

“All Army Boots and Uniforms?”

Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt

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

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

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

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

Other nabobs deliberately sought political asylum here.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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