

THE PTOLEMIES, THE SEA AND THE NILE

With its emphasis on the dynasty's concern for control of the sea – both the Mediterranean and the Red Sea – and the Nile, this book offers a new and multifaceted perspective on Ptolemaic power in a key period of Hellenistic history. Within the developing Aegean empire of the Ptolemies, the role of the navy is examined together with that of its admirals. Egypt's close relationship to Rhodes is subjected to scrutiny, as is the constant threat of piracy to the transport of goods on the Nile and by sea. Along with the trade in grain came the exchange of other products. Ptolemaic kings used their wealth for luxury ships, and the dissemination of royal portraiture was accompanied by royal cult. Alexandria, the new capital of Egypt, attracted poets, scholars and even philosophers; geographical exploration by sea was a feature of the period and observations of the time enjoyed a long afterlife.

KOSTAS BURASELIS is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Athens. His favoured fields of research are in Hellenistic and Roman history. He has written and edited a number of books and numerous articles on related subjects.

MARY STEFANOY is a PhD student at the University of Athens, currently teaching classical philology in a Greek secondary school. She is the author of articles on ancient Greek historical subjects and on the teaching of history. Her main research interests lie in Hellenistic history, the political and institutional history of Ptolemaic Egypt, Hellenistic armies and immigration in the Hellenistic world.

DOROTHY J. THOMPSON, Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge, is an ancient historian with a particular interest in Hellenistic Egypt. She is a Fellow of the British Academy and an Honorary President of the International Society of Papyrologists. The second edition of her prize-winning *Memphis under the Ptolemies* was published in 2012.

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Edited by Kostas Buraselis, Mary Stefanou, Dorothy J. Thompson
Frontmatter
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THE PTOLEMIES, THE SEA AND THE NILE

Studies in Waterborne Power

EDITED BY
KOSTAS BURASELIS, MARY STEFANOY AND
DOROTHY J. THOMPSON



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Preface

This volume owes its conception to the choice by Kostas Buraselis of ‘Ptolemaic Waterways and Power’ as the subject for the Third International Ptolemaic Colloquium, held in the Peiraeus 18–20 September 2009. At all stages in the organisation of the programme, Mary Stefanou provided invaluable aid. Participants were most generously housed and the meeting sponsored by the Ekaterini Laskaridi Foundation. Sessions in the lively and inspiring atmosphere of the Laskaridis Library were interspersed by visits to the Peiraeus Naval Museum and the Peiraeus Archaeological Museum. A memorable excursion followed to the site of Methana–Arsinoe, where the central importance of the wide-reaching naval power of the Ptolemies in the early–mid Hellenistic period was vividly apparent. All who took part in the proceedings and additional visits not only enjoyed the experience but also acquired a new perspective on the extent of the waterborne power of the Ptolemies, whose role in the Greek world of the Aegean has not always been fully grasped by historians of their Egyptian realm. For this wider focus, all who took part were grateful to the Laskaridis Foundation for generously adopting and variously supporting the realisation of this project.

The transformation of the proceedings of a conference into a coherent volume can be a lengthy process, and one that is not always plain sailing. By this stage Dorothy Thompson had helpfully joined the editorial team. Along the way many debts have been incurred. Together the editors wish to express their thanks to the two (anonymous) Press readers whose thoughtful and penetrating (if at times challenging) reports have certainly helped to improve the final product. Particular thanks are due also to the Classics Editor of the Cambridge University Press, Dr Michael Sharp, for his invaluable guidance, especially on the tricky choice of a title, and for his patience, confidence and imaginative support.

Finally, the editors join in expressing their warm thanks to the Onassis Foundation for a substantial grant towards the costs of publication. This

support, generously awarded at a time of tight financial restrictions, is particularly appreciated. As our own small craft takes to the waters, we hope it may make an original contribution to historical understanding worthy of its distinguished sponsors.

Like the initial colloquium, this book is dedicated to the cherished memory of the Hellenistic historian F. W. Walbank (1909–2008).

Athens and Cambridge

Abbreviations

Classical authors are abbreviated as in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth and E. Eidinow. 4th edn. Oxford 2012.

Papyrological abbreviations follow *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*, ed. J. F. Oates, R. S. Bagnall, S. J. Clackson, A. A. O'Brien, J. D. Sosin, T. G. Wilfong and K. A. Worp. 5th edn. *BASP* Suppl. 9. Oakville, Conn. and Oxford 2001, now available in an updated web-based form.

FURTHER ABBREVIATIONS

AAA	Ἀρχαιολογικὰ ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν/ <i>Athens Annals of Archaeology</i> . Athens 1968–.
ABAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-hist. Klasse. Munich 1909–.
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i> . London 1894–.
AC	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i> . Louvain 1932–.
AD	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον. Athens 1915–.
AD Parar.	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον. Παράρτημα.
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i> . Baltimore 1880–.
AK	<i>Antike Kunst</i> . Olten 1958–.
AncSoc	<i>Ancient Society</i> . Leuven 1970–.
Annales HSS	<i>Annales: histoire, sciences sociales</i> . Paris 1994–.
Ann. Serv. Ant. Eg.	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> . Cairo 1900–87.
APF	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete</i> . Leipzig 1900–.
ArabA Epigr	<i>Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy</i> . Copenhagen 1990–.

xvi	<i>List of abbreviations</i>
BASP	<i>Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists.</i> New Haven, Conn. 1963–.
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome. Paris 1977–.
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.</i> Athens and Paris 1877–.
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London.</i> London 1954–.
BjB	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher.</i> Bonn 1895–.
<i>Bulletin</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique.</i> Paris 1888–.
CE	<i>Chronique d’Égypte.</i> Brussels 1925–.
CID	<i>Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes.</i> Paris 1977–.
CIG	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum.</i> 4 vols. Berlin 1828–77.
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly.</i> London 1907–.
CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</i> Paris 1857–.
EA	<i>Egyptian Archaeology.</i> Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society. London 1991–.
EAH	<i>Το έργον της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας.</i> Athens 1954–.
<i>Eikasmos</i>	<i>Eikasmos. Quaderni Bolognesi di Filologia Classica.</i> Bologna 1990–.
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.</i> Berlin 1923–.
G&R	<i>Greece and Rome.</i> Oxford 1931–.
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.</i> Cambridge, Mass. 1959–.
<i>Hellenica</i>	L. and J. Robert, <i>Hellenica. Recueil d’épigraphie, de numismatique et d’antiquités grecques.</i> Limoges 1940–.
<i>I.Beroea</i>	L. Gounaropoulou and M. B. Hatzopoulos, <i>Inscriptiones Macedoniae Inferioris (inter Bermium montem et Axium flumen repertae)</i> , vol. 1: <i>Inscriptiones Beroeae.</i> Athens 1998.
IC	M. Guarducci, <i>Inscriptiones Creticae opera et consilio Friederici Halbherr collectae.</i> 4 vols. Rome 1935–50.

List of abbreviations

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- I.Délos* F. Durrbach, P. Roussel, M. Launey, J. Coupry and A. Plassart, *Inscriptions de Délos*. 7 vols. Paris 1926–72.
- IG* *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin 1873–.
- I.Kition* M. Yon et al., *Kition dans les textes. Testimonia littéraires et épigraphiques et Corpus des inscriptions*. Publications de la Mission Archéologique Française de Kition-Bamboula 5. Paris 2004.
- I.Lindos* Ch. Blinkenberg and K. F. Kinch, *Lindos, fouilles et recherches 1902–14*, vol. II: *Inscriptions*. Copenhagen 1941.
- I.Paneion* A. Bernand, *Le Paneion d'El-Kanaïs. Les inscriptions grecques*. Leiden 1972.
- I.Portes du désert* A. Bernand, *Les portes du désert*. London and Paris 1984.
- ISE* L. Moretti (ed.), *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche*. 2 vols. Florence 1967–76.
- IvO* W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold, *Olympia. Die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung*, vol. v: *Die Inschriften*. Berlin 1896.
- JDAI* *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*. Berlin 1886–.
- JHS* *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*. London 1880–.
- JJP* *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*. Warsaw 1946–.
- JRS* *The Journal of Roman Studies*. London 1911–.
- LGPN* P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Oxford 1987–.
- LSJ* H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, with R. McKenzie and revised supplement ed. P. G. W. Glare, *A Greek–English Lexicon*. 9th edn. Oxford 1996.
- MDAI(A)* *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung*. Athens and Berlin 1876–.
- Michel, Recueil* C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*. Brussels 1900 (nos. 1–1426); Supplément. Brussels 1912–27.

xviii	<i>List of abbreviations</i>
<i>Milet</i>	Th. Wiegand (ed.), <i>Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899</i> . Berlin 1906–.
ML	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis (eds.), <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC</i> . 2nd edn. Oxford 1988.
MünchBeitr	<i>Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte</i> . Munich 1915–.
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig 1903–5.
<i>OMS</i>	L. Robert, <i>Opera Minora Selecta. Épigraphie et antiquités grecques</i> . 7 vols. Amsterdam 1969–90.
Pap. Lugd.-Bat. <i>Pros. Ptol.</i>	Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava. Leiden 1941–. W. Peremans and E. Van 't Dack, <i>Prosopographia Ptolemaica</i> . <i>Studia Hellenistica</i> 6–. Leuven 1950– and http://prospol.arts.kuleuven.ac.be
<i>RC</i>	C. B. Welles, <i>Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy</i> . New Haven, Conn. 1934, reprinted Chicago 1974.
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i> . Nicosia 1934–.
<i>RE</i>	<i>Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart and Munich 1894–1980.
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i> . Paris 1899–.
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i> . Paris 1888–.
<i>Samothrace</i>	P. M. Fraser, <i>Samothrace: Excavations Conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University</i> , vol. II.1: <i>The Inscriptions on Stone</i> . New York 1960.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> . Leiden 1923–.
<i>SIG³</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . 3rd edn. Leipzig 1915–24.
<i>TAPhA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i> . Hartford, Conn. 1870–.
<i>Topoi</i>	<i>ТОΠΟΙ: Orient – Occident</i> . Lyons 1990–.
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i> . Bonn 1967–.

In memoriam F. W. Walbank

The following tribute was delivered by Christian Habicht on 18 September 2009 at the Laskaridis Library, Athens (Peiraeus), Greece

This colloquium is dedicated to the memory of Frank Walbank, who passed away on 23 October 2008 at the age of 98. Peter Fraser, author of the monumental *Ptolemaic Alexandria* and the guiding force of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, had died a little earlier, so that the two pre-eminent historians of the Hellenistic world left the stage within a year.

Kostas Buraselis has asked me to say a few words on Frank Walbank at the opening of our proceedings. Let me begin by saying that Frank and I met only a few times. The first was at the 1968 Symposium on Ancient Macedonia. He was in the chair the afternoon I gave a paper on 'Epigraphic evidence for the history of Thessaly under Macedonian rule', in which I re-dated the first letter of King Philip V to Larisa. When I had finished, he said: 'I am glad to hear that I had the count of Philip's regnal years right, if for the wrong reasons.' It was his polite way of saying that I had come to the same conclusion he had reached long ago. The second time was five years later, at the Second Macedonian Symposium. After that, we met twice in Princeton: when he spoke at the university on ruler cult from Alexander to Augustus, and, again, when he gave a talk on Polybius at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. From these meetings and from his lectures I always came away with the conviction that I had been in the presence of a scholar who was a perfect gentleman (more on this in a minute). It goes without saying that I was in awe of the breadth and depth of his knowledge. His main focus was less than Fraser's on the Ptolemies, since for Polybius they came to life only with Philopator in 220, when the *sym-plokê*, the intertwining of events in east and west, north and south, began, which is the real starting-point of the historian's narrative. Greece and Macedon were Walbank's main fields, beginning with his monograph on *Aratus of Sicyon*, published when the author was 23 years old, followed by

Philip V in 1940, and culminating in his monumental commentary on Polybius, published between 1957 and 1979, and rounded out by his contribution on the history of Macedon from 301 to the death of Antigonus Doseon in 221, in volume III of Hammond's *History of Macedonia* (1988).

I will not comment any further on Frank's work, since it is well known to all of those here, but will instead try to throw a little light on the person he was, the scholar and the perfect gentleman as I have just characterised him. To illustrate my point, let me briefly sketch his debate with Adalberto Giovannini. The two men met at the Macedonian Symposium in 1968, and their debate began the following year. It was not on anything Macedonian, but on the meetings of the Achaean League, a topic vital to Polybius: *synodos*, *synklêtos*, *agora*, their composition and competence. In 1969 Giovannini published a paper, 'Polybe et les assemblées achéennes', in *Museum Helveticum*. He challenged the views of Jake Larsen to which Walbank had subscribed. Walbank replied a year later in the same journal with 'The Achaean Assemblies again'. He thoroughly examined Giovannini's arguments and found that they were 'not very compelling'. What I wish to stress is the way he dealt with his opponent, who was not well known at the time and by some thirty years his junior. He called his paper 'lucid and plausible', admitted that he was tempted to accept its substance, and that some of the difficulties he had with it 'had been resolved in the course of a friendly correspondence with its author'. In the end, however, while confessing that he had 'no new solution [of his own] to offer', he once again accepted Larsen's view as the most convincing.

This, however, was not the end. Walbank returned to the subject a decade later in the third volume of his *Commentary on Polybius*, in an appendix of eight pages, 'The Achaean Assemblies'. He had studied the problem further, 'encouraged [as he said] by discussion with G. T. Griffith', and had come 'to a different conclusion, and one nearer to Giovannini's'. He pointed out several difficulties with Larsen's position and accepted some of Giovannini's main conclusions, while still disputing others (the details do not matter here). From beginning to end he had treated the young scholar with respect and as his equal. In his first paper attacking his conclusions, he said in a footnote: 'I should like to take this opportunity to thank Dr Giovannini for his willingness to discuss these problems in a helpful correspondence following the publication of his article.' This debate, to me, is a model of how serious differences of opinion can and ought to be discussed between opponents. Both men deserve credit for how they handled the affair, Walbank in particular as the more senior and much more eminent scholar.

In memoriam F. W. Walbank

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Let me stop here and just add that papers to be read at this Symposium will no doubt once again testify to Frank Walbank's eminence as a historian. What I wanted to bring out in these short remarks is what Peter Garnsey called in his obituary 'an extraordinary generosity of spirit' and 'a rare modesty'. An unnamed colleague from Liverpool, quoted in the obituary of *The Times*, concurs: 'He was a wonderful human being unaffected by his own eminence.'

Christian Habicht