

# Aphrodite in Egypt

## Images of the goddess from Marina el-Alamein

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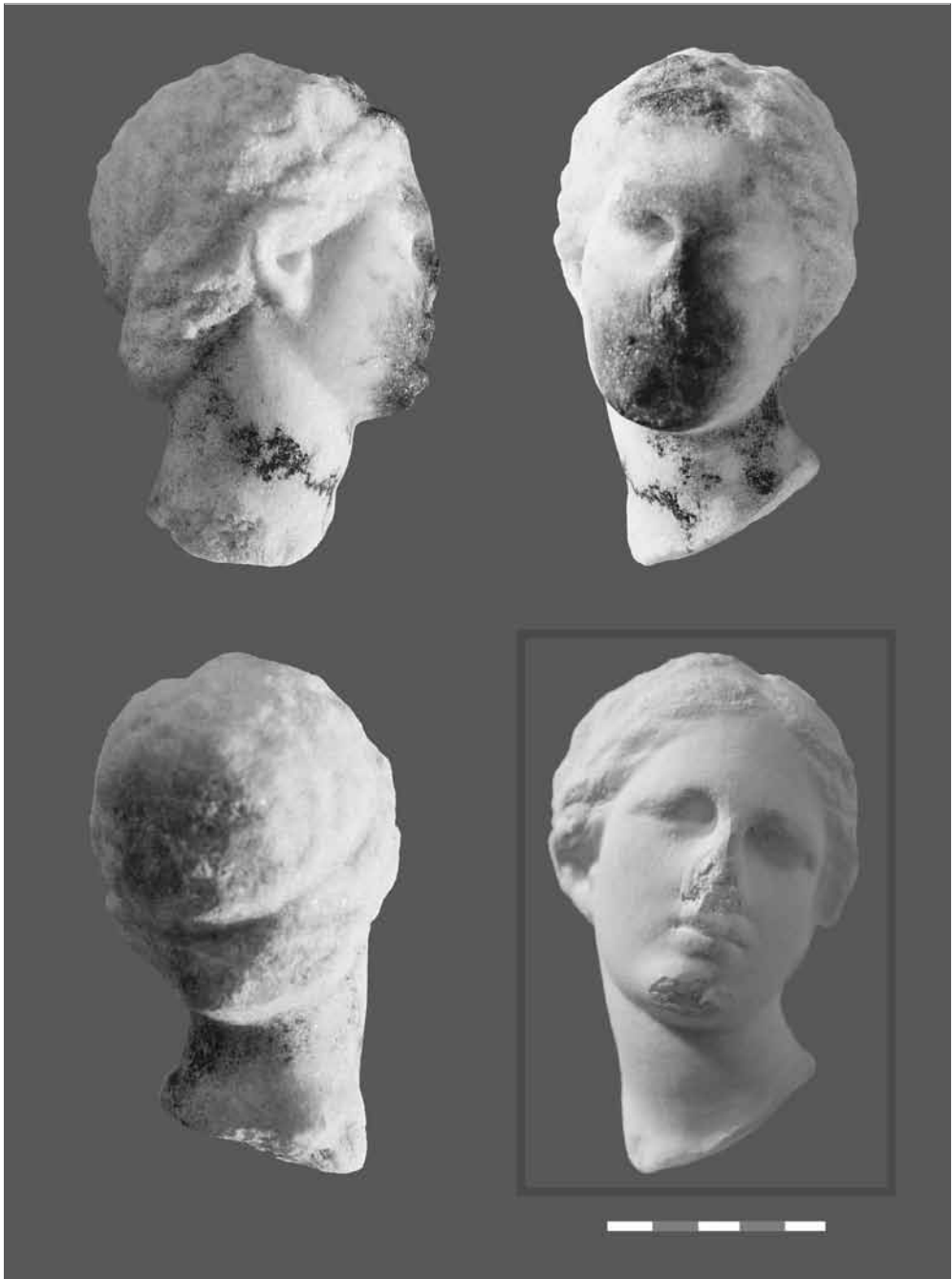
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On the northwestern coast of Egypt, the ruins of a small ancient town from the Greco-Roman period have been under exploration by a team from the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology since 1986.<sup>1</sup> The chief researcher and discoverer, Prof. Wiktor A. Daszewski identified this site with *Leukaspis* and *Antiphrae*, two localities mentioned in ancient sources (Daszewski *et alii* 1990: 16–17; Daszewski 1990: 110; 1991a: 5–18, 1995: 14–16). The location of the town near the main center of the time, Alexandria, and the road to Cyrenaica played an important role in its development. Caravans could stop here, including those from the Siwa Oasis, where there was the famous Oracle of Amun. The finds discovered in Marina prove the inhabitants had extensive contacts with different regions of the world. Covered with sand, the town gradually reveals its necropolis, houses, a monumental portico and baths in the center, as well as a harbor district largely destroyed by the sea. The buildings have survived well but there are relatively few movable relics. Leaving the town, the inhabitants took the most valuable objects with them. And yet, the life of the inhabitants, their customs, worship and everyday activities can still be reconstructed based on what has been left behind.

Easily noticeable in Alexandria, religious and cultural syncretism was developing very fast during the reign of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Of great importance for the development of new movements in philosophy, religion and art, was the reign of Macedonian rulers in the early period in Cyrenaica, Cyprus and Palestine. A reflection of this situation is visible in a small provincial town not far away from Alexandria. The relics found in the area of Marina show that religious syncretism prevailed there. Apart from images of Sarapis, representations of Helios and Harpocrates, Amun-Zeus and Dionysos, Isis and Aphrodite can be found (Kiss 2006: 163–170; Bąkowska *et alii* forthcoming; Bąkowska 2011). Amassing wealth, the inhabitants of the harbour town surrounded themselves with beautiful, imported objects. Many of them can be connected with Aphrodite. In the Hellenistic and Roman periods this goddess was linked with Isis, whose images are also found in the area of Marina. Isis was probably Hellenised in Alexandria and

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<sup>1</sup> Reports published regularly in *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, journal of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw (PCMA), beginning from 1988, cf. [www.pcmu.uw.edu.pl/PAM](http://www.pcmu.uw.edu.pl/PAM) Journal.



*Fig. 1. Marble head of Aphrodite (box: plaster cast of the fragment) (Photo S. Medeksza)*

Memphis, where aretalogy was developing (Malaise 1997: 86–95). These were cosmopolitan cities, and in both of them a large number of Greeks lived. From here the worship of the goddess started to spread across the entire Mediterranean. With many names, Isis combined features of many local gods. She became a universal goddess; a guardian of law, patroness of agriculture, art and literature; she was the mistress of heaven, earth, sea and war, and also of medicine. She was the goddess of love, protectress of women and maternity. Every year on the 5th of March there was a great feast in honor of Isis Pelagia, called “Navigium Isidis” (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* XI, 8–17) connected with resuming navigation and with the rebirth of all of nature. The Isis mysteries were very popular (Kákosy 1997: 148–150). She was worshiped in the entire Roman world. Places of her worship have been found in the vicinity of Marina (Daszewski 1991b: 93–94). In Leuke Akte near Marsa Matruh she was worshiped as Aphrodite (Daszewski 1991b: 94; for Aphrodite in Egypt, see Daszewski 1989: 122–131).

In 2001, a small eleven-centimeter female head made of white marble was found in Marina at the site of a house designated as H19 in room 11 (Biernacki 2002: 103, Fig. 15) [Fig. 1]. It had been connected with the rest of the statue with a metal dowel and mortar, traces of which are visible. Unfortunately, the other parts of the sculpture were not found. From the hairline to the chin, the face is 6.5 cm long. Considering the canon, the statue might have been 52–65 cm high. When found, the sculpture was soot-stained. Its nose is broken off; mechanical damages are also visible on the chin and lips. The head is slightly bent to the left. Good proportions, soft modeling and the chiaroscuro point to a first-class sculpture. The straight line of the forehead and the nose is noticeable. The cheekbones are emphasized very delicately, the eyes are big and elongated, the lips are full, the chin relatively big and strong. The neck seems to be quite thick and powerful; the right, slightly bulging cervical muscle was emphasized. Parted over the forehead, her hair falls on two sides forming a triangular forehead outline typical of Praxiteles’ sculptures. The elaborately arranged hair covers the top half of her ears and emphasizes the beautiful oval of her face and protruding forehead. The hair held up with a ribbon surrounding her head twice is at the back tied in a wide, flat bun gently falling on her neck.

It is difficult to determine definitely the typological affiliation of a sculpture just on the basis of a head. Still, a distinctive turn of the head and the hairstyle can suggest that it was inspired by a sculpture of Praxiteles, the *Cnidian Aphrodite* (Delivorrias *et alii* 1984: 49–52). In Cnidus the goddess was worshipped as *Aphrodite Euploia*, the patroness of fair sailing (Rolley 1999: 257). She may have been worshiped in the same character in the harbour town on the Egyptian coast in Marina. The beautiful face of a young woman resembles the *Kaufmann head* (Delivorrias *et alii* 1984: Fig. 395) and the *Colonna Venus* (Delivorrias *et alii* 1984: Fig. 391). The shape of lips is very similar, the line of eyebrows and nose is the same, although the nose of the Marina Aphrodite seems to be thinner above its bridge, which makes the face more delicate. The bun of hair of the Marina Aphrodite is smaller. The soft modeling is also the same as in Praxiteles’ style. It can suggest that the sculpture was polychromed. The hairstyle and the

turn of the head resemble also *Aphrodite of Toulouse* (Perrot 1930: 22, Fig. 99), although the oval of the face is different, and so is the style of the workmanship. Looking at images of Ptolemaic queens (Ashton 2001; Daszewski, 1996: 141–148), a different way of depicting and a different shape of details of the face can be noticed, they represent a different school of sculpture. It seems that the Marina Aphrodite's head could have been made in a Greek workshop.

It is difficult to date the sculpture based on the archaeological context, since it was found in a rubble heap. The pottery discovered in this part of the house was dated to the 1st–3rd century.<sup>2</sup> Pieces of pottery found in a layer of soil lying on a stone floor in room 13, situated next to the room 11, come from the 1st century and the first half of the 2nd century. Constructed later, the other southeastern part of the house can be dated to the 2nd century at the earliest or rather to the 3rd century on the basis of elements of architectural decoration which have survived there (Czerner 2009: 33–34). It is uncertain whether the sculpture decorated the house or whether its fragment was left there in a later time. It should be added that a lamp, described below, also with an image of Aphrodite, was found in the house. On stylistic grounds, this marble head may be attributed to the Late Hellenistic or Early Roman period.

Other images of Aphrodite made of stone were also found in the area of Marina. One is a partly preserved small (7 cm high) statuette made of alabaster, probably depicting Aphrodite Anadyomene (Daszewski 1991b: 102, Fig. 9, and note 34). Another fragment resembles the so-called *Afrodite su roccia* (height without head: 46 cm) (Daszewski 1991b: 102, note 34). Hence, there would be three different types of Aphrodite's representations made of stone in Marina. All found at house sites, they were small stone sculptures which decorated interiors (not rare in itself in Egypt, cf. Gąssowska 1971: 97), reflecting the taste of Marina inhabitants and proving a well-developed private worship. Apart from small sculptures decorating the houses, there were also statues of over life-size. A man's arm made of Carrara marble,<sup>3</sup> found in a cistern in House H1, is an example (Bąkowska 2008: 80). Perhaps a big marble plinth found in room 7 was the base for this sculpture. In the same house another fragment of a smaller sculpture made of white marble was discovered (Bąkowska 2007: 112). It represented the right foot of a woman (16.5 cm long; according to the Vitruvian canon, the sculpture could have been around 132 cm high). The figure was depicted on a low (about 0.04 m) oval pedestal, resembling a pedestal with a foot from the 2nd century, found on Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria (Kiss 1988: 50–51, No. 76, Fig. 133). It was probably a sculpture of a woman, shown naked or wearing a garment ending above the ankles. The foot is slender with long toes. The bone structure and anatomical details are emphasized. The nails were carved with precision and care. Comparing the foot with some fragments of statues found in the area of Aphrodisias (Van Voorhis 1998: 175–191), it can be described as another first-class sculpture found in the area of Marina.

<sup>2</sup> Contextual pottery dates were kindly supplied by Dr. Grzegorz Majcherek.

<sup>3</sup> Stone identification by geologist Dr. Małgorzata Mrozek-Wysocka.

No temple ruins have been uncovered so far within the area of the town, but the preserved remains of architectural elements prove their existence (Czerner 2010: 115–128). It is unknown which gods were worshipped there. Perhaps further archaeological research will give an answer to this question.

Surviving ruins of harbor buildings and the evidence of ancient sources confirm the existence of a port in the area of Marina (Strabo, *Geographica* 17,1.14; Ptolemy, *Geographia* IV, 5–9). Harbor towns, their fate and prosperity, were largely dependent on the sea. One of the wall painting fragments discovered in House H10E depicts the head of a woman wearing a nautical crown (Medeksza 2001: 71, Fig. 7). The depiction refers to the image of a Ptolemaic queen on a mosaic by Sophilos from Thmuis (Daszewski 1986: 300–309). It seems, however, that it is a personification of Alexandria (Kiss 2008: 83), or maybe another harbor town — Marina. Arsinoe II was identified with and worshiped as Aphrodite and Isis, both in Egypt and Cyprus (Strabo, *Geographica* 14.6.3: Bevan 1927: 64). Posidippus mentions the Temple of Queen Arsinoe Kypriis (Lady of Cyprus) at Cape Zephyrion near Alexandria and the significance of the goddess as a patron of people connected with the sea (Posidippus, *Epigrammata* 104b; Bing 2002–2003, 143–266). Athenaeus speaks of Aphrodite of Naukratis having been offered a statuette by a merchant whose ship she had saved (Scholtz 2002–2003: 239). The function of Aphrodite in Naukratis is not fully clear and it is uncertain, if she was a patron of sailors, marine voyages or harbor town welfare (Scholtz 2002–2003: 239). In Pompeii, Venus appeared depicted in a function referring to her as patroness of the city. Wearing a crown in the form of a tower, the goddess was shown standing in a *quadriga* drawn by elephants (Maiuri 1953: 153–154; Eschebach 1978: 52, No. 34).

As said above, many ancient finds prove that Isis was worshipped in Marina, and perhaps so were Isis Pelagia, Isis Pharia and Aphrodite Euploia, the guardian of sea routes. Not only the marble head refers to the Cnidian Aphrodite, but also a bronze figurine from House H21c, showing the goddess in the *pudica* pose (Bąkowska 2003: 95, Fig. 8; for *Aphrodite Pudica*, see Felletti Maj 1951: 33–65) [Fig. 3]. It was discovered under the pavement of a portico in front of the entrance to room 5. Before a threshold an amphora was found sunk deeply into the soil, preserved up to the shoulders [Fig. 2]. Partially covered with a flooring slab and a broken white marble slab, the amphora was two thirds filled with soil in which very small pieces of pottery, glass and animal bones, little fragments of iron and small remains of burnt wood were found. At the bottom of the vessel there was a bronze pedestal or perhaps a censer. Next to it, a severely corroded statuette of Aphrodite was lying with her face down. Cast in bronze, it is 9.1 cm high. From the hairline to the chin, her face measures about 9 mm (the head: 1.4 mm, the foot: 1.1 mm) which indicates a canon similar to that of Lysippos. Her head is slightly inclined to the left and turned down. Her left arm in *pudica* gesture, her right raised and bent at the elbow with the hand touching her head. She is tidying her hair with a straightened index finger and thumb holding a small bun falling onto her neck. Her hair is arranged into a roll surrounding her head and the second one running from the hair-

line across the top of her head to the bun. Perhaps the sculptor wanted to refer schematically to the hairstyle from the 1st century worn by women of the Julio-Claudian dynasty — the classic *nodus* coiffure (Bartels, 1963: 18, 23–24, No. 117; Johansen 1994–1995: No. 71; Wood 1996–1997: 1–19; Dahmen 2001: 174, cat. 108, Pl. 108). However, the roll of hair surrounding the head is too thick and smooth, and the bun above the forehead, characteristic of this hairstyle, lacks the necessary distinctiveness. It is possible that the goddess is wearing on her head an ornament referring to the Isis tradition (von Gonzenbach 1969: 885–945; Trillmich 1976: Pl. 2–4, 18). The figurine is small, hence a schematic hairstyle or ornament are difficult to identify.

Having survived badly damaged, the face of the goddess is oval, delicate, symmetrical, with her eyes turned down. The weight of her body is resting on her left straightened leg, the right one is bent at the knee with the foot to the right and the heel raised. The figure is leaning forward with her stomach held in to keep her balance and to cover her nudity. Her waistline and slender hips are slightly emphasized which gives lightness to the figure. Good proportions, harmony, sensuality and beautiful, delicate modeling emphasizing body anatomy indicate good-quality sculpture. At the back, a curving spine line was marked, emphasizing the S-shaped body. Standing in *contrapposto*, the figure draws on the Polykleitos style. The right hand moving corresponds to the left leg supporting the body weight, as in the case of the *Amazon* by Polykleitos or *Satyr Pouring* by Praxiteles. No identical depiction of *Aphrodite Pudica* has been found. The shape of her

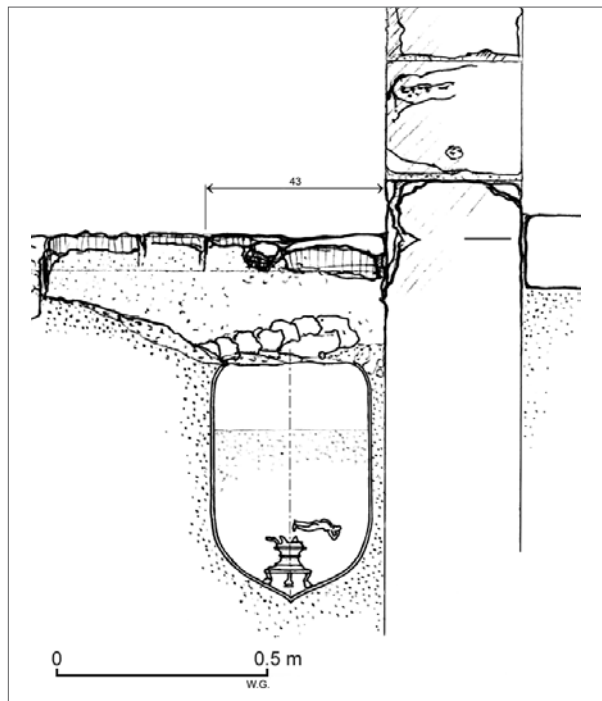
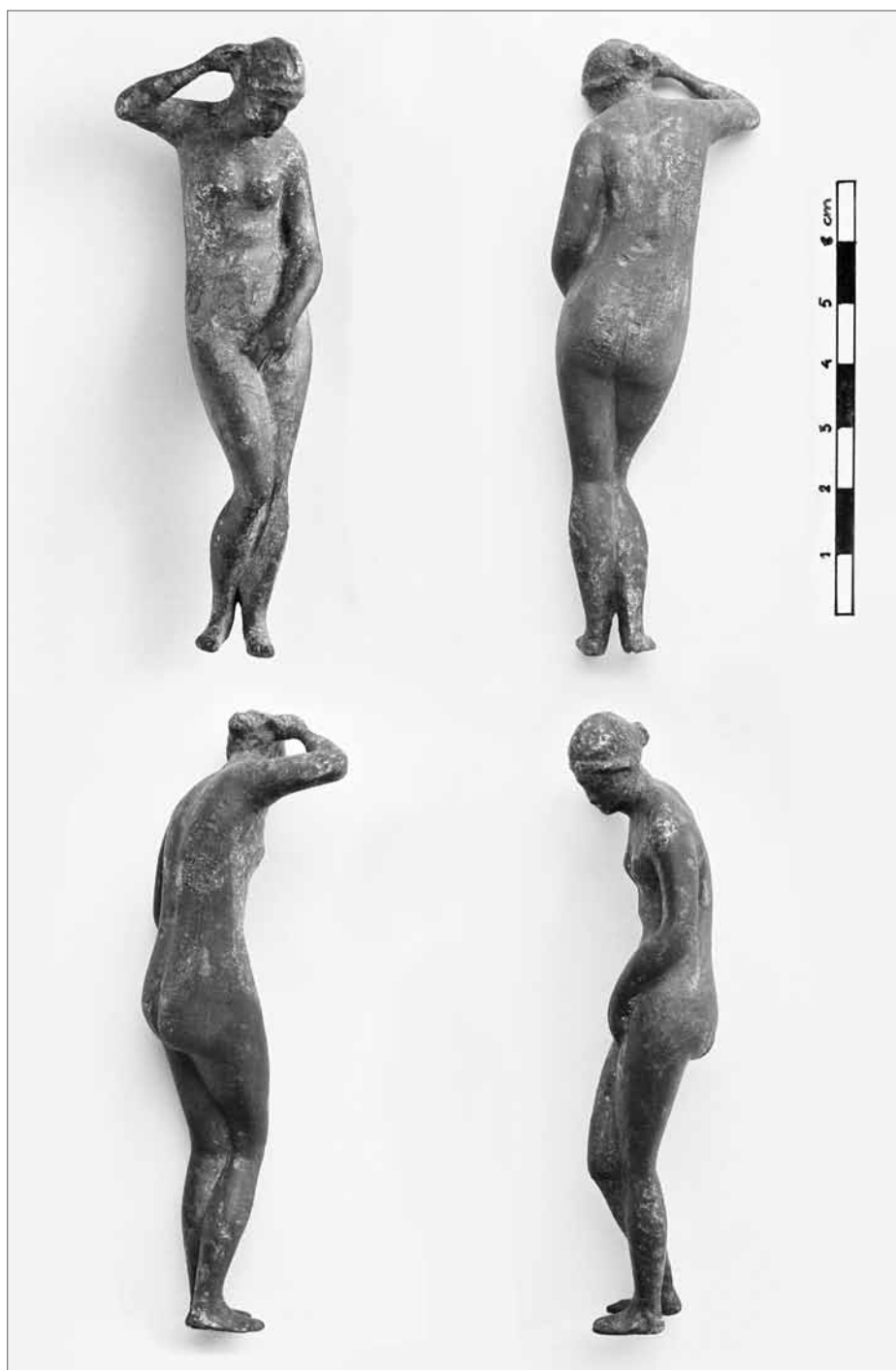


Fig. 2. Section through the ritual deposit in its architectural context showing position of the two bronze objects (Drawing W. Grzegorek)



*Fig. 3. Bronze figurine of Aphrodite (Photo P. Zambrzycki)*

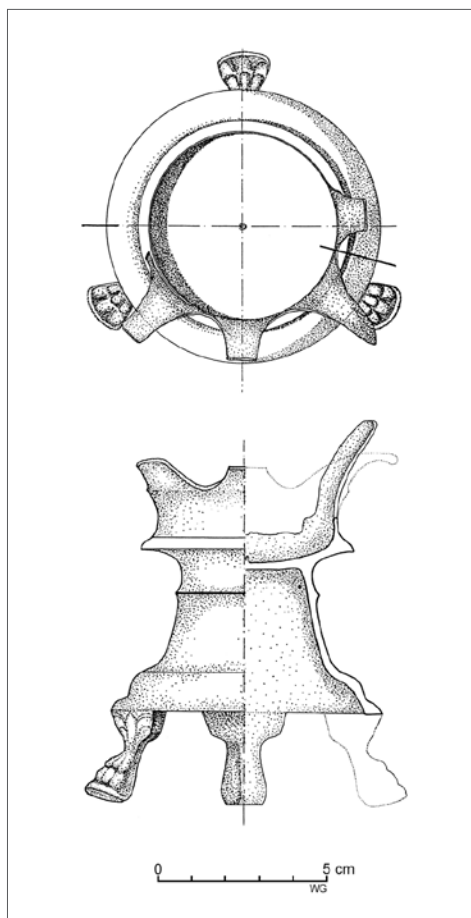
body refers to *Venus of Florence* (Felletti Maj 1953: 97–98, Fig. 65). That statue is largely reconstructed: the half-naked goddess is touching her hair with a raised hand, her other hand holding up a robe covering her pubes. Similar to her and also not preserved in its entirety, *Aphrodite of the Little White House* is reconstructed differently, with the palms of both raised arms supposed to touch strands of hair (Mikocki 1994: 77–78, No. 67, Pl. 42). Examining the bronze statuette found in Marina, a combination of two artistic inspirations can be observed. On the one hand, it resembles the *Cnidian Aphrodite*, the goddess entering water in a *pudica* pose; on the other, it seems as if the figure from Marina, doing up or holding up her hair, has just come out of a bath like *Aphrodite Anadyomene*. The *contrapposto* can also be considered. The balance with the weight of the body thrown on the left leg, (Gaśowska 1971: 98) as in the case of Aphrodite from Marina, is characteristic of a naked and half-naked goddess drying her hair.

The statuette can be compared to other small bronze depictions of the goddess of this kind. One such example is the *Venus of Volubilis* (Boube-Piccot 1969: 185, 221–222, Pl. 177). The goddess is holding up her long hair with her right hand, covering her pubes with her left hand. A few similar figurines showing the goddess in the *pudica* pose with the other hand raised come from the territory of Syria. Dated to the 1st century, one they include one that is standing on an oval pedestal, holding long strands of hair in her right hand (Weber 2006: 26, Pl. 1, No. 3). Another one stands on a rectangular base, holding a sandal in her hand (Weber 2006: 124, Pl. 36, No. 49). She is wearing jewelry, just as another statuette coming from Syria and kept in the Musée de Mariemont, whose left hand is covering her pubes, the right one bent in front of her chest (Donnay 1968: 77–78, No. 86, Pl. XXIV). Her hair is tied up into a bun; at the top of her head two strands are marked. The figurine is standing on a classical profiled base in the form of a bobbin supported by three claws. The relic discussed is all the more valuable as it is rare to find a figurine together with a base. The base described resembles the one discovered in Marina [Fig. 4]. With an oval main part, it is 11.4 cm high. Inside, 7 cm up, the object was divided horizontally. In the middle of the thus formed bottom of the upper part there is a small bump. The upper part resembles a calyx with eight petals turning out at the top. One petal has survived in its entirety and three partially. The lower part takes on the shape of a truncated cone with a horizontal ridge near the top, flaring out below it to the gently profiled base which has a maximum diameter of 8 cm. The object stands on three legs, which are each constricted at mid-height and decorated with double rows of three petals pointing in opposing directions above and below the narrowing. The rendering calls to mind schematic lion claws. The plinth is hollow, probably cast from a plaster mould in one piece, with just the legs attached. It is uncertain if this was a pedestal of the figurine found next to it. It seems to be too high, and also the design of its upper part would hide the feet below the knees of the figure standing inside [Fig. 5]. However, this depiction can be interpreted differently. The goddess is shown here emerging from the sea and the upper decoration of the stand imitates sea waves. The lower part of the body of Apelles' *Aphrodite Anadyomene* rising out of the water was to be covered with sea

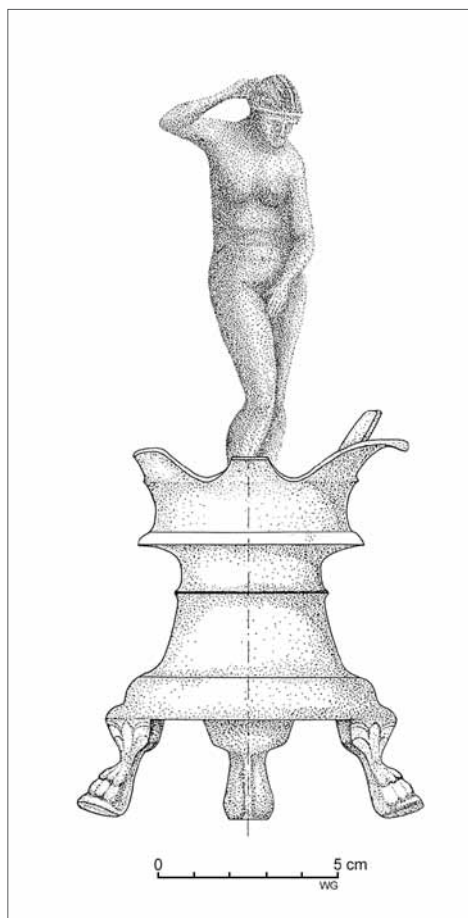


waves (Gąssowska 1971: 31–32). It is uncertain, though, if the figurine was fixed to the pedestal; perhaps a small thickened area on one foot is what remains of the mounting on this or another base. Perhaps it was a censer, which would be indicated by small fragments of burnt wood found inside.

Hidden under the floor, the figurine of the beauty goddess was probably a ritual deposit placed there when the building of the house was completed, which is indicated by the stratigraphy and the damaged flooring [see *Fig. 2*]. Private worship of Aphrodite in the Greco-Roman period is evidenced by numerous finds from houses and tombs, also in the territory of Egypt (El-Ghannam 1995: 305–307, Pl. XLIII; 1996: 19–22, Pl. III, Fig. 1), as well as by prenuptial agreements written down on papyrus (Gąssowska 1971: 80). Figurines given to brides were to be a symbol of success and marital bliss. Small



*Fig. 4.* Bronze object (censer?) found together with the Aphrodite figurine (Drawing W. Grzegorek)



*Fig. 5.* Reconstruction of the Aphrodite figurine standing on the pedestal (Drawing W. Grzegorek)

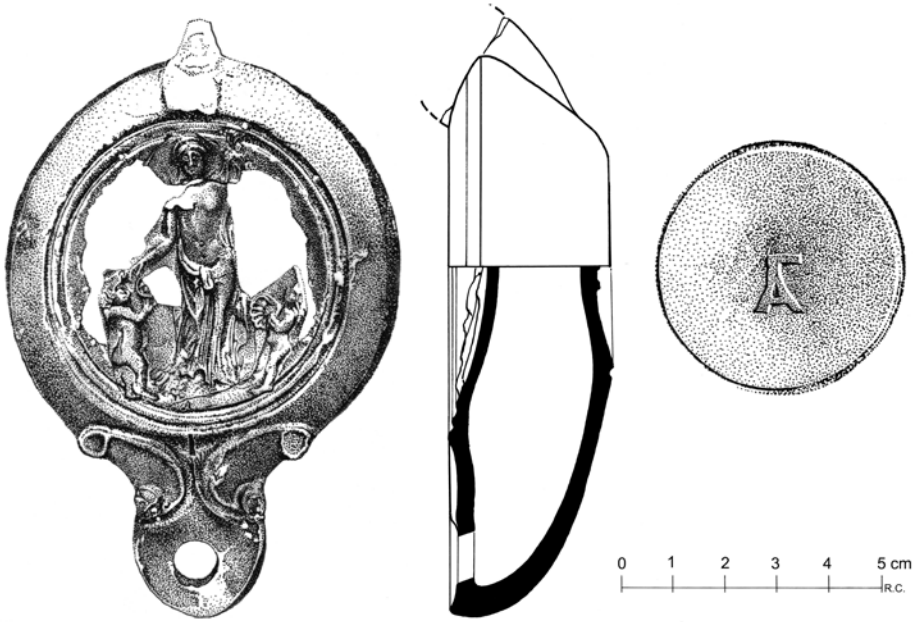


Fig. 6. Lamp with a representation of Aphrodite and two Erotes (Drawing R. Czerner; photo P. Zambrzycki)

statuettes of *Aphrodite Pudica* were very popular in the Syro-Phoenician area, depicting her sometimes with attributes of Astarte or Isis (Weber 2006: 25). Many figurines of this kind come from tombs of women; they were placed under the head of the dead (Donnay 1968: 79). One such figurine was found in the sanctuary of Mithras at Sidon (Weber 2006: 25).

In Marina the figurine of *Aphrodite pudica* was discovered in a house of still unclear purpose; perhaps it should be considered as a seat of an association of some kind (Łajtar 2001: 59–66; 2003: 77–78). A monument commemorating Commodus was erected there, dated to AD 180–183. It is later, though, than the architecture of this part of the house, added to a hall with a niche which could have been built in the 1st–2nd century. The figurine described was found inside an imported amphora from the 2nd–3rd century and can be dated to the second half of the 1st–2nd century (G. Majcherek, personal communication).

The depictions of *Aphrodite* discussed were free-standing sculptures, but in the area of Marina images of the goddess and symbols connected with her were also found on clay lamps. A picture of a shell appears, as well as a picture of a dolphin or *Eros* on a dolphin, or *Aphrodite* in the company of *Erotes* [Figs 6, 6A]. A lamp with this last depiction was found in House H19 in a niche in room 22. It was very destroyed, especially the discus, which was reconstructed from small pieces. In the middle, *Aphrodite* standing facing forward was shown with two *Erotes* offering her attributes on either side. The goddess is portrayed in strong *contrapposto*, the weight of her body is resting on her left straightened leg, the right one is slightly bent at the knee. In her left raised



*Fig. 6A. Aphrodite and two Erotes, detail of the discus representation (Photo P. Zambrzycki)*

hand she is holding the end of the robe which covers her legs and the back of her body. Slightly bent, her right hand is touching the mirror held by Eros. The goddess is bowing her head slightly to the right, with her eyes turned on the god standing in front of her. Strongly bent at the hips, her body has an S-shape. A cloth wrapped beneath the navel is clinging to her legs, emphasizing their shape. A contrast is visible between the robe hanging down her right leg in folds and her smooth naked body. The goddess is wearing a diadem; strands of her long hair are falling to her shoulders. Her hairstyle resembles coiffures characteristic of sculptures from the Hellenistic period (Delivorrias *et alii* 1984: 65 No. 552, 66 No. 554). Naked Eros with a mirror in his hands is shown in three quarters from behind with his head in profile; the slim upper part of his body contrasts with a relatively big protruding stomach and ample buttocks. His right leg is slightly forward, with the weight of his body resting on the left one. He seems to be holding the mirror with both hands, handing it to the goddess. On Aphrodite's left another Eros is standing. The god is shown in three quarters frontally with his head in profile. The only thing different in his posture and the posture of the previously described Eros is that he is standing with both legs straight, holding a shell in his hands. His head is lifted slightly, his eyes turned on Aphrodite.

In one of the Piraeus museums there is a lamp with the same depiction, additionally with wings of Eroses visible on it (Bruneau 1977: 258–259, No. 57). The lamp from Marina is destroyed in the very places where the Eroses' wings can be seen on the lamp from the museum. The image is enclosed by two oval grooves separating the discus from the lamp's shoulders decorated with a cymatium motif. On the bottom of the lamp there is an inscription carved inside an oval groove, showing that the lamp came from the workshop of Loukios (Λουκίου). The lamp has a handle, and on the left of the discus, between the depictions of Aphrodite and Eros, there is a hole for pouring the oil in. What makes this lamp different from typical Corinthian lamps is a heart-shaped nozzle. The lamp from Marina has a different signature on the back: the ligatured letters Α Γ. The signature in relief is stamped into an archetype. No handle has survived. The lamp shoulders are smooth; between the nozzle and the discus it is decorated with volutes. The scene depicted on the disc is surrounded by two oval grooves on which the legs of Eroses are placed. The lamp is made of a bright fine clay, covered with brown slip and resembles Italic lamps in form (see Bailey 1980: 180–183, Pls 19–20), yet there are Greek letters on it. It is known that Corinthian artisans working in Italic workshops used to leave the names of their former masters written in Greek on the lamps (Pétridis 1992: 668, No. 2). Perhaps it was the same or similar case here. A Corinthian lamp found at Kom el-Shuqafa in Alexandria should also be mentioned; it has the same depiction and a signature of Gaios (Γαίου) (Bruneau 1977: 259 note 32). The lamp from Marina can be dated to the second half of the 1st century–2nd century.

Depictions of Aphrodite during her toilette were popular in Hellenistic times and the idea derives from the motif of Anadyomene (Delivorrias *et alii* 1984: 59). The lower, covered part of the goddess's body resembles *Aphrodite of Arles* (Delivorrias *et alii* 1984: 63).

An image of the goddess in the company of two Erotes occurs on North African mosaics from the Roman period (Blance, Gury 1986: Nos 594, 596, 597; Dunbabin 1999: 226 No. 6; 258 No. 8), in Pompeian painting (Eschebach 1978: 204–205), as well as in monumental sculpture and small bronze figurines (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1977: 67, T. 69, No. 68; Machaira 1993).

Comparing descriptions of three different images of Aphrodite dating back to approximately the same time, inspiration of Hellenistic sculpture can be observed, as well as a reference to Classical patterns. However, not only known types of Aphrodite's depictions were found in Marina, and the bronze figurine described above can be considered as an example. The images of the goddess discussed here, made of different materials and in some ways serving different purposes, prove the popularity of the goddess in the everyday life of inhabitants of the small town on the Egyptian coast. The ruins and ancient finds which have survived in Marina indicate a strong influence of Greek culture and Egyptian tradition. It should be emphasized that the inhabitants of the town certainly spoke Greek, which is proved by the Greek inscriptions discovered on monuments and objects of both public and private use. The iconography includes representations of Greek gods; quite often Dionysian motifs are featured. It seems, however, that Egyptian gods were of great significance, since they appear in sepulchral beliefs and everyday life. Depicted in wall paintings, sculpture and everyday objects, the images of Egyptian gods were also worn as amulets. Sometimes Egyptian and Greek gods were portrayed side by side, which proves a strong syncretism of these two cultures and religions. The town was situated between Alexandria and Cyrenaica, and the influence of these centers is visible in the architecture and the minor objects. Relations with Cyprus and other Greek islands were also of great importance as borne out by the ceramic vessels (Majcherek 2007) and lamps (Zych 2004). Aphrodite's popularity may have come from there as well to some extent. Still, the spread of the worship of the beauty goddess in Egypt was largely influenced by the fact that the Ptolemaic dynasty favored her, which was in turn linked with a dynastic cult established in connection with Arsinoe II of Egypt (Fraser 1972: 1, 240–243; 2, 129; Skowronek 1978: 14; Hazzard 2000: 82–102), worshiped and portrayed both as Aphrodite and Isis. Several centuries later Cleopatra VII identified herself with these goddesses (for Cleopatra VII, see: Hazzard 148–153). Venus was a patron of Julius Caesar's family and of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. In Marina Roman influences from the 2nd century and the beginning of the 3rd century can be seen, yet in that period they were still of a different nature, and although they are traceable for example in architecture and in wall painting derived from Pompeian painting, they can be observed foremost in the appearance of everyday objects sometimes coming from distant parts of the empire (Bąkowska *et alii* forthcoming). The diversity of origin of ancient finds from Marina highlights the harbor character of the town. It is an interesting example of syncretism developing in the Roman period.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

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AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> , Berlin
AAAS	<i>Annales archéologiques arabes de Syrie</i> , Damas
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School of Athens</i> , London
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> , New York
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i> , Leipzig, Stuttgart
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> , Le Caire
BAAL	<i>Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises</i> , Beirut
BABesch	<i>Bulletin antieke Beschaving</i> , Louvain
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> , Paris
BdÉ	<i>Bibliothèque d'étude</i> , Le Caire
BEFAR	<i>Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i> , Rome, Paris
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> , Le Caire
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i> , Paris
CCE	<i>Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne</i> , Le Caire
CCEC	<i>Cahiers du Centre d'études chypriotes</i> , Nanterre
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> , Bruxelles
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i> , Paris
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> , Vienna
EtTrav	<i>Études et travaux</i> , Varsovie
GM	<i>Göttinger Miscellen</i> , Göttingen
GRBS	<i>Greek and Byzantine Studies</i> , Durham, NC
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> , Jerusalem
JbAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> , London
JGS	<i>Journal of Glass Studies</i> , New York
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> , London
JJP	<i>Journal of Juristic Papyrology</i> , Warsaw
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i> , Ann Arbor, MI
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> , London
KHKM	<i>Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej</i> , Warszawa
LIMC	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> , Zurich
MDAIA	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i> , Berlin
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> , Wiesbaden
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité</i> , Paris
MIFAO	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> , Le Caire
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> , London
NumAntCl	<i>Numismatica e antichità classiche</i> , Logano
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta</i> , Louvain
PAM	<i>Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean</i> , Warsaw
RACrist	<i>Rivista di archeologia cristiana</i> , Cité du Vatican
RBK	<i>Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst</i> , Stuttgart

*Abbreviations*

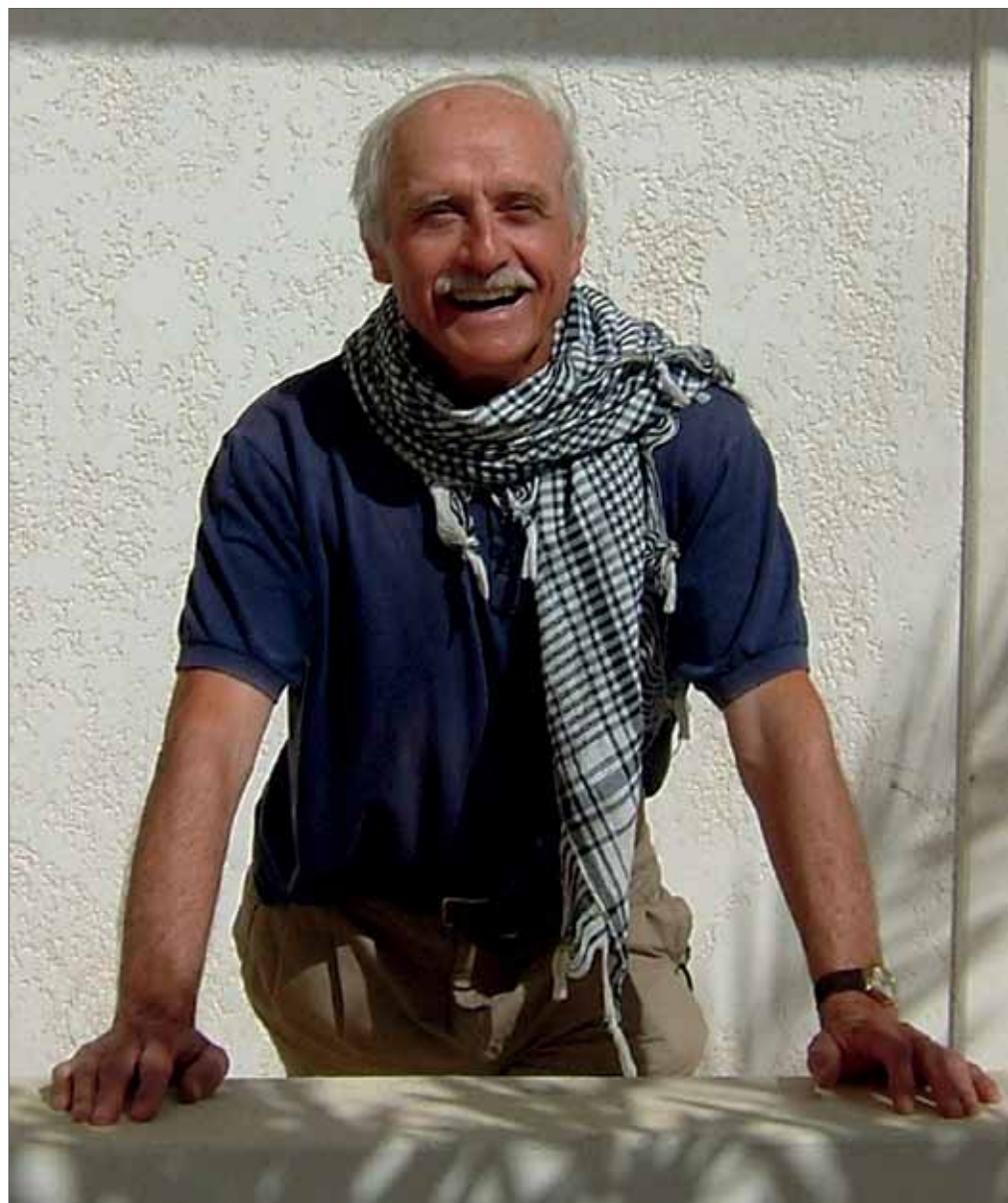
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<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, Nicosia</i>
<i>RdÉ</i>	<i>Revue d'égyptologie, Paris, Louvain</i>
<i>REPPAL</i>	<i>Revue du centre d'études de la civilisation phénicienne-punique et des antiquités libyques</i>
<i>RMNW</i>	<i>Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie, Warszawa</i>
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali, Roma</i>
<i>RTAM</i>	<i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, Gembloux</i>
<i>RTAM</i>	<i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, Gembloux, Louvain</i>
<i>SAAC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization, Kraków</i>
<i>VetChr</i>	<i>Vetera christianorum, Bari</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn</i>

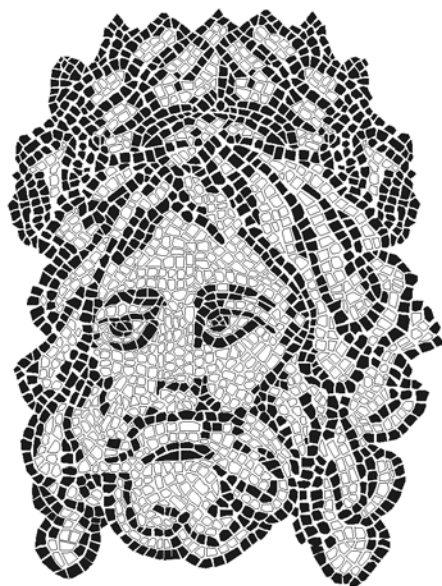
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<i>DACL</i>	F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, <i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , Paris, 1907–1953
<i>LCI</i>	E. Kirschbaum, W. Braunfels (eds), <i>Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie</i> , Rom: Herder, 1968–1976
<i>RealEnc</i>	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, K. Mittelhaus, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart–Münich, 1893–1980

CLASSICA ORIENTALIA



# CLASSICA ORIENTALIA



Essays Presented to  
Wiktor Andrzej Daszewski  
on his 75th Birthday

Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology  
University of Warsaw  
Wydawnictwo DiG

# Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology University of Warsaw

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# CONTENTS

---

Abbreviations.....	9
Foreword.....	11
Wiktor Andrzej Daszewski: Essay presented on his 75th birthday anniversary.....	13
Wiktor Andrzej Daszewski: List of publications.....	31
KRZYSZTOF BABRAJ	
Interprétation de la lettre τω̄ sur le vêtement du Christ et du geste de l'ogdoade sur la mosaïque absidiale de l'église Santa Pudenziana à Rome.....	43
JANINE BALTY	
Le rinceau d'acanthé à fond noir dans la mosaïque syrienne : l'exemple de Mariamin.....	73
JEAN-CHARLES BALTY	
Une « nouvelle » dédicace apaméenne à Cn. Marcius Rustius Rufinus.....	89
GRAŻYNA BĄKOWSKA-CZERNER	
Aphrodite in Egypt. Images of the goddess from Marina el-Alamein.....	97
GIUSEPPINA CAPRIOTTI-VITTOZZI	
Un gruppo scultoreo da Dendera al Museo del Cairo: due fanciulli divini e i due luminari.....	115
RAFAŁ CZERNER	
The peristyle of House H1 in the ancient town at Marina el-Alamein.....	129
KRZYSZTOF DOMŻALSKI	
Roman fine pottery from a cellar under Oil-press E.I at Chhim (Lebanon).....	147
PIOTR DYCZEK	
From the history on ancient Rhizon/Risinium: Why the Illyrian King Agron and Queen Teuta came to a bad end and who was Ballaios?.....	157
PAVLOS FLOURENTZOS	
New evidence of the aniconic iconography of Astarte-Aphrodite in Cyprus.....	175
MICHAŁ GAWLIKOWSKI	
Bagatelles épigraphiques.....	183
WŁODZIMIERZ GODLEWSKI	
Mosaic floor from the sanctuary of the EC.II cathedral in Dongola.....	193
TOMASZ GÓRECKI	
Roman ceramic <i>thymiaterion</i> from a Coptic hermitage in Thebes.....	199

TOMASZ HERBICH, HARALD VAN DER OSTEN, IWONA ZYCH Geophysi EC.II cs applied to the investigation of Graeco-Roman coastal towns west of Alexandria: the case of Marina el-Alamein.....	209
MARIA KACZMAREK Human remains from Marina el-Alamein.....	233
ZSOLT KISS Deux fragments de portraits funéraires romains de Deir el-Bahari.....	259
JERZY KOLENDO Zita, une ville oubliée de Tripolitaine.....	267
RENATA KUCHARCZYK Glass medallion in the shape of a lion's head mask.....	277
BARBARA LICHOCKA <i>Delta-epsilon</i> issues of Elagabalus and Severus Alexander.....	287
JOHN LUND Head vases of the Magenta Group from Cyprus.....	325
ADAM ŁAJTAR <i>Divus Probus</i> (?) in a fragmentary building(?) inscription in Latin found in Kato (Nea) Paphos, Cyprus.....	341
ADAM ŁUKASZEWICZ A fish from the sea.....	353
GRZEGORZ MAJCHEREK, IWONA ZYCH The Cretan presence in Marina el-Alamein.....	357
HENRYK MEYZA A mask of ἡγεμῶν θεράπων with ὄγκος(?) from Paphos.....	379
KAROL MYŚLIWIEC L'acquis des fouilles de Tell Atrib pour la connaissance de l'époque ptolémaïque.....	387
JANUSZ A. OSTROWSKI Najwcześniejsza polska wzmianka o sycylijskich <i>antiquitates</i> (with summary in English).....	399
EWDOKSIA PAPUCI-WŁADYKA The contribution of Kraków archaeologists to excavating Nea Paphos, the ancient capital of Cyprus.....	413
ANNA POŁUDNIKIEWICZ “Megarian” bowls from Tell Atrib.....	425
ZOFIA SZTETYŁO Amphoras on Knidian amphoras.....	441
HANNA SZYMAŃSKA Two “armed” terracottas from Athribis.....	451