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CHRISTOPHER P. JONES

Cleopatra VII in Teos?

On a rainy day in October, 1955, JEANNE and LOUIS ROBERT visited the site of ancient Teos. They had already learned from their guide, Musa Baran (Musa Bey), about an inscription mentioning Lagid queens and a woman called Crateia; Musa Bey had seen and copied it «between the theatre and the temple of Dionysus». When the ROBERTS arrived, they found that the stone was no longer where he had seen it, but after making inquiries they were able to track it down, have it turned over to see the text, and make a squeeze, which they could not dry because of the weather, so that they had to dry it later before a fire. ROBERT's notebook, from which this account is drawn, does not mention a photograph, and he was perhaps prevented by the weather conditions from taking one.¹ Thus by their energy and persistence the ROBERTS preserved an inscription of considerable interest, which has not been seen since and is now perhaps lost. Though ROBERT did not live to include it in his intended corpus of Teian in-

I am grateful to GLEN BOWERSOCK, CHRISTIAN HABICHT, JEAN-LOUIS FERRARY, and BÉATRICE MEYER for their advice and assistance, and also to the editors of CHIRON for many corrections and improvements. SUSANNE EBBINGHAUS, GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN Curator of Ancient Art at the Harvard Art Museum/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, gave invaluable help with the Seleucid inscription discussed in my Additional Note.

¹ L. ROBERT, OMS IV 149 (Mission 1955): «A Téos, on a étudié l'ensemble du site, confus et décevant; on y a copié ou revu quelques inscriptions pour le Corpus près d'être achevé, dont l'une, inédite, nomme des reines lagides.» The longer description above is drawn from the ROBERTS *carnet de voyage*, preserved in the Archives du Fonds Louis Robert de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris. I have received access to this document with the generous permission of the *responsable* of the Fonds, Prof. GLEN W. BOWERSOCK. Prof. JEAN-LOUIS FERRARY, assisted by Mme. BÉATRICE MEYER, *chargée de mission* of the Fonds, kindly made copies of the relevant pages. I have used the following abbreviations: GRAINGER, Prosopography = J. D. GRAINGER, A Seleukid Prosopography and Gazetteer, 1997; HABICHT, Athen = CH. HABICHT, Athen: Die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit, 1995; HERRMANN, Antiochos = P. HERRMANN, Antiochos der Große und Teos, Anadolu 9, 1965 [1967], 29–159; LGPN = A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, 1987 ff.; PP VI = Prosopographia Ptolemaica VI: La cour, les relations internationales et les possessions extérieures, la vie culturelle, 1968; ROBERT, Ét. anat. = L. ROBERT, Études anatoliennes, 1937; THREATTE, Grammar = L. THREATTE, The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions I, 1980, II, 1996; ROLLER, Cleopatra = D. W. ROLLER, Cleopatra: A Biography, 2010; WHITEHORNE, Cleopatras = D. G. WHITEHORNE, Cleopatras, 1994. All dates are BCE unless otherwise stated.

scriptions, the squeeze that he took on that rainy day in October 1955 formed part of the gift of JEANNE ROBERT to the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, where it is now preserved in the Institute's Collection Robert.²

ROBERT notes that the stone was an altar in the shape of a large rectangular block of blue marble, 0,40 tall, 0,50 wide, 0,26 thick. Curiously, he observed two holes on the top for insertion into a wall, and these might indicate that the stone was re-used. The script is airy but slightly irregular, and the mason has corrected the omission of rho in line 1 by adding it above the line.³ Apexes are small; alpha has a markedly broken bar; the middle bar of epsilon is somewhat shorter than the upper and lower ones; theta «hangs», as do omicron and also tau in line 4, but not in 3 or 5; the diagonals of kappa are short except in line 5; the horizontal of pi extends well to either side of the verticals; the loop of rho is rather small. Barring contrary indications, the general effect would suggest a date approximately between 125 BCE and 25 CE. The orthography suggests a similar range. The syncopated spelling Βερν- rarely appears before 100, but is especially well attested in the Roman period; the spelling -ηα in place of classical -εια is characteristic of the first century BCE, though sometimes found earlier.⁴ Plate 1. The text is easily legible:

Βε ρ' νίης Θεᾶς καὶ Ἀρσι-
γῆς Θεᾶς καὶ Κλεοπά-
τρας Θεᾶς καὶ βασιλί-
4 σης Κλεοπάτρας
Κρατήα Πυθέου.

«Of Goddess Ber(e)nice and of Goddess Arsinoe and of Goddess Cleopatra and of Queen Cleopatra: Cratea (daughter) of Pytheos [or «Pytheas»].»

At the top of the right hand side is a reversed epsilon, written about one and a half times larger and somewhat later in form. This might corroborate the evidence of re-use provided by the holes in the top of the stone: if it was incorporated upside down into a new construction, the epsilon, now facing right, could have served as a builder's

² On this gift, BOWERSOCK in CRAI 2007, 645. Mme ROBERT named me as one of three persons authorized to publish items in the Collection. I owe the photograph of the squeeze to the kindness of Ms. MARCIA TUCKER, Chief Librarian, Historical and Social Sciences Library, Institute for Advanced Study.

³ For such masons' corrections, ROBERT, OMS I 593–95 (CRAI 1955, 212–14): for a similar correction perhaps very close in date, Bull. ép. 1948, 55, an altar of Antony and Octavia at Athens.

⁴ Βερν-: in general, THREATTE, Grammar I 405. LGPN has one certain example of Hellenistic Βερν-, two doubtful, and six imperial; IG II/III² 1008, dated 118/17, has both Βερνυίδης (I 125, spelled Βερεν- in IG) and Βερενυίδης (II 97). -ηα for -εια: THREATTE, Grammar I 202–205 (most of the dated examples from 50 BCE to 50 CE); note also ROBERT, OMS II 1076 n. 2 (RPh 1927, 121); TH. DREW-BEAR, BCH 96, 1972, 446.

mark. Such marks show the order of the blocks on a stylobate in Messene, and indicate the joins of the various panels on the Monument of Zoilos at Aphrodisias.⁵

The blue marble shows that the stone is from Teos, where marble of this color is frequent, and that it cannot be a «*pierre errante*»: an inscription found at Teos and containing a list of Seleucid kings has sometimes been thought to be from the Seleucid realm, but this too must be of Teian origin.⁶ Moreover, the nomenclature of Crateia and of her father, Pytheos or Pytheas (the names are indistinguishable when they occur in the form Πυθέου), points to Ionia. A Teian woman called «Theodora, daughter of Crateas», appears on Delos in the second century, and women called «Cratea», also spelled with eta, are found in Chalcis, Byzantium and Smyrna.⁷ Pytheas is the name of the famous navigator from Massilia, a colony of Phocaea. The Hippocratic Epidemiai mention a man of Abdera, a colony of Teos, whose name in the genitive is either «Pytheos» or «Pytheas» (by a curious coincidence, coins of Abdera dated 450–425 have the legend ἐπι Πυθέο).⁸ The Pytheos who was considered the chief designer of the Mausoleum and the architect of the temple of Athena at Priene could well be an Ionian. W. LESCHHORN's catalog of mint-magistrates has three examples of «Pytheas» in Caria, two in Ionia, and two from either Greece or Asia; it has eight examples of «Pytheos», all in cities of Ionia.⁹ Similarly, the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names has four examples of «Pytheos» in Aeolis, thirty-four in Ionia (of whom two are from Teos), and thirteen in Lydia, and one example of «Pytheas» in Bithynia, five in Ionia, and one from Amisos in the Pontus, a colony of Miletus and for a long time a clerouchy of Athens.¹⁰ These statistics suggest that Crateia's father was more probably «Pytheos» than «Pytheas».

The basic form of altar-inscriptions is a simple genitive to designate the recipient as the possessor: thus the many altars and plaques (for insertion in temporary altars) in-

⁵ Messene: P. THEMELIS, *Praktika* 147, 1992 (1995), 79 with fig. 11 on p. 81; R. R. R. SMITH, *Aphrodisias I: The Monument of C. Julius Zoilos*, 1993, 17. In general, Bull. ép. s.v. Architecture: marques. ROBERT's notebook does not mention the epsilon, but seems to indicate that he saw a phi and a psi somewhere on the stone, but this may not be what he meant.

⁶ Blue marble at Teos: G. E. BEAN, *Aegean Turkey*, 1966, 145, «The buildings of Teos were constructed of a hard blue local limestone of the quality of marble.» Inscription of Seleucids: OGIS 246 (cf. SEG 32, 1982, 1207); on its Teian origin, HERRMANN, *Antiochos 148–152*, followed by J. and L. ROBERT, Bull. ép. 1969, 502.

⁷ For the genitive after female names indicating the father, not the husband, J. and L. ROBERT, Bull. ép 1967, 2. Θεοδώραν Κρατέου Τηϊαν: I.Délos 1967b. Κράττηα: IG XII Suppl. 647 A II 9 (Chalcis); N. FIRATLI – L. ROBERT, *Stèles funéraires de Byzance* 99 no. 146a (not 156a, as on p. 168); I.Smyrna 892.

⁸ Hippocr. Epidem. 6, 8, 32 (Loeb Hippocrates 7, 288). Coin: W. LESCHHORN, *Lexikon der Aufschriften auf griechischen Münzen II: Ethnika und Beamtennamen*, 2009, 782.

⁹ LESCHHORN (n. 8) 782–783.

¹⁰ Milesian origin: Strab. 12, 3, 4, C. 542 = Theopompus, FGrH 115 F 389. Clerouchy: ROBERT, in: *Études déliennes*, 1973, 472 n. 29; HABICHT, *Athen* 304 n. 21, citing Plut. Lucull. 19, 7.

scribed Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου in honor of Arsinoe II.¹¹ The present altar is unusual in designating the god in the genitive and the votary in the nominative: when a votary is named, the god is customarily in the dative and the votary in the nominative, though sometimes the object is indicated directly (βωμόν) or by a noun in implied apposition such as εὐχήν. Epidaurus has altars resembling the present one, with the god's name in the genitive and the votary's in the nominative, though there the votary's name is followed by an indication of his function such as πυρφορήσας.¹²

Since Crateia puts her name on the altar, it cannot be a domestic one, like the house-altars for Arsinoe II, but must have stood in a public space; it also seems too large for a domestic altar. Crateia does not indicate her motive for setting it up, for example «in accordance with a dream» or «command» (κατ' ὄναρ, κατ' ἐπιταγήν), nor does she claim a function such as a priesthood. Since the stone was originally observed «between the theatre and the temple of Dionysus», it might be from the sanctuary of that temple, whose pilasters were inscribed with a series of decrees and letters concerning Antiochus III and his consort Laodice.¹³

The text honors four queens, Arsinoe, Berenice, and Cleopatra, all of whom are deified and presumably deceased, and a Cleopatra whose title of βασίλισσα shows her to be still alive: somewhat similarly, an inscription from Arsinoe in Cilicia mentioning honors being paid to «the king, Arsinoe and Berenice» must refer to Berenice the late daughter of the reigning king, Ptolemy III Euergetes, and not to his consort, Berenice II, who is mentioned earlier in the text simply as «the queen».¹⁴ It is therefore safe to assume that the Cleopatra of this inscription is a reigning queen who counts the three deified queens among her ancestors, so that she cannot be Cleopatra I, a daughter of Antiochus III the «Great» and the consort of Ptolemy V Epiphanes I.¹⁵ The likeliest would appear to be Cleopatra VII, the last queen of Egypt, but two other possibilities may be considered first.

¹¹ For these, classic discussion by ROBERT, OMS VII 626–631 (Essays Welles 202–207); see also HABICHT, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*, 21970, 259–261, comparing a small altar in honor of Hiero II of Syracuse inscribed Διὸς Σωτήρος Ἰέρωνος (S. L. AGNELLO, *Not. Scavi* 74, n.s. 3, 1949, 208–209); P. HERRMANN, *Milet VI* 3 p. 199 on no. 1323; KL. HALLOF on *IG XII* 6, 1, no. 496.

¹² Recipient in dative: e.g. *Milet VI* 1 nos. 277, 282, 284; I. *Magnesia* 214, etc. βωμόν: *IG IV*² 513, Ἐλέου βωμόν Ἱεροκλῆς κατ' ὄναρ; for a more elaborate example, see Additional Note. εὐχήν: I. *Pergamon Asklepieion* 106; *Milet VI* 1, 285; *TAM V* 3, 1626 (Philadelphia). Epidaurus: e.g. *IG IV*² 403, cf. 404–408, etc.

¹³ HERRMANN, *Antiochos*. The long series of inscriptions concerning the *asylia* of the city and its *chôra* may also come from the temple: K. J. RIGSBY, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*, 1996, 291. A rough plan of the site of Teos in BEAN (n. 6) 141; a better one in *Arastırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 15, 2, 1998, 328.

¹⁴ SEG 39, 1989, 1426, 14, 33; observed by HABICHT, *The Hellenistic Monarchies: Selected Papers*, 2006, 263 (Phoenix 1989, 336).

¹⁵ On Cleopatra I, F. STÄHELIN, *RE* 11, 1, 1921, 738–740, Kleopatra 14; *PP VI* no. 14515; WHITEHORNE, *Cleopatras* ch. 7.

The earlier of these is Cleopatra II, daughter of Ptolemy Epiphanes and of Cleopatra I, born at a uncertain date before 181. In 176/75 she married her brother, Ptolemy VI Philometor. From 170, she ruled together with him and her younger brother Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II «Phyſcon», and after 163 with Philometor alone down to his death in 145. An Athenian inscription shows that her chariot won at the Panathenaea of (probably) 162/61. After 144 she began to reign as sister and consort of Euergetes, though their uneasy relations intensified after he married Cleopatra III, her daughter by Philometor (and thus his own niece) in 141/40. A final reconciliation between Euergetes and the two Cleopatras occurred in 118. Euergetes died in 116, and Cleopatra II in the following year.¹⁶

Cleopatra II was the grand-daughter on her father's side of Ptolemy IV Philopator, who had two sisters, Berenice and Arsinoe III. Berenice died while still a child and was deified with the title of queen in 238; Arsinoe, the younger of the two, was the sister-consort of her brother Philopator, and was murdered in the palace coup of 204.¹⁷ If Cleopatra II were the reigning queen of this inscription, then the three deified queens might be, in order, her two great-aunts Berenice and Arsinoe and her mother Cleopatra I, and this would have the advantage of making the three deceased queens her immediate ancestors. Yet it seems odd that someone honoring this Cleopatra would mention her rather pallid great-aunts, one of whom died as a small girl, rather than more distinguished queens of the Lagid house. A better alternative, therefore, for the deified Berenice and Arsinoe is the wives of Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II, Berenice I and Arsinoe II Philadelphos. While hostage in Alexandria, the young Pyrrhus observed that «Berenice was the most influential and the first in courage and intelligence of Ptolemy's women» (Plut. Pyrrh. 4, 6). Arsinoe II, daughter of Ptolemy I and Berenice and sister-consort of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, was equally if not more influential in her brother's court: a well-known Athenian decree, ratifying an alliance with Sparta on the eve of the Chremonidean war, attributes Ptolemy's concern with Greek freedom in part to «the policy of his ancestors and his sister». It was in honor of Arsinoe that the many altars already mentioned were set up not only in Egypt but in Cyprus, Lesbos and other Aegaeian islands, and in Miletus.¹⁸

¹⁶ For an exhaustive account of the reigns of Ptolemy VI and VII, W. HUSS, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit*, 2001, 537–645. On Cleopatra II, F. STÄHELIN, RE 11, 1, 1921, 740–744, Kleopatra 15; PP VI no. 14516; F. W. WALBANK, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 3, 1979, index s.v. Cleopatra II; WHITEHORNE, *Cleopatras* chs. 8 and 9. Inscription of Athens: S. V. TRACY – CH. HABICHT, *Hesperia* 60, 1991, 192f., 216 = HABICHT, *Athen in hellenistischer Zeit*, 1994, 82, 113.

¹⁷ Stemma in CAH² VII 1, p. 488; HUSS, *Ägypten* (n. 16) 854–855; ROLLER, *Cleopatra* 164. Berenice: U. WILCKEN, RE 3, 1, 1897, 286, Berenike 12; PP VI no. 14500; above, p. 44. Arsinoe III: WILCKEN, RE 2, 2, 1895, 1287–1288, Arsinoe 27; PP VI no. 14492; WALBANK, *Commentary* (n. 16) 1, 1957, 613 on Polyb. 5, 83, 3; 2, 1967, 482 on Polyb. 15, 25, 2.

¹⁸ Berenice I: WILCKEN, RE 3, 1, 1897, 282f., Berenike 9; PP VI no. 14497. Arsinoe II: WILCKEN, RE 2, 2, 1895, 1282–1287, Arsinoe 26; PP VI no. 14491; H. HAUBEN, *Arsinoé II et la*

On the other hand, once it is granted that the inscription is from Teos, the identification of Cleopatra II as the living queen makes the provenance hard to explain. Certainly, there were still two Ptolemaic garrisons in the Aegean during the reign of Philometor, one at Methana in the Argolid, renamed «Arsinoe» in the previous century, and one on Thera. But Euergetes II seems to have abandoned these outposts after succeeding his brother in 145, as he certainly abandoned those on Crete.¹⁹ Moreover, the orthography does not favor a date so early as 144, and even one later in the second century would be slightly uncomfortable.

A later, even if remote, possibility is Cleopatra Selene, the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra VII, who married Juba II, king of Mauretania, about the year 20. The deified Cleopatra of the present inscription would then be her mother, and Berenice and Arsinoe might be her aunts of this name, or more probably Berenice I and Arsinoe II. But although «Juba presided over what was virtually an Hellenistic court», Cleopatra Selene has no known connection with Ionia.²⁰

The likeliest candidate is also the best-known Cleopatra, the lover of Julius Caesar and wife of Antony (M. Antonius), daughter of Ptolemy XII Auletes and an unknown wife.²¹ A date in the 40's or 30's would fit both script and orthography. Cleopatra VII had two sisters, the elder being Berenice IV, who ruled Egypt from 58 to 55 while her father was in exile, and the younger named Arsinoe, but they cannot be the ones meant here: Auletes on his return killed Berenice, and Cleopatra induced Antony to murder Arsinoe in Ephesus.²² On the other hand, it would suit the royal and Egyptian

politique extérieure de l'Égypte, in: *Egypt and the Hellenistic World*, 1983, 99–127. Athenian decree: Syll.³ 434–435, 16–17. Altars of Arsinoe II: above, n. 11.

¹⁹ Methana-Arsinoe: IG IV 854 (OGIS 115); see now the base in honor of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II set up by the Arsinoites at Kalaureia: J. WALLENSTEN – J. PAKKANEN, *Opuscula* 2, 2009, 155–165, with previous bibliography. Thera: HILLER, RE 5 A, 1934, 2296–99, IG XII 3, 466 (OGIS 102; cf. PP VI no. 15262); on the date, HOLLEAUX, *Études* III, 1942, 91–92 (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 1913, 20–21). Abandonment of Cretan possessions: Syll.³ 685, 43 (I. Magnesia 105, I. Cret. III iv 9).

²⁰ STÄHELIN, RE 11, 1, 1921, 784f., Cleopatra 23; PP VI no. 14526; PIR² C 1148; G. BOWER-SOCK, *Augustus and the Greek World*, 1965, 36f., 61 (whence the quotation), 133; WHITEHORNE, *Cleopatras* ch. 16; D. W. ROLLER, *The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene: Royal Scholarship on Rome's African Frontier*, 2003. For Crinagoras' poems on her marriage with Juba and her death: A. S. F. GOW – D. L. PAGE, *The Garland of Philip*, 1968, Crinagoras XXV = *Anth. Pal.* 9, 235. XVIII = *Anth. Pal.* 7, 633.

²¹ The literature is enormous: basic information in STÄHELIN, RE 11, 1, 1921, 750–781, Kleopatra 20; PP VI no. 14525. There have been several recent treatments: J. BINGEN, *Hellenistic Egypt: Monarchy, Society, Economy, Culture*, 2007; H. HEINEN, *Kleopatra-Studien: Gesammelte Schriften zur ausgehenden Ptolemäerzeit*, 2009; ROLLER, *Cleopatra. On the question of Cleopatra's mother*, see now ROLLER, *Cleopatra* 165f.

²² Berenice IV: WILCKEN, RE 3, 1, 1897, 286f., Berenike 14; PP VI no. 14504; J. R. REA on P.Oxy. 55, 3777, pp. 3–5; for her death, Strab. 17, 1, 11, 796 C; Cass. Dio 39, 58, 3. Arsinoe: WILCKEN, RE 2, 2, 1895, 1288f., Arsinoe 28; PP VI no. 14493; for her death, Jos. Ant. Iud. 15, 89; App. BC 5, 9 (placing it in Miletus); Cass. Dio 48, 24, 2, alleging that Antony killed Cleopatra's

ambitions of the last Cleopatra that a client should recall her descent from Berenice I and Arsinoe II, the powerful wives of Ptolemy I and Ptolemy II. P. VAN MINNEN, identifying Cleopatra's signature in a recently published papyrus, observes: «For us, Cleopatra is the distorted figure created by Octavian's propaganda and by 2,000 years of *belles-lettres*. The Berlin papyrus presents us with a real queen ... During her reign, Cleopatra must have dictated and subscribed thousands of documents such as this.»²³

There remains the problem of the third queen, «Cleopatra Thea». Like the first two named on the altar, Berenice and Arsinoe, she must be dead and deified, but there is more than one possible candidate. One is Cleopatra VI Tryphaena, the wife and sister of Cleopatra's father, Ptolemy XII «Auletes». It is debated whether Tryphaena was Cleopatra's mother, but even if her true mother was some other wife of Ptolemy XII, that would not prevent a client from mentioning her step-mother and the latest acknowledged queen of Egypt (since Ptolemy had deposed and killed Cleopatra's elder sister, Berenice IV).²⁴

Alternatively, a hypothesis first put forward by T. V. BUTTREY would permit a different identification for this «Cleopatra Thea».²⁵ In the years 37 and 36, Antony greatly increased Cleopatra's realm by restoring parts of the old Ptolemaic empire, giving her a portion of Phoenicia, the tetrarchy of Chalcis, and in addition Cyprus and other territories.²⁶ She now began a second era of her reign within Egypt, so that Year 16 of her reign, Julian year 36, becomes «Year 16 which is also 1», and so on down to «Year 22 which is also 7», Julian year 30. In Egyptian documents, her titlature also changes. In the immediately previous years, they had dated her joint reign with her son by Julius Caesar, Ptolemy XV «Caesarion», in the form βασιλευόντων Κλεοπάτρας Θεᾶς Φιλοπάτορος καὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Καίσαρος Θεοῦ Φιλοπάτορος Φιλομήτορος. A papyrus published in 1980 showed that Cleopatra's style, but not Ptolemy's, had changed so that she was now Κλεοπάτρας Θεᾶς Νεωτέρας Φιλοπάτορος καὶ Φιλοπάτριδος. Also beginning in 37, coins struck outside Egypt in the

«brothers» in Ephesus. On Arsinoe's supposed tomb in Ephesus, H. THÜR, *JÖAI* 60, 1990, 43–56 and (more affirmatively) in: H. KOESTER (ed.), *Ephesos: Metropolis of Asia*, 1995, 178–183; considerable doubts remain.

²³ P. VAN MINNEN, *AncSoc* 30, 2000, 29–34, especially 32; for further discussion of the papyrus (P.Bingen 45), *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten* 12, 2009, 33f. Cf. G. BOWERSOCK, *Roman Arabia*, 1983, 44, «Cleopatra's dream of extending Ptolemaic sovereignty across the Near East, encompassing both Judaea and Arabia, was obliterated along with her Roman lover.»

²⁴ For Cleopatra VI, STÄHELIN, *RE* 11, 1, 1921, 748–750, Kleopatra 18; WHITEHORNE, *Cleopatras* 182f. Strabo: 17, 1, 11, 796C, calling only Berenice IV legitimate.

²⁵ T. V. BUTTREY, *ANSMusN* 6, 1954, 95–109 (J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull. ép.* 1955, 36).

²⁶ Donations of 37/36: R. SYME, *The Roman Revolution*, 1939, 260f.; BOWERSOCK, *Roman Arabia* (n. 23) 40–44; TH. SCHRÄPEL, *Das Reich der Kleopatra: Quellenkritische Untersuchungen zu den «Landschenkungen» Mark Antons*, 1996; PELLING, *CAH* 10², 1996, 29f.

newly acquired territories, restricting her titles to the essential, begin to call her βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα Θεὰ Νεωτέρα.²⁷

The significance of Νεωτέρα in Cleopatra's titulature has long been a puzzle. A. D. NOCK thought that it was the name of a Graeco-Egyptian goddess with whom Cleopatra was associated or identified. By contrast, BUTTREY divided the coin-legend as βασίλισσα Κλεοπάτρα Θεά, Νεωτέρα, «Queen Cleopatra Goddess the Younger», and argued that this marked her as a second or «younger» Cleopatra Thea, the implied «elder» being the powerful and influential daughter of Ptolemy VI Philometor (νεώτερος is one of several ways of indicating a younger homonym, like «Junior» in English).²⁸ This earlier Cleopatra played a large part in the relations between Egypt and the Seleucids. She was first married to Alexander I «Balas», then to the Seleucid Demetrius II Nicator, and when the Parthians had captured Demetrius, she married his younger brother Antiochus VII «Sidetes». By Balas she had Antiochus VI Epiphanes, by Demetrius the short-lived Seleucus V and the more durable Antiochos VIII Philopator «Grypus», and by Antiochus VII Antiochus IX Philopator «Cyzicenus». An issue of silver tetradrachms from Ptolemais in Phoenicia, dated to 126/25, has her portrait on the obverse and the inscription «Queen Cleopatra Thea Abundance» (βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας Θεᾶς Εὐετηρίας) on the reverse; this is the only issue of Seleucid coins showing a queen without a co-ruler. Thus on BUTTREY's hypothesis the names Κλεοπάτρα Θεὰ Νεωτέρα emphasized the younger Cleopatra's claim to be a new Lagid queen of Syria.²⁹

TH. SCHRAPEL has reverted to an interpretation close to that of NOCK, arguing that Neotera was a goddess particularly associated with Syria and Phoenicia, whom Cleopatra associated with herself as a popular deity in her newly acquired lands.³⁰ The inscription from Teos appears to add weight to BUTTREY's hypothesis. «Cleopatra Thea» would be the «elder» Cleopatra, named immediately after the first queens of the Lagid dynasty, Berenice I and Arsinoe II. «Queen Cleopatra», in the context of the 30's and given the constraints of space on the stone, did not need further identification as

²⁷ For a full discussion, and citation of all the sources, SCHRAPEL (n. 26), 163–167, 209–234; for the coins, e.g. BMC Galatia 158 nos. 53–56. Papyrus: BGU 14, 1980, no. 2376 (SCHRAPEL, 209–211). Brief summary in BINGEN, CRAI 1999, 62f. = Hellenistic Egypt (n. 21) 76f.; see now also P. THONEMANN, ZPE 165, 2008, 95.

²⁸ A. D. NOCK, *Aegyptus* 33, 1953, 283–296; BUTTREY (n. 25), followed by BINGEN, *ibid.* (n. 27), HUSS (n. 16) 756, THONEMANN, *ibid.* (n. 27), and ROLLER, *Cleopatra* 182. Νεώτερος for the younger of two homonyms: A. WILHELM, *Hermes* 44, 1909, 58f. = *Kleine Schriften* II 4, 418f.: L. and J. ROBERT, *La Carie*, 1954, 171, no. 60; G. KLAFENBACH, *Klio* 48, 1967, 54f.

²⁹ *Cleopatra Thea*: STÄHELIN, *RE* 11, 1, 1921, 785–787, *Kleopatra* 24; PP VI 14518; A. HOUGHTON, *Coins of the Seleucid Empire*, 1983, 80 no. 803; WHITEHORNE, *Cleopatras* ch. 11, esp. 159–163, with Pl. 11; GRAINGER, *Prosopography* 45–47; K. EHLING, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der späten Seleukiden* (164–63 v. Chr.), 2008, especially 212–215. Seleucid stemma: CAH 7, 1², 1984, 490f.; GRAINGER, *Prosopography* 820f. (not showing Cleopatra as Demetrius II's wife).

³⁰ SCHRAPEL (n. 26) 225–234.

the ruling queen of Egypt and of the renewed Seleucid Empire, Cleopatra VII. A clear choice between these two possibilities, Cleopatra Thea and Cleopatra VI Tryphaena, does not seem possible in the present state of the evidence, though Cleopatra Thea seems more likely.

Teos is an appropriate site for homage to Cleopatra VII. Dionysus was the chief divinity of Teos, as is shown not least by the coins, which are dominated by Dionysiac motifs. Several inscriptions of imperial date show the god as the presiding divinity (καθηγεμών) of the city. The Asiatic branch of the Artists of Dionysus had its first headquarters in Teos from an uncertain date in the third century to the third quarter of the second, when its frequent quarrels with the citizenry obliged it to move to Ephesus and later to Myonnesos.³¹ The same god was a favorite of Antony. When visiting Ephesus in 41, he was hailed as Dionysus, and in order to welcome him «the women dressed as Bacchantes, the men and boys as Satyrs and Pans». Later in the same year, when Cleopatra visited him in Tarsus, «the word went everywhere that Aphrodite was coming on a revel to Dionysus for the good of Asia». Antony's identification with Dionysus is independent of his attachment to Cleopatra, since he also manifested it when staying in Athens with Fulvia in 39 and 38; in 39 the city began to issue cistophoric coinage with the god's image, and in the following year the Panathenaea were celebrated as «the Antonian Panathenaea of the god Antony, the new Dionysus». In 34 he and Cleopatra mounted a Dionysiac procession in Alexandria, perhaps in connection with the «Donations» of this same year. Plutarch's poetical account of the god deserting Antony in 30 inspired a well-known poem of Constantin Cavafy.³²

Another «new Dionysus», the emperor Hadrian, restored or rebuilt the temple of Dionysus in Teos, originally the work of Hermogenes, a celebrated architect of the Hellenistic period.³³ It may be relevant that pilasters of this same temple were inscribed with decrees of the city and letters of Antiochus III and his consort Laodice

³¹ Principal text: Strab. 14, 1, 29, 643 C. In general, W. RUGE, RE 5 A, 1934, 560 (Dionysus), 561–564 (Artists); ROBERT, *Ét. anat.* 20–35 (inscriptions). For the Artists in Teos see now S. ANEZIRI, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten*, 2003, 80–84; C. C. LORBER – O. D. HOOVER, *Num. Chron.* 163, 2003, 59–68, publishing a tetradrachm issued by the Artists and probably minted in Teos ca. 155–145; on the imperial period, G. PETZL – E. SCHWERTHEIM, *Hadrian und die dionysischen Künstler*, 2006, 27–33.

³² Ephesus in 41: Plut. *Ant.* 24, 4. Tarsus: *ibid.* 26, 5. Athens in 39 and 38: HABICHT, *Athen* 358f., citing the historian Socrates of Rhodes, *Athen.* IV 148 b-c = FGrHist 192 F 2 (identification with Dionysus) and IG II/III² 1043, 22f. (Panathenaea). Dionysiac procession: Plut. *Ant.* 50, 6; Vell. 2, 82, 4, with WOODMAN's commentary. Desertion: Plut. *Ant.* 75, 4–6, with PELLING's commentary, which gives the KELLEY-SHERRARD translation of Cavafy's poem.

³³ Hadrian: ROBERT, *Hellenica* 3, 1946, 86–89; on Hadrian as «new Dionysus», A. D. NOCK, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* 1, 1972, 228 (HSCPh 41, 1930, 32); IGR I 17 (J.-Cl. DECOURT, *Inscriptions grecques de la France* 101). On the temple and the problem of Hermogenes' date, D. MAGIE, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* 2, 1950, 894f.; HERRMANN, *Antiochos* 32f.; W. HOEPFNER, in: HOEPFNER – E.-L. SCHWANDNER (edd.), *Hermogenes und die hochhellenistische Architektur*, 1990, 12–16; D. M. UZ, *ibid.* 51–61.

that went back to Antiochus' occupation of the city between about 203 and 190; in one of their decrees, the Teians talk of preserving the memory of these benefactions «to the end of time» (εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον), and the records of their gratitude appear to have remained visible even under Pergamene and Roman rule. The present inscription might also be from the area of this temple.³⁴

P. FRASER commented: «Wherever the sun of public acclaim shone on them, and particularly on Antony, Dionysiac tableaux and processions and Dionysiac Artists form the background of the splendour.»³⁵ At an uncertain date, Antony wrote to the League of Asia conferring privileges on the «Synod of Worldwide Sacred Victors and Crowned Victors»; this must have included members of the Asiatic Guild of Artists of Dionysus, though not identical with it.³⁶ He may have issued this order in 41, though possibly in the winter of 33/32, when he and Cleopatra were staying in Ephesus for the last time. In summer 32, as the two sides were mustering for the final clash, Antony moved his headquarters to Samos, and called on the Artists' services. «When all their forces had gathered, they sailed together to Samos, and spent their time in enjoyment. All kings, princes, and governors, all nations and cities between Syria, Lake Maeotis, Armenia, and the Illyrias, had been ordered to escort and bring all preparation necessary for war, and similarly all the Artists of Dionysus were required to appear at Samos. Thus while practically the whole world around was mourning and lamenting, this one island for many days rang with pipes and harps, as the theaters were filled and choruses competed. Every city made a joint sacrifice (συνέθυε) by sending an ox,³⁷ and the kings vied with one another in their receptions and gifts. Thus talk began to go around about what these people would do in their victory celebrations when they dined their forces so extravagantly» (Plut. Ant. 56, 6–10).

Crateia does not indicate why she set up the altar, but she probably had some personal link with the queen that is now irrecoverable. Even apart from the freedom by which individuals could treat whomever they pleased as gods,³⁸ Cleopatra was officially a goddess within the Lagid realm, and a dependent or courtier elsewhere could always honor her with an altar. It might be guessed that Antony and Cleopatra visited Teos during their time together, since it was a short sail from Samos and only a slightly

³⁴ HERRMANN, Antiochos, and again SEG 41, 1991, 1003–1005; J. MA, Antiochus III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor, 2000, 308–321 (there seems no good reason to suppose that these pilasters were «discarded», as MA suggests, 249f.). «To the end of time»: SEG 41, 1003, II 66–67. So also the list of Seleucid kings, OGIS 246 (above, n. 6), «atteste à Téos la persistance du souvenir pour les grands bienfaiteurs de la ville et la loyauté envers la dynastie» (J. and L. ROBERT, Bull. ép. 1969, 502).

³⁵ P. M. FRASER, Ptolemaic Alexandria, 1972, 205.

³⁶ SHERK, RDGE no. 57: on the date, PELLING, CAH 10², 1996, 11 with n. 31.

³⁷ On such *sunthysiai*, C. P. JONES, JHS 118, 1998, 183–186.

³⁸ In general, e.g. NOCK, Essays (n. 33) 840–843 (JRS 47, 1957, 119–121): cf. the inscription republished by P. M. FRASER, JRS 47, 1957, 71–73 (Bull. ép. 1959, 500; previously OGIS 195), in which a certain Parasitos honors Antony as «his own god and benefactor» in December, 34.

longer one from Ephesus, and if so that could have given Crateia the occasion for setting up her altar. Over a century before, when Apollonis the consort of Attalus I came to Teos, the city erected an altar «Of the goddess Apollonis, Pious, Of (safe) Landings» (θεᾶς Ἀπολλωνίδος Εὐσεβοῦς Ἀποβατηρίας), probably doing so at the agora by the port.³⁹

On balance, Cleopatra VII is the best candidate for the «queen Cleopatra» of the inscription, with Berenice I, Arsinoe II, and either Cleopatra Thea or (less probably) Cleopatra VI Tryphaena as her deified forebears. If that is correct, the *terminus ante quem non* should be 37, when Antony greatly extended Cleopatra's kingdom, and the *terminus post quem non* is Actium in September, 31. A date of 33 or 32 is best, and it so happens that 33 is also the date of the papyrus bearing Cleopatra's signature. After Actium, the stone might have seemed compromising and have been re-used in a new construction, and hence the epsilon on the side.

Additional Note: An Altar for Demetrius I and Laodice

An inscription first published in 2000 is now in the Sackler Museum of Harvard University. It is said to have a Syrian origin, and from there to have passed into a private collection in France before coming to the United States. Part of a molding is preserved at the upper left; the lower left corner appears not to be broken off but to have been cut cleanly away. The back is smooth, both the front and back are covered with root-marks, and there is still dirt in the letters. The object might have been inserted in an altar made of brick or other material, like the plaques in honor of Arsinoe Philadelphos. The measurements are 24,8 cm width, 25,6 height, 2,6 thickness. Plate 2. The text reads:⁴⁰

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Δημητρίου
καὶ βασιλίσσης Λαοδίκης
καὶ τῶν τέκνων
4 Ἀφροδίτῃ ἐπηκόωι
τὸν βωμὸν
Ἀπολλοφάνης Ἀπολλοφάνου
ὁ ἱερεὺς.

In publishing this object, O. HOOVER identified the king as Demetrius I of Syria and the queen as his sister Laodice (before then it had only been a conjecture that Laodice

³⁹ ROBERT, *Ét. anat.* 18–20, discussing OGIS 309 (SEG 4, 1954, 619); cf. HERRMANN, *Antiochos* 61f.; J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull. ép.* 1969, 501.

⁴⁰ O. D. HOOVER, *ZPE* 131, 2000, 106–110 (SEG 50, 2000, 1462). HOOVER notes that iota is written adscript after ἐπηκόωι, but prints it as subscript. He is correct, however, that the father's name is given as Ἀπολλοφάνου with no final sigma: for this genitive of s-stem names in -ης, THREATTE, *Grammar* II 162.

was her brother's wife).⁴¹ P.-L. GATIER has returned to the inscription, and sees two possibilities for the provenance, a grotto for the veneration of Aphrodite at Wasta between Tyre and Sidon (modern Mazraat el-Ouasta, on the right bank of the river Litani), or Sidon itself (Barr. Atl. 69, B 2, 3).⁴²

HOOVER rightly notes that Apollophanes was a priest of Aphrodite rather than of the king and queen, and suggests that her title of ἐπήκοος «could mean that in general she listens to the prayers of her worshipers or that she paid particular attention to a prayer or vow in return for which he erected the altar.»⁴³ It is worth comparing the decree of Teos showing that Apollonis, the consort of Attalus I, shared a priestess with Aphrodite. L. ROBERT proposed that Aphrodite figured here as the promoter of maternity; the marriage of Attalus and Apollonis was famously close, and produced four sons, including the two immediate successors of Attalus, Eumenes II and Attalus II.⁴⁴ The marriage of Demetrius and Laodice similarly produced three sons, two of whom succeeded their father, Demetrius II, Antiochus VII Euergetes «Sidetes», and a third, Antigonus, whom Ammonius, the minister of Alexander «Balas», murdered together with Laodice.⁴⁵ A priest of Aphrodite might well thank the goddess for blessing the royal union with sons and successors.

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⁴¹ For Demetrius, GRAINGER, *Prosopography* 39–42; for Laodice, STÄHELIN, *RE* 12, 2, 1924, 707f., Laodike 20: «vielleicht wurde sie daraufhin [after her rejection by Ariarathes V of Cappadocia] die Schwestergemahlin des Demetrios I selber», which the new inscription confirms; GRAINGER, *Prosopography* 49f., Laodike (12).

⁴² P.-L. GATIER, *ZPE* 147, 2004, 139–144; *SEG* 53, 2003, 1824.

⁴³ HOOVER (n. 40) 109. The classic discussion of this cult-adjective, not mentioned by HOOVER or GATIER, is by O. WEINREICH, *ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙ*, *Ath. Mitt.* 37, 1912, 1–68 = *Ausgewählte Schriften* 1, 1969, 131–195.

⁴⁴ ROBERT (n. 39); WILCKEN, *RE* 2, 1, 1895, 163f., Apollonis 4.

⁴⁵ For Ammonius and the murder, *Livy, Perioch.* 50 (*Livy* vol. 14 [Loeb], 32); GRAINGER, *Prosopography* 8, 76.

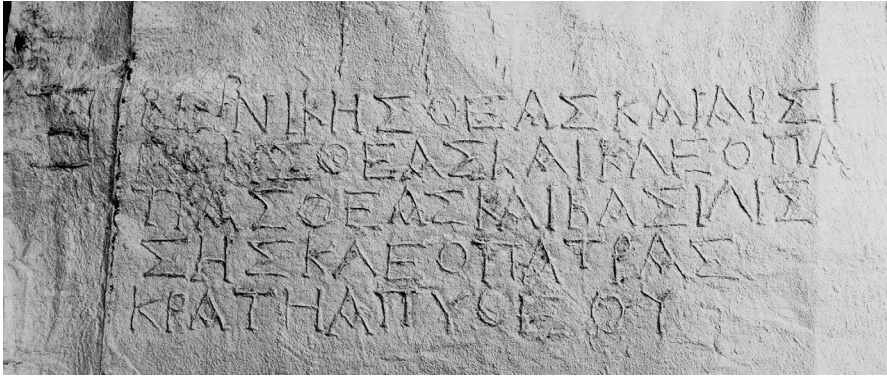


Plate 1: Inscription of Cleopatra VII (?) in the Collection Robert, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J.



Plate 2: Dedication to Aphrodite Epekoos for the Seleucid Ruler Demetrius I and his family. Harvard Art Museums, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Gift of Arthur Houghton, 2003.97. Copyright: Imaging Department © President and Fellows of Harvard College

