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Egipat od rimskog i bizantskog razdoblja do arapskih osvajanja (30. godina pr. Kr. – 645. godina)

Egypt during the Roman and Byzantine period until the Arab conquest (30 BC – AD 645)

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Autor u članku obrađuje rimsku i bizantsku vlast u Egiptu od 30. godine pr. Kr. do 645. Ova je tema dosad u hrvatskoj historiografiji te u rijetkim pregledima bila u potpunosti zanemarena. Na osnovi izvora i literature autor razmatra najvažnije aspekte političke, društvene i kulturne povijest Egipta do konačnoga arapskog osvajanja 645. godine.

Ključne riječi: Rimsko Carstvo, carski dominion, administracija, svakodnevni život, ekonomija, vjerska politika, bizantska vlast, perzijski ratovi, arapsko osvajanje

In this article the author reviews the Roman and Byzantine rule of Egypt from 30 BC to AD 645. Apart from rare reviews, this subject was until now completely neglected in Croatian historiography. Based on the relevant sources and literature the author discusses the most important political, social and cultural aspects of the history of Egypt until the final Arab conquest in AD 645.

Key words: Roman Empire, Emperors dominion, administration, everyday life, economy, religious policy, Byzantine rule, Persian wars, Arab conquest

OPĆE PRILIKE U EGIPTU TIJEKOM RIMSKE I BIZANTSKE VLADAVINE (30. GODINA PR. KR. – 642. GODINA)

Smrću posljednje staroegipatske kraljice Kleopatre VII. početkom kolovoza 30. godine pr. Kr. (Plut. Ant., 77; Tomorad 2014a) nestaje egipatska samostalnost, a Egipat postaje provincija Rimske Republike. Postavši dijelom nove države, Egipat je postupno izgubio svoju samostalnost te u potpunosti postao ovisan o rimskom vladaru. Oktavijan je 27. godine pr. Kr. "uključio Egipat u carstvo Rimskoga naroda" (Aug. RG, 27; prijevod vidi u: Jones 1970: 21) pretvorivši ga u provinciju koja je u potpunosti podređena rimskom caru. Tako je Egipat postao "carski dominion" (grč. kratēsis) u potpunosti isključen od rimskog Senata, odnosno državni teritorij koji se nalazio pod izravnom carskom upravom. Visoko rangirani rimski građani, članovi rimskog Senata i prokon-

GENERAL CONDITIONS IN EGYPT DURING THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE RULE (30 BC – AD 642)

The Egyptian independence disappeared with the death of the last ancient Egyptian queen Cleopatra VII at the beginning of August in AD 30, and Egypt became a province of the Roman Republic (Plut. Ant., 77; Tomorad 2014a). After becoming a part of the "new" Republic, Egypt gradually lost its independence and eventually became completely dependent on the Roman ruler. In 27 BC, Octavian "included Egypt in the Empire of the Roman People" (Aug. RG, 27; see: Jones 1970: 21) turning it into a province which was completely subservient to the Roman Emperor. Thus Egypt became a "royal dominion" (Gr. kratēsis), completely excluded from the Roman Senate, i.e. it was a state territory under the direct control of the emperor. High-ranking Roman citizens, members of the Roman Senate and proconsuls could not enter its territory without special permission from the

zuli nisu mogli ući na njegov teritorij bez posebne carske dozvole (Ritner 1998: 1–2). Transformacija iz ptolemejskog kraljevstva u provinciju Rimskog Carstva nije se dogodila preko noći, nego je to bio dugotrajan proces o čemu svjedoče i natpisi s hrama božice Hator u Denderi. Stariji natpis ispisan na demotskom i grčkom pismu iz 12. godine pr. Kr. i dalje datira događaje na tradicionalni egipatski način te je na njemu August faraon bez rimskih titula. Mlađi natpis iz rujna 1. godine (Bowman, Rathbone 1992: 107) napisan je pak na grčkom jeziku na tipično rimski način što lijepo dokumentira temeljite promjene i potpuno uključenje Egipta u sustav Rimskog Carstva. Natpis dodatno potvrđuje činjenicu da ulaskom u sastav rimske države dolazi do izmjene načina pisanja službenih dokumenata. U razdoblju vladavine Ptolemejevića službeni zapisi pisani su na tri pisma – hijeroglifskim znakovima, demotskim i grčkim pismom. Prelaskom u sastav rimske države dokumenti se u početku pišu na demotskom, latinskom i grčkom jeziku, ali već potkraj 1. st. pr. Kr. demotski jezik polako izlazi iz službene administrativne uprave. Sredinom 1. stoljeća on u potpunosti nestaje iz službenih dokumenata, a jedina iznimka tijekom cjelokupnoga rimskog razdoblja jest doba vladavine Marka Aurelija u drugoj polovini 2. stoljeća. (Ritner 1998: 7–8).

Egiptom upravlja dobro organizirana administracija na čelu s prefektom (lat. praefectus, grč. eparchos), visoko rangiranim Rimljaninom kojeg postavlja rimski car (Rostovtzeff 1957: 286; Jones 1970: 135, 170; Lewis 1983: 15; Bowman 1986: 37). Već je ranije naglašeno da se Egipat tijekom rimskog razdoblja nalazi u svojevrsnoj izolaciji od utjecaja bilo kakvih članova rimske elite koji vrlo rijetko posjećuju Egipat. Stoga se obnašanje dužnosti egipatskog prefekta smatralo vrlo visokom čašću. Rimska administracija podijeljena je na provincijsku (Bowman, Rathbone 1992: 110–114) i civilnu (Bowman, Rathbone 1992: 114–127). Uz prefekta provincijom upravlja prokurator zadužen za financije te razni drugi niži činovnici (Strab., XVII.12). Zemlja je bila administrativno podijeljena na 30 noma (Strab., XVII.12; Peacock 2000: 423), a ta brojka tijekom kasnoantičkog razdoblja pada na 23. Svaka noma ima glavni grad (grč. Metropoleis) (Rostovtzeff 1957: 273–274; Peacock 2000: 423). Društvena hijerarhija rimskog Egipta bila je podijeljena na četiri osnovne klase. Prvu su činili rimski građani koji su vršili najviše provincijske dužnosti. Ispod njih su se nalazili građani najvećih grčkih gradova Aleksandrije, Naukratija, Ptolemeja i Antinoopola (Bowman, Rathbone 1992: 119–120). Treću grupu činili su Egipćani i svi ostali građani Egipta najčešće bez rimskoga građanskog prava (Bowman, Rathbone 1992: 119–120; Ritner 1998: 6). Najnižu društvenu grupu činili su robovi čiji se broj tijekom rimskog razdoblja naglo povećao. Rimske vlasti strogo su zabranile izvoz robova iz Egipta, a robovi su uglavnom bili iskorištavani za obavljanje kućanskih poslova (Jones 1956: 194; Capponi 2010: 185). Društvena podjela koju je izvršio car Oktavijan August bila je strogo segregacijska, rasno uvjetovana te ona, prema Lewisu, predstavlja svojevrsnu verziju "antičkog aparthejda" (Lewis 1983: 33–34). Egipćanima je bilo znatno otežano dobivanje rimskoga građanskog prava. Svaka miješana egipatsko-grčka obitelj smatrala se egipatskom. Za dobivanje rimskoga građan-

Emperor (Ritner 1998: 1–2). The transformation from the Ptolemaic kingdom to a province of the Roman Empire did not happen overnight – it was a long-term process, as evidenced by the inscriptions from the temple of the goddess Hathor in Dendera. The older inscription, inscribed using the Demotic and Greek script from AD 12, still dates events in the traditional Egyptian way and Augustus is presented as a pharaoh without the Roman titulary. The more recent inscription from September, AD 1 (Bowman-Rathbone 1992: 107) was written in Greek in a typically Roman way, which neatly documents the thorough changes and the complete inclusion of Egypt in the system of the Roman Empire. The inscription also confirms the fact that the manner of writing official documents changed after inclusion into the Roman state. In the years of Ptolemaic rule, official records were written using three scripts: hieroglyphics, the Demotic script and the Greek alphabet. After inclusion into the Roman state, at first the documents were written in Demotic, Latin and Greek. However, in the late 1st cent. BC, the Demotic language was gradually abandoned in official administrative business. In the middle of the 1st cent., it disappeared completely from official documents, and the only notable exception throughout the Roman period was the reign of Marcus Aurelius in the second half of the 2nd cent. AD (Ritner 1998: 7–8).

Egypt was governed by a well-organized administration led by a prefect (Lat. praefectus, Gr. eparchos), a high-ranking Roman appointed by the Roman emperor (Rostovtzeff 1957: 286; Jones 1970: 135, 170; Lewis 1983: 15; Bowman 1986: 37). It has been said before that Egypt was in a certain way isolated from any form of influence by any member of the Roman elite, who seldom visited Egypt. Therefore, the duty of being the Egyptian prefect was considered a great honor. The Roman administration was divided into provincial (Bowman-Rathbone 1992: 110–114) and civil (Bowman, Rathbone 1992: 114–127). Along with the prefect, the province was ruled by the procurator, who was in charge of financial business, and various other lower officials (Strab. XVII.12). The country had been administratively divided into 30 nomes (Strab. XVII.12; Peacock 2000: 423), and that figure declined to 23 during Late Antiquity. Every nome had its capital (Gr. Metropoleis) (Rostovtzeff 1957: 273–274; Peacock 2000: 423). The social hierarchy of Roman Egypt was divided into four basic classes. The first consisted of the Roman citizens who performed the highest provincial duties. Next were the citizens of the largest Greek cities of Alexandria, Naucratis, Ptolemais and Antinopolis (Bowman, Rathbone 1992: 119–120). The third group consisted of Egyptians and other citizens of Egypt, usually without Roman citizenship (Bowman, Rathbone 1992: 119–120; Ritner 1998: 6). The lowest social group was comprised of slaves, whose number throughout the Roman period was increasing rapidly. The Roman authorities had strictly forbidden the export of slaves from Egypt, and slaves were mostly used for housework (Jones 1956: 194; Capponi 2010: 185). The social division, conducted by the emperor Octavian Augustus, had been strictly segregational, racially conditioned and Lewis states that it was a certain version of "Antique apartheid" (Lewis 1983: 33–34). The Egyptians faced increasing difficulty gaining Roman citizenship. Every mixed Egyptian-Greek family was considered Egyptian. To acquire Roman citizenship, it was necessary to have the citizenship

skog prava bilo je potrebno posjedovati građanski status Aleksandrijca (Lewis 1983: 18; Bowman 1986: 127), a prelazak u viši društveni položaj bio je uvjetovan visokim taksama i restrikcijama koje si siromašno egipatsko stanovništvo nije moglo priuštiti. Takva podjela odraz je službene carske politike kojom se brojno domaće stanovništvo nastoji zadržati što dalje od bilo kakvih administrativnih i političkih dužnosti, odnosno uglavnom natjerati da se bave obradom zemlje. Među Egipćanima su jedini donekle povlašteni status imali gradonačelnici glavnih gradova noma (Bowman, Rathbone 1992: 120–125) koji su plaćali manji porez državi (Bard 2008: 296). Nove administrativne izmjene dogodile su se tijekom vladavine cara Dioklecijana (284. – 305.) kada je Egipat kratkotrajno podijeljen u dvije manje provincije. Car Konstantin 324. godine osniva Konstantinopol (Bowman 1986: 46; Ostrogorski 2006: 24–25) što će se uskoro znatno odraziti na budućnost Carstva. Godine 331. prijestolnica Carstva premještena je iz Rima u Konstantinopol čime započinje sve izraženija podjela Carstva na njegovu zapadnu i istočnu polovicu. Već takvom formalnom podjelom Egipat ulazi u njegovu istočnu polovicu plaćajući državne poreze carskoj blagajni u Kontantinopolu. Nakon što je Teodozije I. Veliki (379. – 395.) službeno 395. godine podijelio Carstvo svojim sinovima, Egipat postaje sastavni dio njegove istočne polovice – Istočnoga Rimskog Carstva, odnosno Bizanta te uz kratke prekide ostaje njegova provincija sve do arapskih osvajanja sredinom 7. stoljeća. Za vojnu kontrolu bile su zadužene tri legije s pomoćnim trupama i konjicom (Strab., XVII.I.12). One su svojevrsni nasljednici Gabinijevih vojnih postrojbi koje su ostale u Egiptu 55. godine pr. Kr. Egipatska vojska ponekad se upotrebljavala i za obranu istočnih granica Carstva i suzbijanje rijetkih pobuna (Peacock 2000: 424–426).

Početak Augustove vladavine obilježen je pobunama uzrokovanim brojnim novim porezima (Bowman, Rathbone 1992: 111–113) pa je prvi egipatski prefekt Kornelije Gal imao velikih problema kako bi očuvao svoju vladavinu (Capponi 2010: 182). Prvi rimski prefekti Kornelije Gal, Aelije Gal i Publije Petronije nastojali su obnoviti vlast nad Nubijom, ali bez većih uspjeha (Aug. RG, 26.5; FHN, II.166). Na kraju rimska vojska u potpunosti napušta južnu Nubiju 24. godine pr. Kr. na čijem teritoriju nastaje nezavisno kraljevstvo Meroe sa središtem u Napati (Ritner 1998: 11–12; Capponi 2010: 182). Na njezinu području vladari i dalje grade piramide sve do propasti države sredinom 4. stoljeća. Broj Židova u Aleksandriji znatno je smanjen tijekom velike židovske pobune od 115. do 117. godine koja je započela u istočnim provincijama Carstva (Bowman 1986: 42–43; Delia 1988: 290; Ritner 1998: 14; Bard 2008: 297; Capponi 2010: 189). Nova pobuna izbila je 153. godine tijekom koje je u Aleksandriji ubijen i egipatski prefekt (Ritner 1998: 16). Tijekom vladavine Marka Aurelija 171. godine dolazi do velike pobune domaćeg stanovništva pod vodstvom svećenika Isiodora. Nju je 175. godine uspio ugušiti guverner Sirije Avidije Kasije, sin bivšega egipatskog prefekta, nakon čega se kratkotrajno proglasio carem. Najveća pobuna dogodila se 215. godine tijekom posjeta Karakale Egiptu. Tom je prilikom car zapovjedio da se pobiju mladi građani Aleksandrije koji su ranije podr-

of Alexandria (Lewis 1983: 18; Bowman 1986: 127), and the transition into a higher social rank was governed by high taxes and restrictions, and the poor Egyptian population was unable to afford them. That classification was a reflection of the official imperial politics, which was used to keep the numerous domestic population away from any form of administrative and political duties, that is to say, to compel them to cultivate the land. Among the Egyptians, a somewhat special status was held by the mayors of the capitals of nomes (Bowman, Rathbone 1992: 120–125), who paid reduced taxes to the state (Bard 2008: 296). The new administrative changes had been implemented during the reign of the emperor Diocletian (AD 284 – 305), when Egypt was divided into two smaller provinces. In AD 324, the emperor Constantine founded Constantinople (Bowman 1986: 46; Ostrogorski 2006: 24–25), which was later noticeably reflected on the future of the Empire. In AD 331, the capital of the empire had been moved from Rome to Constantinople, which triggered an even more accentuated division of the Empire into its western and eastern half. By that formal division, Egypt had entered its eastern half while paying the state taxes to the imperial treasury in Constantinople. After Theodosius I (AD 379 – 395) had officially divided the Empire among his sons, Egypt became a part of its eastern half – the Eastern Roman Empire, i.e. the Byzantine Empire – and remained its province with short intermissions until the Arab conquests in the middle of the 7th cent. Three legions with auxiliary troops and cavalry were in charge of military control (Strab., XVII.I.12). They were somehow as successors of Aulus Gabinius' military troops (so-called Gabiniani) left in Egypt in 55 BC. The Egyptian army was sometimes used to defend the eastern borders of the Empire and to surpress the rare riots (Peacock 2000: 424–426).

The beginning of Augustus' reign had been marked with riots caused by many new taxes (Bowman, Rathbone 1992: 111–113), so the first Egyptian prefect Cornelius Gallus had a great problem in preserving his rule (Capponi 2010: 182). The first Roman prefects Cornelius Gallus, Aelius Gallus and Publius Petronius strived to renew the authority over Nubia, but without much success (Aug. RG, 26.5; FHN, II.166). Eventually the Roman army had completely abandoned southern Nubia in 24 BC, and on its territory the independent Kingdom of Meroe was formed, with Napata as its center (Ritner 1998: 11–12; Capponi 2010: 182). The rulers continued to build pyramids there until the fall of the state in the middle of the 4th cent. The number of Jewish people in Alexandria had significantly decreased during the great Jewish revolt in AD 115 – 117, which began in the eastern provinces of the Empire (Bowman 1986: 42–43; Delia 1988: 290; Ritner 1998: 14; Bard 2008: 297; Capponi 2010: 189). The new riot broke out in AD 153, when the Egyptian prefect was killed in Alexandria (Ritner 1998: 16). During the reign of Marcus Aurelius in AD 171, there was a great riot of the domestic population, led by the priest Isiodorus. It was supressed by Gaius Avidius Cassius, the governor of Syria and the son of the former Egyptian prefect, after which he proclaimed himself Emperor for a short period of time. The greatest riot took place in AD 215, during Caracalla's visit to Egypt. On that occasion, the Emperor ordered the killing of the young citizens of Alexandria, who had supported his brother Geta, and the riot was supressed in bloodshed (Bowman 1986: 43–44; Delia 1988: 290; Delia 1992: 1463; Rit-

žali njegova brata Getu, a sama pobuna ugušena je u krvi (Bowman 1986: 43–44; Delia 1988: 290; 1992: 1463; Ritner 1998: 19). Tijekom tadašnjih nemira djelomično je oštećen aleksandrijski Muzej (Delia 1992: 1463). Godine 270. kraljica Zenobija osvojila je Egipat te je tijekom rata s Rimljanima oštećen velik dio Aleksandrije (Bowman 1986: 44; Ritner 1998: 23; Bard 2008: 297). Car Aurelijan (270. – 275.) dao je uništiti Muzej 273. godine kako bi se građanima osvetio za novu pobunu, a dio sačuvanih spisa premješten je u Serapej (Capponi 2010: 192). Nova razaranja grada dogodila su se za vladavine Dioklecijana 296./297. (Bard 2008: 297; Capponi 2010: 192) ili 297./298. (Milne 1924: 82; Bowman 1986: 45; Ritner 1998: 24). godine tijekom nove pobune i osmomjesečne opsade grada. Najveća razaranja Aleksandriju su snašla tijekom vjerskih nemira 391./392. godine kada je gradu učinjena velika šteta, razoreni su Serapej, Isej te znatno oštećeni Knjižnica i Muzej.

Stanovništvo Egipta bavilo se obrtom, trgovinom i poljodjelstvom ili su služili u rimskoj kopnenoj vojsci, trgovačkoj ili vojnoj floti (Strab., XVII.13; Rostovtzeff 1957: 273). Svi Egipćani između 14. i 62. godine života morali su plaćati godišnji porez (Ritner 1998: 10; Peacock 2000: 424; Capponi 2010: 185). Već od početka rimske uprave carska je vlast nastojala držati domaće stanovništvo usko vezano uz poljoprivredne djelatnosti, odnosno uz proizvodnju Rimu prijeko potrebnih žitarica pa se tako samo manji broj stanovnika bavio drugim gospodarskim djelatnostima. Poljoprivredno zemljište koje se tijekom ptolemejskog razdoblja nalazilo u vlasništvu kralja već je tijekom Augustove vladavine pretvoreno u javnu zemlju ili carske posjede koji su podijeljeni njegovim pristašama i prijateljima (Rostovtzeff 1957: 287). Znatno je povećana površina koja obuhvaća privatno zemljište obično u vlasništvu grčkih doseljenika. Nije bilo bitnih promjena u sastavu zemljišta koja su posjedovali seljaci (Rostovtzeff 1957: 287, 292–296; Capponi 2010: 182–183).

Glavno gradsko i trgovačko središte bila je Aleksandrija (Bowman 1986: 206–233) iz čije luke neprestano isplovljavaju brodovi koji odvoze žito u italske luke te ostale rimske provincije (Finley 1999: 33). Tijekom rimskog razdoblja u gradu su izgrađeni brojni rimski, grčki i egipatski hramovi, javne građevine te glasoviti Pompejev stup. Njegov je izgled opisao antički geograf Strabon. U gradskoj su luci bila smještena mnoga skladišta za žito i drugu izvoznu robu. Uz izvoz žitarica egipatsko je gospodarstvo opskrbljivalo Rim velikim količinama papirusa, stakla i fajanse, tkanina, raznovrsnog nakita te posuđa od raznih materijala (Ellis 1992: 35–40; David 2003: 102). Rimska je uprava osim doline Nila iskorištavala i okolne pustinjske oaze i kamenolome (Bard 2008: 298). Na području Fajuma nastaje veliko grčko-rimsko naselje u blizini današnje Haware (Bard 2008: 301–303) koje je početkom 20. stoljeća započeo iskopavati Petrie (Petrie 1911a; 1913) čiji nalazi svjedoče o svakodnevnom životu i pogrebnim običajima rimskog razdoblja (Riggs 2005; Tomorad 2009: 12–25). U Aleksandriji je bila stacionirana vrlo važna rimska istočna flota (lat. classis Alexandriana) (Tomorad 2005a: 247; 2005b: 443). Ona je sa svojim velikim trgovačkim brodovima opskrbljivala brojne rimske luke na Sredozemlju, a istodobno je predstavljala najvažniju flotu koja

ner 1998: 19). During those riots, the Museum of Alexandria was partially damaged (Delia 1992: 1463). In AD 270, queen Zenobia conquered Egypt and a great part of Alexandria was damaged during the war with the Romans (Bowman 1986: 44; Ritner 1998: 23; Bard 2008: 297). The emperor Aurelian (270 – 275) ordered the destruction of the Museum in AD 273 as vengeance on the citizens because of the new revolt, and a part of the preserved records was transferred to Serapeum (Capponi 2010: 192). The new destruction of the city happened during Diocletian's reign in AD 296/297 (Bard 2008: 297; Capponi 2010: 192) or AD 297/298 (Milne 1924: 82; Bowman 1986: 45; Ritner 1998: 24) when a new riot and a seven-month siege took place. The greatest devastation had befallen Alexandria during the religious riots in AD 391, when the city was heavily damaged, the Serapeum and Iseum destroyed, and the Royal Library and the Museum significantly damaged as well.

The Egyptian population engaged in crafts, trade and agriculture, or they served in the Roman land army or in the merchant or military fleet (Strab., XVII.13; Rostovtzeff 1957: 273). Every Egyptian over 14 years of age and under 62 years of age was obliged to pay annual taxes (Ritner 1998: 10; Peacock 2000: 424; Capponi 2010: 185). Since the beginning of the Roman administration, the imperial authority had a strong tendency to retain the domestic population in the area of agriculture, that is, to support the necessary grain that Rome lacked. Therefore, only a small number of citizens engaged in other economic activities. The agricultural land, which had already been the king's property during the reign of Augustus, had been turned into public land or imperial properties, which were divided out to his supporters and friends (Rostovtzeff 1957: 287). There was a substantial increase of the territory of private land in the property of Greek inhabitants. There was no significant change of land in the property of countryfolk (Rostovtzeff 1957: 287, 292–296; Capponi 2010: 182-183).

The main urban and trade centre was Alexandria (Bowman 1986: 206–233) and there was a constant number of ships leaving its port to carry grain to Italic ports and other Roman provinces (Finley 1999: 33). During the Roman period, lots of Roman, Greek and Egyptian temples were built in the city, moreover, many public buildings as well, and the famous Pompey's Pillar. The ancient geographer Strabo described its appearance. There was substantial storage space for grain and other export merchandise in the city port. The Egyptian economy usually supplied Rome not only with grain, but a vast number of papyri, glass and faience, fabric, all sorts of jewellery, dishes and vessels of various materials (Ellis 1992: 35–40; David 2003: 102). Besides the Nile Valley, the Roman administration exploited the nearby desert oases and quarries (Bard 2008: 298). A large Greek-Roman settlement was founded in Faiyum, near today's Hawara (Bard 2008: 301–303), and was excavated by William Matthew Flinders Petrie at the beginning of the 20th century (Petrie 1911a; 1913), with findings that gave evidence about the everyday life and funeral customs of the Roman period (Riggs 2005; Tomorad 2009: 12–25). A very important Roman eastern fleet was stationed in Alexandria (Lat. classis Alexandriana) (Tomorad 2005a: 247; 2005b: 443). With its great merchant ships, it supplied many Roman ports in the Mediterranean Sea with various merchandise, and at the same time it was the most important fleet supplying Rome with necessary grain (Tomorad 2005b: 443). The time of sailing

je opskrbljivala Rim potrebnim žitaricama (Tomorad 2005b: 443). Plovilo se uglavnom između ožujka i studenoga, a brodovi puni žita napuštali su aleksandrijsku luku tijekom svibnja i lipnja svake godine. Glavni cilj aleksandrijske flote bio je da očuva sigurnost Egipta, te da osigura glavnu žitnu rutu između Aleksandrije, Puteolija i Ostije (Casson 1994: 129; Tomorad 2005b: 443). U njoj su služili mnogi Egipćani (grč. laoi), Aleksandrijci i Grci (Starr 1993: 109–114; Tomorad 2005a: 248; 2005b: 433). Brojni mornari štovali su egipatsku božicu Izidu i boga Serapisa za koje su vjerovali da će ih zaštititi na pučini. Luke su izgrađene i uz obale Crvenog mora kako bi se olakšala plovidba i trgovačke veze s arapskim zemljama, Indijom i Kinom. Egipat ostaje glavna žitnica Rimskog i kasnije Bizantskog Carstva, Rima i Konstantinopola sve do 617. godine kada ga osvajaju Perzijanci.

Izolacija egipatske provincije od ostatka Rimskog Carstva također je vidljiva u novčanom sustavu zemlje. Sve do Dioklecijanovih reformi 296. godine u Egiptu se upotrebljava isključivo novac aleksandrijske kovnice. Istodobno su upotreba i iznošenje egipatskog novca izvan granica Egipta bili strogo zabranjeni, a razmjena kovanica obavezna (Bowman 1986: 92–93; Ritner 1998: 2; Rollinger, Ulf 2004). Novim Dioklecijanovim reformama 297. godine dolazi do izmjene poreznog sustava, a porezi se od tada određuju za svaku godinu zasebno što Jones (1970: 267–268) smatra prvim uvođenjem godišnjega državnog budžeta. Gospodarske promjene utječu i na rimski monetarni sustav kada se Egipat nakon više od tri stoljeća konačno uključuje u cjelokupni novčani sustav Rimskog Carstva (Ritner 1998: 24). Nove porezne reforme dogodile su se tijekom vladavine cara Konstantina koji 313. godine uvodi petnaestogodišnje porezne cikluse (Ritner 1998: 26).

Ukupan broj stanovnika Egipta tijekom rimskog razdoblja već je desetljećima dio velikih rasprava među povjesničarima i demografima antičkog svijeta. Diodor Sicilski na početku rimskog razdoblja, na kraju 1. st. pr. Kr., procjenjuje njegov broj na oko tri milijuna stanovnika (Diod., I, 31.6–9). Brojka koju on navodi vjerojatno predstavlja samo broj stanovnika Donjeg Egipta jer ranije procjene stanovništva iz vremena Novog kraljevstva već sugeriraju da bi se taj broj mogao kretati od šest do sedam milijuna (Tomorad 2014a). Broj stanovnika vjerojatno znatno oscilira tijekom 1. tisućljeća pr. Kr. kada Egipat pogađa velika politička i društvena kriza. U drugoj polovini 1. stoljeća Josip Flavije procjenjuje njegov broj na 7,5 milijuna (Bowman 1996: 17; Finley 1999: 31) što se poklapa s procjenama za ranija razdoblja (Tomorad 2014a). Zahvaljujući popisima stanovništva koji su sačuvani za razdoblje do kraja rimske vladavine 395. godine novije procjene za kasnije razdoblje variraju između osam do devet milijuna stanovnika (Bowman 1986: 18; Bagnall, Frier 1994: 53). Potkraj 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. Diodor Sicilski procjenjuje broj stanovnika Aleksandrije na oko 300 000 (Diod., XVII.52.6). Sredinom 1. stoljeća po Kr. procjenjuje se da u gradu živi između 350 do 370 tisuća stanovnika (Delia 1988: 284). Tijekom kasnog principata broj stanovnika vjerojatno je narastao na broj između 500 do 600 tisuća (Delia 1988: 284) što se slaže s istraživanjima Bowmana (Bowman 1986; Bowman, Rathbone 1992), Rathbonea (Rathbone 1990; was mostly between March and November, and the ships full of grain sailed away from the Alexandrian port every year during May and June. The prime goal of the Alexandrian fleet was to ensure the safety of Egypt and to secure the main grain route between Alexandria, Puteoli and Ostia (Casson 1994: 129; Tomorad 2005b: 443). Many Egyptians (Gr. laoi) served in it, and many Alexandrians and Greeks as well (Starr 1993: 109–114; Tomorad 2005a: 248; 2005b: 433). A great number of sailors worshipped the Egyptian goddess Isis and the god Serapis, for they believed that they would protect them on open seas. The ports were built near the coast of the Red Sea to facilitate navigation and trade links with Arab countries, India and China. Egypt remained the main granary of the Roman and later the Byzantine Empire, Rome and Constantinople until AD 617, when it was conquered by Sassanid Persians.

The isolation of the Egyptian province from the rest of the Roman Empire can also be observed in its monetary system. Up to Diocletian's reforms in AD 296, Egypt exclusively used money from the Alexandrian mint. At the same time, the usage and export of Egyptian money outside the borders of Egypt was strictly prohibited, and coin exchange was mandatory (Bowman 1986: 92–93; Ritner 1998: 2; Rolinger, Ulf 2004). In AD 297, Diocletian's new reforms changed the tax system, and taxes were determined for each year anew. Jones (1970: 267–268) considers this the first introduction of the annual state budget. Economic changes influenced the Roman monetary system as well, when Egypt joined the entire system of the Roman Empire after more than three centuries (Ritner 1998: 24). New tax reforms happened during the reign of the emperor Constantine, who introduced fifteen-year tax cycles in AD 313 (Ritner 1998: 26).

The overall figure of the population of Egypt has been the subject of great discussions among historians and demographers of Classical Antiquity. At the beginning of the Roman period, at the end of the 1st cent. BC, Diodorus Siculus estimated its number to app. three million people (Diod., I, 31.6–9). His figure probably only presents the population of Lower Egypt, because the earlier estimations from the period of the New Kingdom had already suggested a figure in the range of six to seven million people (Tomorad 2014a). The number of people probably significantly fluctuated in the 1st millennium B.C. when Egypt was in a great political and social crisis. In the second half of the 1st century, Josephus Flavius estimated the figure as 7.5 million (Bowman 1996: 17; Finley 1999: 31), which corresponds to the estimations made for earlier periods (Tomorad 2014a). Thanks to censuses preserved for up until the end of Roman rule in AD 395, newer estimations for the later period fluctuate between eight and nine million people (Bowman 1986: 18; Bagnall, Frier 1994: 53). At the end of the 1st cent. BC, Diodorus Siculus estimated the population of Alexandria to be ca. 300 000 (Diod., XVII.52.6). In the middle of the 1st cent. AD, it was estimated that the city's population was somewhere from 350 to 370 000 people (Delia 1988: 284). During the late Principate, the number probably rose to a figure in the range of 500 000 to 600 000 people (Delia 1988: 284), which corresponds to Bowman's (Bowman 1986; Bowman, Rathbone 1992), Rathbone's (Rathbone 1990; 1991; 2007), Bagnall's and Frier's (Bagnall, Frier 1994) research and the information of the preserved censuses from AD 33/34, AD 47/48, AD 61/62 and AD 257/258 (Bagnall, Frier 1994). Archaeological findings confirm the existence of two or three

1991; 2007), Bagnalla i Friera (Bagnall, Frier 1994) te istraživanjima sačuvanih cenzusa iz 33./34., 47./48., 61./62. i 257./258. godine (Bagnall, Frier 1994). Arheološki nalazi potvrđuju postojanje oko dvije do tri tisuće manjih naselja čija brojka znatno varira od 1500 do 2000 žitelja. Glavni gradovi noma broje oko 20 tisuća stanovnika, a grčki gradovi i do 100 tisuća. Demografski podaci potvrđuju da je nešto veći broj muškaraca od žena (Bagnall, Frier 1994). Očekivana životna dob bila je relativno niska. Za žene je ona iznosila oko 25 godina, a za muškarce oko 30 godina. Broj osoba starijih od 35 godina bio je relativno nizak. Tijekom vladavine Justinijana (527. – 565.) Egipat je teško pogođen kugom koja je poharala cijelo Istočno Rimsko Carstvo (Bagnall 1993; Kaegi 1998: 34; Little 2007; Capponi 2010: 195). Velika bubonska kuga započela je u Etiopiji (Little 2007: 63) 541. godine, a iste se godine iz egipatskog Peluzija proširila na Palestinu i ostale istočne provincije Bizanta (Little 2007: 3, 7, 9), o čemu svjedoči i Prokopije. Broj oboljelih i umrlih bio je izrazito velik o čemu svjedoče brojni kasnoantički kroničari, ali i velik broj arheoloških nalaza (Little 2007). Nažalost, točan broj nije sačuvan. Tijekom sljedećih desetljeća kuga se ponovila još nekoliko puta, ali njezine posljedice nisu bile toliko velike (Little 2007). Nove nedaće donose i veliki potresi koji tijekom Justinijanove vladavine dodatno otežavaju egipatsko gospodarstvo (Capponi 2010: 195). Broj stanovnika je u izrazitom padu pa on potkraj 5. stoljeća iznosi oko 5 milijuna, a nakon velikog pomora stanovništva tijekom velike kuge oko 600. godine iznosi svega 3 milijuna (Charanis 1972: 11; Kaegi 1992: 30; Rupprecht 1994: 158; Kaegi 1998: 34). Prema arapskom historičaru Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakamu, u Aleksandriji u vrijeme arapskih osvajanja 642. godine živi maksimalno između 525 000 i 600 000 stanovnika (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, Futuh Misr, 82), ali ta je brojka vjerojatno pretjerana jer je Aleksandrija tijekom 6. stoljeća doživjela gubitak stanovništva zbog velike bubonske kuge, potresa i vjerskih sukoba u kojima je po nekim povjesničarima stradalo gotovo 200 000 stanovnika. Prema raznim istraživanjima, u Aleksandriji je također živio i vrlo veliki broj Židova kojih je navodno krajem principata bilo čak oko 180 000 (Delia 1988: 288).

Tijekom rimske vladavine (30. godina pr. Kr. – 395. godina) carevi su vrlo rijetko posjećivali Egipat. Oktavijan August (30. godina pr. Kr. – 14. godina), Vespazijan (69. – 79.), Hadrijan (Tomorad 2003: 10; 2004b: 95) (117. – 138.), Antonin Pio (138. – 161.), Marko Aurelije (161. – 180.), Septimije Sever (193. – 211.), Karakala (211. – 217.), Galerije (305. – 311.), Dioklecijan (284. – 305.) i državnici (Germanik) boravili su u dolini Nila i divili se egipatskim spomenicima. Kaligula (37 – 41.) je planirao posjetiti Egipat, a za Aleksandra Severa (222. – 235.) pretpostavlja se da je to učinio (Capponi 2010: 191). Car Hadrijan je za svoga boravka u Egiptu (130. – 131.) bio toliko impresioniran viđenim da je nešto kasnije u srednjem Egiptu dao izgraditi grad Antinoopol koji je prozvao po svome ljubavniku Antinoju koji se utopio u Nilu. Car Dioklecijan bio je toliko zadivljen egipatskom kulturom da je svoju novoizgrađenu palaču u današnjem Splitu (oko 300. godine) dao ukrasiti sfingama koje su dostavljene iz Egipta (Tomorad 2003: 10).

U religiji dolazi do stapanja rimskih značajki s helenistic ones. At the same time, the Egyptian religion had spread throughout the Roman Empire, as confirmed by many archaeological findings. Thebes had lost its influence at the end of the 3rd cent. AD because the ancient Egyptian

thousand smaller settlements, whose figure significantly varies from 1500 to 2000 residents. The capitals of nomes consisted of app. 20 thousand citizens, and Greek cities had up to 100 thousand people. Demographic data confirm that there was a slightly higher number of men than women (Bagnall, Frier 1994). Life expectancy was relatively low, and it was about 25 years for women, and 30 years for men. There was a small number of people older than 35. During Justinian I's reign (AD 527 – 565), Egypt had been struck with plague, which devastated the whole Eastern Roman Empire (Bagnall 1993; Kaegi 1998: 34; Little 2007; Capponi 2010: 195). The great bubonic plague started in Ethiopia (Little 2007: 63) in AD 541, and in the same year it spread from the Egyptian Pelusium to Palestine and other eastern provinces of Byzantium (Little 2007: 3, 7, 9), as noted by Procopius. The number of diseased and deceased was extremely high, as stated by many chroniclers of Late Antiquity, and confirmed by many archaeological findings as well (Little 2007). Unfortunately, the correct number was not preserved. During the next few decades, the plague reappeared a couple of times, but its consequences were not grave (Little 2007). The Egyptian economy was weakened by new great earthquakes during Justinian's reign (Capponi 2010: 195). The population had been significantly decreasing, and at the end of the 5th cent. AD, it was about 5 million, and after the high mortality rate during the great plague in app. AD 600, it was only around 3 million (Charanis 1972: 11; Kaegi 1992: 30; Rupprecht 1994: 158; Kaegi 1998: 34). The Arab historian Ibn Abd al-Hakam stated that in Alexandria in the period of Arab conquests in A.D. 642, the population had been at most in the range of 525 000 and 600 000 people (Ibn Abd al-Hakam, Futuh Misr, 82). That figure was probably overstated, because Alexandria had lost a large part of its population during the 6th cent. AD because of the great bubonic plague, earthquakes and religious conflicts, in which, according to certain historians, the number of casualties was almost 200 000 residents. According to various research, there was a great number of Jewish people living in Alexandria, and reportedly there were almost around 180 000 Jewish people at the end of the Principate (Delia 1988: 288).

During the Roman rule (30 BC – AD 395), emperors seldom visited Egypt. Octavian Augustus (30 BC – AD 14), Vespasian (AD 69 – 79), Hadrian (Tomorad 2003: 10; 2004b: 95) (AD 117 – 138), Antoninus Pius (AD 138 – 161), Marcus Aurelius (AD 161 – 180), Septimius Severus (AD 193 – 211), Caracalla (AD 211 – 217), Diocletian (AD 284 – 305), Galerius (AD 305 – 311) and statesmen (Germanicus) had stayed in the Nile Valley and admired the Egyptian monuments. Caligula (AD 37 – 41) had planned to visit Egypt, and it is supposed that Alexander Severus (AD 225 – 235) had done it (Capponi 2010: 191). During his stay in Egypt (AD 130 – 131), the emperor Hadrian had been very much impressed with what he saw, so later in Middle Egypt he ordered the city of Antinopolis to be built, named after his lover Antinous, who had drowned in Nile. The emperor Diocletian had been so amazed by Egyptian culture that he decorated his newly built palace in today's Split (app. AD 300) with sphinxes brought from Egypt (Tomorad 2003: 10).

Regarding religion, Roman characteristics merged with

stičkim vjerovanjima. Istodobno se egipatska religija širi gotovo svim područjima Rimskog Carstva o čemu svjedoče brojni arheološki nalazi. Teba je već potkraj 3. stoljeća izgubila svoj utjecaj preseljenjem staroegipatskoga vjerskog središta u Panopol, a zatim i u Aleksandriju u kojoj djeluju najznačajniji poganski znanstvenici i mislioci (Ritner 1998: 27). Na teritoriju Egipta širenje kršćanstva započinje početkom 2. stoljeća (Bowman 1986: 190–202; Ellis 1992: 45; David 2003: 102–103) čiji glavni svetac postaje lokalni sv. Menas. Već tijekom 2. i 3. stoljeća u Aleksandriji se stvara velika kršćanska zajednica (Bowman 1986: 48–52; Capponi 2010: 193). Tijekom velikih Dioklecijanovih progona kršćana početkom 4. stoljeća stradali su i brojni egipatski kršćani osobito na području Aleksandrije (Ritner 1998: 24). Oni ubrzo adaptiraju demotsko pismo prema grčkom alfabetu i egipatskom jeziku čiji su temelji i danas očuvani (Bagnall 1993: 235–240). Nakon Milanskog edikta glavno središte egipatskog kršćanstva postaje Aleksandrija koja se postupno tijekom prve polovine 4. stoljeća pretvara u sjedište aleksandrijskog patrijarha te jedno od glavnih kršćanskih središta Rimskog Carstva (Bowman 1986: 207–209). Polagano propadanje staroegipatske poganske religije započinje početkom 4. stoljeća nakon što je 313. godine Milanskim ediktom cara Konstantina I. (307. – 337.) kršćanstvo pravno izjednačeno s ostalim religijama Rimskog Carstva. Car Teodozije I. donosi 24. veljače 391. edikt o zabrani prakticiranja svih poganskih religija na području Carstva (CTh, XVI.10.10), a 16. lipnja iste godine i odredbu o zabrani poganskih običaja i vjerovanja u hramovima i drugim kultnim mjestima (CTh, XVI.10.11). Na području Aleksandrije i Egipta pravovjerni kršćani, uz podršku aleksandrijskog patrijarha Teofila (385. – 412.), koriste carske edikte Teodozija I. iz 391. godine kako bi opljačkali i uništili staroegipatske hramove te se konačno obračunali s pripadnicima poganskih vjerovanja na području Egipta. Godine 415./416. "posljednji ostaci poganstva u gradu" (John of Nikiu, Chronicle, LXXXIV.103) Aleksandriji bili su uništeni kada skupina vjerskih fanatika kamenuje do smrti veliku neoplatonističku matematičarku Hipatiju (oko 370. – 415./416.) u crkvi sv. Mihajla. U Egiptu su posljednje službene svetkovine u čast staroegipatskih bogova zabilježene oko 535. kada su Justinijanove trupe zasužnjile Izidine svećenike u hramu Zeusa Amona u oazi Augila (Turcan 1997: 128; Tomorad 2001: 8; 2005b: 243). Hram koji je izgradio Aleksandar Veliki tijekom svog boravka u Egiptu 331. godine pr. Kr. je razoren, a staroegipatski kipovi i simboli poganstva poslani su u Konstantinopol (Procop. Pers., I. XIX.37). Unatoč zabranama i neprestanim sukobima s netolerantnim kršćanima staroegipatska vjera uspjela se održati sve do 543. godine kada se carskim ediktom cara Justinijana zatvara hram File (FHN, III.324) te ga se postupno pretvara u kršćansku crkvu (Nautin 1967; Saradi-Mendelovici 1990: 54; Ritner 1998: 32). Bez obzira na zatvaranja hramova i zabrane pripadnici staroegipatske poganske religije i dalje pokušavaju očuvati svoje vjerske tradicije sve do 552. godine kada je zabilježen posljednji pokušaj obnove hrama u Kom Ombu (Ritner 1998: 32). Unatoč prestanku hramske tradicije staroegipatska vjera uspjela se održati u narodu barem do kraja 6. stoljeća, a možda i duže, a mnogi staroegipatski

religious centre moved to Panopolis (today Akhmim) and then to Alexandria, which gathered the most important scientists and thinkers (Ritner 1998: 27). Christianity started to spread in Egyptian territory at the beginning of the 2nd cent. AD (Bowman 1986: 190–202; Ellis 1992: 45; David 2003: 102–103) and its main saint became the local St. Menas. A great Coptic Christian community had already been forming in the 2nd and 3rd cent. AD in Alexandria (Bowman 1986: 48–52; Capponi 2010: 193). During the time of Diocletian's great persecutions of Christians at the beginning of the 4th cent. AD, there were many Christian casualties, especially in Alexandria (Ritner 1998: 24). Copts soon modelled the Demotic script after the Greek alphabet and the Egyptian language, whose base is preserved nowadays as well (Bagnall 1993: 235–-240). After the Edict of Milan in AD 313, Alexandria became the main centre of Egyptian Christianity, which in the first half of the 4th cent. AD gradually became the centre of the Alexandrian patriarchy and one of the main Christian centres of the Roman Empire (Bowman 1986: 207–209). The impending doom of the ancient Egyptian pagan religion started to set in at the beginning of the 4th century after Constantine I (AD 307 – 337) issued the Edict of Milan recognizing Christianity as the official state religion of the Roman Empire. On February 24, AD 391, the emperor Theodosius I issued an edict regarding the prohibition of practice of all pagan religions in the Empire (CTh, XVI.10.10), and on June 16 AD 391 he issued a decree, by which he prohibited pagan rituals and beliefs in temples and other cult sites (CTh, XVI.10.11). In Alexandria and Egypt the Christians, with the support of the Alexandrian Patriarch Theophilus (AD 385 – 412), used these imperial edicts to raid and destroy ancient Egyptian temples and finally deal with the followers of pagan beliefs in Egypt. In AD 415/416 "the last remains of paganism in the city" (John of Nikiu, Chron., LXXXIV.103) of Alexandria were destroyed with the murder, in St. Michael's church, of the great pagan Neoplatonist mathematician Hypatia (app. AD 370 – 415/416) who was stoned to death by intolerant Christian extremists. The last official festivals dedicated to the ancient Egyptian gods had been recorded in app. AD 535, when Justinian's troops enslaved the priests of Isis in the temple of Zeus Ammon in the oasis of Augila (Turcan 1997: 128; Tomorad 2001: 8; 2005b: 243). The temple that had been built by Alexander the Great, during his stay in Egypt in 331 BC, was destroyed, and the ancient Egyptian statues and symbols of paganism were sent to Constantinople (Procop., Pers. I. XIX.37). Despite the prohibitions and the continuous conflicts with intolerant Christians, the ancient Egyptian religions managed to survive up to AD 543, when the emperor Justinian I issued an imperial edict, by which he closed the temple of Philae (FHN, III.324) and gradually transformed it into a Christian church (Nautin 1967; Saradi-Mendelovici 1990: 54; Ritner 1998: 32). Despite the closures of temples and prohibitions, the followers of the ancient Egyptian pagan religion nevertheless tried to preserve their religious tradition up to AD 552, when the last attempt of a renewal of the temple in Kom Ombo was recorded (Ritner 1998: 32). Despite the end of the temple tradition, the ancient Egyptian religion had managed to survive among the people, at least up to the end of the 6th cent. AD, and many ancient Egyptian religious symbols have survived in the Coptic Orthodox Church until today.

In the first half of the 4th century, Alexandria, as an important centre of Egyptian Christianity and the centre of

vjerski simboli održali su se u ortodoksnoj Koptskoj crkvi sve do danas.

Tijekom prve polovine 4. stoljeća Aleksandrija, kao važno središte egipatskog kršćanstva i sjedište aleksandrijskog patrijarha, postupno postaje jedno od glavnih kršćanskih središta Rimskog Carstva, a kasnije i Bizantskog Carstva (Bowman 1986: 207–209; Tomorad 2014a). Istodobno, već sredinom 4. stoljeća, na prostoru Egipta dolazi do izgradnje velikog broja manastira u kojima borave monasi i razni pustinjaci koji su se na tlu Egipta pojavili još tijekom 3. i početkom 4. stoljeća. Znameniti kršćanski monah i kasniji svetac Ivan Kasijan (oko 359. – 450.?) navodi postojanje tri vrste monaha u Egiptu (Joh.Cass. Conf., XVIII.4). Monaštvo i pustinjaštvo u Egiptu bilo je vrlo rašireno u razdoblju do arapskog osvajanja četrdesetih godina 7. stoljeća.

Bizantsko razdoblje (395. – 642.) nije tako dobro pokriveno izvorima kao rimsko doba. Uglavnom su sačuvani vjerski tekstovi vezani uz reforme kršćanstva i kristološke sporove istočne i zapadne Crkve. Ipak, sačuvani su i pojedini povijesni podaci vezani uz politiku i svakodnevni život. Cijelo razdoblje obilježavaju vjerski sporovi, ekonomska i monetarna kriza te seobe naroda. Aleksandrija je i dalje glavni grad Egipta, a najveći gospodarski i politički utjecaj na prostoru provincije nalazi se u rukama aleksandrijskog patrijarha. Drugi najvažniji grad tijekom ovog razdoblja je Peluzij, a važna središta društvenog i gospodarskog života smještena su još u obalnim gradovima (Kaegi 1998: 36). Aleksandrija je tijekom bizantskog razdoblja jedno od najvažnijih središta kršćanstva i vjerskih rasprava koje karakteriziraju razdoblje od kraja 4. do sredine 7. stoljeća. Za vrijeme vladavine Leona I. (457. – 474.) stanovnici Aleksandrije ubijaju omraženog biskupa Proterija, nasljednika biskupa Dioskora (Ritner 1998: 32). To dovodi do vjerskog sukoba između carske vlasti, patrijarha Konstantinopola i Aleksandrije koji će se uz kratke prekide nastaviti tijekom druge polovine 5. stoljeća. Prema tadašnjem običaju aleksandrijski patrijarsi biraju se u koptskoj crkvi među lokalnim monasima potpuno neovisno od prijestolnice i cara što je glavni uzrok trzavicama i sukobima dvaju vjerskih središta (Ritner 1998: 32). Tijekom vladavine cara Zenona (474. – 491.) dolazi i do dodatnih vjerskih sukoba između rimskog pape, cara i istočnih patrijarha koji 484. godine dovode i do ekskomunikacije Zenona od strane pape. Novonastale okolnosti rezultirale su egipatskom pobunom protiv carske vlasti tijekom koje su ispitivani posljednji egipatski poganski intelektualci (Ritner 1998: 32). Druga polovina 5. stoljeća obilježena je i brojnim političkim promjenama na području Sredozemlja. Godine 476. germanski vojskovođa Odoakar srušio je Zapadno Rimsko Carstvo, a granice Istočnoga Rimskog Carstva ugrožene su seobama brojnih naroda. Takve novonastale okolnosti potkraj 5. stoljeća koriste Perzijanci koji tijekom vladavine Anastazija I. (491. – 518.) prvi put upadaju u deltu te bezuspješno pokušavaju osvojiti Aleksandriju (Ritner 1998: 32). Vjerske reforme i odnosi istočne i zapadne Crkve najviše otežavaju normalan život u Egiptu, a dodatna porezna opterećenja egipatskih monofizita dovode do novih konflikata s bizantskom upravom u Carigradu (Goldstein, Grgin 2006: 90; Capponi 2010: 195). Egipat je još od sredine 5. stoljeća

the Alexandrian patriarchy, gradually became one of the main Christian centres of the Roman Empire, and later one of the Byzantine Empire as well (Bowman 1986: 207–209; Tomorad 2014a). At the same time, in the middle of the 4th cent. AD, a great number of monasteries was built, as home for monks and various hermits, who had already appeared in Egypt since the 3rd century and at the beginning of the 4th cent. AD. Johannes Casianus (359 – 450?), a famous Christian monk and later on a saint, described three kinds of monks in Egypt (Joh.Cass. Conf., XVIII.4). Monkhood and hermitry spread up to the Arab conquests during the 640s AD.

The Byzantine period (395 – 642) has fewer sources than the Roman period. These consist mostly of religious texts related to the reforms of Christianity and Christological debates of the Eastern and Western Church. However, some historical data related to politics and everyday life has been preserved. The whole period is characterized by religious debates, economic and monetary crisis and migration of peoples. Alexandria remained the capital of Egypt, and the Alexandrian patriarchy held the greatest economic and political influence in the province. The second most important city of this period is Pelusium, and important centres of social and economic life were situated in coastal cities (Kaegi 1998: 36). Throughout the Byzantine period, Alexandria was one of the most important centres of Christianity and religious debates, which characterize the period from the end of the 4th century up to the middle of the 7th cent. AD. During the reign of Leo I (AD 457 – 474), Alexandrians killed the notorious bishop Proterious, the successor of the bishop Dioscorus (Ritner 1998: 32). That event lead to religious conflict between the imperial authorities, the patriarchy of Constantinople and Alexandria, which continued throughout the second half of the 5th cent. AD, with short intermissions. According to former custom, the Alexandrian patriarchs were elected in the Egyptian Church from among the local monks, independently from the capital and the emperor, which was the main cause of disagreements and conflicts between the two religious centres (Ritner 1998: 32). During the reign of the emperor Zeno (AD 479 – 491), further religious conflicts occurred between the Roman pope, the Emperor and the eastern patriarchs, which in AD 484 led the Pope to excommunicate Zeno. The emerging difficulties led to the Egyptian revolt against the imperial authorities, during which the last Egyptian pagan intellectuals were interrogated (Ritner 1998: 32). The second half of the 5th cent. AD is characterized by a number of political changes in the Mediterranean. In AD 476, Germanic military leader Flavius Odoacer was responsible for the fall of the Western Roman Empire, and the borders of the Eastern Roman Empire were continuously compromised by migrations of many peoples. These emerging circumstances were taken advantage of at the end of the 5th century by Persians, who invaded the delta for the first time during the reign of Anastasius I (AD 491 – 518) and tried unsuccessfully to conquer Alexandria (Ritner 1998: 32). Religious reforms and the relations between the Eastern and the Western Church made ordinary life in Egypt difficult, and the additional tax burden of the Egyptian monophysite Christians led to new conflicts with the Byzantine administration in Constantinople (Goldstein, Grgin 2006: 90; Capponi 2010: 195). Egypt was the centre of Monophysitism since the middle of the 5th century, and after the Council of Chalcedon in AD 451, the province was further di-

središte monofizitizma, a nakon Halkedonskog sabora 451. provincija je dodatno podijeljena sukobima pripadnika halkedonske i monofizitske crkvene dogme. Vjerski sukobi posebno su dominantni tijekom 6. stoljeća kada dolazi do masovnog progona monofizita na području Aleksandrije (Charanis 1972: 7). Dvadesetih i tridesetih godina 7. stoljeća dolazi do pokušaja mirenja dviju zaraćenih vjerskih struja tijekom kojih prednjači novopostavljeni aleksandrijski patrijarh Kir (631. – 642.) koji novim monoteletskim pristupom pokušava pomiriti kršćane. Nakon arapskog osvajanja Egipta obje kršćanske zajednice bile su prisiljene prihvatiti novu vlast te postojanje islama kao nove velike religije.

Na prijelazu iz 6. u 7. stoljeće Egipat je zahvaćen ratovima i sukobima uzrokovanim lošom politikom careva Maurikija (582. – 602.) i Foke (602. – 610.) (Capponi 2010: 195–196). Istodobno, Egiptom se šire neredi tijekom kojih se provincija pobunila protiv cara Foke, a afrički prefekt Heraklije je 609./610. nakon zauzeća Aleksandrije prekinuo dovoz žita u Carigrad (Bowman 1986: 51–52; Kaegi 1998: 37; Kuiper 2011: 110). Nakon što je svrgnuo Foku s vlasti, Heraklije (610. – 641.) je postao novi car Bizantskog Carstva (Ostrogorski 2006: 51; Kaegi 1998: 37). Perzijanicu su nove napade na deltu započeli 616. godine (Theoph., 11; Butler 1902: 70). Nju zauzimaju već iduće godine, a 619. osvojena je i Aleksandrija te tako privremeno prekinuta bizantska vladavina Egiptom. Nakon desetogodišnjih borbi s Perzijancima Bizant je tek 629. uspio u potpunosti obnoviti bizantsku vlast u Egiptu (Kaegi 1992: 27; Ostrogorski 2006: 61; Kuiper 2011: 110) koja će uskoro biti ponovno prekinuta. Posljednje godine bizantske vladavine obilježene su vjerskim progonima egipatskih kršćana i borbama za mjesto aleksandrijskog patrijarha (Ostrogorski 2006: 66; Capponi 2010: 196). Već početkom arapskih osvajanja važnu je ulogu odigrao monoteletski crkveni patrijarh Kir koji neposredno prije početka osvajanja preuzima i državnopravno upravljanje Egiptom (Kaegi 1998: 45; Ostrogorski 2006: 66; Kuiper 2011: 110). Vođa arapskog pohoda Amr ibn al-As kratkotrajno je boravio u Egiptu neposredno prije početka osvajanja te je vidio bogatstvo zemlje (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, Futuh Misr, 53; Kaegi 1998: 44). Ubrzo je o tome obavijestio kalifa Omara koji je shvatio da bi posjedovanje Egipta znatno povećalo moć muslimana (Butler 1902: 196). Patrijarh Kir je 637. godine pokušao uz pomoć novih poreza na trgovinu prikupiti tribut kojim bi spriječio osvajanje Egipta te zadovoljio Amra (Kaegi 1998: 44–45). Prema nekim izvorima, Kir je tako sklopio trogodišnje primirje još prije osvajanja Sirije. Nakon završetka primirja u prosincu 639. godine Arapi prodiru u dolinu Nila s prostora južne Palestine (Butler 1902: 199; Kaegi 1998: 61), a tri godine kasnije cijeli je Egipat potpao pod vlast novih osvajača (Bowman 1986: 52–53; Brandt 1995: 242; Kaegi 1998: 61; Ostrogorski 2006: 66). Kir je početkom 640. godine ponovno pokušao sklopiti novi mirovni ugovor, ali ga je odbio car Heraklije (Kaegi 1998: 55). Kir je uskoro bio pozvan u Konstantinopol gdje je bio podvrgnut carevoj kritici zbog pokušaja sklapanja primirja (Kaegi 1998: 55, 57, 61). Nakon velike bitke kod Heliopola u srpnju 640. godine cijela delta i Fajum padaju pod vlast arapskih osvajača (Butler 1902: 222–238; Kaegi 1992: 19; 1998: 51; Kuiper 2011: 110). Ipak,

vided by the conflicts of members of the Chalcedonian and Monophysite religious dogma. Religious conflicts dominated throughout the 6th century when Monophysites were mass-murdered in Alexandria (Charanis 1972: 7). During the 620s and 630s AD, there had been a few attempts of reconciliation of the two warring religious parties, led by newly appointed Alexandrian Patriarch Cyrus (AD 631 – 642), who tried to reconcile the Christians using the new monotheletic approach. After the Arab conquest of Egypt, both Christian communities were forced to accept the new authorities and the existence of Islam as a great new religion.

At the turn of the 6th and 7th cent. AD, Egypt was affected by wars and conflicts caused by the bad politics of the emperors Maurice (AD 582 – 602) and Phocas (AD 602 – 610) (Capponi 2010: 195–196). At the same time, disorder was spreading in Egypt, during which the province revolted against the emperor Phocas (AD 602 – 610), and the African prefect Heraclius AD 609/610 stopped the transportation of grain to Constantinople after the Siege of Alexandria (Bowman 1986: 51–52; Kaegi 1998: 37; Kuiper 2011: 110). After overthrowing Phocas, Heraclius (AD 610 – 641) became the new emperor of the Byzantine Empire (Ostrogorski 2006: 51; Kaegi 1998: 37). Soon after, the Sassanid Persians started new invasions on the delta in AD 616 (Theophanes: 11; Butler 1902: 70). It was occupied the next year, and in AD 619 Alexandria was conquered, which temporarily suppressed the Byzantine rule over Egypt. In AD 629, after decennial fights with Sassanids, Byzantium succeeded in renewing its power in Egypt (Kaegi 1992: 27; Ostrogorski 2006: 61; Kuiper 2011: 110), which was soon to be suppressed again. The last years of the Byzantine rule were characterized by religious persecutions of Copts and by fighting for the position of the Alexandrian patriarch (Ostrogorski 2006: 66; Capponi 2010: 196). At the beginning of the Arab conquests, an important role was played by the monotheletic ecclesiastical Patriarch Cyrus, who had taken over the state and legal administration of Egypt just before the beginning of the conquests (Kaegi 1998: 45; Ostrogorski 2006: 66; Kuiper 2011: 110). The leader of the Arab campaign Amr ibn al-As had been in Egypt just before the beginning of the conquests and he saw the wealth of the land (Ibn Abd al-Hakam, Futuh Misr, 53; Kaegi 1998: 44). Soon he informed caliph Omar, who realized that the possession of Egypt could significantly increase the power of muslims (Butler 1902: 196). In AD 637, Patriarch Cyrus tried to collect a tribute, using the new taxes, by which he could prevent the conquest of Egypt and please Amr (Kaegi 1998: 44–45). According to some sources, Cyrus signed a three-year truce even before the conquest of Syria. After the end of the truce in December of AD 639, the Arabs penetrated the Nile Valley from southern Palestine (Butler 1902: 199; Kaegi 1998: 61) and three years later the whole of Egypt came under the authority of the new conquerors (Bowman 1986: 52–53; Brandt 1995: 242; Kaegi 1998: 61; Ostrogorski 2006: 66). At the beginning of AD 640, Cyrus tried once again to sign a new peace treaty, but the emperor Heraclius declined the offer (Kaegi 1998: 55). Cyrus was soon invited to Constantinople, where the emperor criticized him because of the attempted truce (Kaegi 1998: 55, 57, 61). After the great battle of Heliopolis in July of AD 640, the whole delta and Faiyum came under the authority of the Arab conquerors (Butler 1902: 222–238; Kaegi 1992: 19; 1998: 51; Kuiper 2011: 110). However, some fortifications and cities with great defensive ramparts managed to resist

neka utvrđenja i gradovi s velikim obrambenim bedemima uspjeli su se oduprijeti osvajačima s istoka sve do sredine 641. godine. Nakon pada utvrde Babilon (današnji stari dio Kaira na području koptske "Viseće crkve") u travnju 641. godine (Kaegi 1992: 19; 1998: 50, 61; Kennedy 1998: 62) i smrti cara Heraklija u svibnju 641. godine prestaje gotovo svaki otpor protiv Arapa. Istodobno je Bizantsko Carstvo dodatno oslabljeno smrću cara Heraklija nakon čije smrti dolazi do unutrašnjih previranja u državi (Ostrogorski 2006: 67). Novonastale okolnosti prisilile su patrijarha Kira da u drugoj polovini 641. godine započne nove pregovore s arapskim osvajačima. Mirovni ugovor potpisan je 8. studenoga 641. godine čime velik dio Egipta potpada pod arapsku upravu. Krajem ljeta, 12. rujna 642. godine, bizantska vojska napustila je Aleksandriju (Pirenne 1937: 149; Ostrogorski 2006: 67; Louth 2008b: 229; Haldon 2009: 219). Nakon ulaska arapskog vojskovođe Amra u Aleksandriju 29. rujna 642. cijeli je Egipat potpao pod njihovu vlast (Kaegy 1969: 148; Kennedy 1998: 62; Ostrogorski 2006: 67; Kuiper 2011: 110). U studenome 644. umire arapski kalif Omar I. (634. – 644.) (Ostrogorski 2006: 67). Tada Bizant na čelu s novim carem Konstantinom II. (641. – 668.) poduzima kontraofenzivu i bizantska flota pod zapovjedništvom Manuela uspijeva 645. nakratko osvojiti Aleksandriju (Kaegi 1998: 59–61; Ostrogorski 2006: 67–68; Louth 2008b: 230). No, već u ljeto 646. Amr uspijeva poraziti Bizantince kod Nikiua te ponovno osvojiti Aleksandriju (Ostrogorski 2006: 68). Tako je zaključeno jedno veliko razdoblje egipatske povijesti, a zemlja je potpala pod islamski utjecaj koji traje i danas. Nakon osvajanja Aleksandrije Amr je dao uništiti Muzej i Knjižnicu, a kalif Umar je potom dao spaliti sve tekstove koji se nisu slagali s Kuranom. Navodno su papirusi bili iskorišteni kao gorivo za potpalu 4000 aleksandrijskih kupališta te su bili spaljeni za šest mjeseci (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hakam, Futuh Misr; Butler 1902: 402–427; Delia 1992: 1465), no neki tekstovi ipak su sačuvani u arapskim prijepisima koji su otkriveni u brojnim arhivima Bliskog istoka (El Daly 2003; 2005). Unatoč arapskoj dominiciji koja započinje sredinom 7. stoljeća, u Egiptu su se sve do naših dana uspjeli održati brojni staroegipatski kulturni elementi u zajednici koptskih kršćana koji su očuvali svoje umjetničke, folklorne i vjerske tradicije.

the conquerors from the east until the middle of AD 641. After the fall of the fort of Babylon (nowadays the old part of Cairo in the Coptic "Hanging Church") in April of AD 641 (Kaegi 1992: 19; Kaegi 1998: 50, 61; Kennedy 1998: 62) and the death of the emperor Heraclius in May of AD 641, all resistance against the Arabs vanished. At the same time, the Byzantine Empire was further weakened by the death of the emperor Heraclius, which led to internal turmoil in the state (Ostrogorski 2006: 67). The new circumstances forced Patriarch Cyrus to start new negotiations with the Arab conquerors in the second half of AD 641. The peace treaty was signed on November 8, AD 641, and by it a great part of Egypt came under Arab jurisdiction. At the end of the summer, on September 12, AD 642, the Byzantine army left Alexandria (Pirenne 1937: 149; Ostrogorski 2006: 67; Louth 2008b: 229; Haldon 2009: 219). After the Arab military leader Amr entered Alexandria on September 29, AD 642, the whole of Egypt came under their authority (Kaegy 1969: 148; Kennedy 1998: 62; Ostrogorski 2006: 67; Kuiper 2011: 110). In November of AD 644, the Arab caliph Omar I (AD 634 – 644) died (Ostrogorski 2006: 67). Afterwards Byzantium, led by the new emperor Constantine II (AD 641 – 668), had taken the counteroffensive and the Byzantine fleet under Manuel's command succeeded in conquering Alexandria for a short period of time (Kaegi 1998: 5961; Ostrogorski 2006: 67–68; Louth 2008b: 230). However, in the summer of AD 646, Amr had defeated the Byzantines at Nikiu and again conquered Alexandria (Ostrogorski 2006: 68). Thus ended a great period of Egyptian history, and the country came under Islamic influence, which still continues today. After the conquest of Alexandria, Amr ordered the destruction of the Royal Museum and the Library, and caliph Umar ordered the burning of all the texts that conflicted with the Qur'an. Reportedly, the papyri had been used as fuel to set fire to 4000 Alexandrian public baths and they burned for six months (Ibn Abd al-Hakam, Futuh Misr; Butler 1902: 402–427; Delia 1992: 1465), but some texts were preserved in Arabic transcripts which were discovered in a number of archives of the Middle East (El-Daly 2003; 2005). Up to today, despite the Arab domination started in the middle of the 7th cent. AD, Egypt has preserved many of the ancient Egyptian cultural elements in the community of the Egyptian Christians, who preserved their artistic, folklore and religious tradition.

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