

# 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*

44

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**Mohr Siebeck**

# Orientalische Religionen in der Antike

Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient

## Oriental Religions in Antiquity

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Giuseppina Lenzo, Christophe Nihan  
et Matthieu Pellet

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Lausanne, décembre 2020

Giuseppina Lenzo, Christophe Nihan et Matthieu Pellet



## Table des matières

Remerciements .....	V
Liste des abréviations .....	IX

GIUSEPPINA LENZO, CHRISTOPHE NIHAN

Introduction: The Relevance of a Comparative Approach .....	1
---	---

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

RALPH BIRK, LUC DELVAUX, FRANÇOISE LABRIQUE

Mémoire de l'élite thébaine tardive et culte des ancêtres .....	27
---	----

YASMIN EL SHAZLY

Female Royal Ancestors in Deir el-Medina .....	59
--	----

MARC GABOLDE

Du culte posthume de Toutankhamon à la tombe des dieux morts des époques grecque et romaine. Remarques sur les rois et dieux gisants en Égypte ancienne .....	89
--	----

### Part Two: Royal Cult during the Ptolemaic Period

MARTINA MINAS-NERPEL

Beyond Boundaries: The Roles of the Queens in the Ptolemaic Ruler Cult .....	117
--	-----

VIRGINIE JOLITON

Arsinoé III dans les temples ptolémaïques, la légitimation d'une dynastie hellénistique ...	147
---	-----

RENÉ PREYS

Le culte des Ptolémées dans les temples égyptiens : les décrets royaux et la décoration des temples .....	171
--	-----

### Part Three: Seleucid Kings and Royal Cult

PANAGIOTIS P. IOSSIF

The "Royal Seleucid Cult": A Top-to-the-Bottom Religious Approach of the Phenomenon. The Mesopotamian Evidence .....	197
---	-----



PATRICK M. MICHEL, MARIE WIDMER

Étude interculturelle des formulaires akkadiens :

les honneurs culturels séleucides en Babylonie ..... 223

EVANGELINA ANAGNOSTOU LAOUTIDES

Heracles and Dumuzi: The Soteriological Aspects of Kingship under the Seleucids ..... 241

Part Four: Funerary, Heroic and Royal Cults in Greece  
and in the Hellenistic Mediterranean

MARIE-THÉRÈSE LE DINAHET

Les défunts héroïsés dans le monde grec d'Asie Mineure et les îles de l'Egée

(IIIe-Ier siècles av. n. è.) ..... 279

NICOLAS RICHER

Chercher à être proche des dieux: le cas de Lysandre ..... 311

ANNA ANGELINI

Héraclès dans le bassin méditerranéen à l'époque hellénistique.

Aspects mythiques et culturels ..... 331

STEFANO G. CANEVA

Le rôle du gymnase: espace, rituels et acteurs ..... 355

Liste des contributrices et contributeurs ..... 399

Index des sources ..... 401

Index des noms propres et des divinités ..... 415

Index thématique ..... 419

## Liste des abréviations

AD	<i>Astronomical Diaries</i> available online at <a href="http://www.attalus.org/docs/diaries.html">http://www.attalus.org/docs/diaries.html</a> . 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 <sup>3</sup> .
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, <a href="https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/">https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/</a> .
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 <a href="http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html">http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html</a> .
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 <a href="https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby">https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby</a> .
BM	British Museum, collection online: <a href="https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection">https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection</a>
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 Palästre*. 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. Orientis 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](http://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 <a href="https://www.serat.aegyptologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/">https://www.serat.aegyptologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/</a> .
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 years<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> the integration of Hellenistic rulers in the civil cults, while not

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

<sup>2</sup> Ma 2002.

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

<sup>4</sup> Caneva/Paul 2014.



unprecedented in Greek cities,<sup>5</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>7</sup> 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 *poles*.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

(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

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

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

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

<sup>8</sup> See especially Boddez 2016.

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

<sup>10</sup> Muccioli 2014a.

the contrasts between the royal cults themselves as well as between royal cults and civic or heroic cults.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup> This aspect has long been emphasized in the case of the Ptolemaic cult,<sup>14</sup> but it also characterizes the cults developed by Seleucid rulers, especially in Mesopotamia.<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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

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

<sup>12</sup> See below § 2, where some examples of this phenomenon are discussed.

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

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Minas-Nerpel 2014.

<sup>15</sup> 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.

<sup>16</sup> 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.

<sup>17</sup> See the essay by Anna Angelini in this volume and the literature referenced there.

Egypt.<sup>18</sup> 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,<sup>19</sup> 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.<sup>20</sup> 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,<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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.<sup>23</sup> 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-

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

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

<sup>20</sup> See further the discussion in §§ 2 and 3 below.

<sup>21</sup> See Caneva 2016b.

<sup>22</sup> For cultic epithets, see for example Muccioli 2013.

<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup>

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.<sup>25</sup> 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.<sup>26</sup> 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,<sup>27</sup> 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-

<sup>24</sup> See the essay by Marie-Thérèse Le Dinahet in this volume.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, Coppola 2016.

<sup>26</sup> 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.

<sup>27</sup> 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;<sup>28</sup> 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,<sup>29</sup> 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*<sup>30</sup> or the *Borsippa Cylinder*,<sup>31</sup> 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,<sup>32</sup> 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.<sup>33</sup> In the case of the Seleucid kings, similar strategies of adaptation to indigenous royal traditions are

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

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

<sup>30</sup> Sherwin-White 1983.

<sup>31</sup> See Kuhrt/Sherwin-White 1991.

<sup>32</sup> See note 27 above.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Minas-Nerpel 2014.

also documented, especially by cuneiform sources in the case of Seleucid Babylonia.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup> 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.<sup>36</sup> 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),<sup>37</sup> 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.<sup>38</sup>

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.<sup>39</sup> Elsewhere, however, especially in Asia Minor, Ptolemaic rulers did not hesitate to rely on civic cults,<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> 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.

<sup>35</sup> 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.

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

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

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

<sup>39</sup> 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.

<sup>40</sup> See the inscriptions from Miletus (*I. Milet* I 3 139) under Ptolemy II translated, for example, by Bagnall/Derow 2004<sup>2</sup>. 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.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> 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.<sup>44</sup> Contrary to what has

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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.

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

<sup>42</sup> 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.

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

<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup>

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.<sup>46</sup> 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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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.<sup>49</sup>

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

<sup>46</sup> See Muccioli 2014a.

<sup>47</sup> See Muccioli 2014a; as well as Boddez 2016.

<sup>48</sup> On this, see the recent discussion by Boddez 2016.

<sup>49</sup> 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.<sup>50</sup> The best-known example is the god Melqart,<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> 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-

<sup>50</sup> 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.

<sup>51</sup> See the classical study by Bonnet 1988.

<sup>52</sup> 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.

<sup>53</sup> See the essay by Marie-Thérèse Le Dinahet in this volume.

## Index des sources

### Sources égyptiennes

#### *Statues*

Baltimore WAM 164 (22.167) 39

Beni Souef, Museum 1640 (= Caire JE 37322)  
40, 45

BM EA 41561 42

Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and  
Anthropology 51.533 44

Caire, Musée égyptien

- CGC 559 32, 34

- CGC 717 32

- CGC 1199 27

- CGC 42127 36

- CGC 42155 32

- CGC 42189 31

- CGC 42193–42194 31

- CGC 42204 42

- CGC 42206 32, 33, 34, 35

- CGC 42207 32, 33, 34, 35

- CGC 42208 32, 33

- CGC 42209 32,

- CGC 42210 34, 35

- CGC 42211 32

- CGC 42213 35

- CGC 42216 31

- CGC 42222 34, 36

- CGC 42224 34

- CGC 42230 34, 36

- CGC 42271 (= JE 36938) 35

- CGC 44863 33

- CGC 44864 33

- JE 36576 41, 42

- JE 36918 45

- JE 36945 43

- JE 36967 34, 36

- JE 36983 42, 43

- JE 37132 39

- JE 37169 46

- JE 37178 42

- JE 37191 42

- JE 37199 41

- JE 37354 43

- JE 37429 39, 40

- JE 37837/38687 39, 40

- JE 37881 31, 41

- JE 37973 46–48

- JE 38604 42

- JE 47277 46

- JE 91720 32, 33, 35

- RT 4/1/21/3 42

- RT 8/12/24/5 43

- RT 18/6/24/1 42

Hanovre Kestner-Museum Inv. S.0366 41

Los Angeles County Museum of Art 48.24.48  
44

Louqsor CGC 583 + 835 32

Louvre E 27070 42

Munich Gl. WAF 38 32, 36

New York MMA 07.228.27 42

Philadelphie Rosenbach Museum and Library  
1954.1969 45

#### *Stèles*

##### BM

- EA 297 69

- EA 1056 124, 126, 127

Bruxelles MRAH E.8707 27

##### Caire

- CGC 22181, voir Stèle de Mendès

- CGC 22182, voir Stèle du Satrape

- CGC 22183, voir Stèle de Pithom

- CGC 22184 188

- CGC 22186, voir Décret de Canope

- CGC 22188, voir Stèle de Nobaireh

- CGC 31088, voir Décret de Raphia

- CGC 50048, voir Décret de Raphia

- CGC 34034 69

- TR 3.3.25.1 77

Décret de Canope (CGC 22186) 15, 131, 132,  
134, 174–184, 187, 189

Décret de Raphia (CGC 31088, CGC 50048)  
128, 136, 177–187

- Stèle de Mendès (CGC 22181) 13, 123, 124–125, 128, 133, 134, 138  
 Stèle de Nobaireh (CGC 22188) 185  
 Stèle de Pithom (CGC 22183) 13, 123–124, 128, 133, 134, 175, 179, 182  
 Stèle du Satrape (CGC 22182) 134, 171, 174, 175, 177  
 Stèle de Totoes (collection privée) 130–131  
 Turin N. 50032 (= cat. 7358) 65

### Temples

#### *Deir al-Médîna*

- 128 50
- 135 50
- 139 50
- 147 50
- 151 50
- Texte 151, 2–3 50
- Texte 151, 3–5 51
- Texte 166, 3–6 51
- Texte 166, 9 52

#### *Dendara*

- I, pl. 51–54 147
- I, pl. 62–64 147
- III, pl. 180 147
- III, pl. 186–187 147
- III, pl. 190–192 147
- XIII, 77–81 99

#### *Edfou*

- I, 26, 17–28 180
- I, 42, 11–13 111
- I, 479, 13 111
- I, 494, 12 111
- I, 517 139
- I, 526 137
- II, 45, 4 185
- II, 45, 9–10 185
- II, 46, 6 185
- II, 51, 9–15 91, 96–97
- II, 51–52 99, 109
- II, 53, 16 185
- II, 54, 1 185
- II, 54, 4 185
- II, 54, 5 185
- II, 54, 7–8 185
- II, 55, 10–11 111
- II, 55, 16–17 111
- II, 158–159 139

- III, 131, 4–5 111
- III, 141, 1–2 111
- III, 182, 3–4 111
- III, 191, 15–16 111
- III, 355, 8 186
- IV, 22, 9 108
- IV, 123, 3 98
- IV, 123, 5–6 111
- IV, 148, 11–14 111
- IV, 240, 3–12 97–99
- IV, 261, 17 98
- IV, 278, 8–11 111
- IV, 279, 8–11 111
- IV, 304, 13–14 111
- V, 124, 11–125, 8 91
- V, 161, 10 99
- IX, pl. XI–XII 147, 181
- IX, pl. XIIIb 155
- IX, pl. XXVIa 137, 150
- IX, pl. XXXIc 156
- IX, pl. XXXIIa 156
- IX, pl. XXXIIIb 156
- IX, pl. XLb 156, 183
- IX, pl. XLc 156
- IX, pl. XLj–k 156
- XII, pl. CCCXXVII 156
- XII, pl. CCCXXVIII 95
- XV, pl. 32–33 137

#### *Eсна*

- II, 7, no 2A 135
- II, 7–8, no 2A–B 135
- II, 8, no 2B 136

#### *Karnak*

- Porte d'Amon 189–190
- Porte de Khonsou (= Porte d'Evergète ou Propylône de Khonsou) 11, 13, 15, 28–30, 128, 134, 150, 172–173, 176, 187,

*Kôm Ombo* MKO no 61–62 98

#### *Philae*

- Bénéдите 1893–1895
- pl. II 151
  - pl. XVII–XVIII 151
  - pl. XXIII–XIV 151
- Junker/Schäfer 1975
- nos 1335–1340 152
- Temple d'Arensnouphis 161–162, 164

#### *Tôd*

- I, no 45, 1–3 100

- I, no 68, 10 101
- I, no 146, 21-22 101
- I, no 166, 1-9 101-102
- II, no 188 A 102-103
- II, no 284 II 100
- II, no 322, 5 98
- II, no 322, 5-7 103

*Tombes*

TT (Tombe thébaine)

- 2 61-87
- 4 70, 72, 73, 74, 86
- 5 71
- 7 72, 86
- 9 79
- 10 72, 86
- 15 69
- 49 69, III
- 181 69
- 210 86
- 219 72, 87
- 250 70, 71, 87
- 266 61,
- 306 75
- 320 76

- 326 61
- 335 61, 71, 87
- 358 76
- 357 87
- 359 64-87
- Tombe de Pétoisiris à Touna el-Gebel 127

*Graffito*

Gr. MH 51 44

*Situle*

St-Pétersbourg, l'Ermitage 2345 48

*Cercueils*

Caire

- CG 28501 78
- CG 61006 78
- Turin inv. 2236 70, 79

*Boîte à oushebtis*

Turin Cat. 2430 70

## Papyrus et ostraca égyptiens

*Papyrus hiératiques*

- P. Boulaq X 89
- P. Brooklyn 47.218.2 1 09
- P. Brooklyn 47.218.84
- IV, 4-8 1 104
- IV, 8-V,1 104
- V, 1-4 105
- P. Leyde I 348, r<sup>o</sup> 8, 7-8 108
- P. Louvre E 32847 20, 1-4 105
- P. Turin CGT 54995 (Papyrus royal de Turin)  
59

*Papyrus démotiques*

P. Hamb. 2 139

P. Rylands IX 46

*Textes égyptiens*

- Calendrier des jours fastes et néfastes* 109
- Enseignement pour Mérikarê*, E 132-134 109
- Livre des Morts*, chapitre 17 106-107
- Livre de parcourir l'éternité* II, 29-30 39
- Livre des Portes*, IIe division 106, 109

*Ostraca*

British Museum

- EA 65930 81
- O. I. Chicago no. 16991 75

## Sources bibliques

- Cantique des Cantiques* 262
- Dan. 4 254
- Deut. 28: 27-29 254

- Jer. 25:16 254
- 2 Macc. 4, 10-15 356
- 3 Macc. 1, 4 149

## Sources akkadiennes

## AD

- -133B, r24 205
- -144 203, 205
- -160 227, 237
- -160 A 203, 215
- -160 C 203
- -171 B 226, 237
- -171 B rev. 7' 203
- -178 C 203, 226, 237
- -187 A 203, 207, 223, 225, 226, 237
- -204 C 203, 205, 225, 237
- -229 B 204, 206
- -245 A 197, 206
- -253 264

## ANET

- 62, 69 251
- 332 247
- 390 247

## BCHP

- 5 254
- 10 198
- 12 201, 202, 205

*Chronique babylonienne* 6, 223

*Chronique de Nabonide* 207

*Chronique de Séleucos III* 201–205, 236

## CT

- 24, 50 241, 247
- 58, 13 258

*Cylindre d'Antiochos* 211

*Cylindre de Borsippa* 6, 211, 254, 264, 265

*Cylindre de Gudea* 255

*Cylindre de Nikarchos* 229–230, 235

*Enmerkar et le seigneur d'Aratta* 257

*Enuma eliš* 247, 251, 255, 258, 260

*Epopée de Gilgameš*

- GEX, 96–106 243
- GE XI.17 243

*Liste des rois sumériens* 244, 264

Porte de Balawat, BM 12662 231

*Prisme d'Assurbanipal* (BM 12006) 227

*Prophétie dynastique* 6

## RC

- 44 213

## RIMA

- 3 A.0.102.12:34–41 231

## RINAP

- 15 237
- 17 237
- 28 237
- 37 237
- 39 237
- 42 237
- 48 237
- 49 237

## SBH

- VIII 259, 265

- VIII, 145–146 262–263

Stèle de Naram-sin (Louvre SB 4) 252, 253

## TCL

- 15, 10 255

## Tablettes

- BM 34660 223
- BM 36313 223
- BM 72747 203
- *Tablette de Naqī'a* 227

## Sources perses

Relief de Bisotūn 244

## Sources syriennes et phéniciennes

Relief de Hatra, temple I 345

Relief de Hatra, temple d'Allat 347

Stèle d'Amrit 249

## Sources littéraires grecques et latines

- Aristote
- fr.544 Gigon 318
- Arrien
- 1, 4, 5 245
  - 1, 11, 7 335
  - 2, 16-24 335
  - 2, 24, 6 245, 343
  - 3, 3, 2 246
  - 4, 28, 4 246, 335
  - 5, 26, 6 335
  - 5, 3, 1-6 246
  - 6, 3, 2 335
  - 7, 14, 7 282
- Appien
- *Syriaca* IX, 53, 8-13 241
  - *Syriaca* IX, 57, 8-11 252
- Apollonios de Rhodes
- *Argonautiques* 4, 1396 255
- Aristophane
- *Les Grenouilles* 1-62 250
  - *Les Grenouilles* 108-164 246
- Athénée
- V, 202d
  - V, 202F-203A 388
  - VII, 289-290a 282
  - X, 438d 282
  - X, 452b 313
  - XII, 53, 537d-538b 246
  - XIII, 561e-f 313
  - *FGrHist* 80 F1 336
  - 512 f 343
- Avienus
- *Decriptio Orbis Terrae* 610-619
  - *Ora Maritima* 343
- BNJ
- 3 F 17 255
  - 124 F 14a 246
  - 126 F 5 246
  - 379 F 8 243
  - 566 F 83 257
  - 680 F 1b 244
  - 680 F 1b 244
  - 680 F 8b 244
  - 715 F 1a 246, 254
  - 715 F 1b 246
  - 715 F 11a 254
- Callimaque
- *Hymne* 3, 143-148 243
- *Hymne* 3, 148-191 250
  - *Hymne* 3, 149 257
- Cicéron
- *De la Divination* 1, 48-49 342
- Cléanthe
- *Hymne à Zeus* 125-127
- Cornélius Népos
- *Lysandre*, 3, 1-2 321
- Cosma Indicopleustès
- II, 54 365
- Curtius Rufus, voir Quinte-Curce
- Démosthène
- *Contre Leptine*, 69-70 327
  - *Orations* 9, 3-19 245
  - *Orations* 9, 31 245
- Diodore de Sicile
- IV, 18, 5 342
  - IV, 26, 1 254
  - IV, 26, 2-4 255
  - IV, 39, 2-3 250
  - V, 20, 1-4 340
  - XIV, 3 321
  - XIV, 13, 2 317
  - XIV, 13, 5-7 323
  - XIV, 13, 8 317
  - XV, 49, 4 324
  - XVI, 90, 1 282
  - XVII, 4, 9 245
  - XVII, 40 261, 335
  - XVIII, 28, 4 303
  - XVIII, 85, 1-2 335
  - XIX, 55, 2 199
  - XIX, 55-56 241
  - XX, 46, 2 387
  - XX, 100 364
- Euripide
- *Alceste* 839-860 242
  - *Alceste* 1008-1163 242
  - *Héraclès* 394-407 255
  - *Héraclès* 600-620 246
  - *Héraclès* 612-613 254
  - *Héraclès* 854-857 257
- Eusèbe
- *Chronique* 6, 8-9, 2 244
  - *Préparation évangélique* 9, 41, 1 246
- Flavius Josèphe
- *Antiquités Judaïques* 8, 145-146 340
  - *Antiquités Judaïques* 10, 227 246, 254

- *Contre Apion* 1, 118–119 340
- Hérodote
  - I, 87 110
  - I, 181–183 246
  - II, 44 246, 338
  - II, 143 30
  - V, 22 245
  - V, 49–54 198
  - V, 53–54 199
  - V, 75 318
  - VI, 56 318
  - VII, 137–139 245
  - VII 176 343
  - VII, 255 327
  - IX, 79 32
- Hésiode
  - *Théogonie* 215–216 255
  - *Théogonie* 310–312 254
  - *Théogonie* 312–318 261
  - *Théogonie* 769–773 254
  - *Théogonie* 950–955 257
- Homère
  - *Iliade* VIII, 364–369 261
  - *Iliade* VIII, 367–368 254
  - *Iliade* XIV, 322 243
  - *Iliade*, XVII 327
  - *Odyssée*, XI, 568 242
  - *Odyssée* XI, 623–626 254
- Hymnes homériques*
  - *Apollon* 230–239 324
  - *Apollon* 300–304 324
  - *Hermès* 4.101 242
- Isidore de Séville
  - *Étymologies* 340
- Isocrate
  - *Éloge d'Hélène* 63 318
  - *Panégryrique* 75–77 245
  - *Panégryrique* 113 320
- Jérôme, *In Dan.*, 11, 6 198
- Justin
  - XI, 2, 5 245
  - XII, 7 335
  - XXVII, 1, 7 198
  - XXX, 1 149
  - XLI, 5, 7 200
  - XLIV, 5, 2 340
- Libanius
  - *Oration* 11, 91 254
  - *Oration* 11, 92 251
- Lucaïn
  - *La Guerre civile* 9, 355–358 255
- Lucien
  - *La déesse syrienne*, 35–36 210
- Nepos
  - *Hannibal* 3, 4 342
- Ovide
  - *Métamorphoses* 4, 277 257
  - *Métamorphoses* 4, 631–632 255
  - *Métamorphoses* 5, 534–550 254
  - *Métamorphoses* 10, 512–513 255
- Pausanias
  - I, 15 333
  - I, 17 364
  - II, 7 374
  - II, 9 374
  - II, 10 374
  - III, 8 313
  - III, 18 313
  - III, 20 313
  - III, 26 313
  - V, 8 332
  - VI, 3 315, 321, 328
  - VI, 11 332
  - VI, 19, 8 255
  - VII, 4 287
  - VII, 5 343
  - VII, 5, 5–8 246
  - VIII, 11 324
  - IX, 32 315, 320, 327, 328
  - X, 9 319, 323
  - X, 32 336
- Peisandros
  - *Hérakleia* fr. 7 W 343
- Phylarcus
  - *FGrHist* 81 F6 336
- Pindare
  - *Néméennes* 3 342
  - *Néméenne* 33–72 326
  - *Odes*, 8 332
- Platon
  - *Banquet* 202e–203a 314
- Pline
  - *Histoire Naturelle* 4, 22 340
  - *Histoire Naturelle* 5, 19 340
  - *Histoire Naturelle* 7, 53 198
  - *Histoire Naturelle* 36, 39 340
- Plutarque
  - *Agésilas* 2, 4 316
  - *Agésilas* 3 317

- Alcibiade 23, 7-9 317
- Alexandre 68, 5 120
- Alexandre 72, 3 282
- Aratos 45, 1-2 387
- Aratos 53, 1-7 371, 374
- Artaxerxès 3 260
- Cléomène 8, 1-3 314
- Cléomène 9, 1 313
- De la Musique 14 257
- Démétrios 53 303
- Lycurge 25, 4 313
- Lysandre 1,1 315
- Lysandre 2, 1-2 314, 317, 325
- Lysandre 5, 8 316
- Lysandre 7, 6 315, 318
- Lysandre 8, 1-5 320
- Lysandre 9, 2 325
- Lysandre 10, 6 313
- Lysandre 11, 11-13 311, 323
- Lysandre 12, 1 319
- Lysandre 13, 1-2, 4, 6, 7 314, 325, 327
- Lysandre 14, 5 314
- Lysandre 16, 1 316
- Lysandre 17, 2 314
- Lysandre 17, 10 314
- Lysandre 18 312-315, 316, 319, 321
- Lysandre 19, 3-4 315, 320
- Lysandre 21, 1 314
- Lysandre 22, 6 314, 317
- Lysandre 23, 5-24 317, 325
- Lysandre 24, 2-6 317, 318, 319, 325
- Lysandre 25, 2 -4 314, 323
- Lysandre 26 324
- Lysandre 27, 4 -6 313, 325
- Lysandre 28, 9 326
- Lysandre 29, 2-4, 7-9 324, 326, 327
- Lysandre 30, 6 327
- *Moralia* 191D, 210 D, 215A 316
- *Moralia* 408A 324
- *Moralia* 478A-B 319
- *Moralia* 490b (*De l'amour fraternel*) 241
- *Moralia* 577E-579A 326
- *Thémistocle* 22, 2 311
- *Thémistocle*, 22, 4 313
- *Timoléon* 39 282, 375
- Polybe
  - II, 71, 4 205
  - III, 47, 9 342
  - V, 10, 8 245
  - V, 83-84 149
- VII, 9, 2-3 342
- VIII 12, 7-8 374
- X, 28-31 200
- XV, 25, 4-5 149
- XV, 25, 7 149
- XV, 25, 10 149
- XV, 25, 102 149
- XVI, 25, 1-7 387
- XXX, 25 375
- Polyen
  - *Stratagèmes* I, 45 320
  - *Stratagèmes* II, 15 313
  - *Stratagèmes* VIII, 50 198
- Posidippe
  - 63.9 (X 24) 123
  - 78 (XII 20-33) 120
- Pseudo-Apollodore
  - *Bibliothèque* 2, 5, 11 255
  - *Bibliothèque* 2, 5, 12, 1 254
  - *Bibliothèque* 3, 5, 1 250
  - *Bibliothèque* 3, 14, 4 255
- Pseudo-Scymnos
  - 159-162 340
- Quinte-Curce
  - 3, 12, 27 261
  - 4, 2-4 335
  - 4, 4 19-20 340
  - 4, 8, 3 246
  - 8, 11, 2 335
- Salluste
  - *Histoires* Fr. 5 Maurenbrecher 340
- Silenos de Caléacté
  - *FGrHist* 175 F2 342
- Silius Italicus
  - *Punica* 3, 21-22 341
  - *Punica* 3, 30-31 341
- Sophocle
  - *Les Trachiniennes* 510-511 250
  - *Les Trachiniennes* 1090-1091 255
  - *Les Trachiniennes* 1099-1100 255
  - *Les Trachiniennes* 1201-1278 246
  - *Philoctète* 1418-1420 244
- Stésichore
  - Fr. 206 254
- Strabon
  - II, 1, 34 199
  - III, 5, 5 340, 341, 343
  - VIII, 355 332
  - IX, 2, 33 324
  - IX, 4, 13 343



- XI, 1, 7 210
- XIV, 2, 13 246
- XIV, 2, 24 284
- XV, 1, 6 250
- XV, 1, 6-7 254
- XV, 1, 7-8 246
- XV, 1, 8 335
- XV, 1, 9 246
- XVI, 2, 6 213
- XVII, 1, 43 246
- 
- Théocrite
  - *Idylle* 1, 107 255
  - *Idylle* 1, 116-117 263
  - *Idylle* 10, 41 257
  - *Idylle* 13, 7-9b 243
  - *Idylle* 15, 112-126 264
  - *Idylle* 15, 127 263
  - *Idylle* 17 160
- Thucydide
  - II, 99, 3 245
  - V, 11, 1 281
- Tite-Live
  - 21, 21, 9 342
  - 21, 41, 7 342
- Valère Maxime
  - 9, 10 198
  - 9, 14 198
- Velleius Paterculus
  - 1, 2, 3 340
- Virgile
  - *Bucoliques* 6, 1-2 257
  - *Bucoliques* 8, 68 257
- Xénophon
  - *Agésilas* 11, 7 316
  - *Anabase* 3, 2, 9 245
  - *Anabase* 4, 8, 25 245
  - *Anabase* 6, 2, 2 254
  - *Anabase* 6, 3, 6 255
  - *Banquet* 8, 35 313
  - *Helléniques* I, 5 311
  - *Helléniques* I, 6 324
  - *Helléniques* II, 1 311, 327
  - *Helléniques* II, 4 325
  - *Helléniques* III, 1-4 317, 320, 325
  - *Helléniques* III, 5 313, 326, 327
  - *Helléniques* IV, 7 323
  - *Helléniques*, IV, 8 328
  - *Helléniques*, VI, 3 339
  - *République des Lacédémoniens* 15, 9 318

## Inscriptions grecques

- CGRN
  - 194, 25 374
  - 200 374
  - 202, Attalos II 367
  - 204, Eumène II 367
- CIG
  - 3068 A 362
  - II, 3660 367
- CIS
  - I, 122 339
  - I, 122a 339
  - I, 5980 339
  - II, 3998 229
- CPI
  - I, 113 381
  - I, 127 365, 381
- GG
  - 166 293, 295
  - 334 295
  - 677 294
- GV
  - 760 295, 300
- 768 294, 300
- 1154 293, 295
- 1157 302
- 1485 295
- 1552 298
- 1955 294
- IC
  - III, iv, 4 364, 367, 371
- I.Aph.*2007
  - 12.103 378
- ICos ED*
  - 5 376
  - 45 367
  - 149 336
- I.Délos*
  - 297 204
  - 298 204
  - 314 204
  - 1519, 1, 44 339
- I.Didyma*
  - II, 29 378

- I.Eph*  
 - 1101 204  
*I.Fayoum*  
 - I, 6 383  
 - I, 11 383  
 - II, 119 382  
 - III, 157 383  
 - III, 200 383  
 - III, 201 383, 384  
 - III, 202 383  
 - III, 205 383  
 - III, Pl. 42 365  
*IG*  
 - I, 24-26 337  
 - I<sup>2</sup>, 126 321  
 - II<sup>2</sup>, 1 321  
 - II<sup>2</sup>, 1326, 45 293  
 - X, 2 366  
 - XI, 4 386  
 - XI, 4, 1038 204  
 - XII, 2 287, 337, 371  
 - XII, 3 285, 286, 288, 290, 293, 367  
 - XII, 4 284, 290, 336, 365, 367, 376, 388  
 - XII, 5 288, 293,  
 - XII, 6 286, 293, 295, 297  
 - XII, 7 287, 288, 367, 378  
 - XII, 8 386  
 - XII, 9 386  
 - XII Suppl. 115 370  
 - XII Suppl. 122 369  
 - XII Suppl. 125 371  
 - XII Suppl. 139 370  
 - XII Suppl. 150, 8 368  
 - XII Suppl. 168, 5-6 387  
 - XII Suppl. 250, 7-8 358, 366, 376  
 - XIV, 600 339  
*IGL Syr.*  
 - III, 2 1184 211  
 - VII, 4001 383  
 - 992, 22-25 213  
*IGR*  
 - II, 25-31 263  
 - IV, 159 283, 368  
 - IV, 292 358, 363, 368, 377  
 - IV, 293 363, 364  
 - IV, 293b 359  
 - IV, 294 285, 359  
 - IV, 1302 378  
*IK*  
 - 18, 100 298  
 - 18, 144 298  
 - 18, 146 298  
 - 18, 162 298  
 - 18, 171 298  
 - 18, 232 294  
 - 18, 410 294, 298  
 - 18, 451 294  
 - 18, 519 298  
 - 26, 112 294  
 - 26, 219 294  
*IK Ephesos*  
 - IV, 1082 367  
 - IV, 1101 365  
*IK Erythrai*  
 - II, 207 371  
 - II, 504 233, 388  
*IK Iasos*  
 - I, 4 387  
*IK Ilion*  
 - 31 366, 368, 371, 386  
*IK Keramos*  
 - 9 371  
 - 30, 9 279  
*IK Knidos*  
 - 59 378  
 - 301 288  
 - 606 279, 368  
*IK Metropolis*  
 - I A, 1. 42 283  
*IK Mylasa*  
 - 34 290  
 - 350 291  
 - 354-355 284  
 - 408 287  
 - 421-422 290  
*I.Milet*  
 - I, 3, 139 7, 369  
 - I, 9, 306 364, 371, 376  
 - VI, 3, 1131 284  
*I.Philae*  
 - 32-33 383  
*I.Priene<sup>2</sup>*  
 - 2 386  
 - 14 386  
*I.Prose*  
 - 40 381  
 - 41 380, 381  
 - 49 381  
*I.Th.Sy.*  
 - 189 380, 381

- 302 382
- 303 383
- ITyr*
- II, 1 365
- IvP*
- I, 246 377
- KAI*
- 44 340
- 47 339
- 277 340
- KN*
- 7 294
- LSAM*
- 26 A 371
- LSCG*
- 80 367
- 165 367
- 177 336
- LSS*
- 44 367
- MAMA*
- XI, 26-27 284
- VI, 173 358
- OGIS*
- 3 382
- 6 387
- 46 204
- 54 365
- 90 241
- 130 382
- 219 198
- 222 388
- 228 264
- 230 337, 362
- 244 213
- 245 5, 211
- 309 369
- 332 377
- 339 364, 371
- 748 367
- 763 364
- OMS*
- I, 339 368
- II, 1311-1316 366, 378
- VI, 43-46 284
- PM*
- 103 297
- 105 299
- 108 297
- 113 295
- 114 300
- 117 297
- 118 297
- 120 297
- 134 295
- 136 297
- 137 296
- 138 297
- 146 297
- 148 296
- 150 297
- 160 300
- 163 297
- 164 297
- 170 303
- 171 300
- 175 297
- 178 300, 301
- 180 296
- 199 295
- 250 303
- 251 300
- 256 300
- 262 295
- 267 295
- 272 297
- 274 297
- 285-290 297
- 293 299
- 321 297
- 323 295
- 324 296
- 373 295
- 390 297
- 391 297
- 396 296
- 404 295
- 405 303
- 414 300
- 417 300
- 430 296
- 439 297
- 440 296
- 449 295
- 453 297
- 458 295
- 459 295
- 477 299
- 489 296
- 491 297

- 500 300
- 501 297
- 508 300
- 537 297
- 540 300
- 544 296
- 557 300
- 570 300
- 571 300
- 592 295
- 640 294, 300
- 647 300
- 648 296
- 693 300
- 695 299
- 696 297
- 705 297
- 706 297
- 709 295
- 710 297
- 718 299
- 720 296
- 721 297
- 722 297
- 726 297
- 728 297
- 729 300
- 730 300
- 732 297
- 733 297
- 742 296
- 746 296
- 756 297
- 777 297
- 779 297
- 807 300
- 811 297
- 817 299
- 828 297
- 850 297
- 852 303
- 857 295
- 863 295, 300
- 866 300
- 869 294, 301
- 872 303
- 875 300
- 876 296
- 877 296
- 881 297
- 890 300
- 904 297
- 912 297
- 915 297
- 926 296
- 928 299
- 929 297
- 938 297
- 954 297
- 958 297
- 960 297
- 964-966 297
- 974 300
- 980 297
- 984 297
- 991 300
- 994 300
- 995 297
- 996 297
- 1008 298
- 1009 295
- 1011 297
- 1019 298
- 1022 295
- 1023 295
- 1031 300
- 1039 300
- 1053 297
- 1061 297
- 1063 296
- 1064 297
- 1074 296
- 1077 296
- 1078 295
- 1081 295
- 1096 300
- 1099 296
- 1101 295
- 1109 298
- 1120 297
- 1130 301
- 1170 295
- 1190 296
- 1276 297
- 1314 297
- 1318 300
- 1336 299
- 1338 301
- 1355 299
- 1358 301

- 1367 299
- 1376 301
- 1377 294, 298
- 1378 294, 299
- 1384 295
- 1385 295
- 1386 298
- 1399 299
- 1425 299
- 1430 300
- 1432 300
- 1436 300
- 1439 300
- 1440 300
- 1442 301
- 1443 297
- 1448 294, 299
- 1450 300
- 1470 295
- 1482 295, 302
- 1488 300
- 1511 297
- 1512 297
- 1513 301
- 1514 297
- 1515 297
- 1517 297
- 1519 297
- 1520 294, 298
- 1525 297
- 1526 297
- 1532 299
- 1535 300
- 1538 300
- 1545 298
- 1546 297
- 1547 298
- 1552 296
- 1555 298
- 1556 294, 298
- 1557 297
- 1561 297
- 1563 297
- 1564 297
- 1566 297
- 1567 299
- 1568 300
- 1569 300
- 1571 297
- 1574 297
- 1585 297
- 1586 297
- 1587 297
- 1589 297
- 1590 297
- 1598 297
- 1622 298
- 1625 296
- 1626 298
- 1772 297
- 1780 297
- 1791 300
- 1796 301
- 1797 297
- 1802 295
- 1820 297
- 1821 293, 295
- 1826 297
- 1834 297
- 1834 298
- 1837 295
- 1838 296
- 1839 295
- 1844 298
- 1846 298
- 1848 298
- 1862 297
- 1863 297
- 1867 301
- 1868 295
- 1880 297
- 1883 297
- 1886 296
- 1887 295
- 1894 297
- 1900 296
- 1901 296
- 1912 295
- 1915 297
- 1918 298
- 1939 298
- 1954 296
- 1965 297
- 1969 297
- 1991 298
- 1992 297
- 2001 298
- 2003 297
- 2011 295
- 2016 298

- 2025 298
  - 2026 298
  - 2039 298
  - 2043 298
  - 2044 296
  - 2046 297
  - 2049 297
  - 2059 297
  - 2063 296
  - 2109 295
  - 2226 298
  - 2227 298
  - 2232 295
  - 2233 287
  - 2234 295
  - 2902 299
- SB*
- V, 7784 383
  - V, 8031 380
- SEG*
- VIII, 642 380
  - IX, 4 366
  - XX, 142 362
  - XX, 671 383
  - XXIV, 1174 383
  - XXVII, 1114 365
  - XXXIII, 1035-1044 378
- XXXV, 1521 5, 211
  - XXXVII, 1010 200
  - XXXIX, 1284 387
  - XLI, 599 204
  - XLI, 1003 5
  - XLI 1003 II, C/D 369
  - XLIII, 1215 362
  - XLVI, 172 362
  - XLVII, 1745 356
  - XLVIII, 812 204
  - XLVIII, 1491 359, 362
  - XLIX, 150 366
  - L, 1195 360, 387
  - LIV, 1083 368
  - LV, 1251 362
  - LVI, 1227 367, 371, 374
- SEX*
- LIII, 1342 366
- TAM*
- 1.265, 319 283
  - 5.2, 855 371
  - 5.2, 1098 284
- Enoché*
- BM 1873,0820.389 117-119

## Papyrus grecs

- P. Enteux 8 381
- P. Freib., II, 12-33 138
- P. Oxy., XXVII, 2465 374
- PSI, IV, 389 131-132
- P. UB Trier S 159-165 380
- SB XX 14728 382



## Index des noms propres et des divinités

- Achille 335, 338  
Adad 228, 231  
Adonis 247, 248, 255, 262, 263, 264,  
Ahhotep 12, 60, 61, 63, 67, 69, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 87  
Ahmès-Nefertary 11, 12, 27, 59–87  
Ahmès Sapaïr 27, 30, 59–87  
Ahmosis (I) 12, 59–87  
Ahmosis-Henouattamehou 59–87  
Ahmosis-Nebetia 59–87  
Ahmosis -Toumerisy 59–87  
Aidôs 313, 314  
Alcmène 325, 326  
Alexandre le Grand 9, 14, 17, 120, 122, 123, 127,  
128, 132, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 160, 171, 223,  
241–265, 279, 282, 294, 303, 332, 334, 335,  
336, 337, 342, 344, 349, 388  
Alexandre IV 134, 171  
Amenemone [iii] 65  
Amenhotep I 11, 12, 27, 59–87,  
Amenhotep II 61, 76, 87,  
Amenhotep III 51, 68, 69, 72  
Amenhotep, fils de Hapou 11, 27, 30, 32, 33, 36,  
37, 50–53, 68  
Aménopé de Djémé 11, 38–43  
Amenmen 69  
Amon 30–49, 75, 91, 92, 147, 150, 171, 177, 182,  
187, 188, 189, 190  
Amonet 177  
Anhurhawy (ii) (Inherkhâouy) 59–87  
Ankhpakhered 39, 45  
Ankhefenkhonsou 46, 47  
Antigone Monophthalmos 199, 223  
Antiochos I 209–212, 223, 241, 242, 244, 247,  
248, 252, 253, 254, 264, 265, 371, 388  
Antiochos II 15, 120, 197–199, 201, 229, 282, 283,  
336, 388  
Antiochos III 4, 5, 15, 16, 149, 198, 200, 204,  
205–209, 212, 214, 215, 216, 223, 225–228,  
279, 282, 362, 365, 369  
Antiochos IV 216, 263, 375  
Antiochos Hierax 204, 229  
Anu 212, 229–230, 235, 236, 259, 262, 263  
Anubis 70, 74  
Antu 212, 235, 259  
Apammu 197–198  
Aphrodite 123, 131, 138, 257, 264, 265, 290  
Apollon 7, 16, 19, 209–215, 241, 243, 246, 249,  
254, 284, 286, 291, 321, 323, 324, 383  
Aristagoras de Milet 198  
Arsinoé I 120, 131  
Arsinoé II 13, 14, 15, 111, 117–140, 150, 159, 160, 161,  
163, 172, 177, 263, 298, 303, 304, 361, 364, 373  
Arsinoé III 13, 14, 111, 136–138, 147–166  
Artémis 16, 209–215, 285, 311, 315, 319, 374  
Asetrechti 46, 47  
Asklépios 265, 277  
Astarté 265, 340  
Astartanikku 265  
Ašerah 261  
Aššur 214, 215, 242, 256, 259  
Aššurbanipal 212, 214, 215, 254, 259  
Athéna 290, 321, 326, 335, 367, 374, 376  
Atoum 12, 13, 92, 95, 97, 102, 103, 108, 109, 123,  
124, 179, 182  
Auguste 284, 366, 368, 377, 378, 381, 388  
Aj 89–94  
Baal 249, 339, 343, 348  
Bakenkhonsou 32–37  
Bél 201–204, 205–208, 209–210, 225, 226, 227,  
236–237, 242, 246, 247  
Bêltija 201–204, 205–208, 225, 226, 227, 237–  
237  
Bérenice I 14, 137, 140, 148, 150, 160,  
Bérenice II 13, 14, 15, 111, 117–140, 148, 149, 150,  
151, 158, 177,  
Bérenice III 163  
Bérenice Phernophoros 198, 229–230  
Berossus 244, 251  
Bès 119  
Binpou 59–87  
Boutehamon 70  
Brasidas 281, 312  
Calliphon, fils de Diodoros 213–214  
Castor 319



- Cerbère 345, 350  
 César 283, 285, 268, 286  
 Cléomène, roi de Sparte 198  
 Cléopâtre I 111, 119, 135, 138–139, 150, 188  
 Cléopâtre II 129, 135, 136, 138–139, 150, 163, 188, 362, 364, 381,  
 Cléopâtre III 129, 138–139, 150, 163, 165,  
 Cléopâtre VII 129, 138, 150, 163, 383  
 Cyrus le Grand 207, 211
- Daphné 213, 257  
 Darius I 203, 216, 260  
 Démétrios de Phalère 292, 295, 368, 375, 387  
 Démétrios I Poliorcète 200, 205, 215, 279, 282, 289, 303  
 Démétrios I Sôter 226–227, 234  
 Dieux Soters 160, 175, 176, 284, 362  
 Dieux Adelphe 111, 123, 131, 132, 135, 160, 175, 176  
 Dieux Evergètes 9, 135, 152, 160, 176, 180  
 Dieux Philopators 135, 149, 160  
 Dieux Epiphanes 135, 160  
 Diodoros Pasparos 280, 284, 305, 358, 359, 362–364, 368, 377  
 Dionysos 119, 138, 250, 254, 257, 290, 294, 325, 326, 335, 338, 362, 374, 376, 382  
 Dioscures 285, 312, 316, 319, 326, 383  
 Djeddjehoutyiouefankh, dit Nakhtefmout, voir Nakhtefmout  
 Dumuzi 241–265
- Enlil 242, 246, 255,  
 Ereškigal 247, 255  
 Éros 313, 314  
 Esagil 254, 255, 256, 259, 260  
 Esarhaddon 227, 231  
 Ešnunna 255
- Geb 106, 109, 129, 140  
 Geb-Sobek 110  
 Gélôs 313, 314  
 Gilgameš 242, 243, 244, 261, 264,  
 Hadès 293, 304  
 Hannibal 342  
 Harendotès 184  
 Haroeris 133  
 Harpocrate 331, 382  
 Harsiesis 32  
 Hatchepsout 32, 76, 89, 132, 147,  
 Hathor 28, 45, 50–53, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 91, 94, 97, 98, 99, 120, 121, 123, 124, 161, 163,  
 Hatra 344–347, 350  
 Hay (iv) 64  
 Hébé 257, 264  
 Hécate 285  
 Hélios 292  
 Héra 19, 123, 128, 131, 140, 257, 320  
 Héraclès 3, 7, 10, 17, 19, 20, 204, 241–265, 290, 314, 317, 318, 323, 325, 326, 331–350, 358, 362, 365, 377, 381, 383  
 Hermès 204, 289, 337, 358, 359, 362, 365, 377, 381, 383  
 Hensenef 48  
 Herychef 331, 332  
 Héqaib 30  
 Horemheb 33, 44, 61, 69, 86  
 Horus 14, 50, 69, 91, 94, 98, 103, 106, 107, 109, 121, 131–132, 137, 139, 147, 148, 150, 156, 158, 182, 185, 186  
 Horsemataouy 137  
 Houy 68, 87  
 Hypnos 313  
 Imhotep 11, 27, 30, 50–53  
 Imhouthès, fils de Psintaès 111
- Inana 244, 254, 256, 257, 258, 259, 265,  
 Inhapy 63, 67, 76, 79,  
 Inšušinak 255  
 Iole 257  
 Irtiertjai 39  
 Išhara 260, 261  
 Ištar 205, 214, 215, 225, 226, 236, 237, 259, 260, 261, 264,  
 Isis 69, 105, 107, 110, 111, 123, 124, 129, 131, 138, 140, 150, 151, 152, 161, 163, 165, 185, 204, 383  
 Ištaran 255  
 Iyneferti (iii) 61
- Jason 343
- Kabekhnet 59–87  
 Kaempetyefmontou [i] 65  
 Kamosis 59–87  
 Kematef 11, 38–39, 121,  
 Kaesmout 59–87  
 Kasa 86  
 Khnoumibremen 45  
 Khonsou 10, 11, 28–30, 46, 60, 75, 80, 128, 132–135, 150, 172–173, 174–177, 180, 184, 187, 188, 331, 332, 335, 338–344, 350, 383  
 Khonsou-Chou 39

- Laodice I 198, 229  
 Laodice III 5, 200, 213  
 Limos 313, 315  
 Lysandre 18, 311–328, 334  
 Lyson (Xanthos) 279, 360, 362, 363  
 Lityersès 257
- Marc Antoine 284  
 Marduk 17, 205–208, 209–210, 225, 232, 237, 241–265  
 Melqart 10, 19, 245–246, 248, 249, 250, , 332  
 Menamon 69  
 Ménélas 318  
 Merenptah 37, 46  
 Merytamon 59–87  
 Moires 290, 291  
 Montou 46, 92, 150, 182, 184, 187  
 Montouhotep II 59–87  
 Mout 30, 46, 60, 75, 80, 177,  
 Muse 280, 289, 290
- Nabonide 254, 259  
 Nabopolassar 251,  
 Nabû 206, 208, 209–215, 227, 242, 251, 254, 256, 258, 260, 261–263, 265  
 Nabuchodonosor II 208, 223, 246, 247, 251, 254,  
 Nakhtamon 61, 87  
 Nakhtefmout 32–35  
 Nakhtmontou 38, 46–48  
 Nanaia 210, 212, 214  
 Naqī'a 227  
 Nebenkherou 60, 64, 86  
 Nebenmaat 87  
 Nebounef 47  
 Nephthys 105, 107, 163  
 Nergal 227, 244, 245, 247, 248, 255, 331, 344–350  
 Nesamenope 34–35  
 Nespaoutyaouy 44–45  
 Nikanor 200  
 Nikarchos 229–230  
 Ninazu 255, 256  
 Ningiršu 255  
 Ningišzida 256  
 Ninurta 242–243, 247, 255, 256, 258
- Osiris 28, 69, 94, 111, 123, 124, 131, 140, 173, 184, 185, 382  
 Osiris-Khonsou 110
- Osorkon I 31, 36  
 Osorkon II 32
- Pachéryentaisouy 41, 43  
 Padinéferhotep/Nesonouris 39–43  
 Pakharkhonsou 48  
 Pan 289, 383  
 Paramessou 33  
 Patrocle 327  
 Penbouy 86  
 Penoupeqer 35  
 Perdikkas 171  
 Persée 338  
 Philippe Arrhidée 171  
 Philippe II de Macédoine 245  
 Philotas, satrape 200  
 Phobos 313, 314  
 Pollux 319  
 Poséidon 286, 287, 319, 323, 324  
 Psousennès I 92  
 Ptah 27, 50, 75, 150,  
 Ptah-Sokar-Osiris 42  
 Ptolémée Ceraunos 122, 303  
 Ptolémée Satrape 171–172  
 Ptolémée I Soter 15, 122, 123, 137, 150, 151, 160, 171–172, 176, 286, 303, 334, 364, 383  
 Ptolémée II Philadelphie 4, 5, 7, 13, 15, 17, 52, 111, 117–140, 152, 160, 161, 163, 172, 204, 257, 286, 365, 367, 370, 383, 388  
 Ptolémée III Evergète 11, 13, 14, 15, 28, 111, 120, 128, 131–138, 149, 150, 172–177, 180, 187, 198, 204, 229–230, 286, 335, 365, 367, 373, 375, 387  
 Ptolémée IV Philopator 14, 15, 111, 128, 135, 136–138, 147–166, 177–187, 286, 365, 369, 370, 371, 381  
 Ptolémée V Epiphane 111, 128, 135, 137, 138, 139, 149, 160, 241, 286, 365, 369  
 Ptolémée VI Philométor 15, 52, 135, 136, 138, 139, 187–190, 362, 364, 365, 367, 376, 381  
 Ptolémée VIII Evergète II 135, 135, 139, 151, 152, 158, 186, 188, 380,  
 Ptolémée IX Soter II 139  
 Ptolémée X Alexandre I 139, 151, 189, 361, 383  
 Ptolémée XI Alexandre II 151  
 Ptolémée XII Néos Dionysos 173, 381  
 Ptolémée XIII Théos Philopator 283
- Qen 86

- Rhadamanthe 243  
 Ramose 59–87  
 Ramsès I 61, 67, 86, 87, 94  
 Ramsès II 12, 32, 61, 67, 72, 75, 86, 87, 98, 121  
 Ramsès III 37, 65, 67, 121  
 Ramsès IV 12, 37, 65, 167, 07  
 Ramsès VI 106  
 Ramsès XI 121  
 Rê 12, 95  
 Rê-Horakhty 12, 95  
 Reweben 86
- Sahourê 129  
 Sahte (i) 61, 71  
 Šamaš 242, 250, 251, 252,  
 Sargon II 212  
 Šaššu 251  
 Satirbau 59–87  
 Sekhenetnebre 59–87  
 Séleucos I 9, 202, 204, 205, 211, 212, 223 241–  
 265, 303, 334, 368, 386  
 Séleucos II 15, 198, 201, 204, 205, 229–230, 235,  
 366,  
 Séleucos III 17, 201, 204, 205, 232–233, 234,  
 236–237  
 Séleucos IV 6, 211, 213, 226, 237, 365  
 Sennacherib 211, 243, 256, 260,  
 Shadrafa 249  
 Salmanasar III 16, 231  
 Šarpanitum 232  
 Senenmout 32–33,  
 Sérapis 123, 204  
 Séqenenrê Tâa 59–87  
 Serdjehouty 3 0, 43–44  
 Séchat 175, 176, 177  
 Séthy I 61, 65, 68, 75, 86, 94, 147  
 Séthy II 81  
 Siamon 59–87  
 Silène 119  
 Sitamon 59–87  
 Sitkamosis 59–87
- Snéfrou 129  
 Sobeknéfrou 132  
 Sokar 39, 186  
 Sokar-Osiris 185  
 Stratonice 233, 264–265
- Takheredqa 59–87  
 Taireres 59–87  
 Tammuz 247, 248, 262  
 Tašmetu 258, 261, 262, 264  
 Tauseret 132  
 Thanatos 313, 315  
 Thémison de Chypre 282, 283, 336, 337  
 Thot 50, 150, 175, 176, 177, 180, 182  
 Tiamat 255, 256, 258, 260  
 Tiglath-Pileser III 16, 231  
 Timéthée (Timotheus, Athènes) 18  
 Timoléon de Syracuse 9  
 Tišpak 255, 256  
 Thoutmosis I 61, 68, 69, 76, 79, 80, 87, 89,  
 Thoutmosis II 89, 92, 93, 94,  
 Thoutmosis III 37, 69, 76, 89, 147  
 Thoutmosis IV 61, 86  
 Thuthirmaktes 87  
 Toutankhamon 12, 70, 89–94, 110–111  
 Tuweres 59–87
- Ulysse 343
- Wab(et) 64, 65  
 Wadjmose 59–87
- Xerxès I 203
- Zarpanitu 259, 260  
 Zeus 13, 125–127, 128, 131, 140, 206, 210, 211, 212,  
 229, 241–265, 286, 290, 291, 319, 320, 323,  
 334, 335, 337, 362, 363, 374, 387  
 Zeus-Ammon 251  
 Zeus Casios 228

## Index thématique

- Agalma* 285, 358, 360, 362, 265, 369  
*Akhou* 59  
Ancêtres 6, 10, 11–15, 19, 27–53, 59–83, 91, 102, 111, 131–140, 148, 150, 157, 158, 173, 175, 177, 181, 182, 185, 186, 190, 202, 214, 242, 246, 256, 263, 279, 280, 282, 303, 318, 325, 326, 335, 336, 378, 380  
Apothéose 282, 291, 303, 332  
*Arsinoeia* 13, 119, 140  
Athlophore (*athlophoros*) 137  
  
Barque de Sokar 31  
Bataille de Raphia 149, 165, 228  
Bienfaiteur 17, 20, 131, 132, 279, 280, 282–284, 288, 290–292, 301, 331, 338, 356–387  
Bienfaitrice 287  
  
Canéphore (*kanephoros*) 119, 123, 137,  
Culte funéraire 13, 30, 110, 112, 172, 180, 286, 290, 291, 292, 301, 303, 304  
Culte héroïque 1–5, 8–10, 18, 19, 27, 279, 280, 282, 284, 287, 288, 302, 304, 334  
Culte royal 1–20, 147, 148, 156, 158, 166, 172–188, 202, 203, 205, 279, 280, 284, 332, 333, 334, 337, 360, 361, 369, 373,  
Cultuel 2, 4, 10, 16, 17, 19, 20, 43, 48, 68, 121, 131, 138, 140, 147, 154, 156, 159, 203, 209, 216, 223, 242, 245, 254, 256, 258, 260, 279, 280, 283, 289, 291, 331–333, 336–338, 343, 350, 355–364, 367, 368, 370, 377, 378, 381, 382, 385, 386, 388  
  
*Daimon* 289, 290, 291, 303, 314  
Défunt-e 10, 11, 12, 18, 27–53, 59, 60, 61, 67, 69, 70, 71, 80, 81, 94, 106, 110, 111, 123, 124, 132, 133, 151, 152, 171, 173, *deceas* 211, 229, 230, 279–304, 366, 377, 378  
Dieux du gymnase 381, 383  
Dieux gisants 12, 94–112  
Dieu poliade 232, 332, 339, 344  
Divin 197, 203, 206, 207, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214, 216, 230, 232, 233, 242, 244, 245, 246, 250, 251, 258, 259, 260, 261, 282, 285, 312, 316, 318, 319, 332, 333, 334, 335, 337, 338, 349, 350  
Divine adoratrice d'Amon 12, 60, 75, 77, 78, 80, 132  
Divinité 10, 17, 69, 80, 94, 95, 99, 107, 124, 127, 147, 148, 151, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 163, 165, 166, 172, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 185, 186, 204, 209, 210, 211, 216, 224, 225, 232, 233, 247, 255, 286, 290, 305, 319–321, 324, 331, 333, 335–340, 343, 344–350, 358, 360, 362, 365, 366, 370, 382, 383  
  
*Eikôn* 358, 360, 362, 364, 365, 381  
Épithète 205, 207, 211, 214, 246, 251, 339, 344, 345, 363  
Éponyme (culte, clergé, prêtrise) 3, 5, 6, 7, 119, 122, 123, 132, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 149, 160, 161, 172, 173  
Évergète 284, 286, 358, 364, 366, 369, 375, 377  
Évergétique 364, 369, 377, 380, 381, 385, 386, 388  
Évergétisme 287, 333, 356, 357, 376, 384  
  
Festival *Akîtu*, voir Fête du Nouvel An (Babylone)  
Fête de Khonsou 104  
Fête du Nouvel An (Égypte) 156  
Fête du Nouvel An (Babylone) 197–209, 211, 214–215, 225, 227, 231, 232, 233, 258–260  
Fête de la Vallée 41, 60  
Fondateur 30, 160, 172, 223, 279, 281, 282, 284, 285, 289, 290, 292, 301, 303, 304, 339, 358, 364, 380, 381  
Fondation 187, 230, 235, 280, 283, 287–290, 301, 302, 336, 339–341, 356, 360, 364, 367, 370, 378, 381  
Funérailles 89, 95, 110, 304, 372, 374, 377, 378, 379, 385  
Funéraire 8, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 29, 30, 31, 38, 47, 68, 69, 70, 76, 89, 91, 94, 95, 105, 107, 110, 112, 148, 149, 172, 180, 185, 280, 281, 282, 286–292, 294, 295, 297–299, 301–304, 324, 364, 374

- Guerre laodicéenne 198  
 Guerres de Syrie  
 – Deuxième guerre de Syrie 229  
 – Troisième guerre de Syrie 131  
 Guerrier 251, 255, 283, 287, 349  
 Gymnase 5, 7, 19, 20, 204, 279, 280, 283, 284, 287, 288, 337, 355–388
- Héphaïstion 382, 294  
 Héraclide 317, 318, 325, 326, 334  
 Héroïne 286, 287, 288, 293, 297  
 Héroïque 279–304, 313, 332, 333, 334, 337, 343, 349, 374, 377  
 Héroïisation 8–11, 17–19, 279–304, 313, 318, 333, 336, 337  
 Hérôon 279, 280, 282, 283, 287, 289, 290, 291, 292, 301, 358, 368, 374  
 Héros 18, 279–304, 316, 327, 331–350, 357, 360, 378  
 Honneurs culturels 17, 223–234, 279, 280, 355–357, 362, 364, 368, 370, 377, 378, 381, 385
- Isotheoi* 279, 282, 284, 285, 357, 368, 378
- Mariage sacré 17, 258–265  
 Morts (les) 283, 292, 344, 345
- Période amarnienne 72, 74, 110  
 Protecteur 209–214, 279, 285–287, 302, 304, 320, 338, 339, 342, 343, 347
- Reine 5, 7, 13, 14, 19, 62, 63, 67–80, 117–140, 147–166, 172, 173, 175, 177, 180, 182, 185, 188, 242, 244, 247, 255, 260, 263, 264, 265, 279, 303, 337, 350, 361, 369, 371, 380, 382, 389  
 Reliquaire d'Abydos 31  
 Rituel 2, 9–16, 37, 39, 40, 43, 51, 52, 70, 89–91, 91–94, 110, 119, 122, 133, 134, 137, 138, 140, 147, 154, 156, 157, 158, 159, 161, 175, 186, 187, 197–198, 201–205, 205–209, 211, 214, 215, 216, 225, 226, 227, 232, 233, 234, 237, 244, 245, 250, 258, 262, 264, 281, 290, 292, 295, 302, 321, 340, 348, 355, 357, 360, 362, 363, 366, 370, 371, 372, 376, 380, 382, 383, 384
- Roi 1, 4–27, 30, 32, 33, 37, 38, 45, 49, 59–80, 120–140, 89–112, 147, 148, 149, 152, 154, 156, 157–165, 171–191, 197–216, 223–237, 241–265, 279, 282–286, 289, 302, 303, 314, 317–319, 321, 323, 325–327, 336, 337, 340, 356, 358, 359, 362, 364–367, 369–371, 373, 376, 377, 381, 386, 387
- Royauté 4, 8, 14, 59, 91, 121, 122, 147, 154, 156, 157, 158, 159, 165, 166, 182, 197–216, 225, , 241–265, 314, 317, 318, 325
- Sacrifice 20, 197, 198, 201–205, 215, 225, 226, 231, 232, 233, 245, 279, 281, 287, 289, 290, 291, 292, 296, 302, 303, 312, 318, 319, 333, 335–337, 340, 343, 359, 360, 362, 363, 366–371, 374–376, 380, 381, 383, 387
- Souverain-e 94, 147–166, 188, 223–237, 241, 243, 244, 245, 247, 257, 279, 281, 303, 323, 332–334, 336–338, 349, 355–357, 359, 364–367, 370, 372, 373, 375, 376, 380–384
- Statue 6, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 27–53, 60, 68, 69, 70, 79, 89–94, 110, 123, 14, 129, 174, 179, 182, 184, 185, 186, 188, 190, 203, 206, 212, 213, 225, 228, 230, 231, 251, 252, 258, 260, 279, 280, 285, 287–289, 291, 293, 312, 315, 316, 319, 321, 323, 327, 337, 341, 344, 346, 358–360, 362, 364, 366, 378, 380, 381, 387
- Synnaos thea* 121, 124, 131, 136, 137  
*Synnaoi theoi* 135, 137, 161
- Tombe 11, 12, 38, 44, 47, 60–81, 86, 89–112, 127, 280, 289, 292, 326, 377, 378  
 Tombeau 279, 282, 288, 292, 326, 375, 378  
 Traité d'Apamée 16, 207, 209, 225  
 Tyran 9, 284, 320

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