

# ΑΡΧΑΙΟΓΝΩΣΙΑ

τόμος 7

1991-92



ΑΘΗΝΑ 1993



ΕΚΘΕΩΣΙΣ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ:  
ON THE CULT OF ARSINOE PHILADELPHOS

A cornelian ringstone in the Cabinet des Médailles\*, strikes one by virtue of its exceptional size, four centimetres high and over two wide, as well as by its subject (Pl. 16a)<sup>1</sup>. It represents a goddess leaning with her right elbow on a pillar, while holding a sceptre with taenia under her right arm and a double cornucopia in her left hand. The goddess is wearing a high girted chiton and an himation round her thighs, held over her left arm. She is crowned with a *stephane*. While intaglios with deities in similar postures are not at all rare in the Hellenistic period, this goddess, assimilating a number of heterogeneous divine properties, invites consideration.

The provenance of the piece is uncertain. Its connection with the Ptolemies however is almost self-evident. And this is due to the double cornucopia the goddess carries, prominently held in her raised hand. The double cornucopia was associated with the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos<sup>2</sup>, wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (r. 282-246 BC), and appeared in a long series of commemorative coin issues in her name, inaugurated by her husband (Pl. 17b)<sup>3</sup>.

---

\* This paper resulted from research on Hellenistic Glyptic undertaken in Oxford, therefore owes much to the instruction and attention of John Boardman and Martin Henig, my supervisor and academic advisor respectively. Earlier stages of this work were presented to the Greek Archaeology Seminar in Oxford in May 1991, and I wish to thank those present at the time for many helpful suggestions. The permit to study and photograph material kept in the Hermitage Museum I owe to Oleg Neverov, who kindly assisted my work in St. Petersburg. Thanks are also due to Joel Simon who helped with the final preparations of this paper.

1. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; 40 × 26mm; acquired in 1852 from the "Orient", mounted in a fibula probably of Byzantine date; A. CHABOUILLET, *Catalogue général et raisonné des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris 1858, no 1724; RICHTER = G. M. A. RICHTER, *The Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans*, New York 1968, no. 545.
2. Arsinoe was born about 316 BC, and was the eldest daughter of Ptolemy Soter and Berenike. At the age of sixteen she became the wife of Lysimachos of Thrace and later of her half-brother Ptolemy Keraunos. She went back to Egypt in 279 BC, and by 274 she had become the wife of her brother Ptolemy Philadelphos.
3. SVORONOS = J. N. SVORONOS, *Tà νομίσματα τοῦ κράτους τῶν Πτολεμαίων*, Athens 1904-8,

Arsinoe died in July of the year 270 BC<sup>4</sup>. Already since 272/71 or earlier she had been included in the dynastic cult as *Thea Adelphos*, jointly with her husband and brother<sup>5</sup>. A separate eponymous priesthood of Arsinoe was established by Ptolemy Philadelphos soon after her death, to be served by a priestess designated as the *kanephoros*<sup>6</sup>. An Alexandrian decree regulating the public aspects of the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos has been partly preserved and, although fragmentary, it constitutes our primary evidence on the cult<sup>7</sup>.

Apart from the coin series, the double cornucopia features in another class of objects related to the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos: a group of faience oinochoai manufactured in Alexandria for more than a century. Their standard iconography consists of a queen, most likely a deified one, pouring a libation over an altar (Pl. 16c). Apart from Arsinoe, whose series runs from c. 270 down to c. 240, wholly after her death, Berenike II and Arsinoe III are featured in the class, occasionally identified by inscriptions, while Kleopatra I is most likely depicted in some examples. The function of the oinochoai remains highly conjectural. However what seems clear, is that they were employed in some sort of public or —perhaps more likely— private ritual concerning ruler cult in Ptolemaic Alexandria<sup>8</sup>.

Some of the oinochoai bear inscriptions falling into two groups: Those inscribed on the shoulder of the vase, and therefore referring to the deity represented on the main scene, and those inscribed on the altars, most likely to designate the deities of the altar, to whom the queen pours the libation. As far as Arsinoe is concerned, she is connected with two deities in the oinochoai inscriptions, the *Agathe Tyche* and Isis. The pattern of the relation of Arsinoe Philadelphos with the two goddesses is far from clear: one of the inscriptions reads 'Αγαθῆς Τύχης Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου (Pl. 16c)<sup>9</sup>, and this may refer either to the personal *Tyche* of the queen, or to the queen as identified with the goddess *Tyche*. The implications of either alternative are quite serious: in the first case it would mean that the dedication occurred before Arsinoe's death, with significant bearing on our understanding of the oinochoai as a

---

III Pls. XV and XVI. 1-16.

4. It is the usual assumption that Arsinoe died in 270 BC. It has been recently suggested, however, that she was still alive in 268 BC [E. GRZYBEK, *Du calendrier macédonien en calendrier ptolémaïque*, Basel 1989]. Even if this is true, she must have died soon after. At any rate, this uncertainty should not affect the present discussion.

5. A priesthood for the cult of the *Theoi Adelphoi* had been established on or before 272/71, since it was mentioned in a decree of that year; see *Ptol. Alex.* = P. M. FRASER, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford 1971, 216.

6. *ibid.* 219.

7. *ibid.* 225-26 and 229-30; THOMPSON = D. B. THOMPSON, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience*, Oxford 1973, 54 f.

8. *Ptol. Alex.* 241; THOMPSON *op. cit.*

9. THOMPSON, no. 1.

class; the second reading would rather imply that Arsinoe was already dead when identified with Tyche. Fraser<sup>10</sup> seems justified when pointing out that the two divinities, the personal Tyche of Arsinoe and Arsinoe as Tyche herself, were unconsciously diffused by the Alexandrian populace. Even if this integration had occurred before Arsinoe's death, one would expect it to have been intensified after her death, when she was also accepted into the cult of Isis.

Once more, the pattern and the exact content of this identification is not quite clear. Its mechanisms, however, must have been set in motion soon after Arsinoe's death in July 270. The death and funeral of the queen coincided with the end of the Egyptian year, marked by the reappearance in the sky of *Sothis*, Isis' sacred star. In Egyptian cult the rise of *Sothis* was the sign of the inundation of the Nile, and the inauguration of the new year. Thompson<sup>11</sup> was quite right to suggest the sensation caused in Alexandria by the rise of the star soon after Arsinoe's funeral. In his lament for the dead queen, labelled the Ἐκθέωσις Ἀρσινόης<sup>12</sup>, Kallimachos recounts how Apollo sent the Dioskouroi to bear Arsinoe in a chariot to Heaven<sup>13</sup>. Isis was usually associated with the Dioskouroi and depicted with them in the way Kallimachos envisaged Arsinoe after her funeral<sup>14</sup>. The multi-levelled symbolism of the poem, and one would think of the funeral itself, was completed when Ptolemy Philadelphos erected an obelisk in Arsinoe's burial precinct, itself a pillar of light, and in Egyptian mythology referring to the celestial character of Isis, and in many ways an essential particle of the Isiac cult<sup>15</sup>. Ptolemy Philadelphos consciously encouraged the worship of Arsinoe as Isis outside Alexandria. In this way Isis came under direct court patronage which marked the religious policy of the Ptolemies throughout their history. Philadelphos' interest in Isis was chiefly displayed on the island of Philae, where he undertook unprecedented architectural works to honour Isis, but also Arsinoe, who was a σύνναος Θεός to Isis on the Island<sup>16</sup>.

Although with a long tradition in Pharaonic religion, Isis was not as important a goddess as she came to be under Ptolemaic patronage. From the

10. *Ptol. Alex.* 241.

11. THOMPSON 66 f.

12. R. PFEIFFER, ed., *Callimachus* i, Oxford 1949, fr. 228.

13. The fragmentary state of the poem is mended by the *Diegesis* (x. 10):

Ἄγέτω Θεός, οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ δίχα τῶνδ' αἰεῖν Ἐκ-  
θέωσις Ἀρσινόης φησὶν δὲ αὐτὴν ἀνηράσ-  
θαι ὑπὸ τῶν Διοσκύρων καὶ βωμὸν καὶ τέ-  
μενος αὐτῆς καθιδρῦσθαι πρὸς τῷ Ἐμπορίῳ.

14. THOMPSON 67.

15. E. H. WARMINGTON, ed., *Pliny, Natural History*, London 1967-71, xxxvi, 67 f: hic fuit in Arsinoeo positus a rege supra dicto munus amoris in coniuge eademque sorore Arsinoe.

16. See ŽABKAV = L. V. ŽABKAV, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae*, Hanover and London 1987, esp. 12-15, 89-90.

time of Herodotos<sup>17</sup> Greeks viewed Isis as equivalent to Demeter. This was mainly due to her profoundly chthonic character as consort to Osiris, but also to her role as a fertility goddess in the myths surrounding the yearly inundation of the Nile<sup>18</sup>. During the Ptolemaic period Isis accumulated divine characteristics of Greek goddesses, mainly Hera and Aphrodite, and acted as an Egyptian—or rather Alexandrian—counterpart to them.

Arsinoe Philadelphos was incorporated in this cult after her death, having in a way assumed the chthonic - beneficent powers of Isis. And this was another important aspect of the Isiac cult: the concept of Isis as Good Fortune, the *Agathe Tyche*. Apart from her potency as cosmological force<sup>19</sup>, giver of arts and crafts<sup>20</sup>, giver of life<sup>21</sup> and more, Isis was eventually perceived as Good Fortune, *Agathe Tyche*, as opposed to mere *Tyche*. The distinction is exemplified for us by Apuleius in the *Metamorphoses*<sup>22</sup>, where Isis is called by one of her adorants, not just Fortune, but “Fortune which is not blind, but can see, and who illumines the other gods too with the radiance of her light”<sup>23</sup>. The association of the two divinities throughout the Hellenistic period indicates that the concept described by Apuleius had been in existence prior to his date.

Two intaglios can be used to support that: one, a glass ringstone in St. Petersburg (Pl. 17d)<sup>24</sup> depicts a goddess leaning on a pillar, in much the dress and posture of the figure in the Cabinet intaglio. Her horn-and-disc crown identifies her as Isis and the filled cornucopia the figure carries in her left arm

17. Herod. ii. 156.

18. Cf. Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.*, 32): Νεῖλον εἶναι τὸν Ὀσιριν, Ἰσιδι συνόντα τῇ γῆ; also Pausanias (x. 32. 18) for the belief that the tears of Isis, when mourning the death of Osiris, caused the arousal of the flood. On the cult of the Nile in Egypt, see D. BONNEAU, *La Crue du Nile*, 1964.

19. Cf. one of the aretalogies of Isis, from Memphis:

Εἰσις (sic) ἐγὼ εἰμι τύραννος πάσης χώρας... ἐγὼ ἄστρον ὁδοῦς ἔδειξα,  
Ἐγὼ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης πορείαν συνεταξάμην...

On the hymn, see D. MÜLLER, “Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien”, *Abhandlung der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Leipzig, 53. i. 1961, 40, Memphishymn; also THOMPSON 65 and ŽABKAV 135 ff.

20. Cf. the first of the four hymns composed in the 1st century BC by Isidoros, a local poet in Fayûm (*S.E.G.*, VIII, no 548, l. 6 ff):

καὶ θεσμοῦς κατέδειξας, ἵν' εὐδικίῃ τις ὑπάρχηι  
καὶ τέχνας ἀνέδωκας, ἵν' εὖσχήμων βίος εἴη.

21. Cf. the cartouche of Isis appearing on a clay sealing from the Edfu archive, published in ZÄ xlv (1907) 62ff, no 24, where the goddess is called: “Isis who gives life, the Lady of Abaton, the Lady of Philae”.

22. J. GWYN GRIFFITHS, ed., *Apuleius of Madauros, The Isis Book*, Leiden 1975.

23. Apul., *Met.* x. 1. 15: in tutelam iam receptus es Fortunae, sed videntis, quae suae lucis splendore ceteros etiam deos illuminat.

24. St. Petersburg, Hermitage inv. no. IV 1162; blue paste with high convex face, acquired in 1792 from the Casanova Collection; 25 × 20 mm; AG = A. FURTWÄGLER, *Die Antiken Gemmen*, Berlin - Leipzig 1900, Pl. XXXIV. 13.

suggests a relation to Tyche. Moreover, the thunderbolt in the figure's right hand implies a further affiliation: in the earliest instances where Agathe Tyche is mentioned, she appears in liaison with Zeus, as his personal Tyche<sup>25</sup>. This was the concept that led to Agathe Tyche being linked with other personalities, mainly Hellenistic rulers, as their personal Tyche, thought by Fraser<sup>26</sup> to be the Tyche mentioned on the oinochoai, as the personal Tyche of the —still living— Arsinoe. It seems that this concept was still current at the time the St. Petersburg intaglio was engraved, and therefore the goddess depicted here is both the personal Tyche of Zeus and a syncretised version of Isis/Tyche Agathe.

The second intaglio, an amethyst in Berlin (Pl. 17e)<sup>27</sup>, stands closer to Isis, as the figure depicted here, in the same posture as the St. Petersburg intaglio, is dressed in the knotted chiton peculiar to Isis and wears her hair with the "Libyan locks" also fashioned by the same goddess. Ptolemaic queens assimilated with Isis after the first quarter of the 2nd century BC appeared in the same guise<sup>28</sup>. The date of the two intaglios, like that of most engraved gems of the Hellenistic period is a matter of conjecture. There are certain elements in the iconography and style of the two pieces, however, to suggest a 2nd century BC date: mainly the small heads and elongated bodies, the chiton highly girted, just below the breast, of the St. Petersburg Tyche, as well as the posture which seems to have been in fashion in the middle Hellenistic period<sup>29</sup>.

Arsinoe had combined aspects of both Isis and Agathe Tyche in her own cult, as the inscription on the altar in one of the faience oinochoai demonstrates: Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης / Ἀρσινόης / Φιλαδέλφου / Ἴσιος. It is clear that the three goddesses are listed here as σύμβωμοι, a relationship attested on Delos<sup>30</sup>, and, based on the evidence from the oinochoai, at Alexandria soon after Arsinoe's death. In the light of this evidence, it seems quite likely that the shoulder inscription (Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου) also refers to two separate goddesses, and therefore postdates Arsinoe's Ἐκθέωσις.

25. *Ptol. Alex.* 242 and n. 420. The fact that in *IG II<sup>2</sup> 4627* the worshippers call Agathe Tyche "τοῦ θεοῦ (i.e. Διός) γυναῖκα" implies a consort link between Zeus and his personal Tyche. This must have made the affiliation of Agathe Tyche with Isis a lot easier, since the latter was consort of the Egyptian equivalent to Zeus, Osiris, and in Ptolemaic times, Sarapis. This evidence is in favour of Fraser's argument for the shoulder inscriptions of the oinochoai, according to which the two concepts of Agathe Tyche were in fact integrated in the minds of the worshippers.

26. See above, n. 10.

27. Berlin inv. no. 1100; oval amethyst with convex face; A. FURTWÄGLER, *Beschreibung der geschnittene Steine im Antiquarium*, Berlin 1896, no. 1100; *AG PL.* XXXIV. 14.

28. Cf. Kleopatra I on faience oinochoai, THOMPSON nos. 123 ff.

29. Cf. Ashmolean = J. BOARDMAN — M.L. VOLLENWEIDER, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger Rings in the Ashmolean Museum; I. Greek Etruscan*, Oxford 1978, 110.

30. *Ptol. Alex.* 241; *Grand Procession* = E.E. RICE, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Oxford 1983, 205.

\*  
\* \*

The double cornucopia employed on the coins and the oinochoai to symbolise Arsinoe's beneficence and featured on the Paris intaglio, needs some discussion here. The historical facts of its origin are usually thought to be given by Athenaios<sup>31</sup>: when talking about the *rhyta* of various types, Athenaios explains that the κέρασ was first manufactured by Ptolemy Philadelphos to be carried by the images of Arsinoe<sup>32</sup>. In the same passage Athenaios informs us that "this", i.e. the *keras* of Arsinoe, was mentioned by Theokles:

μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ Θεοκλῆς ἐν Ἴθυφάλλοις οὕτως:  
ἐθύσαμεν γὰρ σήμερον Σωτήρια  
πάντες οἱ τεχνῖται  
μεθ' ὧν πῶν τὸ δίκερας, ὡς τὸν φίλτατον  
βασιλέα πάρεμι...

The identification of Athenaios' κέρασ with the double cornucopia has been challenged by Rice<sup>33</sup> on the grounds that Athenaios, when describing it, failed to mention its most distinctive characteristic, namely that it was not a mere κέρασ, but a δίκερας, a double horn. The inconsistency is grave, but not insoluble: Athenaios indeed never states that Arsinoe's cornucopia was double. It is clear, however, from his context that this specific *keras* he took to be a new creation, and a single cornucopia was by no means new at the time of Philadelphos<sup>34</sup>. Rice's hypothesis that by σκευοποιηθῆναι Athenaios is actually referring to the fact that from the time of Philadelphos, and for the images of Arsinoe, the cornucopia was depicted filled with fruit and not empty as before, is only a partial answer to that. When associated with Tyche, the cornucopia was already depicted filled when the cult of the goddess first appeared, in the fourth century<sup>35</sup>. Therefore, neither the conception of the cornucopia itself, nor its representation as filled with fruit was new at the time of Philadelphos, and neither of these can be the innovation implied by Athenaios. We are left with the statement that Arsinoe's *keras* was richer (ὀλβιώτερον) than that of Amaltheia, and the explicit assertion that *this very vessel*

---

31. T. E. PAGE, ed., *The Deipnosophists* (Cambridge, Massachusetts 1949-58).

32. *Deipn.* xi 497 b-c; δοκεῖ δὲ σκευοποιηθῆναι ὑπὸ πρώτου τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως φόρημα γενέσθαι τῶν Ἀρσινόης εἰκόνων. τῇ γὰρ εὐωνύμῳ χειρὶ ἐκείνη τοιοῦτον φέρει δημιούργημα πάντων τῶν ἑραίων πλήρες, ἐμφαινόντων τῶν δημιουργῶν ὡς καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας ἐστὶν ὀλβιώτερον τὸ κέρασ τοῦτο.

33. *Grand Procession* 202-208.

34. On the cornucopia and its association with Tyche see R. HEIDENREICH, *AA* 1935, 675; *Ptol. Alex.* 241 ff; THOMPSON 54-5 and 83; *Grand Procession* 203.

35. THOMPSON 31-3, 54 and n. 5; R. HEIDENREICH, *op. cit.* 675; *Grand Procession* 203.



(μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ) was the *keras* Theokles calls a *dikeras*, a double cornucopia. It is clear that to Athenaios' mind, Arsinoe's and Theokles' *rhyta* were two examples of the same type<sup>36</sup>.

The suggestion put forward by Rice<sup>37</sup>, in which the double cornucopia is interpreted as symbol of joint rule, employed in Arsinoe's commemorative coinage and in joint representations of Isis and Sarapis, does not offer a better alternative. All instances where Sarapis and Isis are associated with the double cornucopia post-date Arsinoe's association with it<sup>38</sup>. Moreover, Rice's interpretation would make more sense if the double cornucopia was affiliated with the cult of the *Theoi Adelphoi* rather than that of Arsinoe alone. Both the commemorative coinage and —most likely— the oinochoai were conceived posthumously and refer to Arsinoe as a self-contained goddess, and not linked with Ptolemy. Therefore both classes are connected with the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos and not with the *Theoi Adelphoi*. That the double cornucopia was perceived as a personal symbol of Arsinoe and not as a token of joint rule is further demonstrated by its restriction to images related to her. Berenike II, Arsinoe III and Kleopatra I whose reign followed that of Arsinoe Philadelphos, refrained from using it on their coinage, being content with the symbol of a single cornucopia<sup>39</sup>; at the same time the double cornucopia was retained for the Arsinoe series.

A final indication on the Ptolemaic character of the double cornucopia and its association with a deified queen rather than a pair of gods, comes from outside Egypt. For a short time after the execution of Demetrios II of Syria in 125 BC, his widow, Kleopatra Thea, ruled alone, before her marriage to Antiochos VIII Grypos. Kleopatra was a member of the Ptolemaic family, daughter of Ptolemy VI Philometor and Kleopatra II of Egypt. For the reverse of the coins she issued during the short period of her single reign (Pl. 17c)<sup>40</sup>, and in order perhaps to emphasise her Ptolemaic origin, she chose the

---

36. An explanation for this textual difficulty might lie in the abridged nature of the text in our possession, which reduces Athenaios' original thirty books into a mere fifteen. For a reconstruction of the process of successive abridgements that Athenaios' original text went through, see A. M. DESROUSSEAUX, ed., *Les Deipnosophistes* (Paris 1956), i. xxx ff; also *Grand Procession* 136-138.

37. *Grand Procession* 202-208.

38. Mainly a coin issue of Ptolemy IV Philopator, where the Ptolemaic eagle appears on the reverse surmounted by a small double cornucopia: SVORONOS III Pl. XXXVI, 14-5; also a small ivory in the Louvre where Sarapis and Isis are depicted stemming out of two intertwined cornucopiae: J. CHARBONNEAUX, *Hommages à Waldemar Deonna*, Brussels-1957, Pl. xxv, 1. In the first case the double cornucopia does not merit the prominence of the cornucopiae on Arsinoe's issues, and in the second, the conception seems to be irrelevant with that dictating the employment of the motif in the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos.

39. SVORONOS III Pls. XXXIX (Berenike II), 1-7 and XXXIX, 1-3 (Arsinoe III).

40. See DAVIS - KRAAY = N. DAVIS — C. M. KRAAY, *The Hellenistic Kingdoms*, London 1973, figs. 108, 109 and 114.

double cornucopia, as employed in the Arsinoe Philadelphos series (Pl. 17b). Moreover, the inscription that accompanied it, Κλεοπάτρας Βασιλίσης / Θεάς Εύετηρίας (Goddess of Fertility) leaves one with little doubt as to the symbol's content. It is useful to note, as well, that in the Kleopatra Thea coinage, as in the Arsinoe Philadelphos series, the double cornucopia appears not in connection with a joint rule, but as the symbol of a queen ruling alone.

\*  
\* \*

It seems therefore well established that the double cornucopia held by the goddess on the Paris intaglio affiliates her with Arsinoe Philadelphos, through its connection with Isis / Agathe Tyche. These, however, are by no means the only divine personalities alluded to here. Several iconographical elements in this intaglio constitute a strong allusion to Aphrodite; in fact, the whole type, with the significant exception of the double cornucopia, seems to have been among the standard types used for Aphrodite in the Hellenistic period. The figure is depicted crowned with a *stephane*, an attribute of Aphrodite as well as Hera. The sceptre carried by the goddess, decorated with a double taenia, is also peculiar to Aphrodite. The poise of the figure, and mainly the motif of her leaning on the short pillar, connect the Paris intaglio with a long series of Hellenistic intaglios depicting Aphrodite in a similar posture. Finally, the way in which the goddess holds the double cornucopia is not the usual one seen in representations of Isis or Tyche, but more akin to Aphrodite. This is demonstrated by another intaglio, this one in New York (Pl. 18e)<sup>41</sup>, where Aphrodite is depicted in a much similar posture and dress to that on the intaglio in the Cabinet des Médailles, also holding the same type of sceptre, and a dove in her extended left hand. This is the way in which the Paris goddess holds her cornucopia, adding, as the dove characterises Aphrodite on the New York gem, a further attribute to the assimilated goddess it belongs to. A goddess which would have been recognised in Alexandria (and —one would suggest— well beyond Alexandria and Egypt) as Arsinoe Philadelphos Isis Aphrodite.

Arsinoe Philadelphos was already identified with Aphrodite during her lifetime. A hymn to Arsinoe from a late Ptolemaic papyrus<sup>42</sup> suggests assimi-

---

41. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 41. 160. 445; green glass ringstone, engraved on both sides (side not illustrated here: Muse seated on rock); Richter, in G. M. A. RICHTER, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, Rome 1956, dated the piece in the 3rd century BC, on the grounds of stylistic analysis of the Muse intaglio. The two sides, however, need not be of the same date.

42. The papyrus was first published by E. J. GOODCHILD, *JHS* xxiii (1903) 237-47; for later publications and comments on the poem see *Ptol. Alex.* 667 and n. 399.

lation of the queen with Aphrodite<sup>43</sup>. It seems quite likely that the poem was composed during the period in which Ptolemy Philadelphos and Arsinoe were married<sup>44</sup>, since the poem includes many references to that effect<sup>45</sup>. A number of literary sources<sup>46</sup> attest the dedication by the admiral Kallikrates of a temple to Arsinoe as Aphrodite on the promontory of Zephyrion, between Nikopolis and Kanopos. The goddess, thought to be the protectress of those at sea, was worshipped as *Arsinoe Zephyritis*. These texts must have been composed during Arsinoe's lifetime, since she was referred to as Βασίλισσα, a title used for persons still living<sup>47</sup>.

Arsinoe's cult as Aphrodite went on throughout the Ptolemaic period<sup>48</sup>, in shrines like that dedicated by Kallikrates, but also in more private ways. Eventually, the connection of Arsinoe to Isis must have facilitated the merging of the three goddesses, since Isis was herself understood as an aspect of the old Egyptian goddess Hathor, an equivalent to the Greek Aphrodite and the Syrian Atargatis<sup>49</sup>. Syncretised deities were gaining in popularity through the Hellenistic period, owing to their highly unspecified nature which gave them unlimited range of powers and properties in the minds of their worshippers.

43. Cf. Col. ii, 1. 5:

Ἄρσινóa Πτολεμα[ί] παλαιγενές οὔνομα...

1.14:

...πρό πασα κρατοῦσα σὺ πόντον ὀπάξεις...

Col. iii, ll. 5ff:

ὦ [καλή Ἄφρ]ογένεια γαμο[σ]στόλε καὶ χαριτέρινη

(...) θαλεροὶ πηδῶσι[ν] Ἔρωτες...

44. *Ptol. Alex.* 668 and n. 403.

45. Col. iii, 1. 11:

ἢ [καί] πρὸς θαλά[μ]οις μείξασα καλῶν ἕμεναίων

Also 11. 15-16:

σεμνο[άτη...] γει τὸν σὸν συνόμενον, ἄνασσα,

..... ἀνθρώποισι φίλον σύμμαχον ὄντα

46. Discussed in *Ptol. Alex.* 568-69, 571.

47. The four texts on the temple of Arsinoe Zephyritis are epigrams; two by Posidippos, in A.S.F. GOW and D. L. PAGE, eds., *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, Cambridge 1965, ll. 3110 ff, one by Hedylos (cited in *Deipn.* xi, 497d), and one by Kallimachos, R. PFEIFFER, op. cit., n. 12, ii, *Epigrammata* v. Cf. the first of the Posidippos epigrams:

ἔνθα με Καλλικράτης ἰδρύσατο καὶ βασιλείσης

ἱερὸν Ἄρσινόης Κύπριδος ὀνόμασεν.

48. A clear indication for the long survival of the cults around Arsinoe Philadelphos in Ptolemaic Alexandria comes from a series of papyri preserving loan contracts dating from 252/51 BC down to the 2nd century AD. Various streets of Alexandria, *agylai*, mentioned there are named from various divine aspects of Arsinoe. Among them we find Arsinoe Basileia (Hera), Arsinoe Karpophoros (Aphrodite), Arsinoe Eleusinia (Demeter), Arsinoe Sozousa (Isis). The deities originally worshipped in each one of these streets must have been later incorporated in the cult of Arsinoe. For a study of these street names, see *Ptol. Alex.* 237 f. and THOMPSON 59 f.

49. *Ptol. Alex.* 259-61; THOMPSON 58.

Isis, the best example of such a goddess, soon became a universal Mother Goddess, encompassing various aspects of divine beneficence. These she borrowed from a wide selection of diverse and sometimes heteroclitc cults from all over the Hellenistic world and beyond it. Isis is addressed as the Universal Goddess in Hymn I of Isidoros<sup>50</sup>. According to the text, all mortals who live "on the boundless earth" call Isis by a different name, "each in his own tongue, each in his own land". For the Syrians, Isis is Astarte and Artemis, for the Lycian tribes Leto, for the Thracians Mother of the Gods, for the Greeks Hera and Aphrodite, but the Egyptians call her *Thiouis*, "The Only One"<sup>51</sup>. The evidence discussed so far strongly suggests that in Ptolemaic Alexandria, and perhaps beyond the boundaries of the Ptolemaic realm, Arsinoe Philadelphos shared this worship as a Goddess of beneficence. This can be shown, not so by a number of public monuments established to commemorate her reign, but by several classes of inconspicuous, private objects. Such an object seems to have been the intaglio in the Cabinet des Médailles; others, were even less assuming.

The most prominent among the groups that circulated Arsinoe's portrait and—at least indirectly—encouraged her worship must have been the commemorative coin issues (Pl. 17b).

The tip of the horn protruding under her ear and the posthumous character of the issue make the signs of her divinity clear. Arsinoe appears veiled on this series, as was the convention for a Ptolemaic queen of the early period<sup>52</sup>. For the Alexandrians the veiled type might have suggested the role of the queen as royal spouse and her domestic significance for the dynasty<sup>53</sup>. Since, however, this type for portrait for a Ptolemaic queen originated outside Egypt<sup>54</sup>, it seems more likely that its prototypes were the veiled Goddess figures from Greek coinage of the 4th century<sup>55</sup>. An indication that coin por-

50. See n. 20 above; also ŽABKAV 137-140.

51. Also cf. Apul., *Met.* xi. 5: in her self-acclamation as "Nature's Mother and Mistress of all the elements" Isis personally boasts of being the ruler of the Heaven, the Sea and the Underworld. Then she goes on enumerating all her diverse aspects according to the people worshipping her: she is the Phrygian Pessinus, the Athenian Minerva (Athena), the Eleusinian Ceres (Demeter), the Cyprian Venus (Aphrodite), but the Egyptians call her by "her true name", Isis the Queen. Cf. the "Isis of ten thousand names": Ἴσις Μυριάωννμος; *O.G.I.S.* 695; *S.E.G.* viii, 657.

52. SVORONOS III JPl. XXIX, 1-11 for Berenike II; for veiled coin portraits of Berenike I on Rhodian coinage of c. 304-300 BC, cf. SVORONOS Pl. I, 26 and B. V. HEAD, *The British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins; Greek Coins of Caria and the Islands*, London 1897, Pl. XXXIX 17-18; see below, n. 54.

53. cf. M. L. VOLLENWEIDER, *Die Steinschneidenkunst und ihre Künstler in spätrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit*, Baden-Baden 1966, 12-14.

54. In 305 BC, the Rhodians issued a series of bronze drachmas bearing the portrait of Berenike I, as a token of their gratitude toward Ptolemy I, whom they first called *Soter*, for his help during the siege of Rhodes by Demetrios. See above, n. 52.

55. Cf. the late fourth century staters from Delphi, KRAAY-HIRMER = C. M. KRAAY — M.

traits of deified Hellenistic rulers were not treated by their subjects in just their secular content, comes from a small group of rings and intaglios directly influenced by coinage<sup>56</sup>. For Arsinoe Philadelphos, it seems clear from the discussion so far that the idea behind the commemorative coinage in her name was chiefly that of her deification as Agathe Tyche / Isis, detached in a way from the dynasty of which she was a member<sup>57</sup>.

Afar from coins, Arsinoe was depicted bare headed<sup>58</sup>. A bust in profile, wearing a well shaped *melon coiffure* appearing on a series of bronze and bone rings (Pls. 18a-c and 19a-d), but also sealings in clay, has been identified with Arsinoe Philadelphos<sup>59</sup>. As with the veiled type, the unveiled one also pre-dates the Ptolemies. It was already adopted by them, however, in the first generation, to be used in the portraiture of their queens<sup>60</sup>. With Arsinoe

---

HIRMER, *Greek Coins*, London 1966, Pl. 147; also the tetradrachms struck by Byzantion and Chalchedon, *op. cit.* Pl. 142.

56. The most characteristic example of such an interaction is the glass ringstone in Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum [inv. no. 988; P. FOSSING, *The Thorvaldsen Museum; Catalogue of the Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos*, Copenhagen 1929, no. 33; RICHTER, no. 612], moulded from the obverse of an octadrachm struck by Ptolemy III Philadelphos (DAVIS-KRAAY, figs 15-19, as an issue by Euergetes; but see below, n. 61). The issue, purposed to emphasise the dynastic continuity on the throne of Egypt, depicted on the reverse Ptolemy Soter and Berenike I inscribed ΘΕΩΝ, and on the obverse Ptolemy Philadelphos and Arsinoe II inscribed ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ. The paste in Copenhagen might have had a counterpart made from the obverse of the issue.
57. The case of Arsinoe's posthumous coinage seems quite different from that of Ptolemy Soter. His portrait was retained throughout the reign of the Ptolemies, clearly to emphasise on their dynastic continuity and direct link to Alexander.
58. Pace Vollenweider, *Ashmolean* 79 f. and *Catalogue raisonné des sceaux, cylindres et intailles, Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève* ii, Geneva 1979, where she presents a number of veiled portraits on gems which she links with Arsinoe, "not so much from comparison with the coin portraits, but for the significant number of examples of this portrait type which are preserved" [*Ashmolean*, *op. cit.*]. Neither the identification, however, nor even the antiquity of the pieces cited by Vollenweider can be sustained.
59. For rings cut in bone: MARANGOU = L. MARANGOU, "Ptolemäische Fingerringe aus Bein" *AM* lxxxvi (1971) 163-171, and note the additions made by E. ALFÖLDI. — ROSENBAUM, "Ruler Portraits on Roman Game Counters from Alexandria", in *Eikones: Studien zum griechischen und römischen Bildnis*, Bern 1980, 30 nos. 24 ff.; bronze: O. NEVEROV, "A Group of Hellenistic Bronze Rings", *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* cxxvii (1974) 106-115 (in Russian with English summary); clay sealings: W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *Objects of Daily Use*, London 1927, 20, nos. 240-241.
60. The melon-coiffure was fashioned by female figures in sculpture, terracotta figurines and so on from the fourth century BC, but also on coins: cf. the gold half-stater struck by Pyrrhus of Macedon, KRAAY-HIRMER no. 476. In Egypt the type is met in rings of the early Ptolemaic period, cf. the portrait of Berenike I in *Ashmolean*, no. 282, or the two sealings from the Elephantine archive in O. RUBENSOHN, *Elephantine Papyri*, Berlin 1907, nos. 5 and 24. They come from documents dated in 285/84 and 284/83 BC respectively. The first, the seal of Androsthenes from Cos, can be taken as a portrait of Berenike I, who was honoured on the Island after she gave birth there to her son, Ptolemy Philadelphos, in 308 BC. The second, belonging to Elaphion, a Syrian prostitute working in Elephantine, must have been acquired in Egypt.

Philadelphos the type seems to have acquired a new content. Although most of the bone and bronze rings in question are cursorily made and lack refined detail, some certainty can be achieved as to their subject. Arsinoe appeared unveiled on the "dynastic octadrachm" struck by Ptolemy II Philadelphos (Pl. 16a)<sup>61</sup>. Her portrait there looks rather aged, and influenced, it seems, by the matron-figure of Berenike I —her mother— appearing on the obverse of the coin. The bone rings on the other hand seem more akin to lesser monuments, like the faience oinochoai discussed above. One can compare, for example, the head of Arsinoe, identified by the double cornucopia, on the fragment in the Walters Art Gallery (Pl. 16b)<sup>62</sup> with bone rings like these in Oxford (Pl. 18a)<sup>63</sup>, London (Pl. 18b)<sup>64</sup> or Nicosia (Pl. 18c):<sup>65</sup> the meticulous hair-dress, the elongated nose and rounded chin, the "Venus rings" all suggest a common type. To these one should add a modelled faience head from Naucratis, now in the British Museum, with very similar characteristics (Pl. 18d)<sup>66</sup>. A large number of these bone rings have been found in Cyprus, which was under Ptolemaic control. Therefore they are bound to evoke a Ptolemaic influence.

The bronze rings (Pl. 19a-d) seem to have run a parallel course. Most of them (cf. Pl. 19a-b) have been excavated from around the Black Sea, their shapes however are explicitly Ptolemaic. They are even less discernible than their bone counterparts, but obviously illustrate the same type, the "Arsinoe Philadelphos" type. Their connection with Egypt and the Ptolemies can be also attested to by their resemblance to bronze rings (and sealings in clay)<sup>67</sup> which were found locally in Egypt (Pl. 19c-d)<sup>68</sup>. Apart from the similarities in coiffure and facial features, they present another common trait with at least some of the Black Sea rings, that of the "collar" that the drapery of the figure forms around the base of the neck (cf. Pl. 19a with c-d).

It is a fair assumption that the function and content of both classes was related. A common type seems to lie behind the bronze and bone rings, which

---

61. The series may have been introduced some time in the 260s [O. MØRKHOLM, *Early Hellenistic Coinage*, Cambridge 1991, 104, *pace* DAVIS-KRAAY, 15-19]. The inscription originally read ΘΕΩΝ ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ and was placed on the obverse, above the jugate busts of Philadelphos and Arsinoe. Later (cf. Pl. 17b) ΘΕΩΝ went to the reverse, perhaps referring to Soter and Berenike. Since, however, the cult name of Soter and Berenike was *Theoi Soteres*, it makes more sense to accept that both inscriptions were still referring to Philadelphos and Arsinoe as the *Theoi Adelphoi*.

62. THOMPSON, no. 5.

63. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1891. 237; *Ashmolean*, no. 286.

64. London, British Museum R 1619.

65. Nicosia J 761; MARANGOU, no. 4.

66. London, British Museum 88.6-1.38; THOMPSON, no. 270; cf. MARANGOU 168.

67. See above, n. 59.

68. Published by A. KRUG, *Muse. Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology, Missouri-Columbia* xiv (1980) 35-42.

must have originated under court instruction<sup>69</sup>. The passage by Athenaios quoted above, clearly suggests Philadelphos' consideration over the "images", εἰκόνας, of Arsinoe. The faience oinochoai seem to stand between the busts and the work from which the type originated. From what has been discussed so far it seems clear that the cult of Arsinoe Philadelphos had a wide popular aspect in contrast with the more "sombre" founder cult of Soter and the other members of the dynasty. The wide distribution of the bone and bronze rings suggests their popularity and the appeal of the message they bore. While the Ptolemaic character of their iconography and make advocates for a Ptolemaic affiliation, at least in an indirect manner.

The original of the portrait type of Arsinoe Philadelphos attested in the bone and bronze rings need not be a major sculpture commission, in other words need not be a monument of public character. The engraved busts are content with the head of their model, in a rather symbolic, emblematic form, analogous to the use of portraiture in coinage. The head from Naucratis cited above (Pl. 18d) was meant to stand as it does now, on its own. The type might well have been derived from the same original as the figures on the oinochoai, as their relevance suggests. The busts, however, must have been of a strictly private use. This is illustrated by the Naucratis head, which one can conceive as a personal cult object of a most likely amuletic function. The rings are cheap, massively produced, and unassuming enough to suggest an origin away from direct court control, either in Alexandria itself, or on the periphery of the Ptolemaic world. Their wide distribution and their numbers sustain that<sup>70</sup>. Still, despite their pedestrian craftsmanship, they evoke a type of artistic refinement, which must have originated in objects that no longer survive, or we are unable to identify. One suspects that these must have been objects of relevant use with their imitations, most likely rings themselves, perhaps made from precious metals<sup>71</sup>.

A fine garnet in Boston might represent this group of objects (Pl. 17f)<sup>72</sup>.

---

62. Cf. THOMPSON 54 ff; H. KYRIELEIS, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Berlin 1975, 78 ff.

70. It has been suggested by Vollenweider (in *Ashmolean* 81) that bronze rings like these discussed here had some court function, being the property of court officials. This seems highly unlikely, since most of these objects come from the periphery of the Ptolemaic realm, while their number cannot be justified by their proposed function. Moreover, archive evidence, like that from Elephantine, above n. 60, strongly suggests that such rings could belong to individuals even of the lower social status. The quality and value of the bone rings clearly indicate that they were made for mass distribution.

71. No gold or silver rings with the portrait of Arsinoe Philadelphos have been possibly identified. The portrait of Berenike I in Oxford (set in an iron ring, see above, n. 60) and that of Berenike II from Taranto, now in St. Petersburg [M. L. VOLLENWEIDER, "Das Bildnis des Scipio Africanus", *Museum Helveticum* xv (1958) 27-45, Pl. II.1] are very close to the type represented in the bone and bronze rings. The two rings must have been directly connected with the court, as tokens of personal amity of the queen towards the owner of the ring.

72. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 27.709; J. SPIER, "A Group of Ptolemaic Engraved Garnets", *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* xlvii (1989) 21-38, no 1.

The queen represented here, recognised as such by her diadem, is assimilated to Aphrodite, as can be shown by the *stephane* and the jewellery she wears. The style and the technique of the intaglio point to a Ptolemaic origin<sup>73</sup>. One is reminded of Arsinoe Zephyritis, and the, somehow idealised, features of the portrait strongly suggest a connection with Arsinoe, most likely a posthumous one. A bronze statuette from Egypt, now in London<sup>74</sup>, recognised as a portrait of Arsinoe Philadelphos, is very close to the type portrayed by the Boston garnet. Apart from the *stephane*, and the same hair style, the two pieces also share similar treatment of the head and facial features. Spier<sup>75</sup> has suggested a date in the second half of the 3rd century for the intaglio. This is sustained by the coiffure of the figure as well, a styling first fashioned by Arsinoe III (r. 217-205 BC)<sup>76</sup>. The new hair style of Arsinoe had affected the bronze ring series, which seems to have included an "Arsinoe III" group, as indicated by the ring illustrated here (Pl. 19e).

The hair style of the Boston garnet is most appropriate for Aphrodite. It is also the hair style of the cornelian in the Cabinet des Médailles discussed in the first part of this paper. Both were objects of some note, luxurious jewels perhaps, but not just that. The garnet presents Arsinoe Philadelphos as Aphrodite, in a period when the former must have shared with the latter a wide appeal among the Alexandrian populace. Its quality and craftsmanship place it among the best glyptic works of its period, most likely engraved by one of the engravers patronised by the court<sup>77</sup>. The cornelian is even more imposing. Its size, its presumably conspicuous original setting, and above all its explicit cult affiliations provoke our attention. The possibility of its association to Aphrodite Zephyritis is attractive, but difficult to prove. No evidence as to the type recognised by the Alexandrians as such has been preserved. The date of the intaglio seems to be appreciably later than that of the cult, which was already established during Arsinoe's lifetime, as discussed above. Richter<sup>78</sup> placed it in the 3rd century BC, but the linear treatment of the drapery, the overall dry and somehow flat style, suggest a 2nd century date<sup>79</sup>. Arsinoe Zephyritis was conceived as a protector - goddess, and although not from the outset, Isis / Agathe Tyche might have been included in the rituals at Zephyrion, Isis being a Saviour Goddess herself<sup>80</sup>. In the light of this evidence the

---

73. For a further discussion of the piece, see SPIER, op.cit. 30.

74. London, British Museum, inv. no. 38443; KYRIELEIS, op. cit. n. 69, no J<sub>2</sub>.

75. op. cit. n. 73

76. SVORONOS III Pl. XXXIX, 1-3.

77. On the patronage of gem engravers by the Ptolemies see SPIER, op.cit. n. 72, 30 ff; also P. PANTOS, *Horos* v (1987), 155 ff.

78. RICHTER 142.

79. Cf. *Ashmolean* 110.

80. Isis was called *Soteira*, sometimes along with Sarapis *Soter*; see *Ptol. Alex.* 260 and 258 n. 532.



Paris intaglio presents the clarity of a text book on cult and ritual. Its owner must have been able to appreciate its religious connotations and recognise in it Arsinoe Philadelphos in the diversity of her divine aspects.

DIMITRIS PLANTZOS  
Lincoln College, Oxford

## ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

### ΕΚΘΕΩΣΙΣ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ: ΣΧΕΤΙΚΑ ΜΕ ΤΗ ΛΑΤΡΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ Β΄ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ

Ἡ Ἀρσινόη Β΄ Φιλάδελφος (c. 316-270 ἢ 268 π.Χ.), σύζυγος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου Β΄ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, εἶχε θεοποιηθεῖ ἤδη πρὶν τὸ θάνατό της. Ἡ λατρεία τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ζεύγους ὡς τῶν Θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν εἶχε θεσπισθεῖ στὴν Ἀλεξάνδρεια πρὶν τὸ 272/71 π.Χ. Παράλληλα, καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν περίοδο τῶν Βασιλικῶν Γάμων τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τῆς Ἀρσινόης (c. 279-275 π.Χ.), ἡ τελευταία εἶχε ταυτισθεῖ μὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτη, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπωνυμία Ἀρσινόη Ζεφυρίτις. Μετὰ τὸ θάνατο τῆς συζύγου του, ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἴδρυσεν νέα, ἀποκλειστικὴ λατρεία Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου. Ἡ νέα θεὰ συγκέντρωσε θεϊκὰ γνωρίσματα Ἴσιδας καὶ Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης. Ὁ συγκερασμός ὄλων αὐτῶν τῶν στοιχείων σὲ ἓνα πρόσωπο ἦταν σταδιακός, καὶ διευκολύνθηκε ἀπὸ τὰ ἤδη ὑπάρχοντα κοινὰ σημεῖα ἀνάμεσα στὶς θεότητες μὲ τίς ὁποῖες ἡ Ἀρσινόη ταυτίσθηκε. Τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα, ἡ λατρεία τῆς Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου, συγκέντρωσε τὸ χθόνιο χαρακτῆρα τῆς Ἴσιδας καὶ τὴν εὐεργετικὴ δύναμη τῆς Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης, καὶ ἀπέτελεσε μὴ ἀπὸ τίς πιὸ χαρακτηριστικές, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλέον μακροχρόνιες δυναστικές λατρεῖες τῆς Πτολεμαϊκῆς Αἰγύπτου.

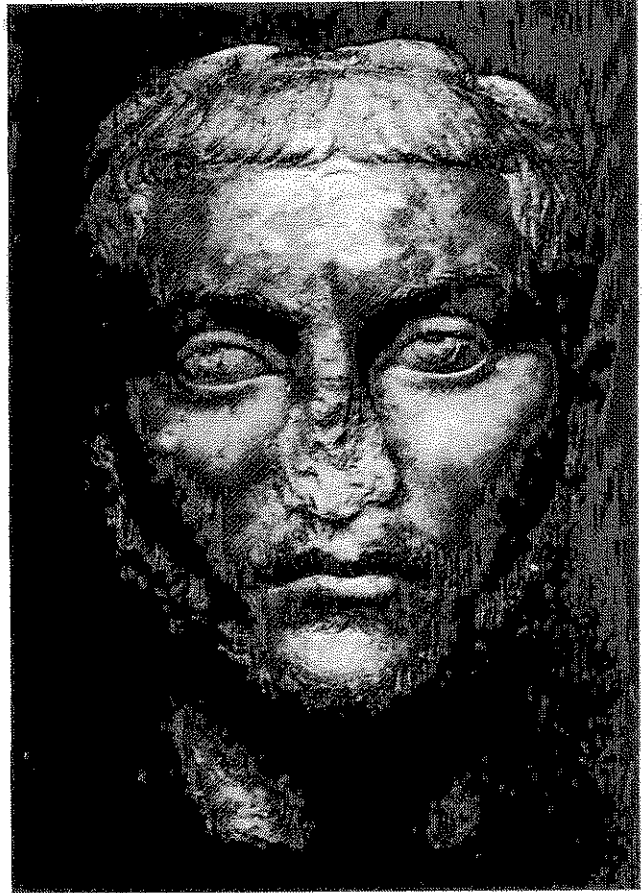
Τὸ κυρίως σύμβολο τῆς Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου ἦταν τὸ διπλὸ κέρασ τῆς ἀφθονίας, ἐπινοημένο κατὰ πᾶσα πιθανότητα ἀπὸ τὸν ἴδιο τὸν Πτολεμαῖο. Τὸ δίκερας συνόδευε τὸ πορτραῖτο τῆς Ἀρσινόης στὶς ἀναμνηστικὲς κοπὲς πού εἰσήγαγε ὁ Πτολεμαῖος στὸ ὄνομα τῆς νεκρῆς Βασίλισσας (Πίν. 17b), κοπὲς πού συνεχίστηκαν σὲ ὅλη τὴ διάρκεια τῆς Πτολεμαϊκῆς περιόδου. Τὸ ἴδιο σύμβολο κρατοῦν οἱ μορφές Ἀρσινόης Β΄ πού ἀπεικονίζονται σὲ μίαν ἰδιαίτερη κατηγορία οἰνοχοῶν ἀπὸ φαγεντιανή (Πίν. 16b-c), πού κατὰ πᾶσα πιθανότητα ἀποτελοῦσαν λατρευτικὰ ἀντικείμενα σχετικὰ μὲ τὴ δυναστικὴ λατρεία στὴν Πτολεμαϊκὴ Ἀλεξάνδρεια.

Ἐνας ἀριθμὸς προϊόντων μικροτεχνίας, κυρίως ὀστέινα ἢ χάλκινα δακτυλίδια (Πίν. 18a-d, 19a-e), φαίνεται νὰ ἀπεικονίζει τὴ θεοποιημένη Ἀρσινόη, ὅπως ὑποδεικνύει ὁ ἀριθμὸς καὶ ἡ εὐρεῖα διάδοση τῶν ἀντικειμένων αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ σχέση τους μὲ τὸ πορτραῖτο τῆς Βασίλισσας, ὅπως ἀπεικονίζεται στὰ νομίσματα καὶ τίς οἰνοχόες. Ἡ ὄχι ἐπιμελημένη ποιότητα τῶν ἀντικειμένων αὐτῶν, καθὼς καὶ ἡ διασπορὰ τους πέραν τῶν κέντρων Πτολεμαϊκῆς ἐξουσίας, ὑποδεικνύουν ὅτι κατασκευάστηκαν ὄχι ὑπὸ ἄμεσο αὐλικό ἔλεγχο. Ὁ τύπος πού ἀπεικονίζουν ὁμως, πρέπει νὰ ἐπινοήθηκε στὴν Αὐλή, καὶ νὰ χρησιμοποιήθηκε σὲ παρόμοιες κατηγορίες ἀντικειμένων, ἐπίσης δακτυλιδίων κατὰ πᾶσα πιθανότητα, πού κατασκευάστηκαν σὲ μικρότερο ἀριθμὸ ἀπὸ αὐλικούς καλλιτέχνες.

Ἐνας γρανάτης στὴ Βοστώνη (Πίν. 17f), τοῦ δευτέρου μισοῦ τοῦ 3ου π.Χ. αἰ., φαίνεται νὰ ἀπεικονίζει τὴν Ἀρσινόη Φιλάδελφο ὡς Ἀφροδίτη. Ἐνας κερνηλιάτης στὸ Παρίσι (Πίν. 16a) πού ἀπεικονίζει ὄρθια γυναικεῖα μορφή μὲ στεφάνη, σκῆπτρο καὶ διπλὸ κέρασ συγκεντρώνει χαρακτηριστικὰ γνωρίσματα διαφορετικῶν θεοτήτων: τὸ διπλὸ κέρασ ὑποδεικνύει τὴν σχέση του μὲ τὴν Ἀρσινόη Φιλάδελφο/Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη/Ἴσιδα, ἐνῶ ἡ στεφάνη καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρο σχετίζονται μὲ τὴν Ἀφροδίτη. Σύμφωνα μὲ τὰ εἰκονογραφικὰ δεδομένα, καὶ τὸ περιεχόμενο τῆς λατρείας ὅπως ἐκτίθεται στὴν παρούσα ἐργασία, ὁ κερνηλιάτης τοῦ Παρισιοῦ θὰ πρέπει νὰ ἀποτελεῖ ἀπεικόνιση τῆς Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου, καθὼς συγκεντρώνει ὅλα τὰ γνωρίσματα τῆς προσωπικῆς τῆς λατρείας.



α



β



γ



δ

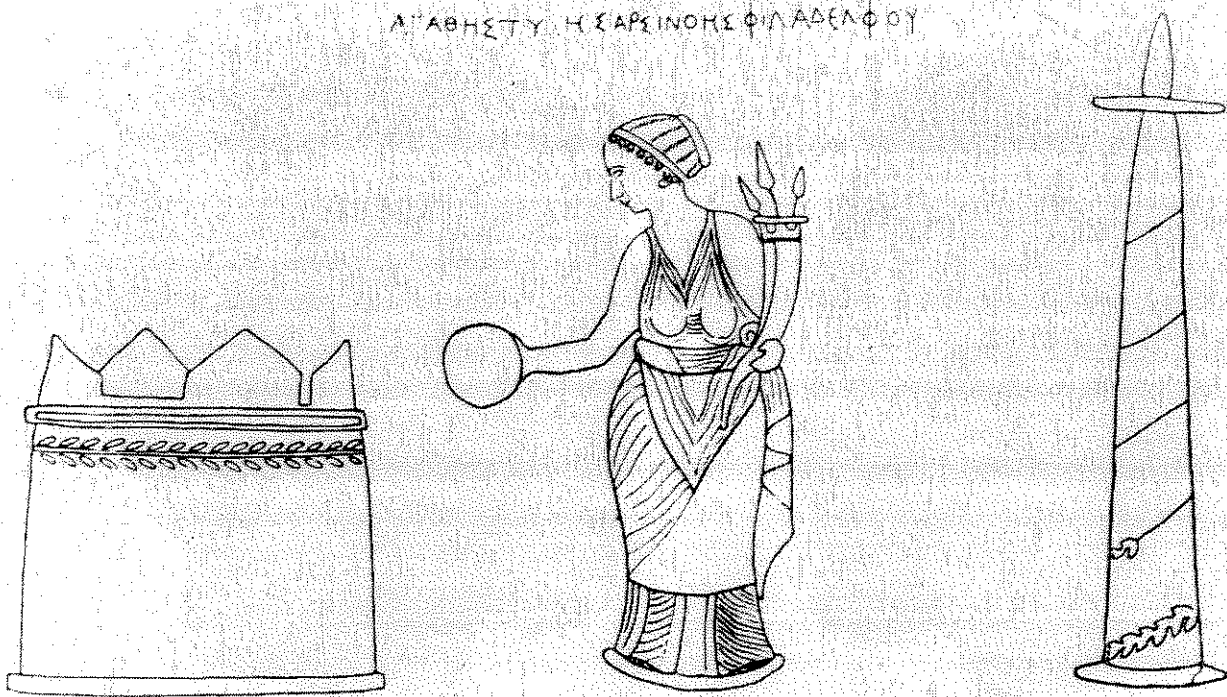
α, γ, δ, Πορτραίτο τῆς ἐποχῆς τοῦ Γαλλιανοῦ ἀπὸ τῆ Νάξο.  
β, Κεφαλὴ στὴν Κοπεγχάγη (Ny Carlsb. 3388).



a



b



c

- a. Cornelian ringstone; Cabinet des Médailles (impression).  
 b. Fragment of faience oinochoe; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 48.315.  
 c. Faience oinochoe; London, British Museum 73.8-20.389 (after THOMPSON fig. 2).



- a. Gold octadrachm with jugate portraits of Ptolemy I, Berenike I, Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II.
- b. Arsinoe Philadelphos commemorative issue.
- c. Coin issue of Kleopatra Thea of Syria.
- d. Blue paste ringstone; St. Petersburg, Hermitage IV 1162 (impression).
- e. Amethyst ringstone; Berlin 1100 (impression).
- f. Garnet ringstone; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 27.709 (impression).



a



b



c



d



e



f



g

- a. Bone ring; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1891.237.
- b. Bone ring; London, British Museum R 1619.
- c. Bone ring; Nicosia J 741.
- d. Faience head; London, British Museum 88.6-1.38.
- e. Green glass ringstone; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 41.160.445 (impression).



a



b



c

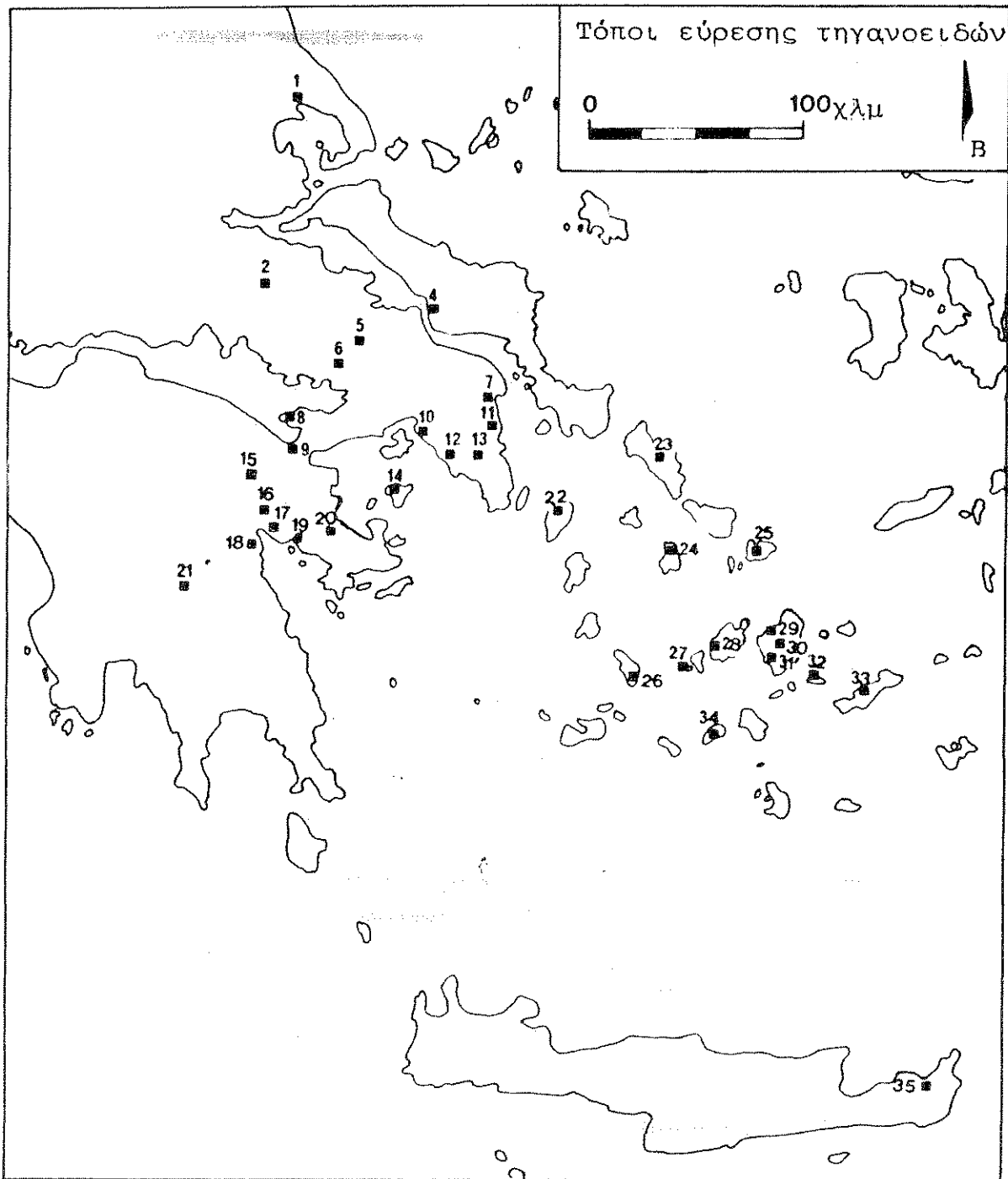


d



e

a-b, e. Bronze rings; St. Petersburg, Hermitage (impressions).  
c-d. Bronze rings; Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 11380 and 9336.



Χάρτης με τις θέσεις όπου βρέθηκαν τηγανοειδή ή θραύσματα που αποδίδονται σε τηγανοειδή: 1. Πευκάκια· 2. Μάνεσι· 3. 4. Μάνικα· 5. Λιθαρές· 6. Εϋτρησις· 7. Μαραθών· 8. Περαχώρα· 9. Κόρινθος· 10. Παλαιά Κοκκινιά· 11. Ραφήνα· 12. "Αγιος Κοσμάς· 13. Μαρκόπουλο· 14. Αίγινα· 15. Νεμέα· 16. Μπερμπάτι· 17. Τίρυνς· 18. Λέρνα· 19. "Ασίνη· 20. "Επίδαυρος· 21. "Ασέα· 22. Κέα· 23. "Ανδρος· 24. Σύρος· 25. Μύκονος· 26. Σίφνος· 27. Δεσποτικό· 28. Πάρος· 29. Νάξος, Γκρόττα και "Απλώματα· 30. Νάξος, "Αγιοι "Ανάργυροι· 31. Νάξος, Λούρος· 32. "Ανω Κουφονήσι· 33. "Αμοργός· 34. Σίκι- νος· 35. "Αγία Φωτιά. ("Από τό άρθρο του J. Coleman).