrhynchus (E. Breccia 1932, pl. XXXIX 137).....	218

Seif El Din, Mervat

Plate I,

1 - Isis-Aphrodite (pudica type), Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3377.....	232
2 - Isis-Aphrodite, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3371.....	232
3 - Aphrodite removing her sandal, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3372.....	232
4 - Eros, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3375.....	232

Plate II,

1 - Attis, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3374.....	233
2 - Silenus, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3376.....	233
3 - Osiris-Amon, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3373.....	233
4 - Wrestlers, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3370.....	233

Plate III,

1 - Incense - burner, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3369.....	234
2 - Panther s head, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3382.....	234
3 - <i>Pater</i> handle, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3384.....	234
4 - Uraeus head, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3386.....	24

Plate IV,

1 - Handle of an oinochoe, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3383.....	235
2 - Upper part of a candelabrum, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3381.....	235
3 - Stem of a candelabrum, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3379.....	235
4 - Elements of candelabra, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 1311/3388.....	235

Plate V,

1 - Lamp, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 3379.....	236
2 - Part of a sistrum, Tanta Museum, Inv. no. 1248.....	236
3 - Ladle “ Kyathos”, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 1249.....	236
4 - Ladle “ Kyathos”, Tanta Museum Inv. no. 294.....	236

Shaheen, Baheya

Fig 1 Black and White Roman Mosaics.....	242
Fig 2 Black and White Roman Mosaics.....	243

Foreword

In the summer of 1997, the idea occurred to a number of former students and friends of Professor Mostafa El Abbadi to issue a Festschrift in his honour on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. To honour Mostafa El Abbadi, in this way is to express the feelings of many who have known and appreciated him as a dedicated scholar and devoted teacher. No sooner did we announce this project in Egypt and abroad, than we received immediate and enthusiastic response. While proceeding with the preparation for the Festschrift, we were gratified by the happy coincidence that, in recognition of Professor El Abbadi's outstanding contribution to scholarship and culture, the Supreme Council for Culture, granted him the prestigious National Award for Merit in the Social Sciences.

El Abbadi deserves to be honoured for various attainments he has achieved in a diverse number of spheres throughout his life. As regards his scholarship, he counts among the topmost historians in Egypt and the Arab world as well as attaining international recognition due to his outstanding scholarly work and research in the history of Egypt and the Mediterranean in Greek and Roman times. His published work in both English and Arabic is distinguished by a remarkable ability to apply a rigorous historical method from an attitude of strict objectivity and scientific humanism. His sharp analytical mind has enabled him, in a number of cases to reach remarkably original conclusions and sound historical judgments. Another feature of El Abbadi's academic work is his interest in points of interaction between successive cultures in the lands of ancient Egypt and the Near East, namely, Pharaonic, Hellenistic and Arab.

It is not our intention here, to embark on a lengthy description of El Abbadi's list of publications that reveal his full command of classical literary sources, his thorough knowledge of papyrological documents as well as relevant modern scholarship; we merely wish to highlight the principal stages into which his academic work can be divided. In the sixties, he concentrated mainly on Hellenistic and Roman Egypt when he attained international recognition by his publication on the "*Alexandrian Citizenship*", "*The Gerousia in Roman Egypt*", "*The Position of Egypt in the Roman Empire*". In the seventies and eighties, he embarked upon a new track in historical studies, namely the transition from Byzantine to Arab times, a field in which he was able to reach remarkably original conclusions as in "*Historians and the Papyri on the Finances of Egypt at the Arab conquest*", "*Egypt in Transition from Byzantine to Arab*", "*Nessana, Before and in Early Islam*", "*Annona Militaris & Rizk of Nessana*" and "*The Poll Tax of Sergius of Nessana*". In the nineties, El Abbadi turned his attention to a field long neglected in Egyptian Universities, namely the history of science in which he tried to emphasize aspects of exchange and points of interaction between Ancient Egyptian and Hellenistic culture as for example, "*Geographical Explorations in East Africa and the Indian Ocean in Antiquity*", "*Alexandria and Ancient Egyptian Learning*", "*Alexandria, Crossroad of Cultures*".

One of the main features of El Abbadi's personality is his wholehearted devotion to his students. As a committed teacher, he has succeeded over the years in creating an academic school in the field of Greco-Roman studies. His numerous pupils, who worked with him on their M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations, fully appreciate his inspiring guidance and unflagging care and patience. The attachment that binds this great teacher to his pupils is not limited by the attainment of academic degrees, the friendship that unites them is lasting and he always continues to show keen interest in their work.

A glance at the details of El Abbadi's curriculum vitae, will reveal the wide range of his academic activities. Due to the high quality of his published work, he has, over the years, been invited to lecture at various universities spread over four continents, Africa, Asia, Europe and America. In addition to his brilliant academic achievement, El Abbadi also showed a keen involvement and commitment to the cultural development of the environment he lives in. This is evident in his well-known role in the initial creation and promotion of the project of the revival of the ancient Library of Alexandria. After a careful study of the nature, formation and history of the ancient edifice, El Abbadi, came forward with the proposition of resuscitating the ancient Library on modern lines. His aim was to create a cultural environment capable of embracing the bulk of human intellectual legacy as well as to provide the necessary library equipment for modern research. This suggestion was first embraced by the University of Alexandria in 1974, later on, it was accepted by the government of Egypt as a national project and adopted by Unesco in 1986. Ever since the inception of the project, El Abbadi has devoted every effort to promote it by writing and lecturing on the subject at home and abroad. These efforts culminated in his composition of a comprehensive book first published in English by Unesco in 1990 under the title of "*Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria*". The book was well received and has already been described as a classic on the subject; it has now run into its third edition besides appearing in five different versions, Arabic, French, Japanese, Spanish and Greek.

In connection with his keen interest in public cultural aspects, Mostafa El Abbadi continues to be involved in the promotion of recent archaeological discoveries, notably in the new area of underwater excavations. Last but not least, the city of Alexandria will not forget El Abbadi's role in promoting the interests of the internationally well-known Archaeological Society of Alexandria (founded 1893) during the last forty years as active member, twice secretary general and finally president since 1995. Under his presidency, the Society has advanced further and has become a dynamic centre of cultural activity where distinguished scholars both, Egyptians and foreigners meet and lecture about their most recent discoveries in the fields of archaeology, history and culture. The premises have been enlarged and the Society is now capable of receiving larger numbers of students and scholars to benefit from its activities and specialized library. Furthermore, a newsletter is issued three times a year with the latest information about archaeological discoveries and reviews on recent publications. In recognition of both his achievements and services, it is not surprising that the Archaeological Society of Alexandria has decided to issue this Festschrift as volume 46 of its "Bulletin".

In conclusion, in the name of the Archaeological Society of Alexandria, and of his colleagues and pupils, we hope that Professor Mostafa El Abbadi, will enjoy good health for many more years and continue to contribute to the scholarly community and cultural life of the country as he has done so far.

Mostafa A. H. El-Abbadi

Professor Emeritus of Greek and Roman Studies
Faculty of Arts, University of Alexandria
Alexandria, Egypt.

I. Career :

Born, Cairo 10/10/1928; married with two children.

Education:

- 1951 B.A. Hons. In Ancient History, University of Alexandria.
- 1952 Granted Egyptian Government Scholarship to Cambridge University.
- 1956 B.A. Classics (affiliated special degree) Cantab.
- 1960 Ph.D. Cantab. Ancient History.

Professional Career:

University of Alexandria

- 1951 Demonstrator.
- 1961 Lecturer.
- 1966 Associate Professor.
- 1972 Professor of Greek and Roman Studies.
- 1973 Chairman of Dept. of Greek and Roman Civilization.
- 1976-1979 Vice-Dean of Faculty of Arts.
- 1990- Professor Emeritus.

Beirut Arab University, Lebanon.

- 1966-9 Associate Prof., Greek and Roman Studies (Seconded).
- 1980-4 Professor and Chairman of Dept. of History (Seconded).

Kuwait University, Kuwait.

- 1986-1990 Professor of Greek and Roman History.

II. Honours :

- 1-1997, The Cavafy Award for Classical Greek Studies.
- 2-1998, The National Award for Merit in the Social Sciences.

III. Membership of Learned Societies:

- 01- Membre titulaire de l'Institut d'Egypte (since 1992).
- 02- President of the Archaeological Society of Alexandria (since 1994).
- 03- Société Internationale de Papyrologie, Bruxelles.
- 04- American Society of Papyrology, N.Y.
- 05- Society of Roman Studies, London. (1956-1962).
- 06- Egyptian Society of History, Cairo (1970-).
- 07- Egyptian Society of Greek and Roman Studies, Cairo (1985-).
- 08- Egyptian Society of Coptic Archaeology, Cairo (1974-).

- 09- National Committee to record the history of the “July 23, Egyptian Revolution”. (1978).
- 10- Preparatory & National Committee for the Revival of the ancient Library of Alexandria (1974-1986).
- 11- Conseil International de Philosophie et Études Humaines, Unesco, Paris (observer) 1986.
- 12- Union of Arab Historians. Cairo 1992-
- 13- Supreme Council of Culture, Cairo 1993-
- 14- Comité de Direction du Projet “La Bibliothèque d’Alexandrie”, La Sorbonne- Paris I. 1994-
- 15- Supreme Council of Archaeology, Cairo. 1997-

IV. Academic Visits and Lectures:

- 01- 1969-70, Cambridge, England, to participate in the “Prosopography of the later Roman Empire”.
- 02- 1976, Baghdad and Mossul, Iraq.
- 03- 1977, Vienna, Austria.
- 04- 1978, Rostock, Germany.
- 05- 1980, U.S.A.: George Town; Columbia; Yale ; Harvard; Michigan; Stanford; Berkley; Utah ; Arizona.
- 06- 1982, 1986-90, 1992, Kuwait
- 07- 1985, Dammam, Saudi Arabia.
- 08- 1986, Algiers, Algeria.
- 09- 1988, Qatar.
- 10- 1993, Kosut, Hungary.

V. Participation in Congresses and Symosia:

- 01- 1971, Symp. Cairo “Land and Peasant in Egypt”.
(Land & Peasant in Roman Egypt).
- 02- 1973, Symp. Alexandria “Taha Hussein”.
(Taha Hussein and the Classics).
- 03- 1974, Oxford XIVth Int. Cong. of Papyrology.
(P. Flor. 50, Reconsidered)
- 04- 1974, Symp. Cairo “The Historian Ibn Abdel Hakam”.
(Ibn Abdel Hakam & pre-Islamic Egypt).
- 05- 1975, Symp. Alexandria “Alexandria through the Ages”.
(Roman Alexandria).
- 06- 1977, Symp. Catania, Sicily “Sicily of the Arabs”.
(Sicily, Island of Commerce and Culture).
- 07- 1978, Symp. Alexandria “Studies to Archaeologist A. Fikry”.
(Phoenician immigrations in the Western Mediterranean).
- 08- 1979. Symp. Alexandria “Homeric Studies”.
(Alexandria and Homer).
- 09- 1980, N.Y. XVI th Int. Congress of Papyrology.
(Finances of Egypt at the Arab Conquest).
- 10- 1983, Riadh, II nd Int. Congress of the History of Arabia.
(The Papyri and the History of Nessana).

- 11- 1983, Napoli, XVII th Int. Cong. of Papyrology.
(Annona Militaris and Rizk of Nessana).
- 12- 1984, Dublin, Int. Cong. of Classical Societies.
(Egypt in transition from Byzantine to Arab).
- 13- 1985, Delphi, Athens, II nd Int. Cong. of Greek & Arabic Studies.
(A code of Navigation on the Nile in Greco-Roman Egypt).
- 14- 1985, Amman, II nd Int. Cong. History of Syria.
(Papyrological evidence on the early Arab Administration).
- 15- 1985, Washington, Annual Cong. of Am.Philological Association.
(Source material on Greco-Roman Alexandria: discussion).
- 16- 1986, Athens, XVIII th Int. Cong. of Papyrology.
(Grain Supply of Alexandria in Byzantine Times).
- 17- 1987, Athens, III rd In. Cong. of Greek & Arabic Studies.
(The Arabs and Greek Heritage).
- 18- 1987, Amman, III rd Int. Cong. History of Syria.
(Taxes of Nessana under early Arab Administration).
- 19- 1987, Bologna, Int. Colloquio, "Egitto e Storia Antica".
(Arabic Contributions to the Study of Greco-Roman Egypt).
- 20- 1989, Paris, Unesco, Seminar on the ancient Library of Alexandria.
(The Universality of the ancient Library of Alexandria).
- 21- 1989, Cairo, IX th Int. Cong. of Papyrology.
(*Phoros Probaton* : Rent or Tax ?) .
- 22- 1991, Granada, Int. Seminar on Mediterranean Civilization.
(Alexandria and the Mediterranean in Antiquity).
- 23- 1991, Cairo, Seminar "India and Egypt".
(Geographical Explorations in the Indian Ocean in Antiquity).
- 24- 1991, Cairo University, Seminar " Life in Egypt in the Light of Papyri".
(The Arabs and Alexandrian Scholarship).
- 25- 1992, Copenhagen, XX th Int. Cong. of Papyrology.
(The Poll-Tax of Sergius of Nessana).
- 26- 1992, Alexandria, "Centenary of the Greco-Roman Museum of Alexandria".
(The Water-clock : Pharaonic and Alexandrian).
- 27- 1993, Alexandria, "Centenary of the Archaeological Society of Alexandria".
(A Festival Day in Ptolemaic Alexandria).
- 28- 1993, Malibu, California, J.Paul Getty Institute, "Alexandria & Alexandrianism".
(Alexandria and ancient Egyptian Learning).
- 29- 1994, Alexandria, Int. Cong. of Mediterranean Civilizations.
(Intellectual Life in multi- Cultural ancient Alexandria).
- 30- 1994, Alexandria, Sem. The School of Alexandria through the Ages.
(A Philosophic Episode in Alexandria, early 1st cent. B.C.).
- 31- 1994, Alexandria, Symp. Europe and Egypt, Cooperation in Archaeology.
(The Papyri as Evidence on Egypt in Early Arab Rule).
- 32- 1995, Rome, Int. Con. "l'Egitto in Italia".
(Philosophic Dispute within the Academy, centred in Rome & Alexandria).
- 33- 1995, Cairo, Ann.Con. of Union of Arab Historians.
(The Fate of *Ancient Books* during the Crusades).
- 34- 1996, Cairo University, Anthropology of Egypt.
(Marriage in Greco-Roman Egypt in the light of Greek Papyri).
- 35- 1996, Alexandria, Alexandria and Mediterranean Civilization.
(Synesius of Cyrenae and his connections with Alexandria).

- 36- 1996, Alexandria, Archaeological Society, Engineering and Archaeology.
(Ctesibius and the Water-Clock).
- 37- 1996, Cairo, Symp. Supreme Council of Culture, Terrorism in History.
(The Conspiracy of Catilina).
- 38- 1997, Cairo University, Hellenim in the Arab World.
(The Arabs and the Sciences of Alexandria).
- 39- 1997, Alexandria, Symp. Submarine Archaeology & Coastal Management.
(*The Greatest Emporium in the Inhabited World*).
- 40- 1997, Budapest, XXXV th Int. Con. On Asian and North African Studies.
(Papyrological Evidence on the Water-Clock).
- 41- 1997, London, Int. Con. Images of Alexandria.
(The Alexandria Library in History).
- 42- 1997, Alexandria, Int. Con. Alexandria: Dialogue of Cultures.
(Alexandria: Interchange between Egyptian and Greek Cultures).
- 43- 1998, Cairo University, II nd Con. Anthropology of Egypt.
(Synesius of Cyrenae in an Age of Transition, Paganism to Christianity).
- 44- 1998, Cairo, Supreme Council of Culture, Southern Frontiers of Egypt through
the Ages.
(Egypt's Southern Borders in the Greco-Roman Period).
- 45- 1998, Alexandria, Supreme Council of Culture, The Northern Coast of Egypt.
(Ancient Alexandria at the Cross-roads of International Sea Routes)
- 46- 1999, Cairo, Supreme Council of Culture, Role of Coptic Church in Egyptian
History. (Early Arab Administration and the Copts of Akhmim).
- 47- 1999, Paris, Colloque, " Des Alexandries, du Livre au Texte " .
(Alexandria, Cross-road of Cultures).
- 48- 1999, Alexandria, Supreme Council of Antiquity, " Underwater Archaeology
at Qaitbey & the Eastern Harbour of Alexandria " .
(On the Future Development of Underwater Arch. Sites at Alexandria).
- 49-1999, Alexandria, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, II nd Int. Symp. Colloque " Des
Alexandrines, Les Metamorphoses du Lecteur " .
(Readers and Texts in Greco-Roman Egypt, the Testimony of the Papyri).

VI. Books :

- 01-Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria. Unesco 1990, 2nd ed. 1992.
[Japanese translation 1991; Arabic and French versions 1992 ; Spanish 1997 ;
Greek 1998 .]
- 02- (et al) Alexandria : City and Region, Franco Maria Ricci, Milano 1992.
- 03- (co-editor) India and Egypt, Bombay 1993.
- 04- Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest, Cairo 1966,1985,1992,
1999, (Arabic)
- 05- Egypt and the Roman Empire, Beirut 1981 (Arabic).
- 06- (et al) The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, vol 45, ed. E.G.Turner, London 1977.
- 07- (et al) Alexandria through the Ages, Alexandria 1963 (Arabic).
- 08- (et al) Alexandrian Society through the Ages, Alexandria 1975 (Arabic).
- 09- editor, the Egyptian Encyclopaedia, vol 2, the Greco-Roman Period, Cairo
1977 (Arabic).

VII. Translations into Arabic :

- 1- "Cairo : City of Art and Commerce" by G. Wiet ; Beirut 1968 ; Cairo 1990.
- 2- (et al) " History of Science " by G. Sarton, vol. 6 ; Cairo 1976 .
- 3- (et al) " The Golden Bough " by J. Fraser, vol 2 ; Cairo 1976 .
- 4- "Strabo, Pliny the Elder & Ptolemy of Alexandria, Three Views of Ancient Arabia and its Peoples" by Henry I. MacAdam, Geographical Studies no. 146; Kuwait 1992.

VIII. Articles:

a) English.

- 01- "The Alexandrian Citizenship", *Journal of Egyptian Arch.* 46, 1962; 106-123.
- 02- "The Gerousia in Roman Egypt", *Jour. of Egyp. Arch.* 50, 1964; 164-169.
- 03- "A Side-Light on the Social of Ancient Alexandria", *Cahiers d'Alexandrie*, 1964. 40-50.
- 04- "Aspects of Everyday Life in Ancient Alexandria", *Cahiers d'Alexandrie* . 1966.
- 05- "The Edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander", *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale*, 65, 1967 ; 216-226.
- 06- "Aspects of Working Conditions in Greco-Roman Egypt", *Arch. & Hist. Studies, Alexandria* 1971, 81-105.
- 07- " On Caesar's Politics" *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria* 25, 197; 139-149.
- 08- "Florentine Papyrus no. 50: Reconsidered" *Proceedings of XIVth Int. Cong. of Pap. Oxford* 1974 ; 91-96.
- 09- "The Greek Attitude towards the King's Peace B.C. 386" *Bulletin de la Société Arch. d'Alexandrie* 43, 1975 ; 17-41.
- 10- "Historians and the Papyri on the Finances of Egypt at the Arab Conquest" *Proceedings of XVIth Int. Cong. of Pap., N.Y.* 1980. Printed 1981; 509-516.
- 11- "Annona Militaris and Risk of Nessana" *Proc. Of XVII Int. Cong. of Pap. Naples* 1983, prited 1984.
- 12- "Traffic Code on the Nile in Greco-Roman Egypt" *Int. Symp. of Gr. & Ar. Studies Delphi, Athens* 1991.
- 13- "Grain Supply of Alexandria and its Population in Byzantine Times" *Proc. of XVIII Int. Cong. of Pap. Athens* 1986 printed 1988; 317-323.
- 14- "Arabic Contributions to the Study of Greco-Roman Egypt" *Atti del Colloquio Internazionale: Egitto e Storia Antica, Bologna* 1987, print. 1989; 383-395.
- 15- "Aspects of Scholarship and the Library in Ptolemaic Alexandria" *Diogenes* 141 1988; 21-37 ; in French, *Diogene* 141, 1988 ; 24-40.
- 16- "Phoros Probaton: Tax or Rent?" *Proc. of XIX Cong. of Pap. Ein Shams Univ. Cairo* 1989, print. 1992.
- 17- "Innovation and Originality in Literature and Philosophy in Ancient Alexandria." *Quarterly of India International Centre*, issue Dec. 1991; 145-159.
- 18- "The Poll Tax of Sergius of Nessana" *Proc. of XX Int. Cong. Pap. Copenhagen* 1993 ; 470-473.
- 19- "Geographical Explorations in the Indian Ocean in Antiquity" *India and Egypt* , ed. S. Doshi & M. El-Abadi, Bombay 1993 ; 22-37.
- 20- "The Problem of the Senate of Alexandria: can it be solved?" *Bulletin de la Société Archeologique d'Alexandrie* 45, 1994.
- 21- "A Philosophic Dispute within the Academy, Early First century B.C." *L'Egitto in Italia dall' Antichita al Medioevo*, Rome 1998.

- 22- "The Making of a World Map" 1st Annual Int. Bibliotheca Alexandrina Symp. Alexandria 1998; 22-27.
- 23- "Alexandria, Geschichte" Der Neue Pauly Enzyklopaedie der Antike, Band 13, 63-67. Stuttgart- Weimar 1999.
- 24- "Alexandrie, Carfour des Cultures Lettrées" Colloque des Alexandries, Du Livre au Texte, Bib. Nat. de France, Paris 1999.
- 25- "The Greatest Emporium in the Inhabited World", Symp. Submarine Archaeology and Coastal Management, Unesco, Paris 2000.

b) Arabic :

- 01- " On the beginnings of Christianity in Egypt" Al-Migalla 81, Cairo Sep. 1963.
- 02- " Cleomenes and his Economic Measures under Alexander the Great" Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Alexandria, 1964; 65-85.
- 03- "The Position of Egypt in the Roman Empire" Bulletin of Faculty of Arts, Alexandria, 1968 ; 241-251.
- 04- "Images of Social Life in ancient Alexandria", Archaeological & Historical Studies, Alexandria 1968 ; 41-51.
- 05- "Juvenal: Study of a discontented Poet" Arch. & Hist. Stud. Alex. 1974; 50-63
- 06- "Land and Peasant in Roman Egypt" in, Land & Peasant in Egypt through the Ages. Ed. By A.Ezzat Abdel Kerim, Cairo 1974 ; 113-155.
- 07- "The Later Roman Empire by A.H.M.Jones" A critical essay, Bulletin of Arab Historians, Baghdad 1978 ; 61-97.
- 08- "Nessana, Before and After the Rise of Islam" Studies in the History of Arabia bk. 3 pt. 2 , Riadh 1984 ; 201-134.
- 09- "Nessana in the Light of the Papyri" Alam- El-Fikr, vol. 15 pt. 3. Kuwait 1985 ; 727-754.
- 10- "Papyrological Evidence on the Umayyad Administration" Proc. Int. Cong. History of Syria, Amman 1989 ;43-57.
- 11- "Contemplations on History by Theodor Heamroe" A critical Study, Alam-El-Fikr, vol. 20 pt. 1 Kuwait 1989 ; 253- 274.
- 12- "Sicily: Island of Commerce and Culture" Studies presented to A.H.Ghuraybe, Amman University 1989 ; 165-180.
- 13- "Papyrological Documents on the Taxes of Nessana in Early Islam", Commemorative issue by Dept. of History, Kuwait University 1990; 54-70.
- 14- "Black Athena by Martin Bernal" A Critical Study, Alam-El-Fikr vol 21. pt.3 Kuwait 1993 ; 312-323.
- 15- "Athenian Democracy" Alam-El-Fikr vol.22 pt.2 Kuwait 1994 ; 50-115

Macedonian Presence In Alexandria*

Argyro B. Tataki

New surroundings give to settlers the opportunity for new creations and Alexandria could not be an exception to that. In dealing with the Hellenistic period one is aware that the Macedonians and the other Greeks who came to settle in Alexandria had already many things in common without however having lost yet their special local characteristics. Thus the settlement of Macedonians in Egypt and in Alexandria can be traced in various ways which I will try to sketch here.

Initially there are two approaches for the examination of their presence in the population. The use of the ethnic Μακεδων is the first one, which certainly in the early attestations, especially those from Alexandria, had a more realistic content¹ than it had later for the settlers of the Fayum. A safer indication than the ethnic is the existence of Macedonian personal names attested even after the first two centuries from the time of their owners' arrival, as the analysis of the onomasticon shows. It is essential to point out here that some of the names considered by the specialists as typically Macedonian are known only from their attestations in Egypt, for example the names Βιλιστική and Λόβιος and others;² in addition to that many well known Macedonian names, such as Βαλακρος and Φιλωτας, to mention only a few, have been preserved in inscriptions found in Alexandria with or without the use of the ethnic.³ Dozens of other well known Macedonian names are preserved in Egyptian papyri, to mention only some of those starting with letter A: Ἄμυντας, Ἄρπαλος, Ἄρριδαίος, Ἄτταλος, Ἄττινας.⁴ Since on the other hand we know that many Macedonians had common Greek names without any local characteristics,⁵ it is reasonable to reach the conclusion that a substantial part among the holders of names belonging to this category were also of Macedonian descent, a conclusion that can be reinforced by considering the other factors that we will discuss next.

Many Macedonian prototypes can be traced in the institutions, the administration and even more in the organisation of the Ptolemaic court as it can be studied on the basis of the works of P.M. Fraser and R. Bagnal;⁶ the analogies observed can support a better understanding of the archetype that is often less explicitly documented. The role of the Macedonian household troops in the approving of the new sovereign, the Friends and the First Friends of the king, the bodyguards, the employment of the term επιστάτης for defining the governor of a city with civil authority in the Ptolemaic administration,⁷ are all features very much characteristic of the Macedonian administration, as known by the historians of Alexander or as attested in inscriptions found in Macedonia.⁸ For the Macedonian court the royal envoys abroad were naturally members of the aristocracy including persons of the family of the king, as can be observed in an early source, the treaty of Perdikkas II with the Athenians.⁹ In these relatives of the Macedonian kings most probably originates the term συγγενής, used often by Ptolemaic envoys abroad;¹⁰ the other definition used: τῶν πρώτων Φιλῶν (among the First Friends) of the king, is also a well documented feature of the royal administration of Macedonia.¹¹

Some religious features, not very common in the rest of the Greek world, can also be traced in Macedonia. Heracles' very important place in Macedonia is widely attested; his worship is accompanied with many different epithets, as inscriptional and literary sources show.¹² One of them is for Heracles Kallinikos, attested only once in Beroea,¹³ a city that lies in the heart of the Macedonian kingdom. A dedication to this god with the same epithet constitutes the only epithet of Heracles epigraphically attested in Egypt and most probably comes from Alexandria.¹⁴

Another cult, not very common in the rest of the Greek world, is that of *Θεα Καλη*, attested only once in Macedonia, in the town of Lete; it has been recently published and discussed by M.B. Hatzopoulos, who associated her with the cult of Demeter and Kore and the rites of passage for young girls.¹⁵ The same goddess, *Θεα Καλη*, is also attested once in Alexandria¹⁶

Certainly it is not only in those rare but characteristic examples, just mentioned where the Macedonian presence can be traced. The Argeads claim to Heraclid ancestry, claim that was later embraced also by the Antigonids,¹⁷ found an early imitation by the Ptolemies, who, in order to establish their relationship to the Argead house, made up a descent from Dionysos and his son-in-law Heracles.¹⁸ Ancestry of the Argeads from Dionysos is mentioned by Plutarch, in the work *On the fortune or the virtue of Alexander*, where in the discussion of the king with the philosopher Diogenes he asks from him to be forgiven for imitating Heracles.... and “follow in the footsteps of Dionysos, the divine author and progenitor of my family”.¹⁹ The dominant place of Dionysos in Macedonian life is testified by numerous literary references, to mention only the descriptions by Arrian of several sacrifices to him,²⁰ the notice that there was a day kept sacred to Dionysos by the Macedonians and that Alexander used to sacrifice to him yearly on that day and also the description of Alexander’s arrival in the town of India called Nysa, a foundation of Dionysos.²¹ The dominant presence of Dionysos in Alexandria is best seen in the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos which contains many important elements that allow us to suppose a very close connection with Macedonia. This text of Kallixeinos preserved by Athenaeus in the fifth book of the *Deipnosophistai*, translated and thoroughly discussed by E.E. Rice,²² gives very important information and allows for a new way of looking at and interpreting the contents of some Macedonian tombs. The text that is excerpted from a more extended work by Kallixeinos called *About Alexandria*, describes for its greater part the procession of Dionysos and his followers.²³ The richness of the objects, wreaths and colossal statues in this procession can be paralleled with the three day triumph of Aemilius Paulus, adorned with what he had carried to Rome from Macedonia, as described by Plutarch.²⁴ But the actual description, the followers of Dionysos and some of the objects carried by them can be recognised in many features of the objects and decorations found in the large royal tomb of Aegeae (modern Vergina), that the excavator M. Andronikos believed to be Philip’s tomb²⁵ On reading this extraordinary text one should naturally ignore the exaggeration in the size of the objects mentioned, as e.g. the nine feet tall altars and the equally huge *thymiateria* (incense burners), or a silver krater holding 600 measures.²⁶ Other objects, mostly of gigantic size, that appeared in large numbers in the Alexandrian procession and can be seen among the Vergina finds in more moderate sizes include *oinochoai* and *phialai*, basins and kraters, all objects connected with drinking and mixing of wine, all objects suitable for symposia.²⁷ Almost everything in this royal tomb is connected with Dionysos and his cult. Satyrs and Silenoi decorate most of the objects and Dionysos himself is represented in an ivory plaque.²⁸ Other objects mentioned in the procession include tripods, golden crowns of ivy worn by the statues of Alexander and Ptolemaios I Soter and a golden crown of olive worn by the statue of Arete, all finding a material form in the finds of Vergina and also those of other Macedonian tombs.²⁹ *Thymiateria* can be recognised, as I believe, in the lantern, as the excavator interpreted it, found in the same Vergina tomb.³⁰ Participants in the procession were also, according to the same text, Macedonian women called Mimallones, Bassarai and Lydai, explained as Maenads, described as having hair streaming loose and some holding daggers in their hands, others snakes,³¹ they are also illustrated in Macedonian funerary finds and primarily on the Derveni krater.³² The features connected with the cult of Dionysos have made their appearance not only in Vergina, where their presence is overpowering, but also at other sites

where Macedonian tombs were excavated. One cannot forget the relationship of Dionysos to Orpheus and the Underworld, which is so eloquently demonstrated in another funerary find, that of the unique Derveni krater.³³ The pyre of another Derveni tomb contained an also unique find, for Greece, a papyrus with an Orphic text,³⁴ inside the same tomb a gilded *thymiaterion* similar to the one of Vergina was found.³⁵

Another feature close to the Macedonian originals, but in general of lower quality, is the painting preserved in funeral monuments of Alexandria³⁶. The recent discoveries in Macedonia have revolutionised our knowledge of ancient painting, and now the origin of these Alexandrian creations can be more easily traced than at the time of their publication. In the funerary architecture, features such as false doors and windows and funerary *klinai*,³⁷ also point to the same cultural background and reinforce our belief that many Macedonians came and worked in Alexandria from the start, besides the eponymous architect of the city Deinokrates. That the architect, who was ordered by Alexander to lay out the plans of a city in his name, was a Macedonian, is an information of Vitruvius; another source, PsCallisthenes, calls him Rhodian.³⁸

We will conclude with an area in which the contribution of the Alexandrian literary achievement is in particular recognised: the creation of the epigram.³⁹ We should not underestimate the fact that one of the most famous Alexandrian epigrammatists, the man who lived at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphos and composed the poem designed to celebrate most probably the erection, of the Pharos, was the Macedonian Poseidippos from Pella.⁴⁰ It seems that it is no coincidence that although most of their works are lost we know of many Macedonians who contributed to this and other related fields of poetic creation as e.g. epic and tragic poetry. Epigrams inscribed on Macedonian funerary monuments are quite numerous; the earliest come from Pella and is dated in the first half of the 4th century B.C.;⁴¹ next are the epigrams from Vergina that are dated as early as the second half of the 4th century B.C.⁴²

NOTES

*This paper was delivered in Alexandria during the Second Alexandria International Conference: *Alexander the Great and Alexandria* (January 1996).

The following references support indicatively the presentation of the subject that was not intended to be exhaustive.

1. See the discussion of the ethnic by P.M. Fraser. *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) I 49-50, 53, 54, 58, 63, particularly 80, 129, 222-23.
2. I. Russu. "Macedonica Osservazioni sull lingua e l'etnografia degli antichi Macedoni." *EphDac* 8 (1938) 180, 199. O. Masson "Sur le nom de Bilistiche, favorite de Ptolémée II." *Studia in honorem I. Kajanto* (1985) 109-112 = *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* II 467-70.
3. E. Breccia, *Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée d'Alexandrie: Isrizioni Greche e Latine* (Cairo 1911, repr. 1976) index.
4. On the basis of F. Preisigke. *Namenbuch* (Amsterdam 1967).
5. As has been concluded in recent studies: Argyro B. Tataki. *Ancient Beroea: Prosopography and Society* (Meletemata 8: Athens 1988) 334, 339, 415, 449.

6. P.M. Fraser, *ibid. supra* n. 1, I 93-131; R.Bagnal, *The Administration of Ptolemaic Possessions Outside Egypt* (Leiden 1976).
7. P.M. Fraser, *ibid. supra* n. 1, I 69, 80, 100, 102-104, 118, 129-130.
8. Discussed by M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings* (Meletemata 22; Athens 1996).
9. *IG I*³, 89.
10. P.M. Fraser, *ibid. supra* n. 1, I 103. II 187 n. 74; L. Mooren, *The aulic titlature in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Brussels 1975) 232-44 nos 00198-00349.
11. L. Mooren, *ibid. supra* n. 10, 226-32 nos 00124-197; for Macedonia see Sylvie Le Bohec, "Les Philoi des rois Antigonides", *REG* 98 (1985) 93-124, in particular pp. 118-19. On the First Friends of Perseus see Polyb. XXIX 3, 3; Livy XLII 39, 7; XLIV 23, 2, 45, 2.
12. W. Baege, *De Macedonum Sacris* (Halle 1913) 184-198; Ch.F. Édson, "The Antigonids, Heracles and Beroea." *HSCP* 45 (1934) 213-46. See also G. Bakalakis. M. Andronikos, *Deltion* 25 (1970) B 394 and M. Andronikos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City* (Athens 1984) 38, 42, 226 for Heracles Patroos.
13. M.G. Demitsas, *E Makedonia en lithois phthegomenois kai mnemeiois sozomenois* (Athens 1896). repr. title: *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum et Latinarum Macedoniae* (Chicago 1980) nos 18 and 291; W. Baege, *ibid. supra* n. 12, 141; A.B.Tatakis, *ibid., supra* n. 5, 243 no 1000.
14. P.M. Fraser, *ibid. supra* n. 1, I 195; for other attestations of Heracles with the same epithet see Giulia Ronchi, *Lexicon theonymon rerumque sacrarum et divinarum ad Aegyptum pertinentium quae in papyris ostracis titulis Graecis Latinisque in Aegypto repertis laudantur III* (Milano 1975) 568.
15. M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Cultes et rites de passage en Macedoine* (Meletemata 19; Athens 1994) 44, 49-50.
16. E. Breccia, *ibid. supra* n. 3, 372-73 no 117.
17. Ch. F. Edson, *ibid. supra* n. 12.
18. W.W. Tarn, "The Lineage of Ptolemy I", *JHS* 53 (1933) 57-61; P.M. Fraser, *ibid. supra* n. 1, I 44-45, 202-203, 208.
19. Plutarch, *Mor.* 332A-B.
20. Arrian, *Anab.* IV 9, 5. Cf. J.P. Corregge, *Le cultes de Dionysos en Macedoine* (Paris 1992, M.A. Thesis, unpublished) 97-99. See also M.B. Hatzopoulos, *ibid. supra* n. 15, 63-85 for the discussion of the most recent epigraphical attestations on the cult of Dionysos in Macedonia.
21. Arrian, *Anab.* IV 8, !; V 1,1.
22. Athen. 197C-203B = *FGH* 627 F 2; E.E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford 1983).

23. Athen. 197E-202A.
24. Plutarch, *Aem.* 32,4-34.
25. M. Andronikos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City* (Athens 1984).
26. Athen. 197E, 197F, 198B.
27. Athen. 198B, 198D, 199C, compared to M. Andronikos, *ibid. supra* n. 25, 145-158 and figs 104-107, 109-14, 115.
28. M. Andronikos, *ibid supra* n. 25, figs 90, 114-16.
29. See the tripod from Philip's tomb: M. Andronikos, *ibid. supra* n. 25. A golden crown of ivy found in a tomb in Pieria (now in the Archaeological Museum of Dion) is illustrated in the catalogue of the archaeological exhibition in Montreal entitled: *Greek Civilisation: Macedonia the Kingdom of Alexander the Great* (Athens 1993) 233 fig. 276. From the golden crowns of olive see the one found in Derveni (now in the Archaeological Museum of Thessalonike), illustrated in the catalogue of the archaeological exhibition in Melbourne entitled: *Ancient Macedonia* (Athens 1988) 287 fig. 236.
30. M. Andronikos, *ibid., supra* n. 25, 162-63 figs 130-31.
31. Athen. 198E; see the discussion by E.E. Rice, *ibid, supra* n. 22, 61-62.
32. E. Giouri, *O krateras tou Derveniou* (Athens 1978); illustrated in many publications, see e.g. M.B. Sakellariou (ed.), *Macedonia: 4000 years of Greek History and Civilisation* (Athens 1983) 106-108 figs 71-73.
33. *Ibid. supra* n. 32.
34. M.L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford 1983) 68-115; published originally by St. Kapsomenos, *Deltion* 19 (1964) A 17-25 pls 12-15; cf. *ZPE* 47 (1982) 1-12.
35. Ch. Makaronas, *Deltion* 18 (1963) B 193 pl. 225 b; illustrated also in the catalogue of the archaeological exhibition in Melbourne entitled: *Ancient Macedonia* (Athens 1988) 283 fig. 232.
36. Blanche R. Brown, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian style* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1957); A. Gazal, *Graptai Stelai tes Ellenistikis Alexandreias* (Athens 1964).
37. For Alexandrian false doors see B.R. Brown, *ibid., supra* n. 36, 34, 86 and bibliography; on *klinai* see I. Noshy, *The Arts in Ptolemaic Egypt* (London 1937) 22-23, 143. For Macedonia see the discussion by Ph. Petsas, *O taphos ton Leukadion* (Athens 1966) 72 and n. 2, 77 and n. 2 and M. Andronikos, "The Macedonian Tombs" in R. Ginouves, M.B. Hatzopoulos (eds), *Macedonia from Philip II to the Roman conquest* 154-61; *id., Vergina, The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City* (Athens 1984) 31, 32, 35, 122, 123, 219.
38. Vitruv. II 1-4; PsCallisth. I 31; E. Fabricius, *RE* IV (1901) 2392-93 no 6; see also Argyro B. Tataki, *Macedonians Abroad* (Meletemata 26; Athens 1998) 219 no 12.

39. P.M. Fraser. *ibid supra* n. 1. I 553-617. II 791-869.
40. W. Peck. *RE* XXII (1953) 428-46 no 3; P.M. Fraser. *ibid. supra* n. 39; he was one of the Macedonians honoured with *proxenia* in Thermon: *IG* IX 1.2 17 line 24; see also Argyro B. Tataki. *ibid. supra* n. 38. 159 no 77.
41. *SEG* (1977) 298.
42. Chryssoula Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, Ta epitaphia mnemeia apo ten Megale Toumpa tes Verginas, Epeteris tes Philosophikes Sholes tou Aristoteleiou Panepistemiou Thessalonikes Suppl. No 50 (Thessalonike 1984) no 3 p. 44, no 6 p. 79, no 22 p. 168.