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Стручни рад / Research paper  
DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.15103072  
Примљено / received: 3. 12. 2023.  
Прихваћено / accepted: 29. 2. 2024.

## **Alexander's administration of Egypt and the ostracon from Memphis: a research contribution<sup>1</sup>**

**ABSTRACT:** Having conquered Egypt, Alexander the Great was aware of the country's paramount geopolitical significance. Therefore, he sought to eliminate all elements that could lead to its secession from central authority and established an administrative system that prevented the concentration of power in the hands of a single individual. He divided power among many individuals who were personally accountable to him. An ostracon from Memphis served as the basis for Stanley Burstein's claim that Alexander the Great divided Egypt into two satrapies. Burstein relies solely on the similarity between two personal names: that of satrap Pediese, mentioned in the ostracon, and Petisis, one of the two administrative governors of Egypt, recorded by Flavius Arrian in the *Anabasis*. He even attributed the title of the nomarch of Egypt to both Petisis and Doloaspis. Despite the lack of concrete evidence, the scholarly literature has begun referencing this claim as fact. This paper aims to highlight the thesis that Alexander the Great divided Egypt into two satrapies has no basis in the historical sources and re-examine the methodology used by Burstein.

**KEYWORDS:** Egypt, ostracon from Memphis, Flavius Arrian, satrap

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<sup>1</sup> This research was financially supported by the Ministry of Science, Technological Development and Innovation of the Republic of Serbia as part of the funding of scientific research work at the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Philosophy (contract number 451-03-137/2025-03/200163).

## Alexander's administrative system of Egypt

Alexander III conquered Egypt in 332 BC and established his own administrative system, separating the army, administration, and finances. Egypt was a wealthy satrapy with a long-standing tradition and a strong sense of ethnic identity. It was geographically isolated from the rest of Alexander's state, protected by seas and deserts. As demonstrated on multiple occasions, Egypt proved to be very difficult to conquer.<sup>2</sup> Only Curtius Rufus and Arrian offer accounts detailing how Alexander arranged the situation in Egypt. Curtius Rufus speaks superficially about Alexander's system of government, mentioning only the names of Peucestes, Aeschylus, and Cleomenes.<sup>3</sup> Arrian provides a more detailed description, likely based on Ptolemy's work.<sup>4</sup> As reported in the *Anabasis*,<sup>5</sup> Alexander did not want to entrust power to only one man due to Egypt's geopolitical significance. Therefore, he appointed two *strategoi*: Peucestas, son of Macartatus, and Balacrus, son of Amyntas. Alexander assigned the command of 4,000 mercenaries to Lycidas of Aetolia, with Egnostus serving as the scribe. In addition, two overseers were appointed to manage the mercenaries: Aeschylus and Ephippus the Chalcidean. Alexander also entrusted the command of a 30-ship fleet to Polemo, son of Theramenes. Although Peucestas and Balacrus held the title of strategos, the commanders of the mercenaries and the fleet did not report to them but exclusively to Alexander. Pantaleon the Pydnaean and Polemo the Pellaean commanded the military garrisons in Memphis and Pelusium, and it can be assumed that *strategoi* had no authority over them. Libya was assigned to Apollonius, son of Charinus, while Cleomenes was entrusted with managing the finances of all of Egypt, with the center in Heropolis.

<sup>2</sup> Perdiccas's failed attack on Egypt, which cost him his life, is just one example, Diod. 18.33–35; Walter M. Ellis, *Ptolemy of Egypt*, (London: Routledge, 1994), 35–37; Günther Hölbl, *A History of Ptolemaic Empire*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 15; Robin Waterfield, *Dividing the Spoils*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 64.

<sup>3</sup> Curt. 4.8.4–5; Cleomenes of Naucratis is a controversial figure about whom much has been written. For a detailed historiographical overview, see: Милош Маџан, *Модерна историографија о Клеомену из Наукратиса, у Антика и савремени свет*, ур. К. Марицки Гађански, (Београд: Друштво за античке студије Србије, 2023), 136–150.

<sup>4</sup> Arr. *Anab. Intro.* 1–2.

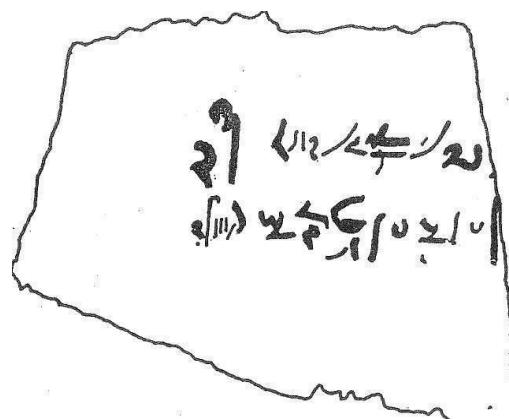
<sup>5</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.

Alexander appointed Doloaspis, probably of Iranian origin,<sup>6</sup> and Petisis, an Egyptian, as administrators of Egypt.<sup>7</sup>

Along with Arrian and Curtius Rufus, Alexander's settlement of Egypt is also attested by the Memphis ostracon. This ostracon was discovered by David Jeffreys and Harry Smith in 1975, during the archaeological excavation of the Necropolis of Sacred Animals in Memphis. It contains a short Demotic text, which Smith translated and published in 1988.<sup>8</sup> The ostracon measures 96 mm in length, 81 mm in height, and 8 mm in thickness. Smith dates it to the period between 332 and 305 BCE. Only a few words written by the hand of a professional scribe remain on the ostracon: „[Year x, month y, day z under Pharaoh] Alexander; copy of the [ ] (of) Pediese (to) the Satrap”.<sup>9</sup>

Despite its brevity, the inscription provides important insights into the administrative system of Egypt during Alexander's reign.

### Satrap of Egypt



<sup>6</sup> Krzysztof Nawotka, *Alexander the Great*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 205.

<sup>7</sup> On Alexander's administration of Egypt: Ernst Badian, "The Administration of the Empire", *Greece and Rome* 12 (1965): 171–172; Nicholas G. L. Hammond, *The Genius of Alexander the Great*, (London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 102; Albert Brian Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander I*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 275; Hölbl, *op. cit.* 10–14; Nawotka, *op. cit.* 205–206; John D. Grainger, *The Ptolemies, Rise of a Dynasty*, (Yorkshire–Philadelphia: Pen & Sword Military, 2022), 4.

<sup>8</sup> Harry S. Smith, "A Memphite Miscellany, A satrap at Memphis", In: *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards*, ed. John Baines, (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1988), 184–186.

<sup>9</sup> The drawing is taken from Smith, *A Memphite Miscellany*, 184.

Neither Curtius Rufus nor Arrian mention whom Alexander appointed as satrap of Egypt. The sources record that the previous satrap of Egypt, Sabaces, was killed in the battle of Issus,<sup>10</sup> and that Egypt was handed over to Alexander by the satrap Mazaces,<sup>11</sup> whom Darius had appointed to that position after Sabaces' death. However, the narrative sources do not mention Mazaces any further. Alexander typically rewarded satraps who submitted to him. For example, he rewarded Amminaspes, who had surrendered Egypt together with Mazaces, but chose not to let him reside there as a satrap.<sup>12</sup> Arrian says that Alexander awarded Amminaspes the title of satrap of Hyrcania and Parthia,<sup>13</sup> while Curtius Rufus states that he was entrusted with the administration of Hyrcania only.<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, Arrian does not mention Amminaspes' name anywhere when describing the surrender of Egypt itself; he only refers to him in the context of Darius's death and Amminaspes' appointment as satrap, noting: "he was one of those who, with Mazaces, surrendered Egypt to Alexander".<sup>15</sup>

Despite Mazaces' disappearance from narrative sources, numismatics reveals his subsequent fate. Thanks to the coin emission known as the so-called "Babylonian Coin," we learn that Alexander remained consistent with his prior policy and that Mazaces' case was no exception. Alexander rewarded him, not with the title of satrap of Egypt, but by making him governor of a part of Mesopotamia. The name of the satrap Mazaces is engraved on the coin in Aramaic. In addition to his name, the coin bears the same symbols as the tetradrachms of Mazaces, which were minted in Egypt based on Athenian coinage shortly before Alexander's arrival in Egypt.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 2.11.8.

<sup>11</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3.1.1.

<sup>12</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3.22.1.

<sup>13</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3.22.1.

<sup>14</sup> Curt. 6.4.25.

<sup>15</sup> ἦν δὲ οὗτος τῶν Αἴγυπτον ἐνδόντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ Μαζάκου, Arr. *Anab.* 3.22.1.

<sup>16</sup> Martin J. Price, "Circulation at Babylon in 323 BC", In: *Mnemata: Papers in Memory of Nancy M. Waggoner*, eds. William E. Metcalf, Nancy M. Waggoner (New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1991), 68; Georges Le Rider, *Alexander the Great, Coinage, Finances and Policy*, trans. William E. Higgins, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2007), 214–219.

Of the surviving sources, only the ostracon mentions the name of the satrap Pediese. Arrian provides the names of two governors, Doloaspis and Petisis, but their titles are not entirely clear. Stanley Burstein infers from Arrian's text that they held the title of nomarch.<sup>17</sup> He suggests two possibilities: either Arrian's statement is incorrect, or 'nomarch of Egypt' was a term used for an Egyptian or Persian title. The famous French Egyptologist Jean Yoyotte tried to explain their position by identifying it with the title of *senti*, from which the title of *diocetes* developed in the Hellenistic era.<sup>18</sup> However, one of the key responsibilities of the *senti* and *diocetes* was fiscal duty, which in this case was not handled by Petisis and Doloaspis, but by Cleomenes. After briefly considering Yoyotte's argument, Burstein favors the first possibility and approaches the Memphis ostracon from that perspective. He contrasts the information provided by the ostracon with Arrian's text. He assumes that Doloaspis and Petisis held the title of satrap and that Arrian was mistaken in calling them nomarchs of Egypt. He tried to give his thesis additional support by arguing that Pediese of the ostracon and Arrian's nomarch Petisis were the same person, and that the 'nomarch of Egypt' was actually a satrap. From this, he concludes that Egypt was divided into two satrapies, with Pediese/Petisis having authority over Lower Egypt and Doloaspis over Upper Egypt.<sup>19</sup>

Burstein's thesis about the division of Egypt into two satrapies did not go unnoticed. This thesis was also accepted by Smith: "Professor Stanley Burstein has now identified this satrap (Pediese) with the Petisis appointed by Alexander the Great immediately after his conquest to govern Egypt... Professor Burstein's identification is undoubtedly correct."<sup>20</sup> Krzysztof Nawotka, in his monograph *Alexander the Great*, also accepted

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<sup>17</sup> Stanley M. Burstein, "Alexander's Organization of Egypt: A Note on the Career of Cleomenes of Naucratis", In: *Macedonian Legacies, Studies in Ancient Macedonian History and Culture in Honor of Eugene N. Borza*, ed. Eugene N. Borza, (Claremont: Regina Books, 2008), 189–190.

<sup>18</sup> Jean Yoyotte, "Le nom égyptien du "ministre de l'économie" - de Saïs à Méroé", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 133/1 (1989): 78–82.

<sup>19</sup> Stanley M. Burstein, "Alexander in Egypt, Continuity or Change", In: *Graeco-Africana, Studies in the History of Greek Relations with Egypt and Nubia*, ed. Stanley M. Burstein, (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas), 1994, 52, n. 34, 35, 38; Burstein, "Alexander's Organization of Egypt", 189–190.

<sup>20</sup> Harry S. Smith, "Foreigners in the documents from the sacred animal necropolis, Saqqara", In: *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society, Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, ed. Janet H. Johnson, (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1992), 296.

Burstein's thesis, citing the division of Egypt into two satrapies as a fact: "Arrian states that he (Alexander) appointed two nomarchs or rather – in the light of what was found on the Egyptian ostracon from Memphis – satraps whose Greek names are Petisis and Doloaspis."<sup>21</sup> Elizabeth Baynham also accepts this thesis: "As Burstein has shown, a fragmentary ostrakon names a certain 'Pediese' as the satrap under Alexander, who undoubtedly must be the 'Petisis' named by Arrian as nomarch."<sup>22</sup>

However, this theory rests on rather weak foundations. Although Burstein is right when he points out that in Arrian's text: Πετίσιος δὲ ἀπειπαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν δολόασπις ἐκδέχετ πᾶσαν,<sup>23</sup> the word ἀπειπον does not mean "to refuse", but "to resign instead of refuse",<sup>24</sup> Arrian does not mention at all that Petisis and Doloaspis held the titles of nomarch of Egypt. The alleged title appears in only one sentence:

δύο μὲν νομάρχας Αἰγύπτου κατέστησεν Αἰγυπτίους,  
Δολόασπιν καὶ Πέτισιν.

*And he appointed two Egyptians as overseers over the provinces of Egypt.*<sup>25</sup>

This sentence gives a description of the duties, not the ancient Egyptian title of nomarch, which Arrian was quite familiar with. In the same fragment, he lists the duties of Cleomenes of Naucratis and emphasizes that the governors of the district were allowed to continue governing the country according to long-standing tradition:

καὶ τούτω παρηγγέλλετο τοὺς μὲν νομάρχας ἐᾶν ἀρχειν τῶν νομῶν τῶν κατὰ σφάς καθάπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθειστήκει, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκλέγειν παρ' αὐτῶν τοὺς φορους· οἱ δὲ ἀποφέρειν αὐτῷ ἐτάχθησαν.

*And he ordered him (Alexander Cleomenes) to allow the nomarchs to govern their provinces as had been established from ancient times, and that he himself should collect taxes from them, and they were obliged to pay them to him.*<sup>26</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Nawotka, *nav. work*, 205.

<sup>22</sup> Elizabeth Baynham, "Cleomenes of Naucratis, Villain or Victim?", In: *Greece, Macedon and Persia, Studies in Social, Political and Military History in Honor of Waldemar Heckel*, eds. Timothy Howe, Erin Edward Garvin, Graham Wrightson, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 128.

<sup>23</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.2.

<sup>24</sup> Burstein, "Alexander in Egypt", 52, n. 35.

<sup>25</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.2. All translations from Greek are by the author.

<sup>26</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.4.

It is clear that Arrian was familiar with the title of nomarch and that he was referring to the ancient division of Egypt into 44 nomes, which Herodotus also mentions.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, the titles held by Petysis and Doloaspis could not have been those of *nomarch*. On the other hand, Arrian does not say that they were satraps, while in addition to the names of the Egyptian satraps Sabaces<sup>28</sup> and Mazaces,<sup>29</sup> in his *Anabasis*, he neatly lists their titles. And according to Dexippus' transcript, he continued to do so in *The Events after Alexander*, addressing Cleomenes of Naucratis as satrap.<sup>30</sup> We should not overlook the fact that Arrian used Ptolemy as his source as well, one of Alexander's closest associates, later satrap and king of Egypt and the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Also, no source mentions the division of Egypt into two satrapies, and such a major change would certainly have left a trace in the sources.

It also remains an open question whether Pediese from the ostraca and Petysis (Πετίσιος) are two distinct names or variants of the same one. As far as we know, no study has been conducted on this issue. The only reference is Smith's agreement with Burstein's thesis.<sup>31</sup> Referring to the results of research into ancient Egyptian onomastics, it seems that these are two different names.<sup>32</sup> The name Petysis itself is theophoric, built from the prefix Πετε and the name of a deity, in this case Isis. Thus, the name Petysis can be interpreted as "one who belongs to Isis." On the other hand, the name Pediese probably means "one who is given" or "one who belongs". The Egyptian name Pediese is recorded in the Greco-Roman period as Πετεησίς or Ἰσίδωρος.<sup>33</sup>

Even if Smith and Burstein had correctly determined that it is the same name, there is no way, at least not with the currently available source material, to conclude with certainty that it refers to the same person. During the time of Alexander the Great, as well as today, it was common

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<sup>27</sup> Hdt. 2.177.

<sup>28</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 2.11.8: Σαυάκης ὁ Αἰγύπτου σατράπης.

<sup>29</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3.1.2: Μαζάκης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης, ὃς ἦν σατράπης Αἰγύπτου ἐκ Δαρείου καθεστηκώς.

<sup>30</sup> Arr. *FGrHist.* 156 F; Dexipp., *FGrHist.* 100 F8: Αλεξάνδρωι ἐπί τῇ σατραπείᾳ ταύτῃ τεταγμένος Κλεομένες.

<sup>31</sup> Smith, "Foreigners in the Documents from the Sacred Animal Necropolis", 296.

<sup>32</sup> Jan Quaegebeur and Katrijn Vandorpe, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastics in Namenforschung, ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik* 1, ed. Ernst Eichler (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 844.

<sup>33</sup> I owe a debt of gratitude to the anonymous reviewer who brought this to my attention.

to encounter multiple people with the same name, which sometimes made identification difficult. For example, Antigonus Callas, winner of the athletic competition in Tyre,<sup>34</sup> shares the same name as Antigonus, the winner of the competition for the chiliarch.<sup>35</sup> Two eunuchs named Bagoas appear at the court of Darius III,<sup>36</sup> and there are three individuals named Balacrus.<sup>37</sup>

Although sources often record the father's name, for some figures such as Petisis and Andromachus, their origin is not stated. Arrian only mentions that Andromachus commanded part of the fleet during Alexander's siege of Tyre.<sup>38</sup> Curtius Rufus also mentions Andromachus, but as Alexander's *strategos* of Coele Syria.<sup>39</sup> It is uncertain whether this is the same person, possibly the son of Hieron, or if there were multiple individuals with the same name. Therefore, even if Pediese and Petisis are two variants of the same name, it is likely that they represent two different people with the same name. Petisis was not an uncommon name, as evidenced by papyri, which during the reign of Darius I recorded as many as three people whose family name was Petisis.<sup>40</sup>

The fact that Cleomenes of Naucratis was given fiscal duties over the entire territory of Egypt also does not support Burstein's thesis. If we accept his opinion, this would mean that one financial official was in charge of two satrapies, which would be a precedent. Apart from Alexander's treasurer Harpalus<sup>41</sup> and his successor in that position, Antimenes<sup>42</sup>, who were responsible for the fiscal affairs of the entire state, there is no evidence that a single fiscal official oversaw two satrapies: Coeranus, a

<sup>34</sup> SEG 48:716.

<sup>35</sup> Curt. 5.2.5.

<sup>36</sup> One who brought Darius to the throne and was later removed, Diod. 16.47–50; 17.5; Strab. 15.3.24; Arr. *Anab.* 2.14.5, and another who surrendered to Alexander, Curt. 6.5.23,

<sup>37</sup> *Strategos* in Egypt, Arr. *Anab.* 1.29.3, satrap of Cilicia, Arr. *Anab.* 2.12.2; Diod. 18.22.1, and participant in the Battle of Gaugamela, Arr. *Anab.* 3.12–13; In Alexander's army, as many as nine commanders bear the name Nicanor, seven the name Ptolemy, and in addition to the physician Philip, eleven more with the same name, Waldemar Heckel, *Who's Who in the Age of Alexander the Great: Prosopography of Alexander's Empire*, (Oxford: Wiley, 2006), 176–177, 133–138, 211–215.

<sup>38</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 2.20.10.

<sup>39</sup> Curt. 4.5.9.

<sup>40</sup> Francis L. Griffith, *Catalog of Demotic Papyri* (Manchester: University Press London, 1909), 60.

<sup>41</sup> Arr. *Annab.* 3.6.4–7; 3.19.7; A. *Succ.* 1.16; Curt. 9.3.21; 10.1.1–2.3; Diode. 17.108.4–8; 18.19.2; Paus 2.33.4–5; p. 17.3.21

<sup>42</sup> Ps. Arist. *Oec.* 2.34, 1352b; 2.38, 1353a.

Beroean supervised Phoenicia,<sup>43</sup> and Philoxenus Asia on this side of the Taurus,<sup>44</sup> i.e. he was the fiscal official of Nearchus' satrapy, which included Lydia and the border regions up to the Taurus Mountains.<sup>45</sup> As for Menes,<sup>46</sup> there is no reason to believe that he was only a fiscal official, but, as Albert Bosworth has noted, he bore the title of *hipparchus* and was responsible for three satrapies.<sup>47</sup>

From the very beginning, Burstein assumed that the ostracon contradicted Arrian. However, a different interpretation, based on the assumption that the sources complement each other, is entirely possible. This would mean that Egypt was divided into two regions governed by Petisis and Doloaspis, just as Arrian claims, and that they were part of the satrapy of Egypt governed by Pediese, as attested in the ostracon from Memphis, which had one fiscal official, Cleomenes of Naucratis. Arrian simply failed to mention the name of the satrap, just as he failed to mention Mazaces's transfer from Egypt to Mesopotamia<sup>48</sup> or that Amminaspes, along with Mazaces, handed over Egypt to Alexandria. Arrian later corrected the omission by supplementing his statement elsewhere.<sup>49</sup> In other words, the ostracon text that mentions the name of the satrap Pediese does not prove that Arrian incorrectly referred to the satrapy as a nome. He consistently uses the term satrapy throughout his work and there is no reason to suspect that he made a mistake here. The ostracon does not contradict Arrian's statement but merely supplements it by providing the name of a satrap that Arrian did not mention.

## Conclusion

Thanks to the Memphis ostracon, which preserves the name of the satrap Pediese, and the text of Arrian's *Anabasis*, it is possible to reconstruct Alexander's administrative system in Egypt with greater precision

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<sup>43</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 4: Φιλόξενον δὲ τῆς Ασίας τὰ ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ Ταύρου ἐκλέγειν.

<sup>45</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3. 6. 6.

<sup>46</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 2. 15. 2; 3.16.9; Curt. 5.1.43; Diode. 17.64.5; 18.19.2.

<sup>47</sup> Waldemar Heckel, *op. cit.*, 164, n 427; AB Bosworth, "The Government of Syria under Alexander the Great", *The Classical Quarterly* 24 (1974), 59–60.

<sup>48</sup> Price, *nav. work*, 68; Le Rider, *nav. work*, 214–219.

<sup>49</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3.22.1.

than before: at the head was the satrap Pediese, and his satrapy was divided into two districts under the administration of Doloaspis and Petisis. The previous satrap of Egypt, Mazaces, was reassigned duties in Mesopotamia. Each district had its own strategos, Peucestes and Balacrus, and separate military contingents in Memphis and Pelusium. The government of Libya was given to Apollonius of Charinos, and Cleomenes of Naucratitis was tasked with managing the finances of the entire territory of Egypt, with its center in Heroopolis. Polemon, son of Theramenes commanded the fleet. They were all tasked with reporting directly to Alexander, and in order to prevent any potential rebellion and to ensure that no one person would rule the entire satrapy, Alexander installed mercenary troops in addition to all these aforementioned measures. Alexander's administrative system in Egypt began to collapse the moment Petisis stepped down. Burstein's thesis that the Memphis ostraca proves that Egypt was divided into two satrapies is based on the assumption that the text of the ostraca and Arrian's *Anabasis* are contradictory. This assumption leads to the conclusion that Arrian, who used Ptolemy as one of his main sources,<sup>50</sup> made a mistake. This assumption is then followed by yet another assumption that Petisis and Pediese are the same person, from which Burstein<sup>51</sup> draws his conclusion. However, this thesis has no basis in the sources available to us.

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<sup>50</sup> Arr. *Anab.* Intro. 1–2.

<sup>51</sup> Burstein, "Alexander in Egypt, Continuity or Change", 52, n. 34, 35, 38: Burstein, "Alexander's Organization of Egypt", 189–190.

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## Александрова управа над Египтом и остракон из Мемфиса: прилог истраживању

Након освајања Египта, Александар Велики је, свестан прво-разредног геополитичког значаја ове земље, настојао да елиминише све елементе који би могли довести до њеног одметања од централне власти, па је успоставио систем управе који је спречавао концентрацију моћи у рукама једног человека. У том циљу, власт је поделио на велики број људи који су били лично одговорни њему. Један остракон из Мемфиса послужио је Стенлију Брстину (Stanley Burstein) као основа за тврђњу да је Александар Велики поделио Египат на две сатрапије. Брстин се искључиво ослања на сличност између имена сатрапа Педиза, које спомиње остракон, и имена Петисије, једног од двојице административних управника Египта, које бележи Флавије Аријан у *Анабази*. Петисију и Долапсиду је чак и приписао титулу монарха Египта. Иако ова тврдња не почива на чврстим доказима, у стручној литератури је почела да се наводи као чињеница. Овај рад има за циљ да покаже како теза по којој је Александар Велики Египат поделио на две сатрапије, нема упоришта у извornом материјалу и да преиспита методологију којом се Брстин служио.

**КЉУЧНЕ РЕЧИ:** Египат, остракон из Мемфиса, Флавије Аријан, сатрап