NERO in Rome. The truth of such accusations is probably irrecoverable now. There were those who were abstainers (see the examples collected by Athenaeus 2.44b–f). But 'water-drinking' could itself be the subject of criticism, as being anti-social behaviour. JJP

See Davidson, J. (1997) *Courtesans and Fishcakes*; Murray, O., ed. (1990) *Sympotica*; Murray, O. and Tecuşan, M., eds. (1995) *In Vino Veritas*; Sournia, J.-C. (1990) *A History of Alcoholism*, trs. N. Hindley; Walton, S. (2001) *Out of It*.

Alemanni (Alamanni) see CONSTANTINE; MAXIMINUS THRAX; RAETIA; VALENTINIAN I; VALERIAN.

Alesia see GALLIC WARS; VERCINGETORIX.

Alexander III ('the Great') King of Macedonia (r.336–323 BC) and conqueror of the Persian empire, who came to power when his father, Philip II, was assassinated. Ancient sources are divided between a more reliable tradition (culminating in ARRIAN and some of PLUTARCH's work), a less reliable one (DIODORUS and Quintus Curtius Rufus), and a popular (the *ALEXANDER ROMANCE*).

Alexander may have had ARISTOTLE as his tutor. Like his royal forebears, he believed he was fully Hellenic, carrying a copy of the *Iliad* everywhere for inspiration. He put down a revolt of the southern Greeks, punishing the city of Thebes by razing it to the ground in 334, and then carried out his father's planned invasion of the PERSIAN EMPIRE. Landing in Asia Minor, he visited the reputed tomb of Achilles, the Homeric hero from whom he apparently believed he was descended. Rapid conquest of Asia Minor followed, with key victories over Darius III at the river Granikos (334) and at Issos (333). During the next two years he conquered Phoenicia and Egypt, where he founded ALEXANDRIA and was hailed as the son of Zeus by the priest of Ammon (AMON-RA). In 331–330 he took the war into the Persian heartland, defeating Darius at Gaugamela and capturing Babylon and Sousa, where he recovered statues looted from Athens by Xerxes in 480 BC. The burning of the palace at PERSEPOLIS in 330, whether deliberate or accidental, served his propaganda purposes, allowing him to claim revenge for Xerxes' invasion on behalf of all Greeks. In 329, he exacted justice from Darius' murderer, Bessos, making clear his wish to be seen as Darius' heir and the new king of Persia.

By now, what others would forever identify as his autocratic traits were manifest. He fell out with some of his closest advisers and had them executed (Philotas, Parmenion, and later the court historian Kallisthenes), killed another in a drunken rage (Kleitos), and demanded *proskynêsis* (Persian-style obeisance) from Greeks. At the same time, he pressed ever further east, conquering Baktria (north AFGHANISTAN) and penetrating Punjab (326), until his troops mutinied for a return home. His unwise crossing of the Gedrosian desert (325), the execution of Persian satraps, and the alienation of his treasurer, Harpalos (who fled to Greece with a fortune), have all fuelled the image of a man who had lost his power of judgement. He may have had visions of a unified Greco-Persian ruling class – he arranged a mass marriage of his soldiers to non-Greek wives – and probably intended to invade Arabia and the western Mediterranean. The death in 324 of his lover, Hephaistion, depressed him and in 323 he died at Ekbatana, perhaps of pneumonia exacerbated by excessive drinking. He had failed to provide clearly for the royal succession, and decades of combat between his generals (SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER) ensued.

Alexander inspired fanatical devotion, and was without doubt a brilliant general and politician. He created a Hellenic regime in western Asia and Egypt that would endure for centuries. Plutarch thought that those he conquered were lucky to have been civilized. Generals from Pompey to Napoleon have emulated him, and modern idealists have seen in his grand plans a precedent for the League of Nations. Sceptics now question his sanity or posit alcoholism. Balanced assessments point to the ground already prepared by Philip, the massive demographic effort by Greeks and Macedonians that his campaigns entailed, and an ideological climate in which barbarians were seen as fit to be ruled. While the desire for conquest and wealth was normal in ancient societies, Alexander's heroic insatiability reached new heights and cost the lives of many innocent people. (see pp. 36–7) DGJS

See Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*; Quintus Curtius Rufus, *The History of Alexander*, trs. J. Yardley; Plutarch, *Alexander*; Bosworth, A. B. (1998) *Alexander the Great*; Bosworth, A. B. and Baynham, E. J., eds. (2000) *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*; *Greece & Rome* 12.2 (1965) (collection of articles); Green, P. (1991) *Alexander of Macedon*; Worthington, I., ed. (2002) *Alexander: a reader*.

AMON-RA: (a); ELEPHANTS: (a); MACEDONIA: (b); PERSIA AND PERSIANS: (a).

Alexander of Troy see PARIS.

Alexander Romance A group of Greek, Roman, and medieval tales about ALEXANDER the Great in verse and prose, also known as Pseudo-Kallisthenes or by their Latin title, *Historia Alexandri Magni*. Versions survive in most medieval languages: from Hebrew to Magyar, from Scots to Syriac. Western versions derive from Latin ones. Elements of the Eastern accounts are found in Ethiopian, Iranian, and Arabic texts including the Koran. (Folk-tales about Alexander, still told in the Mediterranean and Near East, originate partly from the same tradition.) There is a general unity of plot, though details vary and no composite text can be considered the true one. Alexander is fathered on Olympias by Nectanebo, last pharaoh of EGYPT, disguised as the god AMMON. The narrative of the Persian expedition includes

III ('THE GREAT'): (a) an Alexandrian silver
m, depicting the head of Alexander as
nd the seated figure of Zeus.

are the housing blocks, the suburban cemeteries, the vast system of underground cisterns, and the recent underwater discoveries near the site of the Pharos and in the PALACE quarter. RSB

See Strabo 17.1.6–10; Cameron, A. (1995) *Callimachus and his Critics*; Fraser, P.M. (1972) *Ptolemaic Alexandria*; Haas, C. (1997) *Alexandria in Late Antiquity*.

 EGYPT: (a).

alimenta During the Roman empire, various programmes both public and private were established to provide food for children. Most extensive of these was the imperial *alimenta*, begun by Nerva and TRAJAN. In this scheme, the state gave loans to Italian landowners; they in turn paid annual interest, which was used to give allowances to selected children of their town. Details are preserved by tablets describing the arrangements in the towns of LIGURES BAEBIANI and Veleia. The loans were about 8 per cent of the value of the estates pledged, and the landowners paid annual interest of c.5 per cent of the amount loaned. Boys were supported until age 18, girls until 14, with the following monthly allowances: legitimate boys, 16 HS (*sestertii*); legitimate girls, 12 HS; illegitimate boys, 12 HS; illegitimate girls, 10 HS.

At least 50 Italian towns were part of this system, which lasted at least until AURELIAN but ended by the time of CONSTANTINE. One source cites the motivation for these efforts as being poor relief, but the status of the recipients is unclear, and certainly the *alimenta* were exploited for their propaganda value as imperial patronage in media such as COINAGE.

A variety of private alimentary schemes are also attested, such as PLINY THE YOUNGER's foundation for the town of Comum. GSA

See Duncan-Jones, R. (1964) The purpose and organisation of the alimenta, *PBSR* 32: 123–46; (1982) *The Economy of the Roman Empire* 288–322; Woolf, G. (1990) Food, poverty and patronage, *PBSR* 58: 197–228.

Alkaios (Alcaeus) A contemporary of SAPPHO at the end of the 7th century BC and, like her, a poet from LESBOS, and a citizen of Mytilene. These two poets wrote solo songs sung to the accompaniment of the lyre, composed in stanzas of four verses in complex metres that were later largely imitated by Roman poets. Alkaios and Sappho shared their metres and dialect, but their subject matter was very different. As in Sappho's case, Alkaios' topics often reflected his life and his political activities, marked by WAR and EXILE. Many of these poems may have been performed in *SYMPOSIA*, ritualized drinking parties hosted and attended by wealthy men, often political 'friends'. Many of Alkaios' poems are drinking songs. However, in the archaic period poetry and song were regularly used as vehicles for political discourse. His poetry also treats mythological themes, including the characters of the Trojan war (Priam, AJAX, ACHILLES, Helen) and gods (the DIOSCURI, APHRODITE), and it is not clear that these poems were symposiastic.

Many cities in archaic times saw the struggle for power of ÉLITE factions, and rivalry (*stasis*) between these rich men and the often self-proclaimed TYRANTS. This is the world in which Alkaios grew up and took active part. In his poems, he represents civic dissensions as storms at sea in which the winds blow in different directions; hence the perils of the sea become a metaphor for the evils menacing the state. The image of the state as a ship, used extensively in later classical literature, perhaps derives from Alkaios, though it is common in archaic poetry.

The contemporaries whom Alkaios mentions in his poetry, notably Pittakos and Myrsilos, were important figures in the politics of Mytilene. Alkaios had been a friend of Pittakos (later considered one of the Seven Sages), who was a former ally of Alkaios' older brother in the fight against the tyrant Myrsilos. However, according to Alkaios' vicious political invective, Pittakos assumed power and became a tyrant, in part by marrying into a prominent family. Alkaios' opposition to him resulted in his unhappy EXILE (or perhaps asylum) in a sanctuary relatively close to the city but outside the walls. The image of the cunning fox, depicting the treachery and volatility of political friendship, appears in Alkaios' works, as it does in the elegiac verse of Solon. Another poetic topic shared by many archaic poets is the fear of POVERTY, which Alkaios makes the sister of helplessness. RBC, LF

See Campbell, D.A., trs. (1982) *Greek Lyric*, vol. 1; Fränkel, H. (1973) *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy*; Gerber, D.E., ed. (1991) *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets*; Page, D.L. (1959) *Sappho and Alcaeus*; West, M.L., trs. (1994) *Greek Lyric Poetry*.

 LYRIC POETRY: (a).

Alkibiades see ALCIBIADES.

Alkmaionidai (Alcmaeonidae) An aristocratic Athenian family that included several political leaders of the archaic and classical periods. In the 7th century BC the earliest known Alkmaionid, Megakles, incurred a curse that was often recalled later (see ATHENS). His grandson, another Megakles, married Kleisthenes tyrant of Sikyon and was a rival of PEISISTRATOS. The family's most famous member, Megakles' son KLEISTHENES, was probably archon in the 520s but the family was later in exile, from which he returned to oust the TYRANTS and set up the Athenian DEMOCRACY. The family was accused of pro-Persian sympathies during the invasion of XERXES, and although both PERIKLES and ALCIBIADES had Alkmaionid mothers the male line of the family produced no leading politicians after the Persian wars. DGJS

Alkman Poet at SPARTA in the second half of the 7th century BC, whose work is extant only in a fragmentary state. In one fragment, he claims descent from a family of SARDIS, but it may not be appropriate to take this too literally. Some later writers claimed he was LACONIAN in origin, and the testimony that he was a slave granted freedom because of his art is probably fictitious. Wherever Alkman was from, he resided in Sparta and composed in the Doric dialect with HOMERIC resonances, which remained the language of CHORAL poetry.

A PAPYRUS has provided a large fragment of a choral song (*partheneion*), the genre for which Alkman was best known, performed by adolescent girls at a Spartan religious festival to 'Orthria' (possibly ARTEMIS Ortheia). These songs allow us to glimpse

confusion with a later Apollonios who also became chief librarian.

The *Argonautika* retells the story of Jason and the Argonauts in four books averaging 1,500 lines of hexameters – the metre of HOMER. Books 1–2 cover Jason's voyage to the Black sea to recover the Golden Fleece from king Aietes, including (in book 2) the famous episode where the ship *Argo* successfully negotiates the Symplegades (Clashing Rocks). In book 3 Jason passes Aietes' tests, rounding up fire-breathing bulls to plough a field, sowing the teeth of dragons, and killing the 'earth-born' warriors that spring from the soil. To do so, Jason requires the aid of the king's daughter, Medea, and her magical powers – the more easily gained since she falls violently in love with him. In book 4 (the longest book) the Argonauts and Medea escape with the fleece, Jason and Medea are married, and make their way to Jason's home in Thessaly via Crete, where they defeat the bronze giant Talos, again with the help of Medea's magic. The poem combines an interest in the exotic and in individual (especially erotic) psychology that are characteristic of the hellenistic age.

The *Argonautika* is the only ancient epic between Homer and VIRGIL to survive intact. Since it owes a vast and complex debt to the first, and had a pervasive influence on the second, it occupies a crucial point in Greco-Roman literary history. Until comparatively recent times it was systematically underrated as an inferior imitation of Homer. However, contemporary studies not only of hellenistic poetics, but also of the way in which hellenistic authors such as Kallimachos and Apollonios – rather than the earlier (and in modern times more highly regarded) dramatists or LYRIC POETS – tended to provide the models for late Republican and Augustan Rome, have radically revised critical estimates of their intrinsic value. Nor was it only young 'Neoterics' of the 1st century BC, such as Calvus or CATULLUS, who aspired to emulate them: Ptolemy II's court poets found their natural successors in the Augustan circle of MAECENAS. The *Aeneid* owes a huge debt to Apollonios, of which Virgil's Dido, as a development of the *Argonautika*'s Medea, is only the most obvious example.

Ancient tradition reports a quarrel, probably literary, between Apollonios and Kallimachos. This is most often dismissed today as fiction, on the grounds that Apollonios in fact shares, rather than opposes, his mentor's characteristics of experimentalism, allusiveness, aetiologizing and conscious INTERTEXTUALITY (e.g. in the foreshadowing of the tragic end of Jason's marriage to Medea as delineated by EURIPIDES). Yet however Kallimachean the four long books of the *Argonautika* may be in technique and language, the genre in which they are cast is still that of the cyclic epic which Kallimachos rejected. Their approach to MYTH in particular, with its acceptance of marvels and magic, is far closer to that of PINDAR (on whose *Pythian* 4 Apollonios drew heavily) than to the fashionable rationalizing allegorical version of the Argonaut myth by a contemporary such as Dionysios Skytobrachion (summary in Diodorus Siculus 4.40–56) – one reason for its immediate, and continuing, popularity. PMG

See Green, P., trs. (1997) *The Argonautika by Apollonios Rhodios* (with commentary); Apollonius of Rhodes, *Jason and the Golden Fleece*, trs. R. Hunter (1995).

Apollonios of Tyana (usually Apollonius) A sage of the 1st century AD, much glorified by his biographer PHILOSTRATOS. Few details about Apollonius are known with certainty, and even his existence is sometimes doubted. In the tradition, Apollonius was a NEOPYTHAGOREAN miracle-worker of prodigious activity who came into conflict with the emperors NERO, DOMITIAN and NERVA, and encountered others. He travelled widely through the Roman empire and beyond, delivering speeches in the manner of itinerant SOPHISTS while gaining familiarity with different philosophies and religions, including Brahmanism. Like others, he was accused of misconduct and was expelled from Rome, perhaps twice. The biography is a collection of themes that usually appear in accounts of similar figures, except that the accumulation of stories, miracles and more is greater. A group of letters is of doubtful authenticity, at least in its current form, and the historicity of other writings has been questioned. He is named by LUCIAN, Origen and CASSIUS DIO among others. Julia DOMNA, wife of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, commissioned Philostratos to write the biography.

Whether he was real, imagined or something in between, Apollonius represents a common type, especially in the early empire. Later, in the reign of DIOCLETIAN (284–305), Sossianus Hierocles, an exponent of the persecution of Christians, transformed him into a pagan JESUS, to counter the growing importance of CHRISTIANITY by providing a similar figure for non-Christians to revere. The attempt was neither successful nor enduring. JV

See Philostratos, *Life of Apollonius*, trs. F. C. Conybeare (1912); Anderson, G. (1986) *Philostratus*.

Apollonios the *dioikêtês* Minister in charge of the ECONOMY of Egypt, including AGRICULTURE, TAXATION, COINAGE, monopolies and commerce, under Ptolemy II Philadelphos. Apollonios is the earliest *dioikêtês* known from the PTOLEMAIC period, but the office, a virtual vizierate (*senti* in Egyptian), is older, perhaps a Saite innovation. Nothing is known with certainty of Apollonios' origin, patronymic, early career, wife or children, but he has been plausibly identified as the father of Aëtos (eponymous PRIEST in 253/2) and grandfather of the Thraseas who founded ARSINOË at Nagidos; if so, he was from Aspendos. He was in office by c.261 and remained there at least until the death of Philadelphos in 246, perhaps as late as 243. His end is unknown, but his putative family's later success suggests that he did not fall in disgrace.

Apollonios was, after the king, the most important figure in the Ptolemaic government of his time, his power extending to the possessions outside Egypt and missing little of significance except the military. He was *dioikêtês* when the famous 'Revenue Laws' of Philadelphos, with taxation and monopoly ordinances, were drawn up in the form we have them (259). He accompanied Berenike and her dowry from Pelousion to the Seleukid border when she married Antiochos II Theos in 253. He is known mainly from the papers of Zenon of Kaunos, the largest surviving ARCHIVE of Ptolemaic Egypt. Zenon served Apollonios' business interests, first in Palestine, then (from 258) in Egypt, setting out (spring 256) as manager of Apollonios' estate of 10,000 arouras (2,756 ha, 6,807 acres) near Philadelphia in the FAYÛM

until 248. It is therefore Apollonios' private dealings that are best documented: estates also in the Memphite nome, craft production, SHIPPING, and domestic and international trade. He was much interested in vines, fruit-trees and livestock. His numerous letters show an energetic, tough administrator, far-ranging but in command of every detail. He seems to have been devoted to the cult of Arsinoë II. RSB

See Edgar, C.C. (1931) *Zenon Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection*.

Appian Born in Alexandria at the end of the 1st century AD, Appian moved to Rome to pursue advocacy, gaining the rank of procurator under ANTONINUS PIUS. His life is known partly from the letters of his PATRON, FRONTO; his autobiography is lost. The structure of his extant historical work is unusual. He begins with the kings of Rome and moves through the various peoples as Rome conquered them, from the Italians to the campaigns of TRAJAN and his commanders in DACIA and ARABIA. Egypt, his home country, plays a prominent part towards the end. The result is a remarkably wide-ranging work. The accounts of the Iberian, HANNIBALIC and MACEDONIAN WARS, the wars with the SELEUKIDS, and the CIVIL WARS from the GRACCHI to the triumviral period survive.

Out of necessity Appian had to abridge, and he is not necessarily an accurate guide to what his sources wrote. In particular, he is prone to transpose his experience of his own time back into the past. His choice of material suits his own narrative and artistic interests. He does use speeches, which are clearly invented, at various points. This gives him the opportunity to show off his own RHETORICAL skills, but they are usually well motivated. More conscious and insidious manipulation is to be found in the emphasis on Egypt, and also in Appian's own obsession with the dangers of civil war. A loyal subject of the Roman empire, he laments both the Roman collapse in the late Republic and the failures in Egypt to avoid internal unrest. Interestingly, he may have been involved somehow in the great Jewish revolt of AD 115–17 when he escaped from some JEWS into the reeds of the NILE.

Good counsel, good luck and providence combine with virtue to ensure the Roman success. Fate may make the better side the loser on occasion, but for Appian the Romans were both consciously aiming for an empire and destined to emerge from the civil wars into harmony. He was far too pragmatic to believe that the monarchy of the first century AD was by definition the best constitution; his interest is in the systems that work best, and the qualities that preserve leaders from bloodshed.

Appian's audience was similar to himself, the well-to-do élite of the Greek-speaking PROVINCES who sought to understand the reasons behind Rome's rise to power. It should not be assumed that this interest was equivalent to uncritical devotion. Appian's real loyalties may well have lain with Egypt (it is a pity that those books of his history are not extant), and he is clear-eyed about the merits of the present situation and the mistakes Rome has made. CJS

See White, H., trs. (1912–13) *Appian's Roman History*; Appian, *The Civil Wars*, trs. J. Carter (1996); Swain, S. (1996) *Hellenism and Empire*.

Appii Claudii see CLAUDII; CLODIA; ROADS, ROMAN; ROME; VERGINIA.

Apuleius Orator, philosopher and novelist. Born at Madauros in AFRICA c.AD 123–5, Apuleius was educated at CARTHAGE, Athens and Rome, and followed the career of a rhetorician. About 156, on a journey to ALEXANDRIA, he rested at OEA, where Sicinius Pontianus persuaded him to marry his widowed mother. After Pontianus died, relatives brought Apuleius to court for using MAGIC to seduce AEMILIA PUDENTILLA into the marriage; their true concern was her estate, which was of considerable value. Apuleius answered the charge with his *Apology*. He appeals to the governor Claudius Maximus as a man of his own ÉLITE literate class and frequently denigrates, with obvious relish, the rusticity of his accusers. His central argument is that apparent magic was simply the knowledge and research interests of an educated man. Subsequently, Apuleius lived at Carthage and was revered as a philosopher and orator; he became the chief priest of the province, and received many public honours, including a statue 'To the Platonic philosopher' (the base survives). Nothing certain is known of his life after the 160s, but he may have lived into the 180s or 190s.

Apuleius is best known for *The Golden Ass* (or *Metamorphoses*), the only complete Latin NOVEL extant. Based (like the Greek *Lucius or the Ass* sometimes ascribed to LUCIAN) on a non-extant Greek work called *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius tells the adventures of a Lucius who became a donkey because of a mistake in a magical procedure. The central portion of the narrative is the story of Cupid and Psyche, told to Lucius by an old woman. From jealousy of Psyche, Venus commanded Cupid to inflame her with passion for someone insignificant. He fell in love with her himself, but visited her only after dark and forbade her to see him. One night, she lit a candle while he was sleeping, but spilled a drop of wax, waking him and causing him to disappear in anger. Subsequently, Psyche experienced a wide range of trials and tribulations, until Jupiter took pity and brought her to the heavens, where she was reunited with Cupid. The story's source remains obscure; neither Greek version has it or the concluding portion about ISIS. Though Lucius' adventures are unusual and often bawdy, the novel is a vibrant characterization of everyday life in the Roman world of the 2nd century AD.

His *Florida* (lit. 'flowers': an anthology of rhetorical excerpts) and *On the God of Socrates* are extant; the authorship of other surviving works credited to him is disputed. Lost works, on fish, trees, agriculture, astronomy, mathematics, the state, proverbs and other subjects, reveal a typical educated man of the 2nd century AD, the period of the SECOND SOPHISTIC. JV

See Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, trs. E.J. Kenney (1998); Apuleius, *Rhetorical Works* (includes *Apology*, *Florida*, *On the god of Socrates*), trs. S. Harrison, J. Hilton and V. Hunink (1994); Millar, F. (1981) The World of the *Golden Ass*, *JRS* 71: 63–75; Tatum, J. (1979) *Apuleius and the Golden Ass*.

Apulia see ITALY, ROMAN.

Aquae Sextiae see BATTLES, ROMAN.

aqueducts Long-distance artificial conduits for WATER SUPPLY. Aqueducts were used by the Assyrians in the 8th century BC, and appear to be one of the technological legacies of the ancient Near East to the

Arretine ware Italian red-gloss tableware, deriving its name from the large workshops at Arretium (Arezzo) in Tuscany. Other production sites are now known in the region, including Rome and Torrita di Sienna, but also as far north as the Po valley and south to the bay of Naples; it is therefore now best described by the umbrella term 'Italian sigillata'. Outside the province, Arezzo potters are responsible for the production of Italian-style sigillata at La Muette, LYON.

Its origins can be traced to the shapes of Campanian black-gloss vessels, with the red colour inspired by that seen on sigillata vessels imported into Italy from the East. The earliest Italian potters date between c.40–20 BC and production continued into the 2nd century AD, the latest phase being distinguished as 'Tardo Italico', primarily from Pisa. Its height of export was during the Augustan period. Beyond the empire, rare sherds occur as distantly as INDIA.

Standardized vessel shapes are platters for serving and cups for drinking, along with mould-decorated chalices or pedestal bowls. It was generally manufactured using techniques and decorative motifs similar to those described for Gaulish SAMIAN, though with applied decoration more common, and less densely arranged moulded motifs. The stamping of vessels indicates diversity in the scale and organization of production, sometimes involving SLAVES. Stamps enclosed in footprints (*in planta pedis*) are characteristic and are post-Augustan in date. RST

See Oxé, A., Comfort, H. and Kenrick, P.M. (2000) *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum*.

POTTERY, ROMAN: (a).

Arrian (Lucius Flavius Arrianus 'Xenophon') Greek PHILOSOPHER, HISTORIAN and statesman born c.AD 85–92 in NICOMEDIA, Bithynia. His family was wealthy and held Roman CITIZENSHIP. Arrian's importance in his own city is attested by the fact that he held the priesthood of DEMETER and Kore, the most significant in the city.

In his youth, Arrian went to Nikopolis in EPIRUS to study philosophy with Epiktetos (c.108). He preserved Epiktetos' teaching in eight books of *Diatribes* (four survive) and a summarized 'Handbook' (*Encheiridion*, also extant). These were possibly published early in his career, though there can be no certainty on this issue. Arrian may well have written other philosophical works recording his own thoughts, since his reputation in antiquity was first and foremost as a philosopher.

In the years following his studies, Arrian probably performed military service. Epigraphical evidence suggests that he was praetorian proconsul at Baetica (c.125), and he probably held a CONSULSHIP (c.129) before taking up the governorship of CAPPADOCIA (c.131). This position recognized his capabilities as a general and administrator. In 131/2 he led a tour of inspection around the BLACK SEA which is recorded in his extant *Periplus of the Black Sea*. Other works known to have been composed at this time were about military TACTICS. One based on the invasion of the Alans, which Arrian was responsible for beating back in 135, describes the formation of Arrian's troops in this campaign. His term in Cappadocia finished in 137, shortly before the death of HADRIAN.

At this time, Arrian took up residence in Athens where he held the eponymous archonship in 145/6. His activities at this point in his career are a matter for debate. It was earlier thought that Arrian wrote all of his major works during his retirement in Athens. However, recently it has been maintained that he probably continued in his political career at Rome during this time. Moreover, scholars now agree that his historical works were composed throughout his career, not only during his time at Athens. It is not known when he died.

The most important of Arrian's extant works is the *Anabasis of Alexander*, an account of the campaigns of ALEXANDER the Great in seven books. Some scholars maintain that this was written early in Arrian's career, perhaps when he was in his thirties. He used sources close to Alexander (Ptolemy, Aristoboulos) when composing this work, and this has led to criticism of Arrian for being too flattering in his portrayal of the monarch. Other lost historical works include *Events after Alexander*, *Parthica* and *Bithynia*.

In his writings, Arrian was much influenced by XENOPHON, whose name he sometimes used. He claimed to share the interests of Xenophon – namely tactics, hunting and philosophy. In particular his work *On Hunting* (*Kynêgetikos*) aimed to emulate the earlier writer. FMM

See Arrian, *History of Alexander, Indica*, 2 vols., trs. P.A. Brunt (1983); Bosworth, A.B. (1980) *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander*; Stadter, P.A. (1980) *Arrian of Nicomedia*.

Arsinoë (city) The chief town (*mêtropolis*) of the Arsinoïte nome (*nomos*, province) in the FAYÛM basin in Middle Egypt. The Greeks rendered its Egyptian name (S*dt) as Krokodilonpolis (City of Crocodiles); after the death of Ptolemy VIII it was renamed Ptolemaïs Euergetis, which long remained its denomination as a place for official acts. In the Roman period Arsinoïton Polis comes to prevail as the official name for the citizens corporately. Arsinoë, its common name in modern usage, was only an informal usage until late antiquity. From a modest town in the Ptolemaic period (with a population probably not exceeding 5,000), Arsinoë grew into a sizeable Roman city; its surviving mounds earlier this century were, at well over 200 ha (500 acres), the largest known site of a nome capital. From them in the 19th century came large numbers of PAPYRI, mainly from late antiquity. The destruction and building over of the remains, already underway 80 years ago, is now virtually complete. The PTOLEMIES settled thousands of Greek and MACEDONIAN soldiers in the Fayûm, for whom Arsinoë was the main urban centre. Their self-conscious descendants dominated the local élite through the Roman period, and probably commissioned most of the MUMMY PORTRAITS found at Hawara and other cemeteries in the vicinity of Arsinoë. RSB

EGYPT.

Arsinoë II Philadelphos b. c.316 BC The daughter of PTOLEMY I of Egypt and his mistress BERENIKE I, Arsinoë was married c.300 BC to LYSIMACHOS of MACEDONIA. Allegedly under her influence, Lysimachos killed Agathokles, his eldest son by

principle within the universe. Human behaviour, through the application of reason, should bring itself into line with *natura*. The sentimental ideal of Nature, perhaps best associated with the Romantic movement in Western culture, is not something to be found in ancient literature or art. Locale rather than LANDSCAPE seems to have interested the ancients. Their depiction of nature is often admiring (as is evident in VIRGIL's *Eclogues* or *Georgics* or in the abundant and often beautiful Roman WALL-PAINTINGS) but it is seldom sentimental. PGT

See Guthrie, W. K. C. (1971) *A History of Greek Philosophy*, vol. 3; Sambursky, S. (1959) *Physics of the Stoics*; Soutar, G. (1939) *Nature in Greek Poetry*.

Naukratis Greek city of Egypt (mod. Kom Ge'if, 83 km or 52 miles south-east of Alexandria), founded in the mid-7th century BC by Milesians in the Saite nome (west Delta) as a trading station. It received exclusive HARBOUR rights for Greek trade under Amasis (c.560 BC) and enjoyed a long period of prosperity. Pseudo-Aristotle, *Oikonomika* 2, tells how Kleomenes, ALEXANDER's finance chief in Egypt (and a native of Naukratis), took bribes not to remove the city's market (*emporion*) to the newly founded ALEXANDRIA, then moved it anyway. Under the PTOLEMIES Naukratis was one of just three cities (Alexandria and Ptolemaïs in Upper Egypt are the others) in Egypt with Greek political institutions, but its history in this period is poorly known. Despite its Hellenic status and its many cults derived from the Ionian foundation, the population and cults of the city were in considerable part Egyptian. Again poorly known in the Roman period, Naukratis seems not to have had a council until SEVERUS. It had throughout the hellenistic and Roman periods a vigorous Greek agonistic and cultural life, producing numerous writers and scholars including ATHENAEUS, Philistos, Polycharmos, Charon, Chairemon, Julius Pollux and Lykeas.

The remains of Naukratis are poorly preserved but have been the object of several campaigns of EXCAVATIONS, from Petrie's work in the 1880s to an American expedition almost a century later. The remains of many sanctuaries were excavated in the 19th century, but little of the domestic or artisanal parts of the city. RSB

See Coulson, W. D. E. and Leonard, jr., A. (1981) *Cities of the Delta* 1: *Naukratis*.

EGYPT.

naval tactics and weapons Ancient naval warfare was never about the control of the open sea. Ancient ships, especially warships, could not stay at sea for more than a few days at a time. Whenever possible crews of warships put into shore at least once a day for rest, water and food. Hence, fleets needed to operate between secure beaches, or, preferably, harbours.

Ancient warships were designed to use the ram as their principal weapon. It could pierce or collapse the hull of an enemy vessel, causing it to become awash; the light, un-ballasted design of ancient warships meant that they rarely sank outright. The best way to position a ship for ramming involved rowing through the opposing line and sailing round enemy ships to ram at an acute angle from the side or rear. These two stages were called the *diekplous* and the *periplous* and required the application of superior speed, manoeuvrability and seamanship to be effective. A variation was to use the ram or the projecting beams alongside a ship's prow (Greek *epôtides*) to break the oars and oarboxes of an enemy ship. The RHODIANS favoured this tactic, for which their favourite three-level warship, the *triêmiolia*, was well suited. Thus, in the battle of Side in 190, the Rhodians defeated the forces of king Antiochos III under the command of HANNIBAL through their superior seamanship (Livy 37.23–4).

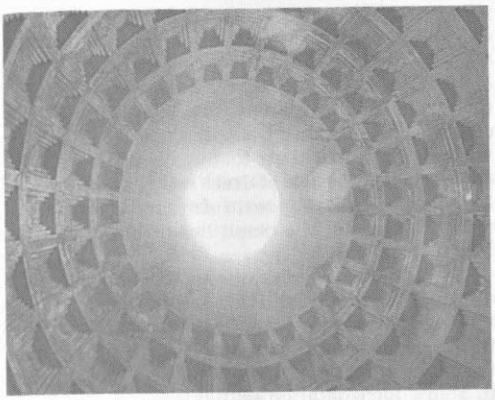
The manoeuvring skills needed for ramming tactics were not easily acquired. Ramming often resulted in a warship becoming entangled with its victim, leaving it vulnerable to attack from other vessels. Fleets with inexperienced or depleted crews often resorted to grappling and boarding. As vessels neared each other, marines on the fighting decks and, on larger ships, in wooden towers, would launch volleys of arrows and slingshots to clear away opponents prior to boarding. Grapnels, known as 'iron hands', and heavy weights called 'dolphins' were employed when ships were close enough.

The use of torsion CATAPULTS is first attested in a naval battle between the fleets of DEMETRIOS I POLIORKETES and PTOLEMY I Soter at Cypriot Salamis in 306. DIODOROS (20.49.4) says that Demetrios put stone-throwing catapults on the main decks of his ships, along with arrow-shooting catapults on their prows. Occasionally commanders experimented with innovative weapons like flaming baskets attached to the prow, or even containers of snakes hurled onto an opponent's deck to distract the helmsman. PDeS

See Rice, E. E. (1991) The Rhodian navy in the hellenistic age, in W. R. Roberts and J. Sweetman, eds., *New Interpretations in Naval History* 29–50; Strauss, B. S. (2004) Classical naval battles and sieges, and de Souza, P. (2004) Hellenistic naval and siege warfare, both in P. Sabin et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*, vol. 1.

naval warfare, Greek Since most of the Greek population lived within a short distance of the sea, the main avenue of communication and trade, it was natural for the Hellenes to promote seafaring and, ultimately, naval warfare. THUCYDIDES assumes that the power of the legendary king Minos of CRETE was based on thalassocracy or 'rule of the sea', thus indicating that in 5th-century Athens control of the sea was regarded as an important instrument of power. In this regard, he was influenced by the experience of the Athenian empire, but it soon became clear that Sparta too would have to challenge for supremacy at sea to extend its hegemony beyond the PELOPONNESIAN league.

The political consequences of maintaining a large navy can be seen in Athens, where the task of defending the empire fell heavily on the lowest class (*thêtes*). Their livelihood depended in no small way on the fleet and they lent their enthusiastic political support to those radical democrats whose policies maximized the use of the navy. Payment for SAILORS varied according to time and place, but in the late stages of the PELOPONNESIAN WAR, an Athenian rower earned three *obols* (or half a drachma) per day.



PANTHEON: (c) view of the interior of the dome, with central opening (*oculus*).

PANTHEON: (d) decoration of the interior of the drum, with *aediculae* (colonnaded niches).

everything', had deep roots in traditions of performance in the Greek world, it took its classical form at Rome during the reign of AUGUSTUS. At that time there were two leading proponents: Pylades, who danced mythological themes, and Bathyllus, whose performances were of a more erotic nature. The style of Pylades won through, and in the Greek world pantomime might also be described as 'Italian dance' or 'rhythmic tragic dance'. So popular did pantomime become that it was even admitted to Greek agonistic festivals – the only new art form to be so recognized.

The components of performance were the dancer, who wore an ankle-length silk robe and used a series of closed-mouthed masks to dance the story, a CHORUS and an orchestra. The orchestra could include flautists (*scabilarii*), who beat time with clappers attached to their feet, a variety of percussion instruments, and at times a citharist and even an organ. The chorus sang a libretto to which the dancer performed, using his body and hand gestures to illustrate the action and indicate the emotions of the various characters. The style of the dance was intended to arouse the passions of the audience, and preferred stories tended to be those with strong emotional content.

In the early empire it appears that pantomime dancers were male, but by the late empire, and into the Byzantine period, there were female dancers, who would not use masks. Successful dancers of both sexes rivalled charioteers in their popularity and had devoted followings, which ensured the survival of their art well into the 6th century AD, despite the strenuous disapproval of the leaders of the CHRISTIAN church. DSP

paper see PAPYRI; SCHOLARSHIP, BYZANTINE; SCHOLARSHIP, ISLAMIC.

Pappos of Alexandria MATHEMATICIAN, ASTRONOMER and GEOGRAPHER who flourished c.AD 320. Although the *SUDA* dates him to the reign of THEODOSIUS I (379–95), Pappos refers to a solar eclipse of 18 October 320 as a recent event in his *Commentary on the Almagest* of PTOLEMY. He was therefore active earlier in the 4th century. The dedication of books 7 and 8 of his *Synagôgê* (*Collection*) to his son Hermodoros offers the only information about his family circumstances.

His surviving writings provide a wealth of information about mathematics and geometry in the ancient world, and are therefore highly useful to the historians of these fields. In particular, the *Synagôgê* is a handbook to the works of other practitioners, many no longer extant. Pappos often adds explanations and proofs of his own. Book 1 and much of book 2 do not survive, but book 7 discusses a puzzle called 'Pappos' problem' since René Descartes' *Des matières de la géometrie* (1637). Pappos also wrote on the *Elements* of EUCLID; a commentary on book 10 extant in an Arabic translation is likely, but not certainly, part of this work. On Ptolemy's *Almagest*, treatments of books 5 (lacunose) and 6 survive in Greek. The *Geography* in Armenian by Moses of Khorene was either a translation of a work of Pappos or is heavily based on one. Various sources refer to other, but lost, writings on mathematics, geometry and geography. JV

See Cuomo, S. (2000) *Pappus of Alexandria and the Mathematics of Late Antiquity.*

papyrology The discipline devoted to the reading and interpretation of texts found on PAPYRUS and a variety of other materials including parchment, clay and stone (ostraca; in the case of stone, only texts written in ink), and wood (tablets, with or without waxed writing surfaces). The term has referred mostly to the study of Greek and Latin texts, but other scripts from Egyptian hieroglyphs to Arabic have been found on papyrus. In recent decades the barriers between those disciplines based on Egyptian scripts (especially Demotic and Coptic) and Greco-Roman ones have started to fall, though language training remains the main basis for disciplinary differentiation. The number of papyri, ostraca and tablets found outside Egypt has grown markedly in recent years, including notably Greek and Aramaic texts from the areas of the Euphrates and the Dead sea, Latin ostraca from Bu Njem in Libya, and Latin writing tablets from VINDOLANDA on the northern frontier in BRITAIN. These have demanded the technical skills of papyrology but have drawn it away from the Egyptian-centred character it has had since the 19th century.

Within the dominant Greek papyrology of Egypt, a distinction between literary and documentary

studies has long prevailed. Literary papyrology has concerned itself with the editing and criticism of papyrus manuscripts of known works of ancient literature and with the editing and study of previously unknown texts, the latter probably the aspect with the greatest appeal to classicists. Documentary texts – in a broad sense, ranging from private letters to imperial edicts – have served as a feeder for political, administrative, social and economic history. In a peculiar limbo have stood the 'sub-literary' papyri like school exercises. The intellectual directions of the post-war period have begun to break down this divide also: interests like the history of the book, cultural studies, and the *Annales* approach to history have all brought literary papyri into view as artefacts rather than disembodied texts, and at the same time asked questions about the EDUCATION and culture of those who produced documents. Magical papyri, also often classed as 'sub-literary', have generated a new wave of studies that treat them both as artefacts and as the crucial texts that they are.

The study of papyri goes back to the discovery of the EPICUREAN library of HERCULANEUM in the 18th century; documents started to trickle into European collections in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Systematic study of papyri and a sense of papyrology as a field start in the 1880s, particularly with Ulrich Wilcken (Germany) and Carl Wessely (Austria). Important discoveries of authors and works not surviving in the medieval manuscript tradition (e.g. MENANDER, Hypereides, HERODAS, the Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens*) and of large masses of documents (particularly in the FAYÛM) in the late 19th century gave an enormous spur to collecting, excavating and editing. EXCAVATIONS yielded large quantities of new material, especially from the British work at OXYRHYNCHOS, and systematic buying by national and international consortia enlarged university and library collections. By the 1920s the field was systematically organized and provided with reference tools, with every century from the 3rd BC to the 8th AD adequately represented in the published texts. International congresses (now triennial) began in 1930; a formal association was founded after the Second World War. Coptic studies were stimulated by the editing of the 'GNOSTIC' codices found at Nag Hammadi, though that impetus has had only modest effects on the study of Coptic documents. Demotic papyrology has emerged as a specialty in its own right in recent years, with increasingly close ties to Greek papyrology.

For the practitioner, papyrology shares some characteristics with EPIGRAPHY: a need for a good command of the relevant languages (in the case of documentary Greek, *koinê* in various registers rather than the classical language); a large body of textual material to be controlled and used for parallels; a sprawling mass of technical knowledge of chronology, geography, vocabulary and institutions; and a large specialist bibliography. To these it adds palaeographical expertise, for the texts are written in a great variety of hands used over a millennium for various types of texts. Formal book hands are relatively easy to read, but informal and cursive styles are harder, sometimes impenetrable except by the aid of parallel texts. In such cases, reading practically requires the difficult art of projecting oneself into the mind of the writer. A good knowledge of palaeography is also essential for dating texts in cases where no explicit chronological indications are provided by the contents. These hurdles have kept papyrology, particularly documentary, largely the preserve of specialists. The technical character of specialist work and papyrology's identification with Egypt – so alien to the classicizing canon entrenched in the field of Greek and Latin literature – have led papyrology to seem of secondary interest to many classicists. The result has been a precarious institutional base.

At present two trends are extending papyrology on different axes. One is the application of its techniques, tools and results to the newly discovered bodies of material from places outside Egypt and to the larger historical problems of classical studies – in short, horizontal or spatial diversification. The other is the increased linkage of Egypt-centred papyrology to Egyptology and Coptology – that is, vertical or chronological connection. These directions have different implications for the institutional and organizational bases of the discipline, the one integrating papyrology synchronically more fully into classical studies, the other connecting it to a more diachronic approach to the history of the ancient and medieval Near East. A third direction of development is the integration of papyrology and ARCHAEOLOGY, partly a result of interest in setting the papyri in a full cultural context, partly of the fact that in an era when the antiquities market is more strictly policed, newly available papyri increasingly must come from controlled excavations. This development has implications for both of the other two trends; but, despite hopes, the archaeological context is not always very informative for the texts. RSB

See Bagnall, R. S. (1995) *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History*; van Minnen, P. (1993) The century of papyrology (1892–1992), *BASP* 30: 5–18; Youtie, H. C. (1963) The papyrologist: artificer of fact, *GRBS* 4: 19–32.

papyrus The principal writing material of the classical world, derived from a reed-like Egyptian plant, always a virtual Egyptian monopoly. It was slow to displace clay, wood, skins and other materials outside Egypt, but for books it was standard from classical Greece until the end of antiquity, even after the roll gave way to the codex in late antiquity. Public and private documents continued to use a large range of supports, especially the more readily reusable wood, but papyrus dominated at least the Eastern part of the Roman empire. Replaced in medieval times by parchment and eventually paper, papyrus first came back to European attention with the discovery of carbonized book rolls at HERCULANEUM in the 18th century. The trickle of finds in Egypt in the early 19th century accelerated in its closing decades and the start of the 20th century. So far, 30,000 have been published, with many more awaiting publication. Papyri are our main source for the text of some authors (e.g. MENANDER, Hypereides) and texts (e.g. the Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens*), but early hopes that most of the missing works of classical Greek literature would be recovered have not been fulfilled: other than fragments, only one missing drama of SOPHOCLES, for example, and that a satyr play (the *Ichneutai*). About 95 per cent of published papyri are documents, letters and other everyday texts, a rich source of material for administrative,

social, economic and cultural history. The discovery of papyri in the Near East outside Egypt has accelerated in recent years. Greek texts dominate the surviving material (the survival of the most recent), but considerable numbers in Hieratic and Demotic (Egyptian), Coptic, Latin, Persian, Arabic and Aramaic also remain. RSB

See Bagnall, R. S. (1995) *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History*; Lewis, N. (1974) *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity*; Turner, E. G. (1980) *Greek Papyri*.

parables ARISTOTLE defines the *parabolê* ('comparison') as a sub-class of proof in RHETORIC (*Rhetoric* 2.20). Like the FABLE, it is an invented example, but one that lacks fabulous elements such as talking ANIMALS. Unlike the fable, it should be plausibly analogous to a historical situation. Aristotle's chosen instances are 'SOCRATIC parables', such as the following: to select a governor by lot is like putting at the helm of a ship not the sailor who is well trained but the sailor on whom the lot falls (cf. PLATO, *Republic* 551c). From this example it appears that parables are more than simple comparisons. They must be applied to circumstances beyond the merely poetic, such as the ETHICAL, RELIGIOUS or forensic. The longer and more colourful EPIC similes that are found throughout HOMER and VIRGIL are not, therefore, parables, perhaps because they paint a picture but do not prove a point.

On the other hand, while some of JESUS' Parables of the Kingdom resemble Aristotle's examples in their succinctness, the typical gospel parable hardly matches the classical definition in either brevity or transparency. For example, the parable of the Sower and the Seed (Matthew 13.1–23) is an extended narrative that requires careful interpretation from Jesus and is intended, he says, to illuminate the divine mystery for some but obfuscate it for others. Such a parable is difficult to distinguish from a separate classical genre, invented allegory. JRH

See Crossan, J. D. (1992) Parable, in D. N. Freedman, ed., *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*.

parades see DRAMA, GREEK; FESTIVALS; PROCESSIONS; TRIUMPHS.

paradoxes The Greek word *paradoxon* was used in antiquity to denote anything surprising or 'contrary to expectation'. As such, paradoxes had a particular interest for PHILOSOPHERS: if you find something 'paradoxical', it shows either that your expectations are wrong (and need correction), or else that it simply isn't true. ARISTOTLE tended to side with seriously held expectations (which he called *endoxa* – the opposite of *paradoxa*). As a matter of method, he supposed that the closer a philosophical explanation came to justifying them, the more likely it was to be right. For others, paradoxes highlighted the gap between our everyday assumptions and the true nature of things. The wilfully paradoxical style of HERAKLEITOS, for example, seems designed to shake us out of our intellectual complacency; and some of SOCRATES' more challenging ethical statements can be counted as paradoxes – notably his assertion that 'no one deliberately does wrong'. That people liked to be surprised and intrigued is demonstrated by the popularity, especially in the hellenistic period, of 'paradoxographical' works – reports of amazing phenomena (including everything from stalactites to two-headed children). The STOICS went out of their way to advertise their ETHICAL theory in a series of (what they themselves called) 'paradoxes': 'Only the wise man is rich', 'All misdeeds are equally bad', and so on. The serious aspect of this was their belief that if you really understood the world, you would never find anything (whether stalactite or ETHICAL doctrine) 'paradoxical'.

In modern parlance, a 'paradox' is an argument whose conclusion seems absurd or obviously wrong. The term is applied, for example, to the arguments devised by ZENO THE ELEATIC in defence of his teacher PARMENIDES. When Parmenides was ridiculed for denying the reality of change and movement, Zeno tried to show that a 'common sense' belief in these things was worse than amusing – it was self-contradictory. If you believe in movement, for example, you will believe that someone can cross a stadium; but you will also believe that they must first make it halfway across; and before that, halfway to that point . . . and so on until an infinite number of prior steps have been generated. Conclusion: if you believe that someone can cross a stadium, you should also believe that they can never get started. Similar challenges to common sense were offered by the logical puzzles known as 'sophisms'. The Liar Argument, for example, aims to disprove the principle that every assertion must be either true or false. It does so by offering a counter-example: if I say 'I am now lying', is my assertion true? (If it is, it isn't; if it isn't, it is.) Some of these arguments are easily dealt with (If this is your dog, and it is a father, it must be your father . . .); but the tougher ones had an important role to play as test cases in the development of LOGIC. And if a philosopher's logical system was not robust enough to solve or avoid them, why should we believe that it could support his deductions about the nature of the universe? GB-S

See Barnes, J. (1999) in K. Algra et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy* 157–76; Hansen, W. (1996) *Phlegon of Tralles' Book of Marvels* (trs.).

parasites see ACTORS AND ACTRESSES; COMEDY, NEW; COMEDY, OLD; see also PESTS AND PEST CONTROL.

parchment see DEAD SEA SCROLLS; LIBRARIES; PAPYRUS; *PEUTINGER TABLE*.

Parentalia see ANCESTOR WORSHIP; DEATH; FESTIVALS, ROMAN; FUNERAL RITES, ROMAN; KINSHIP, ROMAN; RITUALS, ROMAN.

Parian Marble A MARBLE inscription (also known as Marmor Parium), set up in the 3rd century BC on the AEGEAN island of PAROS, which records the dates of various political, military, mythical, religious and literary events. The stone survives now in two pieces. One, discovered in 1897, is located on Paros; the other is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The Oxford fragment has a complicated history, which reflects the growing interest in Greek culture in 17th-century England. It was brought to London in 1627, and formed part of Lord Arundel's pioneering collection of antiquities. The upper half was destroyed when it was built into a fireplace; the lower half was saved by the diarist John Evelyn.

repeated, as many as half the citizens may have served as *epistatès* at some time.

The term *prytanis* itself is a generic and ancient usage to denote simply a MAGISTRATE, and *prytaneia* ('prytany') his tenure of office. While, outside Athens, state officials were known as *prytaneis* throughout the Greek world down to hellenistic times, the intricate combination of assigning offices by lot and by tribe to match a particular period in the year seems to be uniquely an Athenian democratic idea. It reflects both confidence in the average citizen and the fear of accumulated power in the hands of any one person. VDH

See Rhodes, P. J. (1972) *The Athenian Boule*.

Psellos, Michael see SCHOLARSHIP, BYZANTINE.

Psyche see APULEIUS.

Ptolemies MACEDONIAN dynasty which ruled Egypt 323–30 BC. PTOLEMY I Soter acquired Egypt as his satrapy at the death of ALEXANDER the Great, dislodged Kleomenes of NAUKRATIS, declared himself king in 305 and founded the longest-lasting of the hellenistic kingdoms. The kingdom ended with the death of CLEOPATRA VII following the arrival of OCTAVIAN in Egypt after ACTIUM. The earlier Ptolemies controlled CYPRUS, CYRENAICA, Palestine, much of the coast of Asia Minor, most of the AEGEAN islands and part of the north Aegean coast, mainly due to a powerful fleet and abundant financial resources. The concerted actions of PHILIP V of Macedonia and the SELEUKID king ANTIOCHOS III deprived the young Ptolemy V Epiphanes of the possessions in the Aegean, Asia Minor and Palestine (204–197), but Cyrene and Cyprus were lost only in the 1st century BC.

Despite fighting many wars – at least seven with the Seleukids, mainly over Palestine, and others elsewhere – the Ptolemies boasted few military kings of note (none approaching the stature of Antiochos III), and much of their warfare was unsuccessful. Only Roman intervention and PATRONAGE preserved the kingdom from Antiochos IV's aggression and kept

PTOLEMIES: the Ptolemaic dynasty.

Date	Ruler	Relationship to other rulers
305–283	Ptolemy I Soter ('Saviour'; governor from 323)	
285–246	Ptolemy II Philadelphos ('Sister-friend')	s. Ptolemy I
246–221	Ptolemy III Euergetes ('Benefactor')	s. Ptolemy II
221–204	Ptolemy IV Philopator ('Father-friend')	s. Ptolemy III
204–180	Ptolemy V Epiphanes ('(God) Manifest')	s. Ptolemy IV
180–145	Ptolemy VI Philometor ('Mother-friend')	s. Ptolemy V
170–163	[1]Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Physkon ('Potbelly')	s. Ptolemy V
170–164	[1]Kleopatra II	d. Ptolemy V
163–116	[2]Kleopatra II	
145	Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator (with Ptolemy VI, and briefly after the latter's death)	s. Ptolemy VI
145–116	[2]Ptolemy VIII	
116–101	Kleopatra III	d. Ptolemy VI, wife of Ptolemy VIII
116–107	[1]Ptolemy IX Soter II Lathyros ('the Bean')	s. Ptolemy VIII, Kleopatra III
107–88	Ptolemy X Alexander I	s. Ptolemy VIII
101–88	[1]Kleopatra Berenike	d. Ptolemy IX
88–81	[2]Ptolemy IX	
80	[2]Kleopatra Berenike	
80	Ptolemy XI Alexander II	s. Ptolemy X
80–58	[1]Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos Auletes ('the Piper')	s. Ptolemy IX
58–55	Berenike IV (at first with her sister Kleopatra Tryphaina)	d. Ptolemy IX
56–55	Archelaos	husband of Berenike IV
55–51	[2]Ptolemy XII	
51–47	Ptolemy XIII	s. Ptolemy XI
51–30	Kleopatra VII Philopator	d. Ptolemy XI
47–44	Ptolemy XIV	s. Ptolemy XI

Key: s. = son of; d. = daughter of; [1] first period of rule. [2] second period of rule.

Egypt independent through most of the succeeding century and a quarter. But Egypt's grain production and other resources (not including SILVER, crucially) gave the Ptolemies the scope for widespread patronage and intervention. Much money was spent on developing ALEXANDRIA as the leading city of the hellenistic world (in competition with ANTIOCH and PERGAMON) and on patronage of POETS, scholars, scientists and artists, above all in the Alexandrian MOUSEION and its LIBRARY. RSB

See Bevan, E. (1927) *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*; Hölbl, G. (2001) *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*.

Ptolemy I c.367/6–283/2 BC Founder of the PTOLEMAIC dynasty and historian of ALEXANDER the Great. Born about 367/6, Ptolemy was Alexander's older contemporary and youthful friend. In the first part of the expedition to Asia, he was a minor figure, becoming a bodyguard in 330 and one of the inner circle in the last years. From the caucus at BABYLON in 323 he emerged with Egypt as his satrapy; Perdikkas died trying to dislodge him in 320. Taking the title of king in 305 after the repulse of ANTIGONOS' invasion of Egypt, he ruled until his death in 283/2. With prudent opportunism, and no unnecessary risks, he acquired CYRENAICA, CYPRUS, Palestine and bases in the AEGEAN. His son by BERENIKE, Ptolemy II Philadelphos, succeeded him. His posthumous cult termed him Soter, 'saviour'; the basis for this is disputed.

Ptolemy's narrative of Alexander's career was (with Aristoboulos' account) one of the twin bases of ARRIAN's history and has been much venerated in modern times, but is hardly cited in antiquity apart from by Arrian. Its date and context are unknown, but praise of Alexander, flattery of the MACEDONIANS, exaggeration of his own role and denigration of his competitors suggest that it was an early production, for self-justifying use in the struggle over the succession to Alexander's empire. RSB

See Bosworth, A. B. (1988) *From Arrian to Alexander*; Ellis, W. M. (1994) *Ptolemy of Egypt*.

Ptolemy of Alexandria Greek writer on GEOGRAPHY, ASTRONOMY, and ASTROLOGY under the Roman empire, also known as Claudius Ptolemy or Claudius Ptolemaeus. Between AD 146 and c.170 he wrote lengthy treatises that remained fundamental for over a millennium in Islamic culture as well as Western. His most famous work on astronomy is known as *Almagest*, a name derived from the Arabic version of its Greek title, *Megistê syntaxis* (*Greatest Treatise*). It deals with all aspects of astronomy and the underlying geometrical models. Ptolemy adopts and refines the earlier theory of epicycles to explain the apparent movements of heavenly bodies. His *Geography* covers the known world, listing places and their coordinates. Although latitude and longitude had been invented earlier, perhaps by HIPPARCHOS, Ptolemy may have been the first to use them systematically as a reference system. The work was accompanied by a map, of which derivative versions are extant. Inaccuracies in his treatises are often due to faulty data supplied to him. His *Tetrabiblos* ('Four-book') gave a mathematical basis to astrology, a discipline to which astronomy was, if anything, subordinate at that time. His other surviving works cover planets, SUNDIALS, optics monics and other subjects. Recent scholarshi upgraded Ptolemy from a pedestrian compiler truly innovative researcher. DGJS

See Robbins, F. E., trs. (1940) *Ptolemy, Tetra* Stevenson, E. L., trs. (1932) *Geography of Claudius Ptolen* always accurate); Toomer, G. J., trs. (1984) *Ptolemy's Alm*

public order

The Greek states did not have police forces modern sense, but they appointed a range o cials to keep public order in different situatio the Ionian states in all periods 'city MAGISTR (*astynomoi*) kept the streets and sanctuaries s and free from obstructions, and enforced sumpt laws – the CYNIC Krates was punished for we linen (DIOGENES LAËRTIUS 6.90). A 2nd-centu inscription (*SEG* 13.521) records the duties of the *nomoi* at PERGAMON, set in a law of the 2nd centu At Athens there were ten such officials, five in th and five in PIRAEUS, appointed annually by lot. T were likewise ten market overseers (*agoranomoi* ten weights and measures magistrates (*metrono* The officials responsible for the all-important trade (*sitophylakes*) numbered at first five in the and five in Piraeus, later 20 and 15 respectively.

The Athenians also had a board of offi appointed by lot to deal with certain forms of inal activity, the Eleven. Their duty was to arres imprison common CRIMINALS (*kakourgoi*) suc thieves and muggers. If they caught a criminal handed (*ep' autophôrôi*) and he confessed, the El were empowered to execute him without Otherwise, they were responsible for carrying executions after trial. Athenian officials could on the assistance of public SLAVES. After the PER WARS and down into the early 4th century these prised a corps of 300 Scythian archers, whose function was to keep order in the ASSEMBLY, COU and LAWCOURTS.

Criminal activity and small-scale disturba were, however, primarily a private matter, dealt by citizens with the help of their friends and tives. In this form of self-help procedure, neighb and passers-by were also expected to interven was only when the problem became a threat to community as a whole that the state itself bec involved, as in the religious scandal of the Myste and HERMS in 415 BC, when the council ordered GENERALS to call the citizens to arms (Andok 1.45). A peculiar form of public order was ke SPARTA by a notorious secret force of citizen you called the *krypteia*, which was used, perhaps spora ally, to terrorize the HELOTS. MJE

See Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 50.2–52.1; Hunter, (1994) *Policing Athens*; Lintott, A.W. (1982) *Violence, Strife and Revolution in the Classical City 750–330 BC*.

Discussion of Roman attitudes towards pu order must begin with Rome's lack of anyth resembling a modern police force whose purpos the maintenance of public order, protection of populace, and prevention, detection, investiga and punishment of crime. Rome had an elaborate code and MAGISTRATES with the power to make j cial decisions and inflict punishment, but most of duties of a police force rested with private initiat Since most private conflicts were not a major conc