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STOLOS THE ADMIRAL

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The subject of these pages has been known for many years but never studied in detail. He served Ptolemy IX Soter II as courtier and high official in the earlier part of that king's reign. In what follows I present the texts of inscriptions in which Stoilos figures, four of them as published, two of them with new restorations. They are listed in what I take to be their chronological order; this scheme is defended in the commentary that follows.


Basilēa Πτολεμαίων
Θεόν Σωτήρα τῶν ἐν βασιλείᾳ
Πτολεμαίοι τοῖς δευτέρου Εὐεργέτου
Στόλος τῶν πρῶτων φίλων καὶ ἀρχιεθνᾶρος
ἐνοικεῖ ἐνεκεῖ τῆς εἰς αὐτῶν.

2 ex Fraser et Oliverio, SEG
3 αὐτῶν edd.

The editors have uniformly given αὐτῶν a rough breathing, αὖτῶν; the motive formula would thus refer to the king's goodwill toward Stoilos. But ἐνοικεῖ is not used of the king in Ptolemaic dedications; it is the virtue of a subject. L. Robert has recently pointed out that motive phrases can concern either the virtue of the person honoured or the attitude of the person honouring. It is in the latter sense that I understand the motive

1 The preparation of this article in Athens at the American School of Classical Studies was made possible by a Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship and a travel grant from the School of Graduate Studies of the University of Toronto. I am indebted to Mr. K. Tsakos, epimeletē in the Eighteenth Archaeological District, and to the staff of the Delos Museum for their kind assistance during my visit to Delos to take a squeeze of number 3 below; I am also indebted to W. K. Pritchett and E. Vanderpool for photographing the squeeze and discussing it with me. P. M. Fraser, Wallace McLeod, and T. B. Mitford have read the typescript at various stages and helped to improve it. I am particularly grateful to Thomas Drew-Bear, who read the final draft and discussed many points in it with me.

2 Hellenica 13 (1965) 39-40; Robert cites the study of E. Nachman (Ernan 1911) 180-196). IDolos 1530, discussed below, similarly records the feeling of the dedicatee, not the virtue of the person honoured.

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formula of this inscription: Stolos honours the king to show his own loyalty toward the monarch.

2. Statue base from Cyrene: G. Oliverio, Documenti dell’Africa Italiana 1 (1932) 71, no. 9, with photograph, Tav. VIII, fig. 13 (SEG 9. 62); photograph (smaller and less clear) in P. M. Fraser, Berytus 12 (1958) pl. XIII, 7a.

Βασιλεία Πτολεμαίων Θεόν Σωτῆρα
τὸν ἐν βασιλείας Πτολεμαίου Θεοῦ Εὐφρέγετον
Στόλος Θεωσ χώρων τῶν πρῶτων φίλων
ὁ ἀρχέαταρα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμῶν
εὐφρέγειας ἔχεικεν τῆς ἐλεύθερον.

3 πρῶτων Oliverio πρῶτων SEG
5 εὐφρέγειας Oliverio. On his photograph, both rho and gamma appear like crude epsilons.

3. Fragment of statue base from Delos: F. Durrbach and A. Jardé, BCH 29 (1905) 219, no. 76; IDélos 1535. Collated and squeeze taken by me in Delos Museum, December, 1970; photograph of the squeeze, plate 1.

[Bασιλεία Πτολεμαίων [Θεόν Σωτῆρα]
[τὸν προσβάτα]ν ἐν [βασιλείας Πτο-]
[λεμαίου τῷ] δευτερ[ο]ν [Εὐφρέγετου]
[Στόλος Θεωσ χώρων Κρ[ ca. 10 ]
[τῶν πρῶτων φίλων] ὁ [ἀρχ[εάταρα]
[καὶ ναβαρχος κ[αι] ἐπιστο[λαγράφος]
[τεταγμένος] δὲ καὶ ἐπ[ὶ τῶν ἡμῶν]
[εὐφρέγειας ἔχεικεν τῆς ἐλεύθερον]
[Ἀπόλλων τ[ῳ] Αρ][μαίναν [Ἀρτάκ.

The length of lines (26–28 letters) is guaranteed by the restoration of the end of line 2 and the beginning of line 3, while the amount lost to the left is fixed at 10–12 letters by the beginning of line 1; in both places the restorations were made by F. Durrbach and A. Jardé. Neither they nor P. Roussel and M. Launey, the editors of IDélos, however, drew the necessary conclusion that line 1 was to be restored [Θεόν Σωτῆρα] rather than their [Σωτῆρα].

The restoration of the name of the dedicant of the inscription depends on his titulature; we turn therefore to lines 5–7. Durrbach and Jardé restored [τῶν πρῶτων φίλων and [τεταγμένος] correctly, and were followed by Roussel and Launey, who were able to draw on our number 4 to make further restorations: ἐπιστο[λαγράφος] in place of Durrbach and Jardé’s ἐπιστο[λαγράφος] and (in a note to IDélos 1534 rather than in the text of
this inscription) τάν ἡμῶν in line 7. With the length of lines securely established in lines 1–2, however, it is possible to restore ἄρχοντας θεοχαρέας θαλάσσαι also on the model of IDélos 1534; the phrase fits the lacunae and the titles fall in the same order as the titles in IDélos 1534.

This collection of titles is unique in Ptolemaic history; and our inscription falls into the very reign when Stolos son of Theon, bearer of these titles, was active. It is therefore very likely that he was the dedicant. The letters of line 4 can be seen on the photograph to be more widely spaced than those of the other lines, and the restoration Στόλος Θεόπορος therefore fits both the remaining letters on the stone and the space available to the left.

At the end of the preserved portion of this line, the previous editors read Κο— without any sign of hesitation. My study of the stone, however, showed that the remaining traces of the second letter by no means clearly indicated a tau. The serif at the base of an upright stroke survives, with the lower part of that stroke (badly chipped), apparently spaced so that the stroke should come in the middle of the letter space rather than at left or right. Above and to the left is the tip of a horizontal stroke. The stone is broken on this letter, cleanly along a diagonal line where the upper left stroke of an upsilon would have fallen. Tau seems excluded, because the cross-bars of all tans in this inscription have serifs at each end; the small horizontal stroke on this stone has no such serif. It appears to me, then, that the upper trace, if it is original (as I believe it to be), is very likely the remnant of a serif on an upsilon.

Stolos was an Athenian, as we know from IDélos 1533 and 1534 (numbers 4 and 5, below), but we read here instead Κο—. Two hypotheses are possible, that Stolos is using a second ethnic, or that we have the remains of his Athenian demotic. Since Delos was an Athenian colony during the period of this inscription, we must bear in mind the possibility that Stolos, as an Athenian, might use his demotic on the island—as many other Athenians did. This usage appears to be governed by no recognizable principles of when to use the ethnic, when the demotic. P. Roussel's statement made more than half a century ago is still valid: "On ne peut faire état de l'emploi du démotique opposé à celui de l'appellation générale d''Ἀθηναίος."  

One may compare, for example, the similar use of an Athenian demotic in IDélos 1554, where Attalos II honors his ὄντος θεοφίλος Απολλονίδης son of Theophilos, a Pergamenean, whom Attalos calls here not Pergamenean, but 'Ἀλακές, alluding to Apollonides' honorary Athenian citizenship. Attalos' motive must be an emphasis in this Athenian island on the Athenian ties of Apollonides; Stolos' object was the same.

A number of Athenian demotics begin with Κο--; of them Κοδιοθηρακός is most nearly suitable to fill the space available here (a total of about

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12 letters). This city deme was among the most populous in Attica. It is possible, therefore, that line 4 ended Κυ[δανατείς].

A second possible restoration should be considered. Κυ[ ] in an inscription of a man who is elsewhere importantly associated with Cyrene suggests Κυ[ρομαίος] as a possible restoration here. Stolos would in this case be using an otherwise unattested honorary citizenship given him by Cyrene, an interesting fact in view of his later use of his ethnic Ἀθηναῖος in our inscriptions 4 and 5 (below) on Delos. If I am right in suggesting below that number 3 was erected about the years 107–106, when Soter had been ejected from Egypt and then Cyprus, a stress on the loyalty of Cyrene to the king and his officials would not be out of place. The alternative explanation, that Stolos was Cyrenaean by birth, and Athenian by honour, is unlikely. There would have been scant motive for Athens to grant its citizenship to a Ptolemaic courtier in a period when the dynasty lacked influence abroad and when the royal family was so clearly disunited. It is conceivable that Soter himself might have been honoured by Athens for his donations, but such honours for Stolos would be unparalleled in the period after the death of Philometor in 145 and the withdrawal of Ptolemaic forces from the Aegean.

A certain conclusion is not possible, but two considerations seem to me to make Κυ[δανατείς] more likely: (1) Stolos is attested as an Athenian; it is the more economical hypothesis to assume that he so designated himself here, in a place where Athenian connections would be of some importance; and (2) Stolos uses his ethnic in none of the Cyrenaean inscriptions; had he been honoured with Cyrenaean citizenship, one would expect him to publicize this fact in his dedications in Cyrene itself; and number 6 (below) at least falls after the date of any supposed grant of citizenship manifested in this Delian dedication.

In the place of the motive formula, the previous editors read [ένιας ἐν] |κεχ. The nine letters restored do not fill the space. Nor does a subject honour a Ptolemy for εὔνοια. [ένιας ἐν] |κεχ, with 12 letters, is thus a certain restoration.


Στόλον Θέωνος Ἀθηναίου
τῶν συμμετείχε τοπο-
λημαίου τοῦ δευτῆρον Σιωτή-
[ρ]ὲς καὶ ἀρχηγίου καὶ ναὔ-
[ἀρχου καὶ ἐπιστολογράφου, τετα-
γμένον δὲ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἡράις
Σμαλος Τιμάρξου Σαλαμίνου]
τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φιλον τ' Διόλλωνι

1 Ἀθηναῖος IDélos (typographical error)

Στόλος Θόλων ἵθερακος
ὁ συγγενής βασιλέως
Πυρηλεμάδοι τοῦ δείθ[ρου]
Σωτήρος τοῦ Σιμ[α]λοῦ
Σειμάρχου τοῦ Σαλ[αμί]νου
τῶν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ φίλου
Ἀπόλλων

The elegy honouring Simalos, which I do not print here, lauds his hospitality and his ancestral ties to Athens, Rome, and Egypt. F. Durrbach’s commentary covers the close connection of Simalos’ family to Athens and Delos, where the young men of the family were educated.


[Baσίλεια Πυρηλεμαίοι [Θεός Σω-]
[τήρα βασίλειος Πυρηλεμαί-]
[οῦ τοῦ δείθ[ρον Ἐπιβεργέρον]
[Στόλος Θόλος ὁ πυρηγέρου]
[καὶ παῖδες τοὺς ἐνεργεῖσαι]
[Θεός] τῆς εἰς έκκύνη]

The editor suggested Πυρηλεμαίοι in line 1 and ἐνεργεῖσαι in line 6. Hauben’s independent restoration of the inscription, published after this article had been submitted, differs from mine in certain respects: Hauben omits Ἐπιβεργέρον, placing all of Σωτήρος in line 1 and beginning line 2 with τῶν ἑγ. Although this is not impossible, the omission of Ἐπιβεργέρον is unlikely in view of its use in the other Cyrenaean inscriptions (as Mitford points out to me). τῶν ἑγ, on the other hand, is unnecessary. It may be noted that nowhere does Stolos refer to his master simply as “Soter.”

Hauben includes all of Πυρηλεμαίοι in line 2, but this gives him two letters too few in the lacuna at the beginning of line 3. (Hauben remarks that we need to know more about the disposition of the text; but I take it that the editor’s facsimile is meant to show the relative positions of the letters.) In line 4, I accept Hauben’s restoration of the second half of the line with some misgivings, for the second lacuna should, by comparison
with other lines, hold only five or six letters, not seven. Hauben's restoration ends with \textit{valag[ys]}, but \textit{euphrosias} is the only restoration to fit both the sense required and the space available and may therefore be restored.

The history of the quarter-century after the death of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II in 116 b.c. is confused and much argued. It is not my purpose here to take up once again the numerous problems, but to examine what contribution a clearer definition of the career of Stolos can make to our knowledge.

Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II died on 28 June 116 b.c. By the following April at the latest, his first queen and co-regent, his sister Kleopatra II, had disappeared, and the younger Kleopatra (III) was associated with Ptolemy IX Soter II on the throne as the \textit{Thea Philomelos} \textit{Soter} 

The mother was listed first in dating formulae. It was an uneasy association, and in 114/3 Ptolemy Alexander, Soter's younger brother, declared himself king in Cyprus, where he had been \textit{strategos} (governor) since Euergetes' death. He no doubt enjoyed his mother's support in his action. The situation thus endured, with some fluctuation, until 107, when Soter was expelled from Egypt and Alexander ruled in his place. Soter left behind his second wife Kleopatra Selene, his sister, whom his mother had forced him to marry in place of his first wife (and also his sister) Kleopatra IV about 115. Soter fled to Cyprus, but, quickly expelled from that island, fled to Syria. The next year (106/5), however, he returned to Cyprus and held it until his death some twenty-five years later. Kleopatra III was murdered in 101 by her son Ptolemy X Alexander, who thereafter ruled Egypt with his wife Berenike until he, too, was expelled in 88 at the return of Soter.

It has not been a matter of general agreement who controlled Cyrene during this period. Justin (39.5.2) tells us that Euergetes left Cyrene to Ptolemy Apion, his son by the concubine Eirene. Most scholars have accepted this testimony, some even concluding that Apion was installed as governor before 116. W. Otto has shown that the latter position is untenable. Somewhat later, it is generally agreed that Apion is the "king ruling in Cyrene" in the Roman law on pirates of ca. 100 b.c. He is known to have


\footnote{W. Otto, \textit{Zur Geschichte d. Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers} (Munich 1934) 118, n. 1.}

\footnote{I accept the date of the editor, G. Colla (\textit{BCH} 48 (1924) 58 ff.), whose treatment does not seem to me to be significantly challenged by any of the voluminous bibliography listed under \textit{SEG} 3. 378, where the text is reprinted. The reference in question (B. 9) is in a context indicating kings in Alexandria, Cyprus, and Cyrene.}
died in 96 and bequeathed his kingdom to Rome, declaring its cities free. Some further information may be gained, I think, from an inscription not generally associated with Apion, *IDélos* 1530:

[Baxiléos] Ptole[]μ[ις] βασιλ[ε] τ[ον] [Πτολεμαῖον]
[Bê]ρο[ν] βασιλεύσαν Κλεοπάτραν Εὐφράτου
[τῆς τοῦ] βασιλείαν μὲν γυναῖκα, ἐκατοδὸς δ[έ]ι
ἀναψαν, ἐβασιλεύσαν ηθεὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὴν,
[Ἀγμ[λλων]] Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀγμ[λλων]

Apion was the son of Euergetes, and hence, though illegitimate, precisely a cousin of Kleopatra III, who was the daughter of Euergetes' brother Ptolemy VI Philometor and his sister, Kleopatra II. He is in fact the only possible candidate for the dedicant of this statue if ἀναψαν is taken literally, for Ptolemy Soter and Ptolemy Alexander were sons of Kleopatra III— I take it that lines 3–4 are meant specifically to distinguish Apion from the other sons of Euergetes—while Memphites, whom Mitford has suggested, was Kleopatra's half-brother rather than her cousin. And the fact that the dedicant of *IDélos* 1530 identifies himself only as King Ptolemy, son of Euergetes, giving himself no throne name, recalls that Apion is called (in dedications in Cyrene after his death) τοῦ βασιλεύσαν τῆς Πτολεμαίου, without any throne name. With all other contenders ruled out, the dedicant must be Apion, about whom and whose position we know, after all, relatively little. The date of the inscription must fall before Kleopatra III's death in 101. For a more precise dating we must turn to other evidence.

It appears, first, that Soter was recognized in Cyrene during the period before his expulsion from Egypt. The well-known inscription bearing a decree of Cyrene and a letter and *prostagma* of Soter and Kleopatra Selene is dated to year 9, during a period when the papyri indicate that Ptolemy Alexander was temporarily associated with his mother on the throne in Egypt in place of Soter. The pair are also possibly honoured by

3Livy, ep. 70. Full citation of the ancient sources and an intelligent discussion of Apion's life may be found in H. Volkmann's article in RE 23 (1959) cols. 1737–1738, no. 29.

4For the suggestion of Memphites, child of Euergetes and Kleopatra II, see T. B. Mitford, *NH* 79 (1959) 109, n. 54, following W. Otto and H. Bengtson. The phrase τοῦ βασιλεύσαν τῆς Πτολεμαίου occurs complete in *ArchAn* 1962, col. 437, and incomplete in *Annuario* n.s. 23–24 (1961–1962) 347, no. 246, in both of which a courtier of the late king, Aiglanor son of Damatrios of Cyrene, is honoured in his home city.

5The text was first published by G. Oliverio in *Documenti dell' Africa Italiana* 1,2 (1936) 259–265, and reprinted as *SEG* 9, 5, where much bibliography is listed. Despite the various attempts to upset the date of 109/8, it seems secure; see the arguments of W. Otto, *Ptolemaica* (Sitzb. München [1939] 3), 16–27. For the Egyptian documents, see the study of A. E. Samuel (above, n. 4).
the city of Cyrene in a recently published inscription. It seems clear that Soter and Kleopatra Selene were in some form of conflict with Kleopatra III when both of these inscriptions were erected.

From somewhat later, an inscription from Ptolemais in the Cyrenaica begins with the phrase [ψ]ασσεπορός Π[το]λεμαίου Θεός Σωτήρ (τον) Ι. A statue base may honour only one sovereign of a pair, but it is not likely that a dating formula would have omitted either Kleopatra had one of them been associated with Soter at this date in the rule of the Cyrenaica. Since it was probably late in the tenth year that Soter was expelled from Egypt, we can be confident that he controlled Cyrene at the time of his expulsion and at least slightly afterward, as he had done before. It appears certain, therefore, that Cyrene served as a support for Soter during at least the latter part of his struggle with his mother between 115 and 107 and perhaps for some time after. This control had ceased by about 102 at the latest, by which time Kleopatra III had, I surmise, succeeded in replacing Soter in Cyrene with Prolem Apion, for I take it that this is that action for which Apion thanks her in IDios 1530—surely a slap in Soter’s face, dedicated as it was in a sanctuary of which Soter was a significant benefactor and which was controlled by a city with which Soter was on good terms. It is hard to see how else Apion could have secured the ouster of Soter than by the military support of Kleopatra III.

We can now turn to the six documents of Stolos and try to fit them into this chronological context. A first point to be noticed is that all of them refer only to Soter himself, never to his mother or to either wife. This omission may not be taken as a certain sign that all date from periods of “secession” or from after Soter’s expulsion in 107; they may reflect more simply a partisan contentiousness during the struggle. The omission of all the Kleopatras from the motive formula of number 1 shows that Stolos did not care to express his eunoia toward any of them, a much more serious matter than simply not honouring them with statues. The fact that all of the dedications are in this form suggests a date late in the struggle, since we have seen Kleopatra Selene as an ally of Soter—no doubt with

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110 Edited by L. Gasperini in S. Stucchi, Cirene 1957–1966 (Quaderni dell’ Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Tripoli 3 (1967)) 170, no. 20, with photograph, 169, fig. 204.
111 The inscription cited by T. E. Mitford, JHS 79 (1959) 118, to support his argument that the use of Θεός Σωτήρ need not indicate a period of conflict between Soter and his mother, gives her name first, which is not the case in the present text.
113 Cf. A. E. Samuel (above, n. 4) 151.
114 The evidence on this point is briefly summarized in the commentary to IDios 1531, a dedication of 111/0 by Soter to Apollo and the demos of Athens.
the aim of securing more firmly her own independence from her mother—in his contest with Kleopatra III as late as 108. The Cyrenaeans seem to have honoured Selene and Soter together.

Secondly, the progression of Stolos’ titles should help us. The first two dedications, both from Cyrene, show him as a first friend and archdeca-
tros—a kind of head of household for the king—and then as head of the reins, evidently another court and household title, rather than a govern-
mental one. The Delian inscription now restored (number 3) shows a sudden addition of two functions, epistolagographos and nauarch. It is followed by Stolos’ promotion to the court rank of kinsman. We know that the series must terminate by 102 at the latest, for after this time Stolos could scarcely have placed number 6 in Apollonia.

There is one logical occasion for this massive promotion of a courtier to the high ranks of nauarch and epistolagographos: the expulsion of Soter from Egypt. It is very likely that Soter maintained his own court circle around him during the years of joint rule with his mother; indeed, he could hardly do otherwise and have any political base. As long as there was in theory one government, however, he would not be able to have his own admiral; he might not even have had his own epistolagographos. But when the final break came, he would have had suddenly to create his own apparatus from almost nothing. It was an occasion when a number of courtiers must finally have received important positions after years of chafing under a regime in which Kleopatra III certainly held the upper hand and probably filled all the more important posts with her own appointees.

If these surmises are correct, our inscriptions 1 and 2 should come from late in the period of joint rule, perhaps in 108 or 107. After the break, Stolos was swiftly elevated; his Athenian origin was used to good advantage to cement the ties with Athens cultivated earlier. His Athenian citizenship and probably his demotic are stressed in the dedications on Delos. From being the chief courtier and household manager for Soter,

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15 Both titles are discussed in the commentary to IDES 1534, where reference is made to W. Dittenberger’s discussion ad OGIS 169 and to F. Collemp’s Recherches sur la chancellerie et diplomatie des Lagides (Paris 1925) 9–49, and in more detail by F. Durrbach, Choes d’Inscriptions de Délos (1921) 206–207. Another archdecaetatos of the reign of Soter II (in OGIS 169) is unfortunately not precisely datable. But he, like the archdecaetatos of OGIS 181, is a “kinsman,” a fact that emphasizes the disparity even at this stage between Stolos’ offices and his court rank, a disparity that was to become so noticeable after his later promotions.

16 The holding of the nauarchia by a “first friend” is unparalleled and remarkable. The use of [των] πρώτων φίλων in OGIS 160 is an error for δ αυγγές, as Dittenberger already saw; cf. T. B. Mitford, Inscriptions of Korion (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 83 [1971]) 95, on such errors.
Stolos moves to become his chief assistant for military and diplomatic affairs. It is possible that number 3 comes even as early as 107–106, when Soter was not yet installed in Cyprus.

There remain the two dedications from and to the Salaminian Simalos son of Timarchos (4 and 5), and the last dedication in the Cyrenaica (6). The first two of these cannot come from before Soter's expulsion from Egypt in 107, as they follow the inscription (3) that comes after this event. Nor are they to be placed in Soter's brief stay in Cyprus in 107/6, which was scarcely long enough to allow such rich epigraphical testimony on Delos. They must, therefore, come from the period 106/5 and after, as Mitford has already suggested. 13 Simalos seems to be attested as gymnasiarch of Salamis during the year that Soter was in flight (ca. 106); an inscription records the honours Simalos paid to Helenos, Alexander's governor of Cyprus. 14 One can only admire the political dexterity of a man who could honour the strategos of Cyprus appointed by Ptolemy Alexander and supported by Kleopatra III one year, and the nausarch of Soter the next. It is likely that 4 and 5 come from a point immediately after Soter regained control of Cyprus, or about 104. Such a declaration of loyalty to the new sovereign must have been important to Soter, particularly in these first years, when he can scarcely have yet felt secure in his newly-won kingdom.

Whether number 6 comes from the same time as 4 and 5 I cannot say with certainty. The two titles that Stolos first held, archedaeatores and master of the reins, are absent, only his later and more important titles being given. Since Stolos himself omits all his titles save his court rank in 5, it is not certain that he no longer held the omitted offices. He does, however, cite some of his offices; it is possible that we see in this Cyrenaean text the removal of lower offices, and their assignment to someone else, once the worst of the crisis was past, and Soter had time to spread responsibilities. The great concentration of power of the years 107–105 was made necessary by the crisis, but after 105 Soter dispersed the various offices not only of the central government but of the rule of Cyprus. 15

Number 6 presents us with the high-water mark of Soter's power in his exile from Egypt. He cannot have enjoyed the control of both Cyprus and Cyrene for long, and he lost the last round of the struggle to Kleopatra III, who installed Apion in Cyrene by 102. There Apion ruled for less than a decade before dying and following the example of his father—as was his

14 For the dedication, T. B. Mitford, *art. cit.* (above, n. 4) 102, no. 9; for the chronology of the period, *ibid.* 125, n. 108.
15 As T. B. Mitford, *art. cit.* (above, n. 4) points out, 128–129.
half-brother Ptolemy Alexander to do some years later—in leaving his kingdom to Rome.

Stolos appears but briefly in history; we cannot document a span of activity much outside 108–103. Within these few years he enjoyed great power and trust from Ptolemy IX; he must have played a crucial role in the reconquest of Cyprus and the holding of Cyrene. He disappears from history with Soter's control of Cyrene, perhaps a casualty of its last defence.

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For the will of Ptolemy Alexander, it suffices to refer to E. Badian's article in RHM 110 (1967) 178–192.