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THE TWO FACES OF GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

GREEK AND DEMOTIC AND
GREEK-DEMOTIC TEXTS AND STUDIES

PRESENTED TO

P.W. PESTMAN

(P. L. Bat. 30)

EDITED BY

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This professor Pestman once described the volume he had designed in one of the 'New Year's Circulars', which he occasionally sent out as invitations for the yearly Dutch 'papyrologists' reunion' (Papyrologische Reunies). The inscription tells us much about its writer. It clearly shows how central to his conception of Greek and Egyptian papyrology is, to which he has contributed so much. At the same time it shows how he felt about his own work. It is not only proper to publish this volume in his honour, but also as a gesture of gratitude by the institutions which have benefited from his academic teaching.

We all join in wishing him every success in his further studies and studies in the field of Greek-Egyptian papyrology which will be a great pleasure to all of us.

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WILLY CLARYSSE

ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND DIALECT
AMONG THE GREEKS OF HELLENISTIC EGYPT

The Hellenistic age is the age of the koine, the common language of all Greeks all over the Mediterranean. It is the end of the Greek dialects, which we can see dying out gradually in mainland Greece. In the newly acquired territories of the East these dialects play no role: everybody seems to speak the same language, the koine, based on colloquial Attic with a certain input of the other dialects, mainly Ionian.¹

The curse of Artemisia (UPZ I 1) is one of the rare papyri showing the Greek language spoken in Egypt before the victory of the koine. It is not written in koine, but in the Ionic dialect. The text is not dated, but must stem from the second half of the fourth century, quite possibly it was even written after the arrival of Alexander: the Greeks who had been living in Memphis for generations did not adapt to the new circumstances in a single year.

But when the stream of papyri really starts flowing, after the 260's, nothing seems to be left of this older period. Instead we are confronted with the great melting pot of the hellenistic world. I give here one example which must stand for hundreds of others, the will of the Agrianian Ptolemaios, written in Krokodilon polis, the capital of the Fayum in 236 BC (*P. Petrie*² I 16 ll. 41-66):

- testator: Ptolemaios son of Herakleides, Agrianian, hundred aroura holder
legatee: his wife N.N. daughter of Herakleides, probably a "Persian"
witnesses: 1. Artemidoros, Thracian, of the company of Ptolemaios son of Nautas
2. Demokrates, Macedonian, of the same company
3. Polemon, Persian, of the company of Andriskos
4. Menelaos, from Chios, of the same company
5. Ptolemaios, from Cyrene, of the same company
6. NN son of Polemon, no doubt the son of witness 3.

Such texts show us the army as an organisation where Greek-speaking persons of the old Greek world (Chios, Cyrene) and the more recent additions to it (Macedonia, Thrace, Agrianians, even "Persians"²) were thrown together and lived side by side. Witnesses

¹ Cf. G. HORROCKS, *Greek. A history of the language and its speakers* (London - New York, 1997), 32-42.

² All Persians who figure as parties and witnesses in third century papyri have Greek names; they are clearly considered Greeks, not foreigners. In the tax lists, however, they are counted separately from the Hel-

tend to come from the same company rather than from the same region. They all spoke the same language: the koine. The only non-koine item in the whole text is the patronymic of the eponymous officer Ptolemaios son of Nautas. The genitive is not Ναύτου, as one would expect in Attic and in koine Greek, but Ναύτα, with a so-called Doric genitive ending.³

The mixture found in the above text is typical and is easily confirmed from the classic study on Ptolemaic cleruchs by F. Uebel.⁴ But a different picture is given by a recently published lease of a garden from Thegonis in the Fayum (CPR XVIII 9 ll. 174-194; 232 BC).

lessor:	Philoumene daughter of Diokles, Ioudaia
guardian:	Pythokles Ioudaios, her brother
lessee:	Menestratos son of Ionathas, Ioudaios of the epigone
syngraphophylax:	Philistion son of Neon, Ioudaios

Just to show that this ethnic grouping was not due to the religious exclusiveness of the Jews, I present a contract of lease of a kleros in the Oxyrhynchite village of Tholthis, at about the same time (SB XII 11061; 218 BC):

lessor:	Theophilos, [Macedonian,] thirty arourae holder
lessee:	Aristolochos, Thracian of the epigone
witnesses	1. Philippos Cyrenean, <i>idiotes</i> , of the company of Philon 2. Kallis Cyrenean, <i>idiotes</i> , of the company of Philon 3. Polyainos Cyrenean, <i>idiotes</i> , of the company of Philon 4. Hipponikos, Hesperites, <i>dekanikos</i> , of the company of Philon 5. Kallianax son of Diokles, Cyrenean of the epigone 6. Ziboites son of Nikostratos, Barkaios of the epigone.

The parties are a Macedonian and a Thracian, the latter known from several other texts (Pros. Ptol. IV 9681); the first witness is a Cyrenean. At first sight the situation seems to be similar to that in the Petrie papyrus. But with the witnesses a different picture emerges: four of them are Cyreneans, the two others come from small towns in the same area, Hesperia and Barke in Cyrenaica. The four military men all belong to the company of Philon, but this company seems to be predominantly manned by soldiers of Cyrenean origin.⁵

For several years I have been working with D.J. Thompson on a book on Ptolemaic census lists. One of these lists is a bilingual text from Jena, dated 230 BC, which will be

lenes. Perhaps they were descendants of those Greeks who served the Persian kings before the Hellenistic period. Cf. W. CLARYSSE, 'Greeks and Persians in a Bilingual Census List', in: E. BRESCIANI (ed.), *Acta De-motica*, 69-77.

³ More on this *infra*, p. 12.

⁴ F. UEBEL, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern* (Abh. der deutschen Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1968.3), *passim*, e.g. nrs. 93-99, 184-187, 260-263, 347-353 etc.

⁵ This is confirmed by F. UEBEL, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 305-341 *passim*.

published jointly by G. Poethke and myself as *P. Count 22-23*: the recto is demotic, the verso is Greek.⁶ On both sides tax payers are grouped according to households: first the pater familias, then the other members of the household (wife, children, brothers, but also slaves and nurses). We can identify three or four persons with individuals known from other texts from the village of Takona in the Oxyrhynchite nome, a neighbouring village of Tholthis. Several of the names are typical of Cyrene: Aristis (*ll.* 17, 143), Iason (*ll.* 205, 230) and Iaso (*l.* 324), Karneades (*l.* 137), Kartisthenes (*ll.* 17, 139, 216, 275), Philonades (*l.* 238), Polianthes (*l.* 99), Potamon (*l.* 111), Siphyros (*ll.* 95, 98, 129, 134). In this context proliferation of Ammonioi and Ammoniai (38 persons out of c. 300 preserved names, i.e. about 12.5 percent) may also be due to the special veneration of Ammon in Cyrene. The immense popularity of the name Ammonios in Cyrene, which is clearly shown in the survey of P.M. FRASER — E. MATTHEWS, *Lexicon of Greek Proper Names* (Oxford 1987), 32, is of course linked with the famous oracle in the Libyan desert. The popularity of the name in third century Egypt is in my opinion largely due to the large number of Cyrenean immigrants.⁷

The picture of a Cyrenean community is confirmed by the demotic side of the same papyrus. The demotic text is heavily damaged and full information, i.e. name followed by a second word, which identifies the person, is only available for a score of households heads. A survey of these is given in the following table:

line	name	filiation sign	2 nd word	determinative of the 2 nd word
110	3pwrys (Apollonios?)	no	Gryns	lost
142	Ptrwmys (Ptolemaios)	no	Grnys	damaged
150	3rstps (Aristippos)	no	G[my]s	geographic
157	[- -]	[- -]	Grnys	geographic
183	Pyrps (Philippos)	yes	3rqs	person
208	Mnys (Menneas)	no	Grnys	person
214	Pr̄g[	[- -]	Sqr̄ts (Sokrates)	person
224	Ysn (Iason)	no	Grnys	person
250	Qrt̄ns (Kratinos)	no	3r[- -]	lost
251	Pyrps	no	Qr[- -]	lost
255	Qr̄mt (Karneades ?)	no	Gwr̄nys	person ?
258	Ptrwmys (Ptolemaios)	no	Mss	lost

⁶ P. Jena inv. 992, first mentioned by F. UEBEL in the *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Papyrology* (Amer. Stud. Papyr. 7, 1970), 494.

⁷ On the name Ammonios in Ptolemaic Egypt, see *P. Petrie*² I, p. 194-195; for Cyreneans bearing that name, see *Pros. Ptol.* II 2148, IV 9266 (father) and 10628; F. UEBEL, *op. cit.* (n. 4), no. 1320; *P. Col. Zen.* 54 l. 4.

After the name a patronymic is expected, as in l. 214, where Sokrates is the father of Prg[]. But if we try to apply the same interpretation to the other names, we get into problems: why are so many of these fathers called *Gmns*? Were all the household heads brothers or was this a very common name? *Gmns* could be a demotic rendering of the Cyrenean name Κάρνις, but the variant forms *Gryns* (l. 110) and *Gwrnys* (l. 255) do not fit this interpretation. Why is the determinative in ll. 150 and 157 not that for a person, but rather that for a place? Why is the sign for s3 "son" nowhere written before *Gmns*? All these problems disappear if we take *Gmns* and variants as demotic transliterations for the ethnic Κυρηναῖος. That Greek ethnics could be transliterated in this way in demotic is shown by similar renderings of Ἀθηναῖος (*3th3nys*),⁸ Ἀσπένδιος (*3spnty3s*),⁹ and Ῥωμαῖος (*Hwrmys.w*).¹⁰ The presence of Cyreneans in our text causes no surprise, given the many Cyrenean names on the Greek side and the appearance of the typically Cyrenean names Iason and Karneades in the demotic text. Finally the lable *Mss* after the name of Ptolemaios in l. 258 can easily be a transcription of the Greek ethnic Μυσός "Mysian", in which case Ptolemaios may even be identical with Πτολεμαῖος Μύσος, attested in Takona.¹¹ In the Jena text the household head can apparently be identified either by his patronymic or by his ethnic.

The Greek population of the lower Oxyrhynchite toparchy, in which Takona and Tholthis were situated, can also be studied from another type of sources, the numerous contracts of cleruchs farming out their land and making loans to each other, preserved mainly in Berlin and a few other German collections. One example we have already noted above, but in his unpublished Leuven dissertation M. Heylen counted more than 60 such contracts in Tholthis alone. They show us a strong cleruchic settlement in this area. Among these cleruchs Cyreneans formed by far the largest group: F. UEBEL, *Die Kleruchen* (op. cit. n. 4), nos. 1279-1407 lists 123 men, of whom 99 bear an ethnic: no less than 44 of them were Cyreneans. All the texts together show us how the Greeks in this area settled down according to ethnic patterns, exactly as the Jews in Samareia or Trikomia.¹²

A striking peculiarity of the Greek part of the Jena census list is the presence of some Doric dialectic forms with long *alpha*¹³ side by side with the normal koine forms, where long *alpha* is changed into *eta*: Philista (l. 169), Damon (l. 185), Nikaso (l. 255), Mna-

⁸ Enchoria 8 (1978), 39.

⁹ Burgsch. 7 l. 2; cf. W. CLARYSSE, 'Greek loan-words in Demotic', in: S.P. VLEEMING (ed.), *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography* (Leuven, 1987), 22 no. 13.

¹⁰ H.-J. THISSEN, *Graffiti Medinet Habu* 239.15, with the note by K.-Th. Zauzich, p. 176.

¹¹ F. UEBEL, op. cit. (n. 4), no. 1392.

¹² For the Jewish population of Trikomia, see my contribution in: A. BÜLOW-JACOBSEN (ed.) *Proceedings of the XXth Intern. Congress of Papyrologists, Copenhagen 23-29 August 1992* (Copenhagen, 1994), 193-203.

¹³ Cf. A. THUMB, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* I² (Heidelberg, 1932), 170-183; for long *alpha* in all Doric dialects, see 70-71. For a general survey of dialect and koine inscriptions from Cyrenaica, see C. DOBIAS-LALOU, 'Dialecte et koinè dans les inscriptions de Cyrénaïque', *Verbum* 10 (1987), 29-50.

sarcha (l. 213), Sophrona (l. 236) and Theoxena (l. 328) compared to the regular *koine* forms Hegemone (l. 107), Demo (l. 148), Philoumene (l. 232), Theodote (l. 319) and Myrsine (l. 329). Apparently in this rather closed community people still gave dialectal names to their children; no doubt they still used their home dialect alongside ordinary *koine*. The Cyrenean dialect was derived from that of Thera, and preserved the long *alpha*. Another dialectic form in our text is the name Kartisthenes (l. 17), where *koine* would have Kratisthenes.¹⁴ Since these typically Cyrenean names and forms occur throughout the text, the impression is confirmed that within this group of Greek settlers Cyreneans played a prime role. By sticking together they were able to fend off the disappearance of their dialect for several generations. It took some time before the nivellation of the hellenistic times got its full impact upon them.

In the cities too ethnic groups tended to stick together in ethnic neighbourhoods, a phenomenon which is well known in modern metropoleis, e.g. the Chinatowns or the Irish quarters in American cities. We can trace this also in the Egyptian metropoleis of the Roman period: there is a *laura loudaïke* in Hermopolis, *amphodoi* of the Jews, the Cretans and the Lycians in Oxyrhynchus, *amphodoi* of the Arabs, the Bithynians, the Cilicians and the Macedonians in Arsinoe.¹⁵ But we have hardly any information on these ethnic neighbourhoods except for the very fact that they existed; they must go back to the Ptolemaic period, but our Ptolemaic sources do not mention them.

Only for Jewish population of Edfou and Alexandria do we have somewhat more information. In Edfou the receipts for the tax on the Jews were all found in the same quarter of the ancient city, which led the editors to presume there was a kind of Jewish ghetto there before the revolt of 117 AD.¹⁶ The closest parallel is Alexandria, where Philo tells us that there were five quarters, called Α Β Γ Δ Ε, of which two were called "Jewish quarters, because most of the inhabitants were Jews" (*In Flaccum* 55). But he adds that in the other quarters as well there lived a fair number of Jews, σποράδες. These are not ghettos, but ethnic groups tending to live together, quite naturally, in a large international city like Alexandria.¹⁷

Back into the Ptolemaic period we are reminded of a well-known passage of Theocritus' Adoniazousai, where two Syracusan women pay a visit to the royal palace (*Idyll* XV, esp. ll. 87-95). They complain about their husbands, who force them to live very far apart in different city quarters: this they consider unfair and unnatural. When their chitchat is interrupted by a stranger, who asks them to stop "babbling like wood pigeons", Praxinoa proudly retorts "these are women of Syracuse you are bullying. Let me assure you, we trace our descent back to Corinth, just like Bellerophon. Pelopon-

¹⁴ Cf. A. THUMB, *op. cit.* (n. 13), 176.11.

¹⁵ For references, see P. Amh. II 98 l. 10 (Hermopolis); J. KRÜGER, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (Frankfurt - Bern - New York - Paris, 1987), 84 (Oxyrhynchus); S. DARIS, 'I quartieri di Arsinoe in età romana', *Aegyptus* 61 (1981), 143-154 (Arsinoe).

¹⁶ See e.g. CPJ II, 108-109.

¹⁷ Cf. J. MODRZEJEWSKI, *Les Juifs d'Égypte de Ramsès II à Hadrien* (Paris, 1991), 78-79.

nesian is what we are talking, Dorians may, I suppose, be permitted to speak Dorian" (δωρίζειν δ' ἔξεστι, δοκῶ, τοῖς Δωριεῦσι).¹⁸ Again, as in Tholthis and Takona, dialect speaking is a normal phenomenon in third century Alexandria, and speaking dialect is not something for ordinary peasants, on the contrary it shows one's roots in the old Greek world.

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* *

This brings me to the second part of my paper, in which I want to show how dialect speakers are not only found in few remote villages and in ethnic neighbourhoods of great cities, among the lower classes, but also and perhaps even especially so in the highest society. As an example I will take the eponymous priests of Alexander the Great and the deified Ptolemies, who doubtless belonged to the absolute upper class of Ptolemaic society. In fact the list of the eponymous priests can be used in much the same way as the *Fasti* of the Roman consuls, though the family backgrounds of the Roman elite are of course usually much better known.

The *Fasti* of the eponymous priests in *Pros. Ptol.* III and IX and in *P. L. Bat.* XXIV, when taken together with the prosopographical studies of IJsewijn¹⁹ and Peremans-Van 't Dack²⁰ clearly show the great diversity in origin of the Alexandrian ruling class. This is confirmed by more recent prosopographical identifications and by onomastics. We are still far away from prosopographical investigations of the type found in R. Syme's *Roman Revolution*, where the roots of senatorial families in provincial Italian towns serve to explain the intricate patterns of political alliances and feuds in late Republican Rome. We shall never have enough data to obtain a similar inside view of the Alexandrian court, but the questions asked by Syme and others for Rome offer valuable patterns for research also for historians of Ptolemaic Egypt.

The results of onomastic studies are perhaps less straightforward than those of prosopography, but nonetheless rewarding: some Greek names are typical of certain regions ("noms épichoriques" as L. Robert used to call them) and if a person bears such a name of limited expansion he or his family can be shown to come from a specific area. Until ten or twenty years ago this kind of onomastic research was hampered by the wide dispersion of the material: it was necessary to consult hundreds of indexes of epigraphical publications and/or hundreds of articles by specialists on onomastics and epigraphy. For that reason IJsewijn barely touched the subject. Nowadays the situation has greatly im-

¹⁸ For Dorians proud on their ethnicity, cf. also Lucian, *Phalaris* I.14 (οἱ Ἀκραγαντῖνοι "Ελληνές τε ὄντες καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Δωριεῖς).

¹⁹ J. IJSEWIJN, *De sacerdotibus sacerdotisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymis* (Verhand. van de Kon. Vlaamse Acad. voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren 42, 1961).

²⁰ W. PEREMANS — E. VAN 'T DACK, 'Notes sur quelques prêtres éponymes', *Historia* 8 (1959), 165-173.

proved thanks to P.M. Fraser's *Lexicon of Greek Proper Names*, of which two volumes have already appeared, and to the indices on the *Bulletin Epigraphique* of Jeanne and L. Robert and of the *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* of O. Masson. For the list below I have checked all uncommon proper names in the *Fasti* of the eponymous priests against these three reference works in order to establish the origin of the persons in question. I am well aware that much work remains to be done in this field, but I have listed only the most uncontroversial results.

The following table combines the two sources of information mentioned above: prosopography and onomastics. The figure in the first column refers to the number in W. CLARYSSE - G. VAN DER VEKEN, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (P. L. Bat. XXIV, 1983), 4-37. Identification of origin through prosopographical information is indicated by a bold figure in col. 1; when the origin depends on onomastics only, the figure in the first column is not in bold and the provenance in the fifth column is put between round brackets and aligned to the right. Epichoric names are underlined and explained by a reference in the last column.²¹

no.	date	name	patronymic	origin	"epichoric name"
7	284	Menelaos	Lagos	Macedonia	
19	272	Kallikrates	[Boiskos]	Samos	
20	270	Patroklos	Patron	Macedonia	
21	265	Xeinorrhode	<u>Agesipolis</u>	(Rhodes)	FRASER I, 9
27	264	Pelops	Alexandros	Macedonia	
28	263	<u>Kineas</u>	Alketas	Thessaly	ROBERT, <i>Op. Min.</i> V, 529
29	262	Aristonikos	Perilaos	Samos	
30	261	Ptolemaios	Aratokles	Rhodes	
32	259	<u>Matela</u>	<u>Androkades</u>	(Central Crete)	MASSON, <i>On. Sel.</i> , 463
34	257	Antiochos	<u>Kebbas</u>	(Thessaly)	<i>Bull. ép.</i> 1964.227 (52)
36	255	Glaukon	Eteokles	Athens	
38	253	Aetos	Apollonios	Aspendos and Alexandria	
39	252	Neoptolemos	Kraisis	Pisidia, Lycia	
40	251	<u>Bilistiche</u>	Philon	(Macedonia)	MASSON, <i>On. Sel.</i> , 467
41	250	Epainetos	Epainetos	Macedonia?	

²¹ The following abbreviations are used in col. 6: *Bull. ép.* = Jeanne et L. ROBERT, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1938-1984 (Paris, 1972-1987); Fraser = P.M. FRASER, *Lexicon of Greek Proper Names* (Oxford, 1987 and 1994); MASSON, *On. Sel.* = O. MASSON, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* I-II (Paris s.d.); ROBERT, *Op. Min.* = L. ROBERT, *Opera Minora* I-VI (Amsterdam, 1969-1990).

no.	date	name	patronymic	origin	"epichoric name"
43	248	Antiochos	Kratidas	Crete	
44	247	<u>Tlepolemos</u>	<u>Artapates</u>	Lycia (- Persia)	ROBERT, <i>Amyzon</i> , 168 n.41
48	243	Iamneia	<u>Hyperbassas</u>	(Macedonia)	MASSON, <i>On. Sel.</i> , 252
51	240	<u>Onomastos</u>	<u>Purgon</u>	(Rhodes)	Fraser I, 353 and 396
52	239	Menekrateia	<u>Philammon</u>	(Cyrene)	Fraser I, 459; SWINNEN, <i>Stud. Hel.</i> 16, 1968, 253-8
55	236	Eukles	<u>Eubatas</u>	(Cyrene)	MASSON, <i>Scr. Min.</i> , 269
56	235	Sosibios	Dioskourides	Alexandria	
57	234	<u>Hellanikos</u>	<u>Euphragoras</u>	(Rhodes)	Fraser I, 149 and 187-8
65	226	Berenike	<u>Kallianax</u>	(Rhodes, Kos)	Fraser I, 243
66	225	Ptolemaios	Chrysermos	Thrace	
68	223	<u>Dositheos</u>	Drimulos	Jew	CPJ I, xix; H. HAUBEN, <i>Anc. Soc.</i> 10 (1979), 167-170
73	218	Mnasiadas	Polykrates	Argos	
74	217	Ptolemaios	<u>Aeropos</u>	(Macedonia)	<i>Bull. ép.</i> 1967.336
75	216	Agathokles	Agathokles	Samos	
76	215	Ptolemaios s. of Ptolemaios	<u>Stasikrates</u>	(Cyprus)	Fraser I, 411
87	204	Aristomenes	Menneas	Alyzea, Akarnania	
88	203	Satyros	Eumenes	Samos	
89	202	<u>Adaïos</u>	Gorgias	Macedonia	ROBERT, <i>Op. Min.</i> VI, 509-510
92-120	199	Eirene	Ptolemaios	Megalopolis	
93	198	Demetrios	<u>Sitalkas</u>	(Thrace)	DECEV, <i>Thrakische Sprachreste</i> , s.v.
95	196	Iamneia	<u>Hyperbassas</u>	(Macedonia)	MASSON, <i>On. Sel.</i> , 252
103	188	<u>Karneis</u>	Timolaos	(Cyrene)	ROBERT, <i>Op. Min.</i> VI, 71-79; MASSON, <i>On. Sel.</i> , 409-412
104	187	Aristonikos	Aristonikos	Alexandria	
106	185	Ptolemaios	Ptolemaios s. of Chrysermos	Alexandria	
112	179	Philon	Kastor	Alexandria	
118	173	Kleainete	Komanos	Alexandria	
150	141	Artemo	Seleukos	Rhodes + Alexandria	

no.	date	name	patronymic	origin	"epichoric name"
156	135	Philyllio	Philotas	(Cyrene)	MASSON, <i>On. Sel.</i> , 409-412
184	107	Helenos	Apollonios	Cyrene	
207	88	Onesimos	Nausikrates	Cyprus	
		Onesandros			
153-4	138	Thermouthis	Magnes	Egyptian name	SWINNEN, <i>Chron. d'Ég.</i> 42 (1967), 156-165
184b	107	Thaubarion	Apollonios	Egyptianising	SWINNEN, <i>Chron. d'Ég.</i> 42 (1967), 156-165

Our information is spread irregularly in time: nearly all persons for whom the origin is known date from the century 274-174 BC. Before 274 hardly any texts are preserved; after 174 there are many protocols, with lots of names, but very few cases where the provenance of a person can be established. For the third and second centuries the above table allows some preliminary conclusions.

Nearly all names are Greek, only three hellenised families showing traces of foreign descent: one is a descendant of the Persian dynasts in Lycia (Artapates, 44, 247 BC), another has an epichoric name of the same region (Kraisios, 39, 252 BC), the third has a typical Thracian name (Sitalkas, 93, 198 BC). Among the priestesses two have names that point to Egyptian influence: Thaubarion (184b, 107 BC) and Thermouthis (153-154, 138-137 BC). Some thirty years ago W. Swinnen, *Chron. d'Ég.* 42 (1967), pp. 156-165 demonstrated that the former name was accepted in the highest Greek society, whereas the latter is indeed a purely Egyptian name, given to his daughter by a Greek father Magnes. It is surely no accident that the two names come at the very end of our list. They show, I think, a mounting influence of the Egyptian surroundings in late Ptolemaic Alexandria, not necessarily the entrance of native Egyptian families in the priesthood. And again it is no accident that both names are women's names: as was recently shown by J. Bingen for the Roman period,²² Egyptian influence in onomastics of Greek aristocratic families is much more pronounced for women than for men.

The main lines of development can be summarized as follows:

- in the first half of the third century the Macedonians are the most prominent group.
- the ethnic diversity is much greater in the third than in the second century
- after 190 Cyreneans and citizens of Alexandria predominate.

²² J. BINGEN, 'Notables féminins et onomastique féminine', *Chron. d'Ég.* 66 (1991), 324-329.

This changing pattern can fairly easily be explained by two tendencies:

(i) The Macedonians of the first generation were no doubt descendants of the troops that came to Egypt with Ptolemy Soter. Already in the second half of the third century, they disappear. This was already seen by G. Plaumann in his note 'Makedoner unter den Eponymen', *Klio* 13 (1913), 133-135, one of the few studies on eponymous priests which takes account of the onomastic material. Although the particulars of Plaumann's study should be completely revised, this conclusion remains valid.

(ii) The great majority of the eponymous priests comes from the Ptolemaic empire: Samos, Crete, Lycia, Cyrene, Palestine, Cyprus are all part of the kingdom. When the empire contracts in the second century this is also visible in the recruitment of the eponymous priests, where Cyreneans, Cypriots and Alexandrians come to the fore. Rhodes was always a close ally of the Ptolemies and this is reflected in the Rhodian presence at the court for over a century. The others are sometimes famous exiles such as the Athenian Glaukon or Polykrates of Argos. The growing number of persons called Ptolemaios also attests an ever greater recruitment within the border of the Ptolemaic empire.

Whereas in the third century the leading men of Alexandria were proud of their ethnic origin and continued to be called Samian, Argive or Cyrenean when they served the Ptolemaic kings, there is a tendency in the second century to adopt the Alexandrian citizenship. The sons of Polykrates of Argos are still called Argeioi ca. 190 BC (*Pros. Ptol.* VI 15233 en 15770), but the first priest from overseas to adopt an Alexandrian citizenship already occurs in 253 (Aetos of Aspendos). Another double ethnic (Rhodes - Alexandria) is found for Seleukos, the father of Artemo (141 BC). As the leading families became established in the capital over several generations it was only natural that they adopted the local citizenship and gradually their roots in Greece became less important.

We do not yet seem to have enough information for a coherent picture of the power blocks at the Ptolemaic court, except for a few families in particularly important situations. I can refer here to Mooren's study on Ptolemaic Families in the late third and early second century BC.²³ A coalition between two Macedonian families is attested by the marriage of Pelops (27) with the daughter of Hyperbassas (48).

Finally the following series of names, though not localised in one specific place or region, must nevertheless have sounded unusual in the hellenistic city of Alexandria.

²³ L. MOOREN, 'Ptolemaic Families', in: *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Papyrology*, (New York, 1981), 289-301.

no.	date		
32	259	Androkades	(koine Ἀνδροκίδης)
34	257	Kebbas	(Doric gen. Κεββά)
43	247	Kratidas	(Doric gen. Κρατίδα)
46	245	Damas	(koine Δημη-)
55	236	Eubatas	(Doric gen. Εὐβάτα)
63	228	Ikatidas	(koine εἰκοσι-)
73	218	Mnasiadas	(koine Μνησιιάδης)
103	188	Charileos	(koine Χαρίλαος)
133	158	Charimortos	(northern Greek; cf. Masson, <i>On. Sel.</i> , pp. 43-47)
135	156	Kaphisodoros	(koine Κηφισόδωρος)
d	ca. 145	Nikaso	(koine Νικησώ)

All these names have in common the feature that they are not koine, but represent one of the "Doric" Greek dialects.²⁴ As the old Greek dialects gradually disappear in Greece itself towards the end of the Hellenistic period, it is the more interesting to see them alive and well in the names of the most prominent families at the royal court in Alexandria. Dialect names were not born by peasants or common Alexandrians, but functioned as a hallmark of the highest nobility.

To the same class of society as the eponymous priests belonged the eponymous officers, as is clear from the fact that in more than one case the same persons or members of the same families held both offices.²⁵ The list of eponymous officers in *Pros. Ptol. II* and VIII 1825-2022 also presents us with several non-koine names:

<i>Pros. Ptol. II</i>	name	date
1825	Ἀγήσανδρος	225
1826	Ἀγσιίδας	132
1841	Ἀντίοχος Κρατίδα ²⁶	258-243
1872	Δαμων	238-236
1917	Ἰκατίδας	237
1938	Λιχας (gen. Λίχα)	238
1957	Ναύτας (gen. Ναύτα)	282
1987	Πτολεμαῖος Ναυτα	235

²⁴ For "Doric" used in a very broad sense, including North-West Greek, see A. THUMB, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, 49 and 67.

²⁵ For examples see the studies of IJsewijn and Peremans - Van 't Dack quoted in nn. 19 and 20.

²⁶ For the rare Doric genitive in -α instead of the Attic koine genitive in -ου, see E. MAYSER, *Grammatik* I.2, 3-4.

The list of eponymous officers confirms that of the eponymous priests: Doric names were typical of some of the highest families at the royal court. It seems possible that members of these families were still speaking a Doric dialect.

This reminds us of a famous passage where Plutarch criticizes the later Ptolemies because some of them had forgotten to speak Macedonian (ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὸ μακεδονίζειν ἐκλιπόντων, Plutarchus, *Vita Antonii* 27.5). This shows that at the Alexandrian court Macedonian remained spoken for a long time alongside koine Greek and was considered as a sign of aristocratic descent. Speaking only plain koine was even considered a sign of degeneration! A vivid illustration of the Macedonian roots of the Ptolemies is provided by one of the poems of Poseidippos in the famous Milan papyrus, which is to be published shortly by G. Bastianini and C. Gallazzi.²⁷ The poem was no doubt meant to accompany a statue group of Ptolemy II and his parents, perhaps in Olympia. Ptolemy II himself speaks, proudly reminding the reader of his roots in Heordaia:²⁸

"We are the first three and only kings who have won the Olympic chariot race, my parents and I. I am number one, having the same name Ptolemaios and being the son of Berenike²⁹ belonging to the race of the Heordaioi. The two others are my parents."

The most remarkable thing about this poem is its language: it is the only poem by Posidippos that is not written in the usual poetic koine. It is written in a Doric dialect, the "prestige dialect" which the Macedonian kings spoke among their peer.³⁰ That the Macedonian kings claimed a relationship with the Dorians is confirmed by an inscription found in Xanthos, where the Dorians of Central Greece, asking for financial help from the Xanthians, stress that such help would be appreciated by king Ptolemy, who is a relative of the Dorians through the line of the kings of the Argead dynasty since Herakles.³¹ Even if the oldest form of Macedonian may have been a non-Greek language, by the Hellenistic period it had certainly become a Greek dialect.³²

²⁷ See provisionally, G. BASTIANINI — C. GALLAZZI, *Il poeta ritrovato. Scoperti gli epigrammi di Posidippo in un pettorale di mummia* (s.l. 1993).

²⁸ Since the papyrus is still unpublished, I quote the poem from memory, on the basis of a paper given by prof. Gallazzi in Brussels some years ago.

²⁹ The names Ptolemaios and Berenike, common all over Egypt because of the example set by the kings, are in origin "Macedonian dialectic" forms, which in koine would read Polemaios and Pherenike respectively. Even in their names the royals remained faithful to their roots.

³⁰ The Doric "high dialect" differs from the instances described by C.A. FERGUSON, 'Diglossia', in: D. HYMES (ed.), *Language in Culture and Society. A Reader in Linguistics and Anthropology* (New York — Evanston — London — Tokyo, 1966), 429-439, by the fact that the low language (koine) functions as standard language. The closest parallel seems to be Swiss German, though this is not used as a marker of a higher social class.

³¹ SEG XXXVIII 1476 ll.109-110 with the commentary by J. Bousquet, REG 101 (1988), 39-41.

³² N. HAMMOND — G.T. GRIFFITH, *A History of Macedonia II* (Oxford, 1979), 39-54 are probably right to consider Macedonian as a Greek dialect throughout its history. Here I am only interested in the form it took in the hellenistic period.

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