



BULLETIN DE L'INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ORIENTALE

en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne en ligne

BIFAO 112 (2013), p. 19-56

Sobhi Ashour

An Unpublished Granite Statue of Diskophoros Ephébos in Cairo.

Conditions d'utilisation

L'utilisation du contenu de ce site est limitée à un usage personnel et non commercial. Toute autre utilisation du site et de son contenu est soumise à une autorisation préalable de l'éditeur (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). Le copyright est conservé par l'éditeur (Ifao).

Conditions of Use

You may use content in this website only for your personal, noncommercial use. Any further use of this website and its content is forbidden, unless you have obtained prior permission from the publisher (contact AT ifao.egnet.net). The copyright is retained by the publisher (Ifao).

Dernières publications

9782724711233 *Mélanges de l'Institut dominicain d'études
orientales* 40

9782724711424 *Le temple de Dendara* XV

9782724711417 *Le temple de Dendara* XIV

9782724711073 *Annales islamologiques* 59

9782724711097 *La croisade*

9782724710977 *???? ??? ???????*

9782724711066 *BIFAO* 125

9782724711172 *BCAI* 39

Emmanuel Pisani (éd.)

Sylvie Cauville, Gaël Pollin, Oussama Bassiouni, Youssef Hamed

Sylvie Cauville, Gaël Pollin, Oussama Bassiouni

Abbès Zouache

Guillemette Andreu-Lanoë, Dominique Valbelle

An Unpublished Granite Statue of *Diskophoros Ephébos* in Cairo

SOBHI ASHOUR

THIS ARTICLE is dealing with an unpublished granite statue kept in the Cairo, Egyptian Museum J.E. 45055B, with unknown provenance.¹ A label with a Basement Register Number reads N.723, is attached to the statue. The statue is missing the head and the largest portion of the neck which is broken diagonally. The legs beneath knees are broken away; maximum height reaches 30.5 cm.

The statue represents a boy dressed in *chlamys* carrying a round object on his back hanging in a sling. The body shows wide shoulders and tender lines indicate boyish appearance. The left arm is bent from elbow, enveloped inside the mantle and held tightly to the chest (fig. 1). The left hand is holding the two hanging robes of the round object on the back side (fig. 2). The right arm is extending beside the body, curves slightly to fix two folding edges of the mantle together on the thigh. The details of fingers beneath the heavy mantle are charmingly executed: four fingers appear on the left strap and the index rests on the right one (fig. 1). The details of the right hand are well treated, where the fingers are countable as well.

I would like to thank the anonymous referee of the Ifao who added very valuable remarks to this article.

¹ KEITH 1975, p. 138-139, no. 24, pl. 19, published a Hermeracles from Tell Timai in Cairo Museum with the same Journal d'Entrée number 45055. The two entries are described "*statuette de Hermès drapé, tenant une massue. Tête et base manquente*". The height of Keith's herm is 22.2 cm and the material is white fine soft limestone, while the

statue published here is carved in red granite and reaches 30.5 cm in height. The Timai herm is different from the statue; the mantle is grasped by right hand on the center of the chest not the left as in our statue. The left hand of the herm rests on the hip and carries a club, yet a broken Heraklian club is not traceable in the Cairo statue at all. Prof. Keith kindly sent me an image of her cat. 24 which confirms that there are two objects with the same register

number. The authorities of Egyptian Museum in Cairo decided to keep the two pieces with the same number with adding a different labeling letters to distinguish them. The Basement Register N. 723, which was JE. 45055 is now JE. 45055 B. Previously the provenance of the two objects was confused and considered Thmuis, now it is clear that the statue in Cairo JE. 45055 B has no authenticated provenance.

BIFAO 112 - 2012

The inner distance between legs indicates a marching posture, most likely the left leg was striding with a slight torsion outwards, while the right was fixed. The heavy *chlamys* is knee-length, or slightly longer, fastened on the right shoulder, with an elongated clasp appears beside the hanging robe. This clasp consists of two parts: a larger upper one, oval in shape, with round term, while the lower part is circular (fig. 3). The characteristic loose neck of the *chlamys* is elegantly carved on the left side, and the flaring textile has additional small fold. There is no indication of the chiton, since no hem of the neck or sleeves appear, and most likely this *chlamys* was worn on nude body.

The surface is well designed; the folds mostly follow diagonal lines, and reflect the marching and grasping action. Three folds appear on the right side of the chest, reflect the pose of the left hand. A triangular shaped group of folds appears beneath the left elbow on the belly. The right hand is grasping the mantle where its two edges are deeply folded between the legs (fig. 4). Circular folds appear on the right side, reflect the posture of fixed right leg and the grasped textile. The left side of the *chlamys* is worked into a group of vertical folds, almost flat in execution (fig. 5).

There is a circular object on the upper third of the back side, hanged by two thick robes, held in the left hand (fig. 6). The right side robe passes above the shoulder, while the left side one passes on the forearm, which indicates the heaviness of the slung object. On the front side, these two robes appear as a double robe with knots on equal distances, which don't appear on the back side. These two straps get thinner gradually downwards and the difference in thickness is very apparent between its width on the backside and the belly. There are traceable spots of black paint all over the statue's surface, which are most likely, remains of a painted surface rather than a fire in antiquity.

Subject

The ephebic *chlamys*,² should gather the statue with two interesting sculptures: the much debated Tralleis Boy,³ and another statue in the Roman National Museum.⁴ The first is believed to represent a boxer or pankratiast after his swollen ears (fig. 7),⁵ while the later is connected to the *Palaistra* and labelled *ephebos* (fig. 8).⁶ The drapery of the *chlamys* on the three statues is similar to a specific draped type of torso herms,⁷ mostly represents Hermes, Herakles or

² Pollux X, 164; BIEBER 1928, p. 22-23, p. 69 pl. XXXV.1; see ROUSSEL 1941, p. 163ff; TOD 1951, p. 90; GAUTHIER 1985, p. 154, n. 25, p. 156, n. 31, 157; GAUTHIER 1986, p. 15f; PALAGIA 1989, p. 338 n. 17; DELIA 1991, p. 83, n. 55; MONTERRAT 1993, p. 222; MILLER 2004, p. 139; During the Hellenistic period classical nude of athletes was substituted by *chlamys* or nude chest. ZANKER 1993, p. 221.

³ MENDEL 1914, no. 542; LAWRENCE 1927, p. 44-45, pl. 74-75; BIEBER 1955,

p. 164, fig. 698-699; VON STEUBEN 1972; POLLITT 1986, p. 256, fig. 286; SMITH 1991, p. 54, fig. 51; ANDREAE 2001, p. 60, taf. 3-4; RIDGWAY 2002, p. 171.

⁴ VON STEUBEN 1972, p. 134, taf. 36, 1-2; DE LACHENAL 1979, p. 148, no. 103; ANDREAE 2001, p. 61, abb. 15.

⁵ LAWRENCE 1927, p. 44-45, first suggested a boxer on basis of the bruised ears. ANDREAE 2001, p. 60ff, sided to Pankratiast. The swollen ear is best shown in VON STEUBEN 1972, taf. 35.

⁶ VON STEUBEN 1972, p. 134, taf. 36, 1-2; DE LACHENAL 1979, p. 148, no. 103.

⁷ First known as *korperherme* by Lullies, *apud* KEITH 1975, p. 31, n. 41, and labeled *chlamys* herm by HARRISON 1965, p. 124-126. KEITH 1975, p. 31ff labels it torso herm, which I prefer to use in this article. WREDE 1986, p. 34-35, uses mantleherm.

athletes.⁸ Many examples are known from Attica,⁹ Delos,¹⁰ Asia Minor,¹¹ Egypt,¹² Cyrenaica,¹³ and Italy.¹⁴ The herm, whether pillar or torso type, had a specific athletic significance and it was the standard symbol of *Palaistra* and *Gymnasia*,¹⁵ and hence comes Cicero's label *ornamenta γυμνασιώδη*.¹⁶ The torso type of herms appears frequently in athletic context in the Hellenistic and imperial times, whether as Hermes,¹⁷ or Heracles.¹⁸ The pillar herm appears as well, on many Hellenistic and imperial funerary monuments, from ca. 300 BC,¹⁹ from Attica,²⁰ Cyclades,²¹ Asia Minor,²² Delos,²³ and Egypt.²⁴

Hermes and Herakles are attested as sponsor gods of *gymnasia* and *palaistra* in Graeco-Roman Egypt,²⁵ and I have hinted the herms within athletic context from Egypt.²⁶ Therefore the subject

8 Hermes was regarded as founder of *Palaistra*, and a draped herm of him could symbolize his pedagogue roll for ephebe, Pausanias 8.39.6 mentions a draped herm of Hermes in Phigalia *gymnasion*. Herakles was another sponsor god of *palaistra* and *gymnasion*, hence come the lion skinned-draped herm, which was common as well. Hermes was sponsor of spiritual side while Herakles was patron of physical side in the Greek ephebe education, therefore they are connected to athletic activity. WREDE 1986, p. 35. According to Athenaeus 13.561d, *apud* SCANLON 2002, p. 5, Hermes, Herakles and Eros "whose shrines were most frequently found in the ancient gymnasium by positing that Hermes presided over eloquence *logos*, Heracles over strength *alé*, and Eros over friendship *philia*".

9 The earliest known torso herm in connection with athletics is the Rhamnus herm, celebrating victorious ephebes in *lampadophoria* contest and dates to 333-332. Three other examples from the same find. See POUILLOUX 1954, p. III 2 bis, pl. 45; HARRISON 1965, p. 125f; PALAGIA 1989, p. 337ff, pl. 48. B.

10 MARCADE 1969, p. 454-456, pl. XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI.

11 KEITH 1975, p. 36.

12 Alexandria 18378, BRECCIA 1926, p. 66, nr. 47; ADRIANI 1961, p. 32, fig. 207; KEITH 1975, no. 45; Alexandria 19405, ADRIANI 1961, no. 124, pl. 66, fig. 210; KEITH 1975, no. 46; New York, Private collection; KEITH 1975, no. 46, pl. 35; Alexandria R.799. KEITH 1975, no. 47, pl. 17; Alexandria 25124. KEITH 1975, no. 92; Alexandria 3293. KEITH 1975, no. 7, pl. 6; Alexandria no number. KEITH 1975, no. 6, pl. 5; Cairo JE. 40487. KEITH 1975, no. 23, pl. 18;

Alexandria 5968. KEITH 1975, no. 29; Cairo Kioumgi Collection, KEITH 1975, no. 48, pl. 36; Alexandria 3439. KEITH 1975, no. 50, pl. 38, Cairo JE. 45055 (now JE. 45055A). KEITH 1975, no. 24, pl. 19.

13 VON STEUBEN 1972, p. 139, taf. 37, 1-4; HUSKINSON 1975, no. 119, pl. 46.

14 HARRISON 1968, p. 172, n. 105; the type is very common among terracotta from Hellenistic and Roman period. See WINTER 1903, p. 233, n. 2, 3, 10, 11, p. 234, nos. 1, 4, 5, 7, 9. I would like to thank the anonymous referee for turning my attention to similar herm in Megara Museum Inv. 389, from third century BC.

15 WREDE 1986, p. 24, 34-36; SCANLON 2002, p. 54; LA REGINA 2004, p. 284; the first archaeological evidence for a pillar herm supporting a statue of athlete is the Sysiphos statue in Delphi. WREDE 1986, p. 62-63; RIDGWAY 1990, p. 68, n. 33; MORENO 1995, p. 84, cat. 4.11.3; Harisson 1965, p. 135-136 lists Eros from Parion by Praxiteles, but finds Sysiphos statue clearer in conception and closer in date. For literary survey of such dedications, see DELORME 1960, p. 364.

16 *Apud* HARRISON 1965, p. 125, n. 129, 133; see DELORME 1960, p. 365 n. 4-5.

17 A boxer statue from Sorrento, LA REGINA 2004, p. 284, no. 48, with other representations are listed.

18 A statue of athlete in Istanbul Archaeological Museum 180-192 AD, shows a Heraklian herm support, with the same conception but different drape of the mantle, see MORENO 1995, p. 78, cat. 4.10.8.

19 WREDE 1986, p. 47.

20 CONZE 1922, nos. 2021, 2023-2024, taf. 439-440; WREDE 1986, p. 44ff.

21 COUILLOU 1974a, no. 33, p. 439, fig. 36, no. 39, p. 444, fig. 42, no. 46, p. 448, fig. 46, from imperial date.

22 PFUHL-MÖBIUS 1979, no. 114. WREDE 1986, p. 44ff; ZANKER 1993, p. 220-221. In the Hellenistic period, *paides* and *ephebes* usually appear on funerary stelai beside a herm of Herakles or Hermes: the symbol of the gymnasium and Athletic career. HALLETT 2005, p. 29 ff.

23 COUILLOU 1974, no. 296-300, pl. 58; no. 473, pl. 83; WREDE 1986, p. 44f.

24 Herms are not found on tombstones from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, but uniquely a funerary limestone statue of man draped in mantle in Coan type, from Athribis, stands beside a pillar herm, Kiss 1995, p. 44-51.

25 There are many dedications from Ptolemaic Egypt from ephebe to Hermes and Herakles for their patronage of ephebate and gymnasial activities. FRASER 1972, p. 86, 198, 208; KEITH 1975, p. 46. DELORME 1960, p. 340, n. 7. While in Sebennytos the gymnasium was named Heraklion, DELORME 1960, p. 340, n. 8. In Thedalphia a *gymnasiarchos* dedicated a pylon to Hermes and Herakles, 150-149 BC. DELORME 1960, p. 340, n. 9. The much quoted *palaistra* scene on a terracotta lamp from Canopus, should not be missed here: where a young *ephebos* depicted with torch on the right and another punished *ephebos* on the left. An architectural facade appears in the background with a pillar herm between columns in addition to shields and perhaps *diskos* in sling. See BRECCIA 1930, p. 73, no. 469, tav. XLIII. 3; Gloire d'Alexandrie, no. 72.

26 Kiss 1995, p. 44-51.

of the Cairo statue could be connected to *palaistra* and *gymnasion*, and it is identifiable as *ephēbos* or athlete boy *paides* after his tender body and boyish appearance. Another point could support such identification is the traces of black paint on the statue. I do not believe that they are resulting after firing, but rather remaining from a painted surface, which was a common Greek and Egyptian practice. This black paint is very suggestive to recall the Athenian tradition of the ephebic black *chlamys*.²⁷ That may confirm the proposed subject of the Cairo statue as *ephēbos* and the round object on the backside may decide his athletic profession.

The round object with *chlamys* should recall a Macedonian head gears. Two types of head gears are candidate: the *Kausia* which never appeared with such hanging robes, while the *Petatos* has similar robes, but their shape is not gradually thinned. The *Petatos* sometimes is slung on the back but its shape is still indicating a head gear, and it is usually seen on the nape level, not down any more.²⁸ The *Petatos* has a broad brim, shown circular or cut at angles, but its hallmark is the central knob.²⁹ Both features are lacking on the Cairo statue's round object. The statue is wearing the ephebic *chlamys* and the affinities with *gymnasia* world is already attested, therefore the round object perhaps, is best sought within Greek athletics equipments.

Among Greek athletic round equipments, shield should be excluded, after the size and shape of the object on the Cairo statue. This round object could be *diskos*, (fig. 6) which is the most famous round equipment in Greek athletics. The two ropes on the Cairo statue stand against this interpretation since the Greek *diskos* when appears in action does not have such robes.³⁰ The Greek *diskos* when not in use was kept in a sort of sling, with its two ends tied in a knot, and this sling with the *diskos* inside is frequently represented hanging on the wall or carried in hands.³¹

The athletic scenes on Greek vases show this sling or round bags, hanging on the wall, to keep *halteres* and *diskoi* (fig. 9).³² An important feature of this bag is the gradual thinness of its hanging straps. The thickness of the Cairo statue bag and the object inside favors a *diskos*

²⁷ At least since fourth century, see VIDAL-NAQUET 1986, p. 112, n. 31-32; BARRINGER 2001, p. 51f. This Black *chlamys* is believed to commemorate the death of Theseus' father. It was changed by Herodes Atticus to white one on his father's death, see ROUSSEL 1941, p. 163ff; TOD 1951, p. 90; VIDAL-NAQUET 1986, p. 114; MAXWELL-STUART 1970, p. 113ff, is rejecting the ephebic black *chlamys*.

²⁸ GIRARD *Ephēbi*, p. 630, fig. 2680; ANDRONIKOS 1955, p. 87ff, fig. 1, 2; SAATSOGLOU-PALIADEL 1993, p. 128, fig. 2, pl. 2.1. The Kalyx Krater in the British Museum depicts on side A, Aurora pursuing Kephalos, the latter wears *chlamys* and *petasos* slung behind the neck. BIRCH-NEWTON 1851, p. 314,

no. 867, pl. CLIII. The polychromic pattern shows red straps on the chest, perhaps knotted below the neck but still different from the round shape and knotted ropes on the Cairo statue. The statue shares hunters' iconography the *chlamys*, suspected head-gear and slung object on the back, but lacks any weapon or accompanying hunting dog or a prey. For representations of hunters, see BARRINGER 2001, p. 18, 53, 75, 80, 290, fig. 95, 96; GROSSMAN 2001, no. 38.

²⁹ See PARIS, *Petatos*, p. 422, fig. 5610-5611; SAATSOGLOU-PALIADEL 1993, p. 122ff, esp, p. 129, fig. 1,2. The lion hunt mosaic from Macedonia shows a cut angels *petasos*, see MORENO 1995, p. 63, cat. 4.7.1.

³⁰ GARDINER 1907, *passim*. The famous *diskobolos* by Myron is the hallmark of the action, see LA REGINA 2004, no. 9 the Lancelotti copy.

³¹ GARDINER 1907, p. 8.

³² SAGLIO *Discus*. Comment on fig. 2466, p. 279; CASKEY 1915, p. 129, 133, 134, fig. 1, 2; GARDINER 1930, p. 155, n. 3, fig. 114, 115, 118, 119, 129, 130; REGGIANI-RAGNI 2006, cat. 16; a Greek Red Figure vase in Hamburg depicts a scene from the *Gymnasion* showing the director prepares everything, among which is a *diskos* in its bag hanged on the wall. DOUSKOU 1976, fig. 17, p. 49. A vase in Paris Petit Palais, shows another bag hanging on the wall. DOUSKOU 1976, fig. 20.

more than *halteres*. Real *diskoi*, range mostly around 1 cm in thickness,³³ and therefore, conforms to the volume of the object on the Cairo statue. Literary evidence attests the existence of such bags; *sakkos* and *thulakos* were used by the Greeks to keep their equipments while going to *Gymnasia* or baths. Pollux speaks about *trochoi*, *halteres* and *diskoi*, kept in these bags.³⁴ Therefore it is very reasonable to identify the round object as *sakkos* with *diskos* inside. The statue therefore, represents *ephēbos* or boy athlete in training on *diskobolia*. The *diskos* on the Cairo statue is decisive evidence that the two statues in Istanbul and Rome, belong to the world of *Gymnasia* and *Palaistrai*, and support their identification as athletes.³⁵

The Cairo *diskophoros* is of particular importance, first of all because of the paucity of athletic representations from Graeco-Roman Egypt. The statue subject is unique and does not find parallel anywhere, it presents for the first time a glimpse of the ephebic daily life, up to now never been caught in classical art. A draped boy carrying *diskos* on his way to *gymnasion*, is completely different from the before action, nude Antretender *diskobolos*,³⁶ and not to mention the Myron famous statue. The *diskobolia* was one of the Greek pentathlon's five contests, and this category of athletes was regarded as the superior in ability and power, and winning a pentathlete contest required different skills and qualifications. The Greek pentathletes represented the *Kalokagathia* which means the physical and moral beauty and harmony.³⁷ The sophisticated composing and elaborated style of the Cairo *diskophoros* correspond to these highly estimated athletic Greek conceptions.

The Greek pentathlon appears in few papyri but without a single Olympian victor from Egypt,³⁸ while within other Pan-Hellenic games, however one victor is recorded. Nikostratos son of Nikostratos from Alexandria won the boys Pentathlete at the *Asklepieia* of Kos in the second half of the third century BC.³⁹ Few figurative references to *diskobolia* are known from Egypt among which is a small bronze statue in Basel.⁴⁰ In addition to an inscribed *diskos*, found in Kom Ischgaou Aphroditopolis, was dedicated to Apollo by Apollodoros, dated to late fourth century BC.⁴¹

The Cairo *diskophoros* perhaps is the first assured athletic sculpture in the round from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. The archaeological material is scanty and lacking decisive attributes: a statue of a boy athlete in the Louvre,⁴² may represent a god as well. Another

³³ LA REGINA 2004, p. 190, no. 28, 1 cm in thickness, from Tarentum. Another *diskos* from la tomba del guerriero di Lanuvio, in Roman National Museum, varies between 0.65-0.7 cm. LA REGINA 2004, p. 272, no. 47. Fifteen real discs tabled by GARDINER 1907, p. 6, vary between 5-13 mm in thickness. A marble *diskos*, dates to the second half of the sixth century BC, reached 5 cm in thickness, see BOTHMER 1985, p. 6; on *diskoi*, see MILLER 2004, p. 60f, fig. 105-107.

³⁴ Pollux, *Onomasticon* III.155, X. 64; LAFAYE *Saccus*.

³⁵ I am very grateful to the anonymous referee, for stressing this note in his report.

³⁶ LA REGINA 2004, p. 146, no. II.

³⁷ CROWTHER 1985, p. 123; BONEFANTE 1989, p. 550; FREIRE 1990, English résumé p. 250.

³⁸ DECKER 1991, p. 96; among 163 victor athletes known from literary material from Egypt, there is no single example of *diskobolos* or pentathlete, see PERPILLOU-THOMAS 1995, p. 241ff. The Penathlon appears P.Oxy.II. 222, P.Oxy.XXIII. 2381, both contain lists from 480-452 and 396 BC. The inscription of the 267 *basileia* doesn't mention pentathlon or *diskobolia* among agonistic contests held there. KOENEN 1977, p. 4-5, 9.

³⁹ KLEE 1918, p. 6, lines. 13-14. PEREMANS-VAN'T DACK 1968, no. 17223a;

REMIJSEN 2009, p. 256, n. 44.

⁴⁰ ROLLEY 1983, no. 177. A statue depicts Hermes, formerly in von Sieglin Collection, from Alexandria, showing the god carrying a *diskos*, in his right hand, which is an interesting indication of Hermes' patronage of athletics. A similar figure on plaster cast, formerly in von Bissing Collection shows Hermes carrying *diskos* in his right hand as well. See PAGENSTECHER 1923, p. 51f, taf. 32, abb. 35-37.

⁴¹ MICHAÏLIDÈS 1949, p. 300, pl. III, a; PEREMANS-VAN'T DACK 1968, no. 17193; REMIJSEN 2009, p. 256 n. 44.

⁴² CHARBONNEAUX 1963, p. 76.

wreathed head of Isthmian victor, perhaps represents a boxer from imperial times.⁴³ Funerary stelai show few athletic figures,⁴⁴ as do mosaics.⁴⁵ The mummy portraits present the main bulk of athletic figures, where the nudity and muscled chests are the main attributes, but no athletic professions are detectable.⁴⁶

Few terracotta and bronzes are known as well: among which is the bronze *diskobolos* in Basel,⁴⁷ and another bronze boxer in Cleveland.⁴⁸ An upper bust of boxer in terracotta, from Canopus in Alexandria, is very remarkable with its high boxing gloves.⁴⁹ Many groups of wrestlers or pankratiasts in bronze and terracotta could be listed: in London,⁵⁰ Baltimore,⁵¹ St Petersburg,⁵² Munich,⁵³ Tanta,⁵⁴ Marymount,⁵⁵ Athens,⁵⁶ Istanbul,⁵⁷ and Cairo.⁵⁸ Some examples perhaps have an allegoric meaning, and Ptolemaic royal identity has been already proposed.⁵⁹

This paucity of archaeological material is contrasted to the plenty of literary material, which reflects noticeable athletic activities. The Alexander's theatrical and athletic games *Basileia* at Memphis in 332-331 BC, perhaps did not lack the political purposes,⁶⁰ but it was connected with the king birthday since Philadelphus' reign.⁶¹ Philadelphus founded many *agones*; the iso-Olympic *Ptolemaieia*,⁶² the *Pentaeteris* and *Theadelphia* were remarkable theatrical and athletic events, while the *Arsinoeia* was annual festival for the deified queen Arsinoe II.⁶³ Ptolemaic kings were active sponsors of athletes and athletics since the Soter's reign, especially the equestrian contests.⁶⁴ The Zenon archive shows a professional training of boy athletes,

43 MOORMANN 2000, no. 69, pl. 31 c-d.

44 The chamidophoros *ephebos* from Canopus necropolis, from Ptolemaic date is the earliest. BRECCIA 1932, p. 15, tav. 4, fig. 13; SCHMIDT 2003, kat. 48, here fig. 16. Another funerary stele of an athlete from Thebes-West, dates to Roman period. PARLASCA 2003, p. 241ff; An early Antonine ephebic inscription with standing figure of young athlete, from Antinopolis in Duke University Museum. RIGSBY 1978, p. 239f, pl. I; A late third-early fourth century AD stela of Dioscorus, shows a nude standing male figure in praying posture, a Greek inscription describes him as young Herakles, and establishes his ephebic identity. MONTSERRAT 1993, p. 223, n. 46; BERNARD 1969, no. 82.

45 The two wrestlers' mosaic in the Bibliotheca Alexandrian Archaeological Museum is very significant. GRIMM 1998, p. 102f, abb. 102a-f. A mosaic panel from Thmuis depicts a standing muscled athlete on his way for bathing, dates to early first century BC. DASZEWSKI 1985, cat. 42, p. 164, pl. 36a.

46 MONTSERRAT 1993, p. 221ff, pl. XXII 1-4, thinks about garlands as

an athletic attribute. WALKER-BIERBRIER 1997, no. 24, 26, 45; CRIBIORE 2001, p. 248, fig. 23.

47 ROLLEY 1983, no. 177, second-first centuries BC.

48 FABING 1988, no. 24, 50 BC-50 AD.

49 BRECCIA 1934, no. 366, p. 54, tav. LXXII, third century AD.

50 MADERNA 2005, p. 258, abb. 1.

51 ROLLEY 1983, no. 299; second century BC.

52 MORENO 1994, p. 334, fig. 420.

53 ROLLEY 1983, no. 296, second-first century BC; MARGERIE 1997, no. 142.

54 Gloire d'Alexandrie, no. 116, second century AD.

55 MARGERIE 1997, no. 143.

56 MORENO 1994, p. 341, fig. 447-448.

57 MADERNA 2005, p. 259, abb. 2-3.

58 EDGAR 1904, no. 27712, pl. V; KIRWAN 1934, p. 55-56, pl. V.

59 The Istanbul group is suggested to represent Ptolemy III after the lotus bud. KYRIELEIS 1975, taf. 19, 3.4; MORENO 1994, p. 333, fig. 419; The Baltimore group is suggested to represent Ptolemy Epiphanes after the childish hair lock, KYRIELEIS 1975, taf. 43.5-6. REEDER 1988, p. 151 ff.

60 BLOEDOW 1998, p. 129 ff; REMIJSEN 2009, p. 258.

61 Inscriptional data show that it contained agonistic contests and was celebrated in the chora as well, or within special circumstances. FRASER 1972.I, p. 232.II, p. 382. no. 341; KOENEN 1977, p. 4ff; CRISCUOLO 1995, p. 44, n. 5; McKECHNIE-GUILLAUME 2008, p. 50; REMIJSEN 2009, p. 259.

62 FRASER 1972, p. 231-2; LEGRAS 1999, p. 231, 233; McKECHNIE-GUILLAUME 2008, p. 189; REMIJSEN 2009, p. 259.

63 FRASER 1972.I, p. 231ff; CRISCUOLO 1995, p. 44; REMIJSEN 2009, p. 259.

64 Ptolemy Soter sponsored victor charioteers in main PanHellenic games, a tradition followed by Ptolemies till Philometor's reign. See DECKER 1991, p. 96ff; BREMEN 2007, p. 362-363, but an Egyptian winner in equestrian Olympic contests, however is recorded in 72 BC, see SCANLON 2002, p. 43. For Ptolemaic achievements in equestrian contests, see REMIJSEN 2009, p. 249ff; on Royal participation in Pan-Hellenic games and particularly equestrian contests, see CRISCUOLO 2003, p. 311ff; BENNETT 2005, p. 91ff.

within state patronage to achieve Olympian victories.⁶⁵ The lists of Olympiad victors did not lack Alexandrian or Egyptian athletes,⁶⁶ in addition to other victors in Pan-Hellenic games.⁶⁷

During Roman times, imperial sponsorship of athletics most likely extended to Egypt, and at least athletic festivals and games began by the *Aktia* in Nicopolis by 30 BC,⁶⁸ and other festivals are recorded within second century as well.⁶⁹ Athletes in Roman Egypt enjoyed many privileges and benefits in their cities up to public offices, pension and exemption of public liturgies.⁷⁰ These athletic activities perhaps are owing to the flourishing of *metropoleis* life, where the Hellenic elite recalled traditional Greek conceptions of *polis* culture, especially after the Severus and Caracalla reforms.⁷¹ Alexandrian athletes of Roman era were professionals in heavy contests like boxing, pankration and wrestling in addition to *stadion*.⁷² Many remarkable heavy athletes with outstanding careers are known and well documented.⁷³ The Olympian

⁶⁵ Pyrrhus, who was sent to the Hierocles' *Palaistra* in Alexandria for better training and Zenon asked about possible victories, GARDINER 1930, p. 116; GARDINER 1930a, p. 211-213, n. 56; PAPLAS 1991, p. 179, n. 56; LEGRAS 1999, p. 25f. From the same archive appears another boy athlete named Dionysos, winner in *Ptolemaeia* of Hieras Nesos in 259 BC, under protection and training, LEGRAS 1999, p. 27; CRIBIORE 2001, p. 52f; REMIJSEN 2009, p. 258. Ptolemy IV or perhaps Epiphanes, trained the pugilist Aristonikos who nearly defeated the great Kleitomachos in the 141st Olympiad 216 BC, see FONTENROSE 1968, p. 97; PAPLAS 1991, p. 192, n. 56; BREMEN 2007, p. 374; FRASER 1981; HÖLBL 2001, p. 142.

⁶⁶ GARDINER 1907, p. 4-5, n. 19; DECKER 1991, p. 94, among 48 victories by 40 Egyptian victors 34 are from Alexandria; PERPILLOU-THOMAS 1995, *passim*; CHRISTESEN 2007, p. 32, 329ff. P.Oxy.II. 222 which contains a list of Olympian victors between 480-452, most likely is remaining of a complete list, but however reflects such interest in athletics even in the second century Oxyrhynchus. The importance of Olympiad victories in Alexandria is apparent from the Eratosthenes lists of Olympian victors, DECKER 1991, p. 102; CHRISTESEN 2007, p. 163, 174.

⁶⁷ REMIJSEN 2009, p. 256, Even in the latest period of Ptolemaic kingdom, Egyptian athletes were able to record six Olympiad victories by three victors between 144-40 BC, SCANLON 2002, p. 45; tab. 2.1.

⁶⁸ REMIJSEN 2009, p. 259.

⁶⁹ *Adrianeios kai Philadelphaios*, the Seleukeios and iso-Olympic games by Marcus Aurelius are recorded, see DECKER 1991, p. 100, n. 33; CRISCUOLO 1995, p. 44, n. 11, 30, 35.

⁷⁰ About pension of athlete from Hermopolis, see GARDINER 1930, p. 113. About an exemption of a victor in the games from liturgy, see P.Oxy.I. no. 59. On public display by the ephebe in the city of Oxyrhynchus, P.Oxy.I. 42, see BAGNALL 1993, p. 101, n. 368-370; for more details and account of papyri, see BAGNALL 1988, p. 42, 44.

⁷¹ The relatively freer economics of the Roman times, encouraged more effective local elite in the *metropoleis*. This class is responsible for the gradual spread and dominance of Hellenic culture in Roman Egypt. The Hellenism as well, was widely stressed in the Greek east under Roman Empire, SMITH 1998. That may stand against SCANLON 2002, p. 52 explaining the rarity of Olympian victors from early Roman period in Egypt that "*ethnic unrest between Greeks and Jews in the early Empire required stricter regulation of gymnasium enrollments, since Roman administrators might have discouraged youth organizations of Greeks who might band together for political reasons against Jews or even Romans*". BAGNALL 1988, p. 44 rejects Frisch's argument that athletics and agonistic activities flourished in Egypt only by late empire, and was not known out of the Greek *poleis*. Bagnall on the contrary counts examples from papyri for citizens from Hermopolis Magna from second

century. It is reasonable to compare the athletic activities based on *ephebeia* and *gymnasion* as attestation of Hellenism to another important manifestation of Hellenism which is the *pallaitus* statuary type. The type symbolizes pure Hellenic conception of the educated and intellectual citizen of the *polis*, SMITH 1998, p. 67, which practically based on *ephebeia* and *gymnasion* education in adolescence. This type is very rare from Egypt in the first century AD, but dramatically increased in second century while the bulk of material comes from third and fourth centuries AD. ASHOUR 2007, p. 604-621, cat. 262-279.

⁷² CRISCUOLO 1995, p. 43; PERPILLOU-THOMAS 1995, p. 241ff.

⁷³ Flavius Archibius, incomparable victor in the 220th and 221st Olympiads, winner of Pankration in the Capitolina AD94 and other games, with forty six victories listed. MILLER 1991, p. 168; CRISCUOLO 1995, p. 44. Marcus Aurelius Asklepiades the *Periodonikes*, victor in the main Pan-Hellenic games, and holder of many civilian and religious offices in Alexandria and other cities 225-250 AD. Many statues were dedicated in his honor in prominent places in Rome, see MILLER 1991, p. 171; DECKER 1991, p. 100; DREW-BEAR 1991 p. 211, n. 20; GOETTE 1992, p. 178. For other remarkable athletes, see DREW-BEAR 1988, DECKER 1991, p. 95, 100f.

lists of Egyptian victors in Roman times show dramatic increase from Julio-Claudian to late imperial times.⁷⁴

The Athletic building like *Gymnasia*⁷⁵ are known in Ptolemaic Egypt since third century BC.⁷⁶ The *Metropoleis* and villages had their *gymnasia* in the Ptolemaic period,⁷⁷ but those of village were closed in Roman time when *gymnasion* was considered a symbol of the proper *polis*.⁷⁸ The *Palaistrai* are known in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt as well.⁷⁹ Alexandria had more than one of such buildings,⁸⁰ and even a town like Philadelphia had small *palaistra* which denotes the existence of another.⁸¹ Other athletic buildings like *stadia* are documented, the Lageion was the chief *stadiion* in Alexandria and remains of another at least, were documented in Antinopolis.⁸²

The ephebic institutions are well attested from inscriptions since second century BC,⁸³ which show different stages of *ephébeia*.⁸⁴ The ephebic training most likely was timed for one year, and began by age of fourteen.⁸⁵ The ephebic institutions continued in Roman times and each *metropolis* had an elite male group defined by membership of the *gymnasion* which was obtained via admission to the ephebate. The Alexandrian citizenship was constructed on this gymnasial pattern and ephebic training and privileged to the sons of citizens only.⁸⁶ The

⁷⁴ One victor only is recorded in the Julio-Claudian period, see SCANLON 2002, p. 51f, n. 31 table 2.2 while 15 Alexandrian athletes are recorded with 17 victories within Flavian to Antonine periods, SCANLON 2002, p. 56 tab. 2.3 The third and fourth century shows 17 Egyptian victors: eleven come from Alexandria, and one from Antinopolis, Hermopolis, Naukratis, Oxyrhynchos, and victor with unknown city, SCANLON 2002, p. 60, tab. 2.4.

⁷⁵ See n. 25.

⁷⁶ MARROU 1982, p. 104; SCANLON 2002, p. 52; REMIJSEN 2009, p. 257; Alexandria's *gymnasion* is well documented within central events in the history of the city, in addition to other *gymnasia* as well, DELORME 1960, p. 137-140; FRASER 1961, p. 145; BURKHALTER 1992, p. 345 ff.

⁷⁷ CRIBIORE 2001, p. 35; Two inscriptions on two statue bases from Thmuis in the Nile delta attest two *gymnasiarchoi*, see BRECCIA 1932, p. 68; FRASER 1972, II, p. 115, n. 23; DELORME 1960, p. 201; MEULENAERE-MACKAY 1976, no. 237; BRECCIA 1923, p. 123-124; FRASER 1972, II, p. 116, n. 23; MEULENAERE-MACKAY 1976, no. 235, dated to 150 BC, see FRASER 1972, II, p. 185, n. 66.

⁷⁸ The last attestation of a village *gymnasion* comes from Herakliopolite nome

AD 2, BOWMAN-RATHBONE 1992, p. 121, n. 74. From third century *gymnasia* are recorded in Luxor, Philadelphia, and Samareia in Fayyum, see DELORME 1960, p. 139-40. Known as well in Ombos, Pharbaithos, Psenamosis, Ptolemais, Theadelphia and Thmuis, in the second century. DELORME 1960, p. 199-200. A *gymnasion* and ephebeum is recorded from Aphroditopolis in first century BC. DELORME 1960, p. 220. A dedicational inscription from the Peluseum *gymnasion* was recently uncovered, see CARREZ-MARATRAY 2006, p. 384ff, fig. 1.

⁷⁹ The Naukratis *palaistra* is the oldest, dated by its dedicational inscription to early IV or late IV early III century BC. For archaeological notes on this type of buildings, see BAILEY 1990, p. 121; DELORME 1960, p. 90.n. 1; FRASER 1961, p. 144. For survey of papyrological data, see BAILEY 1999, p. 235 ff. There were perhaps private *palaistrai* as conducted from a letter dates to 257-256 BC, shows a physician charged for opening an illegal *palaistra*, DELORME 1960, p. 138, n. 6; FORBES 1929, p. 251 however, comments the paucity of traces of *Palaistra* education in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

⁸⁰ DELORME 1960, p. 137 f.

⁸¹ DELORME 1960, p. 139, n. 7; LEGRAS 1999, p. 28.

⁸² MCKENZIE 2007, p. 203, fig. 355. For the Antinopolis stadium, see MCKENZIE 2007, p. 154ff.

⁸³ WHITEHORNE 1982, p. 173-174, it disappeared from Egyptian documents after 323 AD, see BAGNALL 1993, p. 60, n. 96.

⁸⁴ The first age class is the prephebe *mellakes*, but their age is not definite yet. The next age class is the ephebe *ephebeuón*. The ancient ephebe *oi ephebeukotes* appear on five inscriptions date between 116-94 BC, perhaps they are who finished their ephebic training. The companion ephebes *oi sunepheboi* who passed all their ephebic time. LEGRAS 1999, p. 135-137.

⁸⁵ That could be inducted from Roman period papyri, and most likely it was the same age in Ptolemaic period, BOAK 1927, p. 152; MILNE 1957, p. 217; ABBADI 1962, p. 113; MARROU 1982, p. 109; WHITEHORNE 1982, p. 171; BOWMAN-RATHBONE 1992, p. 124; LEGRAS 1999, p. 142; CRIBIORE 2001, p. 35.

⁸⁶ FORBES 1929, p. 251ff; ABBADI 1962, p. 113, n. 2. The connection of the ephebic training and citizenship is rooted in Ptolemaic period, after an inscription dates to 104 BC, perhaps from Ptolemais. The gnomon of Idioslogos prescribes a financial penalty for any Egyptian who

ephebes were required to show gymnasial ancestry on both sides, and later under Domitian a permanent rolling system of *epikrisis* examination was introduced.⁸⁷ Therefore it was socio-political elite and an aristocratic institution⁸⁸ that may explain the storming political events within Ptolemy Physcon's reign.⁸⁹ Ephebic games as well, are known since Ptolemaic period,⁹⁰ but were very common in Roman times.⁹¹

The statue represents *ephébos*, therefore a member of a class which belongs to the Hellenic elite in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. Unfortunately the head is missing, that it could reveal many artistic and cultural aspects relating to this remarkable sculpture and its identity. The boy athletes *paides* and *ptolemaikoi* are very well known from Egypt, their appearance in the chief royal athletic celebrations is documented.⁹² The above mentioned Pyrrhus, is described as *paidiarion*, little boy.⁹³ Three groups of young athletes appear in an agnostic inscription relating to the *Basileia* celebrated in Herakleopolite nome in 267 BC ⁹⁴ *Paides* are less than 14 years, *Ptolemaikoi* between 14-17, and *ageneioi*, "beardless" range between 17-20 years.⁹⁵ Therefore the Cairo statue most likely represents *paides* or *Ptolemaikos* after the tender body and boyish appearance.

Typology

The statue already has been gathered with the Tralleis Boy⁹⁶ and the *ephébos* in Rome,⁹⁷ all have specific hallmarks: the left hand is held tightly to the chest and a short mantle is fastened on the right shoulder. These two sculptures are connected to Daochos I statue in

claims his son has become an ephebe. BOWMAN-RATHBONE 1992, p. 115, n. 42.

A *gymnasion* membership was the basic qualification to hold office in Roman times and supposedly in Ptolemaic period. BOWMAN-RATHBONE 1992, p. 122; SCANLON 2002, p. 43, n. 31.

⁸⁷ WHITEHORNE 1982, 172; BOWMAN-RATHBONE 1992, p. 115, 121.

⁸⁸ MARROU 1982, p. 110; BOWMAN-RATHBONE 1992, p. 121; MONTSERRAT 1993, p. 218, n. 23.

⁸⁹ He exiled the ephebate among all remarkable persons of mind and skill after conflict with his brother, see LEGRAS 1999, p. 141, that may explain why sometimes there is a chapel of royal cult inside gymnasia in Egypt, some times thrones are recorded like the Pharaithos *gymnasion* during second century BC. DELORME 1960, p. 199-200, 241, 340. For a Ptolemaic thrones from Rhodes, see FRASER 1961, p. 148.

⁹⁰ In Hermonthis, LEGRAS 1999, p. 204ff.

⁹¹ In Antinopolis since 130, and in Hermopolis Magna. In Oxyrhynchus Iso-Antonina was established since 199-200, and then was changed to sacred games, see RIGSBY 1977, 147ff; LEGRAS 1999, p. 242ff. The Capitolina in Oxyrhynchus see P.Agon, no. 8, dated to 273 AD, and another Capitolina, in Antinopolis see P.Agon. nos. 9-10 dated to 272 and 275-276 respectively. Leontopolis in the Delta had its ephebic games as well, TOD 1951, *passim*; WHITEHORNE 1982, p. 179, while Panopolis dedicated her games to Perseus Ouranios, BAGNALL 1993, p. 101, n. 367. Alexandria is most expected to have such games, CRISCUOLO 1995, p. 44.

⁹² KOENEN 1977, p. 4-5, pp. 15-17; LEGRAS 1999, p. 231 f.

⁹³ GARDINER 1930a, p. 211-213, n. 56; PAPLAS 1991, p. 179, n. 56; LEGRAS 1999,

p. 25f. Another anonymous *paidion* appears in the Zenon archive, where he frequents to a small *palaistra* "*palaistrion*" in Philadelphia where the director asks Zenon to supply his allocations about dressing and food. LEGRAS 1999, p. 28.

⁹⁴ KOENEN 1977, p. 4ff, 15ff, where he thinks about Memphite provenance; FRISCH 1988, p. 180; GOLDEN 1998, p. 105; REMIJSEN 2009, p. 258, n. 52.

⁹⁵ KOENEN 1977, p. 15-17, n. 25; FRISCH 1988, p. 180; PERPILOU-THOMAS 1995, p. 231, n. 52.

⁹⁶ MENDEL 1914, no. 542; LAWRENCE 1927, p. 44-45, pl. 74-75; BIEBER 1955, p. 164, fig. 698-699; VON STEUBEN 1972; POLLITT 1986, p. 265, fig. 286; SMITH 1991, p. 54, fig. 51; ANDREAE 2001, p. 60, taf. 3-4; RIDGWAY 2002, p. 171.

⁹⁷ VON STEUBEN 1972, taf. 36; DE LACHENAL 1979, p. 148, no. 103; ANDREAE 2001, p. 61, abb. 15.

Delphi,⁹⁸ (fig. 10) and considered reproductions of the type. The Cairo statue depends on this type for the body and dress, with some additions. The three statues supposed to copy the Daochos statue show some typological differences. The Tralleis boy is, uniquely, standing against a pillar (fig. 7), while the Rome (fig. 8), and Cairo statues (fig. 1), are standing freely, since no attaching points are traceable (fig. 2, 4, 5).

The Daochos I statue, like the rest of the Thessalian dedication depended on struts,⁹⁹ clearly differs from the Tralleis Boy pillar. The absence of the pillar in addition to the full frontal posture in the Cairo statue should indicate that the Tralleis Boy and Cairo statue are two different variations depended on the same prototype. The Tralleis Boy with its leaning body and crossed legs seems very developed after the Daochos statue, and the type perhaps was created in the late fourth or early third century BC¹⁰⁰ (fig. 7). The posture of leaning figure against a pillar, with crossed legs is hinted on fourth century vases.¹⁰¹ A Hellenistic terracotta statuette from Egypt, depicts a leaning *kausiaphoros* against a pillar with crossed legs, would challenge the Roman date of the Tralleis Boy type.¹⁰² The Cairo *diskophoros* most likely depended on the body type of Daochos I with modified drapery lines.

The head perhaps was turning right in the entire group, as seen on Tralleis statue (fig. 7), the breakage on the Rome (fig. 8), and the Cairo statues (fig. 1), indicates the same posture and the same slightly looking down head. The Daochos statue is missing the head, neck and largest portion of right shoulder; therefore it is difficult to judge its original head's pose (fig. 10). The accordance of the three statues, in Istanbul (fig. 7), Rome (fig. 8) and Cairo (fig. 1) perhaps suggest the original pose of the same prototype; Daochos I statue (fig. 10).

Another interesting typological difference is the crossed legs, since it appears in the Tralleis Boy, (fig. 7) but it is neither attested in the statues at Rome and Cairo nor the Daochos I. The marching pose in Cairo statue is closer to the Daochos statue, where the left foot is firming while the right leg is drawn backwards to make the next step, the missing right foot perhaps, was touching the ground by toes only (fig. 10). This posture is executed in mirror figure with

⁹⁸ For Daochos group, BIEBER 1955, p. 33, fig. 76; DOHRN 1968; RIDGWAY 1990, p. 48ff, pl. 25; SMITH 1991, p. 52; fig. 44, MORENO 1995, p. 82ff, cat. 4.II.1, 4.II.2, 4.II.3; EDWARDS 1996, p. 136. About the typological relation with the Tralleis Boy, see, LAWRENCE 1972, p. 236; VON STEUBEN 1972; p. 133ff, MORENO 1995, p. 84, cat. 4.II.2; ANDREAE 2001, p. 63, abb. 18; DE LACHENAL 1979, p. 148, connects the Rome statue to the Daochos group as well, and thinks about a replica of The Tralleis Boy.

⁹⁹ RIDGWAY 1990, p. 49: "*They are inconspicuous from the front, but support the bare legs up to the calf muscles, or rise to disappear under the edge of the garments in the draped figures.*"

¹⁰⁰ The dating of the Tralleis Boy is very problematic; late fourth-early third

century date is argued by ANDREAE 2001, p. 60ff; MORENO 1995, p. 82ff, supports a typological relation with the Daochos I statue. BIEBER 1955, p. 164; thinks about second to first centuries BC. VON STEUBEN 1972, p. 138ff, sides to the first century BC, and attributes the statue to a contemporary of Pasiteles. RIDGWAY 2002, p. 171, sides to severizing type from first century BC. The statue should be a Roman copy after the miss interpretation of the footwear, *Podeia*, MORROW 1985, p. 113. The pankration competition for boys was not introduced into Olympia before second century BC. PAPLAS 1991, p. 174, n. 40; MILLER 1991, p. 60; SMITH 1991, p. 54. I find the arguments of Andrae for a fourth-third century type, and a late copy in the Istanbul statue, very coherent and the

stylistic comparison with the Praying Boy in Berlin is interesting. The appearance of the posture on fourth century vases cannot be ignored, and supports Andrae conclusion.

¹⁰¹ PADGETT 1993, pl. IV, A south Italian Bell krater, 400-385 BC, MORENO 1995, p. 322, fig. 4. Column krater 380-370 BC, Bari Museum, Another Bell-Krater ca. 350-335 BC, shows a satyr in similar pose, PADGETT 1993, cat. 98. Another south Italian vase in London dates to 430-410, see SMITH 1896. E. 524, p. 314.

¹⁰² PERDRIZET 1921, p. 18, no. 78, pl. LXXX "*Type fréquent à l'époque hellénistique*", the face and drapery side to third or second century BC.

fixed right foot, while the striding left leg, shows a slight torsion outwards. Therefore it seems reasonable that the Cairo statue is not replica from Daochos statue or the Tralleis Boy type, but rather an eclectic Alexandrian variation depended on the two statues. The absence of replicas out of Egypt should support this hypothesized Alexandrian creation of the type.

The sculptor of this Alexandrian eclectic type added interesting innovations which are the pose of right arm and the slung *diskos*. The last feature, it is apparent, depends on the tightly held left arm to the chest beneath the *chlamys* which is already found in the entire group. The hanging ropes of the *diskos* on the back side, is clearly an Alexandrian innovation. The pose is natural and perhaps the sculptor was inspired by the *gymnasia* world at the *poleis*, where an athlete is expected to be seen in such posture with such bag. The composing should have depended on Greek models, but typical parallel is not detected yet.

Greek vases present very close conceptions and forerunners of the gesture. An Apulian amphora in the Hermitage depicts a priestess of Hera, carrying a clef on her left shoulder, where the bent left arm is very comparable¹⁰³ (fig. 11). The *komos* scenes on Greek vases sometimes show comasts with hanging baskets or boxes on the backside.¹⁰⁴ The motive should have depended on wide range of genre figures; farmers, shepherds and hunters, sometimes are depicted carrying their loads in comparable gestures. An Alexandrian statue of farmer is a good confront; the man is marching, carrying a basket on his back and the straps are passing on forearms across the chest.¹⁰⁵ Many other examples of this category of art works show occasionally straps, but ever in different way.¹⁰⁶ Another Alexandrian statue presents close typological confront to this

¹⁰³ LÖWY 1893, p. 270f, fig. 1; TOUTAIN *Sacerdos*, p. 939-40, fig. 5990.

¹⁰⁴ BEAZLEY 1927, p. 44, no. 4, pl. 43,4; THOMPSON 1947, p. 187, pl. 67 I; MOORE 1997, no. 633, pl. 68. Moore speaks about straps, and the whole appearance is similar to an Egyptian bronze statuette in Copenhagen. BAYER 1983, abb. 21-22, p. 123ff, p. 268. HIMMELMANN 1983, taf. 43 b. Many examples of the theme show baskets hanging on walls, see MOORE 1997, nos. 19, 173, 629, 890, 1416, 1421, 1607, 1625. The subject of running boy with wineskin slung on the back presents very close conception and could be forerunner of the complicated pose on the Cairo statue. See, HAYES 1981, p. 32, pl. 37.8; a cup in Royal Ontario Museum. See as well, SIMON 1997, p. 113, fig. 20b, old Selinos with wineskin on shoulder, 350-325 BC. This posture appears in two figures of Papposelinus from Delos, marching with tambourine in right hand and wineskin on the left shoulder, second century BC. The left arm is bent and holding the rim of the wineskin, and

the whole appearance is conceptually very close to the Cairo Statue. MARCADÉ 1969, p. 102, n. 2, 113, 137, 200ff, 288, 450, pl. XXIII; SMITH 1991, p. 242, fig. 313. Similar wineskin carried in similar way by a satyr accompanying Dionysos on the Poet visit relief, POLLITT 1986, p. 197, fig. 211; MORENO 1994, p. 726f, fig. 899. An interesting comast figure in Mississippi shows a lyre hanging on the left shoulder, and bent left arm to the chest with clinched fist.

The relation between the hand and lyre is not clear, but shows very close conception to the Cairo statue. ROBINSON 1956, p. 19ff, pl. 15-16, fig. 68. A Chous in Berlin shows a laden young man, but the way in which the object is carried is different. SMITH 2007, p. 159, fig. 8.5.

¹⁰⁵ BONACASA 1960, p. 170ff, tav. L-LIV; LAUBSCHER 1982, cat. 23a, taf. 17.1.

¹⁰⁶ A funerary stele of hunter carrying a load on his back, in Paul Getty Museum, dated around 325 BC, presents different details but similar conception,

GROSSMAN 2001, p. 104-106, no. 38. A terracotta type from Myrina, known in many copies: a boy with left hand is held to the chest, carrying a quiver on his back, WINTER 1903, II, taf. 239 no. 10, with list of replicas; HIGGINS 1967, p. 116-117, pl. 56 E; KASSAB TEZGÖR 1988, nos. 80-86, 183. The motive is close but the way which in the quiver is hanging still unclear. Artemis carries sometimes a quiver on backside, mostly without indication of suspension way, but sometimes hanging strap is used, WALTERS 1893. B.245, B.260, B.316, *LIMC* II, sv. Artemis, nos. 113, 155, 162-168, 171, 174, 242, 268, 317a, 560, 1140, 1171a, 1283. From Alexandria, some genre figures present a closer conception to this part. A bronze statuette in Copenhagen represents fisherman carrying a basket or box on his back. The load is slung; straps are seen on the shoulder passing beneath the armpit, BAYER 1983, abb. 21-22, p. 123ff, 268; HIMMELMANN 1983, taf. 43b. Very close as well, is a terracotta figurine from Hadra Necropolis, that represents a harp player. The harp is

motive: the terracotta satiric donkey-headed statuette of a teacher, dated to second century BC.¹⁰⁷ The left arm is bent inside the mantle and holding presumed diptychon.

Among athletic figures, an Alexandrian terracotta statuette is very worthy mentioning: the boy is enveloped in elegant *himation*, carrying a crown inside *Lemniscus* on the right shoulder in mirror figure of our statue¹⁰⁸ (fig. 12). Another statue of boy athlete in the Cleveland Museum, known in many replicas, presents good conceptual confront to the Cairo *diskophoros*. The boy is nude, marching; his face is turning right and looking down. The right arm pose is a mirror figure as well, held tightly to the chest. The right hand is holding a robe, on each end hangs a jumping weight. The conception of carrying a load on the back side with robe passes on the shoulder is comparable to the same motive on the Cairo statue¹⁰⁹ (fig. 13). These two statues belong to the world of *gymnasia*, both present a feature should be labeled rare.

The other interesting addition to the Daochos type is the pose of the right hand, which fixes the two edges of the *chlamys*. The Daochos statue shows the right arm hanging freely beside the body¹¹⁰ (fig. 10). The right arms in Tralleis boy and the Rome statue are enveloped inside the mantles, and the folds are flaring on that side (fig. 7, 8).¹¹¹ The gesture of the right hand in the Cairo statue shows the mantle's rear edge held by hand, overlapping the front edge, but in diagonal pattern and severe linear execution, with no typical parallel up to my knowledge (fig. 1,2). The motive of holding a dress' edge with the hand enveloped inside the same mantle began with the muses figures on the Mantinea base,¹¹² and the statue of Aeschines from ca. 320 BC.¹¹³ The motive appears as well on the famous Herculaneum women,¹¹⁴ male and female sculptures,¹¹⁵ funerary stelai¹¹⁶ (fig. 16), Tanagra figurines,¹¹⁷ and a common Hellenistic type of *kausiaphoros* boys.

slung by a strap seen on the right side of the chest, Gloire d'Alexandrie, no. 204. Another unpublished Egyptian faience statuette, in the British Museum shows a boy, carrying a bundle on his back. There are two straps that appear on the chest, both pass above the one and same shoulder and appear separated. Perhaps this faience is the closest parallel to the *diskos* on the Cairo statue. see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/searchthe_collection_database/search_bjct_details.aspx?objectid=460494&partid=1&searchText=Faience+figure+of+a+boy+with+a+bundle

¹⁰⁷ BRECCIA 1934, no. 408, pl. LXXVIII.3; Gloire d'Alexandrie no. 74. Another Alexandrian statue of Muse with Kithara in Tübingen shows similar gesture: the kithara strap appears across the chest while the instrument is held by bent left hand on the shoulder. BIBER

1955, p. 100, fig. 406; ADRIANI 1961, no. 131, tav. 69, nr. 223, dates the statue to early Hellenistic period. A mantle is fastened on the right shoulder and its textile is rolled on the right arm extending beside the body, which is close to the Cairo *diskophoros*.

¹⁰⁸ KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, cat. 271.

¹⁰⁹ HERRMANN 1993, p. 308ff, fig. 12-20.

¹¹⁰ MORENO 1995, cat. 4.II.2, for older photographic record of this arm, see GARDINER 1909, fig. 6.

¹¹¹ VON STEUBEN 1972, p. 139, taf. 34-37. ANDRAE 2001, abb.15.

¹¹² RAFTOPOULOU 1975, p. 4, pl. VII.1; RIDGWAY 1990, pl. 132; MORENO 2009, p. 66, fig. 57.

¹¹³ RIDGWAY 1990, pl. 109; ZANKER 1995, p. 46, fig. 26.

¹¹⁴ The small Herculaneum Goddess is closer in gesture, original type of ca. 300 BC, SMITH 1991, p. 75, fig. 89; many

other copies, see BIBER 1962, *passim*.

¹¹⁵ Female statue from Kos, SMITH 1991, p. 84, fig. 112. The Eretria youth, LEWERENTZ 1993, p. 242, kat. I.4, abb. 3.

¹¹⁶ From Smyrna, ZANKER 1993, fig. 14; from Attica, CONZE 1922, pl. 405-410, no. 1894-1920; from Canopus, BRECCIA 1932, p. 15, tav. IV.13; SCHMIDT 2003, kat. 48.

¹¹⁷ A small figure in Athens shows two edges folding diagonally on the chest, see WINTER 1903, II, taf. 240.2; RAFTOPOULOU 1975, p. 17f, pl. XII.3. For female Tanagras with this motive, see, HIGGINS 1967, pl. 43, c, pl. 44c, e. pl. 57, e. Alexandrian Tanagras; BRECCIA 1930, pl. A-F, I-N, tav. I-X. HIGGINS 1967, pl. 62,d. KASSAB TEZGÖR 1998, fig. 2-9; SCHMIDT 2003, p. 6f, abb. 4.

The common terracotta type is showing a standing boy with ankle length *Chalmys*, *Kryptides* and *Kausia* on his head,¹¹⁸ and therefore its Macedonian affinities are unsuspected.¹¹⁹ The type is attested in Attica from third century BC,¹²⁰ from Demetrias, Thessalia, Troy, Sicily, Asia Minor, Syria and Cyrenaica.¹²¹ Alexandria earliest examples come from Chatby,¹²² Ibrahimia¹²³ and Hadra cemeteries and date to the third century BC.¹²⁴ The posture is similar to Cairo statue and the conception of folding edges of the mantle held by the hand is very common. The beautiful boy from Attica in the British Museum presents close conception, but the whole appearance is still different.¹²⁵ More closely is a terracotta statuette of *kausiaphoros* boy, from Hadra Necropolis, dates to third century BC¹²⁶ (fig. 14).

The Cairo statue shows many typological differences from this terracotta type, but its dependence on the same conceptions is apparent. The body of the Cairo statue is still loyal to the Daochos I statue, in the marching pose which is different from the twisted body and contrapposto posture of the Alexandrian *kausiaphoroi*. Despite the missing head, one can guess a different hair style; since no traces of hair locks are seen on the shoulders. The terracotta type, it is noticed, usually has a shoulder length hair style¹²⁷ (fig. 14). More interestingly is that

118 WINTER 1903, II, taf. 237ff; THOMPSON 1963, p. 54ff; HIGGINS 1967, p. 100; SCHNEIDER-HERMANN 1984, p. 303f.

119 SAATSOGLOU-PALIADEL 1993, *passim*; FISCHER 2003, p. 375ff. The *chlamys* was the dress of Macedonian courtiers, THOMPSON 1963, p. 54, no. 144 suggested that Theocritus XV, 6, is talking about soldiers in uniform in the Alexandrian Adoniseia. The garment in Ptolemaic Egypt should have indicated high rank, since it was Macedonian dress and Theocritus talks about men *Andres*, GOW 1938, p. 190. Ptolemy the younger son of Cleopatra and Antony was dressed in *Kausia*, *Chlamys* and *Kryptides*, during the Alexandria donation of 34 BC. THOMPSON 1963, p. 53, n. 136; GOW 1938, p. 190. Therefore the *chlamys* should be regarded as Macedonian symbol in Egypt as well. The prototype of this Alexandrian terracotta type, should not be royal, since these *kausiaphoroi* boys have their head gear painted in blue or blue green not purple which was the insignia of royal Macedonian kings and notaries. SAATSOGLOU-PALIADEL 1993, p. 126, 134; FISCHER 2003, p. 376-377, n. 25, 35; From Egypt, few known examples of royal Ptolemaic statuary bodies in Greek style are dressed in the *chlamys*: The Memphite plaster cast in Heldsheim with bust of Ptolemy I,

GRIMM 1998, abb. 63; the statuette of Ptolemy III in Bonn, with *chlamys* fastened on the right shoulder. MORENO 1994, p. 332ff, fig. 417; a small bust in Paris represents Ptolemy XII dressed in *chlamys* as well, see SMITH 1988, p. 97, n. 67; GRIMM 1998, abb. 121 a,b; STANWICK 2002, p. 60. Standing figure of Ptolemy Soter hunting in Meleager attire after Alexandrian lost painting, see PFROMMER 1999, abb. 86 a-b. There were other *Chlamidophoroi* types, for example the rider on a galloping horseman over an enemy, celebrating a Macedonian triumphal event by Ptolemy Soter. FISCHER 2003, p. 375ff, fig. 1. Another cavalry type without defeated enemy, KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, nos. 18,-20, 258, pl. 17, 78, p. 351-354 with supposed Alexandrian origin as well. The Ptolemaic funerary stelai representing soldiers should not be missed here, see BROWN 1957; ROUVERET 2001. An interesting papyrus 199-200 AD, shows that a *chlamidophoros* enjoyed some civil privileges, granted by the senate of Karanis. Another papyrus from Oxyrhynchus third-fourth century AD, appoints out that the *chlamys* was the proper garment for a meeting of notaries, PEARL 1940, p. 384f, 388f. One may guess that the *chlamys* here is an insignia of ephebic education? A late third century funerary stele, Coptic Museum 8029, attests the last phase of *chlamys* draping

in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see TÖRÖK 2005, p. 66, fig. 10.

120 HIGGINS 1967, p. 100, pl. 41. d.

121 THOMPSON 1963, p. 53, 84. FISCHER 1994. Comment on no. 196; KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, p. 208.

122 BRECCIA 1912, p. 145, pl. LXXII, fig. 217; KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, no. 98 pl. 37e.

123 KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, no. 124, 126-129.

124 ADRIANI 1940, p. 78-79, pl. XXXII.2; KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, no. 170. ADRIANI 1952, p. 14, pl. VI.2; Gloire d'Alexandrie, no. 70. KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, no. 177, pl. 4b, 12f, 58a. Some examples date from third to second centuries BC from Alexandria, see FISCHER 1994, no. 196, 198, 225, seated.

125 HIGGINS 1967, p. 100, pl. 41d. Terracotta examples are numerous, BESQUES 1972, p. 31, D.165, pl. 38, the type is known as well from Roman times, for example, GRANDJOUAN 1961, p. 54, no. 391-395, pl. 8. AD 200-250, attested as well from fourth century Egyptian terracottas, KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, p. 209.

126 ADRIANI 1952, p. 14, pl. VI.2; Gloire d'Alexandrie, no. 70; KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, no. 177, pl. 4b, 12f, 58a.

127 ADRIANI 1940, p. 78-79, pl. XXXII.2; HIGGINS 1967, pl. 41 d; Gloire d'Alexandrie, no. 70; KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, nos. 98, 126-129, 170, 177.

the Alexandrian figurines are unparalleled anywhere and considered Alexandrian creations of local ateliers in the third century BC.¹²⁸ I find it is probable that these Alexandrian terracottas and the Cairo *diskophoros* were inspired by the same model, which could be a missing Alexandrian statue.

The Cairo *diskophoros* shows clear difference between the elegant typological confront and the less stylized execution of the body and surface treatment. The statue stands without typical parallel and recalls sophisticated sculptures of early Hellenistic period, and best confronted to conceptions and models from third century BC. The absence of the typical parallel from Egypt or a broad may confirm the originality of the proposed Alexandrian third century sculpture. It is difficult to believe that the hand which composed such sophisticated sculpture is responsible for this rough execution. This feature may suggest that the statue is a copy or second edition of unknown Alexandrian type. The hypothesized type, except the pose and hair style, is close to the common *kausiaphoros* boy type. The statue with its typological peculiarities is another document revealing the creativity of Alexandrian art and its ability to give a particular taste to common Hellenistic types and norms.¹²⁹ This statue perhaps belongs to same span of time which produced other Alexandrian originals like the old fisherman or the British Museum spinario, or the sculptures of the Memphite exedra.¹³⁰

Style and Date

The dress lines show a mixture of styles; the style in which the *chlamys* is worn, including the left arm inside began in Alexander's time,¹³¹ and perhaps the Daochos I statue is its earliest sculptural attestation. Similar tightly held right hand beneath the *himation* began to appear with the Mantinea base and continued with Muses and relating figures through Hellenistic and Roman era.¹³² The hand beneath a mantle appears in two variations: fingers and fist are stretched on the chest, or the hand is seen by side and the fist is clinched in hook-like shape. The left hand in the Cairo statue follows the second variation with side seen clinched fist, which perhaps began in the third century since it appears with terracotta *kausiaphoroi* from Alexandria,¹³³ and the Ambrakia Muses.¹³⁴ Moreover the *chlamys*' neck fold in the Cairo statue does not follow the Daochos I pattern; it rather falls on the chest. This pattern is common among military figures, appears with the Aknonios statue from the same Thessalian dedication,¹³⁵

¹²⁸ KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, p. 273 f.

¹²⁹ One can count a specific Alexandrian alternation to the *Palliat* type, where the caps is substituted by the Thoth Baboon, see SCHREIBER 1908, p. 273, abb. 204, no. 7, n. II; ASHOUR 2007, p. 609, cat. 267, p. 613, cat. 271.

¹³⁰ HIMMELMANN 1983; MORENO 1994; ASHOUR 2007.

¹³¹ BIEBER 1928, p. 69, from early Hellenistic period, the two standing *chlamidophoroi* on the entrance to the Hagios Athanasios tomb in Thessalonica.

TSIMPIDU-AULONITĒ 2005, Pin. 37-38.

¹³² Clearly different from the *Palliat* type, where this right hand is resting on the diagonal roll of the mantle, see BIEBER 1959, *passim*.

¹³³ KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, no. 177 third century, nos. 127, 128, 129, 225, Post-Tanagra late third century onwards.

¹³⁴ RIDGWAY 1990, p. 246-249, p. 269, n. 9. pl. 122 b, it is very interesting that the Ambrakia Muses from third century BC, are connected to Pyrrhos of Epeiros, RIDGWAY 1990, p. 246-249, p. 269, n. 9,

pl. 122 b, who came to Egypt and married a daughter of Ptolemy Soter and with his help, regained his empire in 297, DELIA 1996, p. 41. This group of muses were brought to Rome by Fluvius Nobilior to Rome by 187 BC. RIDGWAY 1990, p. 247, therefore their dating to third century is very reasonable.

¹³⁵ DOHRN 1968, p. 46ff, taf. 26-28; RIDGWAY 1990, p. 48ff, pl. 24 a-c; TODISCO 1993, nr. 242.

known in royal Ptolemaic portraits on coins¹³⁶ (fig. 18). The Hellenistic funerary monuments of Macedonian officers and soldiers usually show this fashion.¹³⁷ It is possible that this feature is borrowed from military sphere to stress the military future of this *ephēbos*, since the athletic exercises were part of the regular military training.¹³⁸

The style, in which the mantle is grasped on the right side, where its rare side overlaps its front side, is expressive and well designed. A similar drapery of *chlamys* is not detected up to now, but the third century torso herm in Megara Museum,¹³⁹ shows a bent right arm and most likely the missing forearm was fixing a diagonal edge of the mantle on the hip and belly. The Megara herm confirms the existence of the bent arm motive in the third century, such pose is presumed in the Alexandrian type, which was copied in the Cairo statue. Another late fourth century terracotta type from Kyramikos represents boys dressed in mantle showing very close conception. The composing is a mirror figure from the Cairo *diskophoros*, and the mantle is heavily folded on the right side with the edge diagonally executed.¹⁴⁰ This bent arm is comparable to many Muses figures, begins, again with the Mantinea base,¹⁴¹ the statue of Aeschines,¹⁴² the Herculanum women,¹⁴³ private sculpture,¹⁴⁴ funerary stelai (fig. 16),¹⁴⁵ Tanagra figurines and *kausiaphoros* boys¹⁴⁶ (fig. 14). The Hierapetra boy in Crete with its replicas¹⁴⁷ is another interesting confront despite it is a mirror figure of the right arm of the Cairo *diskophoros*. It is reasonable that this motive depended on sculptural models from late fourth or early third century BC, most likely the Muses groups, since neither the Daochos statue nor the Tralleis boy show such motive.

The motive denotes dignity and respect, as well as intellectuality and *aidos*, especially with the edge of the mantle on the shoulder, which is rooting in representations of aged men on Attic funerary stelai.¹⁴⁸ The subject of the statue is *ephēbos*, therefore belongs to high social class after his dress, well educated after his *gymnasion* membership. This education is not

¹³⁶ POOLE 1883, pl. XVII.1; POOLE 1883, pl. XVII.5; KYRIELEIS 1975, taf. 40; GRIMM 1998, abb 104a.

¹³⁷ From Alexandria, the officer Molossos stele in Amsterdam, MOORMANN 2000, no. 132, pl. 59a; stele of a soldier in Athens National Museum, PFUHL 1901, p. 275, no. 12; SCHMIDT 2003, p. 16, abb.18; a loculus bust from Plinthine Necropolis, ADRIANI 1952, p. 157, taf.56; a painted tombstone from Ibrahmia in the Louvre, see ROUVERET 2004, p. 45, no. 3, p. 65, no. 13; from Thessalonica, TSIMPIDU-AULONITĒ 2005, Pin. 37-38.

¹³⁸ PAPLAS 1991, p. 179; LEGRAS 1999, p. 139-141, n. 40, p. 208; CRIBIORE 2001, p. 35, n. 76; REMIJSEN 2009, p. 257.

¹³⁹ Inv. 389, the herm is not published, I would like to thank Petros Themelis and Olga Palagia for this information via personal communication. A date in third

century is reasonable when compared to a similar torso herm, with left hand on the hip from Rhamnous in Athen National Museum, dates to 330 BC or late fourth century. POUILLOUX 1954, p. 11; PALAGIA 1989, p. 339; HARRISON 1965, p. 160-161.

¹⁴⁰ VIERNEISEL-SCHLÖRB 1997, p. 101, no. 306, taf. 58.1-2.

¹⁴¹ RAFTOPOULOU 1975, p. 4, pl. VII.1; RIDGWAY 1990, pl. 132; MORENO 2009, p. 66, fig. 57.

¹⁴² RIDGWAY 1990, pl. 109; ZANKER 1995, p. 46, fig. 26.

¹⁴³ SMITH 1991, p. 75, fig. 89; many other copies, see BIEBER 1962, *passim*.

¹⁴⁴ Female statue from Kos, SMITH 1991, p. 84, fig. 112. The Eretria youth, LEWERENTZ 1993, p. 242, kat. I.4, abb. 3.

¹⁴⁵ From Smyrna, ZANKER 1993, fig. 14; from Attica, CONZE 1922, pl. 405-410, nos. 1894-1920; from Canopus, BRECCIA

1932, p. 15, tav. IV.13; SCHMIDT 2003, kat. 48.

¹⁴⁶ GRM, 25711. ADRIANI 1952, p. 14, pl. VI.2; Gloire d'Alexandrie, no. 70; KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, no. 177, Many other examples see, KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, nos. 124, 125, 127, 128, 170.

¹⁴⁷ RAFTOPOULOU 1975, p. 3, pl. 1; MORENO 2009, p. 58 ff, fig. 48-54.

¹⁴⁸ EDWARDS 1996, p. 144-145, n. 88, quoting Hesiod who describes Nemesis and Aidos "*shrouding their bright forms in pale mantles*". The statue of Archilochos in the Louvre, shows a marching man grasping his mantle's edge by right hand SCHEFOLD 1997, p. 94, abb.29, confirms as well the intellectual significance of this style. The Muses types frequently show this style, within different gestures, RIDGWAY 1990, p. 246ff, pl. 133ff.

exclusively physical one, but should have followed the Isokrates pattern of intellectual and athletic education.¹⁴⁹ Therefore the intellectual taste in modeling the figure is very expected.¹⁵⁰ The boy did not leave his mantle open to expose any more of his body, but rather secured it with his hand. The conception is very different from the athletic nudity in classical times and conforms to Hellenistic conception which was expressed by the nude chest beneath *chlamys*.¹⁵¹ The head looking down could be another indication of *aidos*, especially among *ephéboi* and athletes. This virtue was much stressed in classical times to *make* the future good citizen of the *polis*. The head of the Cairo statue most likely was looking down, as was conducted from the Tralleis Boy, labeled by Zanker “*particularly powerful expression of Aidos*.”¹⁵² Ptolemaic Alexandria with its learned and sophisticated society was able to host and develop such artistic and intellectual conceptions.

The whole appearance of drapery treatment on the left side of the proposed Alexandrian original statue, finds a good parallel in the terracotta figurine from Manara Necropolis, representing *kausiphoros* boy¹⁵³ (fig. 14). The superficial treatment of the folds beneath the left elbow is similar; on both figures the triangular pattern is used, and the surface is worked into short light folds express surface tension. The vertical folds on the left side are comparable as well, but its execution on the Cairo *diskophoros* is cold and schematic, even when compared to these terracottas.¹⁵⁴ From third century as well, another Alexandrian statuette of seated *chlamidophoros* presents a close style of the *chlamys* treatment on the right shoulder and arm.¹⁵⁵ The edge is following the arm and held by the hand, recalls pure intellectual conceptions.¹⁵⁶

The lively appearance of the tender body is remarkable, sometimes the details are traceable beneath the heavy mantle; a feature should reflect the high artistic level of the third century statue. The surface is still showing remains of the original pattern of the elegant expressive textile folds, despite its linear execution on the Cairo *diskophoros*. This treatment reflects the muscular reaction of the hand against the weight of the *diskos*. The grasping hands are surrounded by a group of short light folds giving natural expression of tensioned surface. The right hand is completely covered, but the textile is impressed by the grasping fingers, not only on the right leg where this hand rests but on the left leg as well.

The ropes of the slung *sakkos* are expressively treated as well; the strap on the left side is moved to the forearm, and does not repeat the style of right shoulder, giving variety in treatment of such motive. The gesture is expressionist and reflects the load and the adolescent reaction of the boy athlete, most likely to avoid any expected hurt. This style is very close to the marching farmer in Alexandria,¹⁵⁷ but best compared to a half nude boy from Myrina,¹⁵⁸ with the mantle shifted to the forearm dates to 300-250 BC. The diagonally fallen strap on the belly is enriching the folds lines, in successful contrast to the other diagonal edge of the mantle.

¹⁴⁹ ZANKER 1993, p. 222. LEGRAS 1999, p. 141.

¹⁵⁰ Seated young men with mediating expression and very closely fashioned mantle are known from third century BC, see ZANKER 1995, p. 90ff, fig. 51-52.

¹⁵¹ ZANKER 1993, p. 221; HALLETT 2005, p. 29-30.

¹⁵² ZANKER 1993, p. 222.

¹⁵³ *GRM*, 257II. ADRIANI 1952, p. 14. pl. VI.2; Gloire d'Alexandrie, no. 70; KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, no. 177.

¹⁵⁴ KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, nos. 126, 170.

¹⁵⁵ FISCHER 1994, no. 225.

¹⁵⁶ Seated statues of philosophers intellectuals and intellectualized individuals

show this motive frequently, ZANKER 1995, fig. 31, 32, 39, 51-52, 54 b, 62, 71, 99, 101, 102, 133.

¹⁵⁷ BONACASA 1960, p. 170ff, tav. L-LIV; LAUBSCHER 1982, cat. 23a, taf. 17.I.

¹⁵⁸ BESQUES 1972, p. 33, D. 176, pl. 40c.

The original statue copied in the Cairo *diskophoros*, stylistically is best located in the high Hellenistic period, and finds close parallel among terracotta boys from third century BC¹⁵⁹ (fig. 14). Many third to second centuries' genre figures present the closest conception of the slung *diskos* on the back side. The style of left arm held to the chest, seems of remarkable fortune within third century BC. In addition to the Alexandrian terracottas, a third century bronze plaque from Galjub shows this motive with different pose of the right arm.¹⁶⁰ The gesture is repeated in the Ambrakia Muses group known from Roman moulds and coins, but the original is dated to third century BC.¹⁶¹ Within this century, I prefer to date the Alexandrian type, copied in the Cairo *diskophoros*. It is less likely that the Cairo *diskophoros* is the original type with its incorrect proportions and deformed execution, even without a support. The proposed original Alexandrian type was carved earlier, perhaps in the last quarter of the third century.

The sculptor of the Cairo *diskophoros* seems of medium level, despite his ability to copy highly stylized models and transfer pure Greek conceptions and motives into an Egyptian hard stone like granite. The body lines are rigid and less harmonious and the right side is unnaturally treated, where a linear rough furrow separates the covered arm from the body. The side views show less stylized treatment; the *chlamys* rigid lines dominate the body modeling in many parts, especially the chest, which does not show any flesh details. The shoulder hardly, is recognized from the body and the whole composing is lacking depth. The right arm is treated asymmetrically; the volume of the forearm is very narrow and contradicting the wide elbow beneath the mantle. The arm line follows the mantle edge on the bare part of the body and its whole appearance should be labeled disproportioned.

The left arm and hand which are supposed to copy highly stylized model are executed in the same asymmetrical and disproportioned values. The details of the arm are merging into the body and the forearm seems as additional mass of stone to the body, while the elbow is smaller in volume and disproportioned in appearance. The lower part of the body seems disproportioned and squeezed, owing to the tightly held mantle on the right side. The feature should have been copied after the third century model, as confirmed by many Post-Tanagra Alexandrian terracottas, which however are still showing the lively proportions of the lower part of the body.¹⁶² This deformed appearance is owing to the medium ability of the Cairo *diskophoros* sculptor, or perhaps generations of copies that are still unknown.

The style of wearing the *chlamys* and surface execution recalls middle to late Hellenistic conceptions, and best compared to terracotta and funerary stelai.

The flat dry surface of the statue is comparable to a *chlamidophoros* figure on a funerary stele perhaps from Smyrna, dated to middle second century BC.¹⁶³ The figure shows similar sketchy treatment of the folds and left arm within its relation to the surface. The folds on the right leg of the Cairo statue, in their circular pattern and linear execution find close parallel in Alexandria funerary stele of Ptolemaeos in Amsterdam, dates to first century BC.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ BRECCIA 1930, p. 37, no. 110, tav. XI.1; ADRIANI 1952, p. 14, pl. VI.2; Gloire d'Alexandrie, no. 70; FISCHER 1994, no. 225, respectively.

¹⁶⁰ IPPEL 1922, nos. 82-83, taf. IX.

¹⁶¹ RIDGWAY 1990, p. 246-249, p. 269, n. 9, pl. 122 b.

¹⁶² KASSAB TEZGÖR 1998a, p. 206, fig. 1 a-b; KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, nos. 98, 126-129.

¹⁶³ PFUHL-MÖBIUS 1979, no. 539, taf. 83.

¹⁶⁴ PFUHL 1901, no. 31; MOORMANN 2000, no. 129 pl. 58 b.

The diagonal folds between legs are comparable to Post-Tangara statuette from Hadra, the fresher lines should predate the Cairo *diskophoros* with its static lines and suggest a date in the first century BC for the later ¹⁶⁵ (fig. 15). This style of wide grooved folds, is very comparable to another stele from Smyrna, dates between 150-100 BC.¹⁶⁶ The figure is wearing *himation*, but the left arm is bent and the end of textile is held in similar style to the Cairo statue. Grooved folds appear between legs corresponds to the fingers on the left side. Closer in execution and technique is another Egyptian late Hellenistic *chlamidophoros* figure in farewell scene with similar diagonal flat folds concentrated around the grasping hand.¹⁶⁷ The surface is turned into schematic rough flat grooved folds, mostly similar in its reflection of the grasping action.

The style of executing the right hand where it is clinched, resting on the thigh with its outer surface facing the seer, is very comparable to an inscribed funerary stele from near Smyrna dates between 150-100 BC¹⁶⁸ (fig.17). The right arm is partially enveloped in the mantle leaving a small portion of the forearm exposed. The serious difference between the two figures is the mantle treatment below the clinched hand: where the textile is flaring on the funerary stele while its two edges are closed together on the Cairo statue. The *chlamidophoros* athlete on a funerary stele from Canopus (fig. 16),¹⁶⁹ presents close style of the right arm, in its pose relation to the mantle edge. The triangular form of the two edges of the mantle on the right shoulder is very similar. The stele with its more worked and less dry surface, should predate the statue, but still valid to suggest a date in the first century BC. A later date could be proposed after a terracotta female statue in Alexandria, most likely depended on sculptural model.¹⁷⁰

The statue shows fresher lines and richer dynamic execution reflect the action of a covered right hand grasping the mantle. This highly stylized motive is contrasting its counterpart on the Cairo *diskophoros* with its rigid lines and more static surface, and suggests later date for the statue. The terracotta figurine is dated to late third or early second century BC, close to the proposed Alexandrian type, which is presumably copied in the Cairo *diskophoros*.

Two late Hellenistic terracottas from Chatby,¹⁷¹ present the same dry static surface, and rigid lines of drapery. The frontal pose is used and the left arm adds more volume to the body where details are mostly absent beneath the *chlamys*. The treatment of neck fold is similar and the twist of the mantle edge on the right arm is more open on the terracotta type but still shows closer conception. The type belongs to the Post-Tangra group with its conic headgear, bulky execution and less modeled body. The dry treatment of the surface on the Cairo *diskophoros* finds close parallel in a specific Cypriote type of cult servant dates to the first century BC. The type shows a standing boy dressed in *chlamys* and left hand tightly held to the chest. The affinities to Egypt after the shaved head are apparent and it is already connected to Isis cult.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁵ BRECCIA 1930, p. 37, no. 110, tav. XI.1. The statuette shows a different drapery of the *chlamys* in addition to a different hair style, that should locate it after the late third century BC, for Post-Tangaras, see KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, p. 248ff.

¹⁶⁶ PFUHL-MÖBIUS 1979, no. 158, taf. 35.

¹⁶⁷ PFUHL 1901, p. 282, no. 20; EDGAR 1903, p. 33, no. 27526, pl. XVIII.

¹⁶⁸ PFUHL-MÖBIUS 1979, no. 640, taf. 98.

¹⁶⁹ SCHMIDT 2003, Kat. 48. It is noticeable that the style of holding the dress with a bent arm and hand enveloped inside the same dress appears frequently on funerary stelae from late second and first centuries BC. See Schmidt 2003,

no. 46; second to first century BC from Egypt, from Delos, COUILLOU 1974, no. 304, pl. 59; from the Greek east, PFUHL-MÖBIUS 1979, nos.164-166.

¹⁷⁰ KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, no. 252.

¹⁷¹ BRECCIA 1930, p. 37, no. 114, pl. LVI.14, similar type is pl. LV.16.

¹⁷² QUEYREL 1988, p. 119ff, no. 377-387, pl. 38.

The surface lines are poorly executed and the whole appearance is close to the Cairo *diskophoros*. Another Cypriote sculptural type dates to the end of Hellenistic period may support a date in the first century for the Cairo *diskophoros*. The type shows a mirror *himation* figure with similar summarized static surface and rough flat grooved folds with plain backside.¹⁷³

The style of the left hand with its fist clinched in hook-like shape, seen by side already has been traced till third century BC. The motive is frequently attested in the second century BC as well. First of all, is the Muse with kithara in the upper row of the Homer apotheosis relief, dated around 125 BC,¹⁷⁴ and 150 BC.¹⁷⁵ Funerary stelai show the same motive as well: the *Chamidophoros* athlete from Egypt¹⁷⁶ (fig. 16), and other examples from the Greek east, perhaps Smyrna, date to middle second century BC.¹⁷⁷ The same style is found on many Post-Tanagra statuettes from Alexandria, date after the last quarter of third century,¹⁷⁸ and many torsi herms from Delos date to second century BC.¹⁷⁹ The treatment of this hand is slightly different owing to the rope passing inside, and it is still closer to third century style best compared to Alexandrian Kausiaphoros¹⁸⁰ (fig. 14). This motive, perhaps, depended on the third century statue.

An interesting feature in the Cairo *diskophoros* that should not be ignored in the chronological question is the clasp on the right shoulder. The elongated form is rare and very distinguishable from the round Roman ones.¹⁸¹ The shape is different from buttons and round fibulae used by Greeks to fasten both male and female dresses.¹⁸² The Byzantine period fibulae are characterized in the famous cross-bow type.¹⁸³ The Ptolemaic evidence for fibulae and clasps is fragmentary, and I have hinted the paucity of draped royal figures, except small bronzes, showing however, the round fibula.¹⁸⁴ Ptolemaic coins are helpful when the design is well preserved, where two ends of a cloak like *aegis* are simply fastened,¹⁸⁵ or buttons are clearly used with *chlamys*.¹⁸⁶ A third method appears on these coins, showing the clasping technique.

A golden coin of Ptolemy V shows a metal clasp with two round ends penetrate his *chlamys* on the shoulder.¹⁸⁷ The shape is different from that one on the Cairo statue, but presents closer model to the elongated clasp. A similar object appears on a coin of Ptolemy IV in Glasgow.¹⁸⁸

173 HERMARY 1989, nos. 553-555.

174 PINKWART 1965, p. 55-65, the Halikarnasus base ca. 120 BC show similar pose but the hand is damaged, RIDGWAY 1990, p. 258, ill. 32.

175 ANDRAE 2001, p. 176, no. 168.

176 SCHMIDT 2003, kat. 48.

177 PFUHL-MÖBIUS 1979, no. 130, taf. 30, no. 539, taf. 83.

178 KASSAB TEZGÖR 1998 a, p. 214; KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, p. 248ff.

179 MARCADÉ 1969, p. 434ff, pl. XVIII; A list of 41 stone herm were dedicated to the Delain *Gymnasion* in 156-155 BC, see HARRISON 1965, p. 127, n. 146.

180 KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007, no. 177.

181 CROOM 2000, p. 72.

182 ELDERKIN 1928, *passim*; RIDGWAY 1990, p. 48, commented a round fibula on the dress of a member of Daochos group and questioned its date. Round fibulae began to appear among Greeks at least by Alexander's time; the famous lion hunt mosaic shows Alexander the Great with round fibula. MORENO 1995, p. 63, cat. 4.7.1; MORENO 2004, fig. 73-74. The Faun House mosaic shows this round fibula on Alexander's *chlamys* as well. DASZEWSKI 1985, pl. 45; round fibulae appear with terracotta figurines from early Hellenistic date, see HIGGINS 1967, pl. 41d.

183 CROOM 2000, p. 72.

184 The famous Berenike II mosaic panel shows anchor-shaped fibula, see DASZEWSKI 1985, p. 145, pl. 23; GRIMM

1998, abb. 81c; a statuette of Ptolemy III in Bonn, see MORENO 1994, p. 332ff, fig. 417.

185 KYRIELEIS 1975, taf. 17; Ptolemy III; STANWICK 2002, fig. 216.

186 KYRIELEIS 1975, taf. 30.3; GRIMM 1998, abb. 105c; STANWICK 2002, fig. 221; a ring intaglio in Paris, with a later Ptolemaic portrait clearly shows a button. WALKER-HIGGS 2001, no. 45; STANWICK 2002, fig. 224. The coins and Gems of Berenike II and Arsinoe III, uniquely shows a clasp in buckle-like shape, GRIMM 1998, p. 106, abb. 103 c; PLANTZOS 1999, p. 114, pl. 6, no. 30; STANWICK 2002, fig. 219.

187 POOLE 1883, pl. XVII.1; KYRIELEIS 1975, taf. 40-4; GRIMM 1998, abb. 104a.

188 GRIMM 1998, abb. 103 e.

Most interesting is a coin of Ptolemy V in London, showing a metal clasp with round top and flat stud. The clasp is typically fastened like the one on the Cairo statue but placed its up-down¹⁸⁹ (fig. 18). The type of these clasps is close to the Cairo statue, but is not decisive evidence to suggest a secure date. It is difficult to decide, if the clasp belongs to the third century original statue, or to the later copy in the Cairo *diskophoros*.¹⁹⁰ A similar conception of bar-shaped clasp with spirals appears on the funerary bed plaque in the Telephos frieze from Pergamon dating to second century and perhaps around 160 BC, therefore supports a Hellenistic context for the clasp type¹⁹¹ (fig. 19). The Pergamene evidence accords to the clasp type on the Epiphanes coins, but both are still helpless to decide a date.

The execution of the statue is very different from Roman natural proportions; the indefinite body is sunken beneath the *chlamys*. This inferior treatment is apparent when compared to similar figures from Roman date from Egypt,¹⁹² Italy¹⁹³ and Cyrenaica.¹⁹⁴ Therefore a Roman date seems improbable, and the elongated clasp does not appear in Roman times. The stylistic analysis appoints out that the second half of the second century and the first century show many comparable sculptures, terracotta and funerary stelai in style and execution. The less stylized surface and disproportioned execution of the Cairo statue may favor later date and suggest the first century BC.

Function and Archaeological Context

The Cairo *diskophoros* therefore is a copy, or a later edition of a remarkable sculptural original type, its function as *ornamentum* in a *gymnasion* is very probable, and such buildings are well documented in Ptolemaic Egypt. The small scale reduces the portrait probability, but does not exclude it.¹⁹⁵ The statue is 30.5 cm and its original height will not exceed 50-55 cm. The Cairo statue most likely was carved to celebrate a remarkable victor in *diskobolia*, or celebrating a member of Greek elite beginning his *ephébeia*, which increases the probability of a portrait statue. The statue with the *diskos* on his back should have been exhibited to be seen from

¹⁸⁹ POOLE 1883, p. 74, no. 62, pl. XVII.5, from the same series, p. 74, no. 68; the Romanized type of Cleopatra coins shows her *chlamys* fastened with dolphin-shaped fibula. KYRIELEIS 1975, taf. 107.2. The clay seal impressions from Edfu and Nea-Paphos are not helpful, after the small size and the less detailed design, but they show *chlamys* fastened with a fibula or buttons. MILNE 1916, pl. IV, V; KYRIELEIS 1975, taf. 54-55; SPIER 1989, fig. 37, 38; KYRIELEIS 1990, p. 456-457, taf. 67; KYRIELEIS 1996, p. 315-320, pl. 54-62; STANWICK 2002, fig. 234-239. The engraved gems with Ptolemaic royal portraits, when design is well preserved show the button type of

such clasps, see PLANTZOS 1999, p. 113ff, nos. 1-50, pls. 1-9.

¹⁹⁰ I owe to the anonymous referee for this remark.

¹⁹¹ POLLIT 1986, p. 199, fig. 213; DREYFUS 1997, p. 74, cat. no. 12; RIDGWAY 2000, p. 67ff; Round fibulae appear as well on this frieze, see ANDREAE 2001, no. 119.

¹⁹² ADRIANI 1961, no. 124, pl. 66, fig. 210; KEITH 1975, no. 46.

¹⁹³ VON STEUBEN 1972, p. 134, taf. 36, 1-2; DE LACHENAL 1979, p. 148, no. 103; ANDREAE 2001, p. 61, abb. 15.

¹⁹⁴ HUSKINSON 1975, no. 119, pl. 46.

¹⁹⁵ The head is expected to reach 7-8 cm in height, which is close to

some known portraits from Egypt in minor scale, like the Ptolemy Epiphanes portrait in Cairo, 14 cm, see QUEYREL 2003, p. 481, no. 8, p. 489, fig. 15, 16; The small bronze bust of Ptolemy XII in Paris, see GRIMM 1998, abb. 121 a, b; STANWICK 2002, p. 60. Close in the early Roman period, there is the Augustus head from Alexandria 3 cm, see KISS 1984, p. 36, fig. 42-43. The Severus two heads in Alexandria 12 cm and Frankfurt 10.5 cm KISS 1984, p. 73, fig. 183-184, p. 78, fig. 199. Some portraits on Egyptian herms reach 4 cm in height, see KEITH 1975, p. 64.

all sides to message the identity of the subject.¹⁹⁶ The original statue, as well, perhaps was celebrating a remarkable victor athlete, such hypothesis does not conform to any candidates, except Nikostratos the victor pentathlete,¹⁹⁷ or a young king perhaps child, like Ptolemy V.¹⁹⁸

Material

The use of Egyptian local hard stones in Greek style sculptures is interesting, and the Cairo *diskophoros* sculptor followed an original Ptolemaic tradition; known as early as third century BC.¹⁹⁹ The Alexandrian Nile statue was carved in basalt and attributed to Philadelphus' reign, after a second century copy in Stuttgart.²⁰⁰ A red granite head represents Alexander, perhaps in the Ktistēs type.²⁰¹ The basalt veiled head in Boston from third century funerary relief, show the use of such material in private sculpture as well.²⁰² A basalt head of Arsinoe II,²⁰³ or Berenike II,²⁰⁴ another Basalt head of a queen in Brussels,²⁰⁵ and a greywacke queen in London,²⁰⁶ all are Greek in style and confirm the familiarity with such stones in royal portraiture. The Green basalt bust of Marcus Antonius from near Canopus, in the Bankes Collection, is interesting for its date 40–30 BC and subject.²⁰⁷ Many torsi and pillar herms from Hermopolis and Alexandria are known in dark grey and black basalt.²⁰⁸

Such feature is known as well from Roman times, the black basalt Augustus bust in Boston, supposedly to be carved in Egypt, is remarkable.²⁰⁹ The green basalt cuirassed bust of Germanicus in London,²¹⁰ and another small cuirassed figure with unknown provenance in Cairo, are interesting attestations of such type.²¹¹ Basalt and grey granite *Palliatī* statues are

¹⁹⁶ I am grateful to the anonymous referee to change my suggestion from a niche to this conclusion.

¹⁹⁷ It is a pure matter of speculation if one may arouse a question that the third century original statue might represent Nikostratos the only known Egyptian winner of the boys pentathlon in the Asklepeia at Kos, KLEE 1918, p. 6, lines 13–14; REMIJSEN 2009, p. 256, n. 44. The event is dated in the second half of the third century, or around 200 BC, close to the proposed date of the original Alexandrian statue. The Koan inscription is just a list of victors by name, city and profession, and nothing else. The carving of a statue in athlete's home city is a well-known Greek tradition, but in the Nikostratos case and the Cairo *diskophoros* nothing further could be confirmed.

¹⁹⁸ Ptolemaic court showed an active patronage of athletics and the possibility that the statue could memorize a little prince or child king in typical

Macedonian ephebic attire is possible. It is another speculation but finds a literary support in a victory recorded by Ptolemy Epiphanes around 191 BC in the Panathenaea. Epiphanes won the armed double course in foot race which connects him to pentathlon. FERGUSON 1908, p. 355; PEREMANS-VAN'T DACK 1968, p. 294, no. 17232. Epiphanes' skills in hunting, riding and using weapons were once commented by Polybius, and the training of the boxer Aristonikos is debated among scholars to be shifted to his reign, PLEKET-STROUD 1984, p. 73; HÖLBL 2001, p. 142, n. 76, not his father Philopator, see note 65.

¹⁹⁹ BIANCHI 2007, p. 34ff.

²⁰⁰ KÁKOSY 1982, p. 292, n. 21; MORENO 1994, p. 326, the statue was seen by Pliny in *Templum Pacis* in Rome, dedicated by Vespasian.

²⁰¹ BIANCHI 2007, p. 29ff, especially p. 38, fig. 3–4, said to have come from Hermopolis.

²⁰² VERMEULE-NEWMAN 1990, p. 41, fig. 3–4, a similar head from ca. 100 BC, attributed to unknown Ptolemaic queen. GRIMM-WILDUNG 1978, no. 132.

²⁰³ THOMPSON 1955, p. 199ff, unknown provenance.

²⁰⁴ KYRIELEIS 1975, taf. 82.5–6.

²⁰⁵ SMITH 1991, p. 209, fig. 240, WALKER-HIGGS 2001, no. 26, provenance unknown.

²⁰⁶ WALKER-HIGGS 2001, no. 16.

²⁰⁷ KISS 1984, p. 29, fig. 22–23; VERMEULE-NEWMAN 1990, p. 41ff, fig. 5–6; WALKER-HIGGS 2001, no. 261.

²⁰⁸ KEITH 1975, no. 2, pl. 2; no. 6, pl. 5; no. 7, pl. 6.

²⁰⁹ VERMEULE-NEWMAN 1990, p. 39ff, fig. 1.

²¹⁰ KISS 1984, p. 41, fig. 59–60; VERMEULE-NEWMAN 1990, p. 44, n. 14.

²¹¹ EDGAR 1903, no. 27496, p. 27 pl. XIII.

known from Arment and Edfu in Upper Egypt.²¹² A statue of wine seller in Ismailia Museum, carved in grey granite, is another manifestation of such phenomenon.²¹³ The black granite statue of aged man holding a crocodile and dressed in *himation* and Greek sandals, from Fayyum,²¹⁴ perhaps a God or a priest, but once was thought to represent Septimius Severus.²¹⁵ Two small figures in schist and another Egyptian hard stone from Koptos in Cairo represent Hermes or gladiator and athlete, show pure Greek conceptions and styles.²¹⁶

These sculptures do not leave any doubt that Hellenistic sculptors in Egypt had the ability at least from third century BC, to model Egyptian hard stones into Greek subjects and styles. This plenty of such sculptures from Ptolemaic Egypt, however is not decisive evidence to suggest if the sculptor was native Egyptian or Greek. It is helpless as well, to speculate the material of the original statue since one example at least; the Nile statue shows an original Greek style sculpture carved in basalt.

Alexandria itself has shown recently that its harbor was heavily decorated with sculptures in granite and marble.²¹⁷ Such hard stones were used by Ptolemies even in their dedications in the Greek world, like the columns carrying statues of Philadelphus and his wife in Olympia.²¹⁸ The carving in one piece of granite, in addition to the absence of any Alexandrian piecing and stucco techniques, may favor a local workshop in the *chora* for the Cairo copy.

Bibliography

ABBADI 1962

M.A.H. El Abbadi, "Alexandrian Citizenship", *JEa* 48, p. 106-123.

ADRIANI 1940

A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain*, II (1935-1939), Alexandrie.

ADRIANI 1952

A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain*, III (1940-1950), Alexandrie.

ADRIANI 1961

A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto Greco-Romano*. Serie A. Vol. 2, tavole 51-104, numeri 73-229, Palermo.

ANDREAE 2001

B. Andreae, *Skulptur des Hellenismus*, München.

ANDRONIKOS 1955

M. Andronikos, "Deux stèles funéraires grecques de Vergina", *BCH* 79, p. 87-101.

ASHOUR 2007

S. Ashour, *Representations of Male Officials and Craftsmen in Egypt during Ptolemaic and Roman Period*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Alexandria-Palermo.

BAGNALL 1988

R.S. Bagnall, "Zehn agonistische Papyri by Peter Frisch", *Gnomon* 60, p. 42-45.

²¹² EDGAR 1903, no. 27483; another palliatus statue, carved in granite is seen in situ on the dromos to Horus Temple in Edfu.

²¹³ BRECCIA 1922, p. 219; ASHOUR 2007, p. 832, cat. 404, unknown prov-

enance, I had seen a torso that represents a similar subject executed in marble in the Denderah temple.

²¹⁴ EDGAR 1903, p. 6, 27438, pl. III.

²¹⁵ KISS 1984, p. 77, fig. 196-198.

²¹⁶ EDGAR 1903, p. 8, 27443, pl. V, 444, pl. IV

²¹⁷ BIANCHI 2007, p. 35.

²¹⁸ BIANCHI 2007, p. 35, n. 33.

- BAGNALL 1993
R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton.
- BAILEY 1990
D.M. Bailey, *Classical Architecture in Roman Egypt, in Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Roman Empire*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology 29, Oxford.
- BAILEY 1999
D.M. Bailey, "A Ghost Palaestra at Antinoopolis", *JEA* 85, p. 235-239.
- BARRINGER 2001
J.M. Barringer, *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*, Baltimore.
- BAYER 1983
E. Bayer, *Fischerbilder in der hellenistischen plastik*, Bonn.
- BEAZLEY 1927
J.D. Beazley, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, Great Britain. Oxford Ashmolean Museum, Great Britain Fascicule 3, Oxford Fascicule 1, Oxford.
- BENNETT 2005
C. Bennett, "Arsinoe and Berenice at the Olympics", *ZPE* 154, p. 91-96.
- BERNARD 1969
E. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte. Annales littéraires de l'université de Besançon*, 98, Paris.
- BESQUES 1972
S. Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques et romains*, III. *Époques hellénistique et romaine, Grèce et Asie Mineure*, musée du Louvre, Paris.
- BIANCHI 2007
R.S. Bianchi, "The Nahman Alexander", *JARCE* 43, p. 29-42.
- BIEBER 1928
M. Bieber, *Griechische kleidung*, Berlin.
- BIEBER 1955
M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of Hellenistic Age*, New York.
- BIEBER 1959
M. Bieber, "Roman Men in Greek Himation (Romani Palliati), a Contribution to the History of Copying", in *Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 103, no. 3, p. 374-417.
- BIEBER 1962
M. Bieber, "The Copies of the Herculaneum Women", in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 106, no. 2, p. 111-134.
- BIRCH-NEWTON 1851
S. Birch, S.T. Newton, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, London.
- BLOEDOW 1998
E.F. Bloedow, "The Significance of the Greek Athletes and Artists at Memphis in Alexander's Strategy after the Battle of Issus", *QUCC* 59, p. 129-142.
- BOAK 1927
A.E.R. Boak, "The Epikrisis Record of an Ephebe of Antinoopolis Found at Karanis", *JEA* 13, p. 151-154.
- BONACASA 1960
N. Bonacasa, "Segnalazioni Alessandrine II. Sculture minori del museo greco romano di Alessandria", *ArchClass* XII, p. 170-188.
- BONFANTE 1989
L. Bonfante, "Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art", *AJA* 93, no. 4, p. 543-570.
- BOTHMER 1985
D. von Bothmer, *Greek and Roman Art, Notable Acquisitions, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, no. 1984 / 1985 (1984-1985), New York.
- BOWMAN-RATHBONE 1992
A.K. Bowman, D.W. Rathbone, "Cities and Administration in Roman Egypt", *JRS* 82, p. 107-127.
- BRECCIA 1912
E. Breccia, *La necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo.
- BRECCIA 1922
E. Breccia, *Alexandrea Ad Aegyptum*, Bergamo.
- BRECCIA 1923
E. Breccia, "Note epigrafiche", *BSAA N.S.* 5, no. 19, p. 123-141.
- BRECCIA 1926
E. Breccia, *Le rovine e i monumenti di Canopo, Monumenti de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, I.1, Bergamo.
- BRECCIA 1930
E. Breccia, *Terrecotte figurate, Monumenti de L'Égypte gréco-romaine*, II.1, Bergamo.

- BRECCIA 1932
E. Breccia, *Le musée greco-romain. 1925-1931*, Bergamo
- BRECCIA 1934
E. Breccia, *Terrecotte figurate, Monuments de L'Égypte greco-romaine*, II.2, Bergamo.
- BREMEN 2007
R.V. Bremen, "The Entire House is Full of Crowns: Hellenistic Agones and the Commemoration of Victory", in *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals: from Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 2007.
- BROWN 1957
B.R. Brown, *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style*, Cambridge (Mass.).
- BURKHALTER 1992
F. Burkhalter, « Le Gymnase d'Alexandrie: centre administratif de la province romaine d'Égypte », *BCH* 116-1, p. 345-373.
- CARREZ-MARATRAY 2006
J.-E. Carrez-Maratray, "Une inscription grecque. La dédicace du gymnase de Péluse", *Genava* 54, p. 385-389.
- CASKEY 1915
L.D. Caskey, "Brygos as a Painter of Athletic Scenes", *AJA* 19, no. 2, p. 129-136.
- CHARBONNEAUX 1963
J. Charbonneaux, *La sculpture grecque et romaine au musée du Louvre*, Paris.
- CHRISTESEN 2007
P. Christesen, *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History*, Cambridge, New York.
- CONZE 1922
A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band IV, Berlin.
- COUILLOUD 1974
M.T. Couilloud, "Les monuments funéraires de Rhénée", *Exploration archéologique de Délos* 30, Athens.
- COUILLOUD 1974a
M.T. Couilloud, "Reliefs funéraires des Cyclades de l'époque hellénistique à l'époque impériale", *BCH* 98, p. 397-498.
- CRIBIORE 2001
R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton.
- CRISCUOLO 1995
L. Criscuolo, "Alessandria e l'agonistica greca", in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. I Centenario del museo greco-romano. Atti del II Congresso internazionale italo-egiziano*, Alessandria 23-27 novembre 1992, Roma.
- CRISCUOLO 2003
L. Criscuolo, "Agoni e politica alla corte di Alessandria: Riflessioni su alcuni epigrammi di Posidippo", *Chiron* 33, p. 311-333.
- CROOM 2000
A.T. Croom, *Roman Clothing and Fashion*, London.
- CROWTHER 1985
N.B. Crowther, *Studies in Greek Athletics*. Part II, *The Classical World*, vol. 79, no. 2.
- DASZEWSKI 1985
W. Daszewski, *Corpus of Mosaics from Egypt*, I. *Hellenistic and Early Roman Period, Aegyptiaca Treverensia*, 3, Mainz.
- DECKER 1991
W. Decker, "Olympiasieger aus Ägypten", in *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*: Festgabe für Philippe Derchain zu seinem 65. Geburtstag am 24. Juli 1991 / hrsg. von Ursula Verhoeven und Erhart Graefe, *OLA* 39, p. 93-105.
- DE LACHENAL 1979
L. De Lachenal, *Statua acefala di efebo tipo Tralles. Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture*. I, I. a cura di A. Giuliano-C. Daniela, Roma.
- DELIA 1991
D. Delia, *Alexandrian Citizenship during the Roman Principate*, *American Classical Studies* 23, Atlanta.
- DELIA 1996
D. Delia, "All Army Boots and Uniforms? Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt", in *Alexandria and Alexandrianism*: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by The J. Paul Getty Museum and The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and Held at the Museum April 22-25, 1993, Malibu.

- DELORME 1960
J. Delorme, *Gymnasion. Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce, des origines à l'Empire romain*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 196.
- DE MEULENAERE-MACKAY 1976
H. De Meulenaere, P. MacKay, *Mendes II*, Warminster.
- DOHRN 1968
T. Dohrn, *Die Marmor-standbilder des Daochos-Weihgeschenks in Delphi*, *AntPlast* VIII-4.
- DOUSKOU 1976
I. Douskou, *The Olympic Games*, Athens.
- DREW-BEAR 1988
M. Drew-Bear, "Les athlètes d'Hermoupolis Magna et leur ville au III^e siècle", in *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology*, Athens 25-31 May 1986, volume II, Athens, p. 229-235.
- DREW-BEAR 1991
M. Drew-Bear, "Ammonios et Asclepiades; Alexandrins et Hermopolitains", *GRBS* 32, p. 203-213.
- DREYFUS 1997
R. Dreyfus, *Pergamon: The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar*, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.
- EDGAR 1903
C.C. Edgar, *Greek Sculpture*, Cairo.
- EDGAR 1904
C.C. Edgar, *Greek Bronzes*, Cairo.
- EDWARDS 1996
C.M. Edwards, "Lysippos", in O. Palagia, J.J. Pollitt, *Personal Styles in Greek Sculpture. Yale Classical Studies* XXX, Cambridge-New York, p. 130-153.
- ELDERKIN 1928
K.M. Elderkin, "Buttons and their Use on Greek Garments", *AJA* 32, no. 3, p. 333-345.
- FABING 1988
S. Fabing, *The Gods Delight. The Human Figure in Classical Bronze*, The Cleveland Museum of Art.
- FERGUSON 1908
W.S. Ferguson, "Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents, II", *Klio* 8, p. 338-355.
- FISCHER 1994
J. Fischer, *Griechische-Römische terrakotten aus Ägypten. Die sammlungen Sieglen und Schreiber Dresden. Leipzig. Stuttgart. Tübingen*, Tübingen.
- FISCHER 2003
J. Fischer, "A Triumphant Macedonian Horseman: Evidence of a Ptolemaic Victory Monument", in N. Bonacasa (ed.), *Faraoni come dei Tolemei come Faraoni, Atti del V congresso internazionale Italo-Egizio, Torino Archivio di stato 8-12 Dicembre 2001*, Torino-Palermo.
- FONTENROSE 1968
J. Fontenrose, "The Hero as Athlete", *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 1, p. 73-104.
- FORBES 1929
C. Forbes, *Greek Physical Education*, New York.
- FRASER 1961
P.M. Fraser, "Bibliography: Graeco-Roman Egypt Greek Inscriptions (1960)", *JEA* 47, p. 139-149.
- FRASER 1972
P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford.
- FREIRE 1990
A. Freire, *Paideia Helénica, Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, T. 46, Fasc. 2, *Filosofia e Educação*.
- FRISCH 1988
P. Frisch, "Die klassifikation der Paidés bei den Griechischen Agonen", *ZPE* 75, p. 179-185.
- GARDINER 1909
E.N. Gardiner, K.K. Smith, W.B. Dinsmoor, "The Group Dedicated by Daochus at Delphi", *AJA* 13, no. 4, 1909, p. 447-476.
- GARDINER 1907
E.N. Gardiner, "Throwing the Diskos", *JHS* 27, p. 1-36.
- GARDINER 1930
E.N. Gardiner, *Athletics in the Ancient World*, Oxford University Press, London 1930.
- GARDINER 1930a
E.N. Gardiner, "A School in Ptolemaic Egypt", *ClassRev* 44, no. 6, p. 211-213.
- GAUTHIER 1985
P. Gauthier, "Les chlamydes et l'entretien des éphèbes athéniens. Remarques sur le décret de 204/3", *Chiron* 15, p. 149-163.

- GAUTHIER 1986
P. Gauthier, "A propos des chlamydes des éphèbes. Note rectificative", *Chiron* 16, p. 15-16.
- GIRARD Ephebi
P. Girard, *Ephebi*, in Daremberg Ch., Saglio E., *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, II.1, Paris, 1873-1919.
- Gloire d'Alexandrie
La gloire d'Alexandrie: Alexandrie, l'Égypte d'Alexandre à Cléopâtre Paris, musée du Petit Palais, 7 mai-26 juillet 1998, Paris, 1998.
- GOETTE 1992
R. Goette, "Roman Imperial Portraits of Priests of Sarapis, Identification and Social Rank", in *Roma E L'Egitto nell'Antichità Classica. Cairo 6-9 Febbraio 1989. Atti del I congresso internazionale italo-egiziano*, Roma 1992, p.177-179.
- GOLDEN 1998
M. Golden, *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge.
- GOW 1938
A.S.F. Gow, "The Adoniazusae of Theocritus", *JHS* 58, 1938, p. 180-204.
- GRANDJOUAN 1961
C. Grandjouan, *Terracottas and Plastic Lamps of the Roman Period*. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton.
- GRIMM 1975
G. Grimm, *Kunst der ptolemäer und römischerzeit im Ägyptischen museum Kairo*, SDAIK 1.
- GRIMM-WILDUNG 1978
G. Grimm, D. Wildung, *Götter, Pharaonen*, Ausstellungskatalog; Essen, Villa Hügel. München, Haus der Kunst. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. Hildesheim, Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum, Mainz.
- GRIMM 1998
G. Grimm, *Alexandria. Die erste Königsstadt der hellenistischen Welt*, Mainz.
- GROSSMAN 2001
B.J. Grossman, *Greek Funerary Sculpture. Catalogue of the Collections at the Getty Villa*, Los Angeles.
- HALLETT 2005
C. Hallett, *The Roman Nude: Heroic Portrait Statuary 200 B.C.-A.D. 300*, New York.
- HARRISON 1965
E.B. Harrison, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture, The Athenian Agora* II, Princeton.
- HAYES 1981
J.W. Hayes, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*. Canada, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Attic Black Figure and Related Wares, Canada Fascicule 1, Toronto Fascicule 1, Oxford.
- HERMARY 1989
A. Hermary, *Catalogue des antiquités de Chypre, Sculptures*, Paris.
- HERRMANN 1993
A. Herrmann, *The Boy with the Jumping Weights, The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 80, no. 7, p. 298-324
- HIGGINS 1967
R.A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas*, London.
- HIMMELMANN 1983
N. Himmelmann, *Alexandria und der Realismus in der Griechische Kunst*, Tübingen.
- HÖLBL 2001
G. Hölbl, *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*. Tr. Tina Saavedra, London-New York.
- HUSKINSON 1975
J. Huskinson, *Roman Sculpture from Cyrenaica in the British Museum, Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Great Britain*, II-1, London.
- IPPEL 1922
A. Ippel, *Der Bronzefund von Galjub, Modelle eines hellenistischen Goldschmieds, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung, Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim.2*, Berlin.
- KÁKOSY 1982
L. Kákosy, "The Nile, Euthenia, and the Nymphs", *JEA* 68, 1982, p. 290-298.
- KASSAB TEZGÖR 1988
D. Kassab Tezgör, *Statuettes en terre cuite de Myrina. Corpus des signatures, monogrammes, lettres et signes*. Bibliothèque de l'Institut français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul.

- KASSAB TEZGÖR 1998a
D. Kassab Tezgör, “Tanagréennes d’Alexandrie”, in J.-Y. Empereur (ed.), *Commerce et artisanat dans l’Alexandrie hellénistique et romaine: actes du colloque d’Athènes organisé par le Cnrs, le Laboratoire de céramologie de Lyon et l’École française d’Athènes, 11-12 décembre 1988*, *BCH Supplément* 33, p. 205-215.
- KASSAB TEZGÖR 2007
D. Kassab Tezgör, *Tanagréennes d’Alexandrie: figures en terres cuites hellénistiques des nécropoles orientales*, *Musée gréco-romain d’Alexandrie, EtudAlex* 13.
- KEITH 1975
J.L. Keith, *Hermes of Egypt*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University.
- KIRWAN 1934
L. Kirwan, “Some Græco-Roman Bronzes in the Cairo Museum”, *BIFAO* 34, p. 43-62.
- KISS 1984
Z. Kiss, *Études sur le portrait impérial romain en Égypte*, Varsovie.
- KISS 1995
Z. Kiss, «Effigie d’un notable d’Athribis Romaine», *EtudTrav* 17, p. 48-55.
- KLEE 1918
T. Klee, *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Festen*, Leipzig and Berlin.
- KOENEN 1977
L. Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten und frühptole-mäische Königsfeste*, *BKP*.
- KYRIELEIS 1975
H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Berlin.
- KYRIELEIS 1990
H. Kyrieleis, “Bildnisse des Kaisarion. Zu Siegelabdrücken aus Nea Paphos”, in *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses fuer klassische Archäologie*, Berlin, 1988, Mainz am Rhein, p. 456-457.
- KYRIELEIS 1996
H. Kyrieleis, “Ptolemäische Porträts auf Siegelabdrücken aus Nea Paphos (Zypern)”, in M.-Fr. Boussac, A. Invernizzi (ed.), *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique, Archivi e sigilli nel mondo ellenistico; Torino, 13-16 gennaio 1993*, *BCH Suppl.* 29, p. 315-320.
- LAFAYE SACCUS
G. Lafaye, *Saccus*, in Ch. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, IV.2. Paris 1873-1919.
- LA REGINA 2004
A. La Regina, *Nike, Il Gioco e la vittoria. Catalogo della mostra Colosseo Roma. 4 Luglio 2003- 7 Gennaio 2004*, Milano.
- LAUBSCHER 1982
H.P. Laubscher, *Fischer und landleute, Studien zur Hellenistische Genreplastik*, Mainz.
- LAWRENCE 1927
A.W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, London
- LAWRENCE 1972
A.W. Lawrence, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, London.
- LEGRAS 1999
B. Legras, *Néôtes, recherches sur les jeunes grecs dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque et romaine, Hautes études du monde gréco-romain* 26, Genève.
- LEWERENTZ 1993
A. Lewerentz, *Stehende männliche gewanstatuen im Hellenismus, ein Beitrage zur stilgeschichte und iconologie hellenistischer Plastik*, *Antiquates* 5, Hamburg.
- LIMC II
Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, II, 1-2, Zürich-München.
- LÖWY 1893
E. Löwy, “Die Griechischen Vasenbildern”, in A. Holder (ed.), *Eranos Vindobonensis*, Wien, p. 270-275.
- MAXWELL-STUART 1970
P.G. Maxwell-Stuart, “Remarks on the Black Cloaks of the Ephebes”, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 196, p. 113-116.

- McKECHNIE-GUILLAUME 2008
P. McKechnie, P. Guillaume, *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his World*, Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava, Suppl. 300, Boston.
- McKENZIE 2007
J. McKenzie, *Architecture of Alexandria and Egypt from 300 BC to 700 AD*, New Haven-London.
- MADERNA 2005
C. Maderna, "Zum feindbild der Ptolemäer", in P. Bol, *Ägypten Griechenland Rom: Abwehr und Berührung: Städtisches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie*, 26. November 2005 - 26. Februar 2006, Frankfurt, 2005.
- MARCADÉ 1969
J. Marcadé, *Au musée de Délos. Étude sur la sculpture hellénistique en ronde bosse découverte dans l'île*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 215, Paris.
- MARGERIE 1997
A. de Margerie, *Égypte romaine l'autre Égypte*, Marseille.
- MARROU 1982
H-I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, Translated by George Lamb, Madison.
- MENDEL 1914
G. Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines. Musée impériaux ottomans*, Volume II, Constantinople.
- MICHAÏLIDÈS 1949
G. Michailidès, "Considérations sur les jeux gymniques et scéniques en Égypte, à propos de quelques monuments inédits", *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 31, p. 297-314.
- MILLER 1991
S.G. Miller, *Arete, Greek Sports from Ancient Sources*, Berkeley.
- MILLER 2004
S.G. Miller, *Ancient Greek Athletics*, New Haven-London.
- MILNE 1916
J.G. Milne, "Ptolemaic Seal Impressions", *JHS* 36, 1916, p. 87-101.
- MILNE 1957
M.J. Milne, *Die Hellenistische Schule by Martin P. Nilsson*, review by M.J. Milne, *AJA* 61, no. 2, p. 215-218.
- MONTERRAT 1993
D. Montserrat, "The Representation of Young Males in 'Fayum Portraits'", *JEA* 79, p. 215-225.
- MOORE 1997
M.B. Moore, *Attic Red-Figured and White-Ground Pottery, Athenian Agora XXX*, Athens.
- MOORMANN 2000
E. Moormann, *Ancient Sculptures in the Allard Pierson Museum*, Amsterdam.
- MORENO 1994
P. Moreno, *Scultura ellenistica*. I. II, Roma.
- MORENO 1995
P. Moreno, *Lisippo L'Arte La Fortuna*, Monza.
- MORENO 2004
P. Moreno, *Alessandro Magno, immagini come storia*, Roma.
- MORENO 2009
P. Moreno, *Cleopatra Capitolina*, Roma, Messina.
- MORROW 1985
K.D. Morrow, *Greek Footwear and the Dating of Sculpture*, *Wisconsin Studies in Classics* 7, Madison.
- PADGETT 1993
M. Padgett, *Vase-Painting in Italy: Red-Figure and Related Works in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston.
- PAGENSTECHER 1923
R. Pagenstecher, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin Ausgrabungen in Alexandria. Die griechisch-ägyptische Sammlung Ernst von Sieglin II.1A Malerei und Plastik*, Leipzig.
- PALAGIA 1989
O. Palagia, "The Ephebes of Erechtheis, 333/2 B.C. and their Dedication", *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 84, p. 333-344.
- PAPLAS 1991
A.J. Paplas, "Boy Athletes in Ancient Greece", *Stadion* 17, p. 155-192.
- PARIS Petasus
P. Paris, *Petasus*, in Ch. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines IV.1*, Paris, 1873-1919.

- PARLASCA 2003
K. Parlasca, "Das Grabrelief eines Athleten aus Theben-West im British Museum", *ChronEg* 78, 2003, p. 241-247.
- PEARL 1940
O.M. Pearl, "Varia Papyrologica", *TPAPA* 71, p. 372-390.
- PERDRIZET 1921
P. Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*. 2 volumes, Nancy-Paris.
- PEREMANS-VAN'T DACK 1968
W. Peremans, E. Van't Dack, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, VI. *La cour, les relations internationales et les possessions extérieures, la vie culturelle*, *StudHell* 17.
- PERPILLOU-THOMAS 1995
F. Perpillou-Thomas, "Artistes et athlètes dans les papyrus grecs d'Égypte", *ZPE* 108, 1995, p. 225-251.
- PFROMMER 1999
M. Pfrommer, *Alexandria im schatten der Pyramiden*, Mainz.
- PFUHL 1901
E. Pfuhl, "Alexandrische Grabrelief", *MDAIK* 26, p. 258-304.
- PFUHL-MÖBIUS 1979
E. Pfuhl, H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, Mainz.
- PINKWART 1965
D. Pinkwart, *Das Relief der Archelaos von Priene*, *AntPlast* 4.
- PLANTZOS 1999
D. Plantzos, *Hellenistic Engraved Gems*, *Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology*, Oxford.
- PLEKET-STROUD 1984
H.W. Pleket, R.S. Stroud, *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 31, 1981, Amsterdam.
- POLLITT 1986
J.J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge.
- POOLE 1883
R.S. Poole, *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum: The Ptolemaic King*, London.
- POUILLOUX 1954
J. Pouilloux, *La forteresse de Rhamnonte: Étude de topographie et d'histoire*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 179.
- QUEYREL 1988
A. Queyrel, *Amathonte IV, Les figurines hellénistiques de terre cuite*, *EtudChypr* X, École française d'Athènes, Paris.
- QUEYREL 2003
Fr. Queyrel, "Un ensemble du culte dynastique lagide: les portraits du groupe sculpté de Thmouis (Tell Timai)", in *Faraoni come dei, Tolemei come Faraoni, Atti del V congresso internazionale Italo-Egizio, Torino, Archivio di stato 8-12 Dicembre 2001*, Torino-Palermo, p. 474-495.
- RAFTOPOULOU 1975
E.G. Raftopoulou, *L'enfant d'Hiérapétra, Travaux et mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'École et divers savants*, École française d'Athènes, Paris.
- REEDER 1988
E.D. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art in Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore.
- REGGIANI-RAGNI 2006
A-M. Reggiani, M.S. Ragni, *Eroi e atleti, l'ideale estetico nell'arte da Olimpia a Roma a Torino, Museo di antichità, 8 Febbraio - 30 Aprile 2006*, Torino.
- REMIJSEN 2009
S. Remijsen, "Challenged by Egyptians: Greek Sports in the Third Century BC", *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 2, p. 98-123.
- RIDGWAY 1990
B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture, The Styles of ca. 331-200 BC*, Bristol.
- RIDGWAY 2000
B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture, The Styles of ca. 200-100 BC*, Madison.
- RIDGWAY 2002
B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture, The Styles of ca. 100-31 BC*, Madison.
- RIGSBY 1977
J.K. Riggsby, "Sacred Ephebic Games at Oxyrhynchus", *ChronEg* 52, p. 147-155.

- RIGSBY 1978
J.K. Riggsby, "An Ephebic Inscription from Egypt", *GRBS* 19, p. 239-249.
- ROBINSON 1956
D.M. Robinson, "Unpublished Greek Vases in the Robinson Collection", *AJA* 60, p. 1-25.
- ROLLEY 1983
C. Rolley, *Les bronzes grecs*, Fribourg-Paris.
- ROUSSEL 1941
P. Roussel, "Les chlamydes noires des éphebes athéniens", *REA* 43, p. 163-165.
- ROUVERET 2004
A. Rouveret, *Peintures grecques antiques, La collection hellénistique du musée du Louvre*, Paris.
- SAATSOGLOU-PALIADEL 1993
Ch. Saatsoglou-Paliadel, "Aspects of Ancient Macedonian Costume", *JHS* 113, p. 122-147.
- SAGLIO Discus
E. Saglio, *Discus*, in Daremberg Ch., Saglio E., *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, II.1, Paris 1873-1919.
- SCANLON 2002
T.F. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*, New York.
- SCHEFOLD 1997
K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der Antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel.
- SCHMIDT 2003
S. Schmidt, *Grabreliefs in griechische-römische museum von Alexandria*, *ADAIK* 17.
- SCHNEIDER-HERMANN 1984
G. Schneider-Hermann, "About the Significance of Alexandrian Terracottas", in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: studi in onore di Achille Adriani. a cura di Nicola Bonacasa e Antonino di Vita. Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1983-1984, Studi e materiali* 5, p. 303-308.
- SCHREIBER 1908
Th. Schreiber, *Die Nekropolis von Kom esch-Scukafa (Expedition E. Von Sieglen ausgrabung in Alexandria I)*, Leipzig.
- SIMON 1997
E. Simon, *Silenoi*, in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, VIII. 1,2. Zürich-Dusseldorf 1997.
- SMITH 2007
A.C. Smith, "Komos, Growing up among Satyrs and Children", in A. Cohen (ed.), *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy, Hesperia Supplement* 41, Princeton.
- SMITH 1896
C.H. Smith, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, vol. III: Vases of the Finest Period, the British Museum, London.
- SMITH 1988
R.R.R. Smith, "Cultural Choice and Political Identity in Honorific Portrait Statues in The Greek East in The Second Century AD", *JRS* 88, p. 56-93.
- SMITH 1991
R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Sculpture, A Hand-Book*, Oxford.
- SPIER 1989
J. Spier, "A Group of Ptolemaic Engraved Garnets", *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 47, p. 21-38.
- STANWICK 2002
P.E. Stanwick, *Portraits of the Ptolemies Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs*, Austin.
- THOMPSON 1947
A.H. Thompson, "The Excavation of the Athenian Agora, Twelfth Season: 1947", *Hesperia* 17, no. 3, p. 149-196.
- THOMPSON 1955
D.B. Thompson, "A Portrait of Arsinoe Philadelphos", *AJA* 59, no. 3, p. 199-206.
- THOMPSON 1963
D.B. Thompson, *Troy. The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period, Supplementary Monographs* 3, Princeton.
- TOD 1951
M.N. Tod, "An Ephebic Inscription from Memphis", *JEA* 37, p. 86-99.
- TODISCO 1993
L. Todisco, *Scultura Greca del IV Secolo, maestri e scuole di statuaria tra classicità ed ellenismo*, Milano.

- TÖRÖK 2005
L. Török, *After the Pharaohs: Treasures of Coptic Art from Egyptian Collections, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 18 March-18 May 2005*, Budapest.
- TOUTAIN Sacerdos
J. Toutain, *Sacerdos*, in Daremberg Ch., Saglio E., *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, IV.2. Paris 1873-1919.
- TSIMPIDU-AULŌNITĒ 2005
M. Tsimpidu-Aulōnitē, Μακεδονικοί τάφοι στον Φοίνικα και στον Άγιο Αθανάσιο Θεσσαλονίκης: συμβολή στη μελέτη της εικονογραφίας των ταφικών μνημείων της Μακεδονίας, *Dēmosieumata tou Archaïologikou Deltiou* 91.
- VIDAL-NAQUET 1986
P. Vidal-Naquet, *The Black Hunter: Forms of Thought and Forms of Society in the Greek World*, Tr. by A. Szegedy-Maszak, Baltimore-London.
- VERMEULE-NEWMAN 1990
C.C.III. Vermeule, R. Newman, "Roman Portraits in Egyptian Colored Stones", *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts* 2, Boston.
- VIERNEISEL-SCHLÖRB 1997
B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Die figürlichen Terrakotten. I. Spätmykenisch bis späthellenistisch, Kerameikos* 15, München.
- VON STEUBEN 1972
H. von Steuben, *Der Knabe von Tralles. Hellenistisches und klassizistisches*, *IstMitt* 22.
- WALKER-BIERBRIER 1997
S. Walker, J. Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces: Mummy portraits from Roman Egypt*, London.
- WALKER-HIGGS 2001
S. Walker, P. Higgs, *Cleopatra of Egypt from History to Myth*, London.
- WALTERS 1893
H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum. II. Black-Figured Vases*, London.
- WHITEHORNE 1982
J.E.G. Whitehorne, *The Ephebate and the Gymnasial Class in Roman Egypt*, *BASP* 19, p. 171-184.
- WINTER 1903
F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten. Die Antiken Terrakotten. III.1,2*, Berlin-Stuttgart.
- WREDE 1986
H. Wrede, *Die antike Herme, Trierer Beiträge zur Altertumskunde* 1.
- ZANKER 1993
P. Zanker, "The Hellenistic Grave Stelai from Smyrna. Identity and Self-Image in the Polis", in A. Bulloch (ed.) *Images and Ideologies, Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World. Conference Held at Berkeley, April 7-9, 1988*, Berkeley.
- ZANKER 1995
P. Zanker, *The Mask of Socrates. The Image of Intellectual in Antiquity*. Tr. Allan Shapiro, Austin.
- Classical Sources and Papyri**
- Pollux, *Onomasticon*
Pollux, *Onomasticon*, cum annotationibus interpretum curavit Dindorfius G. Vol I. Libri I-V, 1824. Vol. II. Libri VI-X Lipsiae, 1824.
- Pausanias
Pausanias, *Description of Greece*. Tr. By A.R. Shilleto Vol. II. London, 1886.
- P.Agon
P. Frisch, *Zehn agonistische Papyri*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1986.
- P.Oxy I
B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Published by the Egypt Exploration Society in *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* no.1, London, 1898.
- P.OxyII
B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Published by the Egypt Exploration Society in *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* no.2, London, 1899.
- P.Oxy IV
B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Published by the Egypt Exploration Society in *Graeco-Roman Memoirs* no.6, London, 1904.



S. Ashour

FIG. 1. Cairo J.E. 45055B.



S. Ashour

FIG. 2. Cairo J.E. 45055B.



S. Ashour

FIG. 3. Cairo J.E. 45055B.
 BIFAO 112 (2013) p. 19-26 Sobhi Ashour
 An Unpublished Granite Statue of Diskophoros Ephēbos in Cairo.
 © IFAO 2025 BIFAO en ligne

S. Ashour



FIG. 4. Cairo J.E. 45055 B.

S. Ashour



FIG. 5. Cairo J.E. 45055 B.

S. Ashour



FIG. 6. Cairo J.E. 45055B.



FIG. 8. Ephēbos, Museo Nazionale Romano 113205, after Andreae 2001. Abb. 15.

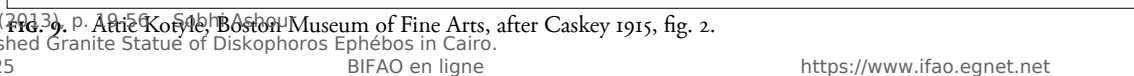




FIG. 10.
Daochos I statue, Delphi Museum 1828,
after Dohrn 1968, taf. 29.



FIG. 11.
Apulian Vase, Hermitage St Petersburg,
after Toutain *Sacerdos*, Fig 5990.

Courtesy of J.-Y. Empereur



12.



13.

FIG. 12. Terracotta statuette, Alexandria GRM 30854, after Kassab Tezgör 2007, no. 271.

FIG. 13. Athlete boy, Cleveland Museum 85.79, after http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Youth_with_Jumping_Weights_about_50_AD,_Roman,_Italy,_marble_-_Cleveland_Museum_of_Art_-_DSCo8272.JPG

Courtesy of J.-Y. Empereur



Courtesy of J.-Y. Empereur



FIG. 14. Chamydophoros Boy, Alexandria GRM 25711.

FIG. 15. Terracotta statuette, Alexandria GRM 9263.



Courtesy of Sr. Schmidt

FIG. 16. Funerary stele, Alexandria GRM 27903.



FIG. 17. Funerary stele, Izmir Basmahane Museum, Inv.165, after Pfuhl-Möbius 1979, no. 640.



FIG. 18. Ptolemaic coin, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tetradrachm_Ptolemy_V.jpg



FIG. 19. The Telephus Frieze, Funerary bed scene, after <http://www.flickr.com/photos/24729615@Noo/7197866330/sizes/k/in/photostream/>.