Stage One Application for review of research proposal by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee

Name(s) of researcher: Brian Heil

Department(s): Archaeology and Anthropology

Short title of project: Cultural Identity of Hellenistic and Roman Eastern Mediterranean

1.Please answer each question by ticking the appropriate column

	Yes[a]	No
1. Does the study involve participants who are particularly vulnerable or unable to give informed consent? (e.g. children, people with learning disabilities, other university students)		X
2. Will the study require the co-operation of a gatekeeper for initial access to the groups or individuals to be recruited? (e.g. headmistress of a school, manager of a nursing home, religious leader at a place of worship)		X
3. Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge and consent at the time? (e.g. covert observation of people in non-public places)		X
4. Will the study involve discussion of sensitive topics (e.g. sexual activity, drug use)?		X
5. Is it likely that the study will induce psychological stress or anxiety or cause harm or negative consequences beyond the risks encountered in normal life?		X
6. Will the study involve the use or storage of personal data, which could be used to identifying a living individual? [b]		X
7. Will the study involve blood or tissue samples less than 100 years old? [c]		X
8. Will the Study involve the use of culturally sensitive material or material that has been obtained illegally, or activities that might be considered as illegal in the country of research? [d]		X
9. Will the study involve animals (either use or observation)? [e]		X

2. If you have answered 'yes' to any of the above, or feel that your research involves particular ethical issues that are not listed above, then you will need to submit a more detailed review of your research, and how you intend to meet the particular ethical challenges faced by your research.

Signature of Researcher: Date: 11 September 2012

Signature of Faculty Research Ethics Officer/ supervisor: Date:

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Taught Degree Programs and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the author's own. Work done in collaboration with, or the assistance of, others is indicated as such, any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: DATE:

ABSTRACT

During the period of Greek Hellenism through the Roman Empire, harbor cities of the eastern Mediterranean were under the control of foreign powers. Cultural identity in these cities, already complex due to wide trade networks, is significantly altered by foreign invaders; but this can be a two way process. The invaders may well begin to take on aspects of the conquered peoples, thus creating a unique cultural blend of two or more cultures. However, the Romans seemed to resist this two-way transmission instead forcing their own as the dominant culture. Still, this hybrid cultural identity became a popular tool for foreign invaders to establish themselves as a legitimate continuation of past rulers; a method Alexander the Great was notorious for implementing.

Therefore, I would argue that Hellenistic harbor cities of the eastern Mediterranean conquered by foreign invaders were more likely to adopt aspects of the invaders' customs and identity - and vice versa - into a hybridized, *syncretic* cultural personality. Inversely, Roman controlled harbor cities were almost always adapted and changed to reflect Roman standards and identity. The conquered people were expected to *become* Roman, while the Roman people themselves remained aloof in their sense of superiority.

Through the study of historical sources such as Josephus, Philo, Caesar, Strabo and more in addition to the analyses of artifact assemblages and site reports from excavations of both harbors, I intend to highlight the similarity of Caesarea and Alexandria under Greek Hellene and Roman rules. The intent is to focus primarily on the harbor of both locations as an expression of the intersection of trade and culture, as well as the unique position of both cities having relatively well preserved ancient harbors. Caesarea and Alexandria both have been heavily built and rebuilt, expanded and torn down from antiquity to present resulting in very little archaeological evidence remaining on land. The harbors on the other hand have been largely left *in situ* as both suffered from natural disasters which submerged many aspects of both. This unprecedented access to Hellenistic and Roman life in the two locations will help us in achieving a better understanding of how foreign interests were handled and the local cultures reaction to their presence.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABBREVIATIONS

CAHEP: Caesarea Ancient Harbor Excavation Project

CCE: Combined Caesarea Expeditions

IAA: Israeli Antiquities Authority

IEASM: International European Archaeology Sous-Marine

INTRODUCTION

Harbor cities can be viewed as gateways into a culture; reflecting values, aesthetics, architecture, religion, art and economics of a particular people. Harbor cities which fall under the possession of foreign powers don't necessarily lose their unique cultural identity, but it does change. The goods moving through the harbors, languages being spoken, religious practices and more can all be radically or subtly altered when a harbor is held by foreign entities. But the change can also flow the other direction, where those foreign powers absorb aspects of the local culture and population which they have conquered, changing their structures of belief, practice and way of life. In the Hellenistic (c. 330 – 30 BCE) and Roman (c.27 – 400 BCE) periods, many cities and nations fell to foreign invaders such as Alexander the Great, Ptolemy I Soter, Antiochus, Julius Caesar, Caesar Augustus and many more. Most of these leaders attempted to become more than just a foreign conqueror, trying to assimilate themselves - at least outwardly - into the roles of leadership of the particular culture they had defeated. Alexander was quite famous for this, taking upon himself the mantles of local custom and leadership to cement his position as ruler, a tactic which many others sought to duplicate. However, some were more successful than others, while still more didn't even try; instead demanding that the conquered people bend to their will and their way of life.

I would therefore argue that Hellenistic harbor cities of the Mediterranean situated in lands foreign to those who claimed them were more likely to adopt aspects of local customs and identity into a hybridized, *syncretic* cultural personality. While not the case in every circumstance due to the fractured nature of the Greek City States post Alexander the Great, Roman harbors on the other hand were near always adapted and changed to be havens of Roman life, politics, economy and culture due mainly to its status as a unified society with a strong sense of its place and superiority in the world.

A. Methodology

In an attempt to identify the cultural identity represented by Hellenistic Greek and Roman port cities held in foreign lands of the eastern Mediterranean, I compared the findings of recent archaeological expeditions in Alexandria, Egypt by the IEASM led by Franck Goddio; as well as CAHEP under the direction of Avner Raban in Caesarea Maritima, Israel with aspects of the historic record to extrapolate how these types of cities lived and the shared cultural identity of their mixed inhabitants. Many of the finds analyzed come as the result of underwater surveys and excavations from the harbors as land-based material remains of both cities have been largely eliminated due to war, disaster and near constant building and rebuilding projects.

Caesarea was preceded by a minor Hellenistic settlement called Straton's Tower which was founded by a Phoenician King in the mid-third century BCE and later became a part of Ptolemy II's

Egyptian domain. Eventually falling into disrepair, in circa 22 BCE the Jewish King, Herod, used the location as the site for his grand Roman-style city Caesarea and its harbor Sebastos. Completely man-made, it was laid out in a Roman grid plan, utilizing Roman architectural and artistic style; but quite famously not Roman materials. When Judaea was annexed as a province of Rome in 66 AD after a series of Jewish revolts, massive reconstruction and expansion projects utilizing imported marble began to erase much of the original Herodian city, molding itself into a "little Rome" in the eastern Mediterranean.

Alexandria precedes Caesarea in date and was founded by Alexander the Great in circa 331 BCE, though he died prior to its completion never having set eyes on what his actions created. Laid out in a Graeco grid pattern, similar in fact to later Roman style, it was also completely man-made. Initially it was seen as a haven of Greece outside or on the fringes of Egypt (ad Aegyptum), but under the Ptolemy Dynasty (c. 221-30 BCE) it eventually became a hybrid of Graeco-Egyptian culture, religion, art and architecture. When it was lost to Roman invaders lead by Caesar Augustus in 30 BCE, much of the original architecture was initially kept intact with exceptions of those destroyed during Julius Caesar's war with the Alexandrians. Roman art and architecture slowly began to be erected in its place in an attempt to diminish its Hellenistic roots in favor of Roman legitimacy, especially after a tsunami in the fourth century AD destroyed most of the harbor installations and ancient coastline.

The two primary questions asked throughout the research have been:

1) Do the historical record and archaeological evidence match or refute the common-held narrative of eastern Mediterranean harbor cities occupied by Greek and Roman powers?

2) What sort of cultural identity emerges in eastern Mediterranean harbor cities under the regime of foreign rulers.

Through analyses of archaeological artifact assemblage reports, excavation reports and archaeological finds; as well as thorough readings of Josephus, Pontius Pilate, Strabo, Arrian, Philo, Tacitus and more, I hope to express that foreign ports under Hellenized Greek rule were more apt to adopt aspects of the local culture into their own, creating a hybrid, *syncretic* culture unique to each city. These Hellenized connections are disbanded under Roman rule in an attempt to assign only aspects of Roman culture into their foreign holdings, creating a cultural extension of Rome itself.

CHAPTER ONE: Straton's Tower

A. Historiography

Straton's Tower (later Caesarea Maritima) originated as a Greek settlement in the 3rd century BCE, occupying a space on the coastline of Palestine that became a haven of Greek traders, immigrants and culture. As Elpida Hadjidaki notes, Straton's Tower is difficult to reconstruct due to subsequent building projects by Herod the Great, and the rapid expansions of the city under Roman and Byzantine rule (Hadjidaki 1996). In appearance, Straton's Tower appears to be a small settlement situated around two harbors, North and South. It was a small settlement, thriving in minor trade throughout the eastern Mediterranean and was a safe harbor for ships to enter in rough weather. However, it fell out of use by the late second century BCE, and as Josephus notes, "He (Herod) noticed on the coast a town called Straton's Tower, in a state of decay..." (Josephus 1981). However, despite it's being located in Palestine as well as being initially founded by a Phoenician King, the remains of Straton's Tower reveal a very Hellenistic, Graeco-centered sense of identity. Whether this is mainly due to trade, the dominance of the Ptolemaic dynasty post Alexander the Great, or merely Greek immigration to the small settlement, large amounts of Greek Hellenistic pottery has been found on site as well as architectural styles matching sites in Hellenistic Greece.

Straton's Tower, as noted by Raban and the Caesarea Ancient Harbor Excavation Project (CAHEP), was likely established by the Phoenician King of Sidon Abd-Ashtart - whose Hellenized name is thought to be translated as Straton - in the late 4th to early 3rd centuries BCE (Raban 1989, 25; Stieglitz 1996). However, this is still strongly contested by many scholars with Robert Stieglitz arguing that the town was founded during the Ptolemaic Period when the land between Phoenicia and Egypt fell under their dominion. He further argues that the "earliest epigraphic reference to a coastal town called Straton's Tower are dated to 259 BCE" (Stieglitz 1996, 593) and that while others argue for its being named after the Phoenician King, it was probably named after the Ptolemaic Admiral Straton, who also named a Red Sea island as 'Straton's Island' (Stieglitz 1996, 596). Stieglitz additionally argues for its founding by Admiral Straton citing evidence from Justinian's reign in which he documents the settlement as being founded by a man named 'Straton', as well as a golden cup depicting the founding of Straton's Tower in a similar manner (Stieglitz 1996).

It is likely that the initial town, as evidenced by artifacts found on site, was founded by one of the Kings of Sidon as a storage port; but came into prominence under the Ptolemaic dynasty. Epigraphically, there is little evidence suggesting that a Phoenician King established the settlement under the name of 'Straton's Tower'. Admiral Straton is the likely candidate for the origin of the town's name due to the dense amount of Hellenistic Greek artifacts found at the site.

B. The Harbor

Evidence of Hellenistic pottery has been found in the CAHEP harbor basin excavations and prior by archaeologist Avi-Yonah. Additionally, Raban's excavations for CAHEP have unearthed two round towers off the shore submerged in 1.5 meters of water. The first, measuring 13 meters in diameter, was found 20 meters off the current shoreline. (fig. ? Pg 35 of notes) It matched two towers in the inner fortifications of Caesarea which have been dated stylistically as pre-Herodian. Raban postulates that it may have been a guard tower, lighthouse - or both - which was typical of Hellenistic fortified harbors (Raban 1989). Additionally, it can be inferred that, due to the location of the tower within the harbor, it is pre-Herodian in date as it does not fit with the harbor plan of Sebastos. The Raban excavations of 1976 found archaeological evidence for a carved inner basin of the Hellenistic harbor which was three times larger than earlier conjectures had led scholars, including Raban, to believe (Raban 1996). Raban states that "The very location of the round tower does not fit any reasonable layout other than that of a protecting feature at the entrance to a closed basin." (Raban 1996, 632). These findings by Raban and the CAHEP team make it clear that it would not fit the layout of Sebastos as a defensive feature, meaning that it was part of the earlier settlement and defensive plan of Straton's Tower. However, no remains of a sea wall were discovered leading from the tower to the shore, which may have been cut out or eroded. This is a disturbing aspect to the layout, but further investigation by Stieglitz has led him to create a conjectured reconstruction of the layout of Straton's Tower's harbor basin. Based on Stieglitz's plan, the towers may have been located at the water's edge, and the surrounding walls would have been on land. Further, as this basin was widened and enlarged in the construction of Sebastos, those walls may have been removed and the material used elsewhere. The issue with this theory however, and further investigation may be able to answer, is the fact that the towers were left *in situ* by the Herod's Roman builders.

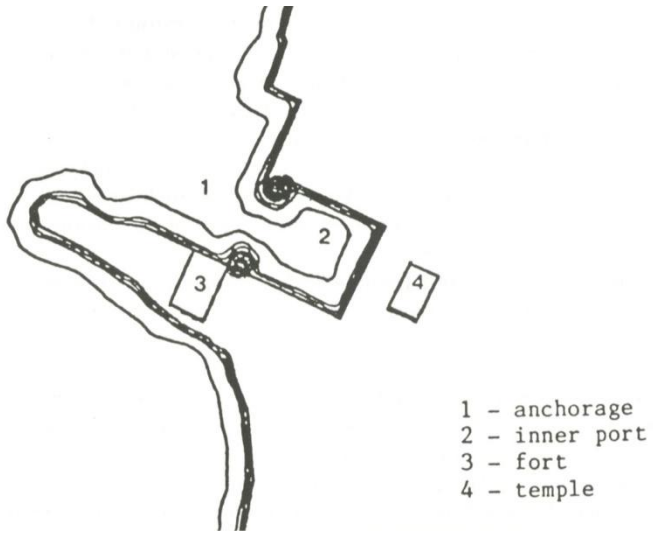

Fig. 01: Sketched layout of Straton's Tower by Robert Stieglitz

The Hellenistic quay - located by CAHEP teams - is located north of the Herodian harbor Sebastos. Made up of a semi-lagoon type cove, the Hellenistic harbor would have provided calm

water and safe anchorage for a small number of ships. Part of the mole of Straton's Tower was found during CAHEP surveys, as well as several pottery sherds dating to the 2nd century BCE. Additionally, Raban writes that "Blocks at the waterline set in a header pattern are probably part of a loading dock similar to those of Phoenician date at Athlit and Akko." (Raban 1989; 26). Hellenistic amphoras from Rhodes, as well as pottery sherds from the western Mediterranean were found in large quantities at the header dating from 3rd - 2nd century BCE. The presence of the amphoras - and their being classified as wine amphoras - suggest that Straton's Tower may have been a minor participant in the Mediterranean wine trade. Additionally, the remains of one of the earliest quays found below the water's surface on the southeast side of the harbor basin was constructed of ashlar blocks with no binding mixture. This can reasonably be argued as a pre-Herodian construction due to the lack of hydraulic cement (mixture of rubble and pozzolana) which was not introduced to Palestine until the late 1st century BCE (Blackman 1996).

Architectural remains of the pre-Herodian structures of Straton's Tower have parallels in style and function to several other Hellenistic sites such as Samaria, Akko, and Dor (Raban 1989). The inner towers and walls of the original Herodian harbor of Sebastos have within them unaltered aspects of the defensive walls of Straton's Tower. CAHEP teams noted that portions of the northern wall are composed of ashlar with no binding materials. The two towers were found by the CAHEP team and determined to be entrance gate defense towers for the original Hellenistic settlement which were then incorporated into Herod's building plan for Caesarea. The scale of this section of wall and the towers would be too small for Herodian Caesarea, leaving the theater and amphitheater outside (Raban 1989). Due to the team's discovery, it can be safely assumed that these walls were already in existence prior to the construction of Caesarea. Additionally, as Levine points out, the tower plan and the "indentured trace pattern mentioned by Philo of Byzantium" were common architectural features of 4th and 3rd century BCE fortifications (Philo 1972).

Robert Stieglitz speculates that Herod used the existing defensive elements of Straton's Tower in his construction of the inner wall of Caesarea, effectively to separate the harbor of Sebastos from the city itself (Stieglitz 1996 FIG?). Stieglitz's conjecture is based in part by the archaeological evidence, which is quite convincing on its own. However, he also cites Josephus' writings as suggesting that the damaged and derelict walls of Straton's Tower may have been repaired and rebuilt, at least in part, by Herod (Stieglitz 1996; Josephus 1981).

C. Artifacts and Remains

Several of the artifacts found dating to the the period of Straton's Tower were discovered both within the inner basin and the Temple Platform. Additionally, smaller deposits have been located throughout the site. Ceramics dominate the finds at 66% of the total counted. This is mostly

due to the rough environmental conditions of the sea on iron, glass, wood etc. Within the foundations of the Temple Platform, fragments of Rhodian amphoras and eastern sigillata were discovered dating to late second to early first century BCE (Van 1989; Raban 1989). These artifacts were more than likely used in the Herodian construction project of Caesarea and Sebastos, but represent items that would have been on hand for use as fill in the foundations. The amphoras found within the foundations of the Temple Platform were most likely those left when the settlement fell into disuse, and would indicate that Straton's Tower did in fact participate in trade; the degree of which is more difficult to ascertain.

A semi-large deposit of ceramics were found in the the thin layer of mud near the eastern quay of the inner basin. Of the ceramic finds within the harbor basin, most were kitchen and utilitarian wares which were locally made. Some elements of utilitarian wares were imported from the western Mediterranean, but almost all of the fine wares were imported from Greece and Italy in the West, and the Levant in the East. (Fitzgerald et al. 1994) On the surface these finds would suggest that the main import for the settlement were fine wares, but amphoras in a sense were far more valuable commodities due to their size/volume and packability on ships. It can be inferred that wine, oils and other goods were imported to Straton's Tower within amphoras where more care would have been taken in their handling and less would have been lost or broken within the harbor.

Proposed Chronology	Amphoras Total	%	Utilitarian Wares Total	%	Fine Wares Total	%	Lamps Total	%	Total	Percent
IV B.C.E.	1	0.9	–		–		–		1	0.2
III B.C.E.	2	1.8	–		–		–		2	0.3
III/II B.C.E.	–		2	0.9	3	1.4	–		5	0.9
III/I B.C.E.	–		1	0.4	–		–		1	0.2
III B.C.E./I C.E.	–		2	0.9	–		–		2	0.3
III B.C.E./II C.E.	–		1	0.4	–		–		1	0.2
II B.C.E.	2	1.8	–		7	3.3	–		9	1.5
II/I B.C.E.	10	8.9	15	6.7	21	10.0	–		46	7.9
II B.C.E./I C.E.	–		5	2.2	6	2.9	–		11	1.9
II B.C.E./III C.E.	–		2	0.9	–		–		2	0.3
II B.C.E./IV C.E.	–		1	0.4	–		–		1	0.2
II B.C.E./V C.E.	–		2	0.9	–		–		2	0.3
II B.C.E./VI C.E.	–		1	0.4	–		–		1	0.2
I B.C.E.	4	3.6	2	0.9	1	0.5	–		7	1.2
I B.C.E./I C.E.	14	12.5	22	9.8	67	31.9	8	21.1111		19.0
I B.C.E./II C.E.	–		12	5.3	–		1	2.6	13	2.2
I B.C.E./III C.E.	–		9	4.0	–		–		9	1.5
I B.C.E./IV C.E.	–		2	0.9	–		–		2	0.3

Fig. 02: Ceramic Wares for Straton's Tower.

D. Cultural Identity

Straton's Towere represents a conundrum of sorts for historians and archaeologists due to the small footprint it has left in the written and archaeological record. A few things however can be inferred about the cultural identity of its citizens and the town in general as a small working harbor. Though minor in trade, it can be inferred from its size and the type of fortified remains that it was of at least minor value and somewhat affluent in nature. Likely founded by one of the four Phoenician Kings who bore the name Abd-Ashtart, it was only under the dominion of the Phoenicians for a relatively short period of time before the expansion of the Egyptian kingdom by Ptolemy II Philadelphus swallowed much of the coastal Levant. Hellenized Greeks would have immigrated

into the settlement after it had been claimed, slowly incorporating the new Graeco-Egyptian syncretism into their daily lives.

Straton's Tower shows evidence for strong ties to Hellenized religious worship closely resembling those of Ptolemiac Egypt. The primary evidence of deity worship fall under two forms; first as *Hellas,* a personification of Greece, second as *Agathe,* a personification of good. Stieglitz notes that both are closely tied to Isis worship and indicative of a strong Hellenized population of Graeco-Egyptian influence (Stieglitz 1996). Josephus even makes special note of the settlement's strong Greek personality, though how accurate his account can be so long after Caesarea's founding over the ruins of Straton's Tower is somewhat questionable. The Temple Platform - where Herod located his temple to Roma and Augustus - is thought to be the location of a temple dedicated to Isis. While walls and foundations have been uncovered dating to the Hellenistic settlement, no evidence for it belonging to a temple of any kind has been found. Unfortunately, King Herod's construction project was incredibly thorough in demolishing much of the original town. However, Herod also demonstrated a tendency to follow aspects of the original plan of Straton's tower, especially in the wall separating Caesarea from Sebastos. The temple platform has also been in place prior to Herod's construction project, and linking his choice of a religious site to a previous one, creating a transition in the mindset of the population, is not a strange notion.

Isis worship, while not definitive for the town of Straton's Tower, was nevertheless popular in coastal settlements throughout the region. Hellenized Greek settlements, especially in the eastern Mediterranean, would have had large amounts of exposure to this hybrid form of worship. The common way for the worship of Isis in Hellenized coastal settlements was in the form of *Isis Pelagia* (Maritime Isis). As Stieglitz notes, she was a patroness of sailors, who annually celebrated her with a nautical festival to herald the sailing season (Stieglitz 1996). He goes on to mention that "The ceremony originated in Egypt, but was celebrated in numerous Mediterranean harbor towns including the port of Rome at Ostia. In Latin, the festival was known as *Isidis navigum*, or the sailing of Isis", which has continuing practices in later Caesarea Maritima in the form of the city's patron goddess, Tyche (Stieglitz 1996, 594). Given the nature of the political climate of the eastern Mediterranean during the Hellenistic period, it is evident that Straton's Tower, while small in size, had definite connections to Graeco-Egyptian Hellenes.

Material remains indicate that the Settlement of Straton's Tower - named after the Greek admiral - took part in the worship of Isis in its hybrid form of *Isis Palagia,* giving testament to the spread of a Graeco-Egyptian merging of deity worship. *Isis Pelagia* was considered the patron goddess of sailors in the eastern Mediterranean, and foundation cuts of a semi-large structure found on the temple platform dating to a pre-Herodian timeframe indicate that it may have been the site for a temple to Isis prior to the town’s slow demise. Despite the settlement's location in Palestine,

no evidence of Jewish life has yet been discovered dating prior to the creation of Caesarea. Other material remains include Rhodian amphoras, as well as other eastern Mediterranean ceramics. Though not indicative of high levels of trade, it does give evidence to their being a clear connection in trade throughout the region. These would indicate a completely Hellenized town set, like Alexandria, in foreign lands in which traditional Greek values and modes of worship have been altered into a hybridized style.

Finally, despite its founding as a Phoenician settlement, Straton's Tower was viewed by Herod and historians such as Josephus as a decidedly Greek settlement. Stieglitz notes that Herod, by building a Roman style city and dedicating it to Augustus and Rome, intentionally tried - and succeeded - to shift the religious and cultural identity of the settlement away from Hellenized Greece and Egypt (Stieglitz 1996). Josephus consistently refers to the settlement as 'Straton's Tower', and despite Hadjidaki's argument for etymologically tracing the Phoenician King's Hellenized name to being Straton, the site carries tremendous amounts of Hellenistic Greek artifacts. As John Oleson writes, "The small finds strongly support historical sources that describe the site Herod selected for the construction of Sebastos as a small and derelict Hellenistic harbor.". He further notes that Hellenistic artifacts on land were only found next to the projected quay of Straton's Tower. (Oleson 1996; 365-366).

CHAPTER TWO: Caesarea Maritima

A. Historiography

Unlike Straton's Tower which, due to little historical or archaeological sources remaining, relies heavily on supposition and comparison to other, similar Hellenistic sites; Caesarea Maritima is possessed of an abundance of historical and archaeological evidence. Constructed in 22-10/9 BCE by Herod the Great, king of Judaea, it was completely man-made. The harbor of Sebastos was fully purpose-built to set Caesarea up as a regional hub of commerce, culture and politics. Herod, who was very pro-Roman in the Palestinian region, designed the layout of Caesarea and Sebastos to match Roman archetypes. The city was laid out using a grid-like pattern common to many other Roman cities, as well as architectural styles imported from Rome itself. Herod's crowning achievement was the dedication of the city's largest and most elaborate temple overlooking the harbor, a temple to Roma and Augustus.

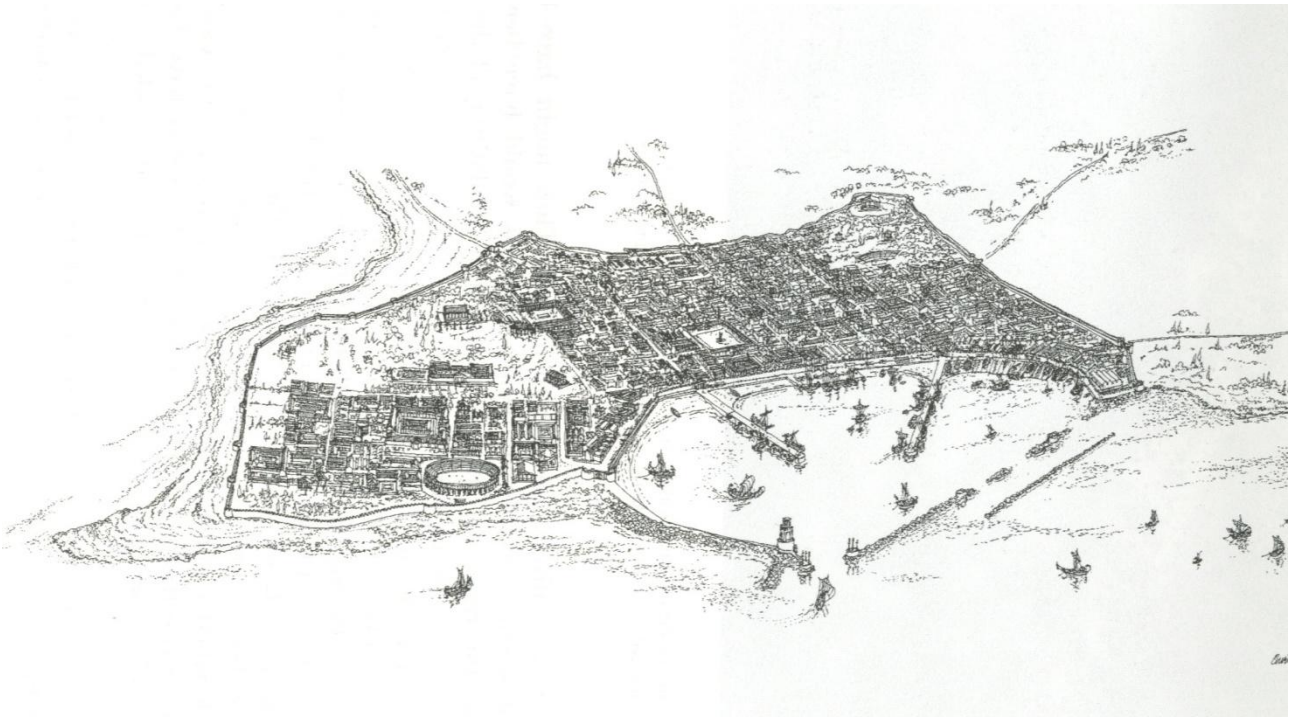

Fig 03: Artist reconstruction of Herodian Caesarea and Sebastos from archaeological finds.

After Herod's death and subsequent uprisings by the Jewish people, Rome began to exert more control by sending large armies to occupy parts of Judaea and appointing pro-Roman governors. Using Caesarea not only as the base of governance, the Romans maintained their main garrisons, supply lines and troop movements through the city. Architecturally, Herod's original city began to disappear very quickly as rapid expansion, Roman immigrants and troops caused massive building and redesign projects throughout the city. Marble began to be imported as Caesarea became a heavy importer and the original Kurkar buildings were torn down to make room for

improved structures. Caesarea maintained its popularity and economic strength throughout the first century and much of the second century AD, continually expanding and growing into a large and multicultural metropolitan center.

However, Caesarea was struck by natural disaster in the second century AD, damaging much of the harbor and consequently lost its dominating trade presence in the eastern Mediterranean. However, artifacts and sources seem to indicate that Caesarea was still able to prosper culturally and religiously and maintain its influence as a major hub in Palestine. Unfortunately its status as a trade center waned and never fully recovered despite half-hearted rebuilding projects at the end of the Roman period.

B. Sebastos

The city and harbor were intentionally built to represent a haven, or even an extension of Rome itself. As Robert Hohlfelder writes; "Herod conciously decided to create a port that would be a western enclave in the eastern Mediterranean" (Hohlfelder 1996, 78). Herod went all out in his building project, importing Roman architectural styles, builders and even materials. While a majority of the city was built using local kurkar stone made to look like imported marbles, Herod's builders did use Roman hydraulic cement. As Vitruvius explains, this specially made cement was a precise combination of lime and sand mortar, then mixed with volcanic sand (preferably from Mt. Vesuvius) and crushed pottery. This unique mixture was known as *pozzolana*, and as noted by Piero Gianfrotta, would have been an appropriate return cargo for many ships delivering Eastern Mediterranean goods to Rome. Rather than other forms of ballast, *pozzolana* would have been exceptionally useful, and profitable, during the years of construction of Sebastos (Gianfrotta 1996). Previous works by Brandon and Oleson however, found that the volcanic sand for the construction of Sebastos was primarily imported from modern Israel, even though Vitruvius recommends the use of sand from a specific locale (Brandon 1996).

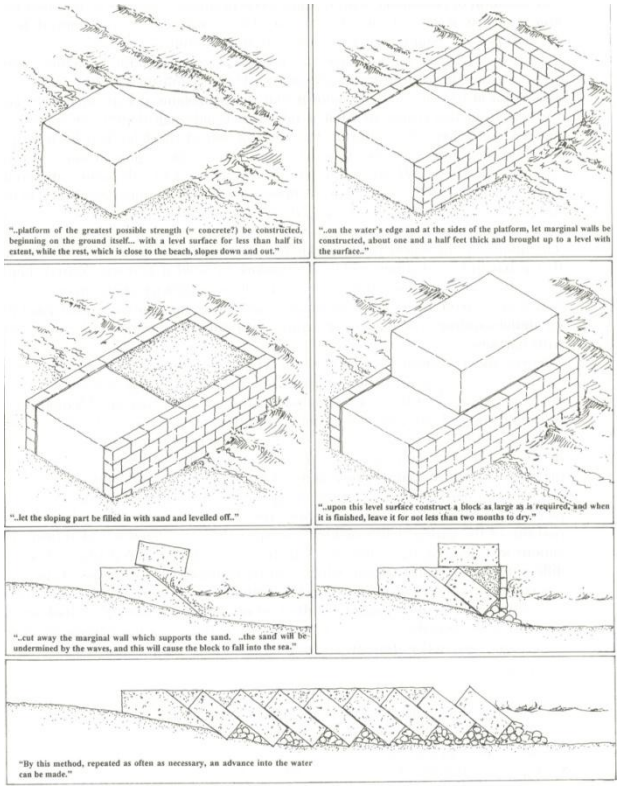

Fig. 04: Sketch by Brandon of Vitruvius' method for extending harbor using framework.

Sebastos, as Christopher Brandon notes, was built on a coastline with no natural features, no bay, and no headland. The entire harbor complex was man-made to Herod's specifications (Brandon 1996). The inner basin, an element remaining from Straton's Tower, was enlarged and incorporated into the much larger main harbor of Sebastos. The use of hydraulic cement became the cornerstone to the successful completion of the harbor. Three main methods were employed during the late first century BCE, and evidence points to a combination of two methods being used in constructing Sebastos. The main method requires the builders to construct a framework to fill with the hydraulic cement mixture, with a slope on the block pointed toward the water (Fig. 04). A retaining wall was then built around the block with the slope being filled with sand. Another block would be built on top of the sand and when the retaining wall was removed, the sea would wash the sand away, allowing the block to slide into place (Blackman 1996). The second method which has been evidenced at Sebastos, was the use of barges to float blocks of concrete into the desired location, and then deliberately sunk. Both methods were effective, and both employed the hydraulic cement mixtures due to its ability to maintain its integrity underwater.

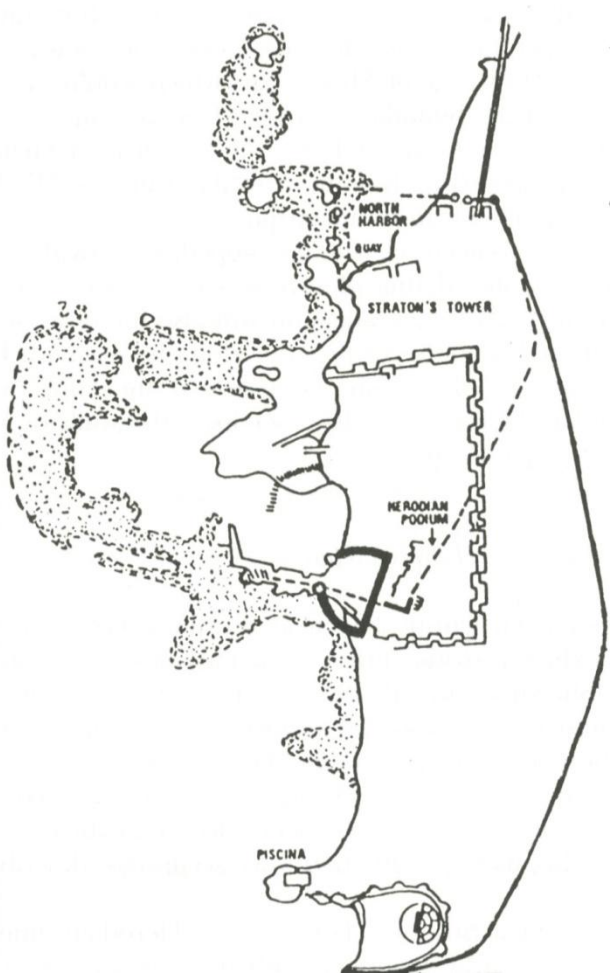

Fig. 05: Raban's sketch of Caesarea/Sebastos and Straton's Tower, illustrating Herod's use of Hellenistic walls.

Herod was widely known for importing Roman style into his Kingdom, and nowhere is this more apparent than in Caesarea. Moshe Fischer writes that Roman Caesarea was considered to be a "little Rome", that Herod's grand city was meant to appease Roman sentiments over local Palestinian (Fischer 1996). However, while *styles* were imported, Herod was famous for utilizing local resources. Kurkar, a local quartz sandstone unique to the eastern Mediterranean, provided most of the raw architectural material, with skilled stone workers imported to make it look as if it were marble. Buildings such as the theater, amphitheater, and Temple Mound were all made of kurkar but made to look richly Roman. Statuary was one of the few examples dating to Herodian or early Roman Caesarea that made use of imported materials such as marble and porphyry. As Raban notes,

Caesarea's popularity as an urban center meant it was continuously under construction, thus limiting the finds dating to Herod' original project, or Straton's Tower previously (Raban 1989).

Storage space and warehouses have also accounted for a large portion of the excavations by the CCE and the IAA. Herodian and Roman Caesarea made great use of the Greek-style *stoa*, a space used for multiple uses alongside the harbor. They were simple storage rooms, as Joseph Patrich's findings show, approximately three-six meter long. They were typically made of plaster and flagstone, with beaten earth or occasionally tiled mosaic floors (Patrich 1996). By the time Rome assumed full control of Palestine, *stoas* were being modified from the primarily Greek style into a more commercialized storage space called a *porticus*. In the later Roman and early Byzantine periods, these again underwent a transformation into larger commercial stoarage spaces called *horrea* which were able to store larger amounts of goods as needed by the swelling population and economy of Caesarea. According to Patrich, twenty-five percent of the excavations to date have been of storage facilities ranging in dates from Herodian to Byzantine periods of construction (Patrich 1996). According to Raban, storage warehouses that would have once stood upon the breakwaters are completely lost (Raban 1989). However, the main historical source for early Carsarea, Flavius Josephus, lacks description of any storage facilities on the actual harbor installation itself. Instead noting only that; "A series of vaulted chambers was built into it [the breakwater] for the reception of sailors." (Josephus 1981). Storage spaces would likely have been erected by later Romanand Byzantine governors but Herod's initial construction project only provided shore-based warehouses. Raban's excavations revealed vaulted *horrea* located along the shoreline built of ashlar, likely an upgraded section of the original harbor.

The evolution of city and harbor-side storage from *stoa* to *horrea* is indicative of Caesarea's growing dominance as an economic and social hub of the eastern Mediterranean. As Patrich explains, "The greatest part of maritime commerce in ancient times involved the transport of food products. In a Roman-Byzantine city, warehouses for long-term storage were constructed primarily to collect and to ensure a regular supply of grain and other foodstuffs, at reasonable prices, to the inhabitants." (Patrich 1996; 168) A Roman city's storage spaces were operated by the imperial, municipal, and later ecclesiastical authorities, but were operated by lawful authorities as a way of protecting the public's food stores as a means of protection from exploitation by private business. As the storage warehouses were essentially publicly owned, Roman rulers became more involved in the issuance of edicts and laws regarding grain and other food products.

As Caesarea's population, economy and political influence grew, so did its need for storage space and a reliable overland network. Municipal officers were appointed as 'grain buyers' and were responsible for maintaining steady reserves for the city itself, while simultaneously organizing the further export of goods into and out of the Palestinian hinterland. Herod's initial project can be

viewed as providing for only a modest population and economy when compared to the later Roman and Byzantine city. As Israel Roll states; "In Roman times, Caesarea Maritima became the main urban center of the *Provincia Judaea*." (Roll 1996, 550).

The Romans significantly upgraded the infrastructure of the Palestinian hinterland with over one-thousand miles of roads building a regional network based on the four cardinal directions. As Caesarea served as the capital of Roman governance in Palestine, it was the primary hub for the flow of trade, commerce and culture into and out of Judaea. As Roll further notes, the high caliber and man-made harbor of Sebastos made it the maritime center for the entire region (Roll 1996), as the presence for five major land routes leading out of it would support (Fig. 06).

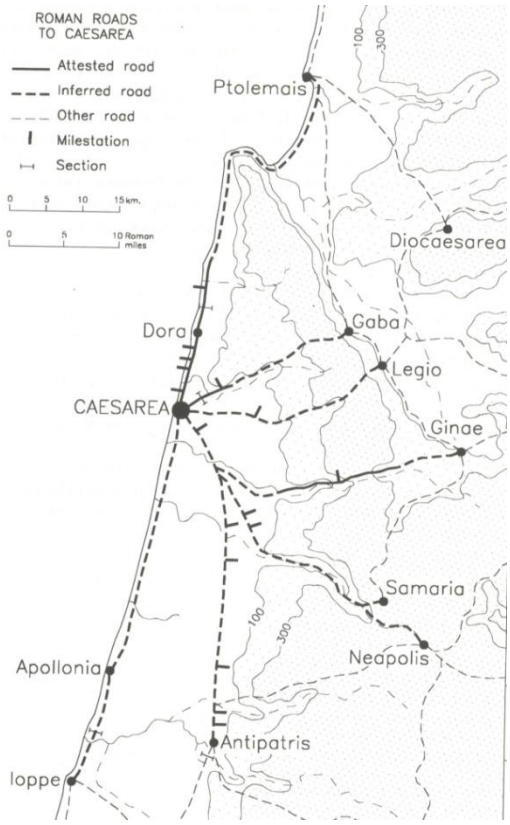

Fig 06: Map of main Roman roads in Judaea, all leading to and from Caesarea

Caesarea is linked overland by major roads up and down the coastline - north to Ptolemais, south to Apollonian and Ioppe - as well as into the hinterland. Caesarea managed the flow of goods into and out of Samaria, Antipatris, Legio, Gaba and many more cities within Palestine. Additionally, one of Herod's aims in creating Caesarea was to compete with Alexandria for access to trade in the Far East and Indian Ocean.

C. Artifacts and Remains

The artifacts uncovered by Raban, CAHEP, and the Israeli Antiquities Authority are many and varied. Structural remains of the harbor's breakwater, foundations of the Temple Mound, warehouse remains, statuary and ceramics all make up the artifactual assemblage available. Additionally, Josephus as a historical source is invaluable to archaeologists in relation to early Caesarea as his descriptions have been found to be largely accurate. His account of the harbor Sebastos quite literally echoes through time, almost perfectly describing what archaeologists have managed to uncover. As Josephus describes, "The foundation of the whole encircling wall on the port side of those sailing into the harbor was a tower built upon a road base to withstand the water firmly, while on the starboard side were two great stone blocks, taller than the tower on the opposite side, upright and yoked together." (Josephus). The CAHEP teams discovered the foundations to these entrance structures, and as Robert Hohlfelder notes; "One other enigmatic element of the

harbor studied by CAHEP excavators was a pair of concrete blocks uncovered west of and outside the entrance channel on an unusual axis in relation to the termini of both breakwaters and the harbor entrance." (Hohlfelder 1996; 83). Hohlfelder additionally notes that the position of the blocks would have made entering the harbor difficult even under good weather conditions, and almost impossible for larger ships (Hohlfelder 1996; Fig. 07). However, what he has failed to take into account is the further hypothesis and findings by CAHEP that the southern breakwater was extended in the late Roman or early Byzantine periods. While, according to Hohlfelder, such additions would have made the towers redundant (Hohlfelder 1996), they were not removed. The Romans tendency for upgrading and renovating previous installations, such as Alexandria and Caesarea, would indicate that the blocks were of either technical or cosmetic importance to Sebastos. Additionally, rubble spill as seen from the air would indicate that the entrance was much larger when the harbor was in use (fig. Pg 10 notes, find aerial photo!) A possible use of the two structures could have been as markers of some sort for inbound ships, possibly marking out the safest path into the entrance channel.

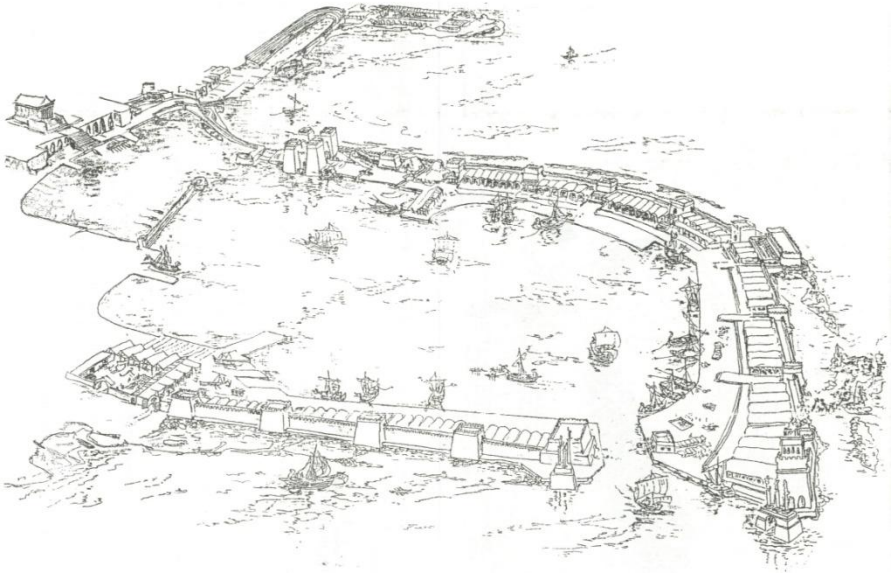

Fig. 07: Artist's drawing of narrow entrance channel to Sebastos

Josephus makes further note of the Temple to Roma and Augustus as well as the general harbor configuration. He writes "On rising ground opposite the harbor-mouth stood Caesar's temple, of exceptional size and beauty..." (Josephus 1981). The podium vault on which the temple rests was found by CAHEP teams to be built in two stages; Hellenistic and Herodian. The original floor was found preserved near the north wall of the vault with a heavy fill of kurkar and mixed layers of Hellenistic and Herodian pottery sherds (Raban 1989). These findings lend credit to Josephus' account of Caesarea and Sebastos, and as Per Bilde writes, "Josephus' description of the harbor in Caesarea Maritima is one of the best and most detailed descriptions to be found in literature handed down from antiquity." (Bilde 1988; 232). Bilde further notes that Josephus is indispensable and archaeologically supported as accurate; a sentiment shared by Avner Raban and the CAHEP teams when conducting their excavations (Bilde 1988; Raban 1996).

Ceramics, as with most archaeological sites, make up a majority of the artifacts found in excavations of Caesarea Maritima at 66%. Amphora remains account for 19% of total ceramic finds within the harbor, a surprising low number as the CAHEP team noted. Amphora were the staple of trade in the Greek and Roman world when it came to transporting liquids. An overwhelming majority of the amphora remains (77%) were judged by the teams to be wine vessels. Caesarea would have been the central hub for the wine trade into and out of Palestine. The presence of these vessels within the harbor suggests that they were due for shipment and not for local consumption as amphora were rarely consumed or used at the harbor-side throughout the Mediterranean. The relatively low number of amphora found is possibly due to their value as a trade commodity over most all other items as they carried rare goods such as wine and oil. Greater care would have likely been taken in their handling, resulting in fewer lost.

Table II.2: Summary of Amphora Chronology

Chronology		Total	Percent
IV B.C.	X	1	0.9
III B.C.	XX	2	1.8
II B.C.	XX	2	1.8
II/I B.C.	XXXXXXXXXX	10	8.9
I B.C.	XXXX	4	3.6
I B.C./I A.C.	XXXXXXXXXXXXX	14	12.5
I A.C.	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	26	23.2
I/II	XXXX	4	3.6
II	X	1	0.9
II/III	X	1	0.9
II/IV	XXXXXXXX	8	7.1
III/IV	XXXXXXXXXXXXX	14	12.5
III/V	XX	2	1.8
IV/VI	XXXXXX	6	5.4
V/VI	X	1	0.9
V/VII	XX	2	1.8
VI/VII	X	1	0.9
Roman	XXXX	4	3.6
Roman/Byz	XX	2	1.8
Byzantine	XXX	3	2.7
Unknown	XXXX	4	3.6
Total		112	

Fig. 08: Chronology of Amphora found in Sebastos.

As Michael A. Fitzgerald notes, the relatively small sampling of amphora, though I would argue diverse in location of manufacture, would by themselves indicate that the height of trade in these goods was throughout the first century AD (Fitzgerald 1994; Fig. 08). The finds suggest that wine especially but trade in general flourished from the harbor and city's founding through the first century AD, then fell heavily with severe drops in western wares matching a fall in mirrors in the western Mediterranean which originated in the east. Fitzgerald postulates that local consumption became the dominant form during the second century AD, and Sebastos was used as the gateway to the rest of Palestine (Fitzgerald 1994). This drop in trade for near a century led the CAHEP investigators to wonder if the harbor had been damaged during this period. As Raban and other have made note of, an earthquake did strike Palestine in ca. 130 AD, affecting cities in the coastal Levant such as Caesarea, Lydda, and Emmaus (Raban and Hollum 1996). Sebastos, much like Alexandria, lies partially on a fault line and as Raban states; "Recent underwater excavations on the harbor breakwaters indicate tectonic slumping of their seaward parts by early in the second century, so it is unlikely that Herod's main harbor long retained its full capacity, yet import and export trade kept Caesarea relatively prosperous through the rest of antiquity..." (Raban and Hollum 1996; XXVii).

J.P. Oleson and R.L. Hohlfelder, participants in the CAHEP excavations, found a surprisingly high number of fine and utilitarian wares which has led them to surmise that Sebastos saw higher traffic in these items over amphora (Oleson et al 1994). Fine wares accounted for 38.1% of the ceramic finds within Sebastos while utilitarian wares made up 35.5% (Fig 09). Oleson does concede that utilitarian wares are typically locally made - which appears to be the case in Sebastos - as they make for a poor return for merchants to bother carrying them as cargo. Fine wares however were popularly imported into Palestine in the Roman and later Byzantine periods from the western Mediterranean, primarily from the Roman peninsula. Oleson did however make a distinction that many were either of Italian manufacture or good copies, but that either way the majority were probably already broken over the period of a voyage and thrown overboard by ships arriving from foreign ports (Oleson et al. 1994).

Ceramics by Major Wares	Total	% of Ceramics	% of All Finds
Amphoras	112	19.0	12.5
K ware	110	18.6	2.3
C ware	63	10.7	7.0
D ware	52	8.8	5.8
Italian terra sigillata	9	1.5	1.0
ETS I	99	16.8	11.1
ETS II	14	2.4	1.6
ARS	25	4.2	2.8
Misc. fine wares	63	10.7	7.0
Lamps	38	6.4	4.3
Terracottas	6	1.0	0.7
Ceramics by Category			
Amphoras	112	19.0	12.5
Utilitarian wares	225	38.1	25.2
Fine wares	210	35.5	23.5
Lamps	38	6.4	4.3
Terracottas	6	1.0	0.7
Total ceramics	591	100.0	66.1
Non-Ceramics	Total	% of Non-Ceramics	% of All Finds
Rings	2	0.7	0.2
Sculpture	3	1.0	0.3
Fish hooks	2	0.7	0.2
Fishing weights	155	51.2	17.3
Misc. nautical metal	4	1.3	0.4
Misc. metal	24	7.9	2.7
Coins	76	25.1	8.5
Stone	19	6.3	2.1
Glass	12	4.0	1.3
Bone	3	1.0	0.3
Wood	3	1.0	0.3
Total non-ceramic	303	100.0	33.9
Total of all catalogued finds	894		

Fig. 09: Ceramics by type found in Sebastos

A surprising source of material artifacts found at Caesarea came in the form of lamps, which until more recently were of very little use to archaeologists as a method of dating (Fig. 10). Fitzgerald writes "Determining the provenance of lamps can be difficult. Scholars used to place little emphasis on the importance of fabric in determining provenance, but they now realize that it is of paramount importance, since in many cases we cannot determine the provenance of a lamp on the basis of its type and decoration alone. A

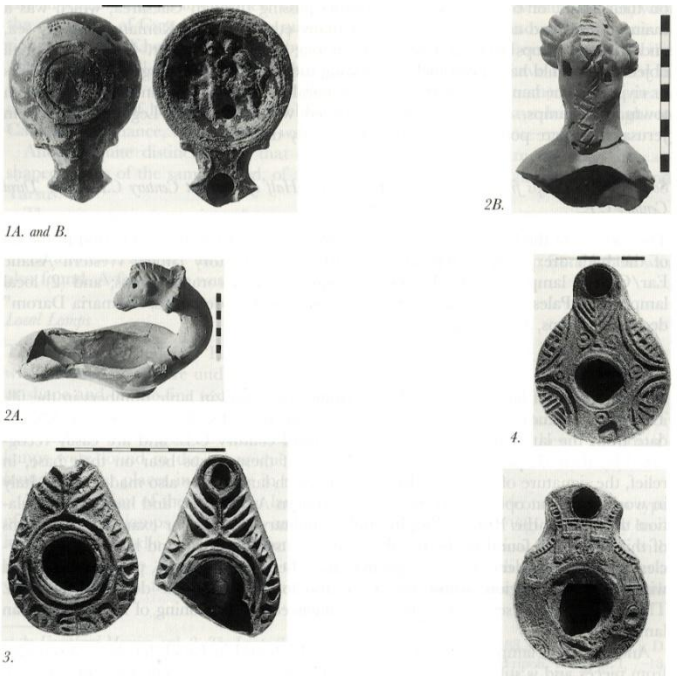

Fig. 10: Assemblage of lamps found at Sebastos

number of criteria must be evaluated together, including the clay (fabric), glaze, size, intensity of firing, type of handle, quality of workmanship and arrangement of vents." (Fitzgerald 1994, 57). The majority of lamps found at Caesarea were located in the vicinity of Herod's Palace near the sea shore and near the harbor structures. As Varda Sussman notes, the finds break up the Roman period into two parts. First, from the harbor's founding in the late first century BCE until the second half of the first century AD, nearly 100% of lamps found were imports from the west, mainly Rome. From the second half of the 1st - 3rd century AD, almost all lamps were still imports but came from a wider range of locations such as Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt (Sussman 1996). Of the entire collection of lamps, only 26% were of local manufacture, indicating that they were a trade commodity to Caesarea. However, due to the heavy population of Roman soldiers stationed in and around Caesarea from the Jewish Revolts and after, the market for imported lamps may have been primarily for the troops and other Roman officials.

John Oleson's analyses of artifactual evidence seems, when considered in connection with the historical record, adequately describe the rise and fall of Caesarea's prominence. He writes that "a century by century total of the ceramics catalogued by the CAHEP excavations, in my opinion, provides a rough indication of changes over time in the intensity of trading activity through the harbor (Sebastos)." (Oleson 1996, 363). He correlates the creation of Sebastos and the eventual movement of Judaea's capital to the ever increasing amount of trade that moved through Caesarea between 10 BCE to the late third, early fourth century AD. Comparing not only ceramics but coins as well, a fairly reliable source of dating, it is clear that Caesarea steadily grew as a center from trade through the third century AD. This differs from evidence found in the harbor, which would indicate a decline in trade during the second century AD which slowly recovered, but never to its previous levels. The geological fault line in the harbor and earthquake in 130 AD which has been previously examined, would explain the fall in trade goods moving through Sebastos; but written and numismatic sources would indicate that Caesarea experienced a peaceful and prosperous time.

Evidence of this prosperity may be found in the examination of coins found at Caesarea in which a number of "founder" coins were struck by Roman rulers such as Antonius Pious, Marcus Aurelius, Septimus Severus and Caracalla have been discovered. It can be assumed that Caesarea, though flagging in trade due to a damaged port, still experienced imperial favor. As Kenneth Harl writes, Hadrian made visits to Asia Minor in 123AD, in which he ordered a renewal in the issuance of Augustan *cistophori* (unique coins which he revalued from 3 up to 4 *drachma* to reverse previous rulers' debasement of its value), and gave relief to victims of the earthquakes which struck the region (Harl 1996). This financial aid from Rome signified a large and long term investment and the addition of large numbers of *Denarii* into Palestine and Asia Minor substantially changed the markets for local coins to keep up with new values.

Under this renewed imperial favor, Oleson points out, is when a Herodian warehouse was transformed into a *Mithraeum* (Oleson 1996), a place of worship which would have been made to look like a natural cavern. He further argues that this is not indicative of high trade levels, and I would argue that it represents more that the population was flourishing culturally rather than economically. As Harl also notes, the minting of coins maintained a steady rise from Augustus to Septimus Severus before finally falling under the reign of Caracalla (Harl 1996). This coincides with the standardization of currency to imperial standards which stemmed from Hadrian's visit and continued on through Caracalla.

D. Cultural Identity

Caesarea differs almost completely in its purpose, place and overall identity within the Mediterranean from its predecessor Straton's Tower. It was purpose built on a very large scale, implementing foreign technology and methods in ways which set precedence for future construction projects of its like. Additionally, it was intentionally constructed as an extension of all things Rome. Architecture, art, religion, sport; they all shift from Hellenistic values and styles to accommodate those of Roman culture. Roman officials, governors, travellers and immigrants could land in Caesarea and continue with a mentality of 'business as usual' in surroundings they would have found familiar and comfortable. Sebastos and Caesarea's place as a Roman haven would have aided it greatly in commercial, political and economic endeavors. Raban makes note that Caesarea was the administrative and military base for local Roman governors who probably occupied Herod's palace, most especially after Judaea's annexation to Rome (Raban 1989).

The insertion of Roman culture even made religious practice in Caesarea very complicated. It was a city in which Hellenistic beliefs were practiced alongside Judaism, and into which Roman deity worship was introduced. The city itself was named Caesarea in honor of Caesar Augustus, the temple was dedicated to Augustus as well as to the deification of Rome, and the city's patron deity was Tyche; an adaptation of the Hellenistic worship of Isis. This continuity, as evidenced by the annual celebration of Tyche on the fifth of March - the same date and type of ceremony previously reserved for Isis - is one of many employed by Herod in an effort to *Romanize* Judaea.

During and after the Jewish Revolts, Roman legions were garrisoned throughout Palestine, and Caesarea served as their primary line of supply and communication as well as the power base for Roman governance over Judaea. Josephus in *Jewish Wars*, takes special note of Caesarea's military importance to Roman governance. He writes that "it [Caesarea] was a valuable hub in Palestine." (Josephus 1981). Armies, trade, politics and culture all moved through the city in both directions, making it strategically important for Rome both politically and militarily.

As many of the finds suggest Caesarea rose quickly in prominence, thriving economically, politically, socially, and commercially. This rapid rise in prestige led to rapid expansion; Roman rulers continually had to expand and grow the city with new construction projects. Trade swelled within the Mediterranean with wine amphora, pottery, lamps, and more being shipped in and out of the harbor. In many ways Caesarea tried to *be* Rome, projecting an image of refined taste in architecture, art, religious practice and sport (Fig. 11). As Raban wrote, "Herod planned and built a city filled with all the architectural amenities necessary for Roman urban life." (Raban 1989; 31). Some of these architectural amenities built by Herod include the amphitheater and theater built in the southern and eastern extremes of the city. Josephus writes that "Herod also set up in the city a stone theater, and south of the harbor and set back from the shore, an amphitheater capable of accommodating a large crowd of people, conveniently located for a view over the sea." (Josephus 1981).

Fig. 11: Marble Relief of an athlete found in Caesarea

The importation of marble at the end of the Jewish Wars significantly altered the make-up of Caesarean identity. While it had been an intentionally built city laid out and designed to Roman standard, it still utilized local stone. But as Moshe Fischer notes, marble became a link between Rome and its provinces from the first century AD on (Fischer 1996). In Palestine both Caesarea and Ascalon received makeovers using imported Roman marble and became centers bearing the 'new' Roman image, overshadowing previous Herodian architecture. While Herod famously redesigned existing sites with imported Roman styles he rarely, if ever, used foreign building materials. These local materials were viewed as inadequate to Roman standards, and as Fischer further writes; "Having entered the imperial marble system, Roman Palestine's building policy and artistic activity were obviously dictated by the rules of the system. Palestine became dependent on foreign marble sources and specialists." (Fischer 1996, 252). Caesarea became slave to the imperial marble system, dependent on it as a form of maintaining its Roman appeal and dominance as a cultural and economic center in the east.

As Josephus writes of one's first impression of Caesarea when entering via Sebastos: "On rising ground opposite the harbor-mouth stood Caesar's temple, of exceptional size and beauty, in it was a colossal statue of Caesar, no whit inferior to the Olympian Zeus, which it was intended to resemble, and one of Rome comparable with the Hera of Argos. Herod dedicated the city to the province, the harbor to those who sailed the sea and the honor of his new creation to Caesar:

Caesarea was the name he gave it." (Josephus 1981). Herod's ambition was to create a city worthy of Rome's attention; to accomplish this goal he tried to outdo any other of the great cities such as Rhodes, Alexandria, and Argos. Josephus makes comparisons to statues of Zeus and Hera, to which he likens those dedicated to Augustus and Rome. This is a clear break with Greek Hellenistic traditions in which hybridization of deities and rulers was a norm. Josephus' account makes it clear that Caesar and Rome are greater than any other deities or rulers, and that Herod made every effort to reflect these sentiments in his creation of Caesarea. Consequently, throughout the Roman period Caesarea steadily becomes more and more an extension of Rome. Garrisons are stationed within its walls, legions move through its harbor and streets, goods shift in and out of Judaea primarily through Sebastos. Though it wanes eventually through the third century AD, it does see a revival under the Christian shift which the empire undergoes.

CHAPTER THREE: Hellenistic Alexandria

A. Historiography

The city of Alexandria, on the northwestern coast of Egypt was founded by Alexander the Great in circa 331 BCE. Much like Straton's Tower and later Caesarea Maritima with its harbor Sebastos, Alexandria was a purpose built city and harbor, man-made on an otherwise less than suitable coastline. Alexandria has lived quite extensively in the works of classical sources such as Diodorus Siculus, Caesar, Poseidippus and others. Founded as a Greek city *ad Aegyptum*, or outside of Egypt, it is neither truly or wholly Greek nor Egyptian, but rather a hybridization of the two. Under the rule of the Ptolemies - a dynasty of Greek-Macedonians whose patriarch was one of Alexander the Great's generals - Alexandria underwent a transformation from being a Greek city surrounded by Egypt, to an example of how Greek and Egyptian culture could mingle and coexist with its own unique identity separate from both. Niall Finneran aptly describes Alexandria as having "historically suffered from something of an identity crisis, never sure of its position either geographically or culturally as an essentially Egyptian and African city, or looking towards Southern Europe as part of the Mediterranean social and economic system." (Finneran 2005). The common understanding of Alexandria is that of a city - and really a country - at odds with itself, always waging a constant war between Greek and Egyptian. Under Alexander himself, though brief, and the early Ptolemies this was much the case, but I would argue that over a relatively short period of time, Alexandria came to be a very *syncretic*, hybridized city of Greek and Egyptian culture, art, architecture, religion and overall way of life.

Finneran discusses Alexandria as being founded on the ideal of a cultural pan-Hellenism - a unification of extremely Greek ideas, art, politics and religion with the similar traditions of Egypt and the Near East. Finneran calls this type of unification *syncretism*, both cultural in the psyche of the people and spacial within the landscape. However, he argued it was typically a one way transmission or absorption of perceived valuable Egyptian culture into what was considered a far superior Greek (Finneran 2005). Alexander himself took on elements of conquered lands in the form of leadership and identity to more fully cement his place as a continuation of the previous pharaonic rulers. Finneran writes "Alexander's philosophy was based upon the ideal of a superior Greek culture, allied to military excellence, yet he also recognized and respected the beliefs and traditions of conquered peoples." (Finneran 2005, 22). However, upon Alexander's death the empire fractured, his generals - most notable Ptolemy, Seleucus and Antiochus - scrambled to divide and hold pieces of his empire. Once succession of the empire to someone of Alexander's bloodline became impossible due to political assassinations, the generals declared themselves kings of their territories and Egypt came under the dominion of Ptolemy I Soter who sought to create an image of

himself and his bloodline as the continuation of Alexander, and by default a continuation of the Pharaohs.

The city itself, according to the IEASM teams is difficult to excavate due to its still being heavily inhabited and heavy changes over time through massive construction projects. The harbor though has proven to be a very useful location for gathering archaeological information regarding the views of Alexandria's rulers and the overall way of life of the city. The IEASM, in cooperation with the Egyptian Department of Underwater Archaeology began surveys and excavations of submerged harbor structures in 1992 under the guidance of Franck Goddio which have yielded unprecedented finds for reconstructing the culture and way of life of ancient Alexandria.

B. Hellenized *Portus Magnus*

Alexandria began as an idea, nothing more than the wish of a young man to create something rather than destroy. Diodorus Siculus writes:

> "He [Alexander the Great] decided to found a great city in Egypt, and so gave orders to the men left behind this mission to build the city between the marsh and the sea. He laid out the site and traced the streets skillfully and ordered that the city should be called after him Alexandria." (Diodorus Siculus 1946).

Arrian adds that “He himself marked out where the city’s marketplace was to be built, how many temples where were to be and the gods, some Greek, and Isis the Egyptian, for whom they were to be erected.” (Arrian 1976) Alexander famously did not live to see his namesake built, but in many ways one could argue his 'spirit' lived on. The city absorbed many of the unique aspects of identity which Alexander himself employed in his political persona and became one of the most successful port cities of the ancient world.

The harbor of Alexandria was a man-made structure which precedes Sebastos at Caesarea Maritima by roughly three-hundred and twenty years. Built in a Greek style it was an impressive milestone in man-built harbors. Sebastos and Alexandria were similar in overall design of two sweeping arms pinching into an especially difficult approach to the harbor basin. Josephus writes of Alexandria's approach:

> "The port of Alexandria is difficult for ships to approach even in peacetime, the entrance being narrow and diverted by submerged rocks which preclude direct passage. On the left the channel is protected by artificial moles; on the right juts out the island called Pharos, supporting an enormous tower, emitting a light visible three-hundred furlongs away..." (Josephus 1981; Fig 12).

Once entering the harbor, similarities between Sebastos and Alexandria disappear. Where Sebastos was built with practicality and industry in mind, Alexandria divided its great basin into several smaller, inner harbors and anchorages. Industry and trade were a major function still, but in Alexandria the royal palace was situated on the island of Antirhodos which was equipped with its own small harbor.

Fig. 12: Artistic computer reconstruction of the *Portus Magnus* and entrance to harbor

Both locations lacked any substantial heights to place a lighthouse and overcame the problem in their own way. While Sebastos relied upon a podium situated at the entrance to the harbor, Alexandria benefitted from a large lighthouse on the island of Pharos; one of the lost seven wonders of the ancient world. Little archaeologically remains of the lighthouse except for depictions on coins and within the writings of chroniclers such as Strabo, Plutarch, Caesar and others (Fig. 13). They describe magnificently a structure grand in size and technology which was the envy of many Mediterranean cultures. A structure such as Pharos is described, as E.M. Forster states, is identified as being very Greek in design appealing to the sense of beauty typical of Alexandria while also reflecting a dedication to science with the design and implementation of the light apparatus (Forster 1961).

Fig. 13: Alexandrian coin depicting Pharos lighthouse

Pliny refers to three entrances for ships to gain access to the harbor (Fig. 14). The first is *Steganus*, which means 'well-recovered', the second Taurus, the Bull; Ptolemy II Philadelphus' mark was the Bull's Horn. Finally Posideum, a Greek place where lived the god of the sea; as Goddio notes, a toponym frequently used in association with Hellenistic rivers (Pliny 1942; Goddio 1998).

However, a ship first had to navigate an entrance channel similar to that at Sebastos in order to gain access to any of the three routes. The remainder of the Great Harbor of Alexandria is in fact broken up into several smaller harbors. The islands of Poseidium, Antirhodos, and Cape Lochias all have their own smaller harbors and anchorages, diverting traffic to appropriate locations. This effectively broke up the goods coming into Alexandria into particular sections, making the distribution of wealth along the harbor easier to track.

By far Antirhodos and its vicinity contained the highest concentration of artifacts relating to wealth and status due to it being the location of the royal quarter of the Ptolemies. However, Strabo describes a royal palace upon Cape Lochias, which as yet is unverified. He writes, "... and on the other hand are reefs and also the promontory Lochias, with a royal palace upon it." (Strabo 1996). The IEASM teams have noted the presence of limestone paving on the inner portion of Cape Lochias, but no significant finds relating to a royal palace have been yet found (Goddio 1998, 16). I would argue that it was a wealthy district in which Alexandria's elite attempted to compete with the Ptolemies grandeur upon Antirhodos. But as a site heavily affected by the tsunami, it may be a long time before material evidence is discovered to give a more controlled idea of what lay on Cape Lochias.

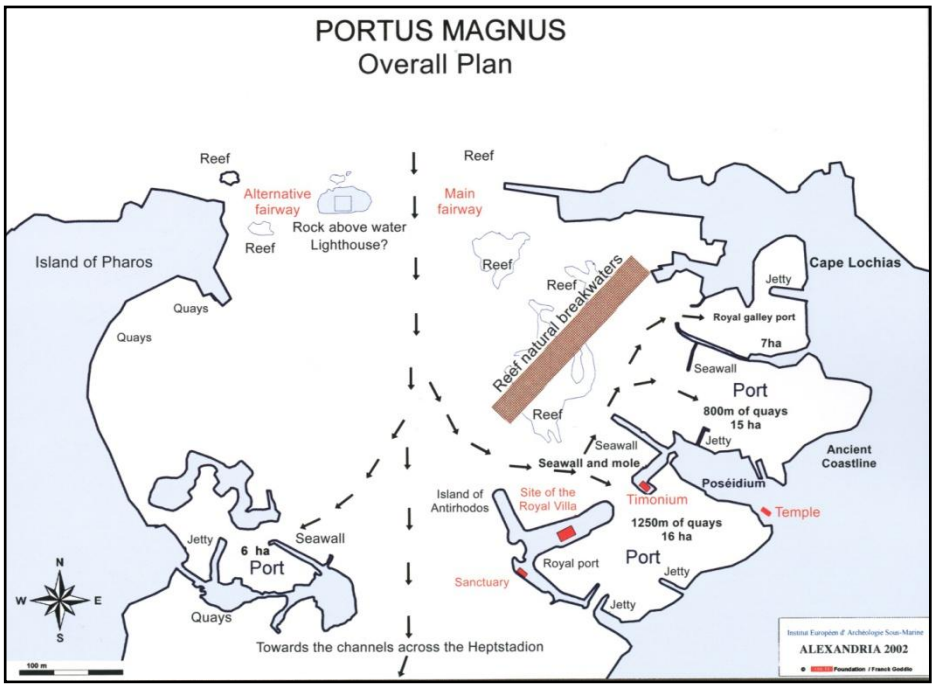

Fig. 14: Safe routes through the avoiding reefs

C. Artifacts and Remains

The IEASM teams had two main goals when they began diving on the *Portus Magnus* of Alexandria; to establish the topography of the harbor and to map and excavate the submerged areas which included the Royal Quarters, ancient harbor installations and aspects of the ancient town. They faced difficulties in the form of murky water which made diving and dredging difficult, limiting visibility and significantly covering many of the submerged structures and artifacts. Under agreement with the Egyptian authorities a policy was created to leave items *in situ,* and only take moulds of inscription. Exceptions were made however, with artifacts being recovered under rescue circumstances to prevent their being lost. These surveys proved invaluable by allowing the teams to deduce that the submerged structures and artifacts were covered by only a small layer of sediment made of white sand and calcareous concretions (Goddio 1998).

Literary sources make up much of the available artifacts for Alexandria, much more so than at Caesarea. Alexandria, due to its position as a Hellenistic center for culture and learning attracted many of the greatest minds of the period. Historians such as Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, Herodian and more write extensively of events, places and the people of Alexandria. As Judith McKenzie writes, so little of Alexandria's ancient city remains on land due to destruction of much of the original city and the reuse of building materials over time (McKenzie 2007). This left archaeologists little but the classical historical accounts to process and attempt to understand Alexandria's past. The underwater excavations by Goddio and the IEASM have finally afforded archaeologists the opportunity to study the remains of the ancient city still *in situ,* left largely alone since the islands sank into the harbor.

Diodorus describes the type of opulence typically demonstrated by the Ptolemies after the Pharaohs as a continual development. He writes,

> "Consequently from the time Thebes began to wane and Memphis to increase, until the time of Alexander the King; for after he had founded the city on the sea which bears his name, all the kings of Egypt after him concentrated their interest on the development of it. Some adorned it with magnificent palaces, some with docks and harbors, and others with further notable dedications and buildings, to such an extent that is generally reckoned the first or second city of the inhabited world." (Diodorus Siculus 1946).

Much of the material remains support Diodorus' claims of opulence demonstrated by the Ptolemies, especially finds from the royal quarters of the island of Antirhodos. As noted by Etienne Bernand in relation to documentary evidence in Alexandria, humidity and muddy soil make the preservation of papyri and other documents almost impossible (Bernand, E. 1998). When artifacts began to emerge which seemed to support the opulence - if not the materials typically described in sources - they began to create a firmer understanding of Alexandrian cultural identity.

Statues depicting Ptolemaic rulers in an Egyptian sphinx form were found on the submerged island of Antirhodos. The four found *in situ* were discovered on the south-eastern branch of the island, with the first two sharing the same context. The first was a diorite sphinx depicting a later Ptolemy - post Ptolemy V due to the hair escaping from beneath the *nemes* - and measures 1.40 meters in length and 0.75 meters high. As Zsolt Kiss explains, it was placed upon a narrow pedestal in a traditional pose of the front paws bent and resting forward, the rear pulled beneath the body. The tail rests along the pedestal to the left, following the line of the haunch (Kiss 1998). These statues almost exclusively depict the faces of kings, and in this instance no inscription accompanies the statue to accurately identify the subject. Kiss notes however that the oval face, large eyes and overall soft features were carved by a local artisan in which some aspects were quite well depicted while others were lacking (Kiss 1998). The mixture of soft features and hair escaping from beneath the royal *nemes* indicates a later Ptolemy, and I would argue the possibility of Ptolemy XI or Ptolemy XII who were noted to have softer features (Fig. 15).

Fig. 15: Later Ptolemiac Sphinx with royal *nemes*

The second sphinx was found near the first in what the IEASM argue is the same context. It is made of grey granite measuring 1.50 meters in length and 0.70 meters high. The features are difficult to make out due to exposure in the sea, but it is similar to the first in that it lies in the traditional pose with hair protruding from the *nemes*. However, Kiss notes that the proportions of the statue and the pedestal it rests upon are narrow as if the original material dictated it be carved smaller (Kiss 1998). It again bears similarity to statues dating to post Ptolemy V, as Kiss writes "The lengthy face is characteristic of two styles of royal effigies, intermingling pharaonic canon with the physiognomic portrait and Hellenistic coiffure." (Kiss 1998, 173). The proximity of the two suggests that they were at the entrance to a temple as sphinxes in pairs were an architectural norm in Hellenistic and Roman Alexandria. And as Kiss and Goddio make reference, an example of sphinxes paired outside a religious compound is the necropolis at Anfouchy dating to the late Ptolemaic dynasty (Kiss 1998; Goddio and Bernand 2004). Sphinxes three and four date to either the late Ptolemies or early Roman Emperors which the IEASM teams have had difficulty deciphering. The highly eroded features make it difficult to determine, but they likely depict later Ptolemaic rulers as Romans were rarely portrayed in sphinx form.

One of the most impressive finds on the submerged island of Antirhodos is a grey-granite statue of a priest carrying a canopic jar depicting the head of Osiris (Fig. 16). The statue measures 1.50 meters in height and is cut off at the knees (Kiss 1998; Goddio and Bernand 2004). The priest is robed in a way that the folds fall naturally in a Greek style, rather than idealized drapery common in Pharaonic sculptures. The head of Osiris depicted in canopic form represents the efforts made by Isis to recover the dismembered pieces of her lover. The presence of Osiris in this form therefore is evidence of the presence of a temple dedicated to Isis on the island, which would indicate cult buildings of Egyptian deities housed within the royal palace complex of the Ptolemies. The statue was found near the two sphinxes and could potentially belong to the same temple. The presence of all three in such close proximity indicates, to some extent, that the Ptolemies - of Greek-Macedonian decent - had begun to practice religious beliefs, or at least portray those of both Greeks and Egyptians.

Fig. 16: Statue of priest carrying Osiris-Canopis

D. Cultural Identity

Jean Yoyotte coins the term *'pharaonica'* for Hellenistic Alexandrian goods, art, architecture and more as a means of differentiating them from other, more traditionally Egyptian artifacts. Yoyotte writes, "As regards the capital of this kingdom, I prefer to use the term '*pharaonica*', which is meant to describe monuments which by their kind, style, and hieroglyphic decoration, stand out on this pinnacle of Hellenistic art and culture in the time of Pharaohs, who are, however, of Graeco-Macedonian origin." (Yoyotte 1998; 199). In terms of a differentiation between Ptolemaic products, especially those from Alexandria, *pharaonica* is a very apt choice for use of identification. However, I would argue that this term spans more than just the material remains of the Egyptian Ptolemaic dynasty, but the cultural developments of Egypt through this period as well.

Alexandria occupies a distinct and unique place on the landscape and history of the eastern Mediterranean, especially in its cultural development. Like Caesarea, Alexandria was built from the ground up as a freshly designed city and harbor with very specific purpose. Meant originally as a bastion of Greece on foreign, almost hostile soil, it was carefully laid out with very Greek purpose and design. However, Alexander the Great began something truly unique in his allowance of Egyptian temples to gods such as Isis and Serapis to be erected within the city, beginning a tradition from the start of a hybrid cultural identity - or syncretism as noted by Finneran - but *pharaonica* is a better description of this cultural trend in Egypt. Alexander intentionally incorporated aspects of Egyptian culture into his persona; the question of whether through the influence and impact of Egypt on him personally, or as a means of control and legitimization is irrelevant. He began a method of rulership that Ptolemy I Soter and his descendants continued well after Alexander's death. Alexandria was less on the outside of Egypt than Yoyette or Mckenzie would suggest as the methods of rule, iconography and types of worship indicate a culture which over time came to embrace - not always peacefully - a hybridized collection of Greek and Egyptian ideas.

The types of finds discovered by Goddio and the IEASM teams suggest an eventual blending of styles that crossed into both cultures. Egyptian deities garbed in more Greek style, or Greek heroes sculpted and portrayed in Egyptian as evidenced by the material finds in the harbor suggest that a type of peaceful coexistence and harmony had been achieved by the citizens of Alexandria. This differs somewhat from the rest of Egypt where the hybrid mix of culture is less evident. Less of the Graeco-Egyptian culture is evident from other sites and cities which makes Alexandria, as a central hub of politics, trade and culture a valuable insight into how Hellenized rulership *could* evolve into one of peaceful coexistence.

However, by no means was the view of Egyptians held by the Greeks always a positive one. While it seemed the Greeks respected the ancient Egyptians for the advances they had made culturally and scientifically, the early Ptolemies seemed to hold the typical Egyptian under suspicion. As Theocritus writes about Ptolemy II Philadelphus, "I must say, you've done us many a good turn, my good Ptolemy, since your father went to heaven. We have no villains sneaking up to murder us in the streets nowadays in the good old Egyptian style." (Theocritus; XV). Implying that Egyptians were sneaky and villainous can possibly explain the only gradual inclusion of Egyptian styles and customs into the royal family and palace of Antirhodos. As the finds indicate, pharaonic depictions of the Ptolemies in sphinx form only evolved from the classical Egyptian style after Ptolemy V, in which hair escaping from his *nemes* began to be depicted as an added Hellenistic aesthetic contribution. Prior to this change depictions of the Ptolemies had been in a completely Egyptian style, I would argue, for the sole purpose of cementing their rule as a continuation of the Pharaohs while still living very Greek lifestyles.

The sunken harbor especially represents a complex series of representation of the Hellenistic identity, and more importantly, the blend and mix of Greek and Egyptian culture. The presence of Egyptian cult temples as well as Greek on Antirphodos indicates that the royal family at least wanted the Egyptians to believe that they were a part of their culture. Even though most of the Ptolemies - with the exception of Cleopatra VII - did not speak Egyptian, they were masters at insinuating to the population their acceptance of both Greek and Egyptian lifestyles.

By the time Julius Caesar, and Rome, took an interest in Alexandria the Ptolemaic Dynasty had long been approaching its end. Infighting and rebellions had taken a toll on the nation and city, and Cleopatra VII - the Cleopatra most commonly referred to - made ready use of the Roman Empire to oust her brother Ptolemy XIII. The Romans experienced Alexandria and Egypt in its twilight, understanding that it was once a city and nation to be admired which had fallen far from its previous position. With the eventual death of Julius Caesar, Cleopatra and Marc Antony allied against Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus (Caesar Augustus), but were eventually defeated by Rome's legions.

CHAPTER FOUR: Roman Alexandria

A. Historiography

Roman involvement in Egypt preceded Cleopatra by many decades with early aid being given to her father Ptolemy XII Auletes in dealing with the many uprisings caused mainly by corrupt governance. Roman involvement remained minimal however, until Pompey and others in the Roman senate sought to maneuver power into the hands of Ptolemy XIII, brother and husband to Cleopatra VII. Once Cleopatra had made her alliance with Caesar and had cemented her power base in Egypt, Roman involvement had moved from outside aid to an almost merchant-client relationship. This remained the case through the short time before Julius Caesar's death and the rebellion of Cleopatra and Marc Antony against Caesar Augustus.

With the death of Cleopatra VII in 30 BCE, the last of the Ptolemy line to ever rule, Egypt officially fell under the dominion of Rome as the province *Aegyptus*. Initially very little changed in Alexandria under Roman rule with the exception of the faces on the coins and statues. A large population of Jews took up residence within the city, making it the largest Jewish population outside Judaea which by this time had also come under Roman influence. By circa 115 AD Alexandria was largely destroyed in the Jewish rebellions during the Kitos War. Much of the city was then rebuilt under Hadrian's rule following the original city layout with modifications made to suit a more Roman populace. Alexandria thus becomes less of a Hellenized center and less of a hybridized cultural presence in the eastern Mediterranean. Roman iconography dominates the preceding Graeco-Egyptian and customs shift slowly to incorporate Roman ideals. Alexandria managed to retain its unique personality though, continuing to be the gateway to the east and one of the strongest trade centers in the region.

By the reign and visit of Caracalla in circa 215 AD, Alexandria was still a strong cultural center for theater, art and commerce. Emperor Caracalla famously massacred all the young men in the city he had tricked into gathering as an 'honor' to the city's namesake. Herodian writes of Caracalla's anger over the Alexandrians' jokes and witticisms made at his expense; "Jeering him for imitating Alexander and Achilles who were very strong, tall men, while he himself was only a small man." (Herodian 1969). The perceived insult and reaction by Caracalla lends credit to Alexandria's continued status as an influential city within the Roman Empire and the Mediterranean, as does the caution with which Roman Emperors treated Egypt. Alexandria was a portal for goods and food for much of the western Mediterranean and had the unique position as the main food supplier to the city of Rome itself, or as Franck Goddio puts it, Alexandria was "Rome's Granary" (Goddio and Bernand 2004, 104). This position meant that Roman Emperors treated Alexandria with caution and

care, as Erik Christiansen notes, with more detailed instructions and oversight to the local governors than most other Roman provinces (Christiansen 1988).

B. Roman Portus Magnus

The *Portus Magnus* (Great Harbor) of Alexandria changed relatively little when Rome took control. While not built to Roman standard like Caesarea would be twenty years later, it was still a grand example of a man-built harbor. The *Portus Magnus* retained its grandeur and as Philo writes in his *Embassy to Gaius*:

> "These are so well attested by temples, gateways, vestibules, porticoes, that every city which contains magnificent works new and old is surpassed by the beauty and magnitude of those appropriate to Caesar and particularly in our own Alexandria. For shipboard, situated on an eminence facing the harbors famed for their excellent moorage, huge and conspicuous, fitted on a scale not found elsewhere with dedicated offerings, around it a girdle of pictures and statues in silver and gold, forming a precinct of vast breadth, embellished with porticoes, libraries, chambers, groves, gateways and wide open courts and everything which lavish expenditure could produce to beautify it - the whole a hope and safety to the voyager either going into or out of the harbor." (Philo 1972).

Alexandria, though newly conquered and wracked previously by rebellion, corrupt leadership and war, still retained its wealth and glory. Rome did not plunder the Alexandrians but instead invested heavily in trade, setting the Roman economic machine managing the newly acquired wealth and territory.

One of the greatest artifacts which still largely elude archaeologists is the famed lighthouse of Pharos, preserved only in the written works of the ancient writers and historians. As Julius Caesar writes of the strategic importance the island represents, it almost seems he can't help but marvel at the structure of the lighthouse upon it;

> "On this island there is a tower called Pharos, of great height, a work of wonderful construction which took its name from the island... On this island are dwelling houses of Egyptians and a settlement the size of a town... Moreover, on account of the narrowness of the passage there can be no entry for ships into the harbor without the consent of those who are in occupation of Pharos." (Caesar 1914).

It is known that the lighthouse was built by Sostratus of Cnidus, who was a famed architect and engineer in the early third century BCE as the earliest papyrii found so far indicate (D.L. Page). The location of the tower however is still debatable, with many attesting to its location as beneath the fort of Qet-Bey which was indeed built upon ancient foundations but which Goddio and the IEASM teams believe to be of the Roman period (Goddio and Bernand 2004). Strabo indicates that the temple had been partially destroyed "by the deified Caesar [Julius Caesar] in his war against the Alexandrians, since it had sided with the Kings." (Strabo 1996). This gives rise to the question of to what extent would it have needed to be rebuilt and in what form as it was still a famous icon when the city fell to Muslim invaders in the sixth century AD.

Regardless of its condition after Caesar's conquest (Fig. 17), it would have been almost completely destroyed in the fourth century and subsequently rebuilt; likely to inferior specifications. In roughly 365 AD Alexandria was hit by a tsunami which is thought to be the reason for much of the island installations of the Portus Magnus to have sunk (Goddio and Bernand 2004). This event severely altered the layout and function of Alexandria's Great Harbor, destroying the royal palaces, ports, shipyards, main centers of trade, and even the tower of Pharos. Much like Caesarea, the damage took a severe toll on the harbor forever altering the way Alexandria conducted trade.

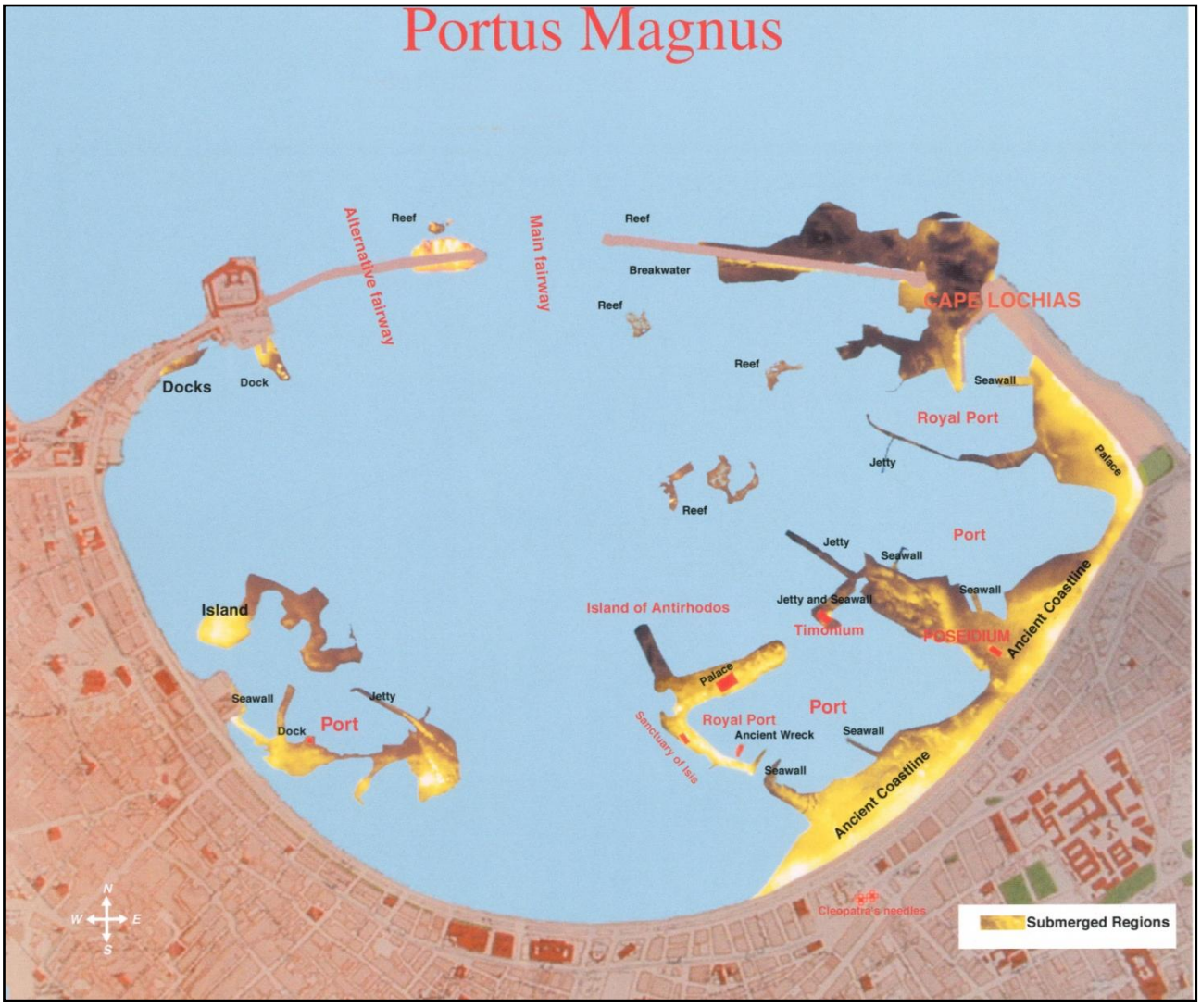

Fig. 17: *Portus Magnus* layout during Roman Period prior to tsunami

C. Artifacts and Remains

As with the Hellenistic period in Alexandria, written sources are still one of the best preserved artifacts available to archaeology. However, as Etienne Bernand notes, humidity and muddy soil in Alexandria make the preservation of papyrii nearly impossible. Most of the sources remaining are of authors who journeyed to Alexandria rather than the residents of the city themselves. This leaves archaeologists with local stone inscriptions and engravings to extrapolate

information relating to the actual inhabitants of Alexandria. One of the hazards with interpretation of inscriptions is that they usually were commissioned by the wealthier elite of a society and therefore are only representative of a small portion of the populace.

In 1997 IEASM divers located eight inscriptions on the island of Antirhodos which date to the Roman period. The oldest is an engraved panel which dates from the reign of Commodus, between the years 180-193 AD. Reading "Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antonius Augustus, under Quitus Tinaeus Demetrius, prefect of Egypt", is a dedication to the emperor by the then governor of Egypt based in Alexandria (Bernand, E. 1998, 147). The second inscription consists of only the word *Lykopolis*, a town in Egypt. The remaining inscriptions date exclusively to the reign of Caracalla, half giving full name and title to the emperor but no dedications. The remainder mention both Roman and Alexandrian dedications, with only one fully intact. It reads "In honor of the master of Earth and Sea, adored of Serapis, eternally living, Marcus Severus Antonius, Pious Augustus, Romans and Alexandrians have dedicated the statue because of his devotion." (Bernand E. 1998, 150).

Fig. 18: Statue of Caracalla similar to seven left in Alexandria

The presence of these inscriptions indicate a Roman presence and influence over the city and both Roman and Alexandrians citizens. The remaining two dedications bear similar inscriptions which bring to consideration the question of whether they date to prior Caracalla's massacre of the young men of Alexandria or if they are the result. Caracalla is reputed to have created a dividing wall through Alexandria and guard towers to keep the populace in line while he campaigned against the Parthians. He famously left seven statues on the island of Antirhodos in his likeness similar to (Fig. 18), staring across the water at the city of Alexandria as a reminder of his power. The statues have yet to be recovered, but it can easily be believed that upon his assassination only a year later in 216 AD the inhabitants of Alexandria would have torn the statues down in spite of the massacre which he ordered.

Though the statues of Caracalla have not been found, a colossal head of a statue was found partially on the ancient coastline facing Antirphodos (Fig 19). Made of grey granite the head's dimensions indicate that the statue would have stood over 5 meters tall. The head has the appropriate headgear and royal *nemes* with hair protruding from beneath which would normally indicate a statue of one of the later Ptolemies. However, as Kiss notes, a "well-cut" fringe of hair indicates one of the early Roman Emperors, and identifies it as the likeness of Caesar Augustus

(Kiss 1998). However, Goddio and Bernand later contends that it is identified as Caesarion, son of Cleopatra VII and Julius Caesar (Goddio and Bernand 2004). I would argue however that its lack of similarity with other Ptolemaic statues, as well as its size and grandeur are not fitting to Caesarion and his position and that it likely depicts Augustus as an attempt to cement the continuation of rulership from the Ptolemaic Dynasty. Another notable difference from the Ptolemy royal statues are the presence of holes drilled into the temples for the addition of some sort of metallic, most likely gold, band or diadem to encircle the head (Kiss 1998).

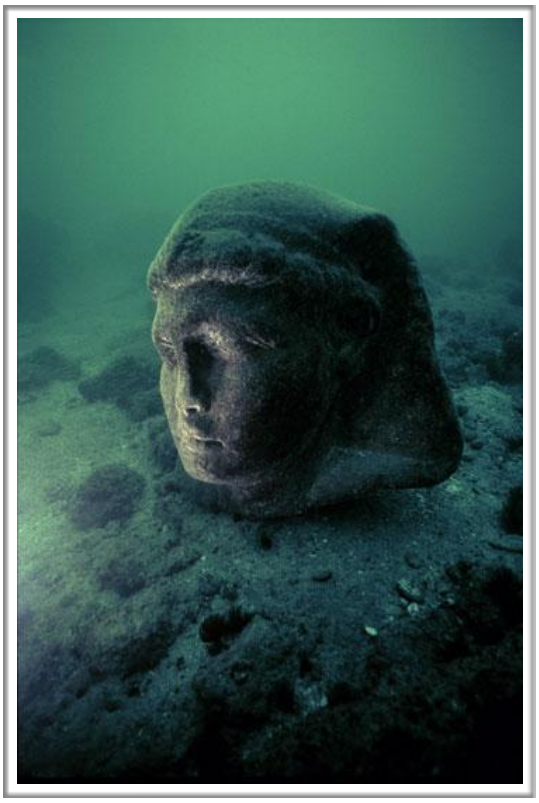

Fig 19 - Colossal Head of Augustus

Found in a similar context near the head of Augustus was a colossal head of a falcon with human ears and a royal *nemes*, a representation used in Egypt for deities in a semi-animal form (Fig. 20). The three most notable deities associated with a falcon's head were Horus, Mentu and Ra-Horakhte (one of three forms of the sun god). Whichever deity the statue is supposed to represent, the truly interesting aspect to cultural identity in Roman Alexandria is the context in which it was discovered. As Kiss writes, "An idol such as this could only have been set up in a sanctuary of noble proportions, dedicated to an Egyptian ritual. Whether finding this colossal Horus head in the neighborhood of the colossal King's head is pure coincidence, or whether the two effigies were part of the same complex, cannot be determined." (Kiss 1998, 178). The nearby find of a colossal foot of a Pharaoh's statue bearing the name 'Merenptah', dating to circa 1213-1204 BCE (Goddio and Bernand 2004) leads me to argue gives credence to the idea that they were moved there with the statue of Augustus. The continuation of an ancient Pharaoh and god through the

Fig. 20: Colossal head of a falcon

semi-Ptolemaic design of Augustus' likeness would stand as a statement of legitimacy and continuation of rule to local Egyptians.

Forms of legitimacy come in more than just statuary, but also through commerce. Numismatic evidence found in Alexandria enhances the evidence of the negative view Romans had toward Egypt. As Erik Christiansen explains, Augustus continued printing Ptolemaic style coins for some time after his conquest of Egypt, but never minted silver, instead using silver coated copper as a ruse as it was illegal to tamper with imperial currency (Christiansen 1988). He further notes that, "Compared to the rest of the empire, Egypt would have required a lesser amount of circulating coins..." as Ptolemaic Egypt maintained a closed system of currency - which Augustus continued - in which few Alexandrian coins left and few foreign coins came into Egypt (Christiansen 1988, 11).

The monumental statues of Roman rulers, Hellenistic Kings and Egyptian gods give evidence for the unique and changing cultural identity of Alexandria. On a smaller scale, but equally as important, was the discovery of a white marble head of a woman, badly eroded and faded. Careful examination by the IEASM teams led to the conclusion, due to the hairstyle largely, but also the oval face and pointed chin, that it was in fact a depiction of the Princess Antonia Minor; mother of Claudius and Germanicus, daughter of Antony and Octavia (Goddio and Bernand 2004). The head measures 35 centimeters in height, making it just over life-sized. Antonia Minor was a famous trend setter throughout the Roman world, her likeness appearing in statuary and on coins across the empire. Her appearance in Alexandria likely represents an acceptance and possible eagerness for Roman style and culture within the city and possibly an influx of Roman citizens as well.

D. Cultural Identity

Cultural identity under Roman rule was initially less of a break from Hellenism than was seen in Caesarea Maritima. Early Roman rulers like Augustus, heir of Julius Caesar, were depicted in Alexandria as a continuation of Ptolemaic Pharaohs; who were in turn a quasi-continuation of the original Egyptian Pharaohs. The colossal head of Caesar Augustus was designed and portrayed in the manner of Egyptian kings such as the Ptolemies with slight modifications to reflect a change from Ptolemaic rule. However, an eventual break with these traditions did occur, none more violently than the massacre of young Alexandrian men at the order of Caracalla.

However, Caracalla was not the only one to regard Alexandrians with contempt. While not totally directed at the people themselves, Augustus was less than impressed with the Ptolemy line. Seutonius writes "... he (Caesar) had the sarcophagus and body of Alexander brought forth from it's shrine, after gazing on it, showed his respect by placing upon it a golden crown and strewing it with flowers, and being asked whether he wished to see the tomb of the Ptolemies as well, he replied,

'My wish was to see a king, not corpses'." (Seutonius 1998). It seems obvious that Augustus, like so many others admired Alexander the Great, and equally obvious that he did not believe the Ptolemy rulers adequate leaders of Egypt despite their attempted continuation as legitimate kings.
The trend Augustus maintained from the Ptolemaic Dynasty - and consequently from Alexander himself - was that of a legitimate continuation of the ancient Pharaohs. Alexandria represented a key economic and strategic point for the Roman Empire and the conversion to Roman standards was slow in comparison to Caesarea. However he did not love nor even respect the Egyptians over much it would seem. As Tacitus writes, "Augustus, mistrusted the unruly Egyptians and despised their religious beliefs." (Tacitus 1997). As Christiansen further writes in his commentary about the coinage and economic value of Egypt to the empire; "Inside Egypt Augustus did as his Ptolemaic predecessors had done, often posing as a Pharaoh" (Christiansen 1988, 11).

It can safely be argued that the Roman emperors saw Egypt, Alexandria especially, as a valuable prize which unfortunately was occupied by the Egyptians. As Alexandria was the center for commerce in the eastern Mediterranean, the 'counting house' of the eastern markets, Rome was dependent upon its safety. With its key position of trade and large amount of storage space, Alexandria was uniquely able to cement a place as Goddio puts it, as 'Rome's Granary'. He writes that "The Roman emperors were perfectly aware of this dependence and prohibited their senators from entering Egypt, since confiscating Alexandria's corn would have been tantamount to starving Rome." (Goddio and Bernand 2004, 163). As Strabo notes, Alexandria was *the* hub of trade from the canals leading to the Nile, Lake Mareia, the eastern caravan routes and the Western Mediterranean. He writes that "the great value of the things brought down from both directions, both into the harbor on the sea and into that of the lake... are worthy of remark." (Strabo 1996)

While Alexandria did succumb into an extension of Rome's politics, culture and economy, the process was much more gradual than in other locations such as Caesarea Maritima. This was largely due Alexandria's strength as a centralized hub for 'international' trade, but also as a result of its volatile nature and unique Hellenized identity. Rome did seek to alter the cultural dimensions of the city, and eventually succeeded, but in a less overt way than in Judaea. The transition into a Roman province was especially helped by the tsunami which destroyed large portions of the city, allowing the Roman governors to rebuild in styles more suited to Rome.

CONCLUSION

Harbor cities do represent a gateway into viewing a culture's sense of identity. They give archaeologists access to a culture's values in representations of art, architecture, religion, politics, and of course economics and trade relations. They are an invaluable source of information for a wide array of questions and in the case of Alexandria and Caesarea, give unprecedented access to a culture in which little knowledge can be gained from land-based archaeology. The cultural identity of these cities changed radically from their Hellenized beginnings to their eventual fall under Roman influence and control. Foreign powers leave their mark indefinitely on the cultural identity of a people, but willingly or not, the impact can go both ways.

Hellenistic harbor cities in the Mediterranean, and in this case the eastern Mediterranean, were more likely to develop a syncretic identity which creates a unique combination of both cultures' values. Under Roman rule, however, this was more a one-way transmission in which the Romans sought to force their cultural identity, beliefs, politics etc on the conquered people through both overt and covert means. Through the analyses of material remains and historical records we find that the Hellenes were at the least more amenable to the idea of presenting an outward appearance of cultural acceptance, but the average people of these cities seemed to have actually believed it. Whether through popularity trends or true conversions, many Greeks and Egyptians began to celebrate aspects of each other's culture in ways which blended the two together, an act which Roman citizens rarely succumbed to.

Straton's Tower was a small settlement founded under the Phoenician kings of Sidon which eventually fell under the sway of the Egypt and the Ptolemy dynasty. It's values, beliefs and everyday life reflect a cultural hybridization of Greek and Egyptian values in Palestine as can be evidenced through its trade in wine and the worship of Isis. It's eventual decline left a void in which Herod filled with his Roman built city of Caesarea that sought to not only please the Roman leaders, but become a foreign version of Rome itself.

Alexandria underwent a different transition, founded as a Greek city on the edges of Egypt, it slowly broke down into becoming a culturally rich and unique entity of Graeco-Egyptian hybridization. While its leaders never truly became Egyptian, instead holding onto the Graeco-Macedonian lineage, they did work very hard to appease the local populations by representing themselves as both Pharaohs and Greeks. The Romans, recognizing the unique political circumstances within Alexandria sought to continue the tradition of assuming aspects of Pharaonic leadership. But this eventually waned, most especially after Jewish revolts in the second century AD, in which large parts of Alexandria were destroyed. This allowed the Romans to reconstruct

Alexandria to a more 'Romanized' standard in which they imposed the superiority of the Roman Empire upon Egypt and Alexandria.

The harbor cities of Alexandria and Caesarea represent access to cultures who have otherwise been unavailable except through classic history, literature and rare coins. The finds support much of what writers such as Josephus and Strabo relay, but also heighten many aspects of cultural identity trends which do not get reported. The Greek Hellenes, though conquerors, were more likely to assimilate themselves into local cultures whereas the Romans felt themselves superior and imposed their own values rather than allow a two way transmission to occur.

A. Future Research

For future research, it would be helpful to consider more harbors of the eastern Mediterranean such as Carthage which had strong Hellenistic and Roman connections. Once a semi-comprehensive study of the East has been conducted, a similar study of the western Mediterranean would help to highlight if the policies of cultural identity transmission were common throughout the entire Mediterranean world, as it represents a unique and complex connection of trade, politics and ideas.

Finally, I would recommend - especially in connection to studies of the eastern Mediterranean - to follow this study further into the Christian period. Did the Byzantines follow similar patterns of assuming aspects of leadership to maintain legitimacy, or were they more like the Romans in simply imposing their will on other cultures. This line of scholarship could even be followed through the Muslim invasions, thus granting a continuation of these types of trends throughout the region and granting a more nuanced understanding of historical events and people than through traditional means.

APPENDICES

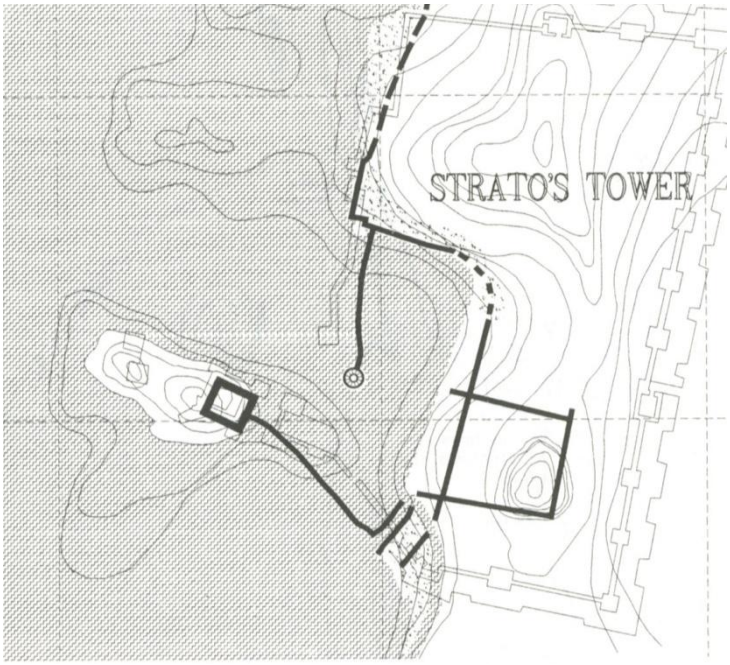

Fig. 21: Proposed layout of Straton's Tower by R. Stieglitz

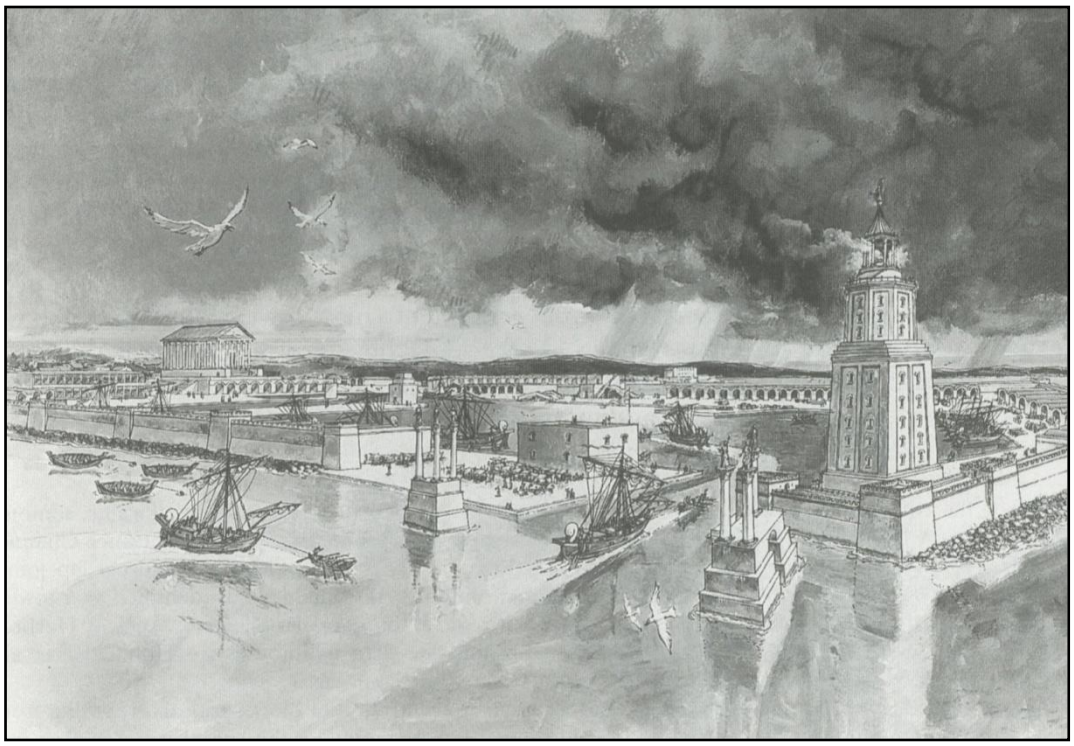

Fig. 22: Artist's rendition of entrance channel to Sebastos with tower structures, and Temple Podium in the background

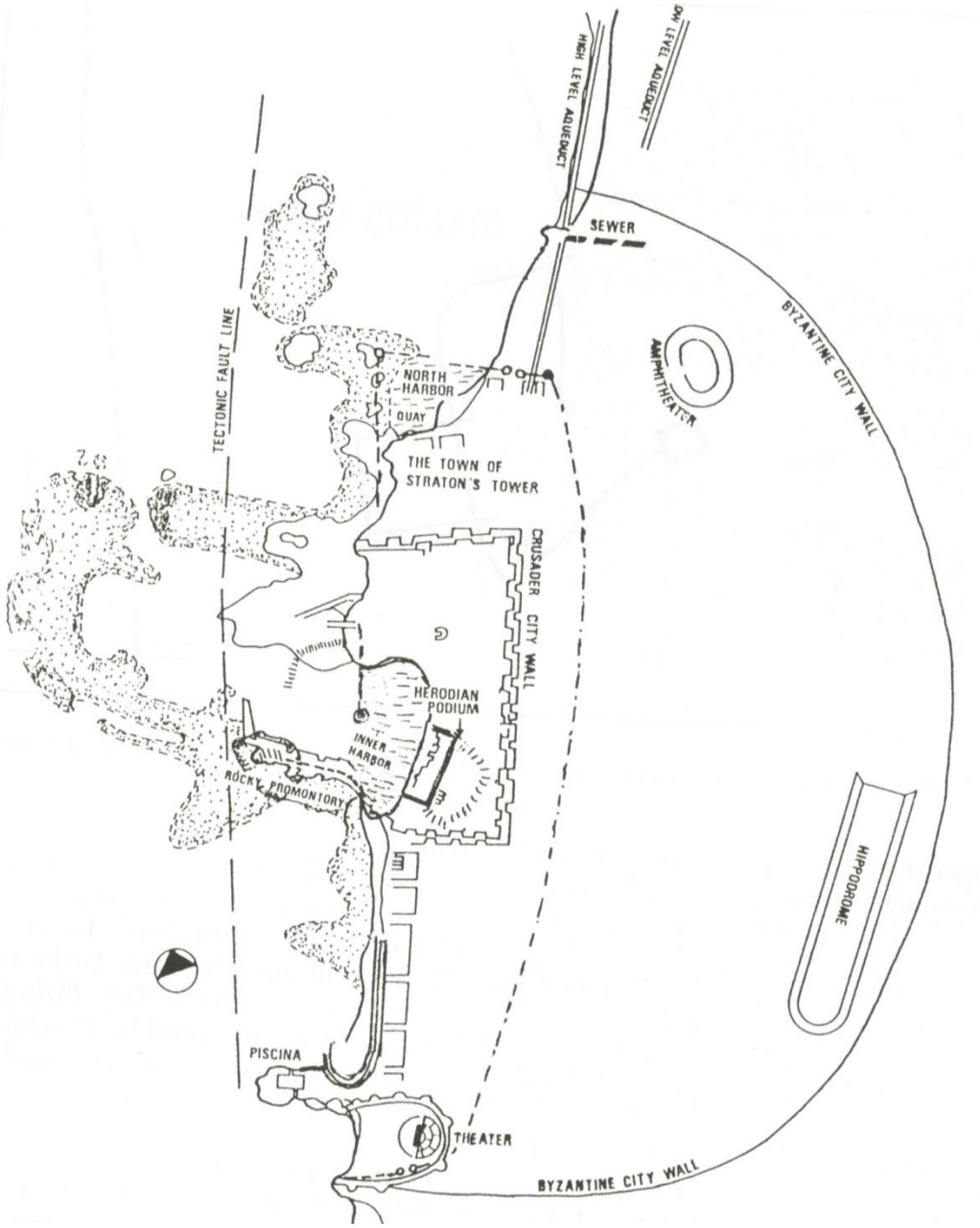

Fig. 23: Sketched plan of Caesarea Maritima depicting submerged sections of harbor, inner basin, temple podium and layout of Straton's Tower

Fig. 24: Artist’s sketch of Pharos from historical descriptions

"Lord Proteus: the Saviour of Hellenes, this watchman of Pharos, was built by Sostratus, son of Dexiphanes, a Cnidian. In Egypt there are no mountain-peeks, as in the islands: but low lies the breakwater where ships may harbor. Therefore this tower, cleaving the sky straight and upright, shines in the daytime countless leagues away: and all night long the sailor who runs with the waves shall see a great light blazing from its summit. And he may run even to the Bull's Horn, and yet not miss the God of Safety, O Proteus, whosoever sails this way." (Page, 444).

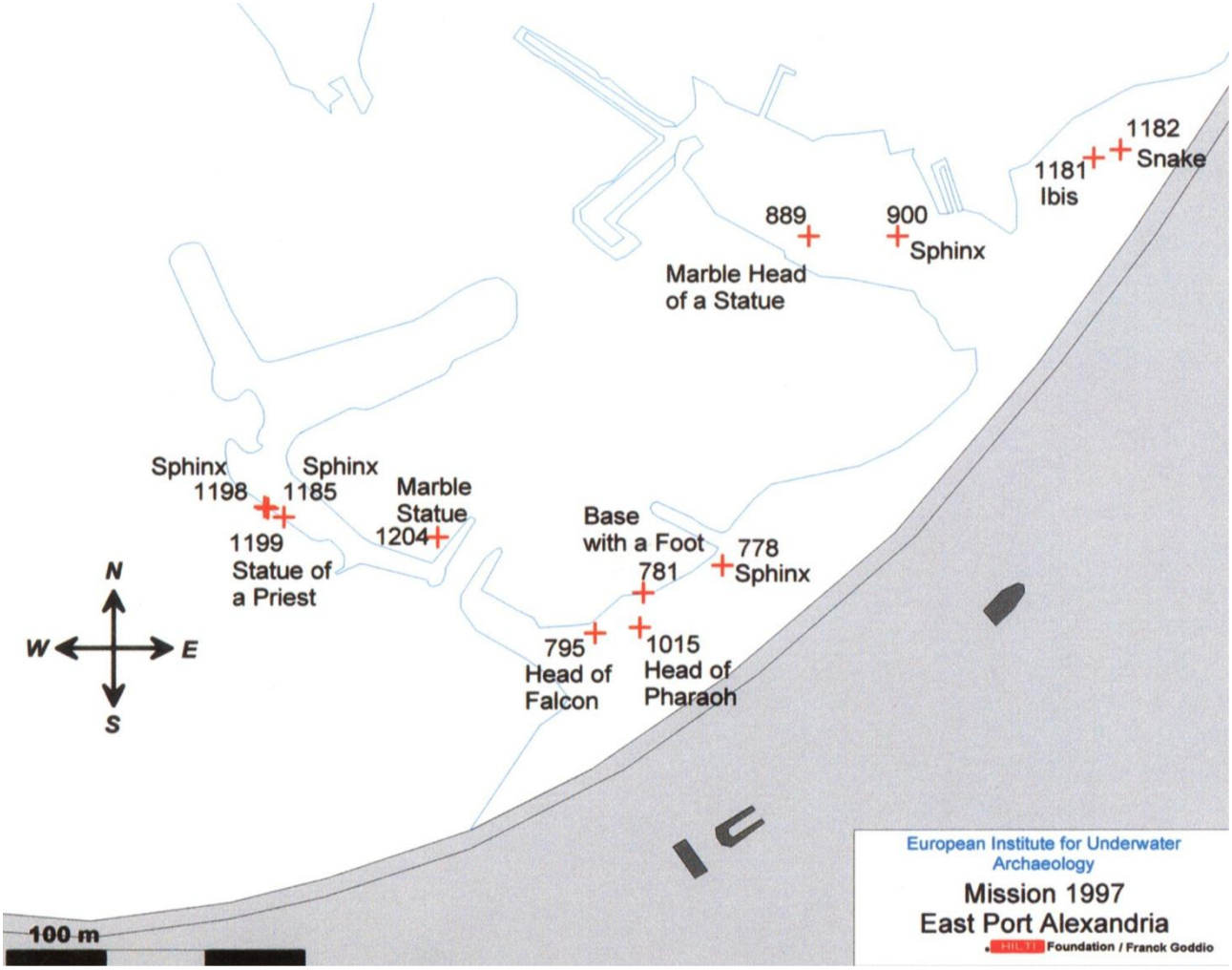

Fig. 25: Locations of key finds on Antirhodos and the ancient coastline

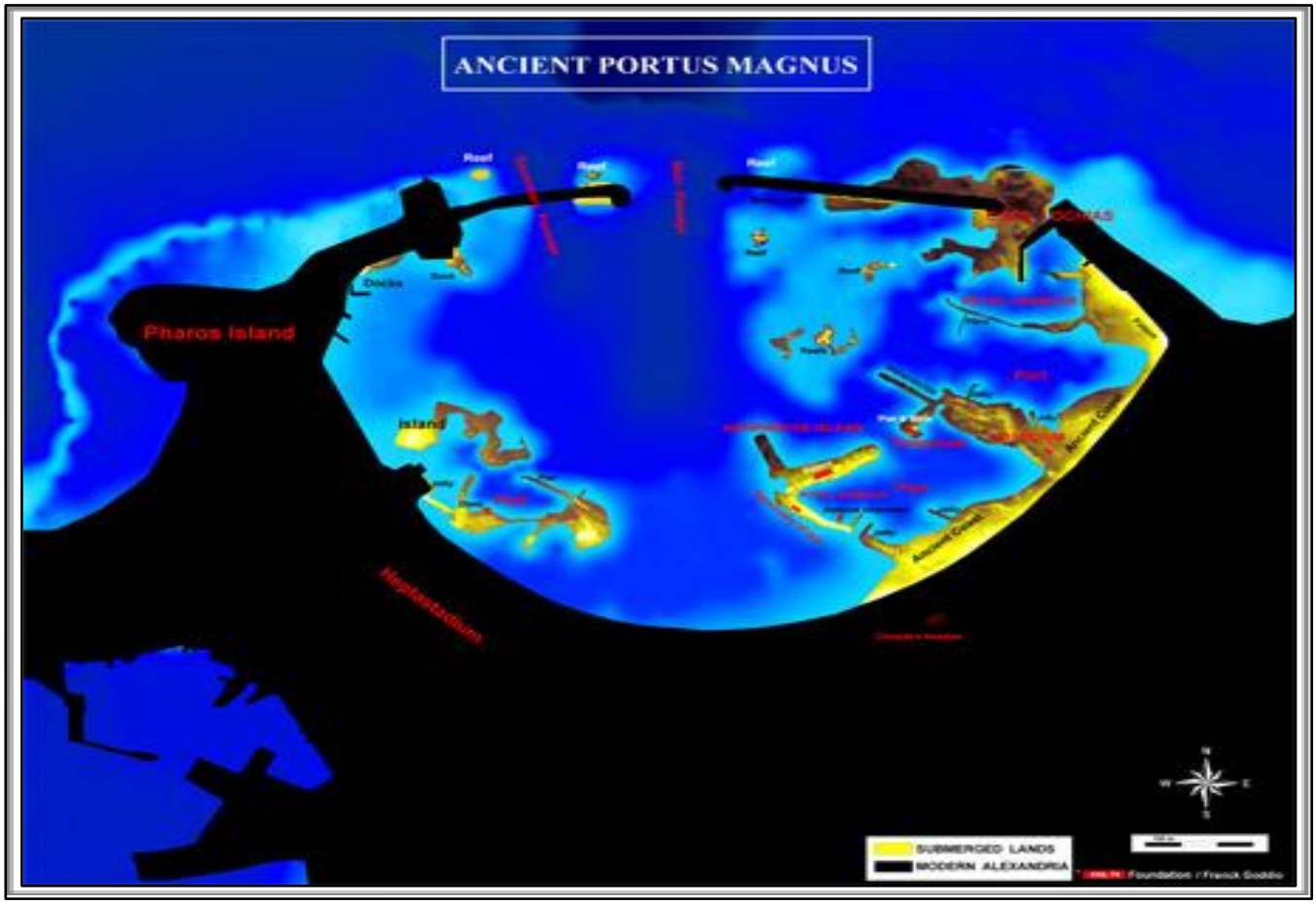

Fig. 26: Map of *Portus Magnus* with submerges sections highlighted.

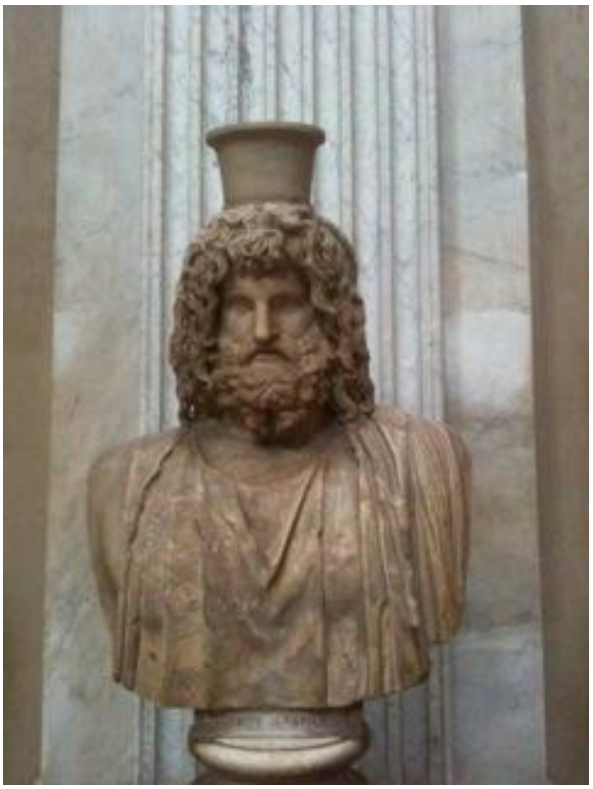

Fig. 27: Bust of Serapis recovered from Alexandria *Serapeum* dating to 320-310 BCE.

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