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INTRODUCTION

The study of bronzes from Greco-Roman Egypt offers a wide spectrum of possibilities for researchers in Classical Archaeology and Egyptology alike, but the complexity of many interdisciplinary topics can only be well served through specialized investigations of limited scope. The bronze portrait sculptures of Ptolemy II offer an ideal point of departure for one such investigation, since it was during that king's rule that court artists consciously created art forms that fused the style, subject matter and iconography of the artistic heritage of their native subjects with their own Greek traditions. In a time of relative peace, now able to reap the material rewards of the Oriental conquests of Alexander's army, the new Ptolemaic regime fused Greco-Macedonian social and political structures into the established, ancient native infrastructure and guided it to a thriving, productive society, which was hailed by Callimachus in his *Hymn to Delos* as a "Golden Age" of Apollonian cosmic order.[1]

The propagandistic intentions behind the monuments of the early Ptolemies, interweaving Greek and Egyptian symbolism, can only be properly understood within the touchy, not entirely clear-cut delegation of a successor to Egypt's throne following Ptolemy I, who had been appointed satrap of the country by Alexander the Great and declared himself king in 305. Ptolemy II, one of at least three children born to Ptolemy (I) Lagos by his third wife, Berenice, a Macedonian of non-royal birth,[2] was neither the obvious heir to the throne nor had he established an early reputation as a military leader capable of guiding and protecting the country.[3] When the aging Ptolemy I took this son on as co-regent in 285/4 B.C., he was bypassing his progeny from his first wife, Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater: Ptolemy Ceraunus (Gr. *Keraunos* for "Thunderbolt"), Meleager, another son whose name is not known, as well as his daughters of that union. Demetrius of Phalerum, the founder of the Alexandrian Library and a close advisor to Ptolemy I, had recommended to that king to designate one of Eurydice's sons as his successor to the throne in Alexandria.[4] This advice was ignored, and once Ptolemy II assumed full control of the kingdom after the death of Ptolemy I, he had Demetrius banished from Egypt; the sage died abroad of a snake bite shortly thereafter.[5] According to Pausanias,[6] Ptolemy II also arranged the murder of his two brothers, one (unnamed) son of Ptolemy I and Eurydice and one Argaios, who was a son of Berenice I or a concubine.

Meanwhile, the oldest daughter of Ptolemy I and Berenice, Arsinoe, had been married to another aging Successor of Alexander, Lysimachus of Thrace. When that king died, her own claims to power in Thrace were thwarted, and she fled the kingdom, eventually

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[1] Koenen, "Königsideologie," 175ff.
[2] Paus.I.7.8; Plut., *Pyrrh.*4.4; cf. Huß, *Ägypten,* 249n.6; Carney, *Women and Monarchy,* 173f.
[3] Hölbl, 36.
[4] Casting the entire blame for the decision against Ceraunus is, in view of the sources, probably too simplistic a conclusion; see Heinen, *Untersuchungen,* 3-5. On the problems of succession to the throne, see meanwhile Hazzard, "Regnal Years," 148ff.; Hölbl, 67; Huß, *Ägypten,* 253f.
[5] Diog.Laert.V.78f.; Cic., *Rab.Post.*23.
[6] I.7.1.

returning to Egypt to rule alongside her brother, Ptolemy II. Before that could occur, his first wife, a daughter of that very Lysimachus, had to be removed. The neat scheme of Ptolemy II and his older sister, Arsinoe II, carrying on the dynasty established by their parents and pictorially symbolized in the *THEOI ADELPHOI* coins (figs. 5a-b, 17),[7] was thus only realized through a series of intrigues that removed all competition for the inheritance entirely from the scene – a procedure not unknown in royal circles, so that it did not bring Ptolemy II the reputation of a tyrant.

The dispute for the inheritance of the realm of Ptolemy I resulted in a half-brother of Ptolemy II, Magas, who had controlled the Cyrenaica as governor (*strategos*) since 298, declaring himself king of that territory in 283 B.C. and proceeding to forge an alliance with Syria, cemented by marrying Apama, the daughter of the Seleucid king Antiochus I.[8] In 274, Magas attempted to attack Egypt from the West, but was foiled when his Marmarid mercenaries deserted to the side of Ptolemy II.[9] The oldest son of Ptolemy I with Eurydice, Ptolemy Ceraunus, was caught in the middle of a war between superpowers for Alexander's territorial succession as well. After being passed over for the succession to the throne of Egypt, Ceraunus eventually contented himself with the kingship of Macedonia, but not before he murdered the King of Syria, Seleucus, who appeared to be advancing into that country.[10] Ceraunus' success was short-lived, as he met his death on the battlefield soon after, to be succeeded by the equally ephemeral rule of his brother, Meleager.[11]

The kingdom that was bequeathed to Ptolemy II by his father had already had a significant degree of exposure to foreign cultures. The ancient land of the Pharaohs had endured four centuries of repeated foreign occupation – from the South (the Ethiopians, in the 25th Dynasty), the West (Libyan princes, in the 26th Dynasty) and the East (the Persian Empire, as the 27th Dynasty, as well as a brief annexation as a satrapy to the Achaemenid Empire from 341-333 B.C.).[12] Only decades before Alexander the Great marched into Memphis and permanently expelled the hated Persian rule in 332 B.C., the Egyptians had demonstrated their own resilience with a phase of substantial building activity and a cultural renaissance in the last "native" Dynasty, the Thirtieth (378-341 B.C.). The art historian can easily appreciate the sense of national pride that the Egyptians still had in this epoch of self-rule. While the monuments to the kings continued to represent a remarkably repetitive conformity to tradition, a steadfast face through centuries of adversity reassuring its people that the positive relationship between the Pharaoh and the gods never wavered, a high caliber of artistic craftsmanship and individualization finds expression in the Thirtieth Dynasty in the sculptural representation

[7] See pp. 19f. nn.120-2, 71-3, 88.
[8] Paus. I, 7, 3; J. Seibert, *Historische Beiträge zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenistischer Zeit.* Historia Einzelschr. 10 (Wiesbaden, 1967), 51ff.
[9] Paus. I 7,3; Huß, *Ägypten,* 266-68.
[10] Just. XVII.2.9f.; Heinen, *Untersuchungen,* 61-63; Huß, *Ägypten,* 254ff.
[11] Hölbl, 36; Huß, *Ägypten,* 259f.
[12] F. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4.Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1953), 6ff.

of important clerics of the native temples.[13] As the Egyptian artisans themselves must have recognized, the priests were the most influential figures in holding the infrastructure of the country together during long interims of domination by foreign rulers.

Before the time of the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great and the establishment of a ruling house of Macedonian descent, the fairly insignificant, working class stratum of Ionian, Carian, and Lydian immigrants who had settled in the Egyptian Delta since the mid-seventh century had lived among and largely assimilated to the native population.[14] This subculture of early Aegean settlers, who had originally found employment in the Egyptian army as lowly *machimoi* and in other menial trades, was augmented by a far greater wave of immigrant mercenaries from Alexander's army, this time predominantly from Macedonia, Thrace and mainland Greece.[15] No longer in a subservient position of being forced to assimilate to the peasant class around them, these Greek settlers arrived as conquerors, affiliates of the king, and through handsome gifts of land for them to cultivate, began their lives in a foreign country as a propertied upper class. A new, Greek landed aristocracy emerged of military veterans, *klerouchoi,* who in turn let out farms to be worked by common folk.[16]

In the establishment of an ideological policy towards their subjects, one historical factor played to the advantage of the Macedonian leadership. Alexander the Great had entered Egypt with his troops uncontested to take control of the country, assuming kingship in Memphis, where he was welcomed without resistance.[17] Alexander had, in fact, attained power in a manner totally conformant with native Pharaonic ideology as a divinely inspired, even divinely fathered, conqueror who suppressed his enemies effortlessly and unequivocally. When, in Egyptian art, the Pharaoh is depicted in military conflict, there can be no doubt of the outcome; he firmly crushes his opponent while incurring no harm himself; thus he appears frequently in sculpted relief scenes on the outer buttresses of temple precincts as a colossal figure smiting a much smaller-scale, hapless enemy.[18] In accordance with Alexander's general policy in the Orient of assimilating his new government to the existing infrastructure of his conquered subjects,[19] the warlike aspect of the Macedonian takeover was subtly underplayed – a tactical measure that was continued in the Ptolemies' program of propaganda.

[13] This difficult area of Egyptian art has been studied in the last decades by Josephson, *Egyptian Royal Sculpture,* 1ff.; K. Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI-XXX* (Mainz, ca. 1988); J. Josephson – P. O'Rourke – R. Fazzini, "The Doha Head: A Late Period Egyptian Portrait," *MDAIK* 61, 2005, 219ff.
[14] Kienitz, *op.cit.,* 37ff.; Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden,* 155ff.,194ff.
[15] Hölbl, 25-27.
[16] Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 274ff., esp.284ff.; C. Préaux, *L'Economie royale des Lagides* (Brussels, 1939), 463ff.; J. Bingen in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World,* 1ff.
[17] Arr., *anab.*III.1ff.; Curt.IV.7.1-3; Diod.Sic.XVII.49.1-2; cf. Huß, *Ägypten,* 57ff. The skepticism of S. M. Burstein, *AncSoc* 22, 1991, 139ff., on the validity of the tradition by Pseudo-Callisthenes (*Alexander Romance* I.34) that the Macedonian conqueror was crowned by Egyptian rite in the Ptah Temple in Memphis, an event that would very reasonably have helped the new king in his easy accession to control of Egypt, can not be further investigated in this context.
[18] See pp. 59, 61, 62, 197.
[19] e.g. E. Fredricksmeyer, "Alexander and the Kingship of Asia," in A. B. Bosworth – E. J. Baynham, ed., *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction* (Oxford, 1999), 150ff.; Huß, *Ägypten,* 58ff.,72ff.