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Preface

The issuing of volume 47 coincides with an auspicious occasion, namely that of our Society’s attaining the venerable age of one hundred and ten years, an age undoubtedly worthy of being proud of. On this occasion one necessarily remembers the founding fathers who, led by Geoseppi Botti, most wisely conceived in 1893 the idea of establishing the Archaeological Society of Alexandria and of issuing a regular Bulletin. The course of events over the long span of 110 years has not been without its hazards, which at a certain time, threatened the Society’s very existence. It is thanks to the resilience and tenacity of the civic community of Alexandria and their international friends that the Society is still going strong and capable of sustaining the publication of the Bulletin as well as maintaining multiple other cultural activities.

The survival of our Archaeological Society into its second hundred years calls to mind an ancient Egyptian tale, the so-called Westcar papyrus (W.M.Flinders Petrie, Egyptian Tales, 1895). It tells of a magician called Dedi who lived to the ripe old age of one hundred and ten years in the reign of King Khufu. Dedi could still eat “500 loaves of bread, a side of beef and drink 100 draughts of beer…”. He restores the head that is smitten off; he knows how to cause the lion to follow him trailing his halter on the ground; he knows the designs of the dwelling of Tahuti which King Khufu long sought after that he might make the like of them in his pyramid.” In spite of his extreme old age, “Dedi sat blithely in the sun, free of infirmities without the babble of dotage. This is the salutation to worthy age.”

This tale is not without its symbolic relevance. Archaeology in a sense, strives to restore “smitten off heads” and continues to seek
to unravel the mysterious designs of the pyramids! The contributions to the present volume cover a variety of areas: Greek papyri (R.S.Bagnall). Arabic papyri (G. Frantz-Murphy), Roman art and craft (N. Bonacasa & E.Rodziewicz), late Roman archaeology (M. Rodziewicz and P. Grossmann). In a metaphorical / figurative sense and in their own ways, they are restoring "smitten off heads". To them all, I extend my sincere thanks for their continued cooperation.

My special thanks go to the Moharram Press, not only for so generously undertaking the free publication of this volume, but especially for their warm and friendly spirit as represented by the director general, Mr. Mostafa Mahdy and Mr. Mohammed Naguib Salah-el-Din, head of the technical department.

Last but not least, my special thanks go to Prof. Mona Haggag, secretary general of the Society, who patiently handled every step in the intricate process of publication with her typical devotion and dedication. She deserves our sincere appreciation and gratitude.

Mostafa El-Abbadi
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Philoxenité - Pilgrimage Harbor of Abu Mina

Mieczyslaw D. Rodziewicz

The name of Philoxenité for place known since El Falaki" as Marea, I have suggested for the first time in my paper on Mareotis, published in Graeco-Arabica II, 1983(1). It has been accepted by many scholars, and used widely through the last two decades(2). However, recently some doubts have arisen whether the place of ancient Philoxenité has been properly situated (fig.2)(3). Yet, the skeptic opinion voiced recently, is not supported by any new archaeological or philological evidence. The localization of Philoxenité occurred to be much more easier to establish, than to define the topographical position of historical Marea, a large city and a capital of Mareotic district, one of the most important strategic towns of Northern Egypt, mentioned by Herodotus and many other writers(4). Marea played an essential role in the history of Egypt. The town was of a great military value against Libyans at least from the time of Psametic I(5). It got its fame during the reign of king Amazis, and king Enaros who was described as successfully fighting Persians from Marea(6). The town should have had then a remarkable military installations helping in

(4) Herodotus II, 149; Diod. I, 68; Tuc. I.104.
(5) Herodotus II, 149.
(6) Diodorus I, 68; Thucidides I, 104.
its archaeological identification. Mahmoud El Falaki, thought that the extensive chain of ruins at the southern shore of the lake Mareotis, south-west of Alexandria belongs to the famous military, administrative and commercial center of Mareotic region. called Marea\(^7\). This identification was followed by Breccia, Cosson, Sadek, Petrusco-Gabel and Fakharani.\(^8\) Yet, location of the ancient capital of Mareotis in the western arm of the lake Mariut has been questioned since a long time, and theoretically shifted by some scholars further to the southern part of the main basin of the lake. Fraser in his monumental work on Ptolemaic Alexandria writes: "Although Marea had been an important town in Pharaonic times, these remains are evidently late structures, they are not Ptolemaic and may be Byzantine or early Arab"\(^9\).

Archaeological evidence which I have gathered on the site called Marea, and its surroundings (south-east of Taposiris Magna), during more than ten years of my research and work there as adviser of EAO, was manifested on many archaeological conferences, and in numerous publications\(^10\). Since than any new

\(^7\) Mahmoud El Falaki, Mémoire sur l' antique Alexandrie. Copenhague 1872, p. 96.


archaeological evidence which can be connected with the oldest or later Mediaeval periods of the place, has emerged. The vast majority of archaeological material checked in the city, and its closest surroundings, proves intensive use of the place only from the 5th till the 7th century AD. The excavated and surveyed architectural remains, small finds, type of structures, and preserved installations prove that it was not administrative, commercial or military center, with remarkable defensive walls and associated structures, but rather a small city with a very sophisticated and extensive harbor, able to receive a large number of travelers. The harbor in so called Marea consists of long piers reaching far into the lake. The largest is 150 m. long enabling all kinds of vessels to land there, even at the relatively low water (figs. 3, 4). Instead of magazines and harbor warehouses, there is at the lake shore a very large church, several public baths, a row of small shops, oil press, wells, and rather modest houses. Small cemetery suggests a limited local population. Military post located separately on the lake island, with its own harbor and a half kilometer long structured

causeway linking it with land, fills the picture of unique type of city, created in short period of time, without a long history, and bearing all characteristics of very sophisticated port, and convenient transitive place. No inscriptions or other written material have been unearthed there hitherto. Archaeological research, supported by the study of written documents from the same period found elsewhere, lead me to the connection of the lake harbor with the pilgrimage to Abu Mina. Along the tract between newly created city at the lake (with its extensive port) and Abu Mina in desert, a chain of constructions came into existence. Discovery of the public bath at the modern road, south-west of the lake harbor, and a very large house, probably hospice with small church situated between two wings of the building (measuring over one and a half thousand square meters of surface) found 2 km, south of the harbor, as well as several other structures (pilgrim stations) and wells on the route from the marine to the holy shrine of Abu Mena, support this identification (figs. 2-6).\(^{(11)}\)

The plan of buildings and the extensive harbor fit very well to the description of the site called Philoxenité in the text of the Coptic encomium on St. Menas, which says about the construction

(in time of emperor Anastasius) of a new harbor, and numerous buildings around it, to facilitate pilgrims traveling to Abu Mina. It was initiated by a Praetorian Prefect, Philoxenus, whose name is not elsewhere recorded. Not only the ruins of the so called Marea fit well to the description of Philoxenitē but also its chronology. The ruins (due to the local climate) are very well visible on the

(12) “In the time of the Emperor Anastasius (491-518) pious zeal inspired the heart of the Praetorian Prefect since he too heard of the wonders and miracles wrought by the holy Apa Menas. Furthermore, he saw the hardships endured by the many multitudes when coming to his shrine. When they left the lake and entered the desert there, they found no resting-place or water till they reached the holy shrine. The prefect built hospices by the lake, and resthouses for the multitudes to stay at. Among them he had the market-place established where the multitudes might find, and buy all they needs. He had spacious depositories constructed where the multitudes could leave their clothes and baggage and everything that they brought to the shrine. When it was all finished he gave its name Philoxenitē after himself. He also set up porticoes at different places where the people might rest. And he established watering-places along the roads” cf. J. Drescher, Apa Mena. A Selection of Coptic Texts Relating to St. Menas, Le Caire 1946, pp. 147-148. In the introduction to the “Miracles” Drescher says: “... the Greek Miracles know the lake-port of the shrine as Loxonēta instead of the more correct Philoxenitē” p. 105; J. Drescher, Topographical Notes for Alexandria and District. BSAA 38, 1949, pp. 15-16. The place of Philoxenitē is several times mentioned in the Miracles of St. Menas. However, Drescher does not locate Philoxenitē on the western arm of the lake, but on the shores of the main basin, somewhere close to Kom el Througa, because it is said in the Coptic Encomium on St. Menas, that the same Prefect ordered to built water stations every ten miles between the site and the holy shrine. It could have been probably miscalculation of distance. Yet, since the distance between the harbor of the so called Marea and Abu Mena is about 20 km., there could have been eventually only one place for such station. However it would be amazing, and unreasonable to choose the longer desert road from the main lake basin (about 30 km to Abu Mina) for pilgrims and sick people, instead of much shorter from its western arm. From the harbor of so called Marea (Philoxenitē) to Abu Mina the distant is about 10-15 km. shorter, than from the main basin, and since we do not know any remains of the other lake harbor of the size mentioned above, we are convinced that the ruins of so called Marea belong to Philoxenitē.
surface without excavations. Identifiable buildings around the harbor are proving a well planned urbanistic unit with no traces of evolutionary stages or major rebuilding. The wide streets are paved along them, there are houses and shops, a water supply system, several public baths, a very large public lavatory aside the public ground (probably the market place) and very convenient harbor with three long jetties (fig. 3). Excavated and surface pottery gathered in the area are offering the best chance to establish the terminus post quem for the site, which is limited to the seventh century AD. Until now no glazed pottery of later period was spotted around. Therefore we conclude that the place terminated its function in the seventh, and not later than the beginning of eight century. It means that this harbor (together with two smaller marinas in the neighborhood) stops to function long before the holy shrine at Abu Mina was abandoned. The decline of Philoxenite was probably connected with the decrease of fresh water coming through the canals (mainly from the Canopic branch) linking the lake with the Nile, which could have been neglected and left not maintained in time of unrest and wars in the 7th cent. AD. Strabo says that the Lake Mareotis is filled by many canals from the Nile (Strabo XVII 1.7). As a consequence of decrease of the security in the region from the 6th century on, there was obviously slackening in the methods of water conservation. The lake stretching in Ptolemaic time far beyond Taposiris Magna, fed by

(13) There are mostly shards of local produce similar to those attributed to Abu Mena workshops, but among fine wares there are also numerous shards of pottery from Upper Egypt, accompanied by imported North African and Cypriot wares, which were not imported to Egypt after the 7th century AD. No glazed pottery of later period was spotted on the site, and not earlier pottery prior the 5th century AD. Late Roman Amphora I has been spotted in the mortar of jetties.

the Canopic branch of the Nile became probable already in the 7th century silted up. Since the losses from evaporation of remaining water were no longer replaced, the lake shrank to the dimensions of a marsh. This together with state of insecurity of the time, must have had a strong effect on the volume of the pilgrimage. Yet probably until the 10th century AD, the holy shrine of Abu Mena still existed. Since the 11th or the 12th century, according to A. de Cosson the lake was completely dry\(^{15}\), and Abu Mina ceased to function.

The opinion presented on the mentioned above conference on Medieval Alexandria questioning the localization of Filoxenité refers to the latest seasonal excavations there. Yet, the said most recent excavation in the site, is centered on yet another public bath, and connected with it water supply system (water-wheel). This particular bath has been already known previously. It was identifiable and visible on the surface without any excavation. The ruins of the so called Marea have been on many occasions registered by archaeologists since the time of El Falaki, because they were always well exposed, not covered by dunes, and not built up by the modern structures\(^{16}\). Also any new written material connected with the site, appeared recently.

The archaeological investigation of the site, especially its harbor installations had much better chances in previous decades than now. Previously we had closest access to the details of harbor constructions, dry installations on the lake shore, and nearest island, because the lake was much shallower, and in some parts was nearly dry, not flooded with the fresh water as it is nowadays.

\(^{15}\) He writes that it was the result of silting the “Canopic Nile”. Cosson, Mareotis op.cit p. 62.

\(^{16}\) Comp. foot-notes no. 7 and 8.
The excavation, preservation and reconstruction works (with my participation) carried out there in 1980s by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization – Delta West Inspectorate, revealed successive remains of public and private structures of Byzantine period, supporting previously gathered information on the relatively short period for the existence of the city. Unusually large church occupying the main promontory has been long ago examined and documented by P. Grossmann who also associated the site closely with the holy shrine in Abu Mina (BSSA 45, 1991. p. 107 ff). Extensions of the residential area had been established, and remarkable disproportion between the size of the harbor installations, and the land constructions notified. This fact has been presented long ago, and discussed in archaeological circles on many occasions. Archaeological remains of Pharaonic and Ptolemaic periods are still missing there. Thus this place cannot be associated with historical Marea, and we should start serious search for it around the main basin of the lake, including areas of its eastern and western shores. The Pharaonic Marea could have been located closer to the canals linking the lake with the Nile, because their control was of great military value. It is very important to undertake at least survey of the lake shores before all the area around it will be covered with modern constructions.

The main reason of this paper is to bring again to the public attention the attestable fact that the disputed chain of structures stretching about 1.5 km long at the southern shore of the lake Mareotis, has been built as a pilgrimage harbor for indisputably existing at the same time the largest Egyptian pilgrimage center of St. Menas, in nearly straight line south of it. It is unique and distinctly specialized port for transportation a large amount of people heading to Abu Mina at particular occasions, such as anniversaries. The ancient name of it (Philoxenitê) is based on
analysis of the text published by Drescher. The text however, has not by its very nature, the same informative power as an extensive archaeological evidence preserved in the terrain. Yet, there is no other place in the region which could fit better to the description of the lake harbor in text of the Coptic encomium on St. Menas, as this extensive chain of ruins south-west of Alexandria\(^{17}\). Combined together textual material with historical topography, and archaeological research in the region, convinced us that there is no alternative to such place, which functioned as major harbor for pilgrims going to Abu Mina, except of much older Ptolemaic port in Taposiris Magna, which also served Abu Mina pilgrimage as a strong military protector of pilgrims arriving to the holy shrine from the west, not from Alexandria. According to ancient literary sources there had been stationed about 1200 soldiers guarding the area against invaders from the west, and repetitive attacks of nomads from the Lybian desert (Drescher, Apa Mena pp.146-147).

Military posts protecting pilgrims have been placed in two main spots of the region: Taposiris Magna, where military camp has been identified by Grossman in 1980\(^{18}\), and another one on the island (connected with the land by built causeway) beside the largest pilgrimage harbor of this time called Philoxenitē. There was necessity to protect the road leading to holy shrine, and Abu Mina itself, since there was lack of any military constructions around it. Also location of military posts at the lake was certainly more feasible from economical point of view. It is worth to mention that the distance between both mentioned military camps and Abu Mina shrine was similar, but for travelers from Alexandria

\(^{17}\) Drescher op.cit. p. 15-16; Ward-Perkins op. cit. p. 34.

to Abu Mina through Philoxenité the way was much shorter (ca. 15 km.) than through Taposiris Magna, therefore the latter could have served mainly travelers from the west (see fig. 2).

It is very important to take also into consideration the archaeological evidence gathered through last two decades around the pilgrimage center of Abu Menas itself, and area south of Philoxenité harbor\(^{19}\). Gathered there archaeological material helped us to understand better the additional reasons for which such a large harbor has been constructed at that time supposedly by only one pious person\(^{20}\). Of course the main reason for which such a big harbor was planned and constructed had ideological (religious) meaning, but probably equally strong, or even stronger creative power was economy. Theoretically the extensive port was built for receiving a very large number of pilgrims to Abu Mina, traveling by boats all the year around, independently from the water level in the lake, and in particularly great number at specific anniversaries. Thus the port reflects situation in which the need for large transportation system had developed already before it has been constructed, and not opposite. We may assume that the numerous boat owners quickly took up opportunity to earn money for transportation of multitudes to Abu Mina, and supported the idea by all means. The construction of such a harbor bore no risk, it was foreseeable successful investment, which was financially very profitable business. Thus the construction of harbor could have been initiated by one individual, but supported by many others, who were willing to participate in the project as the economical investment. So finally such enterprise was not a pure charity, and the returns had not only religious, but also financial and political nature.

\(^{19}\) Comp foot-note no. 11.
\(^{20}\) Drescher op. cit; Ward Perkins op.cit.
It is not a coincidence that exactly in the time of the highest popularity of St. Menas shrine, there were constructed large hostels and other buildings in the area, attested by archaeological research. The most representative hospice has been unearthed at the modern place of Huwareya (figs. 3, 6)<sup>21</sup>. It has been situated at the edge of an old village which has existed there long before, but it expanded very much around the hill, to the south of the newly erected large hospice. This expansion was marked by the construction of two medium size wine factories<sup>22</sup>. Certainly agriculture and horticulture was spreading around the site, and mainly there existed olive-groves and wine yards.<sup>23</sup> Large oil press (under government control, according to existed law) is still well preserved in the harbor of Philoxenité. It was maintained, and its walls and arches were partly reconstructed by EAO in 1980s. Extensive pottery industry has been widely recorded in the area, and even metallurgy has been notified in the village of Huwareya at the ancient hospice<sup>24</sup>. Agriculture and horticulture flourished also around Abu Mina itself, and further to the north, even after the port of Philoxenité was abandoned in 7<sup>th</sup>-<sup>8</sup>th cent. as a result of drying of the lake. Known to us numerous ancient.

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<sup>21</sup> Rodziewicz, Alexandria and District of Mareotis op. cit. figs 7-8; id. Taenia and Mareotis. The Archaeological Research West of Alexandria op. cit. fig. 2; From Alexandria to the West by Land and by Waterways op. cit.; id. Remarks on Peristile House in Alexandria and Mareotis op. cit.; id. Classification of Wine Factories in Mareotis op. cit.; id. Remarks on the Domestic and Monastic Architecture of Alexandria and Surroundings op. cit.; id. Opus Sectile Monaics from Alexandria and Mareotis op. cit.; id. Eco-Archaeology of Ancient Alexandria and Mareotis op. cit.; id. Mareotic Harbours op. cit.

<sup>22</sup> Rodziewicz, Classification of Wine Factories in Mareotis op. cit. fig. 1 (Huwareya wineries - Type 1 and 5. p. 31, 34. fig. 2).

<sup>23</sup> Cosson op. cit. Rodziewicz, Alexandria and District of Mareotis figs 7-8. Classification of Wine Factories in Mareotis op. cit.

wells, and local irrigation system allowed people to continue their gardening, but their products had been send primarily to Alexandria by land. Thus, it seems that the economical factor for the existence of extensive port called Philoxenité was indeed limited to the pilgrimage, since instead of expected at such a big harbor storerooms and magazines for goods, there were first of all public baths, and unusually large church (25). The initial program of providing pilgrimage with the very basic services after landing in the south-western arm of Mareotis lake, has not developed into the universal city unit, with more urban functions such as extensive residential quarters, administrative, educational and cultural institutions, sports facilities and other typical for town installations. It was from its very beginning to its fall only a harbor for multitudes coming to the holy Abu Mina shrine.

(25) P. Grossmann, Die Querchifibasilika von Hauwariya und die Übrigen Bauten Dieses Typus in Ägypten als Repräsentanten der Verlorenen Frühchristlichen Architektur Alexandrias. BSAA 45, Alexandria 1993, pp. 107-121, Pl. XVII.
Fig. 2
Fig. 3
Philoxenité – pilgrimage harbour to Abu Mina (5th-7th cent. AD)
Fig. 4
Position of harbours at Philoxenité and Taposiris Magna in the western arm of lake Mareotis, seen from the east. Drawn by M. Rodziewicz.
Double peristyle building (hospice) in Mareotis (modern Howaryia) with church in the middle and baptistery. (6th – beg. of 8th cent. AD). Drawn by M. Rodziewicz.
Fig. 6
Opus sectile mosaics in the church at modern Huwaryia (comp. Fig.4). Drawn by M. Rodziewicz.