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SHORT NOTES ON 3RD-CENTURY PTOLEMAIC ROYAL FORMULAE AND FESTIVALS

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SHORT NOTES ON 3RD-CENTURY PTOLEMAIC ROYAL FORMULAE AND FESTIVALS

This paper gathers five short notes on the message of dynastic continuity in 3rd-century Ptolemaic history, as it was expressed through literature, papyri, inscriptions and visual evidence. While the scope of each note is to revise the reading and/or the interpretation of some specific passages, together these contributions are meant to showcase the methodological importance of a systematic, inter-medial comparative study of royal formulae in order to provide an encompassing portrait of the cultural and political dynamics in a certain historical context. The first note focuses on a literary passage of Callixeinus' *On Alexandria*, quoted in Athenaeus (V.202A–B); the second deals with a dedication to Ptolemy II and Arsinoe Philadelphos in Thera (IG XII, 3 1387); the third discusses two passages respectively from the synodal decree of Alexandria (243 BC) and from a papyrus reporting a decree of salt tax exemption issued by Ptolemy II (P. Hal. 1); the fourth and fifth notes provide an improved interpretation of two inscriptions, respectively from Phoenicia (Rey-Coquais 2006 = SEG LVI 1880) and Cyrenaica (OGIS 33 = IGCyr 033700).

1. The parade of royal thrones in Ptolemy II's Grand Procession in Alexandria

In the aftermath of Alexander's death, his lieutenants and closest collaborators strove to advertise their proximity to the dead king in order to strengthen their position in the rush for control over the Macedonian kingdom. Among the aspects of Macedonian ideology on which the clash between the Diadochs has shed light, the focus is here on the role of the (empty) throne as a metonymy of monarchic power, of its durability and inter-generational transferability beyond the biological limits of a monarch's lifetime. While the possible Argead premises of this ideological device escape us, we must assume that the message inherent in the display of the empty throne was expected to be clear enough for a Macedonian public from the very beginning, thus justifying its use by Perdikkas on the occasion of the meeting of the Macedonian elite after Alexander's death in Babylon.

As we read in Q. Curtius, Perdikkas welcomed the other commanders in the royal tent, where he had decorated Alexander's empty throne with his royal attributes (the diadem, the robe, the weapons and the ring of the king). Later on, a similar show was organized by Eumenes during the war against Antigonos.¹ The empty throne as a symbol of monarchic continuity appears once again one generation later, in the Alexandria of Ptolemy II. This time, however, the scene evoked in Athenaeus V.202A–B includes a plurality of thrones and the purpose of the show is to represent the royal family as a whole, in compliance with the contemporaneous efforts of Ptolemy II to promote a message of dynastic continuity based on the succession of ruling couples.²

Athenaeus quotes a passage of Callixeinus' report of the Grand Procession held by Ptolemy II in Alexandria, describing a sequence of thrones decorated with royal symbols:

Ἐπόμευσαν δὲ καὶ θρόνοι πολλοὶ ἐξ ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ κατεσκευασμένοι ὧν ἐφ' ἐνὸς μὲν ἔκειτο στεφάνη χρυσεῖ, ἐπ' ἄλλου δίκερας χρυσοῦν, ἐπ' ἄλλου δὲ ἦν στέφανος χρυσοῦς, καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλου δὲ κέρασ ὀλόχρυσον. Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σωτῆρος θρόνον στέφανος ἐπέκειτο ἐκ μυρίων κατεσκευασμένος χρυσιῶν.

The generic "many" does not let us know how many chryselephantine thrones were displayed in the parade, but Callixeinus subsequently focuses on four of them, each one bearing a distinctive golden object: a στεφάνη, a δίκερας, a στέφανος and a single horn (κέρασ). Callixeinus then makes it explicit that the throne of Ptolemy Soter held a στέφανος made of innumerable pieces of gold. It is worth exploring the hypothesis that Soter's throne is the same as the one mentioned just above and bearing the στέφανος. If this

¹ For Perdikkas, cf. Curt. 10.6.4; 10.7.13; for Eumenes, cf. Plut., *Eum.* 13.3–4; Diod. 18.60–61; Nepos, *Eum.* 7.2–3; Polyae. 4.8.2.

² For the general ideological framework see Caneva 2016, Chapter 4.

is true, then the remaining three thrones should be interpreted as bearing symbols of members of the Ptolemaic dynasty as well. The exclusive symbol of Arsinoe II, the δίκηρας, corroborates this interpretation. The remaining attributes, the στεφάνη (a feminine crown) and the single horn, would respectively fit the thrones of Berenice I and Ptolemy II. The four thrones would therefore symbolize the dynasty as a sequence of two ruling couples, each unified by the attributes of the crown (the Theoi Soteres) and of the cornucopia (the Theoi Adelphoi). The combination of ivory and gold, typical of divine statues, places this family group within a divine sphere, reminding that the two ruling couples were religiously honoured as gods.

This visual rendering of the message of dynastic continuity is paralleled in the contemporaneous evidence by the jugate busts on the golden mnaieia of the Theoi Adelphoi and by the formulae of the royal oaths preserved in Greek and demotic documents from the reign of Ptolemy II.³ The famous reference to Arsinoe in the Chremonides decree, which follows the mention of the preceding ruling pair, the Theoi Soteres, can be read against this same ideological background, with the difference that in this case, the message of dynastic continuity is specified in relation to political continuity concerning the Ptolemaic support of Greek freedom, rather than within a religious context.

A last point to be discussed is related to the chronological ramification of this discussion. The presence of the δίκηρας in this and in another passage of Callixeinus' account (Athen. V.202C) speaks against a date of the procession before the marriage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II. While both the date of this marriage and of the invention of the double cornucopia as the symbol of Arsinoe II (Athen. XI.497B–C) remain unknown,⁴ it seems improbable that both events took place directly after Arsinoe II reached Egypt from Samothrace, where she had found escape from her half-brother Ptolemy Ceraunus (280/79 BC). This implies that we should reject a date of Callixeinus' Grand Procession on the occasion of the Ptolemaia of 279/8 BC, which is the best candidate for the first edition of the Ptolemaia as an isolympic festival.⁵ At that time, Ptolemy II was probably still married to Arsinoe I, or in any case too little time had passed since her disgrace and substitution with Arsinoe II. The most plausible time lap for the procession seems to be the decade between the mid-270s and the mid-260s, i.e. during the joint reign of the Theoi Adelphoi or soon after, when the widowed Ptolemy II promoted the religious figure of Arsinoe Philadelphos throughout the Ptolemaic empire, at the dawn of, or during the first phase of the Chremonidean War.⁶

2. A dedication to King Ptolemy II and Arsinoe Philadelphos in Thera

IG XII, 3 Suppl. 1387 is the dedication of a cylindrical altar made to King Ptolemy II and Arsinoe Philadelphos, in Thera, by an unknown individual son of a certain Baton. The reference to King Ptolemy and Arsinoe Philadelphos dates the inscription to the period of the sole rule of the widow Ptolemy II (270–246 BC).⁷

I report here the photo of the squeeze and the text edited by F. Hiller von Giertringen, which needs to be corrected at line 3:

[βασιλεῖ Πτ]ολεμαί[ωι]
 [Πτολεμαί]ου καὶ
 [Βερενίκης καὶ θεοῖ]ς Σωτη[ρσι καὶ]
 [Ἀρσινόηι Φιλαδ]έλφωι
 [ὁ δεῖνα —]ράτωνος sive [Β]άτωνο[ς]

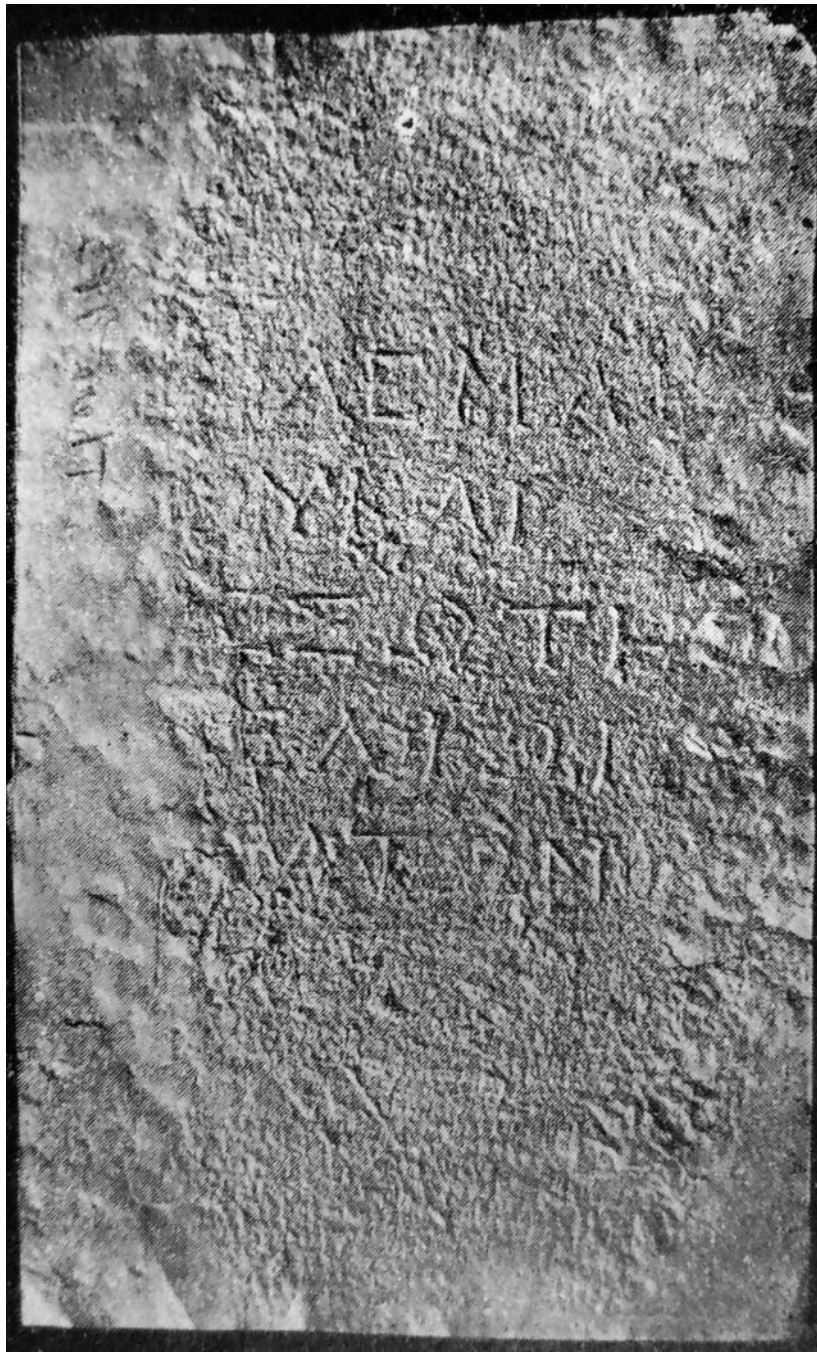
³ Olivier–Lorber 2013; Caneva 2016, 164–165 and Appendix I.

⁴ The terminus ante quem for the marriage between Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II is the visit of the royal couple to Pithom on 1st January 273 BC (Pithom stele, lines 15–16); the cult of the Theoi Adelphoi was founded between the date of the marriage and 272/1 BC, when the first eponymous priest of Alexander and the royal couple is attested (P.Hib. II 199).

⁵ This early date of the procession has won large success among scholars. See recently Walbank 1996 and Thompson 2000. For other proposed dates, see Caneva 2016, 89 n. 22; Keyser 2016.

⁶ This section develops the arguments exposed in Caneva 2013a, 310–312; 2013b, 141; 2016, 173–176.

⁷ Caneva 2013a. For the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos in Thera, see also the altars IG XII, 3 462 (RICIS 202/1201; Caneva 2014, nr. 49) and 1386 (Caneva 2014, nr. 48).



The editor interpreted the preserved text ΣΩΤΗ at line 3 as part of the dative Σωτή[ρσι], thus suggesting that the Theoi Soteres were mentioned as the recipients of the dedication together with Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II. The reading καὶ θεοῖς Σωτή[ρσι] is, however, too long and provides an odd structure of the dedication. Most importantly, comparison with the contemporaneous formulae of Ptolemaic inscriptions and papyri suggest to interpret ΣΩΤΗ as part of the genitive Σωτήρων, referring to the predecessors of Ptolemy II.

At line 3, only the two horizontal strokes of the letter before ΣΩΤΗ are clearly visible in the photo. This, together with the line length, forces us to exclude the presence of the genitive Θεῶν before Σωτήρων. Accordingly, the Σ before ΣΩΤΗ at line 3 must be interpreted as the last letter of Βερενίκη]. The formula mentioning the first Ptolemaic ruling pair directly after their personal name, as the predecessors of Ptolemy II, is well attested in contemporaneous evidence, as is the joint reference to the living King Ptolemy and the deceased Arsinoe Philadelphos. On the photo, Β and Ο of line 5 are unclear and the final Σ is in

lacuna, but the name Βάτων is well documented in the epigraphic dossier from Thera, as already noted by von Gaertringen. The layout of the text, with lines 2 and 5 shorter than the others, is justified by the round surface of the altar, which perhaps was thought to occupy a place in a corner of a sanctuary or of a private space, where the dedication was only visible from a limited point of observation.

The correct reading of the text is the following:

[βασιλεῖ Πτ]ολεμαί[ωι]
 [Πτολεμαί]ου καὶ *vacat*
 [Βερενίκη]ς Σωτή[ρων καὶ]
 [Ἀρσινόηι Φιλαδ]έλφωι
 [c. 7] Βάτωνο[ς] *vacat*

3. The festival of the Theoi Adelphoi under Ptolemy II and III

The recent publication of a hieroglyphic/demotic stele found near the village El-Khazindaryia, at 400 km South of Cairo along the Nile, has provided the complete text of the earliest known synodal decree of the Egyptian priests, of which only small Greek fragments were known before.⁸ The decree was issued in Alexandria on 13 Gorpaios = 12 Phaopi of the 5th regnal year of Ptolemy III (c. 3 December 243). The hieroglyphic text informs that the occasion of the gathering was “the festival of Ptolemy” (“of the Pharaoh” in the demotic version) and of the Sibling Gods: the Ptolemaia and Theadelphia in the corresponding section of the Greek version: εἰς τῆ[ν πανήγυριν τῶν Πτολεμαίων] ἢ καὶ Θεαδ[ε]λφείω[ν] [...].⁹

The association of the two festivals at the time of the first edition of the Ptolemaia held under Ptolemy III was already known from a letter of Ptolemy III to Xanthos (SEG XXXVI 1218, lines 7–9). What the Alexandria decree adds to this scenario is an important piece of information concerning the calendrical position of the two festivals. Because P.Cair.Zen. V 59820 (253 BC) dates the festival of the Theoi Adelphoi during Audnaios in the late years of Ptolemy II, the new position documented by the Alexandria decree points at a change of the calendrical position of the festival. A change also occurred for the Ptolemaia,¹⁰ suggesting that Ptolemy III reorganized the position of both the Ptolemaia and the Theadelphia so that they would occur together and convey a message of dynastic continuity. By providing a ten-year time lap between the editions of the festival of the Theoi Adelphoi in 253 and 243, moreover, the Alexandria decree shows that this festival did not have a four-year cycle as the Ptolemaia.¹¹ Finally, the calendrical change of the Ptolemaia at the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy III solves the chronological problems concerning the identification of the isolympic Ptolemaia, the only known Ptolemaic festival with a penteteric cycle, with the festival named Penteteris in the papyri. Evidence from before and after the reform of Ptolemy III now shows that the Ptolemaia and the Penteteris occurred in the same period of the year and moved coherently on the calendar, thus confirming their identity.¹²

⁸ See Kayser 2012 and El-Masry–Altenmüller–Thissen 2012, 76–82 for the fragments of the Greek version, which was not copied on the El-Khazindariya stele.

⁹ Caneva 2016, 187–188; emended version of the text published in Kayser 2012, I 419: εἰς τῆ[ν --- τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου] ἢ καὶ Θεαδ[ε]λφείω[ν] [πανήγυριν].

¹⁰ PSI IV 364, a letter written by Zenodoros informing Zenon of the victory of Zenodoros’ brother at the Ptolemaia in Hieria Nesos, is dated 8 Loios of the 35th year of Ptolemy II = c. 30 September 251, which sets the calendrical terminus ante quem for the celebration of the Ptolemaia during the last years of Ptolemy II. For further discussion of this issue, see Caneva 2016, 194. For the identification of Hieria Nesos with a locality near Alexandria rather than in the Fayum, cf. Remijsen 2009, 259.

¹¹ To assume that both festivals had a four-year cycle, as does Remijsen 2013, 354, we should suppose that the reform of Ptolemy III affected not only the calendrical position of the Theadelphia, but also their cycle.

¹² On 26 Payni 26 = mid August 251 (P.Ryl. IV 562 = SB V 7645), Zenon requested the arrangement of supplies in the Memphite village of Meia for some cavalymen who were going to attend the Penteteris (lines 8–10). There is no reason to assume that such initiative would be taken many weeks before the festival. The calendrical position of the Penteteris during the last years of Ptolemy II’s reign is therefore consistent with the position of the Ptolemaia as suggested by PSI IV 364. See Caneva 2016, 193–195.

The importance of the dynastic link between the Ptolemaia and the Theadelphia at the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy III gives new impetus to explore the possibility of a link ideally connecting these royal festivals already at the time of Ptolemy II.

A famous section of P. Hal. 1, lines 260–265 (c. 256 BC), contains a list of social groups exempted by Ptolemy II from the salt tax:¹³ these groups included school teachers, trainers, the practitioners of the cults of Dionysus and the winners of three agonistic festivals, only two of which are still legible, the Basileia and the Ptolemaia:

Ἀπολλώνιος Ζαίλαι χαίρειν. Ἀφείκαμ[εν] τού[ς τε διδασκάλους] ἢ τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τοὺς παιδοτρίβας [κ]αὶ τ[οὺς ἐπιτηδεύοντας] ἢ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς νενικηκό[τ]ας τ[... c. 14 ...] ἀγῶνα καὶ τὰ Βασίλεια καὶ τὰ Πτολε[μ]α[τ]ία, κ[αθ]άπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἢ προστέταχεν, τοῦ ἀλὸς το(ῦ) τέλο(υ)ς αὐτούς τ[ε] καὶ [οἰκείους]. ἢ Ἐρρωσο. (ἔτους) [...].

The first name has been tentatively integrated in different ways, none of which has proved convincing. The edition of the papyrus in *Dikaiomata* filled the lacuna of about 14 letters as τ[ὸν Ἀλεξάνδρειον] ἀγῶνα. This festival, however, is unparalleled in the evidence. Diodorus' reference to the contests dedicated by Ptolemy I to Alexander (18.28.4) does not suffice to prove the existence, in Alexandria, of a contest specifically named after the city founder. Such a festival simply does not appear in our sources. By distinguishing the isolympic Ptolemaia from the Penteteris festival mentioned in the papyri, Visser filled the gap with 14 letters: τ[ὸν πεντητερικὸν] ἀγῶνα.¹⁴ The integration is formally plausible, yet as seen above, there seems to be no reason to reject the identification between the penteteric festival and the isolympic Ptolemaia. Nerwinski explored other hypotheses, such as the Dionysia and Eleusinia, without providing any conclusive argument for either option.¹⁵ More recently, Thompson proposed to read τ[ὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι] ἀγῶνα (assuming a lacuna of 16 letters), which unsatisfactorily leaves the identification of the festival unsolved.¹⁶ Moreover, it must be noticed that also the Basileia and the Ptolemaia took place in Alexandria,¹⁷ as many other festivals. It is therefore improbable that the third festival was simply referred to with such a generic topographic denomination.

Face to this unsatisfactory state of the art, evidence concerning the festival of the Theoi Adelphoi during the reign of Ptolemy II and the royal significance of the two other festivals mentioned in P. Hal. 1 allow to suggest the integration τ[ὸν Θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν] ἀγῶνα as a fitting integration for a lacuna of 13 letters. IvO 188, a list of victories in horse races from the mid-2nd century BC, confirms the existence of contests associated with the festival of the Sibling Gods. The reference to the festival as the [πανήγ]υριν τῶν Θεῶν [Α]δελφῶν at line 3 of P.Cair.Zen. V 59820 (253 BC), which dates to the last years of Ptolemy II, suggests that the compound name Theadelphia only came into normal use under Ptolemy III.¹⁸ This solves the problem of the different syntactic solution adopted to mention this festival in P. Hal. 1 in comparison with the Basileia and Ptolemaia, which are simply referred to in the accusative. The same reason speaks against identifying the lost name with another royal festival, the Arsinoeia.¹⁹

¹³ Clarysse–Thompson 2006, II 52–53.

¹⁴ Visser 1938, 70.

¹⁵ Nerwinski 1981, 109.

¹⁶ Clarysse–Thompson 2006, II 52. The translation of the text provided in Clarysse–Thompson 2006, II 52–53 changes the meaning of the sentence by rendering the singular ἀγῶνα with a plural, which anticipates the following names of festivals: "... the victors at the games in Alexandria, both the dynastic games and the Ptolemaic festival-games". The hypothesis explored in Thompson 2000, 373 n. 31, that the festival mentioned here would be the Ptolemaia of Hieria Nesos, a local heat of the isolympic Ptolemaia, should also be rejected. Firstly, there is no reason to distinguish the Ptolemaia at Hieria Nesos from the isolympic festival (Remijsen 2009, 259); secondly, it is not clear why victory at a local competition, or even more so at the local heat of a bigger festival, would justify the insertion of the winner among the categories exempted from the salt tax.

¹⁷ See Remijsen 2013, 352–353 (Ptolemaia) and 354 (Basileia).

¹⁸ See also Caneva 2016, 168–169 for the documentation concerning the villages named Philadelphia and Theadelphia in the Arsinoites nome.

¹⁹ On the Arsinoeia, see Perpillou-Thomas 1993, 155–158.

The contest of the Theoi Adelphoi, the Basileia and the Ptolemaia make a homogeneous group, coherently pointing at the importance of royal festivals in Ptolemaic policy, even before Ptolemy III decided to combine two of them in order to highlight his message of dynastic continuity. The exemption from the salt tax for winners in these contests can be explained with the ideological significance acknowledged by Ptolemy II to royal festivals, while school teachers and trainers on the one hand, the cult staff of Dionysus on the other, complete the profile of the social categories upon which the king wanted to build the new Ptolemaic elite. Schools and gymnasia were among the main factors of Hellenization in Ptolemaic Egypt as, more broadly, in the Hellenistic Eastern Mediterranean. Dionysus was a paramount figure in the Ptolemaic royal pantheon and the special social prestige acknowledged to his cult staff is known from the role of the Dionysiac τεχνῖται in Alexandria and Ptolemais at the time of our interest.²⁰

4. The date and context of a Ptolemaic inscription from Tyre

Drawing on the records of R. P. René, Rey-Coquais (2006) has published a Ptolemaic inscription discovered several decades earlier in Tyre and subsequently sold in America, where it got lost. The text of the inscription is the following (SEG LVI 1880):

βασιλέως | Πτολεμαίου | τοῦ Πτολεμαίου[υ] | καὶ Ἀρσινόης | Θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν

The formula in the genitive suggests that the stone was the dedicatory plaque of an altar, or perhaps one of the stone blocks constituting it. Many specimens of this kind of small ritual objects are known from Ptolemaic evidence, particularly from the dossier of Arsinoe Philadelphos in Egypt, Cyprus and the Cyclades.²¹ The editor translated the text “Du roi Ptolémée, fils de Ptolémée, et d’Arsinoé, Dieux Adelphe”, interpreting Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II as the joint recipients of the dedication. According to Rey-Coquais (p. 101), “on ne voit pas pour quel motif leur [= to the Theoi Adelphoi] aurait été érigé un monument après l’avènement de Ptolémée III”.

Comparison with contemporaneous Ptolemaic sources mentioning the Theoi Adelphoi makes it sure, however, that we are dealing with a dedication for Ptolemy III, whereas Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II are mentioned as the king’s predecessors. In the texts from the reign of Ptolemy II, Arsinoe is always accompanied by either the title βασίλισσα or the epithet Φιλάδελφος. Conversely, texts from the reign of Ptolemy III mention the king’s adoptive mother Arsinoe II without any further denomination and associate her with her husband Ptolemy II, as the predecessors of the living king.²²

The correct translation of the inscription is the following: “[Altar] of King Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, the Theoi Adelphoi”. Evidence stressing the dynastic link between Ptolemy III and the previous royal couple is abundant, particularly in the early years of Euergetes’ reign, and its ideological purpose of underscoring trans-generational continuity and legitimacy is evident.²³

The provenance of the inscription, together with the intensive promotion of the message of dynastic continuity during the early years of Ptolemy III, suggest a probable date of the dedication during or soon after the eastern campaign of the king, which marked the beginning of the Laodicean War (autumn 246 – spring 245 BC).²⁴ The absence of the epiclesis Euergetes, which is first attested in 243/2 BC,²⁵ further supports this early date.

²⁰ Cf. Caneva 2016, 93–95.

²¹ Caneva 2014.

²² Cf. Caneva 2016, Appendix II.

²³ Caneva 2016, Chapter 5.

²⁴ Altenmüller 2010.

²⁵ Cf. I.Philae 1. The epiclesis Euergetes first appears in the Alexandria decree and in the dating formula mentioning the eponymous priest for 243/2 BC (Clarysse–Van der Veken 1983, 10–11, no. 48: Aristoboulos, son of Diodotos).

5. Arsinoe III, goddess and queen, in a statue base at Ptolemais, Cyrenaica

OGIS 33 (IGCyr 033700) is a fragmentary statue base dedicated by the city of Ptolemais in Cyrenaica and mentioning a queen and goddess Arsinoe.²⁶ The base was later recut and reused in the Roman time. The left half of the base is preserved:

Βασίλισσαν Ἀρσινόην θεά[... c. 11–12 ...]
τὴν Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βερενίκης [... c. 11–12 ...]
vacat ἢ πόλις [*vacat*]

Dittenberger proposed two possible dates for the text, which would identify the queen as either Arsinoe II or III.²⁷ The lacunae at lines 1 and 2 leave space to both hypotheses: θεά[ν Φιλιάδελφον] and θεά[ν Φιλοπάτορον] only differ by 1 letter, while [θεῶν Σωτήρων] and [θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν] by 2. The earlier date was advocated by Laronde, who suggested that the dedication was made during the late reign of Ptolemy II, after the king's reconciliation with Magas.²⁸ Although the identification with Arsinoe II has won consensus,²⁹ comparison with the formulae of contemporaneous Ptolemaic inscriptions suggests that the portrayed queen was in fact Arsinoe III.

In the evidence concerning Arsinoe II, the queen is mentioned either as βασίλισσα (during her joint reign with Ptolemy II)³⁰ or with her cult epithet Philadelphos, sometimes accompanied by θεά,³¹ whereas the double denomination βασίλισσα ... θεά is unattested.³² Conversely, this formula is documented for Arsinoe III:

- SEG XXXIII 674 (Cos): βασίλισσαν Ἀρσινόην θεὰν Φιλοπάτορα | βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασίλισσης | Βερενίκης Θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν Καλλίμαχος | Ἀντιφίλου Ἀλ[εξαν]δρεὺς ἀγωνοθετήσας.
- SB V 7738 = I.Delta, p. 237, no. 8; SEG VIII 453 (Canopus): βασίλισσαν Ἀρσινόην θεὰν | Φιλοπάτορα θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν | [...] | [...] ὁ τοῦ Νείλου ἱερεὺς.

The short formula documented by the second text is the most plausible integration for OGIS 33, whose text should therefore be completed as follows:

Βασίλισσαν Ἀρσινόην θεά[ν Φιλοπάτορα],
τὴν Πτολεμαίου καὶ Βερενίκης, [Θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν],
vacat ἢ πόλις [*vacat*]³³

²⁶ As proposed by Criscuolo 2001, the structure of the text was later used, sometime in the first half of the '160s, as the model for a statue group representing the triad of the Theoi Philometores, also dedicated by the city of Ptolemais (SEG LI 2213, for Ptolemy VI; SEG IX 358, for Ptolemy VIII; a possible third portrait, depicting Kleopatra II, has not been preserved).

²⁷ In OGIS I, p. 59 n. 1.

²⁸ Laronde 1987, 398.

²⁹ See most recently IGCyr 033700 (website consulted on 11 March 2016).

³⁰ See the references gathered in Caneva 2016, 146–147 n. 68.

³¹ For the role of the epiclesis Philadelphos as an ideological instrument to represent the ruling couple as still symbolically united even after Arsinoe's death, see Caneva 2013a and 2016, Chapter 4. In both the Greek and Egyptian sources, the element "goddess" is not necessary and appears only from time to time (Caneva 2014).

³² The integrations of I.Delta I, p. 233 no. 3 (SB V 8850; SEG VIII 462), which could provide a parallel case, must be rejected; see OGIS 31 for an improved edition of the text.

³³ The research leading to the results presented in this essay has received funding from the European Commission, Seventh Framework Programme, under Grant Agreement n° 600376.

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