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P. DUK. INV. 677: AETOS, FROM ARSINOITE STRATEGOS TO EPNYMIOUS PRIEST


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P.DUK.inv. 677: Aetos, from Arsinoite Strategos to Eponymous Priest

In the following pages I present a papyrus that is now held in the Special Collections Library at Duke University. P.Duk.inv. 677 (with inv. 674-727) was acquired in 1980. The cartonnage from which it was recovered also contained inv. 674-676.

I became aware of this text in the course of working on a study of the strategoi of the Arsinoite nome. While the text makes up a small portion of this larger project, it seems worthy of prompt and independent publication for two reasons. First, the petition is addressed to Aetos the strategos of the Arsinoite nome for the third year of Epiphanes’ reign (203/202). This date makes Aetos one of only two known strategoi of the Arsinoite between 217/216 and 193/192. Second, it is probable that Aetos is to be identified with Aetos son of Aetos, the eponymous priest of Alexander for 197/196, and the descendant of a long line of well-known Ptolemaic generals.

The papyrus

This petition is written on a long and fairly narrow piece of medium-brown, mottled papyrus. All four margins are intact and, with the exception of two small sections that have been torn away from the left side (removing completely or partially the first halves of 12-13 and 16-17), the text is complete. A sheet-join is apparent roughly 1 cm. from the left side on the recto; on the verso the join runs down the middle. The overlap is 2-3 cm. The vertical cuts are not quite parallel: the papyrus measures roughly 7 cm. in width at the top and roughly 9 cm. at the bottom. The top margin is roughly 2.5 cm., the left 1.0 cm. (the width of the kollema), and the bottom 3.5 cm; the right margin of writing is irregular.

The hand moves in a thick, dark ink with the fibres, heavily but neatly. All internal omegas exhibit a single hoop; terminal omegas have two: αξια (23), καταφύσσαμοι (28), τύχα (30). The rearing rho is consistent throughout. At the start of the closing formula ειμι (23) is “capitalized.” The letter rho is little more than a descender with a slight, diagonal tick at the top. The great variance in letter-size (15) and the large blank spaces at the line-ends (14) are noteworthy. The spacing and general layout appear somewhat clumsy. There may, however, be an attempt to preserve the continuity of certain discrete phrases, as the following peculiarities show. At line 20 (τις γίνει ειμι), ειμι is considerably over-sized. The scribe is writing slowly and somewhat unnaturally, as the unusual tick atop the terminal iota of ειμι indicates. The text seems to be enlarged in order to fill the line. Even with the expanded size of ειμι, there is more than enough space at the end of the line to accommodate και (21). But the following phrase, και ὁβοηθητος (21), seems to have been assigned the space of one entire line as well. There, ὁβοηθητος is stretched and pulled apart: note especially the disjointed η- and ττ- pairs, whereas βοηθητος (31) shows a fully developed connecting stroke between eta and theta. The gap between eta and tau is especially pronounced because the form of the eta is almost cursive; a ligature with tau would have followed comfortably. Instead there is no ligature and the tau is awkwardly executed. Its descender is shrunken and bent to the left, whereas those of the other taus in the text are much taller and curved to the right. The approach stroke to the horizontal bar is unusually pronounced and the bar itself says. The hand seems to falter and skip slightly as the scribe attempts to keep a single phrase on a single line. The scribe accomplishes this task of spacing competently but not expertly.

The situation

Thasis daughter of Horos, a widow, has sent the petition to Aetos the strategos. It seems that a woman named Anches, a honey-seller, accompanied by Alexander, one of Aetos’ aides, brought some
Thasis seeks recall from prison and a hearing before the strategos.

**The date and the post**

It is apparent from line 9 that the wrongdoing has taken place on Epeiph 1 of the third year. The hand clearly belongs to the late third/early second centuries; possible third years could fall under Philopator (220/219), Epiphanes (203/202), or Philometor (179/178). The date under Philopator is unlikely for two reasons. First, the occasional ligatures (e.g. καταφρονήσασα, 19) and the “cursive” form of the eta suggest a later date. More importantly, a Diophanes is known to have been strategos for the third year of Philopator’s reign (SB XVIII 13839.11). Diophanes is there concerned with matters in Mouchis, but the notion that in the third century in the Arsinoite there were multiple strategoi per year, each with a specific region of competence, can be excluded because Diophanes’ sphere of competence is known to have encompassed Krokodeilôn polis, the origin of the petitioner in the Duke text.3

A date under Philometor is also unlikely. Ptolemaios is known to be the strategos of the Arsinoite between 193/192 (P.Athen. 8; xii 9, 193 - i 1, 192) and 170 (BGU III 1012; viii 28, 170). There is no doubt that only one strategos at a time exists in each nome in the second century. Ptolemaios appears to have held the strategia for an exceptionally long time; and while there are several years between his first and last for which he is unattested, no other strategoi are known to have interrupted his tenure.4 Thus it has rightly seemed probable that the strategia of the Arsinoite was held by a man named Ptolemaios for every year from 193/192 to 170.5 It has even been advanced that his tenure ran as late as 152, when a new strategos, Melankomas, is known (P.Kön II 144.7, 25, dated to iii 3).6 Since the date of this suggestion, however, new evidence has appeared that precludes such a long duration of Ptolemaios’ tenure. One Demonax is known to have been strategos in 166 (P.Erasm. I 3.4-5, dated to v 5/15). The suggested restoration of Ptolemaios as the strategos mentioned in P.Tebt. III/1 781.1 (ca. 166) should now be removed.7 Furthermore, now that Ptolemaios’ career may be shortened from 40 years (192-152) to 26 years (192-166), there is less reason to argue that over the course of these years more than one man named Ptolemaios held the post of strategos of the Arsinoite nome.8 There is no reason, unless in the light of new evidence, to assign Aetos to one of those brief gaps in Ptolemaios’ attested tenure of the strategia, when another suitable date is possible.

Given the unsuitability of the earlier and later dates, the Duke text should be dated to the third year of Epiphanes’ reign (203/202), more specifically, on or after viii 9, 202.9 Only one other strategos of

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3 See P.Enteux. 9.6; 49.6, 12; 57.6; 60.6; 90.6. 4 The gaps fall between 192 (P.Athen. 8) and 183 (P.Tebt. III/1 793 iii 21, iv 20, xii 12; dated to ii 5-iii 6, ix 9 respectively), 183 and ca. 180 (SB XVI 12375.31), ca. 180 and 176/175 (P.Tebt. III/1), 175/174 and 172 (P.Heid. VI 364, dated xi 14).


7 Numerous others have followed the editors’ suggestion. See H. Henne. Liste des stratèges des noms égyptiens à l’époque gréco-romaine, (Cairo 1935) suppl. p. 5* (with hesitation); PP I 312; E. Van ’t Dack and T. Reekmans, Ptolemaica, (Leiden 1951) 92, n. 2; G. Mussies, “Supplément à la liste des stratèges des noms égyptiens de H. Henne,” Pap.Lugd.Bat. XIV, 13-46, esp. 16 #32 (with hesitation); Mooren (n. 5) 10.

8 Mooren (n. 5) 12.
9 The other texts that were recovered from the same batch of cartonnage, P.Duk.inv.. 674-676, also are dated to the late third/early second centuries. Inv. 674 is a petition dated to year 14, Choiach 17 (i 24, 191 or i 28, 209 on palaeographical grounds); inv. 675 is a private letter dated to year 11 (195/194 on palaeographical grounds); inv. 676 is a petition regarding the apomoria on roses for year 10 = 196/195—dated palaeographically and by the fact that it mentions a fairly well known archipulakites named Philon (P.Tebt. III/1 741 [187/186], III.1 796 [185], P.Hels. 2 [195-192], SB VI 9104 [195], P.Athen. 8 [193/192], P.Mich. XVIII 778 [193/192], 779 [192], with reference to P.Duk.inv. 676). All these texts are currently under preparation for inclusion in a volume of Ptolemaic texts in the Duke collection; digital scans and catalogue records may be found on the DPA, <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus>, 1996.
the Arsinoite is known between Aphthonetos in 217/216 (P.Petr. II 12.1; Chr.Mitt. 12.2, 13.2) and Ptolemaios in 193/192, when he begins his twenty-six years of tenure of the post. This is Agathis who held the post, evidently as the immediate successor of the strategos in the Duke text, in 199/198 (P.Petr. III 31.1). 10 The Duke papyrus helps to fill this gap.

Aetos

The name Aetos is rare in the Ptolemaic period, occurring in the papyri five times in the third century, once in the second. 11 Two texts mention an Aetos as leader of a troop of Thracians, who appear to be located in the Oxyrhynchite (P.Frankf. 5.2, 10; P.Hib. I. 33.5-6, 13). This Aetos (ca. 245-242) appears too early to be identified with the Aetos (203/202) in the Duke papyrus. One hesitates to put much trust in the tattered scrap of a letter to an Aetos (SB XII 10849.6), dated only to the third century, or in an account from 181, which mentions a Lysimachos son of Aetos (P.Tebt. III/2 1022.verso 123). A Hermas son of Aetos is attested in ca. 221-220 (P.Petr. III 112c 2), perhaps as a hundred-arouraman of the third hipparchy. The only man in this group who appears at all likely to be related to Aetos the strategos in the Duke papyrus is Aetos the Oxyrhynchite troop leader. He may be an older relative.

It should be noted that great honor, prestige, and power are attached to the position of strategos of the Arsinoite. Hence it is significant that the remaining Aetos known from the papyri is a similarly powerful man. The priest of Alexander for year 33 of Ptolemy Philadelphos (253/252) is Aetos son of Apollonios (PP III 4988). 12 This Aetos and his family are quite well known. Almost every attested member of the family is known to have been an important strategos. 13 Aetos son of Apollonios was himself strategos of Ptolemaic Cilicia in the 260s when he founded Arsinoe in Cilicia. 14 His son Thraseas (PP VI 16181) succeeded him in the post, and was active as late as the 230s and 220s. 15 Thraseas had three sons, Ptolemaios (PP VI 15236 = II 2174), Apollonios, 16 and Thraseas (PP VI 14977). Much is known about the first son, Ptolemaios. 17

There is another, less well known side of the family. Thraseas son of Aetos had a brother named Aetos. This Aetos is not independently attested, but his existence may be deduced from the following: Aetos, the eponymous priest of Alexander for 197/196, as attested by the Rosetta stone, is identified with patronymic as Aetos son of Aetos. 18 The dates of Aetos’ tenure of the priesthood place him

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10 The text was originally dated to the reign of Euergetes but has since been re-dated by W. Clarysse and E. Lanciers, “Currency and the Dating of Demotic and Greek Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period,” AncSoc 20 (1989) 117-132, 125-127. As F. Uebel, Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemären, (Berlin 1968) 138-139 n. 3, rightly saw, the Agathis of P.Frankf. 6.2 may not be identified with Agathis the strategos of P.Petr. III 31.1. Clarysse and Lancier follow Uebel.

11 P.Cair.Zen. II 59248.2 (252), P.Frankf. 5.2, 10 (242), P.Hib. I 33.6, 13 (245), P.Petr. III 112.c.2 (ca. 221-220), P.Tebt. III.2 1022.v.123 (ca. 181), SB XII 10849.6 (III).


14 Jones and Habicht (n. 13) 337.

15 Jones and Habicht (n. 13) 337-338; see also IG II 2 836; PP VI 16181.


18 OGIS I 90.1  = SB V 8299; see also Clarysse and van der Veken (n. 12) 20 #94. The fact that this Aetos had the same name as his father may give just cause for speculation that he was a second or third son.
securely in the same generation as the sons of Thraseas son of Aetos. This means that Aetos the priest for 197/196 must have had a father named Aetos who was of the same generation as Thraseas son of Aetos. The following stemma,\textsuperscript{19} may help to clarify these relationships:

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
\node (Aetos) at (0,0) {Aetos (260s)};
\node (Apollonios) at (0,-1) {Apollonios};
\node (Thraseas) at (0,-2) {Thraces (230s-220s)};
\node (AetosII) at (0,-3) {Aetos II};
\node (Ptolemaios) at (-1,-4) {Ptolemaios (219-195)};
\node (ApolloniosII) at (1,-4) {Apollonios II (187-185)};
\node (ThracesII) at (0,-5) {Thraces II (ca. 194-181)};
\node (AetosIII) at (0,-6) {Aetos III (203-196)};\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Our Aetos strategos of the Arsinoite in 203/202 can almost certainly not be identified with Aetos II. Thraces I was apparently active in the 230s and 220s. If he and his brother Aetos II were roughly equal in age, then similar dates may be assumed for Aetos II, so that the \textit{strategia} in 203/202 is probably too late. I suggest, therefore, that the strategos in the Duke text should be identified with Aetos III, the eponymous priest of Alexander of 197/196.\textsuperscript{21} The state of the evidence, however, does not permit certainty. There is the slight possibility that our Aetos is in fact Aetos II, which would make him considerably younger than his brother Thraces.\textsuperscript{22} The name is so rare that Aetos should be assigned to the family with confidence, but we may not dismiss the chance that he is another, previously unattested member.

If the suggested identification holds, then a few things can be said about the career of Aetos III. First the eponymous priesthood is more prestigious than the \textit{strategia} of the Arsinoite—a position of no small honor itself. No parallel for a career that proceeds from a position in the civil administration of the \textit{chora} to the most highly visible upper tiers of Alexandria presents itself readily. Second, Aetos III’s \textit{strategia} is considerably less exalted than those of Thraces his uncle, Aetos his grandfather, or Ptolemaios his cousin. After his tenure of the Arsinoite \textit{strategia} Aetos III held a post of greater prestige, but not military prestige. One could speculate that this occurred as a result of his cousin Ptole-

\textsuperscript{19} Adapted from Jones and Habicht (n. 13) 345.

\textsuperscript{20} It has been suggested that Apollodoros son of Aetos of ca. 145 (\textit{PP II} 2454 = \textit{II} 2465) should follow as the son of Aetos III; see L. Mooren, \textit{The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt: Introduction and Prosopography}, (Brussels 1975) 163 # 233, and \textit{idem}, \textit{La hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque: contribution à l’étude des institutions et des classes dirigeantes à l’époque hellénistique}, (Leuven 1977) 169 where Moore concurs with H. Bengtson, \textit{Die Strategie III\textsuperscript{2}}, (Munich 1967) 51, that Apollodoros’ competence as τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ ἐπιστάτων καὶ γραμματέων τῶν κυττάρων ἱππεῶν may have encompassed Upper and Lower Egypt. If this is the case there may be a connection with an Aetos son of Apollonios and an Hippalos son of Aetos who appear on a list of cult-founders erected in Memphis for which see E. Breccia, \textit{Iscrizioni greche e latine} (Cairo 1911) 143.22, 62 = \textit{SB I} 681.22, 62; P. Fraser, \textit{Ptolemaic Alexandria II}, (Oxford 1972) 438, n. 751 redates this inscription from the early second to “a century or more later” on the basis of letter form and the “similarity of the proper names” to those of another list of members of a \textit{koinon} from Hermopolis, which is dated to 78 BC (Fraser, 438 n. 750). D. Thompson, \textit{Memphis Under the Ptolemies}, (Princeton 1988) 100, n. 99 concurs. Jones and Habicht (n. 13) 344, n. 92, follow the original date. While there may be no doubt that Apollodoros son of Aetos is related to Aetos III and his family, the roughly 50 years between Apollodoros and Aetos III does not, unless in the light of direct evidence, permit the association.

\textsuperscript{21} It should not be ruled out as a possibility that Aetos, the commander of a troop of Thracians in the 240s (\textit{P. Frankf. 5.2, 10 [242]}, \textit{P.Hib. I} 33.6. 13 [245]), is Aetos II. One would think that the father of Aetos III was highly connected, perhaps as highly as his brother Thraces, so the identification of Aetos the commander of the troop of Thracians with the father of the strategos of the Arsinoite and priest for 197/196 seems unlikely, but possible.

\textsuperscript{22} One could speculate that Aetos II, as a homonym with his father, was the younger brother of the two, and that likewise Aetos III had at least one older brother.
maios’ defection to the Seleucids in or around 202/201. Ptolemaios’ brothers Apollonios and Thræas followed in his footsteps as successors to the Seleucid governorship of Syria and Phœnia. It is not unimaginable that the Ptolemaic state should have been somewhat reluctant to put great military control in the hands of the cousin of these prominent defectors.

TEXT

P.Duk.inv. 677 ca. 8.0 x 33.5 cm. viii 9, 202 BCE
Arsinoë


23 Taylor (n. 16) 115-156.
24 Taylor (n. 16) 156-157; Jones and Habicht (n. 13) 343-346.
TRANSLATION

To Aetos, strategos, from Thasis daughter of Horos from Krokodilôn polis. I have been wronged by Anches, honey-seller from the same city. For on year 3, Epeiph 1, bringing Alexander, aide on your staff, and having broken into my house, she charged (?) me unjustly to the lock-up. . . [and?] against my [protestation?]. . . she . . ., despising me because I am a widow and helpless, while she, on the other hand, is strong in her own means. I ask, therefore, that you summon me, from jail, and Anches, and give us a hearing, lest I waste away in jail, but let me get aid because of you. Farewell.

NOTES

1. The reading is more clearly visible in the enlargement (plate IV).
2. Thasis daughter of Horos is otherwise unattested.
3. "Ωργος is difficult to make out, but given the short space and the reasonable legibility of the omega and the upsilon, no other name seems likely.
4. The name Anches is unattested in the Ptolemaic period. Four women named Anches are known from the papyri.
5. The name Anches is unattested in the Ptolemaic period. Anches is strong in her own means. I ask, therefore, that you summon me, from jail, and Anches, and give us a hearing, lest I waste away in jail, but let me get aid because of you. Farewell.
7. One should expect the inserted ὑπηρέτης to be written above the point of insertion. Syntactically ὑπηρέτης is possible, but one would expect in that case some indication that Alexander has become the subject (e.g. ὑπηρέτης δέ). Furthermore, Thasis appears to be responsible for the action, for she is the subject of the finite verb that seems to have appeared in 18, as καταφρονήσασα shows. I am unable to produce a suggestion better that the tentative ἐπέλα[θοι̇]α.
8. Some verb of charging, consigning, or condemning must fill the lacuna; (?) ἐγκέκλειταξε is suggested only as a possibility.
9. The adjective ἔκρυτος, -ος is otherwise unattested in the papyri during the Ptolemaic period. The text is badly rubbed here, but the remains of the high, right ascender of the rearing combination reveals that some word is visible.
10. ἔσεμερευρετήριον is a rare word. See UPZ I 119.11 of 156 and more fittingly P.Petr. II 10.2.13 (III) where a scribe Ammonios asks Phaies the oikonomos to get him out of jail: ὅτις μοι ἐν τῷ λαογωπώτῳ παρεγενηθῇ ὑπηρέτης παρὰ Κάλλανος καλλάν με νας. θείς το μβιλα εξήθαν ου κενομένου μου πρός τῇ θερας του στρατηγοῦν συνετέξαν ὁ υπηρέτης ἀπαγέγει με, καὶ νόν ἐν τῷ ἐσεμερευρετήματι εἰμί. εὐτύχη. It is not certain that Kallon is the strategos himself in this text, but if this Kallon is the strategos of P.Petr. III 30.1 (both texts are dated only to the third century), as suggested in PP I 268, then the situation in P.Petr. II 10(2) is closely parallel to that of the Duke text: the hyperetes of the strategos summons and locks up a person in the ephemereterion, and the accused petitions for release.
11. A coordinating (the verb in 18 is indicative) conjunction must precede the unrecovered finite verb in 18. ἐπικαταστα[ . . . ]. μένης seems to be one single aorist middle participle, so the conjunction must fall before ἐπικαταστατη. The sense seems to be “against my protestations.” Both ἐπικαταστατη and ἐπικαταστατη are possible.
12. The letters -πον here conceal a finite verb, whose subject is Anches. [κατ] seems to have been erased, but perhaps we should read [κατα].
13. ἀνακαλε[/σ]μα[ν]όν is admittedly difficult to read and to render. One might rather have an infinitive, ἀνακαλε- λα[ν]όν in order to balance κατα. . . δισυκόσια (28). One is left, however, with two unaccountable spaces and a perfectly legible πον, where οῦ would be redundant.
14. Some verb of charging, consigning, or condemning must fill the lacuna; (?) ἐγκέκλειταξε is suggested only as a possibility.

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P. Duke inv. 677; J. D. Sosin, pp. 141-146