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**ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗ ΕΥΠΛΑΟΙΑ**

Queen Arsinoë II, the Maritime Aphrodite and  
Early Ptolemaic Ruler Cult

Carlos Francis Robinson  
Bachelor of Arts (Hons. 1)

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## **Abstract**

### **Queen Arsinoë II, the Maritime Aphrodite and Early Ptolemaic Ruler Cult**

By the early Hellenistic period a trend was emerging in which royal women were deified as Aphrodite. In a unique innovation, Queen Arsinoë II of Egypt (c. 316 – 270 BC) was deified as the maritime Aphrodite, and was associated with the cult titles *Euploia*, *Akraia*, and *Galenaië*. It was the important study of Robert (1966) which identified that the poets Posidippus and Callimachus were honouring Arsinoë II as the maritime Aphrodite. This thesis examines how this new third-century BC cult of ‘Arsinoë Aphrodite’ adopted aspects of Greek cults of the maritime Aphrodite, creating a new derivative cult. The main historical sources for this cult are the epigrams of Posidippus and Callimachus, including a relatively new epigram (Posidippus *AB* 39) published in 2001. This thesis demonstrates that the new cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite utilised existing traditions, such as: Aphrodite’s role as patron of fleets, the practice of dedications to Aphrodite by admirals, the use of invocations before sailing, and the practice of marine dedications such as shells. In this way the Ptolemies incorporated existing religious traditions into a new form of ruler cult. This study is the first attempt to trace the direct relationship between Ptolemaic ruler cult and existing traditions of the maritime Aphrodite, and deepens our understanding of the strategies of ruler cult adopted in the early Hellenistic period. In establishing the context for the creation of this cult, this thesis also examines the naval policies of Ptolemy I and II, to show that the new cult was likely created to assist in presenting the Ptolemaic dynasty as a dominant naval power in the Eastern Mediterranean. The origins of Hellenistic ruler cult are also examined, and this thesis argues that existing Classical Greek hero and heroine cults influenced the development of divine honours for mortal rulers.

## **Declaration by author**

This thesis is composed of my original work, and contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. I have clearly stated the contribution by others to jointly-authored works that I have included in my thesis.

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No publications included.

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No manuscripts submitted for publication.

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No other publications.

**Contributions by others to the thesis**

No contributions by others.

**Statement of parts of the thesis submitted to qualify for the award of another degree**

No works submitted towards another degree have been included in this thesis.

**Research Involving Human or Animal Subjects**

No animal or human subjects were involved in this research.

## Acknowledgements

Posidippus and Callimachus could often be quite terse  
And always get their point across within a tiny verse  
These epigrams do not begin by calling on the Muse  
When you've only got ten lines there is no time to lose!  
The dedicated object always has something to say  
And so this thesis might address the reader in this way:  
'A fair blank sheet I was, sitting in a printer tray  
Until inscribed upon me were the words you read today –  
Though a dedicated object I'd like to make this dedication:  
To Dr. Amelia Brown, for all your help and inspiration  
To all the Classics staff for your help at every stage  
For definitely improving what is written on each page –  
To Judy and to Angie a gigantic thanks is due:  
This thesis never could have been completed without you –  
Callimachus was made to take a mighty library role  
He had to read and catalogue every single scroll  
No wonder that he hated any book that wasn't small –  
When you read what follows may it also not appal!'

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Queen Arsinoë II, Ptolemaic ruler cult, *Euploia*, Maritime Aphrodite, Alexandrian epigram.

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**Dedication**

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The majority of abbreviations used for ancient authors and their works are listed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Fourth Edition (2012): xxvii-liii (also available online). The following abbreviations for modern works are also used throughout this thesis.

- BMC*            *A Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*, R. S. Poole, Bologna: Arnaldo Forni (Reprint), 1963.
- CPE*            *Coins of the Ptolemaic Empire*, C. C. Lorber, New York: American Numismatic Society, 2018.
- Svoronos        *TA NOMISMATA TOY KPATOYΣ TΩN ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩΝ*, J. N. Svoronos, Athens: Typois P. D. Sakellariou, 1904.

## INTRODUCTION

### ‘The Most Extraordinary Woman of Her Time’?

ἡ δὲ καὶ εὐπλοίην δώσει καὶ χεῖματι μέσσωι  
τὸ πλατὺ λισσομένοις ἐκλιπανεῖ πέλαγος  
*‘She will grant safe sailing and in the midst of a storm  
Smooth the vast sea for those who implore her.’*<sup>1</sup>

This thesis analyses the use of the maritime Aphrodite in the Hellenistic period and how it relates to Ptolemaic naval history and ruler cult innovations. It argues that the third-century BC Alexandrian epigrams written in honour of ‘Arsinoë Aphrodite *Euploia*’ demonstrate that this new cult incorporated existing traditions of the maritime Aphrodite into a new form of Ptolemaic ruler cult. While Robert (1966) argued that the poets Posidippus and Callimachus honoured Queen Arsinoë II as the maritime Aphrodite, this thesis argues Ptolemy II also encouraged the assimilation of aspects of the cult of the maritime Aphrodite into the ruler cult of Arsinoë II.<sup>2</sup> In a recently discovered papyrus, which was published in 2001 and contains epigrams attributed to Posidippus, Arsinoë is referred to as Ἀρσινόη Εὐπλοία (‘Arsinoë of fair sailing’).<sup>3</sup> This indicates that Arsinoë’s ruler cult utilised the *Euploia* cult title, which had been used in cults for Aphrodite since around the fifth century BC. The new cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite also utilised other existing traditions of the maritime Aphrodite, including: the use of invocations before and after sailing, dedications by successful admirals, Aphrodite’s patronage of naval fleets, the location and design of the temple, and the dedication of shells and locks of hair. The maritime Aphrodite also had a role as patron of successful marriages, which was important in Arsinoë’s new cult. Ptolemy II incorporated aspects of the cult through the assimilation of his sister-wife to Aphrodite *Euploia*.

The deification of Arsinoë as the Maritime Aphrodite can be better understood through the context of her life, which included two dramatic escapes by sea, sponsorship of a temples related to maritime religion, and her own popularity in the northern Aegean, as a result of being a Queen of Thrace and Macedonia. Arsinoë II was born around 316 BC, the eldest child of the Egyptian King Ptolemy I (*r.* 323 – 282 BC) and his fourth wife, Berenice I.<sup>4</sup> As part of a series of marriage alliances

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<sup>1</sup> Posidippus *AB* 119.5-6 (translation based on Austin and Bastianini 2002 and Stephens 2004a).

<sup>2</sup> Robert 1966: 200; *cf.* Hauben 1983: 111; Bing 2003: 245; Carney 2013: 98-100; Meadows 2013: 29-31.

<sup>3</sup> Posidippus *AB* 39.2 (own translation).

<sup>4</sup> Arsinoë’s birth date is inferred from the date of her marriage after 301 BC to Lysimachus (Plut. *Demetr.* 31.1; Memnon *BNJ* 434 4.9; Justin 17.1.4; Ogden 1999: 70; Carney 2000*b*: 173, 2013: 11; Dmitriev 2007: 137; van Oppen de Ruiter 2011: 88, 2012: 3; Nilsson 2012: 2; Worthington 2016: 114). Berenice may have been a mistress and not

between the early Hellenistic dynasties, she was married to Lysimachus, the King of Thrace, shortly after 301 BC.<sup>5</sup> Arsinoë was the fourth wife of Lysimachus, but at the time of their marriage, Arsinoë was Lysimachus' most prestigious partner.<sup>6</sup> Memnon reports that Lysimachus' Persian wife Amastris left Sardis to make way for Arsinoë, and Arsinoë was also given the distinction of having the nearby city of Ephesus renamed after her.<sup>7</sup> From 285 – 281 BC Arsinoë was briefly a Macedonian Queen after Lysimachus successfully seized the Macedonian throne, after defeating rivals Demetrius and Pyrrhus.<sup>8</sup> However, Lysimachus' reign over Macedonia was short lived as his dynasty collapsed after a succession crisis, in which Arsinoë may have played some role, although this continues to be debated by modern historians.<sup>9</sup> In summary, Agathocles, Lysimachus' son by another wife (Nicaea), had won popularity for defeating Demetrius and Lysimachus may have regarded him as a potential threat and had him assassinated, possibly at the urging of Arsinoë.<sup>10</sup> The result was internal instability, as the immediate family and supporters of Agathocles fled to Seleucus, who took the opportunity to launch an invasion of Lysimachus' territory.<sup>11</sup> This resulted in the Battle of Corupedium in 281 BC, which culminated in the death of Lysimachus, and the dissolution of his Kingdom.<sup>12</sup> Arsinoë was at Arsinoë (Ephesus) when the news arrived of Lysimachus' death, and Polyaeus states that a faction supporting Seleucus betrayed the city and opened the gates. Arsinoë narrowly escaped by disguising herself as a maid and sailing out of the city unrecognised.<sup>13</sup>

Seleucus appeared to have finally emerged as the ultimate victor of the Wars of the Successors, only to be suddenly stabbed to death by Arsinoë's half-brother, Ptolemy Ceraunus, later in 281 BC.<sup>14</sup> Following her dramatic escape from Arsinoë (Ephesus), Arsinoë had established herself in the city of Cassandreia, where modern historians have conjectured that she was defended by a

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Ptolemy's wife when Arsinoë was born (Macurdy 1932: 112; Burstein 1982: 198; Ellis 1994: 42; van Oppen de Ruiter 2011: 89; Carney 2013: 21).

<sup>5</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 31.3; Paus. 1.10.3; Justin 15.4.22; Memnon *BNJ* 434 4.9; Macurdy 1932: 112; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.240; Lund 1992: 88; Ogden 1999: 57-59; Carney 2013: 25, 31, 40; Worthington 2016: 174.

<sup>6</sup> Memnon *BNJ* 434 4.9; Macurdy 1932: 113; Ogden 1999: 57; Carney 2013: 35-36.

<sup>7</sup> Memnon *BNJ* 434 4.9; Strabo 14.1.21, 10.2.22; Paus. 1.9.8; Burstein 1982: 198-199; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.236; Lund 1992: 104; Carney 2000*b*: 174, 2013: 35-36.

<sup>8</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 44.2, 46.4-47.2, *Pyrrh.* 11.1, 12.1-7; Paus. 1.10.2; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.234-236; Lund 1992: 104-105.

<sup>9</sup> Paus. 1.10.3; Justin 17.1.4-17.2.1; Memnon *BNJ* 434 5.6; Strabo 13.4.1; Lucian, *Ikaromenip* 15; Macurdy 1932: 114; Burstein 1982: 200; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.239-240; Grainger 1990: 178-180; Lund 1992: 186-191; Ogden 1999: 60-62; Hazzard 2000:82-83; Carney 2000*b*: 175; 2013: 44-45; Worthington 2016: 182.

<sup>10</sup> Agathocles' popularity: Plut. *Demetr.* 46.4-47.2; Grainger 1990: 177-178; Dmitriev 2007: 135. Arsinoë's role in the assassination: Memnon *BNJ* 434 5.6; Paus. 1.10.3; Justin 17.1.4; Strabo 13.4.1; Lucian, *Ikaromenip* 15; Dmitriev 2007: 146-149; Carney 2013: 44-47.

<sup>11</sup> Paus. 1.10.4; Justin 17.1.5-12; Memnon *BNJ* 434 5.7; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.240; Grainger 1990: 180-182; Lund 1992: 199-201; Carney 2000*b*: 175; 2013: 45.

<sup>12</sup> Justin 17.2.1-5; Memnon *BNJ* 434 5.7; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.241; Lund 1992: 205-206.

<sup>13</sup> Polyaeus, *Strat.* 8.57; Macurdy 1932: 114; Grainger 1990: 183, 185; Carney 2000*b*: 175; 2013: 47-48.

<sup>14</sup> Justin 17.2.4-5; Strabo 13.4.1; App. *Syr.* 62-63; Memnon *BNJ* 434 8.3; Paus. 1.16.2, 10.19.7; Pliny, *HN* 6.31; Tarn 1913: 129; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.243-244; Grainger 1990: 191; Carney 2013: 50.

mercenary force, or troops still loyal to Lysimachus.<sup>15</sup> In late 281, or early 280 BC, Antigonus Gonatas attempted to seize the Macedonian throne, but Ceraunus defeated him in a naval battle, possibly near Thrace, using the fleet of Lysimachus.<sup>16</sup> Ceraunus then focussed his attention upon disarming his half-sister Arsinoë, again perhaps in 281 or 280 BC.<sup>17</sup> Since he was unable to dislodge her from Cassandreia, he instead besieged her with a charm offensive of ‘flattering glances’ (*blandientes oculi*) and a proposal of marriage.<sup>18</sup> There are various possible explanations for Ceraunus’ unusual decision to court his half-sister, including a desire to neutralise the political threat posed by Arsinoë’s sons, who were legitimate heirs to the Macedonian throne, or perhaps a desire to forestall anyone else from claiming the Macedonian throne through Arsinoë by marrying her himself.<sup>19</sup> Wary of duplicity, Arsinoë extracted an oath from Ceraunus that his intentions were genuine, and that she would be Queen (*regina*), and that he would adopt her children.<sup>20</sup> Justin reports that Arsinoë was subsequently ‘overjoyed’ (*laetitia effusa*) as she was crowned with a diadem and hailed as Queen before the army assembly of Macedonia.<sup>21</sup> However, shortly afterwards Ceraunus seized control of Cassandreia, ordered his men to stab Arsinoë’s children to death in her arms, and dragged her out of the city.<sup>22</sup>

Arsinoë was forced to sail to safety for the second time, and perhaps these two dramatic incidents instilled a personal interest in maritime religion, and maritime saviour gods. The twice deposed fugitive queen took refuge on the island of Samothrace, which was itself famous for its sanctuary of the Great Gods (*Theoi Megaloi*), who were maritime saviour gods.<sup>23</sup> It is likely that Arsinoë fled to Samothrace due to her earlier patronage of this cult, which included the construction of the largest round building in Greek architecture, known to modern historians as the Rotunda of

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<sup>15</sup> Justin 24.2.1, 24.3.3 (‘her city’ *urbs suus*); Tarn 1913: 130; Macurdy 1932: 114-115; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.242; Burton 1995: 124; Carney 2000*b*: 176; 2013: 52. It is notable that in a similar situation in 288 BC, when Demetrius was ejected from Macedonia, he also took refuge in Cassandreia (Plut. *Demetr.* 45.1). Trogus (*Prologue* 24) implies that Arsinoë controlled multiple cities (*urbes*), and not just Cassandreia (Tarn 1913: 130 n40).

<sup>16</sup> Memnon *BNJ* 434 8.4-6; Justin 24.1.1-8; Tarn 1913: 131; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.244-245; Carney 2013: 50.

<sup>17</sup> Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.247. Justin (17.2.6-10) puts Ceraunus’ courting of Arsinoë before his battle with Antigonus but this seems less likely (Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.245 n1).

<sup>18</sup> Justin 24.2.1-10 (trans. Watson 1853). *c.f.* 17.2.6-9; Memnon *BNJ* 434 8.7.

<sup>19</sup> Hammond and Walbank 1988: 247; Carney 2013: 54; Worthington 2016: 182.

<sup>20</sup> Justin 24.2.8-9, 17.2.7-8; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.247; Carney 2000*b*: 176; 2013: 56.

<sup>21</sup> Justin 24.3.3 (trans. Watson 1853); Macurdy 1932: 115; Carney (2000*b*: 232-233, 2013: 57) notes this ceremony was significant as the earliest example of a Hellenistic woman being crowned with a diadem.

<sup>22</sup> Justin 24.3.3-9; Macurdy 1932: 115; Carney 2013: 60. Arsinoë’s eldest son (‘Ptolemy of Telmessus’) escaped and eventually became ruler of Telmessus: Trogus, *Prologue* 24; *OGIS* 55 (Austin 2006: 270); Livy 37.56.4; Billows 1995: 101; Tunny 2000: 86-87; Carney 2000*b*: 176, 2013: 63; Holbl 2001: 38; van Oppen de Ruiter 2010: 148.

<sup>23</sup> Arsinoë’s escape: Justin 24.3.9. *Theoi Megaloi* and safety at sea: Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.915-921; Diog. Laert. 6.59; Cole 1984: 2, 6; Burkert 1985: 284, 1987: 13-14, 1993: 146-147; Wescoat 2005: 170; Dimitrova 2008: 245.



Arsinoë, which demonstrates Arsinoë's interest in maritime religion and architecture.<sup>24</sup> Another large building, which was designed to hold a dedicated ship and was also located in the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace, was possibly also constructed by Arsinoë.<sup>25</sup> The dedicated ship was located opposite the Rotunda of Arsinoë, and was built in the second quarter of the third century BC, which would coincide with Arsinoë's forced exile on the island (c. 280 – 276 BC).<sup>26</sup> Further, the avoidance of costly construction materials could reflect Arsinoë's constrained circumstances in this period, and the dedicated ship was a small and fast craft which may have been the ship that Arsinoë used to escape from danger twice.<sup>27</sup> While the identity of the ship's dedicator remains a source of debate, it seems likely that Arsinoë was initiated into the cult of the Great Gods and had an interest in maritime religion.<sup>28</sup> No narrative source describes the final epoch of Arsinoë's life, so the dates for the last events of Arsinoë's life are all conjectural. Eventually Arsinoë left Samothrace and returned to Alexandria, at some point between 279 – 276 BC.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps around 275 BC Arsinoë then married her full brother, Ptolemy II, who had been co-King of Egypt since 285 BC, and sole ruler after the death of Ptolemy I in 282 BC.<sup>30</sup> Arsinoë was then a Queen of Egypt until her death, which modern historians place between 270 – 268 BC, when she may have been around 50 years old.<sup>31</sup> It was also around this time, just before or just after Arsinoë's death, that a number of new ruler cults were created for Arsinoë, including her assimilation with the maritime Aphrodite.<sup>32</sup>

Arsinoë II was a sensational figure for contemporary and ancient authors, and remains controversial for modern historians. For instance, the contemporary third century BC poet Sotades satirised Arsinoë's unusual marriage to her brother as 'εις οὐχ ὀσίην τρυμαλιήν τὸ κέντρον ὠθεῖς' ('you're thrusting your poker into an unholy slot'), and was allegedly drowned on the orders of Ptolemy II.<sup>33</sup> Centuries later, some Greeks were perhaps still shocked at the marriage, as shown by the biographer Plutarch, who commented that the marriage was 'ἀλλόκοτον νομιζομένου καὶ ἄθεσμον' ('unnatural and unlawful').<sup>34</sup> It seems that contemporaries found her in some way fascinating, since Arsinoë also appears in Plutarch's work as the punchline of a racy joke from

<sup>24</sup> *OGIS* 15; Burstein 1982: 199; Cole 1984: 22; Lund 1992: 168; Carney 2000: 174, 2013: 38; Chamoux 2003: 333-334. Meadows (2013: 29) argues Arsinoë commissioned the rotunda later while married to Ptolemy II.

<sup>25</sup> Wescoat 2005: 171; Pounder 2010: 194 n. 7.

<sup>26</sup> Wescoat 2005: 163; Pounder 2010: 193.

<sup>27</sup> Wescoat 2005: 166-167, 171.

<sup>28</sup> Cole 1984: 22; Carney 2013: 62.

<sup>29</sup> Tarn 1913: 261; Macurdy 1932: 116; Burstein 1982: 200; Hazzard 2000: 84; Carney 2013: 66.

<sup>30</sup> Marriage date: Ager 2005: 39; Carney 2013: 70.

<sup>31</sup> Macurdy 1932: 128; Thompson 1955: 201; Burstein 1982: 200; Pomeroy 1990: 18; Hazzard 2000: 50; Holbl 2001: 40; Ager 2005: 40; van Oppen de Ruyter 2010: 139; Carney 2013: 104.

<sup>32</sup> Carney 2013: 97-100, 106-110.

<sup>33</sup> *Plut. Mor.* 11a; *Ath.* 14.621ab (trans. S. Douglas Olson); Tarn 1913: 263; Fraser 1972: 1.117-118; Ogden 2008: 372-373; Carney 2013: 73.

<sup>34</sup> *Plut. Quaest. conv.* 736ef; *c.f.* Carney 2013: 73.

Demetrius, and Arsinoë was also lampooned by one of Lysimachus' generals.<sup>35</sup> Ancient authors provide very different assessments of Arsinoë's character, drawing on now lost contemporary Hellenistic sources. Pausanias implies she attempted to seduce and then murdered Lysimachus' son Agathocles, while Justin portrays Arsinoë as bravely shielding her sons as Ceraunus' men stabbed them to death.<sup>36</sup> At the opposite extreme to the obscene quips of Demetrius and Sotades is the contemporary Alexandrian court poetry of Callimachus, Theocritus and Posidippus, where Arsinoë is regal and divine; and in her guise as the maritime Aphrodite, omniscient and bestowing her benevolence upon mariners and maidens.

Much of the modern historical debate regarding Arsinoë concerns the amount of political influence she wielded during her lifetime. The first or second century AD historian Memnon of Heraclea summarised Arsinoë's character as, 'ἤν γὰρ δεινὴ περιελθεῖν.'<sup>37</sup> Historians of the early twentieth century interpreted Arsinoë as independent and strong willed, and Macurdy (1932) translated Memnon's sentence as, 'Arsinoë was one to get her own way,' although a more literal translation might be 'Arsinoë was skilful at intrigue.'<sup>38</sup> Historians in the early twentieth century took a highly positive view of Arsinoë, and for example Tarn (1913) argued that the strong-willed Arsinoë convinced her indolent brother to marry her, in order to provide herself with a platform from which to use her dazzling intelligence to reinsert herself into international affairs.<sup>39</sup> Her earlier actions in attempting to outwit Ceraunus and secure the future of her sons also earned plaudits from earlier historians, and Bevan (1927) states, 'she was little more than a girl, but she was also ... a Macedonian princess, with not a little of the tigress.'<sup>40</sup> Historians continued to see Arsinoë as the directing intelligence behind the throne of the supposedly lazy Ptolemy II; and Macurdy (1932) noted that, 'she was clearly the true daughter of the astute Ptolemy, and much more his intellectual heir than the madman Ceraunus or the sensualist Philadelphus.'<sup>41</sup> The positive assessments of Arsinoë, along with the tigress metaphors, reached their apogee with Huzzar (1966), who stated that, 'she was a typical Hellenistic tigress queen, in the formidable tradition of Olympias or Cleopatra.'<sup>42</sup> A pushback against this assessment began with Burstein (1982), who argued for 'a significant revision of Arsinoë's role,' and that 'her influence in the actual governing of Egypt ... was [not] significantly greater than that

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<sup>35</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 25.6; Ath. 14.616c; Bosworth 2002: 273; Carney 2013: 39.

<sup>36</sup> Paus. 1.10.3; Justin 24.3.7-8.

<sup>37</sup> Memnon *BNJ* 434 5.4; Macurdy 1932: 118.

<sup>38</sup> Macurdy 1932: 118.

<sup>39</sup> Tarn 1913: 261-264, 313, 1927: 13-14, 51. Tarn (1913: 123) is almost more panegyric than Theocritus, *e.g.* when describing Arsinoë's coins: 'no lovelier face has come down to us from the Greek world.'

<sup>40</sup> Bevan 1927: 57.

<sup>41</sup> Macurdy 1932: 112; Mattingly 1950.

<sup>42</sup> Huzzar 1966: 337.

attested for other third-century queens.’<sup>43</sup> Whereas earlier historians praised her tigress-like bravery in facing down Ceraunus, and saw her as a directing influence over Ptolemy II’s government, more recently Hazzard (2000) came to the much bleaker conclusion that Arsinoë showed ‘lack of judgment ... and lack of influence,’ and that far from dominating her younger brother, she arrived in Egypt ‘poor and powerless.’<sup>44</sup> A century ago Tarn (1913) characterised Arsinoë as ‘the most extraordinary woman of her time,’ but more recently Carney (2013) argued for ‘a middle course in considering the degree and sort of influence Arsinoë wielded with her various husbands.’<sup>45</sup> Perhaps Arsinoë’s biography could be greater understood through the role that she played through her various ruler cults, as discussed in this thesis. After returning to Egypt, Arsinoë was deified in a number of ruler cults, which had both a Greek and Egyptian focus, and were intended to promote the dynasty both across the Aegean and among the dynasty’s Egyptian subjects. These included new cults, such as the *Adelphoi* cult (‘Divine Siblings’), and the *Philadelphus* cult (‘Brother Loving’); assimilation with existing deities such as Isis and Agathe Tyche; associations with the Egyptian deities like Amun and Bandebdjedet; and of course, her assimilation with the Maritime Aphrodite to create a new derivative cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite.

## II. Structure and Sources

This thesis focuses on the early Hellenistic era, and both the precedents for, and the impact of, the cult of Arsinoë assimilated as the maritime Aphrodite, in Alexandria and in the broader Hellenistic Greek world. Chapter One argues that aspects of the Maritime Aphrodite were incorporated into the Ptolemaic Ruler Cult, including cult titles and cult practices. Chapter Two outlines the precedents for the development of Hellenistic ruler cult, and also argues that heroine cult influenced the development of ruler cult for women. Section 2.2 also argues that Ptolemy I and II in particular were highly innovative in creating new forms of ruler cult, which provided the context for the deification of Arsinoë as the Maritime Aphrodite. Lastly, Chapter Three examines the connections between naval power, sailors and the maritime Aphrodite. It is argued that Greek cults of the Maritime Aphrodite had origins in the Archaic period, and usually arose in regions notable for naval power. This cult was therefore useful for Ptolemy II’s presentation of the dynasty, especially in his desire to project an image of naval strength through building the Hellenistic world’s largest battleships.

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<sup>43</sup> Burstien 1982: 210, 212; cf. Pomeroy 1990: 19.

<sup>44</sup> Hazzard 2000: 84-85.

<sup>45</sup> Tarn 1913: 123; Carney 2013: 10.

Chapter One contains the main argument of this thesis, which is that the cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite adapted pre-existing traditions of the maritime Aphrodite. Recent major studies of the maritime Aphrodite include Miranda (1989) and Pirenne-Delforge (1994), neither of which examine the use of the maritime Aphrodite in Arsinoë's cult in detail. In terms of Greek maritime religion, Papadopoulou's (2010) work focusses on the use of the maritime Aphrodite in Classical Athens, and Brody's (1998, 2008) studies do not specifically examine the maritime Aphrodite in the Hellenistic period. The maritime Aphrodite has also been studied from the angle of Hellenistic poetry, and notable studies relevant to this thesis are Bing (2003) and Stephens (2004*a*), on the portrayal of Arsinoë in Posidippus' recently rediscovered poetry. Further, the recent work of Demetriou (2010) incorporates the newly published poems of Posidippus, but does not compare these epigrams to the poetry of Callimachus, or analyse the cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite in relation to the maritime Aphrodite in detail.

Chapter Two argues that the context in which the deification of Arsinoë occurred was the development of Hellenistic ruler cult, and the trend towards offering divine honours towards women. This chapter argues that Hellenistic ruler cult developed out of Greek traditions of hero cult, and various precedents established in the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC, and was especially influenced by the cults created for Alexander the Great. Although scholars like Badian (2012) have argued that the defining factor in the creation of Hellenistic ruler cult was the lifetime of Alexander the Great, this chapter argues that there were various precedents set during the Peloponnesian War, including the bestowal of hero cult for the Athenian Hagnon (while still alive) and the creation of a posthumous refounder cult for the Spartan general Brasidas, despite not being the founder of Amphipolis. These incidents created precedents for the early Hellenistic period, when the bestowal of divine honours soon became routine for Successors including Ptolemy I, as part of the changing relationship between the Greek cities and the Successor Kings. The creation of ruler cults for Hellenistic royal women also became common after the lifetime of Alexander the Great. Hellenistic royal women were especially associated with Aphrodite, creating a precedent which was adapted by Ptolemy II for Arsinoë when she was assimilated with the maritime Aphrodite.

The standard work which analyses the development of Hellenistic ruler cult in general is Habicht (1970), whose views are complemented by counter arguments from Badian and Bosworth.<sup>46</sup> There are various ongoing historical debates surrounding the development of Hellenistic ruler cult.

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<sup>46</sup> Habicht 1970 has been revised and translated into English (Habicht 2018). Badian's work has also been revised and reprinted in Badian 2012.

One major controversy is whether the Greek practice of ruler cult developed from the earlier traditions of hero cult. Walbank (1984), Price (1984) and Badian (2012) argue that hero cult was not a major influence upon the creation of ruler cult. This chapter follows the views of Kearns (1989) and Currie (2005), and argues that it is likely that hero cult was an influence upon the development of ruler cult. In contrast, fewer studies have been made on the development of ruler cult for women, and Carney (2000*a*, 2000*b*, 2013) is the pioneer of this field.<sup>47</sup> Chapter Two examines the possibility that heroine cult might have provided some influence on the development of ruler cult for women, with two possible examples (Laïs and Phryne) from the fourth century BC of women identified with Aphrodite.

The second part of Chapter Two analyses the numerous ruler cult innovations undertaken by Ptolemy I and II, especially in relation to Arsinoë. The various deifications of Arsinoë (including as the maritime Aphrodite) can be understood as part of the highly innovative ways in which the early Ptolemies manipulated ruler cult to enhance the prestige of their dynasty. Recent general studies of Ptolemaic ruler cult include works by Dunand (2004, 2007), which builds upon the earlier standard work of Fraser (1972). In terms of ruler cults specifically created for Arsinoë II, the most important recent publications are Thompson's (1973) study of Arsinoë's assimilation with Tyche, Nilsson's (2012) study of Arsinoë's Egyptian ruler cults, and Carney's (2013) biography of Arsinoë.<sup>48</sup> The deification of Arsinoë as the maritime Aphrodite took place in the context of various ruler cult innovations, as well as the adaptation of existing rituals into new forms of Ptolemaic ruler cult, as with the cults of Agathe Tyche and Aphrodite *Euploia*.

Lastly, the final chapter analyses the connections between naval power, sailors, and the maritime Aphrodite. The reign of Ptolemy II was notable for being the zenith of Ptolemaic control of the Aegean, and Ptolemy II also possessed the largest naval fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as the largest battleships.<sup>49</sup> It seems there are few modern works that combine the detailed study of Ptolemy II's naval ambitions and maritime religious policies, although the connection was recognised by Robert (1966) and Hauben (1983).<sup>50</sup> Recently Grainger (2011) and Murray (2012) have studied the early Ptolemaic navy, building upon Casson's (1971) work. Generally Ptolemaic naval policies tend to be subsumed into general military and political histories (*e.g.* Holbl 2001; Worthington 2016).

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<sup>47</sup> Carney 2013: 95-97.

<sup>48</sup> *c.f.* Hazzard 2000.

<sup>49</sup> Ath. 5.196a-204d; Appian, *Preface* 10; Hauben 2013: 39.

<sup>50</sup> Robert 1966: 202; Hauben 1983: 111; Meadows 2013: 30-31.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Aspects of the Maritime Aphrodite Incorporated into Ptolemaic Ruler Cult

#### 1.1 Cult Titles Incorporated into the Ptolemaic Ruler Cult

The cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite was most likely created *c.* 270 BC, and at the temple at Cape Zephyrium near Alexandria Arsinoë was assimilated with Aphrodite, and was associated with the epithets *Euploia* ('smooth sailing'), *Akraia* ('of the headland'), *Galenaië* ('of the calm sea'), *Zephyritis* ('of the west wind'), and possibly *Urania* ('heavenly').<sup>1</sup> The main literary evidence for the cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite comes from four epigrams: Posidippus *AB* 39, 116, 119 and Callimachus *GP* 14 (collected in the Appendix).<sup>2</sup> Posidippus was a Macedonian from Pella who specialised in epigrams, and he was perhaps active in Alexandria from *c.* 280 – 240 BC.<sup>3</sup> Callimachus of Cyrene (*c.* 320 – 245 BC) was closer to the court than Posidippus, and before becoming a writer Callimachus first served as a page.<sup>4</sup> He completed a highly productive tenure at the Library of Alexandria, in which he invented the bibliography by cataloguing the Library's contents, and also reputedly wrote over 800 books.<sup>5</sup> Only a few of these works now survive, including an epigram to Arsinoë Aphrodite, and the *Lock of Berenice*, in which the deified Arsinoë plays a crucial role in this haircut of cosmic ramifications.<sup>6</sup> The details of the cult ritual practiced at the Cape Zephyrium temple remain unknown, although Stephens argues that the poetry of Posidippus and Callimachus reflected actual cult practice and were likely not just literary inventions.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Hauben 1983: 111; Bricault 2006: 27; Papadopoulou 2010: 215; Grabowski 2014: 29. Dioscorides (*AP* 6.290, *GP* 14) may also associate Arsinoë with Aphrodite *Urania* (Gow and Page 1965: 2.245; Gutzwiller 1992a: 198). Arsinoë may also have been associated with the Armed Aphrodite (Posidippus *AB* 36; Bing 2002/3: 259-260; Stephens 2004: 167-168; Barbantani 2005: 30; Grabowski 2014: 30). It remains unclear whether deified Queens (or *hetairai*) were to be interpreted as an avatar of Aphrodite or as the Goddess herself (Fraser 1972: 1.245; Smith 1988: 44; Havelock 1995: 128; Carney 2000: 34).

<sup>2</sup> Kwapisz (2011: 64) argues that Posidippus *AB* 110 could also refer to Arsinoë Aphrodite, but the poem is too fragmentary to be certain. Apart from innovations in ruler cult and developments in maritime religion, the other important contextual feature of these poems is the major program of patronage of the arts under Ptolemy I and II which culminated with the establishment of the Library and Museum of Alexandria (Fraser 1972: 1.312-315; Tarn 1975: 269; Green 1990: 84-89; Shipley 2000: 239-242; Holbl 2001: 26; Carney 2013: 15).

<sup>3</sup> *IG IX*<sup>2</sup> 1.17a; *AB* 18.17; Gutzwiller 1998: 151, 2005: 3-4; Thompson 2005b: 269; Bing 2009: 184., Thompson (2005b: 274-279) argues that references to Berenice II may refer to a daughter of Ptolemy II, which would indicate a date around 250 BC rather than 240 BC (Fantuzzi 2004: 213; Gutzwiller 2005: 6; Bing 2009: 184 n17).

<sup>4</sup> Green 1990: 179; Cameron 1995: 3-11; Gutzwiller 2007: 60-61; Acosta-Hughes and Stephens 2007: 2-5; Stephens 2011: 9-12. To be a court page implied that Callimachus was part of the nobility, but there was also a tradition that Callimachus was a school teacher, which Cameron (1995: 6) argues was just slander.

<sup>5</sup> Gutzwiller 2007: 22.

<sup>6</sup> Callim. *Epigr.* 6, *Aet.* 4.110 (*Coma Berenices*).

<sup>7</sup> Stephens 2004: 243. Stephens (2004: 246-247) argues that the numerous remains of *oinochoae* depicting Arsinoë as Agathe Tyche suggests that the Queen was more popularly worshipped under the guise of this cult, rather than as Arsinoë Aphrodite.

This chapter fills a gap in current scholarship by demonstrating how the mid-third century BC cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite related to Greek cults of maritime Aphrodite, which dated back to the Archaic period. There are already numerous discussions of the maritime Aphrodite, as well as many studies of the individual poems analysed in this chapter.<sup>8</sup> This chapter appears to be the first attempt at tracing the direct relationship between Greek maritime religious traditions and the cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite.<sup>9</sup> In terms of the maritime Aphrodite, relatively recent major studies include Miranda's (1989) analysis of the *Euploia* cult, which could not take into account the poems of Posidippus only published in 2001.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, Pirenne-Delforge's (1994) study of Aphrodite cults analyses the evidence for the maritime Aphrodite, but does not include a detailed study of the cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite.<sup>11</sup> The recent work of Demetriou (2010) does incorporate the newly published poems of Posidippus, but does not compare these epigrams to the poetry of Callimachus, or analyse the cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite in relation to the maritime Aphrodite in detail.<sup>12</sup> In terms of Alexandrian poetry, there have been numerous works published recently following the discovery of new poems by Posidippus, such as Acosta-Hughes *et al.* (2004) and Gutzwiller (2005). There are also some notable recent studies relevant to this thesis, including Bing (2003) and Stephens (2004), which discuss the portrayal of Arsinoë in Posidippus' newly published poetry. This chapter still appears to be the first attempt at specifically studying these poems in relation to maritime religion and the wider Ptolemaic program of ruler cult innovations.

### 1.1.1 Aphrodite Εὐπλοια

The specific cult of Aphrodite *Euploia* likely began in the Late Archaic or Early Classical periods at Cnidus.<sup>13</sup> A search of the *TLG* database for uses of the word εὐπλοια in extant Greek literature shows that the term appears infrequently, and was not associated with Aphrodite as an epithet until the fourth century BC.<sup>14</sup> Aphrodite had been a patron of sailors since Archaic times, but the term used in Solon's sixth century BC poetry was 'fair return' (ἔσθλός νόστος) rather than 'smooth sailing' (εὐπλοια).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Maritime Aphrodite: Farnell 1896: 636-637; Grigson 1976: 128-138; Miranda 1989; Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 94-97, 433-437, 2010: 316-317; Rosenzweig 2004: 89-92; Cyrino 2010: 104-114; Larson 2007: 123; Papadopoulou 2010; Demetriou 2010. Epigrams relating to Arsinoë II: Prescott 1921; Robert 1966: 199-202; Hauben 1970: 43-46, 1983: 111-114; Gutzwiller 1992*a*, 1992*b*; Bing 2003; Stephens 2004*a*, 2004*b*, 2005: 243-248, 2006.

<sup>9</sup> Bricault (2006: 30-36) analyses the connection between Arsinoë's cult and the maritime aspect of Isis.

<sup>10</sup> Miranda 1989: 131, 139-140.

<sup>11</sup> Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 434-437.

<sup>12</sup> Demetriou 2010: 26-33.

<sup>13</sup> Miranda 1989: 143; Papadopoulou 2010: 215 n1. Corso (2007: 24) argues that an anecdote from Mucianus quoted by Pliny (9.80) could show that the Aphrodite *Euploia* cult existed in Cnidus at the time of the Corinthian tyrant Periander (c. 627 – 587 BC). *c.f.* Ash 2007: 13.

<sup>14</sup> *c.f.* *LSJ* s.v. 'εὐπλοια.'

<sup>15</sup> Solon *fr.* 19 = Plut. *Sol.* 26.2-4 (trans. Gerber 1999); Demetriou 2010: 24, 2012: 92.

The word εὐπλοια occurs as a noun in the *Iliad*, when Agamemnon sends a deputation to Achilles to request that he return to battle, to which Achilles replies:

εἰ δέ κεν εὐπλοίην δώῃ κλυτὸς ἐννοσίγαιος  
ἤματι κε τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἰκοίμην,  
if the great Shaker of the Earth [Poseidon] grants me fair voyaging (εὐπλοια),  
on the third day I will reach deep-soiled Phthia.<sup>16</sup>

At the time of the *Iliad*'s composition around the eighth century BC, Poseidon was more closely associated with invocations for safe sailing, and in contemporary poetry he is referred to as 'saviour of ships' (σωτήρ νηῶν).<sup>17</sup> The ability to bestow a fair voyage appears not to have been the sole prerogative of Poseidon. In 409 BC, an island was asked for fair sailing in Sophocles' play *Philoctetes*:

χαῖρ', ὦ Λήμνου πέδον ἀμφιάλον,  
καί μ' εὐπλοία πέμψον ἀμέμπτως,  
Farewell, seagirt land of Lemnos, and waft me on a peaceful voyage (εὐπλοια).<sup>18</sup>

In Sophocles' tragedy *Oedipus Rex* (c. 436 BC), the word is used metaphorically in relation to marriage, but also literally refers to Oedipus' journey from Corinth to Thebes. The prophet Tiresias states to Oedipus:

ποῖος Κιθαιρῶν οὐχὶ σύμφωνος τάχα,  
ὅταν καταίσθῃ τὸν ὑμέναιον, ὃν δόμοις  
ἄνορμον εἰσέπλευσας, εὐπλοίας τυχῶν;  
What place shall be harbour to your cries, what part of Cithaeron will not ring them soon  
when you have learned the meaning of the nuptials in which, within that house, you found a  
fatal haven, after a voyage so fair (εὐπλοια)?<sup>19</sup>

Although used in a negative context, this metaphorical use of the word *euploia* anticipates the role that Aphrodite *Euploia* would play in Hellenistic poetry, in guiding voyagers across the sea as well as through the storms of passion into the safe haven of a beloved's arms.

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<sup>16</sup> Hom. *Il.* 9.362 (trans. Murray 1924); Parker 2002: 152.

<sup>17</sup> Hom. Hymn 5.5; Larson 2007: 58. In contrast to the *Euploia* cult, Poseidon was also known for creating storms at sea (e.g. Hdt. 7.192, Larson 2007: 61). In the recently discovered work by Posidippus, there is a section with a nautical theme leading up to Arsinoë's chapter (*AB* 19-22), and the purpose of this could be to contrast the implacable Poseidon with the benevolent Arsinoë Aphrodite (Petraïn 2003: 381; Stephens 2004: 171). Posidippus also calls upon Poseidon to protect the Ptolemaic maritime empire (*AB* 20).

<sup>18</sup> Soph. *Phil.* 1464-1465 (trans. Lloyd-Jones 1994).

<sup>19</sup> Soph. *OT* 420-423 (trans. Jebb 1887).



Modern scholars believe that the earliest use of the cult title ‘Aphrodite *Euploia*’ is Conon’s dedication of a sanctuary in the Piraeus after the Battle of Cnidus in 394 BC.<sup>20</sup> It is unclear when the sanctuary to Aphrodite was built in the Piraeus because the historical source, Pausanias, does not specify when it was built, only that it occurred after 394 BC. The context of this dedication was the recent destruction of the Spartan fleet, which shows there was a connection between invoking Aphrodite *Euploia* and claiming naval supremacy in the Aegean, just as the later Ptolemaic deification of Arsinoë as Aphrodite *Euploia* was likely a claim to naval dominance.<sup>21</sup> The Aphrodite sanctuary at Athens was likely established on the site of the earlier Aphrodision dedicated by Themistocles, and this appears to be confirmed by inscriptions found in the Piraeus, especially one from the first century BC dedicated by General Argeus to Ἀφροδίτη Εὐπλοία (‘Aphrodite of fair sailing’).<sup>22</sup> Since the cult title was borrowed from Cnidus, Miranda argues that the Cnidians themselves must have adopted the *Euploia* cult title for Aphrodite c. 550 – 400 BC.<sup>23</sup> This could indicate that Aphrodite was worshipped with the *Euploia* epithet at Cnidus around the same time that the first inscriptional evidence demonstrates a marine cult title for Aphrodite (*i.e.* the anchor from Aegina), demonstrating that these specific maritime cult titles likely began to be used around the beginning of the fifth century BC.<sup>24</sup> A search of the *SEG* database shows that the title Aphrodite *Euploia* does not appear in inscriptions until the second century BC.<sup>25</sup>

Cnidus was also part of the Dorian Pentapolis, which was a regional organisation of five cities: Cnidus, as well as Cos, and also three cities on Rhodes (Ialyssus, Lindus and Camira).<sup>26</sup> The significance of the Dorian Pentapolis is that these cities shared common religious festivals and customs, and Cos and Cnidus both had strong links to the Maritime Aphrodite.<sup>27</sup> The development of the maritime cult of Aphrodite on Cnidus was likely due to the city having a strategic coastal location with two harbours. For instance, Cnidus was as a major Spartan naval base from after 412 BC to 391/0 BC, and was where the important naval battle was fought in 394 BC.<sup>28</sup> The city passed under

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<sup>20</sup> Paus. 1.1.3; Garland 1987: 112; Miranda 1989: 134; Von Reden 1995: 31; Papadopoulou 2010: 233; Corso 2007: 25; Asmonti 2015: 164.

<sup>21</sup> Asmonti (2015: 162) discusses the political/military context of 394 BC.

<sup>22</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1657, 2872, 4570, 4586; Parker 1996: 238 n73; Garland 1987: 112; Corso 2007: 25; Rosenzweig 2004: 90; Parker 2007: 410-411; Papadopoulou 2010: 218-220; Demetriou 2010: 13 n37; Cyrino 2010: 112; Asmonti 2015: 164.

<sup>23</sup> Miranda 1989: 143. Corso (2007: 24) argues that an anecdote from Mucianus quoted by Pliny (9.80) could show that the Aphrodite *Euploia* cult existed in Cnidus at the time of the Corinthian tyrant Periander (c. 627 – 587 BC). *c.f.* Sappho *testimonia* 47 = Menander, *Rhetoric* 9.132; Corso 2007: 23.

<sup>24</sup> Demetriou 2010: 13.

<sup>25</sup> A search of the ‘Papyri.Info’ database did not demonstrate any use of the Aphrodite *Euploia* cult title on papyri.

<sup>26</sup> Hdt. 1.144.

<sup>27</sup> Hunter 2003: 149.

<sup>28</sup> Spartan naval base, after 412 BC: Thuc. 8.35, 8.42. 394 BC (including Battle of Cnidus): Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.10-12; Diod. Sic. 14.83.5. 391/390 BC: Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.22-24; Buckler 2003: 70-74. Location of Cnidus: Demand 1989:236-237; Hansen and Nielsen 2004: no. 903; Corso 2007: 24.

Persian domination after the King's Peace in 386 BC, before coming under the influence of Antigonos and the Ptolemies.<sup>29</sup> The early Ptolemies used nearby Halicarnassus and Cos as their main naval bases in the region, and Ptolemy II actively supported the Dorian Pentapolis, and also had strong links to the region since he was born on the island of Cos.<sup>30</sup>

A major development in the Aphrodite *Euploia* cult between Conon and Arsinoë II was the creation of Praxiteles' famous cult statue in the mid-fourth century BC. Around 340 BC, the Athenian sculptor Praxiteles created the first nude cult statue of Aphrodite, which became known as the 'Cnidia,' although the Cnidians themselves called her the Aphrodite *Euploia*.<sup>31</sup> Modern scholars are not able to conclusively determine the design of the temple that housed the famous statue, but it is likely that a similar design was used for the temple of Arsinoë Aphrodite at Cape Zephyrium.<sup>32</sup> According to Pliny the Elder's description of the Cnidus temple:

*aedicula eius tota aperitur, ut conspici possit undique effigies deae, favente ipsa, ut creditur, facta.*

The shrine (*aedicula*) in which it [the statue] stands is entirely open, so as to allow the image of the goddess to be viewed from every side, and it is believed to have been made in this way with the blessing of the goddess herself.<sup>33</sup>

Montel (2010) argues that Pliny's *aedicula* corresponds to the Greek *monopteros*, which Dinsmoor (1975) defines as a 'temple with columns only, lacking a *cella*.'<sup>34</sup> The complication for modern scholars is that the other ancient source which describes the Cnidian temple, Pseudo-Lucian's *Amores*, describes a more traditional temple that must be entered through a front door.<sup>35</sup> Since Pliny was writing an encyclopedia, and Pseudo-Lucian was the author of a fictional novel, Pliny is perhaps the more reliable source.<sup>36</sup> Excavations on Cnidus during 1969 – 1972 uncovered a circular shrine

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<sup>29</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.31; Diod. Sic. 14.110.3; Seager (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>) 1994: 117.

<sup>30</sup> Theoc. *Id.* 17.68-69; Hdt. 1.144; Thuc. 8.35.2; Diod. Sic. 5.61.2; Bagnall 1976: 98-99; Sherwin-White 1978: 30; Hunter 2003: 148-149; Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1123-1124.

<sup>31</sup> Posidippus *AB* 147; Paus. 1.1.3; Pliny *HN* 36.20; *Greek Anthology* 16.159-170, Lucian, *Imagines* 4, *Jupiter Tragoedus* 10; Pseudo-Lucian, *Amores* 11-17; Ath. 13.591a; Philostr. *VA* 6.40; Auson. *Epigram* 62; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus* 4.47; Stewart 1990: 177; Seaman 2004. Corso (2007: 9, 18) argues for an earlier date of 360 BC. Stewart (1990: 178) argues the *Euploia* cult title inspired Praxiteles to portray the Goddess naked, because Aphrodite travelled across the Aegean to bathe (Hom. *Hymn* 5.55-60; *c.f.* Corso 2007: 30). Pliny (*NH* 36.20-21) states the statue was originally offered for sale to Cos, which suggests that the nude aspect of the *Euploia* cult was not foremost in the artist's conception of the statue. The clothed Coan statue was also dedicated to a maritime cult, in a seaside temple with the cult title *Potnia* (Corso 2007: 188).

<sup>32</sup> Zephyrium temple: Dinsmoor 1975: 269. Cnidian temple debate: Havelock 1995: 58-63; Corso 2007: 32-35; Montel 2010: 261-268.

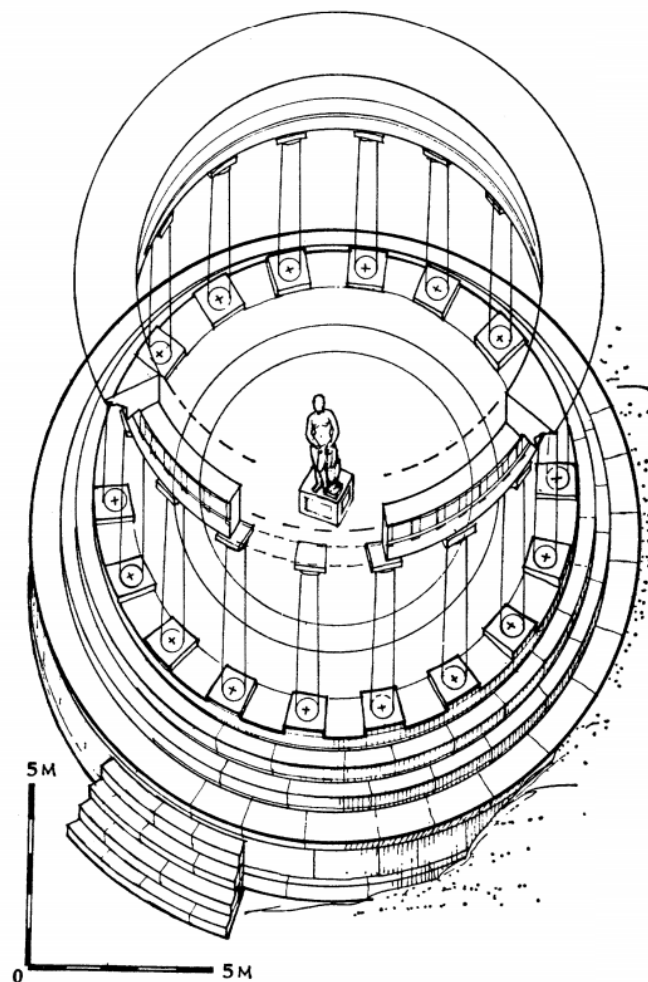
<sup>33</sup> Plin. *NH* 36.21 (trans. Eichholz 1962).

<sup>34</sup> Dinsmoor 1975: 393; Montel 2010: 255.

<sup>35</sup> Pseudo-Lucian, *Amores* 13; Havelock 2007: 60-61.

<sup>36</sup> However, debate continues over the form of the Cnidian temple: Havelock (2007: 63) speculates that perhaps the statue was moved to a different site, which could explain the two different descriptions. *c.f.* Montel 2010: 266-268.

which Love (1972) argued was the *monopteros* of Aphrodite *Euploia* (fig. 4).<sup>37</sup> Although this conclusion has recently been challenged by scholars such as Montel (2010), the attribution of this temple to Aphrodite *Euploia* is still vigorously defended by others such as Corso (2004).<sup>38</sup> If it is accepted that Pliny's description of a *monopteros* is correct, and that Dinsmoor's (1975) attribution of the temple to Arsinoë Aphrodite as a *monopteros* is accepted, then Arsinoë's new cult could have evoked the tradition of the most famous Aphrodite *Euploia* cult in the Greek world. A cult statue discovered during underwater excavations in 2000 by the Canopus Sarapeum has been attributed to Arsinoë in the guise of Aphrodite, and could be similar to the statue used in the Temple of Arsinoë Aphrodite (fig. 5). The statue is not quite naked like Praxiteles' Aphrodite *Euploia*, but the transparent wet drapery evokes similar Aphrodite figures from Classical Athens.<sup>39</sup>



*Figure 1: Reconstruction of the Temple of Aphrodite Euploia at Cnidus (from Love 1970: fig. 9).*

<sup>37</sup> Love 1970: 74, 1972: 402.

<sup>38</sup> Martin 2017: 275; Corso (2004: 32-36) argues extensively for the attribution to Aphrodite *Euploia*; Montel 2010: 264-267 challenges these arguments.

<sup>39</sup> Goddio and Masson-Berghoff 2016: 93.

After Conon's dedication in the Piraeus in 394 BC, and Praxiteles' creation of the Aphrodite *Euploia* cult statue of Cnidus c. 350 BC, the next attested use of the Aphrodite *Euploia* epithet is in the cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite. The word εὐπλοια appears in two epigrams by Posidippus relating to Arsinoë Aphrodite:

καὶ μέλλων ἄλα νηὶ περᾶν καὶ πείσμα καθάπτειν  
χερσόθεν, Εὐπλοίαι 'χαῖρε' δὸς Ἀρσινόηι,  
[πό]τνιαν ἐκ νηοῦ καλέων θεόν, ἦν ὁ Βοῖσκου  
ναυαρχῶν Σάμιος θήκατο Καλλικράτης,  
ναυτίλε, σοὶ τὰ μάλιστα· κατ' εὐπλοίαν δὲ διώκει  
τῆσδε θεοῦ χρήζων πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνὴρ·  
εἵνεκα καὶ χερσαῖα καὶ εἰς ἄλλα δῖαν ἀφιεῖς  
εὐχὰς εὐρήσεις τὴν ἐπακουσομένην.

Whether about to cross the sea in a ship or to fasten the cable  
From shore, give greetings to Arsinoë 'of fair sailing' (Ἀρσινόη Εὐπλοία),  
Calling the Lady goddess from her temple, which was dedicated  
By the Samian Admiral Callicrates, son of Boiscus,  
Sailor, especially for you. And in pursuit of fair sailing (εὐπλοια)  
Other people too often address a demand to this goddess.  
And that is why, whether you are heading for dry land, or the divine sea,  
You will find she will be listening to your prayers.<sup>40</sup>

In this poem, Arsinoë II has been completely assimilated with Aphrodite *Euploia*, so that Aphrodite is not even mentioned directly. The poem emphasises that sailors should pray to the Ptolemaic Queen, who has now taken on the role of the maritime Aphrodite, in order to achieve a safe voyage.

There is also a second, very similar poem by Posidippus, which refers to this cult, which was preserved in the writings of Athenaeus:

τοῦτο καὶ ἐν πόντῳ καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ τῆς Φιλαδέλφου  
Κύπριδος ἰλάσκεσθ' ἱερὸν Ἀρσινόης  
ἦν ἀνακοιρανέουσαν ἐπὶ Ζεφυρίτιδος ἀκτῆς  
πρῶτος ὁ ναύαρχος θήκατο Καλλικράτης·  
ἡ δὲ καὶ εὐπλοίην δώσει καὶ χεῖματι μέσσω  
τὸ πλατὺ λισσομένοις ἐκλιπανεῖ πέλαγος.

<sup>40</sup> AB 39 (trans. Austin and Bastianini 2002). c.f. Bing 2003: 255; Gutzwiller 2005: 25.

On both land and sea make offerings to this temple  
Of Aphrodite Arsinoë Philadelphus (Φιλαδέλφος Κύπρις Ἀρσινόη)  
Whom the fleet-commander Callicrates was first to establish  
As Queen upon the Zephyrian coast.  
She will grant smooth sailing (εὐπλοία) and in the midst of a storm  
Smooth the vast sea for those who beseech her.<sup>41</sup>

Again, this poem emphasises Arsinoë Aphrodite's ability to offer fair sailing (εὐπλοία) to those who pray to her. In this case εὐπλοία is used as a noun rather than cult title, possibly because the poet wished to emphasise Arsinoë's major state ruler cult (the *Philadelphus* cult).

The cult of Aphrodite *Euploia* itself (without direct links to Arsinoë) also continued into the second and first centuries BC. The cult of an Aphrodite *Euploia* is attested at the Milesian Black Sea colony of Olbia in an inscription from the second century BC:

[Ἄφρο]δίτηι Εὐπλοίαι | [Ποσ]ίδεος Ποσιδείου | χαριστήριον.

Posideos, son of Posideos, [dedicates this] offering to Aphrodite 'of fair sailing.'<sup>42</sup>

In the first century BC, there is evidence of a cult of Aphrodite *Euploia* at the Carian city of Mylassa.<sup>43</sup> An inscription from Aegae in Cilicia from the first century BC is dedicated to Aphrodite *Euploia* and Poseidon Ἀσφάλειος.<sup>44</sup> The first century AD Latin poet Statius (c. AD 45 – 96) refers to Venus *Euploea*, which indicates that the cult continued under the Roman Empire, and became attached to Venus, at least at Naples and Ancona.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> *AB* 119, *GP* 13 = Ath. 7.318d (trans. Olson 2006).

<sup>42</sup> *IosPE* I<sup>2</sup> 168 (own translation); Hirst 1903: 24; Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 434; Greaves 2004: 31). Hirst (1903) initially dated this inscription to the first century AD, but more recently Miranda (1989) has identified the dedicator Posideos with an Olbian merchant from the second century BC. (Hirst 1903: 24; Miranda 1989: 135; Demetriou 2010: 13 n39). There is also a second-century BC inscription from Delos dedicated to Isis Soteira Astart Aphrodite *Euploia* (*IDelos* 2132; Demetriou 2012: 93; Martin 2017: 275).

<sup>43</sup> *I. Mylassa* 207, 210, 510; Demetriou 2010: 13. It could be significant that Mylassa was part of Ptolemy II's overseas empire (Bagnall 1976: 92).

<sup>44</sup> *CIG* 4443; Farnell 1896: 739 n57; Hirst 1903: 25; Demetriou 2010: 13 n 41. There are other examples in which Aphrodite was worshipped with a marine epithet, e.g. at Panticapaeum, Aphrodite had the cult title *Nauarchis* (Hirst 1903: 25; Greaves 2004: 31).

<sup>45</sup> Stat. *Silv.* 2.2.79, 3.1.150 (Miranda 1989: 123; Brown and Smith, forthcoming 6). There is also the case of the *Aeneid* in which Venus plays a crucial role in guiding Aeneas across the Mediterranean, a role which was foreshadowed in earlier poetry: Hom. *Hymn* 6.1-5; Hes. *Theog.* 188-192; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 80-165.

### 1.1.2 Aphrodite Ἀκραῖα

*Akraia* or ‘the heights’ was a title usually applied to deities who were worshipped in shrines on a hill or beside a cliff.<sup>46</sup> Pausanias states there was a sanctuary of Aphrodite *Akraia* at Cnidus, and also on the side of the Acropolis in the Peloponnesian city of Troezen.<sup>47</sup> Worshippers of Aphrodite also used this cult title on Cyprus, and an inscription shows Aphrodite *Akraia* was honoured at Paphos, and Strabo states there was a temple to Aphrodite *Akraia* on Mount Olympus on Cyprus.<sup>48</sup> In Ptolemaic Alexandria, an inscription dated to the second or first century BC, states:

Ἀφροδίτη | Ἀκραῖαι Ἀρσινόη | Φιλοκράτης | καὶ Ἑλλάγιον,  
Philocrates and Hellagion, to Aphrodite *Akraia* Arsinoë.<sup>49</sup>

Arsinoë Aphrodite was therefore worshipped with another title, *Akraia*, which most likely referred to Cape Zephyrium. In Strabo’s description of Cape Zephyrium, he labels the area an *akra*.<sup>50</sup>

Arsinoë was also associated with protecting headlands in a very fragmentary papyrus, which dates from the second century AD, although the poem itself may have been originally composed much earlier, perhaps in the third century BC.<sup>51</sup> There is no published translation of this text in English. Part of this poem could be translated as:

Ἀρσινόα Πτολεμα[ῖ] παλαιγενὲς οὔνομα[.....]ον ... [ἀ]μφίπολοι σσκοπέλοισιν ὁμοῦ σ[  
O Ptolemy, a noble name (?) ... attendants (Aphrodite? Arsinoë?) to the headlands close by  
(?) ...<sup>52</sup>

This appears to be a further example of Aphrodite’s attributes being assimilated into Ptolemaic ruler cult. In this case Aphrodite’s ability to protect sailors around a headland has been combined with worship of Queen Arsinoë II.

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<sup>46</sup> *LSJ* s.v. ‘ἀκραῖα.’

<sup>47</sup> Paus. 1.1.3, 2.32.6.

<sup>48</sup> Strabo 14.6.3 (682); Mitford 1960: 76.

<sup>49</sup> *SEG* VIII 361 (own translation); Robert 1966: 200 n154; Miranda 1989: 131.

<sup>50</sup> Strabo 17.1.16.

<sup>51</sup> Goodspeed 1908: 8; Powell 1915: 117; Barbantani 2005: 136.

<sup>52</sup> *P. Lit. Goodspeed*. 2.II.5, 18 (own translation, based on notes by Goodspeed 1908, Powell 1915 and Barbantani 2005).

### 1.1.3 Other Cult Titles

Arsinoë was also briefly associated with the epithets *Galenaië* and *Urania*. An epigram dedicated to Arsinoë Aphrodite by Callimachus (*GP* 14) refers to, ‘Γαληναίη, λιπαρή θεός,’ ‘*Galenaië* (Calm Sea), that bright goddess.’<sup>53</sup> A search of the *TLG* database shows that no other author appears to have used *Galenaië* as an epithet or a personification, which means this could be a poetical invention of Callimachus, perhaps meant to associate Aphrodite *Euploia* (‘smooth sailing’) with ‘calm seas’ (*Galenaië*). There is also a short poem by the Alexandrian epigrammatist Dioscorides, which refers to Aphrodite *Urania* (‘heavenly Aphrodite’) and zephyrs, which might be an association between Arsinoë Aphrodite and cult title *Urania*. The poem states:

ῥπίδα τὴν μαλακοῖσιν ἀεὶ πρηεῖαν ἀήταις  
Παρμενίς ἠδίστη θῆκε παρ’ Οὐρανίη,  
ἐξ εὐνῆς δεκάτευμα: τὸ δ’ ἠελίου βαρὺ θάλπος  
ἢ δαίμων μαλακοῖς ἐκτρέπεται Ζεφύροις.  
With sweetest Urania did Parmenis leave her fan,  
the ever gentle ministrant of soft breezes,  
a tithe from her bed; but now the goddess averts from her  
by tender zephyrs the heavy heat of the sun.<sup>54</sup>

Posidippus’ epigram *AB* 116, and Callimachus’ *Lock of Berenice* also refer to Aphrodite *Zephyritis*, which appears to associate Arsinoë with the West Wind, and also with the location of the temple at Cape Zephyrium.<sup>55</sup> A search of the *TLG* database shows that *Zephyritis* was not used in other contexts in Greek literature, which could indicate that this was a poetical invention of Posidippus and Callimachus to help promote this new cult.

## 1.2 Cult Practices Incorporated into Ptolemaic Ruler Cult

### 1.2.1 Dedications by Maidens

A number of cult practices from the Greek cult of the maritime Aphrodite were also incorporated into the new cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite. This new cult evoked a tradition in which the maritime Aphrodite was a patron of harmonious marriages. Aphrodite was not just a ‘Goddess of Love’ but more broadly encompassed the power to bring calm, peace and unity, whether to the civic community (‘Aphrodite

<sup>53</sup> Callim. *Epigr.* 6.5 = *GP* 14 = Ath. 7.318bc (trans. Mair and Mair 1921).

<sup>54</sup> Dioscorides *AP* 6.290 (trans. Paton 1916); Gow and Page 1965: 2.245; Gutzwiller 1992a: 198.

<sup>55</sup> Posidippus *AB* 116.7; Callimachus *Aet.* 110.

*Pandemos*’) or to storms at sea (‘Aphrodite *Euploia*’).<sup>56</sup> It was therefore a long-standing tradition in Greek religion that Aphrodite was both the patron of sailors and of marriages. Combining these two aspects into the new cult of Queen Arsinoë thus ensured the longevity of the cult by grafting this ruler cult into the everyday life of ordinary citizens, by incorporating the cult into everyday rituals related to marriage and sailing. In Hellenistic epigrams this dual role of Aphrodite would often be presented through the metaphor of the ‘sea of love,’ or sailing through storms of passion into the safe haven of the beloved under the guidance of Aphrodite, as discussed by Gutziller (1992) and Demetriou (2010).

Aphrodite was mythically associated with both the sea and fertility in the earliest Greek literature. Aphrodite was associated with marriage in the *Iliad*, when Zeus chastises Aphrodite for attempting to take part in battle and says,

οὐ τοι, τέκνον ἐμόν, δέδοται πολεμῆια ἔργα,  
ἀλλὰ σύ γ’ ἱμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα γάμοιο,  
Not to you, my child, are given works of war,  
but attend to the lovely works of marriage.<sup>57</sup>

Early evidence of cult practice that combined both aspects of Aphrodite’s role as patron of sailors, and of the transition of maidens to sexual activity, especially after marriage, is harder to date precisely, but is likely to date back to the Archaic period.<sup>58</sup> For instance, the Aphrodite sanctuary at Naucratis contained dedications to Aphrodite both as a patron of courtesans and of sailing.<sup>59</sup> At the seaside Aphrodite sanctuary at Gravisca, dedications were found such as stone anchor fragments (in reuse) and perfume bottles, which also suggests that Archaic-era worshippers of Aphrodite could combine her roles as patron of both fertility and seafaring.<sup>60</sup> Further, the ‘Ludovisi Throne,’ believed to be from the Temple of Aphrodite at Locri and dating to the mid-fifth century BC, could indicate a connection between the maritime and the marital aspects of Aphrodite’s cult. The back panel depicts Aphrodite’s birth from the sea, while the other two depict a bride (or wife, offering incense) and a nude flute girl.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Parker 2002: 151; Pironti 2010: 128.

<sup>57</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.428-429 (trans. Wyatt 1924); *c.f.* Diod. Sic. 5.73, which recounts a legend in which Zeus assigned to Aphrodite the youth of maidens and the supervision of weddings. Farnell 1896: 2.656; Pomeroy 1990: 31-32; Rosenzweig 2004: 8.

<sup>58</sup> For Aphrodite’s specific connection to marriage rites, see: Pausanias 2.34.12, 2.32.7 (maidens sacrifice to Aphrodite before marriage at Hermione), 3.13.9 (similar custom at Sparta); Rosenzweig 2004: 21.

<sup>59</sup> Gardner 1888: no. 712, 798, 747, 795 (already cited); Scholtz 2003: 239; Demetriou 2012: 139-142.

<sup>60</sup> Demetriou 2012: 87-89; Brown and Smith (forthcoming, 8).

<sup>61</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 1974: 126; Brown and Smith (forthcoming, 6).



The new cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite also combined these two elements of Aphrodite's cult. Posidippus refers to patronage of maidens at Arsinoë's Cape Zephyrium cult briefly in poem *AB* 116, when he states:

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ζεφυρῖτιν ἀκουσομένην Ἀφροδίτην,  
Ἑλλήνων ἀγναί, βαίνετε, θυγατέρες,  
So then, to her who shall be named Zephyritis Aphrodite  
Come, ye pure daughters of the Greeks.<sup>62</sup>

Callimachus, in his epigram to Arsinoë Aphrodite, also stresses the role of the shrine for young maidens and does not mention sailors at all, except indirectly through metaphor and allusion to the nautilus shell, which is being dedicated in the sanctuary.<sup>63</sup> This epigram utilises the traditional conceit of the genre by presenting the dedicated object as speaking directly to the reader:

Κόγχος ἐγώ, Ζεφυρῖτι, παλαιότερος· ἀλλὰ σὺ νῦν με,  
Κύπρι, Σεληναίης ἄνθεμα πρῶτον ἔχεις,  
ναυτίλος ὃς πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεον, εἰ μὲν ἀῆται,  
τείνας οἰκείων λαῖφος ἀπὸ προτόνων,  
εἰ δὲ Γαληναίη, λιπαρὴ θεός, οὐλος ἐρέσσω  
ποσσὶ νιν, ὥστ' ἔργω τοῦνομα συμφέρεται,  
ἔστ' ἔπεσον παρὰ θῖνας Ἰουλίδας, ὄφρα γένωμαι  
σοὶ τὸ περίσκεπτον παίγιον, Ἀρσινόη,  
μηδέ μοι ἐν θαλάμησιν ἔθ' ὡς πάρος, εἰμὶ γὰρ ἄπνους,  
τίκτεται νοτερῆς ὤεον ἀλκυόνης.  
Κλεινίου ἀλλὰ θυγατρὶ δίδου χάριν. οἶδε γὰρ ἐσθλὰ  
ρέζειν καὶ Σμύρνης ἐστὶν ἀπ' Αἰολίδος.  
A conch long ago, but now, Cypris of Zephyrium,  
I am your gift, Selenaië's first offering –  
A nautilus that plied the seas, holding the wind  
In my own sails, by my own halyards  
When it blew, churning with my feet for oars  
When *Galenaië* stilled the shimmering waves (I'm named  
You see, for what I did) until, pitched up on the beach  
At Ioulis, I became, Arsinoë, your admired toy  
And the time (my sailing days are over now)

<sup>62</sup> *AB* 116.8 *c.f.* Gutzwiller 1992b: 366.

<sup>63</sup> *GP* 14, *Pf.* 5 = Ath. 7.318b. Gutzwiller (1992: 194 n1) notes that there are variant readings of the epigram and that *GP* 14 should be preferred to *Pf.* 5 due to minor emendations of the text.

When the brooding halcyon stored her egg in my chambers  
Came to an end. But favour the daughter of Kleinias, for she  
Is well-behaved and hails from Aiolian Smyrna.<sup>64</sup>

The shell was often associated with Aphrodite in Classical Greek art and poetry, because like Aphrodite it was a symbol of the sea and of fertility.<sup>65</sup> In terms of sailing, the nautilus' ability to separate from its shell meant it could be likened to a sailor in a ship, especially since Aristotle had argued that the nautilus used its webbed feet like a sail, as Callimachus also describes in this epigram.<sup>66</sup> As a symbol of female sexuality, as Cyrino (2010) observes, the conch shell 'visually evokes the female genitalia,' and according to Henderson this connotation of κόγχος ('conch') was a standard metaphorical allusion in Greek literature from the fifth century BC onwards.<sup>67</sup> In cult practice, Athenaeus states that shells were dedicated to Aphrodite at Troezen, and shells were also found at Delos near the 'Slipper Slapper' Aphrodite, sculpted c. 100 BC.<sup>68</sup> This statue was likely used in cult, although it was not located in a religious context, but in a merchant's clubhouse.<sup>69</sup> On Delos, archaeologists discovered shells tipped with gold in Arsinoë's temple, which makes it likely that these were dedications to the Queen in her guise as the maritime Aphrodite.<sup>70</sup> It thus seems likely that the shell in Callimachus' poem was actually dedicated in the shrine at Cape Zephyrium, and that this was not merely a literary invention of Callimachus.<sup>71</sup>

The dedication of the nautilus shell by Selenaië to Arsinoë Aphrodite (either in reality, or in the epigram) was part of a long-standing tradition in which shells and other materials could be dedicated to Aphrodite as both patron of female fertility (after marriage) and maritime safety. Around 30 years after the foundation of the Cape Zephyrium cult, in 246 BC, Callimachus again poetically combined the dual roles of Aphrodite in the *Lock of Berenice*. It was customary since at least the Classical period for maidens (and sometimes boys) to make dedications of hair to mark the transition from adolescence to marriage.<sup>72</sup> Callimachus' poem represents the deified Arsinoë as accepting the

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<sup>64</sup> Callimachus *GP* 14 (trans. Nisetich 2001). Ioulis, on the island of Ceos, was also a major Ptolemaic naval base under Patroclus (Holbl 2001: 43).

<sup>65</sup> Cyrino 2010: 114; Papodopoulou 2010: 230-232.

<sup>66</sup> Arist. *Hist. an.* 622b 5 (That the nautilus uses its feet as sails is also repeated by Plin. *NH* 9.88 and Ath. 7.318a); Prescott 1921: 329-332; Gutzwiller 1992a: 197. Leroi (2015: 71-72) states that Aristotle was mistaken about the nautilus' ability to 'sail' with webbed feet, but that Callimachus was correct in that it is the female nautilus that resides in a shell.

<sup>67</sup> Henderson 1991: no. 160; Cyrino 2010: 114.

<sup>68</sup> Ath. 7.317b; Gutzwiller 1992a: 197 n8, 10; Beard and Henderson 2001: 139; Martin 2017: 275.

<sup>69</sup> Havelock 1995: 55-57; Martin (2017: 273-275) argues the Aphrodite statue was present in the clubhouse in her role as a patron of maritime safety.

<sup>70</sup> Vallois 1929: 34-35; Barbantani 2005: 147 n42.

<sup>71</sup> Stephens 2004: 243.

<sup>72</sup> Gutzwiller (1992a: 370) and Dillon (1999: 71-72) list the following examples: Boys and girls made hair offerings at Delos to the Hyperborean maidens (Hdt. 4.34; Paus. 1.43.4). Girls in Megara made dedications to Iphinoë (Paus.

lock of Berenice II's hair at the Cape Zephyrium temple, as patron of marriage, and then as Aphrodite *Zephyritis* sending a breeze to carry the lock into the sky to become a constellation.<sup>73</sup> A lock of hair could also be dedicated for safe travel, and this was also an intended further allusion in the *Lock of Berenice*, since Berenice wished her husband Ptolemy III to return safely from Syria.<sup>74</sup> The cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite at Cape Zephyrium was therefore not only presented in Alexandrian court poetry as for sailors but also for maidens, metaphorically setting sail through the journey of marriage, or seeking the safe return of a spouse. This cult not only utilised aspects of the maritime Aphrodite, but also built upon the tradition that Hellenistic royal women were responsible for assisting underprivileged women in their kingdom. Phila, the wife of Demetrius, 'would arrange marriages at her own expense for the sisters and daughters of the poor,' indicating that royal women were considered patrons of marriage even without deification as Aphrodite.<sup>75</sup>

About 70 years later on the island of Cos, dedications were prescribed at a seaside temple to Aphrodite *Pontia* and *Pandemos* by both mariners and maidens.<sup>76</sup> An inscription (*ED* 178) from Cos from the early second century BC states:

... ὅσαι κα γαμῶνται ... | ... θυόντω πᾶσαι τᾷ θεῶι ἱερῆον μετὰ τὸν |  
γάμον ἐν ἐνιαυτῶι·

ὁμοίως ... τὰς θυσίας τοί[ς] τε | ἔμποροι[ς] καὶ τοί[ς] ναύκλαροι[ς] τοί[ς] ὀρμώμενοι[ς] ] ἐκ  
τᾶς πόλιος·

... let as many women as get married ... all sacrifice a victim to the Goddess within a year after marriage ...

... Similarly ... traders and ship owners who sail from the city shall accomplish the sacrifices.<sup>77</sup>

There was also another related decree posted at Cos from later in the second century BC, which prescribed that: 'on completion of the voyage those serving in warships shall sacrifice to Aphrodite.'<sup>78</sup> The tradition in which Aphrodite could be invoked by sailors for seafaring and maidens for marriage thus continued into the second century BC. It is likely that the most immediate intention in associating

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1.43.4). Girls made dedications of hair to Hippolytus at Troezen (Eur. *Hipp.* 1423-1430; Paus. 2.32.1). It is interesting to note that at Troezen the virgins dedicated their locks in a *περίβολος* which also included the *ναός* to *Ἀπόλλων Ἐπιβατήριος* (Paus. 2.32.1-2). Hair was also dedicated at the Astarte shrine on Cyprus (Karageorghis 2005: 140-141).

<sup>73</sup> Callim. *Aet.* 110.52-60.

<sup>74</sup> Gutzwiller 1992b: 372. *c.f.* St Paul dedicated a lock of hair before leaving the Corinthian port of Cenchreae (*Acts* 18.18).

<sup>75</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.59.4; Carney 2000b: 168-169, 2011: 197.

<sup>76</sup> Parker 2002: 144; Demetriou 2012: 93. Cos was the birthplace of Ptolemy II and was a major Ptolemaic naval base under Ptolemy I and II (Diod. Sic. 20.27).

<sup>77</sup> *ED* 178.18-20, 21-24 (trans. Parker 2002). *c.f.* Dillon 1999: 66; Pirenne-Delforge 2007: 316-317; Brown and Smith (forthcoming, 2).

<sup>78</sup> *SEG* 50.766 (Parker and Obbink 2000: 418); Pirenne-Delforge 2007: 316; Demetriou 2010: 15.

Arsinoë with Aphrodite as patron of marriage was to evoke Arsinoë's major state cult, that of *Philadelphus* ('brother loving'). As scholars like Prioux (2011) and Carney (2013) have argued, one likely major reason for Ptolemy's decision to marry his sister was to project dynastic stability, especially since Arsinoë had personally experienced the complete dissolution of Lysimachus' empire as it was consumed by dynastic strife.<sup>79</sup> The cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite may therefore have assisted in presenting the Ptolemaic empire as resting on the secure foundations of a divinely protected navy, mercantile fleet and a stable family dynasty.<sup>80</sup>

### 1.2.2 Dedications by Admirals

The establishment the new cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite built upon an existing tradition in which Aphrodite could serve as a patron of naval battle fleets. The three epigrams by Posidippus all emphasise that the temple was dedicated by the Admiral Callicrates of Samos, who was a Ptolemaic *nauarch* over almost three decades between *c.* 279 and 257 BC.<sup>81</sup> Posidippus' poem *AB* 39 stresses the link between the Cape Zephyrium temple and mariners:

... ἦν ὁ Βοῖσκου,  
ναυαρχῶν Σάμιος θήκατο Καλλικράτης,  
ναυτίλε, σοὶ τὰ μάλιστα·  
... Her temple, which was dedicated  
By the Samian Admiral Callicrates, son of Boiscus,  
Sailor, especially for you.<sup>82</sup>

The Greek tradition of Admirals making dedications to Aphrodite dates back to at least the time of Themistocles in the early fifth century BC. Although the inscriptional and historical evidence is much later, it is likely that Themistocles dedicated a sanctuary to Aphrodite in the Piraeus after the Battle of Salamis.<sup>83</sup> The first century AD Athenian author Ammonios wrote in a work titled *On Altars and Sacrifices* that, 'after the victory as a first-fruits offering he established a *hieron* (ἱερόν) to Aphrodite in Piraeus.'<sup>84</sup> Thus the evidence suggests that Aphrodite was perceived as a patron of the Athenian battle fleet during this dangerous period. Further, Conon made a dedication to Aphrodite *Euploia* in

<sup>79</sup> Prioux 2011: 206; Carney 2013: 76-77, 80-81.

<sup>80</sup> The effectiveness of this strategy is perhaps shown by the fact that Ptolemy III and Berenice II also presented themselves as brother and sister, despite the fact that they were not siblings (Prioux 2011: 206).

<sup>81</sup> Hauben 1970: 63-64, 1983: 111. Carney (2013: 99) speculates that Arsinoë and Callicrates arrived in Egypt together in 279 BC.

<sup>82</sup> *AB* 39.3-5 (trans. Austin and Bastianini 2002). *c.f.* *AB* 116.5, 119.4.

<sup>83</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1035, 1657; Ammonios *BNJ* 361 F 5; Garland 1987: 150; Parker 1996: 238n73; Rosenzweig 2004: 90; Pironti 2010: 124; Papadopoulou 2010: 219-220; Cyrino 2010: 112.

<sup>84</sup> Ammonios *BNJ* 361 F 5.

the Piraeus following the Battle of Cnidus in 394 BC.<sup>85</sup> The shrine dedicated to Arsinoë Aphrodite by Callicrates thus continued this tradition of Admirals making dedications to Aphrodite on behalf of their navy. It is therefore likely that Arsinoë Aphrodite would not just have been a patron of sailors in general but also of the Ptolemaic fleet.<sup>86</sup> This dedication by Callicrates linked this innovation in ruler cult directly with the early Ptolemies' expansive maritime policies.

### 1.2.3 Dedications by Sailors

The new cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite was not just promoted from the 'top down' with court poetry but was also supported from the 'bottom up' by ordinary people such as sailors. The evidence for dedications from sailors comes from both poetry and inscriptions. In *AB* 39, Posidippus wrote:

Εὐπλοῖαι 'χαῖρε' δὸς Ἀρσινόη  
give greetings to Arsinoë of fair sailing ...<sup>87</sup>

The epigram commands (δὸς!) a voyager to call upon Ἀρσινόη Εὐπλοία when setting out to sea or coming into port. This practice would incorporate the new cult into the tradition of invoking divine assistance at the beginning or conclusion of any sea voyage. Brody states this practice was an aspect of the maritime religion of the Egyptians since the Fifth Dynasty (c. 2494-2345 BC) and was also used by the Phoenicians, from the late Bronze Age onwards.<sup>88</sup> Prayers before sailing were also common for the Classical Greeks, as shown by Thucydides' report of the start of the Sicilian Expedition in 415 BC:

ἐπειδὴ δὲ αἱ νῆες πλήρεις ἦσαν καὶ ἐσέκειτο πάντα ἤδη ὅσα ἔχοντες ἔμελλον ἀνάξασθαι, τῇ μὲν σάλπιγγι σιωπὴ ὑπεσημάνθη, εὐχὰς δὲ τὰς νομιζομένας πρὸ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς οὐ κατὰ ναῦν ἐκάστην, ζύμπαντες δὲ ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐποιοῦντο, κρατῆράς τε κεράσαντες παρ' ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἐκπώμασι χρυσοῖς τε καὶ ἀργυροῖς οἳ τε ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σπένδοντες. When the ships were manned and everything had been taken aboard, silence was commanded by the sound of the trumpet, and the customary prayers made before putting to sea were offered up, not by each ship separately, but by them all together following the words of a herald. The whole army had wine poured out into bowls, and officers and men made their libations from cups of gold and silver...<sup>89</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Paus. 1.1.3; Rosenzweig 2004: 90; Cyrino 2010: 112; Papadopoulou 2010: 218; Demetriou 2010: 14; Asmonti 2015: 164.

<sup>86</sup> Robert 1966: 201; Hauben 1983: 111-112, 1987: 217. It therefore seems appropriate that a major naval battle of the Napoleonic Wars (the so-called 'Battle of the Nile' on 1 August 1798) was fought just off Cape Aboukir (Forster 1982: 191-192).

<sup>87</sup> *AB* 39.1-3 (trans. Austin and Bastianini 2002). *c.f.* Bing 2003: 255; Gutzwiller 2005: 25.

<sup>88</sup> Brody 1998: 73. (Dates of the Fifth Dynasty taken from Shaw 2003: 482).

<sup>89</sup> Thuc. 6.32.1 (trans. Jowett 1881); Brody 1998: 73.

These traditions continued for centuries, both in real life, and expressed in texts such as poetry and novels. For instance, in Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*, the mythical hero Jason prays at the outset of the voyage:

λύσαιμι δ', ἄναξ, ἐπ' ἀπήμονι μοίρῃ  
πέισματα σὴν διὰ μῆτιν· ἐπιπνεύσειε δ' ἀήτης  
μείλιχος, ᾧ κ' ἐπὶ πόντον ἐλευσόμεθ' εὐδιόωντες  
May I loose the cables, lord [Apollo], with a destiny free from harm, relying on your counsel;  
and may a gentle breeze blow for us, by which we may travel in fair weather over the sea.<sup>90</sup>

Although the poem was set in the mythical past, it was published in Alexandria c. 270 – 260 BC and was contemporary with the poetry of Posidippus and Callimachus.<sup>91</sup> Another much later Alexandrian text, a novel by Achilles Tatius from the third century AD, also provides a vivid description of a similar situation:

ὡς δὲ ἔδοξεν οὖριον εἶναι πρὸς ἀναγωγὴν τὸ πνεῦμα, θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς κατὰ τὸ σκάφος, τῶν ναυτῶν διαθεόντων, τοῦ κυβερνήτου κελεύοντος, ἐλκομένων τῶν κάλων· ἡ κεραία περιήγετο, τὸ ἰστιόν καθίετο, ἡ ναῦς ἀπεσαλεύετο, τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀνέσπων, ὁ λιμὴν κατελείπετο· τὴν γῆν ἐωρῶμεν ἀπὸ τῆς νηὸς κατὰ μικρὸν ἀναχωροῦσαν, ὡς αὐτὴν πλέουσιν· παιανισμὸς ἦν καὶ πολλή τις εὐχή, θεοὺς σωτῆρας καλοῦντες, εὐφημοῦντες αἴσιον τὸν πλοῦν γενέσθαι· τὸ πνεῦμα ἤρετο σφοδρότερον, τὸ ἰστιόν ἐκυρτοῦτο καὶ εἴλκε τὴν ναῦν.

When the breeze seemed favourable for putting off, a busy commotion arose throughout the ship – the crew running hither and thither, the helmsman giving his orders, men hauling on the ropes. The yard arm was pulled around, the sail set, the ship leaped forward, the anchors were pulled in, the harbour was left ... there were songs of joy and much prayer directed to the saviour gods, invoking good omens for a prosperous voyage; meanwhile the wind freshened, the sail bellied and the ship sped along ...<sup>92</sup>

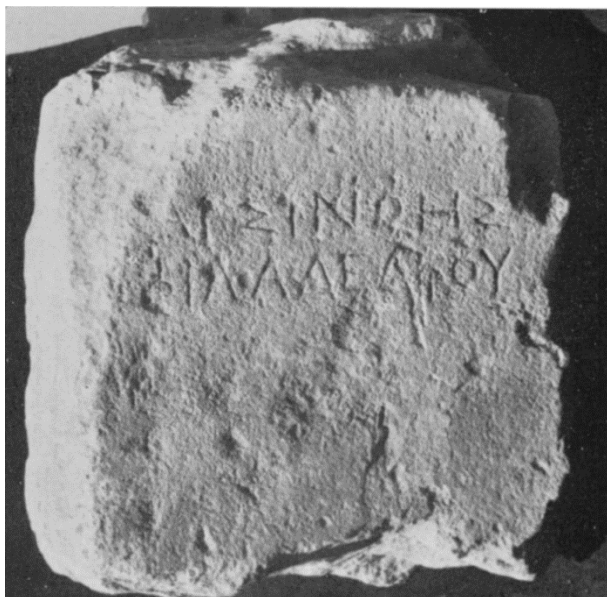
Callicrates' establishment of this cult of Arsinoë II enabled Ptolemy II to encourage sailors to include Arsinoë *Euploia* along with their standard general invocations of saviour gods when setting out to sea. This would complement Ptolemaic innovation in ruler cult already demonstrated in previous chapters, such as the program to assimilate Arsinoë to Agathe Tyche, which assimilated an already increasingly popular cult into a form of Ptolemaic ruler cult. Persuading mariners to add Arsinoë Aphrodite into their sailing ritual would be a similar strategy of adapting an existing ritual into a form of dynastic ruler cult.

<sup>90</sup> Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 422-424 (trans. Race 2009).

<sup>91</sup> Green 1990: 204, 2008: 24; Krevans and Sens 2006: 200; Gutzwiller 2007: 74-75.

<sup>92</sup> Ach. Tat. 2.32 (trans. Gaselee 1969). From the context, the reference to 'saviour gods' seems to be a general appeal for divine assistance and does not refer specifically to Ptolemy I and Berenice I.

Sailing was the main method of long-distance transport, but it was a perilous activity in which it was not always clear if the journey would end safely.<sup>93</sup> It was most likely for this reason that a number of altar plaques dedicated to ‘Arsinoë Philadelphus’ have been found in seaside locations around the Aegean, such as Lesbos, Delos, Paros, Ios, Amorgos, Thera and Miletus.<sup>94</sup> The following example comes from Old Paphos, and is clearly inscribed ‘ΑΡΣΙΝΩΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ,’ ‘(of) Arsinoë Philadelphus’.<sup>95</sup>



*Figure 2: Altar Plaque dedicated to 'Arsinoë Philadelphus,' from Old Paphos, Cyprus (Mitford 1961: no. 13).*

These altars were most likely used by sailors seeking a safe journey from Arsinoë Aphrodite, perhaps before or after setting out on a journey. This would follow the recommendation of Posidippus, who states:

τοῦτο καὶ ἐν πόντῳ καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ τῆς Φιλαδέλφου  
Κύπριδος ἰλάσκεσθ' ἱερὸν Ἀρσινόης

On both land and sea make offering to ... Aphrodite Arsinoë Philadelphus.<sup>96</sup>

and in another poem, Posidippus states:

καὶ μέλλων ἄλα νηὶ περᾶν καὶ πείσμα καθάπτειν  
χερσόθεν, Εὐπλοῖαι 'χαῖρε' δὸς Ἀρσινόη,

Whether about to cross the sea in a ship or to fasten the cable

From shore, give greetings to Arsinoë of fair sailing (Ἀρσινόη Εὐπλοῖα).<sup>97</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Lindenlauf 2003: 421; Beresford 2013: 14.

<sup>94</sup> Anastassiades 1998: 132.

<sup>95</sup> Mitford 1961: no 12. (*c.f.* no. 13, 14).

<sup>96</sup> Posidippus AB 119.1-2 (trans. Austin and Bastianini 2002).

<sup>97</sup> Posidippus AB 39.1-2 (trans. Austin and Bastianini 2002).

The altars are quite small, (about 30cm by 30cm) and this suggests that the cult was popular among ordinary people wishing to make a small private sacrifice in order to have a safe voyage.<sup>98</sup>

It was also a customary aspect of maritime religion for sailors to pray at, or towards, seaside shrines while sailing past them, and this is also likely to have been the case with the Cape Zephyrium temple.<sup>99</sup> In one poem (*AB* 119) Posidippus tells the reader to pray: ‘τοῦτο καὶ ἐν πόντῳ καὶ ἐπὶ χθονί,’ ‘Both on land and on sea’.<sup>100</sup> The poem emphasises the ability of Arsinoë Aphrodite to save sailors in distress, thus linking the cult to the tradition of Aphrodite rescuing storm-tossed mariners that could date back to Archaic times.<sup>101</sup>

#### 1.2.4 Seaside Locations of the Temples

The temple’s position and accessibility from both land and sea continued the traditional placement of shrines to the maritime Aphrodite in seaside positions, and especially upon dangerous capes to be avoided at sea.<sup>102</sup> The location of the temple to Arsinoë Aphrodite followed existing conventions of seaside shrines to maritime saviour gods. Brody (1998) shows that it was customary for shrines dedicated to maritime safety to be built in isolated coastal locations, especially on a headland which allowed the monument to serve as a landmark for passing sailors.<sup>103</sup> Further, as stated above, it had been conventional since the Archaic period for some temples to Aphrodite to be established in seaside locations. This also appears to be the case for the shrine to Arsinoë Aphrodite, although it is now unclear where the exact location of Cape Zephyrium was. The contemporary writer Posidippus poetically describes the temple as:

μέσσον ἐγὼ Φαρίης ἀκτῆς στόματός τε Κανώπου  
ἐν περιφαινομένῳ κύματι χῶρον ἔχω...

Midway between the shores of Pharos and the mouth of Canopus,

In the waves visible all around I have my place...<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Anastassiades 1998: 132; Meadows 2013: 30.

<sup>99</sup> Brody 1998: 55; Demetriou 2012: 92.

<sup>100</sup> *AB* 119.1-2, 5-6 (*GP* 13; Athen. 7.318d). Brody 1998: 55. It is notable that in the poem the official state dynastic cult (*Philadelphus*) is emphasized before the assimilation with Aphrodite.

<sup>101</sup> The terminology even continues into the Christian gospels, which is perhaps not surprising considering the Septuagint was written in Alexandria in Greek during the reign of Ptolemy II (Joseph. *AJ* 12.103). The last two lines of the epigram appear similar to the famous Gospel story of Christ calming the storm (Matt 8.23-27; Luke 8.22-25), and the term used is γαλήνη (Matt. 8.26; Luke 8.24), which is similar to the *Galenaie* epithet of Arsinoë (discussed below).

<sup>102</sup> The reference to ‘land and sea’ could also allude to the Archaic *Hymn to Aphrodite* (5.5) which praises the Goddess’ power over land and sea (ἤπειρος ... πόντος).

<sup>103</sup> Brody 1998: 55.

<sup>104</sup> Posidippus *AB* 116.1-3 (trans. Austin and Bastianini 2002).



Fraser (1972) interpreted this literally and argued that Cape Zephyrium was the modest modern Cape Montazah, located almost exactly halfway between Pharos and Canopus (near Taposiris Mikra on *fig. 6*, also marked as Montazah on *fig. 7*).<sup>105</sup>



*Figure 3: Relative locations of Alexandria, Canopus, the Canopic mouth of the Nile, and Heracleum/Thonis. The editors of the Barrington Atlas have chosen to mark the modern Cape Aboukir as Cape Zephyrium (from Barr. 74).*

<sup>105</sup> Fraser 1972: 2.388-389 n390.



*Figure 4: Modern satellite image shows that Cape Aboukir is likely to be the most prominent landmark encountered by sailors approaching or leaving Alexandria. Cape Zephyrium could have been Montazah (Fraser 1972) or Aboukir (Forster 1982) (adapted from Google Maps).*

Strabo, describing the coastal landscape eastwards of Alexandria, states:

ἐν ἧ ἔστιν ἢ τε μικρὰ Ταπόσειρις μετὰ τὴν Νικόπολιν καὶ τὸ Ζεφύριον, ἄκρα ναΐσκον ἔχουσα Ἀρσινόης Ἀφροδίτης·

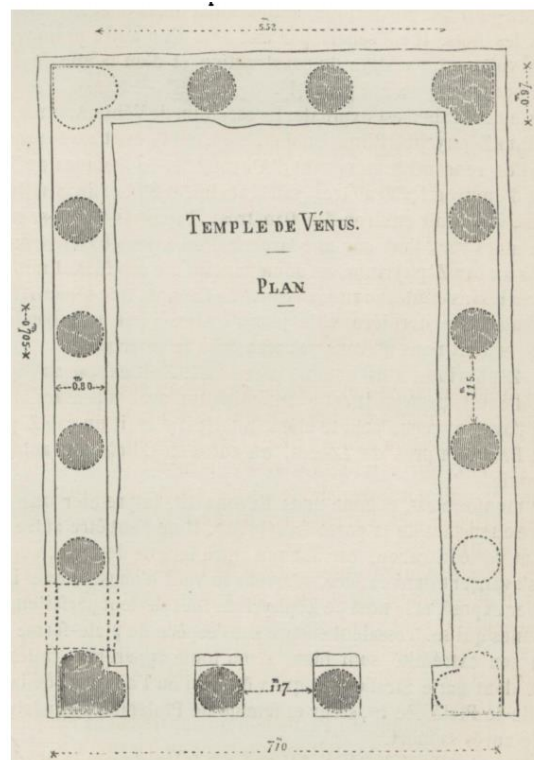
after Nicopolis, lies the Little Taposiris, as also the Zephyrium, a promontory which contains a shrine of Aphrodite Arsinoë...<sup>106</sup>

Strabo positions Cape Zephyrium on the modern headland of Aboukir, which is past the site identified as Little Taposiris and before the site of Thonis, which modern scholars identify with Heracleion (see *fig. 5*).<sup>107</sup> This would place Cape Zephyrium much closer to the mouth of Canopus than Alexandria, and not exactly midway as Posidippus stated, most likely with poetic licence. Fraser argues that Posidippus' location should be preferred to Strabo's, but surely in a question of geography a geographer should take precedence over a poet. It is notable that Callimachus also implies the shrine is located near Canopus in *Lock of Berenice*, describing the cult as 'Aphrodite Zephyritis who dwells

<sup>106</sup> Strabo 17.1.16 (trans. Jones 2017); Roller 2018: 955.

<sup>107</sup> *c.f.* Hdt. 2.113-115; Diod. Sic. 1.19.4.

on the shore of Canopus.’<sup>108</sup> Various attempts have been made to identify the possible remains of the temple. In 1869 Ceccaldi published the plan (*fig. 8*) of a small shrine which he identified as the Temple of ‘Vénus Arsinoé.’<sup>109</sup> Fraser (1972) argues that this structure was located too close to Alexandria and was more likely to be the shrine that Ptolemy II built for his *hetaira* Stratonice.<sup>110</sup> Similarly, Forster (1982) also identified the remains of a temple at modern Cape Aboukir with the shrine to Arsinoë Aphrodite.<sup>111</sup> The most recent underwater archaeological investigations led by Goddio (2016) have revealed that the coastline has extensively receded (*fig. 9*), and that the ancient coastline was much further out to sea, casting doubt on all previous claims at having identified the Temple to Arsinoë Aphrodite.<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, the temple to Arsinoë Aphrodite was located just east of Alexandria, on the main trade route to the Levant, and near the Canopic mouth of the Nile on the modern Cape Aboukir. The shrine thus would have conformed with conventions of maritime religion in acting as a coastal landmark for sailors approaching or leaving Alexandria, or Egypt via the Canopic Nile mouth.



*Figure 5: Sketch plan of a temple identified as the Temple to Arsinoë Aphrodite (from Ceccaldi 1869: 270).*

<sup>108</sup> Callim. *Aet.* 110.56-58.

<sup>109</sup> Ceccaldi 1869: 268-272. Mahmoud Bey’s 1866 map has ‘Temple de Vénus Arsinoé’ marked on the modern Cape Aboukir but it is unclear if he actually saw the remains of a temple or just conjectured its location from ancient sources (Goddio and Masson-Berghoff 2016: 16).

<sup>110</sup> Ptolemy VIII = Ath. 13.576ef: ‘Stratonice, to whom the large tomb by the sea at Eleusis [in Alexandria] belonged.’ Fraser 1972: 2.92 n204.

<sup>111</sup> Forster 1982: 196.

<sup>112</sup> Goddio and Masson-Berghoff 2016: 21.



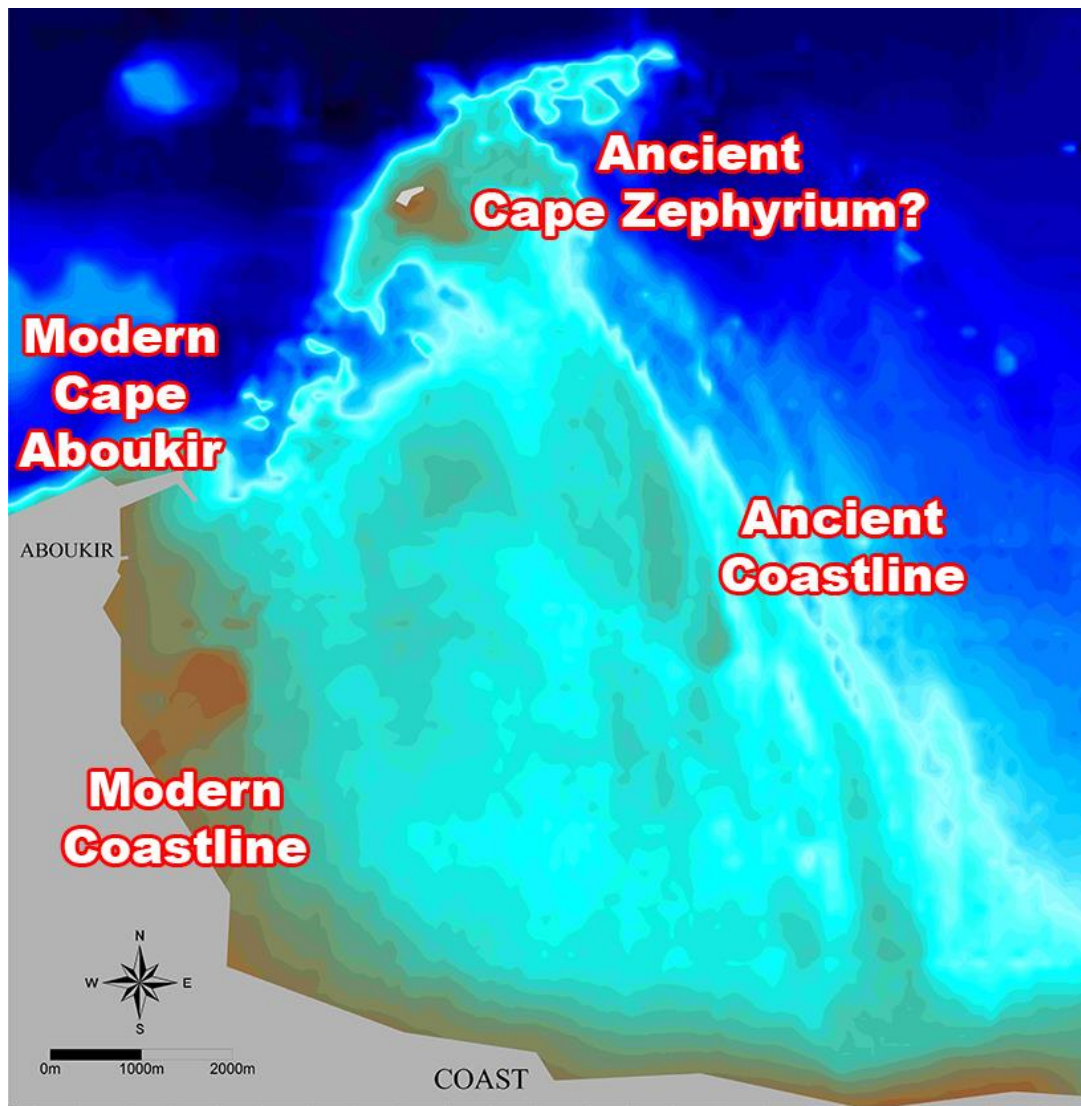


Figure 6: Bathymetric chart (adapted from British Museum 2017).

### 1.2.5 Renaming of Harbours

The foreign policy of Ptolemy II, his desire to promote his dynasty through ruler cult, as well as create the perception of power through a strong navy all combined in the policy of renaming harbours ‘Arsinoë’ around the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean. Aphrodite’s earliest attested maritime epithet was *epilimnia*, or ‘of the harbour,’ as inscribed on an anchor stock from c. 475 BC.<sup>113</sup> Arisnoë’s cult did not utilise this epithet of the maritime Aphrodite, but the cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite was closely associated with harbours, with a number of ports re-named ‘Arsinoë’. Two of the Ptolemaic re-foundations were made by Patroclus, a *strategos* and *nauarchos* under Ptolemy II from

<sup>113</sup> Welter 1938: fig. 11; Jeffrey 1961: 113 n14; Guarducci 1974: 362; Miranda 1989: 133 n43; Demetriou 2010: 23, 2012: 91.

c. 275 – 257 BC.<sup>114</sup> It is also significant that Patroclus was the second person (in 271/270 BC) to serve as the priest of Alexander, Arsinoë II and Ptolemy II in the *Theoi Adelphoi* cult after Admiral Callicrates of Samos.<sup>115</sup> Patroclus re-named at least two harbours ‘Arsinoë:’ Coressia on Ceos and Methana in the Peloponnese.<sup>116</sup> These refoundations both took place in the context of the Chremonidean War (267 -261 BC).<sup>117</sup> Although scholars continue to debate the role that Arsinoë played in formulating the foreign policy decision to intervene in mainland Greece, as Carney (2013: 93) argues, it is clear that Arsinoë and her ruler cults were used as part of Ptolemaic ‘war propaganda.’<sup>118</sup> Debate continues over the significance of Arsinoë’s inclusion in a decree from Athens from 268/7 BC, which states:

... βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος ἀκολουθῶν τῆ  
 ὤν προγόνων καὶ τῆ ἀδελφῆς, προ[α]ιρέσει φανερός ἐστ-  
 ιν σπουδάζων ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς τ[ῶν] Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας,

King Ptolemy, following the policy of his ancestor and his sister [Arsinoë], conspicuously shows his zeal for the common freedom of the Greeks.<sup>119</sup>

Regardless of whether it was Arsinoë’s initiative which encouraged Ptolemy II to join the alliance with Athens and Sparta, it is clear that Arsinoë’s image was being used, especially with major naval bases being renamed Arsinoë. This would have emphasised her recent deification as the maritime Aphrodite, and her ability to provide protection to the Ptolemaic fleet during the war.

Other re-foundations of whole harbour cities included Marion on north-west Cyprus, Patara at Lycia (on the opposite shore in Asia Minor), and two other cities on Crete, as well as one in Cilicia.<sup>120</sup> This would mean that sailors throughout the Ptolemaic empire would be literally finding safe haven in Arsinoë(s) around the eastern Mediterranean, and this provides further significance to the line in Posidippus which states that Arsinoë Aphrodite was associated with εὐλίμενος (‘safe haven’).<sup>121</sup> The renaming of harbours continued a traditional association between Aphrodite and

<sup>114</sup> *SEG* 40.730 (275 BC); *IG* XI 2.226 (257 BC); Hauben 2013.

<sup>115</sup> Hauben 2013: 46.

<sup>116</sup> Gill, Foxhall and Bowden 1997: 74; Holbl 2001: 41; Hauben 2013: 57.

<sup>117</sup> Cherry and Davis 1991: 12.

<sup>118</sup> *c.f.* Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.237.

<sup>119</sup> *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1.912, lines 16-18 (trans. Austin 2006: no. 61).

<sup>120</sup> Hauben 1987: 217; Grabowski 2014: 31 n66. Fraser (2009: 342-347) lists the following: Arsinoë in Cilicia, Arsinoë (later Marion) in Cyprus, Coressia (on Ceos), Methana in the Peloponnese, Patara in Lycia. Barbantani (2005: 146) also lists two in Crete.

<sup>121</sup> Whether there was also an intention to hint at further metaphorical connotations related to Ptolemy II docking in his wife’s harbour can only be conjectured – the association is made elsewhere in Greek poetry but not in any poems related to Arsinoë. *e.g.* Soph. *OT* 1206-1209: ‘Alas, renowned Oedipus! The same bounteous harbour (λιμὴν) was sufficient for you, both as child and as father’ (Demetriou 2010: 30 n92). It also seems to have been a familiar theme in Hellenistic epigram (*AP* 10.21, 5.232; Demetriou 2010: 29). Theognis (457-460) used the metaphor in reverse in the Archaic period: ‘A young wife is no prize for an old man, she’s like a ship whose rudder (πηδάλιον) does not hold, at

harbours, but also clearly marked out the extent of Ptolemaic naval dominance throughout the eastern Mediterranean, indicating another connection between maritime religion, ruler cult innovation and naval policy.

### 1.3 Links to Other Cults including Egyptian Cults

The cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite would have evoked a series of associations with other aspects of Ptolemaic ruler cult. Callicrates of Samos provided another direct link to Ptolemaic ruler cult, since he had earlier served as the first priest of Alexander, Arsinoë II and Ptolemy II, through the *Theoi Adelphoi* cult in 272/271 BC.<sup>122</sup> He also played a key role in establishing other cults of Arsinoë, and dedicated the colossal column with a statue associating Arsinoë with Hera at Olympia, as well as another depicting Arsinoë as Isis at Canopus.<sup>123</sup> Poetry was also used to emphasise the connection between Arsinoë and Alexander the Great, and Stephens argues that in the Milan Papyrus, the sequence of Posidippus' poems (*AB* 31, 35, 36) suggests a direct link between Alexander and Arsinoë.<sup>124</sup> This link between Arsinoë and Alexander was also made on coinage which represented Arsinoë with the ram's horns of Ammon, linking Arsinoë to the iconographic representations of Alexander.<sup>125</sup> Further, Brody argues the Carthaginians worshipped Baal Ammon as a patron deity of warships, citing the Roman poet Silius Italicus, who wrote in his epic poem *Punica* that,

*Hammon numen erat Libycae gentile carinae  
cornigeraque sedens spectabat caerulea fronte:*

Ammon, the native god of Libya, was the guardian of the [Punic] vessel,  
and sat there looking over the sea, wearing the horns on his brow.<sup>126</sup>

The connection between Arsinoë and Ammon's role as protector of warships could have been another attribute intended in the association between Arsinoë and (Baal) Ammon. Arsinoë's Cape Zephyrium cult must also have evoked associations with other recent forms of Ptolemaic ruler cult. Ptolemy I received the epithet Saviour (*Soter*) from the Rhodians in gratitude for his ability to provide naval assistance during the war with Demetrius I.<sup>127</sup> When travelling towards Alexandria from the east, the

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night she breaks her moorings and drifts into another port' (Gutzwiller 1992: 200 n25). *c.f.* Henderson 1991: no. 258-278; Murgatroyd 1995.

<sup>122</sup> Clarysse and Van Der Veken 1983: 4; Stephens 2006: 166; Carney 2013: 97.

<sup>123</sup> Olympia: *OGIS* 26, 27; Barringer 2011: 68-70; Carney 2013: 97. Canopus: *SB* I 429; Carney 2013: 97.

<sup>124</sup> *AB* 31, 35; Stephens 2004: 165-166, 2005: 237.

<sup>125</sup> Kyrieleis 1975: plate 70. Arsinoë also used the title 'Daughter of Ammon' (as Alexander used the title 'Son of Ammon') in her Egyptian cults (Nilsson 2012: 18, 109, 113-115).

<sup>126</sup> *Sil. Pun.* 14.438-439 (trans. Duff 1934); Brody 1998: 20.

<sup>127</sup> Paus. 1.8.6; Diod. Sic. 20.100.

Cape Zephyrium temple was likely the last major landmark encountered before reaching the Pharos Lighthouse at Alexandria, which was surmounted by a statue of Zeus *Soter*.<sup>128</sup> This may have been the reason that Posidippus paired an epigram about the Cape Zephyrium shrine (*AB* 116) with a poem about the Pharos Lighthouse (*AB* 115).<sup>129</sup> The two monuments were also linked through both being dedicated to deities of maritime safety, since the Lighthouse was dedicated to the ‘Saviour Gods,’ which could refer to the Dioscuri, or Ptolemy I and Berenice I, or more generally to any Gods protecting sailors.<sup>130</sup> Thus, there was a range of associations in the Ptolemies’ state ruler cults, which linked Arsinoë to the maritime Aphrodite, her father Ptolemy *Soter*, generic maritime saviours, as well as Ammon and Alexander. These innovative ruler cults continued aspects of traditional maritime religion while also alluding to the Ptolemies’ claims to naval supremacy and a dynastic connection to Alexander.

This chapter has demonstrated how the creation of a new ruler cult, in which Queen Arsinoë II was associated with the maritime Aphrodite, adopted aspects of traditional maritime religion, such as: the location of the temple, Aphrodite’s role as patron of battle fleets, the use of invocations before, during and after sailing, and the renaming of harbours. Aphrodite’s role as patron of maidens making successful marriages was also utilised, and this was likely intended to favourably reflect upon the stability of the Ptolemaic dynasty by alluding to Arsinoë’s marriage to her brother, and provide a link to the *Philadelphus* (brother-loving) cult. Through the unique strategy of association with the maritime Aphrodite, Queen Arsinoë II gained lasting immortality, if not through her official state ruler cult, then through the enduring legacy of Alexandrian poetry.

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<sup>128</sup> (Posidippus *AB* 115.10; Green 1990: 158.

<sup>129</sup> Obbink (2004: 22) argues that various stylistic similarities indicate that the poems were probably originally paired in the sourcebook from which they were copied and not by the author of the parchment on which they were found.

<sup>130</sup> Lucian (*How to Write History* 62) states that the lighthouse was inscribed with ‘Sostratus ... to the Divine Saviours.’

## CHAPTER TWO

### Hellenistic Ruler Cult and the Deification of Hellenistic Royal Women

Modern scholarship has often analysed the reasons for the bestowal of divine honours upon Hellenistic men, and Walbank (1984) even defined ‘ruler cult’ as ‘a form of worship offered to a king.’<sup>1</sup> However, ruler cult for men and women, such as Arsinoë’s assimilation with the maritime Aphrodite, developed from Greek traditions of hero and heroine cult, Macedonian kingship, and various precedents established in the late fifth, and early fourth centuries BC. Scholars continue to debate whether hero cult was a major influence upon the development of divine honours for Hellenistic monarchs, but hero cult certainly established a number of precedents that laid the foundation for ruler worship.<sup>2</sup> ‘Ruler cult’ can be defined as: ‘the rendering, as to a God or a hero, of honours to individuals deemed superior to other people because of their achievements, position, or power.’<sup>3</sup> Modern scholars also draw a distinction between two types of ruler cult: those rites established by a city in honour of a ruler, and those established by a monarch, often called ‘dynastic cult.’<sup>4</sup> The earliest heroes were thought to be legendary mortals who transitioned to divine status after death, such as Heracles, the Dioscuri, and Lycurgus.<sup>5</sup> The founder of a city was also often honoured as a ‘hero,’ from the Archaic era onwards.<sup>6</sup> The practice of associating mortal women with Aphrodite possibly began with Laïs in the fourth century BC, and from the time of Alexander onwards royal wives and royal courtesans were often assimilated with Aphrodite. As Greek ruler cult developed, the main features of this practice included the establishment of honours such as: altars (βωμοί), cult statues (ἀγάλματα), sacred grounds (τεμένη), temples (ναοί, or ιερά), sacrifices (θυσίαι), and festivals (ἄγῶνες).<sup>7</sup> It is likely that one of the main reasons for the association of mortal women with Aphrodite was to provide a way for a *polis* to conceptualise their relationship with women possessing unprecedented political power. The deification of Queen Arsinoë II as Aphrodite thus fit into this larger tradition, but was a unique development since she was assimilated specifically with the maritime aspect of Aphrodite.

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<sup>1</sup> Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.87.

<sup>2</sup> Scott 1928*a*: 138; Tarn 1948: 2.359-369; Nilsson 1980: 286; Price 1984: 32-34; Taylor 1981: 7-9; Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.88-89; Koester 1995: 36; Shipley 2000: 158; Currie 2005: 9; Nilsson 2012: 3; Badian 2012: 254-255; Habicht 2017: 145-149.

<sup>3</sup> *OCD*<sup>4</sup> s.v. ‘ruler-cult.’ *c.f.* Price 1984: 23.

<sup>4</sup> Fraser 1972: 1.213-214; Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.87, 96; Shipley 2000: 157; Chaniotis 2008: 436; Habicht 2017: 146.

<sup>5</sup> Hom. *Od.* 11.302-4; Hdt. 1.66.1; Plut. *Lyc.* 31.3; Price 1984: 29; Carney 2000: 22; Shipley 2000: 158.

<sup>6</sup> Habicht 2017: 116.

<sup>7</sup> The Athenian orator Hyperides (6.21) delivered a speech in 323 BC which laments ‘sacrifices (θυσίαι) being made to men, [and] images (ἀγάλματα), altars (βωμοί) and temples (ναοί).’ Similarly, Arrian (*Anab.* 4.11.2) attributes a speech to Callisthenes which protests the use of temples (ναοί), statues (ἀγάλματα), and sacred ground (τεμένη) for living mortals (discussed further below). *c.f.* Baldson 1950: 364; Habicht 2017: 99-114.



## 2.1 Precedents for Hellenistic Ruler Cult

### 2.1.1 Hero Cult and Precedents from the Archaic and Classical Periods

The practice of performing heroic cult honours to the deceased began at least by the late eighth century BC.<sup>8</sup> Coldstream (1976) and Burkert (1985) argue that hero cult developed under the influence of Homeric poetry, but this theory has been rejected by more recent scholars such as Parker (1996) and Currie (2005).<sup>9</sup> Instead, Currie argues that Homeric poetry should be considered contemporaneous rather than catalytic to hero cult.<sup>10</sup> Hero cult may have arisen with the development of the *polis*, and the desire for a communal form of worship that would bind the new hoplite army.<sup>11</sup> A community may have chosen to offer heroic honours to a deceased person in order to reward a benefactor, as well as in the expectation of receiving benefits from the hero, which may have also been important reasons for the later creation of ruler cult (discussed further below).<sup>12</sup> The Boeotian poet Hesiod describes a mythical earlier generation as ‘ἀνδρῶν ἠρώων θεῖον γένος,’ ‘a Godlike race of heroes,’ and the earliest examples of deceased mortals receiving cult honours are all mythical figures.<sup>13</sup> Some examples of mythical human figures receiving cult honours include: the shrine at Therapne (near Sparta), which dates from *c.* 700 BC and was dedicated to Menelaus and Helen; and an enclosure at Eleusis created *c.* 700 BC which was consecrated to members of the ‘Seven Against Thebes.’<sup>14</sup> The founder of a city could also be offered posthumous cult honours, and this could involve mythical figures such as Lycurgus at Sparta.<sup>15</sup> The practice later continued with historical persons, and Diodorus Siculus provides the notable example of the Syracusan tyrant Hieron, who created a colony at Aetna in 475 BC specifically ‘τιμὰς ἔχειν ἠρωικάς,’ ‘so that he might receive heroic honours’.<sup>16</sup> The fifth century Sicilian tyrants may have even anticipated later developments and attempted to introduce divine cult, since Bosworth argues that there appear to be warnings in Pindar’s odes to the tyrants not to go beyond hero cult.<sup>17</sup> Kings could also be the posthumous recipients of hero cult, and Xenophon records that deceased Spartan Kings received heroic honours (ὡς ἠρώας),

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<sup>8</sup> Burkert 1985: 203; Antonaccio 1995: 247; Parker 1996: 33; Currie 2005: 48; Bravo 2009: 13. An elaborate tomb dedicated at Lefkandi from the tenth century BC indicates veneration of the deceased, but not necessarily the existence of posthumous cult (Parker 1996: 36; Currie 2005: 49; Bravo 2009: 19).

<sup>9</sup> Coldstream 1976: 17; Burkert 1985: 204; Parker 1996: 36-37; Currie 2005: 49. There was an earlier theory that hero cult represented the worship of ‘faded’ gods, but this argument appears to have faded from recent scholarship (Farnell 1921: 280-281; Nock 1944: 162; Burkert 1985: 205).

<sup>10</sup> Currie 2005: 49; Bravo 2009: 20; Lyons 2014: 8.

<sup>11</sup> Burkert 1985: 204; Parker 1996: 37; Bravo 2009: 24.

<sup>12</sup> Currie 2005: 4.

<sup>13</sup> Hes. *Op.* 159 (trans. Most 2018); Currie 2005: 64; Burkert 1985: 204; Bravo 2009: 14.

<sup>14</sup> Therapne (‘Menelaion’): Hdt. 6.61; Isoc. 10.63; Polyb. 5.18.21; Paus. 3.19.9; Livy 34.28; Farnell 1921: 323; Burkert 1985: 203. Eleusis: Burkert 1985: 203; Parker 1996: 35.

<sup>15</sup> Hdt. 1.66.1; Paus. 3.16.6; Burkert 1985: 206.

<sup>16</sup> Diod. Sic. 11.49.2, 11.66.4 (trans. Oldfather 1933); Strabo 6.2.3; Asheri 1992 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 150, 154; Currie 2005: 7.

<sup>17</sup> Bosworth 1988: 279, referring to Pind. *Ol.* 1.113-115 (Hieron of Syracuse) and 3.43-5 (Theron of Acragas).

allegedly since the time of Lycurgus.<sup>18</sup> The poetry of Pindar also alludes to hero cults for the Battid Kings of Cyrene, and Currie argues this may have been a strategy to promote the legitimacy of the dynastic succession, which would also play an important role in the later development of ruler cult.<sup>19</sup> There was also a major development around the beginning of the fifth century, when victorious athletes began to receive posthumous hero cults.<sup>20</sup> Thus whereas in the eighth century the earliest attested heroes were legendary mortals who had transitioned to a special status, by the fifth century heroic honours were being presented posthumously to historical figures such as city founders, Kings, Sicilian tyrants and victorious athletes.

A number of important developments in hero cult and precedents for ruler cult were established in the late fifth century BC, mostly in the context of the Peloponnesian War.<sup>21</sup> As stated earlier, a city founder such as Hieron of Syracuse could expect during his lifetime to receive hero cult posthumously, but towards the end of the fifth century heroic honours may have been offered to founders who were still living. Currie argues this development represents an expansion of the practice whereby athletes and city founders increasingly received special honours during their lifetime from the city of their residence, in anticipation of receiving a posthumous hero cult.<sup>22</sup> The case of Hagnon at Amphipolis may represent a further evolution, and at the very least this case is unique since Hagnon did not reside in the city which provided him with cult honours.<sup>23</sup> The Athenian Hagnon established Amphipolis in 437/6 BC, but in 422 the citizens of Amphipolis decided they no longer wished to honour Hagnon as their founder.<sup>24</sup> According to Thucydides:

οἱ Ἀμφιπολίται ... καταβαλόντες τὰ Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἀφανίσαντες εἷ τι μνημόσυνόν που ἔμελλεν αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίσεως περιέσεσθαι ... τὸν δὲ Ἴαγωνα κατὰ τὸ πολέμιον τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως σφίσι ζυμφόρως οὐδ' ἂν ἠδέως τὰς τιμὰς ἔχειν  
The people of Amphipolis ... demolished all the buildings of Hagnon (τὰ Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα), destroying everything that could possibly remind them of the fact that

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<sup>18</sup> Xen. *Lac.* 15.9, *Hell.* 3.3.1; *c.f.* Hdt. 6.58; Cartledge 1987: 338-340, 1988: 43-44; Parker 1988: 9-10; Currie 2005: 244. Leonidas (*r.* 490-480) also received a hero cult (Paus. 3.14.1), and so did the sixth century *ephor* Chilon (Paus. 3.16.4).

<sup>19</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 5.93-5, 96-8; Currie 2005: 3, 228, 236. Archaeologists have discovered a hero shrine in the *agora* which could be the shrine that Pindar refers to (White 1967: 415).

<sup>20</sup> Farnell 1921: 365; Fontenrose 1968: 92; Barringer 2005: 237; Currie 2005: 120-124. Victorious athletes already received special honours during their lifetime, such as meals at public expense (Barringer 2005: 237; Currie 2005: 139-152). Modern scholars still debate why athletes began to receive hero cult at the start of the fifth century (Fontenrose 1968: 99; Miller 2004: 160; Currie 2005: 126-129).

<sup>21</sup> Price 1984: 26; Currie 2005: 159.

<sup>22</sup> Currie 2005: 191-192.

<sup>23</sup> Malkin 1987: 84.

<sup>24</sup> Thuc. 4.102.3, 5.11.1; Diod. Sic. 12.32.3; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 6.53; Lazaridis 1973: 35, 1997: 17; Malkin 1985: 125; Peseley 1989: 194-198; Lewis 1992a: 145; Traill 1994: 118-119 (*PAA* 107380).

Hagnon founded the place ... they could no longer honour him with the same profit as before, or with the same goodwill (οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως σφίσι ξυμφόρως οὐδ' ἂν ἠδέως τὰς τιμὰς ἔχειν).<sup>25</sup> Heroic honours had previously only been offered posthumously, but numerous further references to Hagnon in ancient literature indicate that he lived until at least 411 BC.<sup>26</sup> The case of Hagnon demonstrates that by the late fifth century, a living city founder could receive honours such as buildings and possibly cult offerings.

The case of Hagnon is closely related to that of the person who replaced him as the official founder of Amphipolis, Brasidas of Sparta. From at least the late sixth century BC, it was possible for a grateful *polis* to offer posthumous founder honours to a benefactor who did not actually establish the city. Herodotus records an instance from c. 525 BC when the 'people of the Chersonese' offered posthumous founder honours to the Athenian Miltiades, after he provided military leadership to the region.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, a century later in 422 BC, the citizens of Amphipolis created a posthumous founder-hero cult for Brasidas, in gratitude for his military assistance against the Athenians.<sup>28</sup> After Brasidas fell in battle while defending the city, Thucydides states that:

οἱ Ἀμφιπολιταί, περιείρξαντες αὐτοῦ τὸ μνημεῖον, ὡς ἥρωί τε ἐντέμνουσι καὶ τιμὰς δεδώκασιν ἀγῶνας καὶ ἔτησίους θυσίας, καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστὴ προσέθεσαν, ... νομίσαντες τὸν μὲν Βρασιδαν σωτῆρά τε σφῶν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἅμα τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ζυμμαχίαν φόβῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεραπεύοντες.

The people of Amphipolis made an enclosure around his memorial (μνημεῖον), and ... they sacrificed to him as to a hero (ἥρωος), and honoured him by holding games (ἀγῶνες) and making annual sacrifices (θυσίαι) ... It was Brasidas, they considered, who had been their saviour (σωτήρ) and ... they were exceedingly anxious to have the Spartan alliance, out of fear of Athens.<sup>29</sup>

This foreshadows two main factors in the development of Hellenistic ruler cult, which were the desire by a *polis* for military protection and to publicly express gratitude.<sup>30</sup> The honours bestowed upon

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<sup>25</sup> Thuc. 5.11.1 (trans. Warner 1954). Gomme (1966: 655) argues the Amphipolitans tore down public buildings named after Hagnon. Malkin (1987: 231) argues that the citizens may have just removed inscriptions dedicated to Hagnon. Hornblower (1996: 453) and Malkin (1985: 321) argue that τὰ Ἀγώνεα refers to some type of cult building. The exact translation of this sentence remains unclear (Malkin 1985: 126 n72).

<sup>26</sup> Thuc. 5.19, 5.24 (Peace of Nicias), 8.1.3 (*probouloi*); Lys. 12.65; Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.30; Gomme 1966: 656; Kagan 1987: 5-6; Peseley 1989: 204-206; Hornblower 1996: 449, 452.

<sup>27</sup> Hdt. 6.38; Farnell 1921: 361; Burkert 1985: 206 n36; Andrewes 1982 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup> 3.3): 404-403. It is possible that Herodotus is referring to Miltiades' fellow Athenian colonists, who would quite logically honour Miltiades as their 'founder.' However, as Malkin (1987:77-78) argues, it seems clear that Herodotus is stating that it was the original inhabitants who offered posthumous honours to Miltiades. Hdt. 6.38: 'Ever since his death the people of the Chersonese have offered in his honour the sacrifices commonly due to the founder (Χερσονησίται θύουσι ὡς νόμος οἰκιστῆ).'

<sup>28</sup> Thuc. 5.6-11; Malkin 1985: 125, 1987: 230; Lewis 1992b (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 427-430.

<sup>29</sup> Thuc. 5.11.1 (trans. Warner 1954); Seaford 1994: 121. A tomb discovered at Amphipolis in the 1980s could belong to Brasidas (*Arch. Rep.* 1984/5: 47; Hornblower 1996: 451).

<sup>30</sup> Larson 2016: 288.

Brasidas represent a transitional phase between hero cult and ruler cult, since Brasidas was provided with a state cult and labelled a ‘saviour’ (σωτήρ), because he had been a benefactor to the city.<sup>31</sup> This was a notable presentiment of one of the most common cult titles which would later be used in Hellenistic ruler cult, especially by Ptolemy I, who took the title *Soter* after being a benefactor to the city of Rhodes.<sup>32</sup>

A further development occurred in 404 BC, when the Spartan general Lysander apparently became the first attested living Greek to receive divine honours, including altars and sacrifices as to a God.<sup>33</sup> After the Spartan victory in the Peloponnesian War at the Battle of Aegospotami, Lysander found himself in an unparalleled position of power, as the naval commander of the Spartan fleet in the Aegean.<sup>34</sup> Plutarch (*Lys.* 18.2) states Lysander was, ‘at this time more powerful than any Greek before him had been.’ Xenophon provides the specific details, describing how Lysander installed new governors into cities across the Aegean, before re-settling the populations of Melos and Aegina.<sup>35</sup> Plutarch transmits Duris’ testimony, that it was in this context that:

πρώτῳ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δουῖρις, Ἑλλήνων ἐκείνῳ (sc. Λυσάνδρῳ) βωμοὺς αἱ πόλεις ἀνέστησαν ὡς θεῷ καὶ θυσίας ἔθυσαν, εἰς πρῶτον δὲ παιᾶνες ἤσθησαν ... Σάμιοι δὲ τὰ παρ’ αὐτοῖς Ἡραῖα Λυσάνδρεια καλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο.

He was the first Greek, as Duris writes, to whom the cities erected altars (βωμοί), and made sacrifices (θυσίαι) as to a God (ὡς θεῷ), the first also to whom songs of triumph were sung. ... And the Samians decreed that their festival of Hera should be called the Lysandreia.<sup>36</sup>

This represents a further development from the earlier case of Brasidas, who received sacrifices as to a hero, whereas Lysander received sacrifice ‘as to a God’ (ὡς θεῷ). Pausanias also reports that following the destruction of the Athenian fleet in 404 BC, the Samians dedicated a statue of Lysander at Olympia.<sup>37</sup> Lysander’s statue was thus standing among the statues of athletes who received posthumous hero cult, such as Cleomedes of Astypalaia, and Euthymus of Locri, and the occasional athlete who received posthumous divine honours, such as Theagenes of Thasos.<sup>38</sup> Lysander was the

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<sup>31</sup> Hornblower 1996: 452.

<sup>32</sup> Thuc. 5.11.1; Scott 1928a: 139; Malkin 1985: 126; Kearns 1990: 325; Green 1993: 402; Chaniotis 2005: 436. Gomme (1966: 655) argues that the case of Brasidas could be the first recorded use of the title of *Soter*.

<sup>33</sup> Farnell 1921: 368; Nilsson 1980: 286; Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.89, 1993: 212-3; Carney 2000: 22; Shipley 2000: 158; Holbl 2001: 92; Chaniotis 2005: 434; Potter 2005: 417. Shipley (2000: 158) notes the coincidence that many pioneer figures in hero and ruler cult were Spartan: Lycurgus, Spartan Kings, Brasidas, Lysander, Princess Cynisca.

<sup>34</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.28

<sup>35</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.1-9.

<sup>36</sup> Duris of Samos *BNJ* 76 F 71 = Plut. *Lys.* 18.3-4 (trans. Perrin 1916).

<sup>37</sup> Paus. 6.3.14-15; Habicht 2017: 1.

<sup>38</sup> Cleomedes: Paus. 6.9.6-8; Fontenrose 1968: 73-74; Currie 2005: 120. Euthymus: Paus. 6.6.4-10; Fontenrose 1968: 79-81; Currie 2005: 166-167. The base of Euthymus’ statue at Olympia has been discovered, which dates from c. 470 BC and states: ‘Euthymus of Locri, son of Astykle, having won three times at Olympia, set up this figure *to be admired by mortals*’ (emphasis added; Miller 2007: 166b; Lunt 2009: 391 n37). The inscription implies that Euthymus was now immortal, however, the line ‘to be admired by mortals’ appears to have been added later, although Lunt states

first mortal to receive an altar, and to be associated with an Olympian deity, and with Olympic heroes. It is notable that as with Brasidas, these honours occurred in the context of the *polis* of Samos attempting to negotiate its relationship towards a benefactor, which in this case was a person possessing vast military power, in an interesting foreshadowing of the later political situation under the Hellenistic monarchs.<sup>39</sup>

Some modern historians have questioned whether this testimony from Duris of Samos can be considered reliable. For example, Baldson argues that Duris has anachronistically projected aspects of ruler cult from the third century BC, when he was writing.<sup>40</sup> Habicht argues that as tyrant of Samos, Duris should have had access to reliable records, and had no apparent motivation for fabrication.<sup>41</sup> Further, Badian argues that Duris never states that divine honours were presented to Lysander during his lifetime, and argues that the statement only says that Lysander was the first to receive sacrifices as to a God, which could have been posthumous.<sup>42</sup> As Currie notes, Badian's argument does not seem plausible since there were obviously earlier Greeks to have received posthumous divine honours, such as Heracles and Lycurgus.<sup>43</sup> Badian also argues that Plutarch has gone beyond Duris, and that he is the one who has anachronistically projected aspects of ruler cult, with the result that this passage is no more than 'biographical romance,' which he argues should be abandoned as historical evidence.<sup>44</sup> As Currie observes, it seems clear that Plutarch has attributed this claim to the source, and not inserted it himself, writing: 'He was the first, according to Duris (πρώτῳ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δουρίης).'<sup>45</sup> Badian also argues that the lack of further examples of deification between Lysander and Alexander casts serious doubt upon the plausibility of Lysander's case, so that Alexander must represent the earliest instance of divine honours for mortals.<sup>46</sup> As Bosworth argues, another likely explanation is that there were no further examples after Lysander simply because nobody else could replicate Lysander's hegemonic position until the time of Alexander.<sup>47</sup> As Price (1984: 26) argues, the conditions that lead to the deification of Hellenistic rulers were: 'a form of autocratic rule that was

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this still could have been in the early fifth century (Lunt 2009: 391 n37). Theagenes of Thasos: Paus. 6.11.2-9; Fontenrose 1968: 75-76; Currie 2005: 120-121.

<sup>39</sup> Chaniotis 2005: 434.

<sup>40</sup> Baldson 1950: 364.

<sup>41</sup> Habicht 2017: 2, 179; *c.f.* Tarn 1948: 2.360 n3; Kebric 1977: 81.

<sup>42</sup> Badian 2012: 248-249.

<sup>43</sup> Currie 2005: 160.

<sup>44</sup> Badian 2012: 255, 250.

<sup>45</sup> Duris of Samos (*FGrH* 76 F 71) = Plut. *Lys* 18.3; Currie 2005: 160; *c.f.* Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.89.

<sup>46</sup> Badian 2012: 255.

<sup>47</sup> Bosworth 1988: 280. Currie (2005: 160) argues there was at least one other precedent, according to Plutarch, who states that the Thasians offered the Spartan King Agesilaus (*r.* 400-359 BC) a temple (ναός) but he gave the laconic reply: 'make yourselves gods first' (Plut. *Sayings of the Spartans* 210d; Farnell 1921: 368). The fact that this appears to be anecdotal evidence in a collection of witty aphorisms probably does not inspire much confidence in its historicity, but it is notable that the circumstances of Agesilaus' liberation of Asia Minor are very similar to the conditions in which divine honours were bestowed upon Alexander (discussed below).

both external to the institutions of the city and yet at least partially Greek.’ In other words, Lysander was in the same position of unparalleled power over the Greek Aegean as the later Hellenistic monarchs, and so it seems reasonable that the Samians would respond with divine honours. Badian is clearly correct to point out that the evidence for the bestowal of divine honours upon Lysander during his lifetime is slim, and open to debate. It also seems likely that Duris had no apparent motivation for fabrication, that Plutarch has followed Duris, and that there were no further precedents following Lysander because the political situation was not matched until Hellenistic times.

Further precedents were set throughout the fourth century, which could be interpreted as a part of an expanding trend.<sup>48</sup> After the naval Battle of Cnidus in 394 BC, the victorious Athenian Admiral Conon was possibly just the second living Greek person to receive a statue, after Lysander.<sup>49</sup> Pausanias states that the Samians dedicated a bronze statue of Conon in their temple of Hera, and that the Ephesians also erected a statue in their temple of Artemis.<sup>50</sup> Again, this is an interesting case of the Samians negotiating their relationship with a powerful figure backed by naval power, since as just mentioned the Samians had earlier dedicated a statue of Lysander, which led Pausanias to remark that the Samians were ‘putting plaster on both walls.’<sup>51</sup> Further, as already noted, Sicilian tyrants in the early fifth century had received posthumous hero cult, but in the mid-fourth century Dion of Syracuse received hero cult during his lifetime for overthrowing a Sicilian tyranny.<sup>52</sup> In 367 BC Dionysius II inherited the tyranny of Syracuse and launched into a life of dissipation, which allegedly included a ninety-day drinking session.<sup>53</sup> The tyrant’s brother-in-law, Dion, attempted to persuade him with Platonic philosophy (and later with Plato himself) to pursue virtue and form a constitutional government.<sup>54</sup> In summary, a significant development occurred after Dion’s second attempt at liberating the city, when Diodorus reports that:

συναχθείσης δ’ ἐκκλησίας ὁ μὲν δῆμος εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ στρατηγὸν ἐχειροτόνησεν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Δίωνα καὶ τιμὰς ἀπένευμεν ἡρωικὰς ... οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι πανδήμοις ἐπαίνοις καὶ ἀποδοχαῖς μεγάλαις ἐτίμων τὸν εὐεργέτην ὡς μόνον σωτῆρα γεγονότα τῆς πατρίδος.

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<sup>48</sup> However, Walbank argues that the cases of Dion, Amyntas III and Philip II were isolated incidents (Walbank 1984 (CAH<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.90).

<sup>49</sup> Asmonti 2015: 157.

<sup>50</sup> Paus. 6.3.16.

<sup>51</sup> Paus. 6.3.15.

<sup>52</sup> The examples of Sicilian tyrants were Hieron of Syracuse (Diod. Sic. 11.66.4) and Theron of Acragas (Diod. Sic. 11.53.2). There was also the Athenian precedent of Harmodius and Aristogeiton who were offered hero cult for their role in overthrowing a tyranny (Demosth. 19.280; Farnell 1921: 363).

<sup>53</sup> Plut. *Dion* 7.4; Timaeus *BNJ* 566 F 158a = Athen. 10.437b.

<sup>54</sup> Plut. *Dion* 9-13; Pl. *Seventh Letter* 327d.

An assembly was summoned, and the people, as an expression of their gratitude to him, elected Dion general with absolute power and accorded him honours suited to a hero (ἥρωικός) ... The Syracusans honoured their benefactor (εὐεργέτης) as their one and only saviour (σωτήρ).<sup>55</sup>

Dion was thus provided with a hero cult while he was still living, possibly following earlier fifth century precedents set by Hagnon and perhaps Lysander.<sup>56</sup> The honours were bestowed in gratitude for Dion's military leadership, which follows the example of Brasidas at Amphipolis, and thus foreshadow aspects of Hellenistic ruler cult.<sup>57</sup> A further similarity in the honours bestowed upon Dion and Brasidas is that they were both hailed as 'saviours,' which later became a common ruler cult epithet in the Hellenistic period.

### 2.1.2 Philip, Alexander and the Successors

The development of Hellenistic ruler cult was also influenced by some of the practices of the Macedonian Kings. Amyntas III (*r.* 393-370 BC) appears to have had a temple (ἱερόν) at Pydna, although it is debatable whether this indicates the existence of a cult during the King's lifetime. A *scholium* on a passage of Demosthenes refers to an incident in 357 BC, and states that the citizens of Pydna, 'fled to the Amynteion (Ἀμύντειον). For the Pydnians, flattering his father [*sc.* Amyntas, father of Philip II] built him a temple.'<sup>58</sup> This testimony implies the existence of a temple to Amyntas (Ἀμύντειον) in 357 BC, but Habicht argues that in order for the flattery to be effective, Amyntas must have been alive, and that the temple was constructed during his lifetime (*i.e.* before his death in 370 BC).<sup>59</sup>

A more immediate influence upon Alexander and the Successors were the innovations pioneered by Philip II (*r.* 360-336 BC). In 356 BC Philip refounded the Thracian city Crenides as 'Philippi,' and it is likely that he received cult as the founder hero of the city, although it is not clear if this happened during his lifetime.<sup>60</sup> An inscription, which was found near a building that may have been the heroön, refers to the 'τέμενος Φιλίππου,' 'sacred land of Philip.'<sup>61</sup> The inscription has been

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<sup>55</sup> Diod. Sic. 16.20.2 (trans. Sherman 1952). However, Bosworth (1988: 280 n2) argues that the hero cult for Dion was never created since public opinion seems to have shifted against Dion quickly, and he was stabbed shortly afterwards (Plut. *Dion* 48, 57). However, Lysander also met with an ignominious end despite receiving divine honours (Plut. *Lys.* 28.5).

<sup>56</sup> The case of Lysander was obviously different since he was provided with divine honours, but the case is similar in that a living benefactor was given cult honours from a grateful city.

<sup>57</sup> Habicht 2017: 6. Ironically, Dion did not receive a posthumous hero cult (Badian 2012: 253; Habicht 2017: 6).

<sup>58</sup> *Scholia Demosthenica* 41a (Dilts 1983: 26); Habicht 2017: 7.

<sup>59</sup> Habicht 2017: 7. *c.f.* Fredricksmeyer 1979: 51 n39; Badian 2012: 251; Potter 2005: 417; Chaniotis 2005: 434.

<sup>60</sup> Diod. Sic. 16.8.6; Fredricksmeyer 1979: 52; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2011: 439; Habicht 2017: 10-11, 182-183.

<sup>61</sup> *SEG* 38.658, line 6 (Hatzopoulos 1996: 2.83); Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 2011: 442-443.

dated to c. 350-300 BC, so it is not clear if these cult honours were bestowed upon Philip during his lifetime.<sup>62</sup> In any case, Fredricksmeyer argues that the naming of Philippi was still significant since it represented the first example of a founder naming a city after himself, with the clear intention of equating the founder with a hero while he was still alive.<sup>63</sup> This is not accepted by all historians, and Malkin argues there were earlier examples, such as Soloi on Cyprus being named after Solon during his lifetime.<sup>64</sup> Nonetheless, Philip II certainly set a precedent, judging by the subsequent popularity with Alexander and the Successors of the practice of naming a city after oneself or a member of the dynasty.<sup>65</sup>

The other relevant innovation of Philip's reign was to establish a precedent for Hellenistic dynastic cults by presenting himself with honours which implied divinity, such as the Philippeum at Olympia.<sup>66</sup> Pausanias states that after the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 BC, Philip constructed this building inside the sacred *Altis* at Olympia, and that it contained chryselephantine statues of Philip, Alexander and Amyntas (as well as Olympias and Eurydice, which were later removed).<sup>67</sup> Carney argues that this building was deliberately ambiguous: it was in the shape of a temple, situated among temples in the sacred precinct, and contained chryselephantine statues (usually reserved for divinities), and yet no cult activity is alleged to have occurred inside it.<sup>68</sup> It seems likely that following the Battle of Chaeronea, Philip was in a position of unparalleled political power, similar to that of Lysander sixty-six years earlier, and this building was an opportunity to commemorate his victory and symbolically demonstrate the power of his dynasty in a way that strongly suggested divine status.<sup>69</sup> There seems to have been a similar concept behind Philip's decision to have his statue carried in a procession beside the twelve Olympian Gods in 336 BC, since this again did not require any divine cult but still strongly implied that he was worthy of divine honours.<sup>70</sup> As Fredricksmeyer argues, in both instances Philip suggested his deification without actually formalising it.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Hatzopoulos 1996: 2.83.

<sup>63</sup> Fredricksmeyer 1979: 52; Hammond and Griffith 1979: 360.

<sup>64</sup> Plut. *Sol.* 26.2-4; Malkin 1985: 119.

<sup>65</sup> Malkin 1985: 130. Plutarch (*Alex.* 61.1) also records that Alexander founded a city named after his horse and another after his dog, but the cult status of these animals in relation to these cities remains unclear.

<sup>66</sup> It is also notable that this building is very similar to the Rotunda of Arsinoë on Samothrace and may have been a key influence (Fredricksmeyer 1979: 60 n57).

<sup>67</sup> Paus. 5.20.9-10; Fredricksmeyer 1979: 55; Carney 2000: 24 n15.

<sup>68</sup> Carney 2000a: 24-25. *c.f.* Fredricksmeyer 1979: 53.

<sup>69</sup> Carney 2000a: 25-26.

<sup>70</sup> Diod. Sic. 16.92.5; Nock 1972a: 246-247; Hammond and Griffith 1979: 682-683; Fredricksmeyer 1979: 57; Badian 2012: 367.

<sup>71</sup> Fredricksmeyer 1979: 58. It is possible that Philip II received divine cult during his lifetime, at Amphipolis (Aristid. *Or.* 38.480; Fredricksmeyer 1979: 51; Badian 2012: 252; Habicht 2017: 7-8), Eresus on Lesbos (*OGIS* 8a; Bosworth 1988: 281; Badian 2012: 366; Habicht 2017: 9), Athens (Clement, *Protrepticus* 4.54.5; Fredricksmeyer 1979: 60; Habicht 2017: 9), and Ephesus (Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.11; Bosworth 1988: 281; Badian 2012: 366; Habicht 2017: 182), but in all four cases the evidence is ambiguous and debated by modern historians.



Alexander not only led the Greeks from Europe to Asia but also across the boundary from hero cult to regularised ruler cult, which would become routine for his Successors. In 331 BC, Alexander established the city of Alexandria in Egypt, which would at the very least ensure that he would receive heroic honours as the city's founder, which subsequently occurred.<sup>72</sup> Although it does not seem to have been Alexander's intention, he was subsequently buried in the centre of the city, in line with the traditions of Greek founder cult.<sup>73</sup> Alexander also strongly encouraged the perception that he was the son of Zeus after 331 BC, following a favourable declaration from the Oracle of Zeus-Ammon at Siwah.<sup>74</sup> One aspect of this relationship was that it placed Alexander on the same level as heroes such as Heracles and the Dioscuri, who were also notable for receiving divine honours posthumously.<sup>75</sup> A further evolution in hero cult occurred after Hephaestion died in Ecbatana in 324 BC, and Alexander ordered the bestowal of heroic honours for his friend, which appear to have been established at places such as Alexandria, Athens and Pella.<sup>76</sup> The anti-Macedonian Athenian orator, Hyperides, delivered a funeral oration in 323 BC in which he praised those who fought for liberty against Macedonia, stating, 'καὶ τοὺς τούτων οἰκέτας ὥσπερ ἥρωας τιμᾶν ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαζομένους,' 'we ... are forced to honour as heroes the servants of these people.'<sup>77</sup> This must refer to the creation of a hero cult for Hephaestion shortly after his death a year earlier.<sup>78</sup> This set a precedent since a generation later the *philoï* of Demetrius would also be honoured as heroes at Athens (discussed below). Alexander was working within the traditions of hero cult by founding cities, but also encouraged the Greek cities to formulate their relationship to monarchy in terms of cult honours.

Just as there was reluctance from Macedonian soldiers to push beyond known geographical limits, there was also opposition from some towards crossing into the uncharted territory of ruler cult. Arrian records that in 327 BC, the opposition to the introduction of *proskynesis* was led by the historian Callisthenes of Olynthus, who supposedly said:

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<sup>72</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3.1.5; Plut. *Alex.* 26.3-6; Justin 11.11.13; Curtius 4.8.1; Diod. Sic. 17.52; Strabo 17.1.6; Vitruv. 2 *praeef.* 4; *Alexander Romance* 1.31-32; Badian 2012: 371.

<sup>73</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.28.2. Habicht 2017: 26.

<sup>74</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 7.23.2; Diod. Sic. 17.50.6; Plut. *Alex.* 27, *Sayings of the Spartans* 219e; Curt. 4.7.24; Ael. *VH* 2.19; Strabo 17.1.3; Justin 12.12.11; Bosworth 1988: 74, 282; Chaniotis 2003: 435; Badian 2012: 256; Collins 2014: 73. The various accounts of Alexander's consultation with the oracle differ and the exact nature of the prophecies he received remain obscure (Tarn 1948: 2.357; Collins 2014: 73). However, it seems clear that Alexander emphasised his connection to Ammon to the extent that mutinous soldiers were able to joke about it, 'adding in bitter jest that on his next campaign he could take his father with him, meaning, presumably, the god Ammon' (Arrian, *Anab.* 7.8.3; Bosworth 1988: 283; Badian 2012: 372). Octavian similarly presented himself as the *divi filius* early in his public life (Weinstock 1971: 399; Syme 2002: 202).

<sup>75</sup> Bosworth 1988: 283; Badian 2012: 372.

<sup>76</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 7.14, 23; Plut. *Alex.* 72; Diod. Sic. 17.110; Hyp. 6.21; *SEG* 40.547 (Inscription from Pella); Lucian, *Slander* 17; Bosworth 1988: 288.

<sup>77</sup> Hyp. 6.21 (trans. Burtt 1962).

<sup>78</sup> Habicht 2017: 24.

ἀλλὰ διακεκρίσθαι γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅσαι τε ἀνθρώπιναι τιμαὶ καὶ ὅσαι θεῖαι πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις, καθάπερ ναῶν τε οἰκοδομήσει καὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἀναστάσει καὶ τεμένη ὅτι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξαιρεῖται καὶ θύεται ἐκείνοις καὶ σπένδεται, καὶ ὕμνοι μὲν ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς ποιοῦνται ...

There is a difference between honouring a man, and worshipping a god. The distinction between the two has been marked in many ways: for instance, by the building of temples (ναοί), the erection of statues (ἀγάλματα), the dedication of sanctuaries (τεμένη), and hymns are composed in their honour...<sup>79</sup>

Badian argues that although this speech is likely to be a rhetorical invention, it could still be a reflection of a historical attitude by Callisthenes and others towards Alexander's move towards deification in 327 BC.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, there was opposition expressed in Athens in 324 BC when a motion to deify Alexander was debated.<sup>81</sup> The exact sequence of events remains obscure, although it seems a cult for Alexander was established at Athens, since in 323 BC the orator Hyperides stated in the context of the Lamian War:

ἄξιον τοίνυν συλλογίσασθαι καὶ τί ἂν συμβῆναι νομίζομεν μὴ κατὰ τρόπον τούτων ἀγωνισαμένων. ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐνὸς μὲν δεσπότητος τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπήκοον ἅπασαν εἶναι, νόμῳ δὲ τῷ τούτου τρόπῳ ἐξ ἀνάγκης χρῆσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα; φανερόν δ' ἐξ ὧν ἀναγκαζόμεθα καὶ νῦν ἔτι: θυσίας μὲν ἀνθρώποις γιγνομένας ἐφορᾶν, ἀγάλματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ναοὺς τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς ἀμελῶς, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἐπιμελῶς συντελούμενα,

Now we might well reflect what, in our opinion, the outcome would have been, had these men failed to do their duty ... Must we not suppose that the whole world would be under one master, and Greece compelled to tolerate his whim as law? ... The practices which even now we have to countenance are proof enough: sacrifices (θυσίαι) being made to men; images (ἀγάλματα), altars (βωμοί), and temples (ναοί) carefully perfected in their honour, while those of the Gods are neglected.<sup>82</sup>

Although a few years earlier in 327 BC, a philosopher like Callisthenes could express opposition to honours such as statues (ἀγάλματα) and temples (ναοί) for mortals, these honours were in fact bestowed upon Alexander during his lifetime.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 4.11.2-9 (trans. Brunt 1976). The opposition of Callisthenes could be regarded as ironic since he was the one who was chiefly responsible for promoting Alexander as the son of Zeus through his account of Alexander's consultation with the Oracle at Siwah (Callisthenes *BNJ* 124 F 14a = Strabo 17.1.3; Fredricksmeier 2003: 275).

<sup>80</sup> Badian 2012: 260, 267. *c.f.* Bosworth 1988: 284.

<sup>81</sup> Plut. *X orat.* 8, *Prae. ger. reip.* 804b; Dinarchus, *Against Demosthenes* 94; Timaeus, *BNJ* 566 F 155a = Polybius 12.12b; Hyperides, 5.31; Ath. 6.251b; Aelian, *VH.* 5.12; Tarn 1948: 2.370; Nock 1972: 134-135; Atkinson 1973: 310; Bosworth 1988: 288; Fredricksmeier 2003: 276; Badian 2012: 262.

<sup>82</sup> Hyp. 6.20-21 (trans. Burt 1962); Tarn 1948: 2.370-371; Baldson 1950: 353; Atkinson 1970: 332; Bosworth 1988: 288; Fredricksmeier 2003: 276; Badian 2012: 265.

<sup>83</sup> Arrian (*Anab.* 7.23.2) also reports that the Greek cities sent ambassadors to Alexander as though they were sacred envoys to a deity, just before Alexander's death in 323 BC, which could be interpreted as a form of divine honour: Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.90-91; Potter 2005: 417; Chaniotis 2005: 435; Badian 2012: 262-265.

The earliest attested example of a city bestowing divine honours on one of Alexander's Successors comes from an inscription from the city of Scepsis in Asia Minor, dated to 311 BC. Following the precedents set by figures like Brasidas, Lysander, and Alexander, Antigonos was treated as a benefactor by Scepsis, for his role in the creation of a peace treaty with Lysimachus, Cassander and Ptolemy, which declared the autonomy of the Greek cities.<sup>84</sup> This inscription records a letter to Antigonos, and states:

Be it resolved by the *demos*: Since Antigonos has been responsible for great goods (μέγαλοι ἀγαθοί) to the city ... in order that Antigonos may be honoured in a manner worthy of what has been done and that the *demos* may be seen to render thanks for the good things it has already received (be it resolved) to set aside a precinct for him (τέμενος), and to make an altar (βωμὸς), and to set up as fine an image (ἄγαλμα) as possible, and for the sacrifice (θυσία) and the festival (ἄγῶν) to take place in his honour each year.<sup>85</sup>

Whereas in the late fifth century Lysander had received an altar (βωμὸς) and sacrifice (θυσία), a century later Antigonos received the further honours of a sanctuary (τέμενος) and a cult statue (ἄγαλμα).<sup>86</sup> As with Samos and Lysander, the city of Scepsis was negotiating its relationship with an individual ruler with profound military power, offering a higher level of divine honours than before.

The Greek *poleis* increasingly bestowed divine honours upon Alexander's Successors, usually as a sign of gratitude for royal favours given to their city. Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus both record the numerous honours that the Athenians dedicated to Demetrius after he liberated the city from Cassander in 307.<sup>87</sup> Among many honours bestowed upon Demetrius, the Athenians hailed Demetrius as a 'Saviour' (Σωτῆρ), and bestowed the honour of 'saviour Gods' (σωτῆροι θεοί) upon Antigonos and Demetrius.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, following Demetrius' failed siege of Rhodes in 304, the Rhodians honoured Ptolemy as a 'Saviour' (Σωτῆρ) for his assistance and constructed a sacred enclosure (τέμενος) in his honour.<sup>89</sup> Around 294 BC, when Ptolemy took control of the League of Islands in the Cyclades, the League also honoured Ptolemy as a 'saviour.'<sup>90</sup> Athenaeus quotes the second century BC historian Phylarchus, who states that Seleucus was honoured as a 'saviour' after liberating

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<sup>84</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.105.1; Simpson 1954: 26-31; Billows 1990: 131-134; Green 1990: 27-28; Walbank 1993: 52-53; Bagnall and Derow 2004: 6; Hauben 2014: 235; Meeus 2014: 288; Grabowski 2014: 23; Worthington 2016: 126-127.

<sup>85</sup> OGIS 6 (Bagnall and Derow 2004: 6; Austin 2006: 39).

<sup>86</sup> Scott 1928a: 144.

<sup>87</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 9-13; Diod. Sic. 20.46.1-3; Scott 1928b: 238-239; Nilsson 1980: 286-287; Wheatley 1997: 178-191.

<sup>88</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 9.1, 10.3; Diod. Sic. 20.45.2; Scott 1928b: 238; Polyae. 4.76; Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.91; Wheatley 1997: 182; Habicht 1997: 68-69; Chanotis 2003: 436.

<sup>89</sup> Paus. 1.8.6; Diod. Sic. 20.100; *Lindus Chronicle* (Grant 1953: 12-13); Gorgon *BNJ* 515 F 19 = Ath. 15.696f; Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 92; Holbl 2001: 93; Petrovic 2015: 430-429. However, there is debate over whether Ptolemy I received the title *Soter* posthumously (Hazard 2000: 3-17; Holbl 2001: 116 n79; Grabowski 2014: 24).

<sup>90</sup> Hauben 2010: 108-118; Worthington 2016: 179.

Lemnos from Lysimachus after the Battle of Corupedium in 281 BC.<sup>91</sup> There was therefore a clear line of development from the late fifth century, when the *polis* of Amphipolis honoured Brasidas as a ‘saviour’ of the city, through to the late fourth century, when it became customary for a *polis* receiving military assistance to hail Successors such as Demetrius, Ptolemy and Seleucus as ‘saviours.’<sup>92</sup> It is notable that for both Demetrius in Athens in 307 BC, and for Ptolemy in Rhodes in 305/4 BC, that their ‘saviour’ capacities were based upon their naval prowess. Demetrius liberated Athens with a fleet of 250 ships and Ptolemy provided naval assistance to the Rhodians during their siege.<sup>93</sup> Just as with Lysander in the late fifth century, the possession of naval power in the Aegean was important in the development of this aspect of ruler cult.

### 2.1.3 Heroine Cult and Associations with Aphrodite

The Hellenistic practice of worshipping living royal women may have been at least partly influenced by some precedents established by heroine cult. The word ‘heroine’ does not appear in Greek literature until the fifth century BC, in Pindar’s *Eleventh Pythian*, in which Apollo summons the ‘heroines’ (ἡρωίδες) of Thebes, including Semele, Ino, and Alcmene.<sup>94</sup> Finley (1978) argued that the Greeks did not have a concept of a female hero in the Archaic period.<sup>95</sup> However, Lyons (2014) argues that heroine cult was evident in this era, and as already mentioned, one of the earliest hero shrines was the *Menelaion* near Sparta, at which Archaic dedications to Helen (and Menelaus) have been found.<sup>96</sup> Lyons also notes that an interest in exceptional women (ἄριστοι) is apparent in the eighth century, as shown by Hesiod’s *Catalogue of Women*, and Larson argues that there are reliefs from archaic Laconia which depict heroic women (with their husbands).<sup>97</sup> As with their male counterparts, the earliest heroines all appear to be legendary mortals who obtained heroic status posthumously, such as Helen, Iphigenia, and the Theban heroines just mentioned, such as Ino and Semele.<sup>98</sup> It seems that it was theoretically possible for women to become founder heroines, and

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<sup>91</sup> Phylarchus *BNJ* 81 F 170 = Ath. 254f-255a; Scott 1928a: 153.

<sup>92</sup> Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 91-92; Hornblower 1996: 456.

<sup>93</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 8; Diod. Sic. 20.88.9, 20.96.1, 20.98.1.

<sup>94</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 11.1-7; Bravo 2009: 17; Lyons 2014: 11, 21. Pindar’s use of ἡρωίδες is unusual, and the *LSJ* lists this as the only instance of its usage. Later authors prefer the more familiar ‘heroine’ (ἡρωίνη): *LSJ* s.v. ‘ἡρωίδες,’ ‘ἡρωίνη’; Lyons 2014: 11.

<sup>95</sup> Finley 1978: 33.

<sup>96</sup> Lyons 2014: 7; c.f. Larson 1995: 81.

<sup>97</sup> Hes. *Cat. fragment* 1, line 3; Lyons (2014: 10) argues that the description ἄριστοι makes these women equivalent to the Homeric heroes, who are described as ἄριστοι (Hom. *Od.* 11.227); Laconian reliefs: Larson 1995: 51.

<sup>98</sup> There is debate over whether Helen was originally a goddess whom the Greeks ‘downgraded’ to a heroine. Clader (1976: 71) argues that Helen was a fertility goddess, and West (1975: 8, 6) agrees, and also argues that Helen represents a Greek version of the Indo-European ‘Daughter of the Sun.’ This is in opposition to Farnell (1921: 178), who argues that the similarities between Helen’s myth and the Vedic myths are not so straightforward. Larson (1995: 81) argues that Helen was worshipped as a mortal heroine (as the wife of Menelaus) at the Therapne Shrine, but, Isocrates (10.63) states around the early fourth century that Helen received divine worship at Therapne (c.f. Bravo 2009: 23).

Lyons lists two examples in Pausanias: Antinoë, the mythical founder of the Arcadian city of Mantinea, and Leprea, founder of Leprea.<sup>99</sup> The Greeks may also have been influenced by non-Greek traditions which were well known around the Mediterranean. For example, the Phoenicians believed that Queen Dido was the founder of Carthage, and she may have received cult in the city as a founder heroine.<sup>100</sup> However, it was common for Greeks to name a city after a heroine (or hero) who had no direct role in the city's foundation.<sup>101</sup> For instance, Pausanias states that Messene received heroine cult, a temple and a golden statue (ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦ) at Messene, despite not being the founder of the city.<sup>102</sup> Heroine cult thus could have provided an additional precedent for the renaming of cities after royal women in Hellenistic times, although the main motivation for the Successors was clearly to bolster their legitimacy.<sup>103</sup>

Whereas from the fifth century BC onwards there was a clear trend of heroic honours being increasingly offered to historical men, it is difficult to find examples of historical women who received heroine cult until the fourth century.<sup>104</sup> Larson's (1995) study of historical heroines found only one conclusive example, Cynisca of Sparta, the first woman to win the Olympic chariot race, in 396 BC.<sup>105</sup> Her historic victory was commemorated in poetry and with a memorial at Olympia, and she was herself honoured with a posthumous heroine cult, and a heroön (ἡρώον) at Sparta.<sup>106</sup> It would seem that heroine cult had a more limited influence upon the development of Hellenistic ruler cult, although there are two cases of fourth-century *hetairai* being associated with Aphrodite, which may have set a precedent for Hellenistic royal women (and *hetairai*) being deified as Aphrodite in the late fourth century. Pausanias states that the renowned Corinthian *hetaira* Laïs, who died in 392 BC, was buried at Corinth besides a sanctuary (τέμενος) to Bellerophon, and a temple (ναὸς) to Aphrodite, and so Larson argues that she may have received heroine cult.<sup>107</sup> The other notable case is the *hetaira* Phryne (c. 371 – 335 BC), who was reputedly so beautiful that Praxiteles used her as the model for his Cnidian Aphrodite, and Apelles used her as the inspiration for his Aphrodite *Anadyomene*.<sup>108</sup> The

<sup>99</sup> Paus. 5.5.5, 8.8.4, 8.9.5; Lyons 2014: 31. *c.f.* Larson 1995: 128 n143. There was also a legendary female athlete, Chloris, (the only surviving daughter of Niobe) who allegedly won the first female footrace at Olympia (Paus. 5. 16.4) and had an image (εἰκόν) in the temple of Leto at Argos (Paus. 2.21.10), which may indicate a form of heroine cult (Hom. *Od.* 11.281-287; Apollod. 3.47).

<sup>100</sup> Justin 18.6.8: 'As long as Carthage remained unconquered, she was worshipped as a goddess (*pro dea culta est*).'

<sup>101</sup> Lyons 2014: 31 n81.

<sup>102</sup> Paus. 4.3.9, 4.31.11, 4.27.6; Carney 2000*b*: 208; Larson 2014: 32.

<sup>103</sup> *e.g.* Strabo 14.1.37 (towns named after Arsinoë); Fraser 2009: 342-347; Carney 2000: 207, 2013: 36.

<sup>104</sup> Dillon (2002: 289) states the heroization of women is 'generally not a classical phenomenon.'

<sup>105</sup> Xen. *Ages.* 9.6; Plut. *Ages.* 20.1, *Sayings of the Spartans* 212b; Paus. 3.8.1; Larson 1995: 128-130; Pomeroy 2002: 26; Dillon 2002: 289; Kyle 2003: 183; Carney 2013: 28.

<sup>106</sup> Paus. 3.15.1, 6.1.6, 5.12.5; *Greek Anthology* 13.16 (also an inscription, *IG V* 1.1564a); Xen. *Ages.* 9.6; Plut. *Ages.* 20.1, *Sayings of the Spartans* 212b; Larson 1995: 129; Pomeroy 2002: 21-24; Kyle 2005: 184; Carney 2013: 28 n98.

<sup>107</sup> Paus. 2.2.4; Larson 1995: 129-130.

<sup>108</sup> Ath. 13.590f-591a; Alciphron 4.1; Davidson 1997: 121-122; Dillon 2002: 194-195; McClure 2003: 126-136; Havelock 2007: 86.

Cnidian Aphrodite was placed in the seaside temple at Cnidus (discussed in Chapter Four), while Apelles' painting went to Cos, where it may have been placed in the city's main harbourside Aphrodite shrine.<sup>109</sup> Praxiteles also sculpted a golden statue of Phryne which was dedicated at Delphi, and Carney suggests the golden covering may have alluded to a divine status.<sup>110</sup> Plutarch states that in his era in the Boeotian city of Thespieae, Phryne 'shares a temple (σύνναος) and worship (συνίερος) with Eros,' although from this limited evidence it is unclear when these cult honours for Phryne began.<sup>111</sup> It is possible the Thespians considered Phryne to be similar to contemporary examples of men who had received hero cult, and was a type of benefactor for bringing fame to the city of Thespieae.<sup>112</sup> Phryne also anticipated the position of wealth and power of Hellenistic royal women, since she allegedly offered to rebuild the walls of Thebes c. 335 BC, on the condition that they be inscribed with 'Alexander tore them down, but the *hetaira* Phryne erected them again.'<sup>113</sup>

The deification of Hellenistic women as Aphrodite received new impetus around the same time that male figures like Philip and Alexander began to associate themselves with divine honours at the close of the fourth century. Carney argues that Alexander's erratic treasurer Harpalus was the first to posthumously deify a woman as Aphrodite around 324 BC, while he was in command of Alexander's imperial finances at Babylon.<sup>114</sup> The evidence for this is Athenaeus, who quotes the fourth century BC historian Theopompus of Chios (c. 403 – 323 BC), who states that Harpalus posthumously deified his *hetaira* Pythionice as Πυθιονίκη Ἀφροδίτη (Pythionice Aphrodite).<sup>115</sup> Further, an elaborate shrine was constructed for Pythionice at Babylon, which included a sacred enclosure (τέμενος), a temple (ἱερόν), and an altar (βωμὸς).<sup>116</sup> Although this source is quite hostile to Harpalus, and is designed to portray him in the most negative terms possible, this claim is substantiated by a contemporary play which refers to πόρνης ὁ κλεινὸς ναός ('the prostitute's famous temple').<sup>117</sup> Harpalus was forced to flee from Babylon in 324 BC, so the shrine was constructed around the same time that Alexander formally requested deification from the Greek cities.<sup>118</sup> Although Harpalus is a tendentious source, he clearly links the establishment of cult honours for

<sup>109</sup> Plin. *HN*. 35.91-92. However, Pliny (*HN*. 35.87) says the model for the Aphrodite *Anadyomene* was Alexander's *hetaira* Pancaspe.

<sup>110</sup> Ath. 13.591b; Paus. 10.14.4, 10.15.1; Plut. *Mor.* 753f, *De Alex. fort.* 336cd, *De Pyth. or.* 401d; Carney 2000b: 214.

<sup>111</sup> Plut. *Amat.* 753f; Alciphron 4.1; Hammond and Griffith 1979: 683; Nock (1972a: 247 n245) dismisses the idea that Phryne received cult honours but the *LSJ* defines συνίερος as 'having joint sacrifices.'

<sup>112</sup> Hammond and Griffith 1979: 683.

<sup>113</sup> Ath. 13.591d; McClure 2003: 127.

<sup>114</sup> Carney 2000a: 31, 2000b: 218, 2011: 199, 2013: 95; Dillon 2002: 196; Badian 2012: 64-65.

<sup>115</sup> Theopompus *BNJ* 115 F 253 = Ath. 8.595ac; Arr. *Anab.* 3.6.6.

<sup>116</sup> Theopompus *BNJ* 115 F 253 = Ath. 8.595ac; Carney 2000a: 31, 2000b: 217. Harpalus also erected a tomb for Pythionice at Athens, which was still standing in the time of Plutarch (*Phoc.* 22. 1) and Pausanias (1.37.4). *c.f.* Ath. 13.594ef; Poseidonius *BNJ* 87 F 14 = Ath. 13.594de.

<sup>117</sup> Ath. 13.595f; Flower 1994: 23-24; Hau 2016: 259. Πόρνη ('prostitute') is more derogative than ἑταίρα ('companion, concubine') (*LSJ s.v.* πόρνη, ἑταίρα).

<sup>118</sup> Carney 2000a: 30, 2000b: 217.

Pythionice as connected to her status as Harpalus' partner in power in Babylon, creating a precedent for the creation of ruler cults for royal women.

The practice of associating *hetairai* with Aphrodite was transferred to royal women at the same time as cult honours were rapidly expanding for Hellenistic men. Royal *philoi* played a crucial role in the establishment of these cults and often made the first private dedications to deified royal women. This is evident in Athens, where divine honours were not just bestowed upon Demetrius, but were also extended to his royal women. Demetrius' most prestigious wife, Phila, daughter of Antipater, was possibly the first living royal woman to receive divine honours at Athens, c. 307 BC, and at Samos c. 306 BC.<sup>119</sup> The bestowal of divine honours upon Phila at this time is significant since it was also around this time that Phila became the first royal woman among the Successor's wives to use the title βασιλίσσα.<sup>120</sup> This title first appears in an inscription dated c. 307, which states 'Δήμαρχος ... | νῦν διατρίβων παρὰ τῆι βασιλίσῃ Φίλαι' ('Demarchos ... is now residing with Queen Phila').<sup>121</sup> Although βασιλίσσα is often translated as 'Queen,' Carney (1991: 156) argues that the term is not equivalent to the English 'Queen' and refers more specifically to a royal woman, rather than a female sovereign.<sup>122</sup>

The evidence for Phila's cult comes from Athenaeus, who quotes the first-century AD grammarian Dionysius Tryphonus, who states that Demetrius' close advisor Adeimantus of Lampsacus established a temple (ναός) near Eleusis, with a sacred statue (ἀγάλμα) of Phila, under the cult name of Φίλα Ἀφροδίτη (Phila Aphrodite).<sup>123</sup> Adeimantus was an important figure in Demetrius' court, and Demetrius appointed him as General in charge of the defence of Attica (στρατηγός ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν) c. 306/5 – 305/4 BC.<sup>124</sup> Wallace (2013) argues that this cult thus set an important precedent for the cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite in two important ways. Firstly, it was a demonstration of Demetrius' military strength, and in the same way that Admiral Callicrates' dedication of the temple to Arsinoë at Zephyrium was a statement of Ptolemy II's naval power, the dedication of a temple to Phila by General Adeimantus indicated Demetrius' commitment to

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<sup>119</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 14.2-3; Diod. Sic. 19.59.4; Macurdy 1932: 58-69; Carney 2000b: 218. Samos: *IG* 12.6 1.150, lines 23-24; Wallace 2013: 144.

<sup>120</sup> *SIG* 333.6-7; Carney 1991: 161.

<sup>121</sup> *SIG* 333.3, 8-9 (own translation). Paschidis (2008: 388-389) argues the inscription dates from c. 299 BC.

<sup>122</sup> c.f. Coskun and McAuley 2016: 19; *LSJ* s.v. 'βασιλίσσα'.

<sup>123</sup> Ath. 6.255c; Scott 1928a: 157; Carney 2000a: 32, 2013: 95; Wallace 2013: 143-144. Athenaeus also preserves a fragment of a contemporary Athenian comedy, in which a character pours a libation to Φίλα Ἀφροδίτη, (Alexis *fr.* 116 = Ath. 254a; Scott 1928a: 151; Carney 2000: 32. Wallace (2013: 144) argues that this fragment could be dated to c. 306 BC.

<sup>124</sup> *SEG* 43.27; Ferguson 1948: 127; Walbank 1993: 57; Wallace 2013: 144. Athenaeus also records that Adeimantus (and other figures close to Demetrius) also received heroic honours from Athens, which included altars (βωμοὶ), hero shrines (ἡρώα) and libations (σπονδαί) (Demochares *BNJ* 75 F 8 = Ath. 6.253a; Wallace 2013: 146).

defending Attica.<sup>125</sup> Secondly, there was an important dynastic aspect, since a temple dedicated to Demetrius' Queen Phila would have enhanced the prestige of the fledgling dynasty, which was probably also one of the intentions behind Callicrates' dedication to Queen Arsinoë.<sup>126</sup>

The earlier two examples of divine honours for women, Harpalus' deification of Pythionice, and Adeimantus' deification of Phila as Aphrodite, were both private cults, and not *polis* dedications, as with the divine honours offered to Demetrius. It was also around this time that Athens honoured Demetrius' royal *hetairai* with state cults. Athenaeus records an excerpt from the history of Demochares of Leuconoë (c. 355-270 BC), an Athenian statesman and historian, who was contemporary to the events he describes.<sup>127</sup> Demochares states that the Athenians established temples (ιερά) 'to Leaene and Lamia Aphrodite' (Λεαίνη καὶ Λαμία Ἀφροδίτη).<sup>128</sup> These were not wives, but *hetairai* of Demetrius, and Lamia in particular was notorious for living with Demetrius in the Parthenon c. 304/3 BC, which perhaps assisted in her acquisition of divine status.<sup>129</sup> Athenaeus also quotes another source which states the Thebans also established a temple (ναός) to Aphrodite Lamia.<sup>130</sup> Therefore at the same time that honours were expanding for the Successors, there was also an increasing tendency to assimilate their *hetairai* or legitimate wives as Aphrodite.



*Figure 7: Coin of Amastris from the city of Amastris (from British Museum 1979,0101.23).*

<sup>125</sup> Wallace 2013: 146.

<sup>126</sup> Wallace 2013: 146.

<sup>127</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 24.5, *X. orat.* 851e; Smith 1962: 114-115; Asmonti 2010: 134; Wallace 2013: 146-147.

<sup>128</sup> Demochares (*FGrH* 75 F 8 = Ath. 253a); Ogden 1999: 177; Carney 2000b: 218-219; Wheatley 2003: 34. These cults were probably created c. 304 when Demetrius returned to Athens after the failed siege of Rhodes (Plut. *Demetr.* 23-24; Carney 2000a: 32, 2013: 95).

<sup>129</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 24.1; Alciphron 4.16; Wheatley 2003: 30-34.

<sup>130</sup> Polemon (Ath. 253b); Carney 2013: 95.



The divine honours created for Arsinoë II were likely also influenced by the cults created by the Persian princess Amastris, who was an earlier wife of Lysimachus. Amastris was the niece of Darius III, and c. 322 BC she was married to Dionysus of Heraclea, who after his death c. 305 left her as regent of Heraclea (with the support of Antigonos).<sup>131</sup> Around 302 BC Lysimachus made a marriage alliance with Amastris, and she moved to Sardis, but then returned to Heraclea after Lysimachus married Arsinoë c. 300 BC.<sup>132</sup> Upon returning to Heraclea, Amastris founded her own eponymous city, in which she may have received a founder cult, and also minted coins (*fig. 4*).<sup>133</sup> Debate continues over the identity of the figure on the obverse, and Müller argues that it could be a portrait of Amastris herself.<sup>134</sup> The reverse depicts Aphrodite *Nikephoros* next to the legend ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΩΝ, which clearly associates Amastris with Aphrodite. Following the death of Amastris in 284 BC, Lysimachus seized Heraclea from Amastris' sons and placed it under the power (ἀρχή) of Arsinoë.<sup>135</sup> The ambiguous coins of Amastris likely influenced the coins minted at Ephesus (which had been refounded as 'Arsinoë'), which portray Arsinoë, but could also depict the city's patron Goddess Artemis.<sup>136</sup> Arsinoë was therefore involved in the association of mortal women with divinities around a decade before she returned to Egypt and was assimilated with deities such as Agathe Tyche, Aphrodite and Isis, as discussed in the next chapter.



*Figure 8: Coin from Arsinoë (Ephesus) depicting Artemis or Arsinoë on the obverse and a stag on the reverse (c. 286-280 BC) (from BMC 74).*

<sup>131</sup> Amastris was earlier married to Craterus 324-322 BC: Arr. *Anab.* 7.4.5; Memnon (*BNJ* 434 4.4-9); Diod. Sic. 20.109.7; Strabo 12.3.10; Heckel 2006: 21; Müller 2013: 209.

<sup>132</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.109.6; Memnon *BNJ* 434 4.9; Lund 1992: 75; Müller 2013: 209; Carney 2013: 34.

<sup>133</sup> Plin. *NH.* 6.5; Memnon *BNJ* 434 4.9, 5.4; Strabo 12.3.10; Carney 2000*b*: 208; Iossif and Lorber 2007: 81.

<sup>134</sup> Iossif and Lorber 2007: 81; Müller 2013: 210.

<sup>135</sup> Memnon *BNJ* 434 5.4-5; Justin 16.3.2; Trogus, *Prologue* 16; Lund 1992: 105; Müller 2013: 210.

<sup>136</sup> Strabo 14.1.21; Thompson 1955: 203; Morkholm 1991: 93; Dmitriev 2007: 144; Nilsson 2012: 2; Müller 2013: 210; Carney 2013: 36.

Ruler cults for women began with private cults, but later *hetairai* were offered temples from the *poleis* of Athens and Thebes. The bestowal of divine honours upon these women continued a tradition that began in the fourth century BC of associating *hetairai* with Aphrodite, and continued to develop into the third century BC, for legitimate wives.<sup>137</sup> Around 291 BC, Lanassa, another of Demetrius' wives, could have been associated with Demeter, when the royal couple entered Athens and were hailed as 'Demeter and Demetrius.'<sup>138</sup> Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius (and wife of Seleucus and later Antiochus), had a *temenos* and a cult statue at Delos around 300 BC.<sup>139</sup> She was also associated with Ishtar on the Borsippa Cylinder (c. 268 BC), and by at least 242 BC the city of Smyrna in Asia Minor dedicated a temple to Ἀφροδίτη Στρατονίκη.<sup>140</sup> The deification of Queen Arsinoë (c. 268 BC) as Aphrodite was also part of this practice, but was a unique adaptation of this tradition since she was deified as the maritime Aphrodite.

#### 2.1.4 Modern Explanations of Ruler Cult

Scholars have long debated the reasons for the rapid expansion of ruler cult in the period following the death of Alexander. The dominant view was that the bestowal of divine honours indicated a collapse in genuine religious sentiment, and the replacement of spirituality with cynicism.<sup>141</sup> The *Hymn to Demetrius* expresses a view which appears to be strongly lacking in traditional notions of piety, in which the author argues:

ἄλλοι μὲν ἢ μακρὰν γὰρ ἀπέχουσιν θεοὶ ἢ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὄτα ἢ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἢ οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἔν, σὲ δὲ παρόνθ' ὀρώμεν, οὐ ξύλινον οὐδὲ λίθινον, ἀλλ' ἀληθινόν· εὐχόμεσθα δὴ σοι. ... Αἰτωλικὸν γὰρ ἀρπάσαι τὰ τῶν πέλας, νῦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πόρρω. μάλιστα μὲν δὴ σχόλασον αὐτός·...

For the other Gods are either far away, or they do not have ears, or they do not exist, or they pay us no attention. But you [Demetrius], we see here, not made of wood or stone, but real. To you, then, we pray ... for plundering one's neighbour is Aetolian behaviour ... punish her please!<sup>142</sup>

<sup>137</sup> And also for *hetairai*, such as Ptolemy II's Bilistiche, who was deified as Aphrodite (Plut. *Mor.* 753ef; Ath. 13.576ef; Carney 2011: 203, 2013: 126-127).

<sup>138</sup> Ath. 6.253cd; Tarn 1913: 49 n25; Scott 1928a: 149-150, 1928b; 228-229; Macurdy 1932: 66-67; Carney 2000b: 170; Versnel 2011: 448 n40.

<sup>139</sup> *OGIS* XI 4.415; *IG* XII Suppl. 311; Carney 2000b: 219; Habicht 2017: 44.

<sup>140</sup> Borsippa Cylinder (2.26): Kosmin 2014: 114; Stevens 2014: 81 n75. Aphrodite Stratonice: *OGIS* 228, 229 (Bagnall and Derow 2004: 28, 29); Tacitus 3.63; Macurdy 1932: 82; Carney 2000a: 32, 2000b: 219.

<sup>141</sup> Green 1990: 399; Petrovic 2015: 431.

<sup>142</sup> Duris *BNJ* 76 F 13 = Ath. 253cf (trans. Olson 2007); Demochares *BNJ* 75 F 2 = Ath. 6.253bc; Ehrenberg 1946: 179-198; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 224; Chaniotis 2005: 432; Petrovic 2015: 436.

This would appear to indicate cynicism towards the efficacy, and even the existence of traditional Greek deities. Recent scholarship has argued that modern misperceptions have led to ruler cult being interpreted as a deterioration of traditional beliefs.<sup>143</sup> Instead of seeing ruler cult as insipid flattery, modern scholars have put forward a number of explanations for the rise of this practice in the early Hellenistic period. Firstly, ruler cult developed most likely developed as a form of expressing gratitude on behalf of the *poleis*.<sup>144</sup> This trend developed in the fifth century, as shown in 422 BC when the *polis* of Amphipolis wished to honour Brasidas posthumously as their liberator, and the desire to honour a benefactor is clearly a motivating factor in later divine honours awarded to living men.<sup>145</sup> The motive of publicly expressing gratitude to a militarily powerful benefactor is also evident in other examples already cited, such as the Athenians wishing to publicly honour Demetrius for liberating the city from Cassander, or the Rhodians expressing public goodwill for the naval assistance of Ptolemy.<sup>146</sup>

A second related reason for the development of Hellenistic ruler cult was that it provided a means of expressing a relationship between a city and a Hellenistic monarch.<sup>147</sup> The bestowal of divine honours could indicate that the city expected tangible benefits in return. This is evident in the *Hymn to Demetrius* (already cited) in which a singer for the Athenians requests Demetrius' aid in a dispute against the Aetolians, asking 'punish her please.'<sup>148</sup> Another example comes from 280 BC, when the League of Islands hailed Ptolemy I as a 'saviour,' possibly also in the expectation that Ptolemy would provide naval protection in the Aegean for their islands.<sup>149</sup> This could also explain why the 'saviour' title was such a popular epithet in Hellenistic ruler cult, because it indicated the expectation of reciprocal benefits such as military protection.<sup>150</sup>

There are various explanations for the trend towards deifying women in general. One possible cause was that it provided legitimacy for monarchical rule.<sup>151</sup> Various scholars have hypothesized that Harpalus wished Pythionice to be honoured like a royal wife, and that Demetrius desired Lamia to receive similar royal treatment from the Athenians.<sup>152</sup> It is significant that the first living royal woman to receive divine honours, Phila, was also the first of the Successor's wives to use the title

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<sup>143</sup> Erskine 2010: 506-508; Caneva 2012: no. 1-4; Petrovic 2015: 432.

<sup>144</sup> Scott 1928: 146-147; Green 1993: 402; Carney 2000b: 219; Petrovic 2015: 432-433; Habicht 2017: 117.

<sup>145</sup> *OGIS* 6 (Bagnall and Derow 2004: 6); Green 1993: 403; Mikalson 2006: 214; Habicht 2017: 117-118.

<sup>146</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.100.3.

<sup>147</sup> Grabowski 2014: 22.

<sup>148</sup> Chaniotis 2005: 432; Petrovic 2015: 436.

<sup>149</sup> *Nicouria Decree* (*Syll*<sup>3</sup> 390) = Austin 2006: 256.

<sup>150</sup> Chaniotis 2005: 436.

<sup>151</sup> Gutzwiller 1992b: 364.

<sup>152</sup> Diod. Sic. 17.108.5; Ath. 13.595c; Plut. *Demetr.* 27.2; Carney 1991: 158, 2000b: 218; Ogden 1999: 177, 231; Wheatley 2003: 33, 36.

βασίλισσα.<sup>153</sup> Another explanation is that, similar to the development of ruler cult for men, that the deification of royal women provided a way for a *polis* to express a relationship with a woman possessing unprecedented political power.<sup>154</sup> Whereas in the Classical period women had a limited role in public affairs, there are various anecdotes which demonstrate the power that Demetrius' royal women wielded. For example, Plutarch writes that:

Λάμια τῷ βασιλεῖ παρασκευάζουσα δεῖπνον ἠργυρολόγησε πολλούς. καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον οὕτως ἦνθησε τῇ δόξῃ διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν ὥστε ὑπὸ Λυγκέως τοῦ Σαμίου συγγεγράφθαι. διὸ καὶ τῶν κωμικῶν τις οὐ φαύλως τὴν Λάμιαν Ἐλέπολιν ἀληθῶς προσεῖπε.

Lamia extorted money from many of the citizens when she was preparing to entertain Demetrius, and indeed the extravagance of this banquet became so legendary that ... one of the comic poets wittily described Lamia as a 'city taker' in herself.<sup>155</sup>

Plutarch also records the potential power that courtesans such as Lamia were thought to wield over the public finances of Athens, and over Demetrius:

ὅτι διακόσια καὶ πενήκοντα τάλαντα πορίσαι ταχὺ καὶ δοῦναι προσταχθὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς εἰσπράξεως συντόνου καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου γενομένης, ἰδὼν ἠθροισμένον τὸ ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσε Λαμία καὶ ταῖς περὶ αὐτὴν ἐταίραις εἰς σμῆγμα δοθῆναι.

[The Athenians were commanded by Demetrius] ... to levy immediately the sum of two hundred and fifty talents ... The money was then extorted from the people in the harshest and most peremptory fashion, and when he saw the amount that had been raised, he ordered it to be given to Lamia and his other mistresses to buy soap and cosmetics.<sup>156</sup>

These powerful women did not always use public finances for their soap, and for instance Lamia also built a *stoa* at Sicyon, and Phila sent supplies to Demetrius during his siege of Rhodes.<sup>157</sup> Fraser (1972) also argues that assimilation with an existing deity could create a more effective relationship between an individual worshipper and a Queen, since the attributes of an existing deity could be easily transferred to a member of the royal family.<sup>158</sup> This appears to have been the case with Arsinoë II, whose cult adapted existing traditions of the maritime Aphrodite (discussed in Chapter Four).

Various theories have also been suggested to explain why Hellenistic royal wives and *hetairai* were associated with Aphrodite.<sup>159</sup> The choice of Aphrodite suggests a sexual association, and Carney (2000a) argues that assimilating royal women with the goddess could be a recognition of the sexual

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<sup>153</sup> SIG 333.6-7; Carney 2000b: 225; Miron 2000: 42.

<sup>154</sup> Carney 2013: 96.

<sup>155</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 27.2 (trans. Scott-Kilvert 1973).

<sup>156</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 27.1 (trans. Scott-Kilvert 1973).

<sup>157</sup> Ath. 13.577c; Plut. *Demetr.* 22.1.

<sup>158</sup> Fraser 1972: 1.246.

<sup>159</sup> Carney 2000b: 221-225.

power that wives and *hetairai* might have over the Successors.<sup>160</sup> However, with most Hellenistic monarchies following the polygamous Macedonian precedent of Philip II, most marriages were for political alliances rather than love.<sup>161</sup> One exception is Arsinoë II's mother, Berenice, since she was not married for political reasons, and replaced had her son (the future Ptolemy II) named as heir, apparently for no other reason than because Ptolemy preferred her to Eurydice.<sup>162</sup> It thus seems appropriate that Berenice was associated with Aphrodite, possibly even during her lifetime.<sup>163</sup> However, Pironti (2010) has emphasised that Aphrodite was more than just the 'Goddess of Love,' and that Aphrodite had a range of functions in cult practice, as shown by her numerous cult epithets.<sup>164</sup> For example, in Classical Athens, there was a festival specifically for men to worship Aphrodite *Pandemos* ('Aphrodite of all the people').<sup>165</sup> Pausanias states that the worship of Aphrodite *Pandemos* at Athens was instituted by Theseus, and was meant to celebrate the *synoikismos* of the Attic demes, which in this case makes Aphrodite a patron of political harmony.<sup>166</sup> The assimilation of royal women as Aphrodite thus may have had broader implications of civic unity rather than just sexuality.

Scholars will no doubt continue to debate whether hero cult was a major influence upon the development of ruler cult. Badian (2012) in particular argues that ruler cult began with Alexander and that earlier cases of divine and heroic honours for living men did not set a precedent.<sup>167</sup> Further, Walbank (1984) argues that 'ruler-cult is not derived from hero-cult,' and Price (1984) observes that some hero cults utilized nocturnal rites, while ruler cult does not appear to have done so.<sup>168</sup> As Kearns (1989) argues, when the Hellenistic monarchs adopted the titles of 'saviour' and 'benefactor,' they were utilising the traditions of hero cult, dating back to at least the fifth century when figures such as Brasidas were hailed as 'saviour' of the city.<sup>169</sup> Potter (2005) argues that 'it was a basic premise of hero cult that the honorand was deceased,' but this distinction became blurred with cases such as Dion, who was clearly still alive in 355 BC when the Syracusans voted him heroic honours, and in fact did not provide him with hero cult after he died.<sup>170</sup> There was also a connection between ruler cult and the precedents established by hero founders, since Philip and Alexander both founded cities named after themselves. The dynastic cult of the Ptolemies was centred upon the tomb of Alexander,

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<sup>160</sup> Carney 2000a: 39, 2013: 96. Aphrodite could also have been a role model of an ideal, sexually passionate wife (Pomeroy 1990: 31-38; Gutzwiller 1992b: 363-364).

<sup>161</sup> *c.f.* Ogden 1999: ix-xvi.

<sup>162</sup> Paus. 1.6.8; Gutzwiller 1992b: 365; Ogden 1999: 231; Carney 2013: 21-22.

<sup>163</sup> Asclepiades (*GP* 39); Theoc. *Id.* 17; Fraser 1972: 1.197; Gutzwiller 1992b: 363-365; Carney 2000b: 219.

<sup>164</sup> Pironti 2010: 118-120.

<sup>165</sup> Menander in Ath. 14.659de; Rosenzweig 2004: 59-68; Larson 2007: 118; Cyrino 2010: 38.

<sup>166</sup> Paus. 1.22.3.

<sup>167</sup> Badian 2012: 247-255.

<sup>168</sup> Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 88; Price 1984: 32-33.

<sup>169</sup> Kearns 1989: 44.

<sup>170</sup> Potter 2005: 418.

who was buried in the centre of the city of Alexandria, in line with centuries of tradition of hero cult. Thus, there was a line of development between hero cults and ruler cult, as part of the same tradition of Greek civil religion. The figure who played such a crucial role in the development of ruler cult, Alexander the Great, had his own view on the issue, and Plutarch states that:

Even more philosophical was Alexander's own pronouncement on this subject, namely that God is the father of all ... but it is the best whom he makes especially his own.<sup>171</sup>

## 2.2 Ptolemaic Dynastic Cult: Innovation and Arsinoë II

In this context of rapid expansion of ruler cults after the death of Alexander, Ptolemy I and II introduced numerous new dynastic cults, influenced by Macedonian, Greek, Egyptian and contemporary Hellenistic practices. The previous section outlined how ruler cults arose from precedents of hero cult, and the need of *poleis* to express gratitude to Hellenistic monarchs, and to imply that benefits were expected in return. The early Ptolemies were adept at creating and shaping new forms of dynastic cult, for their own personal benefit, in relation to Alexandria, the Egyptian cities, and cities outside of Egypt. Ptolemy I and II were at the forefront of ruler cult innovations, of which one example was the deification of Arsinoë II as the marine Aphrodite, which was just one of many divine honours bestowed upon her both before and after her death. Ptolemy I consolidated his rule over Egypt by pioneering Hellenistic dynastic cult through the creation of the cult of Alexander, and Ptolemy II built upon this foundation by instituting new dynastic rites, such as the cults of the *Theoi Soteres*, for his parents, and the *Theoi Adelphoi*, as well as deifying Arsinoë II as Arsinoë *Philadelphus*.<sup>172</sup> As outlined in the previous chapter, Arsinoë II was not the first Hellenistic royal woman to be associated with Aphrodite. Her cult was unique in associating a Hellenistic royal woman with the maritime Aphrodite, and this was likely associated with Ptolemy II's naval ambitions and strategies for Aegean domination, as outlined in Chapter One.

### 2.2.1 The Cult of Alexander

One of the first major events of Ptolemy's rule of Egypt was his seizure of the corpse of Alexander, which allowed him to eventually establish the earliest example of a dynastic cult.<sup>173</sup> Diodorus reports

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<sup>171</sup> Plut. *Alex.* 27.6.

<sup>172</sup> Despite modern scholars often referring to Ptolemy II as 'Philadelphus,' he never used this title during his lifetime, as it was Arsinoë's cult title: Fraser 1972: 1.217, 2.366 n227; Turner 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 136; Carney 2013: 79, 161 n97.

<sup>173</sup> Paus. 1.6.3; Diod. Sic. 18.28.3; Errington 1970: 64-65; Ellis 1994: 34-35; Holbl 2001: 15; Worthington 2016: 129-133.

that Philip Arrhidaeus' officials spent two years constructing the fabulous carriage, and that Alexander's embalmed corpse was finally transported westwards from Babylon in 321 BC.<sup>174</sup> Under the guise of providing an escort, Ptolemy intercepted the procession in Syria, and brought Alexander's body to Egypt, where it was eventually placed in a specially constructed tomb in Alexandria.<sup>175</sup> Diodorus reports that Ptolemy buried Alexander with heroic (ἥρωικός) honours, which would be appropriate to Greek religious tradition, since Alexander was the founder of Alexandria, and this hero cult was possibly based around the 'Altar of Alexander.'<sup>176</sup> Some time later, Ptolemy created the cult of Alexander as a divinity, in what Walbank (1984) calls the Hellenistic world's first dynastic cult.<sup>177</sup> The first priest of this cult is attested on a papyrus dated to 285/4 BC, but it seems likely that Ptolemy's declaration of himself as King in 305 BC was a prime motivation behind the creation of the cult.<sup>178</sup> Further, Ptolemy also emphasised Alexander's divinity through iconography, in a sequence of coin portraits which featured Alexander wearing the ram's horns of Zeus Ammon.<sup>179</sup> As Satrap from 321 – 305 BC, Ptolemy's earliest coin issues depict Alexander wearing the ram's horns, likely for a variety of reasons including: Ptolemy's recent seizure of Alexander's corpse, and Ptolemy's close proximity to the Oracle at Siwah.<sup>180</sup> With the Tomb of Alexander in Alexandria as a central focus, Ptolemy could create a series of positive associations between the legitimacy of his rule and the divinity of Alexander.<sup>181</sup> This cult of Alexander was probably aimed primarily at the Greek population, since only high-ranking Greeks held the priesthood of Alexander, such as Ptolemy's brother, Menelaus.<sup>182</sup>

### 2.2.2 Ptolemy Σωτήρ and the θεοί Σωτήρες

Ptolemy II took after his father not just in name but also in religious policy, and was also a pioneer of dynastic cult innovation.<sup>183</sup> Ptolemy II deified his parents as the 'Saviour Gods' (*Theoi Soteres*), and Hazzard argues this could have been just after Ptolemy I's death, to reinforce Ptolemy II's

<sup>174</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.28.2.

<sup>175</sup> The exact sequence of events remains unclear, although the corpse ended up in Alexandria. Pausanias (1.6.3) states the intended burial place was Aegae, but Diodorus (18.28.3) states the procession was bound for Siwah. Most sources state the body was taken to Memphis rather than Alexandria (Paus. 1.6.3; *Marmor Parium* 11 (Austin 2006: 1), *Alexander Romance* 3.34). However, Strabo (17.794) and Diodorus (18.28.3) state the corpse was buried at Alexandria. The body was most likely first taken to Memphis, and then to Alexandria (Curt. Ruf. 10.10.20; Fraser 1972: 1.16, 2.32).

<sup>176</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.28.3-4; *Alexander Romance* 1.33.2; Jason *BNJ* 632 F 1 = Ath. 14.620d; Taylor 1927: 166; Fraser 1972: 1.212-215; Holbl 2001: 92; Habicht 2017: 26. The cult lasted until at least AD 120: *SB 6611* (Fraser 1972: 2.360 n182).

<sup>177</sup> Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.7; Rowell 1989: 82; Holbl 2001: 94.

<sup>178</sup> *P. Eleph.* 2 (Porten 1996: 412-413); Fraser 1972: 1.215-216; Green 1990: 404; Walbank 1993: 213; Shipley 2000: 159; Holbl 2001: 9; Grabowski 2014: 22; Petrovic 2015: 437.

<sup>179</sup> Morkholm 1991: 63-67; Holbl 2001: 93; Lorber 2012: 211-213.

<sup>180</sup> Poole 1963: 1; de Callatay 2012: 180; Lorber 2012: 212.

<sup>181</sup> Fraser 1972: 1.215.

<sup>182</sup> Fraser 1972: 1.214; Holbl 2001: 94.

<sup>183</sup> Grabowski 2014: 26.

legitimacy, as his elder brother Ceraunus could have been a serious potential usurper.<sup>184</sup> Most historians agree that shortly after the death of Ptolemy I (283/2 BC), Ptolemy II honoured his father with the state cult title, ‘Ptolemy *Soter*.’<sup>185</sup> The earliest evidence is the *Nicouria Decree* of 280 BC, which refers to ‘King Ptolemy *Soter*,’ demonstrating the cult must have been established at least by this time.<sup>186</sup> This state cult evoked the title Rhodes bestowed upon Ptolemy I in 304 BC, and the title may also have been used by the League of Islands.<sup>187</sup> Further evidence for dynastic cult innovation comes from Callixeinus of Rhodes’ description of the ‘procession of Philadelphus,’ which most modern historians argue is a description of a *Ptolemaia* festival in the 270s in honour of Ptolemy I.<sup>188</sup> Athenaeus preserved Callixeinus’ description of this festival, but did not preserve the context, although it is clearly some kind of major festival procession. Callixeinus states that during the ceremonies, a golden crown and a golden *aegis* were placed on the doorway of a Temple of Berenice (Βερενικεῖον).<sup>189</sup> This supports the poetic evidence from Theocritus that Berenice was deified, and provided with her own cult and temple, following her death *c.* 279 BC. Theocritus hymned that Ptolemy II ‘has founded fragrant shrines (ναοί) to his dear mother and father,’ and an epigram by Asclepiades also associates Berenice with Aphrodite.<sup>190</sup> Ptolemy II thus built upon the innovations of Ptolemy I with Alexander, by creating new dynastic cults honouring Ptolemy I and Berenice I.

### 2.2.3 The θεοί Ἀδελφοί

Ptolemy II also made a series of further dynastic cult innovations involving himself and Queen Arsinoë II, both during her lifetime and afterwards. These cult titles included the *Theoi Adelphoi* and the ‘Philadelphus’ cult, as well as assimilating Arsinoë with the maritime Aphrodite. Almost fifty

<sup>184</sup> Hazzard 1987: 150.

<sup>185</sup> Fraser 1972: 1.228; Ellis 1994: 60; Green 1990: 145; Shipley 2000: 159; Holbl 2001: 94; Chaniotis 2005: 436. However, Hazzard (2000: 5) argues the cult was created *c.* 263 BC, since the title ‘Ptolemy *Soter*’ does not appear on coins until this time (Morkholm 1991: 102). However, the use of the title in the *Nicouria Decree* suggests the cult was in existence in 280 BC (Grabowski 2014: 25; Worthington 2016: 169).

<sup>186</sup> *Nicouria Decree* (*Syll*<sup>3</sup> 390 = Austin 2006: 255); Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.97; Bevan 1927: 127; Holbl 2001: 94; Mikalson 2006: 214; Petrovic 2015: 437.

<sup>187</sup> *Nicouria Decree* (*Syll*<sup>3</sup> 390 = Austin 2006: 255). The *Nicouria Decree* claims the League of Islands ‘were the first to honour Ptolemy *Soter* with godlike honours,’ but since the decree dates to 280 BC, it is unclear if Ptolemy I received this cult honour from the League during his lifetime (Holbl 2001: 117 n80; Worthington 2016: 169).

<sup>188</sup> Callixeinus of Rhodes *BNJ* 627 F 2 = Ath. 5.25. Earlier historians believed the procession was Ptolemy II’s coronation (Mahaffy 1895: 116). However, most scholars agree that Callixeinus was describing a *Ptolemaia* festival held in the 270s, because it matches a description of a *Ptolemaia* festival preserved in an inscription (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 390; Bevan 1927: 127; Rice 1983: 4; Holbl 2001: 94; Petrovic 2015: 437). Fraser (1972: 232) argues it was a festival for Dionysus and not a *Ptolemaia* festival at all. Klaus Meister in the *OCD*<sup>4</sup> (*s.v.* ‘Callixeinus’) argues it is a victory celebration after the First Syrian War, in 271 BC. But Fraser (1972: 1.197) argues that the lack of references to Arsinoë II must indicate a date much earlier, before her return to Egypt. Rice (1983: 38-42) provides a detailed discussion of possible dates the festival could have been held. Hazzard (2000: 66) argues for 262 BC (*c.f.* Grabowski 2014: 24).

<sup>189</sup> Callixeinus *BNJ* 627 F 2 = Ath. 5.202d; Fraser 1972: 1.228; Holbl 2001: 94.

<sup>190</sup> Theoc. *Id.* 17.121-123; Asclepiades *GP* 39; Fraser 1972: 1.197; Walbank 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.97; Cameron 1990: 294-295; Gutzwiller 1992*b*: 364-365; Carney 2000: 219, 321 n82; Holbl 2001: 98. A fragment of Theocritus (*fr.* 3 = Ath. 7.284a) could associate Berenice with the maritime Aphrodite (Gutzwiller 1992*b*: 365 n20).



years earlier, Antigonus I had been the first Successor to receive divine honours from a Greek *polis* at Scepsis.<sup>191</sup> In the 270s Ptolemy II was the first to venture a step further, and rather than wait for a *polis* to deify him, he instead established his own official state cult. This was the *Theoi Adelphoi* cult, which deified both Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II, and was created c. 270 BC.<sup>192</sup> A fragmentary papyrus which contains a record of events from around 271 – 269 BC provides information about the foundation of this new form of worship.<sup>193</sup> This work states that in ‘Year 14’ of the reign of Ptolemy II (c. 270 BC),

πρὸς τὰ συνα[λλάγματα] προσεγράφη ἱερ[εὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου] καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελ[φῶν]

the name of the priest of Alexander and the *Theoi Adelphoi* was added to the contracts.<sup>194</sup>

The name of the cult, and its association with Alexander, suggests there were a number of aims behind its establishment. Firstly, Carney (2013) argues that the link with Alexander indicates there was still value in associating the dynasty with the great conqueror, even half a century after his death.<sup>195</sup> It is notable that this new dating formula omits the *Theoi Soteres* (Ptolemy I and Berenice I) and instead implies a direct connection between the cults of Alexander and Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II.<sup>196</sup>

Further, the cult title *Adelphoi*, or ‘siblings,’ also unambiguously emphasised the unusual aspect of the marriage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë, which was that they were siblings.<sup>197</sup> Various theories have been suggested to explain why Ptolemy II married his sister, including that it was a continuation of Egyptian practice, or that it was a recognition of the political advantages of promoting a stable dynasty, which seems to be the implication of the *Adelphoi* cult title.<sup>198</sup> The cult had a Greek context, with a sanctuary (τέμενος) in Alexandria, and a Greek priest, the first of whom was the Ptolemaic Admiral, Callicrates of Samos.<sup>199</sup> The cult was also propagated beyond Egypt throughout

<sup>191</sup> *OGIS* 6 (Bagnall and Derow 2004: 6).

<sup>192</sup> Posidippus *AB* 74.13; Bevan 1927: 129; Fraser 1972: 1.215; Green 1990: 404; Holbl 2001: 95; Nilsson 2012: 3; Carney 2013: 97; Grabowski 2014: 22.

<sup>193</sup> *P. Hib.* 199; Fraser 1972: 1.215, 2.364; Clarysse and Van Der Veken 1983: 4-5; Walbank 1993: 213; Holbl 2001: 95.

<sup>194</sup> *P. Hib.* 199 (trans. Fraser 1972: 2.364); Walbank 1993: 213; Holbl 2001: 95; Nilsson 2012: 3. There is debate over the date of ‘Year 14,’ which could be calculated either from the co-regency of Ptolemy I and II in 285 (and therefore refer to 271) or could be counted from Ptolemy I’s death c. 283 (and therefore refer to 269 – possibly then after the death of Arsinoë). However, modern scholars generally assume that this cult was created while Arsinoë was still alive (Fraser 1972: 1.216, 2.364; Walbank 1993: 214).

<sup>195</sup> Nilsson 2012: 3; Carney 2013: 97.

<sup>196</sup> Theocritus (*Id.* 17.17-19) also implies a connection between Ptolemy II and Alexander.

<sup>197</sup> *LSJ* s.v. ‘ἀδελφός’; Holbl 2001: 95; Carney 2013: 97.

<sup>198</sup> Reasons for marriage: Macurdy 1932: 116; Burstein 1982: 210-212; Hazzard 2000: 85-90; Carney 2013: 70-82; Grabowski 2014: 26. It is unclear in what year the marriage occurred: Bevan 1927: 59 (between 279 and 274); Thompson 1973: 56 (around 275); Fraser 1972: 2.367 (inscriptions suggest a date of 274); Tarn 1975: 16 (argues specifically for the winter of 276/5, also the view he expresses in *CAH*<sup>1</sup> 1964: 703); Burstein 1982: 200 (argues for 280 or 279); Turner 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 138 (between 279 and 274); Holbl 2001: 36 (around 279); Carney 2013: 70 (inscriptions suggest they were definitely married by 273); Vandorpe 2013: 763 (about 279); Dorothy Thompson in *OCD*<sup>4</sup> s.v. ‘Arsinoë II Philadelphus’ (argues for mid-270s).

<sup>199</sup> Herodas (1.30) states there was a θεῶν ἀδελφῶν τέμενος in Alexandria; Holbl 2001: 95 n95.

the Aegean, and Carney (2013) argues it was used to promote their marriage to a wider Greek audience as equivalent to the union of Zeus and Hera.<sup>200</sup> It is also plausible that the *Adelphoi* cult sought to link Ptolemy II to Arsinoë and capitalise on many Greek's familiarity with her, since Arsinoë had been a Queen of Macedonia and Thrace. For instance, Theocritus implies in his contemporary poetry that the marriage was like that of the rulers of Olympus, and like the *Adelphoi* cult title, the poem emphasises both their sibling relationship and their association with divinity:

τᾶς οὔτις ἀρείων

νυμφίον ἐν μεγάροισι γυνὰ περιβάλλετ' ἀγοστῶ,

ἐκ θυμοῦ στέργοισα κασίγνητόν τε πόσιν τε.

ᾧδε καὶ ἀθανάτων ἱερὸς γάμος ἐξετελέσθη

οὓς τέκετο κρείουσα Ῥέα βασιλῆας Ὀλύμπου·

ἐν δὲ λέχος στόρνυσιν ἰαύειν Ζηνὶ καὶ Ἥρῃ

χεῖρας φοιβήσασα μύροισι ἔτι παρθένος Ἴρις

A wife more virtuous

Never yet cast her arms around a bridegroom in her bower

For with her whole heart she loves her brother and her spouse

Such were the holy nuptials (ἱερὸς γάμος) too of those immortal Gods

Whom mighty Rhea bore to be rulers of Olympus

And one couch for the slumber of Hera and of Zeus

Does the still virgin Iris strew with myrrh anointed hands.<sup>201</sup>

Further, at Olympia itself, Callicrates dedicated statues of the *Theoi Adelphoi* opposite the temples of Zeus and Hera, clearly intending to convey to the Greek world the same message through statuary rather than poetry.<sup>202</sup> Ptolemy II's decision to deify himself and Arsinoë together was thus unusual and innovative, but can be seen as a logical extension of previous innovations in Ptolemaic dynastic cult.

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<sup>200</sup> Carney 2013: 97.

<sup>201</sup> Theoc. *Id.* 17.129-134 (trans. Trevelyan 1947); Griffiths 1979: 60-61, 65-66, 72-73, 77-79.

<sup>202</sup> *OGIS* 26, 27; Holbl 2001: 95; Carney 2013: 97.

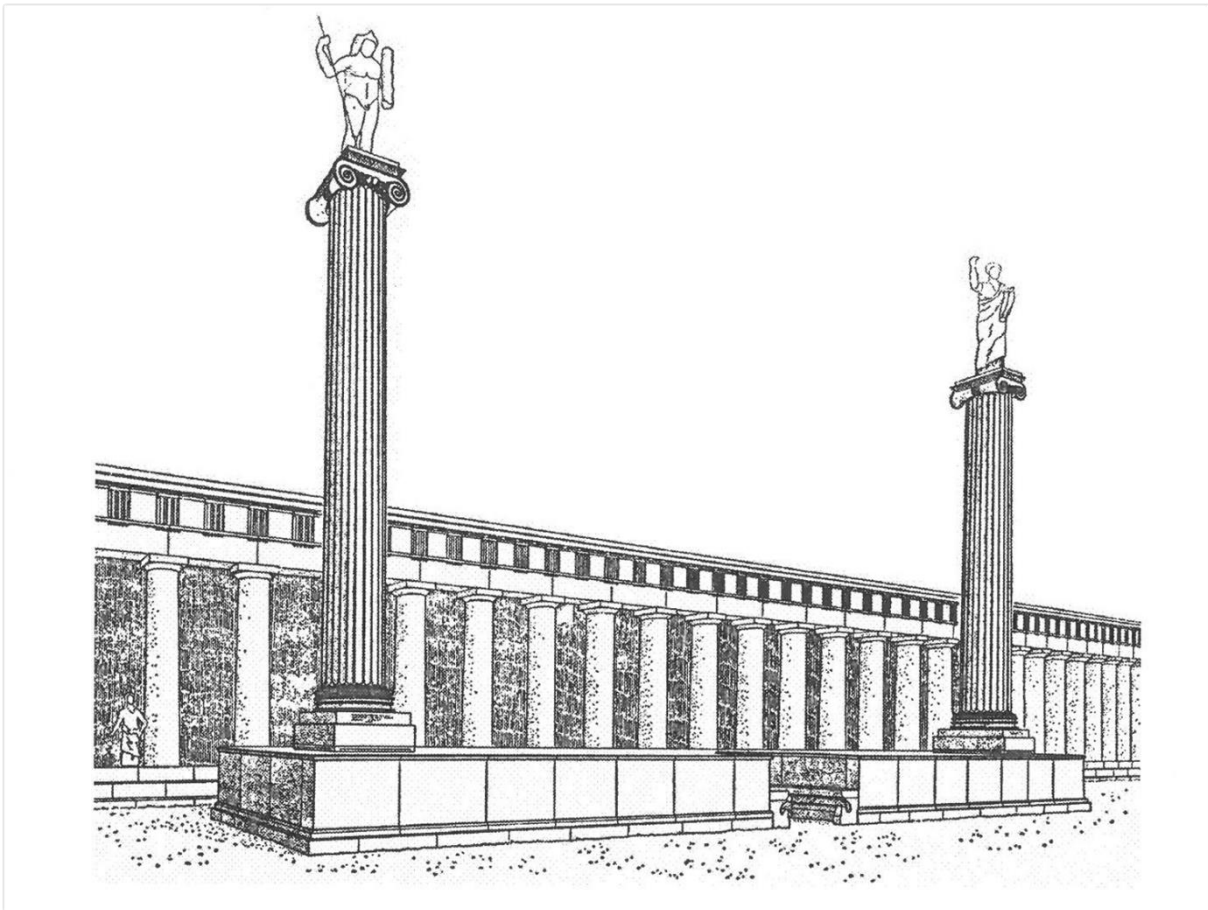


Figure 9: Reconstruction of Ptolemaic Monument at Olympia (from Barringer 2011: fig. 7).

There was also a deliberate policy of promoting the *Theoi Adelphoi* cult through numismatic iconography and art. For example, on enormously valuable gold coins worth one *mina*, Ptolemy II took the unusual step of portraying himself with Arsinoë on the obverse, along with the cult title ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ, ‘[of the] Sibling Gods.’<sup>203</sup> The implications of dynastic strength, stability and divinity were clear, since the reverse of the coin featured the portraits of Ptolemy I and Berenice I.<sup>204</sup> Athenaeus states that Ptolemy II created the double cornucopia specifically for Arsinoë, which simultaneously could allude to the divine couple, Arsinoë’s association with Agathe Tyche, the ram’s horns of Ammun, and Arsinoë’s association with rams in Egyptian cult.<sup>205</sup> Similarly, the Gonzaga Cameo and Vienna Cameo also portray a strong ruling couple, and Pollitt (1986) argues it is likely that these artworks were intended to portray or allude to Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II.<sup>206</sup>

<sup>203</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* 851; Poole 1961: 40; Morkholm 1991: 103; Lorber 2012: 214-215.

<sup>204</sup> Griffiths 1979: 77-78; Morkholm 1991: 103.

<sup>205</sup> Ath. 11.497bc; Vallois 1929: 33; Smith 1994: 90; Ager 2005*b*: 24 n144; Nilsson 2012: 16-18; Carney 2013: 114-115. The ram’s horns could also allude to Arsinoë’s connection with the Mysteries of Samothrace (Vallois 1929: 35-36) or the symbolism of the Two Lands of Egypt (Nilsson 2012: 19, 137).

<sup>206</sup> The figures in the Vienna Cameo have been identified as Alexander and Olympias (Richter 1968: no. 610; Platzos 1996: 125; Brown 1997: 85), but Pollitt (1986: 23-24) argues that the male nose is more appropriate to Ptolemy II, and that the female tiara resembles coin portraits of Arsinoë II. The couple in the Vienna Cameo also resemble the paired coin portrait of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II (Platzos 1996: 124). Similarly, the Gonzaga Cameo has been identified as



*Figure 10: Gold Coin showing Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II (from Poole 1961:40.8).*



*Figure 11: Coin depicting Arsinoë II and the double cornucopia (from British Museum no. 1987,0649.278).*

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Alexander, or a Roman Imperial couple, perhaps Augustus and Livia (Richter 1968: no. 611; Platzos 1996: 124; Brown 1997: 85). However, the catalogues of the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum (2014) and the Hermitage Museum (2018) identify the figures as Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II.





*Figure 12: The Gonzaga Cameo, 15cm x 11cm (from Hermitage Museum Catalogue).*



*Figure 13: Vienna Cameo, 11cm x 11cm (from Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum Catalogue).*



#### 2.2.4 Arsinoë Φιλαδέλφος

Ptolemy II also created a series of ruler cult innovations that involved Arsinoë II by herself, such as the *Philadelphus* cult.<sup>207</sup> It is generally assumed that this cult was created after Arsinoë's death, although some scholars believe it may have been just before.<sup>208</sup> The main source of evidence for this cult is a papyrus dated to c. 269 BC, which states that the cult had a priestess, named a 'basket carrier' (*kanephoros*).<sup>209</sup> The term *philadelphus* can literally be defined as 'loving one's brother,' but Fraser (1972) argues the word also had a positive moral connotation of 'fraternal' or 'brotherly love.'<sup>210</sup> Thus, as with the *Theoi Adelphoi* cult, the *Philadelphus* honorific again explicitly drew attention to the incestuous nature of their marriage.<sup>211</sup> If Arsinoë adopted the title during her lifetime, then the goal may have been to promote positive associations of dynastic stability, which was then extended into an official state cult after her death.<sup>212</sup> Perhaps, as with the deification of his father, Ptolemy II found that the creation of a posthumous cult for Arsinoë could also have useful purposes.

Ptolemy II not only boldly experimented with the creation of new dynastic cults, but also with the temple associated with Arsinoë. The Arsinoeion at Alexandria was quite innovative, and associated Arsinoë's cult with seafaring. Pliny records that the original design for the temple included a magnetic roof, so that an iron statue of Arsinoë would float in mid-air, although this fabulous plan was never completed.<sup>213</sup> The temple also had a maritime association since it was constructed by the harbourside, and Pliny states that early in the Roman period a magistrate was forced to move the temple's gigantic 42m obelisk due to the inconvenience it caused to shipping.<sup>214</sup> Carney (2013) also argues that the maritime connection is evident from the fact that Ptolemy II encouraged Arsinoë's

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<sup>207</sup> Nilsson 2012: 3-4; Carney 2013: 106-110.

<sup>208</sup> The general view is that the cult was created after her death: Bevan 1927: 129; Fraser 1972: 1.217; Holbl 2001: 103. However, some argue that it may have been created during her lifetime (Thompson 1973: 120). Carney (2013: 107) theorises it may have been a combination, with Arsinoë helping to create the cult which Ptolemy instituted after her death. The main problem that faces modern scholarship is that it remains unclear in what year Arsinoë II died, since inscriptions suggest a date between 270 and 268, depending on how they are dated (van Oppen de Ruiter 2010: 139; Carney 2013: 104).

<sup>209</sup> *P. Oxy.* 27.2465 (Burstein 1985: 93); Bevan 1927: 129; Fraser 1972: 1.217, 2.366; Holbl 2001: 103. The date of 269 BC could be either just before or just after Arsinoë's death. In any case the two events were close in time.

<sup>210</sup> *LSJ* s.v. 'φιλάδελφος'; Fraser 1972: 1.217, 2.223.

<sup>211</sup> *Philadelphus* might have been an adaptation of an Egyptian Pharaonic title (Fraser 1972: 2.366). Ptolemy II also invested resources into creating an Egyptian aspect to this cult (Holbl 2001: 103 – 104; Nilsson 2012; Carney 2013: 107).

<sup>212</sup> Fraser 1972: 1.217. Arsinoë may have adopted the *Philadelphus* title during her lifetime (Theoc. *Id.* 17.128-130; Fraser 1972: 1.217, 2.367; Burstein 1982: 201; Green 1990: 145).

<sup>213</sup> Pliny 34.42; *BNJ* 570 F 16; Nilsson 2012: 4; McKenzie 2007: 51. Fraser (1972: 2.72 n168) notes the floating statue is mentioned by Ausonius (*Mos.* 311-17) so the original design was perhaps completed, although the lack of further references to such an incredible structure encourages scepticism.

<sup>214</sup> Pliny 36.14; Fraser 1972: 1.25; McKenzie 2007: 51; Grabowski 2014: 29. The *Diegesis* (an ancient commentary on Callimachus) states there was a βωμός and a τέμενος dedicated to Arsinoë in the Emporion, which was located by the harbour (*Diegesis to Callimachus* 228; Fraser 1972: 1.25, 2.72n167; McKenzie 2007: 51). The obelisk was likely a landmark for sailors (Grabowski 2014: 29).

cult to be established in the harbours of Ptolemaic dependencies.<sup>215</sup> Further, it is notable that Augustus established the centre of his Alexandrian ruler cult, the Caesareum, close to the site of the Arsinoeion, in which he was worshipped as ἐπιβατηρίος, or ‘the hope of safety to the voyager.’<sup>216</sup> Fraser (1972) has conjectured that the *Caesarerum* was designed to draw worshippers away from the Arsinoeion, which could explain its harbourside location and the unusual association of maritime safety with Augustus.<sup>217</sup> Ptolemy II thus continued to innovate through creating new forms of dynastic cult, in this case combining different elements, such as promoting dynastic prestige and establishing maritime associations with Arsinoë’s cult.

The cult of Arsinoë was also promoted in various other ways. The fragmentary remains of a poem by Callimachus, entitled *The Deification of Arsinoë*, indicates the court poets contributed towards ensuring Arsinoë’s posthumous cult enjoyed a long afterlife.<sup>218</sup> Callimachus’ poem celebrating Arsinoë’s journey to immortality has suffered mortal damage and survives only in tattered fragments. It is probably not a coincidence that the maritime saviours, the Dioscuri, are envisioned as carrying Arsinoë to heaven, as shown in one fragment which is reconstructed as: ‘snatched away [by the Dioscuri], you [Arsinoë] were speeding past the full moon.’<sup>219</sup> The cult was also celebrated through an annual *Arsinoëa* festival, which was held both in Alexandria and in the countryside.<sup>220</sup> A surviving papyrus decrees the following rules for participating in the festival at Alexandria:

βουλόμενοι θύειν Ἀρσιν[όηι Φίλα-  
 δέ]λφωι θυέτωσαν προτῶν ιδ[ίων οἰκί]ων ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν [δω]μάτων ἢ κα[τὰ τὴν]  
 ὁδὸν ἢ ἂν ἢ καν [η]φόρος βαδίζ[ηι]  
 ἢ ὄρνειον πάντες θυέτωσαν [ἢ ὅποι]α ἂν βούληται ἔ[κα]στος πλῆ[ν τ]ρά-  
 γου καὶ αἰγός. το[ύς] δὲ βωμοῦ[ς πο]ιεῖτω-  
 σαν πάντες ἐξ ἄμ[μ]ου. ἐὰν δὲ τ[ι]νες

Let those wishing to sacrifice to Arsinoë *Philadelphus* sacrifice in front of their own doors or on their houses or in the street, along which the basket-carrier (*kanephoros*) passes. Let

<sup>215</sup> Carney 2013: 109; Grabowski 2014: 31.

<sup>216</sup> Philo, *Leg.* 151; Fraser 1972: 1.24. The title ἐπιβατηρίος was also an epithet of Apollo at Troezen (Paus. 2.32.2; *LSJ* s.v. ‘ἐπιβατήριος’). The title was probably derived from ἐπιβάτης (‘passenger, one who embarks,’ *LSJ* s.v. ‘ἐπιβάτης’). Malkin (1986: 960, 2011: 103) argues that on Sicily Apollo was worshipped with the epithet ἐκβάσιος (‘disembarkation’). The cult title Apollo Ἐκβάσιος also appears in the *Argonautica* (Ap. Rhod. 1.966, 1.1186).

<sup>217</sup> Fraser 1972: 1.25.

<sup>218</sup> Holbl 2001: 103; Carney 2013: 108.

<sup>219</sup> Callim. 228.5-7; Pomeroy 1990: 36. The Dioscuri had been represented as patrons of sailors since Archaic times (e.g. Hom. *Hymn* 33). Callimachus’ poem also takes for granted the deification of Arsinoë’s sister, Philotera, indicating more experimentation with dynastic cult from Ptolemy II (Callim. 228.43). Philotera was associated with Artemis, in an interesting contrast to Arsinoë’s assimilation with Aphrodite (Holbl 2001: 103; Carney 2013: 98)

<sup>220</sup> Fraser 1972: 1.229; Holbl 2001: 104; Carney 2013: 109; Grabowski 2014: 27.



everyone sacrifice a bird, or whatever he wishes, except for a male goat or a female goat. And let everyone make the altars of sand (ἄμμος).<sup>221</sup>

The use of sand altars was unique to this cult and seems to emphasise that Arsinoë was assimilated with the maritime Aphrodite.<sup>222</sup> The sacrifice of birds is also similar to the ritual practiced at the shrine to Aphrodite *Pontia* at Cos, and a second century BC inscription from Cos states that both sailors in warships and other vessels can sacrifice a bird on the completion of their voyage.<sup>223</sup> Modern scholars also argue that *oinochoai* (sometimes inscribed to Arsinoë Agathe Tyche Isis) played a role in this festival, and could have been used for pouring libations (discussed further below).<sup>224</sup> The *Arsinoëa* festival therefore honoured Queen Arsinoë in multiple roles: as the maritime Aphrodite, Isis, Agathe Tyche, as well as Arsinoë Philadelphus. Ptolemy II also employed various strategies to ensure that images of Arsinoë would be present in a domestic context, such as coins with Arsinoë's image, and the *oinochoai* just mentioned.<sup>225</sup> Arsinoë's name was also preserved through naming the reclaimed swampland of the Fayum the 'Arsinoitë' *nome*, and making her the *nome* Goddess of this newly settled region.<sup>226</sup> There were also numerous street names in Alexandria dedicated to Arsinoë, which included: Arsinoë *Basileia*, Arsinoë of Victory, Arsinoë of Eleusis, Arsinoë the Fruit Bearer, and Arsinoë the Saviour, among others.<sup>227</sup> Ptolemy II thus deployed a full arsenal of approaches to promote the cults of Arsinoë, including poetry, festivals, coins, and re-naming a new district, along with streets in Alexandria. All of these approaches would have assisted in embedding the reality of Ptolemaic power into the everyday life of ordinary citizens in Alexandria and the wider Ptolemaic sphere of influence throughout the Greek-speaking world.

#### 2.2.4 Arsinoë Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη

Ptolemy II also created an opportunity to further enhance his dynasty by associating Arsinoë with Agathe Tyche, as well as the maritime Aphrodite. The worship of Tyche in various forms expanded in the fourth century BC, and modern scholars usually attribute this to bewilderment caused by sudden

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<sup>221</sup> *P. Oxy.* 27.2465 (trans. Burstein 1985: 93; Austin 2006: 295; Robert 1966: 192); Fraser 1972: 1.229, 2.378; Holbl 2001: 104; Carney 2013: 109.

<sup>222</sup> Robert 1966: 199-200; Fraser 1972: 1.229. Nilsson (2012: 7 n4) argues that perhaps a sandstone altar was meant.

<sup>223</sup> *SEG* 50.766 (Parker and Obbink 200: 418). Pomeroy (1990: 33) argues the prohibition against goat sacrifice would encourage worshippers to associate Arsinoë with the heavenly Aphrodite (Aphrodite *Urania*) and remove any lecherous associations with Aphrodite *Pandemos* (c.f. Parker 2002: 153). Nilsson (2012: 19-20, 157) argues the prohibition was related to Arsinoë's role in Egyptian cult as the priestess of the Ram god Banebdjedet.

<sup>224</sup> Fraser 1972: 1.242; Thompson 1973: no. 142, 146, 147; Smith 1994: 88-89; Carney 2013: 109.

<sup>225</sup> Holbl 2001: 103.

<sup>226</sup> Holbl 2001: 103; Carney 2013: 109.

<sup>227</sup> Fraser 1972: 35. There was possibly a shrine in every street to each cult name, potentially indicating a proliferation of minor cults attached to Arsinoë (Fraser 1972: 1.35-36; Grabowski 2014: 30).

changes in social and political structures at the dawn of the Hellenistic era.<sup>228</sup> In Athens an inscription dated to 335/4 BC attests that there was a sanctuary to Agathe Tyche, perhaps established in the aftermath of the Battle of Chaeronea (in 338 BC).<sup>229</sup> Another inscription indicates that some Athenians made sacrifices to Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη in the 320s, possibly just after the Athenians' initial success against Macedonians in the Lamian War (c. 322 BC).<sup>230</sup> Praxiteles sculpted a Tyche statue for Megara, which was placed next to a sanctuary of Aphrodite, perhaps indicating an association between the two cults that would also be present in Arsinoë's cult.<sup>231</sup> The most famous representation was Eutychides's statue of Tyche for Antioch, which was sculpted c. 300 BC.<sup>232</sup> In Alexandria, according to the *Alexander Romance*, Alexander himself established a cult of the ἀγαθοὶ δαίμονες while founding the city, in 331 BC.<sup>233</sup> Smith (1994) also argues that the protecting divinity of Alexandria, the *Agathos Daimon*, was conflated with Alexander's personal *daimon*, utilizing the Egyptian tradition of the Pharaoh's *ka*.<sup>234</sup> Ptolemy II extended these concepts by deifying Arsinoë as Agathe Tyche, as shown by *oinochoai* inscribed with ἀγαθῆς τύχης Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου, which also depict the Queen pouring a libation while holding a double cornucopia (*fig. 4*).<sup>235</sup> It is unclear if the inscription refers to the Good Fortune of Arsinoë, or to Arsinoë as a Goddess assimilated with Tyche, although the latter seems likely.<sup>236</sup> It is also notable that Arsinoë is depicted holding a double cornucopia, which (as just mentioned) was an iconographic innovation that Ptolemy II created for Arsinoë.<sup>237</sup> By contrast, there are fourth century representations of Agathe Tyche from the Piraeus at Athens which show Agathe Tyche with the single cornucopia.<sup>238</sup> Further, Tyche could be associated with grain, as shown by the famous Tyche of Antioch, who was sculpted holding sheaves of wheat.<sup>239</sup> The portrayal of Arsinoë as Agathe Tyche perhaps associated her with Egypt's grain export, which relied on the merchant navy, which may have also suggested Arsinoë's other cult as a maritime

<sup>228</sup> Polyb. 29.21.1-6; Grant 1982: 214-218; Green 1990: 53-55, 400-401; Broucke 1994: 37; Pollitt 1994: 12-13.

<sup>229</sup> *IG II<sup>3</sup>* 333.19-20 (Schwenk 1985: no. 21); Smith 2003: 72, 2011: 120. A fragmentary speech of the orator Lycurgus (A.2.5) also refers to the ναός of Agathe Tyche (Tracy 1994: 242-243). The phrase ἀγαθῆι τύχηι also began to appear frequently in Attic inscriptions in the fourth century BC (Tracy 1994: 242; Smith 1994: 87, 2003: 73, 2011: 121; Parker 1996: 232).

<sup>230</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1195, II<sup>2</sup> 620 (Walbank 1994: 234-235); *c.f.* Parker 1996: 231 n47; Mikalson 1998: 37, 2006: 212. Similarly, a decree from 304/3 BC has been restored as showing Athenians offered sacrifice to Agathe Tyche (*SEG* 30.69, line 16; Parker 1996: 231).

<sup>231</sup> Paus. 1.43.6; Pollitt 1986: 3; Broucke 1994: 36. Praxiteles also sculpted a Tyche statue for Athens (Ael. *VH* 9.39; Plin. *NH* 36.23; Broucke 1994: 36; Smith 2011: 121).

<sup>232</sup> Paus. 6.2.7; Onians 1979: 99; Pollitt 1986: 3; Broucke 1994: 39; Burn 2004: 137-138; Smith 2011: 119; Pedley 2012: 355-56.

<sup>233</sup> *Alexander Romance* 1.32; Taylor 1927: 163; Smith 1994: 88.

<sup>234</sup> Smith 1994: 88; *c.f.* Pollitt 1994: 14-16.

<sup>235</sup> Fraser 1972: 1.240-241; Thompson 1973: 126; Grabowski 2014: 29.

<sup>236</sup> This is mainly because a temple to Arsinoë on Delos was later renamed the Temple of Agathe Tyche, indicating an assimilation of the pair (Fraser 1972: 1.241; Thompson 1973: 51; Smith 1994: 89; Carney 2013: 109).

<sup>237</sup> Ath. 11.497bc; Smith 1994: 90. Athenaeus (11.497c) also records that the double cornucopia was not just a symbol but that worshippers used it to pour libations (Smith 1994: 101 n19).

<sup>238</sup> Tracy 1994: 243; Thompson 1973: 33, 54.

<sup>239</sup> Gonosová 2000: 116-117.

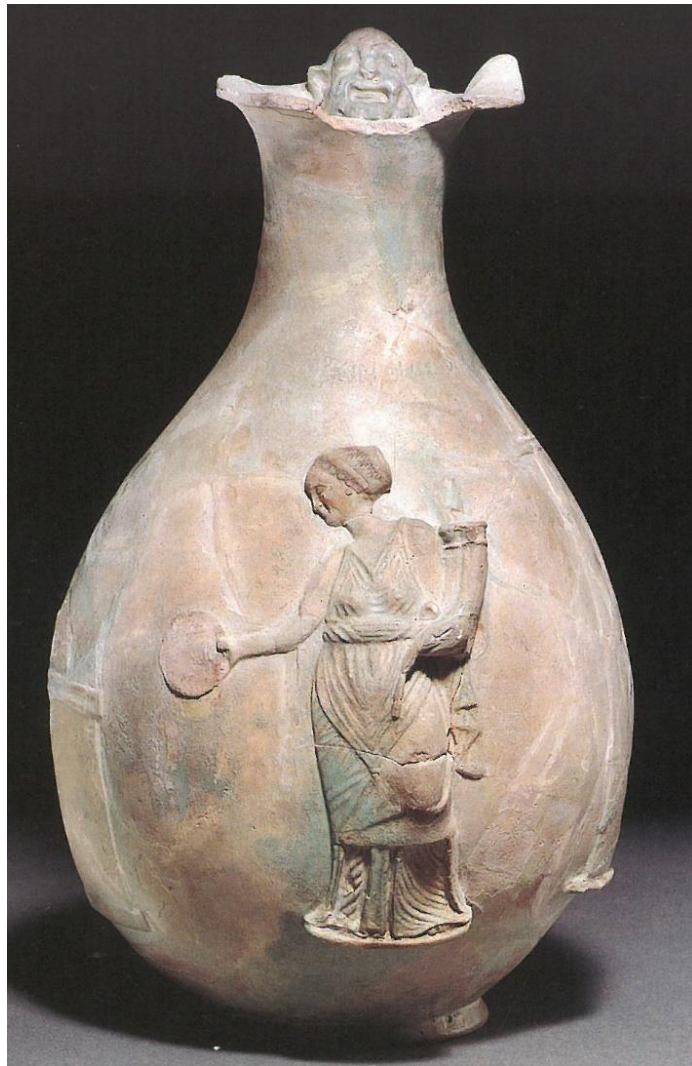
saviour deity.<sup>240</sup> The assimilation of Arsinoë with Agathe Tyche was thus highly innovative, and combined aspects of a cult that was already gaining popularity in the early Hellenistic period, and adapted its rituals into Ptolemaic ruler cult. This was also the case with the assimilation of Arsinoë with the cult of the maritime Aphrodite, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

It was in this context of dynastic cult innovations that Arsinoë was assimilated with Aphrodite, most likely around the 270s, along with the *Adelphoi* and *Philadelphus* cults.<sup>241</sup> As stated above, there were already precedents for a deceased or living Hellenistic royal woman (either a *hetaira* or a wife) to be associated with Aphrodite, dating from about a generation earlier. The novel aspect of Arsinoë's cult was that the Queen was identified with the maritime Aphrodite. This cult will be examined in detail in the following chapter. This chapter has outlined how the deification of Arsinoë took place in the context of the innovations in dynastic cult pioneered by Ptolemy I and II, as well as the background of hero cult developments outlined in the previous chapter. These innovations were also occurring at the same time as Ptolemy I and II pursued an expansive naval agenda, outlined in the first chapter, so that the expansion of dynastic cults and Ptolemaic naval ambitions appear to be linked.

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<sup>240</sup> This could have influenced the later fourth century AD representation of Alexandria's Tyche, which portrays her holding grain and standing on the bow of a ship (Broucke 1994: 38; Gonosová 2000: 116).

<sup>241</sup> Fraser 1972: 1.239; Holbl 2001: 103; Carney 2013: 100.



*Figure 14: Oinochoe depicting Arsinoë holding the double cornucopia, 32cm x 17cm  
(from Burn 2004: 68, fig. 33).*

### **2.2.5 Arsinoë's Egyptian Ruler Cults**

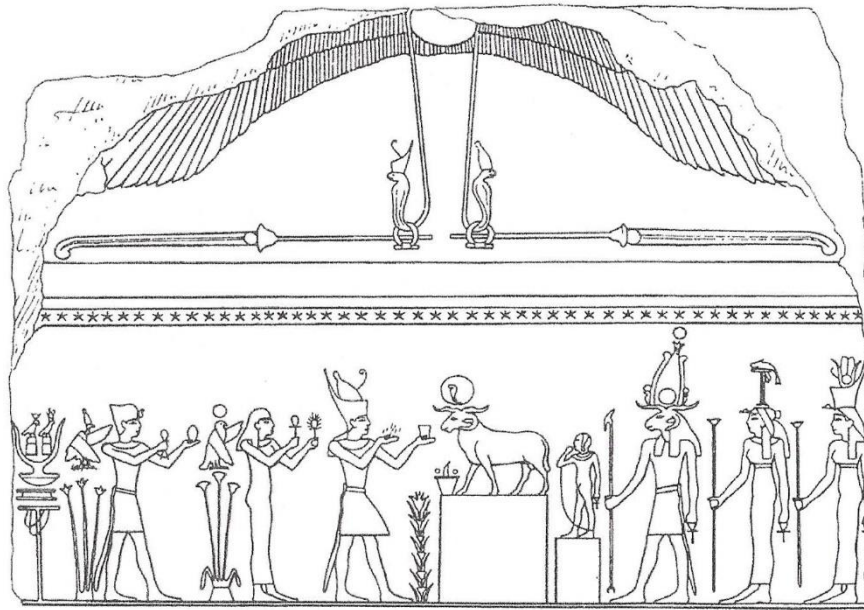
The Egyptian ruler cult was separate from the Greek royal cult, and had different origins. The royal cult of the Egyptians was based upon ancient traditions in which the Pharaoh was worshipped as the earthly manifestation of Horus, whereas the Greek ruler cult had evolved from separate Greek traditions.<sup>242</sup> Although the Egyptian ruler cult is not the focus of this thesis, it is notable that Ptolemy II also utilised Arsinoë II to create a number of innovative practices in Egyptian worship. For instance, upon her death, Arsinoë was declared a 'temple sharing God,' and her statue was placed in all Egyptian temples.<sup>243</sup> The implications of this innovation are evident in the iconography of the *Mendes*

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<sup>242</sup> Holbl 2001: 77; Dunand 2004: 247, 2007: 262.

<sup>243</sup> Holbl 2001: 101; Carney 2013: 107.

*Stele* (fig. 1), which shows a sacrifice to the Ram God of Mendes also being accepted by the deified Arsinoë.



*Figure 15: Mendes Stele, 264 BC. Ptolemy II offers a sacrifice which is accepted by the Ram of Mendes (centre), the Ram of Mendes again (in anthropomorphic form), Hatmehit and lastly the Goddess Arsinoë (Holbl 2001: fig. 3.3).*

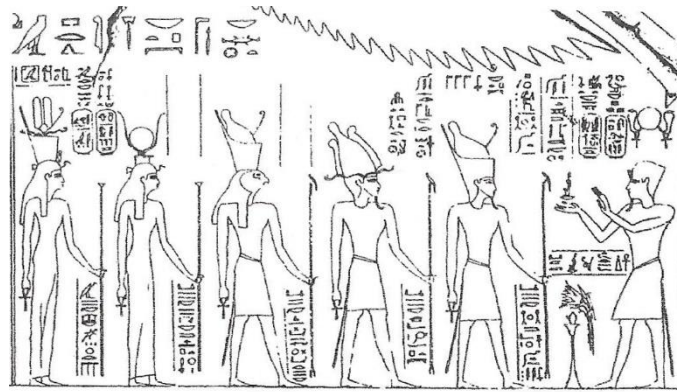
Arsinoë was also linked with Isis, and for example the *Pithom Stele* (fig. 2), closely associates Isis and Arsinoë.<sup>244</sup> Ptolemy II also sponsored the construction of a major Temple to Isis on the island of Philae in Upper Egypt, which also included iconography that linked Arsinoë with Isis (fig. 3).<sup>245</sup> Arsinoë was also deified posthumously as an Egyptian Goddess in her own right, and there is evidence of an Egyptian *Arsinoeion* at Memphis and at Berenice.<sup>246</sup> The Egyptian cult of Arsinoë seems to have been popular with Egyptians, since the Queen's name was one of the few Greek names the Egyptians adopted in usage.<sup>247</sup>

<sup>244</sup> Holbl 2001: 101; Carney 2013: 107.

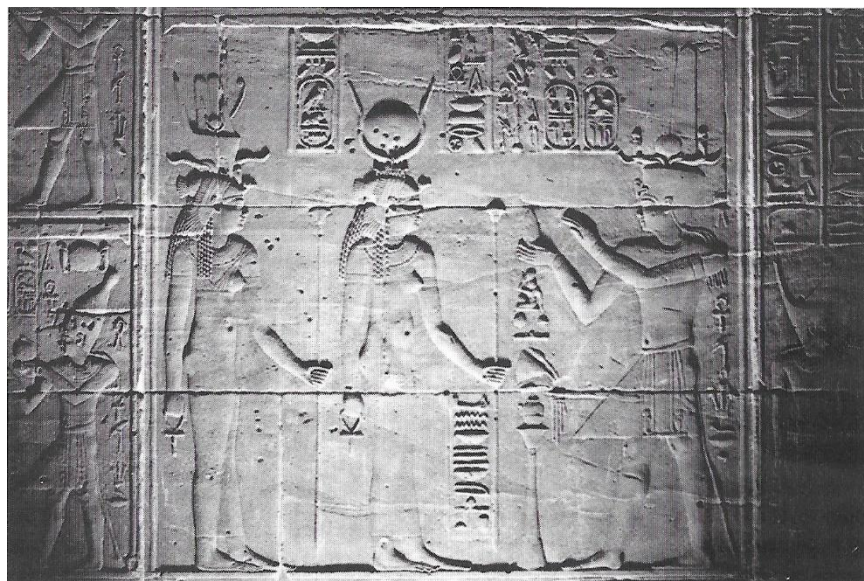
<sup>245</sup> Holbl 2001: 86; McKenzie 2007: 123.

<sup>246</sup> Holbl 2001: 102. The *Arsinoeion* in Alexandria is discussed in detail below.

<sup>247</sup> Carney 2013: 108.



*Figure 16: Pithom Stele. From left to right: Arsinoë II, Isis, Horus, Osiris, Atum and Ptolemy II (Holbl 2001: fig. 3.1).*



*Figure 6: Room VI, Temple of Isis, Philae, 270-246 BC. Arsinoë II and Isis receive sacrifice from Ptolemy II (Rowlandson 1998: fig. 2).*



## CHAPTER THREE

### Naval Power, Sailors and the Maritime Aphrodite

#### 3.1 Origins of the Greek Cult of the Maritime Aphrodite

Modern scholars continue to debate the origins of the Greek cult of Aphrodite, although Aphrodite was a firmly established goddess in cult practice in mainland Greece by the Hellenistic period.<sup>1</sup> Over the past century, scholars from Farnell (1896) to Breitenberger (2007) have argued that the worship of Aphrodite was introduced from the Near East, and was especially influenced by antecedent counterparts, such as the Mesopotamian Ishtar and the Assyrian and Phoenician Astarte.<sup>2</sup> The main factors in favour of this argument are similarities in cult and mythology, as well as the fact that Aphrodite does not appear in Linear B tablets, which suggests transmission from the East at the beginning of the Archaic Period.<sup>3</sup> Further, there is also the testimony of Herodotus and Pausanias, which indicates that the Greeks themselves believed that the worship of Aphrodite originated in the Orient.<sup>4</sup> Pirenne-Delforge (2010) argues that these claims are not conclusive, and that for instance scholars also considered Dionysus to have an Eastern origin before he was subsequently discovered in Linear B tablets.<sup>5</sup> Pirenne-Delforge also argues that the statements of Herodotus and Pausanias only indicate that the Classical Greeks thought Aphrodite's cult came from the East and do not demonstrate a historical process of cultic transmission.<sup>6</sup> There is also a view, held by some scholars, that Aphrodite was not of Eastern origin but was an indigenous Hellenic deity who developed out of an ancient Indo-European sky goddess.<sup>7</sup> There is also a third view, which has been argued by scholars such as Budin (2014), that there was an indigenous Bronze Age Cyprian Goddess, who later developed into the Greek Aphrodite, with some influence from the Near East.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> e.g. Hes. *Theog.* 203-206; Hom. *Hymn* 5.2-5; Friedrich 1978: 148; Burkert 1985: 152; Budin 2003: 13; Breitenberger 2007: 21; Kanaan 2010: 49. Recent scholarship has emphasised that Aphrodite was much more than just a 'goddess of Love': Pironti 2010: 118; Pickup and Smith 2010: 21.

<sup>2</sup> Farnell 1896: 2.618, 626-630; Grigson 1976: 25; Burkert 1985: 152; West 1997: 56; Price 1999: 16; Budin 2003: 2-3; Hard and Rose 2003: 195; Larson 2007: 114; Breitenberger 2007: 7; Cyrino 2010: 19; Pickup and Smith 2010: 20.

<sup>3</sup> Burkert 1985: 152, 1992: 98; Cyrino 2010: 19. *c.f.* Budin (2004: 102-103) argues some iconographical similarities are not warranted.

<sup>4</sup> Hdt. 1.105.2; Paus. 1.14.6; Budin 2003: 1-2; Breitenberger 2007: 9-10; Cyrino 2010: 20.

<sup>5</sup> Boedeker 1974: 5; Pirenne-Delforge 2010: 13.

<sup>6</sup> Pirenne-Delforge 2010: 10.

<sup>7</sup> Nagy 1973: 163, 1990: 247-248; Boedeker 1974: 15; Friedrich 1978; Budin 2003: 6, 36-38; Jackson 2005: 116; Breitenberger 2007: 7; Larson 2007: 114; Cyrino 2010: 24-25.

<sup>8</sup> Budin 2003: 273, 2004: 109, 2014: 195. *c.f.* Peterson 2005: 14; Karageorghis 2005: 12; Larson 2007: 114; Cyrino 2010: 23.

Regardless of when Aphrodite first appeared in Greek cult, the Goddess appears in the earliest Greek literature, in eighth century BC epic poetry. Whether she was as an indigenous or assimilated deity, she was already closely associated with the sea. While modern scholars continue to debate the historical origins of Aphrodite, Hesiod and Homer presented conflicting mythical views of the birth of the Goddess, although both maintained a link to the sea. In his cosmogonic poem *Theogony*, Hesiod describes Aphrodite's birth in the sea from the severed genitals of Ouranos, and how her first act was to sail across the Aegean:

μήδεα δ' ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀποτμήξας ἀδάμαντι  
κάββαλ' ἀπ' ἠπείροιο πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,  
ὧς φέρετ' ἄμ πέλαγος πουλὺν χρόνον, ἀμφὶ δὲ λευκὸς  
ἀφρός ἀπ' ἀθανάτου χροὸς ὄρνυτο: τῷ δ' ἔνι κούρη  
ἐθρέφθη: πρῶτον δὲ Κυθήροισιν ζαθέοισιν  
ἔπλητ', ἔνθεν ἔπειτα περίρρυτον ἴκετο Κύπρον.

The genitals, cut off with adamant

And thrown from land into the stormy sea (πολύκλυστος πόντος)

Were carried for a long time in the waves (πέλαγος).

White foam (ἀφρός) surrounded the immortal flesh

and in it grew a girl. At first it touched

On holy Cythera, from there it came

To Cyprus, circled by the waves (περίρρυτος).<sup>9</sup>

Similarly, another poem from the Archaic era, the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, attributed to Homer or the *Homeridae*, also associates Aphrodite with the sea, and the west wind:

αἰδοίην, χρυσοστέφανον, καλὴν Ἀφροδίτην  
ἄσομαι, ἣ πάσης Κύπρου κρήδεμνα λέλογχεν  
εἰναλίης, ὅθι μιν Ζεφύρου μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντος  
ἤνεικεν κατὰ κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης.

Of the reverend, gold-crowned lovely Aphrodite I will sing,

who has been assigned the citadels of all Cyprus in the sea (ἐνάλιος)

where Zephyrus swept her with his sweet breath,

over the waves of the roaring sea (πολύφλοισβος θάλασσα).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 188-193 (trans. Wender 1973); Budin 2003: 22; Breitenberger 2007: 12; Demetriou 2010: 4; Papadopoulou 2010: 217. Budin (2003: 37) notes that Hesiod states that Aphrodite sailed from Cythera to Cyprus, which is from west to east, which is the reverse of the theory that Aphrodite's cult travelled from east to west.

<sup>10</sup> Hom. *Hymn* 6.1-4 (translation adapted from West 2003 and Cashford 2003); Freidrich 1978: 58; Papadopoulou 2010: 218; Budin 2014: 195.



The connection to Ζέφυρος (*lit.* ‘west wind’) is significant since Arsinoë was also assimilated to Aphrodite with the cult title *Zephyritis*, and the Goddess’ control of the gentle breeze was particularly important in conveying the Lock of Berenice to heaven.<sup>11</sup> Further, as will be discussed below, the cult’s temple was established on a headland named Cape Zephyrium.<sup>12</sup> However, Homer’s *Iliad* contains an alternative genealogy in which Aphrodite is the daughter of Zeus and Dione.<sup>13</sup> A connection to the sea is still maintained in this alternative version of Aphrodite’s birth, though, since other sources, such as Hesiod and Apollodorus, describe Dione as a maritime deity.<sup>14</sup>

There could be a number of explanations for the poetic association between Aphrodite and the sea. Adherents of the cult of Aphrodite literally sailed across the Aegean via Cyprus, Crete and Cythera, either in or out of mainland Greece in the tenth or ninth centuries BC.<sup>15</sup> Further, if it is accepted that Aphrodite was adopted from an Eastern model, then her connection to the sea could derive from antecedent Eastern models, such as Ishtar, Astarte, and Isis, who were already patrons of sailors.<sup>16</sup> The connection to Isis in particular seems relevant since there were two shrines to Isis in the harbour at Alexandria, and Arsinoë II was closely associated with Isis in Egyptian religious art.<sup>17</sup> It may have been a logical step to also assimilate Arsinoë with the attributes of the maritime Aphrodite, especially to promote the Ptolemaic naval agenda to a Greek audience throughout the Aegean. The emergence of the maritime connection to Isis across the Aegean was a relatively recent fourth century BC phenomenon, as shown by the establishment of a temple to Isis in the Piraeus c. 332 BC, by Egyptian merchants.<sup>18</sup> This development therefore seems to closely parallel the increasing association between Aphrodite and the sea from the fourth century BC onwards (discussed below).

In conjunction with Aphrodite’s maritime connection in Archaic poetry, there was an early association between Aphrodite and the sea in cult activity, although specific marine cult epithets are

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<sup>11</sup> Callimachus (*Aet.* 110.56-57) refers to Arsinoë’s cult as ‘Aphrodite *Zephyritis*.’

<sup>12</sup> Mattingly (1950) argues the association with the West Wind indicates a connection between Arsinoë and the treaty between Egypt and Rome in 273 BC.

<sup>13</sup> Hom. *Il.* 5.370-371; Budin 2003: 22; Breitenberger 2007: 17.

<sup>14</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 353; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.1.3, 1.3.1; Budin 2003: 22; Cyrino 2010: 14; Pickup and Smith 2010: 19. It may be significant that Posidippus (*AB* 114) compares Arsinoë to the ‘child of Dione,’ *i.e.* Aphrodite (Stephens 2004: 244).

<sup>15</sup> Marcovich 1996: 45; Larson 2007: 116.

<sup>16</sup> Miranda 1989: 133; Marcovich 1996: 48; Brody 2008: 446. The Ugaritic deity Asherah had the title ‘Lady of the Sea’ which was another possible Eastern influence upon the development of Aphrodite cult (Brody 1998: 26; Parker 2002: 148; Budin 2003: 241). However, as discussed above, not all scholars agree that Aphrodite is based upon Eastern models.

<sup>17</sup> The two Isis temples in the harbour (at Pharos and Cape Lochias) were presumably dedicated to the maritime Isis: Stat. *Silv.* 100-101 (‘Isis ... Queen of Pharos’); Fraser 1972: 1.20-21; Dunand 2007: 258. Arsinoë was associated with Isis on the Pithom Stele and at the Temple of Philae (Holbl 2001: 86, 101; Carney 2013: 108).

<sup>18</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 337; Simms 1989: 216; Parker 2002: 150.



May Cypris of the violet crown send me unscathed from your famous island on a swift ship.  
May she bestow favour and glory on this settlement and a fair return (ἔσθλός νόστος) to my  
homeland.<sup>27</sup>

Although Solon was invoking Aphrodite as the patron deity of Cyprus, it does seem likely that Solon was also associating the Goddess with the ability to provide a fair voyage.<sup>28</sup> There is a similar connection between seafaring and Aphrodite already in the Archaic-era poetry of Sappho, according to Cyrino (2010). A fragment of the Lesbian poet's work has been restored as,

Κύπρι καὶ] Νηρήιδες ἀβλάβη[ν μοι  
τὸν κασίγνητον δ[ό]τε τυίδ' ἴκεσθα[ι],

Cypris and Nereids, grant that my brother arrives here unharmed.<sup>29</sup>

Cyrino argues that the context of this poem could be a sea voyage from Naucratis back to Lesbos, since various sources state that Sappho's brother was a merchant with commercial interests at the Egyptian port.<sup>30</sup>

It is possible that the earliest definitive cult association between Aphrodite and seafaring is attested at Naucratis in Egypt, in the seventh century BC, although the specific connection between Aphrodite and protection at sea is only made in a Hellenistic work cited by Athenaeus much later.<sup>31</sup> Archaeological research and finds from the site indicate that the temple of Aphrodite was one of the earliest structures built at Naucratis, c. 615 BC.<sup>32</sup> However, the evidence that specifically connects the Aphrodite cult at Naucratis to seafaring comes from the *Sophists at Dinner* by Athenaeus of Naucratis.<sup>33</sup> Athenaeus quotes the Hellenistic author Polycharmus (also of Naucratis), who wrote in his lost work *On Aphrodite* that in 'the twenty-third Olympiad' (688 BC), another citizen of Naucratis, named Herostratus, was saved from a storm at sea through supplicating a statue of Aphrodite from

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<sup>27</sup> Solon, *fr.* 19 = Plut. *Sol.* 26.2-4 (trans. Gerber 1999); Demetriou 2010: 24, 2012: 92.

<sup>28</sup> Demetriou 2010: 25.

<sup>29</sup> Sappho *fr.* 5 (*P. Oxy.* 7 + 2289.6); Cyrino 2010: 113. *c.f.* Sappho *fr.* 15 (*P. Oxy.* 1231; Obbink 2014*b*: 32). However, Obbink (2014*a*: 23, 2014*b*: 35) argues that the first word of Fragment 5 should be restored as πόντια and not with Κύπρις (although this could still be a title of Aphrodite). A new poem by Sappho has also recently been published (Obbink 2014*b*: 39) which invokes Hera for a safe voyage.

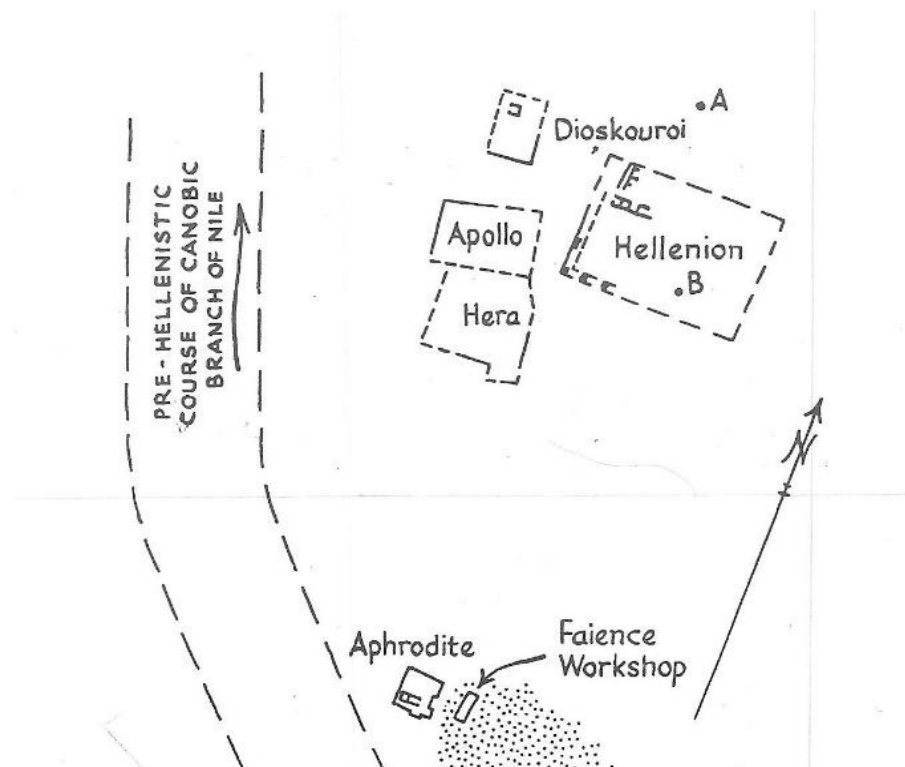
<sup>30</sup> Hdt. 2.135; Ath. 13.596bc; Strabo (17.1.32) states that Sappho's brother exported Lesbian wine to Naucratis, which would imply repeat voyages across the Eastern Mediterranean.

<sup>31</sup> Miranda 1989: 133. The Milesians contributed to the founding of Naucratis (Strabo 17.1.18; Hdt. 2.178) in c. 630 BC (Boardman 1980: 117, 121; Möller 2000: 91; Gorman 2001: 56-58; Greaves 2004: 30; Demetriou 2012: 113). Greaves (2004) argues that the Milesians worshipped Aphrodite as a patron of seafarers, and that it was in this guise that her cult was established in Milesian colonies, including Naucratis. Some scholars argue that the Chians and not Milesians founded the *temenos* of Aphrodite at Naucratis, due to the presence of Chian pottery dating from 600 BC (Budin 2003: 94; Demetriou 2012: 139 n181). The name of the city 'Naucratis' itself is notable, meaning 'power from ships' (Stephens 2005: 237; Cyrino 2010: 111).

<sup>32</sup> Gardner uncovered the temple during excavations in 1885/6 (Gardner and Griffith 1888: 12, 33-34); Möller 2000: 102 n100; Budin 2003: 93; Greaves 2004: 30; Demetriou 2012: 141. Budin (2004: 124) states that the Aphrodite temple at Naucratis is the oldest outside of Greece/Cyprus.

<sup>33</sup> Greaves 2004: 31; Cyrino 2010: 111; Demetriou 2012: 94.

Cypriot Paphos, which he subsequently dedicated in the temple of Aphrodite at Naucratis.<sup>34</sup> This anecdote is far removed from its original context, and the city itself may not have existed in 688 BC, and as just noted, the temple may not have been built until *c.* 615 BC.<sup>35</sup> Some modern scholars have argued that the connection between Aphrodite and seafaring was present from the beginning of the city's settlement, since the Aphrodite sanctuary appeared to be built besides what could be the dockyards (*fig. 1*).<sup>36</sup> However, the location of the temple beside the water is disputed by the most recent research (Villing and Thomas 2017), which argues that the Aphrodite sanctuary was located among streets and houses, and not directly by the river (*fig. 2*).<sup>37</sup> Thus according to Polycharmus in Athenaeus, the Aphrodite temple was used for dedications to ensure safe arrival by sea in the Hellenistic era, but the direct connection between the temple and the river harbour is now in doubt.



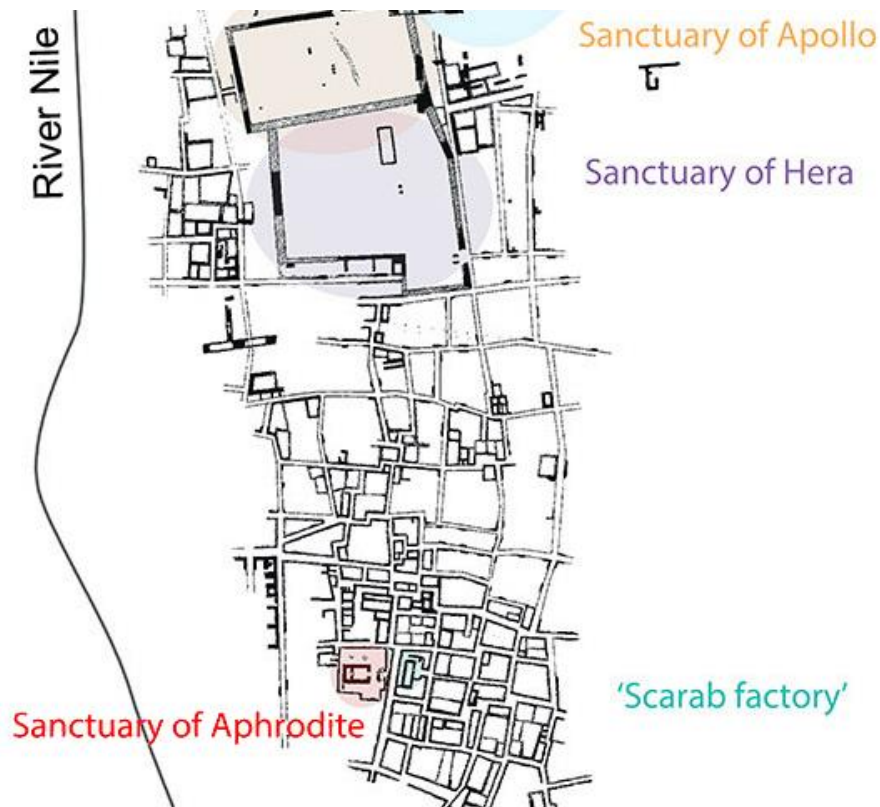
*Figure 18: The Temple to Aphrodite was thought to be located directly beside the river harbour, which seemed to confirm the maritime cult association reported by Athenaeus (from Möller 2000: fig. 1).*

<sup>34</sup> Polycharmus *BNJ* 640 F 1 = Ath. 15.675f-676c. *c.f.* Farnell 1896: 637; Miranda 1989: 133; Pirenne-Delforge 1994: 436; Scholtz 2003: 239; Greaves 2004: 30; Larson 2007: 123; Breitenberger 2007: 25; Cyrino 2010: 111; Brown and Smith (forthcoming, 3). Demetriou (2010: 21-22) observes that this anecdote is similar to the foundation myth of Paphos (from where Herostratus sailed) in which Agapenor is saved from a storm at sea and dedicates a temple to Aphrodite (Paus. 8.5.2).

<sup>35</sup> Gardner argued 688 BC was 'impossibly early' (Gardner and Griffith 1888: 34). *c.f.* commentary to *BNJ* 640 F 1.

<sup>36</sup> Möller 2000: 118; Scholtz 2003: 239. Further, an inscription recovered at the site was restored as: [Ei]ς Να[ύ]κρατιν [ἀφικόμεν]ος [Ἀφροδίτη]ι Καϊκο[ς] ἀνέθηκεν, 'Kaikos, [to Aphrodite?], [upon arrival?] in Naucratis' (Gardner and Griffith 1888: 66 no. 795; Scholtz 2003: 239; Demetriou 2012: 142 n201). This would confirm the evidence of Athenaeus that dedications were made at the Aphrodite sanctuary upon arrival in Naucratis, but only if this reading of the inscription is accepted. It could be significant that Gardner believed this inscription was in the Lesbian dialect, considering the commercial connections between Lesbos and Naucratis outlined above (Gardner 1888: no. 795).

<sup>37</sup> Villing and Thomas 2017: 4; *c.f.* Goddio and Masson-Berghof 2016: 41. This undermines the common argument that the temple was established at the original landing area of the ships (Scholtz 2003: 239; Demetriou 2012: 141).



*Figure 19: The Temple of Aphrodite (shaded in Red) was likely not located closer to the river or docks than the other temples (from Villing et al 2017).*

### 3.2 Naval Power, the Ptolemies and and the Maritime Aphrodite

#### 3.2.1 Origins and Development of the Ptolemaic Navy

The creation of the new cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite not only took place in the context of ruler cult innovation, as will be outlined in the following chapters, but also assisted Ptolemy II with presenting his dynasty as a dominant naval power in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean. The period after the death of Alexander saw various Successors competing to have naval supremacy (θαλασσοκρατεῖν), and to have a naval force (ναυτικός δύναμις) in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>38</sup> It is notable that to have command of the sea (θαλασσοκρατεῖν) did not necessarily

<sup>38</sup> LSJ s.v. ‘θαλασσοκρατέω,’ ‘δύναμις.’

equate to political domination of an area, but seems to have implied the ability to send a fleet to a region if necessary.<sup>39</sup> The strategy of focussing upon naval power was important to the early Ptolemies, who did not always focus on competing with the other Successors in creating a land empire in Greece or Asia. Instead, naval strength allowed Ptolemy I and II to concentrate upon building up a network of overseas dependencies across the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean which modern scholars have labelled the Ptolemaic ‘Empire.’<sup>40</sup> Ptolemy I initially competed against other *Diadochoi* for naval supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean, before experiencing a crushing defeat at the hands of Demetrius I at the Battle of Salamis in 306 BC. However, from 295 to around the 260s BC, the Ptolemaic navy seems to have been a dominant maritime force in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean. Ptolemy II continued his father’s policy of maintaining a dominant naval force in the Eastern Mediterranean, and built the Hellenistic world’s largest naval fleet, as well as commissioning what were then the largest ships. The assimilation of the maritime Aphrodite into Ptolemaic ruler cult therefore would have provided Ptolemy II with another way of presenting the dynasty to the wider Hellenistic world as a maritime superpower.<sup>41</sup>

The main historical narrative for the reign of Ptolemy I comes from Diodorus Siculus, who may have based his account upon Hieronymus of Cardia.<sup>42</sup> The other historical sources are Plutarch’s biography of *Demetrius*, fragments of Arrian’s work, and the less-reliable Justin’s *Epitome of Philippic History*. Some facts can also be gleaned from documentary sources such as inscriptions like the *Marmor Parium*, as well as surviving numismatic evidence. However, reconstructing the reign of Ptolemy II is not always smooth sailing, since no historical narrative account survives. Instead, details must be recovered from diverse sources such as the Alexandrian poets, the compilation of Athenaeus of Naucratis, or inscriptions. Some modern studies analyse naval power in the early Hellenistic period, but do not trace the Egyptian navy from Late Dynastic times into the early Ptolemaic period, or link this development to innovations in ruler cult.<sup>43</sup>

Before examining the origins of the Ptolemaic navy, some earlier misconceptions about the maritime resources of pre-Ptolemaic Egypt should be revised. Rostovtzeff (1941) argued that ‘Egypt possessed no national navy or naval tradition when *Soter* became ruler,’ but Egypt had a strong naval

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<sup>39</sup> Tarn 1913: 79-80; Walbank 1982: 214-215; Grainger 2011: 43; Murray 2012: 194; Hauben 2013: 40-41.

<sup>40</sup> Marquaille 2008: 39-42; Murray 2012: 194; Hauben 2014: 257-258.

<sup>41</sup> Marquaille 2008: 58.

<sup>42</sup> Hornblower 1981: 3.

<sup>43</sup> Morrison and Williams 1968; Casson 1971, 1994; Van’t Dack and Hauben 1978: 65; Walbank 1982; Grainger 2011; Murray 2012.

tradition just prior to the Ptolemaic dynasty.<sup>44</sup> Casson (1971) notes that the Egyptians may have pioneered the art of sailing, since there are Egyptian artworks depicting sailing vessels dating from *c.* 3100 BC.<sup>45</sup> In the era before Alexander’s conquest of Egypt, or the ‘Late Period’ (Dynasties 26 – 30), Egypt did often possess a navy.<sup>46</sup> According to Herodotus, the first Pharaoh of the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Psammetichus I (*r.* 664 – 610 BC), was the first to use Greek mercenaries, which he later settled into permanent fortifications.<sup>47</sup> Herodotus states that he saw the dockyards at these fortified sites, which have been found by modern archaeologists, and this shows that these forts were also used as naval bases.<sup>48</sup> However, it was the next Pharaoh, Necho II (*r.* 610 – 595 BC), who was the first to pursue a vigorous maritime policy.<sup>49</sup> Herodotus reports that Necho built two fleets of triremes (τριήρεις), one in the Mediterranean and one in the Red Sea.<sup>50</sup> Necho also commissioned a circumnavigation of Africa by Phoenician sailors, who sailed clockwise around the continent, beginning in the Red Sea and returning to Egypt through the Mediterranean.<sup>51</sup> Herodotus reports the epic voyage took almost three years, and although some modern scholars doubt the authenticity of this story, it does demonstrate Necho’s continued interest in maritime affairs.<sup>52</sup> The remaining Pharaohs of the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty extensively used the naval forces that Necho II had created. Psammetichus II (*r.* 595 – 589 BC) sailed down the Nile against Nubia with Greek troops, and his son Apries (*r.* 589 – 570 BC) fought naval engagements with the Tyrians and against Cyprus.<sup>53</sup> Amasis (*r.* 570 – 526 BC), who was notable for establishing Naucratis as a trading port for Greeks resident in Egypt, also successfully captured Cyprus, thus foreshadowing the maritime policies of Ptolemy I by around two centuries.<sup>54</sup> Far from having ‘no ... naval tradition’ as Rostovtzeff argues, the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty had a strong naval presence in the eastern Mediterranean.

The Egyptians continued to possess maritime forces during Dynasty 27 (525 – 359 BC), which modern scholars also call the First Persian Occupation. Under King Cambyses (*r.* 525 – 522 BC), the Satrap Aryandes sent a naval expedition towards Cyrene and Libya.<sup>55</sup> Further, in 494 BC Herodotus

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<sup>44</sup> Rostovtzeff 1941: 262; Van’t Dack and Hauben 1978: 60.

<sup>45</sup> Casson 1971: 12.

<sup>46</sup> The naming of the 30 dynasties was pioneered by the Egyptian historian Manetho, who wrote a history of Egypt for Ptolemy II *c.* 280 BC (*FGrH* 609; Holbl 2001: 27).

<sup>47</sup> Hdt. 2.154; Petrie 1905: 328-330; James 1992 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 3.2.713.

<sup>48</sup> Hdt. 2.154; Lloyd 2003: 367.

<sup>49</sup> Hauben (1983: 100) compares him to Ptolemy II.

<sup>50</sup> Hdt. 2.159. Braun (1982: 49) questions whether triremes were invented in the 590s BC. However, Lloyd (2003: 381) argues that Herodotus was not being careless. Thucydides dates the introduction of the trireme to Greece to ‘300 years’ before his time, which would be around the seventh century BC (Thuc. 1.13.3; Casson 1994: 60)

<sup>51</sup> Hdt. 4.42.

<sup>52</sup> James 1992 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 3.2.723.

<sup>53</sup> Hdt. 2.161; Diod. Sic. 1.68; Braun 1982 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 3.3.50; James 1992 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 3.2.724.

<sup>54</sup> Hdt. 2.182.

<sup>55</sup> Hdt. 4.167.

states the Persians sent a vast fleet of 600 ships to Miletus to crush the Ionian Revolt, which included an Egyptian contingent.<sup>56</sup> However, under Xerxes (*r.* 486 – 465 BC) and the Satrap Achaemenes (*r.* 486 – 459 BC) the great extent of the Egyptian navy again becomes clear. During the Persian invasion of Greece in 480 BC, Egypt contributed a fleet of 200 ships, which was the second-largest contingent in the Persian navy, after the Phoenicians.<sup>57</sup> Herodotus states the Egyptians were the most successful Persian squadron during the Battle of Artemisium (480 BC), and captured five Greek ships.<sup>58</sup> Herodotus does not mention the Egyptians in his report of the Battle of Salamis, except indirectly when the Persian commander Mardonius blames Phoenicians and Egyptians for the loss, perhaps indicating the Egyptians again contributed the second-largest force to the battle.<sup>59</sup> Darius II died in 404 BC and the Egyptians took this opportunity to re-establish native rule, thus ending Dynasty 27.<sup>60</sup> Nonetheless it is evident that the Egyptian navy was still a potent force during the First Persian Occupation.

The Egyptian navy continued to play an important role in the final dynasties, *i.e.* Dynasties 28 – 30 (404 – 343 BC). There is a minor incident during the reign of Amyrtaeus (*r.* 404 – 399) when Xenophon mentions that the usurper Cyrus had 25 ships under the command of Tamos the Egyptian, which demonstrates that Egypt still had skilled mariners in order for an Egyptian to obtain this high rank.<sup>61</sup> Under the reign of Nephertites I (*r.* 399 – 393 BC), the Egyptians sent sailing equipment to their ally Sparta, and under Achoris (*r.* 393 – 380 BC), Egypt sent a squadron of 50 ships to assist Evagoras of Cyprus to revolt from Persia.<sup>62</sup> The Egyptians must have still possessed a considerable fleet towards the end of Dynasty 30, since the second-last native Pharaoh, Tachos, launched an unsuccessful attack on Persian Phoenicia with 200 ships in 360 BC.<sup>63</sup> However, there appear to be no subsequent references to the Egyptian navy, which perhaps disintegrated, or was integrated into the Persian navy, after the start of the Second Persian Occupation (341 – 332 BC).<sup>64</sup> The Persian fleet in turn defected to Alexander, after his victory at the Battle of Issus in 333 BC.<sup>65</sup> The integration of

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<sup>56</sup> Hdt. 6.6, 6.8; Lloyd 2003: 376.

<sup>57</sup> Hdt. 7.89. The Egyptians also assisted in the construction of the bridges across the Hellespont, which implies they were considered skilled in maritime affairs (Hdt. 7.34; Grimal 1992: 370).

<sup>58</sup> Hdt. 8.17; Plut. *Them.* 8.2.

<sup>59</sup> Hdt. 8.100.4.

<sup>60</sup> Grimal 1992: 371.

<sup>61</sup> Xen. *Anab.* 1.4.

<sup>62</sup> Diod. Sic. 14.9; Just. 6.6.3; Oros. 3.1.8; Braun 1982 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 3.3.39; Lloyd 1994 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 6.347.

<sup>63</sup> Diod. Sic. 15.92.2; Xen. *Ages.* 2.28; Nep. *Ages.* 15.92; Plut. *Ages.* 36.1; Polyæn. 3.2.7; Grimal 1992: 377; Lloyd 1994 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 6.349.

<sup>64</sup> Hauben 1987: 220; Grimal 1992: 381-382; Lloyd 2003: 382.

<sup>65</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 2.20.1-3, Plut. *Alex.* 24.2; Hauben 1976: 87-88; Grainger 2011: 5-7.



Egyptian sailors into Alexander's navy could be confirmed by Arrian's report that Alexander made use of Egyptian mariners during his Indian campaign.<sup>66</sup>

Following the death of Alexander, there were a number of maritime powers competing across the Eastern Mediterranean. The major naval powers in the Aegean in 322 BC were Athens and Macedonia, and when the Athenians learned of Alexander's death, Athens was at the forefront of the rebellion from Macedon, which became known as the 'Lamian War.'<sup>67</sup> Diodorus states that Athens mobilised 170 ships to Macedon's 240, and that eventually the Macedonian navy 'destroyed' (διέφθειρε) the Athenian fleet in a series of battles in 322 BC.<sup>68</sup> Unlike after the Peloponnesian War, this time there would be no spectacular recovery, and the Athenian navy would not be an independent force in the Aegean again.<sup>69</sup> Just before his death in 319 BC, Antipater chose the veteran soldier Polyperchon to succeed him as 'στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ' ('supreme general') of Macedonia.<sup>70</sup> However, it is unclear if Antipater also bequeathed the Macedonian navy along with the regency, since Diodorus reports that in 318 BC Eumenes began to build a naval force (ναυτικός δύναμις) for Polyperchon in Phoenicia, 'ὅπως θαλαττοκρατῆ,' 'in order to ... control the sea'.<sup>71</sup> At this time Polyperchon faced opposition from Antigonus, who was supporting a rival claimant to the Macedonian regency, Antipater's son Cassander.<sup>72</sup> Antigonus presented Cassander with a flotilla (στόλος) of 35 ships, which Cassander used to capture Piraeus, as well as attack Aegina and Salamis.<sup>73</sup> These tensions between Antigonus and Polyperchon led to a decisive confrontation in 318 BC near Byzantium, where Antigonus captured the entire Macedonian fleet, although it is unclear what he did with these ships, since he built another fleet from scratch in 314 BC (discussed below).<sup>74</sup> Cassander eventually emerged as ruler of Macedonia, following a period of instability in which Polyperchon was overthrown, and the Queens Eurydice and Olympias vied for the leadership.<sup>75</sup> However, unlike

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<sup>66</sup> Arr. *Indica*, 18.1; Hauben 1987: 223. It is possible the early Ptolemies also made use of Egyptian mariners (Fischer-Bovet 2014: 63).

<sup>67</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.9.1, 10.2-3, 12.1-2, 18.9.1; Arrian *FGrH* 156 1.9.12; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 448 (Austin 2006: no. 32); Paus. 1.25.3, 6.4.6, 7.6.3, 10.3.3; Plut. *Phoc.* 23-26; Justin 13.5.1-17; Hyp. 6; *Marmor Parium* (*BNJ* 239 B 9 = Austin 2006: 1); Ferguson 1969: 16; Ashton 1977: 1-2, 1984: 152; Will 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.30-33; Green 1990: 10-11; Bosworth 1994 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 6.859; Casson 1994: 78; Habicht 1997: 36-42; Shipley 2000: 120; Braund 2003: 23; Errington 2008: 16; Grainger 2011: 11-12; Wrightson 2014: 517-535; Worthington 2016: 87.

<sup>68</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.15.8; Will 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.32; Casson 1994: 81; Bosworth 2003: 16-22; Grainger 2011: 11-17.

<sup>69</sup> Morrison and Williams 1968: 236-237; Ferguson 1969: 17-18; Will 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.33; Habicht 1997: 42.

<sup>70</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.48.4; Plut. *Phoc.* 31.1; Heckel 2006: 226-231; Worthington 2016: 104-105.

<sup>71</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.63.6.

<sup>72</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.39.7, 18.48.4; Green 1990: 18; Heckel 2006: 79-81.

<sup>73</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.68.1, 18.69.1; Worthington 2016: 105.

<sup>74</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.72.8; Billows 1990: 86-87, 110; Grainger 2011: 19.

<sup>75</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.11, 19.36, 19.51-53; Justin 14.5.

Antigonus or Ptolemy, , Cassander pursued only limited maritime ventures around the Aegean once he gained control of Macedonia.<sup>76</sup>

Ptolemy's major maritime rival in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean was therefore Antigonus (and his son, Demetrius).<sup>77</sup> The Macedonian regent Perdiccas briefly threatened Ptolemy in 321 BC when he sent a fleet to invade Egypt, but following Perdiccas' assassination this fleet was eventually acquired by Antigonus.<sup>78</sup> Diodorus states that Antigonus aimed to have mastery of the sea (θαλασσοκρατήσαι ἔσπευδε), although Antigonus did not concentrate upon maritime affairs until 315 BC, after first campaigning deep into the former Persian Empire to defeat Eumenes.<sup>79</sup> After this, Antigonus returned to the Mediterranean, where a coalition of Ptolemy, Cassander and Lysimachus was preparing to face him.<sup>80</sup> Diodorus states that:

ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Φοινίκην, σπεύδων ναυτικὴν δύναμιν συστήσασθαι· συνέβαινε γὰρ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους τότε θαλασσοκρατεῖν ναῦς πολλὰς ἔχοντας, αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ παράπαν οὐδ' ὀλίγας εἶναι Antigonus set out for Phoenicia, hastening to organise a naval force (ναυτικός δύναμις), for it so happened that his enemies then ruled the sea (θαλασσοκρατεῖν) with many ships, but that he had, altogether, not even a few.<sup>81</sup>

Antigonus embarked upon a gigantic ship-building program, opening five dockyards and claiming that he would soon have an armada of 500 ships, although perhaps only half this number were built.<sup>82</sup> However, Ptolemy had the ascendancy during this period, since Antigonus' demoralised troops complained that Ptolemy was 'dominating the sea' (θαλασσοκρατοῦντες).<sup>83</sup>

It was from this period, when Antigonus turned attention to the Aegean, that Ptolemy also became personally active in the Aegean. It was also in 314 BC that Antigonus made his declaration of 'freedom for the Greeks,' which was especially intended to undermine the political influence of the other Successors in the Aegean.<sup>84</sup> Ptolemy clearly felt that his interests were threatened by Antigonus' declaration, since Diodorus states that Ptolemy 'published a similar decree himself,' and

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<sup>76</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.68.3, 19.75.7-8; Grainger 2011: 20; Hauben 2014: 238.

<sup>77</sup> Green 1990: 29.

<sup>78</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.37.3, 18.41.7; Arrian *FGrH* 156 F 9; Paus. 1.6.3; Justin 13.8.1-2; Green 1990: 13-14; Roisman 2014: 462-465; Grainger 2011: 19; Worthington 2016: 95-98.

<sup>79</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.73.1, 19.15-44; Plut. *Eum.* 13-18; Nep. *Eumenes*, 8-10; Justin 14.1-4; Billows 1990: 74-103; Walbank 1993: 50; Bosworth 2002: 141-158; Worthington 2016: 116.

<sup>80</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.44, 48, 55, 57; Billows 1990: 109-110; Green 1990: 23; Walbank 1993: 50-51; Grainger 2011: 21; Meeus 2014: 284; Worthington 2016: 117.

<sup>81</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.58.1 (trans. Geer 1947); Billows 1990: 110-112.

<sup>82</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.58.4-6; Green 1990: 23; Grainger 2011: 22.

<sup>83</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.58.1-6; Grainger 2011: 22.

<sup>84</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.61.62; Plut. *Demetr.* 8; Billows 1990: 114, 199; Green 1990: 24; Walbank 1993: 51; Holbl 2001: 17; Meeus 2014: 285; Hauben 2014: 237; Worthington 2016: 118-119.

shortly sent 50 ships to the Peloponnese, under the command of Polycleitus.<sup>85</sup> However, the following year, in 313 BC, Seleucus (who was serving as Ptolemy's Admiral) led a Ptolemaic fleet around Phoenicia and into the Aegean.<sup>86</sup> This force assisted Cassander's navy in attacking Lemnos, before retiring to the island of Cos.<sup>87</sup> Ptolemy seems to have next concentrated upon affairs elsewhere, such as the revolt in Cyrene and Demetrius' presence in Syria, as well as spending time organising Cyprus.<sup>88</sup> Antigonus' fleet was active around the Aegean in 313/2 BC, and attacked Miletus and generally attempted to undermine Cassander.<sup>89</sup> After the peace settlement of 311 BC, Ptolemy in 309/8 BC personally commanded a 'strong fleet' (ἄδρός στόλος) into the Aegean, possibly with the overall goal of seizing the Macedonian throne from Cassander.<sup>90</sup> Some of Ptolemy's successes included capturing Andros and Megara, and he also garrisoned Sicyon and Corinth, after a diplomatic 'liaison' with Polyperchon's daughter-in-law, Cratesipolis.<sup>91</sup> The future Ptolemy II was born on Cos during this naval expedition, which could have been a factor in the future King's interest in the maritime Aphrodite.<sup>92</sup> Further, there was a harbourside temple dedicated to Aphrodite *Pontia* at Cos, which famously housed the clothed statue of Aphrodite sculpted by Praxiteles, after the Coans rejected the artist's nude version, which went to Cnidus.<sup>93</sup> Ptolemy I's naval supremacy over the Aegean around this time seems to have been taken for granted, as shown when in 307 BC Demetrius sailed a fleet into Athens and, 'everybody took them for Ptolemy's ships.'<sup>94</sup>

The following year (306 BC) Antigonus ordered Demetrius to sail to Cyprus for a decisive naval conflict with Ptolemy, which resulted in the Battle of Salamis, and a clear victory for Antigonus' forces.<sup>95</sup> The importance of naval power is evident in the fact that after this victory Antigonus finally abandoned any pretence of allegiance to the Macedonian 'regent' Cassander, and assumed the title of

<sup>85</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.57.5, 19.62.1-5, Green 1990: 26-27; Walbank 1993: 51; Grainger 2011: 22.

<sup>86</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.58.5; 19.68.3; Bosworth 2002: 215.

<sup>87</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.68.3; Sherwin-White 1978: 82.

<sup>88</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.79-80; Billows 1990: 124-128; Walbank 1993: 52; Meeus 2014: 287; Worthington 2016: 119.

<sup>89</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.75.1-8, 19.77.2-7; Billows 1990: 121-122; Grainger 2011: 22-24.

<sup>90</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.37.1; Plut. *Demetr.* 15; Ellis 1994: 43; Grainger 2011: 25-26; Bosworth 2000: 215; Meeus 2014: 286; Hauben 2014: 248-258; Worthington 2016: 147-154. Ptolemy had been a *trierarch* during Alexander's Indian naval expedition (Arr. *Indica*, 18.5; Holbl 2001: 14).

<sup>91</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.67.1, 20.37.1-2; Diog. Laert. 2.115; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 8.58; Green 1990: 29; Walbank 1993: 55; Holbl 2001: 19; Meeus 2014: 291-292; Hauben 2014: 251-254; Worthington 2016: 149.

<sup>92</sup> Callim. *Hymn* 4.160-170; Theoc. *Id.* 17.58-59; *Marmor Parium* 19 (Austin 2006: 1); Sherwin-White 1978: 83-84; Bosworth 2000: 215; Holbl 2001: 24; Hauben 2004: 33, 2014: 247; van Oppen de Ruiter 2011: 88; Carney 2013: 21; Worthington 2016: 148.

<sup>93</sup> Plin. *HN* 36.20; Corso 2004: 188; Parker 2002: 155 n48. The temple to Aphrodite on Cos is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

<sup>94</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 8.3-4; Diod. Sic. 20.45.1; Philochoros *BNJ* 328 F 66; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 4.7.6; Billows 1990: 147-149; Green 1990: 29; Walbank 1993: 55; Wheatley 1997: 165-175; Habicht 1997: 66; Grainger 2011: 28-29; Murray 2012: 101-104; Worthington 2016: 156.

<sup>95</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.46.5; Plut. *Demetr.* 15.1; Polyaeus, *Strat.* 4.7.7; Justin 15.2.6-9; Hauben 1987: 213, 2014: 260; Billows 1990: 151-155; Green 1990: 30; Walbank 1993: 55; Casson 1994: 92; Wheatley 1997: 199-211, 2001: 142-148; Pollard 2010: 450; Grainger 2011: 32-36; Murray 2012: 105-111; Meeus 2014: 294; Worthington 2016: 158-159.

‘King.’<sup>96</sup> The title was also granted to his son, Demetrius, and soon copied by the other Successors, including Ptolemy, Seleucus and Lysimachus.<sup>97</sup> The high value placed upon naval power in acquiring this status is evident in the iconography of a coin which is believed to have been minted by Demetrius at Salamis, shortly after the Battle at Salamis (*fig.1*). The obverse shows a *Nike* on the prow of a trireme, and the reverse shows a Poseidon armed with a trident, and the legend reads ‘ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ,’ thus clearly linking the kingship to maritime prowess.<sup>98</sup>



*Figure 20: Coin of Demetrius I (from Jenkins 1972: plates 536/537).*

There was next more than a decade-long interval in which Ptolemy did not have the dominant naval force in the Eastern Mediterranean. During this period, from 306 – 288 BC, Demetrius maintained the strongest fleet in the Eastern Mediterranean (despite his father’s death in 301 BC). Just after the Battle of Salamis in 306, Antigonus sought to follow up this victory with an invasion of Egypt later in the same year.<sup>99</sup> Demetrius commanded a fleet of 150 ships accompanied by 100 transports, but this force was hampered by storms and was unable to land against heavily fortified positions at the Nile entrance.<sup>100</sup> After this failed expedition, Antigonus moved upon Ptolemy’s allies, the Rhodians, and sent Demetrius to attack the city in 305 BC with a vast fleet of 200 warships and 170 transports.<sup>101</sup> During the year-long siege which followed, Ptolemy made no attempt to directly

<sup>96</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.53.2; Plut. *Demetr.* 18.1; Justin 15.2.10; Billows 1990: 155-160; Green 1990: 30; Wheatley 1997: 214-221, 2001: 133-134; Bosworth 2002: 246; Grainger 2011: 36; Worthington 2016: 160.

<sup>97</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.53.3-4; App. *Syr.* 54; Plut. *Demetr.* 18.1-3; Justin 15.2.11-14; Billows 1990: 156-157; Green 1990: 31; Holbl 2001: 21; Braund 2005: 29; Worthington 2016: 128, 160.

<sup>98</sup> Head, *Hist. Num.* 229-230; Jenkins 1972: 224; Green 1990: 30.

<sup>99</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.73.1; Plut. *Demetr.* 19.1; Billows 1990: 162-164; Worthington 2016: 165-166.

<sup>100</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.73.2, 20.76.4; Plut. *Demetr.* 19.2; Paus. 1.6.6; Holbl 2001: 20; Grainger 2011: 36-38.

<sup>101</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.82.4, Plut. *Demetr.* 21; Billows 1990: 166-168; Green 1990: 32; Walbank 1993: 57; Grainger 2011: 38-41; Worthington 2016: 166-167.

challenge Demetrius, but provided aid to the Rhodians, such as supplies and reinforcements.<sup>102</sup> Demetrius eventually abandoned the siege, and although he appears to have gained little (except the nickname *Poliorctes*, and a treaty with Rhodes) he still had unrivalled mastery of the Aegean.<sup>103</sup> For instance, in 304 BC, Demetrius aided Athens with 330 ships and prevented Cassander from capturing the city, and Demetrius also expelled Ptolemy's garrisons from Sicyon and Corinth.<sup>104</sup> In 302 BC, Demetrius re-established the League of Corinth, and Plutarch records that after this Demetrius enjoyed lampooning Ptolemy as being merely his admiral.<sup>105</sup> Plutarch wrote that:

ἐκεῖνος δὲ χλευάζων καὶ γελῶν τοὺς ἄλλον τινὰ πλὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ αὐτοῦ βασιλέα προσαγορεύοντας, ἡδέως ἤκουε τῶν παρὰ πότον ἐπιχύσεις λαμβανόντων Δημητρίου βασιλέως, Σελεύκου δὲ ἐλεφαντάρχου, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ναυάρχου, Λυσιμάχου δὲ γαζοφύλακος, Ἀγαθοκλέους δὲ τοῦ Σικελιώτου νησιάρχου.

at his [Demetrius'] drinking parties it flattered his vanity to hear the guests propose toasts to himself as King, but to Seleucus as master of the elephants, and Ptolemy as admiral (ναύαρχος), Lysimachus as treasurer, and Agathocles as Lord of the Islands ...<sup>106</sup>

The fact that Demetrius' flatterers derogatively stereotyped Ptolemy as the 'admiral' (ναύαρχος) could indicate the value that Ptolemy still placed upon naval power around this period.<sup>107</sup> As tensions escalated (again), another coalition formed against Antigonos, and Lysimachus sent an expedition into Asia Minor, as part of the opening stages of the war which would culminate at the Battle of Ipsus.<sup>108</sup> However, Lysimachus was unable to capture Abydos after Demetrius sent reinforcements to the city via the sea.<sup>109</sup> Further, when Lysimachus' general Prepelaus captured Ephesus, he decided to torch all the ships in the harbour, believing there was no point attempting to use them against Demetrius, because his naval dominance (θαλασσοκρατεῖν) was too great.<sup>110</sup>

Demetrius maintained his maritime capabilities despite the serious defeat at the Battle of Ipsus in 301 BC. Demetrius still possessed Cyprus, and after recovering his fleet from Athens, he maintained possession of areas such as the Corinthian Isthmus and Cilicia, as well as the important ports of Tyre and Sidon.<sup>111</sup> In 295 BC, Demetrius captured Athens again, and although Ptolemy had

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<sup>102</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.88.9, 20.96.1, 20.98.1; Grabowski 2014: 23; Worthington 2016: 167.

<sup>103</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 22.4; Diod. Sic. 20.92.2, 20.99.2-3.

<sup>104</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 23.1, 25.1; Diod. Sic. 20.102.2-103.2; Billows 1990: 169-172; Habicht 1997: 74-77; Grainger 2011: 42; Worthington 2016: 170.

<sup>105</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.102.1; Plut. *Demetr.* 25.3; Billows 1990: 172-173; Worthington 2016: 170.

<sup>106</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 25.4 (trans. Scott-Kilvert 1973); Bosworth 2002: 272.

<sup>107</sup> Marquaille 2008: 58.

<sup>108</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.107.1; Justin 15.2.16; Plut. *Demetr.* 28.1; Lund 1992: 71; Holbl 2001: 22.

<sup>109</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.107.2; Billows 1990: 176; Lund 1992: 72.

<sup>110</sup> Diod. Sic. 20.107.4; Billows 1990: 176.

<sup>111</sup> Diod. Sic. 21.1.4b; Plut. *Demetr.* 30-32; Grainger 2011: 45; Worthington 2016: 173.

a fleet of 150 ships nearby at Aegina, this Ptolemaic force did not attempt to hinder Demetrius' superior force of 300 ships.<sup>112</sup> However, Ptolemy took advantage of Demetrius' concentration upon affairs on mainland Greece to recapture Cyprus, and quite likely also took control of the League of Islands in the Cyclades.<sup>113</sup> Just a decade after Ptolemy suffered a devastating rout at Salamis, he was again projecting naval power into the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, and took control of Cyprus for good. In 294 BC Demetrius seized the throne of Macedon from Cassander's sons, and Plutarch states that around 288 BC he laid the keels for 500 ships, at Piraeus, Corinth, Chalcis and Pella.<sup>114</sup> However, Demetrius faced another setback after yet another coalition formed against him, and he lost the Macedonian throne in 287 BC, to Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, after a seven-year reign.<sup>115</sup> Ptolemy took this opportunity to return to Greek affairs, and Ptolemy himself sailed with a 'great fleet' (μέγας στόλος) into the Aegean.<sup>116</sup> With the possession of Cyprus and strategic bases in the Aegean like Andros, Ptolemy again possessed the strongest navy in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>117</sup>

### 3.2.2 Naval Power, the Ptolemies, Cyprus and Aphrodite

There were important connections between Cyprus, Aphrodite and Ptolemaic naval power. Cyprus was the main base of the Ptolemaic navy outside of Alexandria, and it was where the Ptolemies sourced their timber to build their warships.<sup>118</sup> Nea Paphos in south-west Cyprus was a centre of Ptolemaic administration, possessed a major harbour, and the city and the surrounding region was a major centre of Aphrodite worship.<sup>119</sup>

It is likely that Ptolemy I first acquired a navy through an alliance with the Cypriot Kings. Curtius states that in 331 BC Alexander left 30 triremes to defend Egypt, which were likely still stationed there when Ptolemy seized Egypt in 323 BC.<sup>120</sup> Following this, the earliest reference to Ptolemy possessing a fleet is in *Successors*, which Arrian wrote in the second-century AD as a

<sup>112</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 33; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.211-212; Green 1990: 123-125; Habicht 1997: 81-87; Grainger 2011: 46-47; Worthington 2016: 177.

<sup>113</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 35; Grainger 2011: 47; Meeus 2014: 303; Worthington 2016: 178-179.

<sup>114</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 36-37, 43.3; Justin 16.1.8-9; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 3.216-218, 226-227; Green 1990: 125-127; Worthington 2016: 176-178.

<sup>115</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 44-45; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 228-229; Worthington 2016: 180.

<sup>116</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 44; Holbl 2001: 24; Grainger 2011: 48-49; Meadows 2013: 27.

<sup>117</sup> *SEG* 49.113 (Austin 2006: 55); Grainger 2011: 57; Worthington 2016: 181. However, Antigonos Gonatas, Seleucus and Lysimachus all possessed navies: Plut. *Demetr.* 53.1; Memnon *BNJ* 434 8.4-6; Justin 24.1.8-24.2.1; Hauben 1983: 100; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 245; Grainger 2011: 48-49.

<sup>118</sup> Bagnall 1976: 38; Maier (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>) 1994: 333; Holbl 2001: 23.

<sup>119</sup> Misk and Papuci-Wladyka 2016: 2.

<sup>120</sup> Curt. 4.32.5; Arr. *Anab.* 3.5.5; Rostovtzeff 1941: 262; Van't Dack and Hauben 1978: 71; Hauben 1987: 220; Turner 1984 (*CAH*<sup>2</sup>): 7.1.124; Grainger 2011: 7.

continuation of his *Anabasis*.<sup>121</sup> The text now only survives in fragments, and one fragment states that around 322 BC:

the Kings of Cyprus, Nicocreon of Salamis and his vassals, had made an alliance with Ptolemy. They had collected almost 200 ships and were besieging the city of Marium and its governor.<sup>122</sup>

Ptolemy had secured access to a naval force through his alliance with the Cypriot Kings, and this was possibly the source of the ‘ναυτικός δύνναμις’ that Diodorus states Ptolemy sent to subdue Cyrene in 322 BC.<sup>123</sup>

During the reigns of Ptolemy I and II a number of connections were made between Ptolemaic naval power and Aphrodite on Cyprus. Ptolemy I issued a coin which featured Aphrodite and the Ptolemaic eagle, and was minted around 295 BC at Paphos and Nea Paphos, in a region that was a major cult centre of Aphrodite’s worship and also a Ptolemaic naval base.<sup>124</sup> On the obverse, this coin portrays the head of Aphrodite wearing a *polos* adorned with flowers, which is very similar to the well known image of the Argive Hera from the fifth century BC.<sup>125</sup> The reverse displays the Ptolemaic eagle with a thunderbolt, with the legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ (*fig. 2*). About 50 years before the deification of Arsinoë as Aphrodite *Euploia*, Ptolemy I was already linking Ptolemaic overseas power to Aphrodite.

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<sup>121</sup> Arrian *FGrH* 156 F 1, 9, 10, 11.

<sup>122</sup> Arrian *FGrH* 156 F 10.6; Hauben 1987: 219; Heckel 2006: 179-180; Lorber 2018: 293. Ptolemy II refounded Marium as Arsinoë c. 270 BC (Fraser 2009: 343).

<sup>123</sup> Diod. Sic. 18.21.7; *Marmor Parium* (BNJ 239 B 10 = Austin 2006: 1); Van’t Dack and Hauben 1978: 72; Holbl 2001: 14-15; Worthington 2016: 92.

<sup>124</sup> Cox 1959: 95; Keen 2012: 121-124; Lorber 2012: 33, 2018: 1.2.29-30 (Catalogue: B118 – B130).

<sup>125</sup> Poole 1963b: 138.





*Figure 21: Coin of Ptolemy I from Salamis or Paphos (Cyprus), showing Aphrodite and the Ptolemaic eagle (from Oliver 2015 fig. 8; c.f. CPE B118; Svoronos 74).*

Ptolemy II made a couple of dedications at the Aphrodite temple at Old Paphos, a few kilometres south-east of New Paphos. One inscription states, ‘King Ptolemy [II] [honours] Pyrgoteles, son of Zoës, designer of the ‘twenty’ (εικοσήρης) and the ‘thirty’ (τριακοντήρης).’<sup>126</sup> The decision to honour this naval architect in a sanctuary of Aphrodite must indicate the desire to link the Ptolemaic navy to the protection of the maritime Aphrodite. These two massive flagships were most likely built at Nea Paphos, and could have been based there. In this sanctuary there was also a statue and dedication (dated *c.* 274 – 266 BC) to the Admiral Callicrates: ‘[Καλλικράτη]ν Βοίσκου | ναύαρχον.’<sup>127</sup> Callicrates was notable for being the Ptolemaic Admiral who established the shrine of Arsinoë Aphrodite near Alexandria. This association between the Ptolemaic navy and Aphrodite on Cyprus would also have built upon the connection created in the iconography of Ptolemy I’s coins (discussed above). At the Aphrodite sanctuary at Paphos, Ptolemy II wished to indicate the close connection between the power of his navy and the patronage of the maritime Aphrodite, providing further context for the deification of Arsinoë II as the maritime Aphrodite at this time. New Paphos became the Ptolemaic capital of Cyprus around 200 BC, and the headquarters of the Ptolemaic *strategos*, who was also the high priest of Aphrodite.<sup>128</sup> Combining the two offices, of high priest of Aphrodite and naval commander, again emphasised the protection that the Ptolemaic navy sought from the maritime Aphrodite.

<sup>126</sup> OGIS 39; Mitford 1961: no. 17; Casson 1971: 98, 140 n17, 1994: 81; Hauben 1987: 221; Shipley 1990: 340; Murray 2012: 184.

<sup>127</sup> Mitford 1961: no. 18; Bing 2003: 246; Marquaille 2008: 43.

<sup>128</sup> Bagnall 1976: 61; Misk and Papuci-Wladyka 2016: 2.



### 3.2.3 Naval Power and Ptolemy II's Presentation of the Dynasty

As outlined in the previous chapter on ruler cult (section 2.2), Ptolemy II created a number of innovative new cults intended to enhance the prestige of the Ptolemaic dynasty throughout the Greek world. Ptolemy II also projected an image of power through the Greek world by maintaining the largest naval fleet, with the largest battle ships. Creating new ruler cults and building the Hellenistic world's largest navy were both part of a process of creating a certain perception of the Ptolemaic dynasty. As Hazzard (2000) argues, Ptolemy II wanted to create a new 'model of kingship' based on image-making which presented him as beneficent, powerful and immensely wealthy.<sup>129</sup> The perception of strength and power was certainly also a result of building new types of warships.

Ptolemy II's creation of a vast naval force took place in the context of all the Hellenistic dynasties striving to possess large fleets and building new types of gigantic flagships, in what Casson (1971) called 'the greatest naval arms race in ancient history.'<sup>130</sup> Throughout the Classical period the standard Greek warship was the 'trireme' ('three'), which modern scholars believe was about 37m long and required about 170 rowers.<sup>131</sup> Diodorus Siculus states that Dionysius of Syracuse was the first to build upon the design of the trireme to create the 'four' (τετρήρης) and the 'five' (πεντήρης), around 399 BC while in conflict with the Carthaginians.<sup>132</sup> Modern historians continue to debate whether the number refers to the number of decks on the ship, or the number of rowers per oar, and this still remains unclear.<sup>133</sup> The number of ship classes expanded rapidly during the Wars of the Successors, and Antigonos and Demetrius in particular led the way at first.<sup>134</sup> For example, in 315 BC, Antigonos commissioned 'nines' (ἐννήρεις) and 'tens,' (δεκήρεις) and in 288 BC Demetrius' fleet contained the further innovation of a 'fifteen' (πεντεκαίδεκήρης) and a 'sixteen' (ἑκκαίδεκήρης).<sup>135</sup> In 280 BC Memnon records that Ceraunus took possession of Lysimachus' fleet,

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<sup>129</sup> Hazzard 2000: 155.

<sup>130</sup> Casson 1971: 98, 112-113; Hauben 1987: 220; Pollard 2010: 449; Grainger 2011: xvii, 83; Murray 2012: 3-4. *c.f.* Tarn (1930: 122-123): 'the great warships were even more entirely a purely Hellenistic phenomenon than was the use of elephants.'

<sup>131</sup> Murray 2012: 13.

<sup>132</sup> Diod. Sic. 14.42.2, 14.41.3, 14.44.7; Plin. *HN* 7.207; Casson 1971: 97, 1994: 78; Morrison, Coates and Rankov 2000: 47. Debate continues over what the numbers refer to and how these ships were constructed (Amit 1965: 9-15, 99-102; Casson 1971: 99-122, 1994: 82-95; Tilley 2004; Grainger 2011: 51; Murray 2012: 178-184).

<sup>133</sup> Casson 1971: 99-100.

<sup>134</sup> Casson 1971: 98; Morrison, Coates and Rankov 2000: 48.

<sup>135</sup> Diod. Sic. 19.62.8; Plut. *Demetr.* 43.4, 20.7; Casson 1971: 98, 103-115, 1994: 81; Morrison, Coates and Rankov 2000: 48; Grainger 2011: 23, 50; Murray 2012: 174.

which included the massive flagship Λεοντοφόρος (the *Lion Bearer*).<sup>136</sup> Memnon describes this ship as:

μεγέθους ἔνεκα καὶ κάλλους ἤκουσα εἰς θαῦμα· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ ῥ̄ μὲν ἄνδρες ἕκαστον στοῖχον ἤρεττον, ὡς ὠ̄ ἐκ θατέρου μέρους γενέσθαι, ἐξ ἐκατέρων δὲ χιλίους καὶ χ̄̄ οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων μαχησόμενοι χίλιοι καὶ σ̄̄ καὶ κυβερνήται.

a wonder (θαῦμα) because of its greatness and beauty; for in this warship one hundred men were rowing in each row, so that on one side there were eight hundred, but on both sides sixteen hundred; those who fought from the deck were twelve hundred in number and there were two steersmen.<sup>137</sup>

Although scholars continue to debate what these terms mean, or how this ship was constructed, the resources spent on creating these gigantic ships shows the importance of naval power in this period.<sup>138</sup> For instance, the Classical trireme had 170 rowers, and the *Lion Bearer* 1600, which was almost ten times larger than a Classical trireme.<sup>139</sup> Lysimachus possibly built this ship to combat the increasingly enormous new ships built by Demetrius.<sup>140</sup> However, Antigonus Gonatas also built a massive flagship, called the *Isthmia*, which was even larger than the *Lion Bearer*.<sup>141</sup>

However, Ptolemy II did not just have the largest ships, but also had the largest naval fleet. A number of rapid events in the late 280s altered the balance of power in the Aegean, with the sudden deaths of all the remaining Successors. This created a situation in which Ptolemy II faced no major naval opposition in the Aegean until the 260s BC, and this period of naval dominance *c.* 270 BC provides the context in which the deification of Arsinoë II as the maritime Aphrodite occurred. Ptolemy died in 283/2 BC, and at the Battle of Corupedium in 281 BC, Lysimachus was killed, and shortly afterwards, Seleucus was assassinated by Ceraunus.<sup>142</sup> However, Ceraunus was himself killed shortly afterwards attempting to defend Macedonia from an invasion of Gauls.<sup>143</sup> Demetrius' son Antigonus Gonatas also had to face Gauls as well as Pyrrhus of Epirus, as he sought to establish

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<sup>136</sup> Memnon *BNJ* 434 6.5; Casson 1971: 114-115; Grainger 2011: 52. Lysimachus also used a lion's paw on his coins (Morkholm 1991: 81, *fig.* 177).

<sup>137</sup> Memnon *BNJ* 434 6.5 (trans. Keaveney and Madden 2011).

<sup>138</sup> Casson 1971: 108-112; 1994: 86-88; Murray 2012: 171-178.

<sup>139</sup> Casson 1971: 84, 1994: 66.

<sup>140</sup> Tarn 1910: 211. Alternatively, Demetrius might have built the 'sixteen' in response to the *Leontophoros* (Grainger 2011: 52; Murray 2012: 175-177).

<sup>141</sup> Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 5.3.2; Paus. 1.29.1; Casson 1971: 115; Grainger 2011: 62; Murray 2012: 185-187. Pyrrhus of Epirus had a 'seven' (ἑπτήρης) as his flagship which was later captured and used by Carthage (Polyb. 1.23.4).

<sup>142</sup> Memnon *BNJ* 434 6.3; Justin 17.1.1-2.5; Paus. 10.19.4; Walbank 1993: 58; Murray 2012: 193; Worthington 2016: 182-183.

<sup>143</sup> Memnon *BNJ* 434 8.8; Justin 24.3.10; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 22.1.

himself on the Macedonian throne.<sup>144</sup> Meanwhile, in the east, Seleucus' son Antiochus was also attempting to establish stability over the former territory of Seleucus.<sup>145</sup>

Athenaeus, possibly quoting Callixeinus of Rhodes, states:

πολλῶν δὲ ὁ Φιλιάδελφος βασιλέων πλούτῳ διέφερε δκαὶ περὶ πάντα ἐσπουδάκει | τὰ κατασκευάσματα φιλοτίμως, ὥστε καὶ πλοίων πλήθει πάντας ὑπερέβαλλεν. τὰ γοῦν μέγιστα τῶν πλοίων ἦν παρ' αὐτῷ τριακοντήρεις δύο, εἰκοσήρης μία, τέσσαρες δὲ τρισκαιδεκήρεις, δωδεκήρεις δύο, ἑνδεκήρεις δεκατέσσαρες, ἑννήρεις τριάκοντα, ἑπτήρεις ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, ἕξήρεις πέντε, πεντήρεις δεκαεπτὰ· τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τετρήρους μέχρι τριημιολίας διπλάσια τούτων. τὰ δ' εἰς τὰς νήσους πεμπόμενα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ὧν ἦρχε καὶ εὐνὴν Λιβύην πλείονα ἦν τῶν τετρακισχιλίων.

Philadelphus was richer than many kings ... and as a result he outdid everyone in the number of ships he had. His largest ships, at any rate, were two 'thirties,' one 'twenty,' four 'thirteens,' two 'twelves,' fourteen 'elevens,' thirty 'nines,' thirty-seven 'sevens,' five 'sixes,' and seventeen 'fives,' and there were twice this many in the range from 'fours' to 'triple one and a halves' The number of ships sent to the islands, the other cities he controlled, and Libya was greater than 4000.<sup>146</sup>

The data provided by Callixeinus of Rhodes has been tabulated in the following graph (*table 1*). Further, scholars have conjectured that this massive naval armament likely reached its peak during the 270s BC, when Arsinoë II was Queen – and thus she may have played some role in making the decision to devote resources to maritime supremacy.<sup>147</sup>

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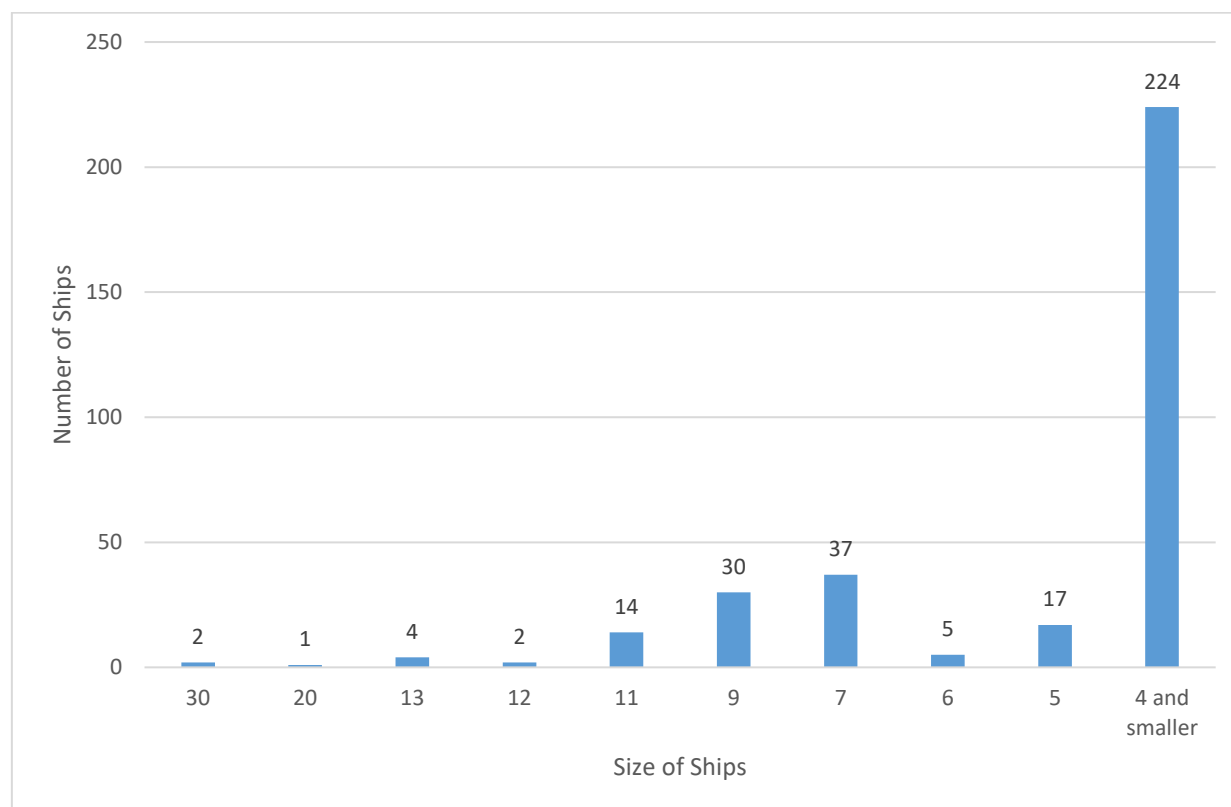
<sup>144</sup> Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26; Green 2007: 80.

<sup>145</sup> Memnon *BNJ* 434 9.1; *OGIS* 219 (Austin 2006: 162); Ager 2003: 36.

<sup>146</sup> Ath. 5.203d (trans. Olson 2007); Casson 1994: 81; Grainger 2010: 94-95, 2011: 54-55; Murray 2012: 172, 188-189. It is not clear what the final figure of 4000 refers to (Grainger 2011: 55-56; Murray 2012: 188 n51). The 4000 'other' ships may have been transports or Nile river craft (Grainger 2011: 55-56).

<sup>147</sup> Tarn 1913: 262-263; Burstein 1982: 205-212; Hauben 1983: 108-110, 1987: 216-217; Grainger 2010: 91-102; Murray 2012: 197.

*Table 1: Navy of Ptolemy II.*



It seems that at its high-water mark Ptolemy II's navy consisted of 336 warships, and this armada was mostly composed of 'fours' or smaller, with a handful of larger flagships.<sup>148</sup> There is some overlap with the first century AD Alexandrian historian Appian, who also credits Ptolemy II with a total fleet of around 4000 ships, but the individual figures seem less reliable, such as 1500 triremes!<sup>149</sup> It is difficult to find comparison with other contemporary navies, but Polybius does provide details of the fleet which Rome constructed in 260 BC: 100 'fives' and 20 triremes, which at the Battle of Mylae (in the same year) fought against a Carthaginian fleet of 130 ships.<sup>150</sup> The second century AD sophist Aelian states the Sicilian tyrant Dionysius II (*r.* 367 – 357 BC) had a fleet of 400 ships, although this could be exaggeration to emphasise the extent of Dionysius' fall from power.<sup>151</sup> The later Sicilian tyrant, Agathocles (*r.* 316 – 288 BC) was almost contemporary to Ptolemy II, and according to Diodorus Agathocles had a fleet of 200 ships, made up of 'fours' and 'sixes.'<sup>152</sup> Ptolemy II's enormous navy allowed him to exert influence around the Eastern Mediterranean, which is summarised by Polybius:

<sup>148</sup> Hauben 1987: 220, 2013: 41.

<sup>149</sup> App. *Preface* 10; Grainger 2011: 56; Fischer-Bovet 2014: 57-58.

<sup>150</sup> Polyb. 1.20.9-10, 1.23.1-5; Pliny, *HN.* 16.192; Hauben 1987: 220; Steinby 2007: 92-93; Rankov 2011: 152-153; Grainger 2011: 84-87; Murray 2012: 189.

<sup>151</sup> Ael. *VH.* 6.12.

<sup>152</sup> Diod. Sic. 21.16.1.

τοιγαροῦν ἐπέκειντο μὲν τοῖς τῆς Συρίας βασιλεῦσι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, Κοίλης Συρίας καὶ Κύπρου κυριεύοντες· ἠπαρέκειντο δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν δυνάσταις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς νήσοις, δεσπόζοντες τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων πόλεων καὶ τόπων καὶ λιμένων κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Παμφυλίας ἕως Ἑλλησπόντου.

They [Ptolemy I – III] used to threaten the Kings of Syria by both land and sea. At the same time they put pressure on the minor rulers in Asia and on the islands, as they were masters of the chief cities, places and harbours along the whole coast from Pamphylia to the Hellespont.<sup>153</sup>

Ptolemy II's naval supremacy was also emphasised by the contemporary Alexandrian poet Theocritus, who wrote in *Idyll* 17:

Παμφύλοισί τε πᾶσι καὶ αἰχμηταῖς Κιλίκεσσι  
σαμαίνει, Λυκίοις τε φιλοπτολέμοισί τε Καρσί,  
καὶ νάσοις Κυκλάδεσσιν, ἐπεὶ οἱ νᾶες ἄρισται  
πόντον ἐπιπλώοντι ....

Over Cilicia's spearman and the Pamphylians all  
He rules, and o'er the Lycians, and the war-loving Carians,  
And the islands of the Cyclades; since his are the best ships  
That sail on the deep waters.<sup>154</sup>

This naval power allowed Ptolemy II to consolidate what modern scholars call the Ptolemaic 'Empire,' which may have been less of a political structure and more a series of strategic coastal locations that could be defended with naval force (*fig. 3*).<sup>155</sup> The corollary to this was that Ptolemy's ability to project influence outside of Egypt and maintain the 'Empire' was very much dependent upon his ability to maintain a dominant navy.

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<sup>153</sup> Polyb. 5.34.5-7 (trans. Walbank 2011); Grainger 2011: 59-61.

<sup>154</sup> Theoc. *Id.* 17.86-91 (trans. Trevelyan 1947); Pollard 2010: 449.

<sup>155</sup> Hauben 1987: 216; Grainger 2011: 56-58; Murray 2012: 194-197.



Figure 22: Ptolemaic Maritime 'Empire' in the third century BC (from Murray 2012: Map 6.1).

There were three main chronological phases in early Ptolemaic naval policies: that is, competing with other Successors from 323 – 306 BC, then pursuing limited goals from 306 to 288 BC, and then dominating the Aegean from 288 to c. 260 BC. Further, Ptolemy II did not just build the largest ships, but also possessed the largest navy in the Hellenistic world. These naval policies provided the political and military context in which the maritime cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite was created around 270 BC. Ptolemy II most likely wished to present himself and his dynasty to the wider Hellenistic world as a maritime superpower, since he not only had the largest navy in the Hellenistic world, but his Queen also happened to be a maritime saviour.

### 3.3.4 Safety at Sea: the Σωτήρ and Σώζουσα Cult Epithets

The cult of Aphrodite the Saviour (Ἀφροδίτη Σώζουσα) was a Hellenistic development. Outside of Ptolemaic Egypt, there are two examples of this cult. The first is an inscribed lead anchor stock from Cartagena, Spain, dated from between the third to first centuries BC.<sup>156</sup> On one side it is inscribed Ζεὺς Κάσιος σῶζων ('Zeus Kasios Saves'), and on the other side is written: Ἀφροδίτη | σῶζουσα ('Aphrodite the Saviour'). Clearly Zeus and Aphrodite were being invoked to protect this ship. The other source for this cult is a wall painting from Pompeii, dating from around the first century AD, which depicts Aphrodite steering a ship, with the inscription Ἀφροδείτη Σώζουσα.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>156</sup> SEG 49.1408.

<sup>157</sup> SEG 52.970; CIL IV 9867; Suk Fong Jim 2015: 71.



*Figure 23: CIL IV.9867, Pompeii (Region I.13.9), 1st century AD (Pompeii Archaeological Park).*

In Hellenistic Egypt, Ptolemy IV deified his mother, Berenice II, as Aphrodite the Saviour. Berenice II was the daughter of Magas of Cyrene, a small independent kingdom west of Ptolemaic Egypt. She was betrothed to an Antigonid prince, but when she caught him having an affair with her mother, she had them both assassinated. She then married Ptolemy III instead, which united the two kingdoms of Cyrene and Ptolemaic Egypt. Berenice II is also famous for dedicating a lock of her hair in the temple of Arsinoë Aphrodite, which then disappeared and was ‘discovered’ as a new constellation, the ‘Lock of Berenice,’ which is still used on modern star charts.

Berenice II was also deified with the epithet Σώζουσα. The evidence for this comes from the proverb-collector Zenobius, who wrote around the early second century AD: Καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αἰγιαλῶν δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτῇ ἰδρύσαντο, ὃ ἐκάλουν Βερενίκης σωζούσης. There are no English translations of Zenobius, so this sentence could be translated as: [‘And on the shore they built a shrine to her, which they called (of) Berenice [II] the Saviour’].<sup>158</sup> Berenice was also likely represented as a maritime saviour Goddess in artwork. There are two mosaics from Thmuis, in the Eastern Nile Delta, which portray a lady wearing a crown, topped with a ship’s prow.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Zenobius 3.94; Tondriau and Tondriau 1948: 173; Grabowski 2014: 31-32; Clayman 2014: 239; Suk Fong Jim 2015: 71.

<sup>159</sup> Van Oppen de Ruiter 2015: 60-64.



*Figure 24: GRMA 2.1.739 Thmuis, Eastern Nile Delta, c. 200 BC (Wikimedia Commons)*

This mosaic was originally thought to be a personification of the harbour city of Alexandria, but is now thought to represent Berenice II, most likely in her role as protector of sailors.<sup>160</sup>

The use of the *Saviour* epithet for Berenice II was also significant because it linked Berenice to other important Ptolemaic cults. Ptolemy I, the founder of the Ptolemaic Dynasty, had the cult epithet Ptolemy *Soter*, or Ptolemy the Saviour. He received this title from the Rhodians in gratitude for his actions in 305/304 BC, when he provided naval assistance during the war with Demetrius I.<sup>161</sup> The Saviour cult title also linked Berenice II to her grandmother and namesake, Berenice I. Along with her husband Ptolemy I, Berenice I was deified posthumously as the *Theoi Soteres*, or the Saviour Gods. It also seems likely that Berenice I was deified as Aphrodite. The Pharos Lighthouse at Alexandria was surmounted by a statue of *Zeus Soter*, which was clearly appropriate given the lifesaving function of the lighthouse for sailors. There was also an inscription on the lighthouse, which was recorded in the writing of Lucian. The inscription stated, ‘to the Divine Saviours, for the sake of them who sail at sea.’ This could have referred to either Ptolemy I and Berenice I, or perhaps also alludes to the Dioscuri. So the association of Berenice II with the epithet ‘Saviour’ or *Sozousa* would have had a deep resonance, and helped to legitimise Berenice as Queen by linking her to the founders of the dynasty, as well as other cults related to maritime safety.

<sup>160</sup> Van Oppen de Ruiter 2015: 64.

<sup>161</sup> Paus. 1.8.6; Diod. Sic. 20.100.



## CONCLUSIONS

The early third century BC was a period of expansion and innovation for Ptolemaic Egypt under the leadership of Ptolemy I and II. Ptolemaic overseas possessions were still increasing, and the Ptolemaic Empire was maintained by the strength of Ptolemy II's vast navy. Alexandria was established as the new cultural centre of the Hellenistic world, with the creation of the Library, and poets like Callimachus and Posidippus were experimenting with traditional poetic genres like the epigram. In terms of religion, Ptolemy I created new forms of ruler cult, such as the cult based on the tomb of Alexander, and Ptolemy II created new created new cults that emphasized the stability of the new ruling dynasty, such as the *Theoi Adelphoi* ('Sibling Gods') and *Philadelphus* ('Brother Loving') cults. All three of these trends combined in the new cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite, which most likely sought to promote the dynasty as a maritime power, and was an innovative new form of ruler cult, and was supported by the Alexandrian poets through a series of epigrams. The early third century BC also remains an exciting period of study for modern scholarship. As outlined in the introduction, academic debate continues to focus upon the political role that Arsinoë played, and whether or not she wielded influence over her younger brother.<sup>1</sup> The argument ranges between two extremes, with Huzzar (1966) famously calling Arsinoë 'a typical Hellenistic tigress queen,' and Hazzard's (2000) more bleak assessment of Arsinoë as 'poor and powerless.'<sup>2</sup> This thesis has sought to provide a new perspective on Arsinoë, by utilizing some of the newly published poems by Posidippus, to reach a new conclusion about Arsinoë's assimilation with the maritime Aphrodite.

It was shown in Chapter One that the new cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite assimilated aspects of the cult of the maritime Aphrodite into Ptolemaic ruler cult. The cult titles of *Euploia* and *Akraia* were adapted into Arsinoë's cult, and Arsinoë was also associated with the epithets *Gaelanië* and *Urania*. It was demonstrated that the *Euploia* cult title for Aphrodite began at Cnidus around the fifth century BC, and was likely used by Conon in the Piraeus in the fourth century, before next being used in Arsinoë's cult in the third century BC. The *Akraia* epithet was used more widely around the Greek world, and was also incorporated into the cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite, most likely drawing attention to the shrine on Cape Zephyrium. *Galenaië* was likely a poetical invention of Callimachus and only appears to have been used in relation to Arsinoë Aphrodite. Arsinoë was possibly also associated with the cult title Aphrodite *Urania*.

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<sup>1</sup> e.g. Hazzard 2000; Carney 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Huzzar 1966: 337; Hazzard 2000: 85 (c.f. Introduction).

Chapter One also demonstrated that the cult practices of the Greek cult of the Maritime Aphrodite were incorporated into the cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite. This included the dedication of shells by maidens preparing for marriage, which ensured the longevity of the cult by incorporating it into everyday life. It also placed the new cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite into a much wider tradition in which Aphrodite was the patron of maidens and of mariners. The cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite also utilised other cult traditions of the Maritime Aphrodite, including dedications by Admirals, and also from ordinary sailors. For Ptolemy II, the adoption of the cult by Admirals and sailors would emphasise the naval power of the dynasty, especially in major harbour cities like Nea Paphos. For ordinary sailors, the cult would have provided another safeguard for providing a safe journey. The cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite also made use of the tradition of locating temples to Aphrodite by the sea. The renaming of harbours allowed Ptolemy II to promote his dynasty both through the use of ruler cult and by emphasising the naval power of the dynasty through the stationing of his fleets in these renamed harbours.

The early Hellenistic period was not just a time of rapid political change but also saw new developments in religion. Chapter Two outlined the precedents for the new cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite, and the development of Hellenistic ruler cult for women. It was argued that Greek traditions of hero cult were increasingly adapted throughout the late fifth and early fourth centuries BC, and laid the foundations for the development of worshipping living men and women. There was an increasing trend towards hailing men as ‘saviours,’ and this appears to have been a way for a *polis* to respond with gratitude toward a benefactor with military power. The Spartan general Brasidas was hailed as a ‘saviour’ posthumously (in 422 BC), and this honour was increasingly bestowed upon living men, such as Dion of Syracuse (in 355 BC), before *Soter* became a regular cult title for the early Hellenistic monarchs such as Demetrius I (in 307 BC), Ptolemy I (in 305/4 BC), and Seleucus I (c. 281 BC). It was also notable that in many cases naval power was a crucial aspect of a benefactor’s ability to provide military assistance, such as the cases of Lysander, Demetrius and Ptolemy. Women were also increasingly associated with Aphrodite in the fourth century BC, beginning with renowned *hetairai* such as Laïs and Phryne, who possibly received a form of heroine cult in their home towns. This potentially set a precedent for the creation of the posthumous cult of Pythionice Aphrodite (c. 324 BC), and this in turn led to the deification of living women and the creation of cults such as Phila Aphrodite (c. 306 BC) and Lamia Aphrodite (c. 304 BC), and Aphrodite Stratonice (c. 242 BC). The deification of Arsinoë II as Aphrodite (c. 268 BC) was thus part of this established tradition, but was unique since it associated Arsinoë with the maritime Aphrodite.

Arsinoë was not just associated with Aphrodite, but Ptolemy II also used his sister in a number of ruler cult innovations. As argued in the second part of Chapter Two, Arsinoë was also deified during her lifetime as part of the cult of the *Theoi Adelphoi* ('Divine Siblings'), which was the Hellenistic world's first dynastic cult. Arsinoë also received the cult title *Arsinoë Philadelphus* ('Brother loving'), and this cult also received a procession and temple in Alexandria. In a further innovation, Arsinoë was associated with a pre-existing cult, and was assimilated as *Arsinoë Agathe Tyche*. The number of *oinochoe* dedicated to this Goddess seems to indicate that 'Arsinoë of Good Fortune' was popular with Alexandrians. Although not the focus of this thesis, Ptolemy II also used Arsinoë in Egyptian ruler cult, and she was portrayed as Isis in numerous Egyptian temples, and her cult statue was also placed in all Egyptian temples. The deification of Arsinoë as the maritime Aphrodite thus took place in this context of Ptolemy II creating new forms of ruler worship, or in the cases of *Agathe Tyche* and *Aphrodite Euploia*, adapting existing traditions into Ptolemaic ruler cult.

Chapter Three outlined the connections between naval power, sailors and the Maritime Aphrodite. The Greek cults of Aphrodite had been associated with the sea since the Archaic period, through poetry, art, and temples in coastal locations. The first specific maritime cult titles, such as *epilimena*, first appeared in the fifth century BC, and the *euploia* cult title is first attested from the fourth century BC onwards. There was a close association between this cult and states with navies, such as at Miletus and Athens. It was therefore appropriate for Ptolemy II to adapt the use of this cult, since Egypt at this time also possessed a powerful state navy. Although Ptolemaic naval power famously lasted until the final dissolution of the Hellenistic world at the Battle of Actium, the reign of Ptolemy II was the zenith of Ptolemaic control of the Aegean Sea. Although a number of Successors competed for naval dominance, Ptolemy II in particular created what was then the world's largest battleships, and possessed the Hellenistic world's largest navy. This was also the period when Ptolemaic overseas possessions were nearing their greatest extent, with Ptolemy II controlling large sections of the coastline of Asia Minor, as well as islands within the Aegean. Ptolemy II's ability to maintain what Marquaille (2008) calls the 'Ptolemaic thalassocracy' was thus very much dependent upon his naval power.<sup>3</sup> The deification of Arsinoë as *Aphrodite Euploia* was thus another way of presenting the dynasty to the wider Hellenistic world as a maritime power. There was also an important connection between naval power, the Ptolemies, Cyprus and Aphrodite. Cyprus was the main base of the Ptolemaic navy outside of Alexandria, and it was also already a major centre of Aphrodite worship. A number of dedications by Ptolemy II in the temple of Aphrodite at Old Paphos emphasise that the Maritime Aphrodite was being invoked for protection of the Ptolemaic navy.

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<sup>3</sup> Marquaille 2008: 40.

Creating new ruler cults and building the Hellenistic world's largest navy were both part of a process of creating a perception of the Ptolemaic dynasty as powerful and immensely wealthy.

The surviving historical sources that mention Arsinoë II are so scarce that Carney (2013) describes any attempt at investigating the Queen as like being at a party in which, 'Arsinoë is always in the other room.'<sup>4</sup> It remains difficult to get a direct view of Arsinoë since only snippets of information can be gleaned from passing references from surviving historical writings, from figures like Diodorus Siculus and Memnon of Heraclea. However, recent discoveries such as the new poetry of Posidippus (2001), and the unearthing of a possible cult statue of Arsinoë (2000), perhaps mean that historians are one step closer to glimpsing more of the historical Arsinoë. Even if it remains impossible to get a clearer view of this exciting period, at least from the obscurity of the 'other room' there will always be heard the music of Arsinoë's Alexandrian epigrams.

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<sup>4</sup> Carney 2013: 10.

## APPENDIX Catalogue of Poems

### I. Posidippus AB 39 (*Milan Papyrus* = *P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309*)

Until recently, only a small number of Posidippus' poems survived, including 13 in the *Greek Anthology*, four in the work of Athenaeus, and about five more on chance papyrus finds.<sup>1</sup> However, another 112 poems attributed to Posidippus were discovered upon the second century BC 'Milan Papyrus' published in 2001, and this relatively new collection includes numerous poems dedicated to Arsinoë, including AB 39.<sup>2</sup> The 112 poems were divided into nine sections, and the first poem in the Milan Papyrus to mention Arsinoë as the maritime Aphrodite is this poem (AB 39), which is published in the third section, titled Ἀναθηματικά (*Dedications*).<sup>3</sup> The very first word of this chapter is Ἀρσινόη ('To Arsinoë'), and this section contains six epigrams, of which the first four are dedicated to Arsinoë, in a sequence that culminates in AB 39.<sup>4</sup> The epigram traditionally was a verse inscribed upon a dedicated object, and each of the first three poems focusses upon a small object consecrated to Arsinoë: a headband (AB 36), a lyre (AB 37), and a cup (AB 38).<sup>5</sup> The sequence climaxes with AB 39, which describes the temple that the Ptolemaic Admiral Callicrates dedicated to Arsinoë:

καὶ μέλλων ἄλα νηὶ περᾶν καὶ πείσμα καθάπτειν  
χερσόθεν, Εὐπλοῖαι 'χαῖρε' δὸς Ἀρσινόηι,  
[πό]τνιαν ἐκ νηοῦ καλέων θεόν, ἦν ὁ Βοῖσκου  
ναυαρχῶν Σάμιος θήκατο Καλλικράτης,  
ναυτίλε, σοὶ τὰ μάλιστα· κατ' εὐπλοῖαν δὲ διώκει  
τῆσδε θεοῦ χρήζων πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλος ἀνὴρ·  
εἶνεκα καὶ χερσαῖα καὶ εἰς ἄλα δῖαν ἀφιεῖς  
εὐχὰς εὐρήσεις τὴν ἐπακουσομένην.

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<sup>1</sup>Sider 2004: 30; Lloyd-Jones 2005: 246-247. There are also poems in the *Greek Anthology* of uncertain attribution which could be written by Posidippus (Sider 2004: 30; Acosta-Hughes 2004: 48).

<sup>2</sup>Most scholars agree that the attribution of authorship to Posidippus is likely (Acosta-Hughes *et al.* 2004: 5; Stephens 2004: 161-162; 2006: 64-65; Gutzwiller 2005: 3; Krevans 2005: 82; Bing 2009: 177 n3). The argument in favour is that the papyrus contains no author's name and two of the epigrams in the papyrus matched previously existing epigrams by Posidippus (AB 15, 65). However, the argument against is that it appears to have been common to collate Hellenistic epigrams into anonymous collections (Parsons 2002: 117-118). Thus Lloyd-Jones (2005: 248) argues that the Milan Papyrus is a collection of anonymous Hellenistic epigrams and that the attribution to Posidippus is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup>Gutzwiller (2004: 87-93, 2005: 4) discusses the division of the papyrus in detail. *c.f.* Stephens 2006: 67; Bing 2009: 178.

<sup>4</sup>AB 36-39. There is also a section with a nautical theme leading up to Arsinoë's section (AB 19-22).

<sup>5</sup>Each of these three poems begins with Ἀρσινόη ('To Arsinoë'). *c.f.* Stephens 2004: 173, 2006: 68. Bing (2009: 258-264) conjectures that the items described in these poems were dedicated in the Arsinoë Aphrodite temple at Zephyrium. It remains unclear what object is dedicated in AB 36 because it is a rare noun (βρέγμα) which could be a handkerchief or a headband (Gutzwiller 2004: 88n16; *LSJ s.v.* 'βρέγμα'). Stephens (2005: 238) argues that a royal diadem is envisaged.

Whether about to cross the sea in a ship or to fasten the cable  
From shore, give greetings to Arsinoë of fair sailing (Ἀρσινόη Εὐπλοία),  
Calling the Lady Goddess from her temple, which was dedicated  
By the Samian Admiral Callicrates, son of Boiscus,  
Sailor, especially for you. And in pursuit of fair sailing (εὐπλοία)  
Other people too often address a demand to this Goddess.  
And that is why, whether you are heading for dry land, or the divine sea,  
You will find she will be listening to your prayers.<sup>6</sup>

The poem playfully engages with the traditions of the epigram, since the poem refers to a dedicated object, which in this case is not a small item, but a temple. As discussed earlier this poem also emphasises that sailors especially ought to call upon Arsinoë *Euploia* for safety at sea.

## II. Posidippus AB 119 (Athen. 7.318d)

This poem is a short, six line epigram recorded in the work of the second century AD author Athenaeus. In the narrative of Book Seven of *The Learned Banqueters*, the sophists dine on fish, which leads to a wide-ranging discussion of various authors who discuss seafood, or sea creatures in general.<sup>7</sup> The ‘conversation’ eventually turns to the topic of the nautilus, which leads to the quotation of Callimachus’ poem about the nautilus dedicated to Arsinoë Aphrodite (discussed below), and this poem is then contrasted with the following poem from Posidippus (which has nothing to do with the topic of seafood!).<sup>8</sup> The poem states:

τοῦτο καὶ ἐν πόντῳ καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ τῆς Φιλαδέλφου  
Κύπριδος ἰλάσκεσθ’ ἱερὸν Ἀρσινόης  
ἣν ἀνακοιρανέουσιν ἐπὶ Ζεφυρίτιδος ἀκτῆς  
πρῶτος ὁ ναύαρχος θήκατο Καλλικράτης·  
ἣ δὲ καὶ εὐπλοίην δώσει καὶ χεῖματι μέσσω  
τὸ πλατὺ λισσομένοις ἐκλιπανεῖ πέλαγος.

On both land and sea make offerings to this temple  
Of *Philadelphus* Cypris Arsinoë (Φιλαδέλφος Κύπρις Ἀρσινόη)  
Whom the fleet-commander Callicrates was first to establish  
As Queen upon the Zephyrian coast.

<sup>6</sup> AB 39. *c.f.* Bing 2003: 255; Gutzwiller 2005: 25.

<sup>7</sup> Ath. 7.277ac.

<sup>8</sup> Ath. 7.318d.

She will grant easy sailing (εὐπλοία) and even in mid-storm  
Calm the broad sea for those who beseech her.<sup>9</sup>

This poem is clearly very similar to the previous poem just discussed (*AB* 39), and was possibly written at the time of the dedication of the shrine *c.* 270 BC, but has been preserved far from its original context in a discussion about seafood. Arsinoë Aphrodite's ability to offer fair sailing (εὐπλοία) to those who pray to her is again stressed, but εὐπλοία is used as a noun and not a cult title, most likely because the poet chose to directly emphasise Arsinoë's major state ruler cult (*Philadelphus*).

### III. Posidippus *AB* 116 (*P. Louvre* 7172)

The third and final poem by Posidippus that refers to Arsinoë Aphrodite was preserved in a papyrus written *c.* 161 BC, and discovered in the nineteenth century at the Sarapeum at Memphis.<sup>10</sup> The author was named Ptolemy (but was no relation to the royal family), and had taken refuge at the sanctuary after becoming an orphan.<sup>11</sup> This papyrus contains an archive of documents including a pair of epigrams by Posidippus.<sup>12</sup> The first poem (*AB* 115) describes the Pharos Lighthouse, while the second describes the temple of Arsinoë Aphrodite at Cape Zephyrium (*AB* 115).<sup>13</sup> The term εὐπλοία is not used at all in this poem, but Arsinoë's assimilation with the Goddess is emphasised through the title 'Queen Arsinoë Aphrodite' (βασιλίσση Ἀρσινόη Κύπρις).<sup>14</sup> Gutzwiller argues that Arsinoë must have been alive at the time of the poem's publication since she is referred to as 'Queen,' but this is disputed by Hauben who argues that the title is purely poetical.<sup>15</sup> The Queen is also referred to as 'Zephyritis,' which links the cult with Cape Zephyrium, and does not seem attested elsewhere in extant Greek literature as a cult epithet for Aphrodite.<sup>16</sup> As mentioned above, Aphrodite was already associated with Zephyrus in the Archaic-era Homeric *Hymn*.<sup>17</sup> Posidippus wrote:

μέσσον ἐγὼ Φαρίης ἀκτῆς στόματός τε Κανώπου  
ἐν περιφαινομένῳ κύματι χῶρον ἔχω,  
τήνδε πολυρρήνου Λιβύης ἀνεμώδεα χηλὴν,  
τὴν ἀνατεινομένην εἰς Ἴταλὸν Ζέφυρον,  
ἔνθα με Καλλικράτης ἰδρύσατο καὶ βασιλίσσης

<sup>9</sup> *AB* 119, *GP* 13 = Ath. 7.318d (trans. Olson 2006).

<sup>10</sup> *P. Louvre* 7172 (Obbink 2004: 19).

<sup>11</sup> Thompson 2012: 198; Obbink 2004: 22.

<sup>12</sup> *AB* 115-116; Obbink 2004: 19-20; Stephens 2006: 66.

<sup>13</sup> Thompson 2012: 242.

<sup>14</sup> *AB* 116.5-7.

<sup>15</sup> Hauben 1970: 45 n2; Gutzwiller 1992b: 365 n22.

<sup>16</sup> Ζεφυρίτης appears to be a purely poetical title that seems to only be attested elsewhere in Callimachus (*Pf.* 5) in another poem dedicated to Arsinoë (*LSJ s.v.* 'Ζεφυρίτης').

<sup>17</sup> Hom. *Hymn* 6.1-4.

ἱερὸν Ἀρσινόης Κύπριδος ὠνόμασεν.  
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ζεφυρίτιν ἀκουσομένην Ἀφροδίτην,  
Ἑλλήνων ἀγναί, βαίνετε, θυγατέρες,  
οἳ θ' ἄλὸς ἐργάται ἄνδρες· ὁ γὰρ ναύαρχος ἔτευξεν  
τοῦθ' ἱερὸν παντὸς κύματος εὐλίμενον.

Midway between the shore of Pharos and the mouth of Canopus,  
In the waves visible all around I have my place,  
This wind-swept breakwater of Libya rich in sheep,  
Facing the Italian Zephyr.  
Here Callicrates set me up and called me the shrine  
of Queen Arsinoë Aphrodite.  
So then, to her who shall be named Zephyritis-Aphrodite,  
Come, ye pure daughters of the Greeks,  
And ye too, toilers on the sea. For the Admiral built  
This shrine to be a safe harbour (εὐλίμενος) from all the waves.<sup>18</sup>

This epigram is notable for stressing the geographical location of the shrine, ('between the shore of Pharos ... and Canopus') and also emphasises the temple's windy location ('wind-swept breakwater,' 'facing the Italian Zephyr').<sup>19</sup> This was likely to emphasise the connection of the cult to Cape Zephyrium (the West Wind) and the new cult title of *Zephyritis*, which is made explicit later in the poem, when Posidippus states the shrine is dedicated to 'her who shall be called *Zephyritis* Aphrodite.'<sup>20</sup> The future tense of 'she shall be called' (ἀκουσομένην) probably also indicates that the poem was published at the same time that the temple was first dedicated (c. 270 BC).<sup>21</sup> This poem also briefly mentions that the temple was not just dedicated to maritime safety but also had a role for maidens ('Come, ye pure daughters of the Greeks'), which is a theme more fully developed by Callimachus (see below).<sup>22</sup>

#### IV. Callimachus *GP* 14 (Ath. 7.318bc)

<sup>18</sup> *AB* 116 (trans. Austin and Bastianini 2002).

<sup>19</sup> *AB* 116.1, 3-4.

<sup>20</sup> *AB* 116.7.

<sup>21</sup> *AB* 116.7.

<sup>22</sup> *AB* 116.8.



As just stated, the second century AD author Athenaeus preserved this poem within a discussion about sea creatures. Gow and Page (1965: 2.168) speculate that this poem was not necessarily written when the Zephyrium cult was established and possibly dates from later.

Κόγχος ἐγὼ, Ζεφυρίτι, παλαιότερος· ἀλλὰ σὺ νῦν με,  
Κύπρι, Σεληναίης ἄνθεμα πρῶτον ἔχεις,  
ναυτίλος ὃς πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεον, εἰ μὲν ἀῆται,  
τείνας οἰκείων λαΐφος ἀπὸ προτόνων,  
εἰ δὲ Γαληναίη, λιπαρὴ θεός, οὖλος ἐρέσσω  
ποσσὶ νιν, ὅστ' ἔργῳ τοῦνομα συμφέρεται,  
ἔστ' ἔπεσον παρὰ θῖνας Ἰουλίδας, ὄφρα γένωμαι  
σοὶ τὸ περίσκεπτον παίγνιον, Ἀρσινόη,  
μηδέ μοι ἐν θαλάμησιν ἔθ' ὡς πάρος, εἰμὶ γὰρ ἄπνους,  
τίκτεται νοτερῆς ὤεον ἀλκυόνης.  
Κλεινίου ἀλλὰ θυγατρὶ δίδου χάριν. οἶδε γὰρ ἐσθλὰ  
ῥέζειν καὶ Σμύρνης ἐστὶν ἀπ' Αἰολίδος.

A conch long ago, but now, Cypris of Zephyrium,  
I am your gift, Selenaië's first offering –  
A nautilus that plied the seas, holding the wind  
In my own sails, by my own halyards  
When it blew, churning with my feet for oars  
When *Galenaië* stilled the shimmering waves (I'm named  
You see, for what I did) until, pitched up on the beach  
At Ioulis, I became, Arsinoë, your admired toy  
And the time (my sailing days are over now)  
When the brooding halcyon stored her egg in my chambers  
Came to an end. But favour the daughter of Kleinias, for she  
Is well-behaved and hails from Aiolian Smyrna.<sup>23</sup>

Whereas Posidippus (*AB* 39.1) referred to sailors directly, Callimachus used an extended metaphor of the nautilus that 'plied the seas,' either rowing or sailing.<sup>24</sup> As Gutzwiller argues, the extended metaphor allows Callimachus to equate the maiden Selanaië with the nautilus, which reveals itself as

<sup>23</sup> Ath. 7.318 (trans. Nisetich 2001).

<sup>24</sup> *GP* 14.3.

feminine and carrying eggs.<sup>25</sup> This allows Callimachus to invoke both aspects of Arsinoë Aphrodite's cult at Zephyrium, in her role as both patron of sailors and of maidens transitioning to marriage. Posidippus explicitly connects the cult at Zephyrium to Callicrates of Samos and the Ptolemaic navy, but Callimachus more obliquely refers to the town of Ioulis, a Ptolemaic naval base that was re-named Arsinoë.<sup>26</sup> In this dedicatory epigram, Callimachus has thus taken the same general themes as Posidippus, that is, promoting the new cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite, and the maritime prowess of the Ptolemies in the eastern Mediterranean, but has presented these ideas in a subtler way, through allusion and metaphor.

## V. Callimachus, *Aetia* 110

This poem was written in 246 BC to commemorate the return of Ptolemy III from Syria after Berenice II had dedicated a lock of hair at the Zephyrium shrine to ensure her husband's safety.<sup>27</sup> Only fragments of the original poem now survive, although there is a Latin translation by Catullus.<sup>28</sup> Part of the surviving fragment is quoted here:

Πάντα τὸν ἐν γραμμαῖσιν ἰδὼν ὄρον ἧ̃ τε φέρονται  
 ...κήμὲ Κόνων ἔβλεψεν ἐν ἡέρι τὸν Βερενίκης  
 βόστρυχον ὃν κείνη πᾶσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖς καὶ πρόκατε γνωτὸς Μέμνονος Αἰθίοπος  
 ἔετο κυκλώσας βαλιὰ πτερὰ θήλυς ἀήτης,  
 ἵππος ἰοζώνου Λοκρίδος Ἀρσινόης,  
 ...]ασε δὲ πνοιῆ με, δι' ἡέρα δ' ὑγρὸν ἐνεΐκας  
 Κύπριδος εἰς κόλπους [ ] ἔθηκε ·  
 ααὐτή μιν Ζεφυρίτις ἐπὶ χρέος  
 ...Κ]ανωπίτου ναιέτις α[ἰγιαλοῦ

Having examined all the charted (?) sky, and where [the stars] move

...

Conon saw me also in the air, the lock of Berenice, which she dedicated to all the gods ...

... At once the brother of Memnon the Aethiopian, the gentle breeze, the steed of Locrian Arsinoë of the violet girdle, moving his swift wings in circles dashed and seized me with his breath, and carrying me through the humid air he placed me . . . in the lap of Cypris. Aphrodite Zephyritis who dwells on the shore of Canopus [chose] him herself . . . for that purpose.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Gutzwiller 1992a: 202.

<sup>26</sup> Bing 2003: 265.

<sup>27</sup> Gutzwiller 1992b: 359, 2007: 67.

<sup>28</sup> Gutzwiller 1992b: 359.

<sup>29</sup> Callim. *Aetia* 110.1-7, 53-58 (trans. Trypanis 2004).

As discussed earlier, this poem playfully combines different elements of the cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite, since Arsinoë Aphrodite accepts the lock of hair as a patron of marriage but also uses her role as *Zephyritis* to order the wind to waft the lock to heaven.

## VI. Hedylyus *GP* 4 (Ath. 11.497de)

Athenaeus refers to the poet as ‘Hedylyus of Samos or Athens,’ and he was another contemporary Alexandrian epigrammatist active during the reign of Ptolemy II.<sup>30</sup> This poem praises the Alexandrian engineer Ctesibus, who was also active during the reign of Ptolemy II, and discovered the principles of pneumatics, which allowed him to invent an accurate water clock, a water organ, and a pneumatic pump.<sup>31</sup> Further, according to the following poem, Ctesibus created a horn placed in the Temple of Arsinoë Aphrodite, which poured out wine and played music at the same time.<sup>32</sup> The horn itself was the special double cornucopia of Arsinoë (ῥυτὸν), and this fabulous invention certainly continued the trend of Ptolemaic innovation in ruler cult.<sup>33</sup> Posidippus (*AB* 39.3) implies that there was a cult statue of Arsinoë Aphrodite in the line ‘ἐκ νηοῦ καλέων θεόν,’ but this poem by Hedylyus (*GP* 4.3) implies that the temple contained a statue of the Egyptian deity Bes (‘Βησᾶν Αἰγύπτιον’). It seems Bes was also a maritime saviour God, since dedications to Bes have been found alongside dedicated anchors at the temple of Hera on Samos and the temple of Aphrodite on Gravisca.<sup>34</sup> The poem possibly also alludes to Posidippus (*AB* 116.8) and the line ‘Ἑλλήνων ἀγναί, βαίνετε, θυγατέρες,’ since Hedylyus (*GP* 4.9-10) says ‘δεῦτε, νέοι.’ If this poem is accepted as historically accurate and not just a literary conceit, then it would seem that the cult of Arsinoë Aphrodite also combined aspects of Egyptian religion.

ζωροπόται καὶ τοῦτο φιλοζεφύρου κατὰ νηὸν  
τὸ ῥυτὸν αἰδοίης δεῦτ’ ἴδετ’ Ἀρσινόης,  
ὀρησθῆν Βησᾶν Αἰγύπτιον, ὃς λιγὺν ἦχον  
σαλπίζει κρουνοῦ πρὸς ῥύσιν οἰγομένου,  
οὐ πολέμου σύνθημα, διὰ χρυσεῦος δὲ γέγωνεν  
κώδωνος κώμου σύμβολα καὶ θαλίης,

<sup>30</sup> Ath. 7.297ab; Fraser 1972: 1.558, 571.

<sup>31</sup> Vitruvius *De arch.* 9.8.2; White 1993: 212-215, 217-218; Gutzwiller 2007: 161. A version of Ctesibus’ pneumatic pump was still used by the London fire brigade in the 1800s (White 1993: 214).

<sup>32</sup> Gow and Page (1965: 2.293) state ‘it is useless to guess where the orifice was situated or how the release of liquid caused the trumpet to sound.’ Peter Green states ‘the Lagids tended to patronize toys [and] fraudulent temple tricks’ (White 1993: 236).

<sup>33</sup> Hedylyus *GP* 4.2.

<sup>34</sup> Demetriou 2012: 89-90.

Νεῖλος ὀκοῖον ἄναξ μύσταις φίλον ἱεραγωγοῖς  
εὔρε μέλος θείων πάτριον ἐξ ὑδάτων.  
ἀλλὰ Κτησιβίου σοφὸν εὔρεμα τίετε τοῦτο—δεῦτε,  
νέοι—νηῶ τῶδε παρ' Ἀρσινόης.

Come, lovers of strong wine, and behold this *rhyton*  
in the temple of the venerable Arsinoe, dear to the West Wind;  
it represents the Egyptian dancer Bes,  
who trumpets a shrill blast  
when the stream is opened up, allowing the wine to flow.  
This is no signal for war; through its gold bell  
resounds the summons to celebrations and festivities,  
like the beloved traditional song King Nile produces  
from his sacred waters for those who celebrate his mysteries.  
But honour this clever invention of Ctesibius—  
come, young men!—in this temple of Arsinoe.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Ath. 11.497de (trans. S. Douglas Olson).

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'Anybody who calls them just frivolities and jests,  
Believe me, Flaccus, doesn't know what epigrams are.'  
Martial 4.49.1-2