

EGYPTIAN TRENDS IN ALEXANDRIAN POETRY:
A STUDY OF EGYPTIAN INFLUENCES ON THE ALEXANDRIAN
POETIC TRADITION.

BY

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Egypt always held a unique position among the ancient civilizations of the world. Of the seven wonders of the world, the pyramids of Egypt alone remain almost intact. They still tower above the desert sands at Giza. The temples of Egypt still stand as a witness to that firm belief in God.⁽¹⁾

Egypt possesses a rich stock of literary papyri compared with other Hellenistic monarchies.⁽²⁾ The Egyptian echoes in Alexandrian poetry reveal the importance of glory and immortality of this country throughout ages. Egypt is the most flourishing civilization in Antiquity. The visitor is obsessed by its nice waather and attractive spectacles, in addition, its legacy and monuments are highly appraisd.

It is a central claim of the present study that Alexandrian peotry chiefly in the Egyptian milieu, has reflected modes of expression which can be approached or adeauately described, and the potential of this poetry is fully realized.⁽³⁾

Scholars freely acknowledge the frequency of Alexandrian poetic references to their Greek predecessors ignoring the influences of the Egyptain sources.

In this paper I attempt to shed some light on the Egyptian culture buttressed by fresh evidence. It is, I believe, also fair to draw attention to poems with their structure, and thought sequence. Attention to these, which, as I hope to show, is essential in the case of the poems to be discussed.

In doing so, let us start by the following passage: 4)

κεῖ δ' ἔστιν οἶκος τῆς θεοῦ· τὰ γὰρ πάντα,
 ὅσσ' ἔστι κου καὶ γίνετ', ἔστ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ·
 πλοῦτος, παλαιστρη, δύναμις, εὐδία, δόξα,
 θεαί, φιλόσοφοι, χρυσίον, νεηνίσκοι,
 θεῶν ἀδελφῶν τέμενος, ὁ βασιλεὺς χρηστός,
 Μουσηῖον, οἶνος, ἀγαθὰ πάντ' ὅσ' ἂν χρήζῃς,
 γυναῖκες,
 ἀστέρας ἐνεγκεῖν οὐραν[ὸ]ς κεκαύχηται,
 τὴν δ' ὄψιν οἶαι πρὸς Πάριν κοτ' ὤρμησαν
 θε[αί] κρηθῆναι καλλονήν—

" The house of the goddess (Aphrodite) is there, i.e. (in Egypt), for every thing that exists anywhere in the world is in Egypt, wealth, palaestrae, power, tranquility, fame, sights, philosophers, gold, youngmen, the shrine of the sibling gods, (Ptolemy and Arsionoe) a good king Museum, all good things you may desire and women more numerous than heavenly stars,

and their looks like the goddesses, who sought the judgement of Paris in beauty"

A combination of attraction enough to turn any man's head and heart as Abbadi rightly points out⁵. This poem is one of the most famous of Herodas' poems. Besides being quite interesting in itself, this section at the beginning of the poem, contains the most famous pleasures of Egypt features not found in any other of the Herodas' poetry.

These verses, on the other hand, stand in Herodas' work much closer to other Alexandrian poetry than anything else. The Mim. contains numerous echoes of other poems, it has some resemblances with Callimachus' verse, also it is connected in some ways with Theocritus Idyll resemblances which cannot be wholly accidental. No one could deny that Mim. 1. (26-35) does have certain Egyptian features.

The analysis of Herodas' passage, as recorded by the papyrus, is attempted not only because it allows Herodas selection in his choice, and use of Egyptian themes in his poem, but also because the very close coincidences between Herodas and Alexandrian poets are a further indication of the general reliability of this verse as a witness for the greatness and glory of the Egyptian civilization.

Herodas' poem, is, of course, quite explicit on the matter of Egyptian pleasures and unrivalled attractions. It is more probable that Herodas' passage resulted from a combination of the severaly Egyptian and Alexandrian motifs. The poet defines his subject by the account. The first verse of the passage tells us that the abode of $\tau\eta\varsigma \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ is in Egypt. The commentators agree that the goddess mentioned here is Aphrodite: Cunningham⁶ emphasizes that 'one goddess' must be Aphrodite. ... The goddess of pleasure, has her dwelling there, i.e. all pleasure may be found there", in addition Mandelaras agrees with Cunningham in his statement⁽⁷⁾. Three years after Mandelaras' Greek commentary, Hopkinson in his Hellenistic Anthology gives a brief note in the same meaning. Aphrodite is the patroness of the sexually passionate life⁹ and the most practical reason for selecting her was that she was the major Greek goddess associated with territory under the ptolemaic reign, as Pomeroy⁽¹⁰⁾ stated. The situation now is clear, love prevails the whole country, obviously, the immigrants who visit Egypt found many distractions, that they forgot their lovers. This interpretation is confirmed by the previous line of Herodas' Passage, "It has been ten months since Mandris (the lover) went off to Egypt. He has not even

sent you (the mistress) a letter. He has forgotten you, and drunk from a new cup ¹¹. Here the effectiveness is enhanced because the speech is put in the mouth of Gyllis in Herodas'. We can infer from the above passage that a man in Egypt led a pleasant life.

We may now turn to Herodas handling of the enumeration of the Egyptian pleasures which are basically the several aspects of this glorified society. The word πάντα, at the end of line 26 summarizes the content of the whole passage, in other words, every thing in every where in the world exists here in Egypt as cleared from the previous hemistich. the technique, like the enumerations of the following two distichs, seems appropriately chosen for the sake of emphasis to provide the point of the passage. firstly

πλοῦτος, by this word the poet designates the first aspect of a civilized society because the wealth of Egypt was famous, a theme that can be traced back to Homer ⁽¹²⁾, while the word seems to have gone almost unnoticed by the critics ⁽¹³⁾. Wealth is apparently and closely related to Theocritus Idyll 17, lines 106-107 state:

*οὐ μὰν ἀχρεῖός γε δόμῳ ἐνὶ πτόνι χρυσός
μυρμάκων ἄτε πλοῦτος ἀεὶ κέχεται μογεόντων*

Wealth in Theocritus is associated with gold and devoted to the welfare of the people.

On the other hand, Theocritus blames the people of his country Syracuse because they are not concerned

for what is virtuous and righteous⁽¹⁴⁾

δαιμόνιοι, τί δὲ κέρδος ὁ μυρία ἐνδοθι χρυσῶς
κείμενος; οὐχ ἄδε πλούτου φρονέουσιν ὄνασις,
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ψυχῆ,

Here we note that wealth (gold) is not real affluence, but rather the αἴθρως which follows good men, whereas in Idyll 17, Philadelphus is..... ἀγαθός βασιλεὺς⁽¹⁵⁾ (16)

Because of its wealth, Egypt has a power δύναις, in the field of politics and military. The Pharaohs defeated and conquered other countries. Throughout ages, Egypt was fortified by a strong army. King Ptolemy was the first of Macedonians to establish firmly the power of Egypt.⁽¹⁷⁾ Egypt thus was the centre of ptolemaic empire,⁽¹⁸⁾ and as Cunningham states "... Where things happen, where issues are decided and therfor an exciting and intersting place in which to live".⁽¹⁹⁾

Theocritus, οἱ the other hand, gives details on aspects of the Egyptian Power "ships, ... horsemen, and

many shield-bearing foot soldiers.... equipped with
 (20)
 glittering bronze.

The following word in the same verse of Herodas is εὐδίη. The poet here employs the theme of weather which reminds us of the Herodotus account on the Egyptian weather. The father of history thinks that the Egyptians are the healthiest of all men because the climate of all seasons is the same". Egypt has a gift of the golden calm, that to which Herodas referred. Eratosthenes' εὐδίη, (22) a geographer and poet in the Ptolemaic court, states that "the word was almost a slogan in Alexandria in the third and second centuries B.C."

Strabo, in the first century of our era, in his account of the description of Alexandria, relates the weather of Egypt to the purity of air (24).

On the other side, the epigrammatists use the theme of weather phenomena, i.e. winds, rains, storms etc.. in dealing with love and erotic affairs, either in objective or subjective way (25). The tone of these epigrams resemble the every-day conversations of mime.

The fair weather of Egypt is due to its magnificent geographical location reputation δόξα, (26) throughout ages, with two main natural sources, the

Sea and the Nile. Although Herodas does not allude directly to the Nile, however, the word *πάντα* at the beginning of his passage on Egypt implies that he intends to mention every aspect of the Egyptian society.

It is significant to that the name given to the Nile in Homer is *Aigyptos*, the river being equated with the country ⁽²⁷⁾ a wonderful realization of the dependence of Egyptian agriculture on the annual flooding of the river. An Egyptian' Hymn to the Nile, which is preserved in many papyri beings: "Hail to thee, O Nile, that issues from the earth and comes to keep Egypt alive" ⁽²⁸⁾. Furthermore, since early times the Egyptians tended to worship and personify the Nile and associated with Osiris ⁽²⁹⁾

Similarly, in two dedications of the third century from Canopus, Nilus is equated with Isis and Sarapis ⁽³⁰⁾ and a fruitful river as well ³¹. The major themes here are the divinity of the Nile, and fertility of Egypt, themes which were employed by Alexandrian poets.

Let us start with the former theme Callimachus exploits the theme when he concludes his second hymn to Apollo with the famous eplilgue:

τὸν Φθόνον ὠπόλλων ποδί τ' ἤλασεν ὠδέ τ' ἔειπεν.
 "Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῦ μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ
 λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.

"Apollo kicked Envy with his foot, and said this: The steam of the Assyrian river is great but it carries much filth of earth and much rubbish in its water".*

Callimachus takes Apollo as his persona to rebuke his opponents who scoffed at him for not being able to write a long poem. In the second line we find the reason for choosing.

The Assyrian river, the Euphrates, Callimachus could not use the obvious example of the Nile, because of its divinity** and Callimachus alludes to a mixture of mythology as well as geography of a contemporary literary phenomenon.

Let us turn now to the latter theme, viz., the fertility of Egypt due to the Nile. In a highly effected, passage, Theocritus states.:

*ἀλλ' οὔτις τόσα φύει ὅσα χθαμαλὰ Αἴγυπτος,
Νεῖλος ἀναβλύζων διερὰν ὅτε βώλακα θρύπτει,*

"But none is as fertile as the planis of Egypt when the rising Nile breaks up the porous soil."

This couplet is an elaborate rehandling of the theme of fertile land, where Theocritus gives us a piece of information about the Egyptian environment in a specific way different from the preceding line at the Idyll, and the following verses. While these verses contain a rather dull enumeration of lands, seas, and rivers ruled by Philadelphus, the couplet describing Egypt is full of specific details.

Two main facts are mentioned about Egypt, its fertile land and the rising Nile, both prominently placed, one in the final and the other in the initial position of the couplet, which is itself particularly emphatic due to the choice of words and their sound effect. This couplet, however, ends without referring to the time of flood.

The Nile in Theocritus' poem invites comparison with the same theme as treated by Callimachus:

θηλύτατον καὶ Νεῖλο[s ἄ]γων ἐνιαύσιον ὕδωρ.
ὦδ' εἶπη.

"and so that the Nile may say as it brings
each year its most fertilizing ³³ water".

Here we may notice the same phenomenon as in the previous couplet. The author has taken the theme and has developed it so as to make it the unique theme of his poem. Thus, Callimachus makes his statement much more pointed by using an adjective *θηλύτατο*³⁴ and a verb which by themselves picture the whole meaning.

On the other hand, the rise of the Nile as it is wellknown at the end of July reaching its maximum height in September ³⁵ is referred to in a literary papyrus from Alexandria of an anonymous Georgics, where two plants connected with the flood of the Nile are describe. plants are described, the Cyclamen and Persea. For the Nile brings such smiling abundance to the corn.³⁶

Callimachus, on the other hand, alludes to the Nile, in dealing with the stream Inopus, that was said to be connected to the Nile by a subterranean channel³⁷
The Alexandrian poet states:

δ' Ἰνωποῖο παρὰ ῥοοῦ, ὄντε βάλιστον
γαῖα τότ' ἐξανήσω, ὅτε πλήθοντι ρεῖθρον
Νεῖλος ἀπὸ κρημνοῦ κατέρχεται Λιβυοπέης.

" The stream of Inopus, which the earth sends forth in deepest flood at the season when the Nile comes down from the Aethiopian steep."

In the same hymn, Callimachus refers to Inopus which floods with abundance of gold.

Χρυσῶ δὲ πλήμυρε Βαθὺς Ἰνωπὸς ἑλιθείς

Mineur comments on these verses "It may be of interest here that at least as early as the first century B.C. (but probably earlier) the Nile was called...³⁸ χρυσόροας. This meaning is probably more in accordance with Callixinus version, in which he said that "it is only the Nile, a river truly called streaming with gold..³⁹

There is a similar Egyptian reference which is connected with the two above mentioned passages, and expressed in the following text:⁴⁰ The Nile is "High Priest of streams".

Whose waves have cast
More riches round them, as the current rolled
Through many climes its solitary flood,
Than if they surged with gold."

As soon as the text ends, we are introduced to the topos of gold, which, as we saw in the previous versions,

is a traditional praise of the Nile. Just as in that case, one whole passage is devoted to the Nile. There is also obvious dependence particularly in the enumeration. The lines are also related to the Alexanderian literature, especially the last three lines. This, we learn in the first two words of the second line "More riches" which reminds us of Callimachus: $\theta\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ ⁴¹ "flood" at the end of

the third line which recalls $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\lambda\upsilon\sigma\omega\nu$ in Theocritus⁴². However, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\beta\lambda\upsilon\sigma\omega\nu$ is not here a noun but a participle with $\nu\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.

This is confirmed by the rest of Theocritus' verse, where the same meaning reappears formulated in different words as in Callimachus..... $\epsilon\tau\lambda\eta\theta\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\theta\rho\omega$ ⁴³

in the same hymn.⁴⁴ In the latter the word is preceded by... $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\omega$ as in Callixinus'

version on the Nile, which resembles the Egyptian text where the whole passage ends with the word gold.

I have thus shown that the comparison of the Nile with gold is well documented as a topos in both Egyptian and Alexandrian literature.

We may now turn to Moschus, who besides being related to Theocritus and Callimachus in dealing with the Nile, also borrowed from different predecessors as

evident in the following verses:

ἐν δ' ἦν Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ἐπαφώμενος ἡρέμα χερσὶ¹
 πόρτιος Ἰναχίης, τὴν² δ' ἑπταπόρῳ παρὰ Νείλῳ
 ἐκ βοῶς εὐκεράοιο πάλιν μετὰμειβε γυναῖκα.
 ἀργύρεος μὲν ἔην Νείλου ῥόος,

"and the second picture was Zeus son of Cronus
 gently touching the same hierifer of Inachus beside
 the seven-mouthed Nile,

.....
 a stream was of silver Nile"

This stanza is an extract from the epyllion, "Europa",
 where the poet repeats the well-known myth of the
 Phoenician princess who was abducted by Zeus while
 disguised in the form of a bull.⁴⁶

Moschus' use of the traveller-motive is frequent enough
 in this poem with the several standard elements.⁴⁷

Here geography is mixed with mythology. Unlike
 Theocritus and Callimachus the Nile is preceded

ἑπταπόρῳ⁴⁸, an erudition which should not
 be surprising and depends for its effect on the

*audience's familiarity with the geographical landscape alluded to.

The second couplet opens with 'ἀργύρεος' which is compared to the Nile. It is interesting to note that the topos of silver being compared to water goes back to Homer, who uses the adjective ἀργυροδίνης "Silver-eddying" of rivers.⁴⁹

Moschus' allusion implies that the water is visible at the bottom of the river and its colour appears like silver because it is so clear. On the other hand, it is probably when water reflects the beams of moon that it becomes silvery. In the light of papyri, we find an explicit examples in the following poem dated from 2-3 Century A.D. Lines of special interest are:⁵⁰

καὶ μεγάλην αἰεὶ σ[. . . ἀ]εργάζοντα βοείη[ν.
εἰς ὅσον ἀργυρέην [φρουρ]εἰς Νειλωίδα δίνη[ν,
σὺν σοὶ ἀλεξίκακο[ς] σοὶ καὶ ὁμόφρω[ν

"As long as you stayed beside the
 silver tides of the Nile
 by your side...defender against evil one
 with you in spirit⁵¹....."

This couplet is particularly difficult to interpret because of the wording of the second line which is most probably corrupt. The dependence of an anonymous writer on Moschus is apparent in the second line. Therefore, the topos of comparing the Nile with silver is also not uncommon in Alexandrian poetry, because it is ultimately derived from the Egyptian landscape.

We now return, to Herdas' description of the pleasures of Egypt among which he states $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota$.

It we consult LSJ. s.v. $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota$,

II.1, we will note that the word $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota$ has along its several meaning an additional meaning, namely natural scene which seem to have been overlooked by the commentators⁵².

The poet here probably refers to natural sceneries scattered throughout Egyptian landscape, some of them are flowers, trees, and plants which are connected with the Nile. In view of this well-known fact the discussion on the Nile above may serve to underline the importance of the Egyptian texts more thoroughly.

The Egyptians not only prayed that "the Nile should bestow every flowering plant in their session upon his departed soul, but also that his soul might sit on the boughs of the trees that he had planted, and enjoy the cool air in the shade of his Sycamore⁵³ Erman states that "Everywhere on the mountain we meet with flowers, for divinity reasons, or decoration of the houses, moreover gardens were in Egypt from the oldest times the Pharaoh shared this love and tried to turn his city in a garden⁵³"

An Egyptian papyrus records the following poem on the festival day of the garden, that is, the day when the garden was in full bloom, the wild fig-trees call to the maiden to come into the shades of the fig leaves as a trysting place:⁵⁴

"The little Sycamore
 which she planted with her hand,
 She begins to speak,
 And her (words are as) drops of honey.
 She is charming, her bower is green,
 Greener than (the papyrus),
 She is laden with fruit,
 Redder than the ruby,

The colour of her leaves is as glass,
 Her stem is as the colour of the opal..
 It is cool in her shadow.
 She sends her letter by a little maiden,
 The daughter of her chief gardener
 She makes her haste to her beloved:
 Come and linger in the (garden)...
 The servants who belong to thee
 Come with the dinner things,
 They are bringing beer of every (Kind),
 With all manner of bread,
 Flowers of yesterday and of to-day,
 And all kinds of refreshing fruit.
 Come, spend this festival day,
 And to-morrow and the day after to-morrow..
 Sitting in my shadow.
 The companion sits at the right hand.
 Thou dost make him drink,
 And then thou dost follow what he says...
 I am of a silent nature.
 And I do not tell what I see
 I do not chatter"

The above mentioned song has a similarity with
 Alexandrian love poetry.

This of course is a matter of manner and style rather than of specific content.

A typical example is furnished by Nossis:

"Ἄδιον οὐδὲν ἔρωτος, ἀ δ' ἄλβια, δεύτερα πάντα
ἔστιν ἀπὸ στόματος δ' ἔπτυσσα καὶ τὸ μέλι."
τοῦτο λέγει Νουσίς· τίνα δ' ἡ Κύπρις οὐκ
ἔφιλασεν,
οὐκ οἶδεν κήνα γ' ἄνθεα ποῖα ῥόδα.

"Nothing is sweeter than love, all delightful things are second to it, and even the honey I spat from my mouth:

Thus says Nossis. But if there is anybody whom Cypris has not kissed she forsooth does not know what sort of flowers roses are" ⁵⁵

The last word of the first pentameter $\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota$ stands exactly in the position as in the fourth line of the Egyptian text. The second hemistich of the pentameter is naturally, the same in both cases. The last pentameter ends with words very similar to the Egyptian song, despite the fact that it treats a different theme: $\lambda\alpha\upsilon\theta\epsilon\alpha, \epsilon\sigma\delta\alpha$ preceded by mentioning the goddess of love in the previous hexameter. The Alexandrian poetess very well be echoing line 20 in the Egyptian papyrus.

We must however, be aware of the fact that it was traditional for the Egyptians and Alexandrians to exploit the theme of flowers in their joys and distresses.

Meleager is the most cogent instance that can be alluded to; ⁵⁷

*Ζηνοφίλα Πειθοῦς ἠδὺ τέθηλε ῥόδον.
λειμώνες, τί μάταια κόμαις ἐπι φαιδρᾷ γελᾶτε;
ἀ γὰρ παῖς κρέσσων ἀδυπνόων στεφάνων.*

and already she is in bloom, Zenophila Love's darling
the sweet rose of Persuasion flower of the flowers of
spring".

In another poem Zenophila is a tender flowers ⁵⁸

..... Ζηνοφίλα τρυφερόν θάλος

Meleager also coposes a poem on his mistress Heliodora associated
with different kinds of flowers ⁵⁹ and plants:

*Πλέξω λευκῶν, πλέξω δ' ἀπαλὴν ἄμα μύρτοις
νάρκισσον, πλέξω καὶ τὰ γελῶντα κρίνα,
πλέξω καὶ κρόκον ἠδὺν· ἐπιπλέξω δ' ὑάκινθον
πορφυρέην, πλέξω καὶ φιλέραστα ῥόδα,
ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ κροτάφοις μυροβοστρήχου Ἡλιοδώρας
εὐπλόκαμον χαίτην ἀνθοβολῆ στέφανος.*

I WLLL plait in white violets and tender narcissus
mid myrtle berries, I will plait laughing lilies too
and sweet crocus and purple hyacinths and the roses
that take joy in love, so that the wreath set on
Heliodora's brow, Heliodora with the seented curls,
may scatter flowers on her lovely hair. ⁶⁰

This association is a further evidence of the Meleagran
exploitation of the Egyptian theme of flower .

In one of the Egyptian Love songs, the lover compares his maiden to all the flowers in the garden:

"Come through the garden, love, to me
My love is like each flower that blows,
tall and straight as a young palm tree,
and in each cheek a sweet blush rose"⁶¹

Meleager's poem and the Egyptian Love text have strong ties:

Firstly: both of them are erotic in tone. Secondly: in these poems the beloved is compared to flowers and plants: Thirdly: They are composed in the same metre.

On the other hand, unlike the Egyptian song, Meleager names his mistresses (Zenophila and Heliadora). Besides, the Egyptian flowers are confined within a garden, whereas Meleager's flowers; are spreading everywhere. The Egyptians remember the flowers in this life, and in the after-life as well.

A song inscribed on the tomb of a Theban priest dating from about 1350-1320 B.C. "... O priest put unguent fine oil together to thy nostrils and garlands, and lotus flowers"⁶²

Likewise, the Egyptian song has a thematic link with Meleager: when Heliadora died the dust defiled the blooming flowers:...

... ἀκμαίων δ' ἀνθῶν ἔρουρε κόμισ⁶³

Moreover, a Meleagran rose weeps $\delta\alpha\kappa\rho\upsilon\epsilon$ $\epsilon^{\circ}\delta\alpha\upsilon$ ⁶⁴
 when the poet misses his beloved.

Looking more closely at Meleager's poetry, the first thing we notice is $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ and $\epsilon^{\circ}\delta\alpha\upsilon$ are reminiscent of Egyptian setting. The tone of encouragement of pleasure⁶⁵ is lacking Meleager's verse. On the other hand, the Alexandrian poet confines erotic theme with death in the above hemistiches.

The Egyptian Pharaohs also shared the same interest in flowers and trees. Ramses III e.g., planted trees, and papyrus plants in Thebes, and in the new town which he founded in the Delta he made⁶⁶ and the following text declares that "great vineyards; walks shaded by all kind of sweet fruit trees laden with their fruit, a sacred way, splended with flowers from all countries with lotus and papyrus countless⁶⁷ as the sand"

In this text different kinds of flowers and plants are compared to the countless sand. Concerning this simile which probably refers to the Egyptian desert, it seems that the Alexandrian poets were influenced by the simile of countless sand which

could be equivalent to $\delta^{\circ}\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon$

First, the noun ⁶⁸ὄρος has, besides its normal meaning "mountain", "hill" another meaning attested to papyri namely "desert" and the word has already been exploited by Alexanderian poets.

The adjective ⁶⁹ἄκριτος has a meaning "countless", "infinite".⁷⁰ The apparent example is in Nicaentus' epigram⁷¹, basically in the following line: *Ἡρώσθαι Λιβυῶν ὄρος ἄκριτος αἴτε νεμέτ*⁷²

"Hercines who haunt the infinite desert of the Libyans.
As I have thus shown, the word *θέαι* and its implication, some commentators suggest that the word means ⁷³spectacles.

I may now conclude that the examination of *θέαι* in Herodas shows very clearly the combination of natural scenes and spectacles with the minute knowledge and subtle variation of the Egyptian devices.

we may now turn to Herdas, passage. Unlike what has been previously discussed the poet attracts our attention to the intellectual phases of Egypt, mainly, the ⁷⁴φιλόσοφοι, a puzzling word as Cunningham pointed out. He states that "probably 'Philosophers' in modern sense, though the technical 'academician' (Pfeiffer on Call.

Dieg. VI. 3; Vol. i, p. 163) is possible. In dieg i.c. *φίλοσοφοι*

is corrected to φιλολογος and so B. Marxullo (Maia, VI (1953), 64) Would read here: but this word was first used in the technical meaning by Eratosthenes (Suet. Gramm. 10.4), therefore in the second half of the third century⁷⁵. LSJ states "Academician of the members of the Museum at Alexandria"⁷⁶. In order to understand the implication of the word we must first be familiar with Alexandrian and learning spheres.

Obviously, there were minor schools of the New Academy and the new Sceptics developed these in the first century B.C.⁷⁷

Demetrius of Phalerius was an Athenian statesman, and Theophrastus' pupil as well as having a Peripatetic tendency.⁷⁸ Furthermore, Demetrius made an international attempt to follow Athenian Schools especially the Lyceum of which he was a faithful pupil⁷⁹

Another example was Eratosthenes in the third century B.C.A. philosopher of note in Alexandria⁸⁰ as he had some philosophical views of a Platonic kind,⁸¹ as in other fields of activity.⁸²

On the other hand, the word Philosophoi could mean as ^{φιλολογοι} Pfeiffer reminds us the first scholars of the Hellenistic world Alexandria wer poets.⁸³

Callimachus implicitly alludes to philologoi in his first iambus.⁸⁴

Iamb I (fr. 191)

'Ακούσαθ' Ἰππώνακτος· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλ' ἦκα
ἐκ τῶν βουῶν κολλύβου πιπρήσκουσιν.

Listen to Hipponax. For I have come
from the place where an ox costs a penny,

(191.1-2).

Clearly the literati of Ptolemy's Museum were described by Clayman.⁸⁵ Callimachus begins his iambus by exhibiting a reincarnated Hipponax taking him as his persona, to harangue and criticize the philologi. This criticism is similar to Timon of Philus who said;⁸⁶

πολλοὶ μὲν βόσκονται ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολυφύλωι
βιβλιακοὶ χαρακίται ἀπειρίτα θεριόωντες
Μουσῶν ἐν ταλάρωι.

"In the populous land of Egypt, lots of pedantic clisterlinge are kept endlessly arguing in the Muses' bird cage."

As Callimachus in the first iambus insults the philologoi by accusing them of illness, so here Timon berates the same group by likening them to birds.

⁸⁷ Βασιλεὺς (Philadelphus), appears emphatically after the preceded words, as repeated in Theocritus 17 Idyll. The adjective *κρηστός*⁸⁸ in the end

of the line which since it means "Valiant, kind. Both senses are even more appropriate to Ptolemy.

The two above meanings of *ΧΡΗΒΤΟΣ* reminds us "The Egyptian King Thothmes III who was not only a great general, but a statesman. ... He establish the pax Aegyptica".⁸⁹

The following parallels between the Egyptian king and Philadelphus are of interest:

i. The equation of the pharaoh and Thoth corresponds with Theocritus (XVII. 113-116) who states:

"He (Philadelphus) is given a gift worth of his craft, and the spokesman of the Muses sing of Ptolemy in return for his gift". It is quite clear that Greeks identified Thoth with their own Hermes. As the patrons of literature, namely, learning, Callimachus alludes directly to this theme:

αὐτοῦ μὲν εὐμαθεῖαν ἑρμῆνος δόσιον

We ask for easy-learning, the gift of Hermes (fr. 221) Callimachus" lines are similar to those in the Egyptian in the deliberate learning *εὐμαθεῖα* which corresponds with his well-known poetic precepts. Elsewhere Callimachus compares Philadelphus with Apollo. (h. II. 113).

ii. The word "Lord" in the sacred Egyptian texts, on addressing gods and king recalls the religions⁹¹

invocation ^{ἄναξ} 92, when philadelphus
is greeted or addressed.

iii. The problematic expression ^{ἄμφότερῃ μετὰ βότρυα}
(Callim. h. IV. 168), denoting part of the territory
which ptolemy rules, as a reference to the Pharaoh's
title king of South and North. 93

Callimachus incorporates Egyptian realistic
details to bring past and present into close
relation with one another to the enrichment by
historical and contemporary people and events.
The poet is eager to combine these functions and
his desire to put a new perspective on the
Alexandrian's cultural heritage. 94

95

Μουσηῖον, seems to have been selected after βασιλεὺς κρηστῆς
because the poet composed their verses when he had
become a new member of the Museum-community in order to
thank ptolemy, his patron for his admission.

In the museum scholars enjoyed a high degree of liberty
and facility of research in pursuit of their scholarly
works. On the other hand, the continuation of their
works and pension depended solely and entirely by on
king's pleasure as Abbadi rightly states. 96

The theme of wine and the rest of Herodas' line seems to be isolated from *ΜΟΥΣΗΙΟΥ* at the beginning of the line. The theme of wine brings in the opposition of the intellectual phases which I have already discussed. Here the links that join wine with all good things. Herodas probably had in mind Callimachus, and Meleager.⁹⁷ On the other hand, the poet may have been inspired by the same attributes of the Egyptian Hathor who represents love, wine, joy, and every beautiful things.⁹⁸ One may desire, seemingly, pave the way for the explanation of the following stanza.

Herodas ends his passage on Egypt mentioning The Egyptian women using two similies. Firstly: he compares them to stars.⁹⁹

It is also note worthy that *ἀστέρων* are used as a weather element associated with the moon and the night which reminds us of the *comos*, and the para-clausithyron in the Alexandrian love epigram. The following verse is cited as an example by Meleager":¹⁰⁰

*Ἀστέρων καὶ ἡ φιλέρωσι καλλὸν φαίνουσα ἐλήνη
καὶ Νύξ. ...*

More important that the stars element attracted attention in the Egyptian Poetry. On the coronation of the King Sety II, we read: "Thine eye is clearer than the stars of heaven."¹⁰¹

The second simile occupies the last couplet of Herodas, where the poet refers to the famous judgement when Paris gave the apple of Discord to Aphrodite and in so doing incurred the hatred of Hera and Athene.¹⁰² The Egyptian women's looks appear at the beginning of line a concise but the comparison refers to the detailed description of these women's physique. Their beauties is thus considered divine and eternal by the poet when he set goddesses on the same footing with mortals.

In brief Alexandrian poetry depicts what seems an ideal society, where all these elements are combined in a unique and delicate way. The reproduction of Egyptian topoi by Alexandrian poets is also a recurrent feature in their poetry.

NOTES

1. Murry., (1977), P. XVI f.
2. Rostovixeff., C.A.H., VII. P. 109, Noshy., I., The arts of Ptolemaic Egypt, London, 1937, p. 1 f; Pack. R.E., (1965), The Greek and latin literary texts from graeco-roman Egypt, 2nd ann Arbor, University of Michigan press.
- 3) For a setting of Alexandrian poetry, see, Fraser., (1972), pp. 553-618; Cairns.F., (1979), pp. 7-35; Körte. A., Hellenistic poetry, New York, 1929, pp. 94-406; Legrand. P.E., La poesie alexandrine, Paris, 1924, p. 9 ff; for the literary debate of the terms, Hellenistic, and Alexandrian, see, Clausen. Callimachus and Latin poetry, GRBS., 5 (1964), p. 187; recently., Zanker., (1987). p. 12.
- 4) Herodas, Mim. I.26-35. = Ο ΠΑΠΥΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΗΡΩΝΔΑ (Brit. Mus. Pap. 135 = *P.Lit. Lond.* 96 = *P. Egerton* 1)
- 5) El. Abbadi, (1990), p. 43 f.
- 6) Cunningham., (1971), P.65; cf., Nonn.D. 47.409.
- 7) Mandelaras, (1986).p. 170.
- 8) Hopkinson. ad. loc.
- 9) Friedrich.p., (1978), The meaning of Aphrodite, Chicago and New York, p. 85, 140 f.
- 10) Pomeroy., (1984), p. 30.
- 11) Herodas, Min. I., 22-25, with Cunningham's note.
12. Hom. Il. IX. 381f; Od. III 301; XIV. 285, with Cunningham's note; Erman., (1971), p. 21.
- 13) Mandelaras, and Hopkinson do not deal with the word at all.

- 14) Theoc. Idyll., xvi. 22-4, with Gow's note.
- 15) Idyll, xvii, 105. Theocritus employs the theme of encomium as illustrated in Idylls 16 and 17, a theme which Menander calls *Βραδελικός λόγος* in modern times critics treat the theme e.g. Fraustadt. G. (1909), *Encomiorum in litteris Graecis usque ad Romanorum aetatem historia*, Leipzig, pp. 54f., 62f., 68; Cairns, (1970), *Generic composition in Greek and Roman poetry*, Edinburgh pp.100-102.
- 16) Herodas, *Mim.* I. 28.
- 17) Hokinson, (1989), *ad loc.*
- 18) Cunningham's (1971) *ad loc.*
- 19) Tacit. *Hist.* IV. 38.
- 20) Theoc. Idyll. XVII. 40-4; With Gow's note, cf. Polybius. V. 107. 1-3
- 21) Herod. II. 77.
- 22) See, for example, OGIS 90, line 11, (Rosetta stone). *Ἐνεκα τῆν Αἴγυπτον εἰς εὐσίαν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καθιερωθῆναι*
 = In Hedylus' poem about the figure of Bes in the temple of Arsinoe at Zephyrion, A then. 497D.E. Gow, line 1843 ff, Arsinoe herself is called *εὐδία* (Apud. Fraser, (1970) p. 10.
- 23) Fraser, P.M. (1970) *Eratosthenes of Cyrene*, Oxford, p. 10.
- 24) Strabo. XVII. 1.8.
- 25) Taran. S.L. (1979): *The art of variation in the Hellenistic epigrams*, Leiden, pp. 52-114; Garrison. D.H. (1978), *Mild Frenzy: A Reading of the Hellenistic Love Epigram*, Wiesbaden, p. 24 f. and 47.
- 26) Herodas, *Mim.* I.28.
- 27) Macfarquhar, C.F. (1966): *Early Greek Travellers in Egypt.* G & R 13, P. 108.
- 28) Translated by J.A. Wilson in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, 372-3.; Macfarquhar. id. P. 114.

29) For the full discussion of the Cult under ptolemies, see, Bonneau, D., (1964) *La Crue du Nil*, Paris, pp. 318-28; Fraser., (1972), I.P. 263, and note 585.

30) (...) : Σάραπις καὶ Ἴσιδι καὶ Νεΐλωι / καὶ βασιλεὶ Πτολεμαίωι / καὶ βασι-
λίσσηι Βερενίκηι, / θεοῖς Εὐεργέταις, / Ἀρτεμίδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου / Βαργυλιώτης;
apud Fraser (1972), II, p. 415 n. 584.

31, Fraser, (1972), I., p. 263.

* Callim. h. II. 107-109.

** Wilamowitz. (1924) *Hellenistische Dichtung*, II Berlin. p. 86;
Passquali. G. (1913), *Questiones Callimacheae*, Gottingen.,
p.86 ; Williams, F., (1978), *Callimachus hymn to Apollo*, A
Commentary, Oxford. p. 91.

32. Theoc. Idyll. XVII. 79-80; with Gow's note.

33. The same meaning is not dissimilar to the Roman poets:
Cf., Catullus (XI, 7-8),

Sive qual septemgeminus colorat
aequara Nilus,

; Virgil: (G. IV-29^{to}):

et Viridem Aegyptus nigra fecundat harena,
(Sc. Nilus).

; Tibullus (I.VII. 22).

fertilis aestiua Nilus abundat aqua ?

34. Callim.h.IV.200-8 with Mineur (1984) note.
 35. Bonneau, (1969), p. 22 f. Cf. Select. Pap. 204-57.
 36. G.L.P. 124.

αἰσθάνετα[ι] ποταμοῦ γὰρ ἐπήλυσιν· ἦν δ' ἀπολείπει,
 ρίζησιν μεγάλησιν ἅτε φρονέοντι λογισμῶι
 πλείον ὕδωρ ἔλκουσα πολυπληθεῖ τότε καρπῶι.
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτε καρπὸν ἐφεδρεύσουσι λαβέσθαι
 ἄνθρωποι χα(τέ)οντες ἐ[υ]τραφέων κυκλαμίνων·
 πολλή γὰρ Νεῖλοιο χύσις πολλή δ' ἐπὶ σίτῳι
 ἀφθονίη τετάνυσται, ἐποίησεν δὲ γελῶσα
 εὐθενίην, οὗ καρπὸς ἐπὶ χθόνα πάσαν ὀδεύει.
 ἀγύγιος νόμος οὗτος ἀπ' ἀρχαίων ἔτ' ἀνάκτων,
 θέσθαι δένδρεα κείνα παρ' ἀλλήλοισι κολώναις,
 χώματος εὐύδροιο πέδην ἀκτῆρά τε λιμοῦ.

περο(ε)τή δ' ἄκμητος ὑπὸ χλοεροῖσι πετήλοισι
 εὐφορέοι καρπῶι περικαλλέι μηδὲ πεπαίνοι
 μεχρὶς ἐπανθήσουσι κλάδοι πρότερον περὶ καρπὸν
 πίπτοι μηδ' ἄρα νυκτὸς ὅτ' ἐγγύθεν ὄρνυται ὕδωρ
 περσ[ε]λής ἀπο καρπὸς ἀτέρ βαρυηχέος αὐρῆς.
 συμφέρεται μούνη γὰρ ἀθωπεύτῳι δὲ γέγηθεν
 ἀδροσίη· καρπὸν γὰρ ὑπ' ἀδροσίησιν πεπαίνει.
 σῆμα καὶ ἡμερίης εὐειδέος ἐγγυὺς ἰδέσθαι·
 Νείλου πλημύροντος ὕδωρ νέον εὐτε πιούσα
 καρπὸν ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῖο ν[ε]ῶι συνανήκατο βλαστῶι
 ἡέρος ἀκρισίησιν [

37. Mineur, (1984), p. 26; McKay, Erys. 130 f.; Liddle & Scott.,
 s.v., for the Egyptian sacral contexts.
 38. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* V 201 b.f, 202 f 203 ec = (Callixinus
 of Rhodes FGrH 627 F2.

40. Cited by Seiss. J.A. (1973): The great Pyramid, N.Y. p. 14.
41. Callim. Fr. 384. 27-28 ; Erman. A. , (1971) Life in Ancient Egypt. N. Y. p. 189 f.
42. Theocritus, Idyll. XVII.
43. Callim. h.IV. 207.
44. ----- 263.
45. Moschus. II. 51- 3
46. Bühler. W. (1960), Die Europa des Moschus, Wiesbaden., p. 49ff; Gutzwiller. C. (1981), studies in the Hellenistic Epyllion. p. 63ff; recently, Zanker, (1987), p. 94
47. Bühler, id, p. 101ff; c.f. Virgil. Aen. VIII. 319-28.
48. Bühler. id, lists some examples from Greek and Latin Literature as follows:
- ἐπταπόρῳ παρὰ Νείλῳ /: Vgl. die detaillierte Angabe Aesch. Pr. I. c. ἐστὶ κτλ. ... Νείλου πρὸς αὐτῷ στόματι καὶ προσχώματι; Apollod. 2, 8 W. τὴν ἀρχαίαν μορφήν ἀπολαβοῦσα γενῆ παρὰ τῷ Νείλῳ ποταμῷ Ἐπαφον παῖδα (könnte auf epische Quelle zurückgehen). Zum Wortlaut vgl. Dion. P. 264 ἐπταπόρου Νείλοιο; Nonn. D. 11, 511 ἐπταπόρου ... Νείλου; ib. 17, 394 (beachte die Stellung) ἐς ἐπταπόρου στόμα Νείλου /; ib. 26, 245 ἐπταπόροιο ... Νείλου. Die Klausel παρὰ Νείλῳ auch sonst, z. B. Dioscor. A. P. 7, 708, 5; id. s. Nicarch. A.P. 7, 166, 3; Nonn. D. 2, 167 ἀνεφέλῳ παρὰ Νείλῳ /; 32, 69 41, 269. Vgl. ferner Aesch. fr. 300 N³ Νεῖλος ἐπτάρους; Ov. M. 1, 422 *septemfluvius* ... / *Nilus*; ib. 15, 753 *septemfluvus flumina Nili* /; ib. 5, 187 *septemfluvio Nilo* /; Verg. G. 4, 292 *diversa ruens* (sc. *Nilus*) *septem discurret in ora*; Ov. M. 5, 324 9, 774; Nonn. D. 3, 367 Νείλοιο ... ἐπτάστομον ὕδαρ, 6, 339 u. ὁ. Die Siebenzahl der Mündungen war in der ganzen Antike kanonisch, vgl. die geographischen Belege bei HONIGMANN RE XVII, 562, 62ff. (ib. 563, 2 die Namen der einzelnen Mündungen)³.
49. Homer. Il. II. 753.
50. Select Pap. III. 143.
51. Translation, D.L. Page, Select Papyri III: Literary papyri, poetry (London and Cambridge, Mass) Loeb ed., 1941.

52. Neither Cunningham nor Hopkinson allude to this meaning.
- * 53. Cited by Erman, (1971), p. 193.
- ✓ 53) Id., p. 193 f.; cf. Select Pap. III, 124.
- 54) From the love - songs of a Turin papyrus cited by Erman, p. 194; cf. P. Oxy, 1795.
- 55) A.P. V. 170.
- 56) Translated by White, H. (1980), Essays in Hellenistic Poetry, Amsterdam, P. 19 f.
- 57) A.P.V. 194; cf. 143, 147.
- 58) A.P.V. 174. 1,
- 59) A.P.V., 147; in Latin Literature Propertius made use of the same simile when he compared his beloved with lilies: (2.3.9=11).
nec me tam facies, quamvis sit candida, cepit
(lilia non domina sint magis alba mea
 panghelis (1987), propertius: A Hellenistic poet on Love and death, Cambridge, p. 56) rightly states that propertius characteristically underfolds Alexandrian couplet the figure of his mistress.
- 60) Translated by Paton, W.R., the Greek Anthology, Loeb ed. London 1980.
- 61) Cited by Murray, (1971), p. 210.
- 62) The song is quoted by M.L. West (1969), Near Eastern Material, HSCP, 73, p. 130.
- 63) Ap. VII. 476.
- 64) Ap. V. 136.
- 65) West id., p. 131.

- 66) Erman, (1971), p. 193.
- 67) Id. p. 194.
- 68) L.S.J. s.v. ὄπος
- 69) Giangrande. G., (1975). L. Humour des Alexandrinas, Amedsterdam,
p. 15 f., White H. , (1979). Theocritus' Idyll XXIV,
a commentary, Amesterdam, note on line 80.
- 70) L.S.J. s.v. ἀκρίτος white (1980), p. 9 ff.
- 71) A.P. VI. 225.
- 72) Cf. Apollonius Rhodius IV. 1245 - 9; Callimachus, Fr. 602;
another comparison of sand with an army is used by
Callimachus. hymn. III. 253; in Latin Literature. c.f.
Catullus VII. 3. Libyssae harenae.
- 73) Mandaleras, (1986) ad loc.; Hopkinson (1989) ad loc.
- 74) Herodas Mim. I. 29.
- Oronigham (1973) ad loc.

- 82) Eratosthenes had some mathematic and geographical works alongside, he showed ability to compose laureate verse, praising Ptolemy, The text quoted by Fraser (1970), p. 13 f.
- 83) Pfeiffer, R. (1968), History of classical scholarship, Oxford, p. 87 ff.
- 84) Callimachus, Iamb. I. (191. 1-2).
- 85) Clayman, D.L. (1980). Callimachus' Iambi, Leiden, p. 11. n.1, Pfeiffer, (1953), I. Oxford p. 163.
- 86) Timon, Fr. 60 W (12 Diels) quoted by Fraser. (1972). II. on Note 87.
- 87) Herodas, I . 30 .
- 88) Liddle & Scott . s.v.
- 89) Murry (1977), p.35f.
- 90) Wallis Budge, (1969), p.414.
- 91) Murry (1977), p.201ff.
- 92) Theoc. XVII. 135.
- 93) Mineur, (1984), p.165.
- 94) For Further details see Bulloch. A.W.(1984), The future of A Hellenistic Illusion, some observations on Callimachus and religion. M.H. 41, pp.209-30 .
- 95) Herodas, I . 31.
- 96) Abbadì, (1990) p. 87.

- 97) A.P. XII. 117, 118.
- 98) Wallis Budge, (1969), p. 435.
- 99) Cf. Callim.h.v. 176, with Mineur,'s note.
- 100) Meleager 73, = A.P.V. 191.
- 101) Erman., (1971), p.67.
- 102) Homer. II. XXIV. 28-30, Leonidas, 23 = AP1. 182 ; Antipater 45=
128, cf. Rose. H.J. (1978), A handbook of Greek Mythology,
London, p. 106 .

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