

Les cultes aux rois et aux héros à l'époque hellénistique: continuités et changements

Edité par
GIUSEPPINA LENZO,
CHRISTOPHE NIHAN,
MATTHIEU PELLET

*Orientalische Religionen
in der Antike*

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Giuseppina Lenzo, née en 1971; 2004 doctorat; 2020 habilitation; depuis 2012 maître d'enseignement et de recherche en histoire ancienne à l'Université de Lausanne, spécialisée dans l'histoire et la religion du premier millénaire avant notre ère en Égypte ancienne.
orcid.org/0000-0001-6251-7353

Christophe Nihan, né en 1972; 2005 doctorat; depuis 2021 professeur ordinaire en Ancien Testament à l'Université de Münster, spécialisé dans la littérature et la religion de l'Israël ancien dans son contexte ouest-sémitique.
orcid.org/0000-0001-6894-4014

Matthieu Pellet, né en 1979; 2014 doctorat; depuis 2020 maître d'enseignement et de recherche en histoire des religions à l'Université de Lausanne, spécialisé dans l'étude comparative des religions du bassin méditerranéen antique.

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Lausanne, décembre 2020

Giuseppina Lenzo, Christophe Nihan et Matthieu Pellet

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Liste des abréviations

AD	<i>Astronomical Diaries</i> available online at http://www.attalus.org/docs/diaries.html . Transliteration and English translation by Hermann Hunger/Abraham J. Sachs, 2015.
ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, Wiesbaden
AHw	Wolfram von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , 3 vols., Wiesbaden : Harasowitz 1965–1981.
AncSoc	<i>Ancient Society</i>
AncWorld	<i>The Ancient World</i>
ANET	James B. Pritchard. <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1969 ³ .
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i>
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
B-CK	Base de données Cachette de Karnak, https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ .
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and Baghdad</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BCHP	Irving L. Finkel/Robert J. van der Spek. <i>Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period</i> . Preliminary editions at http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html .
BdE	Bibliothèque d'étude, Le Caire
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire</i>
BiGen	Bibliothèque générale, Le Caire
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BJRL	<i>Bulletin of John Rylands University Library of Manchester</i>
BNJ	Brill's New Jacoby Online, editor-in-chief, Ian Worthington. Leiden: Brill, 1997– [a fully-revised and enlarged edition of Felix Jacoby's <i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker (FGrH) I–III</i> , Berlin: Weidmann, 1923–]; available at https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby .
BM	British Museum, collection online: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection
BSEG	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève</i>
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i>
CAD	<i>Chicago Assyrian Dictionary</i>
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CEA	<i>Cahiers des études anciennes</i>
CENiM	<i>Cahiers d'Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne</i> , Montpellier
CGC	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
CT	<i>Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum</i> . Londres : British Museum Publications, 1896–1902.
CTH	Emmanuel Laroche. <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Études et commentaires 75. Paris : Ed. Klincksieck, 1971.

- CGRN *Collection of Greek Ritual Norms*. Édité par Jan-Mathieu Carbon, Saskia Peels et Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge. Liège : Service de Religion grecque, 2016-. En ligne : <http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be>.
- CIG *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
- CIS *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. 4 vols. Paris : Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 1881–1962.
- CRAIBL *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*
- CPI I *Corpus of Ptolemaic Inscriptions. Part I: Greek, Bilingual, and Trilingual Inscriptions from Egypt. Volume 1: Alexandria and the Delta (Nos. 1–206)*. Édité par Alan K. Bowman, Charles V. Crowther, Simon Hornblower, Rachel Mairs et Kyriakos Savvopoulos. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2021.
- Dendara I Émile Chassinat. *Le temple de Dendara I*. Le Caire : IFAO, 1934.
- Dendara IX François Daumas. *Le temple de Dendara IX*. Le Caire : IFAO, 1987.
- Dendara XIII Sylvie Cauville. *Le temple de Dendara. Façade et colonnes du pronaos*. En ligne : Dendara.net, 2007.
- Dendara XIV Sylvie Cauville. *Le temple de Dendara. Parois intérieures du pronaos*. En ligne : Dendara.net, 2009.
- DT *Cuneiform Tablets in the Daily Telegraph Collection of the British Museum*
- EA *Epigraphica Anatolica: Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens*
- e-DAI-J 2017 *e-Jahresbericht des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts – Abteilung Kairo*. Berlin : Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 2018 : 119–133.
- Edfou I Frédéric Joseph Maxence René de Chalvet, Marquis de Rochemonteix/Émile Chassinat. *Le temple d'Edfou I*. MMAF 10. Le Caire : IFAO, 1897 (deuxième édition revue et corrigée par Sylvie Cauville et Didier Devauchelle, 1984–1987).
- Edfou II Émile Chassinat. *Le temple d'Edfou II*. MMAF 11. Le Caire : IFAO (deuxième édition revue et corrigée par Sylvie Cauville et Didier Devauchelle, 1987–1990).
- Edfou III–XIV Émile Chassinat. *Le temple d'Edfou III–XIV*. MMAF 20–31. Le Caire : IFAO, 1928–1934.
- Edfou XV Sylvie Cauville/Didier Devauchelle. *Le temple d'Edfou XV*. MMAF 32. Le Caire : IFAO, 1985.
- EM Thomas Gaisford. *Etymologicum Magnum*. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1848.
- ENiM *Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne*
- Esna II Serge Sauneron. *Le Temple d'Esna. Esna II*. Le Caire : IFAO, 1963
- ETCSL The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature, en ligne <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/index1.htm>
- EQA Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie, Münster
- FIFAO Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
- GG Werner Peek. *Griechische Grabgedichte*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1960.
- GM *Göttinger Miszellen*
- GV Werner Peek. *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*. Berlin : Akademie Verlag, 1955.
- HÄB Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim
- I.Aph.2007 *Inscriptions of Aphrodisia (2007)*. Édité par Joyce Reynolds, Charlotte Roueché et Gabriel Bodard. En ligne : <http://insaph.kcl.uk/iaph2007>.
- IC III *Inscriptiones Creticae, III: Tituli Cretae Orientalis*. Édité par Margherita Guarducci. Rome : Libreria dello Stato, 1942.
- ICos *Iscrizioni di Cos*. Édité par Mario Segre. Rome : L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1993.
- I.Didyma II *Didyma II: Die Inschriften*. Édité par Theodor Wiegand, Albert Rehm. Berlin : G. Mann, 1958.

- I.Erythrai* II Helmut Engelmann/Reinhold Merkelbach (édité par). *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai, Teil II (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 2)*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 1973.
- IFAO Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
- I.Fayoum* I *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum, I: La «Méris d'Hérakleidès»*. Édité par Étienne Bernand. Leiden: Brill, 1975.
- I.Fayoum* III *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum, III: La «Méris de Polémôn»*. Bibliothèque d'études 80. Édité par Étienne Bernand. Le Caire: IFAO, 1981.
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin, 1913–.
- IGR IV *Inscriptiones graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*. Édité par René Cagnat. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1927.
- IGLSyr 3.2 *Inscriptiones grecques et latines de la Syrie, III,2. Antiochène*. Édité par Louis Jalaubert et René Mouterde (éds.). Paris: P. Geuthner, 1953.
- IK *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Bonn, 1972–.
- I.Louvre* *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie au Musée du Louvre*. Édité par Étienne Bernand. Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1992.
- I.Milet* I.9 *Milet: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899. Vol. I.9: Thermen und Palästren*. Édité par Armin von Gerkan, Fritz Krischen. Berlin: H. Schoetz, 1928.
- I.Prose* *La prose sur pierre dans l'Égypte hellénistique et romaine*. 2 vols. Édité par André Bernand. Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1992.
- I.Th.Sy.* *De Thèbes à Syène*. Édité par André Bernand. Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1999.
- I.Tyr* II *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Tyr, II*. BAAL hors série III. Édité par Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais. Beyrouth: Ministère de la culture, Direction générale des antiquités, 2006.
- IvP* *Inschriften von Pergamon*. 2 vols. Altertümer von Pergamon VIII.1–2. Édité par Max Fränkel. Berlin: Verlag von W. Spemann, 1890–1903.
- JDAI *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JESHO *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
- JHSc *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
- JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- KAI Herbert Donner/Wolfgang Röllig. *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. 3 vols. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969–1973.
- KAR Ebeling, Erich N. *Kleinschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915–1923.
- KRI Kenneth A. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, I–VIII, Oxford: Blackwell, 1969–1990.
- LCL Loeb Classical Library editions, available online at <https://www.loebclassics.com/>
- LD III–V Carl R. Lepsius. *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. Vol. III. Collection des Classiques Égyptologiques. Vol. III–V. Genève: Éditions de Belles Lettres, 1972–1975 (reproduction photographique de 1849–1913).
- LGG Christian Leitz (ed.). *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. 8 vols. OLA 110–116, 129. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–2003.
- LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, rédaction Hans Christoph Ackermann et Jean-Robert Gisler, Bd.I.1–VIII.2 + 2 Bde. Indices, Zürich, München: Artemis, 1981–1999.

- LSAM *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*. École française d'Athènes – Travaux et Mémoires des anciens membres étrangers IX. Édité par Franciszek Sokolowski. Paris : De Boccard, 1955.
- LSCG Franciszek Sokolowski. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*. Paris : De Boccard, 1969.
- LSS *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément*. École française d'Athènes – Travaux et Mémoires des anciens membres étrangers XI. Édité par Franciszek Sokolowski. Paris : De Boccard, 1962.
- MAMA VI *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, VI: *Monuments and Documents from Phrygia and Caria*. Édité par William H. Buckler, William M. Calder. Manchester : University Press, 1939.
- MAMA XI *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, XI: *Monuments from Phrygia and Lykaonia*. Édité par Michael H. Ballance, William M. Calder, Alan Stirling Hall et al., Londres : Society for the Promoton of Roman Studies, 2013.
- MDAIA *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athen. Abt.*
- MDAIK *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo*
- MIFAO Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
- MMAF Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire
- MRE Monographies Reine Élisabeth, Bruxelles
- NIN *NIN. Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity*
- OGIS Wilhelm Dittenberger. *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*. 2 vols. Leipzig : Meisenheim/Glan, 1903 (rpr. Hildesheim : G. Olms, 1960).
- OIP Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago
- OLA *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, Louvain
- OMS V Louis Robert. *Opera minora selecta*. Vol. 5. Amsterdam : A. M. Hakkert, 1989.
- OLP *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*
- OMRO *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen vit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*
- PH *The Inscriptions of Cos*. Édité par William R. Paton, Edward Hicks. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1891.
- PHRC *The Practicalities of Hellenistic Ruler Cults*. Édité par Stefano G. Caneva. Padova/Liège, 2018–. En ligne : www.phrc.it.
- PM Ernst Pfuhl/Hans Möbius. *Die Ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*. Mainz am Rhein : Von Zabern, 1977–1979.
- PM Bertha Porter/Rosalind L. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, I–VII. Oxford : Clarendon Press/Griffith Institute, 1927–1981.
- PMG Malcolm Davies. *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Vol.1 Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1991.
- RAcc François Thureau-Dangin. *Rituels accadiens*. Paris : Leroux, 1921.
- RC *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy*. Édité par Charles B. Welles. New Haven : Yale University Press, 1934.
- RdE *Revue d'Égyptologie*
- REA *Revue des études anciennes*
- REG *Revue des études grecques*
- RIA Erich Ebeling. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie*. Berlin/New York : de Gruyter, 1928–.
- RIMA The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Period
- RINAP The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
- RHM *Römische historische Mitteilungen*

SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SBH	George Andrew Reisner. <i>Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit</i> . Berlin : W. Spemann, 1896.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . Leyde, I–XXV (1923–1971), lacune, XXVI– (1979–).
SERaT Datenbank	Base de données <i>System zur Erfassung von Ritualszenen in altägyptischen Tempeln</i> , Université de Würzburg https://www.serat.aegyptologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/ .
SNG	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i>
s. v.	sub verbum (meaning under entry and used for ancient dictionaries).
TAM V.2	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris, V: Tituli Lydiae linguis graeca et latina conscripti. 2: Regio septemtrionalis, ad occidentem vergens</i> . Édité par Peter Herrmann. Vienne : Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989.
TCL	Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités orientales, Textes cunéiformes
TGrF	Snell, Bruno. <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . Vol.1. Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971.
Tôd I	Jean-Claude Grenier. <i>Tôd : les inscriptions du temple ptolémaïque et romain. I. La salle hypostyle, textes nos 1–172</i> . FIFAO 18/1. Le Caire : IFAO, 1980.
Tôd II	Christophe Thiers. <i>Tôd : les inscriptions du temple ptolémaïque et romain II. Textes et scènes nos 173–329</i> . FIFAO 18/2. Le Caire : IFAO, 2003.
TT	Tombe thébaine
UET	Samuel N. Kramer/Cyril J. Gadd. <i>Literary and Religious Texts</i> . Vols. 6.1–6.2. London : Oxford University Press for the Trustee of the two Museums, 1963.
Urk. IV	Wolfgang Helck. <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Inschriften von Zeitgenossen Amenophis'III. [IV,1776–1954]. Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums IV (21)</i> . Berlin : Akademie-Verlag, 1958.
Urk. VIII	Kurt Sethe. <i>Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus Griechisch-Römischer Zeit, Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums VIII</i> , Berlin : Akademie-Verlag, 1957.
Wb	Adolf Erman/Hermann Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache : Im Auftrage der Deutschen Akademien</i> . Vols. 1–6. Berlin : Akademie-Verlag, 1926–1931.
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZAVA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Introduction: The Relevance of a Comparative Approach

GIUSEPPINA LENZO AND CHRISTOPHE NIHAN

The present volume goes back to an international conference held in Lausanne in May 2017, the aim of which was to compare and contrast the development of royal and heroic cults in the Hellenistic period. The topic has been the subject of substantial focus in recent years¹ because of its importance for the study of this period as well as for the study of ancient religions in the ancient Mediterranean more broadly. The present introduction begins by highlighting the main theoretical and methodological approaches which underlay the 2017 conference, and which are further reflected in the present volume (1). In doing so, it also highlights some of the specific contributions of the volume compared to previous publications. Following this, it briefly discusses some significant developments in the study of royal and heroic cults in the ancient world (2 and 3) in order to illustrate the relevance of a comparative approach to these topics. The final section (4) provides an overview of the essays contained in this volume.

1. Royal and Heroic Cults in the Mediterranean: Some Preliminary Remarks

The study of royal cults has long been a matter of interest for historians of the ancient world, as it exemplifies the interconnectedness of politics, economics, and religion in these societies. Recent research suggests that this interconnectedness is in fact even more complex than was previously assumed. The strategic function of the royal cult as an instrument for the legitimization of kings and the administration of the territory has already been abundantly studied in the case of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires, even though this has generally been done with distinct approaches and within different methodological frameworks. In the case of the Seleucid empire, the place of the royal cult within the administration of territories was often linked to complex negotiations with the cities and their local population.² The same point holds true in the case of Ptolemaic Egypt, where the development of the royal cult as an administrative tool likewise involved complex interactions between Alexandria and the clergies controlling the main Egyptian sanctuaries.³ Simultaneously, we must also raise the corresponding question of the impact of these royal cults on the cults and pantheons of the territories where they were established. As S. Caneva and S. Paul rightly emphasize,⁴ the integration of Hellenistic rulers in the civil cults, while not

¹ See, among others, Iossif/Chamkowski/Lorber 2011; Caneva/Paul 2014; as well as Caneva 2016a.

² Ma 2002.

³ See, e. g., Clarysse 1999; Pfeiffer 2008 and see also René Preys in this volume.

⁴ Caneva/Paul 2014.

unprecedented in Greek cities,⁵ nonetheless represents a significant development from the perspective of traditional Greek cults. While the relationship between local or regional deities and Hellenistic rulers has been the subject of several recent studies,⁶ other key issues still need to be explored, such as the relationship between civic and royal cults or the role of festivals and processions in the legitimization of rulers.⁷ This is a rich field of study which is still far from being fully explored and which requires new models in order to be adequately researched. At any rate, the present discussion highlights two key issues that will need to be considered by future studies: firstly, the importance of local and regional studies, which are able to take into account the substantial diversity of strategies reflected in the negotiation between the royal administration and traditional institutions within a territory; secondly (and related to the first issue), the interaction between royal cults and various types of civic cults, including (but not limited to) heroic cults.

A second point has to do with the comparative approach involved in this volume. While the comparative approach of royal cults is not new per se, some clarification regarding the nature of the comparative approach is nonetheless in order. Specifically, it seems to us that such an approach can be developed at three levels simultaneously, which should be viewed as complementary rather than mutually exclusive.

(1) To the extent that the Hellenistic period corresponds, at least to some degree, to an intensification of contacts between different cultures in the ancient world, especially around the Mediterranean, the question of mutual and reciprocal influences in the development of royal and heroic cults is important. This type of comparative approach has already been the subject of several studies, especially regarding the influence of heroic cults in the representations of Hellenistic rulers. Other aspects of this question have, however, been less studied, such as interactions between Ptolemaic and Seleucid royal cults and the roles of such interactions in the development of these cults during the Hellenistic period, or the impact of royal cults in the development of heroic cults in the context of Greek *poleis*.⁸ Moreover, we need to keep in mind that influences between royal and heroic cults usually take place in the context of a larger set of cultural interactions and negotiations, which can also lead to the adoption of new customs in local cults in connection with the reassertion of traditional indigenous practices. Both aspects can even go together, as the case of wall decorations in Egyptian temples of the Hellenistic period, which integrate new cultic epithets into traditional ritual descriptions, aptly demonstrates.⁹ There are many other examples of this phenomenon, which corresponds in part to what F. Muccioli, in the case of the Greek cult of the Hellenistic period, has aptly termed the “revitalization” of archaic forms.¹⁰

(2) Conversely, it is no less evident that the comparative approach must include a contrastive, or “differential”, comparatism, which looks not only at mutual influences but at

⁵ See, for example, the case of honors given to citizens; and on this issue 3 below.

⁶ See especially Iossif/Chamkowski/Lorber 2011; and compare already Chaniotis 2003.

⁷ See programmatically Iossif 2011 in the case of the Daphne procession; and see further his essay in this volume.

⁸ See especially Boddez 2016.

⁹ See the essays by Martina Minas-Nerpel, Virginie Joliton and René Preys in this volume.

¹⁰ Muccioli 2014a.

the contrasts between the royal cults themselves as well as between royal cults and civic or heroic cults.¹¹ In particular, such an approach has the potential to highlight the distinctive features of each of these cults in its own territorial and political context. This approach may be less predominant in the case of Hellenistic studies, where the comparative approach which has been favored is primarily oriented toward a kind of genetic and analogical comparatism focusing on parallels and resemblances, as described above; however, a differential approach is in fact no less important. This is all the more the case in the present scholarly context, where recent research tends to show that Ptolemaic and Seleucid royal cults may in fact have more in common than was previously recognized. We will return to this point in more detail below.¹² What we wish to highlight here, however, is that the question of precisely where the differences between Ptolemaic and Seleucid royal cults lie is a complex issue that needs to be carefully re-examined.

(3) Finally, the comparative approach of royal and heroic cults should not only be external but also *internal* and diachronic. What we mean by this is that the comparison must not only address the different types of royal and heroic cults that are documented in the Hellenistic period, but also carefully analyze the relationship between these cults and earlier cults in the same territories. In the case of royal cults, one of the major contributions of recent research has been to highlight the ways in which these cults always have a basis in local customs, which are reused and adapted according to the strategic needs and interests of the ruler.¹³ This aspect has long been emphasized in the case of the Ptolemaic cult,¹⁴ but it also characterizes the cults developed by Seleucid rulers, especially in Mesopotamia.¹⁵ Furthermore, similar questions can be raised concerning the heroic cults in the Greek world, especially as regards the identification of continuities and discontinuities with earlier periods and the complex interaction between “tradition” and “innovation” in the case of the heroic cults of the Hellenistic period.¹⁶ The question becomes even more complex if we take into account the development of heroic cults in other parts of the Mediterranean outside of Greece, where these cults often led to new syntheses with local, indigenous traditions, as in the case of the various cults to Heracles.¹⁷ Alongside a more “horizontal” approach, which compares and contrasts royal and heroic cults in the Hellenistic period, a more “vertical” and diachronic approach, which considers the ways in which these cults take shape in local, indigenous structures, is thus also needed. The combination of these local structures with foreign elements gives rise to new syntheses, as is documented, for example, in the appearance of eponymous priestly titles in Ptolemaic

¹¹ On the comparative approach and the importance of differential comparatism, see, for example, Borgeaud 2003 as well as the essays in Calame/Lincoln 2012.

¹² See below § 2, where some examples of this phenomenon are discussed.

¹³ See, for example, the essay by Yasmin El Shazly in this volume, in the case of royal ancestors before the Ptolemaic period.

¹⁴ See, for example, Minas-Nerpel 2014.

¹⁵ See the essays collected in the seminal volume by Kuhrt/Sherwin-White 1987. See also the essays by Panagiotis P. Iossif as well as Patrick M. Michel and Marie Widmer in the present volume.

¹⁶ See recently Muccioli 2014a on the complex relationship between “tradition” and “innovation” in the context of heroic cults. See also the essay by Nicolas Richer in this volume, which shows a case of significant innovation in heroic practices already during the Classical period.

¹⁷ See the essay by Anna Angelini in this volume and the literature referenced there.

Egypt.¹⁸ More than anything else, it is these syntheses which are the main object of the comparative approach.

The latter remarks also bring us to the larger issue of “Hellenism” and processes of Hellenization in the ancient Mediterranean. Without being able to enter here into the complex issues raised by these categories,¹⁹ we do believe that royal and heroic cults constitute a relevant angle, or perspective, for illuminating processes of Hellenization in the ancient Mediterranean, and this for at least two reasons. Firstly, because these cults can be seen in many ways as representative of the new syntheses that emerged during the Hellenistic period, as several of the examples noted above already suggest.²⁰ Secondly, because these cults, through their synthesis of various cultural codes, also contributed actively to the shaping and development of a Hellenized culture within the Mediterranean. In other words, royal and heroic cults are both objects *and* agents in the various processes of Hellenization in the ancient Mediterranean, and it is from these two complementary aspects that they should be studied.

Finally, some comments are also required concerning the terms “royal cult” and “heroic cult”. The comparative approach briefly sketched here is complicated by the fact that the relationship between kingship and cult was very diverse within the Hellenistic world. In the case of Ptolemaic Egypt, the royal cult is clearly documented from the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphos,²¹ although the process through which kings came to be regarded as divine beings is complex and appears to have been incremental. Among other issues, the variety of cultic epithets and names for Ptolemaic kings, as well as their relationship to traditional Pharaonic names, is difficult to conceptualize.²² In the case of the Seleucid empire, the relationship between kingship and cult is likewise complex. The evidence varies significantly from one region to another; while some form of royal cult is clearly documented in various cities of Asia Minor, especially from the time of Antiochus III, there is little evidence for similar cults in the Levant. Moreover, even in some regions, like Babylonia, where a royal cult is well documented, the status of the king (or the royal family more broadly) and his relationship to the divine are difficult to interpret and remain a matter of scholarly debate.²³ The relationship between king and cult in the Hellenistic world is arguably best construed as a continuum of sorts, which could include various types of relations between kings and gods, as well as various degrees of proximity between them. The expression “royal cult” is helpful to describe this continuum, as long as it is clear that it must be construed as a broad category, which does not correspond to a specific type of cult. Similar issues can be raised regarding the use of the expression “heroic cult”. In our opinion, this expression should likewise be construed broadly enough to cover both the more traditional forms of civic cults inherited from earlier periods as well as the new de-

¹⁸ See already Clarysse/Van der Veken/Vleeming 1983, and further Minas 2000.

¹⁹ See now the discussion by Chrubasik/King 2017, which presents a detailed *status quaestionis*.

²⁰ See further the discussion in §§ 2 and 3 below.

²¹ See Caneva 2016b.

²² For cultic epithets, see for example Muccioli 2013.

²³ On this issue in general, see the essays in Iossif/Chamkowski/Lorber 2011. See also the contributions by Panagiotis P. Iossif as well as Patrick M. Michel and Marie Widmer in this volume.

velopments that characterize the Hellenistic period, especially (albeit not exclusively) at the level of families and associations.²⁴

Having clarified some of the theoretical and methodological issues involved in the approach represented in this volume, we will now examine some specific problems in the study of these cults, starting with royal Ptolemaic and Seleucid cults (§2) before turning to heroic cults (§3).

2. Ptolemaic and Seleucid Cults: Some Elements for a Comparison

Although royal cults of the Hellenistic period have been extensively studied in their own right, there are still few systematic comparisons between these cults. In the limits of this short introduction, we will focus on the case of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid cults, which are best documented, even though the comparative approach should ideally take into account the whole context of Hellenistic royal cults.

The comparison between Ptolemaic and Seleucid cults has been the subject of a limited number of studies, which remain largely programmatic.²⁵ This phenomenon has to do, in particular, with the complexity of the sources on the one hand and the increasing specialization of these two fields of study on the other. Some recent trends in the literature on the Ptolemaic and Seleucid cults suggest, however, that there are limits to this division of research, and that increased dialogue between these two fields of study may open new perspectives for the scholarly discussion. To begin with, some of the aspects that were considered to be distinctive of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid cults respectively, such as the reuse of traditional religious structures in the case of the Ptolemies, or the association with foreign (Greek) deities in the case of the Seleucids, have been significantly, or even entirely, challenged and deconstructed in recent research.²⁶ Furthermore, even in those cases where we have obvious differences between these two cults, such as with eponymous priests, or the association of the queen to the royal cult in Egypt, these differences are often relative rather than absolute,²⁷ and they do not rule out the existence of larger structural parallels with regard to the general functions of these cults in the administration of the territory. These and other observations suggest that more research needs to be devoted in the future to the systematic comparison between Ptolemaic and Seleucid royal cults. In this in-

²⁴ See the essay by Marie-Thérèse Le Dinahet in this volume.

²⁵ See, for example, Coppola 2016.

²⁶ For example, while it was sometimes claimed that the Ptolemies would not have associated themselves with Greek deities, contrary to the Seleucids, this is clearly contradicted by the epigraphic evidence, especially in the context of gymnasiums; see on this Bielman Sánchez/Lenzo 2015: 133–138, as well as the essay by Stefano Caneva in this volume.

²⁷ Thus, the association of queen Laodice III with the royal cult to Antiochus III is documented by the decrees of the city of Teos, in Asia Minor, as well as by Antiochus' letter to the citizens of Teos: see *SEG* XLI, 1003 for the second decree of Teos; as well as Ma 1999, 362, for a recent edition and translation of Antiochus' letter. Likewise, eponymous priests for Seleucid kings are documented for their part in *OGIS* 245 (= *IGLS* III, 1184 = *SEG* XXXV, 1521) in Seleucia Pieria at the beginning of the second century BCE. However, eponymous priests are clearly documented only for kings, contrary to what is the case in Egypt, where independent eponymous priests are documented for queens from the time of Ptolemy II onward. On these issues, see, e. g., Debord 2003; as well as Ma 1999, 308–321.

roduction, we will limit ourselves to some basic remarks in light of the essays contained in this volume.

A first point, which is often insufficiently taken into account (although we believe it is in fact essential), concerns the nature of the sources at our disposal, which are very different in the case of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid cults. For the Ptolemaic cult, we have an abundant documentation, which includes the following sources: lists of eponymous priests for the king or, most often, the royal couple, written on administrative papyri (in Greek or Demotic); lists of royal epithets, also preserved on administrative papyri (in Greek or Demotic), on royal stelae (in hieroglyphs) and on the walls of temples (in hieroglyphs); coins, which also document epithets of the Ptolemaic rulers; scenes of offerings to the royal ancestors by the reigning couple, again on the walls of temples (and with inscriptions in hieroglyphs); royal decrees mentioning (among other things) the establishment of a royal cult, usually on stelae (generally written in hieroglyphs, in Demotic as well as in Greek, although some inscriptions are written in a single language). To this we can also add the statues erected for Ptolemaic rulers, most often as part of the royal cult;²⁸ as well as a limited number of references to processions and festivals in the context of the royal cult in Greek and Latin sources. The reconstruction of the Seleucid royal cult, for its part, is based on a different set of sources, which are also less abundant, at least in some respects. The main sources at our disposal include royal decrees, representations of Seleucid kings on coins, seals and in statuary,²⁹ as well as the honorary decrees of the cities. To this can be added several indigenous sources, for example, in the case of Seleucid Babylon, cuneiform texts such as the *Dynastic Prophecy*, the *Babylonian Chronicle*³⁰ or the *Borsippa Cylinder*,³¹ as well as Greek and Latin authors (which, however, present their own interpretive problems). Taken together, these documents allow us nonetheless to reconstruct several key aspects of the Seleucid royal cult, such as the creation of eponymous priests in Seleucia Pieria from the time of Seleucus IV,³² the attribution of epithets and regular honors to Seleucid rulers in the context of civic cults, and others as well.

This brief list, however, already highlights the important differences in the nature of the sources at our disposal. These differences significantly impact the comparison between the Ptolemaic and Seleucid royal cults, especially with regard to the potential but also the limits of this comparison. The question of the relationship of Hellenistic rulers to indigenous traditions offers a good illustration of this phenomenon. In the case of Ptolemaic Egypt, the strategy developed by the rulers in order to position themselves as much as possible in the continuation of earlier pharaohs is abundantly attested, particularly in the inscriptions and reliefs of the Egyptian temples, as well as in the statuary.³³ In the case of the Seleucid kings, similar strategies of adaptation to indigenous royal traditions are

²⁸ On these statues and the distinction between statues used in the royal cult and other statues, see Thiers 2002.

²⁹ On the relationships between the representations of the Seleucid kings on the coins and seals, see Iossif 2014.

³⁰ Sherwin-White 1983.

³¹ See Kuhrt/Sherwin-White 1991.

³² See note 27 above.

³³ See, for example, Minas-Nerpel 2014.

also documented, especially by cuneiform sources in the case of Seleucid Babylonia.³⁴ The concern of Seleucid kings to situate themselves in the continuity of earlier indigenous dynasties is also indicated by their representations, especially on coins, which show several parallels with earlier Near Eastern themes.³⁵ However, on this latter aspect, it needs to be acknowledged that the available documentation remains arguably more scarce than in the case of Ptolemaic Egypt, which therefore limits the range of the comparison. Overall, and with these considerations in mind, it seems to us that the sources at our disposal suggest identifying two major lines of research in which the comparison between Ptolemaic and Seleucid cults can be usefully pursued.

A first line of research concerns the reuse of typically Greek elements in these two royal cults, albeit in different ways. This case includes, but is not restricted to, the establishment of the cult of the ruler through royal decrees, the development of epithets as part of the royal cult, the establishment of eponymous priests, and the association of the ruler with Greek deities. All of these elements are found in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid cults, but to varying degrees and in different contexts. The association of the ruler with Greek deities, especially Apollo and Heracles, is a well-known characteristic of the Seleucid royal cult, but which is in fact also attested for Ptolemaic rulers.³⁶ In contrast, the establishment of eponymous priests seems to have played a central role in the development of the royal Ptolemaic cult significantly earlier than in the case of the Seleucid cult. A differential approach should examine yet other significant contrasts, such as the attribution of epithets to the Ptolemaic queens but apparently not to the Seleucid queens (or at least less explicitly),³⁷ or the translation of royal epithets into Egyptian in the case of the Ptolemaic rulers, which does not appear to have an equivalent in the case of Seleucid rulers in Babylon.³⁸

A second line of research, within a comparative approach, would concern the usage of, and interaction with, local and regional structures in the establishment of Ptolemaic and Seleucid royal cults. It has long been common for scholars to assume that this aspect comprised a significant distinction between Ptolemaic and Seleucid royal cults, but the evidence is in fact more complex and requires a more differentiated analysis. In the case of Egypt, Ptolemaic rulers relied mainly on the clergy of the temples, who thus served as privileged intermediaries, or mid-tiers, with the royal administration.³⁹ Elsewhere, however, especially in Asia Minor, Ptolemaic rulers did not hesitate to rely on civic cults,⁴⁰

³⁴ See the articles gathered in Kuhrt/Sherwin-White 1987, as well as the contribution of Panagiotis P. Iossif as well as Patrick M. Michel and Marie Widmer in this volume.

³⁵ See Anagnostou-Laoutides 2013 on solar aspects of Hellenistic kings and their relationship with the solar cult in the ancient Near East, as well as her contribution in this volume.

³⁶ In the case of 2nd century BCE Egypt, see the discussion of the available evidence in Bielman Sánchez/Lenzo 2015: 133–138.

³⁷ This difference is related to the absence of eponymous priests for Seleucid queens; on this, see note 27 above.

³⁸ On Ptolemaic queens, see the articles of Martina Minas-Nerpel and Virginie Joliton in this volume.

³⁹ On the relationship between the Ptolemies and the Egyptian priests, see particularly Quaegebeur 1989; Clarysse 1999; Thiers 2006; Lenzo 2015; as well as von Recklinghausen 2018. On the differences in the use of the gymnasium in Egypt and in other parts of the Hellenistic world, see the essay by Stefano Caneva in this volume.

⁴⁰ See the inscriptions from Miletus (*I. Milet* I 3 139) under Ptolemy II translated, for example, by Bagnall/Derow 2004². This situation has to do, in part, with the fact that the clergy of temples is generally less

like the Seleucids, although in somewhat different ways. Moreover, in Babylon, the Seleucid rulers also relied on the temples, which had always been one of the main institutions of the city.⁴¹ These remarks clearly suggest that the key factor in the development of both Ptolemaic and Seleucid royal cults was the adaptation to the constraints and the resources of the territories controlled by the royal administration, rather than the imposition of a pre-established royal scheme on these territories.⁴² This observation, which is consistent with some tendencies of recent research on Hellenistic kingship, implies that it is necessary to go beyond an “essentialist” vision of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid royal cults, which would consider these cults as monolithic and unchanging entities. The object of comparison should rather be the different forms taken by ruler cults according to (a) the territories controlled by the royal administration, and (b) the concrete negotiations with local as well as regional structures and agents reflected in the various ruler cults. In other words, the comparison of the royal cults must necessarily be done according to an approach that is more inductive (or “bottom-up”) than deductive (or “top-down”), and which carefully takes into account territorial specificities.

3. Royal and Heroic Cults

The study of heroic cults in the Hellenistic period, and of their relations to royal cults, raises another set of issues. Again without claiming to address the full range of issues, we would like to briefly outline some of these questions in light of recent research on the topic. Specifically, and in keeping with the general methodological framework sketched above, three perspectives can be suggested with regard to present and future studies.

A first perspective concerns the transformations of heroic cults that can be observed during the Hellenistic period, in relation to the earlier Archaic and Classical periods. This question has been the subject of several recent studies.⁴³ In many ways, heroic cults in the Hellenistic period were continuous with the cults of previous periods. However, a number of developments can also be observed. One such development that has already been highlighted in various studies concerns what can be called a “privatization” of heroic cults, which is reflected, for example, in the establishment of heroic cults by families (rather than cities) for their own dead. This development appears to be related to a larger trend in this period toward the “heroization” of the dead, which is reflected, in particular, in funerary inscriptions from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, where the term “hero” is occasionally used – at least in some regions – to denote the dead.⁴⁴ Contrary to what has

important, in terms of numbers and socio-economic hierarchy, than in the main Egyptian temples of the time. However, other factors have to be considered as well, and there is no question, in our opinion, that this represents an adaptation of the Ptolemaic rulers to the regional context.

⁴¹ See an example in van der Spek 1987 on the priesthoods of Babylonia and Uruk.

⁴² This point has been recently highlighted, in the case of the Ptolemaic administration, by Gilles Gorre in an unpublished monograph: see Gorre 2019. This does not preclude the existence of general structures at the higher administrative level, but it does imply that these structures were flexible enough to be constantly adapted to local and regional constraints.

⁴³ See, for example, Mikalson 1998; Hughes 1999; as well as Ekroth 2002 and 2007.

⁴⁴ See, for instance, Ekroth 2007 in the case of Greece as well as Couilloud-Le Dinahet 2003 in the case of the Levant. See also the essay by Marie-Thérèse Le Dinahet in this volume.

sometimes been claimed, this development does not seem to correspond to a decreased role of heroic cults in the cities; on the contrary, these cults appear to have enjoyed a new vitality during the same period. The two trends must therefore be considered as parallel developments, whose relationship to each other requires further study. Moreover, there are other examples of substantial innovations in civic heroic cults of the Hellenistic period, which concern *inter alia* the beneficiaries of such cults, with the emergence of new categories, such as the *euergetes*; as well as the honors and festivities which were established at that time in various cities. The interpretation of the continuities and discontinuities between heroic cults of the Hellenistic period and of earlier periods requires an in-depth analysis, which arguably should involve crossing case studies with the general documentation available, as per the approach advocated in several recent studies.⁴⁵

A second perspective involves the interactions between hero and ruler cults in the Hellenistic period as well as their mutual influence on each other. Although both cults are often presented as distinct types in the scholarly literature, from the perspective of the documentation the issue is in fact more complex. In particular, the boundaries between the heroization and the divinization of the ruler are often fluid. This point has already been made in the case of the various cults of Alexander at the end of the fourth century, but a similar point applies in the case of various subsequent Hellenistic rulers, as evidenced, for example, by the cult associated with Seleucus I in Seleucia Pieria.⁴⁶ The issue becomes even more complex if one includes under the ruler cult not only Hellenistic kings but also local tyrants and dynasts in various areas of the ancient Mediterranean, who could also occasionally receive honors and be the object of a cult following their death, as the example of Timoleon in Syracuse shows.⁴⁷ This complexity has arguably to do with the fact that, within the Greek world, the heroic cult was the main known antecedent for cults to humans rather than to deities. It seems logical, therefore, that it is this structure that would be used to establish new ruler cults in the Hellenistic period. Simultaneously, this point also raises the question of the impact of ruler cults in the development of heroic cults in the Greek cities. It seems that the establishment of cults for Hellenistic rulers led, in some cities, to the development of heroic cults for other categories of individuals, especially high-ranking officials belonging to the close circle of the king, as the example of the heroization of three officers of Alexander by the Athenian assembly suggests.⁴⁸ Even though it should be clear that the establishment of cults for Hellenistic rulers was only one factor among several others in the development of heroic cults, its influence cannot be ignored entirely either. Furthermore, and this time within a more explicitly differential approach, the comparison also raises the issue of the specifics of royal and heroic cults respectively, not only from the perspective of their associated rituals, but also from the perspective of the spaces involved within the city. In this regard, the relationship between ruler cults, heroic cults and the construction of spatiality in and around the city is an emergent field of study, to which more attention should be devoted in the future.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ See, for example, Muccioli 2014b as well as the essay by Nicolas Richer in this volume.

⁴⁶ See Muccioli 2014a.

⁴⁷ See Muccioli 2014a; as well as Boddez 2016.

⁴⁸ On this, see the recent discussion by Boddez 2016.

⁴⁹ On this issue, see also the essay of Stefano Caneva in this volume.

Last but not least, a third perspective concerns the circulation of heroic cults within the Mediterranean, namely, outside of the Greek world *per se*. The numerous studies devoted to heroic cults have usually addressed this topic primarily within the context of Greek cities. Yet there is value in broadening the scope, and in considering this phenomenon within the larger context of the ancient Mediterranean and even beyond. While the circulation of heroic cults and traditions outside of Greece predates the Hellenistic period, there is evidence at this time for an increased diffusion of rituals and themes typically associated with heroic cults. One fascinating example is the pairing of Heracles with the cult of Heracles, whose circulation within the ancient Mediterranean leads to a whole series of new syntheses with local and regional deities.⁵⁰ The best-known example is the god Melqart,⁵¹ but other less known associations, such as between Heracles and the Egyptian god Khonsu, would rightly deserve to be studied. These new syntheses are often connected to the emergence of new forms of cults and rituals, which in turn raise important questions about the limits and fluidity of Greek heroic cults. Furthermore, even though the cult of Heracles arguably represents a parade example of this phenomenon, other forms of the spread of heroic cults outside of Greece need to be further taken into account.⁵² This includes the case, already mentioned above, of the heroization of “ordinary” deceased family members and its impact on the funerary practices in the ancient Mediterranean.⁵³ At any rate, the study of heroic cults cannot ignore or bypass the rich materials documented outside of the Greek world, even if the interpretation of these materials often raises significant methodological issues.

4. Summary of Essays

The essays in this volume have been organized into four parts. (1) The first part is devoted to posthumous cults and royal ancestors in ancient Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period. (2) The second section discusses the royal cult under the Ptolemies specifically. (3) The third part is dedicated to the Seleucid empire. (4) The fourth and final section of the volume discusses the Greek world and Hellenistic culture in the ancient Mediterranean more broadly.

Part One: Posthumous Cults and Royal Ancestors in Ancient Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period

The volume opens with a collective essay by *Ralph Birk*, *Luc Delvaux* and *Françoise Labrique*, which focuses on the cultic memory of the Theban elite during the first millen-

⁵⁰ See the essay by Anna Angelini in this volume, where she also discusses the important methodological issue of the type of model required to adequately describe the circulation of a deity like Heracles in the ancient Mediterranean.

⁵¹ See the classical study by Bonnet 1988.

⁵² In this context, see also the essay by Ralph Birk, Françoise Labrique and Luc Delvaux in this volume, where they raise the important question of the possible parallel between the divinization of individuals in Egypt in the first millennium BCE and processes of “heroization” in the Hellenistic world.

⁵³ See the essay by Marie-Thérèse Le Dinahet in this volume.

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