

THE GRAND PROCESSION

The procession was an important part of worship in Greek religion. Greek religious festivals consisted invariably of four main parts:¹ (1) a procession of the statue or ritual objects of the honoured god on a prescribed route around the city, often stopping at certain points for specific acts of ritual, heading toward the god's temple or sacred precinct; (2) the sacrifice before the temple; (3) the public feast upon the sacrificial offerings, and (4) athletic or artistic competitions. Although the importance of each of these elements varied among different festivals, the procession remained a standard feature of most of them. It was the climax of the Athenian Panathenaia, but was also an important part of the City Dionysia, in which the dramatic competition was the main focus of the festival.² At the Olympic festival whose games were the apex of Greek athletic endeavour, the morning of the third day was occupied with religious rites culminating in a great procession from the Magistrate's House to the sacrifice at the Altar of Zeus.³

Certain aspects of Greek religious custom which were transformed by the Macedonians under Alexander are essential to the understanding of later Hellenistic religious festivals and their processions, held under the auspices of his successors.

Alexander's Macedonian army introduced variations of the traditional, civic religious festivals in their isolated, foreign milieu when athletic contests were frequently arranged in connection with a procession and offerings to a god. For example, while sacrificing to Asklepius at Soloi, Alexander staged gymnastic and musical competitions, as well as a procession in which he and the troops marched (Arr. *An.* ii. 5, 8; cf. *ibid.*, ii. 24, 6; iii. 5, 2; Plut. *Alex.* xxix). The presence of the army was an important innovation which became standard practice. The external circumstances behind the army's worship were the direct cause of a second change, namely the removal of the religious celebrations from any ritualized civic context tied

to specific cult practice. As a result, the content of the celebrations varied; for example, some of Alexander's festivals honoured several gods at the same time (Arr. *Ind.* 36, 3) rather than a single god upon the occasion of his annual festival in the Macedonian religious calendar. These two changes affected the future course of Greek religious festivals. Alexander's troops took part in the processions because they may have been the only Greeks available to participate, and also because these festivals were clearly intended as a means of maintaining the morale of men far from home and familiar customs. However, time and again, reference is made in our sources to the arms and formations of the troops. Although the Athenian cavalry and infantry were involved in the Panathenaic procession (Thuc. vi. 56, 2; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* xviii. 4; cf. the Parthenon Frieze), this citizen army joined its fellow citizens in the traditional festival in honour of the city's patron-goddess with the result that the focus of the proceedings was the religious festival and the glorification of city and god. This differs in intent and effect from the Macedonian army arrayed in battle formation (cf. Arr. *An.* i. 18, 2) in a foreign setting removed from any civic tradition; as a result, the religious aspects of their celebration became subservient to its secular nature. The enlargement of the festivals to include several gods is equally significant. Although gods had been frequently worshipped in company with other gods in traditional religion, the broad scope of Alexander's celebrations broke the previously close tie between the procession and specific religious ritual since the former was no longer a prescribed part of the larger ritual in the same way. The procession became a method of worship in its own right, and honorands, participants, and ritual elements changed at the organizer's will since they were no longer regulated by civic cult practice.

The ritual purpose of the procession may have shrunk in these and other ways in direct proportion to its isolation from the traditional religious festival, and this process may be seen in the new festivals founded in the new cities by Alexander's successors. Although based upon the precepts of Greek religion from the homeland, these festivals were grafted on to a foreign setting and celebrated by a disparate population. Moreover, new and different gods, for whom cult ritual had to be created and developed, were worshipped with the introduction of the ruler-associated cults in the empires. Only in time did this 'new' religion become the standardized, traditional religion of the Hellenistic world. The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus must be considered against this background as one of the most important pieces of evidence for early Hellenistic religion.

¹ H. W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (London, 1977), 18 ff.; Caspari, 'Studien', 401-2.

² L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), 138 ff.; A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1968), 61 ff.

³ P. Stengel, *Die Griechischen Kultusaltertümer* (3rd ed., Munich, 1920), 190 ff.; J. Swaddling, *The Ancient Olympic Games* (B. M. Publications, London, 1980), 37-9.

The general organization of Kallixeinos' account of the Grand Procession is fairly clear since the author prefaces his description with a thumbnail sketch of the proceedings (197D). The first individual procession to appear is that of the Morning Star (Eosphoros), followed by one 'named after' *οἱ τῶν βασιλέων γονεῖς*. (The meaning of this phrase will be discussed below. It has been translated as 'the ancestors' or 'parents of the kings' or 'the parents of the king and queen'.) The various processions of all the gods follow these first two, and precede that of Alexander. The event is concluded by the procession of the Evening Star (Hesperos). After this survey, Kallixeinos states that his account will be selective, and he refers the reader seeking additional information elsewhere. From the processions of all the gods, Kallixeinos selects the one in honour of Dionysus for fuller treatment. The components of this procession are recorded in detail and consecutively until about 201F when the thread of the narrative becomes confused; the end of the Dionysiac procession and random parts of other processions are described in a cursory fashion and in no perceivable order. The account ends in 203B with reference to some kind of coronation ceremony and honours bestowed upon members of the royal family. It is not clear whether this final section belongs to the Grand Procession or to another part of the festival of which the procession forms only one part. In this place, Athenaeus may no longer have followed Kallixeinos' narrative directly but may have joined unconnected passages excerpted from a full text of *About Alexandria*.

A diagram of the Grand Procession shows the sections into which the text has been divided for the purposes of discussion. Some divisions are subjective and may be disputed, but they seem at least to order the proceedings in accordance with a recognizable thematic progression.

- I. The beginning of the Grand Procession.
 - A. The procession of the Morning Star (197D).
 - B. The procession *τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων γονεῖσι κατωνομασμένη* (197D).
 - C. Processions of some gods? (The order of the divine processions, and the place of the Dionysiac one among them, is not clear).
- II. The procession of Dionysus (197E ff.).
 - A. Prelude of marshals, preliminary offerings, heralds, personified figures of Penteteris and Eniautos, and Satyrs bearing vessels (197E-198B).
 - B. Philikos and the Guild of Dionysus, followed by Delphic tripods (198B-C).
 - C. Tableaux from the 'life' of Dionysus.
 1. Cart carrying a statue of the god, followed by religious officials and worshippers (198C-E).

2. Cart carrying a statue of Nysa (198F).
3. Celebration of wine. Cart carrying a wine-press (in which Satyrs and Silenoi trample grapes) (199A), and another an askos (199A), followed by a long parade of gold and silver vessels (199B-200B). Refreshments for the spectators.
4. The bridal chamber of Semele (200B).
5. Cart carrying a cave with the representation of Dionysus being reared by Hermes and the Nymphs (200B-C).
6. Triumphal return of Dionysus from India (200D-201C).
 - (a) Dionysus in triumph on an elephant (200D).
 - (b) The symbolic army of Dionysus (200E).
 - (c) Parade of exotic animals, spear-captives, and tribute of ivory, ebony, and precious metals, followed by hunting spoils and more wild animals (200F-201C).
7. Dionysus at the Altar of Rhea fleeing the wrath of Hera (201C).
8. Cart carrying statues of Alexander, Ptolemy Soter, Arete, Corinth, and Priapus, followed by women dressed as Greek cities (201D-E).
- D. The end of the Dionysiac procession. Parade of the ritual objects of Dionysus (201E). Other animals, and further carts with statues of kings and gods (201F). Choral band with kithara players (201F). Procession of sacrificial animals (202A).
- III. The rest of the Grand Procession.
 - A. The processions of Zeus, other gods, Alexander [and the Evening Star] (202A).
 - B. Miscellaneous items from the other processions, dedications to various gods, and display of treasure (202B ff.).
 - C. Parade of infantry and cavalry (202F-203A).
- IV. Crowning ceremony and dedications to the royal family (203A-B).

In 196A, Athenaeus confirms that the Grand Procession, whose description was included in a work entitled *About Alexandria*, was held in the capital city of the Ptolemaic Empire and the home of its royal family, which was the obvious location for a civic event on such a scale. Although no detailed information is given about the route of the Grand Procession, Kallixeinos says that it passed through the city stadium (197C; line 2). A Greek stadium with its tiered seating arrangements would have been an optimal vantage point for viewing a procession, and it could also have been used for other activities associated with the festival, such as athletic contests. Considerations of comfort and visibility suggest that the area inside the stadium was reserved for the official guests and the royal box, and this is supported by the fact that special refreshments are distributed to

those in the stadium during the Grand Procession (see pp. 77-8). This structure is also mentioned elsewhere in the text: marshals dressed as Satyrs range themselves along each side of the stadium (197E; line 14), and 'stadium', not 'the parade' is probably to be understood in the incomplete phrase *καὶ συνωρίδες καμήλων* ἐξ, ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους τρεῖς (i.e. three pairs of camels marched along each side 'of it'; 200F; line 172). Whether or not Kallixeinos was an observer of the procession, the information about the event was clearly recorded by someone who took the stadium as his point of reference. The author or his source may have been accorded a place there among the official guests, possibly in order to compile an official record of the proceedings.

The third-century stadium used for the Grand Procession was certainly not the hippodrome mentioned by Strabo (795, 10) beyond the Canopic Gate on the road to the later site of Nicopolis. This extra-mural location would have been an unlikely one for a carefully arranged spectacle held under royal auspices since it is some distance from the pavilion described by Kallixeinos within the 'Inner Palaces'; this structure was probably used in the festivities surrounding the procession (see below). The stadium in question must have been the one located close to The Palaces, which was the scene of many of the demonstrations against Agathokles at the end of the third century (Plb. xv. 30-3).⁴ This stadium would have been ideal for the official guests viewing the Grand Procession, since it was convenient to the centre of the city, the royal residences of the sponsors, and the pavilion, but its exact location cannot be pinpointed. The Palaces were a large area contiguous to the harbour which covered as much as one third of the whole city, and which included the 'Inner Palaces' (containing the actual royal residences) as well as several other structures.⁵ Given the size of this area, a stadium could have been located nearby without infringing on royal seclusion. This larger Palace area can be generally located in the northern central area of the city close to the shoreline; this would have been the most pleasant area of the ancient city and therefore the one naturally appropriated for royal residences as well as for other important civic buildings.

Since Greek religious processions moved from one point to another, or else made a circular route around a city, the Grand Procession would not have been confined to the stadium alone, but would have progressed out of the stadium onto the streets of Alexandria. One would expect a

⁴ For a discussion of the various Alexandrian stadia, and the identification of the stadium mentioned in Polybius as the one used for the Grand Procession, see *Ptol. Alex.* ii. 99 ff., n. 231.

⁵ For a discussion of The Palaces and the 'Inner Palaces' see *ibid.*, i. 14 ff.; 22-3; the general position can be seen on the map after p. 8.

civic spectacle on such a scale to have been made visible in this way to as many spectators as possible, and certain details in the text indicate that the route of this procession extended beyond the stadium. Kallixeinos mentions a 'mystic' crown which was to be placed on the door of the Berenikeion (202D; line 250), a shrine of unknown location but certainly outside the stadium. Also, marshals dressed as Silenoi hold back the crowds at the beginning of the procession of Dionysus (197E; line 11). Such officials would have been required along the city streets, clearing the processional route from spectators jostling for position, rather than within the confines of the stadium since crowds would not be milling about the central area. Finally, the carts carrying the wine-press and askos are said to trickle liquid along the street (199A-B), surely the city streets which formed the processional route. The procession, therefore, had both to enter and leave the stadium. Depending upon the shape of the structure, the participants either made a U-shaped loop around the stadium, entering and leaving the single entrance in the rounded side, or else, if the structure was open on both ends, entered by one gate, marched straight through, and left via the other one. There is no archaeological evidence for the shape of this Alexandrian stadium, but, given that it was used for the Grand Procession, it is reasonable to suggest that it did not have a U-shape, but was oblong and open at both ends, like the Hellenistic stadium at Miletus; in view of the size of some of the objects and carts which had to be manoeuvred, it is easier to assume that the procession marched straight through the stadium. A single entrance for those both entering and leaving would have caused a severe traffic jam and constant hitches in the flow of the procession. Once out of the stadium and into the city, the procession would have moved along at least one of the main avenues of Alexandria, which would have provided ample room for the carts, the participants, the troops marching in formation, and the greatest number of spectators. The third-century street-plan of the city is unknown, but in the first century BC, there was a rectangular plan with wide main streets; two of these were more than 100 feet wide and one went from east to west across the city from Necropolis to the Canopic Gate (Strabo 793, 8; 795, 10). A similarly broad east-west street (if the Ptolemaic street was not the same or the predecessor of the one mentioned by Strabo) would have been ideal for the processional route. Given the layout of the city, an east-west street would have been longer than a north-south one, and could have passed fairly near the Palace area where the participants joined it after leaving the stadium.

Indirect evidence for part of the route of the Grand Procession can be adduced from information about the ornamental pavilion, or marquee, which Kallixeinos describes immediately before the procession (196A-197C

= Appendix I F 2), if this can be shown to be related to the procession. There are strong linguistic grounds for assuming a connection between them. The direct quotation of Kallixeinos begins in 196A with the words *ὅς φησι*, and it is clear that he describes the pavilion as a preface to his account of the procession: 'Before beginning [i.e. the account of the procession], I will describe the pavilion which was constructed within the enclosure of the Akra . . .' He makes a similar connection between his subjects at the end of his description of the pavilion (197C; line 1): 'Since we have considered the subject of the pavilion in detail, we will also describe the Grand Procession.' Since the procession directly follows the description of the pavilion in *About Alexandria*, and since the author explicitly connects them, a relation between the subjects is clearly implied. A link between them is also suggested by the many similarities in decorative detail as well as over-all effect. Both reveal a similar grandeur in scale and conception, coupled with exaggerated luxury and an overwhelming emphasis on extravagance and expense. Comparable artistic details include gold and silver plate, statuary in materials lighter than stone, and clothing embroidered with precious materials. Even as the procession was a great occasion, so too must the pavilion have been intended to complement some great occasion. Furthermore, if Kallixeinos gave disproportionate emphasis to the procession of Dionysus in his account of the Grand Procession because it was especially important and magnificent in relation to the whole, then certain iconographic connections between the decoration of the pavilion and the Dionysiac procession may be significant. The entire pavilion can be interpreted as a Dionysiac bower, a luxuriant arbour which is often associated with the god especially when reclining or feasting. The pavilion was situated in a natural bower in the Palace gardens, and many of its decorative elements are Dionysiac: the middle columns of its main supports have the form of thyrsos (196C), and Dionysiac symposia scenes appear in the recesses of the epistyle of the pavilion, composed of figures from tragedy, comedy, and satyric drama (196F). These tableaux are separated by niches containing Delphic tripods, the traditional prizes in the performance of the dithyramb in honour of Dionysus. The animal skins on the inside of the curtains surrounding the peristyle (196D) may connote hunting spoils which also figure in the return of Dionysus from India in the procession (201B; line 184). The purpose of the pavilion also suggests a relation to the procession. It was designed as a dining hall (the arrangement and decorations of the couches and tables are described in 196B and 197B), despite the fact that other kinds of entertainment may also have taken place there. Dionysiac feasts were frequently held in bower-like surroundings such as this (see p. 60), but one special, magnificent feast must have been intended for this pavilion. Its architectural

daring and perishable materials are alike incomprehensible if it was conceived as a permanent structure, and not as a temporary erection for a specific occasion (although it may of course have remained standing for a short period after the festival). The luxuriant surroundings and atmosphere show in any case that important guests were to be entertained here, and Kallixeinos states that the pavilion was separate from the place where the soldiers, artisans, and tourists were entertained (196A). The festivities associated with the Grand Procession present the obvious special occasion for the use of the pavilion, both in terms of the feast to be served and the guests to be entertained there. The 2,000 oxen which march in the procession (202A; line 222) are the intended victims at the sacrifice which was the climax of this, as of all, Greek festivals. Since a feast was a concomitant part of the sacrifice, these sacrificial oxen may have provided the meal for the guests entertained in the pavilion, who were in this case the *theoroi* invited to Alexandria for the Grand Procession and its festival, as well as priests and other religious officials.

This combined evidence supports a connection between the pavilion and the procession, and suggests that the former may have been built purposely for the occasion of the latter. The site of the pavilion is therefore relevant to the reconstructed processional route. It probably did not serve as another viewing stand for the procession: its surrounding gardens would have impeded visibility, and the statement that it was removed from the place where the general populace was entertained gives the impression that it was somewhat isolated. Its specific location 'within the enclosure of the Akra' (196A), which was a citadel of the city fortified by a wall and gates,⁶ reinforces the suggestion that it was not a viewing stand since many of the objects appearing in the Grand Procession could hardly have been manoeuvred inside such an enclosed area. Although the procession probably did not pass in front of the pavilion, its progress may have been visible in the distance since the Akra was elevated. On the other hand, the pavilion was probably in the general vicinity of part of the processional route for the convenience both of the guests coming from the procession and sacrifice to the feast, and of those transporting the sacrificial meal to the pavilion. The precise position of the Akra in Alexandria cannot be determined, but it is at least known that it was in the larger Palace area since those in revolt from Ptolemy IV returned to the Akra from the palace (Plb. v. 39, 3). Its proximity to the royal part of the city is also suggested by the fact that in the tradition regarding the seventy translators of the Septuagint, who were hired expressly on the orders of Ptolemy Philadelphus, these were lodged near the Akra (*Ep. Arist.* 181).

⁶ For a discussion of the Akra and its location see *ibid.*, i. 30 ff.

The Akra may therefore have been close to, or even within, the 'Inner Palaces', the area of royal residences within the boundaries of the Larger Palaces which seems to have been located around the southern base of the promontory of Lochias (the approximate site of the modern headland Silsileh). This location can also be inferred from Kallixeinos on grounds of convenience, since the royal guests, who were entertained in the pavilion in the Akra and who watched the procession from the stadium contiguous to the larger Palace area, may have been housed in the royal residences within the 'Inner Palaces'. It is likely, therefore, that the grove around the pavilion was part of the extensive royal gardens and parks.

If it is correct that the pavilion and procession are related, that the Akra was near the 'Inner Palaces' and that the stadium was near the larger Palace area, then the procession probably passed through the north-eastern section of ancient Alexandria, and then along the main thoroughfares of the city. The use of this area reflects the procession's royal patronage, and the proximity of stadium, pavilion, and Palaces would have facilitated official participation and hospitality.

The beginning- and end-points of the Grand Procession can only be conjectured. The participants and organizers would have needed a large area in which to muster before the procession began. Although Alexandria may have had a *pompeion*, such as Athens had near the Dipylon Gate to store ritual objects for the annual Panathenaic processions, there is no known trace of one, but any large open space would have sufficed, the park areas of the larger Palaces being obvious candidates. This eastern side of the city would be the logical starting place for the procession if it was to progress westwards through the town after leaving the Palace area. If the procession mustered here, fairly near the stadium, it would have arrived at the stadium in good time and order for the benefit of the distinguished spectators within. This area would have been convenient in terms of the objects and participants too. Since the procession was prepared under royal direction, areas within The Palaces may have been made available for constructing and storing some of the elaborate tableaux, and for adding their final touches immediately before the event. The Palaces would also have been the safest place to guard the assembled gold, silver, and other treasure which appeared in the procession, even if it was normally housed elsewhere in temple depositories. The large number of exotic animals in the procession surely either came from, or were destined for, the famous royal zoo of Alexandria founded by Philadelphus (see below, p. 86). If, as seems likely, the zoo was located within the parks and gardens of the royal quarter, the difficulties of collecting, harnessing, and transporting all the animals to the parade route would have been greatly mitigated.

Greek religious processions either headed for the main shrine or temple of the honoured god where sacrifice was made and appropriate worship given, or, in the case of the circular processions where the divine statue was carried around the city, both started and finished at the temple. The final destination of the Grand Procession is not certain, but since several gods are honoured in the smaller processions within the Grand Procession, each sectional procession may have continued on its own after a certain point to the shrine of its own deity. (If the 2,000 bulls in 202A belong to the Dionysiac procession, as suggested below, pp. 110 ff., the other processions may also have had their own victims intended for separate sacrifices at altars before the temples of their respective gods.) The sacrificial animals and divine dedications may have proceeded to the temples even if the parade of carts and participants returned at some point to the Palace area in order to disperse. It is also possible, and perhaps more likely, that the Grand Procession continued as a unified parade to a central point where its climax was a single large public sacrifice for all the honorands (whether each procession contained its own god's animals or whether the large herd in 202A was intended for all the honorands). The gigantic Altar of Hieron II at Syracuse and the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon are monumental altars of the type which would have been appropriate for a large, public sacrifice in Alexandria; although there is no known trace of a comparable permanent monumental altar in the city, a temporary structure may have been erected. Since the Grand Procession was obviously calculated to have the maximum effect upon the spectators, its climax in a single public sacrifice would perhaps have been a more fitting finale than a comparatively quiet dispersal of the sectional processions to sacrifices at temples in different parts of the city. After the sacrifice, the individual processions could have gone to the various temples of the gods to deposit offerings and dedications while the populace was preparing for the feast.

Although the year in which the Grand Procession occurred is one of the most difficult problems to be considered, other chronological questions are easier to settle. The season of the year can be fixed if the pavilion was erected for the festivities surrounding the procession and its festival since Kallixeinos states that the entertainment held in the pavilion occurred in the middle of winter—the most natural season in view of the summer heat—which made the floral profusion in the grotto surrounding it appear all the more wondrous to visitors from less moderate climates (196D-E). The time of the beginning and end of the procession is also known: the first sectional procession honoured the Morning Star since the Grand Procession began at that hour (197D; line 4), and the end was marked by the procession of the Evening Star, which was the corresponding hour of the finale. Although the sidereal limits of the procession are thus established,

its duration is not. The whole Grand Procession may have lasted from the morning to the evening of one day, or from the morning of one day until the evening of the next. Instead of maintaining that the procession lasted until night only because it took place on a short winter's day,⁷ one might rather suggest that one day would barely have sufficed, given all the sectional processions, the inevitable stops and starts, delays, and breaks. A day-long procession would surely have continued well after dark, despite its stated end at the hour of the Evening Star's appearance, since it has been calculated that the march-past of the troops could itself have lasted up to ten hours, depending on their pace and formation.⁸ It is questionable, however, whether the detailed tableaux and the elaborate objects of the type appearing in the Dionysiac procession were intended to be seen in less than full daylight for their maximum effect. Since the festival of which the procession was a part lasted more than one day in order to encompass the dramatic, musical, and other activities which are indicated by the text (the Guild of the Artists of Dionysus could not have both marched and performed at the same time, for example), the Grand Procession may have been spread over several days, even though Kallixeinos does not say so. Since the Grand Procession was composed of several smaller processions, it could easily have been broken up over several days, with the end of any one procession providing a convenient stopping place for that day. Likewise, the beginning of any sectional procession could have inaugurated the next day's proceedings. Possibly the parade of troops, the sacrifice, and the crowning ceremony occupied the final day, with the feast as the climax of the celebrations. Roman triumphal processions, which frequently lasted for more than one day (cf. Plut. *Aem.* xxxii), provide a later analogy for this suggestion. A great procession lasting several days in Alexandria would have been a major focus for admiration and acclaim, and such a spectacle may well have been drawn out deliberately for the greatest possible effect. Any time not taken by parts of the Grand Procession could have been filled by performances, competitions, and other activities associated with the festival.

I. THE BEGINNING OF THE GRAND PROCESSION

A. *The Procession of the Morning Star* (197D)

The Grand Procession begins with the individual procession of the Morning Star, which, like the corresponding concluding procession of the Evening Star, is described only in title and not by content. The function of these

⁷ Cf. Kramer, *Tischgesellschaft*, 35; Caspari, 'Studien', 409-10.

⁸ Caspari, 'Studien', 411-12.

two processions as indications of the time of the beginning and end of the Grand Procession explains their inclusion and position in the festivities. The ancients knew that the Morning and Evening Star is a single star which appears at both times, but through poetic convention it was often represented in myth and literature as two different stars, one bringing the dawn, the other the evening.⁹ Here too, the necessity of depicting the two limits of the duration of the Grand Procession explains the division of one star into two different stars. The personifications of these stars can be traced as far back as Homer (*Il.* xxii. 317; xxiii. 226), along with similar natural phenomena such as Helios, Selene, Eos, etc. In the fourth century and later, personifications of natural phenomena often had a role in addition to their primary representation of nature; for example, personified stars could serve as recording angels in comedy (Plautus, *Rudens*, based on Diphilos; cf. Platonic School, *Epinomis*).¹⁰ The Eosphoros and Hesperos here are similar 'extended' personifications since, in addition to representing particular stars, they provide information about the duration of the procession. Although it has been claimed that contemporary scientific advances in astronomy (the observation of stars and their movements) gave new life and an added sanction to the long-established personifications of stars,¹¹ and although significant strides in astronomy were undoubtedly achieved in Alexandria,¹² the extended use of these particular personifications of nature in the procession may equally be due to the increasing popularity and use of personifications in general in the Hellenistic age, which is clearly reflected by the other types of personification which appear in the procession.

Little can be said about these opening and closing processions in the Grand Procession. Since statues of the honorands appear prominently in the presumably analogous divisional processions of Dionysus and Alexander, statues of the personified Eosphoros and Hesperos were probably drawn on carts as the central feature of their respective processions, perhaps as counterparts to each other. The earliest representations of stars were boys, or youths, as riders, but later Eosphoros and Hesperos were commonly shown as winged youths, sometimes holding torches, to symbolize their light.¹³ Something along these lines may be imagined for their representations here, with Eosphoros perhaps holding his torch aloft to symbolize the approaching dawn, and with Hesperos holding his torch low to signify the fading day.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 410; *RE* s.v. Hesperos, 1250 ff.

¹⁰ T. B. L. Webster, *JWCI* xvii (1954), 13.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² See *Ptol. Alex.* i. 396 ff., for a discussion of some of the famous mathematician-astronomers working in Alexandria.

¹³ *RE* s.v. Hesperos, 1252-3.