

THE RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF PTOLEMAIC QUEENS WITH APHRODITE, DEMETER, HATHOR AND ISIS

Branko Fredde van Oppen de Ruiter

Volume One



**RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATIONS OF PTOLEMAIC QUEENS
WITH APHRODITE, DEMETER, HATHOR AND ISIS**

by

BRANKO FREDDE VAN OPPEN DE RUITER

Volume One

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ABSTRACT

RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATIONS OF PTOLEMAIC QUEENS

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by

Branko Fredde van Oppen de Ruiter

Adviser: Professor Jennifer T. Roberts

The religious identification of Ptolemaic Queens with Greek and Egyptian deities has thus far received rather marginal attention in studies of Hellenistic ruler cults. This dissertation presents an interpretation of the ideological importance and symbolic significance of the queens' identifications particularly with Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis. Four thematic case studies on matrimony, incest, lamentation and jubilation reveal various related religious motifs, such as prosperity, fecundity, reincarnation, sacralization and victory. They bear out the notion that the Lagids' marriages were presented in a wide range of media as (consanguineous) *hieroi gamoi*, and that mourning, immortalization, triumph and elation were part and parcel of royal ideology. In this context, my research underscores the amalgamation of Hellenistic and Pharaonic concepts of royalty particularly in terms of the idealized functions and duties of monarchy.

The queens' religious identification, I argue, contributed to the popularization, legitimization and sacralization of Lagid rule in Egypt. The phenomenon offered a framework through which the queens. Authority and influence, power and prestige could be comprehended. Of course, the queen's position depended first of all on her status as the king's wife, as well as the mother of the crown prince. The remarkable paired representations of royal couples and her role in the transmission of divine kingship emphasize the ideological importance of the queen's presence at court. It was, moreover, considered imperative that she participate in religious and/or royal ceremonies, such as the dynastic cult and the royal jubilee. Several Ptolemaic queens became so powerful that they actually reigned independently or as regent over their children. The worship of Ptolemaic Queens was not a simple side-effect of the cults established for Ptolemaic Kings. Neither in Pharaonic Egypt nor in other Hellenistic kingdoms were female members of the royal house honored on a par with their spouses. I contend that individual queens did derive personal prestige from their deification, and that at least in the case of some of the later queens this prestige corresponds to their exercise of actual political power. In their exemplary position at the Alexandrian palace the queens thus encouraged female participation in Hellenistic Egypt.

PREFACE

The subject of the present dissertation, the religious identification of Ptolemaic Queens with Greek and Egyptian deities, came to me through sheer serendipity. I had been hoping to write my Master's Thesis at Leiden University (The Netherlands) for Henk Versnel on the deification of Alexander the Great, as he had published several insightful articles on the ancient ruler cult. It soon became clear that so many eminent scholars have voiced their opinion about it that I felt I could not presume to be able to contribute anything new to the debate. It was then that, while scrambling for a related subject, I stumbled upon an intriguing article by Julien Tondriaux, entitled "Princesses ptolémaïques comparées ou identifiées à des déesses" (*BSAA* 37 [1948]: 12-33), which formed the basis for the Ptolemaic section in his collaboration with Lucien Cerfaux, *Le culte des souverains dans la civilisation gréco-romaine* (Tournai, 1956). To my surprise, I discovered that few scholars had endeavored to explain the phenomenon of religious identification. Certainly for the particular aspect of the worship of royal women there have not been many scholarly interpretations. Until the time I started my Master's Thesis (1996-97), the notable exceptions were Jan Quaegebeur and Sarah Pomeroy. Not realizing the many pitfalls and enormous complications of the wider historical context (Graeco-Macedonian rule in Hellenistic Egypt), I enthusiastically embarked on a symbolic interpretation of the identification of Ptolemaic Queens in particular with Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis.

After graduating from Leiden University (1997), I was honored to be offered the chance to participate in an international exchange program with Rutgers and Princeton Universities (New Jersey) so as to obtain a second Master of Arts degree (1998). At

Rutgers, I was able to continue my study of the Ptolemaic Queens under the supervision of Jack Cargill and Lowell Edmunds from whom I wrote an independent research paper on the theme of lamentation and a thesis on that of jubilation, respectively. Subsequently, I was delighted to be admitted to the doctoral program at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York and study with Sarah Pomeroy, a pioneer in the field of women's studies in the ancient world. Her *Women in Hellenistic Egypt* (New York, 1984) is obviously the foundation for my research. For Prof. Pomeroy I have written an independent research paper on incest in ancient Egypt (2000) and another on the theme of incest in the context of the Ptolemaic ruler cult (2001). In addition to my dissertation proposal, there are evident structural similarities between the aforementioned works and the present dissertation. While fully revised, the text that lies before the reader is a natural development of these preceding studies. It builds upon almost a decade of research on the Ptolemaic Queens' religious identification and hopes to offer a novel synthesis of the subject.

In my years of study I have greatly benefited from many conversations with eminent scholars in the field. Sarah Pomeroy and Jennifer T. Roberts have, in turn, served as research advisor, with the latter serving as chair of my dissertation committee. Donna F. Wilson kindly agreed to be empanelled and made innumerable suggestions that vastly improved the present work. Special acknowledgements are due to Elizabeth D. Carney (Clemson University) and Roger S. Bagnall (Columbia University) for generously making their time available and offering valuable criticism as uncompensated committee members. Apart from the aforementioned, I would like to thank the following for sharing their thoughts with me: Peter Bing (Emory University), Stanley Burstein (California State University, L.A.), John Darnell, Veronika Grimm and Ann Hanson (Yale University), and above all Dorothy J. Thompson (Girton College, Cambridge, U.K.) for reading the first half of the manuscript. It has been a constant struggle, particularly as a foreign student, to balance my academic responsibilities and the

necessity of gainful employment for my livelihood. I therefore wish to express my deepest gratitude for the financial assistance – how ever large or small – I have received, chiefly in my first years in the United States, from the following institutions: the Foundations of the Baroness of Renswoude in The Hague and in Delft, the Leiden University Fund, the Dr. Muller's Fatherland Fund, the Netherland-America Foundation, the Noorthey Association, and the CUNY GC History Program. I am furthermore very thankful for having been allowed to teach at CUNY's Bronx Community College and Hunter College, as well as at Yale University.

Branko F. van Oppen de Ruiter
New Haven, CT, June 2006

Note on Transliteration*

While there seems to be a tendency in recent years to transliterate Greek names and places as close as possible to the original spelling, I prefer the more familiar Latinized (or Anglicized) forms. Hence I use Ptolemy, *not* Ptolemaios; Berenice, *not* Berenikê. When transliterating Greek terminology in the main body of the text, I am using spellings that, for the sake of consistency, may differ somewhat from common forms: *e.g.*, *gynê*, *hyios*, *nymphê*, *synnaos theos*. Admittedly, this may cause the reader some confusion. I adhere to the following transliterations of Greek characters:

GREEK	TRANSLIT.		GREEK	TRANSLIT.
α	<i>a</i>		ν	<i>v</i>
β	<i>b</i>		ξ	<i>x</i>
γ	<i>g</i>		ο	<i>o</i>
δ	<i>d</i>		π	<i>p</i>
ε	<i>e</i>		ρ	<i>r</i>
ζ	<i>z</i>		σ / ς	<i>s</i>
η	<i>ê</i>		τ	<i>t</i>
θ	<i>th</i>		υ	<i>y</i> *
ι	<i>i</i>		φ	<i>ph</i>
κ	<i>k</i>		χ	<i>ch</i>
λ	<i>l</i>		ψ	<i>ps</i>
μ	<i>m</i>		ω	<i>ô</i>

*. Except in diphthongs (*au*, *eu*, *ou*).

Egyptologists commonly use special symbols to represent the phonetic quality of hieroglyphic, hieratic and/or demotic script. So as to make Egyptian phrases more easily accessible to the reader, I have transliterated the Egyptological transcriptions according to the following table (showing the traditional convention of transcription):

* All translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

TRANSCR.	TRANSLIT.	TRANSCR.	TRANSLIT.
<i>ʿ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>ch</i>
<i>i / j</i>	<i>i / j</i>	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>kh</i>
<i>j / y</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>
<i>ʿ</i>	<i>‘a</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>u / w</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>sh</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>ḳ</i>	<i>q</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ṭ</i>	<i>th</i>
<i>r</i>	<i>r / l</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>dj</i>
<i>ḥ</i>	<i>h</i>		

Additionally, where necessary for pronunciation, a short *e* is inserted between consonants. However, no standard system or consistent convention exists for this insertion, so that uniformity is quite impossible. In the introductory textbook to Middle Egyptian, James Allen points out that the name of the XIIth-Dynasty Pharaoh *S-n-wśrt* can be read as “Sesostris” (based on the Greek spelling), “Senwosret” (based on Coptic), “Senusret” or “Zenusret” (based on the estimated pronunciation) and even “Useratesen” (based on a misreading of the hieroglyphs as *Wśrt-s-n*).¹ Thus, I have used “*Hab-Sed*” as transliteration of the Egyptological transcription *Hḥb-Śd* () , although it is more often spelled “*Heb-Sed*” and sometimes (esp. in French publications) “*Cheb-Sed*.”² In the case of most personal and place names, I have used Latinized forms (derived from Greek) – even if the modern Arabic(-ized) form is more commonly used. *E.g.*, I use Apollinopolis Magna instead of Edfu (Eg. Behedty), and Tentyris, instead of Dendara (Eg. Nitentore).³

¹ J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge, 2000), 19.

² *E.g.*, see: *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Dreißigjahrfest.’

³ For a list of place names in Egypt, see: Appendix B: Egyptian Nomes and Capitals.

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INTRODUCTION



On the occasion of the wedding of King Ptolemy II (r. 285-246 BCE) to his full sister Arsinoe II (ca. 316-270/68 BCE), we are told,¹ one or more poets drew an analogy between this royal sibling marriage and that of Zeus and Hera. Indeed, the Alexandrian poet Theocritus (fl. early 3rd cent. BCE) wrote a panegyric for the King in which he praised the Queen for loving “her kinsman and her spouse,”² and compared the royal wedding to the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera.³ During the celebration, the poet Sotades of Maroneia (fl. ca. 275 BCE), infamous for publicly insulting the Successors of Alexander the Great (r. 336-323 BCE), remarked, “he shoves the prick in an unholy hole”⁴ – not so much directing his abuse at the King, but rather at “Zeus who delights in thunder.”⁵ If we leave aside for a moment the question whether such remarks were intended to laud or scorn the royal incest consummated at the Egyptian court, we might wonder whether the politico-religious implication of such an analogy was to somehow assimilate the royal couple with the gods. While religious honor was paid to the Spartan commander Lysander (fl. 408/7-395 BCE) and the Syracusean tyrant Dion (ca. 408-353 BCE), to King Philip II (r. 358-336 BCE) of Macedon and his

¹ Plut. *Quaest. conviv.* IX.1 (= *Mor.* 736E-F); Eustath. *Comm. Hom. Iliad.* III: 878 ll. 13-17.

² Theoc. *Id.* XVII.128, 130.

³ *Ibid.* 131-134.

⁴ Sotad. F 1.

son Alexander the Great, as well as to many of the Successors,⁶ for women similar forms of worship were not performed in the Greek world before the Hellenistic Age (323-30 BCE). Before the death of her first husband King Lysimachus of Thrace (r. 305-280 BCE), however, Arsinoe became the new patron goddess of Ephesus (renamed Arsinoea in her honor); Theocritus compared her beauty to that of Helen, and the poet Callimachus (*ca.* 320-240 BCE) called her his Muse and a Nymph; the royal admiral Callicrates (*fl. ca.* 280-260 BCE) founded a shrine dedicated to “Arsinoe Aphrodite Zephyritis”; on faience wine jugs, used in cults ceremonies in her honor, she was called “Agathe Tyche Arsinoe Philadelphus Isis”; and well into the Roman imperial period street names attest to the popularity of identifying Arsinoe with Greek goddesses through assimilating her name with religious epithets associated with Aphrodite, Athena, Demeter and Hera.⁷ The religious identification of Ptolemaic queens with Greek and/or Egyptian goddesses generally receives no more than a cursory treatment in examinations of the Ptolemaic ruler cult. To be fair, the deification of Arsinoe II Philadelphus has not escaped the notice of modern historians.⁸ In this respect, the works of Julien Tondriau and of Jan Quaegebeur deserve special mention.⁹ Yet, scholars have paid much less attention to the

⁵ *Ibid.* F 16.

⁶ *E.g.*, see: Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 103-122 (Greece), 123-144 (Macedonia), 145-188 (Hellenistic); Habicht 1970, 3-36 and *pass*; Price 1988, 23-40.

⁷ Evidence culled from: Tondriau 1948a, 15-21.

⁸ For specific aspects of Arsinoe’s cult, *e.g.*, see: Wiedemann 1883, 384-393; Blomfield 1905, 27-45; Pfeiffer 1926, 161-174; Nock 1930 = 1972, I: 204-206, 217-218; Kiessling 1933, 542-546; Segré 1937, 286-298; Sauneron 1960, 83-110; Pomeroy 1984, 29-30, 33-38.

⁹ Tondriau 1948a, 15-21; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 192-217; Quaegebeur 1970, 191-217; *id.* 1971, 239-270; *id.* 1978, 245-262; *id.* 1998, 73-108.

cults of other Ptolemaic queens.¹⁰ It is remarkable that, in the otherwise exemplary *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte* (1956; 1970²), epigraphist Christian Habicht barely mentioned the cultic honors received by Hellenistic queens.¹¹ In fact, between Grace Macurdy's *Hellenistic Queens* (1932) and Sarah Pomeroy's *Women in Hellenistic Egypt* (1984), the power of individual queens has only rarely been addressed.

Because political history is inclined to focus on the actions of leading men, both modern and ancient historians have tended to ignore the part played by influential women – even if their powerful presence at court is recognized. For instance, Berenice I (*ca.* 340-*ca.* 280 BCE) was said to hold the greatest influence among the wives of King Ptolemy I (r. 305/4-282 BCE), to excel in virtue and prudence, and to be distinguished among respectable women.¹² Nevertheless, sources remain regrettably silent about what specifically constituted her influence, status and/or prestige. In the case of their daughter, Arsinoe II, more compelling evidence suggests her exceptional sovereignty and divinity. Modern historians nonetheless disagree whether, *e.g.*, her royal titulary was mere ceremonious (even posthumous) formality or an indication of the Queen's actual political power and authority.¹³ The wives of Macedonian kings had never received royal titulature, while Arsinoe II was the first woman in Antiquity to bind the royal fillet

¹⁰ W. Otto 1905-1908 ind. *s.v.* 'Herrscherkult'; Jeanmaire 1924, 241-261; Bevan 1927, 127-131; Brady 1935; Visser 1938, 14-20; W. Otto 1939, 5-16; D.B. Thompson 1973, 51-62, 71-75, 117-122; Quaegebeur 1988, 41-53; D.J. Thompson, 1988, 125-138; Fantham *et al.* 1994, 144-155; Carney 2000b; Hölbl 2001, 280-293.

¹¹ Habicht 1970, 110 (a Berenice [II?] in Rhodes), 111 n.1 and 173 (Arsinoe II in Cos), 115 n.8 (Philoteria in Miletus), 121-122 (Berenice II in Itanos on Crete; NB: "Berenike erhält die Kultehren *nur* dank ihrer Stellung als 'Schwester und Gattin' des Königs" [emph. added]).

¹² Plut. *Pyrrh.* IV.4: τὴν Βερενίκην μέγιστον δυναμένην καὶ πρωτεύουσαν ἀρετῇ καὶ φρονήσει τῶν Πτολεμαίου γυναικῶν; Σ Theoc. XVII.34: αὕτη ἐν ταῖς σώφροσι γυναιξίν εὐδελος ἦν.

(*diadēma*) around her head and was honored with the title “*basilissa* (royal woman, queen, princess).”¹⁴ In Pharaonic Egypt, few queens could claim royal titulature on a par with that of the king.¹⁵ From the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, queens such as Hatshepsut (r. 1473-1458 BCE), Nefertiti (d. *ca.* 1334/3 BCE) and Thuoris (Eg. Tuosre; r. 1198-1196 BCE) held the titles “Lady of the Two Lands” or “Mistress of the Two Lands,” but only Arsinoe II could boast the titles “Grand Female Ruler of Egypt” and “Mistress of the Whole Circuit of the Sun-Disc.”¹⁶ Arsinoe was the first queen to be deified in her lifetime, on equal footing with her brother and spouse Ptolemy II, in the cult of the “*Theoi Adelphoi* (Sibling Gods).”¹⁷ She was, moreover, worshipped well beyond her earthly passing in the guise of goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hera, Agathe Tyche, Isis and Hathor. Are we really to believe that the lasting popularity of Arsinoe’s cult was due only to the deliberate propaganda of her shrewd brother Ptolemy II?¹⁸ Are we to accept the publicly announced gratitude toward her resolution (*prohairesis*) to support the Chremonidean alliance against Antigonus Gonatas as a mere act of courtesy toward the same Ptolemy?¹⁹ Are we to ignore that the Queen joined her brother at Pithom

¹³ Cf. Burstein 1982, *pass.*; Pomeroy 1984, 17-20; Queagebeur 1988, 42-48; Hazzard 2000, 81-100.

¹⁴ Ritter 1965, 114-124; Carney 1991, 161-162; *ead.* 2000a, 225-228.

¹⁵ Bleeker 1959, 262; Brunner 1964, 78-88; Quaegebeur 1970, 202-206; Pomeroy 1984, 19; Troy 1986, 68-70.

¹⁶ Troy 1986, D1/4, D1/10, D2/13-14.

¹⁷ *P.Hib.* II: 199; Koenen 1993, 51 n. 61.

¹⁸ *Pace* Hazzard 2000, esp. 99-100.

¹⁹ *Pace* Burstein 1982, 204-205, 209-210; for the decree of Chremonides (*IG* II² 687.16-17), see: Habicht 1994, 144.

to inspect the border defense?²⁰ The balance is certainly delicate between fruitless skepticism and imaginative speculation.

My object is above all to demonstrate the importance of the deification of Ptolemaic queens in the context of gender and power relations at the Lagid court. In the wake of Pomeroy's *Women in Hellenistic Egypt*, Ptolemaic queens have become object of some scholarly interest focusing on their public honor or prestige, their economic or political power, and their female independence from the male environment.²¹ To explain the increased status of women in public as well as private life in comparison to Classical Greece (chiefly Athens), Pomeroy has pointed to the more egalitarian traditions that had existed in Egypt long before the establishment of the Lagid dynasty.²² However, during the three millennia of Pharaonic history, the position of power and authority enjoyed by the aforementioned Hatshepsut or Nefertiti remained highly exceptional. Conversely, political influence can be attested for Berenice I and Arsinoe II onwards, while later queens such as Berenice IV and Cleopatra VII actually reigned independently. Another factor adduced for the increased female independence is the diminished importance of the restrictive customs of the classical *polis*.²³ Even among the Hellenistic kingdoms, however, the position of the Ptolemaic queens remains unique. Moreover, in Macedon – where no *polis* structure existed before the rule of Philip II – patriarchic traditions

²⁰ *I. Cair.* 22183 = *Urk.* II: 94, l. 16: “[The King planned] with his Wife and Sister to protect Egypt there [at Pithom] against foreign countries.”

²¹ *E.g.*, see: Brenk 1992; Fantham *et al.* 1994, 136-182; J.B. Burton 1995, 41-42, 124-125; Minas 1998; Bailey 1999; Hölbl 2001, esp. , 94-98, 101-105, 168-172, 197-199, 285-293.

²² Pomeroy 1984, 172-173; also, see: Bleeker 1959, 261-268; Préaux 1959, 127-175.

²³ Pomeroy 1975, 120; Arthur 1984; Fantham *et al.* 1994, 140; Blundell 1995, 65-77; Iwersen 2002, 7-13.

similarly impeded women from exercising political power.²⁴ As the relative insignificance of the Antigonid royal wives demonstrates, the vital involvement of Olympias and Adea-Eurydice in the power struggles of the time after the death of Alexander was ultimately an ephemeral aberration. It is my underlying assumption in this dissertation that the identification of Ptolemaic queens with Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis, among others, is an essential factor in the expansion of female participation in Hellenistic Egypt.

The significance of such religious identifications – whether for the royal house in general or for the queens in particular – has not been systematically examined. Rather, various identifications have been separately considered. The assimilation of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II with Zeus and Hera has consistently been understood in the context of their consanguineous marriage alone, as an attempt to justify the incest of the royal couple.²⁵ The poetry of Theocritus, Callimachus and Posidippus, in which Queen Arsinoe and Hera are closely associated, nonetheless, includes concomitant themes such as sovereignty, chastity, fidelity and virginity.²⁶ Tondriau offered the influential interpretation that the identification with Aphrodite was motivated by the goddess' maritime character – naturally popular among the Ptolemies, whose fleet navigated the Red, Black and Arabian Seas.²⁷ Pomeroy adds that Aphrodite “was the only major Greek

²⁴ Macurdy 1932, esp. 229-232; Carney 1993, esp. 318; *ead.* 2000a, esp. 245.

²⁵ *E.g.*, see: Elderkin 1937, 425-435; Tondriau 1948a, 19; Taeger 1957-60, I: 376; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 61; Hopkins 1980, 311; Shaw 1992, 283-284; J. B. Burton 1995, 149, 152; Cameron 1995, 19; Hunter 2003, 192-195.

²⁶ *Infra* Pt. One, ch. VI, § 2.

²⁷ Tondriau 1948d, 172-175; also, see: Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 199; Pomeroy 1984, 36.

goddess associated with territory under Ptolemaic control,” viz., Cyprus.²⁸ Elizabeth Carney explores the identification of royal *hetaerae* as well as Macedonian royal women with Aphrodite in connection with their sexual relationship with deified kings.²⁹ Still, territorial affiliation, navigational protection, nor sexuality fully accounts for all elements of the Ptolemaic queens’ identification with Aphrodite. In her study of Ptolemaic *oenochoe* (faience wine-jugs), Dorothy Burr Thompson focused on the significance of abundance and prosperity in the close association of Ptolemaic queens from Arsinoe II to Cleopatra I with Agathe Tyche.³⁰ We will have to consider if these themes were restricted to the identification of the queens as bringer of Good Fortune, or were important for the royal ideology in general. Cleopatra’s famous performance as “Nea Isis,” manifesting herself as the earthly incarnation of that goddess, has been explained as part of her grandiose religious policy legitimizing her claim to sovereignty.³¹ Arsinoe II had, in fact, already been designated as Isis in her cartouche.³² As we will see, the assimilation of Ptolemaic queens with Isis was the most frequent among the religious identifications. I would not deny the validity of these interpretations of specific instances of assimilations, but they do not seem to apply well to the general phenomenon of religious identification. There is, therefore, a need to investigate whether the goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified shared similar traits that may more holistically explain the phenomenon. In so doing, I would suggest, we can furthermore

²⁸ Pomeroy 1984, 30; also, see: Fraser 1972, I: 239-240.

²⁹ Carney 2000b.

³⁰ D. B. Thompson 1973, 31-34.

³¹ Plut. *Ant.* LIV.6 (= *Vit.* 941); Dio Cass. L.v.25; Jeanmaire 1924, 241-261; Weill Goudchaux 2001, 128-141.

gain a deeper appreciation of the ideological and symbolic significance of this phenomenon.

1. Evidence of Identifications

Elementary information regarding the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens can be gathered above all from the aforementioned works of Tondriau, Thompson and Quaegebeur.³³ When tabulating their material, we can discern approximately fifty-five identifications or comparisons of Ptolemaic queens with mostly Greek and Egyptian goddesses.³⁴ The appended table of identifications is meant merely as a rough guide that is neither exhaustive nor in all cases conclusive. Several further caveats are in order. The table does not provide statistical data from which the absolute frequency of each identification can be determined. This means, for instance, that the table does not indicate whether an identification was unique or common – *viz.*, it does not show that in practice dozens of documents attest the identification of Arsinoe II with Isis,³⁵ while only a single numismatic series has been interpreted as attesting to the identification of Arsinoe III with Artemis.³⁶ Furthermore, the table cannot express the private or public nature of the identifications. That is to say, it cannot show whether an identification was conceived of

³² Quaegebeur 1970, 202.

³³ Esp., see: Tondriau 1948a; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 189-228; Quaegebeur 1970, 191-217; D. B. Thompson 1973, 51-62; Quaegebeur, 1978, 245-262.

³⁴ See: Appendix A: Table of Identifications.

³⁵ Brady 1935, 13; Tondriau 1948a, 20 no. 9a-c; Dunand 1973, I: 35-36, 38; D. B. Thompson 1973, 57-61.

by a private individual or whether it formed part of the public dynastic cults performed at Alexandria and Ptolemais, or, indeed, the royal cults in native temples – for instance, it does not inform us that the identification of Berenice I with the Syrian Goddess Astarte is documented at a private shrine,³⁷ while the identification of Cleopatra III with Isis is documented for the Alexandrian dynastic cult.³⁸ Moreover, the table does not differentiate between comparison, association, assimilation, identification, *etc.* I will address the difference below, but here it is important to emphasize that, *e.g.*, the single instance in which Arsinoe II is associated with Helen refers to Theocritus' claim that Arsinoe was "like unto Helen."³⁹ Besides, it is possible that evidence of a singular identification of an individual queen with a particular goddess has now been lost. Yet, such an identification would merely add a further case to our list of identifications. It remains possible, nonetheless, to appreciate which identifications did occur, which were regular and which were rare. The appended table, in short, provides a general impression of how many different identifications occurred, but not how often each particular identification occurred.

In respect to the particular goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified, a quick glance at the table immediately conveys the fact that Aphrodite, Hathor and Isis occur most frequently. For the latter two Egyptian goddesses additional evidence could be adduced suggesting that the queens' identification with Hathor and Isis

³⁶ Sv. nos. 1137-1138; Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 213; Tondriau 1948a, 23 no. 2.

³⁷ Otto 1905-8, I: 169 n. 5, 172 n. 2; Tondriau 1948a, 14 no. 1b, 21 no. 2a.

³⁸ Tondriau 1948a, 28 no. 6b; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 198; Minas 2000, 151-152.

³⁹ Theoc. *Id.* XV.110-111: 'Ελένᾳ εἰκυῖα | Ἀρσινόᾳ; Tondriau 1948a, 19 no. 7; J. B. Burton 1995, 153.

was standard in native worship.⁴⁰ It would appear, however, that a closer examination of the phenomenon would reveal that the queens were not only identified with Hathor and Isis in native temples. For instance, the vulture cap that was part of the queens' crown in Egyptian representations suggests an assimilation with Nechbet and Mut,⁴¹ while the double plumes on the crown implies an association with the divine wife of Amun-Min,⁴² just as the cow horns enclosing the sun disc identify a queen as Hathor (-Isis).⁴³ Less frequent than Aphrodite, Hathor and Isis, are identifications with Agathe Tyche, Artemis and Demeter. It must be noted, that the evidence for identifications with Artemis is rather inconclusive. A dedication to Agathe Tyche in the Egyptian temple on Delos has been interpreted as an association or identification of Arsinoe II with Artemis and/or Agathe Tyche.⁴⁴ As mentioned above, coinage attributed to the reign of Ptolemy IV has been understood as identifying Arsinoe III as Artemis.⁴⁵ Moreover, some scholars have apparently unwittingly quoted this very same coinage as evidence for the identification of Cleopatra I with that goddess.⁴⁶ Conversely, the *phosphorus* ("torch-bearer") priesthood

⁴⁰ For the identification of queens with Isis and Hathor, *e.g.*, see: *RÄRG* s.v. 'Königin'; Bergman 1963, 152-163; Münster 1968, 139-141; Troy 1986, 53-72.

⁴¹ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Geierhaube' and 'Mut'; Quaegebeur 1970, 198; Troy 1986, 60-61, 116-119; Robins 1993, 23.

⁴² *RÄRG* s.v. 'Gottesweib'; Bleeker 1959, 265-266; Quaegebeur 1970, 207-208; Troy 1986, 126-129; Robins 1993, 24.

⁴³ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Hathor'; Allam 1963, 112-113; Münster 1968, esp. 119, 139; Troy 1986, 54-59; Robins 1993, 24.

⁴⁴ Plassart 1928, 227-228; Vallois 1929, 32-40; Fraser 1972, I: 241-242; D. B. Thompson 1973, 51.

⁴⁵ Sv. nos. 1137-1137, pl. 36.20-24; Svoronos 1905-8, IV: 213; Tondriau 1948a, 23, 25.

⁴⁶ *BMC Ptol.* 79, no. 13; W. Otto 194-8, II: 266 n. 3; Tondriau 1948a, 25 no. 1.

of Cleopatra III unambiguously identifies the Queen as Artemis.⁴⁷ The diachronic transformation of the numismatic portrait features of Arsinoe has led scholars to believe that over the course of generations most subsequent queens were represented in the guise of Thea Philadelphus.⁴⁸ As I will argue below that the Philadelphus-type coinage identifies the Queen as Hera, the queens' association with that goddess may have been more common than is usually supposed.

The table, furthermore, groups together various elusive identifications with local goddesses. For instance, scholars have recognized the portrait features of Arsinoe on emissions of local mints from Ephesus, renamed Arsinoea when she was still married to Lysimachus.⁴⁹ Similar features appear on issues from Phoenician Marathus bearing the head of that city's turreted Tyche, suggesting that here the Queen was identified as local patron deity, too.⁵⁰ In subsequent generations, the features were evidently adapted to accord with the portrait of Berenice II and Arsinoe III.⁵¹ Cleopatra VII was, likewise, portrayed as a local goddess on coins from numerous Syrian and Phoenician cities.⁵² More speculative is the argument that Berenice I had already been depicted as the local

⁴⁷ Visser 1938, 78; Tondriau 1948a, 27 no. 2; Minas 2000, 157-160.

⁴⁸ *BMC Ptol. s.v. Arsin.* II, p. 42, nos. 35-36, 39-40, pl. 8.7-10; Svoronos 1904-08, IV: esp. 183-185, 222-223, 252-254, 319-320, 338-339; Regling 1908, 490, 495, 505, 508-509; Kahrstedt 1910, 270-275, 314; Tondriau 1948a, 22-28; Kyrieleis 1975, 96, 103-104, 113-114; Brunelle 1976, 61-68; Troxell 1983, 64-67.

⁴⁹ *RE s.v. 'Arsinoë'*, no. 14, III: col. 1279; Sv. nos. 875-892; Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 39-40, 135-136; Kahrstedt 1910, 266; Tondriau 1948a, 18 no. 5; Kyrieleis 1975, 80.

⁵⁰ Sv. no. 844-847; *Hist. Num.*² 792-793, fig. 347; Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 120; Kahrstedt 1910, 265-266; Tondriau 1948a, 18 no. 5.

⁵¹ Sv. nos. 1064-1072, 1086, 1197-1204; Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 185-187, 232-233; Kahrstedt 1910, 271, 273; Tondriau 1948a, 21 no. 3, 23 no. 3.

⁵² RPC nos. 4501/1, 4502/1, 4529/1, 4742/2; Sv. nos. 1883-1886, 1890, 1895, pls. 63.10, 13, 16-17, Δ.29-30; Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 381-388; Kahrstedt 1910, 276-277; Tondriau 1948a, 29 no. 2; Baldus

Tyche on coins from Cos and Rhodes.⁵³ As these identifications remain rather obscure – if not contentious – there will be little or no occasion to refer to them in the present study. Additionally, the table points out the sporadic nature of assimilations with Athena, Dea Syria Astarte and Selene, or associations with the Graces, the Muses and nymphs, not to mention abstract personifications such as Dicaeosyne and Oecumene. Of the Olympic pantheon only Hestia is absent altogether. Finally, I would like to allow for the possibility that the epithet “*Mêtêr Theôn* (Mother of Gods)” attested for Berenice I and Cleopatra III may imply a syncretistic identification with Cybele as well as Isis.⁵⁴ We may safely conclude, though, that the Ptolemaic queens were above all identified with Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis.

In terms of the queens themselves, it is noteworthy that the information is not equally distributed. Perhaps it is unsurprising that Arsinoe II predominates, as her worship was the most enduring among the worship of the queens. She was assimilated or associated with most major goddesses, including Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Hera and Isis.⁵⁵ She was furthermore identified with Agathe Tyche, was likened to Helen by Theocritus, was apparently conceived of as the Muse to Callimachus’ *Aetia*, and was honored at Cythera as the nymph Naeas.⁵⁶ For Berenice II the list of identifications is equally impressive: Agathe Tyche, Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis, while

1983, 5-10, figs. 1-4; Walker & Higgs (eds.) 2001, nos. 219-220, 225-231.

⁵³ Sv. nos. 83-92; Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 31; Kahrstedt 1910, 261-263; Tondriau 1948a, 14 no. 2.

⁵⁴ Otto 1904-8, I: 169, II: 264 no. 1; Pfeiffer 1922, 35; Otto and Bengtson 1938, 20-22, 72-78; Tondriau 1948a, 17 no. 2c-d, 28 no. 6b; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 198; Bergman 1968, 133-137; Minas 2000, 151-152.

⁵⁵ Tondriau 1948a, 15-21; Quaegebeur 1971, 242-244, 246-247. [So far as I am aware, Arsinoe was not directly identified with Hathor, even though her titulary approximates her with that goddess, especially through the association with the “divine wife (*hmt ntr*)” of Amun-Min.]

Callimachus considered her as the fourth Grace.⁵⁷ At least five identifications each are attested for Berenice I, Arsinoe III, Cleopatra I, Cleopatra III and Cleopatra VII.⁵⁸ Apart from the possibility that the Philadelphus-type coinage portrayed them as Hera,⁵⁹ little evidence remains for Cleopatra II and Cleopatra V Selene. I would discount the doubtful case that Arsinoe I may have been represented in the guise of Demeter on coins or precious stones,⁶⁰ as it is highly unlikely that any depictions of this queen have survived. With the exception of Cleopatra V, no information is available for the queens of the tumultuous period from the death of Ptolemy VIII to that of Ptolemy XII. In the case of Cleopatra IV Philadelphus this is easily explained by the mere fact that her dominating mother, Cleopatra III, had her divorce her brother, Ptolemy IX, within the first year of his reign.⁶¹ Similarly, it is understandable that we know nothing about the deification of Berenice IV, who reigned independently for three years before her father, Ptolemy XII, returned from his Roman exile and had her murdered.⁶² As for Cleopatra VI Tryphaena, nothing is known about her life in general (even her parentage is debated), so that the sources' silence about her worship is only to be expected.⁶³ What is perhaps more

⁵⁶ D. B. Thompson 1973, 51-54; J. B. Burton 1995, 153; Cameron 1995, 141-142; *supra* 10 n. 39.

⁵⁷ Tondriau 1948a, 21-23; D. B. Thompson 1973, 49, 55.

⁵⁸ Tondriau 1948a, 14-15, 23-25, 28-30.

⁵⁹ Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 304, 508; Regling 1908, 490; Kahrstedt 1910, 274-275; Tondriau 1948a, 26, 28; Brunelle 1976, 63-68.

⁶⁰ Macurdy 1932, 109, fig. 4a; Tondriau 1948a, 14, 19 no. 6b.

⁶¹ *RE* s.v. 'Kleopatra,' no. 17, XXI: col. 748; Macurdy 1932, 163-165; Whitehorne 1994, 134-135; Huß 2001, 631, 637.

⁶² *RE* s.v. 'Berenike,' no. 14, V: coll. 286-287; Macurdy 1932, 180-184; Huß 2001, 686, 692, 695.

⁶³ *RE* s.v. 'Kleopatra,' nos. 18-19, XXI: coll. 748-750; Macurdy 1932, 175-180; Whitehorne 1994,

remarkable is the lack of any evidence regarding Cleopatra Berenice III, who was queen from the death of her grandmother Cleopatra III for two full decades until her half brother Ptolemy XI murdered her, and who had been rather popular among the Alexandrians.⁶⁴ In all, it remains difficult to assess the extent to which such exceptions are meaningful.

2. Thematic Approach

With this dissertation, I offer four thematic case studies to examine the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens with goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis. These themes are matrimony, incest, lamentation, and jubilation, and the subsequent four parts of this work will be concerned with one theme each. The central question of the present dissertation will then be: What was the significance of these four themes – *viz.*, matrimony, incest, lamentation, and jubilation – for both the Lagid dynasty in general, and for Ptolemaic queenship in particular?

Numerous other themes could be envisioned for analysis. In his seminal work on ancient Egyptian kingship, *e.g.*, Henri Frankfort emphasized the significance and interrelation of creation, procreation and resurrection.⁶⁵ Egyptian theology involved the belief that primordial Chaos (*Isphet*) perpetually threatened the Cosmic Order (*Ma'at*) that was created in the beginning by Amun-Ra. *Ma'at*, therefore, required continual rejuvenation through various cycles of renewal. The most important among those cycles were the daily solar cycle, the monthly lunar cycle, the seasonal natural cycle, the yearly

178-183; Huß 2001, 679, 686.

⁶⁴ *RE* s.v. 'Kleopatra,' no. 21, XXI: coll. 781-782; Macurdy 1932, 172-175; Whitehorne 1994, 174-177; Huß 2001, 652-653, 667-670.

astral cycle, the dynastic succession, and the cycle of birth, death and rebirth. As they are of utmost significant for an understanding of kingship in Egypt, I will refer to such themes throughout the following chapters. Indeed, by acknowledging the importance of the female contribution to the establishment and maintenance of the cosmic and monarchical order, I hope to provide a deeper understanding of the significance of Ptolemaic queenship.

Other valid approaches to the phenomenon of deification could be suggested. A chronological method could, for instance, examine the Ptolemaic ruler cult queen by queen, and thus discover historical changes over the three centuries that the Lagid dynasty reigned in Egypt. Yet, the sources are so unevenly distributed that this approach would necessarily remain inconclusive. Another method could study the geographic diffusion of all the various identifications, assimilations and associations of queens with Greek and Egyptian goddesses, but this approach is even more severely hampered by the haphazard transmission of the evidence. Papyri essentially derive from Middle Egypt (the Arsinoite, Heracleopolite, Oxyrhynchite nomes, *etc.*), less archaeological remains survive from the Nile Delta than from Upper Egypt, and many surviving artifacts have no certain provenance. Additionally, the scope of this dissertation does not allow me to draw comparisons with other Hellenistic royal women, especially the Seleucid queens. This is not to say that such a comparison would not be fruitful, nor that the religious identifications of Ptolemaic queens occurred in isolation from contemporary kingdoms. However, as Cerfaux and Tondriau have pointed out, the few cases of religious identifications from the Seleucid kingdom seem to have been influenced by Ptolemaic

⁶⁵ Frankfort 1948, chs. 13-15, pp. 148-212.

precedent, where the phenomenon emerged first and developed there more persistently.⁶⁶ Indeed, the Seleucids appear to have imitated the dynastic cult in general from the Ptolemies.⁶⁷

Of the goddesses with whom the Ptolemaic queens were identified, particularly Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis shared a concern for creation, procreation and resurrection.⁶⁸ Often through sexual imagery, the goddesses were considered to ensure natural and/or human fertility and regeneration. As marriage was the legitimate institution for the production of heirs, I will argue, especially in Part One, that the goddesses in question derived this aspect of their character from their original affiliation with the primeval Great Mother Goddess (Lat.: *Magna Mater*, Gk.: *Megalê Mêtêr*, Eg.: *Mut A'at* or *Urt*).⁶⁹ I take it as a given that Isis and Hera were characterized as patronesses of marriage,⁷⁰ and that Hathor and Demeter, too, were believed to protect the marital affairs of human life.⁷¹ A stronger case, however, will have to be made for Aphrodite.⁷² Still, I am confident that probing beyond the male chauvinism of classical

⁶⁶ Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 241.

⁶⁷ Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, esp. 235; also, see: Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 202-210 (on Laodice IV, wife of Antiochus III); Carney 2000b (on royal women and *hetaerae* from Olympias to Arsinoe II and Bilistiche).

⁶⁸ Frazer 1890 = 1981, esp. 213-409; Allam 1963, 125, 133-136; Daumas 1965; Bergman 1968, 132-133, 136-139; J. G. Griffiths 1970; Hornung 1971 (= 1982); Heyob 1975; Friedrich 1978; Staehlin 1978, 77-84; Burkert 1979, 130-131; *id.* 1987, 1-6; Pirenne-Deforge 1994, 410-414.

⁶⁹ Allam 1963, 99, 132-133; Daumas 1965, 53-56, 83-85; Hornung 1971, 94, 102 (= 1982, 98, 106-107; Friedrich 1978; Burkert 1979, 102-107, 118-121; Versnel 1990, 105-110.

⁷⁰ For Hera, *e.g.*, see: Kerényi 1972, 80-88, 99-100; Motte 1973, 104-114, 214-225; O'Brien 1993, 184-188. For Isis, *e.g.*, see: Dunand 1973, I: 9-16; Heyob 1975, 42-52, 69-76.

⁷¹ For Demeter, *e.g.*, see: Friedrich 1978, 156-162; Winkler 1990, 193-202; Versnel 1993, 235-260; Foley (ed.) 1994, 104-112. For Hathor, *e.g.*, see: Bleeker 1973, 39-41; Pinch 1994, 123-132.

⁷² For Aphrodite as patroness of marriage, *e.g.*, see: Detienne 1972, 120; Friedrich 1978, 84-85;

sources we will find that, beyond love and sexuality, she did play an essential role in sustaining conjugal relations. Without doubt, all deities were thought to contribute in one way or another to the married life of men and women. For matrimony was the basis of human life – as hackneyed as that may sound. Even for the virgin Artemis one could maintain that she assisted married women, as women in childbearing and rearing invoked her.⁷³ The hypothesis I am offering is not so much that Ptolemaic queens were identified with Aphrodite, Demeter, Hera, Hathor and/or Isis merely because of their concern for matrimony (fertility, sexuality and related notions). The Greek and Egyptian pantheons were certainly not populated by identical deities. I would rather wish to suggest that matrimonial values were emphasized through such religious identifications, which in itself seems important enough to acknowledge, though it is mostly passed over in scholarly literature. Part One, in short, will provide a case study of the symbolism of matrimony within the context of the deification of the Ptolemaic queens, and will show that the marriage of divine rulers was presented in such a way as to popularize and legitimize the reign of the Lagid dynasty in Egypt.

The overtly incestuous nature of the Ptolemaic marital practices can hardly escape our notice.⁷⁴ Indeed, seven of the Ptolemaic queens maintained the closest degree of

Pomeroy 1984, 31-38; Vêrilhac and Vial 1998, 291-291, 324, 358; *contra* Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 419-433; Carney 2000b, esp. 38 (“Aphrodite was sex”); Budin 2003, 13-21.

Elizabeth Carney (2000b) pertinently points out that royal *hetaerae* as well as royal women were assimilated to Aphrodite because of their sexual relationship with deified kings; I am neither arguing that Aphrodite was not associated with sexuality (that she obviously was), nor that the identification of Ptolemaic royal women was somehow unique; rather, I wish to explore the symbolic significance of this identification within the context of the Ptolemaic ruler cult, in which I sense matrimonial values were particularly emphasized. [I am grateful for her sending me an off-print copy of the article.]

⁷³ Diod. V.73 (Kourotrophos); Paus. IV.xxxiv.3 (Paidotrophos); Athen. IV.139 (Koruthallia); Burkert 1985, 151 (“There is no wedding without Artemis”).

⁷⁴ See: Appendix D: Genealogies, 1. Lagid Dynasty.

consanguinity by marrying their (full or half) brother,⁷⁵ while three queens were married to their uncle,⁷⁶ and one to her cousin.⁷⁷ Among the goddesses with whom the queens were identified such close-kin relations were similarly abundant. Myths often describe the *hieros gamos* (“sacred wedding”) of goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hera, Hathor and Isis in highly erotic verses.⁷⁸ In this respect, modern scholars have long recognized the importance of the identifications with Zeus and Hera, Isis and Osiris, but have ignored the incestuous affairs or marriages of other goddesses with whom queens were identified. Persephone was not only violently seized by her uncle Hades, but she was also the child of Demeter and Zeus.⁷⁹ Aphrodite, daughter of Zeus and Dione, maintained a passionate and adulterous relation with her “beloved kinsman (*philos kasignêtos*)” Ares, son of Zeus and Hera.⁸⁰ Adonis, furthermore, was born from the incestuous desire Aphrodite induced in Myrrha for her father.⁸¹ Hathor’s erotic liaisons with her father Amun-Ra, her brother Thoth, and her son Horus were not construed as sexual promiscuity, but expressed her vital concern for the perpetual cycle of the Cosmic

⁷⁵ Arsinoe II to Ptolemy II; Arsinoe III to Ptolemy IV; Cleopatra II to Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII; Cleopatra IV to Ptolemy IX; Cleopatra V to Ptolemy IX and Ptolemy X; Berenice III to Ptolemy XI; and Cleopatra VII to Ptolemy XIII and Ptolemy XIV(?).

⁷⁶ Cleopatra III to Ptolemy VIII; Berenice III to Ptolemy X; Cleopatra VI to Ptolemy XII.

⁷⁷ Berenice II to Ptolemy III.

⁷⁸ E.g., see: *Pyr.* 632a and *BD* 15 (Isis); *Hom. Il.* XIV.346-349 (Hera); *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 5-9 (Persephone); *Hes. Theog.* 969-974 (Demeter); *Cypr.* F 6.1-7 (Aphrodite); *RAssyr. s.v.* ‘Heilige Hochzeit,’ IV: 251-269; Bleeker 1973, 39-41; Burkert 1985, 132-134.

⁷⁹ *Hes. Theog.* 912-914.

⁸⁰ *Hom. Il.* V.359.

⁸¹ *Apollod. Bibl.* III.xiv.3-4; Atallah 1966, 48-52; Motte 1973, 138, 177; Ager 2005, 21.

Order.⁸² Once more, I am not so much suggesting that Ptolemaic queens were identified with Aphrodite, Demeter, Hera, Hathor and/or Isis merely because of their incestuous relationships. Ancient theogonies, to be sure, conceived of their respective pantheons as a family in which all deities were ultimately related to some degree or other. What I will try to show in the second part of this dissertation is that such religious identifications offered a metaphysical symbolism that sanctified rather than justified royal incest. In other words, the thematic case study of incest within the context of the Ptolemaic ruler cult will propose the hypothesis that the consanguineous unions of the Ptolemaic kings and queens augmented the sacralization of the Lagid dynasty, and consequently elevated the status of the heir to the throne against rival claims of potential pretenders.

Another aspect shared by the goddesses under question is a concern for funerary rites, especially that of lamentation. I need only mention in this context Aphrodite's lament for Adonis' premature decease, Demeter's lament for Persephone's abduction wedding, or Isis' lament for Osiris' violent death.⁸³ In Part Three, I will argue that goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis were perceived as bereaved Great Goddesses grieving the loss of their beloved. Without wishing to revive the misconstrued Fraserian notion of ritual mourning as sympathetic magic invoking dying-and-rising fertility spirits,⁸⁴ the similarity of the mythical and ritual complex associated with the Great Goddess' *parhedros* ("companion") was so obvious that deities such as Adonis, Attis, Osiris, Tammuz and Dumuzi were already syncretistically assimilated in

⁸² Bleeker 1973, 39, 43-44, 89, 93-101, 120-121 (who, in my mind, underestimates Hathor's erotism).

⁸³ E.g., see: *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 40-50, 90-104 (Demeter); *Apollod. Bibl.* III.xiv.3-4 (Aphrodite); *Plut. Is. et Osir.* XIV-XV (= *Mor.* 356d-357c: Isis).

⁸⁴ Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 278-320.

Antiquity.⁸⁵ In Demeter's case, of course, the goddess' grief was caused by the loss of Persephone - her daughter, not her consort. We will, therefore, have to take into account the different nature of this relationship. In respect to Hathor, we will need to delve deeper to discover funerary concerns related to ritual mourning, as no direct myth narrating her lament has been transmitted.⁸⁶ In fact, little mythological evidence survives for Hathor in general. Still her maternal care for the dead was a religious extension of her concern for Amun-Ra's nocturnal journey through the Underworld. Part Three, then, will present a case study of the symbolism of lamentation within the context of the apotheosis of the members of the Lagid dynasty. I will conjecture that as a characteristically feminine rite, mourning centralized female contributions to the permanence of the cosmic and monarchical order. We should also emphasize the reciprocity of this symbolism, where the populace's mourning was a prerequisite for the final ascension of the sovereigns, while the queen's participation in the royal ceremonies was an act of benevolence and/or salvation worthy of worship.

The paradigmatic antipode of lamentation, *viz.*, jubilation, constitutes the fourth and last theme of this dissertation. In relation to the goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified, this theme foremost concerned the joy for their beloved's return from the Abode of the Dead. I will indeed contend that Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis rejoiced in the resurrection of respectively Adonis, Persephone, Amun-Ra and Osiris.⁸⁷ Additionally, jubilation celebrated the victory over the Chaos that threatened the

⁸⁵ Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* 2; Arnob. *Adv. nat.* V.19; Firm. Mat. *Err. prof. relig.* XXII.1.

⁸⁶ Allam 1963, 99-130 *pass.*; Bleeker 1973, esp. 42-46; Pinch 1993, esp. 179-182.

⁸⁷ For Adonis, *e.g.*, see: Glotz 1920, 169-222; Atallah 1966, 259-273, 320-324; Tuzet 1987, 45-51. For Persephone, *e.g.*, see: Foley (ed.) 1994, 65-71, 84-97. For Amun-Ra, *e.g.*, see: Allam 1963, 68-72; Bleeker 1967, 78-79, 137-139; *id.* 1973, 43-44, 47-48; Pinch 1993, 9-11, 132, 244. For Osiris, *e.g.*, see:

Cosmic Order and its natural cycles, over the enemies that threatened the monarchical order and its regular succession, and over catastrophes that threatened the order of human prosperity and the cycle of life. The identification with Agathe Tyche vividly expressed the belief that the Queen was a bringer of Good Fortune.⁸⁸ Hathor, moreover, was considered the Lady of Joy *par excellence*, the mistress of music, song, dance, merry-making, and insobriety.⁸⁹ My point, again, is not so much that the Ptolemaic queens were identified with these goddesses merely because they shared a concern for jubilation. The last of the four thematic case studies of this dissertation will rather suggest an interpretation of the symbolism of jubilation within the context of the worship of the Ptolemaic queens that underscores their importance for reincarnation, victory and abundance. In sum, I hope to demonstrate the ideological significance of Ptolemaic queenship and the queens' vital position of religious and political authority.

3. Statement of Method

The present dissertation is divided into four parts, each dealing with one of the themes – *viz.*, matrimony, incest, lamentation and jubilation. The individual parts are likewise divided into four chapters: first, to illustrate the extent to which each theme appears in the religious spheres of particularly Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis; second, to confirm whether the theme can be attested within the Lagid context; third, to interpret its dynastic significance; and finally, to conjecture its importance for Ptolemaic

Bergman 1968, 141-146; Münster 1968, 53-59; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 63-64, 405, 452. For afterlife and rebirth beliefs as part of mystery cults, esp., see: Burkert 1987, 21-28, 99-101.

⁸⁸ D.B. Thompson 1973, 54-55.

queenship. I would here wish to point out emphatically that, in the first chapter of each part, the examination of the myths and rituals that illustrate the goddesses' concern for the individual themes is intended neither as original nor exhaustive. The examination will rather suggest a complex of associations related to the various themes, which then forms the basis for interpretation in the third and fourth chapter of each part. As such, the examination of myths and rituals will have little occasion to refer to details of scholarly debates. Similarly, in each second chapter, I will adduce the types of sources that attest to the importance of the themes within the historical context. As my intention is primarily to substantiate that each theme did indeed figure significantly at the Ptolemaic court, there will, again, be little scope to address minor scholarly disagreements. Here I would also like to point out that my method of interpretation deliberately separates and juxtaposes each theme's symbolic significance for royal ideology on the one hand and for Ptolemaic queenship on the other. Perhaps confounding my reader's expectations, I will not focus exclusively on the queens and the goddesses they were identified with, but will refer also to the kings and the gods with whom they were associated, and draw conclusions for the wider historical context and the Lagid dynasty in general. The approach of the four case studies can be outlined as follows.

Part One, then, involves the symbolism of matrimony within the context of the Ptolemaic ruler cult. After showing that the goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified performed vital roles in the spheres of matrimony, maternity and fertility, and contrasting the marital practices at the Lagid court with the dynastic alliances in other Hellenistic kingdoms, I will adduce evidence that confirms the ideological importance of

⁸⁹ Allam 1963, 27-29, 68-72; Daumas 1968, 11-12; Bleeker 1973, 53-58; Pinch 1993, 132, 284.

marriage for the royal ideology. As Paul Goukowsky emphasizes,⁹⁰ *hieroi gamoi* received particular attention at the Alexandrian palace. Many of the religious identifications actually came in pairs: *e.g.*, Hera and Zeus, Aphrodite and Adonis, Helen and Menelaus, Demeter and Dionysus, Persephone and Aeon, Selene and Helios, Agathe Tyche and Agathodaemon, Isis and Osiris, Hathor and Amun-Ra or Horus. Similarly remarkable is the jugate representation of the King and Queen in artistic media such as coins, gems, sculpture and reliefs. Additional evidence, *inter alia*, from Alexandrian poetry, dynastic cult epithets, and temple-scenes will elucidate the significance of matrimony. I will maintain above all that the sanctity of the Lagids' *hieros gamos* provided the sole legitimate institution for producing the heir to the throne and thus for securing the dynastic succession. Moreover, I will contend that her sacred wedding represented the Queen as her spouse's equal. The conception of the Queen's virginal chastity, her divine grace, and charitable benevolence further augmented the apotheosis of the royal house, strengthened their dynastic legitimization, and popularized their rule in Egypt.

The second part of this dissertation concerns the theme of incest in the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens. First, I will illustrate how in the divine realm this theme was intimately associated with natural and human fertility, with renewal and reincarnation, and consequently the transmission of sovereignty through hereditary succession. I will then discuss evidence that attests to the ideological importance of consanguinity at the Lagid court, including several dynastic and/or religious festivals patronized by the court, artistic representation of royal pairs in sculpture and on coinage, as well as in poetry of Theocritus, Callimachus and Posidippus. The comparison of the

⁹⁰ Goukowsky 1992, 159.

wedding of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II with the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera was apparently already current on the day of the ceremony. More remarkable is the fact that Berenice II, Cleopatra I and Cleopatra VI were officially styled as sister of their respective spouses, when in fact they were not. From the dynastic perspective, I will argue that the practice of extreme endogamy signified the avoidance of alliances with the other Hellenistic kingdoms, and epitomized the transcendental status of the royal couple. If royal matrimony was a prerequisite for legitimate succession, then royal incest passed divine sovereignty to the heir not only through patrilineal but also matrilineal transmission. The Queen's loving devotion for her brother and spouse, just as her gracious care for the welfare of the country, was conceived of as a benefaction worthy of worship, and thus furthered the legitimacy and popularity of the Lagid dynasty. Ptolemaic queens, therefore, were represented with unprecedented ideological and political authority.

Subsequently, Part Three, pays attention to the symbolism of lamentation in the Ptolemaic context. Few would doubt the importance of mythical and ritual mourning in relation to Aphrodite, Demeter, Isis and Hathor. Still, it will prove beneficial to examine related notions, such as bereavement, defilement and offerings to the departed. The theme also appears in the dynastic setting, as, *inter alia*, the Mendes stela bears out for Arsinoe Philadelphus, and the Canopus decree for Berenice Parthenus (the prematurely deceased daughter of Ptolemy III and Berenice II). Several Alexandrian poems, such as Theocritus' *Adoniazusae*, and Callimachus' *Apotheosis Arsinoes* and *Coma Berenices*, as well as artistic depictions, such as temple-scenes and a perfume flask, further illustrate the importance of mourning at the Lagid court. Funerary rites formed an essential part of the accession ceremony, leading up to the coronation, just as national mourning attended

the last stage of immortality, when the members of the royal house joined their ancestral pantheon. In addition, mourning was considered a characteristically feminine rite – and, moreover, an act with an implicit grievance regarding patriarchal traditions. We will see, namely, that the theme of lamentation involved the pain and sorrow afflicted by rape, war and death, while celebrating the joys of marriage, love and life. From the female perspective, lamentation symbolized the crucial function of Ptolemaic queenship for the sacralization of the Lagid dynasty, as well as for the salvation of the people of Egypt, and would thus seem to affirm the Queen's position of power.

The fourth and final part of my dissertation considers the theme of jubilation in the deification of the members of the Lagid dynasty. After first showing that jubilation did play a vital role in the myths and/or rituals of Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis, I will offer evidence illustrating that notions such as reincarnation, victory and abundance were associated with the symbolism of jubilation. For instance, the Canopus and Memphis decrees will show how historical events were presented to accord to the King's identification with the victorious Harendotes ("Horus Who Saves His Father"). The importance attributed to the Apis bull and the Jubilee Festival (*Hab-Sed*)⁹¹ will show that the Ptolemies were also concerned with the ritual renewal of kingship, and hence the revitalization of the Cosmic Order. Alexandrian poetry, such as Theocritus' *Encomium* and *Heracliscus*, and Callimachus' *Hymnus in Delum* and *Victoria Berenices*, similarly incorporated elements of the royal ideology of jubilation. From the popular viewpoint, the glory of the Lagids particularly meant the protection from enemies, disorder and chaos, as well as the provision of general welfare. Visual representations of Ptolemaic queens in the guise of Agathe Tyche, likewise, appealed to the themes of exultation and

prosperity. The Queen's participation in the *Hab-Sed*, moreover, was a precondition for the renewal of sovereignty, and she secured the dynasty's continuity by bearing an heir and successor to the throne – thus guaranteeing the cycle of reincarnation. In short, I will argue that Ptolemaic queenship was endowed with symbolic significance that reflects the ideological influence and/or political power of individual queens.

4. Methodological Problems

It seems to me advisable to address from the outset several methodological problems that might seem to hamper the present study. The presentation of four thematic case studies could easily be charged with neglecting other themes equally important in the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens. I do not claim to provide a universal, monolithic interpretation of all themes associated with the phenomenon of the queens' identifications. Still, I am confident that my dissertation provides a deeper understanding of the Ptolemaic ruler cult through the analysis of what are (in my mind at least) four major themes in the queens' deification. My approach could also be accused of inductive reasoning, rather than the common historicist deductive method. I do not deny the charge, and rather maintain that the present four case studies will illuminate aspects of the ruler cult that would otherwise remain obscure. More serious would be the allegation that my analysis forces an interpretation upon the material, being satisfied with verifying general assumptions with few examples, and avoiding evidence that might falsify these assumptions. Here I can only hope that my reader will find that my analysis is, indeed, sufficiently substantiated with factual information and not marred by a series of

⁹¹ For this spelling, see: prefatory note, p. 10.

hypothetical speculations. Another caveat applicable to the thematic approach is that it will prove impossible to avoid cross-references, because of the interconnectedness of the themes. I have tried to keep cross-references to a minimum, and to present each case study independently.

In my experience, however, a much greater problem is posed by the sheer diversity of the sources. In addition to scanty ancient historiographic references, we will, *inter alia*, encounter poetry, inscriptions, and papyri that mention aspects of the queens' identifications, as well as reliefs, sculpture, gems, coins and seals that depict deified queens. Several special fields of scholarship have to be called upon in order to interpret this diverse material. Moreover, the reign of the Lagid dynasty in Egypt poses the challenge of understanding the intersection of various cultures, not only the Graeco-Macedonian and Egyptian, but also a Near-Eastern influence. Thus, written sources come in ancient languages such as Greek, Latin, and Egyptian – the latter in two orthographies, hieroglyphic and demotic. On the one hand, there is the danger of focusing exclusively on a single source, *i.e.*, of ignoring the wider context of the evidence. On the other hand, there is the risk of glancing haphazardly over various sources, *i.e.*, of disregarding the specific nature of each medium. For instance, scholars have come to divergent conclusions regarding Theocritus' comparison of the marriage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II with the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera: religious identification (J. Tondriau), blasphemous sycophancy (A. S. F. Gow), official ideology (F. Taeger), skeptical criticism (F. T. Griffiths), apologetic rationalization (E.-R. Schwinge), reflection of power relations (J. B. Burton), or graceful and coy rhetoric (R. Hunter).⁹² In other words,

⁹² Theoc. *Id.* XVII.128-134; Tondriau 1948a, 19 no. 8b; *id.* 1948b, 129 no. 1a; Gow 1950, II: 346; Taeger 1957-60, I: 376; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 61; Gelzer 1982, 19-20; Schwinge 1986, 61; J. B. Burton

the diverse nature of the sources may easily lead to a reasoning that is either too one-sidedly “in-depth” or too superficially “in-breadth.” I do not pretend to be an expert in all related fields, although I have some knowledge of anthropology, archaeology, art history, philology, political science, religious history, and women’s studies. While I will often rely on the publications of specialists, I believe that what I am here offering is a uniquely interdisciplinary approach – and thus a synthesis of disparate scholarly findings.

So far, I have used terms such as “approximation,” “assimilation,” “association,” “comparison,” as if they are interchangeable with “identification.” The reader will surely recognize a stark difference between a religious identification and a comparison made for the sake of flattery. In the former case, a queen was considered the living emanation of a particular goddess, and was therefore deified; whereas in the latter, she was believed to resemble a particular goddess, but was not (necessarily) deified. The other terms would then suggest nuances between the two extremes of the spectrum. Unfortunately, such gradual differences are often impossible to define. When a queen became *synnaos theos* of a goddess, we may say that they were associated, rather than fully identified. However, such a close connection between queen and goddess could easily suggest to the faithful that the two were one and the same. When admiral Callicrates established the shrine of Arsinoe Aphrodite on Cape Zephyrium, he no doubt believed that his Queen was the earthly incarnation of the goddess, but that does not exclude his desire to flatter Arsinoe with the identification. Moreover, Arsinoe was identified with approximately a dozen other goddesses. Unless through universalistic polyonymy, she could hardly have been considered the manifestation of twelve different goddesses all at once. It seems more likely that the Queen was thought to have assimilated certain qualities or characteristics

of the goddesses under question. For different individuals and under different circumstances, different aspects would have been felt more or less important – and the Queen would thus have approximated one goddess more than another. In short, the distinction between identification, assimilation, association, approximation, and comparison is more often than not a matter of interpretation.

Furthermore, it is pertinent to emphasize that sources rarely explain the motive or intention behind the religious identifications of Ptolemaic queens. Apart from the Mendes stela and the Canopus decree, we mostly have to depend upon the evocative verses of Alexandrian poetry to elucidate the deification of Ptolemaic queens. In addition, I will therefore examine various attributes with which the queens were depicted, as well as other aspects of their iconography, and I will incorporate aspects from myths and rituals of the goddesses with whom they were identified. At times, the religious identification of Ptolemaic kings may shed light on the deification of the queens, too. In this respect, the paired identification of kings and queens will prove particularly helpful: *e.g.*, Aphrodite and Adonis, Hera and Zeus, Isis and Osiris, Hathor and Amun-Ra or Horus, also Agathe Tyche and Agathodaemon, Artemis and Apollo, Selene and Helius, Helen and Menelaus. Moreover, especially in a cosmopolis as was Alexandria in Egypt, we have to take into account the possibility of a variety of syncretistic associations and assimilations.⁹³ For instance, the shared worship of Dea Syria Astarte, Aphrodite Berenice and Zeus Soter in a private shrine in the Arsinoite nome implies in my opinion an association of Astarte and Aphrodite, as well as Ba'al-Adonis and Zeus, respectively identified with Berenice I

⁹³ Grimm 1978, 103-112; Quaegebeur 1983b, 305-325.

and Ptolemy I Soter.⁹⁴ Similarly, the priestly office of the Sacred Foal of Isis Megale Meter Theon indicates the assimilation of Isis with Demeter as well as Magna Mater Cybele, with whom, I contend, Cleopatra III was thus identified.⁹⁵ In the case of this office, we may even assume that the domineering Cleopatra III had a hand in its creation. The aforementioned private shrine seems to have been erected by a soldier named Machatas and his wife Asia, without royal prompting. Callicrates no doubt established the shrine of Arsinoe Zephyritis as a token of gratitude toward his King and Queen. However, beyond speculating about who conceived of the various religious identifications of Ptolemaic queens, it remains well nigh impossible to infer individual intentionality. Likewise, Alexandrian poetry, Ptolemaic coinage, works of art, cult implements, priestly decrees, temple relief-scenes, and so forth were evidently produced for a fairly well-defined audience. However, we can do no more than speculate about the nature of that audience and its participation in the promulgation of royal ideology. Without denying the possibility of individual influence and innovation, I would rather assume reciprocity between personal agency and existing cultural norms and values.

I am confident that my dissertation overcomes these (and other) methodological problems, and proffer the view that my analysis of the four major themes of matrimony, incest, lamentation and jubilation offers a fuller appreciation of the deification of Ptolemaic queens. I will illustrate the premise that the queens were chiefly identified with Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis because these goddesses shared religious functions and concerns, and from there endeavor to explain the identifications' ideological importance for the Lagid dynasty in general, as well as its symbolic significance for

⁹⁴ Nock 1930 = 1972, I: 217-218; Tondriau 1948a, 14, 21; Fraser 1972, II: 391 n. 402, 435 n. 741.

Ptolemaic queenship in particular. I will suggest that Ptolemaic queenship idealized feminine characteristics that were considered beneficent for the well being of the country. In short, I contend that their deification reflect ideological influence and political power Ptolemaic queens, who in their exemplary public position encouraged female participation in their society.

⁹⁵ Bergman 1968, 133-137; Clarysse and van der Veken 1983, 34-39; Minas 2000, 151-152.

Part One.

MATRIMONY



This is the first of four thematic case studies in the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens. Its subject is the symbolism of matrimony within the context of the queens' deification and the concomitant assimilation with various Greek and Egyptian goddesses. The hypothesis that I will endeavor to substantiate is that Ptolemaic queens were identified with goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hera, Isis and Hathor, due in part to their shared concern for the institution of marriage. The main division of Part One is fourfold: *(I.)* I will begin by considering to what extent the goddesses under question display an underlying similarity in respect to matrimony. *(II.)* In the second chapter, I will compare the marital attitudes of the Lagids with the Graeco-Macedonian customs of dynastic alliances. *(III.)* I will then offer an interpretation of the significance of the theme of matrimony for the ideology of the Lagid dynasty in general. *(IV.)* Finally, in the fourth chapter, I will elucidate the importance of matrimony for Ptolemaic queenship in particular. The line of reasoning that I will defend is that, through religious identifications that emphasized matrimonial values, the deification of the queens centralized female contributions to the popularity and legitimacy of Ptolemaic rule in Egypt. Indeed, the present case study will demonstrate the queens' active participation at the Lagid court.

I. PATRONESS OF MARRIAGE

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the extent to which the goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified shared a concern for matrimony. Not all deities of the Greek and Egyptian pantheons were unambiguously associated with a male partner, as Hera was with Zeus, or Isis with Osiris. Even so, a goddess might still be associated less permanently with a *parhedros*, as Aphrodite was with Adonis, or Hathor with Horus. In fact, marriage - as a legal status between two partners - can hardly be applicable in the divine realm. Whether or not a particular goddess was considered a god's wife, I would contend that a goddess is to be considered patroness of marriage if she demonstrated a significant concern in the marital and/or maternal affairs of human life. This aspect of the goddesses' religious character does not necessarily emerge from classical myths or from public festivals. In addition, one has to examine the goddesses' epithets, attributes, and religious functions. I would, moreover, suggest taking into account their underlying affinity with the primordial Great Mother Goddess. I will argue that this similarity is borne out by their shared concern for natural and human fertility.

(1.) To illustrate this underlying affinity with this primeval fertility goddess, I will devote the first section of this chapter to Phrygian Cybele. For she preserved many traits of the Great Mother Goddess. In fact, she was commonly known to the Greeks simply as Meter and to the Romans as Magna Mater. (2-3.) Perhaps the characterization of Isis or Hera as patroness of marriage needs little explanation. For when Greek literature from

Homer onwards spoke of Hera, it focused almost exclusively on her relationship with Zeus; and from hieroglyphic texts on pyramid walls down to statues erected in Romanized Germania, Isis was likewise intimately connected with Osiris or Sarapis. (We will return to the importance of the overtly consanguineous nature of the marriages of Isis and Hera in Part Two.) (4.) In the fourth section on Demeter Thesmophorus, I will contend that myths and rituals reveal this goddess' interest in the marital affairs of human life. However, I will also concede that, despite her obvious concern for natural and human fertility, Demeter's affiliation with Persephone tended to overshadow other aspects of her religious character. (5.) Aphrodite's extra-marital affairs with Ares, Adonis and Anchises, among others, would seem to undermine the argument that matrimony was an important aspect of her religious characterization. The goddess' regular appearance on wedding gifts, nevertheless, conspicuously displayed her importance for the married life of Greek women. Indeed, I will argue in section five that Aphrodite Thalamon performed an essential role in conjugal relations. (6.) Finally, irrespective of her numerous associations with male deities, Hathor, too, played a central part in the life of married women in Egypt. Her passionate maternal care particularly manifested her as "Mother of Mothers." The following comparison of Cybele, Isis, Hera, Demeter, Aphrodite and Hathor will, I hope, disclose the profound similarities that were ascribed to these goddesses in the matrimonial sphere.

1. Cybele Magna Mater

Magna Mater¹ is a variation of the full Latin name Mater Deum Magna Idaea,² which evokes a host of Greek deities traceable from the Hellenistic period back to Minoan-Mycenaean times – including *Mêtêr Theôn*, *Megalê Mêtêr* and *Mêtêr Idaia*, among others.³ As cult names, they were, for instance, associated with the Minoan-Mycenaean Divine Mother, the Archaic Aegean Mother Goddess, with Gaia, Rhea and Meter of the Classical period, with Olympian goddesses such as Aphrodite, Artemis and Demeter, and subsequently with the Hellenized Egyptian goddess Isis, whose cult had already absorbed aspects of Mut and Hathor.⁴ However, among all the deities of this syncretistic constellation, historians of religion point out, by far the most important was the Phrygian Mother Goddess Cybele. The latter's name has been connected to such widely dispersed goddesses as Paleo-Phrygian Matar Kubileya, South Italic Qybala, Kybêbê and Kuvava at Sardis, late-Hittite as well as Luwian Kupapa, Assyrian Gubaba, Kubaba at Syrian Ugarit, and eventually Kubaba, the Hurrian “Lady of Carchemish,” on

¹ *RML* s.v. ‘Kybele,’ II: 1638-1672 [Rapp], and ‘Meter,’ II: 2848-2931 [Drexler]; *RE* s.v. ‘Kybele,’ XI: 2250-2298 [Schwenn], and ‘Meter,’ XV: 1372 [*id.*]; *RAssyr.* s.v. ‘Kubaba,’ VI: 257-261 [Hawkins], 261-264 [Bittel], and ‘Muttergöttin,’ VIII: 502-516 [Krebernik], 516-519 [Frantz-Szabó], 519 [Seidl], 519-522 [Schachner]; *CCCA* (=Vermaseren 1977-89); Vermaseren 1977; Burkert 1979, 99-122; *id.* 1985, 177-179; *id.* 1987, esp. 5-6; Sfameni Gasparro 1985; Borgeaud 1996; Lane (ed.) 1996; Roller 1999.

² For the introduction of Cybele in Rome, see: Varro *LL* VI.15; Strabo XII.v.3 (567); Livy XXIX.x.4-xi.8; Ovid *Fast.* IV.251-256; Bremmer 1979; Borgeaud 1996, 89-107; Takács 1996, 367-371; Roller 1999, 263-286.

³ *E.g.*, see: Hom. *Il.* I.280; *Hymn. Hom.* V: *Ven.* 68, XIV: *Mat. D.*, XXVII: *Dian.*, XXX: *Gae.* 1, 17; Pind. *Pyth.* III.77-79, *Fs* 48, 63, 70, 80, 95; Hdt. I.80, IV.76, VIII.65; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* I.1119-1140; Strabo X.iii.7 (466), 12-13 (469); Paus. I.iii.5, xxxi.1, IX.xxv.3.

⁴ *RML* s.v. ‘Kybele,’ 2850-2853; Burkert 1979, 103-104; Borgeaud 1996, 25-55; Rein 1996, 227-229; Robertson 1996, 239-304; Roller 1996, 306-316; *id.* 1999, 121-141.

the Upper Euphrates.⁵ This intricate web of associations ultimately derived from the Anatolian Mother Goddess, whose cult is intrinsically linked with the diffusion of agriculture since the Neolithic Revolution in the Fertile Crescent.⁶ The significance of this complex synergy, for the present purpose, is that it bears out the convergent religious characters of Cybele, Isis, Hera, Demeter, Aphrodite and Hathor. In other words, goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified embodied essential aspects of the archetypal Great Mother Goddess.

The associations of this constellation immediately convey that the worship of polyonymous Meter Cybele centered on fertility and maternity.⁷ The goddess' myriad assimilations also attest to her increasingly henotheistic absorption of other goddesses' religious spheres. Cybele was commonly depicted wearing a veil and a high cylindrical crown (*polos*), or a low coronal (*stephanê*) and later at times a turreted *modius*; holding attributes such as the tympanum and cymbals, or a libation bowl (*phialê*), sometimes a wheat stalk or branch; enthroned between lions and accompanied by members of her retinue, in particular her *parhedros* Attis.⁸ Cybele's relation with the dying Attis further allowed for an approximation to the myths of Demeter and Persephone, Isis and Osiris,

⁵ Hdt. I.80, V.102; Diod. III.58; Strabo X.iii.12 (469), XII.v.3 (567); Paus. III.xxii.4; *RE* s.v. 'Kybele,' 2250, 2253, 2258; *RAssyr.* s.v. 'Kubaba,' 257-264, figs.1-3; *CCCA* I: *pass.*; *ibid.* IV: no.128; Vermaseren 1977, 18-20, 23-24, 71-76, figs.9-12; Burkert 1979, 102-103, 189 nn.1-2; Begisu 1996, 10-12; Borgeaud 1996, 22-24; Rein 1996, 223-224, 227-228, 230-233, figs.1-3; Roller 1999, 42-53, 66-108, 123-124, 128-131, figs.3-4, 7-38; Sfameni Gasparro 1996, 53 and n.15.

⁶ *E.g.*, see: *RAssyr.* s.v. 'Muttergöttin,' 516-522 (pointing out the direct connection between the Mother Goddess, fertility figurines, and the Neolithic Revolution); Vermaseren 1977, 9-16, figs.4-5, pl.5; Gimbutas 1982; *ead.* 1989, esp.102-107, 141-145, figs.107, 216-219; Cavalli-Sforza in: Harris (ed.) 1996, 51-69; Roller 1999, 9-24, 27-39.

⁷ *E.g.*, see: Soph. *Phil.* 391; Leon. *Anth. Pal.* VI: 281; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* I.1140; Diod. III.58; Lucret. *DRN* II.598, 611-613, 658-659; *Orph. Hymn.* LXII.5; Pliny *NH* XVIII.iv (16); Plut. *Caes.* IX; Iamblich. *Myst.* III.10.

⁸ *Hymn. Hom.* XIV: *Mat. D.*; Diod. III.59; Paul. Sil. *Anth. Pal.* V: 260; Arr. *Peripl. M. Eux.* 9;

Aphrodite and Adonis, the Dea Syria Astarte and Tammuz, as well as to Assyrian Ishtar or Sumerian Inanna and Dumuzi.⁹ The original motive for such assimilations of various Greek and Near-Eastern goddesses, referred to in this section as the universalistic constellation of Magna Mater, ultimately converged on concern for fertility and maternity - a concern that expressed the recognition of the civilizing force of agriculture (the domestication of natural fertility) as well as matrimony (the domestication of human fertility).

2. Isis Megale Meter

Isis¹⁰ was the daughter of Geb and Nut, the sister and wife of Osiris, and the mother of Horus.¹¹ The goddess' original religious character is difficult to discern, especially because the evidence from the Old Kingdom (*ca.* 2575-2125 BCE) is quite sparse. During the Middle Kingdom (*ca.* 1775-1640 BCE), her cult was mostly defined by its connection with that of Osiris. However, from the time of the New Kingdom (*ca.* 1540-1075 BCE), Isis was gradually assimilated with various local deities, especially

Lucian *Syr. D.* 15.

⁹ *E.g.*, see: *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.*; OT *Ezek.* VIII.14; Hdt. I.105, 131, 199, II.112; Apollod. *Bibl.* III.xiv.4; Diod. III.58-59, V.77; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XIV; *RML s.v.* 'Astarte,' and 'Nana'; *RAssyr. s.v.* 'Dumuzi/Tammuz,' and 'Inanna/Ištar'; Burkert 1979, 108-111.

One might even compare the maternal care of the Virgin Mary for the Christian dying and rising god to this syncretistic synergy. See: Borgeaud 1996, esp. 172-183 (*cp.* Μήτηρ Θεῶν, Μήτηρ Θεοῦ).

¹⁰ *RML s.v.* 'Isis,' II: 359-373 [Meyer], 373-548 [Drexler]; *RE s.v.* 'Isis,' IX: 2084-2132 [Roeder]; *RÄRG s.v.* 'Isis,' 326-332; *LÄ s.v.* 'Isis,' III: 186-203 [Bergman] and 'Osiris,' IV: 623-633 [Griffiths]; *OEAE s.v.* 'Isis,' II: 188-191 [Griffiths]; *SIRIS* (= Vidman 1969); *ATISR* (= Totti 1985); Vandebeek 1946; Bergman 1968; Münster 1968; Dunand 1973; Heyob 1975; Le Corsu 1977; Solmsen 1979; Versnel 1990, 39-95; Merkelbach 1995; Dunand 2000.

¹¹ *Pyr.* 1655a-b; *CT* II: 211b; *BD* 69; Hdt. II.144, 156; Manetho *Aeg.* I.i.1 (*ap.* Euseb. *Chron.* 93

Hathor of Tentyris (mod. Dendara), and her prominence and popularity increased accordingly. Still, from her first appearance in the Old-Kingdom *Pyramid Texts*, she was expected to protect the deceased because she had assisted in Osiris' resurrection.¹² Her relation with Osiris, consequently, was an essential element of Isis' religious character.¹³ Greek hymns consistently praised her as Osiris' "sister and wife."¹⁴ Since early Pharaonic times, her care and affection for Osiris were conveyed in emphatically emotional terms.¹⁵ She naturally became the "Mistress of Women," the protectress of marriage ("who ruled that women are loved by men") and, by the Hellenistic period, the inventress of the wedding contract.¹⁶ She was the "Lady of Love" and "Lady of Beauty," even "Sweet of Love" and "Filling the Netherworld with her Beauty."¹⁷ As Osiris' faithful sister and wife, Isis can thus be considered patroness of marriage.

An equally important aspect of Isis' religious character was her maternal care for Horus.¹⁸ The pregnant Isis passionately prayed to the gods for protection of the rightful

[Arm.]); Diod. I.13, 27; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XII (= *Mor.* 355D-F).

¹² For Isis' funerary concerns, e.g., see: *RML* s.v. 'Isis,' 462-469; *RE* s.v. 'Isis,' 2090; *RAÄRG* s.v. 'Abydos'; *RA* s.v. 'Isis,' 193-194; *LÄ* s.v. 'Isis,' 193-194; Chassinat 1966-68, I: 9-21; Münster 1968, 1-5, 22-79, 201-202; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 35, 328; Dunand 1973, I: 8-9; Le Corsu 1977, 3-6, 8, 13, 22, 24; Pinch 1994, 149, 151-152; Merskelbach 1995, 11, 23-36; Dunand 2000, 40.

¹³ *RML* s.v. 'Isis,' 491-511; *RE* s.v. 'Isis,' 2086-2087, 2119-2120; Münster 1968, 1-5; Le Corsu 1977, 15; Dunand 2000, 13-20.

¹⁴ E.g., see: Diod. I.27 (γυνή καὶ ἀδελφή); *ATISR* no. 1, l. 6; cf. *Pyr.* 632; *CT* III: 260; *BD* 69.

¹⁵ E.g., see: *Pyr.* 632a; *BD* 15.

¹⁶ *ATISR* no. 1, ll. 10, 17, 27, 30, no. 2, ll. 37, 101-103, and no. 19, ll. 17, 41-42.

¹⁷ *CT* III: 297g, 303f, IV: 178c; *Philae* I: 24.8; *RML* s.v. 'Isis,' 491, 494; *RE* s.v. 'Isis,' 2120; Münster 1968, 30-31, 106-108, 208.

¹⁸ *Pyr.* 1199c; *CT* I: 47c-48c; *P.Beatty* III: *recto* 10.10-15; *RML* s.v. 'Isis,' 364, 491; *RE* s.v. 'Isis,' 2120-2121; H. W. Müller 1963; Bergman 1968, 134-137; Münster 1968, 5-12, 124-128; Dunand 1973, I: 9-11, 95-98; Le Corsu 1977, 15, 20-21, 99; Isis 2000, 20-24, 31-34.

heir of Osiris,¹⁹ and she hid her child in the mythical papyrus thicket of Chemmis to guard him against the murderous Seth.²⁰ The goddess appeared as Horus' mother and wet-nurse, suckling her child – sometimes assisted by her sister Nephthys.²¹ In her role of archetypal mother, she could be identified with Mut (“Mother”), whose vulture headdress she adopted as well.²² The goddess was naturally believed to protect women in childbirth and nursing.²³ As the pharaoh was conceived of as the Living Horus, the goddess herself became the Queen Mother *par excellence*.²⁴ Already in the *Pyramid Texts*, the deceased expressed the wish to suckle the “milk of his mother Isis.”²⁵ From the time of the Nineteenth Dynasty (*ca.* 1307-1196 BCE), evidently under the influence of Hathor, Isis was depicted as wet nurse suckling the newborn royal child.²⁶ The act of imbibing the divine milk of Isis-Hathor was believed to transmit sovereignty and immortality.²⁷ The goddess thus became paradigmatic for Egyptian queenship, which encouraged the adoption of such attributes as the vulture headdress of Mut, the sun disc

¹⁹ *CT* II: 209c-226a (sp. 148); J. G. Griffiths 1960, 52-53; Münster 1968, 6-9.

²⁰ *Pyr.* 1214b-1215b, 1703c, 2190; *CT* II: 209-211, IV: 37g-h, 91e-f; *Philae* II: 12 (no. 948), 364 (no. 1005), 370 (no. 1006); Daumas 1958, 135-137; Bergman 1968, 137-140; Münster 1968, 6, 10; Pinch 1994, 26-27.

²¹ *E.g.*, see: *Pyr.* 371, 1375a; *CT* I: 281, III: 360c-d; *BD* 134; H. W. Müller 1963, figs. 1-31; Dunand 1973, I: pls. 5, 32-37.1; Tran Tam Tinh and Labrecque 1973, pls. 1-76; Borghouts 1978, 40-41 no. 64.

²² *Plut. Is. et Osir.* LVI.10 (= *Mor.* 373B); *Ael. NA* X.22; Münster 1968, 146.

²³ *P. Leiden* I: 348 verso 11.2-8 (sp. 34); *Ovid Met.* IX.698-700; *ATISR* no. 1, l. 18, no. 2, ll. 37-39; Borghouts 1971, 31; *id.* 1978, 40-41 nos. 63-64; Pinch 1994, 125-130.

²⁴ The central thesis in Bergman's seminal study (1968, esp. 132-146).

²⁵ *Pyr.* 734b, 1873a-b, *etc.*; *cf. ibid.* 32 (sp. 41: “Horus' own breast”; sp. 42: “the breast of your sister Isis”).

²⁶ *Pyr.* 371c, 1375a-b; Münster 1968, 142-143; Bleeker 1973, 52; Goyon 1988, 33-35, figs. 8-10.

²⁷ *Pyr.* 707, 734a-b; *LD* III: 177g; *Abydos* IV: 138, pl. 16; Brunner 1964, 131-134; Münster 1968,

enclosed by cow horns of Hathor, the tall feathers of Ma'at, and the royal *uraeus* (cobra-insigne) of Wadjet.²⁸ When Isis was evoked as “The Great Mother of the Gods,”²⁹ it unequivocally pronounced her affinity with the Magna Mater constellation.³⁰

Since the earliest sources, Isis and Osiris were furthermore associated with the fertility of the fields.³¹ They were, in fact, believed to have discovered the fruits of the earth, especially wheat and barley.³² Subsequently, Osiris traveled across the world to diffuse the art of agriculture.³³ The Egyptians brought first-fruit offerings to Isis as guarantor of the harvest, and during festivals of Isis they carried stalks of wheat and barley in procession.³⁴ From the time of Herodotus, the Greeks recognized Isis as Demeter and Osiris as Dionysus.³⁵ The Hellenized Isis adopted Demetriad attributes such as the torch, poppy branches and wheat stalks.³⁶ Isis even received the same cult titles as

142-143.

²⁸ *RML* s.v. ‘Isis,’ 515-520; *RE* s.v. ‘Isis,’ 2116, 2118; cf. *ATISR* no. 2, ll. 159-160.

²⁹ *Abydos* IV, pl. 16; *P. Lugd. Bat.* 185; *Wb.* s.v. ‘*mwt-ntr*,’ II: 54; Bergman 1968, 133-137; Münster 1968, 205; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 511-512; Dunand 1973, I: 3-4; *ead.* 2000 (entitled, *Isis: Mère des Dieux*).

³⁰ For Isis’ universalist assimilations, e.g., see: Hdt. II. 41, 47, 59, 112, 156; Diod. I.25; Plut. *Is. et Osir. pass.*; Apul. *Met.* XI.5, 22; Luc. *Syr. D.* 6-7; *CIL* VII: 759; *I. Delos* 2101, 2132; *ATISR* no. 21, l. 18; Vandebeek 1946, 125-139 (“Isis Panthea”); Versnel 1990, esp. 39-52.

³¹ *RML* s.v. ‘Isis,’ 367, 442-452; *RE* s.v. ‘Isis,’ 2117, 2119; Scharff 1948, 7-11; Münster 1968, 198-200; Dunand 1973, I: 85-88; Le Corsu 1977, 7; J. G. Griffiths 1980, 151-172; Pinch 1994, 120; Dunand 2000, 20-24.

³² *CT* IV: 6-7 (sp. 269; *P. Beatty* I: 14; Diod. I.14, 27; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XIII.1 (= *Mor.* 356A-B); *ATISR* no. 1, ll. 7, 21, no. 19, ll. 36, no. 21, ll. 2-3, and no. 24, l. 4.

³³ Diod. I.17-18.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 14. Cf. *Pyr.* 1214b (“the Field of Offerings for Isis the Great”).

³⁵ Hdt. II.59, 156; Diod. I.25, 96; Apollod. *Bibl.* II.9; Apul. *Met.* XI.2, 5.

³⁶ Ovid *Met.* IX.688-690, 777-778; Apul. *Met.* XI.3; *RML* s.v. ‘Isis,’ 443-452; Dunand 1973, I: 86-87, pls. 23-24.

Demeter, such as “Fruit-Bearing,” “Fruit-Bringing” and “Law-Bringing.”³⁷ Other Hellenized attributes, such as the lotus scepter and the horn of plenty, similarly displayed Isis’ role as protectress of fertility and abundance.³⁸ Another identification that illustrates Isis’ concern for fertility was with Thermuthis (Eg. Renenutet), the serpentine goddess of harvest and the “Mistress of Life.”³⁹ Isis herself was represented as a snake together with Sarapis (the Hellenized *Usir-Hapi*), in which form they were equated with Agathe Tyche and Agathodaemon.⁴⁰ In addition to this concern for natural fecundity, Isis’ loving care and affection – for men and women, for the living and the dead, for kings and queens, for Horus and Osiris – unmistakably defined her as a Great Mother Goddess.

3. Hera Teleia

Hera⁴¹ was the daughter of Cronus and Rhea, the sister and wife of Zeus, to whom she bore Hebe, Ares, Eileithyia, and according to some later traditions the Charites.⁴² Due to the scarcity of ancient sources, it is difficult to gain a full grasp of the

³⁷ Diod. I.14, 25; Apul. *Met.* XI.3; *Anth. Pl.* IV: 264; *CIG* 4925; *CIL* VI: 351; *SIRIS* no. 317.

³⁸ *RML s.v.* ‘Isis,’ 457-459; *RE s.v.* ‘Isis,’ 2123; Dunand 1973, I: 92-94.

³⁹ *RÄRG s.v.* ‘Thermuthis,’ 804; D. Müller 1961, 84 n.8; Münster 1968, 81-83, 155; Broekhuis 1971, esp. 105-109; Dunand 1973, I: 89-91, figs. 4-5, pls. 26-28; Le Corsu 1977, 18, fig. 10, 212, pl. 33; Pinch 1994, 120.

⁴⁰ Broekhuis 1971, 127-129; Le Corsu 1977, 212, fig. 15; Merkelbach 1995, 80, fig. 22, pls. 26, 60, 67.

⁴¹ *RML s.v.* ‘Hera,’ I: 2075-2134; *CGS* I: 179-257; *RE s.v.* ‘Hera,’ VII: 369-403, supp. III: 906-909; *LIMC* IV: 659-719; Kerényi 1972, esp. 93-142; Motte 1973, esp. 104-114, 214-225; Burkert 1985, 131-135; Pötscher 1987; O’Brien 1993.

⁴² *E.g.*, see: Hom. *Il.* IV.59, XVI.432, 440; *id.* *Od.* XI.603; *Hymn. Hom.* XII: *Jun.*; Hes. *Theog.* 453-454, 921-923, 952; Paus. II.xiii.3, VIII.ix.3; Pötscher 1987, 113-118; O’Brien 1993, 172-173.

goddess' religious character. However, the most ancient and revered of Greek sanctuaries were dedicated to her – viz., in Argos, at Olympia and on Samos.⁴³ The appellation “*pantôn genethla* (she who gives birth to all),” indicates that her cult (at least in part) derived from the Great Aegean Goddess.⁴⁴ Cult statues of Hera, furthermore, resemble the iconography of the Magna Mater, as the Olympian Queen⁴⁵ was commonly shown with a crown (often the *polos*, sometimes a *stephanê*) and holding a tall scepter, mostly either seated on a throne, or standing and holding a *phialê* for libation.⁴⁶ Greek literature placed great emphasis on Hera's spiteful and jealous nature that largely ignored her matrimonial importance and denied her maternal affection. Nonetheless, Zeus continued to love her despite his numerous adulterous romances (with Alcmena, Leda, Semele, *etc.*) and her hatred toward his extramarital offspring (Heracles, Artemis and Apollo, Dionysus, *etc.*).⁴⁷ Moreover, their *hieros gamos* was praised in lush erotic imagery.⁴⁸

Hera's religious character manifested her, above all, as patroness of marriage. She was invoked as “*gamêlios* (nuptial)” and “*teleia* (fulfilled, married),” as well as other

⁴³ Hom. *Il.* IV.51-52; Hdt. III.60; Strabo XIV.i.14 (637); Paus. II.xvii, III.xiii.8, V.xvi-xvii.1, VII.iv.4, VIII.xxiii.5.

⁴⁴ Alcm. 129.5-7 (L-P: πάντων γενέθλαν); Nonn. *Dion.* XXXII.74 (μεδέουσα γενέθλης); Kerényi 1972, 93; Motte 1973, 104; Pötscher 1987, 14-17; O'Brien 1993, 106-107.

⁴⁵ Hom. *Il.* I.551, IV.50, V.721, VIII.383; *Hymn. Hom.* XII: *Jun.* 2; Hes. *Theog.* 11; *Hymn. Orph.* XVI.2; Clem. Al. *Protr.* I.148; *id. Strom.* I.25 (418P).

⁴⁶ Hom. *Il.* XXI.511; *Hymn. Hom.* XII: *Jun.* 1 (χρυσόθρονος); Tyrt. F 2 (καλλιστεφάνος); Paus. II.xvii.4, IX.ii.7; Athen. V.201C (στεφάνην ... χρυσῆν); CGS I: pls. 6-12.

⁴⁷ *Hymn. Hom.* V: *Ven.* 43-44; *ibid.* XII: *Jun.* 3.

⁴⁸ Hom. *Il.* XIV.346-353; Motte 1973, 207-219; Burkert 1985, 132; Pötscher 1987, 11; O'Brien 1993, 139.

epithets that attest her matrimonial importance.⁴⁹ Her *theogamia* was ritually enacted in annual festivals attested across the ancient Greek world,⁵⁰ and her holy wedding served as the human ideal.⁵¹ The goddess was consequently conceived of as the archetypical bride, and was commonly depicted veiled to denote her chaste modesty.⁵² Hera's surpassing beauty was rivaled only by that of Athena and Aphrodite,⁵³ and beauty contests (*kallisteia*) were held in her precinct on Lesbos.⁵⁴ The lush floral ambience of Hera's *hieros gamos*, furthermore, reflected her importance for natural as well as human fertility.⁵⁵ The goddess was associated with flowers on many occasions,⁵⁶ and her crown was often decorated with floral motifs.⁵⁷ Polyclitus' famous chryselephantine statue in

⁴⁹ Pind. *Nem.* X.18 (τελεία); Σ Pind. *Nem.* III.97 (γαμοστόλος); Aesch. *Eum.* 214, F 383 (τελεία); Σ *ad Eur. Phoen.* 1748, 1760 (γαμοστόλος); Diod. V.73; Ovid *Met.* IX.762; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* IV.96 (ζυγία); Dion. Hal. *Rhet.* II.2; Dio Chrys. *Or.* VII.135 (γαμηλός); Plut. *Conj. praec.* XVII (= *Mor.* 141E); Paus. VIII.xxii.2, xxxi.9, IX.ii.7; Poll. I.24, III.38-39; Athen. V.185B (τῶν γαμηλίων θεῶν); Stob. II.vii.3a (συζυγία); Nonn. *Dion.* XXXII.57, 74; Hesych. s.v. 'Ζυγία'; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. 'Ζευξιδία' (409.28).

⁵⁰ Hdt. I.31; Diod. V.72; Paus. V.xvi, IX.iii.1; Clem. Al. *Hom.* V.18; Lact. *Instit.* I.17; Hesych. s.v. 'ἱερὸς γάμος' (ἐορτὴ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας); Phot. s.v. 'ἱερὸν γάμον'; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. 'ἱερομνήμονες' (468.52); *RML* s.v. 'Hera,' 2098-2104; *CGS* I: 184-192; *RE* s.v. 'Hera,' esp. 393-395; Motte 1973, 111-113, 215-217.

⁵¹ Diod. V.73; Dion. Hal. *Rhet.* II.2.

⁵² Hom. *Il.* XIV.184; Varro *ap.* Lact. *Inst.* I.17; *CGS* I: 208-209, 220, pls. 3b, 5b, 7a, 9a-b; *Hist. Num.*² fig. 201.

⁵³ *Hymn. Hom.* V: *Ven.* 41; *ibid.* XII: *Jun.* 3; *Cypria* F 1 (*ap.* Procl. *Chrest.* I.i.2).

⁵⁴ Σ *ad Hom. Il.* IX.129; Alc. 130B.17 (L-P); *Anth. Pal.* IX: 189; Athen. XIII.565F, 610A.

⁵⁵ *CGS* I: 184-185; Kerényi 1972, 124-125; Motte 1973, 104-114; Pötscher 1987, 10-11; O'Brien 1993, 119, 138-139.

⁵⁶ Paus. II.xxii.1; Poll. IV.78; *RE* s.v. 'Hera,' esp. 397-398.

⁵⁷ *Hist. Num.*² figs. 55, 59, 231, 240.

the Argive temple depicted Hera Antheia⁵⁸ with allegorical figurines of the Charites and Horae.⁵⁹ Various local myths and rituals, moreover, point to an association between Hera and primordial fertility deities.⁶⁰ This association was mostly forgotten in the epic tradition that focused on her marital discord. Through her concern for natural and human fertility, as well as her role as Zeus' wife, in short, Hera manifested her protection of marital affairs.

Despite her sacred marriage to the "king of gods and men,"⁶¹ few allusions convey Hera's maternal care.⁶² To be sure, she was the mother of Ares and Hebe, the sole parent of Typhon and Hephaestus, and was said to have nursed such monsters as the Lernaean Hydra and the Nemean Lion.⁶³ Yet, these examples merely highlight the exceptional nature of her motherly affection – if nursing monsters could qualify as affectionate. While she was never appealed to as mother,⁶⁴ Hera was on occasion identified with Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth – and in this capacity women in labor

⁵⁸ Paus. II.xxii.1; Poll. IV.78; *Etym. Magn.* s.v. "Ἀνθεία" (108.47: ὅτι ἀνίησι τοὺς καρπούς).

⁵⁹ Paus. II.xvii.4; *Anth. Pl.* IV: 216; *CGS* I: 214; Motte 1973, 110; O'Brien 1993, 136-142.

⁶⁰ Callim. F 100 (*ap.* Euseb. *Praep. evang.* III.viii.1); Diod. V.55; Plut. *De Dead.* = F 157 (*ap.* Euseb. *Praep. evang.* III.i-ii); Paus. II.xvii.5, III.xiii.8-9, VII.iv.4, IX..ii.7-iii. 8; Athen. XV.672C-E; Clem. Al. *Protr.* IV (40-41, 47); *id.* *Strom.* I.24 (164); Arnob. *Adv. nat.* VI.2; Lact. *Inst.* I.17; *CGS* I: 189-190, 205-206; Frazer 1890 = 1981, 98-108; Kerényi 1972, 114-118; Motte 1973, 104-114; Burkert 1977, 129-132; Pötscher 1987, 56-65; O'Brien 1993, 18-43, figs. 2-4.

⁶¹ Hes. *Theog.* 923 (μυχθεῖσ' ἐν φιλότῃτι θεῶν βασιλῇ καὶ ἀνδρῶν).

⁶² Eratosth. *Cataster.* XLIV; Diod. IV.9, 29; *Anth. Pal.* IX: 589; *CGS* I: 196; *RE* s.v. 'Hera,' 397; O'Brien 1993, fig. 15.

⁶³ *Hymn. Hom.* III: *Ap.* 305-309; Hes. *Theog.* 313-314, 327-329, 924-929c; Pötscher 1987, 95-125; O'Brien 1993, 94-108.

⁶⁴ Kerényi 1972, 45.

prayed to her to ease their pangs.⁶⁵ Conversely, epithets such as “*Parthenos*” and “*Nymphê*” emphasized the goddess’ virginity.⁶⁶ According to a local Argolid myth, Hera annually renewed her virginity by bathing in the Canathus spring.⁶⁷ In the Arcadian town of Stymphalus, three temples were dedicated to the goddess as “*Pais* (child),” “*Teleia* (wife)” and “*Chêra* (widow).”⁶⁸ These three epithets, in effect, represented major stages in women’s lives – viz., from youthful maidenhood (*pais*, *hêbê*, *Parthenos*) to marriage (*nymphê*, *teleia*, *eileithyia*) to eventual widowhood (*chêra*).⁶⁹ Hera’s association with these stages reflects her continued concern throughout women’s lives, and confirms that the goddess’ religious sphere was clearly defined by matrimony.

4. Demeter Thesmophorus

Like Hera, Demeter⁷⁰ was considered a daughter of Cronus and Rhea.⁷¹ In antiquity, the goddess’ name was commonly understood to mean “Earth Mother,” but

⁶⁵ Crin. *Anth. Pal.* VI: 244 (τελεία); Paus. I.xviii.5, II.xviii.3, xxii.6; Hesych. s.v. ‘Εἰλείθια’; *RML* s.v. ‘Hera,’ 2091; *CGS* I: 196, 247 n. 28c, 250 n. 39, and II: 608-609; Pötscher 1987, 114-115; O’Brien 1993, 176-179. For Eileithyia, cf. Hom. *Il.* II.270, XIX.119; *Hymn. Hom.* III: *Ap.* 103, 115; Hes. *Theog.* 922; Paus. I.xviii.5; Ael. *NA* VII.15.

⁶⁶ Σ Pind. *Ol.* VI.148-149; Σ Theoc. XV.64; Callim. F 599; Σ *ad Ap. Rhod. Argon.* II.866; Nonn. *Dion.* XXXII.60; Motte 1973, 105; Pötscher 1987, 72-77; O’Brien 1993, 59-62.

⁶⁷ Paus. II.xxxviii.2; cf. Σ Pind. *Ol.* VI.149.

⁶⁸ Pind. *Ol.* VI.88-89; Σ *ad loc.*; Paus. VIII.xxii.2; Hesych. s.v. ‘χήρα’; *CGS* I: 190-191; Motte 1973, 105; Burkert 1985, 133-134.

⁶⁹ *CGS* I: 190-191; Motte 1973, 105; Burkert 1985, 133-134.

⁷⁰ *RML* s.v. ‘Kora,’ II: 1284-1379 [Bloch]; *RE* s.v. ‘Demeter,’ IV: 2713-2764 [Kern]; *CGS* III: 29-279; *LIMC* IV.1: 844-908; Richardson 1974; Friedrich 1978, 159-180; Burkert 1985, 159-161; Clay 1989, 202-265; Foley (ed.) 1994; Kledt 2004.

modern scholars dispute that etymology.⁷² She certainly shared aspects with Great Goddesses such as Cybele and Isis, with whom she was syncretistically assimilated.⁷³ Demeter's majesty was manifested by cult statues seated on a throne wearing crowns of various shapes (*inter alia*, the high *polos* and low *stephanê*).⁷⁴ She was revered with appellations such as "*eustephanos*" and "*kallistephanos*," as well as queenly titles, and was praised for her august beauty in the Great Hymn to Demeter.⁷⁵ Rather than an Earth Goddess, Demeter's sphere of influence was more focused on agricultural fecundity, especially that of wheat and barley, like Ceres at Rome.⁷⁶ Epithets such as "*aglaokarpos*," "*eukarpos*," "*polykarpos*" and especially "*karpophoros*" bear out the goddess' importance for the fecundity of the fruits of the field.⁷⁷ She was furthermore portrayed holding wheat sheaves as well as poppies, while the basket headwear (*calathus*) overflowing with flowers, fruit and ears of wheat was another of her common

⁷¹ Hes. *Theog.* 453-454; Diod. V.68.

⁷² Possible etymologies incl. (a) Γῆ μήτηρ: Eur. *Bacch.* 275-276 (Δημήτηρ θεά, ἡ Γῆ δ' ἐστίν); Diod. I.12 (Γῆ μήτηρ πάντων), III.62; Cic. *Nat. deor.* II.67; Hesych. s.v. 'δῆ' (γῆ, καὶ σιωπᾶ); cf. LSJ⁹ suppl. s.v. 'γῆ' (Cyp. *za-); (b) δηαὶ μήτηρ: *Etym. Magn.* 265.12 (Cret. "barley"); cf. LSJ⁹ s.v. 'ζειά' ("emmer"); (c) δῆμος μήτηρ: *Etym. Magn.* 265.54; (d) Aeol. Δωμάτηρ < δῶμα μήτηρ; *RE* s.v. 'Demeter,' 2713; cf. *RML* s.v. 'Kora,' 1285-1286.

⁷³ Hdt. II.59, 156; Xanth. *FHG* I: 37 F 7; Eur. *Hel.* 1301-1368.

⁷⁴ *RML* s.v. 'Kora,' 1359-1360, fig. 10; *CGS* III: 260-262, pls. 23-24, 28, 31.

⁷⁵ E.g., see: Hes. *Op.* 300 (εὐστέφανος); *id.* 75 (ἄνασσα); *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 39 (πότνια), 224 (εὐστέφανος), 251 (καλλιστέφανος), 276-279, etc.; Paus. V.xv.4, 10, VIII.xxvii.6 (δέσποινα), IX.viii.1 (πότνια).

⁷⁶ Hom. *Il.* XIII.322, XXI.76; Hes. *Op.* 32, 587, 805; Hes. *Op.* 597; Cic. *Verr.* II.iv.49 (108); Val. Max. I.i.1; *RML* s.v. 'Kora,' 1320-1328; *RE* s.v. 'Demeter,' 2748-2749; *CGS* III: 32-50; Richardson 1974, 13-16; Friedrich 1978, 156-157; Foley (ed.) 1994, 97-100.

⁷⁷ E.g., see: *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 4, 23, 54, etc.; Hdt. I.193, IV.198; Ar. *Ran.* 384; Theoc. *Id.* X.42; Paus. VIII.iii.7; Ael. *NA* XI.4; *Anth. Pal.* VI: 31, 40, 41, 95, 98, 394, etc.; Hesych. s.v. 'δαματρίζειν'; *CIG* II: 2175, III: 4082; *IG* II.(3): 1545, XII.(5): 226; *RML* s.v. 'Kora,' 1327; *CGS* III: 318 n. 30.

attributes.⁷⁸ Consequently, Demeter was central to life on the countryside, where she was honored with harvest festivals.⁷⁹

The most widespread festival in the worship of Demeter – and one of the most prevalent Greek festivals in general – was the Thesmophoria.⁸⁰ As it was celebrated exclusively by women (men were forcefully prohibited from participation), sources unfortunately provide little information about the particulars of this festival.⁸¹ Foremost, the three-day festival revealed a close association between nature's fecundity and human fertility. After the procession on the first day, piglet meat, dough snakes and pinecones, together with cakes shaped in the form of male and female genitals were placed on altars.⁸² The Greeks believed a good harvest could be secured by mixing some of the remains of these fecundity symbols with the seeds for next year's crop.⁸³ The second day consisted of fasting while the participants retreated to primitive huts.⁸⁴ The gloomy women mimicked both Demeter, the bereaved mother, and Persephone, the reluctant

⁷⁸ Theoc. *Id.* VII.157; Callim. *Hymn. Cer.* 1-5, 45, 121-124; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* III.xi.6; CGS III: 217-219, 260-262.

⁷⁹ Hes. *Op.* 300, 307, 465-467; Theoc. *Id.* VII.4, 155-157; *Anth. Pal.* VI: 31.

⁸⁰ Hdt. II.17; Callim. *Hymn. Cer.* 19; Diod. V.5, 68; Σ Luc. *ad Dial. mer.* II.1, ed. Rabe 1906, 275-281; *RML s.v.* 'Kora,' 1328-1333; *RE s.v.* 'Thesmophoria,' VI: 15-28 [Arbesmann]; CGS III: 75-112, 326-332 nn.74-107; Detienne 1972, esp.151-158; Burkert 1985, 242-246; Winkler 1990, 193-202; Clinton 1993, 114-115; Versnel 1993, 235-260; Foley (ed.) 1994, 72-74; Kledt 2004, 114-147.

⁸¹ Hdt. II.171, VI.16; Ar. *Thesm.*; Isae. III: *Pyrrh.* 80, VI: *Philoct.* 19, VIII: *Cir.* 49; Cic. *Verr.* II.iv.45 (99), v.72 (187); Paus. I.xliii.2, IV.xvii.1, VIII.xxxi.8, xxxvi.6; Athen. II.46B; CGS III: 83; Foley (ed.) 1994, 73-74; Kledt 2004, 114.

⁸² Athen. XIV.647A; Σ Luc. 275-276; cf. *Orph.* F 50; Ov. *Met.* X.434.

⁸³ Σ Luc. 275; cf. Ar. *Ach.* 773; Suda s.v. 'χοῖρος'.

⁸⁴ Ar. *Thesm.* 658; Σ *ad loc.*; Theoc. *Id.* IV.25b, VII.68a-b; Σ *ad loc.*; Alciph. II.37 (III.39 Berg.); Apoll. *Bibl.* I.v.1; Diod. V.4; Pliny *NH* XXIV.xxxviii (59); Plut. *Dem.* XXX.5; *id. Is. et Osir.* LXIX.3 (= *Mor.* 378E); Athen. VII.307; Ael. *NA* IX.26; Hesych. s.v. 'κνέωρον'; Phot. s.v. 'κνέωρον'.

bride, and they recalled the drought and famine that humanity suffered in consequence of Demeter's grief.⁸⁵ The final day of the festival was dedicated to Kalligeneia, the goddess of "beautiful offspring."⁸⁶ Having been separated from the larger (male) community, the women eventually returned home to the established order of society, with high hopes for a good harvest and for "birth of children such as parents desire."⁸⁷

While Demeter was indeed considered a patroness of marriage, she was not unequivocally associated with a male partner. Nevertheless, the myth of the Rape of Persephone, despite its overt emphasis on the sorrowful separation of mother and daughter, *inter alia*, offers an aetiology of marriage.⁸⁸ Moreover, Persephone herself was the offspring of Zeus' union with Demeter.⁸⁹ It is worthy of notice that Zeus and Demeter were coupled in various local cults, for instance at Thebes where she was honored as her brother's "*Homolôia* (equal partner)."⁹⁰ In the Peloponnesus, the goddess was typically worshipped together with Hades.⁹¹ In Arcadia, local myths recounted how she was

⁸⁵ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 302-313, 371-372, 450-453.

⁸⁶ *Ar. Thesm.* 298-299; Σ *ad loc.*; *Alciph.* IV.19 (=II.4), II.37 (=III.39 Berg.); *Nonn. Dion.* VI.140.

⁸⁷ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 136-137; *cf. Plut. Conj. praec.* I (= *Mor.* 138B: bridal-chamber as Demeter's sphere).

⁸⁸ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.*; *Orph.* F 49; Friedrich 1978, 163-180 (arguing that Demeter's fundamental characteristic is her motherly love); Burkert 1979, 138-142; Clay 1989, 209-213 (emphasizing the "cosmological and theological ramifications" of Zeus' plan); Foley (ed.) 1994, esp. 104-112; Kledt 2004, 42-44.

⁸⁹ *Hom. Il.* XIV.326; *id. Od.* XI.217; *Hes. Theog.* 912-914; *Orph.* F 49.18.

⁹⁰ *Ister FGrH* III: 334 F 5 (= *FHG* I: 409 F 10); *Paus.* VII.xxiv.2-3, IX.viii.5, xxxix.4-5; *Phot.* and *Suda s.v.* "Ομολωϊος"; *RML s.v.* 'Kora,' 1289-1290; *RE s.v.* 'Demeter,' 2722-2723.

⁹¹ *Strabo* VIII.iii.14-15 (344); *Paus.* II. xviii.3, xxxv.9, III.xix.4, V.v.6; *RE s.v.* 'Demeter,' 2726-2727.

amorously pursued by Poseidon.⁹² Even Dionysus appeared as her *parhedros*.⁹³ Hesiod additionally portrayed the *hieros gamos* of Demeter and Iasion in similar fashion as Homer's sumptuous description of the theogamy of Zeus and Hera, or the lush imagery of the Rape of Persephone.⁹⁴ While such relations had a more permanent character in local cults and myths, the overwhelming influence of the Eleusian cult, the Thesmophoria festival and the Great Hymn undeniably concentrated on Demeter's care for natural and human fertility, not to mention her maternal care. As such, Demeter Thesmophorus revealed her concern for the established order of women's life, including marriage and motherhood.

5. Aphrodite Thalamon

Two traditions existed in antiquity regarding the parentage of Aphrodite.⁹⁵ While the Homeric tradition considered her the daughter of Zeus and Dione,⁹⁶ the Hesiodic tradition represented her born at sea from the spewing foam of Uranus' castrated

⁹² Ptolem. *Heph.* F3 *ap. Phot. Bibl.* 190, ed. by Bekker 1824-25, 148; Paus. VIII.v.8, xxv.4-10, xxxviii.1-10, xlii.1-13, IX.xxxiii.3; *CGS* III: 50-64; Kerényi 1972, 74-75; Friedrich 1978, 154-156.

⁹³ *E.g.*, see: Pind. *Isth.* VII.3-5 (πάρεδρον Δαμάτερος ... Διόνυσον); Paus. II.xxxvii.3.

⁹⁴ Hes. *Theog.* 969-974; Hom. *Od.* V.125-128; *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 5-9, 486-489; Theoc. *Id.* III.50-51; Diod. V.77; Richardson 1974, 140-145, 316-321; Foley (ed.) 1994, 63.

⁹⁵ *RML s.v.* 'Aphrodite,' I: 390-406 [Roscher], 406-419 [Furtwängler]; *RE s.v.* 'Aphrodite,' I: 2729-2776 [Tümpel], 2776-2787 [Dümmler]; *CGS* II: 618-730; *LIMC* II.2: 2-151; Friedrich 1978; Burkert 1985, 152-156; Clay 1989, 152-201; Pirenne-Delforge 1994; Budin 2003.

⁹⁶ Hom. *Il.* V.312, 330, 370-371, 422; *Hymn. Hom.* V: *Ven.* 81, 107, 191; also, see: Eur. *Hel.* 1098; Theoc. *Id.* VII.116, XV.106, XVII.36; Bion I.93; Apollod. *Bibl.* I.iii.1; Ver. *Aen.* III.19.

member.⁹⁷ The oldest known cult center dedicated to Aphrodite was at Cyprian Paphos from the early twelfth century B.C.E.⁹⁸ Whether she arrived or was adopted there from the Levant, or was identified at some later time with Near-Eastern deities such as Astarte, Inanna and Hathor remains a matter of controversy.⁹⁹ Various epithets, such as “*Potnia*,” “*Chrysostephanos*,” and “*Ourania*,” refer to Aphrodite’s character as Heavenly Queen.¹⁰⁰ The goddess’ pivotal importance for amorous affairs is unambiguously illustrated by her attendants Eros, Himeros, Pothos,¹⁰¹ while her seductive beauty is exemplified by her entourage of Nymphs, Charites and Peitho.¹⁰² Her coupling with the vegetation god Adonis, furthermore, reveals Aphrodite’s association with the fertility goddesses of the Near East.¹⁰³ Interest in this sphere of natural and human fecundity emerges similarly from her child with Dionysus, viz., the ithyphallic garden spirit

⁹⁷ Hes. *Theog.* 188-206; cf. Pl. *Symp.* 180D; Xen. *Symp.* VIII.9-11; Apul. *Met.* XI.2; Friedrich 1978, 82.

⁹⁸ Hom. *Od.* VIII.362-363; *Hymn. Hom.* V: *Ven.* 58-59, X: *Ven.* 1; Strabo XIV.vi.3 (683); Paus. I.xiv.7, VIII.v.2; Burkert 1985, 153; Budin 2003, esp. 170-180.

⁹⁹ For such identifications, e.g., see: Hdt. I.105, 131, II.112; Luc. *Syr.D. pass.*; *IG* II.(1): 627; *I. Delos* 2132 (= *SIRIS* no. 194); *IG* XII.(2): 104; Hommel 1882, 176; Friedrich 1978, 12-23; Budin 2003, esp. 273-281.

¹⁰⁰ Hom. *Od.* VIII.267; Hes. *Theog.* 196, 1008; *Hymn. Hom.* V: *Ven.* 6, 175, 287, 292; VI: *Ven.* 1, 7-8, 18; X: *Ven.* 4; Paus. I.xiv.7, II.xxiii.8, VI.xx.6, VII.xxvi.7, etc.; *IG* I.²: 700, II.(3): 1588, V.(1): 559, etc.

¹⁰¹ Hom. *Od.* XXII.444; Hes. *Theog.* 201-202; Paus. I.xliii.6, IX.xxvii.2; *RML* s.v. ‘Aphrodite,’ 400; *CGS* II: 664-668; Burkert 1985, 152; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 419-433; Budin 2003, 13, 18-19.

¹⁰² Hom. *Il.* XIV.216-217; Hes. *Theog.* 205-206; *Hymn. Hom.* VI: *Ven.* 19; *Cypr.* F 6.1-7; Plut. *Amat.* XX (= *Mor.* 766D); *IG* IX.(2): 236, XII.(2): 73; *RE* s.v. ‘Aphrodite,’ 2730, 2749; Clay 1989, 159; Budin 2003, 23-30.

¹⁰³ *RML* s.v. ‘Adonis,’ I: 69-77 [Roscher]; *RE* s.v. ‘Adonis,’ no. 2, I(1): 385-395 [Dümmler]; Atallah 1966, esp. 323-324. For general lit. on Adonis, see: Pt. Two, ch. I, § 5, p. 177, n. 90. For natural fertility as an aspect of Aphrodite’s activity, also see: *Cypr.* F 6.1-7; Pind. *Pyth.* V.24; Paus. I.xix.2; Strabo XIV.vi.3 (683); Hesych. s.v. “*Ἀνθεῖα*,” and “*κάρπωσις*”; *IG* I.³ (1): 369.80; *RML* s.v. ‘Aphrodite,’ 397-398; *CGS* II: 642-643, 649; Friedrich 1978, 93-95; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 410-417.

Priapus.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, she seduced the shepherd Anchises with the promise of glorious offspring, viz., a son who would reign among the Trojans, named Aeneas.¹⁰⁵

If seduction and sexuality, fertility and procreation were Aphrodite's prerogatives, maternal care and marital affairs would not appear as her immediate interests. That, as the goddess of love and sexuality, Aphrodite was not a protectress of marriage has become something of an article of faith among historians of religion, who tend to focus on classical myths.¹⁰⁶ Her marriage to Hephaestus was frigid and barren, while her extramarital affair with Ares was notorious.¹⁰⁷ Still, such epithets as “*gamêlia*” and “*gamostolos*” expressed that Aphrodite did in fact preside over marriage.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the epithet “*kourotrophos*” as well as her association with Genetyllis and Eileithyia reveal her importance for motherhood.¹⁰⁹ Joining in lawful wedlock for the rearing of children, then, was an essential part of Aphrodite's “charming works of

¹⁰⁴ Diod. IV.vi.1; Paus. IX.xxxi.2; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 461-462. For Priapus in Rome, see: Richlin 1983.

¹⁰⁵ Hom. *Il.* II.820, XX.208-2094; *Hymn. Hom.* V: *Ven.* 196-198, 278-280; Clay 1989, 170-201.

¹⁰⁶ E.g., see: Friedrich 1978, 181-191; Burkert 1985, 152; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 418-433; Carney 2000b, esp. 34-39; Budin 2003, 13-21.

When scholars point out that love and sexuality could and did take place without marriage (even between men), they focus on the public/masculine side of Aphrodite, to the exclusion of the private/feminine side. For, women (particularly Athenian women) could not, or were not allowed to, enjoy the goddess' “charming works” outside the confines of lawful wedlock.

¹⁰⁷ Hom. *Od.* VIII.266-366.

¹⁰⁸ Eur. F 781.17; Σ *ad* Eur. *Phoen.* 1760; *Epic. Alex. Adesp.* 9.iii.5; Arch. *Anth. Pal.* VI: 207; also, see: Hom. *Il.* XXII.470; *id.* *Od.* XX.66-78; Pind. *Ol.* I.75; Antim. *Anth. Pal.* IX: 321; Diod. V.73; Artemid. *Oneirocr.* II.37; Paus. II.xxxii.7, III.xxii.1, X.xxx.1-2; CGS II: 655-656, 657; Friedrich 1978, 142.

¹⁰⁹ Hom. *Epigr.* 12 (*ap.* Athen. XIII.592A); Σ *ad* Ar. *Nub.* 52 (Γενετυλλίς ἡ τῆς γενέσεως ἑφορος Ἀφροδίτῃ); Pl. Com. *CAF* I: F 174.7 (*ap.* Athen. X.441F); Nicod. *Anth. Pal.* VI: 318; Paus. I.i.5, VI.xx.6; also, see: Σ *ad* Ar. *Lys.* 2; Alciph. II.8 (III.11 Berg.); Luc. *Am.* 42; *id.* *Pseudol.* 11; *RML* s.v. ‘Aphrodite,’ 399; CGS II: 655-656; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 76-78.

marriage,” which Zeus had assigned to her.¹¹⁰ Herodotus knew of pre-marital rites in parts of Cyprus in Aphrodite’s service, which he, incidentally, likened to those of Assyrian Ishtar and Babylonian Inanna.¹¹¹ Diodorus mentioned sacrifices and libations made to the goddess in connection with weddings.¹¹² In Sparta, so various sources attest, Aphrodite served as goddess of marriage for girls – in fact, she was identified with Hera by mothers who sacrificed to her upon their daughter’s wedding.¹¹³ Wedding gifts and dowry pieces such as vases and figurines regularly depicted Aphrodite and her entourage.¹¹⁴ Pausanias reported that Megaran brides and widows made offerings to her, and that widows in Locris prayed to her for new espousal.¹¹⁵ In the Hellenistic period particularly, the goddess was addressed with appellations such as “*Arma*,” “*Philonymphios*,” “*Thalamon*,” and “*Zygios*,” that unambiguously corroborate her matrimonial importance.¹¹⁶ Late traditions even made Hymenaeus the child of Aphrodite and Dionysus.¹¹⁷

If marriage thus fell within the sphere of Aphrodite’s influence, the conclusion

¹¹⁰ Hom. *Il.* V.429 (ἱμερόεντα ἔργα γάμοιο).

¹¹¹ Hdt. I.199; also, see: *CIG* 2637; Just. *Epit.* XVIII.v.4; Burkert 1985, 152-153; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 345; Budin 2003, 199-271.

¹¹² Diod. V.73.

¹¹³ Paus. III.xiii.9; *RE* s.v. ‘Aphrodite,’ 2743-2744; *CGS* II: 656; Pomeroy 1984, 31; *ead.* 2002, 122-123; O’Brien 1993, 162-163.

¹¹⁴ Pomeroy 1984, 31; Shapiro 1993, 186-207 and ind. s.v. ‘Aphrodite.’

¹¹⁵ Paus. II.xxxiv.12, X.xxxviii.12; also, see: Plut. *Amat.* XXIII (= *Mor.* 769D); *RE* s.v. ‘Aphrodite,’ 2739; *CGS* II: 656.

¹¹⁶ Phld. *Anth. Pal.* X: 21; Plut. *Amat.* XXIII (= *Mor.* 769); Hesych. s.v. ‘Θαλάμων ἄνασσα’; *IG* III. (1): 171; also, see: *Hymn. Orph.* 55.3; Theoc. *Ep.* 13 (= *Anth. Pal.* VI: 340); Paus. III.xxii.1; *RML* s.v. ‘Aphrodite,’ 399-400; *CGS* II: 656.

ought to be that the narrow definition of Aphrodite as goddess of erotic pleasure is heavily predicated upon the image of the goddess painted in Greek epic and tragedy – male traditions, obviously less interested in the intimate life of women.¹¹⁸ Indeed, Plutarch explained that Aphrodite joined couples in matrimony through sexual intercourse and mutual love.¹¹⁹ Hesiod's account of the creation of the first woman, Pandora, clarifies the ambivalent conception of Aphrodite's nature. Fashioned by Hephaestus out of clay, Pandora was taught knitting and weaving by Athena, decked with jewelry by the Charites and Peitho, crowned with flowers by the Horae, showered with grace and cruel longing by Aphrodite, and attributed with a shameless mind and a guileful character by Hermes.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, while Hesiod's myth portrayed the tribe of women as a great plague to the race of men, men gladly embraced their destruction, for without marriage they would be bereaved of wife and children, and care in old age.¹²¹ Stobaeus (early 5th cent. CE) struck a chord, then, when he asked rhetorically: "Where could Eros attend more rightfully, than the lawful intercourse of man and woman? Where could Hera? Where could Aphrodite?"¹²²

¹¹⁷ Don. *ad Tert. Ad.* V.vii.6; Serv. *ad Verg. Aen.* IV.127; *Myth. Vat.* III.xi.2.

¹¹⁸ Pomeroy 1984, 31-34.

¹¹⁹ Plut. *Amat.* XXIII (= *Mor.* 769A).

¹²⁰ Hes. *Op.* 60-82.

¹²¹ *Id. Theog.* 603-607.

¹²² Stob. IV.xxii.20 (p. 501: ποῦ μὲν γὰρ Ἔρος παραγένοιτ' ἂν δικαιότερον ἢ ἐπὶ νόμιμον ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ὁμιλίαν; ποῦ δὲ Ἥρα; ποῦ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη;).

6. Hathor, Mother of Mothers

The cult of Hathor¹²³ can be traced to the ubiquitous veneration of cows in prehistoric Egypt,¹²⁴ so that her fundamental nature was characterized by her manifestation as a cow goddess.¹²⁵ Her identifying attribute was a crown consisting of cow horns enclosing the sun disc,¹²⁶ which furthermore evinced her intimate relation with various emanations of sun gods, such as Atum, Ra, Horus, Horachty.¹²⁷ Thus she became a celestial queen, a “Lady of Heaven.”¹²⁸ Unlike Isis or Hera, however, Hathor was not paired with one single consort. Indeed, through increasingly henotheistic assimilations with local goddesses she joined with many of the chief male deities of the Egyptian pantheon.¹²⁹ Most significant among these associations were those with Amun during the “Beautiful Festival of the Western Desert” and with Horus during the “Festival of the Beautiful Union (*or* Embrace).” In the former Hathor and Amun proceeded from Thebes across the Nile for a nocturnal revel;¹³⁰ in the latter Hathor sailed

¹²³ *RML* s.v. ‘Hathor,’ I: 1850-1869 [Drexler]; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Hathor,’ 277-282; *LÄ* s.v. ‘Hathor,’ II: 1024-1033 [Daumas]; *OEAE* s.v. ‘Hathor,’ II: 82-85 [Vischak]; Allam 1963; Derchain 1972; Bleeker 1973; Pinch 1993. [No comprehensive study of Hathor’s religious significance has yet been published.]

¹²⁴ Allam 1963, 1-2; Bleeker 1973, 27, 33.

¹²⁵ Allam 1963, 112-113; Bleeker 1973, 22-24, 30-34.

¹²⁶ *Pyr.* 705; Allam 1963, 99-100; Bleeker 1973, 22, 59.

¹²⁷ *BD* 15, 17; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Kuh,’ 402-405; Allam 1963, 7-8, 99-102; Bleeker 1973, 31, 46-48, 65.

¹²⁸ *LD Text* IV: 106, 113; *RML* s.v. ‘Hathor,’ 1851-1852; *LÄ* s.v. ‘Hathor,’ 1025; Allam 1963, 25-26, 82, 99, 116-118, 132; Bleeker 1973, 31, 46; Pinch 1993, 162.

¹²⁹ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Gottesweib’; Allam 1963, 114-115; Vandier 1964-66, [60-61]; Bleeker 1967, 54-55; Münster 1968, 120; Bleeker 1973, 65-68; Pinch 1993, 73-74.

¹³⁰ Allam 1963, 68-72; Bleeker 1973, 43; Pinch 1993, 9-11, 132, 244. [Citing S. Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale: Festbräuche einer Totenstadt* (Wiesbaden, 1952); *non vidi.*]

from Tentyris to Apollinopolis Magna to join with Horus.¹³¹ As she was identified with Astarte and Aphrodite, Hathor can undeniably be conceived of as a Great Mother Goddess.¹³²

Among her many aspects, Hathor was the goddess of love and joy - and such concerns extended to the sphere of natural and human fertility.¹³³ The ithyphallic Amun-Min and Hathor, “Lady of the Vulva,” were worshipped together as manifestations of the reproductive powers of male and female sexuality, and as protectors of human, animal as well as vegetative fecundity.¹³⁴ The goddess was associated with the fruitfulness of the date palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*) and the fig tree (*Ficus sycamorus*),¹³⁵ and, like Isis, she could be identified with Thermuthis, the serpentine bringer of Good Fortune.¹³⁶ A preliminary ritual of the “Beautiful Union” involved a sumptuous sacrifice of “firstlings of the field,” and later in the festival she was presented with the phallus of her father Ra, “which makes flourish what exist.”¹³⁷ Hathor was praised for protecting women from infertility and men from impotence, and votive offerings were made to her for all facets

¹³¹ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Hathor,’ 278; Alliot 1949, I: 213, 234, 239, 248, II: 441-560; Allam 1963, 48-49; Daumas 1969, 3, 101-102; Bleeker 1973, 93-101; Altenmüller 1998, 755; *infra* Pt. Two, ch. I, § 2, p. 167.

¹³² *CT* I: 262b; Hdt. II.112; *Thes. Inscr.* IV: 810; *RML* s.v. ‘Astarte,’ 652-653, ‘Hathor,’ 1866-1867; Erman 1905, 109-110; Albright 1927, 62-63; Allam 1963, 132, 142; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 319-322; Derchain 1972, 38; Bleeker 1973, 38-42, 72-73; Lloyd 1975-88, III: 45; Zayadine 1991, 293-295, fig. 12.

¹³³ Bleeker 1973, 28, 40-41.

¹³⁴ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Amun,’ ‘Hetepet,’ ‘Min,’ and ‘Phallus’; Vandier 1964-66, esp. [119-120]; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 313-314, 487-488, 506-507; Bleeker 1973, 28-29, 39, 68; Pinch 1993, 239, 243-244.

¹³⁵ *Pyr.* 699, 916, 1485; *CT* III: 1b-e, 124, 236a-241b, VI: 330s-3311, *etc.*; *BD* 59, 68, 83, 124, 186; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Baumkult,’ and ‘Hathor,’ 279; Allam 1963, 3, 5 104-109; Bleeker 1973, 34-37.

¹³⁶ *Dendara* VI: 12.8; Broekhuis 1971, 21 (*Nḥb.t Rnn-wt.t Ht-ḥr*), 73-76; Borghouts 1978, 14 no. 14.

¹³⁷ Alliot 1948, I: 213 (*ir tp.w ḏh.t*), 224 (*bḏ pw n srwd wnn.t*); Bleeker 1973, 99; Pinch 1993, 243.

of childbearing from intercourse and conception, to pregnancy and parturition.¹³⁸ In this respect of fecundity, then, the goddess' cult doubtless derived from the primeval Great Mother Goddess.

Hathor manifested her importance for maternal care in the realm of the gods as well as humans. As a celestial cow she was believed to give birth to the sun (god) at dawn, and in earliest times she was considered to be the mother of the falcon god Horus.¹³⁹ For in a passage of the *Pyramid Texts* the pharaoh was called "Horus, the son of Osiris, ... the son of Hathor."¹⁴⁰ Already the famous Narmer palette (*ca.* 2950 BCE) demonstrates the protective role of the cow goddess for the pharaoh and the falcon god with whom he was identified.¹⁴¹ The "Beautiful Union" of Hathor and Horus was, moreover, thought to bring forth the child Harsomtus (*i.e.*, "Horus Who Unites the Two Lands").¹⁴² Naturally, sacred bulls, such as Mnevis and Apis, were conceived of as Hathor's *Kamutef* (Gk. *Kamephis*, "Bull of His Mother") – originally a fertility spirit who was assimilated with Amun-Min.¹⁴³ In the lives of Egyptian women, Hathor's motherhood was paradigmatic, as they prayed to the goddess for protection of the

¹³⁸ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Beischläferin'; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Phallus'; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 495; Bleeker 1972, 83; *id.* 1973, 27-28, 39-40, 83; Pinch 1993, 198-211, 221-225, 235-245.

¹³⁹ *Pyr.* 508, 1131, 1375b, 1688, *etc.*; *BD* 17; *Plut. Is. et Osir.* XXXVII.2, LVI.9 (= *Mor.* 365E, 374B); *Ael. NA* X.27; *Rel. Urk.* 10, 219; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Himmel,' 302-303, 'Kuh,' 402, and 'Sonne,' 731-732; Frankfort 1948, 41; J.G. Griffiths 1960, 13; *id.* 1970, 450, 511-512; Münster 1968, 120-122; Bleeker 1973, 25, 65.

¹⁴⁰ *Pyr.* 466a-b ("Thou arth Horus, the son of Osiris, ... the eldest god, the son of Hathor, thou arth the seed of Geb"; Faulkner's trans.); Münster 1968, 120; Bleeker 1967, 89; *id.* 67.

¹⁴¹ Frankfort 1948, 172, figs. 2-3; Allam 1963, pl. 2; Bleeker 1973, 29.

¹⁴² *RÄRG* s.v. 'Somtus'; Alliot 1949, I: 235; Daumas 1969, 25-26; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 526; Bleeker 1973, 63-64.

¹⁴³ *P.Beatty* IX: *recto* 5.1-8; *LD Text* II: 228 (Hathor of Tentyris as *mw.t-ntr.t n k3-mw.t=f*, "Divine Mother of the Bull of His Mother"); *RÄRG* s.v. 'Amun,' 'Kamutef,' 'Kuh,' and 'Min'; *LÄ* s.v. 'Hathor,'

newborn.¹⁴⁴ Women identified with the goddess, while giving birth or suckling their child,¹⁴⁵ just as the goddess was frequently depicted nurturing the divine child on scenes where Isis and Hathor often became indistinguishable.¹⁴⁶ As protectress of maternal concerns, the goddess thus played a vital role in the lives of married women. Hathor was indeed the “Mother of Mothers.”¹⁴⁷



Compared to the universalistic nature of the Egyptian goddesses Isis and Hathor, or of Phrygian Cybele, the Greek pantheon might at first glance seem to be characterized by a tendency of assigning deities each their separate sphere of influence: Demeter fertility, Aphrodite sexuality, and Hera matrimony (in addition: Athena was assigned skills such as warfare, arts and crafts, Artemis was assigned hunting, and Hestia the hearth). In the foregoing chapter, I have tried to show how (when probing beyond male chauvinism) Greek myths and rituals retained elements of the worship of a primordial Mother Goddess, with various aspects attributed to different goddesses. The spheres of

1025; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 318, 333-334, 425, 450; Pinch 1993, 239.

¹⁴⁴ Pinch 1993, 221-225.

¹⁴⁵ *Pyr.* 728b, 729a; *P.Leiden* I: 348 *recto* 13.9-11 (sp. 28: “Hathor, the mistress of Dendera, is the one who is giving birth”), *verso* 12.11-11.2 (sp. 33: “Come to me, Hathor, my mistress, in my fine pavilion, in this happy hour”; trans. Borghouts 1971, 28, 30); Bleeker 1973, 40; Borghouts 1978, 39-40 nos. 60-62; Pinch 1993, 177, 217-225; *ead.* 1994, 120-132.

¹⁴⁶ *Pyr.* 1375a-b; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Kuh,’ 402; Daumas 1958, 380-387; *id.* 1959, frontispiece, pls. 2, 58-60 *bis*; Brunner 1964, 179; Münster 1968, 119-123; Bleeker 1973, 29, 51-52; Troy 1986, 55-56; Pinch 1993, 5, 8, 12.

¹⁴⁷ *Dendara* VI: 144.5, 152.9, *etc.* (*mw.t-n-mw.tw*); *cf.* Pinch 1994, 130 (“Hathor, Lady of Dendara, retains a reputation for helping women with fertility problems some 1700 years after her cult is supposed to have died out”).

Aphrodite, Demeter and Hera, therefore, converge at times and defy straightforward classification. As Olympian Queen of the immortals, goddess of fertility, and patroness of marriage, Hera shared significant features with the Aegean Mother Goddess. Demeter Thesmophorus was more than merely a goddess of fertility, whether the fruitfulness of the field or the fecundity of women. She was the bringer of order, by means of marital customs and the laws of society. While her relation with Persephone tended to supersede the marital aspect of Demeter's associations with Zeus or Iasion, the goddess' assimilation with Meter-Cybele reveals the persistence of her character as Great Mother Goddess. The heavenly queen Aphrodite cannot be defined solely as the goddess of love, although Eros was certainly her characteristic attendant. Her union with Adonis not only suggests that her concerns included natural and human fertility, but also likened the goddess with the Great Goddesses of the Near East. As we have seen, despite the Greek male chauvinist focus on the goddess' sexual aspect, Aphrodite also played an important role in the everyday life of married women. Indeed, I have shown that Hera as well as Demeter and Aphrodite shared a concern for matrimony, based on their underlying affinity with (what I have called) the Magna Mater constellation. Clearly, the Olympian pantheon ought not to be construed as a neat system of divine functions.

The Egyptian goddesses Isis and Hathor were in many respects similar – which explains how they could be identified with each other. At least since the Old Kingdom they were both considered the mother of (various manifestations of) Horus, whom they nursed and suckled in the papyrus thicket of Chemmis. They both guaranteed natural and human fertility, as well as general prosperity. They also shared the henotheistic tendency to assimilate with all other goddesses. However, Isis was exclusively associated with one single male deity, Osiris, while Hathor was paired with the various chief deities of Egypt,

especially Horus, Amun and Ra. Due to her exemplary fidelity Isis was therefore the ideal (*scil.*, faithful) “sister and wife,” while Hathor’s erotic passion would rather seem to make her mistress of all male divinities. I have argued that the Beautiful Festival of the Western Desert celebrated the theogamy of Hathor and Amun-Ra, while the Festival of the Beautiful Union acted out Hathor’s sacred marriage to Horus. Hathor, like Isis, was felt to preside over marital affairs in the everyday life of men and women. In short, from the brief reviews of the religious characters of goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified, we can deduce that they performed vital roles in the spheres of matrimony, maternity and fertility. In the following chapters, I will suggest that one of the underlying motives for the identification or assimilation of Ptolemaic queens with the goddesses under question is precisely that the queens, likewise, were considered influential in these spheres.

II. MARRIAGES OF THE LAGIDS

As we have seen, theogamies of Great Goddesses with their respective consorts were commemorated in myths and rituals. Before providing an interpretation of the assimilation of Lagid marriages with these holy weddings, I will first examine the historical context of Ptolemaic marital practices. (1.) Foremost, then, we should determine the nature of Macedonian and Hellenistic dynastic patterns. Since there is little leeway in the first section for an outline of the relevant customs, a few examples may suffice as illustration. The family relations of Amyntas III, Philip II and Demetrius I Poliorcetes will particularly serve this purpose. (2.) We will then be able to assess whether these marital practices were followed within the Lagid dynasty. We will see that, while Ptolemy I adhered to the Argead practice of exogamy, Ptolemy II set a precedent for close-kin endogamy from which few of his descendents deviated. (3.) In the third section, I will examine artistic depictions of royal couples and their concomitant identification with Greek and Egyptian deities. (4.) Poetic allusions to the nuptials of the first three generations of Lagid royal couples, furthermore, provide literary evidence attesting to the political and religious significance of matrimony. In the fourth section, I will also discuss references in Alexandrian poetry to theogamies of deities with whom the Ptolemies were associated. The findings of the first two chapters will serve as a foundation for the next two, respectively on the ideology of marriage for dynastic succession, and on its symbolism of the Queen's virginal sacralization.

1. Hellenistic Dynastic Alliances

For the antecedent of the marital practices of the Hellenistic dynasties, we need to turn to the royal house of Argead Macedon.¹ (A detailed examination of ancient Greek marriage would go well beyond the scope of this dissertation,² and the monogamy of commoners has at any rate no immediate bearing on the present study.) Polygyny was not only a corollary of conspicuous consumption of the nobility, it foremost provided the Macedonian kings opportunities for political alliances with the nobility as well as with neighboring kings.³ As elsewhere in the ancient world, through such patriarchal traditions women were perceived as objects of power, wealth, status and/or prestige. Moreover, polygyny produced fierce rivalry among the king's wives, who joined with their son aiming to secure his succession to the throne.⁴ While some Macedonian kings seem to have favored the eldest son of their latest wife,⁵ no apparent constitutional procedure (such as primogeniture) existed to regulate dynastic succession.⁶ In the absence of such a principle, rival claimants to the throne competed for royal legitimacy,

¹ For the genealogies discussed in this section, see: Appendix D: Genealogies, 5. Argead Dynasty.

² Erdmann 1934; Lacey 1968, 100-124; Vatin 1970; Redfield 1982, 181-201; Peradotto and Sullivan (eds.) 1984, 1-228; Garland, 1990, 217-236; Pomeroy 1997; Patterson 1998, 56-62, 203-204; VÉrilhac and Vial 1998.

³ Breccia 1903, 151-155; Macurdy 1932, 13-76; Erdmann 1934, 88; Lacey 1968, 42-43, 112-113; Pomeroy 1975, 18-19, 123-124; Greenwalt 1989, 19-45; Carney 1992, 169-189; *ead.* 1993, esp. 3317-318; Ogden 1999, ix-x, 3-40; Carney 2000a, 14-32, 228-232; Lilibaki-Akamati 2004, 91; Kottaridi 2004, 140.

⁴ Carney 1993, 320-321; Ogden 1999, esp. ix-x, xvi.

⁵ Ogden 1999, esp. xxi (pointing out that the ambition of younger wives for themselves and their children, as well as the kings' affection for them was likely greater than of other wives). [I would add that the sons of younger wives would not be as old, and thus more likely to sit on the throne longer than their older half brothers; examples incl.: Alexander I (possible), Perdikkas II (perhaps) and Philip II; later, also Lysimachus and Ptolemy I.]

⁶ Ogden 1999, xiv-xix; Kottaridi 2004, 140; *contra* Beloch 1912-27, esp. IV(1): 376; *cf.* Breccia

accusing each other of illegitimacy. Indeed, as Daniel Ogden acutely observes,⁷ while allegations of bastardy were common in the Argead house among patrilateral half-siblings, there is no evidence for legitimacy disputes between full siblings.

Let us turn to Amyntas III and Philip II to illustrate the Argeads' marital practices.⁸ The three sons of Eurydice, a wife of Amyntas, succeeded each other in descending order of age within the span of a decade.⁹ Rivalry, however, arose with Amyntas' sons from other marriages. The eldest son Alexander II was murdered by Ptolemy of Alorus, who was an Argead of a collateral branch, if not a son of Amyntas by another woman.¹⁰ Ptolemy was then appointed as regent to Eurydice's second son Perdiccas III, who subsequently avenged his brother's death by murdering his regent and acceded to the throne.¹¹ After Perdiccas fell in battle against the Illyrians, his younger brother Philip II rose to power (perhaps over the head of Perdiccas' infant son Amyntas).¹² Philip murdered his half brothers by Amyntas' other wife Gygaea, Archelaus, Arrhidaeus and Menelaus.¹³ Philip, moreover, was said to marry according to

1903, 4.

⁷ Ogden 1999, x, 4.

⁸ See: Appendix E: Family Relations, 1. Amyntas III, and 2. Philip II.

⁹ Breccia 1903, 8-9, 36-37; Beloch 1912-27, III(2): 57-58, 66-67, 74, 78-79; Macurdy 1932, 17-22; Hammond 1972-88, II: 180-188; Whitehorne 1991, 19-20; Hammond 1994, 8-24; Ogden 1999, 11-16; Carney 2000a, 38-50.

¹⁰ Diod. XV.lxxi.1, lxxvii.5; Athen. XIV.629D; Just. *Epit.* VII.iv.7-9; *RE* s.v. 'Ptolemaios,' no. 4, XXXIII(1): 1592-1594; Beloch 1912-27, III(1): 180-182, Borza 1990, 190-191.

¹¹ Diod. XVI.ii.4; Just. *Epit.* VII.v.4-6; Beloch 1912-27, III(1): 195; Hammond 1972-88, II: 181-186.

¹² Diod. XVI.ii; Just. *Epit.* VII.v.7-8; Beloch 1912-27, III(1): 232; Ogden 1999, 34-35; Carney 2000a, 69-71.

¹³ Just. *Epit.* VIII.iii.10-11; Beloch 1912-27, III(1): 224-225; Hammond 1972-88, II: 208-209, 315, 699-701.

conditions of war.¹⁴ The names of seven of his wives are known:¹⁵ Phila, sister of Prince Derdas and Machatas of Elimeia (*ca.* 360 BCE);¹⁶ Audata-Eurydice, the (grand?-) daughter of King Bardylis of Illyrian Dardania (358 BCE);¹⁷ Olympias, daughter of King Neoptolemus of Molossian Epirus (357 BCE);¹⁸ Nicesipolis of Pherae (a relative of the tyrant Jason) and Philinna of Larissa (352 BCE);¹⁹ Meda (or Medopa), the daughter of King Cothelas of Getic Thrace (339 BCE);²⁰ and Cleopatra, the daughter of the high-ranking Macedonian nobleman Amyntas and the niece of Attalus (338 BCE).²¹ In the aftermath of Philip's assassination,²² Olympias and Alexander executed Cleopatra and her relatives on charges of conspiracy,²³ as well as all conceivable pretenders to the throne, especially his nephew Amyntas (who had married Audata's daughter Cynane),

¹⁴ Athen. XIII.557B.

¹⁵ Satyr. *FHG* III: 161 F 5 (*ap.* Athen. XIII.557B-E); Polyb. VIII.ix.2; Berve 1926, I: 7-8; Macurdy 1932, 22-48; Hammond 1994, 26-29, 170-172; Whitehorne 1994, 32-35; Ogden 1999, 17-27; Carney 2000a, 51-81.

¹⁶ Athen. XIII.557C; Hammond 1972-88, II: 214-215.

¹⁷ Diod. XVI.8; Polyæn. VIII.60; Athen. XIII.557C, 560A-561A; Arr. *Alex.* = *FGrH* 156 F 9.22-23; Hammond 1972-88, II: 676, 704; Ellis 1976, 47-48; Pomeroy 1984, 6.

¹⁸ Diod. XIX.51; Plut. *Alex.* II.2; Athen. XIII.557C; Just. *Epit.* VII.vi.10-11, XVII.iii.14; Berve 1926, I: 3-6, II: 283-288; Hammond 1972-88, II: 305, 505, 614; Carney 1992.

¹⁹ Plut. *Alex.* LXXVII.5; *id. Conj. praec.* (= *Mor.* 141B-C); Paus. IX.vii.3; Athen. XIII.557C, 578A; Just. IX.viii.2, XIII.ii.11; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Θεσσαλονίκη'; Hammond 1972-88, II: 225, 230, 254, 278, 524.

²⁰ Athen. XIII.557D; Jordan. *Getica* X.65; Hammond 1972-88, II: 560, 677; *id.* 1994, 124, 212 n. 25.

²¹ Diod. XVI.xciii; Plut. *Alex.* IX.6; Athen. XIII.557D-E, 560C; Paus. VIII.vii.7; Arr. *Anab.* I.xvii.9, II.xiii.3, III.vi.5; Just. IX.v.8-9; *RE s.v.* 'Kleopatra,' no. 12, XI(1): 734-735; Beloch 1912-27, III(2): 70-71; Berve 1926, I: 6-7, II: 28-29 no. 58, 94 no. 182, 185 no. 390, 213-214 no. 434; Hammond 1972-88, II: 676-691; Ellis 1976, 166-167.

²² Carney 1992.

²³ Diod. XVII.ii.3; Curt. VII.i.3, VIII.viii.7; Plut. *Alex.* IX-X; Paus. VIII.vii.7; Just. *Epit.* IX.vii.2, 12, XI.ii.1, v.1; Hammond 1972-88, III: 5; Whitehorne 1994, 48-50; Carney 2000a, 84-86.

and an amphimetric brother called Caranus – although Arrhidaeus was spared on account of mental instability.²⁴

The Successors of Alexander the Great continued the practice of polygyny of their Argead predecessors. Lysimachus had at least four wives and was said to have had fifteen children.²⁵ Ptolemy I possibly held as much as four wives concurrently at his Alexandrian court, and had at least twelve children.²⁶ While Antigonos Monophthalmus held only a single wife, Stratonice (daughter of a Macedonian named Corrhagus),²⁷ their son Demetrius I Poliorcetes was notoriously polygynous.²⁸ Apart from courtesans,²⁹ seven women can be associated with Demetrius, with whom he is known to have had seven children:³⁰ the considerably older Phila, daughter of Antipater and the widow of Craterus;³¹ Eurydice (or Euthydice), from the Attic house of the Philaids (descendants of

²⁴ Curt. VI.ix.17, x.24; Plut. *Alex.* X-XI; *id.* *Alex. fort.* II. (= *Mor.* 327C); Just. *Epit.* XI.ii.3, XII.vi.14; Beloch 1912-27, III(1): 232, 607; Berve 1926, I: 7, II: 30-31 no. 61, 199-200 no. 411; Hammond 1972-88, III: 4.

²⁵ Diod. XX.108-109; Strabo XII.iv.7 (565); Paus. I.ix.6, x.3-5; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 129-131; Seibert 1967, 93-99; Bengtson 1975, 113; Will 1979-82, I: 43, 87-88; Lund 1992, 185-198; Ogden 1999, 57-62.

²⁶ *Infra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 2, pp. 70-71.

²⁷ Plut. *Dem.* II, LII; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 133-134; Macurdy 1932, 47, 50, 61; Hammond 1972-88, III: 201; Billows 1990, 9, 17, 29; Ogden 1999, 172-173.

²⁸ Plut. *Dem.* XIV, LIII; *id.* *Comp. Dem. et Ant.* 4; *id.* *Pyrrh.* X.5 (μάλιστα τῶν βασιλέων εὐκόλως ἔχοντα πρὸς γάμους γυναικῶν, “of all the kings, he was the most inclined to marry wives”); Athen. XIII.577D; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 134-135; Macurdy 1932, 53-79; Seibert 1967, 27-33; Bengtson 1975, 64-66, 82-86; Green 1990, 121-122, 764-765 n. 10; Ogden 1999, 173-177; Carney 2000a, 164-171, 229-303.

²⁹ Plut. *Dem.* X, XVI, XXIII-XXVII; Athen. VI.253A-B; Bengtson 1975, 66; Billows 1990, 9-10; Green 1990, 50; Ogden 1999, 218-225; Carney 2000a, 218-219.

³⁰ See: Appendix E: Family Relations, 3. Demetrius I Poliorcetes.

³¹ Diod. XVIII.xviii.7, XIX.liv.3-6; Plut. *Dem.* XVII, XXXVII; Athen VI.225C, 254A; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 92, IV(2): 127; Seibert 1967, 13; Will 1979-82, I: 43; Billows 1990, 56, 71; Green 1990, 15, 26.

Cimon and Miltiades);³² Deidameia, the daughter of King Aeacides of Epirus;³³ Lanassa, daughter of King Agathocles of Syracuse;³⁴ Ptolemais, the daughter of Ptolemy I and Eurydice;³⁵ from an unnamed Illyrian woman he sired Demetrius the Meager;³⁶ and the courtesan Lamia bore him a daughter named Phila.³⁷ Seleucus I, who had married the Sogdian princess Apama in the wedding ceremony staged by Alexander at Susa (324 BCE),³⁸ decided to divorce his second wife Stratonice (daughter of Demetrius and Phila),³⁹ and marry her to his only son Antiochus, evidently to avoid dynastic strife should a son be born to her.⁴⁰ Rivalry was, indeed, as common a feature at the courts of the Diadochs as it had been in the Argead house.

Later generations of Hellenistic kings, likewise, followed their ancestors' marital customs of strengthening dynastic alliances through exogamy and/or polygamy. The

³² Diod. XX.xl.5-6; Seibert 1967, 27-28; Bengtson 1975, 65; Billows 1990, 17, 151; Green 1990, 763.

³³ Plut. *Dem.* XXV, XXXII; *id.* *Pyrrh.* IV; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 162; Macurdy 1932, 43; Billows 1990, 172; Carney 2000a, 147, 206.

³⁴ Plut. *Pyrrh.* IX-X; Athen. VI.253B; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 207, IV(2): 248; Green 1990, 126.

³⁵ Plut. *Dem.* XXXII, XLVI; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 215, IV(2): 179; Seibert 1967, 74-75; Green 1990, 129.

³⁶ Plut. *Dem.* LIII; Bouché-Leclercq 1913-14, 639.

³⁷ Athen. VI.255C, XIII.577C; Ael. *VH* XII.17.

³⁸ Livy XXXVIII.13; Strabo XII.viii.15 (578); Arr. *Anab.* VII.iv.5-6; Macurdy 1932, 77-78; Seibert 1967, 46-47; Bengtson 1975, 39; Will 1979-82, I: 273; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 15, 25-27; Ogden 1999, 118-119; Carney 2000a, 225.

³⁹ Plut. *Dem.* XXXI-XXXII; Macurdy 1932, 63-70; Seibert 1967, 48; Bengtson 1975, 54; Will 1979-82, I: 87-88; Green 1990, 122; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 24-25; Ogden 1999, 119-120; Carney 2000a, 164, 167.

⁴⁰ Val. Max. V.7 ext. 1; Pliny *NH* VII.123; Plut. *Dem.* XXXVIII; App. *Syr.* 59-61; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 197-200; Macurdy 1932, 79-82; Seibert 1967, 50-51; Bengtson 1975, 55-56; Green 1990, 490-491; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 125-127; Ogden 1999, 121-123; Carney 2000a, 171, 184.

Antigonids all begot children with various wives and/or courtesans.⁴¹ For instance, Demetrius II was married to four wives, Stratonice, Nicaea, Phthia and Chryseis.⁴² Potential succession crises, however, were averted as only a single son survived his father in each generation until the reign of Philip V, whose sons Perseus and Demetrius were especially pitted against each other through Roman intrigues.⁴³ The marriage of Antiochus II to Berenice Phernophorus (“Dowry-Bringer”), the daughter of Ptolemy II, became the cause of the Third Syrian War (246-241 BCE), when Laodice defended her son’s claim to the Seleucid throne against the infant son of Berenice.⁴⁴ The three sons of Antiochus III apparently adopted Ptolemaic practice (about which below), as they married their full-sister.⁴⁵ In fact, they each in turn married the same Laodice. The descendants of the younger two brothers, Seleucus IV and Antiochus IV, effectively divided the empire into two competing collateral lines. Subsequent generations took a Ptolemaic princess as wife – with Cleopatra Thea, the daughter of Ptolemy VI, being

⁴¹ See: Appendix D: Genealogies, 3. Antigonid Dynasty.

⁴² Tarn 1913, 348, 370 n.4, 372, 383; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 137-138; Macurdy 1932, 68-76; Seibert 1967, 33-45; Will 1979-82, I: 238, 299, 324, 317-319, 344, 349, 351-352; Hammond 1972-88, III: 322-323, 336-338; Green 1990, 254-265; Ogden 1999, 171-198; Carney 2000a, 184-193.

⁴³ Breccia 1903, 61-63; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 139-141; Macurdy 1932, 71-74; Edson 1935, 191-201; Seibert 1967, 39-44; Will 1979-82, I: 251-255; Hammond 1972-88, III: 457-458, 471-472, 490; Green 1990, 425-426; Ogden 1999, 183-186; Carney 2000a, 197-199.

⁴⁴ Bouché-Leclercq 1913-14, 89-99; Tarn 1913, 356, 376; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 673-674, IV(2): 200-201; Macurdy 1932, 79-90; Seibert 1967, 55-57, 79-80; Vatin 1970, 88, 102-103; Will 1979-82, I: 238-239, 249-252; Pomeroy 1984, 14; Green 1990, 148-150; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 126; Whitehorne 1994, 75-76; Ogden 1999, 128-131; Huß 2001, 287, 338-344; also, see: Appendix D: Genealogies, 2. Seleucid Dynasty.

⁴⁵ Bouché-Leclercq, 1913-14, 185, 246, 291, 307, 316-319, 332-333, 641; Macurdy 1932, 91-94; Seibert 1967, 60-69; Will 1979-82, II: 206, 304; Green 1990, 438-440; Whitehorne 1994, 90; Ogden 1999, 133-146.

married successively to Alexander Balas, Demetrius II and Antiochus VII.⁴⁶ While the Attalids all adhered to monogamy, they did pursue alliances with other royal houses.⁴⁷ The father of Attalus I was married to Antiochis, the daughter of Achaeus, brother of Antiochus I.⁴⁸ Eumenes II and Attalus II, who followed their father in regular order, publicly praised their mother Apollonis of Cyzicus for her chastity and modesty,⁴⁹ and were married in turn to Stratonice, the daughter of Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia.⁵⁰ Attalus III was apparently betrothed to a Ptolemaic princess.⁵¹ The last pretender to the Attalid throne, Aristonicus, may have been a son of Eumenes II and a concubine, hence half brother of Attalus III.⁵² Hellenistic dynastic alliances, then, were generally characterized by three aspects, *viz.*, marital affiliation with other royal houses, marriage to several (concurrent or sequential) wives, and dynastic strife among the children of the king's various wives.

⁴⁶ Breccia 1903, 12-13; Bouché-Leclercq 1913-14, 338, 343-344, 365-369, 385-386, 392-400, 641; Macurdy 1932, 93-101; Seibert 1967, 88-89; Vatin 1970, 86, 94-95, 98, 100, 103; Will 1979-82, II: 319, 377-379, 410; Green 1990, 445-446, 533-537, 540-542; Whitehorne 1994, 149-163; Ogden 1999, 147-158.

⁴⁷ Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 206-211; Allen 1983, 181-194, app. 1; Ogden 1999, 199-212; also, see: Appendix D: Genealogies, 4. Attalid Dynasty.

⁴⁸ Strabo XIII.iv.2 (624); Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 204-205, 209-211; Seibert 1967, 54, 112; Allen 1983, 181, 186; Ogden 1999, 160 n. 18.

⁴⁹ Polyb. XXII.xx.1-8; Strabo XIII.iv.2 (624); Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ἀπολλωνεῖς'; *OGIS* 308, 311; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 374, IV(2): 211; Seibert 1967, 112; Bengtson 1975, 237; Allen 1983, 149-152; Pomeroy 1984, 13; Green 1990, 406.

⁵⁰ Polyb. XXI.xli.45; Livy XXXVIII.xxxix.6; Seibert 1967, 113-114; Bengtson 1975, 237, 245-246; Allen 1983, 181, 191-192, 200-206; Green 1990, 427-428.

⁵¹ Vit. *Archit.* IV.1 (85); Just. XXXVI.iv.1; Ogden 1999, 208.

⁵² Sallust *Hist.* IV.61-62; Strabo XIV.i.38 (646); Just. *Epit.* XXXVI.iv.7; Livy *Per.* LIX; Will 1979-82, II: 419-420; Green 1990, 393-394, 529-531; Ogden 1999, 207-208.

2. Ptolemaic Marital Practices

With the general characteristics of Macedonian and Hellenistic dynastic alliances in mind, we can now turn to the matrimonial unions of the Lagid dynasty.⁵³ The three aspects of polygyny, political alliances and dynastic strife all occurred in the first generations. The first wife that can be associated with Ptolemy I was the Athenian courtesan Thais.⁵⁴ As their eldest child, Lagos, was old enough to win a chariot race in the Arcadian Lycaea, in 308/7 B.C.E., he must have been born well before Alexander's death (*viz.*, before 325 BCE).⁵⁵ At the wedding ceremony in Susa (324 BCE), Ptolemy was further married to Artacama, the daughter of Artabazus.⁵⁶ As the sources are silent about her, it is impossible to determine whether Ptolemy repudiated her, kept her with his other wives at court, or if she died at some unknown time.⁵⁷ A year or two after Alexander's death (around the time of the Settlement at Triparadisus) Antipater gave his daughter Eurydice in marriage to Ptolemy and she bore him perhaps as many as six children.⁵⁸ Later he is said to have fallen in love with Berenice, whom Antipater had sent to

⁵³ Strack 1897, 83-90, 190-192; Brecia 1903, 38-39; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, III: 85-100; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 376-382; Bevan 1927, 51-53; Macurdy 1932, 102-223; Vatin 1970, 58-84; Green 1990, *ind. s.v.* 'Ptolemies: sibling incest'; Ogden 1999, 67-116; Huß 2001, 304-305; Ager 2005, *eps.* 3-8; also, see: Appendix D: Genealogies, 1. Lagid Dynasty.

⁵⁴ Diod. XVII.lxxii; Curt. V.vii.3-11; Plut. *Alex.* XXXVIII; Athen. XIII.576D-E (ἡ Θαῖς ... Πτολεμαίῳ ἐγαμήθη, "Thais ... was married to Ptolemy"); Pomeroy 1975, 141; *ead.* 1984, 13; Ellis 1994, 4, 8-9, 84; Ogden 1999, 68-69, 231-233, 240-243; Huß 2001, 305 n. 4.

⁵⁵ Athen. XIII.576E; *Syll.*³ no. 314(B); Pomeroy 1984, 13; Ellis 1994, 9, 15, 47.

⁵⁶ Plut. *Alex.* LXX; *id. Eum.* I.7; Arr. *Anab.* VII.iv.4-8; Athen XIII.538A-539A; Seibert 1967, 72; Bengtson 1975, 14; Ellis 1994, 15, 27, 75; Whitehorne 1994, 114; Ogden 1999, 69; Huß 2001, 92.

⁵⁷ *Cf.* Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 7 n.1, 26; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 178; Bevan 1927, 51; Macurdy 1932, 102; Seibert 1967, 72; Bengtson 1975, 15; Ellis 1994, 15; Ogden 1999, 69.

⁵⁸ Diod. XVIII.viii.7; Plut. *Dem.* XXXII, XLVI; App. *Syr.* 62; Paus. I.vi.8; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 178-179; Seibert 1967, 16-17; Will 1979-82, I: 34; Ellis 1994, 41, 53, 59, 79; Whitehorne 1994, 114.

Alexandria as lady-in-waiting to her cousin Eurydice.⁵⁹ Berenice, the granddaughter of Antipater's brother Cassander, was the widow with three children of a Macedonian named Philip. With Berenice, Ptolemy had another three children. Since their eldest child, Arsinoe, was married to the venerable Lysimachus about 299/300 B.C.E., she was probably born about 315 B.C.E.⁶⁰ It is therefore clear that Ptolemy held his wives concurrently and had children simultaneously with Eurydice and Berenice.⁶¹ Ptolemy's intention to marry Alexander's sister Cleopatra came to nothing as she was murdered on the order of Antigonus.⁶² Like his contemporaries, Ptolemy married his daughters to other kings and princes. Eurydice's daughter Ptolemais was given in marriage to Demetrius Poliorcetes (as we have already seen,), while Lysandra was married to Lysimachus' eldest son Agathocles.⁶³ Ptolemy, moreover, adopted Berenice's children from her previous marriage, installed her son as governor of Cyrenaica,⁶⁴ and gave her

⁵⁹ Σ Theoc. XVII.34, 61; Plut. *Pyrrh.* IV; Paus. I.vi.1, 8, vii.1, xi.5; *OGIS* 14; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 180-181; Seibert 1967, 73, 76; Bengtson 1975, 32-33; Will 1979-82, I: 88, 102; Pomeroy 1984, 13-14; Ellis 1994, 41-43; Whitehorne 1994, 68, 114, 129; Hunter 2003, 146.

⁶⁰ Memn. *FGrH* 434 F 4.9; Plut. *Dem.* XXXI.5; Paus. I.x.3; Seibert 1967, 74, 95; Bengtson 1975, 113; Will 1979-82, I: 87-88, 100-102; Longega 1968, 18-19; Burstein 1982, 198; Green 1990, 122.

⁶¹ Plut. *Pyrrh.* IV.4 (τὴν Βερενίκην μέγιστον δυναμένην καὶ πρωτεύουσαν ἀρετῇ καὶ φρονήσει τῶν Πτολεμαίου γυναικῶν, "among the wives of Ptolemy, Berenice had the greatest influence and was foremost in virtue and insight"); cf. *ibid.* VI.1; Σ Theoc. XVII.34.

⁶² Diod. XX.xxxviii.3-6; Plut. *Eum.* VIII; *id.* *Pyrrh.* V; *RE s.v.* 'Kleopatra,' no. 13, XI(1): 735-738; Macurdy 1932, 46-48; Seibert 1967, 23-24; Will 1979-82, I: 71; Green 1990, 28-29; Ellis 1994, 36, 45, 77; Whitehorne 1994, 63-71; Ogden 1999, 46, 58, 73; Carney 2000a, 125-127, 151; Huß 2001, 176, 179.

⁶³ Paus. I.ix.6, x.3; Just. *Epit.* XVI.i.9; Porphyry *FGrH* II: 260 F 3.5 (*ap.* Euseb. *Chron.* I: 231-232); Macurdy 1932, 55-58; Seibert 1967, 74-76; Heinen 1972, 6; Bengtson 1975, 32; Will 1979-82, I: 87-88; Lund 1992, 94-95; Ellis 1994, 41, 52; Ogden 1999, 59; Huß 2001, 206, 255-258, 305; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 1, p. 67, n. 35.

⁶⁴ Paus. I.vi.8; Athen. XII.550B; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 186-190; Seibert 1967, 53; Bengtson 1975, 27, 120, 127; Will 1979-82, I: 118; Koenen 1993, 97; Ellis 1994, 42-43, 69, 80; Huß 2001, 202, 266.

daughters to Pyrrhus of Epirus and Agathocles of Syracuse.⁶⁵

Ptolemy I appointed his son by Berenice, Ptolemy II, as joint ruler and heir in 285 B.C.E., over the head of Eurydice's eldest son Ptolemy Ceraunus.⁶⁶ Probably around the same time, the wedding took place that Ptolemy I had arranged for his son with Lysimachus' daughter Arsinoe.⁶⁷ She would bear Ptolemy II three children, Ptolemy III, Lysimachus and Berenice Phernophorus.⁶⁸ Ceraunus fled to the court of Lysimachus and briefly ruled as King of the Macedonians (280-279 BCE), before he died in battle against Balkan Celts.⁶⁹ (We will return to Ceraunus below.)⁷⁰ Eurydice's second son Meleager was executed on the orders of Ptolemy II for fomenting revolt on Cyprus,⁷¹ perhaps soon after he was ousted from Macedonia after a two-month reign.⁷² Another brother, Argaeus, was executed for plotting against the King.⁷³ It was likely the arrival of

⁶⁵ Plut. *Pyrrh.* IV, VIII; Paus. I.xi.5; Just. *Epit.* XXIII.ii.6; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 179-180, 255-256; Seibert 1967, 73-74, 76-77; Will 1979-82, I: 119-120; Ellis 1994, 42, 53; Huß 2001, 202-203, 305.

⁶⁶ App. *B. Civ.* I.103 (481); *id.* *Syr.* 62; Paus. I.vi.8; [Luc.] *Longaev.* XXII; Just. *Epit.* XVI.ii.7-9; Porphyry *FGrH* II: 260 F3.2-3, 3.9 (*ap.* Euseb. *Chron.* I: 161-162, 235-236); Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 220-221; Samuel 1962, 25-28; Koenen 1977, 53-55, 62-63, 72-73, 79-81; Will 1979-82, I: 98-99; Ellis 1994, 59; Hazzard 1987, 148-152; Ogden 1999, 70-73; Huß 2001, 249-250.

⁶⁷ Paus. I.vii.3; *RE* s.v. 'Arsinoë,' no. 25, II(1): 1281-1282; Macurdy 1932, 109-111; Seibert 1967, 78-79; Vatin 1970, 63; Koenen 1977, 84; Will 1979-82, I: 105 and 149; Green 1990, 131; Ogden 1999, 74; Huß 2001, 307.

⁶⁸ Σ Theoc. XVII.128; Polyb. XV.xxv; Paus. I.vii.3.

⁶⁹ Diod. XXII.iii; App. *Syr.* 62; Paus. I.x.3-4, xvi.2; Porphyry *FGrH* II: 260 F3.8-9 (*ap.* Euseb. *Chron.* I: 233-235); Just. *Epit.* XXIV.ii-v; Macurdy 1932, 113-116; Heinen 1972, 3-19, 54-91; Will 1979-82, I: 100-105; Longega 1968, 44-54; Burstein 1982, 199-200; Green 1990, 131-133; Huß 2001, 254-260.

⁷⁰ *Infra* Pt. Two, ch. IV, § 1, p. 238.

⁷¹ Paus. I.vii.1; Satyr. *FHG* III: 165 F21; *pace* Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 166 and n. 1; *contra* Hazzard 1987, 149-150 and n. 32; Huß 2001, 305 and n. 6.

⁷² Porphyry *FGrH* II: 260 F3.10 (*ap.* Euseb. *Chron.* I: 235-236) and F31.2 (*ap.* Syncell. *Chron.* 507); Heinen 1972, 7-8 n. 21, 58; Will 1979-82, I: 106; Huß 2001, 259-260.

⁷³ Paus. I.vii.1; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 166 and n. 1; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 179; Bevan 1927,

Ptolemy II's sister Arsinoe in Alexandria (*ca.* 279 BCE) that led to her namesake's banishment.⁷⁴ For Arsinoe I was said to have been banished to Coptus (mod. Qeft) for conspiring against the King in concert with a certain Amyntas and the physician Chrysippus of Rhodes.⁷⁵ At an unknown date (*ca.* 279-274 BCE),⁷⁶ Ptolemy II married his full sister and together they were worshipped in the eponymous Alexandrian cult as the *Theoi Adelphoi* (since 272/1 BCE).⁷⁷ After Arsinoe II's death, Ptolemy II appointed her son with Lysimachus as co-regent, but disowned him after a rebellion.⁷⁸ Finally, Ptolemy II had his children with Arsinoe I posthumously adopted to Arsinoe II,⁷⁹ and was succeeded by his eldest son Ptolemy III.

Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II set a precedent of close-kin endogamy that was

53, 61; Macurdy 1932, 118-119; Huß 2001, 305.

⁷⁴ *Pace* Macurdy 1932, 110; Longega 1968, 71-72; Green 1990, 146; Ogden 1999, 74; *contra* Rice 1983, 39; Carney 1987, 427-428 and n. 18; Huß 2001, 265-266, 306-307.

⁷⁵ Σ Theoc. XVII.128: ἐπιβουλεύουσιν δ' αὐτὴν εὐρώων ... αὐτὴν δὲ ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς Κοπτὸν ἢ εἰς τόπον τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἀδελφὴν Ἀρσινόην ἔγημε, "discovering that [Arsinoe I] was plotting against him ... [Ptolemy II] sent her to Coptus, which is a town of the Thebaid, and he married his full (lit.: domestic) sister Arsinoe"; Diog. Laert. VII.186; *I. Cair.* 70031 (= *Koptos* 20-21, pl. XX; *Urk.* II: 55-69); *infra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 1, p. 123, n. 44.

⁷⁶ *Infra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 2, 130, n. 82.

⁷⁷ *E.g.*, see: *P.Hib.* I: 99, ll. 1-6, II: 199, ll. 12-17 (Θεοὶ Ἀδελφοί); *P.dem. Louvre* 2424 (*ntr.wj sn.wj*); *Urk.* II: 156 l. 3 (𐤀𐤓𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍𐤏𐤍); Otto 1905-8, I: 144 and 175-177; Tondriau 1953, 126-127; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 191-196 and 204; IJsewijn 1961, 119, 125 and 134-136; Pestman 1967, 16 and 134; Clarysse and van der Veken 1983, 4-9, nos. A-B, 17-44a; Grzybek 1990, 112 and 127; Koenen 1993, 51-52 and n. 61; Hazzard 2000, 3-4; Minas 2000, 88-93; Hölbl 2001, 94-95; Huß 2001, 325; *infra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 3, p. 101, n. 42, Pt. Two, ch. III, § 1, p. 213, n. 15.

⁷⁸ *RE s.v.* 'Ptolemaios,' no. 13, XXXIII(1): 1596-1597; Macurdy 1932, 122-123; Seibert 1967, 78-79, 82-83; Will 1979-82, I: 234-236; Burstein 1982, 205-206; Huß, 1998, 229-250; Ogden 1999, 79-80.

⁷⁹ Paus. I.vii.3; Σ Theoc. XVII.128 (εἰσεποιήσατο αὐτῇ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς προτέρας Ἀρσινόης γεννηθάντας παῖδας. ἡ γὰρ ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἄτεκνος ἀπέθανεν, "[Ptolemy II] adopted the children born from the first Arsinoe to her [*i.e.*, Arsinoe II]; for his sister and wife died childless [*scil.*, without bearing him children]"); *OGIS* 54; *RE s.v.* 'Ptolemaios,' no. 20, XXXIII(1): 1666; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 182-184; Bevan 1927, 63-65; Macurdy 1932, 120-122; Longega 1968, 75-76 and n. 20; Green 1990, 145; Burstein 1982, 206-207; Ogden 1999, 78-79.

observed throughout the Lagid dynasty with very few exceptions.⁸⁰ Ptolemy IV Philopator, Ptolemy VI Philometor, Ptolemy VIII Physcon, Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, Ptolemy X Alexander and his homonymous son, as well as Ptolemy XIII and possibly his brother were all officially wed to their full- or half sister. Physcon and the elder Ptolemy Alexander were additionally married to their respective nieces, while Ptolemy XII Auletes married his cousin. Apart from the first Lagid, only Ptolemy V Epiphanes was *not* married to an immediate relative, *viz.*, the Seleucid princess Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III – yet she still received the honorific title “sister (Gk. *adelphê*, Eg. *senet*).”⁸¹ Significantly, Ptolemy III Euergetes and his cousin-wife Berenice II were officially proclaimed as children of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II – thus adhering to the ideology of sibling-marriage.⁸² Cleopatra VII was associated with five men.⁸³ Allegedly her father had instructed her to marry her full-brother Ptolemy XIII.⁸⁴ During the Alexandrine War (48-47 BCE), she associated herself with Julius Caesar, who defeated Ptolemy XIII and replaced him with his younger brother Ptolemy XIV.⁸⁵ It remains unclear whether Cleopatra and this Ptolemy were officially considered spouses: dynastic

⁸⁰ See: Appendix D: Genealogies, 1. Lagid Dynasty.

⁸¹ *OGIS* 99; *P.dem. Louvre* 9415; Polyb. XVIII.li.10; Livy XXXIII.xl.3; App. *Syr.* 3, 5; Macurdy 1932, 145; Seibert 1967, 65-66; Will 1979-82, II: 311-312; Green 1990, 305; Whitehorne 1994, 85.

⁸² Callim. *Vict. Ber.* (F 383; *Supp. Hell.* 254) l. 2; Just. *Epit.* XXVI.iii.2-7; *OGIS* 54-56, 60-61; *SEG* VIII: 505, XVIII: 628, 640; Macurdy 1932, 130-134; Seibert 1967, 80-81; Longega 1968, 75 n. 20; Will 1979-82, I: 245-246; Pomeroy 1984, 20-23; Ogden 1999, 80-81; Huß 2001, 333-337.

⁸³ *RE s.v.* ‘Kleopatra,’ no. 20, XI(1): 750-781; Macurdy 1932, 184-223; Skeat 1954, 40-43; Samuel 1962, 156-160; Will 1979-82, II: 528-529; Pomeroy 1984, 24-28; Green 1990, 661-667; Ogden 1999, 101-105; Huß 2001, 703-731.

⁸⁴ Caes. *Bell. civ.* III.107-108; *Bell. Alex.* XXXIII; Porphyry *FGrH* II: 260 F 2.15 (*ap.* Euseb. *Chron.* I: 167-168); Macurdy 1932, 185; Will 1979-82, II: 527-528; Green 1990, 661.

⁸⁵ *Bell. Alex.* XXXIII; Suet. *Jul.* XXXV; Dio Cass. XLII.xliv; Porphyry *FGrH* II: 260 F 2.16 (*ap.* Euseb. *Chron.* I: 168); *P.Oxy.* XIV: 1629; Will 1979-82, II: 532; Green 1990, 666-667.

protocol merely presented them as joint rulers.⁸⁶ Cleopatra bore Caesar a son,⁸⁷ immediately hailed as Pharaoh Ptolemy XV Caesarion.⁸⁸ Caesar officially only recognized him in his will, as marriage to foreign women was prohibited at Rome.⁸⁹ At her return to Alexandria, Cleopatra had her fifteen-year old brother poisoned.⁹⁰ Cleopatra's romance with Mark Antony commenced when he summoned her to Tarsus to support his Eastern campaign. She would bear him the twins Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene, and later another son, Ptolemy Philadelphus.⁹¹ In a public ceremony at Alexandria, Antony eventually recognized his children with Cleopatra and they evidently formalized their relationship on that occasion.⁹²

The endogamy of the Lagids not only increased the prestige and power of Ptolemaic queens (about which more in Part Two), but compared to the three characteristic aspects of other Hellenistic dynasties, they foremost kept foreign influence

⁸⁶ Dio Cass. XLII.xliv.2; Porphyry *FGrH* II: 260 F 2.16 (*ap.* Euseb. *Chron.* I: 168); *I. Coptos* 64 (in Traunecker 1992, 320-324) *l.* 3; *P. Oxy.* XIV: 1629; Macurdy 1932, 189; Will 1979-82, II: 532; Pomeroy 1984, 25; Criscuolo 1989, 334-336; Green 1990, 667; Ogden 1999, 102; Huß 2001, 720, n. 159.

⁸⁷ Plut. *Caes.* XLVIII-XLIX; *id.* *Ant.* LIV; Suet. *Jul.* XXXV.1, LII.1, LXXXVI.3; *id.* *Aug.* XVII.5; Dio Cass. XLVII.xxxi.5, XLIX.xli.2; Macurdy 1932, 190; Will 1979-82, II: 535-536; Pomeroy 1984, 25; Green 1990, 667.

⁸⁸ *I. Louvre* 335 (Serapeum stele); *LD* IV: 60a (Hermonthis stele).

⁸⁹ Suet. *Jul.* LII.1-3; Dio Cass. XLIV.vii.3, XLVII.xxxi, XLIX.xli, L.iii; Macurdy 1932, 190-191; Will 1979-82, II: 536-537; Pomeroy 1984, 25-26; Green 1990, 667-669; Ogden 1999, 103; Huß 2001, 722-723.

⁹⁰ Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* XV.iv.1 (89); *id.* *C. Ap.* II. (58); App. *B. Civ.* IV.61; Dio Cass. XLVII.xxxi.5; Porphyry *FGrH* II: 260 F 2.16-17 (*ap.* Euseb. *Chron.* I: 168-169); Macurdy 1932, 193; Will 1979-82, II: 537-538; Green 1990, 669; Huß 2001, 726-727.

⁹¹ Plut. *Ant.* XXV-XXVII; App. *B. Civ.* V.i.1-2, viii.32-33; Macurdy 1932, 195-197; Will 1979-82, II: 544-553; Pomeroy 1984, 26-27; Green 1990, 673-678; Ogden 1999, 104; Huß 2001, 729-731.

⁹² Plut. *Ant.* LIV; Dio Cass. XLIX.xli.

out of their royal house.⁹³ Ptolemaic princesses were nevertheless given in marriage to other kings and princess. Particularly the marriages of, *e.g.*, Berenice Phernophorus, Cleopatra Thea and Cleopatra Selene, to the Seleucids illustrate the influence the Ptolemies could thus exert. Moreover, except for Ptolemy I and perhaps Ptolemy VIII, the Ptolemaic Kings appear to have had only one official wife at a time. Endogamous monogamy, therefore, came to legitimize succession to the kingdom. Cleopatra V Selene's accusation of bastardy against Ptolemy XII Auletes can best be understood as an attempt to legitimize her own two sons with Antiochus X Eusebes, and deny the succession of Lathyrus' son by Cleopatra IV Philadelphus.⁹⁴ Indeed, dynastic strife could not be avoided even among full siblings. Significantly, the mother more often than not had a hand in the disharmony. Cleopatra III was especially remarkable in this respect. It is not correct to claim that polyandry was a consequence of sibling marriage.⁹⁵ Only Cleopatra II could possibly be considered to have held two husbands concurrently. The conflicts between Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII, Ptolemy IX and Ptolemy X, Ptolemy XI and Ptolemy XII could to a degree be seen to revolve about their respective sister-queens, *i.e.*, Cleopatra II, Cleopatra V Selene, and Berenice III. In conclusion, while monogamy was the norm in the Greek world, exogamous polygyny was an important means for the Argead kings to gain alliances with the Macedonian nobility and with foreign royalty. Aspects of the custom persisted in the Hellenistic dynasties to certain degrees: the

⁹³ Seibert 1967, 82-83; Vatin 1970, 59-60; Pomeroy 1975, 123-124; Carney 1987, 434, 436; Ager 2005, esp. 16-22.

⁹⁴ Posidon. *FGrH* 87 F 26 (*ap.* Athen. XIII.550); Trog. *Prol.* XXXIX; Paus. I.ix.1-3; Porphyry *FGrH* II: 260 F 2.8-9 (*ap.* Euseb. *Chron.* I: 163-166); Macurdy 1932, 164-165, 173-174; Bloedow 1963, 1-10; Vatin 1970, 76; Will 1979-82, II: 440-443, 448-449; Whitehorne 1994, 178-179; Bennet 1997, 47-48; Ogden 1999, 93-101.

⁹⁵ *Contra*, Ogden 1999, xi, 83-93.

Antigonids tended to keep one chief wife and additional concubines; the Seleucids first followed Argead traditions, then turned to the practice of sibling marriage, and eventually fell under Ptolemaic influence; the Attalids adhered to the commoners' custom of monogamy, but did seek political alliances with other dynasties by marrying foreign princesses; the Lagids, finally, were exceptional in turning to the ideology and actual practice of extreme endogamous monogamy. (Part Two is dedicated to the significance of the Lagids' consanguineous marriages.)

3. Depictions of Royal Couples

Ancient historians offer few descriptions of wedding ceremonies of Hellenistic kings and queens.⁹⁶ We must therefore turn to representations in visual arts and to allusions in poetry, to assess how the Ptolemies celebrated their marriage in public. In this section, various artistic media in which Kings and Queens were paired together will be reviewed; poetic allusions will be discussed in the subsequent section. I will first discuss the glyptic evidence, especially coins, but also gems and seals. Although it does not depict a royal couple, I will also examine a coin of Arsinoe Philadelphus, for I will argue that it portrayed her as Heavenly Queen. A brief review of statues and reliefs, both in Hellenic and in Pharaonic styles, will further attest the public display of Lagid royal couples.

⁹⁶ E.g., for the wedding of Ptolemy Ceraunus and Arsinoe, see: Just. *Epit.* XXIV.ii-iii; *RE* s.v. 'Arsinoë,' no.26, II(1): 1282-1283; Macurdy 1932, 114-116; Longega 1968, 59-67; Heinen 1972, 75-83; Carney 1994, 127-129; Ogden 1999, 75-77; Carney 2000a, 176-177. For Antony and Cleopatra, see: Socrat. Rhod. *FGrH* 192 F 1 (*ap.* Athen. IV.147D-148B); Sen. *Suas.* I.6; Plut. *Ant.* XXV-XXVII; *id.* *Comp. Dem. et Ant.* I.3, IV.1; Suet. *Aug.* LXIX.2; App. *B. Civ.* V.1 (1-2), 8 (32-33); Dio Cass. XLVIII.xxiv.2; *RE* s.v. 'Kleopatra,' no.20, XI(1): 757, 764; Bevan 1927, 373-374; Macurdy 1932, 194-197, 202-203; Bengtson 1975, 296-270; Pelling 1988, 183-193; Green 1990, 663-664, 670-671; Ogden 1999, 104; Hölbl

Perhaps the most effective depiction of royal couples was in the form of double portraits. A long series of Alexandrian issues of gold and silver coinage (272-180 BCE) shows on the obverse the jugate busts of Ptolemy I and Berenice I, with the legend “*Theôn*”; and on the reverse the jugate busts of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, with the legend “*Adelphôn*.”⁹⁷ The model for the Ptolemaic double portraits, it would seem, ultimately derived from Dodona.⁹⁸ For Epirote coinage depicts nearly identical jugate heads of Zeus and Dione.⁹⁹ At Dodona, considered the site of the most ancient oracle of the Greek world, the cult of Dione Naea was *synnaos* of Zeus Naeus.¹⁰⁰ In Chytrea on Cyprus, incidentally, one Aristocles set up a bust of “Arsinoe Philadelphus Naeas,” thus associating the Queen with (Dione-) Naea.¹⁰¹ Additionally, in Athenaeus’ abbreviation of Callixenus there is an unclear reference to precincts in Dodona dedicated to or by Ptolemy I and Berenice I.¹⁰² Furthermore, a unique issue of Cleopatra VII (of 34/3 BCE)

2001, 240-241, 244-245; Huß 2001, 729-730, 734 n. 20 (lit.); Weill Goudchaux 2001, 137-139.

⁹⁷ *BMC Ptol.* xxxviii-xxxix, 40-41, nos. 1-11, pl. 7.1-7; Sv., e.g., nos. 603-606, 608-609, pl. 14; Kahrstedt 1910, 267; *SNG Ptol.* 132; *MFAC*, no. 2274; Brett 1952, 6-7; Kyrieleis 1975, 6, 17-18, 80, pl. 8.1-3; Brunelle 1976, 11-12; Troxell 1983, 60-62; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, no. 61b; Hazzard 1995a, 3, fig. 6; Rausch (ed.) 1998, no. 34; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, no. 68.

⁹⁸ Cf. Hdt. II.54-57 (connection between oracles of Dodona and Ammon); Plut. *Pyrrh.* IV (Pyrrhus of Epirus married Berenice’s daughter Antigone), VI.1 (Pyrrhus called his son with Antigone ‘Ptolemy’, and an Epirote city ‘Berenice’).

⁹⁹ *RML s.v.* ‘Dione,’ 1029; *Hist. Num.*² p. 324, fig. 185; Kraay and Hirmer 1966, pl. 151, no. 477; *LMC s.v.* ‘Dione,’ III(1): 412, no. 6 (“von ptolemäischen Münzen übernommen”); also, see: *RE s.v.* ‘Pyrrhos,’ no. 13, XXIV: 131-132; Huß 2001, 160-161.

¹⁰⁰ Hdt. II.54-57; Strabo VII (329); *RML s.v.* ‘Naïos,’ III(1): 2-3 [Höfer]; Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 71-72.

¹⁰¹ Strack 1897, 224 no. 31: ‘Ἀρσινόη Φιλαδέλφω Ναϊάδι); Tondrau 1948a, 20 no. 11.b).

¹⁰² Callix. *ap.* Athen. V.203A; Rice 1983, 128-131 (also pointing to Dionysus’ connection with Dodona). [I owe this point to Dorothy J. Thompson.]

presents the jugate busts of that Queen and Mark Antony, with her portrait before his.¹⁰³ The same portrait type was used on coinage representing jugate busts of Zeus-Sarapis and Isis-Demeter.¹⁰⁴ Their idealized features bear a fair resemblance to Arsinoe III and Ptolemy IV Philopator. Attributed to the same reign are coins with jugate busts of Apollo and Artemis. Although the style is much coarser, the design of this coinage is very similar to that of Isis and Sarapis.¹⁰⁵ The issues are too weathered to confirm whether Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III were here identified with Apollo and Artemis.¹⁰⁶ As these examples illustrate, double portraiture coinage was quite popular during the glory days of the Ptolemaic kingdom.¹⁰⁷

Aside from such numismatic examples, double portraits featured on various other glyptic media. A plaster impression of a *repoussée* relief bears a profile likeness of the *Theoi Soteres* that closely resembles the above coinage.¹⁰⁸ A sardonyx cameo, now in Vienna, with the image of another Ptolemaic couple follows the same iconography.¹⁰⁹ The male portrait is shown wearing an Attic helmet, adorned with a snake (a reference to the Egyptian royal cobra and/or the snake of Agathodaemon), the head of Ammon-Zeus,

¹⁰³ Baldus 1983, 5-10, figs. 1-4; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, no. 61v.

¹⁰⁴ *BMC Ptol.* 79, nos. 7-8, pl. 18.8; Sv. nos. 1123-1124, 1136, 1186, 1188, pls. 36.13-16, 43.11, Γ.19, vol. IV: 195, 211-212, 225-231; Tondriau 1948a, 24; Mørkholm 1991, 110; Hazzard 1995a, 58, figs. 88, 129; Huß 2001, 453-454; *infra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 4, p. 146.

¹⁰⁵ *BMC Ptol.* 79, no. 13; Sv. no. 1137, pl. 36.20-23; *cf. ibid.* no. 1137, pl. 36.24.

¹⁰⁶ Svoronos 1905-8, IV: 213; Tondriau 1948a, 23, 25.

¹⁰⁷ *Cf.* Cleopatra Thea's coinage: Newell 1937, 73, no. 29; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, no. 61s; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, nos. 92, 94.

¹⁰⁸ AGRM 24345; Kyrieleis 1975, 6-7, pl. 6.3; Plantzos 1996, 122-123; *id.* 1999, 47-48 (identifying the Queen on several gems), 50, nos. 27-29, pls. 5, 88.1, 93.2, 6; Rausch (ed.) 1998, 79, no. 37; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, no. 4. [The only surviving portrait of Berenice I apart from numismatic ones.]

as well as a thunderbolt; the female portrait is shown wearing a *stephanê* and a veil. Although opinions vary, the couple is most commonly identified as Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II Philadelphus. On several gems and clay seal impressions later Ptolemaic couples were depicted in similar fashion.¹¹⁰ Another clay seal impression shows that the jugate portraiture was modified to represent a royal triad for the joint-rule of Ptolemy VIII with Cleopatra II and Cleopatra III.¹¹¹ As coins and seals diffused widely, we may safely assume that people throughout the Ptolemaic empire were quite familiar with these double portraits of Lagid royal couples.

Another popular Ptolemaic coin-type commemorated the deification of Arsinoe II Philadelphus, and features the *dikeras* (“double horn of plenty”) on the reverse and on the obverse her portrait, wearing a *stephanê* and a veil.¹¹² The assumption, that this coinage represents the Queen in the guise of Demeter, I find unsatisfactory. Aside from idealizing characteristics, her divinity was emphasized by a small ram horn below her ear and a lotus-scepter in the background.¹¹³ The lotus-scepter behind Arsinoe’s profile might represent an Egyptian attribute of divinity, as floral staffs were, indeed, common divine attributes in Egyptian tradition. Arsinoe’s statues did show her with such scepters (see

¹⁰⁹ VKM IX.A.81; Eichler and Kris 1927, 47-48, no. 3, pl. 1; Kyrieleis 1975, 19, 81; Brunelle 1976, 26-28; Oberleitner 1985, 32-35.

¹¹⁰ Milne 1916, 100, nos. 214-223; Kyrieleis 1975, pls. 30.5, 68.4, 100.5, 7; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, nos. 62, 157-158.

¹¹¹ ROM 906.12.207; Milne 1916, 101, no. 224; Plantzos 1993; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, no. 61.

¹¹² *BMC Ptol. s.v. ‘Arsinoe II’*, pp. xxxix-xlii, 42-44, nos. 2-33, pl. 8.2-5; Sv., e.g., nos. 408-410, 419-421, pls. 15-16, vol. IV: 83-96, 104-119, 163-164; Kahrstedt 1910, 264-265; *Hist. Num.*² 847, 850; Newell 1937, 101-102, figs. 1-2; Longega 1968, 109-110; Kyrieleis 1975, 78-80, pl. 70.1-3; Troxell 1983, 35-70, pls. 2-10; Foraboschi 1987, 149-159; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, no. 61c-d; Hazzard 1995a, 4, 19 n. 12, figs. 7, 109, 113; Rausch (ed.) 1998, nos. 40, 164; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, nos. 69, 79.

¹¹³ Smith 1988, 40, 43.

below).¹¹⁴ Nonetheless, close parallels exist in Greek art of female deities wearing a crown and a veil, and holding a lotus-scepter. Again, the Dodonan Dione appears to have provided the model, for King Pyrrhus of Epirus (r. 295-272 BCE) struck silver tetradrachms with an enthroned Dione (evidently based on a cult statue), wearing a *polos* and holding a lotus-scepter.¹¹⁵ To my knowledge, the only other Greek goddess who was represented with the attributes of lotus-scepter, crown and veil was Hera.¹¹⁶ The ram horn was commonly thought to refer to Zeus-Ammon,¹¹⁷ but as the late Egyptologist Jan Quaegebeur has pointed out, a reference to the Ram of Mendes would be more appropriate for Arsinoe Philadelphus, who was honored with the title “Beloved of the Ram” of Mendes.¹¹⁸ Ram horns were, furthermore, part of Arsinoe’s unique Egyptian-style crown, consisting additionally of the Lower-Egypt Red Crown of Geb,¹¹⁹ two plumes of Amun (-Min),¹²⁰ and the solar disk enclosed by Hathor’s cow horns,¹²¹ atop the vulture cap of Mut.¹²² Consequently, I would like to suggest that Arsinoe was

¹¹⁴ LBM 38.443 (bronze statuette in Hellenic style); VMGE 22682 (colossal granite statue in Egyptian style); *infra* p. 82.

¹¹⁵ *RML* s.v. ‘Dione,’ 1029; *Hist. Num.*² p. 323, fig. 182; *SNG* Copenhagen 91; Kraay and Hirmer 1966, pl. 150, no. 472; *LIMC* s.v. ‘Dione,’ no. 4.

¹¹⁶ *CGS* I: pl. 9b; *LIMC* s.v. ‘Hera,’ e.g., nos. 133, 145, 149.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Kyrieleis 1975, 149 and n. 608; Winter 1978, 149 and n. 4; Smith 1988, 40.

¹¹⁸ *Urk* II: 40 ll. 1-2: *mri.t-bz*; Dils 1998, 1308-1309.

¹¹⁹ *Urk* II: 72 l. 1 (*s.t Gb*, “Daughter of Geb,” of Arsinoe); *LÄ* III: 812-813, s.v. ‘Kronen’; Sauneron 1960, 107 n. 6; Quaegebeur 1978, 258; *id.* 1988, 45, 47; Dils 1998, 1305, 1312.

¹²⁰ *Urk* II: 94 l. 11, 106 l. 16, 107 ll. 7, 12 (*s.t Imn*, “Daughter of Amun,” of several queens); Quaegebeur 1970, 1970, 208; *id.* 1985, 74; Troy 1986, 126; Quaegebeur 1988, 45; Dils 1998, 1305, 1307.

¹²¹ *Urk* II: 72 ll. 7-8 (*tît-Îs.t mri-Hthr*, “Image of Isis, Beloved of Hathor,” of Arsinoe); Quaegebeur 1988, 45, 47; Dils 1998, 1308.

¹²² Quaegebeur 1971, 198-200; *id.* 1988, 45-46, fig. 18; Dils 1998, 1299-1330.

conceived of as the spouse of Zeus-Ammon or Amun-Min (assimilated with the Ram of Mendes), the daughter of Cronus and Rhea or Geb and Mut, and was hence identified simultaneously with Hera-Dione and Isis-Hathor. In other words, the Queen was portrayed on the Philadelphus coinage and through her composite crown as the protectress of matrimony in the figure of Heavenly Queen, spouse of the King of the Gods.

When we turn from coins to statues, we have to bear in mind that due to the haphazard survival of sculptural art few statues are found *in situ* as pairs. Literary evidence does attest that statues were set up, *e.g.*, for Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II in temples throughout the country – and even outside the Ptolemaic empire.¹²³ Fortunately, two pairs of their statues still remain. The Hellenic-style bronze statuettes show a nude Ptolemy, holding the club of Heracles, leaning on some sort of staff (a scepter or spear; now lost), and wearing an elephant *exuviae*, paired with a clothed Arsinoe, carrying a *dikeras*, also leaning on staff of some sort (now lost), and crowned with a *stephanê*.¹²⁴ The Pharaonic-style granite colossi, allegedly from Heliopolis, show Ptolemy in the traditional garb of the pharaoh, paired with Arsinoe clothed in tight sheath, probably clasping the *ankh* sign in her right hand and carrying a floral scepter in her left (both lost).¹²⁵ Additionally, a group of five statues from the Pharos lighthouse (recently excavated in the harbor at Fort Qait Bey) appears to represent a royal couple with their

¹²³ Paus. I.viii.6; *OGIS* 26-27; *I. Cair.* 22183 (Pithom stele); Kamal 1905, I: 171-177, II: pl. 57; Hauben 1970, 34-; Quaegebeur 1988, 47; Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, 77-82.

¹²⁴ LBM 38.442, 443; Kyrieleis 1975, 20-23, 82, 166, 178, nos. B.1, J.2, pls. 8.5-6, 9.1-2, 72.4; Smith 1988, 41-44, 91, app. 8, nos. 9, pl. 70.2, 6; Koenen 1993, 45 n. 50(3).

¹²⁵ VMGE 22682, 22683; Botti and Romanelli 1951, nos. 22-26, pl. 23; Quaegebeur 1970, 209 no. 1; *id.* 1971, 242; Kyrieleis 1975, 140; Quaegebeur 1978, 253; *id.* 1983, 114-115; *id.* 1988, 47, figs. 19-20; Ashton 2001a, 150-152, fig. 5.3.

predecessors and successor.¹²⁶ Due to water erosion, the state of preservation renders the statues beyond recognition. Even dating from stylistic characteristics is equivocal – estimates range from the reign of Ptolemy II to the time of Ptolemy IX and X (*viz.*, *ca.* 270-*ca.* 90 BCE). It is very likely that most important civic centers and sanctuaries throughout Egypt once contained statues of Lagid royal couples, probably in the form of dynastic galleries – such as existed even in Athens.¹²⁷ This jugate representation of images of Ptolemaic kings and queens promoted the dynastic importance attributed to matrimony at the Lagid court.

Depictions of Ptolemaic kings and queens prevail on the temple walls of the major sanctuaries in Egypt. On the Euergetes Gate at Thebes (mod. Karnak), for instance, two parallel scenes show on one side Ptolemy III burning incense before Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, and on the other side Ptolemy III and Berenice II in ceremonial robes.¹²⁸ Even more vivid representations of the dynastic cult are reliefs of deified royal couples as *synnaoi theoi* of local Egyptian deities.¹²⁹ The longest series of Lagid ancestors paired together are found at the temple of Sobek and Harueris in Ombos (mod. Kom Ombo), where Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus and Cleopatra VI Tryphaena are followed by a row of ancestors extending back to Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II (yet excluding Ptolemy X and XI,

¹²⁶ Tkaczow 1993, 183, no. 1; La Richie 1996, 84-94; Rausch (ed.) 1998; 103, no. 64; Empereur 1998, 65, 76-77; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, 58, no. 24; P. Gallo 2002, “The pharaonic Monuments of Alexandria: An Overview,” *Ancient Alexandria: Between Greece and Egypt*, Center for the Ancient Mediterranean, Columbia University, 11-12 October 2002; Empereur 2002, “Recent Rescue Excavations in Alexandria: A Contribution to the Topography of the Capital of the Ptolemies,” *ibid.*; Ashton 2001a, nos. 20, 56.

¹²⁷ Paus. I.viii.6; Athen. V.205; Kyrieleis 1975, 139; Lembke 2000, 113-146 (for evidence of a Ptolemaic gallery from Thmuis).

¹²⁸ *Urk.* VIII: 78-79, no. 93; PM II² 226 no. 3; Clère 1961, II: pls. 43, 61; Winter 1978, 149, doc. 1; Quaegebeur 1988, 48, figs. 21-22; for the ceremonial robes, *infra* Pt. Two, ch. IV, § 2, p. 248, n. 57.

¹²⁹ Winter 1978, 147-160; Minas 2000, 1-80.

as well as Cleopatra V).¹³⁰ Stelae, too, illustrated the royal cult with lines of royal ancestor pairs. A remarkable example is a stele of Kom el-Hisn (which contains a version of the Canopus Decree), for it includes Ptolemy I and Berenice I, as the founders of the Lagid dynasty, preceded by their descendants.¹³¹ Such reliefs on temple walls and stelae propagated the ideology that the kings of the Lagid dynasty were accompanied by their queen.

Depictions of royal couples of the Lagid dynasty, as surveyed, affirm the importance of matrimony at court. An effective iconography to portray royal couples was that of jugate busts. Coins, a plaster cast, cameos and seals attest to its popularity. Significantly, the iconography was also used for identifications with Isis and Osiris, and Apollo and Artemis; and I have suggested that the iconography itself probably derived from Dodonan Zeus and Dione. The coinage of Arsinoe Philadelphus is also significant in this context, as it portrayed her in the guise of a Heavenly Queen, wife of Zeus-Ammon. While few statues have survived of royal couples to illustrate the dynastic galleries that likely graced important civic centers within the Ptolemaic sphere, the examples mentioned above provide further evidence of the significance ascribed to publicizing the marriage and dynastic unity of Ptolemaic kings and queens. Reliefs on Egyptian temple walls and stelae, additionally, propagated the dynastic perpetuity of successive deified royal couples through the depiction of processions of Lagid ancestors lead by the reigning King and Queen. The dynastic significance of this paired representation will be further examined in the next chapter.

¹³⁰ *LD* IV: 49a; *LdR* 402 no. 39; *ibid.* Text IV: 101-102; *Kom Ombo* I: 141 no. 183, 152 no. 200, 155 nos. 201, 205, 259 no. 329; *PM* VI: 182-184; Minas 2000, 20-22.

¹³¹ Kamal 1905, I: 171-177, II: pl. 59; Quaegebeur 1978, 247; *id.* 1988, 49, fig. 23.

4. Poetic Allusions to Marriage

In the final section of this chapter, we turn to references to marriage chiefly in the poems of Theocritus and Callimachus. Although I will also allude to Berenice I, my focus will be particularly on Arsinoe II and Berenice II. Furthermore, contemporary Alexandrian poetry paid remarkable attention to weddings and/or marital affairs of deities with whom Ptolemaic kings and queens were identified or assimilated. The attention Theocritus and Callimachus, among others, paid to the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera, Adonis and Aphrodite, Heracles and Hebe, or even the wedding of Helen to Menelaus, could hardly have been coincidental within the evidently Ptolemaic context of Alexandria. The following paragraphs, then, will review such poems that disclose the political and religious significance of marriage at the Lagid court.

Whether in jest or praise, the marriage of Ptolemy II to his full-sister Arsinoe II occasioned comparison to Zeus' union with his sister and spouse Hera.¹³² At the wedding ceremony itself, a rhapsode was said to have recited Homeric verses, such as, "then Zeus spoke to Hera, his kinswoman and his spouse."¹³³ The poet Sotades was especially infamous for reproaching the King's sibling marriage by mocking that of Zeus.¹³⁴ In the *Encomium in Ptolemaeum*, however, Theocritus praised the same marriage by comparing it to Zeus' *hieros gamos*. He commended the King for establishing the cultic worship of his parents Ptolemy I and Berenice I with "incense-fragrant temples," "reddening altars"

¹³² Elderkin 1937, 425-435; Tondriau 1948a, 19; Taeger 1957-60, I: 376; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 61; Hopkins 1980, 311; Shaw 1992, 283-284; J. B. Burton 1995, 149, 152; Cameron 1995, 19.

¹³³ Plut., *Quaest. conviv.* III.ix.1 (= *Mor.* 736E-F); cf. Hom. *Il.* XVI.432, XVIII.356; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* II.48 (= 301A); Eustath. *Comm. Hom. Iliad.* III: 878.13-17.

¹³⁴ Sotades F 1 (*ap.* Athen. XIV.621A), 16 (*ap.* Hephaest. *Enchir.* XI.4, p. 36); Plut. *Lib. educ.* XIV (= *Mor.* II.11A); Athen. XIV.621A; Σ Hephaest. *Enchir.* I.4 (p. 99); Georg. Choerob. *Comm. in Hephaest.*

and “very comely images in gold and ivory.”¹³⁵ Arsinoe was lauded with Homeric élan as the King’s “stately consort ... loving with all her heart her kinsman and spouse.”¹³⁶ Before the formal closing, Theocritus resolved that,

So too was the holy wedding of the immortals consummated
whom Queen Rhea bore to be rulers of Olympus;
and Iris, virgin still, having purified her hands with myrrh,
strews a single couch for Zeus and Hera to sleep.¹³⁷

Another bridal song, attributed to Posidippus, drew the analogy between Arsinoe and Hera.¹³⁸ That poem, significantly, alludes to the purifying bath that renewed the brides’ virginity before joining with their spouse in the bridal chamber. Callimachus, too, composed an epithalamium of Arsinoe, of which only a single line survives: “Of Arsinoe’s wedding, O stranger, I begin to sing.”¹³⁹ Consequently, poetic allusions to the marriage of Arsinoe II to Ptolemy II were certainly prevalent. Hers was, nonetheless, not the only wedding to inspire Hellenistic poetry.

Two poems survive on the marriage of Arsinoe’s successor Berenice II with Ptolemy III. As transmitted through Catullus’ Latin translation, Callimachus’ *Coma Berenices* recalled the nuptials of Ptolemy and Berenice, and the “*bonum facinus*” by

104 (p. 190).

¹³⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.123-127; Gow 1950, II: 344-345; Hunter 2003, 188-191.

¹³⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.128-130: αὐτός τ’ ἰφθίμα τ’ ἄλοχος ... ἐκ θυμοῦ στέργοισα κασίγνητόν τε πόσιν τε; Gow 1950, II: 345-346; Hunter 2003, 191-192.

¹³⁷ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.131-134: ὧδε καὶ ἀθανάτων ἱερὸς γάμος ἐξετελέσθη, ἡ οὖς τέκετο κρείουσα Ῥέα βασιλῆας Ὀλύμπου· ἡ ἐν δὲ λέχος στόρνυσιν ἰαύειν Ζανὶ καὶ Ἥρᾳ ἡ χεῖρας φοιβήσασα μύροις ἔτι παρθένος Ἴρις; Gow 1950, II: 346; Hunter 2003, 192-195.

¹³⁸ Posidip. *Suppl. Hell.* 961 (*P. Lit. Lond.* 60 recto = *P. Petrie* II: 49a); Vatin 1970, 78, n. 1; Fraser 1972, I: 668, II: 937 nn. 407-410; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 61, 90; *infra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 2, p. 130.

¹³⁹ Callim. *Arsin. Nupt.* (F 392; *ap.* Σ Pind. *Nem.* XI.1a): Ἀρσινόης ὧ ξεῖνε γάμον καταβάλλοι’ αἰεδεν.

which she had procured her royal marriage.¹⁴⁰ This “noble deed” doubtless refers to the death of her spouse Demetrius the Fair, whom she had murdered when she caught him *in flagrante delicto* with her mother.¹⁴¹ The poem further whimsically referred to the “nocturnal struggle” that Ptolemy “waged for the spoils of her virginity.”¹⁴² Significantly, it also mentions the temple of Arsinoe Zephyritis, the shrine where Berenice dedicated her lock for her husband’s safe return from the Third Syrian War.¹⁴³ Another poem commemorated how their marital alliance reunited the kingdoms of Egypt and Cyrenaica:

Great bordering regions of the world, which the swelling
Nile cuts off from the black Aethiopians,
you have by marriage made your sovereigns common to both,
founding Egypt and Libya into a single entity.
May these children of princes, because of their fathers,
once more hold a steadfast scepter over the Two Lands.¹⁴⁴

Aside from these epithalamia of Ptolemaic queens, the idylls of Theocritus frequently allude to marriages of deities with whom the Lagids were identified or

¹⁴⁰ Catull. LXVI.25-28: *at te ego certe | cognoram a parva virgine magnanimam. | anne bonum oblita es facinus, quo regium adeptus es | coniugium, quod non fortior ausit alis*, “And I do truly remember you to be brave from small maidenhood. Have you forgotten the noble deed by which you gained a royal marriage, more courageous than which none other could dare?”; Koenen 1993, 97-98; Cameron 1995, 22. [Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) is too lacunose.]

¹⁴¹ Just. *Epit.* XXVI.iii.2-8.

¹⁴² Catull. LXVI.13-14: *nocturnae ... rixae, | quam de virgineis gesserat exuviis*.

¹⁴³ Callim. F. 110 ll.57-58; Catull. LXVI.57-58.

¹⁴⁴ Ps.-Crinag. *Anth. Pal.* IX: 235: “Αγχοῦροι μεγάλοι κόσμου χθόνες, ἅς διὰ Νεῖλος ἰ
πιμπλάμενος μελάνων τέμνει ἀπ’ Αἰθιοπῶν, ἰ ἀμφοτέραι βασιλῆας ἐκοινώσασθε γάμοισιν, ἰ ἐν
γένος Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης θέμεναι. ἰ ἐκ πατέρων εἶη παισὶν πάλι τοῖσιν ἀνάκτων ἰ ἔμπεδον
ἡπεῖροις σκῆπτρον ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέραις.

As Gsell has long ago argued (1928, VIII: 218), this epigram has been wrongly attributed to the Crinagoras who commemorated the death of Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Cleopatra and Antony (*Anth. Pal.* VII: 633); the content of this poem evidently ill suits the marriage of Selene with King Juba of Mauritania (Numidia); cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903-1907, II: 362 n. 1; Macurdy 1932, 224-225; Whitehorne

assimilated. The allusion to the theogamy of Zeus and Hera evidently became quite common in Alexandrian circles, for Theocritus' *Adoniazusae* hinted at it,¹⁴⁵ while Callimachus rather elaborately refrained from mentioning it in the fragmentary *Acontius and Cydippa*.¹⁴⁶ The former briefly referred to the bridal chamber (*thalamos*) of Hebe, wife of Heracles to whom the Lagids traced their lineage.¹⁴⁷ The *Adoniazusae* further presented Aphrodite and Adonis in matrimonial embrace on their bridal couch (*klinē*).¹⁴⁸ From the description of Arsinoe Philadelphus' care for Adonis, the poem implies a close assimilation with Aphrodite.¹⁴⁹ The same goddess was invoked in the *Encomium* for blessing the marriage of Berenice I to Ptolemy I with love.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, Theocritus' *Epithalamium Helenae* appealed to Leto Kourotrophos, Aphrodite Cypris, and Zeus Cronidas to bless the marriage of Helen to Menelaus with fair offspring, mutual love, and lasting prosperity, respectively.¹⁵¹ It is of note that Theocritus elsewhere called Arsinoe

1994, 199-200; Huß 2001, 334 n. 14.

¹⁴⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XV.64 (πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι, καὶ ὥς Ζεὺς ἀγάγεθ' Ἥραν, "Women know everything, even how Zeus married Hera"); Gow 1950, II: 283.

¹⁴⁶ Callim. F 75 ll. 4-5 (Ἥραν γὰρ κοτέ φασι Πκύον, κύον, ἴσχεο, λαιδρὲ ἱ θυμέ, σύ γ' αἰεῖσσι καὶ τὰ περ οὐχ ὀσίη, "They say that once Hera — Dog, dog, hold back, impudent soul! You would sing even on what is not sacred!"); cf. *id.* F 45 (Zeus and Hera made love for 300 years); Elderkin 1937, 424-435; Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 77; Cameron 1995, 19-22.

¹⁴⁷ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.26-33; Gow 1950, II: 330-332; Hunter 2003, 120-124.

¹⁴⁸ Theoc. *Id.* XV.127-131; Tondriau 1948a, 16; Gow 1950, II: 298-301; Motte 1973, 210; Goukowsky 1992, 159.

¹⁴⁹ Theoc. *Id.* XV.109-111; Gow 1950, II: 294.

¹⁵⁰ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.38-40; Gow 1950, II: 333; Hunter 2003, 128-131.

¹⁵¹ Theoc. *Id.* XVIII.50-53 (Λατῶ μὲν δοίη, Λατῶ κουροτρόφος, ὕμνιν ἱ εὐτεκνίαν, Κύπρις δέ, θεὰ Κύπρις, ἴσον ἔρασθαι ἱ ἀλλάλων, Ζεὺς δέ, Κρονίδας Ζεὺς, ἄφθιτον ὄλβον, ἱ ὥς ἐξ εὐπατριδᾶν εἰς εὐπατρίδας πάλιν ἔνθη, "Lato, Childrearing Lato, grand thou fair offspring, Cypris, Goddess Cypris, equal desire for each other, Zeus, Cronus-son Zeus, incorruptible prosperity, and may it pass once more from noble sires to noble scions."); F. T. Griffiths 1979, 86-91.

Philadelphus “like unto Helen.”¹⁵² As a contrast, it is interesting that Daphnis is admonished in the same poet’s *Thyrsis* for taunting Aphrodite and refusing Eros even in Hades.¹⁵³ Unlike Anchises, Daphnis will not be blessed with glorious progeny;¹⁵⁴ unlike Diomedes, he will not charge an army on the battlefield;¹⁵⁵ unlike Adonis, he will not return from beyond the Acheron.¹⁵⁶ In short, in several of Theocritus’ idylls Aphrodite emerged as a patroness of marriage, like Hera – and this, as I will further elucidate below, quite obviously within the context of the deification of Arsinoe II Philadelphus as well as her mother Berenice I.

In sum, Alexandrian poetry attests to the importance of matrimony at the Lagid court. The wedding of Ptolemy II to Arsinoe II Philadelphus immediately gave rise to an association with the Olympian royal couple Zeus and Hera. In addition to explicit references to the deification of Berenice and Ptolemy Soter, and of Arsinoe Zephyritis, contemporary poems allude to the marital affairs of deities with whom the Lagids were assimilated. The idylls of Theocritus emphasize, within a manifestly Ptolemaic context, the political and religious significance particularly of Aphrodite for matrimony – joining husband and wife with love to beget fair offspring – and for the patrimony – legitimation, succession, and deification. In the next two chapters, I will return to these themes relating to the significance of marriage within the context of the deification of the Ptolemaic Queens.

¹⁵² Theoc. *Id.* XV.110-111: ‘Ελένᾱ εἰκυῖα Ἰ’ Ἀρσινόᾳ; Tondriau 1948a, 19.

¹⁵³ Theoc. *Id.* I.100-103; Rist 1978, 25-27.

¹⁵⁴ Theoc. *Id.* I.105-108; *cf.* *Hymn. Hom.* V: *Ven.* 53, 286; Gow 1950, II: 23-24.

¹⁵⁵ Theoc. *Id.* I.112-113; *cf.* *Hom. Il.* V (“Diomedes’ Aristeia”).

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When assessing the Lagids' marital practices, historians inevitably draw the conclusion that most Ptolemies deviated significantly from the customs of their contemporaries or their Macedonian predecessors. Half of the dynasty's kings were married to their sister, while two were married to their niece, and two others to their cousin. Except for Ptolemy I, only Ptolemy V Epiphanes married outside his royal family. This extreme endogamy contrasts sharply with the exogamous nature of the marital alliances other Hellenistic kings tended to establish. Additionally, whereas the Argeads and Diadochs favored polygamy, subsequent generations were more inclined to prefer one chief wife and to keep additional concubines. At Alexandria, after Ptolemy I, only Ptolemy VIII Physcon may not have been monogamous. Because marriage was considered the legitimate institution to produce an heir and successor to the throne, polygamy could and often did lead to fierce rivalry between half brothers. The endogamy of the Lagids isolated the royal house from foreign influence and simultaneously strengthened the heir's claim to the throne. An important corollary was the increase of the Queen's status, and consequently, I believe, her position of power and authority. By the time of Berenice IV and certainly Cleopatra VII it seems inconsequential from the dynastic perspective with whom the Queen was associated. If the dynastic alliances among the Argeads and Diadochs tended toward exogamy and polygamy, as well as strife among collateral lines, Ptolemaic marital practices tended toward endogamy and monogamy, with rivalry rather among full brothers and sisters.

Having determined that matrimony constituted an essential part in the

¹⁵⁶ Theoc. *Id.* I.109-110; *cf. ibid.* XV.102.

legitimization of the Lagid dynasty, I have reviewed the public celebration of Ptolemaic kings and queens in the remainder of the chapter. As literary descriptions of wedding ceremonies have not survived, we must satisfy ourselves with artistic depictions and poetic allusions. Throughout the Ptolemaic empire, jugate portraits on coins, gems and seals, paired statues in dynastic galleries, ancestor processions scenes on temple reliefs, as well as royal *epithalamia* effectively propagated the dynasty's legitimacy and perpetuity by publicizing its royal couples. Both in Alexandrian poetry and visual arts, the sibling-marriage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II was particularly associated with the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera. Other analogies that were drawn assimilated royal couples with Amun and Hathor, Isis and Osiris, Apollo and Artemis, Aphrodite and Adonis, Heracles and Hebe, even Helen and Menelaus. In other words, I suggest that such religious identifications were for an important part motivated by the sibling marriages of Ptolemaic kings and queens. The Lagids' endogamy, hence, sanctified their matrimony and was instrumental in the apotheosis of the royal couples. In the following two chapters, I will offer my interpretation of the ideological significance of matrimony respectively for the dynasty in general and for the queens in particular. (As stated, the consanguineous nature of the Ptolemies' marriages will be discussed in Part Two.)

III. DYNASTIC SUCCESSION

The Pharaohs of Egypt were considered intermediaries between the human and divine spheres. The intrinsic connection between religion and royal ideology is revealed by the status of the individual ruler as the country's first high priest. Ptolemaic kings, as Egypt's sovereigns, ardently promoted the traditional theology of kingship by embellishing or rebuilding ancient shrines. Thus demonstrating their adherence to Pharaonic traditions, they perforce respected the principle of patrilineal dynastic succession that was fundamental to the concept of Egyptian kingship. The purpose of this chapter is to elucidate the significance of the theme of matrimony in the context of the deification of the kings and queens of the Lagid dynasty. (1.) I will first examine the concept of the Royal *Ka*, the immortal, spiritual essence of sovereignty, which was passed on from father to son, through the mother. (2.) In the next section, I will also consider the *Ka*'s connection with the sacred bulls with which the kings closely identified themselves. I intend to show that the King's divine mother played an important role in the transmission and rejuvenation of kingship – a role that modern scholars tend to leave unexplained. (3.) Furthermore, I will explain how the elevated status of the Lagids' marriage incorporated the dynasty's kings and queens into the Cosmic Order as divine ancestors of the reigning royal couple. The Ptolemaic cult titles, their jugate representation in visual arts and poetry as well as the concomitant identification with divine couples will help to illustrate that royal marriage simultaneously substantiated their divinity and legitimated their offspring's accession to the throne. (4.) Moreover, in

the last section, I will argue that the King's rule was additionally justified through acts of filial fidelity and royal benefactions. Cultic epithets, royal titlature, poetic allusions and several religious identifications will serve as evidence explicating the Lagids' role as bringers of fertility, abundance and prosperity, as saviors safeguarding the country from Chaos. A word of caution may be in place, to warn the reader that, in this chapter, I will offer an interpretation of the dynastic significance of matrimony. In the following chapter, I will then assess its particular significance for Ptolemaic queenship.

1. The Cult of the Royal Ka

According to ancient Egyptian theology, dating back to the legendary Unification of the Two Lands, Cosmic Order (*Ma'at*) was (re-) established by Horus' succession, after his contending for the throne with Seth, the murderer of Osiris.¹ In this myth, which was adamantly promoted in Ptolemaic temples, Horus personified kingship legitimized by dynastic succession that was traced back through the father's line to the sun god Atum-Ra, the patron deity of Lower-Egyptian Heliopolis.² The king's Horus-name, the first part of the royal titlature, expressed the importance of the belief that the pharaoh was the living manifestation of Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, the descendant of Atum-Ra.³ In Upper-Egyptian Thebes a similar doctrine identified the King with the son of

¹ The literature on Horus' paradigmatic role for Egyptian kingship is substantial, *e.g.*, see: *RÄRG* s.v. 'König'; Frankfort 1948, 24-35; Fairman 1958, 74-76; J.G. Griffiths 1960; Koenen 1983, 152-156, 165-171; Goyon 1988, 29-30; Springborg 1990, 3-4.

² *RÄRG* s.v. 'Horus,' p.308, and 'König,' p.384; Frankfort 1948, 106-107, 148-149 and 171; Fairman 1958, 75; Goyon 1988, 30-31; Springborg 1990, 4; Bell 1997, 138.

³ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Horusname'; Frankfort 1948, 32-35.

Amun-Ra and Mut-Hathor, called Khonsu (who was assimilated with Horus).⁴ The doctrine of patrilineal legitimation, the perpetual reincarnation of Horus in the reigning king, was powerfully expressed in the cult of the Royal *Ka*. As it defies straightforward definition, I will describe this spiritual concept in the following paragraphs in so far as it concerns royal ideology.⁵ (The *ka* of Egyptian commoners comes across as a quite different concept.) Temple reliefs will elucidate the significance of the king's conception and nurturing as well as that of the *ka* in his accession, coronation and jubilee. Proceeding from there, in the next section, I will explain the relation of the Royal *Ka* with the *Kamutef* concept, which will clarify references to both the *ka* and to sacred bulls in Ptolemaic titlature. I will endeavor to substantiate that both the Royal *Ka* and the *Kamutef* were intimately connected with the divine mother who effected their perpetual reincarnation and/or rejuvenation.

The most elaborate representation of the Royal *Ka* and the stages of Egyptian kingship are found on the decoration scenes of Opet temple at Thebes (mod. Luxor).⁶ The cult of the divine ruler of Egypt continued there into the Roman period;⁷ in earlier times, Alexander the Great had the Temple's Barque Chapel rebuilt.⁸ According to Lanny Bell, the reliefs depict the "conception and birth of the divine king; his acknowledgement by Amun" as heir, "and nurturing by various goddesses" such as (Isis-) Hathor; "his coronation; his public recognition by the [Theban] Ennead" as successor, and the

⁴ Frankfort 1948, 145, 172 and 180; Bell 1997, 138.

⁵ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Ka'; *LÄ* s.v. 'Ka'; Frankfort 1948, 69-78; Bell 1997, 130-132. [I would like to express my gratitude to John Darnell for discussing the importance of the the Royal *Ka* with me.]

⁶ Bell 1985, *pass.*; Springborg 1990, 64-71 and 73-88; Bell 1997, esp. 137-144.

⁷ Nims 1965, 128.

“renewal of his powers by the celebration of his jubilee festival.”⁹ The King was consequently identified at Opet temple as Horus-Khonsu, the son of Amun-Ra and Mut-Hathor.¹⁰ The Opet temple-scenes as well as Hatshepsut’s temple complex (mod. Deir el-Bahri) and Ptolemaic *mammisis* (Arab. “birth chapels”) illustrate that the Royal *Ka* was conceived of as the King’s spiritual twin, modeled by the ram-headed Khnum on his potter’s wheel, at the instruction of Amun, while (Isis-) Hathor (or the frog-headed goddess of magic Heqat) bestowed both the crown prince and the Royal *Ka* with life (by offering the *anch*-sign to their nostrils).¹¹ The importance of such scenes, I wish to point out, is that they represent the belief that rebirth, reincarnation, and succession were realized *through* the divine mother.¹² Temple-scenes of nurturing, at Opet and elsewhere, show various goddesses suckling the child.¹³ Often these divine nurses are in the shape of cow goddesses, such as Hesat (the “Milk” goddess), Sechathor (“She Who Remembers Horus”), Smithis (Eg. *Semat Urt*, “Great Wild-Cow”) and Hathor, who were considered

⁸ Abd el-Raziq 1984; Hölbl 2001, 85.

⁹ Bell 1985, 255.

¹⁰ Frankfort 1948, 71-72; Springborg 1990, 65.

¹¹ *Dend. Mam.* pl. 4 (E-F); *Edfu Mam.* pl. 13; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Geburtshaus’ and ‘Ka,’ fig. 86; Frankfort 1948, 73, and fig. 23; Brunner 1964, 68-74, pls. 5-6; Bell 1985, 258 and 266; Springborg 1990, 66; Bell 1997, 140 and fig. 49. [The *ka* of commoners was never represented pictorially.]

In my view, it would appear that the crown prince was fashioned in the likeness of the (eternal) Royal *Ka*, rather than *vice versa* as is commonly implied. Even Lanny Bell, who asserts that “the *ka* was not individual-specific,” but “was generic ... personified inherited life force” (1997, 131), still maintains that at Khnum’s potterswheel “the *ka* assumes the shape of the new body it will inhabit” (*ibid.* 142, fig. 49 caption).

¹² Frankfort 1948, 118.

¹³ *LD* IV: 59c; Frankfort 1948, 45 and 172; Bell 1985, 265-266 and fig. 3; Goyon 1988, 34 and fig. 10; Bell 1997, 143-144, and fig. 54 (Philip Arrhidaios).

“Mother of the King (*Mut Nesut*)” or “Mother of the God (*Nether en Mut*).”¹⁴ These scenes further show that kingship was transmitted through the milk of the divine mother’s breast to the suckling young prince. Indeed, not only as young prince, but also in later stages of his reign, the pharaoh was shown suckling his divine mother’s breast to renew his sovereign power.

The first stage of a king’s succession, before the coronation ceremonial, was his accession to the throne of his predecessor.¹⁵ The ritual was observed at sunrise, so that the beginning of the new reign would coincide with the return of the sun.¹⁶ For the sun god Ra was believed to be the divine father (or ancestor) of the pharaoh,¹⁷ who was now designated “Horachty (Horus of the Horizon).”¹⁸ The name given to the accession ritual was “Union of *Ka*’s,” which signified that the deceased king transferred his sovereignty unto his successor.¹⁹ Just as Ra was the *ka* of the pharaoh,²⁰ and just as Osiris had been reincarnated in Horus,²¹ so the deceased king became the *ka* of the living king.²² The

¹⁴ For the title “*mwt-nswt* (𓄎𓅓),” e.g., see: *Pyr.* 729, 1566 and 2003; Troy 1986, C1/14. For the title “*ntr-n-mwt* (𓄎𓅓𓄎),” e.g., see: *LD Text IV*: 60a; *RÄRG s.v.* ‘Kuh’ and ‘Smithis’. [Smithis was worshipped in the Ptolemaic Nechbet-shrine at Eleithiapolis; see: *LD VI*: 81, no. 181.]

¹⁵ Frankfort 1948, 102-104; Fairman 1958, 78-80.

¹⁶ *RÄRG s.v.* ‘König,’ 385; Frankfort 1948, 102; Fairman 1958, 78.

¹⁷ Frankfort 1948, 78; Fairman 1958, 77.

¹⁸ *RÄRG s.v.* ‘Harachte’; Frankfort 1948, 38-39; Aldred 1969, 75; Bell 1985, 256.

¹⁹ Frankfort 1948, 104.

²⁰ *Pyr.* 136-137 (Spoken to the deceased king: “Thy *ka* ... thy father ... [is] Ra”); Frankfort 1948, 78.

²¹ *Pyr.* 582, 586a-b and 1609a-b; Frankfort 1948, 32-35 and 40-45; Fairman 1958, 98-99; Hornung 1971, 147 (= 1982, 154); Bell 1985, 256.

²² *LÄ s.v.* ‘Ka,’ 276; Frankfort 1948, 114.

nature of the ritual “Union of *Ka*’s,” moreover, was thought of as an embrace – hence word “*ka*” was written with a sign of outstretched arms (𓂏).²³ Indeed, the demiurge Atum was said to have embraced the *ka* of the first deities as an act of creation.²⁴ At the coronation ceremony Atum or Amun (-Ra) confirmed the pharaoh’s succession to the Horus-throne and transformed the human ruler into the “Foremost of All the Living *Ka*’s (*Chenet Kau Anch Nebu*).”²⁵ Not only did the king join with the Royal *Ka*; he was now united with the (dignity or office of) kingship shared by all his predecessors.²⁶ This transformation was not merely an act that legitimized an individual king’s reign, rather, it validated the permanence of kingship as a perpetual succession of Horus incarnations. Indeed, after the coronation scenes in Opet temple, a relief shows that, as the pharaoh and the Royal *Ka* enter the Barque Chapel of Alexander the Great, the pharaoh is addressed as “Foremost of All Living *Ka*’s,” rather than by his usual Horus name, while the *Ka* that follows bears a banner with the king’s Horus name.²⁷ As the “Living Horus,” the pharaoh was the “Foremost of All Living *Ka*’s,” the latest embodiment of sovereignty descending from Amun or Atum (-Ra) to maintain Cosmic Order. During the Festival of Jubilation (about which more in Part Four), the union of the human ruler with the immortal Royal *Ka* was revitalized to ward off the dangers of Chaos once more. It should here be remarked that the pharaoh sacrificed calves to Sechathor in the opening ceremony of the

²³ *LÄ* s.v. ‘Ka,’ 275; Frankfort 1948, 62-63 and 133-135; Springborg 1990, 89-117.

²⁴ *Pyr.* 149c-d; Frankfort 1948, 135; Springborg 1990, 92.

²⁵ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Krönung’; Bell 1985, 267, 278 and fig. 8; Springborg 1990, 65 and 67.

²⁶ Bell 1985, 257 and 258; Springborg 1990, 70-71; Bell 1997, 140.

²⁷ Bell 1985, 278 and fig. 7; cf. Frankfort 1948, 75-76.

Jubilee.²⁸ It would thus appear that the concept of the Royal *Ka* (𓂏) was associated, not only with the act of embracing (𓂏), but also with the womb (𓂏), the horns of the Hathoric crown (𓂏) that enclosed the sun-disc (𓂏), and with the act of jubilation (𓂏).²⁹ The Royal *Ka* can best be understood, then, as an immortal life force that passes on from father to son, from predecessor to successor – yet *through* the active involvement of the mother.

2. The Bull of His Mother

The agent responsible for the actual transmission of the Royal *Ka* and hence the rejuvenation of kingship was the *Kamutef* (Gk. *Kamephis*) – initially a manifestation of the ithyphallic Min, and subsequently also of Amun.³⁰ This “Bull of His Mother,” namely, fathered his own reincarnation with his wife Mut-Hathor, who was thus the mother of his reborn self, but who was also the daughter of his primordial being.³¹ Perhaps the unusual (*viz.*, Old-Kingdom) designation of Arsinoe II Philadelphus as “Daughter of the *Merhu* [anointed?] Bull” may be explained as an allusion to this relationship.³² The *Kamutef* concept, namely, expresses the perpetual regeneration of

²⁸ Frankfort 1948, 44, 82 and 166.

²⁹ Frankfort 1948, 166; Troy 1986, 18-19; Springborg 1990, 89-117. [NB: the verb *ꜣms*, “to be joyful” is written with the determinative sign of a cow turning to her suckling calf (𓂏).]

³⁰ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Kamutef’; *LÄ* s.v. ‘Kamutef’; Frankfort 1948, 45, 89 and 188-189; Bell 1985, 258; Springborg 1990, 66, 151 and 175.

³¹ Bell 1985, 259.

³² *Urk* II: 72 l. 2: “*s:t Mrḥw-k*”; Troy 1986, 95 and A1/9.

kingship through the continuous transfer of the Royal *Ka*.³³ Even though different hieroglyphs were used for the spiritual entity (𐀀) and for the word “bull” (𐀓), their etymological relation (*ka*) evidently derives from an original “reproductive” or “regenerative” connotation.³⁴ Consequently, the epithet “Strong *Ka* of Ra (*Ouser-Ka-R‘a*)” in the throne-names of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, Ptolemy IV Philopator and Ptolemy V Epiphanes, as well as the age-old epithet “Victorious Bull (*Ka-Nechet*)” in the Horus-names of Philip III Arrhidaeus, Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, Ptolemy X Alexander, Ptolemy XII Auletes, and Caesarion expressed the same belief that the king was endowed with continually rejuvenating divine power.³⁵ Titulary references to sacred bulls, such as Apis, similarly indicate the divine incarnation of the Ptolemaic kings. Thus, Ptolemy VI Philometor was styled “Living Twin of Apis (*Heter-Hapi-anch*)”,³⁶ and his sister-wife Cleopatra II “Wife of the Twin of Apis (*Hemet-n-Heter-Hapi*)”;³⁷ while Ptolemy VIII Physcon, Ptolemy IX Lathyrus, Ptolemy X Alexander, and Ptolemy XII Auletes were identified with the sacred bull of Memphis in their respective Horus-names.³⁸ That Apis was believed to be the “Living Soul of Ptah (*Ba-Anch-Pteh*)”, the chief god of Memphis, elucidates why most kings from Ptolemy III Euergetes through Ptolemy XII Auletes

³³ Frankfort 1948, 45; Bell 1985, 259.

³⁴ *Pyr.* 1313; cf. Diod. I.85; *LÄ* s.v. ‘Ka,’ 275; Bell 1985, 259; Springborg 1990, 151; Bell 1997, 282 n. 2. [Notice, furthermore, that “bull” (*ka*) is commonly written with the phallus sign (𐀓), and that the feminine *ka.t* means “womb,” “vulva” or “vagina” (𐀓).]

³⁵ For the epithet “*wsr-ka-R‘* (𐀓𐀀𐀓),” e.g., see: *Urk.* II: 63, 84 and 169-170. For the epithet “*ka-nht* (𐀓𐀓𐀓),” e.g., see: *LD* IV: 53a; *Urk* II: 10; *LdR* IV: 359 (XLV). The Ptolemaic titlature is collected in: von Beckerath 1984, 118-122 (transliterated) and 285-295 (hieroglyphic).

³⁶ *LD* IV: 27b (*htr-Hp-nh*); von Beckerath 1984, 119 and 290.

³⁷ *LD* IV: 23a-b (*hm.t-n-htr-Hp*); Troy 1986, C2/16. [This title is unique to Cleopatra II.]

³⁸ *LD* IV: 39b and 49b; *LD Text* IV: 68; *LdR* IV: 359 (XLV).; von Beckerath 1984, 120-121 and 291-293.

received the Gold-Falcon epithet “Lord of Jubilee Festivals, like Ptah (*Neb Habu-Sed mi Pteh*).”³⁹ For it conveyed the belief that the spiritual essence of Ptah rejuvenated in the pharaoh. The identifications with Victorious Bulls revealed the power of Ptolemaic kings to renew kingship through the patrilineal transference of the Royal *Ka* derived from the sun-god Ra.

Like their Pharaonic predecessors, the Ptolemaic kings were considered incarnations of Horus, imbued with the immortal Royal *Ka*. The Heliopolitan theology placed particular stress on the patrilineal succession through which the Royal *Ka* was transmitted from (Atum or Amun-) Ra through Geb and Osiris. At Opet temple the triad Amun-Ra, Mut-Hathor and Khonsu-Horus was emphasized, while expressing the same notion of eternal reincarnation of the “Foremost of All Living *Ka*’s” in the “Living Horus,” *viz.* the pharaoh. The role of the divine mother, mostly overlooked by historians, involved the rejuvenation of kingship, especially by feeding the young prince the milk from her breast, through which the Royal *Ka* revived in him. The Ptolemies demonstrated their adherence to this theological conception of sovereignty in their titulary, through references to the *ka* as well as to the *Kamutef* concept. The king’s identification with sacred bulls such as Apis similarly expressed the belief that the reigning pharaoh was the earthly embodiment of the Royal *Ka*. Dynastic succession, to be sure, not only justified the reign of an individual king (or invalidated rival claims), but also ensured the protection of *Ma’at* against the dangers of Chaos.

³⁹ For the epithet “*nb-hꜥbw-šd-mi-Pth*,” *e.g.* see: *LD* IV: 27b, 39b and 49b; *Urk.* II: 121, 169-170; von Beckerath 1984, 118-121 and 288-293.

next added to the cult (in 243 BCE), with the epithet *Theoi Euergetai*.⁴³ Subsequently, Ptolemy IV and his sister-wife Arsinoe III were included as the *Theoi Philopatores* (in 216/5 BCE).⁴⁴ The ruler cult underwent a significant modification, when Ptolemy I and Berenice I were finally inserted in the cult of Alexander as the *Theoi Soteres* (in 215/4 BCE).⁴⁵ Henceforward the cult emphasized the dynastic lineage of the royal couples. After his marriage to Cleopatra I, Ptolemy V and his wife were incorporated as the *Theoi Epiphaneis* (194/3 BCE),⁴⁶ while their children Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II were eventually included as the *Theoi Philometores* (in 175/4 BCE).⁴⁷ Later generations were added to the Alexandrian cult with epithets that notably referred back to their predecessors, thus further underscoring the dynastic importance of the cult titles. Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra III were worshipped as *Theoi Euergetai*;⁴⁸ Ptolemy IX and

⁴³ E.g., see: *PSI* IV: 389 (Θεοὶ Εὐεργέται); *P.dem. BM Andrews* 44 (*ntr.wj mnḥ.wj*); *Urk.* II: 122 (𐤎𐤌𐤕𐤍𐤏𐤕𐤍); Otto 1905-8, I: 177-179; Pestman 1967, 28 and 134-135; Clarysse and van der Veken 1983, 10-14, nos. 44b-69a; Koenen 1993, 52-54; Minas 2000, 102-103; Huß 2001, 337-338 and 379-380.

⁴⁴ E.g., see: *BGU* VI: 1283 (Θεοὶ Φιλοπατόρες); *P.dem. Chrestom.* 369-374 (*ntr.wj mr.wj-ḥ*); *Urk.* II: 173 l. 6 (𐤎𐤌𐤕𐤍𐤏𐤕𐤍); Otto 1905-8, I: 179-181; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 211; Pestman 1967, 36 and 135-136; Clarysse and van der Veken 1983, 14-18, nos. 69b-86a; Koenen 1993, 54; Minas 2000, 107-112; Hölbl 2001, 169-171; Huß 2001, 452-454.

⁴⁵ E.g., see: *BGU* VI: 1276 (Θεοὶ Σωτήρες); *P.dem. BM Andrews* 16 (*ntr.wj ndtḥ.wj*); *Urk.* II: 155-156 (𐤎𐤌𐤕𐤍𐤏𐤕𐤍); Otto 1905-8, I: 143-148; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 194-195 and 202-205; Pestman 1967, 14 and 135-136; Koenen 1993, 54-55; Minas 2000, 112-114; Hölbl 2001, 93-96 and 169; Huß 2001, 321 and 452.

⁴⁶ E.g., see: *BGU* X: 1967 (Θεοὶ Ἐπιφανεῖς); *P.dem. Hamb. D.35* (*ntr.wj pr.wj*); *LD* IV: 22c (𐤎𐤌𐤕𐤍𐤏𐤕𐤍); Otto 1905-8, I: 181-183; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 198; Pestman 1967, 42 and 137-138; Clarysse and van der Veken 1983, 18-23, nos. 86b-110a; Lanciers 1986, 62; Koenen 1993, 48-50, 52-53, 58-61 and 65; Minas 2000, 123; Hölbl 2001, 166 and 171; Huß 2001, 514 and 529.

⁴⁷ E.g., see: *BGU* XIV: 2382 (Θεοὶ Φιλομητόρες); *P.dem. JARCE* 3 (1964): 91-103 (*ntr.wj mr.wj-mw.ḥ*); *LD* IV: 23e (𐤎𐤌𐤕𐤍𐤏𐤕𐤍); Otto 1905-8, I: 182; Pestman 1967, 48 and 139-144; Clarysse and van der Veken 1983, 24-31, nos. 110b-145a; Koenen 1993, 64-65; Minas 2000, 134-137; Hölbl 2001, 169 and 172; Huß 2001, 541 and 570.

⁴⁸ Otto 1905-8, I: 182; Pestman 1967, 62 and 144-149; Clarysse and van der Veken 1983, 32-34, nos. 145c-174a; Minas 2000, 144-145; Hölbl 2001, 285-286; Huß 2001, 600 and 623.

Ptolemy X with their respective spouses received the title *Theoi Philometores Soteres*;⁴⁹ Ptolemy XII Auletes and Cleopatra VI Tryphaena were known together as *Theoi Philopatores Philadelphoi*;⁵⁰ and Cleopatra VII took the title *Philopator* for herself and her successive joint-rulers.⁵¹ A quick glance at the most common cult titles, especially “Mother-Loving” and “Father-Loving,” at once indicates the equivocal importance of the Lagids’ familial relations. The significance of these and other epithets will become clear in the following paragraphs.

Such a paired presentation of the members of the Lagid dynasty was particularly illustrated on temple-scenes of ancestor processions. It should be noted that the prevalence of such ancestor scenes, and especially the depiction of the female members of the royal house, was unprecedented in Pharaonic tradition. As discussed in the preceding chapter, these temple-scenes propagated the divinity of the living sovereign’s ancestors and hence incorporated him into the unbroken lineage of kings who had ruled over Egypt, descending through Horus and Osiris ultimately from the demiurge Atum or Amun. His accession to the throne was justified, his rule legitimized, because he was the heir of his divine parents, the living embodiment of the Royal *Ka* and the earthly incarnation of Horus.⁵² From the time of the third Ptolemy, the Lagid kings were officially proclaimed “heir” of (both) their divine parents in their respective throne

⁴⁹ Otto 1905-8, I: 182; Pestman 1967, 66-68, 72 and 150-157; Clarysse and van der Veken 1983, 34-38, nos. 175-207; Minas 2000, 155 and 157-160; Hölbl 2001, 286-287; Huß 2001, 628-632 and 653.

⁵⁰ IJsewijn 1961, 121; Bloedow 1963, 83; Pestman 1967, 78; Criscuolo 1990, 95; Minas 2000, 20-23; Hölbl 2001, 223; Huß 2001, 674-675.

⁵¹ Pestman 1967, 82; Minas 2000, 178-179; Huß 2001, 727.

⁵² Also, see: Quaegebeur 1989a, 98, nn. 27-28; Koenen 1993, 44-45.

names.⁵³ It is particularly in this context that the filial piety of the cult title “Philopator” can be understood, as it emphasized the importance of patrilineal succession. As we will see in the next chapter, it is all the more remarkable that the epithet “Philometor,” with its matrilineal association, was actually more frequent than “Philopator.” The poetry of Theocritus underscores the same theme of the transmission of divinity and/or royalty. His *Encomium in Ptolemaeum*, for instance, celebrates Ptolemy I, son of Lagus, and Alexander the Great, as well as Hercules and Zeus as forefathers of the second Ptolemy. More subtle are references to the marriage and/or parentage of deities with whom the Lagids were identified, such as the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera,⁵⁴ the parents of Heracliscus (identified with Harpocrates, the paradigmatic crown-prince),⁵⁵ or those of Dionysus (identified with Osiris).⁵⁶ What these poems have in common with the temple-scenes of ancestor processions is the representation of the Ptolemaic King as the heir of divine parents.

The customary presence of the Ptolemaic queen at the side of her spouse on temple-scenes – often overlooked by modern scholars – notably suggests the importance of the king’s marital status. The jugate representation of royal couples on coins, gems,

⁵³ E.g., see: *Urk.* II: 121 (Ptolemy III: *iw^c-n-ntr.wj-šn.w*); *Mon. div. rec.* 25 (Ptolemy IV: *iw^c-n-ntr.wj-mnh.wj*); *Urk.* II: 169-170 (Ptolemy V: *iw^c-n-ntr.wj-mr-it*); *LD* IV: 23d (Ptolemy VI: *iw^c-ntr.wj-pr.wj*); *LD* IV: 39b (Ptolemy VIII: *iw^c-n-ntr.wj-pr.wj*); *LdR* IV: 358, XLII (Ptolemy IX: *iw^c-ntr.wj-mnh.wj*); *LD* IV: 44b (Ptolemy X: *iw^c-n-ntr-mnh-ntr.t-mnh.t-s.t-R^c*, “Heir of the Beneficent God and the Beneficent Goddess, the Daughter of Ra”); *LD* IV: 49b (Ptolemy XII: *iw^c-n-pj-ntr-nti-nhm*); von Beckerath 1984, 118-121.

⁵⁴ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.128-134; cf. *id.* XV.64; Tondriau 1948a, 19; *id.* 1948b, 128-131; Gow 1950, II: 283; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 60-63, 75-83; Schwinge 1989, 60-61; J. B. Burton 1995, 152-153; Cameron 1995, 20-22; Hunter 2003, 191-195.

⁵⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XXIV.79-87; Tondriau 1948b, 130-131 and 136; Koenen 1977, 79-86; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 66, 91-99; J. B. Burton 1995, 73 and 152; Cameron 1995, 53-63.

⁵⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XXVI.6 and 35; Tondriau 1948b, 132 and 135-143; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 98-104.

seals, statues and reliefs, as surveyed above, similarly demonstrate this importance.⁵⁷ As I have proposed, such depictions also seem to imply the paired identification of Lagid couples with deities such as Zeus and Hera or Dione, Isis and Osiris, Demeter and Dionysus. To this list may be added other divine couples with whom Ptolemaic kings and queens were identified, such as Aphrodite and Adonis,⁵⁸ Hathor and Amun-Ra (or another chief local deity, *e.g.*, Ptah of Memphis),⁵⁹ Hercules and Hebe,⁶⁰ Agathodaemon and Agathe Tyche,⁶¹ and perhaps Aeon Plutonium and Persephone (about which more below). Theocritus' *Encomium* once more provides an explicit rationale for the propagation of the matrimony of the Lagids: namely, that marriage is the legitimate institution for producing an heir and successor to the throne, a son who resembles his father.⁶² Both Theocritus and Callimachus, furthermore, allude with apparent delight to the pleasure kings derived from joining with their wife on the bridal couch.⁶³ If we call to mind the historical context of the dynastic practices of contemporary kingdoms, the Lagids' preoccupation with their paired representation becomes evident. Elevating their royal weddings to the status of a *hieros gamos*, they at once promoted their offspring as rightful heirs to their office. As such, the Lagids' marriage was an act that justified their own divine nature as well as it legitimized their children's succession. Simultaneously, it

⁵⁷ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 3.

⁵⁸ Theoc. *Id.* XV.100-105; Tondriau 1948a, 14, 16-18, 21, 23, and 26-29; Goukowsky 1992, 159.

⁵⁹ Tondriau 1948a, 25, 27 and 29; *id.* 1948b, 143-144.

⁶⁰ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.32-33; Tondriau 1948b, 130-131 and 136; Hunter 2003, 123-124.

⁶¹ Taylor 1931, 31; Tondriau 1948a, 15 and 21; *id.* 1948b, 129; Merkelbach 1963, 45; D. B. Thompson 1973, *pass.*; Quaegebeur 1983, 311-312; Koenen 1993, 27 and n. 4.

⁶² Theoc. *Id.* XVII.44; Gow 1950, II: 334; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 54; Hunter 2003, 132-133.

invalidated potential rival claims to the throne. Another significant consequence of the exaltation of the Lagids' royal couples was the elevation of the queens to a position of equality with the Ptolemaic kings.

In the official cults at Alexandria and the other major religious sites, Ptolemaic kings and queens were worshipped together with epithets such as *Philadelphus*, *Philometor* and *Philopator*, that emphasized familial and dynastic relations. Similar jugate representations in various artistic media, from coins to poetry to temples, manifested the Lagid dynasty as an unbroken succession of royal couples elevated to the status of divine ancestors of the reigning king and queen. This exaltation of the Lagids' *hieros gamos* proclaimed royal matrimony as the legitimating institution that justified the divine rule of the king and queen as well as their heir's succession. As such, the Lagids' marital status became a condition that branded rival claims by pretenders as illegitimate. The position of Ptolemaic queens as spouse of the king is of undeniable dynastic significance, to which I will return in the following chapter.

4. The Benefactions of Kings

Having confirmed that in Ptolemaic ideology matrimony did legitimate the royal succession of the heir after his father's decease, it may be advantageous to examine how that ideology further justified the reign of the Lagid dynasty. The cult epithets *Philopator* and *Philometor*, *Soter* and *Euergetes*, *Epiphanes* and *Eucharistus* will elucidate the close connection between filial piety and royal benefactions. Worshipping ancestors, defeating enemies, placating the gods, maintaining order, and sustaining prosperity were all deeds

⁶³ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.34-44 and 128-130; *cf. ibid.* 131-124; *id.* XV.127-131; Catull. LXVI.11-14.

that were considered to safeguard the country. In addition to Ptolemaic titulary, I will allude to Theocritus' *Encomium*, coinage issued by Ptolemy III and Ptolemy VIII, and I will address several religious identifications. The argument in this section will be that the king manifested his status as his parents' legitimate successor – *viz.*, as the Living Horus, son of Isis and Osiris – through acts of beneficent salvation bestowed for the welfare of the populace.

The Ptolemaic cult titles “*Philopator* (Father-Loving)” and “*Philometor* (Mother-Loving)” conveyed the importance of filial fidelity. One of the first acts of the Egyptian king was conducting the funerary ceremony of his predecessor.⁶⁴ Such an act confirmed his position as true heir to the throne. As successor to the Argead house, Ptolemy I, son of Lagus, emphasized his connections with Alexander the Great to strengthen his claim to kingship.⁶⁵ He had hijacked Alexander's funerary cortege, had his mummified remains interred in Memphis, and eventually built a magnificent tomb (*sema*) for him within the palace complex at the new capital Alexandria.⁶⁶ Adjacent to this tomb of Alexander, the second Ptolemy erected a mortuary chapel for his deceased parents, and Ptolemy IV constructed a pyramidal monument (*mnema*) containing Alexander's sarcophagus as well as the urns of his ancestors.⁶⁷ The site housed the eponymous priest(s) and thus became

⁶⁴ *E.g.*, see: Frankfort 1948, 110-122; Fraser 1972, I: 231-232; Koenen 1983, 165-168; Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 153-154.

⁶⁵ *E.g.*, see: Koenen 1993, 44-45; Hazzard 2000, 45; Hölbl 2001, 15; Huß 2001, 109-110, 215-217.

⁶⁶ Diod. XVIII.xxviii.3; Arr. *Alex.* I.28; Paus. I.vi.1-3 and vii.1; Seibert 1969, 66-67 and 97-118 (*pass.*); *RE* s.v. ‘Ptolemaion,’ no. 1, XXXIII(1): 1590, and s.v. ‘Ptolemaios,’ no. 18, XXXIII(1): 1610; Otto 1905-8, I: 139-140; Fraser 1972, I: 16; Ellis 1994, 29 and 34-35; Empereur 1998, 145-153; Hölbl 2001, 15 and 93-94; Huß 2001, 237-238.

⁶⁷ Strabo XVII.i.8 (794); Suet. *Aug.* XVIII; Zen. III.94; ps.-Callisth. III.xxxiv; *IG* XII.1: 33; *RE* s.v. ‘Ptolemaion,’ no. 1, XXXIII(1): 1591; Hölbl 2001, 169-170.

the heart of the dynastic cult.⁶⁸ The paired representations of Ptolemaic kings and queens on temple-scenes, as discussed in the previous section, further evince the ideological importance of ancestor worship for the royal house.

The connection between filial fidelity and the epithet “*Soter* (Savior)” becomes apparent when one realizes that the Egyptian version of the title, *Nedjety*, refers to the Horus-form Harendotes (“Horus the Savior of His Father”).⁶⁹ This manifestation of Horus not only avenged his father’s murder by defeating the pretender Seth, but also protected Osiris in death. Harendotes was in essence identical with Harsiesis (“Horus the Son of Isis”) who was assimilated with Min at Memphis. Just as Min was the *Kamutef*, so Horus was the *Iunmutef* (“Pillar of His Mother”), and both were the paragon of the pharaoh.⁷⁰ In the Alexander Romance, Alexander the Great thus appears as the “Savior of His Father” – viz., his predecessor Pharaoh Nectanebo II (r. 360-343 BCE) (ignoring the Persian Great King Darius III) rather than the Macedonian king Philip II.⁷¹ The Raphia decree praised the victorious Ptolemy IV “*Philopator* (Father-Loving)” as Harsiesis, and a statue of the King was erected in the guise of Harendotes “Beautiful of Victory.”⁷² Similarly, the Rosetta stone praised Ptolemy V for defending his father and

⁶⁸ Otto 1905-8, I: 138-160; Peremans 1973, 60-61; Hölbl 2001, 94-95.

⁶⁹ *Pyr.* 633, 1406, 1685 (*Hr-nd-ît=f*); *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Harendotes’; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 345; Koenen 1983, 156 and 165-167; *id.* 1993, 61 and 63-64; Hölbl 2001, 111.

⁷⁰ J.G. Griffiths 1970, 345; *cf.* *Urk.* II: 121: (Ptolemy III: *ndtî-ntr.w*, “Savior of the Gods”); *I. Raph.* (Ptolemy IV: *ndtî-n-hnmmt*, “Savior of Humanity”); Koenen 1983, 152 n. 27.

⁷¹ Ps.-Callisth. I.iv-viii (Alexander is three times called ἐκδικος, “avenger”); Koenen 1983, 167; *id.* 1993, 63; Hölbl 2001, 79.

⁷² *I. Raph. dem. ll.* 12 (*r h pꜣ gj n smꜣ nj=f sꜣb.w r.îr Hr pꜣ Îs.tꜣ hꜣ.t*) and 32 (*Pr-ꜣ n Ptrwmjꜣ ‘nh d.t mr Îs... Hr-nd-ît=f nꜣ-‘n nj=f knkn*); Koenen 1959, 109; Merkelbach 1963, 23-24, n. 57; Thissen 1966, 55, 67-69; Koenen 1993, 63; Huß 2001, 385-386; *infra* Pt. Four, ch. III, § 4, p. 456, n. 102.

his kingdom against rebels who violated sanctuaries.⁷³ In short, to manifest himself as the true successor of his predecessor, the Egyptian King avenged his father, especially by defeating his father's enemies.

The pharaoh was the protector of Egypt.⁷⁴ Consequently, his bravery and military achievements were ardently glorified – e.g., defeating pretenders, suppressing rebellions, expelling invading foreigners, vanquishing enemies.⁷⁵ The elaborate royal titulature of Ptolemy III “*Euergetes* (Benefactor)” effectively expressed these associations of salvation, benefaction, protection and patrilineal succession:

Horus Names:

- Anointed by the Gods, Foremost of His People,
- Who Received Kingship from His Father;
- Foremost of Strength, Achieving the Safety of His Subjects;

Two Ladies Name:

- Brave Savior of the Gods, Beneficent Wall of Egypt;

Gold Falcon Name:

- Achieving Success, Lord of Jubilee Festivals like Ptah, Sovereign like Ra;

Throne Name:

- Heir of the Sibling Gods, Elect of Ra, Living Scepter [*scil.*, Image] of Amun

Personal Name:

- Ptolemy, Living Forever, Beloved of Ptah.⁷⁶

⁷³ *Urk.* II: 183 *dem.* l. 16 (*iw-w hꜣꜣ pꜣ mjt n Pr-ꜣ irm pꜣj-f jt*); *OGIS* 90 ll. 27-28 (ἐπαμυνῶν τῶ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ βασιλείᾳ); Koenen 1993, 63-64.

⁷⁴ *Urk* II: 8 (Alexander the Great: “Protector of Egypt”); von Beckerath 1984, 117; Hölbl 2001, 79.

⁷⁵ E.g., see: *LD* IV: 3a and 4a + *Thes. Inscr.* 852 (Alexander the Great: “Brave Ruler Who Expells Foreigners”); Naville 1890, 62 (Ptolemy I: “Foremost in Strength, Brave King”); *Urk.* II: 84 (Ptolemy II: “Brave Youth,” [*scil.*, Harendotes] “Foremost of Strength”); Koenen 1983, 149-150 and n. 21; *id.* 1993, 63-64; von Beckerath 1984, 118-121; Hölbl 2001, 79-80; Tait 2003, 6.

⁷⁶ *Urk.* II: 121 and 157 (*hkn-ntr.w rmjt-hꜣꜣ m-šsp-f-nšjt-m-ꜣ-it-f, wr-phꜣti iri-ꜣdt-m-bꜣn.w=f, knw ndti-ntr.w inb-mnh-n-Tꜣmri, i iri-ꜣht nb-hꜣbw-šd mi-Pth itj-mi-Rꜣ, iwꜣ-n-ntr.wj-šn.wj štp-(n)-Rꜣ šhm-nh-n-İmn, Ptwlmjꜣꜣ nh-dt mri-Pth*); von Beckerath 1984, 118; Hölbl 2001, 80; cf. Koenen 1993, 48-50, 57-61; Tait 2003, 4-6; *infra* Pt. Four, ch. II, § 1, p. 405, n. 12 (on the royal titulature of Ptolemy V).

Additional benefactions that kings bestowed for the salvation of the populace included founding or embellishing sanctuaries, offering sacrifices to the gods, providing for religious festivities, donating grants to the people, and upholding justice, law and order.⁷⁷ Through such beneficence, the King manifested himself as the true heir and successor of his father. Hence, Ptolemy V received the cult title “*Epiphanes* (Manifest)” in the Upper-Egyptian priesthood shortly after the offensive against the rival Pharaoh Anch-Onnophris turned successful.⁷⁸ The King was simultaneously incorporated into the Alexandrian priesthood as “*Eucharistus* (Charitable).”⁷⁹ These various epithets, then, expressed the royal ideology that the King was legitimate successor of his predecessors and that he was the divine savior and benefactor of the populace.

We once more turn to Theocritus’ *Encomium in Ptolemaeum* for a clarification of the significance of the King’s beneficence. After celebrating Ptolemy’s good fortune and military achievements, as well as Egypt’s fertile Nile valley and myriad cities, the poet added:

In prosperity he could outweigh all other kings,
so much comes each day into his rich household
from all sides, and people manage business at ease.
Not a single foe crosses the teeming Nile afoot
to raise a war cry in other folks’ hamlets,
none drives his swift ship upon the shore
to raid Egyptians’ cattle with armed violence,

⁷⁷ E.g., see: Frankfort 1948, 51-60; Nock 1928 = 1972, I: 152-156; Bringmann 1993, 7-24; Koenen 1993, esp. 61-69; Hölbl 2001, 77-98 and 111-112.

⁷⁸ E.g., see: *Urk.* II: 172 l. 8 (Ἐπιφανής); *P. dem. Receuil* 8; *P. dem. Schreibertrad.* 26 (*pꜣ nṯr ntj pr*, lit. “The God Who Appears”); *Urk.* II: 172 l. 8 (*ntr pr*, lit. “Appearing God”); Nock 1928 = 1972, I: 154-155; Tondriau 1948d, 171-172; Koenen 1977, 74-76; *id.* 1993, 65; Hazzard 1995b, 429-430; Minas 2000, 121-125; Hölbl 2001, 171; Huß 2001, 529.

⁷⁹ E.g., see: *Urk.* II: 172 l. 8 (Εὐχάριστος); *P. dem. Receuil* 8; *P. dem. Schreibertrad.* 26 (*ntj ir* [or *nꜣ-ʿn tꜣj=f*] *md-nfr.t*); *Urk.* II: 172 l. 8 *etc.* (*nb nfr.w*, lit. “Lord of Beauty or Perfection”); Pestman 1967, 42; Koenen 1983, 157; *id.* 1993, 65; Minas 2000, 123-124; Huß 2001, 530.

for such a man sits enthroned in broad plains,
gold-haired Ptolemy, who knows to wield a spear
and whose chiefest care is to guard all his heritage,
as a good king should, and some he acquires himself.⁸⁰

Theocritus continued to praise his King for his largesse, for offering to the gods and embellishing the temples, for sponsoring the festivals of Dionysus, for founding shrines for his parents, and finally for wedding his sister. The essence of the King's beneficent salvation, his *soteria* or *euergesia*, was to safeguard the country's prosperity. By the blessing of Zeus (-Ammon, Amun), Egypt's fertility was proverbial:

Myriad mainlands and their myriad tribes make
crops sprout to ripeness owing to Zeus' showers,
but none grows so much as the plains of Egypt,
when the gushing Nile soaks the clod and breaks it.⁸¹

As the descendant of Zeus and Heracles (*viz.*, Amun and Harpocrates), the King protected the general well being of his subjects.

In addition to Ptolemaic epithets, royal titlature, and Theocritus' poetry, religious identifications elucidate the ideological significance of royal benefaction. Andrew Alföldi has interpreted the remarkable coinage of Ptolemy III and Ptolemy VIII, who both took the cult epithet *Euergetes*, as an identification of the King with Aeon

⁸⁰ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.95-105 (ὄλβω μὲν πάντας κε καταβρίθοι βασιλῆας· ἰ τόσσον ἐπ' ἄμαρ ἕκαστον ἐς ἀφνεὸν ἔρχεται οἶκον ἰ παντοθε. λαοὶ δ' ἔργα περιστέλλουσιν ἕκῃλοι· ἰ οὐ γὰρ τις δηίων πολυκῆτεα Νεῖλον ὑπερβάς ἰ πεζὸς ἐν ἀλλοτρίαισι βοᾶν ἐστάσατο κώμαις, ἰ οὐδέ τις αἰγιαλόνδε θεᾶς ἐξήλατο ναὸς ἰ θωρηχθεὶς ἐπὶ βουσὶν ἀνάρσιος Αἰγυπτίῃσιν· ἰ τοῖος ἀνὴρ πλατέεσσιν ἐνίδρυται πεδίοισι ἰ ξανθοκόμας Πτολεμαῖος, ἐπιστάμενος δόρυ πάλλειν, ἰ ᾧ ἐπίπαγχυ μέλει πατρώια πάντα φυλάσσαι· ἰ οἷ ἄγαθῷ βασιλῇ, τὰ δὲ κτεατίζεται αὐτός); Gow 1950, II: 341-342; Hunter 2003, 170-178.

⁸¹ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.77-80 (μυρίαὶ ἄπειροί τε καὶ ἔθνεα μυρία φωτῶν ἰ λήιον ἀλδήσκουσιν ὀφελόμενοι Διὸς ὄμβρω, ἰ ἀλλ' οὐτὶς τόσα φύει ὅσα χθαμαλὰ Αἴγυπτος, ἰ Νεῖλος ἀναβλύζων διερὰν ὅτε βώλακα θρύπτει); Gow 1950, II: 338; Hunter 2003, 153-157.

Plutonium (“Eternity of Opulence”).⁸² This coinage portrays the King with a crown of sun rays, dressed in *aegis*, and carrying a trident. These attributes are customarily associated with Helios, Zeus and Poseidon, respectively. This iconography would seem to represent the King as *Pankratôr*, ruler of the sky, land and sea; but according to Alföldi, it also point to an assimilation with the god of “Eternal Prosperity.” In the common era, the author Epiphanius (*ca.* 315-403 CE) relates, Alexandrians celebrated the birth of Aeon (assimilated with Harpocrates)⁸³ in the sanctuary of Persephone on the night of 10/11 Tybi (*viz.*, 5/6 January).⁸⁴ As, among others, Reinhold Merkelbach and Ludwig Koenen observe, this date coincided not only with the later Christian festival of Epiphany, but also and more importantly with the traditional celebration of the Ptolemaic *Basilea* (on 10-12 Dystros; *i.e.*, 6-8 January).⁸⁵ That festival itself was a continuation of the celebration of Alexander’s assumption of Egypt’s throne. The close association between Aeon and Ptolemaic kingship illustrates well the ideology that the fertility of the land was the King’s vital benefaction.

A similar notion was expressed with the identification of Ptolemaic kings and queens with Agathodaemon and Agathe Tyche (resp., “Good Spirit” and “Good Fortune”). At Alexandria, the city’s patron deity was Agathodaemon, who was closely

⁸² Alföldi 1977, 1-9; also, see: Smith 1988, xiii, 44 and 91, pl. 75, ill. 9 and 17; *infra* Pt. Four, ch. II, § 2, p. 416, n. 59.

⁸³ Through the identification of Pluto-Hades with Osiris (as God of the Underworld), the child of Kore-Persephone (identified with Isis) was assimilated with Harpocrates (*Hr-p̄-hrd̄*, “Horus the Child”); *cf.* ps.-Callisth. I. xxxiii. 5 (Sarapis and “maiden”).

⁸⁴ Epiph. *Panar. haer.* LI. xxii. 8-10 (II: 285-286, ed. Holl); Koenen 1993, 77; Merkelbach 1995, 184; *infra* Pt. Four, ch. II, § 2, p. 416, n. 60.

⁸⁵ *IG* II(2): 1367; *id.* II/III.² (3): 3779 (Alexandria, *ca.* 310 BCE); *cf.* Arr. *Anab.* III.v.2; Merkelbach 1963, 45-50 and 245-250; Koenen 1977, 29-32, 57 and 72; *id.* 1993, 73-77; Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 152-153; *infra* Pt. Four, ch. II, § 2, p. 416, n. 61.

assimilated with the capital's founder, Alexander the Great.⁸⁶ In the Alexander Romance, *e.g.*, the serpentine Agathodaemon inspired Alexander to found his city on the Egyptian coast.⁸⁷ At Upper-Egyptian Ptolemais, it was that city's founder, Ptolemy I Soter, who was identified with Agathodaemon.⁸⁸ Faience *oenochos* (wine jugs) depicted Ptolemaic Queens from Arsinoe II perhaps until Cleopatra II in the guise of Agathe Tyche, commonly carrying a *cornucopia* (horn of plenty) on the left arm and holding a *phiale* (libation bowl) in the right hand.⁸⁹ In Egyptian religion, Agathodaemon and Agathe Tyche were identified with the serpentine deities Psois and Thermuthis (Eg. Pa-Shai and Renenutet), who were themselves assimilated with Isis and Sarapis.⁹⁰ Through these religious identifications, Lagids once more emerged as patrons of abundance and bringers of prosperity.

As the true heir of his predecessor and the descendant of Zeus-Amun, as the Living Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, the Lagid King manifested his divinity by effecting salvation and benefaction. Foremost, the King proved his filial fidelity through performing the funerary rites of his predecessor(s), and through worshipping his ancestors. Other beneficence that legitimized the King's succession included innumerable forms of largesse, military glory, maintaining the country's prosperity, and safeguarding the general welfare of the populace. In the preceding paragraphs, Ptolemaic cult epithets,

⁸⁶ Taylor 1930, 375-378; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 193; Leschhorn 1984, 204-212.

⁸⁷ ps.-Callisth. I. xxxii. 10-11; Koenen 1983, 149 and n. 19; Merkelbach 1995, 76-77.

⁸⁸ *RE* s.v. 'Ptolemaios,' no. 18, XXXIII(1): 1633; Taylor 1931, 31; Tondriau 1948b, 129; Leschhorn 1984, 227-229.

⁸⁹ D. B. Thompson 1973, esp. 117-124.

⁹⁰ Koenen 1983, 149 and n. 19; Quaegebeur 1983, 311-312; Merkelbach 1995, 80 and fig. 22, 92-93, and ill. 140-143.

such as *Soter*, *Euergetes* and *Philopator*, as well as the royal titulature of Ptolemy III have illustrated the dynastic significance of royal benefactions. Its ideological importance has been further elucidated through poetic allusions in Theocritus' *Encomium* and religious identifications with Aeon Plutonium and Agathodaemon. From this evidence, Lagid rulers emerge as divine patrons, defenders of the populace, and bringers of fertility, abundance, and prosperity.



In this chapter, I have examined the ideological importance of matrimony for the Lagid dynasty in general. To summarize the findings, it is essential to emphasize that the Ptolemies promoted the Pharaonic tradition that considered the King as the Living Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, the legitimate heir and successor to the throne. He was, moreover, bestowed with the Royal *Ka* that descended from the primordial deity Atum or Amun (-Ra) and was reinvigorated by Isis-Hathor. Although this ideology evidently stresses patrilineal succession, marriage is obviously regarded as the sole legitimate institution to produce an heir. Indeed, without the participation of the divine mother, especially cow goddesses such as Smithis or Isis-Hathor, kingship could simply not be transmitted. Religious identifications of the King with sacred bulls, such as the *Kamutef* or Apis, similarly expressed the contribution of the divine mother in the renewal of kingship. Legitimate dynastic succession, the proper eternal reincarnation of kingship, was impossible outside the sanctity of matrimony. The paired deification of Ptolemaic kings with their respective spouses, consequently, should evoke little surprise. Still, the representation of the queens as apparent equals (in producing the heir, if not otherwise)

was unprecedented in Pharaonic Egypt or the Graeco-Macedonian world. Whether in Ptolemaic cultic titles, temple-scenes of ancestor worship, paired religious identifications or iconographic depictions, the ideology unequivocally promulgated was the dynastic substance of royal matrimony. It was the Lagids' *hieros gamos*, in short, that legitimated the succession of the heir.

Filial fidelity, as manifested, *e.g.*, in ancestor worship, was furthermore considered a royal benefaction that sustained the Cosmic Order – as was the duty to arrange a predecessor's funeral. Ptolemaic cult epithets, such as *Philopator* and *Philometor*, additionally articulate the dynastic importance of filiation. As the Living Horus, the Egyptian King provided his subjects with numerous forms of beneficent salvation: defending the country from invasion and rebellion, placating the gods with sacrifices, festivals and temple decorations, preserving the fertility of the fields, safeguarding the general welfare of the populace, and so forth. The religious identification of the King and Queen, for instance, with Agathodaemon and Agathe Tyche similarly illustrates the notion that the reigning King and Queen were bringers of prosperity. The Aeon coinage of Ptolemy III and Ptolemy VIII as well as Theocritus' *Encomium* portray the Ptolemaic King as the divine patron, bestowing *soteria* or *euergesia*, providing abundance and good fortune, and upholding the condition of eternal *Ma'at*. In the foregoing sections on the cult of the Royal *Ka*, on the concept of the *Kamutef*, on the paired worship of Ptolemaic kings and queens, and on filial piety and royal benefactions, I have paid attention to the Lagid dynasty in general. It is now time to turn to the symbolic significance of matrimony for Ptolemaic queenship in particular.

IV. SACRALIZED CHASTITY

As the pharaoh's consort, the Egyptian queen owed her prominent status in large part to her marriage with the incarnate deity, the Living Horus, to whom she bore the heir and successor. Not only was the queen the "Great Wife of the King," but she was also the "Wife of the God." Although the Ptolemies advanced the Pharaonic theology, it remains remarkable that they, in fact, intensified the ideological importance of queenship. The concept of sacralized matrimony expressed the notion that, through her chaste devotion, the queen conveyed divinity upon the crown prince. It is my intention here to explore this belief of sacralized chastity and, in so doing, to explain the significance of the theme of matrimony for Ptolemaic queenship. (1.) I will begin this chapter by elucidating the nature of the queen's position as the king's spouse. The first section is, therefore, devoted to a study of the various appellations assigned to Ptolemaic queens. I will argue that with royal epithets the queen was in effect praised as "Lady of Loveliness," who delights her consort with her faithful affection and beautiful appearance. (2.) Allusions to the Lagids' marriage in Alexandrian poetry, furthermore, affirm this conception of queenship. Here we will particularly observe the ideological significance of notions such as chastity and virginity. As I have stated in the previous chapter, I will continue to maintain that the sacralization of royal marriage elevated the status of Ptolemaic queens to that of deities and simultaneously strengthened the legitimacy of their offspring's succession. (3.) Consequently, the identification of the Ptolemaic Queen as Mother Goddess exemplified her crucial involvement in the

Lagid's apotheosis as the divine (*scil.*, deified) mother of the king's heir and successor. Scenes on temples, birth chapels and royal decrees visually display the queen's maternal function for the royal child, which Theocritus' *Encomium* and *Adoniazusae* articulated in verse. (4.) The queen's grace and charity will be presented in the final section as the counterpart of the king's benevolence. I will adduce cult titles, various religious identifications, and literary references to establish the queen's role as bringer of prosperity and good fortune, as savior of sailors and benefactress of the populace, and as patroness of arts and religion. The line of reasoning in the following sections will be that she played a vital part in the popularity and legitimacy of the Lagid dynasty, as well as in the divinity of its members.

1. The Lady of Loveliness

For a proper understanding of Ptolemaic queenship, it is crucial to appreciate the nature of royal matrimony. At least since the time of the wedding of Arsinoe II to Ptolemy II (*ca.* 279-274 BCE), worshipped jointly as *Theoi Adelphoi* (from 272/1 BCE), marriage at the Lagid court was construed as a *hieros gamos*. As the King's Wife, namely, the Egyptian Queen was considered the consort of Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris,¹ and she was praised as the "Wife of the Son of Ra" or "Wife of the Twin of

¹ Like the Pharaoh, the Egyptian queen was considered of divine descent, *i.e.*, "Daughter of the God (*š.t.tntr*)"; *e.g.*, see: *Urk.* II: 106 (Arsinoe II: *š.t Imn*, "Daughter of Amun"); *Urk.* II: 72 (*ead.*: *š.t Mrhw k*, "Daughter of the *Mehru* Bull"); *Urk.* II: 123 (Berenice II: *š.t Dḥwtj*, "Daughter of Thoth"); *LD* IV: 35b (Cleopatra III: *š.t R*, "Daughter of Ra"); *LD* IV: 60 (Cleopatra VII: *š.t Gb*, "Daughter of Geb"); Troy 1986, A1/7-9 and 11-12.

Apis.”² Whether in Opet temple (mod. Luxor), Hatshepsut’s chapel (mod. Deir el-Bahri), or Ptolemaic *mammisis* (“birth chapels”), temple-scenes of the royal birth depict the queen’s sacred marriage that procured the divinity of the crown prince.³ The Queen Mother thus took part in the Holy Wedding with the chief local god, (Atum, Amun, Ra, Osiris, Ptah, *etc.*), and she was identified with the god’s spouse (especially Mut, Isis or Hathor).⁴ Poetic allusions to divine couples, particularly in the idylls of Theocritus, reveal that essentially the same message was delivered to the Greek audience.⁵ The Beautiful Union of Hathor and Horus in Apollinopolis Magna,⁶ for instance, found its parallel in the embrace of Aphrodite and Adonis on the bridal couch at the Alexandrian palace. As argued above,⁷ paired assimilations especially with deities such as Zeus and Hera, and Isis and Osiris sacralized the institution of matrimony and augmented the deification of the royal couples. All this is to recapitulate the preceding chapters and to advance the argument that matrimony was a central theme in the deification of the Ptolemaic queens.

We may gather an impression of the characterization of Ptolemaic queenship, in this section, by comparing the abundant titulature assigned to Arsinoe II with those of

² For the title “*śn.t-ḥm.t-n-ś-Ṛ*’ (Sister and Wife of the Son of Ra),” *e.g.*, see: *Urk.* II: 122 l. 14 (Berenice II); *LD* IV: 33a (Arsinoe III); *Urk.* II: 204 l. 5 (Cleopatra I). For the title “*ḥm.t-n-ḥtr-Ḥp*,” see: *LD* IV: 23a-b (Cleopatra II); Troy 1986, 179, (P.5-8, 12-13: C2/12 and 16).

³ Bleeker 1959, 267; Troy 1986, 66-67; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 1.

⁴ *Urk.* II: 82 l. 11 (of Arsinoe II: *ḥnm.(t)-ib-šw*, “Who Unites with the Heart of Shu,” identifying the Queen with Tefnut); Troy 1986, 66, A1/30, A3/10 (of Arsinoe II: *ḥnm.t-ib-nšw*, “Who Unites with the Heart of the King”). [Troy neglects to cite sources.]

⁵ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 3.

⁶ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 6.

⁷ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. II, §§ 3-4.

other queens of the Lagid dynasty. Because it has not been systematically discussed elsewhere, I believe it would be beneficial to briefly analyze the titulary of Ptolemaic queens separately, before turning to Hellenistic poetry for further elucidation. Such epithets will illuminate the role of the Ptolemaic queen as “Lady of Loveliness,” praised for her divine beauty and her marital fidelity.

Arsinoe II Philadelphus accumulated a seemingly endless series of titles. They presented the queen as descendent of chief gods, such as Atum, Amun, Ra and Geb;⁸ and as the embodiment of Isis-Hathor.⁹ Moreover, they announced her marriage to the king of Egypt, the Living Horus;¹⁰ and proclaimed her royal status with designations such as “Noblewoman,”¹¹ “Foremost,”¹² “Governess,”¹³ “Lady of the Fortunate,”¹⁴ and particularly “Royal Daughter, Sister and Great Wife.”¹⁵ It is significant that Arsinoe’s

⁸ E.g., see: *Urk* II: 72 (Vatican colossus) ll. 1-2, 10: “Daughter of Geb (*s.t Gb*),” “Daughter of the Merhu-Bull (*s.t Mrhw-k*),” and “Beloved of Atum of Heliopolis (*mr.t Itm İwnw*);” *ibid.* 106 (Philae) l. 16, and 107 (Karnak) l. 7: “Daughter of Amun (*s.t İmn*);” *LdR* IV: 242: “Daughter of Ra (*s.t R*);” Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: A1/7, 9 and 11-12); *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 3, p. 81; *infra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 4, p. 142.

⁹ *Urk* II: 72 ll. 7-8: “Image of Isis, Beloved of Hathor (*t.t-İs.t mr.t-Hthr*);” *cf. id.* 82 (Pithom stela) l. 15: , “Image (?) of Isis and Servant (?) of Hathor” [The goddesses are secure, the two other signs are indistinct].

¹⁰ E.g., see: *Urk* II: 73 l. 12: “Pacifying the Heart of Horus (*štp.t ib n Hr*);” Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: A5/2).

¹¹ E.g., see: *Urk* II: 39 (Mendes stela) l. 12, and 72 l. 1 (*r.t-p*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: D2/1).

¹² *Urk* II: 72 l. 2 (*h.t*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: A1/9).

¹³ *Urk* II: 72 l. 2 (*htj.t*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: D2/3).

¹⁴ *Urk* II: 106 l. 10 (*nb.t m*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: B3/10). [, the determinative for ‘tree,’ can read either *m*, “fortunate,” or *im*, which ranges from “pleasant,” “acacia tree,” “tent,” “harem,” to “scepter”; Roeder (1959, 121) trans. “Herrin der Liebenswürdigkeit (Lady of Loveliness).”]

¹⁵ E.g., see: *Urk* II: 29 (Mendes stela) l. 6, 72 (Vatican colossus) l. 5, 94 (Pithom stela) l. 9, 106 (Philae) l. 15, 107 (Karnak) ll. 5 and 11 (*nswt s.t sn.t hm.t wr.t*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: C2/2, 5, C3/1, 4, C4/1).

titulary designated her as a female sovereign: “Receiving the Two Crowns”¹⁶ or “Lady of Crowns,”¹⁷ “Mistress of the Two Lands”¹⁸ or “Great Lady of the Two Lands,”¹⁹ “Mistress of the Valley and the Delta” or “of Upper and Lower Egypt,”²⁰ and the uncommon “Mistress of the Whole Circuit of the Sun-Disc.”²¹ She furthermore received the unique titulary “Grand Female Ruler of Egypt,”²² as well as “King (*masc.*) of Upper and Lower Egypt,”²³ as Hatshepsut and Thuoris were styled before her.²⁴ Arsinoe’s official throne name (*viz.*, enclosed within the cartouche) was: “She Who Unites with the Heart of Shu, Beloved of the Gods.”²⁵ She was, additionally, honored with epithets such as “Great of Adornments,”²⁶ and “Great of Praises,”²⁷ and was exalted as “Pleasing of

¹⁶ *Urk* II: 39 l. 16 (*šsp.t šhmt.j*).

¹⁷ *LdR* IV: 242 (*nb.t h‘.w*); Troy 1986, 178 and 196 (P.4: D2/15).

¹⁸ *E.g.*, see: *Urk*. II: 29 l. 6, and 94 l. 9 (*hnw.t t.wj*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: D1/4). [Reading *ꜥ* (*ib*) for *o* (*nw*) and adding *nb*, Troy (1986, 185 no. A5/6) gives: “The Lady of the Heart of the Lord of the Two Lands.”]

¹⁹ *E.g.*, see: *Urk*. II: 82 l. 14, and 107 l. 5 (*wr.t nb.t t.wj*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: D2/13).

²⁰ *E.g.* see: *Urk* II: 72 l. 6, and 106 l. 12 (*hnw.t n rsj mhw*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: D1/4).

²¹ *Urk* II: 107 l. 6 (*hnw.t šnw nb n itn*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: D1/10).

²² *Urk* II: 106 l. 13 (*hkz.t ʿ.t n Kmt*); Troy 1986, 179 and 196 (P.4: D2/11).

²³ *P. Lugd. Bat.* XV: 28; Diog. Laert. V.60; Quaegebeur 1970, 202-206; Pomeroy 1984, 17-19.

²⁴ Bleeker 1959, 262; Brunner 1964, 78-88; Pomeroy 1984, 19; Troy 1986, 68-70.

²⁵ *Urk*. II: 82 l. 13: (*hnm.(t)-ib-šw mri-ntr.wj*); Troy 1986, 182 (P.4: A1/30); *supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 1, p. 118, n. 4.

²⁶ *Urk* II: 72 l. 3 (*wr.t-hkr.w*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: B3/9). [If *ꜥ*, *hkr*, was a variant spelling of *ꜥ*, *imz*, *supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 1, p. 119, n. 14.]

²⁷ *E.g.*, see: *Urk* II: 39 l. 12, 72 l. 4, and 94 (Pithom stela) l. 8 (*hs.wt*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: B4/11).

Appearance,”²⁸ “Filling the Palace with Her Beauty,”²⁹ “Pacifying the Heart of Horus,”³⁰ “Sweet of Love,”³¹ and of course as “Brother-Loving.”³² The poetic allusions to the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera discussed above leave little doubt that this last title, *Philadelphus*, raised the queens to divine status.

Despite its exceptional profusion, the titles of succeeding Ptolemaic queens conformed to the pattern of Arsinoe’s titlature. These later queens were similarly considered descendents of gods,³³ and were naturally presented as the king’s consort.³⁴ Occasionally, the queen was herself styled “Female Horus.”³⁵ Moreover, with the exception of the first and second Berenice, all Ptolemaic queens received the title “Mistress of the (Two) Lands.”³⁶ Most queens were furthermore honored with the epithet “Noblewoman” and/or “Female Ruler,” while Berenice II and Cleopatra I received the

²⁸ *Urk* II: 39 l. 15 (‘n.t h‘.w); cf. Troy 1986, 179 (P.3: A2/14).

²⁹ *Urk* II: 39 l. 17 (mh.t ‘h m nfrw=s); cf. Troy 179 (P.3: A4/3).

³⁰ E.g., see: *Urk* II: 73 l. 12 (shp.t ib n Hr); *supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 1, p. 119, n. 10.

³¹ E.g., see: *Urk* II: 39 l. 14 and 94 l. 8 (bnr.t mrw.t); Troy 1986, 179 (P.4: A2/1).

³² E.g., see: *Urk* II: 72 l. 9, and 156 l. 4:  (mri sn), “Sibling-Loving” (Φιλάδελφος); *ibid.* 29 l. 14, 94 l. 12, 106 l. 16, etc.:  (ntr.t mr.t sn=s), “The Goddess Who Loves Her Brother” (Θεὰ Φιλάδελφος).

³³ E.g., see: *Urk* II: 122: “Daughter of Thoth” (Berenice II); *LdR* IV: 287: *id.* (Cleopatra I); *ibid.* 332: “Daughter of Ra” (Cleopatra III); *ibid.* 364: *id.* (Cleopatra VI Tryphaena); *ibid.* 416: “Daughter of Geb” (Cleopatra VII); Troy 1986, 179, 181. [The title “Daughter of Ra” is the female form of the traditional royal designation, “Son of Ra.”]

³⁴ E.g., see: *Urk* II: 122: “Sister-Wife of the Son of Ra” (Berenice II); *LD* IV: 17c: “Sister of the King” (Arsinoe III); *ibid.* 33a: “Sister-Wife of the Son of Ra” (*ead.*); *LdR* IV: 287: *id.* (Cleopatra I); *ibid.* 304: *id.* (Cleopatra II); *ibid.* 389: *id.* (Cleopatra Berenice III); Troy 1986, 179, 193-194. [The title “Sister of the Son of Ra” is the equivalent of “Daughter of Ra”; from Berenice II to Cleopatra Berenice III, queens tend to have either one of these two titles.]

³⁵ E.g., see: *Urk* II: 122 l. 3:  (Hr.t (Berenice II); *LdR* IV: 287 (Cleopatra I); *LD* IV: 42c (Cleopatra III); *LdR* IV: 417 (Cleopatra VII); Troy 1986, 139-143, 179 and 196; Tait 2003, 7.

rare designation “Female Vizier.”³⁷ The latter two queens additionally received the peculiar “Two Ladies Name of the (Beautiful) Subjects,”³⁸ while only Cleopatra VII obtained the elaborate designation “Queen of Upper Egypt, land of the White Crown, Queen of Lower Egypt, Land of the Red Crown.”³⁹ It is remarkable in this context, not only that Cleopatra VII appropriated many of the epithets of Arsinoe II, but also that Cleopatra I shared most titles with her predecessor Berenice II. In so doing, the respective Cleopatras reveal the authority and popularity that Arsinoe II and Berenice II commanded in the Lagid kingdom. Moreover, I wish to emphasize that Ptolemaic queens were addressed in their royal titulature as the kings’ equal in sovereignty.

Let us now turn to more descriptive epithets, in order to elucidate the queen’s particular feminine character. The actual Two Ladies name of Berenice II provides an ornate description of the queen’s divine nature: “Her Bravery and Her Strength are that of Neith, Lady of Saïs, Her Honor is that of Bastet, the Mother [*or* Mistress], Hathor in Her Beauty of the Marsh(?)–Forecourt.”⁴⁰ The Two Ladies name of Cleopatra I abbreviated this to, “Her Bravery is that of Neith, Lady of Saïs, Her Honor is that of Hathor in Her

³⁶ E.g., see: *LD* IV: 33a, 38, 49a, and 108; Troy 1986, 178-179 (with further evidence) and 196.

³⁷ E.g., see: *Urk.* II: 122 ll. 3 and 6 (Berenice II: *ḥkꜣ.t* and *ṯtj.t*); *LD* IV: 32 and 33a (Arsinoe III: *r.t-pꜣt* and *ḥkꜣ.t*); *ibid.* IV: 20a; *Urk* II: 206 l. 11; *LdR* IV: 287 (Cleopatra I, resp.: *ḥkꜣ.t*, *rpj.t*, and *ṯtj.t*); *LD* IV: 23a-b (Cleopatra II: *ḥkꜣ.t*); *ibid.* IV: 38 (Cleopatra III: *ḥkꜣ.t*); *LdR* IV: 389 (Cleopatra Berenice III: *r.t-pꜣt* and *ḥkꜣ.t*); *LD* IV: 41b (Cleopatra VI Tryphaena: *ḥkꜣ.t*); *LdR* IV: 416-417 (Cleopatra VII: *r.t-pꜣt* and *ḥkꜣ.t*); Troy 1986, 179 (with further evidence) and 196. [NB: The title *ḥkꜣ.t* is exclusively Ptolemaic.]

³⁸ *Urk.* II: 122 l. 9 (*rdi-nꜣs Nb.tj rhjt*); *LdR* IV: 287 (*rdi-nꜣs Nb.tj-rhjt-n-nfr.w*); Troy 1986, 179 and 197.

³⁹ *LdR* IV: 416 (*nsj.t n ṯḥd.t bitj.t n ṯn.t*); Troy 1986, 179 and 197.

⁴⁰ *Urk.* II: 122 ll. 9-11 (*knꜣs-wsrꜣs-Nt-nb-Sꜣw ṯnꜣs-Bꜣst.t mw.t-Ḥthꜣr-m-nfr.wꜣs-n-wꜣḥ-sh*); Troy 1986, 179 and 184 (P.5: A4/9).

Love.”⁴¹ Conversely, Cleopatra VII retained the epithet “Great Lady of Beauty of the Marsh(?)–Forecourt” in her “Female Horus” name.⁴² Incidentally, the references to the Marsh(?)–Forecourt likely allude to the lush seductiveness of the “Lady of the Palace” (*viz.*, *Nebt-Hut*; Gk. *Nephtys*).⁴³ Of the abundant appellations that honored Arsinoe II as the king’s delightful consort, only a few have been assigned to other queens or princesses.⁴⁴ Her prematurely deceased younger sister Philoteria shared the epithets “Great of Praises” and “Great of Adornments.”⁴⁵ A daughter of Nectanebo I (r. 380–362 BCE) and Ptolemais was called “Great of Praises” and “Sweet of Love.”⁴⁶ “Great of Praises” was, furthermore, used for Cleopatra Berenice III and Cleopatra VII.⁴⁷ Moreover, Cleopatra I was styled “Soothing the Heart [of the Lord (?)] of the Two Lands.”⁴⁸ Arsinoe’s cult epithet *Philadelphus* was, additionally, appropriated for

⁴¹ *LdR* IV: 287 (*kn=s-Nt-nb.t-Sw tn=s-Hthr-m-mrw.t=s*); Von Beckerath 1984, 119 no. 5a; Troy 1986, 179 and 184 (P.7: A4/9).

⁴² *LD* IV: 65a (*wr.t nb.t-nfr.w wzh-sh*); Von Beckerath 1984, 121 no. 13; Troy 1986, 179 and 185 (P.14: A4/10).

⁴³ Troy 1986, 100.

⁴⁴ For long an inscription from Coptus (*I.Cairo* 70031) was thought to refer to Arsinoe I with epithets elsewhere assigned to Arsinoe II Philadelphus (*cf. Urk.* II: 39–40, 73). On the one hand, it would seem unlikely that especially these two queens shared similar titulary. On the other hand, as “Overseer of the Chief Royal Private Quarters (*imi-r nswt ip.t wr*)” at Coptus, the dedicant Senenshepsu (*vel sim.*) could only have been the guardian of the banished Arsinoe. *Cf. Koptos* 20–21, pls. 20, 26.3; *Urk* II: 62–63; PM V: 132; Quaegebeur 1970, 215 no. 47; Vatin 1970, 63–64, 81; Fraser 1972, I: 347, 369; Troy 1986, 178 (P.3–4); Lloyd 2002, 124 [kindly brought to my attention by Dorothy J. Thompson]; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 2, p. 73, n. 75.

⁴⁵ *Urk.* II: 72 ll. 13–14 (*wr-hkr.w wr-hs.w*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.15).

⁴⁶ *LD Text* IV: 164; *Urk.* II: 27 ll. 7 (*wr-hs.w*) and 9 (*bnr-mrw.t*); Troy 1986, 178 (30.2). For the princess, see: Quaegebeur 1970, 215 no. 46; Kuhlmann 1981, 267–280; Huß 1994c, 111–117.

⁴⁷ *LdR* IV: 389 (Berenice III) and 416 (Cleopatra VII); Troy 1986, 179 (P.12 and 14).

⁴⁸ *LdR* IV: 287 (*shr-ib-t.wj*); Von Beckerath 1984, 119 no. 5a; Troy 1986, 179 and 185 (P.7: A5/3). [As the title seems incomplete, we might amend it with *n-nb*, “with/of the Lord.”]

Cleopatra IV (posthumously),⁴⁹ for Cleopatra Berenice III,⁵⁰ for Cleopatra VI Tryphaena,⁵¹ and lastly for the famous Cleopatra VII.⁵² When Callimachus referred to Ptolemy III and Berenice II as “*Theoi Kassignetoi* (Sibling Gods by Birth),”⁵³ he affirmed the importance of the ideology of sibling and conjugal devotion – for his King and Queen were related only through their grandmother Berenice I. The underlying significance of these royal epithets converges on the queen’s role as “Lady of Loveliness,” whose honor, love and beauty is a boon for king and country.

In sum, as the consort of the Living Horus the Ptolemaic queen was raised to divine status. This sacralization of the Lagids’ royal matrimony was expressed through poetic and cultic assimilations with deities such as Isis and Osiris, Zeus and Hera, Hathor and Amun, Aphrodite and Adonis. The royal titulature, additionally, elucidated the nature of Ptolemaic queenship. The lavish epithets accumulated by Arsinoe II Philadelphus provided the style after which the formal address of most subsequent queens was fashioned, albeit less profusely. The Ptolemaic queen was characterized as the daughter of gods, the king’s faithful spouse and his equal in regal authority. Royal epithets further praised her for her justice and honor, for her delightful appearance and divine beauty, and

⁴⁹ LD IV: 49a: *ⲧⲛⲣⲓⲧ ⲙⲣⲓⲧⲛ*, “The Brother-Loving Goddess” (ἡ θεὰ φιλάδελφος); *ibid.* Text IV: 102; *Kom Ombo* I: nos. 183 and 200-201; PM VI: 182-183; Chauveau 1998, 1271-1275; Minas 2000, 22 and 194-195, docs. 44-45 and 47.

⁵⁰ *I. Fay.* I: 7; *P. Tebt.* I: 106; *UPZ* I: 106; *BGU* VIII: 1735; *SB* VI: 9255; *P. Adler gr.* 20: *ⲧⲛⲣⲓⲧ ⲙⲣⲓⲧⲛ*, “The Goddess Who Loves Her Brother” (ἡ Θεὰ Φιλάδελφος); Chauveau 1998, 1264 and n. 7. [The evidence dates to 101-98 BCE, when she was married to Ptolemy X, her uncle.]

⁵¹ LD IV: 47b and 49a: *ⲛⲣⲓⲱⲓ ⲙⲣⲓⲱⲓⲧⲓⲧⲛ ⲙⲣⲓⲱⲓⲧⲛ*, “The Two Father-Loving and Sibling-Loving Gods” (Θεοὶ Φιλοπατῶρες Φιλάδελφοι); PM VI: 182-184; Pestman 1967, 76; Von Beckerath 1984, 121 no. 12; Minas 2000, 22, 50 and 195, docs. 44-45 and 48.

⁵² *OGIS* 741 ll. 3-4; *P. Bon.* I: 10 l. 3-4; Heinen 1966, 177-179; Huß 2001, 755.

⁵³ Callim. *Vict. Ber.* F 383 (= *Suppl. Hell.* 254); Σ *ad loc.* (= *P. Lille* 82 l. 1; *Suppl. Hell.* 255).

for her faithful devotion to her husband. Through the title *Philadelphus* the queen's affection for the king was, moreover, compared to a sister's love for her brother. The implications of this conception of "Lady of Loveliness" might be best illustrated by reference to poetry occasioned or inspired by the marital affairs in the Lagid palace.

2. The Queen's Epithalamium

The ornate epithets discussed above praised Ptolemaic queens as the delightful consort of the king. Alexandrian poetry, equally, celebrated Ptolemaic queens for their beauty and devotion. Poems especially by Theocritus and Callimachus illuminate the political and religious relevance of the queen's marital status. Certain poems were, in effect, *epithalamia* – *i.e.*, verses occasioned by royal weddings. Of other poems, at least certain passages were directly inspired by Lagid marriages. Yet other poems bear more indirectly on the conjugal affairs at court. In this section, then, I will continue to explore the significance of poetic allusions to marriage that have been cited previously.⁵⁴ My intention is to show that such allusion, indeed, conformed to the ideology expressed by the Greek and Egyptian royal epithets. The argument put forward is that the thematic significance of matrimony concentrated on the queen's chaste fidelity, which provided a sacred purity that enhanced the status not only of the king and queen, but also of their offspring.

Theocritus' *Encomium* exemplifies various qualities associated with the theme of the queen's loveliness. In the idyll, he celebrated Berenice I, the "renowned" and "resplendent" wife of Ptolemy I Soter, whose "fragrant bosom" had been touched by the

“slender hands” of Aphrodite Cypris.⁵⁵ “Wherefore,” the poet explained:

Never yet has a woman so pleased her man,
as much as even Ptolemy loved his consort,
verily he was still loved far more in return.⁵⁶

Subsequently, Theocritus resumed the theme of affection in relation to Arsinoe Philadelphus, the “stately consort” of Ptolemy II.⁵⁷ “No better woman,” he said,

than she embraces her bridegroom in his halls,
loving with all her heart her kinsman and spouse.⁵⁸

Callimachus, likewise, praised the gracious charm of his Queen. He reckoned “resplendent Berenice [II],” “still moist with myrrh perfume,” as the fourth of the Graces. Without her, the poet expounded, “even the Graces themselves are no Graces.”⁵⁹ The same queen (or perhaps her grandmother) was playfully compared to Aphrodite, in a dedicatory epigram supposedly placed at a statue of the goddess:

⁵⁴ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 4.

⁵⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.34 (περικλειτὰ Βερενίκα), 36-37, and 57 (ἀρίζηλος Βερενίκα); Gow 1950, II: 332 and 336; Carney 2000b, 33; Hunter 2003, 124-128 and 142.

⁵⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.38-40 (τῷ οὐπω τινὰ φαντὶ ἀδεῖν τόσον ἀνδρὶ γυναικῶν, ἢ ὅσον περ Πτολεμαῖος ἔην ἐφίλησεν ἄκοιτιν, ἢ ἣ μὲν ἀντεφιλεῖτο πολὺ πλέον); Gow 1950, II: 333; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 77; J. B. Burton 1995, 151; Hunter 2003, 128-131.

⁵⁷ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.128 (ἰφθίμα ἄλοχος); Gow 1950, II: 345; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 77; Hunter 2003, 191.

⁵⁸ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.128-130 (τᾶς οὗτις ἀρείων ἢ νυμφίον ἐν μεγάροισι γυνὰ περιβάλλετ' ἄγοστῶ, ἢ ἐκ θυμοῦ στέργοισα κασίγνητόν τε πόσιν τε); Gow 1950, II: 345-346; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 75; J. B. Burton 1995, 149; Hunter 2003, 191-192.

⁵⁹ Callim. *Epigr.* 52 (*ap. Anth. Pal.* V: 146): Τέσσαρες αἱ Χάριτες· ποτὶ γὰρ μία ταῖς τρισὶ τήναις ἢ ἄρτι ποτεπλάσθη κῆτι μύροισι νοτεῖ. ἢ εὐαίων ἐν πᾶσιν ἀρίζηλος Βερενίκα, ἢ ἄς ἄτερ οὐδ' αὐταὶ ταὶ Χάριτες Χάριτες); *cf. id.* F 112 ll. 2-4 (Χαρίτων [σύ λοχεύτ]ρια, μαῖα δ' ἀνάσσης ἢ [ἡμε]τέρης, “Thou mid-wife of the Graces, and god-mother of our Mistress” *i.e.*, Berenice II).

This is an image of Cypris: but come, let's see if it's not Berenice!
I doubt which of them one would say more resembles the other.⁶⁰

These three poets, thus, compared and assimilated Berenice I, Arsinoe II and Berenice II with Aphrodite, Hera and/or the Graces to honor the divine beauty of the king's delightful consort.⁶¹

Theocritus, moreover, elucidated the significance of conjugal love:

So a man might,
should he go with love to the couch of his loving wife,
confidently entrust his whole estate to their own children.⁶²

He warned that an unfaithful wife, conversely, might bear her husband illegitimate children:

The mind of an unaffectionate wife, however, is ever set upon others:
she might readily give birth, but the children resemble not their father.⁶³

The reader may bring to mind the violent strife among the respective sons of Eurydice and Berenice.⁶⁴ Perhaps Ptolemy II had flung allegations of bastardy against his half brothers Ceraunus, Meleager and Argaeus, in an effort to substantiate his own claim to the throne. To be sure, Theocritus emphasized his King's legitimacy, "a darling child that

⁶⁰ [Asclep.] *Epigr.* 39 (G-P; *ap. Anth. Pl.* 68): Κύπριδος ἅδ' εἰκὼν φέρ' ἰδόμεθα μὴ Βερενίκας· ἰδιστάζω ποτέρᾳ φῆ τις ὁμοιτέραν. [The ascription is uncertain; see: Cameron 1995, 238-239.]

⁶¹ For this tradition, see: Hom. *Od.* XIX. 107-114; Pomeroy 1984, 32; Carney 2000b, esp. 33.

⁶² Theoc. *Id.* XVII.40-42 (ὦδέ κε παισὶ ἰ θαρσύνῃσας σφετέροισιν ἐπιτρέποι οἶκον ἅπαντα, ἰ ὁππότε κεν φιλέων βαίνῃ λέχος ἐς φιλεούσης); Gow 1950, II: 333; Hunter 2003, 131.

⁶³ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.43-44 (ἀστόργου δὲ γυναικὸς ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίῳ νόος αἰεὶ, ἰ ῥήϊδιοι δὲ γοναί, τέκνα δ' οὐ ποτεοικότα πατρὶ); Gow 1950, II: 334; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 78-79; J. B. Burton 1995, 71; Hunter 2003, 131-133.

⁶⁴ Paus. I.vi.8 and vii.1; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 1.

resembled his father.”⁶⁵

Corollary to the theme of faithful affection was the queen’s virginal chastity. We have already seen that Theocritus compared the sibling-marriage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II to the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera, and how the virgin Iris sanctified their marriage when she purified the bridal couch with fragrant myrrh.⁶⁶ The sacralization that the rainbow goddess achieved is certainly noteworthy, as it combines modesty and purity with the seductive beauty that draws the groom to his bride.⁶⁷ The poet conveyed similar notions in his *Epithalamium Helenae*.⁶⁸ Although that idyll is set within mythological surroundings, I would argue that the interest at the Lagid court in Helen’s nuptials hints at an assimilation with Queen Arsinoe.⁶⁹ Theocritus had elsewhere praised “Berenice’s daughter Arsinoe,” as “like unto Helen.”⁷⁰ In the *Epithalamium* Helen also has a marked affinity with the virgin Artemis, whose mother Leto is invoked in its closing.⁷¹ Moreover, like Arsinoe, Helen was associated with three men, Theseus and Paris, in

⁶⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.63-64 (ὁ δὲ πατρὶ ἐοικώς ἰ παῖς ἀγαπητὸς ἔγεντο); Gow 1950, II: 336; J. B. Burton 1995, 71; Hunter 2003, 146-147.

⁶⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.131-134 (cit. *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 4, p. 86, n. 137); Gow 1950, II: 346; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 73 and 75; Hunter 2003, 192-195.

⁶⁷ Cf. Callim. F. 48 (Ζεὺς ἐράτιζε τριηκοσίους ἐνιαυτούς, “Zeus made love for three hundred years,” viz. to Hera).

⁶⁸ Gow 1950, II: 348; Rist 1978, 161; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 86-91; J. B. Burton 1995, 71 and 152.

⁶⁹ Even if *Id.* XVIII is considered without regard for a possible Ptolemaic context, Theoc. did convey the themes of grace, beauty, affection, offspring and prosperity.

⁷⁰ Theoc. *Id.* XV.110-111 (ἃ Βερενικεῖα θυγάτηρ Ἑλένη εἰκυῖα Ἀρσινοόα); Glotz 1920, 169-222; Tondriau 1948a, 19; Gow 1950, II: 294; J. B. Burton 1995, 75.

⁷¹ Theoc. *Id.* XVIII.36 and 50; Gow 1950, II: 357 and 360; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 87 and 88.

addition to her rightful spouse Menelaus.⁷² The story that Helen in fact resided on the Pharos in Egypt for the duration of the Trojan War may have provided a further connection with the Alexandrian palace.⁷³ In the poem's bridal hymn Helen's playmates encourage Menelaus to consummate his wedding to Zeus' daughter, who resembled her mother Leda.⁷⁴ The singers call Helen "rosy-toned" and a "gracious child," and they wish the newly-weds fair offspring, mutual love and prosperity that passes "from noble-born to noble-born again."⁷⁵ The attendance of Iris and Artemis at respective mythic weddings confers a sacred decorum to the nuptials that is at once virginal and sensual. Similarly, Ptolemaic queens were portrayed as both charming and chaste, as I will now substantiate.

At least two actual epithalamia were composed to commemorate the marriage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe Philadelphus. Unfortunately, neither of the two pieces has been preserved in full. The opening line of Callimachus' *In Arsinoes Nuptias* has already been cited in an earlier chapter.⁷⁶ Had more of the poem survived it could have been fruitfully compared to the other piece, an extended epigram in elegiacs from the hand of

⁷² Cp. Stesich. F 26 (τρίγαμος); Lycophr. 851 (τριάνωρ); Theoc. *Id.* XII.5 (τρίγαμος γυνή); Gow 1950, II: 222-223. [Menelaus was also the name of Soter's brother, Arsinoe's uncle.]

⁷³ Hdt. II.112-120; Gow 1950, II: 348; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 88 and 90; Lloyd 1975-88, III: 43-52.

⁷⁴ Theoc. *Id.* XVIII.9-15, 18-19 (μῶνος ἐν ἡμιθέοις Κρονίδαν Δία πενθερὸν ἐξεῖς, "of all the demi-gods, you alone will have Cronus' son Zeus as father-in-law"), 21 (ματέρι ὁμοῖον); cf. Hom., *Od.* IV.569 (ἔχεις Ἑλένην καὶ σφιν γαμβρὸς Διὸς ἐσσι, "you have Helen and yourself are Zeus' son-in-law"); Gow 1950, II: 351-353; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 87.

⁷⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XVIII.31 (ἃ ῥοδόχρως Ἑλένα), 38 (χαρίεσσα κόρα), and 50-53 (εὐτεκνίαν, ἴσον ἔρασθαι ἀλλάλων, ἄφθιτον ὄλβον, ἰὼς ἐξ εὐπατριδᾶν εἰς εὐπατρίδας πάλιν ἐνθη); Gow 1950, II: 360; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 87.

⁷⁶ Callim. F 392; Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 322; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 4, p. 86. [As Callim. composed *Apoth. Arsin.* (ca. 270/68 BCE) and *Com. Ber.* (ca. 246 BCE), it seems unlikely that *Arsin. Nupt.* was composed on the occasion of the wedding of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III (220/19 BCE).]

Posidippus.⁷⁷ Its precise meaning is difficult to grasp, due to its mutilated transmission. It alludes to the bath of Hera Parthenus, before she retired to her bridal couch (*pastos*) on Olympus, as well as to “the pure bath of the beloved girl (*philê korê*),” before she joined her spouse in the bridal chamber (*thalamia*).⁷⁸ The designation of Arsinoe as “*philê korê*” I take as a play on the queen’s cult epithet “*Philadelphus*.” Additionally, the epigram refers to Aphrodite, “the deep-girded child of Dione,” as well as the loosing of the bridal girdle.⁷⁹ It should be noted how the poem, with words such as “*pais* (child),” “*korê* (girl),” “*Parthenus* (virgin)” and “*nymphê* (bride),” insinuated the queen’s maiden quality.⁸⁰ Further mention of the “dew from a (golden?) crater,” lush “foliage and flowers,” a “carousal,” and the “abundant swelling” of the river Nile remain regrettably obscure.⁸¹

Perhaps as much as a decade after the occasion of this sibling marriage,⁸² upon Arsinoe’s ascension into heaven, Callimachus’ lyrical *Apotheosis Arsinoes* still referred to the queen as “*nympha* (bride).”⁸³ While this word at once evoked the charm and

⁷⁷ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 4, p. 86, n. 138 (lit.).

⁷⁸ Posidip. *Suppl. Hell.* 961 ll. 7-8 (ἐλούσατο παρθένος Ἡρ[η] ... ἰ ... Οὐλύμπῳ παστὸν ὑπερχομένη), 18 (φίλης ἀγνὰ λοετρὰ κόρης), and 23 (θαλάμοισι πόσις); F. T. Griffiths 1979, 90.

⁷⁹ Posidip. *Suppl. Hell.* 961 l. 19 (παιδὶ βαθυζώνοιο Διώνης). l. 21 (ζῳωστῆρος ... καλ[ά]μων).

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* ll. 7 (παρθένος), 18 (κόρης), 19 (παιδὶ), and 20 (νύμφην).

⁸¹ *Ibid.* ll. 5 (χρυσ]είου ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ἀέρσην), 11 (φύλλα καὶ ἄν[θη]), 12 (ποτῶι), and 13-14 (Ἀρ[σι]νόης ποταμὸς ... ἰ ... δαψιλὲς οἶδ[μα]).

⁸² The wedding ceremony of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II is dated between 279 (when she arrived in Alexandria) and 274 B.C.E. (when the Pithom stela referred to the Queen as “his [*i.e.*, the King’s] beloved sister and wife [*sn.t=f hm.t mr(i.t)=f*]”); cf. Memn. *FHG* III.534, 14; Paus. I.vii.1; Droysen 1877: III.1, 268 (266 BCE); *RE* s.v. ‘Arsinoë,’ no. 26, II(1): 1283 (*ante* 273 BCE); Hazzard 2000, 85-90 (274 BCE); Hölbl 2001, 36 (279 BCE); Huß 2001, 307-308 (279-274 BCE) and n. 22 (with further lit.).

⁸³ Callim. F 228 l. 5; Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 218; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 90.

chastity of a marriageable maiden,⁸⁴ the “thrice-married”⁸⁵ queen must have been close to fifty years old when she passed away.⁸⁶ Frederick Griffiths fails to grasp the profound religious significance of Arsinoe’s comparison with Hera Parthenus when he advocates that Alexandrian court poets felt obligated to “whitewash ... Arsinoe’s third and incestuous marriage.”⁸⁷ Indeed, the queen’s chaste virginity is concomitant with her consanguineous marriage. Like Hera’s purifying bath in the Canathus spring and Iris’ purifying myrrh for the bridal couch, Arsinoe’s virginity was renewed precisely *because* she wed her brother.⁸⁸ The queen’s marriage was chaste because it was incestuous. The only available vocabulary to express this miraculous renewal of the Arsinoe’s virginity was to sacralize her marriage, to equate it with the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera.

In the *Coma Berenices*, as said, the eponymous constellation recounted how Ptolemy III scarred himself during his wedding-night in the “nocturnal struggle which he had waged for the spoils of [Berenice’s] virginity.”⁸⁹ The poem additionally alluded to the “sweet love” that affects the periodic visits of Selene to Endymion on Mt. Latmus

⁸⁴ LSJ⁹ s.v. ‘νύμφη’; Winkler 1991, 181-184.

⁸⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XII.5 (τρίγαμος γυνή); Gow 1950, II: 222-223; *supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 2, p. 129, n. 72.

⁸⁶ Arsinoe was probably at least 12 when she was married to Lysimachus (*ca.* 300/299 BCE); her mother Berenice arrived in Egypt with Eurydice (*ca.* 321/0 BCE); the date of her death is disputed between 270 and 268 B.C.E.; so she was anywhere from 42 to 52 years of age at death.

⁸⁷ F. T. Griffiths 1979, 61.

⁸⁸ Which Griffiths (*loc. cit.*) admits, but still explains in political functionalist terms; *cf.* Paus. II.xxxviii.2; Theoc. *Id.* XVII.133-134.

⁸⁹ Catull. LXVI.13-14 (*dulcia nocturnae portans vestigia rixae, | quam de virgineis gesserat exuviis*); *cf.* Agath. *Anth. Pal.* V: 294 ll. 18-19 (σύμβολον έννυχίης ... άεθλοσύνης ... έξαλάπαξα φίλης πύργωμα κορείης); Cameron 1995, 22.

during the moonless nights.⁹⁰ The Lock praised his Queen's faithful devotion to her husband as he embarked upon the (Laodicean or) Third Syrian War (246-241 BCE).⁹¹ Perhaps evoking Theocritus' *Encomium*, the poem reprimanded adulterous women, and urged brides to revere chaste wedlock, so that love and harmony might persevere.⁹² Callimachus composed another poem in honor of the same queen, entitled *Victoria Berenices*, commemorating her victory in the chariot race at the Nemean Games. Of note, here, is the poet's address to his Queen: "*nympha*, holy blood of the Sibling-Born Gods."⁹³ Not only did he call her "bride," as he had done with Arsinoe, but he also announced the official yet fictive genealogy that construed Berenice as the daughter of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II – thus affiliating her with the Lagid dynasty and its royal blood.

One more poem occasioned by a royal wedding at the Lagid court may be added to the series – viz., Damagetus' epigram honoring the dedication of a lock of hair to Artemis by "Arsinoe [III], the maiden (*Parthenus*) of Ptolemy."⁹⁴ For the present purpose, the importance of this fairly traditional piece lies foremost in its emphasis on

⁹⁰ Catull. LXVI.5-6 (*Triviam furtim sub Latmia saxa relegans | dulcis amor gyro devocet aërio*).

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 11-12, 20-25, and 29-38; Gutzwiller 1992, 359-385. For the Third Syrian War, see: Bevan 1927, 74, 189-203; Green 1990, 150, 263; Hauben 1990, 29-37; Koenen 1993, n. 151; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 1, p. 68, n. 44.

⁹² Catull. LXVI.83 (*casto colitis jura cubili*), 84 (*impuro adulterio*) and 87-88 (*semper concordia ... | semper amor sedes incolat assiduus*).

⁹³ Callim. *Vict. Beren.* (= *Suppl. Hell.* 254) l. 2 (νύμφα, κα[σιγνή]των ἱερὸν αἷμα θεῶν); Σ *ad loc.* (Berenice was proclaimed daughter of the Sibling Gods).

⁹⁴ Damag. *Epigr.* I (*ap. Anth. Pal.* VI: 277: "Ἀρτεμι, τόξα λαχοῦσα καὶ ἀλκήμεντας οἰστούς, | σοὶ πλόκον οἰκείας τόνδε λέλοιπε κόμης | Ἀρσινόη θυόεν παρ' ἀνάκτορον, ἢ Πτολεμαίου | παρθένος, ἱμερτοῦ κειραμένη πλοκάμου, "Artemis, who wields the bow and the arrows of might, | by your fragrant sanctuary has Arsinoe, the maiden | of Ptolemy, left this lock of her own hair, | which she cut off from her lovely tresses").

Arsinoe's fidelity as well as her virginity. (She was, to be sure, barely ten years old when she was married to her brother.). The association with Artemis, once more, intensifies the girl's modest chastity.

This brief survey of passages of Alexandrian verse reveals that poets such as Callimachus, Theocritus, Posidippus and Damagetus perpetuated the conception of the "Lady of Loveliness" that was articulated through the titulature of Ptolemaic queens. Like the royal epithets, poets praised their respective queen's grace and charm, her "sweet love" that pleased the king. They celebrated her divine beauty and fragrant sensuality. Yet, the poems also imply that the queen's conjugal affection was faithfully devoted to the king alone. Indeed, to emphasize her chaste fidelity they amplified the queen's virginal modesty, which bestowed her marriage with a sense of sacred purity. For Ptolemaic queenship, this sacralized chastity lay at the very heart of the importance of matrimony. A queen's delightful devotion and gracious charm could certainly endear her with the king. Only the queen's marital fidelity, however, could produce royal offspring and hence guarantee the legitimacy of the succession. In short, the position of Ptolemaic queens at the Alexandrian court depended on the sacralization of royal matrimony as much as on their contribution to the continuation of the dynasty.

3. The Divine Mother of Gods

The essential function of royal marriage, as suggested, was to produce an heir to the throne. The permanence of the dynasty could only be secured through the proper transfer of the Royal *Ka* from predecessor to legitimate successor. The renewal of kingship, therefore, involved the active participation of the queen, who would give birth

to the crown prince. This section, then, is devoted to the role of the Ptolemaic queen as “Divine Mother” of the king, the indispensable counterpart to her role as the “Wife of the God.” Identifications with Great Mother Goddesses (discussed in the first chapter), immediately demonstrate the vital position that Ptolemaic queens occupied at the Lagid court. Foremost, I will illustrate this identification of the Ptolemaic queen as Magna Mater, and then elucidate this maternal function in relation to the royal child. In this context, it will be possible to explain the significance of the cult epithet “*Philometor* (Mother-Loving),” that was so frequently assigned to later members of the Lagid dynasty. Finally, I would like to consider the important role of the queen mother in Theocritus’ *Encomium* and *Adoniazusae*. I will suggest that, both in her relation with the crown prince and with her daughter, the queen transmitted her divine nature on to her children.

Significantly, the first Ptolemaic queen, Berenice I, was assimilated with Isis, as “Mother of the Gods (*Mêtêr Theôn*).”⁹⁵ Her maternal status was visually portrayed on the Kom el-Hisn version of the Canopus Decree, where she appeared at the back of the ancestor procession.⁹⁶ She was shown in the guise of Isis and was honored as “Divine Mother (*Mut Nether*)”⁹⁷; while her spouse Ptolemy I appeared as Osiris and was styled

⁹⁵ *P. Petrie* I: 21, col. 2, l. 7, and III: 1, col. 2, ll. 6-7 (ἡ ἱστὶς μήτηρ θεῶν Βελένικη); Otto 1905-08, I: 169 and n. 5; Pfeiffer 1922, 35 and n. 1; Tondriau 1948a, 17, no. 2.c-d; cf. *P. Magd.* 2 l. 3 (ἱερὸν Συρίας Θεοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Βερενίκης, “the shrine of Dea Syria and Aphrodite Berenice”); *infra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 3, p. 140, n. 129.

⁹⁶ *I. Cair.* 22186; Roeder 1960, 142-166 and fig. 34; Quaegebeur 1978, 247-248; *id.* 1988, 48 and fig. 23.

⁹⁷ *Urk.* II: 156 l. 8: *mw.t ntr* (= ); cf. *LD* IV: 10; *id. Text* III: 53; *Urk.* II: 155 l. 15; PM² II: 225 (Euergetes Gate of Chonsu temple, Thebes); Troy 1986, 178 (P.1: C1/9). [I take ‘*ntr*’ as the adjective “divine,” rather than the noun “god,” as it follows the hieroglyph for ‘*mw.t*’.]

“Divine Father (*Iti Nether*).”⁹⁸ In subsequent generations, Berenice II and Cleopatra I received the title “Mother of the God” in relation to their respective sons Ptolemy IV and Ptolemy VI (*viz.*, Philometor).⁹⁹ On the West-Theban temple of Thoth (mod. Qasr el-‘Aguz), Arsinoe II, Berenice II and Arsinoe III were each worshipped by Ptolemy VIII as “Divine Mother of His Mothers (*Mut Nether en Mutuef*).”¹⁰⁰ Cleopatra III was officially worshipped in the Alexandrian cult with an eponymous office called “Sacred Foal (*Hieros Pôlos*) of Isis the Great Mother of the Gods (*Megalê Mêtêr Theôn*).”¹⁰¹ Ptolemaic queens were commonly depicted in Pharaonic tradition wearing the vulture cap, which referred simultaneously to Mut, the “Mother” Goddess, and to Nechbet, the Lady of Upper Egypt.¹⁰² It may be noted, incidentally, that the latter vulture goddess was the patroness of Eileithyiaspolis (“City of the Goddess of Childbirth”; Eg. Necheb; mod. el-Kab). Numismatic evidence that has already been discussed conveyed the same meaning in Greek iconography, since it identified queens, such as Arsinoe II or Cleopatra I, as Hera or Isis.¹⁰³ Through identifications with Mother Goddesses, Ptolemaic queens were, accordingly, deified in their maternal function for the permanence of the Lagid dynasty.

⁹⁸ *Urk.* II: 156 l. 7 (*iti ntr*).

⁹⁹ *LdR* IV: 260; *LD* IV: 22c (𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏); *PM* VI: 116; Troy 1986, 179 (P.5 and 7: C1/9).

¹⁰⁰ *LdR* IV: 240; *LD* IV: 32a-b (*mw.t ntr n mw.tw=f*); *PM*² II: 529; Troy 1986, 178-179 (P.4-6: C1/12); Minas 2000, 29 and doc. 56.

¹⁰¹ *P. Ehebertr.* 37 (Ἰσις μεγάλη μήτηρ θεῶν); *P. dem. Cairo* II: 30602 (*hīr plwz Ís.t t hnw.t t mw.t ntr.t ʿt*, “*hieros polos* of Isis, the Mistress, the Great Mother Goddess”); Tondriau 1948a, 27-28; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 198; Bergman 1968, 133 n. 3, and 134-137; Clarysse and van der Veken 1983, 34-39; Minas 2000, 151-152.

¹⁰² *Cf. Pyr.* 910a-b (“The King knows his mother [*mw.t=f*]. The King is not ignorant of his mother the White Crown [*viz.*, of Upper Egypt], splendid and strong dwelling in Necheb, Mistress of the Palace [*pr-wt*]”; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Geier’, ‘Geierhaube’, ‘Königin’, ‘Kronen,’ and ‘Nechbet’; Troy 1986, 116-119.

Ptolemaic *mammisis* (“birth chapels”) resumed the pictorial tradition of the birth scenes from Opet temple of the Royal *Ka* (mod. Luxor) and Hatshepsut’s West-Theban monumental complex (mod. Deir el-Bahari), and unmistakably display the vital position of the mother of the royal child.¹⁰⁴ The queen is led by Mut-Hathor or Isis to her divine spouse, Amun-Ra or Osiris.¹⁰⁵ They consummate the Holy Wedding when the god “gave his heart to her” when “his love entered her body,” and she was impregnated as she breathed in the life that he presented with the *anch*-sign.¹⁰⁶ The conception of the royal child, fashioned by Khnum in the likeness of the Royal *Ka*, has already been described in the previous chapter.¹⁰⁷ Scenes, furthermore, depict the actual parturition of the divine child.¹⁰⁸ For instance, on the now-destroyed birth chapel of Hermonthis (mod. Armant), Cleopatra VII looks on behind Amun-Re and Mut-Nechbet as her son Ptolemy XV Caesarion is born, who is identified with Horus-Chepri (the scarab god of the rising sun).¹⁰⁹ The child is then presented to his divine father.¹¹⁰ The narrative continues with scenes of nursing and suckling, where the queen is closely assimilated with Isis-Hathor

¹⁰³ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 3, pp. 78-79.

¹⁰⁴ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Geburtshaus’; Daumas 1958; Bleeker 1959, 265-266; Brunner 1964; Goyon 1988, 33-37; Bell 1997, 137-144; *supra*, Pt. One, ch. III, § 1.

¹⁰⁵ Troy 1986, 66-67, fig. 43b.

¹⁰⁶ Daumas 1958, 395-403; Brunner 1964, 50-57 and pl. 4; Bergman 1968, 137-140; Troy 1986, 128-128, fig. 92.

¹⁰⁷ Daumas 1958, 403-425; Goyon 1988, 34, fig. 8.

¹⁰⁸ Daumas 1958, 437-449.

¹⁰⁹ *LD* IV: 60a, and *Text* IV: 3-7 (*Ḳlwpdr.t nṯr.t mr-ît-s, Ptwlṃjs Ḳjsrš*), 11; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Chepre’ and ‘Har-p-re’; Daumas 1958, 339-348, 439 and 444-445; Goyon 1988, fig. 9; Ray 2003.10-11. [The mother of the divine child is simply designated as *mw.t n nṯr* (𓄎𓄏𓄏𓄏), “Mother of the God.”]

¹¹⁰ Daumas 1958, 449-457.

and accompanied by divine wet-nurses as well as protective deities (such as Bes, Ka and Heqat).¹¹¹ Through the act of lactation, the Heavenly Cow-goddess transmits the divine right of sovereignty onto the royal child that designates him heir and successor to his father's throne. In Philae, Ra declared: "O Horus, you triumph over enemies, excellent king, you will reign eternally over the Two Lands";¹¹² while Amun proclaimed: "I have established Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, on the throne of his father."¹¹³ Finally, *mammisi* scenes refer to the papyrus thicket of Upper-Egyptian Chemmis, where Isis reared Horus to protect her child from the murderous Seth.¹¹⁴ *Mammisis*, in short, vividly illustrate the conception of the queen as the divine mother of the royal child.

The relationship of the dominant queen mother and the subordinate crown prince, as reflected in the affiliation of Horus with Isis-Hathor, is implied in the Ptolemaic epithet *Philometor*. When Ptolemy V had died prematurely (Sept./Oct. 180 BCE),¹¹⁵ his widow, Cleopatra I, took effective control and reigned as regent for their six-year old child Ptolemy VI.¹¹⁶ In protocols, Cleopatra preceded her son, who was styled "King Ptolemy who Loves His Mother," the "Son of Ptolemy the Manifest God."¹¹⁷ Not only

¹¹¹ LD IV: 59c and Text IV: 10; Dumas 1958, 460-463; Goyon 1988, 34, figs. 8 and 10.

¹¹² *Philae* II: 13 ll. 26-28.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 15 ll. 2-4.

¹¹⁴ LD IV: 36b; Hdt., II.156 (cf. 83 and 152); Plut., *Is. et Osir.* XVIII (= *Mor.* 357F) and XXXVIII (= 366A); Bergman 1968, 137-140; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 337; Troy 1986, 122 and fig. 86; Lloyd 1975-88, III: 142-146; Goyon 1988, 34 and fig. 11.

¹¹⁵ Huß 2001, 536.

¹¹⁶ Whitehorne 1994, 86-87; Hölbl 2001, 142-143; Huß 2001, 537-540.

¹¹⁷ *P. Freib.* III.12 = *BL* VI.42 ll. 2-3 (βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου θεοῦ Ἐπιφανοῦς [gen.]); and 8 (βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Φιλομήτορος [gen.]); (*Pr-ꜥ Ptwlmjꜥ sꜥ Ptwlmjꜥ pꜥ ntr nti pr*) (*Pr-ꜥ Ptwlmjꜥ pꜥ ntr mr-mw.t=f*); Minas 2000, 133-136.

Ptolemaic queens by association with a king who had formerly been subordinated to his mother. It would seem, therefore, that the epithet was not intended to express any particular relation between the queen and her (husband's) mother. Instead, it should probably best be understood to allude to a similar sense of filial devotion as articulated with the epithet *Philopator*.¹²⁴ However, it remains worth noting that the latter epithet was not as frequent as *Philometor*. The regular occurrence of this title, indeed, affirms the dominant position of queens Cleopatra I, Cleopatra III, and Cleopatra VII at the Lagid court.

Theocritus' Alexandrian poems, furthermore, articulate the importance attached to the mother-daughter relation. We encounter this theme of matrilineal identification in his *Adoniazusae*, where Arsinoe (II) is called Berenice's daughter, and Aphrodite, Dione's daughter (besides, the hymnist is identified as "the Argive woman's daughter").¹²⁵ Similarly, in the *Encomium*, Berenice (I) is called Antigone's daughter, Aphrodite is again Dione's daughter, and Zeus and Hera are identified as Rhea's offspring.¹²⁶ For each female, the poet left unmentioned who the father was. Especially Aphrodite's performance in both idylls exemplifies her maternal concern toward Berenice. In the *Encomium*, the queen becomes pleasing to the king, when Aphrodite impressed her slender hands upon Berenice's fragrant bosom; while in the *Adoniazusae*, the mortal queen becomes immortal, when the goddess dripped ambrosia into her female

¹²⁴ Koenen 1993, 64.

¹²⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XV.97, 106 and 110; J. B. Burton 1995, 75.

¹²⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.36, 61 and 132; J. B. Burton 1995, 71; Hunter 2003, 127.

breast.¹²⁷ Theocritus further elucidated Aphrodite's role in Berenice's deification, for the goddess snatched the queen before she could cross over to Acheron (the lake at the boundary of the Underworld), and established Berenice in her own temple.¹²⁸ In other words, Berenice had become Aphrodite's *synnaos theos* ("temple-sharing deity") – sharing, too, in Aphrodite's qualities, and hence assimilating with the goddess as "Aphrodite Berenice."¹²⁹ As was the case with the crown prince, the queen's maternal care accordingly enhanced her daughter's status, and it was this function of sacralization that accounts for the title *Philometor*.

The Ptolemaic queen was conceived of as the king's divine mother, whose own divinity was indispensable for the deification of her children. In her role of Magna Mater, she nourished and protected the crown prince, as Isis had cared for Horus. The king was conceived of as the "Bull of His Mother (*Kamutef*)," who had suckled the udder of the Heavenly Cow-goddess. In return for her motherly love, he reciprocated with filial devotion – hence the epithet "Mother-Loving (*Philometor*, *Mery-Mutef*)." When this epithet was applied to female members of the dynasty, it expressed the matrilineal transmission of the queen's divine nature. In Theocritus' *Encomium* and *Adoniasusae*,

¹²⁷ Theoc. *Id.* XV.106-108 (Κύπρι Διωναία, τὸ μὲν ἀθανάταν ἀπὸ θνατᾶς, ἡ ἀνθρώπων ὡς μῦθος, ἐποίησας Βερενίκαν, ἡ ἀμβροσίαν ἐς στήθος ἀποστάξασα γυναικός) and XVII.36-37 (τᾷ μὲν Κύπρον ἔχοισα Διώνας πότνια κόρυς ἡ κόλπον ἐς εὐώδη ῥαδινὰς ἐσεμάξατο χεῖρας); Gow 1950, II: 293-294 and 333; Hunter 2003, 126-128.

¹²⁸ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.45-52; Gow 1950, II: 334-335; Hunter 2003, 133-138.

¹²⁹ Athen. V.202D; *P. Magdola* 2 = *P. Enteux* 13 l. 3 (ἱερὸν Συρίας θεοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης Βερενίκης); *OGIS* 733 = *IG. Fay.* III: 150 ll. 6-7 (Διὶ Σωτῆρι καὶ θεᾷ Συρίαι καὶ θεοῖς συννάοις); Otto 1905-8, I: 169 n. 5, and 172 n. 2; Tondriau 1948a, 14 and 21; Fraser 1972, II: 391 n. 402 and 435 n. 741; Rowlandson (ed.) 1998, 28-30 no. 5; Hunter 2003, 136-137; *supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 3, p. 134, n. 95. [Despite the date of *P. Enteux* 13 (*viz.*, year 25 of Ptolemy III, *i.e.*, 222 BCE), the association of the Queen with the Dea Syria, and especially its subsequent assimilation with the cult of Zeus Soter (!) seem to argue in favor for the identification with the first Berenice, Ptolemy Soter's wife, rather than the second, Euergetes' wife.]

Aphrodite performs this maternal role. Yet, by implication Berenice I had come to share that prerogative. Indeed, Queen Berenice would become the “Divine Mother (*Mut Nether*)” of the whole Lagid dynasty, a true “Mother of Gods (*Mêtêr Theôn*).” In the preceding paragraphs, in sum, I have argued that Ptolemaic queenship performed an essential function for the apotheosis of the royal house.

4. The Queen’s Charity

An essential constituent of the deification of the members of the Lagid House was the queen’s performance of acts of charity - the counterpart to the benefactions of her spouse, the Ptolemaic king. In the same fashion as the appellation *Philometor*, the cult epithet *Philopator* expressed the importance of filial piety. In this section, I will first explain how the latter title not only reflected historical conditions, but also conveyed an apotheotic significance. I would then suggest examining the motivation of designating queens “Savior” or “Benefactress,” and illustrate the kinds of benevolent deeds they implied. Such acts included filial devotion, placating the gods, providing prosperity, safeguarding sailors, sponsoring the arts, achieving athletic victories, promoting trade, and bestowing other sorts of generous grants. The titles of the Alexandrian eponymous priesthoods, some Hellenistic poetry, especially Theocritus’ *Adoniazusae*, sculptural and numismatic evidence, as well as religious identifications with Agathe Tyche, Aphrodite, Demeter and Isis will be reviewed in the following paragraphs. The grace and charity of the Ptolemaic queen, so I will contend, were considered a blessing not only for the royal house, but also for Egypt and its populace.

In the preceding section, I have discussed the significance of filial devotion

toward the Queen Mother. The Ptolemaic epithet “*Philopator* (Father-Loving),” assigned to Arsinoe III, Cleopatra VI Tryphaena, and Cleopatra VII, correspondingly expressed the importance of fidelity toward the father.¹³⁰ For Arsinoe III this designation had particular poignancy, not only due to her own young age, but also because her mother was still alive and seemed to have vied for the throne in joint rule with her younger son, Magas, rather than Ptolemy IV.¹³¹ The filial piety of the *Philopatores*, therefore, appears to have arisen from the historical conditions of court intrigue. In the case of Cleopatra VI Tryphaena, her parentage is too uncertain to discern whether it had any historical significance, or rather adhered to the notional ideal of filial piety.¹³² For the last Ptolemaic queen, the cult title referred to her father’s designation as his legitimate successor and strengthened her claim to the throne against her rival siblings.¹³³ In the same fashion as the title *Philometor* had dynastic and historical implications as well as religious significance when assigned to Ptolemaic queens, so, too, did the epithet *Philopator*.

Just as filial piety was “a great boon to parents,”¹³⁴ so in the apotheotic realm was the queen a blessing to her divine father. Arsinoe II was frequently called the daughter of gods such as Amun, Ra, Geb, and the *Mehru* (“anointed”?) Bull of Heliopolis.¹³⁵ She

¹³⁰ Minas 2000, 107-108, 178-179, and 195

¹³¹ Polyb. V.xxxvi.1 and 6, and XV.xxv; Plut. *Cleom.* XXXIII.5; Just. XXX.i.2; Huß 2001, 382-383.

¹³² Cf. *RE s.v.* ‘Kleopatra,’ no. 18, XI(1): 748-750; Bloedow 1962, 93-106; Whitehorne 1994, 177-185; Bennet 1997, 56-64; Huß 2001, 674-675.

¹³³ *RE s.v.* ‘Kleopatra,’ no. 20, XI(1): 750; Heinen 1966, 180; Huß 1990, 197; *id.* 2001, 705-706.

¹³⁴ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.35 (ὄφελος μέγα γειναμένοισι, of Berenice I); Gow 1950, II: 333; Hunter 2003, 125-126.

¹³⁵ E.g., see: *Urk* II: 72 ll. 1-2 (*s.t-Gb s.t-Mrhw-k*), 106 l. 16 (*s.t-Ġnmw*); *LdR* IV: 242 (*s.t Rʿ*);

was, furthermore, surnamed “Beloved of Atum of Heliopolis,” and in Mendes, where the Queen had been appointed as the god’s high-priestess, she was titled “Beloved of the Ram, Prosperity of the Ram.”¹³⁶ Berenice II and Cleopatra I were praised as the “Adornment” or “Prosperity of Khnum,” and as the “Daughter of Thoth.”¹³⁷ The prematurely deceased daughter of Ptolemy III and Berenice II, Berenice Parthenus (d. 238 BCE), received the honorary epithets “Goddess,” “Queen,” “Maiden,” “Daughter of Ra,” “Eye of Ra, Crown on His Brow,” and “Mistress of Maidens.”¹³⁸ Cleopatra III, Cleopatra V Selene, as well as Cleopatra VI Tryphaena were designated as the “Daughter of Ra”;¹³⁹ while Cleopatra VII Nea Isis was appropriately styled “Daughter of Geb.”¹⁴⁰ The last Ptolemaic queen, moreover, took the Female Horus name “Great Image of Her Father.”¹⁴¹ Arsinoe II and Cleopatra I were, in fact, beloved of all the gods of Egypt.¹⁴² Naturally, placating the gods included a gracious benevolence for the queen’s subjects.

Turning to more concrete acts of charity, I will now elucidate the significance of

PM² II: 208, IV: 63, VI: 243; Troy 1986, 178 (P.4); *supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 1, p. 119.

¹³⁶ *Urk* II: 40 ll. 1-2 (*mri.t-bz wdz.t-bz*), 72 l. 10 (*mri.t-Itm Iwnw*); *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 3, p. 81.

¹³⁷ *Urk* II: 122 ll. 4, 6 (*hkr.t-n-Hnm, sz.t-Dhwit*); *LdR* IV: 287 (*hkr.t-n-Hnmw*, var. *wdz.t-n-Hnmw, sz.t-Dhwit*); Von Beckerath 1984, 119; Troy 1986, 179 (P.5, 7).

¹³⁸ *Urk* II: 142-150 *pass.* (*ntr.t*, ἡ θεός; *hks.t*, βασιλίσσα; *mn.t*, παρθένος; *sz.t R'*, ἡ τοῦ Ἡλίου θυγάτηρ; *sz.t swt-bit* (*Ptwlmjs' nh-dt mri-Pth*) *h' nb.t t.wj* (*Bmjg.z.t*), βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου θυγάτηρ καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης; *sz.t n ntr.wj mnh.wj*, ἐκ τῶν εὐεργετῶν θεῶν; *irt-R' Mhnt-m-hst=f*, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ ὠνόμασεν ὅτε μὲν βασιλείαν ὅτε δὲ ὄρασιν αὐτοῦ; (*Bmjg.z.t*), Βερενίκη; *hnw.t mn.w*, ἀνάσσα παρθένων).

¹³⁹ *LdR* IV: 332 and 407 (*sz.t R'*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.9-11).

¹⁴⁰ *LdR* IV: 416 (*sz.t-Gb*); Troy 1986, 179 (P.14).

¹⁴¹ *LD Text* IV: 4(a) (*wr.t twt-n-it-s*); Troy 1986, 23, 59 and 109. [*Cp.* Cleopatra’s surname “*Uris-Tut-n-Ites*,” with the names of Tutanchamun and his wife Anchsenamun.]

¹⁴² *E.g.*, see: *Urk* II: 82 l. 13 (*mri.t-ntr.w*, in Arsinoe’s throne name); *LdR* IV: 287 (*mri.t-ntr.w-Bzkt*, in Cleopatra’s Female Horus name); von Beckerath 1984, 118-119.

the epithets *Soteira* and *Euergetis* as applied to Ptolemaic queens. In addition to the first Berenice, the title “Savior” was assigned to Cleopatra III (individually as well as jointly with Ptolemy X Soter II) and to Cleopatra Berenice III (in association with Ptolemy X) in the dynastic cult.¹⁴³ However, in general, Ptolemaic queens offered deliverance specifically to seafarers particularly through their assimilation with Aphrodite and Isis. We have already encountered the cult of Aphrodite Berenice, and I would like to add here that the worship of Zeus Soter was joined to its shrine.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, the admiral (*nauarch*) of the Ptolemaic fleet, Callicrates, established the cult of Arsinoe-Aphrodite at Cape Zephyrium, between Alexandria and Canopus.¹⁴⁵ As such, the Queen became the protectress not only of the Ptolemaic fleet, but also of the Lagid naval empire that stretched along the eastern Mediterranean into the Black Sea, and through the Red Sea into the Indian Ocean. “For those who pray in the midst of storm,” an epigram by Posidippus goes, this deified Arsinoe Cypris Zephyritis, identified with Aphrodite Euploia, “will grant fair-sailing (*euploia*) and will make the wide sea smooth.”¹⁴⁶ One of Alexandria’s streets was named in honor of “Arsinoe Who Saves (*Sôizousa*),”¹⁴⁷ and the

¹⁴³ Pestman 1967, 66-68, 72 and 154-156.

¹⁴⁴ *P. Enteux*. 13, in: Rowlandson (ed) 1998, no. 5; *supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 3, p. 140, n. 129.

¹⁴⁵ Posidip. *Ep.* 12-13 G-P; Callim. *Ep.* 5; *id.* F 110 ll. 54-58; *Alex.* 82-84; Strabo XVII.i.16 (800: τὸ Ζεφύριον, ἄκρα ναῖσκον ἔχουσα Ἀρσινόης Ἀφροδίτης); Tondriau 1848a, 16-17 no. 2 b; *id.* 1948d, 175-177; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 199; Hauben 1970, 42-46; Fraser 1972, I: 239-240, 568-569, 571, and 667-668; Pomeroy 1984, 36; Bing 2003.

¹⁴⁶ Posidip. *Ep.* 13 G-P *ap.* Athen. VII.318D (ἡ δὲ καὶ εὐπλοίην δώσει καὶ χεῖματι μέσσωι | τὸ πλατὺ λισσομένοις ἐκλιπανεῖ πέλαγος). For Aphrodite’s marine aspect, see: Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 433-437. .

¹⁴⁷ *SB* 7630; Fraser 1972, I: 237, and II: 387 n. 371.

same epithet is attested for Berenice II.¹⁴⁸ In the Hellenistic age, no doubt through her association with the Lagid court, Isis, too, became a maritime savior.¹⁴⁹ At the foot of the Alexandrian Lighthouse on the island of Pharos, Isis Pharia had her own cult, which persisted into Roman Imperial times.¹⁵⁰ In fact, the title “*Theoi Sôtêres*,” originally belonged to two other protectors of sailors, namely the Dioscuri Castor and Pollux, who may have received worship on the Pharos.¹⁵¹ The cult of Zeus Soter and even that of Poseidon were, likewise, associated with the Lighthouse.¹⁵² With designations such as “*Soter*” and “*Sôizousa*” as well as through identifications with Aphrodite and Isis, then, Ptolemaic queens manifested their charitable affection as guardians of seafaring.

Apart from Berenice II, the cult epithet “Beneficent” was used for Cleopatra II and her daughter Cleopatra III (individually as well as jointly with Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II). The same notion of liberal generosity lay behind the queen’s identification particularly with Agathe Tyche and Demeter, which were corollary to the king’s assimilation with Agathodaemon and Dionysus. The *oenochoe* described in the previous chapter,¹⁵³ dating from the mid-third to the early second centuries, portrayed the reigning queen in the guise of Agathe Tyche, pouring a libation on an altar erected in her honor. Several of these faience wine jugs explicitly assimilated Arsinoe Philadelphus with

¹⁴⁸ Zenob. III.94; Fraser 1972, I: 238, and II: 388 n. 385.

¹⁴⁹ *SIRIS*, e.g., nos. 34 (Isis Pelagia), CE 147 (Isis Euploia), and 179 (Isis Soteira); Vidman 1970, 86.

¹⁵⁰ *SIRIS* nos. 358 and 403 (Εἷσις Φαρία); Fraser 1972, I: 20-21; Empereur 1998, 85 and 87.

¹⁵¹ Strabo XVII.i.6 (791); Pliny *NH* xxxvi.83; Luc. *Hist. conscr.* 62; Fraser 1972, I: 18-19.

¹⁵² Empereur 1998, 82-87 (with ill.).

¹⁵³ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 3.

Isis.¹⁵⁴ The *cornucopia* that the queens in question carry on the left arm clearly identified them as Bringers of Good Fortune. In the Grand Procession of Ptolemy II, a figure called *Eniautos* (“Year”) carried “the golden horn of Amalthea” to represent the cyclical return of prosperity.¹⁵⁵ The Horn of Plenty was, further, a frequent emblem on the Alexandrian coinage of Ptolemaic queens.¹⁵⁶ Statues, too, presented queens with this attribute – *e.g.*, two Egyptian-style statuettes now in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, identified as Arsinoe Philadelphus and a “Cleopatra.”¹⁵⁷ The popular eponymous priesthood of Arsinoe’s “*Kanephoros* (Basket-Bearer)” brought grateful offerings of firstfruits to the deified Queen at her Alexandrian temple, which the virgin priestess carried in the reed vessel (*kanē*) referred to in her title.¹⁵⁸ “Arsinoe Bringer of Fruits (*Karpophoros*)” was the name of another street in Alexandria, which honored that queen and identified her with Demeter. In the Arsinoite nome the epiclesis “Bringer of Law (*Thesmophoros*),” implied the same for Berenice II. Additionally, numismatics can be adduced for the assimilation of Ptolemaic queens with (Isis-) Demeter. Phoenician emissions (dated *ca.* 221-204 BCE), mentioned above, feature the jugate busts of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III in the guise of Zeus-Sarapis and Isis-Demeter, respectively—

¹⁵⁴ Tondriau 1948a, 15 no. 1(b); D. B. Thompson 1973, esp. 57-61.

¹⁵⁵ Callix. *ap.* Athen. V.198A (φέρων χρυσοῦν Ἀμαλθείας κέρασ ... ἐνιαυτός; he is attended by the four *Horae*); Rice 1983, 49.

¹⁵⁶ D. B. Thompson 1973, esp. 32-34; Hazzard 1995a, 101-120 *pass.*

¹⁵⁷ MMA 20.2.21 and 89.2.660; Needler 1949, 137 and 139-140; Bothmer *et al.* (eds.) 1960, 145-147, nos. 113 and 123, figs. 307-310; Kyrieleis 1975, 82, 118, 178 and 183, pls. 71.1-2 and 101.1, nos. J. 1 and M. 1; Brunelle 1976, 29; Quaegebeur 1978, 254; Bianchi 1980; Quaegebeur 1988, 47; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, 170-172 no. 66; Smith 1988, 95; Rausch (ed.) 1998, no. 39; Ashton 2001a, 151-154; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, nos. 164 and 166.

¹⁵⁸ Fraser 1972: I: 217-229 *pass.*; D. B. Thompson 1973, 71-72; Rice 1983, 49; Bailey 1999, 156-160; Minas 2000, 93-96.

the former wearing a laurel wreath and the Osirian *atef*-crown (𐩙), the latter wearing an ear of wheat and the Hathoric crown (𐩚).¹⁵⁹ Paphian issues (dated *ca.* 180-176 BCE), likewise, portray Cleopatra I as Isis-Demeter, with so-called “Libyan Locks” bound by an ear of wheat.¹⁶⁰ Both series of coinage, incidentally, show a single or double horn on the reverse. The foregoing identifications with Agathe Tyche and (Isis-) Demeter unequivocally evince the religious significance of the charitable benefactions of the Ptolemaic queen as Bringer of Prosperity and Good Fortune.

Further benevolent deeds, the queen bestowed for the maintenance of cults and festivals, as well as for the promotion of the arts. Gracious donations to Egyptian temples are a common theme in the decrees of priestly synods, for which liberality the sovereigns continue to receive worship in return.¹⁶¹ The importance of the queen’s patronage of religious festivals comes to the fore particularly in Theocritus’ *Adoniazusae*.¹⁶² In that idyll, we enter the Alexandrian palace with two housewives of Syracusean descent, to view the rich display of the Adonis tableau and listen to the hymnist’s dirge of Adonis’ passing. Not only does the poem inform us that Arsinoe II organized the Adonia,¹⁶³ we also appreciate the popularity of the Lagid House from the female’s perspective. It is worth noting Theocritus’ often coy allusions to marriage – *e.g.*, how Zeus wed Hera, how

¹⁵⁹ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 3, p. 79, n. 104 (lit.).

¹⁶⁰ *BMC Ptol.* s.v. Ptolemy VI, pp. lix-lx and 78-79, no. 1-6 and 9-12, pl. 18.7 and 9; s.v. Ptolemy VIII, p. 89, nos. 6-12, pl. 21.3, and pp. 93-94, nos. 67-77, pl. 22.5-6; Sv. nos. 1232-1235, 1237-1238, 1240, 1382, 1384, 1387, and 1491, pls. 40.7-12, 14-15 and 18, 47.11 and 15, and 51.10; Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 250-252, 280 and 310; Kahrstedt 1910, 274; Tondriau 1948a, 24; Brunelle 1976, 62-63; Hazzard 1995a, 9-10 and fig. 21; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, no. 88.

¹⁶¹ *E.g.*, see: *Urk.* II: 128 ll. 2-3 (Canopus decree: *ἡρ-ἱρί μνη.ω κνη.ω wr.ω m mṣ'.w nw Tṣ-mr.t*, διατελοῦσιν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα εὐεργετοῦντες τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱερά); Pomeroy 1984, 14-15.

¹⁶² J. B. Burton 1995, 133-154.

men lock their brides inside, how Persephone has only one master (*scil.*, lover; *viz.*, Adonis rather than Hades), and how Aphrodite and Adonis embrace each other on the bridal couch.¹⁶⁴ As has become clear, Arsinoe II and Berenice II have left a lasting mark on Alexandrian poetry, and as patrons of the arts, poets such as Theocritus and Callimachus celebrated their grace and virtue. In fact, it appears that the latter counted Arsinoe as the tenth Muse on Mt. Helicon, as he would subsequently count Berenice as the fourth Grace.¹⁶⁵ Pausanias confirmed that a statue of Arsinoe Philadelphus was to be found in the Valley of the Muses on Mt. Helicon.¹⁶⁶ The queen's namesake, Arsinoe III, later bestowed her munificence on the Thespians for the reorganization of the Muses' festival.¹⁶⁷ As patrons of religion and art, Ptolemaic queens, too, demonstrated their generosity.

Finally, the queen could benefit her country in more mundane matters. For instance, Ptolemy IV established a posthumous cult for his mother Berenice Euergetis, with a priestess called "*Athlophoros* (Prize-Bearing)," who was named before the canephorate of Arsinoe Philadelphus.¹⁶⁸ This title evidently referred to Berenice's victories in the chariot races at the Olympian and Nemean Games that were celebrated in

¹⁶³ Theoc. *Id.* XV.22-23.

¹⁶⁴ Theoc. *Id.* XV.64 (ὥς Ζεὺς ἀγάγεθ' Ἥραν), 77 ("ἔνδοι πᾶσαι", ὁ τὰν νυὸν εἶπ' ἀποκλάξας), 94-95 (μὴ φύη, Μελιτῶδες, ὅς ἀμῶν καρτερὸς εἴη, ἡ πλὰν ἐνός), and 128 (τὸν μὲν Κύπρις ἔχει, τὰν δ' ὁ ῥοδόπαχυν Ἀδωνις); cf. Callim. *Aet.* II. F 48; Porph. *Antr. Nymph.* 18; Gow 1950, II: 283, 285-286, and 291; J. B. Burton 1995, 18, 39, 59-60, 74, 79, and 152.

¹⁶⁵ Σ Lond. *ad* Callim. *Aet.* I. F 1 l. 41, in: Pfeifer 1949-53, I: 7; Callim. *Ep.* 51; Cameron 1995, 141-142.

¹⁶⁶ Paus. IX.xxxi.1.

¹⁶⁷ Fraser 1972, I: 313, and II: 467 n. 55; Cameron 1995, 142; Hölbl 2001, 133; Huß 2001, 413.

¹⁶⁸ IJsewijn 1961, 121 and n. 9; Fraser 1972, I: 219.

Callimachus' epinician odes.¹⁶⁹ The honor of such victories was itself a gracious blessing, not only for the queen's house, but for her kingdom also, for it brought Egypt fame and glory.¹⁷⁰ Like her immediate predecessor Arsinoe Philadelphus, Berenice Euergetis was fond of perfume made of roses, especially from her homeland Cyrene, and she bolstered its trade.¹⁷¹ A handbook on cosmetics that was attributed to Cleopatra VII circulated even after the demise of the Lagid dynasty, and provided a variety of remedies and recipes, particularly for hair-loss.¹⁷² Ptolemaic queens could furthermore independently own ships for the transport of (tax-) grain, *e.g.*, from Upper-Egyptian Ptolemais to the royal granary at Alexandria, and could in their own right control landed property, especially in the Arsinoite nome, using their wealth for the benefit of the populace.¹⁷³ Dedications were set up to the Ptolemaic queens in gratitude for their charitable benevolence, ranging from small votive offerings and statues to shrines and sanctuaries.¹⁷⁴ In other words, like the King, the Ptolemaic Queen bestowed her munificence upon her country and its populace.

¹⁶⁹ Hyg. *Astr.* II.xxiv; IJsewijn 1961, 136; Pomeroy 1984, 20.

¹⁷⁰ Callim. *Vict. Beren.* F 383 (= *Suppl. Hell.* 254) opens with the lines: Ζηνί τε καὶ Νεμέηι τι χαρίσιον ἔνδον ὀφείλεις ἰ νύμφα, κα[σιγνή]των ἱερὸν αἶμα θεῶν, ἰ ἐμ[έ]τερο[ν δώρημα], τεῶν ἐπινίκιον ἵππω[ν], "I owe a gracious nuptial gift to Zeus and Nemea, O Nymph, holy blood of the Sibling-Born Gods, our [gift of honor], because of [your] victory at the races"; Parsons 1977, 8 (for emendations).

¹⁷¹ Athen. XV. 688E-689A; Macurdy 1932, 136; Fraser 1972, II: 296 n. 337; Pomeroy in Fantham *et al.* 1994, 144.

¹⁷² Gal. *Com. med.* XII: 403-403; Fraser 1972, II: 548 n. 306; Rowlandson (ed.) 1998, 41 no. 15.

¹⁷³ *E.g.*, see: *P. Rylands* IV: 576 (ship of Berenice II); *P. Tebt.* III: 720 (vineyard of Berenice Parthenus in Hephaistias); *P. Lille* I: 22 (Nile barge of Cleopatra II); *BGU* XIV: 2438 (holding of Cleopatra II in Phys); Pomeroy in Fantham *et al.* 1994, 145; Rowlandson (ed.) 1998, 35-37 nos 9-11.

¹⁷⁴ *E.g.*, see: *P. Lond.* VII.2046; *OGIS* 27-34 (Arsinoe II), 35 (Philoteria), 62-65 and 75-78 (Berenice II), 82-88 (Arsinoe III), 95-97 (Cleopatra I), 107 and 110-115 (Cleopatra II), 132 and 175 (Cleopatra III); Fraser 1972, I: 225-228.

In her status as the pleasing consort of the king, the Ptolemaic queen validated her gracious divinity through various acts of charitable benevolence. Royal epithets and titles of eponymous priests – including *Soteira*, *Kanephoros*, *Euergetis*, *Athlophoros*, and *Philopator* – have, in the foregoing, confirmed that for Ptolemaic queenship in particular the performance of benefactions was equally as important as it was for the Lagid dynasty in general. Though certain aspects of the ideology differed little between the kings and queens (temple donations, maintaining the populace's welfare, filial devotion, *etc.*), other elements are more emphatically associated with the female members of the royal house. The salvation of seafarers from peril, the provision of affluence and opulence, the promotion of trade in perfumes and cosmetics stand out in this respect. In order to reveal the symbolism of the queen's grace and charity, I have adduced among others artistic depictions of the queens, literary references, and religious identifications, *e.g.*, with Aphrodite Euploia or with Agathe Tyche. In like fashion as their spouse, the queens of the Lagid dynasty transpire from this evidence as patronesses of arts and religion, guardians of the populace on land and on sea, and bringers of prosperity and good fortune.

* * *
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As the complement to the preceding chapter on its importance for the Lagid dynasty in general, I have above suggested the significance of matrimony for Ptolemaic queenship in particular. In conclusion, I want to point out the central importance of the theme of matrimony in the deification of the queen. It is worth reminding that her marriage to the king constituted a *hieros gamos* – *viz.*, a Holy Wedding like unto Zeus

and Hera, Isis and Osiris, Aphrodite and Adonis, Hathor and Horus (Amun-Ra, *etc.*), or Dionysus and Ariadne. As the “Lady of Loveliness,” moreover, the queen was praised in most laudatory terms for her divine beauty and marital devotion. While these lavish epithets highlighted her gracious and charming femininity, the queen was presented as the king’s equal in divine majesty. I have endeavored to show how her gracious divinity and fragrant sensuality were necessarily accompanied by marital fidelity and virginal modesty. It was particularly through her fidelity and chastity, namely, that the Lagids’ matrimony acquired its sacralized purity, as *epithalamia* and other Alexandrian poetry demonstrate. This ideological conception of the queen as eternal virgin bride augmented her ascendancy and enhanced the eminence of the crown prince. In other words, queenship performed the vital function of intensifying the endowment of dynastic legitimacy with divine grace and sacred chastity.

Consequently, once she had given birth to a royal child, the queen came to be identified as the crown prince’s Great Mother Goddess. The identification of the Ptolemaic queen with goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hera, Hathor and Isis was in part motivated by the ideological significance of her maternal function, which was so vividly portrayed on Ptolemaic *mammisis*. The cult epithet “*Philometor*,” assigned to five Ptolemies (VI, VIII, IX, X and XV), plainly expressed both the subordination and (at least notional) devotion of these kings to their respective mothers (*viz.*, Cleopatra I, III and VII). In religious terms, the title symbolized the rule of Isis and Horus in Egypt. Of all the various titles of the Alexandrian priesthoods, however, the “Sacred Foal of Isis the Great Mother of the Gods” distinguished Cleopatra III most palpably as the syncretistic Magna Mater. Still, just as “*Philadelphus*” signified sibling affection, the Ptolemaic epithets “*Philopator*” as well as “*Philometor*” adhered to the ideal of filial devotion and

the underlying notion that divine royalty was transmitted from (both) the parents to their child. Of the remaining Ptolemaic epithets and titles of eponymous priest applied to the queens, “*Soteira*” and “*Euergetis*,” “*Kanephoros*” and “*Athlophoros*” can be understood in the context of the queen’s grace and charity. Additionally, Ptolemaic *oenochos*, numismatics Theocritus’ *Adoniazusae*, and Callimachus’ *Victoria Berenices*, among other evidence, convey the substance of the queen’s benevolence. For, in her role as Agathe Tyche, the Ptolemaic queen bestowed a variety of charitable deeds upon the populace, ranging from religious and cultural patronage to deliverance from peril at sea and the maintenance of prosperity. Queens, furthermore, advanced the application and trade of perfumes and cosmetics, that they were so fond of themselves. Throughout the preceding four sections, in sum, I have argued that, in her position of wife of the king and mother of the crown prince, the Ptolemaic queen performed a vital role for the popularization, legitimization and sacralization of the Lagid dynasty.

CONCLUSION

The object of the preceding chapters has been to answer the question: What was the meaning of matrimony both for the Lagid dynasty in general, and for Ptolemaic queenship in particular? In answer to this question, I have suggested that marriage not only legitimized dynastic succession, but also sacralized the royal house through religious identifications of Ptolemaic queens with goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hera, Isis and Hathor. The inferred ideological importance of marriage within the Ptolemaic ruler cult, elevated the queens' symbolic status and, in my view, augmented their authority at the Alexandrian court. In conclusion, we can situate the theme of matrimony in a broader historical context and in so doing corroborate this interpretation. In the following paragraphs, I will therefore summarize the findings presented in Part One. *(a.)* I will first reiterate the central importance of matrimony in the queens' identifications. *(b.)* Next, I will recap the ideological implications of this theme for Ptolemaic king- and queenship. *(c.)* This will then allow me to postulate the position of power and influence held by Ptolemaic queens. *(d.)* Finally, I will explain the characteristics of ideal queenship that the theme of matrimony expressed.

(a.) Ptolemaic queens from Berenice I to Cleopatra VII were identified with Great Mother Goddesses, such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hera, Isis and Hathor. In this first of four case studies, I have argued that these religious identifications were partially motivated by a shared concern for matrimony, which in turn was based on their underlying affinity with what I have termed (for want of a better term) the Magna Mater

constellation. If we forgo the tendency to forge a neat system of religious functions assigned to the individual members of the Greek and Egyptian pantheons, we come to realize that the goddesses under question retained various elements of the primordial Mother Goddess, whose concerns centered on fertility, matrimony and maternity. Incidentally, I consider the relative paucity or sheer absence of assimilations with Athena, Artemis and Hestia, or Neith, Bastet and Nephthys, as further proof that Ptolemaic queens were indeed identified with goddess whose sphere of influence included matrimony. The regal character of the Heavenly Queens, Aphrodite and Hera, Isis and Hathor, certainly was an additional reason behind these identifications. The first chapter was devoted to substantiate this convergence of the goddesses' functions in the sphere of matrimony.

As an aside, it may be appropriate here to point to the syncretism in the queens' assimilations with various goddesses. Such cases illustrate the highly associative nature of the religious identifications under question. The joint worship of Dea Syria Astarte and Aphrodite Berenice (to which the cult of Zeus Soter was added) is a clear manifestation of the intimate relation of these goddesses and their reciprocal relation with the cults of the queens. The assimilations of Berenice I and Cleopatra III with Isis Megale Meter Theon provide further obvious examples. The transfer of the *cornucopia* from Agathe Tyche and Demeter to the Ptolemaic queens, and then to Isis Tyche likewise reveals the intricate nature of these symbolic connections. It is similarly no coincidence that Demeter, Arsinoe II and Isis shared the epithet Thesmophorus, nor that the same Queen shared the epithet Euploia with Aphrodite and Isis. The adoption of religious attributes, such as the vulture cap of Mut and the Hathoric crown, additionally demonstrate my hypothesis that one of the main tenets of the worship of Ptolemaic queens included the

Magna Mater constellation. I have proposed that the attributes on the Philadelphus coinage, (*viz.*, the veil, *stephanê* and lotus-scepter) conveyed the same convergence of regality, fertility, matrimony and maternity in Greek iconography. In the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Ptolemaic Alexandria, such religious amalgamations are certainly to be expected. In the second chapter, I have provided evidence attesting the central importance of matrimony at the Lagid court.

(*b.*) The immediate significance of royal marriage was to secure the dynastic continuation by producing a legitimate heir and successor to the throne. It is worthy of note, in this respect, that the Ptolemies diverged considerably from the contemporary practices of marital alliances in the other Hellenistic kingdoms. The consanguineous nature of the Lagids' relations deserves separate treatment – for which Part Two is reserved. The worship of royal couples in official Greek and Egyptian cults, just as their jugate representation in various artistic media, emphatically portray the prominent position of the Ptolemaic Queen, whose wedding to the King of Egypt was, moreover, celebrated with public pomp. The association with divine nuptials, *e.g.*, of Zeus and Hera, Aphrodite and Adonis, Isis and Osiris, Hathor and Horus, promoted the notion that Lagid marriage similarly constituted a *hieros gamos*. Elevated to the status of goddess, the Queen performed the essential function of transmitting their divine sovereignty onto the crown prince. Adhering to Pharaonic tradition, the King was conceived of as the Living Horus, the embodiment of the Royal Ka, who manifested his legitimacy as Harendotes and Kamutef. Filial fidelity, as expressed in the royal epithets *Philopator* and *Philometor*, included acts of ancestor worship and royal benevolence, which was expressed accordingly in the epithets *Soter* and *Euergetes*. In terms of royal ideology, then, the sacralized nature of matrimony not only legitimized hereditary succession, but

also elevated the status of the kings and queens to that of deities. Legitimation and deification, in turn, obliged the rulers to secure abundance, good fortune and Cosmic Order. The dynastic significance of matrimony was presented in chapter three.

The prominent position of the Ptolemaic Queen was foremost due to her marriage with the King of Egypt, and furthermore to her role as mother of the crown prince. In the realm of symbolism, the Queen's sacred purity intensified the dynastic legitimacy and the divine majesty of the royal house with her marital fidelity and virginal chastity. While faithfulness to her royal consort was expressed in the epithet *Philadelphus* and in the concept of the "Lady of Loveliness," the epithet *Philometor* and the identification with Magna Mater unequivocally expressed the Queen's maternal predominance over her offspring. As the personification of Agathe Tyche, the Ptolemaic Queen was conceived of as bringer of abundant fertility and prosperity. Analogous to the King's benefactions, the Queen's charitable benevolence was articulated in epithets such as *Soteira* and *Euergetis*, as well as the canephorate and athlophorate priesthoods. The Queen manifested her charity and divinity, *inter alia*, through acts of religious, cultural and mercantile patronage. In short, Ptolemaic queenship was of vital consequence for the popularization, legitimation and sacralization of the Lagid dynasty. The importance of matrimony for Ptolemaic queenship was the subject of the fourth chapter.

(c.) The present case study of the theme of matrimony in the context of the ruler cult reveals the exemplary position of authority and influence held by Ptolemaic queens. While ancient historiography (with its male chauvinism) offers only scant reference to actual political power of Ptolemaic queens, modern historians are advised to probe beyond the literary evidence. Moreover, they may recall that already "amongst the wives of Ptolemy Soter it was Berenice who had the greatest influence and was foremost in

virtue and understanding” (Plut. *Pyrrh.* IV.4). In effect, the predominance of Ptolemaic queens represented a definite breach of the ancient Graeco-Macedonian patriarchic traditions. Even among their Macedonian predecessors, such as Cleopatra, Eurydice or Olympias, claims to female sovereignty were exceptionally rare. It can be no coincidence that the only queen who reigned supreme among the other Hellenistic kingdoms was Cleopatra Thea, the daughter of Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II. Perhaps, as Pomeroy suggests (1984, 172-173), the more egalitarian nature of gender relations in Egypt provided a social context that encouraged women to rise to power. However, even in the long Pharaonic tradition, few queens – Hatshepsut and Thuoris come to mind – actually seized the throne for themselves.

It is consequently truly remarkable that Ptolemaic queenship performed essential functions for the ideology of the Lagid dynasty. From the time of Cleopatra I, queens acted as regents over their children, were recognized as joint-rulers with their spouses, or even reigned without a male partner. Not only did they thus hold political and ideological power, their influence encouraged female participation and the celebration of feminine characteristics in the public and symbolic realm. Arsinoe II sponsored the Adonia at the Alexandrian palace; Berenice II competed in chariot races at the Olympian and Nemean Games; Cleopatra II owned a Nile barge that transported grain to the royal granary; and Cleopatra VII was reputed to have published a handbook on cosmetics. Statues were erected of Ptolemaic Queens in temples and public spaces across the Lagid Empire, and their portraits graced the coins that circulated throughout the Mediterranean. The mannerist realism of Hellenistic art and poetry, not only displayed public adoration of Ptolemaic queens, it also demonstrate insight into the everyday life of private women. I contend that the elevated status of the Ptolemaic Queen, her patronage of religion,

culture, athletics and economy, contributed to this mitigation of the patriarchic traditions of their Graeco-Macedonian heritages.

(d.) Finally, the theme of matrimony indicates characteristics of ideal queenship that were current in Ptolemaic Egypt. The importance of this theme in the context of the ruler cult is itself noteworthy. The identification of Ptolemaic kings and queens – with deities such as Zeus and Hera, Isis and Osiris, Aphrodite and Adonis, Hathor and Horus, and to a lesser extent Demeter and Dionysus, Agathodaemon and Agathe Tyche, Aeon and Persephone – presented their royal marriage as a *hieros gamos*, in which the queens were equal partners of their consorts. Even Theocritus’ approximations of Arsinoe II to Hera, Aphrodite and Helen, were not mere flattery of a poet eager for royal patronage. For such associations conveyed the divine beauty and charm of his Queen. She was, foremost, the “Lady of Loveliness,” whose delightful appearance and faithful devotion were pleasing to her spouse. This ideal of Love praised both her charm and her chastity, a paradoxical virginal sensuality that bestowed her wedding with sanctified purity. The ideological adherence to such notions as loyalty and modesty is significant in the context of rather discrepant actual attitudes – as the case of “thrice-married” Arsinoe illustrates. The emphasis of the Queen’s sacralized chastity was intended to strengthen the legitimacy of dynastic succession and augment the apotheosis of the royal house.

The fragrant divinity of the Ptolemaic Queen, furthermore, embodied the transcendental virtues of Grace and Charity. To a poet like Callimachus, the Queen was indeed a Nymph, a Muse and a Grace. In addition to her marital devotion, she was represented as a Magna Mater, whose idealized maternal care and affection she was expected to display to her progeny. The ideological significance of notions such as sustenance and protection is particularly pertinent within the context of the bitter rivalries

among the sons of Cleopatra I and of her granddaughter Cleopatra III. The Queen, furthermore, demonstrated her charitable benevolence through various acts of patronage and largesse that ensured the fertility of the land and the prosperity of its populace. These deeds of gracious charity, in turn, contributed to the popularization, legitimation, and sacralization of the Lagid dynasty.

The foregoing case study has aimed foremost to show that religious identifications of Ptolemaic Queens with Greek and Egyptian goddesses, including Aphrodite, Demeter, Hera, Isis and Hathor, was motivated in part by an underlying similarity regarding maternal and matrimonial functions. I would argue that this examination of matrimony as a theme in the deification of Ptolemaic Queens has revealed aspects of royal ideology that would otherwise have remained obscure or abstruse. For Ptolemaic queenship idealized feminine characteristics, such as chastity, charm, grace and charity, which were publicly celebrated. In her exemplary position at the Lagid court, the queen exercised political power and ideological influence that portrayed her as equal to the male members of her royal house and reinforced the Ptolemies' claim to the throne of Egypt. The apotheosis of Ptolemaic queens, in short, signified the centralization both exemplified and promoted female participation in Hellenistic Egypt.

Part Two.

INCEST



The second thematic case study of this dissertation concerns the symbolism of incest in the context of the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens with goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hera, Isis and Hathor. The thesis that I hope to validate is that such identifications were motivated in part by the similarly consanguineous nature of the goddesses' relations. Like the preceding case study, the main division of Part Two is fourfold: *(I.)* First, I will analyze the nature of this divine consanguinity and what notions were particularly associated with mythic incest. *(II.)* I will endeavor in the second chapter to contextualize the Lagids' extreme close-kin endogamy within framework of ancient attitudes toward consanguinity. *(III.)* This will then allow me to interpret the ideological importance of royal of incest for the Ptolemaic kings. *(IV.)* Finally, in the fourth chapter, I will be able to assess the theme's symbolic significance for the Ptolemaic queens. The argument that I will put forward is that by drawing the analogy with the incestuous hierogamy, the Lagids' consanguineous unions implied the sacralization of the royal house, and through the consequent dynastic legitimation, it was associated with benevolence, abundance and prosperity. In the course of this case study, I will illustrate the queens' position of influence and authority at the Lagid court.

I. DIVINE CONSANGUINITY

Not only Hera and Zeus, or Isis and Osiris, but also Aphrodite and Ares, Demeter and Zeus, Hathor and her father Amun-Ra as well as her son Horus committed what in the human realm would be considered incest. The religious-historical approach that I follow here holds that in myth, such transgressions of human prohibitions (or “taboos”), as reversal of societal norms and values, signal the gods’ transcendence of human limitations.¹ It should be emphasized that most members of the Greek pantheon were to some degree related, while in the Egyptian pantheon relations were often expressed in similar kinship terms. Still, not all deities were involved in close-kin (or any sexual) relations – *e.g.*, Athena, Artemis and Hestia, or Neith, Bastet and Satis. Therefore, it seems significant that Ptolemaic queens were chiefly identified with goddesses who did maintain such consanguineous relations.

(1.) As she was in effect, for Mesopotamian royal ideology, the paradigmatic divine consort of the king, I will first discuss the role of Sumerian Inanna in the archetypal *hieros gamos* with the mythical King Dumuzi of Uruk. Through a complex web of syncretistic assimilations, Inanna asserted her influence on the religious characterization of Akkadian Ishtar and Syrian Astarte, as well as Aphrodite and Hathor.

(2.) The second section will be devoted to the latter goddess. I will explain that Hathor’s ostensible promiscuity should be understood as an expression of her protection of the

¹ For the correlation between royal incest and sacral kingship, *e.g.*, see: *IESS* s.v. ‘Incest,’ VII: 115-122 [M. Mead]; Arens 1986, esp. 117-139; Kiefl 1991, 15, 32-35; Robins 1993, 27.

daily cycle of the sun. (3-4.) We have already seen in Part One that both Isis and Hera were spouses of their respective brothers Osiris and Zeus. In this chapter, I will explore the implications of this consanguinity, for Isis and then in the fourth section for Hera. (5.) Subsequently, we turn to Aphrodite's associations with incest – viz., her affair with her half brother Ares, and the punishment of Myrrha to have intercourse with her father Cinyras. (6.) In the sixth and final section, I will examine the endogamous relations of the Two Goddesses, Demeter and Persephone, with Zeus, Poseidon and Hades. The purpose of this chapter is not so much to establish that the unions of Inanna, Hathor, Isis, Hera, Aphrodite, Demeter and Persephone were indeed consanguineous – that much may be taken for granted —, but to examine the notions associated with this theme.

1. Royal Mistress Inanna

The great Sumerian goddess Inanna was the daughter of the moon god Nanna and Ningal, and the sister of the sun god Utu.² In her guise of warrior goddess and patron deity of Uruk, Inanna's religious character is intimately associated with the rise of city-states in Mesopotamia, the cradle of civilization. As Queen of Heaven and Earth, Inanna was the royal mistress *par excellence*, while her consort Dumuzi of Uruk represents the paradigm of the mythical shepherd-king.³ The song-cycle of the *Courtship of Inanna and*

² For general lit. on Inanna-Ishtar/Astarte, see: *RML* s.v. 'Astarte,' I: 645-655 [Ed. Meyer]; *RAssyr.* s.v. 'Inanna/Ištar,' V: 74-87 [Wilcke] and 87-89 [Seidl]; Kramer 1963a, esp. 133-163; *id.* 1969; Wolkstein and Kramer 1983; Bruschweiler 1987; Balz-Cochois 1992.

³ For Dumuzi/Tammuz, in addition to the lit. cit. *supra*, see: Fritz 2003.

Dumuzi (ca. 3000 BCE),⁴ indeed, epitomizes the archetypal *hieros gamos* of the Great Goddess and her (royal) *parhedros*.⁵ Among her iconographic attributes were rich jewelry and embroidered robes, a horned crown, the octagram of the Venus star, the bow and arrow and/or other weapons, a wreath, as well as a lion. She was, moreover, a fertility goddess, a Mistress of Animals, Goddess of Love, and the Mistress of the Palace. Through a complex web of syncretistic assimilations, Inanna and Dumuzi were the models for Ishtar/Astarte and Tammuz, Isis and Osiris, Hathor and Horus, Cybele and Attis, Zeus and Hera, Aphrodite and Adonis (or Anchises), and even Dionysus and Basilinna Ariadne, the “Very Holy Queen.”⁶ In short, Inanna and Dumuzi were, in a sense, the forebears of deities with whom the Ptolemaic kings and queens were identified.

The sacred marriage of Inanna and Dumuzi illustrates how, through her benevolence, kingship ensured the prosperity of the population and the fertility of the fields. In the myth, Inanna’s brother Utu exhorted his sister to take Dumuzi into marriage. As the latter was a mere mortal shepherd, Inanna refused until Dumuzi proudly proclaimed to be the equal of her beloved brother Utu.⁷ The incestuous implication of that comparison aroused her desire and they consummated their passions, calling each

⁴ Kramer 1963b, 485-525; *id.* 1969, 49-106; Pritchard (ed.) 1969, 41, 496, 637-645; Kramer 1979, 71-98; Wolkstein and Kramer 1983, 29-50; Jacobsen 1987, 1-23.

⁵ *RAssyr.* s.v. ‘Heilige Hochzeit,’ IV: 251-269; Kramer 1969; Wolkstein and Kramer 1983, 41-47, 107-114; Balz-Cochois 1992, 103-105, 129-146; Fritz 2003, 303-328.

⁶ Gardiner [1932], 74; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 322, 326; Soyez 1977, 82-85; Friedrich 1978, 14; Zayadine 1991, 283-306; Balz-Cochois 1992, 71-72, 87-90, 162-166; Pinch 1993, 79; Merkelbach 1995, 37-58. For the identification of the “Foreign Aphrodite” in Memphis, see: Hdt. II.112; Lloyd 1975-88, III: 45; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 86-91; Austin 1994, 118-136; Cameron 1995, 434-435.

⁷ Kramer 1969, 68-75 (calling it a “pedigree quarrel”); Wolkstein and Kramer 1983, 34, 151; Jacobsen 1987, 4, 13-15; Fritz 2003, 73-74, 77.

other “brother” and “sister.”⁸ The intrinsic association of consanguinity and sovereignty is expressed in strikingly carnality:

My brother, the delight of my eyes, met me
 We rejoiced together
 He took his pleasure of me
 He brought me to his house

He laid me down on the fragrant honey-bed
 My sweet darling, reclining by my heart
 He tongued me, one by one,
 My fair Dumuzi did so fifty times.

Now, my sweet darling is sated
 Now he says: “Set me free, my sister, set me free
 You will be a little daughter to my father
 Come, my beloved sister, I would go to the palace.”⁹

Inanna thus established Dumuzi’s kingship and from then onward he received the epithet “Great Dragon of the Sky (*Ama’ ushumgal ‘anna*).”¹⁰ Later, Inanna would even free Dumuzi from the Underworld and so effect his immortality.¹¹ By enacting a *hieros gamos* cloaked in the language of consanguinity, Dumuzi had been transformed from a mortal shepherd into an immortal king. In other words, through feigned incest the shepherd-king transcended human nature.

⁸ Wolkstein and Kramer 1983, 40, 152; Balz-Cochois 1992, 64-71. [Sumerologists tend to gloss over the incestuous implications of these “terms of affection.”]

⁹ Trans. Wolkstein and Kramer 1983, 48; also, see: Fritz 2003, 80-81.

¹⁰ Kramer 1969, 54, 65, 69, 163; Wolkstein and Kramer 1983, 37; Balz-Cochois 1992, 94-97; Fritz 2003, 88-91, 269-271.

¹¹ *Infra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 1, and Pt. Four, ch. I, § 1.

2. Hathor, Lady of Heaven

Hathor was not associated with one permanent male deity, as we have seen in Part One.¹² Rather, through syncretistic assimilation with minor female consorts, she was associated with many chief local gods.¹³ I take issue, therefore, with Jouco Bleeker's conception of Hathor as an essentially solitary goddess.¹⁴ In fact, her characterization as Celestial Cow, "Lady of Heaven (*Neft Nut*),"¹⁵ implies a fundamental relation to the sun god Ra and the sky god Horus. An intimate affiliation with the falcon god Horus may indeed be assumed from the hieroglyphic rendering of her name (𓆎), which when taken literally would mean "House of Horus (*Hat-Hor*)."¹⁶ While earlier I passed this over in silence, I should now emphasize that Hathor was conceived of as Horus' mother as well as his consort.¹⁷ The goddess received the epithets "Mother of Horus (*Mut-Hor*)" and "She Who Remembers Horus (*Sekhat-Hor*)."¹⁸ Additionally she was depicted suckling and nursing Horus in the mythical papyrus thicket of Chemmis.¹⁹ The celestial Horus,

¹² For general lit. on Hathor, see Pt. One, ch. I, § 6, p. 56, n. 123.

¹³ *RML* s.v. 'Hathor,' I: 1863-1867; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Hathor,' 'Hetepet,' 'Jusas,' and 'Rait-tai'; *LÄ* s.v. 'Hathor'; Allam 1963, 68-72, 113-115; Bleeker 1973, esp. 62-68; Pinch 1993, *pass*.

¹⁴ Bleeker 1973, 62-70 ("Although Hathor was a very independent personality, she did entertain relationships with certain members of the Egyptian pantheon. This relationship is accidental at times and therefore not significant, but in most of the instances testifies to a certain kinship by which Hathor and the divinity in question were attracted to each other" [p. 62]).

¹⁵ Allam 1963, 82, 99-102; Bleeker 1973, 46-48; Pinch 1993, 162, 172, 192, 251.

¹⁶ *Pyr.* 1025-1027, 1278, 1327; *CT* VI: 403g-p (sp. 769); Plut. *Is. et Osir.* LVI.9 (= *Mor.* 374B: οἶκον Ὡρον κόσμιον); Allam 1963, 99-102; Bleeker 1973, 25, 46-48.

¹⁷ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 6, pp. 57-58.

¹⁸ *Pyr.* 1375a-b (Sechathor suckling Horus); *RML* s.v. 'Hathor,' I: 1864; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Kuh,' 402. ["Sechathor" derives from the verb *šḥj*, "to bring to mind, recall."]

¹⁹ Daumas 1958, 380-387; *id.* 1959, esp. frontispiece, pls. 2, 58-60*bis*; Münster 1968, 119-123;

son of Ra and Hathor, was practically indistinguishable from Osiris' son, and thus Hathor was occasionally considered the mother of that royal Horus, too, rather than Isis.²⁰ However, the aforementioned "Festival of the Beautiful Union (*or* Embrace),"²¹ I contend, was a celebration of the *hieros gamos* of Hathor and Horus (despite Bleeker's protests).²² For, after preliminary thanksgiving rituals, (the statue of) Hathor sailed from Tentyris in a processional barque called "Lady of Love (*Nebt Merut*)" up the Nile to Apollinopolis Magna.²³ There they venerated their ancestors, spending the night in the "Mansion of Life," and celebrated the procession of the "Opening of the Bosom of Women."²⁴ Hathor was honored as "Divine Falcon-Gentle (*Bikt Netery*)" and "Divine Female Horus (*Hort Netery*)."²⁵ After a fortnight the goddess returned to Tentyris, where (the statues of) Hathor and her son Harsomtus were received in the shrine of Horus, the "Lord of Apollinopolis Magna (*Neb Behdet*)."²⁶ In other words, the "Horus Who Unites the Two Lands (*Hor-zema-taui*)" was deemed the offspring of the Beautiful Union of Hathor and Horus. In my opinion (again, despite Bleeker's objections), the familial

Bleeker 1973, 29; Pinch 1993, 175-177.

²⁰ *Pyr.* 466a-b ("Horus, son of Osiris ... the son of Hathor"); *cp.* *CT* V: 32j = 38d; *BD* 35; *Dend. Mam.* 255.6-7 (col.14); *Dendara* VI: 3.3; Frankfort 1948, 41; *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 6, p. 58, n. 140.

²¹ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 6, p. 57.

²² Alliot 1949, II: 441-560; Daumas 1969, 101-102; Bleeker 1973, 93-101; Cauville 1983, 69-70; Altenmüller 1998, 753-765.

²³ Alliot 1949, I: 234; Daumas 1969, 102; Bleeker 1973, 93.

²⁴ Bleeker 1973, 99.

²⁵ *LD* IV: 53b; Junker 1911, 13-14.

²⁶ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Somtus'; Alliot 1949, I: 235; Allam 1963, 6, 75; Daumas 1965, 38; *id.* 1969, 25-26; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 526; Bleeker 1973, 63-64.

relation of Hathor and Horus should not be ignored.²⁷ Their relation, namely, explains how the “House of Horus” could simultaneously be understood as the sky (𓂏) in which the falcon god flies, the womb (𓊖) from which the god was born, the palace (𓂏) in which he resides, as well as the embrace (𓊖) that produces his progeny.

Hathor’s close relation with the sun god may be concluded from her characteristic crown – cow horns enclosing a sun disc, sometimes decorated with two feathers (the prerogative of deities associated with the sky, winds, or the sun).²⁸ She was worshipped jointly with Ra (-Horachty) in Memphis throughout ancient Egyptian history.²⁹ An Eighteenth-Dynasty hymn praised Ra as “the beautiful, the youthful, who is present as sun-disc in the womb of his mother Hathor.”³⁰ The goddess was furthermore identified with, the “Lady of the Vulva (*Nebt Hetpet*),” the consort of the Heliopolitan sun god Atum (-Ra).³¹ Hathor and (Atum-) Ra appear together in funerary texts as parents of Horus, of the youthful sistrum-player Ihy and/or of the deceased.³² As the Solar Eye, Hathor was, moreover, considered the daughter of Ra.³³ Various myths narrate how the Eye left Ra’s brow, but in each version father and daughter ultimately reconciled. The

²⁷ Bleeker’s conclusion, that “Hathor retained her independence and virginity” (1973, 64), seems unwarranted.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 1973, 46-51, 58.

²⁹ Allam 1963, 7-9, 113-116; Bleeker 1973, 65.

³⁰ Bleeker 1973, 48.

³¹ Allam 1963, 113; Vandier 1964-66, *pass.*; Pinch 1993, 155.

³² *CT* II: 199, IV: 179a-183j (sp. 334); *BD* 103; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Ihi’; Allam 1963, 113-116, 133-138, 144-146; Bleeker 1973, 38-39, 62-64 (wishing to maintain Hathor’s “independence and virginity” and thus presenting the parentage as “purely symbolic”).

³³ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Sonnenauge’; Junker 1911, esp. 19-21; Spiegelberg 1917; Allam 1963, 120; Daumas 1969, 21-23; Hornung 1982b, 55, 58, 97, 104; Bleeker 1973, 48-51, 65, 120-121; Pinch 1993, 191-197; Robing 1993, 18.

festival calendar of Tentyris records the ceremonial “Voyage of Hathor” in the month of Tybi (19-21) to commemorate the reunion of the Solar Eye with her father Ra.³⁴ During the New Year Festival, she was borne in her barge, “which achieves her beauty,” to “join with her father,” to “join with the sun disc,” on the roof of the temple.³⁵ On Nectanebo’s *mammisi*, Amun-Ra extolled to Hathor, the “Mistress of Tentyris, the Eye of Ra, Lady of Heaven”: “My heart rejoices as I join with you [...] and your body.”³⁶ “Ra is incessantly exalted, his heart rejoices when he joins with his daughter,” a hymn from Philae acclaimed.³⁷ More references to Hathor’s incestuous intimacy with her father could be easily provided.³⁸ Here it suffices to observe that Hathor’s eroticism pacifies yet arouses, rejoices and revitalizes her father. In short, Hathor’s affiliation with (Atum-) Ra, as the mother, wife and daughter of the sun god, expressed her eternal renewal of the daily solar cycle.³⁹

³⁴ Junker 1911, 76-80; Daumas 1958, 266; Bleeker 1973, 91-92.

³⁵ Daumas 1958, 255-256; *id.* 1969, 96-101; Bleeker 1973, 89. [*hnm it-s* (“join with her father”), *hnm itn* (“join with the sun disc”), and *hnm R* (“join with Ra”) were used interchangeably.]

³⁶ Daumas 1969, 100, 106.

³⁷ *Id.* 1968, 13.

³⁸ *E.g.*, Hathor was identified with the “Hand of Atum,” which accomplished the demiurge’s first act of creation through masturbation: *Pyr.* 1248a-d; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Jusas’; Vandier 1964-66; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 291; Pinch 1993, 155, 194, 243-245; Robins 1993, 17. At Apollinopolis Magna, Hathor was offered her father’s “phallus that makes all that exist fertile (*bꜣḥ pw n srwd wnni*)”: Alliot 1949, I: 216 (col. 6), 223-224; Bleeker 1973, 99; Pinch 1993, 243-245. In the *Contendings of Horus and Seth*, Hathor flagrantly exposed herself to her father Ra during the protracted trial: Goedicke 1970, 257-258; Bleeker 1973, 39; Dunand 1973, I: 85; Watterson 1984, 126; Pinch 1993, 158, 216.

³⁹ Bleeker 1973, 65 (“the sun-god ... is supposed to transverse the firmament during the daytime, to descend into the netherworld [or the nocturnal sky] in the evening and thus to be reborn again in the morning”).

3. Wife and Sister Isis

The triad of Isis, Osiris and Horus was profoundly important for the royal ideology of ancient Egypt.⁴⁰ Of significance here is the consanguinity of Isis' and Osiris' marriage.⁴¹ In the Isis hymns, she is consistently called Osiris' "wife and sister (*gynê kai adelphê*)."⁴² Isis and Osiris were children of the siblings Geb and Nut (identified by the Greeks as Cronus and Rhea), who "desiring each other even before their birth, had intercourse in the darkness of the womb."⁴³ Later, after Osiris was murdered by his brother Seth, Isis passionately longed for her brother:

I am your sister, the beloved of your heart,
yearning for your love, since you are afar.

* * *

I am a woman, benevolent to her brother,
your spouse, your sister from your mother.

Rush to me, quick!⁴⁴

The yearning of Isis as well as her sister Nephthys for their lost brother was a common theme in Egyptian literature and even in love songs.⁴⁵ When Isis ultimately found Osiris'

⁴⁰ Frankfort 1948, esp. 24-35; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 33; Dunand 1973, I: 1-5; Merkelbach 1995, 3-22; Dunand 2000, 14-15. For general lit. on Isis, see: Pt. One, ch. I, § 2, p. 39, n. 10.

⁴¹ Ager (2005, 21-22) pertinently remarks that divine incest is intrinsically associated with the myth of Osiris and, thus, the Pharaoh's role in the establishment of cosmic order and justice.

⁴² *ATISR* no. 1 = M6 (ἐγὼ εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ 'Οσίριδος βασιλέως); Diod. I.xxvii.1; Bergman 1968, 155-161; A. Burton 1972, 114-116; Heyob 1975, 48.

⁴³ Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XII.8 (= *Mor.* 356A): Ἴσιν δὲ καὶ Ὀσίριν ἐρῶντας ἀλλήλων καὶ πρὶν ἢ γενέσθαι κατὰ γαστρὸς ὑπὸ σκότῳ συνεῖναι; *cp.* *CT* IV: 76c; *BD* 78.16-17; Münster 1968, 10; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 307-308; Heyob 1975, 41.

⁴⁴ *Lament.* II: 3, 14-15, and 6, 27-7, 1; also, see: Budge 1914, 63.

⁴⁵ *Pyr.* 972a-b, 1008c, 1256a-b, 1280c-d, 1281a-1282a, 1339a, 1500a, 1977b, 2144a-b; *CT* I: 306a-313f (sp. 74); *Urk. Rel.* 34-45; *Lament.*; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* LXX *fin* (= *Mor.* 379B); Firm. Mat. *Err. prof. rel.* VIII.3; *RARG* s.v. 'Osiris,' 569-570; Budge 1914, 63-66; Goyon 1967, 89-156; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 62-63, 312, 316, 331, 541; Heyob 1975, 42-43; Merkelbach 1995, 10.

body, “pressing her face to his face, she embraced him and began to cry.”⁴⁶ As the mummiform god lay in state on a couch, Isis received the seed from the aroused phallus of the “Weary One.”⁴⁷ Through the rites of lamentation and embalmment, Osiris was revived, and while he became King of the Dead, his son Horus became King of the Living.⁴⁸ The consummation, in short, of sibling love attained Osiris’ resurrection and Horus’ succession.

A vast constellation of Horus-forms existed that were inextricably assimilated with one another.⁴⁹ Perhaps local falcon gods had already been associated in Predynastic times with Horus.⁵⁰ In Plutarch’s account, Isis gave birth to two children of Osiris, “Horus the Elder” or “the Great” (Harueris) and “Horus the Child” (Harpocrates). The former, Plutarch mentioned, was called Apollo by the Greeks.⁵¹ This Horus may be identified with the celestial falcon, the son of Hathor (Horachty).⁵² The latter Horus was the royal falcon, the son of Isis (Harsiesis), who was more frequently identified with

⁴⁶ Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XVII.1 (= *Mor.* 357D): τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπιθεῖσαν ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ δακρύειν (trans. Griffiths 1970, 143); Heyob 1975, 41.

⁴⁷ *Pyr.* 632a-d (“Your sister Isis comes to you, rejoicing with love for you. She sets herself upon your phallus, and your semen streams out in her”; Falkner’s trans.), 1635b-1636b (*var.*); *Urk. Rel.* 22; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XIX.6 (= *Mor.* 358D); Moret 1931, 725-750; Frankfort 1948, 40, fig. 18; J. G. Griffiths 1960, 105; *id.* 1970, 36, 353; Münster 1968, 2, 5; Le Corsu 1977, 8; Merkelbach 1995, 13-14, fig. 9.

⁴⁸ *Pyr.* 167a-d, 1068a-b, 2092a-2094a; Frankfort 148, 26-27; Münster 1968, 3-5; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 35; Le Corsu 1977, 8; Merkelbach 1995, 11.

⁴⁹ *RÄRG s.v.* ‘Horus’; Mercer 1942 (recognizing 15 forms of Horus); Frankfort 1948, esp. 36-45; J. G. Griffiths 1960, esp. 13-15, 132-136; Bleeker 1967, 57-58; Münster 1968, 5-21, 124-128.

⁵⁰ Frankfort 1948, 38-40; J. G. Griffiths 1960, 130-136.

⁵¹ Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XII.9 (= *Mor.* 356A: καὶ τὸν Ἀρούηριν οὕτω γεγονέναι καὶ καλεῖσθαι πρεσβύτερον ὥρον ὑπὲρ Αἰγυπτίων, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἑλλήνων); also, see: Hdt. II.144, 155-156; Diod. I.xxv; J. G. Griffiths 1960, 101; *id.* 1970, 301, 307, 505; Münster 1968, 125-126; Heyob 1975, 40; Lloyd 1975-88, III: 139-146.

⁵² *RÄRG s.v.* ‘Harachte’ and ‘Harueris’; Frankfort 1948, 37-38, 41; Münster 1968, 125; Bleeker

Heracles or even Ares.⁵³ In the foregoing section we saw how Harsomtus (“Horus who Unites the Two Lands”) was believed to be the son of Hathor and Horus.⁵⁴ Yet, this Horus-form is indistinguishable from Harendotes (“Horus who Succors His Father”) who must be equated with Harsiesis, the “Pillar of His Mother (*Iunmutef*).”⁵⁵ In fact, the only recognizably different form is Harpocrates, who was uniformly depicted as a child.⁵⁶ The immediate importance of Horus is that the Egyptian King was conceived of as the god’s earthly manifestation, *viz.* as the “Living Horus (𓇨𓇳),” the “Son of Ra (𓇨𓇳𓇱).”⁵⁷ In other words, in relation to the pharaoh, fatherhood is represented by both Ra and Osiris, while motherhood is represented by both Hathor and Isis.⁵⁸ The king’s divine nature was expressed by his descent from the Sun God and the Celestial Cow, while his status as heir and successor was expressed by his descent from Osiris and Isis.⁵⁹ In each case, Horus the King was the offspring of a consanguineous union, so that his divinity and sovereignty were ambilaterally transmitted.

1973, 62.

⁵³ Hdt. II.63; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Harpokrates’ and ‘Harsiesis’; J. G. Griffiths 1960 104-105; *id.* 1970, 59-60, 327, 338; Münster 1968, 124-125; Bleeker 1973, 62; Heyob 1975, 42, 74-78; Merkelbach 1995, 88.

⁵⁴ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Somtus’; Bleeker 1973, 63-64.

⁵⁵ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Harendotes’; Heyob 1975, 51.

⁵⁶ J. G. Griffiths 1970, 55, 60, 353; Dunand 1973, I: 95-97, *e.g.*, pls. 30-36; Tran Tam Tinh 1973, esp. 16-27; Merkelbach 1995, 14, 17, *e.g.*, pls. 50.a-b, 103-105, 122-127.

⁵⁷ Frankfort 1948, 46-47; Koenen 1993, 57-60.

⁵⁸ Frankfort 1948, 42, 159-161, 171-180.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 42-44.

4. Sibling and Spouse Hera

Hera and Zeus, like Isis and Osiris, were children of sibling parents, *viz.*, Cronus and Rhea, the children of Uranus and Gaia.⁶⁰ In Homeric Epic and Hymns, the Olympian Queen was praised as “sibling and spouse (*kasignêtê alochos te*)” of Zeus.⁶¹ This *epitheton ornans* literally means “kinswoman and bedmate.” Variants for bedmate, or consort, in Homer and Hesiod are “*akoitis*” and “*parakoitis*.”⁶² The two latter words frame the *hieros gamos* in the *Iliad*’s “Seduction of Zeus”:

Then and there, the son of Cronus clasped his bedmate in his arms
and beneath them the holy soil made fresh-sprung grass to grow
and dewy lotus and crocus and hyacinth,
so thick and soft it bore them high above the soil.
There they lay to bed, clothed in a fine
cloud of gold, from which dropped glistening dew.
Thus, motionless the Father rested on Gargaron height,
tamed by Sleep and Love, holding his bedmate in his arms.⁶³

Conversely, Zeus is more frequently called “Hera’s thundering lord (*eridoupos posis Hêrês*).”⁶⁴ When quarreling with the Olympian king, Hera demanded his respect because she was most noble by birth and marriage, *viz.*, of the same descent as Zeus, as well as

⁶⁰ For lit. on Hera, see: Pt. One, ch. I, § 3, p. 43, n. 41.

⁶¹ Hom. *Il.* XVI.432, XVIII.356; *Hymn. Hom.* XII: *Jun.* 3, V: *Ven.* 40; Kerényi 1972, 77-80; O’Brien 1993, 122 n. 27.

⁶² *E.g.*, see: Hom. *Il.* XV.91, XVIII.184, XXI.479; Hes. *Theog.* 328, 921, 928; Kerényi 1972, 83-85; O’Brien 1993, 122 n. 27, 185.

⁶³ Hom. *Il.* XIV.346-353: ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἀγκὰς ἔμαρπτε Κρόνου παῖς ἦν παράκοιτιν. Ἰ τοῖσι δ’ ὑπὸ χθῶν διὰ φύεν νεοθηλέα ποίην, Ἰ λωτόν θ’ ἐρσήεντα, ἰδε κρόκον, ἦδ’ ὑάκινθον, Ἰ πυκνὸν καὶ μαλακόν, ὃς ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψόσ’ ἔεργε. Ἰ τῷ ἔνι λεξάσθην· ἐπὶ δὲ νεφέλην ἔσσαντο Ἰ καλήν, χρυσεῖην, στυλῖναι δ’ ἀπέπιπτον ἔερσαι. Ἰ ὥς ὁ μὲν ἀτρέμας εἶδε, πατήρ, ἀνὰ Γαργάρῳ ἄκρῳ, Ἰ ὕπνω καὶ φιλότῃτι δαμείς, ἔχε δ’ ἀγκὰς ἄκοιτιν.

⁶⁴ Hom. *Il.* VII.411, X.329, XIII.154, XVI.88 (ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης); *cf.* X.5 (πόσις Ἥρης ἡυκόμοιο); Kerényi 1972, 50, 77; O’Brien 1993, 122.

his consort.⁶⁵ Precisely because they shared their lineage as well as their bed, she claimed to be the noblest goddesses, just as he ruled over all the immortals.⁶⁶ In short, Hera's prominence was due to her consanguineous marriage to Zeus.

Let us now turn to Ares, the son of Zeus and Hera.⁶⁷ Unlike Osiris, it should be noted, Zeus was not succeeded by a son.⁶⁸ In fact, more like Horus, Zeus' reign represented the permanence of sovereignty, and as the king of the gods, he bestowed lordship to kings.⁶⁹ While Zeus' rule remained unchallenged from the strife that plagued the preceding generations, he feared constantly that his supremacy would be challenged, and hated his son Ares most of all the gods on Olympus.⁷⁰ Zeus especially loathed the "uncontrollable, unyielding rage" that Ares imbibed with the bitter gall overflowing from his mother's breast.⁷¹ Indeed, Ares' "beloved (*philê*)," his "sibling and companion (*kasignêtê hetarê te*)," was Eris (Strife).⁷² His children with his half-sister Aphrodite

⁶⁵ Hom. *Il.* IV.58-61 (γένος δέ μοι ἔνθεν, ὅθεν σοί, ἰ καί με πρεσβυτάτην τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης, ἰ ἀμφότερον, γενεῇ τε καὶ οὔνεκα σὴ παράκοιτις ἰ κέκλημαι); cf. XVIII.365-366; Kerényi 1972, 50, 90; Clay 1989, 163; O'Brien 1993, 122 n. 27.

⁶⁶ Hom. *Il.* XVIII.364 (φημὶ θεάων ἔμμεν ἀρίστη), 366 (σὺ δὲ πᾶσι μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσεις).

⁶⁷ Hom. *Il.* IV.440; Hes. *Theog.* 922; *RML s.v.* 'Ares,' I: 477-493 [Furtwängler]; *RE s.v.* 'Ares,' no. 2, II(1): 642-667 [Sauer]; CGS V: 396-414; Burkert 1985, 169-170; Graf 1985, 265-269; Pötscher 1987, 21-27.

⁶⁸ Kerényi 1972, esp. 44-50 (whose theories about matriarchy now appear obsolete).

⁶⁹ Hom. *Il.* I.279, II.196-197, IX.98-99, XVII.251; Callim. *Hymn. Jov.* 78; Kerényi 1972, 39-41; Pötscher 1987, 33-39; Slatkin 1991, 66-69 [I am indebted to Donna Wilson for this reference].

⁷⁰ Hom. *Il.* V.890 (ἔχθιστος δέ μοί ἐσσι θεῶν οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν); Kerényi 1972, 49; Pötscher 1987, 22; O'Brien 1993, 174.

⁷¹ Hom. *Il.* IV.892 (μητρός τοι μένος ἐστὶν ἀάσχετον, οὐκ ἐπιεικτόν), 24 ("Ἥρῃ δ' οὐκ ἔχαδε στῆθος χόλον); cf. XVI.203 (Πηλέος υἱέ, χόλω ἄρα σ' ἔτρεφε μήτηρ); O'Brien 1993, 79-82.

⁷² Hom. *Il.* IV.440-441 ("Ερις ... Ἀρεος ... κασιγνήτη ἐτάρῃ τε), V.891 (τοι ἔρις τε φίλη).

were Deimos and Phobos (Fear and Panic).⁷³ Yet, he was “exulting in glory,” when his sister Hebe washed and robed him and his father restored his honor after being wounded by Diomedes on the battlefield.⁷⁴ In the *Hymnus in Martem*, he is praised as the celestial charioteer, the “helper of man,” “savior of cities,” and “defender of Olympus.”⁷⁵ Of all Zeus’ mistresses, Hera was most envious of Leto, because she bore him Apollo, a “son lovely above all the Heavenly Ones,” “more beloved even than Ares.”⁷⁶ If Apollo was his father’s favorite, then Ares was certainly the pride of his mother.⁷⁷ Rather than Ares, it could be argued, Lord (“*anax*”) Apollo, son of Leto and Zeus, was marked out as his father’s heir apparent.⁷⁸ In the sacred sibling marriage of Zeus and Hera, then, succession features only to the extent that their son Ares is denied to inherit his father’s position.

⁷³ Hom. *Il.* IV.440, XI.37, XV.119; Hes. *Theog.* 934.

⁷⁴ Hom. *Il.* V.906 (κύδεϊ γαίων).

⁷⁵ *Hymn. Hom.* VIII: *Mart.* 2 (πολισσόε), 3 (ἔρκος Ὀλύμπος), 9 (βροτῶν ἐπίκουρε).

⁷⁶ Hes. *Theog.* 919 (ἱμερόεντα γόνον περὶ πάντων Οὐρανιῶνων); Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 57-58 (οὔνεκα μούνη Ἰ Ζηνὶ τεκεῖν ἤμελλε φιλαίτερον Ἄρεος υἱᾶ).

⁷⁷ Kerényi 1972, 45-46; O’Brien 1993, 81.

⁷⁸ E.g., see: Hom. *Il.* I: 9, 36, 390, 601-611; *Hymn. Hom.* III: *Ap.* 1-13, 197-206; Kerényi 1972, 46-47.

Certainly, the crux of the Hesiodic succession myth is that Zeus’ sovereignty is unchallenged by pretenders or usurpers, but that does not exclude the existence of an heir apparent, whose position, like Zeus’ sovereignty, is permanent. For Zeus’ unchallenged sovereignty, see: Slatkin, 1991, 66-69 [I am indebted to Donna Wilson for this reference].

5. Aphrodite Urania

We already encountered the variant traditions about Aphrodite's parentage.⁷⁹ In this section, I should discuss the relation of the Heavenly Goddess with her "beloved sibling (*philos kassignêtos*)" Ares.⁸⁰ The famous Homeric Song of Demodocus about "the love affair of Ares and fair-crowned Aphrodite" narrates how the two secretly "mingled in love" at Hephaestus' mansion.⁸¹ As the lame blacksmith god was Aphrodite's husband, Ares defiled Hephaestus' bed as well as his wedlock.⁸² One day, when Hephaestus pretended to leave for Lemnos, Ares eagerly rushed to Aphrodite, and, clasping her hand, he exclaimed: "Come, my love! Let us turn to bed and lie down!"⁸³ The cunning blacksmith, however, had devised a contraption to ensnare the adulterous lovers, who thus became the laughing-stock of the gods.⁸⁴ Aphrodite seemed impervious to all the commotion, though, as the "laughter-loving" goddess retired to Cyprian Paphos where the Graces bathed and anointed her.⁸⁵ Not mentioned in this passage, to be true, is the fact that Ares was the half brother of Aphrodite or of the cuckolded Hephaestus.⁸⁶ In the *Iliad* and in the *Theogony*, Hephaestus was married to Charis Aglaea, daughter of

⁷⁹ For general lit. on Aphrodite, see: Pt. One, ch. I, § 5, p. 51, n. 95.

⁸⁰ Hom. *Il.* V.359.

⁸¹ Hom. *Od.* VIII.266-366 ("Ἄρεος φιλότητος εὐστεφάνου τ' Ἀφροδίτης ... ἐμίγησαν ἐν Ἡφαίστοιο δόμοισι, λάθρη ... μιγαζομένους φιλότητι); Friedrich 1978, 62-65.

⁸² Hom. *Od.* VIII.269 (λέχος δ' ἤσχυνε καὶ εὐνήν).

⁸³ *Ibid.* 292-294 (δεῦρο, φίλη. λέκτρονδε τραπέιομεν εὐνηθέντες).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 295-358; Friedrich 1978, 63-64.

⁸⁵ Hom. *Od.* VIII.362 (φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη).

Zeus and Eurynome, rather than to Aphrodite – although one could argue that this Splendid Grace was merely a double of the most beautiful goddess.⁸⁷ Conversely, in the Homeric epics, Ares was intimately associated with his “beloved” sisters Aphrodite, Hebe and Eris, and, according to Hesiod, fathered not only Deimos and Phobos but also Harmonia with the Heavenly Goddess.⁸⁸ The allegory expressed by the pairing of the God of War and the Goddess of Love was that civic harmony could ensue only if Ares’ bellicosity and Aphrodite’s sexuality were constrained within the harmless laws of peace and marriage.⁸⁹ Yet, the danger inherent in their tempestuous natures continues to lurk not in the least in the form of their adulterous and/or incestuous relationship.

If consanguinity merely lurked in the background in the love affair of Ares and Aphrodite, it lies at the core of the myth of Adonis’ birth.⁹⁰ It was said that Myrrha, daughter of King Cinyras, who had founded the cult of Paphian Aphrodite, was so beautiful that her mother Metharme, daughter of Pygmalion, proclaimed that Myrrha was more beautiful even than Aphrodite herself.⁹¹ For this, Aphrodite punished the girl with

⁸⁶ Friedrich 1978, 63. [Hermes and Apollo, who joked that they would not have mind to get caught with Aphrodite, were similarly her half brothers.]

⁸⁷ Hom. *Il.* XVIII.382; Hes. *Theog.* 909, 945.

⁸⁸ Hom. *Il.* IV.440-441, V.359, 906; Hes. *Theog.* 933-937.

⁸⁹ *Hymn. Hom.* VIII: *Mar.* 15-17; cf. *ibid.* III: *Ap.* 195; Hes. *Theog.* 933-937, 975; Eur. *Phoen.* 7; Apollod. *Bibl.* III.iv.2; Paus. IX.v.2, xvi.3-4. For civic harmony as an aspect of Aphrodite, see: Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 446-450.

⁹⁰ *RML s.v.* ‘Adonis’; *RE s.v.* ‘Adonis’; Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 278-296; *id.* 1914, IV(1): 3-56; Glotz 1920; Atallah 1966, esp. 23-52; Detienne 1972, esp. 185-226; Motte 1973, 137-146; Tuzet 1987, esp. 25-94; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 21-25, 351-353, 363-366; *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 5, p. 52, n. 103.

⁹¹ Σ Theoc. I.109a; Apollod. *Bibl.* III.xiv.3-4; Bion *Epit. Adon.* 91; Hyg. *Fab.* 58; cf. Ovid *Met.* X.298-502; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 34; Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 281; *id.* 1914, IV(1): 43-44, 49-50; *id.* 1921, II: 84 n. 1; Atallah 1966, esp. 33-39; Soyeux 1977, 11-12; Tuzet 1987, esp. 34-37; Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 460-463. [Variants made Myrrha or Smyrna, among others, the daughter of King Theias of Syria or King Agenor of Phoenicia, or of that king’s son Phoenix, or even of Zeus, while giving as her mother’s name

an incestuous passion for her father, which Myrrha consummated with the complicity of her nurse Hippolyte.⁹² For twelve days on end she shared her father's bed, until he at last discovered the deceit. In her attempt to escape from her father's furious pursuit, she prayed to the gods for help. Taking pity on her, Aphrodite (or Zeus) changed her into a myrrh tree, from which ultimately Adonis was born.⁹³ The goddess adopted the infant as her own son, but immediately fell in love with him – a reversal of Myrrha's love for her father. While parent-child intercourse is, surely, to be distinguished from sexual relations between siblings, what is significant in the myth is Adonis' divine birth as a consequence of his parents' transgression. Adonis' incestuous birth could derive from elaborations on the myth of Attis, who sprang from the cleft androgynous deity Agdistis (a Pessinian form of Cybele).⁹⁴ As Myrrha and Adonis are names of Semitic origin,⁹⁵ we may also count on a conflation with Astarte-Ishtar and Tammuz, and ultimately trace the myth back to Sumerian Inanna and Dumuzi.⁹⁶ Sir James Frazer's explanation that Myrrha's incest derived from a faint recollection of matriarchy, where royal descent was reckoned through the female line can be discounted, as there is no evidence that the Near-Eastern peoples were generally matriarchal or even matrilineal at an early phase in their (pre-)

Aoa or Alphisiboea.]

⁹² Apollod. *Bibl.* III.xiv.4; Σ Theoc. I.109a; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 34; Atallah 1966, esp. 48-52; Detienne 1972, 124; Tuzet 1987, 25.

⁹³ Apollod. *Bibl.* III.xiv.4; Ant. Lib. *Met.* 34; Hyg. *Fab.* 58, 164; Atallah 1966, esp. 40-47; Ager 2005, 21.

⁹⁴ Atallah 1966, 48; Vermaseren 1977, 90-91.

⁹⁵ Hes. *ap.* Apollod. *Bibl.* III.xiv.4 (Adonis' was son of Phoenix); LSJ⁹ s.v. 'σμήρνα'; Reed 1997, 195.

⁹⁶ Frankfort 1948, 286-294; Burkert 1985, 176-177.

history.⁹⁷ In none of the variant versions of Adonis' myth, moreover, does he ever succeed his father to the throne: Adonis was not a king – or even a crown prince – although his name is Semitic for “Lord (*‘Adôn*).”⁹⁸ The importance of Adonis' miraculous birth, for the present purpose, is that he became a god, though born of mortal parents. In other words, Adonis owed his divinization to the consanguineous intercourse of King Cinyras with his daughter Myrrha – not to mention the erotic love of his divine mother Aphrodite.

6. The Two Goddesses

The children of Cronus and Rhea – Zeus, Hera, Hades, Demeter and Poseidon, except for the virgin Hestia – all engaged in endogamy.⁹⁹ Before he made Hera his wife, so sang Hesiod, Zeus “came to the bed of bountiful Demeter, and she bare him white-armed Persephone.”¹⁰⁰ I have already mentioned in Part One the joint worship of Demeter and Zeus at Thebes, and that of Demeter and Hades in the Peloponnesus – cults that imply a partnership between the goddess and her siblings.¹⁰¹ While searching for her daughter, according to one account, grieving Demeter was amorously pursued by her

⁹⁷ Frazer 1914, IV(1): 44. The theory ultimately goes back to: J.J. Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht* (1861; repr. in Wagner-Hasel [ed.] 1992, 15-29); cf. Atallah 1966, 49; Wagner-Hasel (ed.) 1992; Kledt 2004, 28-34. [That is not say, however, that no ancient community recognized matrilineal descent.]

⁹⁸ Frankfort 1948, 292-293 (who similarly pointed out that “royalty plays no part in the cult of Tammuz”).

⁹⁹ For general lit. on Demeter and Persephone, see: Pt. One, ch. I, § 4, p. 47, n. 70.

¹⁰⁰ Hes. *Theog.* 912-913 (ὁ [Ζεὺς] Διμήτρος πολυφόρβης ἐς λέχος ἦλθεν, ἡ δὲ τέκε Περσεφόνην λευκώλενον).

third brother Poseidon, but when she changed herself into a mare to escape his advances, he turned into a stallion and forced himself upon her.¹⁰² In fact, if his name indeed derived from “*Posis Dêous*” (cf. Myc. *Po-se-da-o*), viz., “Deo’s Lord,” Poseidon may well have been Demeter’s original husband – at least according to local Arcadian tradition.¹⁰³ She also gave birth to Poseidon’s child, Despoina (“mistress, princess”), who was often assimilated with Persephone.¹⁰⁴

Eventually, Demeter learned of her daughter’s fate from Helios, who tried to console her with the news that Zeus had given Persephone to his “own kinsman (*autokasignêtos*),” and that Demeter should be honored that her daughter was married to her “own kinsman and kindred (*autokasignêtos kai homosporos*).”¹⁰⁵ Even more angered, she withdrew from the company of gods and caused a scorching draught that would have destroyed humankind.¹⁰⁶ To avoid being robbed of human worship, Zeus arbitrated so that Persephone should return to Olympus for two-thirds of the year.¹⁰⁷ (In the last two parts of the dissertation, there will be occasion to return to Demeter’s grief and subsequent joy.) Afterwards, the *Hymnus in Cererem* declares, that mother and daughter, Demeter and Kore, were worshipped together at Eleusis as “the Two Goddesses (*Tô*

¹⁰¹ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 4, p. 50, nn. 90 and 91.

¹⁰² Richardson 1974, 258; Foley (ed.) 1994, 125; *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 4, p. 51, n. 92.

¹⁰³ Kerényi 1972, 56 (cp. πόσις Ἡρῆς, “Hera’s spouse,” of Zeus); Burkert 1985, 136.

¹⁰⁴ Paus. VIII.xxv.7, xxxvii.9, xlii.1.

¹⁰⁵ *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 80 (αὐτοκασιγνήτω), 85 (αὐτοκασίγνητος καὶ ὁμόσπορος); Richardson 1974, 174-175; Foley (ed.) 1994, 104-111; Clay 1989, 219-220.

¹⁰⁶ *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 90-94, 305-311; Richardson 1974, 176-177, 258-261; Clay 1989, 221-222, 246-248; Foley (ed.) 1994, 40, 53; M. L. Lord, “Withdrawal and Return,” *ibid.* 181-189.

¹⁰⁷ *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 311-313, 441-444; Richardson 1974, 260-261, 295-296; Clay 1989, 248-

Theô).”¹⁰⁸ Akin to especially Hera and Isis, then, Demeter was paired with her brothers Zeus, Poseidon and Hades. Besides, Despoina Kore-Persephone was the daughter and heiress of Potnia Demeter and her *homolôios* or *kasignêtos posis* – whether Zeus or Poseidon. Upon her marriage to her parents’ *autokasignêtos* and *homosporos*, this Olympian princess herself became Queen of the Netherworld. In contrast to other goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified, the Two Goddesses thus reveal the female perspective of endogamous dynastic alliances.

* * *
* *

There should be no reason to doubt that goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified were similar in respect to their consanguineous liaisons and/or marriages. What I have tried to illustrate, in this chapter, is that the religious character of Aphrodite, Demeter, Hera, Isis and Hathor reflect aspects of the Royal Mistress Inanna. The myth of Heavenly Aphrodite and Adonis bears sufficient resemblance to those of Cybele and Attis, Astarte and Tammuz, to conclude that it ultimately (through syncretistic influence) must derive from Inanna and Dumuzi. In the love affair of Aphrodite and Ares, their adultery received more emphasis than their consanguinity. The Two Goddesses, conversely, represent a female perspective toward dynastic alliances. Demeter bore Persephone to her brother Zeus, the King of Olympus, and their daughter was given to their brother Hades, the King of the Netherworld. Hera, as the last wife of Zeus, was the chaste (though quarrelsome) spouse of her sibling and thus the foremost Queen of

251; Foley (ed.) 1994, 61.

¹⁰⁸ *RE* s.v. ‘Demeter,’ 2753; Burkert 1985, 159.

Olympus. Similarly, Isis was the sister and wife of King Osiris, faithful even after his passing, and she personified the ideal queen mother. In respect to Hathor, Lady of Heaven, her associations with royal gods were incorporated into a complex series of familial relations. She was the mother of her father Ra, and hence his wife; and she was the consort of Horus, her son with Ra. The immediate importance of this divine consanguinity for the Lagid dynasty was the frame of reference it provided for their own incestuous marriages. Additionally, the paradigm of the Great Goddess with her kindred royal *parhedros* (the King of Heaven: Zeus, Ra, Horus; the King of the Underworld: Hades, Osiris; the Lord of Vegetation: Adonis, Osiris) bestowed such endogamy with an aura of transcendent sovereignty.

Schematically, we can furthermore detect a similarity in the form of consanguineous lineage. For Horus, the celestial falcon, was the son of Hathor and Ra; Harsomtus was the son of Hathor and Horus; Horus, the royal falcon, was the son of Isis and Osiris. Similarly, Ares was the son of Hera and Zeus; Harmonia was Ares' daughter with Aphrodite; Adonis was the son of Myrrha and Cinyras. Persephone was the daughter of Demeter and Zeus; and likewise Despoina was the daughter of Demeter and Poseidon. Moreover, the Olympians Zeus, Hera, Hades, Demeter and Poseidon were all children of Cronus and Rhea (themselves offspring of Uranus and Gaia), just as Isis and Osiris were children of Geb and Nut (themselves offspring of Shu and Tefnut). Nonetheless, this schematic similarity cannot hide the obvious differences between the various relationships among these triads. Horus embodied the legitimate successor to his father's throne, while Harsomtus and Harpocrates represent the designated crown prince. As such, the pairing of Hathor and Ra on the one hand, and of Isis and Osiris on the other, are structurally identical. Ares may have been his mother's pride, but he was detested by

his father. In fact, Apollo was evidently his father Zeus' favorite son. (In this respect, Apollo and Ares mirror Horus and Seth.) Ares' daughter with Aphrodite allegorically expressed the hope that the union of these (half) siblings may produce harmony, if subjected to the laws of peace and marriage. While his Semitic name originally meant "Lord," Adonis was abandoned by his father and adopted by Aphrodite as her son and lover. He did not succeed to any throne. Although in the cult of the Two Goddesses, Kore-Persephone appears as her mother's heiress, she became the Chthonian Queen of Hades, King of the Netherworld. The divine consanguinity of goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified, therefore, discloses an unequivocal preoccupation with dynastic succession.

II. LAGID PHILADELPHIA

A mere glance at the genealogy of the Lagid dynasty is sufficient to realize the pervasiveness and extremity of its endogamy.¹ Six of the fifteen Ptolemaic queens were married to their full brother,² while eight of the fourteen Ptolemies (excluding the seventh) were married to their full sister.³ Whereas one royal wedding was between half siblings,⁴ two other weddings were between uncle and niece,⁵ another wedding was between cousins (on both sides),⁶ and one more king married his maternal cousin.⁷ To put it differently, only two Ptolemaic kings⁸ and five queens⁹ were *not* married to close relatives. According to ancient authors such as

¹ See: Appendix D: Genealogies, 1. Lagid Dynasty.

² Arsinoe II Philadelphus, Arsinoe III Philopator, Cleopatra II Philometor, Cleopatra IV Philadelphus, Cleopatra V Selene, and Cleopatra VII Philopatri.

³ Ptolemy II Philadelphus, Ptolemy IV Philopator, Ptolemy VI Philometor, Ptolemy VIII “Physcon” Euergetes, Ptolemy IX “Lathyrus” Soter, Ptolemy X Alexander, Ptolemy XIII, and Ptolemy XIV.

⁴ Cleopatra Berenice III and Ptolemy XI Alexander II (who was also her stepson; he proceeded to have her killed within three weeks).

⁵ Cleopatra III Euergetis and Ptolemy VIII Physcon, Berenice III and Ptolemy X Alexander. (Both men were also the queens’ stepfathers, in that they had married their mothers.)

⁶ Cleopatra VI Tryphaena and Ptolemy XII “Auletes” Neos Dionysus (who was her mother’s paternal half brother, and her father’s nephew; for which, see: Bennet 1997).

⁷ Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenice II (who was the granddaughter of Berenice I).

⁸ Ptolemy I Soter (who was married to Athenian Thais [?], Persian Artacama, Antipater’s daughter Eurydice, and Berenice I) and Ptolemy V (who was married to his third cousin, Cleopatra I, the daughter of Antiochus III).

⁹ Berenice I (daughter of Magas and Antipater’s niece Antigone), Arsinoe I (daughter of

Pausanias, Ptolemy II violated Macedonian customs by marrying his full sister Arsinoe II, but followed the customs of the Egyptians.¹⁰ Arsinoe, perhaps a decade her brother's senior, would subsequently receive the title "*Philadelphus* (Sibling-Lover)."¹¹

In Part One, I have illustrated that the Ptolemaic marital practices, indeed, deviated drastically from contemporary dynastic marital alliances. In order to grasp the extent to which the Ptolemies actually violated Graeco-Macedonian or Egyptian customs, I will venture in this chapter to place this "Lagid philadelphia" within its historical context.¹² (1.) To begin with, we should establish the ancient Greek and Macedonian attitudes toward close-kin endogamy, in so far available evidence and space allows. I have already illustrated the exogamous nature of the Argeads' dynastic alliances. In the first section, I will have occasion to examine a few known and noteworthy exceptions. (2.) For Pharaonic Egypt, the evidence is more difficult to assess, as dynastic genealogies are fraught with obscurities – and it remains hard to prove whether or not sibling incest was taboo. I will follow the conclusions of Egyptologists, who suggest that (polygamous) endogamy did occur with some frequency, certainly among the later dynasties. (3.) Against this background, in the third section, I will review various media of Hellenistic art portraying royal siblings. That survey will also confirm attendant identifications with divinities such as Zeus and Hera, Isis and Osiris, Demeter and Dionysus, among others. (4.) Furthermore, I will return in the fourth section to the

Lysimachus and Antipater's daughter Nicaea), Cleopatra I, Berenice IV (whose marriage to Archelaus lasted less than three weeks), and her sister Arsinoe IV (who had usurped her position, and remained unmarried).

¹⁰ Paus. I.vii.1; *infra* Pt. Two, 2, p. 193 nn. 56-57.

¹¹ E.g., *OGIS* 30 ll. 1-2 (Ἀρσινόη θεᾷ Φιλαδέλφῃ), 31 ll. 1-2 (Ἰσιδι Ἀρσινόη Φιλαδέλφῳ), 32 l. 1 (Ἀρσινόην Φιλάδελφον), 33 l. 1 (Βασίλισσαν Ἀρσινόην θεᾷν Φιλάδελφον), 34 ll. 1-2 (Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου).

poetic comparisons to the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera that the sibling marriage of Ptolemy and Arsinoe yielded. Callimachus even appropriated the theme of consanguinity for the cousin marriage of Ptolemy III and Berenice II. With the results of the first two chapters, I can then endeavor an interpretation of the symbolic significance of royal incest for the Lagid dynasty in general and for Ptolemaic queenship in particular.

1. Graeco-Macedonian Endogamy

From our modern outlook, ancient Mediterranean marital practices allowed for a high degree of endogamy.¹³ It is noteworthy that ancient Greek did not have a word comparable to the Latinate “incest.”¹⁴ However, the studies of the Athenian evidence by such legal historians as A. R. W. Harrison and Roger Just make it abundantly clear that between parents and children any sexual relation (let alone marriage) was abhorred with moral revulsion – even if not prohibited by written law. Scattered references abound, *inter alia*, in comedy,¹⁵ tragedy,¹⁶ oratory,¹⁷ and philosophy.¹⁸ Sophocles’ Oedipus

¹² In the following, I will use the term *philadelphia* to denote “royal sibling marriage.”

¹³ For general lit. on incest, *e.g.*, see: *DA* s.v. ‘Incestum,’ III(1): 449-455 [Glötz]; *RE* s.v. ‘Incestus,’ XVIII: 1246-1249 [Klingmüller]; *IESS* s.v. ‘Incest,’ VII: 115-122 [M. Mead]; *OCD*³ s.v. ‘Endogamy,’ 524-525 [Golden], and ‘Incest,’ 753 [*id.*]; W. E. Thompson 1967, 273-282; Harrison 1968, 9-12, 21-23, 132-138; Dover 1974, 273; Just 1989, 77-82, 95-104; Shaw 1992, 270-271; Ager 2005, 1-3.

¹⁴ Hippon. F 20 l. 2 (= 15 Diehl³; 12 West: μητροκοίτης); Sext. Emp. *Adv. eth.* 191 (μητρομιξία); Euseb. *Praep. evang.* II.48 (= 301A: θυγατρομιξία); Greg. Nyss. *De fato* I.402b (θυγατρομιξία), 910A (ἀδελφογαμία); Nonn. Dion. XII.73 (θυγατρόγαμος); Phot. s.v. ‘ἀμομιξία’; Suda s.v. ‘μιαιγαμία’; Tzetz. *Hist.* I.22: *Cim.* (593: ἀδελφομιξία); *DA* s.v. ‘Incestum,’ 449 n. 7; *OCD*³ s.v. ‘Incest,’ 753; Harrison 1968, 22 n. 3; Ager 2005, 2-3. [Notice the absence of terms denoting intercourse between father and son, or between brothers.]

¹⁵ *E.g.*, Ar. *Ran.* 850, 1081; *id.* *Nub.* 1371-1372; Σ *ad loc.*; Men. *Epit.* 341-343 (= 165-167 Koch); *cf.* Plaut. *Rud.* 1196-1198 (= IV.v.6-8).

plays, of course, most famously dealt with the violation of this anathema.¹⁹ “How need I *not* fear my mother’s couch?” Oedipus exclaimed to Jocaste.²⁰ Plato, when discussing intercourse between siblings and between parents and children, succinctly voiced the view of his contemporaries: “these acts are no wise holy, but hateful to gods and most shamefully shameful.”²¹ Political figures could therefore be accused of incest (*i.e.*, of having intercourse with a close kinswoman) by opponents who distrusted their preeminence in the Assembly.²² For instance, the Athenian general Cimon was slandered for cohabitating with his sister Elpinice,²³ and the flamboyant Alcibiades was alleged to have been intimate with his mother, daughter as well as his brother’s wife.²⁴ In his critique of Plato’s ideal republic, Aristotle commented that making sons common property would render it impossible to prevent “the practices, which for a father toward a

¹⁶ *E.g.*, Aesch. *Supp.* esp. 9, 37-39, 79-81, 331, 394, 1063; Eur. *Andr.* 173-176; *HF* 1316, 1341.

¹⁷ *E.g.*, Lys. XIV: *Alc.* i.28, 41; Isae. VI: *Philoct.* 51; VII: *Apollod.* 11-12, 33-34; Dem. XLI: *Spud.* 3; XLIII: *Macart.* 74; LVII: *Eubul.* 41; LXI: *Neaer.* 2, 22.

¹⁸ *E.g.*, Pl. *Resp.* V.461C, IX.571C-D; *Leg.* XI.924D; Xen. *Mem.* IV.iv.20; Arist. *Pol.* II.i.12-18 (=1262a.10-b.35).

¹⁹ Soph. *OC* esp. 365-373, 525-537, 830-833, 944-946; *OT* esp. 980-982, 995-996, 1214-1215, 1247-1257, 1496-1500; *DA* s.v. ‘Incestum,’ 450.

²⁰ Soph. *OT* 976: πῶς τὸ μητρὸς λέκτρον οὐκ ὀκνεῖν με δεῖ;

²¹ Pl. *Leg.* VIII.838B: τὸ ταῦτα εἶναι φάναι μηδαμῶς ὅσια, θεομοιῇ δὲ καὶ αἰσχροῶν αἰσχίστα.

²² *E.g.*, see: Lys. XIV: *Alc.* i.28, 41; Cox 1989, 40; Shaw 1992, 271.

²³ Σ Arist. III.515 (Dind.); Σ Ar. *Plut.* 970; Corn. Nep. V: *Cim.* i.2 (*cf.* Festus s.v. ‘Germen,’ ed. Lindsay 1965, 84, ll. 8-9; 95 M = 67 Th); Plut. *Cim.* IV.2-7, XV.3; Athen. XIII.589E; Tzetz. *Hist.* I.22: *Cim.* (588-593: ἀδελφομιξία); Suid. s.v. ‘Κίμων’; *DA* s.v. ‘Incestum,’ 451-452; *OCD*³ s.v. ‘Cimon,’ 331; Erdman 1934, 183 n. 12; Davies 1971 (*APF*), 302-303; Holladay 1978, 186; Cox 1989, 40.

²⁴ Lys. XIV: *Alc.* i.28, 41; Athen. V.220E; Davies 1971 (*APF*), 17-18; Cox 1989, 40.²⁵ Arist. *Pol.* II.i.15 (=1262a.35-36): τὰς χρήσεις ... ἃς πατρὶ πρὸς υἱὸν εἶναι πάντων ἐστὶν ἀπρεπέστατον καὶ ἀδελφῶ πρὸς ἀδελφόν.

son or for a brother toward a brother are most improper.”²⁵ The philosopher thus reveals that sexual intercourse between near of kin was similarly unseemly between men.²⁶ Conversely, close-kin relationships between cousins, uncle and niece, and so on, seem to have been acceptable and even encouraged.²⁷

Despite the repulsion toward full-sibling relationships in ancient Greece, half siblings were apparently under certain conditions allowed to marry.²⁸ Post-classical authors, such as Philo Judaeus, inform that at Athens marriage between patrilateral half siblings was permitted.²⁹ Indeed, Plutarch tells us that Mnesiptolema, the daughter of Themistocles, was married to her agnatic half brother Archeptolis,³⁰ and Demosthenes records that, in his appeal against Eubulides, Euxitheus admits that his grandfather Thucritides had married Lysarete, his sister of a different mother.³¹ These two cases, however, are the only incontestable examples of this Athenian practice. According to Philo, furthermore, Spartan law “allowed marriage to uterine siblings (*homogastrioi*), but

²⁶ Arist. *Pol.* II.i.12-18(= 1262a.10-b.35); Just 1989, 76.

²⁷ E.g., Plut. *Them.* XXXII.2; *Per.* XXIV.5. For the Athenian epiklerate, see: Lys. XXXII: *Diogeit.* 4-5; Pl. *Leg.* XI.923E-925A; Isae. III: *Pyrrh.* 64; VII: *Apollod.* 11-12; X: *Arist.* 5, 12; Arist. *Ath. pol.* XLIII.4; Dem. XLIII: *Macart.* 74; XLIV: *Leoch.* 10; XLVI: *Steph.* ii.22-23; LIX: *Neaer.* 2, 22; *DA s.v.* ‘Epikleros,’ II(1): 662-665 [Ch. Lécrivain]; *RE s.v.* ‘Ἐπικληρος,’ VII(1): 114-117 [Thalheim]; *OCD*³ s.v. ‘Inheritance, Greek,’ 757 [MacDowell]; Harrison 1968, 9-12, 23, 132-138; Dover 1974, 273; Just 1989, 79-82, 95-104.

²⁸ *DA s.v.* ‘Incestum,’ 450-452; Harrison 1968, 22; Hopkins 1980, 311; Just 1989, 79; Shaw 1992, 270.

²⁹ Philo *Spec. leg.* III.iv.22 (303); cf. Σ Ar. *Nub.* 1371; Sext. Emp. *Pyr.* III.24 (205); Min. Fel. *Oct.* XXXI.3.

³⁰ Plut. *Them.* XXXII.2 (ἀδελφὸς οὐχ ὁμομήτριος).

³¹ Dem. LVII: *Eubul.* 20 (ἀδελφὴ οὐχ ὁμομητρία).

forbade it between paternal siblings (*homopatrioi*).”³² While Herodotus does confirm that Spartan kings consummated close-kin marital alliances, he does not report (half-) sibling unions.³³ Anaxandridas II married his sister’s daughter, whose son, the famous Leonidas, was married to Gorgo, the daughter of his deceased half brother Cleomenes I (*i.e.*, both Cleomenes and Leonidas were Anaxandridas’ sons, from different mothers).³⁴ Archidamus II took Lampito to wife, who was the half sister of his father Zeuxidemus (*i.e.*, Zeuxidemus and Lampito were both children of Leotychidas II, from different mothers), and who bore him his son Agis II.³⁵ Herodotus is also often quoted for the claim that the Corinthian Bacchiadae exclusively married within their family, but the context of the passage to me seems to imply political slander.³⁶ Relationships with in-laws (after divorce) – second-degree incest, in modern parlance – were apparently in no way reproachable.³⁷ To compensate for the city’s oliganthropy, a Spartan woman could bear the children of her husband’s brother(s).³⁸ Similarly, affinity through adoption was not a legal bar to marriage.³⁹ In these above cases of severe endogamy, however, it remains difficult to appreciate the extent to which such relationships were frowned

³² Philo *Spec. leg.* III.iv.22 (303): ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων νομοθέτης ἔμπαλιν τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμογαστροῖς γάμον ἐπιτρέψας τὸν πρὸς τὰς ὁμοπατρίους ἀπέπειν.

³³ *DA s.v.* ‘Incestum,’ 449, n. 2.

³⁴ Hdt. V.39, 41, VII.204-205, 239.

³⁵ Hdt. VI.71 (Lampito was the patrilateral half-sister of Archidamus’ father, Zeuxidemus); *OCD*³ *s.v.* ‘Archidamus,’ 145.

³⁶ Hdt. V.92β; *DA s.v.* ‘Incestum,’ 449; *OCD*³ *s.v.* ‘Bacchiadae,’ 230.

³⁷ Andoc. *De myst.* 124-125; Plut. *Lyc.* III.

³⁸ Xen. *Lac.* I.7; Polyb. XII.vi(b).8; Plut. *Lyc.* XV.

³⁹ Isae. III: *Pyrrh.* 42, 68-69; Dem. XLI: *Spud.* 3.

upon.⁴⁰ Moreover, we might wonder to what extent Greek sexual mores were relevant to the ancient Macedonian royal house.

What scarce evidence survives about ancient Macedonia concerns solely the royal house, and bears out that the Argeads' adherence to the aristocratic custom of exogamy.⁴¹ Macedonian kings, in fact, often established marital alliances with their neighboring kingdoms. Indeed, Gygaea, the first Argead princess whose name has come down to us, the daughter of Amyntas I, was married by her brother, King Alexander I the Philhellene, to the Persian nobleman Bubares, son of Megabazus.⁴² The exogamous polygamy of Philip II is, of course, well known.⁴³ Although the sequence is not entirely secure (nor necessarily complete), as discussed in Part One, he is known to have been married to the following seven women:⁴⁴ Audata-Eurydice from Illyria; Phila from Elimeia; Philinna from Larissa (mother of Philip Arrhidaeus); Nicesipolis from Pherae (mother of Thessalonice); Meda from Thrace; Olympias from Epirus (mother of Alexander the Great and Cleopatra); and Cleopatra from Macedon (mother of Europa).⁴⁵

In the light of the Argeads' preference for (polygamous) exogamy, the few identifiable exceptions are therefore all the more noteworthy. The first Macedonian royal

⁴⁰ E.g., Eur. *Andr.* 173-176; Soph. *OT* 981-982; Ar. *Ran.* 1081; Xen. *Mem.* IV.iv.20-21; Achil. Tat. I.3; Artem. I.128-129, V.24; Sext. Emp. *Pyr* I.xiv.104, 152, 160, III.xxiv.205; Shaw 1992, 270-271.

⁴¹ See: Appendix D: Genealogies, 5. Argead Dynasty.

⁴² Hdt. V.21, VIII.136; Just. VII.iii.9-iv.1, 5; Macurdy 1932, 14; Carney 2000a, 16.

⁴³ Satyr. *FHG* III: 161 F 5 (*ap.* Athen. XIII.557B-E); Plut. *Alex.* IX; Macurdy 1932, 22-48; Carney 1992; Whitehorne 1994, 30-42; Ogden 1999, 17-29; Carney 2000a, 51-81; Lilibaki-Akamati 2004, 91; see: Appendix E: Family Relations, 2. Philip II.

⁴⁴ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 1, p. 165, nn. 15-21.

⁴⁵ Diod. XVI.xciii; Plut. *Alex.* IX.6; Athen. XIII.557D-E, 560C; Arr. *Anab.* III.vi.5; Just. IX.v.8-9; Macurdy 1932, 230, 32; Ellis 1976, 166-167; Whitehorne 1994, 34-36; Ogden 1999, 20-21; Carney 2000a,

woman whose position of prestige and influence can be appreciated is Cleopatra, one of the wives of Perdiccas II (and the daughter of his brother Menelaus?).⁴⁶ After that king's death, the queen-widow was taken into levirate by her stepson Archelaus. In a highly compressed parenthetical aside, which has been variously interpreted by historians, Aristotle mentioned that Archelaus, "under the duress of war against Sirrhas and Arrhabaeus [*scil.*, Arrhidaeus?], gave his elder daughter to the King of Elimeia, and his younger daughter to his son Amyntas, in the hope of avoiding a struggle between the latter and his son with Cleopatra (*i.e.*, Orestes)."⁴⁷ What should be clear from this imprecise passage is that Archelaus favored Cleopatra's son Orestes as his successor,⁴⁸ and that (Cleopatra's nephew?) Amyntas (III?) was threatening his position. If my understanding of this labyrinthine genealogy is correct, then the younger of Archelaus' daughters was the Gygaea who bore King Amyntas III three sons, *viz.*, Archelaus, Arrhidaeus and Menelaus (apparently named after their ancestors).⁴⁹ The same King also fathered four children with Eurydice (the daughter of the above named Sirrhas), *viz.*,

71-75.

⁴⁶ *RE* s.v. 'Kleopatra,' no. 11, XXI: 734; Macurdy 1932, 14-17; Whitehorne 1994, 14-29; Ogden 1999, 7-11; Carney 2000a, 21-22.

⁴⁷ Arist. *Pol.* V.viii.11 (=1311b.10-15: [Ἀρχέλαος] τὴν μὲν προτέραν [θυγατέρα] κατεχόμενος ὑπὸ πολέμου πρὸς Σίρραν καὶ Ἀρράβαιον ἔδωκε τῷ βασιλεῖ τῷ τῆς Ἑλιμείας, τὴν δὲ νεωτέραν τῷ υἱεῖ Ἀμύντῃ οἰόμενος οὕτως ἂν ἐκείνον ἤκιστα διαφέρεισθαι καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας); Pl. *Grg.* XXVI.471C; *cf.* Macurdy 1932, 14, 16; Whitehorne 1994, 31; Ogden 1999, 9-10; Carney 2000a, 22. [It is impossible from this passing reference to determine whether Sirrhas was the King of Elimeia; whether this Arrhabaeus was the King of Lyncestis with the same name or (with an emendation) was the son of Perdiccas' brother Menelaus, Arrhidaeus; whether Amyntas was Archelaus' son (from another wife) or of Arrhabaeus/Arrhidaeus (and in the latter case the future Amyntas III); or whether either one of Archelaus' daughters were by Cleopatra; nor is it necessary that the two daughters were married around the same time (as two different motives are given for each marriage).]

⁴⁸ *Pace* Whitehorne 1994, 31; Carney 2000a, 22; *contra* Ogden 1999, 10.

⁴⁹ Just. VII.iv.6, VIII.iii.10; *cf.* Macurdy 1932, 14-15, 17; Whitehorne 1994, 19-20; Ogden 1999, 11-13; Carney 2000a, 46-48; see: Appendix E: Family Relations, 1. Amyntas III.

Alexander II, Perdiccas III, Philip II and Euryone.⁵⁰ This last princess was married to Ptolemy of Alorus (who may have been her half brother), who allegedly seduced Eurydice to conspire against Amyntas, took her into levirate, and as regent for her eldest son, Alexander II, he put that son to death.⁵¹ Eurydice's youngest son Philip II assuaged Olympias by marrying their daughter Cleopatra to Olympias' brother Alexander of Epirus.⁵² In effect, one or two possible cases of half-sibling marriage,⁵³ and more common uncle-niece marriages can be attested in the Argead dynasty.⁵⁴ Not a single full-sibling marriage, to be sure, is recorded in the ancient evidence regarding Greece or Macedon before the Hellenistic period. Additionally, it may be borne in mind that, as Elizabeth Carney pointedly remarks, "the Antigonids, bound by long-established customs and more sensitive to Greek and Macedonian prejudice against full sibling marriage, never practiced it."⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Diod. XVI.ii; Strabo VII.vii.8 (326C); Just. VII.iv.5; Macurdy 1932, 17-22; Whitehorne 1994, 19-20, 27; Ogden 1999, 11-13; Carney 2000a, 40-46, 269 n. 10.

⁵¹ Aeschin. II: *Fals. legat.* 28-32; Diod. XV.lxxi, lxxvii; Just. VII.iv.7, v.4-7; Macurdy 1932, 17-21; Ogden 1999, 14-16; Carney 2000a, 39-40.

⁵² Diod. XVI.xci; Just. VIII.vi.5, IX.vi.1; Macurdy 1932, esp. 26, 31; Carney 1992, 177-179; Whitehorne 1994, 57-58; Ogden 1999, 24-25; Carney 2000a, 75-76; Lilibaki-Akamati 2004, 91.

⁵³ If the Amyntas mentioned by Arist. (1311b.14) was the son of Archelaus, he was married to a half sister; if Diod. (XV.lxxi, lxxvii) can be trusted, then Ptolemy of Alorus could have been no more than Euryone's half brother (otherwise Ptolemy would have married his own mother, too).

⁵⁴ Note that Philip Arrhidaeus (son of Philip II and Philinna) was married to Adea Eurydice, daughter of Amyntas IV (son of Perdiccas III) and Cynane (daughter of Philip II and Audata Eurydice); thus Adea was Arrhidaeus' second cousin and niece.

⁵⁵ Carney 1987, 421.

2. Pharaonic Egyptian Endogamy

According to Pausanias, as already noted, when Ptolemy II married his full sister Arsinoe, “he was acting against Macedonian customs, and rather following that of the Egyptians whom he ruled.”⁵⁶ Pausanias was not alone in this assumption. In fact, many authors repeat practically the same refrain that Persians were allowed to marry their mother, Athenians to marry their half sister, and Egyptians their full sister.⁵⁷ Or, in Seneca’s satirical voice: “In Athens it’s allowed to go half-way, at Alexandria all the way (*Athenis dimidium licet, Alexandriae totum*).”⁵⁸ Euripides’ Hermione went so far as to decry that all barbarian races commit incest.⁵⁹ More often than not, these sources fail to provide any substantiation for their allegations.⁶⁰ Diodorus merely explained that the Egyptians violated the universal law of humanity in imitation of Isis and Osiris.⁶¹ In the preceding section, indeed, we have seen that full-sibling marriage was considered repulsive in the Graeco-Macedonian world. I will now turn to assess whether or not the

⁵⁶ Paus. I.vii.1: ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Ἀρσινόης ἀδελφῆς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρασθεὶς ἔγημεν αὐτήν, Μακεδόσιν οὐδαμῶς ποιῶν νομιζόμενα, Αἰγυπτίοις μέντοι ὦν ἦρχε; cf. Memn. *FGrH* III(B): 434 F 8.6-7 (*ap. Phot. Bibl.* 224: [Πτολεμαῖος] Ἀρσινόην μέν, ὡς πάτριον τοῦτο τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, τὴν ἀδελφὴν γαμεῖ); Manetho *Apotelesm.* V.29 (207-208); Hdn I.6; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* II.48; Hopkins 1980, 311-312.

⁵⁷ E.g., see: Plaut. *Rud.* 1196-1198 (=IV.v.6-8); Philo *Spec. leg.* III.iv.22 (303); Sext. Emp. *Pyr.* I.xiv (152), III.xxiv (205); Min. Fel. *Oct.* XXXI.3; cf. OT *Lev.* XVIII.3.

⁵⁸ Sen. *Apocol.* VIII.3.

⁵⁹ Eur. *Andr.* 173-175; cf. Strabo IV.v.4 (201: incestuous cannibals on Ierna [Ireland]).

⁶⁰ For Persia, e.g., see: Hdt. III.31 (NB: οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώθεσαν πρότερον τῇσι ἀδελφεῖσι συνοικεῖν Πέρσαι, “before [Cambyzes], namely, it had never been customary for Persians to marry sisters”); Strabo XV.iii.20 (735: τούτοις δὲ καὶ μητράσι συνέρχεσθαι πάτριον νενόμισται, “for these men [the Magi] it had been established a forefatherly custom to have intercourse even with their mothers”); Kornemann 1923, 83; Middleton 1962, 608-609; Boyce 2001, 53-54, 97 (ind. s.v. ‘*khvaētvadatha*’).

⁶¹ Diod. I.xxvii.1 (νομοθετῆσαι δὲ φασὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν

“philadelphia” of Ptolemy and Arsinoe followed Pharaonic precedent. As this is not the place for a detailed exposé of the marital practices and attitudes towards incest throughout the three millennia of Egyptian history, it will suffice to summarize the studies that especially Jaroslav Černý, Pieter Pestman and Gay Robins have produced on the subject.⁶²

The degree of consanguinity was incontestably high among the Egyptian royalty.⁶³ Before proceeding, though, I should warn that (earlier) scholarship is often marred by a belief in matrilineal descent that is presumed to explain royal endogamy.⁶⁴ Besides, the practice of polygamy, and the paucity of the sources cloud the Pharaonic genealogies.⁶⁵ For the New Kingdom, the material appears least controversial. For instance, Amenophis (Amenhotep) III (r. 1391-1353 BCE) married his daughter Sitamun, whom he fathered with his “Great Royal Wife (*Hemet Nesu Uret*)” Tiy.⁶⁶ As an indication of her position, Sitamun received the titles “Royal Daughter (*Zat Nesu*),” “Royal Wife (*Hemet Nesu*),” and even “Great Royal Wife” while her mother was still alive – even though that last title is understood to designate the principal position among

ἀνθρώπων γαμεῖν ἀδελφᾶς).

⁶² Also, see: *LÄ* s.v. ‘Geschwisterehe,’ XII: 568-570 [Allam]; cf. *DA* s.v. ‘Incestum,’ 450-451; *RAssyr.* s.v. ‘Inzest,’ V(2): 144-150 [Petschow].

⁶³ Middleton 1962, 604-606; J. G. Griffiths 1980, 198-202.

⁶⁴ As Arr. (*Anab.* I.xxiii.7) explained for the marriages of Mausolus and Idrieus with their sisters Artemisia and Ada; also, see: Hdt. III.31; Min. Fel. *Oct.* XXXI.3; Strabo XIV.ii.17 (656), XV.iii.20 (735); *DA* s.v. ‘Incestum,’ 451 n. 2; *RAssyr.* s.v. ‘Inzest,’ 149; Carney 2005, esp. 79-83. Cf. Watterson 1991, 23 (“property passed down through the female line ... a belief in matrilineal descent”), 128 (“[royal] descent was traced through the female line”); *contra* Černý 1957, 51-55; Middleton 1962, 609; J. G. Griffiths 1980, 202-206; Robins 1983a; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. I, § 5, p. 179, n. 97.

⁶⁵ Robins 1993, 27, 36 (“Altogether more than a hundred children are associated with Ramses II. Most of them are only known from the [depictions of] processions, and we have no idea who their mothers were”).

⁶⁶ Middleton 1962, 604; Blankenberg-van Delden 1969, 16, 21-56; Watterson 1991, 151; Robins

the king's wives.⁶⁷ Before he changed his name to Achnaton, the son of Amenophis III and Tiye, Amenophis IV (r. 1353-1335 BCE) married Nefertiti, the daughter of Tiye's brother Aya.⁶⁸ Subsequently Achnaton took two of his six daughters with Nefertiti to wife, viz., Merytaton and Anchsenpaäton.⁶⁹ Achnaton's second successor, Tutanchamun (r. 1333-1323 BCE), perhaps the son of a lesser royal wife, Kiya, took into levirate his (half-) sister Anchsenpaäton, now renamed Anchsenamun.⁷⁰ After Tutanchamun's premature death and a Hittite prince was unforthcoming despite her correspondence with King Suppiluliumas, the queen-widow married the elder Aya (r. 1323-1315 BCE), who was both her grandfather and her granduncle.⁷¹ At the apogee of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Pharaoh Ramses II (r. 1290-1224 BCE) was married to Queen Nofretari, yet additionally called his sister Henutmehyt, as well as his daughters Bentanet, Merytamun and Nebettauy by the title of "Great Royal Wife."⁷² While the depreciation of the title *Hemet Nesut Uret* is evident, Ramses II did father a child at least with Bentanet.⁷³ In short, Egyptian kings were not averse to marrying their full or half sisters, nor even their daughters.

Contrary to the extreme endogamy among the Egyptian royalty, such incestuous

1993, 52.

⁶⁷ Robins 1993, 29 ("where her name appears alongside that of her mother, she is called only 'king's wife' [*hm.t nsw*], whereas the title 'king's principal wife' [*hm.t nsw wr.t*] is reserved for occasions when her mother is not present").

⁶⁸ Antelme 1990, 33; Robins 1993, 52-55.

⁶⁹ Antelme 1990, 33; Robins 1993, 29, 54-55; cf. Middleton 1962, 604-605 (discarding the evidence);

⁷⁰ Robins 1993, 32, 54.

⁷¹ Watterson 1991, 151-154; Robins 1993, 32.

⁷² Middleton 1962, 604; Kitchen 1982, 99-100, 110-111; Antelme 1990, *pass.*; Robins 1993, 29-30.

⁷³ Antelme 1990, esp. 28-29; Robins 1993, 29. [Bentanet, *z.t nsw.t n ht=f mr.t=f hm.t nsw.t wr.t* ("royal daughter of his body, his beloved, great royal wife"), is shown in her tomb with an unnamed

behavior was not condoned among Egyptian commoners.⁷⁴ This is not to say that they were exogamous. Living often in small villages, they practiced endogamy to a similar extent as commoners in ancient Greece, as Pestman has established.⁷⁵ Close-kin marriages took place between uncle and niece, between cousins, or between a widower and the sister of his deceased wife. Few documents, however, record the parents of both husband and wife, let alone their grandparents.⁷⁶ This means that it is often impossible to reconstruct non-royal genealogies and thus discover possible consanguinity. Černý and Pestman, studying funerary stelae and Demotic papyri respectively, conclude that full-sibling marriages cannot be attested.⁷⁷ The only instance attesting to a child of two siblings is actually irrelevant as it does not concern Egyptians, but rather a Libyan family settled in Egypt at the time of the Twenty-Second Dynasty.⁷⁸ Several Middle Kingdom inscriptions refer to the same woman as a man's "wife (*hemet*)" and "sister (*senet*)," without giving their parents' names.⁷⁹ On another stele a man brings offerings to "his daughter (*zat-ef*) of his sister (*senet-ef*)" and to "his sister (*senet-ef*) of his mother (*mut-ef*)."⁸⁰ Černý provides two more Middle Egyptian cases, in which the names of the

daughter.]

⁷⁴ Černý 1954, 27; Middleton 1962, 605-606; J. G. Griffiths 1980, 197-198; Watterson 1991, 56-57; Robins 1993, 27, 74.

⁷⁵ Pestman 1961, 3-4; J. G. Griffiths 1980, 198; Whale 1989, 253.

⁷⁶ Černý 1954, 27; J. G. Griffiths 1980, 201; Robins 1993, 74.

⁷⁷ Černý 1954, esp. 29; Pestman 1961, 2-5; also, see: Hopkins 1980, 311; Watterson 1991, 57; Shaw 1992, 274; Robins 1993, 74; Bagnall and Frier 1994, 129; Montserrat 1996, 89-91.

⁷⁸ Černý 1954, 23-24; Middleton 1962, 605; Allam in *LÄ* s.v. 'Geschwisterehe,' 569.

⁷⁹ *I. Louvre* C16-18; Černý 1954, 25-26.

⁸⁰ *Äg. I. Berlin* I: 196, no. 13675; Černý 1954, 26.

couples' mothers are the same.⁸¹ Pestman could submit only one example, where the couple's father has the same name.⁸²

Tracing consanguinity among the marriages of the New Kingdom is severely impeded, not only by a near absence of any genealogical indication, but also because onward from the Eighteenth Dynasty it became common for a man to refer to his spouse with the expression *senet-ef* ("his sister"), rather than *hemet-ef* ("his wife").⁸³ According to Černý, this custom is first attested on funerary stelae during the reign of Tuthmosis III (r. 1479-1425 BCE),⁸⁴ but in erotic poetry lovers often called each other "brother (*sen*)" and "sister (*senet*),"⁸⁵ and Pestman could adduce at least one example for the Old Kingdom where the word *senet* clearly did not refer to a blood relationship.⁸⁶ Apparently, this practice is not uncommon in other societies.⁸⁷ We have to account for the possibility, therefore, that in the above-cited cases, "sister" may have been used as a term of affection rather than kinship. In fact, Egyptian kinship terms in general lack the desired precision to trace genealogical relations.⁸⁸ Thus, the word *it* can mean "father" as well as "ancestor," the word *za*, "son" as well as "descendant" or simply "relative."

⁸¹ *I. Louvre C44; I. BM no. 363 (=Hierog. Texts III: pl. 7); Černý 1954, 27.*

⁸² Pestman 1961, C no. 1.

⁸³ Černý 1954, 26; Pestman 1961, 4, 11 n. 3, 12 n. 2, A nos. 6-7; Ward 1986, 65-69; Robins 1993, 61.

⁸⁴ *Urk.* IV: 153, 922; Černý 1954, 28.

⁸⁵ Middleton 1962, 605; Bleeker 1972, 85; Hopkins 1980, 346-348, 352-353.

⁸⁶ Gardiner and Sethe 1928, no. 1; Pestman 1961, 4 n. 5; *cf. Wb s.v. 'sn.t'* IV: 151; J.G. Griffiths 1980, 198 n. 64.

⁸⁷ Černý 1954, 25; Middleton 1962, 605; Hopkins 1980, 311; Shepher 1983, 14; Watterson 1991, 56-57. [*Cp.* the modern practice to call each other "baby" and "daddy"; in Dutch some men refer to their spouse as "*moeder de vrouw* (mother the wife)."]

Nevertheless, something of the popular attitude may perhaps be gleaned from the Sethon-Cha‘amuse novel that has been transmitted on several third-century Demotic fragments.⁸⁹ In this romantic story, princess Ahura pleads with her father Pharaoh Merenptah to marry her brother Neneferkaptah, and despite his initial denial, the king eventually caved in. Although Keith Hopkins cites the novel as evidence for the sympathetic representation of sibling marriage,⁹⁰ it rather seems to point to the exceptionality of the practice.⁹¹ To be sure, Greek census records from the Roman Imperial era incontrovertibly document full-sibling marriage among the Egyptian population.⁹² For the Hellenistic period, however, the evidence for sibling marriage is negligible.⁹³ These practices, of course, cannot be adduced as precedent to explain the behavior of the Ptolemaic kings and queens. In fact, as Herodotus could hardly have passed up the opportunity to mention such a custom had it existed,⁹⁴ his silence on the matter corroborates the view that brother-sister marriage was not a native Egyptian custom among commoners in his age. It seems safe to assume that it was taboo at least before the Hellenistic period, and probably was condoned among commoners only in the Imperial period – until the *Constitutio Antoniniana*

⁸⁸ Federn 1935; J. G. Griffiths 1980, 198-199.

⁸⁹ Pestman 1961, 29-30; Hopkins 1980, 345-346.

⁹⁰ Hopkins 1980, 345.

⁹¹ F. Ll. Griffith in *ERE* s.v. ‘Marriage (Egyptian),’ VIII: 444; Middleton 1962, 609-610.

⁹² H. I. Bell 1949; Middleton 1962, 606-608; Hopkins 1980, esp. 312-327; Goody 1990; Shaw 1992, esp. 272-277; Bagnall and Frier 1994, 127-134; Montserrat 1996, 89-91; Scheidel 2005.

⁹³ *P. Tebt.* III(1): 766 ll. 5-7 (147/136? BCE); Middleton 1962, 606; Modzrjewski 1964, 58-59; Shaw 1992, 287; Bagnall and Frier 1994, 130 n. 73. [On *P. Tebt.* 766, a man named Dionysius writes a banker on behalf of one Euterpe, “τῆς ἀδελφῆς μου καὶ γυναικὸς”; her father’s name is also Dionysius; it is therefore possible, though hardly certain, that they were (half) siblings.]

⁹⁴ E.g., Hdt. II.47 (swineherds married among themselves), 92 (Lower-Egyptians practiced

condemned the practice in 212 C.E.

Although never a law of dynastic succession, in sum, Egyptian Pharaohs such as Amenophis IV-Achnaton, Tutanchamun and Ramses II did consummate incestuous marriages with their sisters and/or daughters. To that extent, Ptolemy II might have alluded to Pharaonic precedent when he married his own sister Arsinoe. It remains important to underline that such an extreme degree of endogamy was not condoned or practiced among the Egyptian population at large until the Roman Imperial era. (The unique phenomenon of Roman-Egyptian non-royal brother-sister marriages will not be further addressed, as it falls beyond the scope of the present subject.) The habit of using “brother” and “sister” as terms of affection often make it difficult to assess the actual affiliation of Egyptian commoners. As in the Graeco-Macedonian world, close-kin marriages, *e.g.*, between cousins, or between uncle and niece did certainly occur. However, accusations that Egyptians were allowed to marry siblings should be treated as misconstrued generalizations based on royal incest – if not veritable orientalizing gibes.

3. Depictions of Royal Siblings

Art cannot unambiguously portray close-kin marriage. Nonetheless, I will here argue that artistic representations can insinuate such endogamous relations, and that they can also use accompanying texts to elucidate the Lagids’ *philadelphia*. Although the double (jugate) portraits discussed in Part One were foremost representations of royal couples, additionally they could depict royal siblings – and often did.⁹⁵ Especially the

monogamy); Pestman 1961, 4; Lloyd 1975-88, II: 217.

⁹⁵ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 3, pp. 78-80.

Theôn/Adelphôn coinage renders the consanguinity of the king and queen explicit by means of its legend.⁹⁶ Yet, this series also illustrated their familial relation more subtly by the near identical features of the portraits.⁹⁷ If my interpretation (offered above) is correct,⁹⁸ then some of the conjugate portrait coins, moreover, comprised religious identifications with sibling deities such as Zeus and Hera-Dione, Zeus-Sarapis and Isis-Demeter, and perhaps Apollo and Artemis. Statue pairs and dynastic galleries attested in literary sources and inscriptions explicitly identified royal couples as sibling spouses, too.⁹⁹ The bronze *Theoi Adelphoi* statuettes mentioned above, *e.g.*, present Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II as divine counterparts through a syncretistic amalgamation both of Heracles, Dionysus, Horus and Osiris, and of Demeter, Agathe Tyche and Isis.¹⁰⁰ Two delicate marble heads, excavated at Tell el-Timai (anc. Thmuis) and originally inserted into statues, show a male figure bound with a *mitra* and tipped with small bullhorns, and a female figure wearing a *diadêma* over her corkscrew braids.¹⁰¹ While variously ascribed,¹⁰² the youthful features compare favorably with the secure portraits of

⁹⁶ *BMC Ptol.* nos. 1-11, pl. 7.1-7; Sv. nos. 603-606, 608-609 *etc.*; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 3, p. 78 n. 97.

⁹⁷ Kyrieleis 1975, 17-18, 80; Hazzard 1995a, 3.

⁹⁸ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 3, pp. 78-81.

⁹⁹ *E.g.*, see: Paus. I.viii.6; Athen. V.205; *I. Cair.* 22183; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 3, pp. 82-84.

¹⁰⁰ LBM 38.442, 443; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 3, p. 81 n. 114.

¹⁰¹ CEG JE.39517, 39520; Edgar 1915, pl. 2.2; Grimm and Johannes 1975, no. 10, pls. 10-11; De Meulenaere and MacKay 1976, no. 81, pl. 28c; Rausch (ed.) 1998, no. 145; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, nos. 10-11.

¹⁰² Edgar 1915, 4 [Isis]; Watzinger 1927, 25 [late 3rd cent. queen]; Horn 1938, 88 [Isis]; D.B. Thompson 1973, 93 n. 3 [Arsinoe III?]; Grimm and Johannes 1975, 4, 18 [mid-2nd cent. Isis]; De Meulenaere and MacKay 1976, 201 ["Aphrodite"]; Queyrel 1988, 15, 22 [Berenice II]; Queyrel in Rausch (ed.) 1998, 200 [Berenice II as Isis]; Ashton in Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, 49 [Berenice II].

Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III, who were thus identified with Dionysus and Isis.¹⁰³

Egyptian temple-scenes and stelae-reliefs were accompanied by inscriptions that explained the Lagids' endogamous relations, so vividly depicted by rows of royal ancestor pairs.¹⁰⁴ For example, on a relief-scene from Apollinopolis Magna (mod. Edfu), Ptolemy Philopator is shown bringing offerings to Horus, Hathor and Harsomtus, as well as his ancestors;¹⁰⁵ Ptolemy Euergetes wears the crown of Harsaphes (a syncretistic assimilation of Amun-Ra and Osiris; identified by the Greeks with Heracles); Ptolemy Philadelphus wears the crown of Sobek (the crocodile god of the Arsinoite nome); and Ptolemy Soter wears the crown of Nefertem (the primeval lotus god, son of Ptah and Hathor-Sakhmet). By their crowns (cow horns, sun disc and tall plumes) Berenice I and Berenice II are identified as "Wife of the God (*hemet en nether*)," while Arsinoe II can be recognized by her unique composite crown. Furthermore, Dorothy B. Thompson has suggested to attribute a small bronze plaque, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), to the twins of Cleopatra and Mark Antony, *viz.*, Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene.¹⁰⁶ On the plaque, frontal busts illustrate Helios with a radiate nimbus and Selene with the Hathoric crown. Both deities wear a *diadêma* and carry a two-pronged scepter.

¹⁰³ Cf. MFA 01.8207-8208; Kyrieleis 1975, 44-46, 104, pls. 32, 89, nos. D.1, L.1.

A portrait of a young Berenice II would argue for a date in the 260s (when she was betrothed or married to Demetrius the Fair) or 250s, while common opinion dates the heads to the later 3rd or early 2nd cent. BCE. Since Berenice II was, moreover, already in her mid twenties when she married Ptolemy III (in 246 BCE) a posthumous statue of young Berenice II seems incongruous. Conversely, Arsinoe III was merely a teenager when she was married to her brother Ptolemy IV (in 220 BCE).

¹⁰⁴ Minas 2000, 68-73; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 3, pp. 83-84.

¹⁰⁵ Edfu I: 526-527, pl. 36a; PM VI: 142, no. 165; Quaegebeur 1970, 214, no. 35; Winter 1978, doc. 28; Quaegebeur 1978, 248-249, fig. E; Minas 2000, 106.

¹⁰⁶ D.B. Thompson 1973, 64-65, pl. 70b; also, see: Babelon and Blanchet 1895, 55-56, no. 121; Bergmann 1998, 68-69, pl. 12.3-4. [The picece was bought in Egypt.]

The plaque is framed by two *agylai* (“sacred pillars”),¹⁰⁷ and the lower level features two filleted *cornucopiae* held by two winged *Erotes*. The context is therefore patently the Ptolemaic ruler cult, and Thompson’s attribution is certainly persuasive. As they were hardly ten years old at their parents’ death, the twins were too young to have been married. It may well have been their parents’ intention, however, to strengthen the Ptolemaic empire with their sibling marriage.¹⁰⁸ From this brief review of Ptolemaic visual art, we may surmise that the Alexandrian court actively promoted the visualization of Lagid *philadelphia*. Apart from epigraphic explications of the sovereigns’ familial relations that accompanied some of these artistic depictions, it is significant for the present purpose that the Lagids’ consanguineous unions were frequently illustrated through iconographic identifications with sibling deities such as Zeus and Hera, Isis and Osiris, Demeter and Dionysus, Helios and Selene, or Apollo and Artemis.

4. Poetic Allusions to Sibling Love

While in Part One I have discussed references to royal weddings in general, I will here examine Alexandrian poetry for allusions particularly to royal consanguinity. Because of the available material, this section will be necessarily restricted to the marriages of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, and Ptolemy III and Berenice II. Literary sources leave the distinct impression that the marriage of Ptolemy with his sister Arsinoe caused great consternation at Alexandria. I have noted above that ancient authors believed that

¹⁰⁷ Similar pillars appear on the Ptolemaic *oenochoeae*; D. B. Thompson 1973, 62-64.

¹⁰⁸ Despite Alexander’s betrothal to a daughter of King Artavasdes II of Armenia; Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* XV.62-63; *id. Bell. Jud.* VII.300-302; Huß 2001, 738, n. 52 (“Wie ernst dieser Versuch gemeint gewesen

the king violated Graeco-Macedonian customs and followed Egyptian precedent instead.¹⁰⁹ According to Plutarch, too, Ptolemy “was considered to be committing an uncouth and uncustomary act.”¹¹⁰ The Moralist adds that at the marriage, an unnamed rhapsode commenced his recitation with the opportune Homeric line, “then Zeus lifted his voice to Hera, his kinswoman (*kasignêtê*) and his spouse (*alochos*).”¹¹¹ Perhaps it was in response to this rhapsode that Sotades sung, “They say that once Hera and Zeus who delights in thunder.”¹¹² This cinaedic poet was notorious for his abuse of the kings of his age,¹¹³ and both Plutarch and Athenaeus state that he commemorated the wedding of Ptolemy and Arsinoe with this most insulting and tactless verse, “he shoves the prick in an unholy hole.”¹¹⁴ Plutarch and Athenaeus, however, disagree on the punishment Ptolemy meted out for the insult. According to the former, Sotades “pined away for a long time in prison”;¹¹⁵ while the Deipnosophist maintains that Ptolemy’s general Patroclus, “after arresting him and thrusting him into a leaden jar and carrying him out,

ist, erscheint fraglich”).

¹⁰⁹ *Supra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 2, p. 193, nn. 56 and 57.

¹¹⁰ Plut. *Quaest. conviv.* III.ix.2 (= *Mor.* 736F: πράγμα δρᾶν ἀλλόκοτον νομιζομένου καὶ ἄθεσμον).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.* (= *Mor.* 736E-F: [ὁ ῥαψωδὸς] ἐν τοῖς Πτολεμαίου γάμοις ἀγομένου τὴν ἀδελφὴν ... ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπῶν ἐκείνων· Ζεὺς δ’ Ἥρην ἐκάλεσσε κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε); cf. Hom. *Il.* XVI.432, XVIII.356; *Hymn. Hom.* XII: *Jun.* 3; V: *Ven.* 40; Euseb. *Praep. evan.* II.48 (= 301A); Eustath. *Comm. Hom. Iliad.* III: 878 ll. 13-17 (*infra*).

¹¹² Sotad. F 16 *ap.* Hephaest. *Enchir.* XI.4 (69; p. 36 l. 12, ed. Consbruch): “Ἥρην ποτέ φασιν Δία τὸν τερπικέραυνον; Escher 1913, 23-24; Cameron 1995, 18-20, 98-100.

¹¹³ Athen. XIV.620F.

¹¹⁴ Sotad. F 1 *ap.* Plut. *Lib. educ.* XIV (= *Mor.* 11A): εἰς οὐχ ὀσίην τρυμαλιὴν τὸ κέντρον ὠθεῖ; *ap.* Athen. XIV.621A: ὠθεῖς).

¹¹⁵ Plut. *Lib. educ.* XIV (= *Mor.* 11A): ἐν δεσμοτηρίῳ πολλοὺς κατεσάπη χρόνους.

sank him into the deep sea.”¹¹⁶ Modern scholars tend to repeat this story as an indication of Ptolemy’s sensitivity about his incestuous marriage,¹¹⁷ but Patroclus was not active as commander of the Ptolemaic fleet before the Chremonidean War (267/6-262/1 BCE), as M. Launey has demonstrated,¹¹⁸ so that Sotades’ execution must have occurred at least a decade after the incident at the wedding.¹¹⁹ There should nonetheless be no doubt that in the eyes of the Greek audience the royal full-sibling marriage of Ptolemy and Arsinoe breached a taboo.

All the more surprising, therefore, that such celebrated poets as Theocritus and Callimachus referred to the *casignesia* of Zeus and Hera in praise of their sovereigns. For in the *Encomium in Ptolemaeum*, as we have seen, the former honored his King, by comparing the royal marriage to the *hieros gamos* of the Olympian children of Cronus and Rhea.¹²⁰ Additionally he commended Arsinoe as Ptolemy’s “stately consort (*alochos*) ... loving with all her heart her kinsman (*kasignêtos*) and her spouse (*posis*).”¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Athen. XIV.621A (=Heges. *FHG* IV: 415-416 F 12): Πάτροκλος οὖν ὁ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγὸς ... λαβὼν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς μολυβῆν κεραμίδα ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἀναγαγὼν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος κατεπόντωσε.

¹¹⁷ E.g., see: Gow 1950 II, 345-346; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 66-67; Hopkins 1980, 311; Shaw 1992, 283-284; Hazzard 2000, 39, 42, 183.

¹¹⁸ Strabo IX.i.21 (398); Paus. I.i.1, III.vi.4-5; Athen. VIII.334A; *OGIS* 44-45; *RE* s.v. ‘Patroklos,’ no. 4, XVIII(2): 2288-2289; *Pros. Ptol.* III: 5225, VI: 15063; Bevan 1927, 60 n. 1; Launey 1945, 33-45.

¹¹⁹ Also, see: Σ Hephaest. *Enchir.* I.4 (8; p.99, ed. Consbruch: τοῦτο Σωτάδου, ὃν ἀνείλε Φιλάδελφος ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐλεγχθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, διότι τῇ ἀδελφῇ συγγίνοιτο); Georg. Choerob. *Comm. in Hephaest.* 104 (p.190, ed. Consbruch: τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Σωτάδην ἀνείλε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐλεγχθεὶς καὶ ὑβρισθεὶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι συγγεγένηται τῇ οἰκείᾳ ἀδελφῇ ὁ Πτολεμαῖος, “This is the Sotades Ptolemy Philadelphus put away after being disgraced and insulted by him, because Ptolemy had been intimate with his own sister”); Cameron 1995, 18-19, 241-244, 257 (who suggests that the occasion for Sotades’ execution was rather insulting Bilistiche).

¹²⁰ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.131-134; Hopkins 1980, 311; Shaw 1992, 283; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 4, p. 86.

¹²¹ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.128, 130: ἰφθίμα τ’ ἄλοχος ... ἐκ θυμοῦ στρέργοισα κασίγνητόν τε πόσιν

In his *Victoria Berenices*, Callimachus invoked his Queen as, “Nymph, holy blood of the Kinsmen Gods (*Kasignêtoi Theoi*).”¹²² In the *Coma Berenices*, moreover, Arsinoe II is explicitly named as Berenice’s mother, and Ptolemy III is called her “dear brother,” even though in reality they were merely maternal cousins.¹²³ Let the reader be reminded of the “nocturnal struggle” that Ptolemy “waged for the spoils of her virginity.”¹²⁴ Like the rhapsode at Ptolemy’s wedding to Arsinoe, then, Theocritus and Callimachus use the epic *kasignêtos* (lit. “of the same birth”) to describe the consanguineous unions of royal couples. The homericizing *Kasignêtoi Theoi*, furthermore, yields an erudite variation of the cult epithet *Theoi Adelphoi*.¹²⁵ Beside such solemn praise, however, the two poets furnish more mischievous allusions to the consanguinity of Zeus and Hera. In the *Adoniasusae*, Theocritus almost gratuitously included the enigmatic tongue-in-cheek, “Women know everything, even how Zeus wedded Hera”;¹²⁶ and Alan Cameron infers that Callimachus impishly hinted at Sotades’ abuse with the lines, “For they say that once Hera – Dog, dog! Hold back, impudent soul! You would sing even on what is unholy.”¹²⁷ In an environment where full-sibling marriage was abhorred, we might expect that any

τε.

¹²² Callim. *Vict. Ber.* (F 383; *Supp. Hell.* 254) 2: νύμφα, κα[σιγνή]των ἱερὸν αἷμα θεῶν; cf. Σ *ad loc.*; Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 308; Parson 1977, 7; *infra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 4, p. 207, n. 132.

¹²³ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 45 (Ἀρσινόης μητρός σέο); Σ *ad loc.*; cf. Catull. LXVI.22: *fratris cari*; Hyg. *Astr.* II.xxiv.2 (*Ptolemaeum Berenices patrem*); Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 114-115; Cameron 1995, 20; *infra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 4, p. 207 n. 132.

¹²⁴ Catull. LXVI.13-14: *nocturnae ... rixae, | quam de virgineis gesserat exuviis*.

¹²⁵ Hom. *Il.* XVI.432, XVIII.356 (*supra*); Koenen 1993, 97-98.

¹²⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XV.64: πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι, καὶ ὥς Ζεὺς ἀγάγεθ' Ἥραν; cf. Callim. F 48 (ὥς τε Ζεὺς ἐράτιζε τριηκοσίους ἐνιαυτούς, “thus Zeus made love for threehundred years”); Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 57; Gow 1950, II. 283; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 61; J. B. Burton 1995, 152.

¹²⁷ Callim. *Acont. et Cyd.* (F 75) 4-5: Ἥραν γὰρ κοτέ φασι-κύον, κύον, ἰσχεο, λαιδρέ Ι θυμέ, σύ

mention of royal incest was considered unbecoming and tactless. Instead, poets at the Alexandrian court eulogized as well as derided Ptolemy for marrying his sister Arsinoe; and whether in praise or in jest they compared the royal wedding to the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera.

Eustathius, in his commentary on Homer's verse, "then Zeus lifted his voice to Hera, his kinswoman and his spouse,"¹²⁸ noted that,

Some damned sophist justified the Egyptian Ptolemy when he broke the law with his sister, quoting this line, as though speaking metaphorically, saying that the king was not going against precedent by having intercourse with his sister, for Zeus did it.¹²⁹

I find it difficult to see how a poetic allusion to this "holy wedding" could justify royal incest. Nonetheless, modern scholars commonly understand the rhapsode's apposite quotation and Theocritus' analogy between the *hieros gamos* and his King's sibling marriage along the same lines as Eustathius.¹³⁰ A. S. F. Gow even calls Theocritus' comparison "both blasphemous and sycophantic."¹³¹ Taking into account that Callimachus employed similar terminology for Ptolemy III and Berenice II, I would suggest that the implications of such allusions to Lagid *philadelphia* and/or *casignesia* were more subtle. For only if the audience recognizes the divinity of the reigning king and queen can the analogy to the *theogamia* explain the royal endogamy at all. Indeed, before commending Arsinoe's *philadelphia*, Theocritus' *Encomium* memorializes the cult of the *Theoi Sôtêres* established by Ptolemy II; and Callimachus' invention, *Kasignêtoi*

γ' αἰσῆ καὶ τὰ περ οὐχ ὀσίη; Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 77; Cameron 1995, 20-22, 99.

¹²⁸ Hom. *Il.* XVI.432 = XVIII.356.

¹²⁹ Eustath. *Comm. Hom. Iliad.* III: 878 *Il.* 13-17; Cameron 1995, 19.

¹³⁰ *Infra* Pt. Two, ch. III, § 1.

Theoi, is an unmistakable play on the cult epithet of the *Theoi Adelphoi*. Even Callimachus' scholiasts knew that the invention was fictitious,¹³² but the poet was in fact following the royal ideology that publicly proclaimed Ptolemy III and Berenice II as children of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II.¹³³ In the next two chapters I will therefore contextualize the consanguineous unions of Ptolemaic kings and queens as an aspect of the ruler cult.¹³⁴



In the foregoing chapter, I have followed up on the findings of Part One, where we saw that the Ptolemies' extreme endogamy diverged sharply from the marital practices of the other Macedonian and/or Hellenistic kingdoms. For only the first and fifth Ptolemy did *not* marry immediate kin. The ancient sources were correct in believing that Ptolemy and Arsinoe Philadelphus violated Graeco-Macedonian customs when they

¹³¹ Gow 1950, II: 346.

¹³² Σ *ad* Callim. *Com. Ber.* 45 (= *P.Oxy. ined.* C, F 1 *recto*, in *marg. sinistr.*: 'Ἀρσινόης μητρ[ός]· κατὰ τιμὴν εἶπεν, ἐπεὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀπάμας καὶ Μάγα, “of [your] mother Arsinoe”: said out of honor, because [Berenice was] a daughter of Apama and Magas”); Σ *ad* Callim. *Vict. Ber.* 2 (= *P.Lille* 82.3-6; *Supp. Hell.* 255: θυγάτηρ τῶν θεῶν ἀδελφῶν, οἳ εἰσιν Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἀρσινόη ὧν ἀνηγόρευ[ον] τὴν Βερενίκην. ἦν δὲ ἐπ’] ἀληθείας θυγάτηρ Μ[άγα] τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου, “daughter of the Sibling Gods, which are Ptolemy and Arsinoe, who proclaimed Berenice. But in truth she was the daughter of Magas the uncle of [Ptolemy] Euergetes”); Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 114-115; Cameron 1995, 246.

¹³³ E.g., see: *OGIS* 60 l. 21; Fraser 1972, II: 384 n. 356.

¹³⁴ Lucan *Bell. civ.* VIII.692 (*incestae ... sorori*); ps.-Sen. *Octavia* 521-522 (*incesta ... Aegyptus*); Lucian *Icaromenipp.* 15 (Πτολεμαῖον . . . συνόντα τῇ ἀδελφῇ); Hdn. I.iii.3; Elderkin 1937, 424-435; Tondriau 1948a, 19; Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 77; Gow 1950, II: 283, 345-346; Černý 1954, 23-29; Taeger 1957-60, I: 376; Heyob 1975, 43; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 61; Hopkins 1980, 303-354 (esp. 311); Gelzer 1982, 17-18; Pomeroy 1984, 16; Shaw 1992, 283-284; Koenen 1993, 97-98; J. B. Burton 1995, 149, 152; Cameron 1995, 18-22, 98-100, 151-152, 241-246, 256-258; Hazzard 2000, 39, 42, 85-90, 183; Huß 2001,

married each other. Even though the Greeks allowed a degree of endogamy that we would deem incestuous, *e.g.*, between half siblings and cousins, full-sibling marriage was certainly abhorred. Among the Argeads, too, brother-sister marriage was never practiced. It is more difficult to assess, however, whether Ptolemy and Arsinoe deliberately violated the (Graeco-Macedonian) incest taboo by following Pharaonic Egyptian precedent. While there seems no reason to doubt that among the New-Kingdom dynasties (full and half) sibling marriage and even father-daughter marriages did occur, nevertheless, close-kin marriages were by no means the rule. To be sure, no evidence can prove that commoners consummated or condoned brother-sister marriage. The Roman census records from Egypt provide incontrovertible data about the sibling marriages among commoners, but have no bearing on the consanguineous unions of the Lagid dynasty.

Having reviewed the Graeco-Macedonian and Pharaonic Egyptian attitudes toward and/or practice of endogamy, I have devoted the second half of the chapter to a brief survey of representations of royal sibling couples in art and poetry. We had already seen that conjugate portraiture in various artistic media was widely diffused. The consanguinity of the king and queen could be illustrated by highlighting the family resemblance in their portrait features, through religious identifications with divine siblings, such as Zeus and Dione-Hera, Isis-Demeter and Zeus-Sarapis or Osiris-Dionysus, Apollo and Artemis, Helios and Selene. Accompanying texts could furthermore explicate the nature of the royal couple's relationship. At the Alexandrian court, poets, too, exploited the analogy between Zeus' holy wedding with Hera, and Ptolemy II's royal marriage with Arsinoe II. While Theocritus overtly compared Ptolemy and Arsinoe with Zeus and Hera, and lauded Arsinoe's *philadelphia*, Callimachus forged

the homericizing epithet “*Kasignêtoi Theoi*,” and teased Berenice about the “nocturnal struggle” with her “dear brother,” yet Sotades categorically derided Zeus’ incestuous relation with Hera, and by implication criticized the royal incest of Ptolemy and Arsinoe. The artistic and poetic assimilations, if not religious identifications, between royal and divine siblings, point unmistakably to the setting of the Ptolemaic ruler cult. I will therefore venture in the subsequent two chapters to infer respectively the ideological importance of royal incest for the Lagid dynasty in general and the symbolic significance of this theme of consanguinity for Ptolemaic queenship in particular.

III. DYNASTIC SACRALIZATION

The Ptolemies, as shown above, violated Graeco-Macedonian customs with their overt consummation of close-kin marriages.¹ Contrary to what some ancient authors believed, such a severe degree of endogamy does not appear to have been condoned among Egyptian commoners either. There was, nonetheless, a precedent of Pharaonic royal incest. Through their defiance of this taboo, the Ptolemies transgressed human limitations and thus manifested a supreme power that could only be comprehended within the transcendent framework of deification.² Modern comparative anthropological studies of royal incest, in fact, suggest that the phenomenon is concomitant with dynastic sacralization.³ Additionally, royal incest was an act of legitimation that insists on a bilinear dynastic succession.⁴ Such an ideology appeals to the purity of the royal blood, and thus excludes dynastic alliances outside of the royal house. More important for the purpose of the present dissertation are the concomitant

¹ The insightful article by Sheila Ager (2005), unfortunately, came to my attention too late to be fully incorporated into the main argument. Apart from her apposite connection between royal incest and the ideology of *tryphê*, however, we mostly arrive at similar conclusions about the phenomenon's symbolic significance. [I am grateful to R. S. Bagnall, E. D. Carney, and D. J. Thompson for this invaluable reference.]

² Price 1984 and 15-16, 25-40; Arens 1986, esp. 6-7, 147-149; Ager 2005, 20; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. I, intro, p. 162, n. 1, ch. II, § 1, p. 186, n. 13.

³ Westermarck 1922, 293; de Heusch 1958; Santiago 1973, 25-100; Hopkins 1980, 306-307; Arens 1986, 117-121; Robins 1993, 27; Durham and Wolf 2005; Ager 2005, 20-22; Scheidel 2005 (*ibid.*), 93-108. [Examples include the ancient dynasties of Egypt, Persia, Japan, Korea, Siam (Thailand), Hawaii, and Peru – even early-modern examples from the Azande (Congo-Sudan), Shilluk (central Nilotic-Sudan) and Nuer (southern Sudan).]

religious identifications with divine siblings.

In this chapter, I will contextualize the dynastic ideology of consanguinity as an aspect of the Ptolemies' deification. (1.) I will consider the possible motives that might explain why Ptolemy II took his full sister to wife. The precedent of "philadelphia"⁵ that he and Arsinoe II set, namely, did invest extreme endogamy with a symbolic significance that sanctioned and sanctified the position of the sovereigns. (2.) The remarkable official proclamation that Ptolemy III and his wife Berenice II were the offspring of the *Theoi Adelphoi*, and that Cleopatra I was the "sister and wife" of Ptolemy V (her cousin three-times removed) corroborates my interpretation. In the second section, I will argue that this feigned "casignesia"⁶ fortified their positions as true heirs and successors to the throne. (3.) To substantiate this interpretation I will furthermore illustrate how this ideology of incest guided the subsequent consanguineous marriages from Ptolemy VI until the end of the Lagid dynasty. I will pay additional attention to the historical circumstances, so as to consider the possible pragmatic purpose each union might have served. After this interpretation of the ideological importance of royal incest for the Ptolemaic kings, I will then be able to consider in the next chapter its symbolic significance for the Ptolemaic queens.

⁴ Van den Berghe and Mesher 1980, 300-317; Bixler 1982a-b; Shepher 1983, 92-98; Arens 1986, 108-113.

⁵ *Supra* ch. II, § 1, p. 186, n. 12.

⁶ In the following, I will use the term *casignesia* to denote "fictive sibling marital status"; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 4, p. 205.

1. The Philadelphia of Ptolemy II

The wedding of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II was the first of the Ptolemaic sibling marriages. As our sources hardly provide sufficient explanations, modern scholars have offered various different motives to account for this act of royal incest. Such motives include personal attraction, dynastic legitimation, territorial gain, popularization of the royal house, adherence to Pharaonic tradition and following divine precedent. In this investigation of Philadelphus' possible motivation to wed his full sister Arsinoe, it is important not to confuse function with origin. A phenomenon such as brother-sister marriage may have come into existence for a number of reasons. However, its perpetuation may have been due for entirely different motives. I will also argue that neither function nor origin necessarily explains the ideological importance of royal incest.⁷

Much of the ancient evidence insists that Ptolemy II took his full sister Arsinoe to wife because he fell in love with her.⁸ It is nevertheless a sorry state of affairs that the best sources for Philadelphus' motivations are Plutarch, Pausanias and Athenaeus. In my mind Stanley Burstein and R. A. Hazzard overestimate the value of such references, when they credit Ptolemy II with the sole initiative of the first Lagid sibling wedding.⁹ (In the next chapter, I will contemplate the possible advantages Arsinoe may have gained from this marriage.) Historians have long felt that it was impossible that the king could have been (sexually or amorously) attracted to his twice-widowed, elder sister, who

⁷ Ager (2005, 16-17) makes a similar point.

⁸ *P. Haun.* I.6 F 3.2-3; Σ Theoc. XVII.128; Plut. *Lib. educ.* XIV (= *Mor.* 11A); *id. Quaest. conviv.* III.ix.2 (= *Mor.* 763E-F); Paus. I.vii.1, IX.iii.1; Athen. XIV.621A; Herod. I.iii.3.

would certainly have been in her late thirties when she arrived in Alexandria.¹⁰ Nonetheless, John Mahaffy allowed for “personal attraction” as “a more obvious and better reason” for the sibling wedding.¹¹ We should bear in mind, though, that sibling-love was originally attributed to Arsinoe – through her official titulature as well as in Theocritus verses.¹² Contemporary documents never addressed Ptolemy II with the surname “Philadelphus;”¹³ only in later generations was his sister’s cult-epithet also assigned to the king.¹⁴ Together they were deified as the *Theoi Adelphoi* (“Sibling Gods”), not as the *Theoi Philadelphoi* (“Sibling-Loving Gods”).¹⁵ The ancient authors more likely reiterated received wisdom of the royal ideology of *philadelphia*. Moreover, as I have shown in Part One, love and devotion between king and queen were idealized already for Ptolemy I and Berenice I.¹⁶ In other words, it is advisable to heed Carney’s warning that is impossible to ascertain the personal factors that drove Philadelphus to wed his sister.¹⁷

⁹ Burnstein 1982, 197-212; Hazzard 2000, 85-90; cf. Pomeroy 1984, 16-19; Carney 1987, 420-439.

¹⁰ Strack 1897, 86; Niese 1893-1903, II: 100; Breccia 1903, 15; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 160-161 n.4; Bevan 1927, 61; Macurdy 1932, 106, 131; Seibert 1967, 82; Longega 1968, 73; Bengtson 1975, 177; Huß 2001, 309 n.29 (“Daß der König aus Liebe gehandelt hat ... ist jedoch nicht gerade wahrscheinlich”). Ager (2005, 15) pertinently emphasizes that “royal marriage is not – and never has been – primarily sexual,” but rather driven by pragmatic motives.

¹¹ Mahaffy 1895, 141; also, see: Hopkins 1980, 311-312.

¹² Theoc. *Id.* XVII.128, 130; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. 2, § 4, p. 204.

¹³ *E.g.*, see: *OGIS* 30-34; *I. Cair.* 22181 = *Urk.* II: 46 (Mendes stele); *I. Cair.* 22183 = *Urk.* II: 94 (Pithom stele).

¹⁴ Cf. Polyb. *ap.* Athen. II.45C; Strabo XVII.i.11 (795).

¹⁵ *E.g.*, see: *P. Hib.* I: 99, II: 199; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 2, p. 73, n. 77, ch. III, § 3, p. 101, n. 42.

¹⁶ Cf. Paus. I.vi.8, vii.1; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 4, ch. IV, § 1, and esp. § 2, pp. 126-127.

¹⁷ Carney 1987, 424.

Conversely, *communis opinio* holds that this sibling wedding was preeminently political.¹⁸ In various functionalist interpretations, it has been suggested that Philadelphus strengthened his claim to the throne by marrying his sister Arsinoe. Such suggestions are often tainted by the now refuted nineteenth-century belief in female heredity of sovereignty – an alleged vestige of matriarchy and matrilineal succession.¹⁹ Since Arsinoe only became Queen of Egypt as her brother's wife, levirate can also be excluded as a motive.²⁰ Therefore, it seems impossible that Ptolemy could have endeavored to legitimize his own rule by marrying Arsinoe. Taking their lead from Pausanias, scholars since Julius Kaerst have maintained that consanguineous marriages consolidated the royal house against potential rivals of lesser status.²¹ They point out that Philadelphus feared for his throne, as several half brothers pressed their claim.²² The threat from Ceraunus had been defused when he seized the kingship of Macedonia (in 281/0 BCE) and then died in battle against the invading Gauls (in 279 BCE).²³ Nevertheless, Pausanias relates that Ptolemy II executed his (half-) brother Argaeus for conspiring against him, put to death another half brother, a son of Eurydice – hence almost certainly Meleager – for fomenting revolt on Cyprus, and faced rebellion in

¹⁸ E.g., see: Niese 1893-1903, II: 100; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 160 n.4; Bengtson 1975, 117; Burstein 1982, 210-212; Hazzard 2000, 89-90.

¹⁹ E.g., see: Droysen 1877, III(1): 267; Strack 1897, 86-87; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. I, § 5, p. 179, n. 97.

²⁰ Cf. Longega 1968, 73; Carney 1987, 426, 429; Ogden 1999, 77.

²¹ Kaerst 1923, II: 344; Bengtson 1975, 117; Burstein 1982, 210; Carney 1987, 434; Ogden 1999, 74-75; Huß 2001, 309 n.29; Ager 2005, 19-20 (adding that Arsinoe might threatened to marry Magas of Cyrene).

²² Niese 1893-1903, II: 98-100; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 165-166; Longega 1968, 86; Heinen 1972, esp. 57-58, 74-75; Bengtson 1975, 115-116; Burstein 1982, 211-212; Carney 1987, 434; Ogden 1999, 75.

Cyrene from his stepbrother Magas, the son of Berenice I by a previous husband.²⁴ Werner Huß goes so far as to insist that these dynastic tensions were inflamed upon Arsinoe's arrival,²⁵ and Hölbl maintains that these executions of the king's brothers reveal Arsinoe II's influence at court,²⁶ while Hazzard contends that the king had already cleared away Eurydice's offspring and was "not greatly concerned with dynastic solidarity."²⁷ The confused chronology of events, in short, makes it difficult to determine whether the claims of Eurydice's son(s) coincided with Philadelphus' sibling wedding. More significantly, I find the argument that his sibling marriage strengthened the king's dynastic legitimacy rather implausible.

Another motive regularly cited to explain the Lagids' consanguineous union is that it preserved the purity of their heir's royal blood.²⁸ The practice of royal incest thus defines the legitimacy of succession through direct descent from both sides. Should this concern have involved Philadelphus, we would have expected him to betroth his heir to his daughter.²⁹ Instead, the future Ptolemy III married Magas' daughter Berenice II,

²³ Just. *Epit.* XVII.ii.9; Euseb. *Chron.* I: 235-236; Niese 1893-1903, II: 14-15; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 153; Macurdy 1932, 115; Hölbl 2001, 36; Huß 2001, 305. .

²⁴ Paus. I.vii.1-2; Tarn 1913, 261 (who believed that Magas' rebellion alone "prompted Ptolemy to his marriage with his sister Arsinoe"), 263 (but with the qualification that "it may also be that [Magas'] revolt was the result of [Arsinoe's] accession to power"); *infra* Pt. Two, ch. III, § 2, p. 220, n. 47.

²⁵ Huß 2001, 265.

²⁶ Hölbl 2001, 36.

²⁷ Hazzard 2000, 88.

²⁸ *E.g.*, see: Niese 1893-1903, II: 100; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 164; Seibert 1967, 82; Gow 1973, II: 283, 345-346; Ogden 1999, 75. For the modern socio-biological interpretation of royal incest, *e.g.*, see: Van den Berghe and Mesher 1980, 300-317; Bixler 1982a-b; Shepher 1983, 92-98; Arens 1986, 108-111; Ager 2005, 18.

²⁹ Seibert 1967, 84; Hazzard 2000, 88; *cf.* Macurdy 1932, 132 (who suggested that "Philadelphus may have played with the idea of a brother-sister marriage between his two children").

while Philadelphus' daughter, also named Berenice, was married off to Antiochus II. Furthermore, before Ptolemy III acceded to the throne after his father's death, Ptolemy II had appointed as joint ruler a Ptolemy ambiguously called "the Son (*ho hyios*)."³⁰ This peculiar designation has drawn much scholarly attention, but Huß has convincingly reasserted that this Ptolemy was in fact Philadelphus' stepson, *viz.*, Arsinoe's eldest son by Lysimachus.³¹ Indeed, by banishing his first wife, Arsinoe I, to remote Coptus (mod. Qift) in Upper Egypt, the king even jeopardized the legitimacy of his own children.³² As her younger son Lysimachus is attested as *strategos* in Coptus during the early reign of his brother Euergetes, he may in fact have joined his mother there.³³ Moreover, if Philadelphus' sibling marriage were motivated by dynastic concerns, one would also assume that the king and his sister-wife did intend to produce offspring defined as especially sanctioned to ascend to the throne. If this intention played any role in the *philadelphia* of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, however, it was not satisfied, as their marriage remained childless.³⁴ The evidence, then, appears to contradict that Philadelphus' sibling wedding was motivated by dynastic concerns.

The doyen of Hellenistic history, J. G. Droysen, long ago proffered the view that Ptolemy took Arsinoe to wife in order to gain the domains to which she could lay a

³⁰ *P. Sorb.* inv. 2440; *P. dem. Louvre* 2424; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 182 n. 2 (early lit.); Hazzard 2000, 22-23 (docs.); Huß 2001, 311-312, 348-349.

³¹ Huß 1998, 229-250; also, see: Breccia 1903, 18; Macurdy 1932, 120-123; Roos 1950, 54-63; Crampa 1969, III: 97-120; *contra* Ogden 1999, 73-80; Hazzard 2000, 88-89; Tunny 2000, 83-92; Hölbl 2001, 35.

³² For her banishment, *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 2, p. 73, n. 75. [I am unaware of any scholar making this point of the potential threat to her children.]

³³ Mahaffy 1895, 137 n. 2; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 162 n. 2; Bevan 1927, 205; Huß 2001, 336 n. 7.

claim.³⁵ Not only could the king claim right to Thrace and Macedonia through levirate with the widow of Lysimachus and Ceraunus, but he could also assert proprietary rights to Arsinoe's personal possessions of Pontic Heraclea along with Tios and Amastris, as well as Ephesus-Arsinoea, Cassandrea and perhaps Samothrace. While it is doubtful whether Arsinoe had been able to retain these domains after the death of Lysimachus, there is no evidence that Ptolemy entertained the advantage of these acquisitions – with the exception of Ephesus-Arsinoea, which moved in and out of the Ptolemaic sphere of influence during the First and Second Syrian Wars. Consequently, Droysen's idea has not won general acceptance.³⁶

For many modern historians the Pharaonic precedent is, if not sufficient, at least partial explanation of the Lagids' consanguineous unions.³⁷ It is evident, as seen above, that ancient authors assumed that Ptolemy II followed the custom of his Egyptian subjects in marrying his sister.³⁸ The reasoning would then be that Philadelphus consummated his sibling wedlock in order to please his subjects. Macurdy believed that the popularization of the royal house among the native Egyptians and especially the

³⁴ Σ Theoc. XVII.128; Paus. I.vii.3; Pliny *NH* XXXIV.148.

³⁵ Droysen 1877, III(1): 267; also, see: Niese 1893-1903, I: 402; Strack 1897, 87; Macurdy 1932, 117-118.

³⁶ Mahaffy 1895, 140; Breccia 1903, 16-17; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 161; Kornemann 1923, 20; Beloch 1912-27, III(1): 603; Longega 1968, 73; Carney 1987, 429 n. 21; Hazzard 2000, 87.

³⁷ Mahaffy 1895, 140; Strack 1897, 83; Breccia 1903, 17; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 29-30; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 371; Macudry 1932, 116; Hombert and Préaux 1949, 137; Thierfelder 1960, 4-6; Seibert 1967, 81-82; Pomeroy 1984, 16; Ogden 1999, 77-78; also, see: Ager 2005, 17.

I will not discuss Kornemann's notion that the Ptolemies followed the example of the Achaemenids (1923, 83), not only because the practice is unattested before Cambyses (*supra* 193 n. 60), but also because it is incongruous that an Achaemenid practice would legitimate Ptolemaic rule in Egypt. Unfortunately, this misguided notion is sometimes blindly accepted; *e.g.*, see: Bengtson 1975, 117; Rowlandson (ed.) 1998, 26.

venerable Egyptian priesthood was the trump card that convinced Ptolemy to take Arsinoe to wife.³⁹ Diodorus namely thought the Egyptians allowed brother-sister marriage “because of the success attained by Isis in this respect, as she lived in matrimony with her brother Osiris.”⁴⁰ Whether or not such an *imitatio Osiridis* inspired Ptolemy cannot be proven, and few historians believe that the divine precedent influenced the king.⁴¹ Still, the religious implications did not escape notice at the Lagid court. Identifications and/or assimilations that are the subject of this dissertation imply the apotheosis of the king and queen as divine sibling spouses – particularly with Isis and Osiris, and Zeus and Hera (or Dione). Similarly, the cult epithet that the royal couple assumed, *viz.*, *Theoi Adelphoi* (“Sibling Gods”) indicates that conviction. They were worshipped not only in the royal cult at Alexandria, but also as *synnaoi theoi* in temples throughout the country. Their title did not only appear on the prescript of each official document, but also graced magnificent conjugate portrait coinage. Nonetheless, the ideological importance that royal incest indubitably attained should not be confused with the origin or motivation of the practice.⁴²

To sum up, the *philadelphia* of Ptolemy II breached the socio-cultural incest taboo of his Graeco-Macedonian and Egyptian subjects. Through the conscious act of their sibling wedding, Ptolemy and Arsinoe transgressed the limits of human norms and

³⁸ *Supra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 2, p. 193, n. 56, p. 193, n. 57; *cf.* F. T. Griffiths 1979, 77.

³⁹ Macurdy 1932, 118.

⁴⁰ Diod. I.xxvii.1: διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐν τούτοις τῆς Ἰσιδος ἐπίτευγμα· ταύτην γὰρ συνοικήσασαν Ὀσίριδι τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

⁴¹ *E.g.*, see: Seibert 1967, 83; Vatin 1970, 72; Welles 1970, 83; Hazzard 2000, 89-90. On the divine association with sibling marriage, now see: Ager 2005, 17-18.

⁴² So, *e.g.*, Niese 1893-1903, II: 100-101; Seibert 1967, 83; Vatin 1970, 72-73; Bengtson 1975, 117;

values. In so doing, they transcended their mortal station and manifested their divine nature. Symbolically, royal incest was thus intimately associated with the deification of the king and queen. It explains little, though, to hold with Frederick Griffiths that, “by the logic of megalomania, two wrongs [incest and deification] make a right.”⁴³ As Ptolemy II had already introduced the cult of his parents, he may have felt that his marriage to Arsinoe implied a step toward his own deification. Although personal romantic motives should not be excluded, a royal wedding is an undeniably political act. Rather than strengthening his position at court, it would seem that the king inflamed dynastic tensions by banishing his first wife and possibly bastardizing her children, by marrying his full sister and adopting her son as his heir. Perhaps he was persuaded by possible territorial gain through Arsinoe’s claims, and with varying degrees of success attempted to pursue her rights during the First Syrian War, the Chremonidean War and the Second Syrian War. Egyptian priests may have reminded him of the Pharaonic precedent, and from the day of the ceremony Alexandrian poets certainly alluded to the divine precedent of the king’s sibling wedding. I must conclude that our evidence is deficient to ascertain why Ptolemy II took Arsinoe II to wife, but I feel confident that this incestuous union insinuated the apotheosis of the royal sibling spouses, by setting them apart from ordinary mortals, which eventually led to the official cult of the Sibling Gods.

2. The Casignesia of Ptolemy III

After wrestling with the sibling wedding of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, historians

Hazzard 2000, 90-94.

⁴³ F. T. Griffiths 1979, 77.

appear to gloss over the designation of Berenice II as “sister and wife” of Ptolemy III as mere protocol.⁴⁴ Little or no effort is made to explain this pretense. Nonetheless, it will be profitable to explore the possible motives and implications of Euergetes’ appeal to the ideal of *casignesia* (with which I mean the idealized and feigned consanguinity of the royal couple). Just as, in the absence of sufficient sources, the conscious intentions of Arsinoe II and her brother Philadelphus are impossible to ascertain absolutely, so we can merely speculate as to the purpose of Euergetes and his bride Berenice II proclaiming descent from the *Theoi Adelphoi*. Apart from inferences from the historical circumstances, I will also pay attention to the ideological importance of their illusionary incest. Additionally, I will occasionally refer to the similarly fictitious sibling marriage of Ptolemy V and Cleopatra I.

A look at the historical circumstances may help to understand why Ptolemy Euergetes married Magas’ daughter Berenice, rather than his homonymous full sister. Magas, the son of Berenice I by a previous husband (and perhaps adopted by Ptolemy Soter),⁴⁵ had been entrusted with the Ptolemaic governorship of Cyrenaica since 300/298 BCE.⁴⁶ About the time of the onset of the First Syrian War (and possibly in concert with his father-in-law Antiochus I), Magas rebelled from his stepbrother’s suzerainty and declared Cyrene independent.⁴⁷ However, near the end of his life, with no son to inherit

⁴⁴ So, e.g., Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 267 n.2 (“formule de protocole”); Pestman 1967, 28 n. c (“sens figuré”); Bernand 1970, I(3): 1008 (“usage du protocole”).

⁴⁵ Koenen 1993, 97; Huß 2001, 202 n. 93.

⁴⁶ Strabo XVII.1.5 (791); Paus. I.vi.8, vii.1; *RE* s.v. ‘Magas,’ no.2, XXVII: 293-297; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 67; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 186-190; Hazzard 2000, 106; Huß 2001, 202.

⁴⁷ Paus. I.vii.1-3; Niese 1893-1903, II: 126-127; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 164-166, 171-172; Bevan 1927, 63; Seibert 1967, 51-53; Hölbl 2001, 39; Huß 2001, 266-268; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. III, § 1, p. 215, n. 24.

his throne, Magas was reconciled with his uterine brother and offered his daughter Berenice to Philadelphus' eldest son – with the understanding that Cyrene should be reunited with Egypt once Ptolemy III succeeded to the throne.⁴⁸ When soon thereafter Magas died (*ca.* 249 BCE),⁴⁹ his wife Apama (the daughter of Antiochus I) schemed to retain Cyrenaica's independence and offered her daughter to Demetrius the Fair (the son of Poliorcetes).⁵⁰ Why was Philadelphus' son not engaged to his younger sister? Macurdy has speculated that Arsinoe II had convinced Philadelphus to appoint her son as his successor and had hoped to marry her niece, little Berenice, to her son Ptolemy (by Lysimachus) when she would reach a marriageable age (*ca.* 266 BCE).⁵¹ If this were tenable, it could explain why the future Ptolemy III was not betrothed to his younger sister. For even when "Ptolemy the Son" had fallen in Philadelphus' disfavor (259 BCE) and the betrothal of Ptolemy III was dissolved by Apama's scheming (*ca.* 249/8 BCE), Philadelphus had already offered his daughter to Antiochus II in the settlement after the Second Syrian War (253/2 BCE).⁵² Instead of indemnities, Philadelphus sent a dowry so large that Berenice was surnamed "*Phernophorus* (Dower-Bringer)."⁵³ In the end, Ptolemy III did marry Magas' daughter, after she had put her fiancée Demetrius to

⁴⁸ Just. *Epit.* XXVI.iii.2; Niese 1893-1903, II: 142-143; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 200; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 599; Bevan 1927, 73-74; Macurdy 1932, 131; Seibert 1967, 80-81; Vatin 1970, 69; Beyer-Rotthoff 1993, 196-197; Hölbl 2001, 45; Huß 2001, 333.

⁴⁹ Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 200; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 186-190; Seibert 1967, 81; Huß 2001, 333.

⁵⁰ Plut. *Dem.* LIII.8; Just. *Epit.* XXVI.iii.4-8; Mahaffy 1895, 151, 187; Niese 1893-1903, II: 143; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 201-202; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 615-617; Macurdy 1932, 131; Seibert 1967, 81, n. 31; Vatin 1970, 69-70; Hölbl 2001, 45-46; Huß 2001, 334; *infra* Pt. Two, ch. IV, § 2, p. 245.

⁵¹ Macurdy 1932, 123; also, see: Kornemann 1923, 39; Seibert 1967, 82 n. 40.

⁵² Jer. *Dan.* XI; Niese 1893-1903, II: 139; Breccia 1903, 19; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 210-211; Macurdy 1932, 132; Seibert 1967, 79-80; Clarysse 1980, 89; Beyer-Rotthoff 1993, 17-18; Hölbl 2001, 44.

death.⁵⁴ Euergetes' wedding to his cousin Berenice, though still endogamous in modern estimation, was perfectly acceptable in Graeco-Macedonian and Egyptian circles and followed the contemporary practice of sealing a political alliance with a dynastic one.

Despite the nature of their kinship though, Berenice II was not only officially styled "sister and wife (Gk. *adelphê kai gynê*, Eg. *senet en hemet*)" of Ptolemy III, but they both proclaimed the *Theoi Adelphoi* as their parents.⁵⁵ Arsinoe I was thus relegated to oblivion and Arsinoe II posthumously propagated as mother of her nephew and niece. On the Adulis inscription, Euergetes is called "The Great King Ptolemy, the son of King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoe, the Sibling Gods, (the children) of King Ptolemy and Queen Berenice, the Savior Gods."⁵⁶ The Canopus decree and many other inscriptions speak of "King Ptolemy, (son) of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the Sibling Gods, and Berenice, his sister and wife, the Benefactor Gods."⁵⁷ The same adherence to the ideology of royal sibling marriage was promulgated in the dynastic cult and the preamble of official documents.⁵⁸

⁵³ Porphyry *FGrH* II: 260 F 43; Strack 1897, 91; Hölbl 2001, 44; Huß 2001, 287.

⁵⁴ Just. *Epit.* XXVI.iii.3-8; Niese 1893-1903, II: 145-146; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 246; Macurdy 1932, 131; Hazzard 2000, 113; Hölbl 2001, 46; Huß 2001, 334.

⁵⁵ Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 159, 183; Bevan 1927, 189; Hazzard 2000, 94; Hölbl 2001, 46; Huß 2001, 335.

⁵⁶ *OGIS* 54 ll. 1-3: Βασιλεὺς μέγας Πτολεμαῖος, υἱὸς βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου I καὶ βασιλίσσης Ἀρσινόης θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν, τῶν βασιλέω(ς) I Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης θεῶν Σωτήρων; Droysen 1877, III(2): 343-344; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 261, n. 1; Bevan 1927, 192-193.

⁵⁷ *OGIS* 56 ll. 7-8: βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης, θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν, I καὶ βασιλίσσα Βερενίκη ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ γυνή, θεοὶ Εὐεργέται; *Urk.* II: 127-128 l. 4: *nšwt-btṯt (Ptwlmljś 'nh-dt mrt-Pth) sz n (Ptwlmljś) hn' (İrsin.t) nṯr.wj-sn.wj h' hkw.t (Brnjkw.t) sn.t-hm.t nṯr.wj-mnh.wj*, cf. *OGIS* 28, 60 l. 2, 61 l. 3, 65 l. 5; Niese 1893-1903, II: 171; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 267, n. 2; Macurdy 1932, 133-134; Longega 1968, 75 n. 20; Beyer-Rotthoff 1993, 291-300; Hazzard 2000, 112; Minas 2000, 103-106.

⁵⁸ *PSI* IV: 389 l. 3; Pesteman 1967, 28; Koenen 1983, 157; *id.* 1993, 53; Beyer-Rotthoff 1993, esp. 282, 287-289; Minas 2000, 102-103; Hölbl 2001, 93-96; Huß 2001, 379-380.

As noted above, Callimachus similarly stressed this dynastic fiction by styling Berenice II the “holy blood of the Kinsmen Gods,” presenting Arsinoe II as her mother, and by calling Ptolemy III her “dear brother.”⁵⁹ That the ideology of royal sibling marriage was indeed deemed important is furthermore confirmed two generations later by the marriage of Ptolemy V to Cleopatra I, the daughter of Antiochus the Great.⁶⁰ In Epiphanes’ case the option of sibling marriage had not been available, as he was the only child of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III.⁶¹ In a reversal of the Second Syrian War, a Seleucid princess was engaged to the Ptolemaic crown prince as part of the settlement of the Fifth Syrian War.⁶² As Epiphanes’ Queen, Cleopatra I was occasionally styled the “sister” as well as “wife” of the King, but not as methodically as Berenice II.⁶³ In short, rather than literal purity of blood, it appears that the Ptolemies were more concerned with the illusion of consanguinity.

What function, then, did this fictitious affiliation serve? It is conceivable that

⁵⁹ *Supra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 4, p. 205, nn. 122-123.

When Tzetzes (*Chil.* I.xxii.589-593; *cf.* Diod. X.xxxi.1) fulminated against ancient immoralities he chose as an example of “sibling-intercourse (ἀδελφομιξία),” not Ptolemy II and Arsinoe Philadelphus, but rather Ptolemy III and Berenice II.

⁶⁰ Polyb. XXVIII.xx.9; OT *Dan.* XI.17; Jos. *Ant. Jud.* XII.154-156; App. *Syr.* 5; *RE s.v.* ‘Kleopatra,’ no. 14; Mahaffy 1895, 306; Niese 1893-1903, II: 674; Breccia 1903, 201 Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 383-387; Vatin 1970, 59; Will 1979-82, II: 192; Whitehorne 1994, 80-88; Hölbl 2001, 140; Huß 2001, 514-514. [They were cousins three-times removed, for Epiphanes’ great-grandmother was Apama, the daughter of Antiochus II, who was also Cleopatra’s great-grandfather.]

⁶¹ Breccia 1903, 20; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 382; Bevan 1927, 268; Vatin 1970, 59; Ogden 1999, 82.

⁶² Polyb. XVIII.li.10; Livy XXXIII.xl.3, XXV.xiii.4; Jer. *Dan.* XI.17; *RE s.v.* ‘Ptolemaios,’ no. 23, XXXIII(1): 1695-1696; Mahaffy 1895, 298; Strack 1987, 196; Bouché-leclercq 1903-07, I: 383-384; Seibert 1967, 65-66; Vatin 1970, 64-66; Whitehorne 1994, 80-81; Hölbl 2001, 140; Huß 2001, 499.

⁶³ *E.g.*, see: *P.dem. Louvre* 9415 (*tj=f sn.t tj=f hm.t t Pr-ʿt Glwptr.t*); *OGIS* 99 (τὴν ἀδελφὴν βασιλίσσαν Κλεοπάτραν), 733 (ἡ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου ἀδελφὴ καὶ γυνή); Strack 1897, 245 no. 71 (βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας τῆς ἀδελφῆς); Huß 2001, 535 n. 27.

Euergetes acknowledged Arsinoe II as his mother to evade the blemish of illegitimacy as the son of his father's repudiated wife.⁶⁴ The sources' silence about his youth may perhaps be a hint that his succession had been challenged by "Ptolemy the Son." If the scholion on Theocritus XVII.128 is correct, Ptolemy II (after his fallout with "Ptolemy the Son") may have feigned the adoption by Arsinoe II of the children of Arsinoe I.⁶⁵ In fact, his belated betrothal, too, indicates that he had only been accepted as successor by Philadelphus a few years before Ptolemy III ascended to the throne. Yet, whatever the motive of the dynastic fabrication of Ptolemy III's affiliation, it does not explain why Berenice II was proclaimed her husband's "sister and wife." Similarly, the presentation of Cleopatra I as Epiphanes' "sister and wife" was not necessary to legitimize her position at court. Both marriages were political in nature – marital alliances according to the contemporary dynastic pattern. For Berenice the adoption into the Lagid house may have added the poignancy of denying her mother who had opposed the Ptolemaic alliance. In Cleopatra's case, the adoption into her husband's family implied a denial of her parents – both very much alive.⁶⁶ In her case, there may have been a desire to isolate the Lagid court from Seleucid interference. At any rate, such a titular affiliation did imply an adoption of the Queen into the royal family.

I suggest that the pretense of their *casignesia* foremost intimates the profound ideological importance that royal incest had attained. The decree issued after the synod of

⁶⁴ Cf. Strack 1897, 88; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-1907, I: 245; Macurdy 1932, 132; Beyer-Rotthoff 1993, 18.

⁶⁵ Σ Theoc. XVII.128; cf. Paus. I.vii.3; Strack 1897, 88; Breccia 1903, 17-18; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-1907, I: 183-184; Macurdy 1932, 121-122; Longega 1968, 75 n.20; Burstein 1982, 202; Ogden 1999, 78-79; Hazzard 2000, 94.

⁶⁶ Cf. *RE* s.v. 'Kleopatra,' no.14, col.739 ("Nach altägyptischer Sitte"); Mahaffy 1895, 307; Whitehorne 1994, 85 ("she inherited this title from her mother-in-law"); Huß 2001, 535.

Egyptian priests at Canopus (238 BCE), indeed, manifests a direct connection between the royal couple's benefactions and their consanguinity. The Canopus Decree eulogizes the many benevolent deeds of the King and "his sister and wife," the *Theoi Euergetai*, their abundant provisions for the sacred animals (especially Apis and Mnevis), and their rich endowments to the temples of the land.⁶⁷ It particularly praises the heartfelt compassion of "His Majesty himself and his sister" when famine struck Egypt after a low Nile inundation and they remitted revenue and free distribution of imported grain to deliver the suffering population.⁶⁸ Consequently, the priests decreed to multiply the honors paid to the Benefactor Gods, and their "parents (Gk. *goneis*, Eg. *qema-zen*)," the Sibling Gods, as well as to their "ancestors (Gk. *progonoi*, Eg. *iry-zen*)," the Savior Gods.⁶⁹ The Decree, then, illustrates the association between the incestuous ideal and the benevolence as well as the divinity of the royal couple.

The respective marriages of Ptolemy III and Ptolemy V to Berenice II and Cleopatra I did not violate a contemporary taboo, yet they appealed to the ideology of *casignesia* as if they wed their sisters. We may speculate whether Euergetes would have taken his sister to wife, had she not been married to Antiochus II, but Epiphanes was an only child. Their marriages were both arranged according to the contemporary dynastic marital practices in which kings sealed their political alliances. Thus, both kings'

⁶⁷ *OGIS* 56 ll. 7-8: βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος κτλ. ... καὶ βασίλισσα Βερενίκη ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ γυνή, θεοὶ Εὐεργέται, διατελοῦσιν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα εὐεργετοῦντες κτλ.; *Urk.* II: 127-128 ll. 4-5: *nswt-biti Ptwlms' ... hn' hkw.t Bmjkw.t sn.t-hm.t ntr.wj-mnh.wj hrirj mnhj.w knw.w wr.w*, *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, pp. 109-110.

⁶⁸ *Urk.* II: 130 ll. 8-9: *hn=f ds.f h' sn.t=f* (absent in Gk. text); *cf.* Athen. 209B; Mahaffy 1895, 205; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 254-255; Bevan 1927, 196-197, 209; Bernand 1970, I(3): 990-994; Huß 1978, 151-156; Peremans 1981, 628-636; Will 1979-82, I: 253; Hauben 1990, 34-36; Hazzard 2000, 111; Hölbl 2001, 49.

⁶⁹ *OGIS* 56 l. 21; *Urk.* II: 133 ll. 11-12.

adherence to the ideology of royal incest did not serve an immediate dynastic function, although it did signify the adoption of the queens into the Lagid house. Neither king could expect to strengthen his legitimacy at court – nor were they under particular threat of rival claims. Rather, I contend that the pretended consanguinity foremost involved the apotheosis of the king and queen – as it did in the first instance of (actual) Lagid *philadelphia*. Moreover, it allowed for the (fictitious) presentation of the Lagid dynasty as a succession of directly related deified royal couples, from the *Theoi Soteres* and the *Theoi Adelphoi* to the *Theoi Euergetai*, to the *Theoi Epiphaneis*, and so forth. This dynastic image of the procession of paired couples was perhaps as important as the practice of incest itself. The Canopus Decree exemplifies how the ideology of consanguinity was intimately associated with the royal couple's benevolence and how both their *casignesia* and their *euergesia* manifested their divinity. Royal incest, in sum, had attained an ideological importance as it distinguished the king and queen from ordinary mortals and thus intimated their divine nature.

3. The Consanguinity of Later Kings

Evidently, an extremely high extreme degree of endogamy became the preferred marital practice – even if sibling marriage did not immediately become a strictly enforced rule. Once more, I will here outline the historical circumstances of later instances of consanguineous unions, to consider their possible political motives and their ideological importance. The date of Ptolemy IV's marriage to his only surviving sister Arsinoe III is disputed. Historians have often surmised from the long interval between Philopator's accession (222/1 BCE) and Epiphanes' birth (210/09 BCE), as well as from Polybius'

remark about Arsinoe's "orphanhood (*orphania*)," that she was still a minor at her parents' death.⁷⁰ However, even if Arsinoe was the youngest of Euergetes' children (after Berenice, Ptolemy, Magas, Alexander and a nameless son), there is little reason to assume that she was very much younger than Ptolemy IV (born *ca.* 244 BCE).⁷¹ If Berenice II was born shortly after her parents' wedding (*ante* 274 BCE), it is not very likely that she gave birth to Arsinoe III after she reached the age of 45 – *i.e.*, less than a decade before Philopator's succession (*viz.*, *ante ca.* 230 BCE).⁷² Furthermore, although W. S. Greenwalt has shown that Argead women tended to be married in their late teens, Jakob Seibert has calculated that Hellenistic princesses reached marriageable age as early as twelve or thirteen (*i.e.*, around their menarche).⁷³ The cult epithet *Theoi Philopatores* (plur.), moreover, already appeared in the titulature of the priest of Amun in the second year of Ptolemy IV's reign (221/0 BCE).⁷⁴ As Huß emphasizes, the attribution of the cult title, Philopator's succession and his wedding to his sister must have practically coincided.⁷⁵ Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III, in other words, were the first Lagid couple to follow in actual practice the example of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II. Sources do not

⁷⁰ Polyb. XV.xxv.9; Mahaffy 1895, 265; Strack 1897, 30; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 321-323; Bevan 1927, 230-231; Macurdy 1932, 138; Vatin 1970, 84; Will 1979-82, II: 109; Ogden 1999, 81; Huß 2001, 382.

⁷¹ *IG* IX² (1): 56; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 288; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 184; Macurdy 1932, 134; Huß 1975, 312-320; Ogden 1999, 109 n. 79.

⁷² Paus. I.vii.3; Euseb. *Chron.* I: 249; Niese 1893-1903, II: 126; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 286 n. 1; Seibert 1967, 51-53; Huß 2001, 266.

⁷³ Seibert 1967, 123; Greenwalt 1988, esp. 93-97; also, see: Slater 1959, 1051-1052; Amunsen and Diers 1969, 125-132 [I owe this reference to Elizabeth Carney]. For the influence of human ecology on menarche, in general, see: Thomas *et al.* 2001.

⁷⁴ *P. dem. Vatic.* 2037B; Pestman 1967, 67; Huß 1976, 260-263; Lanciers 1988, 27-32; Hölbl 2001, 127.

⁷⁵ Huß 2001, 382 n. 4, 384 n. 16, 464 n. 2.

disclose whether this was their father's will or their own desire.

Subsequent to Epiphanes (the first offspring of a Ptolemaic sibling marriage), endogamy became the norm in the Lagid dynasty. During the regency of his mother Cleopatra I (180-176 BCE), Philometor remained unmarried, but within a year of her death he was married to his sister Cleopatra II.⁷⁶ He was perhaps ten or eleven years old; she may have been a little older; their younger brother, also called Ptolemy (VIII), was maybe only six years old.⁷⁷ The sibling marriage may have been as much political expediency on the part of the regents, as adherence to the precedent of Ptolemy II and IV.⁷⁸ The reign of Ptolemy VI (180-145 BCE) was tumultuous, not in the least because of sibling rivalry with his younger brother. The attempt at reconciliation in the form of a joint-rule (170/69-163 BCE) fell apart. After Philometor's death, Physcon forced his sister into levirate and had her son Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator killed.⁷⁹ In the next generation, Cleopatra III was obliged to associate her reign with her eldest son (by Physcon; see below), Ptolemy IX Soter II (called Lathyrus; r. 116-107, 88-80 BCE), whom she soon (after the death of Cleopatra II) had divorced from his "dearest sister" Cleopatra IV, in favor of her younger daughter Cleopatra V, *née* Selene.⁸⁰ Within a

⁷⁶ Mahaffy 1895, 331; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 6; Macurdy 1932, 147; Otto 1934, 14; Vatin 1970, 59, 73; Whitehorne 1994, 90; Ogden 1999, 84-85; Hölbl 2001, 143; Huß 2001, 539-541.

⁷⁷ Mahaffy 1895, 330; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 395 n. 3; Will 1979-82, II: 312; Whitehorne 1994, 86-87; Ogden 1999, 84; Huß 2001, 538, n. 3.

⁷⁸ Whitehorne 1994, 90; Ogden 1999, 84; Hölbl 2001, 143.

⁷⁹ Diod. XXXIII.vi(a), xx; Joseph. *C. Ap.* II.51; Just. *Epit.* XXXVIII.viii.1-5; Oros. V.x.6-7; Mahaffy 1895, 374-375; Strack 1897, 93; Breccia 1903, 21-22; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 62-63; Macurdy 1932, 155-156; Otto and Bengtson 1938, 110-111; Vatin 1970, 71; Will 1979-82, II: 426; Chauveau 1990, 154-156; Whitehorne 1994, 106-107; Heinen 1997, 449-456; Ogden 1999, 86-87; Minas 2000, 142-143, 153-154; Hölbl 2001, 194-195; Ager 2005, 15-16 (making the interesting point that incestuous sexual desire may arise in violent familial strife).

⁸⁰ Paus. I.ix.1; Just. *Epit.* XXXIX.iii.1-2; Mahaffy 1895, 406; Breccia 1903, 22; Bouché-Leclercq

decade Cleopatra III managed to oust her eldest son, installed her younger, Ptolemy X, *né* Alexander (r. 107-88 BCE), and married Selene to him.⁸¹ Pragmatism once more forced Cleopatra III to break up that marriage so as to offer Selene in marriage to the Seleucid King Antiochus VIII.⁸² Alexander then married his niece (Selene's daughter by Lathyrus), Berenice III (who assumed the dynastic name Cleopatra).⁸³ Cleopatra III's fortune was soon reversed when Alexander murdered her.⁸⁴ Subsequently, Sulla authorized the marriage of Ptolemy XI Alexander II (r. 80 BCE) to his half-sister (and stepmother) Berenice III.⁸⁵ Within less than three weeks he murdered her and, in turn, her loyal troops killed him.⁸⁶ The people then offered the kingship to Ptolemy XII Auletes (r. 80-58, 55-51 BCE) – considered illegitimate (*“nothos”*) only from the perspective of Cleopatra Selene, who defended the claim of her Seleucid progeny before the Roman senate.⁸⁷ Auletes soon took Cleopatra VI Tryphaena to wife, who, if Chris

1903-07, II: 85, n. 2; Seibert 1967, 91; Vatin 1970, 76; Whitehorne 1994, 134-135; Bennet 1997, 43; Ogden 1999, 94; Hölbl 2001, 203, 206; Huß 2001, 627-631.

⁸¹ Just. *Epit.* XXXIX.iv.1; *cf.* Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 93 n. 1, 117 n. 2; Bennet 1997, 43, 56; Ogden 1997, 94; Huß 2001, 635.

⁸² Just. *Epit.* XXXIX.iv.4; Bouché-Leclercq 1913-14, 412; Seibert 1967, 92; Vatin 1970, 97, 103; Whitehorne 1994, 139, 166-167; Ogden 1999, 153; Huß 2001, 649.

⁸³ *Cf.* Mahaffy 1895, 413; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 105; Macurdy 1932, 172-173; Whitehorne 1994, 174-175; Bennet 1997, 54; Ogden 1999, 94; Hölbl 2001, 209; Huß 2001, 652-653.

⁸⁴ Trog. *Prol.* XXXIX; Paus. I.ix.3; Just. *Epit.* XXXIX.iv.5-6; Athen. 550A; Mahaffy 1895, 418; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 103-106; Bevan 1926, 331; Macurdy 1932, 168; Will 1979-82, II: 441; Whitehorne 1994, 142-143; Ogden 1999, 94; Hölbl 2001, 207-210; Huß 2001, 652.

⁸⁵ Cic. *De reg. Alex.* F 10; App. *B. Civ.* I.102 (476); Mahaffy 1895, 425; Breccia 1903, 22-23; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 118; Macurdy 1932, 174-175; Will 1979-82, II: 519; Whitehorne 1994, 177; Bennet 1997, 55-56; Ogden 1999, 94; Huß 2001, 669.

⁸⁶ Cic. *De reg. Alex.* F 9; App. *B. Civ.* I.102 (477); Euseb. *Chron.* I.165; Mahaffy 1895, 426; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 119; Macurdy 1932, 174-175; Will 1979-82, II: 519; Whitehorne 1994, 177; Ogden 1999, 99; Hazzard 2000, 144; Hölbl 2001, 213-214; Huß 2001, 670.

⁸⁷ Cic. *Verr.* II: IV.xxvii.60; Trog. *Prol.* XXXIX.5; Paus. I.ix.2-3; *cf.* Mahaffy 1895, 427; Breccia 1903, 65; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 120, III: 93; Macurdy 1932, 174-179; Bloedow 1963, 1-10;

Bennett's careful reconstruction of the genealogy of the later Ptolemies is accepted, was his cousin – rather than his (half-) sister as has commonly been assumed without corroborating evidence – and his only remaining female relative.⁸⁸ After the death of their father, Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XIII succeeded, whose marriage had (allegedly) been arranged per Auletes' testament.⁸⁹ As observed above, it is not certain whether Cleopatra's association with her second brother, Ptolemy XIV, was sealed with a formal wedding at the end of the Alexandrine War (48-47 BCE).⁹⁰ We thus come to the end of the Lagid dynasty.

In the wake of Philadelphus' precedent, aside from Epiphanes, all Ptolemaic kings wed their closest available female relative and with few exceptions fathered children with them. There remain nonetheless a few remarkable arrangements to be discussed. Justin commented that, Physcon “repudiated his sister [Cleopatra II], after forcibly ravishing her virgin daughter [Cleopatra III] and taking her in marriage.”⁹¹ Repudiation, however, seems an inappropriate description of the situation in the palace, as both Cleopatras, mother and daughter, retained their position in an admittedly unstable joint-rule with Physcon (124-116 BCE), despite having engaged each other in civil war (132-130 BCE).⁹² This incestuous polygyny is indeed highly unusual and has left scholars wondering what

Whitehorne 1994, 179; Bennet 1997, 47, 51-52; Odgen 1999, 95; Hölbl 2001, 222; Huß 2001, 673-674.

⁸⁸ Bennet 1997, esp. 57-64; *contra* Huß 2001, 672 n.2 and 675 n.16 (with lit.); also, see: Quaegebeur 1989a, 595-608; Whitehorne 1997, 1009-1013.

⁸⁹ *Caes. Bell. civ.* III.107-108; *Bell. Alex.* XXXIII; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 2, p. 74, n. 84.

⁹⁰ Dio Cass. XLII.xliv.2; Oros. VI.xvi.2; Huß 2001, 720-721, n. 159; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 2, p. 74, nn. 85-86.

⁹¹ Just. *Epit.* XXXVIII.viii.5; also, see: Val. Max. IX.1 ext. 5; Livy *Per.* LIX; Oros. V.x.6-7.

⁹² Eventually the formula, “King Ptolemy (the Benefactor God, son of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the Manifest Gods) and Queen Cleopatra his sister and Queen Cleopatra his wife (the Benefactor Goddess),”

motivated the king to associate himself with both his sister and his niece in his reign.⁹³ His sister had borne him an heir, Ptolemy Memphites, shortly after his re-accession, so that the dynastic succession had been secured.⁹⁴ We need to remember, though, that Physcon had killed his brother's heir, Ptolemy VII, on the night of his wedding to Cleopatra II, and that the earlier joint-rule of the two brothers and their sister had not been a happy compromise.⁹⁵ Physcon may have wished to curb his sister's influence in Alexandria and simultaneously prevent his niece from conspiring against him.⁹⁶ John Whitehorne appreciates the ideological importance admirably, when suggesting that Physcon could only displace Cleopatra II and Memphites if he could construe a new Isis-Osiris-Horus triad.⁹⁷ Another unheard of arrangement was devised by Lathyrus upon his return to the Lagid sovereignty (88 BCE). Namely, he associated his reign with his own daughter (by Selene), Berenice III, who was very popular among the Alexandrians.⁹⁸ They assumed the cult epitheta "Sibling-loving Mother-loving Savior Gods (*Theoi Philadelphoi Philomêtores Sôtêres*)," but while she received the title "Queen," scholars

was used to describe the royal triad; *infra* Pt. Two, ch. IV, § 3, p. 254, n. 76.

⁹³ Cf. Mahaffy 1895, 385; Breccia 1903, 21-22; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 64-65; Macurdy 1932, 153, 157-158, 162-163; Vatin 1970, 73-74; Heinen 1974, 147-155; Mooren 1988, II: 435-444; Whitehorne 1994, 106-120; Bennet 1997, 45; Ogden 1999, 87-93; Minas 2000, 146-147; Hölbl 2001, 194-195; Huß 2001, 606.

⁹⁴ Diod. XXXIII.xiii; Mahaffy 1895, 380-381; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 73; Macurdy 1932, 157; Will 1979-82, II: 430; Whitehorne 1994, 109; Ogden 1999, 87; Hölbl 2001, 195; Huß 2001, 604.

⁹⁵ *Supra* 228, n. 79.

⁹⁶ Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 64-65; Vatin 1970, 74; Whitehorne 1994, 111-113; Ogden 1999, 88-89.

⁹⁷ Whitehorne 1994, 129.

⁹⁸ Paus. I.ix.3; Just. *Epit.* XXXIX.v.1; Euseb. *Chron.* I: 172; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 110-111; Macurdy 1932, 174; Whitehorne 1994, 175-176; Bennet 1997, 43; Chauveau 1998, 1275 n. 41; Ogden 1999, 94; Hölbl 2001, 213; Huß 2001, 667-668.

disagree whether Lathyrus in fact married his daughter.⁹⁹ In addition to the numerous (full or half) sibling marriages (perhaps as much as ten), Physcon and Alexander wed their respective nieces, Euergetes I and Auletes their cousins, and Lathyrus maybe even his daughter. It would therefore seem that extreme close-kin marriage remained the preferred mode in the Lagid dynasty, even if brother-sister marriage was not an available option.

After the instances of brother-sister marriage of Philadelphus and Philopator, as well as the adherence to the ideology of sibling incest by Euergetes and Epiphanes, there is little doubt that extreme endogamy became the habitual marital arrangement in the Lagid house. Of course, many of the possible motives suggested for the *philadelphia* of Ptolemy II and the *casignesia* of Ptolemy III apply *mutatis mutandis* to the consanguineous unions of the later kings. They could likewise appeal to Pharaonic traditions and the divine examples of Zeus and Hera, Isis-Demeter and Osiris-Dionysus, Apollo and Artemis, and so forth, but they could now add the precedent set within their own dynasty.¹⁰⁰ There is little reason to imagine that any of the consanguineous marriages of the later Ptolemies were love matches *per se*. As I have already suggested in Part One, the isolationist tendency of consanguineous unions furthermore allowed the Ptolemies to prevent foreign influence in the affairs at their court – *viz.*, the political complications and intrigues produced by marrying royal women of the other Hellenistic kingdoms into the Lagid house.¹⁰¹ To be sure, this isolationism should not be construed

⁹⁹ Mond and Myers 1934, 10 (no.11), 31; Whitehorne 1994, 175; Odgen 1999, 94, 113 n.152; *contra* Huß 2001, 667-668; also, see: Volkmann in *RE* s.v. 'Kleopatra,' no.21; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 105 n.2, 111 n.1; Macurdy 1932, 174; Otto and Bengtson 1938, 99 n.6; Fraser 1972, I: 124.

¹⁰⁰ Bevan 1927, 230-231; Seibert 1967, 84; Vatin 1970, 73.

¹⁰¹ Strack 1897, 84-85, 90; Seibert 1967, 82-83; Vatin 1970, 59-60; Pomeroy 1975, 123-124; Fox

as an attempt at racial purification as was suggested by earlier historians.¹⁰² Even the purity of the royal blood was only a concern in so far as it could increase the legitimacy of the heir to the throne against pretenders of lower status. Nor was this isolationism a sign of the Ptolemies' disengagement from the political turmoil of the age – as the interference of Cleopatra Thea, Cleopatra Tryphaena, Cleopatra IV and Cleopatra (V) Selene in the Seleucid kingdom patently illustrate. Egypt's geographical isolation might have been a further factor in the Lagids' consanguinity – as it might have been for the Pharaohs before them.¹⁰³ Through their endogamy, the Ptolemies set themselves apart quite aggressively from their socio-cultural environment and from politico-dynastic alliances. In my estimation, it might even have added a sense of superiority. More importantly, though, is that the Ptolemies separated themselves from ordinary mortals and in so doing, elevated themselves to the status of deities.¹⁰⁴ The ideological importance then was that their incestuous unions conveyed the divinity of the king and queen.

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Incest is a form of isolation – socially, politically, psychologically and metaphorically. As I have argued in the preceding chapter, this conclusion is certainly appropriate for the ideological importance of the consanguineous marriages of the Lagid

1980, 7-8, 113, 250-254; Shepherd 1983, 71-73; Carney 1987, 434, 436; Ager 2005, 19-20; *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, esp. § 2, pp. 76-76.

¹⁰² *E.g.*, see: Mahaffy 1895, 307; Strack 1897, 89.

¹⁰³ Vatin 1970, 60; Carney 1987, 435-436; Ogden 1999, 78.

house. That the Ptolemies broke with the conventions of their Graeco-Macedonian culture can be taken for granted. Even if they could refer to Pharaonic traditions of centuries past, the consanguinity of their marriages remained an unabashed breach of a socio-cultural taboo among their Egyptian subjects, too. Therefore, they must have been aware of the unconventional nature of their marital arrangements, and we should understand their incest as a consciously deliberated act. Unfortunately, our sources provide little information about the kings' possible motives, so that we are left to speculate about the purpose, function and significance of their royal incest. While personal attraction need not be excluded out of hand, it is imperative to consider the pragmatic advantages – determined by the political expedience of historical circumstances – that the Ptolemaic kings could have gained by taking their closest female relatives to wife. If matrimony were the legitimate institution for siring the heir to the throne, as I have maintained in Part One, it would be reasonable to surmise that royal sibling marriage enhanced the legitimacy of the crown-prince against potential pretenders. However, Ptolemy Philadelphus was evidently unconcerned about the purity of his heir's royal blood, as his sister did not bear him a successor. In subsequent generations this concern likewise appears insignificant. The need to detach their dynasty from foreign influence, conversely, may certainly have functioned in the consanguineous unions of the later Ptolemies.

After the first instance of sibling marriage, though, the ideological importance played such an overwhelming role that Ptolemaic queens were styled “sister and wife” of the king regardless of their familial affiliation. The honorific title “sister (Gk. *adelphê*, Eg. *senet*)” was bestowed upon Berenice II and Cleopatra VI Tryphaena, who were their

¹⁰⁴ Pomeroy 1984, 16; Arens 1986, esp. 147-149; Carney 1987, 434; Ager 2005, 20-22.

husband's cousins, and it was even bestowed upon Cleopatra I, who was but remotely related to Ptolemy Epiphanes. Appealing to the precedent of Pharaonic traditions may have helped to justify or rationalize, perhaps even ideologically legitimize, their incestuous unions. At least the ancient evidence credits Philadelphus with this motive – in addition to falling in love with his sister Arsinoe. Nonetheless, as we have seen, the religious implications of royal incest (consciously or otherwise) were essential in the consanguineous tendencies of the Ptolemies. These implications were evidently perceived immediately at the Lagid court. Poets such as Theocritus and Callimachus composed encomiastic verses that incorporated themes of *philadelphia* and *casignesia*, and assimilated the royal couple with Zeus and Hera. The priests assembled at Canopus, too, expressed the association between the feigned consanguinity of Ptolemy Euergetes and Berenice II, and the *euergesia* that earned them their cult epithet. The religious identification with divine siblings, such as Zeus and Hera, or Isis and Osiris, might well have induced Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, as a step toward the formal cult that their parents already received. After their example was greeted with devotion, their descendants ardently promoted their own incestuous divinity. Having discussed the ideological importance of royal incest for the Lagid dynasty in general, I will now turn to its symbolic significance for Ptolemaic queenship in particular.

IV. APOTHEOTIC PARITY

Through their consanguineous marriages, I have contended, Ptolemaic kings and queens surpassed their human nature and manifested their divine authority. The purpose of the present chapter is to infer what we can of the queens' individual intentions as well as the symbolic significance of royal incest for Ptolemaic queenship. (1.) As in the foregoing chapter, I will first of all assess Arsinoe II's possible motives for violating (or, in fact, actualizing) the incest taboo when she wed her full brother Ptolemy II. More important for the present dissertation, however, are the religious connotations of their idealized sibling love. (2.) We have seen that Berenice II was officially proclaimed as the daughter of the Sibling Gods, and was thus addressed as Ptolemy III's "sister and wife." In the second section, I will then examine the implications of their adherence to the ideology of *casignesia*. (3.) Subsequently, I will survey the character and connotations of the consanguineous affiliations of the later Ptolemaic queens through the end of the Lagid dynasty. Here the practical, political implications will receive particular attention. (4.) I will conclude this chapter with an analysis of the symbolic significance of royal incest. My object is to substantiate the viewpoint that it effectively elevated the queen's status on a par with the king, in that she shared his ancestry and took part in the apotheosis of the Lagid dynasty. She thus performed an essential role in terms of dynastic ideology and religious authority.

1. The Philadelphia of Arsinoe II

While ancient sources credit Philadelphus with the idea of marrying his sister Arsinoe II, many modern historians are of the opinion that Arsinoe was the main beneficiary of this marriage and conclude that she herself must have initiated it. In fact, Grace Macurdy thought that Arsinoe's "motive for marrying her brother is so evident that it needs no discussion."¹ In the foregoing chapter, I have reviewed the possible motives the King may have had; here I will examine the arguments put forward that Arsinoe was the driving force behind the marriage to her brother. These arguments include inferences from Arsinoe's life and character, from the marriage's (assumed) practical and political purpose, and from subsequent political developments. Although suggestive, taken by themselves, I cannot deem such functionalist explanations as sufficient. In the absence of explicit evidence, the often obviously subjective line of reasoning is even more detrimental. Consequently, to better understand the phenomenon, I recommend that we also consider the symbolic significance of Arsinoe's *philadelphia*.

In their assessment of Arsinoe's possible motivation to offer herself to her full-brother, historians particularly consider her personal history before she returned to Egypt. She had lived for two full decades at Lysimachus' court as the King's most favored wife.² After Corupedium, the widowed Queen hoped to regain her position and support her son, Lysimachus' heir, Ptolemy, to obtain the kingship of Thrace and Macedonia.³

¹ Macurdy 1932, 117.

² Memn. *FGrH* III(B): 434 F 5.3-6; Mahaffy 1895, 67, 113; Tarn 1913, 123-124; Macurdy 1932, 112-114; Seibert 1967, 95; Longega 1968, 44-47; Pomeroy 1984, 16; Lund 1992, 186-191; Carney 1994; Ogden 1999, 59-62; Hazzard 2000, 82-83.

³ Just. *Epit.* XXIV.iii.3; Mahaffy 1895, 122; Breccia 1903, 20; Tarn 1913, 134-135; Macurdy 1932, 115; Ritter 1965, 114; Heinen 1972, 75-76; Burstein 1982, 200; Carney 1994, 128-129; Hazzard 2000, 83-

She was forced into exile when her attempt to reconcile with her half brother Ceraunus failed hopelessly.⁴ Consequently, Arsinoe arrived in Alexandria wishing to secure the regal title that she had lost twice before, and so recover her standing and authority.⁵ We may here bear in mind that Macedonian royal women, such as Olympias and her daughter Cleopatra, as well as their rival Eurydice, had played powerful roles in the political turmoil of the age.⁶ In the examination of the Argead marital practices, I have pointed out that a few authoritative queens did in fact engage in close-kin unions to retain their position after their husbands' deaths.⁷ For instance, Cleopatra (the queen-widow of Perdiccas II) and Eurydice (the queen-widow of Amyntas III) defied the Argead practice of exogamous dynastic alliances. In other words, Arsinoe II was not the first widowed queen who offered herself in marriage to a close relative – and she had, significantly, already attempted marriage with her half brother Ceraunus. Seibert adds that, for a woman who had previously hoped to regain her regal standing by marrying her paternal half brother, the notion of offering herself to her full brother to regain that same status had become a matter of pragmatism, which had lost its abhorrence.⁸ The argument, in short, would be that, because it was in Arsinoe's advantage (more than Philadelphus'), she must have been the leading force in the marriage to her full brother. As Elizabeth

84; Carney 2000a, 227-228.

⁴ Trog. *Prol.* XXIV-XXV; Just. *Epit.* XXIV.ii.2; Breccia 1903, 11-12; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 152-153; Tarn 1913, 135-136; Macurdy 1932, 115; Seibert 1967, 82; Longega 1968, 57-69; Heinen 1972, 79; Bengtson 1975, 115; Ogden 1999, 75-77.

⁵ Breccia 1903, 20; Tarn 1913, 261-262; Bevan 1927, 59-61; Heinen 1972, 78-80; Bengtson 1975, 116-117; Hölbl 2001, 36.

⁶ Niese 1893-1903, II: 100; Macurdy 1932, 32-52; Tarn 1952, 98.

⁷ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 1, pp. 64-66, and esp. Pt. Two, ch. II, § 1, pp. 190-192.

⁸ Seibert 1967, 82; also, see: Carney 1994, 128-131; Ogden 1999, 75-78 (esp. 77: "It may have

Carney correctly observes, however, this is a logical fallacy.⁹ At least, the argument does not explain why her interest would sway Ptolemy II to divorce his first wife and wed his sister.

Apart from Arsinoe's personal vantage, what practical – political or dynastic – purpose might her wedding to her full brother have served? I have already dismissed the theory that Arsinoe might have had a right to the Egyptian throne as Ptolemy Soter's daughter.¹⁰ It has been inferred that, just as she hoped to save her children by Lysimachus through her marriage with Ceraunus, so she wished to promote her surviving son's rights to Thrace and Macedonia.¹¹ She could hardly have felt much affection for her half sister Lysandra, as Arsinoe was involved in the death of Lysandra's husband Agathocles.¹² She no doubt resented her half brother Meleager for usurping the Macedonian throne, when her son Ptolemy failed to secure his claim during the anarchy after Ceraunus' death.¹³ Arsinoe may well have shared her brother's desire to oppose the collateral branch of Ptolemy Soter's wife Eurydice and consolidate the royal house around Berenice's lineage.¹⁴ Furthermore, it is generally assumed that Philadelphus' first

been Arsinoe who brought the idea of sister-marriage with her from Ceraunus to Philadelphus").

⁹ Carney 1987, 427.

¹⁰ *Supra* Pt. Two, ch. III, § 1, p. 214.

¹¹ Tarn 1913, 261-263; Macurdy 1932, 123; Tarn 1952, 17; Heinen 1972, 97-98; Huß 1998, 229-250; *id.* 2001, 306.

¹² Memn. *FGrH* III(B): 434 F 5.6; Strabo XIII.iv.1 (623 *fin.*); Paus. I.x.3-4; Just. *Epit.* XVII.i.4-6; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 144, 146; Tarn 1913, 124; Macurdy 1932, 57-58, 114; Tarn 1952, 13; Longega 1968, 44-55; Vatin 1970, 72; Heinen 1972, 6-7; Bengtson 1975, 114; Ogden 1999, 60; Hazzard 2000, 82-83.

¹³ Trog. *Prol.* XXIV; Porphyry *FGrH* II: 260 F 3.10-11; Euseb. *Chron.* I: 235-236 (*FHG* III: 699, 7 = Sync. *FHG* III: 696, 7); Niese 1893-1903, II: 21; Tarn 1913, 262, 444; Heinen 1972, 82; Huß 1998, 229-250.

¹⁴ *Cf.* Burstein 1982, 211-212; Hazzard 2000, 85.

wife fell victim to the intrigues of Arsinoe II.¹⁵ Ellen Rice, however, hypothesizes that the conspiracy of Arsinoe I had occurred before the return of the King's sister to Egypt.¹⁶ In that case, the removal of Arsinoe I from the Alexandrian palace would not have been the doing of Arsinoe II. As there is no evidence to assess the culpability of either Arsinoe, it is difficult to envision the motives of Lysimachus' daughter for plotting against her husband's life. Nonetheless, it is not inconceivable that Arsinoe I may have had reasons of her own to fear her position at court. Once the King's first wife was removed (whether or not through Arsinoe II's doing), expediency – *viz.*, the hope of advancing her son's rights and the desire to unify the royal house against the offspring of Eurydice – then, may have persuaded Arsinoe II and Philadelphus to marry each other.

When evaluating whether Arsinoe did indeed take the initiative in her marriage to Ptolemy II and was the leading force behind it, ultimately our judgment rests in large part on our opinion of her character – as well as that of her brother.¹⁷ As Sarah Pomeroy recognized now two decades ago, arguments about Arsinoe's influence are at least partially based on psychohistory.¹⁸ If Philadelphus is portrayed as academic, insidious, valetudinarian and hedonistic,¹⁹ and Arsinoe is characterized as scheming, reckless,

¹⁵ Σ Theoc. XVII.128-129; *cf.* Wilcken in *RE* s.v. 'Arsinoe,' no.25, 1282; Mahaffy 1895, 137; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 162; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 582-583; Macurdy 1932, 110-111; Longega 1968, 71-72; Vatin 1970, 81; Bengtson 1975, 116; Ogden 1999, 74; Huß 2001, 307.

¹⁶ Rice 1983, 39; also, see: Vatin 1970, 81.

¹⁷ *E.g.*, see: Breccia 1903, 20; Tarn 1913, 261-263; Seibert 1967, 82; Vatin 1970, 61; Bengtson 1975, 118; Hazzard 2000, 96-97.

¹⁸ Pomeroy 1984, 17-19.

¹⁹ *E.g.*, see: Strabo XVII.i.5 (789 *fin.*); Athen. XII.536E, XIII.576E-F; Ael. *VH* IV.15; Niese 1893-1903, II: 144; Breccia 1903, 20; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 161; Macurdy 1932, 118-119; Bengtson 1975, 116; Pomeroy 1984, 17; Ogden 1999, 73.

ambitious and domineering,²⁰ it is easy to draw the conclusion that she, rather than the King, took the initiative and instigated their sibling wedding. Ptolemy II has nevertheless also been praised for his intelligence, his astute diplomacy and his single-minded devotion to the consolidation of Lagid sovereignty in Egypt.²¹ Besides, to compare Arsinoe II with a rattlesnake, a vulture or a tigress, even a sex kitten with sharp claws, not only paints her character too violently, but also grossly distorts our evidence.²² As at the Thracian court, so in the Alexandrian palace, most historians assume, Arsinoe II once more played the *intrigante* to regain her position of power and influence.²³ Even if Philadelphus was attracted to her intelligence, political acumen, or even her physical beauty, it does not appear sufficient explanation to repudiate his wife (threatening the position of his children) and to marry his full sister.²⁴

Scholars have furthermore pointed to subsequent developments that might substantiate Arsinoe's influence over her brother.²⁵ For Evaristo Breccia even went so far

²⁰ *E.g.*, see: Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 162; Tarn 1913, 262-263; Bevan 1927, 56-57, 69-71; Macurdy 1932, 118-124; Tarn 1952, 16, 56; Longega 1968, 72; Vatin 1970, 61, 72; Bengtson 1975, 114; Ogden 1999, 74; for a different characterization of Arsinoe, see: Will 1979-82, I: 149; Burstein 1982; Hazzard 2000, esp. 93-96.

²¹ Volkmann in *RE* s.v. 'Ptolemaios,' no. 19, XXXI(1): 1658; Ogden 1999, 74; Hazzard 2000, esp. 97-98; Huß 2001, esp. 313-330.

²² Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 160 ("un oiseau de proie chassé par la tempête"); Huzar 1966, 337 ("a typical ... tigress queen ... in the tradition of Olympias and Cleopatra"); Green 1990, 122 ("the sex kitten had sharp claws"), 132 ("as remote and spiritual as a rattlesnake disturbed").

²³ Mahaffy 1895, 137; Breccia 1903, 20; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 162; Tarn 1913, 263; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 582; Longega 1968, 72; Bengtson 1975, 116-117; *supra* 240, n. 15.

²⁴ *Cf.* Macurdy 1932, 122; Tarn 1952, 16; Carney 1987, 425.

²⁵ Tarn 1913, 262-263, 291-293; Macurdy 1932, esp. 118; Longega 1968, 72-74; Pomeroy 1984, 17-18; *contra* Heinen 1972, 99 n. 14, 210; Will 1979-82, I: 220-222; Burstein 1982; Hauben 1983, 99-127; Hazzard 2000, 85-100.

as to declare Arsinoe the savior of Philadelphus' life.²⁶ Eminent historians such as Auguste Bouché-Leclercq and Sir William Tarn credit Arsinoe with Philadelphus' sudden outburst of imperialistic activity.²⁷ Tarn particularly believed that it was she who turned the First Syrian War into a sweeping triumph, which delivered Lycia, Caria and Miletus to the Ptolemaic Empire.²⁸ Frequent reference is made to Arsinoe's "resolution (*prohairesis*)" supporting the anti-Macedonian alliance motioned by the Athenian admiral Chremonides.²⁹ By implication, we are to understand both the First Syrian War and the Chremonidean War as attempts to press Arsinoe's proprietary claims on domain given her by Lysimachus, as well as to support her son's rights to Thrace and Macedonia. If, as Huß has reasserted, Philadelphus did appoint Arsinoe's son as his joint ruler, we may surmise that she did indeed defend Lysimachus' heir until the end of her life.³⁰ Huß' identification of "Ptolemy the Son" additionally means that after the Second Syrian War Philadelphus installed Arsinoe's son as governor in Ephesus-Arsinoea, and that his descendants ruled as dynasts in Lycian Telmessus.³¹ While in my opinion these scholarly inferences are attractive arguments for Arsinoe's ambition and influence, they do not seem to explain why she would go to the extreme of marrying her brother. Unless we

²⁶ Breccia 1903, 20 ("la salvatrice della sua vita").

²⁷ Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 188; Tarn 1913, 262-264; *id.* 1952, 16, 56.

²⁸ Tarn 1913, 264; *id.* 1952, 16; also, see: Longega 1968, 86-87.

²⁹ *Syll.*² 214 = *IG* II²: 687.16-17; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 188; Tarn 1913, 262, 293, 313; Macurdy 1932, 119; Tarn 1952, 17; Longega 1968, 93-94; Vatin 1970, 82; Pomeroy 1984, 18; *contra* Heinen 1972, 97-99, 104-105, 118, 132-134; Burstein 1982, 208; Hazzard 2000, 94-95.

³⁰ Huß 1998, 229-250 (with lit.).

³¹ Livy XXXVII.lvi.4; Trog. *Prol.* XXVI; *OGIS* 55; *RE* s.v. 'Ptolemaios,' nos. 13-14; *Pros. Ptol.* 14542; *cf.* Tarn 1913, 263; Beloch 1912-27, IV(2): 183; Seibert 1967, 78-79; Vatin 1970, 63; Will 1979-82, I: 234-236; Ogden 1999, 79-80.

deem royal sibling marriage as an unremarkable phenomenon, in other words, functionalist explanations that point to Arsinoe's advantage to offer herself to her brother remain unsatisfactory.

As cited above, Theocritus offered the romantic notion that Arsinoe, "than whom no better woman embraces her bridegroom in his halls," was induced by heartfelt love to wed her brother.³² Even if scholarly *communis opinio* is correct in dismissing adoration as a motive for the incestuous union, we should not fail to recognize its ideological importance.³³ Ludwig Koenen alerts his reader that Arsinoe's individual cult title, *Thea Philadelphus*, accords with the Egyptian ideal that the Queen's love and devotion for the king signified "being benevolent toward her brother (*menechet en sen-es*)."³⁴ The elaborate titlature provided by hieroglyphic inscriptions, indeed, not only style Arsinoe as the "Goddess Who Loves Her Brother," as "Sweet of Love" and "Fair of Appearance," but also praised her as the "Lady of the Fortunate," "Filling the Palace with Her Beauty," "Soothing the Heart of the Fortunate," and "Pacifying the Heart of Horus [*i.e.*, the King]."³⁵ These epithets, in other words, emphatically proclaim that the queen's love and devotion for her brother are benefactions for the "fortunate" Horus-King. A similar belief is conveyed by the figurines (discussed above) that represent Arsinoe II through syncretistic assimilations as the Bringer of Good Fortune, paired with Philadelphus as the

³² Theoc. *Id.* XVII.128-130; cit. *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 4, p. 86, n. 136.

³³ *Supra* Pt. Two, ch. III, § 1, p. 213, n. 10.

³⁴ *I. Bruxell.* inv. no. E 8387 (*mnḥ.t n sn-s*); Koenen 1983, 157-160, and n. 51; *id.* 1993, 61-63 (who further observes that the Eg. verb *mnḥ* translates the Gk. Εὐεργέτης).

³⁵ *E.g.*, see: *Urk* II: 39, 71-73, 94, 106; for further testimony, see: *Thes. Inscr.* 856; von Beckerath 1984, 118 no. 2.a; Troy 1986, 178-179 (P.4); *supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 1, pp. 119-121.

Bringer of Glorious Triumph.³⁶ Poets at the Lagid court, likewise, conveyed the symbolism of the royal sibling wedding by drawing the analogy with the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera. Arsinoe's benevolent "love" for her brother, then, was an aspect of ideology in which the royal couple was portrayed as divine.

In sum, in the absence of explicit evidence, it impossible to determine whether Arsinoe II or Ptolemy II was the main instigator of their sibling marriage. Inferences from Arsinoe's career before her arrival in Alexandria and/or from subsequent developments suggest that she was a strong-minded individual, who was particularly concerned to retain her royal status and to see her son on the throne. However, her practical advantage would seem inadequate explanation for violating an ingrained revulsion toward full-sibling marriage. What can be surmised though is that their sibling wedding was imbued with symbolism, in which the queen was idealized as the king's loving sister-wife. The emphasis on Arsinoe's love and devotion for her brother was simultaneously a romantic ideal and an allusion to the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera. Whether or not the religious connotation was their original intention, their brother-sister marriage soon came to signify the sacralization of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II Philadelphus as Sibling Gods.

2. The Casignesia of Berenice II

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, historians tend to dismiss the pretended affiliation of Berenice II to the *Theoi Adelphoi* simply as court etiquette. They consequently disregard the significance of the romanticized ideal of consanguinity. In

³⁶ *Supra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 3, p. 200.

this section, therefore, I will interpret the intentions and connotations of Berenice's *casignesia* from the queen's perspective. To be sure, no explicit evidence for Berenice's motivations exists. Nonetheless, the historical circumstances of her wedding will allow for some conjecture about Berenice's possible motives to style herself the Euergetes' "sister and wife." I will additionally suggest some of the symbolic significance of their feigned sibling wedding. The marriage of Epiphanes to Cleopatra I will serve, once more, as confirmation for the ideological importance of this fictitious affiliation.

The circumstances surrounding Berenice's marriage prove that she was a determined woman.³⁷ Above we have seen that after Magas' death that Apama disregarded the arrangement with Philadelphus, when she invited Demetrius the Fair to marry Berenice and attain the kingship of Cyrenaica.³⁸ The queen mother, a daughter of Antiochus I, must have desired to retain her position of power and defend Cyrene's independence. As no Seleucids of marriageable age were available, Apama turned to the Antigonid house to foil the union with the Ptolemaic empire.³⁹ According to Justin's lurid version, Apama immediately fell for the handsome Demetrius, who soon transferred his loyalty from daughter to mother.⁴⁰ After the infidelity was discovered, Berenice and her palace guard caught the two adulterers *in flagrante delicto*. Berenice spared her mother, but had Demetrius slain. Thus fulfilling her father's will, she married Ptolemy III around the time of his accession. (The exact date is unknown.) The *Coma Berenices* later

³⁷ For Berenice, *e.g.*, see: Ael. *VH* XIV.43; *RE* s.v. 'Berenike,' no.11, V: 284-286 [Wilcken]; Macurdy 1932, 130-141; Pomeroy 1984, 20-23; Fantham *et al.* 1994, 144-151; Hölbl 2001, 45-47, 85, 94, 96.

³⁸ *Supra* Pt. Two, ch. III, § 2, p. 221, n. 50.

³⁹ Huß 2001, 334.

⁴⁰ Just. *Epit.* XXVI.iii.2-8; *cf.* Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 201-202; Hazzard 2000, 113.

reminded the Queen of the bravery that she had demonstrated as a young woman and the courageous deed by which she had managed to arrange her royal marriage.⁴¹ Several months after Ptolemy III came to the throne the (Laodicean or) Third Syrian War (246-241 BCE) broke out, in which the king hoped to assert the claim of his sister Berenice to the Seleucid succession after the death of Antiochus II.⁴² In her husband's absence, Berenice was left in command of the Lagid court.⁴³ When a revolt erupted among the native Egyptians in the Nile delta because of low inundation and the consequent threat of famine, Berenice arranged for the importation and free distribution of grain for which the Canopus Decree expressed gratitude.⁴⁴ In all, it seems fair to assume that when Berenice arrived in Alexandria she was an assertive, incisive and effective young woman.⁴⁵

The historical setting of Berenice's wedding to Euergetes offers some ground to conjecture about the purpose of their feigned affiliation. Claude Vatin theorizes that, as Magas' only child, Berenice was in effect the *epiklêros* of her father's estate.⁴⁶ Although it is unclear to what extent such a regulation would apply in a Hellenistic royal house, Berenice's marriage to her nearest male relative does fit the pattern expected of the

⁴¹ Catull. LXVI.25-28 (*at te ego certe | cognoram a parva virgine magnanimam. | anne bonum oblita's facinus, quo regium adeptas | coniugium, quo non fortius ausit alis?*); cf. Callim. *Hymn. Dian.* 206; Hyg. *Astr.* II.xxiv.2 (*Callimachus eam [scil., Berenice] magnanimam dixit*); Niese 1893-03, II: 143; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 202; Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 112-113; Schwinge 1989, 68; Hollis 1992, 24-28.

⁴² Catull. LXVI.11-12, 20, 35-36; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, I: 248-253; Will 1979-82, II: 248-261; Beyer-Rothhoff 1993, 17-67; Hazzard 2000, 110-111; Hölbl 2001, 48-51; Huß 2001, 338-352.

⁴³ *P. Petrie* I: 43.20, 54.28 (ἐπίτροπος); *RE s.v.* 'Berenike,' no. 11; Beyer-Rothhoff 1993, 26-28; Pomeroy in: Fantham *et al.* 1994, 148; Hölbl 2001, 47; *contra* Hazzard 2000, 111.

⁴⁴ *OGIS* 56 ll. 8-9 and 12-19; *Urk.* II: 128-132 (ll. 4-5, 7-10); Poll. IX.85 (Βερενίκειον νόμισμα); Athen. V.209B; Just. *Epit.* XXVII.1.9; Jer. *Dan.* XI.8; Mahaffy 1895, 203-205; Peremans 1981, 628-636; Hauben 1990, 29-37; Beyer-Rothhoff 1993, 201-202; Fantham *et al.* 1994, 151-154; Hazzard 2000, 111-112; Huß 2001, 345, 373-375.

⁴⁵ For a different portrait of Berenice: Vatin 1970, 82-83; Hazzard 2000, 113-114.

heiress.⁴⁷ More to the point, in Berenice's case, however, is that there was an immediate, pressing reason to strengthen the queen's position in the Lagid house. For she was left in command of the court in her husband's absence when a native uprising erupted. The official adoption into the royal family, then, served the purpose of legitimizing her authority in the face of the crisis.⁴⁸ With respect to Cleopatra I, her marriage to Epiphanes was primarily political, in accordance with the contemporary practice of dynastic alliances.⁴⁹ Huß asserts that at the latest from the time when she bore her first child (*ca.* 191/1 BCE), Cleopatra I was designated the King's "sister and wife," and considers the designation a sign of the harmonious situation at the palace.⁵⁰ Rather than a term of endearment, Cleopatra's designation as Epiphanes' "sister" would seem to connote her adoption into the Lagid house, in other words, the renunciation of her Seleucid parentage (as proposed above).⁵¹ Brigitte Beyer-Rotthoff astutely observes that, as "sister" of the king, the queen became not merely his "wife," but a full-fledged member of the royal house, a sovereign in her own right.⁵² Additional indications that the queens in question occupied a position of authority on a par with their husbands can be

⁴⁶ Vatin 1970, 70.

⁴⁷ For the epiklerate, see: Pomeroy 1975, 60-64; Vêrilhac and Vial 1998, 101-118; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 1, p. 188, n. 27.

⁴⁸ Huß 2001, 354; *contra* Hazzard 2000, 112-115.

⁴⁹ Mahaffy 1895, 305-306; Macurdy 1932, 141-143; Vatin 1970, 64-69; Whitehorne 1994, 80-81; Ogden 1999, 82-83; Hölbl 2001, 140; Huß 2001, 499, 514-515.

⁵⁰ *P. dem. Louvre* 9415, l. 2 (*τῆς ἑαυτῆς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως*; Sept. 5/Oct. 4 190 BCE); Huß 2001, 535, n. 27.

⁵¹ *Supra* Pt. Two, ch. III, § 2, p. 224.

⁵² Beyer-Rotthoff 1993, 286-287.

gleaned from the attribution of feminine equivalents of royal titles.⁵³ In Greek, *e.g.*, the term “*basilissa* (royal woman),” was an honorific (though not an office with the political power of a king) bestowed upon Ptolemaic queens since Berenice I.⁵⁴ More significantly, Egyptian terms, such as “*Hekat* (Female Ruler),” “*Thatyt* (Female Vizier),” “*Neb(t) Tauy* (Lord [*or* Lady] of the Two Lands),” “*Pera‘at* (Female Pharaoh),” and especially “*Hort* (Female Horus),” had rarely if ever been conferred upon queens before Berenice II or Cleopatra I.⁵⁵ Additionally, the queen’s ritual importance is manifest, for example, on the Theban Euergetes Gates (mod. Karnak) and on the upper field of the Kom el-Hisn stela.⁵⁶ On these scenes Berenice II is shown wearing a ceremonial robe that might be interpreted as the equivalent or counterpart of the king’s *Hab-Sed* dress.⁵⁷ On a stela from Tanis, Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III are shown in identical attire.⁵⁸ In the Pharaonic period, such highly visible depictions of royal women were exceptional, with Nefertiti and Nefertari as examples.⁵⁹ The titular consanguinity, in short, enhanced the queens’ position within the Lagid dynasty.

The extent of the queens’ sovereign and symbolic authority can additionally be

⁵³ Pomeroy 1984, 23; Quaegebeur 1978, 254-255; Hölbl 2001, 85, 167.

⁵⁴ Vatin 1970, 74; Carney 1991, 154-164.

⁵⁵ *E.g.*, see: *Thes. Inscr.* 857-858, 863; *Urk.* II: 122, 206; Pestman 1967, 28, 42 n. d; von Beckerath 1984, 118-119; Troy 1986, 179 (P.5, 7); Quaegebeur 1989a, 98 n. 27; *id.* 1989c, 102-103; Huß 1994a, 102 n. 154; Hölbl 2001, 85; Tait 2003, 7; *supra* Part. One, ch. IV, § 1, p. 121, n. 35.

⁵⁶ Quaegebeur 1988, 48-49, figs. 22-23.

⁵⁷ It remains conjecture whether the king’s attire can be associated with the *Hab-Sed*, see: Bianchi 1978, 95-102; *id.* 1988, 105; Quaegebeur 1988, 48.

⁵⁸ LBM 1054; Quaegebeur 1971, 201, 216; *id.* 1983a, 115; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, no. 15; Ashton 2001b, 45, fig. 7.

⁵⁹ Quaegebeur 1978, 254-255; Pomeroy 1984, 23; Hölbl 2001, 85.

deduced from Hellenistic poetry and Egyptian titlature. If we may deduce from the ancient authors that Philadelphus claimed to be following Pharaonic precedent when he married Arsinoe II, then that same notion may have been propagated by Euergetes and Epiphanes. Certainly, in Egyptian the designation “sister (*senet*)” could be felt to be a term of affection rather than affiliation.⁶⁰ Callimachus’ *Coma Berenices* (through Catullus’ translation) expresses the importance of the romanticized ideal of the queen’s love and devotion for the king. The poem exalts the Queen’s sorrow for her “dear brother’s (*fratris cari*)” departure on the onset of the Laodicean War, and her devotion to vow a lock of hair for her “sweet spouse (*dulci coniuge*).”⁶¹ That her gracious affection for her husband was a benefaction emerges, too, in the cult of Berenice as *Thea Euergetis*.⁶² The nature of the queen’s benevolence toward the king might be elucidated, if Huß’ deduction is tenable that Cleopatra I received the honorific title “sister” upon giving birth to her first child, her daughter Cleopatra II.⁶³ Furthermore, in Part One, I have noted that Berenice II and Cleopatra I shared identical titles. Their unique “Two Ladies Name of the (Beautiful) Subjects” particularly draws attention. For Berenice is described as brave and strong as Neith (the Egyptian equivalent of Athena), as virtuous as Bastet (Artemis), and beautiful as Hathor (Aphrodite).⁶⁴ Alexandrian poets incorporated remarkably similar reverence for the queen. I have above cited the epigram

⁶⁰ *Supra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 2, pp. 197-198.

⁶¹ Catull. LXVI.19-22, 33-35.

⁶² Pestman 1967, 28; Hölbl 2001, 96, 105, 170.

⁶³ Huß 2001, 535; *supra* p. 243, n. 34.

⁶⁴ *Urk.* II: 122; *LdR* IV: 287; Troy 1986, 100, 179 (P.5, 7), 184 (A4/9); for the syncretistic identification, e.g., see: Hdt. II.59-62, 83, 155-156, 170.

comparing Berenice's beauty with that of Cypris.⁶⁵ Callimachus praised his Queen's chastity just as he accentuated Artemis' eternal virginity.⁶⁶ The same poet, as we saw, also extolled the bravery with which Berenice had managed to arrange her royal marriage.⁶⁷ Although Cleopatra's Two Ladies Name is (perhaps erroneously) abbreviated, I imagine that it was modeled after that of Berenice II in large part because both queens were married and adopted into the Lagid house.⁶⁸ It is perhaps no coincidence that Neith, Bastet and Hathor were identified with Tefnut, who in the myth of the Solar Eye was fetched from far-off by her brother Shu-Harueris to rejoin with her father Ra and the gods of Egypt.⁶⁹ Assimilations with Greek and Egyptian goddesses, furthermore, emphasize the religious authority of the queens. Their hieroglyphic royal titlature and the poetry reiterating its ideology, then, elucidate the symbolic significance of the *casignesia* of Berenice II and of Cleopatra I. For not only does their titulary illuminate the queens' sovereignty, but it also intimates their apotheosis.

Both Berenice II and Cleopatra I were styled as the "sister" of their respective husbands Euergetes and Epiphanes. While their marriages' motives were political, their adherence to the ideology of royal incest served more than a practical purpose. The queens' adoption into the Lagid dynasty implied a renunciation of their original familial

⁶⁵ [Asclep.] *Epigr.* 39 (G-P; *ap. Anth. Pl.* 68); *supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 2, p. 127, n. 60.

⁶⁶ Callim. *Hymn. Dian.* 6 (παρθενίην αἰώνιον); *id. Vict. Beren.* (F 383; *Supp. Hell.* 254) 2 (νύμφα) Catull. LXVI.14 (*virginis*).

⁶⁷ Catull. LXVI.27-28; *supra* 246.

⁶⁸ *LdR* IV: 287 (*kn-s-Nt-nb.t-Sjw tn-s-Hthr-m-mrw.t-s*); von Beckerath 1984, 119 no. 5a; Troy 1986, 179, 184 (P.7: A4/9).

⁶⁹ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Tefnut'; *LÄ* s.v. 'Hathor,' 1026; Junker 1911, 1-87; Allam 1963, 120-121; Bleeker 1973, 48-51; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. I, § 2, p. 168, n. 33. [We will see below that Berenice Parthenus was, likewise, identified with the Solar Eye on the Canopus Decree; *infra* Pt. Three, ch. II, § 1, p. 308, nn. 57-

relations. In Berenice's case, this gesture might have been directed to her mother, who had opposed her marriage to Ptolemy III. It may also have been an affirmation of her position as her father's *epiklêros*. With respect to Cleopatra, the denial would connote an attempt to reject Seleucid interference. Berenice perhaps felt herself challenged in the Alexandrian palace when faced by rebellion and famine, while Euergetes was campaigning in Syria. That she was capable of resolute decisions is clear from her execution of Demetrius in Cyrene. Perhaps Cleopatra was received into the Lagid house as a full-fledged member upon the birth of Ptolemy VI, but a vitally important implication of the title "sister" was that the queen became her husband's equal in authority. I have pointed to the extraordinary series of royal titles Berenice and Cleopatra received in hieroglyphic texts that similarly indicate their sovereignty. Moreover, the feigned *casignesia* of the queens symbolized their benevolence, which further involved their bravery and strength, their chastity and charm, and their gracious affection for the king. As the king's "sister," in other words, Berenice and Cleopatra manifested their divine nature and thus were incorporated into the dynasty of the deified Lagids.

3. The Consanguinity of Later Queens

Although sibling marriage became a recurrent phenomenon after Arsinoe II, even the later queens were not always wed to their brother. Nonetheless, the official forms of address reveal the insistent ideological importance of royal incest, as queens continued to be styled the king's "sister," and in the later generations assumed the cult epithet "Sibling-Loving" regardless of their familial relation. It will therefore prove useful to

briefly remind the reader about the historical circumstances especially of the marriages of Cleopatra III, Berenice III, Cleopatra Tryphaena and Berenice IV. Furthermore, I will consider the consequences of consanguinity in practical, political terms for Ptolemaic queenship. In the subsequent section, I will finally explore the symbolism of the Lagids' practice of close-kin marriage.

A swift recapitulation may serve as *aide-mémoire* of the queens' marital arrangements. In the third chapter of Part Two (above),⁷⁰ I detailed the historical circumstances of Philopator's marriage to his sister Arsinoe III. There, I also reviewed the subsequent sibling marriages of Cleopatra II to Philometor and (later) to Physcon, of Cleopatra IV and (later) Selene to Lathyrus, of Selene to Alexander, as well as of Cleopatra VII to Ptolemy XIII and (perhaps) to Ptolemy XIV. We have seen that Cleopatra Tryphaena wed her cousin Auletes in his first reign. Additionally, I have briefly discussed the remarkable polygynous arrangement devised by Physcon, who took his niece Cleopatra III to wife, possibly to curb his sister's influence. Of all Ptolemaic queens, Berenice III was involved in the most unusual series of matrimonial liaisons – for beside her uncle Ptolemy Alexander and his son (her half brother), Ptolemy XI, she had been associated with her father Lathyrus (in his second reign). It remains here to mention the sisters of Cleopatra VII. The marital career of Berenice IV abandoned the Ptolemaic practice of endogamy.⁷¹ She was left in command of Egypt (briefly with her mother Tryphaena),⁷² when her eldest brother was barely three years old, so that the

⁷⁰ *Supra* Pt. Two, ch. III, § 3, pp. 227-231.

⁷¹ Strabo XVII.i.11 (796); Plut. *Ant.* III; Dio Cass. XXXIX.13, 57-58; Porphyry *FGrH* II: 260 F 2.14 (= *FHG* III: 716, 723); *RE* s.v. 'Berenike,' no. 14, V: 286-287; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 160-172; Macurdy 1932, 177-184; Heinen 1968, 105-114; Ogden 1999, 100-101.

⁷² *Cf.* Whitehorne 1997, 1009-1013 (who argues that the two queens were rival claimants).

Alexandrians compelled her to find a husband outside the Lagid house to share the throne. After negotiations failed with a Seleucid son of Selene and with Philip II of Syria, she was offered a Seleucus of doubtful origin (perhaps another son of Selene), whom she had strangled. She then allied herself with Archelaus, who claimed to be the son of Mithradates VI of Pontus. Upon Auletes' restoration, both Archelaus and Berenice IV were assassinated. Lastly, Cleopatra's younger sister Arsinoe IV, who challenged Caesar during the Alexandrine War, remained (so far we can tell) unmarried.⁷³ Of the descendants of Arsinoe II, in sum, the only Ptolemaic queens who were not wed to their closest male relative were Cleopatra I and Berenice IV.

While not all Ptolemaic queens after Cleopatra I were taken into marriage by their brother, their official titles continued the practice established by Berenice II of assuming the status of the king's sister. The royal titulary of Arsinoe III emphatically expressed her affiliation to the king, for she was designated "Sister and Wife of the Son of Ra [*scil.*, Ptolemy IV]," and more elaborately, "Royal Daughter, Royal Sister, Great Wife of the King."⁷⁴ That Cleopatra II was called the "sister" and/or "wife" of the kings with whom she was associated, similarly, elicits little surprise, as she was indeed the sister and wife successively of Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy VIII.⁷⁵ When Tryphon took his niece (and stepdaughter) Cleopatra III to wife in possibly addition to his sister, however, his two Queens were distinguished as "Cleopatra his sister" and "Cleopatra his wife" (138/7-

⁷³ *Bell. civ.* III.112; Dio Cass. XLII.39; *RE* s.v. 'Arsinoë,' no.28; Macurdy 1932, 187-188; Hölbl 2001, 236-237; Huß 2001, 716-718.

⁷⁴ *LD* IV: 17c (*sz.t nsw sn.t nsw hm.t nsw wr.t*), 33a (*sn.t hm.t n sz R*); *Thes. Inscr.* 859; *PM* VII: 45; Troy 1986, 179 (P.6); Minas 2000, doc. 1.

⁷⁵ *E.g.*, see: *OGIS* 113-114, 130-131; *Thes. Inscr.* 864; *LdR* IV: 305 (LXII); Pestman 1967, 48, 50, 56; von Beckerath 1984, 120 no. 8.a; Troy 1986, 179 (P.8); Minas 2000, 134, 145-146.

117/6 BCE; with a brief interruption 132/1-131/0).⁷⁶ This distinction has led scholars to the conclusion that the status of the two Cleopatras was thus differentiated – in confirmation with Justin’s description of the sister’s repudiation in favor of her daughter.⁷⁷ As Cleopatra II continued to reign as Queen until her death (116/5 BCE), repudiation does not seem an accurate description of her position or status at the Lagid court.⁷⁸ Rather, it seems that the term “sister” had become synonymous with “wife.” On the hypostyle of the Sobek and Harueris temple in Komê Ombos a “Brother-loving Goddess (*netheret meret sen*)” occurs between Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra III the Beneficent Gods, and Ptolemy XII the Savior God, which as Michel Chauveau rightly notes can only be Lathyrus’ “dearest sister” Cleopatra IV.⁷⁹ Cleopatra Berenice, too, received the epithet (*Thea*) *Philadelphus*, both in her association with her uncle Ptolemy Alexander and with her father Lathyrus, and she was also styled the former king’s “sister” and “wife.”⁸⁰ Lastly, the few documents in which Cleopatra Tryphaena appears alongside her cousin Auletes incorporate her into the cult of the Father-loving and Sibling-loving Gods, and the king retained the epithet *Philadelphus* even after

⁷⁶ E.g., see: *OGIS* 137-142; Pestman 1967, 56-62; Vatin 1970, 74-76; Minas 2000, 146-147, 169.

⁷⁷ Just. *Epit.* XXXVIII.viii.5; cf. Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 64-65; Beloch 1912-27, IV(1): 375; Vatin 1970, 75, 87; Heinen 1974, 147-155; Will 1979-82, II: 425-427; Carney 1987, 435; Mooren 1988, 436-438; Whitehorne 1994, 124-125; Odgen 1999, 89; Minas 2001, 146-148; Huß 2001, 606; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. III, § 3, p. 230, n. 91.

⁷⁸ Strack 1897, 38-50; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 64-65; Macurdy 1932, 158, 162-163; Pestman 1967, 64, 66; Vatin 1970, 74; Whitehorne 1994, 112-115; Ogden 1999, 88; Huß 2001, 606.

⁷⁹ *LD* IV: 49a; *ibid.* Text IV: 102; *Kom Ombo* I: nos. 183, 200-201 (*ἡ νῆρ.τ.μρ-σῆν*); PM VI: 182-183; Chauveau 1998, 1269-1275; Minas 2000, 22, docs. 44-45, 47.

⁸⁰ *P. Tebt.* I: 106: βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου; *P. dem. Turin* 6085: *Pr-ḫt Brnjgḫ tḫ-f ḫn.t tḫ-f ḫm.t*, cf. Cic. *De reg. Alex.* F 9; *OGIS* 740; *P. Lond.* III: 14, 16-21; *LdR* IV: 389; Strack 1897, 54-57; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 104-105, 110-111; Pestman 1967, 72; Vatin 1970, 75; Troy 1986, 179 (P.12).

Tryphaena's name disappeared from the records.⁸¹ Incidentally, according to numismatists, such as Svoronos and Poole, the features on the Philadelphus-type issues were over the course of generations modified to the portraits of reigning queens.⁸² If their judgment is correct, then this coinage offers evidence for the identification of Ptolemaic queens as *Thea Philadelphus*, as divine sister-spouse, perhaps from Berenice II down through Cleopatra VI Tryphaena.⁸³ The Ptolemaic queens' titular status as the king's "sister and wife," whether actual or notional, in short, indicates not only that closest-kin endogamy had become the preferred mode of marriage, but also that royal sibling marriage had attained an ideological importance at the Alexandrian palace.

When we turn to the practical and/or political implications of close-kin marriage for Ptolemaic queens, we should once more distinguish function from origin – that is to say, the observable consequences of the Lagids' consanguinity need not have been consciously intended. Professor Pomeroy has noted that endogamy offered advantages to Ptolemaic queens not otherwise available in the common virilocal exogamous patterns of the Hellenistic kingdoms.⁸⁴ Not only could they prevent the vulnerabilities associated by dynastic exogamy (*cf.*, the fate of Berenice Phernophorus), but they could also secure their power at the Alexandrian court.⁸⁵ Above, I have examined how Arsinoe II

⁸¹ *E.g.*, see: *OGIS* 182, 183, 185; *LD* IV: 49a; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-07, II: 124, III: 80; Pestman 1967, 76, 78; Vatin 1970, 75; Troy 1986, 179 (P.11, 13); Minas 2000, 22, 169-170.

⁸² *BMC Ptol. s.v. 'Arsin.II.'* 42 no. 1, 45 nos. 36, 39-40, pl. 8.1, 8-10; *Hist. Num.*² 859; *SNG Ptol.* 321-322; Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 183-185, 252-254, 279, 304, 319-320, 338-339, 343, 352; Rausch (ed.) 1998, no. 173; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, no. 78.

⁸³ Also, see: Regling 1908, 490, 495, 505, 508-509; Kahrstedt 1910, 270, 274-275; Tondriau 1948a, 22-28; Kyrieleis 1975, 96, 113-114, pls. 82.3, 100.1; Brunelle 1976, 61-68; Troxell 1983, 64-67, pl. 10 G.

⁸⁴ Pomeroy 1984, 17.

⁸⁵ Also, see: Carney 1987, 438; Ager 2005, 18-19.

strengthened her position by marrying her brother Philadelphus, and how Berenice II consolidated hers by proclaiming descent for the *Theoi Adelphoi*. The causal connection, however, between the power and prestige of Ptolemaic queens and the Lagids' consanguineous marital practices remains obscure. An additional advantage for royal women from marrying their closest male relatives was that the queens thus secured the highest social status for the heir and successor to the throne.⁸⁶ In fact, what may be called an ambi-lineal descent can be perceived, in which the divine sovereignty of the Lagid dynasty was transmitted through both male and female lineage. That is not to say that the royal house became a matrilineal gynecocracy, whether *de jure* or *de facto*, as some scholars maintain.⁸⁷ In that respect, Evaristo Breccia was certainly right to correct Max Strack's conclusions that Ptolemaic queens had equal right to the throne since Cleopatra II.⁸⁸ It would seem safer, then, to deduce with Breccia that the queen's power ultimately rested on her personal influence. As Carney observes, the queen's personal prestige and her consanguine marital status mutually reinforced each other.⁸⁹

4. Incestuous Equivalence

While we can only speculate about the possible motives for the *philadelphia* of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, their sibling wedding set an indisputable precedent with such

⁸⁶ As sociobiologists van den Berghe and Mesher (1980, 300-317) recognize for royal incest in general; cf. Bixler 1982a-b; Shepher 1983, 92-98; Arens 1986, 108-113; Ager 2005, 18-19.

⁸⁷ *E.g.*, see: Vatin 1970, esp. 60-61, 77; Ogden 1999, 78.

⁸⁸ Strack 1897, 93; *contra* Breccia 1903, 21-23.

⁸⁹ Carney 1987, 438.

ideological importance that subsequent generations even appealed to a titular *casignesia* when their affinity was farther than that of brother and sister. The foremost implication of royal incest, as argued above, is that it symbolized the sacralization of the Lagid dynasty. I will now review the connotations of the association of the royal sibling-weddings with the divine weddings of deities with whom the Ptolemies were identified. As Theocritus and (to a lesser extent) Callimachus are the only transmitted sources that provide some elucidation of royal incest, this section will necessarily be restricted to the first generations of the Lagid dynasty. It is my aim to demonstrate that through her apotheosis, the Ptolemaic Queen acquired parity with the King, in ideological and religious authority – if not in formal political terms.

The Mesopotamian archetypal *hieros gamos* of Inanna and Dumuzi reveals the intimate association between the sacralization of sovereignty and the idealized incestuous affiliation of the Great Goddess and her royal *parhedros*. Deities with whom Ptolemaic kings and queens were identified displayed a similar correlation between sacralization and consanguinity. Hathor's relations with the sun god Ra and the sky god Horus, too, symbolized the vital role of female (pro-) creative powers for the rejuvenation of her *parhedros*' immortality and/or sovereignty. As we have seen, Isis' sibling love similarly ensured Osiris' resurrection as well as Horus' succession. Traditional Egyptian cults frequently conceived of triadic constellations of father, mother and child (Isis-Osiris-Horus, Hathor-Horus-Harsomtut, *etc.*), in which the contribution of the "Wife of the God" was essential for the reincarnation of the father in the son.⁹⁰ To that extent, Diodorus sensed a truth when he stated that the Egyptians were allowed to marry their

⁹⁰ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Götterkreise,' 253; Frankfort 1948, 24-35; Bleeker 1973, 100; J. G. Griffiths 1980, 195.

sister, “because of the success attained by Isis in this respect.”⁹¹ In the *Encomium* and the *Adoniazusae*, Theocritus extolled Aphrodite for effecting Berenice’s apotheosis.⁹² When the poet assimilated Arsinoe II and Aphrodite in his *Adoniazusae*, he subtly suggested that just as Aphrodite immortalized Adonis and Berenice, so Arsinoe’s devotion advanced the divinization of her brother and spouse Ptolemy II.⁹³ In the *Encomium*, he also commended the shrines that Ptolemy established for his parents, the Savior Gods, and which the King adorned with chryselephantine statues and reddening altars.⁹⁴ With this imagery firmly set before his audience, the poet then advanced to compare the King’s wedding to his sister with the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera.⁹⁵ In other words, Ptolemaic queens were identified with Great Goddesses who effectuated the sovereignty and/or immortality of their respective *parhedros*.

In the preceding chapters I have argued that the comparison of the hierogamy of Zeus and Hera with the sibling wedding of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe Philadelphus similarly intimates an association between transcendent consanguinity and divine kingship. In the *Encomium*, as cited above, Theocritus imagined that Philadelphus’ wedding was similarly accomplished (“*exetelesthē*”) as the *hieros gamos* of the immortal Olympian King and Queen.⁹⁶ Not only did Zeus marry his sister Hera, as Ptolemy married his sister Arsinoe, but Zeus’ marriage to Hera was also the last act to consolidate his Olympian

⁹¹ Diod. I.xxvii.1; cit. *supra* Pt. Two, ch. III, § 1, p. 218, n. 40.

⁹² Theoc. *Id.* XV.106-107, XVII.46-50; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 66; J. B. Burton 1995, 134; Hunter 2003, 134-137.

⁹³ F. T. Griffiths 1979, 59-60; J. B. Burton 1995, 134.

⁹⁴ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.13-27, 121-127; Gow 1950, II: 344-345; Hunter 2003, 107-121, 186-191.

⁹⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.128-132; *supra* Pt. Two, ch II, § 4, p. 204, n. 120.

sovereignty.⁹⁷ Furthermore, with a hint at the notoriously erotic affair, the poet depicted the virgin Iris purifying the Olympians' couch with myrrh.⁹⁸ Theocritus' praise for Arsinoe, fondly embracing her brother and husband in his palace, recalls the poet's elaborate description of the embrace of Aphrodite and Adonis on their nuptial couch in the very same palace.⁹⁹ The evocations of the sacred marriages of Zeus and Hera and of Aphrodite and Adonis – within an overtly Ptolemaic context and with explicit references to the Lagids' ruler cult – imply that Ptolemy II attained his apotheosis by taking his sister Arsinoe to wife. Theocritus insinuated that even Heracles' ascension into Olympus was due to his marriage with his sister Hebe.¹⁰⁰ In similar fashion as Aphrodite and Hera (as well as Hathor, Isis, and Inanna before), Arsinoe bestowed immortality upon the King. As the *Theôn/Adelphôn* coinage similarly conveyed,¹⁰¹ Ptolemy and Arsinoe were thus gods by virtue of being sibling spouses.

A further implication of the assimilation of the Lagids' royal marriage with the aforementioned theogamies is that it patently raised the Queen to equal status as the King.¹⁰² The reliefs of rows of Lagid ancestor pairs (discussed on several occasions

⁹⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.131-132; *cf.* Hom. *Il.* XIV.294-296; Vatin 1970, 72.

⁹⁷ Hes. *Theog.* 920 (λοισθοτάτην δ' Ἥρην θαλερὴν ποιήσατ' ἄκοιτιν); F. T. Griffiths 1979, 61.

⁹⁸ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.133-134; *cf.* Hom. *Il.* XIV.201-204; Callim. F 48; Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 57; Kerényi 1972, 82-85; *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 3, p. 44; Pt. Two, ch. I, § 4, p. 173.

⁹⁹ Theoc. *Id.* XV.128-130, XVII.128-134; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 66.

¹⁰⁰ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.32-33, XXIV.84-85; *pace* F. T. Griffiths 1979, 66.

¹⁰¹ *Supra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 3, p. 96.

¹⁰² Strack 1897, 92-93; Vatin 1970, 61.

before) vividly illustrate this notion of consanguineous equivalence.¹⁰³ In addition, because of the equal status of the King and Queen, the heir and successor to the throne was imbued with ambilaterally transmitted divine sovereignty. In his encomium for Ptolemy II, Theocritus traced his King's lineage back to Alexander, Heracles and ultimately to Zeus, the son of Cronus.¹⁰⁴ Frederick Griffiths and Joan Burton, moreover, call attention to Theocritus' emphasis on female lineage.¹⁰⁵ The poet, namely, drew the analogy between Hera's descent from Rhea and that of Arsinoe from Berenice. The latter is explicitly called "Antigone's daughter," while in the *Adoniazusae*, where Arsinoe is called "Berenice's daughter," Theocritus used the parallel with Aphrodite's descent from Dione.¹⁰⁶ He called Arsinoe "fair as Helen," who bore Menelaus "a child like unto her mother" (*viz.*, Hermione).¹⁰⁷ Callimachus subsequently continued the lineage when he explicitly rendered Arsinoe II Berenice II's mother.¹⁰⁸ I have earlier suggested that Persephone, too, was the heiress of her mother, Queen Demeter.¹⁰⁹ The implication, in short, is that Ptolemaic queens inherited their position of power, their royalty and divinity through the unbroken line of female descent.

The aforementioned theogamies, to sum up, allowed for the association with the

¹⁰³ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 3, p. 83, Pt. Two, ch. II, § 3, p. 201.

¹⁰⁴ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.13-25; Gow 1950, II: 331; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 72, 74; Hunter 2003, 107-120.

¹⁰⁵ F. T. Griffiths 1979, 54; Burton 1995, 71, 75, 149.

¹⁰⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XV.106, 110-111, XVII.36, 61, 128-133.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.* XV.110-111, XVIII.21; *cf.* Hom. *Od.* IV.14; Hes. *Cat.* 68B: 1; *pace* J. B. Burton 1995, 71.

¹⁰⁸ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 45; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 4, p. 205, n. 123.

¹⁰⁹ *Cf.* Theoc. *Id.* XV.94-95 (μη φύη, Μελιτώδες, ὃς ἀμῶν καρτερὸς εἴη ἢ πλᾶν ἐνός, "May there be no one who overpowers us, Goddess of Honey [*scil.*, Persephone], save one); Gow 1950, II: 291; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 60; J. B. Burton 1995, 59-60; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. I, § 6, p. 181.

royal marriages of Ptolemaic kings and queens that were similarly consanguineous. As the Sumerian archetype, so the incestuous *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera, of Isis and Osiris, *et cetera* symbolize the consolidation, divinization and transmission of kingship. Not only did the overtly incestuous nature of the Lagids' marriages signify their transcendence, but the religious identifications under question also conveyed the queens' vital contribution for the sacralization of Ptolemaic sovereignty. As a consequence of her equal ancestry, status and authority, the Queen's position also came to equal that of the King. It is noteworthy that Theocritus, too, accentuated the affiliation between mother and daughter. Not to say that dynastic succession became matrilineal, yet through these sibling weddings, eventually the heir and successor could lay claim to sacral royalty from both parents.

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While the previous chapter concentrated on the dynastic importance of royal incest, this last chapter focused on its significance for Ptolemaic queenship. To conclude, it is imperative to observe that the Queen's union with the King was not only compared to a *hieros gamos*, but also that religious identifications assimilated Ptolemaic queens with Great Goddesses who effectuated, consolidated and/or invigorated the sacral kingship of her consanguineous *parhedros*. Paramount in this respect are the Holy Weddings of Zeus and Hera, Isis and Osiris, Hathor and Horus. This is not to say that Arsinoe Philadelphus married her brother Ptolemy II so as to manifest their divinity. In the absence of explicit evidence, in fact, it remains impossible to determine what motivated Arsinoe and Ptolemy to breach their society's abhorrence toward incest. Once

they set the precedent, however, endogamy attained such a symbolic significance that queens received honorific titles such as “sister and wife” irrespective of their blood relation to the king. Such an ostensible *casignesia* occurred already for Berenice II, Ptolemy III’s maternal cousin, and subsequently for Cleopatra I, Ptolemy V’s cousin three-times removed. From the time of Cleopatra IV, the epithet *Philadelphus* became common. An important implication of royal incest is that it elevated the Queen’s status to equal that of the King. For by sharing his ancestry, she came to share in regal as well as sacral authority. Such consanguineous equivalence, in my opinion, represents a marked position of power and personal prestige of Ptolemaic queens at the Lagid court. Finally, religious symbolism intimated that, like the Great Goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified, the Queen’s love and devotion, her *philadelphia*, was conceived of as benevolence toward her royal *parhedros*. In addition to the romanticized ideal of gracious affection and virtuous loveliness, this benevolence involved advancing the status of her husband’s heir and successor, effectuating their divinization, and bestowing benefactions upon the temples and the population. As the “sister and wife” of the King, the Ptolemaic Queen thus obtained apotheotic parity.

CONCLUSION

The second part of this dissertation has concentrated on the question: What was the meaning of royal incest both for the Lagid dynasty in general, and for Ptolemaic queenship in particular? In the foregoing chapters, I have argued that the Lagids' endogamy advanced the divinization of the King and Queen through religious identifications particularly with consanguineous theogamies of Zeus and Hera, and Isis and Osiris. The symbolic significance of royal incest, moreover, was its elevation of the queens' status as the king's equal in royal and religious authority. It now remains to contextualize the findings presented in Part Two in order to substantiate my interpretation of the Lagids' *philadelphia*. (a.) To this end, I will recapitulate the convergence of divine consanguinity and sacralized sovereignty. (b.) I will then review the implications of this theme for the Ptolemaic ideology of kingship and queenship. (c.) Subsequently, I will elucidate the position of power and authority of Ptolemaic queens. (d.) The symbolism of royal incest will finally allow me to infer the idealized characteristics of Ptolemaic queenship.

(a.) The Mesopotamian sacred marriage of Ishtar-Inanna and Tammuz-Dumuzi, I have contended, was the archetype for Great Goddesses and their respective (royal) *parhedroi* with whom the Ptolemies were identified. The premise of this second thematic case study has been that such religious assimilations with consanguineous theogamies were inexorably induced by the high degree of endogamy within the Lagid house. In the first chapter of Part Two I have illustrated how Aphrodite and Hera, Isis and Hathor

preserved certain traits of the primordial Royal Mistress of Sumer, whose *hieros gamos* with the paradigmatic shepherd-king of Uruk expressed the intimate association between incestuous eroticism and the sacralization of royalty. Not only were Greek and Egyptian goddesses believed to engage in consanguineous liaisons, but they also performed crucial roles for the consolidation, revitalization and immortalization of their *parhedros*' sovereignty. In the Alexandrian cosmopolis, syncretistic assimilations in all probability mutually reinforced the concept of sacral kingship. Naturally, the myths of Aphrodite and Ares or Adonis, Zeus and Hera, the Two Goddesses, Isis and Osiris, Hathor and Ra or Horus were not exact duplicates of the Assyrian-Babylonian archetype. However, in addition to their incestuous relations, the religious character of the deities under question does reveal a concern for dynastic succession and for abundant fertility.

(b.) There can be no doubt about the ideological importance of Lagid *philadelphia* as Ptolemaic queens were titled "sister and wife" or "Brother-Loving" irrespective of their blood relation with the king. Although the purity of the royal blood is often cited as a function of royal incest, it does not seem that concerns over dynastic legitimation and/or succession initially motivated the Ptolemies' consanguineous marriages. In fact, in the absence of explicit evidence, I have argued that it remains impossible to gauge individual intentions for this phenomenon. As we saw in the second chapter, the Ptolemies certainly avoided the political intrigues associated with the exogamous dynastic alliances practiced by the Argead and other Hellenistic dynasties. The immediate consequence of royal incest, then, was that it isolated the Lagid house from its contemporary kingdoms as well as from its subjects. In transgressing the limits of mortal humans by violating an ingrained socio-cultural anathema, the Ptolemies, moreover, manifested their divinity. Onward from Ptolemy II's wedding with Arsinoe Philadelphus,

poetic allusions to what I have termed Lagid *philadelphia* and *casignesia*, iconographic jugate representations, honorific titles and cult epithets conveyed a similar significance as the religious identifications that form the subject of this dissertation – namely, that the living rulers of Egypt were gods on earth, worthy of divine worship. In dynastic terms, as discussed in chapter three especially in relation to Ptolemy III Euergetes, the king’s sacralized consanguinity was furthermore associated with royal benevolence. For later Ptolemaic kings, the precedent of their deified ancestors sanctified royal incest so that their own consanguinity became prerequisite for their apotheosis.

From the perspective of queenship it is of foremost importance that the official paired deification and identification of Ptolemaic kings and queens as divine sibling-spouses asserted the equal symbolic status of the royal couples. A corollary of this apotheotic parity between the royal consorts was an emphasis on matrilineal descent. Eventually, the ambilateral transmission of sacral kingship to the heir apparent doubtless strengthened the personal prestige of the Queen at the Alexandrian palace. In the last chapter I have described how in Egyptian religion the triadic conception of dynastic succession recognized the vital female involvement in the perpetual renewal of the Cosmic Order as represented by the daily renewal of Ra’s solar cycle and the periodic reincarnation of the Living Horus-King. As cited, poetic allusions to Lagid *casignesia*, the profuse titulary of the “Lady of Loveliness,” the personification of the bringer of copious Good Fortune, and other religious identifications attest to the ideology that considered the queen’s *philadelphia* an *euergesia* toward king and country. The interrelated themes of incestuous love and devotion, benevolence and prosperity articulated the divine majesty of the queen. As I have maintained in Part One, in short, Ptolemaic queenship played an essential role in the popularization, legitimization and

sacralization of its royal house.

(c.) The unambiguous proclamation of royal incest in the context of the Ptolemies' deification evinces the remarkable prestige and influence obtained by royal women within the Lagid house. With insufficient historical information surviving regarding the Ptolemaic queens, modern scholarship is obliged to glean what it may from haphazard scraps of diverse material. Arguments *e silentio* regarding the queens' insignificance or incompetence must be treated with skepticism when historical inference and the queens' ideological and religious authority imply their active participation in the administration of the Ptolemaic empire. In my estimation, the present case study of the symbolism of incest does indeed corroborate the role Ptolemaic queens performed at court. Such a rise to parity with their consorts, even if merely representational, practically constitutes a usurpation of power within the traditionally patriarchic Graeco-Macedonian environment. Nevertheless, contrary to the customarily virilocal exogamy, among the Argead predecessors, queens such as Cleopatra, Eurydice and Olympias had already set a precedent of close-kin endogamy in their own effort to sustain female sovereignty. Pharaonic history offers few examples of female power, but perhaps we should understand the marital career of Anchsenpaäton-Anchsenamun, too, as an indication of the influence a queen could obtain through marrying within her own family. In Ptolemaic Egypt, the propagation of female characteristics, the public celebration of the women's festival of the Adonia, or the official cult of individual royal women exemplified the prestige and power of Ptolemaic queens.

(d.) The theme of royal incest, finally, also unveils the idealized characteristics of Ptolemaic queenship. It is by itself worthy of note that this theme appeared unequivocally not only in Alexandrian poetry or artistic depictions, but especially within the official

royal cult. Religious identifications with divine sibling-spouses such as Zeus and Hera or Isis and Osiris exhibited the intimate connection between divine sovereignty and consanguineous parity. In the aretalogical hymn from Cyme, Isis herself announced:

I am Cronus' eldest daughter,
I am the spouse and sister of Osiris the King,
I am the mother of Horus the King.¹

Like Horus and Demeter, both Adonis and Persephone were offspring of incestuous intercourse. Theocritus' idylls implied that the Ptolemaic Queen transmitted her divinity to her children and, through her passionate affection, effectuated the deification of her brother-spouse. Callimachus praised his Queen's bravery, virtue and beauty, which hieroglyphic titulature associated with Neith, Bastet and Hathor. Ptolemaic queenship was thus assimilated to the Great Goddess who immortalized her (royal) *parhedros*. The Queen's virtues of affection, courage and benevolence, once more, augmented the popular enthusiasm for the worship of the members of the Lagid dynasty. The exemplary position of the Ptolemaic Queen overtly displayed female participation in royal ideological authority.

With the preceding examination of royal incest, I have primarily endeavored to demonstrate that Ptolemaic queens were identified with goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hera, Isis and Hathor due at least partially to their similar consanguineous affiliations. This thematic case study, I am confident, has brought to light elements of Lagid ideology that had thus far gone unnoticed. The public and official celebration of the Ptolemies' extreme endogamy, namely, also entailed the idealization of the characteristics of queenship, such as love and devotion, beauty and benevolence. Often

¹ *ATISR* no. 1, ll. 5-6 and 8: 'Εγώ εἰμι Κρόνου θυγάτηρ πρεσβυτάτη. Ἰ 'Εγώ εἰμι γυνή καὶ ἀδελφή 'Οσείριδος βασιλέως. ... Ἰ 'Εγώ εἰμι μήτηρ Ὡρου βασιλέως.

conveyed explicitly within the context of the Ptolemaic ruler cult, the emphasis of female contributions to the sanctification of the Lagid dynasty symbolized the queen's position of power and prestige at the Alexandrian palace on a par with that of the king. Most Ptolemaic queens proved themselves to be confident, dominant and influential in regal as well as religious authority. Their deification and religious identification with Great Goddesses, in sum, symbolized their increased participation in Ptolemaic Egypt.

THE RELIGIOUS IDENTIFICATION OF PTOLEMAIC QUEENS WITH APHRODITE, DEMETER, HATHOR AND ISIS

Branko Fredde van Oppen de Ruiter

Volume Two



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Part Three.

LAMENTATION



The theme of this third case study involves the symbolism of lamentation within the context of the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens. My purpose in the following chapters is most of all to suggest that, like goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Isis and Hathor, the queens performed an indispensable role in the ritual of mourning. Part Three, as before, follows a fourfold division: *(I.)* In the first chapter, I will discuss the cause of the goddesses' grief, in addition to funerary rituals and offerings. This discussion will reveal an emphasis on hair locks, bared breasts and perfumes. *(II.)* Subsequently, I will offer evidence for the attention paid to the theme of lamentation at the Lagid court. Here we need to distinguish between rituals of mourning in which the (departed) Queen is honored, and those in which she took part. *(III.)* I can then, in the third chapter, consider the ideological importance of lamentation in general for Ptolemaic kingship. *(IV.)* Finally, I will address its symbolic significance in particular for Ptolemaic queenship. I hope to show that as a funerary rite, lamentation, like ancestor worship, was part of the Ptolemaic ruler cult, while the identification with Wailing Goddesses exemplified the Queen's essential function in the sacralization of the royal house as well as for the salvation of the populace. In the following case study, then, I will endeavor to elucidate the central role

the queens performed in Lagid ideology.

I. THE WAILING GODDESS

The Wailing Goddess is an archetype of high antiquity, which features in the myths and/or rituals, not only of Aphrodite, Demeter and Isis, but also of Cybele, Astarte and Ishtar-Inanna. Ptolemaic queens were thus identified with Great Goddesses who mourned for a departed beloved, *viz.*, Adonis, Persephone, Osiris, *etc.* However, the queens were not exclusively identified with Wailing Goddesses, as, *e.g.*, Agathe Tyche, Artemis or Hera cannot be associated with lamentation or funerary rites. While no evidence for Hathor's lament survives, funerary concerns were essential to her religious function. The parallelism between Aphrodite and Adonis, Isis and Osiris, Cybele and Attis, Astarte and Tammuz, Inanna and Dumuzi, can nevertheless be extended to Hathor and (Amun or Atum-) Ra, *i.e.*, the rising and setting sun god.

(1.) It would seem most appropriate to start this chapter with the lament for dying Adonis. For Aphrodite's *parhedros*, like Cybele's consort Attis, ultimately derived from the ancient Mesopotamian Tammuz-Dumuzi. In the first section, then, we will have occasion to compare the myths and rituals associated with these suffering gods. (2.) While the myth of Isis' grief for Osiris' violent death is well known, especially from Plutarch's account, it will prove advantageous to assess related themes and funerary rites that appear in this setting. (3.) Thirdly, I will consider the relevance of Demeter's mourning for her lost daughter, Persephone, rather than for a male consort. The Homeric Hymn to Demeter would seem to have exerted great influence upon the crystallization of the Dirge for Adonis or Plutarch's narrative of bereaved Isis' wandering. However, I will

content that these various myths could only have assimilated aspects of each other's narrative, if their structures were similar to start with. (4.) When we turn to Hathor in the fourth section, we will not have a threnody for the goddess' *parhedros* at hand. As Hathor supported the sun god's nocturnal journey through the Underworld, so the Egyptians prayed for the goddess' maternal care in the afterlife. I will, hence, argue that her role in the hereafter was believed to be essential. My aim in this chapter, then, is not to prove that lamentation featured in the myths and/or rituals of Aphrodite, Demeter and Isis – so much may be taken for granted. Rather, I would like to illuminate the funerary rites that appear within the setting of the Wailing Goddess. To this end, I will pay attention to rituals such as the baring of breasts, offerings of hair and perfume, as well as the metaphor of death as rape (in the sense of 'seizing off by force').

1. The Dirge for Adonis

Adonis was a lovely youth, beloved of Aphrodite, who had adopted him after his miraculous birth (see above).¹ According to most versions, Adonis met his premature death while hunting boar in Lebanon.² Accounts disagree whether an angry Artemis, a

¹ Theoc. *Id.* I.109, III.46, XV.80-144, XX.34-36; Mosch. V.35; Ovid *Met.* X.525; *Orph. Hymn.* LXVI.7. For general lit. on Aphrodite, see: Pt. One, ch. I, § 5, p. 51, n. 95. For Adonis, see: Pt. Two, ch. I, § 5, p. 177, n. 90.

² Sappho F 211b (iii); Eubul. *ap.* Athen. II.69C-D; Theoc. *Id.* I.109-110; Apollod. *Bibl.* III.xiv.4 (*init.*: "Ἀδωνις δὲ ἔτι παῖς ὢν Ἀρτέμιδος χόλω πληγείς ἐν θήρᾳ ὑπὸ συὸς ἀπέθανεν; *fin.*: ὕστερον δὲ θηρεύων Ἀδωνις ὑπὸ συὸς πληγείς ἀπέθανεν); Bion *Epith. Adon.* 7-8, 61-62; Ovid *Met.* X.710-712; Hyg. *Fab.* 248; Luc. *Syr. D.* 8; Athen. II.68B; Hesych. *s.v.* "Ἀδωνηΐς" and "Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι"; *cf.* *Isah.* XVII.10; Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 284; *id.* 1914, IV(1): 11; *id.* 1921, 84-85 n. 2; Atallah 1966, 63-74; Detienne 1972, 128-129; Soyeux 1977, 9-10, 30; Friedrich 1978, 69, 108; Burkert 1979, 108; Tuzet 1987, 26; Winkler 1991, 189, 204; Reed 1997, 199.

jealous Ares, a vengeful Apollo, or even Zeus himself sent the boar to kill Adonis.³ An apparent structural similarity between the myths of Adonis and Attis is that the latter, the fair youth who was beloved by Cybele, was said in Lydia to have also been slain by a boar.⁴ (Although in Phrygia, he was believed to have died from self-inflicted castration.)⁵ While he is clearly hauled off by vengeful demons to the Netherworld, the actual cause of Tammuz-Dumuzi's death remains untold in the transmitted evidence.⁶ However, if he is to be identified with Ishtaran, the brother and lover of Ishtar-Inanna, he too suffered a violent death.⁷ In another version of Adonis' death, which seems a secondary elaboration, Aphrodite entrusted the fair youth in a coffin to Persephone in the Underworld, for fear one of the gods would behold his beauty.⁸ When Persephone refused to return Adonis from the dead, Aphrodite complained to Zeus, who then decreed that Adonis should stay with Chthonian Persephone for half the year, with Uranian Aphrodite for the remainder.⁹

³ Σ Theoc. III.48; Apollod. *Bibl.* III.xiv.4; Firm. *Mat. Err. Prof. rel.* IX; *RML s.v.* 'Adonis,' 71; Frazer 1921, 11; Atallah 1966, 55-62; Friedrich 1978, 69; Tuzet 1987, 26 n. 27.

⁴ Paus. VIII.xvii.5; Σ Nic. *Alex.* 8; cf. Hdt. I.34-35; Diod. IX.29; Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 296; *id.* 1914, IV(1): 263-264; Atallah 1966, 63; Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 26 n. 1, 54; Borgeaud 1996, 57-58. For general lit. on Attis, see: *RML s.v.* 'Attis,' I: 715-727 [Rapp]; *RE s.v.* 'Attis,' II(2): 2247-2252 [Cumont]; *DNP s.v.* 'Attis,' II: 247; *CCCA*; Frazer 1914, IV(1): 263-280; Vermaseren 1977, esp. 88-125; Burkert 1979, 99-102; Borgeaud 1996, 56-88, 131-168.

⁵ Catull. LXIII.5; Ov. *Fast.* IV.237-240; Paus. VII.xvii.12; Arnob. *Adv. nat.* V.7; Frazer 1914, IV(1): 264-265; Vermaseren 1977, 90-92; Burkert 1979, 104-105; Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 39; Borgeaud 1996, 58-59.

⁶ *RAssyr. s.v.* 'Mythologie,' 548; Kramer 1969, 118-121; Jacobsen 1987, 28-49, 225-232; Balz-Cochois 1992, esp. 94-95, 100-101, 114-116, 124-125; Fritz 2003, 97-135 *pass.* For general lit. on Tammuz-Dumuzi, see: Pt. Two, ch. 1.I, § 1, p. 163, n. 3.

⁷ *RAssyr. s.v.* 'Mythologie,' 549; Livingston 1986, 116-117, 136-137, 140-141; Jacobsen 1987, 59-61, 77, 79; Fritz 2003, 249-268.

⁸ Apollod. *Bibl.* III.xiv.4; cf. Theoc. *Id.* XV.102, 136-137, 144; Hyg. *Fab.* 251; Atallah 1966, 54-55; Friedrich 1978, 69; Burkert 1979, 109-110; Tuzet 1987, 26.

⁹ Σ Theoc. III.48; cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* III.xiv.4; Hyg. *Astr.* II.6-7; Bion *Epith. Adon.* 95-96; Frazer

Tammuz-Dumuzi, likewise, returned annually from the Abode of the Dead, through a compromise between Queen Ereshkigal and his spouse Ishtar-Inanna or his sister Geshtin'anna.¹⁰ (I will come back to the Return from Hades in Part Four.) In short, a violent death carried off these youthful *parhedroi* of the Great Goddesses Aphrodite, Cybele, Ishtar and Inanna.

As she found her beloved dying of his bleeding wound, the goddess wailed a piercing cry of woe.¹¹ It was believed that Aphrodite instituted an annual mourning ceremony to commemorate her lover's premature death.¹² Each year the faithful would then join the goddess in her distress and sing the Dirge for Adonis. Poets too found inspiration in the lamentation. The Hellenistic poet Bion of Smyrna, *e.g.*, opened his *Epitaphium Adonidos* with the words:

I bewail Adonis, "Fair Adonis is dead."
"Fair Adonis is dead," the Erotes wail in reply.¹³

Plutarch relates that at the Athenian Adonia, "women mimicked burial rites, beat their breasts, and sang dirges."¹⁴ Lesbian Sappho provides the earliest surviving testimony for Adonis in Greek:

1890 = 1981, I: 281-282; *id.* 1921, 87-88 n.3; Detienne 1972, 124-125; Tuzet 1987, 26; Reed 1997, 250; *infra* Pt. Four, ch. I, § 1, pp. 380-382.

¹⁰ Kramer 1969, 121; Wolkenstein and Kramer 1983, 76 (Geshtin'anna to Dumuzi: "You and I, first one, then the other, will be taken away"), 89 (Inanna to Dumuzi: "You will go to the Underworld half the year. Your sister, since she has asked, will go the other half"); Jacobsen 1987, 232; Balz-Cochois 1992, 113-122.

¹¹ *E.g.*, see: *Pyr.* 1280c-d; Theoc. *Id.* III.46-48, XX.34-36; *RAssyr. s.v.* 'Klagelied,' 5; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 331-334; Soyez 1977, 29-35; Balz-Cochois 1992, 106-108; Fritz 2003, 282-283.

¹² Ovid *Met.* X.725-726; Frazer 1914, IV(1): 223-225; Glotz 1920, 198-201; Atallah 1966, 53; Soyez 1977, 29-30; Tuzet 1987, 26-28; Dillon 2002, 162-167.

¹³ Bion *Epith. Adon.* 1-2: Αἰῶζω τὸν Ἀδωνιν· ἄπώλετο καλὸς Ἀδωνις· ἢ ἄλετο καλὸς Ἀδωνις· ἐπαιάζουσιν ἑρῶτες; Reed 1997, 15-17, 194-196.

Delicate Adonis is dying, Cytherea, what should we do?
 “Beat your breasts, maidens, and rend your robes.”¹⁵

At Alexandria, Theocritus reports, wailing women with loosened hair bared their breasts as they cast Adonis’ image into the sea.¹⁶ Similar beating and baring of breasts in mourning for Adonis are recorded elsewhere in poetry, myths and rituals.¹⁷ Annual ceremonies in honor of Attis’ death also included funeral dirges, and Arnobius adds the detail that Attis’ bride lacerated her breast.¹⁸ While Tammuz-Dumuzi was hauled off to the Netherworld, his sister Geshtin’anna (and/or Belili) despaired, his mother Sirtur mourned, his wife Ishtar-Inanna wept, and his death was commemorated with yearly mourning and burial rites.¹⁹ The worship of Adonis, a beautiful youth even in death, furthermore, involved an undeniable eroticism.²⁰ Aphrodite was loath to put Adonis from her breast and stole a last kiss from his lifeless lips.²¹ The Adonia gave many an

¹⁴ Plut. *Nic.* XIII.7; cf. Thuc. VI.xxviii.1; Ar. *Lys.* 390-394; Plut. *Alcib.* XVIII.2-3.

¹⁵ Sappho F 140a L-P (*ap.* Heph. *Enchir.* X.4: κατθναίσκει, Κυθήρη, ἄβρος ᾿Αδωνις· τί κε θεῖμεν; ἢ καττύπτεσθε, κόραι, καὶ κατερείκεσθε κίθωνας); Atallah 1966, 93-94; Friedrich 1978, 107-108; Tuzet 1987, 85; Dillon 2002, 163.

¹⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XV.134-135; Gow 1950, II: 302; Atallah 1966, 105-106; Tuzet 1987, 27-28; *infra* Pt. Three, ch. II, § 3, p. 314, and ch. IV, § 2, p. 361, n. 34.

¹⁷ Ar. *Lys.* 396; Diosc. *Anth. Pal.* V: 53, 193; Bion *Epith. Adon.* 4-5, 25-27; Luc. *Syr. D.* 6; Paus. II.xx.6; Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 280; Glotz 1920, 198-199; Soyez 1977, 29-35; Tuzet 1987, 87-88; Reed 1997, 198, 209-213; *infra* Pt. Three, ch. IV, § 2.

¹⁸ Theoc. *Id.* XX.40; Diod. III.liv.7-8; Arnob. *Adv. nat.* V.7, 13; Burkert 1979, 121; Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 39-41, 45, 54.

¹⁹ *RAssyr. s.v.* ‘Geštinanna,’ III: 300, ‘Inanna,’ V: 84, ‘Klagegesang,’ VI: 1-6, and ‘Mythologie,’ VIII: 548-549; Kramer 1969, 119-133; Wolkenstein and Kramer 1983, 74-77, 83-88; Jacobsen 1987, 53-84; Balz-Cochois 1992, 106-108; Fritz 2003, 343-350.

²⁰ Theoc. *Id.* XV.86 (κῆν ᾿Αχέροντι φιληθεῖς); Diosc. *Anth. Pal.* V: 53, 193; Bion *Epith. Adon.* 71 (καλὸς νέκυσ); Detienne 1972, 125-126; Winkler 1990, 191; Reed 1997, 235.

²¹ Theoc. *Id.* III.46-48; Bion *Epith. Adon.* 40-50; Reed 1997, 222-225.

Athenian comedian material for lascivious jokes, too.²² Simultaneously, however, the baring of breasts in a funerary context has the profound implication of maternal bereavement – of clasping the breast that nurtures life.²³ In fact, images of Astarte holding her breast(s) may very well have fulfilled this double maternal and funerary purpose.²⁴ Similarly, such breast-grasping figurines can be traced throughout most of the Eastern Mediterranean, from the Levant, the Aegean, the Greek mainland, and Egypt, dating as far back as at least the second millennium B.C.E.²⁵ The Dirge for Adonis, then, was attended by weeping and wailing women, clasping, beating and baring their breasts.

In addition, the Adonia included funerary offerings of various kinds.²⁶ In Alexandria, among many other offerings, Syrian myrrh was presented to Adonis – himself born from the myrrh-tree.²⁷ In Bion's *Epitaphium* Syrian unguents and every variety of perfume is poured out, because Aphrodite's myrrh, Adonis, is dead.²⁸ Marcel Detienne has compellingly analyzed what he calls "the mythology of perfumes."²⁹ While he emphasizes the seductive yet ephemeral luxury of perfumes, here we should also note

²² Men. *Sam.* 37-50; Atallah 1966, 98-104; Detienne 1972, 127-128; Winkler 1991, 190-191.

²³ E.g., see: Hom. *Il.* XVIII.30-31, 50-51, XIX.284-285, XXII.80; *infra* Pt. Three, ch. IV, § 2, pp. 361-361.

²⁴ Riis 1949, 69-90; Friedrich 1978, 11; Budin 2003, 78-79, 202, 225, 252-254, figs. 4a, 9b.

²⁵ *RAssyr.* s.v. 'Muttergöttin,' VIII: 520-522, figs. 2-4; Badre 1980; Budin 2003, 131-132, 140-142, 235-236, 259-260, figs. 6a-c, 8c-d.

²⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XV.112-117; Luc. *Syr. D.* 6; Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 279; *id.* 1914, IV(1): 224-225; Glotz 1920, 185-198; Atallah 1966, 261-262; Tuzet 1987, 27-28.

²⁷ Theoc. *Id.* XV.114 (Συρίω δὲ μύρω χρύσει' ἀλάβαστρα); Frazer 1914, IV(1): 227-228; Glotz 1920, 189; Atallah 1966, 444-45, 122-123; Detienne 1972, esp. 122-127; Tuzet 1987, 25.

²⁸ Bion *Epith. Adon.* 77-78 (ῥαῖνε δέ νιν Συρίοισιν ἀλείφασι, ῥαῖνε μύροισιν· ἰ ὀλλύσθω μύρα πάντα· τὸ σὸν μύρον λλετ' ᾿Αδονίς); Reed 1997, 239-240.

that myrrh was used as incense, for libation, as well as embalmment, and thus had a solemn funerary association.³⁰ Another mourning ritual, the offering of hair locks, was connected with Adonis. According to Lucian of Samosata (*fl.* 160-180 CE), women shaved off their locks during the Adonia at Byblos (mod. Jubayl in Lebanon) – and adds that the same ritual was performed by the Egyptians in honor of the deceased Apis.³¹ Bion depicts the Erotes mourning around the bier:

Here reclines delicate Adonis in purple-dyed covers,
around him the weeping Erotes heave wailing sighs,
shearing their manes for Adonis.³²

The tearing and shearing of hair, like the beating and baring of breasts, are heartfelt acts of defilement and defacement, mutilation and humiliation – expressing a deep sense of loss and grief as well as a feeling of guilt.³³ In his discussion of the lamentations for Adonis-Tammuz, Walter Burkert concludes, “humiliation in mourning corresponds to the unquestionable superiority of the survivor to the deceased ... and accepting inferiority on behalf of superiority.”³⁴ With his usual wit, Lucian too sensed that the wailing and lacerating left the living in a sorrier state than the dead: “The living are more to be pitied

²⁹ Detienne 1972, esp. 117-138.

³⁰ Cf. Hom. *Il.* XVIII.351; Noss. *Anth. Pal.* VI: 275; Gow 1950, II: 295; Atallah 1966, 44-45; Detienne 1972, 71-73, 117-122; Garland 1985, 43, 114-115; Reed 1997, 239-240.

³¹ Luc. *Syr. D.* 6; Frazer 1914, IV(1): 38, 225; Glotz 1920, 183; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 314-315, 325; Soyez 1977, 39; Nachtergaele 1981, 598; Reed 1997, 241.

³² Bion *Epith. Adon.* 79-81: κέκλιται ἀμβρὸς Ἰαδωνίς ἐν εἵμασι πορφυρέοισιν· Ἰ ἀμφὶ δὲ νιν κλαίοντες ἀναστενάχουσιν Ἰερῶτες Ἰ κειράμενοι χαίτας ἐπ' Ἰαδώνιδι; Reed 1997, 240-241; also, see: Alexiou 1974, 56 (*Epith. Adon.* “has the quality of a love song as well as that of a lament).

³³ Cf. Bion *Epith. Adon.* 19-22 (“But Aphrodite, having let down her hair, rushes through the woods mourning, unbraided, unsandalled; and the thorns cut her as she goes and pluck sacred blood”; trans. Reed 1997, 123, 125); Burkert 1979, 118-122; Garland 1985, 21-37; Reed 1997, 205-207.

³⁴ Burkert 1979, 121.

than the dead. They roll on the ground repeatedly and dash their heads on the floor, while he, elegant and fair, lies high and crowned with ornamental wreaths, exalted and made up as though for a procession.”³⁵ In sum, the Adonia eroticized funerary rituals and offerings, by accentuating the beauty of the god, the loosening of hair, the baring of breasts, the burning of incense, and the libation of perfumes. Simultaneously, however, lamentation was a profound expression of bereavement and mortification, in which the living empathetically identified with the dead.

2. The Lamentation of Isis

Isis’ brother and spouse, Osiris, had been treacherously murdered by their jealous brother Seth and his accomplices.³⁶ For Seth had nailed Osiris into a splendid sarcophagus and then thrown it into the Nile. Plutarch’s well-known *De Iside et Osiride* is the first source to mention how the chest with Osiris’ body floated to the shores of Phoenicia and reached the city of Byblos.³⁷ The author also mentioned that the King and Queen at the time were called by some Malcathrus (Melqart) and Astarte – *i.e.*, Semitic deities.³⁸ With this sleight of hand, however, he confirmed the syncretistic assimilation of

³⁵ Luc. *Luct.* 12; cf. Bion, *Epith. Adon.* 16-17 (“Adonis has a savage, savage wound on his thigh, but Cytherea carries a greater wound in her heart”; trans. Reed 1997, 123).

³⁶ References abound to overcoming the enemies of Osiris and/or Harendotus (*Hrw-nḏ-îṯ=f*, “Horus who Redeems His Father”): Pyr. 897b-899a, 1004-1010, 1685s, 2188, *etc.*; CT I: 248-249, II: 223-226, VII: 37, *etc.*; BD 17, 40, 78, 128, *etc.*; Diod. I.xxi; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XIII (= *Mor.* 356B-D); Scharff 1948, 20-30; J. G. Griffiths 1960, *pass.*; *id.* 1980, 8-9, 46-47; Chassinat 1966-68, I: 24-26; Dunand 2000, 15; Assmann 2005, esp. 23-26.

³⁷ Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XV (= *Mor.* 357A-357B); Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 280; *id.* 1914, IV(1): 13-14, 16-17; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 319-327; *id.* 1980, 28-34; Soyez 1977, 38-40; Nachtergaele 1981, 595, 598.

³⁸ Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XV (= *Mor.* 357B); J. G. Griffiths 1970, 325-326, 334; Zayadine 1991, 293-295.

Isis with Astarte (or Aphrodite), Osiris with Tammuz (or Adonis), Horus with Melqart (or Heracles).³⁹ Upon hearing about Seth's atrocious crime, the grief-stricken Isis wandered desolately in search for Osiris. When at long last she had discovered his body, she performed Osiris' funerary rites, mourning him with her sister Nephthys, assisting Anubis with embalming, and ultimately accompanying his revitalized mummiform, as he became Lord of the Netherworld and Judge of the Dead.⁴⁰ (About Osiris' revivification more in Part Four.) Thus, as Adonis was bewailed by Aphrodite, so Osiris' death was lamented by his beloved Isis.

From sparse allusions in the *Pyramid Texts*, Isis' funerary concern for Osiris would eventually develop into the Ptolemaic song-cycle, of which the longest is entitled *Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys*.⁴¹ A precursor to these Ptolemaic songs is found in a spell of the *Coffin Texts*, which opens with these verses:

Turn about, turn about! O Sleeper, turn about
in this place that you do not know, but that I know.
See now, I have found you on your side, O Weary One.
My sister (says Isis to Nephthys), this is our brother.
Come, that we may raise his head.
Come, that we may reassemble his bones.
Come, that we may rearrange his members.⁴²

Such solemn songs were part of the ritual reenactment of Osiris' drama, itself dating back

³⁹ J. G. Griffiths 1970, 321-322, 325-327, 333-334; Du Mesnil du Buisson 1970, 88-89, fig. 21, pl. 7.2; Soyeux 1977, 77-78; Griffiths 1980, 29, 133, 202; Zayadine 1991, 292-296, fig. 12; Pinch 1993, 79.

⁴⁰ E.g., see: *Pyr.* 167-178, 1255-1258, 1972-1986; *CT* I: 73e-75b, 211d-212b, III: 294a-298c; *BD* 151; LBM 10010/5, 10471/20 (vignettes of *BD* sp. 151); Diod. I.xxv; Münster 1968, esp. 22-71; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 35; *id.* 1980, 49-50, 56-57; Le Corsu 1977, 8; Merkelbach 1995, 11; Dunand 2000, 16; Assmann 2005, esp. 115-118, 167-168, 268-269, and 288-289.

⁴¹ E.g., see: *Pyr.* 1255-1256, 1280-1282, 2144-2145; *CT* I: 215a-e, 306-313 (sp. 74); *Lament.*; *cf.* Hdt. II.61; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XIV, XVII (= *Mor.* 356D, 357D).

⁴² *CT* I: 306a-f (trans. Faulkner 1973-78, I: 69); Münster 1968, 1-3, 30, 42-46. For "death as dismemberment" (and thus "resurrection as re-membering"), now see: Assmann 2005, 23-38.

to the earliest times, in which two priestesses performed the roles of Isis and Nephthys.⁴³ In terms of gender expectations, it is important to note with Jan Assmann that “Horus does not mourn.”⁴⁴ General Egyptian burial rites – including wailing and chanting dirges, loosening hair, tearing garments, beating disrobed breasts and throwing dust over ones head – were similarly performed by women in mourning of Osiris.⁴⁵ Since Egyptians believed that incense contained a spiritual, divine essence, myrrh and natron were used in funerary rites to revive the dead in the afterlife in imitation of Osiris’ embalming.⁴⁶ Plutarch wrote that, when she learned of Osiris’ atrocious death, Isis put on a dark-blue mourning garment and cut off a tress of her hair.⁴⁷ As we saw in the preceding section, Lucian attests that women sheared their locks for the deceased Apis bulls,⁴⁸ and Georges Nachtergaele has adduced further ancient sources showing that, in Imperial times at least, Egyptians dedicated their locks to Isis and/or Osiris.⁴⁹ For the Pharaonic period, however, no compelling evidence bears out the practice of hair offerings either to the

⁴³ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Beisetzung’; Münster 1968, 22-59; Nachtergaele 1981, 586-587; Dunand 2000, 17-18; Assmann 2005, 115.

⁴⁴ Assmann 2005, 115.

⁴⁵ Hdt. II.61, 85; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Beisetzung,’ 99, and ‘Klageweib,’ 378; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 63, 314-315; Heyob 1975, 56; Lloyd 1975-88, II: 276-280; Griffiths 1980, 41-84; Assmann 2005, 113-119; *infra* Pt. Three, ch. II, § 1, p. 303.

⁴⁶ E.g., see: *CT* I: 196a, 204f, 256h-257a, IV: 183b-g, VI: 121-122 (sp.530); *BD* 105; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Beisetzung,’ 99, and ‘Räucherung,’ 625; Vandier 1964, 100-101; Münster 1968, 40-42, 64; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 567; *id.* 1980, 46, 53-54, 58.

⁴⁷ Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XIV (= *Mor.* 356D: τὴν δ’ Ἴσιν αἰσθομένην κείρασθαι μὲν ἐνταῦθα τῶν πλομάκων ἓνα καὶ πένθιμον στολὴν ἀναλαβεῖν); J. G. Griffiths 1970, 314-315.

⁴⁸ Luc. *Syr. D.* 6; Nachtergaele 1981, 598; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 1, p. 280, n. 31.

⁴⁹ Pliny *NH* VIII.46 (= 184); Luc. *Sacrif.* 15; Firm. *Mat. Err. prof. rel.* II.3; Macr. *Saturn.* I.xxi.14; Nachtergaele 1981, 597-598; also, see: Luc. *Ind.* 14; Pall. *Anth. Pal.* VI: 60-61; Bonneau 1964, 259-263; Bergman 1968, 247, n. 2; Koenen 1993, 109.

dead in general or to Osiris in particular.⁵⁰ In short, though, it is fair to conclude that the cult of Osiris included traditional funerary rituals.

Apart from her emblematic crown, a characteristic feature of Isis' Graeco-Roman iconography was her coiffure of corkscrewed braids.⁵¹ In the Pharaonic period, for instance, Nefertiti donned a ceremonial wig with small-corkscrewed locks set in tiers.⁵² Ptolemaic queens were frequently depicted in Egyptian-style art with similar yet thicker tresses that, in the Hellenistic period, became popular in representations of Isis, too.⁵³ The two priestesses performing the roles of Isis and Nephthys, called "the two long-haired ones," wore long-tressed wigs over their shaved heads.⁵⁴ The hair of Isis, moreover, appeared in funerary contexts long before Ptolemaic rule. In the *Coffin Texts*, spells for the "Joining of the River Banks" describe how the hair of Isis and Nephthys are knotted together for the victorious Harsomtut to unite the Two Lands.⁵⁵ Such funerary texts, furthermore, evoke the magical power of Isis' locks,⁵⁶ and in the *Books of the Dead* the association with the goddess' grief is made explicit: "I am Isis, you have found me

⁵⁰ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Haaropfer,' 267-268; *LÄ* s.v. 'Haar,' II: 924; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 53-54, 314-315; Dunand 1973, I: 38-39; Heyob 1975, 41 n. 17; Nachtergaele 1981, 599-602 (p. 602: "Les Égyptiens ne semblent pas avoir connu l'usage grec de se couper une boucle de cheveux pour l'offrir aux morts").

⁵¹ Apul. *Metam.* XI.iii.4-5; Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 70-71; *id.* and Labrecque 1973, 156, pl. 13; J. G. Griffiths 1975, 123-126; Dunand 1979, 24; Nachtergaele 1981, 588-589; Walters 1988, 12, nn. 46-50.

⁵² Aldred 1961, fig. 110.

⁵³ Vandebek 1946, esp. 64-76; Needler 1949, 138-139, pl. 26, figs. 1-3, 5; Dunand 2000, 41-62.

⁵⁴ J. G. Griffiths 1970, 331-332; Nachtergaele 1981, 586-587.

⁵⁵ *CT* III: 28a-46b, VI: 162; Münster 1968, 199; Nachtergaele 1981, 585.

⁵⁶ *CT* V: 188i, 204d, VI: 124b, d; *BD* 99b; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 315; Nachtergaele 1981, 586.

when I had disarranged the hair of my face and my scalp was disordered.”⁵⁷ Referring to the Memphite God of the Dead, Sokar (often identified with Osiris), the explanatory gloss to this passage adds that, “it means that Isis was in the shrine of Sokar and she rubbed her hair.”⁵⁸ Additionally, the goddess’ perfumed locks were celebrated at Coptus, where Isis-Shentayt was worshipped in joint cult with Min and Horus.⁵⁹ In another parallel with Demeter, Plutarch told that an ambrosial perfume wafted from the goddess herself.⁶⁰ Even when her coiffure was fashioned after the vogue of Alexandria or later Rome,⁶¹ to sum up, the magical capacity of Isis’ braids continued to be associated with lamentation and reincarnation.

3. The Rape of Persephone

The mythic Rape of Persephone, daughter of Zeus and Demeter, is well known from the great Homeric Hymn.⁶² The hymn’s invocation immediately announces that, while she was seized against her will, Persephone had been given in marriage to Hades by her father Zeus:

⁵⁷ *BD* 17c (trans. Faulkner 1985, 49).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* (trans. Faulkner 1985, 49-50).

⁵⁹ Ael. *NA* X.23; *Koptos* pl. 22.1; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Kuh,’ 404-405 (Schentait); Münster 1968, 171-173; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 314, 450-452; Dunand 1973, I: 17; Nachtergaele 1981, 591-595.

⁶⁰ Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XV.3 (= *Mor.* 357B: τῶν τε τριχῶν τοῦ τε χρωτὸς ἀμβροσίαν πνέοντος); J. G. Griffiths 1970, 325.

⁶¹ Allam 1963, 125; Staehlin 1978, 77-84.

⁶² Friedrich 1978, 163-180; Clay 1989, 209-219; Foley (ed.) 1994. For general lit. on Demeter and Persephone, see: Pt. One, ch. I, § 4, p. 47, n. 70.

Demeter, the fair-tressed awesome goddess, I begin to sing,
her and the slender-ankled daughter, whom Hades rapt away,
but heavy-thundering and wide-eyed Zeus gave her away.⁶³

The myth is, thus, patterned on the ancient custom of the abduction-wedding ceremony.⁶⁴ Moreover, it expresses metaphorically that the separation of mother and daughter through marriage is like death.⁶⁵ The hymn repeatedly underscores that Persephone was violently and unwillingly seized off into the Underworld through the design of her father.⁶⁶ Furthermore, when Demeter heard her daughter's cries,

A sharp grief seized her heart, and she tore
the veil on her ambrosial manes with her dear hands,
she cast a dark-blue garb over both her shoulders,
and sped as a bird over firm land and flowing water,
searching.⁶⁷

Like Isis in Plutarch's account, Demeter assumed a mourning garment, and, like Andromache in the *Iliad*, she rent the veil (*krêdemna*) that symbolized female virginity and chastity.⁶⁸ In other words, the goddess denounced the validity of marriage by

⁶³ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 1-3: Δήμητρ' ἡύκομον, σεμνήν θεόν, ἄρχομ' αἰίδεν, ἡ αὐτὴν ἠδὲ θύγατρα τανύσφυρον, ἣν Ἀιδωνεύς ἡρπάξεν, δῶκεν δὲ βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 913-914.

⁶⁴ Friedrich 1978, 164-165; Foley (ed.) 1994, 31-32, 104-112; Vêrilhac and Vial 1998, 293-294, 312-314; Kledt 2004, 42-44.

⁶⁵ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 80, 402, 446, 464; Friedrich 1978, 165; Foley (ed.) 1994, 33-34, 88-89, 112-118; Sultan 1999, 57-58; Kledt 2004, 44-50. [A recurring term for the Underworld is ζόφος ἡρόεις, "(the realm of) misty gloom."]

⁶⁶ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 9, 16, 19, 30, 68, 77-81, 343-344, 413-415, 431-432; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 912-914; Friedrich 1978, 164; Clay 1989, 213-214; Foley (ed.) 1994, 35; Kledt 2004, 46-47. [The recurring verb is ἄρπάζειν, that denotes "seize, snatch away, carry off," connotes "ravish, overmaster, plunder," and thus the standard verb for "abduct, rape" etc.]

⁶⁷ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 40-44: ὁξὺ δέ μιν κραδίην ἄχος ἔλλαβεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαίταις ἡ ἀμβροσίαις κρήδεμνα δαίζετο χερσὶ φίλησι, ἡ κυάνεον δὲ κάλυμμα κατ' ἀμφοτέρων βάλετ' ὡς, ἡ σέυατο δ' ὥστ' οἰωνός, ἐπὶ τραφερὴν τε καὶ ὕγρην ἡ μαιομένη.

⁶⁸ Hom. *Il.* XXII.460, 466-472; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XIV.1 (= *Mor.* 356D); J. G. Griffiths 1970, 314-315;

observing funerary rites for Persephone's abduction. When she learned that Hades had carried Persephone off, the goddess' grief only became "more terrible and shameless."⁶⁹ As Aphrodite and Isis bewailed their *parhedroi*, so Demeter mourned for Persephone's passing into Hades.

Although the *Hymn to Demeter* makes explicit reference to the foundation of the Eleusian Mystery cult, in fact, the myth that it narrates correspond more closely to the Thesmophoria.⁷⁰ Especially, on that festival's second day, called *Nêsteia* ("The Fasting"), women retreated in huts, without fire or food, sitting on beds made on the ground from willow branches and other antaphrodisiac plants.⁷¹ Through this gloomy ritual, they commemorated and imitated the grief of Demeter – the bereaved mother who retreated from the company of the Olympian gods— as well as that of Persephone – the reluctant virgin bride who refused to eat in the Netherworld, but for the sweet pomegranate.⁷² However, this is not to say that the Eleusian Mysteries were unrelated to the myth of the Rape of Persephone.⁷³ Indeed, the initiates of the cult experienced a dramatic enactment of the myth that probably commenced from the moment after the Maiden was snatched off to the Underworld, when Demeter and Kore were already

Friedrich 1978, 166-168, 175-179; Slatkin 1991, 88-94 (who points out that Demeter's dark garment signifies her "transformation from a passive state of grief to an active state of anger," from *achos* to *cholos* and *mnêsis*) [I am indebted to Donna Wilson for this reference]; Seaford 1993, 115-145; Foley (ed.) 1994, 37; Kledt 2004, 57-58.

⁶⁹ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 90-91 (ἄχος αἰνότερος καὶ κύντερος), 198-201, 302-304; Richardson 1974, 177; Friedrich 1978, 167-168; Foley 1994 (ed.), 40-41, 124.

⁷⁰ For lit. on the Thesmophoria, see: Pt. One, ch. I, § 4, p. 49, n. 80.

⁷¹ Versnel 1993, 236-238, 245-248; sources cit. *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 4, p. 49, n. 84.

⁷² *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 40, 92, 302-305, 344, 371-372; Σ *ad Ar. Thesm.* 372.

⁷³ Burkert 1972 = 1997, 274-327; Richardson 1974, 211-217; Burkert 1987, esp. 4-5, 73-77, 97-100; Clinton 1993, esp. 115-117; Foley (ed.) 1994, 84-97, 137-142.

separated. According to Kevin Clinton, the mythic drama displayed the despondent Demeter, seated on the Mirthless Rock (*Agelastos Petra*), and sorrowing Thea Kore, seated on her throne in the Underworld.⁷⁴ During the secret rites, the worshippers possibly heard lamentations, before they celebrated the ultimate reunion of mother and daughter. In sum, like the Great Hymn, both the Thesmophoria and the Mysteries commemorated the grief of the Two Goddesses.

The Great Hymn persistently commends the goddess' ambrosial fair-tressed flowing blond manes.⁷⁵ The account of her epiphany in Celeus' palace reverently praises Demeter's august beauty:

Round about her breathed beauty,
for charming incense wafted from her fragrant robes,
light radiated afar from the goddess' immortal skin
and golden tresses flowed down over her shoulders.⁷⁶

In her grief, however, Demeter neglected herself, tasted no ambrosia or nectar, nor bathed, “wasting away with longing for her heavy-girdled daughter.”⁷⁷ In an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to immortalize the royal child at Eleusis, the goddess furthermore “anointed” Demophoön “with ambrosia as if he was born of a god and she breathed sweetly on him.”⁷⁸ Just as her fair tresses, her bosom and robes were scented with

⁷⁴ Clinton 1993, fig. 6.3, nos. 1 and 10.

⁷⁵ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 1, 40-41, 297, 302, 315; *ibid.* XIII: 1.

⁷⁶ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 276-279: περί τ' ἀμφί τε κάλλος ἄητο· ἡ δὲ δ' ἱμερόεσσα θυγέντων ἀπὸ πέπλων ἡ σκίδνατο, τῇλε δὲ φέγγος ἀπὸ χροὸς ἀθανάτοιο λάμπε θεᾶς, ξανθαὶ δὲ κόμαι κατενέηνοθεν μους.

⁷⁷ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 49-50, 94, 304 (πόθῳ μινύθουσα βαθυζώνοιο θυγατρός); Richardson 1974, 216-219; Friedrich 1978, 166; Foley (ed.) 1994, 37.

⁷⁸ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 237-238 (χρίεσκ' ἀμβροσίῃ ὥσεϊ θεοῦ ἐκγεγαῶτα ἡ δὲ καταπνέουσα); Richardson 1974, 237-238 (pointing to the parallel with Thetis' unsuccessful attempt to

ambrosia or incense, so her temple wafted with fragrant burnt offerings.⁷⁹ Detienne, in his structuralist analysis of the “mythology of perfumes,” focused almost exclusively on the *Nêsteia* to contrast the Gardens of Adonis (*kêpoi Adonidos*) with the Fruit of Demeter (*karpos Dêmêtros*).⁸⁰ Although Demeter was undoubtedly the goddess of cereal crops, and in her mourning abstained from all luxuries and pleasures, this does not preclude, as shown, her interest in incense, ointments, nectar, and/or ambrosia. The goddess, indeed, was praised for her sweet-scented tresses, fragrant robes, ambrosial skin, and incense-fumed temples.

4. Hathor, Mistress of the West

Hathor was on a rare occasion described as lamenting Osiris, and at times appeared in funerary texts as making him glad.⁸¹ Moreover, in a spell of the *Coffin Texts* entitled “For Being Transformed into Ihy,” the deceased proclaimed:

They weep for me, for they do not see me.
They mourn me, for they do not hear my voice.
I am the child of his mother; I am a youth,
the son of Hathor.⁸²

The goddess herself, however, was not conceived of as a “Wailing Woman.”

immortalize Achilles) ; Clay 1989, 225-226, 238-241; Foley (ed.) 1994, 48-50, 113-114; Kledt 2004, 67-68, 78-82. [Of further note is the opposition between the unsuccessful immortalization of a mortal, Demophoön, and the ultimately unsuccessful “mortalization” of an immortal, Persephone; I am indebted to Donna Wilson for drawing my attention to this contrast.]

⁷⁹ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 231, 355, 385.

⁸⁰ Detienne 1972, esp. 151-159, 194-197.

⁸¹ *CT V: 32j* = 38d = *BD 35* (“Hathor gladdens [*hnm-s*] Osiris”); J.G. Griffiths 1970, 526. For general lit. on Hathor, see Pt. One, ch. I, § 6, p. 56, n. 123. For funerary concerns of the Sky/Mother Goddess in general, see: Assmann 2000, 27-47 (interpreted as the deceased’s return to the womb).

Nonetheless, from her manifestation as cow goddess derived important funerary concerns.⁸³ For she was the “Lady of the Vulva,” who assisted the Demiurge Atum in the Creation; she was the “Mistress of Life,” who accompanied Ra on his diurnal traverse through the sky above and on his nocturnal voyage through the Netherworld; she was the “Divine Mother of the King,” who suckled and nurtured the royal child. Hathor, therefore, was also the “Mistress of the West,” “Lady of the Western Mountain” – the guardian of the mortuary regions on the west bank of the Nile. Already in First-Dynasty (early-3rd mill. BCE) tombs at Abydos, an ivory tablet from King ‘Adjib depicts two Hathor heads, and another refers to “Hathor in the Marshes of Buto, the city of King Djer.”⁸⁴ In the Old Kingdom, her cult was prominent on the West Bank of Memphis, as is shown especially by the statues of King Mycerinus (Eg. Menkaure‘; d. *ca.* 2472 BCE), with Hathor and numerous nome goddesses.⁸⁵ Furthermore, the mortuary temples on the West Bank of Thebes (among whom that of Hatshepsut) contained several Hathor shrines.⁸⁶ As she was the protectress of the deceased kings, so the goddess was believed to nourish, reinvigorate and regenerate the departed in the afterlife. This notion transpires vividly through Hathor’s ancient title “Lady of the Sycamore (*Neht Neht*).”⁸⁷ For in various funerary texts the dead are imagined in the cool shadow of the branches of the

⁸² CT IV: 182h-k (trans. adapted from Faulkner 1973-78, I: 258); Allam 1963, 75, 115, 134-138.

⁸³ *Pyr.* 705; CT VII: 78-79; *BD* 186; Frankfort 1948, 110-111; Allam 1963, esp. 38, 52, 58, 67-68, 74; Bleeker 1973, 42-45; Pinch 1993, esp. 179-182.

⁸⁴ *RT* I: 25, pl. 11.13, II: 22, pl. 5.1 [Hathor’s name is assumed from the recumbant-cow hieroglyph with a feather of Ma‘at between the horns].

⁸⁵ Allam 1963, 2-22.

⁸⁶ Allam 1963, 57-75; Pinch 1993, 4-12.

⁸⁷ *BD* 59; Allam 1963, 103-105; Bleeker 1973, 36-37; Pinch 1993, 122, 182.

sycamore, the “tree of Hathor,” enjoying their bread and beer.⁸⁸ Hathor, in short, was certainly a funerary goddess, patroness of the necropolises, and guardian of the dead in the hereafter.

Another indication that Hathor played an important role in the afterlife comes from a type of votive statue found in tombs often (but misleadingly) designated as “concubine of the dead.”⁸⁹ The type represents nude or semi-nude female figurines in stone, wood, ivory or earthenware (not infrequently in crude workmanship). Mostly their arms are stiff, with the hands on the thighs; usually their breast are small, the pubic triangle is sometimes marked, with the vulva occasionally incised; some were placed or attached on model beds, at times with a child. The strong association of these figurines with the goddess is confirmed by their prominence as votive objects at Hathor shrines. As Geraldine Pinch points out, identical figures have also been found in private houses as well as in tombs of women, so that neither a funerary connection nor a sexual connotation is essential *per se*.⁹⁰ It should nevertheless be noted that, as far as I know, no male equivalents of these figurines have been found. Female nudity, moreover, was uncustomary in Egyptian art (except for inferiors or certain goddesses), so that an erotic implication and/or fertility function should not be discounted.⁹¹ Additionally, Françoise Dunand has suggested that remarkably similar Greek-style (semi-) nudes represent Aphrodite Anadyomene (“Who Rises from the Sea”) as an *interpretatio Graeca* of Isis-

⁸⁸ *Pyr.* 699; *CT* III: 1f-e, 124f, 236d; *BD* 68, 82, 189.

⁸⁹ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Beischläferin’; *LÄ* s.v. ‘Beischläferin,’ I: 684-686 [Helck]; Desroches-Noblecourt 1953, 7-47; Pinch 1993, 198-225.

⁹⁰ Pinch 1993, 221-224.

⁹¹ Certainly when it comes to Egyptian goddesses, Pinch (1993, 215) points out that only Nut was customarily shown without clothes.

Hathor.⁹² These terra-cotta statuettes are surmounted by an oversized *calathus* that signifies abundance, like the *cornucopia* of Agathe Tyche. It is attractive to imagine that this Hellenized Isis-Hathor was considered the protectress of women after death. The conflation of sexuality and fertility within a funerary context, then, symbolizes Hathor's regenerative powers over birth and rebirth.

Apart from such fertility figurines, other funerary offerings may be associated with Hathor. In several private and royal tombs (including that of Tutanchamun), dating across the entire Pharaonic period, locks and tresses have been unearthed, as well as clay balls (*ca.* 12 in.) containing, *inter alia*, hair locks.⁹³ It must be said that it remains far from clear whether Egyptians dedicated locks to the deceased, or if such locks belonged to the departed themselves.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, a magico-ceremonial function was likely associated with these hair offerings. Hathoric symbolism is tangible on a necklace found in a Theban tomb of the Middle Kingdom.⁹⁵ Among its amulets in the shape of fish and lotus, there are also two hair-lock pendulants of electrum. To wit, the Oxyrhynchus-fish was sacred to Hathor in Latopolis (mod. Esna) and in myth the Tilapia-fish protected the Solar Barque; the lotus-flower was even more emblematic of fecundity, longevity and regeneration.⁹⁶ The importance of hair locks in the cult of Hathor can furthermore be gauged from the titles “Tresses (*Hensektyut*)” and “Braids (*Upertyut*)” of her virgin

⁹² Dunand 1973, I: 81-84; also, see: Vandebeek 1946, 83; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, no. 133 (with lit.).

⁹³ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Haaropfer’; Dunand 1973, I: 38-39; Nachtergaele 1981, 596-602.

⁹⁴ Hdt. II.36, 65; Diod. I.18, 84; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Haaropfer’; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 268-269, 314-315; A. Burton 1972, 241-242; Lloyd 1975-88, II: 152-154, 300; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 2, p. 283, nn. 49-50.

⁹⁵ LBM 3077; Staehelin 1978, 83, pl. 2a; Nachtergaele 1981, 587.

⁹⁶ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Fische,’ 193; *RT* II: pl. 3a; Staehelin 1978, 80-83; Pinch 1993, 287-288.

priestesses in Tentyris and Philae.⁹⁷ Indeed, the goddess herself was addressed as “Lady of the Braided Locks and the Firm Bosom,” and “Daughter of Ra, the Mistress of Tresses and Breasts.”⁹⁸ The references to the goddess’ bosom recall her nurturing and suckling the crown prince, as depicted on the Ptolemaic *mammisis*.⁹⁹ In addition to this funerary association of hair locks, Hathor was in various ways connected to incense and unguents. For instance, the goddess herself was said to have “heaped up the oblations of those who are attached to her, consisting of natron and incense, in accordance with the word of the Great One [Osiris].”¹⁰⁰ Elsewhere, (the deceased identified as) Ihy, “he who bears her [*scil.*, Hathor’s] unguent jar, the perfect Ihy,”¹⁰¹ declared: “My putrefaction is myrrh ... my odor is incense ... my efflux is ointment.”¹⁰² As natron and myrrh were employed for embalming,¹⁰³ these spells indicate that Hathor could prevent the decay of the dead body. To sum up, the goddess’ funerary concerns were variously related with hair locks, bared breasts, incense and unguents, which all possessed magical powers to effect resurrection.

⁹⁷ Daumas 1968, 14-17; Staehelin 1978, 79; Nachtergaele 1981, 587.

⁹⁸ Staehelin 1978, 77; Nachtergaele 1981, 587; Posener 1986, 111-117; Pinch 1993, 216.

⁹⁹ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 6, p. 59, n. 146, ch. III, § 1, p. 95, n. 13.

¹⁰⁰ CT VII: 79d-h (trans. Faulkner 1973-78, III: 43).

¹⁰¹ CT VII: 447a (my trans.); Faulkner 1973-78, III: 163 n. 1 (“447a is most obscure”).

¹⁰² CT IV: 183b, d, f (my trans.).

¹⁰³ BD 163 (spell for preventing putrefying: “Drawn in dried myrrh mixed with wine, repeated with green stone of Upper Egypt and water from the well west of Egypt”; trans. Faulkner 1985, 158).



Not all deities with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified can be considered Wailing Goddesses grieving the loss of their beloved. Nonetheless, in the preceding chapter, I have argued that lamentation and/or funerary concerns did feature significantly in the worship of Aphrodite, Isis, Demeter and Hathor. We have once more seen the convergence of the *parhedroi* of the Great Goddesses, in that Aphrodite's lover Adonis and Cybele's beloved Attis, just as the consort of Ishtar-Inanna, Tammuz-Dumuzi, all suffered a violent death. Likewise, Isis' brother and spouse Osiris was murdered at the hand of Seth, the personification of Chaos, while Demeter's daughter Kore-Persephone was snatched off to the Underworld by the personification of Death, Hades. In the case of Hathor, her father the sun god Ra passed through the Abode of the Dead every night. In this basic respect, I think it is safe to conclude that the goddesses under question operated on the same mythic level – viz., they suffered the loss of their beloved. The important differences, of course should not be ignored, especially in terms of the deities respective relationships. While Adonis (like Attis, Tammuz or Dumuzi) was the youthful consort of Aphrodite (or the Great Goddesses associated with her), Osiris was Isis' brother and spouse. While Ra was related to Hathor as her father, consort, and son, Persephone was (significantly) the *daughter* of Demeter (hence not involved with her in a sexual relation).

It bears emphasizing that women figured prominently in the ceremonial weeping for dying deities. The lamentations of Inanna-Ishtar, Astarte-Aphrodite, Cybele, Isis and Demeter found expression in the ritual mourning of wailing women. The Dirge of Adonis and the Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, in fact, were incorporated in festivals honoring respectively Aphrodite and Osiris. Weeping may have been part of the Eleusian

Mysteries as well. Such religious ceremonies, furthermore, mimicked funerary rites of defacement that expressed a profound sense of bereavement. Such acts included the loosening, tearing and/or offering of hair locks, the loosening and/or renting of clothing, the beating, lacerating and/or baring of breasts, as well as the offering of perfume, incense, libations and various other funerary gifts. It is not insignificant that, *e.g.*, the loosening of hair, renting of clothes, tearing of veils, the baring of breasts or the burning of incense also had shameful and/or erotic connotations. The so-called “concubine of the dead” figurines also bear out this confluence of sexuality and funerary concerns in relation to Hathor, the mistress of the necropolis. In the case of the Adonia, myrrh played a central role in his worship, for in myth Myrrha gave birth to him and in cult incense and unguents were offered to him. Osiris’ resurrection in part was realized through his embalmment with myrrh and/or natron, while Isis’ perfumed tresses were believed to have magical power in funerary rituals of revitalization. The sweet-scented flowing hair of Demeter was worthy of the highest praise, while she employed ambrosial ointments in her aborted attempt to immortalize Demophoön. Lastly, Hathor was herself “Lady of the Braided Locks and the Firm Bosom,” and as guardian of the deceased she averted decomposition with incense and unguents. The symbolism of lamentation and/or interment, in short, played important role in the religious spheres of the four main goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified – *viz.*, Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis. It will become clear in the following chapters that the themes examined above figured significantly, too, in the cults of Ptolemaic queens.

II. RITUAL BEREAVEMENT

When Cleopatra Philopatris committed suicide and the Ptolemaic reign came to an end, she had constructed a tomb for herself near one of Alexandria's temples of Isis.¹ We also hear of mortuary shrines for Berenice I, Arsinoe II and even for the royal courtesan Bilistiche.² The tomb of Alexander the Great was a famous site for visitors to Alexandria well into the Roman era, and (as I have already mentioned) the Ptolemaic dynastic cult was associated with this monument.³ Octavian eventually granted Cleopatra's request to be interred beside Mark Antony in sumptuous, regal fashion. Unfortunately, the ancient sources remain silent about the particulars of the funerary customs accorded to the last Lagid Queen – although Plutarch does record that Cleopatra lacerated her breasts in grief at Antony's funeral and later poured her last libations at his tomb.⁴ In fact, there is admittedly scanty material to infer the ideological importance of lamentation within the Ptolemaic context in general.

(I.) I will begin this chapter with a brief review of Greek and Egyptian funerary customs, with particular attention to the role of women in mourning rituals. There is, to

¹ E.g., see: Plut. *Ant.* LXXIV, LXXVI-LXXIX, LXXXIV-LXXXV; Suet. *Aug.* XVII; Dio Cass. L.iii.5, LI.x.4, xv.5; *DGTE s.v.* 'Κλεοπάτρας μνηεῖον'; Fraser 1972, II: 33-34, n. 81; Whitehorne 1994, 186-196.

² E.g., see: Pliny *NH* XXXVI.67-69; Plut. *Amat.* IX (= *Mor.* 753E-F); Athen. V.202D; *DGTE s.v.* 'Ἀρσινόεϊον,' 'Βελεστίχης τάφος,' 'Βερενικεῖον'; Pfeiffer 1922, 19-22; Fraser 1972, II: 72-75, nn. 166-173.

³ *Supra* Pt. One, ch III, § 4, p. 107, nn. 66-68.

my knowledge, no surviving literary evidence describing the funerary role of Macedonian royal women, and what evidence does survive about Macedonian royal burials point to a deliberate attempt at imitating Greek customs. (2.) This review will then offer a framework in which to examine relevant passages on the Mendes stela and the Canopus decree regarding stipulations for the posthumous worship of Arsinoe II Philadelphus and of Berenice, the young daughter of Ptolemy III and Berenice II. This examination will bear out the nature of the public mourning ceremonies performed for these royal women throughout the country. (3.) From these historical documents, I will subsequently turn to poetic allusions to lamentation. Apart from Callimachus' *Apotheosis Arsinoes* and Crinagoras' epigram on Selene's death, I propose examining more elusive expressions of grief in the *Adoniazusae* and *Coma Berenices*. For I contend that this poetic interest in mourning at the Lagid court cannot be coincidental. (4.) Finally, I will consider artistic representations of funerary rituals in the third section. In addition to temple-scenes depicting members of the royal house worshipping their ancestors, I will argue that an alabaster perfume flask portrays a Ptolemaic queen in the guise of grieving Isis. Despite its scarcity, the evidence involves several generations of Ptolemaic queens, often in relation to their cultic worship, so that I am confident that mourning was imbued with meaning beyond the sheer funerary concern of grieving the dead. Subsequently, I will again be able to address the ideology and symbolism of ritual lament for the Lagid dynasty in general and for Ptolemaic queenship in particular.

⁴ Plut. *Ant.* LXXXII.1, LXXXIV.2 (= *Vit.* 953C-D, 954B-C).

1. Greek and Egyptian Funerary Rites

So as to better contextualize Ptolemaic ceremonies of mourning, it may prove beneficial to briefly examine the funerary customs of ancient Greece and Egypt. As the scope of this dissertation does not allow for an in-depth analysis, I will rely on the works of scholars in the field, and focus my attention on the funerary responsibilities of women and particularly on the importance of ritual lament. In addition to Macedonian royal funerals, I will also allude to the impressive mortuary ceremony organized by the Hecatomnid dynast Artemisia for her deceased brother-husband Mausolus. While not ignoring the dissimilarities in the funerary customs of ancient Greece and Egypt, this brief outline will nevertheless point to the pivotal role of wailing women in ancient society.

The ancient Greek funeral (*kêdeia*) has been described as a “three-act drama,” comprising the wake or laying-in-state (*prothesis*), the procession (*ekphora*) and the deposition.⁵ Its precise procedures are not of immediate concern here and are easily available elsewhere.⁶ Instead, it is more important to describe the ritualized lament and particularly the general role of women in funerary rites.⁷ The first responsibility of the deceased’s kinswomen, maybe related to the general nursing and caring roles of women

⁵ Garland 1985, 21.

⁶ *E.g.*, see: Kurtz and Boardman 1971; Vermeule 1979; Garland 1985; Morris 1987; Holst-Warhaft 1992.

⁷ For the following discussion, esp. see: Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 142-161; Alexiou 1974, 4-23; Vermeule 1979, 13-15; Garland 1985, 23-36; Morris 1987, 46-52; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 103-108; Blundell 1995, 72-73, 162-163; Sultan 1999, esp. 33-41 [kindly brought to my attention by Donna Wilson]; Dillon 2002, 268-292; Iwersen 2002, 144-161.

in society, was the washing and anointing of the dead body.⁸ At the wake, mourners are commonly depicted standing, sitting or kneeling around the bier in two conventional gestures – viz., the tearing of the hair (called “*tillesthai*,” considered a female attitude) or the beating of the head (“*koptesthai*,” a male attitude).⁹ Margaret Alexiou has pointed out that “the violent tearing of the hair, face and clothes were not acts of uncontrolled grief, but part of the ritual indispensable to lamentation throughout antiquity.”¹⁰ Women tend to stand closer to the head of the bier, with the chief mourner (the mother or wife) clasping the deceased’s head, while men are rarely shown close to the body.¹¹ Funerary legislation prohibiting women to lacerate their flesh had the effect (if not intention) of reducing the emotional intensity of the ceremony from the late-Archaic period onwards.¹² The chief purpose of the wake was the expression of grief for the loss of the beloved, and women played the central role in this mourning process through the performance of songs of lament.¹³ To be true, men, too, expressed their grief, perhaps as openly as women, but they did not lead the mourning.¹⁴ However, in the *cortège*, the men headed the

⁸ E.g., see: Hom. *Il.* XVIII.343-355, XIX.212; Soph. *Aj.* 1404; *El.* 1138-1142; Eur. *Phoen.* 1667; Pl. *Phd.* 115a; Iwersen 2002, 146.

⁹ E.g., see: Aesch. *Cho.* 22-31, 423-428; *Pers.* 1054-1065; Soph. *El.* 89-91; Eur. *Hel.* 374 and 1089; *Suppl.* 51, 71, 826, 1160; *Tro.* 279-280 and 1235; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, figs. 4-5, 11-13, 33; Alexiou 1974, 6; Garland 1985, 141 and fig. 6; Sultan 1999, 37; Dillon 2002, 275-288, and figs. 9.1, 3-5.

¹⁰ Alexiou 1974, 6.

¹¹ Hom. *Il.* XVIII.71; Vermeule 1979, 15; Garland 1985, fig. 7; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 103-104.

¹² For such funerary legislation, see: Kurtz and Boardman 1971, esp. 200-202; Alexiou 1974, 14-23; Garland 1985, 21-22 and 137 (with sources); Holst-Warhaft 1992, 99-120; Iwersen 2002, 148-149.

¹³ Hom. *Od.* XI.72-73; Aesch. *Ag.* 1541; *Cho.* 429; Holst-Warhaft 1992, esp. 20-29.

¹⁴ Holst-Warhaft 1992, 25-26; 105-108; Iwersen 2002, 150-151.

procession and women were expected to follow.¹⁵ Before the restrictions of funerary legislation, it seems that women also wailed during the procession to the cemetery, attracting much public attention.¹⁶ In the Classical period the *cortège* moved under the accompaniment of flute music, while mourners gestured their grief and wept in silence.¹⁷ Finally, having arrived at the cemetery, offerings of sacrificial animals, baskets of food, locks of hair, libations of wine, oils and perfumes, and gifts such as tomb vases were made at the grave, and female relatives of the deceased again sung lamentations.¹⁸ Different types of funeral dirges can be distinguished of which the *goös* was a more personal and improvised lament performed by a kinswoman of the deceased, and the *thrénos* a more formal lament performed (mostly at the grave) by a hired female singer with participation of the deceased's kinswomen.¹⁹ In ancient Greece, women thus performed an indispensable role in the care of the dead, no less then in giving life.

This brief outline of ancient Greek women's roles in funerary customs, it should be stressed, does not concern royal mortuary rituals. As, for instance, Homer's descriptions of the funeral of Patroclus and Achilles bear out, the ceremonies for deceased *basileis* were on a far grander scale than non-royal funerals.²⁰ Macedonian

¹⁵ Plut. *Sol.* XXI.4; Garland 1985, figs. 8-9; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 103.

¹⁶ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, figs. 5, 16; Garland 1985, figs. 8-9; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 104.

¹⁷ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, fig. 34-35; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 103.

¹⁸ Aes. *Cho.* 6-7, 129-131, 149-151; Soph. *El.* 51-53. 448-458; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 100-102, 203-213; for locks of hair, *supra* Pt. Three, § 1, p. 280, nn. 31-32, § 2, p. 283, nn. 47-50, § 4, p. 292, nn. 93-95, and *infra* Pt. Three, ch. IV, § 1, p. 355, n. 1.

¹⁹ Hom. *Il.* VI.499-500, XVIII.51, 316-317, XXII.430, 476, XXIII.10, XXIV, 665, 720-721, 747, 761; Aesch. *Cho.* 733; Eur. *Hel.* 166-168; *Suppl.* 82-84; *HF* 1025-1027; Alexiou 1974, 10-14 and 102-108; Vermeule 1979, 17; Garland 1985, 142; Sultan 1999, 33-41; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 111, 131, 144-147.

²⁰ Hom. *Il.* XXIII; *Od.* XXIV.39-92; Morris 1987, 46; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 105-114.

culture, before the reign of Philip II, has been described more closely resembling that depicted in Epic than the contemporary Greek world.²¹ However, the extravagant funerary ceremony organized by Alexander the Great upon the death of Hephaestion should be understood as a deliberate attempt at mimicking Patroclus' funeral – and thus says little of Macedonian royal funerals.²² Nevertheless, the literary evidence does not attribute any significant role to women at Hephaestion's funeral.²³ Unfortunately, little or no literary evidence has survived to examine the Argead funerary practices before Philip and Alexander, so that historians have to refer mostly to the findings of archaeological excavations at the royal tombs in modern Vergina.²⁴ These royal tombs tend to confirm the Argeads' philhellenism in that they seem to deliberately imitate Greek art and customs, without actually conforming to Greek practice. Whatever the case may be, archaeological evidence cannot reveal the role of women (royal or otherwise) in mourning rites.

As the Hecatomnid dynasts of Caria have been said to presage the Diadochs in Hellenistic patronage, it may be appropriate to briefly consider the funerary ceremony organized by Artemisia upon the death of her husband and full brother Mausolus (r. 377/6-353/2 BCE).²⁵ Literary evidence going back to Theopompus (378/8-320/19 BCE)

²¹ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 277; Kottaridi 2002, 77; Pandermalis (ed.) 2004, *pass.*

²² Diod. XVII.115; Plut. *Alex.* LXXII; Arr. *Anab.* VII.xiv; Just. *Ept.* XII.xii; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 258, 304-306; Bosworth 1988, 163-164; Kottaridi 2002, 80-81;

²³ I am unaware that any historian has made this observation.

²⁴ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 277-282; Kottaridi 2002, 77-81 and n. 19 (with lit.); *ead.* 2004 (whose understanding of the queens' sacerdotal roles seems unsubstantiated); Lilibaki-Akamati 2004, 91. [Recent lit. kindly brought to my attention by Elizabeth Carney.]

²⁵ Simon Hornblower (1982, 333, n 6) points to the tyrants of Sicily, kings of Macedon and dynasts of Caria as precursors of Hellenistic patronage; Stephen Ruzicka (1992, 103) suggests that Artemisia was

suggests that her grief was so keen that she died of sorrow just two years after the death of Mausolus.²⁶ She dedicated the famous Mausoleum, the mortuary monument (then still incomplete) that became reckoned among the Seven Wonders of the World.²⁷ On the occasion, Artemisia not only organized sumptuous sacrifices on Mausolus' grave, but had also invited eminent Greek orators to deliver rhetorical eulogies for Mausolus in an epitaphic literary contest.²⁸ What, for the present purpose, stands out (and too little has been made about) is that it was Artemisia who took upon herself the public role of providing for the lavish commemoration of Mausolus' death - and not (one of) her brother(s) Idrieus and/or Pixodarus. Of interest, too, here is that Carian women were renowned throughout the Greek world as hired dirge singers.²⁹ In short, Artemisia's public expression of grief and provision of large-scale funerary ceremonies might be considered a precedent for the royal women of the Lagid dynasty.

Ancient Egyptian funerary practices are well attested because of the nature and preservation of the evidence.³⁰ Once more, I will not have the leeway to analyze such practices at length, but will rather focus on the role of women and the importance of lamentation. The first important difference with Greek customs to observe is not so much

inspired by the funeral celebrations organized for King Evagoras I of Cyprian Salamis (in 365 BCE), but also resembled those held in honor of the heroized Miltiades, Brasidas and Timoleon. [I wish to thank Elizabeth Carney drawing my attention to Artemisia's role in Mausolus' funeral, and for sending me an off-print copy of her article on "Women and *Dynasteia* in Caria" (Carney 2005).]

²⁶ Theopomp. *FGrH* I: 115 F 297; Gell. *NA* X.xviii.3; Hornblower 1982, 238; Carney 2005, 66.

²⁷ Strabo XIV.ii.16 (656); Pliny *NH*. XXXVI.30; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 285-286; Hornblower 1982, esp. 237-239; Ruzicka 1992, 102.

²⁸ Hornblower 1982, 257, 259-260, 333-335; Ruzicka 1992, 100, 102-103; Carney 2005, 66.

²⁹ E.g., see: ad loc. Pl. *Leg.* 800e; Σ ad loc.; Hesych. s.v. 'Καρίναι'; Alexio 1974, 10; Dillon 2002, 269; Carney 2005, 66 n. 14.

³⁰ For the following discussion, esp. see: *RÄRG* s.v. 'Beisetzung,' and 'Mumifizierung' (with earlier lit.); Kees 1956; Milde 1994; Hawass 1993, 184-199; Assmann 2000; *id.* 2001 ≈ 2005; Grajetzki 2003

that Egyptians practiced mummification, but the fact that this process was entirely overseen by male professionals, rather than female relatives.³¹ While the myth of Osiris relates that Isis and Nephthys were present during the god's embalming, it seems that mourning ceremonies took place outside. According to both Herodotus and Diodorus, the relatives of the deceased perambulate the town.³² During the funerary *cortège*, two (hired) Wailing Women, taking the place of Isis and Nephthys, accompanied the bier to the grave, while the widow might attend the sarcophagus on the drawn funeral barque, and female relatives took active part in the ceremonial lament.³³ Representations of the wake, procession and interment depict women in gestures of unrestrained grief, loosening their hair, tearing their (dark-) blue mourning garments, baring their bared breasts, beating their head, rubbing dust in their hair, and performing a funerary dance on the grave.³⁴ Men were certainly present during the mourning rites, and doubtless wept and grieved, though in more quiet attitude; they also partook in the dance.³⁵ Before the final interment, priests (ideally lead by the deceased's heir) purified the site with incense, recited spells, brought libations of milk and made offerings. As is to be expected, royal funerals were of a much more lavish scale, and interment took place in grand mortuary monuments (pyramids or mastabas, shrines or chapels, *etc.*). It remains difficult to

esp. 123-126 (Ptolemaic period) and 151-154 (lit.); Ikram 2003, esp. 183-201.

³¹ For mummification, *e.g.*, see: Hdt. II.85-88; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Mumifizierung'; Lloyd 1975-88, II: 353-365; Raven 1993; Hawass 1995, 187-188; Janot 2000; Ikram 2003, 47-76; Assmann 2005, esp. 31-33.

³² Hdt. II.85; Diod. I.72, 91; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Beisetzung,' 95 (right); A. Burton 1972, 211-212, 261-267; Lloyd 1975-88, II: 351-353; Hawass 1995, 188-189; Assmann 2005, esp. 113-118.

³³ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Beisetzung,' fig. 30, and 'Klageweib,' 378 (left bottom); Milde 1994, 18 and fig. 2a; Hawass 1995, 188-189; Ikram 2003, 183-184; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 2, p. 284, n. 54.

³⁴ *E.g.*, see: *Pyr.* 1282; Hdt. II.85; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Beisetzung,' fig. 31; Hawass 1995, 188-189 (with ill.); Ikram 2003, 184-185 (with ill.); *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 2, p. 283, n. 45.

determine to what extent the role of royal women during the funeral proceedings corresponds to that of non-royal funerals.³⁶ While in Classical Greece the burial took place as soon as possible after death (on the third day according to Laws of Solon), in ancient Egypt the eventual interment of a member of the royal house could occur as much as several months after death due to the mummification of the body, lengthy mortuary ceremonies and the erection of a funerary monument. To be sure, this generalized description of the role of women in Egyptian mourning rites mostly ignores aspects such as wealth and status, as well as changes over time; however, what is noteworthy is the principal responsibility of ritualized mourning the deceased.

While the intricacies of embalming and mummification required the labor of male professionals, in ancient Greece female relative had the responsibility of caring for the body of the dead. While in ancient Greece priests were absent during the funeral, Egyptian afterlife beliefs required the presence of various priests to perform elaborate rituals. Apart from these dissimilarities, though, what should be emphasized is the central role women performed in the grieving process evidently throughout much of the eastern Mediterranean. Not only did they express their sorrow through ritualized (because conventional) gestures of mourning - which confirm the observations made in the previous chapter - but they also were responsible for the delivery of both improvised and formal dirges during the wake, the procession and the interment. With this contextual framework in mind, we can now turn our attention to the Lagid dynasty.

³⁵ E.g., see: Hdt. II.85; Lloyd 1975-88, II: 351-353; Milde 1994, 18.

³⁶ From the consulted lit., I found it difficult to differentiate royal and non-royal funerary practices; despite its promising title, *Burial Customs in Ancient Egypt: Life in Death for Rich and Poor*, Grajetzki (2003) does not address mourning, lamentation, or the general role of women (none of these terms appear in the index).

2. Ptolemaic Ceremonial Mourning

While there is no shortage of evidence documenting the worship of Ptolemaic queens, few sources actually provide information about the particulars of their cults. Historical records of the ceremonies performed on the occasion of the queens' death are fewer still and have not, to my knowledge, been independently examined.³⁷ In fact, we rely almost exclusively on the Mendes stela and the Canopus decree for a sketch of such ceremonial mourning. The inscriptions illustrate that traditional funerary rites were performed for female members of the royal house, modeled after or similar to those of Osiris, Apis and Mnevis. As the inscriptions were set up by Egyptian priests, the Egyptian character of the rituals need not by itself surprise us. Nor should we imagine, in the absence of literary evidence, that Ptolemaic queens were not mourned according to Graeco-Macedonian customs as well (in fact the *Apotheosis Arsinoes*, about which below, attests to that). However, both the Mendes stela and the Canopus decree show that festivals were instituted for Arsinoe II and Berenice (the prematurely deceased daughter of Ptolemy III) in all the chief temples throughout the country that were intended to be held on regular occasions. The scope and nature of these ceremonies, therefore, deserve particular notice. The inscriptions, moreover, leave the distinct impression that such mourning ceremonies were generally performed for deceased members of the royal house.

An invaluable passage on the Mendes stela offers a glimpse of Arsinoe's

³⁷ While ancient Greek, Roman and Egyptian funerary rites can be examined in detail from literary (and other) evidence, as seen above, the lack of written sources for Macedonian customs makes it impossible to determine their nature beyond the information gathered from archaeological excavations, especially at mod. Vergina.

apotheosis.³⁸ For it records that in the fifteenth regnal year of Ptolemy II (268 BCE),³⁹ in the first month of harvest season (Pachons), Arsinoe ascended into heaven as a living *ba* (human soul), where (according to Kurt Sethe's emendation) she reunited with Khnum, the creator of her beauty.⁴⁰ Priests performed the time-honored Egyptian four-day ritual of the Mouth-Opening, in which the embalmed body was prepared to receive the divine breath that would immortalize her.⁴¹ On a statue socle (now in Alexandria), Amun declares that he gave Arsinoe the "breath of life (*thau en anch*)" so as to revive her soul (*anch ba*) and rejuvenate her body (*renepy djet*) "eternally (*djet*)."⁴² Traditionally, the Mouth-Opening ritual included lamentations and concluded with a funerary meal. Subsequently, a festival was held at Mendes in which Arsinoe's cult statue was carried in procession on a sacred barque among those of the local gods, accompanied by tambourine-songs, "as is done for the souls of all gods and goddesses since the First Time until this day."⁴³ As we hear elsewhere that Egyptian funerary rites included dirges accompanied by the tambourine, we may assume that the festival for Arsinoe did contain a mourning aspect to commemorate her earthly passing.⁴⁴ Furthermore, the Queen's

³⁸ For the Mendes stela, see: *I. Cair.* 22181; *Urk.* II(1): no. 13, pp. 28-54; Kamal 1904-05, I: 159-168; II: pls. 54-55; Roeder 1959-61, I: 168-188, fig. 26; De Meulenaere and MacKay 1976, 205-206, no. 111.

³⁹ Grzybek 1990, 103-114.

⁴⁰ *Urk.* II: 40 ll. 11-12 (*hsbt 15 jbd 1 šmw ntr.t tn prꜥs r pt hnmꜥs hꜥw n [kmꜥ nfrwꜥs Hnm] ... prꜥs m ꜥnh-bꜥ*); Roeder 1959-61, I: 181-182; Sauneron 1960, 96.

⁴¹ *Urk.* II: 40 l. 12 (*ir m-ht wp-r n ntr.t tn r hrw fdw*); cf. *RÄRG* s.v. 'Mundöffnung'.

⁴² AGRM no. 11261, l. 28; Sauneron 1960, 91 ("Je te [donne] le souffle de la vie issu de ma narine, afin de redonner vie à ton âme, et de rendre la jeunesse à ton corps, éternellement"), pl. 10.

⁴³ *Urk.* II: 40 l. 12 (*hr iri hꜥbꜥs hr ꜥ ꜥnh bꜥꜥs ...*): *mi iri n bꜥ.w n ntr.w ntr.tw nb dr sp-tp(i) r mn mi n ꜥw*.

⁴⁴ E.g., see: Hdt. II.85; Diod. I.91; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Klageweib,' 378; Roeder 1959-61, I: 169; *supra*

statue “was sprinkled with myrrh, flowers and libations every tenth day.”⁴⁵ This last phrase (lit. “each day ten”) may be variously interpreted to mean every tenth day of the first harvest month (Pachons), every tenth day of each month, or every ten days (*i.e.*, every Egyptian week).⁴⁶ The inscription, moreover, makes explicit that the priests recognized the divinity of Arsinoe’s soul, “on account of her benefactions (*menchu*) toward all the people.”⁴⁷ Finally, the stela mentions that Ptolemy II commanded that Arsinoe’s golden images be set up in all temples of every nome.⁴⁸ Arsinoe thus became *synnaos theos* of the chief deities throughout the country.⁴⁹ In short, the Mendes stela records details of a mourning ceremony in remembrance of the Ascension of Arsinoe.⁵⁰

The Canopus decree provides a more elaborate description of posthumous worship of another female member of the Lagid house.⁵¹ For while the priests of Egypt assembled at their annual synod in the ninth regnal year of Ptolemy III (238 BCE), the daughter of Ptolemy III and Berenice II, also called Berenice, “suddenly entered into heaven.”⁵² The priests therefore requested to pay “everlasting honors in all the temples

Pt. Three, § 1, p. 303, n. 33.

⁴⁵ *Urk.* II: 41 l. 13.

⁴⁶ Grzybek 1990, 107-108.

⁴⁷ *Urk.* II: 41 l. 13 (*hr bꜣs šw.š ntrw*): *hr mnḥ.w=s hr hr rmt nb*.

⁴⁸ *Urk.* II: 41 ll. 13-14 (*wḏ.n ḥm=f r šꜥḥ ššmw=s m ḥw.t-ntr nb ... nbi(.w) ḥm.w=s m špꜣ.t*); cf. AGRM no. 11261, l. 25; Sauneron 1960, 90.

⁴⁹ Quaegebeur 1971, 242-243.

⁵⁰ With “Ascension” I here mean the belief in the ascent to the abode of the gods in heaven.

⁵¹ *I. Cair.* 22186-187; *Urk.* II(2): no. 30, pp. 124-154; *OGIS* 56; Kamal 1904-05, I: 182-183; II: pl. 59; Sauneron 1960, 97-98; Dunand 1980, 287-301; Köthen-Welpot 1996; Minas 2000, 103-106.

⁵² *Urk.* II: 142 l. 24: *ḡ.s r pt m šḥn*; *OGIS* 56 l. 48: ἐξαίφνης μετελθεῖν εἰς τὸν ἀέναον κόσμον. [The Gk ἀέναιος κόσμος (“everlasting firmament”) translates the Eg. *pet* (“sky”) and thus refers to heaven]

throughout the country” to the departed princess (Gk. “*basilissa*”; Eg. “*heqat*”).⁵³ They performed all the customary funerary ceremonies, as was done for Apis and Mnevis, as well as the necessary rites for her divinization (“*ektheosis*”), and convinced the King and Queen to lay their daughter to rest with Osiris in the temple at Canopus.⁵⁴ Afterwards, the priests instituted an annual festival, for four days from the seventeenth of the first month of the sprouting season (Tybi 17-20), to commemorate her deification (“*apotheosis*”) in all the temples of the country with mourning ceremonies, a circumnavigation on the sacred lake, and a procession in which priests carried her golden image inlaid with precious stones.⁵⁵ The decree, moreover, observed that the young Berenice ascended into the company of the gods on the first day of Tybi,⁵⁶ at the time when the Egyptians celebrated the reunion of Ra and his Solar Eye.⁵⁷ They thus identified the princess with Hathor (-Tefnut), the “Eye of Ra” and “Crown on His Brow.”⁵⁸ The priests, furthermore, stipulated that henceforth during the Cicellia festival

as the abode of the gods.]

⁵³ *Urk.* II: 145 l. 27: *md(.t)phtj n dt ... m mꜣw nw Tꜣ-mr.t iw ꜣw=sn*; *OGIS* 56 ll. 54-55: τιμὰς ἀΐδιους ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱεροῖς.

⁵⁴ *Urk.* II: 143-144 ll. 24-26 (*iri.snw pr.t ꜣ.t hr-ꜣ ... iw.sn hr nhw m-bih nswt hꜣ hꜣꜣ.t hr rdi m ib=sn r rdi htp ntr.t tn hꜣ Wsir m hwt-ntr n Pgwt.t ... ht-nb twt n iri.t dr iri ns ntr.t hr swꜣb snm=s iri.sn*); *OGIS* 56 ll. 49-50 (μέγα μὲν πένθος ... εὐθέως συνετέλεσαν, ἀξιώσαντες δὲ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν ἔπεισαν καθιδρῦσαι τὴν θεὰν τοῦ Ὀσίριος ἐν τῷ ἐν Κανώπῳ ἱερῷ), 53 (τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐκθέωσιν αὐτῆς νόμιμα καὶ τὴν τοῦ πένθους ἀπόλυσιν ἀπέδωκαν).

⁵⁵ *Urk.* II: 146-147 ll. 28-30; *OGIS* 56 ll. 56-60.

⁵⁶ The date is specified only in the Demotic version (l. 55: *tpi ni pr.t*), not in the Hieroglyphic or Greek versions.

⁵⁷ *Urk.* II: 145 ll. 27-28; *OGIS* 56 l. 55; cf. *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Sonnenauge’; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. I, § 2, p. 168, n. 33.

⁵⁸ *Urk.* II: 146 l. 28: *irt-Rꜣ Mhnt m hꜣt=f*; *OGIS* 56 ll. 55-56 (ὅτε μὲν βασιλείαν ὅτε δὲ ὄρασιν αὐτοῦ); Dunand 1980, 290-293; Koenen 1993, 28, n. 8; Köthen-Welpot 1996, 129-132 (arguing for an assimilation with Isis, rather than Hathor-Tefnut); *supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 4, p. 143, n. 138.

in the last month of the inundation season (Khoiak 29), preceding the procession of Osiris on his sacred barque, the female members of the priestly families offer sacrifices to Berenice, under the title “Mistress of Virgins.”⁵⁹ At the festival, too, women sung hymns of praise (composed by the hierogrammatists) in remembrance of her departing, and after each harvest first-fruits of grain were offered in her sanctuary.⁶⁰ (As the Egyptian calendar had fallen far behind its original association with the seasons, princess Berenice actually passed away shortly before the onset of the harvest season.)⁶¹ As the Cicellia commemorated Isis’ searching for Osiris,⁶² the association with the worship of Berenice doubtless rests upon the mournful element. Thus, the Canopus decree attests to the lamentations performed for Berenice Parthenus.

Consequently, the Mendes stela and the Canopus decree reveal that Egyptian priests mourned the deaths of both Arsinoe Philadelphus and Berenice Parthenus with traditional funerary rites that accord with the brief outline provided in the previous section. The thoroughly Egyptian nature of these ceremonies deserves particular notice. Arsinoe as well as Berenice were embalmed in keeping with Egyptian customs – the former was explicitly accorded the Mouth-Opening ritual; the latter was laid to rest in the Osireum at Canopus. Regular festivals were established for both royal women, consisting of sacrifices, processions, lamentations and/or other songs (the Mendes stela mentions tambourine-songs; the Canopus decree hymns of praise). During the proceedings, their

⁵⁹ *Urk.* II: 148 l. 31 (*ḥnw.t rnn.tw*), 149 l. 32 (*nb.t rnn.tw*); *OGIS* 56 ll. 64-65 (ἀνάσσης παρθένων).

⁶⁰ *Urk.* II: 149-151 ll. 32-34; *OGIS* 56 ll. 66, 68-69.

⁶¹ She passed away on 1 Tybi = 20 Dios = 19 February, 238 B.C.E.; the Berenicea festival fell on 17-20 Tybi = 7-10 Apellaios = 7-10 March; the harvest season corresponds to mid-March through mid-July.

⁶² In the Demotic version (l. 66) the Cicellia are called “Isis rites (*kt*).”

golden cult statues were carried on a sacred barque. The inscriptions explicitly state that the mourning ceremonies were modeled after the traditional cults of the Egyptian gods. The Canopus decree elucidates that Berenice received funerary rites customarily performed for Apis and Mnevis, and that rites were performed for her during the Cicellia. The dates of the festivals are reckoned on the Egyptian calendar (even in the Greek version of the Canopus decree): Pachons (June/July) for Arsinoe, Khoiak and Tybi (February-March) for Berenice.⁶³ The latter was, moreover, identified with Hathor in the guise of the Solar Eye, because her Ascension coincided with the reunion of Ra and his daughter. Divine images were set up for Arsinoe and Berenice throughout the country, rendering them temple-sharing deities with the chief local gods of Egypt. (Incidentally, to emphasize the poor state of our evidence, none of young Berenice's statues have survived – nor have any of the hymns mentioned in the inscription.) Early in the Ptolemaic period, evidently, customary Egyptian mourning ceremonies were regularly performed to commemorate the apotheosis of female members of the royal house.

3. Poetic Allusions to Lament

The sparse historical evidence for the performance of ritual lament in the cult of Lagid women, fortunately, can be supplemented with testimony from Alexandrian poetry. Of foremost importance, here, is the lacunose fragment of Callimachus' lyrical poem on the apotheosis of Arsinoe II, which will indeed provide additional details regarding the Queen's mourning ceremonies. In addition to poetry directly occasioned by a queen's

⁶³ Conversely, the dates of the synod are reckoned on the Macedonian calendar (even in the Egyptian versions): Dios and Apellaios.

death, there are noteworthy allusions to mourning or grief in works by Theocritus and Callimachus. For the focus of the *Adoniazusae* is the Dirge for Adonis, while the *Coma Berenices* presents expressions of grief from various perspectives. Ptolemy IV, incidentally, composed a tragedy entitled *Adonis*,⁶⁴ which – though regrettably untransmitted – further attests to the importance of lamentation at the Ptolemaic palace. In my view, it is no mere accident that poets active at the Ptolemaic palace paid attention to this theme. What I will show in the following analysis is that apotheosis at the Alexandrian court was accompanied by mourning.

On the occasion of the Queen's death (270/68 BCE), Callimachus wrote the remarkably innovative *Apotheosis Arsinoes* of which only a fragment has survived.⁶⁵ The poet poignantly portrayed the distress of deified Philotera, Arsinoe's deceased sister, as she observes from the hills of Lemnos the smoke of burning fires blowing from the south.⁶⁶ Having arrived from Sicilian Enna, where she had visited Demeter, she asks Hephaestus' wife Charis, "Who has died? Which of the cities is kindling holocausts?"⁶⁷ The graceful goddess explains that the smoke comes from Alexandria and that the whole country is filled with intense lamentations.⁶⁸ As if in one voice, the people cry: "Our

⁶⁴ Σ Ar. *Thesm.* 1059; Fraser 1972, I: 198, 311, 620-621, II: 333 n. 63.

⁶⁵ Callim. *Apoth. Ars.* (F 228); *Dieg.* X.10 (giving title 'Εκθέωσις Ἀρσινόης); Macurdy 1932, 127-128; Trypanis 1989, 165-169.

⁶⁶ Callim. *Apoth. Ars.* (F 228) 43-46; for Philotera, see: *OGIS* 35; *RE* s.v. 'Philotera,' XX(1): 1285-1294; Pfeiffer 1922, 14-37; Macurdy 1932, 127-128.

⁶⁷ Callim. *Apoth. Ars.* (F 228) 49: τίς ἀπώλετο, τίς πολίων ὀλόκαυτος α[ῖθει].

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 56-65, and 7 (ἄτενεῖς ὀδυρμοί).

Queen has departed!”⁶⁹ Indeed, Charis tells her, they weep and wail because Philotera’s only sister has flown away and everywhere the cities of earth have put on dark mourning clothes.⁷⁰ As a sign of his overflowing grief, Arsinoe’s “Grand Spouse,” furthermore, had ordained the population to kindle funeral fires “for his consort” on altars from the Pharos to Thebes.⁷¹ From the *Diegesis* we learn, moreover, that Callimachus referred to the precinct and altar that Ptolemy II erected in Arsinoe’s honor near the harbor.⁷² In addition to lamenting the Queen’s death, however, Callimachus also recounted Arsinoe’s Ascension into the heavens. After a regrettably lacunose invocation that mentions Apollo, the poet addressed his Queen as she passes beyond the moon to her place beneath the constellation of the Starry Wain (the Great Bear).⁷³ The *Diegesis* adds that Arsinoe “was snatched away by the Dioscuri,”⁷⁴ just as Castor and Pollux had carried off their sister Helen.⁷⁵ Hellenistic lamps and Roman coins, incidentally, depicted Selene or Isis likewise borne by the Twins.⁷⁶ Besides, the Alexandrian Lighthouse on the Pharos was

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 8-9: μία τοῦτο φωνά ... ἀμετέρα βασιλεία φρούδα.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 70, 73-75 (θρῆνοι πόλιν ὑμετέραν ... ἰ τάν τοι μίαν οἰχομ[ένα]ν ὁμάδελον [αὐτάν] ἰ κλαίοντι· τὰ δ’ ἄ [κεν] ἴδης, μέλαν [ἀμφίεσται] ἰ χθονὸς ἄστεα).

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 12-16: χύδαν ἐδίδασκε λύπα ἰ [...] μέγας γαμέτας ὁμύνω ἰ [...] πρόθεσιν πύρ’ αἶθιν ἰ ... [Θέτ]ιδος τὰ πέραια βωμῶν ἰ [...] Θήβα.

⁷² *Dieg.* X.10 ll. 3-4 (βωμὸν καὶ τέμενος αὐτῆς καθιδρῦσθαι τῷ Ἐμπορίῳ); cf. Strabo XVII.i.9 (794); Pliny *NH* XXXVI.68; Koenen 1993, 111.

⁷³ Callim. *Apoth. Ars.* (F 228) 5-6 (νύμφα, σὺ μὲν ἄστεριαν ὑπ’ ἄμαξαν ἤδη ἰ [...] κλεπτομέν)α παρέθει σελάνῳ).

⁷⁴ *Dieg.* X.10 ll. 2-3: ἀνηρπάσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων; for the Dioscuri, see: *RE* s.v. ‘Dioskuri,’ V(1): 1097-1123; Visser 1938, 17-20; Burkert 1985, 212-213.

⁷⁵ Eur. *Hel.* 1662-1669; Cameron 1995, 433-434.

⁷⁶ D. B. Thompson 1973, 66-67.

dedicated to these Savior Gods as guardians of seafaring folk.⁷⁷ Callimachus' lyrical poem, in other words, complements the above-mentioned passage of the Mendes stela. For it affirms that throughout Egypt the population paid respect to Arsinoe Philadelphus with mourning ceremonies including lamentations and offerings, while adulating the apotheosis of their deified Queen.

While only Callimachus' *Apotheosis Arsinoes* deals with the mourning ceremonies accompanying the decease of a Ptolemaic queen, two other poems were remarkably involved with the motif of lament – be it in more elusive fashion. The *raison d'être* for Theocritus' *Adoniasusae* was, of course, the Dirge for Adonis.⁷⁸ Through the eyes of two Alexandrian women of Syracusean descent, the poet recounts the Adonia festival that Queen Arsinoe II put on display “in rich Ptolemy's palace.”⁷⁹ There, they listen to an Argive woman's daughter, “who last year, too, excelled in the dirge (*ialemos*),” perform the *Adonis* hymn.⁸⁰ We may safely assume, with Koenen and others, that this dirge was no mere poetic conceit, imitating hymns of bygone times, but was indeed presented during such a religious ceremony at the royal court.⁸¹ After invoking Aphrodite and reciting the riches of the Adonis tableau in the palace, the singer bids farewell to the goddess and her lover, and anticipates the ritual lament of the subsequent

⁷⁷ Cf. *Hymn. Hom.* XXXIII; Theoc. *Id.* XXII.1-26; *RE* s.v. ‘Pharos,’ no. 1, XIX(2): 1857-1859; Visser 1938, 17-18, 83-84; Fraser 1972, I: 18-20, 207, II: 52, nn. 117-118; Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 83-87; W. M. Ellis 1994, 57-58; Bernand 1996, 85-90; Empereur 1998, 63-88.

⁷⁸ Theoc. *Id.* XV; Glotz 1920, 169-222; Gow 1950, II: 262-304; Rist 1978, 132-142; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 107-109, 116-128.

⁷⁹ Theoc. *Id.* XV.22-23.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 96-98.

⁸¹ Glotz 1920, 171-173; Koenen 1977, esp. 79-86; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 65-67; Cameron 1995, 30, 55-56; cf. Schwinge 1986, 56-59 (“absolute Künstlichkeit”); for Greek hymns, e.g. see: Bremmer 1981,

day:

At morn, with the dew, together shall we bear him
out to where the waves splatter upon the shore,
loosed hair and raiment let fall to the ankles,
breast revealed, we shall begin the shrill song.⁸²

Following an encomium for Adonis, the singer then concludes with a formal hymnic complimentary close.⁸³ In the course of the idyll, Theocritus furthermore praised Ptolemy Soter for his beneficence, before he joined the immortals (“*athanatoi*”), as well as Aphrodite for immortalizing Berenice I.⁸⁴ He likened Arsinoe II to Helen, who he commends as patroness of art elsewhere.⁸⁵ We will see below how the poet additionally insinuated an assimilation of Arsinoe II with Aphrodite and of Ptolemy II with Adonis. The implication would then be that, like the Dirge for Adonis, ritual lament precedes the final stage of deification, *i.e.*, ascension.

Although the inspiration for Callimachus’ *Coma Berenices* ostensibly was Canon’s discovery of the Queen’s lock among the stars, the theme of lamentation runs throughout the poem. After narrating the circumstances of his Queen’s marriage to Ptolemy III, the lock quips:

Is Venus indeed hated by newly weds or do they
frustrate the joy of parents with false tears,

193-215; J. S. Clay 1989.

⁸² Theoc. *Id.* XV.130-135: ἄωθεν δ’ ἄμμες νιν ἅμα δρόσῳ ἀθρόαι ἔξω | οἴσεῦμες ποτὶ κύματ’ ἐπ’ αἰόνι πτύοντα, | λύσασαι δὲ κόμαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφυρὰ κόλπον ἀνεῖσαι | στήθεσι φαινομένοις λιγυρᾶς ἀρξεύμεθ’ αἰοιδᾶς.

⁸³ Theoc. *Id.* XV.143-144; cit. *infra* Pt. Four, ch. I, § 1, p. 383, n. 15.

⁸⁴ Theoc. *Id.* XV.106-108; cf. *id.* XVII.36-37, 45-50; *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 3, p. 140, n. 127; Pt. Two, ch. 0, § 4, p. 258, n. 92.

⁸⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XV.110; *id.* XXII.216; Cameron 1995, 434.

which they shed abundantly inside the marriage chamber?
So may the gods help me, they do not truly grieve!⁸⁶

Referring to the Third Syrian War, the lock adds: “This my Queens taught me with her many grievances, while her new husband was visiting grim battles.”⁸⁷

Did you not weep for the desertion of your deserted couch,
but also for the mournful parting of your dear brother?
How deeply anguish consumed your mournful marrow!
How from your whole breast you worried then,
robbed of your senses, bereft of reason!⁸⁸

Likewise, when Berenice cut off the lock of her hair to fulfill her vow upon her husband’s safe return, the lock continues, “My sister-locks were mourning their loss.”⁸⁹ Moreover, the poem gives a recitation of the lock’s own lament. “Unwillingly, O Queen, I was parted from your brow,” the lock proclaims, “unwillingly, I vow by your head and your life.”⁹⁰ With respect to his catasterism, the lock swears by Rhamnusian Nemesis (mother of Helen)⁹¹ that, “These things do not so much bring me delight, as I am here grieved no longer to be touching the crown of her head.”⁹² Finally, in incredible hyperbole, the lock implores the heaven to implode: “Let the stars fall down! If I were

⁸⁶ Catull. LXVI.15-18: *estne novis nuptis odio Venus? anne parentum | frustrantur falsis gaudia lacrimulis, | ubertim thalami quas intra limina fundunt? | non, ita me divi, vera gemunt, iuerint.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 19-20: *id mea me multis docuit regina querelis, | invisente novo proelia torva viro.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 21-25: *an tu non orbum luxti deserta cubile, | sed fratris cari flebile discidium? | quam penirus maesas exedit cura meduallas! | Ut tibi tum toto pectore sollicitae | sensibus ereptis mens excidit!*

⁸⁹ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 51: με κόμαι ποθέεσκον ἄδε[λφεαί]; cf. Catull. LXVI.51-52 (*comae meae fata sorores | lugebant*).

⁹⁰ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 40 (σὴν τε κάρην μοσα σὸν τε βίον); Catull. LXVI.39-40 (*invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi, | invita, adiuro teque tuumque caput*).

⁹¹ Apollod. *Bibl.* III.x.7; Paus. I.xxxiii.7; Koenen 1993, 107.

⁹² Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 75-76 (οὐ τὰδε μοι τοσσήνδε φέρει χάριν ὅσ[σο]ν ἐκείνης | [ἀ]σχάλλω κορυφῆς οὐκέτι θιξόμεν[ος]); cf. Catull. LXVI.75-76 (*non his tam laetor rebus, quam me*

once more the Queen's lock, Aquarius may shine next to Orion!"⁹³ Apart from the motif of lament the *Coma Berenices*, furthermore, is firmly situated within the context of the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphus. For Berenice had dedicated her lock in the temple of her Lagid "mother," "Lady Zephyritis, the Grecian Queen who dwells on the shores of Canopus," and the subsequent rape of the Queen's lock is explicitly directed by Arsinoe Aphrodite.⁹⁴ The closing lines of the poem, additionally, beg Berenice to bring offerings to the lock on the festival of Arsinoe Aphrodite.⁹⁵ Consequently, even in the case of the transfer of Berenice's lock among the stars, lamentation once more accompanies ascension.

One last poem deserves brief mention in this context. For after the demise of Ptolemaic rule, Crinagoras commemorated the death of Antony and Cleopatra's daughter, Selene, wife of King Juba II of Mauritania. In his elegiac epigram, he compared her passing with a lunar eclipse:

The rising moon herself grew dark,
veiling her grief in night, as she saw
her namesake, lovely Selene, bereft of life
and going down to gloomy Hades.
She had shared her light's beauty with her,
and with her death she mingled her own darkness.⁹⁶

Apart from the obvious play on the Queen's name, however, Crinagoras does not

afore semper, | afore me a doniae vertice discrucior).

⁹³ Catull. LXVI.93-94 (*sidera corruerint! iterum coma regia fiam: | proximus Hydrochoi fulgoret Oarion.*); cf. Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 93-94 (γεί[τονες ... ἔστ]ωσ[αν ...] | α[...]'Υδροχ[όος] καὶ [...]'Ωαρίων]).

⁹⁴ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 57-58 (αὐτὴ μιν Ζεφυρίτις ἐπὶ χρέος ... | Γραῖα Κ]ανωπίτου ναιέτις α[ιγιαλοῦ]); Catull. LXVI.57-58 (*ipsa suum Zephyritis eo famulum legerat, | Graia Canopitis incola litoribus*); *supra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 4, p. 205, n. 123.

⁹⁵ Catull. LXVI.89-92.

assimilate her with the moon goddess, nor does the epigram express more than sadness for her decease. With the fall of the House of Lagus, the divinity of its scions had likewise eclipsed.

Theocritus' *Adoniazusae*, and Callimachus' *Apotheosis Arsinoes* and *Coma Berenices*, in sum, are witness to the importance of lamentation for the royal house. Through Arsinoe's patronage the annual celebration of the Adonia, which centered on ritual lament, was established in the Alexandrian palace. As in the case of the Dirge for Adonis, Callimachus' lyrical commemoration of the Ascension of Arsinoe reveals the intimate association between ceremonial mourning and deification. Even the catasterism of the Lock of Berenice is accompanied by various expressions of grief. Aside from the cult of Arsinoe II, the poems additionally allude to the apotheosis of Ptolemy Soter, Berenice I and Philotera. In the *Adoniazusae* and the *Coma Berenices*, respectively Berenice I and Arsinoe II are identified with Aphrodite. The poems thus imply that, like her ancestors, the reigning Queen awaited divine honors.

4. Artistic Depictions of Grief

While the extant literary evidence for Ptolemaic mourning ceremonies is already very scarce, representations in visual arts are more exceptional still. Egyptian ritual scenes of the Ptolemaic ruler cult can broadly be divided into two groups: those on which the deified members of the dynasty (with or without the reigning king and queen) join the company of gods; and those on which deified members of the dynasty are worshipped by

⁹⁶ Crin. *Ant. Pal.* VII: 633 (= 18 G-P); Macurdy 1932, 228; Whitehorne 1994, 201.

the reigning King (mostly without the Queen).⁹⁷ In effect, the latter type, which is much more common than the former, depicts a scene in the royal ancestor cult. In addition to the relief mentioned above, showing Ptolemy IV bringing copious offerings to his ancestors,⁹⁸ we may here point to the cult scene on the Ptolemaic pronaos of the Montu temple in Typhium (mod. Tod).⁹⁹ There, Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra II bring sacrifices to Ptolemy VI and Ptolemy Eupator, Ptolemy V with Cleopatra I, Ptolemy IV with Arsinoe III, Ptolemy III with Berenice II, and Ptolemy II with Arsinoe II (notice the absence of Ptolemy I and Berenice I). The King offers libations and various kinds of incense, while the Queen carries two sacrificial floral stalks. The most remarkable ritual scenes, however, are the many representations of Ptolemy II before Arsinoe II that Quaegebeur has documented.¹⁰⁰ For several of these tablets show significant Hellenistic influence on Egyptian art, especially the presence of the Greek “horned altar (*bômos keraouchos*),”¹⁰¹ and on a stela in the Royal Ontario Museum the Queen not only holds a long *wadj*-scepter aloft, but also brings a libation on the altar in an identical gesture as the queens on Ptolemaic *oenochoe*.¹⁰² These popular artifacts of Arsinoe’s worship disclose that the divine Queen was believed to participate in her own cult. While on these

⁹⁷ Esp., see: Winter 1978; Quaegebeur 1978. [I am not aware than any scholar has offered an explanation why the Ptolemaic ancestors are mostly worshipped by the reigning king alone.]

⁹⁸ *Supra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 3, p. 201, n. 105.

⁹⁹ Winter 1978, doc. 22; Grenier 1983, 33, fig. 1; Minas 1996, 74-76; *ead.* 2000, 24-25, doc. 51, pl. 17.

¹⁰⁰ Quaegebeur 1970; *id.* 1971; *id.* 1978, esp. 249-254; *id.* 1988, esp. 43-48; *id.* 1998.

¹⁰¹ Quaegebeur 1970, 195-197; D.B. Thompson 1973, 35-36; for the “horn altar,” see: *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Altar,’ 16; W. Déonna 1934, “Mobilier Délien: Βωμοὶ Κεραούχοι,” *BCH* 58: 381-447 (*non vidi*). [The horned altars of the Israelites mentioned, e.g., in OT *Exod.* 27.1-8, are of a different kind.]

¹⁰² ROM 979.63; Quaegebeur 1988, 44-45, fig. 16; *id.* 1989, 112; *id.* 1998, no. 73.

scenes Ptolemy brings various types of offerings to his sibling spouse, on a unique slab in the British Museum they face each other as deities: while she holds the *wadj*-scepter and the *anch*-sign, he holds the *waz*-scepter and whirls lightning bolts in Classical Greek posture.¹⁰³ Nonetheless, to my knowledge, none of the surviving Ptolemaic cult reliefs actually depicts mourning ceremonies.

In fact, as far as I am aware, only a single extant relic of the Ptolemaic ruler cult offers a representation of ritual lament. A small fragment of a faience flask (now in the Allard Pierson Museum), namely, depicts a female figure seemingly tearing off tresses of her hair.¹⁰⁴ From the knotted *himation* (mantle) that the figurine wears over her *chiton* (sleeved undergarment), it might be suggested that the piece represents the goddess Isis grieving her deceased brother Osiris. For the mantle's distinct knot tied in a loop between the breasts is often referred to as the "Isis knot," and the costume as the "Dress of Isis."¹⁰⁵ However, Elizabeth Walters' careful study of this dress type has demonstrated that it derives from the garment of New-Kingdom priestesses and was subsequently adopted by Ptolemaic queens in their function as priestess.¹⁰⁶ While Ptolemaic Greek and Egyptian-style statues show the goddess in this dress,¹⁰⁷ only in Roman Imperial times

¹⁰³ LBM 1056; Quaegebeur 1970, *pass.*, no. 25, pl. 28; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, 103-104, cat. 14; Quaegebeur 1998, no. 12.

¹⁰⁴ Scheurleer 1974, 265-267; D. B. Thompson 1980, 182-183; Koenen 1993, 109.

¹⁰⁵ Vandebeek 1946, 18-20; Needler 1949, 137-138; Dunand 1973, I: pls. 7-13; *ead.* 1973, II: pls. 3-8; D. B. Thompson 1973, 30-31; Quaegebeur 1978, 254, figs. C, K, M; Walters 1988, 5-18.

¹⁰⁶ Walters 1988, *pass.*; also, see: Bianchi 1980; Ashton 2001b, 45-53.

¹⁰⁷ Needler 1949, 136-138, pl. 26.1-2; Bothmer *et al.* (eds.) 1960, 169-170, figs. 307-310, 324-326, pl. 121, nos. 123, 130; Kyrieleis 1975, 82, 119, 178, 184, pls. 71.1-2, 103.1-2, nos. J.1, M.8; Bianchi 1980, 9-31; Scott 1986, 168-169; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, 170-172, 182-183, nos. 66, 74; Rausch (ed.) 1998, no. 39; Ashton 2001b, nos. 49-62, 65, 67-69; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, 58, 151, 170, nos. 24b, 166, 169.

did it become Isis' characteristic costume.¹⁰⁸ Moreover the figurine carries a *cornucopia* in her right arm, comparable to the queens on the Ptolemaic *oenochoe* extensively examined by Dorothy B. Thompson.¹⁰⁹ On the basis of stylistic and portrait features Thompson was inclined to date the piece to the second century B.C.E., and suggested that the figurine most probably represents Cleopatra I. Furthermore, the three *oenochoe* fragments in Thompson's catalogue that show this knotted costume should, in my opinion, be attributed to Cleopatra I as well. The figurine's profile (almost round oval face, smooth cheeks, sharply curved brows, small almond-shaped eyes with thick ridged lids, long and thin pointed nose, pursed lips, small pointed and projecting chin, and strong neck), moreover, compare very favorably with the numismatic portraiture of the same Queen.¹¹⁰ Therefore, I conclude that the faience fragment represents Cleopatra I in a sacral scene of ritual mourning.

Due to the piece's small scale, however, Thompson argued that the original vessel, rather than a royal *oenochoe*, was an *alabastrum*, viz., a faience flask chiefly used for fragrant ointments. While the *oenochoe* were used for libations of wine on the crenellated "horned altars" during religious festivals dedicated to Ptolemaic queens,¹¹¹ similarly, I would propose that *alabastra* were applied in the queens' cult to pour libations of perfumed oils (on myrrh-basis, or some such resinous substance). Thompson furthermore elucidated that, "on these [*alabastra*], tiny relief figures often encircle the

¹⁰⁸ E.g., see: Müller 1963, 7-35; Dunand 1973, I: pls. 8-13; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, nos. 75, 101, 132; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, no. 338.

¹⁰⁹ D. B. Thompson 1973, 165-167, nos. 122-124.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Brunelle 1976, 62-63; Smith 1988, pl. 75, nos. 15-16; Hazzard 1995a, 9-10, figs. 20-21; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, nos. 77, 88.

¹¹¹ D. B. Thompson 1973, 69-75.

body of the vase standing on a ridge and following each other in a narrative scene.”¹¹² As she could not sufficiently explain all the piece’s details, she concluded that, “perhaps it is merely a popular rendering of the famous episode of the Rape of the Lock” (of Berenice).¹¹³ I would here like to offer an alternative hypothesis. Compared to the crisp, youthful features of the *oenochoe* fragment attributed to Cleopatra I, the *alabastrum* figurine shows rather plump, matronly features.¹¹⁴ In other words, the Queen appears more advanced in age. Moreover, during her regency for her son Ptolemy VI Philometor, she struck coins in her own name bearing her profile in the guise of Isis-Demeter with the same curly locks (often called “Libyan Locks”) as the *alabastrum* figurine.¹¹⁵ I would accordingly conjecture that this piece depicts Cleopatra I as priestess enacting a religious ceremony of mourning for her deceased husband Ptolemy V Epiphanes, in which she mimicked the lamentations of Isis for Osiris. The faience figurine, in short, provides a valuable piece of evidence for the significance of ritual lament in the royal cult of the Lagid dynasty.

Cult scenes on Egyptian temple-reliefs and stelae depict aspects of royal ancestor worship, in particular the bringing of sacrifices and libations. However, they do not portray rituals of mourning in this context. Consequently, the *alabastrum* figurine of Cleopatra I remains the only artistic depiction of grief in the setting of the Ptolemaic ruler cult. If my interpretation is accepted, this faience piece provides evidence of incense libations in the royal cult and, more importantly, further attests to the performance of

¹¹² *Ead.* 1980, 182.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* 183.

¹¹⁴ *Supra* 320, n. 109.

ceremonial mourning in this cult. Although it is the only representation of a Ptolemaic queen's expression of grief in visual arts that I am aware of, it supplements the material examined in this chapter and corroborates the thesis that ritual mourning figured significantly in the Ptolemaic ruler cult.

* * *
* *

Reviewing the above-presented evidence for ritual lament in the context of the deification of Ptolemaic queens, it is first of all necessary to admit its regrettable scarcity. From what can be gathered from the Mendes stela and the Canopus decree, from several Hellenistic poems – particularly by Theocritus and Callimachus –, from relief scenes of the ancestor cult, and from a faience perfume flask, it still is possible to draw some generalized conclusions. In addition to funerary monuments erected for Berenice I and Arsinoe II (mentioned in the introductory section of this chapter), we have come across public funerary rites for Arsinoe II and for Berenice Parthenus, a brief elegy for Selene of Mauritania, ceremonial mourning enacted by Cleopatra I – as well as the imaginary bereavement experienced by Philotera –, ritual lamentations for Adonis, not to mention the more whimsical expressions of grief associated with the catasterism of the Lock of Berenice II. From this material, we gather that Arsinoe II and young Berenice were embalmed according to ancient Egyptian tradition – and nothing in the sources suggest that this treatment was unique for the female members of the Lagid house. Additionally, we can assemble a composite picture of the mourning ceremonies performed for

¹¹⁵ *BMC Ptol.* 78-79 (nos. 1-6, 9-12), pl. 18.7, 9; Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 250-252; Kahrstedt 1910, 274; Tondriau 1948a, 24; *supra* 320, n. 110.

Ptolemaic queens and princesses, although details were doubtless adapted for specific circumstances (*e.g.*, as Berenice's festival coincided with the onset of harvest, first-fruits were offered to her).

Public mourning ceremonies included processions in dark garments (in which gilded cult statues were carried aloft), ritual weeping and wailing, songs of lament and/or hymns of praise, bringing of burnt offerings and other sacrifices such as myrrh, flowers, first-fruits and grain, libations of wine and/or fragrant oils on crenellated altars. While alive, queens functioned as priestesses in these cults – at least since the time of Cleopatra I, the Queen wore the Egyptian knotted mantle. After her apotheosis, the Queen was still believed to participate in the ceremony. It remains impossible to determine whether on such occasions locks were torn and breast were bared – as occurred during the Adonia – or tresses were dedicated – as did Berenice II (as well as Arsinoe III).¹¹⁶ Additionally, the sources provide evidence of the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens, *e.g.*, Arsinoe Philadelphus with Helen and Aphrodite Zephyritis, Berenice Parthenus with Hathor in the figuration of the Eye of Ra, and Cleopatra Epiphanis with Isis-Demeter. They conjure up an elusive imagery of apotheosis (to which I will return below) and intimate that, rather than last rites, mourning ceremonies were in fact preliminary rituals advancing the Queen's Ascension. It is noteworthy that mortuary shrines and public funerary ceremonies can be attested from the first generations of royal women, which suggests a connection with the development of the ruler cult. Despite the inadequate source material, I would suggest that lamentation, as a ritual of bereavement, did play an important part in the royal cult of the Ptolemaic queens.

¹¹⁶ Damag. *Epigr.* I (*ap. Anth. Pal.* VI: 277); cit. *supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 2, p. 132, n. 94.

III. DYNASTIC IMMORTALIZATION

Whether or not the first Ptolemies adhered to Pharaonic rituals of royal succession has been a long disputed subject, since the first incontestable evidence for a Ptolemaic crowning ceremony is provided only by the *Rosettana* for Ptolemy V Epiphanes.¹ Ludwig Koenen has been among the more vocal scholars to argue for the Ptolemies' early appropriation of Pharaonic ideology.² If there is little or no explicit evidence for early Ptolemaic coronations, however, the sources are virtually silent about the nature of the last rites accorded to deceased Lagid kings. As every royal succession could potentially turn the country into chaos, the new king ideally acceded to the throne the morning immediately after his predecessor's death.³ Before the official crowning ceremony, the body of the late king was prepared for the burial rites, as the performance of funerary rites involved an expression of filial (or familial) piety that legitimated the dynastic succession. Meanwhile the king's assumption of power was announced by rescript to all officials and the population was enjoined to go into mourning. Although Ptolemy I Soter was officially deified posthumously by his son, from the reign of Ptolemy II, the Lagid kings were incorporated into the Alexandrian royal cult in their lifetime. Nonetheless, their physical

¹ *I. Cair.* 22188; *Urk.* II(3): 166-198; *OGIS* 90; Otto 1905-08, II: 301-303; Bergman 1968, 99-106; Koenen 1993, 48-50, nn. 45, 56; Huß 1994a, 51-52, nn. 108-115; *id.* 2001, 504-505; Hölbl 2001, 139, 165-166.

² Koenen 1977, 56-76; *contra* Burstein 1991, 139-145.

entrance into the ancestral pantheon, under the accompaniment of national mourning, remained the last stage of their divinization. My purpose in this chapter, then, is to illustrate the ideological importance of lamentation as a prerequisite ritual for the immortalization of the Lagid dynasty.

In the dearth of evidence, the following examination of the theme of lamentation in the context of the Ptolemaic ruler cult cannot offer much more than hypotheses. (1.) First, I would suggest that the elusive imagery of apotheotic ascension – especially in the *Coma Berenices*, but also in other Alexandrian poetry – should be appreciated within the setting of the religious identifications of Ptolemaic kings and queens. For the catasterism of the Lock of Berenice as well as Adonis’ trafficking back and forth to Hades can be read as metaphors for the deification of the Ptolemies. (2.) From sources discussed above, furthermore, we may glean that the members of the Lagid house were believed to ascend into heaven on the Wings of Angels of Death. In the second section, I will also unveil the erotic connotation of the equation of death with rape. (3.) Moreover, I will contend that sacramental offerings of perfumes and ointments enhanced the hallowed atmosphere of the royal cult. (4.) I will then, in the fourth section, analyze the description of the Adonis tableau at the Alexandrian palace to reveal the attention paid not only to its rich splendor, but also to its communal aspect. While I will here concentrate on the more generally dynastic implications of ritual mourning, I will turn in the subsequent chapter to the symbolic significance of lamentation particularly for Ptolemaic queenship.

³ Frankfort 1948, esp. 101-104; Barta 1975, 44-61; Springborg 1990, 74-76.

1. Apotheotic Ascension

In this section, I will elucidate how poems such as the *Adoniazusae* and the *Coma Berenices* anticipated, if not promoted, the deification of Ptolemaic kings and queens. Foremost, these poems offer allusive analogies of apotheosis and ascension, in the form of catasterism and mythic rapes. So the catasterism of the Lock of Berenice, the Crown of Ariadne, and the Starry Wain of Callisto can be read as metaphors of the Lagids' entrance in their ancestral pantheon. Similarly, allusions to Endymion and Ganymedes, not to mention Adonis, maybe be understood as allegories for the divinization of the members of the royal house. Furthermore, the attentiveness for female agency in the immortalization of said figures is noteworthy. Aphrodite is instrumental in the case of Berenice I and, attended by the Horae, of Adonis. Arsinoe II is identified as Aphrodite Zephyritis and she conducts the Lock of Berenice to its celestial position. Moreover, these poems provide an exclusively matrilineal identification between Dione, Aphrodite and Helen, as well as Berenice I, Arsinoe II and Berenice II. I intend to demonstrate that these poetic allusions intimate the vital role performed by the Queen for the immortalization of the Lagid dynasty. We can then turn to the imagery of Ascension on the Wings of Death, to appraise the erotic subtext of apotheosis.

Evidently, Callimachus' *Coma Berenices* is primarily an aetiology of the catasterism of the lock of hair that Berenice II offered to Arsinoe Zephyritis on behalf of her husband's safe return from the Laodicean War (246-241 BCE). As Ludwig Koenen points out, the poem therefore deals closely with the symbolism of deification.⁴ Indeed, the *Coma Berenices* is dense with allusive imagery, and it can be argued that catasterism

⁴ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110); cf. Catul. LXVI; Gow 1949-53, I: 112-123; Lee 1990, 104-111, 171-

itself is a metaphor of apotheotic ascension. If, as seems likely, Callimachus composed this poem shortly after the mathematician Conon discovered the constellation, the *Coma Berenices* may be dated to the period immediately after Ptolemy III's return from Syria (Sept. 245 BCE).⁵ An apt analogy in the setting of lamentation and apotheosis is Callimachus' reference to the golden crown of Theseus' Minoan bride Ariadne.⁶ For she had been deeply grieved by Theseus' secretive departure:

No longer keeping the delicate ribbon atop her blonde head,
Nor covered by the light raiment that veiled her bosom,
Nor her milky-white breasts bound with smooth girdle.⁷

Yet, after Dionysus made her his wife, Ariadne was immortalized by Zeus, and her crown was fixed among the stars as the *Corona Borealis*.⁸ Additionally, Koenen points out that the celestial location of Conon's discovery is relevant.⁹ For (at least in Catullus' translation) the position of the *Coma Berenices* among the constellations is expressed quite emphatically: The lock is close by "Callisto daughter of Lycaeus," the Arcadian nymph and Artemis' hunting companion who was changed into a bear after giving birth to Zeus' child Arcas.¹⁰ According to Hesiod's versions, here followed by Callimachus-

172; Koenen 1993, 89-113.

⁵ The heliacal rising of the constellation in Alexandria occurs *ca.* early September: West 1985, 61-66; Koenen 1993, 90 n. 151; Cameron 1995, 107.

⁶ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 59-62 (νύμφης Μινωίδος); Catull. LXVI.59-62 (*Ariadneis*).

⁷ Catull. LXIV.63-65; also, see: Plut. *Def. orac.* XIV (= *Mor.* 417c); Firm. Mat. *Err. Prof. Rel.* II.3; Gow 1950, II: 302; Heyob 1975, 55-56.

⁸ Hom. *Od.* XI.321-325; Hes. *Theog.* 947-949; Arat. *Phaen.* 71-72; Plut. *Thes.* XX.

⁹ Koenen 1993, 107.

¹⁰ Hes. *Astron.* F 3 (*ap.* Eratosth, *Catast.* F 1).

Catullus, she was set among the stars as *Ursa Major* by Zeus.¹¹ Callisto, thus, provides another analogy between catasterism and apotheosis. The lock is also “touching the fires” of *Virgo*, the maiden identified as Rhamnusian Nemesis (considered Helen’s mother) and hence assimilated with Dicaeosyne-Iustitia – an emanation of Isis-Demeter Thesmophoria.¹² The preceding zodiacal sign, of course, is “the raging Lion,” which the sun enters about the time of Sirius’ heliacal rising that announces the Nile’s inundation.¹³ Lastly, the lock “points the way before slow Boötes,” the club-wielding Arctophylax Arcas, who unwittingly pursued his mother into the *abaton* of Zeus’ precinct on Mt. Lycaeus.¹⁴ Boötes, too, was changed into a constellation by Zeus. In ancient Egyptian religion a similar belief of old held that the souls of the deceased – originally of the pharaohs alone – shine in heaven as stars.¹⁵ Thus, with the allusion to the apotheosis of Arsinoe II and the catasterism of Ariadne and Callisto, by implication the *Coma Berenices* would seem to anticipate the deification of Queen Berenice II.

The poetry discussed in the previous chapter, moreover, involves subtle references that prepare the audience for the divinization of the reigning Lagid rulers. The *Coma Berenice*, for instance, opens appropriately with a reversal of the motion implied in apotheosis, as it alludes to Selene’s descent from heaven during the new moon when she visits her once-mortal lover Endymion, sleeping forever in a cave on Carian

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Arat. *Phaen.* 96-136: Parthenus, who “men called Justice,” “bears the gleaming Ear of Corn.”

¹³ Arat. *Phaen.* 148-154; Hipparch. II.i.18.

¹⁴ Hes. *Astron.* F 3 (*ap. Comm. Suppl. Arat.* 547 M 8); Arat. *Phaen.* 91-95.

¹⁵ E.g., see: *Pyr.* 749, 759-760, 784-785; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XXI.3 (τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ λάμπειν ἄστρα); *RARG* s.v. ‘Sterne,’ 749-750; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 371; Koenen 1993, 105.

Mt. Latmus.¹⁶ In the *Adoniazusae*, Corinthian Bellerophon, the mythic figure who failed to storm Mt. Olympus on Pegasus after fighting off the Chimera, is mentioned in passing just before the Dirge.¹⁷ Ganymedes, the handsome Trojan youth, snatched off by an eagle to become Zeus' cupbearer on Olympus, is depicted on Adonis' couch.¹⁸ In the *Encomium*, the rainbow goddess Iris serves Hera in preparation for the *hieros gamos*.¹⁹ The Horae, goddesses of the seasons – the tardy, imperceptible passage of time – and bringers of seasonal fruits, are invoked by the Adonia singer to bring back Adonis from the Netherworld.²⁰ Earlier in the *Adoniazusae*, a brief allusion to the honey goddess, Persephone, not only hints at her seasonal ascension from Hades, but also at her role in the myth of Adonis.²¹ According to Sicilian tradition, the Rape of Persephone occurred at Enna, where Philotera resided after her own apotheosis.²² Adonis himself, needless to say, was the only demigod to return from beyond the river of death.²³ Furthermore, Theocritus emphatically presented Aphrodite as the agent of Berenice's immortalization:

Aphrodite, queen of goddesses, surpassing in beauty,
your care was she, and all through your doing the fair
Berenice passed not Acheron, that river of groans,
for you snatched her away ere she could come

¹⁶ Schwinge 1986, 67; Lee 1990, 171.

¹⁷ Theoc. *Id.* XV.91-92; *cf.* Hom. *Il.* VI.152-202; Pind. *Isth.* VII.43-46; *id.* *Ol.* XIII.63-65; Eur. *Beller.*; *OCD*³ s.v. 'Bellerophon'; Kirk 1975, 150-152.

¹⁸ Theoc. *Id.* XV.124-125; *cf.* Hom. *Il.* X.265-267, XX.231-235; *Hymn. Hom.* V: *Ven.* 202-217; Gow 1950, II: 299.

¹⁹ *Cf.* Hom. XVIII.165-167; Eur. *HF* 822-824; Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 66-68, 215-217, *etc.*

²⁰ Theoc. *Id.* XV.103-104; *cf.* Hes. *Theog.* 901-902; Athen. V.198B; Rist 1983, 49-51.

²¹ Theoc. *Id.* XV.94-95.

²² Callim. *Apoth. Arsin.* (F 228) 43-44; Σ *ad loc.*; Diod. V.iii.2; Pfeiffer 1922, 30-37.

²³ Theoc. *Id.* XV.136-137; *cit. infra* Pt. Four, ch. I, § 1, p. 366.

to the somber ship and grim ferryman of the dead,
and set her in your temple, giving her a share of your honor.²⁴

Likewise, Arsinoe Aphrodite Zephyritis conducted the catasterism of Berenice's Lock.²⁵ This imagery of traffic between the temporal and immortal realms, in short, combines to a densely elusive atmosphere of apotheosis.

Such subtly suggestive settings intensify the religious identifications implied or made explicitly in the poetry under question. In Theocritus' Dirge for Adonis, the mother-daughter relation of Berenice I and Arsinoe II is associated with Dione, Aphrodite and Helen.²⁶ In the *Coma Berenice*, a similar relation is expressed between Berenice II and her "mother" Arsinoe Zephyritis. The implication, then, is that divinity is inherited from royal ancestry – and, emphatically, through matrilineal descent.²⁷ Moreover, the association of Arsinoe and Aphrodite in their care for Adonis insinuates that the Queen will similarly accomplish the deification of her spouse, just as the goddess had effected the immortalization of her own beloved – not to mention the deification of Ptolemaic queens.²⁸ To stress the point, in the *Adoniazusae*, the hymn's epilogue proclaims that Adonis is the only demigod to visit Earth and the Netherworld:

Such lot befell not Agamemnon,
not mighty Aias, that hero of heavy anger,
not Hector, eldest of Hecabe's twenty sons,
not Patroclus, not Pyrrhus when he came back from Troy,

²⁴ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.45-50; cf. *id.* XV.106-108; Rist 1978, 155-159; Koenen 1993, 103; *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 3, pp. 140-140.

²⁵ Call. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 51-58; cf. Catull. LXVI.51-58; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 59; Schwinge 1986, 70; Gutzwiller 1992, 380; Koenen 1993, 103.

²⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XV.106-111.

²⁷ Gelzer 1982, 21; J. B. Burton 1995, 71, 75.

²⁸ Gow 1950, II: 294; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 59-60; Goukowsky 1992, 159; J. B. Burton 1995, 134, 153.

not the Lapiths and Deucalians of an earlier age,
not the Pelopiads and the Pelasgian lords of Argos.²⁹

As Ptolemy II is explicitly called a demigod (“*hēmitheos*”) in Theocritus’ *Encomium*,³⁰ the poet evidently implied an assimilation of Adonis with the King.³¹ This assimilation converges, not so much on Adonis’ premature death, but – like Tammuz-Dumuzi and Ishtar-Inanna – more on his *hieros gamos* with Aphrodite, his periodic return from the Underworld and the concomitant resurgence of vegetation. Lamentation, in the form of the Dirge for Adonis, features as prerequisite ritual for Adonis’ immortalization. The subtle assimilation with the sacred marriage of Adonis and Aphrodite, consequently, promoted the Lagids’ deification.

The above poetic allusions, to sum up, provide a densely symbolic imagery of allegories and analogies that anticipate the apotheotic ascension of Ptolemaic kings and queens. Catasterisms such as that of the *Coma Berenices*, *Corona Borealis* or *Ursa Major* should be appreciated as a metaphor of the Ascension of Arsinoe (herself placed beneath the Starry Wain) and other members of the royal house. Both Greek and Egyptian religious beliefs, moreover, held that stars in heaven were souls of the deceased. Evocations of the mythic rapes of Endymion and Ganymedes should, likewise, be considered as allegories not only of Adonis’ ability to journey to and from Hades (like Persephone), but also of the divinization of the Lagid dynasty. It is of further note that such acts of immortalization are emphatically conducted by female deities and their

²⁹ Theoc. *Id.* XV.137-142: οὐτ’ Ἀγαμέμνων ἰ τοῦτ’ ἔπαθ’ οὐτ’ Αἴας ὁ μέγας, βαρυμάνιος ἥρωρ, ἰ οὐθ’ Ἑκτώρ, Ἑκάβας ὁ γεραίτατος εἵκατι παῖδων, ἰ οὐ Πατροκλῆς, οὐ Πάρρος ἀπὸ Τροίας ἐπανευθών, ἰ οὐθ’ οἱ ἔτι πρότεροι Λαπίθαι καὶ Δευκαλίωνες, οὐ Πελοπιδάδαι τε καὶ Ἀργεὺς ἄκρα Πελασγοί; Gow 1950, II: 302-303; Atallah 1966, 129-132; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 59, 87; J. B. Burton 1995, 139-140.

³⁰ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.5, 136; Gow 1950, II: 328, 346; Hunter 2003, 100-102, 196.

attendants: Selene, Iris, the Horae, Aphrodite and Arsinoe Zephyritis. The accentuation of female agency is thrown into even greater perspective through exclusively matrilineal identifications of Dione, Aphrodite and Helen, Berenice I, Arsinoe II and Berenice II. The implication would seem to be that, like Adonis, the Ptolemaic King owed his immortality to his *hieros gamos* with the Queen – who was identified with the Great Wailing Goddesses.

2. On the Wings of Death

In the *Coma Berenices*, the starry sky in which the constellation was set is called “Cypris’ chaste bosom.”³² Callimachus apparently referred to the goddess’ Uranian figuration. In fact, Stephanie West notes that the planet Venus was in *Virgo* at the time of *Coma*’s heliacal rising in September 245 B.C.E.³³ However, as Arsinoe II is identified with Aphrodite in this *aetium*, and in the *Apotheosis Arsinoes* the Queen is established beneath the Starry Wain, the “chaste bosom” may well refer to Arsinoe in the guise of Aphrodite.³⁴ Incidentally, in Egyptian religious beliefs, Nut (the goddess of heaven) was considered the mother of the stars.³⁵ Commonly, the night sky was conceived of pictorially as stars spangled over Nut’s body. Callimachus, moreover, employed the

³¹ F. T. Griffiths (1979, 66 and 84) seems to imply the same argument.

³² Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 56 ([Κύπρι]δος εἰς κόλ[πους] ... ἔθηκε); Σ *ad loc.* 54-57; Catull. LXVI.56 (*et Veneris casto collocat in gremio*); Gutzwiller 1992, 359; Koenen 1993, 100.

³³ S. West 1985, 61-66; *supra* 327, n. 5.

³⁴ *Pace* Koenen 1993, 100.

³⁵ *Pyr.* 784-785, 1688; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Nut’, 536-537; Frankfort 1948, 117-120, 181-185; Springborg

epithet “violet-girdled (*iozônos*)” for Arsinoe, which seems to further identify her with Aphrodite.³⁶ Of course, this celestial association between Aphrodite and Arsinoe II is significant, because Berenice II dedicated her hair lock – upon the safe return of her husband Ptolemy III – to all the gods in the temple of Arsinoe Zephyritis, which admiral Callicrates has established at Cape Zephyrium near the Canopic mouth of the Nile.³⁷ It is there that Zephyr – the westerly “gentle breeze,” “the brother of Ethiopian Memnon,” “the steed of Locrian Arsinoe” – snatched away the lock and carried it off through the air on its swift wings.³⁸ Subsequently, upon the constellation’s rising from Oceanus, Conon the mathematician and astrologer discovered the Lock of Berenice in the night sky. This vivid image of the Lock’s catasterism on the wings of Zephyr is particularly poignant for the conception of the Lagids’ apotheotic ascension. An examination of this imagery will confirm the argument proposed in the first chapter of Part Three, that the themes of sensuality and fecundity were associated with lamentation as a funerary ritual performed for the revitalization of the deceased.

As Emily Vermeule has established, in ancient Greek art and poetry, the dead are often borne off by two winged figures: not only the twins Hypnos and Thanatos (“Sleep” and “Death”), but also Himeros and Eros (“Longing” and “Desire”), and – what is more important for the present purpose – Boreas and Zephyr, as well as the Dioscuri, Castor

1990, 155; Koenen 1993, 105; Pinch 1994, 25-27.

³⁶ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 54 (ἰόζωνος); cf. Sappho fr 30.10, 39.5; Alc. 63 (ἰόκολπος); Hes. *s.v.* ‘ἰόζωνος’; Pfeiffer 1949-54, I: 117; Koenen 1993, 102-103.

³⁷ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 7-8, 57-58; Catull. LXVI.9-10, 57-58; cf. Callim. *Epigr.* 5; Tondrau 1948a, 16-17; Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 112, 117; Gutzwiller 1992, 364-365, nn. 21-22.

³⁸ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 52-58; cf. *Hymn. Hom.* VI: *Ven.* 3 (Ζεφύρου μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντος).

and Pollux.³⁹ For instance, after he was killed by Patroclus, the sons of Nyx (“Night”), Hypnos and Thanatos carried Sarpedon off the Trojan battlefield to Lycia.⁴⁰ Similarly, after he was slain by Achilles, Memnon of Ethiopia was carried away from Troy by his half brothers Zephyr and Boreas, sons of Eos (“Dawn”), who obtained her son’s immortality.⁴¹ Achilles invoked the same wind gods to flare up Patroclus’ funeral pyre.⁴² We have seen that in his *Apotheosis* Callimachus likewise portrayed the Dioscuri as bearing Arsinoe II up into heaven, as they had saved their sister Helen after she had been abducted by Theseus.⁴³ Incidentally, in the tableau of Theocritus’ *Adoniazusae*, “boyish Erotes [are] flying over like hatchling nightingales that fly in a tree from branch to branch, putting their fledgling wings on trial,” around Aphrodite and Adonis, who are reclining in embrace on their couch with purple coverlets “softer than sleep (*malakôteroi hypnô*).”⁴⁴ That very couch depicted Ganymedes borne off by two eagles to Zeus on Olympus.⁴⁵ The scene is thus simultaneously a wedding, a funeral and an allusion to apotheosis.⁴⁶ Hera’s accomplices in the seduction of Zeus were Nyx, Hypnos, Eros and

³⁹ Vermeule 1979, 145-178.

⁴⁰ Hom. *Il.* XVI.666-683; *OCD*³ s.v. ‘Sarpedon’; Vermeule 1979, 148-150, figs. V.2-3.

⁴¹ Hes. *Theog.* 984-985; Quint. Smyr. II.550-569, 585-587; Proc. *Chrest.* II.6-8; *OCD*³ s.v. ‘Memnon’, no. 1; Vermeule 1979, 150.

⁴² Hom. *Il.* XXIII.195; *OCD*³ s.v. ‘Wind-gods’; Vermeule 1979, 150.

⁴³ Hom. *Il.* XVI.666-683, XXIII.192-225; Eurip. *Hel.* 1662-1669; Callim. *Apoth. Ars.* (F 228); Vermeule 1979, 148-150, figs. V.2-3; Koenen 1993, 101-102.

⁴⁴ Theoc. *Id.* XV.120-122, 125: οἱ δὲ τε κῶροι ὑπερπωτῶνται Ἑρωτες, ἰ οἶοι ἀηδοωιδῆες ἀεξομενᾶν ἐπὶ δένδρῳ ἰ πωτῶνται πτερύγων πειρώμενοι ὄζον ἀπ’ ὄζῳ ... πορφύπτοι δὲ τάπητες ἄνω μαλακώτεροι ὕπνω.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 124.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* XVII.128-133.

Aphrodite.⁴⁷ In Egyptian religion, Isis and Nephthys were often shown as protecting Osiris' body with their wings.⁴⁸ At times, they lamented Osiris in the shape of hawks. Age-old folklore conceived of the *ba* as a human-headed bird () ascending into the starry heavens after death to shine bright like an oil lamp ().⁴⁹ The Mendes stela has divulged that the *ba* of Arsinoe II had likewise ascended into heaven. As gods were believed to have *bau*, too, the Egyptians believed that the constellation Orion was the *ba* of Osiris, and the Dog Star Sirius that of Isis.⁵⁰ In the shape of the *Udjat* () the "Hale Eye" of the sun god, Ra's Solar Eye was illustrated with falcon markings, and not infrequently with wings. As the Canopus decree assimilated young Berenice with the Eye of Ra, she was similarly believed to be borne on angelic wings when she joined the gods. Like Sarpedon, Ganymedes or the Lock of Berenice, in other words, Arsinoe Philadelphus and Berenice Parthenus (and no doubt the other members of the Lagid dynasty) were transported to the afterlife by means of winged deities such as the Dioscuri, Zephyr, the Solar Eye or the soul-bird.

Additionally, Vermeule reveals the erotic undertow of this imagery in which the deceased are borne on the Wings of Death.⁵¹ Although more popular in Roman and Mediaeval times, Succubae were winged female figures of mythology, who forced

⁴⁷ Hom. *Il.* XIV.153-353.

⁴⁸ *BD* 17, 173; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XVI.1 (= *Mor.* 357C); Otto 1963, pls. 16-17; Münster 1968, 2, 201-202; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 328, nn. 1-3; Dunand 1973, I: pls. 2, 4; Le Corsu 1977, 8, pl. 2.

⁴⁹ *Pyr.* 785; *BD* 85; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Ba'; Frankfort 1948, 63-65; Springborg 1990, 52-55.

⁵⁰ *Pyr.* 632c-d; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Ba', 75; Frankfort 1948, 64, 77; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 371; Springborg 1990, 53-54.

⁵¹ Vermeule 1979, 127-178.

themselves upon unwitting travelers sleeping by the roadside.⁵² The insatiable Sirens were commonly depicted in Greek art as human-headed birds, and can often be found as decorative motive on tombs.⁵³ Similarly, the Sphinx was a guardian spirit of the cemetery, but also preyed on young men, carrying them off (*apopherouse*) “in a swift-winged lion-footed stroke.”⁵⁴ Attic grave markers in the shape of phallus-birds further illustrate in more humorous fashion the Greek association between the wings of death and sexual desire.⁵⁵ The Harpyiae (“Snatchers”), sisters of Iris, by their name alone, personify the rapaciousness of winged demons.⁵⁶ These female-headed mythological birds not only snatched the victuals off King Phineus’ table, but also mated with the wind-gods Boreas and Zephyr, pursued young (dead) men and carried them off to the Elysian Fields.⁵⁷ The iconography of the Harpyiae and the Sirens, incidentally, may well have been adopted from the Egyptian *ba* bird.⁵⁸ Besides, Boreas violently seized King Erechtheus’ daughter Oreithyia so as to make her his wife, while his brother Zephyr carried off his beloved Hyacinthus.⁵⁹ Thus, winged deities were believed to prey on

⁵² *Ibid.* 153, fig. V.8.

⁵³ Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* IV.896-898; Ovid *Met.* V.552-563; Hyg. *Fab.* 141; Vermeule 1979, 169, 201-202, figs. VI.23-25.

⁵⁴ Eur. *Oed.* in *P. Oxy.* 27 (1961): 2455: ὑπὸ λεοντόπουν βασιν ἰ ἀποφέρουσ’ ὠκύπτερον; cf. *Oedipod.* F 3 (*ap. Σ ad Eur. Phoen.* 1750); Vermeule 1979, 171-175, figs. V.22-24.

⁵⁵ Friedrich 1978, 11; Vermeule 1979, 173-174, figs. V.26-27.

⁵⁶ Hes. *Theog.* 265-269; *Cat.* F 14.31-32; *RML s.v.* ‘Harpyia’.

⁵⁷ Hom. *Od.* I.241 = XIV.371 (ἀκλειῶς Ἄρπυιαι ἀνηρείψαντο); XX.66-78 (Πανδαρέου κούρας ... Ἄρπυιαι ἀνηρείψαντο); Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* II.234-434; *RML s.v.* ‘Pandareos’; Vermeule 1979, 168-171, fig. V.21.

⁵⁸ Vermeule 1979, 74-76.

⁵⁹ Pl. *Phdr.* 229C-D; Paus. III.xix.5; Luc. *Dial. D.* XIV; *id. Salt.* XLV; Nonn. *Dion.* III.155-157;

mortals to gratify their sexual desires.

The strong connection felt by the Greeks between love and death, is expressed by verbs such as *harpazein* (“to snatch, seize”), commonly employed to describe the mythical rapes of Persephone, Ganymedes, Tithonus and others.⁶⁰ Indeed, in the *Apotheosis*, Arsinoe is “stealthily seized (*kleptomena*)” from earth and (according to the *Diegesis* and the *scholion*) was said to be snatched (“*hêrpasthai*”) by the Dioscuri.⁶¹ In the *Coma Berenices*, Zephyr “snatched (*hêrpase*)” the Lock “with his breath.”⁶² In a Callimachean epigram the verb’s association with love and death is made unequivocal: “Half of my soul still breathes,” it begins, “but half I know not whether Eros or Hades snatched (*hêrpase*) it, except that it vanished.”⁶³ Another of the poet’s epigrams illuminates the connection between longing and immortalization, reporting that “a nymph has snatched (*hêrpase*) Astacides, the Cretan, the goat-herd, from the hill, and now Astacides is holy (*hieros*).”⁶⁴ Additional sensuousness involves the winged steed of Aphrodite Arsinoe on which the Lock ascends into heaven. Zephyr, namely, is the proverbial “gentle breeze (*thêlys aêtês*),” in contrast to the violence of the cold northerly,

RML s.v. ‘Hyakinthos,’ I: 2760; Vermeule 1979, 248 n. 35.

⁶⁰ E.g., see: Hom. *Il.* XX.234; *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 19; V: *Ven.* 203, 218; Friedrich 1978, 41-44; Vermeule 1979, 162-163; Winkler 1990, 202-203.

⁶¹ Callim. *Apoth. Arsin.* (F 228) 6; Σ *ad loc.* 6 (κλεπτομέν᾽α· ἥρπασμένη), 38 (ὑπὸ τῶν Διοσκυρῶν ἥρπασθαι); Dieg. X.10 ll. 2-3 (ἀνηρπάσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων).

⁶² Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 55 (ἥρπασε δὲ πνοιῇ); Σ *ad loc.* (ἄρπασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ζεφύρου).

⁶³ Callim. *Ep.* XLI (*ap. Anth. Pal.* XII: 73 = Choerob. *Comm. in Hephaest.* IV, p. 226, ll. 13-14) 1-2: ἥμισυ μεν ψυχῆς ἔτι τὸ πνέον, ἥμισυ δ’ οὐκ οἶδ’ ἢ εἴτ’ Ἔρος εἴτ’ Αἰδὴς ἥρπασε, πλὴν ἀφανές.

⁶⁴ Callim. *Ep.* XXII (*ap. Anth. Pal.* VII: 518) 1-2: Ἀστακίδην τὸν Κρήτα τὸν αἰπόλον ἥρπασε Νύμφη ἢ ἐξ ὄρεος, καὶ νῦν ἱερὸς Ἀστακίδης; cf. F 400 (*ap. Anth. Pal.* XIII: 10: ἄ ναῦς, ἃ τὸ μόνον φέγγος ἐμὶν τὸ γλυκὺ τᾶς ζόας ἢ ἄρπαξας, ποτί τε Ζανὸς ἰκνεῦμαι λιμενοσκόπῳ).

personified by Oreithyia's rapist Boreas.⁶⁵ The adjective *thêlys* ("female") bears the connotations "soft, gentle, tender, delicate, weak," and is thus the complement of *arsên* ("male"; "vigorous, strong").⁶⁶ Derived from its root, *thêlazein* means "to suckle, nurse," while *thêlein* denotes the flourishing or blooming of plants and infants.⁶⁷ This sensuality of death similarly applies to the worship of Adonis, what with women beating and lacerating their denuded bosom while eroticizing dying Adonis.⁶⁸ As the "concubine of the dead" figurines discussed above,⁶⁹ the confluence of sensuality and fecundity in a ritual funerary context symbolizes the hoped for regeneration of the beloved whose death is bewailed. Apotheosis, in short, was metaphorically conceived of as a divine form of rape, sensuous rather than violent, in which the deceased was snatched away from this earthly life to be transported on angelic wings to the afterlife.

Consequently, from multifarious allusions, we can draw a composite picture of the apotheosis of the Lagids. Just as Sarpedon and Memnon were carried off the Trojan battlefield, and Ganymedes was borne to Olympus, so Callimachus represented the Dioscuri performing Arsinoe's Ascension into heaven. While the Mendes stela implied that the Queen's *ba* ascended into the company of the gods on the wings of its soul-bird, the Canopus decree hinted that young Berenice flew off to the gods like the winged Eye of Ra. In Greek myth, the agents who seized the dead on their angelic wings,

⁶⁵ Cf. Hes. *Op.* 504-563; Callim. F 548; Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 391; Gutzwiller 1992, 380, nn. 59-62.

⁶⁶ LSJ⁹ s.v. 'ἄρσην' and 'θηλύς'.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* s.v. 'θηλάζω' and 'θηλέω'.

⁶⁸ E.g., see: Sappho F 140a; Men. *Sam.* 38-50; Theoc. *Id.* XV.84-86; Callim. *Hec.* F 274; Diosc. *Ep.* IV (ap. *Anth. Pal.* V: 193); Bion *Epith. Adon.* esp. ll. 71, 79; Ovid *Ars Am.* I.75; Atallah 1966, 93-97; Friedrich 1978, 11; J. B. Burton 1995, 88-89.

⁶⁹ *Supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 4, p. 291, n. 89.

significantly, were children of Aphrodite, Eos and Nyx. This intimate association of love and life, sleep and death, expresses a cyclical conception of time – one in which life follows death, just as a new dawn follows every night. As a star or constellation set in the bosom of Aphrodite or Nut, the souls of the deceased became immortal. While these Wings of the Angels of Death symbolize the protective nature of guardian spirits, however, the undercurrent of the same imagery involves the demonic rapaciousness of sexual gratification. Despite the fact that the sexual rapacity of the Sphinx, Sirens and Harpyiae was as grievous as the Rape of Persephone, these winged deities continued to function as guardians of tombs. In fact, it was precisely the sensual eroticism that elevated funerary rites into cultic worship of the deified Ptolemaic kings and queens. The ideological conception, in sum, that may be gleaned from the evidence is that lamentation was a prerequisite rite advancing the Lagids' apotheosis.

3. Perfumes and Ointments

Having thus assessed the imagery of apotheosis, I will now evaluate the sacrificial offerings of fragrant oils and unguents that were, like libations of wine, part of Ptolemaic festivals. I will elucidate that this sacrament constituted a ritual act of consecration and purification, which naturally belonged to funerary rites, ancestor worship and the ruler cult. I will, furthermore, point out that both Greek and Egyptian beliefs held that incense contained a divine essence. Hence, such scented substances were employed for embalment, a prerequisite rite for the final divinization of sovereigns. A poet like Theocritus, too, alluded to the ambrosial anointment with which Aphrodite immortalized Berenice I. Moreover, Callimachus insinuated that Berenice II performed the role of

goddess, by using ointments appropriate for Athena and Aphrodite, respectively before and after her wedding to Ptolemy III. The intention of this section, thus, is to establish that the perfumes and ointments enhance the apothotic atmosphere of the Ptolemaic royal cult.

Before the formal closing of the *aetium*, in Catullus version, the Lock of Berenice implored the Queen to offer generous gifts (*largis muneribus*) of perfumed ointments (*ungentis*) to placate the goddess Venus (who was identified with Arsinoe II).⁷⁰ From the scenes depicted on Ptolemaic *oenochiae*, it can be gathered that chthonic libations of (unmixed) wine were poured during ceremonies in the Lagid ruler cult.⁷¹ For these faience wine vases consistently illustrate the Ptolemaic Queen before a crenellated altar offering libations from a *phialê*, thus reciprocating the worship she received from the population.⁷² Similarly, I have suggested in the previous chapter that faience flasks (*alabastra*) were used in royal cults to pour libations of perfumed oils.⁷³ Other Ptolemaic feasts, such as the Genethlia (royal anniversaries) and perhaps the Panegyris of the *Theoi Adelphoi*, likewise, were celebrated with libations, in addition to animal sacrifices and other appropriate rituals.⁷⁴ Egyptian temple-scenes discussed above provide depictions of Ptolemaic kings bringing such offerings and libations to their divine ancestors.⁷⁵ The

⁷⁰ Catull. LXI.89-92 (*tu vero, regina, tuens cum sidera divam | placabis festis luminibus Venerem, | unguinis [sanguinis Mss.] expertem non siveris esse tuam me, sec potius largis affice muneribus*).

⁷¹ D. B. Thompson 1973, 69-70; Koenen 1993, 110; Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 211-212.

⁷² D. B. Thompson 1973, esp. 74.

⁷³ *Supra* Pt. Three, ch. II, § 3, pp. 319-321.

⁷⁴ Tondriau 1953, 127-128; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 195-197, 204; Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 154-155.

⁷⁵ *Supra* Pt. Three, ch. II, § 3, p. 318.

offering of aromatics – incense, perfume, wine and so forth – was a sacrament both in Greek and Egyptian culture, a ceremony of consecration, which at once had therapeutic, cathartic and apotropaic aspects.⁷⁶ Indeed, both in ancient Greece and Egypt, incense was itself believed to contain a divine essence. We have seen how Hathor and Ihy were associated with incense and unguents in funerary rites, and how, like the embalmment of Osiris, such fragrant substances were thought to achieve the resuscitation of the dead body.⁷⁷ Aromatics were, in fact, used widely for purification rites.⁷⁸ As such, the sacramental offering, burning and/or pouring of fragrant substances did stimulate a consecrated atmosphere in the Lagids' worship.

A common component of perfumed ointments was myrrh (Gk. *smyrna*, or *zmyrna*). This aromatic resinous gum of the spiny myrrh tree was used in perfumes, unguents and incense, as well as for embalming the dead.⁷⁹ In Egypt that last process also involved applying the body for seventy days with natron (Gk. *nitron*; from Eg. *nethery*, “divine”), a hydrate saline mineral.⁸⁰ As seen, the Mendes stela offers the invaluable information that Arsinoe II was embalmed according the ancient Pharaonic ritual of the Mouth-Opening.⁸¹ From the same inscription we also learn that a recurring ceremony

⁷⁶ E.g., see: *BD* 105, 3; *Hdt.* II.39; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Libation’, ‘Räucherung’, ‘Reinigung’, ‘Salben’, ‘Wein’, ‘Wohlgeruch’; Lloyd 1975-88, III: 181-182.

⁷⁷ The etymology of the Eg. word for incense, *sntr*, is thought to derive from *sti-ntr*, “godly odor, divine fragrance”; *WB* s.v. ‘*sntr*’; Ikram 2003, 54; *Supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 2, p. 283, n. 46, § 4, p. 293, nn. 100-103.

⁷⁸ Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 180-188.

⁷⁹ *Hdt.* II.86-88, VII.181; *LSJ*⁹ s.v. ‘σμύρνα’; Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 182.

⁸⁰ *Hdt.* II.86 (ταριχέουσιν λίτρων); *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Mumifizierung’; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 2, p. 283, n. 46.

⁸¹ *Supra* Pt. Three, ch. II, § 1, p. 307.

was established in which her cult statue was sprinkled with myrrh, libations and flowers.⁸² As the customary rites for Apis and Mnevis were performed for Berenice Parthenus, the young princess, too, was embalmed according to Egyptian tradition – before she was laid to rest in the Osireum of Canopus.⁸³ In Theocritus' *Adoniazusae*, the hymnist commended Aphrodite for dripping ambrosia in the fragrant bosom of Berenice I,⁸⁴ a feat that invokes Demeter's attempt to immortalize Demophoön by anointing the child with ambrosia.⁸⁵ Theocritus' reference to the sweet-scented elixir of immortality perhaps meant to allude also to the embalmment of the Queen, through which she gained her divine status. Not all members of the Lagid house were embalmed and mummified, incidentally, as Polybius relates that court ministers presented silver urns containing the bones of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III after their deaths and enjoined the populace to go into mourning.⁸⁶ They were, in other words, cremated according to Greek custom, and their remains were subsequently set up in the royal vaults.

In the *Coma Berenice*, the constellation complains that in his celestial abode he is grievously separated from Berenice's head, "whence when she was still a virgin, I drank much plain oil, yet had not the pleasure of the lush perfumes of married women."⁸⁷ Lorna Holmes explains that this contrast between the "plain oil" of maidens and the "lush

⁸² *Urk.* II: 41 l. 13; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. II, § 2, p. 307, n. 45.

⁸³ *Supra* Pt. Three, ch. II, § 2, p. 308.

⁸⁴ Theoc. *Id.* XV.107-108; XVII.36-37; also, see: Hom. *Il.* XIV.170; *Od.* IV.445, V.93; *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 237; Pind. *Ol.* I.62; *Pyth.* IX.63; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* IV.871; Chrysipp. *Stoic.* III: 178; Ov. *Met.* XIV.606; Gow 1950, II: 294.

⁸⁵ *Supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 3, p. 289.

⁸⁶ Polyb. XV.xxv.4, 6-7, 11; Grimm 1997, 233-249; Huß 2001, 476.

⁸⁷ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 75-78.

perfumes” of married women (*lita* and *myrha*; *vilia* and *unguenta* in Catullus’ rendition) draws upon the distinction between virginal chastity and sensual seduction.⁸⁸ In Callimachus’ *Hymnus in Lavacridum Palladis*, it is Pallas Athena who chooses “manly olive oil (*arsen elaios*)” and “simple unguents (*lita chrimata*)” as well as a comb (*kteis*), while “perfumes (*myrha*)” and “mixed unguents (*chrimata meikta*),” “alabaster vessels (*alabastroi*)” and mirrors (*katoptron*, *oreichalkon*) are preferred by Aphrodite.⁸⁹ Olive oil, though plain, was not only used for anointment after the bath or before gymnastics, but the leaves and oil of olives were also employed in the Greek funerary service.⁹⁰ We may also add that the seductiveness of myrrh, the most luxurious aromatic substance, is embodied by the myth of Adonis’ birth. For he was, of course, the incestuous offspring of Myrrha, and himself a “perfume (*myron*) and delight (*terpnon*).”⁹¹ That is to say, the seed of the personification of incense was at once a sweet scent and a lover. Indeed, among the many offerings in the Adonis Tableau at the Alexandrian palace there were also golden *alabastra* with Syrian perfume.⁹² Elaborating on Horne’s analysis, Koenen elucidates that Callimachus’ poetry insinuated that Queen Berenice properly conducted herself as a goddess both before and after her marriage to Ptolemy III.⁹³ First she acted bravely to defend her chastity and fidelity, as a true Athena (or her Egyptian counterpart Neith); and

⁸⁸ Holmes 1992, 47-50.

⁸⁹ Callim. *Hymn. Pall.* 13-32; cf. Hes. *Op.* 519-524; Holmes 1992, 48-49; Koenen 1993, 107-109; J. B. Burton 1995, 91.

⁹⁰ Callim. *Iamb.* IV (F 194) esp. ll. 37-43.

⁹¹ Mark Argent. *Anth. Pal.* V: 131 l. 3: μύρον καὶ τερπνον ᾿Αδονίς; also, see: Noss. *Anth. Pal.* VI: 275; Apollod. *Bibl.* III.xiv.3-4 (184); Lycoph. *Alex.* 828-830; Ant. Lib. *Met.* XXXIV; Atallah 1960, 40-47; Detienne 1972, 123.

⁹² Theoc. *Id.* XV.114 (Συρίω δὲ μύρω χρύσει’ ἀλάβαστρα); Gow 1950, II: 265-296.

then the Queen became a true Aphrodite (or Hathor), gracious and attractive, and “still moist with perfume (*myrhoisi*).”⁹⁴ The ideological implication is that Berenice II thus revealed her divine nature.

In sum, from temple-scenes, the *Coma Berenice* and a faience perfume flask, we can determine that ritual offerings of aromatic substances, such as incense, myrrh, perfumed oils, and wine, formed a part of Ptolemaic festivals. Such offerings provided an atmosphere of sanctification appropriate in the context of funerary rites as well as the worship of the reigning king and queen and their ancestors. Ancient beliefs held that such fragrances as incense, myrrh and natron, like ambrosia, contained a divine essence. Apart from consecrating the ritual milieu, myrrh and natron were specifically employed in the process of embalmment. For Arsinoe II and Berenice Parthenus we have explicit epigraphic evidence that they were embalmed according to ancient Pharaonic custom. Although not all members of the Lagid house were accorded this privileged last honor, I have argued that the rite was considered a prerequisite for the entrance into the ancestral pantheon. Theocritus’ reference to the anointment of Berenice I with ambrosia may perhaps be read as an allusion to the Queen’s embalmment. However, the use of perfumes and ointments was by no means exclusively funerary – for Callimachus portrayed Berenice II as manifesting her divine status by her use of certain unguents associated with Athena and Aphrodite. In the setting of the Ptolemaic royal cult, then, perfumes and ointments augmented the sanctification of the Lagid dynasty.

⁹³ Koenen 1993, 108.

⁹⁴ Callim. *Ep.* LII (*ap. Anth. Pal.* V: 146: Τέσσαρες αἱ Χάριτες· ποτὶ γὰρ μία ταῖς τρισὶ τήναις Ἰ ἄρτι ποτεπλάσθη κῆτι μύροισι νοτεῖ. Ἰ εὐαίων ἐν πᾶσιν ἀρίζηλος Βερενίκα, Ἰ ἅς ἄτερ οὐδ’ αὐταὶ ταὶ Χάριτες Χάριτες); *cf. id.* F 112 ll. 2-4 (Χαρίτων [σύ λοχεύτ]ρια, μαῖα δ’ ἀνάσσης Ἰ [ῆμε]τέρης, “Thou mid-wife of the Graces, and god-mother of our Mistress [*i.e.*, Berenice II]”).

4. The Tableau of the Adonia

The *mise en scène* of the Alexandrian Adonia, depicted in vivid detail by Theocritus, is often faulted by modern critics for its vulgar flamboyance, its attention to trivial details, or its sentimental hyperbole.⁹⁵ In order to better grasp Theocritus' attention to the female contributions to society, it would be advisable to put aside such modern misconceptions. To that end, we should delve beyond the chauvinism of the ancient authors who mocked the cult of Adonis and disdained the evanescent effeminacy of the cult's luxury. I would advocate appreciating Theocritus' Adonis hymn as a piece neither of parody nor of propaganda, but rather as an artistic representation of the actual festival patronized by Arsinoe II. A closer analysis of Theocritus' *ekphrasis*, in fact, will reveal an alternative perspective on the valuation of women's role in society. As a mimetic idyll, the poem illuminates how two Syracusean women attending the Adonia at the royal palace in Alexandria participated in the creation of a public community. This section will elaborate on Joan Burton's lucid study of the *Adoniasusae*.⁹⁶

The central tableau of the Adonia, somewhere unspecified in the Alexandrian palace, with all its natural and artistic riches, is appropriately splendid for its royal environment. Around the bridal couch of Aphrodite and Adonis, the hymnist narrates, "lie all seasonal fruits that trees bear."⁹⁷ There, beside the god, offerings are set up: "as many cakes as women fashion on the kneading-tray, mixing white barley-meal with every spice, and as many of sweet honey as in smooth oil, all creatures that fly and creep

⁹⁵ Gow 1938, 180-204; Helmbold, 1951, 17-24; Dover 1971, 209-210; F. T. Griffiths 1981, 247-273; Wells 1988, 34; cf. E. M. Foster 1922, 37; Atallah 1966, 105-135; Rist 1978, 134-135; Bulloch 1985, 580; Zanker 1987b, 13; Hutchinson 1988, 150; Cameron 1995, 55-56.

⁹⁶ J. B. Burton 1995, 133-154.

are there beside him.”⁹⁸ There were Gardens of Adonis – as tender (*hapaloi*) as the god is delicate (*habros*) – “guarded in silver baskets.”⁹⁹ “Green arbors” had been built, “laden with soft (*malakôi*) dill.” Of course, there were the golden flasks full of Syrian perfume, already discussed.¹⁰⁰ In addition to this emphasis on the ephemeral scents of spices, honey, oil, dill and perfumes, fine artwork is featured prominently. The gold-inlaid ebony couch, decorated with “white ivory eagles carrying the wine-pouring boy to Cronus’ son Zeus,” has been mentioned above,¹⁰¹ as have the figurines of Erotes suspended in trees.¹⁰² The Syracusean women delight in the “fine and graceful (*lepta kai charienta*)” embroideries, “robes of the gods you’ll say.”¹⁰³ This description was in all probability a Homeric appropriation, as the embroideries of Andromache and of Circe are likewise described as “fine and graceful.”¹⁰⁴ Finally, the purple coverlets spread over Adonis’ couch were “softer than sleep (*malakôteroi hypnô*).”¹⁰⁵ In short, Theocritus’ fifteenth

⁹⁷ Theoc. *Id.* XV.112: οἱ ὦρια κεῖται, ὅσα δρυὸς ἄκρα φέροντι.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 115-118: εἶδατά θ’ ὅσσα γυναῖκες ἐπὶ πλαθάνω πονέονται | ἄνθεα μίσγοισαι λευκῷ παντοῖς μαλεύρῳ, | ὅσα τ’ ἀπὸ γλυκερῷ μέλιτος τά τ’ ἐν ὑγρῷ ἐλαίῳ, | πάντ’ αὐτῷ πετεηνὰ καὶ ἔρπετὰ τείδε πάρεσσι.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 113-114: ἀπαλοὶ κᾶποι πεφυλαγμένοι ἐν ταλαρίσκοις | ἀργυρέοις; *cf.* Sappho F 140a.1; Bion *Epith. Adon.* 79.

¹⁰⁰ Theoc. *Id.* XV.114; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 1, p. 279, n. 27, and ch. III, § 3, p. 343, n. 92.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* 123-124; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. III, § 1, p. 329, n. 18, and § 2, p. 334, n. 45.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* 120-122; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. III, § 2, p. 334, n. 44.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 78-79: τὰ ποικίλα πρᾶτον ἄθρησον, | λεπτὰ καὶ ὡς χαρίεντα· θεῶν περνάματα φασεῖς; Gow 1950, II: 286-287.

¹⁰⁴ Hom. *Il.* XXII.510-511; *Od.* X.220-223; also, see: *Il.* XVIII.595; *Od.* V.231, VII.97, X.544; J. B. Burton 1995, 173-175.

¹⁰⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XV.125; *cf. ibid.* V.51; Gow 1950, II: 103; Vermeule 1979, 145-177; J. B. Burton 1995, 88-89, 141.

idyll vividly paints a picture of the riches of the *mise en scène* of the Alexandrian Adonia.

The qualitative adjectives in this passage accentuate the fine delicacy of the display. Sappho and Bion called the god himself “*habros*,”¹⁰⁶ a designation common for girls, women, Eros, the Graces, as well as luxury goods.¹⁰⁷ In Homer, *hapalos* is mostly used for the tenderness of the human body, but was later used also for children, fruit and other food (eggs, meat).¹⁰⁸ The adjective *malakos* was not only common for clothes, bed-covers or grassy meadows, but as we saw above, it was also a frequent modifier for sleep and death.¹⁰⁹ *Leptos* occurs frequently in Homer for garments,¹¹⁰ while *charieis* denotes “gracious, graceful, beautiful,” and was often used for raiment and other works of men.¹¹¹ Generally or metaphorically, like the Greek word for luxury, *tryphê*,¹¹² these words not only connote elegance and opulence, but also imply daintiness, softness, weakness, faintness, effeminacy, impotence and so forth. Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to imagine that Theocritus composed this idyll as a parody to mock (let alone

¹⁰⁶ Sappho F 140a.1; Bion *Epith. Adon.* 79; Nonn. *Dion.* VI.365; J.B. Burton 1995, 85; Reed 1997, 240.

¹⁰⁷ E.g., see: Hes. F 218; Anacr. 17, 65; Sappho 2.14, 60; *Anacreont.* 43.3 W.; Callim. *Ac. et Cyd.* (F 67) 14; LSJ⁹ s.v. ‘ἄβρός’.

¹⁰⁸ E.g., see: Hom. *Il.* III.371, XVII.49, XVIII.123, XIX.92; Hes. *Sc.* 279; Sappho 94.16, 96.13; Hdt. II.92; Xen. *Oec.* XIX.18; LSJ⁹ s.v. ‘ἄπαλός’.

¹⁰⁹ E.g., see: Hom. *Il.* II.42, IX.618, X.2, XIV.359, XVIII.541, XXIV.796; *Od.* III.38, 350, V.72, XVIII.202, XXIV.255; Sappho 54; Xen. *Oec.* XIX.8; Theoc. *Id.* V.51, VII.69, XV.28, 103, XVII.51; LSJ⁹ s.v. ‘μαλακός’.

¹¹⁰ E.g., see: Hom. *Il.* XVIII.595, XXIII.854; *Od.* VII.97, VIII.280, X.544; LSJ⁹ s.v. ‘λεπτός’; Gow 1950, II: 287.

¹¹¹ E.g., see: Hom. *Il.* V.905, VI.90, 271; *Od.* III.58, V.231, X.223, 544, XXIV.197; LSJ⁹ s.v. ‘χαρίεις’.

criticize) the effeminate decadence of the royal house.¹¹³ Nor is it necessary to consider this poem a pure and simple propaganda piece on the poet's part.¹¹⁴ The *Adoniazusae* provides, in my opinion, a truthful representation of the lavish display put on show in the royal palace that is itself an extension of the *soteria* and *euergesia*, the abundance and prosperity that the King and Queen of Egypt were believed to promote.¹¹⁵

The splendor of the *ekphrasis*' riches is, furthermore, highlighted by the various materials and substances on display: plants, fruits and sprouting gardens, cakes of barley flour mixed with spices, honey and oil, artwork in gold and silver, ebony and ivory, tapestries and purple coverlets. In contrast to the transient nature of these objects, however, Theocritus also put emphasis on the communal collaboration that produced the *mise en scène*: the fruits were borne by trees; the cakes were kneaded by women; the tapestries were woven by women and designed by men; the coverlets were made in Miletus from Samian wool; the baskets containing the Gardens of Adonis, arbors, the Eros figurines, the decorated couch, and perfume flasks were all the work of human hands; the hymn itself was performed by an unnamed "Argive woman's daughter, an erudite singer who a year ago also excelled in the dirge"; Gorgo and Praxinoa, women of Syracusean descent, participated in the celebration; and Queen Arsinoe sponsored the festival with her patronage. In addition to the noteworthy attentiveness to female participation, it is the emphasis on the contributions of groups of common people, Burton argues, that is remarkable. For it underscores the effort put into the display. Not only can

¹¹² LSJ⁹ s.v. 'τρυνφή'.

¹¹³ Pace Helmbold 1951, 17-18; Horstmann 1976, 18-57; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 83; *id.* 1981, 256.

¹¹⁴ Pace F. T. Griffiths 1979, 65-66; Hölbl 2001, 65.

we imagine for instance what the cakes or the couch looked like, but we also learn how they were made. In the process, the poem applauds traditionally female tasks. The emphasis on communal collaboration, moreover, illustrates how the court, under Arsinoe's guidance, created a religious community in which men as well as women of different backgrounds could publicly participate. For the syncretistic assimilation of Adonis allowed devotees, not only from the Greek world, but also the Near East and Egypt proper, to join in the festivities. Through the eyes of two Syracusean women, then, this mimetic idyll portrays the genuine cosmopolitan community celebrating the cult of Adonis.

The tableau of the Adonia, consequently, exemplifies the *luxus* or *tryphê* that was part of the Lagids' royal ideology. The wealth that was put on display, the riches provided by nature and the fine delicacies of human works, epitomize the splendor and largesse that the royal house was expected to bestow upon the populace. Like Agathe Tyche's Horn of Plenty, the abundant luxury of the *mise en scène* represents the acts of salvation and benefaction that manifest the Ptolemies' divine nature. Instead of taking Theocritus' *Adoniazusae* as a work of parody or propaganda, I have argued to read the poem's description of the central display at the royal palace as an *ekphrasis*, a truthful representation of festival scenes of the Adonia sponsored by Queen Arsinoe II. My analysis of the poet's phraseology describing the details of the display and its various materials, indeed, reveals the importance of the festival's lavishness and largesse. However, this should not be understood as Theocritus' implicit critique of the court's dainty decadence. For while the poem highlights the splendor and riches of the tableau, it also pays remarkable attention to the collaborative effort required putting on the show. In

¹¹⁵ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, ch. IV, § 4.

so doing, the *Adoniazusae* praises the contributions and participation of women, and thus publicly acknowledges their value for the creation of the religious community celebrating the cosmopolitan cult of Adonis.

* * *
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In the foregoing chapter, I have maintained that lamentation was the last rite in the process of the Lagids' immortalization. The importance of this mourning ritual for the royal ideology, to conclude, is that it reinforced the Ptolemies' apotheosis. It is necessary, however, to reiterate the scarcity of transmitted sources conveying details of royal funerary services. My conclusions can thus, admittedly, be no more than tentative, and it remains difficult to make generalizations on the basis of such sporadic evidence. With that caveat in mind, I have examined Alexandrian poetry in which the theme of lamentation appears. Such poetic allusions, I have argued, provide a densely elusive imagery of apotheosis. Especially the catasterism of the *Coma Berenices* – itself modeled after the *Corona Borealis* of Ariadne – is best understood as a metaphor for the apotheotic ascension of the members of the royal house. From what can be gauged from the fragmentary passage on the Mendes stela and Callimachus' *Apotheosis Arsinoes*, the Rape of the Lock of Berenice II was indeed analogous to the Ascension of Arsinoe II. Additionally, I contend that the identification of Berenice Parthenus with the Eye of Ra implies that she, too, was believed to ascend into the starry heavens to join her ancestral pantheon. Similarly, evocations of the myths of Persephone and Adonis, Endymion and Ganymedes, function as allegories insinuating the divinization of Ptolemaic kings and queens. A unifying theme in the Lagids' apotheotic ascension was the angelic agency

bearing the deified deceased aloft. For the Wings of Death featured both in Callimachus' *Apotheosis Arsinoes* and *Coma Berenices*, as well as in the Egyptian concept of the soul-bird (*ba*) and the Eye of Ra (*Wadjyt*). The erotic symbolism of these angelic wings, in my view, was an equation of death with rape. The winged deities, namely, who were believed to carry off the dead, viz., Eros and Himeros, Hypnos and Thanatos, – in addition to Zephyr and Boreas, and the Dioscuri (not to mention the Sirens, Harpyiae, and so forth) – reveal an intimate association between love, life, sleep and death. This rather demonic rapacious eroticism, I would suggest, reinvigorated the deceased and thus aroused their immortality. Under the accompaniment of shrill lamentations, then, members of the Lagid dynasty were snatched away from the temporal world on the wings of angels of death and set in the starry heavens, the bosom of Aphrodite-Nut, where their souls shine for eternity. The populace's participation in ritual mourning elevated the royal funerary service into a sacramental act in the Ptolemaic ruler cult, which was prerequisite for the final advancement of the apotheotic ascension of the king or queen. Only then could they enter into the eternal abode of their ancestral pantheon.

Ceremonies of the Ptolemaic cult furthermore included offerings of fragrant substances, such as incense, myrrh, wine, perfumes and ointments, which enhanced the proceedings' sanctified atmosphere. Such offerings not only hallowed the funerary rituals, but also consecrated the rites of ancestor worship and the ruler cult – indeed, they formed a natural part of religious ceremonies in general. Ptolemaic temple-scenes and a faience *alabastrum*, the Mendes stela and the Canopus decree, in addition to Theocritus' *Adoniasusae* and Callimachus' *Coma Berenices*, affirm the application of perfumes and ointments in Ptolemaic festivals. As essence of divinity, incense, myrrh, natron and ambrosia were believed to immortalize the members of the royal house. Although it

remains unclear whether embalmment became common in the Lagid dynasty, for Arsinoe II and Berenice Parthenus this ancient Pharaonic custom is explicitly attested. Theocritus related that Aphrodite anointed Berenice I with ambrosia to immortalize the Queen (as Demeter had attempted with Demophoön), and Callimachus implied that, by employing unguents associated with Athena and Aphrodite, Berenice II manifested her own divinity. Flasks containing perfumes were also offered to Adonis in the Alexandrian festival sponsored by Arsinoe II. I have suggested that the general *luxus* or *tryphê* on display in the tableau of the Adonia, like these ephemeral perfumes, exemplify the splendid riches that the Ptolemaic King and Queen were expected to bestow upon the populace as acts of divine *soteria* and *euergesia*. Rather than parody or propaganda, I have analyzed Theocritus' *ekphrasis* as an artistic representation of the Lagids' royal ideology that emphasizes, not its effeminate decadence, but its lavish largesse as well as the collaborative effort involved with the production of the *mise en scène*. Particularly noteworthy, in this respect, is Theocritus' attention to female participation in and contributions to the cosmopolitan religious community. Finally, it is important to observe the religious identifications that emerge within the milieu of lamentation. Especially the assimilation of the Ptolemaic King with Adonis insinuated that as *parhedros* of a Great Wailing Goddess he owed his deification to their *hieros gamos*. For, as Iris purified the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera with myrrh, the Horae brought back Adonis from Hades, and Selene immortalized Endymion, so Aphrodite deified Berenice I and Arsinoe Zephyritis conducted the catasterism of the Lock of Berenice. The Queen, therefore, performed a vital function for the divinization of the Lagid dynasty. In the preceding sections, on the Lagids' apotheotic ascension, on the winged deities that bore them to their eternal abode, on the sacramental offerings of perfumes and ointments, and on the

riches of the tableau of the Adonia, I have focused my attention of the more generally dynastic ideological importance, and I should now turn to the more particularly feminine symbolic significance of lamentation.

IV. INVERTING PATRIARCHY

Women in the ancient world customarily lamented the deceased. Not that men did not grieve for the passing of friends or relatives, but apparently throughout the eastern Mediterranean women were expected to lead the mourning through ritualized gestures and dirges. It is my intention, in the present chapter, to investigate the implications of specifically female aspects of mourning, in the hope of gleaning the symbolic significance of lament for Ptolemaic queenship. As in the preceding chapter, a word of caution is necessary to acknowledge that the scarce evidence allows for no more than tentative conclusions. (1.) I would suggest beginning with an examination of the ritual tearing, cutting and offering of locks of hair. We will see that the ritual comprised a substitute self-sacrifice through which the dedicant surrendered herself to the salvation of a higher power. (2.) Furthermore, I will analyze the symbolism of the funerary ritual of baring breasts. As it combines both nurture and eroticism, a wailing woman's clasping her bared breasts signifies the instinctive impulse to revive and resuscitate the dead. (3.) I will contend, moreover, that lamentation itself was an act involving an implicit grievance toward traditional patriarchy. In the third section, I will endeavor to reveal that Alexandrian poetry covertly juxtaposed marriage, love and life with rape, war and death. The object of the following paragraphs is to assert that the characteristically female rite of mourning emphasized women's vital contributions to society and their crucial participation in the community. In her exemplary position, the Ptolemaic Queen embodied such idealized female virtues

as loving care and dedication that were necessary for the immortalization of her *parhedros*, the Ptolemaic King.

1. Offerings of Hair Locks

In order to contextualize Berenice II's offering of a lock of her hair, which occasioned Callimachus' *Coma Berenices*, I will briefly examine the ritual dedication of hair locks. As we will see, in the ancient Mediterranean the cutting and offering of tresses was often a mark of existential transition or a pledge for salvation. For ancient Greece, the tearing, shearing and/or offering of hair as a sign of mourning is well attested.¹ In Homer's *Iliad*, Patroclus' bier is covered with his companions' shorn hair, and Achilles cut off a lock of his hair as he commenced his lamentations.² However, it was more commonly women who formally mourned the dead. So, his mother Hecabe and his wife Andromache, as well as Helen (the indirect cause of his death) and the women of Troy in general grieved at Hector's death, tearing at their hair, throwing off their veils, gouging their faces, and keenly wailing.³ The same mourning custom is, for instance, performed by Iphigenia, Hecabe and Orestes in Euripides' tragedies.⁴ Visual representations of the

¹ Nachtergaele 1981, 603 and n. 67 (with lit. on hair-offerings); Burkert 1985, 70; Garland 1985, 118; Gutzwiller 1992, 369; Dillon 2002, esp. 275-277; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. II, § 1, pp. 299-300, nn. 9-10 and 18.

² Hom. *Il.* XXIII.135-153; *cf.* XXIII.45-47; *id.* *Od.* IV.198, XXIV.46; Callim. *Hymn. Dian.* 126; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 105-108.

³ Hom. *Il.* XXII.405-407, 430-436, XIV.746-759 (Hecabe), XXII.460-515, XIV.723-645 (Andromache), 761-775 (Helen); Vermeule 1979, 15-17; Garland 1985, 29-30; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 108-114; Dillon 2002, 268-269.

⁴ *E.g.*, see: Eur. *El.* 90-91, 513-517; *IT* 172-173, 703, *Or.* 96, 128; *Tro.* 480, 1182-1184.

tearing of hair date back to late-Geometric (8th cent. BCE) grave-marking *amphorae*.⁵ Such scenes of mourning continued to be depicted on funerary vases through the archaic and classical periods.⁶ As I have conjectured above, a Ptolemaic *alabastrum* may well portray Cleopatra I tearing her tresses in mourning for Ptolemy V.⁷ While finds in Pharaonic tombs indicate that hair offerings had a magico-religious function in funerary contexts, it does not seem that Egyptians sheared or tore their hair as a sign of mourning.⁸ Grave paintings do illustrate that especially mourning women beat their head and soiled it with dust.⁹ In the Ptolemaic period, however, it seems that the native population adopted the Greek custom of offering shorn hair to the dead.¹⁰ Occasional references, for instance, in the Hebrew Bible to the shaving of hair indicate that in the Near East, too, this was a sign of deep sorrow.¹¹ In short, men and more frequently women marked their mourning by soiling, rending, cutting and/or dedicating their hair.

Other rites of passage could similarly be accompanied by offerings of hair.¹² For instance, a number of dedicatory epigrams in the *Anthologia Palatina*, confirm that girls marked their transition into marriageable age by sacrificing their locks to Artemis, while

⁵ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 58-61, pls. 4-5; Vermeule 1979, 11, 16-18, fig. I.10; Garland 1985, 24-25, 28-29, 31-32, figs. 6, 8; Spivey 1997, ill. 39, 43; Dillon 2002, 274-275.

⁶ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 76-79, 102-105, pls. 11-13, 26-27, 33-38; Vermeule 1979, figs. I.6-8A, 9, 11, 13-16; Garland 1985, 26, fig. 7; Dillon 2002, 275-281, figs. 9.1-4.

⁷ *Supra* Pt. Three, ch. II, § 4, pp. 319-322.

⁸ *Supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 4, pp. 292-293.

⁹ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Klageweib', ill. 31-31.

¹⁰ *Koptos* pl. 22; Nachtergaele 1981, 592, 598, 604; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 2, p. 285, n. 59.

¹¹ *E.g.*, see: OT *Mic.* I.16. [Note that OT *Lam.* contains no mention of the custom.]

¹² *RE* s.v. 'Haaropfer'; Gutzwiller 1992, 369-373; Koenen 1993, 109.

boys marked their adolescence by offering the shavings of their first beard to Apollo – other deities may likewise receive hair offerings.¹³ At the sanctuary of Persephone in Epizephyrian Locri (mod. Gerace) terracotta plaques (*pinakes*) illustrate this prenuptial sacrifice – one of which shows a girl with a small knife in one hand and a lock of her hair in the other about to make her offering to the goddess.¹⁴ In Egypt, too, children dedicated their hair upon entering puberty (a practice that has been attested in Upper Egypt in modern times), and Egyptians also made hair offerings in fulfillment of prayers, for instance, after delivery from illness.¹⁵ Dedications of hair locks were furthermore associated with the transition into married life, which was a time of particular anxiety for young women – as the myths of Persephone or Iphigenia so clearly evince.¹⁶ As seen in Part One, Arsinoe III dedicated a lock of her hair to Artemis on the occasion of her wedding to her brother Ptolemy IV.¹⁷ Yet, the sacrifice also signified the bride's marital commitment: for by cutting off her “maiden hair” she showed her willingness to enter into marriage and womanhood. The dedication of locks, thus, marked the chief stages of a woman's existence.

Hair offerings were, in fact, the most commonly pledged sacrifice – doubtless because the loss involved little pain or cost. Nevertheless, in Burkert's words, “by

¹³ *Anth. Pal.* VI: 59, 155-156, 164, 198, 276-279; also, see: Hdt. IV.34; Paus. I.xliii.4; Poll. III.38; Diod. V.24; Burkert 1985, 70; Gutzwiller 1992, 369-370; Dillon 2002, 215.

¹⁴ Dillon 2002, 225-226.

¹⁵ Hdt. II.65; Diod. I.83; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Haaropfer,’ 267; A. Burton 1972, 240.

¹⁶ *Cypria* 1, pp. 492-495 LCL (*ap. Proc. Chrest.* I: 104 Allen); Eur. *Hipp.* 1423-1430; Σ *Ar. Lys.* 645; Gutzwiller 1992, 370-371.

¹⁷ Damag. *Epigr.* I (*ap. Anth. Pal.* VI: 277); cit. *supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 2, p. 132, n. 94.

dedicating his hair, a man surrenders a part of himself to a higher power.”¹⁸ Once pledged in times of anxiety, the shorn locks were believed to be invested with a magico-religious force through which redemption could be attained. Thus, both the prayer for salvation and the delivery from peril might be accompanied by hair offerings. It is in this context that we can comprehend Callimachus’ *Coma Berenices*. For Berenice II had pledged a lock of her hair upon the safe and triumphant return of her newly wed husband Ptolemy III from the war in Syria against Laodice.¹⁹ In fulfillment of that vow, the Queen indeed dedicated a shorn hair lock to all the gods in the temple of Arsinoe Zephyritis. The Lock, however, experiences his catasterism rather as an abduction, a separation from his sister-tresses as lamentable as rape or death – not unlike the fate of Endymion or Ariadne, to which the poem alludes.²⁰ The Lock’s grief is simultaneously an allegory for Berenice’s lamentations upon her husband’s departure on his Syrian campaign.²¹ As a constellation set among the stars, the Lock has become the absent lover, as lovesick as his sister-tresses long for him.²² For all the Lock cares, the heavens may collapse and Aquarius may shine beside Orion, if he could be reunited with his Queen’s hairs.²³ The

¹⁸ Burkert 1985, 70.

¹⁹ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 8-14 (lacunose); Catull. LXVI.8-14, 33-38; Schwinge 1986, 70-71; Cameron 1995, 105-107. For the Third Syrian War, *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 1, p. 68, n. 44, ch. IV, § 2, p. 132, n. 91.

²⁰ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 40, 51, 75-76; Catull. LXVI.39-40, 51-52, 75-76; *cf.* 4-6, 59-60; Koenen 1993, 97-98, 106-107.

²¹ Catull. LXVI.21-25, 29-32.

²² Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 51 (ἄρτι νεότμητόν με κόμαι ποθέεσκον ἀδελφαι); Catull. LXVI.51-52 (*abiunctae Paulo ante comae mea fata sorores | lugebant*). [Note that the Gk. draws the distinction between πλόκαμος (masc.) and κόμα (fem.), which is lost in the Lat. trans.; Koenen 1993, 94-95.]

²³ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 93-94; Catull. LXVI.93-94 (*sidera corruerint utinam! Coma regia fiam: | proximus Hydrochoi fulgeret Oarion*); Gutzwiller 1992, 359, 382-383, n. 69 (defending the Ms.

Coma Berenices, then, ambiguously juxtaposes marriage, love and longing with rape, war and death. Berenice's dedication of her hair lock was, in other words, at once a nuptial rite, a fulfillment of a vow, a pledge for salvation, and an expression of bereavement.

The ritual cutting and offering of hair, to sum up, was a widespread ancient rite of passage that marked existential transitions and/or crises such as adolescence, marriage, deliverance, and death. Since the locks that were offered to the deity were believed to contain a magico-religious power, the votive offering constituted a substitute of self-sacrifice that signified humiliation through despoilment and submission. The voluntary separation of one's hair symbolized the deliverance from the existential crises or transition for which the dedicant had surrendered herself to the deity. As such, the ritual also represented the bereavement associated with violent and grievous separation. The ritual offering of locks can be attested for several Ptolemaic queens: One of Damagetus' epigrams commended Arsinoe III for dedicating her tresses to Artemis upon her wedding to Ptolemy IV. A faience perfume flask that may have been used in the Ptolemaic cult, illustrates the ritual rending of hair, possibly portraying Cleopatra I in mourning for Ptolemy V. Additionally, Callimachus' *Coma Berenices* was occasioned by Berenice II's dedication of a lock to all the gods in the temple of Arsinoe Zephyritis. Here, the votive offering is presented foremost as a nuptial rite as well as a pledge for Ptolemy III's successful Syrian campaign. However, through the lighthearted lament of the Lock of Berenice, the dedication also becomes an allegory for the separation of the newly wed lovers, for abduction, and death. With the Lock's catasterism as a metaphor for apotheotic ascension, finally, Berenice's offering to Arsinoe implies the aspiration for the Queen's own deification.

reading of l. 93: *sidera cur iterent*, 'utinam coma regia fiam'); Koenen 1993, 110-111.

2. The Baring of Breasts

In addition to shearing or tearing of hair, ritual mourning was accompanied by acts of defacement, *viz.*, rubbing earth or ash on one's head, wearing soiled or torn clothes, gouging and lacerating one's skin, and beating or baring of breasts.²⁴ We have learned above that women beat and bared their breasts in the cult of Adonis (as well as Tammuz-Dumuzi).²⁵ I have argued that Astarte figurines, portraying the goddess in breast-clasping gesture, combined maternal and funerary concerns.²⁶ Suckling the udder of the cow goddess Isis-Hathor resuscitated the dead in the afterlife, as the divine milk revived the pharaoh's kingship.²⁷ We have also seen that Isis' nursing of Osiris' heir Horus (or Harpocrates), at least from the time of the *Pyramid Text*, was associated with the pharaoh's resurrection.²⁸ Although ultimately she failed, Demeter similarly endeavored to immortalize Demophoön by holding the child in her "fragrant bosom (*thuôdei kolpôi*)."²⁹ We should not ignore the erotic aspect of the Wailing Goddess offering her breast to her dying lover, for it, too, expresses the desire to arouse and thus resurrect the deceased.³⁰ In my opinion, the so-called "concubine of the dead" figurines likewise conflate sexuality, fertility and funerary concerns to convey the hope for

²⁴ Burkert 1979, 118-122; Vermeule 1979, 12-15; Garland 1985, 29; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 103-111; Dillon 2002, 268-269, 271, 282.

²⁵ *Supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 1, pp. 277-279.

²⁶ Riis 1949, 69-90; *supra* 279, n. 24.

²⁷ Tran Tam Tinh and Labrecque 1973; Heyob 1975, 74-75; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 4, p. 290.

²⁸ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 2, pp. 40-41, ch. IV, § 3, p. 138; Pt. Two, ch. I, § 3, pp. 171-172.

²⁹ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 231-238 (θυώδεϊ δέξατο κόλπῳ ἢ χεῖρεσσ' ἀθανάτησι ... ἡδὺ καταπνείουσα καὶ ἐν κόλποισιν ἔχουσα); Richardson 1974, 231-234; Foley (ed.) 1994, 48-50.

resurrection in the next life.³¹ As a mourning rite, the clasping, beating and baring of breasts is a genuine expression of grief.

The maternal anguish conveyed with this gesture is epitomized in Hecabe's exclamation, upon hearing the fate of her son Hector, "pity me, if ever I gave you the breast to soothe you," at which she tore her hair, rent her clothes and bared her breast.³² Even if such gestures were not direct manifestations of a mother's grief, it signified the existential crisis caused by death that incapacitates a woman's maternal instincts to nurture life. Although under different circumstances, *viz.*, during the palace uprising of the Macedonian guards against the regency of Agathocles, his sister and Ptolemy IV's mistress, Agathoclea, clasped her breasts, with which she claimed she had suckled young Ptolemy V, to entreat the soldiers to spare her life.³³ In a funerary situation, in other words, the gesture symbolized the desire to revive the dead by offering the life-giving breast.

The funerary rites performed for Adonis, as the hymnist in Theocritus' idyll informs, indeed included the disrobing of the wailing women's breast.³⁴ Theocritus accentuated the beneficently apotheotic setting when he let Praxinoa, one of the Syracusean devotees of Adonis, announce: "Well, Ptolemy, you have done many good

³⁰ *Supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 1, p. 278, nn. 21-22.

³¹ *Supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 4, pp. 291-291.

³² Hom. *Il.* XXII.79-83 (μήτηρ δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν ὀδύρετο, δάκρυ χέουσα, ἡ κόλπον ἀνιέμενη, ἐτέρηφι δὲ μαζὸν ἀνέσχε· ἡ καὶ μιν, δάκρυ χέουσ', ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· ἡ "Ἐκτορ, τέκνον ἐμόν, τάδε τ' αἶδεο): καὶ μ' ἐλέησον ἡ αὐτήν, εἴ ποτέ τοι λαθικηδέα μαζὸν ἐπέσχον; Garland 1985, 29; Holst-Warhaft 1992, 112-113; Dillon 2002, 268.

³³ Polyb. XV.xxxi.13; Pomeroy 1984, 50-51; Ogden 1999, 82, 236; Huß 2001, 484.

³⁴ Theoc. *Id.* XV.134-135; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 1, p. 278, n. 16.

deeds since your father was among the immortals (*athanatoi*).”³⁵ We may also bear in mind the multi-cultural milieu of the Alexandrian cosmopolis, what with immigration not only from the Greek world – from Magna Graecia, the Balkan peninsula, the Aegean islands and the Asia-Minor coast –, but also from beyond the Greek-speaking world, especially the Egyptian *chora*, Syria and Phoenicia.³⁶ Under such conditions, syncretistic assimilations doubtless mutually reinforced the mythic constellation of the Great Wailing Goddess and her prematurely dying paramour – viz., (Amun/Atum-) Ra, Osiris, Dionysus, Adonis and Tammuz-Dumuzi. The identification of Ptolemaic queens with Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis, even the Dea Syria Astarte, I would suggest, involved the manifestation of the Queen as an attendant in the divinization of her own royal *parhedros*, the Ptolemaic King.

Accordingly, the mourning rite of disrobing wailing women’s breasts was not only a gesture of deep grief, but also symbolized the impulse to resuscitate the deceased. For a woman’s breast represents both the maternally nurturing and the erotically arousing organ. In the face of the most profound existential crisis, the ritual lacerating and/or beating of her breast signified a woman’s inability to satisfy her female instincts – as mother or wife. Although the ritual bearing of breasts is attested within the Ptolemaic context only at the Alexandrian festival in honor of Adonis (assimilated with Osiris and Tammuz-Dumuzi, as well as the King), I would suggest that the identification of Ptolemaic queens with Wailing Goddesses implied that, like Aphrodite offered Adonis her breast, Demeter hid Demophoön in her bosom, Hathor suckled the dead in the afterlife, Hathor and Isis nurtured the crown prince (Harpocrates), and Astarte clasped

³⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XV.46-47.

her breast for dying Tammuz, so the Queen's loving care and devotion was vital in the immortalization of the King.

3. The Voice of Grievance

In many cultures, lamentation is a means to give voice to complaints. In ancient Greek, in fact, the verb "*klaiein*" means "to cry, wail, lament" as well as "to complain."³⁷ In a Ptolemaic setting, for instance, Theocritus' Dirge for Adonis contrasted the transitory nature of the wares displayed in the *mise en scène* with the communal effort invested in its production, hinting at an unspoken criticism leveled at the public deprecation of women's roles in society. Detienne's seminal structural analysis of the festivals of Adonis and Demeter, similarly drew upon the contrast between the evanescent luxury of seductive perfumes and the vital necessity of cereal crops.³⁸ However, we should not disregard the essential similarity between Aphrodite and Demeter in relation to their respective *parhedroi*, Adonis and Persephone. The myth of the Wailing Goddess – whether Aphrodite or Isis, Astarte or Ishtar-Inanna – at heart involves the premature decease of her paramour. In the Rape of Persephone, through its equation of marriage with rape and death, Demeter's lament is leveled unequivocally against the patriarchal marriage customs that separate families. In the case of Adonis, Aphrodite's grief is directed toward the ephemeral and vulnerable nature of love as

³⁶ Goukowsky 1992, 162; J. B. Burton 1995, 144-145.

³⁷ Bob Rust, "The Language of Complaint in Archilochus 13 W.," *APA Abstracts* 20 (2002): 262. [Cf. Grm., Du.: *klagen*, "to weep; to complain."]

³⁸ Detienne 1972, esp. 157, 200.

epitomized by the effeminacy of her lover. In either case, the existential meaning concerns the inversion of the traditionally male-dominated order.

To illustrate how, in the Ptolemaic context, lament could function as a form of social critique, I would suggest interpreting the Gardens of Adonis (*kêpoi Adonidos*) as metaphor of grievance.³⁹ Since these sprouts were left to wither, the Gardens in essence symbolized the necessity of female nurturing dedication.⁴⁰ Naturally, the Gardens are to be understood as representation of Adonis, and *vice versa*. Adonis' untimely death – according to some versions in a field of lettuce (considered an antaphrodisiac plant)⁴¹ – signified not only his short-lived virility or man's marginal involvement in human and vegetative generation, but also the temporary nature of love and life itself.⁴² In contrast, the Fruit of Demeter (*karpos Dêmêtros*) signified the laboring toil involved with the cultivation of crops and the rearing of children.⁴³ The sweet-smelling perfumes, spices and herbs of the Adonis tableau sensuously heightened this evanescent atmosphere. The *luxus* or *tryphê* on display at the palace was, of course, wholly appropriate within its royal and religious setting. However, as I have pointed out above, the terminology of this luxury simultaneously underscores its delicate vulnerability. To repeat, Theocritus' idyll carefully juxtaposes this transitory luxury with the effort of communal collaboration. The myth of the Wailing Goddess, in other words, concerns the conflict between life and

³⁹ For the "Gardens of Adonis," esp. see: Atallah 1966, 211-228; Detienne 1972, 187-226; Friedrich 1978, 206-209.

⁴⁰ Pl. *Phdr.* 276B; Gow 1950, II: 295; Atallah 1966, 211-216; Burkert 1979, 107, 195 n. 23; Winkler 1990, 190-192, 205; J. B. Burton 1995, 143.

⁴¹ Sappho F 211B.iii; Hesych. s.v. 'Ἀδωνηΐς' and 'Ἀδωνιδος κῆποι'; Atallah 1966, 97, 102; Winkler 1990, 189-190, 204.

⁴² Burkert 1979, 110; Winkler 1990, 205-206; J. B. Burton 1995, 134.

death. Just as human involvement is subordinate to Mother Earth's role in agriculture, so men's contribution to childbirth is slight in comparison to women's labor. Just as Persephone's abduction by the hands of Hades epitomized the separation of mother and daughter, so the death of Adonis denoted the severance of the nuptial union between husband and wife. Thus, the significance of the Gardens of Adonis revolves around the essential – even existential – necessity of nurturing dedication for sustaining love and life.

What is so remarkable in Theocritus' *Adoniazusae*, as already mentioned in the previous chapter, is the public celebration of female creations. In this mimetic idyll, we follow two Syracusean women leaving the privacy of their homes and entering into the streets of Alexandria until they reach the royal palace. Under the patronage of Arsinoe II, the most domestic of women's tasks were given central stage in the religious ceremony.⁴⁴ There, in the *mise en scène*, the spectators could delight in tapestries, robes and coverlets, which were dyed, woven and embroidered by women.⁴⁵ Spinning and weaving, of course, were (and in the Balkan peninsula still are) traditionally female skills – if only for the manufacture of dowry.⁴⁶ The animal-shaped offering cakes were, similarly, prepared by women on their kneading-trays, mixing flour, spices, honey and oil.⁴⁷ This attention to the female, domestic sphere is highlighted by the explicit matrilineal identification (not to mention the absence of patrilineal identification) of the female hymnist as “the Argive

⁴³ Winkler 1990, 198-199, 207-208.

⁴⁴ Pomeroy 1975, 71-73; J. B. Burton 1995, 144-147.

⁴⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XV.78-86, 125-127; Gow 1950, II: 286-289; J. B. Burton 1995, 141-144.

⁴⁶ Pomeroy 1975, 62-63, 110-111; *ead.* 1984, 91-94; Winkler 1990, 205.

⁴⁷ Theoc. *Id.* XV.115-118; Gow 1950, II: 296; J. B. Burton 1995, 141, 143.

woman's daughter," and the pairing of Dione, Aphrodite and Helen, as well as Berenice I and Arsinoe II. It is in this milieu that the quick-sprouting Gardens of Adonis were allowed to wither, so that the public, or at least its female members, were acutely reminded of the essential role which women perform in the cycle of life – birth, nurturance, marriage and mourning.⁴⁸ For after the celebration of Adonis' holy wedding to Aphrodite, on the next (*viz.*, second) day of the festival, women bore the dead god to the shore and commended his body to the waves. Implicit, in short, was the establishment of bonds of affinity, of a social and religious community, through women's concern for the well-being of their relatives and family.

This latent antagonism between the public domain dominated by men and the private sphere managed by women can be brought into even sharper perspective. For the *Adoniazusae* as well as the *Coma Berenice*, reveal a depreciation of male functions by contrasting marriage, love and life with rape, war and death. The Adonis tableau, namely, represents the bridal banquet of the *hieros gamos* of Aphrodite and Adonis, from which the young god is snatched like Ganymedes on the rapacious wings of Zeus' eagles.⁴⁹ As cited above, furthermore, the hymnist juxtaposed Adonis with the heroes of by-gone days.⁵⁰ Apart from bringing to mind Hecabe's lament for Hector,⁵¹ conspicuously absent from this catalogue of heroes is Achilles.⁵² In comparison with these heroic warriors,

⁴⁸ Friedrich 1978, 184-190; Burkert 1979, 121-122.

⁴⁹ Theoc. *Id.* XV.128-131; Gow 1950, II: 298; Pomeroy 1984, 34.

⁵⁰ Theoc. *Id.* XV.136-142; Gow 1950, II: 136-142; J.B. Burton 1995, 139; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. III, § 1, p. 329.

⁵¹ *Cf.* Hom. *Il.* XXII.82-89, 405-407, 431-436, XIV.746-759; J.B. Burton 1995, 139-140; *supra* pp. 355, 361.

⁵² J.B. Burton 1995, 140.

Adonis was but an incompetent paramour.⁵³ Scholars who (intuitively or otherwise) recognize Adonis' incompetence are generally worried that as such the god made for an inappropriate candidate for a religious identification with the Ptolemaic King.⁵⁴ However, beside Adonis' unique ability to return from the dead (about which more in Part Four), the significance here is that both Adonis and Ptolemy II owe their immortalization to the presence of a dominant female figure at their side – respectively Aphrodite and Arsinoe II, whose love for their spouse Theocritus ardently eulogized. In like fashion, the Lock of Berenice laments the acts of war, which put an abrupt end to the nuptial bliss of Berenice II and Ptolemy III.⁵⁵ The Lock compared his fate with that of Mt. Athos, both cut by strong steel (the latter by the Persians during Xerxes' campaign), and he cursed the Scythian tribe of the Chalybes for discovering metallurgy.⁵⁶ Thus, Callimachus' *aetium* also juxtaposed marriage, love and life with abduction, warfare and bereavement.

In the guise of ritual mourning, in sum, lamentation could offer women release for the hypocrisy of patriarchal dominance. I have tried to show how Theocritus' *Adoniazusae* and Callimachus' *Coma Berenices* draw on the contrast of marriage, love and life with rape, war and death – the feminine versus the masculine. Particularly the Adonia contained a covert complaint about society's persistence on patrimonial

⁵³ F. T. Griffiths 1979, 83-84; J. B. Burton 1995, 139-140.

⁵⁴ Dover 1971, 209-210; J. B. Burton 1995, 136-140. [Tondriau, while recognizing Arsinoe's patronization of the Adonia as an attempt to assimilate herself with Aphrodite (quoting Glotz 1920, 173: "Arsinoé se posait en Aphrodite et préparait son apothéose"), passes over the possibility that her spouse was hence identified with Adonis; Tondriau 1948a-b; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 216.]

⁵⁵ Catull. LXVI.11-14; Koenen 1993, 95-98; Gutzwiller 1997, 379.

⁵⁶ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 44-50; cf. Catull. LXVI.44-50; Pfeiffer 1949-53, I: 114-115; Koenen 1993, 98-100; Gutzwiller 1997, 379.

legitimacy, despite men's trivial contribution to child bearing and rearing. The transience of temporal affairs of earthly life was thus contrasted with the inevitability of constant toiling to sustain that life. Instead of the generational affiliation of society (a male, vertical, diachronic association), the poems examined reveal attentiveness for personal and familial bonds of community (a female, horizontal, synchronic association). The Queen's patronage of the cult of Adonis authorized female participation in public life in the form of a religious festival. Simultaneously, the very festival publicly recognized female contributions to society and celebrated their traditionally private and domestic roles. This protest against patriarchal traditions remained only implicit underneath the surface. We can, nonetheless, appreciate the acclaim for female accomplishments in the spheres of child bearing and rearing, matrimony and mourning, *i.e.*, the feminine virtues of love and devotion, embodied by the Ptolemaic Queen.

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Having dealt with the more generally dynastic implications of lamentation in the third chapter, I have endeavored to divulge a more particularly female perception in this chapter. So as to summarize my findings, it is important to reiterate the Ptolemaic queens' religious identification with Great Wailing Goddesses. As a funerary ritual, the offering of hair locks was a sign of deep grief that is associated with the abject despoilment of mourning. In general, votive offerings of hair marked transitions and/or crises in life, such as birth, marriage, death and deliverance from peril. The baring of breasts was a funerary custom as well. Ritual clasping of the bared breast springs from the real or intuitive maternal anguish provoked by the existential crisis of death. The

gesture has also been associated with the Wailing Goddess constellation and was, moreover, performed during the Alexandrian Adonia. It symbolized the profound desire to resuscitate the deceased with the life-giving breast. The ideological importance for Ptolemaic queenship, accordingly, was the vital role the Queen performed for the immortalization of the King. Additionally, I have tried to disclose an alternative view insinuated by the symbolism of lamentation. Reading the voice of grievance as an allegory for the evanescence of *luxus* (*tryphê*), I have argued that lamentation reveals an inversion of patriarchy. For the juxtaposition of the ephemeral Gardens of Adonis with the life-sustaining Fruits of Demeter deplored the transience of earthly life in contrast to the constant toiling for survival. In other words, the voice of the wailing women implicitly conveyed a denunciation of male incompetence in the domestic sphere of child bearing and rearing, and the nurturance of life in general. Furthermore, the enactment of mourning rituals especially in the Adonia entailed the public celebration of women's vital contributions to society and their proud participation in the creation of a religious community under the auspices of the Ptolemaic Queen. The symbolism of lamentation in short expressed the existential and communal significance of female accomplishments – thus inverting the traditional male dominance of patriarchy.

CONCLUSION

The central question of the foregoing four chapters has been: What was the meaning of lamentation both for the Lagid dynasty in general, and for Ptolemaic queenship in particular? In order to answer this question, I have maintained that Ptolemaic queens performed a vital role for the consecration of the royal house through religious identifications with Great Wailing Goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Isis and Hathor. Moreover, the symbolic significance of lamentation was the exaltation of the queens' role in the ruler cult. To conclude and validate the interpretations presented in Part Three, I will set the theme of ritual mourning in its wider historical context. (a.) First, I will recap the pivotal importance of lamentation as a ritual of bereavement in the queens' identifications. (b.) I will furthermore review the theme's implications for the royal ideology and for Ptolemaic queenship. (c.) I will then be able to illuminate the Ptolemaic queens' position of ideological influence and authority at the royal court. (d.) Finally, I can deduce the ideal characteristics of queenship as epitomized by the symbolism of lamentation.

(a.) The myth of Aphrodite and Adonis, I have stated, ultimately derived from Inanna, the Sumerian archetype of the Wailing Goddess, who mourned the death of her royal *parhedros* Dumuzi. In this third case study, I have explored the possible importance of the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens with goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Isis and Hathor, who lamented the death of their beloved and/or were associated with funerary concern – and thus retained traits of the primordial Wailing

Goddess of Mesopotamia. In the opening chapter of Part Three, I have also paid attention to the obvious differences between the relationships of Aphrodite and Adonis, Isis and Osiris, Demeter and Persephone, as well as Hathor and Ra. The cosmopolitan environment of Alexandria, doubtless, reinforced their syncretistic assimilations. Additionally, various ceremonies in honor of these deities included performances of funerary rites such as lamentations, tearing and/or offering of hair, beating and/or baring of breasts, and libations of wine and/or perfumed ointments. While such acts of defilement conveyed a profound sense of bereavement, erotic connotations of these rituals symbolized the desire to resuscitate the deceased. While Part Four will be devoted to the joyous return from the dead, here it suffices to affirm the presence of mythic and ritual mourning in the sphere of the goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified.

Although there should be no doubt that mourning functioned in the commemoration of the deceased members of the Lagid house, it has to be reiterated that surviving sources for royal funerary services or the ceremonies of the ruler cult are regrettably scarce. What little explicit evidence that remains I have reviewed in the second chapter. From such sources as the Mendes stela and the Canopus decree, temple-scenes and Alexandrian poetry, I have tried to piece together a picture attesting to the performance of ritual lament in the Ptolemaic ruler cult. From this material, we have learned that Queen Arsinoe II was mourned by her subjects with weeping and wailing, processions, burnt offerings, libations of wine and other sacrifices. She was embalmed according to Pharaonic tradition and established at her mortuary shrine. Similar rites were performed for Princess Berenice Parthenus, and there is no reason to doubt that such ceremonies were likewise performed more generally for deceased Ptolemaic kings

and queens. Arsinoe II furthermore sponsored the public celebration of the Adonia in the royal palace, along with its dirge and funerary rites. A Ptolemaic *alabastrum* appears to depict Queen Cleopatra I enacting a mourning ritual in the ceremonial knotted dress, and Ptolemaic *oenochae* portray queens (posthumously) participating in their own cult. It may therefore be that Lagid women participated in lamentations and other mourning rituals for their deceased relatives, but there are no sources to confirm this assumption.

(b.) The immediate ideological importance of lamentation was that it implied the Lagids' apotheotic ascension. For as a mourning ritual it accompanied the last rites in honor of the deceased kings or queens, before their entrance into their ancestral pantheon. From the surviving Greek and Egyptian sources, we can glean that, at their earthly passing, Ptolemaic kings and queens were believed to ascend into heaven where their souls shined as stars in the night sky. Dense allusions to mythic rapes such as Endymion and Ganymedes, as well as the myths of Adonis and Persephone, catasterisms such as the Lock of Berenice, the Crown of Ariadne, the Starry Wain of Calypso, in addition to the Egyptian conceptions of the Soul Bird and the Eye of Ra, all were metaphors for the Lagids' Ascension. Furthermore, agents of such apotheotic ascensions were angelic winged deities who carried off the dead to their new abode. Per analogy with the rapaciousness, *e.g.*, of Eros and Himeros, Hypnos and Thanatos, Zephyr and Boreas, and Castor and Pollux, we can perceive an erotic undercurrent, which allegorically conveyed that love overcomes death through the stimulation of immortality. The application of incense, myrrh, wine, perfumed oils and fragrant ointments in the consecration of the ancestor and ruler cults similarly evoked the divinization of the members of the royal house as such aromatic substances were believed to contain the essence of divinity. Even the ephemeral luxury on display in the tableau of the Adonia, by simultaneously

symbolizing the transience of life with its treasures and pleasures as well as exemplifying the divine acts of benefaction expected of the Lagids, revealed the association of lamentation and deification. The third chapter was devoted the examination of the dynastic significance of lamentation.

In chapter four, I have offered a more specifically female perspective of ritual mourning. As laments for the dead were traditionally sung by women, the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens with Great Wailing Goddesses suggests that the queens performed an indispensable role for the deification of the members of the royal house. In their myths it was the Great Goddesses who saved her beloved from the eternal condemnation of death: so Adonis and Persephone return seasonally from Hades, Osiris is resurrected, and Ra is safeguarded each night on his voyage through the Netherworld. Similarly, Aphrodite was believed to have saved Berenice I from mortality, and Arsinoe Zephyritis is invoked to immortalize Berenice II. This divinization through female descent is furthermore emphasized, *e.g.*, by Theocritus, through matrilineal identifications of Dione, Aphrodite and Helen with Berenice I and Arsinoe II. As an expression of grievous bereavement, ritual mourning was accompanied by acts of self-defacement that were signs of the foremost existential crisis of death. Offering of hair locks constituted a *pars-pro-toto* dedication as a supplication for salvation. The ritual claspings or beating of bared breasts denotes the intuitive impulse to resuscitate the deceased. The lament of wailing women, moreover, raised a voice of grievance toward patriarchic traditions. In contrast to the Fruits of Demeter, the swiftly withering Gardens of Adonis symbolized male incompetence in the spheres of human reproduction and the nurturance of life. Like the myth of Persephone, Alexandrian poetry displays a preference for marriage, love and life over rape, war and death – a preference for feminine and

domestic bonds of love and affection over the masculine and political acts of hate and aggression. We can thus discern a convergence of maternal care, matrimonial love and funerary rites. A crucial function of Ptolemaic queenship, in short, was the popularization, legitimation and sacralization of the Lagid dynasty.

(c.) The symbolism of lamentation in the context of the divine worship of the Lagids, as the present case study has attempted to substantiate, affirmed the Ptolemaic queens' elevated status of prestige and authority. Although modern historians ought to probe beyond the scant literary sources, in my opinion the evidence adduced in the preceding chapters does disclose the queens' exercise of power at the Lagid court. The Ptolemaic Queen was involved in the establishment and observance of religious festivals, including the Adonia, her own official cult, and possibly the mourning rites of members of her royal house as well as the cult of the Lagid ancestors. In the context of ritual mourning, I have discussed the public celebration of women's collaborative contributions to society and their proud participation in the cosmopolitan community of Alexandria. The Queen in so doing promoted female accomplishments and characteristics. Moreover, the implicit inversion of patriarchy inherent in the symbolism of lamentation tacitly articulated the important role Ptolemaic queens performed at the Alexandrian court. In their exemplary position the Ptolemaic queens thus exhibited their ideological influence and political power.

(d.) Finally, the theme of lamentation conveys notable characteristics of ideal queenship. Particularly the poetry of Theocritus and Callimachus bear out the importance of this theme in an unambiguous Ptolemaic context. Through religious identifications the Ptolemaic Queen appeared as the agent of the King's deification. For Adonis owed his immortality to Aphrodite's wailing, Osiris was resurrected by Isis' lamentations,

Persephone returned each year from Hades because of Demeter's grief, and Ra's nocturnal voyage through the abode of the dead was safeguarded through Hathor's care. Symbolically, then, ritual lamentation procured dynastic immortalization. In Theocritus' idylls Aphrodite conducted the divinization of Berenice I, while Arsinoe II is compared to that goddess in her loving care for Adonis. In Callimachus' *Coma Berenices* Aphrodite Arsinoe Zephyritis conducted the Lock's catasterism, while Queen Berenice II seems to anticipate her own deification at the hands of her (adoptive) mother. These poets' assimilation of their queens with Helen, Athena and Aphrodite, furthermore, acclaimed their divine virtue, modesty and beauty. The Queen's participation in funerary rituals and royal cults, as depicted on Ptolemaic *oenochoe* and an *alabastrum*, additionally, portrayed her devotion and dedication, her loving care and affection that advanced the popularization, legitimization and sacralization of the Lagid dynasty.

The foregoing thematic study of lamentation foremost intended to validate that Ptolemaic queens were religiously identified with goddesses such as Astarte (Ishtar-Inanna), Aphrodite, Demeter, Isis or Hathor, owing in part to their similar vital functions for lamentation and sacralization. Previously overlooked features of dynastic ideology, in my opinion, have been brought to a fore in this examination of the deification of Ptolemaic queens. The characteristically female ritual of lament constituted the final act in the immortalization of the members of the Lagid royal house – which accompanied their apotheotic ascension into the celestial abode of their ancestral pantheon. Mourning rituals such as weeping, offering of hair, and baring of breasts, moreover, embodied the ideals of feminine traits of care and affection, devotion and dedication. It is all the more remarkable, then, that female contributions and accomplishments were publicly celebrated within the setting of ritual lament, which even involved an implicit inversion

of male dominance. The Queen's manifestation as Wailing Goddess, accordingly, exemplified the promotion of female participation in the cosmopolis of Hellenistic Egypt.

Part Four.

JUBILATION



The fourth and final part of this dissertation presents a case study of the theme of jubilation within the context of the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens with goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis. The premise that I intend to substantiate is that the queens' deification was in part based on their similar concern for jubilation, revivification and reincarnation, victory and benevolence. Once more, this case study is divided into four chapters: *(I.)* I will first demonstrate the significance of jubilation for the goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified. In addition, I will illustrate themes that were associated with the goddesses' joy and/or the return of her beloved. *(II.)* I will offer evidence in the second chapter attesting to the symbolic significance of jubilation within the Ptolemaic context. *(III.)* I will then examine the theme's implications for the dynastic ideology in general. *(IV.)* In the final chapter, I will evaluate the theme's importance for Ptolemaic queenship in particular. My aim in this last case study of the queens' deification with joyous goddesses is to show that ritual rejoicing performed a pivotal function in the divine worship of the royal family, which epitomized female agency in the dynastic succession, popular legitimization and apotheotic immortalization of the Lagid dynasty. In the following chapters, accordingly, I will endeavor to illustrate the queens' actual personal power and prestige at the Lagid court.

I. THE JOYOUS GODDESS

Now, we come to a contentious issue among scholars of religious history, namely the “resurrection” of the Wailing Goddess’ *parhedros*. Until the second half of the twentieth century, it was commonly believed that Adonis (like the gods with whom he was identified, *viz.*, Attis, Tammuz and Dumuzi), Persephone, Osiris as well as Atum-Ra transcended death. Consequently, it was also held that after her lamentation (discussed in the previous part), goddesses such as Aphrodite (Cybele, Astarte, Inanna), Demeter, Isis and Hathor each experienced an outburst of jubilation for the reunion with her beloved. This theory of the “dying and rising” god has come under harsh criticism, especially because of its Christological interpretation, which also seems to mar much of the evidence from late Antiquity particularly concerning the “rising” of Adonis and Attis. In other words, the purpose of this chapter is to determine to what extent goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified were associated with deities who returned from the Abode of the Dead. In this analysis, we can immediately discount Artemis and Hera as well as Agathe Tyche (although as personification of Good Fortune, the latter was cause of joy herself).

(*I.*) First of all, then, I will have to corroborate that Adonis’ rising from death was occasion for rejoicing – at least in Hellenistic Alexandria.¹ The Return of Adonis from the Netherworld, I will contend, ultimately derived from the archetypical myth of

¹ Accordingly, I will not address the apparent absence of rejoicing at the end of the Athenian Adonia; for which, see: Atallah 1966, esp. 211-228.

Dumuzi's death. Where relevant, therefore, I will provide evidence pertaining to Attis and Tammuz-Dumuzi to illustrate their parallelism. (2.) I will assume that the reader is sufficiently familiar with Isis' elation for Osiris' resurrection. In the second section, I will rather explore its relation to the rising of Sirius, the inundation of the Nile, Horus' reincarnation, and his victory over Seth. (3.) Hathor was the Lady of Joy *par excellence*. As she safeguarded the eternal cycle of the rising and setting of the sun (*scil.*, Atum-Ra), so she was believed to provide renewed life in the hereafter. (4.) In the fourth section, I will examine Demeter's joy at the reunion with Persephone. While the structure of the myth is identical to that of Adonis – the goddess' youthful beloved violently carried off into Hades, resulting in a compromise decreed by Zeus – Demeter's beloved was obviously not her male consort, but rather her dear daughter. In addition to establishing the importance of the theme of jubilation in the myths and rituals of Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis, this chapter will furthermore elucidate related notions such as the restoration of order and harmony, the renewal of natural (*e.g.*, vegetal and solar) cycles, and the return of prosperity and abundance.

1. The Return of Adonis

We saw in Part Three, that there were two traditions regarding Adonis' death, the prevalent tradition related that he was killed on a boar hunt, whereas a possible secondary elaboration held that Aphrodite concealed the beautiful youth in a coffin, which she then entrusted to Persephone.² This euhemerist version is attributed to Panyasis, an older relative of Herodotus. Panyasis' account also reports that Adonis' father was King Thias

of Assyria (*scil.*, Syria: the Greeks did not distinguish properly between the two).³ Whether Adonis died because he was slashed by a boar or buried in a coffin, it seems that in either version Aphrodite descended into the Netherworld to plead with Persephone. When the Queen of Hades refused to return Adonis, Aphrodite complained to Zeus, who (as said) resolved that Adonis should spend (a third or half) part of the year under ground among the dead and the remainder above ground with Aphrodite.⁴ According to Plutarch, the Phrygians sang lamentations to the god Attis in winter and “in the summer sing to wake him, in the manner of the Bacchants.”⁵ The Roman Calendar of Philocalus attests a “Festival of Joy (*Hilaria*),” celebrated after the funeral rites in the cult of Cybele.⁶ However, neither the “Phrygian” or “Lydian” versions, nor the euhemerist romance explicitly recounts Attis’ revitalization.⁷ Although the “Phrygian” myth concludes with the physical incorruptibility of Attis’ dead body, only late sources drew the analogy with the annual rebirth of vegetation.⁸ In Mesopotamia, Tammuz-Dumuzi’s annual return

² *Supra* Pt Three, ch. I, § 1. For general lit. on Adonis, *supra* Pt. Two, ch. I.I, § 5, p. 177, n. 90.

³ *Apllod. Bibl.* III.xiv.4 (Πανύασις δέ φησι Θείαντος βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων); *cf.* Reed 1997, 208 (cit. T. Nöldeke 1871, *Hermes* 5: 443-468; *non vidi*).

⁴ *Theoc. Id.* I.109, III.46-48, XV.102-103, XX.35-3; Σ *Theoc.* III.48a, XV.86a; *Apoll.*, III.xiv.4; *Bion Epith. Adon.* 94-96; *Hygin. Fab.* 251; *id. Astron.* II.7; *Luc. Dial. D.* XI.1; Atallah 1966, 53-55; Detienne 1972, 124-125; Friedrich 1978, 69; Burkert 1979, 109-110; Tuzet 1987, 26, 87; Reed 1997, 249-250.

⁵ *Plut. Is. et Osir.* LXIX.6 (= *Mor.* 378C: Φρύγες δὲ τὸν θεὸν οἰόμενοι χειμῶνος καθεύδειν θέρους δ’ ἐγρηγορέναι τοτέ μὲν κατευνασμούς τοτέ δ’ ἀνεγέρσεις βακχεύοντες αὐτῷ τελοῦσι); Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 59-60.

⁶ *CIL* I(2): 312; *cf.* *Julian Or.* V.168D-169D; *Macrob. Saturn.* I.xxi.10; Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 297-298 n. 7; *id.* 1914, IV(1): 272-273; Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 57-62; Borgeaud 1996, 131-135.

⁷ For the “Phrygian” version, see: *Paus.* VIII.xvii.9-12; *Arnob. Adv. nat.* V.5-7. For the “Lydian” version, see: *Hdt.* I.34-35; *Paus.* VIII.xvii.5-8. For the euhemerist version, see: *Diod.* III.58-59; *cf.* *Firm. Mat. Err. prof. rel.* III.

⁸ *Plut. Is. et Osir.* LXIX; *Euseb. Praep. evang.* III.7; *Firm. Mat. Err. prof. rel.* III, XXVII.1;

from the Netherworld was overtly connected to the sprouting of the “first grass,” at the end of winter and the beginning of summer.⁹ He was released from the Abode of the Dead on the sole condition that his sister Geshtin’anna offered herself as his substitute.¹⁰ Shortly after, on New Year’s Day, the ritual of his Sacred Marriage with Ishtar-Inanna was reenacted in a joyous ceremony.¹¹ The paradigm thus emerges of rivalry between a Great Goddess and the Queen of the Dead over their shared *parhedros*, who through a compromise is allowed to return from the Underworld for part of the year. The ancients saw in this compromise between the Heavenly Goddess of Love and the Infernal Goddess of Death – this mediation between Life and Death – an allegory of the natural cycle of vegetation.¹²

At Alexandria, under royal patronage, Adonis’ return from the realm of the dead was occasion for rejoicing:

O Lady who loves Golgi and Idalium,
and steep Eryx, Aphrodite who plays with gold,
see how the soft-footed Horae in the twelfth month
brought back from ever-flowing Acheron your Adonis,
the dear Horae, tardiest of the blessed.¹³

August. *Civ. D.* VII.25; *DNP* s.v. ‘Attis,’ 248; Frazer 1914, IV(1): 277-280; Sfameni Gasparro 1985, esp. 43-49; Borgeaud 1996, 79-81, 134-142.

⁹ *RAssyr.* s.v. ‘Mythologie,’ 551-552; Balz-Cochois 1992, 123-126; Fritz 2003, 361-368. For general lit. on Tammuz-Dumuzi, see: Pt. Two, ch. 1.I, § 1, p. 163, n. 3.

¹⁰ *P. Mag.*² I: no. 4.339 (Persephone-Ereshkigal); Kramer 1969, 121; Burkert 1979, 108-110; Jacobsen 1987, 232; Tuzet 1987, 30; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 1, p. 276, n. 6.

¹¹ Kramer 1969, 49-66; Wolkenstein and Kramer 1983, 41-47, 107-110; Jacobsen 1987, 121-124; Fritz 2003, 315-328.

¹² Σ Theoc. III.48d (ὁ ᾿Αδωνις ἤγουν ὁ σῖτος ὁ σπειρόμενος ἔξ μηνᾶς ἐν τῇ γῇ ποιεῖ ἀπὸ τῆς σπορᾶς καὶ ἔξ μηνᾶς ἔχει αὐτὸν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη); cf. Jer. *Ezech.* VIII.14; Amm. Marc. XIX.i.11, XXII.ix.15; Clem. Alex. *Hom.* VI.11; Euseb. *Praep. evang.* III.xi.9; Etym. Mag. s.v. “Ἀδωνις κύριον”.

¹³ Theoc. *Id.* XV.100-104: Δέσποιν’, ἅ Γολγῶς τε καὶ Ἰδάλιον ἐφίλησας ἰ αἰπεινάν τ’ Ἐρυκα, χρυσῷ παίζοις Ἀφροδίτα, ἰ οἶόν τοι τὸν ᾿Αδωνιν ἀπ’ ἀνάω Ἀχέροντος ἰ μηνὶ

A few verses later in the same Dirge for Adonis, Theocritus' hymnist adds, "You alone, dear Adonis, of all heroes, as they say, sneak hither and to Acheron."¹⁴ After anticipating the funerary ceremony on the next morning (discussed above), the Dirge finished on a joyous note:

Be merry, dear Adonis, even in the New Year! Our hearts are glad now
since you came, Adonis, so when you come again, dear will be your return.¹⁵

A lady in the audience, named Gorgo, rejoined: "Rejoice, beloved Adôn, and for our rejoicing come again!"¹⁶ Later sources, from the Christian era, could be cited that likewise mention jubilations for Adonis' return from Hades.¹⁷ It seems incongruous to me that Christian authors invented Adonis' "resurrection" (if that would be the appropriate term) or that of other gods identified with Tammuz-Dumuzi.¹⁸ Suffice to observe that Theocritus' *Adoniazusae* provides clear testimony to the joyous Return of Adonis from the Netherworld.¹⁹

A further detail of parallelism between Adonis and Tammuz-Dumuzi is worthy of

δυωδεκῷ τῷ μαλακαὶ πόδας ἄγαγον ὦραι, ἢ βάρδισται μακάρων ὦραι φίλοι; Gow 1950, II: 293 (*comm ad v.* 103ff: "the fruitful season has returned and with it Adonis").

¹⁴ Theoc. *Id.* XV.136-137 (ἔρπεις, ὦ φίλ' Ἀδωνι, καὶ ἐνθάδε κῆς Ἀχέροντα ἢ ἡμιθέων, ὡς φαντί, μονώτατος); Atallah 1966, 264-267; Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 60 n. 142; Tuzet 1987, 86.

¹⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XV.143-144: ἴλοας, ὦ φίλ' Ἀδωνι, καὶ ἐς νέωτ' εὐθυμεύσαις ἢ καὶ νῦν ἦνθες, Ἀδωνι, καὶ ὅκκ' ἀφίκη φίλος ἔῃξεῖς; Gow 1950, II: 303 (*comm. ad v.* 143).

¹⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XV.149 (χαῖρε, Ἀδων ἀγαπατέ, καὶ ἐς χαίροντας ἀφικεῖ); Gow 1950, II: 304 (*comm. ad v.* 149). For the χαῖρε formula, *infra* Pt. Four, ch. III, § 4, pp. 453-454.

¹⁷ Luc. *Syr. D.* 6; Origen *Sel. in Ezech.* VIII.12; Amm. Marc. XXII.ix.14-15; Jer. *Ezech.* III.viii.13-14; Cyr. Alex. *Isaïam* XVIII.1-2 (= *P.G.* LXX: 440-441); Procop. *Gaz. Isaïam* XVIII; Frazer 1914, IV(1): 224-225; Atallah 1966, 259-261; Soyez 1977, 37-38.

¹⁸ For Adonis' "resurrection," *cf.* Frazer 1914, IV(1): 227-232; Glotz 1920, 203-208; Atallah 1966, 268-270; Soyez 1977, 35-41; Burkert 1979, 109.

¹⁹ Also, see: Glotz 1920, esp. 201-213 (*P. Petrie* III: 142, *ca.* 250 BCE, attesting an enigmatic δεικτήριον [*for staging a spectacle*] evidently connected to the Adonia in the Arsinoite nome); *cf.* LSJ⁹

note, namely, that the date of the festivals apparently closely coincided.²⁰ At Alexandria, the Adonia were celebrated in the “twelfth month (*mēni duōdekatōi*),” in anticipation of the “new year (*es neon*).” The reference is evidently to the seasonal cycle (“the soft-footed Horae”), not the civic calendar (whether the Macedonian or Egyptian). Theocritus’ description of the Adonis tableau clearly depicts a summer season.²¹ Both Plato and Theophrastus indicate that the Adonia were similarly celebrated in Athens during the summer heat.²² In Syria, we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus, that the Adonia occurred when “the annual cycle was completed (*annuo cursus completo*),”²³ which the third-century C.E. Calendar of Antiochus dated on the day of the heliacal rising of the Dog Star Sirius in Egypt (*i.e.*, 19/20 July).²⁴ In Assyria, at the time of the summer solstice, in the twelfth month of the year, named after the god, “Ishtar weeps a lamentation ... for her brother.”²⁵ As for Syrian Tammuz, the tenth-century Arabic writer Ibn-an-Nadim testified: “In the middle of this month [*i.e.*, Tammuz: July] is the festival of the wailing women, and that is the Tammuz festival, which is celebrated in honor of

suppl. s.v. ‘δεικτήριον’; Gow 1950, II: 262-264; Atallah 1966, 136-140; Soyez 1977, 35-36.

²⁰ Frazer 1914, IV(1): 225-227; Glotz 1920, 214-220; Atallah 1966, 229-258, 331 (with earlier lit.); Detienne 1972, 188-191; Soyez 1977, 44-77.

²¹ Theoc. *Id.* XV.112 (πάρ μὲν οἱ ὥρια κεῖται, ὅσα δρυὸς ἄκρα φέρουντι); Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 280; *id.* 1914, IV(1): 225; Gow 1950, II: 265, 273-274 (*comm ad* v.21: explaining that the women’s garments suit a summer setting); Atallah 1966, 250.

²² Pl. *Phdr.* 276B; Theophr. *Caus.pl.* I.xiii.4; *id. Hist.pl.* VI.vii.3, IX.i.6; Frazer 1914, IV(1): 226; Glotz 1920, 214; Atallah 1996, 247, 326; Detienne 1972, 24-26, 189-190; Winkler 1990, 189.

²³ Amm. Marc. XXII.ix.14-15; Frazer 1914, IV(1): 226-227; Glotz 1920, 214; Atallah 1966, 229-230, 250; Detienne 1972, 190; Soyez 1977, 50-53; Tuzet 1987, 28.

²⁴ Merkelbach 1963, 15; Atallah 1966, 251, 326.

²⁵ *RAssyr.* s.v. ‘Mythologie,’ 542, 549, 551-552; Livingstone 1986, 116-117, 136-141; Fritz 2003, 138-142, 339-340, 347-349.

the god.”²⁶ The tenth month of the Jewish calendar (June/July) is still called “Tammuz” (whereas the Turkish name for July is “Temmuz”). Below we will see that the same date was associated with Isis as well. In my mind, accordingly, it seems inconceivable that it was merely accidental that these festivals were celebrated around the same mid-summer date. It would rather seem to argue for the essential syncretism of Adonis with Tammuz-Dumuzi.

2. The Rejoicing of Isis

After her disconsolate wanderings, Isis’ first cause for joy was retrieving her brother’s dead body.²⁷ Performing the funerary rites of lamentation and embalming,²⁸ the goddess furthermore rejoiced when Osiris was magically revived.²⁹ According to sources from the Roman Imperial period, mourning rites in the Osirian festival during the month Athyr (November) were followed by great jubilation, punctuated by the shout “We have found him (*heurêkamen*)! We rejoice with him (*synchairomen*)!”³⁰ Besides this Osirian “Festival of the Finding (*Heurêsis*),” Greek inscriptions record a “Festival of

²⁶ Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 283; *id.* 1914, IV(1): 230; Ebeling 1931, 45; Fritz 2003, 145.

²⁷ *Pyr.* 1008a-c, 1256a, 1630; Diod. I.xiv; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XIII; Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 302-303; *id.* 1914, II: 8-11; Münster 1968, 1-3, 53-59; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 452; Dunand 2000, 16.

²⁸ For which, *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 2, p. 282, n. 40.

²⁹ *Pyr.* 726a, 794c, 1012d, *etc.*; *CT* I: 308h-j, V: 27f-c; Frazer 1914, II: 89-91; Münster 1968, 3-5, 39-44.

³⁰ Sen. *Apocol.* XIII.4; Firm. Mat. *Err. prof. rel.* II.9; *cf.* Ovid *Met.* IX.693 (*numquamque satis quaesitus Osiris*); Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XIII.4, XXXIX.2-3, XLII.1, LXIX.4 (= *Mor.* 356D, 366E-F, 367E, 378E); Juv. VIII.29-30 (*exclamare libet, populus quod clamat, Osiri invento*); Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 303-305; *id.* 1914, II: 84-86; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 312-313, 448-449, 452, 539.

Gladness (*Charmosyna*)” of Isis.³¹ Additionally, the same Calendar of Philocalus that mentions the *Hilaria* of Cybele also attests to a “Festival of Joy” in the cult of Isis.³² For the Ptolemaic period, the temple inscriptions from Tentyris inform of an Osirian festival in the last month of the Inundation, Khoiak (November), which anticipated the Sowing Season.³³ After the rites of lamentation, seeking and finding, the god’s resurrection heralded the ensuing rebirth of vegetation. Osiris’ revivification provided Egyptians with a mythical paradigm for the cyclical notion of life, death and rebirth, which is encapsulated in the ancient apophthegm:

You have gone, but you will return.
You have slept, but you will awake.
You have died, but you will live.³⁴

Sorrow, then, was followed by Isis’ joy for Osiris’ rising from the dead.

This notion of Osiris’ resurrection, moreover, allowed for allegorical equations with natural cycles, such as the annual movement of stars or the yearly flood of the Nile. In the proverbial Dog Days of utter heat and drought, the first heliacal rising of Sirius, ideally on the first of Thoth (July 19/20), indeed announced the coming Nile flood.³⁵ Consequently, from the earliest times this star, called Sothis (Eg. Sopdet) in Egypt, was

³¹ *SIRIS* nos. 324, 704; *cf.* Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XXIX.5, XXIX.3 (= *Mor.* 362D: Χαρμοσύνη; 366F: εὐρημένου τοῦ Ὀσίριδος); Merkelbach 1963, 32-36; *id.* 1995, 158; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 62-64, 405, 452.

³² *CIL* I(2): 276; Merkelbach 1963, 32-36; *id.* 1995, 156, 158; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 64, 405, 452.

³³ Frazer 1914, II: 86-88; Chassinat 1966-68; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 312, 448-453; Dunand 2000, 18, 20.

³⁴ *Pyr.* 1975 (sp. 670; trans. Faulkner 1969, 285); *cf.* *BD* 174 (“I am reborn, I see, I behold, I will be yonder, I am raised up”; trans. *id.* 1985, 173).

³⁵ Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XXI.3, XXII.3, XXXVIII.1, LXI.5-6 (= *Mor.* 359C, E, 366A, 375F-376A); Ael. *NA* X.45; *cf.* Hes. *Op.* 417, 587; Arat. *Phaen.* 332; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Sothis’; Frazer 1914, II: 34, 93; Merkelbach 1963, 14-15; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 371-372; Merkelbach 1995, 110-111.

considered “Bringer of the New Year and of the Inundation.”³⁶ Sothis was therefore associated with the return of the fresh green plants, as well as the resurgence of life in the hereafter.³⁷ She personified the Year, and thus assimilated with Ma‘at, the personification of Cosmic Order.³⁸ Already in the *Pyramid Texts*, Horus was said to be born from Isis-Sothis and Osiris-Orion (Eg. Sah),³⁹ and similarly the deceased were believed to be reborn from Isis-Sothis.⁴⁰ In the *Lamentations*, Isis sang to Osiris:

Your sacred image, Orion in heaven, rises and sets every day.
I am Sothis, following him, and I will not leave him.⁴¹

When Plutarch described the inundation of the Nile as Osiris’ impregnation of Isis as “*Gê Karpophoros* (Fruit-bearing Earth),”⁴² he confirmed a belief dating back to the *Pyramid Texts* that likened the Nile flood with Osiris’ efflux:

Your sister Isis comes to you,
rejoicing in love for you.
She sets herself upon your phallus,
and your semen streams out in her,
who is like Sothis.⁴³

Small wonder, that the time of the Nile flood was one of joyous festivities, which

³⁶ *RT* II: pls. 5.1, 6a.2; *cf.* *CT* VI: 239j-n, 319c-e; *cf.* *OGIS* 56 ll. 36-38 = *Urk.* II: 138-139 ll. 18-19 (= *I. Cair.* 22186: Canopus decree); Frazer 1914, II: 35; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 444.

³⁷ *Pyr.* 589, 788, 965a-b, 1360; *CT* V: 370b-371b, 384g-385c; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 444.

³⁸ *Pyr.* 965; *CT.* VII: 38m-o; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 444.

³⁹ *Pyr.* 632a-d, 1635b-1636; *cf.* *CT* VI: 319a-e; Diod. lxxvii.4; Frazer 1914, II: 34, 119; J. G. Griffiths 1960, 15, 105; *id.* 1970, 371 n. 5; Münster 1968, 5, 153-154.

⁴⁰ *CT* I: 17d-18b (sp. 6), II: 61a-b, V: 389h-390k; Münster 1968, 74, 78-79, n. 915.

⁴¹ *Lament.* I: 4, 11-12; *cf.* *CT* I: 310k; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 372.

⁴² Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XXXVIII.2 (= *Mor.* 366A); Frazer 1890 = 1981, I: 305-307; *id.* 1914, II: 96-107; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 445-446.

⁴³ *Pyr.* 632a-d, 1635b-1636b; *cf.* *CT* V: 22b-f; Frankfort 1948, 40; J. G. Griffiths 1960, 15; *id.* 1970,

honored not only Isis-Sothis and Osiris-Orion, but also the Nile himself.⁴⁴ In praise of the deified river, Hapy, hymns were sung that portrayed the merrymaking and laughter, delight and jubilation, “when every belly is appeased.”⁴⁵ In sum, Egyptian belief associated the ebb and flow of natural cycles – of astral rising and setting, of seasonal drought and flooding – with the life cycle of death and resurrection that Osiris embodied.

Isis’ jubilation was furthermore paradigmatic as queen mother of Osiris’ heir and successor, Horus.⁴⁶ The goddess proudly declared to the gods the joy of her pregnancy and rejoiced, “on the day that Horus, the Victorious Bull, the Savior of his father Osiris, was born.”⁴⁷ The characterization of “Savior of his Father (Harendotes)” signified the retribution of his father’s murder and Horus’ triumph over his enemy Seth.⁴⁸ This victory not only pleased him, but also cheered the hearts of Isis and Osiris, of Geb and Nut.⁴⁹ As the conflict of Horus and Seth revolved about the legitimacy of succession, a further source of Isis’ jubilation was that the Tribunal of the Gods vindicated Horus’ sovereignty, and finally when her son seized the Double Crown, acceded to the throne, and took possession of the Two Lands.⁵⁰ At the birth of the royal child, therefore, “to

353; *id.* 1980, 12 n. 22; Münster 1968, 5; Merkelbach 1995, 13-14.

⁴⁴ Diod. I.xxxvi.10; Paus. X.xxxii.18; Frazer 1914, II: 33; Merkelbach 1963, 15; Bonneau 1964, 361-420; Merkelbach 1995, 108.

⁴⁵ Assmann 1975, 501 (no. 242, l. 23); *cf.* Hetyl. *HE* 1848-1850 (*ap.* Athen. XI.497D-E); Fraser 1972, II: 815 n. 154; Lichtheim 1973-80, I: 206; Merkelbach 1995, 107-108.

⁴⁶ For the theme of Isis’ rejoice, esp., see: Bergman 1968, 141-146; for *chairein* in prayers of gratitude, see: Versnel 1981, 42-62.

⁴⁷ *CT* II: 210c; Bergman 1968, 142; Münster 1968, 6-7.

⁴⁸ *CT* I: 223d; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XIX.2 (= *Mor.* 358C); Griffiths 1960, 4-8, 14; Bergman 1968, 142; Münster 1968, 13-17; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 33-35, 325, 348; Heyob 1975, 38.

⁴⁹ *CT* IV: 86n-p; *BD* 78.

⁵⁰ *CT* I: 19c-23c, 224a, IV: 86n-p; *BD* 78; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XIX, XL.1, LV.3 (= *Mor.* 358B-D, 366F-

make the years of Osiris' son plentiful," echoed the wish "to multiply the jubilations of Isis."⁵¹ The eternal reincarnation of Horus' kingship – like Osiris' resurrection – was likened to the daily rising of the sun in the clear morning sky.⁵² On the *mammisi* at Philae, in fact, the sun god Ra proclaimed: "O Horus, you are triumphant (*ma'a-cheru*), excellent king, you will reign the Two Lands forever."⁵³ As Jan Bergman has emphasized, the motif of Isis' jubilation is of profound importance because it represents the positive antithesis and resolution of her lamentation.⁵⁴ Not only in purely religious terms – where Isis' rejoicing concerns Osiris' resurrection and Horus' victory over Seth – but also in terms of royal ideology – where it concerns the permanence of Egyptian kingship (through patrilineal transmission: the reincarnation of Osiris' heir, Horus), as well as the goddess' own role as queen mother and regent.⁵⁵ As seen in above, Isis articulates her position as Cronus' daughter, Osiris' wife and sister, and Horus' mother.⁵⁶ As paradigm for Egyptian queenship, Isis was not a passive bystander, but played a central role in the ideology of dynastic succession. Isis bestowed the kingship (*"redinesuyt"*) of her son Horus upon the pharaoh "for all eternity."⁵⁷ She, thus, rejoiced in her own active participation in the continuation of Cosmic Order – the *Ma'at* she herself

367A, 373D); Griffiths 1960, 8-10; Bergman 1968, 141-143; Münster 1968, 37, 138; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 350-352.

⁵¹ *Philae* II: 13 ll. 2, 11; Bergman 1968, 138-140.

⁵² *CT I*: 223a; Münster 1968, 38-40.

⁵³ *Philae* II: 13 ll. 26-28 (*ma'a-hrw*, lit. "true of voice, justified"); Bergman 1968, 139.

⁵⁴ Bergman 1968, 141-146; cf. Münster 1968, 2-7, ind. s.v. 'Jubel'.

⁵⁵ Bergman 1968, 146-148; Münster 1968, 137-142.

⁵⁶ Diod. I.xxvii.4-6; *ATISR* no. 1 ll. 5, 6, 8; Brunner 1964, 182; Bergman 1968, 27-43.

⁵⁷ *Abydos* IV: 50; Münster 1968, 142-143.

embodied.

3. Hathor, Lady of Joy

Not unlike Aphrodite or Isis, Hathor effected the harmony between life and death, and protected the Cosmic Order against Chaos.⁵⁸ While the goddess' joy was not directed toward one specific *parhedros*, we will see that she was worshiped as the patroness of jubilation *par excellence*. Moreover, she was closely affiliated with the primordial rising-and-setting sun god Ra and the solar deities with whom the latter was assimilated (Atum, Amun, Horus, *etc.*).⁵⁹ As sky goddess, Hathor was alternatively conceived as mother, wife and daughter of Ra.⁶⁰ The goddess' most recognizable attribute was the crown of cow horns (☩) enclosing the sun disc (☉), which symbolized Hathor's role as the Celestial Cow that brings (Atum-) Ra (-Horachty) to life every day.⁶¹ She was his consort on his diurnal circuit through the heavens, and as he sailed through the Netherworld on his Nocturnal Barque.⁶² In his vespertine age, the old and weary Ra was said to impregnate his daughter Hathor with his own reincarnation. She was the "Hand of Atum" (-Ra), the "Lady of the Vulva," with which the Demiurge fertilized Creation.⁶³ This

⁵⁸ For general lit. on Hathor, see Pt. One, ch. I, § 6, p. 56, n. 123.

⁵⁹ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Sonne,' 730; Hornung 1971, 145-148 (=1982, 153-155).

⁶⁰ Bleeker 1973, 65-66; Troy 1986, 53.

⁶¹ *Pyr.* 1029; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Sonne,' 731-732; Hornung 1971, 102 (=1982, 110); Bleeker 1973, 48; Pinch 1993, 195.

⁶² Hornung 1971, 145-148 (=1982, 153-155); Watterson 1984, 64.

⁶³ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Jusas'; Vandier 1964-66; Pinch 1994, 243-245.

religious belief brings to mind the figure of the *Kamutef*, and the sun god could indeed be represented as a Victorious Bull.⁶⁴ The counterpart of the sun god was the moon god Thoth, who was early identified as “silver disc.”⁶⁵ At Thebes, Mut-Hathor and Amun-Ra formed a triad with the lunar deity Khonsu-Thoth. Hathor was, similarly, associated with Thoth’s consort Seshat, and with Ma’at, who was Thoth’s daughter.⁶⁶ As the lunar phases provided the base of the calendar, Thoth was truly the father of Cosmic Order. Like Ma’at, Hathor furthermore safeguarded the daily traverse of the sun and of the moon, and both goddesses stood on the prow of the gods’ barges.⁶⁷ Hathor, in short, assisted the perpetual cycles of solar and lunar reincarnation that signified the Cosmic Order.

Accordingly, Hathor also performed an essential role in the renewal of life after death.⁶⁸ As Celestial Cow, the goddess features prominently in royal tombs, *e.g.*, of Hatshepsut (d. 1458 BCE), Tutanchamun (d. 1323 BCE), and Sethos (Seti) I (d. 1290 BCE).⁶⁹ Moreover, as “Lady of the Western Desert (*Neft Zemit*),” she was the guardian of the necropolis on the opposite bank of Thebes.⁷⁰ An often-reproduced vignette from the *Book of the Dead* depicts her in bovine form emerging from the

⁶⁴ *Pyr.* 513, 543-547.

⁶⁵ *Pyr.* 128-130, 329; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Joh,’ 355-356, ‘Mond,’ 471-472, and ‘Thoth,’ 806-808; Hornung 1971, 145-148 (=1982, 153-155); Bleeker 1973, 114-115; Watterson 1984, 64.

⁶⁶ Bergman 1968, 177; Bleeker 1973, 121-123; Watterson 1984, 180; Pinch 1994, 25.

⁶⁷ Bergman 1968, 198-200; Bleeker 1973, 69; Troy 1986, 64. [Hathor was to such an extent identified with Ma’at, that in her temple at Dendara Hathor was addressed as Ma’at.]

⁶⁸ Bleeker 1973, 42-45; Pinch 1993, esp. 172-183.

⁶⁹ Allam 1963, 69-70; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 512 n.5; Hornung 1971, 146 (=1982, 153); Bleeker 1973, 42; Watterson 1984, 62, 129; Pinch 1993, 177, 181-182.

Western Mountain of the Dead.⁷¹ The accompanying spell reads:

Hathor, Lady of the West, She of the West,
Lady of the Sacred Land, Eye of Ra, which is on his forehead,
kindly of countenance in the Barque of Millions of Years,
a resting-place for him who has done right within the boat of the blessed,
who built the Great Barque of Osiris in order to cross the water of truth.⁷²

The Hathoric “Festival of the Desert Valley” (*viz.*, at the Theban necropolis) was distinguished by its joyous spirit.⁷³ The festival’s purpose, namely, was to revitalize the deceased with exuberant jublations. It is not surprising, then, that many votive offerings to Hathor have been found on the West Bank of Thebes.⁷⁴ In funerary texts the deceased often appeal to the goddess, or pray to be in her presence.⁷⁵ The dead even identified himself or (in the Ptolemaic period more commonly) herself with the goddess. “I am Hathor,” begins a spell in the *Coffin Texts*, For Being Transformed into Hathor, “I have appeared as Hathor, the Primeval, the Lady of All, who lives on truth.”⁷⁶ In the next spell, again, the same identification is expressed: “I am Mistress of the Oar in the Barque of Governance. I am the Mistress of Life [*i.e.*, Thermuthis] ... I am the Mistress of the Winds on the Island of Joy ... I am Hathor.”⁷⁷ “I am Hathor,” the deceased proclaims in

⁷⁰ CT VI: 78-79.

⁷¹ BM 10470/37; Frankfort 1948, 110-111; Allam 1963, esp. 67-68; Bergman 1968, 138 n.2; Hornung 1971, 102 (=1982, 110); Bleeker 1973, 29-30; Watterson 1984, 128; Pinch 1993, 179-182, fig. 13.

⁷² BD 186 (trans. Faulkner 1985, 185); *cf.* CT IV: 343a-f, VI: 239a.

⁷³ Bleeker 1967, 137-138; *id.* 1973, 43-44.

⁷⁴ Pinch 1993, 13-25.

⁷⁵ *E.g.*, see: CT. I: 181b, IV: 52a-c, VI: 62e; BD 103; Bleeker 1973, 44-45

⁷⁶ CT IV: 172a-b, h-173a (sp. 331; trans. Faulkner 1973-78, I: 255-256).

⁷⁷ CT IV: 177b-c, g, h (sp. 332; trans. Faulkner 1973-78, I: 256).

another spell, “who fastens the fetters of Seth every night.”⁷⁸ This remarkable statement can be explained through Hathor’s assimilation with Ma‘at, the archenemy of Chaos that the evil Seth personified. To sum up, the goddess by traversing the divide between life and death became herself a bridge between the here and the hereafter, which offered the hope of transcendence.

Above all, however, Hathor was goddess of jubilation. In the great Ptolemaic temples at Tentyris, at Apollinopolis Magna, at Philae, and elsewhere, the goddess was worshipped as “Lady of Joy,” “Mistress of Rejoicing,” “Lady of Exultation” and “Queen of Happiness.”⁷⁹ Additionally she took great delight in music, harp playing, hymn singing, lute dances, and chorus lines performed in her honor. As “Mistress of Inebriety,” Hathor was even adored as the patroness of beer and wine.⁸⁰ When Hathor joined with Horus during the Festival of the Beautiful Union (*or Embrace*),⁸¹ “the youths are drunk, the people are glad, the young maidens are beautiful to behold, rejoicing is all around and festivity is in the entire city.”⁸² Like Harsomtus, the youthful Ihy was considered the offspring of this “Beautiful Union.” The latter was the divine musician, the sistrum player *par excellence*, who pacified the dangers of Chaos and symbolized eternity in his youthfulness.⁸³ The *propylaeum* scenes on the Ptolemaic shrine of Hathor at Philae

⁷⁸ Cit. in Allam 1963, 102.

⁷⁹ E.g., see: Junker 1911, 61; Daumas 1968, 11-12; *id.* 1969, 23; Bleeker 1972, 84; *id.* 1973, 54; Pinch 1993, 211, 213.

⁸⁰ E.g., see: Junker 1911, 61; Watterson 1984, 127; Pinch 1993, 132, 284.

⁸¹ *Supra*, Pt. One, ch. I, § 6, p. 57, n. 131; Pt. Two, ch. I, § 2, p. 167.

⁸² Cit. in: Watterson 1984, 133.

⁸³ BD 47; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Ihi’; Allam 1963, 6, 10, 75, 115, 134-138; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 525-527; Bleeker 1973, 38-39, 63-64; Watterson 1984, 127, 130.

depict the goddess with her joyous retinue: the stunted Bes plays the harp and dances, his son Hity beats the tambourine, the baboon-shaped Shu performs the lute dance, while priests play double flutes and harps, and bring offerings of gazelles, perfumes, wine, among other things.⁸⁴ As Hermann Junker has determined, these scenes commemorate Hathor's return amid great jubilations from the mythic faraway Bugem.⁸⁵ The hieroglyphic texts accompanying the scenes plead with the goddess to return from the distant country, and exclaim: "when you [and your cortege] come from Bugem, the Pure Isle [*i.e.*, Abaton] and Philae go around in exaltation, the whole Beloved Land [*i.e.*, Egypt] is in heart's delight."⁸⁶ Hathor and her retinue were, thus, bringers of every delight and joy.

4. The Goddesses' Reunion

The climatic resolution of Demeter's grief was her rejoicing for her daughter's return from the Abode of the Dead.⁸⁷ The *Hymn to Demeter* described Persephone's marriage to Hades in violent terms commonly used for abduction and abuse.⁸⁸ Moreover, as she was unwillingly snatched off into the Underworld, the Rape of Persephone was

⁸⁴ Daumas 1958, 138-143; *id.* 1968, 4-9, pls. 1-5; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 299, 526-527; Bleeker 1973, 22, 108; Bosse-Griffiths 1984, 743-751; Watterson 1984, 127; Pinch 1994, 44, figs. 17, 19-21, 43, 69, 92.

⁸⁵ Junker 1911, 44-47; also, see: Daumas 1968, 4; Watterson 1984, 53; Pinch 1994, 24-25.

⁸⁶ Junker 1911, 45-46; Daumas 1968, 4-5, nn. 22-30.

⁸⁷ Friedrich 1978, 163-180; Clay 1989, 246-265; Foley (ed.) 1994, 77-141. For general lit. on Demeter and Persephone, see: Pt. One, ch. I, § 4, p. 47, n. 70.

⁸⁸ Friedrich 1978, 164; Foley (ed.) 1994, 103-137; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 3, p. 286, n. 66.

metaphorically equated to death.⁸⁹ Demeter wandered over earth and sea, with flaming torch in hand, in search of her beloved daughter.⁹⁰ When she eventually learned her daughter's fate, her mourning turned into bitter anger for Zeus' involvement in giving Persephone in marriage to Hades.⁹¹ Ultimately, after wasting away in grief, she caused "a most terrible and shameless year for humans upon all-nourishing earth," to deny the gods on Olympus their honors and sacrifices.⁹² The annihilation of humankind would namely have jeopardized the worship that the immortals received. Thus forced to arbitrate, Zeus agreed that Persephone should spend a third of the year in the shadowy realm of Hades, and the remainder on Olympus with her mother and the other immortals.⁹³ The conflict between life and death, again, is resolved through a compromise that explicitly served as an aetiology of the vegetal cycle:

When the earth blooms with sweet-scented spring
flowers of all kinds, then from the misty gloom you rise
up once more, a great marvel for gods and mortal humans.⁹⁴

The Great Hymn portrayed the goddesses' reunion in emphatically emotional terms. When Hades was instructed to bring his reluctant bride to her grieving mother,

⁸⁹ Friedrich 1978, 165; Foley (ed.) 1994, 104-105; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 3, p. 286, n. 65.

⁹⁰ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 43-50; Richardson 1974, 159-169; Friedrich 1978, 166; Foley (ed.) 1994, 37-38; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 3, pp. 286-287.

⁹¹ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 74-89; Friedrich 1978, 167-168; Slatkin 1991, 89-90.

⁹² *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 90-97, 302-313 (αἰνότατον δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν ἢ ποίησ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ κύντατον); Richardson 1974, 176-179, 258-261; Clay 1989, 246-248; Foley (ed.) 1994, 53; Kledt 2004, 91-101. [Notice that αἰνός and κυῶν were also used to describe Demeter's grief at l. 90.]

⁹³ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 316-317, 398-400, 445-447, 463-465; Richardson 1974, 284-285; Clay 1989, 254-256; Foley (ed.) 1994, 57-58; Kledt 2004, 87-91.

⁹⁴ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 401-403: ὁππότε δ' ἄωθεσι γαῖ' εὐώδεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν ἢ παντοδαποῖς θάλλῃ, τόθ' ὑπὸ ζόφου ἡρόεντος ἢ αὐτὶς ἄνει μέγα θαῦμα θεοῖς θνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις; Burkert

“Persephone rejoiced (*gêthêsen*), and swiftly leapt up from joy (*charmatos*).”⁹⁵ Returning with the very chariot on which she was dragged into the Underworld, when she finally caught sight of her mother, Persephone leapt down from the chariot, while Demeter “darted as if a maenad down from a mountain thickly shaded with wood.”⁹⁶ (Notice how, as above, Demeter’s emotion recalls that of Andromache when she fears for the fate of Hector.)⁹⁷ The girl fell on her mother’s neck in a passionate embrace,⁹⁸ and

Thus then the whole day, feeling of one mind,
they exceedingly cheered each other’s heart and feeling
with loving embraces, and their heart ceased from grief,
while each bestowed and received rejoicing.

...

They delighted to see each other and were glad at heart.⁹⁹

Just as the *Thesmophorizusae* mimicked the goddesses’ sorrow on the “Day of Fasting (*Nêsteia*),” so they conclude the festival with the cheerful “Day of Fair Offspring (*Kalligeneia*).”¹⁰⁰ The women then returned home to their married life and the established order of society, with high hopes for a good harvest and “birth of children

1979, 99-101, 128, 138; Clay 1989, 254-256; Foley (ed.) 1994, 58-59, 98.

⁹⁵ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 370-371.

⁹⁶ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 375-376, 386 ([Δημήτηρ] ἤϊξ', ἥύτε μαινᾶς ὄρος κάτα δάσκιον ὕλη), 387-389; Richardson 1974, 281; Friedrich 1978, 176-179; Clay 1989, 250-254; Foley (ed.) 1994, 57-58, 126.

⁹⁷ *Hom. Il.* XXII.460; Friedrich 1978, 177; Seaford 1993, 115-145; Foley (ed.) 1994, 57; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. I, § 3, p. 286.

⁹⁸ *Hymn. Hom. II: Cer.* 389.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 434-437, 458 (ὥς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἡμᾶρ ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσai | πολλὰ μάλ' ἀλλήλων κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἴαινον | ἀμφαγαπαζόμεναι, ἀχέων δ' ἀπαπεπαύετο θυμός. | γηθοσύνας δ' ἐδέχοντο παρ' ἀλλήλων ἔδιδόν τε. ... ἀσπασίως δ' ἴδον ἀλλήλας, κεχάρηντο δὲ θυμῷ).

¹⁰⁰ *Ar. Thesm.* 298-299, 658; *Apoll. Bibl.* I.v.1; *Diod.* V.4; *Athen.* VII.307; *Nonn. Dion.* VI.140; Winkler 1991, 196-197; Versnel 1993, 253-256; Foley (ed.) 1994, 73; Kledt 2004, 135-137.

such as parents desire.”¹⁰¹ Initiates in the Eleusian Mysteries, too, shared in the goddesses’ rejoicing, while at the Stenia women celebrated Demeter’s return to Olympus.¹⁰² Several festivals of Demeter – including the Thesmophoria, Stenia and Haloa – involved so-called *aischrologia* (“obscene talk”) or *loidoria* (“insult”).¹⁰³ That is to say, that women sequestered from their male relatives, engaged each other in ribald banter. Doubtless, they remembered Baubo, who made Demeter laugh by exposing her genitals, or Iambe who made the goddess laugh with mockery and coarse jokes.¹⁰⁴ Myth and ritual, in short, confirm the significance of jest, laughter and rejoicing in the worship of the Two Goddesses.

What is more, Demeter revealed herself in Eleusis as “the greatest boon (*onear*) and source of joy (*charma*) to the immortals and the mortals.”¹⁰⁵ Foremost, after the happy reunion with her daughter, she restored the fertility of the fields and sent Plutus, the god “who gives abundance (*aphenos*) to mortal humans.”¹⁰⁶ Thus associated with the vegetal cycle, the goddess was worshipped as the “Bringer of Fruits (*Karpophoros*)” and “Bringer of Seasons (*Hôrêphoros*).”¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, Demeter was thought to have

¹⁰¹ *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 136-137; cf. *Plut. Conj. praec.* I (= *Mor.* 138B); Foley (ed.) 1994, 73.

¹⁰² *Ar. Thesm.* 834; *IG II²*: 674 l. 7; Burkert 1987, 24, 75; Clinton 1993, 115-116.

¹⁰³ Richardson 1974, 22-23 and 213-217; Olender 1990, 94-97; Winkler 1991, 194-198; Foley (ed.) 1994, 72.

¹⁰⁴ *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 202-204; Herod. VI.19; Diod. V.iv.7; *Orph.* F 49, 52; Richardson 1974, 222-223; Clay 1989, 233-235; Olender 1990, esp. 85-88; Foley (ed.) 1994, 45-46; Kledt 2004, 64-66.

¹⁰⁵ *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 268-269 (εἰμὶ δὲ Δημήτηρ τιμάοχος, ἥτε μέγιστον ἰ ἀθανάτοισι θνητοῖς τ’ ὄνεαρ καὶ χάρμα τέτυκται).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* 471-473, 489 (Πλοῦτον, ὃς ἀνθρώποις ἄφενος θνητοῖσι δίδωσιν); Richardson 1974, 316-320; Friedrich 1978, 180; Clay 1989, 260-264; Foley (ed.) 1994, 62-63.

¹⁰⁷ *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 4, 23, 54, 492; *IG II*.(3): 1545, XII.(5): 226; *RML* II: 1320-1328; *CGS* III:

instituted the Eleusian Mysteries, after she failed to immortalize Queen Metanira's son Demophoön.¹⁰⁸ Sophocles declared that “those mortals who have seen these rites” were “thrice blessed.”¹⁰⁹ The experience was felt to bestow a privileged relationship with the Two Goddesses.¹¹⁰ Moreover, they were believed to extend this blissfulness in the otherwise misty gloom and dreary darkness of the afterlife.¹¹¹ “For them alone [*i.e.*, the initiates],” the same tragedian maintained, “there is life, for all others there is misery.”¹¹² For them, “death is not an evil, but something good.”¹¹³ As Queen of Hades, Persephone would in fact inflict everlasting punishment on “those wrongdoers who fail to appease” her.¹¹⁴ Having renewed the earth's fertility and founded the Mysteries, Demeter then returned to join with the immortals on Olympus. “Greatly blessed (*olbios*),” the Hymn concludes, “is he among humans upon earth whom they graciously love (*prophroneôs philôntai*).”¹¹⁵

32-50; *RE* IV: 2748-2749; Friedrich 1978, 156-157, 177-178; Burkert 1985, 159; Foley (ed.) 1994, 97-100.

¹⁰⁸ *Hymn. Hom.* II. *Cer.* 231-274; Richardson 1974, 231-251; Burkert 1987, 20-21; Foley (ed.) 1994, 48-52.

¹⁰⁹ Soph. F 837.

¹¹⁰ Burkert 1987, 20-28; Versnel 1990, 150-155; Foley (ed.) 1994, 65-71, 84-97.

¹¹¹ *Hymn. Hom.* II. *Cer.* 480-482.

¹¹² Soph. F 837.

¹¹³ *IG* II/III² 3661 ll. 5-6; Burkert 1987, 21; Foley (ed.) 1994, 71.

¹¹⁴ *Hymn. Hom.* II. *Cer.* 367-369 (τῶν δ' ἀδικησάντων τίσις ἔσσεται ἡματα μάντα, ἢ οἳ κεν μὴ θυσίῃσι τεδὸν μένος ἰλάσκωνται ἢ εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες, ἐναίσιμα δῶρα τελούντες); Richardson 1974, 270-275; Foley (ed.) 1994, 55-56.

¹¹⁵ *Hymn. Hom.* II: *Cer.* 486-487 (μέγ' ὀλβιος, ὃν τιν' ἐκεῖναι ἢ προφρονέως φίλωνται ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων).



To summarize the findings of this chapter, we may confidently conclude that jubilation was an important theme in the worship of the main goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified. The source of the goddesses' joy – typically the climatic resolution of their mourning – in each case, was their beloved's return from the Abode of the Dead. I have argued anew that Adonis was an annually dying-and-rising god, whose return from the Underworld was celebrated in a splendid ceremony at the Alexandrian palace. Despite modern remonstrations about drawing analogies between Greek, Egyptian and Mesopotamian religion, I still assert that Adonis' archetype can be found in the figure of Tammuz-Dumuzi. (This assertion is further confirmed by the coincidence of the mid-summer festivals throughout the Near East honoring Adonis, Osiris, Tammuz, and Dumuzi.) From earliest Egyptian times, Osiris' resurgence functioned as the paradigm for the cyclical notion of life – birth, death and rebirth – and accordingly for natural cycles of astral motion, inundation and vegetation, and *vice versa*. Additionally, the paradigm symbolized the reincarnation of Osiris in Horus, Horus' triumph over Seth, the Victory over Chaos, and thus the patrilineal succession of sovereignty. In similar vein, the Celestial Cow Hathor daily achieved the rising and setting of the solar deity (Atum/Amun-) Ra (-Horus/Horachty). She was the protectress of the Egyptian necropolises in the Western Desert who realized the revitalization of the deceased. Moreover, Hathor was the patroness of jubilation *par excellence*, of rejoicing and happiness, dance and music, abundance and inebriety. As a female equivalent of Adonis, Persephone, too, returned from Hades for part of the year to reunite with her mother and the other Olympians. Kore's annual return from the Netherworld was

furthermore recognized as a natural allegory of the seasonal cycle of vegetation. Through initiation in the Eleusian Mysteries, the Greeks also hoped to attain a privileged position with the Two Goddesses: praying not only for a blessed life here on earth, but also for a blissful afterlife among the dead, where Queen Persephone would punish any wrongdoers. As was true in Part Three, however, the nature of the deities' respective relationships was by no means identical. In the case of Aphrodite and Isis (as well as Cybele and Ishtar-Inanna), their joy involved their beloved consort (brother, spouse and/or lover), whereas Demeter's rejoicing was affected by her reunion with her beloved *daughter* Persephone. Besides, Isis shared in her son's triumph over Seth, as well as Horus' accession to the throne of Geb and Osiris. The source of Hathor's jubilation was even more complex, in that it concerned the solar (and also the lunar) cycle, as well as the human life cycle. In turn as his mother, wife and daughter, the Celestial Cow daily rejuvenated and accompanied Ra on his course through the sky and the abyss.

From a theological perspective transcendence, ascension, apotheosis, reincarnation, and resurrection should be carefully delineated.¹¹⁶ In ancient religious beliefs, though, these notions often converged as an expression of hope that death was not the end. The dying and rising, the Return from the Abode of the Dead, of the deities discussed above, were simultaneously metaphors for the rising and setting, waxing and waning, ebbing and flooding, growing and withering of various natural phenomena – *e.g.*, of astral, solar, lunar, alluvial and vegetal cycles. Jubilation was the act that finalized this renaissance. The myth-and-ritual complexes, in addition, symbolized a mediation or mitigation, a compromise or harmonization of (often binary) opposites. Especially the

¹¹⁶ In Christian belief, Christ's resurrection was prerequisite for his ascension, and together it alluded to transcendence for mankind, to salvation in the hereafter.

compromise between Aphrodite and Persephone, between Ishtar-Inanna and Ereshkigal, between the Heavenly Goddess and the Infernal Goddess represents the mitigation of love and death, the above and the below. Similarly, Zeus' mediation in the conflict of Demeter and Persephone with Hades signifies the regulation of life and death, the here and the hereafter. Implied too, is the normalization of the relation between mortals and immortals, and the former's dependence on the latter for abundance and prosperity. Isis' role in the conflict of Osiris and Horus with Seth, particularly expressed the balance of power between Cosmic Order and Chaos, as well as the patrilineal transmission of sovereignty to avoid the usurpation of the throne. Hathor as the goddess of love, joy and funerary concerns, herself bridged the divide between love and hate, life and death, order and chaos, and thus embodied the instability of harmony. Jubilation, then, symbolized divine salvation and the triumphant resurgence of all that is good, just, and proper. I will now turn to the question whether this symbolism can be attested in the Ptolemaic context as well.

II. HIS FATHER'S SAVIOR

The Egyptian pharaoh, traditionally, personified the Living Horus, who is triumphant over enemies, defeats the threat of Chaos, and succors (*scil.*, avenges) his father. As we have learned, Isis' jubilations increased according to the length of the Living Horus' reign – and the longer his reign, the more Jubilee Festivals the King accumulated. Victory and jubilation, therefore, were constituent motifs of the royal ideology. My aim, at this juncture, is to support the claim that these motifs can be attested within the dynastic setting of the Lagid court. (1.) I will first discuss historical documents (*i.e.*, literary and epigraphic evidence) that record military victories of Ptolemaic kings as well as ceremonial celebrations of the imperial power and glory of the Lagid dynasty. Apart from historiographic accounts of success on the battlefield, we can infer the ideological importance of triumph and jubilation from inscriptions such as the Canopus, Raphia and Memphis decrees, as well as from literary descriptions of the Grand Procession of Ptolemy II or Mark Antony's triumphal Alexandrian pageant. (2.) Furthermore, I will review identifications or associations of Ptolemaic kings with Ptah, Apis, Sarapis, Agathodaemon, Aeon Plutonium and the Phoenix so as to reveal the symbolism of eternal renewal inherent in their religious character. (3.) I will analyze poetic allusions to elation and jubilation in works of Theocritus and Callimachus, in the third section, in order to elucidate the underlying manifestation of the Ptolemaic King as Living Horus, the victor over enemies and slayer of monsters. (4.) Moreover, I will briefly examine artistic depictions portraying kings and queens as Bringers of Triumph

and Abundance. Here, the focus is particularly on Agathe Tyche's *cornucopia* as emblem of opulence and jubilation. The reader may be forewarned that while the emphasis will be on the themes of jubilation and triumph within the Ptolemaic context, the queens will not feature prominently in this chapter. Nonetheless, because the purpose here is chiefly to corroborate the importance of said themes at the Lagid court, I would contend that the source material does allow for tentative, though generalized, inferences. Once more, the findings of the first two chapters in this case study will serve as the foundation for the next two, on the ideology of the Lagids' Glory and the symbolism of the Female Pharaoh's Joy, respectively.

1. Ptolemaic Military Triumph

The military victories of the Ptolemies are foremost reported in literary evidence. Diodorus, of course, gives accounts of Ptolemy Soter's successes against Perdiccas near Memphis (321 BCE) and Demetrius at Gaza (312 BCE).¹ A papyrus fragment evidently written by Ptolemy Euergetes (or in his name) narrates the opening of the Laodicean War (246-241 BCE) and the honors with which the King was received in Syria and Cilicia.² Polybius, the chief source for the Fourth Syrian War (219-218 BCE), describes how Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III addressed the troops on the battlefield as commanders before gaining the decisive victory against Antiochus III at Raphia.³ The crushing victory of

¹ Diod. XVIII.33.36, XIX.80-84.

² *FGrH* 160; Just. XVII.i.7. For the Third Syrian war, *supra* Pt. One, ch. II, § 1, p. 68, n. 44, ch. IV, § 2, p. 132, n. 91.

³ Polyb. V.79-86.

Ptolemy Lathyrus against the Maccabean monarch Alexander Jannaeus (r. 104/3-76 BCE) at the Jordan River (103 BCE) is related in Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicae*.⁴ These historical instances of military victories, in my mind, invalidate Hazzard's view of the Ptolemaic dynasty as essentially non-military.⁵

More illuminating impressions of the ideological importance of such military victories, however, can be gathered from epigraphic evidence. Both the Pithom and Mendes stelae praise the courage and might with which Ptolemy II victoriously defended Egypt.⁶ The latter stela proclaims that the whole populace rejoiced at the sight of King Ptolemy, that his kingdom basked in heart's delight, and that the king's heart rejoiced at his own achievements.⁷ The Adulis inscription describes with boasting exaggeration the regions Ptolemy III claimed to have inherited from his ancestors and those conquered during the Laodicean War.⁸ The Canopus Decree celebrates the benefactions that Ptolemy III and Berenice II, the *Theoi Euergetai*, bestowed upon Egypt, as a result of which the country enjoyed stability, prosperity and peace.⁹ The relief scene on the Raphia decree depicts Ptolemy Philopator riding on horseback, slaying his enemy Antiochus III with a long lance, while Arsinoe III decked out as an Egyptian goddess looks on.¹⁰ The text of the inscription praises the King for defeating his enemy like a true

⁴ Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* XIII.12 (338-344).

⁵ Hazzard 2000, esp. 154-159.

⁶ *Urk.* II: 35-36 ll. 4-5; *ibid.* 86-87 ll. 4-5; Roeder 1959-61, I: 108-128, 168-188.

⁷ *Urk.* II: 36 l. 5, 39 l. 10.

⁸ *OGIS* 54.

⁹ *Urk.* II: 127-132 ll. 4-10.

¹⁰ CEM 31088; Thissen 1966, pls. 1-2; D. J. Thompson 1988, 117-118; Hölbl 2001, 163, fig. 6.1.

Horus, and the priests decreed that statues of “Ptolemy Horus who avenges his father and whose victory is beautiful” be set up in the forecourts of all temples.¹¹

The Memphis Decree issued on the trilingual Rosetta Stone provides the Greek and Egyptian renderings of the titlature of Ptolemy V “*Epiphanes Eucharistus* (Manifest and Charitable God)” and unmistakably conveys the association of royal succession, order, victory, and jubilation:

Horus Name (“King”):

- The Youth Who has Appeared as King upon the Throne of His Father;

Two Ladies Names (“Lord of Crowns”):

- Foremost of Strength, Who Made the Two Lands Firm,
- Who Made Egypt Beautiful and is Beneficent of Heart toward the Gods;

Gold Falcon Names (“Triumphant over Enemies”):

- Green Life (“Prosperity”) for Humanity,
- Lord of Jubilee Festivals like Ptah (Hephaestus),
- Sovereign like Ra (Helius);

Throne Names (“Great King of the Upper and Lower Countries”):

- Heir of the Father-Loving Gods, Elect of Ptah (Hephaestus),
- Mighty Spirit of Ra (“Whom Helius Granted Victory”),
- Living Scepter (“Image”) of Amun (Zeus);

Personal Name (“Son of Helius/Ra”):

- Ptolemy, Living Forever, Beloved of Ptah.¹²

The fourteen-year old King is, furthermore, identified with Hermes (Thoth) and Horus (Harsiesis as well as Harendotes), and is honored for his benevolence, including avenging

¹¹ *I. Raph. dem. l. 12*; Thissen 1966, 55; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, p. 108, n. 72; *infra* ch. III, § 3, p. 443.

¹² *Urk. II: 169-170* (*hwnw h'j-m-nšw-hr-st-it=f, wr-phiti smn-tz.wj snfr-Tmri mnh-ib-hr-ntr.w, wgd-nh-n-hnmt nb-hbw-sd-mi-Pth itj-mi-R', iw'-n-ntr.wj-mr(.wj)-it stp-(n)-Pth wsr-k-R' shm-nh-(n)-Imn, Ptwlmj's nh-dt mri-Pth*); *OGIS 90 ll. 1-4* (Βασιλεύοντος τοῦ νέου καὶ παραλαβόντος τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς κυρίου βασιλειῶν μεγαλοδόξου, τοῦ τὴν Αἴγυπτον καταστησαμένου καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦς, ἀντιπάλων ὑπερέρου, τοῦ τὸν βίον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπανορθώσαντος, κυρίου τριακονταετηρίδων, καθάπερ ὁ Ἥφαιστος ἐδοκίμασεν, ὡς ὁ Ἥλιος ἔδωκεν τὴν νίκην, εἰκόνας ζώσης τοῦ Διὸς, υἱοῦ τοῦ Ἥλιου, Πτολεμαίου αἰωνοβίου, ἡγαπημένου ὑπὸ τοῦ Πθᾶ); von Beckerath 1984, 22, 119; Koenen 1993, 48-50, 57-61; Hölbl 2001, 166; Huß 2001, 504-505; *cf. supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, p. 109, n. 76 (on the royal titlature of Ptolemy IV).

his father, worshipping the gods, bestowing largesse upon the temples and prosperity for the populace, dispensing justice, restoring order, suppressing rebellion, and defending the country against enemies.¹³ Finally, the most important hieroglyphic inscription of late-Ptolemaic times, the so-called Harris Stela, records the coronation ceremony of Ptolemy XII in the Houses of the Jubilee Festival, when the King was reborn as the Son of Ra, *viz.*, the Young Osiris (Neos Dionysus).¹⁴

Besides historical victories, religious ceremonies offered the Lagids an opportunity for a royal display of glorious triumph, military might, ostentatious luxury and syncretistic assimilation. Even if the ideological importance of such ceremonies was greater than the display of military might, that does not corroborate the view proffered by Hazzard that they served merely a propagandistic purpose.¹⁵ One of the most extravagant early-Hellenistic pageants was the Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus described by Callixenus of Rhodes (as preserved in Athenaeus).¹⁶ The exact date of this ceremony is still disputed, but it likely occurred at the occasion of one of the first Ptolemaea organized by Ptolemy II (*viz.*, in 279/8, 275/4 or 271/0 BCE).¹⁷ The main scene of the procession (at least in the preserved description) was Dionysus' triumphant return from

¹³ Frankfort 1948, 51-60; Bergman 1968, 104; Bringmann 1993, 7-24; Koenen 1993, 61-69; Hölbl 2001, 77-98, 111-112; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, p. 110, n. 77.

¹⁴ *I. BM 1026* (886) = *Thes. Inscr.* V: 943 l. 8; Bergman 1968, 110-118; Hölbl 2001, 283, n. 140.

¹⁵ Hazzard 2000, esp. 66-79.

¹⁶ Callix. *ap.* Athen. V.196A-203B (= *FGrH* III(C.1): 627 F 2); Rice 1983; Goukowsky 1992, 153-159.

¹⁷ *Cf.*, Fraser 1972, I: 231-232; Koenen 1977, 80 n. 165 (271/0 BCE); Rice 1983, 182-187 (*ca.* 280-275 BCE; disassociated from Ptolemaea); Foertmeyer 1988, 90-104 (275/4 BCE); Goukowsky 1992, 153-154; Walbank 1996 (279/8 BCE); Hazzard 2000, 59-79 (262/1 BCE); Hölbl 2001, 39 (275/4 BCE); Huß 2001, 320-323 (275/4 BCE).

India.¹⁸ However, other deities were honored in the festivities as well, viz., Zeus, all other Olympian gods, Alexander the Great (flanked by Nike and Athena) and the *Theoi Soteres*.¹⁹ More important for the present purpose, nonetheless, is the profuse presentation of symbols of victory, such as personifications foremost of Victory (*Nikai*) with golden wings, of the annual cycle (*Eniautos*) carrying a golden horn of plenty, of the four-year cycle (*Penteteris*) carrying a palm branch, of Virtue (*Aretê*) and Corinth, the Four Seasons (*Hôrai*) each carrying her seasonal fruits, also golden crowns, horns of gold, gilded palm trees, a gilded thunderbolt, and golden Delphic tripods, not to mention a parade of over 80,000 Ptolemaic troops (57,600 foot and 23,200 horse).²⁰ This Grand Procession of Philadelphus, in short, manifestly propagated the wealth, glory and might of the Ptolemaic Empire.

At the end of the Hellenistic age, two extraordinary scenes directed by Cleopatra VII similarly flaunted Egypt's power and riches in an overtly religious atmosphere. The first event concerns Cleopatra's ingeniously staged seduction of Mark Antony, the second his triumphal entrance in Alexandria with epinician pomp. When Antony had summoned Cleopatra to Tarsus in Cilicia (41 BCE),²¹ his messenger Dellius

¹⁸ Callix. *ap.* Athen. V.200D: τὴν ἐξ Ἰνδοῶν κάθοδον Διονύσου; Rice 1983, 82-99; Goukowsky 1992, 157-158.

¹⁹ Callix. *ap.* Athen. V.197D, 202A-B; Rice 1983, 38-44.

²⁰ Callix. *ap.* Athen. V.197E, 198A-B, 201D, 202B-C, 202F-203A; Rice 1983, 45-47; Goukowsky 1992, 158.

²¹ Bouché-Leclercq 1903-7, II: 233-237; Stähelin in *RE* X(2): s.v. 'Kleopatra,' no.20, col.757; Bevan 1927, 373-374; Macurdy 1932, 194-197; Bengtson 1975, 296-270; Will 1979-82, II: 539-540; Pomeroy 1984, 38; Pelling 1988, 183-193; Green 1990, 663-664, 670-671; Hölbl 2001, 240-241; Huß 2001, 729-730; Weill Goudchaux 2001, 137-139.

advised the Queen to come “finely decked out” as Hera seducing Zeus.²² Thus, “at the height of her intellectual power,” Plutarch recounts:

She sailed up the River Cydnus in a barge with golden stern, its purple sails spread out, the rowers urging its silver oars to the sound of the flute harmonizing with pipes and lutes. She herself reclined beneath a canopy shot with gold, decked like Aphrodite in a painting, as boys like *Erotes* (Loves) portrayed in paintings were standing on either side fanning her. Likewise also the fairest of her serving-maidens, attired like *Nêreïdes* (Sea-Nymphs) and *Charites* (Graces), stood at the rudder or at the reefing ropes. Wondrous perfumes from numerous incense burners diffused along the banks. [...] A rumor spread everywhere that Aphrodite would revel with Dionysus for the fortune of Asia.²³

Cleopatra entertained Antony for supper on her magnificent barque. In this enactment, the Queen employed attributes of myth and ritual as well as religious art, to appear before the Triumvir as Aphrodite-Isis before her Dionysus-Osiris.²⁴ Mark Antony was evidently captivated.

After Antony could finally claim victory against Armenia (though ostensibly campaigning against Parthia) and face Rome triumphantly (autumn 34 BCE), he defied expectations and returned to Egypt.²⁵ For, instead of claiming the title of *Triumphator* in

²² Plut. *Ant.* XXV.3 (= *Vit.* 926): ἐλθεῖν εἰς Κιλικίαν εὖ ἐντύνασαν ἔαυτήν; cf. Hom. *Il.* XIV.162: ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἰδην εὖ ἐντύνασαν ἔαυτήν; Sen. *Suas.* I.7.

²³ Plut. *Ant.* XXVI.1-3 (= *Vit.* 927): πλεῖν ἀνὰ τὸν Κύδνον ποταμὸν ἐν πορθμείῳ χρυσοπρύμνῳ, τῶν μὲν ιστίων ἀλουργῶν ἐκπεπετασμένων, τῆς δὲ εἰρεσίας ἀργυραῖς κώπαις ἀναφερομένης πρὸς αὐλὸν ἅμα σύριγξι καὶ κιθάραις συνηρμοσμένον. αὐτὴ δὲ κατέκειτο μὲν ὑπὸ σκιαδίῳ χρυσοπάστῳ κεκοσμημένη γραφικῶς ὥσπερ Ἀφροδίτῃ, παῖδες δὲ τοῖς γραφικοῖς Ἑρωσιν εἰκασμένοι παρ’ ἐκάτερον ἐστῶτες ἐρρίπιζον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ θεραπαινίδες αἱ καλλιστεύουσαι Νηρηίδων ἔχουσαι καὶ Χαρίτων στολὰς, αἱ μὲν πρὸς οἶαξιν, αἱ δὲ πρὸς κάλοις ἦσαν. ὁδμαὶ δὲ θαυμασταὶ τὰς ὄχθας ἀπὸ θυμιαμάτων πολλῶν κατεῖχον. ... καὶ τις λόγος ἐχώρει διὰ πάντων ὥς ἡ Ἀφροδίτῃ κωμάζοι παρὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ τῆς Ἀσίας; Macurdy 1932, 194-197; Pomeroy 1984, 38; Hölbl 2001, 240-241; Huß 2001, 729-730.

²⁴ Antony had been welcomed in Ephesus as “Dionysus, the Giver of Rejoice and the Merciful”: Sen. *Suas.* I.6; Plut. *Ant.* XXIV.4 (= *Vit.* 926B); Athen. IV.148B-C; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 295-306; Burkert 1993, 264; Huß 2001, 730, n. 23.

²⁵ Bouché-Leclercq 1903-7, II: 274-280; Stähelin in *RE* X(2): s.v. ‘Kleopatra,’ no. 20, XI(1): 763-764; Bevan 1968, 376-377; Macurdy 1932, 203-206; Bengtson 1975, 304-306; Will 1979-82, II: 550-551; Pelling 1988, 249-252; Green 1990, 675, 678; Ogden 1999, 104; Hölbl 2001, 243-244; Huß 2001, 739-

Rome, Antony entered the city of Alexandria in a pageant reminiscent of the Grand Procession of Philadelphus. Before him, he led the captives with the Median King Artavasdes and his wife and children in golden chains; behind marched Antony's victorious troops, followed by the spoils of war.²⁶ Antony drove down the city's central Canopic avenue on a Bacchic chariot, in the guise of Dionysus, crowned with an ivy wreath, attired in a saffron robe embroidered with gold, holding the vine wand in his hand, and wearing laced boots.²⁷ Passing the market place and the tomb of Alexander, the procession halted at the Serapeum, where amid the crowd Cleopatra, seated on a golden throne set upon a raised tribune of silver, decked in the guise of Isis and holding the crook and flail in hieratic pose, awaited the victor.²⁸ Shortly afterwards, the populace was gathered in the assembly, where Antony and Cleopatra were seated on golden thrones set upon a silver tribune, and below them on lower seats were Cleopatra's children.²⁹ In his address, Antony foremost proclaimed Cleopatra Queen of Egypt and Cyprus, established Ptolemy Caesarion as her joint-ruler, and styled them "Queen of Kings (Gk. *Basilissa Basileôn*; Lat. *Regina Regum*)" and "King of Kings (Gk. *Basileus Basileôn*; Lat. *Rex Regum*)" respectively.³⁰ He furthermore assigned the lands east of Egypt to Cleopatra Selene, the region east of the Euphrates to Alexander Helios, and the

741.

²⁶ Dio Cass. XLIX.xl.3; cf. Plut. *Ant.* L.4 (= *Vit.* 939).

²⁷ Vell. Pat. II.lxxxii.4.

²⁸ Dio Cass. XLIX.xl.3-4; Zonar. X.27A.

²⁹ Plut. *Ant.* LIV.3 (= *Vit.* 941A); Dio Cass. XLIX.xli.1; Livy *Per.* 131-132.

³⁰ Plut. *Ant.* LIV.4 (= *Vit.* 941B); Dio Cass. XLIX.xli.1; Zonar. X.27A.

territories west of the Euphrates to Ptolemy Philadelphus.³¹ We need not be detained with the question whether this epinician pomp was intended as an official triumphal procession, or whether the Dionysiac Procession and the Ceremony of the Donations formed part of the same celebration.³² The details of the religious performance of the victorious Dionysus-Osiris returning to his faithful Aphrodite-Isis, with its reminiscence of the *hieros gamos* of the Anthesteria,³³ further provided the enactment with a thematic unity that served to emphasize the union of the divinely royal couple. The festivities doubtless formalized the relationship of Cleopatra and Antony in the eyes of the Alexandrians.³⁴ Accordingly, the aforementioned Ptolemaic ceremonies unmistakably promoted the importance of glory and triumph, in the context of ostentatious luxury and religious assimilations that sets these aspects of royal ideology squarely within the framework of the ruler cult.

Historical (literary and epigraphic) evidence, to sum up, not only describes actual military victories of Ptolemaic kings, but also elucidates its ideological importance. Some of the ancient historiographers who record such successes in battle, *e.g.*, Diodorus, Polybius and Josephus have briefly passed the review above. The more famous Ptolemaic inscriptions of Mendes, Adulis, Canopus, Raphia and Rosetta, among others, to some degree all glorify the kings' mighty victories in defeating foreign enemies or native

³¹ Plut. *Ant.* LIV.4 (= *Vit.* 941B); Dio Cass. XLIX.xli.3; Livy *Per.* 131; Zonar. X.27A.

³² Plut. *Ant.* LIV.6-7 (= *Vit.* 941C); Dio Cass. XLIX.xli.1; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-7, II: 274; Bevan 1927, 376; Bengtson 1975, 304; Will 1979-82, II: 550; Pelling 1988, 241; Green 1990, 675; Hölbl 2001, 243; Huß 2001, 739.

³³ Arist. *Ath. pol.* III.5; Hesych. s.v. 'Διονύσου γάμος'; Burkert 1985, 239-240.

³⁴ *E.g.*, see: Socrat. Rhod. *FGrH* 192 F 1 (*ap.* Athen. IV.147D-F); Sen. *Suas.* I.6; Plut. *Comp. Dem. Ant.* I.3 (= *Vit.* 956B) and IV.1 (= *Vit.* 957A); Suet. *Aug.* LXIX.2; Macurdy 1932, 202; Ogden 1999, 104; Hölbl 2001, 244-245; Huß 2001 734 n. 20.

rebels, and in so doing glorify their success in defending the country. Indeed, as protectors of order and stability, peace and prosperity, Ptolemaic kings recurrently received the titulary “Lord of the Jubilee Festival.” The populace was, moreover, said to rejoice in the king’s manifestation as “Horus Who Saves (*or* Avenges) His Father” (Harendotes) and who triumphantly slays his enemies. Such shows of strength were considered benefactions worthy of jubilation. Similarly, then, religious pageants were employed to propagate with epinician pomp and ostentatious displays the glory and triumph, the riches and wealth, the spoils of war, the luxury and abundance, and innumerable symbols of victory that represent the imperial power of the Lagid dynasty.

2. Eternal Renewal

As various sources can substantiate, Ptolemaic kings were closely associated with deities whose rejuvenation, reincarnation or resurrection was celebrated in myth and/or ritual. For instance, the Jubilee Festival (Eg. *Hab-Sed*)³⁵ – perhaps the most important of royal festivals – centered on the renewal of the divine kingship of Ptah. In the following paragraphs, I will furthermore examine the significance of the Memphite bull-god Apis for the coronation ceremony and importance of the kings’ association with the universalistic Sarapis. Additionally, I will offer a more tentative interpretation of the Ptolemies’ religious identifications with minor divinities such as Agathodaemon, Aeon Plutonium and the Phoenix. With the exception of the latter solar bird, it is worthy of note that each of these gods was conceived of as *parhedros* of a goddess with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified, *viz.*, Hathor, Isis, Agathe Tyche and Persephone. My

endeavor is to show not only that the theme of jubilation featured in these religious identifications, but also that it symbolized the cycle of eternal renewal.

In the above-cited royal titlature of Ptolemy V, the “Gold Falcon” title combined the aspects of victory, rejuvenation, jubilation, reincarnation and sovereignty. For the King is designated as “Triumphant over Enemies: Prosperity for Humanity, Lord of Jubilee Festivals like Ptah, Sovereign like Ra.”³⁶ In the same breath, the King is thus identified with Horus, Ptah and Ra. Indeed, as Jan Bergman has indelibly shown, the King’s *Sed*-Festival is identical with Ptah’s primordial Jubilee.³⁷ While it seems evident that the Ptolemies celebrated this significant royal festival,³⁸ the particulars of the *Sed*-ritual remain regrettably uncertain.³⁹ So far as can be ascertained, the festival foremost intended to renew the sacral sovereignty of the king, *i.e.*, to ceremonially reenact the primeval investiture of Ptah.⁴⁰ Further features of the Jubilee that have been discerned include the appearance of the king in ceremonial robe (the *sed* after which the festival is called), the enthronization of the king in the *Sed*-chapel beside the Queen, a ritual battle, the presentation of prisoners of war and sacrificial victims, the erection of the *Djed*-Pillar (𓄿) of Ptah-Sokaris-Osiris, and a solemn circumambulatory dance around the precinct. Moreover, Jouco Bleeker has astutely emphasized the role of the queen in these proceedings as earthly emanation of Hathor, to protect the restoration of the Cosmic

³⁵ For this spelling, see: prefatory note, p. 10.

³⁶ *Supra* 405, n. 12.

³⁷ Bergman 1968, 79-85.

³⁸ Merkelbach 1963, 55; Bergman 1968, 81; Bevan 1968, 346-349.

³⁹ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Dreißigjahrfest’; Bleeker 1967, 96-123 *pass.*; *infra* Pt. Four, ch. III, § 1, p. 435, n. 5.

⁴⁰ Allam 1963, 12-13, 46; Merkelbach 1963, 34; Bleeker 1967, 113-114.

Order.⁴¹ Through the identification with the primordial kingship of Ptah, accordingly, the *Hab-Sed* aimed at effecting the cultic renewal of divine kingship, while simultaneously enhancing the military glory of the pharaoh.

We saw in Part One that throughout the Lagids' reign Ptolemaic kings were identified, especially in the royal titulary, with the Memphite bull-god Apis.⁴² It will bear repeating here that Apis was conceived of as the "Living Soul of Ptah," *viz.*, the god's earthly emanation, and that Ptolemaic kings frequently received titles such as "Beloved" or "Elect of Ptah" as well as "Lord of Jubilee Festivals like Ptah."⁴³ The long-lasting, posthumous temple-sharing cult of Arsinoe II with Ptah implies that in Memphis the Queen was worshipped as the bull god's mother, thus assimilated with the cow-goddess Hathor-Isis.⁴⁴ Inscriptions such as the Pithom stela, the Canopus decree and the Rosetta Stone record the lavish royal patronage bestowed upon the sacred animals of the native Egyptian religion, particularly the Apis bulls of – during their lifetime, for their burial and the adornment of the Memphite necropolis, as well as the general enlargement of shrines.⁴⁵ Apis' religious importance for the royal ideology lay essentially in the sacred bull's role in the coronation ceremony at Memphis.⁴⁶ As the protective deity of the King

⁴¹ Bleeker 1967, 102; *id.* 1973, 52; Troy 1986, 56.

⁴² *RAÄRG* s.v. 'Apis,' 46-51; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 212; Koenen 1962, 13-14, n. 2; Bergman 1968, 252-256; D. J. Thompson, 1988, esp. 114-125; Hölbl 2001, 80-81; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 2, p. 99.

⁴³ For the epithet "*nb-h:bw-šd-mi-Pth*," *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 3, p. 100, n. 39; for Ptolemaic titlature, see: von Beckerath 1984, 118-122.

⁴⁴ Bergman 1968, 251, 253; Quaegebeur 1971; D. J. Thompson 1988, 9-10, 110, 125-138, 192-194.

⁴⁵ *E.g.*, see: *Urk.* II: 102-103 ll. 25-26; *ibid.* 128 ll. 5-6; *ibid.* 185-186; Diod., I.84.8; D. J. Thompson 1988, 114-119.

⁴⁶ Nigid. Fig. 123, 8-10 (ed. Swoboda; *ap. Σ ad German. Aratea*, in *FHRA* 85); ps.-Callisth. I.34; *cf.* Hdt. II.153; Diod. I.85; Suet. *Tit.* V; Arr. *Anab.* III.1; Bleeker 1967, 95-96, 109-110; Bergman 1968, 92-

and *ba* of the local chief deity, sacred animals symbolized the eternal cycle of renewal in which the royal office is ritually rejuvenated. After the ritual dance in which the King (or his deputy high priest) led the Apis bull around the temple, he entered the inner sanctum to receive the regal investiture and was then sworn in. Sacred animals thus performed the same function as Horus, in that they epitomized the legitimate succession of kingship, which guaranteed the Cosmic Order (*Ma'at*) against the dangers of Chaos (*Isphet*). In other words, the assimilation of king and god at the coronation ceremony symbolized the immortality of kingship, through eternal renewal, and the victory of life over death and Order over Chaos.

Even more pertinent for Lagid ideology than Apis' relation with Ptah (-Sokaris) was the identification of the sacred bull with Osiris.⁴⁷ The Greeks recognized this fusion of Osiris and Apis (Eg. *Usir-Hapi*) as Sarapis. Regardless of the exact origin of this syncretistic Hellenistic deity,⁴⁸ the god's cult was ardently promoted by the Ptolemies.⁴⁹ Of course, the focus of religious life in Alexandria was the temple of Sarapis on the hill of Rhacotis, established by Ptolemy I.⁵⁰ Affiliated with the Serapeum was the cult of Isis,

120; D.J. Thompson 1988, esp. 106, 146-147; Hölbl 2001, 80-81, 88-89.

⁴⁷ Diod. I.85; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XX.4 (= *Mor.* 359B), XXVIII-XXIX (= 361F-362E), XLIII.2 (= 368C); Luc., *Syr. D.* VI.3; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Sarapis,' 649-655; Visser 1938, 97-98; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 212; Bergman 1968, 252-253; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 363; Fraser 1972, I: 246-276; Stambaugh 1972; D.J. Thompson 1988, 115, 198-203; Merkelbach 1995; Hölbl 2001, 99-101.

⁴⁸ Cf. Tac. *Hist.* IV.83-84; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XXVIII (= *Mor.* 361F-362B); Alex. LXXVI; Arr. *Anab.* III.i.5, VII.26; Eusthat. *ad Dionys. Per.* 255; Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* IV.48; Cyrill. *c. Jul.* 13C; Euseb. *Chron. Arm.*, in *FHRA* 486; *OGIS* 16, 60; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 393-401.

⁴⁹ Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 193, 212-213; Fraser 1967, 23-45; *id.* 1972, I: 209-211; Stambaugh 1972, esp. 1-13, ill. 1; Green 1990, 406-413; Dunand 1992, 180-183.

⁵⁰ Also, see: ps.-Callisth. I.xxxi.4; *DGTE* s.v. 'Σαραπειῶν,' III: 140-146; Visser 1938, 20-24; Merkelbach 1963, 46-47; *id.* 1995, 148-149; Hölbl 2001, 100; Huß 2001, 378-379.

for whom Alexander the Great had already established a precinct in Alexandria.⁵¹ Isis and Sarapis became the chief Hellenized deities of Ptolemaic Egypt, and their status was enhanced by the work of the Greek philosopher Demetrius of Phalerum (*ca.* 350-*ca.* 280 BCE), the Egyptian priest Manetho (*fl. ca.* 280 BCE), and the sculptor Bryaxis (*fl. ca.* 275 BCE).⁵² What is most significant for the present purpose is Sarapis' triumphant character, as manifested through the god's universalistic assimilation particularly with Zeus, Helios, Hades and Dionysus, as well as their Egyptian counterparts Amun, (Atum-) Ra, and (Ptah-Sokaris-) Osiris.⁵³ As Günther Grimm points out, deified Ptolemaic kings were often represented with divine attributes that were associated with these same divinities.⁵⁴ As such, the kings' identification with Sarapis advertised their power as *Pantokratôr* ("Almighty") gods. Sarapis' connection with the Underworld additionally reflects the god's power to renew his immortality through an eternal cycle of reincarnation. In addition to the coinage, discussed above, with jugate portraits of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III in the guise of Zeus-Sarapis and Isis-Demeter, it is noteworthy that the portrait of Sarapis was one of the most enduring reverses struck by Ptolemaic mints.⁵⁵ The triumphant Pantokrator, then, embodied the eternal resurgence of divine power.

⁵¹ Fraser 1972, I: 246-276; Stambaugh 1972, 6-13; Merkelbach 1995, 73; Hölbl 2001, 100.

⁵² Athenod. *ap.* Clem. Alex. *Protrep.* IV.48; Artem. II.39; Fraser 1972, I: 247-257; Stambaugh 1972, 14-26; Green 1990, 48, 407.

⁵³ Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* II.i.1; Diod. I.25.2; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* XXVII.3-XXVIII.7 (= *Mor.* 361e-362b), LXXVIII (= 382e); Tacit. *Hist.* IV.83-84; Macrobi. *Saturn.* I.xx.13-14; J.G. Griffiths 1970, 392, 398-400; Green 1990, 406-413; Dunand 1992, 180-183; Koenen 1993, 44; Bernard 1995, 74-87.

⁵⁴ Grimm 1975, esp. 104-106, 108-109.

⁵⁵ E.g., see: Sv. pls. X, XVII, XXXVIII, XLVII, LVI, LVIII; *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 3, p. 79, n. 104 (lit.), ch. I, § 4, p. 146.

Sarapis' beneficent aspect furthermore manifests itself through the assimilation with the serpentine deity Agathodaemon, the patron god of Alexandria and Ptolemais (through identification with Psois [Eg. Pa-Shai]) – just as Isis-Tyche was identified with the serpentine Thermuthis (Renenutet).⁵⁶ The snake itself was symbol of rejuvenation and eternity. Like Agathe Tyche, Agathodaemon and Sarapis were often depicted carrying the *cornucopia*.⁵⁷ Like the Pantokrator Sarapis, Aeon Plutonium ("Eternity of Opulence") was represented with the attributes of Zeus, Helios, and Poseidon,⁵⁸ viz. the same aegis, nimbus and trident with which Ptolemy III Euergetes and Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II were depicted on their coinage.⁵⁹ The birth of Aeon was celebrated in the Alexandrian precinct of Kore-Persephone,⁶⁰ according to Reinhold Merkelbach's calculation at the same date as the original coronation of Ptolemy I.⁶¹ In an illuminating study of Aeon Plutonium, moreover, Andreas Alföldi points to the close association of Aeon, the Phoenix, and the numismatic iconography of Ptolemies III and VIII.⁶² The sacred sun-bird that was believed to arise from its ashes was an obvious symbol of

⁵⁶ Plut. *Amat.* XII (= *Mor.* 755E-F); ps.-Callis. I.32; Amm. Marc. XXII.xi.7; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Schai'; Otto 1905-8, II: 320; Visser 1938, 5-7, 42-43; Cerfaux and Tondraeu 1956, 193; J. G. Griffiths 1970, 374; Fraser 1972, I: 209-211, II: 355-357, nn. 161-164; Stambaugh 1972, 1-6, ill. 1; Watterson 1984, 97, 138, 183; Dunand 1990, 169-170; Merkelbach 1995, 76, 80; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, no. 151; *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 2, p. 43, n. 39; § 6, p. 57, p. 136; ch. III, § 4, p. 113, n. 90.

⁵⁷ Merkelbach 1995, 92-93, ill. 140-141.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 48-50

⁵⁹ Kyrieleis 1975, 27-31, pl. 17, ill. 1-4; Alföldi 1977, 5-9, pl. 1, ill. 1, 3; Smith 1988, xiii, 44, 91, 94, pl. 75, ill. 9, 17; Koenen 1993, 77, n. 117; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, p. 112.

⁶⁰ Epiph. *Panar. haer.* LI.xxii.8; cf. ps.-Callisth. I.xxxiii.2; Visser 1938, 37-38; Merkelbach 1963, 47; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, p. 112, n. 84.

⁶¹ Merkelbach 1963, 45-50; Koenen 1993, 73-77; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, p. 112, n. 85.

⁶² Alföldi 1977; also, see: van den Broek 1972, pl. 6, ill. 8-9, pl. 8, ill. 1; Merkelbach 1995, 112, ill. 225-226.

resurrection and cyclical renewal, as well as herald of the Golden Age.⁶³ Incidentally, Tacitus reports that the Phoenix appeared during the reign of Ptolemy III.⁶⁴ Consequently, minor deities with whom Ptolemies were identified or closely associated reveal not only the ideological importance of beneficence and opulence, but also of the revitalization of divine power.

The foregoing paragraphs, in sum, have established that Ptolemaic kings were assimilated to divinities who embodied the eternal cycle of renewal. While Ptolemaic queens were identified with the cow goddess Hathor-Isis, kings were considered the living incarnation of the Memphite bull god Apis. As such the queen was believed to guarantee the continual succession of kingship. The well-known patronage of the cult of Isis and Sarapis was complemented with the paired identification of the royal and divine couples. Through their sheer universalistic powers Isis and Sarapis symbolized the immortal permanence that the Lagid dynasty aspired to obtain. The close associations of King and Queen with Aeon and Persephone, Agathodaemon and Agathe Tyche (Shai and Thermuthis) expressed the abundant and opulent prosperity and luxury in which the populace could rejoice. As herald of the Golden Age, the Phoenix reborn from its ashes succinctly sums up the symbolism of eternal renewal and the reestablishment of harmony and order. All in all, the above-mentioned religious identifications presented the Ptolemaic king and queen as guarantors of perpetual peace and prosperity.

⁶³ Van den Broek 1972, 23, 105, 229-230; Alföldi 1977, 12, pl. 6, ill. 6, and pl. 8, ill. 1-4.

⁶⁴ Tacit. *Ann.* VI.28; van den Broek 1972, 107; Alföldi 1977, 12 and n. 31; cf. Merkelbach 1995, 374-375.

3. Victory over Enemies

Having examined historical victories as well as triumphal ceremonies, I will now consider whether poetic allusions can attest to the importance of victory, triumph and other aspects of jubilation within the Ptolemaic context. As the Egyptian King was perceived as the living incarnation of Horus, it will be particularly pertinent to discover if poetic allusion reflect Horus' role as victor over enemies who, in the form of Seth-Typhon, especially represent the danger of Chaos. In preceding chapters, I have frequently referred to the Ptolemies' adherence to this traditional Egyptian politico-religious ideology of kingship. (Ptolemaic patronage of Hathor's "Beautiful Festival of Union" or Horus' "Festival of Victory," incidentally, could additionally corroborate this.)⁶⁵ As the works of Theocritus and Callimachus, once more, are the chief representatives of contemporary poetry, the focus will consequently be on the reigns of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Ptolemy Euergetes. These works will not only provide further testimony to the religious identifications of Ptolemaic kings, but also illuminate the importance of the present theme for the royal ideology. While by no means mouthpieces of political propaganda, it would seem doubtful that the attention these poets paid to Apollo and Heracles as slayers of monsters was sheer happenstance. In the following section, then, I will analyze Alexandrian poetry that may shed light on the symbolism of jubilation.

Theocritus, as Alan Cameron deftly argues, composed his *Heracliscus* for public recitation in a poetic contest at a Ptolemaic festival – and *not* in the seclusion of the

⁶⁵ Daumas 1965, 38; Bleeker 1967, 32, 34, 92. [Additionally, the date of Alexandrian Aetia corresponds with the Ptolemaic *dies imperii* (ca. 6 Jan.), and later the Christian Epiphany (Twelfth Night); for which, see: NT *Matt.* II.9-12; Merkelbach 1963, 55-57; Koenen 1993, 77; *supra* p. 416, n. 61.]

Alexandrian Library's "Ivory Tower."⁶⁶ From the poet's *Idyll* XVII, it may indeed be deduced that Theocritus did at least win one victory in a Dionysian contest.⁶⁷ Further, in the *Heracliscus*, the poet elaborately described the hour at which two snakes (sent by the vengeful Hera) attacked the "ten-month old" baby Heracles and his twin Iphicles, viz., "when the Bear [*Ursa Major*] at midnight turns west, over against Orion, who shows his mighty shoulder [the star *Betelgeuse*]."⁶⁸ Since this temporal specification indirectly expresses the season of young Heracles first heroic feat, a learned reader might be able to calculate the hero's birth ten months earlier: since *Ursa Major* turns westward while *Betelgeuse* is still visible (at the latitude of Alexandria) above the horizon in mid-February, Theocritus thus dated Heracles' birth in mid-April. Some three decades ago Ludwig Koenen voiced his suspicion that this date was not chosen arbitrarily, but rather coincided with the birthday of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. From Koenen's publication of an agonistic inscription it is possible to establish that the King celebrated his *Genethlia* on 12 Dystros, and that on that same date the *Basilea* commemorated his appointment as his father's heir and successor to the throne, i.e., on 12 Dystros in Soter's twenty-first regnal year, which coincides with 13/14 January 285 B.C.E. on the Julian calendar.⁶⁹ In 308 B.C.E., 12 Dystros indeed fell on April 10/11.⁷⁰ Moreover, Koenen's inscription

⁶⁶ Cameron 1995, 53-54; for Theoc. *Id.* XXIV, see: Gow 1950, II: 415-437; Koenen 1977, 79-86; Rist 1978, 180-190; F. T. Griffith 1979, eps. 51-57 and 91-98.

⁶⁷ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.112-116; Gow 1950, II: 343-344; Hunter 2003, 182-185.

⁶⁸ Theoc. *Id.* XXIV.11-12; Gow 1950, II: 417-418.

⁶⁹ Koenen 1977, 85-86.

⁷⁰ Accounting for the discrepancy between the Julian and Macedonian calendars, to arrive at this date add 15 days for every 4 years that have passed between the two dates, i.e., 308-285 = 23 years, hence adding ca. 86 days counting from 13/14 Jan. comes to 10/11 Apr.

records that poetic contests were in fact held at the Alexandrian *Basilea*.⁷¹ Thus, Theocritus may very well have earned a prize with his *Heracliscus* on the first *Basilea* of Ptolemy II.

The Ptolemies, like Alexander the Great, reckoned Heracles as their ancestor, and through him the Lagid dynasty could trace its lineage back to Zeus.⁷² In his panegyric on Ptolemy II, Theocritus had illustrated this dynastic ancestry by portraying Lagus' son, Alexander and Heracles all enthroned in Zeus' Olympian palace.⁷³ Additionally, the hero of the *Heracliscus* bears a striking resemblance to Ptolemy II, for he excels not only in boxing, wrestling, archery, charioteering, and warfare, but also in letters, poetry and music.⁷⁴ Theocritus praised his King, "gold-haired Ptolemy, who knows to wield a spear," for defending Egypt from foreign raids.⁷⁵ Koenen suggests that Ptolemy II is thus identified not only with Heracles, the slayer of monsters, but also Horus, the victor over his enemies. The religious atmosphere, moreover, is emphasized by the hymnic *chaire* invocation at the closure of the encomium.⁷⁶ Heracliscus (Little Heracles), in fact, may be closely associated with Harpocrates (Horus the Child) – a conjecture corroborated by Tiresias' advice to exorcize the polluted snakes and sacrifice a boar to "Zeus the Victor,"

⁷¹ Koenen 1977, 79-86; *id.* 1993, 44.

⁷² *E.g.*, see: *OGIS* 54 l.5; Theoc. XVII.20-27; Satyr. *FHG* III: F. 21; Plut. *Alex.* II; Hölbl 2001, 96; Huß 2001, 238.

⁷³ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.13-27; Gow 1950, II: 325-347; Rist 1978, 152-159; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. IV, § 4, 258, n. 94.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* XXIV.103-133 (Heracles excels not only in boxing, wrestling, chariot-racing, and fighting, but in writing and poetry too); Koenen 1993, 44-45, and n. 50 (2); Cameron 1995, 54.

⁷⁵ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.98-105 (quoted in full, *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, p. 111, n. 80); Gow 1950, II: 341-342; Hunter 2003, 173-178.

⁷⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.135 (Χαῖρε, ἄναξ Πτολεμαῖε); *infra* ch. III, § 4, pp. 453-454.

so that the family “may rise forever the victor of [their] enemies.”⁷⁷ Similarly, in the *Heracles Leonophonus*, attributed to Theocritus, the hero is portrayed as slayer of terrifying monsters,⁷⁸ while in the *Lenae*, Pentheus’ death signals a warning not to resist Dionysus: “let no other give heed to who is hateful to Dionysus, not though he suffer a fate more grievous than that.”⁷⁹ The poet added that, “for the children of the pious (*eusebeôn*) there is the better fate, for the impious (*dussebeôn*) not.”⁸⁰ Just as the rebels mentioned in the Rosetta Stone were “enemies of the gods (*theoisin echthroi*),” foreign enemies were perceived as impious.⁸¹ Through allusive associations between the King and Heracles/Horus as well as Dionysus/Osiris, in short, Theocritus’ idylls illustrate the religious and political significance of the symbolism of revenge and victory.

Let us now turn to Callimachus. In the heart of his *Hymnus in Delum*, the poem drew a rather unambiguous analogy between Apollo and Ptolemy II. For in the hymn, Apollo prophesied from the womb that he would one day fight a “common combat” together with “another god, the most high lineage of the Savors,” “when the descendants of the Titans shall rouse up against the Hellenes their barbaric swords and Gallic war (*Kelton Arêa*).”⁸² The poem thus compares the attack on Delphi by the invading Gauls from the Balkans that Apollo resisted (279/8 BCE) with the uprising in Egypt of the four

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* XXIV.88-100.

⁷⁸ [ps.-]Theocr. *Id.* XXV.193-281.

⁷⁹ Theoc. *Id.* XXVI.27-28.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* XXVI.30-32.

⁸¹ Koenen 1959, 106-112; Bevan 1968, 265.

⁸² Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 165-166 (θεὸς ἄλλος ἢ ... Σαωτήρων ὑπατον γένος), 171-173 (ξυνός τις ἐλεύσεται ἄμμιν ἄεθλος ἢ ὕστερον, ὅππότε’ ἂν οἱ μὲν ἐφ’ ἑλλήνεσσι μάχαιραν ἢ βαρβαρικὴν καὶ Κελτὸν ἀναστήσαντες Ἄρηα); cf. *id.* *Hymn. Apoll.* 26-27; for the hymn, see: Pfeiffer 1953, II: 18-29;

thousand rebellious Gallic mercenaries, whom Philadelphus lured onto an island in the Nile and burned to death (*ca.* 272 BCE).⁸³ Besides, Callimachus underscored the correspondence that Apollo was born on the island of Delos, while Ptolemy II was born on the island of Cos.⁸⁴ Following the lead of Merkelbach and Koenen, however, Peter Bing also draws attention to the syncretistic identification of Apollo and Horus (common at least since Herodotus).⁸⁵ For instance, Apollo was born on the floating island Delos, while Horus was protected by Isis on the floating island Chemmis.⁸⁶ According to Callimachus, Apollo was, remarkably enough, born at the beginning of the season of the Nile inundation (*i.e.*, in mid-July), while Egyptian tradition held that Horus was born on the second epagomenal day (*viz.*, ideally *ca.* July 15/16).⁸⁷ Just as Horus and Seth were scions of the same god, so Apollo and Ares were sons of Zeus.⁸⁸ More importantly, Apollo's slaying of the Pythian serpent – like the Titanomachy and the victories over the Gallic forces of Ares – parallels Horus' triumph over Seth-Typhon.⁸⁹ While the Gauls are portrayed as being as numerous as the stars and as violent as a snowstorm, Ares is

Bing 1988, 91-143; Koenen 1993, 81-84; Stephens 2003, 114-121.

⁸³ Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 171-190; Paus. I.vii.2; Fraser 1972, I: 657-660; Koenen 1983, 178-181; Green 1990, 133; Hölbl 2001, 39.

⁸⁴ Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 160-170; *cf.* Theoc. *Id.* XVII.64-70 (where the same analogy is implied).

⁸⁵ *E.g.*, see: Hdt. II.144, 156; Bing 1988, 131-139.

⁸⁶ Hdt. II.91, 156; *RÄRG s.v.* 'Chembis' (Eg. *ḫ-bīt*, 'Ach-ebit'); Lloyd 1975-88, II: 367, III: 142-146; Bing 1988, 138.

⁸⁷ Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 263; Merkelbach 1981, 32; Bing 1988, 136-137.

⁸⁸ Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 57-58.

⁸⁹ *Id.* *Hymn. Apoll.* 100-104; *id.* *Hymn. Del.* 91-92; *cf.* *Hymn. Hom.* III: *Ap.* 281-285, 300-306, 363-374; Koenen 1959, 110-112; Koenen 1993, 81-84; Cameron 1995, 409.

represented as a force of natural disasters such as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions.⁹⁰ Conversely, Delos is free of war and death, while Apollo boasts: “Pure am I and may I be the care of the ones who are pure.”⁹¹ Accordingly, through allusive associations between Apollo, Horus and Philadelphus, Callimachus’ *Hymnus in Delum* adheres to the royal ideology that the King is the earthly manifestation of the Victorious Horus.

The themes of victory and jubilation surface also in other works of Callimachus (apart from the *Victoria Sosibii* [F 384]). In his *Victoria Berenices*, which celebrates the Queen’s four-span victory in the Nemean chariot races (*ca.* 243 BCE), Callimachus offers the aetiology of the Games, *viz.* Heracles’ slaying of the Nemean Lion that had ravaged the countryside.⁹² (The same Labor was, of course, the subject of the *Heracles Leonophonus* mentioned above.) The *Coma Berenices*, composed a few years earlier (*ca.* 245 BCE), commemorated Conon’s discovery of the Lock of Berenice as a constellation close to *Leo* (the catasterism of that very Nemean Lion). In the poem, Callimachus praised Berenice for her bravery as a young woman (see above),⁹³ and (in Catullus’ Latin translation) extolled Euergetes for laying waste to Syria and adding his Asian conquest to the Egyptian borders.⁹⁴ Of further importance is the formal closing of the *aetium*, so far

⁹⁰ Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 133-147, 174-176.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 98: εὐαγέων δὲ καὶ εὐαγέεσσι μελοίμην; *ibid.* 276-277 (οὐδέ σ’ Ἐνυῶν ἢ οὐδ’ Αἰδῆος οὐδ’ ἵπποι ἐπιστείβουσιν Ἄρης, “not Enyo nor Hades nor the horses of Ares tread on thee [*scil.*, Delos]”).

⁹² Callim. *Vict. Beren.* (= *Suppl. Hell.* 254-264); Parsons 1977, 1-50.

⁹³ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 26 (μεγάθυμον) = Catull. LXVI.26 (*magnanimam*); *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 4, p. 87, n. 140; Pt. Two, ch. 0, § 2, p. 246, n. 41; *infra* ch. IV, § 3, p. 483, n. 89.

⁹⁴ Catull. LXVI.12 (*vastatum finis iverat Asyyrios*), 35-36 (*is haud in tempore longo | captam Asiam Aegypti finibus addiderat*)

as it has been preserved: “Rejoice (*chaire*), dear to your children –.”⁹⁵ At the concluding invocation of Callimachus’ hymns, this formal *chaire*-phrase is only to be expected – as it is also found, *e.g.*, at the closing of the Dirge for Adonis in Theocritus’ *Adoniazusae* as well as in the *Lenae*.⁹⁶ However, as the final distich of the *Coma Berenices*, which alludes to the Ptolemaic ruler cult and specifically the apotheosis of Arsinoe, Callimachus employed this hymnic address to propitiate the deified Arsinoe and beg her to be of good cheer.⁹⁷ Suffice to say that, in such an overt Ptolemaic environment, the celebration of bravery and heroism, death-dealing of monsters and enemies, agonistic and military victories testifies to the significance of elation and jubilation.

Poetic allusions to military victory, to sum up, can confirm the importance of jubilation for their royal ideology – although representative only for the reigns of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Ptolemy III Euergetes. Recurrent references in works of Theocritus and Callimachus to Heracles’ role as death-dealer to monsters, *viz.*, Hera’s vindictive snakes and the Nemean Lion, reveal how the Lagids’ ancestral hero served as paradigm for the King, whose glorious triumphs defended the country from foreign invasion and internal rebellion. Moreover, the two poets set their respective praise of Ptolemy II and Berenice II within the surroundings of agonistic victories. Similarly, the *Hymnus in Delum* not only drew the explicit analogy of Apollo’s slaying of the Pythian serpent with the god’s victory against the invasion of the Gauls at Delphi, but also with Philadelphus’ success over his Celtic mercenaries. Through such allusions, the Ptolemaic

⁹⁵ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 94a: χ[αῖρε], φίλη τεκέεσσι; Marinone 1984; Koenen 1993, 94, 106, 111-113; Cameron 1995, 104-109.

⁹⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XXVI.33-38; Vernsel 1990, 96-212, esp. 156-162; *cf.* Theoc. *Id.* XXIV.73-4; Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 150-151.

⁹⁷ Koenen 1993, 112, n. 223; *infra* Pt. Four, ch. III, § 4, p. 453 n. 94.

King was not only identified or assimilated with Heracles and Apollo, but also with the Victorious Horus who defeats his father's enemies and overcomes the threat of Chaos. These allusive associations are further advanced through a close affinity between Dionysus and Osiris, and between Ares and Seth. The religious atmosphere of Callimachus' praise for Berenice's bravery and Euergetes' military glory, finally, is emphasized by the formal *chaire* phrase in the invocation of Arsinoe II. The King's divine nature, hence, was manifested in his victory over enemies.

4. The Horn of Plenty

The acts of royal benefaction (*euergesia*) and salvation (*sôtêria*) that foremost merited rejoicing involved the dynasty's military glory and Egypt's joyous prosperity. The object of this section is to elucidate how artistic depictions furnish visual expressions of this aspect of royal ideology. To this end, I will review several pieces of both Hellenic and Pharaonic-style sculpture, faience wine-jugs employed in the queens' cults, and various issues of Ptolemaic coinage. The main argument, here, will be that the divine attribute that most unequivocally exemplifies the symbolic significance of jubilation was Agathe Tyche's Horn of Plenty.

Various Hellenistic bronze statues in victorious posture have been attributed to Ptolemaic kings.⁹⁸ For instance, a New York figurine showing a king (possibly Ptolemy II) riding on horseback (now lost), with a *chlamys* over its left shoulder, wearing an elephant *exuviae*, and raising its right arm (that once held sword or spear), in

⁹⁸ Koenen 1993, 45 n. 50 .

Dionysian triumph.⁹⁹ Two practically identical Greek-style nude statuettes, moreover, portray gymnasts wrestling an opponent with “barbaric” features. One (now in Istanbul) depicts a diademed king (perhaps Ptolemy III), its head adorned with small wings and a lotus leaf.¹⁰⁰ The other (in Baltimore) represents a young and heroic king (probably Ptolemy V), whose *diadêma* is bedecked with a *uraeus*.¹⁰¹ These two figurines, hence, identify the Ptolemaic King respectively as victorious Hermes and Horus, like the Rosettana had done for Ptolemy V.¹⁰² The bronze *Theoi Adelphoi* statuettes (now in the British Museum) discussed in Part One, rare specimen of ancient Greek royal sculpture to survive virtually intact, show Ptolemy Philadelphus with Dionysus’ *exuviae* and Heracles’ club, while the crowned Arsinoe, dressed in *chiton* and *himation*, holds her *dikeras*.¹⁰³ This last attribute, a double Horn of Plenty, according to Athenaeus, was Arsinoe’s exclusive prerogative.¹⁰⁴ Two further statuettes portray diademed kings as bringers of abundance. One (now in Paris) is adorned with the same wings and lotus leaf as the wrestling mentioned above, and may therefore depict the same king.¹⁰⁵ The tip is all that remains of a *cornucopia* in its right hand. The other nude figurine (in London; possibly of Ptolemy IV) dons a lion skin over its left shoulder, it once clutched a sword in

⁹⁹ Bergmann, 1998, pl. 4.3.

¹⁰⁰ Kyrieleis 1975, 36, pl. 19.3-4, no. C.14; Bergmann 1998, pl. 2.4.

¹⁰¹ Kyrieleis 1975, 54-55, pl. 43.2, 5-6, no. E.7; Bergmann 1998, pl. 2.3.

¹⁰² *Urk.* II: 182 = *OGIS* 90 l. 26 (καθάπερ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ὡρος); Kyrieleis 1974, 133-1146; Koenen 1993, 45-46 n. 50.

¹⁰³ LBM 38.442, 443; *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 3, p. 82, n. 124.

¹⁰⁴ *Athen.* XI.497b-c; D. B. Thompson 1973, 32-33; Kyrieleis 1975, 82; Rice 1983, 202-208; Smith 1988, 91; Plantzos 1992; Ashton 2001a, 151-152.

¹⁰⁵ Kyrieleis 1975, 37, pls. 26.6-8, 27.1-4, no. C15; Smith 1988, pl. 70, ill. 7, app. 8, no. 11; Bergmann

the left hand, and the right extends a small *cornucopia* (filled with cakes and fruit).¹⁰⁶ These two pieces, thus, identify the King respectively as Hermes-Triptolemus and Heracles-Harpocrates. In other words, these seven pieces represent Ptolemaic rulers in Greek and Egyptian symbolism as bringers of abundance and triumph.

Egyptian-style Ptolemaic statuary similarly incorporated the Horn of Plenty as an attribute in the Queens' iconography. A limestone statuette (now in the Metropolitan), as the damaged hieroglyphs on the back pillar testify, shows the "[Daughter] of the king, [Sister] of the King, [Wife] of the King, Daughter of [Amu]n, Mistress of the Two Lands, Arsinoe, the Goddess Who Loves Her Brother and Lives Forever," with corkscrew locks, the Egyptian knotted dress and her *dikeras*.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, a basalt statue (in the Hermitage) portrays Arsinoe Philadelphus, wearing a tripartite wig fronted by a triple *uraeus*, dressed in a tight sheath, and holding the *dikeras*.¹⁰⁸ A partially preserved marble statue (also in the Metropolitan), moreover, depicts a Ptolemaic Queen (attributed to Cleopatra II or Cleopatra III) with corkscrew locks and stylized snail-shell curls on the forehead, bound by a hair band fronted by triple *uraeus*, wearing the knotted dress with linear drapery; her right hand is open along the thigh, the left hand carries a straight *cornucopia*; a cartouche of questionable authenticity inscribed the name "Cleopatra" on

1998, pl. 4.1.

¹⁰⁶ Bailey 1990, 107-110; Bergmann 1998, pl. 4.4; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, no. 9.

¹⁰⁷ MMA 20.2.21; Kyrieleis 1975, 82, 178, pl. 71.1-2, no. J.1; Brunelle 1976, 29; Quaegebeur 1988, 47; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, 170-172, no. 66; Smith 1988, 95; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, 151, no. 166.

¹⁰⁸ PSH 39.36; Quaegebeur 1983, 116-117; Rausch (ed.) 1998, 80, no. 38; *cf.* Ashton in Walker & Higgs (eds.) 2001, 152-153, 160, nos. 160a-b (who suggests to identify the Queen as Cleopatra VII); for the triple *uraeus*, now see: Bianchi 2003, 18-19.

the right arm.¹⁰⁹ One of the aforementioned colossal granite statues (excavated at Fort Qait Bey), additionally, represents a queen crowned with two plumes, the sun disk enclosed by cow's horns on a *modius* (circle of cobras), her coiffure in stylized locks, once more wearing the knotted dress, and carrying a *cornucopia* in the left hand.¹¹⁰ The severely abraded surface renders dating equivocal, however, stylistic features seem to point to the late second century B.C.E., and the statue may then be recognized as Cleopatra III.¹¹¹ These four sculptures, then, present in Egyptian style Ptolemaic Queens as divine bringers of opulence.

On the Ptolemaic *oenochos*, the Horn of Plenty featured as a vital attribute in the queens' iconography that (often explicitly) identified them with Agathe Tyche.¹¹² These faience wine jugs, employed in the royal cults, as mentioned above, show Ptolemaic queens (from Arsinoe II through Cleopatra I or II), in the act of libation on their own altar (often the *bômos keraouchos*).¹¹³ On the specimen of Arsinoe II and Berenice II, a phrase inscribed on the base of the neck of the vase as well as on the depicted altars (where preserved) appears to be dedicated to the "good fortune (*agathê tyche*)" of the Queen.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ MMA 89.2.660; cf. Bothmer *et al.* (eds.) 1960, 145-147, no. 113 [Cleopatra II or III]; Kyrieleis 1975, 118, 183 pl. 101.1, no. M.1 [2nd-1st cent. queen]; Ashton in Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, 152-154, 165, no. 164 [Cleopatra VII].

¹¹⁰ AGRM 106; *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 3, p. 83, n. 126.

¹¹¹ Ashton in Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, 58.

¹¹² Fraser 1972, I: 240-243; D. B. Thompson 1973, esp. 31-34, 51-55, 117-124; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, p. 113; ch. I, § 4, p. 145; Pt. Three, ch. II, § 4, p. 318.

¹¹³ For the βωμοὶ κεραοῦχοι, see: D. B. Thompson 1973, 35-39; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. II, § 4, p. 318, n. 101.

¹¹⁴ Taeger 1957-60, I: 300.

On several examples, Arsinoe II is unequivocally called “Isis.”¹¹⁵ Because the queens carry a horn of plenty in their arm (the *dikeras* in the case of Arsinoe; the *cornucopia* for subsequent queens), however, Dorothy Burr Thompson has interpreted the phrase as a dedication of the vases to the Queen in the guise of Agathe Tyche – that is to say that it “refers to a fully fledged co-divinity.”¹¹⁶ The cult of Arsinoe was incorporated with Agathe Tyche on the island of Delos, too, where a statue of the goddess with a *cornucopia* was set up.¹¹⁷ Consequently, the Ptolemaic *oenochoe* the deified queens, carrying Good Fortune’s Horn of Plenty, were conceived of bringers of abundance.

Finally, numismatic evidence confirms the symbolic significance of the Horn of Plenty, as it appeared as emblem or mint-mark on the reverse of the coinage from Berenice I through Cleopatra I, and then reappeared on Phoenician emissions of the last Cleopatra.¹¹⁸ The double horn, of course, features on the coins of Arsinoe II, *viz.*, the *Theoi Adelphoi* as well as the *Thea Philadelphos* series, and even the mints of Arsinoea-Ephesus.¹¹⁹ However, as an emblem or mint-mark, the *dikeras* is also found on the issues of Arsinoe III and Cleopatra VII.¹²⁰ It is worthy of note that the first king whose reverses

¹¹⁵ Tondriau 1948a, 15 no. 1(b); D. B. Thompson 1973, esp. 57-61.

¹¹⁶ D. B. Thompson 1973, 52.

¹¹⁷ Plassart 1928, 227-228; Fraser 1972, I: 240-243, II: 392 nn. 414-416, 395 n. 427; D. B. Thompson 1973, 52-53.

¹¹⁸ *E.g.*, see: Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 73-75, 180-183, 216-221, 250-252, 280, 310, 387-388; Kahrstedt 1910, *pass.*; D. B. Thompson 1973, 32-34, pl. 73.2-3, 7, 15; Kyrieleis 1975, pl. 70.3; Brunelle 1976, 62-63; Troxell 1983, 65-66, pl. 10.F; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, no. 61.f, v; Hazzard 1995a, 2-10, 101-120 *pass.*, figs. 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 21; Rausch (ed.) 1998, no. 170; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, nos. 70-71, 75, 80-81, 83, 88, 225-231.

¹¹⁹ Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 39-40, 135-136, 183-185; Kahrstedt 1910, 266, 270; Tondriau 1948a, 18; Kyrieleis 1975, 17-18, 80, 96, pls. 8.1, 3, 82.3; Troxell 1983, 64-66, pl. 10.G; Hazzard 1995a, fig. 6 (top);

¹²⁰ Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 195, 211-212, 225-231, 377-381; Kahrstedt 1910, 272, 276-277; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, no. 61o; Hazzard 1995a, 8, 12-13, 20 n. 20, 58, figs. 17, 27, 26, 86, 88, 129; Rausch (ed.)

were graced with the *cornucopia* was Ptolemy III Euergetes, which was doubtless meant to underscore the King's beneficence.¹²¹

The Horn of Plenty, in sum, was the emblematic attribute of Ptolemaic royal benefaction and divine salvation, embodying the opulent prosperity and abundant fecundity bestowed by Good Fortune. The Horn, in a word, symbolized rejoicing; the *cornucopia* epitomized jubilation. Artistic representations manifestly attest to the importance of this attribute in the sphere of the Lagid ruler cult. Not only were Kings and Queens depicted carrying the attribute in Hellenic and Pharaonic-style statuary, the Horn also was an essential element of the *oenochoe* iconography, featured frequently on the reverses of Ptolemaic coinage, and was paraded in cults associated with the dynasty, *e.g.*, the Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus and the *Soteria* in honor of Ptolemy Soter. As several statues in Greek-style confirm, the King was perceived as bringer of victorious triumph, like Horus (in his aspects of Harpocrates and Harendotes). It deserves reiteration that Greek-style sculpture reflected Pharaonic ideology, while Egyptian-style art adopted the Classical Horn. The intimate association of the *cornucopia* with the Queen's personification of Agathe Tyche, with *Soteria* and *Euergesia*, and with Horus' role as his father's avenger, in all, bears out the ideological importance of the elation and jubilation.

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In the foregoing, I have examined the theme of jubilation for the opulent

1998, no. 171; Huß 2001, 453-454; Walker and Higgs (eds.) 2001, nos. 178-186.

¹²¹ Sv. nos. 995, 1117-1119, 1131-1134; *BMC Ptol.* s.v. Ptol.III, no. 104; Svoronos 1904-08, IV: 175-

prosperity and military glory achieved by the royal house of the Ptolemies. Having reviewed the available evidence – ancient historiography, *e.g.*, Diodorus, Polybius and Josephus; inscriptions, *viz.*, Pithom and Mendes stelae, the Adulitan monument, the Canopus, Raphia and Memphis (Rosettana) decrees, and the Harris stela; Callixenus’ account of the Grand Procession of Philadelphus; works by the Alexandrian poets Theocritus and Callimachus; representational works of art, such as Hellenic and Egyptian statuary, faience wine-jugs and coinage – we may firmly ascertain the ideological importance of jubilation within the milieu of the Lagid ruler cult. That the military victories Ptolemaic kings gained over foreign enemies or native rebels were recorded in literary or epigraphic sources should be grounds for little surprise. The symbolic significance attributed to jubilation and triumph, however, can be gauged rather unambiguously from the said inscriptions and from the politico-religious pageantry put on display by Ptolemy II, Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony. Dionysus’ glorious triumph and Egypt’s copious wealth were the foremost themes of the epinician pomp of both Philadelphus and Antony, while opulent luxury and fragrant seduction were the leitmotifs when Cleopatra sailed into Tarsus.

The evidence, moreover, conveys the wide-range of religious identifications or close associations of Ptolemaic kings with Apollo, Hermes (Thoth), Heracles (Heracliscus), Horus (Harendotes, Harpocrates, Harsiesis), Apis, Ptah (Hephaestus), Osiris (Dionysus), Sarapis, Agathodaemon (Psois/Pa-Shai), Aeon Plutonium and the Phoenix. Additionally, I have offered further proof of the queens’ identifications with Agathe Tyche (Thermuthis/Renenutet), Aphrodite, Demeter and Persephone, Hathor and Isis. As the legitimate successor to the throne, the King of Egypt was the “Savior

(Avenger) of His Father,” who was investitured by Amun (Zeus) and whose glorious victories over enemies were granted by Ra (Heliuss). This Triumphant Pantokrator, ideally the Lord of innumerable Jubilees, thus averted the threat of Chaos embodied by Seth-Typhon (Ares). Perhaps even more important was the function of queenship in the eternal renewal not only of kingship, but also of Good Fortune and Cosmic Order. For while her participation in the Coronation and Jubilee was a necessary precondition, the queen herself personified Agathe Tyche and Ma‘at. It is the Horn of Plenty that is especially emblematic of the opulent abundance of the populace’s prosperity and glorious triumph of military victory – aspects of *euergesia* and *sôtêria* – that the Ptolemaic king and queen guaranteed, and prompted, the elation and jubilation of the country. I will duly endeavor to establish the ideological importance of jubilation for the Lagid dynasty in general and the theme’s symbolic significance for Ptolemaic queenship in particular in the next two chapters respectively.

III. THE LAGIDS' GLORY

On her way to the Alexandrian palace, the Syracusean Adonis-worshipper Praxinoa exclaimed: “You have done many good deeds (*kala erga*), Ptolemy, now that your father is among the immortals. No evil doer (*kakoergos*) violates the passersby by creeping up on them in Egyptian fashion (*Aigyptisti*).”¹ On the surface Praxinoa’s exclamation refers to the ideology of Hellenistic kingship, in which rulers were worshipped for their acts of *euergesia* and *sôtêria*, by means of which their subjects were provided with peace and prosperity, and enjoyed law and order (in this case the safety of the Alexandrian streets). Nonetheless, the passage implicitly alludes to the Pharaonic ideology in which the reigning King manifested himself as His Father’s Savior, by ascending to the throne of Horus and in so doing guaranteed the permanence of Cosmic Order – achieving victory over the Chaos that was embodied by Osiris’ murderer Seth.² I will contend that, in the worship of the Ptolemies, the theme of jubilation combines aspects of Graeco-Macedonian and Egyptian Pharaonic ideology in which dynastic succession and reincarnation, victory and bravery, law and order, benevolence and salvation converge around the figure of the divine king.

In this chapter, I will explain the significance of jubilation for the royal ideology in the context of the Lagid ruler cult. (*I.*) The most palpable celebration of ritual

¹ Theoc. *Id.* XV.46-48; Gow 1950, II: 280-281 (for the adv. Αἰγυπτιστί).

² Schwinge 1986, 58-59.

rejoicing in the Lagid milieu was the royal Jubilee Festival (Eg. *Hab-Sed*).³ Therefore, I should like to begin this chapter with an admittedly hypothetical interpretation of its significance. I will suggest that the common Ptolemaic Gold Falcon Name “Lord of Jubilee Festivals,” in fact, reveals the dynasty’s adherence to the ideological importance of the ritual rejuvenation of the king’s divine sovereignty. (2.) In the next section, I intend to show that the Lagids’ military victories were construed as a source of religious rejoicing that likened the king, *inter alios*, to Apollo and Horus. The image of the Spear-Wielding King encapsulates the symbolic association of jubilation, bravery and victory. (3.) I will, furthermore, argue that the royal administration of justice, in the full sense not only of *Dikê* but also of *Ma‘at*, was understood as a victory over the forces of chaos – e.g., revolt, impiety, famine and other forms of disorder. (4.) Finally, in the last section of this chapter, I will propose that in terms of Ptolemaic ideology the essential cause of jubilation concerned the immortalization of the dynasty’s glory and the deification of its members. At least symbolically, apotheosis implied the jubilant victory over death, and this triumph was expressed through religious identifications or close associations with deities who rise or return from death – such as Horus, Apis, Sarapis, Adonis, and so forth. After assessing the general dynastic importance of this theme, I will then, in the final chapter, be able to study the particular implications of the symbolism of jubilation for the Ptolemaic queens.

³ For this spelling, see: prefatory note, p. 10.

1. Lord of Jubilee Festivals

Judging from the royal titlature collected by Jürgen von Beckerath,⁴ the title “Lord of Jubilee Festivals (*Neb Habu-Sed*)”⁵ can be traced back to Amenophis (Eg., Amenhotep) III (Achnaton’s father; r. 1391-1353 BCE) and was fairly common among the Ramessids. While this title is attested for six pharaohs of the New Kingdom (and for none of the Roman emperors),⁶ however, it has been transmitted for seven Ptolemaic kings, from Ptolemy III through Ptolemy XII.⁷ In 1968, Bergman already called attention to the preponderance of the title in the early-Ramessid and Ptolemaic periods;⁹ nevertheless, I am unaware of any literature that has since picked up its importance for the royal ideology of the Lagid dynasty.¹⁰ Although in the Pharaonic period mention of the *Sed*-Festival mostly occurs in the Horus Name, significantly, for the Ptolemies it commonly appears in the Gold Falcon Name. As the demotic (“*neti her najef djadjaiu*”) and Greek rendition (“*antipalôn hyperteros*”) of the Gold Falcon (𐦎) Name convey, in their figuration of “Lord of Jubilee Festivals” the kings were considered “Triumphant

⁴ Von Beckerath 1984, *pass.*

⁵ *RAÄRG* s.v. ‘Dreißigjahrfest,’ 158-160; *LÄ* s.v. ‘Sedfest,’ V: 782-790 [K. Martin]; Frankfort 1948, esp. 79-88; Bleeker 1967, esp. 96-123; Bergman 1968, 79-86; Hornung and Staehelin 1974; Barta 1975, esp. 62-73; Murnane 1981; Troy 1986, 55-58; Springborg 1990, 77-80; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 3, p. 100, n. 39; Pt. Four, ch. II, § 2, p. 413, n. 43.

⁶ For sources, see: von Beckerath 1984, 86 (Amenophis III), 89-90 (Ramses II), 91 (Amenmesse), 93 (Ramses III), 94 (Ramses IV), and 95 (Ramses VII).

⁷ *Ibid.* 118-121.

⁹ Bergman 1968, 81.

¹⁰ K. Martin (in *LÄ* s.v. ‘Sedfest,’ 784) seems to question whether *Sed*-Festivals were observed at all in the Ptolemaic era: “Spätestens in ptol[emäischen] Z[ei]t ... sind offensichtlich keine S[edfeste] mehr gefeiert worden.”

over Enemies.”¹¹ It is furthermore, noteworthy that the pearl collar that represents the hieroglyph for ‘gold’ (𓇺) was associated with the Jubilee and is explicitly mentioned in a ceremony of Ptolemy XII.¹²

On the Rosettana the Greek translation of the term *Sed*-Festival is “*triakontaetêris* (thirty-year period).”¹³ Nonetheless, rather than *ipso facto* the period after which the Festival was performed,¹⁴ the thirty-year span seems more to have represented an ideal number (*e.g.*, a generation) – even though in the case of Amenophis III the first Jubilee was celebrated in his thirtieth regnal year.¹⁵ In the Lagid dynasty, only Ptolemy II, VI, VIII, IX and XII could have celebrated their thirtieth regnal year (resp. in 256, 152, 141, 88 and 52 BCE). Moreover the plural “Jubilee Festivals (Gk. *triakontaetêrides*; Eg. *Habu-Sed*)” expressed the wish that the king celebrate numerous jubilees – as on the Pithom stela Arsinoe II requested for Ptolemy II.¹⁶ Unfortunately, no evidence survives of any actual observance of the Festival in the Ptolemaic era – though it should be remarked that few representations or descriptions survive from Pharaonic times either.¹⁷ Bergman, however, has suggested that the second coronation of Ptolemy IX in Memphis, should be

¹¹ *Urk.* II: 170 (*nti-hr-pj=f-dꜣḏi*), 199 (*nti-hr-nꜣ=f-dꜣḏi.w*); *OGIS* 90 l. 2 (ἀντιπάλων ὑπερτέρου); Bergman 1968, 104; von Beckerath 1984, 22; Koenen 1993, 59; *supra* Pt. Four, ch. II, § 1, p. 405, n. 12.

¹² *I. BM* 1026 (886) = *Thes. Inscr.* V: *Thes. Inscr.* 942 l. 8; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Ägis,’ 8-9, and ‘Opfertanz,’ 560, ill. 139; Frankfort 1948, 85, fig. 26; Bergman 1968, 111; von Beckerath 1984, 21-22, fig. 3.

¹³ *OGIS* 90 l. 2 (τριακονταετηρίδων); also, see: *P. München Wi. Chrest.* 109 l. 7; Bergman 1968, 90.

¹⁴ *Pace RÄRG* s.v. ‘Dreißigjahr fest’; Barta 1975, 70; Koenen 1993, 71-72 n. 110 (2a); Springborg 1990, 77.

¹⁵ *LÄ* s.v. ‘Sedfest,’ 784; Bleeker 1967, 113-114; Bergman 1968, 90.

¹⁶ *Supra* Pt. Four, ch. II, § 1, p. 466, n. 8.

interpreted as a Jubilee, since it occurred in the King's thirtieth regnal year in 88 B.C.E. (reckoned consecutively since the joint-rule with Cleopatra III 118/7).¹⁸ Above I have referred to the stela of the Memphite High Priest who directed the coronation of Ptolemy XII in the *Sed*-Festival Houses.¹⁹ It was on this occasion, too, that the King was bedecked with the afore-mentioned pearl collar of the royal *uraeus* (cobra insignia). Moreover, Ptolemaic birth chapels (*mammisis*) in fact depict scenes of the Royal Jubilee.²⁰ For instance, on mirrored scenes from the vestibule and outside wall of the sanctuary at Apollinopolis Magna, Ptolemy IX is shown in the *sed*-costume emerging from a palace structure, wearing the White Crown of Upper Egypt on the southern wall and the Red Crown of Lower Egypt on the northern wall.²¹ Like the birth scenes of Opet temple and Hatshepsut's chapel, *mammisi* texts and scenes, additionally, make frequent mention of the *Sed*-Festival in the form of prayers and well-wishes.²² A common iconographic feature is a *Hab-Sed* ( ) pendant hanging from the palm branch () on which Thoth and/or Seshat record the King's regnal years.²³ Taken together, the evidence suffices to attest to the ideological importance in which the Ptolemies held the Jubilee

¹⁷ Bergman 1968, 114-115 n. 3.

¹⁸ Bergman 1968, 110, 114 n. 3; also, see: *Thes. Inscr.* V: 871; D.J. Thomspon 1990, 114; Huß 1994a, 51 n. 108.

¹⁹ *Supra* Pt. Four, ch. III, § 1, p. 406, n. 14.

²⁰ For *Hab-Sed* scenes of Ptolemy VIII, see: *Dend. Mam.* 72-74 (), pl. 13 (Propylaeum reliefs A and C).

²¹ *Edfu Mam.* pls. 20-21, 25, 27, 49.

²² *Edfu Mam.* p. 6, pl. 12 (*wr-pḥtī nb-ḥsb.w-śd-mī-īt-f-Pth-Tjnn-īt-ntr.w itj-mī-R*); Frankfort 1948, 83-84, 86-87; Brunner 1964, 23; Springborg 1990, 80.

²³ *Edfu Mam.* pl. 13; *Dend. Mam.* pp. 9, 20, pl. 2 (D), 3, 4 (D); Brunner 1964, 78-81, 110-112, 192, pls. 7, 10-11.

Festival.

Let us then turn to an examination of the Royal Jubilee.²⁴ Although the most instructive material dates from the New Kingdom, the origins of the *Sed*-Festival can be traced to Predynastic times, as the earliest testimonies date back to the oldest written records of Egyptian history, found in the royal tombs of the First Dynasty.²⁵ It is generally agreed that over the ages the ceremony was enlarged with various rituals, so that it is difficult to determine which themes were essential for the *Hab-Sed* and which were secondary elaborations. The preliminary rites, as Frankfort has noted, were presided over by the cow-goddess Sechathor (“She Who Remembers Horus”), the divine wet-nurse who breast-fed the royal child.²⁶ Few artistic representations of the Jubilee Festival have been transmitted.²⁷ Of those representations, the finely executed, though heavily damaged, relief-scenes in the (unused) tomb of Kheruef (a noble court official) in the Theban necropolis are better preserved and more readily available.²⁸ The west portico of Kheruef’s funerary chapel depict scenes of two *Sed*-Festivals of Amenophis (Amenhotep) III (r. 1391-1353 BCE) – respectively the first, held in the thirtieth regnal year (on the southern wall), and the third, held in the thirty-seventh (on the northern wall). It is to be noted that these reliefs do not portray the festival in its entirety.

In the central scene on the southern wall, the King and Queen emerge from the

²⁴ For the *Hab-Sed*, see: *LÄ s.v.* ‘Sedfest’; Frankfort 1948, 79-88; Bleeker 1967, 96-123; Hornung and Staehelin 1974; Barta 1975, 62-70; Murnane 1981, 369-376; Troy 1986, esp. 56, 90; *supra* 435 n. 5.

²⁵ *E.g.*, see: *RT I*: 20-22, pls. 7.5-6, 8.6-7, 14.12, and 15.16.

²⁶ Frankfort 1948, 82; also, see: Springborg 1990, 78.

²⁷ For the entire history of ancient Egypt, there are detailed series of representations of the *Hab-Sed* for only three kings: Neusera (V Dyn.), Amenophis III (XVIII Dyn.), and Osorkon II (XXII Dyn.).

²⁸ Bleeker 1967, 101-103; Wente 1969; *Epigr. Surv.* 1980. [The tomb of Kheruef is the largest

“Great Double Doors of his Palace of the House of Exaltation,” the latter being the name of Amenophis’ palace in the Theban desert to the southwest of the Ramesseum (mod. Malqata).²⁹ Amenophis has donned the *sed* attire, holding crook and flail, wearing a diademed White Crown. The accompanying hieroglyphic inscription (before the palace) explains that officials, priests and dignitaries are lead in procession to the King’s Lake for the ceremonial circuit of the nocturnal barque.³⁰ This evening ritual mimicked the nightly journey of the sun god Ra through the Underworld, until he returned once more on the horizon in the morning.³¹ Its significance here was to rejuvenate the King’s powers just as Ra perpetually renews his strength. On the northern wall, the central scenes depict the worship and erection of the *Djed*-Pillar (𓄊) of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris by Amenophis III himself at the dawn of the Jubilee Festival which the hieroglyphic texts elucidate gives the King life, joy, endurance, stability, dominion, health and all provisions.³² The King wears the Blue Crown and is dressed in a short ceremonial kilt (*i.e.*, not the *sed*-robe). Like the circuit of the royal barque, as Edward Wente indicates, this morning ritual was meant to guarantee the permanence of the Egyptian kingship.³³ As the principal ceremony of the Royal Jubilee was the ritual reenactment of the king’s

private tomb of the XVIIIth Dyn.; see: Epigr. Surv. 1980, 26.]

²⁹ Epigr. Surv. 1980, 43-44 n. c, pl. 28: *rw.ti-wr.ti ḥ=f n pr- h’j*.

³⁰ Wente 1969, 84; Epigr. Surv. 1980, 43, pl. 28.

³¹ Wente 1969, 84; Epigr. Surv. 1980, 52-53, pls. 45-46; *cf.* Bleeker 1967, 102 (who was unclear about the significance of the barque ritual).

³² Bleeker 1967, 102-103; Wente 1969, 83; Epigr. Surv. 1980, 58-61, pls. 54 and 56; Troy 1986, fig. 62; for the *Djed*-pillar (symbol of stability and resurrection), see: *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Dedpfeiler’ (“genauer Djed”); Frankfort 1948, 128-129, 178-180, 193-194; Bleeker 1967, 116-117; Pinch 1994, 110.

³³ Wente 1969, 90.

enthronement, it is hardly surprising that the throne scenes are the largest on both walls.³⁴ On either side of the portico, the scene farthest from the entrance depicts a throne chapel: on the northern wall the King is dressed in a long ceremonial robe and wears the Blue Crown, while on the southern side he has donned the *sed*-attire and the Double Crown. Various lesser scenes illustrate the dances, songs, ritual combats and offerings performed during the festivities.³⁵ In all, the scenes from Kheruef's tomb, depicting rituals performed during Amenophis' Royal Jubilees, vividly display the ceremony's pivotal importance for the renewal and permanence of Egyptian kingship. Ptolemaic titlature and other circumstantial evidence suggest that the Lagid dynasty did adhere to the ideology of the Jubilee Festival and thus observed this momentous royal ritual. The titulary "Lord of Jubilee Festivals" (only attested in the New Kingdom and Ptolemaic period), in short, honored the Lagids' glory as symbolized by the triumph over enemies, the revitalization of sacral kingship, and the restoration of the Cosmic Order.

2. The Spear-Wielding King

The most literal and political meaning of the Lagids' glorified "victory over enemies" evidently refers to military triumph, *viz.*, the defense of the kingdom from foreign invasion, and the conquest of enemy territory.³⁶ In the previous chapter, we saw that military victories found reflection in the royal titlature, in grand processions, in poetic allusions and in artistic depictions. Turning to poetry and epigraphy for further

³⁴ Epigr. Surv. 1980, pls. 26 and 49.

³⁵ *Ibid.* pls. 31-40, 43-44, 53-63.

elucidation, I will now examine in more detail the ideological importance of such glorious feats. In his panegyric for Philadelphus, after tracing the Lagid ancestry through Alexander the Great and Heracles back to Zeus, Theocritus commended Berenice I for bearing “spear-wielding Ptolemy (II) to spear-wielding Ptolemy (I),” just as Deipyle had born Diomedes to Tydeus and Thetis had born Achilles to Peleus.³⁷ Thus comparing the kings to the Homeric heroes, Diomedes is furthermore called “man-slaying (*laophonos*),” like Heracles was called “lion-slaying (*leontophonos*),” while Achilles is called “javelin-hurling (*akontistês*)” to balance with the epithet “spear-wielding (*aichmêta*).”³⁸ The image of the spear-wielding king brings to mind the relief scene on the Raphia decree, showing Ptolemy IV defeating Antiochus III.³⁹

Subsequently, Theocritus glorified the military conquests of Ptolemy II (during the First Syrian War), for adding parts of Phoenicia, Arabia, Syria, Libya, Ethiopia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Lycia, Caria and the Cyclades to his imperial territory.⁴⁰ As a result, the poet continued:

all the sea and the land
and the loud-rushing rivers are ruled by Ptolemy,

³⁶ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, p. 109.

³⁷ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.13-25, 53-57 (αἰχμητὰ Πτολεμαῖε | αἰχμητᾶ Πτολεμαίῳ); *cf.* Hom. *Il.* II.543 and *Od.* II.19 (αἰχμητής); Hunter 2003, 138-142.

³⁸ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.53 (λαοφόνον Διομήδεα), 55 (ἄκοντιστὰν Ἀχιλλῆα); *cf.* Hom. *Il.* XVI.328 and *Od.* XVIII.262 (ἄκοντιστής); Gow 1950, II: 335; Hunter 2003, 139-141.

³⁹ *Supra* 404, n. 10. [In *mammisi* scenes at Tentyris, Ptolemy IX is similarly depicted as spearing his enemy, respectively in the shape of a snake and a hippopotamus; see: *Edfu Mam.* pls. 20-21.]

⁴⁰ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.86-90; Gow 1950, II: 339; Hunter 2003, 159-167.

and many horseman and many shield-bearers,
harnessed in gleaming bronze, gather around him.⁴¹

Additionally, we may recall how the *Encomium* extolled “golden-haired Ptolemy, who knows to wield the spear,” for defending Egypt from foreign invasion so that no one would raise the war cry in Egypt or plunder the country-side.⁴² Accordingly, the King’s heroic exploits placed him on a higher plane than mere mortals.

The texts of the major Ptolemaic inscriptions further elucidate the Lagids’ military glory. The Mendes stela and particularly the Pithom stela elaborately acclaimed Philadelphus’ military might. The Victorious King is called a brave warrior, a wall of iron around his people, and defender of the children of Egypt, who safeguards the fortune of the country and spreads fear among his enemies; he is applauded for inspecting the border defense with his sister-wife Arsinoe II, for levying a royal bodyguard among the native soldier class, for raising horses for the cavalry, for sending ships on the seas and rivers, and for “ripping the hearts out of men’s bodies while they beg him (for mercy).”⁴³ In like fashion, the Canopus Decree honored Ptolemy III for fighting battles (during the Third Syrian War; commemorated in Callimachus *Coma Berenices*)⁴⁴ and thus “preserved the country in peace.”⁴⁵ The Rosetta Stone, likewise, exalted Ptolemy V for incurring great expenses to dispatch infantry, cavalry and navy against the foreign threat

⁴¹ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.91-94: θάλασσα δὲ πᾶσα καὶ αἶα ἰ καὶ ποταμοὶ κελάδοντες ἀνάσσονται Πτολεμαίῳ, ἰ πολλοὶ δ’ ἱππῆες, πολλοὶ δὲ μιν ἀσπιδιῶνται ἰ χαλκῷ μαρμαίροντι σεσαγμένοι ἀμφαγέρονται; Hunter 2003, 167-170.

⁴² Theoc. *Id.* XVII.74-81, 95-101; cf. Callim. *Hymn. Jov.* 65-89; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, pp. 111-111.

⁴³ *Urk.* II: 34-36 ll. 4-5, 42 l. 14; *ibid.* 86-87 ll. 4-6, 95 l. 16.

⁴⁴ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110); Fraser 1972, I: 203; Schwinge 1986, 70-71; Green 1990, 150.

⁴⁵ *Urk.* II: 129 ll. 6-7 (ῥ-wdj-nf Kmt r hzjw); *OGIS* 56 ll. 11-12 (τὴν τε χώραν ἐν εἰρήνῃ

(during the Fifth Syrian War), and explained that the King's defense provided for the country's security.⁴⁶ The epigraphic evidence, in other words, reiterates the same praise for the Ptolemies' military achievements as Theocritus' *Encomium*.

What is more, these inscriptions explicitly describe the king's deeds in religious terms and explain his victory in mythical allusions. The Pithom stela addressed Ptolemy II as, "Horus, whose arm is mighty, whose father Atum hallowed him to repel the enemy from the country, who ascended to his father's throne, whose reign has been established by Thoth."⁴⁷ As Philadelphus succeeded his father to the throne, like a true Horus, so "his son is established upon the throne of Ra, the throne of Horus, foremost of the living, eternal as Ra," because "Egypt is in his fist and foreign lands are under his soles."⁴⁸ The Raphia Decree, similarly, conveys that Ptolemy IV had defeated his enemy like Horus before him, and had thus restored *Ma'at*.⁴⁹ In so doing, Koenen clarifies, the King not only justified his kingship, but also demonstrated his obligation as pharaoh to avenge (*or succor*) his father as his legitimate successor and thus prove worthy of his cult epithet *Philopator*.⁵⁰ To drive home the message, the King carefully arranged to return to Egypt on the second epagomenal day, *i.e.*, the birthday of Horus the Great, and sailed down the Nile at the onset of the annual inundation.⁵¹ The immediate ideological

διατετήρηκεν).

⁴⁶ *Urk.* II: 179-180 ll. 18-19 (*hr'*) = *OGIS* 90 ll. 20-21 (ἀσφαλεία).

⁴⁷ *Urk.* II: 85-86 l. 3; Roeder 1959-61, I: 116.

⁴⁸ *Urk.* II: l. 14 Roeder 1959-61, I: 121; *cf. infra* 454 n. 96.

⁴⁹ *I. Raph. dem.* l. 12; Thissen 1966, 55; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, p. 108, n. 72; Pt. Four, ch. II, § 1, p. 405.

⁵⁰ Koenen 1993, 63-64.

⁵¹ *I. Raph. dem.* ll. 25-30; Merkelbach 1963, 23-24, 60; Thissen 1966, 63-64; Hölbl 2001, 164.

importance of military triumph is obviously to defend the populace from hostile attacks, to protect if not to enhance the imperial power, and to augment the glory of the dynasty. Through his victorious achievements, however, the King, moreover, manifested his divine nature. As a true heir and avenger of his father, then, the King fulfilled his role as earthly emanation of Horus (and deities associated with him).

3. The Lord of Justice

Apart from the triumphant glory of military conquest, Pharaonic ideology promulgated that the King revealed his divine sovereignty by achieving “victory over chaos.” Hence it was the King’s duty to maintain and/or restore order, *viz.*, to suppress revolts, to administer justice, to uphold religion, and to bless his people. In the previous chapter, I have argued that Callimachus’ *Hymnus in Delum* reflects the notion that the Ptolemaic King, like his Pharaonic predecessors, was the living emanation of Horus. In the hymn, the bellicose Ares is portrayed as a violent force of natural disorder, so that the victories of Apollo and Ptolemy II over “Celtic Ares” are likened to victories over chaos. That is to say that Philadelphus’ annihilation of his four thousand rebellious Gallic mercenaries was presented in mythical terms, not only analogous to Apollo’s defeat of the Gallic invasion of Delphi, but also to Horus’ victory over Seth-Typhon. This section, then, will be dedicated to the ideological importance of the king’s administration of justice, *viz.*, the maintenance of law and order in its widest sense.

When the priestly synod met in Memphis for the coronation ceremony of Ptolemy V (196 BCE), the King had recently recaptured Thebes from the rival Pharaoh Anch-Onnophris (who would shortly after regain control over Upper Egypt), and

defeated the insurrectionists in Lycopolis.⁵² The decree issued by the Memphis synod (the Rosetta Stone), commemorated the King's suppression of the rebellion of the "impious (*asebeis*)" at Lycopolis in the Busirite nome, who had occupied the city and committed sacrilege against the temples.⁵³ The trilingual inscription describes how Ptolemy V marched against the city, made his encampment, raised walls and dug trenches, flooded the city with water from the Nile, and took Lycopolis by storm.⁵⁴ Through the execution of the rebels, the priests now declared, the King had shown himself "like unto Hermes and Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris."⁵⁵ In the foregoing chapter, I have described statues that similarly represented the Ptolemaic King in the guise of victorious Hermes and Horus defeating his opponent.⁵⁶ Having vanquished his enemies, Ptolemy V then entered Memphis for his coronation "for succoring his father and his own sovereignty."⁵⁷ Consequently, Ptolemy V was a "Manifest (*Epiphanes*)" God and "Savior of His Father," just as Thoth (Hermes) and Horus (Apollo), due to his victory over the enemies of his father, *viz.*, impious insurgents.

Greek as well as Egyptian sources express the sentiment that the king was blessed by the gods from birth and that, as a result, their reign was a blessing for their subjects. In

⁵² Tondriau 1948d, 171-172; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 209; Merkelbach 1963, 14-15, 21-25; Koenen 1977, 74-76; *id.* 1993, 63-65; Hazzard 1995b, 429-430; Minas 2000, 121-125; Hölbl 2001, 171; Huß 2001, 529-530; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. III, p. 324, n. 1.

⁵³ *Urk.* II: 180-181 ll. N.19-20 = *OGIS* 90 ll. 22-23.

⁵⁴ *Urk.* II: 181-183 ll. N.20-23 = *OGIS* 90 ll. 23-27.

⁵⁵ Budge 1904, I: 203 = *Urk.* II: 182 l. N.22 (*dem.* 15/6) = *OGIS* 90 l. 26 (καθάπερ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ὡρος); *infra* 447 n. 67. For 'Hermes' the hieroglyphic text has "Thoth" (l. 26: ) , while the demotic version reads "Ra" (l. 15: *R*).

⁵⁶ *Supra* Pt. Four, ch. II, § 4, pp. 426-426.

⁵⁷ *Urk.* II: 183 l. 16 = *OGIS* 90 ll. 27-28 (cit. *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, p. 109, n. 73); *infra* 456

Theocritus' *Encomium*, the eagle of Zeus hovered over the new-born Ptolemy II as an omen of his sovereignty:

from on high cried aloud,
thrice from the clouds, a great eagle, bird of omen.
Methinks this a sign of Zeus, for revered kings are the care
of Zeus, son of Cronus, and the mightiest being the one whom
he loves from the very first. Plenty is the prosperity that attends him,
plenty the lands he rules and plenty, too, the seas.⁵⁸

The same sentiment is recited in Callimachus' *Hymnus in Jovem*, where Zeus' eagle is described as "the most eminent bird," and messenger of Zeus' portents.⁵⁹ Zeus cares for kings, rulers of cities, who are "skilled with the spear", thus "Kings come from Zeus, for nothing is more godly than the Lords of Zeus," who rule without crooked judgment, and upon whom Zeus has bestowed wealth and prosperity in plenty.⁶⁰ However, Callimachus added, Zeus does not grant in equal measure, for Ptolemy II has outstripped all other kings.⁶¹ The notion of being blessed from birth also found expression in the Egyptian evidence. Ptolemy II is described on the Pithom stela as "ruler, son of a ruler, born from a female ruler, who received his rule over the Two Countries when he was still in the womb and was not yet born, he took possession [*scil.*, of his rule] when he was still in diapers and already ruled when he was still suckling

n. 105.

⁵⁸ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.71-76: ὁ δ' ὑπόθεν ἔκλαγε φωνᾷ ἰ ἐς τρεῖς ἀπὸ νεφέων μέγας αἰετός, αἴσιος ὄρνις. Ἰ Ζηνός που τόδε σᾶμα· Διὶ Κρονίωνι μέλονται ἰ αἰδοῖοι βασιλῆες, ὃ δ' ἔξοχος ὄν κε φιλήσῃ ἰ γεινόμενον τὰ πρῶτα· πολὺς δέ οἱ ὄλβος ὀπαδεῖ, ἰ πολλᾶς δὲ κρατέει γαίας, πολλᾶς δὲ θαλάσσας.

⁵⁹ Callim. *Hymn. Jov.* 67-68: οἰωνῶν μέγ' ὑπείροχον (ἀγγελιώτην ἰ σῶν τεράων).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 72-73 (σὺ δ' ἐξέλεο πτολιάρχους ἰ αὐτούς ...): ὦν ἴδρις αἰχμῆς, 78-79: ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες, ἐπεὶ Διὸς οὐδὲν ἀνάκτων ἰ θεϊότερον, 81-83 (ἐπόπιος οἱ τε δίκησι ἰ λαὸν ὑπὸ σκολιῆς οἱ τ' ἔμπαλιν ἰθύνουσιν· ἰ ἐν δὲ ῥυηφενίην ἔβαλές σφισιν, ἐν δ' ἄλις ὄλβον).

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 84-85 (πᾶσι μὲν, οὐ μάλ' αὖ δ' ἴσον· εἴκει δὲ τεκμήρασθαι ἰ ἡμετέρῳ μεδέοντι).

breasts.”⁶² The Canopus Decree explicitly states that the birth of Ptolemy III “was the beginning of much happiness for all humanity.”⁶³ Even more important was that the king maintained law and order. Ptolemy II was, therefore, extolled as “the Lord of Justice, who loves the Laws”;⁶⁴ Ptolemy III and Berenice II were said to administer just government;⁶⁵ and Ptolemy V was praised for dispensing justice equally to one and all, for liberating prisoners who had defaulted their debts, for not repossessing property of veterans and rebels, and, instead, for punishing the insurrectionists according to their deserts.⁶⁶ Indeed, the Rosetta Stone explained, Ptolemy V had in so doing performed the role of “Twice-Great Thoth (Hermes).”⁶⁷ Thus, Ptolemaic Kings were honored as just rulers, who upheld law and order, and whose reign was favored by the gods.

The calendrical reform suggested in the Canopus Decree (though apparently never instituted) was likewise presented as a restoration of Cosmic Order.⁶⁸ The reform was meant to introduce an extra day every four years to synchronize the sacred calendar with the annual cycle. Significantly, that additional day – after the five epagomenal days devoted to Osiris, Horus, Isis, Seth and Nephthys – was supposed to be dedicated to the

⁶² A free trans. of *Urk.* II: 34 ll. 3-4: *ḥḳꜣ zꜣ-ḥḳꜣ mꜣ-n- ḥḳꜣ.t, wd-n=f ỉt tꜣ.wỉ, ỉw.f m ḥt, nỉ mꜣ twt=f, ỉtỉ-n=f ḥr nwd, ḥḳꜣ-n=f ḥr mnd.w.*

⁶³ *Urk.* II: 135 ll. 13-14 (*ỉtỉ bw-nfr wrw*, lit. “making a perfect thing of greatness”) = *OGIS* 56 ll. 25-26 (πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν, “many good things”).

⁶⁴ *Urk.* II: 35 l. 4: *Nb mꜣ.t, mri ḥp.w.*

⁶⁵ *Urk.* II: 129 l. 7 = *OGIS* 56 l. 13.

⁶⁶ *Urk.* II: 175-176 ll. 13-14, 179 l. 18, 183 l. 23 = *OGIS* 90 ll. 13-14, 19-20, 28.

⁶⁷ *Urk.* II: 178 l. 18 (*Dḥwtỉ ʕ-ʕ*) = *OGIS* 90 ll. 19 (καθάπερ Ἑρμῆς ὁ μέγας καὶ μέγας); *supra* 445 n. 55.

⁶⁸ *Urk.* II: 140-142 ll. 20-23 (*ṣḥr.w wn pt.t ṣ-mn ... rḥw n mĩtn.w pt.t*) = *OGIS* 56 ll. 40-46 (κατάστασιν τοῦ κόσμου ... τὴν ὅλην διακόσμησιν τοῦ πόλου).

Beneficent Gods Ptolemy III and Berenice II. In other words, the reform of the calendar, as a restoration of the Cosmic Order, was itself considered a benefaction. Moreover, the festival day of the royal couple was to coincide with the heliacal rising of Sothis that annually announced the Nile inundation, so that Ptolemy and Berenice were cast in the guise of bringers of the land's fertility.

In earlier chapters I have had much occasion to refer to the multifarious benefactions expected of the Lagid rulers – some of which were specific to a certain event, while others were general tropes in royal ideology. The foundation of a new city could be conceived of an act of beneficence, and, what is more, the Pithom stela indicates that it was considered a reenactment of the primeval Creation.⁶⁹ The same inscription, furthermore, commended Ptolemy II for instilling such fear that delegations of foreign officials came to the King bearing gifts (and, it seems implied, reversing the tribute owed to the Persian Great Kings in the late-sixth and mid-fourth centuries BCE).⁷⁰ A recurring theme was the return of cult statues that had been confiscated by the Persians; a deed for which the gods lengthened the king's reign and for which the general populace rejoiced.⁷¹ Not only Theocritus, but also the major priestly inscriptions expressed profound gratitude toward the respective kings for heaping donations upon the temples, so that they spilled over with offerings and altars dripped with sacrificial blood, so that the precincts were maintained, embellished and/or restored (after neglect or destruction)

⁶⁹ *Urk.* II: 101-102 ll. 23-24; *cf.* Theoc. *Id.* XVII.82-84; Hunter 2003, 158.

⁷⁰ *Urk.* II: 102 l. 25.

⁷¹ *E.g.*, see: *Urk.* II: 14 ll. 9-11; *ibid.* 91-92 ll. 11-12; *OGIS* 54 ll. 20-21; *Urk.* II: 128-129 l. 6 = *OGIS* 56 ll. 10-11; *I. Raph.* ll. 19-22; Thissen 1966, 59-60; Hölbl 2001, 81, 107.

– or even entirely new foundations were erected.⁷² By means of such generosity for the upkeep of temples, shrines, altars, sacrifices and festivals, the kings not only demonstrated their benevolent piety toward the gods, but they also manifested their divine beneficence, “like unto Horus, son of Isis (*i.e.*, Harsiesis) and Osiris, who succors his father Osiris (*i.e.*, Harendotes).”⁷³ As a result, the country enjoyed stability, prosperity and peace.⁷⁴ Frequently repeated, also, were the munificent provisions for Apis, Mnevis and other sacred animals (incl. their interment).⁷⁵ The Canopus Decree specifically mentioned the salvation (Gk. *sôtêria*) that Ptolemy III and Berenice II bestowed in time of drought, when the Nile flooding was dangerously low.⁷⁶ The priestly synod, as a result, declared that the gods had blessed the royal couple with “their firmly established sovereignty” and for this good fortune (Gk. *agathê tychê*), the priests decided to multiply the honors of the Beneficent Gods.⁷⁷ Other benefactions that increased the country’s prosperity, include the donation of money and grain, the levy of mild taxes, the remission of (unsettled) dues, forms of amnesty, and so forth. In consequence, the population experienced contentment, “milk, oil and clothes” were plenty, and everyone

⁷² E.g., see: Theoc. *Id.* XVII.123-127; *Urk.* II: 87 l. 5, 89 l. 9; *ibid.* 127-128 ll. 4-6 = *OGIS* 56 ll. 8-9; *I. Raph.* ll. 28-30; *Urk.* II: 173 ll. 9-10, 185-186 ll. N.25-R.4 = *OGIS* 90 ll. 9-10, 32-34; Thissen 1966, 81-22; Hölbl 2001, 107, 164.

⁷³ *Urk.* II: 174 l. 10 (*iw Hrww sz Íst sz Wśir i-nd ití-f Wśir*) and 186-187 ll. R.4-5 = *OGIS* 90 ll. 10 (καθάπερ Ὡρος ὁ τῆς Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος υἱὸς ὁ ἐπαμύνας τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀσίρει), 34; Bevan 1968, 264; Bergman 1968, 103.

⁷⁴ *Urk.* II: 127-132 ll. 4-10.

⁷⁵ E.g., see: *Urk.* II: 102-103 ll. 25-26; *ibid.* 128 ll. 5-6 = *OGIS* 56 ll. 9-10; *Urk.* II: 185 ll. 25-26 = *OGIS* 90 ll. 31-32.

⁷⁶ *Urk.* II: 127-132 ll. 4-11 (*ib n ś-ḥnh*, “the desire of sustaining”) = *OGIS* 56 ll. 7-21 (σωτηρίας).

⁷⁷ *Urk.* II: 132 ll. 10-11: *śmn lwt-śn n ḥk*, “stability to their office of sovereignty” (... *wḏ(w)h’ śnhj*, “prosperity and health”) = *OGIS* 56 ll. 19-21: εὐσταθοῦσαν τὴν βασιλείαν (... ἀγαθὴ τύχη).

rejoiced.⁷⁸

Possibly the paramount act of *Euergesia*, emphasized time and again, was the protection of the welfare of the populace, through the guarantee of the prosperity and abundance of the country. Naturally, due to the teeming Nile, Egypt's fertility was proverbial – it was nevertheless through the blessing of Zeus (Atum or Amun) that the Ptolemaic King was hallowed to fulfill this role.⁷⁹ It should, then, evoke little surprise that the Eagle of Zeus and the Horn of Plenty were the most common emblems on Ptolemaic coinage. The *cornucopia* was foremost the prerogative of divinities associated with the abundance of agricultural fecundity, such as the Eleusian circle, viz., Demeter, Persephone, Plutus, Triptolemus and Dionysus. Alexandrian street names honoring Arsinoe II, among others, as *Karpophoros* and *Eleusinia*, illustrate this assimilation of the Queen with Demeter as Bringer of Abundant Fruits.⁸⁰ Ancient myth, nonetheless, held that the Horn of Plenty originally belonged to the nymph Amalthea.⁸¹ It became Tyche's attribute with the diffusion of her cult from the fourth century B.C.E. onward, and under the influence of Ptolemaic Queens, it became one of Isis-Tyche's attributes.⁸² We have already seen that Eniautos carried "the golden horn of Amalthea" in the Grand Procession of Ptolemy II, symbolizing the annual return of abundance.⁸³ In the same

⁷⁸ E.g., see: *Urk.* II: 102 l. 25; *ibid.* 174-175, 183-184 ll. 11-13, 23-24 (*dem.* 6-8, 16-17) = *OGIS* 90 ll. 11-13, 28-29.

⁷⁹ E.g., see: *Theoc. Id.* XVII.76-80; *Urk.* II: 85-86 ll. 2-3.

⁸⁰ Tondriau 1948a, 18 and 22; Thompson 1973, 59 and 75.

⁸¹ *Athen.*, V.198A; XI.497C, and 783C (Ἀμαλθείας κέρας, "the Horn of Amalthea"); Thompson 1973, 31.

⁸² Dunand 1973, I: 92; Zayadine 1991, 300-305; Merkelbach 1995, ill. 95-99.

⁸³ *Callix. ap. Athen.* V.198A (χρυσοῦν Ἀμαλθείας κέρας); Rice 1983, 49-51, 117, 203

procession, Callixenus also mentions a “twelve-feet double horn (*dikeras*),” without mentioning Arsinoe Philadelphus.⁸⁴ However, Athenaeus (elsewhere) connects single and double horns with several Ptolemaic cults, such as the Soteria festival and the precinct of the Arsinoeum.⁸⁵ Finally, like the surname “*Tryphôn* (Luxurious, Elegant),” that Ptolemy VIII briefly adopted (*ca.* 132-130 BCE),⁸⁶ the opulent luxury put on display, *e.g.*, during the Adonia in the Lagid palace, or the Grand Processions of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Mark Antony symbolized the same triumphant abundance of wealth and prosperity guaranteed by the Lagid dynasty.⁸⁷

The King’s Victory over Chaos, in sum, was cause for rejoicing for which he received worship. Callimachus praised Ptolemy II for defeating the Gallic rebels, and the Rosetta Stone extolled Ptolemy V for suppressing the insurrection in Lycopolis. Theocritus and Callimachus, as well as the Pithom Stela and Canopus Decree honored Ptolemy II and III as blessed by the gods and thus destined to rule from birth. Various sources commended Ptolemaic kings for their administration of justice, and even more of a trope was the commendation of royal benefactions. On many occasions, the King, as “Lord of Justice,” was explicitly identified as a god, especially Horus (Apollo) and Thoth (Hermes), while elsewhere his divinity was implied from his acts of benevolence and salvation. The Lagid dynasty, to conclude, was glorified for averting or vanquishing

(interpreted as Tyche’s attribute).

⁸⁴ Callix. *ap.* Athen. V.202C: δίκηρας πρὸς τούτοις ὀκτάπηχυ, “beside these things, there was a 12-feet double-horn”; Rice 1983, 42, 117 (interpreted as “symbol of the jugate divinities Isis and Sarapis”), 202-208.

⁸⁵ Athen. XI.497C-D (during the Soteria festival, and in the Arsinoeum); Ghisellini 1998, 209-219 (for a hypothesis on the location of the Arsinoeum).

⁸⁶ *P.Berl.* 3113a; *I.Cair.* 31110; *RE* s.v. ‘Ptolemaios,’ no. 25, XXXIII(1): 1722 and 1729; Pestman 1967, 62.

impiety and disorder, and hence for maintaining or restoring law and order.

4. The Brave Youth

In Pharaonic theology, as has been repeated on several occasions in the preceding chapters, the principal guarantee of Cosmic Order against the threat of Chaos was the continuing earthly presence of the Living Horus. The permanence of Horus' kingship, ideally, was secured through the legitimate (patrilineal) succession of royal power, and, as I have argued throughout, it was this royal ideology that was actively employed for the justification of the reign of the Lagid dynasty in Egypt. In the following paragraphs I will contend that for the Lagids' glory the foremost source of jubilation was the "victory over death." The Pharaonic concept of succession as reincarnation, namely, promulgated the immortalization of the royal office. In the Ptolemaic era, however, the apotheosis of the ancestors soon led to the deification of the living King and Queen (a phenomenon that remained uncommon in Pharaonic times). I will therefore show that jubilation was a response, not just to royal benevolence, but more importantly to the divine presence of the Lagid rulers, and that within a few generations the Ptolemies' divinity was evident from birth. Their religious identifications with various forms of Horus, as well as with Apis, Adonis and other gods strengthened the notion of the eternal renewal of the Lagids' sovereignty. The King was hence honored as "Brave Youth," who succeeded to his father's sacral kinship to ensure the permanence of the Lagid dynasty.

The sentiment of jubilation, itself, evoked the Lagids' divinity. Both Theocritus' *Adoniazusae* and his *Encomium* conclude with the hymnic *chaire*-phrase. In the former,

⁸⁷ Koenen 1977, 80 n. 165; Rice 1983, 184-185; Goukowsky 1992, 154.

the Syracusean Gorgo, after praising the hymnist, echoes the last words of the Dirge with an invocation of the god: “Rejoice (*chaire*), beloved Adon, and may you come again for our rejoice (*chairontas*).”⁸⁸ The poet’s Ptolemaic panegyric, similarly, ends with a prayer:

Rejoice (*chaire*), Prince (*anax*) Ptolemy, you I shall mention no less
than other demi-gods (*hēmitheôn*), and I think, no empty word
I will utter to posterity, yet for excellence (*aretê*) pray to Zeus.⁸⁹

As Gow indicates in his commentary, Theocritus “does not elsewhere use the word [*aretê*] but seems here to mean by it something like *glory* or *victorious achievement*,” and he reminds us of the personification of Virtue that attended Ptolemy Soter in the Grand Procession of Philadelphus.⁹⁰ Likewise Callimachus’ hymn to Zeus prayed to the son of Cronus for *aretê*:

Rejoice (*chaire*) greatly, most high son of Cronus, grantor of goodness,
grantor of safety. ...

* * *

Rejoice, father, rejoice again! and grant us excellence (*aretê*) and riches (*aphenos*).
Without excellence neither prosperity (*olbos*) can bless men,
nor excellence without riches. Grant us excellence and prosperity.⁹¹

As stated above,⁹² despite its rather humorous tone, the *Coma Berenices*, too,

⁸⁸ Theoc. *Id.* XV.149: χαῖρε, Ἕδων ἀγαπατέ, καὶ ἐς χαίροντας ἀφικνεῖ.

⁸⁹ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.135-137: Χαῖρε, ἄναξ Πτολεμαῖε· σέθεν δ’ ἐγὼ ἴσα καὶ ἄλλων ἰμνάσομαι ἡμιθέων, δοκέω δ’ ἔπος οὐκ ἀπόβλητον ἰφθέγομαι ἐσσομένοις· ἀρετὴν γε μὲν ἐκ Δίος αἰτεῖ; Gow 1950, II: 346; Hunter 2003, 195-196.

⁹⁰ Gow 1950, II: 347.

⁹¹ Callim. *Hymn. Jov.* 91-92, 94-96: Χαῖρε μέγα, Κρονίδε πανυπέρτατε, δῶτορ ἑάων, ἰδῶτορ ἀπημονίης. ... Χαῖρε, πάτερ, χαῖρ’ αὖθι· δίδου δ’ ἀρετὴν τ’ ἄφενός τε. ἰοῦτ’ ἀρετῆς ἄτερ ὄλβος ἐπίσταται ἄνδρας ἀέξειν ἰοῦτ’ ἀρετὴ ἀφένιοι· δίδου δ’ ἀρετὴν τε καὶ ὄλβον; Hunter 2003, 197-199; Stephens 2003, 148-149.

⁹² *Supra* Pt. Four, ch. II, § 3, pp. 424-424.

closes with such a hymnic invocation: “Rejoice (*chaire*), dear to your children –.”⁹³ It is important to remember that this closing distich is addressed to the deified Arsinoe Zephyritis.⁹⁴ While it is impossible from the passage’s fragmentary state to deduce who the speaker of the invocation is, nevertheless, the hymnic address does combine the theme of jubilation with the importance of progeny (*viz.*, dynastic succession). Taking into account that the *aetium* of the Lock’s catasterism, furthermore, incorporated the cult of Arsinoe II and the military triumph of Ptolemy III in the Laodicean War, the Lock’s lamentation becomes more poignant. For it was the joyful reunion of the royal couple that he could not experience from his heavenly abode; nor could he enjoy the merry festivities of the ruler cult. The significance of jubilation can furthermore be gauged from the Pithom and Mendes stelae. When Ptolemy II visited the towns, festivals were celebrated in his honor and “the populace broke out in rejoicing, all streets were filled with cheer,” “the whole surrounding took part in the singing, and the whole nome was filled with joy and cheer.”⁹⁵ As the Pithom stela explained:

Gods and men ... rejoice ... as he appears on the Horus throne, sovereign of the living, and his son is established upon his throne. He holds Egypt in his fist, the foreign lands bow before his magnificence, and the Nine-Bow People lie united under his soles, like unto Ra for ever and all eternity.⁹⁶

Accordingly, the royal presence was by itself cause for rejoicing in a religious atmosphere.

⁹³ Callim. *Com. Ber.* 94a (cit. *supra* 424 n. 95).

⁹⁴ Pfeiffer 1949-53, II: 116 *ad* F 110 l. 94a; Fraser 1972, II: 1026; Gelzer 1982, 22-23; Marinone 1997, 67, n. 34; Koenen 1993, 111-112, n. 223.

⁹⁵ *Urk.* II: 88 l. 7; *id.* 36-51 ll. 5, 10, 27.

⁹⁶ A free trans. of *Urk.* II: 105 l. 28: *ntr.w rmt ... h'i ... h'wt hr Hrw st itj(?) 'nh.w, s3=f s-ms hr st=f, Kmt im drt=f, h3st.w h3b n b3w=f, pdt.w-p3dw dmd hr tbwt.w=f, R' mi dt nhh*, Roeder 1959-61, I: 128.

The major priestly inscriptions, once more, offer further elucidation of the nature of the kings' divinity. On the Mendes stela, Ptolemy II was addressed as, "king of gods and men, who appears on the horizon with four faces" (*viz.*, Horachty),⁹⁷ "who brightens heaven and earth with his rays" (*viz.*, Atum/Amun-Ra), "who comes as the Nile-Inundation" (*viz.*, Osiris-Hapy), "he brings life to the Two Lands" (*viz.*, Harsomtus), "the gods worship him and the goddesses revere him."⁹⁸ The priests implored: "may his years as king be lengthened eternally as he thrives forever, may his kingship be set upon his name as his son sits upon his throne until the end of eternity."⁹⁹ The King is thus presented as *Pankratôr* who rules over earth, water and sky, and whose sovereignty endures through the successive reincarnations of father to son – all, incidentally, called Ptolemy. The Canopus Decree specified in great detail the honors bestowed on the *Theoi Euergetai* and their prematurely deceased daughter Berenice Parthenus, particularly the monthly celebrations and annual festivities of their cult.¹⁰⁰ The calendrical reform, as discussed in the foregoing section, was supposed to arrange the sacred calendar in such a way that the sixth epagomenal day every four years would coincide with the rising of Sothis ("the star of Isis") and so the Egyptian New Year (when, also, the rites of Adonis and Tammuz were performed) as well as the coming Nile flood that would fertilize the

⁹⁷ For Hathor Quadrifrons, see: Derchain 1972.

⁹⁸ *Urk.* II: 32-33 ll. 1-2: *biti ntr.w rmt, h'i im jht m hr.w-fdw, s-hdt nwt t m st.wt=f, ij im H'pj, s-nh.f n Tz.wj, ... dwj s ntr.w, hf s ntr.wt*, Roeder 1959-61, I: 177; De Meulenaere and MacKay 1976, 174.

⁹⁹ *Urk.* II: 51 l. 28: *sk rnpt.w=f im nsw r nhh(.t) wch n dt, nsjt.w mn hr m=f szf hr st=f r km nhj*, Roeder 1959-61, I: 188.

¹⁰⁰ *Urk.* II: 132-139 ll. 11-20 (Ptolemy III and Berenice II) and 143-153 ll. 24-36 (Berenice Parthenus).

land.¹⁰¹ The Raphia Decree, we have seen, portrayed Ptolemy IV as a Victorious Horus, “the son of Isis” (*i.e.*, Harsiesis), slaying his enemy, “who avenges (*or* succors) his father” (*i.e.*, Harendotes).¹⁰² Moreover, sculptures in Egyptian convention were to be erected in every chief temple of the land, which showed the King as a true *Philopator* in the guise of the triumphant Harendotes.¹⁰³ They were to be accompanied by an image of Queen Arsinoe III (no doubt in the guise of Isis-Hathor, as on the accompanying relief-scene). Next to the royal couple, a statue of the chief local deity was to be set up in the gesture of delivering the scimitar (☞; *chepesh*) of victory to the King.¹⁰⁴ Finally, the Memphis Decree, which lists the benefactions of the Manifest God Ptolemy V and the honors which the priests were to bestow upon him, explicitly declared that the King was “a god, son of a god, given by a goddess, like unto the image of Horus the son of Isis” (*i.e.*, Harsiesis), “son of Osiris, the savior (victor, avenger *or* succor) of his father Osiris” (*i.e.*, Harendotes).¹⁰⁵ In return for his benevolence, the gods blessed him with bravery, strength, victory, life, prosperity and health, and the priests pleaded that “his sovereignty may be established for him and his children forever, with good fortune.”¹⁰⁶ Egyptian-

¹⁰¹ *Urk.* II: 140-143 ll. 20-24; for the calendrical reform, *supra* § 3, p. 447; for the date of the Nile flood, *supra*, Pt. Three, ch. I, § 1, pp. 384-385.

¹⁰² *I. Raph. dem.* ll. 12, 32; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, p. 108, n. 72.

¹⁰³ *I. Raph.* ll. 32-36; Thissen 1966, 23, 67-69; Hölbl 2001, 164: “These constant allusions to the myth of Horus as avenger and protector of his father (Osiris) were means of giving the cultic title ‘Philopator’ a distinctly Egyptian connotation”; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 4, pp. 107-108.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Budge 1904, II: 116 n. 1. [A similar scene occurs on the *mammisi* at Tentyris, see: *Edfu Mam.* pl. 20.]

¹⁰⁵ *Urk.* II: 173-174 l. 10: *wnn=f m-ntr, s-ntr, rdi-n-ntr.t, iw=f m stwt-Hrw s-Is.t, s-Ws-ir, ndti-ti=f* (savior) *Ws-ir, ibid., dem.* l. 6: *iw=f n ntr, sri (n) ntr ntr.t, iw=f m hi r Hr, s-Is, s- Ws-ir, i-ir nht* (victor) *p-i-f ir Ws-ir, OGIS* 90 l. 10: ὑπάρχων θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς καθάπερ Ὡρος ὁ τῆς Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριος υἱός, ὁ ἐπαμύνας (avenger *or* succor) τῶι πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ὀσίρει; Bergman 1968, 103.

¹⁰⁶ *Urk.* II: 187-188 l. 5 (*rdi-n=f ntr.w-ntr.wt kn nht 'nh-wd-snb hr ht nb nfr r sw-snw*): *r i-st wrt*

style cult statues of Ptolemy V were to be set up in the most prominent part of every temple, which were to be inscribed with the name: “Ptolemy the Avenger of Egypt” (the Egyptian here reads: “Ptolemy the Savior of Egypt, which means Ptolemy the Victor of Egypt”). Like his father’s sculptures, an image of the chief deity of the temple was to present him with the scimitar of victory.¹⁰⁷ From a son of rulers, in other words, within a few generations the Ptolemaic King had become the son of gods, who not only reigned by birthright, but also required divine honors from birth.

In Egyptian theology, the permanence of kingship, the stronghold of *Ma‘at*, was achieved through the eternal reincarnation of Osiris in Horus. Because the pharaoh was conceived of as the earthly emanation of the Living Horus, he embodied the immortalization of the royal office in so far as he ascended to the throne as his father’s heir. Just as Horus had to vanquish the contender Seth and thus avenge his father’s death, so the King was represented as the “Savior of His Father,” viz., Harendotes. The royal ideology that the pharaoh received his kingship from his father was expressed through the title “Youth” found in the Horus Name of many of the Ptolemaic kings, which reflected the concept of Horus the Child (Harpocrates), the son of Isis and Osiris.¹⁰⁸ Through the legitimate dynastic succession, the King manifested himself as the “Strong

ddddd.tw hr=f h' hrd.w=f dt h' shn nfr, ibid., dem. l. 21 (n ntr.w t3 sb.t (n) n3 p3 dr3 p3 kni p3 n's p3 wds p3 snbi irm n3 kj.w mb-nfr.w dr.w): (iw) t3=f l3w (n) Pr-3 smn hr=f irm n3=f hrd.w 33' dt irm p3 shni nfr, OGIS 90 ll. 35-36 (δεδώκασιν αὐτῶι οἱ θεοὶ ὑγίειαν, νίκην, κράτος καὶ τ' ἄλλ' ἀγαθὰ πάντα): τῆς βασιλείας διαμενούσης αὐτῶι καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον· ἀγαθῇ τύχηι.

¹⁰⁷ *Urk. II: 189 l. 6 (hntf ... k3 hr rn=f): Ptwrmjs ndi nw Wdit wh'm=f pw Ptwrmjs nht Kmt, ibid., dem. ll. 22-23 (tw.w ... mtw.w dd n=f): Ptlwmjs nd Bk3 ntj iw p3=f whm Ptlwmjs i3r nht (n) Kmt, OGIS 90 ll. 38-39 (εἰκόνα ἢ προσονομασθήσεται): Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐπαμύναντος τῆι Αἰγύπτωι.*

¹⁰⁸ *Urk. II: 12 (Alexander IV); ibid. 84 (Ptolemy II: hwnw-kni, “Brave Youth”); Thes. Inscr. 858 (Ptolemy IV: hwnw-kni); Urk. II: 169 (Ptolemy V); Thes. Inscr. 865 (Ptolemy VII: p3 ntr hwnw mri-it=f, “The Youthful God Who Loves His Father,” i.e., Θεὸς Νέος Φιλοπάτωρ); LD IV: 39b (Ptolemy VIII); ibid. Text IV: 68 (Ptolemy X: hwnw-nfr, “Beautiful Youth”); LD IV: 49b (Ptolemy XII: hwnw-nfr).*

Ka of Ra,” the “Foremost of Might,” the “Victorious Bull.”¹⁰⁹ Various royal titles honored the King for his bravery.¹¹⁰ For instance, Ptolemy III was worshipped as “Brave Savior of the Gods,” and Ptolemy XII received the Gold Falcon Name “Lord of Bravery and Victory like the Son of Isis.”¹¹¹ Such royal titles evoke the concept of the *Kamutef*, the regenerative “Bull of His Mother,” who impregnated the cow goddess to engender his own reincarnation and thus overcome death. The sacred bull that most specifically personified this power of rejuvenation was Apis, which we saw was the paragon of the eternal cycle of renewal. I should wish to add that other gods that were highly patronized at the Lagid court, such as Adonis, Sarapis, Agathodaemon, and Aeon Plutonium likewise symbolized the triumphant victory over death, joyous revivification of nature and/or jubilant restoration of Cosmic Order. Such religious identifications, then, reinforce the ideological importance of the theme of jubilation in the context of the Ptolemaic ruler cult.

To sum up, the symbolic significance of the theme of jubilation was its recognition of the divine nature of the Ptolemaic Kings. The hymnic invocation in works of Theocritus and Callimachus associate rejoicing with virtue, military glory, abundance and prosperity, dynastic succession and, in the context of the Adonia, with the cyclical renewal of (the god’s and nature’s) vitality. The *chaire*-phrase additionally implies the

¹⁰⁹ *Urk* II: 10 (Philip III: *kꜣ-nḥt*); *ibid.* 12 (Alexander IV: *wšr-pḥt*); Naville 1890, 62 (Ptolemy I: *wr-pḥt*); *Urk*. II: 84 (Ptolemy II: *wšr-kꜣ-Rʿ*, *wr-pḥt*); *ibid.* 121 (Ptolemy III: *wr-pḥt*); *Thes. Inscr.* 858 (Ptolemy IV: *wšr-kꜣ-Rʿ*, *wr-pḥt*); *Urk*. II: 169-170 (Ptolemy V: *wšr-kꜣ-Rʿ*, *wr-pḥt*); *Thes. Inscr.* 864 (Ptolemy VI: *wr-pḥt*); *LD* IV: 39b (Ptolemy VIII: *wr-pḥt*); *LdR* IV: 359, XLV (Ptolemy IX: *kꜣ-nḥt*); *ibid.* *Text* IV: 68 (Ptolemy X: *kꜣ-nḥt*); *Thes. Inscr.* 877 (Ptolemy XII: *kꜣ-nḥt*); *LD* IV: 53a (Ptolemy XV: *kꜣ-nḥt*); von Beckerath 1984, 117-122; Tait 2003, 8. It is furthermore of note that Ptolemaic kings were either entitled *Ur-Pecht* or *Ka-Necht*, but never both (yet always one or the other).]

¹¹⁰ *Thes. Inscr.* 852 (Alexander the Great: *ḥkꜣ-ḥnṯ*, “Brave Ruler”); Naville 1890, 62 (Ptolemy I: *nšw-ḥnṯ*, “Brave King”); *LD* IV: 325 (Ptolemy VIII: *nb-ḥnsw*, “Lord of Bravery”); (Ptolemy IX: *šsp.n=f-nšjt-n-Rʿ-m-ḥnw-nḥt*, “He Received the Kingship of Ra with Bravery and Victory.”).

transcendental status of the Lagid rulers (particularly Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II). Already the Pithom and Mendes stelae make explicit that Philadelphus' accession to the throne was sufficient cause for rejoicing and his appearance on visits to the towns were celebrated with joyous festivals. The inscriptions furthermore emphasize unswervingly that the permanence of kingship through the hereditary transmission of power from father to son was a source of jubilation. Priestly decrees, moreover, express the kings' divinity through religious identifications with various forms of Horus that revolve around the importance of the King's legitimacy as the true heir of his father. By means of the religious doctrine of the sacral kingship of the Lagid dynasty, Ptolemaic Kings were unfailingly identified as the Son of Isis (*viz.*, Harsiesis and/or Harpocrates), the "Victorious Bull," "Foremost in Might," the *Kamutef* who perpetually engenders successive reincarnations of himself, and thus avenges his father's death at the hands of Seth. In fact, in Pharaonic ideology, vengeance, victory, salvation and benevolence were interchangeable notions. The glorification of the Lagids' "bravery" could therefore refer as much to their accession to the throne as to their military success, their administration of justice, their benefactions as well as their divine sovereignty.

* * *
* *

The argument put forward in the previous sections is that the theme of jubilation appeared in the environment of the Lagid ruler cult not only as an expression of gratitude for the many acts of royal benefaction and salvation, but also as an acknowledgement of the divinity of the Ptolemaic King. In conclusion, the importance for the royal ideology

¹¹¹ *Urk.* II: 121: *ḳnw nḏtī-nṯr.w*; *LD* IV: 49b: *nb-ḳnw-nḥt-mī-sꜣ-ṣꜣ.t*.

was that ritual rejoicing was at once cause and effect of the glorification of the Lagid House. Before summarizing my findings, I should once more emphasize that the source material examined is rather unevenly concentrated on the second through fifth generation of the dynasty. In respect to the Jubilee Festival, in fact, no evidence at all has been transmitted that testifies to its actual celebration in the Ptolemaic period. Nevertheless, I contend that the recurrent titlature Lord of Jubilee Festivals, as well as other circumstantial evidence, makes it likely that the ceremony was held in high esteem. The essential purpose of this momentous royal festival was the revitalization of the Horus' sacral kingship through the reenactment of the King's enthronization. During the ceremony the Queen performed the vital roles of Horus' mother and wet-nurse as well as his wife and companion (identified with Hathor, Sechathor, Sakhmet and Ma'at). In Lagid ideology, moreover, the Lord of the *Hab-Sed* was simultaneously Triumphant over Enemies, like Horus the Savior of His Father. The most obvious and politically pragmatic Victory over Enemies comprised the King's military triumphs recounted in ancient historiography, paraded in grand processions, displayed in royal statuary, glorified in the Lagids' titulary, praised in Alexandrian poetry, and honored in priestly decrees. Such glorious triumphs include defending Egypt from foreign invasion, defeating enemy forces and expanding territory through conquest – viz., fighting battles abroad and thus maintaining peace at home. I have illustrated how the image of the heroic spear-wielding king slaying his enemies invoked comparisons with Diomedes, Achilles, Heracles, Apollo and/or Horus. These jubilant victories avenged the death of the King's father, like Horus' triumph over Seth. That is to say, that through his heroic feats, the King revealed his transcendental status, fulfilling his royal duty as true heir and successor of his father.

However, the theme of jubilation divulges more ideologically profound

expressions of the king's "triumph over enemies." For the Ptolemaic kings to demonstrate their divine sovereignty, they were expected to maintain law and order (in the widest sense) and thus achieve Victory over Chaos by averting impiety and disorder. I have shown how the provision of royal munificence, the suppression of rebellion, and the administration of justice were all believed to guarantee the Cosmic Order. Through the figuration of the Lord of Justice, the Ptolemaic King manifested his divine nature, particularly identified with Horus (Apollo) and Thoth (Hermes), whose *euergesia* and *sôtêria* provided the populace with peace and prosperity. The most significant implication of ritual rejoicing, moreover, was the victory over death – viz., the deification of the Ptolemaic kings and queens and hence the immortalization of the Lagids' glory. Indeed, this aspect of the King's jubilant triumph was articulated through a multitude of religious identifications. With the titulary "Brave Youth," the Ptolemaic King was identified with Horus the Child (Harpocrates; Heracliscus), to wit, the Son of Isis (Harsiesis), who Unites the Two Lands (Harsomtus), and thus Avenges his Father (Harendotes; Apollo). In his bravery and victory, the King was likened to Thoth (Hermes). He was said to appear on his throne as Horus Appears at Dawn (Horachty), which further assimilated the King with the eternally resurrecting (Atum/Amun) Ra. In his power to rejuvenate the royal office, the King proved himself a *Kamutef*, a Victorious Bull of his Mother (Isis-Hathor), the Strong *Ka* of Ra, Foremost of Might. This configuration furthermore recalls the epitome of eternal renewal, i.e., the sacred bull Apis. The King was believed to grant prosperity and abundance like Osiris-Hapy, and to reign as the *Pantokratôr* Sarapis. Close associations with Adonis, Agathodaemon and Aeon Plutonium likewise conveyed the King's role as Bringer of Good Fortune and Plenty. The Triumphant Lord of Jubilee Festivals (i.e., the rejuvenation of sacral

kingship) realized the Lagids' glory by achieving Victory over Enemies (through military triumph and territorial conquest), Victory over Chaos (by maintaining law and order, and providing for peace and prosperity), and victory over death (through the immortalization of the dynasty and the divinization of the individual members of the royal house). Having interpreted the general dynastic importance of jubilation for the Lagid ideology, I will turn once more to a discussion of the theme's symbolic significance particularly for Ptolemaic queenship.

IV. THE FEMALE PHARAOH'S JOY

Since the time of Arsinoe II, Ptolemaic queens were commonly addressed in demotic prescripts as “*Pera‘at*,” a feminized form of ‘Pharaoh’ which could be rendered as “Female Pharaoh.”¹ The hieroglyphic equivalent of this term is usually “*Nebt-Taui* (Lady of the Two Lands),” which is similarly attested for most queens since Arsinoe II (including Berenice Parthenus).² In bi- or trilingual decrees, in fact, the Greek version has “*basilissa*,”³ which was not limited in meaning like the English term ‘queen’ (as denoting “female monarch” or “wife of the king”), but also included royal women such as the princesses Philotera and Berenice Parthenus (both prematurely deceased), who did not exercise formal power.⁴ Similar female forms of royal titles, such as “Female Horus (*Horet*)” or “Daughter of Ra (*Zat en R‘a*),” were all uncommon or non-existent in the Pharaonic period – and that by itself would seem to

¹ Pestman 1967, 28 (B2), 42 (C1), 46 (C1), 50 (C2), 54 (C2), 56 (C2, C3), 64 (C2+3 & P9), 66 (C3), 68 (C3), 72 (B3), 76 (B3), 78 (B4), 82 (C7).

² Troy 1986, 178-179 (P.4, 6-14: D2/13-14).

³ E.g., see: *OGIS* 56 l.8 (Canopus decree: βασίλισσα Βερενίκη); *I. Raph.* (Thissen 1966, 20 and 67) l.31 = A 32 (Raphia decree: βασιλίση Ἀρσινόη); *OGIS* 90 l.9 (Rosetta stone: βασιλίσης Ἀρσινόης).

⁴ *OGIS* 35 (Βασίλισσαν Φιλωτέραν), 56 l.47 (Βερενίκη, ἥ καὶ βασίλισσα εὐθέως ἀπεδείχθη); for a discussion of the usage of *basilissa*, see: Carney 1991; *ead.* 2000a, 225-228. [I hesitate whether Philotera and Berenice Parthenus were actually styled “*basilissa*” or any of its Egyptian equivalents while still alive, or if this form of address was a titular honor bestowed upon the princesses posthumously.]

indicate a rise of prestige and/or influence of the female members of the Lagid dynasty.⁵ Perhaps the question whether such titulary was merely honorific or reflected actual political power is, in my opinion, misguided in that the accumulation of honor and worship must equally be considered a sign of an elevated position of power and authority, as honor and prestige are part of one's status.⁶ In this final chapter I will suggest that, even if such forms of address cannot alone prove whether or not a queen occupied a formal position of power (a rather narrow constitutionalist approach, inattentive to the ambiguities of power and prestige), Ptolemaic titulature does reflect an ideology in which queenship played an indispensable role.

My aim in the following four sections is to consider the symbolic significance of the theme of jubilation for Ptolemaic queenship, and in so doing show the position of influence and authority held by the Ptolemaic queen in the religious and royal ideology of the Lagid dynasty. (1.) As in the preceding chapter, I would like to begin with an examination of the *Hab-Sed* and thus reveal the vital role performed by the queen (or a substitute priestess) during the ritual renewal of sacral kingship. (2.) In addition to her status as the king's consort, the queen was needless to say the mother of his heir to the Ptolemaic throne. In the second section, I will describe the queen's position at the nativity scenes depicted on Ptolemaic *mammisis*, so as to evaluate her function in the divinization of her child's sovereignty. Both the scenes of the royal jubilee and the birth of the royal child, as we will see, are permeated with dense allusions to jubilation. (3.) Subsequently, I will assess the association between victory and jubilation from the

⁵ Troy 1986, esp. 133-139 (pointing out that in the pharaonic period the feminization of masculine title concerned not titles of kingship, but of nobility).

⁶ For a debate of the significance of titulature, cf. Quaegebeur 1970, 205-209; *id.* 1978, 255-256; Burstein 1982, 197-212; Pomeroy 1984, 19; Carney 1991, 154-172; *ead.* 2000a, 225-228; Hazzard 2000,

vantage of Ptolemaic queenship, and examine the queen's involvement in the ceremonial celebration of the king's victories, the praise for her own valor and power in military and political affairs, and the worship she received for her gracious charity toward the country. (4.) I will then, in the last section, analyze the symbolic significance of jubilation in the immediate milieu of the queen's deification. Confirming the argument of the queen's authoritative status, poems by Theocritus and Callimachus will further elucidate the matrilineal transmission of deification from mother to child. Moreover, I will illustrate how her deification itself – whether through her apotheotic ascension or through the earthly manifestation of her divinity – was considered as a source of joy. What I thus endeavor to establish is that the ideally queen presided over the ritual rejoicing that celebrated the rejuvenation and reincarnation of sacral kingship, as well as the glorious achievements of the king and queen, and finally the divinization of the royal family, including herself.

1. Like Ma'at Following Ra

Although scholars have arrived at different conclusions regarding the position of the queen at the Royal Jubilee, most scholars agree that the female presence – whether in the form of the queen or goddesses with whom she was identified – was vital for the rejuvenation of divine sovereignty.⁷ On the Pithom stela's relief-scene, the deified Arsinoe II pronounced: "I pray for you countless Jubilee Festivals from the Gods"; and "I pray for you (eternal) life from your father Atum, (so that) he bestows upon you

esp. 93-96.

⁷ For lit. on the *Hab-Sed*, *supra* Pt. Four, ch. III, § 1, p. 437, n. 24.

countless Jubilee Festivals.”⁸ On the Mendes stela, the same wish is expressed by the Queen with the words: “I pray for you to the Lord of the Gods, (so that) he makes the numbers of your years as king high [*i.e.*, numerous].”⁹ As I have indicated in the previous chapter, royal titlature supports the assumption that Ptolemaic kings did observe the *Sed*-Festival, even though little evidence survives that refers to actual celebrations of the ceremony.¹⁰ Perforce, we must turn to Pharaonic evidence to infer the importance of the queen’s role at the Jubilee Festival. As in the preceding chapter, I will again have recourse to the relief scenes of the tomb of Kheruef. These reliefs prominently feature Queen Tiye, wife of Amenophis III and mother of Amenophis IV (Achnaton) – shown worshipping Atum and Hathor, Horachty and Ma‘at, together with her son, after her husband’s death.¹¹ It may be of more than incidental importance that of Tiye’s twenty titles listed by Lana Troy, Arsinoe II shares eleven identical or closely similar ones – a correlation not observed by modern scholars.¹² Significantly, two of those titles (both found on the *Hab-Sed* scenes) are unique to the two queens.¹³ Based on this correlation as well as the general influence of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties on Ptolemaic ideology, I feel it is possible to draw some tentative conclusions about the role performed

⁸ *Urk.* II: 82 l. 12: *nh=n n=k hb-sd.(w) sz.w hr ntr.w*; *ibid.* 84 l. 24: *nh n=k nh hr it-k itm, rdi=f n=k hb-sd.(w) sz.w*; Roeder 1959-61, I: 115.

⁹ *Urk.* II: 32 l. 17: *nh n=k nb-ntr.w, sk=f rnpt.w=k m nsw*; Roeder 1959-61, I: 175; De Meulenaere and MacKay 1976, 175.

¹⁰ *Supra* Pt. Four, ch. III, § 1.

¹¹ *Epigr. Surv.* 1980, 32-33, pls. 8-9.

¹² Troy 1986, nos. 18.34, P.4, A1/29-30, A2/1, A2/5, A4/2-3, B3/9-10, B4/11, C1/9, C1/12, C2/2, C2/5, D1/4, D2/1, D2/12-13.

¹³ *Epigr. Surv.* 1980, 55, pl. 49: *hnm.t-nsw-m-šw*, “Who Joins with the King Who Appears as Shu [Truth]”; *ibid.* 60, pl. 56: *mḥ.t-ḥ-m-mrwt*, “Who Fills the Palace with Love”; *Urk* II: 63 l. 3: *mḥ.t-ḥ-m-*

by the queen at the ceremony. To this end, I will examine the importance of goddesses such as Hathor, Ma‘at and Sakhmet, the appearance of Queen Tiye in the King’s company, as well as the performance of rituals by female singers and dancers.

From evidence dating to the New Kingdom it can certainly be surmised that the queen assumed an essential position in this momentous royal ritual.¹⁴ On the eve of the main ceremony, the king, dressed in *sed*-robe, is described as taking his seat on a couch in the shape of a lioness. Winfried Barta indicates that similar couches typically appear in royal birth-scenes, where the child is born and nursed.¹⁵ Barta interprets the evening scene as a regenerative rite, in which the king united as *Kamutef* with the heavenly mother goddess (Mut-Hathor) to ensure his own reincarnation.¹⁶ However, Barta’s interpretation does not sufficiently clarify the importance of the leonine goddess, namely, fiery Sakhmet, the wife of Ptah, who was identified with Isis-Hathor as the pharaoh’s mother and nurse, and who imbued the royal child with the strength to defeat his enemies.¹⁷ Thus, when Isis was breastfeeding the crown prince, she was said to be “giving [him] Jubilee Festivals with [her] milk.”¹⁸ In the reed-columned shrine of the first Jubilee of Amenophis III, the goddess Hathor, dressed in a tight, haltered bodice, is

nfrw=s, “Who Fills the Palace with Her Perfection (i.e., Beauty)”; *ibid.* II: 82 l. 11; *hnm.t-ib-šw*, “Who Joins with the Heart of Shu”.

¹⁴ *LÄ* s.v. ‘Sedfest’; cf. Frankfort 1948, 82 (“Whether the queen appeared before the throne is uncertain”), 368 n. 18 (“[The queen] is given unwarranted prominence in the older literature on the Sed festival. The evidence is slight. [...] We know nothing of the role of the queen of Egypt at the festival”); Bleeker 1959, 267 (“It can hardly be doubted that [the queen] was present at the *hb-šd*-festival”).

¹⁵ Barta 1975, 65-66; also, see: Brunner 1964, 90-106, 122-134, pls. 9, 12; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, fig. 10.

¹⁶ For the *Kamutef*, *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 2.

¹⁷ *Pyr.* 262; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Sechmet’.

¹⁸ *LD* III: 177g: *rdi n n.k hb.w-šd m irft*, Münster 1968, 142-143.

seated on a throne beside the King.¹⁹ She has her hand on the shoulder of the enthroned King in a protective gesture. She is holding a year-stick (𓅓) that rests on the hieroglyphic signs 𓄢 (heh, “million”), 𓄠 (uchem ‘anch, “repeating life, rebirth”), and 𓄡 (shenu, “rope, circle, circuit,” hence “cartouche, reign”), which expressed the wish that the King’s regnal years may be countless. As Wente points out, Hathor thus “occupies the seat that would normally be the queen’s.”²⁰ On *mammisi* scenes at Tentyris, the queen in the guise of Hathor is nursing the royal child identified with Ihy, where the accompanying texts likewise allude to the kingship and jubilations he imbibes with her divine milk.²¹ Consequently, a profound Hathoric presence is evident at the Royal Festival, which symbolizes the goddess’ protective power in the resuscitation of the sacral kingship.

However, rather than making the argument that the goddess takes the place of the queen, the leading part performed by Queen Tiye demonstrates that, conversely, the queen enacted the role of the goddess. Standing behind Amenophis III as he emerged from the “House of Exultation,” and similarly on his nocturnal barque, the “Great Royal Wife” Tiye is dressed in a tight, haltered bodice (tied at the waste with a sash), holding the lotus scepter in her right hand and an (effaced) *anch*-sign in the left.²² She is uncrowned, although her wig is adorned with a *uraeus* that is topped with a small Hathoric crown. At the Erection of the *Djed*-Pillar (𓄢), the Queen, in a long robe (tied at the waist), wearing double plumes on a vulture headdress, carrying the lotus scepter and

¹⁹ Bleeker 1967, 102; Wente 1969, 85-86; Bleeker 1973, 52-53; Epigr. Surv. 1980, pl. 26; Troy 1986, 56, fig. 34.

²⁰ Wente 1969, 90.

²¹ *Dend. Mam.* pp. 13, 22-23, pls. 5, 13 (C).

lotus-bud staff, again accompanies the King.²³ She is here called “Great of Blessings” and “Who Fills the Palace with Love.”²⁴ On the throne scene of Amenophis’ third Jubilee, Queen Tiye wears a long robe (tied at the waist) and is crowned with double plumes. She again holds the lotus scepter and the *anch*-sign in her hands, and is seated on an elaborate throne that represents the lioness Sakhmet and depicts a female sphinx victoriously trampling enemies.²⁵ On the opposite wall of the portico, Tiye – in a haltered bodice, holding the lotus scepter and a papyrus stem – stands behind the thrones of Amenophis and Hathor. To emphasize the Queen’s assimilation with Hathor, Tiye’s crown of double plumes on a cobra-*modium* is enclosed by tall cow horns. Her presence with the King is here explicitly likened to Ma‘at: “She follows [his] majesty like Ma‘at following Ra.”²⁶ I would like to suggest that this phrase effectively encapsulates the Queen’s function at the *Hab-Sed*, namely, that her presence at the King’s Festival guaranteed the guidance, order and justice of his reign.

The major role of Hathoric symbolism at the Royal Jubilee, additionally, deserves our attention.²⁷ Not only is the goddess seated beside the King in his throne chapel, but the relief also depicts Hathoric ceremonies before the chapel’s dais. For, behind noble

²² Epigr. Surv. 1980, 50, pls. 42, 46.

²³ *Ibib.* pl. 56.

²⁴ *Ibib.* 55, pl. 49; Troy 1986, nos. 18.34, A4/2, B4/11: *wr.t ḥšw.t, mḥt ḥ m mrw.t*.

²⁵ Epigr. Surv. 1980, 55 (with lit. on the queen’s throne), pl. 49; Troy 1986, 65-66.

²⁶ Bleeker 1967, 102; Epigr. Surv. 1980, 42, pl. 26; Troy 1986, 56, 57, nos. 18.34, C2/6: *wnn-s m šmš.w ḥm=k mī Mꜣṯ šmšī Rꜥ*.

²⁷ Bleeker 1973, 52-53; Epigr. Surv. 1980, 44.

girls (*mesu-uru*, lit. “children of the great ones”) bringing libations,²⁸ we see a large troupe of female singers, flutists, clappers, a tambourine player, dancers and acrobats.²⁹ Wente has studied similar ceremonies, not only in representations of other *Sed*-Festivals, but also in funerary contexts in which Hathoric rituals were meant to revivify the deceased.³⁰ Running above the full length of the lower register of the female dancers and musicians, a hymn to the goddess reads: “Pray, make jubilation for the Golden Goddess (*i.e.*, Hathor) and good pleasure for the Lady of the Two Lands!”³¹ The women are said to make jubilation at twilight and music in the evening, and hail the goddess with the words, “O Hathor, you are exalted in the hair of Ra”³² – an allusion to the Solar Eye.³³ The hymn, in other words, elucidates the purpose of the nocturnal circuit of the royal barque (discussed above),³⁴ *viz.*, to engender the King’s rejuvenation just as Ra reawakens in the morning. At the Towing of the Nocturnal Barque, moreover, royal women (individually named *zat-nesut*, lit. “king’s daughter”) shake the *sistrum* (𐩢𐩣), and court ladies (chantresses) carry a gazelle-headed wand (𐩢𐩣) or *menat* (𐩢𐩣), while at the Erection of the *Djed*-Pillar (𐩢𐩣) royal women (*mesu-nesut*, lit. “king’s children”) shake the *sistrum* (𐩢𐩣), carry the *menat* (𐩢𐩣) and sing hymns.³⁵ The attributes (the *sistrum*, gazelle

²⁸ Wente 1969, 84-85; Epigr. Surv. 1980, 45-46, pl. 32.

²⁹ Wente 1969, 85-86; Troy 1986, 56.

³⁰ Wente 1969, 87-89.

³¹ Epigr. Surv. 1980, 47, pl. 36; also, see: Wente 1969, 85-86.

³² Epigr. Surv. 1980, 47, pl. 36; also, see: Wente 1969, 89.

³³ For lit. on the Solar Eye, see: *supra* Pt. One, ch. 1.I, § 2, p 168, n. 33.

³⁴ *Supra* Pt. Four, ch.III, § 1, p. 439, n. 30.

³⁵ Wente 1969, 84, n. 6; Epigr. Surv. 1980, 51-52, 61, pls. 45, 57; Troy 1986, 89-90, fig. 62.

wand, and *menat*), of course, are all Hathoric symbols. Finally, three corpulent men with lion-masks in the far-left bottom are perhaps best understood as Bes figures performing another Hathoric ritual.³⁶ This dense atmosphere of Hathor's (mostly) female retinue, in short, amply illustrates the eroticism of the ritual revitalization of royal power.

No scholar, to my knowledge, has thus far synthesized the scattered references to the goddesses' role at the Jubilee so as to elucidate the queen's essential function at the festival. Some, such as Barta and Wente, have (in my mind unwarrantedly) suggested that the *Hab-Sed* included the celebration of the King's Sacred Marriage to Hathor.³⁷ We may recall that Sechathor featured prominently in the preliminary rites; that the king joined Sakhmet on his couch on the eve before the Jubilee Festival; that Hathor was seated beside Amenophis as his Queen; that Queen Tiye was likened to Hathor in the solar barque and to Ma'at in the suite of Ra. There is, nevertheless, no indication whatsoever that a Holy Wedding was enacted during the Royal Jubilee. Instead of the notion that said goddesses were identified as the king's consort, I would conversely assert that the queen herself was conceived of as the living embodiment of these deities. That is to say, the queen performed the role of the goddess – and not *vice versa*. For, through her close association with divinities such as Sechathor, Sakhmet, the female sphinx, Ma'at and Hathor, the queen's attendance at the *Sed*-Festival ensured the renewal of the king's divine sovereignty and thus the victory of Cosmic Order. To sum up, "like Ma'at following Ra," the queen's presence at the Royal Jubilee Festival was prerequisite for the rejuvenation of sacral kingship.

³⁶ *RÄRG* s.v. 'Bes,' esp. 103-105, fig. 35; Wente 1969, 86-87.

³⁷ Wente 1969, 90 ("It would appear that the theme of the entire wall was the sacred marriage of Hathor to the king, identified with the sun god"); Barta 1975, 69 ("Wenn also der König mit dem w3s-Szepter in der Sänfte sitzend erscheint, könnten wir darunter symbolisch die Heilige Hochzeit und damit

2. The Divine Mother of Ra

We recall that the last transmitted line of Callimachus' lacunose *Coma Berenices* addressed Arsinoe Zephyritis with the hymnic *chaire*-phrase.³⁸ What is crucial here is not only that she that she is thus exhorted to rejoice, but also that the deified Queen is invoked as "dear to [her] children." In the milieu of Arsinoe's apotheosis and the celebration of military triumph, the emphasis on the fictive parentage of Ptolemy III and Berenice II underscores the significance of the matrilineal inheritance of divinity. Arsinoe is beloved by her "children" because through her own deification she bestows a regal holiness upon her lineage – which I have explained in greater detail in Part Three.³⁹ There might even have been an additional motive behind the assimilation of Arsinoe II with Hera,⁴⁰ when we considered that bellicose Ares was the pride of his mother.⁴¹ Although commonly perceived in epic tradition as the "bane of mortals," the personification of the destructiveness of war and a threat to the sovereignty of Zeus, a positive depiction is also evident in the later Homeric hymn to Ares (for which, above).⁴² Even in the *Iliad*, seated beside his father, Ares himself was "exulting in glory," when Zeus healed the dishonor of being mortally wounded by Diomedes' prowess.⁴³ Hera, so Callimachus elucidated in his Ptolemaic *Hymnus in Delum*, was most jealous of Apollo's

die Erzeugubg des Thronfolgers verstehen ..."); Troy 1986, 56 ("a plausible hypothesis").

³⁸ Callim. *Com. Ber.* 94a (cit. *supra* 424 and 453).

³⁹ *Supra* Pt. Three, ch. III, § 1, esp. p. 330.

⁴⁰ Theoc. *Id.* XVII.132-135; Tondriau 1948a, 19, no. 8.

⁴¹ Kerényi 1972, 46.

⁴² *Hymn. Hom.* VIII: *Mart.*; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. 1.I, § 4, p. 175, n. 75.

⁴³ Hom. *Il.* V.906: κύδεϊ γάϊων.

mother Leto, “for that she alone bore Zeus a son more beloved even than Ares.”⁴⁴ The pride and joy of a woman are her children, and for the female pharaoh that foremost concerned the crown prince and heir apparent. In order to illuminate the queen’s symbolic role in the divine birth of the royal child, I will now turn to an analysis of relief-scenes of Ptolemaic birth chapels (Arab. *mammisis*). Particularly the scenes of the *hieros gamos* of Hathor and Amun, the central nativity, and the child’s nursing are saturated with textual, pictorial and allegorical references to rejoicing for the divinization of the crown prince’s sovereignty. It is my contention that jubilation here is a concomitant of the matrilineal transmission of sacral kingship.

Relief scenes on Ptolemaic *mammisis*, which depict the birth of the royal child, vividly illustrate the ideological association between rejoicing and progeny.⁴⁵ Although the earliest of such birth chapels in fact dates to the reign of Nectanebo I, the Ptolemaic *mammisis* continued an iconographic tradition at least as old as Opet temple of Tuthmosis III and the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut – and was probably much older.⁴⁶ Just as scenes in Hatshepsut’s temple and the Theban shrine of the Royal *Ka*, reliefs in Ptolemaic birth chapels depict Hathor and Amun (offering her the *anch*-sign) on a lioness-couch about to consummate their love.⁴⁷ In such scenes – which Hellmut Brunner has called the “spiritual focus of the cycle” – the god is said to have done “everything he wished with her,” and the queen (identified with the goddess) is praised to have “allowed

⁴⁴ Callim. *Hymn. Del.* 57-58: οὐνεκα μούνη | Ζηνὶ τεκεῖν ἥμελλε φιλαίτερον ἼΑρεος υἱά.

⁴⁵ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 1, p. 95, and ch. IV, § 3, pp. 136-137.

⁴⁶ *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Geburtshaus’; *LÄ* s.v. ‘Geburtshaus,’ II: 462-475 [F. Daumas]; Brunner 1964, 167-169.

⁴⁷ *Dend. Mam.* pl. 4; *Edfu Mam.* pl. 15; Brunner 1964, 38-42, pl. 4.

him to rejoice over her,” or to have “rejoiced because she beheld his perfect beauty.”⁴⁸ The central nativity scene, *e.g.*, in Tentyris, depicts the queen in the guise of Hathor seated on a throne atop a lioness-couch, with four wet-nurses before and five behind her throne, while the royal child emerges from her lap.⁴⁹ The enthroned Meschenet (“She who is Foremost of Birth”) looks on and blesses the child with “very many Jubilee Festivals,” just as at Philae Nechet and Wadjyt respectively pray “to make the years of Osiris’ son plentiful” and “to multiply the jubilations of Isis.”⁵⁰ Directly underneath the birth scene, between the legs of the couch, are two *Heh*-figures () who represent a million-year life-span, and who are flanked by four protective genies on either side. Below the couch are wish signs for Dominion () and Life () flanked by three dog-headed Souls of Nechen (an Upper-Egyptian city, Gk. Hierakonpolis, sacred to Horus) and three falcon-headed Souls of Pe (a Lower-Egyptian town, part of Buto, also sacred to Horus) in the hieroglyphic gesture of “jubilation” () who are guarded by Bes and Tauret (the protectress of pregnant women).⁵¹

In the (now lost) birth chapel of Hermonthis (mod. Armant) for Ptolemy Caesarion, the “Divine Mother of Ra (*Nether-Mut-en-R’a*)” kneels with raised arms, giving birth to the divine child, while three attendants stand to the left, and three attendants kneel to right (the last of whom breastfeeds the child on her lap).⁵² It bears mentioning that Ptolemaic queens were honored with similar titles, such as “Divine

⁴⁸ Brunner 1964, 43-46, 50-55. [Trans. adopted from Brunner’s German.]

⁴⁹ *Dend. Mam.* pl. 2 (C); also, see: *Edfu Mam.* pl. 15; Brunner 1964, 98-101, pl. 9.

⁵⁰ *LD* IV: 59c; *id.* Text IV: 10; *Philae* II: 13 ll. 2, nd 11; Brunner 1964, 98; Bergman 1968, 139.

⁵¹ For Nechen and Pe, see: *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Buto’ and ‘Hierakonpolis’.

Mother” or “Mother of the God,” which were quite uncommon in the Pharaonic period.⁵³ In fact, Cleopatra III designated herself “Divine Mother of the Son of Ra (*Nether-Muten-za-R’a*)” during her co-regencies with her sons Ptolemy IX and Ptolemy X.⁵⁴ In the Hermonthis *mammisi*, the winged scarab Khepri flies over the birth scene. Hieroglyphs explicitly identify the royal child with this scarab god, who represents the rising sun and thus symbolizes the continual reincarnation of Ra.⁵⁵ Ptolemy Caesarion is, in other words, portrayed as Hor-pa-Ra (“Horus the Sun”), the divine child of Rat-Taui (“the Female Sun of the Two Lands”) and Amun-Ra, and he is praised as “everlasting king, brave warrior, like unto none.”⁵⁶ To the right of the scene, Amun, Nechbet (“Eileithyia”) and Cleopatra VII look on. Nechbet is said to “chase away sorrow” as she “renews him who is victorious, as the image of his father Amun.”⁵⁷ Inscriptions, moreover, identify the Queen as the female Horus, as well as with Rat-Taui, Meschenet and Nechbet.⁵⁸ An ambiance of decorous elation and jubilation, hence, envelops the birth of the divine crown prince.

⁵² LD IV: 60a; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, fig. 9; *supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 3, p. 136, n. 109.

⁵³ *Urk.* II: 155-156 (Berenice I); LD IV: 22c (Cleopatra I); *ibid.* IV: 32b (Arsinoe II, Berenice II and Arsinoe III). [Queen Tiye shares these titles: Troy 1986, C1/1, 9.]

⁵⁴ *Thes. Inscr.* 871: *mw.t-ntr n sz-R’*.

⁵⁵ LD IV: 60b (*msi n tw=f m krtf mi hpr tp ‘lbt*, lit. “giving birth of him, just as Khepri upon the arm of the East”); Daumas 1958, 341 (“il a été mis au monde, comme Khépri devant l’Orient”), 346.

⁵⁶ LD IV: 60b (*nswt-n-nhh kni ni.tt-mi.tt skw-m-tz.w*, lit. “king for eternity, brave, unlike anyone, warrior upon the land”); Daumas 1958, 341 (“il est roi pour l’éternité, prince victorieux qui n’a pas son semblable, guerrier sur terre”); Ray 2003, 10.

⁵⁷ LD IV: 60b; Daumas 1958, 343 (“pour chasser la douleur [...] qui renouvellera celui qui ressemble à son père Amon victorieux”), 347.

⁵⁸ LD IV: 60b; Daumas 1958, 342-346; Ray 2003, 11 (who, interestingly, points out that Rat-Taui [spell. “Re’t-tawi”] might have been “intrusive into the theology” of Hermonthis, due to the ideological purpose of the shrine).

In addition to the prince's divine birth, it was imperative in Egyptian ideology that the king was raised by divine wet-nurses. Ptolemaic *mammisis* portray the queen, identified with Hathor or Isis, and one or more attendants sitting before the cow-headed Hesat and Sechathor who are breastfeeding the child atop another lioness-couch. Underneath the couch the divine child and his royal *ka* suckle the udder of the bovine Hesat and Sechathor, who look backward in the hieroglyphic sign of "joyfulness" ().⁵⁹ Brunner explains that the Egyptian king was thought to receive the divine milk of female deities, which provided him with exceptional strength and power, on three specific occasions, namely at his birth, at the coronation, and after death.⁶⁰ The pacification of the king, through drinking this milk, not only provided him with life-force, but also sovereignty. At Opet, the cow goddesses proclaim to the royal child: "You are alive and you are elated on the Horus Throne; you lead the living, you rule the Two Lands in triumph just as Ra eternally."⁶¹ The repeated blessings found throughout the birth chapels (Life, Prosperity, Dominion, Health, Happiness, *etc.*) closely parallel the coronation: "You are my son, I have raised you on my milk that comes from me. [This milk] has entered you just as Life, Dominion, and Prosperity."⁶² To the side of the nursing scene in the Hermonthis *mammisi*, as in the Pharaonic repertoire, are a number of protective male and female genies who tend to the divine crown prince and his Royal

⁵⁹ *LD* IV: 59c; *Dend. Mam.* pl. 2; *Edfu Mam.* pl. 15; Brunner 1964, 122-126, 132, pl. 12; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, fig. 10; *cf.* *CT* VI: 298p ("A Great Lady is exalted above her son, Hathor, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of all the gods. She finds her son and his brother. ... Turn your face, that your face may be strong, that your horns may be strong"; Faulkner's trans.).

⁶⁰ Brunner 1964, 131.

⁶¹ Brunner 1964, 130; Bergman 1968, 146; *supra* Pt. One, ch. III, § 1, p. 95.

⁶² Brunner 1964, 132, n. 5.

Ka.⁶³ They represent multiple forms of *Ka* and *Hemuset*, who personify the child's life-force and nourishment.⁶⁴ Similarly protective deities frequently attend the scenes, including the birth-goddess *Meschenet*, the mother goddess *Rat-Taui*, the frog-headed birth-goddess *Heqat* and the personification of magic power *Heka* (or *Hekau*, the collective plural), the cow-headed *Sechathor* and *Hesat*, the lion-headed *Bastet* and *Sakhmet*, soothing Hathoric figures beating the tambourine or shaking the *sistrum*, as well as the apotropaic *Bes* and the composite hippopotamus goddess *Ta-Uret*, among others.⁶⁵ The dense symbolism of peace and joy that surrounds the prince on these relief scenes, in other words, denotes the essential role played by female deities in the transmission of sacral kingship.

The *mammisi*-scenes are steeped in rich allusions to rejoicing, through hieroglyphic pictorial and textual representations of happiness () , joyfulness () and jubilation () , as well as the longevity of *Anch* () and *Heh* () , the rejuvenation of *Heqat* () and *Djed* () , the life-force of *Ka* () , the dominion of *Waz* () and the celebration of *Hab-Sed* () . Moreover, as a single concept, *anch-waz* ("life and dominion") was occasionally followed by the determinative for milk () , which confirms the association between divine lactation and sacral kingship.⁶⁶ Even the mutual love and desire between the royal child's divine parents – a theme, incidentally, also propagated

⁶³ *LD IV*: 59c; *id.* *Text IV*: 10; Brunner 1964, 133-134, pl. 12; Bianchi *et al.* (eds.) 1988, fig. 10; also, see: *Dend. Mam.* pl. 2 (G).

⁶⁴ *RÄRG s.v.* 'Hemset', 286, and 'Ka', 359; Troy 1986, 18-19.

⁶⁵ *LD IV*: 61b-c; *id.* *Text IV*: 8, 10; *Dend. Mam.* pls. 2 (E-F), 4; *Edfu Mam.* pl. 15; for these divine spirits, see: *RÄRG s.v.* 'Bes', 'Heket', 'Hike', and 'Nilpferdgöttin'; Pinch 1994, 10-11 (*Heka*), 39-40 (*Taweret*), 43-44 (*Bes*), 113-114 (*Heh*), 120 (*Heqet*), 127-128 (*Meskenet*).].

⁶⁶ *RÄRG s.v.* 'Milch', p. 460; Daumas 1958, 203-204; Brunner 1964, 131, 144; Bergman 1968, 143 n. 2, 147 n. 2.

by Theocritus – was a source of jubilation as well as pleasure. At Opet, in fact, the queen is said to laugh before Amun-Ra’s majesty.⁶⁷ For the present purpose, then, it is important to emphasize the vital role played by female deities attending the crown prince’s birth and nursery: It is especially through suckling the udder of the divine wet-nurses Hesat and Sechathor that the prince imbibed his divine sovereignty; birth-goddesses bless the child with wishes for millions of regnal years and countless royal jubilees; male as well as female genies offer protection and nourishment; and the soothing music of Hathor’s tambourines and shakers pacify the infant prince. As discussed in the previous chapter, the lioness-couch on which the sacred marriage as well as the birth and nursing of the divine prince are depicted, symbolized the fiery strength of leonine Sakhmet. The queen’s close assimilation to such goddesses as Isis and Hathor, Hesat and Sechathor, Bastet and Sakhmet, furthermore implied that she herself was the “Divine Mother” of the crown prince – *viz.*, that the godly nature of the king’s mother sanctified if not legitimated his reign. Consequently, her son’s sovereignty is not only a source of joy and pleasure for the queen. Her pride also derives from her active participation in the sanctification of his royalty.

3. The Living Female Horus the Great

As I have argued in the preceding sections, the queen’s role at the royal jubilee of her spouse and the divine birth of her child was an obvious prerequisite. The immediate source of joy, however, was the rejuvenation or reincarnation (*i.e.*, the permanence) of the sacral kingship. I will now show how the queen, likewise, participated in the ritual

⁶⁷ Brunner 1964, 45, pl. 4 (*šbt-z hft hm=f*, “she laughs before his majesty”).

jubilant for the victory of the Horus-King against his enemies. In fact, the queen's exultation in the king's glorious achievements, in a sense, was induced by her own role in his triumph. Additionally, I will here maintain that the Ptolemaic queen could, moreover, be a direct source of joy herself, rather than through the king and the crown prince. Although I will reiterate points made in preceding chapters, the evidence vividly illustrates that the queen was praised for her own bravery and strength, as well as for her active involvement in matters pertaining to the military and defense. Of course her contributions to the welfare, peace and prosperity of the populace were similarly received with good cheer. I will, therefore, briefly review such acts of charity, benevolence and salvation as brought about general jubilation. In so doing, I will illustrate the vital role of Ptolemaic queenship in the Lagid ideology.

Relief scenes of the Ptolemaic temples habitually show the queen attending the king's ritual acts, among which featured his glorious victories against the hostile forces of Seth.⁶⁸ So as to explain the significance of the theme of jubilation, I will here focus on one of the many relief scenes on the temple of Apollinopolis Magna that illustrate the celebration of the Victorious Horus the Savior of His Father.⁶⁹ In this scene, Cleopatra III greets the triumphant Horus-King, who is identified as her son Ptolemy X Alexander, after he has speared the hippopotamus that epitomizes the evil of his archenemy Seth.⁷⁰ Cleopatra III, crowned with double plumes (𐪎) and cow horns (𐪓) enclosing the sun disc (☉), stands before Ptolemy X identified as Horus Behedty (viz., the Lord of

⁶⁸ E.g., see: Roeder 1959-61, III: pl. 11 = *I. Cair.* 22188 (el-Nibeira copy of Memphis decree); Thissen, 1966, pl. 1 = *I. Cair.* 31088a (Raphia decree). [I am unaware of any modern examinations this scene-type, which could elucidate the queen's role at the king's victory.]

⁶⁹ *Edfu* VI: 82-84, XIII: pls. 509-510; *RÄRG* s.v. 'Apollinopolis'; Roeder 1959-61, II: 134-140, fig. 26.

Apollinopolis Magna), shaking *sistra* (𓏏).⁷¹ She is styled: “Ruler, Mistress of the Two Lands (Cleopatra), Divine Mother of the Son of Ra (Ptolemy, living eternally, beloved of Ptah),”⁷² and proclaims: “I play (the *sistrum*) for your divine *Ka*, since you radiate as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, while a multitude of enemies lie beneath you.”⁷³ The Queen exhorts priestesses, called royal daughters of Upper and Lower Egypt, to rejoice and sing victory songs; she compares the Horus-King with Sakhmet in bloodthirstiness, and with Ra as he stands on the morning barque at the horizon.⁷⁴ Behind the Queen, the priestesses are beating tambourines.⁷⁵ The Women of Busiris (a Lower-Egyptian nome capital [IX], sacred to Osiris) are said to “exalt Horus at his victory”;⁷⁶ the first priestess sings:

We rejoice at you, we are happy at your sight.
We cheer when we see your victory;⁷⁷

the second priestess sings:

We are sending cries of joy to the height of the sky,
because you have avenged the offense of your enemy;⁷⁸

⁷⁰ *Edfu* VI: 84; Roeder 1959-61, II: 134, 136, fig. 26.

⁷¹ *Edfu* VI: 82; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Behedti’; Roeder 1959-61, II: 137, fig. 26.

⁷² *Edfu* VI: 82 ≈ *Thes. Inscr.* 871/4: *ḥkꜣ.t nb(.t)-tꜣ.wj Kꜣwꜣpꜣdrꜣ.t mw.t-ntr-n-sꜣ-Rꜣ Ptꜣwlmjꜣs ‘nh-qt mri-Pth.* [The titulary of Cleopatra III is absent both in the collections of von Beckerath (1984, 120) and Troy (1986, 179).]

⁷³ *Edfu* VI: 82; Roeder 1959-61, II: 137.

⁷⁴ *Edfu* VI: 83; Roeder 1959-61, II: 137, 139-140.

⁷⁵ *Edfu* VI: 82; Roeder 1959-61, II: 137.

⁷⁶ *Edfu* VI: 82; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Busiris’; Roeder 1959-61, II: 134, 138.

⁷⁷ *Edfu* VI: 82.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

the third priestess sings:

We worship you and we praise you,
because you have defeated the enemy of your father.⁷⁹

The Women of Pe and Dep (the two halves of Buto, another Lower Egyptian nome capital [VI], sacred to Horus and Uto) are said to “exalt Horus at his appearance”;⁸⁰ the first priestess sings:

We rejoice at you, we cheer at your sight
as you appear to us as King of Upper and Lower Egypt;⁸¹

the second priestess sings:

We beat the tambourine and we rejoice at your sight,
because you have taken hold of the office of Horus;⁸²

the third priestess sings:

We sing to your image, because you radiate on us
just as Ra when he radiates at the horizon.⁸³

The Horus-King is furthermore compared with “Ra in the morning barque,” while Sakhmet and Thoth are said to protect him.⁸⁴ Such and similar scenes illustrate that the queen, like Isis, was believed to rejoice at the victories of her son, and foremost at his accession to the throne by defeating his enemies and thus avenging of his father’s death. Moreover, we see how Cleopatra is not a passive onlooker at the scene, but actively leads

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 83; *RÄRG* s.v. ‘Buto’; Roeder 1959-61, II: 138.

⁸¹ *Edfu* VI: 83.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Edfu* VI: 82.2; Roeder 1959-61, II: 138-139.

the ceremony of jubilation that forms part of the complex stages of the cycle of royal acts, including nativity, accession, coronation and rejuvenation. Therefore, the Queen's attendance at the ritual rejoicing was indispensable for the acknowledgement and glorification of the defeat of the Horus-King's enemies.

While her spouse and children were ideally the queen's pride and joy, she could also herself be praised for her own achievements. According to the Pithom stela, Arsinoe II had joined Ptolemy II on his inspection of the eastern border defense and deliberated with him on the matter.⁸⁵ Young Arsinoe III is said to have exhorted the soldiers drawn up in battle-line at Raphia, where the Ptolemaic forces defeated Antiochus III at the conclusion of the fourth Syrian War.⁸⁶ On the Raphia decree, which commemorated this triumph and acknowledged the cult of the *Theoi Philopatores*, the relief scene depicts Arsinoe III with the full trappings of an Egyptian goddess, crowned with the double plumes, cow horns and sun disc that allude to Hathor as the consort of Amun. When her statue was placed beside that of her brother, in the forecourt of all principal temples – as he received the scimitar (☪) of victory from the chief god – Arsinoe III was presented, not as a passive bystander, but rather as the divine protectress of the King, who follows him just as Ma'at follows Ra. As cited above, queens were occasionally considered the “Living Female Horus the Great (*Anch Hort Urt*)” – that is to say that Berenice II as well as Cleopatras I, III and VII were conceived of as the true

⁸⁵ *Urk.* II: 94 l. 16 ([?] *ḥsb ḥr sn.t-nsw ḥm.t-sn r mī Kmt r ḥst.w ḏm...*), “he deliberated [?] with his royal sister and sibling-wife to guard Egypt against foreign lands”; Roeder 1959-61, I: 121-122 (“[Der König] überlegte [?] mit [seiner] Schwester, der Gattin und Schwester des Königs, dort Kêmet gegen die Fremdländer zu schützen”).

⁸⁶ *III Macc.* 1-4; Polyb. V.83.3; Macurdy 1932, 136-137; Thissen 1966, 72; Ashton 2001b, 15-16; *supra* Pt. Four, ch. III, p. 403.

embodiment of divine sovereignty.⁸⁷ It bears repeating that Berenice II and Cleopatra I were the only queens in Egyptian history to receive the title “Great of Might” and were compared to Neith in bravery and strength.⁸⁸ We also remember that Callimachus had praised his Queen for her bravery.⁸⁹ The independent royal authority of these queens, two women who were not closely related to their spouse, furthermore, was expressed with titles such as “youthful daughter of the ruler, who acts as female ruler.”⁹⁰ That the queen is called “youthful” – irrespective of her age – is an indication of her regal legitimacy, like the king’s titular “Brave Youth.” These examples, in short, illuminate how Ptolemaic queens were extolled for their active involvement in the military and political affairs of the Lagid kingdom.

Throughout the preceding chapters, I have had occasion to discuss the various forms of salvation and benefaction for which the Ptolemaic queens were honored with praise and worship.⁹¹ Pious gifts to the gods, particularly sacred animals such as the Apis and Mnevis bulls or the ram of Mendes, were the most common donations of the royal couples.⁹² Among the benevolences listed on the Canopus decree, Ptolemy III and Berenice II were extolled for their just administration of justice and for maintaining the

⁸⁷ *Thes. Inscr.* 870, 874; *LD* IV: 9b, 42c, 62a; *Urk.* II: 122 l. 3; *LdR* IV: 287 (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒𓴓𓴔𓴕𓴖𓴗𓴘𓴙𓴚𓴛𓴜𓴝𓴞𓴟𓴠𓴡𓴢𓴣𓴤𓴥𓴦𓴧𓴨𓴩𓴪𓴫𓴬𓴭𓴮𓴯𓴰𓴱𓴲𓴳𓴴𓴵𓴶𓴷𓴸𓴹𓴺𓴻𓴼𓴽𓴾𓴿𓵀𓵁𓵂𓵃𓵄𓵅𓵆𓵇𓵈𓵉𓵊𓵋𓵌𓵍𓵎𓵏𓵐𓵑𓵒𓵓𓵔𓵕𓵖𓵗𓵘𓵙𓵚𓵛𓵜𓵝

Cosmic Order, among others.⁹³ The same decree explicitly praised the *Theoi Euergetai* for their prompt response to the threat of famine caused by a low Nile inundation, when they organized the distribution of grain imported from Ptolemaic holdings in Phoenicia, Syria and Cyprus.⁹⁴ We also hear of royal vessels of several queens that transported grain to the Alexandrian granary.⁹⁵ Beside, queens could employ naval fleets and army troops for political means.⁹⁶ Titles of the priestesses in the cults of individual Ptolemaic queens, such as *Kanephoros* and *Athlophoros*, signify the wealth and victory the queens were believed to bring to the kingdom.⁹⁷ The Ptolemaic emblem of the Horn of Plenty, naturally, symbolized the abundant prosperity bestowed by the queens.⁹⁸ Not only the *oenochos* used in cult, but also royal statuary and coinage associated the *cornucopia* with Ptolemaic queens as an attribute of their gracious charity.⁹⁹ In the case of Arsinoe II and subsequently Cleopatra VII, the *dikeras* was doubtless intended to convey the multiplication of the Queen's pleasing benevolence.¹⁰⁰ The identification of the queen

⁹³ *Urk.* II: 129 l. 7, 139-142 ll. 20-23; *OGIS* 56 ll. 13, 40-46; *supra* Pt. Four, ch. III, § 3, pp. 447-447.

⁹⁴ *Urk.* II: 129-132 ll. 7-10; *OGIS* 56 ll. 13-21.

⁹⁵ *P. Rylands* IV: 576; *P. Lille* I: 22; *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 4, p. 149, n. 173.

⁹⁶ Pomeroy 1984, 14-15; Fantham *et al.* 1994, 144-145.

⁹⁷ For the priestly titles, *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 4, p. 146, n. 158 and p. 148, n. 168.

⁹⁸ For the *cornucopia*, *supra* Pt. Four, ch. III, § 3, pp. 450-451.

⁹⁹ For the *cornucopia* as an iconographic attribute, *supra* Pt. Four, ch. II, § 4.

¹⁰⁰ I am unconvinced that the *dikeras* was meant to symbolize the jugate rule of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II, if only because I would expect the emblem to reoccur with subsequent consanguineous marriages (actual or pretended) – although a contemporary might have understood the double horn that way; cf. D. B. Thompson 1973, 32-33 (with earlier lit.); Ashton 2001a, 150-155; *supra* Pt. Four, ch. II, § 4, p. 426, n. 104.

with Agathe Tyche further epitomized her as Bringer of Good Fortune.¹⁰¹ As the female counterpart to the epithet Tryphon, the surname of Cleopatra VI Tryphaena idealized the luxurious voluptuousness of the Lagid dynasty – more so than denoting the corpulence of the Queen.¹⁰² The sumptuous ceremonies organized by Cleopatra, *e.g.*, as recorded by Plutarch, were saturated with symbols of triumph, jubilation and luxury.¹⁰³ In his triumphal procession through Alexandria, for instance, Mark Antony rode in a Bacchic chariot, attired in the guise of Dionysus, while Cleopatra, seated on a golden throne set upon a raised tribune of silver, decked in the robes of Nea Isis, awaited the victor in the Serapeum.¹⁰⁴ Accordingly, just as their spouse, Ptolemaic queens were commended for employing their immense wealth in favor of their subjects. Such acts of charity, of *sôtêria* and *euergesia*, of course also affirm the queen's position of power.

In relation to Ptolemaic queenship, to sum up, the themes of victory and jubilation reveals the active role performed by the queen in the propagation of Lagid ideology. A temple scene from Apollinopolis Magma illustrates how Cleopatra III was presented as leading a religious ceremony of jubilation in worship of the victorious Horus-King, her son Ptolemy X. Moreover, the queen's own courage and power in political and military matters are worthy of exaltation and adulation. As the Pithom stela mentions, Arsinoe II joined her spouse on border inspection, while Polybius and the Raphia decree relate that Arsinoe III joined her spouse on the battlefield against Antiochus III. Hieroglyphic

¹⁰¹ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 4, pp. 145-147.

¹⁰² Pestman 1967, 76.

¹⁰³ Plut. *Ant.* XXVI, L, LIV.

¹⁰⁴ Vell. Pat. II.lxxxii.4; Dio Cass. XLIX.xl.3; Zonar. X.27A; Bouché-Leclercq 1903-7, II: 274-280; Bevan 1968, 376-377; Macurdy 1932, 203-206; Pelling 1988, 249-252; Hölbl 2001, 243-244; Huß 2001, 739-741.

titulary styled queens such as Berenice II and Cleopatra I as “Living Horus” and honored them for their “youthfulness” and “great might,” for their “bravery and strength.” The queen’s charitable acts of salvation and benevolence were cause for rejoicing that warranted divine worship. Literary, epigraphic, numismatic and iconographic evidence conveys the ideology that the Ptolemaic queen was considered a Bringer of Good Fortune, who graciously blessed her subjects with joy and pleasure, with peace and prosperity. Ptolemaic queens, in other words, were not mere witness to the glory of the king, but supported and protected his sacral kingship, and on occasion even embodied that divine sovereignty themselves. The “Living Female Horus the Great,” actively took part in religion and politics of the Lagid court.

4. Matrilineal Immortalization

Despite the emphasis placed by Jouco Bleeker, Jan Bergman and more recently by Lana Troy on the vital role performed by Isis and Hathor in the transmission of sacral kingship, scholars such as Reinhold Merkelbach and Ludwig Koenen continue to focus on the ideology of patrilineal succession expressed in the myth of the Contendings of Horus and Seth. While the patrilineal right to the throne is undeniable, Joan Burton has pointedly observed the importance of female relations in Alexandrian poetry and its implications for Ptolemaic queenship.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, a concomitant with the ideology of consanguinity was the inheritance of royal – Lagid – blood from *both* parents. Moreover, this divine sovereignty was transmitted to the king as well as the queen. I will therefore analyze Ptolemaic poems of Theocritus and Callimachus to illuminate the centralization

of female relationships and the matrilineal inheritance of immortality. The queens' religious identifications will help in elucidating the symbolic significance of jubilation for the deification of the royal women of the Lagid dynasty. As I have argued for the kings, I will here show how ceremonial jubilation formed part of the process of deification.

Some of the Ptolemaic works by Theocritus and Callimachus present female divinities in a central role for the phenomenon of apotheosis. In Theocritus' Ptolemaic idylls, Aphrodite rescued Berenice I from dying in the Underworld, just as she had been able to save her lover Adonis from eternal death.¹⁰⁶ The goddess is thus conceived of as an agent of immortalization. Though it is impossible to prove, a similar mother-child relation may have been implied between Demeter and Philotera, who was apparently associated with the Sicilian cult of Persephone.¹⁰⁷ I have already argued how Theocritus insinuated that Arsinoe II was like Aphrodite in her care for Adonis, the *parhedros* who is portrayed with features of Ptolemy II.¹⁰⁸ The connotation of Theocritus' comparison, then, would be that the Queen, just as the goddess, is responsible for the apotheosis of her consort. In the myth of Isis and Osiris, the god's resuscitation, too, depends on female agency. Indeed, we have seen that Philadelphus' deification was predicated on his consanguineous marriage to Arsinoe II. We may additionally bear in mind that – even

¹⁰⁵ J. B. Burton 1995, 71-75.

¹⁰⁶ Theoc. *Id.* XV.106-108, XVII.32-52; Gow 1950, II: 293-294, 332-335; F. T. Griffiths 1979, 54, 65-66; Rist 1978, 152, 160; Schwinge 1986, 56, 60; J. B. Burton 1995, 79, 134, 147; Hunter 2003, 123-138; *supra* Pt. Three, ch. II, § 3, p. 314, n. 84.

¹⁰⁷ Callim. *Apoth. Ars.* (F 228) 43; Σ *ad loc.* 45 (ἀπὸ Ἑνὸν ἡ λέγεται ἡρπάσθαι ἢ Κόρη); Pfeiffer 1922, esp. 30-37; *id.* 1949-53, I: 221; Fraser 1972, I: 668-669; Gelzer 1982, 21; Schwinge 1986, 67-68.

¹⁰⁸ Theoc. *Id.* XV.110-111; Glotz 1920, 173; Gow 1950, 294; Goukowsky 1992, 164.

though men were evidently allowed to participate – the Adonia was a predominantly female festival.¹⁰⁹ Arsinoe II hence patronized a religious ceremony in the royal palace that – in an atmosphere of joyful luxury – underscored the indispensable role of women in cult. By the time of Callimachus’ *Coma Berenices* (ca. 246 BCE), Arsinoe II had indeed become fully identified as Aphrodite, and the implication of the hymnic *chaire* invocation seems that Arsinoe Aphrodite was considered as the agent of the divinization of her “daughter” Berenice II.¹¹⁰ Religious identifications and close associations with goddesses such as Agathe Tyche, Aphrodite, Isis, Hathor and Demeter-Persephone, likewise, signify that Ptolemaic queens were believed to ensure the immortalization of their dynasty – through the divinization of her spouse and children, the unchallenged succession of divine sovereignty – and thus assure the abundance of joy and prosperity, guarantee the permanence of Cosmic Order as well as protect the country from danger and chaos. Therefore, it is safe to say that the queen’s royal and divine status was passed on through the female line from mother to daughter.

The apotheosis of Ptolemaic queens, indeed, was itself a source of jubilation. We have already seen that the deified Arsinoe II was urged to rejoice,¹¹¹ and that she wished for innumerable Jubilee Festivals on behalf of Ptolemy II.¹¹² The Mendes stela explains that, after the funerary rites and ritual lamentations, the population was in a state of

¹⁰⁹ Glotz 1920, 169-181; Attalah 1960, 93-141; Rist 1978, 135; Winkler 1990, 189-193; Goukowsky 1992, 159-165.

¹¹⁰ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 45 (μητρός), 94a (τεκέεσσι); *supra* Pt. Two, ch. I, § 4, p. 205, n. 123, Pt. Four, ch. II, § 3, p. 424, n. 95.

¹¹¹ Callim. *Com. Ber.* (F 110) 94a (χαῖρε); *supra* Pt. Four, ch. II, § 3, p. 424, n. 95.

¹¹² *Urk.* II: 82 and 84; *supra* 466 n. 8.

exultation for the rejuvenation of Arsinoe II.¹¹³ For after the Mouth Opening ritual she now breathed fresh air once more, like all goddesses who repeat their life, as priests sprinkled her (statue) with myrrh, flowers and libations.¹¹⁴ The inscription, moreover, elucidates that the Queen's divine nature had been recognized by her beneficence toward her people.¹¹⁵ Above, I have discussed the abundant benefactions for which Berenice II received divine honor together with her spouse Ptolemy III.¹¹⁶ The Canopus Decree furthermore describes the joyous proceedings of the annual four-day festival to be held in honor of Princess Berenice Parthenus, which were particularly characterized by hymns of praise sung by maiden priestesses.¹¹⁷ Additionally, the festivities included the bringing of first-fruit offerings, which assimilates the deified princess with Isis-Thermuthis.¹¹⁸ Dense symbolic associations, moreover, allude to the celestial ascension of the princess, as she was interred in the precinct of Osiris, honored as Apis, and identified as the Solar Eye (Hathor-Tefnut) reuniting with her father Ra.¹¹⁹ The divine honor paid to the prematurely deceased princess illustrates how deification was not *per se* a privilege bestowed upon the living monarch in return for great deeds of benevolence, but could be conferred also upon members of the royal family who did not exercise any formal power (as was also

¹¹³ *Urk.* II: 41 ll. 12-13; for the Mendes stela, *supra* Pt. Three, ch. II, § 2, p. 306, n. 38.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* l. 13.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* l. 13 (*hr bꜣs šwꜣ ntrw hr mnḥwꜣs hr hr rmt nb*).

¹¹⁶ *Supra* Pt. One, ch. IV, § 4, pp. 143-149; Pt. Two, ch. II, § 2, p. 225; Pt. Four, ch. II, § 1, p. 404, ch. III, § 3, pp. 447-449.

¹¹⁷ *Urk.* II: 150-151 ll. 33-34; Hölbl 2001, 109; for Thermuthis, see: Troy 1986, 71; *supra* Pt. One, ch. I, § 2, p. 43, n. 39.

¹¹⁸ *Urk.* II: 149-153 ll. 32-35.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* 143-146 ll. 24-28.

the case for Philotera, who predeceased her elder sister).¹²⁰ The theme of jubilation retained religious importance until the end of the Lagid dynasty, *e.g.*, when Cleopatra joined with Mark Antony at Tarsus and reveled as Aphrodite-Isis with Dionysus-Osiris.¹²¹ The local population seems to have delighted at this splendid union of gods on earth, as the people of Ephesus, dressed as satyrs and maenads, had honored Antony as “Dionysus, the Joy-Giver and Merciful.”¹²² Public participation in ritual rejoicing, consequently, constituted a crucial part of the official deification of Ptolemaic queens.

The symbolic significance of jubilation, in sum, in the context of the queens’ worship, is that it conveys their agency in deification of the Lagid dynasty. Alexandrian poetry by Theocritus and Callimachus reveals a remarkable attention for female relationships – between Aphrodite and Berenice I, between Demeter and Philotera, between the deified Berenice I and Arsinoe II, between Arsinoe Zephyritis and Berenice II – in which divinity is inherited through the (affected) female line. As paradigms, the myths of Isis and Aphrodite, furthermore, imply that the king owes his apotheosis to his divine female consort. Religious associations of Ptolemaic queens with goddesses such as Aphrodite, Isis, Hathor, Demeter and/or Persephone, once more, substantiate the significance of jubilation in the ambience of the Ptolemaic ruler cult. In

¹²⁰ Hölbl 2001, 109. [It seems to me a bit of an exaggeration that divinity was now “thought to be an innate quality of the royal family.” Berenice was deified upon death, *not at birth*. Moreover, there is so far no proof that the cult was ever implemented.] ¹²¹ Plut. *Ant.* XXV-XXVII; App. *B. Civ.* V.i (1-2) and viii (32-33); Athen. IV.147E-148B; Dio Cass. XLVIII.xxiv.2; Bevan 1927, 373-374; Macurdy 1932, 194-197; Pomeroy 1984, 38; Pelling 1988, 183-193; Hölbl 2001, 240-241; Huß 2001, 729-730; Weill Goudchaux 2001, 137-139.

¹²² Sen. *Suas.* I.vi; Plut. *Ant.* XXIV (Διόνυσος ... χαριδότη καὶ μελίχιος) and LXXV; Athen. IV.148B-C; Cerfaux and Tondriau 1956, 295-306; Pelling 1988, 180; Burkert 1993, 264; Huß 2001, 730 and n. 23 (with further lit.).

fact, the deification of Ptolemaic queens was itself cause for rejoicing. The Mendes stela reports how the local populace rejoiced for Arsinoe's ascension into abode of the gods, while the Canopus decree describes in detail the joyful festivals established in honor of Berenice Parthenus. Moreover, literary sources vividly portray the public exaltation at the union of Cleopatra and Mark Antony as earthly emanations of Aphrodite-Isis and Dionysus-Osiris.

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While I have illuminated the importance of jubilation for the ideology of Lagid kinship in the penultimate chapter, I have above suggested the significance of its symbolism for Ptolemaic queenship. I would now like to conclude with some general observations about the theme's meaning for the deification of the Female Pharaoh. Paramount in this respect are the queens' religious identifications with goddesses, such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis, who were associated with deities returning from the Underworld. *A priori*, these identifications imply that, like the goddesses, the Ptolemaic queen was conceived of as the vital agent in the immortalization – rejuvenation, resuscitation, reincarnation *etcetera* – of Lagid sovereignty. Indeed, enacting the role of goddesses such as Hathor and Sakhmet, the queen's attendance at the *Sed*-festival was essential for the rejuvenation of the king's royal and sacral authority. Just as Ma'at attends to Ra's divine order, the queen's presence at this momentous royal festival provided peace and joy, law and order to his reign. Ptolemaic *mammisi*-scenes of the crown prince's divine birth and wet-nursing, furthermore, impart a dense ambience of peace and joy, as well as evocative references to jubilation, longevity, power and

dominion. I have argued that the divinization of her child's sacral kingship was the indispensable responsibility of the Female Pharaoh as the deified mother of the earthly emanation of Hor-pa-Ra. The theme of jubilation, consequently, manifests the vital function of Ptolemaic queenship for the matrilineal transmission of the Lagid's divine sovereignty.

The subjects of the Ptolemaic kingdom, moreover, were said to have rejoiced foremost for the victories and opulence provided by their rulers. I have proffered the view that the queen performed a vital function in the glorification of the martial exploits of the king – identified with the triumphant Horus the Savior of his Father (the reincarnation of Osiris) – through the ceremonial exaltation of the defeat of his (political and/or religious) enemies. Perhaps more significant as an indication of the queen's actual exercise of power is that sources extol the bravery and strength of the Female Pharaoh in military and political affairs. Indeed, the queen was conceived of as the living embodiment of Good Fortune (Agathe Tyche) and Cosmic Order (Ma'at), and as such was honored with divine worship for her acts of gracious charity, benevolence and salvation that were received with jubilation. Finally, I have adduced sources that exemplify female agency in the transmission of the royal family's divine nature, as well as the public exaltation at the official deification and final apotheosis of Ptolemaic queens, and that this acknowledged the eminence of the Female Pharaoh as living manifestation of goddesses such as Aphrodite, Isis, Hathor, Demeter and/or Persephone. In the foregoing four sections, in short, I have ascertained an association between the symbolic significance of jubilation for Ptolemaic queenship, and the themes of resuscitation, reincarnation, victory and deification in the context of their divine worship. As the divine consort of the king and mother to the heir to the throne, the Female Pharaoh

guaranteed the dynastic continuity, conducted the apotheosis of the royal family and hence performed a vital role in the propagation of Lagid ideology.

CONCLUSION

The fourth and final part of this dissertation has centered on the question: What was the meaning of jubilation both for the Lagid dynasty in general, and for Ptolemaic queenship in particular? So as to answer this question, I have asserted, in the previous chapters, that as an act of ritual rejoicing for the resuscitation of kingship, jubilation finalized the deification of the royal family, especially through the queens' religious identifications with goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis. The theme's ideological importance within the milieu of the Ptolemaic ruler cult, furthermore, reveals the queens' elevated position of prestige and authority at the Lagid court. I will now proceed and offer a recapitulation of the interpretations presented in Part Four, as well as contextualize the symbolism of jubilation. (a.) I will therefore first review the principal significance of ritual rejoicing in the queens' religious identifications. (b.) Next, I will reiterate the implications of jubilation for the ideology of Ptolemaic kingship and queenship. (c.) I will subsequently explain the queen's attainment of politico-religious power and prestige. (d.) As a final point, I will consider the characteristics of idealized queenship conveyed through the symbolism of jubilation.

(a.) In terms of religious phenomenology, jubilation is the paradigmatic antipode of lamentation, the joyous conclusion to the ancient Near-Eastern myth of Ishtar-Inanna and Tammuz-Dumuzi. This primeval archetype of the Great Goddess' *parhedros* who returns from the world of the dead, I have asserted, found reflection in the religious

aspects of the gods with whom Ptolemaic kings and queens were identified. The fourth and final thematic case study has substantiated the premise that this aspect of joy did indeed feature significantly in the myths and/or rituals of Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis. Obviously, the religious characters of Adonis, Persephone, Ra and Osiris diverged in important ways. However, as *parhedroi* of Great Goddesses, their Return from the Abode of the Dead was a source of joy. Moreover, in the cosmopolis of Alexandria, such similarities were likely to be reinforced through syncretistic assimilation. Whereas Part Three was devoted to the funerary concerns of the goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified, in the opening chapter of this final part, I have elucidated that the symbolism of jubilation was furthermore associated with the general resurgence of the natural, cosmic and divine order. For the dying-and-rising of the deities under question was understood as a metaphor of various natural (*e.g.*, astral, solar, alluvial, vegetal, human) cycles.

Evidence, *e.g.*, from ancient historiography, epigraphy, poetry, statuary and nummery, conveys the symbolic significance of the theme of jubilation for the triumph and glory, opulence and prosperity bestowed by the Lagid dynasty. Apart from the Egyptian stelae (*inter alia*, the Canopus, Raphia and Memphis decrees) that extol the king for his martial exploits, the politico-religious ambience of the extravagant spectacles put on display by Ptolemy II, Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony conspicuously divulge the symbolism of jubilant triumph and apotheotic opulence. In connection with jubilation, furthermore, wide-ranging religious identifications manifest the Ptolemaic king as the triumphant Pantokrator, the “Savior of His Father” (*i.e.*, legitimate successor), while the Ptolemaic queen was conceived of as the personification of Agathe Tyche and Ma‘at (*i.e.*, Bringer of Good Fortune and Cosmic Order). I have argued that the queens’

attribute of the *cornucopia* is particularly emblematic of the Ptolemaic *sôtêria* and *euergesia* that warranted jubilation and divine honors. I have reviewed such evidence as attesting to the ideological importance of jubilation within the Ptolemaic context in the second chapter.

(b.) For the royal ideology of the Lagid dynasty, then, the importance of the theme of jubilation was not only that it was associated with – in fact a response to – royal benevolence, but also, and more significantly, that it finalized the official cult of the Ptolemaic king. I have surmised from mostly circumstantial evidence that the Ptolemies held the ancient *Sed*-Festival, which enacted the rejuvenation of sacral kingship, in high esteem. Just as this Royal Jubilee was a victory over the ever-present danger of Chaos, so the king's military triumphs were celebrated as reenactments of Horus' avenging his father's death by defeating the forces of Seth. Furthermore, Ptolemaic kings were praised for their pious maintenance of law and order (including peace and prosperity), which – as it averted impiety and disorder – was likewise received as a defeat of Chaos. As a Defender of Cosmic Order and Avenger of Injustice, as Bringer of Opulence and Good Fortune, moreover, the king demonstrated his divine nature that prompted cultic worship and hence initiated the immortalization of the royal house. Ritual rejoicing, in short, was simultaneously a response to and result of the deification of the Lagid dynasty. I have discussed the dynastic significance of jubilation in chapter three.

Turning to the perspective of queenship, I have suggested that the Ptolemaic queen performed a pivotal role in the jubilant apotheosis of her royal family – just as the Great Goddesses, with whom she was identified (Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis), were believed to be instrumental in their beloved's return from the dead. Regarding the *Hab-Sed*, I have proposed that the queen, identified with goddesses such as Isis-Hathor,

Sechathor, Sakhmet and Ma'at, performed a prerequisite role in the revitalization of the king's divine sovereignty. Similarly, Ptolemaic *mammisi*-scenes vividly illustrate the queen's critical contribution, not only to the patrilineal succession to the throne, but also the matrilineal transmission of the crown prince's divine nature. I have additionally proffered the view that it was imperative that the queen participated in the (ritual) rejoicing at the king's (ceremonial) victory. Like her royal consort, moreover, the Ptolemaic queen was praised for her charitable benefactions and gracious salvation – even for her involvement in political and military affairs. Furthermore, Alexandrian poetry of Theocritus and Callimachus paid particular attention to the inheritance of divinity through the female line from mother to daughter. I have concluded, indeed, that jubilation formed an essential part of the ceremonial recognition of the queens' deification. The interrelated themes of jubilation, revitalization, reincarnation, victory and deification, in other words, express that Ptolemaic queenship functioned prominently in the popularization, legitimization and sacralization of its royal house. The symbolic significance of jubilation for Ptolemaic queenship was the subject of the last chapter.

(c.) This final thematic case study of the symbolism of jubilation within the context of the Ptolemaic ruler cult has substantiated the personal political power and prestige of individual Ptolemaic queens in their exemplary function and position at the Alexandrian palace. Due to the dearth of ancient historiography about the influence and authority of the Ptolemaic queens, I have been forced to draw historical inferences from what disparate material has been transmitted. The case study of jubilation, in my opinion, reveals the influential role that queens performed in the propagation of royal ideology. This exemplary position in the transmission of religious authority, moreover, presupposes their active involvement in the affairs of the Lagid court. In fact, the queens' ascendancy

effectively defied the prevalent patriarchy of traditional Graeco-Macedonian culture in which similar exercise of power was scarce. (The names of Cleopatra, Eurydice and Olympias come to mind.) Even in the two and a half millennia of Pharaonic history, with the sole exception of Hatshepsut, the few examples of female monarchs (Nefru-Sobek and Thuoris) can be understood as indicative of dynastic turmoil. The prestige and power of Ptolemaic queens was thus truly exceptional.

The representation of female agency in Ptolemaic Egypt, which we have observed once more in the fourth part of this dissertation, was exhibited by the ideological importance of queenship, the queens' visual presence in works of art (such as temple-scenes, statues and coins), their public praise for involvement in military and political matters, not to mention the religious worship of individual royal women in the dynastic cults. Arsinoe II joined her royal consort on his visit to Pithom and thence to inspect the border. Berenice II remained in Alexandria to oversee the government as her newly-wedded spouse set off on the Third Syrian War, and was honored for her incisive assistance in time of drought. Arsinoe III was commended for accompanying her brother to the battlefield at Raphia, where she addressed the troops with the other commanders. Cleopatra I was styled Female Pharaoh, Female Horus, Youthful Daughter of the Ruler, Who Acts as Female Ruler, Mighty in Strength, Brave as Neith, in expression of her active engagement in Ptolemaic government. Cleopatra III was portrayed on temple wall in Apollinopolis Magna as the divine mother of Ptolemy IX to convey her dominance over her son. Cleopatra VII received Mark Antony in the guise of Isis at the Alexandrian Serapeum after his triumphant procession through the capital. In the patriarchal environment of Hellenistic Egypt, such ideological influence presupposes that Ptolemaic queens had obtained a position of personal power and prestige at the Alexandrian palace.

(d.) Ideal characteristics of Ptolemaic queenship, finally, can be gauged from the theme of jubilation. That this theme emerged within the milieu of the queens' worship, in addition to Alexandrian poetry, priestly decrees, and artistic depictions, is in and of itself remarkable. The Ptolemaic queens' religious identifications with goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis intimated their agency in the divinization of the members of the Lagid house. For, as we also saw in Part Three, Adonis, Persephone, Osiris and Ra were able to overcome Death solely through the intervention of these goddesses. What the relief scenes of the royal jubilee festival and the Ptolemaic birth chapels so vividly impart is that the queen, like the ceaseless safeguard of Ma'at following Ra, was conceived of as passionately devoted to the reigning king and the heir apparent. Although the theology of the Horus-King tends to focus on the patrilineal succession of sacral kingship, the role performed by the divine mother was evidently to transmit the divine nature of that sovereignty to the crown prince. The Ptolemaic queen's exemplary virtues of grace and charity, furthermore, epitomized the benevolence with which she provided for the glory of her dynasty and the prosperity of her subjects. Moreover, Ptolemaic queens were adulated for their military and political power, in which they were compared to Neith in bravery and to Sakhmet in fierceness. Last but not least, she herself participated in ritual rejoicing for the king's triumphant victories and for the dynasty's apotheotic immortalization. The manifestation of such idealized characteristics, naturally, intensified the popular worship of the Lagid rulers, and thus strengthened the legitimacy of their overlordship in Egypt.

My main intention in this examination of the theme of jubilation was to elucidate why Ptolemaic queens were identified with Greek and Egyptian goddesses, including Agathe Tyche, Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor, Isis, Ma'at, among others. I am convinced

that the underlying symbolic correspondence between jubilation, revivification and reincarnation, victory and benevolence at least partly explain these religious identifications. This thematic case study of the deification of Ptolemaic queens, in my view, has unearthed facets of the royal ideology of the Lagid dynasty that have hitherto been neglected or ignored. If ritual lament, after the earthly passing of members of the Lagid royal house, was the final act in their deification, then ritual rejoicing was the first ceremonial celebration of their formally acknowledged divine nature. Such ceremonial jubilation, finally, involved the public veneration of idealized virtues exemplified by Ptolemaic queenship, such as care and devotion, grace and charity, bravery and strength. Through their exemplary position, Ptolemaic queens overtly displayed their political power and prestige at the Alexandrian palace. For the public and official exaltation of female agency in the deification of the Lagid dynasty can only be a reflection of ideological influence and religious authority. The religious worship of the Ptolemaic queen as a Joyous Goddess, consequently, reflected the expanded participation of women in the public life of Ptolemaic Egypt.

EPILOGUE



In four thematic case studies on matrimony, incest, lamentation and jubilation, I have examined the ideological importance and symbolic significance of religious identifications of Ptolemaic queens particularly with Greek and Egyptian goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis. Through this thematic examination of the queens' deification, I have revealed features of the Lagid dynasty's royal ideology that had thus far gone unnoticed. In order to answer the central question of this dissertation – what was the significance of these four themes both for the dynasty in general and for queenship in particular – I have (1.) discussed said goddesses' myths and rituals pertaining to each theme, (2.) indicated that these themes figured significantly within the Lagid context, (3.) offered interpretations for their dynastic significance, and (4.) analyzed their importance for Ptolemaic queenship. After summarizing my findings below, (5.) I will then be able to draw some general conclusions about the broader historical implications of my research.

1. Myths and Rituals

Each of the four case studies opened with a chapter in which I discussed the myths and rituals pertaining to goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified. In that endeavor, I have obviously emphasized the similarities between these goddesses, without ignoring their differences. The scope of this dissertation has not allowed me to

examine the religious characters of these goddesses at great length, or to analyze the divergent scholarly opinions. I would assume, moreover, that the reader agrees *prima facie* that Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis were involved (at least to some extent) in the spheres of matrimony, incest, lamentation and jubilation. Instead I have mostly focused my attention on various motifs associated with the four main themes, such as eroticism, fertility, resurgence, sacralization, triumph, and so forth. While religion tends to be conservative, I do not want to imply that the goddesses under question were “unconstructed” – they rather reflect the historical circumstances in which they were worshipped. In fact, I have shown how, for instance, already during the Pharaonic period Hathor gradually absorbed aspects of many goddesses (Egyptian and otherwise), or how the Hellenization of Isis occurred in part under the influence of her association with the Ptolemaic queens.¹ Nonetheless, to repeat, my initial concern has been to illustrate in each case study that the four main themes did occur significantly in the worship of the goddesses under question.

Before turning to the goddesses with whom the Ptolemaic queens were most identified, I would like to address what (for want of a better term) I have termed the Magna Mater constellation. Because several Ptolemaic queens were identified as “Great Mother Goddess (Lat. *Magna Mater*, Gk. *Megalê Mêtêr*, Eg. *Mut A ‘at* or *Urt*),” or were occasionally associated with Dea Syria Astarte, I felt it was necessary to incorporate references to Cybele and Ishtar-Inanna in my examination. I have argued that these archetypal goddesses figured prominently not only in the myth-and-ritual complex of the dying-and-rising god (*viz.*, Tammuz-Dumuzi, Attis, Adonis, Osiris) – and thus in the

¹ To be true, much more work could be done on the religious changes in the Hellenistic period – a subject that has been receiving attention only recently.

themes of lamentation and jubilation – but also in the aspects of fertility and maternity, and even in the realm of (idealized) consanguinity – and thus the themes of matrimony and incest. My assertion, here, is that, with the spread of agriculture and urban civilization – not to mention trade contacts –, the worship of the Great Mother Goddess diffused from the Fertile Crescent and influenced the religious character of goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis. That underlying affinity was subsequently reinforced through syncretistic associations down through the Hellenistic and Roman periods – not in the least because of the cosmopolitan nature of the Ptolemaic capital Alexandria. It is this complex web of identifications – what Paul Friedrich (1978, 52) has called a “syncretic-cybernetic model” – that I have called the Magna Mater constellation, which involved Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis, as well as Cybele, Astarte and Inanna.

Let me now briefly summarize my findings about the religious character particularly of Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis. In Part One, I have argued that, not only did these goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified figure prominently in the sphere of matrimony, their worship was also associated with fertility, sexuality, maternity and regeneration. Mother Goddesses, such as Isis and Hera, Hathor and Demeter, as well as Aphrodite all performed important roles as patronesses and/or protectresses of the marital affairs of human life. Additionally, I have suggested that the goddesses’ regal character as Celestial Queens offers an additional motive for their identification with Ptolemaic queens. The *hieros gamos* of these Heavenly Goddesses was not only praised in highly sensual terms, but also involved a high degree of consanguinity: Inanna joined with her “brother” Dumuzi, Isis with her bother-husband Osiris, Hera and Demeter with Zeus, Aphrodite with her half-brother Ares, and Hathor

consecutively with her father Amun-Ra, her brother Thoth, and her son Horus. I have explained, in Part Two, that this consanguinity was connected to motifs of fecundity, regeneration, divine order, sacralization, and reincarnation through patrilineal succession. The parallelism of Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis with Cybele and Ishtar-Inanna comes into sharper perspective when we come to consider their relationship with their “dying-and-rising” *parhedros*, respectively Adonis, Persephone, Ra, Osiris, Attis and Tammuz-Dumuzi. In Part Three, I have contended that the myths and rituals of the Wailing Goddess, who mourned the loss of her beloved, were related to funerary rites such as lamentation, tearing and offering of hair locks, beating and baring of breasts, and libations of wine, oil and ointments. Additionally, I have indicated that such acts of bereavement and defilement had erotic connotations reflecting the wish to resuscitate the dead. A more contentious issue is whether the Great Goddesses’ lamentation found conclusion in its paradigmatic antipode, namely jubilation. I have endeavored to demonstrate, in Part Four, that the goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified did rejoice for their beloved’s return from the Abode of the Dead. Moreover, the jubilation symbolically expressed triumph over the Chaos that threatens the cyclical renewal of natural and cosmic, royal and divine order. In short, the themes of matrimony, incest, lamentation and jubilation did figure significantly in the worship of the goddesses under question, and reveal associations with motifs such as fertility and sexuality, maternity and patrilineal succession, regeneration and reincarnation, renewal natural cycles, sacralization and the triumph of Cosmic Order over Chaos.

2. Lagid Context

After establishing the importance of the four main themes of matrimony, incest, lamentation and jubilation in the worship of goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified, in each case study, I have offered what evidence has survived that attests to the importance of these themes within the context of the Ptolemaic kingdom. We have to acknowledge here the scarcity of our sources, and their focus especially on first generations (roughly through Ptolemy IV, if that) and the time of Cleopatra VII. It was, to be sure, not my intention to prove that the Ptolemies were married, or that they consummated highly endogamous marriage – that much can be taken for granted. However, little literary evidence is available that may help us understand their motivations. Nevertheless, I have additionally offered various works of art, poetry, statuary, coinage and so forth, to illustrate the promulgation of royal ideology in which the main themes emerge. While I had little leeway to discuss scholarly opinions, I have paid particular attention to the various motifs related to matrimony, incest, lamentation and jubilation. It is one thing to observe that the Ptolemies married, and moreover tended to wed their siblings, that they held funerary ceremonies to mourn the earthly passing of their relatives, or celebrated their victories. More important is to observe that the themes of my four case studies, as well as the related motifs, indeed formed part of the Lagid ideology.

While the source material directly related to the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens is regrettably sparse, I have used a wide range of evidence that had not before been brought together in order to illuminate the phenomenon. The epigraphic record is invaluable in this venture, especially major inscriptions such as the Pithom, Mendes and Harris stelae, the Adulitan monument, and the Canopus, Raphia and

Memphis (Rosettana) decrees (few of which have received thorough scholarly commentary). Papyri are important sources, too, in that they offer evidence for the titles employed in the dynastic cult as well as other epithets associated with the queens – not to mention that they transmit several works of Alexandrian poetry. Ancient historiography – especially the works (or fragments) of Callixenus, Polybius, Diodorus, Plutarch and Justin – at times provide us with information about aspects of royal ideology. Additionally, I have adduced poetic allusions and artistic depictions for further clues. I have frequently had recourse, for instance, to Theocritus' *Encomium in Ptolemaeum* and *Adoniasusae* as well as Callimachus' *Apotheosis Arsinoes* and *Coma Berenices*; other references to the four main themes of this dissertation have been found in works by Alexandrian poets such as Posidippus, Damagetus and Bion. Moreover, I have examined Greek and Egyptian-style statuary that once graced dynastic galleries and temples, relief-scenes of the ancestor cult and other temple scenes, faience *oenochos* and an *alabastrum* employed in the Ptolemaic ruler cult. Portraiture on coins, gems and seals, finally, have been essential in deducing the Lagid ideology as well.

This material has, significantly, illustrated many (paired) identifications of Ptolemaic kings and queens with deities that often came in the form of a consanguineous *hieros gamos*, such as Aphrodite (Zephyritis) and Adonis, Apollo and Artemis, Hathor and (Atum/Amun-) Ra, Thoth or Horus (Horachty), Hera or Dione and Zeus, Isis-Demeter and Zeus-Sarapis or Osiris-Dionysus, in addition to Agathe Tyche (Thermuthis/Renenutet) and Agathodaemon (Psois/Pa-Shai), Helios and Selene, Heracles and Hebe, Persephone and Aion Plutonium, even Helen and Menelaus, as well as Hermes, Apis, Ptah, the Solar Eye, and the Phoenix. Apart from the representation of Lagid couples as divine sibling-spouses, these identifications portrayed queens as Great Mother

Goddess, Heavenly Queen, Wailing Goddess and Joyous Goddess. I have, furthermore, alluded to the joint worship of Dea Syria Astarte and Aphrodite Berenice; the transfer of the cornucopia from Agathe Tyche and Demeter to the Ptolemaic queens, and then to Isis Tyche; the numismatic identification of the Thea Philadelphus as Hera-Dione and Isis-Hathor; the queens' adoption of the vulture cap of Mut and the crown of Hathor; and the appropriation of divine cult titles such as Canephorus, Thesmophorus, Euploia, and so forth.

Having determined that the four main themes can be attested in the Lagid milieu, I will now briefly recapitulate their historical context before turning to their importance for royal ideology. While marriage remained the legitimate institution to produce an heir to the throne, and thus comprised an essential part in royal ideology, the marital practices of the Lagid house decidedly deviated from contemporary customs. For, in contrast to their Argead and Pharaonic predecessors, the Ptolemies, with one or two exceptions (Ptolemy I and perhaps Ptolemy VIII), were married to only a single wife at a time. The kings of the other Hellenistic dynasties mostly established diplomatic alliances through exogamy, while the Ptolemaic kings tended to marry their closest available female relative. This practice of endogamy, I have argued, foremost thwarted foreign influence within the dynasty, while simultaneously strengthening the legitimacy of the successor. Moreover, royal sibling marriage (as a breach of a societal anathema and thus a transgression of human limitations) particularly sanctified their matrimony and was hence instrumental in the deification of Ptolemaic kings and queens.

We are on much less firm ground when turning from the Lagids' consanguineous marriages to Ptolemaic mourning ceremonies. For the descriptive evidence is extremely slight: apart from the rituals set down for Arsinoe II and Berenice Parthenus in the

Mendes stela and the Canopus decree, respectively, there are mostly poetic allusions to the apotheosis of Arsinoe, the grief of Berenice's lock and the Dirge for Adonis. This evidence suggests that the members of the Lagid house received funerary ceremonies that accorded with the Greek and Egyptian customs, albeit on a far more lavish scale than for commoners. I have asserted that the foundation of mortuary shrines and public funerary ceremonies for royal women from the onset of the Ptolemaic period suggests a connection with the development of the ruler cult. It is, furthermore, likely that Ptolemaic queens led the ritual lamentations and other mourning proceedings of the ancestor cult. It offers little surprise that jubilation and exultation were said to be occasioned by the Ptolemies' military triumphs over their (native and foreign) opponents. However, the grand politico-religious pageantries staged by Ptolemy II, Cleopatra VII and Mark Antony conspicuously displayed that such ideological rejoicing not only extolled the Lagids' martial glory, but also commended their opulent luxury and fragrant seductiveness, as well as the abundant prosperity they were expected to bestow upon the population. I have shown that, as such, the theme of jubilation reflects the performance of royal benefaction and salvation, as well as the perpetual revitalization of the Cosmic Order through the ceremonial renewal of kingship. Thus manifesting as well as legitimating their divine sovereignty, the Lagids demonstrated their adherence simultaneously to the Hellenistic and Pharaonic ideology of kingship – to which I will now turn in more detail.

3. Royal Ideology

The Lagid dynasty offers a fascinating example of what Ludwig Koenen (1993, 38) has called the “partial amalgamation of ideas” about kingship. For, on the one hand, the Ptolemies unmistakably adhered to aspects of Hellenistic ideology (itself a combination of Greek and Macedonian concepts) of monarchy; while on the other, they evidently absorbed elements of Pharaonic ideology. According to Egyptian theology, the Cosmic Order (*Ma‘at*) established at creation was perpetually threatened by the primordial Chaos (*Isphet*). It was the duty of the Egyptian king to continually renew the Cosmic Order through royal ceremonies such as the coronation and the jubilee as well as through military triumph, the rule of justice and acts of largesse. While kingship was not incorporated into cosmogonic myths in the Greek world, Hellenistic philosophies of monarchy did hold that kings derived their sovereignty from Zeus and reflected his reign on Olympus. It was by his virtue or excellence that a king justified his authority, which was manifested in his dispensation of beneficence (*euergesia*) and salvation (*sôtêria*), justice (*dikê*) and general care for his subjects (*philanthropia*). While not as steeped in theological doctrine as Pharaonic kingship, the ideology of Hellenistic kingship, too, comprised politico-religious ceremonies that promulgated the dynasties’ military might as much as actual martial exploits. While different in their origin, Pharaonic and Hellenistic ideologies of kingship intersected on essential aspects of function and duty.

Let me now summarize my findings about the ideological importance of the four main themes of this dissertation for the Lagid dynasty in general. As banal as it sounds, it remains important to emphasize that the institution of marriage remained the sole means by which to produce a legitimate heir and successor to the throne, and thus secure dynastic continuation. This foremost means that no illegitimate children acceded to the

Lagid throne – an issue over which there has been quite some scholarly controversy. In sharp contrast to their contemporary dynasties, however, from the wedding of Ptolemy II to his full sister Arsinoe II, the Ptolemies violated socio-cultural morals by marrying their closest possible relatives. While in political terms royal incest can be interpreted as an act of isolation, I have proffered the view that it also symbolized the Lagids' transcendental status. For the religious identifications examined in this dissertation not only manifested the divinity of Ptolemaic kings and queens, it also presented their marriage as a *hieros gamos* analogous to that of divine siblings such as Zeus and Hera or Isis and Osiris. The ideological importance of consanguinity can be gauged in the cases of Berenice II, Cleopatra I and Cleopatra VI, who were styled as their husband's "sister" even though they were more distantly related. Although in dynastic terms royal incest eventually functioned to strengthen the claim of the heir against potential rivals to the throne, I have instead underscored the symbolic significance of the Lagids' incestuous marriages, namely that it augmented the popularization, legitimization and sacralization of their overlordship in Egypt.

From what scarce evidence remains, we may glean that Ptolemaic kings and queens were honored with mourning rituals at their earthly passing. However, because they were considered to be divine, lamentation was also the last rite that accompanied their apotheotic ascension as the members of the Lagid house joined their ancestral pantheon. I have shown that this final stage of apotheosis was believed to be effected by angelic Wings of Death that placed their souls as shining stars in their heavenly abode. This act of catasterism, furthermore, was likened to rape – underscoring the human unwillingness to leave this earthly life – which, I contend, reflects an eroticism also perceived in the worship of the Wailing Goddess and funerary rites that convey the desire

to resuscitate the deceased and thus stimulate immortality. If lamentation was of vital importance for Lagids' sacral kingship, I have asserted that jubilation was both cause and effect of the deification of the dynasty. The *Hab-Sed*, which the Ptolemies held in high esteem, was a joyous ritual that renewed the king's royal office and divine power against the ever-present threat of Chaos. As a true heir to his father, the Ptolemaic king was praised in Pharaonic as well as Hellenistic ideological terms for defeating his enemies, maintaining law and order, and bestowing benefactions upon his subjects. These royal acts of salvation, moreover, manifested the king's divinity and thus justified exulted worship in voluntary as well as dynastic cults.

4. Ptolemaic Queenship

While Egyptian and Graeco-Macedonian notions of kingship were well established, the position of the queen was much more diffuse. Lana Troy (1986) has endeavored to determine "patterns of queenship" for Pharaonic Egypt and Elizabeth Carney (2000) has recently enhanced our appreciation of royal women in Macedonia, but Sarah Pomeroy's observation (1984, 11) still applies that there is a real need for a "general sociological study of queenship." My aim in examining the religious identifications of Ptolemaic queens with Greek and Egyptian goddesses has been to offer a fuller understanding of Ptolemaic queenship. Because of the nature of the evidence and the state of our knowledge, my conclusions can only remain tentative. With that caveat in mind, I contend that my research has offered a deeper understanding of the Ptolemaic queen's exercise of religious authority and political power.

The Ptolemaic queen was first of all the king's wife. Lagid couples were worshipped in official as well as private Greek and Egyptian cults; their marriage was celebrated in public ceremonies, was represented in jugate portraits in various artistic media, and was construed as a *hieros gamos* through religious identifications with divine siblings. As the "Lady of Loveliness," the Ptolemaic queen was praised for her marital fidelity, beauty and charm, virginal chastity and sacred purity, even her bravery and strength – virtues that idealized her divine majesty. The queen's divine grace and loving devotion, her (actual) *philadelphia* or (fictive) *casignesia*, in fact, was considered a benefaction not only toward her consort but even toward the populace. That her consanguineous sacred marriage thus represented the queen's status to the king's equal was unprecedented in Egypt, Greece and Macedonia. During the reign of the Lagid dynasty, therefore, her status, prestige, authority and power gradually increased, so that perhaps by the time of Cleopatra III, but certainly by the time of Berenice IV and Cleopatra VII, it had become rather inconsequential who the male occupant of the throne was besides the queen.

Additionally, the Ptolemaic queen's prominence was due to her position as the mother of the heir and successor to the throne. Royal matrimony remained a prerequisite for legitimate succession; the queen thus guaranteed the dynastic continuity and with it the cycle of reincarnation of the Ptolemies. As she – like the king – was deified, moreover, the queen transmitted her divine sovereignty onto her offspring. By bearing the crown prince, the "Bull of His Mother," she occasioned the rebirth of the royal *ka* and thus secured the renewal of sacral kingship. The surviving relief-scenes on Ptolemaic *mammisis* give an excellent illustration of the queen's vital role as divine mother of the king. From the time of Cleopatra I, indeed, we can observe the queen mother's

predominance over her children – aptly reflected in the cult epithet Philometor. I contend, in short, that the ambilateral transmission of sanctity strengthened the queen’s position at court.

It was imperative that the queen actively participated in various royal ceremonies of rejoicing as well as mourning. She performed a vital role at the Coronation and Jubilee Festival in the renewal of sacral kingship and of Cosmic Order. I have, in fact, argued that the Ptolemaic queen was considered the living personification of *Ma‘at*. She rejoiced at the dynasty’s (actual and idealized) martial glories. Even after her earthly passing she was believed to participate in the dynastic cult, in which several queens held priestly offices during their reign. Although there is little historical evidence beyond the queen’s involvement in the dynastic and/or ancestor cults, I have suggested that the religious identifications with Wailing Goddesses would seem to indicate the indispensability of female agency in the immortalization of her *parhedros*, as well as the protection of the cosmic and monarchical order. Mourning was considered a characteristically feminine rite, as laments for the dead were traditionally sung by women throughout much of the (eastern) Mediterranean. However, lamentation did not only express grievous bereavement for the loss of the beloved, it also comprised an implicit grievance toward patriarchy and its feats of hate and aggression. Ptolemaic queens such as Arsinoe II, I have asserted, instead patronized ceremonies that celebrated bonds of love and affection. Dorothy Burr Thompson (1973, 120), in fact, wished to ascribe the creation of the cult of Arsinoe II to the Queen herself. Consequently, the queen’s involvement in royal ceremonies illustrates the reciprocity between benefaction and deification as it was considered an act of benevolence for which she received worshipped.

Parallel to the king's beneficence and salvation, the Ptolemaic queen was expected to bestow her gracious charity upon the kingdom's populace. The cult epithets Soteira and Euergetis, as well as the priestly offices of the Canephorate and Athlophorate conveyed the queens' role as guarantors of benevolence, salvation, abundance and victory. I have had frequent occasion to discuss how Ptolemaic queens were engaged in religious, cultural and mercantile patronage, and were involved in political and military affairs. Queens such as Arsinoe II and Cleopatra VII organized lavish spectacles that put on display the dynasty's *luxus* or *tryphê*, and thus its copious abundance. The fragrant opulence of such royal pageantries provided a consecrated ambience to the proceedings. The religious identification with Agathe Tyche, through the attribute of the *cornucopia* and especially on Ptolemaic *oenochorae*, aptly exemplifies the conception of the queen as the living personification of Good Fortune, the bringer of exultation and prosperity. As stated above, through such generous acts of care for the well-being of her subjects the queen manifested her divine majesty and was thus honored with worship.

The symbolic significance of matrimony, incest, lamentation and jubilation, in the context of the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens with goddesses such as Aphrodite, Demeter, Hathor and Isis, in sum, reveals the ideological importance of queenship for the Lagid dynasty especially in terms of promoting the popularity, legitimacy and sanctity of its reign in Egypt. With this dissertation, moreover, I have endeavored to demonstrate that the queen's deification was not a mere byproduct of the ruler cult established for the king. From their ideological influence and authority, I contend, individual queens did derive personal prestige and, at least in the case of some of the later queens, corresponds to their exercise of actual political power. They were involved in matters of religion, culture, ideology, politics, military, economy, even

athletics, and were thus to a certain extent at least engaged in the administration of the Ptolemaic kingdom. In their influential, exemplary position at the Alexandrian palace, furthermore, the queens encouraged female participation in Hellenistic Egypt; they promoted the celebration of feminine characteristics in the public and symbolic realm; and thus promoted women's accomplishments and collaborative contributions to society.

5. Implications of Research

When examining ideology, the question of its audience will inevitably have to be addressed. In fact, there are two sides to this question: for whom the ideology was intended, and to what extent that audience participated in its promulgation. In general terms, I would answer the first part of the question that, besides members of the royal house (including potential rivals to the throne), the intended audience included the following: the wider circle of the Alexandrian court, *viz.*, the officials of state as well as artists, philosophers and scientists; the king's "friends" (*philoi*), *i.e.*, the élite military officers (who often held the Alexandrian priesthood); the Alexandrian citizens (especially the "Macedonian" soldiers, as well as the *boulê* and *ekklêsia* – in so far as they continued to exist); the native priests, particularly of the chief temples (*e.g.*, at Memphis, Heliopolis and Thebes); the local Greek and Egyptian communities, particularly the people who attended royal cults and festivals; and, last but not least, the international community of nominally independent city-states (*poleis*) in the Greek mainland, the Aegean, and regions within the Ptolemaic sphere of interest, if not in their immediate possession (Cyrenaica, Phoenicia and Syria, Cyprus and Rhodes, the Asia Minor coast and the Pontic region, *etc.*), as well as the contemporary Seleucid, Antigonid, Attalid kingdoms

and beyond – gradually shifting more toward Rome. However, we may bear in mind the observation of Alan Cameron (1995, 30) in relation to Hellenistic poets, that “there is no direct evidence about [their] audience.”

The answer to the second part of the question is, therefore, in part implied by this list, as court officials, dynastic and native (high-) priests, philosophers and artists at various periods during the Ptolemaic reign doubtless participated in the promulgation of royal ideology – whether directly or indirectly. For instance, we may think of the contributions by the admiral Callicrates of Samos, who held the eponymous priesthood and established the cult of Arsinoe Zephyritis near Canopus; the Heliopolitan high-priest Manetho, who composed an *Aegyptiaca* for Ptolemy II; the Egyptian high-priests, who produced the major synodal decrees of the era; the philosophers Demetrius of Phaleron and Eratosthenes of Cyrene, who became head librarians at Alexandria (the latter wrote a now-lost biography of Arsinoe III); the poets Theocritus, Posidippus and Callimachus, whose works, as seen, included salient features of the royal ideology; the sculptor Bryaxis, who is credited with fashioning the cult-statue for the Alexandrian Serapeum on the Rhacotis hill; or the enigmatic coin-engraver ‘Delta,’ who created the highest-quality numismatic portrait of Alexander the Great that was copied for generations to come. We might also recall the private shrine founded by the soldier Machatas and his wife Asia, without royal prompting, for the joint worship of Dea Syria Astarte and Aphrodite Berenice in the Arsinoite nome.

These and other individuals unquestionably contributed to greater or lesser extent to the purveyance of the Lagids’ ideology. It would be incorrect to assume a unilateral, top-down transmission of royal propaganda. For even if they were in direct employ or patronage of the court, censorship was nonexistent in the Hellenistic period. Even if

Sotades was eventually punished with death for insulting Ptolemy II (or his *hetaera* Bilistiche),² such harshness is the exception that proves the rule. In my dissertation, furthermore, I have argued that, *e.g.*, the *Encomium* of Theocritus should not be understood as mere flattery or sycophancy of a poet eager for the king's patronage. Even if Alexandrian poetry reflects aspects of royal ideology, the poets did retain their independent voice. This independence is particularly evident in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, in which it is much harder to find hints to Lagid ideology – although the route of the voyage does significantly cover the Ptolemaic sphere of interest.³

Conversely, ideology cannot be construed in a vacuum, detached from contemporary mores. Moreover, what written records do survive pertaining to the Ptolemaic ruler cult hardly allow us to deduce individual intentionality. This dissertation, therefore, started with the assumption of a significant continuity of symbolism and of reciprocity between personal agency and preexisting ideologies of kingship – Egyptian as well as Graeco-Macedonian. Just as the religious character of the goddesses with whom Ptolemaic queens were identified, such ideologies were by no means static. From the haphazard transmission of the evidence, I find it particularly difficult to trace a clear historical development. It has often been suggested, for instance, that the synodal decrees reveal a gradual “Egyptianization” of royal ideology. I rather wish to emphasize that the Pithom and Mendes stelae are already entirely Egyptian in their exaltation of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II. What is more, the commendation of Arsinoe as “Lady of Loveliness,” I have demonstrated, found its reflection immediately in Theocritus' and Callimachus'

² For which, see: Cameron 1995, esp. 257; *supra* Pt. Two, ch. II, § 4, pp. 203-204, nn. 112-119; *cf.* Ogden 1999, 235 (who seems less certain); Hölbl 2001, 36 and 43 (who still adheres to the older interpretation). [Neither Ogden or Hölbl list Cameron in their bibliography.]

³ Hunter 1993, 152-169.

praise of Arsinoe. The creation and embellishment of the cult of Sarapis as Alexandria's patron deity under the first three generations, similarly, indicates the Ptolemies' interest in Egyptian religion from the onset. Additionally, the absence of secure dates for most works of art – not to mention the problem of attribution – makes it impossible to trace developments in artistic depictions of religious identifications.⁴

We might turn to the titlature of Ptolemaic queens, both in the dynastic cult and in hieroglyphic texts, for a more secure indication of the historical development of the status of royal women at the Lagid court.⁵ Both Berenice I and Arsinoe II, as well as Philotera and Berenice Parthenus, received the title “*basilissa* (royal woman),” so that from the start of Ptolemaic rule this became the common designation of the female members of the royal house – which had not been the case in Argead Macedonia. As a translation for *basilissa*, Ptolemaic queens were called “*Peraʿat* (Female Pharaoh)” in demotic. In Pharaonic Egypt the use of elaborate (especially male) regal titles for queens did exceptionally occur from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, and would seem to reflect the exercise of power of royal women at court. In the royal/dynastic cult it is noteworthy that after six generations, few new epithets were created, as Soter and Euergetes, Philometor and Philadelphia were frequently reused for the royal couples. Outstanding in the dynastic cult was the domineering Cleopatra III, who eventually took the extravagant cultic epithets “*Thea Philomêtôr Sôteria Dikaiosynê Nikêphoros* (Mother-Loving Savior Justice Victory-Bringing Goddess),” and established a priesthood of the Sacred Foal of

⁴ This issue has recently, and needlessly, been thrown into much confusion by the revisionism of Sally-Ann Ashton (2001a-b); *cf.* Maehler 2003.

⁵ The titlature of Ptolemaic queens requires further examination, which I hope to be able to turn to in the near future; the collections in von Beckerath (1984) and Troy (1986) are not addressed in the main body of their monographs, and are incomplete; *cf.* Tait 2003, 3 (“discussions of the Ptolemaic titularies in Egyptian have not usually been lengthy”).

Isis “*Megalê Mêtêr Theôn*,” as well as a “*Phosphoros* (torch-bearing)” and a “*Stephanophoros* (crown-bearing)” office for herself.

An important observation to make is that Berenice I apparently only received cultic titles posthumously (e.g., *Sôteira, Mêtêr Theôn*), while Arsinoe II was honored with an unprecedented elaborate titulary (according to the Mendes stela [ll. 10-11]) upon her wedding to Ptolemy II, which presented her as “Lady of Loveliness”; and she was added to the royal cult at Alexandria in her lifetime. The attribution of cultic epithets, thus, corresponds to the establishment of the Ptolemaic ruler cult in general. While most Ptolemaic queens after Arsinoe II received titles similar to hers, few came close to its ornate profusion. It was chiefly Cleopatra VII who appropriated most of the titles of her predecessors. Remarkable, in terms of titulary, were Berenice II and Cleopatra I, who were compared in “bravery and strength” with Neith (Athena). I have suggested that it was not coincidental that both these queens were not immediately related to the Ptolemaic king, were not raised at the Lagid palace, and were married according to the common practice of cementing dynastic diplomacy through marital alliances. From the queens’ titulary alone we cannot infer actual and formally acknowledged power or authority. However, I assert not only that the queens’ honorific forms of address reflect their indispensable role in Lagid ideology, but also that the accumulation of honor and worship reflect their elevated status of power and prestige. For honor and prestige are part and partial of authority and power.

With the four thematic case studies in the religious identification of Ptolemaic queens, I have been able to expose important elements of dynastic ideology that would otherwise have remained concealed. As indicated from the onset, I am aware that many other valid approaches could and should be considered – as there is still much left to be

researched about the phenomenon of deification. I have endeavored to illuminate the interaction of Hellenistic and Pharaonic conceptions of sacral kingship; the significance of works of art for the appreciation of royal ideology; the influence of Ptolemaic queens on the worship of Greek, Egyptian and Near-Eastern goddesses (and their *parhedroi*); the political and religious power and authority of Ptolemaic queens; and the position of women in Hellenistic Egypt. I would like to emphasize that last point, for – despite the gradual recognition of the role of royal women at the Lagid court since the publication of Sarah Pomeroy's *Women in Hellenistic Egypt* (1984) – there is still a general reluctance among historians to accept the exercise of female power. For instance, in his chronological list of Ptolemaic rulers, Werner Huß (2001, 11) does not provide dates of any of the queens, several of whom ruled independently or at least jointly with the king. My research has argued that Ptolemaic queens did take active part in the administration of the kingdom, that their deification was not an act of mere propaganda on their husbands' part, but rather that their contributions to royal and religious ceremonies were deemed crucial, and that they were influential and assertive agents in their own right. Their exemplary position in Ptolemaic politics signified the increase of female participation in Hellenistic Egypt.

APPENDICES



A. TABLE OF IDENTIFICATIONS

Queen:	B	A	A	B	A	C	C	C	C	C	Total
Goddess:	I	I	II	II	III	I	II	III	V	VII	
Agathe Tyche			•	•	•	•					4
Aphrodite	•		•	•	•			•		•	6
Artemis			•		•	?		•			3-4
Athena			•					•			2
Charis				•							1
Dea Syria ^a	?			?							1
Demeter ^b	?	?	•	•		•	•	•			5-6
Dicaeosyne								•			1
Hathor	•			•		•	•	•	•	•	7
Helen			•								1
Hera			•								1
Isis	•		•	•	•	•		•		•	7
Local goddess	•		•	•	?					•	4-5
Mousa			•								1
Nymph (Naeas)			•	?	?						1-3
Oecumena					?						0-1
Philadelphus			•	•	•	•	•	•	•		7
Selene									•	•	2
Total	4-6	0-1	12	8-10	5-8	5-6	3	8	3	5	53-60

KEY:

A = Arsinoe
 B = Berenice
 C = Cleopatra
 • = identification
 ? = doubtful case

^a A sanctuary of “Dea Syria and Aphrodite Berenice,” presumably Berenice I.

^b A cameo representing either one of the earlier queens in the guise of Demeter. The identification with Demeter is attested, the queen is nevertheless uncertain.

B. EGYPTIAN NOMES AND CAPITALS

Upper Egypt				
NOME		CAPITALS		
		<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Egyptian</i>
I.	Land of Sety	Geziter-Aswan	Elephantine	Abu
II.	Throne of Horus	Edfu	Apollinopolis Magna	Behdet, Djeba, Mesen
III.	Two Plumes	el-Kab, Kom el-Ahmar, & Esna	Eileithyaspolis, Hieraconpolis, & Latopolis	Nekheb, Nekhen, & Iuny
IV.	Scepter	Karnak & Luxor	Thebes	Waset
V.	Two Falcons	Qift	Koptos	Gebtu
VI.	Crocodile	Dendara	Tentyris	Ta Iunet/Nitentore
VII.	Sistrum	Hiw	Diospolis Parva	Hut-Sekhem
VIII.	Tomb of Osiris	el-‘Araba el-Madfuna	Abydos	Abedju
IX.	Feather of Min	Akhmim	Panopolis / Khemmis	Ipu, Khent-Min
X.	Serpent	Qaw el-Kebir	Antaeopolis	Per Hor-Nubti, Djebu
XI.	Seth Animal	Shutb	Hypselis	Shashetep
XII.	Serpent’s Mount	Kom Ishqaw	Aphroditopolis	Hut-Waset (Shu)
XIII.	Terebinth Sup.	Asyut	Lycopolis	Zauty
XIV.	Terebinth Inf.	el-Qusiya	Cusae	Qis
XV.	Hare	el-Ashmunein	Hermopolis Magna	Khmun (Unt)
XVI.	Gazelle (Oryx)	el-Minia	Theodosiopolis	Hebnu
XVII.	Jackal	el-Qaïs	Cynopolis	Kasa
XVIII.	Flying Falcon	el-Hiba	Ankyronon Polis	Het Benu
XIX.	Second Scepter	el-Bahnasa	Oxyrhynchus	Per Medjed
XX.	Laurel Rose Sup.	Ihnasya el-Medina	Heracleopolis Magna	Henen-Nesut
XXI.	Laurel Rose Inf.	Medinet el-Faiyum	Arsinoe (Crocodilopol.)	Per Sobek
XXII.	Knife	Atfih	Aphroditopolis	Per-Ichu, Djebty

Lower Egypt				
NOME		CAPITALS		
		<i>Arabic</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Egyptian</i>
I.	White Wall	el-Badrashein	Memphis	Mennefer
II.	Foreleg	Ausim	Letopolis	Khem
III.	The West	Kom el-Hisn	Apis	Imu
IV.	Shield of the South	Menuf	Prosopis	Zeka
V.	Shield of the North	Sa el-Hagar	Saïs	Zau
VI.	Bull of the Desert	Sakha	Xoïs	Khaset
VII.	Western Harpoon	Macil	Metelis	Per Ha neb
VIII.	Eastern Harpoon	Tell el-Maskhuta	Heroonpolis	Per Atum (Bibl. Pithom)
IX.	Protector	Abusir	Busiris	Per Usir
X.	Great Black Bull	Tell Athrib	Athribis	Hut-hery-ibet
XI.	Bull in Bundles	Tell el-Muqdam	Leontopolis	Per Wadjyt
XII.	Cow's Calf	Samannud	Sebennytos	Djeb-nudjer
XIII.	Pilar	Tell Hisn	Heliopolis	Iunu (Bibl. On)
XIV.	Point of the Orient	Hurbeit	Pharbaethus	Hesebt
XV.	Ibis	el-Baqliya	Hermopolis Parva	Per Djehuty
XVI.	Dolphin	Tell el-Rub'a	Mendes	Djedet
XVII.	Sanctuary	el-Balamun	Diospolis Infer.	Per Iun Amen
XVIII.	Royal Child Sup.	Tell Basta	Bubastis	Per Bast
XIX.	Royal Child Inf.	San el-Hagar	Tanis	Dj'anet
XX.	Falcon on Couch	Saft el-Hinna	Arabia	Per Sopdu

C. CHRONOLOGIES

The numeration of ancient rulers are mostly modern inventions. In his lifetime, Ptolemy I Soter would have been referred to as “Ptolemy, son of Lagus.” His son, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, was known as “King Ptolemy, son of King Ptolemy (and Queen Berenice).” (The epithet “Philadelphus” originally belonged to his sister Arsinoe II, and was only given to Ptolemy II in the second century BCE.) Next, Ptolemy III was officially proclaimed “King Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy [II] and Arsinoe [II], the Sibling Gods.” Ancient literary sources, at times, do refer to the Lagid kings with numbers, but after the sixth Ptolemy the situation became too confusing for consistency. To make matters needlessly complicated, various modern systems exist for the numeration of the Lagid kings and queens.

As Heinz Heinen (1997, 449-460) and Martha Minas (2000, 142-143) explain, it is unwarranted to deny the existence of Ptolemy [VII] Neos Philopator (whatever his identity and/or parentage; *contra* Chauveau 1990, 135-168; Huß 1994a, 10; *id.* 2001, 11 and 597 n. 2). There is no reason to count co-regents, like Ptolemy “the Son,” Ptolemy Eupator, Ptolemy Memphites, and Ptolemy Apion, who did not gain sole rule. For reasons that escape me Cleopatra [V] Selene, the daughter of Ptolemy VIII and Cleopatra III, is usually unnumbered, unlike her sister Cleopatra [IV] Philadelphus, while Berenice III is sometimes numbered as Cleopatra V Berenice III (in prescripts ‘Cleopatra’ generally replaced ‘Berenice’ onward from *ca.* 90 BCE; *cf.* Pestman 1967, 72). Bennet (1997) has argued anew to identify Cleopatra Tryphaena, the wife of Auletes, and

Cleopatra Tryphaena, the joint-ruler of Berenice IV.

Apart from a chronological list of (1.) the Lagid Dynasty, I herewith provide lists of (2.) the Seleucid Dynasty, (3.) the Antigonid Dynasty, (4.) the Attalid Dynasty, (5.) the Argead Dynasty, and of (6.) Egyptian Pharaohs, in so far as they have been mentioned in the present work. Regarding the latter, the list gives only approximate dates, as the margin of error of increases the farther back in time one goes, from about a decade in the New Kingdom to as much as about 150 years in the Old Kingdom.¹ (Female Pharaohs are indicated with a Q.)

¹ John Baines and Jaromir Malek, *Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (rev. ed.; New York, 2000): 36-37.

1. Lagid Dynasty

Ptolemy I Soter	(r. 305-282 BCE)
Ptolemy II Philadelphus	(r. 285-246 BCE)
Ptolemy “the Son”	(r. 267-259 BCE)
Ptolemy III Euergetes	(r. 246-222/1 BCE)
Ptolemy IV Philopator	(r. 222/1-205/4 BCE)
Ptolemy V Epiphanes	(r. 205/4-180 BCE)
Cleopatra I Epiphanis	(r. 180-176 BCE)
Ptolemy VI Philometor	(r. 180-145 BCE)
Ptolemy Eupator	(r. 153/2-150 BCE)
Ptolemy VII Neos Philopator	(r. 145 BCE)
Cleopatra II Philometor	(r. 170/69-116 BCE)
Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II “Physcon”	(r. 170/69-163; 145-116 BCE)
Cleopatra III Euergetis	(r. 138/7-101 BCE)
Ptolemy IX Soter II “Lathyrus”	(r. 116-107; 88-80 BCE)
Ptolemy X Alexander	(r. 107-88 BCE)
[Cleopatra] Berenice III	(r. 101-81/0 BCE)
Ptolemy XI Alexander II	(r. 81/0 BCE)
Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysus “Auletes”	(r. 80-58; 55-51 BCE)
Cleopatra VI Tryphaena	(r. 80-69/8; 58 BCE)
Berenice IV	(r. 58-55 BCE)
Cleopatra VII Philopator Nea Isis	(r. 51-30 BCE)
Ptolemy XIII Philopator	(r. 51-47 BCE)
Arsinoe IV	(r. 48-47 BCE)
Ptolemy XIV Philopator	(r. 47-44 BCE)
Ptolemy XV Caesar “Caesarion”	(r. 47-30 BCE)

2. Seleucid Dynasty

Seleucus I Nicator	(r. 323-281 BCE)
Antiochus I Soter	(r. 281-261 BCE)
Antiochus II Theos	(r. 261-246 BCE)
Seleucus II Callinicus	(r. 246-225 BCE)
Seleucus III Ceraunus	(r. 225-223 BCE)
Antiochus III the Great	(r. 223-187 BCE)
Seleucus IV Philopator	(r. 187-175 BCE)
Antiochus IV Epiphanes	(r. 175-164 BCE)
Antiochus V Eupator	(r. 164-162 BCE)
Demetrius I Soter	(r. 162-150 BCE)
Alexander Balas	(r. 150-145 BCE)
Demetrius II Nicator	(r. 145-141; 129-125 BCE)
Antiochus VI Epiphanes	(r. 145-142 BCE)
Diodotus Tryphon	(r. 142-138 BCE)
Antiochus VII Sidetes	(r. 139-129 BCE)
Alexander Zabinas	(r. 128-123 BCE)
Cleopatra Thea	(r. 126-121 BCE)
Seleucus V Nicator	(r. 125 BCE)
Antiochus VIII Grypus	(r. 125-96 BCE)
Antiochus IX Cyzicenus	(r. 115-95 BCE)
Seleucus VI Epiphanes	(r. 96-95 BCE)
Antiochus X Eusebes	(r. 95-92 BCE)
Antiochus XI Epiphanes	(r. 95 BCE)
Demetrius III Eucerus	(r. 95-88 BCE)
Philip I Epiphanes	(r. 95-83 BCE)
Antiochus XII Dionysus	(r. ca. 87 BCE)
Philip II Philoromaeus "Barypus"	(r. ca. 83 BCE)
Antiochus XIII Asiaticus	(r. 69-64 BCE)

3. Antigoniid Dynasty

Antigonos I Monophthalmus	(r. 306-301 BCE)
Demetrius I Poliorcetes	(r. 306-288 BCE)
Antigonos II Gonatas	(r. 277/6-239 BCE)
Demetrius II Aetolicus	(r. 239-229 BCE)
Antigonos III Doson	(r. 229-221 BCE)
Philip V	(r. 221-179 BCE)
Perseus	(r. 179-168 BCE)
Andriscus	(r. 149-148 BCE)

4. Attalid Dynasty

Philetaerus	(d. 263 BCE)
Eumenes I	(d. 241 BCE)
Attalus I Soter	(r. 241-197 BCE)
Eumenes II Nicephorus	(r. 197-159 BCE)
Attalus II Philadelphus	(r. 158-138 BCE)
Attalus III Philometor	(r. 138-133 BCE)
Eumenes III Aristonicus	(r. 133-129 BCE)

5. Argead Dynasty

Perdiccas I	(r. early 7 th cent. BCE)
Argaeus	(r. late 7 th cent. BCE)
Philip I	(r. <i>ca.</i> 600 BCE)
Aeropus I	(r. early 6 th cent. BCE)
Alcetas	(r. late 6 th cent. BCE)
Amyntas I	(r. <i>ca.</i> 500 BCE)
Alexander I	(r. 485-454 BCE)
Perdiccas II	(r. 454-413 BCE)
Archelaus	(r. 413-399 BCE)
Orestes	(r. 399-398 BCE)
Aeropus II	(r. 398-395 BCE)
Amyntas II	(r. 395-394 BCE)
Pausanias	(r. 394-393 BCE)
Amyntas III	(r. 393-370 BCE)
Alexander II	(r. 370-369 BCE)
Ptolemy Alorites	(r. 369-365 BCE)
Perdiccas III	(r. 365-360 BCE)
Amyntas IV	(r. 360/59-358? BCE)
Philip II	(r. 360/59-336 BCE)
Alexander III the Great	(r. 336-323 BCE)
Philip III Arrhidaeus	(r. 323-317 BCE)
Alexander IV	(r. 323-311/0 BCE)

6. Egyptian Pharaohs

Pre- and Early Dynastic	3100-2775 BCE
Narmer	(r. <i>ca.</i> 2950 BCE)
Old Kingdom	2575-2125 BCE
IV th DYNASTY	2575-2450 BCE
Mycerinus (Menkaure')	(d. <i>ca.</i> 2472 BCE)
V th DYNASTY	2450-2325 BCE
Neusera	(d. <i>ca.</i> 2370 BCE)
First Intermediate Period	2125-1975 BCE
Middle Kingdom	1975-1640 BCE
Second Intermediate Period	1640-1540 BCE
New Kingdom	1540-1075 BCE
XVIII th DYNASTY	1540-1292 BCE
Tuthmosis III (Thutmose)	(r. 1479-1425 BCE)
Hatshepsut (Q.)	(r. 1473-1458 BCE)
Amenophis III (Amenhotep)	(r. 1391-1353 BCE)
Amenophis IV/Achnaton (Akhenaten)	(r. 1353-1335 BCE)
Tutanchamun (Tut'ankhamun)	(r. 1333-1323 BCE)
Aya	(r. 1323-1315 BCE)
XIX th DYNASTY	1307-1196 BCE
Ramses II (Ramesses)	(r. 1290-1224 BCE)
Thuoris (Q.) (Tuosre)	(r. 1198-1196 BCE)
Third Intermediate Period	1070-715 BCE
XXII nd DYNASTY	945-715 BCE
Osorkon II	(r. 925-910 BCE)
Late Period	715-332 BCE
XXX th DYNASTY	380-343 BCE
Nectanebo I	(r. 380-362 BCE)
Nectanebo II	(r. 360-343 BCE)

D. GENEALOGIES

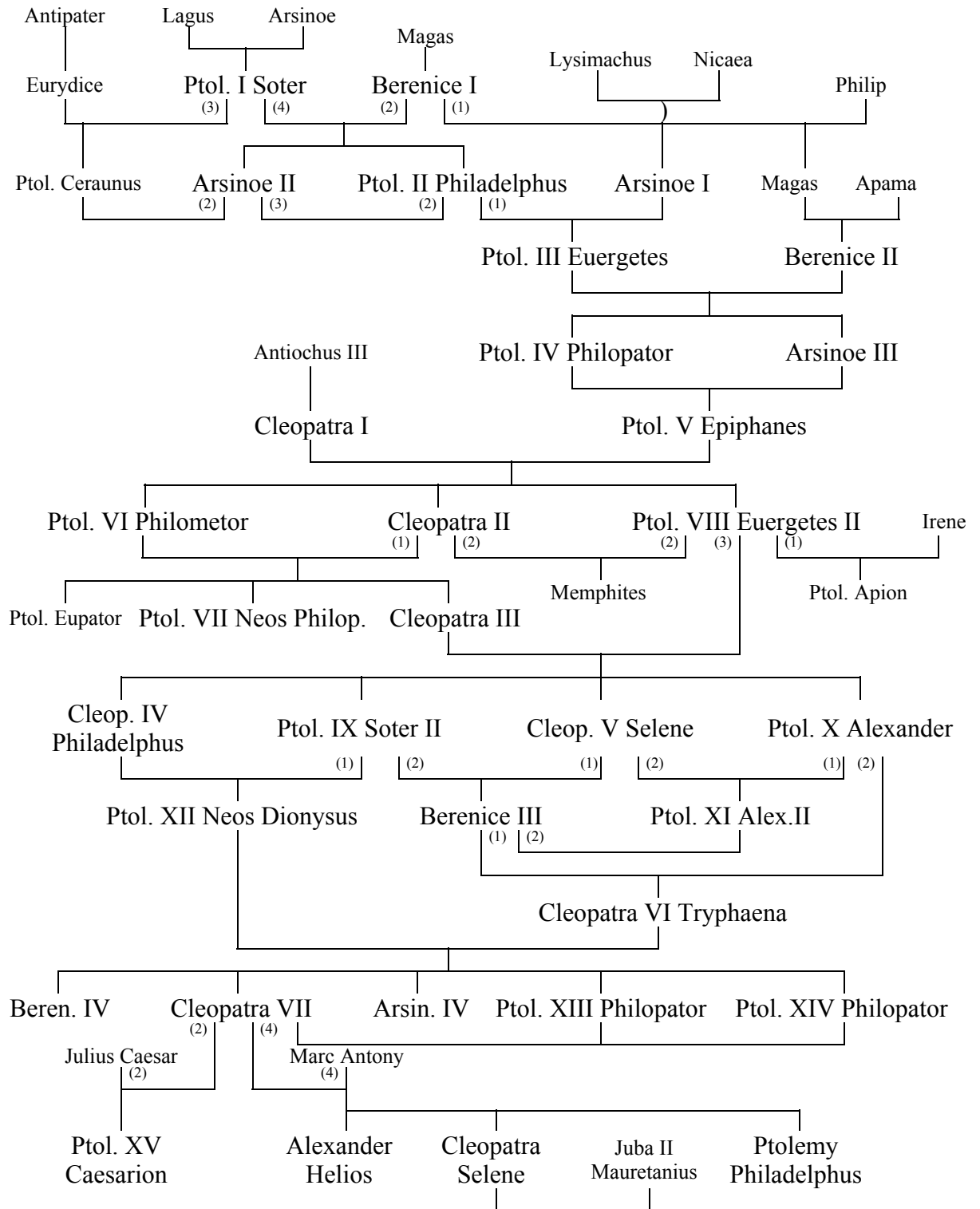
The following genealogies are the closest possible approximation to accuracy of the family relations of the respective royal houses. Ancient sources are often contradictory, while modern literature is at times overly speculative.

Karl Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*² (1912-1927, vols. III.2 and IV.2) still provides sober and mostly reliable reconstructions. Daniel Ogden's recent discussion of the evidence for the Hellenistic dynasties (1999), though valuable, is at times marred by unsubstantiated hypotheses.

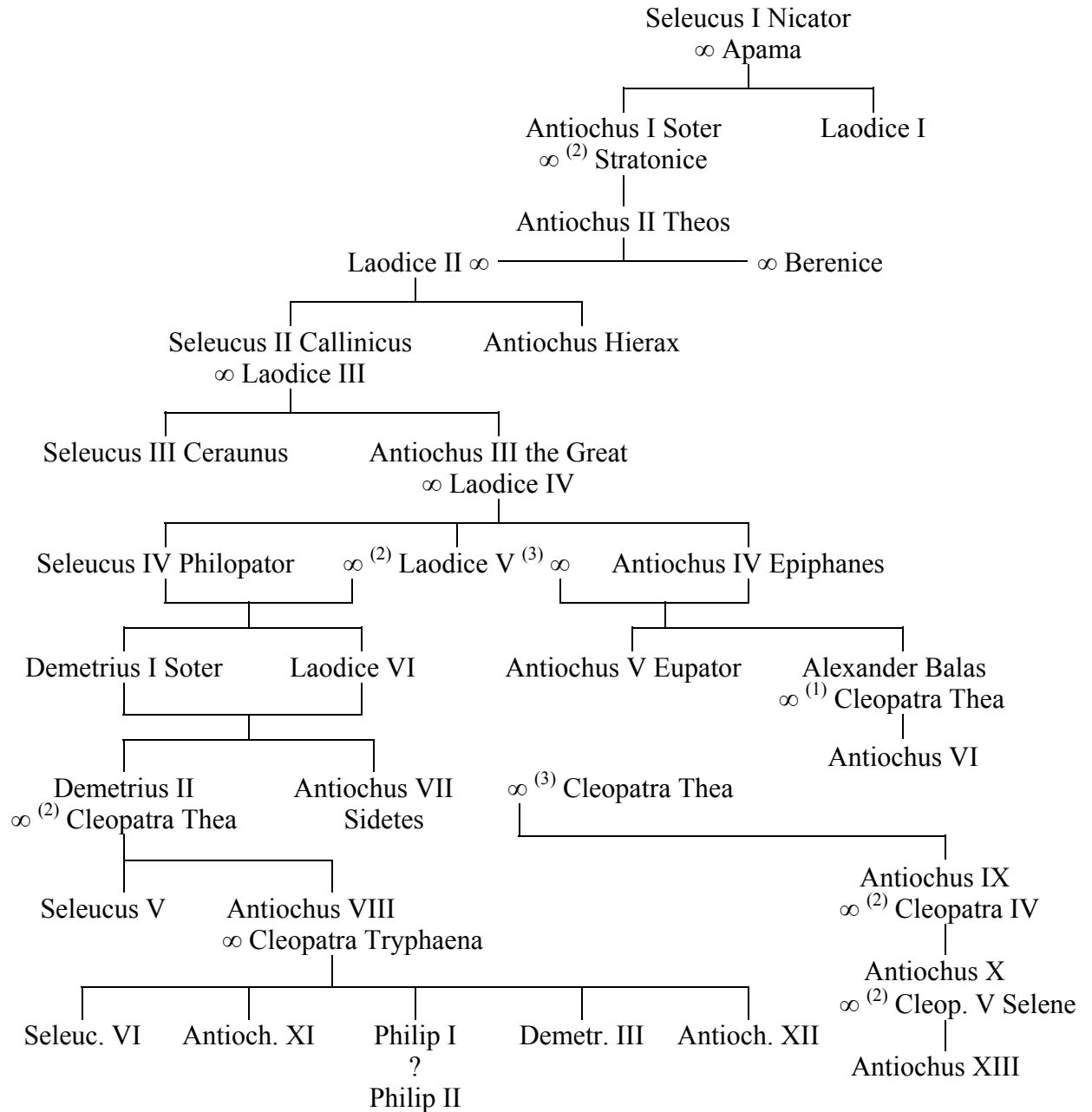
- *Ptolemies*: While the genealogy of the Lagid house is by and large secure, much needless speculation still surrounds the dynasty from the son(s) of Ptolemy VI to the parentage of Cleopatra VII. I follow the numbering of Cleopatras by Günther Hölbl (2001, 354-357; *cf.* Huß 2001, 11), and accept Chris Bennet's reconstruction of the family relations of the later Ptolemies (1997) as it seems to me the most straightforward.
- *Seleucids*: The intricacies of the Seleucid genealogy are unfortunately confounded by a lack of numeration for the various Laodices (see: Ogden 1999, 158 n. 1; the roman numerals are here merely intended to differentiate the homonymous female members of the dynasty). In most particulars I still follow A. Bouché-Leclercq's stemma (1913-4, II: 640-641; *cf.* Ogden 1999, ch. 5). The parentage of Alexander Balas remains obscure.
- *Antigonids*: Apart from the mother of Perseus' brother Demetrius, the family relations of the Antigonids are straightforward (Ogden 1999, ch. 6).
- *Attalids*: R. E. Allen's uncontroversial genealogy (1983, app. 1) follows Beloch (1912-27, IV.2: 211), and is to be preferred over heedless conjecture (*cf.* Ogden 1999, 202-210).
- *Argeads*: The genealogy of the Argeads before Philip II remains tentative (*cf.* Beloch 1912-27, III.2: 73; Hammond 1979, 176; Borza 1990, 190-191; Ogden 1999, ch. 1). For instance, Amyntas III was presented officially as the son of an Arrhidaeus (*Syll.*³ I: nos. 135, 157; Diod. XV.lx.3; Syncell. *Chron.* 500, ed. Dind.). However, while Syncellus (*loc. cit.*) construed this Arrhidaeus as the son

of Amyntas, son of Alexander I ([Ἀμύντας] υἱὸς Ἀρριδαίου τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου), Justin (VII.iv.3) and Aelian (*VH* XII.43) considered Amyntas III the (grand-) son of Menelaus, son of Alexander I. (*vide* Whitehorne 1994, 31; whose reconciliation I here follow.)

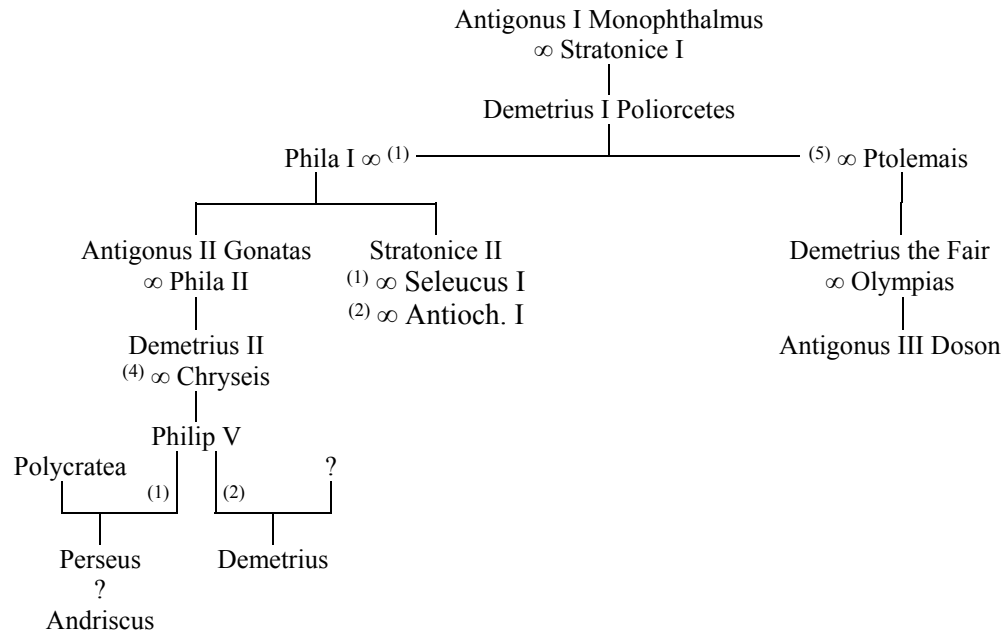
1. Lagid Dynasty



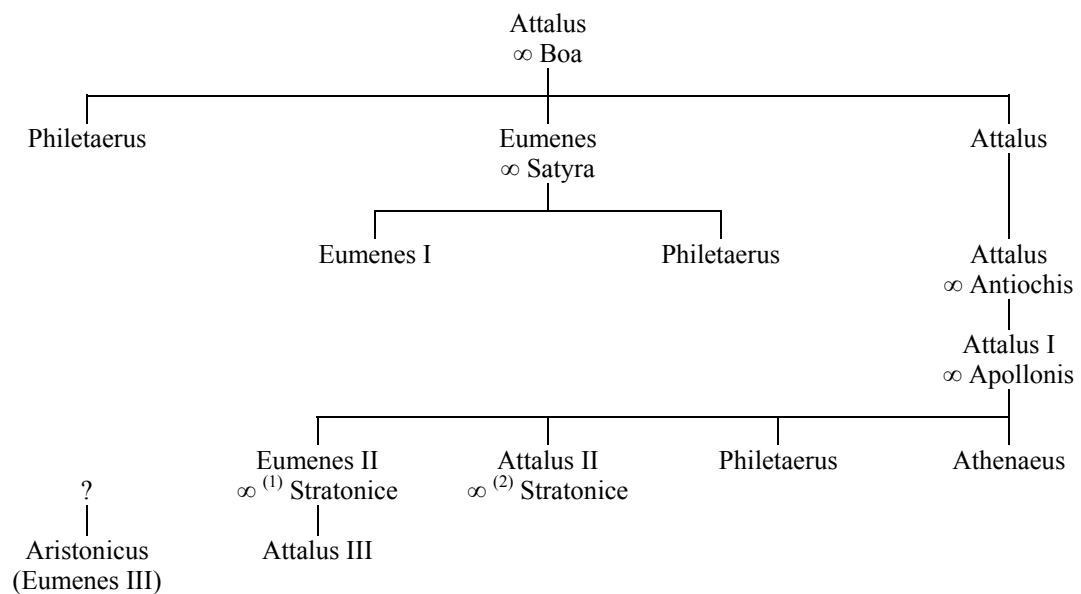
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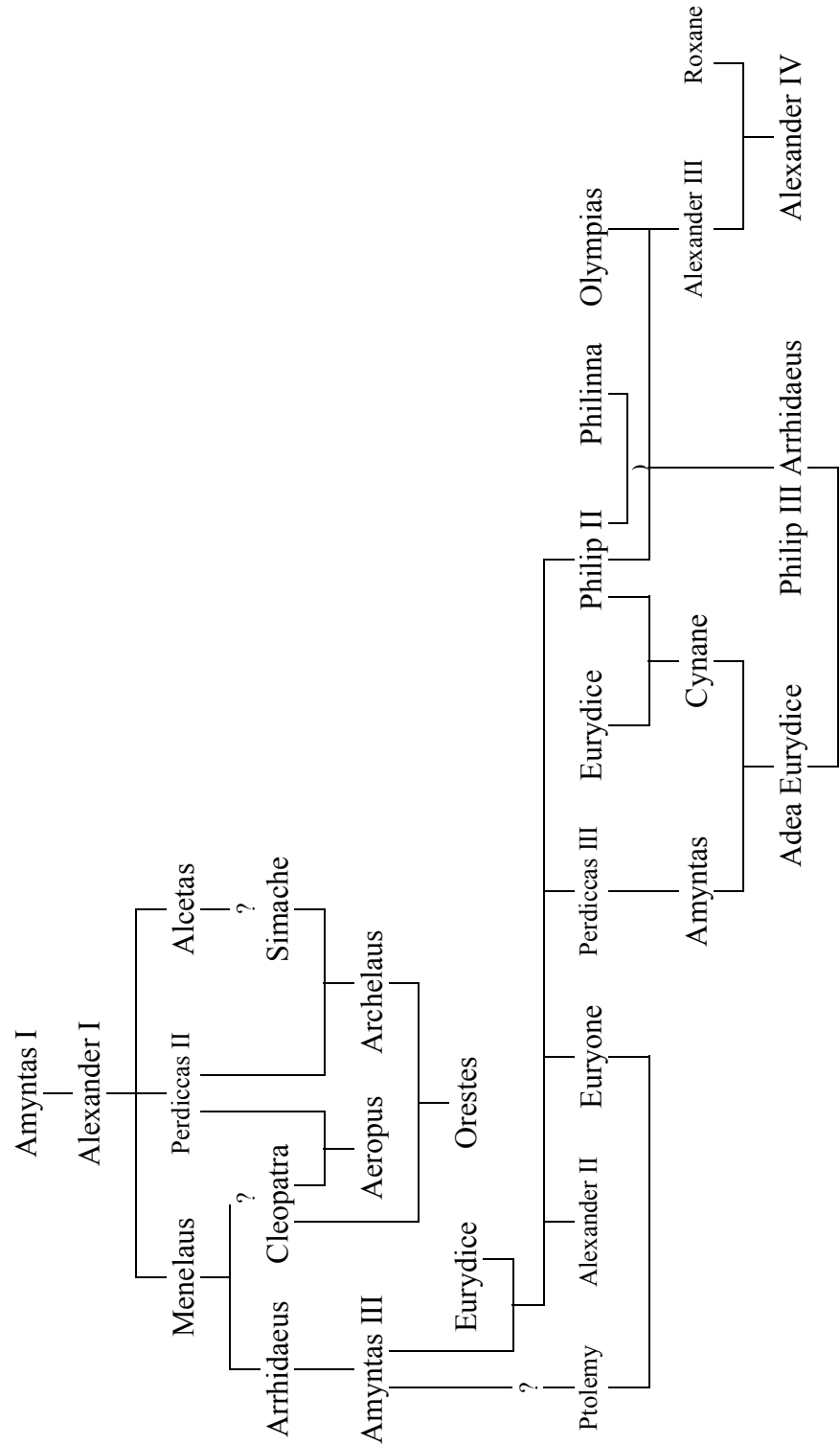
3. Antigoniid Dynasty



4. Attalid Dynasty



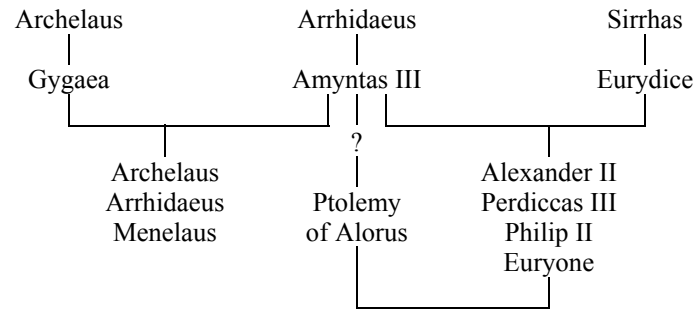
5. Argead Dynasty



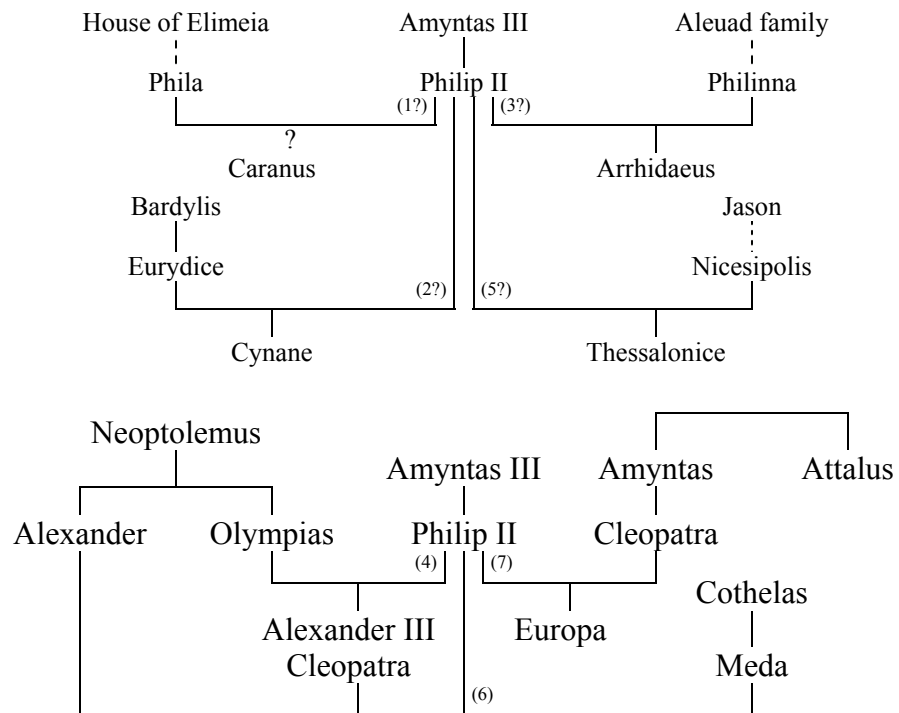
E. FAMILY RELATIONS

So as to illustrate the complex family relations discussed in this dissertation, I herewith provide the following *stemmata*. The same caveats as for the genealogies presented above can be repeated, of course, for these more detailed family trees. Before Hellenistic examples, I first give the family relations of the Argead kings Amyntas III and Philip II (1-2.); of the Diadochs I detail the case of the notorious polygamist Demetrius Poliorcetes (3.); from the Lagid house, I offer the families of the first three Ptolemies (4-6.); and finally I present the relations of Marc Antony (7.).

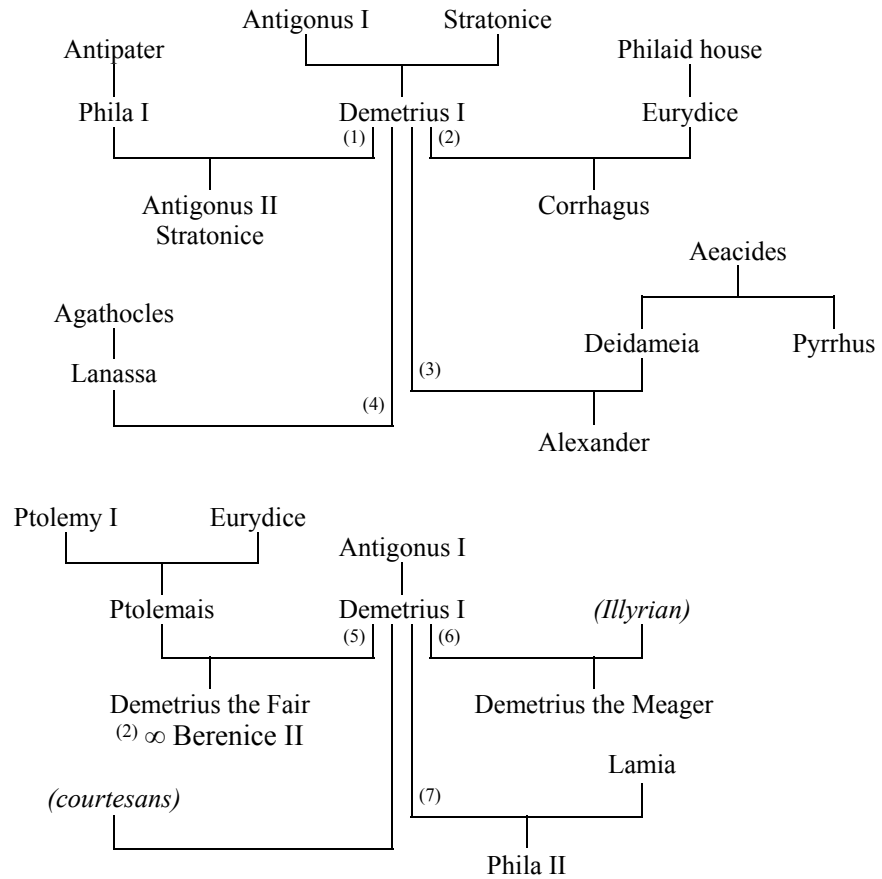
1. Amyntas III



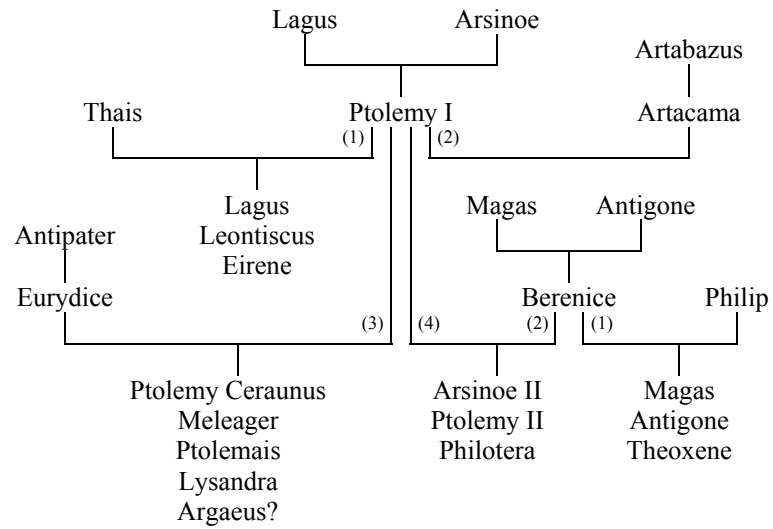
2. Philip II



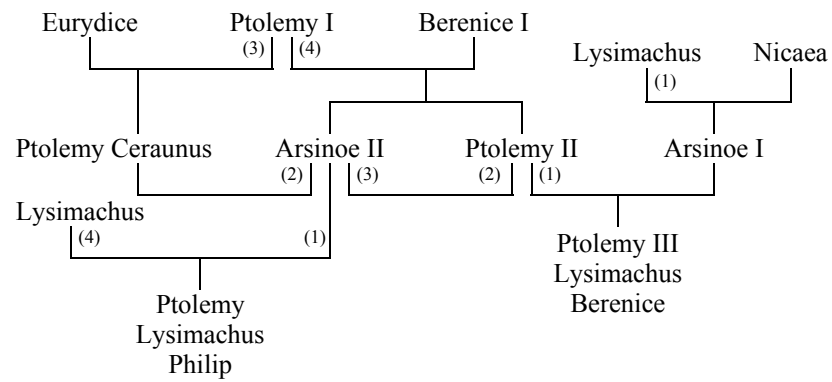
3. Demetrius I Poliorcetes



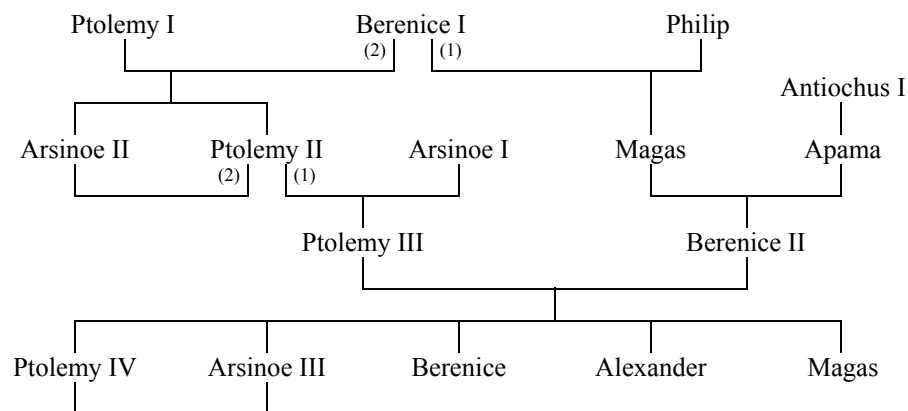
4. Ptolemy I Soter



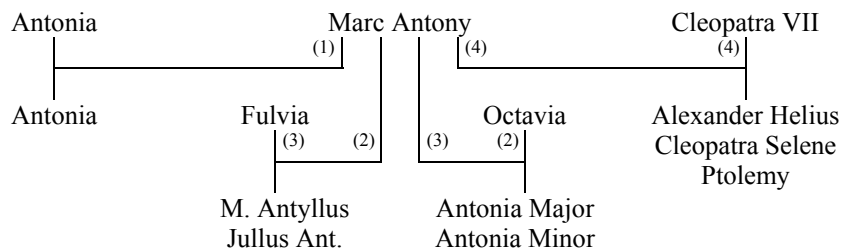
5. Ptolemy II Philadelphus



6. Ptolemy III Euergetes

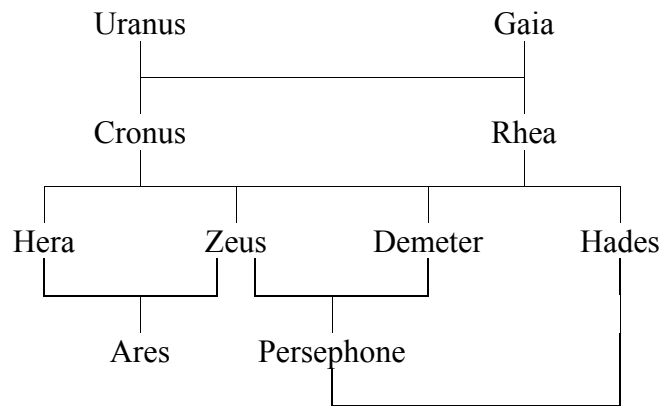


7. Marc Antony

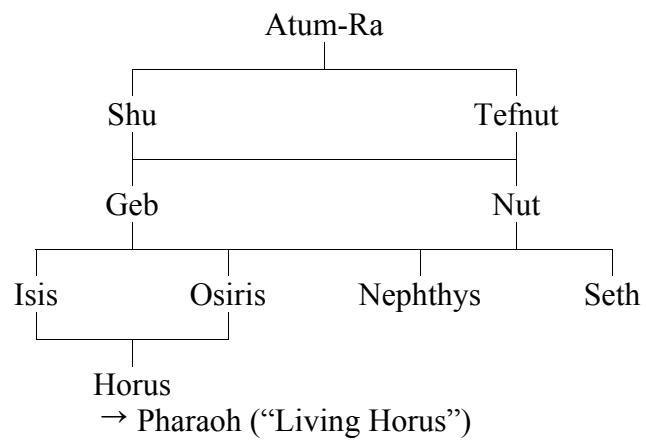


F. THEOGONIES

1. Theogony of the Olympians



2. Theogony of the Heliopolitan Ennead



BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. ABBREVIATIONS*

<i>Abydos</i>	A. M. Calverley <i>et al.</i> , <i>The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos</i> (London and Chicago, 1933-).
AGRM	Greco-Roman Museum (Alexandria).
<i>Anc. Maced.</i>	<i>Ancient Macedonia – Αρχαία Μακεδονία</i> (Thessaloniki, 1989-).
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i> (New York).
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament: Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des alten Orients und des Alten Testaments (Münster).
<i>ATISR</i>	<i>Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion</i> , ed. by M. Totti (Hildesheim, 1985).
BAKU	Akademisches Kunstmuseum der Universität (Bonn).
BAR S	British Archaeological Reports International Series (Oxford).
<i>BD</i>	<i>Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead</i> , ed. by C. Andrews, trans. by R. O. Faulkner (Austin, 2001).
BiEtud	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale: Bibliothèque d'Étude (Cairo).

* Ancient sources, inscriptions, papyri, and modern journals, are generally abbreviated according to the Liddell-Scott *Greek-English Lexicon*⁹, the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*³, or *l'Année Philologique*.

<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> (Cairo).
BKPh	Beiträge zur Klassische Philologie, ed. by R. Merkelbach (Meisenheim am Glan, 1961-).
BMA	The Brooklyn Museum of Art (Brooklyn, N.Y.).
BSAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> , Beihefte, ed. by H. Altenmüller and D. Wildung (Hamburg).
<i>CAF</i>	<i>Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta</i> , 3 vols., ed. by T. Kock (Leipzig, 1880-88).
CCCA	M. J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque</i> , 7 vols. (Leiden, etc., 1977-89).
CEG	Egyptian Museum (Cairo).
<i>CGS</i>	L. R. Farnell, <i>Cults of the Greek States</i> , 4 vols. (Oxford, 1893-1909).
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 4 vols., ed. by A. Boeckh <i>et al.</i> (Berlin, 1828-77).
<i>Coll. Alex.</i>	<i>Collectanea Alexandrina</i> , ed. by J. U. Powell (Oxford, 1925).
<i>CSSH</i>	<i>Comparative Studies in Society and History: An International Quarterly</i> (Cambridge, 1958-).
<i>CT</i>	<i>Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> , 3 vols., trans. by R. O. Faulkner (Oxford, 1973-78).
<i>Dend. Mam.</i>	F. Daumas, <i>Les mammisis de Dendara</i> (Cairo, 1959).
<i>Dendara</i>	E. Chassinat – F. Daumas – S. Cauville, <i>Le temple de Dendara</i> (Cairo, 1934-).
<i>DGTE</i>	A. Claderini, <i>Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto Greco-Romano</i> (Cairo, 1935-).
<i>Edfu Mam. I-II</i>	É. Chassinat, <i>Le mammisi d'Edfou</i> , 2 vols. MIFAO 16 (Cairo, 1910-39).
<i>Edfu</i>	Rochemonteix – Chassinat, <i>Le temple d'Edfou</i> (Paris, 1892-1985).
Epigr. Surv.	The Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
<i>ERE</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics</i> , ed. by J. Hastings (New York, 1955).

F(s)	Fragment(s) of ancient text.
FGrH	<i>Fragmenten griechische Historiker</i> , ed. by F. Jacoby (Berlin, 1923-).
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , 5 vols., ed. by C. Müller (Paris, 1841-70).
FHRA	T. Hopfner, <i>Fontes historiae religiones Aegyptiacae</i> , 5 vols. (Bonn, 1922-25).
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1990-).
Hist. num. ²	B. V. Head, <i>Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics</i> (2 nd ed.; Oxford, 1911).
I. Cair.	A. B. Kamal, <i>Stèles ptolémaïques</i> , CG 22001-22208, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1904-05).
IE ²	<i>Iambi et Elegi</i> , ed. by M. L. West (2 nd ed.; Oxford, 1989).
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (Cairo).
IG Philae I	<i>Les inscriptions grecques de Philae I: Époque ptolémaïque</i> , ed. by A. Bernand (Paris, 1969).
Koptos	W. M. F. Petrie, <i>Koptos</i> (London, 1896).
LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , ed. by W. Helck and E. Otto (Wiesbaden, 1975-).
Lament.	“Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys” = <i>P. Berlin</i> 3008, ed. by R. O. Faulkner, MIFAO 66 (1934): 337-341; <i>P. Bremner-Rhind</i> , ed. by <i>id.</i> , <i>JEA</i> 22 (1936): 122-132.
LBM	British Museum (London). CM = Department of Coins and Medals
LD	R. Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> (Leipzig, 1897-1913).
LdR	H. Gauthier, <i>Le Livre des Rois d’Égypte</i> , 5 vols. (Cairo, 1907-17).
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> (Zürich, 1981-).
MÄS	Münchener ägyptologische Studien, ed. by H. W. Müller and W. Westendorf (Berlin, 1957-).
MBPAR	Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antike Rechtsgeschichte, ed. by L. Wenger and W. Otto (Munich).

<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> (Mainz am Rhein, 1945-).
MEEF	Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund (London).
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts (Boston).
MFAC	Museum of Fine Arts, Collection of Greek Coins (Boston).
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Cairo).
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York).
<i>MjJb</i>	<i>Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst</i> (Munich, 1906-).
<i>OEAE</i>	<i>The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt</i> (Oxford, 2001).
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , ed. by W. Dittenberger, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1903-05).
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago, 1924-).
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Louvain).
OMCA	Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford).
OMRL	Oudheidkundige mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden (Leiden).
<i>PCG</i>	<i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , 7 vols., ed. by R. Kassel and C. Austin (Berlin and New York, 1983-2001).
<i>Philae I</i>	H. Junker, <i>Der große Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä</i> (Vienna, 1958).
<i>Philae II</i>	H. Junker and E. Winter, <i>Das Geburthaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä</i> (Vienna, 1965).
PM	B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> , 8 vols. (Oxford, 1927-).
<i>PMG</i>	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> , ed. by D. L. Page (Oxford, 1962).
<i>PMGF</i>	<i>Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. by M. Davies (Oxford, 1988).
PSH	The State Hermitage (St. Petersburg).

- Pyr.* *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, trans. by R. O. Faulkner (Oxford, 1969).
- RÄRG* *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, ed. by H. Bonnet (Berlin, 1952).
- RAssyr.* *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, ed. by E. Ebeling and B. Meissner (Berlin and New York, 1928-).
- RE* *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. by A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll (Stuttgart, 1893-).
- Rel. Urk.* *Urkunden zur Religion des alten Ägypten*, ed. by G. Roeder (Jena, 1923).
- RML* *Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, ed. by W. H. Roscher (Leipzig, 1884-1937).
- ROM* Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto).
- RT* W. M. F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs* (London, 1900-01).
- RVV* *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin, 1903-39; 1969-).
- Σ *Scholium*, ancient commentary notes on Greek and Latin texts.
- SAK* *Studien zum altägyptischen Kultur* (Hamburg, 1973-).
- SHC* *Studies in Hellenistic Civilization* (Aarhus, 1990-).
- SHR* *Studies in the History of Religions*, supplements to *Numen* (Leiden).
- SIRIS* *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isacae et Sarapicae*, ed. by L. Vidman (Berlin, 1969).
- SNG* *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* (Copenhagen).
- Suppl. Hell.* *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, ed. by H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parson (Berlin, 1983-2005).
- Sv.* J. N. Svoronos, *Τὰ νομίσματα τοῦ Κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, 4 vols. (Athens, 1904-08).
- SVF* *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, ed. by H. F. A. von Arnim, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1903-24).
- Syll.* *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. W. Dittengerg (Leipzig, 1883; 1898-1901²; 1915-24³).

<i>Thes. Inscr.</i>	K. H. Brugsch, <i>Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum</i> (Leipzig, 1883-91).
<i>Urk. II</i>	<i>Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums II: Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit</i> , ed. by K. Sethe (Leipzig, 1904).
<i>Vestigia</i>	<i>Vestigia: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte</i> (Munich).
VKM	Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna).
VMGE	Museo Gregoriano Egizio (The Vatican).
ZSSR	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Romanistische Abteilung</i> (Weimar, 1880-)

II. ANCIENT SOURCES

1. Ancient Literature

Achilles Tatius (*fl. ca.* 175 CE) [Achil. Tat.]
_____. *Leucippe et Clitophon*.

Aelianus, Claudius (165/70-230/5 CE) [Ael.]
_____. *De Natura Animalium*. [NA]
_____. *Varia Historia*. [VH]

Aeschines (*ca.* 397-*ca.* 322 BCE) [Aeschin.]
_____. II: *De falsa legatione*. [Fals. Legat.]

Aeschylus (525/4-456/5 BCE) [Aesch.]
_____. *Agamemnon*. [Ag.]
_____. *Choephoroe*. [Cho.]
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Alciphron (*ca.* 3rd cent. CE) [Alciphrr.]
_____. *Epistolae*, ed. by M. A. Schepers (Stuttgart, 1969).

Alcman (*fl. ca.* 725 BCE) [Alcm.]
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Ammianus Marcellinus (*ca.* 330-395 CE) [Amm. Marc.]
_____. *Historia Augusta*.

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_____. *De mysteriis*. [De myst.]

Antimachus Colophonius (*fl. ca.* 400 BCE) [Antim.]
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- Archias, Aulus Licinius (ca. 102-62 BCE) [Arch.]
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- Arnobius (fl. ca. 300 CE) [Arnob.]
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 _____. *Periplus Maris Euxini*. [Peripl. M. Eux.]
- Artemidorus Daldianus (ca. 175 CE) [Artem.]
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- Asclepiades Sicelides (fl. 300-270 BCE) [Asclep.]
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- Athenaeus Naucrati (fl. ca. 200 CE) [Athen.]
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Augustinus, Aurelius (354-430 CE) [August.]

_____. *De civitate Dei*. [Civ. D.]

Bion Smyrnaeus (fl. ca. late 2nd cent. BCE)

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Book of the Dead [BD]

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Callimachus (ca. 320-240 BCE) [Callim.]

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_____. "Coma Berenices" (= F 110). [*Com. Ber.*]

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Callisthenes, pseudo- (ca. 240 CE) [ps.-Callisth.]

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Callixinus Rhodius (ca. 3rd cent. BCE) [Callix.]

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Cassius Dio (ca. 164-post 229 CE) [Dio Cass.]

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Catullus, Gaius Valerius (ca. 84-54 BCE) [Catull.]

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Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BCE) [Cic.]

_____. *De natura deorum*. [*Nat. deor.*]

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 _____. V: "Cimon." [*Cim.*]
- Crinagoras Mytilenius (ca. 45 BCE-ca. 15 CE) [Crin.]
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- Curtius Rufus, Quintus (mid-1st cent.CE) [Curt.]
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- Cyrillus Alexandrinus (fl. ca. 440 CE) [Cyr. Alex.]
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- Damagetus (3rd cent. BCE) [Damag.]
 _____. *Epigrammata*, in *Anth. Pal.*
- Demosthenes (384-322 BCE) [Dem.]
 _____. XLI: In Spudian. [*Spud.*]
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 _____. LVII: In Ebuliden. [*Ebul.*]
- Dio Cocceianus Chrysostomus (ca. 40-120 CE) [Dio Chrys.]
 _____. *Orationes*. [*Or.*]
- Diodorus Siculus (fl. ca. 60-30 BCE) [Diod.]
 _____. *Bibliotheca Historica*.
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Georgius Choeroboscus (ca. 600 CE) [Georg. Cheorob.]

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- _____. *Astronomia*. [Astron.]

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 _____. XII: Ad Junonem. [Jun.]
 _____. XIV: Ad Matrem Deum. [Mat. D.]
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Isaeus (ca 420-ca. 345 BCE) [Isae.]
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_____. "Eumenes." [*Eum.*]

_____. "Lycurgus." [*Lyc.*]

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