

A HELLENISTIC INSCRIPTION FROM ARSINOE IN CILICIA

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I

AS RECENTLY AS 1970 it could be said, "No Cilician inscription survives to testify to the Ptolemaic dominion on that coast in the third century B.C."¹ As happens in epigraphy, the situation has changed at a stroke. Ilona Opelt and the late Ernst Kirsten have published an inscription from this very coast that must count among the most exciting to appear in recent decades.² It is practically complete, and consists of fifty-six lines of Hellenistic Greek relative to the hitherto little known city of Arsinoe in Cilicia. The stele on which the text is cut was seen by Opelt in 1985 in the Museum of Mersin (near the site of ancient Pompeiopolis-Soloi); it had been brought there in 1979 from an unknown location, which Kirsten and Opelt rightly infer to be Arsinoe itself, two hundred kilometers west by road along the coast. It was a signal service to observe, copy, and photograph the stone, to get permission from the Turkish authorities to publish it, and to make it available in so short a time: this is a model of how such things should be done.

The stone is reported by Opelt to be of limestone, and looks bluish on the photographs. It is practically complete, though there are a few letters missing here and there; the worst damage is in the last lines, where the foot appears to have been broken away. However, Opelt seems right to see a *vacat* after the last word in 56, which should therefore be the last of the original text. The photographs suggest a patch of recent abrasion in lines 26 to 37. Both upper and lower guide-lines are clearly incised. In the upper part of the text the mason tends to cramp letters towards the end of lines,

Christopher Jones is responsible for Section I of this article and Christian Habicht for Section II, though each has read and commented on the other's part.

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¹G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-1968*, *DenkschrWien* 102 (1970) 140 (henceforth Bean and Mitford). Other abbreviations are *Bull.* = J. and L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique*, published almost every year between 1938 and 1984 in *REG*; Heberdey and Wilhelm = R. Heberdey and Ad. Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, *DenkschrWien* 44.6 (1896). All dates are B.C. unless otherwise specified; distances given in round numbers should be understood to be approximate.

²E. Kirsten and I. Opelt, "Eine Urkunde der Gründung von Arsinoe in Kilikien," *ZPE* 77 (1989) 55-66. In the following I have assumed that Opelt is responsible for the text and translation (55-58) and Kirsten for the commentary (58-66).

though lower down he leaves spaces of one or two letters at the end of 29, 40, and 43. *Alpha* has a straight bar. *Theta* has a dot, not a bar. The right vertical of *nu* tends to begin and end higher than the left. *Omicron* and *omega* tend to be small and suspended just below the upper guide-line. The horizontal of *pi* extends beyond the two verticals, and of these the right is usually shorter than the left. *Sigma* has parallel arms, sometimes slightly divergent.

In the following I note some general points about the two documents contained in the inscription; I next give a revised text, an apparatus, and a translation; I then discuss some points of interest, not aiming at a full commentary, but simply to elucidate the meaning of the Greek; finally, I discuss some questions of geography and toponymy. For the text I have used three photographs kindly supplied by Opelt. One, in black and white, seems to have been taken some time ago, and is of value mainly for showing that the stone had suffered the same amount of damage at or near the time of discovery as at present. Two colour photographs cover the entire text, and are considerably easier to read than those published by the first editors. The stone needs to be looked at again, and photographs of a squeeze would probably reveal more than ones of the stone, but I do not think much is left to be gleaned by further inspection.

The situation that can be reconstructed from the text is as follows. Aetos the son of Apollonios, a citizen of Aspendos in Pamphylia, served as commander in Cilicia under a Ptolemy who must be Ptolemy II Philadelphos (283–246), since the city which Aetos founded in Cilicia has a joint cult of this king and his wife and sister, Arsinoe II, the “Brother and Sister Gods” (39), and is named after Arsinoe. Aetos appears to have captured the site in a military operation (21), and when founding a city there gave it territory taken from the Samian colony nearby, Nagidos (22–23). At the time of the documents contained in the inscription, the commander in Cilicia is Aetos’ son Thraseas, and the ruling king is Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–221), the son of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe. The Nagideis have disputed the ownership of the territory given by Aetos to the Arsinoeis, and these in turn have been working only a part of it, and also (it seems) conducting their civic affairs not to the satisfaction of Thraseas (12–14).

The Arsinoeis have sent to Thraseas a delegation of two persons, Andromenes and Philotheos, in order to discuss “the matter of the territory” (3–4). Probably after rather than before the arrival of the embassy, Thraseas has requested the Nagideis to cede the disputed land to the Arsinoeis, but seems also to have treated Nagidos as the mother-city of Arsinoe and asked it to formulate terms governing relations between the two communities; this may have been an act of diplomacy to palliate the Nagideis’ loss of face in conceding the territory. The Nagideis comply, and pass a

decree in accordance with Thraseas' request. The last of the clauses stipulates that copies of the decree shall be set up both in Nagidos and in Arsinoe (52–56). For this purpose Nagidos transmits the text of the decree to Thraseas, who in turn writes a letter to Arsinoe by the agency of Andromenes and Philotheos, appending to it a copy of the decree; "other details" (17) are conveyed to the city orally by means of the envoys. This letter with the appended decree, probably shorn of some details such as dates, is now inscribed together on the present stone, which must be the copy set up in Arsinoe.³

The editors call the text "a document of the founding of Arsinoe," but this is not quite correct. The city may have ceased to exist, perhaps reabsorbed into Nagidos, for some time in the interval between its founding by Aetos and the present document; but at the time of writing it has magistrates (1), though evidently not a full complement (27), and it can send envoys to the governor. Thraseas is not refounding the city, but trying to make it "more splendid" (25). Moreover, the decree of the Nagideis clears the way for Arsinoe to constitute itself as a proper city, but the internal arrangements are left entirely to the inhabitants themselves; the decree only regulates the future relations between Nagidos and its putative colony.

TEXT

- [Θρα]σέας Ἀρσινοέων τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι χαίρειν.
 [ἐκ]ομισάμεθα τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τῶν πρεσ-
 [βε]υτῶν Ἀνδρομένους καὶ Φιλοθέου διηκούσαμεν ὑπὲρ τῶν
 4 κατὰ τὴν χώραν. ἐπεὶ οὖν οἱ Ναγιδεῖς, ἐπακολουθήσαντες
 τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν παρακληθεῖσιν, ἀφωρίκασιν ὥστε μηδεμιᾶς
 ἀντιλογίας ἔτι καταλειπομένης ὑμετέραν εἶναι, καλῶς ποιήσε-
 8 τε ἐργαζόμενοι τε πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καὶ καταφυτεύοντες, ὅπως αὐτοὶ τε
 ἐν εὐβοσίαι γίνησθε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς προσόδους πλείους τῶν
 ἐν ἀρχῇ γινομένων συντελήτε. καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ σπουδάζομεν περὶ
 ὑμῶν καὶ βουλόμεθα τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ποιεῖν, πᾶν τὸ
 12 συμφέρον καὶ χρήσιμον συνκατασκευάζοντες καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίαι τῶν
 πολιτῶν ἐκάστωι. διὸ καὶ καλῶς ποιήσετε καὶ αὐτοὶ πολιτευόμε[οι]
 τε κατὰ τρόπον καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς εἰθισμένας τῷ τε βασιλεῖ κ[αί]
 τῇ βασιλείσῃ συντελοῦντες ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι καιροῖς. πε[πόμε-]
 16 φαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦ παρὰ τῶν Ναγιδέων ἀποσταλέντος
 ἡμῖν ψηφίσματος ὑπὲρ τούτων, ὅπως ἐπακολουθῇτε τοῖς γεγραμμένοις·
 τὰ δὲ πλείονα τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς Ἀνδρομένει καὶ Φιλοθέω συνδιειλέ-
 γμεθα, ἐντειλάμενοι ἀπαγγέλλειν ὑμῖν. vacat ἔρρωσθε. vacat
 20 Λεωσθένει ἐπιστάτῃ. γνώμη προστατῶν, ἐπειδὴ Ἀετὸς Ἀπολλωνίου
 Ἀσπένδιος καὶ ἡμέτερος πολίτης, στρατηγὸς γενόμενος κατὰ Κιλικίαν,
 τόπον ἐπικαίρον καταλαβόμενος πόλιν ἔκτισεν Ἀρσινόην ἐπάνωμον

³Thus, rightly, Kirsten 64.

- τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως κ[αὶ κατῶ]κισεν οἰκητὰς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τὴν χώ-
 24 ραν ἐμέρισεν οὖσαν ἡμετέρα[ν], ἐκβαλὼν τοὺς ἐπινεμομένους βαρβά-
 τηγὸς Κιλικίας, σπύδει τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοξοτέραν κατασκευάσαι καὶ [νῦν]
 ἡξίωκεν τὴν χώραν τὴν δημοσίαν [παρα]χωρήσαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἔχ[ειν]
 28 εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις, βούλεται δὲ καὶ ἀρχεῖα καθίστασ-
 θαι καὶ νόμους ἰδίους [δοθῆν]αι (?) κ[αὶ τ]ὴν χώραν καταγραφῆναι αὐτοῖς εἰς
 [μοίρ]ας (?), ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν *vacat*
 [τὴν δ]ημοσίαν καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν καὶ, ὅταν τινὰς ἄλλους Θρασέας
 [ποτὲ] κατοικήσῃ, ἐπαινέσαι Θρασέα, καὶ τότε εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀποίκους
 32 [Ναγιδέων· συντελείτωσαν δὲ κ]αὶ [τὰς τ]ιμὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ 'Αρσινόῃ
 [καὶ Βε]ρνίκῃ, πεμπέτωσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνηλωμάτων·
 [πολι]τεύσονται δὲ καὶ χρήσονται νόμοις οἷς ἂν αὐτοὶ θῶνται, ἔστωσαν
 36 [δὲ κ]αὶ ἰσοπολῖται Ναγιδέων· ἔστω δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ μετουσία παραγι-
 [νομ]ένοις εἰς τὰ ἱερά· καὶ ἀπογραψάσθωσαν ἕκαστος εἰς φυλὴν
 [ἦν ἔ]ν λάχῃ, τελοῦντες τὸ γινόμενον· καλεῖσθωσαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι
 [ὅτ]αν τῇ Ὀμονοίᾳ ἢ πόλιν θύῃ, καὶ φερέτωσαν τὸ γι(ν)όμενον· ὥσαυ-
 40 [τ]ως δὲ καὶ ὅταν 'Αρσινοεῖς θύωσιν Θεοῖς 'Αδελφοῖς, παραγίνεσθω-
 [σ]αν Ναγιδεῖς φέροντες τὸ αὐτό· μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ μηκέτι *vacat*
 [Ν]αγιδεῦσι παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾷ περὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς δοθείσης
 [α]ὐτοῖς κατὰ ψήφισμα τοῦτο ἀμφισβητήσαι, ἐὰν δὲ τις ἄρχων προθῇ
 44 [τι] δόγμα τ(οι)οῦτο ἢ ῥήτωρ εἴπῃ, ὁ μὲν ἄρχων ἀποτεισάτω δραχμὰς μυρίας *vacat*
 [ιερ]ὰς 'Αρσινόῃ ἀπαρατήτους, ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ δραχμὰς χιλίας, καὶ ἡ γνώμη αὐ-
 [τῶ]ν ἄκυρος ἔστω· ὅσα δ' ἂν ἀδικήματα ἴδια γένηται ἐκάστοις, ἐὰν μὲν ὁ
 ['Αρσιν]οεὺς ἐν Ναγίδῳ τινὰ ἀδικήσῃ ἢ ἀδικηθῇ, λαμβανέτω τὸ δίκαιον καὶ
 48 [διδο]τω κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς Ναγιδέων, ἐὰν δὲ ὁ Ναγιδεὺς ἐν 'Αρσινόῃ
 [τινὰ] ἀδικήσῃ ἢ ἀδικηθῇ, λαμβανέτω τὸ δίκαιον καὶ διδῶτω κατὰ τοὺς
 [νόμους] τοὺς 'Αρσινοέων, ἔστω δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντων τῶν ἀδικημάτων
 [ἐξ οὗ ἂ]ν χρόνου γένηται τὸ ἀδίκημα προθεσμία ἐνιαυτός, ἐὰν δὲ τις
 [παρελθ]όντος τοῦ χρόνου γράψῃται δίκην ἢ ἐγκαλέσῃ, ἄκυρος ἔστω αὐ-
 52 [τῷ ἢ δίκῃ·] τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τοῦτο ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλας λιθίνας δύο, ὧν
 [τὴν μὲν] ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης ἱερῷ, τὴν δ' ἐτέραν ἐν ['Αρ-]
 [σινόῃ] ἐν τῷ 'Αρσινόης τεμένει, τὸ δὲ ἀνήλωμ[α τῶν σπηλῶν με-]
 [ρισάτω e.g. τ]ῆς μὲν ἐν Ναγίδῳ ὁ ταμίας [ὁ Ναγιδέων, τῆς δὲ ἐν 'Αρ-]
 56 [σινόῃ] ὁ ταμίας ὁ 'Αρσινοέων. *vacat*

APPARATUS

In the apparatus I have not noted those places in which Opelt shows letters which are in fact lost, nor have I noted minor deviations from her text such as punctuation.

1 ἄρχουσι: ἄρχουσιν Opelt 16 ἐπακολουθήτε: παρακολουθήτε Opelt 18 Opelt omits the *vacat* before ἔρρωσθε 25 ἐνδοξοτέραν: [ἐντιμ]οτέραν Opelt 27–28 καθίστασ[θ]αι: καθίστα[σθ]αι Opelt 28 [δοθῆν]αι (?) Habicht: δοῦναι Opelt 32 συντελείτωσαν δὲ κ[αὶ] [τὰς τ]ιμὰς: συντελείτωσαν ἀφ' ἑᾶς ὥς ἡμᾶς Opelt 33 ἰδίων

omitted by Opelt 35–36 παραγι|[νομ]ένοις: παρ' αὐτ[ικα | κατὰ γέ]νος Opelt 40
 μηκέτι vacat: μηκέτι τοῖς Opelt 42 τις omitted by Opelt 43 [τι] δόγμα τ(οι)οῦτο
 Habicht: [τὸ] δόγμα τοῦτο Opelt 43–44 μυρίας vacat | [ιερ]άς: μυρίας ιε|[ρ]άς
 Opelt 45 ἴδια omitted by Opelt γένηται: γίνηται Opelt 51–52 αὐ|[τῶι ἢ δίκη]:
 αὐ|[τῇ vacat ?] Opelt 54–55 τὸ δὲ ἀνήλωμ[α τῶν στηλῶν με|ρισάτω, e.g.]: τὸ δὲ
 ἀνήλωμα τῶν στηλῶν πλη|[ρωσάτω] Opelt

TRANSLATION

Thrasedas greets the city and the magistrates of Arsinoe. We have received your letter and heard your envoys Andromenes and Philotheos (4) on the subject of the territory. Since the Nagideis, complying with our request, have delimited (it), so that it is yours and no dispute still remains, you will do well to work and to plant all of it, so that you yourselves (8) may enjoy prosperity and that the revenues which you contribute to the king may be more than those that were produced previously. Indeed we too are eager on your behalf, and wish to make the city worthy of its name, helping to bring about everything advantageous and useful both collectively and individually (12) for each of the citizens. Therefore you will also do well conducting your public affairs properly and performing the customary sacrifices to the king and the queen at the fitting times. We have also sent you the copy of the (16) decree sent to us by the Nagideis on these matters, so that you may comply with what they have written. The further details we have discussed with your ambassadors Andromenes and Philotheos, commanding that they report them to you. Goodbye.

Leosthenes presided. On the motion of the *prostatai*, whereas Aetos son of Apollonios, (20) citizen of Aspendos and of our city, being commander in Cilicia, occupied a strategic place and founded a city Arsinoe named for the mother of the king, established settlers in the place, and distributed the land which had been ours, expelling the barbarians who were encroaching on it, (24) and now Thrasedas his son, sent by the king as commander of Cilicia, is eager to make the city more splendid, and has requested us to cede the public land to those settled on it, for them and their posterity to hold in perpetuity, and wishes magistrates to be established (28) and their own laws to be given them and the land to be registered for them in shares (?), it was decided by the council and the assembly to give them the public land, both to the present settlers and, whenever Thrasedas establishes others there, to praise Thrasedas, and that they should then be colonists (32) of the Nagideis. They shall perform the offerings to the king and to Arsinoe and to Berenike, and they shall also send tribute, from their own funds. They shall conduct their public affairs and enjoy whatever laws they themselves make. They shall be joint citizens of the Nagideis, and they shall have the right of participation when they are present (36) for

the sacred acts. Each of them shall register in a tribe, whichever he is allotted to, paying the fixed amount. They too (i.e., the Arsinoeis) shall be invited whenever the city sacrifices to Concord, and shall bring the fixed contribution; so also when the Arsinoeis sacrifice to the Deified Brother and Sister, the Nagideis shall be present bringing the same. It shall no longer be permissible (40) for the Nagideis on any pretext to dispute the land given to them (i.e., the Arsinoeis) under this decree. If any magistrate tables such a (?) proposal or a speaker proposes it, the magistrate shall pay ten thousand drachmai (44) sacred to Arsinoe (and) irremissible, and the speaker a thousand drachmai, and their proposal shall be invalid. For all injuries occurring between individuals of the two parties, if an Arsinoeus injures someone in Nagidos or is injured, he shall prosecute or defend according to the laws of the Nagideis, but if a Nagideus (48) injures someone in Arsinoe or is injured, he shall prosecute or defend according to the laws of the Arsinoeis. For all injuries the limit of time from which the injury has occurred shall be a year, and if when the time has elapsed anyone brings a public or private suit, (52) (his suit ?) shall be invalid. This decree shall be inscribed on two stone tablets, and one shall be set up in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, and the other in Arsinoe in the sacred enclosure of Arsinoe. The funds for the tablet in Nagidos shall be assigned (?) by the treasurer of the Nagideis, and for that in Arsinoe (56) by the treasurer of the Arsinoeis.

COMMENTARY

1 When communicating with the Arsinoeis Thraseas uses only his name without patronymic or title, and refers to himself in the first person plural. About the same epoch Olympichos, first Seleucos II's commander and then dynast of Caria, writes to Mylasa again without patronymic or title, but using the plural in some letters and the singular in others.⁴ Maurice Holleaux studied the formula $\tau\eta\iota\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu\ \chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$, also found with the two nouns in inverse order, and saw it both as a later development than the usual $\tau\eta\iota\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\hat{\omega}\iota\ \delta\eta\mu\omega\iota$ and as an indication of the preponderant role taken by the magistrates in the city so addressed.⁵ If this is right, the formula in this inscription is all the more remarkable since Arsinoe does not yet have properly constituted magistrates (27-28).

⁴J. Crampa, *Labraunda* III, 1: *The Greek Inscriptions I* (Lund 1969) nos. 3, 8 (plural), 4, 6 (singular); cf. *Bull.* 1970, 544, 545, 547, 549. Zeuxis, Antiochos III's viceroy, uses the plural when writing to Heraclea by Latmos: M. Wörle, "Inchriften von Herakleia am Latmos, I: Antiochos III, Zeuxis und Herakleia," *Chiron* 18 (1988) 421-476, at 423-425.

⁵M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* 3 (Paris 1968) 211-215 (= *BCH* 57 [1933] 20-24.)

3-4 For τὰ κατὰ, "the matter of," A. Mauersberger, *Polybios-Lexikon* s.v. κατὰ col. 1279, cites Schweighäuser, "res ipsa de qua agitur et quaecumque ad eam pertinent."

9 ἐν ἀρχῇ is presumably equivalent to the more usual ἐξ ἀρχῆς, and means not so much "in the beginning" as "previously"; thus, e.g., *IG II²* 1304 lines 7-8 (*SIG³* 547), ὅπως μὴδ' ὕφ' ἐνὸς περισπωμένη ἢ πόλις ἀποκατασταθεῖ εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐδαιμονίαν.

11 συνκατασκεύαζοντες. Though συν- in compound verbs sometimes only serves to reinforce the basic meaning, for example in συναύξειν, there is no reason to assume so here: "we too" implies that Thraseas is thinking of other benefactors, in the first place no doubt the king.

12-13 πολιτευόμενοι... κατὰ τρόπον. Opelt translates, "wie es sich gehört, euere Bürgerpflicht zu erfüllen." But πολιτεύεσθαι is "to conduct politics," "to engage in public life": cf. Ad. Wilhelm, "Zum griechischen Wortschatz," *Glotta* 14 (1925) 68-84, at 78-84, citing Aeschines 1.195, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ νόμος τοὺς ἰδιωτεύοντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολιτευομένους ἐξετάζει. κατὰ τρόπον is "properly," "in the right way"; cf. Liddell and Scott s.v. τρόπος II 4 b ("fitly"). There are several telling examples in Diodorus, e.g., 1.70.4, πάντα κατὰ τρόπον χρηματίζειν; 1.70.8, (τὸν βασιλέα) κατὰ τρόπον ζῆν ἐθίζων; 19.23.1, πάντων κατὰ τρόπον ὑπηρετουμένων.⁶

17-18 For συνδιαλέγεσθαι Liddell and Scott cite only literary sources, none earlier than Achilles Tatius, but there is an example in Diodorus, 12.75.3.

19 The nominative γνώμη is more usual; I take it that the dative qualifies ἔδοξεν in line 29. The plural προσταταί used in a constitutional sense can vary in meaning, but often denotes the guiding committee of the council, sometimes with probouleutic powers, and that seems to be the situation here.⁷

20 στρατηγὸς γενόμενος. The participle signifies "in his capacity of," not "after he had become."

21 τόπον ἐπικαίρον καταλαβόμενος. ἐπικαίρος is not "suitable" ("geegnet"), but "strategic": the examples in Liddell and Scott include Xen. *Hiero* 10.5, (μισθοφόροι) τὰ ἐπικαίρα φυλάττοντες ("the vital positions," Marchant); Demosth. 18.27, μὴ προλαβὼν ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων κύριος τῆς Θράκης κατασταίῃ, to which may be added from epigraphy *SIG³* 569, lines 7-8 (Halasarna, Cos, ca 200), ὁρῶν τὸς ἐπικαιροτάτους τῶν τόπων ἀνωχύρος ἐόντας καὶ ποτιδέοντας βοαθείας; 731, lines 9-11 (Tomi, first century), οἶεται δεῖν καταστήσαι τινὰς τοὺς φυλάζοντας τοὺς ἐπικαιροτάτους τῆς πόλεως τόπους. καταλαβόμενος similarly is "occupied" in the military sense ("besetzt," rightly

⁶Cf. J. I McDougall, *Lexicon in Diodorum Siculum* (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York 1983) s.v. τρόπος I 5 e.

⁷Brandis, *RE* 5 (1905) 2182-83; H. Schaefer, *RE Supp.* 9 (1962) 1289-92.

Opelt); thus Polyb. 1.19.5, (Hanno and his troops) καταλαβόμενοι τὸν λόφον ... ὡς δέκα σταδίους ἀπέχοντες τῶν ὑπεναντίων. This has consequences for the topography and history of Arsinoe: see below, 332 f.

23 ἐπινεμομένους is not "using" or "grazing" ("nutzenden," Opelt; "als Nützer der Weide," Kirsten 62), but "invading," "encroaching upon." Polybius uses the middle form of fire "spreading to" all parts of a camp (14.5.7), Plutarch of the power of pirates "spreading to" the Aegean (*Pomp.* 25.1). The "barbarians" might perhaps be the Kietai, though they are not otherwise heard of until the Roman period. Tacitus reports an incursion of this tribe in A.D. 52 which involved Anemurion: *agrestium Cilicum nationes, quibus Cietarum cognomentum, saepe et alias commotae, tunc Troxoboro duce montes asperos castris cepere, atque inde decursu in litora aut urbes vim cultoribus et oppidanis ac plerumque in mercatores et navicularios audebant. obsessaque civitas Anemuriensis*. Later the term "Kietis" came to include Anemurion and several cities of the Cilician coast.⁸

25 ἐνδοξος is a favourite word of Polybius: thus 8.10.6, ἐνδοξοτάτην τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν κατεσκεύασαν; 9.10.12, ἐνδοξοτέραν ποιεῖν τὴν πατρίδα.

27 Opelt translates ἀρχεῖα "ein Stadtarchiv," while Kirsten (63) understands "magistrates" ("Behörden"). The latter is surely right: in Polybius the word means either "magistrates" or "magistrates' offices."⁹ καθίστασθαι should be passive (see on 27–29), and Thraseas seems to intend that magistrates should from now on be regularly elected in Arsinoe.

27–29 Opelt translates all three of the infinitives καθίστασθαι, δοῦναι, and καταγράφειν as active. But the last is clearly passive, and the first is probably so, since Thraseas can hardly be expected to set up the magistrates of Arsinoe himself, let alone "for himself" as the middle would imply. Opelt prints δοῦναι (28) dotting all the letters, whereas the photograph shows about four spaces followed by AI. Although [δοθῆν]αι (Habicht) seems long, it gives the required sense, and I restore it tentatively.

28 καταγράφειν in Polybius means either "to record" or "to enrol" (individuals or a collectivity). Habicht points to a passage of Plato's *Laws* (741c, also cited by Liddell and Scott s.v. καταγράφω II 2); the Athenian is urging that land should not be bought or sold, being sacred to the gods, and that cities should inscribe for posterity records of cypress-wood (κυπαριττίας μνήμας εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον καταγεγραμμένας) and place them in sanctuaries. This might suggest the supplement of [μνήμ]ας here; but in Plato it is the records that are the object of καταγράφειν and not the land, and I incline to follow Opelt in taking the preposition εἰς to refer to units into which

⁸Tac. Ann. 12.55; cf. 6.41; in 12.55 *Cietarum* was restored by Ad. Wilhelm, *AEM* 17 (1894) 1. See, generally, W. Ruge, *RE* 11 (1921) 380–381; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) 509–510, 550, 1364–65, 1439.

⁹Mauersberger, *Polybios-Lexikon* s.v.

the land is to be divided. [μοίρ]ας, "shares," is attractive, but [μερίδ]ας is also possible. For καταγράφειν in the sense of "define," "delimit," compare Diodorus 1.33.6 on the Nile Delta: τοῦτον τὰς μὲν πλευράς καταγράφει τὰ τελευταῖα τῶν ῥευμάτων.

30 There seems to be a slight anacoluthon: the second καί calls for a second noun or equivalent phrase such as ἐάν τινας ἄλλους Θρασέας κατοικίζηι, but instead the syntax continues with an infinitive clause.

32 συντελείτωσ[αν δὲ κ]αὶ [τὰς τ]ιμάς. Opelt reads συντελείτωσαν αὐτοῖς ὥς ἡμᾶς, and translates, "Sie sollen in unserem Steuerbezirk dem König . . . Abgaben zahlen," but this is suspicious on several grounds; an obvious one is the omission of a particle (δέ or δὲ καί) linking this clause with the previous. συντελεῖν appears in scores of Hellenistic inscriptions as a transitive verb meaning "to perform" a religious rite, often taking an indirect object in the dative, and this is the sense in which it is used here in line 14; line 8, where it governs προσόδους, has the same syntax but a different meaning, "produce," "contribute." The letters interpreted by Opelt as ἡμᾶς must represent a plural noun governed by the preceding verb, and the traces on the stone are consistent with [τ]ιμάς. For συντελεῖν τιμάς the Canopos decree of 238 provides an example close both in date and in subject; there the priests of Egypt resolve συντελεῖν . . . Βερενίκηι τιμάς ἁΐδιονος. There are also several examples in the decrees passed by various cities in 242 in recognition of the Asklepieia of Kos.¹⁰

33 The sense seems to require a comma after φόρον (Opelt's comma after ἀνηλωμάτων looks like a misprint). The Nagideis are not stipulating that the Arsinoeis shall pay cult and tribute to the king, both of which go without saying, but that they shall do so at their own expense. That also suits the nature of the decree, which is designed to remove causes of irritation between the two communities, not to serve as a charter of Arsinoe. ἰδίων (omitted by Opelt) of course means "their own" funds as opposed to those of the Nagideis, not "private" as opposed to "public"; compare below, on line 51.

34 For πολιτεύεσθαι see above on 12. Again there seems an awkwardness in the drafting: πολιτεύονται δὲ χρώμενοι νόμοις or καθ' οἷς ἂν νόμοις might be expected.

35–36 Opelt translates her text, "sie sollen auch sofort und erblich Anteil an allen sakralen Feiern haben." κατὰ γένος, however, would mean "tribe by tribe," not "from generation to generation" (γένος is not γενεά); and μετουσία εἰς τὰ ἱερά in a single phrase would be odd Greek. The traces show παραγι|[νομ]ένοις, "when they come for," the same verb in line 39.

¹⁰Canopos decree: *OGIS* 56, line 54 (see further below, Habicht 336). Cos: R. Herzog and G. Klaffenbach, *Asylieurkunden aus Kos*, *AbhBerl* 1952.1, no. 6, lines 29, 46; no. 7, line 11 (*SEG* 12.373, 374). An example from the 270s in *SIG*³ 399, lines 73–74.

36 ἀπογραφάσθωσαν is in the middle voice, "let them register" ("soll eingetragen werden," Opelt).

37–38 Opelt translates her text, "Sie sollen auch eingeladen werden, wenn unsere Stadt der Homonoia opfert," but Kirsten (63) interprets slightly differently: "die Vereinbarung wird gesiegelt durch die Gründung eines Kultes der Homonoia." This decree uses the combination of particles δὲ καὶ several times (27, 32, 33, 35, 37, 39) and it is not always easy to see where the καὶ coalesces with δέ ("and also") and where it emphasises the following word, but the emphatic οὗτοι shows that the latter is true here. The Nagideis are not therefore founding a cult of Concord: rather, the decree stipulates that the Arsinoeis "as well" shall be invited when the city sacrifices to Concord, so that the cult must be one already established. Whatever the reason for its establishment at Nagidos, it provided the suitable occasion for an invitation to Arsinoe when the two cities had resolved their disagreement. In an inscription probably not much later than 167 several communities of south-eastern Caria, Plarasa, Aphrodisias, Cibyra, and Tabai swear an oath by Zeus Philios and Concord; Plarasa had already been united with Aphrodisias, and was later to vanish altogether.¹¹

39 The "Brother and Sister Gods" are Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Arsinoe II, whose cult was incorporated into the state-cult of Alexandria not later than June 271.¹² This must also have been the cult of the city of Cilician Arsinoe most closely connected with the ruling-house of Egypt, and hence its importance in the city's calendar. The cult of Arsinoe II as the eponymous goddess of the city (39) is different, a local one co-existing with the other, just as at Alexandria Alexander's cult as founder was separate from the state-cult, and at Philadelphia in Egypt Arsinoe's temple was adjacent to that of the *Theoi Adelphoi*.¹³

43 Habicht questions the definite article in Opelt's [τὸ] δόγμα τοῦτο, and proposes [τὴ] δόγμα τ(οι)ούτο; for the indefinite article placed before its noun cf. τὴς ἀρχῶν in line 42. For the sanction compare the decree of Telmessos also passed in the aftermath of the Third Syrian War, ἀποτινέτω ὁ ἀρχὼν ἱερὰς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος δραχμὰς χιλίας.¹⁴

¹¹J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London 1982) 6–11, no. 1; on the date and circumstances, M. Errington, "Θεὰ Πώμη und römischer Einfluss südlich des Mäanders im 2. Jh. v. Ch.," *Chiron* 17 (1987) 97–118.

¹²A. D. Nock, *Essays on Religion* 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1972) 205–206 (= *HSCP* 41 [1930] 5–6); F. W. Walbank, *CAH* VII.1² (1984) 97.

¹³Alexander in Alexandria: Ch. Habicht, *Gottmenschentum und griechische Städte*² (Munich 1970, Zetemata 14) 36. Philadelphia: Nock, *Essays* (previous note) 1.206, n. 16, citing *PCairZen* 59169. Kirsten (62) appears to identify the two cults. See further below, Habicht, 336.

¹⁴*TAM* II 1, lines 32–33 (*OGIS* 55); on the date and circumstances, M. Wörle,

44 The fine is to be sacred to Arsinoe no doubt as the goddess most injured by the infraction. Being now within the Ptolemaic empire, Nagidos must have had its own cult of the *Theoi Adelphoi* (above, on 39). For ἀπαραιτήτους I have preferred "irremissible" to "irrevocable" ("unwiderruflich," Opelt); the meaning is that the civic authorities are forbidden to let the offenders off.

45 On ἴδια (omitted by Opelt), see below on 51.

50 [ἀφ' οὗ] is at least as possible as [ἐξ οὗ]. The right vertical of ἄν is clear.

51 Opelt translates γράφηται δίκην ἢ ἐγκαλέσει "schriftlich oder mündlich Klage erhebt." ἐγκαλεῖν, however, is to "accuse" or "sue," usually with an accusative of the suit or grounds and a dative of the person sued; Liddell and Scott cite [Demosth.] 40.19, τὰς δίκας ἅς μοι ἐνεκάλουν. Here the distinction between ἐγκαλεῖν and γράφεσθαι is better taken as an equivalent of that between ἐγκλήματα and γραφαί at Athens, where the first are private suits, such as claims for damages, while the second are usually of a public nature.¹⁵ There is no conflict with ἴδια in line 45, since that can mean "individual" as opposed to "collective" no less than "private" as opposed to "public" (cf. κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίαι in 11, ἰδίων in 33). The decree regulates only disputes between individuals, not those between the two cities collectively: these, like the present one, will no doubt come before the commander of Cilicia.

Christian Habicht draws my attention to the similar clauses in Antigonos' first letter to Teos regulating the proposed union with Lebedos (Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, no. 3). ἐγκλήματα and συμβόλαια, translated by Welles as "suits based on injury or breach of contract," between individuals in the two cities are to be settled according to the law of each city (presumably that in which the crime was committed) within two years (lines 24–27); suits between the two cities collectively shall be settled by agreement, which may be appealed to Mitylene as arbitrator (27–30); this agreement is to be drawn up between the two cities, and when it is ratified "suits [are to] be filed and judged" (Welles' translation of γράψασθαι τὰς δίκας καὶ ἐγδικάσασθαι) within a year; if they are not filed or heard within this time, further action is prohibited; if either a Teian or a Lebedean is absent "during the prescribed period" (ἐν ταῖς προθεσμίαις), a summons may be served upon him before the magistrates' office or before his house (39–43).

52 αὐ[τή] is both otiose and senselessly emphatic, and the vacat in this part of the line suspect. In lines 51 and 53 six letters are missing, and there seems to be room for αὐ[τῶι ἢ δίκῃ].

"Epigraphische Forschungen zur Geschichte Lykiens II," *Chiron* 8 (1978) 201–246, at 218–221.

¹⁵A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law of Athens* 2 (Oxford 1971) 76–78, 88.

53 ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερῷ. Aphrodite is the divinity who appears most often on the coins of Nagidos, and her sanctuary must have been the city's most important, equivalent to that of Arsinoe in Arsinoe.¹⁶

53-54 The distinction between the words ἱερὸν for Aphrodite in Nagidos and τέμενος for Arsinoe in her city must be deliberate. Normally both terms designate a sacred area which may or may not contain a temple (ναός), but τέμενος is particularly associated with areas marked off to contain a new cult; thus for Antigonos at Scepsis, for the Muses and Archilochos on Paros, for Diodoros Paspas at Pergamon.¹⁷ So also at Arsinoe a sacred area for the queen as eponymous goddess must have been marked off at the foundation of the city; it is interesting that the founder Aetos was later to be priest of the state-cult in Alexandria.¹⁸

54-55 The bottom of the stone is already broken away in an early photograph, and it appears to be by an oversight that Opelt does not show the last letters as missing in 54. πληροῦν in the modern Greek sense of "pay," "defray" seems too late for this text,¹⁹ and assuming that about nine letters are needed, I supply *exempli gratia* a verb common in such contexts, μερισάτω.

GEOGRAPHY AND TOPONYMY

The questions of geography and toponymy raised by the inscription are several, some relating to the immediate area of Nagidos and Arsinoe, others to the Ptolemaic dominions in the northern Mediterranean generally.

The best authority for the cities of the Cilician coast is Strabo, whose sources include the geographer Artemidoros of Ephesos of about 100 B.C.²⁰ Proceeding west to east, Strabo enumerates the following places as belonging to Cilicia: Korakesion, Arsinoe, Hamaxia, Laertes, Selinous, Kragos, Charadros, Anemurion, Nagidos "first after Anemurion," Arsinoe "having an anchorage" (πρόσορμον ἔχουσα), Melania, Kelenderis.²¹

Along this coast, the southern flank of the Taurus meets the sea, and habitation is only possible where there are alluvial plains between its spurs, though such plains can be very fertile.²² The southernmost of these spurs, Cape Anamur, has on its south-eastern slopes the site of Anemurion, long

¹⁶Coins: Ph. Lederer, *ZfN* 41 (1931) 153-276; since then, *SNG, Copenhagen*, Cilicia nos. 174-84; *SNG, von Aulock*, nos. 5748-61; *LIMC* II, nos. 814, 815, 1148a.

¹⁷Antigonos: *OGIS* 6, lines 20-21 (with ἀφορίσαι: Habicht [above, n. 13] 142). Archilocheion: *SEG* 15.517 II 2, 9 (with κατασκευάζειν). Diodoros Paspas: *IGRR* IV 292 lines 39-40 (with ἀνεῖναι: Habicht 140-141).

¹⁸See below, Habicht, 341.

¹⁹L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* (Paris 1964) 39, n. 5.

²⁰Not 200, as Kirsten 65.

²¹Str. 14.669-670. On the divergences in the placing of the boundary between Pamphylia and Cilicia see W. Ruge, *RE* 18.2 (1949) 356-358.

²²Cf. Str. 14.668, ἡ παραλία στενή ἐστι καὶ οὐδὲν ἢ σπανίως ἔχει τι χωρίον ἐπίπεδον.

since identified from its modern name of Anamur; the plain which extends some twelve kilometers to the east was the territory of the ancient city. At its eastern end it is enclosed by another spur of the Taurus, which can however be circumvented by land. On the other side is a narrower strip ten kilometers long, bisected by a river now called the Boz Yazı Dere from the name of a village near its mouth; just off the coast at this point is Adacık ("Little Island"). Hecataeos and the Stadiasmos say that an island called Nagidoussa lay offshore from Nagidos, and hence Heberdey and Wilhelm were able to identify the city with a fortified site on a hill above the village of Boz Yazı. In the 1960s Bean and Mitford saw many traces of antiquity on this hill, and found an inscription of Roman date in a bridge spanning the river; James Russell informs me that two Hellenistic inscriptions, one of them definitely identifying the site as that of Nagidos, have now been found at Boz Yazı.²³

Heberdey and Wilhelm then proceeded east on horseback. "In the afternoon we rode behind the hill of Nagidos through the undulating, attractive country towards Softa Kale, a fort on a fine, steep hill, like the fortress of Alara, though less abrupt."²⁴ Our goal was the ruins of Marasch, which though very striking at a distance unfortunately did not fulfil our expectations when seen more closely. They crowd the summit and wooded northern slope of a hill which on the south falls away to the sea in a sheer cliff. The function of some buildings remained unclear. Despite all our efforts we could not find inscriptions. In the imposing necropolis many tombs are especially notable because of the domed roofs decorated with crude mosaic. The place Arsinoe should be located here."²⁵

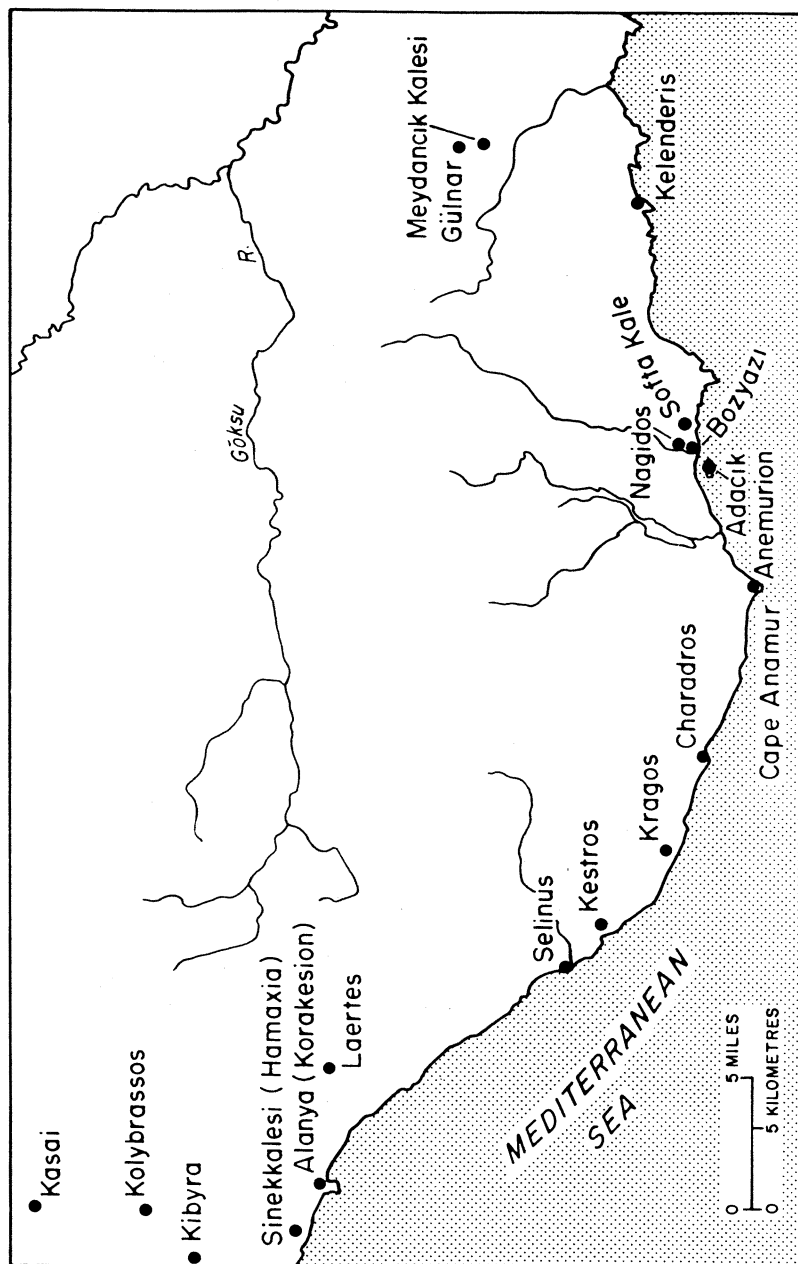
Though Heberdey and Wilhelm were usually attentive to the work of their predecessors, they seem not to have noticed that in identifying Arsinoe they had been anticipated by one of the most distinguished, Captain Francis Beaufort. After mentioning Softa Kale ("Softa Kalessy"), Beaufort continues: "further on, we came to a small and high peninsula covered with ruins; they had a respectable appearance [Beaufort then describes how the appearance of the villagers discouraged his party from exploring.] On the eastern side there is a little bay, which seemed as if it had once extended farther inland, so as to have been entitled to the appellation of a harbour; this place may therefore answer to the *Arsinoe* of Strabo."²⁶ Beaufort's "small and high peninsula" is surely Heberdey and Wilhelm's

²³Heberdey and Wilhelm 158–159; Bean and Mitford 191, 237; cf. *Bull.* 1972, 528. The village is called Kırarası ("Between-the-fields") on the 1942 map.

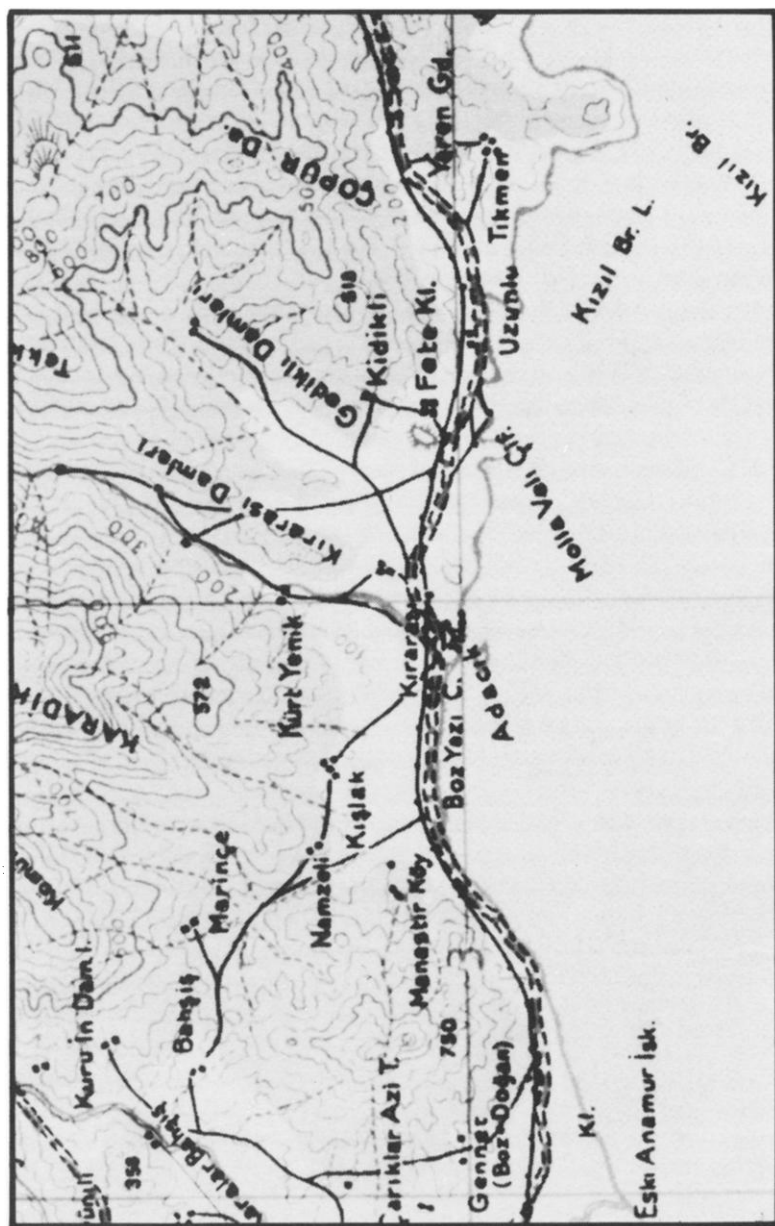
²⁴Softa Kale is shown as "Fete Kale" on the 1942 map; "softa" denotes a Muslim rigorist or bigot, and "kale" a fortress or castle. On the fortress in the valley of the Alara Çay between Side and Korakesion see Heberdey and Wilhelm 135.

²⁵Heberdey and Wilhelm 159.

²⁶Francis Beaufort, *Karamania, or A Brief Description of the South Coast of Asia Minor*² (London 1818) 206–207.



Map 1 Eastern Pamphylia and Western Rough Cilicia



Map 2 The Plain of Boz Yazı (Nagidos)

"hill": the British War Office Map of 1942 shows it under the name of "Molla Veli Çiftliği" ("Mullah Veli's Farm"), with a marked indentation on the east side which must be Strabo's "anchorage" and Beaufort's "little bay."²⁷

Nagidos is chiefly known from its coinage, which runs from the time of the Peloponnesian War to that of Alexander; a Samian decree of the late fourth century honours two brothers from there, though without mentioning a connection between the two cities.²⁸ In literature it does not appear again until the imperial period, and A. H. M. Jones proposed that it was identical with Arsinoe of Cilicia. This view was contested by Magie, who appealed to Strabo, and the present inscription gives it the final blow by showing the two cities co-existing in the later third century.²⁹

In fact, none of those debating the point had noticed that there was already evidence for Nagidos in the third century. A papyrus last edited by Octave Guéraud in 1931 is dated to 221, and mentions an Apollodoros, "who was inscribed as a Nagideus of Chrysermos' troop" (ὃς ἐγράφετο Ναγιδεύς τῶν Χρυσέρμου). Apollodoros received a *cleros* in the Arsinoite nome and there dedicated a gymnasium to a Ptolemy, either Philadelphos or Euergetes; he then died, leaving his property to a certain Polykleitos, and the gymnasium had already fallen into decay by the year 232/1.³⁰ Guéraud noted that one Artemidoros of Selge in Pisidia, also belonging to Chrysermos' troop, received a *cleros* in 252/1, and he proposed that both Apollodoros and Artemidoros received their discharges about the same time.³¹ If that is right, it proves that Nagidos existed under Euergetes, and probably late in the reign of Philadelphos, the very period covered by the new inscription. Of the two recently discovered inscriptions from Boz Yazı, the one that names Nagidos appears to be of the early third century.³²

The inscription shows that Arsinoe of Cilicia was founded in a "strategic place" occupied by Aetos son of Apollonios. That fits excellently with the topography of the peninsula described by Beaufort and by Heberdey

²⁷Cf. Kirsten (64–66), who gives further bibliography, but likewise ignores Beaufort.

²⁸See, generally, W. Ruge, *RE* 16 (1935) 1582–83. For the coinage, see above, n. 16. Inscription: Ch. Habicht, "Hellenistische Inschriften aus dem Heraion von Samos," *Ath-Mitt* 77 (1972) 191–228, at 204–207.

²⁹A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford 1937) 200, 436, n. 11; against, Magie (above, n. 8) 1156, n. 1; ignored in Jones' second edition (Oxford 1971).

³⁰Papyrus: O. Guéraud, *ENTEΥΞΕΙΣ* (Cairo 1931) 20–27, no. 8 (previously *Sammelbuch* 7245); for Apollodoros, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* II 2304, IV 9115, VI 17131; for Chrysermos, II 2022. Apollodoros is discussed by M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (Paris 1949, BEFAR 169) 1.477; cf. also Habicht (above, n. 28) 206, n. 63.

³¹Guéraud (previous note) 25. For Artemidoros, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* II 2292.

³²See above, 329. Again, I thank James Russell for kindly supplying this information.

and Wilhelm. Aetos appears to have sailed into the "little bay" on the eastern side of the peninsula and captured the heights above, no doubt also securing the strong position of Softa Kale a short distance inland; whether the resistance came from the Nagideis or from the "barbarians" occupying the nearby land cannot be told.

This also fits with the history of other cities named after Arsinoë in the Mediterranean. In a masterly study Louis Robert surveyed the various Arsinoai, emphasising their excellence as ports. Above all, he proved beyond doubt that Arsinoë of Keos was the advantageous harbour of Koressia opposite the Attic coast, the modern Saint Nicholas.³³ Robert also adduced Methana in the Argolid, with its peninsula and two harbours on either side, "un petit Gibraltar." Methana had been dependent on Troezen, but when it was refounded as Arsinoë it was given a part of Troezen's territory, and the two cities were still arguing the matter about a hundred years later.³⁴ This dispute now finds its analogue in the one between Nagidos and Arsinoë of Cilicia.

Robert maintained that as far as could be judged all cities named after Arsinoë II were refoundations, in a greater or lesser degree, of older ones, but that is now shown to be untrue for Arsinoë of Cilicia, and this discovery also has consequences for the Arsinoë further west, named by Strabo after Korakesion and Hamaxia. The site of this Arsinoë has been much debated. There is general agreement that it is the "Arsinoë of Pamphylia" now known from two inscriptions, and probably also the Arsinoë mentioned in one of the Zenon papyri.³⁵ Just as he wished to amalgamate Arsinoë of Cilicia with Nagidos, so also A. H. M. Jones proposed that "Arsinoë" was a temporary name of another "little Gibraltar," Korakesion, the modern Alanya; it was again Francis Beaufort who identified the site.³⁶ Bean and Mitford were more positive than Jones: "we are satisfied that Jones is correct in his assumption that Strabo has used his Ptolemaic source uncritically, to produce two cities where in fact there was one."³⁷ Besides disproving the thesis that cities named for Arsinoë were always existing ones, the new inscription shows that Strabo was after all correct to disjoin Nagidos and

³³L. Robert, "Sur un décret des Korésiens au Musée de Smyrne," *Hellenica* 11/12 (1960) 132-176, at 146-156.

³⁴IG IV.1² 76 with Hiller's commentary; Robert (previous note) 157-159, esp. 159, n. 2.

³⁵Robert (above, n. 33) 157, n. 2; R. S. Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Leiden 1976) 113 and n. 124; see below, Habicht 337.

³⁶Jones, *Cities*² (above, n. 29) 199. On the identification and topography of Korakesion, J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie* (Paris 1983) 157-161, especially 157 on Beaufort.

³⁷Bean and Mitford, *Anatolian Studies* 12 (1962) 195-196. In 1965, J. and L. Robert were attracted by this identification (*Bull.* 1965, 421) but in the end left the question open (*Amyzon* [previous note] 157, n. 8).

Arsinoe (though the evidence was already there in the papyrus). It would therefore be prudent to revert to the view that Arsinoe of Pamphylia is not Korakesion, but some small foundation on the coast further to the East.³⁸ The problem of Hamaxia, mentioned by Strabo between Korakesion and Arsinoe, remains unsolved; it is commonly supposed to be the important site of Sinekkalesi west-north-west of Korakesion, but this is not named by any of the several inscriptions found there.³⁹

The Ptolemaic dominions in Cilicia were reviewed by Roger Bagnall in 1976, and it is opportune to add a few details.⁴⁰ The ethnics of several cities of Pamphylia and Cilicia appear in a fragmentary inscription of Alexandria, which is dated by the letter-forms to the third century. Among cities of Cilicia Robert identified Ka[sai] (Asar Tepe) forty kilometers north-north-west of Korakesion, and either Ke[stros] near the coast south-east of Selinous or Ke[nnatis], not exactly placed but in the vicinity of Olba.⁴¹ Bean and Mitford have suggested that the existence of a group of worshippers of Sarapis in the Roman period at Kolybrassos might suggest the extension of Ptolemaic dominion well into the Taurus,⁴² whether or not that is correct, spectacular discoveries to the east confirm their power even farther from the coast. North-east of Kelenderis and less than fifteen kilometers in a straight line from the coast French archaeologists have discovered a site at Meydancık Kalesi. Their finds include the dedicatory inscription of a gymnasium built in honour of Ptolemy Euergetes, Berenice, and their children and dedicated by a certain Meas of Aspendos; this city was also the native city of Aetos and Thraseas of the present inscription, as of several other Ptolemaic commanders and functionaries.⁴³ More spectacular yet is the discovery of a hoard of over five thousand

³⁸This had been the view of Robert in *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris 1938) 255, n. 2 (on 256): "il semble alors possible qu'une Arsinoe située peu à l'Est de Korakesion ait été appelée Arsinoe de Pamphylie." Kirsten (61) also rightly rejects the now usual view of the identity of the two cities.

³⁹Bean and Mitford (above, n. 37) 185–191, with the comments of J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1965, 422; L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie mineure méridionale* (Paris 1966) 67; Bean and Mitford 78–94 (*Bull.* 1972, 506).

⁴⁰Bagnall (above, n. 35) 114–116.

⁴¹L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris 1963) 420–428, discussing the inscription published by E. Breccia, *Iscrizioni greche e latine* (Cairo 1911, Catalogue général, Musée d'Alexandrie) no. 165; cf. Ad. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna 1909) 224–225, no. 227; Launey (above, n. 30) 1.481. For Kasai, see now Bean and Mitford 48–59; for Kestros, *idd.* (above, n. 37) 211–216, with *Bull.* 1965, 428.

⁴²Bean and Mitford 139–140, no. 138; Bean and Mitford put Kolybrassos at Ayasofya, twenty kilometers north of Korakesion, and also adduce a cult of the Samothracian gods near Cibyra (their no. 41). Note the Hellenistic altar of Sarapis recently published from the Alanya Museum, J. Nollé, S. Şahin, Ch. Vorster, *EpigAnat* 5 (1985) 127, no. 4 (*SEG* 35.1417).

⁴³Robert (above, n. 41) 373–420; see further below, Habicht 337 f.

coins, which is again to be dated to the reign of Euergetes. The site is well placed to command important routes from the coast into the interior, and shows that Euergetes' dominion in Rough Cilicia constituted a network of places and routes, not merely a string of defensible sites along the coast.⁴⁴

II

The comments of the late Ernst Kirsten on the two documents from Arsinoe in Cilicia, which were discovered, published, and translated into German by Ilona Opelt, leave room for some additional observations. In what follows, I will concentrate on two aspects: the chronology of the documents and events mentioned therein, and the family of royal dignitaries from Aspendos that played in them such an important role.

Of the two documents, the decree of the city of Nagidos (lines 19–56), although following the letter of Thraseas to the city of Arsinoe (lines 1–18) on the stone, is slightly earlier in date. When he received the decree of Nagidos, Thraseas wrote to Arsinoe and attached to his letter a copy of that decree. At that time, he was governor (*strategos*) of Cilicia (lines 24–25) for a king identified, through lines 21–22, as Ptolemy III Euergetes, 246–221 B.C. Both documents therefore date from a year of his reign.

When Ptolemy III ascended the throne, Cilicia did not belong to him. He himself does not count Cilicia among the possessions he inherited from his father, king Ptolemy II Philadelphos.⁴⁵ It is, in fact, attested that in 246/5 B.C. a Seleucid official by the name of Aribazos was in charge of the province, as governor or as commander of the royal troops, on behalf of the court of Antiochia.⁴⁶ However, king Ptolemy III invaded the Seleucid empire that year, soon after his accession, at the call of his sister Berenike, recently widowed from the Seleucid king Antiochus II. He conquered Cilicia among others. Aribazos met his death and Ptolemy appointed his "friend" Antiochus to be the new governor of Cilicia.⁴⁷ Therefore Thraseas could only have become governor of Cilicia some time after 246, as a successor, and not necessarily the immediate successor, to Antiochus. The province,

⁴⁴ On Meydancık Kalesi (nine kilometers south of Gülnar), A. Davesne and E. Laroche, *CRAI* 1981, 356–370; J.-F. Bommelaer in *Sociétés urbaines, Sociétés rurales*, ed. E. Frézouls (Strasbourg 1987) 5–13; A. Davesne, A. Lemaire, H. Lozachmeur, *CRAI* 1987, 359–381. Inscription: Davesne and Laroche, *CRAI* 1981, 361, fig. 7, 370; *Bull.* 1982, 452; *SEG* 31.1321; Davesne, *CRAI* 1987, 378. Hoard: Davesne and Laroche, 762–770; Davesne and O. Masson, *RA* 1985, 29–46; G. Le Rider, *JSav* 1986, 36, 48–49, referring to the publication as imminent.

⁴⁵ *OGIS* 54, lines 5–8.

⁴⁶ *FGrHist* 160 (the Gourob papyrus) F 1, col. II: Ἀρίβαζος ὁ ἐν Κίλικίᾳ στρατ[ηγός]. See H. Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit* 3 (Munich 1952) 76.

⁴⁷ *FGrHist* 160 F 1, Col. II (Aribazos). Porphyrios, *FGrHist* 260 F 43 (Antiochus). *OGIS* 54 (Ptolemy III speaking), lines 13–15: κυριεύσας τε τῆς δὲ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου χώρας πάσης καὶ Κιλικίας καὶ Παμφυλίας καὶ Ἰωνίας καὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Θρακίης.

mainly western or "Rough Cilicia," remained in the hands of the Ptolemies until conquered by the Seleucid king Antiochus III, the Great, in 197 B.C.⁴⁸

Some further precision is possible. In lines 13–14 are mentioned "the king" and "the queen," that is, Ptolemy III and Berenike II, the daughter of Magas. Lines 32–33 mention honours⁴⁹ to be paid by the citizens of Arsinoe to "the king, Arsinoe, and Berenike." Arsinoe, of course, is Arsinoe II, the eponym of the city of Arsinoe, once queen, but now long dead and deified. Kirsten (60–61) identifies Berenike with the queen of line 14. This cannot be, since a Berenike without the title of queen is necessarily a person different from the queen. One might think of Berenike I, once the queen of Ptolemy I Soter. She would, however, have been named before her daughter Arsinoe. Nor can Berenike, the sister of Ptolemy III, be meant here, since, by her marriage to Antiochos II, she had ceased to belong to the house of the Ptolemies.⁵⁰ There remains Berenike, the daughter of the reigning couple, Ptolemy III and Berenike II, who was born in 246 B.C. at the earliest. She died as an infant early in 238 B.C. and was immediately deified, as is attested with much interesting detail in the Canopos decree of March 7, 238 B.C.⁵¹ There can hardly be any doubt that she is the recipient of the honours prescribed in lines 32–33, to be performed for "the king, Arsinoe, and Berenike." Despite her tender age, she had already been given the title of queen,⁵² and its absence in the decree of Nagidos shows that she, like Arsinoe, was already dead when this was voted. Therefore the documents cannot predate 238 B.C.

The decree of Nagidos provides substantial information on the question of when Arsinoe in Cilicia was founded. The city was founded by a former governor of the Ptolemaic realm in Cilicia, Aetos, son of Apollonius, from Aspendos (lines 19–20), and none other than the father of the later governor Thraseas (line 24). The city must have been founded after the marriage of Arsinoe, its eponym, to her brother, king Ptolemy II Philadelphos, that is to say, after 279.⁵³ The foundation could have taken place after Arsinoe's

⁴⁸See Bengtson (above, n. 46) 172; W. Huss, *Untersuchungen zur Aussenpolitik Ptolemaios' IV* (Munich 1976) 178; Bagnall (above, n. 35) 115; Le Rider (above, n. 44) 31.

⁴⁹I am following the interpretation of C. P. Jones (above, 325).

⁵⁰She was murdered by the partisans of the former queen, Laodike, probably before Ptolemy III occupied Antioch; see Ed. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* 1² (Nancy 1979) 251–253.

⁵¹OGIS 56, lines 46–76. Her death had occurred in the month of Tybi (line 55), either late in February or in one of the first days of March. On her deification see Habicht (above, n. 13) 177. English translations of the decree can be found in E. R. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (London 1927) 208–214 (on Berenike, 211–214), and in R. S. Bagnall and P. Derow, *Greek Historical Documents: The Hellenistic Period* (Chico, Cal. 1981) no. 156.

⁵²OGIS 56, lines 47, 54, 57, and Dittenberger's note 78.

⁵³The date of the marriage remains uncertain: between 279 and 274, as is usually stated (Will [above, n. 50] 149; E. D. Carney, *Parola del Passato* 238 [1987] 429), since

death (in 270 B.C.), but the city must have been in existence not only before the death of Ptolemy II (246 B.C.), but also before he lost his possessions in Cilicia to the Seleucids during the Second Syrian War (ca 260–253).⁵⁴ It will have existed in 257 B.C., if that was the Arsinoe (and not the Arsinoe in Pamphylia) mentioned in a letter which is part of the Zenon archive.⁵⁵ In that case, the region would still have been in the hands of king Ptolemy II in 257. Theocritus (17.88) states that parts of Cilicia once belonged to Ptolemy II, and the foundation of Arsinoe and Berenike in Cilicia had long been ascribed to him.⁵⁶ These cities would have been founded some time between 279 at the earliest and 253 at the latest, the date of the peace that concluded the Second Syrian War. Arsinoe, perhaps also Berenike, was founded by Aetos, the Ptolemaic governor in charge before the loss of the region. A date in the 260s seems the most probable.

It was left to his son Thraseas, after the region reverted to the Ptolemies in 246 B.C., to finish his father's work at Arsinoe while holding the same position that Aetos once held when he founded the city. Whether this was still in the 230s (after 238 B.C.) or already in the 220s cannot be said. What can be said, however, is that Thraseas was still alive and politically active in the later 220s, while a son of his, Ptolemaios, began to make a name for himself as early as 219 B.C. The new inscription from Arsinoe sheds further light on the history of the family.

The new inscription reveals in line 20 that the family's origin was the city of Aspendos in Pamphylia. Aspendos has long been known for her connections with the Ptolemies. A well-known decree of the city honours mercenaries of "king Ptolemy" (either Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II) who had come to defend the city against unidentified enemies.⁵⁷ A large number of citizens of Aspendos are attested in the service of the Ptolemies, in military as

the Pithom stele of 274/3 B.C. is regarded as the *terminus ante quem*. Arsinoe, however, was already Ptolemy's queen on the occasion of the famous procession described by Kallixeinos, since the author mentions ἡ τοῖς τῶν βασιλέων γονεῦσι κατανομασμένη (πομπή), *FGrHist* 627 F 2, 168 (Athen. 5.197d). The procession has now been securely dated to midwinter 275/4 (Valerie Foertmeyer, "The Dating of the Pompe of Ptolemy II Philadelphus," *Historia* 37 [1988] 90–104). Kirsten's late date for the marriage ("probably only in 274," 61) is thereby ruled out.

⁵⁴The peace was concluded in 253 B.C., before the middle of July, as W. Clarysse has shown, *Studia Hellenistica* 24 (1980) 83–89.

⁵⁵*PMichZen* 10, which is more complete than the previous publication, *PCairZen* 59052 (wrong date in Kirsten 61). The editor, C. C. Edgar, opts for the Cilician town. See also L. Robert, *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* (Paris 1938) 255, and n. 2; *id.* (above, n. 33) 157, n. 2. An additional testimony for Arsinoe in Pamphylia became known through *AJA* 65 (1961) 134, no. 35.

⁵⁶Magie (above, n. 8) 278.

⁵⁷First published by Paribeni and Romanelli, *MonAnt* 23 (1914) 116, no. 13, republished by M. Segre, *Aegyptus* 14 (1934) 252–268. See also J. Seibert, "Philokles, Sohn des Apollodoros, König der Sidonier," *Historia* 19 (1970) 337–351, at 344–351, who argues that the king may as well be Ptolemy II as Ptolemy I.

well as in administrative posts. They have been collected and discussed by Louis Robert.⁵⁸ To these names can now be added two governors of Cilicia, father and son, Aetos and Thraseas, as well as the Aspendian Meas, author of a dedication to Hermes and Heracles for the wellbeing of king Ptolemy III, queen Berenike and their children, which was discovered not far from Arsinoe at Meydancık, very close to Gülnar.⁵⁹ And it is there that a hoard of more than five thousand silver coins was found in September 1980, hidden about 240/235 B.C.⁶⁰ The hoard and Meas' dedication are contemporary with Thraseas' governorship of the region, and the two Aspendians, Thraseas and Meas, would have known each other.

The best known member of the governor's family is Thraseas' son Ptolemaios. He appears for the first time in 219 B.C. as a high ranking general of king Ptolemy IV Philopator of Egypt and is last attested, some twenty-five years later, as governor and high priest of Coelesyria and Phoenice in the service of king Antiochos III the Great of Syria. His origin was unknown until now, although Wilhelm Dittenberger had long ago concluded from Doric forms used in a dedication that he came from a Doric city.⁶¹ It is now known that he and his ancestors were citizens of Aspendos. Aspendos was in fact a Doric city, founded in the 8th or 7th century B.C. by Argos. This is why a recently published decree of Argos from the later 4th century speaks of the Aspendians as *συγγενεῖς καὶ οἰκεῖ*οι.⁶²

The revelation of the family's origin is at once of interest in connection with the earliest mention of Ptolemaios, at Polybius 5.65.3. It comes in a long and well-informed report on the efforts of the Ptolemaic government in 219 B.C. to improve the strength and ability of the army, so that it might be able to withstand another onslaught by the forces of Antiochos III, once the truce prevailing at that moment had expired. Polybius says in the relevant passage: "Phoxidas the Achaean, Ptolemy the son of Thraseas,

⁵⁸Robert (above, n. 41) 373–415.

⁵⁹CRAI 1981, 361, fig. 7 (*SEG* 31.1321). See also *Bull.* 1982, 452; Le Rider (above, n. 44) 16; A. Davesne, *CRAI* 1987, 378.

⁶⁰CRAI 1981, 356–370. See also A. Davesne, *RA* 1985, 29–46; Le Rider (above, n. 44) 15–17.

⁶¹*OGIS* 230, note 1: "Ethnicum nusquam additur, sed cum plerique duces exercituum illa aetate Graeci origine fuerint, haud absurde ex huius tituli sermone Ptolemaeum ex civitate nescio qua Dorica oriundum fuisse conieceris." F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 1 (Oxford 1957) 592: "origin unknown ...; his dialect is northwest Greek."

⁶²R. Stroud, "An Argive Decree from Nemea Concerning Aspendos," *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 196–216. On the relationship of the two cities see Stroud's commentary, esp. 199–209. Stroud (200–201), while recording my suggestion [*οἰκεῖ*οι (200, note 22)], prefers [*ἀποικ*]οι. I continue to think that the Argives, had they wished to use *ἀποικοι* in this context, would have put this word first, before (or rather, instead of) *συγγενεῖς*. The matter is, however, of little consequence.

and Andromachus of Aspendus exercised together in one body the phalanx and the Greek mercenaries, the phalanx twenty-five thousand strong being under the command of Andromachus and Ptolemy and the mercenaries, eight thousand, under that of Phoxidas" (tr. W. R. Paton).

The passage shows that the man with whom Ptolemaios shared the responsibility for the phalanx was a fellow citizen of his, another Aspendian. Polybius had already introduced him in the previous chapter as a man of substance: "... great services in this respect being rendered by Andromachus of Aspendus and Polycrates of Argos, who had recently arrived from Greece and in whom the spirit of Hellenic martial ardour and fertility of resource was still fresh, while at the same time they were distinguished by their origin and by their wealth."⁶³ The fact that Andromachos is mentioned several more times until after the victory at Raphia in 217 B.C. (at which time he was appointed Ptolemaic governor of Syria and Phoenice),⁶⁴ while nothing further is heard in this connection about Ptolemaios, seems to indicate that Andromachos was Ptolemaios' superior.⁶⁵

Even more interesting, and somewhat intriguing, is the fact that Polybius does not record Ptolemaios' origin. A closer look at chapters 63 to 65 of Polybius' fifth book reveals that in these three chapters he enumerates twelve foreign officers, eleven with their respective ethnics, Ptolemaios being the single exception. There is clearly something wrong with the text as it stands. It may be suggested that the author wished to say something like "the Achaean Phoxidas and with him Ptolemaios, son of Thraseas, and Andromachos, both Aspendians."⁶⁶

Nothing more is heard of Ptolemaios for about twenty years, until he finally reappears as governor of Coelesyria and Phoenice—a trusted administrator in the service of the Seleucid king Antiochos III the Great. In that capacity he made a dedication at Soloi in Cilicia to Hermes, Heracles, and "the great king Antiochos."⁶⁷ This was only possible after the king had

⁶³Polyb. 5.64.4–5 (tr. W. R. Paton). Polycrates was for more than thirty years active as a leading figure in the service of the Ptolemies; see Walbank (above, n. 61) 589. See M. Mitsos, *Ἀρχαὶκή προσωπογραφία* (Athens 1952) 150–151; *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* 2172, 15065.

⁶⁴Polyb. 5.83.3, 85.9, 87.6.

⁶⁵Huss (above, n. 48) 61, n. 258; D. Gera, "Ptolemy Son of Thraseas and the Fifth Syrian War," *Ancient Society* 18 (1987) 63–73, esp. 68–70. There is not the slightest indication that, as Kirsten says (59), he later joined Ptolemaios in his defection.

⁶⁶The plural *Ἀσπένδων* (instead of *Ἀσπένδιος*) would have been a possibility, were it not for the construction of the sentence as it now runs.

⁶⁷OGIS 230 (photograph in *BCH* 96 [1972] 100, fig. 11). This was correctly dated by G. Radet, *RevPhil* 17 (1893) 62, and by M. Holleaux, *BCH* 32 (1908) 268. Although this had sometimes been overlooked (by Dittenberger, *loc. cit.*, n. 1, and Ad. Wilhelm, *Über einige Beschlüsse der Athener*, *PragmAkAth* 1936.1, 35), it is not quite correct to say

conquered the city in 197 B.C.⁶⁸ From Soloi at about the same time comes another stone containing an order to the military to respect the rights of citizens. It is usually attributed to Ptolemy IV Philopator or Ptolemy V Epiphanes, but, as F. Piejko has observed, it may rather "reflect the moment of Seleucid entrance to Soloi in 197 B.C."⁶⁹

At about the same time, Ptolemaios son of Thraseas is the central figure in a dossier of short documents inscribed on a large stele found near Hefzibah (Scythopolis) in Palestine. The stele contains two memoranda sent by Ptolemaios to king Antiochos III, an answer by the king, brief instructions by the king to some officials, and the covering letters to these instructions.⁷⁰ The reading of several dates given on the very worn stone presents great difficulties; according to Landau, the first editor, the dates are 202/1, 201/0, and 196/5, whereas Fischer reads them as 199/8, 199/8, and 196/5. These documents depict Ptolemaios as the owner of a large estate consisting of several villages, and preoccupied with keeping the estate and its inhabitants out of trouble and free from molestation. It seems obvious that Ptolemaios owed that estate to the generosity of the king. He is several times called ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς and this must mean, in the area of Scythopolis, the province of Coelesyria and Phoenice. This is confirmed by the expression in lines 15–16 ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Σ[υρ]ίᾳ καὶ Φ[οι]νίκῃ [στ]ρατηγόν.⁷¹ Be it as early as 202/1 or as late as 199/8 B.C., Ptolemaios holds the same position here as he does in his dedication from Soloi.

It was again in that same capacity that he received the letter from the

that it is still a "widely held belief" that the dedicant had already deserted the Ptolemaic court in 218 B.C. (Gera [above, n. 65] 68)—Beloch, Bengtson, Bickerman, Volkmann and others all have this right. Gera (69, n. 1) wrongly charges Volkmann with the mistaken view; Volkmann ("Ptolemaios," *RE* 23.2 [1959]) is noncommittal on 1762; however, on 1682, he is explicit and correct.

⁶⁸Livy 33.20.4. Hieronymus, *FGrHist* 260 F 46. H. Schmitt, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Grossen und seiner Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1964) 278. Ptolemaios may have participated in this campaign as suggested by J. E. Taylor, *Seleucid Rule in Palestine* (Diss. Duke 1979) 142.

⁶⁹The document is Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, no. 30. Welles discusses the authorship (137–138). He dismisses a Seleucid king because of the use of the singular, alien to them but common for the Ptolemies. F. Piejko, however, (*Gnomon* 57 [1985] 612) thinks not of a king, but of a Seleucid, high-ranked official, such as Zeuxis, as being the author, and if so, the singular would be natural.

⁷⁰First published by Y. H. Landau, "A Greek Inscription Found near Hefzibah," *IEJ* 16 (1966) 54–70. See also J. and L. Robert, *Bull.* 1970, 469–473, no. 627; Th. Fischer, "Zur Seleukideninschrift von Hefzibah," *ZPE* 33 (1979) 131–138; J. M. Bertrand, "Sur l'inscription d'Hefzibah," *ZPE* 46 (1982) 167–174. For additional bibliography, see Fischer.

⁷¹As E. Bickerman observed (*Studies in Jewish and Christian History* 2 [Leiden 1980] 46, n. 3), this still preserved the Ptolemaic name of the province, whereas Ptolemaios son of Thraseas in his dedication at Soloi (above, n. 67) uses the new, Seleucid, name Συρία Κοίλη καὶ Φοινίκη; cf. Bengtson (above, n. 46) 166. This conforms to the fact that the dossier from Hefzibah antedates the dedication at Soloi.

king preserved in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* 12.138–144. With it, the king, in recognition of services rendered during the course of the Fifth Syrian War and on the occasion of his entry into Jerusalem, bestowed a number of privileges on the Jews who, as a result of the war, had become his subjects.⁷² This letter is to be dated some time between the summer of 200 and 198 B.C.⁷³

It follows from this discussion that Ptolemaios son of Thraseas may have held the governorship of Coelesyria and Phoenice as early as 202/1, but certainly in 199/8 and still in 196/5 B.C. Gera's conclusion seems correct that he deserted the court of Egypt some time between the death of king Ptolemy IV Philopator in 204 B.C. and 201, probably in connection with the power struggle for control over the boy king Ptolemy V Epiphanes.⁷⁴ Antiochos III must have received him with open arms, as he had others before, all the more so since he was about to resume the attempt to conquer Palestine that had failed in 217 B.C. At his arrival, or soon thereafter, Ptolemaios was given the governorship of Northern Syria and the estate he later owned around Scythopolis.

Now that the evidence for Ptolemaios son of Thraseas has been reviewed, it is time to move back to his ancestors. Almost one hundred years ago, W. Schmitthenner suggested that Thraseas son of Aetos, Athenian from the deme of Phlya, was none other than the father of the strategos Ptolemaios.⁷⁵ And more than fifty years ago, Adolf Wilhelm in his turn suggested that the father of this Athenian Thraseas may have been Aetos son of Apollonius, who in 253/2 B.C. was the eponymous priest of Alexander the Great and the *Theoi Adelphoi* in Egypt.⁷⁶ Both suggestions, daring as they were at the time they were made,⁷⁷ are now confirmed by the new evidence. Aetos is in all probability also the eponymous officer of a unit of the Egyptian army, who is attested in 245/4 and (probably) 242/1 B.C.⁷⁸ The new documents also show that both the grandfather and the father of Ptolemaios had once

⁷²Interpreted by E. Bickerman, "La Charte Séleucide de Jérusalem," *Revue des Études Juives* 100 (1935) 4–35, revised edition in Bickerman's *Studies* (above, n. 71) 2.44–85. See also V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia 1961) 82–84. Taylor (above, n. 68) 51–107.

⁷³See most recently Gera (above, n. 65) 67.

⁷⁴Gera (above, n. 65) 71–73. The same conclusion already in Taylor (above, n. 68) 125.

⁷⁵W. Schmitthenner, *De coronarum apud Athenienses honoribus quaestiones epigraphicae* (Diss. Berlin 1891) 39, n. 2 (non vidi).

⁷⁶Wilhelm (above, n. 67) 34 (*Akademischeschriften* 2.548). See J. IJsewijn, *De sacerdotibus sacerdotisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymis* (Brussels 1961) 25, no. 33. W. Clarysse and G. van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Leiden 1983, *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 24) 8, no. 38.

⁷⁷In my *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in hellenistischer Zeit* (Göttingen 1982) 116, n. 171, I judged Wilhelm's combinations "verführerisch, aber ganz unsicher." Kirsten (60) still shares these doubts, which I no longer have.

⁷⁸Wilhelm (above, n. 67) 33. W. Peremans and E. van't Dack, "Notes sur quelques

been governors of Cilicia for the Ptolemies,⁷⁹ which helps to explain why Ptolemaios, when he was governor of Northern Syria, made a dedication at Soloi in Cilicia. His grandfather Aetos, while governor, had founded the city of Arsinoe in Cilicia in honor of the (probably deceased) queen Arsinoe II. He had also become a honorary citizen of Nagidos, the neighboring city that had to make room for the new foundation on its own territory. The province had been lost for a while to the Seleucids, but his father Thraseas, serving under king Ptolemy III Euergetes, after the king had recovered Cilicia in 246/5 B.C., continued in the same role. He made a strong effort to strengthen the city and to work out an agreement between the old city (Nagidos) and the new foundation (Arsinoe) that allowed them to live peacefully side by side. This is the principal tenor of the present documents.

So long as the family's origin was not known, it was at least feasible to see in Thraseas son of Aetos from Phlya, whom the fragmentary decree *IG II*² 836 honours, a native Athenian citizen. He seems to have been considered as such by Michael Osborne, who in his book on new Athenian citizens does not discuss, and does not even mention, him as a possible naturalized Athenian.⁸⁰ It was, however, never likely that he was born an Athenian. Adolf Wilhelm pointed to the indications that seemed to show him as a foreigner from Egypt, either in the service of "king Ptolemy" (mentioned in line 4 of the decree), or an important merchant. He seems to have presented Athens with a substantial gift of grain and of hair (essential for the use of torsion catapults).⁸¹ The indications suggested a foreigner already naturalized and registered in the deme of Phlya. Wilhelm also observed that Phlya became part of the new tribe Ptolemais when that tribe was established in 224/3 B.C.,⁸² and he wondered whether it was by coincidence that Thraseas was "assigned" ("zugeteilt") the very tribe created to honour his king. Wilhelm seems to have been unaware at that moment that new citizens in Athens always had the right to choose their tribe, deme, and phratry. It seems fairly obvious that Thraseas deliberately chose to be registered in Ptolemais. If so, this could have happened in 224/3 B.C. at the earliest. The decree *IG II*² 836, which Kirchner assigned to a year soon after 229 B.C., would then have to be somewhat later, but not necessarily much later. Thraseas could very well have received his citizenship at the time the Athenians honoured his sovereign with a cult, named a tribe after him, and instituted a festival in his name, the Ptolemaia. He would then

prêtres éponymes d'Égypte ptolemaïque," *Historia* 8 (1959) 170. *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* 1828 (Aetos the officer) and 4988 (Aetos the eponymous priest).

⁷⁹For the grandfather Aetos, see lines 19–20; for the father Thraseas, see lines 24–25.

⁸⁰M. J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, 4 vols. (Brussels 1981–1983).

⁸¹Polyb. 4.56.3 (with Walbank's note [above, n. 61], 512); 5.89.9.

⁸²Wilhelm (above, n. 67) 34. For the date of the tribe's creation, see Habicht (above, n. 77) 107–112. Kirsten (60) has the date wrong.

have chosen the tribe Ptolemais and could have been back in Athens with gifts from the king a year or so later, to be honoured by the extant decree.

The new documents make it clear that he was not a merchant but indeed had a close connection with the royal court at Alexandria; he was a person of high standing within the Ptolemaic hierarchy and, probably in the 230s, was governor of Cilicia, once also governed by his father.

Ptolemaios was not the only son of Thraseas. There were, it seems, two others. First, Apollonios. Apollonios son of Thraseas is attested as governor of Coelesyria and Phoenice for king Seleucus IV Philopator, between 187 and 175 B.C. (2 *Macc.* 3.5). It is the position held some ten to twenty years earlier by Ptolemaios son of Thraseas, and it has long been assumed that Apollonios was a (younger) brother of Ptolemaios,⁸³ who succeeded his elder brother as governor of the province. Second, Thraseas. It is now possible to identify yet another member of the family, who seems to have been another son of Thraseas. The name, together with the ethnic, and the function of the man, make it extremely likely that Thraseas son of Thraseas from Aspendos belongs to the family, while his date, the early second century B.C., is perfectly compatible with his being a brother to both Ptolemaios and Apollonios.

The famous list of *theorodokoi* from Delphi contains the following entry for the city of Tamassos in Cyprus: ἐν Ταμάσσῳ Θρασέας Θρα[σί]α Ἀσπέδιος.⁸⁴ The editor, A. Plassart, observed that for three of the eight or nine cities of Cyprus that are listed the *theorodokoi*, contrary to the rule, were not citizens of the respective cities, but foreigners to whose names an ethnic was added.⁸⁵ The three cities are Karpaseia, Lapethos, and Tamassos. The explanation for this peculiarity was given by Louis Robert. He recognized in the *theorodokos* for Karpaseia Aristos son of Timodemos of Chios, who is attested in another inscription of the city as ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, the Ptolemaic commander of the city's garrison.⁸⁶ He concluded that the foreigners in Lapethos and Tamassos too ought to be officials of king Ptolemy, and he added: "Peut-être pourra-t-on retrouver ces person-

⁸³ M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* 3 (Paris 1942) 161, n. 6. On the other hand, Bengtson, assuming a confusion of proper names, argued that in fact Ptolemaios son of Thraseas was meant (above, n. 46, 161–163). He was followed in this by Walbank (above, n. 61) 592.

⁸⁴ *BCH* 45 (1921) 4, col. 1.7; for the exact reading, see G. Daux, "Trois remarques de chronologie delphique (III^e et II^e siècles avant J.C.)," *BCH* 104 (1980) 105–125, at 123, n. 1.

⁸⁵ Plassart, *BCH* 45 (1921) 46.

⁸⁶ L. Robert, "Théorodokes de Delphes à Chypre," *RevPhil* 65 (1939) 154–156 (*Opera minora selecta* 2.1307–1309). The other inscription for Aristos is now *SEG* 30.1610. His son, Leonnatos son of Aristos of Chios, is attested as officer in another inscription found near Karpaseia (*BCH* 3 [1879] 172–173; see also *SEG* 30.1610). For the date of these three entries (ca 194–181 B.C.), see Daux (above, n. 84) 123.

nages sur un document d'Égypte inédit ou déjà connu." There is no new document for Thraseas, but his ethnic now provides the link with the family of Aetos, the elder Thraseas, Ptolemaios and Apollonios.

After I had written the preceding paragraph, Christopher Jones kindly drew to my attention J. E. Taylor's dissertation of 1979 quoted in note 68. While Taylor doubted the validity of Wilhelm's attribution of the Thraseas who was honoured by the Athenian decree IG II² 836 to the family of Ptolemaios, son of Thraseas,⁸⁷ he ingeniously connected the Thraseas of the Delphic inscription with it and correctly concluded that he was the brother of Ptolemaios and that Aspendos was the family's hometown.⁸⁸

Concerning this family, it is worth emphasising that three brilliant conjectures by three different scholars (Schmittthener, Wilhelm, Taylor) have all been confirmed by the new documents from Arsinoe.

From the identification of the *theorodokos* Thraseas as a member of this family of royal dignitaries it follows that after, and despite, the desertion of Ptolemaios from the Egyptian to the Syrian court, other members of the family continued to remain in positions of trust in the Ptolemaic kingdom. This had already been suggested some time ago by Adolf Wilhelm. He observed, in his review of the men called Aetos, that Aetos, son of Aetos, served in Egypt as eponymous priest of Alexander the Great and the deified Ptolemies in 197/6 B.C. and is attested in this capacity by the Rosetta stone.⁸⁹ Wilhelm concluded that, if this man was in fact related to Ptolemaios, son of Thraseas, the latter's defection did not prevent other members of the family from reaching the highest positions at the court of Alexandria.⁹⁰ Wilhelm also mentioned other Ptolemaic officials of the second century B.C. who might also have been members of the same family.⁹¹ They are [A]etos, son of Apollonios, who appears in a list of names dated to the beginning of the second century B.C.,⁹² and Apollodoros, son of Aetos, τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ ἐπιστάτης καὶ γραμματεὺς τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων, who is attested between 145 and 142 B.C.⁹³

⁸⁷Taylor 115–116. In this he was, as it now appears, mistaken.

⁸⁸Taylor 116–118.

⁸⁹Wilhelm (above, n. 67) 33; for the priesthood see OGIS 90.4 and Clarysse and van der Veken (above, n. 76) 20, no. 94; *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* 4988 a.

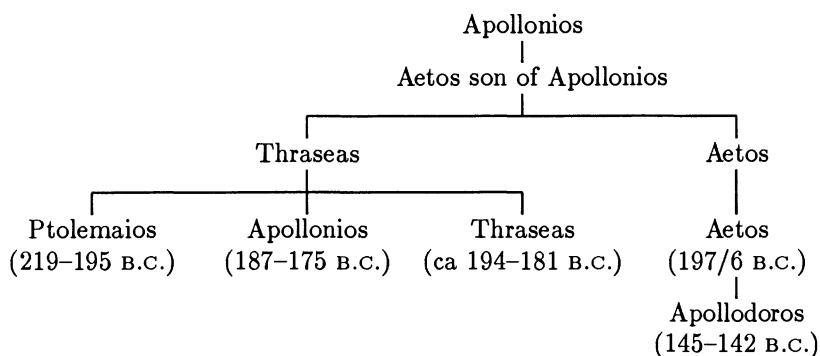
⁹⁰Wilhelm (above, n. 67) 35: "Gehört dieser [sc. Ptolemaios son of Thraseas] dem Hause an, das zwei Alexanderpriester gestellt hat, den des Jahres 253/2 und den des Jahres 197/6 v. Chr., so hat sein Abfall andere Angehörige des Hauses nicht gehindert, höchste Stellungen am ägyptischen Hofe zu bekleiden; doch bleiben die Vermutungen über solche Zusammenhänge schon deshalb unsicher, weil das Alter, in dem diese Männer uns in der Überlieferung entgetreten, die Zahl ihrer Söhne, die Umstände, welche die Namengebung bestimmten, unbekannt sind."

⁹¹Wilhelm (above, n. 67) 32–35.

⁹²Breccia (above, n. 41) no. 143, line 22.

⁹³*Prosopographia Ptolemaica* 2454. IJsewijn (above, n. 76) suggests (71) that he may

From the above discussion the following stemma emerges:



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ADDENDUM

The page proofs of the above article had just been returned when through the courtesy of Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais I received an offprint of his recent paper, "Apport d'inscriptions inédites de Syrie et de Phénicie aux listes de divinités ou à la prosopographie de l'Égypte hellénistique ou romaine."⁹⁴ On pages 613-617, Rey-Coquais discusses an unpublished inscription from Tyre that is of great moment for the history of the family of Aetos, Thraseas, and Ptolemaios. It is inscribed on the base of a statue of Ptolemy IV Philopator, Πτολεμαῖον Θεὸν Φιλοπάτορα βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης Θεῶν Εὐεργετῶν, and is set up by Θρασέας Ἀέτου στρατηγὸς Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκης.⁹⁵ The dedicant is none other than the former governor of Cilicia who brought about the settlement between Nagidos and Arsinoe some time before 221 B.C. It now emerges that, some time later than the battle of Raphia in 217, he was governor of Syria and Phoenice for Ptolemy IV. Rey-Coquais assigns his tenure to the period between 217 and 204, the year

be the son of the eponymous priest Aetos of 197/6. L. Mooren, *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Brussels 1975) 163, no. 0233.

⁹⁴ *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età Araba* (Bologna 1989, Atti del colloquio internazionale, Bologna, 31 agosto-2 settembre, 1987) 609-619.

⁹⁵ Portions of the text as quoted by Rey-Coquais, 614.

of Philopator's death. Since, however, Polybius attests that Andromachos of Aspendos was appointed governor of the province after the victory at Raphia,⁹⁶ the *terminus post quem* will have to be somewhat later.

It also now emerges that Thraseas held for Ptolemy IV the same position that his son Ptolemaios would later hold for Antiochus III. It is therefore possible, as Rey-Coquais already suggested (616), that the son was the immediate successor to his father,⁹⁷ and that the estate which he owned around Scythopolis was not given to him by Antiochus III but had already been given to his father by Ptolemy IV. Ptolemaios would then have inherited this estate and have kept it when he deserted to the service of Antiochus.

Just as Aetos was succeeded by his son Thraseas as governor of Cilicia (even if Thraseas was not his immediate successor), so Thraseas was succeeded by his son Ptolemaios as governor of Syria and Phoenice, and Ptolemaios, now in the service of the Seleucids, in turn by his brother Apollonios. As Rey-Coquais aptly put it (617): "une véritable dynastie de gouverneurs." What he did not know (since he wrote before the documents from Arsinoe were published) is that this holds true for still another generation (in the person of Aetos) and not only for Syria but for Cilicia as well.

The new inscription from Tyre also reveals that Thraseas was a citizen of Alexandria in Egypt, since a demotic of that city, Εὐσέβειος, is added to his name. One might take this to mean that Alexandria was his native city. The documents from Arsinoe, however, show that the family's origin was Aspendos in Pamphylia. They also indicate that Aetos (and his descendants) were honorary citizens of Nagidos, and from *IG II*² 836 it follows that Thraseas (and his descendants) were also honorary citizens of Athens. An additional citizenship at Alexandria is therefore no surprise; the family may have resided there since the year in which Aetos was eponymous priest of Alexander the Great and the *Theoi Adelphoi*, 253/2, or even before.

CHRISTIAN HABICHT

⁹⁶Pol. 5.87.6: (Ptolemy) διατρίψας ἐπὶ τρεῖς μῆνας ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην τόποις ... μετὰ ταῦτα καταλιπὼν τὸν Ἀνδρόμαχον τὸν Ἀσπένδιον στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν προειρημένων τόπων.

⁹⁷"Le roi Séleucide lui confia, ou peut-être lui laissa, le gouvernement de la province."