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THE PTOLEMAIC PRESENCE OUTSIDE EGYPT: MATERIAL EVIDENCE

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THE PTOLEMAIC PRESENCE OUTSIDE EGYPT:
MATERIAL EVIDENCE

A Master's Thesis

by

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To my family



THE PTOLEMAIC PRESENCE OUTSIDE EGYPT: MATERIAL EVIDENCE

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ABSTRACT

THE PTOLEMAIC PRESENCE OUTSIDE EGYPT: MATERIAL EVIDENCE

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This thesis provides a survey of Ptolemaic material evidence outside Egypt in the eastern Mediterranean during the 3rd-2nd centuries BC. The regions include Cyrenaica, Cyprus, the Levant, coastal Asia Minor, and the Aegean. The types of material evidence presented are architecture, sculpture, terracotta figurines, ceramics, coinage, and minor arts. The thesis aims to analyze the local and non-local impacts on the material data as well as the motivations of the Ptolemies occupying these overseas territories.

Chapter 1 presents the historical background of the Ptolemaic kingdom. The administrative and military history relating to the Ptolemaic rule in the foreign territories is discussed. Chapters 2-6 introduce each foreign territory occupied by the Ptolemies, in the following order: Cyrenaica, Cyprus, the Levant, coastal Asia

Minor, and the Aegean. Each material category, namely architecture, sculpture, terracotta figurines, ceramics, coinage, and minor arts, is covered in all these chapters. Both surviving materials and these known only from inscriptions are included in the study. The analysis of the material evidence aims to demonstrate the relations among the inhabitants of the Hellenistic eastern Mediterranean in terms of cultural, religious, economic, military, and administrative aspects. Chapter 7 offers conclusions. Cyprus and the Levant shows a large scale Ptolemaic impact since the Hellenization coincided with the arrival of the Ptolemies in these regions. However, Asia Minor and the Aegean do not reveal the Ptolemaic influence in great detail since these territories were already Hellenized. Cyrenaica presents a special case since it was also already Greek but received a more direct impact from Egypt.

Key words: Ptolemies, eastern Mediterranean, 3rd century BC

ÖZET

PTOLEMAİOSLARIN MISIR DIŐINDAKİ VARLIĐI: MATERYAL KANITLAR

Alper, Ece

Yüksek Lisans, Arkeoloji Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Doç. Dr. Charles Gates

Temmuz 2022

Bu tez, doğu Akdeniz’de milattan önce 3. ve 2. yüzyıllarda Ptolemaioslara ait materyal kanıtların Mısır dışındaki bir araştırmasını sunmaktadır. Bölgeler, Sirenayka, Kıbrıs, doğu Akdeniz bölgesi, Küçük Asya’nın kıyıları, ve Ege’den oluşmaktadır. Bu tezde sunulan materyal kanıtlar, mimari, heykeller, terakota figürinler, seramikler, sikkeler, ve küçük sanat eserleridir. Bu çalışma, materyal veriler üzerindeki yerel ve yerel olmayan etkileri analiz etmeyi ve Ptolemaiosların bu denizaşırı bölgeleri yönetmesindeki motivasyonlarını açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bölüm 1, giriş ve Ptolemaios krallığının tarihi arka planını sunmaktadır.

Ptolemaiosların yabancı bölgelerdeki hakimiyetine dair idari ve askeri tarih tartışılmaktadır. Bölüm 2-6, Ptolemaioslar tarafından yönetilen her bir yabancı bölgeyi sırasıyla tanıtmaktadır: Sirenayka, Kıbrıs, doğu Akdeniz bölgesi, Küçük Asya’nın kıyıları, ve Ege bölgesi. Her bir materyal kategorisi; sırasıyla mimari,

heykeller, terakota figürinleri, seramikler, sikkeler, ve küçük sanat eserleri; bütün bölümlerde işlenmiştir. Korunmuş olan materyal kanıtlar ve yalnızca yazıtlardan bilinenler bu çalışmaya dahil edilmiştir. Materyal kanıtların analizi, Helenistik doğu Akdeniz'in yerlileri arasındaki ilişkileri kültürel, dini, ekonomik, askeri, ve idari yönleriyle ispat edilmesini amaçlamaktadır. Aynı zamanda, bölüm 7 sonuçlar üzerine bir tartışma sunmaktadır. Kıbrıs ve doğu Akdeniz bölgesi, Yunan uygarlığını benimsemesi Ptolemaiosların gelişiyile aynı zamana denk geldiği için, büyük ölçekli bir Ptolemaios etkisi göstermektedir. Fakat, Küçük Asya ve Ege Ptolemaioslardan önce zaten Yunan uygarlığını benimsediği için Ptolemaiosların etkisini kapsamlı bir biçimde göstermemektedir. Sirenayka, zaten Yunan uygarlığı benimsediği ve doğrudan Mısır'dan bir etki aldığı için özel bir vaka sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ptolemaioslar, doğu Akdeniz, milattan önce 3. Yüzyıl

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

Although Ptolemy I and his descendants kept Egypt as their main base from 305-30 BC after the division of the lands conquered by Alexander the Great, they also occupied territory outside Egypt. These foreign territories, all in the eastern Mediterranean basin, were Cyrenaica, Cyprus, the Levant, coastal Asia Minor, and the Aegean basin (Map 1). The Ptolemies had different motivations to conquer these overseas territories. For Cyrenaica, it was important to conquer this region to strengthen their presence in North Africa as well as the trade routes in the eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, both defensive and trade purposes played a role in Cyrenaica. Through the acquisition of Cyprus, they were able to control the maritime networks in the eastern Mediterranean and were able to expand their presence to

other territories in the region. Also, the Ptolemaic rule in Cyprus helped them to defend their main base in Egypt apart from the exploitation of the island's natural resources such as timber and copper. Meanwhile, the Ptolemaic rule in the southern Levant led them to have an access to neighboring territories and trade routes as well as proving a direct defense zone against the Seleucids. Similarly, the Ptolemaic presence in coastal Asia Minor helped them to secure their presence directly against the Seleucids and Antigonids. In the Aegean, they were able to expand their presence to the northwest while influencing the religious atmosphere through military actions. The Ptolemies held these lands for varying lengths of time but were particularly dominant in the 3rd century BC. The material remains from these regions are an important tool to understand Ptolemaic interests, the role of the Ptolemies in the Hellenization of the eastern Mediterranean, and cultural interactions between Ptolemaic Egypt and its neighbors. All of the overseas territories have revealed different types of material data relating to the Ptolemaic presence, such as architecture, figurines, sculpture, ceramics, coinage, and minor arts.

This thesis will present a survey of the material evidence from the territories held by the Ptolemies outside Egypt. The aim is to provide an overview, not to be exhaustive. In the scope of an MA thesis, it is impossible to list all such evidence. No such survey exists, so this thesis will fill a needed gap. Examples offered are selected from publications in English, Turkish, and French in particular. The choice of examples is not systematic, but is representative. This overview should prove useful to those interested in the archaeology of the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean in the Hellenistic period in general, and in the archaeology of the Ptolemaic dynasty in particular.

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. This first chapter will present the political and military history of Ptolemaic rule, in order to provide context for Ptolemaic control overseas. Chapters 2-6 will present the settlements and other material evidence in each of the major regions occupied by the Ptolemies: Cyrenaica, Cyprus, the Levant, coastal Asia Minor, and the Aegean basin. In addition to the surviving remains, a certain amount of material evidence is known only from inscriptions. This consists mainly of dedications of architecture and sculpture and of military garrisons. These will also be noted. Issues regarding the administrative, economic, political, religious, and cultural aspects implied by the surviving material evidence will be explored in Chapter 7, the concluding chapter.

1.2 Historical Background

The timeline of the Ptolemaic empire can be divided into four periods: the foundation, rise, decline, and Roman influence. The foundation period covers from 323 to 305 BC, ending when Ptolemy I Soter proclaimed himself as king. The second period, 305-217 BC, saw the rise and success of the Ptolemies due to their foreign policy and gradual expansion during the reigns of Ptolemy I, II and III. During this time, the kingdom controlled territories in Cyrenaica, Cyprus, the Levant, coastal Asia Minor, and the Aegean. From Ptolemy IV onwards, between 217-168 BC, the Ptolemaic empire experienced a decline due to conflicts with the other powers in the eastern Mediterranean as well as revolts in Egypt. The foreign territories were gradually lost with the exception of Cyprus and Cyrenaica. Meanwhile, Roman influence was the key element between 168-31 BC until the Ptolemaic kingdom was

taken over by the Romans. During this final period, Cyprus and Cyrenaica continued to be occupied.

Ptolemy I Soter (reigned 306/4-283/2 BC)

The Ptolemaic dynasty had its origins in ancient Greece and Macedonia but occupied Egypt after the division of the lands following the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC. Ptolemy I maintained an independent satrapy between 323-306 BC and reigned as the king of the Ptolemaic empire during 306/4-283/2 BC (Hölbl, 2001: 14-29). The reign of Ptolemy I as a satrap and later as a king demonstrates his success in the formation of the empires of the *diadochoi*, the successors of Alexander the Great. The foreign policy of Ptolemy I began when he was involved in activities in Cyrene in 322 BC. Cyrene was the first foreign territory of the Ptolemaic empire.

Ptolemy I also had alliances with the Cypriot kings such as Nikokreon of Salamis, Pasikrates of Soloi, Nikokles of Paphos, and Androkles of Amathous before his conquest of the island in 295/4 BC (Hölbl, 2001: 15). The conquest of Cyrene and alliances with the Cypriot kings demonstrate the Ptolemaic interest in foreign territories outside Egypt early on.

In 301 BC, the members of the *diadochoi*, Ptolemy, Kassandros, Lysimachus, and Seleukos I Nikator established a coalition and defeated Antigonos I Monophthalmous, the king of Macedonia, at battle at Ipsus in Phrygia. As a result of this victory, Ptolemy I Soter captured the southern coast of the Levant extending

north to the Eleutheros river (Hölbl, 2001: 22). Seleukos received the northern Levant and Syria. However, he did not impose his claims on the Ptolemaic Levant due to their cordial diplomatic relations at the time. In addition, Byblos and maybe Damascus belonged to Ptolemy as well. Ptolemaic Syria is also known as 'Coele Syria' by modern scholars and it was the second largest foreign possession of the Ptolemies after Cyprus. The Ptolemies benefitted from products such as its cedar trees in Lebanon, wine, oil, and grain as well as the control of the trade route from Saudi Arabia to Coele Syria (Hölbl, 2001: 23). In addition, this area, northeast of Egypt, was valued as a military buffer zone.

The coastal cities in Asia Minor were also among the territory that came under the rule of the Ptolemies in the aftermath of the battle at Ipsus in 301 BC. At the end of 288 BC, two *oikonomoi*, the administrators of finance, were appointed to Lycia, as well as to Pamphylia in 278 BC (Hölbl, 2001: 23).

The Aegean basin was not under the control of the Ptolemies during the reign of Ptolemy I except for the commercial activities with Rhodians and the conquest of the League of Islanders in 287 BC (Hölbl, 2001: 24). The maintenance of the League of Islanders was quite important for the Ptolemies since it enhanced the Ptolemaic hegemony in the Cycladic islands.

Ptolemy II Philadelphos (reigned 282-246 BC)

During the reign of Ptolemy II, the Ptolemaic empire reached its greatest extent and experienced a series of challenges over its possessions. The reign of Ptolemy II also marks the beginning of the Syrian Wars, a long-lasting conflict during the 3rd-2nd centuries BC between the Ptolemies and Seleucids due to disagreements regarding territorial divisions in Syria.

Due to rebellions against Seleucid rule in northern Syria, Ptolemy II attacked this territory in 280-279 BC and was able to expand the Ptolemaic rule further into Anatolia. This conflict is referred to as the Syrian War of Succession. Although the evidence is quite scattered regarding the Ptolemaic campaigns, these military events are mainly known from inscriptions. Cilicia was captured as were cities in Caria such as Stratonikeia, Amyzon, and Halikarnassos (McKechnie & Guillaume, 2008: 63). The Ptolemies acquired Samos in 280/79 BC as well. Samos functioned as a naval base for the Ptolemaic fleet.

Inscriptions give information about the Ptolemaic presence in western Asia Minor in subsequent years. A Ptolemaic garrison at Halikarnassos from 270/69 BC is known from inscriptions. In addition, Ptolemaic rule in Lycia is known from several epigraphic sources. Also, an honorific decree from Termessos dating to 281 BC, during the reign of Ptolemy II, mentions the presence of a Pamphyliarch which demonstrates an early involvement of the Ptolemies in the region (Meadows & Thonemann, 2013: 223). In addition, in 262 BC, Ephesos came under Ptolemaic rule.

In 274 BC, Ptolemy II started the First Syrian War through his military campaign through Seleucid Syria in which he succeeded in 271 BC (Grainger, 2010: 73-88). The First Syrian War later on had consequences regarding the beginning of the Chremonidean War in the Aegean.

The Second Syrian War occurred between Antiochos II and the Ptolemaic king during 260-253 BC (Grainger, 2010: 117-136). It is suggested that the conflicts in western Asia Minor such as in Miletos and Ephesos in the late 260s BC might have led to this war. In addition, the wider conflicts related to the Chremonidean War might have caused the Second Syrian War as well. In 259/8 BC, Antiochos II took Miletus and Samos. In addition, some areas in coastal Asia Minor such as in Cilicia and Pamphylia were lost to Antiochos II during this time. Before 253 BC, the Ptolemies and Seleucids declared peace as a result of diplomacy and the marriage between Antiochos II and Berenike, the daughter of Ptolemy II.

The second and third Ptolemies established their foreign policy based on the rivalry with the Antigonids in Macedonia and their impact on the Peloponnese and the Aegean islands. Due to the increasing Macedonian naval power, Ptolemy II initiated the Chremonidean War between 267-261 BC (Hölbl, 2001: 40-43). An alliance between the Ptolemaic kingdom, Athens, and Sparta was established against Antigonos Gonatas, the Macedonian ruler. Although Ptolemy II lost this war, the establishment of bases on the Aegean islands by Patroklos who was in control of the Ptolemaic fleet was a significant effort to maintain Ptolemaic supremacy in the Aegean. For example, Ptolemaic bases were set up at Gaiduronisi, Koroni, Rhamnus,

Thera, Keos, and Koresia during the Chremonidean War (McKechie & Guillaume, 2008: 65-89). Methana was also considered as a Ptolemaic foreign territory. It is observed that these military bases in the Aegean formed the main element of the Ptolemaic policy in Greece during the 3rd century BC. It is suggested that the Ptolemaic presence in the Aegean islands suffered greatly after they lost several territories by the mid-250's (Hölbl, 2001: 44). Around 255 BC, the Ptolemaic rule of the League of Islanders came to an end. The loss of the League of Islanders also damaged the Ptolemaic supremacy in the Aegean.

Ptolemy III Euergetes (reigned 246-222 BC)

During the reign of Ptolemy III, the Ptolemaic empire continued gradually to expand. A campaign through Syria by Ptolemy III is known from the Gurob papyri. His campaign in Syria ended in 245 BC and he appointed a *strategos* to the region (Hölbl, 2001: 49).

The complicated situation between Seleukos II and Ptolemy III over the kingship started the Third Syrian War (246-241 BC) which is also known as the Laodicean War. A papyrus from Gurob which was written by/to Ptolemy III provides information about the motives for the start of the Third Syrian War (Grainger, 2010: 153-170). According to this papyrus, Berenike ordered a military expedition to Cilicia which eventually became successful (Hölbl, 2001: 48). The area around Seleukeia and Antioch remained under the rule of Berenike. In addition, the Gurob papyrus mentions an expedition of Ptolemy III to Seleukeia with a small army (Hölbl, 2001: 48). After his campaign, he appointed a *strategos* to Cilicia. The

Ptolemaic kingdom became the most powerful Hellenistic state in the aftermath of the Third Syrian War.

Ptolemy IV Philopator (reigned 221-204 BC)

The Ptolemaic kingdom experienced a dramatic decline from the reign of Ptolemy IV onwards as a result of the battles, internal conflicts, and foreign policy which led to the loss of most of their foreign territories. The expansion of the Ptolemaic kingdom came to an end during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator. The rebellions and internal conflicts in Egypt itself also demonstrate the loss of power of the Ptolemaic kingdom during the reign of Ptolemy IV.

The Ptolemaic military garrisons at Gerrha and Brochoi in Coele Syria were attacked by Antiochos III. His attack was prevented by the commander-in-chief of Coele Syria, the Aetolian Theodotos. Seleukia in Pieria was lost to Antiochos III in 219 BC (Kosmin, 2014: 19-20). Afterwards, the Ptolemaic territories of Tyre and Ptolemais Ake were also lost to the Seleucids. However, Dor and Sidon remained as Ptolemaic lands.

As a result of these conflicts in the Levant, the Fourth Syrian War took place between 219-217 BC for the supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean which was still mainly dominated by the Ptolemies. The Ptolemaic government agreed to suspend the battles and carried out diplomatic activities with the involvement of Rhodes, Byzantium, Kyzikos, and the Aetolian League in the negotiations. Antiochos

attacked the Ptolemaic fleet near Berytos to conquer southern Coele Syria, although he was only able to capture Philadelphia (Rabbat Ammon) while Gerrha, Brochoi, Damascus, and Sidon remained under Ptolemaic control (Hölbl, 2001: 130). In 217 BC, a battle took place at Raphia between Ptolemy IV and Antiochos in which Antiochos was defeated, and Ptolemy regained control of Coele Syria (Kosmin, 2014: 20).

The relations between the Ptolemies and Rhodians improved further during the reign of Ptolemy IV. Besides Rhodes, Ptolemy IV became very well-known in other Greek cities as well due to his benefactions. However, according to Polybius (V. 34; XIV. 12), Ptolemy IV was responsible for the decline of the Ptolemaic kingdom due to his insufficient acts regarding his administrative responsibilities and excessive interest in festivities. Briefly, the victory at the battle of Raphia and the damaging consequences of the Fourth Syrian War marked the decline of the Ptolemaic supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean. After the death of Ptolemy IV, the Ptolemaic Empire was in a dramatic decline and lost its dominance in the Mediterranean.

Ptolemy V Epiphanes (reigned 204-180 BC)

During the reign of Ptolemy V, the Ptolemaic empire lost most of its foreign territories and only Cyprus, Cyrenaica and the Aegean bases of Itanos, Thera, and Methana remained in Ptolemaic hands (Hölbl, 2001: 142).

The loss of the territories in Asia Minor and Coele Syria led to economic difficulties. As a result, the Ptolemies planned that Cyprus would function as an economic center instead of Coele Syria. Salamis was declared as a new administrative center in Cyprus.

The Fifth Syrian War began in 202 BC due to the secret alliance between Philip V of Macedonia and Antiochos III against the Ptolemies (Grainger, 2010: 245-272).

Damascus and Gaza were lost to Antiochos III while Phoenicia remained under Ptolemaic control. Then, Ptolemaios, a Ptolemaic governor, joined the side of the Seleucid kingdom and received the title of strategos of the Seleucid province of 'Coele Syria and Phoenicia'. Antiochos III launched a second attack and overcame the Ptolemaic army led by Skopas at Panion in 200 BC (Grainger, 2010: 257-258). This defeat marked the end of Ptolemaic rule in the southern Levant.

The Ptolemies were pushed on two sides in which Antiochos III focused on expanding his territory in Syria and Phoenicia while the offensive attacks of Philip V focused on the Aegean. In addition, Philip V began a battle with Attalos of Pergamon and the Rhodians in 201 BC in addition to his capture of the island of Samos, a significant naval base for the Ptolemaic fleet (Hölbl, 2001: 137). Therefore, Athens joined the coalition against Philip as well. Philip V attacked Ptolemaic Thrace in 200 BC, conquering Kallipolis, Kypsela, Ainos, and Maroneia (Hölbl, 2001: 137).

After the annexation of Coele Syria in 200 BC, Antiochos III started his campaign in Cilicia in Asia Minor in 197 BC and he conquered Mallos, Zephyrion, Soloi,

Aphrodisias, Anemurion, Selinus, and Korakesion according to historical sources of Polybius and Livy (Hölbl, 2001: 138). Pamphylia was a Seleucid territory at this time. On the other hand, Lycia was under the control of Ptolemies, although Korykos, Andriake, Limyra, Arykanda, Patara/Arsinoe, Xanthos and Telmessos were conquered by the Seleucid king (Hölbl, 2001: 138). Antiochos did not have a great success in Ionia since Miletus was taken by Philip V in 201 BC from the Ptolemies. However, Ephesos which had a Ptolemaic garrison was conquered by Antiochos III. Ephesos was given to the kingdom of Pergamon and Lycia and Caria were awarded to Rhodes after the declaration of the peace of Apameia between Rome and Antiochos in 188 BC (Kosmin, 2014: 121). The power of kingship of the Ptolemies decreased during this time as a result of the success of the Seleucids.

At the end of 197 BC, the Ptolemaic government at Alexandria issued their complaints in Rome against the offensive actions of Antiochos III. The Roman representative presented their demands to the Seleucid king such as the promotion of peace in Greece and the evacuation of the Ptolemaic territories in Asia Minor. Since the Romans negotiated on behalf of Ptolemaic interests, it indicates that the Ptolemaic kingdom was under the influence of the Roman empire.

The Ptolemaic kingdom wished to strengthen their relations with Rome at the end of the 190s (Hölbl, 2001: 141). After the declaration of the freedom for the Greek cities, the Romans were involved in the conflicts between the Greek cities which enhanced the war against Antiochos III (also known as the War of Antiochos: 192-188 BC).

In the Aegean basin, the Ptolemies focused on strengthening their relations with Greece and renewed their treaties with the Achaean League in 185 BC. The decline of the Ptolemaic empire is observed during the reign of Ptolemy V due to the loss of foreign territories.

Ptolemy VI Philometor (reigned 180-145 BC) with joint rule of Cleopatra II and Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II

Ptolemy VI Philometor reigned between 180-145 BC (Hölbl, 2001: 181). His mother Cleopatra I was recognized as his guardian due to his young age. Cleopatra I had good relations with the Seleucids, and she stopped the preparations of war against her brother Seleukos IV. After the death of Cleopatra I in 176 BC, Lenaios and the eunuch Eulaios were chosen as guardians of Ptolemy VI (Grainger, 2010: 282). The joint rule of Ptolemy VI, Cleopatra II, and Ptolemy VIII was proclaimed after the beginning of the Sixth Syrian War in 170 BC which lasted until 164 BC. From the reign of Ptolemy VI onwards, the Ptolemaic empire was under the shadow of the Roman empire.

As a result of the disputes between the ruling siblings, Ptolemy VIII became the king of Cyrene. Meanwhile, Ptolemy VI and Cleopatra II were the rulers in the rest of the Ptolemaic empire.

Antiochos IV sent his fleet to Cyprus in 168 BC and the Ptolemaic strategos of Cyprus, Ptolemy 'Makron', accepted to be under the control of the Seleucids. As a

result, Cyprus was given to the Seleucid hands. However, the Roman representatives insisted on the removal of the Syrian army in Cyprus.

Two new guardians of Ptolemy VI desired to reconquer Coele Syria which led to a greater destruction of the Ptolemaic empire. Antiochos IV Epiphanes who ruled the Seleucid kingdom between 175-164 BC faced hostilities from the Ptolemaic empire. Therefore, Seleucid troops were located between Syria and Palestine.

After these attempts of negotiations, the Sixth Syrian War began in 170 BC in which the Ptolemaic army marched north into Syria, and the Seleucids defeated the Ptolemaic army between Pelusion and Mount Kasios (Hölbl, 2001: 145)

The military bases at Thera, Itanos, and Methana were the only Ptolemaic territories in the Aegean basin. After the death of Ptolemy VI in 145 BC, the Ptolemaic navy pulled out of the Aegean.

From the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II onwards (145-30 BC)

After the death of Ptolemy VI in 145 BC, Ptolemy VIII claimed the throne. Starting from his reign, the Ptolemies experienced several civil wars and internal conflicts within the Ptolemaic royal family. Roman influence became dominant in the Hellenistic world. During the reigns of later Ptolemies, several diplomatic missions were conducted with the Romans which concerned mainly events occurring in Egypt such as revolts and internal conflicts among the royal family. The testaments of the

Ptolemaic rulers also played a part in the Roman conquest of the Ptolemaic territories. These documents include the last will of Ptolemy VIII (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 9.7), of Ptolemy Apion (*Titus Livius, Periochae* LXX/5), and those of Ptolemy X and Ptolemy XII (Hölbl, 2001). Only Cyrenaica until 96 BC and Cyprus until 58 BC remained as Ptolemaic overseas territories apart from their main base in Egypt. After the defeat of Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII in 31 BC by Octavian, Egypt itself was established as a Roman province.



CHAPTER 2

THE PTOLEMAIC ADMINISTRATION OF CYRENAICA: SETTLEMENTS AND MATERIAL EVIDENCE

2.1 Ptolemaic Settlements and Administration in Cyrenaica

The material evidence in Cyrenaica shows a direct influence from Egypt. The evidence includes architecture, sculpture, terracotta figurines, and coinage. The architecture follows Greek styles as in other Ptolemaic territories. The architectural structures were not directly constructed by the Ptolemies. However, they were certainly reused during Ptolemaic rule, especially for the practice of the ruler cult. The sculpture demonstrates that the examples of Hellenistic koine continued. Meanwhile, terracotta figurines reveal that both the types of Hellenistic koine and Egyptian ones were produced. The coinage comprises the most important evidence

for the Ptolemaic impact on the region since the use of foreign and local styles are observed.

Cyrenaica was the first foreign possession of the Ptolemaic empire after the division of the lands between the diadochoi. It remained as a Ptolemaic territory until 96 BC when Cyrenaica became a Roman province. The cities of Cyrene, Apollonia, Arsinoe-Taucheira, Berenike-Euesperides, and Ptolemais Barke are the most important cities in Cyrenaica which are also referred as the Pentapolis (Map 2).¹ The Pentapolis was annexed by Ptolemy I Soter and passed to the Ptolemaic empire in 322 BC. Cyrenaica was ruled independently during the reign of King Magas of Cyrene, the step-son of Ptolemy I, until his death in 250 BC. Berenike, the daughter of Magas, married Ptolemy III after her father's death. Again, Cyrenaica became a Ptolemaic possession.

Ptolemy I first intervened in Cyrene as a part of his foreign policy in 322 BC. He sent his general Ophellas to Cyrene, and Ophellas conquered other remaining cities afterwards (Laronde, 1971: 297-306). Ophellas set up military bases in Cyrenaica and became the Ptolemaic governor in the region. Ptolemy I extended his territory in Cyrenaica towards the west to control the caravan routes in the region. The Cyrenians revolted in 313, possibly as a reaction to Ptolemy's increasing power, and besieged the garrison on the citadel. The revolt was suppressed by the Ptolemaic military. In 309/8 BC, Ophellas initiated a campaign against Carthage to support

¹ For the (re)foundations of the cities of Pentapolis based on the papyrological evidence: Mueller (2004), 1-10.

The general idea is that the cities of Pentapolis were refounded during the reign of Ptolemy III. However, it is possible that they might have been established as early as the reign of Ptolemy I.

Agathokles of Syracuse. This activity resulted in his execution (Hölbl, 2001: 20). In 300 BC, Magas, the step-son of Ptolemy I, became the governor of Cyrenaica.

During the reign of Ptolemy II, Magas proclaimed himself as the king of Cyrene.

King Magas gained support from the Seleucids against Ptolemy II due to the marriage between Magas and Apame, who was the daughter of Antiochos I. Magas conquered the coastal city of Paraitonion in mid-270s BC and marched upon Alexandria (Hölbl, 2001: 39). However, he had to turn back to Cyrenaica due to a revolt of Libyan nomads. Magas continued to rule as a king in Cyrene, and his relations with the Ptolemies remained strained.

By the end of the 250s BC, Ptolemy II desired to unite Cyrene with his own empire. In addition, Berenike, the daughter of Magas, married Ptolemy III. Around 250 BC, Magas died. However, Apame was not eager to renew ties with the Ptolemaic empire. She wanted to create an independent Cyrenaica as a base for the Seleucid kingdom. Therefore, Apame had wanted to arrange a marriage between her daughter Berenike and Demetrios the Fair who was in good relations with the Seleucids at the time. But when Demetrios obtained Cyrene and surrounding territory, Apame was left aside. Due to his growing influence in Cyrenaica, Demetrios was murdered by the initiative of Berenike. As a result, Cyrenaica joined the Ptolemaic empire. The Cyrenians invited Ekdalos and Demophanes, two legislative reformers, to take over the rule of their state, although their involvement did not have any impact on the reunification of Cyrenaica and Ptolemaic empire. Ptolemy III considered Cyrenaica as an inheritance from his father.

During the reign of Ptolemy III, Ptolemaic authority was re-established in Cyrenaica through several reforms around 246 BC (Hölbl, 2001: 47). The harbor of Barca was refounded as Ptolemais and it functioned as an administrative center. The new harbor city of Berenike, founded with defensive structures, replaced the old neighboring city of Euesperides. Taucheira was refounded as Arsinoe. A city-league was organized which included Cyrene, Ptolemais, Arsinoe, and Berenike to maintain Ptolemaic hegemony in the Cyrenaica. Cyrenaica was also important since grain was produced in the land. Although the empire lost most of its foreign possessions during the reign of Ptolemy V, Cyrenaica remained in Ptolemaic hands until it became a Roman province in 96 BC.

2.2 Architecture

During the Ptolemaic control of Cyrenaica, there were no newly built structures. Instead, they reused existing buildings. According to written sources, there were cults established on behalf of the Ptolemies such as for Magas, Arsinoe II, and Ptolemy III and Berenike II (Marquaille, 2003: 25-42). In addition, a decree from Cyrene dating to 108 BC mentions the establishment of a new cult in Cyrene for Ptolemy IX Soter II and his wife Cleopatra Selene as Savior Gods (Bagnall, 1976: 30). However, it is difficult to determine where these cults took place. The cities of Cyrene, Arsinoe-Taucheira, and Berenike-Euesperides are mentioned in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list which dates to 215-210 BC (Cohen, 2006: 385). Therefore, these cities could have held religious activities, although Apollonia and Ptolemais Barke also flourished during the Ptolemaic period. The temple of Zeus, the sanctuary of Apollo, and rock-cut tombs were the important structures in Cyrene during the

Hellenistic period. Meanwhile, Hellenistic Apollonia had Hellenistic burials, a temple, a stadium, and a fortification wall. At Ptolemais Barke, residential houses, a small temple, and a building were discovered. The city of Kainopolis also had Hellenistic tombs from 3rd-2nd century BC (Cohen, 2006: 393). These monuments prove that Ptolemaic activities in the area were continuous.

The Temple of Zeus at Cyrene (Goodchild et al., 1958) (Figure 1) was built in the 6th century BC, although there is evidence of use during the reign of Ptolemaic empire. The evidence for whom the temple was dedicated has been controversial. Some argue that the temple was dedicated to Zeus, while others suggest that it functioned to worship Zeus Ammon since the coins found in the vicinity depict the head of Zeus Ammon (Goodchild et al., 1958: 60). The Sanctuary of Apollo at Cyrene is also a significant example although the first shrine dates from the 7th century BC. In addition, the shrines dedicated to Isis, Persephone, Hades, and Hecate were discovered within the sanctuary besides a small temple to Artemis. In addition, there are rock-cut tombs (Figure 2) dated to 300 BC which are similar to the ones in Sciatbi near Alexandria (Cassels, 1955: 17-22).

At Apollonia, Hellenistic burials, a temple, a stadium, and remains of a fortification wall were discovered. It is suggested that the burials share similarities with those found at Sciatbi near Alexandria (Brown, 1948: 148). A temple which possibly dated to ca. 300 BC was discovered during the excavations at Apollonia (Cohen, 2006: 385). Also, a stadium from the 2nd century BC has been found. The remains of a

fortification wall in the city possibly date to the last decades of the 2nd century BC (Cohen, 2006: 385).

At Ptolemais Barke, residential houses, a small temple and a building were found. The residential houses at Alexandria in Egypt, Cyrene and Ptolemais Barke in Cyrenaica, and Nea Paphos in Cyprus show similarities such as the use of peristyle plan, false perspective of façades of the rooms opening to porticoes, and the lack of the atrium from the 1st century BC onwards (Pensabene, 2019: 12-24). Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria and the Palazzo delle Colonne in Ptolemais in Cyrenaica provide examples for this phenomenon. Also, the late Hellenistic houses in Cyrenaica demonstrate the use of a peristyle. Ptolemais in Cyrenaica is the best example of Ptolemaic town planning, although little evidence remained from the earlier settlement before the Roman era (Mueller, 2006: 114-116). Finally, a small temple, and a building which could be the main shrine of the city during the Hellenistic period have been found (Cohen, 2006: 394). At Kainopolis, Hellenistic tombs from the 3rd-2nd centuries BC have been discovered (Cohen, 2006: 393).

2.3 Sculpture

Sculpture relating to the Ptolemies does not occur in Cyrenaica. Instead, surviving sculptures represent traditions and themes of the Hellenistic koine. The sculptures of Aphrodite Anadyomene and three groups of the Three Graces found in Cyrene are the examples of this phenomenon.

An Anadyomene type of Aphrodite (Figure 3) was discovered at Cyrene. Its precise date is unknown, although it is thought to belong to the Hellenistic period (Gardner,

1920: 205). Aphrodite is depicted as rising from the sea with a dolphin support on her side. A similar example of this type is reproduced on a little statuette in Alexandria. The presence of a dolphin is also interpreted as a variation of a Cnidian type. The Aphrodite Anadyomene found at Cyrene is also assigned an Alexandrian origin due to the presence of a fringed cloak which is one of the characteristics of Isis (Gardner, 1920: 204). Three groups of Three Graces (Figure 4) have been found in Cyrene. Two groups of the Three Graces found in the Thermae in Cyrene show similarities with the Aphrodite Anadyomene. Bagnani (1921: 234) suggests that the sculptures were inspirations from a painting of the Three Graces from the mid-4th century BC.

2.4 Figurines

The terracotta figurines from Cyrenaica consist of Tanagra types, dancing figurines, animal riders, apes playing harp, goddesses with pectoral plaques, females with wings or wearing a peplos, and a head of a girl who might depict Berenike II. Most of the terracotta figurines from Cyrenaica dating to the Hellenistic period are housed in the British Museum and the number of the figurines is 180 (Burn, 1994: 147).

The most common terracotta figurine is the Tanagra type which are elegantly dressed standing women figurines. Although the origin of the Tanagra type is probably ancient Greece, they are also found in Asia Minor, Italy, and Alexandria. The backs of the Greek Tanagra types are completely or partially modelled while the Cyrenaican ones have unmodelled backs (Burn, 1994: 148). It is possible that these Tanagra figurines from Cyrenaica (Figure 5) were produced to be placed on their backs or in the niches of the tombs. The dancing figurines are also common in

Cyrenaica. The dancing figurine from Cyrenaica (Figure 6) in the British Museum has an unusual cylindrical plinth.

The other common type of figurines shows animal riders such as Erotes on geese or boys on dogs. The same theme of figurines is also found in Cyprus and the Levant. The figurines of apes playing a harp (Figure 7) found in Cyrenaica could be considered a subject familiar to Egypt.

The most distinctive types belonging to Cyrenaica are the goddesses with pectoral plaques (Figure 8). These figurines represent females with the right arm on their waist holding the himation. Some of them have a separately made left arm or a left arm hidden beneath the dress. The pectoral plaque on their chest is divided into three rows of five circular ornaments. They also have two circular discs on their shoulders. Some other characteristically Cyrenaican types of female figurines have wings (Figure 9) or wear a peplos without the wing and hold a phiale. One figurine depicts a goddess in a shrine. Lastly, a figurine of a head of a girl (Figure 10) raises an interesting issue. Her hair is made with a narrowly divided melon style and a raised ridge. She might have been wearing a diadem, visible if the figurine were complete. This type of hair style is popular during the 3rd century BC. She also wears large circular earrings. Based on her appearance, she might have depicted Berenike II since it is her typical representation on coins.

2.5 Ceramics

In Cyrenaica, imported ceramics were commonly found. The cities in Cyrenaica also constituted ports for trade with Egypt and the Aegean. The ceramics found at

Euesperides and Apollonia point out the international trade that took place in the eastern Mediterranean.

Well-studied evidence for the ceramics comes from Euesperides (Zimi, 2019). The fine wares found in the city were imported from Athens, Corinth, the Aegean, and Italy. Most of the fine wares consist of drinking vessels. The fine wares found at Berenike-Euesperides reveal that the location of the settlement was suitable for trade with both the eastern and the western Mediterranean (Cohen, 2006: 70). Black-figure and red-figure pots, cooking and table wares, and ‘Corinthian B’ type amphorae were also found (Zimi, 2019: 21). Black-figure and red-figure pots are commonly found in Euesperides between the 5th-mid-3rd centuries BC. The significant amount of coarse wares was important in Euesperides in the 4th century and first half of the 3rd century BC. Punic containers such as for cooking, and table wares are also found at Euesperides from the second quarter of the 4th century and the first quarter of the 3rd century BC. An amphora called as ‘Corinthian B’ type is locally made in Euesperides which dates to the 4th and first half of the 3rd century BC. Corinth was also an important trade center during this period.

The ceramic finds at Apollonia also emphasize the trade relations with the Aegean, Sicily, and southern Italy. The ceramic evidence at Apollonia revealed Rhodian, Koan, Knidian, Chian, Greco-Italic and Phoenician amphora handles, Megarian bowls, and Attic skyphoi (Cohen, 2006: 385). None of the ceramics are specifically Egyptian.

2.6 Coinage

In Cyrenaica, only Cyrene and Euesperides are known to have mints. It is not clear whether other cities also had mints. Bagnall (1976: 183) divides the Ptolemaic coinage from Cyrene into three periods: the early Ptolemaic rule until the revolt of Magas (322-280 BC), the independent rule of Magas (280-250 BC), and the main period of Ptolemaic control (246-96 BC).

Cyrene had minted its own coinage during the 5th-4th centuries BC. Ptolemy I continued this tradition. The legend of 'Cyrenian Ptolemaic' in Greek letters appears on one of these issues which date to 314-313 BC (Bagnall, 1976: 184). Attic gold stater and half-stater coins are also known from Cyrene which depict a silphium plant, the symbol of Cyrene, and the Ptolemaic eagle from 321-313 BC. The revolt against Ophellas in 313 BC which was suppressed in 312 BC by Ptolemy I is reflected on the series of gold staters and hemistaters dating to 313 BC from Cyrene (Lorber, 2018: 306). These coins have the legend of Ptolemy on them. These coins also depict Athena and Nike (Figure 11) as well as the silphium plant which is the symbol of the city. There are also silver didrachms minted in Cyrene with Athena Promachos on the reverse in 311 BC (Lorber, 2018a: 307). Under the rule of Magas, gold coinage with the portrait of Ptolemy I (Figure 12) was minted from 299-294 BC. Meanwhile, gold staters depicting the portrait of Ptolemy I were minted in Euesperides from the 290s BC (Lorber, 2018a: 309)

During the rule of Magas, Magas did not mint coins bearing his name. Instead, he minted the types of Ptolemy I Soter with a Phoenician standard and the legend of Basileus Berenike who was his mother. During his independent reign, Magas

possibly struck traditional Cyrenaen coinage types (Lorber, 2018a: 389). There are also coinages representing the portraits of Ptolemy I and Berenike I as well as silver coinage with the image of Ptolemy I. Silver didrachms for Berenike I were minted in Euesperides during this time. However, some scholars argue that she is Berenike II based on her similarity with the reliefs on oinochoai (Lorber, 2018a: 391). This coinage from Euesperides has an apple wreath border which is the symbol of the city.

After the death of Magas, silver didrachms of Rhodian standard and bronzes were minted. These coins bear the legend of Koinon. No coins of Ptolemy III were attested in Cyrene. In contrast, Ptolemy IV introduced an issue of gold octadrachms and four series of bronzes to Cyrene. Ptolemy VI possibly did not mint coins in Cyrene since he did not fully control the city during his reign. A bronze series of Ptolemy VIII with the symbol of the silphium plant is known after 145 BC (Bagnall, 1976: 186). Probably, Ptolemy IX Soter was the one who minted coins with the head of Libya (Figure 13).

2.7 Conclusions

The conquest of Cyrenaica strengthened the Ptolemaic presence in North Africa and played a significant role in trade activities in the eastern Mediterranean. Cyrenaica was the only place which did not face any impact from the Syrian Wars. Therefore, the Ptolemaic presence in Cyrenaica was more stable and continuous than in the other overseas territories. It is obvious that it was a safe zone for the Ptolemies which did not require engaging in military activities. Instead, Cyrenaica played a significant role in the trade activities in the eastern Mediterranean based on the several finds of imported ceramics found in the region. Although the Ptolemaic occupation in

Cyrenaica was stable, it is interesting that the material evidence shows little Ptolemaic impact. Local traditions were practiced more than the newly introduced concepts from Egypt. Still, it is known from the inscriptions that the Ptolemaic cults for the kings and queens were established. The architecture and sculpture show the continuation of the Hellenistic koine, although the figurines indicate a minor Ptolemaic influence. Meanwhile, the coinage proves that Cyrenaica was part of Ptolemaic economics and politics.



CHAPTER 3

THE PTOLEMAIC ADMINISTRATION OF CYPRUS: SETTLEMENTS AND MATERIAL EVIDENCE

3.1 Ptolemaic Settlements and Administration on Cyprus

The material evidence related to the Ptolemaic presence in Cyprus from the 3rd-1st centuries BC is well-known and well-established compared to their other foreign possessions in the eastern Mediterranean. The material record reveals examples of architecture, sculptures, figurines, ceramics, coinage, and minor arts which were influenced by the Ptolemaic culture brought from Alexandria (Hadjisavvas, 2003). The study of the material evidence, especially coinage and figurines, importantly underlines the blend of Cypriote and Ptolemaic Egyptian elements. The architectural examples demonstrate that Alexandrian styles and patterns were adopted in the

island. Cyprus is the only Ptolemaic foreign territory where sculptures are preserved, although not extensively. The terracotta figurines and ceramics indicate a further diffusion of cultural elements from the Ptolemies. Meanwhile, the coinage follows the same tradition in Egypt while implying the incorporation of Cyprus into the Ptolemaic economic and political sphere.

To understand the Ptolemaic activities and their impact on the material record, it is necessary to establish the historical background of their presence in Cyprus (Map 3). Before the arrival of the Ptolemies, Cyprus consisted of city-kingdoms which were ruled by the *Basileis*, the Cypriot kings. Although Cypriot city-kingdoms were part of the Achaemenid empire during Alexander's war against the Persians, the Cypriot *Basileis* supported the side of Alexander in 333 BC and assisted him during the naval siege of Tyre (Papantoniou, 2012: 8-9). After the death of Alexander in 323 BC, some of the *Basileis* joined Antigonos while the others supported Ptolemy. However, Ptolemy I gained control of Cyprus and appointed Nikokreon as the *strategos*, military general, of the island. According to the Marmor Parium, Ptolemy I became the ruler of the island after the death of Nikokreon in 311/310 BC (Papantoniou, 2012: 9). After Cyprus was conquered by the Antigonids as a consequence of the Battle of Salamis in 306 BC between Ptolemy I and Demetrios Poliorcetes, Cyprus was regained by Ptolemy I in 294 BC and it was in Ptolemaic hands until it became a Roman province in 58 BC.

The pattern of Hellenization coincides with the Ptolemaic rule in the island. The transition from the Cypriot kings, the *Basileis*, to the Ptolemaic *strategos* influenced

the socio-cultural infrastructure of Cyprus (Papantoniou, 2012: 1-2). The socio-cultural change in Cyprus was also due to the external political, military, and cultural involvements of the Ptolemies. The acquisition of Cyprus was important for the Ptolemies due to the access to the Mediterranean through its harbors and to the rich resources of the island such as timber, copper, and wheat. Timber was used for building ships, while wheat and copper were important for military and economic purposes. The copper production and harbors were incorporated into the political and economic system of Ptolemaic administration in Cyprus. After the Ptolemies lost their naval bases in the Aegean and lost Coele Syria at the end of the 3rd century BC, Cyprus became their last and longest lasting possession outside Egypt. It remained their main naval base.

The central location of Cyprus was crucial for the Ptolemies to have power in the eastern Mediterranean. The Ptolemaic power was seaborne due to its main communication network being maritime and its imperial policy focused on securing sea routes through the control of the harbors. The Ptolemaic settlements in different regions were connected to each other through sea networks. Balandier (2002) suggests that Cyprus played a significant role to protect the Ptolemaic territories in Syria during the 3rd century BC. The Ptolemies especially put emphasis on the coastal cities in Cyprus such as Nea Paphos, Arsinoe, Kourion, Amathous, Soloi, and Salamis, which indicate their strategic interests in harbors and maritime power.

The ruler cult brought by the Ptolemies played a key role in the Hellenization of Cyprus. The ruler cult was not only an act of religion, but also a cultural element

diffused among the inhabitants of Hellenistic Cyprus. Regarding the ruler cult, Arsinoe II, who was the sister-wife of Ptolemy II, was equated with Aphrodite and her cult was practiced throughout the eastern Mediterranean. In Cyprus, the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in Palaipaphos was the main place for this ruler cult. The foundations of the cities of 'Arsinoe' indicate the establishment of new cities during the Hellenistic period on Cyprus and elsewhere. The use of the name 'Arsinoe' for the cities puts emphasis on the Ptolemaic ideology and reminded the citizens of their royal presence. In addition, the Arsinoe city foundations, and political and religious use of the name of the queen Arsinoe II projected the Ptolemaic image and identity, as well as their maritime power.

3.2 Architecture

All the major cities in Cyprus have revealed examples of architecture. These cities are Nea Paphos, Palaipaphos, Salamis, Kition, Kourion, and Soloi, all located on the coast. The Hellenistic architecture of Cyprus can be categorized as religious architecture, tomb architecture, theatres, gymnasia, military architecture, and domestic architecture (Nicolaou, 1968). It is not possible to discuss about a traditional Cypriote architecture. Rather, the architecture mainly follows Classical Greek patterns except for the newly introduced concepts from the Ptolemies. It is difficult to distinguish between the Greek architectural patterns and the Ptolemaic Egyptian ones due to the long-lasting use or reuse of the structures and the common architectural characteristics observed in the Hellenistic *koine*. Some of architectural patterns could be adapted to Cypriote architectural landscape from either ancient Greece or Egypt. Still, it is possible to indicate some Ptolemaic influence on the architecture and changes in religious practices in the 3rd century BC.

3.2.1 Religious Architecture

The religious architecture in Cyprus follows the Classical Greek style apart from a few newly introduced trends. However, the introduction of new deities and the ruler cult led to changes in the religious and cultural life in Cyprus. The Ptolemies pursued a religious policy in Cyprus which introduced dynastic cults and promoted the association of local deities and dynastic ones, especially the syncretism of Aphrodite, Isis, and the Ptolemaic queens (Papantoniou, 2012: 178). The ruler cult was directly introduced from Alexandria and the worship of Egyptian deities became more common during the Hellenistic period.

Besides the examples known from the inscriptions, material evidence still survives for the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos (Figure 14), the Temple of Aphrodite at Amathous, Temple of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, and the Temples of Zeus at Salamis and Nea Paphos (Nicolaou, 1968). The main sanctuaries in Cyprus such as Aphrodite in Palaipaphos and Amathous, and Apollo Hylates at Kourion flourished during the Hellenistic period which could be related to the Ptolemaic dominance in the island. They also demonstrate the importance of the cultic activities and their continuity during the presence of the Ptolemies.

The Temple of Zeus Olympios at Salamis (Figure 15) which was possibly erected before 168 BC during the reign of Ptolemy VI demonstrates a Ptolemaic influence due to the presence of the three of the four types of Alexandrian Corinthian capitals (Figures 16-19) established by Ronczewski, Adriani, and McKenzie (Mavrojannis,

2019: 515). The four types of Alexandrian capitals are defined through the shape of their scrolls.

The temple at Soloi-Cholades (Figure 20) is clearly associated with the Ptolemaic ideology and cult since there was a sanctuary dedicated to Aphrodite and Isis at Soloi-Cholades (Mavrojannis, 2019: 531). Temple A at Soloi, built in the mid-3rd century BC, illustrates the Hellenistic religious architecture with its two open rectangular courtyards and an entrance on the east (Nicolaou, 1968: 9). In addition, the sanctuary sites of Kafizin and Geronisos, a small island on the western coast of Cyprus, have yielded evidence for the Ptolemaic cult. The foundations of a temple (Figure 21) were discovered at the Fabrika Hill on the northeastern part of Nea Paphos (Balandier, 2015: 161). This temple is believed to be dedicated to either Aphrodite Paphia or Ptolemy IX Euergetes II.

Most of the sanctuaries in Cyprus are poorly preserved and the cult objects such as terracotta and limestone votives were subject to looting. The inscriptions provide information regarding the construction and destruction of sanctuaries. According to the textual and material evidence, the destruction of the sanctuaries at Kition, Tamassos, and Marion could be attributed to the Ptolemies (Papantoniou, 2012: 87). The destruction of these sanctuaries should be considered as a political act rather than religious or cultural. According to the textual evidence, a Ptolemaeion was founded in the late 2nd century BC at Nea Paphos and it was a sanctuary dedicated to the Ptolemies. Also, an Arsinoeion from mid-3rd century BC is known at Idalion from the inscriptions.

3.2.2 Tomb Architecture

The tomb architecture of Hellenistic Cyprus is characterized by rock-cut chambers. These tombs follow the old traditions of Archaic and Classical periods such as access through a dromos to a rectangular chamber. The peristyle tomb is a new type introduced during the Hellenistic period and it is best represented by the Tombs of the Kings at Nea Paphos (Figure 22) from the 3rd century BC. Ptolemaic officials and aristocrats are believed to be buried in these tombs of Nea Paphos.

The striking similarities between the tombs of Nea Paphos and Alexandria have been noted. Especially, the tombs at Mustapha Kamel in Alexandria are considered as prototypes of the underground tombs of Nea Paphos.² The Tombs of the Kings at Nea Paphos consist of a stepped dromos cut into the rock leading down to a peristyle court with porticoes. The porticoes are characterized by Doric columns with entablatures showing triglyphs and metopes. The burial chambers are cut into the rock behind the porticoes. The Tombs of the Kings at Nea Paphos do not follow the traditional tomb architecture of Cyprus and have their prototypes in Alexandria and Macedonia. The Alexandrian tombs consist of open-air peristyle courts, while Macedonian tombs included sealed formed chambers; and both types have parallels at Nea Paphos (Radpour & et al., 2019: 2).

The tombs (A and B) at Ammoi on the outskirts of Nea Paphos are decorated with frescoes. Tomb A is decorated with geometrical patterns as well as the sculptured triglyphs and metopes. Tomb B is decorated with Corinthian columns and

² For the influence of the Alexandria on the architecture and decoration of the tombs in Cyprus: Guimier-Sorbets & Michaelides, 2009.

geometrical patterns on the ceiling. Both Tomb A and B from Ammoi date to the Hellenistic period (Nicolaou, 1968: 23). Tomb 2 at Amathous has Alexandrian Corinthian capitals (Mavrojannis, 2019: 517).

3.2.3 Theatres

Theatres are known from Salamis, Kourion, Nea Paphos, and Soloi. Inscriptions also reveal that theatres existed in Kition, Amathous, and Palaipaphos as well. The theatre at Kourion today dates to Roman times. However, the original one was built during the 2nd century BC (Stillwell, 1961: 77). The theatre of Nea Paphos which has Ptolemaic and Roman phases points to the Ptolemaic and Alexandrian influences on the architecture and style of the structure (Barker, 2015a: 40). The second phase of the theatre dates from the mid-2nd century BC according to a dedicatory inscription found on a statue base (Barker, 2015b: 171-172). The construction of the stone stage building and of a subterranean passageway shows similarities with the Alexandrian architectural styles.

3.2.4 Gymnasia

Gymnasia in Cyprus are not preserved well and most of them are known from inscriptions. Only the gymnasium at Salamis was revealed by excavations so far and it is also mentioned by a dedicatory inscription to Ptolemy V. The gymnasium at Salamis was possibly destroyed due to earthquakes during the 4th century AD and it was restored as public baths (Nicolaou, 1968: 24).

The inscriptions also give us information about the locations of gymnasia. At Kition, an inscription mentions the presence of a gymnasium in the city during the mid-3rd century BC (Nicolaou, 1968: 8). The presence of gymnasia at Amathous,

Palaipaphos, Chytroi, and Marion, and a second gymnasium at Salamis are known from inscriptions as well.

3.2.5 Military Architecture

Regarding military architecture, remains of a circuit wall at Nea Paphos are believed to have been built by Nikokles, who was the king of Nea Paphos at the end of the 4th century BC (Nicolaou, 1968: 8). At Palaipaphos, traces of Hellenistic walls have also been discovered. The presence of several Ptolemaic military garrisons in the cities is well-known from inscriptions. Unfortunately, these Ptolemaic military garrisons did not survive and information about the military such as the garrisons, army, and the generals is only based on the inscriptions.

3.2.6 Domestic Architecture and Baths

The domestic architecture is not well-known due to its destruction, although a house and bath establishment were revealed at Kition (Nicolaou, 1968: 8). *Balaneion*, public baths, were introduced to Cyprus during the Hellenistic period, perhaps from Alexandria. There are two prominent examples of these public baths in Cyprus: one is near the agora of Amathous, and the other one is at Chrysopolitissa in Larnaca (Michaelides & Papantoniou, 2018: 287).

Theatres, gymnasia, military architecture, religious architecture, and tomb architecture in Cyprus are indications of urban life and their presence is observed in other regions of the Hellenistic world as well. It indicates that there was some form of homogeneity regarding the architecture in the Hellenistic period. Although the architecture primarily remained as Classical Greek style with additions of Alexandrian Corinthian capitals and rock-cut burial chambers, changes in

architecture are mostly observed in the religious life in Cyprus after the arrival of the Ptolemies.

3.3 Sculpture

Although several statue bases have been found in Cyprus, most of the sculptures have not survived. The surviving examples in Cyprus do not look identical with the Ptolemaic sculpture from Egypt. However, there are shared similarities among the surviving sculpture found in Cyprus from the 3rd-1st centuries BC. Therefore, it is not clearly known what the Ptolemaic sculpture in Cyprus looked like. Surviving sculptural examples are found at the inland sites of Arsos, Voni, Idalion, and Golgoi.³ Inscriptions attest that there were several dedicatory sculptures to the Ptolemies. These sculptures in Cyprus must have been produced by local sculptors. Therefore, the artistic styles of Alexandria were diffused to the artists in Cyprus.

Michaelides & Papantoniou (2018: 272) suggest that the female portraits might have looked similar to the Alexandrian Hirsch (Figure 23) and Kassel (Figure 24) queens due to the similarity of these two sculptures with the two heads from Soloi-Cholades.

At Arsos, examples of sculpture indicate a Ptolemaic influence due to the statue bases with inscriptions, dedications to Aphrodite, draped female types, and heads.

Three limestone bases from the 3rd century BC with inscriptions for Aphrodite Golgoia were found (Connelly, 1988: 17). In addition, two late Greek inscriptions

³ A catalogue of the Hellenistic votive sculptures in Cyprus is published in the *Votive Sculpture of Hellenistic Cyprus* by Joan Breton Connelly (1988). Connelly discusses several aspects of these sculptures such as the identification of the individuals, dating, facial features, clothes, movements and positions as well as comparisons with the portraits on Ptolemaic coins and sculptures in Egypt.

were discovered which reveal the worship of Serapis, Isis, and Anubis at Arsos. These inscriptions indicate that the Cypriot pantheon was influenced by the newly introduced cults by the Ptolemies. Since the sanctuary at Arsos was dedicated to Aphrodite, most of the votive sculptures represent female figures. A female statue from the Larnaca Museum (Connelly, 1988: 21, pl. 9, figs. 32-33) shows Egyptian influence due to the lotus flower in her hand. In addition, these female statues from Arsos are associated with Axiothea, wife of King Nikokreon of Salamis, Berenike II, and Arsinoe II (Connelly, 1988: 24).

The draped female types were introduced to Cyprus during the Hellenistic period and their inspiration could come from either Attica, East Greece, or Egypt. Regarding Egypt, the draped dresses were worn by the Ptolemaic queens depicted on the faience oinochoai. According to the typology of Dorothy B. Thompson for the development of this type of dress, the style of the dress seen on the Arsos statues is the most common example from the reign of Berenike II and Ptolemy IV Philopator during the second half of the 3rd century BC (Connelly, 1988: 28). In addition, two heads from Arsos dating to the early 3rd century BC (Connelly, 1988: pl. 11, figs. 38-41) show the typical representations of the early Ptolemies. Also, a head found at Arsos dating to the second quarter of the 3rd century BC (Connelly, 1988: pl. 12, figs. 42-45) shows striking similarity with the depictions of Arsinoe II on the coins.

At Voni, the Hellenistic sculptures include temple boys, boys in Macedonian dress, standing draped votaries as well as statues of Apollo, Herakles, and Aphrodite or Artemis. Temple boys are statuettes of crouching children wearing jewelry and

amulets which were primarily dedicated in the shrines from the 5th century BC to Hellenistic times (Caneva & Pizzi, 2014: 495). A male head from Voni (Connelly, 1988: pl. 20, figs. 76-77) shows similarity with the coin portraits of the Ptolemy IV due to the presence of the sideburns which were a characteristic feature of the Ptolemaic portraiture in the 2nd century BC. The sculptures of Ptolemaic strategoi were found at the sanctuary of Apollo at Voni-Chytroi from the second half of the 3rd century BC (Mavrojannis, 2016: 120).

At Idalion, several types of Hellenistic sculpture were found at the sanctuary of Apollo. These sculptures include the statues of Apollo, Pan and Herakles, temple boys, male youths, and female lyre players (Connelly, 1988: 62). Among the sculptures from Idalion, a male head (Connelly, 1988: pl. 25, figs. 94-95) is identified as Ptolemy II while another male head (Connelly, 1988: pl. 23, figs. 88-89) was identified as Ptolemy III.

At Golgoi, the Hellenistic sculptures consisted of temple boys, boys in Macedonian dress, youths, and the divinities such as Aphrodite, Artemis, Apollo, and Pan. Some of these sculptures exhibit an inspiration from the portraiture from the early Ptolemies.

The temple boys found on Cyprus are mainly depicted as wearing amulets and other charms. The amulets are usually adorned with Cypriot styles; however, they also represent the Ptolemaic symbols such as the Ptolemaic eagle, the Isis crown, image of a Ptolemaic ruler, and Ptolemy wearing the double crown of the Egyptian

Pharaoh. It is observed that occasionally the Cypriot and Ptolemaic stylistic traditions were combined on the amulets of the temple boys.

Sculpture from Cyprus demonstrates a Ptolemaic impact on the depictions and cultural ideas. Although they do not look the same, the representations of the Aphrodite, female types, strategoi, and temple boys indicate that these forms were inspired by the Ptolemaic culture.

3.4 Terracotta Figurines

Terracotta figurines were found at several cities in Cyprus, at Amathous, Kourion, Marion, and elsewhere in religious and domestic contexts. These figurines mainly reflect the religious and cultural aspects of Hellenistic Cyprus as well as relations with Egypt, Coele Syria, and Asia Minor, due to the similarity of finds from these different regions. Most of the Hellenistic terracotta figurines from Cyprus which are now in the museums were discovered in the 19th century. This fact sometimes creates problems regarding their provenance. Amathous was the only site that revealed large quantity of terracotta figurines which have been properly excavated. In addition, Kourion is the other site which has yielded a large number of figurines.

The variety of terracotta figurines found at Amathous reflects a clear Ptolemaic influence. These figurines include depictions of Aphrodite, Isis, Baubo, boys wearing kausia, enthroned Cybele, hydrophoroi, kourotrophoroi, and Dioscuri. The depiction of Aphrodite was a frequent theme in the terracotta figurines. Cypriote Aphrodite was mainly depicted in a Hellenized form as half nude in a leaning position and wearing a himation and a stephane crown. There were changes in the cult practice in

which the dedications of the image of a divinity, instead of the image of the worshipper, became more popular during the Hellenistic period (Connelly, 1991). The terracotta figurines which were related to the 'Cypriote Goddess' found at Amathous demonstrate the development and importance of the cult in Cyprus from the time of the Cypriot city-kingdoms to the Hellenistic period (Papantoniou, 2011: 35). Some of these terracotta figurines consisted of females wearing a polos, and they represent a goddess who was associated with Aphrodite. However, the Amathous figurines depict a unique Cypriote style which resembles the Astarte plaques. The votive terracottas from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathous reflect a clear Egyptian influence due to the depictions of new deities such as Isis, the Dioscuri, and Attis (Queyrel, 1988).

Isis is represented in the figurines of Amathous (Queyrel, 1988: 59-73; Papantoniou, 2012: 248-250). The presence of Isis figurines indicates a diffusion of the Ptolemaic belief system. It also refers to the syncretism between Aphrodite, Isis, and Arsinoe II. Also, Enthroned Cybele appears in the figurine repertoire of Cyprus (Nicolaou, 1979; Queyrel, 1988: 86; Burn & Higgins, 2001: 273). The representations of Cybele were common in both Cyprus and Coele Syria and this type was influenced by Asia Minor (Erlich, 2019: 376). Since Cybele has an origin from Asia Minor, it is possible that her identity was changed in Cyprus. She might have been combined with a Cypriote goddess. The presence of Cybele in both Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Coele Syria indicates that the inhabitants of these regions had communications through the maritime networks in the Mediterranean.

Hydrophoroi, dancers, and musicians playing trigonon, a musical instrument, are represented in Amathousian figurines (Queyrel, 1988: 95-113, pls. 29. 32-35; Papantoniou, 2012: 255-256). This type was also found at Kourion (Burn & Higgins, 2001: pl. 146, no 2901), Paphos (Karageorghis, 1970: 217, no. 49), and near Salamis (Burn & Higgins, 2001: pl. 146, nos. 2899-2900). Kourotrophoi, a female holding a child, were also discovered in Cyprus (Queyrel, 1988: 89-94, pl. 28; Burn & Higgins, 2001: pl. 144 nos. 2888-2889, pl. 145 no. 2891).

Baubo types, boys wearing kausia, and Dioscuri are additional examples of terracottas. The Baubo type depicts overweight women in a grotesque style with an emphasis on their pubic area. Since it was a common type produced in Egypt, it demonstrates the transmission of this idea. Boys wearing kausia, a Macedonian type of cap, were found in Cyprus (Karageorghis, Merker & Mertens, 2004: nos. 384, 385, 395). This type of figurine is also found in the Levant. Dioscuri figurines standing next to each other with a frontal pose were among the types discovered at Amathous (Queyrel, 1988: pls. 25-26). Similar positioning of the figurines was found in the Levant as well.

In contrast to Amathous, several different types of terracotta figurines were found at Kourion. The figurines from Kourion include depictions of horse riders, chariot groups, animals, and human heads (Winter, 1991). The theme of horse riders is also commonly depicted on the terracotta figurines of Maresha from Israel. Erlich (2019: 371) suggests connections between the terracotta figurines of Cyprus and Coele Syria during the Hellenistic period since these terracotta figurines share common features

such as types which were present in both regions, unique types which were specific to the particular region, and Ptolemaic influence.

3.5 Ceramics and Faience Vessels

Imports of pottery from Egypt to Cyprus include Egyptian faience vessels, fine wares, cooking wares, transport amphorae, and Ptolemaic terracotta lamps. The sites where the Egyptian ceramics and faience vessels were found are Kition, Nea Paphos, Tamassos, Salamis, and the island of Geronisos.

A small number of faience vessels were found at Kition, Nea Paphos, Tamassos, and Salamis as well as oinochoai, fine faience wine pitchers, at Kourion which depict the image of a Ptolemaic queen pouring a liquid on an altar (Lund, 2015: 202). According to the study of Nenna and Seif el-Din (2000: 396-402), this type of oinochoe dates to 270-150 BC. Due to the small quantity of the oinochoe found at Cyprus, it is not possible to trace it to trade or religion. These ceramics made of faience are not abundant in Cyprus. Therefore, they may not be direct evidence for the commercial activities with Alexandria. Possibly, these faience ceramics might be related to religious activities involving liquid offerings for the cult of Arsinoe II. In addition, it is also possible that these oinochoe were gifts from ambassadors which indicate a diplomatic relation. For example, a small fragment of a faience oinochoe found in the Hellenistic levels of House of Orpheus at Nea Paphos points to the cult of Arsinoe II in a domestic context (Michaelides, 2020: 193). Although only an arm stretching and making a libation is visible and it is not found in its original place, it indicates the cult of the queen due to its findspot being a domestic context.

Moreover, it has a Cypriote origin. One more example similar to the one at Nea Paphos was found at Kourion.

Regarding the presence of the Egyptian fine wares in Cyprus, Hayes (1991) puts emphasis on the concentration of Egyptian pottery in the House of Dionysos at Nea Paphos, and Ballet later worked on the Egyptian ceramic imports to Cyprus (Ballet, 2009). Most of the Egyptian pottery imports are found at Nea Paphos, and some were also found at Geronisos. In addition, a small stamnos with a painted decoration or red slip dating to the 1st century BC was found in the Tombs of the Kings at Nea Paphos. Other Egyptian imports from 3rd and 2nd centuries BC levels from Nea Paphos include colour-coated bowls and plates (Hayes, 1991). A barbotine vase from Egypt is also found in Cyprus from an unknown provenance.

A small quantity of Egyptian transport amphorae were found at Nea Paphos from 2nd century BC, and at Kition from the contexts of 3rd-1st centuries BC (Lund, 2015: 204). In addition, a base of an Egyptian amphora at Amathous and an Egyptian stamped amphora from Geronisos are among the finds of Egyptian transport amphorae found in Cyprus.

Hadra hydriae, which were amphorae used as funerary urns, found in Cyprus demonstrate a similarity between the Alexandrian and Cypriot burial practices as well as ceramics. According to Enklaar (1985), Hadra hydriae are divided into two groups: the White Ground or Polychrome group which was manufactured in Alexandria or perhaps Rhodes, and the Clay Ground group which was first

manufactured in Crete and adopted by the Alexandrian pottery workshops. On Crete, Hadra hydriae are found in domestic contexts while the ones in Cyprus and Alexandria were used as cinerary urns (Michaelides & Papantoniou, 2018: 280). In addition, Rhodian amphorae were found in large quantities in Nea Paphos due to trade networks. These amphorae from Rhodes were reused in the burial practices. At the Tombs of the Kings in Nea Paphos, there was a tradition of placing two Rhodian amphorae at the head or foot of the burials. Rhodian amphorae occur very often in the tombs of Nea Paphos. The imitations of Rhodian amphorae found at Nea Paphos demonstrate a shared funerary tradition and its association with the Ptolemaic rulers.⁴

Ptolemaic terracotta lamps were also found in Cyprus, five from the Maloutena site in Nea Paphos, two from Salamis, and one from an unknown provenance (Lund, 2015: 204). Ptolemaic terracotta lamps were not found at Geronisos, although some of the local lamps indicate Egyptian influence.

Two finds of black gloss wares, imitations of the West Slope Ware, were found in the foothills of the Ezousas region (Lund, 1993: 80-82). These finds date to the late 4th-early 3rd century BC. Examples are found in Cicilia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt as well. Black-slipped Egyptian Wares (3 examples) were also found in the foothills along the Ezousas river and in the foothills of the Dhiarizos region. This type has an Egyptian origin and the ones found in Cyprus are Cypriote imitations of the wares. Black-slipped Egyptian Wares have also been found at the House of Dionysos at Nea Paphos. Eastern Sigillata A which is believed to be produced from 150 BC onwards

⁴ For a complete analysis of the placement of Rhodian amphorae in the tombs of Nea Paphos: Winther-Jacobsen, 2015.

is the other type of ceramics found commonly in Cyprus such as at Amathous, Kourion, Nea Paphos, and Salamis.

On the small island of Geronisos close to Cyprus, only five examples of Ptolemaic Egyptian pottery were found: a fragment of an echinus bowl, a fragment of a saucer/lid, sherds of the rounded body of a closed vessel, body sherds of another vessel, and the fragment of an upper part of a decorated jar (Mlynarczyk, 2009: 210-214). These five examples of ceramics from Geronisos date to a period between 80/75 BC to 30/25 BC. The fragments of an echinus bowl are identified as Egyptian black-slipped ware and it has been commonly found at the Delta region such as at Buto, Mendes, and Naukratis. The fragment of a saucer/lid is identified as Egyptian red wares and also found at Alexandria, Naukratis, and Fayum region. The sherds of the rounded body of a closed vessel belongs to either a painted jug or a table amphora which were made of Nile silt fabric.

3.6 Coinage

Mints in Cyprus were established at Nea Paphos, Salamis, and Kition in the reign of Ptolemy I Soter. The production of coinage was incorporated into the royal Ptolemaic system, and it was controlled by the *strategoi*, who were the governors appointed by the Ptolemaic kings. Gold, silver, and bronze Ptolemaic coins were minted in Cyprus. The coins minted in Cyprus are identified through mintmarks. The Ptolemaic coins started to be minted in Cyprus during the time of the reforms of Ptolemy I Soter based on the Alexandrian model. Minting Ptolemaic coins in Cyprus after its acquisition demonstrates that the Ptolemaic ideology and image were integrated into Cyprus. Analysis of the Ptolemaic coinage clearly shows the changes

in the monetary issues in terms of iconography, denomination, value, and size which were imposed by the reforms made by each Ptolemaic king.⁵

The coins of the Ptolemies from Cyprus are quite similar to the ones from Alexandria, and they demonstrate similar patterns of change during the reigns of each Ptolemaic king. Ptolemy I Soter reformed the Ptolemaic coinage twice. The gold staters were the first to depict his portrait wearing a diadem with Alexander's aegis around his neck on the obverse while Alexander driving elephants was depicted on the reverse. His second reform was to depict his personal emblem and an eagle on a thunderbolt on the reverse while the image of his portrait remained the same on the obverse.

Ptolemy II started to mark his coinage with a Gallic shield around 275 BC. New coinages promoting the royal cult of the deified Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II as the *Theoi Adelphoi* were produced during the reign of Ptolemy II. Mnaieia or 1-mina pieces, larger gold coins, were issued for the *Theoi Adelphoi*. After the death of Arsinoe II in 270 BC, Ptolemy II introduced a new silver coinage for her separate cult named as *Thea Philadelphus* (Lorber, 2012: 6). In addition, he improved the image of Ptolemy I Soter on the coins. The coinage depicting Ptolemy I and Arsinoe II were minted in Salamis, Kition, and Paphos as well as in five Syro-Phoenician mints (Lorber, 2012: 6). In 261/0 BC, the image of Zeus-Ammon was introduced to the bronze coinage.

⁵ The Ptolemaic coinage was studied in detail based on their iconography, denomination, value, and size during the reigns of each Ptolemaic king by Catherine C. Lorber (2018) and published in *Coins of the Ptolemaic Empire* as two volumes.

The portrait of Arsinoe II is depicted as wearing veil and the royal diadem, the so-called stephane crown, which relates her to a goddess on the obverse of some gold octadrachms from the mints of Cyprus (Anastasiades, 2009: 260). On the reverse, double cornucopiae are depicted along with her inscribed name. Since the cult of Arsinoe II was popular in Cyprus, the coins depicting her portraits are quite common. These Ptolemaic coins from Cyprus also look almost identical to the Greek style. However, there are some distinguishing differences which demonstrate their Egyptianizing aspects. For example, the horn behind Arsinoe II's ear is only associated with her during the Hellenistic period. The depiction of the horn on the coins is previously associated with the cult of the ram god of Mendes⁶. The other Egyptianizing element on the coins is the representation of the lotus flowers on her head. The lotus flower is commonly associated with Isis who is also associated with Arsinoe II. The lotus flower also reminds us of the myth of the brother-sister gods Osiris and Isis just as Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II had a cult of themselves. The depiction of the lotus flower on the head of Arsinoe II might be also related to rebirth. The cornucopia is a symbol of prosperity, and it might be associated with the rich natural sources of Cyprus such as copper and timber which were the interests of the Ptolemies. The combination of the stephane crown, the lotus flower, the horn of Ammon and the double cornucopiae demonstrates that Greek and Egyptian symbolism were integrated on the coins. These first coinage issues depicting Arsinoe II gradually ended in 241 BC (Lorber, 2012: 7).

⁶ According to D. Burr-Thompson, the horn is an identifier for the portrait of Arsinoe II. On the other hand, M. Sauneron suggests that the horn is not associated with the ram god but with Ammon (Zeus Ammon) in which Arsinoe II was called as the 'daughter of Ammon' in temples in Egypt. The horns of the ram of Ammon are curved downwards while the other ram horns are depicted as horizontal. The horns of the portraits of Arsinoe II on the coins are curved downwards as well.

During the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes, a gold double mnaieion for Arsinoe II and large silver and bronze coins for Berenike II were minted. In addition, the Alexandrian tetradrachms depicting the images of Serapis and Isis were the main silver coinage issues during the reign of Ptolemy IV Philopator while the gold coinage depicted and honored Ptolemy III (Lorber, 2012: 9). A tetradrachm coinage commemorating Ptolemy I Soter, also referred as era coinage, was issued beginning from 262/1 BC and continued to be minted during the reigns of Ptolemy V and VI. It is suggested that part of the era coinage might have been a military currency minted in Cyprus (Lorber, 2007: 115).

Bronze coinage smaller in size from Cyprus is attributed to Ptolemy IV. This coinage shows a female image, possibly Aphrodite, on the obverse while double or single cornucopiae were depicted on the reverse (Lorber, 2012: 10). The era coinage continued to be minted during the reign of Ptolemy V in Salamis and Kition, but no longer in Syria and Phoenicia which had been lost. The era coinage from Cyprus consisted of standard Ptolemaic tetradrachms which had mintmarks, the king's regnal year, and religious symbols. In addition, gold mnaieia for Arsinoe II with the facial features of Cleopatra I were minted in Nea Paphos although they lacked mintmarks and dates. Didrachms and drachms with the image of Dionysus, and hemidrachms and diobols with the portrait of the reigning king were the distinguishing Cypriote silver coinage issues (Hazard, 1998).

The Alexandrian coinage of Ptolemy VI was marked with a ΠΑ monogram and they included gold mnaeia for Cleopatra I which depicted her on the obverse and her son on the reverse (Smith, 1988). The tetradrachms of Ptolemy VI depicted him as a young adult wearing an aegis. The tetradrachms from Nea Paphos also had the same monogram. However, they are distinguished from the Alexandrian type by their portrait style.

3.7 Minor Arts

Some small artefacts also attest to the Ptolemaic influence in Cyprus. These consist of bone and ivory finger rings, anatomical ex-votos representing different body parts, stamp-seals, and jewelry. Bone and ivory finger rings with portraits which were made in Alexandria were found at Nea Paphos, Tamassos, Kyrenia, and elsewhere in Cyprus (Michaelides & Papantoniou, 2018: 273). These portraits on the rings give us examples of the Ptolemaic images. Bone and ivory finger rings were common types of jewelry found in Cypriot tombs and they date from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC (Lund, 2015: 202).

Connelly and Plantzos (2006: 263) compared the Cypriot stamp-seals from Geronisos and the clay seal impressions from Edfu in Egypt. They have found parallels between these materials in terms of the use of Ptolemaic symbols and iconography. For instance, the crown of Isis is represented in both Edfu and Geronisos seals. In addition, a scarab of Egyptian origin showing the image of Sekhmet was found at Geronisos.

Many examples of jewellery (especially earrings and rings made of copper alloys) and personal artefacts were found in the tombs of Salamis which date to the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Kassianidou & Charalambous, 2019: 231). Cyprus exported large quantities of copper through the harbor at Salamis. The rich grave offerings demonstrate the economic and political power of the city.

3.8 Conclusions

The material evidence found in Cyprus provides the most comprehensive record for the Ptolemaic presence in their overseas possessions. Since Cyprus was occupied by the Ptolemies throughout the Hellenistic period without any interruption, their influence on the material data is more dominant compared to the other territories.

Architectural examples from the coastal cities indicate that structures were reused during the Ptolemaic presence except for a few new constructions. However, the construction of new buildings was not in large-scale. A special emphasis on religious architecture is observable which is a result of the Ptolemaic religious policy trying of spreading their own beliefs and cults. Surviving examples of sculpture from the inland sites demonstrate a Ptolemaic influence on a smaller scale. The depictions on the sculptures must have played a role in the transmission of Ptolemaic ideas while conveying a Ptolemaic ideology. The figurines of Ptolemaic images prove that Egyptian cults were brought to Cyprus, although local beliefs were still maintained. Imports of Egyptian ceramics and faience vessels indicate a trade network in the eastern Mediterranean. Meanwhile, coinage shows that the Ptolemaic economic and political system was incorporated into Cyprus.

These different types of material evidence help us to have a better understanding of the role of the Ptolemies in the Hellenization of Cyprus. The material data points to a Hellenistic *koine*. Therefore, Cyprus was still a part of the rest of the Hellenistic world despite the Ptolemaic occupation. The Ptolemaic interest in Cyprus was mainly based on defense motives to secure their main base in Egypt and to expand their territories into other overseas regions. Cyprus was ruled as their foremost foreign base. The Ptolemaic occupation from 3rd to 1st century BC also led them to introduce their own religious beliefs in Cyprus. It is possible that the same effect would be less obscure if they had not lost their other foreign possessions in the 2nd century BC.

CHAPTER 4

THE PTOLEMAIC ADMINISTRATION OF THE LEVANT: SETTLEMENTS AND MATERIAL EVIDENCE

4.1 Introduction

The material evidence from the period of Ptolemaic control of the southern Levant, the 3rd century BC, is controversial in terms of dating and characterization. It is problematic to attribute the material evidence to the Ptolemies due to the use of both Greek and local elements, and the lack of distinguishing Ptolemaic styles as well as the short span of the Ptolemaic presence in the southern Levant. During the Hellenistic period in the Levant, Greek institutions and cultural elements diffused to the Near East due to the end of the Persian Empire and the arrival of Alexander the Great and his successors. However, they did not fully take over the local elements. The Greek education system and language became more frequent in the Levant,

although the local society did not turn into Greek. The local cultures did not fade away because of the Hellenization, but they blended to form a multicultural atmosphere. The materials from the Hellenistic Levant are rarely fully classical or Near Eastern. Instead, they exhibit elements of both cultural traditions. Each category of the materials or monuments can differ at the same place and in the same period.

Regarding the Ptolemaic presence in the Levant, it is difficult to attribute the materials to the Ptolemies except the coins which have characteristic features of Ptolemaic iconography and denomination, and the sculptures which were dedicated to Ptolemaic officials. Also, even the coins and sculptures were still under the influence of the Greek traditions. The difficulty of identifying the Ptolemaic material in the Levant is a result of the use of Greek styles, patterns, and iconography as well as the destruction of most of the materials after the Syrian Wars during the 3rd century BC and the following occupation of the Hasmoneans. As a result of the difficulties regarding the dating and characterization of the material evidence, the Hellenistic Near East is not researched thoroughly and there is no published comprehensive survey of the art and architecture of the Hellenistic Near East. Instead, there are important studies focused on specific areas at specific times.

4.2 Conflict with the Seleucids

The Ptolemies controlled the southern part of the Levant from 301 BC to 198 BC (Map 4). This region, Ptolemaic Syria, is known as the province of ‘Syria and Phoenicia’ and also as Coele Syria by modern scholars (Hölbl, 2001: 23). During the 3rd century BC, the northern Levant was occupied by the Seleucids, and the

Eleutheros River (Nahr el-Kabir, or Kebir) which is located at the modern Syrian-Lebanese border was the natural border between the Ptolemies and Seleucids. The Ptolemaic control over the southern Levant ended in 200 BC as a result of their defeat by the Seleucids at the Battle of Panion.

A sequence of six Syrian Wars was the major ongoing conflict in the Levant between the Ptolemies and Seleucids from 274 BC to 194/3 BC (Grainger, 2010). The occupation of the Levant was desirable for Alexander's successors due to harbors of the region, natural resources such as timber, wheat, and fertile soil, and safe access to the neighboring territories. The Phoenician coast was under the control of Ptolemies and had several harbors. Fighting over territory and also parts of Asia Minor, the Syrian Wars led to frequent changes in the division of the Levant between the Ptolemies and Seleucids.

A military campaign towards Seleucid Syria launched by Ptolemy II against Antiochos I was the cause for the First Syrian War (274-271 BC). Ptolemy II was victorious, although the consequence regarding the Levant is not well-known apart from Damascus remaining in Ptolemaic hands.

The Second Syrian War (260-253 BC) was fought between Ptolemy II and Antiochos II and had consequences regarding the Aegean and Asia Minor while the impact on Syria is not clearly known except the campaign of Ptolemy II in 257 BC, and the Eleutheros river remaining as the border.

The Third Syrian War (246-241 BC), also known as Laodicean War, occurred due to the competition between Laodice, the wife of Antiochos II, and Berenike, the daughter of Ptolemy II. Ptolemy III led a successful campaign through Syria. Seleukia in Pieria, which was a significant Seleucid center due to its harbors, and access to the Mediterranean trade routes, was captured by Ptolemy III. After the Third Syrian War Ptolemy III appointed a *strategos* for his territory. The Ptolemaic kingdom became the most powerful Hellenistic state after this Third Syrian War.

In contrast, the Fourth Syrian War (219-217 BC) led to the loss of Seleukia in Pieria, some cities in Phoenicia such as Tyre, and Ptolemais Ake to Antiochos III the Great. The Ptolemaic garrisons at Gerrha and Brochoi in the Bekaa valley were attacked by Antiochos III. But after these losses, Ptolemy IV defeated Antiochos III at the Battle of Raphia in 217 BC and secured his control over Coele Syria including the cities of Damascus and Sidon. However, he did not extend his campaign into the Seleucid Empire and to recapture Seleukia in Pieria.

During the Fifth Syrian War (202-194/3 BC), the Ptolemaic occupation of Coele Syria and Phoenicia in the Levant ended as a result of the Battle of Panion in 200 BC. According to Gruen (1984: 649), Ptolemy V attempted to take Coele Syria back in the 180s BC. However, his attempt was not successful. The Ptolemaic rule of the southern Levant had come to an end.

4.3 Ptolemaic Settlements and Administration in the Levant

Although the material evidence is scarce from the 3rd century BC, the Ptolemaic occupation of the southern Levant is well-known from the textual data. In addition to the military history, we also know about the economic and administrative history thanks to papyri found in Egypt, but also ancient writers such as Hecataeus of Abdera (4th century BC), Polybius (2nd century BC), Diodorus of Sicily (1st century BC), Strabo (1st century BC/AD), Josephus (1st century AD), and Stephanos (6th century AD).

These written sources give us information about the Ptolemaic cities and refoundation of the cities, taxes imposed by the Ptolemaic officials, and the Ptolemaic rulers in the Levant. The most important ones are the Zenon and Rainer papyri. For instance, the Zenon papyri found at Philadelphia in the Fayum region of Egypt. This is large collection of documents dating from the 3rd century BC between the reigns of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III which were kept by Zenon, who was the secretary to an official in the Egyptian government (Hölbl, 2001: 58). The Zenon papyri are the earliest Greek documents from Ptolemaic Egypt, and they are the most important source for Palestine when it was ruled as a province of Egypt. The refoundation of the city of Ake as Ptolemais Ake by Ptolemy II is known from the Zenon papyri and other written sources such as the Letter of Aristeas which mentions the story of an official of Ptolemy II and dates from 3rd century BC/mid-2nd century BC. The refoundation of the city of Ptolemais Ake by Ptolemy II might be due to its importance as a commercial center. In addition, the decree of Ptolemy II in the Rainer papyri which is the largest collection of papyri brought to Austria by Austrian

Archduke Rainer mentions the taxes imposed by the Ptolemaic government in the Levant.

Additional information comes from Stephanos. Two cities of Arsinoe in the southern Levant are mentioned by Stephanos, although Strabo notes that Coele Syria was a part of Syria. The location of the city of Arsinoe mentioned by Stephanos is unknown, and Cohen (2006: 102-103) suggests that it is unlikely that there were two Arsinoes in Coele Syria. Damascus, founded by Ptolemy II, was renamed as Arsinoe (Cohen, 2006: 103). Stephanos also mentions that Pella was renamed as Berenike (Cohen, 2006: 265). He also points out that Philadelphieia (Rabbat Amman) was named for Ptolemy II (Cohen, 2006: 283).

Apart from the city foundations and taxes, high ranking officials are mentioned in the written sources. For instance, Hecataeus of Abdera wrote about the Egyptians during the reign of Ptolemy I around 300 BC, but his work is lost. However, Diodorus of Sicily and Josephus used quotations from his work. According to Hecataeus of Abdera and Josephus, a high priest was the highest ranked person and representative of the Ptolemaic government. In contrast, the Zenon papyri mention a man called Tobias who was responsible for the military in Transjordan. According to Josephus, Joseph, the son of Tobias, was the representative of Jews regarding their relations with the Ptolemies. The story of the Tobiads in Josephus is another valuable source for the Ptolemaic period. Moreover, Josephus mentions the defeat of the Ptolemies by Antiochus III at the Battle of Panion in 200 BC (Grabbe, 2000).

4.4 Architecture

Architecture in the Hellenistic Levant has elements from both local and foreign styles. Although a Greek form of urbanism became more frequent, Greek forms and styles did not completely replace the local traditions. Instead, a mix of architectural styles is observed. Due to the adoption of Greek elements in the architecture, the local craftsmanship was influenced by Greek artistic styles. In addition, it is unlikely that the Ptolemies had their own building projects since the territories changed hand between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids quite frequently and the Ptolemaic presence in the Levant only lasted for 100 years. Instead, they might have reused the already existing buildings for their governmental, economic, and religious activities. The new architectural examples from the Levant mainly date to the Late Hellenistic period which does not overlap with the Ptolemaic occupation of the region. Therefore, it is not possible to discuss the Ptolemaic impact on the architecture. Since the later monuments represent a mix of Near Eastern and Greek styles, one can speculate that this was also the case during the 3rd century BC. Gerasa, Amman (Philadelphia), Gadara, Pella and Damascus are the main Greek cities in Palestine. The Hellenistic cities of Philoteria and Scythopolis/Beth Shean were established by Ptolemy II in 260 BC.

A Hellenistic temple in Gadara (Umm Qais) functioned between 332-63 BC and later it was reused during the Roman times. The Hellenistic temple in Gadara (Figures 25-26) demonstrates a Greek style which is distyle in antis and it is one of the oldest (Shiyab et al., 2017: 137). In addition, Hellenistic walls and Roman tunnels were found in the vicinity.

Doric temples from the Levant include a hexastyle amphiprostyle limestone Doric temple from Tell Jebel Khalid (3rd century BC) and a tetrastyle prostyle limestone Doric temple from Tell Nebi-Mend (late 3rd-early 2nd century BC) (Stewart & Martin, 2003: 128). In addition, the portico of Governor's palace from Jebel Khalid (3rd century BC) is an example of Doric Hellenistic propylaea and porticoes from the Levant (Stewart & Martin, 2003: 129). The temple and propylon at Tel Dor might have been constructed in the 3rd-2nd centuries BC since the pottery evidence from a pit demonstrates the destruction of the structures around 150-100 BC (Stewart & Martin, 2003: 131).

In Beirut, there was a Hellenistic public building or temple based on the large building foundations as well as Hellenistic fortification walls and residential buildings (Paturel, 2019: 89-92). It is quite likely that a Hellenistic temple was dedicated to Aphrodite-Astarte in the lower town of Beirut. In addition, the earliest settlement activity near a spring in the zone of the churches in Beirut dates to the early 3rd century BC since the deposits from the spring yielded a few pottery sherds from the 4th-3rd centuries BC (Paturel, 2019: 90).

Round towers were built in the late 4th century BC in Samaria. The towers were made in non-Palestinian type and possibly inspired from the Greeks. The ancient authors mention that the settlers in this city were Macedonians (Cohen, 2006: 274-276).

There was an altar dedicated to Serapis at Scythopolis. Also, remains of a large temple were found on the mound which were dated to the 3rd century BC (Cohen, 2006: 293). Possibly Dionysos or Astarte-Atargatis were worshipped in the temple based on the friezes, figurines, and a head of Dionysos.

4.5 Sculpture

No sculptural examples or statue bases with inscriptions have been found dating to the Ptolemaic period in the southern Levant. It is not known whether these sculpture and bases have been lost or simply never existed. In contrast to the Levant, other overseas territories of the Ptolemaic empire revealed at least statue bases with inscriptions if not the sculpture. Since the architectural examples of the 3rd century BC in the southern Levant did not survive, it is not surprising that the sculptures did not survive either because the sculptures must have been located inside or in the vicinity of such buildings.

4.6 Terracotta Figurines

Hellenistic terracottas are found in few numbers and of poor quality in the southern Levant. The scarcity of the finds adds more difficulty to their analysis. However, figurines found in the southern Levant show a Ptolemaic impact on the local tradition. Examples from Kharayeb, Tel Dor, and Maresha are especially useful to understand the production of the Hellenistic figurines. The Hellenistic figurines of the Levant represent a Hellenistic koine with Ptolemaic and local impacts. They demonstrate a flexibility which is expressed through the mixture of features and compositions that adapt the local traditions.

A terracotta figurine from the 4th-3rd centuries BC depicting two seated women found at a *favissa* pit in the shrine at Beersheba in the Negev Desert in Israel is an example of an Early Hellenistic import from Kition, Cyprus (Erlich, 2009a: 38). In the same shrine, Egyptian bronzes, Hellenistic style terracottas, and an ivory figurine of a local style were also found. It demonstrates that the shrine was a place for the travelers and traders who dedicated objects. The import of a Cypriot figurine does not seem to be a result of a systematic importation.

Egyptianizing terracottas were found at Maresha, Ptolemais Ake, and Kharayeb. These figurines depict Ptolemaic deities such as the images of Isis; Ptolemaic queens; Isis priestesses, women dressed in Isiac style, Isis Aphrodite, Serapis, and Harpocrates. In Kharayeb, figurines of Isis lactans, the Apis bull, and Harpocrates have been discovered (Chéhab, 1951-1954: 125-130). Tell Anafa in Upper Galilee revealed terracottas depicting Harpocrates and Apis bull (Figure 27) from the late 2nd century BC (Erlich, 2018: 243). Terracottas representing Isis, Isis Aphrodite (Figure 28), and Harpocrates were also discovered at Akko (Erlich, 2009a: 46-47) and Maresha (Erlich & Kloner, 2008: 10-11, 15-18). In addition, a Serapis head was found at Samaria (Crowfoot et al., 1957: 37). Bes was depicted on the figurines found at Kharayeb (Chéhab, 1951-1954), Akko (Messika, 1997: 124), and Tel Dor (Stern, 2010).

Baubo terracottas with unnatural and grotesque styles in which depicting nude and overweight women are shown with emphasis on her pubic area. Baubo figurines arrived from Ptolemaic Egypt as well. Baubo figurines were found at Kharayeb, Tel

Dor, and Maresha. One Baubo figurine from Maresha (Figure 29) is depicted as riding a boar.

Non-Egyptianizing types which were influenced by Ptolemaic Alexandria are also found in the Levant. For instance, the boys wearing a kausia, a Macedonian type cap, commonly found in Alexandria (Kassab-Tezgör, 2007: 211-213), were also found at Kharayeb, Akko, Jaffa, and Maresha (Erlich, 2019: 375) (Figure 30). Pupils holding a tablet and individuals performing a cult are also among the non-Egyptianizing figurines which were influenced by Alexandria.

The image of Cybele occurs in Akko, Tel Dor (Figure 31), and Maresha (Figure 32), although her depiction was influenced from Asia Minor. She was probably merged with local goddesses while her identity changed. She is depicted with her typical iconography as seated on a throne, flanked by lions, wearing cylindrical polos or city-walls crown, and holding a tympanum and a phiale (Erlich, 2009b: 22).

Figurines performing a cult, carrying offerings, and playing musical instruments are also common in the Levantine repertoire. The figurines of dancers and musicians were discovered at the shrine of Kharayeb and Akko. In addition, the kourotophros holding or nursing a child also appears in Tel Dor and Maresha (Erlich, 2019: 377) (Figure 33). Apart from these examples, the Dioscuri figurines, common types in Egypt, were found at Maresha (Figure 34) and Beirut. In addition, the terracotta figurines of riders and chariots are common in the repertoire of Maresha which represent similarities with the same type of figurines from Cyprus.

4.7 Ceramics

New forms of dining, drinking, serving, and cooking vessels appeared in the Levant after the conquests of Alexander the Great (Berlin, 2015: 629). These shapes were inspired by Greek prototypes. A production center is known from Tel Michal which started in the Persian period and continued until the late 4th century BC-early 3rd century BC (Berlin, 2015: 630). The dating of the pottery types was done mainly through the coins and Aegean transport amphorae with stamped handles. The ceramics from the Levant demonstrate Greek and local characteristics. Possibly, the Ptolemies played a part in bringing Greek forms to the region as well as the imports during the 3rd century BC. However, the Ptolemaic influence on the ceramics is not well-attested. It might be as a result of the use of the ceramics at a local level in the households.

The presence of Attic and other imports in the pottery repertoire of the Levant could be attributed to the Ptolemies during the 3rd century BC. Among the imported luxury goods (Figure 35) dating to the middle 4th-late 2nd centuries BC, Athenian bowls and plates, the West Slope style kraters, and an Egyptian-made casserole dish from Naukratis which was an imitation of an Aegean model were found (Berlin, 2015: 633-634).

Saucers dating to the late 4th-early 1st centuries BC include vessels with over-hanging rim and vessels with an interior-thickened rim (Berlin, 2015: 634). They represent local imitations of Attic black-slipped table vessels. Bowls dating to the late 4th-early

1st centuries BC consist of slipped ring-footed bowls with an incurved rim found at Tel Anafa in the early 3rd century BC, and at Gezer in the late 3rd century BC (Berlin, 2015: 634-635).

The drinking vessels (Skyphoi, bowls, and goblets) (Figure 36) dating to the 3rd-early 1st centuries BC copy the forms of luxury imports of silver and glass prototypes (Berlin, 2015: 634-635). The skyphoi from early 3rd-middle 2nd centuries BC were found everywhere except in Judea. Also, drinking bowls with an everted rim and local types of Attic black-slipped bowls were attested in the region. These forms also appear everywhere except in Judea from the 3rd-2nd centuries BC.

Kraters from the 3rd century BC were imported products such as West Slope style vessels made in western Asia Minor (Berlin, 2015: 635). Two local productions consist of one imitating the column krater and one modeled on the krater with a ledge rim. Casseroles and lids (Figure 37) from the late 3rd-early 1st centuries BC use Greek forms which were first attested in Egypt (Berlin, 2015: 636). The local productions of this type started in the early 3rd century BC. Perfume bottles (unguentaria) were imitated in ceramic forms instead of glass during the 3rd century BC (Berlin, 2015: 639). Rhodian amphora handles from the 3rd century BC were found at Philoteria (Cohen, 2006: 273).

4.8 Coinage

The coins are good sources of information for the Ptolemaic presence in the Levant. The Ptolemaic mints in the southern Levant were located at Ptolemais Ake, Ascalon, Beirut, Gaza, Jerusalem, and Sidon while on the north there was a mint only in Seleukia in Pieria. The mints issued coinages with their own mint symbols, letters, and magistrate's monogram. They sometimes had dates written on them. The representations on the Ptolemaic coins from the Levant significantly display the adaptation of the Ptolemaic ideology to the local beliefs. It is attested through the coins minted in the name of Judah with the images of Ptolemaic kings. Tyre minted gold, silver, and bronze royal coinage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II from 278/7-266/5 BC (Bagnall, 1976: 180). Sidon, Ptolemais, Joppa and Gaza also minted coins for Ptolemy II. Tyre, Sidon, Joppa, and Gaza issued silver tetradrachms for Ptolemy III. In addition, gold octadrachms for Arsinoe II were minted in Gaza. Silver and gold coins were minted for Ptolemy IV in Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, and Ascalon. Ptolemy V initiated issues of silver tetradrachms in Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, and Berytos. The Ptolemaic coins found in the Levant generally date to the 3rd century BC. The hoards found at Beth Shean in Galilee and Samaria-Sebaste are exceptional cases which found in the contexts after 3rd century BC which do not overlap the Ptolemaic occupation in the Levant. In the northern Levant, only Seleukia in Pieria and Arados revealed Ptolemaic coins (Bagnall, 1976: 182-183).

During the reign of Ptolemy I, Sidon minted Alexandrine coinage from 320-315 BC. These coins were minted in the name of Philip, ruler of Macedonia. They demonstrate the emphasis on his reign as a continuation of the Macedonians. Special

Athena Promachos tetradrachms were issued in 312-11 BC with the city's mintmark (Lorber, 2018a: 300). They are contemporary with such coinage from Alexandria. Ptolemy/Eagle coinage (1994.157.17)(Figure 38) were introduced in 294 BC. The mint of Jerusalem started to function after the capture of Syria and Phoenicia in 302/1 BC by Ptolemy I. The Ptolemaic influence in the region led to the depictions of the Ptolemaic eagle on the reverse of the silver coins with Hebrew and Aramaic legends mentioning Yehud (Judah) as the issuer. Silver fractions of Judah with an eagle reverse and coins depicting the portrait of Ptolemy I with the legend Yhdh were minted in Jerusalem from 302/1-290 BC (Lorber, 2018a: 303). These coins were minted in the name of Yehizqiyah, who was the governor of Judah. After the final currency reform in Egypt in 294 BC, the silver coins in Jerusalem continued to be minted in the name of Judah, but they depicted the portrait of Ptolemy I on the obverse. They demonstrate an inspiration by Egyptian coinage. A silver coin of Ptolemy I was discovered at Philoteria (Cohen, 2006: 273).

After the capture of Tyre in 294 BC, a variety of *tetradrachms* were minted which followed the tradition in Egypt while continuing the dolphin mintmark (Lorber, 2018b: 31). These Ptolemaic *tetradrachms* from Tyre also included a bronze *dichalkon* and employed Ptolemaic types marked with a horizontal dolphin. This bronze coinage from Tyre depict the head of deified Alexander with long wavy hair and wearing mitra with ram's horn on the temple (Lorber, 2018b: 31).

During the reign of Ptolemy II, Sidon, Tyre, Ptolemais Ake, Joppa and Gaza minted gold *mnaieia* of Arsinoe II (Figure 39) and silver tetradrachms of Ptolemy I

(1944.100.76215)(Figure 40) from 261/0 BC onwards. Jerusalem minted obols for Ptolemy I and Berenike I from 272/1 BC as well as jugate portraits on obverse and reverse with the heads of Ptolemy I and Berenike I, and Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II (Lorber, 2018: 388). A coin of Ptolemy II found at Birketein which is located on the north of Gerasa might demonstrate the trade activities in the region (Cohen, 2006: 248). Also, Tyre minted bronzes with a club symbol and dolphin mintmark from 274-271 BC (Lorber, 2018b: 72). These bronze coins represent laureate head of Zeus and horned head of deified Alexander obverse with eagle on a thunderbolt reverse. After 260s BC, Tyre, Ptolemais Ake and Amman minted bronze coinage with double cornucopiae with central cavities (Lorber, 2018b: 74). These bronzes depict the horned head of Zeus-Ammon and the laureate head of Zeus on the obverse. There are also silver coinage from Ptolemais Ake which depict the head of Zeus-Ammon on the obverse with an eagle on a thunderbolt reverse (1951.116.494)(Figure 41).

During the reign of Ptolemy III, Sidon, Tyre, Ptolemais Ake, Joppa, and Gaza minted commemorative coinage, gold mnaieia for Arsinoe II, and silver tetradrachms for Ptolemy I from 246-242/1 BC (Lorber, 2018a: 417-428). Also, a mint perhaps at Heraclea by the Sea or Seleukia in Pieria minted a bronze type of Berenike II/cornucupiae or eagle (Figure 42). Berenike II is shown as a diademed draped bust with a melon coiffure. These coins name Berenike II on the obverse and Ptolemy on the reverse (Lorber, 2018b: 110). A mint possibly located in Berytos minted bronze coins with the trident mintmark which was the symbol of the city, and double cornucupiae. Tyre and Joppa minted coins depicting the horned head of Zeus-Ammon on the obverse with club symbol of Tyre and harpe, a weapon of Perseus,

mintmark which was the symbol of Joppa. Meanwhile, during the reign of Ptolemy IV, only Tyre minted bronze coins with the club mintmark.

4.9 Wall Paintings and Minor Arts

Wall paintings and minor arts from the Levant are few. The wall paintings at Maresha and a copper-alloy disk from Ascalon represent the Ptolemaic impact on the region. The wall paintings at the caves of Maresha are among the most important surviving examples of Ptolemaic art (Jacobson, 2007). They depict animals from the Nile and an African environment. Burial cave 557 at Maresha bears representations of two commercial ships as graffiti. According to their physical characteristics, ship A dates to ca. 400 BC while ship B dates to the 2nd century BC (Haddad & Artzy, 2011). The ships are accompanied by unfinished vessels and a triangle. If the triangle depicts a pyramid on the seaside, the scene might be related to the Egyptian rite of passage.

A Hellenistic copper-alloy disk which mentions the society of Ascalon, the year (150/49 BC), and the name of an *astynomos* was found at Ascalon (Gitler & Finkielsztejn, 2015). Although Seleucid in date, the disk is quite similar to the Ptolemaic *diobols* from the 3rd century BC. The research of Gitler and Finkielsztejn (2015) using Lead Isotope Analysis to compare 9 Ptolemaic coins and the disk demonstrates that the disk was not a reused Ptolemaic coin. Instead, it was an authentic object due to differences in composition and trace element pattern.

4.10 Conclusions

The material evidence found in the southern Levant provides an insight to the Ptolemaic occupation of the region, even if the evidence does not lead to a complete

understanding of the 3rd century BC due to the scarcity of the surviving material.

Local traditions are dominant in the ceramics repertoire with adapted and imported Greek styles. The figurines and coinage form the most substantial evidence for the Ptolemaic impact on the southern Levant due to the depictions of the Ptolemaic deities, kings, queens, and other types.

The Syrian Wars during the 3rd-2nd centuries BC, changing ruling powers of the settlements, and the short span of the Ptolemaic occupation in the southern Levant are the reasons for the scarcity of the material data. The Levant was considered as a war zone during the 3rd century BC. Therefore, the Ptolemaic occupation in the area had a military character. The Ptolemaic ideology and religion must have been spread as a result of the ongoing military activity in the area. The priority of the military activities could also explain the lack of architectural and sculptural examples since these would be large-scale projects. However, the production of the figurines and coinage were practiced on a small scale at a local level. Therefore, the Ptolemaic impact is better observed in this type of evidence.

CHAPTER 5

THE PTOLEMAIC ADMINISTRATION OF COASTAL ASIA MINOR: SETTLEMENTS AND MATERIAL EVIDENCE

5.1 Ptolemaic Settlements and Administration in Asia Minor

Most of the material evidence in Asia Minor relating to the Ptolemaic evidence from the 3rd century BC is quite scattered as a result of the ongoing Syrian Wars and Seleucid campaigns. The surviving material evidence demonstrates that there was a Ptolemaic influence in Asia Minor in terms of religious, economic, military, and administrative elements. However, Ptolemaic influence is not reflected in detail in the material record such as architecture, sculpture, figurines, ceramics, coinage and minor arts.

The expansion of the Ptolemies in Asia Minor started when Ptolemy I Soter seized Xanthos, Kaunos, Myndos, and Iasos in 309 BC, although these territories were soon lost to Demetrius Poliorcetes (Hölbl, 2001: 19). The actual Ptolemaic control over Asia Minor started ca. 295/4 BC, and their rule ended ca. 196 BC due to the increasing Seleucid power (Map 5). Indeed, the Ptolemaic rule in Asia Minor was unstable and constantly under threat due to the conflicts with Seleucids. Ptolemaic possessions in Asia Minor were restricted to the cities in the coastal regions ranging from the west to south, in Ionia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, but also in the north, in Thrace, and the Black Sea. Their rule in the coastal regions had roots in their interest to become the dominant maritime power in the eastern Mediterranean while securing their main base in Egypt. The establishment of three cities named Arsinoe were signs of their presence. Patara in Lycia was renamed as Arsinoe, and the other two were newly founded in Cilicia and Pamphylia (Mueller, 2006: 157).

The earliest securely datable inscription from Asia Minor relating to Ptolemaic activity in the region comes from Termessos in Pamphylia. The decree dates to 278 BC (Bagnall, 1976: 111). According to the text, a 'Pamphyliarch' controlled Termessos, Aspendos, Ptolemais, Korakesion, and Arsinoe. The examples of honorific decrees to the Ptolemies are found at Limyra, Labraunda, and Amyzon (Meadows & Thonemann, 2013: 225). All of Lycia was under the control of the Ptolemies after 295/4 BC and two *oikonomoi*, the administrators of finance, are attested in the inscriptions to the end of 288 BC (Hölbl, 2001: 23).

The Syrian War of Succession in 280-79 BC marks the expansion of the Ptolemaic territory in Asia Minor during the reign of Ptolemy II. The Ptolemaic campaigns in Asia Minor are not well-known. However, the epigraphic sources provide an insight to the situation. In Caria, there is textual evidence that attests to Ptolemaic influence in Iasos, Mylasa, Stratonikeia, Labraunda, and Amyzon (Bagnall, 1976: 89-94). Halikarnassos was acquired during the Syrian War of Succession and held until 195 BC. A Ptolemaic military garrison in Halikarnassos is known from 270/69 BC. A dedicatory inscription to Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe dates to 217-209 BC (Bagnall, 1976: 94). The conquest of Cilicia and further expansion into Lycia also occurred at this time. Lissa in Lycia was under Ptolemaic control which was confirmed by an inscription dating to the 270s BC (Bagnall, 1976: 106). A poem by Theocritus (Id. XVII.86-90) mentions the Ptolemaic possessions in Asia Minor at the end of the 270s BC as Caria, Pamphylia, and Cilicia (Hölbl, 2001: 38).

As a result of the Second Syrian War (260-253 BC), Ptolemy II lost Miletus to Antiochos II in 259/8 BC. The Seleucid presence in Ephesos which was under the Ptolemaic control from 262 BC is attested from 254/3 BC on the inscriptions (Hölbl, 2001: 41-44). Also, large parts of the Ptolemaic territories in Cilicia and Pamphylia were taken by Antiochos II.

The Third Syrian War (246-241 BC) led to the conflicts between Berenike, the daughter of Ptolemy II, and Laodike, the mother of Seleukos II, regarding the

accession of the new king to the throne.⁷ Seleukos II was acknowledged as the king only in the large parts of Seleucid Asia Minor. In Ephesos, Ptolemy III was regarded as the king. According to a papyrus from Gurob written by Ptolemy III, Berenike captured the Cilician city of Soloi as a result of her naval campaign (D'Agostini, 2016: 41). It is known that Ptolemy III appointed a strategos to Cilicia in 245 BC. The region around Seleukeia and Antioch remained in the control of Berenike. Berenike was considered as a representative of the Ptolemaic rule in southern Asia Minor according to an inscription found in Kildara in Caria (D'Agostini, 2016: 42). The Adulis inscription mentions Cilicia, Pamphylia, Ionia, the Hellespont, and Thrace as the territories newly acquired by Ptolemy III (Hölbl, 2001: 50). Inscriptions from the Thracian cities of Ainos and Maroneia made clear that these cities were under the rule of the Ptolemies around 243 BC. Ptolemy Andromachos took the city of Ephesos already in 246 BC and set up a substantial military garrison in the city. Ephesos remained in Ptolemaic hands until 197 BC. Despite the loss of Pamphylia during the reign of Ptolemy III, the Ptolemaic empire was quite powerful after the 3rd Syrian War. The Ptolemaic policy in Asia Minor focused on the opposition to the Seleucid government. Therefore, Ptolemy III supported Attalos I, the ruler of Pergamon, during his conflicts with the Seleucids. With the conquest of Seleukia in Pieria by Ptolemy III, although it was regained by Antiochos III in 219 BC, Coele Syria and Cilicia were connected to each other (Hölbl, 2001: 129).

Ptolemy IV desired to maintain the already conquered foreign territories despite the internal conflicts in Egypt itself and Seleucid campaigns in Asia Minor as well as the

⁷ The conflicts between Berenike and Laodike over Asia Minor and Syria are analyzed based on literary sources in D'Agostini (2016).

activities of the Galatians. The Ptolemaic Empire also experienced an end to the expansion of their territory and increasing Roman influence. Seleukia in Pieria was lost during the Fourth Syrian War (219-217 BC) in Ptolemy IV's reign.

The reign of Ptolemy V marks the loss of the eastern Mediterranean between 204-180 BC. The strategos of Cyprus between 217-204/3 BC, Pelops, was sent to Asia Minor to negotiate with Antiochos III who was aiming to have territorial gains. Several cities in Caria including Amyzon were lost to the Seleucids in 203 BC (Hölbl, 2001: 135). Around 203/2 BC, Philip of Macedonia and Antiochos III made a secret alliance to conquer the Ptolemaic cities and eliminate the Ptolemaic hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean.

The Ptolemaic rule in Asia Minor (including Thrace) ended during the Fifth Syrian War from 202 BC to 194/3 BC (Hölbl, 2001: 136). The cities of Kallipolis, Kypsela, Ainos, and Maroneia were among the territories taken by the Macedonian king Philip in Ptolemaic Thrace. In 197 BC, the Seleucid king Antiochos III initiated his campaign in Asia Minor starting from Cilicia then moving to the western parts of Asia Minor. Regarding Cilicia, Hieronymus of Cardia lists Selinus, Anemurion, Zephyrion, Aphrodisias, Korykos, Soloi, and Mallos as captured from Ptolemy V in 197 BC by Antiochos III (Bagnall, 1976: 115). Bagnall (1976: 116) also suggests that these cities in the Cilicia possibly had Ptolemaic garrisons. In addition, Hieronymus' description of the conquests of Antiochos III lists Xanthos, Patara, Adriaake, and Limyra as siezed by the Seleucid king in 197 BC (Bagnall, 1976: 108).

Therefore, these cities in Cilicia and Lycia were occupied by the Ptolemies until 197 BC.

The Rhodians arrived in Caria before the campaign of Antiochos, and they gave freedom to Kaunos, Myndos and Halikarnassos through negotiations. Kaunos during 309-196 BC and Myndos during 280-195 BC had been occupied by the Ptolemies. Ephesos which was an important Ptolemaic garrison in Asia Minor was also conquered by Antiochos III in 197 BC.

The Ptolemies associated themselves with Rome against Antiochos, probably to gain their support. The Romans defeated Antiochos III in Magnesia in 190 BC. Then, the peace of Apameia was agreed on in 188 BC between Rome and Antiochos. However, the Romans did not raise the Ptolemaic claims on Asia Minor. After 196 BC, the Ptolemaic rule in Asia Minor gradually ended as a result of the ongoing Seleucid campaigns.

5.2 Architecture

The architectural remains in coastal Asia Minor demonstrate a continuation of Greek styles. No Ptolemaic influence is detected. However, dedications of monuments to Ptolemaic kings, queens, and deities show that Ptolemaic ideology and religion was praised in the cities. It is surprising that the buildings do not provide strong evidence for a Ptolemaic impact although the Ptolemies occupied the coastal regions during the 3rd century BC. It can be explained by reuse of earlier structures by the Ptolemies. The cities in which dedications to the Ptolemies are located are Limyra, Priene, Sinope, Halikarnassos, Ephesos, and Magnesia on the Meander.

The main architectural examples of the Ptolemaic influence in Asia Minor are the Ptolemaion at Limyra (Borchhardt, 1991) (Figure 43), the Temple of the Egyptian Gods at Priene (Schede et al., 1964) (Figure 44), and the Serapis Temple at Sinope (Figure 45). They were all built in the 3rd century BC. The Ptolemaion in Limyra was first thought to be a temple with a podium, but the new studies showed that it was a monument dedicated to the Ptolemies (Borchhardt, 1999: 80). The Ptolemaion also possibly held sculptures of the Ptolemaic rulers due to the fragments found in the excavations (Borchhardt, 1999: 81). In Priene, a small rectangular altar has an inscription (Figure 46) from the 3rd century BC mentioning the Egyptian deities Isis, Serapis, and Anubis worshipped in the Temple of Egyptian Gods in Priene (Rumscheid, 1998: 191). Two other inscriptions found in the sanctuary mentions the same deities as well as Harpocrates, Heracles, and Apis. A marble block with an inscription on it from ca. 200 BC informs us about the cults, sacrifices and torchlight procession to be held in honour of Isis (Rumscheid, 1998: 191). Also, there was a temple for Serapis in Miletus, in addition to the temples for Isis at Kyme, and Laodikeia (?), and for Isis-Serapis at Misis (Özkan, 2007: 104). Apart from these architectural examples, there are inscriptions in several of these cities mentioning the names of Egyptian deities.

From Halikarnassos, a hieron, gymnasium, and stoa are known from inscriptions. At Halikarnassos, a hieron was built after 271 BC which was dedicated under Ptolemy II to Serapis, Isis, and Arsinoe II (Magie, 1953: 171). This building provides evidence for a cult during this period. In addition, construction of a gymnasium is

known from inscriptions in Halikarnassos (Bagnall, 1976: 94). Another inscription dating to 300-259 BC from Halikarnassos mentions a stoa dedicated to Apollo and Ptolemy II.⁸

A temenos dedicated to Serapis was built at Magnesia on the Meander around 200 BC according to an inscription which also mentions sacrifices for him and the conditions related to his priesthood (Magie, 1953: 173; Kater-Sibbes, 1973: 69). It is the only indication of Egyptian influence at Magnesia on the Meander.

At Ephesus, there is only scarce evidence related to the worship of Egyptian deities. A 3rd century BC inscription to Serapis, Isis, Anubis, and the Theoi Synnaoi might indicate that there was a sanctuary dedicated to these deities in the city (Yazıcı & Üreten, 2020: 466). However, no sanctuary dedicated to the Egyptian deities has been discovered during the excavations.

5.3 Sculpture

Although inscriptions prove that there were several sculptural dedications to the Ptolemies, the surviving material evidence cannot demonstrate that. Most of the sculptures have not survived. Therefore, it is not possible to know what they looked like and make comparisons with other regions.

A bust of Serapis was found at Ainos from the 3rd century BC (Başaran, 2004). It is one of the rare examples of sculpture showing Ptolemaic influence since almost none of them has survived.

⁸ The remaining architectural fragments of the Stoa in Halikarnassos are studied with comparisons to other monuments in Büyüközer (2014).

5.4 Terracotta Figurines

The figurines found in Asia Minor have similar characteristics and types as other regions. Figurines of goddesses such as Isis, and Isis lactans, and hydrophoroi, kourotrophoi, and temple boys are among the finds. The cities of Arykanda, Didyma, Nagidos, Kaunos, and Halikarnassos have revealed examples of figurines.

Several small figurines were found during the excavations at Arykanda. They depict Eros with symbols of Isis on his head which imply prosperity (Özkan, 2007: 105). They were possibly brought from Egypt during the Ptolemaic rule.

At Didyma, two faience figurines were discovered. At the necropolis of Denizli Gümüşler, diadems with the relief of Bes were found which were brought from Egypt to Asia Minor (Özkan, 2007: 105).

A bronze figurine of Isis sitting on a throne with Horus on her lap (Figure 47) was found at Nagidos (Durugönül, 2007: 355-362). Isis is depicted with a sun disk on her head. The combination of Isis and Horus is also referred as 'Isis Lactans'. It dates to the 3rd century BC, and it is one of the rare examples of its kind from Asia Minor.

Hydrophoros (Figure 48) and kourotrophos (Figure 49) types of figurines were revealed in the Sanctuary of Demeter at Kaunos (Bulba, 2019: 128-134). These types were also common in Egypt during the Hellenistic period; therefore, they may demonstrate a cultural interaction. These figurines are related to the cults of Isis and

Arsinoe II, and later Cleopatra VII. In addition, temple boys (Figure 50) are also among the finds which were uncovered in the vicinity which were common types of figurines in Cyprus and Egypt.

Hydrophoros figurines dating between the 5th century BC to 270 BC are also found at Halikarnassos, which housed an important Ptolemaic garrison in the 3rd century BC (Çekilmez, 2015: 114-119). Similar types of hydrophoros figurines have been found at Didyma, Herakleia, Iasos, Knidos, Labraunda, Miletos, Pergamon, and Priene in Asia Minor (Çekilmez, 2015: 115).

5.5 Ceramics

The ceramics during the Hellenistic period indicate a Hellenistic *koiné* through the finds of similar ceramics throughout the Hellenistic regions. Ceramics relating specifically to the Ptolemaic presence are rare in Asia Minor. The exceptions are a group of pithoi with grape motifs on their handles, hadra hydriae from Nagidos, and a oinochoe with relief decoration depicting Berenike II from Xanthos.

A group of pithoi which has a stamped handle with grape motifs and inscriptions is a common type of pottery produced in Cilicia (Şenol, 2006: 169). These types are also commonly recorded in Alexandria as well as other eastern Mediterranean cities such as Salamis (Şenol & Şenol, 2003: 121). In addition, a hadra hydria was found at the necropolis of Çubukkoyağı in Nagidos which demonstrates the relations between the Ptolemies and the city of Nagidos.

An oinochoe with relief decoration from the 3rd century BC found at Xanthos (Figure 51) indicates that Egyptian religious elements were diffused to Asia Minor. The oinochoe has the relief of Berenike II carrying a cornucopia and making a libation with her inscription on the neck of the vessel. This was a common ritual of the deities and queens in ancient Egypt such as Arsinoe II and Isis.

5.6 Coinage

The Ptolemaic mints in Asia Minor were located at Tarsos, Ephesos (3 mints), Kaunos, Halikarnassos, Telmessos, and Ainos. The Ptolemaic coins circulated both in the coastal and inland areas of Asia Minor based on the findspot of the coins. They are mainly found as few pieces instead of hoards except the important Ptolemaic hoard found at Meydancikkale.

Significant coin hoards in Cilicia were found at Kelenderis and Meydancikkale in modern Mersin province. The Meydancikkale hoard (Davesne, Le Rider & Cenival, 1989) consisted of 5215 silver coins found in 1980. These silver coins belong to Ptolemy I, II, and III. Also, a Ptolemaic hoard consisting of 58 gold and 1 bronze coins, probably dating before 259/258 BC, were found at Hüseyinli village in Hatay in 1986 (Davesne & Yenisoğancı, 1992: 23).

According to S. Durugönül (2001: 436), the Ptolemaic coins found at Nagidos demonstrate that the Ptolemies made their payments for the military through their own bronze coins and put emphasis on military and commercial activity in the region during this period. O. Tekin (2007: 373) emphasizes the presence of the Ptolemies in Nagidos from the 3rd century BC to the 2nd century BC based on the dating of the

coins in addition to the coins with the mintmark possibly made in Cyprus. Due to the date of the coins, it is possible that the Ptolemaic coins increased in Cilicia after the establishment of the city of Arsinoe near Nagidos.

The Tepecik settlement at Patara which served as a Ptolemaic garrison yielded nineteen gold trichrysons during the excavations. Fifteen of them were minted in Alexandria while the remaining four were struck in Cyprus, possibly Salamis or Kition (Dündar & Lenger, 2022: 201). Dündar and Lenger (2022) suggest that these coins were buried during the First Syrian War before 272/1 BC.

Four Ptolemaic coins were found at Mylasa and one at Kildara (Robert, 1962: 21). In addition, a Ptolemaic bronze coin was found east of Kaunos at Göktepe, and another one was found north of the Gulf of Fethiye at Emirtaşı (Roos, 1969: 72-78). Two bronze coins from the reign of Ptolemy II were found at Arykanda (Konuk, 2004: 173), 20 coins of Ptolemy II and III at Limyra (Konuk, 2004: 173), and a bronze coin of Ptolemy II at the stoa of Kaunos (Kellner, 2000). Another bronze coin of Ptolemy II was found during the survey at Idyma (Konuk, 2001: 78).

Several museums in Turkey hold Ptolemaic coins in their collections. In the Elmalı Museum in Antalya, there are nine Ptolemaic coins. These coins are bronze, and their mints are Alexandria (3 coins), Telmessos (3 coins), Kaunos (2 coins), and Palaipaphos (1 coin) (Tatar, 2021: 82-83). The five coins which were minted in Asia Minor date to the reign of Ptolemy III. In addition, the Bodrum Underwater Museum holds 57 Ptolemaic coins in its collection. These 56 bronze coins and only 1 silver

coin date to the reigns of Ptolemy I, II, and III (Konuk, 2004). They were minted in Alexandria, Cyprus, Sidon, Ptolemais Akko, and Berytos. The Archaeological Museum at Fethiye houses eighteen tetradrachms which date to the reigns of Ptolemy I and II; they were found in Xanthos (Ashton et al., 1996).

5.7 Conclusions

The material evidence in coastal Asia Minor demonstrates that there was a Ptolemaic impact on the material record, although it is not extensively represented. As a result of the Syrian Wars and the constant Seleucid threat in the region, Ptolemaic rule here was unstable.

The architecture and inscriptions indicate that there were dedications to the Ptolemies and their deities. The temples dedicated to the Ptolemaic individuals show that Ptolemaic religion and beliefs effected Asia Minor. It is further proved through the figurines despite a lack of sculpture. The coinage finds show that the military was dependent on the Ptolemaic economy. The lack of coinage finds as hoards demonstrates that the circulation of Ptolemaic coins was not large-scale. The ceramics indicate a role of the Ptolemies in the Hellenistic koine due to the shared types found in Asia Minor. The moveable material data such as figurines, ceramics, and coinage point out the communication networks since these materials were brought by Ptolemaic individuals to Asia Minor.

CHAPTER 6

THE PTOLEMAIC ADMINISTRATION IN THE AEGEAN: SETTLEMENTS AND MATERIAL EVIDENCE

6.1 Ptolemaic Settlements and Administration in the Aegean

The Aegean consists of the Greek mainland and islands. The western coast of Asia Minor was discussed in the previous chapter. The Ptolemaic material evidence in the Aegean is minimal, scattered, and inconclusive. Inscriptions form the largest portion of the evidence.⁹ Dedications are known from inscriptions, although most of the material evidence has not survived. In addition, several Ptolemaic garrisons in the Aegean islands are known from inscriptions, although none of them have survived. A few architectural examples are known today from the Ptolemaic empire in Greece.

⁹ Bagnall (1976) provides a comprehensive analysis of the literary evidence from different cities relating to the Ptolemaic presence in the Aegean.

Coins and figurines demonstrate that the Ptolemies influenced the economic and cultural aspects of living in the Aegean. Still, due to lack of material evidence, it is difficult to draw the dynamics of the Ptolemaic presence in the Aegean (Map 6).

During the 3rd century BC, the Ptolemaic policy in the Aegean was based on diplomacy to protect their territories as well as to maintain military activities. The alliance with Athens was a key element in terms of their foreign diplomacy. There is a decree mentioning the significant efforts of Ptolemy I supporting Athens against the Macedonian threat (Habicht, 1992: 69). A fortified military base was set up on the Cycladic Island of Andros to fight against Demetrios. Also, an alliance was formed between Lysimachos, Seleukos, Pyrrhos of Epiros, and Ptolemy in 288 BC (Hölbl, 2001: 24). As a result of these conflicts, Ptolemy gained the protectorate of the League of Islanders in 287 BC which led to the Ptolemaic hegemony over the Cyclades (Meadows, 2013: 19-38). The island of Samos also served as an important naval base for the Ptolemaic army during this time.

During the Chremonidean War between 267-261 BC against the Antigonids, the Ptolemaic general Patroklos set up several bases in the Aegean such as at Gaiduronisi, Koroni, Rhamnus, Thera, Keos, Koressos, and elsewhere (Grabowski, 2020: 131-148). Despite their defeat after the Chremonidean War, the Ptolemies maintained their hegemony thanks to their bases in the central Aegean. On Crete, Patroklos set up a military base in Itanos and was awarded citizenship of the city. Indeed, the Ptolemies recruited mercenaries from Crete (Bagnall, 1976: 117). Elsewhere on Crete, a dedicatory inscription to the Great Gods was set up on behalf

of Ptolemy III and Berenike at Phalasarna with other inscriptions for the Ptolemies in Eleutherna and Lappa (Bagnall, 1976: 117).

Thera was also considered as an important Ptolemaic military base after the Chremonidean War. Several inscriptions found at Thera mention the commanders of the garrison and dedications to the Ptolemies (Bagnall, 1976: 123-134). Such military bases also served to ward off the pirates in the Aegean. On the island of Keos, Koressos had a military base as well, and the city was renamed as Arsinoe (Cherry & Davis, 1991: 11).

Although the First Syrian War (274-271 BC) did not have any consequence regarding the situations in the Aegean, during the Second Syrian War (260-253 BC), the Rhodians defeated the Ptolemaic fleet under Chremonides even though Rhodians and Ptolemies had commercial relations before the war (Gabrielsen, 2013: 66-81). In 255 BC, the Ptolemies suffered a serious loss due to the attacks of Antigonos Gonatas which led to the loss of some of their foreign territories in the Aegean in the mid-250s BC. Around 255 BC, the Ptolemaic protectorate over the League of Islanders ended (Hölbl, 2001: 44). The island of Andros also passed to the hands of Antigonos Gonatas by the end of the 250s BC. Ptolemy II continued to pursue an anti-Macedonian policy in the Greek areas after the Second Syrian War. He defeated Antigonos Gonatas in a naval battle around 250 BC. Since he sponsored a festival at Delos for the Delian gods which is called the Second Ptolemaia, it is possible to say that he enhanced his power over the Cyclades again. The Aetolian League in central Greece and the Achaean League in the northern Peloponnese were significant

elements of Ptolemaic policy since these leagues also pursued anti-Macedonian policies. The Achaean and Aetolian Leagues paved a way to weaken Macedonian influence and helped the Ptolemies to have dominance in the Aegean islands and western coast of Asia Minor (Grabowski, 2012: 83). The international relations with the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues as well as with Athens and Sparta contributed to the politics with the Aegean communities.

During the Third Syrian War (246-241 BC), Ptolemy III lost a naval battle against Antigonos Gonatas at Andros. The Achaeans started conflicts with the Aetolians. The Achaeans extended their territory despite of the Macedonians. This led to the negotiations between the Ptolemaic empire and the Achaeans. Ptolemy III became the hegemon of the league and had command forces over sea and land.

During the Fourth Syrian War (219-217 BC), the Ptolemies experienced a decline of their empire. Ptolemy III supported Rhodians in 227/6 BC which led to an enhancement of their relations with the Rhodians. Ptolemy IV made benefactions for the Greek states. There was also a Muses festival celebrated in the valley of the Muses at the Boeotian city of Thespeia for Ptolemy IV (Hölbl, 2001: 133).

From the Fifth Syrian War (202-194/3 BC) onwards, the Ptolemaic empire came under the influence of Rome. Flamininus announced the granting of freedom to the Greek states in 196 BC during the Isthmian games (Hölbl, 2001: 139-140). Lentulus and a Roman commission were responsible to promote peace in Greece. Around the end of the 190s BC, the Ptolemaic officials tried to renew their ties with Rome. The

Romans stepped in to resolve disputes between Greek cities. In addition, the Ptolemaic officials attempted to enhance their relationship with Greece, especially with the Achaean League, while renewing their former treaties and making monetary gifts in 185 BC. During the reign of Ptolemy V, the Ptolemaic empire lost most of its foreign possessions. In the Aegean, only the military bases in Itanos, Thera, and Methana remained among their foreign territories along with Cyprus and Cyrenaica. Methana was the only city that was occupied in the mainland Greece for a long period and it was renamed as Arsinoe by Patroklos (Bagnall, 1976: 135).

6.2 Architecture

The architecture in the Aegean areas under Ptolemaic control had the stylistic characteristics of traditional Greek architecture. Therefore, the continuation of the Greek architecture is observed. At Samothrace, the Propylon of Ptolemy II (Figure 52) built in 285-281 BC (McCredie, 1968: 212-216) and the Rotunda of Arsinoe II (Figure 52) built in 288-270 BC (Lehmann, 1992) were dedications to the Ptolemaic king and the queen. The Propylon of Ptolemy II provided an access to the Sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace. The eastern façade of the Propylon of Ptolemy II is Ionic while the western façade is Corinthian. Therefore, it presents an unusual mix of different styles. It is also the first Greek structure to have a monumental Corinthian façade. The Rotunda of Arsinoe II is the largest round building in Greek architecture. Its function is unknown, although it might have served as a sacred place for the sacrifices and gatherings during the festivals.

Ptolemy II had a building policy to support Greek sanctuaries. It could be understood that he desired to spread Ptolemaic religion and culture. As well as his donations for

the Propylon at Samothrace, he also contributed the so-called ‘oblation of the Ptolemies’ to Olympia and sponsored Temple B in the Asklepieion on the island of Kos (Hölbl, 2001: 98).

Apart from a few surviving examples of architecture, most of the information about the architecture in ancient Greece during the Ptolemaic presence is known from inscriptions. All the Ptolemaic garrisons which were set up during the Chremonidean War are within this category. An inscription found at Itanos on Crete mentions a temenos dedicated to Ptolemy III and Berenike II and annual sacrifices for them (Bagnall, 1976: 121). In addition, Strabo (9.4.II, p. 478) mentions the construction of a circuit wall by Ptolemy IV in Gortyn on Crete during the Fourth Syrian War (Bagnall, 1976: 117). It demonstrates that the Ptolemies were involved in military activities at Gortyn.

Additional buildings are known from Rhodes, Delos, and Athens. A sanctuary called the Ptolemaion was built for Ptolemy I in Rhodes where he had a city cult for himself. Written sources mention that a Philadelphieion was built on Delos in honour of Arsinoe II after her death. In addition, an altar was erected at Delos by the League of Islanders in 287/6 BC for Ptolemy I. There was a small sanctuary dedicated to Ptolemy III and Berenike II on Thera. A treasury was dedicated to Serapis, Isis, and Anubis on Thera according to the inscriptions (Bagnall, 1976: 129). A gymnasium called as the Ptolemaion was erected in a close vicinity to the Agora of Athens by Ptolemy III who contributed to its construction financially (Hölbl, 2001: 52). Since a

Ptolemaia festival was celebrated in every four years in Athens, the Ptolemaion could be a place for the festival.

6.3 Sculpture

None of the sculpture from the 3rd century BC relating to the Ptolemaic presence in ancient Greece has survived. However, the inscriptions give a detailed record about the sculptural dedications and their locations. It is possible that the Ptolemies had more sculptural dedications than known from the inscriptions due to the festival of Ptolemaia celebrated in their honour. Several Ptolemaic rulers were honoured with statues in ancient Greece.

Ptolemy I is known for dedicating statues and gifts at Corinth, Epidauros, and Olympia (Hölbl, 2001: 98). There was a statue to honour Ptolemy IV on Rhodes (Hölbl, 2001: 132). The League of Islanders dedicated two statues of Ptolemy II on Delos (Barrett, 2011: 8). In addition, Ptolemy the son of Lysimachus dedicated a bronze statue of Arsinoe II on Delos (Barrett, 2011: 8). Ptolemy III received statues of himself in the Athenian Agora and at Delphi according to Pausanias (Hölbl, 2001: 52). Also, Olympia had a statue of Ptolemy III (Hölbl, 2001: 42). The statues of Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III were erected to honour them in the city-sanctuary of Oropos in Boeotia (Hölbl, 2001: 132). A bronze equestrian statue was possibly dedicated to Ptolemy VI next to the temple of Athena Polias (Hölbl, 2001: 191).

6.4 Terracotta Figurines

Figurines related to the Ptolemaic presence in the Aegean are rare. Delos is an exceptional case in this regard. Delos was occupied by the Ptolemies between 287-250 BC (Barrett, 2011: 6). Egyptianizing figurines which were produced on Delos

represent a varied Egyptian religious imagery. These figurines were primarily found in domestic contexts and depict deities. They indicate that Delos was a significant center for many cults. Among them, there are figurines of females with Isiac crowns, costumes, and corkscrew curls; 'Oriental Aphrodite', figurines with the portrait features of Arsinoe II, Harpocrates, Baubo, Bes, and Hermes-Thoth. Except for a few imports, these Egyptianizing figurines were locally made on Delos as the analysis of their fabric indicated (Barrett, 2011: 28).

Among the Delos figurines, Isis is depicted with a basileion crown, solar disc, two plumes, and costume elements (Barrett, 2011: 136). Heads with Isiac crowns (Figures 53-54) are also attested. A figurine with an Isiac costume (Figure 55) is depicted wearing a chiton and a fringed mantle with an Isis knot. Some of the female figurines are depicted with corkscrew curls (Figure 56) which were commonly found in the representations of Isis and the Ptolemaic queens. Although fragmentary, 'Oriental Aphrodite' figurines (Figures 57-58) are commonly found on Delos which employ Greek, Near Eastern, and Egyptian styles of dress. They wear a high stephane crown with wreaths, fruit and leaves, and other decorative elements. Several terracotta figurines from Delos also represent Arsinoe II, and some depict only her portrait features (Figures 59-60). Double cornucopiae are a common feature associated with the Ptolemaic queens. The 'Arsinoe type' described by Dorothy Thompson consists of "a long oval, with rounded forehead, slender nose, and small rounded chin, set off from the mouth by a deep groove" (Thompson, 1963: 32).

Apart from the female deities, ithyphallic Harpocrates is depicted on the figurines which are from the Mykonos Museum. On three examples, Harpocrates (Figure 61) is also depicted with a double crown. One Baubo figurine (Figure 62) is among the finds which are also found in other Ptolemaic overseas territories. Since its head is missing, it is not possible to predict what kind of headdress she wore. However, the ones found in Egypt often carry the attributes of Isis, Hathor, and Ptolemaic queens such as corkscrew curls, solar discs, horns, and floral wreaths. There are two terracotta figurines (Figures 63-64) from Delos that represent Bes. His cult is associated with Hathor. One figurine of a herm representing Hermes-Thoth (Figure 65) is also among the finds of Delos.

6.5 Ceramics

The water jars, so-called Hadra hydriae, are important examples of the ceramics. These jars were thought to be produced in Crete originally. However, they are found in Greece, Cyprus, and Egypt as a part of the burial customs in which they were used for cremation during the 3rd century BC (Callaghan & Jones, 1985: 1). Hadra hydriae have several types of forms and decorations. The decorations include floral and animal depictions and bands.

6.6 Coinage

The Ptolemaic mints in the Aegean were located at Corinth, Melos, Arsinoe-Methana, Arsinoe-Rhithymna, and probably also in Samothrace and Sicyon.

During the reign of Ptolemy I, silver drachms depicting Athena Promachos and a diademed head of Alexander with an elephant headdress and aegis (1944.100.75706, 1944.100.75709)(Figure 66 and 67) on the obverse were minted between 308-304/3

BC (Lorber, 2018a: 288-289). The reverse of these coins depicted an eagle on a thunderbolt or Athena. A mint possibly located in Sicyon also minted coins with Athena Promachos and the head of Alexander on the obverse between 308-303 BC (Lorber, 2018a: 289-290). During the reigns of Ptolemy II and III, neither gold nor silver coins were minted. However, bronze coinage was produced in Corinth and Melos during the reign of Ptolemy III. Bronze coinage from Corinth depict the portrait of Ptolemy III obverse with either an eagle on a thunderbolt or cornucopiae bound with a diadem (Figure 68). This issue is quite interesting because portraits of Ptolemaic rulers are rare on Egyptian bronzes (Lorber, 2018b: 96). A bronze coin from Melos depicts pomegranate and dotted border on the obverse and cornucopiae flanked by the caps of Dioscuri which are surmounted by an olive wreath border on the reverse (Lorber, 2018b: 99). During the reign of Ptolemy IV, bronze coinage with the portrait of Arsinoe II assimilated to Aphrodite as well as the portrait of Ptolemy III were minted. A bronze coin found at Imbros was possibly minted in Samothrace. This coin represent a female head obverse with a double cornucopiae reverse. The mint at Arsinoe-Rhihymna on Crete minted bronze coin types of Aphrodite/warrior, Athena/cornucopiae, Athena/two dolphins, and Athena/torch (Lorber, 2018b: 132).

6.7 Conclusions

The material evidence from the 3rd century BC in the Aegean is not found in abundance. The inscriptions are the largest amount of data to reconstruct the Ptolemaic presence. Based on the literary data, several dedications of architecture and sculpture are known. It demonstrates that the Ptolemies influenced the political and religious spheres of ancient Greece. Based on the surviving examples of architecture such as the Propylon of Ptolemy II and the Rotunda of Arsinoe on Samothrace, it is observed that a unique mix of Greek styles are followed on a

monumental scale. The absence of sculptures could be attributed to the growing Macedonian power in the region. The figurines depicting deities on Delos show that Ptolemaic religious ideas were diffused to ancient Greece, although it might have been visible locally only on Delos since it was a significant religious center. The military activities during the Chremonidean War are possibly the cause of the spread of the Ptolemaic religion. Meanwhile, small amount of surviving data shows that the Ptolemaic influence in ancient Greece was not on a large scale since only Methana was occupied for a lengthy period of time on mainland Greece. The communication networks may not have been strong enough between the islands to transmit a Ptolemaic ideology.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Material Evidence in Ptolemaic Foreign Territories

The analysis of the material evidence from the Ptolemaic overseas territories is important to have a better understanding of the ways in which Ptolemies occupied these regions and their influence on the local cultures. The surviving material evidence consists of architecture, sculpture, figurines, coinage, minor arts, and inscriptions. Meanwhile, an additional amount of material evidence is only known from inscriptions.

The material data from Cyrenaica, Cyprus, the Levant, coastal Asia Minor, and the Aegean indicates that Ptolemaic culture was blended with the local cultures. The

Ptolemaic impact is more striking in regions such as Cyprus and the Levant where the pre-Hellenistic cultures were not Greek. Meanwhile, the Ptolemaic influence on the material cultures of coastal Asia Minor and Aegean is not very clear, largely because these territories were already Hellenized prior to the arrival of the Ptolemies. Therefore, Ptolemaic influence is not as visible in the material data from Asia Minor and the Aegean as it is in Cyprus and the Levant. Cyrenaica is a special case. It was Greek, but geographically close to Egypt. It shows more direct influence from Egypt than do the other regions.

7.2 Architecture

The architecture in all foreign territories follows the classical Greek styles and forms. The evidence suggests that there were no new building projects established except a few examples by Ptolemaic officials, but instead buildings were reused. This pattern is related to the short span of the Ptolemaic presence in the foreign territories as well as the ongoing conflicts. It is also possible that they preferred to reuse these buildings to adapt their traditions to the locals in their own spaces without aggressively imposing their rule. On the other hand, possibly priority was given to military purposes for building since substantial numbers of military garrisons are known in all the Ptolemaic foreign territories through the inscriptions, although none of them have survived.

Exceptions include tomb architecture and some monuments and religious architecture dedicated by the Ptolemaic rulers. Tomb architecture in Cyprus that featured rock-cut chambers such as the Tombs of the Kings at Nea Paphos shows overwhelming similarities with the tomb architecture of Alexandria. This

demonstrates that burial practices of Alexandria were diffused into Cyprus as well as Alexandrian Corinthian capitals. In addition, the Ptolemaic rulers made benefactions for the cities, including architectural structures such as the Ptolemaion in Limyra, the Temple of the Egyptian Gods in Priene in coastal Asia Minor, and the Rotunda of Arsinoe II and Propylon of Ptolemy II on Samothrace in the north Aegean. However, the existing buildings in Cyrenaica, Cyprus, and the Levant were also significant places for the practice of the ruler cult as well as the syncretism of Aphrodite, Arsinoe II, and Isis. Although these buildings were not originally constructed by the Ptolemies, they served the purpose of promoting the religion and socio-political atmosphere of the Ptolemaic hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean.

7.3 Sculpture

Sculpture comprises a small portion of material data due to the scarcity of evidence in all overseas territories. Surviving sculpture is mostly religious in subject. The Aphrodite Anadyomene and three groups of Three Graces from Cyrene demonstrate that the traditions of the Hellenistic koine were predominant in Cyrenaica. The surviving examples from Cyprus come from the inland cities of Arsos, Voni, Idalion, and Golgoi. These sculptures depict Greek deities such as Apollo, Herakles, Aphrodite, and Artemis; females with the facial features of Arsinoe II, sometimes lotus flowers; and temple boys. From the north Aegean, a bust of Serapis was found in Ainos. Meanwhile, there are no examples of sculpture from the Levant which is also quite problematic regarding the architecture.

As for the ruler portraits, inscriptions prove that there were dedicatory sculptures set up in the Aegean for the Ptolemaic rulers such as Ptolemy I, II, III, IV, and Arsinoe II. However, not even one of these ruler portraits has survived.

Since there was a prominent Hellenistic koine in terms of architecture and terracotta figurines, the sculptures of the Ptolemaic rulers might have looked similar to Greek sculpture, instead of following examples in the Egyptian tradition.

7.4 Terracotta Figurines

Terracotta figurines from all Ptolemaic territories indicate a Hellenistic koine with new additions of themes from Ptolemaic Egypt. The figurines depicting Egyptian deities demonstrate a change in the religious and cultural atmosphere in the foreign territories.

In Cyrenaica, as in other territories, Tanagra types, dancing figurines, goddesses with pectoral plaques, females with wings or wearing peplos were found. Animal riders discovered here have parallels in Cyprus and the Levant. However, other types from Cyrenaica show a closer connection with Ptolemaic Egypt such as apes playing harp, Baubo types, and the possible head of Berenike II.

Amathous and Kourion present the most examples of terracotta figurines found in Cyprus. The depictions of Aphrodite, Isis, Baubo, boys wearing kausia, enthroned Cybele, hydrophoroi, kourotrophoi, dancers, musicians, and the Dioscuri are common among the Amathousian terracottas. The representations of Isis, Baubo, and

the Dioscuri were diffused from Ptolemaic Egypt. Meanwhile, at Kourion, horse riders, chariot groups, animals, and human heads were found.

The terracotta figurines found in the Levant represent Isis and related themes; Egyptian deities such as Serapis, Harpocrates, and Bes; as well as Baubo, boys wearing kausia, Cybele, riders and chariots, and the Dioscuri. The terracotta figurines in the Levant demonstrate the Ptolemaic impact in the cultural traditions of the Levant better than any other material data as well as proving the interconnected relations with other territories in the eastern Mediterranean.

In coastal Asia Minor, representations of Isis, Isis lactans, hydrophoroi, kourtophoi, and temple boys were common. Although coastal Asia Minor mostly produced the typical themes of terracottas, a terracotta figurine depicting Isis lactans found in Nagidos in Cilicia stands as a significant rare example of an Egyptian subject.

Although the Ptolemaic impact is almost non-existent in the Aegean, Delos provides an exceptional case. The terracotta figurines from Delos commonly portrayed females with Isiac features, corkscrew curls; 'Oriental Aphrodite'; females with the portrait features of Arsinoe II, as well as the Egyptian deities such as Harpocrates, Bes, and Hermes-Thoth. The Ptolemaic influence on the terracotta repertoire of Delos was probably brought as a result of their military activities in the Aegean. Also, the significance of Delos as a religious center played a role in promoting these newly introduced cults in the Aegean.

The terracotta figurines in the Ptolemaic foreign territories indicate that local practices and Hellenistic *koine* were maintained. At the same time, the cults brought from Egypt were adapted into the terracotta repertoire as well as the religion.

7.5 Ceramics

The ceramics from the Ptolemaic foreign territories most commonly point to the international trade that occurred in the eastern Mediterranean. Due to the lack of direct Egyptian examples such as the *oinochoe*, it is not possible clearly to establish whether the link was based on trade or religion.

The examples of ceramics from Euesperides in Cyrenaica are especially important evidence for networks of trade due to the high number of imports from the Aegean. Meanwhile, a small number of *oinochoai*, pitchers used in the cults of the queens, have been found in coastal Cyprus which present difficulties regarding their implications for trade or religion. They were possibly brought by Ptolemaic travelers and not locally made. One example of an *oinochoe* with the relief decoration of Berenike II is also known from Xanthos in coastal Asia Minor and raises the same questions. Meanwhile, Hadra hydriae were found in Cyprus, Asia Minor, and the Aegean which shows that religious practices of Ptolemaic Egypt might have diffused into these territories since they were used as funerary urns. In the Levant, different types of ceramics have been discovered from imported luxury products to perfume bottles. Imported luxury products imply the impact of the Aegean world which was possibly reinforced by the Ptolemies.

7.6 Coinage

The Ptolemaic coinage in the foreign territories stands as the most important material evidence due to the depictions of Ptolemaic kings, queens, and Egyptian deities as well as indicating changes in the economic and administrative structure in the eastern Mediterranean. In the absence of sculptures, the images on the coins also play a part in conveying Ptolemaic ideology. Ptolemaic coins did not circulate outside of their territories. Therefore, they are also useful to locate Ptolemaic settlements. The coinage in the Ptolemaic overseas territories has distinctive letters, monograms, mintmarks, and symbols of the cities. However, they all follow the chronological tradition in Egypt and depict on the obverse the same individuals with different variations such as Alexander the Great, Athena, Nike, Athena Promachos, Ptolemy I, Berenike I, Ptolemy II, Arsinoe II, and later Ptolemaic rulers as well as Zeus Ammon. Meanwhile, an eagle on a thunderbolt and cornucopiae were preferred for the reverse. Especially, the Ptolemaic coinage from Cyrenaica and the Levant stands out to represent the mix of local and foreign cultures since the head of Libya was occasionally portrayed on the Cyrenaican examples while the Hebrew and Aramaic legends of Yehud (Judah) were sometimes written on the coins from the Levant. Also, the Ptolemaic coinage was used to sustain the military.

7.7 Conclusion

The Ptolemaic influence in the eastern Mediterranean is reflected in the material evidence such as architecture, sculpture, terracotta figurines, and coinage. Although the degree of impact from each material category is not the same, altogether they still indicate the role played by the Ptolemies in the Hellenization of eastern Mediterranean. The Syrian Wars that occurred in the Levant and Asia Minor, and the

Chremonidean War, as well as the conflicts within Egypt resulted in interruptions of the Ptolemaic occupation in these territories. The disturbances of these events also led to the lack of data. The social life continued even after the arrival of the Ptolemies in the foreign territories. The Ptolemaic elements diffused into the material record demonstrate the Ptolemaic impact on the Hellenistic regions. Especially, the coinage is the largest form of evidence due to the depictions of Ptolemaic kings, queens, and deities. Still, the local elements did not fade away and maintained their importance along with the Ptolemaic materials. The propaganda used by the Ptolemies is also evident through the material evidence. For example, the cities named after the Ptolemies and the cults of the royal couples show that these activities are also related to the purpose of propaganda. However, the Ptolemaic impact demonstrates itself in different ways outside Egypt, political, economic, cultural, religious, and military.

The aspects of politics and economics imposed by the Ptolemies are observed through the Ptolemaic governance and incorporated coinage system in the overseas territories. The Ptolemaic mints located in the foreign territories show that the Ptolemaic political and economic atmosphere was maintained in these regions. The portraits of Ptolemaic kings and queens on the coins demonstrate the importance of the rulers as political figures as well as religious due to their divine attributes. These depictions prove that the Ptolemaic rulers were praised in the foreign territories. Due to the meanings it implies as political, economic, and religious, the coinage forms the largest form of material data which is completely Ptolemaic. It was also mixed with local styles, however, sometimes with the use of letters, mintmarks, and legends. For

instance, Ptolemaic coins in the Levant which have Hebrew and Aramaic legends are significant examples of the combination of local and non-local styles.

Cultural and religious aspects of the Ptolemaic presence outside Egypt are observed through architecture, sculpture, terracotta figurines, and ceramics. The architectural examples mainly show that existing buildings were reused, except for a few newly built structures. However, it is well-known from the inscriptions that the Ptolemaic cults took place in the foreign territories. Therefore, it is possible to say that the Ptolemaic religion was incorporated into the local culture in the foreign territories. It is also known from the inscriptions that many garrisons were built for the Ptolemaic army; this points out the military aspects of the architecture. Dedicatory sculptures are known from inscriptions mainly. The surviving ones have the styles of Hellenistic koine. The sculpture implies political, cultural, and religious meanings since there were depictions of the Ptolemaic kings and queens which are known through the inscriptions. Meanwhile, the terracotta figurines also show that Ptolemaic religion was practiced due to the depictions of the Ptolemaic deities. The terracotta figurines have both common types of the Hellenistic koine and the ones directly diffused from Egypt. In addition, the ceramics, especially the oinochoai which were directly brought by the Ptolemies, shows that these items were subject to the cultural interactions in the eastern Mediterranean. Also, the other types of ceramics found in the foreign territories indicate the trade relations due to the common types of the Hellenistic koine found. The analysis of the material record as architecture, sculpture, terracotta figurines, ceramics, and coinage puts emphasis on the diffusion of the Ptolemaic ideology and ideas into the overseas territories in the eastern Mediterranean even as the local cultures still continued.

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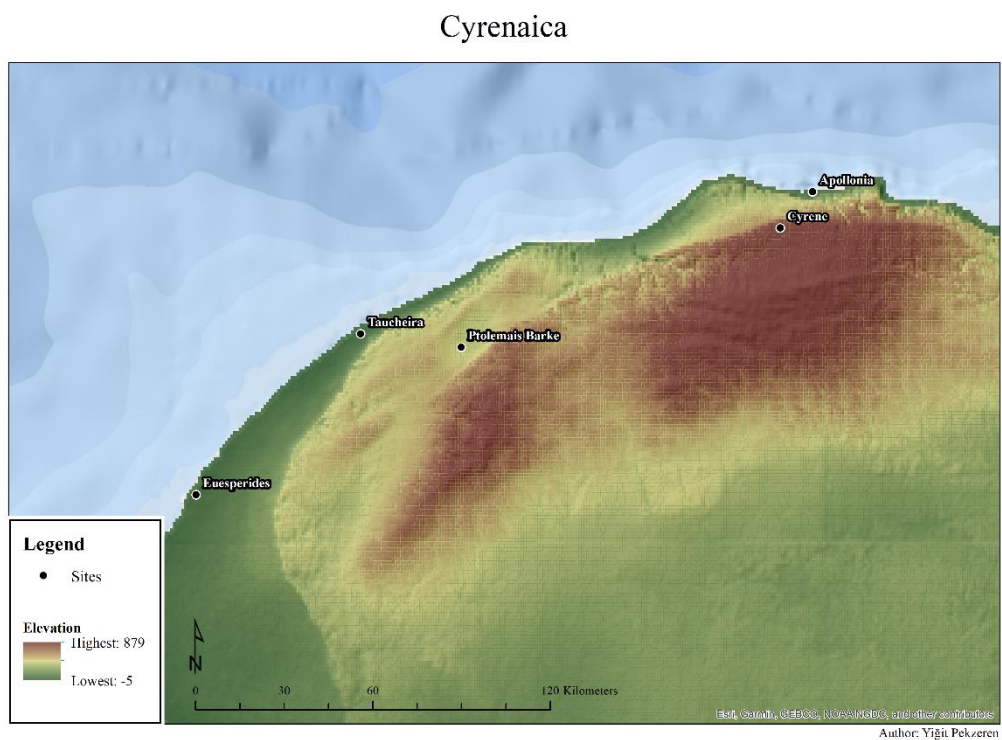


MAPS

Map 1. Major cities in eastern Mediterranean (Courtesy of Yiğit Pekzeren)

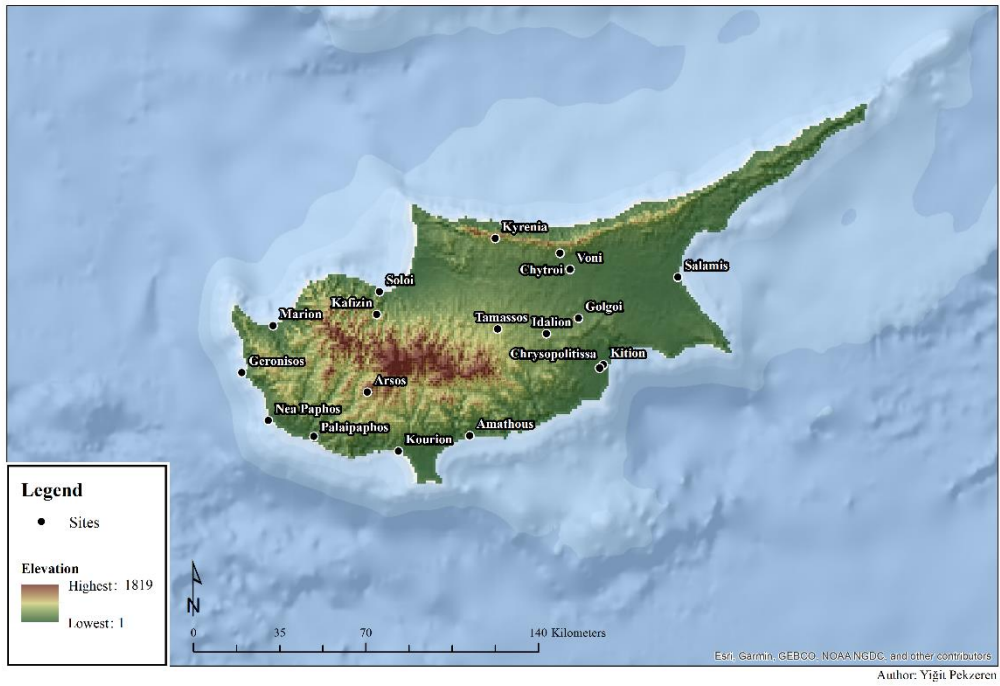


Map 2. Cyrenaica (Courtesy of Yiğit Pekzeren)



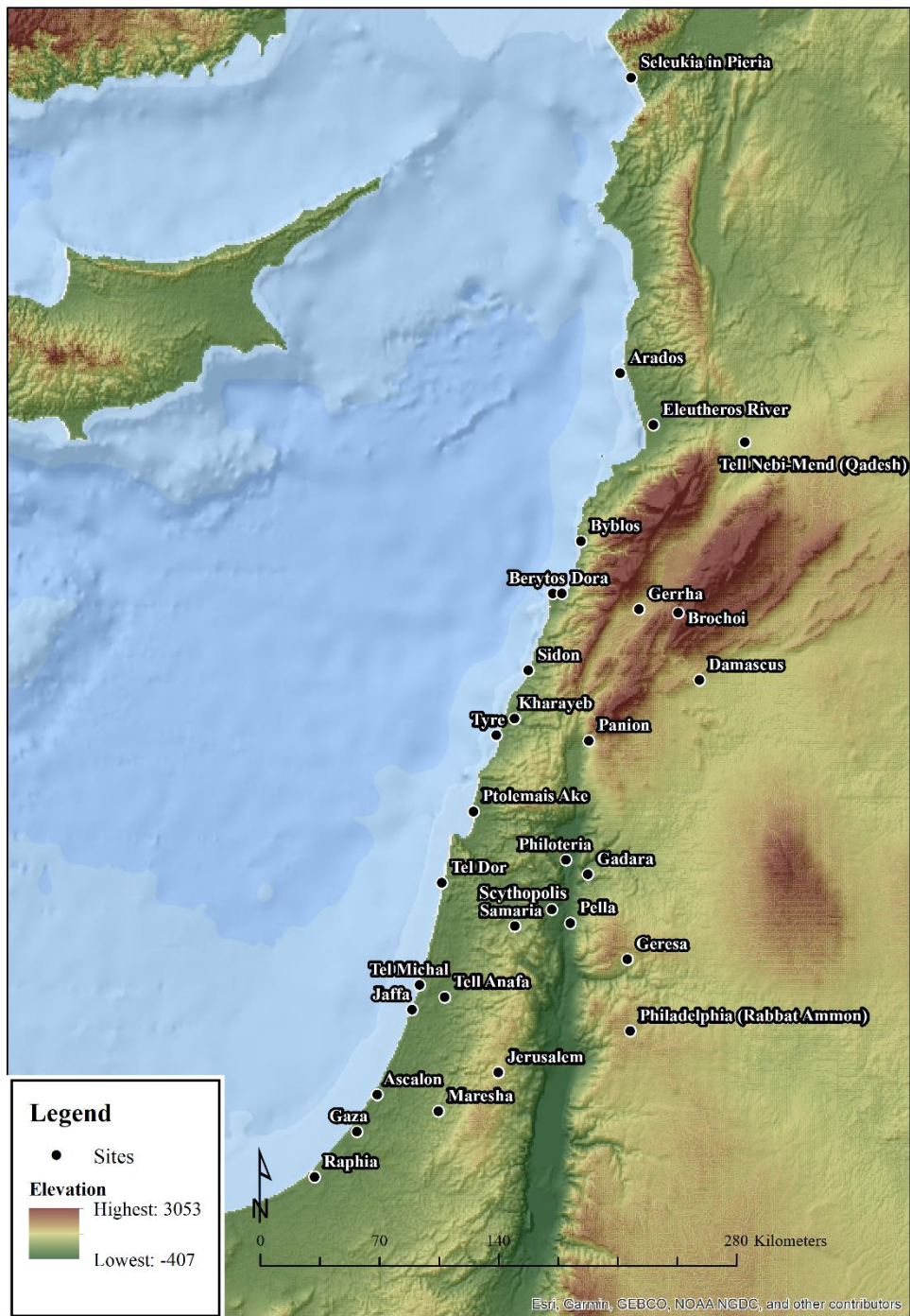
Map 3. Cyprus (Courtesy of Yiğit Pekzeren)

Cyprus



Map 4. Levant (Courtesy of Yiğit Pekzeren)

Levant



Author: Yiğit Pekzeren

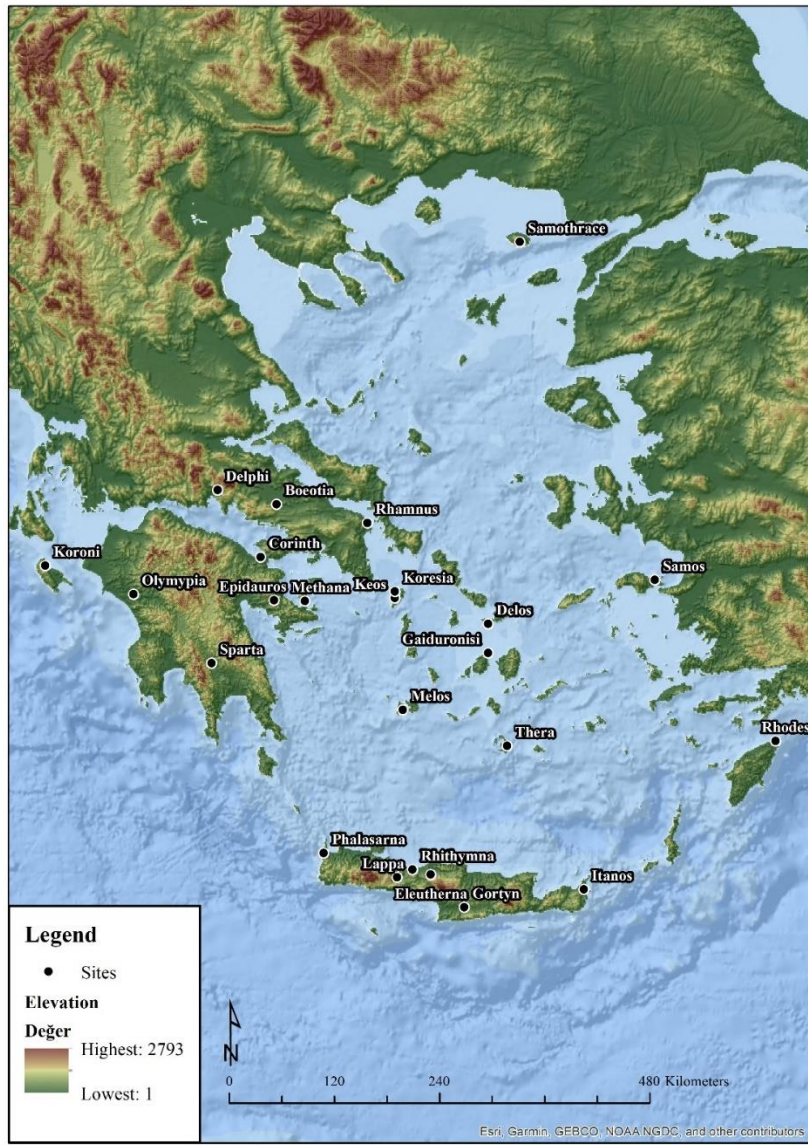
Map 5. Coastal Asia Minor (Courtesy of Yiğit Pekzeren)

Coastal Asia Minor



Map 6. Aegean (Courtesy of Yiğit Pekzeren)

Aegean Sites



Author: Yiğit Pekzeren

FIGURES

Figure 1. Temple of Zeus in Cyrene (Goodchild et al., 1958: pl. VII. b.)



Figure 2. Rock-cut tombs, N 7-9 in Cyrene (Cassels, 1955: pl. V. a.)



Figure 3. Aphrodite Anadyomene from Cyrene (Gardner, 1920: pl. IX)



Figure 4. Three Graces from Cyrene (Bagnani, 1921:235)

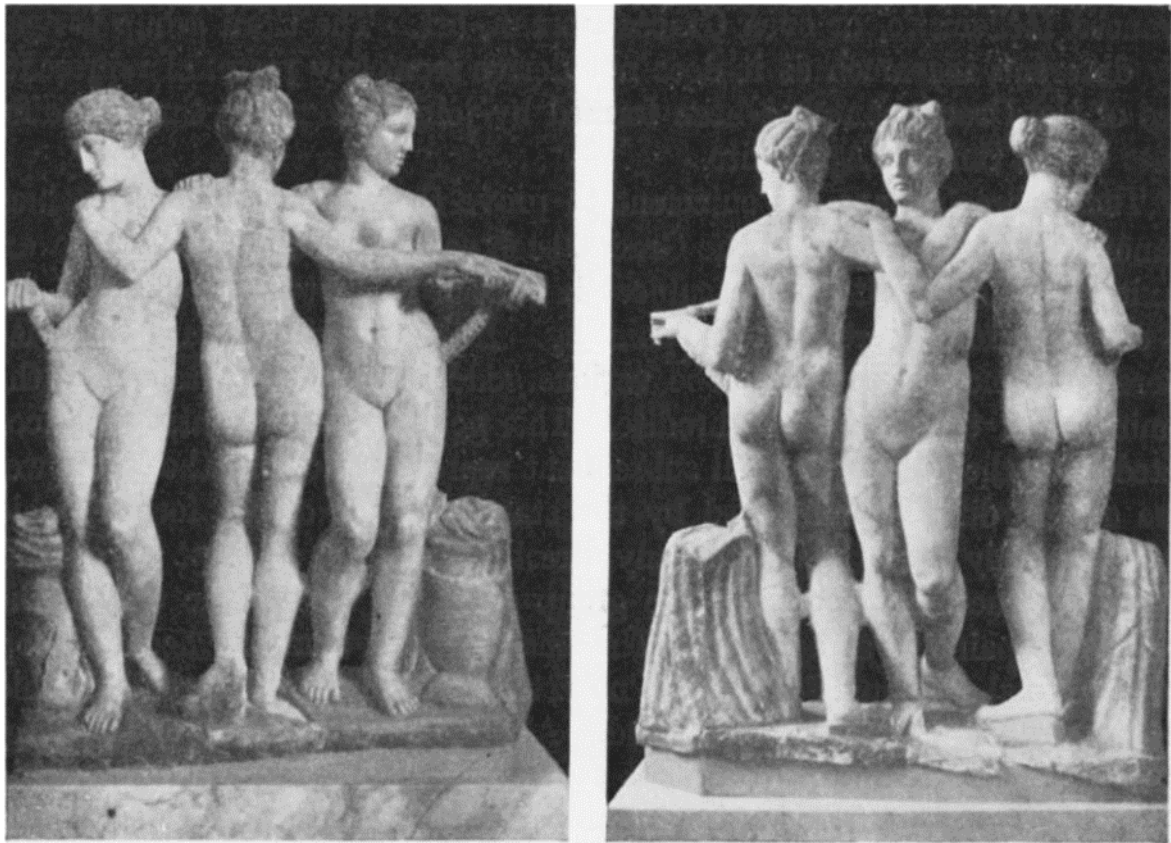


Figure 5. Tanagra type figurine from Cyrenaica (Burn, 1994: 149)



Figure 6. Dancing figurine with cylindrical plinth from Cyrenaica (Burn, 1994: 149)



Figure 7. Figurines of apes playing harp from Cyrenaica (Burn, 1994: 151)



Figure 8. Figurines of goddesses with pectoral plaques from Cyrenaica (Burn, 1994: 151)



Figure 9. Figurine of a female with wings from Taucheira in Cyrenaica (Burn, 1994: 153)



Figure 10. Figurine of a head of a girl, possibly Berenike II (Burn, 1994: 155)



Figure 11. Gold stater, minted in Cyrene. Obverse: Head of Athena wearing Corinthian helmet. Reverse: Nike walking, with legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩ and ΚΥΡΑ ΝΑΙΟ Ν (American Numismatic Society, no. 258)



Figure 12. Gold stater, minted in Cyrene. 299-294 BC. Obverse: Diademed head of Ptolemy I with aegis on his neck. Reverse: Alexander standing in an elephant chariot (American Numismatic Society, no. 273)



Figure 13. Bronze obol, minted in Cyrene. 260-250 BC. Obverse: Diademed Head of Ptolemy I. right, with aegis tied around neck, dotted border, crude style. Reverse: Head of Lybia right, wearing taenia, dotted border, crude style with legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΓΑ or sometimes simply ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (showing marks of erasure in legend) (American Numismatic Society, no. B355)



Figure 14. Ground plan of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos with Medieval Manor House (Iacovou, 2019)

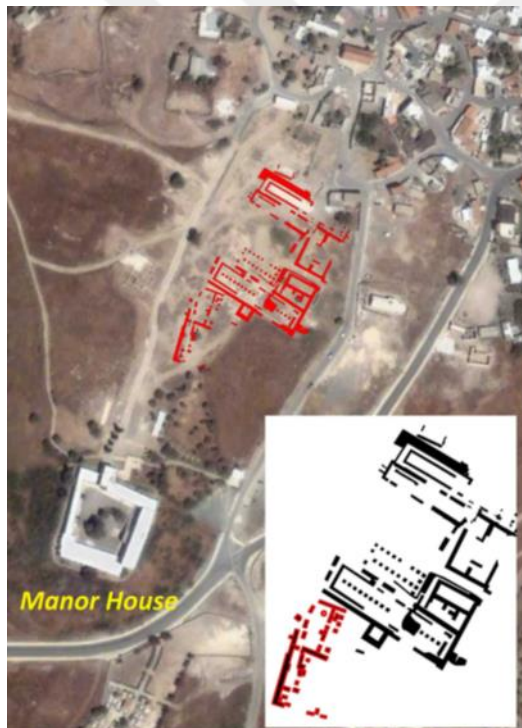


Figure 15. Krepis/podium of the Hellenistic Temple of Zeus Olympios at Salamis beneath the Julio-Claudian staircase (Mavrojannis, 2019)



Figure 16. ‘Alexandrian’ Corinthian capital, type I (Mavrojannis, 2019)



Figure 17. ‘Alexandrian’ Corinthian capital, type II (Mavrojannis, 2019)



Figure 21. Foundations of a Hellenistic temple at Fabrika Hill (Balandier, 2015: 165)



Figure 22. Tombs of the Kings at Nea Paphos; tomb 3 (Guimier-Sorbets & Michaelides, 2009)



Figure 23. Hirsch queen, probably from Alexandria (Papantoniou, 2012: 581)



Figure 24. Kassel queen, probably from Alexandria (Papantoniou, 2012: 582)



Figure 25. The plan of the Hellenistic temple at Gadara (Shiyab et al., 2017: 142)

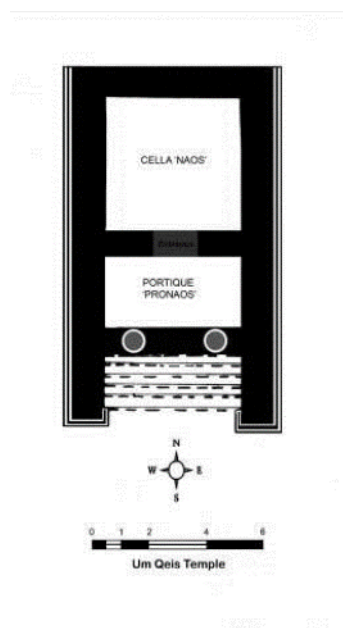


Figure 26. Inner sections of the Hellenistic temple at Gadara (Shiyab et al., 2017: 146)



Figure 27. Figurines of Apis bull from Tell Anafa, late 2nd century BC (Erlich, 2019: 374)



Figure 28. Figurine of Isis Aphrodite from Maresha, 3rd-2nd centuries BC



Figure 29. Figurine of a Baubo riding a boar from Maresha, 3rd-2nd centuries BC (Erich, 2019: 375)



Figure 30. Figurine of a boy wearing a kausia from Maresha, 3rd-2nd centuries BC



Figure 31. Figurine of Cybele from Tel Dor, 3rd century BC (Erlich, 2019: 377)



Figure 32. Figurine of Cybele from Maresha, 3rd-2nd centuries BC (Erlich, 2019: 377)



Figure 33. Figurine of kourotrophos from Maresha, 3rd-2nd centuries BC (Erlich, 2019: 378)



Figure 34. Figurine of the Dioscuri from Maresha, 3rd-2nd centuries BC (Erlich, 2019: 378)



Figure 35. Imported luxury goods from the Levant (Berlin, 2015: 640-641)

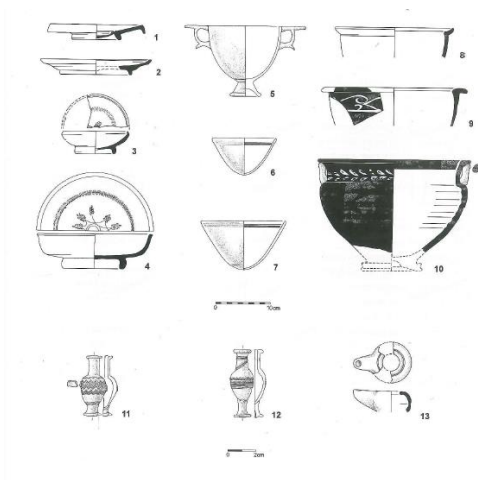


Figure 36. Drinking vessels from the Levant (Berlin, 2015: 646)

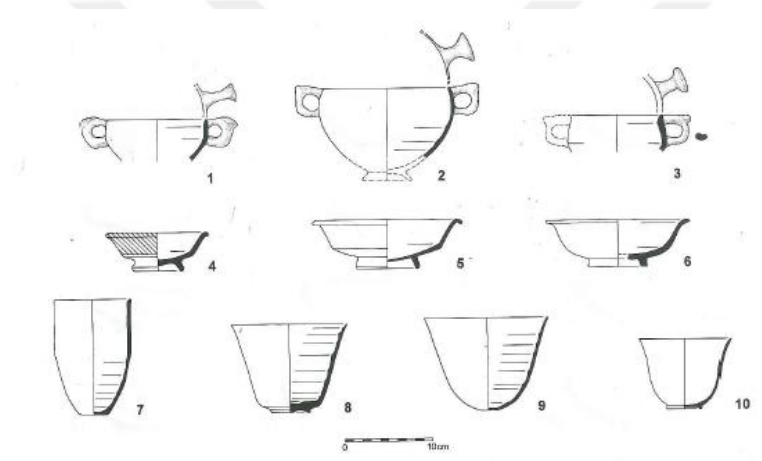


Figure 37. Casseroles and lids from the Levant (Berlin, 2015: 654-655)

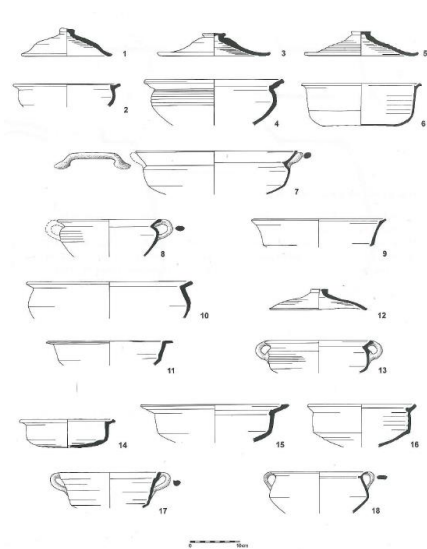


Figure 38. Silver stater, minted in Sidon. Obverse: Diademed head of Ptolemy I aegis around neck, tiny Δ behind ear. Reverse: Eagle on a thunderbolt with dotted border. (American Numismatic Society, 1994.157.17)



Figure 39. Gold mnaieion, minted in Sidon. Obverse: Veiled head of deified Arsinoe II with ram's horn wearing a diademed stephane, lotus scepter over shoulder with dotted border. Reverse: Double Cornucopiae bound with royal diadem, containing pyramidal cakes, pomegranate, and other fruits, a grape cluster hanging from the rim of each horn with dotted border and legend ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗΣ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ (American Numismatic Society, no. 538)



Figure 40. Silver stater, minted in Ptolemais Ake. 253-252 BC. Obverse: Diademed Head of Ptolemy I, aegis tied around neck with dotted border. Reverse: Eagle with closed wings standing left on thunderbolt with dotted border and legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.76215)



Figure 41. Silver tetrobol, minted in Ptolemais Ake. 266-261 BC. Obverse: Horned Head of Zeus Ammon right, wearing taenia with basileion with dotted border. Reverse: Eagle with spread wings standing left on thunderbolt, dotted border with legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (American Numismatic Society, 1951.116.494)



Figure 42. Bronze trihemiobol, minted in Heracleia Pontica or Seleukia in Pieria. 246-222 BC. Obverse: Diademed and draped bust of Berenice II. right, dotted border with legend ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗΣ on left, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ on right. Reverse: Cornucopiae bound with royal diadem, dotted border with legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ. (American Numismatic Society, no. B455)



Figure 43. The Ptolemaion in Limyra (Retrieved from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Limyra>)



Figure 44. The Temple of the Egyptian Gods in Priene (Rumscheid, 1998: 190)

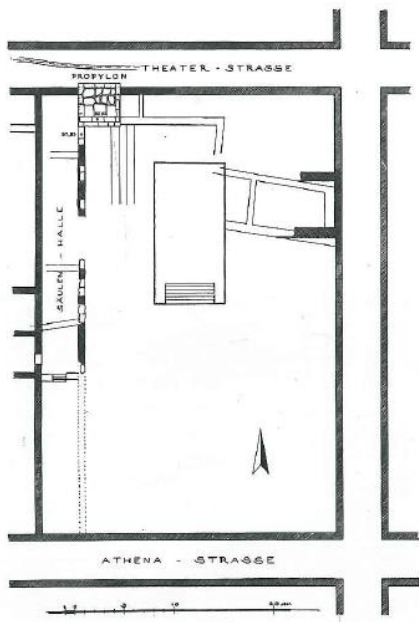


Figure 45. Serapis Temple in Sinop



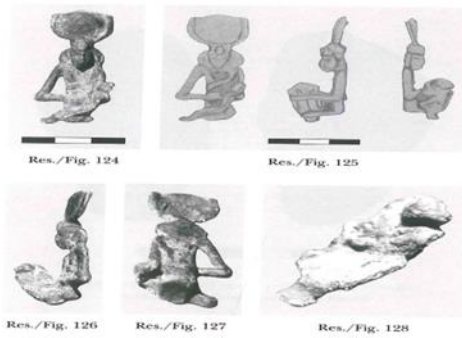
Figure 46. Rectangular altar with inscription from Priene (Rumscheid, 1998: 191)



Figure 47. A bronze figurine of Isis sitting on a throne with Horus on her lap from Nagidos (Durugönül, 2007: 509)

Levhalar / Plates

509



Res./Fig.124-128 Isis Kucagında Horus ile
Isis with Horus on her lap



Res./Fig. 129-131 Ganymedes'i Kaçıran Kartal (Zeus)
The eagle (Zeus) abducting Ganymedes

Figure 48. Hydrophoros from Kaunos (Bulba, 2019: 129)



Figure 49. Kourotrophos from Kaunos (Bulba, 2019: 131)



Figure 50. Temple Boys from Kaunos (Bulba, 2019: 155)



Figure 51: Oinochoe with relief decoration of Berenike II from Xanthos (NO. 64)

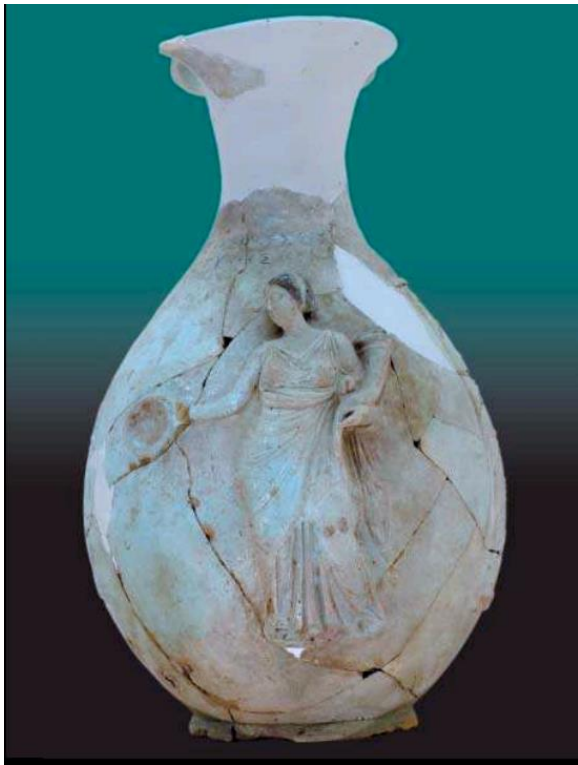


Figure 52. Propylon of Ptolemy II marked with N, and Rotunda of Arsinoe II marked with C (McCredie, 1968: 202)

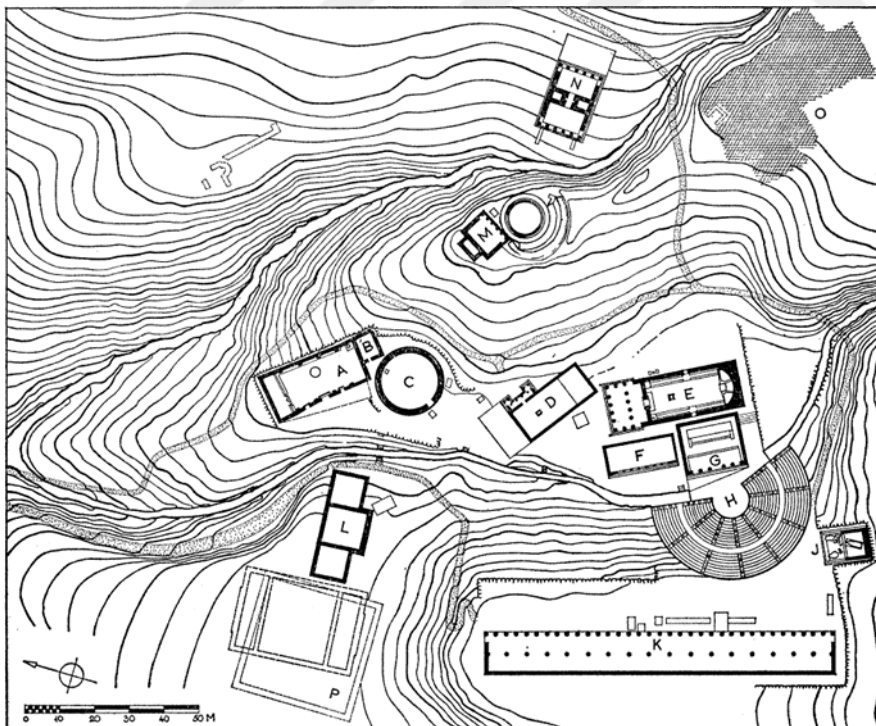


Figure 53. Female head with an Isiac crown (Barrett, 2011: F120, Figure D1)



Figure 54. Female head with an Isiac crown (Barrett, 2011: A3742, Figure D2)



Figure 55. Figurine with an Isiac costume (Barrett, 2011: A2191, Figure D5)



Figure 56. Female head with corkscrew curls (Barrett, 2011: A3575, Figure D3)



Figure 57. 'Oriental Aphrodite' (Barrett, 2011: A3306, Figure D7)



Figure 58. 'Oriental Aphrodite' (Barrett, 2011: A1860, Figure D8)



Figure 59. Female with portrait features of Arsinoe II (Barrett, 2011: A1868, Figure D44)



Figure 60. Female with portrait features of Arsinoe II (Barrett, 2011: A1770, Figure D45)



Figure 61. Harpocrates with a double crown (Barrett, 2011: A3404, Figure D55)



Figure 62. Fragmentary Baubo type (Barrett, 2011: A2504, Figure D51)



Figure 63. Bes (Barrett, 2011: A3657, Figure D76)



Figure 64. Bes (Barrett, 2011: B584, Figure D77)



Figure 65. Herm representing Hermes-Thoth (Barrett, 2011: A3303, Figure D83)



Figure 66. Silver drachm, minted in Corinth. 308-303 BC. Obverse: Diademed and horned. Head of deified Alexander right, wearing elephant Headdress and aegis, no border. Reverse: Athena Promachos advancing right, brandishing spear and shield with legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ (American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.75706)



Figure 67. Silver drachm, minted in Sicyon. 308-303 BC. Obverse: Horned head of Alexander wearing elephant dress and aegis. Reverse: Athena Promachos (American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.75709)



Figure 68. Bronze trihemion, minted in Corinth. 243-222 BC. Obverse: Laureate bust of Ptolemy III. right, wearing aegis over his torso like a chlamys, dotted border. Reverse: Eagle with closed wings standing left on thunderbolt, dotted border with legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (American Numismatic Society, no. B404)

