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ALEXANDRIAN STUDIES II
In Honour Of
MOSTAFA EL ABBADI

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ALEXANDRIA 2000

ALEXANDRIAN STUDIES II
In Honour Of
MOSTAFA EL ABBADI

CONTRIBUTIONS BY HIS FRIENDS



MOSTAFA EL ABBADI

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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 unflinching 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.
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Two Ptolemies in Alexandria

Paul Edmund Stanwick

The ongoing finds from new excavations in Alexandria are expanding the knowledge of Ptolemaic royal sculptures. Two Ptolemies sculpted in the Egyptian manner in the collections of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, the first one published, the second not, can be examined in this context. By the shape of their faces and eyes, both heads appear to represent the same person.¹

The first, an under life-size, granite head of a young king wearing a plain nemes with uraeus, was found by Evaristo Breccia during a survey of Canopus in the early 20th century (Fig. 1a-b, Alexandria 28163).² A single tier of short, thin hairhangs over the forehead, and curves slightly outward at the right temple, with similarly curled, small sideburns; the left side of the head was presumably comparable, but is now broken off. The abraded face is oval, with highly rounded eyebrows and wide-open eyes, which are nearly twice as high as they are wide, and which have strongly curved upper lids and slightly curved lower ones. There is a pinch of flesh just above each nostril, framing the outline of the missing nose. The small, damaged mouth is a bit wider than the base of the nose and has drilled corners. There are no back pillar remains.

The second, an unfortunately very battered, life-size, limestone head of a king in a plain nemes (Fig. 2a-b, Alexandria P. 1798), was a chance find at Ras el-Soda, according to museum records.³ Despite the effects of the damage, it is clear that the sculpture has an oval facial shape, highly curved left eyebrow, and wide-open eye (almost twice as high as wide), that closely parallel the same of the Canopus head above. What is different is that the forehead locks are more varied (though the hairline remains straight), and that there is a beard from sideburns to chin, marked with deep incisions conveying the impression of thick growth. Mirroring the sculptural style of the hair, the ears are summarily carved, the left being much larger than the right. The uraeus, right eye, nose, and mouth are almost completely destroyed, and there are no remaining indications of a back pillar. A square hole (2.7 x 3.0 x c. 5 cm deep) on top of the head likely accommodated an attribute or additional

¹I wish to express my great thanks to M. Ahmed Abd el Fattah, director general of the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, who allowed me to publish these sculptures. Many thanks also to Dr. Mervat Seif el Din for inviting me to write this article.

²Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 28163. The height of the total sculpture is 17.5 cm, while that of the head is 14.7 cm, and the face (excluding the forehead hair) 8.9 cm.

³Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum P. 1798. The height of the total sculpture is 30.4 cm, while that of the head is 25.6 cm, and the face (excluding the forehead hair and beard) 16.5 cm. The sculpture entered the museum's collection in 1939.

headdress; such holes or tenons are a common feature of Ptolemaic royal sculptures. The head is unpublished.

When Evaristo Breccia found the Canopus head (Fig. 1a-b), he dated it to the second or first century B.C., without detailing his reasoning.⁴ Subsequently, Helmut Kyrieleis astutely connected the head with two others commonly ascribed to Ptolemies XIII-XV,⁵ particularly the lattermost ruler (otherwise known as Caesarion, son of Cleopatra VII and Julius Caesar), but he did not suggest a definite attribution.⁶ He noted that all three resemble each other in hairstyle, facial shape, and age.

With the association of the second, bearded sculpture (Fig. 2a-b), an identification as Caesarion is a possibility for the Canopus and Ras el-Soda heads for a number of reasons. The most important one is that Caesarion is among the few Ptolemies who is known to potentially have representations both with and without beards. Kyrieleis has published a series of clay sealings from Nea Paphos depicting a boy maturing into a young man which, by process of elimination (using comparisons to glyptic portraits of other Ptolemies), this scholar has placed with Caesarion.⁷ The profiles show a young ruler having a diadem or *kausia*, bangs of forehead hair, sometimes a thick, under-the-chin beard and/or mustache, and a peculiarly undershot chin. Unlike other late Ptolemies, the nose bridge is relatively straight. The age range indicated corresponds to the span of Caesarion's rule with his mother Cleopatra VII, from pre-teens through mid- to late teens.

In comparing the two heads in the Graeco-Roman Museum to the clay sealings proposed as those of Caesarion, a number of similarities can be noted. The gently curved forehead hair, beardlessness, and youthful countenance of the Canopus example match the same of some clay sealings, especially those earlier in Kyrieleis' series.⁸ Likewise, the fuller hair and pronounced beard of the Ras el-Soda head can be favorably compared with later sealings in the series displaying much the same traits.⁹

⁴Evaristo Breccia. *Le Musée Gréco-Romain 1925-1931* (Bergamo, 1932), 17-18, pl. 9, fig. 33.

⁵Bologna. Museo Civico Archeologico KS 1803 and Brooklyn, The Brooklyn Museum of Art 54.117, which will be discussed in more detail further below.

⁶Helmut Kyrieleis. *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (Berlin, 1975), 75, 177, H 20, pl. 67: 4 (hereafter, Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*).

⁷Helmut Kyrieleis. "Ptolemäische Porträts auf Siegelabdrücken aus Nea Paphos (Zypern)," in *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique* BCH suppl. 29 (Athens, 1996), ed. by Marie-Françoise Boussac and Antonio Invernizzi, 318, pls. 54-56 (hereafter, Kyrieleis, "Nea Paphos"). See also the earlier publication, idem, "Bildnisse des Kaisarion zu Siegelabdrücken aus Nea Paphos," in *Akten de XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie*, Berlin 1988 (Mainz, 1990), 456-457, where Kyrieleis suggested that a marble head from Mersa Matruh (Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 24660, height 38 cm) could represent Caesarion, given the presence of the mustache, a feature seen on clay sealings attributed to this young ruler; see discussion and prior bibliography for this head in R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), 97, 124, 167, cat. no. 60, pl. 40: 3-4 (hereafter, Smith, *Hellenistic*). While this is an intriguing idea, the Mersa Matruh head is very visually close to an over life-size limestone statue from Aphroditopolis (Cairo JE 42891, height 2.05 m, without the base; see Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 70ff., 175, H 3, pl. 59: 3-4 and Smith, *Hellenistic*, 30, 84, 97, 124, 168, cat. no. 61, pl. 41: 1-3, both with prior bibliography) often ascribed to Ptolemies IX-X, and it is uncertain whether one could expect such a correspondence over a distance of three generations unless one considers the sculpture reworked (in other words, a portrait of Ptolemies IX-X re-cut to that of Ptolemy XV).

⁸Particularly, Kyrieleis, "Nea Paphos," pl. 54: top center, bottom left, and bottom center.

⁹Ibid. pl. 56: bottom center and bottom right.

The other instance of a similarly thick beard appears on clay sealing profiles from Edfu, Nea Paphos and elsewhere, which are believed to represent Ptolemies IX-X, for whom no coin portraits are known.¹⁰ These physkon sons of Ptolemy VIII alternated rules, with Ptolemy IX reigning for about 10 years after the death of their father, then Ptolemy X ruling for nearly 20 years, and finally Ptolemy IX returning to rule for about eight more years. Two portrait types can be isolated among these sealings, and one has a heavy beard. This type shows a fleshy, but compact face with asymmetrical, often tightly curled locks and an under-the-chin beard. An eagle-scalp headdress appearing on some of these may point to Ptolemy IX since he took the name Soter, the dynasty's founder, who is associated with the eagle.¹¹ In addition, based on new finds published by Kyrieleis, this portrait type appears to display a divergent age range, with some examples having youthful, delicate features,¹² while others show an older, heavier-faced individual with a hooked nose.¹³ This age divergence fits Ptolemy IX since youthful sealings would represent him in his first reign as a young man from 116 to 107 B.C., and the aged ones would show him as an older man during his second rule from 88 to 81 B.C.¹⁴

The sealings identified as possibly Ptolemy IX cannot be matched with the two sculptures under discussion. The glyptic profiles consistently have wavy forehead hair and beards, which do not agree with the Canopus head, which has relatively straight hair and no beard. In addition, the Canopus and Ras el-Soda sculptures do not display the full-faced characteristics to be expected for the physkon Ptolemy IX. A granite head in Berlin,¹⁵ which is often accepted to match the sealing profiles possibly belonging to Ptolemy IX,¹⁶ has a full

¹⁰In addition to Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 64ff. and Smith, *Hellenistic*, 95-96, see: J. G. Milne, "Ptolemaic Seal Impressions," *JHS* 36 (1916), 87-101; Antje Krug, "Die Bildnisse Ptolemaios' IX., X. und XI.," and Klaus Parlasca, "Probleme der späten Ptolemäerbildnisse," in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, ed. by Herwig Maehler and Volker Michael Strocka (Mainz, 1978), 9-24 and 25-30, respectively (hereafter, the former article is referred to as Krug, "Bildnisse" and the latter as Parlasca, "Probleme"); Herwig Maehler, "Egypt under the Last Ptolemies," *BICS* 30 (1983), 1-16; and Kyrieleis, "Nea Paphos," *passim*, all with other prior bibliography.

¹¹Smith, *Hellenistic*, 95-96 discusses various arguments for the attribution of sealings to Ptolemies IX-X.

¹²Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, pl. 55: 11, 15.

¹³Kyrieleis, "Nea Paphos," pl. 62.

¹⁴The second glyptic portrait type associated with Ptolemies IX-X shows a larger-faced man having a big nose with convex bridge, flattened hanging tip and flaring nostril, and often a jutting lower lip. He can also have facial hair, though this is a light stubble or long sideburns, compared to the heavier renderings on the sealings ascribed to Ptolemy IX or Caesarion. In one instance, an elephant-scalp headdress appears (Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, pl. 100: 5), which may refer to Alexander the Great's victories in India, and thus prove that the face represents Ptolemy X, who took Alexander's name. Caution must be exercised before finalizing the attributions of the sealings to Ptolemies IX-X, as further evidence is published. A light beard likewise appears on two gold ring portraits often ascribed to Ptolemy VI, Paris, Musée du Louvre Bj 1092 and Bj 1093. See Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 63, pl. 46: 5-6; Smith, *Hellenistic*, 93, note 39; Marie-Françoise Boussac, "Cachets de la collection Benaki," *BCH* 113 (1989), 333, figs. 8-9; Hans Peter Laubscher, "Zur Bildtradition in Ptolemäisch-Römischer Zeit," *JdI* 111 (1996), 242-243; and *La gloire d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1998), 203, cat. nos. 147-148.

¹⁵Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 14079, granite head, provenance not known, height 26 cm.

¹⁶Though F. von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur* (Munich, 1914), no. 111 postulated that a bearded Roman emperor was portrayed, Kyrieleis' subsequent, well justified assignment to the late second to early first centuries B.C. (Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 72, 176, H 7, pl. 63: 1-3) has been seconded by other scholars: Zsolt Kiss,

face with a heavy brow, small eyes, strongly flaring nostrils, a wide mouth, a thickened lower lip, and a horizontally oval chin, all of which are different from the preserved features of the Canopus and Ras el-Soda heads.

A second reason that the Canopus and Ras el-Soda sculptures may belong to Caesarion is their strong visual resemblance to a colossal, red granite striding king from Karnak which is accepted by many as a representation of Augustus.¹⁷ The portrait type is different, although the semicircular eyebrows and wide-open eyes are very close to the treatment on the two heads in the Graeco-Roman Museum. There can be a visual continuity between portraits of the final rulers of one Egyptian dynasty and the first rulers of the next one. Notably, portraits of the last native pharaohs of Dynasty 30 strongly resemble those of the early Ptolemies and can be difficult to differentiate.¹⁸ Another minor point is that the uraei of the Canopus head and the Karnak statue are rendered similarly, with small loops sitting on a narrow nemes frontlet and the rearing body of the snake slightly overlapping the forehead hair.

A third reason supporting the Alexandria heads' potential association with Caesarion is a comparison to two other works which may depict him: an under life-size, granite head in Bologna¹⁹ and an under life-size, dark stone statue broken off at mid-thighs in Brooklyn.²⁰

Études sur le portrait impérial romain en Egypte (Warsaw, 1984), 23, 82, 119, fig. 4 (hereafter, Kiss, Études); and Smith, Hellenistic, 87, 96, 170, cat. no. 75, pl. 48: 3-4. Though this head was considered lost, it recently came to light again: Alfred Grimm, Sylvia Schoske, and Dietrich Wildung, Pharao: Kunst und Herrschaft im Alten Ägypten (Munich, 1997), 78-79, cat. no. 60. A number of Greek-style portraits have been associated with the same bearded Ptolemy. For discussion, see Klaus Parlasca, "Ein verkanntes hellenistisches Herrscherbildnis," JdI 82 (1967), 167-194, Kyrieleis, Bildnisse, 71ff., and Smith, Hellenistic, 96-97.

¹⁷Cairo CG 701, height 280 cm. Volker Michael Strocka, "Augustus als Pharao," in Eikones, Studien zum griechischen und römischen Bildnis, Festschrift Hans Jucker, ed. by Rolf A. Stucky and Ines Jucker (Bern, 1980), 177-180 was the first to successfully advance this attribution. He was followed by: Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker, Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom I (Kaiser- und Prinzenbildnisse) (Mainz, 1985), 2, note 7; Smith, Hellenistic, 92, note 35; Heinz Heinen, "Vorstufen und Anfänge des Herrscherkultes im römischen Ägypten," in ANRW II, 18.5 (Berlin, 1995), 3170, pls. 10-11, fig. 7 (Octavian-Augustus?); and Günter Grimm, Alexandria. Die Erste Königsstadt der Hellenistischen Welt (Mainz, 1998), 157, 161-162, fig. 151 (Octavian). Zsolt Kiss, "The Sculptures," in Alexandria. The Submerged Royal Quarters, ed. by Franck Goddio, et al. (London, 1998), 177 called the Karnak statue Tiberius "for historical more than iconographic reasons." Previously, Kazimierz Michalowski, "Un portrait égyptien d'Auguste au Musée du Caire," BIFAO 35 (1935), 75-76, fig. 1 had suggested the early Roman Period, but his view was not widely accepted. Kyrieleis, Bildnisse, 57-58, 173, E 11, pl. 45: 2-4 postulated Ptolemy V, while Parlasca, "Probleme," 26-27, figs. 41-43 said Ptolemy X. Dietrich Boschung, Die Bildnisse des Augustus (Berlin, 1993), 202, cat. no. 268 questioned the identification of Cairo CG 701 with Augustus, noting the somewhat anomalous hairstyle as well as the arching eyebrows and full lips. These details, however, could be explained as Egyptian 'translations' of the emperor's Roman portraits in marble, and the treatments of the eyebrows and lips fit well with late Ptolemaic types.

¹⁸Jack A. Josephson, Egyptian Royal Sculpture of the Late Period 400-246 B.C. (Mainz, 1997), passim (hereafter, Josephson, Egyptian Royal Sculpture).

¹⁹Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico KS 1803, height 12.0 cm. Mid-first century dates have been suggested by: Bernard V. Bothmer, et al., Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100 (Brooklyn, 1960), 177 (hereafter, ESLP); Sergio Pernigotti, La statuaria egiziana nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna (Bologna, 1980), 76-77, cat. no. 40, pls. 111-112; and Sylvio Curto, Sergio Pernigotti, et al., Il senso dell'arte nell'Antico Egitto (Milan, 1990), 199, cat. no. 152. Kyrieleis, Bildnisse, 75, 177, H 19 did not suggest an attribution. Kiss, Études, 47, 49, figs. 81-82 proposed Nero; though the face of the Bologna sculpture does have a resemblance to some Roman types, the late Ptolemaic Period is a better fit.

Both have youthful faces, a narrow diadem, short forehead locks curving slightly away from a center part, short sideburns, and thin, small, downturned lips; particularly notable are their very undershot chins that recede in profile view like some of the clay sealing images.²¹ The forehead hair and sideburns on both resemble those of the Canopus head, and the oval facial type of the Brooklyn statue is much the same as both Alexandria heads (the Bologna head's rounder countenance possibly represents an alternative, more boyish type). The eye treatments are equivalent among the four, but not exactly the same. Though the shapes of the Bologna head's eyebrows and eyes are similar to those of the Canopus and Ras el-Soda ones, the eyes are less wide open. The Brooklyn figure's eyes are more open, though the lower lids are rounder than the other examples and the eyebrows are flat on top. Whether these minor variations reflect chronological, sculptural school, or other differences is uncertain; comparable variety can be observed elsewhere in the Ptolemaic Period. The eye treatments of two inscribed statues of Ptolemy II, for example, are not the same, with the Vatican version²² having almond-shaped ones and the Strasbourg version²³ having a wider-eyed appearance because its eyelids are more semicircular (with the upper one being a slightly deeper curve compared to the lower one).²⁴

In recognizing that the Canopus and Ras el-Soda heads represent the same person, they can be connected with clay sealing profiles ascribed to Caesarion as well as to two other sculptures that may depict the same ruler. More clarification on interpretations of these portraits and others will be possible as new finds permit a better understanding of the development of Ptolemaic royal portraiture.

²⁰Brooklyn. The Brooklyn Museum of Art 54.117, provenance not known, height 30.2 cm. John D. Cooney, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art 1951-1956* (Brooklyn, 1956), 19-20, cat. no. 22. pls. 39-40 proposed c. 80-30 B.C., and *ESLP*, 133, 176-177, 179, cat. no. 135, pl. 127, figs. 338-339 tightened the range to c. 60-30 B.C. Krug, "Bildnisse," 19 suggested Ptolemies XIII-XV by way of exclusion, while Bernard V. Bothmer, "Hellenistic Elements in Egyptian Sculpture of the Ptolemaic Period," in *Alexandria and Alexandrianism* (Malibu, 1996), 223-224, fig. 34 questioningly said Ptolemy XV. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse*, 75, 177, H 18 did not make an attribution.

²¹For example, Kyrieleis, "Nea Paphos," pl. 54: top center, top right, bottom left, and bottom center.

²²A red granite, over life-size, striding statue, Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio 22681, found at the Villa Verospi in Rome, site of the Gardens of Sallust, though possibly originally from Heliopolis. height 265 cm. The statue is extensively published: Giuseppe Botti and Pietro Romanelli, *Le sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Rome, 1951), 24-25, 137, cat. no. 32, pls. 22-23; Jean-Claude Grenier, *Museo Gregoriano Egizio* (Rome, 1993), 51, V.12; and Josephson, *Egyptian Royal Sculpture*, 41, 43-44, pl. 13c, all with prior bibliography.

²³A quartzite, under life-size bust, Strasbourg, Université de Strasbourg 1585, possibly from Koptos. height 34.9 cm. The sculpture is well published: *ESLP*, 121-122, 126, 141, 148, cat. no. 96; and Josephson, *Egyptian Royal Sculpture*, 41, 44-45, pl. 13d.

²⁴The visual differences between the Vatican and Strasbourg busts are discussed in detail by Jack A. Josephson, "A Fragmentary Egyptian Head from Heliopolis," *MMJ* 30 (1995), 9-11 and idem, *Egyptian Royal Sculpture*, 44.



Fig 1 a



Fig 1 b



Fig 2 a



Fig 2 b