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Sommario

RULER CULTS IN PRACTICE: SACRIFICES AND LIBATIONS FOR ARSINOE *PHILADELPHOS*, FROM ALEXANDRIA AND BEYOND*

Stefano G. Caneva

Study of the cults devoted to human beings and especially to members of ruling houses in the Hellenistic and Imperial period has considerably advanced in the last decades thanks to a significant augmentation of the published evidence as well as to an updating of theoretical approaches. The understanding of the link between euergetic discourse and cultic honors for sovereigns in international diplomacy has been substantiated by studies focusing on the interaction between civic institutions and the administrative networks of great Hellenistic monarchies and, later, of the Roman Empire[1]. Also, long-held models assuming a trend towards the 'Orientalization' of Greek and Roman religion, of which ruler cults were allegedly a symptom, have been re-considered and re-oriented towards a more subtle evaluation taking into account different geographical, political and social contexts in which the religious figure of a sovereign was defined[2]. Finally, attention has been drawn to the necessity of nu-

* I wish to express my gratitude to the editors of this volume for their kind invitation to participate in this interesting project. Drafts of this paper benefited from the comments of M. Carbon, W. Clarysse, T.J. Gillen, S. Paul, S. Pfeiffer, V. Pirenne-Delforge and J. Rüpke. The present form and approach have been much improved by discussion during the workshop 'Des hommes aux dieux. Processus d'héroïsation et de divinisation dans la Méditerranée hellénistique' (organized by S. Paul and myself in Liège, 26 April 2013) as well as by reflections originating from the paper "Theorizing religion for the individual" presented by J. Rüpke at the conference "The agents of Isiac cults: Functions, identities and modes of representation" (Erfurt, 6-8 May 2013 = Rüpke c.s.). Of course, I am solely responsible for all the statements and possible errors in this paper.

[1] On this research direction initiated by Price 1984a and 1984b, see Ma 2002 on Antiochos III and Greek cities of Asia Minor; Gradel 2002 on Roman imperial worship in Italy.

[2] Muccioli 2011 offers a wide-ranging and well-documented reconsideration of the question (see also Muccioli in this volume); see also the observations by Chankowski 2011; Gradel 2002, pp. 27-53

anced evaluation when discussing what status was conferred on sovereigns when they were awarded a special relationship with the divine sphere[3]. In this regard, the establishment of priesthoods, offerings and festivals must be distinguished from visual representations of a sovereign with divine attributes as well as from the celebration of a ruler's special link with the gods, whether it be divine ancestry, emulation, or purported divine interventions for the sovereign in historical events.

All these theoretical refinements suggest that the discussion of ruler cults should be set within the broader framework of the definition of the religious figures of sovereigns. By 'religious figure' of a sovereign I intend a diverse but coherent set of characterizations in relation to religious matters, as it emerges from 1) the royal administration and performance of cults and festivals; 2) the negotiation between the central power and local authorities; 3) cults and divine representations of the sovereign. Among the various topics that this large perspective encompasses, in this paper I discuss the dossier on Arsinoe II *Philadelphos* to investigate how the cult of a deified ruler (i.e. having received priests, festivals, and rituals) concretely became a constitutive part of the religious life of the communities composing the kingdom. It is now commonly accepted that, although being conceived primarily to respond to the interests and ideological programs of a ruling house and of its entourage, ruler cults could take root and survive the political context in which they were born inasmuch as they became part of the religious choices of the different groups composing the population of the kingdom. However, while the evidence of 'private', 'unofficial', or 'spontaneous' cults for Hellenistic sovereigns has already attracted the attention of scholars, the variety and inconsistency of these alternative definitions point by themselves to a broad conceptual problem in defining the place and function of individual religious initiative within society[4]. Also, a systematic discussion of ruler

more specifically on the passage from Republican to Imperial Rome. As questionable as its thesis is, the book dedicated by Currie 2005 to the link between poetic celebration and heroization also provides useful material for reflecting on how hero cults made borders between the human and divine spheres permeable in the pre-Hellenistic Greek world. The role of Egyptian and Near Eastern traditions in the religious representation of Hellenistic monarchs has recently been reconsidered in terms of context-related contributions within broader political, cultural and religious systems, of which Greek civic cults for sovereigns are also a part. See for instance the papers collected in Iossif *et alii* 2011; Iossif, Lorber 2009 and 2012.

[3] See Chaniotis 2003 and 2007; Iossif, Lorber 2011; Buraselis 2012, briefly picking up on the category of *synnaoi theoi* in the perspective of festivals for sovereigns appended to pre-existing celebrations for traditional gods. See also Petzl 2003 for a comparison between the visual rendering of the *dexiosis* scenes and their discursive explanation in inscriptions from Kommagene under Antiochos I: a case revealing the complex variety of configurations, by which the relationship between sovereigns and gods can be conceptualized. See also P.P. Iossif in this volume.

[4] See, among others, Robert 1966; Fraser 1972, I, pp. 227-230; Walbank 1984, pp. 95-96; Chaniotis 2003, pp. 440-442; Aneziri 2005; Serrati 2008; Mari 2008, pp. 254-255 and note 75; Muccioli 2011, pp. 105-106; Rüpke 2013.

cults from the perspective of ritual practice is yet to come[5]. The purpose of this paper is therefore to contribute to a better understanding of these themes through a particularly rich case study: by discussing textual and visual evidence concerning ritual practice for Arsinoe *Philadelphos* from within and outside Egypt, I argue that a certain degree of freedom and of individual initiative (within a framework set/accepted by central religious policy) must have played a crucial role in making the cults of Arsinoe a part of a shared religious and political identity connecting the individual with the collective sphere.

In my discussion I make use of vocabulary derived from network models and focus on what contemporary scholarship defines as 'lived religion': «A set of experiences, of practices addressed to, and conceptions of the divine, which are appropriated, expressed, and shared by individuals in diverse social spaces, from the primary space of the family to the shared space of public institutions and trans-local literary communication»[6]. While this approach methodologically reverses traditional conceptualizations of ancient religion by starting from the individual to reach the collective, its implications must by no means be confused with an unwarranted step back towards models pointing to the success of 'personal' piety (assumedly a symptom of the decline of the cultural system of the polis) as a distinctive mark of Hellenistic religion[7]. On the contrary, the interest of this approach in relation to the spread of ruler cults lies in the attempt to fully exploit our evidence to understand how new cults for a sovereign could take roots in the religious life of a group, through the mediation of what social actors and cultural models, and, finally, how these cults could contribute to creating a shared identity and even to setting conditions for profitable interaction between the different ethnic groups existing in a kingdom.

The paper is structured in three sections. The first (§ 1) applies the approach and vocabulary derived from network studies to the question of the social spread of Arsinoe's cults by progressively shifting the focus from the top to the bottom of Ptolemaic society, but also from institutional to individual initiative. The second (§ 2-3) investigates how prescriptions and prohibitions concerning offerings to Arsinoe could shape the understandings individual worshippers had of the religious acts they performed in honor of the deified queen. The third and last part (§ 4) further develops this point by focusing on how repetition of cult practice and imagery could help individuals develop a sense of religious and political identity through the

[5] See Wikander 2005 for an introduction concerning only inscriptions from the first generation of Alexander's Successors.

[6] See the discussion in Rüpke 2011, with refs (quotation from p. 191). For recent discussion of the analytical tools provided by network theories to the study of Ancient Mediterranean history, see the introduction to Malkin *et alii* 2009, pp. 1-11 and in particularly Malkin 2011, pp. 3-63, esp. pp. 25-45.

[7] For criticism of this model, cf. Mikalson 1998, pp. 1-2, and 2006; against the return of a part of recent scholarship to the Romantic idea of individual religiosity vs. civic practice, see Scheid 2013. On survival, continuity and rupture as the keywords for the discussion of the Greek polis system in the Hellenistic period, see also the observations by Ma 2008.

perception of belonging to a community of worshippers. An Appendix provides an up-to-date catalogue of inscribed small altars, stone blocks, and vessels pertaining to the worship of Arsinoe *Philadelphos*.

1. Arsinoe's cults as a network

The extension and durability of the cults for Arsinoe defy a long-held paradigm interpreting ruler cults in a general way as the temporary result of one-sided pressure or, in the most favorable cases, of unbalanced diplomatic negotiation between central Greco-Macedonian power on the one hand, and lower classes, native elites, and subjected peripheries on the other. Centralized strategies and top-down pressure certainly cannot be ruled out, yet they are but one of the various possible social and ethnic dynamics underlying the diffusion of the cults of Arsinoe *Philadelphos*. A more fruitful approach is to discuss these trends as a long-lasting and multipolar network spreading throughout the three centuries of Ptolemaic history and connecting Egypt with the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean world. By applying the terminology provided by network studies, we may describe the network of Arsinoe's cults as being made of a plurality of nodes, to which correspond different social agents such as the ruling house, the court of Alexandria, Greek and Egyptian cult personnel, Ptolemaic officials, city governments and smaller groups down to private individuals. The uneven concentration of evidence attesting to the activity of these agents allows us to detect denser geographical areas, i.e. regional networks with a certain degree of internal homogeneity, which can be labeled as 'middle grounds' within the system of the Ptolemaic Empire (Lower Egypt; Cyclades, Asia Minor and Cyprus)[8].

A variety of vectors establishes dynamic ties between these nodes, such as royal visits, decrees, letters, administrative appointments, taxes, festivals, architectural

[8] For a definition of 'middle grounds', cf. Malkin 2011, pp. 45-48. The lack of evidence for the cult of Arsinoe in the Levantine Coast, which was under Ptolemaic control in the period with which we are concerned here, has not yet received a satisfactory explanation. The foundation of a city on the Red Sea possibly named Arsinoe and hosting a cult of the deified queen (Pithom stele, lines 20-21; cf. Thiers 2007, pp. 65-66, 123-126; Schäfer 2011, p. 264; below, note 10) suggests that we should exclude that the network of city foundations and dedications associated with Arsinoe was exclusively related to the organization of the Ptolemaic Empire in the Greek Mediterranean, although the Chremonidean War certainly boosted the establishment of this network in the 260s. A future research aiming at explaining the absence of cults for Arsinoe in Phoenicia and Koile Syria should start by taking into account cases evoking Ptolemy side by side with a local goddess (cf. Aphrodite Ἐπήκοος, most probably to identify with Astarte, on a graffito from Wasṭa, near Tyre; Bonnet 2004) rather than with Arsinoe *Philadelphos* as it happens elsewhere. Were local goddesses too deeply rooted in the religious identity of the Levantine subjects of Ptolemy II to be replaced by Arsinoe-Aphrodite? At present, this is not more than a hypothesis to explore.

programs, etc. Evidently, some nodes enjoy higher hierarchical position: that is, their initiative in relation to Arsinoe's cults is greater and their impact is further-reaching in both a geographical and a social perspective. As regards the diffusion of ruler cults, the primacy of the ruling house and its entourage depends not only on the special interest that ruler cults have in the self-representation of power, but also on the fact that the vectors ensuring the diffusion and administration of ruler cults are intrinsically connected with the political, social and economic organization of the kingdom[9]. However, the ruling house and the Alexandrian elite are certainly not the only sources of initiatives related to the development of the cults of Arsinoe within and outside Egypt. It has been observed that the possibility that Egyptian priests – such as those of Pithom, Mendes and Sais[10] – could take the initiative of publishing texts concerning cults for members of the royal house is unparalleled in pre-Hellenistic Egypt[11]. This is only one aspect of a complex dynamic connecting royal pressure for the establishment of Arsinoe's cult in Egyptian temples with the enterprising response of local priests.

It is generally accepted that Ptolemy II asked Egyptian temples to install cultic statues of Arsinoe 'The Brother-Loving' goddess (*nṯr.t mr-sn*, the Egyptian translation of the Greek epiclesis) after the queen's death, which occurred in the month Pachon (27 June-26 July) 270 BC[12]. This first request did not meet general satisfaction if, as suggested by the Sais stele (lines 7-8), Ptolemy renewed it a few years later, adding promises of further benefits for Egypt[13]. While the request to introduce Ars-

[9] On the interconnection between Ptolemaic diplomacy and administration on the one hand, the spread of Arsinoe's cults on the other, see Caneva 2012, pp. 84-88; Meadows 2013; Hauben 2013. See also Ma 2002; and Capdetrey 2007 for the Seleucid system.

[10] For the Pithom stele (CG 22183; *Urk*. II 81-105), cf. Thiers 2007; Schäfer 2011, pp. 207-238. For the Mendes stele (CG 22181; *Urk*. II 28-54), Thiers 2007, pp. 185-195; Collombert 2008; Schäfer 2011, pp. 239-276. For the Sais stele (Codex Ursinianus, fol. 6 r° + Naples 1034 + Louvre C.123; *Urk*. II 75-80), see Thiers 1999 and 2007, pp. 178-180; Collombert 2008; Quack 2008, pp. 283-285, who also provides useful general discussion of these stelae.

[11] Cf. Schäfer 2011, pp. 277-278, drawing attention to the fact that in the stelae of Naukratis and Heraklion-Thonis, issued under Nektanebo I, the initiative is still taken by the Pharaoh. Clarysse 2000 and Pfeiffer 2004, pp. 282-307 come to similar conclusions as regards Egyptian priestly decrees.

[12] Mendes stele, lines 11-12 (Thiers 2007, p. 190: «L'an 15, premier moi de *chemou*, cette déesse monta au ciel. Elle unit son corps à [Celui qui a créé sa beauté (?)...].») and line 13 ("Sa Majesté ordonna d'ériger sa statue dans tous le temples, (ce) qui plut à leurs prophètes qui connaissaient ses (= Arsinoé II) desseins envers les dieux, ses bienfaits envers tous les hommes."). For a different dating of the introduction of Arsinoe's cult in the Egyptian temples, see the opposite proposals by Collombert 2008 (266/5 BC, on the basis of the Sais stele) and van Oppen Ruiter 2010 (before Arsinoe's death, in compliance with the chronology proposed by Grzybek 1990). In favor of the traditional interpretation, see Caneva 2014b, Chapter 4. For the Egyptian tradition of the ascension of the dead Pharaoh to heaven, see Pfeiffer 2004, pp. 149-150 with refs.

[13] Transl. by Thiers 2007, p. 179: «En l'an 20, sa Majesté dit aux dignitaires qui étaient à ses côtés: "Faites que l'on amène les comtes, les responsables des domaines, les prophètes et les pères divins des temples d'Égypte à [Alexandrie ?) ...].» *8.A* «Qu'on dresse une statue de sa Majesté, le reine, héritière

inoe's statues in the temples stems without any doubt from the king, the reaction of the priests of Sais is interesting as it suggests the importance of the initiative of local priests in installing the new cult in their temple (lines 10-11)[14]. Like the stelae from Mendes and Pithom, the text from Sais underscores the importance of the positive coordination between royal benefits and the integration of the cult of Arsinoe in traditional local cults[15]. Not too differently from the euergetic discourse connected with cultic honors decreed by Greek *poleis*, the importance of such interaction between the central power and Egyptian temples could hardly be seen as purely rhetorical: on the contrary, the initiative of local temples played a crucial role in translating the religious policy of the king into concrete practice. This interaction can be detected in relation to several traits of the cult of Arsinoe. For instance, the definition of the epiclesis *ntr.t mr-sn* (*Philadelphos*) was modeled after the Alexandrian cult, yet the iconography, the cultic staff and rituals adopted for the new goddess with Egyptian temples must have been decided by local experts, i.e. Egyptian priests. Similarly, we may assume that the association of the cult of the 'Brother-Loving' goddess within the competences of the high priest of Ptah in Memphis was originally a response to Ptolemaic request, yet the fact that this office became a part of the inherited responsibilities of the leading priestly families proves that the local elite integrated Arsinoe's cult, with its rituals and privileges, within their competences[16].

Two texts from Qus and Koptos comprising the dossier of the priest Senu enrich the depiction provided by the Memphite documentation. In these texts, which shed light on the career and multiple interactions of this priest with the religious policy of the Alexandrian court, Senu claims that he played a significant role in the support of the cults for both traditional gods and for Ptolemy and Arsinoe[17]. Just as among

[du Double Pays] Isis-Arsin[oé...]. *C* [...] les dieux et les déesses, car c'est la fille du dieu. J'embellirai cette / vos ville(s) bien plus que ce qui s'y trouvait auparavant». The hypothesis, made by Collombert 2008, that these benefits should be identified with the reform of the *apomoira* tax to support the cult of Arsinoe in Egyptian temples, is intriguing but remains unproven.

[14] Transl. by Thiers 2007, pp. 179-180: «Alors, les prophètes et les pères divins du temple de Neith arrivèrent dans le lieu où se trouvait sa Majesté : ils dirent en présence de sa Majesté: 'Souverain, notre maître, la statue de la reine, héritière du Double Pays, Isis-Arsinoé, [la déesse qui aime] son frère [...] a été dressée» *11.A* «C'est la place vers laquelle tous les dieux... (?). Que ta Majesté vienne la (= la statue) voir».

[15] A point aptly stressed by Schäfer 2011, pp. 257-260 regarding the association of Arsinoe with festivals for sacred animals.

[16] See recently Gorre 2009, pp. 285-344, 611-622, and Thompson 2012, pp. 117-128.

[17] The first text has been found in Qus (BM EA 1668); a probably later text from Koptos (CG 70031 [*Urk*. II 55-69] + Cairo, Egyptian Museum RT 31/3/64/1) is of greater interest for our present purpose. As Senu states at line 1: «(C1) J'ai realisé ce qu'elle [i.e. la déesse Isis précedemment évoquée] desire (en réalisant) toute sorte d'oeuvres excellentes de pierres dures, en érigeant des statues du roi de Haute et Basse-Égypte Ouserkarê aimé d'Amon, fils de Râ, possesseur des couronnes, Ptolémée vivant à jamais et des statues féminines de la reine. Rien de pareil n'avait été fait auparavant, sauf par le Maître de ce pays» (Trans. Gorre 2009, p. 109). Discussion in Derchain 2000, pp. 44-53 with the

Egyptian priests, Greeks enjoying a distinctive position within the Ptolemaic social hierarchy played a prominent role in the spread and organization of the cults of Arsinoe throughout the Ptolemaic Empire. Prosopographical data concerning the Alexandrian eponymous priests of Alexander and the *Theoi Adelphoi* as well as the eponymous *kanephoroi* of Arsinoe *Philadelphos* provide a suitable basis for detecting the connections between the careers of individual members or entire families of the Ptolemaic elite and the translation of court religious policy into practice[18]. In this perspective, the case of Kallikrates of Samos – Ptolemaic admiral, first known priest of the *Theoi Adelphoi* and author of various major dedications related to the royal house, including the foundation of the temple of Arsinoe at Cape Zephyrion – is exemplary but not isolated[19].

What associates Egyptian priests and Greek officials is that their action in the diffusion of Arsinoe's cults is not separate from their distinctive social function within the Ptolemaic system. Conversely, what still lacks in our understanding of the social dynamics underlying the spread and organization of Arsinoe's cults is an evaluation of the role of normal people: those worshippers of Arsinoe whose participation in the cult of the goddess would not have any special impact beyond the sphere of their family and close acquaintances. Detecting and interpreting their role is more difficult due to the poverty of evidence, yet not impossible in the case of Arsinoe's cults, at least in some specific geographical contexts. Approaching this issue brings us to the core of the questions concerning the link between 'lived religion' and the success of a centralized religious program.

2. Detecting individual agency in the cults for Arsinoe

In the previous section I have tried to move the focus from centralized religious programs to the role of localized groups and individuals. We can consider this movement as a shift from official to non-official, from top to bottom, or, more generally, from people whose actions have large impact within their group to others having more limited impact. In the following sections I concentrate on the attempt to detect the lived experience of the cults for Arsinoe by focusing on evidence of rituals performed by individuals that held no institutional authority. This approach requires a preliminary definition of the analytical language that I use.

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review of I. Guermeur, in «BiO» 60, 2003, pp. 327-336; see also Guermeur 2003 and 2006; Gorre 2009, pp. 103-118, 606-611, 613.

[18] See the lists of priests in Clarysse, Van der Veken 1983, with updating in *P. Sorb*. 3, pp. 12-13.

[19] On Kallikrates of Boiskos from Samos (Tm Person ID 2137), cf. Hauben 1970 and 2013; Bing 2002-2003; Bingen 2002a and 2002b. Another exemplary case is provided by the long-lasting attachment of the family of Aetos from Aspendos to official appointments associated with Ptolemaic ruler cults: cf. Caneva 2012, pp. 85-86, with previous refs at note 39.

First, as often happens when new vocabulary imported from social sciences enters the field of *Altertumswissenschaft*, the concept of 'agency' has become more and more common in recent scholarship in ancient history, yet in most cases this concept remains unexplained, so that it may cause some obscurity and even generate a sort of repulsion on the part of readers. By 'individual agency' I refer to the ability of individuals to not only understand and respond to, but also to adapt and creatively interact with social (and religious) norms, models and trends, regardless of the status that these individuals hold in the social structure. In relation to the concept of 'lived religion', individual agency refers therefore to the role of individual agents (or to say it better, of agents envisaged as individuals – i.e. by temporarily not considering the social authority in whose name they may act) in the concrete practice of cults as well as in the construction of their meaning as it is perceived at a collective level. Within this framework, social structure becomes important at a second stage, when we consider social interactions and thus the impact that individuals occupying different social statuses may have on the groups they live in. Of course, the large philosophical and sociological debate raised by the category of 'agency' cannot be discussed at length here[20]. It should be pointed out, however, that the focus on individual agency as a factor of creativity within a system needs to be nuanced by taking into account that individual initiative is deeply influenced by embodied structures, i.e. a set of models that individuals have experience with and absorb in everyday life and which play an active part in orienting their practices[21]. Coming back to our purpose of detecting the role of individual initiative in the success of ruler cults, these theoretical observations imply that top-down and bottom-up perspectives must be combined in order to understand the points of interaction between the religious initiative of single individuals or small groups on the one hand, centralized policy and normativity on the other.

Second, recent research has warned against the risks of adopting a simplistic dichotomy 'public vs. private' in relation to religious activity in Antiquity[22]. I will therefore try to nuance this terminology by adopting henceforth the opposition 'public vs. private' only in a spatial sense: in other words, by considering as 'public' the acts, cultic tools and representations related to a space that makes them visible to a number of spectators. On the other hand, by talking of 'official vs. unofficial', I distinguish cultic agents charged with institutional authority by the king, a city,

[20] A general introduction to the concept of 'agency' is provided by Emirbayer, Mische 1998. For a brief summary of its applications to cultural history, cf. Barker 2003, pp. 233-239. Rüpke c.s., explores the connection between 'agency' and 'lived religion'.

[21] In this perspective, P. Bourdieu's category of 'habitus' is still of great utility (Bourdieu 1990, esp. pp. 52-65; Maton 2012).

[22] See the studies collected in de Polignac, Schmitt-Pantel 1998 and Dasen, Piérart 2005, in particular Aneziri 2005 as concerns cults for sovereigns; see also the observations in Macé 2008 and Ma 2013, esp. pp. 212-233. For discussion of this issue in relation to Roman imperial worship, cf. Gradel 2002, pp. 1-26. In general, for a definition of 'private vs. public' rituals according to the Roman law, see Scheid 2013, pp. 76-80; Rüpke-Spickermann 2012.

a sanctuary, from those stemming out of the initiative of individuals or groups not enjoying such recognition.

The decree reported in a fragment of Satyrus' *On the Demes of Alexandria* concerning the procession of Arsinoe in Alexandria provides a good case to explore the theoretical approach that I have described before[23]. The decree states that those who want to sacrifice to Arsinoe on the occasion of the official festival shall do it on permanent brick altars or on temporary ones made of sand, to be erected in front of or above their houses or on streets along the path of the *kanephoros* (lines 12-15, 18-23)[24]. As far as the location is concerned, Satyrus' reference to the front of houses and to roofs clearly hints at household altars. The third option (of placing altars along the streets walked through by the priestess) must have been envisaged for those who did not live along the processional route, so that they could still participate in the event. People who wanted to participate in the celebration could make an altar with sand or perhaps use portable altars, whose small dimensions would suffice for burning vegetables on a fire made of sticks. As L. Robert pointed out, the fact that these altars were placed outside houses along the city streets made them belong to the public sphere: rather than being privately related to the traditional gods of the house and family, these altars performed the function of a bridge between the household and the community[25]. In other words, families and individual citizens could participate in the official event by performing an unofficial sacrifice. This occurred on a public place, i.e. visible to everyone, thus providing people with the right (and the duty, as everyone could be seen by their neighbors) to participate in a collective display of religious adherence and loyalty.

By bringing into communication private and public space, official and unofficial ritual practice, household traditions and civic innovations, this intersection between households and city streets provides the point in which religious regulation decided by institutions meets with the initiative of individuals and groups, thus contributing to the creation of a shared religious identity in Alexandria. Parallel examples are

[23] *P.Oxy.* 27, 2465, fr. 2; cf. Schorn 2001; Caneva 2012, pp. 82-83. See also below, § 3 on the interdiction concerning the sacrifice of goats.

[24] For the location of altars, cf. lines 12-15 (ed. Schorn): [οἱ δὲ] βουλόμενοι θύειν Ἀρσιν[όῃ Φιλα]|[δέ]λφῳ θυέτωσαν πρὸ τῶν ἰδ[ίων οἴ]|[κ]ων ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν [δ]ωμάτων ἢ κατ̣[ὰ τὴν] | ὁδὸν ᾗ ἂν ἡ καν̣[η]φόρος βαδίζ̣[η («Those who want to sacrifice to Arsinoe *Philadelphos* shall do it in front on their houses, or on the roofs, or along the streets walked through by the *kanephoros* ...»). For discussion of the restorations, see A.D. Nock in *P.Oxy.* 27, 2465; Robert 1966, pp. 193-194; Schorn 2001, pp. 204-205. The allowed types of altar are defined at lines 18-23: ... το[ὺς] δὲ βωμοὺ̣[ς πο]ιείτω|σαν πάντες ἐξ ἄμ[μ]ου. ἐὰν δέ τ[ι]νες | [ο]ἰ̣κοδομητοὺς πλινθίνους ἔχ[ωσ]ι<ν> ἐπ[ι]|[β]αλλέτωσαν ἐπάνω ἄμμον καὶ ἐ̣[π'αὐ]|τ̣ῆς τὰς σχίζας ἐπιθ̣έτωσαν ἐφ' [αἷς τὰ] | [ὄ]σπρια κατακα̣ύσο̣υ̣[σι]ν («... everyone shall make altars of sand. Those who by chance have altars made of bricks shall cover them with sand and add over the sticks on which they will burn the vegetables»).

[25] Robert 1966, pp. 186-192.

numerous in the Hellenistic period[26]. In addition to archaeological evidence from Delos and Priene, L. Robert mentioned the cases of altars placed along city streets in Magnesia on the Meander for Artemis Leukophrene (about 150 BC; *I.Magnesia* 100 = *LSAM* 33); in Seleucia Pieria on the occasion of the arrival of the conqueror, King Ptolemy III (246 BC; *P.Gurob*, col. III, ll. 3-5)[27]; in Krokodilonpolis, a village in the Fayyum, where a papyrus explicitly refers to doorways and roofs as alternative locations for households altars (241 BC; *WChrest*. 449). The request to build altars and to perform sacrifices outside house doorways along the streets is also attested in literary evidence for Judaea under Antiochos IV (*Maccabees* I1).[28] A small altar from Syracuse bearing the inscription Διὸς Σωτῆρος Ἱέρωνος has been interpreted in relation to a possible civic cult of Hiero II[29]. Parallel evidence is also provided by Egyptian priestly decrees. The decree of Alexandria (243 BC) states that individuals shall participate into the festival for the *Theoi Euergetai* by exposing a small shrine for the worshipped rulers near their houses (παρ'αὐ[τοῖς in the Greek version, line 35), so that it is evident that everybody honors them[30]. It is tempting to suggest that two small Greek-style bronzes at the British Museum, which represent Arsinoe *Philadelphos* with the *dikeras* and Ptolemy II with the elephant scalp and the club, the attributes of Alexander and Herakles, also played a role in similar events, in which families and individuals were called to publicly display their cultic objects as a part of a community of worshippers[31]. On the Egyptian side, the same function of plaques with the Greek dedication to Arsinoe *Philadelphos* may have been fulfilled by small stelae depicting Arsinoe wearing her typical composite crown and receiving offerings from Ptolemy dressed as Pharaoh[32].

Sand altars such as those mentioned by Satyrus are in themselves ephemeral monuments, yet small permanent altars in marble, limestone, sandstone as well as small plaques (average size 24-25 x 12-14 cm), inscribed with the name of Arsinoe *Philadelphos*, have been preserved in several areas of the Ptolemaic kingdom: in particular in Cyprus, where the high concentration and low quality of these inscriptions point to the large success of the cults for Arsinoe down to the lower strata of the popula-

[26] Cf. the case of the *Antiocheia kai Laodikeia* in Teos, where the spread of the new festival for the sovereigns is ensured by its association with the pre-existing festival of the *symmoriai*, the *Leukathea* (*SEG* 41, 1003 II; about 203 BC; Chaniotis 2007; Caneva 2012, p. 90; cf. Buraselis 2012).

[27] Cf. *WChrest*. 1; Holleaux 1942, p. 286 (pp. 281-310 : *Les guerres syriennes. XX, Le papyrus de Gourob*); Pijeko 1990, p. 23; El-Masry *et alii* 2012, p. 152.

[28] Robert 1966, pp. 188-190.

[29] *Bull.Ép.* 1953, p. 282 = 1966, p. 516; cf. Serrati 2008 pp. 83-84; Michels 2011, p. 120 (for Pergamon).

[30] This new stele transmitting the totality of the decree in a demotic and hieroglyphic version has been recently published by El-Masry *et alii* 2012. See esp. pp. 143-146 for references to the appearance of the same concern for visibility in later priestly decrees.

[31] BM 38442 (Ptolemy) and 38443 (Arsinoe). Cf. Kyrieleis 1975, pp. 20-23, 166, 172, Taf. 9, B1, J2; Caneva 2013a, pp. 298-299.

[32] For a catalogue and discussion of these stelae, see Caneva 2014b, chapter 4.

tion, but also geographically widespread in the Delta, the Cyclades, and the coast of Asia Minor. Small altars and dedications almost invariably show a simple dedicatory formula in the genitive, Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου, or the rare variant Ἀρσινόης θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου. To our present knowledge, the latter formula is securely attested only in Egypt (no. **4**, **12**, **14**)[33]. Although the exact contexts and reasons of this fluctuation cannot be understood more precisely, it is possible that the co-existence of two types of dedication formula may reflect individual choices. More precisely, the need felt by some worshippers to explicitly maintain the divinity of Arsinoe is likely to reveal that, in some cases, the divine status of the honored queen was not perceived as self-evident, otherwise the dedication would have been sufficient by itself to express it[34]. While the association of small altars with the cult of Arsinoe is evident, stone plaques and slabs have provoked different scholarly interpretations. W. Dittenberger suggested that the formula Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου identifies Arsinoe as the actor of the dedication of these objects. However, this explanation is implausible because this type of genitive (with no reference to the object of the dedication) usually indicates the addressee rather than the actor of the dedication[35]. P. Perdrizet initially interpreted the formula of the inscription as a possessive genitive and the plaques as the proof of cults being devoted to the deified queen in unofficial, perhaps private contexts. Later, however, Perdrizet drew attention to the Cypriot cippus from Yialousa (no. **33**) and suggested that some blocks of stone on the island could in fact be boundary stones, indicating areas that belonged to Arsinoe[36]. Although the latter explanation gained some followers, L. Robert convincingly pointed out that the genitive could only have a votive meaning in relation to the cult of Arsinoe and interpreted both small altars and plaques in relation to the fragment of Satyrus[37]. Whereas altars could stand on their own in front of household doorways, the most plausible explanation for plaques is that they were used to adapt brick altars, otherwise meant for multiple cultic purposes, to the cult of Arsinoe *Philadelphos*. This is confirmed by the rough borders and back sides of many plaques (as well as of small Egyptian stelae representing offering scenes for Arsinoe), proving that they were originally inserted into a support. Plaques may also have fulfilled the task of consecrating temporary altars to Arsinoe, such as those made of sand in use in Alexandria.

It is interesting to note a substantial similarity between altars and plaques from within and outside Egypt. The first point concerns the physical aspect of the altars and plaques: small dimensions are the most conspicuous element overall; also, the

[33] The restoration of this formula in no. **41** from Methymna is hypothetical.

[34] Cf. Mitford 1938, p. 29, who comments on the redundancy of the extended formula. On *Theos*/*Thea* in the titles of Hellenistic sovereigns, see Muccioli 2013, pp. 281-332.

[35] Dittenberger in *OGIS* 34 (I, pp. 59-60), together with the criticisms of Robert 1966, pp. 203-205. For a case of the genitive being used to refer to the actor of a dedication when the object is expressed, see below, Chrysogone's dedication in Theocr., *Epigram* XIII, line 2.

[36] P. Perdrizet, in «REA», 1904, p. 156.

[37] Cf. Robert 1966, p. 205.

hollow top of an altar from Kouklia (Palaepaphos; no. **20**) can be compared with the cave altars in contemporary Egypt (no. **1-2**) and represented on Alexandrian *oinochoai* and Egyptian stelae[38]. Similarity between cultic objects might mirror continuity in religious practice, an hypothesis that could also apply to cultic vessels: an amphora from Salamis in Cyprus (no. **39**) bears the inscription Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου, which allows us to infer a cultic use comparable with that of the larger corpus of Ptolemaic *oinochoai* discussed below (§ 4). Evidently, similarity does not preclude the possibility of cults with local specificities. For instance, a marble base from Khytroi (Cyprus; no. **40**) bears a dative dedication to Arsinoe *Philadelphos Naiad*, a formula pointing to the association between the cult of Arsinoe and that of a local nymph[39]. Another observation concerns the location of altars. Although most specimens have been displaced and reused, some of them have been discovered *in situ*. At the beginning of the twentieth century, an altar of King Ptolemy and Arsinoe *Philadelphos* (no. **2**) was found in Alexandria under the Serapeum of Ptolemy III, a location suggesting that the altar could have belonged to a precedent precinct for Sarapis in use under Ptolemy II. The possibility that some altars and/or plaques of Arsinoe *Philadelphos* were placed inside sanctuary precincts is paralleled by two specimens respectively from Amathous (Cyprus; no. **37**) and from Thera (no. **49**). It is likely that the latter was originally placed in the local *Isieion*. According to L. Marangou, a schist plaque found in Minoa, Amorgos (no. **53**), might also belong to the local Serapeum[40]. The reason for these dedications must be sought in the link between the cults of Isis and Sarapis and those for the Ptolemaic sovereigns, which is made evident by a white marble plaque from Halikarnassos recording the dedication of a temple to Sarapis, Isis and Arsinoe *Philadelphos* in favor of King Ptolemy II (no. **56**). At the same time, the hypothesis that altars and plaques mentioning Arsinoe *Philadelphos* could be dedicated inside sanctuaries points to a larger variety of use contexts than the one inferred by L. Robert in relation to Satyrus' text. Unfortunately, these alternative contexts escape to a great extent our understanding.

[38] On the use of hollow horned altars in Egypt, see Soukiassian 1983; Quaegebeur 1993a. The same altars appear on Ptolemaic *oinochoai* and on some small Egyptian stelae representing cultic scenes for Arsinoe (cf. *supra*, note 32).

[39] The identification of Arsinoe with a nymph possibly finds a literary parallel in an anonymous Hellenistic epigram describing a nymphaeum dedicated to the Kreniades nymphs (*SH* 978 = 113 AB). There is no scholarly consensus on the identity of this Arsinoe, to be identified with Arsinoe II according to Grimm 1998, pp. 70-72 and Austin, Bastianini 2002, p. 136, while Fraser 1972, I, pp. 266, 609-611 and II, pp. 860-861 thinks the reference is to Arsinoe III. Turning back to Cyprus, the shoulder of a clay pot from Kafizin (Cyprus Museum K. 134; Mitford 1980, pp. 235-236, no. 300; Nicolaou 1993, p. 228, cat. C; Anastassiades 1998, no. 14) bears an inscription associating the epiclesis *Philadelphos* with a local Nymph. The pot is likely to have been used for a cult devoted to Arsinoe, although the personal name of the queen is not explicitly mentioned. For this reason I have decided not to insert this item in the catalogue in the Appendix.

[40] Marangou 1994, p. 376.

3. Interdiction concerning the sacrifice of goats

Greek 'sacred laws' show that defining a public cult not only requires the regulation of a set of official details, such as the time and space of religious events and the prerogatives of official priests, but also the delimitation of a framework within which normal people are required/allowed to participate on their own in the public cult[41]. In compliance with this tradition, the decree quoted by Satyrus lists the social actors that would parade in the official procession following the *kanephoros* (lines 7-11)[42] and gives prescriptions about where and via what kind of activities the population would be allowed (and as seen before, expected) to participate in the event. As we shall see, this framework is large enough to allow people to choose freely their own way of participating in the public festival. What is more, by listing possible and prohibited options, the decree provides us with useful material for discussing the place people were encouraged to make for Arsinoe within the public pantheon of the city and within the religious practice of private households[43].

Satyrus' fragment refers to temporary altars made of sand and stable altars made of bricks, which would have been covered with sand for the occasion. L. Robert was certainly right when he observed that sand was the symbolic equivalent of the link between Arsinoe and the sea[44]. This special link is confirmed by the fact that the totality of not only the altars and plaques of Arsinoe, but also the cities re-founded or founded anew since the early 260s after the name of the queen, are related to coastal areas under Ptolemaic control. In this regard, dedicatory epigrams for the sanctuary of Cape Zephyrion, which are usually related to objects and people arriving from the sea, shed light on the cults of Arsinoe in a perspective of 'lived religion'. However, rather than commenting again on this dossier, which has already received a large amount of scholarly attention, I would like to tackle the problem of how the types of offering listed in the decree mentioned by Satyrus could contribute to a picture of the divine nature of Arsinoe as it was understood by the practitioners of her cults[45].

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[41] On the problematic categorization of certain Greek inscriptions concerning ritual norms as 'sacred laws', cf. Carbon, Pirenne-Delforge 2012.

[42] These include the *kanephoros*, city magistrates (see discussion in Robert 1966, pp. 192-193), priests, *epheboi*, and the police service of the *rhabdophoroi* (for which cf. *PSI* 4, 332; *P.Petrie* 3, 20 *recto* III).

[43] On 'household and family religion' in Antiquity, see the papers presented in Boden, Olyan 2008, in particular Stowers 2008 (theoretical introduction) and Boedeker 2008 (perspectives on the relationship between family and polis religion in Classical Greece); on 'domestic religion' as a seminal node in the network bridging the gap between individuals and collectivity, cf. Rüpke 2011, pp. 193-194. Gradel 2002, esp. pp. 198-212 interestingly applies this perspective to the study of Roman imperial worship.

[44] Robert 1966, pp. 199-202; Hauben 1983; Barbantani 2005; Bricault 2006; Demetriou 2010; Caneva 2013 and 2014a.

[45] This section develops my observations expressed in Caneva 2012, pp. 82-84.

The use of horned cave altars to host and burn combustible materials, perfume, and meat, is well attested in the Egyptian documentation of the Ptolemaic period. While they regularly display horned altars as a constitutive element of the ritual scene, Greek cultic vessels nonetheless do not show any meat offerings to Arsinoe *Philadelphos*[46]. We must, however, resist drawing conclusions on this point, as the depicted types of offering can depend on the ritual moment that such scenes represent. For example, the *oinochoai* show a libation: this act traditionally constitutes a prelude to the communication with the gods, which may *later* be established by a blood sacrifice[47]. Conversely, that animal victims were offered to Arsinoe is confirmed by Satyrus. The text (lines 15-18) lists permissions and interdictions regarding animal offerings: sacrificing birds is allowed, whereas goats and possibly sheep are prohibited. Before discussing the religious significance of this interdiction, it is worth revisiting the textual problems related to this passage. Three different reconstructions of the text have been proposed:

– Turner: [ζῶιον][48] | ἢ ὄρνεον πάντες θυέτωσαν [ἢ ὁποῖ]|α ἂν βούληται ἕ[κα]στος πλὴ[ν τ]ρά|γου καὶ αἰγός.
«[animals] or birds or whatever each one pleases, except for male and female goats».
– Robert: [ἱερεῖον][49] | ἢ ὄρνεον πάντες θυέτωσαν [ἢ ὁποῖ]|α[50] ἂν βούληται ἕ[κα]στος πλὴ[ν τ]ρά|γου καὶ αἰγός.
«[quadrupeds] or birds or whatever each one pleases, except for male and female goats».

[46] A unique exception out of all the specimens studied by D. Burr Thompson is an Egyptian he-goat appearing from behind the altar of a jug of Ptolemy IV. Burr Thompson 1973, p. 162 observes that the jug has several traits that make it unique and which suggest to her a different producer, perhaps from Crete; she tentatively identifies the depicted queen with Arsinoe III without excluding the possibility that we are dealing here with a second-century revivalist piece representing Kleopatra I. Depictions of a sacrificial victim close to a horned altar are common in Egyptian documentation from the Hellenistic period and prove that hollow horned altars were commonly used in close association with blood sacrifices in Egyptian temples (Soukiassian 1983; Quaegebeur 1993a). However no goats ever appear on Egyptian scenes.

[47] See Lissarrague 1985 and 1995; Laurens 1985; Veyne 1990.

[48] E.G. Turner in *P.Oxy.* 27, 2465, note 15, gives ὄσπριον as a second choice.

[49] Robert 1966, p. 196 finds ζῶιον too generic and not fulfilling the expected contrast with the following ὄρνεον; conversely, ἱερεῖον would refer to quadrupeds in general, from which male and female goats are excluded.

[50] Accepted as a plausible restoration in Robert 1966, p. 196.

– Schorn: [ὄσπρια][51] | ἢ ὄρνεον πάντες θυέτωσαν [ἢ ἃ ἱερεῖ]|α[52] ἂν βούληται ἕ[κα]στος πλὴ[ν προ]βά|του[53] καὶ αἰγός.
«[vegetables] or birds or any quadrupeds each one pleases, except for sheep and (female) goats».

A look at the photograph of the papyrus fragments confirms S. Schorn's conclusion about the length of the lacuna at the end of l. 17, which is too long for only two letters [ντ]. On the other hand, the interpretation as β of the letter that follows, of which only a vertical and a diagonal stroke are still visible (thus not closing the lower arch of the β), remains at first sight problematic. An interpretation of the letter as π, ι, or ε would be more plausible, unless we assume an awkward writing or the disappearance of a part of the letter at the edge of the fragment. The possibility that the word starting at the end of line 17 is λαγ|οῦ would make sense as regards the meaning,[54] but λ does not look like a sound interpretation of the letter in line 17 either.[55] Since the following line may begin with -κου, -γου, -σου, or -του, another possible restoration would be [βοε]ιακοῦ. However, this idea must be rejected as the word has no coherence with the following καὶ αἰγός. All in all, S. Schorn's interpretation still looks the most plausible.

What was the purpose of the interdiction regarding goats and possibly sheep? First of all, we must recall that the decree does not concern the official offerings performed by the *kanephoros* of Arsinoe, but sets the pertinent limits within which unofficial worshippers would be free to choose the types of offering for personal participation in the event. Expensive and cumbersome sacrificial victims such as cows, bulls or pigs were probably out of the question, but goats and possibly sheep were a different matter: they were cheaper and easier to raise or purchase for a sacrifice in the city streets on behalf of a family. Consequently, the fact that birds, another type of cheap offering, were allowed, signifies that some specific reasons existed to exclude goats (and perhaps sheep) from the offerings that ordinary people could make on public streets. The evidence in the 'sacred laws' for the interdiction against using goats as offerings is scanty and does not provide any significant link to specific

[51] Schorn 2001, pp. 206-207 sides with Robert against ζῶιον but he also refuses ἱερεῖον on the basis of its length and because no attestation of its use in contrast with ὄρνεον is known; therefore he comes back to E.G. Turner's second choice ὄσπριον, but opts for the plural again on the basis of length and of the appearance of the same word at l. 23. The reading proposed by S. Schorn has the advantage of making sense of all the types of sacrificial victim that are listed in the text, yet L. Robert's version still remains a plausible alternative.

[52] Schorn 2001, p. 207; cf. *LSAM* 119, from Methymna (Robert 1966, p. 197).

[53] Cf. the paleographic discussion in Schorn 2001, pp. 207-208.

[54] Rabbits appear along with birds as animals sent to Alexandria for the *Theadelpheia* in *P.Cair.Zen*. 5, 59820 (253 BC). The accusative λαγοὺς (line 10) confirms that we must expect the Ionic declination with ο instead of the Attic with ω.

[55] In addition, the word is too short to fill the lacuna. One could perhaps restore πλὴν [ὑὸς], λα|γοῦ καὶ αἰγός, which is possible but speculative.

deities[56]. However, L. Robert drew attention to the fact that the goat was closely related to Aphrodite *Pandemos*, to such a point that another of the cultic names of the goddess in Athens was *Epitragia*. Thus Robert suggested that the prohibition would have been meant to identify Arsinoe as Aphrodite *Ourania*, who shared the function of protecting seafarers with Arsinoe *Philadelphos*[57].

Robert's hypothesis is intriguing as it proposes an explanation of the restriction related to the Alexandrian cult, although it draws on a distinction between two manifestations of Aphrodite that is too schematic: literary sources from fourth-century Athens give the first attestation of this clear-cut opposition in Plato and Xenophon, where the dichotomy accompanies a philosophical reconsideration of the myth[58]. However, things were more fluid vis-à-vis cult practices[59]. The goat was a possible sacrifice for Aphrodite in the Greek world[60], a point suggesting that the reflections of Athenian philosophers had in fact little or nothing to do with actual cults, especially outside the Athenian context to which they refer. However, one cannot deny that, as theoretical as it was, this literary distinction gained some popular success, since it spread in a long-lasting tradition surviving until late Antiquity. A point that L. Robert overlooked, despite the fact that it would have strengthened his theory, is that Theocritus explicitly drew on the duality of Aphrodite in his *Epigram* XIII (*Ant. Pal*. VI 340):

> ll. 1-4: Ἡ Κύπρις οὐ Πάνδημος. ἱλάσκεο τὴν θεὸν εἰπών
> Οὐρανίην, ἁγνῆς ἄνθεμα Χρυσογόνης
> οἴκῳ ἐν Ἀμφικλέους, ᾧ καὶ τέκνα καὶ βίον εἶχε
> ξυνόν.
> «This Kypris is not *Pandemos* ('of the mob'). Name the goddess *Ourania* ('the Celestial') when you worship her. Dedicated by the chaste Chrysogone in the house of Amphykles, with whom she shared her children and her life».

[56] Cf. the list in Robert 1966, p. 197, note 136, with addenda and discussion in Schorn 2001, p. 209. The only generalized interdiction concerns female goats for Athena in Athen. XIII 587a.

[57] Cf. Robert 1966, pp. 198-220; on Theseus and Aphrodite *Epitragia*, see Pirenne-Delforge 1994, pp. 35-40.

[58] Plato, *Sym.*, 180d-182a; Xenoph, *Sym.* 8.9-10.

[59] See Pirenne-Delforge 1988; 1994, pp. 38, 40, 384-388; for a longer discussion of textual and visual evidence, cf. Pirenne-Delforge 2005b; Pironti 2007, p. 13; p. 107, note 8; p. 144, note 187; pp. 201-205, 242.

[60] *IG* XII 4, 303 (3rd-2nd century BC) and 358 (*SEG* 54, 744; ca. 200 BC), concerning the sacrifice of a goat to Aphrodite by the priest of Apollon in Halasarna, Kos; *IG* XII 4, 279, line B3 attests another goat sacrifice to Aphrodite, from Phyxa, Kos (250-200 BC); *IK Miletopolis* 1, line 6 prescripts the sacrifice of a goat to Aphrodite on 9th Skirophorion (ca. 350-306/5 BC). This list does not pretend to be exhaustive.

The interesting aspect of the epigram is that it relies on the Platonic tradition recognizing Aphrodite *Pandemos* as the goddess of trivial love outside marriage, whereas *Ourania* is chosen as the suitable recipient for the dedication by a pious and zealous wife. Goats could fit well into this argument because they were often considered as animals associated with sexual desire and they were attributed an ambiguous position somewhere between domesticated and wild life[61]. Goat interdiction regarding the sacrifices for Arsinoe could therefore depend on the fact that goat could be associated with an aspect of Aphrodite related to lascivious and passionate *eros*. Passionate *eros* was commonly criticized in Alexandrian literature and was clearly in contradiction with the image of mild, requited love within marriage, which characterized the deified ruling couple in Ptolemaic propaganda and in the individual cult of Arsinoe[62]. It is therefore possible that a literary tradition provided a useful model to understand a feature of Arsinoe's association with Aphrodite in her cults in Alexandria.

I will conclude on the goat interdiction by reviewing a different, yet in my view non-contradictory hypothesis: the possibility that the presence of the goat interdiction in the cult of Arsinoe is to be interpreted on a broader scale than Alexandria, as the result of the negotiation between Greek and Egyptian traditions[63]. To make sense of his new reading of Satyrus' papyrus, which assumes that sheep were prohibited along with goats, S. Schorn looked for parallels in the cults of Isis[64]. In addition to the rich evidence attesting the association between Arsinoe and Isis in both Greek and Egyptian contexts, a thread linking Aphrodite, Isis and Arsinoe can be detected in the fact that the three goddesses share bird sacrifices and a special link with the sea[65]. Further evidence is provided in the use of vegetables as offerings, which L. Robert unconvincingly explained by referring to the cult of Aphrodite *en kēpois*. Cults for Isis seem to provide closer parallels[66].

An Egyptian background can be explored for the goat restriction as well. In his commentary on Satyrus' fragment, E.G. Turner mentioned a report in Strabo

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[61] Cf. Pirenne-Delforge 1994, pp. 384-388; on the link between goats and sexual desire, cf. Volokhine 2011. On this point, one could recall that in *I.Pergamon* III 161A, lines 11-13 (ca. 150 BC?), goat meat and cheese are prohibited together with *aphrodisia* to those who want to enter the *Asklepieion* for incubation (ἀγνευέτω δὲ ὁ | [εἰσπορευ]όμενος εἰς τὸ ἐγκοιμητήριον ἀπό τε τῶν προειρημέ|[νων πάν]των καὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ αἰγείου κρέως καὶ τυροῦ). On the semantic areas of *aphrodisia*, cf. Pirenne-Delforge 2007.

[62] Cf. Daniel Muller 2012; Caneva 2014a.

[63] For an approach to food interdictions in relation to religious and ethnic identity, see Borgeaud 2004; Volokhine 2011.

[64] Schorn 2001, pp. 213-214; cf. Caneva 2012, p. 82, note 24.

[65] Cf. Bricault 2006; Caneva 2012, p. 82, note 25.

[66] Robert 1966, p. 199; the denomination simply refers to an Athenian toponym associated with the cult of *Ourania* and nothing in the evidence argues for the use of vegetables as offerings; cf. Caneva 2012, p. 73, note 26.

concerning the interdiction against goats in Mendes (Strabo XVII 1, 40: αἶγα καὶ τράγον; cf. Hdt. II 46). However, Turner quickly discarded this interpretation stating that «the celebration involved is plainly Alexandrian and the cult details purely Greek». L. Robert agreed with him[67]. Several decades of studies since then have changed considerably the scholarly appreciation of what a 'purely Alexandrian' celebration could be[68]. The same attitude could be fruitfully applied to the definition of Arsinoe as a Greco-Egyptian goddess not only in the *chora*, but also in Alexandria. An obelisk of Nektanebo II was moved by Ptolemy's engineers from Heliopolis to Alexandria to decorate the shrine of the goddess[69]. Also, it is possible, albeit not proved, that the Alexandrian *Arsinoeia* were fixed according to the Egyptian calendar rather than the Macedonian one[70]. If this is true, it would have had little to do with an attempt to avoid the problems created by the fluctuation of the Macedonian calendar over the solar year, since during the reign of Ptolemy II, all the other known festivals related to members of the ruling house had a Macedonian date.

Goat restriction survived in Egyptian cults down to the Ptolemaic period. A third-century text from the temple of Edfu listing sacred animals and plants from the provinces of Upper and Lower Egypt testifies that the interdiction still existed in Ptolemaic Mendes and further confirmation is given by an entry from a priestly handbook on a hieratic papyrus from Tebtynis[71]. It is also interesting to observe that goats never appear in Egyptian scenes representing sacrificial victims being held by the side of horned altars[72]. The reason is most likely to be found in the religious importance of Egyptian gods associated with he-goats and rams (these animals were not rigorously distinguished by the Egyptians)[73], of which the cult of Ba-neb-Djedet in Mendes offers a significant example. In this perspective, the close interaction between the cult of Arsinoe and of sacred animals in Egyptian sanctuaries, among which Mendes occupies a major position in our documentation, provides a

[67] E.G. Turner in *P.Oxy*. 27, p. 125; Robert 1966, p. 198, note 148.

[68] For the portrait of the city as has emerged from recent archaeological campaigns, see Goddio 2006; cf. Stephens 2010.

[69] Plin., *NH* XXXVI 67-69; cf. Fraser 1972, II, pp. 73-74, note 169.

[70] See Pestman 1981, II, p. 514, commenting on the dates related to the *Arsinoeia* in the Zenon archive. Pestman's proposal was based on the observation that the festival was fixed on Mesore 27th according to the Egyptian dating, whereas the Greek dates changed within a time range, which the scholar interpreted as depending on the fluctuation of the Macedonian calendar over the Egyptian one; cf. Grzybek 1990, pp. 108-109, who proposed that the *Arsinoeia* were meant to commemorate the Egyptian funeral of Arsinoe II; H. Cadell reviews the discussion in *P.Sorb.* 3, pp. 18-19.

[71] For the Edfu text, cf. Chassinat 1987, p. 334. For the Tebtynis text (*P.Carlsberg* 182 + *PSI* 1, 77), see Osing 1998, p. 246; cf. Volokhine 2011, p. 634.

[72] This reasoning calls our attention once more to the puzzling unique case whereby a he-goat is represented on an *oinochoe* of Ptolemy IV.

[73] See Volokhine 2011, pp. 635-636 on he-goats and rams being associated with creative gods in Egyptian religion and 632-635 on the fact that the different species could overlap and substitute for each other in local religious associations with gods.

fitting background, against which it is tempting to understand the possible significance of the goat interdiction for Egyptian worshippers of Arsinoe.

In general terms, Ockham's razor wisely warns us against assuming a double explanation of a single problem. However, if we reconsider the dossier on Arsinoe's cults from the network perspective that I have proposed earlier, the reality of a negotiation between Greek and Egyptian traditions underlying the definition of the cults of Arsinoe seems not to be discarded. To put it clearer, I do not believe that a phenomenon of cultural transfer or acculturation can be detected behind the Alexandrian decree for the procession of Arsinoe. One can reasonably assume that the Mendesian interdiction would hardly be of any interest for a Greek worshipper of Arsinoe *Philadelphos* in Alexandria. A point of contact, however, can be assumed at a higher hierarchical level. The evidence discussed in the first section of this paper shows that the Greco-Macedonian and Egyptian elites of the Ptolemaic kingdom were in close and continuous contact and in search of fruitful cooperation, which was sought mainly on an economic and religious basis. In this perspective, an attempt to negotiate concrete details of the cult of Arsinoe would plausibly play a major role in the discussion concerning the place to assign to the new goddess within the traditional pantheons of the different parts of the kingdom: this would presumably include aspects like cult names, iconography, and offerings, the last point comprising prescriptions and interdictions for sacrifices. The fact that goat interdiction is not attested throughout Egypt but is a regional characteristic does not constitute a conclusive obstacle to this hypothesis. Evidence from the reign of Ptolemy II reveals that interactions between the court and Egyptian priests had a geographical peak in the area between Alexandria, Pithom, and Memphis[74]. It is therefore within this 'middle-ground' network that one should seek the most plausible context of early negotiations for the definition of the cults of Arsinoe *Philadelphos*. If we focus on the Delta, the role of Mendesian traditions acquires greater importance.

To conclude, rather than assuming that elements of one tradition were transferred into another, an hypothesis which is not supported by our evidence, I am more inclined to suggest that the definition of a coherent divine figure of Arsinoe may have led both involved parts to seek suitable elements for negotiation within their own traditions. Consequently, the chosen characteristics of the new cult could be communicated in comprehensible terms to all the different types of public, i.e. to all the potential worshippers living in the kingdom.

[74] In this regard see, among others, Pfeiffer 2004, pp. 293-299; Thompson 2012, pp. 99-143 especially on Memphis.

4. Bridging the gap between individual and collective: A reconsideration of the scene on Ptolemaic *oinochoai*

Although what we know of Greek visual art is for a large part connected with religious activity, evidence of an insider's reflection on the religious meaning of visually represented rituals is almost entirely absent in Greek texts, at least before the Christian period. For this reason, approaches and methods developed by modern scholars in art history and history of religions closely mirror modern theoretical trends rather than ancient discussion on the interaction between depicted and performed ritual acts. Thus, while a positivistic approach regards iconography of cultic vessels as a valuable tool to infer objective reconstructions of ritual details, recent approaches to Greek iconography have stressed that ritual acts and their visual representations are, albeit undoubtedly interconnected, independent ways of framing and communicating the relationship that cults establish between worshippers and gods[75]. This trend has set the premises for a more nuanced and flexible evaluation of how scenes depicted on cultic vessels could be felt to interact with actual ritual action. What is more, this approach is useful for our present purpose of understanding what processes could bridge the gap between the lived experience of individual worshippers and the organization of massive events such as the Alexandrian procession mentioned in Satyrus. Thus the last section of my paper deals with the iconography of Ptolemaic *oinochoai* in order to investigate the interaction between official and unofficial, individual and collective in the spread of the cults for Arsinoe, by adopting a bottom-up perspective.

In 1973, D. Burr Thompson published the first and hitherto unique comprehensive study of the *oinochoai* in faience used for the cult of deified Ptolemaic kings and queens[76]. The geographical distribution of the finds (90% from Alexandria, 5% from Egypt, 5% from outside Egypt) proves that the vessels were typical of ruler cults in Alexandria[77]. The fact that some specimens were found in graves testifies that, although these jugs were a cheaper version of the precious ritual vessels used for libations performed by official priests, they were prestigious enough for their users to merit their preservation for eternity[78]. The typical iconography of Ptolemaic faience vessels represents a ritual scene: a female figure holding a *phiale* in her right hand, with which she pours a libation, and a single or double cornucopia in her left. The scene depicts a low altar with *akroteria* on the right of the offering figure and a

[75] The state of the question is expressed by Lissarrague 2012, with refs.

[76] Burr Thompson 1973. More recent finds and bibliographical references are listed in Niemeyer 1994.

[77] Other provenances might plausibly depend on the movement of Alexandrian citizens, who brought along their cult vessels and dedicated them after use, or alternatively kept them, and in some cases, collected them as a part of their grave goods. On the geographical spread of Egyptian faience, cf. Burr Thompson 1973, p. 8; Niemeyer 1994, pp. 393-394.

[78] On the vases found in graves, cf. Burr Thompson 1973, p. 119; Niemeyer 1994, pp. 394-395. On the poor quality of the production of the vessels, cf. Robert 1966, pp. 208-209.

tall, pillar-like altar on her left. Dedication formulae in the genitive, written on the jug shoulder or on the depicted altar, make the cultic purpose of the vessel explicit, by referring it to the sovereign for whose cult the jug was used. Although a number of fragments displaying parts of the scene or of the dedication to Arsinoe II is preserved, only one extant specimen is complete. It is a jug held in the British Museum (BM 73.8-20.389), said to be from Canosa (no. **5**), depicting a female figure holding a double cornucopia. The *dikeras* was chosen by Ptolemy II as a distinctive visual attribute of Arsinoe *Philadelphos* and, to our present-day knowledge, it seems to have maintained its exclusivity for Ptolemaic queens until as late as its revival during the reign of Kleopatra VII[79]. The dedication to Arsinoe II is written on the shoulder of the jug, above the pillar: Α[γ]αθῆς Τύ[χ]ης Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου. To the right of this figure, the horned altar is decorated with garlands and an inscription, of which only the letters Ἀγ[αθῆς] are still legible.

As regards the composition of the ritual scene on the *oinochoai*, D. Burr Thompson drew attention to the fact that the *phiale* held by the female figure is neither in line with nor above the horned altar. Since the diagonal position of the *phiale* seems to represent the moment of the libation itself rather than a preparatory act, Burr Thompson assumed that the libation was poured onto the ground[80]: it should therefore be interpreted as a *choe*, which, on the basis of the leading theories of her time, would imply that the cult of Arsinoe was a chthonic cult[81]. In this regard, she compared the altar on the *oinochoai* with the cave altar dedicated to King Ptolemy II and Arsinoe *Philadelphos* from Rhakotis (no. **2**). The altar has an open top with roughened edges, which are likely to have originally held another element, perhaps a metal fire-pan[82]. Again, D. Burr Thompson drew on the equation between cave altars and chthonic cults, which she derived from the leading bibliography of the period[83], and concluded that the hollow altar from the Serapeum of Rhakotis confirmed her observations about the iconography of the *oinochoai*. However, she also observed that the idea of the cult of Arsinoe being a chthonic cult was at odds with

[79] Cf. Athen. XI 497b-c. On the *dikeras* for Arsinoe II, see Müller 2009, pp. 363-365 with previous refs.

[80] Burr Thompson 1973, pp. 69-70.

[81] It is important to note that Burr Thompson 1973, p. 69, note 1 felt the need to observe that «this clear-cut differentiation as stated by theorizing authors was not always strictly observed» but that she also asserted that in our case «it seems to hold». She referred to Yavis 1949, pp. 91-95 and Nilsson 1961, II, pp. 117, 137, 158-159. On the cultic ramifications of the distinction between altar and ground libations, see also Burkert 1985, pp. 70-73.

[82] Cf. Yavis 1949, pp. 136, 166.

[83] Burr Thompson 1973, p. 70 cites Yavis 1949, p. 203 on the chthonic use of cave altars and states «this altar is in appearance the paradigm for the chthonic altar on the first *oinochoai* and it indicates the chthonic origins of the cult. The altars must fall very close together in date and belong to the same form of worship». An association of the altar with a chthonic cult was already supported by Th. Schreiber (cf. discussion in Fraser 1972, II, p. 385, note 367).

the fact that the altar might have been devoted to the living couple, King Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II. The same issue led P.M. Fraser to suggest that the shrine, to which the altar belonged, was already consecrated to Sarapis: the cave altar would therefore depend on the link of this god with the netherworld, which is well attested for the Ptolemaic period[84].

This interpretation needs to be re-examined both in its details and for its theoretical approach. First, both Fraser and Burr Thompson assumed that the altar from Rhakotis had been dedicated to the couple when Queen Arsinoe was still alive. As a consequence, in their opinion the type of cave altar, to which the Rhakotis specimen belongs, could only be explained by the association with a god of the netherworld. However, as I argued elsewhere, the formula of the dedication to 'King Ptolemy and Arsinoe *Philadelphos*' fits better with the period immediately following the death of the queen[85]. At that time, mentioning the deified Arsinoe with her cultic epiclesis on the side of the living king would be an effective way to evoke the presence and unity of the dynastic couple, despite the queen's death dividing it in practice. A second point is that the widespread presence of horned altars in Ptolemaic Egypt warns us against overestimating their associations with cults related to the gods of the netherworld. In this regard, a strong point against the link between Arsinoe and the netherworld comes precisely from the rejection of a clear-cut dichotomy between Olympian and Chthonian gods, which implies a too schematic equation between libations being poured onto the ground and cults related to the netherworld[86].

The act of pouring a libation must therefore be read within the visual organization of the whole scene. On Ptolemaic *oinochoai*, spatial relationships between the depicted objects are loose. A quick look at the preserved specimens of Ptolemaic faience shows that the reciprocal positioning of the features of the scene are inconsistent, especially as regards the seminal aspect of the relation between the *phiale* and the altar top. All in all, it is more plausible that the distribution of the figures was meant to suitably occupy the whole surface of the vessel, on the side opposite to the handle, with a scene depicting an idealized and easily recognizable set of rituals. As regards the representation of the ritual on the jug, the position of the *phiale* in relation to the altar seems less important than the complementary relationship between the depicted *phiale* and the real jug, i.e. the *oinochoe*. Because the two phases of a libation

[84] Fraser 1972, II, p. 386, note 367, esp. «The most likely way in which the living Ptolemy and the (probably) living Arsinoe would have been associated in a chthonic dedication is in connection with Sarapis, the newly created god of the Underworld». For the chthonic aspect of Sarapis in the Ptolemaic period, see already Wilcken 1927, pp. 29-37.

[85] Cf. Caneva 2013 and Caneva 2014b, Chapter 4.

[86] For an overview of this reconsideration see Scullion 1994; Ekroth 2002, and the contributions collected in Hägg, Alroth 2005.

normally pass through these two different tools[87], we can maintain that the image depicted on the jug symbolically completes the rite performed with it by showing its virtual continuation: the completion of the libation with the *phiale*.

This is not the only way in which the scene depicted on the *oinochoe* interacts with the real ritual performed by worshippers and may have helped them give shape to the meaning of their acts. In this regard, the female figure acting in the scene is of primary importance. The woman pouring the libation has usually been interpreted as the deified queen. On the specimen preserved at the British Museum, the *dikeras* makes Arsinoe II easily recognizable. Admittedly, especially for Arsinoe *Philadelphos*, whose cult is likely to have been posthumous, the depiction of the deified queen making a libation in her own cult must be interpreted as an idealized scene rather than the portrayal of an actual ritual act[88]. Such a depiction makes sense when we re-situate cults for sovereigns within the religious tradition in which they were born. Greek cultic vessels may represent gods instead of humans as the cultic agents of a libation. Even in these cases, however, the setting is often explicitly depicted as human, with altars and other elements clearly identifying a sanctuary. 'Offering gods' have aroused a number of contradictory interpretations, which cannot be extensively reviewed here. It is, however, worth recalling the positions taken by A.-F. Laurens and P. Veyne in the second half of the 1980s. These scholars questioned the accepted opinion that libations poured by gods implied the idea of a cult being paid by a deity to her/himself or to another god occupying a higher degree in the divine hierarchy. Conversely, the authors highlighted that representing a god with a *phiale* was a metonymy to suggest that the libation allowed the communication between the human and divine spheres, which would consequently be fulfilled by the sacrifice[89]. More recently, K.Ch. Patton has drawn attention to the fact that libation is not the only ritual act ascribed to gods in Greek art. What is more, gods are represented to «practice those forms of religion that are specific to their own particular form of worship». Thus Patton introduces the category of 'divine reflexivity' as «cultic behavior appropriate to the sphere of the individual deity and which thus is ascribed to his or her agency, reflexively iterating the god's particular characteristics and power»[90].

Turning back to Ptolemaic *oinochoai*, we can therefore suggest that the scene they represent ideally overlaps the rituals performed by individual worshippers with the expectation of establishing a fruitful communication with the deity they honor,

[87] Cf. Lissarrague 1985; 1995.

[88] Burr Thompson 1973, p. 74. The identification of the figure originally led to an erroneous interpretation of the *oinochoai* as belonging to the queens themselves. This interpretation was rejected by Robert 1966, p. 208, note 201, who convincingly argued for a use in the cult of the deified rulers.

[89] See Laurens 1985; Veyne 1990; for recent discussion, see Connelly 2007, pp. 108-115, who warns against the risk of a too clear-cut interpretation, whereas the pouring figure could overlap the god's figure with a representation of a priest sharing the attributes of the deity.

[90] Patton 2009, pp. 121-180 (quotation from p. 171).

which is the purpose of the ritual itself. The efficacy of this visual code is confirmed by the fact that, although this iconography was first adopted for the cult of Arsinoe, it soon became typical of Alexandrian *oinochoai* and was not abandoned even when, in later attestations, Ptolemaic queens were associated with the cult of the ruling couple[91], or replaced by a male ruler[92]. The last point to note is that the presence of the *agyieus* pillar on the jugs symbolically places the performance of rituals in front of household doorways, the traditional location of this pillar[93]. We can therefore interpret the *agyieus* depicted on the *oinochoai* as the visual element corresponding to the prescription that individuals shall perform their rituals in public, as attested in Satyrus and in the other texts discussed above. Also, the repetitive iconography of cultic vessels performs the same function as textual norms: both are meant to delimit the field of individual participation by proposing a uniform interpretation of the rituals by which individuals and familiar groups participate in a collective event. Public visibility and ritual uniformity are therefore the seminal tools to connect the lived experiences of individual worshippers and thus to create the bases of a shared religious habit, which also becomes political loyalism in relation to the cult of the deified sovereign.

To conclude, the traditional interpretation of the cultic scene as a *choe* performed within a chthonian cult cannot be retained. If any, an interpretation of the iconographic rendering of the rituals for Arsinoe points to the continuity perceived between her cults and those for traditional gods. Similarly, we must refute another hypothesis expressed by D. Burr Thompson, that the appearance of some vessels in funerary contexts reveals that libations to deified sovereigns were included in the rituals for the dead, who would have consequently enjoyed the divine protection of the worshipped rulers[94]. This explanation remains pure speculation, as no evidence of the association between cults for sovereigns and rituals for the dead is available. More reasonably, the inclusion of cultic vessels among grave goods must have been an individual choice. As such, it confirms the success of new cults for rulers and points once more to the interaction between centralized religious policy and individual agency as the ultimate means to ensuring the success and durability of ruler cults.

[91] Cf. Berenike on the shoulder of the jug combined with *Theoi Euergetai* on the altar of no. 29; 75; 139; 149-154; 157 in Burr Thompson's catalogue.

[92] Cf. Ptolemy *Philopator* on the shoulder of no. 42; 87; 92; 141; 193; 196; 198.

[93] On the *agyieus* on Ptolemaic *oinochoai*, cf. Burr Thompson 1973, pp. 39-41, 62-69. On the *agyieus* in Greek evidence, see Cook 1925, I, pp. 160-166; Di Filippo Balestrazzi 1984; Fehrentz 1993; Doepner 2002, pp. 183-184; Gaifman 2012, pp. 123-125. Note that archaeological and numismatic evidence from the forth-third centuries BC onwards provides prime examples of *agyieus* pillars being placed or reproduced in public contexts. For a public role of the *agyieus*, see also Paus. VIII 53, 1, 3, 6 on the festival of Apollo *Agyieus* in Tegea.

[94] Burr Thompson 1973, p. 119.

Appendix: *A geographical catalogue of inscribed altars, stones, and vessels pertaining to the cult of Arsinoe* Philadelphos

This catalogue lists dedications mentioning the cultic double name Arsinoe *Philadelphos*. Evidence in Egyptian language or referring to Arsinoe *Philadelphos* in a context different from the direct connection with the dedicated object is not taken into account here. Items are hierarchically grouped according to their geographical origin, the grammatical case the name of Arsinoe takes in the inscription (genitive, dative, accusative; cf. Kajava 2011; Ma 2013, pp. 17-24), and the type of support. Inscriptions with the simple formula Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου are by far the most common, thus this formula is implied when no other indication is given.

I) Egypt

I.a) Genitive

I.a.1) Altars

Alexandria:
– (**1**) area between the harbor and the ancient abattoir: perfume-burner in the shape of a miniaturized horned altar (c. 5 x 7 cm) with the inscription βασιλέως | Πτολεμαίου | τοῦ Πτολεμαίου on the obverse and Ἀρσινόης | Φιλαδέλφου | οἱ ἱερεῖς on the reverse (Bernand 2001, no. 7; Caneva 2013, p. 294; same formula at no. 2, 13, 58).
– (**2**) Rhakotis, Serapeum of the Euergetes, near Pompey's pillar: decorated hollow altar (65 x 84 cm) with the inscription βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | καὶ Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου | Θεῶν Σωτήρων (Th. Schreiber, in «ASAW» 21, 3, 1903, pp. 251-252; M.L. Strack, in «APF» 3, 1905, pp. 126-127, no. 1; *OGIS* 725; Breccia 1911, no. 6; cf. Fraser 1972, II, pp. 385-386, note 367; Burr Thompson 1973, p. 70; Grimm 1983 = *SEG* 34, 1531; Bernand 2001, no. 8; Sabottka 2008, pp. 57-64 and Figs. 13-18; Caneva 2013, pp. 295-296).

I.a.2) Plaques and stones

Athribis:
– (**3**) limestone plaque (19 x 24 cm) ; (G. Lefebvre, «*ASAE*» 6, 1905, 190, no. II)
Unknown provenance:
– (**4**) limestone plaque (19 x 20 cm) with the inscription Ἀρσινόης θεᾶς | Φιλαδέλφου (*I.Louvre* 9; *SB* I 2237).

I.a.3) *Oinochoai*[95]

– (**5**) Said to be from Canosa; London, BM 73.8-20.389: complete jug, damaged and restored in many places; the shoulder of the vase bears the inscription Ἀ[γ]αθῆς Τύ[χ]ης Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου; on the left side of the altar, only Ἀγ[αθῆς] is still legible (Strack 1897, p. 223, no. 25; Burr Thompson 1973, pp. 125-126, no. 1; pl. I, LXII).
– (**6**) Hadra, Alexandria; Alexandrian Museum 16168: fragment displaying the central part of an altar bearing the inscription Ἀγ]αθῆς Τύχης | [Α]ρσινόης | Φιλαδέλφου |Ἴσιος (Burr Thompson 1973, pp. 172-173, no. 142; pl. L).
– (**7**) Hadra, Alexandria; Alexandrian Museum 16167: fragment displaying the central part of an altar bearing the inscription Ἀγαθῆ]ς Τύχης | [Ἀρσινό]ης | [Φιλαδέ]λ̣φου Ἴσιος (Burr Thompson 1973, p. 173, no. 144; pl. L).
– (**8**) Alexandria; Alexandrian Museum T32: small fragment bearing the inscription [Ἀρσινό]ης | Φιλ]α̣δέλφου |Ἴσιος (Burr Thompson 1973, pp. 174-175, no. 146; pl. L).

I.b) Dative

Alexandria:
– (**9**) Private collection, probably from Alexandria: white marble plaque (15 x 20 cm) with a dedication to Arsinoe *Philadelphos* by Asklepiades (P.M. Fraser, «Berytus» 15, 1964, 73-74, no. 5; Bernand 2001, no. 11).
– (**10**) Alexandria: white marble plaque (12 x 18 cm); (Strack 1897, no. 24; *SB* I 3661; Bernand 2001, no. 12).
– (**11**) At the Alexandrian Museum, probably from Alexandria: white marble plaque with a dedication to Arsinoe *Philadelphos* by Thestor in favor of himself, his wife and children. The restoration Ἴσιδι Α]ρσινόηι at line 1 is uncertain (*OGIS* 31; Strack 1897, no. 30).

Thebais:
– (**12**) stone plaque bearing a dedication to Arsinoe *Philadelphos* by Satyrus; due to the absence of diacritics in the edition of the text, it is not possible to state whether the anomalous feminine form Ἀρσινόηι θεᾶι | Φιλαδέλφῃι | Σάτυρος, was written on the stone or is a case of modern conjecture (*OGIS* 30; Strack 1897, no. 26).

Hierakonpolis:
– (**13**) Stone block with the inscription βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι | καὶ Ἀρσινόηι Φιλαδέλφωι | Πτολεμαῖος φρούραρχος | καὶ οἱ ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν στρατιῶται (*SB* I 1104; Fraser 1972, II, p. 377, note 311; for the same formula, cf. our no. 1-2, 58).

[95] Burr Thompson 1973, nrr. 143 and 147 belong most probably to this group, yet these fragments are too small to bear the complete double name Arsinoe *Philadelphos*.

Unknown provenance:
– (**14**) From an Egyptian temple, preserved at the Archäologisches Institut, Universität Trier: limestone stele (37 x 26,5 cm) representing Arsinoe with her Egyptian composite crown holding the *ankh* symbol and a papyrus scepter, probably facing a sacred animal on a pedestal; besides the hieroglyphic titles of Arsinoe, the donor Totoes, an Egyptian member of the temple staff, has added a Greek dedication in amateurish style, which is not entirely legible: ᾳ̣θ̣ | Ἀρσινόηι | θεᾶι | | Φιλαδέλ|φωι Τοτοῆς | παστοφόρος | ναύτης |Ἀ[ρ]σ̣[ι]ν̣όης (Albersmeier, Minas 1998; *SEG* 48, 2037; Albersmeier 2002, p. 96; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 64; Nilsson 2012, p. 169, no. 8; Caneva 2013, note 115).
– (**15**) Bought in Paris; limestone plaque with the dedication Ἀρσινόηι | Φιλαδέλφωι | Τιμὼ ἡ ἱέρεια (*Rev. Épigr*. 1 [1913], 162, no. 22; *SB* IV 7326; Fraser 1972, II, p. 367, note 228).
– (**16**) Now in Cairo; limestone plaque with a dedication to Arsinoe *Philadelphos* (*SEG* 24, 1229; B. Boyaval, in «CdÉ» 41, 1966, 367, no. IV).

I.c) Accusative

Alexandria:
– (**17**) Bruchion district, re-used in the substructure of the base of the Diocletian column: statue base of Arsinoe *Philadelphos* dedicated by Thestor son of Satyrus, Alexandrian. (*OGIS* 32; Bernand 2001, no. 10).

II) Cyprus

II.a) Genitive

II.a.1) Altars

Archimandrita:
– (**18**) upper part of a rectangular altar in yellowish limestone at the Paphos District Museum (RR 1536); (Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. l; Anastassiades 1998, no. 1).

Nea Paphos:
– (**19**) 'House of Orpheus': altar of yellowish-white limestone from the village of Kouklia, at the Paphos District Museum (Anastassiades 1998, no. 4).

Palaepaphos:
– (**20**) limestone altar with hollow upper surface at the Kouklia Site Museum (Reg. no. 2); (Mitford 1961, p. 7, no. 12; Robert 1966, p. 206, note 190; Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. g; Anastassiades 1998, no. 7).
– (**21**) rectangular sandstone altar at the Kouklia Site Museum (Reg. no. 410); (Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. k; Anastassiades 1998, no. 9).

Amathous:
– (**22**) limestone altar (Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. d; Anastassiades 1998, no. 20).

Kourion:
– (**23**) acropolis: limestone altar preserved at the Episkopi Site Museum (I, 180); (Mitford 1938, p. 30, cat. h; Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. e; Anastassiades 1998, no. 22).

II.a.2) Plaques and stones[96]

Palaepaphos:
– (**24**) marble slab (Mitford 1961, p. 8, no. 14; Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. i; Anastassiades 1998, no. 5).
– (**25-26**) two rectangular blocks of limestone, at the Kouklia Site Museum (Reg. no. 90 and 127); (Mitford 1961, p. 8, no. 13 and 12; Nicolaou 1993, 227, cat. h-j; Anastassiades 1998, no. 6 and 8).

Khytroi:
– (**27**) fragment of a limestone plaque at the Cyprus Museum (Inscr. GR. 98); (Mitford 1938, 30, cat. g; Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. m; Anastassiades 1998, no. 10).

Nicosia:
– (**28**) Agios Georgios: rectangular stone with a metal element protruding at the base, suggesting that the stone was attached to another object (D. Pilides, «RDAC» 2003, p. 184; *SEG* 53, 1755).

Soloi:
– (**29**) rectangular limestone block at the Cyprus Museum (Inscr. GR. 500); (Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. o; Anastassiades 1998, no. 15).
- (**30**) sandstone slab at the Cyprus Museum (Inscr. GR. 389); (Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. p; Anastassiades 1998, no. 16).
– (**31**) Soloi-Mersinaki: white marble plaque (Mitford 1938, p. 30, cat. i; Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. n; Anastassiades 1998, no. 17).

Kourion:
– (**32**) block of sandy limestone at the Episkopi Site Museum (CB 1518); (Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. f; Anastassiades 1998, no. 23).

[96] I do not include a fragment of a drum of grey marble (Mitford 1938, p. 28, no. 13; Nicolaou 1993, p. 228, cat. F; Anastassiades 1998, no. 28), where the expression [ἱερεὺ]ς Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου (line 2) does not refer to a dedication but to the cultic competences of the donor, the priest Onesitimos son of Ariston.

Yialousa:
– (**33**) limestone cippus (P. Perdrizet, in «REA»1904, p. 156; Mitford 1938, p. 30, cat. e; Robert 1966, p. 204; Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. s; Anastassiades 1998, no. 24).

Amathous:
– (**34**) small limestone stele (Mitford 1938, p. 30, cat. d; Nicolaou 1993, p. 226, cat. c; Anastassiades 1998, no. 18).
– (**35**) limestone plaque (Mitford 1938, p. 30, cat. a; Nicolaou 1993, p. 226, cat. a; Anastassiades 1998, no. 19).
– (**36**) Agios Tychon: decorated base fragment (*OGIS* 34; Mitford 1938, p. 30, cat. c; Nicolaou 1993, p. 226, cat. b; Anastassiades 1998, no. 21).
– (**37**) Lower City: fragment of a column belonging to a sanctuary (P. Flourentzos, «CCEC» 37, 2007, p. 300; *SEG* 57, 1736).

Larnaka:
– (**38**) Kition (?): limestone plaque in a private collection (Mitford 1938, p. 30, cat. f; Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. q; Anastassiades 1998, no. 27).

II.a.3) *Oinochoai*

Salamis:
– (**39**) Amphora bearing the inscription Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου on the shoulder (Mitford 1983, p. 30, cat. b; Nicolaou 1993, p. 227, cat. r; Anastassiades 1998, no. 25).

II.b) Dative

Khytroi:
– (**40**) Marble statue base with a dedication to Arsinoe *Philadelphos Naiad* by Aristokles son of Aristokles, Alexandrian (New York, MM Inv. 74.51.2378; Mitford 1961, p. 8, no. 6; Nicolaou 1993, p. 228, cat. A; Anastassiades 1998, no. 11).

III) Lesbos

III.a) Genitive

III.a.2) Plaques and stones

Methymna:
– (**41**) marble plaque; the restoration Ἀρσινόης [θεᾶς] | Φιλαδέλφου is uncertain (*IG* XII 2, 513; Brun 1991, pp. 101-102).

IV) Cyclades

IV.a) Genitive
IV.a.2) Plaques and stones

Delos:
– (**42**) marble plaque (*IG* XI 4, 1303. Durrbach 1921, no. 25; Bruneau 1970, pp. 544-545).

Paros:
– (**43-45**) three plaques (*IG* XIII 5, 264-266). No. 265 (**43**) is marble. No. 266 (**44**) is written on both sides.

Ios:
– (**46**) stone plaque (*IG* XII 5, 16).

Thera:
– (**47**) marble plaque (*IG* XII 3, 1386).
– (**48**) stone plaque (*IG* XII Suppl. 156).
– (**49**) probably from the *Isieion* of Thera: stone plaque (*IG* XII 3, 462 = *RICIS* 202/1201; Witschel 1997, pp. 17-23, 34-37; Bricault 2006, p. 28, note 127).

Amorgos:
– (**50**) Arkesine: marble plaque (*IG* XII 7, 99).
– (**51-52**) Minoa: two marble plaques (*IG* XII 7, 263-264).
– (**53**) Minoa: schist slab (*SEG* 40, 739 = L. Marangou, «Ergon», 1989, p. 112, Fig. 106; Marangou 1994, p. 376).

V) Asia Minor

V.a) Genitive

V.a.2) Plaques and stones

Milet:
– (**54**) stone plaque (*I.Milet* I 7, 288).
– (**55**) marble base bearing some notches on the upper face, perhaps meant to host a perfume-burner (*I.Milet* I 7, 289; Robert 1966, p. 206, note 194).

V.b) Dative

Halikarnassos:
– (**56**) White marble plaque with an inscription attesting the dedication of a temple for Sarapis, Isis, and Arsinoe *Philadelphos* in favor of Ptolemy II (London, BM I 906; *OGIS* 16; *RICIS* 305/1702; Malaise 1994, pp. 359-360).

VI) Euboia
VI.a) Genitive
VI.a.2) Plaques and stones

Eretria:
– (**57**) House IV: stone slab (*SEG* 40, 763; K. Reber, «AK» 33, 1990, pp. 113-114).

VII) Peloponnese

VII.c) Accusative

Kalauria:
– (**58**) Sanctuary of Poseidon: limestone base of a sculptural group representing King Ptolemy and Arsinoe *Philadelphos* (for the same formula cf. above, nrr. 1-2, 13) dedicated to Poseidon by the city of Methana/Arsinoe; inscription on three blocks with the text βασιλῆ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Ἀρσινόαν Φιλάδελφον ἁ πόλις ἁ τῶν Ἀρσινοέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελοποννάσου Ποσειδᾶνι (Wallenstein, Pakkanen 2009; Caneva 2013a, pp. 280-282).

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* Le abbreviazioni delle riviste sono, di norma, quelle dell'Année Philologique, mentre sillogi di fonti, enciclopedie e volumi miscellanei seguono la prassi internazionale d'uso. Alcune sigle sono indicate nella bibliografia. C.s. corrisponde a in corso di stampa.

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Abstracts

Josef Wiesehöfer, *«Not a God, but a Person Apart». The Achaemenid King, the Divine and Persian Cult Practices*

It is quite difficult to describe the position of the Achaemenid Great King from an ideological and religious-ritualistic point of view. The traditional distinction between human and divine does actually not fit this particular situation, while a comparative analysis of the Persian iconographic tradition, of the Greek literature describing the great ceremonies at the Achaemenid court, of the Elamite, Mesopotamian, and Avestan traditions allows us to frame the peculiar status of the Achaemenid king (or maybe of the Achaemenid kingship). Scholars have recently proposed the hypothesis that the Achaemenid rulers might have been the object of cult after their deaths. But the question remains open about their status while still alive.

Federicomaria Muccioli, *The Cult of Timoleon in 4th Century BC Political and Religious Context: Tradition and Innovation*

Diodorus and Plutarch report that Timoleon was attributed heroic honours by the citizens of Syracuse after his death. This paper aims at investigating the religious, social as much as political framework of those *timai* on the background of the cultic practices in the 4th century BC. Heroic cult in Sicily was usually due to founders or leaders such as tyrants who had acted evergetically towards the citizens of their poleis, e.g. the *oikistai* attested for the archaic ages or the heroic tributes to Gelon, Hieron, Theron and Dion in his lifetime. Timoleon does not represents an exception, as he is considered as a founder in the sources. He compares to Gelon, according to Timaeus, who considers both Timoleon and Gelon as the true saviours of

Sicily. Timaeus was very conservative as far as cults were concerned and he might be responsible for the emphatic description of Timoleon's death and honours. The games celebrated in his memory deserve special attention. In particular, the music contests that are seemingly not attested before and should actually be compared to those held in Athens and Macedonia on the occasion of funerary celebrations.

Luisa Prandi, *Fortune, Virtue and Divinity. The Case of Alexander*

This paper looks at the partial apotheosis of Alexander the Great, providing a survey of his posthumous reception in Macedonia and Greece. Another key piece of evidence is Alexander's funeral organised in Egypt by Ptolemy son on Lagus. The main focus of the paper, however, is on what we know of Alexander's own behaviour, and what we can conclude from it about the *persona* he sought to cultivate and convey. The author also aims to offer answers to some basic questions: firstly whether, towards the end of his life, Alexander deliberately acted in ways which suggested godhood, with careful consideration of his behaviour at Haphaistion's funeral; and, secondly, whether he took steps to establish an official apotheosis, with an analysis of the ancient very scanty tradition.

Franca Landucci Gattinoni, *The Divinisation in the Literary Tradition at the Beginning of Hellenism*

The cult of the ruler in Early Hellenism is amply attested by epigraphic documentation: many *poleis* would express loyalty and gratitude to their sovereigns through worship, always portraying them as munificent benefactors. Literary documentation of the practice od divinising rulers is much scarcer, being almost solely confined to the well known case of Demetrius Poliorcetes, revered as a god by the Athenians in at least three circumstances between 307 and 290 BC; in fact, for the most part, the literary tradition proves hostile to this Athenian form of worship, considered unworthy of free men. In literature originating in the Greek tradition, the cult of the ruler needs to be distinguished from the notion of ideal monarchy, described in these ancient texts as an 'honorable service' on the part of monarchs, who are celebrated for their disinterest in their own glory and orientation towards common good. There is, nonetheless, proof of a dynastic cult having its largest centre in Ptolemaic Egypt, especially since the reign of Ptolemy II who, in 280/79, organized a large procession in honour of his father, by then formally deified; the event was described in detail by a contemporary observer, Callixenus of Rhodes, and preserved via Athenaeus. Into this contradictory cultural climate fits the figure of Euhemerus of Messene, a 'rationalist' and 'atheist', who regarded the ancient divinities as deified benefactor-kings. Euhemerus was criticized by Callimachus, a poet of the court of Ptolemy II, perhaps because he revealed the *arcana imperii* of the time, namely the

'political' ties between benefits (received by the subjects) and divine honours (bestowed on the sovereign), a practice of which Ptolemy II was a master.

Stefano G. Caneva, *Ruler Cults in Practice: Sacrifices and Libations for Arsinoe* Philadelphos*, from Alexandria and Beyond*

In this paper I discuss the dossier of cults for Arsinoe II *Philadelphos* to investigate how the worship of a sovereign could concretely become a constitutive part of the religious life of the communities composing a kingdom. I argue that in order to let the worship of a sovereign survive the political context in which it was first conceived, a certain degree of freedom and of individual initiative must have been encouraged among potential worshippers, so that the cults could become part of a durable shared religious and political identity connecting the individual with the collective sphere.

Lucia Criscuolo, *The Queen, the Goddess and Her Horse*

In the Ptolemaic royal titulature, the eponymous priests had an important role as an expression of the dynastic ideology and cult. In second century BC, the lists of such priesthoods became increasingly long, with the addition of both new kings and queens, their cult epithets, and new priesthoods for special royal cults. After the succession of Ptolemy VIII one of these priesthoods, the sacred hoal of Isis, seems to have acquired a new ideological importance. Its first traditional attestation (131 BC) can now be challenged and its meaning in the dynastic propaganda can be better defined.

Panagiotis P. Iossif, *The* Apotheosis *of the Seleucid King and the Question of the High-priest/priestess: a Reconsideration of the Evidence*

'Royal cult' is generally considered based on the inscriptions, both royal and civic, dealing with the *timai* received by the kings. Ancient historians being in most cases silent on the cult of the kings, especially of the Seleucids, modern history has reconstructed a category of cult based on the few scarce inscriptions relating the *timai* offered to the kings (and their families). Most of these inscriptions are manifestations of the effort of civic authorities to deal with the supra-civic power of a king. Much ink has been spilled on analyzing these *timai*, generally (and correctly) described as a form of benefaction in the *do ut des* process.

With the exception of the *prostagmata* of 209 for the nomination of Nikanor and 193 for the grand-priestesses of the cult of Laodike, most of the documents reflect the point of view of the city and her own anxieties in dealing with an unknown power. The same inscriptions do not deal with the question of the status of the Se-

leucid king: divine? hero? human? Furthermore, they provide no evidence on how kings (and their courts) considered themselves. An analysis of the evidence is proposed following Henk Versnel's approach of the notion of *theos*. Concluding, it is necessary, for our better understanding of the Seleucid cult, to take under consideration coinage and other media for dissemination of the royal image. An innovative approach of coins is proposed focusing on the way the kings associated themselves with the divine.

Edward Dąbrowa, *The Arsacids: Gods or Godlike Creatures?*

The aim of this paper is to propose some new observations concerning the Arsacid ruler-cult. In several studies written over the last few years the author proposed some interpretations of various aspects of this cult. Nevertheless, there are still some questions which must be discussed. One of them especially important, is if in the Arsacid empire ruler-cult was indeed a replica of religious rites known in the Hellenistic monarchies. Available evidence does not support a view that on soil of Arsacid empire there existed any priest or regular religious practices related to the ruler-cult. Even while different types of evidence permit us to conclude that the Arsacid kings willfully propagated some forms of the ruler-cult, we should assume that its theological content was certainly different from that known from other Hellenistic states.

Margherita Facella, *Apotheosis and Catasterism in Commagene: the So-called 'Lion-Horoscope'*

Discovered in 1882 during the first survey of the architectural complex of Nemrud Dağı, the 'lion-horoscope' is one of the most spectacular Commagenian monuments. It is a quite large sandstone stele carrying the relief of a lion speckled with stars and with a moon crescent on his chest. Amongst the reasons that make this find so well-known is that the 'lion-horoscope' is, to date, the earliest Greek sculptural evidence of an astrological conjunction. For this reason the relief has attracted significant attention within scholars, who have tried to locate in time this celestial event. The reinvestigations by Maurice Crijns and by Stephen Heilen demonstrate how the dating which the "horoscope" would represent and its interpretation remain under debate. In this paper the author gives a rapid overview of the dating hypothesis and of the main interpretations proposed to date. The author then focuses on recent (and less recent) epigraphic finds which, in her opinion, permit a connection of this conjunction with an important event in the king's life, and therefore allow us to exclude that the relief celebrates Antiochus' apotheosis.

Luis Ballesteros Pastor, *Mithridates, God-King? Iranian Kingship in a Greek Context*

The Persian and Macedonian roots of the Pontic kingship were reflected in both the concept of royalty and in the relationship with the subjects. Thus, while Mithridates VI received from the Greeks divine honours similar to those granted for other Hellenistic monarchs, the Iranian perspective was followed at court: rulers were not deified although they could receive special treatment. Mithridates was hailed in Roman Asia with terms that may be related to Greek epithets: *pater-ktistes, conservator-soter*. Eupator was also exalted as a New Dionysus, that could be a sort of *interpretatio Graeca* of the king's ability to drink plenty of wine – which was a feature associated with the Persian concept of kingship. The Pontic ruler was also hailed as New Dionysus in Athens, in an episode reminiscent of Demetrius Poliorcetes' arrival in the city. The Delian chapel dedicated to Eupator and the Dioscuri highlighted the relationship of these heroes with the sign of Gemini, which was linked by Persian astrology to Cappadocia. Mithridates shared this *heroon* with Castor and Pollux as a *synnaos theos*. This king was interested in being especially associated with two characters in Greek mythology: on the one side Pelops, regarded by certain traditions as king of Paphlagonia, famous as a charioteer, who had a chariot of winged horses given by Poseidon. On the other side, the Pontic ruler claimed to be linked with Telephus, mythic king of Mysia, the region formerly ruled by the satraps of Dascylium, ancestors of the Mithridatids. In addition to this Eupator was most likely associated with Heracles, a Greek hero who had travelled to the Black Sea on several occasions. The only direct evidence about ruler cult in the Mithridatid realm is an inscription dedicated to Pharnaces I by the *phrourarch* Metrodorus: it reflects that the king was not deified, although he probably was granted honours similar to those received by the Persian rulers. However, there would have been a dynastic cult in Pontus, analogous to the one established by Antiochus III in the Seleucid Empire. From at least Pharnaces I we know about the office of *archiereus*, royal foundations with dynastic names, and the use of royal epithets by some Pontic monarchs.

Tommaso Gnoli, *Augustus' Apotheosis*

This paper analyses Augustus' funerary ceremony of 14 AD and specifically focuses on the procedure of the Apotheosis and the significance of the great dynastic tomb in Campo Marzio. The analysis of the ceremony's religious meaning reveals a typical case of 'invention of tradition,' pretending that it respected the oldest beliefs of the Roman religion rather than new revolutionary needs. The ideological contents of the message connected with the death of the *princeps* had been accurately selected by Augustus himself in his lifetime as he had planned the entire ceremony in great detail, imbuing it with high symbolic content. The message transmitted through this was a conscious alternative to Hellenistic ideologies.

Anna Lina Morelli, Erica Filippini, *The Deification of Women in the Early Empire: The Numismatic Evidence*

The deification of the *princeps* after his death is the result of a series of ideological implications. In the Early Empire the *consecratio* had a strong political meaning and worked as a medium to achieve personal legitimation by means of the creation of a divine filiation and the consequent celebration of it. Female members of the imperial family also deserved a *consecratio* starting from the *apotheosis* of Drusilla, the sister of Caligula, and of Livia, the grandmother of Claudius. All this acquires special relevance in connection with the increasing importance of the women of the imperial family in the process of legitimation of the imperial power. This is testified for by issues of posthumous coins during the first century AD celebrating both personal and dynastic legitimation by means of the deification of the members of the imperial family, also women.
In this regard, the study of the numismatic evidence regarding *diva Domitilla*, identified here as Flavia Domitilla Minor (sister of Domitian and grandmother of his adoptive sons), shows a clear dynastic programme, related to the role played by the imperial women as guarantors for the succession to the throne.

Gabriele Marasco, *A Reversed Apotheosis: How to Send an Emperor to Hell*

The *apotheosis* and the emperor's cult were essential and generally accepted features during the Roman Empire. However, the decision was not always taken without difficulty: sometimes, indeed, it caused fierce debates and controversies, which have left their mark in the history and literature of Antiquity. The most famous case is the apotheosis of Claudius, which was ordered by Nero and Agrippina for political reasons, but caused considerable dissent and derision, witnessed mainly by Seneca's *Apokolokyntosis*. The analysis of this work and of similar evidences of the strong disagreements about the apotheosis of Hadrian and of some generally neglected sources concerning Commodus and Aurelian reveal that these disagreements were primarily the result of widespread hostilities in the Senate. The frequent references in Cassius Dio and in the *Historia Augusta* also show traces of a very strong debate that opposed, also in the juridical field, imperial authority over the Senate, jealous of its prerogatives, and aimed to provide its members with impunity even in cases of serious crimes.

Orietta Dora Cordovana, *For the Living or for the Dead? Policy and* consecratio *in Julio-Claudian and Antonine Age*

This paper focuses on some hitherto neglected aspects of imperial apotheosis. Scholars agree that Septimius Severus manipulated this ritual for political purposes, in order to consolidate the legitimacy of his imperial succession against one of the

few political prerogatives still under senate control. This contribution aims to demonstrate that this was not a unique case. By contrast, the need to claim legitimate succession was a constant Leitmotiv of the principate and a pivotal practice well rooted in a specific political habitus and a philosophic ideology of *maiestas*. Against the background of the ambiguous political opposition between the senate and the *princeps primus inter pares*, *consecratio* was not just a redundant religious ritual linked to the imperial cult. Focusing specifically on the first and second century AD, this paper analyses the fundamental role of the late emperor's successor in the apotheosis-protocol and its crucial legal consequences in the context of this specific procedural aspect of imperial succession.

Kai Ruffing, *Living Gods-State in Roman Egypt. Social and Economic Conditions of Imperial Cult and of Emperor Worship in the Capitol of Ptolemais Euergetis*

Due to its richness of documentary papyrus sources Roman Egypt provides a good example for the economic and social conditions of worshipping the Roman emperor. Thus the present paper tries to sketch briefly how the Roman emperor was worshipped during lifetimes by different stratums of the population of the Nile province. After short remarks on the composition of the provincial society something is to be said about the worshipping the emperor in Egyptian temples and the role of the *Kaisareia* in the metropoleis of the province. Finally a closer look will be taken on how the imperial cult and the worship of the emperor was financed in the Capitolium of the nome metropolis Ptolemais Euergetis. It will be argued that there was an economic and social win-win-situation for the elite sustaining the cult in the Capitolium.

Ted Kaizer, *Euhemerism and religious life in the Roman Near East*

Scholars generally claim that the presentation of the divine world of the Roman Near East in both the *Phoenician History* by Philo of Byblos and the *Syriac Oration* of Meliton the Philosopher, with their tendencies to explain the gods as mortals who had become deified in recognition of their contributions to civilization, had nothing to do with the actual cultic realities on the ground. This paper provocatively questions the legitimacy of downplaying their Euhemeristic interpretations as a literary phenomenon only, and suggests to take into account the possibility that these theories could in fact have played an active role in some of the cultic life within the Levant.

Matthias Haake, *'Knockin' on Heaven's Door'*

The *apotheosis* of a king or emperor, during his lifetime or after his death, constituted an essential element in the political communication between rulers and subjects

both in the Hellenistic period and during the Roman Imperial era. Perhaps contrary to expectations, this aspect of political communication was of no importance in one specific type of text, the *peri basileias*-literature. This genre, having first occurred during the reign of Alexander the Great, experienced its *floruit* in the early Hellenistic period and is attested, albeit as a rather unsuccessful phenomenon of reception in the Roman Imperial era and late antiquity. Socially, it is part of the communicative context of the continually precarious web of relationships between ruler and city. However, it is not the real-political aspects that characterise the content of the philosophers' texts – which are addressed to sole-rulers, entitled *basileus* and directed at the panhellenic public of poleis as their implicit readers –rather, it concerns the construction of the ideal good ruler, opposed to the tyrant omnipresent in ancient political thought. It is in this context that the absence of the apotheosis-theme in the *peri-basileias*-texts needs to be explained.

Attilio Mastrocinque, *Heliogabalus, Saturnus and Hercules*

The ancient tradition unanimously condemned the emperor Heliogabalus, but did not explain what the alleged reason and the meaning of his behaviour were. Recent researches has been aimed at understanding more than describing or condemning the political and religious choices of this odd emperor. In this article a ritual performed by him is explained where he combines a lion, a monkey, a snake, and human genitals. The iconography of some magical gems shows the same elements and is referred to a castrated Egyptian Kronos, whose features were known also in Syria, at Hierapolis-Bambyke. This Kronos was a symbol of Eternity and possibly of the eternity of a deified emperor. A second peculiarity of Heliogabalus was his depiction on coins as a cross-dressed Hercules, wearing a priestly Syrian dress, similar to female attire. Romans knew only of a cross-dressed god, namely Hercules at the court of Omphale. This was a means by which Heliogabalus presented himself as a new Hercules and made the Romans understand his attitude.

Antonio Panaino, *The Sasanian Emperor Between Human and Divine*

Sasanian royal ideology should be framed in its particular context. The king was a *persona sacra*, who, by means of his initiation to royalty (in the rituals of enthronement and coronation) changed his status and at the same time entered an altogether new ontological dimension. While this royal elevation gave him a *čihr* (descent/brightnes/image) deriving from the gods, it did not permit him to name himself as *yazad*. Furthermore, the *šāhān šāh* remained a *dastgird* of the gods, and this explains why he continued to offer sacrifices for the benefit of his own soul. All these facts, analyzed more in detail, serve to demonstrate that the Persian king was a human being, not a god, but set apart, as a sacred person. As such, he was responsible for an

eschatological role in the struggle against (historical and spiritual) evil, and in close relation with Ohrmazd and the other Yazadān. This special position needs to be carefully considered, which is why the concept of divinization which is applied to it seems to be completely unfitting, or, at least, misleading.

Ramón Teja, Non tamen deus dicitur cuius effigies salutatur: *the Discussion Over the Imperial Cult in the Christian Empire*

In the so called *Christian Empire* that began with Constantine, a new religion was shaped from Greek and Roman paganism, with the addition of new themes to benefit the Roman cult of the emperor which had been promoted partly through the iconic fashioning of an image to establish the emperor type. Christian liturgy transmitted what had been the late-antiquity imperial court ceremonial, based on the sacral nature of the imperial figure. Contemporary Christian thinkers attempt to justify the persistence of those rituals which establish different meanings to terms such as *adoratio* and *salutatio*, *numen supernum* and *numen imperatoris*, or, as in the case of Gregory Nazianzenus, between the *proskynesis* to images of divinities and to image of emperor, censuring the practice that he called mixed *adoratio*; distinctions which seem, above all, rhetorical devices. There is the paradox that in the Christian empire the so called *adoratio purpurae* that had been before Constatine a cause of so much spilling of blood of martyrs, was to become a permanent ceremony in the imperial palace. This ambiguity concerning the respect demonstrated by Christianity for imperial images, caused a variety of interpretations that reappear with particular harshness in the iconoclastic controversy.

Giorgio Bonamente, *Theodosius I, an Emperor Without Apotheosis*

The *Apotheosis* is a complex institution with a strong and spectacular ritual. Its *ratio* is evident in the connection between power and the imperial virtues, and in the projection of the emperor – after death – to a time and to an absolute dimension. The primary role of the Senate in managing the *probatio*, which preceded and gave foundation to the *relatio in numerum divorum*, and the *consecratio* of the deified emperor conferred prestige and credibility to imperial *apotheosis*. Therefore, by its nature, the *apotheosis* is commensurable with both the Old and New Testament's eschatological sanction of the works of a man, which explains the passage from the *apotheosis* to the 'sanctification' of the Christian emperors.

At the beginning, the institute of the *apotheosis* was commissioned by Augustus for his adoptive father, but throughout the imperial age became an important component of the figure and the role of the figurehead and role of emperor, because the Senate maintained an important role in deciding the *probatio*, and the successor to the dead emperor – who usually promoted the *probatio* and sanctioned the *conse-*

cratio himself – obtained a strong legitimacy from the title of *divi filius*. A profound transformation, both in the ceremony and in the conception of the institution origintated from Constantine the Great. The first Christian emperor received both the ceremonial of *relatio in numerum divorum* and the title of *divus* by the senate of Rome, and obtained the *depositio ad Apostolos* in the Basilica of the Apostles in Constantinople. It was evident that the Christian conception of the afterlife fate of the emperor came into direct competition with the traditional Roman conception. The balance experimented with by Constantine soon proved soon unstable and hence his sarcophagus was removed from the Basilica of the Apostles during the reign of Constantius II.

Nevertheless, only Ambrose was able to impose a Christian *interpretatio* on the projection of the imperial figure beyond the limits of earthly life, in occasion of the death of Theodosius in 395. His senatorial culture exposed his sensitivity to the political significance of *probatio* and he strived to give new foundations, a new process and new referents for reviewing the political work of an emperor, thus granting to it the chrism of absoluteness. The recent victory of Theodosius over Eugenius and the succession to the throne of his two children presented Ambrose with the ideal conditions under which to propose a new model in a solemn manner. During the funeral, the bishop of Milan showed how a Christian prince could be 'accepted in light of the Father'. It can be said that *De obitu Theodosii* marked the time when the traditional *apotheosis* disappeared and the era of the sanctification of the Christian rulers officially began.

Antonio Carile, *Imperial Funerals and Burials in Constantinople Between Reality and Legend*

Though deprived of their original gold ornaments, Byzantine sarcophaguses made of rare marbles (porphyry, green marble of Thessaly, red marble, proconnesian marble, Assuan black granite, reddish marble, onyx or alabaster, Hereke marble, Sagarion marble), stand as a testament to imperial grandeur. Damages inflicted by thieves and fragments reused in other buildings testify the bias to obliterate the function and memory of the imperial sarcophagus. The burial ceremony described by Constantine VII in the tenth century is demonstrated adherent to reality by an historical description recently edited by Featherstone.

Monica Centanni, *'Alexander rex' Between Byzantium and Venice: the Double Ideological Interpretation of the Alexander's Flight (XII-XIII Centuries)*

The episode of Alexander the Great's flight is a common subject in late-antique and medieval Byzantine art. The scene features both as the subject of monumental depictions and as an ornament in small precious objects related to courtly ceremonial,

including golden rings, ivory caskets, and glazed dishes. Between the 10th and the 13th century the legend startd to be portrayed also in the Western world. In medieval churches the scene featured either in isolation, as a warning against human pride, or next to Biblical episodes, as positive symbol. In the twelfth-century Norman cultural milieu, the iconography of Alexander's flight assumed negative connotations, with a precise ideological twist of the meaning attributed to the image in Byzantine domains. By contrast, in early thirteenth-century Venice, the image of *Alexander Rex* was once again converted into a positive symbol, in accordance with the Byzantine tradition. Indeed, Alexander's flight can be considered both an example of regal *apotheosis* and an *exemplum superbiae*. Such positive and negative meanings can be both traced back to textual and visual sources: the negative meaning to an apocryphal chapter of the Scriptures, and the positive meaning in the sense of a prefiguration of the divine charisma of the imperial power.

Alessandro Scafi, *The Survival of the Classical Apotheosis in the Medieval Geographical Tradition: The Pillars as Cartographic Pointer to Christian Divinisation*

The apotheosis of Hercules, recorded in classical sources, had a Christian afterlife in medieval cartography. The idea of an east-west progression of human history lies at the heart of the medieval mappae mundi, which were east-oriented pictorial representations combining time and space. The Pillars of Hercules, depicted at the bottom of some of these maps to indicate the Straits of Gibraltar, marked both a geographical boundary – the extreme west – and a historical threshold – the impending consummation of history. A map sign associated with the classical hero who became a god was adopted by Christian mapmakers to point to the ultimate apotheosis of humankind. According to Jean Seznec, the ancient gods survived through the Christian Middle Ages as historical figures transformed into gods, as symbols of cosmic forces, as allegories. This paper suggests the importance of geographical tradition to ensure this very survival.

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