

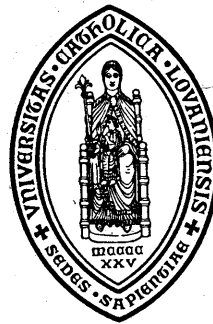
ANCIENT SOCIETY

3

1972

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THEOGENES THE DIOIKETES



UITGEGEVEN MET DE STEUN VAN DE UNIVERSITAIRE STICHTING VAN BELGIË

KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT TE LEUVEN

THEOGENES THE DIOIKETES ¹

The subject of this paper is a familiar figure to those concerned with Ptolemaic prosopography and has been discussed on several occasions, with the result that a *communis opinio* has come to be accepted that he is to be placed in the reign of Philopator. Since a large measure of the evidence for the dating came from calendrical considerations and since all of the discussions of Theogenes come from before Alan E. Samuel's study of the Ptolemaic calendars, it may not be out of place to reconsider the documents in question in the light of Samuel's conclusions and to take the opportunity to review and extend the prosopographical inquiries that have provided the other pillar of support for dating Theogenes.

The problem of dating Theogenes arose originally from a contrasting of *P. Lille* 3 and 4, both dated by low regnal years of an unspecified king: the first dated by the editors to the reign of Euergetes, the second to that of Philopator. *P. Lille* 3 mentions a dioiketes Theogenes, and *P. Lille* 4 presents us with a Theogenes whose title is not given. C.C. Edgar ² remarked on the inconsistency, suggesting that both documents belonged to the reign of Philopator, along with *P. Petr.* II 38.b, also mentioning Theogenes the dioiketes and heretofore dated to Euergetes. He was followed, though with some hesitation, by Rostovtzeff ³. More recently, Claire Préaux ⁴ studied *P. Edfou* 5, of year 14 of a king. Préaux reviewed the other documents we have mentioned, as well as *P. Edfou* 5 and *P. Teb.* 705, and she concluded that they were all to be placed under Philopator, all mentioning a Theogenes either designated as a dioiketes or at least filling the role of a high financial official. In 1951, Peremans and Van't Dack ⁵ raised some further prosopographical considerations to support

¹ I am indebted to Alan E. Samuel for reading two drafts of this paper and offering suggestions.

² *Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte* 20, 1920, p. 198, n. 1. He mentions but rejects the suggestion of the editors of *PSI* VI (p. 70, n. 1) that *P. Lille* 4 belongs to the reign of Euergetes, a view founded evidently on no particular evidence beyond that Edgar was using.

³ M.I. ROSTOVITZEFF, *Large Estate*, p. 171.

⁴ *Chronique d'Égypte* 14, 1939, pp. 376-382.

⁵ *Chronique d'Égypte* 26, 1951, pp. 387-388.

Préaux's dating, which they considered an accepted fact. In the list of dioiketai in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, therefore, Theogenes (no. 32) appears dated to the reign of Philopator, with no indication that the date had ever been a matter of dispute; strangely, the documents of year 14 are not listed.

The documents in question form two groups. The first, containing *P. Lille* 4 (year 5), *P. Petr.* II 38.b (year 5), and *P. Lille* 3 (shortly after a year 7) is separated by some years from the second, containing *P. Edfou* 5 and *P. Teb.* 705, both from year 14. They must be considered separately for purposes of prosopographical identifications, but the calendrical problems may be reviewed first. There are a number of dates in *P. Lille* 4, all of them from year 5, all of them double dates — that is, containing both Egyptian and Macedonian month dates. Only one of them, regrettably, is complete. That one is Apellaios 13, Pachon 13. The editor's introduction seeks at length to demonstrate that this situation conforms to what we otherwise know of double dating in the reign of Philopator, year 5, and in no other reign. In discussing *P. Edfou* 5, Préaux argued that the double date Daisios 9, Choiak — (number lost) could fall only in the reign of Philopator⁶; she relied on tables of Meyer.

In the light of the studies of the Ptolemaic calendar then available, these conclusions were not unreasonable. But they are no longer admissible. The first double date is of the «direct equation» type discussed by Samuel⁷. In this type of dating, the day number for the two types of months is the same. Given the differential progression of the two calendars, this state of equivalence could be expected only a very small proportion of the time, yet it accounts for a very large number of double dates. The only conclusion possible is that in the absence of good supporting evidence for a particular date, a «direct equation» double date is not of any value at all for determining calendrical relationships⁸. It constitutes only a very rough approximation of the contemporaneity of the two months or parts thereof.

The date in *P. Edfou* 5 raises yet more profound problems that touch both papyri. Samuel's thorough discussion of the evidence from the reign of Euergetes has shown that there were several mutually

⁶ C. PRÉAUX (note 4, above).

⁷ A.E. SAMUEL, *Ptolemaic Chronology*, pp. 34-35.

⁸ SAMUEL (note 7), p. 115, excludes them from his construction of equivalences for Philopator's reign.

inconsistent methods of regulating the calendar in effect, but that we cannot in general be certain for any of them what its effect was. Samuel refrained from constructing any tables for finding dates in the reign of Euergetes for precisely this reason, that there was no consistency in the relationships of the calendars in that reign, or in the following one until the assimilation of the two calendars⁹. In discussing *P. Edfou* 5, Samuel concludes that the prosopographical evidence is the real support of the dating, and that the calendrical evidence can at best be taken as conforming to the indications of prosopography¹⁰. In short, calendrical evidence of the double dating type from the reigns of Euergetes or Philopator is without independent value for the dating of documents from these reigns to one or another of them.

We are, therefore, thrown back entirely on the evidence of the persons in our texts. It must be said first that the evidence does not all point in one direction, nor does it all appear consistent, if all identifications that have been proposed are accepted. It must be remembered that common names are of relatively small value for identifications, whereas uncommon ones are reasonably valuable, especially if joined to other information.

We take first the dates of year 14, but by a roundabout path. To begin, *P. Petr.* III 43.7 (= II 15.2), dated to a year 10, mentions a letter of Eutychos the dioiketes, and appended a copy of it, of which part survives. Also mentioned in the cover letter is Theodoros the engineer, who can be dated with absolute certainty from *P. Petr.* III 43.2 recto Col. 1 to the reign of Euergetes by means of the opening formula of that contract. Year 10, then, is that of Euergetes.

P. Hib. 133, undated, is a petition to Eutychos the di(oiketes), and mentions Apollonios τοῦ οἰκονομ[οῦντος τῆν Ἡρακλεί]δου μερίδα. The date of this document should be around year 10 of Euergetes, with some range on either side possible. In *P. Yale* 36, one Apollonios

⁹ SAMUEL (note 7), pp. 99-102.

¹⁰ SAMUEL (note 7), pp. 122-123. I may note that one piece of evidence about the calendar argues in favor of dating *P. Edfou* 5 under Euergetes, namely the rarity of double dates after the beginning of Philopator's reign. The table Samuel gives (p. 77) for Euergetes' reign lists 13 documents which afford 24 double dates. For Philopator, on the other hand, the list gives only 7 double dates from as many documents (p. 115), or 6 if *P. Lille* 4 is excluded. Of these, two fall in year 1, two in year 4, and one each in years 6 and 9. I am far from suggesting that this situation is of decisive importance, but it should be of at least as much importance as the other calendrical arguments.

sends to the toparch Leon in Philadelphia in the Herakleides part of the Arsinoite Nome a copy of a letter from Athenodoros the dioiketes to Apollonios. The date is year 15, certainly of Euergetes (from the context within the archive of Leon). The editors suggested that Apollonios was an oikonomos, preferring that explanation to the post of epimeletes put forward in the original publication. If the suggestion is correct, he may well be the same oikonomos of *P. Hib.* 133, and we would have two attestations of an oikonomos named Apollonios in the Herakleides part of the Arsinoite Nome in the years 10-15 of Euergetes. The name is common, of course, that so the identification is not entirely secure; but the coincidence of time and place is nonetheless noteworthy.

Our second line of reasoning begins with *P. Petr.* III 72a, an *apographe* addressed to Imouthes (spelled here Eimouthes), basilikos grammateus, from a royal farmer in the Herakleides division of the Arsinoite Nome. The date is year 15. Later parts of the same papyrus, which contains copies of several official documents, mention the strategos Diophanes and some other officials and dates of years 24 and 25. Diophanes is well-known from an abundant series of mentions in the *Enteuxeis* as a strategos from year 25 of Euergetes to year 4 of Philopator. The year 25 here, therefore, will quite certainly be that of Euergetes and the year 15, coming before it on the papyrus, also that of Euergetes.

Imouthes the basilikos grammateus also appears, together with Kallikrates the oikonomos, in a series of *apographai* addressed to an epimeletes Apollonios (*WChr.* 224 a, b, and c = *Archiv* 2, 1902, pp. 82-84) and dated to a year 14. From the presence of Imouthes, it appears clear that the year is that of Euergetes. The epimeletes Apollonios reappears in year 16 in *WChr.* 164 (= *P. Lille* 19), a document whose hand was said to be mid-third century. It can hardly be doubted that year 16 is that of Euergetes.

P. Teb. 705, finally, is a letter of Theogenes to a basilikos grammateus Tothoes, with a cover letter of Theogenes to Apollonios, whose title is not given. The date is year 14. The subject of the letter is not accepting *apographai* for certain classes of land. The normal recipient for such declarations was the epimeletes, as appears from *WChr.* 224. It is evident that the editor's suggestion that the date is the same in the Tebtunis papyrus as in *WChr.* 224 and the epimeletes Apollonios in the Arsinoite Nome also the same possesses great force, despite

the commonness of the man's name. If the year is Euergetes in the latter document, it must surely be the same in the Tebtunis letter. (If we accept a less probable identification, however, and make the Apollonios of *P. Teb.* 705 an oikonomos, there is still a possible identification here with the oikonomos of *P. Hib.* 133 and *P. Yale* 36, although one would have to suppose that for a time he had also authority in the Polemon division. It is, of course, not impossible that the oikonomos and epimeletes were the same, though we have no grounds to identify them). In any case, the conjunction of men and offices is far too great for coincidence, and it may be noted that no evidence from the reign of Philopator, to my knowledge, poses a similar opportunity for identification of men around his fourteenth year.

Theogenes' post in *P. Teb.* 705 is not stated, but he writes as a superior to both Apollonios and Tothoes, and he is thus on the face of it either the dioiketes or someone on his staff. Since *P. Edfou* 5 contains a dioiketes named Theogenes in a year 14, it can scarcely be doubted that the year 14 is the same and that of Euergetes. If this conclusion is accepted, it is noteworthy that Theogenes' term of office is bounded on both sides by known dioiketai, Eutychos in year 10 and Athenodoros in year 15.

If we are to identify this Theogenes with the man in the three other documents, then, we are faced quite certainly with a dioiketes with two periods of office separated from one another. This is true whether the year 5 is that of Euergetes or Philopator. That is a remarkable thing, for there is only one other certain instance of such a happening, a man losing the position of dioiketes and regaining it, and that example belongs to a period of extraordinary events: Hephaistion had his tenure as dioiketes interrupted in 55 B.C. by the king's placing Rabirius Postumus in that position. There was, after all, no higher position in the kingdom for a man to aspire to. Now Theogenes is not one of the rarest names in Ptolemaic Egypt, but neither is it widespread throughout the bureaucracy in the same way that (for example) Apollonios, Horos, Herakleides, and Imouthes are. When the coincidence of holding the office of dioiketes is added, it becomes absurd to suppose two different men. We have, therefore, a choice between terms of office from years 5-8 (roughly) and around 14 of Euergetes, or in year 14 of Euergetes and then ca. 5-8 of Philopator. General probability, particularly of life expectancy, must favor the former

possibility; but that is not decisive, and we must turn to the prosopography of the three documents that attest the other period in which Theogenes was dioiketes.

We begin our search, once again, at some distance from the documents in question. Our starting point is a strategos in the Arsinoite Nome, Aphthonetos¹¹. First, he appears in some undated documents of which we may mention two, *P. Ryl.* 568 and *P. Mich.* 71, both Zenon documents, the latter of which gives Aphthonetos his title. These documents assure us of the general chronological context into which we are to put Aphthonetos: later years of Philadelphos and earlier years of Euergetes. Accordingly the series of datable documents in which he appears includes *P. Enteux.* 12, year 4; *P. Petr.* III 29.a (= II, p. 29), year 6; *P. Enteux.* 8, written in year 1 but referring to him as strategos in year 16 and now no longer holding the post; *P. Petr.* II 38.c.1, year 19; and *P. Teb.* 815 Fr. 10, Col. 1.5, where though his appearance is not dated, the remainder of the documents come from years 25 and 26. If he is a strategos from years 4 to 26 but no longer strategos in year 1, and if he has connections with Zenon's group, the only sequence that can fit is the reign of Euergetes, ending at its end. It is here in fact that he has universally been dated. If confirmation be needed, it comes also from the fact that in *P. Enteux.* 12 (year 4) Aphthonetos appears with one Agenor, reasonably supposed by Guéraud¹² to have been the strategos of that name in the Arsinoite Nome; he is known from years 36 (*P. Cair. Zen.* 59314), 2 (*P. Cair. Zen.* 59345), about 4 (*P. Cair. Zen.* 59351), 6 (*PSI* 393), and 7 (*P. Cair. Zen.* 59369). Year 36 can only be that of Philadelphos, and the series therefore falls from that year to the seventh of Euergetes. Aphthonetos' connection with him in year 4 of Euergetes in *P. Enteux.* 12 is therefore securely dated.

In Aphthonetos' document of year 19, he is addressed by one Harmais¹³ (*P. Petr.* II 38.c.1). A series of other documents in the Petrie papyri involves Harmais, who may be presumed to be one man from the coherence of the role he plays with the title of topogrammateus given in *P. Petr.* II 32.3.1 and from the absence of any other officials with his name. The name Harmais itself is not common, though some other men (evidently taxpayers and not officials) bear it in the Petrie

¹¹ *Pros. Ptol.* 236; references in full will be found in *P. Enteux.*, p. lxxxvii.

¹² *P. Enteux.*, p. lxxxvii.

¹³ *Pros. Ptol.* 572.

papyri. Harmais appears in years 30 and 32, which must belong to Philadelphos, in *P. Petr.* II 13.2.1 and II 13.14.1. He also appears in a year 5 (*P. Petr.* II 38.b.1, 10) and a year 6 (*P. Petr.* II 32.3.1). His span of activity is thus a relatively long one, from Philadelphos 30 to Euergetes 19, or 256-5 to 229-8, but it is not unreasonable. It appears to me certain that the dates in years 2, 4, 5, and 6 must be a coherent series within the outer limits of his span of activity; it would take compelling evidence indeed to extend his activity another eleven years.

In the process of dating Harmais, then, we have placed *P. Petr.* II 38.b with some confidence in year 5 of Euergetes. This document is a letter of Horos to Harmais, who appears to be his subordinate. It mentions Theogenes the dioiketes, and also Horos' son Imouthes. We have also dated *P. Petr.* III 32.b verso (= II 32.3) to the following year 6. In it, Harmais writes to Bacchios, mentioning the oikonomos Poseidonios. Horos and Poseidonios appear together later in the same papyrus (*P. Petr.* III 32.g verso 16), also of year 6. In *P. Petr.* III 32 g. recto, Poseidonios is addressed (in year 5) by a petitioner who mentions a strategos Poseidonios, who Guéraud¹⁴ suggested was a mistaken assimilation of the name of a known strategos, Poseidion (an uncommon and therefore probably unfamiliar name) to that of the oikonomos Poseidonios. Poseidion appears in two datable documents, *P. Enteux.* 4, of year 4, and *P. Enteux.*, p. lxxxviii, n. 2, a Paris papyrus of year 5, in both of which he, as strategos, is associated with the epistates Onesandros. This Paris papyrus also mentions Horos. In the vicinity of years 4 to 6, then, we find the strategos Poseidion, the oikonomos Poseidonios, the basilikos grammateus Horos, the epistates Onesandros and the topogrammateus Harmais, all active and working together in various combinations. From the placement of Harmais, it is clear that Guéraud's dating of the Enteuxeis involving these men in the reign of Euergetes is correct. They are all subordinates, finally, of a dioiketes Theogenes. These indications are sufficient, it appears to me, to date *P. Lille* 3, in which Theogenes appears shortly after a year 7 as dioiketes in Alexandria. The writer of a letter in this papyrus, whose name is lost, refers to his son Imouthes, just as does Horos in *P. Petr.* II 38. b, and we may well have the same man here.

Before coming to *P. Lille* 4, there is some other evidence to be brought forth. A Horos, basilikos grammateus, appears in *P. Hamb.*

¹⁴ *P. Enteux.*, p. lxxxviii.

24, dated by regnal formula to year 24 of Euergetes. The name is in itself common enough, but the title has led to the proposal of an identification, with the suggestion that Horos' career would be shorter if the other references to him belonged in the reign of Philopator; his career would thus be shrunk from 20 to 9 years. Given the shortness of life in ancient Egypt, however, it is not impossible to construct hypothetical careers for a first Horos, his son Imouthes, and grandson Horos in the time available.

The one official who would appear to support a move of Horos to Philopator is Herakleides, mentioned in *P. Lille 4* as an oikonomos. The man is known from *P. Sorb.* 39-47, dated from the last year of Euergetes to the fifth of Philopator with absolute certainty by his connection with Tesenouphis, already known from *P. Enteux.* 10 of Philopator's first year. Herakleides also appears in *P. Petr.* II 20 Col. 1.12-13; Col. 2.2; and Col. 4.2. (= III 36.b), dated to a year 5, in which he is joined by a Theophilos, an agent of the transport functionary Antikles. Theophilos appears in *P. Sorb.* 44, quite certainly of Philopator year 4, so that the Petrie papyrus may also be put under Philopator. Herakleides also appears in year 25, in *P. Petr.* III 32.f, a date consistent with the other appearances.

One final functionary is to be noted, Stratokles¹⁵, the grammateus of *P. Lille 4*. An inscription¹⁶ is known in which a Stratokles son of Stratokles, grammateus τῶν κατοίκων ἱππέων], together with his sons, makes a dedication to Philopator. Peremans and Van't Dack¹⁷ took this inscription to be positive proof of the date of *P. Lille 4*, but there are in fact a number of possibilities open. The first is that Stratokles in this inscription is clearly a mature man with grown sons. It is therefore quite understandable that he might have been active twenty years or more earlier. A second possibility is that this man is the son of the Stratokles of *P. Lille 4* and has inherited the position of his homonymous father. In either case the inscription would fail to localize the date of the activity of the Stratokles of *P. Lille 4* sufficiently to be of much use to us.

For the dating of that papyrus, we may now assemble the evidence. First, Theogenes, who plays an important and high ranking role, is attested in years 5 through about 8 and in 14 of Euergetes. Second,

¹⁵ *Pros. Ptol.* 2482.

¹⁶ *JEA* 23, 1937, p. 261; *SEG* VIII 356; *SB* 7453.

¹⁷ PEREMANS and VAN 'T DACK, (note 5, above), pp. 387-388.

Poseidonios the oikonomos, whose name is stricken out and replaced by that of Herakleides, is known in years 5 and 6 of Euergetes. Third, Horos, whose position in *P. Lille* 4 is compatible with a post as basilikos grammateus, is known as just that¹⁸ in years 5 and 6 of Euergetes. He has a son Imouthes; is it coincidence that an Imouthes holds his post in the next decade? That he or a homonym may also be known in year 24 of the same king does not appear to affect the argument. Fourth, Stratokles, who may appear in an inscription of the reign of Philopator, is not decisively dated by that text. Finally, Herakleides appears from years 25 to 5, from Euergetes to Philopator. It must be admitted that this part of the evidence contradicts what has been adduced about the other men, but Herakleides is one of the commonest names in Hellenistic Egypt. It is preferable to assume either a long span of activity for him or more simply two different men, than to depend on a 40 year span for Harmais or on lack of identity among the various appearances of men with less common names, like Harmais, Aphthonetos, and Poseidion.

We have drawn a wide net; we have found that the dating of the career of Theogenes entails a decision about a far larger number of functionaries than previous discussions have taken into consideration. It must be admitted that certainty is not yet possible, and that future evidence may yet cause a rethinking of the conclusions advanced here. But the case for placing Theogenes under Euergetes seems to me to rest on a wide base of prosopographical connections within that reign, while moving him to Philopator would cause large dislocations. With the calendrical evidence removed from consideration, with the appearance of Stratokles discounted, only a proposed identification of a functionary with an extremely common name presently argues against a date under Euergetes.

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¹⁸ I take the reference to him as komogrammateus in *P. Petr.* III 32.g verso 16 as unimportant to the identification; it may be a mistake or simply an expression of the fact that hierarchy of rank in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy was far more a matter of theory than of normal practice.