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Two Texts of the *dioiketes* Apollonius

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Abstract

Apollonius' dedication *I.Portes 47* gives first place to Apollo Hylates; this cult is known only on Cyprus, which suggests that Apollonius was Cypriot. *P.Hal.* 1.260-265 grants a tax exemption to victors in certain festivals; the third festival listed is likely to be that at Hieria Nesos, and all three were royal, not civic festivals of Alexandria.

Apollonius the *dioiketes* of Ptolemy II has been known for more than a century, in growing detail with the progressive publication of the Zenon archive discovered in 1915. Two documents of his, one a dedication and the other a letter, had been published even earlier, preserved independently of the archive; though well known, each repays further study.

The Dedication I.Portes 47

From the beginning, scholars have wanted to know where Apollonius came from; no text tells us explicitly, in contrast to his subordinate Zenon of Caunus.¹ But after Edgar's discussion in 1931² there was substantial agreement that Apollonius too came from Caria. The grounds have been the number of Carians in Apollonius' service,³ and two religious gestures: Apollonius made a dedication to Zeus Labraundeus and one to Apollo Hylates, both Carian gods. Thus he and Zenon were both Carians, in effect members of a Carian clique.

The first gesture is in a list of assignments of land by Apollonius (*P.Mich. Zen.* 31), most to individuals (including one native divine, an ibis-keeper); but one plot goes to Sarapis-Asclepius, another to Zeus Labraundeus. Zeus of

¹ M.I. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Madison 1922) 24.

² *P.Mich.Zen.*, p. 15; cf. p. 96.

³ Most notably Zenon himself and his predecessor as administrator of Apollonius' estate in Philadelphia, Panakestor of Calynda (*Guide to the Zenon Archive* 1:386). See C. Orrieux, *Zénon de Caunos* (Paris 1985) 116-120, and especially W. Clarysse in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *100 anni di istituzioni fiorentine per la papirologia* (Florence 2009) 31-43.

Labraunda was indeed Carian. But was Apollonius seeking to please himself or his dependents? One of Apollonius' chief concerns was Memphis, where he often resided and where he held properties,⁴ and the Carian community in Memphis was substantial, mentioned already by Herodotus; and Carians were in the circle of Zenon at Philadelphia.⁵ In allocating land for Carian Zeus, Apollonius may well be accommodating a request from his people, rather than making a choice of his own. That is, the question why honor Carian Zeus may be a subset of the question why so many Carians in Apollonius' employ. This last might be answered in several ways, including the familiar tendency of employees to tell their friends about opportunities – i.e., networking, but at a level below Apollonius.

The other gesture is attested by an inscription on stone. It is a small dedicatory plaque (h. 25.5, w. 33, th. 2-3 cm.), the writing handsome and elegant:⁶

Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑλάτῃ
 Ἀρτέμιδι Φωσφόρῳ
 Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐνοδίῃ
 Λητοῖ Εὐτέκνῳ
 Ἡρακλεῖ Καλλινίκῳ
 Ἀπολλώνιος
 διοικητής.

Petrie thought the piece must come from Coptos, but no argument for this was offered; wherever its origin, a thin plaque ten inches long may well have wandered. Nor is it evident what dedicated object it once marked.

In contrast to the land grants in *P.Mich.Zen.* 31, no particular constituency is obvious for this roster of gods. This small plaque rather should represent a private gesture of Apollonius; perhaps it labeled a domestic shrine with statuettes of these gods. The list of gods would represent a personal choice, his own initiative in a private monument rather than an accommodation of other people.⁷

⁴ See W. Clarysse in *Studia Hellenistica* 24 (Leuven 1980) 100-103.

⁵ Hdt. 2.154.3, *PSI* 4.488.12, 5.531 (τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν Καρῶν); O. Masson, *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqara and Buhen* (London 1978); D.J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton 1988) 83-84, 93-95; G. Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden* (Mainz 2003) 155-179.

⁶ A. Bernard, *I.Portes* 47, with photograph (*OGIS* 1.53; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* 2 [Rome 1969] 139-140, with photograph). The dimensions were first made known by L. Criscuolo in *Studia Hellenistica* 34 (Leuven 1998) 61-72, at 67.

⁷ Cf. P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 1:195: the dedication "may represent the particular interests of Apollonius." Compare the dedication to Apollo

The list has puzzled its modern readers.⁸ It honors Apollo, his sister and mother, and Heracles. The list exhibits nothing of the cults of Coptos, about which we know something; they are largely native (chiefly Min, and a number of others, but no god from Apollonius' list).⁹ Indeed, it shows nothing peculiar to Egypt.

Apollo Hylates, though the great god of Cypriot Curium, has been the other proof offered for Apollonius' Carian origin, on the basis of Pausanias' mention of Apollo of Hylai at Magnesia on the Maeander. Doubt should have obtruded: Magnesians, proud of their descent from Thessalian Magnesia, were not Carian.¹⁰ More important, the Ὑλαί at Magnesia where Pausanias knew a temple of Apollo¹¹ was emended out of existence in 1895, when Wilamowitz saw that this is in fact Aulai as in Apollo Aulites shown on Magnesian coins, and editors of Pausanias since then have printed Ἀῦλαί.¹² Only those seeking to trace Apollonius to Caria or commenting on the dedicatory plaque have relied on the discredited text: first Edgar in 1931, later e.g. Préaux,¹³ Fraser,¹⁴ A. Bernand (ad loc.), Turner.¹⁵

In a learned and judicious reexamination of the matter, Crisculo has suggested that Apollonius came from Aspendus in Pamphylia:¹⁶ she would identify him with the Aspendian Apollonius now on record as ancestor of prominent royal officials – father of Aetos active in the 250s and 240s and grandfather of

Didymeus by a Milesian among the Scythians: Plin. *HN* 5.49, with L. Robert, *Documents d'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1987) 455-460.

⁸ Crisculo (n.6) 66-67, n.17, surveys their puzzlement.

⁹ See C. Traunecker, *Coptos: hommes et dieux* (Leuven 1992) 333-363; cf. *Autour de Coptos*, *Topoi Suppl.* 3 (Lyons 2002). Guarducci (n. 6) was hasty in writing that Apollonius' dedication was to "the principal divinities of Coptos" (140).

¹⁰ Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schr.* 5.1:78-99; Hdt. 3.90.1 (listed separately from Ionians and Carians).

¹¹ 10.32.6: according to the one ancestral manuscript, Ὑλαί καλούμενον χωρίον. That Apollo's epithet was therefore Hylates is an old deduction (cf. Wernicke, *RE* 2, 1895, 71), and invoked by Dittenberger in 1903 concerning our inscription (*OGIS* 1.53, n. 1).

¹² *Kleine Schr.* 5.1:359, n. 3; Robert (n. 7) 35-46. Clarysse (n. 4) 106 and Crisculo (n. 6) quite properly ignored the Pausanias passage in discussing Apollonius' origins.

¹³ C. Préaux, *Chr. d'Ég.* 9 (1934) 352 ("ces Grecs d'Asie"); *Les grecs en Egypte d'après les archives de Zénon* (Brussels 1947) 10 ("probably"); *Le monde hellénistique* (Paris 1978) 1:381 ("ce Carien").

¹⁴ Fraser (n. 7) 1:195: "there is no suggestion ... that these aspects of Apollo or of Artemis were in vogue in his Carian homeland"

¹⁵ But skeptically as to Carian Apollonius: *CAH²* 7.1 (1984) 142.

¹⁶ Crisculo (n. 6) 66-72; rejected by Clarysse (n. 3) 33.

Thrasedas in the later third century.¹⁷ She guesses that Apollonius' attentiveness to Apollo Hylates will be because Aspendus and Curium were both founded by Argos so that Aspendus like Curium may have had the cult, and because the Ptolemies ruled Cyprus.¹⁸ This however is most fragile, as she admits. The name Apollonius was panhellenic, even if rare at the Ptolemies' court (Criscuolo 63, n. 6, noting that her thesis implies that the *dioiketes* and his family were not dismissed upon the accession of Ptolemy III as has been thought). Chaniotis cautiously follows Criscuolo's attribution to Aspendus, but sees that Apollo Hylates still needs an explanation; he speculates that Apollonius might have been a soldier in Cyprus and became "acquainted with the cult" there (that is, he rejects one of the basic elements of her case).¹⁹

I propose a simpler explanation: Apollonius came from Cyprus. With Pausanias' Magnesians eliminated, there is only one place where the cult of Apollo Hylates is attested: Cyprus, and specifically the great temple that has been located and excavated a couple of miles west of Curium on the south coast.²⁰ "Apollo the Bayer" was the patron god of Curium;²¹ we also find dedications to him elsewhere in Cyprus, and in Roman times Cypriots swore their oath of allegiance to the emperor in the name of Apollo Hylates among others.²² He was a god uniquely of Cyprus, and there was nothing traditional or panhellenic about his epithet. Apollonius' dedication is the only documentary

¹⁷ On this family see C.P. Jones and Chr. Habicht, *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 317-346 (*SEG* 39.1426.19); J. Sosin, *ZPE* 116 (1997) 141-146. Criscuolo cites also a dedication from the Curium temple (*I.Kourion* 57) by a simple "Apollonius" (early III BC; but a cheap monument). Other Apollonii from Aspendus: *P.Mich.Zen.* 66 (the father of two dependents of Zenon); *IG* 11.4.684 (ca. 230 BC); L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1964) 373-391 (III and II BC); C. Brixhe and R. Tekoglu, *Kadmos* 39 (2000) 6-7, no. 260 (ca. 200 BC); *Pros.Ptol.* 2.3821 (II BC); *IG* 7.1773.23 (Imperial). An Aspendian is on record as an agent of Apollonius: *P.Cair.Zen.* 1.59003 (*Pros.Ptol.* 1.70).

¹⁸ For Aspendus and Argos see R. Stroud, *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 191-216 (*SEG* 34.282), at 200-201. On the attested cults of Aspendus see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11-12 (1960) 177-188 (the twin Aphroditas); S. Jameson, *RE Suppl.* 12 (1970) 104-105; H. Brandt, *IstMitt* 38 (1988) 237-250.

¹⁹ A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World* (Malden 2005) 153; he adds that Heracles Kalliniktos was favored by soldiers. A Cypriot instance of this is *I.Salamis* 1 = *Salamine* 13.45.

²⁰ R. Scranton, *The Architecture of the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion* (TAPhS 57.5; Philadelphia 1967); D. Soren, *The Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates* (Tucson 1987); S. Sinos, *The Temple of Apollo Hylates at Kourion* (Athens 1990).

²¹ Not Ὑλαῖος "of the woods" but Ὑλάτης from ὕλαω: K. Rigsby, *CP* 91 (1996) 257-260.

²² *SEG* 18.578, τὸν ἡμέτερον Ὑλάτη[ν Ἀπόλλ]ω (under Tiberius).

mention of this god outside of Cyprus. The first author who knows the epithet is Lycophron, Apollonius' contemporary in Alexandria.²³

After Apollo, the plaque honors his kin, who are then capped by Heracles. Of these gods, each might be found among the cults of any city, but together they do not point to one place in particular. In contrast to Apollo Hylates, they are panhellenic, even literary. Leto is εὔτεκνος because of her two children just named. Heracles Kallinikos²⁴ is as frequent in literature as in civic cult. In a popular acclamation, without locale and therefore without cult, he was hailed in a famous song attributed to Archilochus, later sung for victors in the Olympia.²⁵ But he is most often met in a domestic setting, in the apotropaic couplet ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς / ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ μηδὲν εἰσὶτω κακόν.²⁶

The inexplicable item is the double Artemis.²⁷ The coins of Roman Aspendus show twin goddesses as patrons of the city. Robert took them to be the Aphrodites known from an Aspendian inscription of Imperial date dedicated to the Ἀφροδείταις Καστνιήτισιν.²⁸ Kastnion was a hill on Aspendian territory, perhaps its acropolis.²⁹ Criscuolo suggested that the goddesses on the coins are instead Apollonius' two Artemises. The Aspendian inscription naming Aphrodites speaks against this, and also the date. For the twin goddesses of Aspendus are attested only in Imperial times, while Callimachus and Lycophron knew as patron of Aspendus a singular Aphrodite, ἡ Καστνιήτις.³⁰ That pre-Roman singularity is supported by Aspendian dialectic inscriptions attesting a Queen of the Hill, Ἀνασσα Ἄκρου.³¹ She, I suggest, is the goddess who by the begin-

²³ The section on Cyprus (*Alex.* 447-591) introduces the island as Ὑλάτου γῆν (448). Next is the geographer Dionysius in the *Bassarika*, who names three Cypriot cities where Apollo Hylates was honored: οἱ τ' ἔχον Ὑλάταο θεοῦ ἕδος Ἀπόλλωνος, Τέμβρον Ἐρύσθειαν τε καὶ εἰναλίην Ἀμαμασσόν (fr. 4 Livrea). Subsequent authors who mention Hylates are derivative from these two.

²⁴ The mentions in Egypt are listed by L. and W. Swinnen, *AncSoc* 2 (1971) 46-51, at 50, n. 15, with *L.Portes*, p. 165, n. 8.

²⁵ Archilochus fr. 324 West with testimonia. In Egypt, the song was commented on by Eratosthenes (*FGrHist* 241 F 44) and cited by Callimachus (fr. 384.39 Pf.).

²⁶ Th. Preger, *Inscriptiones Graecae metricae* (Leipzig 1891) no. 213; R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *Steinepigramme* 1 (Stuttgart 1998) No. 01/15/01; discussion, C. Faraone, *GRBS* 49 (2009) 228-234.

²⁷ A coin of Tabae in Caria offers a parallel of Imperial date, two Artemises facing each other: J. and L. Robert, *La Carie* 2 (Paris 1953) 143-144. For such doublings see H.S. Versnel, *Coping with the Gods* (Leiden 2011) 80-81.

²⁸ Robert (n. 17).

²⁹ Steph. Byz. s.v. Κάστινιον, ὄρος ἐν Ἀσπένδῳ τῆς Παμφυλίας.

³⁰ Callim. fr.200a Pf.; Lycoph. *Alex.* 403, 1234.

³¹ Brixhe and Tekoglu (n. 17) 10-20, no. 274 (II BC), 25-53, no. 276.33 (ca. 300 BC).

ning of the Hellenistic age had come to have also an Olympian name and topographic epithet, Aphrodite Kastnietis. The doubling is a later development in this cult, whatever its cause, and Apollonius' two Artemises remain to be explained. The explanation may lie in some personal and domestic notion of Apollonius rather than in an allusion to a particular civic cult.³²

The conclusion is that Apollonius was a Cypriot, whether by descent or even born there under Ptolemaic rule (after 312 BC). He gave first honor to the god of his fathers. We can suspect that Lycophron owed his knowledge of Apollo's Cypriot epithet to Apollonius himself. Apollonius would not be the only Ptolemaic courtier from Cyprus. Two Paphians at the court of Philadelphus were the scholar Ister (*Pros.Ptol.* 6.14384) and the comic writer Sopater (16714); later is another Apollonius (16580), the doctor from Citium who dedicated a medical tract to one of the Ptolemies (*CMG* 11.1.1).

The letter P.Hal. 1.260-265

The famous gathering of legal usages pertaining in Alexandria includes at its end a letter of Apollonius ordering exemption from the head-tax *halike*³³ for several categories of persons:³⁴

- 260 Ἀπολλώνιος Ζωίλωι χείρειν· ἀφείκαμ[εν] τοῦ[ς τε διδασκάλους]
 τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ τοὺς παιδοτρίβας [κ]αὶ τ[ὸ]ν ca. 11]
 τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τοὺς νενικηκό[τ]ας τ[ὸ]ν ca. 12]
 ἀγῶνα καὶ τὰ Βασίλεια καὶ τὰ Πτολε[μ]α[ῖ]α, κ[αθ]άπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς]
 264 προστέταχεν, τοῦ ἀλὸς τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦς τ[ε] καὶ [οἰκείους].
 ἔρω[σο]. (ἔτους) []

³² Antipater of Thessalonica honors Artemis for a double gift (δοῆς ἔμπορεν εὐτυχίης): she is both Locheia and Phosphoros because she simultaneously brought a blind woman to birth and restored her sight (ἦ τε λοχείης μαῖα καὶ ἀργεννῶν φωσφόρος ἢ σελάων): *Anth.Gr.* 9.46; cf. 268 (ἀμφοτέρην Ἄρτεμιν εὐξαμένη, of hunting and birthing).

³³ On the tax see W. Clarysse and D.J. Thompson, *Counting the People in Hellenistic Egypt* (Cambridge 2006) 2:36-89, with 52-53 on the letter.

³⁴ Cf. S. Eitrem, *SymbOsl* 17 (1937) 35, n. 1; C.E. Visser, *Götter und Kulte im ptolemäischen Alexandrien* (Amsterdam 1938) 10-11; T. Reekmans, *Chr.d'Ég.* 27 (1952) 406; Fraser (n. 7) 1:619, 2:380, 870; L. Nerwinski, *The Foundation Date of the Panhellenic Ptolemaea* (diss. Duke University 1981) 109-116; D.J. Thompson in *Studia Hellenistica* 36 (Leuven 2000) 373, n. 31.

261 τελοῦντας] Eitrem; νέμοντας] Fraser 262 Ἀλεξανδρεῖον] *P.Hal.*; πενθητηρικὸν] Visser, Fraser; ἐν Ἐλευσίνοι? Nerwinski; ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι? Thompson 264 *l.* τοῦ τέλους; [οἰκείου] Reekmans; [ἐκγόνους] *P.Hal.*

The editors of *P.Hal.* left line 261 unrestored, but they assumed that the reference is to the *Technitai* of Dionysus, and this has been mostly followed.³⁵ A minority view, however, represented by τελοῦντας, sees instead priests of Dionysiac *thiasoi* who dispensed mysteries.³⁶ But this topic, mysteries, does not fit with the tenor of the document. The other beneficiaries of this tax-immunity are the purveyors of public high culture – educators and competitors in the great festivals. The people of Dionysus whom we expect here should rather be his performers – anyone involved with presenting the choral and dramatic arts.³⁷ The *Technitai* of Dionysus were a respected organization in Ptolemaic Egypt,³⁸ and had a place in the “grand procession” of Ptolemy II,³⁹ who is praised for rewarding them (*Theoc.* 17.112-114) – whereas the purveyors of secret rites of Dionysus ended up falling under some official suspicion and regulation (*C.Ord.Ptol.* 29). The editors’ understanding should be retained. Fraser’s νέμοντας was unargued, “distributing” or “managing” the things of Dionysus; the verb is unusual, as it elsewhere applies to persons.⁴⁰ An unambiguous verb would be διδάσκοντας, “those who stage” the things belonging to Dionysus, or ἀγωνιζομένους (as in *IG* 12.7.226 ἀγωνιεῖσθαι ... δράματα), or

³⁵ E.g. Fraser; F. Uebel in *Atti Milano* (Milan 1966) 325 (“Schauspieler”); E.E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (London 1983) 54; F. Dunand in *L'association dionysiaque dans les sociétés anciennes* (Rome 1986) 85-103, at 86; B. Le Guen, *Les associations de technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique* 1 (Nancy 2001) 344-345, includes Apollonius’ letter (accepting νέμοντας; “les membres des corporations dionysiaques”).

³⁶ After Eitrem, H. Maehler in E. Van ’t Dack et al. (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (Louvain 1983) 196 (“Dionysospriester”); R.S. Bagnall and P. Derow, *The Hellenistic Period* (2nd ed.; Malden 2004) 210 (“[performers of] the rites of Dionysos”). S. Aneziri, *Die Vereine der dionysischen Techniten* (Wiesbaden 2003) 117-118, who accepts νέμοντας, holds that the phrase intends not just the *technitai* but everyone involved with the cult of Dionysus, including priests and initiates in private *thiasoi*.

³⁷ On Zenon’s enthusiasm in support of Greek agonistics see Rostovtzeff (n. 1) 173-174; W. Clarysse and K. Vandorpe, *Zénon, un homme d'affaires grec* (Louvain 1995) 58-63; more generally, S. Remijsen, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 26 (2009) 246-271, with 257-258 on Zenon.

³⁸ Aneziri (n. 36) nos. E1-2.

³⁹ Ath. 198B (*FGrHist* 627 F 2.27; Rice [n. 35] 52-58).

⁴⁰ Individual performers at Aneziri (n. 36) nos. B3.35l, D13.17, 20, 37; τὸν σύνοδον at E1.3. Cf. Aneziri (n. 36) 113-115, 283; W. Slater in *L'argent dans les concours du monde grec* (Saint-Denis 2010) 263-265.



even ἐπιδεικνύοντας (Dio Chrys. 27.6 ποιήματα ἐπιδεικνύοντες τραγωδίας, but of recitation). Whatever the verb, in this context of governmental favor “the things belonging to Dionysus” will not be private initiation rites but public literary culture, the business of choral performance.

The contests present a more difficult problem. The royal government, in imitation of the polis tradition of granting privileges to citizens who won panhellenic competitions, here offers a tax exemption to victors in games that were of greater than local attraction. In Egypt these were few. The Basileia was a royal festival marking the birthday of Ptolemy II,⁴¹ and prominent early: a dithyrambic poet honored in Athens in the mid-third century B.C. had won in the Βασίλεια ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι (IG 2².3779.19). The Ptolemaia is the best known of Ptolemaic festivals: at the request of Philadelphus’ embassies, Greek states recognized it as “crowned,” panhellenic, in 283; *theoroi* sent by the cities, marking its panhellenic status, attended the first quadrennial celebration in spring 282. More often this festival was called the “pentaeteris,”⁴² because other festivals also bore the name “Ptolemaia.”

Which then was the third festival listed? In line 262, neither Ἀλεξανδρεῖον] / ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι] nor πενθετηρικόν] is cogent:⁴³ the first do not sufficiently limit the field (and “Alexandrian contest” *tout cour* would likely mean either the panhellenic Ptolemaia, already mentioned, or some festival honoring Alexander); the second would indicate the only penteteric contest in Egypt, which again was the the Ptolemaia.

The festival at Eleusis was a reasonable alternative to accompany these two early Ptolemaic festivals; Satyrus describes the contest there as [κα]τ’ ἐγιαυτὸν ... πανήγυρις ἔχουσα [ca. 7]κὸν καὶ μουσικὸν ἀγῶνα.⁴⁴ But nothing suggests that this annual civic festival was of more than local significance. This restoration, moreover, was predicated on the shared assumption that all the festivals named must be in Alexandria, as were the Ptolemaia and Basileia.⁴⁵ The topic of the letter, however, is not Alexandrian civic festivals but the privileges granted by the king to victors in certain festivals that were unusually important to him, and these might be anywhere in Egypt. The letter has been included in a compilation of laws pertinent to Alexandria because Alexandrian citizens would

⁴¹ L. Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten* (Meisenheim 1977); Nerwinski (n. 34) 48-103.

⁴² In the Zenon archive, *P.Ryl.* 4.562.10, *PSI* 4.409.a.11, *P.Mich.Zen.* 46.8; I follow Nerwinski (n. 34) 107-108 and *passim*, for the date of the festival.

⁴³ Disputed also by L. Criscuolo in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano* (Rome 1995) 44.

⁴⁴ *P.Oxy.* 27.2465.fr.3.ii.7-8.

⁴⁵ E.g. Uebel (n. 35) 325, “Sieger in den drei wichtigsten Agonen von Alexandria.”

loom large as competitors in Greek games and so would be affected in some numbers by this benefaction, which however applied to everyone in Egypt subject to the salt tax. Moreover, the restoration ἐν'Ἐλευσίῃ seems short.

I propose instead: τὸν ἐν'Ἰερᾷ Νήσῳ ἀγῶνα. The royal festival at Hiera Nesos (location uncertain),⁴⁶ honoring the Savior Gods Ptolemy I and Berenice, was also called the Ptolemaia; but the toponym is found added in order to distinguish it from the panhellenic games held in Alexandria. So most fully one could write τὸν ἐν'Ἰερᾷ Νήσῳ ἀγῶνα τῶν Πτολεμαίων (PSI 4.364 of 250 BC). But more exactly parallel, a letter of Ptolemy III in 242 B.C. reveals that he had lately invited the people of Cos, where his father was born, to send delegates to τὸν ἀγῶνα ὃν τῆ[θη]μι ἐν'Ἰερᾷ[ι Νή]σῳ.⁴⁷ Thus, as in a panhellenic festival, foreign *theoroi*, in this case Ptolemaic allies, were invited to observe – the games were thus treated by the king and his guests as of more than local distinction.

If this restoration is correct, the unity of the policy emerges: these are the three competitions sponsored by the crown for which the king sought a wide participation. We can fairly ask: Why not the fourth festival which is attested early, the games at Alexandrian Eleusis? It will be because the Eleusinia – an annual sacrifice and competition – had no such *éclat* and, more important, was an affair of the city of Alexandria and not of the king. It is royal sponsorship that the three festivals have in common: they are all creations and responsibilities of the king,⁴⁸ not of the city. This category is explicit already in the Zenon archive: a young dependent of Zenon is eager to compete in τοὺς ἀγῶνας οὓς ὁ βασιλεὺς προτίθησιν.⁴⁹ The royal sponsorship that the three festivals share is consistent with the basic action of Apollonius' letter: immunity from a royal tax is being imposed from above – naturally, for the city government would have no say in such a matter. The salt tax was not the city's, and neither, I suggest, were the three contests – the king was promoting his own festivals.

⁴⁶ A. Calderini and S. Daris, *Dizionario* 3 (Milan 1978) 17 (who preferred the eastern Fayyum).

⁴⁷ K.J. Rigsby, *Asyilia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1996) no. 8: the Roberts' brilliant τῆ[θη]μι ἐν'Ἰερᾷ Νή]σῳ has been confirmed by the equally brilliant recognition of a new fragment by D. Bosnakis and K. Hallof, *Chiron* 33 (2003) 242-245, now *IG* 12.4 212.

⁴⁸ For such see F. Perpillou-Thomas in *Studia Hellenistica* 31 (Leuven 1993) 151-158.

⁴⁹ *P.Lond.* 7.2017.27 (241/0 BC).

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