

**The imperial statues of Roman Egypt:  
Is there a connection between their style, placement and function?**



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## Introduction

“[A]egypto capta” was the text that graced the coins Octavian issued after conquering Alexandria, and therefore Egypt, in 30 BC [fig.1].<sup>1</sup> This effectively put an end to the Ptolemaic rule that had been in place for over three centuries. Obviously the tremendous impact this event had on the Egyptian population could never be conveyed merely by the two words above. Roman rule indicated a real break with the past and brought forth many changes. First and foremost was the fact that Octavian was never crowned pharaoh by the Memphite priests. The most important reason for this denial of kingship in Egypt was related to Octavian’s position as consul in Rome. In 30 BC Rome was still a republic with a senate that would not allow a consul to become a king in one of their provinces. It would have clashed immensely with their beliefs.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the absence of a coronation, Octavian also refused to sacrifice to the Apis-bull, nor did he reinstate the high priest of Ptah, who had passed away just before his arrival.<sup>3</sup> He did, however, appoint C. Cornelius Gallus as prefect of Egypt, making him the highest Roman authority in this province.<sup>4</sup>

It wasn’t until three years later when Octavian obtained emperorship that his attitude towards Egypt changed.<sup>5</sup> Egypt was very important to Rome, especially with regards to the cultivation of wheat and grain. In fact, Egypt was responsible for a third of the grain supply in Rome.<sup>6</sup> Other trading products were retrieved from Egypt and its neighbouring countries too.<sup>7</sup> Augustus (as Octavian was known from that moment on) realised that a good relationship with the influential priests in Memphis was necessary to rule over Egypt. His political and economic influence over Egypt were not enough to keep the country under control. After all, religion and politics were completely

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<sup>1</sup> R. Preys, ‘De Romeinse keizer gezien vanuit Egypte’, in: H. Willems and C. Clarysse (eds), *Keizers aan de Nijl (Leuven, 1999)*, 30.

<sup>2</sup> G. Hölbl, ‘Der römischen Kaiser und das ägyptische Königtum’, in: P.C. Bol, G. Kaminski and C. Maderna (eds.) *Fremdheit- Eigenheit: Ägypten, Griechenland und Rom, Austausch und Verständnis, (Städel Jahrbuch NF 19; Frankfurt am Main, 2004)*, 525; M. Minas-Nerpel, ‘Egyptian temples’, in: C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012), 375-376.

<sup>3</sup> F. Herklotz, ‘Aegypto Capta: Augustus and the annexation of Egypt’, in: C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012), 13-14; F. Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao: Der Kult des Augustus in Ägypten* (Oikumene; Frankfurt am Main, 2007), 294-296; G. Hölbl, ‘Ideologische Fragen bei der Ausbildung des römischen Pharaos’, in: M. Schade-Busch and R. Gundlach (eds.), *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag* (ÄAT 35; Wiesbaden, 1996), 98-100.

<sup>4</sup> Herklotz, in Riggs (ed.) *The Oxford handbook*, 12; N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman rule* (Oxford, 1983), 14.

<sup>5</sup> G. Hölbl, ‘Ägypten als Provinz des Imperium Romanum’, in: H. Beck, P.C. Bol and M. Buckling (eds), *Ägypten Griechenland Rom: Abwehr und Berührung, Katalog zur Ausstellung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut Frankfurt, 26.11.2005–26.02.2006 (Frankfurt am Main/Tübingen, 2005)*, 323; Hölbl, in Schade-Busch and Gundlach (eds.), *Wege öffnen*, 102.

<sup>6</sup> Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 15.

<sup>7</sup> F. Coppens and R. Preys, ‘Traditionele tempels: de Grieks-Romeinse periode’, in: H. Willems and C. Clarysse (eds), *Keizers aan de Nijl (Leuven, 1999)*, 110; Preys, in Willems and Clarysse (eds), *Keizers aan de Nijl*, 30/33; Herklotz, in Riggs (ed.) *The Oxford handbook*, 17; C. Riggs, ‘Introduction’, in: C. Riggs (ed.), *The beautiful burial in Roman Egypt: Arts, identity and funerary religion* (Oxford, 2005), 16.

interwoven for the Egyptians.<sup>8</sup> The emperor began a so-called 'Religionspolitik' to increase his power. He reinstated the high priest of Ptah in Memphis and from then on he started to fulfil his (cultic) function as pharaoh. This was vital for the Egyptian worldview, since they regarded the pharaoh as the son of Re and the personification of Horus, who was the intermediary between men and the gods. He was responsible for keeping order and peace (*mꜣꜥt*) in Egypt.<sup>9</sup> For the other ethnic groups in Egypt other myths were used to legitimize Augustus's rule. To Romans, he was known as a descendant of Apollo, whilst visiting Alexander the Great's grave in Alexandria was enough for the Greeks to perceive him as Alexander's successor.<sup>10</sup>

Another aspect of Augustus's politics concerning religion was a temple building programme. He started (and the rest of the Julio-Claudian dynasty continued) (re)constructing temples, especially in places with strategic importance,<sup>11</sup> the first being the region of Koptos, where Red Sea expeditions passed by. Existing temples in Koptos, Tentyris and Thebes were restored and even got some additions. Furthermore, new temples were built in El-Qala and Shenhur. Another important area was Nubia, which separated the Roman province of Egypt from the Meroitic kingdom in the south. African products were obtained here, increasing the value of this area. The control in this region was once again claimed by the building of temples in Kalabsha, Tuzis, Pselchis (modern el-Dakka)<sup>12</sup>, Philae and Taffeh. Lastly, oases in the Western Desert were of the utmost importance, since they formed the western border of the province.<sup>13</sup>

Artists carved out reliefs that were designed by priests, with themes similar to those that were used for ancient pharaohs on temple walls. Important themes were the pharaoh smiting his (Egypt's) enemies and the pharaoh offering *mꜣꜥt* to the gods.<sup>14</sup> Remarkably, there are also coronation scenes. Hölbl explains these scenes by the so-called 'magical function' of these reliefs. They would guarantee the emperors legitimization and enforce the fulfilment of his function as pharaoh.<sup>15</sup> The reliefs were accompanied by the name and titles of rulers, which always included the words 'Imperator' and 'Caesar'.<sup>16</sup> Augustus's form of address differed quite a lot until 22 BC when a

<sup>8</sup> Herklotz, in Riggs (ed.) *The Oxford handbook*, 17; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 296-297.

<sup>9</sup> P. Derchain, 'Le rôle du roi d'Égypte dans le maintien de l'ordre cosmique', in: L. De Heusch and P. Derchain (eds.), *Le pouvoir et le sacré* (ACER 1; Brussels, 1962), 61, 68-69; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 41-42.

<sup>10</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 405.

<sup>11</sup> Coppens and Preys, in Willems and Clarysse (eds.), *Keizers aan de Nijl*, 110; Preys, in Willems and Clarysse (eds.), *Keizers aan de Nijl*, 33.

<sup>12</sup> For my thesis I have chosen to use the ancient names of cities, with the exception of Thebes, that is either referred to as Karnak or Luxor, depending on the temple in which a statue was found.

<sup>13</sup> Herklotz, in Riggs (ed.) *The Oxford handbook*, 16; Hölbl, in Beck, Bol and Buckling (eds.) *Ägypten Griechenland Rom*, 325; Preys, in: Willems and Clarysse (eds.), *Keizers aan de Nijl*, 33.

<sup>14</sup> Derchain, in De Heusch and Derchain (eds.), *Le pouvoir*, 66; Hölbl, in Bol, Kaminski and Maderna (eds.) *Fremdheit-Eigenheit*, 528-529.

<sup>15</sup> Hölbl, in Bol, Kaminski and Maderna (eds.) *Fremdheit-Eigenheit*, 529.

<sup>16</sup> G. Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich: Der Römische Pharao und seine Tempel* (ZBA I; Mainz am Rhein 2000), 23.

fixed range of formulas was determined. From this point on Augustus was known as: “King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Emperor, Son of Re, Lord of the crowns, Caesar, May he live forever, Beloved of Ptah and Isis.”<sup>17</sup> In seven other inscriptions Augustus’ Horus-name is mentioned. The order and inclusion of names is different in each inscription, but all are variations on the following Horus-name: “Celui don’t les bras est valeureux, celui qui frappe les pays étrangers, celui don’t la force est grande, le “champion” de l’Égypte, le bel adolescent doux d’amour, le roi des rois, l’ élu de Ptah Tanen le Grand Noun père des dieux.”<sup>18</sup> The name indicates that Augustus had freed the Egyptians from unwanted and illegitimate rulers and taken his place as the rightful heir.<sup>19</sup> However, Augustus’s pharaonic name does indicate that the Egyptians considered him a ‘Fremdherrscher’.<sup>20</sup> Grenier defines this situation very clearly: “En un mot, on reconnaissait que le Romain ne régnait pas sur un empire parce qu’il était pharaon: il était pharaon parce qu’il régnait sur un empire, dont la capital était Rome et don’t l’Égypte se trouvait être une province parmi d’autres”<sup>21</sup>

Besides the role of the emperor as pharaoh, another development concerning religion took place. This development already started during Ptolemaic rule in Egypt. The Greek citizens that moved to Egypt during the Ptolemaic period brought their cultural and religious ideas along.<sup>22</sup> The Greeks recognized certain qualities in Egyptian gods and goddesses that were similar to the gods in their own pantheon. This identification of Egyptian gods with Greek ones is called the *interpretatio graeca*.<sup>23</sup> In time syncretism of some Greek and Egyptian gods took place as well. A good example of syncretism is Sarapis, a god invented by the first Ptolemy. The god consisted of both Greek and Egyptian elements, which symbolized the unity of these countries. It proved to be a successful political tool.<sup>24</sup> Sarapis and his consort Isis became especially popular in the Roman period, due to their universal character.<sup>25</sup> The exchange of ideas worked both ways, which explains the growing popularity of Sarapis and Isis in the rest of the Roman empire too. In contrast to the Greeks, there were only few Romans who immigrated to Egypt. This was probably the reason that the ‘importation’

<sup>17</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzepts und Pharaos*, 126; Hölbl in Schade-Busch and Gundlach (eds.), *Wege öffnen*, 105.

<sup>18</sup> J.-C. Grenier, ‘Le protocole pharaonique des empereurs romains: Analyse formelle et signification historique’, *RdE* 38 (1987), 82, 89.

<sup>19</sup> Grenier, *RdE* 38, 82 ; Hölbl in Schade-Busch and Gundlach (eds.), *Wege öffnen*, 106.

<sup>20</sup> M. Coenen, ‘De keizer als farao’, in: H. Willems and C. Clarysse (eds), *Keizers aan de Nijl* (Leuven, 1999), 125; Hölbl, in Beck, Bol and Buckling (eds.) *Ägypten Griechenland Rom*, 325; G. Hölbl, *Altägypten im Römischen Reich*, 22.

<sup>21</sup> J.-C. Grenier, ‘L’empereur et le pharaon’, in: H. Bernard (ed.), *Égypte romaine, l’autre Égypte* (Marseille, 1997), 40.

<sup>22</sup> G. Tallet and C. Zivie-Coche, ‘Imported cults’, in: C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012), 439.

<sup>23</sup> Kaper, ‘Vergrieksing’, in: H. Willems and C. Clarysse (eds), *Keizers aan de Nijl* (Leuven, 1999), 126.

<sup>24</sup> Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 86; S. Pfeiffer, ‘The imperial cult in Egypt’, in: C. Riggs (ed.) *The Oxford handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012), 94.

<sup>25</sup> O. Kaper, ‘Pantheïsme’, in: H. Willems and C. Clarysse (eds), *Keizers aan de Nijl* (Leuven, 1999), 130-132.

of the Capitoline Triad consisting of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva was not very successful.<sup>26</sup> The most prominent form of worship that developed under Roman rule was actually directed at the Roman emperor.<sup>27</sup> This impressive emperor cult and worship shall be discussed in more detail in the first chapter of this paper.

The intermingling of cultures also had an effect on the art of this period. Apart from the strictly Roman and Egyptian art, a hybrid style emerged in which traditional Egyptian and Greek elements were combined.<sup>28</sup> This hybrid style is very diverse, since there was an endless amount of variation possible with regards to the theme, the content and the way of modelling in iconography and sculptures.<sup>29</sup> It is therefore hard to track whether an artist was Roman or Egyptian, even more so because ethnicity was a difficult concept in Roman Egypt.<sup>30</sup> Funerary and religious contexts contain many scenes in which the 'interpenetration of Greek and Egyptian art' can be found.<sup>31</sup> These are mainly private contexts, but in the public sphere art styles seems to have been strictly divided.<sup>32</sup> Temples were decorated with traditional Egyptian reliefs and paintings of pharaohs.<sup>33</sup>

Statuary depicting Roman emperors could be either Egyptian or Roman in style and was mostly made from valuable materials such as gold, silver and bronze.<sup>34</sup> Egyptian sculptures are characterised by a purely frontal approach, tripartite torso and often include a back pillar.<sup>35</sup> The striding position is very common, although kneeling statues and sphinxes can also be found. The royal subjects of these statues are usually provided with a *shendyt* kilt and *nemes* with *ureaus*. However, accessories or attributes of other civilisations, such as the hairstyle, could be adapted and incorporated into Egyptian statues.<sup>36</sup> Roman statues are developed in the round, with attention to all

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<sup>26</sup> Tallet and Zivie-Coche, in Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 440.

<sup>27</sup> Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 86-87; Tallet and Zivie-Coche, in Riggs (ed.) *The Oxford handbook*, 442.

<sup>28</sup> Riggs, in Riggs (ed.) *The beautiful burial*, 8; Kaper, in: Willems and Clarysse (eds), *Keizers aan de Nijl*, 126; A. von Lieven, 'Form und Inhalt: Kreativer Umgang mit Griechisch-Römischen Einflüssen', in: H.Beck, P.C. Bol and M. Buckling (eds), *Ägypten Griechenland Rom: Abwehr und Berührung, Katalog zur Ausstellung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut Frankfurt, 26.11.2005–26.02.2006* (Frankfurt am Main/Tübingen, 2005), 387.

<sup>29</sup> A. von Lieven, 'Ikonografie und Stil im Spannungsfeld zwischen ägyptischer Tradition und Griechisch-Römischen Einfluß', in: P.C. Bol, G. Kaminski and C. Maderna (eds.) *Fremdheit- Eigenheit: Ägypten, Griechenland und Rom, Austausch und Verständnis*, (Städel Jahrbuch NF 19; Frankfurt am Main, 2004), 309.

<sup>30</sup> Von Lieven, in Bol, Kaminski and Maderna (eds.), *Fremdheit-Eigenheit*, 316. For more information on ethnicity in Roman Egypt, see chapter 1.

<sup>31</sup> Riggs, in Riggs (ed.) *The beautiful burial*, 8.

<sup>32</sup> E. Brophy, *Royal statues in Egypt 300 BC-AD 220: Context and function* (Archeopress Egyptology 10; Oxford, 2015), 51.

<sup>33</sup> B. Borg, 'Portraits', in: C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012), 614; Hölbl, in Bol, Kaminski and Maderna (eds.) *Fremdheit-Eigenheit*, 528-529.

<sup>34</sup> H.G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Berlin, 1968), 29; M. Wegner, 'Bildniskunde römischer Herrscher', (ANRW II, 12,2; Berlin, 1981), 654.

<sup>35</sup> R.S. Bianchi, 'The pharaonic art of Ptolemaic Egypt', in: R.S. Bianchi (ed.), *Cleopatra's Egypt: age of the Ptolemies* (New York, 1988), 59, 62, 70.

<sup>36</sup> Bianchi, in Bianchi (ed.) *Cleopatra's Egypt*, 65.

sides of the statue.<sup>37</sup> Whenever garments contain folds, these are shaped according to the body and gravity pulling at them, whereas Egyptian folds tend to be linear.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, Roman sculptures are less rigid, the statue can have different positions that look more realistic than the traditional Egyptian posture. The head is often turned or tilted to the side. Realism is not always maintained throughout the complete sculpture, since Roman artists do sometimes create idealized versions of their emperor. Besides idealizing statues, there are two other types that were popular for emperors, named after their clothing: the toga statue and the cuirassed statue.<sup>39</sup> Emperors often had a standard image spread around their empire, so that other images could be based on this example.<sup>40</sup> Evidently, each style displays specific characteristics, even if not all statues are equipped with all of them. One should also keep in mind that there are local and regional variations as well as developments over time. In this thesis I wish to find out if these styles can be linked to a specific provenance or context. If so, then perhaps the function of the statue can be determined too. Therefore the research question is twofold: Are the stylistic differences of imperial statues from Egypt related to differences in provenance? And does a connection between style and function of imperial statues exist?

I will try to answer to these questions by studying a corpus of 37 statues that I have selected. The exact number of emperor statues found in Egypt is unknown, but based on the amount of statues discussed in literature, there must be over 100.<sup>41</sup> The sculptures that are treated in this text have in common that their provenance is known. A clear provenance is important for my line of argument, to see whether any trends with regards to the style can be recognized. The direct context in particular would be very helpful in identifying a statue's function. Unfortunately I came across the disturbing fact that for the majority of statues the specific archaeological context is not known. There are several reasons for absence of a known provenance or context for many statues. First of all, they were often found during excavations in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, when documentation was limited or non-existent. What's more, imperial statues were made from precious metals that could be melted down, which explains why the remaining sculptures are mostly from stone. Finally, as the importance of Christianity increased, buildings which held these emperor statues had to give way to Christian buildings.<sup>42</sup> Another factor adding to the difficulty of establishing a corpus is the fact that some statues have led to a lot of discussion regarding the style and identification of the

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<sup>37</sup> Bianchi, in Bianchi (ed.) *Cleopatra's Egypt*, 62.

<sup>38</sup> Bianchi, in Bianchi (ed.) *Cleopatra's Egypt*, 68.

<sup>39</sup> Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung*, 39.

<sup>40</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 361.

<sup>41</sup> See for instance page 113-116 of Kiss, *Etudes sur le portrait impérial romain en Egypte*, (Varsovie, 1984), where the statues that are treated in his book are listed.

<sup>42</sup> Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung*, 28-29.

portrayed person. Conclusions regarding this scarce information will therefore be drawn very carefully.

This text is divided into five chapters. The first chapter is dedicated to the political and religious changes that Roman rule brought forth in Egypt. The government, army and social classes are treated in the first paragraph. Afterwards I shall pay attention to the emperor cult and worship in Egypt and the influence it had on Egyptian politics. In the next two chapters statuary belonging to the Egyptian and Roman style will be discussed respectively. The main characteristics that these statues share are the central point of focus. Individual statues will play an important part in identifying not only the stylistic features, but also the most frequent subjects, materials and especially the provenance of the statues. In the first paragraph of the fourth chapter archaeological and written sources from Roman Egypt will be discussed, after which existing theories regarding the possible placements and uses of these statues are treated in paragraph two. In the third paragraph I shall present my research results, based on the statistics derived from the corpus described in the two previous chapters. Finally, I shall provide my own theory in the conclusion.



## Chapter 1: The long-term changes Roman rule brought forth

In the introduction I have described some of the changes that were brought forth by Augustus's rule in Egypt. These changes had an influence on all levels of society and were not merely political, but also religious. The first paragraph of this chapter will give more in-depth information concerning changes that I think may have led to, or at least influenced the production of emperor statues. This could be for reasons of propaganda or as an expression of gratitude or loyalty towards the Roman empire. First of all, I shall discuss the new government and army that were installed in Egypt. The social classes are included in this paragraph as well, since they influenced the possibility of getting a position in the government or in the army. In the second paragraph I will focus on the emperor cult that developed under Augustus, because this was the biggest Roman addition to religious life in Egypt.

### 1.1: The political and military authority in Egypt

The organisation of the Roman government in Egypt was created during Augustus's rule and remained practically the same under the rule of his successors [fig.2]. In the introduction I already mentioned that C.Cornelius Gallus was named *praefectus Aegypti*. Standing at the head of the government, the prefect was the highest political position available. He was chosen from the equestrian rank and usually remained in function for three or four years. In this timeframe the prefect carried the main responsibility over the administration, jurisdiction and the military from the capital Alexandria.<sup>43</sup> He was supported by other Roman officials for the equestrian rank who were awarded with functions in Egypt. The highest of those were the *Iuridicus* and the procurator of the *Idios logos*. The former was, as the name indicates, responsible for jurisdiction, whilst the latter was important for financial affairs. There were other procurators who held lower offices, but the information concerning their tasks is very scarce.<sup>44</sup>

The previous functions were all related to the central government that was situated in Alexandria. However, there were a lot of regional offices as well. The most influential regional officials were called *epistrategoi*. They were three or four procurators, who were appointed by the emperor himself. Their sphere of influence consisted of several districts, which were also known as nomes. The *epistrategoi* mostly concerned themselves with intermediating between the prefect and

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<sup>43</sup> Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 19; H. Proost, 'Het bestuur', in: H. Willems and C. Clarysse (eds), *Keizers aan de Nijl* (Leuven, 1999), 76-77; M. Sartre, 'L'empereur, le préfet, la province', in: H. Bernard (ed.), *Égypte romaine, l'autre Égypte* (Marseille, 1997), 41-42.

<sup>44</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 109; A. Jördens, 'Government, taxation, and law', in: C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012), 57.

the nome administration.<sup>45</sup> In each of the approximately fifty districts several villages were located, as well as an urban centre called the *metropolis*. The nomes were led by *strategoï*, who were chosen from the provincial or Alexandrian elite by the prefect. They held the office for a maximum of three years, in which they were responsible for the administration and financial situation of the nome. The *strategoï* were supported by the *basilikos grammateus* (royal scribe), especially in the area of finances. In the villages there was a similar function on a smaller scale, which was fulfilled by the *komogrammateus*, or village scribe. Lastly, local liturgical officials were responsible for the administration on the village level.<sup>46</sup>

It is clear from the look at the government of Roman Egypt, that the potential of getting an office was related to one's social class. The highest functions were only available to Romans. Roman citizens were either originally from Rome or Italy, or were given Roman citizenship after serving in auxiliary units for 25 years. Sometimes members of prominent (Greek) families in Egypt were awarded Roman citizenship as well. Besides the better 'job-opportunities' the Romans also enjoyed several financial advantages.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore the inhabitants of the three, later four *poleis* in Egypt were designated Greeks. It concerned the cities Alexandria, Naukratis and Ptolemais and the city Antinoopolis, which was founded by Hadrian. The inhabitants of these cities were able to get regional offices and were allowed to enrol in Roman legions. Greek soldiers were immediately granted Roman citizenship if they chose to enlist. The inhabitants of the Greek *poleis* enjoyed more autonomy, since they had a city council and were therefore less dependent on the government of Egypt. Moreover there were some economic privileges for them.<sup>48</sup> All the other inhabitants of Egypt were considered Egyptians for the law, with no regard to their ethnic background. The priestly class and the urban elite of the *metropoleis* did have some more financial liberties. The 'Egyptians' were only able to subscribe for local offices and auxiliary troops.<sup>49</sup> Although the titles of social classes seem to be linked to ethnicity, it is clear that they are merely cultural designations. Finally, the importance of lineage made climbing the social ladder a difficult task.<sup>50</sup>

The Roman army in Egypt consisted of legions and auxiliary troops. Although Augustus placed three legions in Egypt at first, this was soon reduced to only two legions. They were stationed in Nikopolis, a city close to Alexandria. These legions were made up out of Roman citizens, even though

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<sup>45</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 109; Jördens, in Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 58.

<sup>46</sup> Herklotz, in Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 16; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 110-111; Jördens, in Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 58-59.

<sup>47</sup> Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 19-25; K. Vandorpe, 'Identity', in: C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012), 262.

<sup>48</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 111-112; Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 25-28.

<sup>49</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 113; Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 31; Riggs, in Riggs (ed.) *The beautiful burial*, 18. Vandorpe, in Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 263.

<sup>50</sup> Riggs, in Riggs (ed.) *The beautiful burial*, 20, 23.

soldiers of Greek descent could be among them, as mentioned in the previous paragraph. The legionaries would serve for 25 years.<sup>51</sup> Auxiliary troops had the same term of service, but were made up of mostly 'Egyptian' inhabitants, the elite of the *metropoleis* in particular. In Egypt the auxiliary units included three or four *alae* and up to ten *cohortes*. The former was a cavalry unit of roughly 500 men, whilst the latter was an infantry unit with a similar amount of soldiers. They were stationed in several places, including Nikopolis and the southern border. In Alexandria there was also a special fleet, which patrolled the sea and river. The other units were located in smaller stations all over the country.<sup>52</sup>

During the third century AD, the Roman Empire had to deal with threats coming from multiple places outside the empire. At the same time a reorganisation of the administration, military and tax-system took place. Another simultaneous development was the growing importance of Christianity and in contrast, their persecution. The internal and external disturbances gave Diocletian reason for the foundation of fortresses along the frontier regions. In Egypt several forts were built under his rule: in the north at Nicopolis and Babylon (old Cairo), in the south at Luxor and Nag al-Hagar and multiple smaller ones at the western oases and near the Red Sea. More fortresses were built along the borderlines of Egypt by Diocletian's successors. The forts emanated the power and dominance of Rome.<sup>53</sup> Some even contained an imperial palace-like structure that might be used by the emperor as a residence [fig.3 + 4].<sup>54</sup>

### 1.2: Emperor cult and worship

The title of this paragraph suggests that there is a difference between an emperor cult and emperor worship. Both terms will be defined here, because there is evidence for both kinds of worship in Egypt. Gradel distinguished a cult as worship for deities as opposed to worship given to mortals. Pfeiffer thinks that this definition is too narrow since people could be venerated as gods in Egypt. Therefore he sees a cult as worship for someone equal to a god, whereas 'normal' worship can be directed at any person, irrespective of their lower position in respect of the gods.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> R. Haensch, 'The Roman army in Egypt', in: C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012), 69; Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 19-20.

<sup>52</sup> Haensch, in Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 69-71; Lewis, *Life in Egypt*, 20.

<sup>53</sup> P. Sheehan, *Babylon of Egypt: the archaeology of old Cairo and the origins of the city* (Cairo, 2010), 55-57.

<sup>54</sup> U.A. Wareth and P. Zignani, 'Nag al-Hagar, a fortress with a palace of the Late Roman Empire: Second preliminary report', *BIFAO* 92 (1992), 197-199, 207-210.

<sup>55</sup> S. Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser und das Land am Nil: Kaiserverehrung und Kaiserkult in Alexandria und Ägypten von Augustus bis Caracalla (30 v. Chr. – 217 n. Chr.)* (Historia Einzelschriften 212; Stuttgart, 2010), 19; Pfeiffer, in Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 83-85.

There are several indications that the imperial cult in Egypt was organized by the Roman authorities.<sup>56</sup> The cult was practised in so-called *Caesarea* or *sebasteia*; the terms are interchangeable.<sup>57</sup> These temples were especially dedicated to the worship of Roman emperors. Even though the name of these temples refers to Augustus, the presence of statue bases with names of other emperors proves that they were honoured here as well.<sup>58</sup> The only emperor who had special temples dedicated to his name (besides Augustus) was Hadrian, who motivated the building of so-called *hadrianeia*.<sup>59</sup> Papyri dating from the second century AD show that only the *divi*, the deceased rulers, received a cult in *Caesarea*. A statue of the living emperor was present, but it was his *Genius* or *numen* that was worshipped.<sup>60</sup> Pfeiffer defines the terms in this way: "(...) das *numen*, als der göttliche Wille/die göttliche Kraft des Kaisers oder seine als *Genius* bezeichnete persönliche Schutzgottheit."<sup>61</sup> In practice, that means that people offered to the *divi*, but in favour of the ruling emperor. Yet, the emperor cult began when Augustus was still alive, which could imply that other living rulers were the subject of a cult before the second century. We can at least not rule out the possibility.<sup>62</sup>

Multiple archaeologically attested *Caesarea* are known. The archaeological remains in Alexandria are scarce, but it is possible to get an idea of the appearance of the temple on the basis of a description by the ancient author Philo and an image of the *Caesareum* on an Alexandrian coin.<sup>63</sup> It was a Roman style podium-temple that was originally built in dedication to Caesar and located at the harbour, with the obelisks known as 'Cleopatra's needles' in front of it [fig.5+6]. The temple precinct also included "porticoes, libraries banqueting rooms, chambers, groves, monumental gates and wide open spaces and unroofed structures"<sup>64</sup>, to which subsidiary shrines were added before 94 AD.<sup>65</sup> It was probably located adjacent to the *forum Augusti*.<sup>66</sup> Other *Caesarea* were found in Karnak and in Philae. The shrine in Karnak was a Roman style podium-temple as well. It consisted of a four-columned portico in front, behind which a *cella* with fourteen statue bases was located. This Roman temple formed a stark contrast with the Egyptian temple of Amun on which *dromos* is stood [fig.7].<sup>67</sup> In Philae the temple probably had a similar lay-out: it was a *tetrastyle* temple with Corinthian capitals

<sup>56</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 263-280.

<sup>57</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 264; Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 237; Pfeiffer, in Riggs: (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 86.

<sup>58</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 246.

<sup>59</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 258.

<sup>60</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 249.

<sup>61</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 20.

<sup>62</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 249-250.

<sup>63</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 37; Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 239.

<sup>64</sup> Philo, *Embassy to Gaius* 151.

<sup>65</sup> J. McKenzie, *The architecture of Alexandria and Egypt c. 300 BC to AD 700* (New Haven/London, 2007), 177.

<sup>66</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 240.

<sup>67</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 36; Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 242-243.

[fig.8+9]. This shrine did incorporate Egyptian elements, such as the use of granite and diorite. An altar or statue would have been placed inside a rectangular court in front of the temple. On an architrave two dedicatory inscriptions remain, one to Augustus and the other to Vespasian.<sup>68</sup>

It is remarkable that the three *Caesarea* are situated in places that are highly visible and that the temples are built in a Roman and thus (to the Egyptians) foreign building style.<sup>69</sup> According to Brophy this indicates that “these structures were aimed at both linking the new regime and culture to the Egyptian past, yet also asserting the new classical order and style”.<sup>70</sup> From various papyrological sources it is known that there were similar temples in *metropoleis*, even though they have never been found. Papyri have confirmed the presence of *Caesarea* at Antinoopolis, Arsinoe, Bubastis, Elephantine, Heptakomia, Herakleopolis, Hermopolis Magna, Lykopolis, Ombos, Oxyrhynchus and Philadelphia.<sup>71</sup> It is plausible to assume that each metropolis had a *Caesareum*.<sup>72</sup> Besides the obvious religious function, the *Caesarea* were used for other purposes as well. In the second century they started to serve as administrative centres: juridical matters were handled here and they were also the places where treaties and imperial edicts were issued.<sup>73</sup> The emperor cult was practised on a smaller scale as well, although this practice was not very common. An example of small scale emperor cult is a cult organisation that was led by very loyal, released imperial slaves in Alexandria called σύνοδος Σεβαστή τοῦ θεοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος (The august cultic society of the god and emperor Caesar).<sup>74</sup>

In the late Roman period a *castrum* was built in and around the former Amun-temple of Luxor. A colonnaded path lead up to an elevated chamber with frescoes. Several scenes are depicted, but most remarkable is the painting of the tetrarchs in a niche [fig.10 + 11]. Additionally, a hagiography recording the martyrdom of various Christians mentions the former Amun temple in which the *Genius* of the emperor was worshipped. In the fortress of Qasr Qarun at the Fayum a similar chamber with a niche can be recognized. Inside the niche a statue base was found, which probably held a statue of an emperor. This combination of archaeological and written sources has lead Egyptologists to believe that the emperor cult was also practised in Roman fortresses.<sup>75</sup> Smaller

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<sup>68</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 37; Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 241-242.

<sup>69</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 274; Pfeiffer, in Riggs: (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 90.

<sup>70</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 37.

<sup>71</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 275-281; Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 244-245; Pfeiffer, in Riggs: (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 91.

<sup>72</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 262.

<sup>73</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 271, 276; Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 245; Pfeiffer, in Riggs: (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 95.

<sup>74</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 303; Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 305; Pfeiffer, in Riggs: (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 96.

<sup>75</sup> M. El-Saghir, *Le camp Romain de Louqsor* (MIFAO 83; Cairo, 1986), 21-22; I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, ‘The imperial chamber at Luxor’ *DOP* 29 (1975), 227-231; Sheehan, *Babylon of Egypt*, 58.

forts, like those in Qaret El-Toub and El-Deir show a similar layout to the *castrum* in Luxor and Qasr Qarun, but have no further indications that this chamber functioned as an imperial chapel.<sup>76</sup>

There were also traditional Egyptian temples with a special naos that was dedicated to the emperor.<sup>77</sup> Only Augustus and Claudius received a posthumous cult like this in an Egyptian temple.<sup>78</sup> In other Egyptian temples the *Genius* or *Tyche* of the ruling emperor was worshipped. This was closely linked to the Egyptian Ka-cult and therefore probably not incompatible with the Egyptian beliefs.<sup>79</sup> Inscriptions on votive offerings have shown that not only the emperor, but the entire imperial family was named.<sup>80</sup> This was probably a way for the Egyptians to make sure there was a pharaoh in the future.<sup>81</sup> On festive days the statues or busts of emperors were given offerings by Egyptian priests. However, several papyri indicate that the costs made for these offerings were much less than those for the Egyptian gods.<sup>82</sup> Offerings were given in favour of the emperor to the traditional gods.<sup>83</sup> After all, the office performed by a pharaoh was godly, the person himself was not.<sup>84</sup> The emperor was not equal to the gods, so the honouring in Egyptian temples can be classified as emperor worship, not as cult.

The festive days that were mentioned in the previous paragraph refer to festivals dedicated to the emperor. They took place on days that were related to the emperor, such as his birthday or the day of his ascension to the throne.<sup>85</sup> The imperial festivities were celebrated by all social classes: by Romans in *Caesarea*, Greeks in *gymnasia* and by Egyptians in the traditional temples.<sup>86</sup> They had a Greek character, since the festivities consisted of theatrical performances, games and processions.<sup>87</sup> Busts or even whole statues of rulers were carried in these processions by priests.<sup>88</sup>

The emperor Hadrian probably created the function of high priest of Alexandria and Egypt. The complete title was: 'the high priest of the gods Augusti and the Great Sarapis and the one who is responsible for the temples of Egypt and the whole country'.<sup>89</sup> This indicates a dual function, which consisted of cultic as well as administrative tasks. Due to a lack of sources, it is uncertain what this office entailed exactly, but it is probable that this person was responsible for organising all cults in

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<sup>76</sup> S. Brones and C. Duvette, 'Le fort d'El-Deir, oasis de Kharga "État des lieux" architectural et archeologique', *BIFAO* 107 (2007), 15.

<sup>77</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 290-291.

<sup>78</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 283-285.

<sup>79</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 292.

<sup>80</sup> See for instance: SB V, 8317.

<sup>81</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 341.

<sup>82</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 289-290.

<sup>83</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 291.

<sup>84</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 281-283.

<sup>85</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 327-329; Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 251.

<sup>86</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 313.

<sup>87</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 331; Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 253.

<sup>88</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 253, 288.

<sup>89</sup> Pfeiffer, in Riggs: (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 93-94.

the country, including the imperial cult and the cult for Sarapis, and instating (or approving of) the priests for these cults. The high priest of Alexandria was of Roman origin and equestrian rank, and was appointed by the emperor.<sup>90</sup> In the provincial cities there were also members of wealthy families who fulfilled the function of ‘high priest of the city’, whose full title was ‘high priest of the lord Augusti and all gods’. It is thought that they were mainly involved in the administration of the local emperor cult.<sup>91</sup>

*Caesarea* were not the only visible reminders of the imperial power at the time. Some emperors decided to travel to Egypt during their reign. Reasons for these visits varied; in most cases the emperor wanted to ensure that a good political and juridical organisation remained in place or to restore order if it was not the case. However, the emperors also came for touristic reasons, impressed by the monuments built during the reign of previous rulers in Egypt. The emperors that visited Egypt are: Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Diocletian.<sup>92</sup> I have included their travels in this chapter because I believe the presence of an emperor could have influenced the production of his statues. Therefore, I think possible fluctuations in the number of statues of a certain emperor might be explained in this way.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 299-302; Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 270-276; Pfeiffer, in Riggs: (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 92-94.

<sup>91</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 254-255; Pfeiffer, in Riggs: (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 91-92.

<sup>92</sup> W. Clarysse, ‘Keizers op bezoek in Egypte’, in: H. Willems and C. Clarysse (eds), *Keizers aan de Nijl* (Leuven, 1999), 34, 37-38; Hölbl, in Beck, Bol and Buckling (eds.) *Ägypten Griechenland Rom*, 326-330; C. Riggs, ‘Introduction’, in: C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford, 2012), 3-5.

<sup>93</sup> This goes against the conclusion of J.M. Højte’s article ‘Imperial visits as occasion for the erection of portrait statues?’ in the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 133. However, this is a case study, in which only three emperors are looked at and the evidence is based only on statue bases, not actual statues. Therefore I do not want to rule out the possibility that statues were erected because of a visiting emperor.

## Chapter 2: Egyptian statues

### 2.1 Egyptian statues found in Egypt<sup>94</sup>

The first statue that shall be discussed with regards to the Egyptian style is one that is currently in the Egyptian museum in Cairo [nr.1].<sup>95</sup> It is a black granite sculpture that was found in Karnak [fig.12]. The sculpture is missing its lower legs and knees. Yet, it is still visible that the posture is traditionally Egyptian. The left leg is advanced, and the arms are held straight next to the torso. The hands are clenched into fists, in which cylindrical objects are being held. The man is wearing a *shendyt*, which was held up by a belt at the waist. On the head is the *nemes* headdress. There is no *ureaus* on it, but on top of the *nemes* there is a roughly cut bulge that suggests an additional element to this headdress. The position as well as the attributes of the statue clearly indicate Egyptian style. The crude fashion in which the statue was manufactured gives the impression that it may have never been finished. It is clear that the statue has never been polished. In addition, there are several cuts on the face and the nose has broken off. The neck shows a very distinctive break-line, indicating that the head had somehow broken off and was glued back on. Furthermore the back pillar, which confirms the frontality of the statue, is partly missing.<sup>96</sup> Grimm and Johannes as well as Herklotz think it might be a representation of Marcus Antonius, since there is no *ureaus* -and therefore no indication for royalty- present.<sup>97</sup> However, Kiss argues that the emperor that is portrayed is Augustus, or rather Octavian, since the statue was made just after the battle at Actium and thus before Octavian was emperor. This date can be derived from the facial features and, in particular, the coiffure of the statue. Kiss argues that the fringe is very recognizable because of “une ‘fourche’ au coin intérieur de l'oeil droit et une ‘queue d'aronde’ au-dessus du coin extérieur de l'oeil gauche”.<sup>98</sup> Additionally, there are some traces left of a beard that Augustus wore in the period he mourned Caesar.<sup>99</sup>

Another pharaonic sculpture also has Karnak as its provenance, although it is slightly more specific in this case [nr.2].<sup>100</sup> The colossal statue was found in an area of the temple that was devoted to Alexander the fourth by Ptolemy Soter. Scholars have given many different interpretations concerning the person that is portrayed. At first, one of the Ptolemies seemed the

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<sup>94</sup> The statues are numbered and can be found in Attachment 2.

<sup>95</sup> Cairo, Egyptian Museum 13/3/15/3, height: 95 cm.

<sup>96</sup> Z. Kiss, *Études sur le portrait impérial romain en Égypte* (Varsovie, 1984), 31-32.

<sup>97</sup> G. Grimm and D. Johannes, *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (Mainz am Rhein, 1975), 19; Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 365.

<sup>98</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait impérial*, 31-32.

<sup>99</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait impérial*, 32.

<sup>100</sup> Cairo, Egyptian museum 701, height: 280 cm.



most obvious choice, but later on Egyptologists have recognized a Roman-style haircut in the statue, rendering these interpretations invalid. With regards to the style of the granite statue, it is Egyptian with some Roman influence. The Egyptian and thus pharaonic features are most noticeable. It is a large striding statue, with a tripartite torso and arms resting alongside the body. The pharaoh is presented with a *nemes* headdress with a *ureaus* upon his head. A *shendyt* is the only other item of clothing on this statue. However, the fringe that is visible underneath the *nemes* as well as the spitlocks at the temples are typically Roman. Although Kiss believes the statue to be a representation of emperor Tiberius, in more recent literature the consensus seems to be that it is Augustus, due to the resemblance of the hairstyle with Actium-type statues.<sup>101</sup>

A headless statue made of limestone was found in the main temple of Koptos, which was dedicated to the Egyptian gods Min and Isis [nr.3].<sup>102</sup> It is a seated statue in pharaonic fashion, recognizable by the remains of a *nemes* headdress on the chest as well as the presence of a kilt. Furthermore, the back has received little attention by the sculptor, clearly the focus was only on its front. Apart from the head, the hands and legs are also missing. The rest of the body shows little indication of musculature and is quite static. It is possible to identify this emperor due to a Greek inscription on the left side of the throne. Although heavily damaged, one can still make out the name Commodus.<sup>103</sup>

An emperor who is often depicted as pharaoh in sculptures is Caracalla. One of these statues was found on the Nile bank opposite Terenouthis and may originally have been located in this city's necropolis (Kom Abou Bellou) [nr.4].<sup>104</sup> The red granite statue is over life-sized and remains from the waist up to the crown of the head. The face has been damaged: the nose and mouth are barely visible. The Egyptian style can be recognized by the presence of a *nemes* with *ureaus* and a back pillar that emphasises the purely frontal approach of the artist. The back pillar decreases in width from bottom to top and bears a fragmentary inscription in hieroglyphs. The arranged curls of the hair and beard are indicative of a Roman emperor. In addition, the furrowed brow is the most characteristic feature that points towards an identification of this statue with Caracalla.<sup>105</sup>

In the Egyptian Museum in Cairo one can find a white sandstone statue of emperor Caracalla depicted in a Pharaonic fashion [nr.5].<sup>106</sup> Although a large part of the legs is missing, the typical striding pose can be recognized. Both arms are held alongside the body and each hand contains a

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<sup>101</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 135; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 42-43.

<sup>102</sup> Lyon, Musée des Beaux Arts E501, height: 150 cm.

<sup>103</sup> E. Bernand, 'Recherches muséographiques: À propos des inscriptions de Koptos', *ZPE* 62 (1986), 230/234; *Le Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon* <[http://www.bubastis.be/art/musee/lyon/lyon\\_021.html](http://www.bubastis.be/art/musee/lyon/lyon_021.html)> accessed 14.03.2016; Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 285-286.

<sup>104</sup> Giza, antiquities storeroom, height: 85 cm.

<sup>105</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 110; P.E. Stanwick, *Portraits of the Ptolemies* (Austin, 2002), G13.

<sup>106</sup> Cairo, Egyptian Museum 702, height: 150 cm.

cylindrical object. The body is sculpted in an angular way, especially visible in the square shape of the shoulders. Although the torso is tripartite and therefore traditionally Egyptian, there is some definition to the muscles in the arms and stomach. The emperor is wearing a *shendyt* kilt and a *nemes* headdress. The head -which had broken off of the torso, but is reattached – gives away that it is Caracalla who is portrayed. The combination of furrowed eyebrows, high cheekbones, tight lips and a short moustache are distinctive for this ruler. He also has very deeply set eyes and a damaged nose. It seems that the most outstanding features of the face are exaggerated. Moreover, beneath the *nemes* curly locks are visible, which are connected to a short and equally curly beard. This look can be dated to 215-216 AD.<sup>107</sup> The sculpture was found near the naos of Amasis, located within the temple enclosure of Banebdjedet in Mendes, a city in the eastern Nile delta.<sup>108</sup>

In the next statue, the accentuating of facial features is even more noticeable [nr.6].<sup>109</sup> It concerns a head made of grey granite, which was found in the temple of Amun at Tanis.<sup>110</sup> Wildung and Grimm describe the statue as a “Rückenpfeilerstatue mit stark stilisierten, fast karikaturhaft wirkenden Porträtzügen, die das Bild eines Gewaltherrschers wiedergeben.”<sup>111</sup> This sharp and schematic style is local Egyptian, but was previously reserved for private portraits. The face is wide with a flat surface at the top that is equipped with a deep rectangular hole. The neck is very broad and the back of the head is shaped into a back pillar, implying a focus on the front of the head. Caracalla can be identified because of the frown and wrinkles on the forehead, the protruding eyebrows and the characteristic connection between his hair and beard. Similar to the previous statue, the eyes are sunken and the nose is damaged. The shape of the mouths is divergent compared to nr. 5, since it is big and drooping.<sup>112</sup>

A fourth statue representing Caracalla was found in the Min and Isis temple at Koptos [nr.7].<sup>113</sup> Whether it was found on the steps or in the second pylon is unclear, since sources vary on this point.<sup>114</sup> If the head was indeed found on the steps, then Petrie is right in assuming that the statue would have stood at the entrance of the temple.<sup>115</sup> The colossal granite head is sculpted in the same style as the previous ones: crude and stylized. The expression on this statue is even angrier, with a frown, wrinkled forehead and a drooping mouth that is more pronounced. Moreover,

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<sup>107</sup> Graindor, *Bustes et statues portraits d’Egypte Romaine* (Cairo, date unknown), 144-145; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 81.

<sup>108</sup> PM IV, 36.

<sup>109</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 3233, height: 33 cm.

<sup>110</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 104.

<sup>111</sup> G. Grimm and D. Wildung, *Götter-Pharaonen* (Essen, 1978), nr. 172.

<sup>112</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 81.

<sup>113</sup> Philadelphia, University Museum E. 976, height: 51 cm.

<sup>114</sup> Graindor, *Bustes et statues portraits*, 145; W.M. F. Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896), 23; PM V, 132.

<sup>115</sup> Petrie, *Koptos*, 23.

underneath the heavy eyebrows are deep-set eyes, next to a big nose. The hairstyle still shows a continuation of the hair in a beard and moustache. Caracalla wears a diadem with a *ureaus* on this statue. At the back of the head part of a pillar is visible. This local Egyptian work can be dated between 214 and 217 AD.<sup>116</sup>

A painted limestone statue head found in Kaine is reminiscent of the style of private Egyptian statues dating to the Roman period [nr.8].<sup>117</sup> In fact, a similar statue with an olive wreath was identified as a priest of Isis, since it is known they wore jewelled crowns during festivals.<sup>118</sup> However, the wreath is made from laurel in this case, so it is more probable that the subject is an emperor.<sup>119</sup> The portrayed emperor wears a laurel wreath which originally held a medal in the middle. The face is narrow and angular, with almost geometrical tendencies. The statue is provided with prominent cheekbones in combination with hollow cheeks. Furthermore there are holes in the eyes that were used for inlay. The outer corner of the eye was extended with a line, as was common in earlier pharaonic times. Underneath the long, thin nose a straight mouth can be found. Although the subject of this provincial work is hard to identify due to the geometric style, most Egyptologists think that it is a statue of Maximinus Daia.<sup>120</sup>

## 2.2 Egyptian statues found outside of Egypt

Although this text revolves around emperor statues found within Egypt, I believe there are a few exceptions that should gain some attention: those statues with an Egyptian style that were found outside of Egypt. Perhaps they could provide some better insights into the placement or the function of these statues.

The statues discussed in this paragraph were found in Benevento, Italy [fig.13]. In antiquity, this city in southern Italy lay at an intersection of multiple roads. An Isis temple was founded by Domitian in 88 AD according to the inscriptions on the obelisks that were found here. Most finds were discovered underneath a Lombardian city wall, but several sculptures were located underneath the S. Sofia church as well.<sup>121</sup> The statues vary in date of manufacture, style and subject,<sup>122</sup> but four of them are

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<sup>116</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 132-133; Graindor, *Bustes et statues portraits*, 145-146; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 82.

<sup>117</sup> Berlin, Staatliche Museen 4132, height: 21.5 cm.

<sup>118</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 103; R.E. Witt, *Isis in the ancient world* (Baltimore, 1997), 91, footnote 20.

<sup>119</sup> J. Strzygowski, *Koptische kunst* (CGC Nos 7000-7394 and 8742-9200; Vienna, 1904), 16.

<sup>120</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 103.

<sup>121</sup> H.W. Müller, *Der Isiskult im antiken Benevento und Katalog der Skulpturen aus den ägyptischen Heiligtümern im Museo del Sannio zu Benevento* (MÄS 16; Berlin, 1969).

relevant for this essay. The largest one is a statue depicting Domitian as pharaoh [nr.9].<sup>123</sup> One can easily recognize the style of this diorite statue as Egyptian. The emperor is portrayed as pharaoh, wearing a *nemes* with *ureaus* and a *shendyt* kilt. The largest part of the legs has been preserved, only the lower legs are missing. However, this is enough to deduct the classical striding position. The hands are tightened into fist around cylindrical objects. A back pillar supports the sculpture and emphasizes the frontality of this work. The elongated face is dominated by big, formerly inlaid eyes that are not completely symmetrical. Alongside the nose are deep set wrinkles, that also frame the small, slightly protruding mouth towards the receding chin. The *nemes* covers the hair completely, yet emphasizes the big size of the ears. These facial features are conform to official Roman portraits of Domitian. The provenance is in this case not the only evidence pointing towards Domitian as the emperor who is portrayed.<sup>124</sup>

Besides the statue described above, there are two sphinx heads. The first is made from red granite, bigger than life-size and in fact the biggest head found in Benevento [nr.10].<sup>125</sup> Although the head is damaged, one can recognize quite simplistic facial features. The eyebrows are placed above large deep holes for the eyes that used to be inlaid with black and white material. The cheeks are quite puffy, which is even more obvious because of the missing nose. One can still see lines framing the nose and the big-lipped mouth. On top of the head rests a *nemes*, that would have held a *ureaus*. The subject of this work is unclear, but the royal headdress gives away the fact that it is a (Roman) ruler.<sup>126</sup> The second sphinx head is made of a black type of rock, known as amphibolite [nr.11].<sup>127</sup> The presence of a breast flap on part of the shoulder that remains, gives away the fact that this head belonged to a sphinx, although its body has not been found. The head has a tapering face upon which a *nemes* with a *ureaus* is placed. The headdress has been secured with a tight headband. Remarkable facial features are the eyebrows, which consist of a sharp ridge parallel to the headband. The eyes have been sculpted with care, giving no indication for inlay. Even though the nose is missing, the deep lines framing it are still visible. The uneven mouth consists of big lips that are situated above a pointy chin. The facial characteristics look somewhat similar to those of nr. 9, although less pronounced. Müller argues that sphinx heads are often idealized, so an identification of this head with Domitian is not unlikely.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> H.W. Müller, 'Ein weiterer Arbeitsbericht des "Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture"' in: H. Franke (ed.), *Akten des 24. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses München* (Wiesbaden, 1959), 66.

<sup>123</sup> Benevento, Museo del Sannio 260, height: 117 cm.

<sup>124</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 52-53; Müller, *Der Isiskult*, 55-56.

<sup>125</sup> Benevento, Museo del Sannio 262, height: 35 cm.

<sup>126</sup> Müller, *Der Isiskult*, 59.

<sup>127</sup> Benevento, Museo del Sannio 263, height: 18,3 cm.

<sup>128</sup> Müller, *Der Isiskult*, 60-61.

The last sculpture from Benevento that I wish to discuss is a statuette in pharaonic fashion [nr.12].<sup>129</sup> It resembles the statue of Domitian discussed above (nr. 9)The emperor is portrayed from head to mid-thigh in a striding position with his arms held tight to his body and hands clenched around cylindrical objects. The body is connected to a back pillar. On top of the head is a nemes headdress, to which a double crown could be attached. Besides the crown, the emperor also wears a *shendyt* kilt. In the heavily damaged face one can still see empty eye sockets that were originally filled with coloured inlay, common for Egyptian statues. Apart from the slight indication of musculature on the torso, the statue has simplified features. The manner of sculpting points towards a change in Egyptian sculpting which can be recognized in several statues of Caracalla. It is therefore most likely that the statue represents Caracalla and can be dated around 200 AD.<sup>130</sup>

### 2.3 Antinoos statues

In the introduction I mentioned that the intermingling of cultures in Roman Egypt had an effect on the religion and art of Egypt and Italy. Roman interest in Egypt and its culture increased, noticeable by the growing popularity of Egyptian cults, like that of Isis and Sarapis. In addition, Egyptian art was in high demand among the Roman aristocracy. Because the transportation of statuary from Egypt to Rome was difficult, statues were often sculpted in Rome or Italy itself. Usually these sculptures were made by Egyptian artists, since they were the only ones who could create or copy pieces that were genuinely Egyptian in appearance.<sup>131</sup> Roman artists tried to produce Egyptian statues as well, but these were “reduced to a peculiar combination of distorted attitudes and exotic garments”.<sup>132</sup> They were made in an Egyptianizing style. Even though the artists tried to copy the posture, rigidness and dress used in Egyptian works, they couldn’t refrain from employing the realistic classical style they were used to.<sup>133</sup>

The Egyptianizing style is especially obvious in statues of Antinoos. He was a Bythinian boy that became Hadrian’s favourite. During Hadrian’s journey through Egypt the boy drowned in the Nile. It is unknown what happened exactly, but it gave cause for Hadrian to found a city named after the boy in the place of the accident (Antinoopolis). Moreover, a complete cult was organised around

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<sup>129</sup> Benevento, Museo del Sannio 264, height: 52,5 cm.

<sup>130</sup> Müller, *Der Isiskult*, 62-63.

<sup>131</sup> A. Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments of imperial Rome* (Leiden, 1972), 18-19.

<sup>132</sup> Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments*, 20.

<sup>133</sup> Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments*, 20-21; S.A. Ashton, T. Buttrey and A. Popescu, *Roman Egyptomania: A special exhibition at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 24 September 2004 – 8 May 2005* (London, 2004), 48.

Antinoos. A lot of cult statues were found in Italy and the eastern part of the Roman empire.<sup>134</sup> Although Antinoos was no emperor, the production of his statues is important in relation to the treatment of Egyptian statues in Italy. For this reason they are included in this chapter, but will be excluded in the statistical research.

After his journey to Egypt Hadrian felt the need to add an Egyptianizing decor on the property belonging to his imperial residence at Tibur. Several buildings were erected around a canal, the lay-out based on the city Canopus, which it was named after [fig.14+ 15]. In this area many statues were found, most representing Isis and Antinoos.<sup>135</sup> With their combination of classical posture, realistic display of muscles and Egyptian features, these works are the epitome of the Egyptianizing style. The sculptures 13 and 14 are a good example.<sup>136</sup> The pharaonic dress is combined with a body that is characterised by remarkable musculature and limbs that seem out of proportion.<sup>137</sup> It was common to identify Antinoos with the Greek god Dionysus and the Egyptian god Osiris, since both of them symbolize youth and resurrection.<sup>138</sup> Osiris-Antinoos can be recognized in statue nr. 15<sup>139</sup>, in which a *nemes* with *ureaus* is combined with a youthful face and a hairstyle that is typical for Osiris.<sup>140</sup> In contrast, statue nr. 16<sup>141</sup> is an identification of Antinoos with Dionysus, indicated by a crown of ivy leaves and grapes.<sup>142</sup> Although the cult of Antinoos was especially popular in Rome and the eastern provinces, several statue heads have been found in Egypt as well. One of them is an alabaster head from either Hermopolis Magna or Antinoopolis [nr.17].<sup>143</sup> The head consists of a broad face that is slightly turned to the left. Antinoos has large eyes with incised pupils, a broad flat nose and thick lips. The hair is made up of wavy locks. The realistic tendency of this head appears to be Roman, but the poor execution probably points towards a local Egyptian artist.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Clarysse, in Willems and Clarysse, *Keizers aan de Nijl*, 37; K. Parlasca, 'Antinoos-pötrats', in: H.Beck, P.C. Bol and M. Buckling (eds), *Ägypten Griechenland Rom: Abwehr und Berührung, Katalog zur Ausstellung im Städelschen Kunstinstitut Frankfurt, 26.11.2005–26.02.2006* (Frankfurt am Main/Tübingen, 2005), 426-427.

<sup>135</sup> Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments*, 49-50.

<sup>136</sup> Munich, Glyphothek W.A.F. 24, height: 226 cm; Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio 99, height: 241 cm.

<sup>137</sup> Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments*, 86-87.

<sup>138</sup> Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing monuments*, 85.

<sup>139</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 433, height: 21 cm.

<sup>140</sup> H. Bernard (ed.), *Égypte romaine, l'autre Égypte* (Marseille, 1997), Catalogue nr. 21, 48-49.

<sup>141</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR. 100.1937, height: 41 cm.

<sup>142</sup> Ashton, Buttrey and Popescu, *Roman Egyptomania*, 190.

<sup>143</sup> Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 192, height: 42,5 cm.

<sup>144</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 69.

### Chapter 3: Roman statues

In Stuttgart one can find the head of a statue which facial features are so distinctive that one can immediately tell it is the emperor Augustus [nr.18].<sup>145</sup> The marble is shaped into a triangular face with a straight nose and a strong chin. Furthermore, this statue shows a haircut with the fringe in a certain way that is reserved for Augustus. Above the inner canthus of the right eye are two parallel locks, whereas the hair near the outer canthus of the left eye shows a slight indentation. Augustus's hair is framed by a Hellenistic royal headband. The head, which is originally from Saqqā, a city near Damanhur in the delta, is sculpted in a very natural and realistic way. The face is well proportioned, slightly asymmetrical and shows no signs of exaggeration. All sides of the statue have been given equal amounts of attention, as is common for classical statues. Because youthfulness is a characteristic of this style in the Julio-Claudian era, it is hard to ascribe a specific date to this work.<sup>146</sup>

Another Hellenistic piece of work representing emperor Augustus was found in Meroe [nr.19] [fig.16].<sup>147</sup> The bronze head was found in a pocket of sand in front of the entrance to an important building of the palace enclosure, where it seems to have been buried deliberately [fig.17]. The building itself was a pillared hall with frescoes displaying scenes of military triumph [fig.18].<sup>148</sup> Both Kiss and Graindor do not believe this was the original place of the statue. Kiss agrees with a hypothesis that is proposed by Plumley. During excavations in Qasr Ibrim at the Roman fort Primis in Nubia a stone structure was found. It was named 'the podium' since it overlooked the Nile. Plumley has suggested that the bronze statue could have stood here, but was taken away (to Meroe) by the Meroites as treasure.<sup>149</sup> This theory is supported by the passages in Strabo's *Geography*, in which he mentions invasions and plundering by Meroites. The placement of the head in relation to the context is clear: "The burial of the bronze head, between the steps and the door jamb takes on a particular significance: it appears to have been placed so that every visitor to the shrine ritually tramples the face of the defeated enemy, strikingly represented by the magnificent portrait of the Roman leader, Augustus."<sup>150</sup> The statue is a youthful representation of the emperor. The most remarkable features of the head are without a doubt the inlaid eyes made of alabaster and faience. These are framed by eyelashes carved in bronze. Other facial features include a straight nose, jug ears and a pouting mouth. The head itself is tilted to the right side, which shows off the oval shaped face with a bone structure that is not very pronounced. Except for his fringe, the hair is not very deeply incised. The

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<sup>145</sup> Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum 1.35, height: 30,5 cm.

<sup>146</sup> H. Jucker 'Römische Herrschersbildnisse aus Ägypten', (*ANRW II/ 12/2*; Berlin, 1981), 669-670; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 32-33.

<sup>147</sup> London, British museum 1911.9.1,1, height: 43 cm.

<sup>148</sup> T. Opper, *The Meroë head of Augustus*, (London, 2014), 11, 26.

<sup>149</sup> P. Graindor, *Bustes et statues portraits* 42-43; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 35.

<sup>150</sup> Opper, *The Meroë head*, 27.

tilting of the head, the carved eyelashes and the shape of the face are all indications that this statue belongs to the Roman style.<sup>151</sup>

Not all statues portraying Augustus have been made during his reign, as the next example will show [nr. 20].<sup>152</sup> In Alexandria one can find an enormous white marble head that was supposedly found in Athribis. The artist has paid a lot of attention to the individual features of the face which are carved in a sharp and deep way. The eyes, nose and ears are large and well defined. Furthermore, the eyes have traces of a red ground colour in them. The mouth is slightly opened in a (classical) pathetic fashion. The hair is carved really deep as well. The locks are carefully arranged on the forehead above some lines that appear to be wrinkles.<sup>153</sup> The way the curls have been shaped is clearly Roman as opposed to Egyptian, since the latter tend to represent them more schematically. According to Vermeule this work is “an ideal and Hellenistic presentation of the first emperor”.<sup>154</sup> By comparison with other statues it is clear that this is a posthumous portrait, that may even be dated to the reign of Hadrian. Both Vermeule and Kiss think that its size may indicate that it was (part of) a cult statue which would have been placed in a shrine.<sup>155</sup>

The next Roman sculpture that shall be treated was found in Arsinoe [nr.21].<sup>156</sup> Its direct archaeological context is known too: this statue was found together with a statue of Livia and Tiberius in the so-called ‘amphitheatre of the Fayum’. A letter written by a nineteenth century salesman who sold the statues indicates that they were placed in niches opposite a statue of Victory.<sup>157</sup> The bust is equipped with the characteristic facial features of Augustus: a tapering face with high cheekbones, a straight nose and strong chin. The haircut with the recognizable arrangement of locks is another indication that it is Augustus that is depicted. The slight tilt of the head, as well as the natural way in which the bone structure and hair are sculpted in the round are evidence of a Roman style. It is a sculpture that resembles the Augustus statue found in Prima Porta.<sup>158</sup> Augustus appears to be a bit older in this statue than in other Primaporta types, which points toward a date around 10 BC.<sup>159</sup> Kiss agrees with Poulsen in this regard: the bust is an imported Roman work.<sup>160</sup> However, I do not completely agree with this statement. The Hellenization of countries under the influence of the Greeks had made it easy and attractive for people to travel.

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<sup>151</sup> Graindor, *Bustes et statues portraits*, 41-43; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 34.

<sup>152</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman museum 24043, height: 79 cm.

<sup>153</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 37.

<sup>154</sup> C.C. Vermeule, *Roman imperial art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge Mass., 1968), 382.

<sup>155</sup> Vermeule, *Roman imperial art*, 382.

<sup>156</sup> Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1443, height: 55 cm. Kiss has made a mistake with regards to the name of the site, he wrote Antinoe instead of Arsinoe, but it should be the latter.

<sup>157</sup> V. Poulsen, *Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg: les portraits romains I* (Copenhagen, 1963), 63.

<sup>158</sup> For more information concerning this statue see: H. Kähler, *Die Augustusstatue von Primaporta* (Köln, 1959).

<sup>159</sup> Vermeule, *Roman imperial art*, 382.

<sup>160</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 33-34; Poulsen, *Les portraits Romains*, 64.



Artists settled in Egypt and many of them started experimenting with the different styles that were in existence.<sup>161</sup> On the contrary, it also is possible that an artist stuck to the Roman style. Thus, the fact that this statue has a Roman style does not necessarily implicate that it was imported. This piece of art may very well be a product manufactured in Egypt itself, albeit by a Roman artist.

Augustus can also be recognized in a small blue-green faience head from Memphis that is on display in the Metropolitan museum in New York [nr.22].<sup>162</sup> Faience was especially popular during the Ptolemaic period in Egypt. In this case a local Egyptian artist managed to apply a Hellenistic style to portray a Roman emperor with faience. The head shows features that are characteristic for Augustus: a slightly triangular face, piercing eyes and the arrangement of locks of hair on his forehead. These features are visible through the damages that the statue has suffered. One can also see that it is Roman in style, since all sides of the head have received attention and Egyptian statues have a focus on the front only. The right ear, nose, chin and parts of the hair and left ear have broken off.<sup>163</sup> Stuart mentions that the work is probably late Augustan, since the hair is almost in a continuous line instead of separate locks. Moreover, there are vertical lines next to the nose, which also suggests a late date of manufacture.<sup>164</sup>

In the text concerning the statue of Augustus found in the amphitheatre of the Fayum at Arsinoe (nr.19), it was mentioned that this bust was found together with a statue of Livia and Tiberius. The latter shall be discussed in this paragraph [nr.23].<sup>165</sup> The marble bust of Tiberius has several features that point towards this identification. The hair is characteristically shaped with two 'swallowtails' above his eyes and spit-locks at his temples. The strong brow is another feature that indicates that Tiberius is the person who is portrayed. Tiberius seems to be somewhere in his thirties according to Kiss or in his forties according to Poulsen. The latter argues that it was custom to present people in an ideal fashion, implying that Tiberius was older than he seemed in the portrait.<sup>166</sup> At least it is certain that the statue portrayed Tiberius before obtaining emperorship in 14 AD. The statue has hard, strong lines that are especially visible in the haircut and the lines near the nose and mouth. The way of modelling includes a tilted neck, naturalistic features and details on all sides of the work. Evidently, it is a Roman style sculpture. Following his earlier argumentation, Kiss also assigns the manufacture of this statue to an artist in Italy.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Von Lieven in: H.Beck, P.C. Bol and M. Buckling (eds), *Ägypten Griechenland Rom*, 387.

<sup>162</sup> New York, Metropolitan museum 26.7.1426, height: 6,8 cm.

<sup>163</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 36; M. Stuart, 'A faience head of Augustus', *AJA* 48 (1944), 171.

<sup>164</sup> Stuart, *AJA* 48, 171-172.

<sup>165</sup> Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1445, height: 47 cm.

<sup>166</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 43-44; Poulsen, *Les portraits romains*, 82.

<sup>167</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 44.

Augustus' successor Tiberius can also be recognized in a statue that was supposedly found in Alexandria [nr.24].<sup>168</sup> The head has been cut near the right ear and neckline, which leaves it asymmetrical. Jucker sees this as an indication for a statue with the head turned to the left. It would have been attached to a body made from different material. A remarkable feature of this statue is the youth it displays. Tiberius is depicted with a tapering face combined with round cheeks and a gentle appearance. However, this youthfulness may only be an artistic choice, since it is known that the Julio-Claudian house was often portrayed in a youthful and strong way as a form of idealization. The turned head and the idealization are both indicators for a Hellenistic style. The statue was probably manufactured in Egypt. This may be the reason why Tiberius's hairstyle has not been copied as strictly as is the case for Roman copies of the official portrait.<sup>169</sup>

A statue found in Alexandria and currently housed in this city's Graeco-Roman museum can be classified as Roman as well [nr.25].<sup>170</sup> Its facial characteristics and hairstyle make it easy to identify the portrayed person as emperor Claudius at the beginning of his reign. The hair of the fringe has a parting in the middle, but the short sideburns are more remarkable. The triangular face, of which the nose is partially damaged, has deeply set eyes with eyebrows that are only slightly curved. The cheeks look a bit hollow, emphasizing the cheekbones. Furthermore, this statue clearly shows the jug-ears that Claudius was known for. The head rests upon a sturdy, thick neck and is slightly tilted to the right. In combination with the fact that the artist has given attention to all sides of the statue, this is evidence for a Roman style. However, the ethnicity of the artist has led to some discussions. The simplicity with which the face and especially the hair are treated hints towards a Roman place of manufacture according to Kiss.<sup>171</sup>

A marble head said to have come from Abu Qir has -despite being heavily damaged- been identified as a statue of Vespasian [nr.26].<sup>172</sup> The majority of the hair is destroyed and the nose and chin have been damaged. The head shows a receding hairline, which makes the forehead look quite large. There are wrinkles on the forehead and the portrayed person is frowning. Next to the nose and mouth deep lines are visible too. Combined with the sagging cheeks, these features give the impression that the subject is old. This realistic approach implies that this sculpture was made by an artist influenced by a Roman style. This portrait was probably made around the time of Vespasian's ascension to the throne in 69 AD, given the fact that he was already 59 by then.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Berkeley, Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology 8-4587, height: 29 cm.

<sup>169</sup> Jucker, *ANRW* II/12/2, 687-689; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 106.

<sup>170</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman museum 25713, height: 35 cm.

<sup>171</sup> A. Adriani, *Lezioni sull'arte Alessandrina* (Naples, 1970), 45; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 45.

<sup>172</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 21543, height: 36 cm.

<sup>173</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 50-51.

The facial features that display Vespasian's old age are visible in the next statue as well [nr. 27].<sup>174</sup> In this case the emperor is portrayed with a wrinkled forehead and furrowed eyebrows, crow's-feet next to the eyes and deep ridges of the nasolabial folds and jowl lines. The eyes look straight ahead and the nose has broken off. The statue had broken at the neck and the over life-sized head was (intentionally) cut off diagonally at the top of the head. The back of the head is weathered, but there is still some thin and stylized hair visible. The head from Aphroditopolis can be classified as Roman due to its realism with regard to the old age of Vespasian.<sup>175</sup>

The British Museum in London is in the possession of a marble head from Alexandria [nr.28].<sup>176</sup> The head has been cut off asymmetrically at the neck, implying that the head was turned to the left, as was the case for statue nr. 24. Similarly, this is also a characteristic of a Hellenistic style. Jucker argues that the hair is missing because it was made from stucco, a perishable material. The face is broad, with a high forehead, puffy cheeks and deep set eyes. The remains of polychrome eyes in combination with hair that was probably fashioned from stucco point towards an Alexandrian workshop as its place of manufacture. The expression is annoyed, almost angry, with eyebrows set in a deep frown. This is not uncommon for emperor Vespasian, but the wrinkles and old age that his statues are known for are missing here. Perhaps the Julio-Claudian artistic convention of idealization was still used here. Another possibility is that this statue does not display emperor Vespasian, but his son Titus, whose facial features are quite similar.<sup>177</sup>

Only one head of a statue of Trajan that was found in Egypt, supposedly in the Alexandrian quarter Mazarita [nr.29] [fig.19].<sup>178</sup> Although the part beneath the lips is missing and other facial features have been damaged, it has not lead to any difficulties with regard to the identification of the emperor. The facial features that can be recognized in this head are a broad nose, deep lines next to it, a small mouth and most noticeably a distinctive hairstyle. The statue is provided with a fringe that has a semi-circular, 'cap-like' shape covering the top of the ears. The undamaged part shows smoothness, soft features and attention to all sides of the head, that is probably indicative of an artist working in the Hellenistic style. This work can be dated to the end of Trajan's reign, that lasted until 117 AD<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Cairo, Egyptian Museum 6/7/24/14, height: 32 cm.

<sup>175</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 129; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 51.

<sup>176</sup> London, British Museum 1972, height: 19 cm.

<sup>177</sup> Jucker, *ANRW II/12/2*, 700-702; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 107.

<sup>178</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 20913, height: 22 cm.

<sup>179</sup> Jucker, *ANRW II/12/2*, 705; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 56; K. Savvopoulos and R.S. Bianci, *Alexandrian sculpture in the Graeco-Roman Museum* (Graeco-Roman Museum Series 1, Alexandria; 2012), 122.

A colossal head depicting Hadrian is currently on display in the Graeco-Roman museum in Alexandria [nr.30].<sup>180</sup> It was found in Athribis. The marble head is very well preserved, with the exception of the tip of the nose that has broken off and the uneven cut at the neck. The broad head is tilted slightly to the left and the artist has managed to give the emperor a very dreamy expression. As is common for statues of big proportions, the head is sculpted in a way that leaves out unnecessary detail, but still provides specific features that enable the viewer to recognize Hadrian in an instant. The irises and pupils have for instance not been indicated. Yet, the curly hair and beard have been styled in a neat and orderly manner. Furthermore, the eyebrows are somewhat contracted and there are crows-feet visible next to the eyes.<sup>181</sup>

Kiss argues that the statue must have been made in Egypt due to its size. Moreover, Kiss mentions that the monumental aspect of the statue might indicate a position in a public building or somewhere outdoors.<sup>182</sup> This statement does raise some questions with me, since the big size of a head discussed earlier (nr. 20) gave Kiss reason to believe that the statue was placed within a shrine, so he is not consistent. Since no further argumentation is given, I find this theory a bit dubious. Wegner argues that this head is an example of a provincial Egyptian copy of a Roman portrait of the emperor known as the 'Rollockenfrisur -Terme 8618'.<sup>183</sup> Concerning the style Kiss remarks: "C'est un excellent exemple du style lié au nom de Hadrien, soit un renouveau de la sensibilité hellénistique."<sup>184</sup> The characteristics of a Roman style present in this work are the tilted head and the attention that has been given to all sides of the work.

Another statue with Athribis as its provenance can be found in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston [nr.31].<sup>185</sup> Once again Hadrian is the portrayed emperor. Only the head and neck are left, but the size suggests that the statue was bigger than life-size. A hole on the bottom draws attention to the fact that it was meant to be embedded in a statue. The marble statue is stylistically similar to the sculpture I described above (nr.30) and can therefore also be seen as a Roman statue made by an Egyptian artist. However, it is visible that the statue was meant to be viewed from the front, since the artist did not pay much attention to the back or top. Furthermore, it is a more crudely executed work. The expression is in contrast with the statue above, since Hadrian looks far from dreamy. He is frowning and his mouth is pulled in a straight line. The nose is quite long and has a drooping tip. The statue is endowed with a bushy, but neat moustache and beard, as well as curly hair. The lack of

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<sup>180</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman museum 20885, height: 90 cm. In Brophy referred to with museum number 20335.

<sup>181</sup> Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits*, 50.

<sup>182</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 59.

<sup>183</sup> M. Wegner, *Hadrian, Plotine, Marciana, Matidia, Sabina* (Berlin, 1956), 36, 61, 92.

<sup>184</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 58.

<sup>185</sup> Boston, Museum of Fine arts 1975.292, height: 50 cm.

detail is probably due to its colossal size; spectators would not be able to point them out because of the sculpture's height.<sup>186</sup>

Duality is the term that comes to mind when looking at the next head from Hierakonpolis [nr.32].<sup>187</sup> The forehead, eyebrows and cheeks have been sculpted very carefully, in accordance with the idealism of the classical style. The softness and smoothness of the upper part of the face is in stark contrast with the beard, ears and the back of the head, which have not been worked out in detail. This combination of techniques probably originated in the Alexandrian workshops. The facial expression is neutral. The nose is partly damaged, but one can still make out its big size, as well as two creases that frame it in between the eyebrows. The curls have been shaped in loops that encircle the forehead. The styling of the hair in combination with the folds at the top of the nose are indications for an identification of this head with Hadrian.<sup>188</sup>

The next sculpture to be discussed is a marble statue head found in the *sebakh* in Hermopolis Magna. It is currently on display in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo [nr.33].<sup>189</sup> The emperor that is portrayed is Antoninus Pius, successor of Hadrian. His facial features are fairly easy to recognize: Antoninus Pius has a pretty long face with a high forehead. Furthermore, he has a curly and slightly pointy beard, as well as a bushy moustache and sunken eyes. Part of the nose, right eyebrow, beard and hair is damaged. The Roman style can be recognized in the tilting of the head and the fact that the head has been treated all around, not just the front as is common for Egyptian statues. However, the work is made in a rather crude way and without much attention to detail. It appears to be a copy of a Roman style statue executed by a local Egyptian artist.<sup>190</sup>

A large marble statue of emperor Marcus Aurelius found in the foundations of the Zizinia theatre in Alexandria is now on display in the city's Graeco-Roman museum [nr.34].<sup>191</sup> In figure 19 one can see that this theatre is located within the ancient city walls, in an area that may have belonged to the forum of Augustus and the *Caesareum* [fig.5].<sup>192</sup> With a size of two meter fifteen, it is one of the most complete statues of the corpus discussed in this essay. Marcus Aurelius is wearing a short tunic in combination with an imperial breastplate that is decorated with gorgon heads and griffons, among other figures. On the abdomen there might have been an eagle, but that has been replaced by a cross by Christians. A cloak is secured on the left shoulder. The sculpture has a striding position with the right leg placed in front of the left. The weight of the statue rests on the right leg,

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<sup>186</sup> Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits*, 48 ; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 59.

<sup>187</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 25062, height: 28 cm.

<sup>188</sup> Jucker, *ANRW II/12/2*, 714-715; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 107-108.

<sup>189</sup> Cairo, Egyptian Museum 41650, height: 38 cm.

<sup>190</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 126-127; Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits*, 53 ; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 61.

<sup>191</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 3250, height: 215 cm.

<sup>192</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 153.

whilst the left leg is bent at the knee. As a support for the right leg there is a cornucopia filled with several kinds of food upon which the right hand rests. The left hand is raised and wrapped around the hilt of a sword. The identification does not pose a problem, since the facial features are easily recognizable as those of Marcus Aurelius. The head has an oval shape, a pointy chin and a head full of carefully sculpted curls. The presence of a moustache and beard indicate a manufacturing date around 161 when Marcus-Aurelius obtained emperorship. Furthermore, the slightly bulging eyes have drill holes in the pupils and part of the nose has been damaged. The facial expression is serene. The sculpture is a typical Roman style cuirassed statue.<sup>193</sup> The posture is less static and more realistic than Egyptian style statues. Besides, it is obvious that this work was not made with the term 'frontality' in mind. Lastly, the armour and its decorations are typically Roman, leaving no doubt about the style.

An older Marcus Aurelius can also be recognized in a bust found in Kôm Trughi, a city in the western delta [nr.35].<sup>194</sup> The statue was part of a marble *herma* and would therefore have had a square undersection. Once again the head is provided with a large amount of neatly arranged curls, as well as a curly beard and moustache. The rest of the face is quite heavily damaged, since it may have been used as construction material at a later time. On the chest draped fabric is visible, belonging to a garment worn over the chiton. The Roman garment and the treatment of the head and curls in the round suggest a Roman style. Although researchers are in agreement of the style, it is unclear where it was manufactured. However, it seems to be a local rather than a metropolitan work.<sup>195</sup>

A distinctive sculpture is the statue of Marcus Aurelius originally from Alexandria [nr.36].<sup>196</sup> It was found with a statue of Septimius Severus (nr.37) near some ruins in the area between the *Caesareum* and cape Lochias [fig.19].<sup>197</sup> It is a life-sized sculpture made of marble. The backside has not been given a lot of attention, implying that the statue was meant to be viewed from the front. The emperor is standing on both feet, although the weight is mostly on his left leg, which is supported by a small pillar. Marcus Aurelius is clothed with a toga, which is draped around his body with care. Part of the toga and face have been damaged and both hands are missing. The face is quite long and narrow, with a strong, straight nose and bags underneath eyes with incised pupils. The Roman clothing and the realistic representation of tiredness in the face are characteristic for a Roman style. Remarkably, the curling hair, moustache and beard are modelled in a way that leaves

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<sup>193</sup> Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits*, 58-61; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 64; K. Savvopoulos and R.S. Bianci, *Alexandrian sculpture*, 38.

<sup>194</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 21640, height: 34 cm.

<sup>195</sup> Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits*, 61; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 65.

<sup>196</sup> London, British Museum 1906, height: 184 cm.

<sup>197</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 153.

big grooves between the strands. This indicates that the classical statue was made by an artist in Egypt, since it was a common practice for Egyptian artists during the rule of Septimius Severus. A manufacturing date around 200 AD is therefore most likely.<sup>198</sup>

Along with the statue of Marcus Aurelius discussed above (nr.36), a cuirassed statue depicting Septimius Severus was found [nr.37].<sup>199</sup> My sources contradict each other with regards to the statue's body: Kiss says it is a marble head which has been placed on a foreign body, whereas Brophy mentions that the statue was found in one piece. The sculpture's height differs in both sources as well.<sup>200</sup> The large statue displays Septimius Severus wearing military dress consisting of a kilt, a belt which is tied at the waist, a mantle that is fastened at the right shoulder and sandals. The right leg is supported by a pillar in the shape of a tree stem. Both fore-arms have broken off, so only the upper parts remain. The face is framed by long and thick curls that are both on top of the head and underneath it, in the form of a beard. The face is slightly obscure due to abrasion, but the main features can still be identified. A broad nose, bushy moustache and deep-set eyes. The natural posture and treatment of the hair and body of this statue, as well as the military dress qualify this as a Roman style statue. It can be dated between 196-199 AD<sup>201</sup>

Another cuirassed statue depicting Septimius Severus is stylistically similar to statue nr. 36 of Marcus Aurelius [nr.38].<sup>202</sup> Like that sculpture its provenance is Alexandria and its current location is the British Museum in London. Septimius Severus is dressed the same as the previous statue nr. 37, although there is more attention to detail in this sculpture. The damages to the arms and the pillar that supports the right leg are comparable to those in statue nr. 36 too. The lack of work on the back of the sculpture implies that it was probably placed against a wall. The facial features can be identified with Septimius Severus straight away. The broad nose, moustache and especially the beard that is split in the middle are characteristic for this emperor. The short, tight curls frame the forehead and form a semi-circle. Similar to the statue of Marcus Aurelius described above, the curls have deep grooves or drill holes. It appears as if the eyes, that show drill holes as well, are focused on something in the distance. The resemblance of this statue with nr. 36 is a clear example of Septimius Severus' policy of identifying himself with the Antonine rulers. Unsurprisingly, the similarities in style with the statue of Marcus Aurelius also point towards an Egyptian artist working in a Roman style around 200 AD.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 66-67; H.G. Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung*, 86.

<sup>199</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 3608, height: 190 cm.

<sup>200</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 154; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 73.

<sup>201</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 73.

<sup>202</sup> London, British Museum 1944, height: 192 cm.

<sup>203</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 72-73; *The British museum collection online*

<[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?assetId=524726001&objectId=465540&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=524726001&objectId=465540&partId=1)> accessed 22.01.2016.

A plaster head from Busiris shows Septimius Severus' tendency of identifying himself with Marcus Aurelius once more [nr.39].<sup>204</sup> In fact, scholars have wrongly appointed it to the latter for a long time. However, the rectangular, bloated and tired face shows more resemblances to emperor Septimius Severus. The low forehead is placed above eyes that are characterised by hanging upper eyelids. These hanging eyelids combined with circles underneath the eyes are responsible for the tired expression. Furthermore, a short, stubby nose is framed by deep naso-labial lines. Above the mouth one can find a bushy moustache that is connected to an equally voluminous beard, that is separated in two points. The hair forms a curly mass on top of the head, with a horizontal roll above the ear. Once again, the realistic representation of a tired face and the treatment of the hair on all sides suggest a Hellenistic style. This head can be dated around the same period as the previous statue: between 195 and 202 AD.<sup>205</sup>

In the Egyptian Museum in Cairo the Roman emperor Alexander Severus can be recognized in a marble head found in Luxor [nr.40].<sup>206</sup> The rectangular face with a hairstyle that connects the short hair on the head with a beard and the lack of a moustache are several indicators that point towards this identification. The sculpture has been polished, which has resulted in a very smooth head with soft features. The eyes with incised pupils, as well as the ears, nose and mouth have been sculpted very carefully. In contrast with this treatment is the way all hair has been carved. The eyebrows, beard and the hair on the head consist of superficially engraved strokes. This seems to be a newly developed style, although scholars are not in agreement of its origin. Because of its similarity to later Roman imperial portraits, it is probable that this sculpture is in fact a Roman work, that can be dated around 226 AD<sup>207</sup>

Contrary to most of the statues discussed above, the next sculpture is headless, which obviously makes the identification difficult [nr.41].<sup>208</sup> The absence of attributes, due to the missing hands makes it even harder. It is a colossal polished statue of a man seated on a throne, which was found in the centre of Alexandria. The throne's four legs have been sculpted with care and would probably have been decorated with gems. The seated figure is wearing a toga that is carefully draped around the body, typical for a classical style. In Egyptian statues folding of garments is much more stylized. Since the statue is made from porphyry, a precious material of a violet colour popular amongst emperors in the late Roman period, it is likely that the portrayed figure is a Roman emperor. Moreover, this is the largest porphyry statue ever found. Scholars have had different interpretations

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<sup>204</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 16421, height: 12 cm.

<sup>205</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 73-74; Z. Kiss, 'Une tête en plâtre de Septime Sévère au Musée Greco-Romain d'Alexandrie', *ET II* (1983), 146.

<sup>206</sup> Cairo, Egyptian Museum 27480, height: 24 cm.

<sup>207</sup> Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits*, 62-63; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 86.

<sup>208</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 5954 (formerly 5934), height: 266 cm.



with regard to the portrayed emperor, but lately the consensus seems to be that it is Diocletian. The statue can therefore probably be dated to the late third or early fourth century.<sup>209</sup>

A bust in the Egyptian museum in Cairo has been sculpted in a Roman style, but was probably made by a local Egyptian artist [nr.42].<sup>210</sup> The detail on all sides of the statue, as well as the slight tilt in the head and the way the fabric has been draped can be identified as features of a classical style. The facial features are somewhat stylized. According to Graindor this Roman stylized style is a precursor of the style in the Byzantine era.<sup>211</sup> A frown and several wrinkles on the forehead combined with a tight mouth and a connection between the hair and beard. The eyebrows are pronounced and the eyes are wide, with incised pupils. The facial hair, as well as the hair on the head is stylized, with very small carved strokes.<sup>212</sup> Like Graindor notes, the shape of the hair reminds of a helmet.<sup>213</sup> Lastly, a mantle is tied at the neck with a *fibula*. Although there is no royal headdress, the costly material gives away that its subject is probably an imperial ruler. The sculpture is made out of polished red porphyry and was found in Athribis. The identification of the displayed emperor has led to discussions, but it seems most likely that Galerius is the depicted emperor. This work can be dated around 305 AD.<sup>214</sup> Several pieces of heads made from the same material and in a similar style were found in places that would have part of the eastern Roman empire, implying a large scope and popularity of these sculptures.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Graindor, *Bustes et statues-portraits*, 70-73; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 101; K. Savvopoulos and R.S. Bianci, *Alexandrian sculpture*, 92 .

<sup>210</sup> Cairo, Egyptian Museum 7257, height: 57,6 cm.

<sup>211</sup> Graindor, *Bustes et statues portraits*, 68.

<sup>212</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 95.

<sup>213</sup> Graindor, *Bustes et statues portraits*, 68.

<sup>214</sup> D. M. Brinkerhoff, *A collection of sculpture in classical and early Christian Antioch* (New York, 1970), 20; Graindor, *Bustes et statues portraits*, 68-70; Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 95-96.

<sup>215</sup> Kiss, *Études sur le portrait imperial*, 96-97/100. It concerns the statues: Belgrade, Museum number unknown, height: 13 cm; Whereabouts unknown, height: 22 cm.; Niš, Museum 081, height: 17 cm.

## Chapter 4: The placement and functions of imperial statues

Having discussed the appearance and provenance of the imperial statues in Egypt, it is time to look at other evidence for the placement and possible functions of these sculptures. First of all archaeological and papyrological sources will be treated, because they form contemporary evidence that can give more insight into this situation. In a second paragraph I shall turn to existing theories concerning the placement and functions of statues in the Roman empire and Egypt. In the third paragraph I will bring my own theory forward, derived from statistical evidence of my corpus.

### 4.1 Contemporary sources

Apart from the statues themselves, there are several other archaeological features and artefacts that can give us information with regards to the placement of statues. One of these is quite obvious: statue bases. In the first chapter it was already written that in the imperial building at Karnak fourteen statue bases were found. Some of them were inscribed with dedications to emperors; among which Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius and Titus.<sup>216</sup> Højte has written an article about the erection of imperial portrait statues, solely based on statue bases, which he defines as: “any monument designed to carry a three-dimensional representation of the emperor. Regular statue bases, arches, columns and consoles fall within this definition.”<sup>217</sup> This author has focused on the emperors Hadrian, Trajan and Antoninus Pius, whose names have been found on a total of ten statue bases in Egypt.<sup>218</sup>

Brophy has included statue bases in her research as well. Besides the bases in Karnak that were already mentioned, she has found multiple statue bases in Alexandria and one in Hermopolis Magna. Although the latter is missing now, the limestone block was sketched and the inscription recorded by archaeologists in the nineteenth century [fig.20]. It is thought that the block of approximately four by two and a half meters was part of the Great *Tetrastylon* of Hermopolis Magna. The inscription is dedicated to Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.<sup>219</sup> The bases in Alexandria with a known archaeological context were found in a former *castrum* and underwater at what used to be Antirrhodos island. Of the seven columns that were located on Antirrhodos Island one was dedicated to emperor Commodus and six were dedicated to Caracalla by the Romans and Alexandrians [fig.21]. Although it is unsure where exactly the columns and accompanying statues stood on the island, their

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<sup>216</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 243.

<sup>217</sup> J.M. Højte, ‘Imperial visits as occasion for the erection of portrait statues?’, *ZPE* 133 (2000), 222.

<sup>218</sup> Højte, *ZPE* 133, 230.

<sup>219</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 128.

size –even the columns alone are over one meter tall- would have made them very noticeable. The island itself was located in front of the harbour and was visible both from land and sea, so the statues would have given a clear statement on the imperial power in place.<sup>220</sup> The Roman *castrum* in which a statue base was found, can be dated to the second and third century. The large marble pedestal is inscribed on three sides and on top traces of feet are visible.<sup>221</sup> Besides a dedication to Antoninus Pius in 157, there is also a statement about the erection of a statue of the same emperor by the veterans of *Legio III Traiana Fortis*.<sup>222</sup> Similarly, at the imperial chapel at Qasr Qarun a statue base was located in a niche.<sup>223</sup>

The presence of statues on arches has been attested by depictions on Alexandrian coins. Four kinds have been identified that date to emperor Domitian, Trajan and Hadrian. The statues could be placed in niches, although emperors on chariots on top of the arch are also recognizable [fig.22 + 23].<sup>224</sup> The latter statue type has also been named in a letter of Claudius to the inhabitants of Alexandria. Claudius allows the Alexandrians to erect various types of statues: a family group, equestrian sculptures, golden statues and lastly four-horse chariot statues. Although the specific context in Alexandria is not named in all cases, it is mentioned that the golden statues were meant for processions, whereas the chariot sculptures were placed at entrances to the country: Pharos in Alexandria, Pelusium and in the Lybian town Taposiris.<sup>225</sup>

Written sources can confirm that imperial sculptures were placed in *Caesarea* and other temples. Two papyri, derived from respectively Oxyrhynchos and Hermopolis Magna describe how people placed letters with appeals or requests at the feet of an emperor statue.<sup>226</sup> Furthermore, Philo states that the *Caesareum* in Alexandria contained a “girdle of pictures and statues”.<sup>227</sup> Sometimes sources include the manner in which a statue was financed. In P. Bad IV 101 it is mentioned that a Roman subject has to pay a certain amount for a statue that will be placed in the local *Caesareum*.<sup>228</sup> Moreover, ostraca found in the upper Egyptian region functioned as receipts for a tax. The tax was used to finance the (re)creation of imperial images.<sup>229</sup> In Arsinoe the Jupiter Capitolinus temple would have had a colossal statue of emperor Caracalla.<sup>230</sup> Another papyrus from Oxyrhynchos treats the inventory of an Egyptian temple. Statuettes representing Marcus Aurelius

<sup>220</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 66, 156-160.

<sup>221</sup> Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 25771.

<sup>222</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 153.

<sup>223</sup> Brones and Duvette, *BIFAO* 107, 15.

<sup>224</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 66.

<sup>225</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 5; CPJ II, 153.

<sup>226</sup> P. Oxy. XVII, 2130, 18-20; CPR I, 20, II, 10-11.

<sup>227</sup> Philo, *Embassy to Gaius*, 151.

<sup>228</sup> P. Bad IV, 101.

<sup>229</sup> D. Fishwick, ‘Statue taxes in Roman Egypt’, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 38 (1989), 335-347;

Examples of ostraca: SB IV, 7398. SB IV, 7399.

<sup>230</sup> Sel. Pap. II, 404.

and his family are mentioned in the section named ‘dedications’. The same papyrus mentions that busts of the imperial family were carried during processions.<sup>231</sup> Several other papyri about the priests responsible for cult statues in Egyptian temples mention that besides the main gods, the cult personnel worshipped Augustus as well. This could only have been the case if his statues were present in the temple.<sup>232</sup>

The archaeological and written evidence gives multiple contexts for the placement of statues. It is clear that statues of Roman emperors were often located in *Caesarea*, although they could have been found in temples of Roman and Egyptian gods as well. Due to remaining statue bases it can also be concluded that Roman *castra* were provided with imperial statues. Furthermore, they were positioned in highly visible places, such as the entrances to the county and Antirhodos island in the harbour of Alexandria. Lastly, their presence on arches and *tetrastyla* has been attested.

#### 4.2 Existing theories about the placement and function of imperial statues

In his work “Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser” Niemeyer has researched Roman imperial statues that were found within the boundaries of the former Roman empire. He focuses on the different types of statues, their provenance and their function. When discussing his findings it is important to keep in mind that Niemeyer’s observations are based on statues with provenances outside of Egypt as well. But more prominent is the fact that he only discusses Roman style statues and leaves Egyptian statues out of account. The information can give a very useful insight into the usual placement and function of Roman style statues.

The placement of emperor sculptures in public buildings or temples was most common in Roman cities. Niemeyer remarks that many statues were placed inside a temple; either as a temple-sharing god or as the main deity in *Caesarea* and imperial chapels in military forts.<sup>233</sup> The sculptures could be found in *basilicae* or *curie* on *fora*.<sup>234</sup> Other public places include (amphi)theatres, *thermae*, *nymphaeae*, libraries and *gymnasia*.<sup>235</sup> According to literary sources imperial statues or statuettes would have been located in private places and palaces as well, but this has not been affirmed by archaeological finds.<sup>236</sup> The function of imperial statues is divided into two spheres: constitutional

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<sup>231</sup> P. Oxy. XII, 1499, 2, 8-9.

<sup>232</sup> BGU IV, 1200; P. Oxy. VIII, 1143.

<sup>233</sup> Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung*, 24, 29-30.

<sup>234</sup> Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung*, 31-32.

<sup>235</sup> Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung*, 33-35.

<sup>236</sup> Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung*, 25, 35.

and cultic.<sup>237</sup> Emperors, in contrast to ordinary citizens, were allowed to have their images in public and military places. They could use this as a means of propaganda. Imperial statues could also function as surrogates, for instance when loyalty to the emperor had to be expressed. Similarly, imperial statues were destroyed (or in the case of statue nr. 19 buried) in raids by enemies or during revolts.<sup>238</sup> Cultic statues were used to emphasize the emperors divinity, so they were located in holy places, namely the different temples mentioned in the previous paragraph. Sometimes the different functions entwined, especially in the case of the expression of loyalty.<sup>239</sup>

Several Egyptologists have included a paragraph or some lines on the placement and function of imperial statues in Egypt in their work. Borg for instance, mentions that all statues with a known provenance were found in temples. However, she argues that the high columns that were found in several places would have been topped by imperial statues, suggesting that royal sculptures could be found in public places as well.<sup>240</sup> Pfeiffer treats emperor statues only briefly when discussing respectively Roman and Egyptian temples, so those are the only contexts he mentions.<sup>241</sup> Herklotz has included a larger paragraph on the placement of statues. She partly bases her ideas on written sources and statue bases, but also makes a comparison with sculptures found in other provinces. Therefore she argues that the statues mentioned in Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians would have been placed in public places and buildings, like libraries, theatres or *gymnasia*. Herklotz says that statues were often dedicated by cities, religious groups or individuals. She is of the opinion that they might have been used to express gratitude to the emperor, but were also a sort of moral obligation for certain people. The presence of inscribed statue bases at Karnak imply that imperial statues were located in *Caesarea* as well. Finally, Herklotz is convinced that sculptures of emperors were housed in Egyptian temples too; in papyri it is mentioned that besides the gods, cult personal also took care of Augustus' statues, which implies they were present in these temples.<sup>242</sup>

In contrast to the aforementioned Egyptologists, Brophy has really focused on imperial statues in Egypt. Sculptures of Ptolemaic rulers are treated extensively as well, especially since there is more evidence from that time period. The statues are discussed with regards to their provenance and functions. The limited size and date of statues included in Brophy's work has resulted in a different corpus than mine, so it is very interesting to see what her conclusions are and if mine are similar.

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<sup>237</sup> Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung*, 17.

<sup>238</sup> Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung*, 18-22.

<sup>239</sup> Niemeyer, *Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung*, 22-23.

<sup>240</sup> Borg, in Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford handbook*, 615.

<sup>241</sup> Pfeiffer, *Der römische Kaiser*, 246-247, 285-287.

<sup>242</sup> Herklotz, *Prinzeps und Pharao*, 376-377.

In her work Brophy has noticed that there is indeed a connection between the style and placement of a statue. She has found that both in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt there is a clear distinction between the location of Egyptian and classical statues. Statues with an Egyptian appearance were solely placed in Egyptian temples, as was the case with previous Egyptian rulers. Within the temple the imperial statues were mostly found in the forecourt or *dromos*, or at the gates and entrances.<sup>243</sup> The Egyptian style sculptures were probably used to demonstrate imperial power in a way the local population understood; by embedding it in their religious beliefs. On the other hand it might also have been a way to please the emperor.<sup>244</sup> Classical style statues can be traced back to urban provenances. Their placement within the *metropoleis* is archaeologically almost untraceable, since direct contexts are usually missing. Based on a comparison with the eastern provinces of the Roman empire, Brophy thinks they were mostly placed in public buildings. Visibility was obviously important.<sup>245</sup> The Roman style statues were used to represent the emperor and certain ideas about his personality and lineage. It may also have functioned as a form of communication between the population and the emperor; expressing one's loyalty was very important at the time. Propaganda might have been a function too: not only for the emperor himself, but also for Hellenism and Hellenistic ideals.<sup>246</sup>

#### 4.3 Research results

In chapter 2 and 3 I have discussed a total of 42 statues of which 37 are emperor statues [fig.24]. The imperial sculptures and their provenance shall be treated here, to see whether there is any connection between the style and location. One should keep in mind that differences in numbers could have been caused by chance or the focus of excavations; perhaps emperor statues with no clear provenance are divided in a different way or the majority of imperial statues are located in unexcavated places. However, I will draw my conclusions from the corpus I have selected, which shall base as a representation of known imperial statues in Egypt. My corpus consists of twelve Egyptian style and 25 Roman style statues [fig.24]. The small amount of Egyptian statues can be explained by the break with the past that found place under Roman rule. Apparently the Roman emperors preferred a classical representation over an Egyptian version.

The statues are unevenly spread around the country as well; it is obvious that lower Egypt has housed the largest amount of statues [fig.25 + 26]. 59 percent of the statues was found in the delta, whereas only 29 percent was located in Upper Egypt. The other fourteen percent is divided

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<sup>243</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 43-44, 47-48.

<sup>244</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 58.

<sup>245</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 44-46, 50.

<sup>246</sup> Brophy, *Royal statues*, 56.

between Italy (eleven percent) and Nubia (three percent). However, when looking at the Egyptian and Roman style statues separately, the division is quite divergent. Egyptian statues have Upper Egypt as their provenance more often than not, although a third of the statues was found in Italy as well [fig.27]. Only 3 emperor sculptures came from Lower Egypt. In contrast, more than three quarters of the Roman statues have a lower Egyptian provenance [fig.28]. The other 6 statues were found in Upper Egypt (twenty percent) and Nubia (four percent).

To see whether there are significant variations in time, I have divided the sculptures into time periods according to the ruling dynasties. This is based on the assumption that most statues were made during or not long after the reign of a specific emperor. For Egyptian statues it is clear that rulers from the Severan dynasty, Caracalla in particular, were the favourite subjects for imperial portraits [fig.29]. It is also the only time that emperor sculptures were found in Lower Egypt. The statues found in Italy date to the Flavian and Severan rule. One emperor statue from Benevento cannot be identified, rendering a date impossible. Upper Egyptian provenances are common in most periods, although they are missing during the rule of the Flavian emperors. Roman statues have a more constant division of provenances [fig.30]. In each time period Lower Egypt is predominant, although every period (apart from the Tetrarchy) has at least one Upper Egyptian site as well. The head found in Meroe, Nubia belongs to Augustus and therefore the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Augustus is the most depicted emperor, although there are several others who have been depicted three times. Two of those, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, belong to the Nerva-Antonine dynasty, which explains the high number of statues found in that period.

When looking at the distribution of statues on a smaller scale, it is remarkable that Egyptian and Roman statues have never been found together at one site [fig.31]. In most cases a site has housed only one statue, but there are some exceptions. The sites of Arsinoe, Karnak and Koptos have all brought forth two statues. In Benevento no less than four Egyptian imperial statues were found. The same amount of sculptures was found in Athribis, although these have a classical style. Clearly Athribis was an important site for Roman statues, but Alexandria stands on top with nine statues. Before looking at the known archaeological contexts, it might be useful to look at the sites themselves [fig.32 + 33]. Almost all Egyptian statues have a clear archaeological context; there are just two whose context is completely unknown. These were found in the cities Terenouthis and Kaine, which were not nome capitals. In contrast, only three of the 25 Roman statues have a clear context. Two others have a context that can be associated with a *Caesareum*, but this is not completely sure. This leaves twenty statues with an unknown context. Almost all of these statues were located in *metropoleis*, with the exception of statues from the sites Saqqā, Abu Qir and Kôm Trughi.

Finally, I wish to discuss the statues with a known archaeological context. Egyptian statues are very informative in this case, since the majority is provided with a clear find spot. As can be seen in the diagram, there are five different contexts [fig.34]. Two statues were found in an Amun temple. A third statue was found in an Amun temple enclosure as well, but in an shrine that was dedicated to Alexander IV. Another popular context is the Isis temple, since the four statues from Benevento were found in an area belonging to this temple. In addition, the statues from Koptos were found in a temple dedicated to both Isis and Min. Lastly, an emperor statue was found near the naos of Amasis, that was located within the temple enclosure of Banebdjedet. It is remarkable that all Egyptian sculptures are found in an Egyptian, religious context. Unfortunately the context of Roman statues is less clear, as was mentioned in the previous chapter [fig.35]. The head found in Meroe was buried in a pocket of sand in front of a temple enclosure. It was a war treasure that had been taken from an Egyptian site, but which site is unknown, as is the position in this site. More promising are the statues from Alexandria. Two sculptures were found in an area close to the former *Caesareum*, yet one has to be careful with this association, since there were many more buildings in this area to which the statues could have belonged. Fortunately the two statues from Arsinoe have a verified context: they were found in a niche of the Roman amphitheatre. It seems therefore, that Roman statues belonged to Roman buildings and contexts.

To sum up the previous information: we have learned from my corpus that Roman emperors chose to be portrayed in a classical way rather than an Egyptian way. Egyptian emperor statues have seen a slight majority of Upper Egyptian provenances, whereas a Lower Egyptian provenance is definitely more common for Roman sculptures. Moreover, the different style statues were never found together at a site. Egyptian statues are mostly found in cities that were not *metropoleis*, whilst Roman statues usually are. In conclusion, Egyptian statues with a known context are all found in Egyptian temples. Although the direct archaeological context of Roman statues is often missing, it seems as if they were located in Roman buildings.



## Conclusion

The main question asked in the introduction was divided into two parts, which I shall answer separately. First of all I wondered whether the stylistic differences of imperial statues from Egypt were related to differences in provenance. When looking at the research results derived from my corpus, it is clear that there is a connection between the style and provenance of an imperial statue. This is visible on a macro and micro scale. It seems that Egyptian statues are mostly found in sites in Upper Egypt, although Lower Egyptian and Italian provenance exist as well. The statues with a clear context have all been found in temples dedicated to Egyptian gods. Statues without a context were found in cities that were not *metropoleis*. A great majority of the Roman emperor sculptures came from Lower Egyptian sites. Even though archaeological contexts are scarce, Roman statues can be associated with Roman buildings, such as theatres and *Caesarea*. This might also be the reason that almost all statues were found in nome capitals. Apart from the evidence derived from my corpus of statues, a lot of information can be retrieved from written and archaeological sources dating to the Roman period. These sources confirmed the presence of imperial statues in *Caesarea* and Egyptian temples. Other contexts were temples of Roman gods, *castra*, arches, *tetrastyla* and entrances to the country.

The second question asked was: Does a connection between style and function of imperial statues exist? I think this question is a bit harder to answer, as the function of a statue remains a modern day interpretation of the meaning of a statue within its context. However, the strict division between contexts of Egyptian and Roman statues does indicate that their function differed as well. One should keep in mind that the text written below is my interpretation of the function of statues within its context. I believe the Egyptian statues are only meant to be seen by the Egyptian population. As was mentioned before, the placement of the pharaonic statues in the *dromos* and forecourts of temples indicates that the Roman pharaohs were not perceived as gods, only the office of pharaoh itself was divine. I think it was important for the Egyptian population to know there was a pharaoh, but the (identity of the) person fulfilling this role did not matter as much. This is supported by the fact that the names 'Imperator' and 'Caesar' were handed down to each emperor, which implies a lack of individuality. Additionally, although Augustus and Claudius received a cult after their death, it seems that other deceased Roman pharaohs were not important at all. The focus of the Egyptians was on the living pharaoh. His offspring is mentioned at times as well, to assure the presence of a future pharaoh. The artists and priests may merely have used the Roman facial features to please the emperor, or simply because it was easily accessible. Therefore I think the function of Egyptian imperial sculptures was twofold. Most important was reassuring the Egyptian

population that there was a pharaoh who would make sure peace and order would remain. The other and less prominent reason was to please or curry favour with the emperor.

The statues found in Italy are a special case. Their placement in an Egyptian temple is similar to the statues found in Egypt. However, the intended audience is different, since the statues are not meant to be seen by Egyptians, but by Roman worshippers of Isis. Therefore, I think their function is different as well. I believe these emperor statues had less of a religious function. The Roman ruler was known to the Roman population as the emperor, not as a pharaoh. They did not have the Egyptian worldview and consequently did not need to be assured that there was a pharaoh to keep the peace. The Egyptian imperial statues may have been present in Benevento because it was known that they stood in temples in Egypt. If they wanted to copy these as much as possible, pharaonic statues of the emperor had to be on display. The sculptures could also have been present to demonstrate imperial power.

Roman statues can be seen in different contexts, but I think it is clear that they have an important political message, wherever they are placed. As Roman statues are often located in highly visible places it seems that the demonstration of imperial power (in a Roman way) was one of the most important functions. All inhabitants of Egypt and all people travelling through this country were the intended audience of this message. I think the identity of the emperors was more important for the Roman and Greek population, as individual features and character traits are expressed in Roman imperial statues. For the people who financed and dedicated the statues it could have been an expression of gratitude or loyalty, although it may also have been a moral obligation. If the former was the case, then the identity of the emperor was important, since the dedication of a statue was specifically made to him. Furthermore, Caesarea housed statues of multiple emperors. This suggests that deceased emperors were as important, if not more important than the living emperor, since they were seen as gods. The holy places in which they were found emphasized the divinity of the former emperors. In this way there is an additional religious function of the statues. So the function of emperor sculptures was an intricate combination of political and religious ideas, that was dependent upon the placement of a statue.

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Statue nr. 40:

P. Graindor, *Bustes et statues portraits d'Égypte Romaine* (Cairo, date unknown), pl. XVIIIa-b.

Statue nr. 41:

K. Savvopoulos and R.S. Bianci, *Alexandrian sculpture in the Graeco-Roman Museum* (Graeco-Roman Museum Series 1; Alexandria, 2012), 93, nr. 25.

Statue nr. 42:

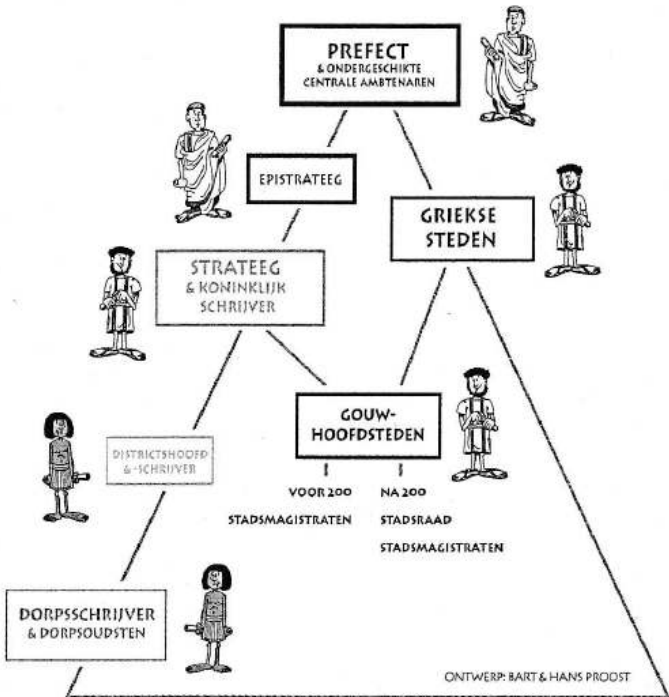
P. Graindor, *Bustes et statues portraits d'Égypte Romaine* (Cairo, date unknown), pl. XXIa-c.

**Attachment 1: Figures**

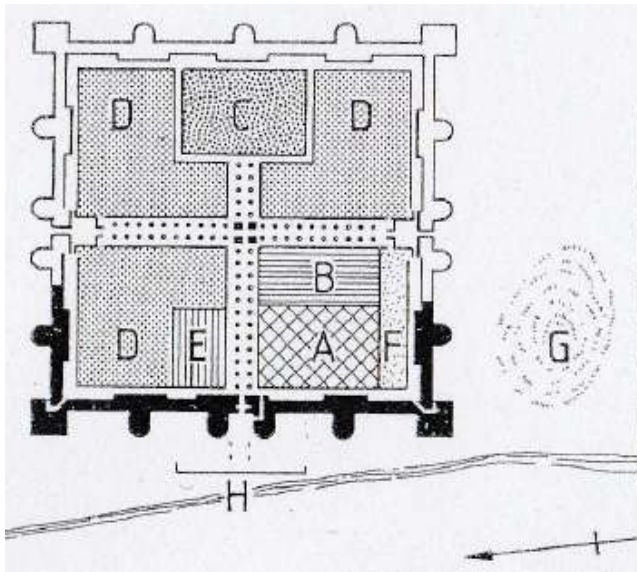


**Fig 1:** The coin Augustus issued with the text *[A]egypto capta*.

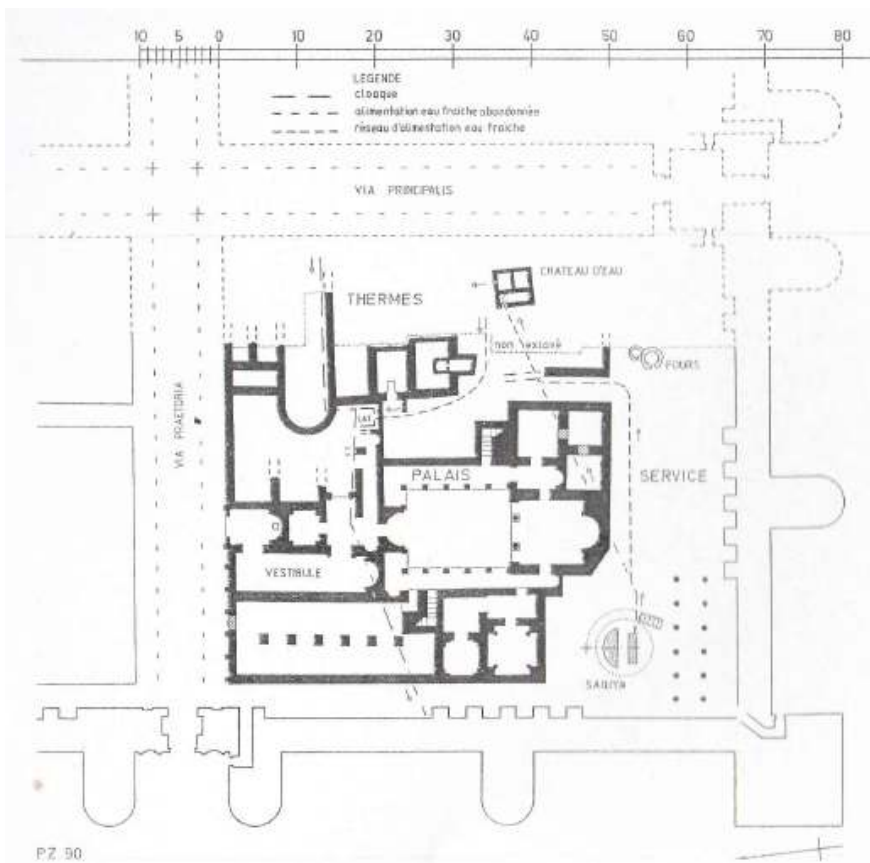
**DE ADMINISTRATIE VAN ROMEINS EGYPTE**



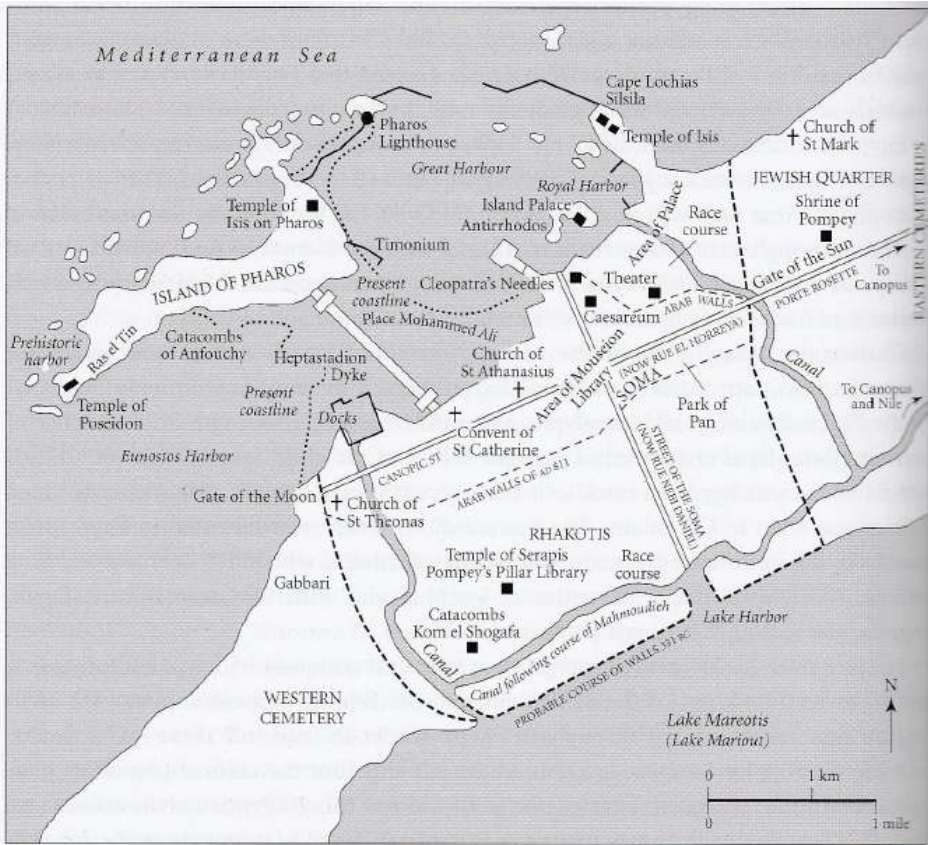
**Fig. 2:** The hierarchic government in Roman Egypt.



**Fig. 3:** The military fortress at Nag al-Hagar.



**Fig. 4:** The palace in the southwest corner of the fortress at Nag al-Hagar.



**Fig. 5:** Map of ancient Alexandria.



**Fig 6:** Coin with image of the *Caesareum* in Alexandria.

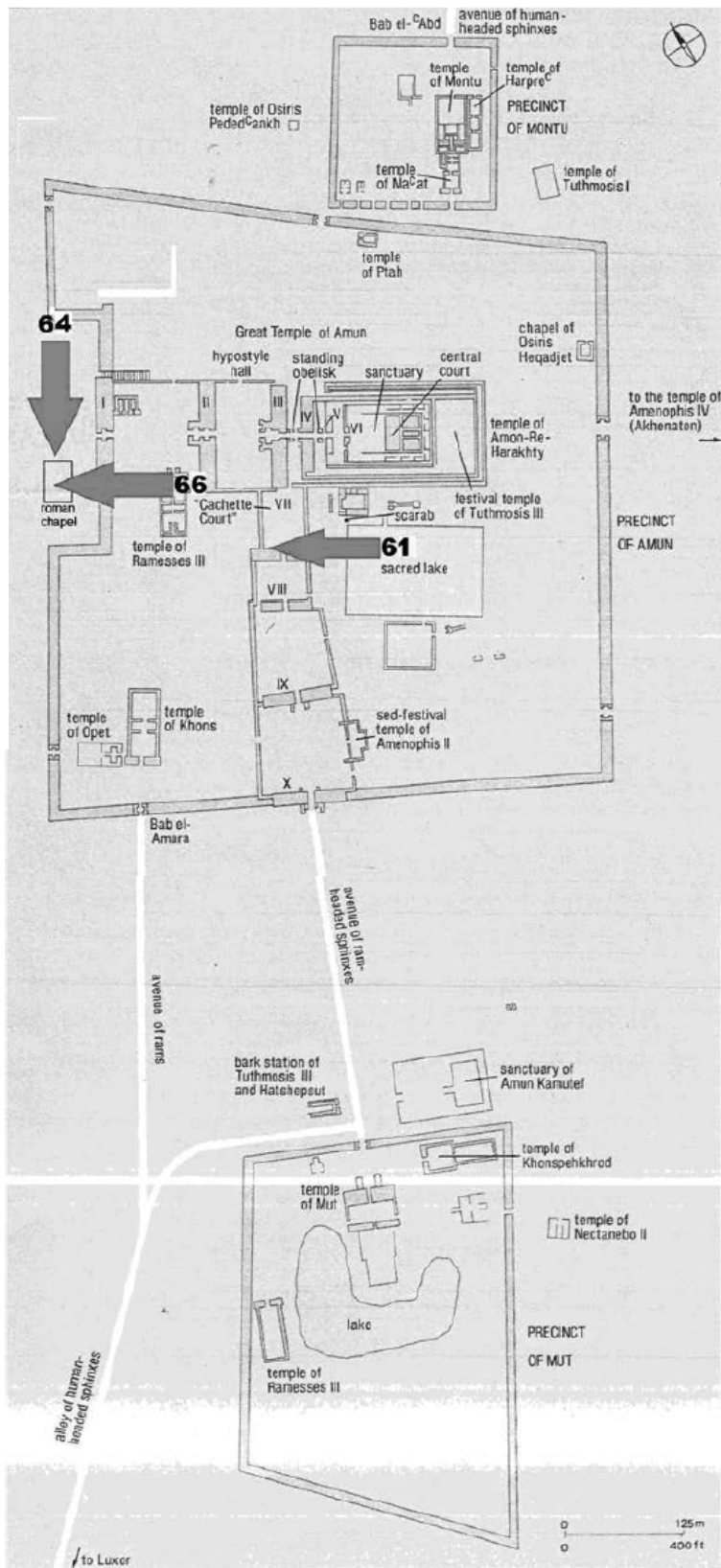
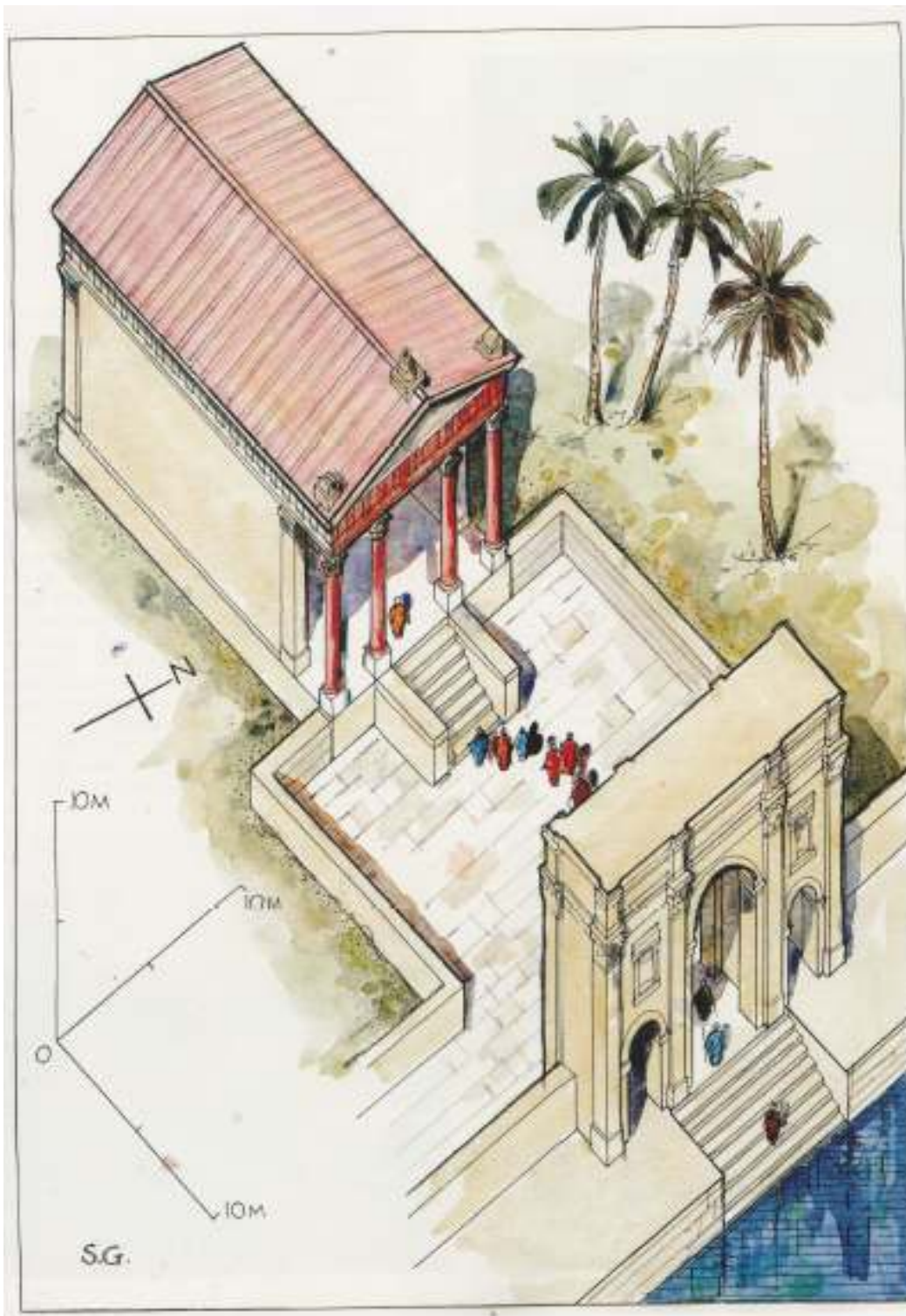


Fig. 7: Location of the *Caesareum* ("Roman chapel") in Karnak, see arrow 64 and 66.

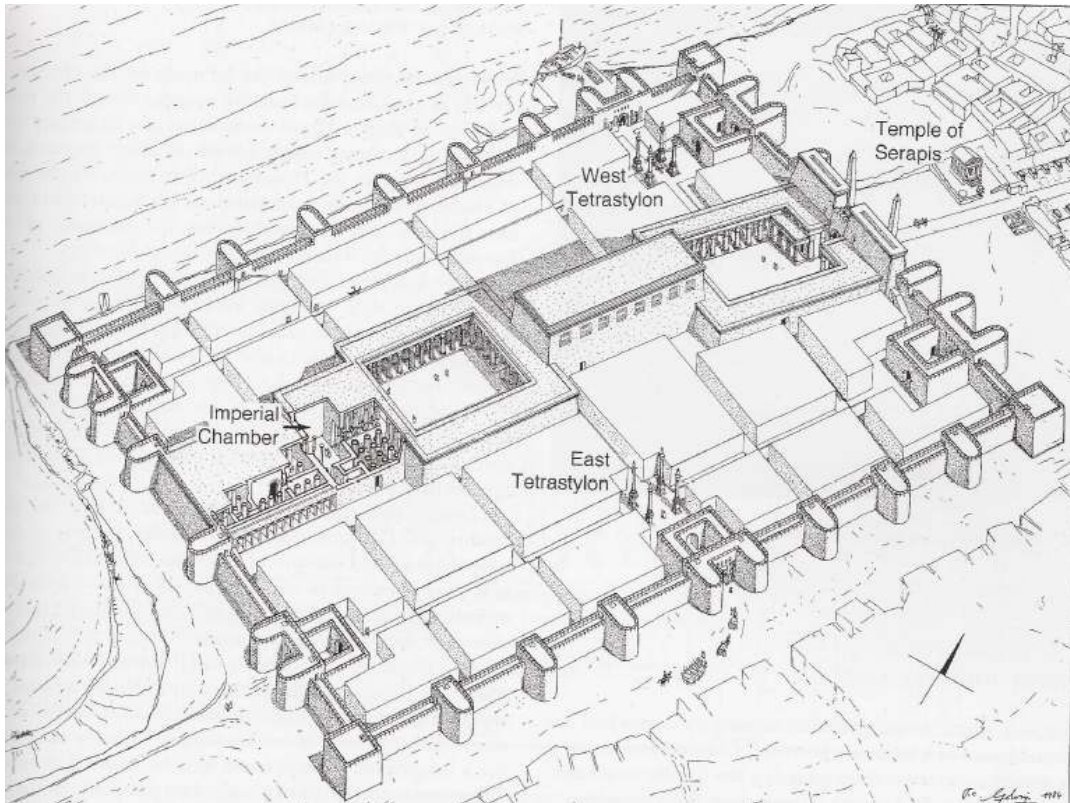




Fig. 8: Location of the *caesareum* ("Temple of Augustus") at Philae.



**Fig. 9:** Reconstruction of the *Caesareum* at Philae.



**Fig. 10:** The imperial chamber in the military fortress at Luxor.



**Fig. 11:** The frescoes in the imperial chamber.



**Fig. 12:** Map of ancient Egypt.





Fig. 13: Location of Benevento, Italy.



Fig. 14: Location of Tivoli, Italy.

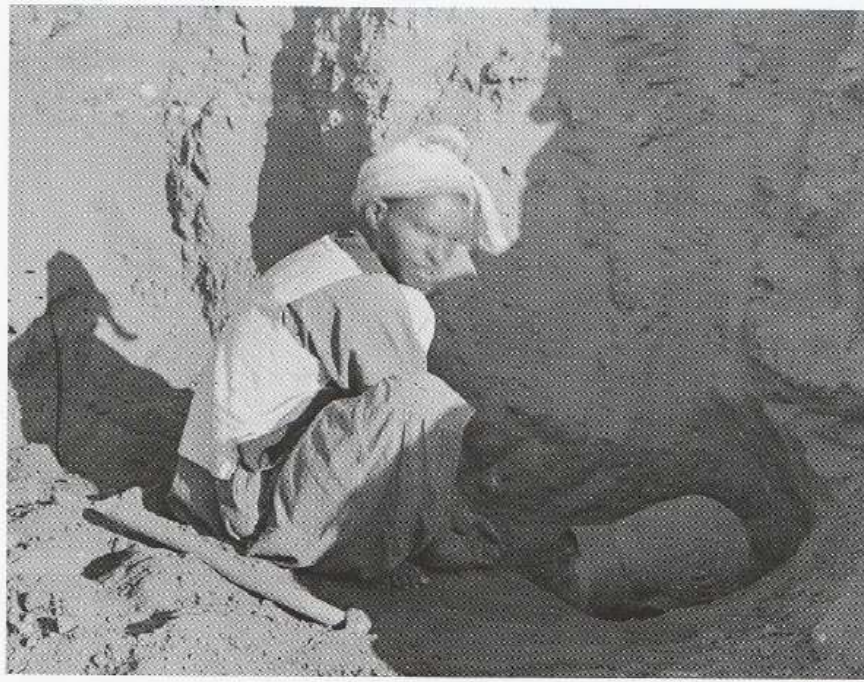


**Fig. 15:** Canopus, at Hadrian's villa in Tivoli.

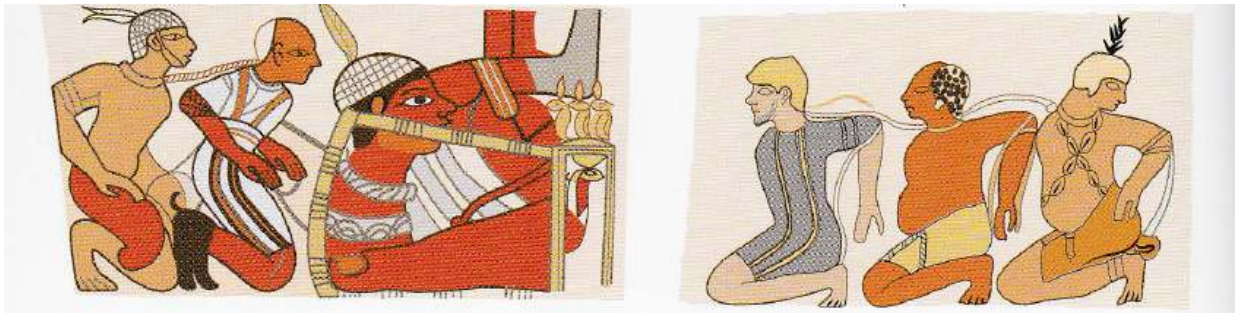


**Fig. 16:** Location of Meroe.





**Fig. 17:** The bronze head of Augustus in its original find spot.



**Fig. 18:** Drawing of the frescoes of military triumph in the pillared hall.

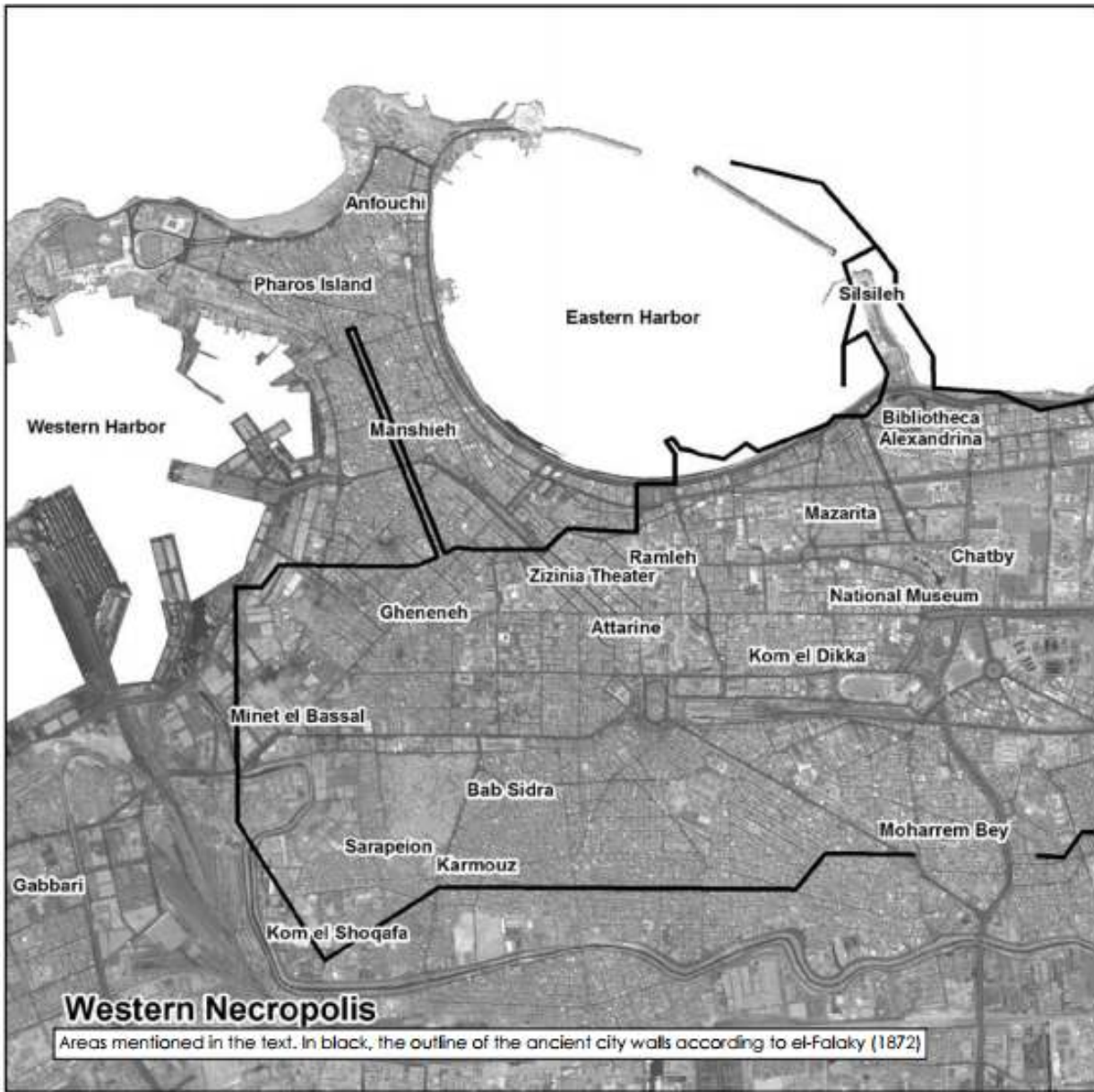


Fig. 19: Map of modern Alexandria, with an outline of the ancient walls.

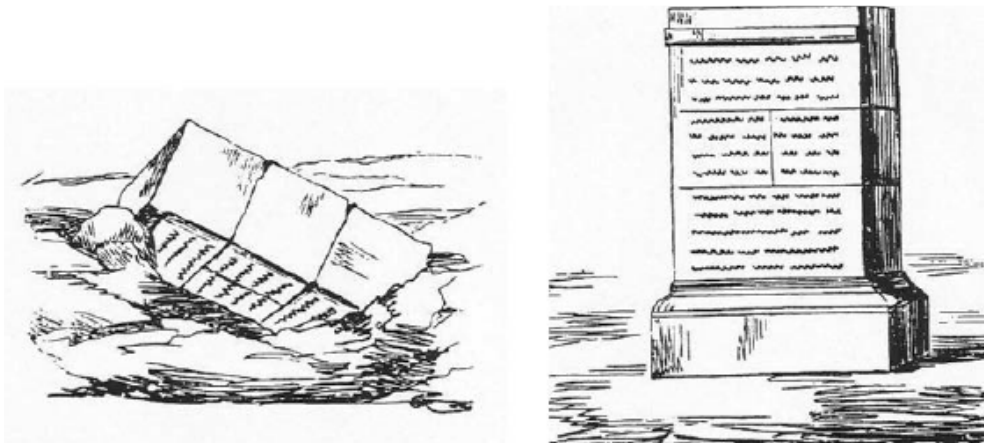


Fig. 20: Drawing of the base of the tetrastyle at Hermopolis Magna.





ΤΟΝ ΓΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ  
 ΛΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΑΡΑΤΗΣ  
 ΑΕΙΖΩΝΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ  
 (ΕΟΥΗΡΟΝ) ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΩΝ  
 ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ

ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΙΑΝΟΙ  
 ΕΘΗΚΑΝ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΕΝ  
 ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΕΝΟΙΑΣ

**Fig. 21:** Picture and drawing of the inscription on one of the columns from Antirrhodos Island.



**Fig. 22:** Coins depicting respectively an arch and a fountain house with statues.



**Fig. 23:** Coins depicting commemorative arches with statues.

Number	Style	Provenance	Archaeological context	Emperor	Museum number
1	Egyptian	Karnak	Amun temple	Augustus	Cairo 13/3/15/3
2	Egyptian	Karnak	Temple dedicated to Alexander IV	Augustus	Cairo 701
3	Egyptian	Koptos	Min and Isis temple	Commodus	Lyon E501
4	Egyptian	Terenouthis	unknown (perhaps from necropolis)	Caracalla	Giza antiquities storeroom
5	Egyptian	Mendes	Near naos of Amasis	Caracalla	Cairo 702
6	Egyptian	Tanis	Amun temple	Caracalla	Alexandria 3233
7	Egyptian	Koptos	Min and Isis temple	Caracalla	Philadelphia E976
8	Egyptian	Kaine	unknown	Maximinus Daïa	Berlin 4132
9	Egyptian	Benevent (Italy)	Close to Isis temple	Domitian	Benevent 260
10	Egyptian	Benevent (Italy)	Close to Isis temple	unknown	Benevent 262
11	Egyptian	Benevent (Italy)	Close to Isis temple	Domitian	Benevent 263
12	Egyptian	Benevent (Italy)	Close to Isis temple	Caracalla	Benevent 264
13	Egyptianizing	Tibur	Hadrian's villa	Antinoos	Munich, Gl. W.A.F. 24
14	Egyptianizing	Tibur	Hadrian's villa	Antinoos	Rome 99
15	Egyptianizing	Tibur	Hadrian's villa	Antinoos	Paris MA 433
16	Roman	Tibur	Hadrian's villa	Antinoos	Cambridge GR.100,1937
17	Roman	Hermopolis Magna/Antinoopolis	unknown	Antinoos	Amsterdam 192
18	Roman	Saqqa	unknown	Augustus	Stuttgart 1,35
19	Roman	Meroe	In front of building in palace enclosure	Augustus	London 1911,9,1,1
20	Roman	Athribis	unknown	Augustus	Alexandria 24043
21	Roman	Arsinoe	Niche in amphitheatre of the fayum	Augustus	Copenhagen 1443
22	Roman	Memphis	unknown	Augustus	New York 26,7,1426
23	Roman	Arsinoe	Niche in amphitheatre of the fayum	Tiberius	Copenhagen 1445
24	Roman	Alexandria	unknown	Tiberius	Berkeley 8-4587
25	Roman	Alexandria	unknown	Claudius	Alexandria 25713
26	Roman	Abu Qir	unknown	Vespasian	Alexandria 21543
27	Roman	Aphroditopolis	unknown	Vespasian	Cairo 672414
28	Roman	Alexandria	unknown	Vespasian/Titus	London 1972
29	Roman	Alexandria	Mazarita area	Trajan	Alexandria 20913
30	Roman	Athribis	unknown	Hadrian	Alexandria 20885
31	Roman	Athribis	unknown	Hadrian	Boston 1975,292
32	Roman	Hierakonpolis	unknown	Hadrian	Alexandria 25062
33	Roman	Hermopolis Magna	unknown	Antoninus Pius	Cairo 41650
34	Roman	Alexandria	Foundations of Zizinia theatre	Marcus Aurelius	Alexandria 3250
35	Roman	Kôm Trughi	unknown	Marcus Aurelius	Alexandria 21640
36	Roman	Alexandria	Near ruins around caesareum/cape lochias	Marcus Aurelius	London 1906
37	Roman	Alexandria	Near ruins around caesareum/cape lochias	Septimius Severus	Alexandria 3608
38	Roman	Alexandria	unknown	Septimius Severus	London 1944
39	Roman	Busiris	unknown	Septimius Severus	Alexandria 16421
40	Roman	Luxor	unknown	Alexander Severus	Cairo 27480
41	Roman	Alexandria	Centre	Diocletian	Alexandria 5954
42	Roman	Athribis	unknown	Galerius	Cairo 7257

Fig. 24: Table of my corpus of statues.

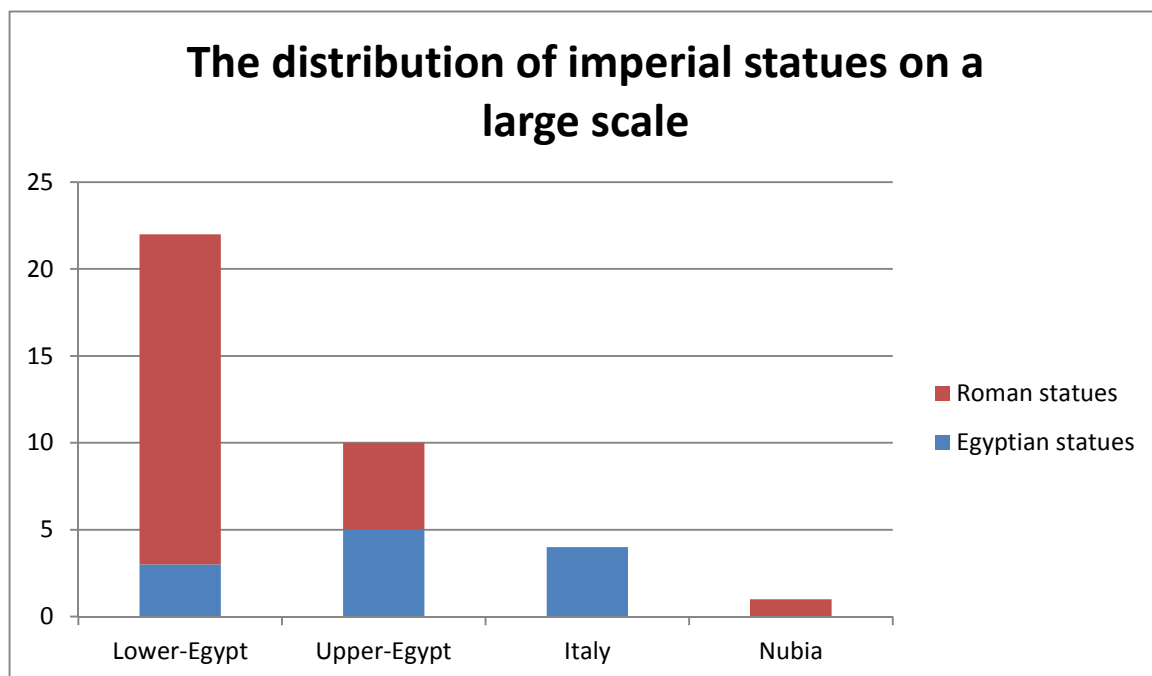
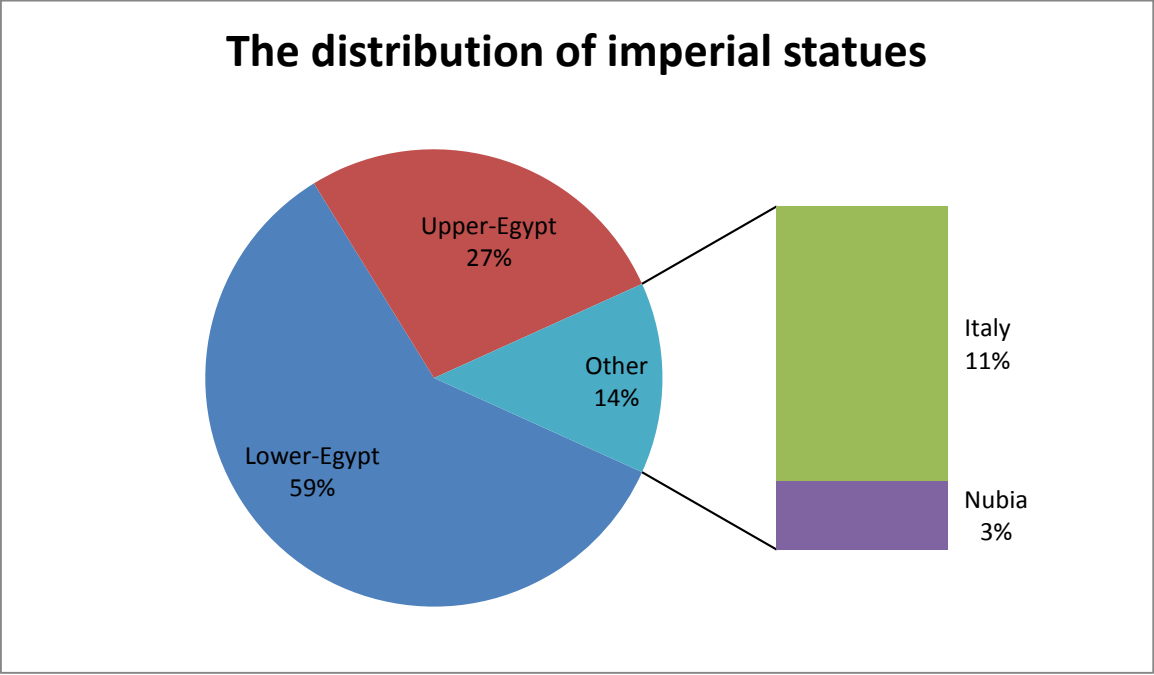
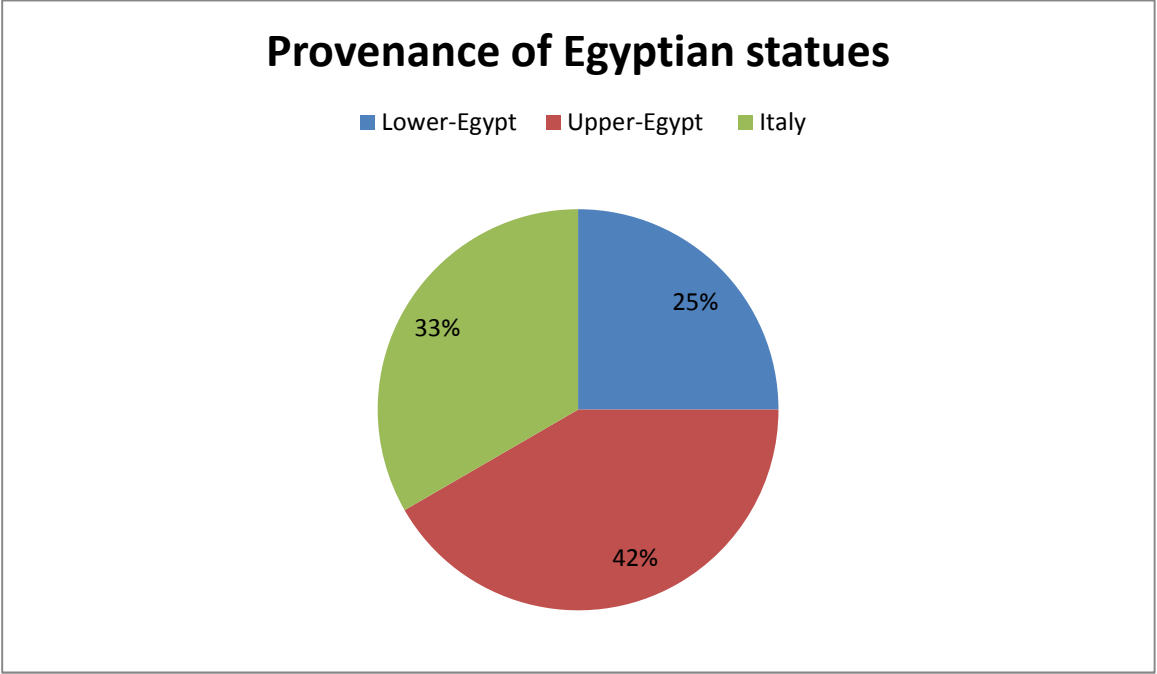


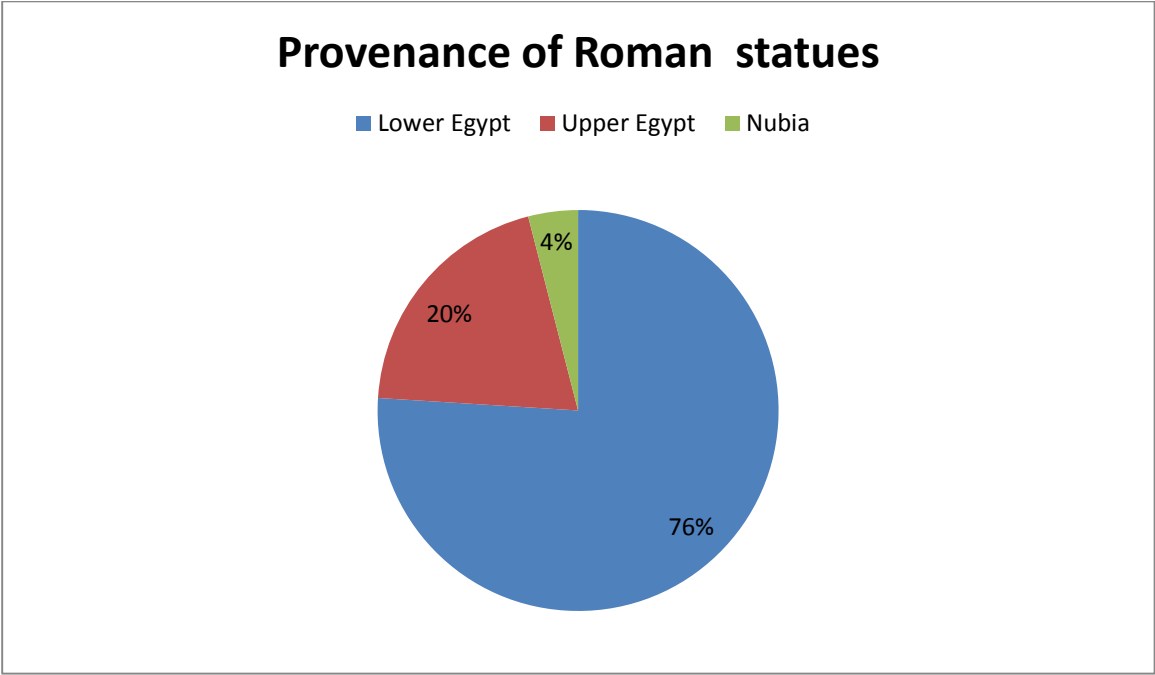
Fig. 25: The distribution of imperial statues on a large scale.



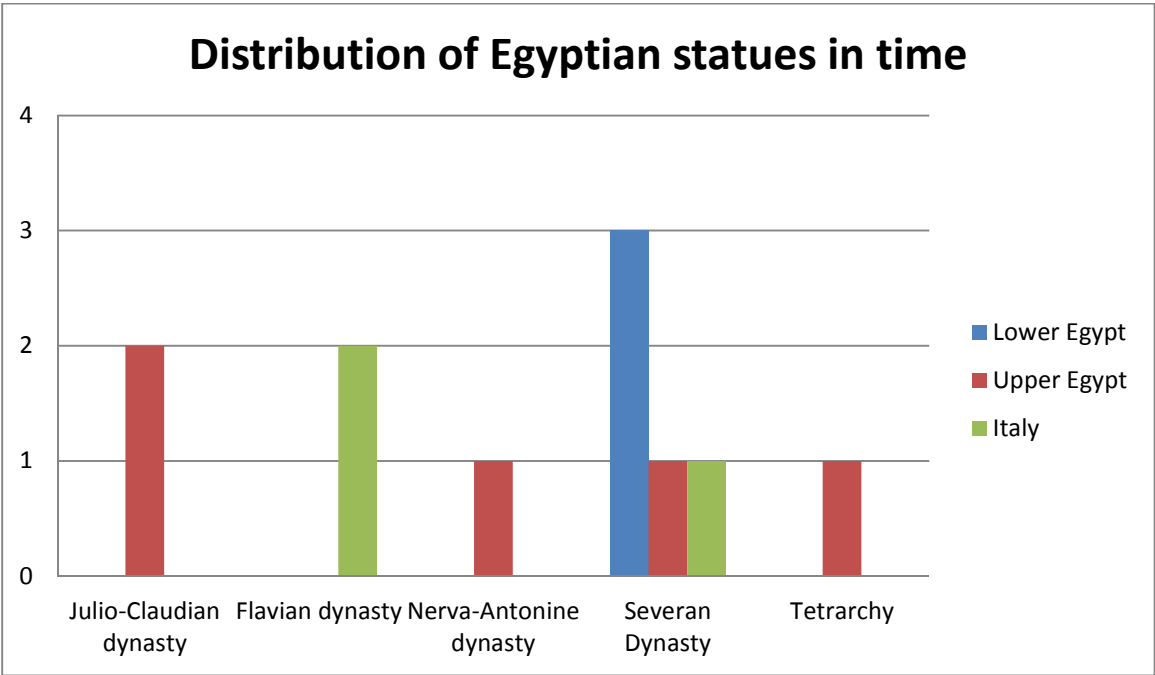
**Fig. 26:** The distribution of imperial statues in percentages.



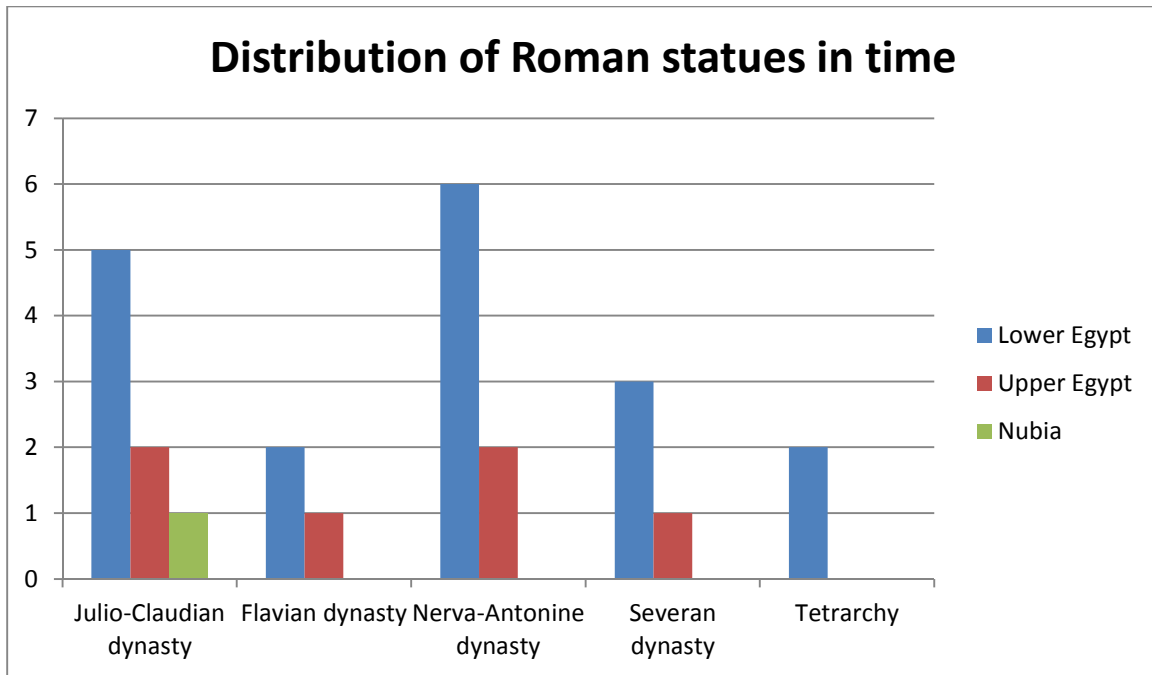
**Fig. 27:** The distribution of Egyptian statues.



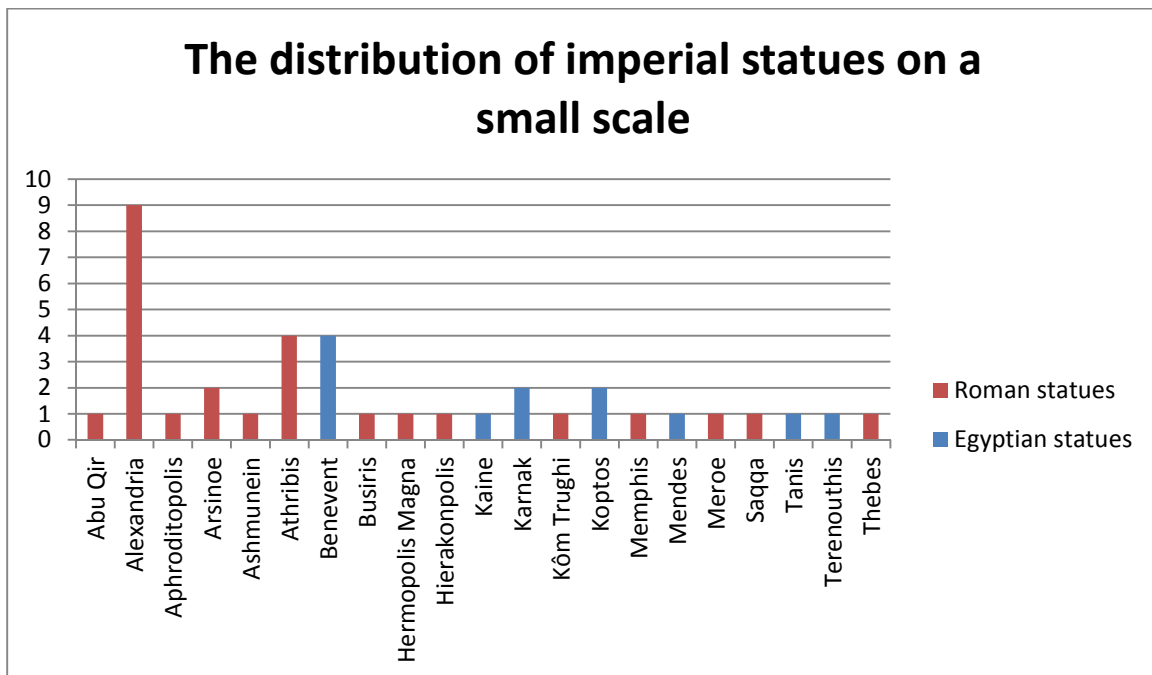
**Fig. 28:** The distribution of Roman statues.



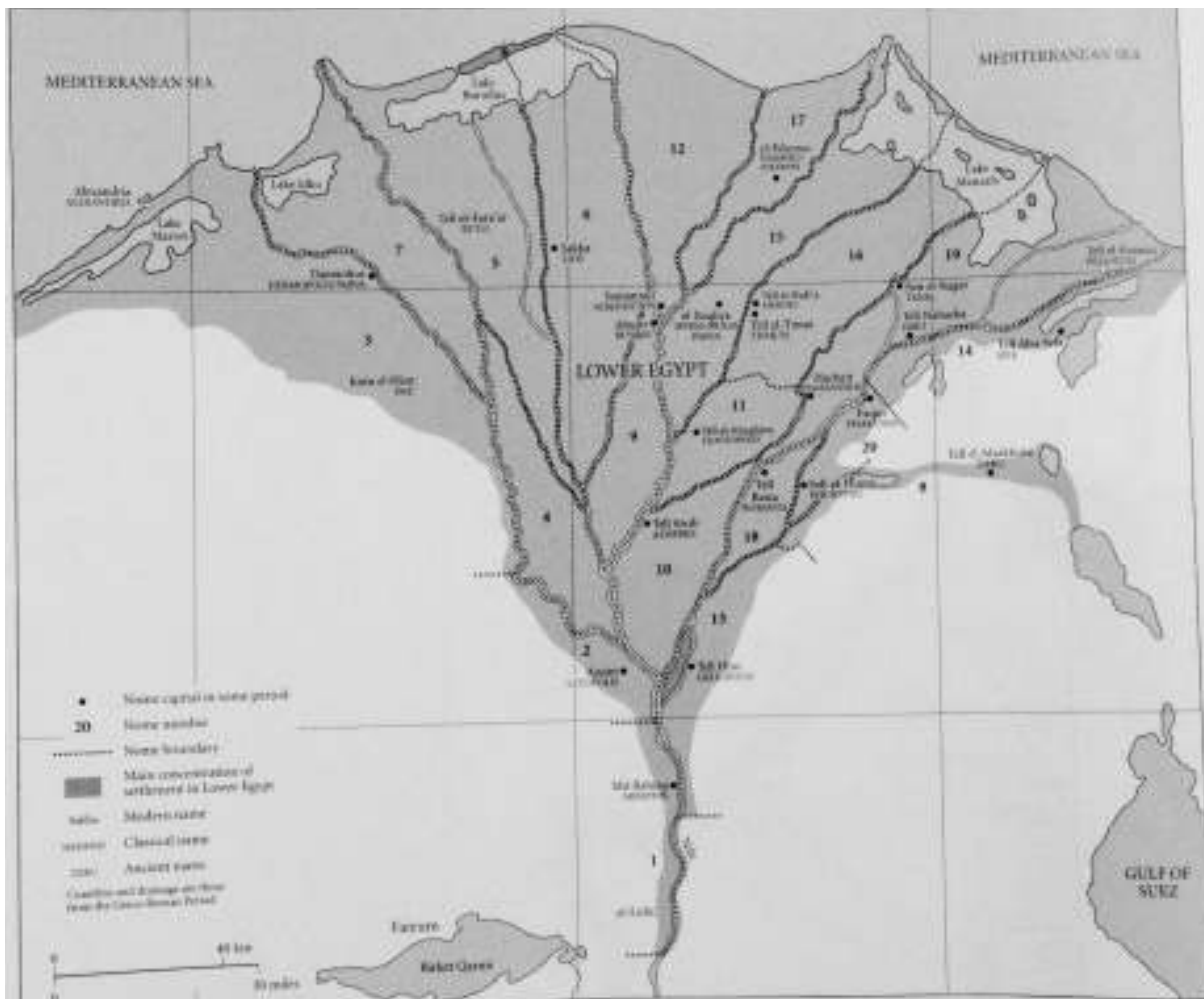
**Fig. 29:** The distribution of Egyptian statues per dynasty.



**Fig. 30:** The distribution of Roman statues per dynasty.



**Fig. 31:** The distribution of imperial statues on a small scale.



**Fig. 32:** The nomes and nome capitals of Lower Egypt.

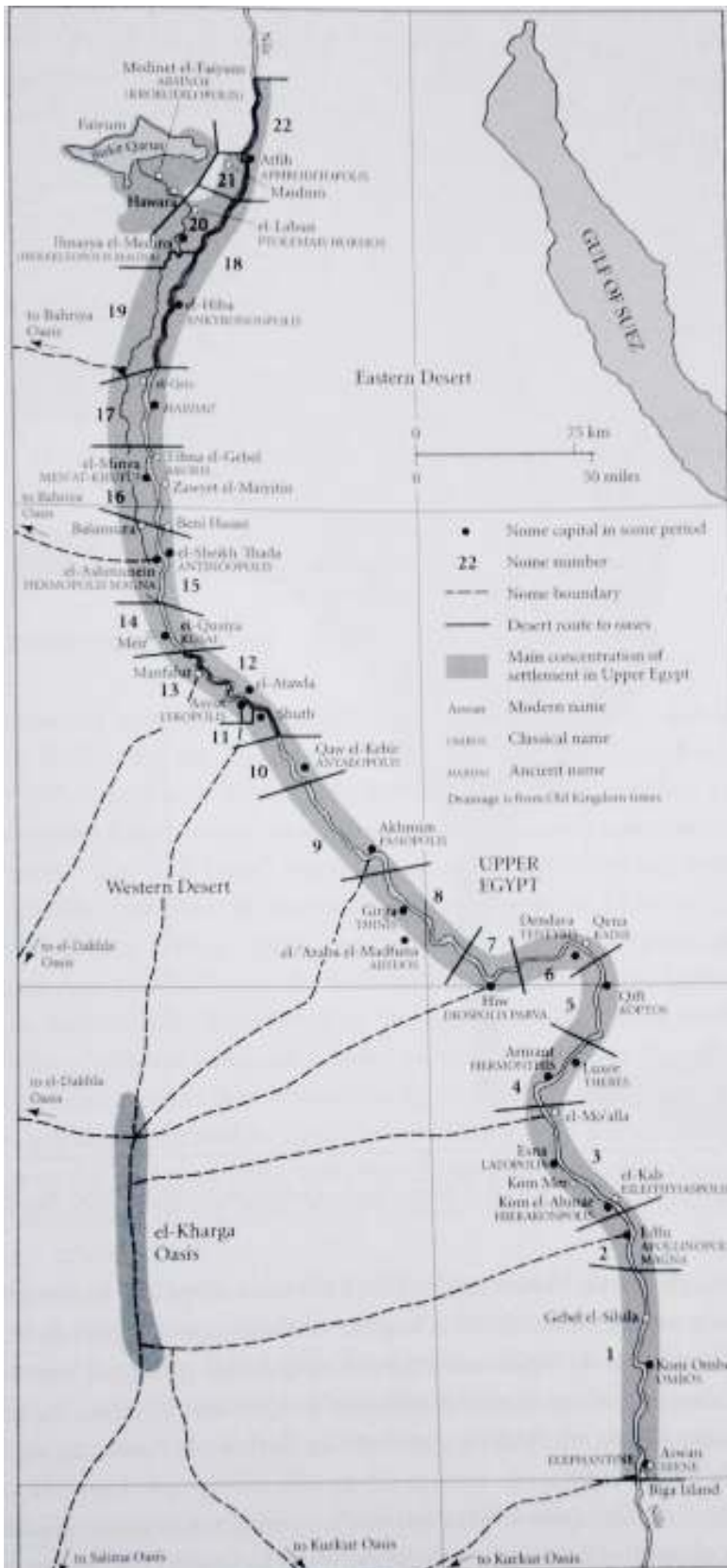
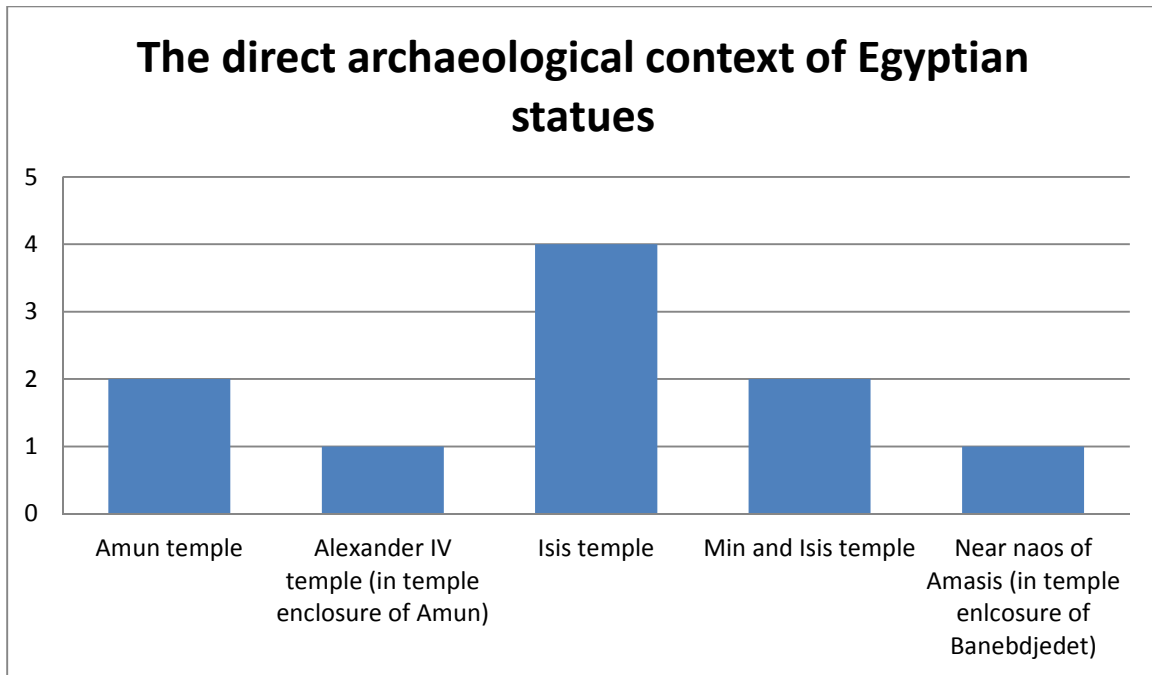
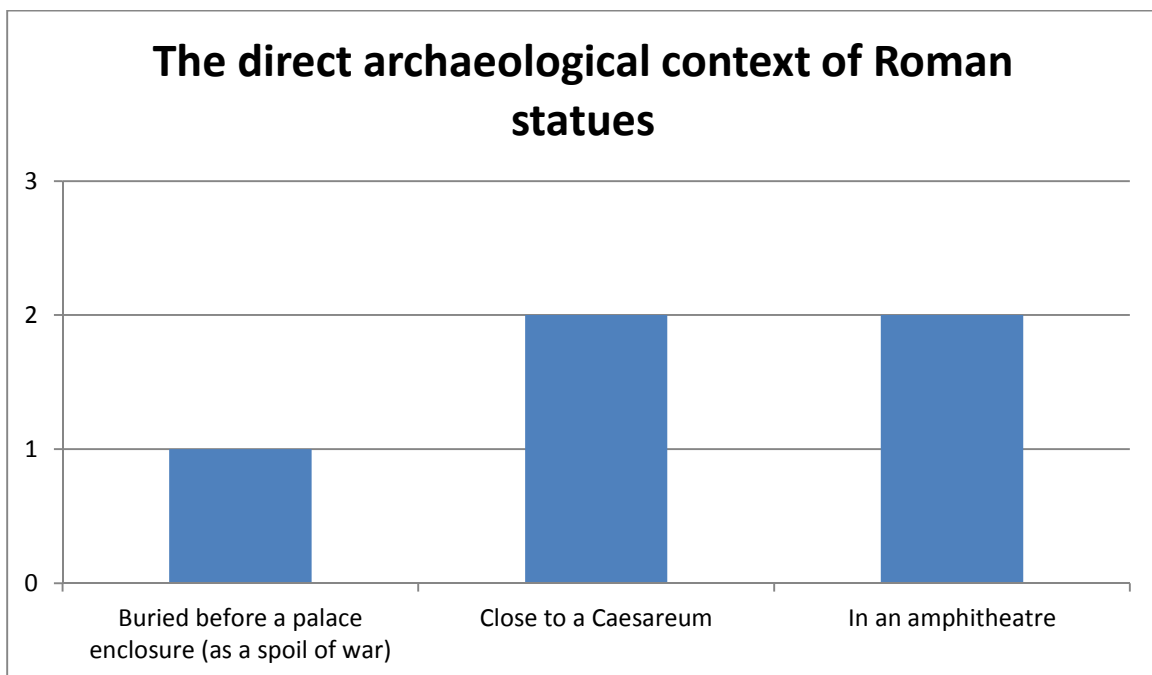


Fig. 33: The nomes and nome capitals of Upper Egypt.



**Fig. 34:** The direct archaeological context of Egyptian statues.



**Fig. 35:** The direct archaeological context of Roman statues.



**Attachment 2: Images of imperial statues**



**Statue nr. 1:** Augustus. Cairo, Egyptian Museum 13/3/15/3



**Statue nr. 2:** Augustus. Cairo, Egyptian Museum 701.



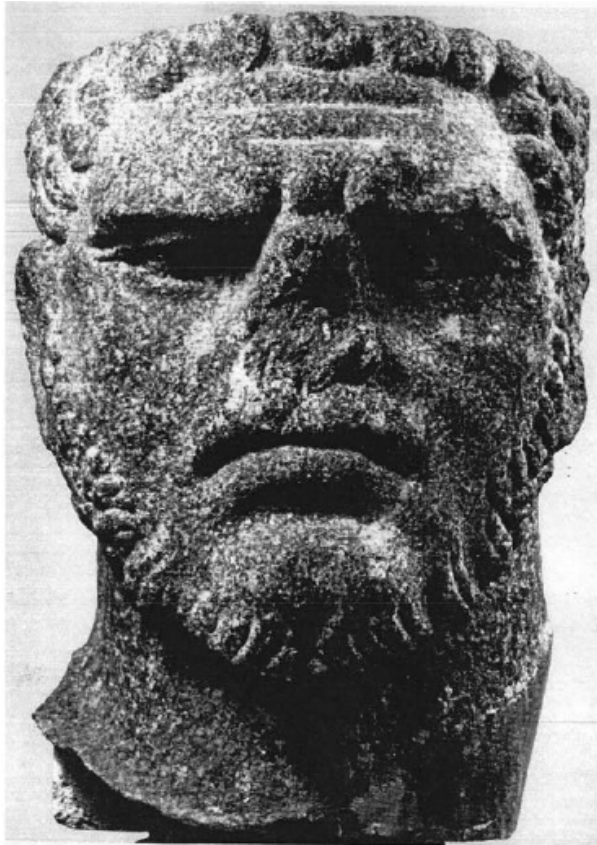
**Statue nr. 3:** Commodus. Lyon, Musée des Beaux Arts E501.



**Statue nr. 4:** Caracalla. Giza, antiquities storeroom.



**Statue nr. 5:** Caracalla. Cairo, Egyptian Museum 702.

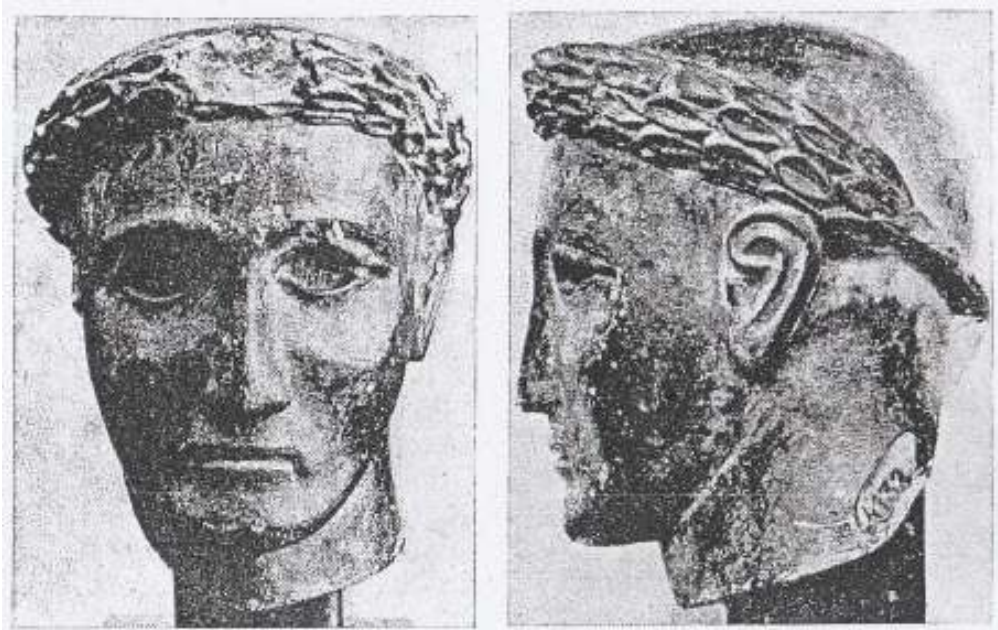


**Statue nr. 6:** Caracalla. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 3233.



**Statue nr. 7:** Caracalla. Philadelphia, University Museum E. 976.





**Statue nr. 8:** Maximinus Daia. Berlin, Staatliche Museen 4132.



**Statue nr. 9:** Domitian. Benevento, Museo del Sannio 260.



**Statue nr. 10:** Unknown. Benevento, Museo del Sannio 262.



**Statue nr. 11:** Domitian. Benevento, Museo del Sannio 263.





**Statue nr. 12:** Caracalla. Benevento, Museo del Sannio 264.



**Statue nr. 13:** Antinoos.  
Munich, Glyptothek W.A.F. 24.



**Statue nr. 14:** Antinoos.  
Rome, Museo Greg. Egizio 99.





**Statue nr. 15:** Antinoos. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 433.



**Statue nr. 16:** Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR. 100.1937.



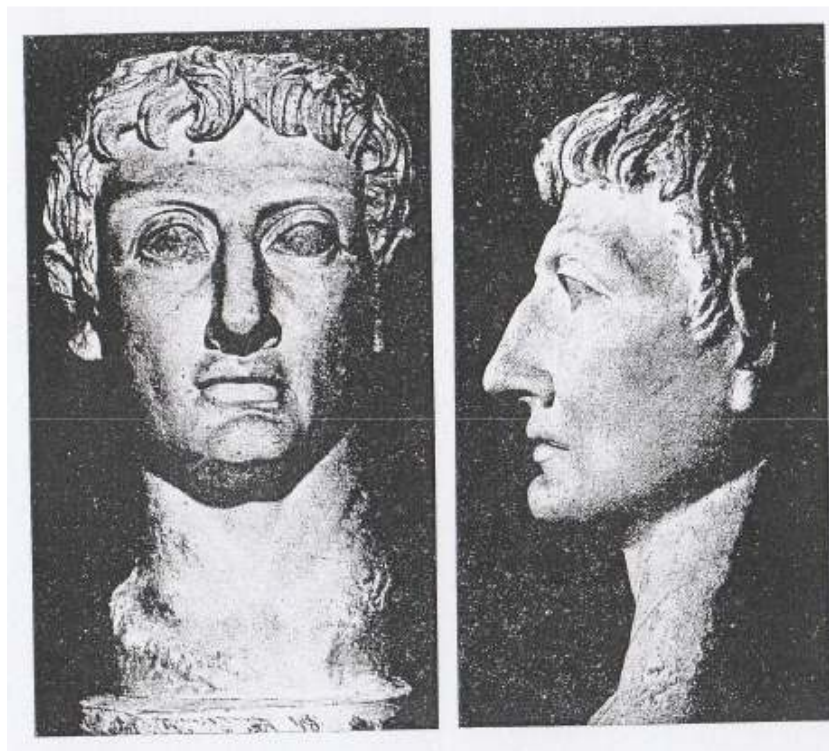
**Statue nr. 17:** Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum 192.



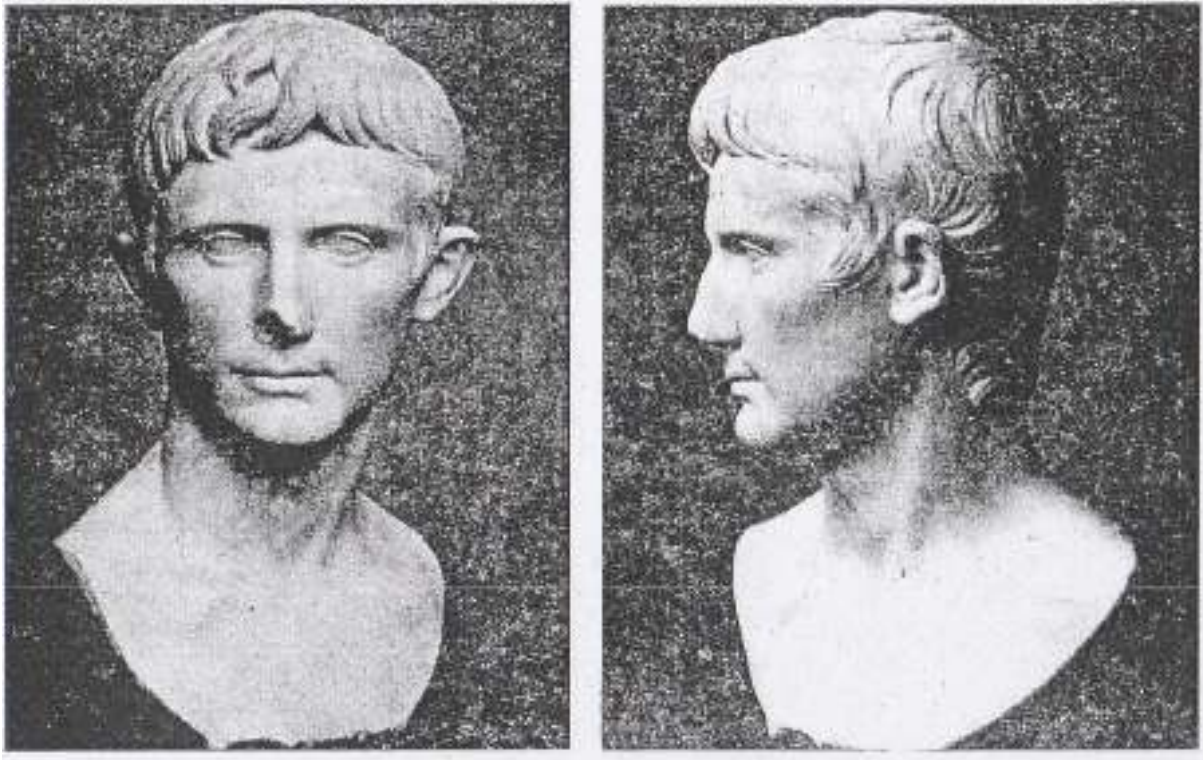
**Statue nr. 18:** Augustus. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum 1.35



**Statue nr. 19:** Augustus. London, British museum 1911.9.1,1.



**Statue nr. 20:** Augustus. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman museum 24043.

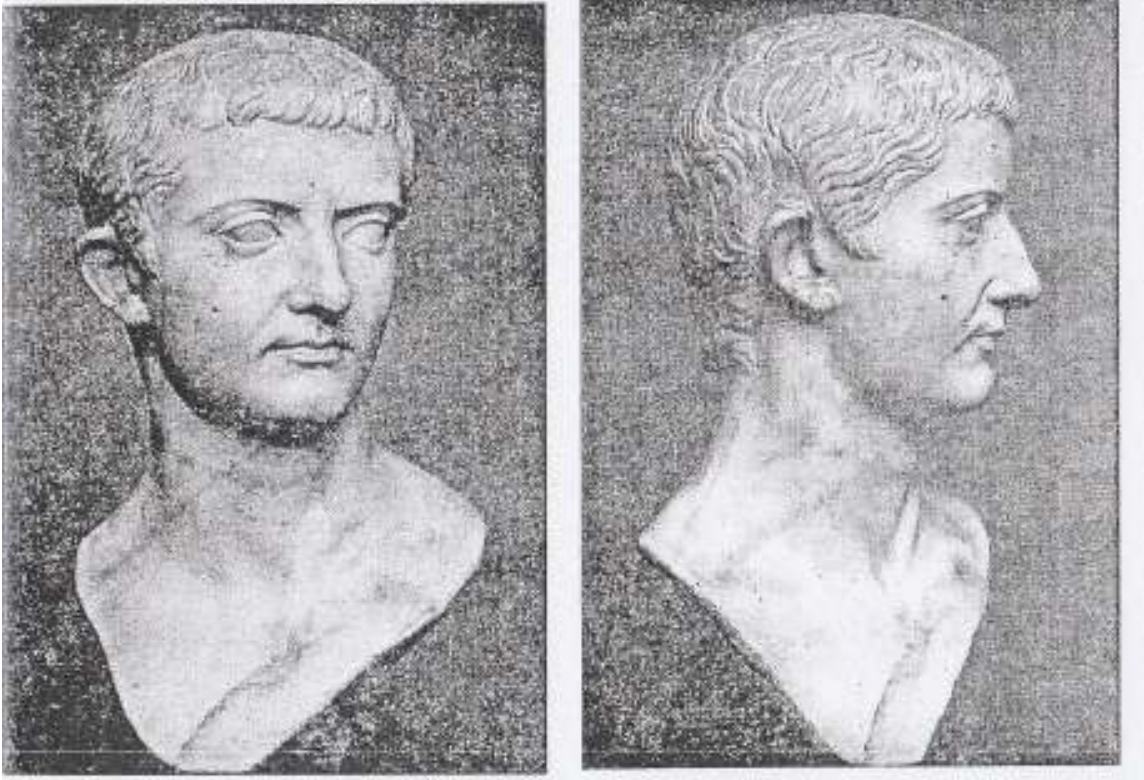


**Statue nr. 21:** Augustus. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyphotek 1443.

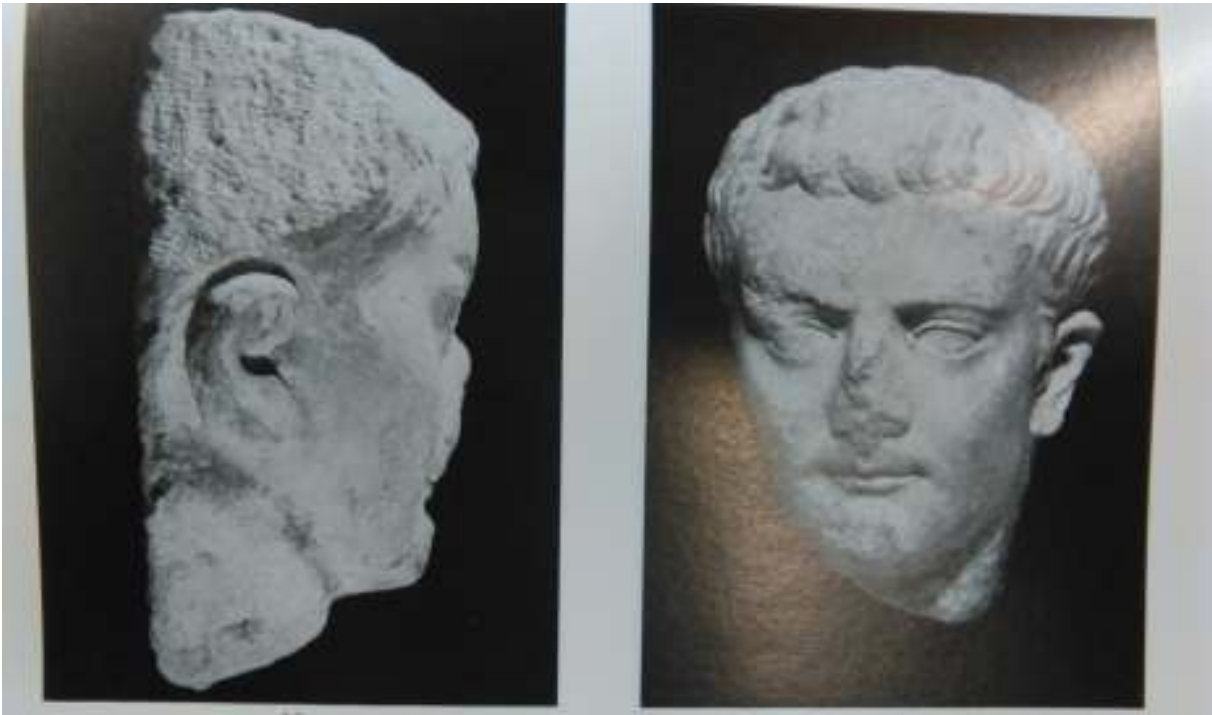


**Statue nr. 22:** Augustus. New York, Metropolitan museum 26.7.1426.

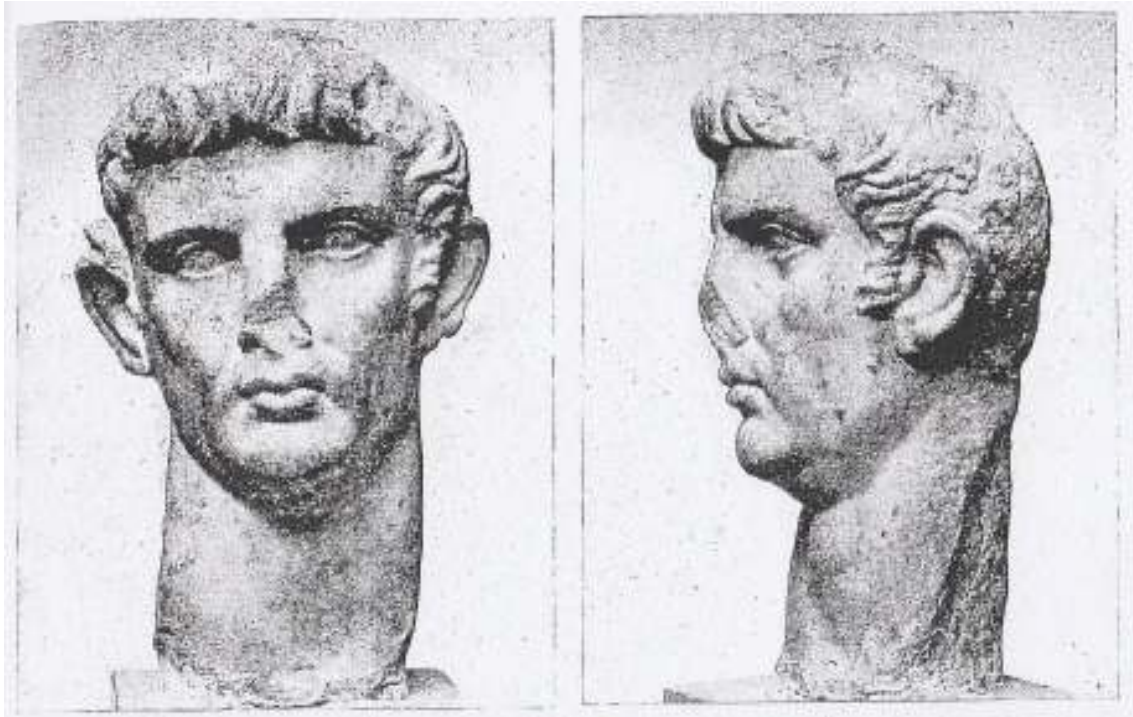




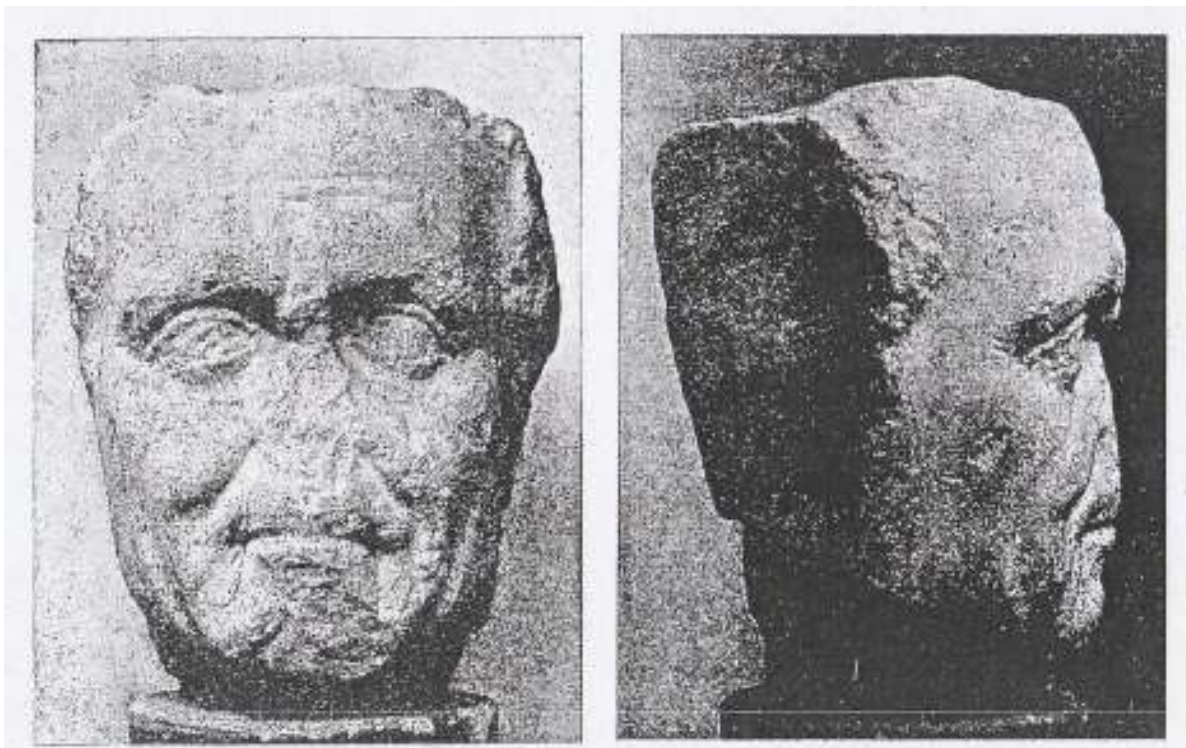
**Statue nr. 23:** Tiberius. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1445.



**Statue nr. 24:** Tiberius. Berkeley, Robert H. Lowie Museum of Anthropology 8-4587.



**Statue nr. 25.** Claudius. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman museum 25713.



**Statue nr. 26:** Vespasian. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 21543.



**Statue nr. 27:** Vespasian. Cairo, Egyptian Museum 6/7/24/14.

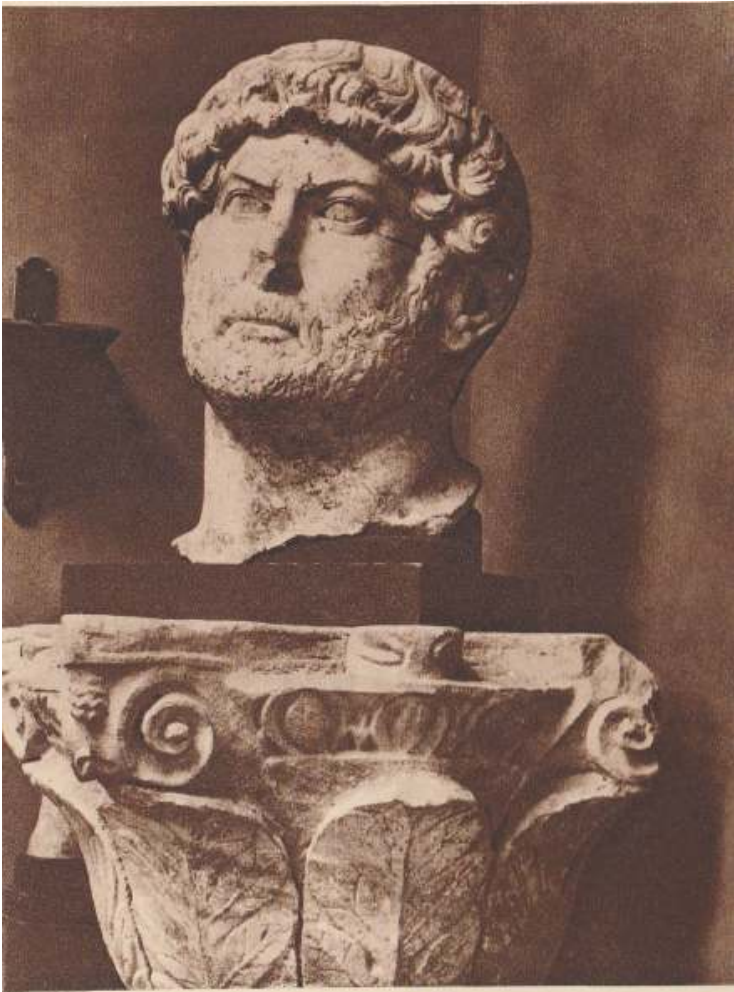


**Statue nr. 28:** Vespasian/Titus. London, British Museum 1972.





**Statue nr. 29:** Trajan. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 20913.



**Statue nr. 30:** Hadrian. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman museum 20885.

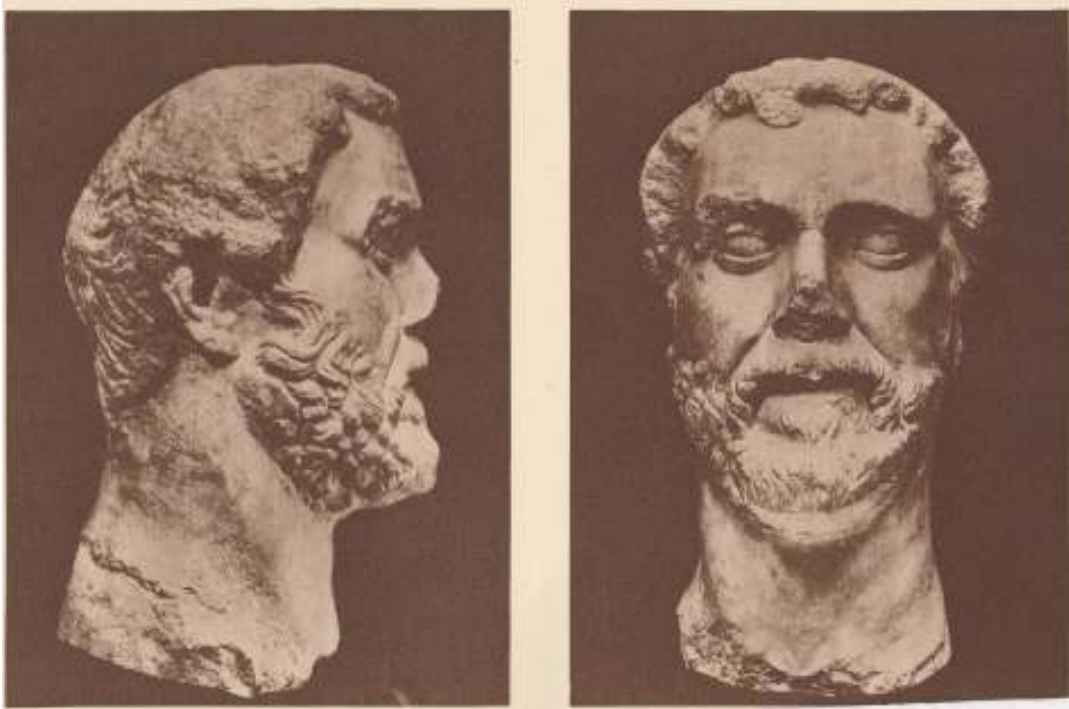




**Statue nr. 31:** Hadrian. Boston, Museum of Fine arts 1975.292.



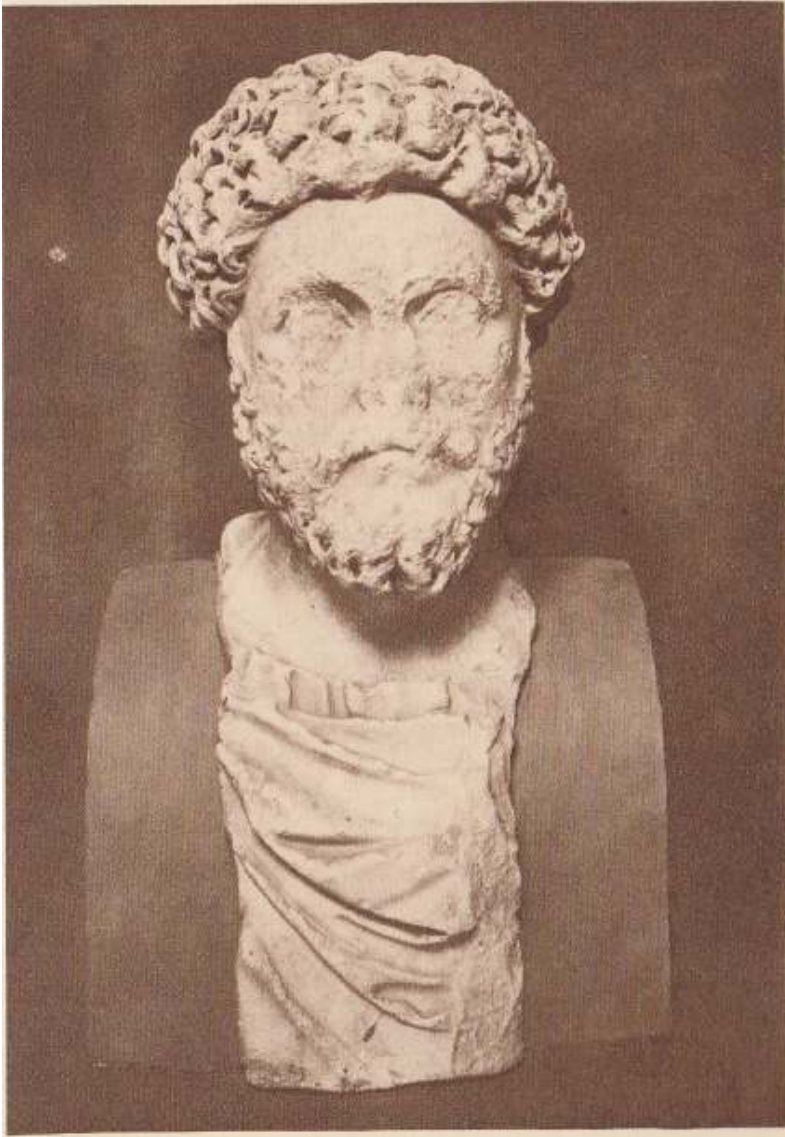
**Statue nr. 32:** Hadrian. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 25062.



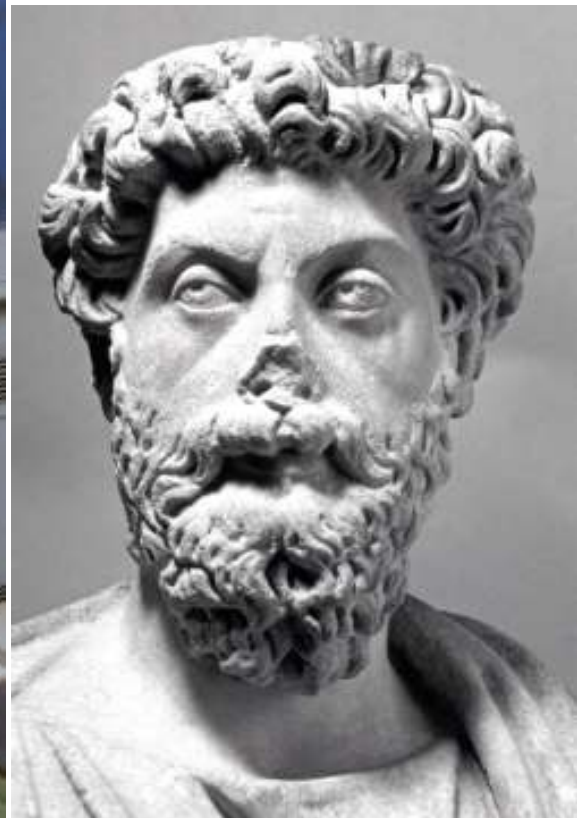
**Statue nr. 33:** Antoninus Pius. Cairo, Egyptian Museum 41650.



**Statue nr. 34:** Marcus Aurelius. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 3250.



**Statue nr. 35:** Marcus Aurelius. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 21640.

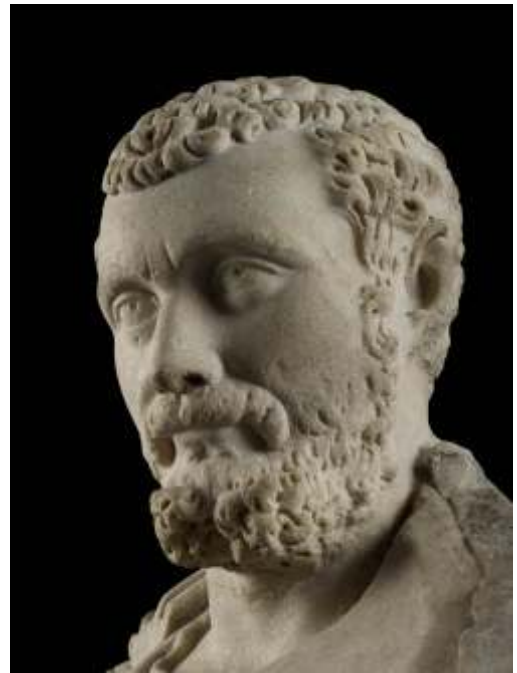


**Statue nr. 36:** Marcus Aurelius. London, British Museum 1906.

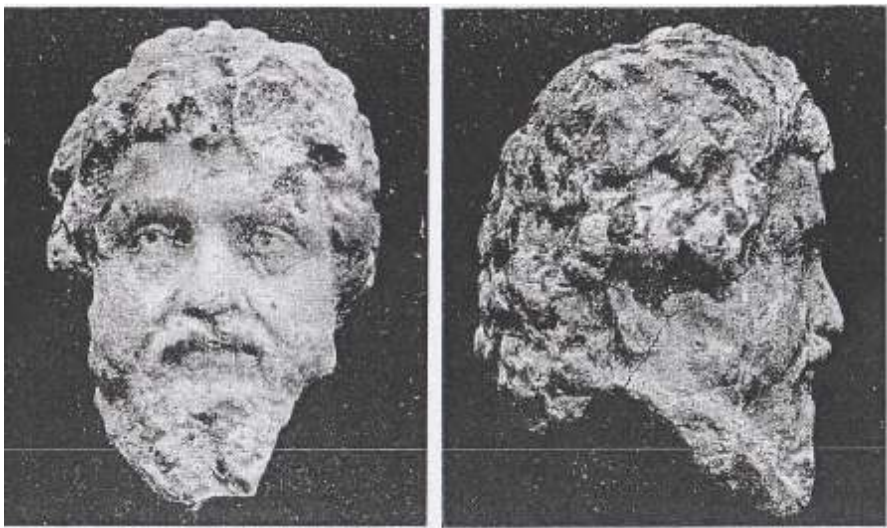


**Statue nr. 37:** Septimius Severus. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 3608.

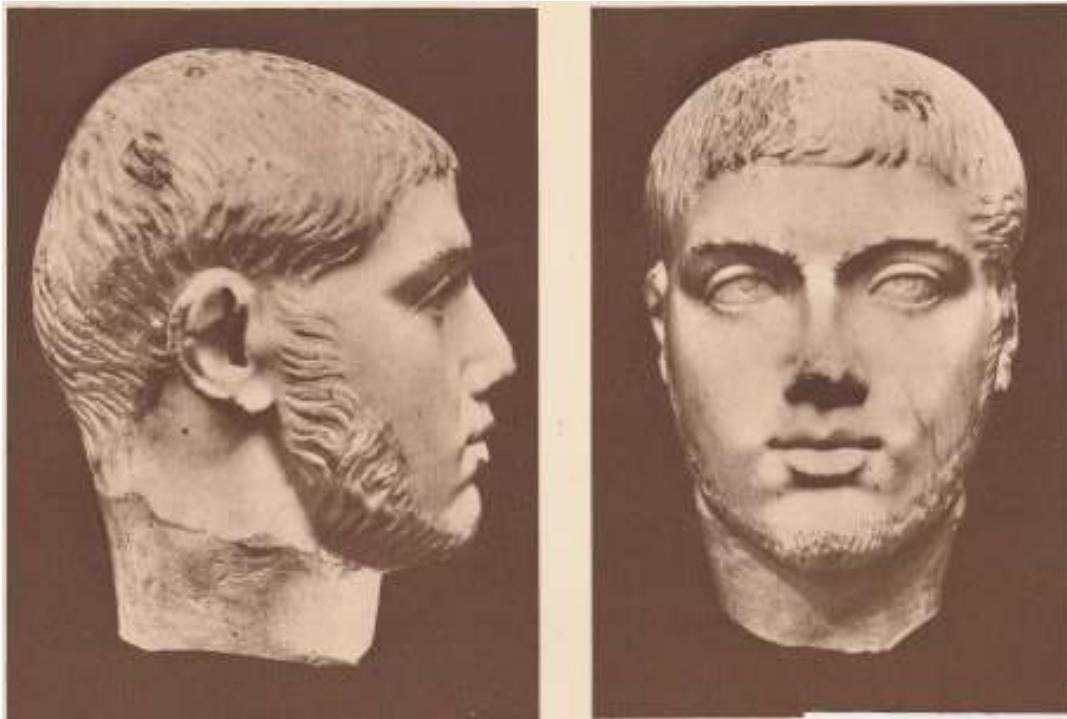




**Statue nr. 38:** Septimius Severus. London, British Museum 1944.



**Statue nr. 39:** Septimius Severus. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 16421.



**Statue nr. 40:** Alexander Severus. Cairo, Egyptian Museum 27480.



**Statue nr. 41:** Diocletian. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum 5954 (formerly 5934?).



**Statue nr. 42:** Galerius. Cairo, Egyptian Museum 7257.