

A GRANITE HEAD OF ALEXANDER
THE GREAT FROM ALEXANDRIA

By

Dr. *Baheia Shahin*

**A Granite Head
of Alexander the Great from Alexandria**

By

Dr. *Bahia Shaha*

Alexander the Great, when he came to Egypt in the autumn of the year 332 B.C and founded the city of Alexandria, in fact, he started a romance which went over the world through many centuries.(1)

Alexander's principal aim was the political unification under a single rule, since it was not his intention that Macedonians and Greeks should be sole masters, they were to share the dominion with the former rulers of the East.(2) Therefore, the essential characteristic of the hellenistic city was cosmopolitanism. Alexandria, as a cosmopolitan Hellenistic city, its population was as mixed as possible: Greek and Macedonian elite which followed the Greek cultural traditions, Egyptian population that lived very much as it had thousands of years earlier forming the main body of the population and a large Jewish colony.(3) Thus, a greek superstructure had to be built in ptolemaic Egypt. But from the artistic point of view, there is a really unique character about the art in Hellenistic Egypt, that is its split personality which

had both Alexandrian and pharaonic traditions. The thoroughness of that stylistic duality is particularly well documented in the ptolemaic royal portraiture.(4)

The concept of ruler portraiture was certainly encouraged by Alexander himself. It is well known that, in his lifetime, Alexander decreed that only the famous sculptor Lysippos should make his portraits, for it seems that only Lysippos brought out his real noble character and gave form to his essential excellence.(5) Our information regarding Lysippos' style is derived from ancient writers mainly from Plutarch,(6) the roman author who mentioned satisfactory detailed descriptions, due to which many portraits of Alexander were easily recognizable.(7)

The passage of Plutarch was discussed and over-emphasized by many authors of a later period especially Schreiber. So, accordingly, the characteristics of Alexander's image are :-

- a) The neck, was turned to the left and thus the head would necessarily be inclined to the right,(8)
- b) The long mane of hair over the forehead, αναστολη της Κομησ,(9) with a parting line which divides it into two halves with rising locks on either side of the head. Many

scholares considered that αναστολη is a borrowed feature from some one of the divinities most probably from a zeus type.⁽¹⁰⁾

- c) The face is well-rounded and the half-open-eyes with a melting glance.⁽¹¹⁾ as in the most famous example named "*Azara Herme*"⁽¹²⁾

In other words and according to Plutarch's description, Lysippos was the only greek artist who had the ability to capture the Εθος 'of Alexander and made stress on Alexander's ethos more than his political position establishing the tendency of the psychological portraits in Hellenistic time and the main interest was given to the expression of Alexander's face and noble,⁽¹³⁾ not to his physical features.

Hence, the Lysippan portraits of Alexander explained the greek point of view in emphasizing the idea of representing Alexander as a divinely hero⁽¹⁴⁾ and that the general conception seems to have impressed itself so strongly upon the mind of the public,⁽¹⁵⁾ because of the wide-spread use of the type after Alexander's death.⁽¹⁶⁾ So, after his death Alexander's portraits were perpetuated with reverence and circulated even more widely than it had been during his lifetime, because he became a kind of patron deity especially in Egypt with

which his association was already strong after his visit to the Ammunium at siwa, and the priest greeted him as son of Ammon.(17)

In Egypt, many heads of Alexander are found and collected by Schreiber in his "*Bildniss Alexanders*", as a matter of fact, those works are usually poor and have not the modelling of the first class work but the softness of the technique glozes over its imperfection.(18)

I am focusing on a granite head of Alexander the Great in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria. Although Schreiber mentioned it among many heads from Alexandria but it had not been studied before in a complete study. The granite material of which the head is made, as it is common in Egyptian sculpture as it is foreign in Greek sculpture, So, it is assumed that a native sculptor made it giving a striking example of the assimilation of Hellenic and native art in ptolemaic art. The head was found in Alexandria, perhaps one intended for the sanctuary of Alexander in the city.

And because a native sculptor made the granite head, it does not help us much in visualizing the expression of the original Lysippan portrait of Alexander, although the typical

features of the Lysippan style, mentioned by Plutarch, are obvious :-

- a) Turn of the neck,
- b) The expressive glance, pathos, from the deep-set eyes,
- c) The anastole over the forehead and waving side hair about the cheeks.

It is obvious that the sculptor neglected many details of the impressionist technique but we must bear in mind that head does not claim to be a portrait but it is treated in a Lysippic manner to represent the deified hero, Alexander.

It is worthy mentioning here that not long before his death, Alexander gave an official notice that he was to be regarded as a god as he was declared as the son of Ammon.⁽¹⁹⁾ Hence, Alexander appeared on the coins with ram's horn of the Graeco-Egyptian God Zeus-Ammon.⁽²⁰⁾ Comparatively, many images of Alexander on different monuments such as Alexander sarcophagus and the famous Alexander mosaics gave the proof that, in his lifetime Alexander was represented with short hair.⁽²¹⁾ One can affirm that the images of Alexander with short hair representing him as an undivine hero and leader⁽²²⁾ while those with long mane of hair were expressing the spirit of the divinized

Alexander.⁽²³⁾ But in all the portraits of Alexander both those with short hair and those with long hair. Alexander looks young because of the absence of a beard.⁽²⁴⁾

Anyhow, on the top of the granite head here there is a large hole which must have been used to fit an ornament attached to the diadem. Some scholars claimed that it would be Ammon crown,⁽²⁵⁾ others claimed to be the uraeus.⁽²⁶⁾ But I myself accept that it would be the uraeus for the following reasons :-

- 1- There is a relief on the wall of a new sanctuary built in the temple of Luxor to the honour of Alexander after proclaiming himself as a son of Ammon, there, Alexander is represented as an Egyptian Pharaoh wearing double crown over a royal headdress with uraeus.⁽²⁷⁾
- 2- There is a colossal head in red granite of Ptolemy V Philopator in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, the Ptolemy wears in the pharaonic manner the double crown of upper and lower Egypt with the uraeus.⁽²⁸⁾
- 3- There is a Hellenistic royal head dated to about 250-200 B.C. in the Museum of Natural History in New Haven⁽²⁹⁾ and was made by a native Egyptian sculptor as it is made in Egyptian material (Schist) and in that royal head are the

royal headcloth, the inlay of eyes and the uraeus to confirm the Egyptianizing touch of the work.(30)

- 4- It is most probably that it is the uraeus because the native sculptor would prefer to execute his work in accordance with the native canon.

The Egyptian flavor is also obvious in inlaying eyes in the granite head of Alexander in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria(31) and that was not common in Greek art. What was inlaid here disappeared and we see nothing but the hollows but depending on other examples as in the heads representing Ptolemy IV, Ptolemy V, and Ptolemy VI in the Graeco-Roman Museum(32) and as in the royal Hellenistic heads from New Haven.(33) Depending on such example one can assume that using inlaid eyes became so related to the Egyptianizing touch in mixed sculpture in Hellenistic Egypt.

Concerning the date of the granite head of Alexander in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, I can date it to the early third century B.C depending on the following facts :-

- 1- It is agreed that there was a revival of Egyptian art since Philopator due to the policy adopted by the Ptolemies in the reign of that Ptolemy as it is obvious in the reliefs of Ptolemy IV(34) and those of Ptolemy VI(35) reflecting, from

the artistic point of view, the awaking of the Egyptian artistic spirit.

- 2- Historically speaking the chance was given to the Egyptian art to revive after the victory in the Battle of Raphia 217 B.C. due to the efforts of the Egyptians and the Ptolemies conciliated the Egyptians.⁽³⁶⁾ Then the assimilation of Hellenic and native art began.
- 3- An excellent proof of the power of the native Egyptian elements in the Ptolemaic art is the significant production of faience vases called Queen Oinochoai dated to the early third century B.C.⁽³⁷⁾ They were designed for the festivals founded in order to honour living or dead Ptolemaic rulers and we know a good deal about the first of these festivals in Egypt, the Arsinoeia.⁽³⁸⁾ The Queen Oinochoai are clearly reflecting various degrees of Egyptianization from vessel to vessel especially in representing the queen in dress of Isis,⁽³⁹⁾ the candid flavour of the queen's portrait, the type of the altar represented, all those elements came from Egyptian traditions to confirm the new status which the Egyptianizing tendency took place in the Ptolemaic art in the early 3rd century B.C.

In summary, the granite head of Alexander here in spite of the representation of all the characteristics of Lysippan style but the material and the attribute follows the Egyptian inspiration. So, the head was made by a native Egyptian sculptor, from those, the greek esidents often patronised but they continued to work in the old Egyptian style though greek influence is evident.(40) And it is dated to the early third century B.C.

It is therefore obvious that the mixed sculpture in ptolemaic art is the result of both the mixed society and the ability of the artisit to acclimatize himself to the atmosphere in which he was working in and not at all the result of fusing of the two civilizations together.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

- 1- Hogarth, D.G, "*Alexander in Egypt and some consequences*", J.E.A, vol. II, London, 1915, p 52 .
- 2- Rostovtzeff, M, "*Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*", Oxford, 1941, p. 129 .
- 3- Rostovtzeff, op. cit. p. 256 .
- 4- Pollit, J.J, "*Art in the Hellenistic Age*", Cambridge, 1986, p. 250 .
- 5- Pollit, op. cit. p 20 .
- 6- Plutarch, De Alexandri Magni Fortuna aut virtute, II,2,3 .
- Leimbach, R., "*Plutarch über das Aussehen Alexanders des Grossen*", AA, 1979, pp. 213-220 .
- 7- Schreiber, Th., "*Studien über das Bildniss Alexanderes des Grossen*", leipzig, 1903, pp. 9ff .
- 8- Schreiber, op. cit., pp. 14-15
- 9- Idem, op.cit. p. 16 .
- Breccia, Ev, "*Alexandria ad Aegyptum*", Bergamo, 1992, p. 176 .
- 10- Suhr, E.G., "*Sculptured portraits of Greek statesmen*", London 1931, p. 70 .
- Schreiber, op,cit. p. 16 .
- 11- Schreiber, op. cit. p. 12 .

- 12- Ridgway, B.S., *"Hellenistic sculpture"* U.S.A. 1990,
pp. 123, 135 .
- Pollit, op. cit. fig. 7 .
- 13- Suhr, op. cit, p. 76
- Pollit, op.cit, p.56 .
- 14- Suhr, op.cit, p.67 .
- 15- Idem, op. cit. loc. cit .
- 16- Hogarth, op. cit. p. 54 .
- 17- Tarn, W.W., *"Alexander the Great"* Cambridge, 1950,
p. 43 .
- 18- Lawrence, A.W. *"Greek Sculpture in Ptolemaic Egypt"*
in , J.E.A; XI, 1925, p. 181 .
- Like the head from Alexandria in a poor shape and of inferior material of which the outline and the upward gaze of the eyes agree more with another head now in the British Museum with its seemingly dreamy pathos and the deep set eyes and the manner in which the lips are represented.
- cf : Schreiber, op, cit fig. 6, Ph. II D.
- 19- Tarn, op.cit. p. 43 .
- 20- Hinks, R.P., *"Greek and Roman Portrait sculpture"* ,
London, 1935, fig. 15 .
- 21- Pollitt, op. cit. p. 37 .

- 22- Many heads represented Alexander with short hair emphasizing that those images are of undevinized hero.
- 23- Ridgway, op. cit. p. 133 .
- 24- Ridgway, op. cit. p. 114 .
- After his conquest of Persia, Alexander followed that Persian costume more or Alexander might want to remain the youthful hero like Achilles.
- 25- Schreiber, op. cit. p. 56 .
- 26- Breccia, op. cit. p. 176 .
- 27- Noshy, I, *"The Arts of Ptolemaic Egypt"*, Oxford, 1937, p. 117, pl. Xv, 4 .
- 28- Breccia, op. cit. p. 184 .
- 29- Bothmer, B.V., *"Egyptian sculpture of the late period"*, Brooklyn Museum, 1960, PL. 96 figs. 257, 258 .
- 30- Idem, op. cit. pp. 131, 132 .
- 31- Breccia, op. cit. p. 176 .
- 32- Idem, op. cit. pp. 184, 185 .
- 33- Bothmer, op. cit. pp. 131, 132 .
- 34- Jaquier, L. *"Les temples Ptolemaïques et Romaines"*, Paris, 1924, III, PL. XIV, 1-3 .
- 35- Jaquier, op. cit., PL XXIII nos 1,2, PL, L1
- The faces were not so heavy, the eyes not so narrow. The reliefs are marked by full not heavy faces, long but

proportioned bodies, wide but not staring eyes, protruding but faintly smiling lips and careful modelling.

cf: Noshy, op. cit. p. 118 .

36- Abbadi, M., "*Egypt from Alexander the great to the Arab conquest*", Alexandria, 1992, p. 74 .

37- Thompson, D.P., "*Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience*", oxford, 1973, p. 117 .

38- Idem, op. cit. loc. cit .

39- Idem, op. cit., p. 120 .

40- Bothemer, op. cit. p. 132 .

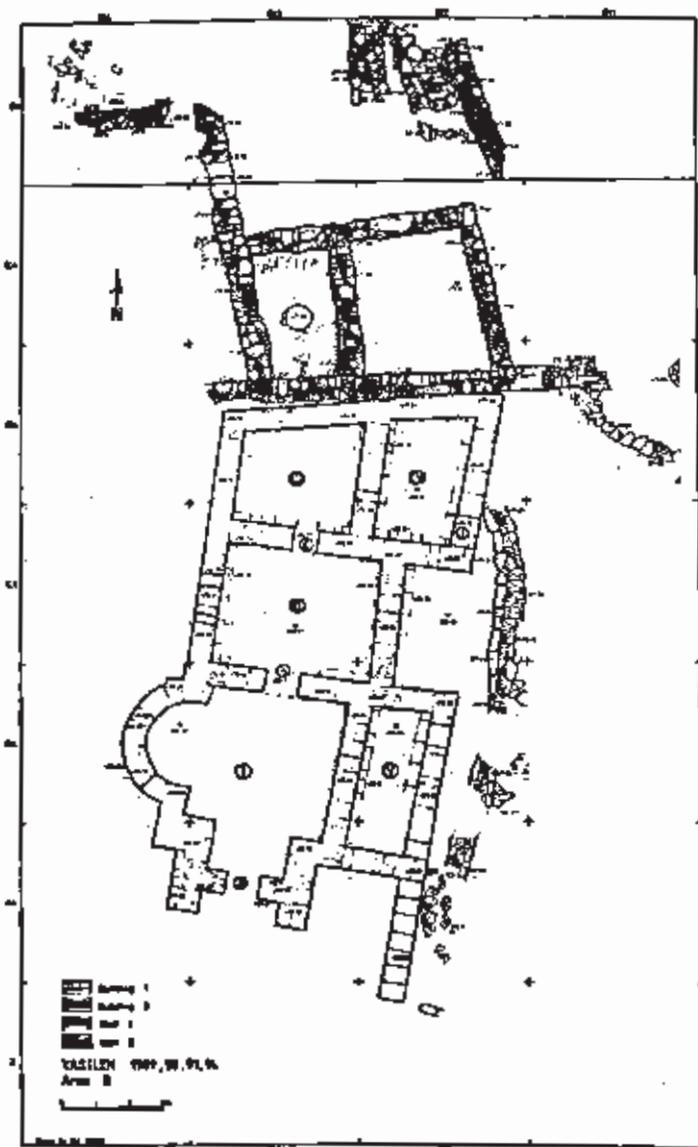
LIST OF REFERENCES

1. Abbadi, M., *"Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab conquest"*,
Alexandria, 1992 .
2. Bieber, M., *"The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age"*, New
york, 1955 .
3. Bothmer, B.V., *"Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period"*,
Brooklyn Museum, 1960 .
4. Breccia, Ev., *"Alexandria ad Aegyptum"*, Bergame, 1922.
5. Delberuck, R., *"Antike Portrats"*, Bonne, 1912 .
6. Hinks, R.P. *"Greek and Roman Portraits sculpture"*,
London, 1935 .
7. Hogarth, D.G., *"Alexander in Egypt and some consequences"* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, II,
London, 1915 .
8. Jaequier, L., *"Les Temples Ptolemaique et Romaines"*,
Paris, 1924 .
9. Lawrence, A.W., *"Greek sculpture in Ptolemaic Egypt"*,
Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, XI, 1925.
10. Leimbach, R., *"Plutarch uber das Aussehen Alexanders
des Grossen"*, *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1979.
11. Nosby, I., *"The Arts of Ptolemaic Egypt"*. oxford, 1937

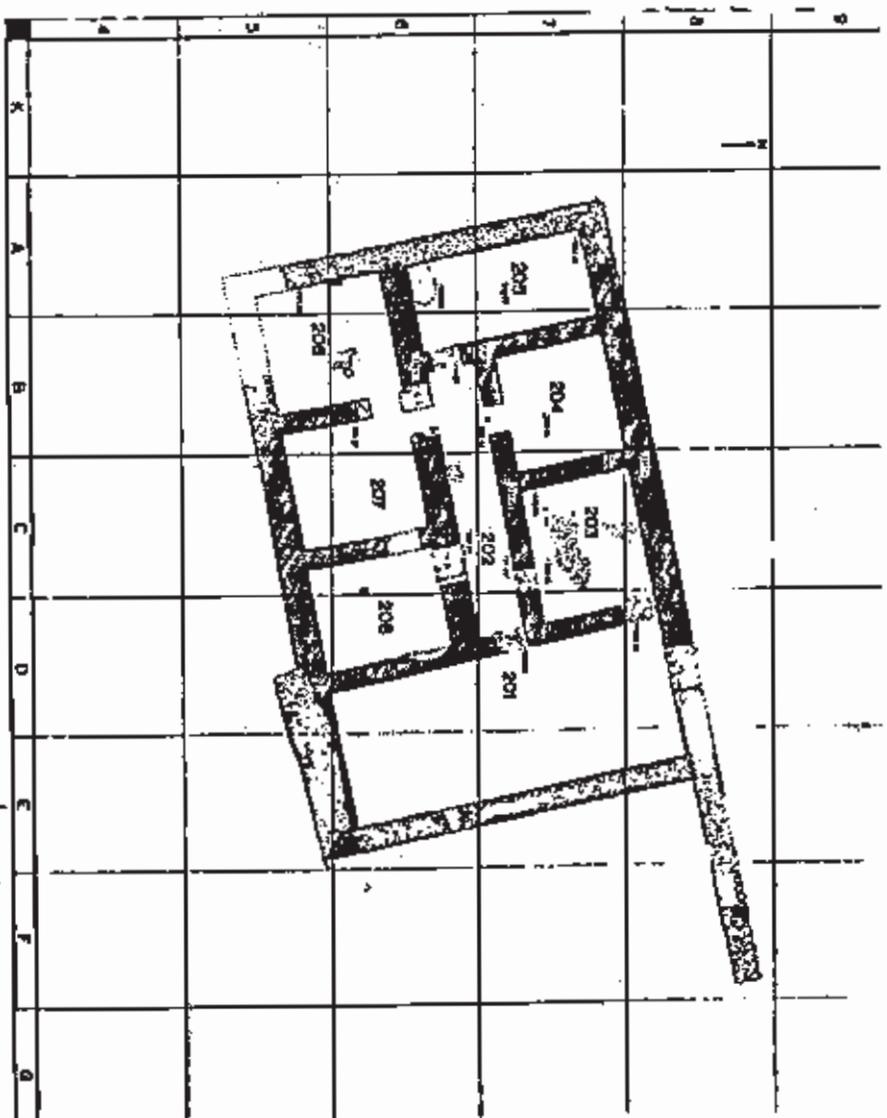
13. Pollitt, J. J. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge, 1986 .
14. Poulsen, F. *Greek and Roman Portraits*. Oxford, 1923.
15. Richter, G. *Greek sculpture*. Oxford, 1951.
16. Ridgway, B.S. *Hellenistic sculpture*, U.S.A. 1990 .
17. Rostvtzeff, M. *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic world*, Oxford, 1941 .
18. Schreiber, Th., *Studien über das Bildniss Alexanders des Grossen*, leipzig, 1903 .
19. Suhr, E.G., *Sculptured Portraits of Greek statesmen*, London, 1931 .
20. Tam, W.W., *Alexander the Great*, Cambridge, 1951 .
21. Thompson, D.P., *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in faience*, Oxford, 1973 .
22. Plutarch, *De Alexandri Magni fortuna out virtute*, II. 2,3 .



**The Granite Head of Alexander the Great
in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria**

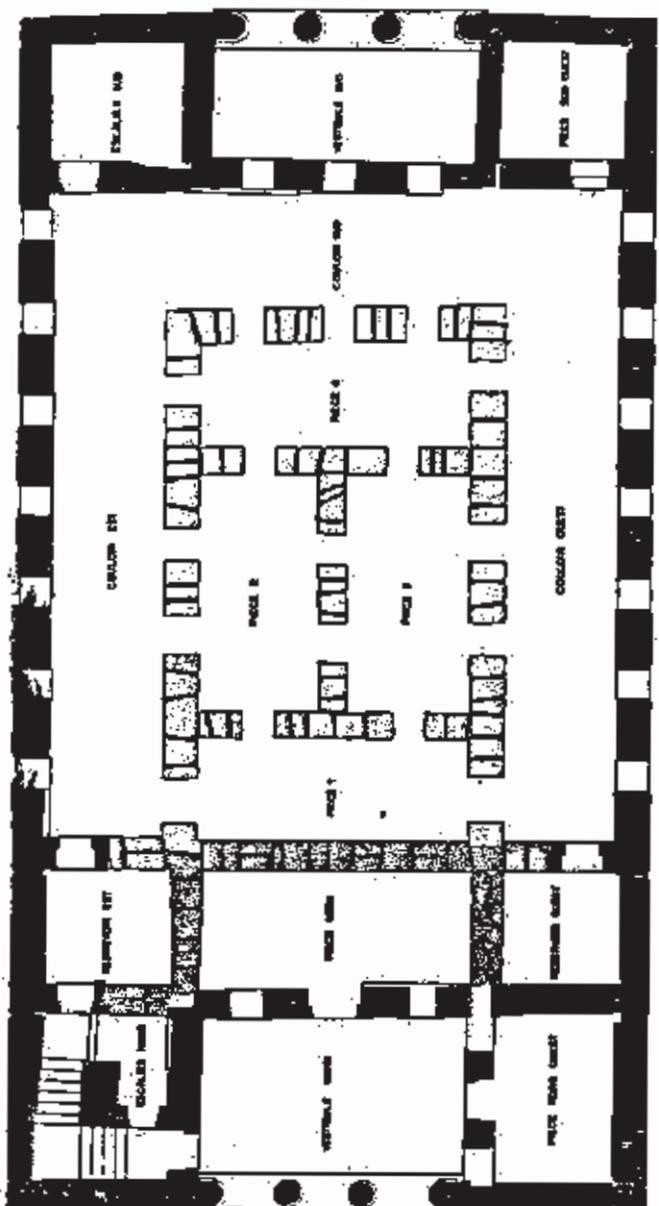


(مخطط رقم ٤) مخطط يوضح المبنى الميثاسي في موقع البصيلة الـ ٥٥



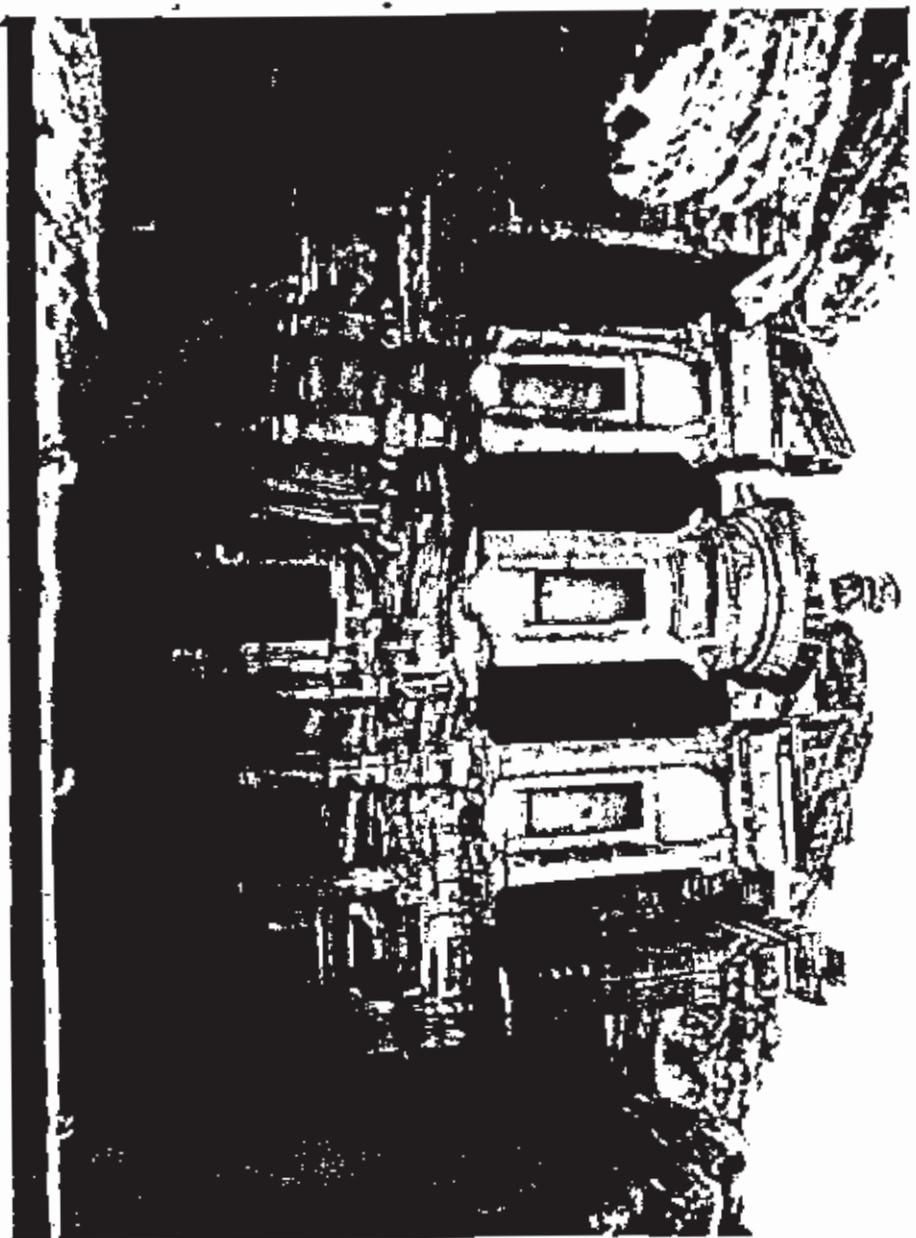
مخطط يوضع البنى الهلنستي في تل المسيبية (مخطط رقم ٣)

(Pritchard, 1985: Fig.149)

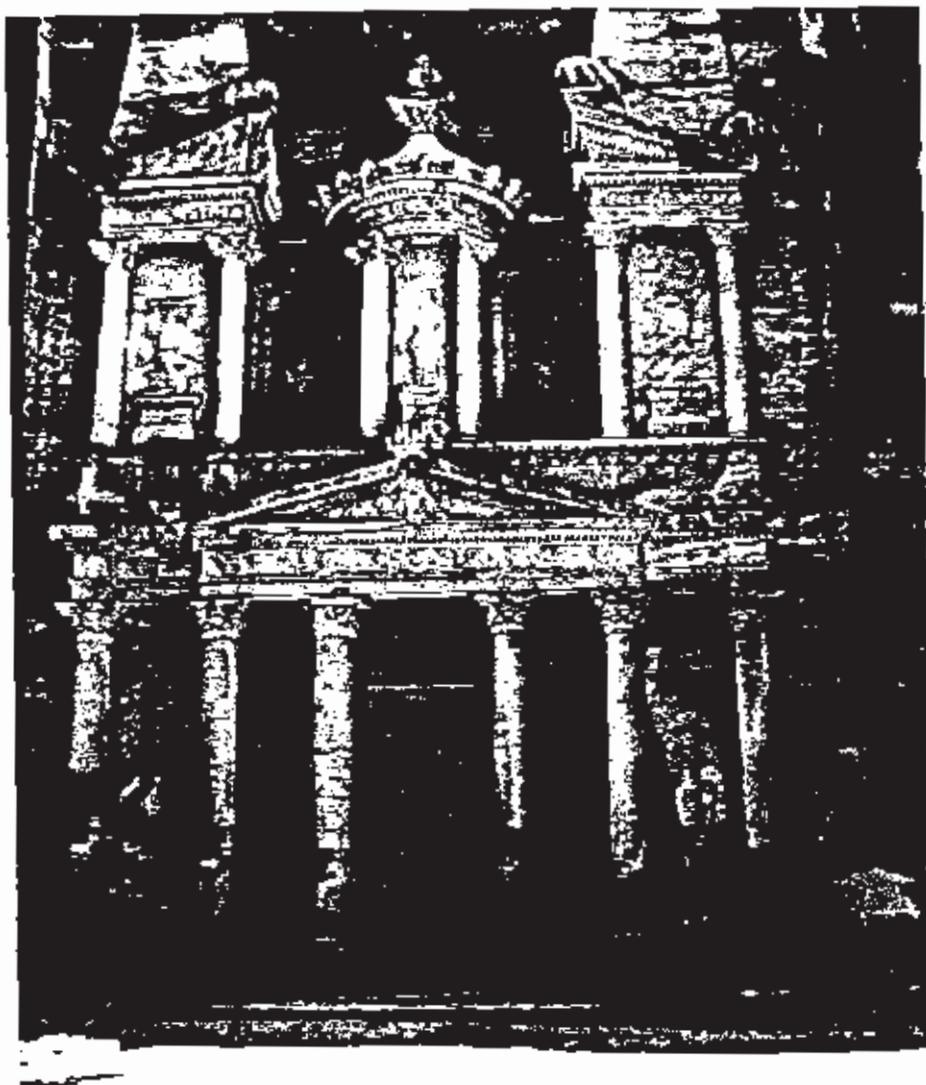


مخطط رقم ٢) يوضح المعالم المعمارية في قصر المبيد في عراق الامير.

(E. Will and F. Larché, 1991, pl.8)



(صورة رقم ٧) اللدیر المضاعفة (ترکلیتیم) الرئیسیة فی البتراء.

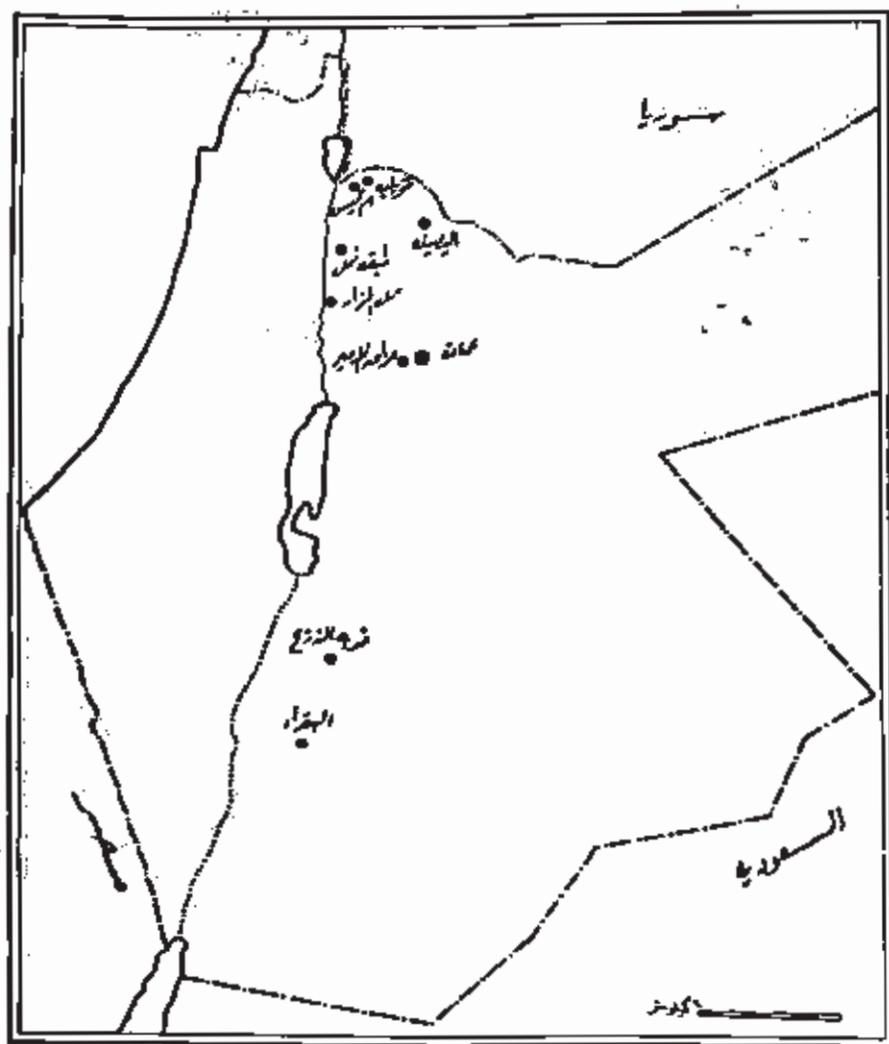


(صورة رقم ١) الخزانة أهم المدافن النبطية في البتراء.



مخطط مدينة البتراء (مخطط رقم ١)

(Le monde de la Bible, 14, 1980, p.49)



(خارطة رقم ١) المواقع الهلنستية البارزة في الأردن.

the first two cases, the first two terms of the series are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the third case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the fourth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the fifth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the sixth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the seventh case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the eighth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the ninth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the tenth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the eleventh case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the twelfth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the thirteenth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the fourteenth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the fifteenth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the sixteenth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the seventeenth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the eighteenth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the nineteenth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the twentieth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the twenty-first case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the twenty-second case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the twenty-third case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the twenty-fourth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the twenty-fifth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the twenty-sixth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the twenty-seventh case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the twenty-eighth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the twenty-ninth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the thirtieth case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the thirty-first case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

In the thirty-second case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the second term. In the thirty-third case, the first two terms are the same, and the third term is the same as the first term.

- (114) Ibid., p. 71.
- (115) Smith, R.H., McNicoll, A.W. and Hennessy, J.B., "The 1981 Season at Pella of the Decapolis". *BASOR*, 243, 181, p. 7.
- (116) Ibid, p. 7-8.
- (117) Ibid, p. 8.
- (118) Smith, R.H., Op. Cit. 1983. p. 71.
- (119) Ibid., pp. 71-72.
- (120) Ibid, p. 71.
- (121) Ibid, p. 71-73.
- (122) Ibid, p. 73-74.
- (123) Al-Muheisen, Z., "L'archéologie de la période hellénistique dans le Nord de la Jordanie : Problèmes et perspectives", *TRANS*, 8, Paris, 1994, pp. 29-34, pls. I-V.

لمزيد من المعلومات عن هذا الموقع انظر :

- Al-Muheisen, Z., "Yasileh, A New site in Northern Jordan", *ADAJ*, XXXV, Amman, 1991, pp. 341-346.
- Tarrier, D. and Al-Muheisen, Z., "La Nécropole de Yasileh et les Tombeaux du Nord de la Jordanie", *ARAM*, Vol. 4, No. 1-2, 1992, Oxford, pp. 229-244.
- (124) Yassine, Kh., "Tell el -Mazar, Field 1. Preliminary Report of Area G", *ADAJ*, 27, Amman, 1983. p. 501.
- (125) Ibid., p. 498.

1889, p. 78.

(100) Will, E., Op. Cit. 1980-81, p. 152.

(101) Ibid, p. 152.

(102) Ibid, p. 152.

(١٠٣) نيف، فيرانسوا، «عراق الأمير». الهيئة المشاركة الفرنسية للآثار، المعهد الفرنسي
للآثار في الشرق الأدنى، عمان، ١٩٨٤، ص ٩

(104) Dentzer, J., Villeneuve, F. and Larche, F., "The Monumental Gateway and the princely Estate of Aeaq el-Emir" in The Excavations at Araq el-Emir, Vol. 1, AASOR, 47-48, 1980-81, pp. 132-146.

(105) Ibid, p. 137.

(106) Ibid., p. 138.

(107) Ibid., pp. 147-148.

(108) Groot, J., "Wall Decoration), The Excavations at Araq el-Emir, vol. I, AASOR, 47-48, 1980-81, pp. 76-77.

(109) Dentzer, J., Op. Cit., 1980-81, p. 147.

(110) Pritchard, J., Op.Cit., 1985, P. 69.

(111) Ibid., P. 69.

(112) Ibid., p. 70.

(113) Ibid., p. 70.

- (83) Negev, A., *Op. Cit.*, 1971, p. 119.
- (84) Negev, A., *Op. Cit.*, 1971, p. 77.
- (86) Mckenzie, J., *Op. Cit.*, 1990, pp. 140-141.
- (87) Glueck, N., *Deities and Dolphins. The Story of the Nabateans.* New York, 1965, p. 242.
- (88) Mckenzie, J., *Op. Cit.*, 1990, p. 141.
- (89) Browning, I., *Op. Cit.*, 1982, p. 123.
- (90) Wright, G.H.R., *The Khazne at Petra ; A Review, ADAJ*, 6-7, 1962, pp. 24-54.
- (91) *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- (92) Browning, I., *Op. Cit.*, 1982, p. 188.
- (93) Mckenzie, J., *Op. Cit.*, 1990, p. 160.
- (94) *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.
- (95) Tarrier, D., *Les Triclinia nabatéene dans la perspective des installations de banquet du Proche-Orient.* Thèse Université de Paris I. Paris, 1988, p. 64 and 151.
- (96) Mckenzie, J., *Op. Cit.*, 1990, p. 93 and 155.
- (97) Will, E., *Op. Cit.*, 1980-81, pp. 44-50.
- (98) *Ibid.*, p. 151.
- (99) Conder, C., *The Survey of Eastern Palestine I*, London,

- (73) Starcky, J., Nouvelles stèles funéraires a Pétra, ADAJ, 10, 1965, pp. 43-49, pls. 21-22.
- (74) Starcky, J., Pétra et la Nabatene, Dictionnaire de La Bible, 7, Paris, 1966, col. 898.
- (75) Starcky, J., Op. Cit., 1965, pp. 43-49.
- (76) Mckenzie, J., Op. Cit., 1990, p. 115.
- (77) Negev, A., Op. Cit., 1971, p. 115.
- (78) Villeneuve, F. et Al-Muheisen, Z., Fouilles à Khirbet edh Dharih (Jordanic), 1984-1987: Un village, son sanctuaire et sa nécropole aux époques nabatéenne et romaine (Ier-IVème siècles ap. J. - C.), Comptesrendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, 1988, pp. 458-479.
- المخيسن وذيكرين، وشيب نيف، فرانسوا. خربة الذريح : موقع ثبطى فى وادى اللعبان،
تحويلة دائرة الآثار العامة، ٢٤، عمان، ١٩٩٠، ص ٥-١٧.
- (79) Negev, A., abatean Archaeology Today, New York, 1986, p. 93.
- (80) Tarrier, D., Les Installation de banquet a Petra, RB, 93, 1986, pp. 254-256. p.1.46.
- (81) Negev, A., Op. Cit., 1971, pp. 111-114.
- (82) Strabo, Geography, XVI, 4, 26.
- Starcky, J., Op. Cit. 1966, col. 939.

- (57) Ibid, p. 12.
- (58) Horsfield, G. and A., Sela - Petri. the Rock of Edom and Nabatene. III- The Excavations. QDAP, 8, 1938- 1939, p. 109.
- (59) Ibid, p. 109.
- (60) Zayadine, F., Excavations at Petra (1976-1978), ADAJ, 23, 1979, pp. 185-197, pls. 83-94.
- (61) Negev, A., Op. Cit., 1971, p. 117.
- (62) Ibid., p. 118.
- (63) Ibid., p. 119.
- (64) Ibid., p. 119.
- (65) Horsfield , G. and A., Op. Cit., 1938-1939, p. 115.
- (66) Ibid., p. 115.
- (67) Ibid., p. 109.
- (68) Ibid., p. 99.
- (69) Browning, I., Op. Cit., 1982, p. 165.
- (70) Horsfield, G. and A., Op. Cit., 1938 - 1939, p. 115.
- (71) Ibid., p. 99.
- (72) Parr, P., Découvertes récentes au sanctuaire du Qasr à Pétra, I, Compte-rendu des dernières fouilles , Syria, XLV, 1968, pp. 1-24.

- (40) Kennedy, A. *Op. Cit.*, 1925, p. 46.
- (41) Browning, I., *Op. Cit.*, 1982, p. 82.
- (42) Kennedy, A., *Op.Cit.*, 1925, p. 45.
- (43) Browning, I., *Op. Cit.*, 1982, p. 82.
- (44) *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.
- (45) *Ibid.*, p. 83.
- (46) Kennedy, A., *Op. Cit.*, 1925, p. 47.
- (47) Browning, I., *Op. Cit.*, 1982, p. 84.
- (48) *Ibid.*, p. 87.
- (49) Kennedy, A., *Op. Cit.*, 1925, p. 45.
- (50) Browning, I., *Op. Cit.*, 1982, p. 90-97.
- (51) Kammerer, A., *Petra et la Nabatene*, 2 vol. Paris, 1929-1930.
- (52) Murray, M.A., and Ellis, J.C., *A Street in Perta*, London, 1940, p. 12.
- (53) Negev, A., *The Nabatean Necropolis of Mampsis (Kumub)*, *IEJ*, 21, 1971, pp. 110-129.
- (54) Murray, M.A., *Op. Cit.*, 1940, p. 12.
- (55) *Ibid*, p. 25.
- (56) *Ibid.*, p. 12.

- (23) Browning, I., Op. Cit., 1982, p. 48.
- (24) Hammond, p., Op. Cit., 1973, p. 41.
- (25) Mckenzie, J., The Architecture of Petra, New York, 1990, p. 109.
- (26) Ibid., pp. 105-107.
- (27) Ibid., p. 2.
- (28) Kennedy, A., Petra Its History and Monuments, London, 1925, pp. 38-101.
- (29) Browning, I., Op. Cit., 1982, pp. 79-99.
- (30) Mckenzie, J., Op. Cit., 1990, p. 9.
- (31) Mckezie, J., The Dating of the Principal Monuments at Petra: A new Approach, SHAJ, III, 1987, pp. 295-305.
- (32) Mckenzie, J., Op. Cit., 1990, pp. 14-25.
- (33) Ibid., pp. 33-53.
- (34) Browning, I., Op. Cit. 1982, p. 79.
- (35) Ibid., p. 80.
- (36) Ibid., p. 81.
- (37) Kennedy, A., Op. Cit., 1925, p. 42.
- (38) Browning, I., Op. Cit., 1982, p. 79.
- (39) Ibid., p. 82.

(13) Will, E., "The Recent French Work at Araq el-Emir, The Qasr el-Abd Rediscovered", The Excavations at Araq el-Emir, Vol. 1, AASOR. 47-48, 1980-81, p. 149.

لمزيد من المعلومات عن هذا الموقع انظر :

Will, E., and Larche, F. Iraq al Amir. B.A.H. T.CXXXII, Paris, 1991.

(14) Pritchard, J., Tell S-Sa'idiyah, Excavations on the Tell, 1964-1966. Philadelphia, 1985, p. 60.

(15) Smith, R.H., McNicoll, A.W. and Hennessy, J.B., "The 1980 Season at Pella of the Decapolis", BASOR, 249, 1983, p. 71.

(16) Ibrahim, M. Sauer, J. and Yassine, Kh., "The East Jordan Valley Survey, 1975", BASOR, 222, 1976, p. 58.

(17) Glueck, N., Rivers in the Desert, New York, 1959, p. 19.

(18) Ibid., p. 195.

(19) Wright, G.H.R., Structure of the Qasr Bint Fara'un. A Preliminary Review, PEQ, 93, 1961, p. 22.

(20) Browning, I., Petra, London, 1982, p. 56.

(21) Wright, G., Op. Cit., 1961, pp. 22-24.

(22) Hammond, P. C., The Nabataeans - Their History, Culture and Archaeology, Gothenbury, 1973, p. 66.

(حواشي البحث)

- (1) Albright, W., *The Archaeology of Palestine*, Penguin, 1971, p. 146.
- (2) Van Elderen, B., *Hellenistic Period, in the Archaeological Periods and Site (East Bank)*, Vol. 1, Department of Antiquities, Jordan, 1973, p. 30.
- (3) Kuhnen, H.P., *Palastina in Griechisch - Romischer Zeit*, Band 2, Munchen, 1990, pp. 32-33.
- (4) Fredericq, D., and Franken, H., *Pottery and Potters-Past and present: 7000 years of Ceramic art in Jordan*, Atempo verlag, Tübingen, 1986, p. 174.
- (5) Smith, R.H., "The Southern Levant in the Hellenistic period, *LEVANT*, Vol. XXII, 1990, p. 123.
- (6) Fredericq, D., *Op. Cit.*, 1986, p. 178.
- (7) Albright, W., *Op. Cit.*, 1971, p. 146.
- (8) Smith, R.H., *Op.Cit.*, 1990, p. 123.
- (9) Kuhnen, H.P., *Op. Cit.*, 1990, p. 38.
- (10) Lapp, P., "Palestinian Ceramic Chronology 200 B.C.-70 A.D." *AASOR*, III, New Haven, 1961, p. 40.
- (11) Smith, R.H., *Op. Cit.*, 1990, p. 124.
- (12) *Ibid.*, P. 123.