

Original article

AN UNPUBLISHED TERRACOTTA HEAD OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT WEARING A KAUSIA

Ibrahim, N.

Greek and Roman Archaeology dept., Faculty of Archaeology, Ain Shams University, Cairo, Egypt
**E-mail address: nagwa.Ibrahim@arch.asu.edu.eg*

Article info.

Article history:

Received: 28-12-2023

Accepted: 10-5-2024

Doi: 10.21608/ejars.2024.396696

Keywords:

Alexander

Kausia

Ephebe

Headdress

Petanus

Alexander's official costume

EJARS – Vol. 14 (2) – Dec. 2024: 269-275

Abstract:

This article aims to publish a rare terracotta head of Alexander the Great preserved in the Greco-Roman Museum. The head depicts Alexander the Great wearing a cap called kausia. Alexander was not depicted with this cap before from Egypt despite some attempts to prove this. The study will include comparisons between our head and the previously published heads of Alexander the Great from Egypt. Also, the research spotlight on the Macedonian identity of Alexander. The kausia was a Macedonian headgear worn by the Macedonian kings after Alexander the Great, perhaps Alexander wore it after his campaign against India. Additionally, the kausia was worn by Macedonian boys and youth, as well as the Ptolemaic kings. It has been a distinctive headgear for the inhabitants of Afghanistan until now. Hence the importance of this rare head is strong and clear evidence of the correctness of what various literary sources mentioned in Alexander the Great wearing this cap, which was associated with chlamys and the krepides sandal.

1. Introduction

Many heads and statues of Alexander the Great were discovered in Egypt, especially in Alexandria and Fayoum from the Greek and Roman periods [1,2]. However, other important Figure depicting Alexander the Great, such as the head under study, have not been published or studied. Alexander the Great depicted with an anastole hairstyle or locks hanging on the forehead in the sculpture, wearing a helmet in the bronze, and the skin of a lion and an elephant on the coins [3-6]. The literature mentioned that Alexander the Great wore this cap. Several attempts tried proving that Alexander was depicted wearing a kausia as Robert Bianchi published a head from Egypt and interpreted it as belonging to Alexander the Great wearing a kausia [7], but the facial features were not of Alexander the Great. Paul Stanwick suggested that this head was one of the Ptolemies or Caesarion [8]. Hence, the importance of this rare head is strong and clear evidence of the correct argument of various pieces of literature that Alexander the Great wore this headdress, which was associated with Chlamys and the Krepides sandal. A small head made of terracotta, fig. (1). It measures 5.5 cm in height, came from Hadara necropolis, and is preserved in the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria under inv. 22621.



Figure (1) unpublished terracotta head of Alexander the Great, measures 5.5 cm in height, Hadara necropolis, Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 22621.

2. Methodological Study

The lost right parts of this head are: *a large part of the headdress, locks of hair, and a part of the nose.* Moreover, a large part of the neck is newly restored. The head depicts a young man with a small face, a broad forehead, and arched eyebrows. This young man also has melted and carved eyes and a long and strong nose with a missed nose tip. It has

smooth full cheeks, a closed mouth with full lips, and a neck without of Adam's apple. The young man wears a kausia, with missing the right side, while the left side shows a circular part, and the cylindrical part is twisted or coiled. The head is slightly inclined to the left side. The back is unworked.

3. Results

Based on the previous description, it could be Ephebe (kausia boy) but we found that our head is elder than ehebes so it is possible to be the head of Alexander the Great. We could not be sure that he was depicted with an Anastole hairstyle, where two central locks rose in a crescent shape and fell down with long locks of hair on the sides because he wore a kausia that covered the upper part of the hair, but there were remnants of tufts of hair on the left side. It could not be asserted that there was any inclination in the neck owing to its recent restoration. Alexander the Great wore the kausia after the death of Darius III. The kausia was a Macedonian headdress that was known before Alexander the Great, who then wore it with the diadem and chlamys. There was a difference between the kausia and petasos. The kausia was a headdress made of two pieces of hand-woven wool, a round part and another tubular part that was twisted several times to fit the head comfortably. It was worn by men. The petasos was a hat with wide brims to protect from the sun, with a band at the bottom that fastened under the neck. The kausia was part of his official costume, it was a mixture of Persian and Macedonian outfits, the kausia and chlamys represented the Macedonian part. Alexander the Great conquered the Achaemenid Persian Empire, which extended to India in the east. He continued his campaign until he reached the Punjab region and the Indus Valley. It is still worn by men today in Afghanistan and Pakistan, where it is known as the pakol.

4. Dissuasion

4.1. The kausia form

It was known in the Greek language as *καυσία* [9]. It was a pancake-shaped headdress formed of two handwoven wool parts. Under the crisp rim, a tubular extension was rolled into a band that encircled the head. Pairs or triads of vertical seams made the roll fit snugly. These appeared around the bands as tucks whose rounded profiles stood out in relief, fig. (2-a) [10]. This form is similar to the Chitrali cap worn in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Nuristan, now known as the Pakool, fig. (2-b) [11]. The kausia was not mentioned in Greek literature before 325-24 B.C. It came to the Mediterranean as a campaign headdress worn by Alexander and the soldiers of his campaigns in India [12]. The kausia was associated with chlamys and the krepides and became the uniform of the Macedonian soldiers during the Hellenistic era [13]. Also, the kausia, chlamys, and krepides became a fashion for boys in the early Hellenistic period [14].

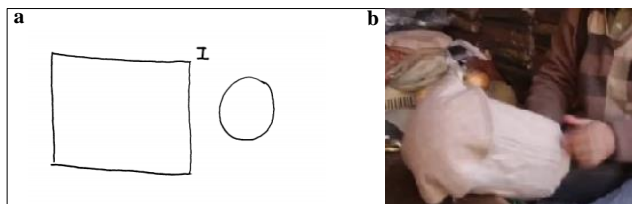


Figure (2) a. making of Kausia, b. Chitrali and Afghanistan people

4.2. The kausia boys (Ephebes)

The kausia boys (ephebes) were young men of training age, aged 17 to 20, who were put through a period of isolation from their prior community by the official institution (ephebeia) that thought of qualifying them as citizens and training them as soldiers, sometimes sent into the field. The Greek city-states poleis mainly depended on them. Many Figurines came from Egypt and are preserved in the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria, such as a terracotta Ephebe, inv. 25711, fig. (3-a) [13, 14] with a red color on the chlamys and blue on the kausia. Epheb is depicted with childlike features, a round face, missing parts of the nose and cheeks, and corkscrew curls on the sides. Another terracotta Ephebe, inv. 15684, fig. (3-b) [13] resembles the previous example. A third terracotta Ephebe, inv. 18922, fig. (3-c) [13], represents a seated young man wearing a kausia, a tunic, and a chlamys above it. This young man was depicted with childlike features, a round full face, full cheeks, a small chin, and corkscrew curls on the sides as in the previous examples. The style of the depiction of Ephebes appears in Greece, where people wore kausia, chlamys, and krepides as Macedonian soldiers. Many examples, such as a terracotta Figure from Athens dating back to the 3rd century B.C., depict a Greek youth wearing the kausia, fig. (3-d) [15]. Another example of a terracotta Figurine from Athens, the 3rd century B.C., depicts a Greek boy wearing the kausia, fig. (3-e). A terracotta Figurine from Gefyra is kept in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, inv. MΘ 1641, fig. (3-f) [16]. Its lower body is missing, and the face is slim, framed by corkscrew curls of hair that covered the temples and hung down to the shoulders [16]. The previous figurines of Ephebe show that our figurine is older than the boys' examples with different features. We can say that this head is not for Ephebe.





Figure (3) **a.** a terracotta Ephebe, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 25711, **b.** a terracotta Ephebe, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 15684, **c.** a terracotta Ephebe, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 18922, **d.** a terracotta figurine of kausia boy from Athens, British Museum, inv. 1906,1019.1, **e.** a terracotta figurine from Athens, 3rd century BC depicting a Greek boy wearing the kausia, **f.** a terracotta figurine from Gefyra, Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, inv. MΘ 1641, late 3rd -2nd century BC

4.3. Alexander the great

We can compare our figurine with the portraits of Alexander the Great, such as A terracotta portrait– head of Alexander the Great, with a height of 12 cm, fig. (4-a, b & c). It was bought near Cairo and kept in the Greco-Roman Museum under inv. 23168 [17]. The two heads are similar in a broad, triangular forehead, arched eyebrows, melting eyes, and a long strong nose, although our example has scratches, a closed mouth with full lips in the form of a Cupid's bow, and a prominent chin. Another terracotta head of Alexander the Great, measuring 10 cm high, is from Karanis, preserved in Kom Oushim Museum Magazine, under Inv. 886, fig. (4-d, e & f) [2]. A great similarity could be observed between the two heads in the style of making the face features: the triangular forehead, arched eyebrows, melted eyes, full cheeks, closed mouth with full lips in the form of a Cupid's bow, strong and tall nose, prominent chin, and long nose. By comparing the previous two examples, we find that the facial features are the same, although we are not sure that Alexander was portrayed with an anastole in the head understudy because he wears a kausia, but there are locks of hair hanging down on the right side, perhaps a part of the anastole. Moreover, it is not certain that the neck turned to the left, as in the previous two examples, because it has been recently restored. Hence, this head may be related to Alexander the Great, wearing a kausia. Olga Palagia mentioned that Alexander the Great was depicted wearing a kausia and royal diadem through a fresco from the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale dating to 50-40 BC, fig. (4-g) [18]. Alexander the Great was depicted with short hair divided in the middle and sideburns over the right ear, carrying a spear and wearing a long-sleeved chiton forming a kolpos and a cloak wrapped on the left shoulder [18]. There are some opin-

ions believed that this character is a woman and personification of Macedon [18-20]. Several researchers tried to prove the depiction of Alexander the Great wearing a kausia, such as the Lion Hunt mosaic in the House of Dionysus in Pella Archaeological Museum, fig. (4-h & i), dating to 325-300 BC that has long been thought to represent Craterus coming to Alexander's rescue and Alexander wears a kausia during hunting a lion [21]. However, some opinions argued that the youth who wore a headdress was not Alexander the Great but was a noble youth hunting the lion. This scene was popular in Macedonia similar to Alexander the Great. Moreover, a young man's headdress was not the kausia according to the previous description of the kausia, but rather the hat of the petasos *πέτασος* [11] (a headdress with a broad brimmed, originated from Thessaly worn by the ancient Greeks, Thracians and Etruscans. It was made of wool felt, leather, straw or animal skin. It was known in Greece from 1200 to 146 BC. The wide edge protected from the sun's rays and rain, and it had a strip from the bottom that was attached to the neck. The winged Petasus was associated with Hermes) [21]. In 1992, Robert Bianchi published a head made of creamy white limestone from Fayum, measuring 27cm wide and 23 cm high, kept in a private collection in New York, fig. (4-j, k & l). He reported that this head belonged to Alexander the Great, wearing a kausia, representing a youthful male with a small smile on his lips [7]. His hair was arranged in a series of nearly trimmed locks that framed the forehead in a single row. He wore a kausia over which a fillet was added, the ends of which were tied into a Heracles knot. The front of the fillet was adorned with a uraeus cobra. The eyes and eyebrows were inlaid [7]. It dates to the middle of the first century BC [8,23]. This head does not belong to Alexander the Great based on facial features: thin cheeks, projected lips, and a pointed protruding chin. However, Von Bothmer (1993) and Paul Stanwick (1995) denied that this head belonged to Alexander the Great [8, 23]. They asserted that this head belonged to a Ptolemaic king wearing a kausia and diadem, probably a son of Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII [23] Ptolemy XV [8].

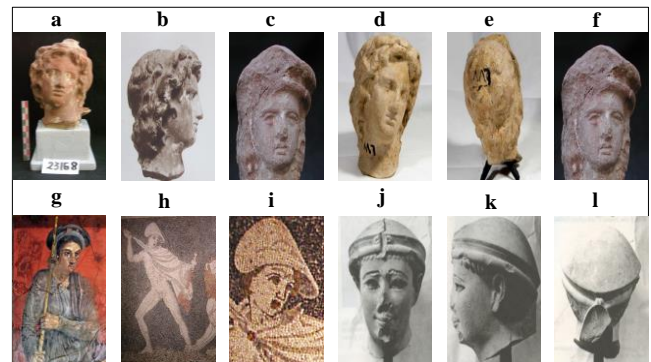


Figure (4) **a. & b.** a terracotta portrait–head of Alexander the Great, height. 12 cm, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 23168, **c.** details in our figurine, **d. & e.** a terracotta portrait–head of Alexander the Great, 10 cm height from Karanis, Kom Oushim Museum magazine, Inv. 886, **f.** details in our figurine, **g.** a fresco from the villa of P. Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale dating to 50-40 BC., **h.** a lion hunt mosaic in the house of Dionysus in Pella Archaeological Museum, dating to 325-300 BC, **i.** a petasos hat, **j. & k.** portrait of a Ptolemaic king wearing a kausia, a creamy white limestone, width. 27cm, 23cm height, **l.** the back of head.

4.4. Portraits of Alexander the great

It is well known the portraits of Alexander the Great appeared, whether with an Anastole hairstyle or locks hanging on the forehead or he depicts as Heracles in the sculpture, A marble head from Abo Qir, preserved in the Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 23848, dates to the Hellenistic period, fig. (5-a) [24] A marble portrait head of Alexander the Great, measuring 37 cm high, from Alexandria, is preserved in the British Museum, inv. 1872,0515.1, fig. (5-b). It dates back to the 2nd – 1st century BC [6]. Additionally, a red granite head, measuring 34 cm h., from Alexandria, is preserved in the Greco-Roman Museum inv. 3242, fig. (5-c). It dates back to the first century BC [3]. A limestone torso measures 41.5 cm high from Mit Rahina and is kept in the Egyptian Museum, inv. SR. 10185, CG. 27446, fig. (5-d). It depicts Alexander as Heracles [5]. Alexander the Great shows on the coins wearing the skin of a lion and an elephant-scalp headdress or ram horns such as a silver coin preserved in the British Museum, inv. 1919.0820.1, fig. (5-e). It dating back to 305 -281 BC. This example represents the head of Alexander the Great, right, diademed and wearing a ram's horn [25].

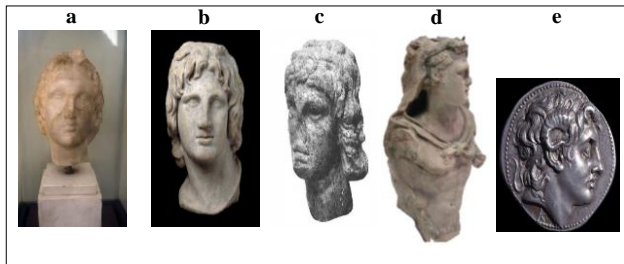


Figure (5) **a.** a marble head from Abo Qir, preserved in the Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 23848, dates to the Hellenistic period, **b.** a marble portrait head of Alexander the Great, measuring 37 cm h., from Alexandria, the British Museum, inv. 1872,0515.1, dates back to the 2nd - 1st century BC, **c.** a head of Alexander the Great, red granite, 1st century BC, Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, inv. 3242, **d.** a limestone torso measures 41.5 cm h. from Mit Rahina and is kept in the Egyptian Museum, inv. SR. 10185, CG. 27446, **e.** a silver coin of Alexander the Great wearing diademed and a ram's horn British Museum, inv. 1919.0820.1, dating back to 305-281 BC.

4.5. Representation of the kausia in art

The kausia was depicted in the art in the fourth century BC with the Macedonian soldiers on frescoes of the Macedonian tombs. For example, a fresco from the tomb of Agios Athanasios, Thessaloniki, fig. (6-a & b), shows two Macedonian soldiers wearing the kausia, chlamys, and krepides [26,27]. It is depicted with kausia boys, fig. (3-c, d, e & f). The Macedonian kings, as Philip V were depicted wearing the kausia in a bronze head, such as a piece preserved in the Collection of Archaeological Museum, Kalymnos inv. 3901, fig. (6-c & d), dating back to the 3rd century BC [27]. Antimachos I of Bactria was shown on a silver tetradrachm in New York, American Numismatic Society inv. 1954.11.1, fig. (6-e), from the 2nd century, wearing a kausia and diadem [27]. The kausia appeared in the Greco-Roman Egypt on funerary stelae. For example, a funerary stela of a man on horseback wearing a kausia from Alexandria is preserved in the Graeco-Roman Museum, inv. 22116, fig. (6-f & g). It dates back to the 3rd century BC [28,29]. A painted frieze from Alexandria depicts soldier wearing kausia and chlamys as a fresco from Moust-

apha Kamel tomb I, fig. (6-h & i), dating back to the mid-3rd century BC, shows three soldiers on horseback wearing kausia, chiton, and cuirass [28]. The Ptolemaic kings wore the kausia in the first century BC in an attempt to legitimize their rule and prove their Macedonian identity [19]. For example, a clay seal impression from Edfu, preserved in Allard Pierson Museum, inv. 8177-230, fig. (6-j) [30], depicts Ptolemy I Soter wearing a kausia, diadem, and aegis. There is another example from Edfu depicts a late Ptolemaic ruler wearing a kausia [31]. Plutarch also mentioned that the son of Cleopatra VII from Mark Antony wore the kausia with a diadem, and Cleopatra gave it to him as a gift [31].

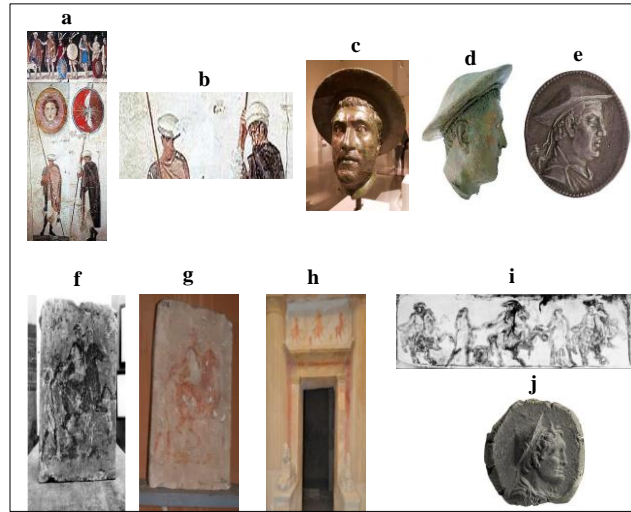


Figure (6) **a. & b.** fresco from the tomb of Agios Athanasios, Thessaloniki, ancient Macedonian soldiers wearing the kausia, **c. & d.** a head of bronze king Philip V of Macedon wearing a kausia, 3rd century BC, found in the collection of archaeological museum, Kalymnos, BC, found in the collection of archaeological museum, Kalymnos, BC, inv. 3901, **e.** a silver tetradrachm in New York, American Numismatic Society inv. 1954.11.1, 2nd century, Antimachos I of bactria wearing a kausia and diadem, **f. & g.** a funerary stela from Alexandria is preserved in the Graeco-Roman Museum, inv. 22116, dates back to the 3rd century BC. a man on horseback wearing a kausia, **h. & i.** a painted frieze, Alexandria, Moustapha Kamel tomb I, Mid-3rd century BC. three soldiers on horseback wearing kausia, **j.** a clay seal impression from Edfu, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. 8177-230. Depicting Ptolemy, I Soter wearing kausia, diadem, and aegis

4.6. The origin of Kausia

Several questions come to mind: What was the origin of the Kausia? Was it of Macedonian origin, or did it return to northwest India? Was Alexander the Great who brought it to Macedonia after his campaign in the East? Was it a symbol of his conquests or a symbol of Macedonia? What was the reason for saying that it was a Macedonian identity? The so-called Macedonian kausia was originally identical to a hat called a chitrali that men wear today in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Nuristan. It is worth noting that the kausia was not mentioned in Greek literature before 325/24 B.C [10]. In addition, the depiction of the kausia could not be securely dated earlier than that time. The kausia came to the Mediterranean as a campaign cap worn by Alexander and an ancient warrior of his campaigns in India [10]. However, Fredricksmeier believes it was part of Macedonian clothing imported from Asia to Macedonia [12]. The historians of Alexander the Great mentioned that the kausia was worn by Alexander and his com-

panions after his conquest of Persia. Alexander introduced a new royal headgear by combining his kausia with a Persian diadem, which was originally a cloth ribbon worn at the royal court of the Achaemenids. It was tied around one's head, with its ends hanging on the neck. Alexander tied the diadem around his kausia, which became a kausia diadematosophoros and henceforth a royal excellence [18,27,31]. Diodorus of Siculus reported that the Kausia was a Macedonian headdress known before Alexander the Great and worn by Alexander the Great afterward, along with the diadem and chlamys [33]. Ehippus mentioned that Alexander took a costume that mixed the Persian and Macedonian costumes after the death of Darius III, as they considered the chiton and wreath to be Persian, and the Kousia and chlamys were Macedonian [34]. Athenaeus indicated that Alexander the Great wore purple chlamys with a white inner stripe and kausia with a royal diadem [34]. Fredrickmeyer mentioned that it was imported from Asia to Macedonia after the campaigns of Alexander the Great and Alexander's everyday clothes were chiton, chlamys, and kausia with the royal diadem [12]. While E Neuffer mentioned that after the death of Darius in 330 BC Alexander adopted several royal clothes, the most important being a mixed Macedonian-Persian garb, and also the complete royal costume of the Achaemenid kings without the dentate crown [35]. Von Helmut Berre, and Hans-Werner Ritter mentioned that Alexander took only one royal outfit after the death of Darius III. It was a mixture of Persian and Macedonian outfits, and the kausia represented the Macedonian part [36,37]. Some opinions believed that Alexander was the one who imposed this mixed dress on the East. In contrast, Kingsley tried to demonstrate that the kausia, chlamys, and krepides were from northwestern India, whereas the Macedonians had to wear these things from northwestern India, explaining that the kausia was not known before the invasions of Alexander. He indicated that Alexander's royal dress was not a mixture of Macedonian and Persian elements but a mixture of Persian and Indian dresses and the kings who followed Alexander wore a kausia diadematosophoros [11,38]. Whatever its origin, whether Macedonian, Persian, or Northwestern Indian, it was important because it denoted the Macedonian identity. It symbolized Alexander's conquests in the East, as it became a traditional headdress for the kingdoms conquered by Alexander and was worn by most of the kings there. In addition, it has survived until now.

4.7. Technical style

This head was made with a mold for the face and a mold for the back. The back and sides were unworked. Maybe the kausia was added after the molding process, as in Alexander's head of Kranis. This technique was known from other terracotta heads from Egypt, such as Alexander's head in Alexandria and other examples of royal effigies and other heads. This feature symbolized the familiarity of Alexandrian coroplasts with the technique of hand modeling additions before firing [2]. It had light brown clay and not very purple like the Nile silt clay because it contained granules of limestone and sand. Unfortunately, no analysis of the clay was done. Still, it is known that it was Marls clays from Lake Mariout surrounding Alexandria, or perhaps it was a mixture of Mariott and Olivia

clay. Marls calcareous clays derive from the weathering of desert rocks rather than alluvial sediments [39]. Was the mold made by an Egyptian or Greek artist? Many elements distinguished the technique of making Egyptian pottery shapes, as the Egyptian craftsman did not work the back or care about the details [39]. There are color remains: Red on the wrapped part of the kausia and red and yellow on the lower part of the neck.

4.8. Date

This head came from Hadra necropolis, the eastern Greek necropolis of Alexandria. These tombs were dated to the Ptolemaic period and continued to the Roman era. Unfortunately, this head could not be dated to the place due to the lack of knowledge of the various archaeological finds with it, but it is possible to date it through the eye pupil. This head was similar to the head of the Greco-Roman Museum and the head of Kranis, as mentioned before, but the eye pupil was curved, suggesting that it dates back to the Roman period maybe the second century AD.

4.9. Function

Due to the small length of this head, which is 5.5 cm, it may have been associated with a small statue of Alexander, as these small statues were used in the cult of Alexander the Great founded by Ptolemy I in Alexandria [2,40]. Several examples of small statues were used in the cult of Alexander, such as the faience portrait of Alexander the Great, Alexandria, preserved in the Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 25556, fig. (7-a). It is part of a cult statue [41], in addition to bronze, wood, and plaster heads [2,42,43]. It is related to the cults of Alexander in Alexandria. In the Alexandria foundation festival, there were small statues of Alexander the Great sold in temples, and people used to put them in their homes to cult (Alexander Ktistes) as domestic cult [2,44]. It is worth noting that the holy bread and cakes were distributed in festivals of Alexander the Great cult. The bread and holy cakes were stamped with portraits of Alexander the Great, fig. (7-b & c). There was a bread stamp, and its impression came from the excavations of Diana in Alexandria, probably dating back to the Ptolemaic era. It depicted the portrait of Alexander the Great [45].

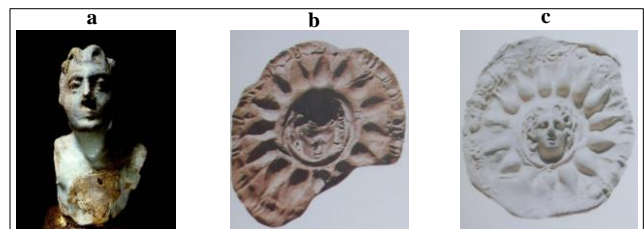


Figure (7) a, a faience portrait of Alexander the Great, Alexandria, Greco-Roman Museum, inv. 25556, b, & c, a cake stamp and its impression from the excavation of Diana, Ptolemaic period. Portrait of Alexander the Great

5. Conclusion

Although the literature mention that Alexander wore the kausia and that it was part of his official costume, but his depiction with kausia in artistic works was not confirmed, simply attempts that some agreed with and others criticized. The unique importance of our terracotta head is attributed to be the first depiction of Alexander the Great wearing a kausia from Egypt. Alexander the Great imposed the kausia

on Achaemenid Empire, and it remained in their heritage. The kausia was depicted in Greece with Macedonian soldiers on frescos of tombs, and it was also worn by Macedonian and Bactrian kings on coins. It was associated with the chlamys cloak and the krepides sandals. They became the official costume of Macedonian soldiers during the Hellenistic period. The kausia continued to appear in Greek and Roman Egypt through stelae or frescos of tombs, or with the kausia boys or ephebes. The Ptolemies also wore it, either with the diadem or without, in an attempt to legitimize their rule and establish their Macedonian identity. The kausia represented Macedonian identity and symbolized Alexander's conquests in the East. It is possible that this head is part of a small statue of Alexander the Great. Small statues of him were made from various materials, such as terracotta, wood, faience, and bronze. They were sold and bought as souvenirs at the city's founding festival and placed in homes. It is also possible that it was a statue for the cult that was founded for him by Ptolemy I.

Acknowledgment

Many thanks to Prof. Oliga Palgia for her communication and help in determining the identity of this head. She mentioned that this head may belong to Alexander the Great. Additionally, she sent an article to help me in my work.

References

- [1] Breccia, E. (1934). *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine, II, 2: Terrecotte figurate greche e grecoegizie del museo di Alessandria*, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, Bergamo.
- [2] Ashour, S. & Hassan A. (2017). Terracotta portrait-head of Alexander the Great from Karanis, *BIFAO*. 117: 77-86.
- [3] Grimm, G. & Wildung, D. (1978). *Götter, pharaonen, exhib. cat., 2 Jun-1 Oct 1978, Villa Hügel, Essen; 25 Nov 1978-4 Feb 1979, Haus der Kunst, Munich; 1 Mar-29 Apr 1979, Museum Boymans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam; 25 May-29 Jul 1979, Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, Mainz*.
- [4] Reinsberg, C. (2005). Alexander-porträts (Kat. 114-134). In: Beck, H. (ed.) *Ägypten Griechenland, Rom: Abwehr und Berührung: Städtisches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, 26. November 2005-26. Februar 2006*, Liebighaus, Frankfurt, pp. 216-234.
- [5] Edgar, C. (1903). *Greek Sculpture, CGC Nr. 27425-27630*, IFAO, Cairo.
- [6] Bieber, M. (1964). *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art*, Argonaut Inc, Cambridge.
- [7] Bianchi, R. (1992). Alexander the Great as Kausia Diadematorphoros from Egypt. In: Luft, U. (ed.) *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday, Studia Aegyptiaca*, 14, Eötvös Loránd Univ., Budapest, pp. 69-75.
- [8] Stanwick, P. (2002). *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs*, Univ. of Texas Press, Austin.
- [9] Liddell, H., Scott, R. & Jones, H. (1996). *A Greek - English Lexicon*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- [10] Kingsley, B. (1981). The cap that survived Alexander, *AJA*. 85 (1): 36-46.
- [11] Kingsley, B. (1991). Alexander's "Kausia" and Macedonian Tradition, *Classical Antiquity*. 10 (1): 59-76.
- [12] Fredricksmeier, E. (1986). Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Kausia, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, (1974-2014). 116: 215-227.
- [13] Kassab-Tezgör, D. (2007). *Tanagréennes d'Alexandrie: Figures de terre cuites hellénisques des necropolis orientales, Musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie, Études Alexandrines*, 13, IFAO, Le Caire.
- [14] Kassab-Tezgör, D. (2012). Les figures de terre cuite grecques d'Alexandrie, témoins de la pénétration de l'hellénisme en Égypte. In: Ballet, P. (ed.) *Grecs et Romains en Égypte territoires, espaces de la vie et de la mort, objets de prestige et du quotidien*, IFAO, 157, pp.272-285.
- [15] Ieremias, S. (2021). The kausia boy figures from Demetrias: A reassessment, *The Annual of the British School at Athens*. 116: 195-234.
- [16] Koukouvou, A. (2017). Figures. A microcosmos of clay: An Exhibition. *Les Carnets de l'ACoSt*. 16, doi: 10.4000/acost.1039
- [17] Breccia, E. (1934). *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine, II, 2: Terrecotte figurate greche e grecoegizie del museo di Alessandria*, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, Bergamo.
- [18] Palagia, O. (2014). The frescoes from the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor in Boscoreale as reflections of Macedonian funerary paintings of the early Hellenistic period, The age of the Successors and the Creation of the Hellenistic Kingdoms (323-276 B.C.). *Studia Hellenistica*. 53: 207-231.
- [19] Saatsoglou-Paliadeli, Ch. (1993). Aspects of Ancient Macedonian Costume. *JHS*. 113: 122-147.
- [20] Robertson, M. (1955). The boscoreale figure-paintings. *JRS*. 45 (1, 2): 58-67.
- [21] Palagia, O. (2000). Hephaestion's pyre and the royal hunt of Alexander. In: Bosworth, A. & Baynham, E. (eds.) *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*, Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford, pp. 167-206.
- [22] Gagarin, M. (2010). *The Oxford encyclopedia of ancient Greece and Rome*, Vols. 1-7, Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford.
- [23] Bothmer, B. (1996). *Hellenistic elements in Egyptian sculpture of the Ptolemaic period*. In: J. Paul Getty Museum, J. Paul Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities (eds.) *Alexandria and Alexandrianism*, Malibu, USA.
- [24] Tousson, O. (1934). Les ruines sous-marines de la Baie d'Abuquair. *BSAA*. 29: 343-354.
- [25] MacGregor, N. (2010). *A history of the world in 100 objects*, British Museum Press, London.
- [26] Tsimbidou-Avloniti, M. (2005). The Macedonian tomb at Aghios Athanasios, Thessaloniki. In: Pandermalis, D. (ed.) *Alexander the Great: Treasures from an Epic Era of Hellenism*, Onassis Foundation, NY, pp. 149-151.
- [27] Palagia, O. (2017). The royal court in ancient Macedonia: The evidence for royal tombs. In: Llewellyn-Jones, L., Wallace, S. Erskine, A., et al. (eds.) *The Hellenistic Court: Monarchic Power and Elite Society from Alexander to Cleopatra*, Classical Press of Wales, UK, pp. 409-432.
- [28] Cole, S. (2019). Ptolemaic cavalrymen on painted Alexandrian funerary monuments. *Arts*. 8 (58): 1-23.
- [29] Breccia, E. (1930). Nuovi scavi nelle necropoli di Hadra. *Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie*. 25: 99-132.

- [30] Thomas, J. (2022). The Ptolemy painting? Alexander's "right-hand man" and the origins of the Alexander Mosaic. *JRA*. 35 (1): 306 - 321.
- [31] Bernadotte, P. (1920). *Life of Antony*, with an English translation, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge.
- [32] Brunt, A. (1983). *Anabasis of Alexander*, Book 7.22.2, with an English translation, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge.
- [33] Siculus, D. (1989). *Library*, with an English translation, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge.
- [34] Athenaeus, E. (2010). *The learned banqueters*, Book 12, Ch. 537E, Harvard Univ. Press, UK.
- [35] Neuffer E. (1929). *Das kostium Alexanders des grossen*, Giessen, Germany.
- [36] Berve, H. (1938). Die verschmelzungspolitik Alexanders des grossen, *Klio*. 31: 148-150.
- [37] Ritter, H. (1966). Diadem und königsherrschaft. Untersuchungen zu zeremonien und rechtsgrundlagen des herrschaftsantritts bei den persern, bei Alexander dem großen und im hellenismus. *The Am. Historical Review*. 71 (4): 1299-1300.
- [38] Kingsley, B. (1984). The kausia diadematophoros. *AJA*. 88, 1: 66-68.
- [39] Barrett, C. (2011). *Egyptianizing figures from delos: A study in Hellenistic religion*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, Vol. 36, Brill, Leiden.
- [40] Fraser, P. (1972). *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford.
- [41] Seif el din, M. & Nenna, M. (1994). La petite plastique en faïence du musée gréco-romain d'Alexandrie. *BCH*. 118 (2): 291-320.
- [42] Breccia, E. (1926). *Monuments de l'Égypte Gréco-Romaine* Publiés par la société royale d'archéologie d'Alexandrie sous les auspices de sa majesté Fouad Premier Roi d'Égypte, Tome Premier, Officine Dell' Istituto Italiano D'Arti Grafiche, Bergamo.
- [43] Perdrizet, P. (1913). Un type inédit de la plastique grecque. Alexandre à l'Égide. *Mon Piot*. 21: 59-72.
- [44] Cohen, G. (1995). *The Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the islands and Asia minor, Hellenistic culture and society*, Vol. 17, Univ. of California Press, California.
- [45] Empereur, J.-Y. (1998). *Alexandrie redécouverte*, Centre d'Études Alexandrines, Paris.