Alexandria

Edited by
BENJAMIN SCHLIESSER,
JAN RÜGGEMEIER,
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and JÖRG FREY

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Mohr Siebeck

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460

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Hub of the Hellenistic World

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with the assistance of Daniel Herrmann

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Preface

A city is not just lines on a map, a discursive symbol or a static container. Rather, a city is "the battleground through which groups define their identity, stake their claims, wage their battles, and articulate citizenship rights, obligations, and principles" (Engin Isin). Ancient Alexandria proves to be just that: an arena for negotiating identities, a medley of urban life, a hub of a complex world. This volume puts the spotlight on a wide array of topics that pertain to the remarkable diversity of Alexandria's urban life.

Most contributions have their roots in a conference, which took place at the University of Bern from August 22 to 25, 2017. The event was co-hosted by the University of Zürich and sponsored by the Swiss National Foundation (SNF), the Fontes-Foundation (Bern), the Burgergemeinde Bern, and the Doctoral Program of the Theological Faculties of Basel, Bern, and Zürich. We thank all these organizations for their support.

The organizers of the conference, who are also the editors of the present volume, are most grateful for the collaborative and engaging spirit among the presenters during the conference. We are equally grateful to those colleagues who agreed to join the project at a later stage and enriched the volume with their additional contributions. We are delighted to finally present the harvest of our collective endeavor: twenty-six contributions from the realm of archaeology, ancient history, classical philology, religious studies, philosophy, the Old Testament, narratology, Jewish studies, papyrology, and the New Testament.

Furthermore, this volume is the initial spark for a research project located in Bern by the name of "ECCLESIAE – Early Christian Centers: Local Expressions, Social Identity & Actor Engagement". Much narrower in scope than the present volume, it focusses on the formative stages of emergent Christianity as an urban phenomenon. All editors express their gratitude to Daniel Herrmann and Hanna-Maria Riesner for their remarkable editorial competence and their indexing prowess, as well as to Jacob Cerone and Christina Harker for their help in improving the English style of those of us who are non-native speakers. Thanks is also due the team of Mohr Siebeck, especially to Elena Müller and Tobias Stäbler, for their professional and personal support of this book project.

Bern, December 31, 2020

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Alexandria: Hub of the Hellenistic World

Introduction

JAN RÜGGEMEIER

1. Alexandria as a Multidimensional Hub

Alexandria was the second-largest city in in the ancient Mediterranean world and at the same time enjoyed a unique political reputation.[1] She was known to contemporaries as Ἀλεξανδρεία ἡ πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ,[2] this is to say: a city separated from the rest of Egypt. Though it is not just because of her size or political position, even more, due to her economic power and attractiveness, as well as her academic, cultural, philosophical, and religious impact that Alexandria can rightly be considered one of the most important "Hubs"[3] in the Hellenistic World.

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[1] At the beginning of the imperial period, the population of Alexandria most likely reached or even exceeded the mark of half a million citizens (Diodorus Siculus 1.31.6–8; Josephus, *B.J.* 2.385). For an overview of modern attempts to assess the population of Alexandria, see Laurens E. Tacoma, *Fragile Hierarchies: The Urban Elites of Third-Century Roman Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 30–31; Diana Delia, "The Population of Roman Alexandria," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118 (1988): 275–92 (275n2); Jane Rowlandson and Andrew Harker, "Roman Alexandria from the Perspective of the Papyri," in *Alexandria, Real and Imagined*, ed. Anthony Hirst and Michael Silk (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 79–111 (84).

[2] Cf. P.Horak 13; P.Berl. Brash. 3; P.Berl. Bibl. 4; P.Cairo 10579; P.Oxy. 1.35 R; Strabo, *Geogr.* 5.1.7; Philo, *Prob.* 125. The Romans also distinguished between Alexandria and Egypt (*Alexandria ad Aegyptum*): BGU IV 1059, l. 7; P.Oxy 4.727; P. 7815, verso ll. 9–10; M.Chr. 91; 96; 188.2, ll. 12–14. As early as 170 BCE the Alexandrian astronomer Hypsikles refers to Alexandria as "Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον" (Hypsikles: Die Aufgangszeiten der Gestirne, ed. Vittorio de Falco and Max Krause, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse 3/62 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 36.

[3] In social network analysis "Hubs" are defined as the central part of a network, where many of a network's members are connected. See Charles Kadushin, *Understanding Social Networks: Theories, Concepts, and Findings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 116–9. In real life, networks are mostly multidimensional, i.e., members are not only connected by one common feature but by many. On this aspect, see Michele Berlingerio et al., "The pursuit of hubbiness: Analysis of hubs in large multidimensional networks," *Journal of Computational Science* 2 (2011): 223–37. In a similar way, Alexandria can be seen as a metropolis connected on different levels with other major cities, towns, regions, and her own *hinterland*.

The city of Alexandria bridged separate worlds, cultures, and traditions, and connected leading key-figures, innovators, and other actors from all directions and many languages. New dimensions of trade, technological progress, and intellectual exchange were opened up here and established due to the city's unique infrastructure and financial resources.

Similar to other *metropoleis* – such as Rome, Antioch, or Ephesus – Alexandria was characterized by a high density of exchange, a frequency of social encounters, and a plurality of philosophical and religious views and practices. Due to the large number of traders and immigrants, Alexandria was closely linked to its *hinterland*, but also to most distant regions and cities. Egyptian, Hellenistic, Jewish, and Christian identities all emerged, developed, coexisted, and – at least selectively – influenced each other at this place.

On the down run, this multifaceted process of identity formation also encouraged conflict or even violent riots. Due to this confluence of different ethnicities and social identities, one is inclined to refer to Alexandria as a melting pot, mosaic, or kaleidoscope.[4] Of course, such labeling already indicates a strong interest in comparison with our postmodern culture, which is one main reason why Alexandria continues to fascinate so many scholars from a variety of academic disciplines.[5]

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[4] To emphasize the dynamics of ethnical encounters the term "kaleidoscope" is preferred nowadays over other metaphors in Ethnic studies, as already suggested by Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1996), 276. The term also seems appropriate in our context, because the images produced by a kaleidoscope highly depend on the observer's handling and point of view.

[5] The literature is immense and growing, but the following contributions (in chronological order) are of particular importance: Luca Arcari, ed., *Beyond Conflicts: Cultural and Religious Cohabitations in Alexandria and Egypt between the 1st and the 6th Century CE*, STAC 103 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017); Tobias Georges et al., eds., *Alexandria*, COMES 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013); Bojana Mojsov, *Alexandria Lost: From the Advent of Christianity to the Arab Conquest* (London: Duckworth, 2010); Georg Hinge and Jens A. Krasilnikoff, eds., *Alexandria: A Cultural and Religious Melting Pot* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2009); Niall Finneran, *Alexandria: A City & Myth* (Stroud: Tempus, 2005); William V. Harris and Giovanni Ruffini, eds., *Ancient Alexandria between Egypt and Greece*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 26 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Anthony Hirst and Michael Silk, eds., *Alexandria, Real and Imagined* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Manfred Clauss, *Alexandria: Schicksale einer antiken Weltstadt*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2004); Jean Leclant, ed., *Alexandrie: une mégapole cosmopolite*, Cahiers de la Villa Kérylos 9 (Paris: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1999); Michael Pfrommer and Ulrike Denis, *Alexandria im Schatten der Pyramiden*, Antike Welt Sonderband / Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie (Mainz: von Zabern, 1999); Günter Grimm, *Alexandria: Die erste Königsstadt der hellenistischen Welt: Bilder aus der Nilmetropole von Alexander dem Großen bis Kleopatra VII.*, Antike Welt Sonderheft 1998 / Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie (Mainz: von Zabern, 1998); Christopher Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Kenneth Hamma, *Alexandria and Alexandrianism: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by The J. Paul Getty Museum and by The Getty Center for*

1.1 Alexandria as an Economic Hub

The place where most people flocked together when they reached Alexandria was the Great Harbor.[6] This impressive industrial facility was capable of handling even the largest ships involved in the grain trade and therefore connected Alexandria to other economic centers in the Mediterranean world, especially Rome.[7] Furthermore, the coastline from Alexandria to Antioch gained major importance for the ancient silk trade.[8] We may add the exportation of beer,[9] fish,[10] medical remedies,[11] linen, and wheat to Palestine.[12] Accordingly, the city rightly received the reputation for being "the busiest port in the ancient world."[13]

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the History of Art and the Humanities and Held at the Museum April 22–25, 1993 (Malibu: Getty Museum, 1996); Nobert Hinske, *Alexandrien: Kulturbegegnungen dreier Jahrtausende im Schmelztiegel einer mediterranen Großstadt*, Aegyptiaca Treverensia 1 (Mainz: von Zabern, 1981); Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria,* 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972; repr. 1998); André Bernand, *Alexandrie la Grande* (Paris: Hachette, 1966).

[6] For more details on the Great Harbor, see James Beresford, "Ships and Sails," in *The Ancient Sailing Season*, ed. idem, Mnemosyne Supplements 351 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 125–30; Lionel Casson, *Ships and Seafaring in Ancient Times* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 101–26. For Strabo's description of the Harbor, see Gregory E. Sterling's article in this volume.

[7] It is probable that – at least occasionally – wheat was also exported to Jerusalem and Palestine. See, e.g., Josephus, *Ant.* 15.9.2 and 20.2.5. See also t. Makš. 3.4: „Joshua b. Perachia says: Wheat which comes from Alexandria is impure because of their water-wheel. The Sages replied: If so, it is impure for Joshua b. Perachai, but it is pure for the rest of Israel."

[8] Jean-François Duneau, "Quelques aspects de la pénétration de l'hellenism dans l'Empire perse sassanide," in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire* 1, ed. Pierre Gallais and Yves-Jean Riou (Poitiers: Soc. d'Études Médiévales, 1966), 13–22 (14–5).

[9] See m. Makš. 3.1, where "Egyptian beer" is listed among other items that have to be removed at the Passover.

[10] In m. Makš. 6.3 we read that Egyptian fish brought in baskets can be presumed as clean.

[11] Cf. Josephus, *B.J.* 1.30.4, 7; *Ant.* 17.4.2.

[12] On trade routes to Palestine, see John Cassian, *Instit.* 4.31; Sulpicius Severus, *Dial.* 1.8.1; Jerome, *Epist.* 108.14. For more details on this trade between Alexandria and Palestine, see Daniel Sperber, Objects of Trade between Palestine and Egypt in Roman Times, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 19 (1976): 113–47. According to y. Sanh. 10, a person may not go to Egypt to study – due to the injunction against returning to Egypt (Deut 17:17) – but is allowed to do so for trade purposes.

[13] Douglas J. Moo, "Alexandria," in *Major Cities of the Biblical World,* ed. Roland K. Harrison (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1985), 1–7 (3). Haas, *Alexandria*, 42 estimates that "over thirty-two fully loaded vessels would have sailed weekly from Alexandria [in Roman times]." For the extent of the grain trade, see Geoffrey E. Rickman, "The Grain Trade under the Roman Empire," *Memoirs of the American Academy* in *Rome* 36 (1980): 263–4; and Geoffrey E. Rickman, *The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 10, 113–18, 231–35.

Due to the city's geopolitical position the Eastern trade was also to a huge extent in the hands of Alexandrian rulers. Not only in the time of Strabo[14] Alexandria's merchants were in control of important Red Sea and Nile harbors. Dio Chrysostom still compliments the Alexandrians, writing:

τήν τε θάλατταν τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἅπασαν ἐκδέχεσθε, κάλλει τε λιμένων καὶ μεγέθει στόλου καὶ τῶν πανταχοῦ γιγνομένων ἀφθονίᾳ καὶ διαθέσει, καὶ τὴν ἔξωθεν ὑπερκειμένην ἔχετε, τήν τε Ἐρυθρὰν καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικήν, ἧς πρότερον τοὔνομα ἀκοῦσαι χαλεπὸν ἦν: ὥστε τὰς ἐμπορίας οὐ νήσων οὐδὲ λιμένων οὐδὲ πορθμῶν τινων καὶ ἰσθμῶν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἁπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης γίγνεσθαι παρ᾽ ὑμῖν.

And, furthermore, not only have you a monopoly of the shipping of the entire Mediterranean by reason of the beauty of your harbors, the magnitude of your fleet, and the abundance and the marketing of the products of every land, but also the outer waters that lie beyond are in your grasp, both the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, whose name was rarely heard in former days.[15]

In addition to her role as a trade and transport hub Alexandria also gradually advanced to a well-known manufacturing-center, particularly due to her textile industry[16] and the refining of Arabian incenses, as we learn from Cicero and Pliny the Elder.[17] Most likely Alexandria was also involved in Egyptian glass production.[18] Furthermore, the rise of Alexandria's Great Library and famous schools would be almost unimaginable without a major local paper manufacturing industry.

All these characteristics together made Alexandria truly "the greatest emporium of the inhabited earth" (Strabo, *Geogr*. 17.1.13), or at least one of the most important economic hubs of ancient times. This economic prosperity was the

[14] Cf. Strabo, *Geogr*. 2.5.12. The papyrus P.Vind. G. 40822 gives us detailed information on how the shipment of goods from India was organized in the mid-2nd century CE.

[15] Dio Chrysostom 32.36. The translation here is taken from Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses 31–36*, trans. James W. Cohoon and Henry L. Crosby, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940). Alexandria's Eastern trade is also mentioned in Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.13.

[16] In m. Yoma 3.7 we read that the High Priest in the temple of Jerusalem was clothed in Pelusian linen in the morning and in Indian linen in the evening. It is not explicitly stated, where the linen stems from or were the High Priest's vestments were made. However, Alexandria was famous for the further processing of *linum Pelusiacum* (see Silius Italicus 3.23.375; Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 19.1.14) and there was an important trade relation with Jerusalem (see below).

[17] Cf. Cicero, *Rab. Post*. 40; Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 8.74. Another passage from Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 12.32) sensitizes us to the security measures that have been taken due to the high value of the trading goods: at, Hercules, Alexandriae, ubi tura interpolantur, nulla satis custodit dilgentia officinas subligaria signantur opifici, persona additur capiti densusue reticulus, nudi emittuntur. See also Diodorus Siculus 17.52.5, who states that Alexandria by far exceeds other cities in "the amount of revenue, and luxury goods."

[18] For Alexandria's glass industry, see, e.g., Alan K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs 732 BC–AD 642: From Alexander to the Arab Conquest* (London: British Museum Press, 1986), 221–2. In order to trace Alexandria's glass exportation so called hafnium isotopes are most likely to become increasingly important. On this method, see Gry H. Barfod et al., "'Alexandrian' glass confirmed by hafnium isotopes," *Scientific Reports* 10 (2020): 11322.

basis for Alexandria's supremacy in other areas, but also the cause of social tensions, especially due to an unequal distribution of wealth between Alexandria's social and ethnic groups.

1.2 Alexandria as a Migration Hub

Given her economic strength, the city drew immigrants and specialized workforces, mainly from neighboring nomes,[19] but also from Greek provinces, the Levant,[20] and many other regions,[21] even Italy.[22] Jews have been part of the ethnic and religious landscape of Egypt since the 6th century BCE and inhabited Alexandria from its foundation. Then, "the Macedonian conquest opened the floodgates of a new Jewish immigration to Egypt."[23] The *Letter of Aristeas* (Let. Aris. 12) in combination with the Satrap stela (dated August 29, 311) suggest that Jews came to Alexandria as prisoners of war after Ptolemy Lagos's campaign in Gaza in 312–311 BCE.[24] Sandra Gambetti therefore makes the significant point "that the Alexandrian Jewish community had military origins."[25]

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[19] See Rowlandson and Harker, *Roman Alexandria,* 84–8. Horst Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte Ägyptens in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1964), 195–213.

[20] See Sylvie Honigman, "Ethnic Minority Groups," in *A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt*, ed. Katelijn Vandorpe (New York: Wiley & Sons, 2019), 315: "From the southern Levant, alongside Jews, we also find Phoenicians, 'Syrian,' Samarians, and, in the second century, Idumeans…. Mobility from the Levant to Egypt was a constant, and was periodically revitalized by political and economic vicissitudes."

[21] As becomes evident by the epitaphs a large part of Alexandria's population came from various parts of the Mediterranean, such as Achaia, Bithynia, Crete, Cyrenaica, Galatia, Macedonia, Mysia, Pontus, Sicilia, Thessaly. Of course, the problem with this is, as with any papyrological, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence for movement, that the sources often remain silent about the underlying motives. This is also true for Dio Chrysostom 32.40, who mentions Syrians, Libyans, Cilicians, Ethiopians, Arabs, Bactrians, Scythians, Persians, and Indians among his audience.

[22] For the 1st century BCE a community of *Italici*, who lived in Alexandria is attested by a bilingual inscription at Delos (ID 1699.1: Alexandreae Italicei quei fuere). "The perfect tense indicates that they had previously been at Alexandria, but leaves the character of that time unclear" (Patrick James, "HOC PRIMUS VENIT: Italians and Others in Egypt before the Caesars," in *Migration, Mobility and Language: Contact in and around the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. James Clackson et al. [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020], 230–67 [261]).

[23] Joseph M. Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt from Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian,* trans. Robert Cornman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 73. Josephus's statement that Alexander himself gave the Jews the right to settle in Alexandria (Josephus, *C. Ap*. 2.36–37; 2.42; *B.J.* 2.487) is historically dubious.

[24] Sandra Gambetti, *The Alexandrian Riots of 38 C.E. and the Persecution of the Jews: A Historical Reconstruction* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 23–24.

[25] Gambetti, *Riots*, 48.

Others came in later times as mercenaries, merchants, and craftsmen and carried with them not only their skills and goods, but also their conceptions of God and the world. Irrespective of their origin, migrants of all ages and both genders

> were lured by the city's wealth and its need for supplies, by a desire for education or to make religious observance, and by the requirements of their legal or commercial interests.[26]

The author of the *Letter of Aristeas* already complains about the negative side-effects, migration had on the *chora* (Let. Aris. 109). In Roman times the demand for external workforces was hardly less, as becomes evident, for example, by the Edict of the prefect Vibius Maximus. Whereas the majority of immigrants is commissioned by this document to return to their hometowns (ἰδία) – due to an upcoming census – the text also gives permission (ὑπογράφαι) to some workers to stay in the city, if they can give a satisfactory reason (πάντα[ς τ]οὺς εὔ[λ]ογον δο[κοῦν]τα[ς] ἔχειν τοῦ ἐνθάδε ἐπιμένειν). What seems to be indicated here is the city's unabated demand for skilled and educated workers who could not be easily dismissed and replaced. There is even some indication that the recruitment of skilled workers was – at least temporarily – organized by professional mediators (P.Oxy 38.2860; 41.2981). As a consequence, we should by no means think of immigrants as unskilled workers only. The private letters from Oxyrhynchus – among which we find about forty letters that can indisputably be linked to Alexandria – confirm this and in particular give attestation to the high literacy of some immigrants.

The papyrological evidence also suggests that besides some short-term contracts and journeys many immigrants stayed in the city for a rather long duration,[27] even though the living conditions for most workers must have been rather poor. Due to the city's high population density, the main type of housing was presumably multi-story apartment buildings with rather small units. The archaeological uncovering[28] of three-story apartment buildings from the late Roman period and the literary reference to a tenement house with seven stories (P.Oxy. 34.2719), only give us a vague idea of what the living quarters might have looked like. The excavated tenement houses "consist basically of elongated central light

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[26] Rowlandson and Harker, *Roman Alexandria*, 84.

[27] In a letter from the 1st century BCE (P.Oxy. 4.744) Hilarion writes to his wife Alis, reassuring her that he has not forgotten her and is going to send some of his wages home. Apparently he has been away for several months and does not even know whether or not his wife is pregnant. Further letters suggest long-term migration: P.Oxy. 36.2756 (78 CE); 3.486 (131 CE) 8.1057 (3rd century CE); 9.1216 (2nd century CE), where a woman called Sarapas regrets: "A year today I have been away from you."

[28] See Mieczyslaw Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie III: Les Habitations Romaines Tardives d'Alexandrie, a La Lumiere Des Fouiolles Polonaises, a Kom el-Dikka* (Warsaw: Editions, Scientifiques de Pologne, 1984).

wells and a sequence of single rooms opening off to either side, accessed on upper floors from internal wooden balconies."[29]

1.3 Alexandria as a Scientific Hub

Other arrivals enjoyed far more privileged living conditions than the majority of immigrants. This applies in particular to well-known scholars and scientists. Alexandria's academic lead was based on the city's economic wealth and a prudent investment policy by her rulers. Already in the city's early period, the Ptolemies decided to invest equally in human resources and infrastructure:

> The best Greek scholars in both the humanities and the sciences – to use modern terminology – were invited to the Museum, where they had free board and lodging and access to the books, and during the Hellenistic period this 'center for advanced study' achieved brilliant results in the full spectrum of research fields known to the ancient world.[30]

Due to this active patronage of the *Museion* and its affiliated Library,[31] scholars from all directions and languages were attracted and studied or taught in Alexandria.[32] It is therefore hardly surprising that already in the 3rd and 2nd century BCE Alexandria was home to most influential scholars.[33]

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[29] Richarrd A. Tomlinson, "From houses to tenements: domestic architecture in Hellenistic Alexandria," *British School at Athens Studies* 15 (2007): 307–11 (310). Tomlinson himself even speaks of "rabbit-hutch tenement houses" (310). Interestingly, house H is not characterized by a Hellenistic style (as one might assume in a city like Alexandria), but rather follows the style known from Roman houses from the Egyptian *hinterland*. Cf. Grzegorz Majcherek, "Notes on Alexandria Habitat: Roman and Byzantine Houses from Kom el-Dikka," *Topoi* 5/1 (1995): 133–50 (137–38).

[30] Minna S. Jensen, "Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria," in *Melting Pot*, ed. Hinge and Krasilnikoff, 80–93 (81).

[31] In ancient sources no clear distinction is made between the *Museion* and the library. References suggest, however, that the *Museion* was a superior academy to which the library was attached.

[32] The *Museion* was most likely founded by Ptolemaios I with the important aid of Demetrius of Phalerum and expanded under Ptolemaios II. For a more recent study of the *Museion* and its inner organization, see Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, "Das Museion und die Große Bibliothek von Alexandria," in Georges et al., *Alexandria*, 65–88. In the present volume, Maria Sokolskaya asks why the author of the *Letter of Aristeas* calls Demetrius the first librarian and argues that Demetrius's historical connection with the Sarapis cult is supplanted by a reference to the Jewish God.

[33] Astrid Schürmann, *Griechische Mechanik und antike Gesellschaft: Studien zur staatlichen Förderung einer technischen Wissenschaft*, Texte und Abhandlung zur Geschichte der Mathematik und der Naturwissenschaften 27 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991), lists 25 physicians, 11 astronomers, 15 mathematicians, 4 mechanics, and 2 geographers in the period between 300 and 146 BCE.

Among them Aristarchus of Samothrace (ca. 217–145 BCE),[34] who was the first to state that the earth revolves around the sun; Herophilus, famous for his anatomical discoveries and programmatic dissections of human corpses;[35] Eratosthenes of Cyrene, the geographer, who devised ways to measure the circumference of the earth;[36] Euclid, the most famous author of the *Elements* and other mathematical treatises;[37] and Manetho of Sebennytos, the Egyptian priest who wrote a history of dynastic Egypt, the Αἰγυπτιακά, for the Greek speaking world.[38] In the Roman period and late Antiquity, the city was visited by such great scholars as Galen (129–199 CE), the most famous physician of his time,[39] or Hypatia, the first well-documented female mathematician, who studied and taught in Alexandria.[40]

The scientific lead over other *metropoleis* also influenced and shaped the cityscape.[41] This becomes most obvious when we think of such a world-famous building as the Great Lighthouse on the eastern tip of the island of Pharos, which was engineered by Sostratus of Cnidus in 280 BCE (Eusebius, *Chron.* 124.1; Pliny, *Nat.* 36.8.3; Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.6) and impressed contemporaries and later generations alike.[42] Walking down the Canopic road, the city's grand boulevard lined with columns, and then taking the way down to the Harbor and Royal district a first-time visitor would have most likely been fascinated by all the other

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[34] Francesca Schironi, *The Best of the Grammarians: Aristarchus of Samothrace on the Iliad* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018).

[35] Heinrich von Staden, *Herophilus: The Art of Medicine in Early Alexandria, Edition, Translation and Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), esp. 301–6.

[36] Nicholas Nicastro, *Circumference: Eratosthenes and the Ancient Quest to Measure the Globe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2008).

[37] David H. Fowler, *The Mathematics of Plato's Academy: A New Reconstruction*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 204–8 and *passim*. P.Oxy. 29 contains part of the text of the second book of the *Elements*.

[38] Philippa Lang, "Manetho (609)," *Brill's New Jacoby*, ed. Ian Worthington, Brill Online Reference Works, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-jacoby/manetho-609-a609.

[39] A direct connection of the physicians to the *Museion* is not attested by the sources and rather unlikely. See John Vallance, "Doctors in the Library," in *The Library of Alexandria: Centre of Learning in the Ancient World,* ed. Roy MacLeod (London: Tauris, 2000), 95–113 (96). The influence of Egyptian medicine also remains a contentious issue. However, indirect influences should be expected. Robert J. Littman, "Medicine in Alexandria," *ANRW* 2.37.3 (1996): 2686–92.

[40] Hypatia's father was still known as ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Μουσείου (Suda θ 205), though this does not necessarily imply that the *Museion* still existed as an institution in this time.

[41] On Alexandria's unique architecture and the city's striving for glory, see also Balbina Bäbler's article in this volume.

[42] For more details on the lighthouse, see, e.g., James Beresford, *The Ancient Sailing Season*, Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava, Supplementum 351 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 201–2. For a comparison with other Greco-Roman lighthouses, see Robert L. Vann, "The Drusion: A Candidate for Herod's Lighthouse at Caesarea Maritima," *IJNA* 20.2 (1991): 123–39.

prestigious buildings, public sites, shrines, and temples.[43] The erection of all these imposing buildings is hardly conceivable without the mathematical knowledge and technological skills that came together in Alexandria.

That Alexandria's rulers were aware of this technological supremacy becomes obvious by the way mechanical inventions were presented to the public.

Die Zurschaustellung mechanischer Meisterwerke war gleichzeitig eindrucksvolle Machtdemonstration. Sie unterstrich, dass der betreffende Herrscher über hervorragendste Techniker verfügte, die im Kriegsfall auch Präzisionswaffen herstellen konnten.[44]

Probably the most famous example for such a mise-en-scène is the procession held in Athens in 308 BCE, when ostensibly a snail, driven by an internal mechanism, was presented, leaving a perfumed trail of slime on the road (Polybius, *Hist*. 12.13).

1.4 Alexandria as α Hub of Literature

Simultaneously, Alexandria advanced to an international hotspot for the study of Greek literature. The city was most famous for her Homeric Scholarship, but also initiated fundamental studies of Hesiod, Pindar, and the Athenian drama or prose writers like Thucydides and Herodotus. Although the main focus was on the literature of the Greeks, and it remains highly disputed to which extent non-Greek literature was translated at the *Museion*,[45] the scholarly work certainly required local cooperation and international networking. This becomes most apparent when referring to the *Museion*'s efforts in acquiring, copying, and collecting books.[46] But also the edition (*ekdosis*) of single works involved scholarly

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[43] See, e.g., Achilles Tatius*, Leuc. Clit.* 5.1.1–6. In this narrative the 1st person narrator describes his arrival in Alexandria and how he is "instantly struck by the splendid beauty of the city, which filled my eyes with delight." In the very same context he mentions "the row of columns intersected by another as long as right angles." Both translations are taken from Stephen Gaselee, *Achilles Tatius*, LCL 45 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).

[44] Dorit Engster, *Alexandria als Stadt der Forschung und Technik*, BN 147 (2010): 49–66 (63–4).

[45] For a rather optimistic view, see Mostafa El-Abbadi, "The Alexandrian Library in History," in Hirst and Silk, *Alexandria, Real and Imagined*, 167–83. A very different conclusion is drawn by Jensen, "Homeric Scholarship," 91: "Actually, the Ptolemies look like Greek snobs in their provocatory lack of interest in non-Greek themes." Similar Herwig Maehler, "Alexandria, the Museion, and cultural identity," in Hirst and Silk, *Alexandria, Real and Imagined*, 1–14, who even speaks of "a fortress to protect the cultural heritage of Greece" (ibid., 7).

[46] In ancient sources, the number of scrolls is estimated at 40,000 to 700,000 (Seneca, *Tranq.* 9.5; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. att.* 7.17.3; Ammianus, *Hist.* 22.12). According to Galen all ships that docked in the harbor were searched for books in order to make copies and to keep the originals (Galen, *Hipp. Epidem.* 3.2.4; cf. Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 1.3b). On the employment of scribes by Alexandrian libraries, see Suetonius, *Dom.* 20 and Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att*. 7.17.3. Christina Harker in her contribution exposes exaggerated notions of the library's size of the library's

discussion and interdisciplinary consultations.[47] Something similar holds true for the interpretation and commenting of texts for this work was often enough influenced by historiographical, religious, philosophical, and political motifs.[48]

Beyond this academic engagement with literature, centered around the *Museion*, Alexandria also advanced to a hotspot for Jewish exegesis. However, it remains a subject of ongoing debate to what extent Jewish authors were oriented towards the Alexandrian tradition and practices of textual scholarship. The *Letter of Aristeas* (Let. Aris. 9–11) notoriously suggests that the Greek translation of the Jewish Bible was initiated by Alexandria's chief librarian, Demetrius of Phalerum. In historical regards such an institutional affiliation is, of course, rather unlikely.[49] However, the legend itself already articulates a certain interest in dialogue with the dominant culture.[50] This openness to the Greek-speaking majority is also reflected in the fact that the Jewish community organized an annual festival to celebrate the completion of the Septuagint. Philo describes this event as a cheerful festival not only open to Jews but to "a great number of persons of other nations"[51] as well.

While this type of contact with the Greek-speaking population remained rather sporadic, the influence of Homeric scholarship on Jewish authors may have been much more substantial, as has been argued in particular by Maren R. Niehoff in the more recent past. Thus, Niehoff states that: "Jewish intellectuals in Alexandria," namely Demetrius, Aristobulus, and later on Philo, "were acutely aware of academic methods developed at the Museum."[52] More than that, Philo even

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holdings and at the same time deconstructs scholarly ideas about the destruction of the Alexandrian libraries in an insightful way.

[47] As has been suggested by Franco Montanari the process of "*ekdosis*" probably implied an internal distribution from one scholar of the *Museion* to other colleagues. See Franco Montanari, "Zenodotus, Aristarchos and the *Ekdosis* of Homer," in *Editing Texts, Texte edieren*, ed. Glenn W. Most, Aporemata 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 1–21 (6–9); idem, "Ekdosis: A Product of the Ancient Scholarship," in *Brill's Companion to Ancient Greek Scholarship*, ed. Franco Montanari, Stephanos Matthaios and Antonios Rengakos (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 641–72.

[48] See the examples given by Jensen, "Homeric Scholarship," 88–89: The "most famous political criticism concerned the entries of Athens and Salamis in the *Iliadic* Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.546–558)" (88). For a historiographical reflection see *Il.* 13.658–59. Here, Venetus A considers that two warriors with the same name (Pylaemenes) might have lived at the same time.

[49] See, however, the attempt by Nina Collins to revive the historical value of Aristeas's account: Nina Collins, *The Library in Alexandria & the Bible in Greek,* VTSup 82 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 128–32.

[50] Usually the *Letter of Aristeas* is dated between the 3rd and 1st century BCE. Josephus is already alluding to the work and occasionally paraphrases it.

[51] Philo, *Mos.* 2.41.

[52] Maren R. Niehoff, *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 186.

unfolds his arguments for a Jewish audience, which itself was accustomed to critical scholarship on the literal level. Accordingly, Philo repeatedly tries to convince his readers of his own allegorical and philosophical interpretations (*Conf.* 2; *Migr.* 8, 48; *Plant.* 90; *Det.* 15, 167; *Somn.* 1.93).

1.5 Alexandria as a Philosophical Hub

Alexandrian philosophy, originally strongly influenced by Platonism,[53] also proved to be adaptable to other scholarly discourses,[54] currents of change, and influences from outside. The city became home to such figures as the grammarian and stoic philosopher Chaeremon, who explained Egyptian religion to a non-Egyptian audience, and Eudorus, a contemporary of Strabo (*Geogr.* 17.1.5: καθ' ἡμᾶς),[55] who has been conceived by some as originator or first representative of Middle Platonism.[56] With the physician Sextus Empiricus,[57] who lived in the 2nd century CE and spent at least some years in Alexandria,[58] we meet a well-known, yet surprisingly late representative of the Pyrrhonian skepticism.

In the Roman Imperial period and in Late Antiquity three "clusters" shaped the philosophical discussion in Alexandria, as is pointed out by Christoph

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[53] Already in the 2nd century BCE Aristophanes produced a critical edition of Plato's works. That Alexandrian philosophy centered on the Platonic heritage can also be seen from the work of Eudorus, the anonymous commentary on Theaetetus or the anonymous treatise Περὶ φύσιος κόσμω καὶ ψυχᾶς (*On the Nature of the World and the Soul*), a rereading of Plato's *Timaeus*.

[54] One example for this is Euclid's systematization of geometry, which builds on an Aristotelean methodology of definitions (ὅροι), postulates (αἰτήματα), and 'common notions.' On this, see Fabio Acerbi, "Aristotle and Euclid's Postulates," *Classical Quarterly* 63.2 (2013): 680–85. Other scientists who were closely related to philosophy include Ptolemy from Alexandria, Pappus of Alexandria, Theon of Alexandria, his daughter Hypatia, and Paulus Alexandrinus.

[55] See Irmgard Männlein-Robert, "Eudoros von Alexandrien," in *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie: Die Philosophie der Antike*, ed. Christopf Riedweg, Christoph Horn and Dietmar Wyrwa (Basel: Schwabe, 2018), 5.1:555–61 (555–56). Similar John M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists: 80 B.C. to A.D. 200* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 115–35 (115).

[56] As argued, for instance, by Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, 115.

[57] Richard Bett, "Sextus Empiricus," in *Philosophie der Kaiserzeit und der Spätantike*, ed. Christoph Riedweg, Christoph Horn, and Dietmar Wyrwa, 5.1:216–28; Emidio Spinelli, "Sextus Empiricus," in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*, ed. Richard Goulet (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2016), 6:265–300. Sextus occasionally refers to his own medical practice (*Pyr.* 2.238; *Math. 1.260;* cf. *Math*. 11.47) and his name further suggests that he was a member of the medical Empiricist school.

[58] See Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, "Sextus Empiricus," in *Kindler Kompakt Philosophie der Antike*, ed. Anna Schriefl (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2016), 163–65 (163). Others take a rather cautious attitude: see Richard Bett, *Sextus Empiricus: Against the Logicians,* Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), ix: "Such indications as there are concerning where Sextus was born, or where he worked in his maturity, are too slender to bear any significant weight."

Riedweg in this volume: (a) The Jewish-Hellenistic Philosophy, (b) Early Christian adaptions of this tradition, and (c) the Neoplatonic School. Remarkably, all these clusters proved to be pluralistic in itself and highly adaptive to other traditions. For example, Philo's early writings are influenced in particular by (Middle) Platonism,[59] but also by Skepticism, and Aristotelianism, whereas the Stoa becomes more important in his later work, which might be due to his travel to Rome and the influence of contemporary discourses there.[60] In the early Christian era scholars like Pantaenus[61] then referred to Philo's work, but also used the Greek translation of the Jewish Bible, adopted other Jewish and Hellenistic traditions, and continued to use known citation techniques.

Wolfgang Grünstäudl in his article points out that a more recent reevaluation of Clement's minor writings[62] has even raised the scholarly awareness of the extent to which this Christian teacher's thinking is indebted to apocalypticism, Enoch traditions, angelological concepts,[63] but also to traditions of οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, and Petrine texts (Apoc. Pet., Ker. Pet., *1 Peter*). When referring to a synthesis of Greco-Roman philosophy and Christianity, Origen probably comes to mind first, who was philosophically well trained and strongly influenced by Stoicism and Plato's philosophy.[64]

However, later authors are to be mentioned here as well. Luca Arcari, for example, reminds us of pseudo-Justinian's *De monarchia*, a work which makes not only extensive use of Greek tragedy, but actually uses these *excerpta* "to support

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[59] Middle Platonic ideas play a central role for Philo's rereading of biblical accounts. This influence is increasingly considered in Philonic research: see, e.g., Gregory E. Sterling, "Platonizing Moses: Philo and Middle Platonism," *SPhA* 5 (1993): 96–111; David T. Runia, "Was Philo a Middle Platonist? A Difficult Question Revisited," *SPhA* 5 (1993): 124–33.

[60] Maren R. Niehoff has convincingly argued for this 'Roman turn' in Philo's work. See Niehoff, *Intellectual Biography*, 93–172.

[61] In the past Pantaenus has often been described as a mediator between a Jewish-Christian and a Hellenistic type of Christianity. A dependence on Philo is, e.g., suggested by David T. Runia, "Witness or Participant? Philo and the Neoplatonist Tradition," in *Philo and the Church Fathers: A Collection of Papers*, ed. idem, VC Supp. 32 (Brill: Leiden, 1995), 182–205 (191). On Pantaenus and his potential influence on Clement's psalm commentary, see Wolfgang Grünstäudl's contribution in this volume.

[62] For this fresh look at the "other Clement," see Bogdan G. Bucur, "The Other Clement of Alexandria: Cosmic Hierarchy and Interiorized Apocalyticism," *VC* 60 (2006): 251–68.

[63] For a more detailed study on these theological themes, see Bogdan G. Bucur, "Revisiting Christian Oeyen: 'The Other Clement' on Father, Son, and the Angelomorphic Spirit," *VC* 61 (2007): 381–413; and Bogdan G. Bucur, "The Place of the Hypotyposeis in the Clementine Corpus: An Apology for 'The Other Clement of Alexandria'," *JECS* 17 (2009): 313–35.

[64] Christoph Riedweg even considers Origen to be identical with the homonymous Platonist and pupil of Ammonius: cf. Christoph Riedweg, "Das Origenes Problem aus der Sicht eines Klassischen Philologen," in *Origenes der Christ und Origenes der Platoniker*, ed. Balbina Bäbler and Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, SERAPHIM 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 13–39. See also Porphyry's evaluation of Origen, which is biased but therefore not less informative (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.19.4–8; Gregory Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. eccl.* 1.15.11).

various apologetic arguments: the unity of God (*Mon.* 2), the future judgment (*Mon.* 3), the uselessness of sacrifices (*Mon.* 4), and the futility of false gods (*Mon.* 4)."[65]

Another aspect that is worth mentioning, when referring to Alexandria as a multidimensional hub, is the high degree of mobility and connectivity of most philosophers, ensuring an intensive exchange with Athens, Rome, and other philosophical centers. As a rather early example we can take the Aristotelian philosopher Xanarchus of Seleucia,[66] who taught in Alexandria, Athens, and Rome alike and exerted important influence on other contemporaries, especially as teacher of Strabo and friend of Arius and Augustus.[67]

A later example is the Christian author and teacher Clement. According to Eusebius, Clement was already born in a Hellenistic environment in Athens (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 2.2.64),[68] which explains his broad knowledge of Greek authors and Plato. As Thomas Kraus shows in his detailed discussion of the fourth chapter of the Protrepticus, Clement even had extensive knowledge of Alexandrian statues and worship, and is familiar with local craftsmanship. He uses this detailed knowledge to skillfully address educated Greeks by exposing the worship of handmade statues as void, pointless, and even contradictory to main philological assumptions. In return, he promotes the Christian faith in God – the true δημιουργός, who has created everything – and expounds why this new believe is more compatible with the Greek philosophy and culture. His Greek addressees do not necessarily have to be familiar with the Holy Scriptures yet, but are obviously open to Christian ideas and accordingly addressed like catechumens by Clement.

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[65] Luca Arcari, p. 503. Arcari's own contribution focuses on the "monotheistic" Discourses in *De monarchia*.

[66] Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.5.4.

[67] Andrea Falcon, *Aristotelianism in First Century: Xenarchus of Seleucia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[68] With George W. Butterworth, *Clement of Alexandria*, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), xi; Henry Chadwick, *Alexandrian Christianity: Selected Translations of Clement and Origen* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954), 16. More details on Clement's biography are provided by C. Wilfred Griggs, *Early Egyptian Christianity from its Origins to 451 CE* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 56–61; Ralf Sedlak, "Klemens – ein christlicher Autor in Alexandria," in *Alexandria*, ed. Tobias Georges et al., COMES 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 435–44 (435–36).

2. Urban Encounters and the Fragility of Alexandria's Multiculturalism

Although people from all over the world flocked to Alexandria, it was mainly[69] three ethnic groups that shaped the urban landscape in the 1st century CE: Greeks, Egyptians, and Jews.[70] Only in the wake of the Kitos War 115 to 117 CE when the Jews were massively decimated and lost their culturally formative role, another transformation occurred with the rise of Christianity, which would set out to become a major movement in the 2nd and 3rd century CE. As indicated by literary and non-literary sources alike, all three groups were quite aware of their ethnic, political, and economic status, and self-confident regarding their respective legal privileges and cultural identities. At the same time, transitions were fluid, and the terms "Egyptian" or "Greek" often corresponded more to legal than to ethnic attributions. The effect of this was both "unique, creative diversity" and "constant social and ethnic unrest."[71]

2.1 Greeks

Since the founding of Alexandria, the Greeks have been the politically dominant group. At first, it was Macedonian soldiers and officials who came with Alexander and gradually let their families follow. In the course of time, and under the influence of Alexandria's economic upturn, a far greater number of immigrants from all Greek provinces arrived, including traders and business people, laborers and artificers, scientists and philosophers, adventurers and soldiers of fortune.

It was also mostly Greeks who possessed citizen rights and therefore enjoyed numerous privileges.[72] For example, they enjoyed the right to buy land anywhere

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[69] Among the few Romans, who actually immigrated to Egypt most settled in Alexandria and other metropolitan areas: cf. Bernard Legras, *L'Égypte grecque et romaine* (Paris: Colin, 2004), 66–68. In ancient documents, the *dua-* or *tria nomina*-pattern (*praenomen*, *nomen*, *cognomen*) is usually the only indication of a citizen's Roman origin. Greeks, Egyptians, and Jews, who were granted Roman citizenship often kept their old name as cognomen. However, one should still be careful about using Roman names in order to identify someone's ethnicity. It is also difficult to reconstruct whether a legal distinction was made between old and new Roman citizens in that the former still had more privileges.

[70] Defining ethnicity remains a challenging task. At least, we should distinguish between an ethnic labelling by governmental rules and ethnicity as a social construct either created by the group itself or attributed by others. Even if the ethnic group had to be clarified in legal documents (e.g., contracts, tax registers), this still says little about the ethnic self-ascription of an individual citizen.

[71] Jürgen K. Zangenberg, "Fragile Vielfalt: Beobachtungen zur Sozialgeschichte Alexandrias in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit," in Georges et al., *Alexandria*, 91.

[72] It remains controversial, however, what percentage of the Greek population actually had full citizen rights.

in Egypt.[73] In addition, citizenship favored the Greeks in advancing to higher offices and administrative positions and in participating in administrative decision-making. Unlike their neighbors, Greek citizens did not have to fear a dishonorable flogging (Philo, *Flacc*. 78–79) or expulsion. Under Roman rule Greeks lost some of their benefits and rights. Most notably, Augustus forbade the existence of the βουλή, i.e. the city's autonomous administration.[74] However, Alexandria was considered one of three Greek cities in Egypt along with Ptolemaïs and Naucratis, which meant that her citizens continued to be largely exempt from the poll tax and had the privilege of claiming Roman citizenship (Pliny, *Ep.* 10.7).[75]

For understandable reasons Greeks defended their remaining privileges vehemently and were critical towards the attempts of other groups to achieve similar rights. The social advancement of newcomers from the Greek provinces and other regions was therefore experienced as a threat to their own status. The fact that Jews were allowed a council to administer their religious and legal affairs (see 2.3), while Greeks themselves lost the right to convene a βουλή (Cassius Dio 51.17.2) certainly caused displeasure. Intermarriage with Egyptian women was explicitly prohibited (Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.12),[76] even though we find examples of such marriages in the papyri.[77] Still, Alexandria's size and cosmopolitan status "inevitably introduced a degree of permeability into these status boundaries, no matter how earnestly the Roman and other responsible officials attempted to police them."[78]

The supremacy of the Greeks also found its expression in Alexandria's urban architecture and the locations of her religious sites.[79] Thus, Alexandria contained all elements typical of a Greek city: an *agora* (Arrian, *Anab.* 3.1.5), a theater, a βουλευτήριον, i.e. a council hall, law courts, a *gymnasium*, an armory (Philo,

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[73] Thus we find extensive evidence in the papyri for the 1st century BCE that Alexandrian citizens owned property in practically all parts of Egypt (see Rowlandson and Harker, *Roman Alexandria*, 88–89).

[74] See Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:93. This only changed in the time of the Severans, when the Romans finally granted the city a βουλή again, and even admitted the first Alexandrians to the Roman senate. However, when in 212 CE Caracalla granted Roman citizenship to all freeborn citizens, the privileged position of the Greeks was finally lost.

[75] Rowlandson and Harker, *Roman Alexandria*, 82. Different Diana Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 39–46.

[76] Strabo refers to the *Gnomon of the idios logos*, a Ptolemaic handbook of regulations later transformed by the Romans.

[77] See the examples given by Rowlandson and Harker, *Roman Alexandria*, 81 (with n18).

[78] Rowlandson and Harker, *Roman Alexandria*, 83.

[79] On the building of temples for Augustus in Alexandria and Upper Egypt and the question, who initiated these, see Stefan Pfeiffer's contribution in this volume (p. 107–23). As Pfeiffer points out, the emperor cult in Alexandria and Egypt was based on "a creative dialogue" between the Greeks, the Egyptians, and Roman rulers.

Flacc. 92), a *hippodrome*, and a vast number of temples.[80] Various sanctuaries for Greek Gods dominated the religious landscape of the city. According to Strabo (*Geogr.* 17.1.9–10), Poseidon had a temple set above the harbor, close to the theater. Another temple to the god of the sea supposedly stood on the island of Pharos.[81] Polybius gives record to Demeter (*Hist.* 15.27) and also mentions a temple for her, the *Thesmophorium* (*Hist.* 15.29.8; 33.8–9). In the Zenon Archive two festivities honoring Demeter are mentioned (P.Cair. Zen. 59028; P.Col. Zen. 19). According to Suetonius (*Aug.* 18.2) Augustus enlarged an earlier temple dedicated to Apollo and in a fragment of Satyrus (P.Oxy. 2465 frag. 11) a public temple to Leto is mentioned. As evidenced by Sozomen there was a temple of Dionysos in the city, which was destructed by Theophilus at the end of the 4th century (*Hist. eccl.* 7.15). Some of the Greek gods can also be related to a chthonic cult. Thus, we find evidence for the worshipping of Hera Teleia, Zeus Soter,[82] and Zeus Melchios/Orania.[83] Furthermore, the Roman historian Appian reports of a temple of Nemesis, another chthonic deity, located near the city and destroyed during the Jewish uprising (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* 2.90). Since the Dioscuri were considered the patrons of the sailors, they could not be missing in Alexandria (cf. Acts 28:11). Thus, a temple is attested for the twin half-brothers and from a dedication we know of an association of the *Dioskouriastai*.[84]

Despite this variety of Greek gods, Sarapis was probably the deity that most prominently featured the religious landscape of Alexandria. The *Sarapeum*, once built on the hill of Rhakotis in the Egyptian quarter, also in later times remained one of the city's most famous buildings and attractions.[85] As Peter Fraser once famously stated, the cult was deliberately developed by Ptolemy in order to give "the Greek population of Egypt, and particularly of Alexandria, a patron deity, which was otherwise lacking."[86] More to the point, the establishment and promotion of the Sarapis cult was intended to limit the influence of Isis.

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[80] Unfortunately, no temples to Greek gods have survived. Thus, we have to rely solely on the textual and epigraphic evidence for their identification. In the *Urbis Notitia Alexandriae* of Michael bar Elias 2,478 temples are mentioned. However, this number can only claim plausibility if private shrines are included. Of course, even then the question arises as to how the author would have carried out a corresponding survey.

[81] Cf. Haas, *Alexandria*, 144.

[82] Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:194, 196.

[83] Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 5.2: Ἐθεασάμην δὲ καὶ τὸν Μειλίχιον Δία καὶ τὸν Διὸς Οὐρανίου νεών.

[84] Cf. Françoise Dunand, "The Religious System at Alexandria," in *A Companion to Greek Religion*, ed. Daniel Ogden (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 255. Another dedication to the Dioscuri is made by members of the dynastic cult (BSAA 42:34).

[85] The Ptolemaic temple was destroyed by a fire in 181 CE, but later rebuilt. It was finally destroyed by Theophilus in the late 4th century.

[86] Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:252. Similar, Stefan Pfeiffer, "The God Serapis, His Cult and the Beginnings of the Ruler Cult in Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and His World*, ed. Paul McKechnie and Philipe Guillaume, Mnemosyne suppl. 300 (Leiden: Brill,

Given the strong presence of Isis at Alexandria, especially in the harbor regions and Rhakotis, which was largely inhabited by Egyptians, one of the important theological achievements of the time was making Serapis the consort of Isis, thus creating a dyad with Egyptian and Greek origins.[87]

However, such a focus on the political intentions behind the cult is only one half of the truth. Thus, Sarapis attracted various religious groups and individuals from all social and ethnic backgrounds. Accordingly, Sarapis was associated with various other deities – such as Apis the Bull,[88] Osiris,[89] Helius and Zeus,[90] Plutonis Aion,[91] Pluto,[92] Asclepius, Jupiter, or Dispater.[93] Esther Eidinow, in a more recent study, aptly speaks of separate religious "publics" that were offered "to a diverse group of worshippers, allowing them to suspend existing cognitive and social associations, and to develop an identity within this cult."[94] In the private letters, we regularly come across religious statements of soldiers and other citizens, who promise to make obeisance to Sarapis upon their arrival in Alexandria – be it for their relatives or for their own goals.[95] For example, we meet a certain Petronius Valens who hopes to gain a promotion through the help of the "lord Sarapis" (P.Turner 18, ll. 15–17). The numerous statues of Sarapis, which were probably scattered throughout the whole city, give further attestation to the individual dimension of this cult.[96]

2.2 Egyptians

When the Greeks under Alexander founded the city near the Nile Delta, there were already Egyptian settlements at this place. Throughout Alexandria's history, Egyptians remained the numerically most significant, yet socially and politically marginalized, part of the city's population. Unlike Greek citizens, the great majority of Egyptians was fully taxable. As "foreigners," they could be

2008), 387–408 (397–98): "The new cult had, as can be seen, found its devotees especially among the Greeks and obviously enjoyed certain popularity."

87 Martina Bommas, "Isis, Osiris, and Serapis," in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, ed. Christina Riggs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 582.

88 It is widely agreed today that the cult of Sarapis emerged from the deity Osiris-Apis. On this origin, see, e.g., Bjørn Paarman, "The Ptolemaic Sarapis-cult and its Founding Myths," in *Aneignung und Abgrenzung: Wechselnde Perspektiven auf die Antithese von* "*Ost*" *und* "*West*" *in der griechischen Antike*, ed. Nicolas Zenzen et al. (Leuven: Brill, 2013), 255–91.

89 Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 4.48.4–6; cf. also Diodorus Siculus 1.25.2.

90 SEG 15.426.

91 Pseudo-Callisthenes 1.30.6; 1.33.2.

92 Diodorus Siculus 1.25.2.

93 Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.84.5.

94 Esther Eidinow, "Sarapis at Alexandria: The Creation and Destruction of a Religious 'Public,'" in *La cité interconnectée dans le monde gréco-romain*, ed. Madalina Dana and Ivana Savalli-Lestrade, Ausonius Scripta Antiqua 118 (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2019), 190.

95 Cf. P.Mich. 3.213; P.Oxy. 59.3992; PSI XIII 1331; XIII 1332; P.Warr. 18; BGU II 423.

96 Cf. Vincent Tran Tam Tinh, *Sérapis debout: corpus des monuments de Sérapis debout et étude iconographique* (Leiden: Brill, 1983).

expelled from Alexandria at any time.[97] Stereotypical attributions and prejudices further burdened the coexistence between Egyptians and Greeks. Thus, Egyptians were regarded as uncivilized, devious, superstitious,[98] chatty,[99] cowardly,[100] and at the same time quick-tempered.[101] Also the allegation of cannibalism seems to have been quite popular.[102]

In contrast to the Greek temples and gods, "Egyptian deities were, for the most part, relegated to the fringes of the city, though the Tychaion, a classical temple in the city center, held statues of both Greek and Egyptian gods."[103] For the Roman time a temple at Ras al-Soda gives attestation to the Isis cult being practiced in the metropolitan area.

Under Roman rule, the priestly class, who maintained close relations to the Ptolemaic rulers, also lost privileges. However, in the first decades the new emperors were dependent on the provincial elites and their administrative support. Only in the 2nd century CE the Romans introduced the office of the ἀρχιερεύς (P.Oxy. 49.3472), a Roman *procurator* in Alexandria, to control the priestly class.[104] Still, priests were most likely exempted from some taxes and the construction of several new Egyptian temples gives attestation to a Roman financial support. Social ties between the priests and the urban elite favored cultural and academic exchange.[105] Some priestly families obviously sent away their children away to Alexandria for schooling. In P.Oxy 18.2190 (1st century CE) a son writes

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[97] P.Giss. Lit. 6.3 = P.Giss. 40, col. 2, ll. 16–29 deals with the expulsion of Egyptians from Alexandria, while Caracalla stayed in the city (215 CE). Throughout the Roman Empire there were periodic expulsions of "foreigners" from the cities in times of crisis, often combined with tighter controls at the borders and the investigation of residency claims. For more details, see Claudia Moatti, "Translation, migration, and communication in the Roman empire: Three aspects of movement in history," *Classical Antiquity* 25 (2006): 109–40 (117–26).

[98] Cf., e.g., Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.81: "the most superstitious of all peoples." Similar Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.11.

[99] Cf. Herodian 4.8.7.

[100] For example, Cassius Dio attributes Cleopatra's escape at the battle of Actium to her "true nature as a woman and as an Egyptian" (Cassius Dio 50.33.2).

[101] Cf. Herodian 1.17.6; Polybius, *Hist.* 15.33.11: "Terrible is the cruelty of the Egyptians when their anger is roused."

[102] See Juvenal, *Sat.* 15; Cassius Dio 72.4; Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 3.15. Cf. P.Oxy. 42.3065 (νῦν ἀνθρωποφαγεία ἐστὶν).

[103] Marjorie S. Venit, "Alexandria," in Riggs, *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, 172.

[104] Ségolène Demougin, "Archiereus Alexandreae et totius Aegypti: un office profane," in *Pouvoir et religion dans le monde romain*, ed. Annie Vigourt et al. (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2007), 513–20.

[105] Todd M. Hickey, "Writing Histories from the Papyri," *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 495–520 (506). In the priestly houses near the Fayum temples fragments of Homer and Euripides have been found, showing the open-mindedness towards Greek culture: cf. Willy Clarysse, "Egyptian Temples and Priests: Graeco-Roman," in *Blackwell Companion to Ancient Egypt*, ed. Alan B. Lloyd (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell), 1:274–90.

to his father Theon, who is called the "high priest of the Nile" (ἀρχιερεὺς Νείλου), about his disappointing search for a teacher:

> For now in my search for a tutor [καθηγητής] I find that both Chaeremon the teacher and Didymus the son of Aristocles, in whose hands there was that I too might have some success, are no longer in town, but (only) trash, in whose hands pupils have taken the straight road to having their talent spoiled.[106]

Due to his scorn for the available teachers the son asks his father for more money for tuition and at the same time expresses his dissatisfaction with the slave, who is accompanying him.

In other cases, too, education paved the way to cultural assimilation and social advancement, which could in very few cases even be honored by granting Roman citizenship. The most prominent examples for Egyptians receiving full citizenship were Apion and Chaeremon.[107] Pliny the Younger mentions that his Egyptian physician (*iatralipta*), Harpocras, was also granted Roman citizenship (Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 10.6; cf. 10.7).

While older scholarship only underlined the Hellenocentrism of Alexandria and sidelined the Egyptianizing tendencies or relegated them to the lower classes and to the *hinterland*, more recent studies unveil the gradual integration and infusion of Egyptian culture into all levels of Alexandrian society.[108] This includes very different areas of life, such as literature studies, e.g., on "intercultural poetics"[109] and on magical texts,[110] prove as illustrative as do explorations into

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[106] Translation by John Rhea, "A Student's Letter to His Father: P.Oxy. XVIII 2190 Revised," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 99 (1993): 75–88 (78).

[107] For more details on these two "Egyptians," see Beatrice Wyss's article in this volume, who shows that Apion and Chaeremon chose quite different ways writing about Egypt for a Greek and/or Roman audience.

[108] Frederick Naerebout, "The temple at Ras el-Soda. Is it an Isis temple? Is it Greek, Roman, Egyotian, or neither? And so what?" in Bricault et al., *Nile into Tiber*, 543–44. See, however, his judicious remarks (544n123): "Those who have seen such places as 'bulwarks of Hellenism' are not completely wrong, but it is, paradoxically, a certain Hellenocentrism that creates the basis for multiculturalism (to get to the stage of integration and fusion one has to stave off assimilation!).… That Hellenocentrism pushed too hard can also create pockets of resistance to multiculturalism, is not to be denied (resistance can come from all cultures involved)."

[109] Susan A. Stephens*, Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

[110] Jacco Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE)*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 153 (Leiden: Brill, 1988).

demography and onomastics,[111] ethnicity,[112] sculpture,[113] the cult,[114] images on coffins,[115] and pictorial programs of decorated tombs.[116] Michael Sommer's contribution also fits into this more nuanced image, as he showcases the Egyptian character and logic of the narrative of the Akhmimic fragment: "Although Akh incorporates echoes of Israel's traditions into this storyline, the Egyptian ground narrative is not only clearly visible but strongly dominant."[117]

2.3 Jews

Jewish communities are attested in cities and villages of Roman Egypt alike. The Jewish population of Alexandria was "massive,"[118] though their number remains disputed. Josephus's and Philo's figures seem exaggerated. Philo, for instance, affirms that Egyptian Jews amounted to a million in his day,[119] and Josephus

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[111] Roger S. Bagnall and Bruce W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Sandra Coussement, *"Because I am Greek:" polyonymy as an expression of ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egyp*t (Leuven: Peeters, 2016).

[112] Kurt Goudriaan*, Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1988); cf. Uffe Østergård, "What Is National and Ethnic Identity?," in *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt*, ed. Per Bilde et al., Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 3 (Åarhus: Åarhus University Press, 1992), 16–38.

[113] Robert S. Bianchi, "Pharaonic Egyptian Elements in the Decorative Arts of Alexandria during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," in Hamma, *Alexandria and Alexandrianism*, 191–202; Robert Bianchi, "Images of Isis and Her Cultic Shrines Reconsidered: Towards an Egyptian Understanding of the interpretatio graeca," in *Nile into Tiber: Egypt in the Roman World. Proceedings of the IIIrd International Conference of Isis Studies, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, May 11–14, 2005*, ed. Laurent Bricault, Miguel J. Versluys, and Paul G. P. Meyboom (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 470–505; Bernard V. Bothmer, "Hellenistic Elements in Egyptian Sculpture of the Ptolemaic Period," in *Egyptian Art: Selected Writings of Bernard V. Bothmer*, ed. Madeleine E. Cody (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 465–93.

[114] Naerebout, "The temple," 506–54.

[115] Christina Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion in Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[116] Marjorie S. Venit, *Monumental Tombs of Ancient Alexandria: The Theater of the Dead* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); specifically on tombs in Alexandria and the Egyptian *chora*, cf. eadem, *Visualizing the Afterlife in the Tombs of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[117] Sommer, p. 226.

[118] Daniel R. Schwartz, "Philo, His Family, and His Times," in *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, ed. Adam Kamesar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1–31 (15).

[119] Philo, *Flacc*. 43. Adolf von Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, trans. and ed. James Moffatt, 2nd ed. (Gloucester: Smith, 1972), 13, deems Philo's number credible due to his "comparatively precise mode of expression" and due to the fact "that registers for the purpose of taxation were accurately kept in Egypt." Furthermore, the figure does not appear too high, "when we consider that it includes the whole Jewish population of Alexandria. As the entire population of Egypt (under Vespasian) amounted to seven or eight millions, the Jews thus turn out to have formed a seventh or an eighth of the whole."

counts 50,000–60,000 killed Alexandrian Jews in 66 CE.[120] At present, the scholarly consensus levels out at 100,000 Jews at the beginning of the 1st century CE,[121] i.e., one fifth of the Alexandrian population was Jewish.[122]

For a long time, researchers believed that the Jews had sharply delineated themselves from their surrounding environment, not even allowing for intermarriages.[123] However, more recently, this view has been challenged, and the continuity and adaptability to other ethnic and urban groups is highlighted.[124] If we ask for the type of cultural encounters between Jews and Greeks, we find aspects of assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. Significant factors in the dynamics of cultural exchange and differentiation were political events such as Octavian's establishing Egypt as province 30 BCE (in consequence of the Battle of Actium), but most importantly the riots of 38 CE, 66 CE and 115–117 CE. Overall, it appears – in the words of Erich Gruen – "that, for most Jews, retention of a Jewish identity and accommodation to the circumstances of diaspora were joint goals – and often successfully achieved."[125]

Under Ptolemaic rule, the Jews enjoyed more privileges than their Egyptian neighbors, because they were not only officially allowed to "live with others" (μετοικεῖν)[126] in the city, but were also counted among the group of Hellenes. In order to meet the religious needs of an ever growing community, a large number of synagogues were built throughout the city (Philo, *Legat*. 132–34).[127] The only

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[120] Josephus, *B.J.* 2.497; 7.369.

[121] Cf. Daniel R. Schwartz, "Philo, his Family and his Times," in Kamesar, *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, 9–31 (15); Dorothy Sly, *Philo's Alexandria* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 44–6, and Pieter van der Horst, ed., *Philo' s Flaccus: The First Pogrom,* Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 136–37.

[122] Jan N. Bremmer also calculates a total population of half a million, but only a Jewish population share of 10 to a maximum of 20 percent, that is, 50,000–100,000 Jews (cf. Bremmer, p. 248).

[123] Cf. Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interaction from Alexander to Justin* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 56. Similar Werner R. A. Huss, "Die Juden im ptolemaiischen Ägypten," in *Arttibus: Kulturwissenschaft und deutsche Philologie des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Stephan Füssel, Gert Hübner, and Joachim Knape (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 11.

[124] Gideon Bohak, "Ethnic Continuity in the Jewish Diaspora in Antiquity," in *Jews in the Hellenistic and Roman Cities*, ed. John R. Bartlett (London: Routledge, 2002), 175–92; Walter Ameling, "'Market-place' und Gewalt: Die Juden in Alexandrien 38 n. Chr.," *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* 27 (2003): 71–123 (78).

[125] Erich S. Gruen, *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), vii.

[126] See Josephus, *C. Ap*. 2.36–37; 2.42; *B.J.* 2.487, according to whom this formal right of residence was already granted to the Jews by Alexander.

[127] For a discussion of Philo's account, see Aryeh Kasher, "Synagogues as 'Houses of Prayer' and 'Holy Places' in the Jewish Communities of Hellenistic and Roman Egypt," in *Ancient Synagogues: Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery*, ed. Dan Urman and Paul V. McCracken Flesher (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 205–20. On the earliest evidence for the existence of synagogues in the Egyptian Diaspora (3rd century BCE), see Anders Runesson,

important distinguishing feature from the Greek citizens remained that the Jews could not participate in the political self-administration of Alexandria. Still, they had their own πολίτευμα (Let. Aris. 308–10),[128] i.e., a religious and legal administration. Accordingly, Jews

> enjoyed productive and rewarding lives…. Integration in the social, economic, and cultural life of Alexandria was open to them, and they took advantage of that opening. Jews served in the armies, obtained administrative posts, took part in commerce, shipping, finance, farming, and every form of occupation, reached posts of prestige and importance, and played a role in the world of the Hellenic intelligentsia.[129]

Philo exemplifies this open attitude of the Jews to their hometown and its cultures when he calls Alexandria "our Alexandria"[130] and Greek "our language."[131] At the same time he is equally clear and self-confident that "Hellenic accomplishments, even when laudable and admirable, don't measure up to those of the

The Origins of the Synagogue: A Socio-Historic Study, CB 37 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 2001), 128–34.

[128] Historically, the πολίτευμα must be addressed rather as an institution of 160s or more generally speaking the 2nd century BCE. On Aristeas's reference to the *politeuma*, see Sylvie Honigman, "*Politeumata* and Ethnicity in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt," *Ancient Society* 33 (2003): 61–102; Bradley Ritter, "On the 'πολίτευμα in Heracleopolis'," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 30 (2011): 9–37; Constantine Zuckerman, "Hellenistic Politeumata and the Jews: A Reconsideration," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 8–9 (1985–1988): 171–85; Gert Lüderitz, "What is a Politeuma?" in *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*, ed. Jan W. van Henten and Pieter W. van der Horst, AGJU 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 183–225.

[129] Gruen, *Diaspora*, 69. Similar already Heinz Heinen, "Alexandrien: Weltstadt und Residenz," in Hinske, *Alexandrien*, 8, who refers to Alexandria's Jewish population as "the most preferred ethnic group." Similar Eve M. Smallwood, *Philonis Alexandrini Legatio ad Gaium*, (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 5: "The Jews resident in Alexandria were organized as a quasi-autonomous civic community, with a Constitution similar to, but not identical with, that of the Greek municipal Organization, and they thus formed a city within the city."

[130] Philo, *Legat.* 150: τὴν ἡμετέραν Ἀλεχάνδρειαν.

[131] Philo, *Congr*. 44; see also *Opif.* 17. A quite similar attitude is taken by *Let. Aris.* 109; *Sib. Or.* 11.233–35. Nevertheless, we should not underestimate the knowledge of Hebrew among Alexandrian Jews, as René Bloch in his contribution points out, taking Philo as his starting point.

Jews."[132] He calls out Egyptian lifestyle and beliefs, considering "Egypt" as a symbol of the body, sense-perception and passion.[133]

However, Philo is but one exemplar, other Jews took different stances. This is all the more important to emphasize as the circumstances already drastically changed at the beginning of the Roman rule, when Jews lost some of their most important privileges.[134] Thus, the Romans did not maintain the distinction between Greeks and Egyptians without further ado, but classified all those living in Egypt as Egyptians, who as such had to pay the new introduced poll tax (*laographia*). Only those who could clearly be identified as Greeks – that is, above all those who had attended the *Gymnasium* and thus had enjoyed a Greek education – could be granted citizenship.[135] From now on most Jews were *de iure* regarded as Egyptians, which implied not only a clear financial disadvantage. At least, Augustus granted the Jews the right to continue living according to their own laws. Furthermore, individual Jews were still granted Roman citizenship by the emperor and some were even held offices (CPJ II 428 = BGU III 715). The most prominent examples for this are Philo[136] and his brother Alexander, who passed on his status to his sons Marcus Iulius Alexander (CPJ II 419, ll. 197–200) and Tiberius Iulius Alexander (CPJ II 418, ll. 188–97).[137]

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[132] Gruen, *Diaspora*, 229. This attitude seems to be quite similar to the perception of Alexandria in the *Letter of Aristeas*. Thus, Barbara Schmitz argues in her contribution that the rudimentary representation of the space within this narrative is best explained by the readers' familiarity with Alexandria's cityscape. At the same time Jerusalem is presented in much more detail and conceptualized as a city prevailing over Alexandria in many regards. Similarly, Ben Wright concludes in his contribution on the "Letter of Aristeas and the Place of the Septuagint in Alexandrian Judaism" that "Ps.-Aristeas and his co-ethnics can maintain a Judean ethnic identity while also presenting themselves as Hellenes, insiders within Alexandrian Hellenistic society" (p. 244).

[133] On Philo's ambivalent stance towards Alexandria, cf. Sarah Pearce, "Belonging and not Belonging: Local Perspectives in Philo of Alexandria," in *Jewish Local Patriotism and Self-idendification in the Graeco-Roman Period*, ed. Siân Jones and Sarah Pearce, JSP.SS 31 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1998), 79–105. Cf. Cristina Termini, "Philo's Thought within the Context of Middle Judaism," in Kamesar, *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, 97: "The height of delusion is the deification of irrational animals, typical of the Egyptian religion (*Decal.* 76–80)." Among the *realia*, the gravestones at Leontopolis reflect the contiguity of cultures most impressively – though, of course, not in an Alexandrian context. Venit, *Visualizing the Afterlife*, 87–90.

[134] See John J. Collins, "Anti-Semitism in Antiquity? The Case of Alexandria," in *Ancient Judaism in its Hellenistic Context*, ed. Carol Bakhos (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 9–29 (16).

[135] This educated circle represented an extremely privileged population group. Cf. Alan K. Bowman and Dominic Rathbone, "Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt," *Journal of Roman Studies* 82 (1992): 107–27 (116): "In effect the citizens of Alexandria were not treated as conquered subjects (*dediticii*) but more like an allied state."

[136] See David Runia, "Philon d'Alexandrie," *DPA Va* 5 (2012): 362–90 (364).

[137] Cf. Mireille Hadas-Lebel, *Philon d'Alexandrie: un penseur en diaspora* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 53 (on Alexander); Eric G. Turner, "Tiberius Julius Alexander," *Journal of Roman Studies* 44 (1954): 54–64 (on Alexander and his son Tiberius Julius Alexander).

2.4 Christians

How about the Christians? When did early Christianity become a recognizable player on Alexandria's religious market place?[138] Since our source material for the 1st and 2nd centuries remains rather sparse,[139] this question eludes a simple answer. The traditional account by Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* 2.16.1–3) credits Mark with the founding of Christianity in Alexandria. However, this legend is – similar to the later *Martyrdom of Mark*[140] and related traditions (e.g., *Ps.-Clem.* 1:8.3–15.9) – not primarily of historical relevance, but rather illustrates the church's demand for an identification figure. The New Testament accounts do not really provide us with any detailed information on the origin of Christianity in Alexandria either.[141] Even Apollos, who is introduced by Luke as a "native from Alexandria" (Acts 18:24–28),[142] remains an otherwise unknown person and the New Testament's depiction of him "leaves us with more questions than it does provide answers,"[143] as Samuel Vollenweider in his contribution concludes, rather disenchantedly.

Due to the geographical proximity between Alexandria and Jerusalem and the religious and ideological exchange between these two cities (Acts 2:10; 6:9), it is reasonable to assume that Christianity came to Egypt through the missionary activities of Jewish Christians,[144] who initially advocated their faith in Christ

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[138] For the extensive literature on this topic, see the contribution of Benjamin Schliesser in the present volume (p. 367n1).

[139] Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, ed. Robert A. Kraft and Gerhard Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), once famously surmised that later church leaders suppressed the mostly 'heretical' writings. However, we also have little evidence before the 4th century CE for Christian objects, buildings, and archaeological remains, as well (see Darlene L. Brooks Hedstrom, "Archaeology of Early Christianity in Egypt," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Archaeology*, ed. William R. Caraher et al. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019], 665–84). Similarly, we find growing evidence of Christian names and *nomina sacra* only in the last decades of the 3rd century CE. All this makes it more likely that Christianity only gradually spread to the Egyptian *hinterland* and sources were lost for more trivial reasons.

[140] For an introduction to and translation of this relatively unknown text, see Tobias Nicklas's contribution at the end of this volume.

[141] The city of Alexandria is only mentioned in some marginal notes. Thus, Luke refers to a "Synagogue of the Alexandrians" in Jerusalem (Acts 6:9) and twice relates to Alexandrian ships (27:6; 28:11).

[142] Cf. 1 Cor 1:12; 16:12; Titus 3:13; 1 Clem 47:3. Luke's account even leaves open, whether Apollos was already a Christian, when living in Alexandria. *Codex Bezae* and *Codex Gigas* both suggest this unequivocally: (κατηχημένος) ἐν τῇ πατρίδι (Acts 1:25).

[143] Samuel Vollenweider, p. 344.

[144] In a letter to the Egyptian prefect Lucius Aemilius Rectus (P.Lond. 6.1912 = CPJ II 153), Claudius refers to a dispute between Jews and Gentiles (41 CE). However, it is rather unlikely that this refers to the work of early Christian missionaries.

among Hellenized Jews in Alexandria.[145] It is also probable that early Christianity was not only an integral part of the Jewish community of Alexandria at the beginning, but even later followed the model of the synagogue when a Christian philosophical school was established.[146] Some even see similarities at the organizational level, especially in regard to the presbyterate.[147]

In the wake of the Jewish revolt (115–117 CE) Christianity then – according to Alfons Fürst – evolved into a "religion of intellectuals" (*Intellektuellen-Religion*, [148] this is to say: Christianity participated in and was decisively shaped by the city's educational, philosophical, and intellectual environment. Fürst's guarantor for his thesis is above all Origen,[149] whose work he places in the intellectual proximity of Philo and the educated elite of Alexandria.[150] Pantaenus, Clement, and Ambrose,[151] who were closely connected with the establishment of a

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[145] A Jewish character of earliest Christianity in Alexandria and Egpyt is for example advocated by Stephen J. Davis, *The Early Coptic Papacy: The Egyptian Church and Its Leadership in Late Antiquity* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2004), 6–8; Helmut Koester, "Egypt," in *History and Literature of Early Christianity*, vol. 2 of *Introduction to the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), 658–76; Martin Hengel and Anna M. Schwemer, *Paulus zwischen Damaskus und Antiochien: Die unbekannten Jahre des Apostels – Mit einem Beitrag von Ernst Axel Knauf*, WUNT 108 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 393; Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1979), esp. 19–21.

[146] See Schliesser, p. 389–90. Cf. Gert J. Steyn, "Consequences of the Desecration and Destruction of Alexandrian Synagogues as Spaces of Learning and Living: An Orientation Based on Philo's In Flaccum and Legatio ad Gaium," in *Tempel, Lehrhaus, Synagoge, Tempel: Orte jüdischen Lernens und Lebens – Festschrift für Wolfgang Kraus*, ed. Christian Eberhart, Martin Karrer, Siegfried Kreuzer and Martin Meiser (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2020), 57–77.

[147] See Roelof Van den Broek, "Juden und Christen in Alexandrien im 1. und 3. Jahrhundert," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity*, ed. Roelof Van den Broek, NHMS 39 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 181–96 (188–91). The earliest papyrological evidence of Jewish *presbyteroi* is P.Oxy. 2476 (2nd century BCE). Christian *presbyteroi* are mentioned in the papyri from the middle of the 3rd century CE (P.Flor. 1.21; P.Got. 12; P.Oxy. 31.2597; P.Neph. 48).

[148] Alfons Fürst, *Christentum als Intellektuellen-Religion: Die Anfänge des Christentums in Alexandria*, SBS 213 (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2007), 110: "Christianity in Alexandria started on a high, the highest intellectual level – as a religion of intellectuals."

[149] In her contribution Anna van den Kerchove focuses on the prologue of the *Commentary on John* and from here she examines the relationship between Origen and the (supposedly) "Heterodox" within the Christian Alexandrian context.

[150] Alfons Fürst, "Der junge Origenes im Bildungsmilieu Alexandrias" (2007), *Von Origenes und Hieronymus zu Augustinus: Studien zur antiken Theologiegeschichte*, AKG 115 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 45–79. John Granger Cook even assumes a proximity between Philo and Paul in his contribution. Thus, he argues that both authors consciously drew on a common Hellenistic tradition in Alexandria, which already reflected the spiritual nature of the manna.

[151] Fürst, *Christentum als Intellektuellen-Religion*, 36–42 (Pantaenus), 43–8 (Clemens), 68–9 (Ambrose).

catechetical school[152] can also be considered as representatives of such an "educated Christianity" (*Bildungschristentum*).[153] At the same time, the Nag Hammadi Codices impressively illustrate that the Christianization of Egypt was anything but monolithic.[154] The various teachings, groups, and writings cannot even be adequately subsumed under the common label of "gnosis."[155] For example, the *Letter to Rheginos*, which is examined by Enno Edzard Popkes in this volume, reveals itself as a writing that differs from other documents of the Nag Hammadi codices. Thus, Popkes attributes this Letter to an intellectual circle in which Platonic ideas could be brought together with Pauline notions on the question of resurrection, and where contrary views of resurrection could even coexist.

Due to the diversity, which becomes apparent in connection with Nag Hammadi codies, which reveals that Fürst's thesis is too one-sided in the end. It is therefore hardly surprising that his position has been questioned and criticized.[156]

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[152] According to Eusebius this school already existed in Alexandria "from ancient custom" (*Hist. eccl.* 5.10.1). Pantaenus was head of a "school of sacred learning" until his death (5.10.4). Among his students was Clement (5.11.1), who later succeeded Pantaenus (6.3.3; 6.6.1). The historical value of Eusebius's report has been evaluated divergently. Some have even argued that there were only individual teachers in the beginning and the school only came into existence in the time of Demetrius. Cf. Roelof Van den Broek, "The Christian 'School' of Alexandria in the Second and Third centuries," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Alexandrian Christianity*, ed. Roelof Van den Broek, NHMS 39 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 197–205.

[153] Unfortunately, the work of earlier teachers like Basilides and Valentinus has been handed down to us almost exclusively by these "orthodox" teachers, who branded their predecessors as "heretics" and "gnostics." However, even on the basis of this later reception and few fragments, it becomes evident that their work appealed to Alexandria's intellectual and philosophical milieu. Thus, "Valentinus received a very good education and was well read in Platonic, biblical, Jewish, and Christian literature" (David Brakke, *The Gnostics: Myth, Ritual, and Diversity in Early Christianity* [London: Harvard University Press, 2010], 100).

[154] Among the thirteen Coptic codices, there are six writings that most probably go back to originals in the 2nd century and for which an Egyptian origin is very likely: Ap. John (NHC II 1; III 1; IV 1; BG 2); Bk. Thom (NHC II 7); Wis. Jes. Chr. (NHC III 4); Auth. Disc. (NHC VI 3); Teach. Silv. (NHC VII 4); Sent. Sextus (NHC XII 1). For a discussion of these documents and further literature, see: Markus Lang, "Das ägyptische Christentum: Quellenlage, Forschungslage und -perspektiven," in *Das ägyptische Christentum im 2. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wilhelm Pratscher, Markus Öhler and Markus Lang, SNTU.NF 6 (Wien: LIT, 2008), 34–35.

[155] Christoph Markschies, *Gnosis: An Introduction*, trans. John Bowden (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 15–17, rightly cautions that today's heuristic construct of "Gnosis" or "Gnosticism" refers to quite different groups, which were not directly connected in most cases, but rather originated from "a common cultural climate" or simply show some "agreement in content."

[156] Cf. Samuel Vollenweider, "Bildungsfreunde oder Bildungsverächter? Überlegungen zum Stellenwert der Bildung im frühen Christentum," in *Was ist Bildung in der Vormoderne?* ed. Peter Gemeinhardt, SERAPHIM 4 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 283–304; and Dietmar Wyrwa, "Philosophie in der alexandrinischen Schule," in *PHILOSOPHIA in der Konkurrenz von Schulen, Wissenschaften und Religionen: Zur Pluralisierung des Philosophiebegriffs in*

Nevertheless, a certain affinity for education among Christians in Alexandria and Egypt can hardly be denied. This applies not only because various New Testament writings have been associated with Alexandria.[157] Most notably, Christians also preserved the Septuagint and the writings of Philo and other Jewish authors.[158] Furthermore, the wealth of later literary papyri and other papyrological records indicate a high degree of erudition and literary knowledge.[159] In the course of the 3rd century, New Testament texts and early Christian writings were

Kaiserzeit und Spätantike, ed. Christoph Riedweg, Philosophie der Antike 34 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 193–216.

[157] On the question of locating New Testament writings in Alexandria, see Jörg Frey's contribution in this volume. According to Frey an Alexandrian origin remains particularly plausible in regard to 2 Peter. This has already been thoroughly argued by Wolfgang Grünstäudl, *Petrus Alexandrinus: Studien zum historischen und theologischen Ort des zweiten Petrusbriefes*, WUNT 353 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013); cf. also Jörg Frey, *The Epistle of Jude and the Second Epistle of Peter* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2018). Furthermore, it seems quite likely that the *Apocalypse of Peter* and the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, which is quoted by Clement and Origen, must be associated with a Judeo-Christian milieu in Alexandria. For more details, see Jörg Frey, "Whence the Gospel according to the Hebrews?" in *Texts in Context*, ed. Joseph Verheyden, BETL (Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming); idem, *Evangelien und Verwandtes* (Teilband 1), vol. 1 of *Antike christliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. Christoph Markschies and Jens Schröter (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 560–660 (597–98); idem, "Gospel of the Hebrews," in *The Reception of Jesus in the First Three Centuries*, ed. Chris L. Keith et al. (London: Bloomsbury, 2019), 2:183–92. Further writings that have been repeatedly linked with Alexandria include the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Secret Gospel of Mark*, the *Gospel of the Saviour*, the *Kerygma Petri*, the *Gospel and Traditions of Matthias*, the *Gospel of Eve*, *Jannes and Jambres*, and, the *Apocalypse of Elijah*.

[158] For more details, see Justin P. Jeffcoat Schedtler's article on "The Transmission of the Fragments of the Hellenistic Jewish Authors" in this volume: Eusebius (p. 280–87), Clement of Alexandria (p. 287–91). According to David T. Runia, "Witness or Participant? Philo and the Neoplatonist Tradition," in *Philo and the Church Fathers: A Collection of Papers*, ed. idem, VC Suppl. 32 (Brill: Leiden, 1995), 182–205, Philo's work was also preserved in the Catechetical School (esp. 191). The papyrological findings are also noteworthy in this context: *Paris, Bibl.Nat.Suppl. Gr.* 1120 (Philo, *Her.*; *Sacr*); P.Oxy. 9.1173 (multiple works of Philo); 7.1007 (LXX Gen); P.Yale 1.1 (LXX Gen 14); P.Oxy. 9.1166 (LXX Gen 16; Jewish?); P.Berl. inv. 14039 (Ex 34, 35); P.Oxy. 8.1075 (Ex 40; Rev 1 on verso); 11.1351 (LXX Lev 27).

[159] See Sabine R. Huebner, *Papyri and the Social World of the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2019), 18–30.

already widely copied at Oxyrhynchus,[160] at Antinoopolis,[161] in the Fayum,[162] in the Heracleopolite nome,[163] and at other places.[164]

More exciting than keeping track of all these diverse texts is, however, the question of how we should imagine the people who read, studied, shared, discussed, compared, collected, produced, bought, and sold these early Christian writings. A question that, surprisingly, has not been answered often in the past.

In early excavations of papyri, little attention was paid to the archeological context, and because of this, we often know little or nothing about the place of discovery of these fragments of New Testament literature.[165]

Seen from a socio-historical perspective, our earliest private writing of a Christian person (P.Bas. 2.43) points again to an educated and elite milieu.[166] Thus, the Christian author of the letter relates the office of the *gymnasiarch* to a member of their own family and mentions another relative, who has already been nominated for the city council (βουλή). This implies that as early as the 230s,[167] Christians in the Fayum were considered for higher offices or already held these.

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[160] Cf., e.g., P.Oxy. 64.4402 (Matt 4); 64.4403 (Matt 13, 14); 64.4404 (Matt 21; 2nd century CE?); 34.2683 (Matt 23); 66.4495 (Luke 17); 24.2383 (Luke 22); 2.208 (John 1); 15.1780 (John 8); 10.1228 (John 15, 16); P.Ryl. 3.457 (= P^{52}; John 18; 2nd century CE); P.Oxy. 50.3523 (John 18, 19; 2nd century CE?); 65.4448 (John 21); PSI X 1165 (Acts 23); P.Oxy. 66.4497 (Rom 2); 11.1355 (Rom 8, 9); 7.1008 (1 Cor 7, 8); 7.1009 (Phil 3, 4); 10.1229 (Jam 1); 9.1171 (Jam 2, 3) 4.654, 655 (both: Gos. Thom.), 657 (Heb 2–5; 10–12); 41.2949 (Gos. Pet.); 60.4009 (Gos. Pet.?; 2nd century CE); 50.3525 (Gos. Mary); 50.3528 (Herm. Sim. 9:20; 9:22); 50.3527 (Herm. Sim 8:4); 52.3657 (unknown work); 3.405 (Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.9); 3.412 (Julius Africanus).

[161] Cf. P.Ant. 2.54 (Matt 6:10–13); 1.12 (2 John 1); 1.7 (Ps 81, 82); 1.9 (Prov 2, 3); AMC 1.185–86 (unknown Gospel; "Simon Peter"). Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.11.3 quotes a private letter of the bishop of Jerusalem to the Christian community of Antinoopolis, which also points to an early Christian grouping at this place.

[162] P.Mich. 6652 (Matt 26; Acts 9, 10); P.Mich. 3.137 (Matt 26); 3.138 (Acts 18, 19); P.Amh. 1.3b (Heb 1:1); BKT 6.2.1 (Herm. Sim. 2:7–10; 4:2–5); Pap.bil. 1 (Acts Paul).

[163] P.Vind. G 2325 (apocryphal gospel?; cf. Matt 26:30–34; Mark 14:26–30).

[164] P.Laur. inv. 2/31 (John 5); P.Bodmer 2 (= P^{66}; John 1–21; Dishna?); P.Macq. inv. 360 (Acts 2, 3); P.Berl. inv.11765 (Acts 5); P.Beatty 2 and P.Mich. 222 (Rom 5, 6, 8–16, Hebrews, 1 Cor, 2 Cor, Eph, Gal, Phil, Col, 1 Thess 1, 2, 5; c. 200); P.Köln 4.170 (Phlm 13–15, 24–25); P.Yale 1.2 (Eph 4, 5); P.Ryl. 1.5 (Titus 1, 2); P.Beatty 3 (Rev 9–17); P.IFAO 2.31 (Rev 1); P.Osl. 2.14 (*Sib. Or.* 5.484–504); PSI VII 757 (Barn. 9:1–6); P.Mich. 129 (Herm. Sim 2:8–9:5); P.Iand. 1.4 (Herm. Mand. 11:19–21; 12:1.2–3); PSI XI 1200 bis (unknown); P.Mich. 18.764 (unknown; on last judgement).

[165] Huebner, *Papyri,* 18.

[166] Due to the *nomen sacrum* (ἐν κυρίῳ) used in the closing greeting the letter can be clearly identified as Christian.

[167] For this dating of the document, see Sabine R. Huebner, "Christian Letters," in *Papyri of the University Library of Basel (P.Bas. II)*, ed. idem, W. Graham Claytor, Isabelle Marthot-Santaniello and Matthias Müller, Archiv für Papyrusforschung Beihefte 41 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020), 182–88; Roger S. Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 8 argues for a rather late dating.

This is quite understandable, considering the high value that the Roman elite placed on literacy and the ability to write and to comment on texts. A close tie to the social elite is also confirmed by SB 16.12497. Here a certain "Dioscorus, who is a Christian (ἔστ[ι] Διόσκορος χρηστιανός)" is mentioned on an official list as a nominee for public water supply. The person in view also possesses Alexandrian citizenship.

This reference and the apparent literacy of Egyptian Christians gives us reason to ask, what role can be ascribed to Alexandria in the establishment of a well-educated Christian elite. Sabine Huebner sketches the following scenario:

> I suggest that it was mobility of the local elite that fostered the spread of Christianity to the Egyptian hinterland in the early third century. Quite often, the papyri report that a resident of the Fayum or Oxyrhynchus, in Middle Egypt, had to travel to Alexandria for a court date or to conduct business, and since the sons of wealthy families were typically sent to the regional capitals or to Alexandria for their higher education, parents would visit their children where they studied, and their children regularly returned home. It was perhaps by virtue of one of these occasions that, in the early third century, Arrianus' father came into contact with the new faith. Christianity was flourishing in Alexandria by then, and it was easy to buy copies of the sacred texts which Arrianus had apparently studied in detail.[168]

Of course, we should be careful not to overvalue single papyri. The authors of private letters can be perceived as "gatekeepers," who offer us a glimpse into an otherwise unknown world, but do so from a privileged and, thus, subjective and limited point of view.

Neither were Christians always respected citizens or people of means,[169] nor exclusively "foolish, dishonourable and stupid, and only slaves, women, and little children," as the pagan writer Celsus later puts it (Origen, *Cels*. 3.44).[170] Rather, we may assume that Christians in Alexandria came "from all social strata."[171] Thus, Athenagoras – a contemporary of Celsus – counts "simple folk, artisans and old women"[172] (*Leg.* 11.1) amongst the Christians, but simultaneously takes note of Christian slave owners in the city (*Leg.* 55).

Still, the fact that Irenaeus's work was copied in Egypt only twenty years after its composition (P.Oxy. 3.405[173]) illustrates that Christ followers were obviously well net-worked at this time. This applies all the more as

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[168] Huebner, *Papyri*, 24.

[169] This view is taken by Attila Jakab, *Ecclesia alexandrina: evolution sociale et institutionnelle du christianisme alexandrin (II^e^ et III^e^ siècles)* (Bern: Lang, 2001), 54–55.

[170] Translation by Henry Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 158.

[171] Birger A. Pearson, "Egypt," in *Origins to Constantine*, ed. Margaret M. Mitchell and Frances M. Young, Cambridge History of Christianity 1 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 331–50 (340).

[172] Translation by Joseph H. Crehan, *Athenagoras: Embassy for the Christians, The Resurrection of the Dead*, Ancient Christian Writer 23 (New York: Paulist, 1955), 42

[173] When first published in 1903 the manuscript was considered "the oldest Christian fragment" (Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri III* [London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1903], 10). Contemporary scholarship still dates P.Oxy 3.405 to the late

Irenaeus' work is only one of countless writings composed outside Egypt of various genres which, from the first century on, came in a flood from such diverse regions as Palestine, Antioch, eastern Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, Rome and North Africa. And Christian authors in Egypt returned the favour.[174]

Given the high costs for the production and distribution of texts, one is inclined to assume that at least some Christians participated in the city's global trade and sought to use this engagement not only for their personal wealth and social advancement, but also for community purposes.

On the downside, Christians were obviously at the mercy of the same persecutions as their Egyptian and Jewish neighbors. Eusebius (*Hist. eccl*. 6.41.1–9) and Origen (*Cels*. 3.15) unanimously report of local attacks on Christians in Alexandria. Egyptian libelli from the mid-3rd century CE suggest that Christians were among a group of citizens, who were forced to make public sacrifices in order to prove their loyalty to Rome.[175] A later campaign against Christian leaders initiated by Valerian in 257 CE (*Hist. eccl.* 7.11.3) is possibly echoed in three papyri (P.Oxy. 42.3035[176]; 43.3119;[177] P.Mil. Vogl. 6.287), but the actual date and exact meaning of each document is debated. Altogether, the Christians in Alexandria were obviously not subjected to targeted persecution, but merely suffered those reprisals by the Roman rulers that other ethnic or legal groups also had to endure.

2.5 Urban Ethnic Encounters

Although arrivals came to Alexandria from different ethnic, social, and religious backgrounds and with various motives, they sooner or later crossed paths in the city. Influenced by the current discourse of "Urban Studies," it has become generally acknowledged in Ancient Studies, as well, that such everyday encounters and interactions between different ethnic, legal, and social groups are often to be

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2nd century. For Peter R. Rodgers it is not even "impossible that Irenaeus himself had written the fragment" (Peter R. Rodgers, "Irenaeus and the Text of Matthew 3.16-17," in *Text and Community: Essays in Memory of Bruce M. Metzger*, Vol. 1, ed. J. Harold Ellens [Sheffield: Phoenix Press, 2007], 51–55 [51]). The place of origin can only be speculated about. Roberts, *Manuscript*, 24 considers Alexandria or Oxyrhynchus as possible production sites. Similar to Homeric scholarship in Alexandria, the document makes use of *diplai*. However, these simply highlight quotations from Scripture.

[174] Pearson, *Egypt*, 344.

[175] Malcolm Choat, "Christianity," in Riggs, *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, 474–89 (481–82). Cf. AnneMarie Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 168–74, who also suggests that we must assume a wider campaign that affected Christians and other alike.

[176] In this document a Christian called Petosorapis is summoned, but the focus is obviously on a tax issue and not on a religious practice or belief.

[177] It is not clear whether in this order the property of Christians is merely reassessed (then most likely for taxation) or confiscated. The document is dated "year 7", which has been associated with the 7th year of Valerian (259/60) by several historians.

associated with specific places and a city's infrastructure. This holds true in particular for Alexandria.

Already in regard to her basic layout the city was divided in five districts, named after the first letters of the Greek alphabet[178] and each being dominated by different ethnic majorities and their customs. Whereas Alexandrian Jews were the predominant group in the Delta quarter,[179] the south-western district of Alexandria, which goes back to the pre-Ptolemaic settlement of Rhakotis, was mainly inhabited by Egyptians, who presumably held on to their traditional rites and the worship of their gods.[180] The royal district and the residential area to the east (Broucheion) represented the heart of Hellenistic culture and home to the Greek urban elite. Still, we should be careful not to paint an overly static picture of the coexistence of different ethnic groups in Alexandria. Urban life is inevitably shaped by the daily movement of residents, visitors, travelers, pilgrims, consumers, traders, artists, migrants, beggars, academics, pioneers, and newcomers.

A first place that might be considered as a venue of multicultural exchange, is Alexandria's theater.[181] In the Roman era plays and *mimoi* were popular among Greeks, but also among other ethnicities. A large part of the Jewish population apparently visited the theater, as well. The *Letter of Aristeas* explicitly encourages its readers to visit plays (Let. Aris. 284) and Philo, who was obviously a frequent spectator of those performances, describes both the positive and negative effects of dramas (Philo, *Ebr.* 177; *Flacc*. 34). In the past there has even been some discussion whether the so-called *Exagoge* might be considered a Jewish play performed in Alexandria.[182] Eusebius explicitly refers to the excerpts – that he discovered in the now lost work *On the Jews* (Περὶ Ἰουδαίων) – as δράμα (*Praep.* 9.28–29). Clement of Alexandria calls Ezekiel, the author, "a poet of Jewish tragedies" (ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν τραγῳδιῶν ποιητής; *Strom*. 1.23.155.1).[183] Admittedly, this is no tangible proof of the actual performance of this dialogical text. But where, if not in Alexandria, could we expect such a Jewish performance?

A second important place for everyday encounters, especially for the lower classes, were the main boulevards, streets, public places, and shrines in Alexandria, which could quickly turn into a colorful stage during processions and festivals. In addition to the aforementioned Jewish festival, which was held annually

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[178] Philo, *Flacc.* 55.

[179] Philo, *Flacc.* 55–56; Josephus, *B.J.* 2.488, 495; *Ant.* 14.117*; C. Ap.* 2.34–35.

[180] Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 5–6; Sally-Ann Ashton, "Ptolemaic Alexandria and the Egyptian Tradition," in Hirst and Silk, *Alexandria,* 16–17.

[181] On the presence of Jews in the theater, see the special issue "Jews and Drama" of the Journal of Ancient Judaism 8.2 (2017), edited by Lutz Doering and Sandra Gambetti.

[182] Balbina Bäbler offers a concise account of this discussion in her contribution (p. 41–42) and for her part rather considers instead a private performance.

[183] See also Ernst Vogt, *Tragiker Ezechiel*, JSHRZ IV/3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlags-Haus Mohn, 1983), 117, who draws attention to the obvious omission of the circumcision commandments, in which he even recognizes the author's consideration of a non-Jewish audience.

to celebrate the completion of the Septuagint and which was held along the eastern seashore, one must think of such events as the festival of Adonis, which passed through Alexandria's royal quarter. Theocritus's account of this event (*Idyll* 15) gives us a vivid and at the same time "amusing glimpse of Alexandria's multicultural population."[184] Simultaneously, the dialogue between the two women Gorgo and Praxinoa and a stranger clearly resonates with existing prejudices against certain dialects and other stereotypes. Another example is the festival dedicated to the triumphal return of Dionysus from India, described by Athenaeus, after Callixenus (*Deipn.* 5.196d–203b). Although the festival was dedicated to the veneration of Alexander and, thus, mainly aimed at a Greek audience, it is hard to imagine the procession, in which several hundred costumed men and female dancers took part, without the active participation of Egyptians and other ethnicities.[185]

Third, the cemeteries located outside the city's western and eastern walls have to be considered as places of ethnic encounter. Strabo only refers to the cemetery in the west (today known as Gabbary), for which he coins the expression "necropolis" and which he describes as a "suburb, in which there are many gardens, tombs, and structures set up for embalming of the dead" (*Geogr.* 17.1.10).[186] We can therefore imagine a place that invited people to linger and could become very well a place of social encounter. At least, Egyptians, Greeks, Jews, and Christians were all buried here side by side.

> Jews and early Christians were also buried in the loculi and chambers of monumental tombs. Identifiable only by inscription or iconography, their burials are found within the same tomb complexes as those of their polytheistic neighbours.[187]

Jewish inscriptions have been found in all eastern cemeteries.[188] The absence of such inscriptions in the western necropolis can easily be explained by the

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[184] Balbina Bäbler, p. 37.

[185] According to Babett Edelmann, *Religiöse Herrschaftslegitimation in der Antike: Die religiöse Legitimation orientalisch-ägyptischer und griechisch-hellenistischer Herrscher im Vergleich*, PHAROS, Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 20 (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercturae, 2007), 244–45, the πομπή even completely dispensed with Greek elements.

[186] Translation by Gregory E. Sterling, p. 18.

[187] Venit, "Alexandria," 118. See also idem, *Monumental Tombs*, 20–21, 181–86; Ameling, "'Market-place'," 84; Gideon Bohak, "Good Jews, Bad Jews, and Non-Jews in Greek Papyri and Inscriptions," in *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1997), 105–6. The only entirely Jewish cemeteries outside the Levant are the Jewish catacombs in Rome and Venosa.

[188] "The burial of Jews and non-Jews alongside each other in mixed cemeteries does not seem to have been deemed extraordinary in ancient Egyptian Jewish burial practice, as also emerges from the evidence of the cemeteries at Alexandria, Sedmet el-Gebel, and Cyrenaica" (Meron M. Piotrkowski, "Priests in Exile: On the Identity of the Oniad Jewish Community of Heliopolis," in *A Question of Identity: Social, Political, and Historical Aspects of Identity Dynamics in Jewish and Other Contexts*, ed. Dikla R. Katz et al. [Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019], 172). Cf. William Horbury and David Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt: With an*

distribution of the Jewish population in Alexandria. Unfortunately, the sources give us no insight into the everyday encounters between the relatives of the deceased. However, the remains of Alexandrian tombs show that different iconographic motifs and styles merged and influenced or enriched each other.

Roman period tombs follow the general plan of their Ptolemaic predecessors but substitute triclinium-shaped chambers for the Ptolemaic kline room and admit a richer variety of Egyptian decorative and narrative elements into their classical fabric. The most extensive of these tombs, the Great Catacomb at Kom el-Shuqafa, marries Egyptian architectural and iconographic details to classical formal spaces – exedrae, a triclinium, and a burial chamber in triclinium form, in which Roman garland sarcophagi are cut to form niches that carry sculpted scenes depicting Egyptian deities.[189]

Fourth, there must have been everyday encounters between the different ethnic groups in the tenement houses and neighborhoods of the city. Unfortunately, our knowledge regarding the so-called Delta quarter is about as vague as our knowledge about Alexandria's housing situation. Whether this Jewish quarter referred to by Philo, Josephus, and Apion[190] must be rather qualified as a "ghetto," with its inhabitants being forced to settle here, or whether we should rather assume that Jews deliberately decided to live in a common area, can hardly be decided.[191] However, one could draw an analogy with the housing habits of other migrants: Thus, Egyptian workers from neighboring *nomes* also joined forces and supported each other in their search for housing or in order to maintain contact with their relatives. Especially the epigraphic record bears witness to this.[192] Furthermore, Jewish inscriptions suggest that synagogues were not only located in the Delta district, but could rather be found in all parts of the city.[193] Based on the few occasional references to the professions of Jews,[194] we may further assume that several members of the Jewish community earned their money as artisans and thus, quite common to Roman cities, worked (and maybe

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Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), nos. 1–2 (*Chatby*), 3–8 (*El-Ibrahimiya*), 9–10 (*Hadra*), 11–12 (*Mustafa Pasha*). For a discussion of the Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions, see Bloch, p. 262–63.

[189] Venit, "Alexandria," 117. See also Venit, *Monumental Tombs*, 124–25.

[190] Philo, *Flacc.* 55–56; Josephus, *B.J.* 2.488; 2.495; *C. Ap.* 2.34–35; CPJ II 158a, ll. 11–18; cf. Apion in Josephus, *C. Ap.* 2.33.

[191] Also in this volume both positions are advocated. While Balbina Bäbler pleads for the first position (Bäbler, p. 46), Gregory E. Sterling votes for the second solution (Sterling, p. 20).

[192] Thus, Gert Lüderitz, "What is the Politeuma?" in *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*, ed. Jan W. van Henten and Pieter W. van der Horst, AGAJU 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 200–1, speaks of a *politeuma* of Boetians, Idumeans, Cilicians, Cretans, Lycians, and Phrygians.

[193] Horbury and Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, nos. 9; 13; 16; 17; 19–21, 23–26, 30–32. The Talmud (b. Sukkah 51b) and the Tosefta (t. Sukkah 4.6) only make reference to the Great synagogue, which appears here as an impressive building: "Who has not seen the double colonnade of Alexandria has never seen the glory of Israel in his entire life."

[194] Cf. Philo, *Flacc.* 57 (merchants, artisan; also captain, farmer); t. Sukkah 4.6 (goldsmiths, silversmiths, weavers, bronze-workers, blacksmiths); t. 'Arak. 2.3–4 and t. Yoma 2.5–6 (Alexandrian artisans sent to mend Temple properties).

even lived) in medium-sized workshops (*tabernae*).[195] Accordingly, a contract dated 13CE mentions a carpenter shop in the Delta district.[196] Contrary to this, it seems rather unlikely that a larger number or even majority of Alexandrian Jews lived as spaciously as Philo's description of a Jewish house arrangement seems to suggests (*Flacc.* 89; cf. *Legat.* 3.40; *Spec.* 3.169).

2.6 Alexandria's "Fragile Diversity": Prejudices, Hostilities, and Violent Riots

In a terrifying way the same sites that served as places of multiethnic encounters and as festive sites could in no time turn into an arena of violent scuffles, urban riots, and most terrible persecutions.[197] Thus, Philo reports that Flaccus, in the course of the acts of violence of 38 CE, "marshalled a fine procession through the middle of the market" (*Flacc.* 74), whereupon the mob in the early morning moved on to the theater (*Flacc.* 41). Here the Jewish captives

> with their enemies seated in front … were stripped and lacerated with scourges which are commonly used for the degradation of the vilest malefactors, so that in consequence of the flogging some had to be carried out on stretchers and died at once, while others lay sick for a long time despairing of recovery.[198]

Faced with these atrocities and this hardly perceivable perversion of urban sites, numerous Jews fled to the waterfront and the nearby cemeteries (*Flacc.* 56). This, however, only encouraged the enraged crowd to break open the houses and *tabernae* (ἐργαστήρια[199]) of the Alexandrian Jews and to plunder these (*Flacc.* 57).

In the following years and decades the tensions between the Greeks, Egyptians, and Jews remained, until ethnic violence flared up again in 66 CE – coinciding with the outbreak of the First Jewish War in Roman Judea. Another time there occurred terrible chases and looting of Jewish houses in the city.[200] At the beginning of the 2nd century, conflicts culminated in – what would later become

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[195] On the excavation of Early Roman structures and the remains of *tabernae* (built along the street), see Grzegorz Majcherek and Renata Kucharczyk, "Alexandria: Excavations and preservation work on Kom el-Dikka," *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 23.1 (2014): 23–44 (esp. 24–25). "They appear to have formed a complex of separate units sharing the same length but varying in size" (ibid., 24).

[196] BGU IV 1115, l. 40.

[197] With regard to the riots in 38 CE, Pieter van der Horst has even spoken of "the First Pogrom" (Pieter W. van der Horst, ed., *Philo's Flaccus: The First Pogrom*, Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series 2 [Leiden: Brill, 2003]). In his contribution, Jan Bremmer takes up this provocative formulation and examines the possibilities of how our modern knowledge about pogroms can be used to describe the events of 38 CE.

[198] Philo, *Flacc.* 75. The English translation is taken from *Philo, Volume IX. Every Good Person is Free, Against Flaccus and Hypothetica*, trans. Francis H. Colson, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), 343.

[199] ἐργαστήριον is the common Greek equivalent for the Latin *taberna* (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. rom*. 3.67.4; Herodian 7.12.5). Cf. BGU IV 1117 (bakery); IV 1127 (goldsmith's workshop); IV 1116 (maintenance of a rented workshop).

[200] Josephus, *B.J.* 2.494, 496.

known as – the Kitos War.[201] For obvious reasons, the events connected with this almost complete extinction of Jewish life in Alexandria cannot be adequately addressed in this introduction.[202] This is all the more true as it still remains uncertain how we should relate previous attacks in 113 and 115CE[203] and the subsequent violence at the beginning of Hadrian's reign[204] to the "Jewish revolt" between 115–117 CE.[205] Above all, however, the bias and inconsistency of our sources hardly allows for any kind of reliable reconstruction of the actual events. So it is hardly a coincidence that the Jewish revolt has found a particularly strong echo in the *Acta Alexandrinorum* – a collection of Greek writings focusing on Alexandria in relation to Roman emperors and characterized by strong anti-Jewish, but also anti-Roman and anti-Egyptian attitudes.[206] At the same time, the hostility towards Jews propagated in these texts suggests some kind of continuity of Jewish life in Egypt in the 2nd century CE and thereafter.[207]

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[201] The name "Kitos" either refers to L. Quietus or Quintus Turbo, this is to say: the Roman general who held commands in Egypt and finally ended the Jewish Revolt in 115–117. See David Rokeah, "The War of Kitos: Toward the Clarification of a Philological-Historical Problem," *ScrHier* 23 (1972): 79–84.

[202] Considering the "Jewish Beginnings" of Alexandria's early Christianity, Benjamin Schliesser examines some of the effects that the persecution of Alexandrian and Egyptian Jews in the course of these devastating events had on the establishment of a Christian community.

[203] On these earlier events, see Miriam P. Ben Zeev, "Greek Attacks Against Alexandrian Jews During Emperor Trajan's Reign," *JSJ* 20.1 (1989): 31–48. Presumably, the Jews retaliated after each of these attacks and at the same time the Romans intervened and responded with harsh measures against the Greek aggressors.

[204] Thus, SHA *Hadr.* 12.1–2 mentions another "riot in Alexandria, which arose on account of Apis." According to Cassius Dio 69.8.1a. (frag. from Petrus Patricus, *Exc. Vat.*108) this riot ceased due to a harsh letter from Hadrian. At any rate, if we can attribute the private letters of a Roman soldier (P.Mich. 8.477; 8.478) to this renewed flare-up of battle, this does not seem very credible. Jewish accounts even speak of an insidious slaughter of Alexandrian Jews during Hadrian's early reign (b. Giṭ. 57b; S. Eli. Rab. 151*,* ll. 9–24).

[205] According to Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.2.1–4 the revolt began in 115 CE (= Orosius, *Adv. pagan*. 7.12.6–7). In contrast, Cassius Dio (68.32.1–2) assumes that the uprising began in the last months of 116 CE. So even regarding the actual date there is great uncertainty.

[206] To what extent this popular genre contributed to the formation of a Greek identity is answered in more detail by Sylvie Honigman (see esp. p. 141–43). Cf. also Andrew Harker, *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt: The Case of the Acta Alexandrinorum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Harker assumes that the negative experiences of the Alexandrian Greek delegations with Claudius (41 CE) led to an initial circulation of documents, from which the new Acta genre developed. Accordingly, the documents have a common form that typically links a (fictious) transcript of judicial proceedings and dialogues between the felonious Emperor and a heroic Alexandrian Greek.

[207] A local revival of Jewish life in Egypt has recently also been advocated by Michael D. Swartz, "Yoma from Babylonia to Egypt: Ritual Function, Textual Transmission, and Sacrifice," AJSReview 43.2 (2019): 339–53.

Negative stereotypes or enemy images were not only the result of earlier hostilities, however, but also one of the driving factors for physical violence among the ethnic groups. We find a strong tendency for stereotyping among Alexandrian authors of all origins and in much earlier times. Anti-Jewish literary traditions can be found as early as in the writings of the Egyptian authors Hecataeus of Abdera and Manetho.[208] Further representatives of such unabated anti-Jewish propaganda or "proto-anti-Semitism"[209] are Lysimachus, to whom Josephus frequently refers, and Apion. Josephus, for his part, repeatedly relies on anti-Hellenistic stereotypes.[210] And Philo's characterizations of the Egyptians "agree to a striking extent with the Roman views on the Egyptians, which were overwhelmingly negative since Augustus's propaganda campaign."[211] Anti-Egyptian propaganda also affected the writers of private letters (P.Oxy. 14.1681[212]) and even found its way into official legal texts. Hence we read in the Edict of Caracalla (P.Giss. Lit. 6.3):

γὰρ εἰς τοὺς οἱ ἀληθινοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι δύνανται εὐμαρῶς φωνῇ ἢ ἄλλων [αὐτ]οὶ ἔχειν ὄψεις τε καὶ σχῆμα. ἔτι τε καὶ ζω[ῇ] δεικνύει ἐναντία ἤθη ἀ̣π̣ὸ̣ ἀναστ̣ροφῆς [πο]λειτικῆς εἶναι ἀγροίκους Α̣ἰγυπτιούς.

The true Egyptians can easily be recognised among the linen weavers by their accent, or through their [obviously] alien appearance and dress. Moreover the way that they live, with their far from civilised manners, reveals them to be Egyptian peasants.[213]

Admittedly, such ethnophobic attitudes were merely the breeding ground for later conflicts, which were nevertheless still favored by other social and political factors and urban conditions. On a very basic level, one can state that the Roman occupation of Egypt certainly aggravated existing ethnic tensions within the city. Another factor that is repeatedly discussed in research is the supposed efforts of Alexandrian Jews to improve their own legal status. An endeavor which may have had a negative – albeit unintended – impact on the coexistence of ethnic groups in Alexandria. On a linguistic level, one can address Philo's and Josephus's employment of ambiguous terms to blur the actual status of the Alexandrian Jews. Accordingly, both authors refer to Jews as πολίτης, which can either

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[208] Cf. Diodorus Siculus 40.3.8; Josephus, *C. Ap.* 1.228–29; 1.251–52 (Manetho).

[209] John J. Collins, "Anti-Semitism in antiquity? The case of Alexandria," in *Ancient Judaism in its Hellenistic Context*, ed. Carol Bakhos, JSJSup 95 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 9–29 (21).

[210] Cf. John M. G. Barclay, "Judaism in Roman Dress: Josephus' Tactics in the 'Contra Apionem'," in *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium Aarhus 1999*, ed. Jürgen Kalms, Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 6 (Münster: LIT, 2000), 231–45.

[211] Maren R. Niehoff, *Philo on Jewish Identity and Culture*, TSAJ 86 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 59.

[212] The author of this letter (an Egyptian Greek?) is afraid of being considered a "barbarian or an inhuman Egyptian (Αἰγύπτιον ἀνάνθρωπον)."

[213] Translation by Harker, *Loyalty*, 57. Most likely the passage is an interpolation though.

mean "a resident"[214] or (more commonly) "a citizen." In a similar manner, Philo sometimes explicitly calls his fellow Jews "Alexandrians (Ἀλεξανδρεῖς)" (Philo, *Legat*. 183, 194; *Flacc*. 80). Possibly both authors deliberately coquet with the privileges, which were guaranteed to Alexandrian Jews and repeatedly promised by Roman emperors. As Claudius's letter to the Alexandrians indicates,[215] some kind of request concerning the legal status of Alexandrian Jews has been made to him and this striving is – at least in some way – related to the riots of 38 CE, as well.

However, in order to fully grasp the reasons behind the Alexandrian unrests, it is worth considering additional factors that are not primarily related to ethnicity or legal claims articulated by some representatives. This is one of the values of Sandra Gambetti's work on the riots of 38 CE, in which she also highlights the relevance of Alexandria's topography and the political microclimate.[216]

3. The Outline and Rationale of this Volume

Alexandria continues to fascinate scholars from a great variety of academic disciplines. A number of paths and alleys still await their discovery, some quarters and neighborhoods still have hidden corners, and – maybe most importantly – crossroads and border areas still reveal exciting interaction. The present volume takes up insights of earlier and more recent studies, but at the same time sets its own accents.

First, this book is guided by the conviction that one can only do justice to the diversity of Alexandria if one looks at this metropolis from a multi- and interdisciplinary perspective. Accordingly, the present volume gathers together twenty-five contributions of international scholars from the realm of archaeology, ancient history, classical philology, religious studies, philosophy, the Old Testament, historical narratology, Jewish studies, papyrology, and the New Testament.

Second, the thematic focus of the book is on the development, coexistence, and interrelations between Greek, Egyptian, Jewish, and early Christian identities in Alexandria. This is already reflected in the outline of the volume, which is divided into articles on "Egyptian and Hellenistic Identities," on the "Jewish Alexandria," and the identity of Christ followers "From the New Testament to Early Christianities." In all these parts, the question of continuities and

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[214] See Miriam P. Ben Zeev, *Jewish Rights in the Roman World. The Greek and Roman Documents Quoted by Josephus Flavius*, TSAJ 74 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 29–30; John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora from Alexander to Trajan (323 B.C.E.–117 C.E.)* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1996), 62, 69–71. Cf. Acts 21:39 ("resident" or "citizen" of Tarsus), Luke 15:15; 19:14; Heb 8:11

[215] P.Lond. 6.1912 = CPJ II 153, esp. ll. 89–90 (41 CE).

[216] Gambetti, *Riots*, esp. 57–76, 213–38.

discontinuities between different ethnic, cultural, and religious identities is raised and answered. For example, it is asked how the riots in 38 CE were perceived and reflected by such diverse characters as Apion, Chaeremon, Isidorus, and Philo, or how different Christian writers and Christ followers engaged with their Jewish and Hellenistic environment.

Third, the volume stands out from other studies due to its temporal focus on the Roman Imperial period. Thus, most of the contributions focus on persons, places, communities, and events between Octavian's entry to the city and the beginning of the Christianization of Roman Egypt in the course of the 3rd century CE. The temporal limitation does not mean, however, that contributions referring back to the Ptolemaic period and looking ahead to Late Antiquity would be missing altogether. Still, even when a figure such as "Demetrius of Phalerum the Founder of the Alexandrian Library" or the history of the Septuagint is taken into consideration, this too is always done under the question of how corresponding legends were taken up and used by later authors like Aristeas, Philo, Josephus, Clement, or Irenaeus.

Fourth, the attention is strongly focused on the urban area of Alexandria. Accordingly, an introductory section on "The City" opens the volume. In this section, five articles are devoted to the topography of Alexandria and its representation in the works of Hellenistic, Jewish, and Christian authors as well as in modern scholarship. Of course, since Alexandria is considered to be a "Hub of the Hellenistic world," references to the Egyptian *hinterland* as well as to other *metropoleis* and regions of the Mediterranean must not be excluded. Thus, the Caesareum in Alexandria is compared with other temples in Egypt related to the Emperor cult. The literary, cultural, and religious exchange between Alexandria and Jerusalem is repeatedly addressed. And with regard to the genesis of the early Christianities, the relation between the orthodox school in Alexandria and divergent, heterodox communities in Egypt is examined.

Even at the end of a major international and interdisciplinary research project, questions naturally remain unanswered, and some neighborhoods and groups in Alexandria remain fuzzy or even completely hidden. Still a lot has already been gained, if the reading of this volume leads to an individual engagement with the city and if the reader in many ways gets connected with Alexandria, the Hub of the Hellenistic world.

I. The City

"The Largest and Most Important" Part of Egypt

Alexandria according to Strabo

GREGORY E. STERLING

There are several important large cities named after the leading figures of their countries. In the United States, Washington, D.C., is named after the commanding general of the American revolutionary armies and first president of the United States, George Washington. In Europe, St. Petersburg is named after Peter the Great who built the city in order to have a major port.[1] In the ancient world the most famous city to take its name after its founder is Alexandria. While Alexandria is only one of many Alexandrias founded by Alexander the Great – there were at least nine in the far East alone – it easily eclipsed all others in size and importance.[2]

The second largest city of the Roman Empire, Alexandria also enjoyed its own status in the Roman Empire: it was known as Ἀλεξανδρεία ἡ πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ[3] or *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*. The Greek and the Latin suggest that from a Roman administrative perspective, Alexandria was separate from Egypt: it was *beside* Egypt, not *in* Egypt.[4] Writers could refer to Alexandria in Egypt to describe the geographical reality in popular speech,[5] but administratively Alexandria had its own status.

This status led to a degree of pride for those who resided in Alexandria, including Jewish residents. In the 2nd century BCE, Pseudo-Aristeas said that Alexandria "surpasses all cities in size and prosperity" – an understandable exaggeration for someone who was making claims for the Greek translation that had occurred in the city.[6] Almost two centuries later, Philo of Alexandria spoke of its "vast size and its admirable situation for serving the world."[7] The

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[1] For details, see Robert K. Massie, *Peter the Great: His Life and World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980), 355–66.

[2] Karl Jansen-Winkeln, "Alexandria," *BNP* 1:495.

[3] Strabo, *Geogr.* 5.1.7; Philo, *Prob.* 125.

[4] Harold I. Bell, "Alexandria ad Aegyptum," *JRS* 36 (1946): 130–32.

[5] Pausanias 8.33.3; Livy 8.24.1; 38.17.11; Pliny, *Nat.* 32.150.

[6] Let. Aris. 109. All translations are my own.

[7] Philo, *Legat.* 338: μέγιστην τε οὖσαν καὶ ἐν καλῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης. The final phrase can be understood in several ways. Since the context addresses Gaius's plan to use Alexandria as

Alexandrian commentator on the Pentateuch even used the story of its founding as a model for his description of the creation of the cosmos in his interpretation of Genesis 1.[8] He made the same point indirectly by bestowing on Alexandria alone the term *megalopolis*,[9] a word that he otherwise reserved for the cosmos.[10] About the same time, the apocalyptic poet of the Eleventh Sibyl anachronistically predicted Alexandria's Ptolemaic past:

> Then Egypt will be a ruling bride
> and the great city of the Macedonian lord,
> revered Alexandria, celebrated nurse of cities,
> glistening with beauty, will alone be metropolis.[11]

Elsewhere the Sibyl described Alexandria as "the wealthiest of cities"[12] and "the wondrous great city of the Macedonian lord" that served as "the beloved nourisher of Italians," a reference to the grain supply that sailed from Alexandria to Rome.[13] Like other residents, Jews who resided in Alexandria were proud to call Alexandria their πατρίς.[14]

But why this pride? What was the city like? Can we reconstruct the city beside Egypt? Unlike some significant ancient cities that have been abandoned and can be explored archaeologically without restriction, Alexandria has been and continues to be a densely populated city. In addition to the process of construction, demolition, and new construction, the water level has changed significantly making the task even more difficult. While this has not prevented archaeological work, it has restricted it.[15] We are, however, fortunate to have at least seven ancient accounts that describe the city. Taking them in rough chronological order, they include descriptions by Diodorus

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a base to promote his deification, I think that it refers to Alexandria as a model rather than to the natural topographical advantages that the city had.

[8] Philo, *Opif.* 17–18. For an analysis, see David T. Runia, "Polis and Megalopolis: Philo and the Founding of Alexandria," *Mnemosyne* 42 (1989): 398–412; reprinted in idem, *Exegesis and Philosophy: Studies on Philo of Alexandria*, CS 332 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990).

[9] Philo, *Flacc.* 163. Cf. also Apoc. El. 2.15.

[10] Philo, *Opif.* 19; *Ios.* 29; *Mos.* 2.51; *Decal.* 53; *Spec.* 1.34.

[11] Sib. Or. 11.233–35. Cf. also 11.219–20 for a description of its founding.

[12] Sib. Or. 5.98.

[13] Sib. Or. 13.43–49. Cf. also 12.42.

[14] E.g., CPJ II 151, ll. 6–8. Cf. also Philo, *Flacc.* 46. On Philo's relationship to Alexandria, see Dorothy Sly, *Philo's Alexandria* (New York: Routledge, 1996); and David T. Runia, "The Idea and Reality of the City in the Thought of Philo of Alexandria," *JHI* 38 (2000): 361–79.

[15] For a recent summary of the archaeological work, see Balbina Bäbler, "Zur Archäologie Alexandrias," in *Alexandria*, ed. Tobias Georges et al., COMES 1 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 3–27. For an overview of the knowledge of ancient Alexandria, see Judith McKenzie, *The Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt c. 300 BC to AD 700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 8–18.

Siculus,[16] Strabo,[17] Pliny,[18] Josephus,[19] Achilles Tatius,[20] the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*,[21] and Ammianus.[22] The most important of these is that of the geographer Strabo who lived in the city in the last part of the 20s of the 1st century BCE. Several factors make Strabo's the most significant account. It is the fullest description that we have of the topography and the structures of the city. While Diodorus and Josephus also spent time in Alexandria,[23] Strabo was a resident for several years,[24] offering him the opportunity to get to know the city reasonably well. Finally, he was a geographer who made it his business to describe places, a profession that is obvious in his description.[25]

Although the importance of Strabo's description is widely recognized, to my knowledge it has not received a separate treatment.[26] I propose to provide one with this contribution. I will proceed by summarizing Strabo's descriptions of cities in his Γεωγραφικά, then work through his description of Alexandria, and finally note some of the things that he omits. I will supplement

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[16] Diodorus Siculus 17.52.1–6.

[17] Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.6–13.

[18] Pliny, *Nat.* 5.62–63.

[19] Josephus, *B.J.* 2.385–87; 4.612–15.

[20] Achilles Tatius, *Leuc. Clit.* 5.1.

[21] *Scriptores Historiae Augustae: Firmus, Saturninus, Proculus, et Bonosus* 8.5–8. This is ostensibly a report from Hadrian. Hereafter SHA, *Firm.*

[22] Ammianus 22.16.7–22. On the relationship between the SHA and Ammianus, see Ronald Syme, *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 25–30 (28–30).

[23] Diodorus Siculus 17.52.6 (probably ca. 60–56 BCE) and Josephus, *Vita* 415–16, ca. 68–69 CE.

[24] Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.3.17; 2.3.5. He also used the first person to describe some of his travels in Egypt, e.g., 17.1.49–50.

[25] Strabo argued that geography was a constituent part of philosophy (1.1.1). While he is as far from the modern norms of geography as ancient historians are from modern standards, he was serious about his task.

[26] The most important treatments are those of Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 1:7–8 and 1:13–29; Nicolà Biffi, *L'Africa di Strabone: Libro XVII della Geografia: Introduzione, traduzione e comment*, Quademi di 'Invigilata lucernis' 7 (Modugno: Edizioni dal Sud, 1999), 258–73, who provides excellent references to relevant ancient sources as well as analyses; Stefan Radt, *Strabos Geographika: Mit Übersetzung und Kommentar*, 10 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002–11), 8:411–25, the standard commentary on Strabo; and Benoit Laudenbach and Jehan Desanges, eds., *L'Afriqe, de l'Atlantique au golfe de Soloum*, vol. 15, book 17, 2nd part of *Strabon: Géographie*, Collection des Universités de France, Série grecque 504 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2014), 115–38, for the comments by Desanges. For a shorter but helpful treatment, see McKenzie, *Architecture of Alexandria*, 173–76; also Duane W. Roller, *A Historical and Topographical Guide to the Geography of Strabo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 946–50; I have offered a brief summary: Gregory E. Sterling, "Alexandria," in *T&T Clark Encyclopedia of Second Temple Judaism*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2019), 2:19–22. The map of Strabo's Alexandria (see Figure 1) also appears in that article.

Strabo's description of Alexandria with the descriptions of other ancient sources and modern archaeological work where it is directly relevant.

1. Strabo's Descriptions of Cities

Our knowledge of Strabo is derived from his own statements.[27] He tells us that he was born at the time of Pompey's re-organization of Asia Minor ca. 64 BCE in the city of Amasea in Pontus.[28] He came from a well placed family that, on his mother's side, had been close to Mithridates VI and had held high office.[29] However, his grandfather had eventually taken the side of Rome.[30] While the fortunes of the family vacillated in the struggle over Asia Minor, the final outcome of Asia Minor and Strabo's future was not in doubt.

As a young man Strabo studied with a number of teachers whom he mentioned:[31] most notably Aristodemus of Nysa, a philosopher, rhetorician, and grammarian, whose lectures he attended at Nysa;[32] Xenarchus of Seleucia, the philosopher who spent time in Alexandria, Athens, and Rome;[33] and Tyrannion of Amisus.[34] He may have studied with Xenarchus in Rome where he spent a significant number of years.[35] Strabo also mentions several noteworthy friends including Athenodorus, the student of Poseidonius,[36] and the Peripatetic Boethus who was his fellow student and later teacher.[37] He became oriented towards Stoic philosophy[38] and considered his Γεωγραφικά to be

[27] On Strabo, see Karl-Ludwig Elvers, "Strabo," *BNP* 13:865–69; Daniela Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (London: Routledge, 2000); and eadem, ed., *The Routledge Companion to Strabo* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017).

[28] Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.3.39, where he calls Amasea "our city."

[29] Strabo, *Geogr.* 10.4.10.

[30] Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.3.33.

[31] Dueck, Strabo of Amasia, 8–15, has a fuller and helpful discussion of Strabo's education.

[32] Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.1.48.

[33] Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.5.4. On Xenarchus, see Karl-Wilhelm Welwei, "Xenarchus (4)," *BNP* 15:799–800.

[34] Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.3.16. See also 13.1.54, where he tells us that Tyrannion obtained possession of Apellicon's library. Cicero mentioned Tyrannion as a critic of Eratosthenes in Cicero, *Att.* 2.6.1. On Tyrannion, see Manuel Baumbach, "Tyrannion (1)," *BNP* 15:62–63.

[35] Strabo, *Geogr.* 4.5.2; 6.2.6; 8.6.23. All three texts refer to events that Strabo witnessed in Rome.

[36] Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.5.14.

[37] Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.24. On Boethus, see Hans Gottschalk, "Boethus (4)," *BNP* 2:707, who suggests that he was a fellow student with Strabo.

[38] Strabo, *Geogr.* 1.2.34, where he called Zeno "our Zeno." On Strabo's relationship to Stoicism, see Myrto Hatzimichali, "Strabo's Philosophy and Stoicism," in Dueck, *The Routledge Companion to Strabo*, 9–21.

part of philosophy,[39] perhaps along the lines of Poseidonius whose work he admired and who may have inspired his interest in both history and geography.[40] Late in his life he accompanied his friend Aelius Gallus, newly appointed prefect, to Egypt ca. 26–25 BCE and lived for "a long period of time" in Alexandria, although he made trips throughout Egypt.[41] He may have returned to Amasea, but this is uncertain. He appears to have lived into the early decades of the 1st century CE since the Γεωφραφία mentions Tiberius repeatedly.[42]

Strabo wrote a ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα in 47 books that was a continuation of the work of Polybius.[43] Unfortunately, all but a few fragments have been lost.[44] His Γεωγραφικά or Γεωγραφία fared much better. It is the only work of its kind fully preserved, with the exception of the final section of the seventh book that only exists in fragments. Strabo related the geography of the known world in 17 books beginning with the Iberian peninsula, working east, then south, and then back to the west until he reached North Africa. The movement is thus like a U on its side with the opening on the left. At the center stands Rome which Strabo made the fulcrum of the Mediterranean world.[45]

Strabo worked from different sources. He was explicit about the distinction between the work of others and his own work. He wrote: "Now we will state what parts of the earth and sea we have traveled ourselves and concerning what parts we have relied on what others have said or written."[46] The work of others comprised the largest source for his work. While we can not know whom he consulted orally, we do know a number of his written sources. He mentions them often enough that we have some idea of the relative importance of them. The most noteworthy of these include Artemidorus of

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[39] Strabo, *Geogr*. 1.1.1.

[40] Strabo, *Geogr.* 2.3.5. On Poseidonius's *Histories*, see Jürgen Malitz, *Die Historien des Poseidonios*, Zetemata 79 (Munich: Beck, 1983).

[41] Strabo, *Geogr.* 2.5.12. He says that he lived in Alexandria.

[42] E.g., Strabo, *Geogr.* 3.3.8; 4.6.9; 6.4.2; 7.1.5; 12.1.4; 12.8.18; 13.2.3; 13.4.8; 17.1.54.

[43] FGH 91 frag. 1 and Strabo, *Geogr.* 11.9.3. Strabo's *τὰ μετὰ Πολύβιον* began with book 5. On the influence of Polybius on Strabo's *Geography*, see Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 46–53; on the place of continuators, see John Marincola, *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 217–57, esp. 237–57, 289–92.

[44] FGH 91.

[45] On the centrality of Rome for Strabo, see *Geogr.* 6.4.1 and 17.3.24. For analyses, see Katherine Clark, *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 193–336, esp. 210–28, 294–336; Johannes Engels, *Augusteische Oikumenegeographie und Universalhistorie im Werk Strabons von Amaseia*, Geographica historica 12 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1999); and Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia,* 107–29. Cf. also ibid., 85–106 for Strabo's knowledge of Rome.

[46] Strabo, *Geogr.* 2.5.11.

Ephesus, an immediately preceding geographer;[47] Eratosthenes, of whom he is highly critical;[48] Polybius, whose histories he continued – as we just noted;[49] and, above all, Poseidonius, including not only *On the Ocean* but also his *Historiai*.[50] Strabo called him "the Stoic, the most learned philosopher of my time."[51] These do not exhaust his sources, but represent those with whom he was in constant dialogue in his work.

He also relied on his own investigations. He wrote: "We have traveled west from Armenia until the places of Tyrrhenia opposite Sardinia and to the south from the Euxine Sea until the limits of Ethiopia."[52] To put this in modern terms: from Armenia to Italy and from the Black Sea to Ethiopia. His travels allowed him to incorporate his own observations when describing places.

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[47] Strabo mentioned Artemidorus by name in all but the first two books (e.g., Strabo, *Geogr.* 3.1.4–5; 3.2.11; 3.4.3; 3.4.7; 3.4.17; 3.5.1; 3.5.5, 7; 4.1.8, 11; 4.4.6; 5.2.6; 5.4.6; 6.1.11; 6.2.1; 6.3.10; 7.56 (57); 8.2.1; 8.6.1; 8.8.5; 9.5.8, 15; 10.2.21; 10.4.3; 10.5.3; 11.2.14; 12.7.2; 12.8.1; 13.3.5; 14.1.22, 26; 14.2.29; 14.5.3, 16, 22; 15.1.72; 16.2.33; 16.4.5, 15–19; 17.1.18, 24; 17.3.2, 8, 10). For the fragments, see FGH 438. A papyrus was recently published that contains a section of text, but the authenticity is in doubt. See Kai Brodersen and Jas Elsner, eds., *Images and Texts on the 'Artemidorus Papyrus': Working Papers on PArtemid (St. John's College Oxford 2008)*, Historia Einzelschriften 214 (Stuttgart: Steiner 2009).

[48] Strabo mentioned Eratosthenes by name in all but books 4, 6, 9, 12, 13, although the bulk of references are in books 1–2 (e.g., 1.1.1, 11, 12; 1.2.1–3, 7, 12, 14, 15, 19, 31; 1.3.1–4, 11, 13–14, 22–23; 1.4.1–6, 9; 2.1.1–5, 7, 11, 16, 19, 22, 23–41; 2.3.2; 2.4.1–2, 4; 2.5.7, 24, 25, 34, 40, 42; 3.2.11; 3.4.7; 3.5.5; 5.2.6; 7.3.6, 7; 7.5.9; 8.7.2; 8.8.4; 10.4.5; 11.1.1; 11.2.15; 11.6.1; 11.7.3, 4; 11.8.8–9; 11.12.5; 11.14.8; 14.2.29; 14.6.4; 15.1.7, 10–11, 13, 20; 15.2.8; 15.3.1; 16.1.11; 16.2.44; 16.3.2–6; 16.4.2, 19; 17.1.1–2, 17.3.2; 17.3.8, 22). For the fragments, see FGH 241 and Duane W. Roller, *Eratosthenes, Geography: Fragments Collected and Translated with Commentary and Additional Material* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

[49] He mentioned Polybius by name in all but books 12, 13, 15, and 16 (e.g., 1.1.1; 1.2.1, 9, 15; 2.3.1–2; 2.4.2–5, 7; 3.1.6; 3.2.7, 10–11, 15; 3.4.13; 3.5.5, 7; 4.1.8; 4.2.1; 4.6.2, 10, 12; 5.1.3, 8; 5.2.5; 5.4.3; 6.1.11; 6.2.10; 6.3.10; 6.4.2; 7.5.1, 9; 7.7.4; 7.56 (57); 8.1.1; 8.2.1; 8.6.23; 8.8.5; 9.3.11; 10.3.5; 11.9.3; 14.2.29; 17.1.12). On the relationship between Strabo and Polybius, see Engels, *Oikumenegeographie und Universalhistorie,* 145–65.

[50] Strabo mentioned Poseidonius in all but books 9, 12, and 15 (e.g., 1.1.1, 7, 9; 1.2.1, 21, 34; 1.3.9, 12, 16; 2.2.1, 3; 2.3.1, 3–8; 2.5.14, 43; 3.1.5; 3.2.5, 9; 3.3.3–4; 3.4.3, 13, 15, 17; 3.5.5, 7–8, 10; 4.1.7, 13–14; 4.4.5–6; 5.2.1; 6.2.1, 3, 7, 11; 7.2.2; 7.3.2–4, 7; 7.4.3; 7.5.8; 7.60 (58b); 8.1.1; 10.3.5; 11.1.5–6; 11.9.1, 3; 13.1.67; 14.2.13; 16.1.15; 16.2.4, 10, 17, 24, 43; 16.4.20, 27; 17.15, 21; 17.3.4, 10). For the texts of Poseidonius, see FGH 87; and Ludwig Edelstein and Ian G. Kidd, eds., *Poseidonius*, 3 vols., Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 13, 34, 36, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). On the relationship between Strabo and Poseidonius, see Engels, *Oikumenegeographie und Universalhistorie,* 166–201.

[51] Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.10.

[52] Strabo, *Geogr.* 2.5.11. For a detailed treatment of his travels, see Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 15–30.

The form that his accounts take is strongly reminiscent of the work of earlier Greek ethnographers. While Strabo's work is far more extensive than his predecessors, it is not unfair to compare it to the first Greek prose writer, Hecataeus of Miletus, who composed a Περιήγησις γῆς that circulated in two books: one devoted to Europe and one to Asia.[53] The work was based on the map of Anaximander and covered the entire Mediterranean world, just as Strabo's did. Like Strabo, Hecataeus traveled in order to investigate these places. Agathemeros called him "the great wanderer."[54] While we only know that he traveled to Egypt,[55] he must have traveled extensively.

His work moved systematically through regions covering the cities, peoples, geographical features, history, and the customs of each place. It is particularly worth noting that our fragments privilege the place of cities, a place that Strabo also accords them. The impression that one has in reading the fragments is that the work was a travel guide of sorts that provided key information about each area that it treated.

Strabo was heir to this tradition.[56] His accounts treat the same types of material. He typically begins with the topographical features of a region, noting especially the rivers,[57] and then works through the region. As he works through it, he gives cities a pride of place. They appear in his work in three major ways. Sometimes he simply provides a list of the notable cities in a region, e.g., a list of the most notable cities of the Massaliotes (the ancients traders whose major city was modern Marseille).[58] At other times, he describes each city in rapid sequence. For example, he worked through the cities of Phrygia by describing Antioch,[59] Synnada,[60] Docimaea,[61] Apamea,[62] and Laodicea[63] without interruption. Finally, in some cases, he devotes longer sections to cities.[64] Unsurprisingly, the bulk of these longer descriptions oc-

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[53] On Hecataeus of Miletus, see FGH 1; and Giuseppe Nenci, *Hecataei Milesii fragmenta*, Biblioteca di Studi Superiori, Filol. Greca 22 (Florence: La Nuova Italis, 1954). For details with bibliography, see Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography*, NovTSup 64 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 22–33.

[54] FGH 1 T 34.

[55] Herodotus 2.143.

[56] Dueck, *Strabo of Amasia*, 40–45, discusses Strabo's relationship to earlier Greek authors who circumnavigated the *oikoumene*.

[57] On the role of rivers, see Catherine Connors, "A River runs through It: Waterways and narrative in Strabo," in Dueck, *The Routledge Companion to Strabo*, 207–18.

[58] Strabo, *Geogr.* 4.1.9.

[59] Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.8.14.

[60] Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.8.14.

[61] Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.8.14.

[62] Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.8.15.

[63] Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.8.16.

[64] Strabo, *Geogr.* 3.5.3–10, Gades (island and city); 4.1.3–5, Messilia; 5.3.7–8, Rome; 6.3.1–4, Taras; 8.5.3–8, Messene/Lacedaemon; 8.6.7–10, Argos; 8.6.20–23, Corinth; 9.1.16–

cur in his account of Asia Minor in books 12–14 (approximately half of the long descriptions occur in these books). This suggests that he provided more detail where he had experienced it firsthand.

2. Strabo's Description of Alexandria

Fortunately for us, he had a good deal of detail to provide for Alexandria where he had resided. He incorporated his description of it in the final book.[65] Although he had been a resident, he used the conventions of an ethnographer or geographer to present the city. He opened by providing distances, a regular feature in his descriptions. He tells us that it was 17.2 miles or 27.8 kilometers from the Canobic branch of the Nile to the Island of Pharos.[66]

Topography. He then turned to the topography, assuming that someone was sailing into Alexandria from the sea.[67] The first visible sight was the island of Pharos. He described it in these words: "Pharos is an oblong island that is exceptionally close to the mainland and forms a harbor with two mouths. For the shore forms bays, having thrust two points into the sea. The island is located between these, closing up the bay. For it is situated in length parallel to the bay."[68] Philo suggested that the natural features of the island's shoreline made it ideal for the task of translation, "surrounded by sea, it is not deep near the shore but shallow so that the roar and crash of the force of the waves dissipates before it reaches the shore as a result of the very great distance."[69]

Strabo next describes the narrow opening into the main harbor. "The eastern of the points of Pharos lies closer to the mainland and to the point opposite it that is known as Cape Lochias and forms a harbor with a mouth requiring precision." He explained, "for in addition to the narrowness of the inter-

20, Athens; 9.3.2–12, Delphi; 10.4.7–10, Cnossus; 13.1.24–27, 35–42, Ilium; 13.1.52–55, Scepsis; 13.1.57–58, Assus; 13.2.2–3, Mitylene; 13.4.1–3, Pergamum; 14.1.6–7, Miletus; 14.1.21–26, Ephesus; 14.1.27–28, Colophon; 14.1.39–41, Magnesia; 14.1.43–48, Myssa; 14.2.5–10, 13, Rhodes; 14.2.16–17, Halicarnassus; 14.2.23–24, Mylasa; 14.5.12–15, Tarsus; 15.3.2–3, Susa; 16.1.5–6, Babylon; 16.2.4–5, Antioch; 16.2.13–14, Aradus; 16.2.34–39, Jerusalem (with history and customs); 17.1.6–13, Alexandria; 17.1.27–28, Bubastis; 17.1.31–34, Memphis; 17.3.14–15, Carthage.

[65] For a summary of archaeological work on the reconstruction of the plan of Alexandria, see McKenzie, *Architecture of Alexandria*, 19–30.

[66] Strabo, *Geogr.* 17.1.6. Pliny, *Nat.* 5.62 offers a shorter distance 'XII p' (equivalent to twelve miles). Cf. also Ammianus 22.16.14.

[67] Strabo, *Geogr.* 8.1.3 says that he followed the practice of Ephorus in making the sea coast his guide. For an approach from the sea into Alexandria, see also Philo, *Flacc.* 27, 110.

[68] Strabo, *Geogr*. 17.1.6.

[69] Philo, *Mos.* 2.35.

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