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HUNDRED-GATED THEBES

ACTS OF A COLLOQUIUM ON
THEBES AND THE THEBAN AREA
IN THE GRAECO-ROMAN PERIOD

(P. L. Bat. 27)

EDITED BY

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GREEKS IN PTOLEMAIC THEBES

In order to study a population group in a given society, one ought to have at least some idea about its numbers, both in absolute and in relative terms. Such data are not available for Graeco-Roman Thebes and one must therefore be satisfied with a very general and doubtful estimate. My working hypothesis has been that Greeks in Thebes constituted a small minority of a few thousand persons within a population of maybe 50,000.¹ Of course only a tiny proportion of those are attested in the surviving documents, though they are certainly better represented than the average Egyptian peasant. My method therefore was to construct a simple database (with the program Filemaker) in which I attempted to register all Greeks attested in Ptolemaic documents from Thebes.

The preliminary problem of who is to be considered Greek was solved relatively easily. As the table below shows, only a few people in Thebes bear the ethnic *Wynn*, 'Greek', or *Wynn ms n Kmy*, 'Greek born in Egypt', in marked contrast with the cleruchic settlements in the Fayum and in Middle Egypt, which have yielded scores of Greek city ethnics.

Table 1:

Wynn, 'Greeks', and *Wynn ms n Kmy*, 'Greeks born in Egypt'.

	name	filiation	title	date	text(s)
1	3ytr	s. of Nikophron ²	<i>Wynn</i>	288	P. dem. BM Glanville 10526 l. 3; 10527 l. 3
2	Antenor	s. of Putheas	<i>Wynn</i> , accountant (<i>rmt iw=f ip</i>)	285	P. dem. Moscou 113 (ed. V. STRUVE, n. 2)

¹ D. J. THOMPSON, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton, 1988), pp. 32-35, estimates the population of Memphis 'in the range of 50,000-200,000, and probably at the lower end of the scale.' Ptolemaic Thebes was certainly smaller, though we have no idea how much smaller.

² See P. W. PESTMAN, *Egitto e storia antica* (Bologna, 1989), p. 143 n. 18. The correction is already given by V. STRUVE, 'Three demotic papyri of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow', *Papers presented by the Soviet Delegation at the XXIII International Congress of Orientalists, Egyptology* (Moscow, 1954), pp. 57-58.

3	Dionusios alias Petosiris	s. of Ptolemaios and T3- <i>hny</i>	<i>Wynn</i>	223	P. dem. BM Andrews 2
4	Hermod[em]os or Hermot[im]os	s. of Ammonios	<i>Wynn</i>	212	P. dem. BM Andrews 17
5	Nikon alias Petechonsis	s. of Athenion and Senminis	<i>Wynn</i>	210	P. dem. BM Andrews 26 + PSBA 23 (1901), pp. 294–302
6	Damon	s. of Apollonios	<i>Wynn ms n Kmy, misthophoros</i>	182	P. dem. BM Andrews 9; 10; 12; P. Haun. 11
7	Ammonios	s. of Alexandros alias Teephibis and Senthotis	<i>Wynn ms n Kmy</i>	176	P. dem. Berl. Kaufv. 3111 + 3141
8	Druton	s. of Pamphilos	<i>Wynn</i>	174 – 171	P. dem. Louvre 10440 ined.; P. Grenf. I 10
9	Herieus	s. of Apollonios	<i>Wynn ms n Kmy</i>	155	UPZ II 164; P. dem. Hermias, p. 34-40
10	Sarapion alias Harnouphis	s. of Hermias and Senpaous	[<i>Wynn ms n Kmy</i>]	141	P. dem. BM Andrews 32
11	Ptolemaios	f. of Senobastis; husband of Semminis	<i>Wynn</i>	141	P. dem. BM Andrews 35–39; P. dem. Recueil 7
12	Psenmonthes	s. of Pathotes and Tanouphis	<i>Wynn ms n Kmy</i>	114	P. dem. Berl. Spieg. 3103

The title *κάτοικος*, which points to Greek military settlers, is equally rare. The following table collects the Theban *katoikoi* in chronological order. Notice that two of them (nos. 2 and 10), probably foot-soldiers, have an Egyptian name and background.

Table 2: Theban *Katoikoi*.

	name	patronymic	title	date	Pros. Ptol.
1	Philippos	s. of [- -]doros	παις εἰς στέφα(νον) [τῶ]ν κατοίκων	161/160	3766
2	Harmais	s. of Paniskos	παις εἰς τὸν στέφ(ανον) κα(τοίκων)	159/153	3737
3	Poluperchon	s. of Ammonios	τῶν κατοίκων ἰππέων	119	2685
4	Eutuchides		[τῶν] κατοίκων ἰππέων	119	see n. 3
5	Apollo[nios]		[τῶν] κατοίκων ἰππέων	119	see n. 3

³ I follow here the interpretation of the text as given by P. W. PESTMAN, *P. Tor. Amenotbes*, p. 58.

6	[- -]molos		[τῶν] κατοίκων ἰπέων	119	see n. 3
7	Hermokles		[τῶν] κατοίκων ἰπέων	119	see n. 3
8	Chairemon	s. of Herakleides	katoikos, cavalryman	118	2268 ⁴
9	Paniskos	s. of Ammonios	τῶν κατοίκων	117	3758
10	Amenrosis	s. of Paieus	rays εἰς τὸ στεφ[α(νικὸν)] κατοίκων	115/114 ?	3727
11	Herakleides		κάτοικος	113	3748
12	Amo(nios) or Apo(ilonios) (cf. below, p. 12)	s. of Damon	rays εἰς τὸν στέφανον [τῶ]ν κατοίκων	2nd cent.	3729 (O. Leid 20)
13	Diopethes (?)	s. of Agesilaos	rays εἰς στέφα(νον) τῶν κατοίκων	100/99	3744
14	Kronios	s. of Herakleides, grands. of Polu- perchon (no. 3)	τῶν κατοίκων ἰπέων	1st cent. ⁵	

Most Greeks can therefore only be identified by their names. I should be the very last to presume that every person bearing a Greek name is a Greek — I will return to this problem later —, but collecting persons with Greek names is the only means we have at our disposal to gain some idea of the Greek presence in Thebes. Moreover, the fact that a person has a Greek name shows that he or she has at least contacts with, and perhaps access to, the Greek world, 'la grécité' as J. Bingen calls it.⁶

However, I was surprised by the ever growing number of people who continued to stream in. I am afraid my hunt for Theban documents containing Greek names has been somewhat unsystematic, and I am sure to have missed quite a few individuals. An exhaustive prosopographical investigation will become possible once the documentation of the Prosopographia Ptolemaica is fully computerised, but this will probably take another decade. Moreover, the older publications, especially those of ostraca, are in need of revision, and for many of them, both Greek and demotic, the readings, the origin and/or the date should be checked.⁷ Since the data are constantly being corrected and expanded,

⁴ See now P. Tor. Amenos 17, for a corrected version of the text.

⁵ I date this document to the first century B.C. because I accept that Kronios was a grandson of Poluperchon, no. 3 in the list.

⁶ J. BINGEN, 'L'Égypte gréco-romaine et la problématique des interactions culturelles', *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Papyrology* (Chico, 1981), pp. 3–18.

⁷ To give only one example taken at random: during a recent visit to the British Library I established that the tax payer in O. Wilcken 355 is not Λυσίμαχος Ἀπολλωνίου, but clearly Λυσίμαχος Ἀμμωνίου. The text is dated in 108/107 B.C. (B.L. 2.1, p. 56) and the tax payer mentioned in it is therefore probably identical with Lusimachos son of Ammonios in Tempeleide 124 (dated in 103/102 B.C.). Both ostraca were bought by Chester in Karnak and their inventory numbers, O. Brit. Libr. 12648 and 12621, show that they entered the museum together. A third text, O. BM 12609 = Tempeleide 97, belonging to the same batch of

the following survey is necessarily a preliminary one. In some cases one single person will appear under two numbers or two persons will be merged into one in my lists, because more often than not there is insufficient evidence to warrant a certain identification of individuals. As a rule I did not identify homonyms unless there was some extra information corroborating the identification, e.g. patronymic, occupation, neighbourhood, proximity in time etc.⁸

But instead of importuning you with my many problems, I may perhaps quote a few positive figures, which may give the impression that we know something definite about the Greek presence in Thebes. During and after the summer of 1992 I filed some 850 persons with Greek names or with the ethnic 'Greek', who lived or stayed in Thebes. I have included both the West Bank (Memnoneia, Djeme) and the East Bank (Diospolis Magna), but I have not systematically distinguished between the two banks.⁹ I have excluded the towns in the neighbourhood of Thebes, such as Hermonthis, Pathuris or Kopptos, although it was not always clear where a person belonged. These 'Greeks' are distributed as follows over the three centuries of Ptolemaic rule:

3rd cent.	—	115	
2nd cent.	—	591	
1st cent.	—	56	(Total: 849).

From the above figures one should not jump to the conclusion that Greek presence in Thebes peaked in the second century. These figures depend of course on the over-all spread of our documentation, and clearly the second century is the best represented period, whereas only few texts have come down to us after the revolt of 88 B.C. More-

ostraca, refers to an Ammonios son of Lusimachos, who was no doubt a member of the same family. This temple oath is dated in a 20th year, which should perhaps be attributed to the late Ptolemaic period rather than to the Roman period as is suggested by the editor. In the first half of the second century B.C. there are several bankers named Lusimachos and Ammonios and our men may have belonged to descendants of this banking family.

⁸ Thus I finally did identify Ptolemaios son of Protarchos, who pays for doves in P. Ryl. II 124 (Pros. Ptol. IV 12384) with Ptolemaios son of Protarchos, who pays for castor oil in the region of Pois in O. Mattha 269. The former text is dated in an 8th year, attributed by the editors to the second century B.C., the latter to a 20th year, attributed by the editor to the first century B.C. If my identification is exact, the texts should be dated to 109 (I here agree with BOGAERT, *ZPE* 75, 1988, p. 132) and 95 B.C. respectively. But I have not identified this person with the eponymous priest of Ptolemais (Pros. Ptol. III 5248) nor with the eponymous officer (Pros. Ptol. II 2233) Ptolemaios son of Protarchos, because there is a difference of one generation in time and the social level seems to be very different.

Another instance is [NN] son of Straton [τῶν ἕξω τάξεως περὶ ζῶν] in O. Ashm. Shelton 42 (2nd cent. B. C.). I have presumed he is identical with Ἀπολλώνιος Στράτωνος τῶν ἕξω τάξεων in O. Strassb. 772, though Shelton leaves open the possibility that he could be his brother.

This kind of decisions, which are of necessity subjective up to a point, had to be taken all along.

⁹ This distinction should certainly be made in a later stage. In her contribution to the *Studies in Egyptology presented to M. Lichtheim* (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 517–624, esp. pp. 523–527, for instance, U. KAPLO- NY-HECKEL has clearly shown that hellenisation went much farther in the city than on the West Bank.

over, numerous texts are dated only to the 'late Ptolemaic' or 'Ptolemaic-Roman period', and some of these may well belong to the first cent. B.C.

The data concerning filiation are more revealing. In most instances no information is given on this subject, but 314 out of 848 records give a patronymic and/or metronymic. These yield the following figures:

Greek father/Greek son or daughter: 190	Greek mother/Greek son: 1 ¹⁰
Greek father/Egyptian son or daughter: 73	Greek mother/Egyptian son: 2 ¹¹
Egyptian father/Greek son or daughter: 38	Egyptian mother/Greek son: 11

As is to be expected most Greek fathers give their children Greek names, but the number of 'irregular' filiations is much higher than might be expected: 111 against 190. And it is surprising that the majority of these are not 'Egyptians' giving Greek names to their sons in order to gain entrance into the Greek world, but 'Greek' fathers giving Egyptian names to their sons, or to some of their sons. The figures for the mothers are exactly the opposite: there are only three mothers with Greek names. This perfectly fits the marriage pattern of our Theban 'Greeks': I counted 17 cases of a 'Greek' taking an 'Egyptian' wife, versus only two 'Greek' women married to 'Egyptians'. They are listed in the following table. Since the Theban origin of the first example is uncertain, mixed marriages in Thebes are not with certainty attested before the second century. In Hermonthis the archive of Melas son of Apollonios (P. dem. Recueil 7; P. dem. BM Andrews 35-39) provides us with three examples (Apollonios x Rwrw; Melas x Senobastis; Ptolemaios x Senminis) in the period before 210, so that the absence of mixed marriages in our Theban documentation is probably accidental.

Table 3: Mixed Marriages.

	name	wife	text(s)	date
1	Purrhias (?) ¹²	x Tanouphis	<i>Rev. d'Ég.</i> 35 (1984), p. 6	288/287 or 268/267 ?
2	Hermias	x Senimouthis	P. dem. Berl. Spieg. 3114 + 3140; P. dem. Hermias, p. 34-40	before 182
3	<i>Slwmns</i> ¹³	x Senmonthis	P. dem. BM Andrews 10	181

¹⁰ Apollonios son of Diophantos (?) and Demetria (Tempeleide 122); I read the metronymic as *T3m3-rf'ry3*.

¹¹ Snachomneus son of Artemisia (P. Berl. Kaufv. 3105; cf. P. W. PESTMAN, *Survey*, p. 21) and Horos son of -- dora (Tempeleide 71).

¹² I read *Pwry3* instead of the editor's *Pwrym*. The Theban provenance of the text is not assured.

¹³ The name is clearly not Egyptian. It could correspond to Greek Ζηλομένης (not attested in Ptolemaic Egypt) or to Jewish Salomon(os). But in the latter case the Jewish name is treated as Greek, as the transcription starts with *s*, not *š*.

4	Alexandros alias Teephibis	x Senthotis	P. dem. Berl. Kaufv. 3111 + 3141	before 176
5	Aristis	x Senpatemis	Tempeleide 46	ca. 159 or later
6	Apollonios	x Senthotis	UPZ II 164; P. dem. Hermias, p. 34-40	155
7	Purrhias	x Oserinis	P. dem. Hermias, p. 74-75 ¹⁴	before 146
8	Hermias	x Senpaous	P. dem. BM Andrews 32	141
9	Hermias alias Petenephotos	x Lobais	UPZ II 170-173 (see stemma, <i>ibid.</i> , p. 43)	126
10	Timokrates	x Senthotis	Tempeleide 196	121
11	Zenobios ¹⁵	x Tanouphis	ZÄS 109 (1982), p. 122	119
12	Alexandros	x Senapathis	UPZ II 180a col. 9 (= P. dem. Berl. Spieg. 3116 col. 4 l. 23)	113
13	Sosikrates or Sokrates	x Lolous	UPZ II 180a col. 11 = P. dem. Berl. Spieg. 3116 col. 5 l. 21	113
14	Sosos	x Senpoeris	UPZ II 180a col. 13 = P. dem. Berl. Spieg. 3116 col. 6 l. 17	113
15	Artemon	divorces from Taibis	Tempeleide 21	ca. 116 or later
16	Ptolemaios	x Senharpoeris	Tempeleide, p. 385 (O. dem. BM 26469)	year 11
17	Artemon	x Tasemis	Tempeleide 44	late Ptolemaic
18	Snachomneus	x Artemisia	P. dem. Berl. Spieg. 3105	120-110
19	Onnophris	divorces from Philotera	Tempeleide 15	94 or later

It should be clear that the above use of the words 'Greeks' and 'Egyptians' has no ethnic implication: my reference is only to the use of Greek and Egyptian *names*. In some native families, for instance, some sons might receive Greek names, whereas others remained within the Egyptian onomastic tradition. For daughters the adoption of Greek names was much rarer. When therefore one of the Greek-named members of such a family took a wife with an Egyptian name, this might suggest a Greek marrying a native girl, whereas in fact the two came from an Egyptian background.¹⁶

¹⁴ See UPZ II, p. 103 and, for the family, P. W. PESTMAN, *Egitto e storia antica* (cit. n. 2), pp. 147-148.

¹⁵ I read in l. 1 [*S*]nbys instead of the editor's *Hbys*.

¹⁶ See e.g. Hermias (no. 9), who has also an Egyptian name Petenephotos. Purrhias (no. 7) has an Egyptian mother and so has Philotera (no. 19). Alexandros (no. 4) has not only a second Egyptian name (Teephibis), but he got that name from his father, who was therefore probably an Egyptian.

The data-base also includes information on the occupations of our 'Greeks'. At the present moment I have inventoried only a few general categories, but these could be refined at a later date:

- 191 persons fit under the general heading 'official', 41 of them are bankers and 50 tax officials. I have included only local officials of Thebes, not the higher officials such as Thebarch, strategos and basilikos grammateus, who had their residence not in Thebes but in Ptolemais.
- 43 people belonged to the army or to the police. Here the problem of who was living in Thebes and who was just passing by is almost insoluble, as soldiers were easily moved from one station to another. Druton for instance could only be included thanks to two texts of his earliest period, one of them unpublished (see table 1 no. 8).
- 90 persons are 'tomb owners', i.e. people with Greek names who owned a tomb in the Theban necropolis which was looked after by Egyptian choachytes. This meant the family continued to pay for them, sometimes for several generations after their death. For this group the date of the text is usually considered a terminus ante quem: usually those named are deceased when their tomb is mentioned in the lists of the choachytes, though in some instances living persons may also be listed (cf. infra, p. 7). Nine of these 'Greeks' were called *hry*, 'master', i.e. they received a special treatment, probably confined to rich and important families.
- The gymnasium is mentioned only six times.¹⁷ Here the prosopographical method should be supplemented by other evidence, such as a new reference to the gymnasium in Diospolis Magna in a Druton text, discussed in Miss Vandorpe's forthcoming edition of the Druton archive (text 39 vo. l. 7). But even here the data-base has a suggestion to make. The patron deities of the gymnasium were Hermes and Herakles. When we look at the onomastic patterns among the Theban 'Greeks', we meet an astounding number of theophoric names composed with either Hermes or Herakles: 66 Hermes-names and 54 Herakles-names, together 120 names on a total of 848, i.e. one 'Greek' person in seven had a name with Hermes or Herakles. I would suggest the proliferation of these names is linked with the entrance of certain families into the gymnasium, and thus with their entrance into the Greek world. It may be significant that 41 names of this group belong to 'officials' and 'soldiers', i.e. in these groups one person in five has a Hermes/Herakles name.

*

¹⁷ Epiodoros (Pros. Ptol. VI 17141; after 173 B.C.), Herakleides (Pros. Ptol. II 4299; 117 B.C.) and Kallimachos (Pros. Ptol. VIII 267a) are attested as gymnasiarchs in Thebes; Simaristos, Apollonios and Hermogenes pay a contribution for oil εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον in 171 B.C. (O. Theb. gr. 3, 4 and 6).

Different categories of texts present different groups of people. Thus sitologoi and tax officials are known to us thanks to the Greek and demotic ostraca, whereas the grapheion-officials are attested in the Greek subscriptions to demotic documents. Bankers are found in both of these groups and therefore their successions are fairly well-known.¹⁸ Soldiers and officers are mainly attested in the Greek UPZ texts, sometimes also as tax payers in the ostraca. The demotic and Greek papyri of the choachytes' archive contain long lists of tombs, in which from time to time Greek 'mummies' are mentioned. Surprisingly some of the witnesses to demotic documents have a Greek name or patronymic (see below, pp. 13-15). In the Tempeleide, finally, we find numerous 'Greeks' involved in law suits against their neighbours, both 'Egyptians' and 'Greeks'.

Each of these text groups forms a little world on its own, and I have the impression that thus far scholars have not really tried hard to find links between Greek and demotic, between papyri and ostraca, between tax receipts and tomb owners' lists, between officials and land-owners, etc. In what follows, I will try to show that this kind of research, notwithstanding serious problems, can lead to new insights. As already stated, the basic assumption for what I will do is that Greek Thebes was a small world indeed and that therefore homonymy may be significant if the names are not too common.

I start with a few straightforward examples before entering into the more problematical and intricate ones.

1. *Apollonios son of Praxias*. In O. Tait Bodl. 184 Apollonios son of Praxias pays to the thesauros of Diospolis Magna ὑπὲρ τοῦ τόπ(ου). The text is dated in a 44th year, which can only belong to the reign of Ptolemy VIII: 8 August 126 B.C. The same man is paying for the same tax some fifteen years later in O. Wilcken 1342, dated in year 6, certainly of Soter II (111 B.C.).

According to O. dem. Strasb. 1657 (= Tempeleide, p. 400) a certain *βρωῖνος* son of *Πργυζος*, clearly the same man, takes a demotic oath in the temple of Chonsou in Karnak, together with an Egyptian Petechonsis son of Herieus. The demotic ostrakon is dated in a fourth year, which can now be safely attributed to the reign of Cleopatra III, i.e. to 114/113 B.C.

2. *Sosos and Diphilos sons of Alexander*. Diphilos son of Alexander is well attested in a series of ostraca now in the Bodleian Library.¹⁹ He pays taxes in grain to the thesauros of Diospolis Magna between June 21, 139 B.C. and June 3, 131 B.C. In one case it is stated that he pays together with his brothers (O. Tait Bodl. I 169). One of these brothers is Sosos, who pays in 137 and 134 to the same thesauros.²⁰ The fact that all the ostra-

¹⁸ For Theban bankers in the Ptolemaic period, see now R. BOGAERT, 'Liste chronologique des banquiers royaux thébains 255-84 avant J.-C.', *ZPE* 75 (1988), pp. 115-138.

¹⁹ O. Tait Bodl. I 169, 171, 172, 174, 176, 177, 180, 181.

²⁰ O. Tait Bodl. I 170 and 175.

ca are now in the same collection suggests that they were found together, as a kind of joint family archive.

O. Wångstedt 51 is a receipt for syntaxis, dated in year 35 of Euergetes II, i.e. in 136/135 B.C. Tax-payer is *Typhyls* son of $\beta\lambda[\text{gsn}]tr\text{s}$. Wångstedt graecisizes the names as Theophilos son of Alexandros, but the group *Ty-*, which would be an awkward rendering of Greek Θεο-,²¹ perfectly corresponds to Δι-. There can be no doubt therefore that Diphilos is paying here again and that this time he gets a demotic receipt.

His brother Sosos is found again a few years later as a farmer of 6.5 and 5 arourai of land in Diospolis Magna, receiving two so-called *r-rh-w* ostraca.²² Though the name Sosos occurs only twice in my files, it cannot be proved that Sosos son of Alexandros was identical with Sosos the husband of Senpoeris, the man 'from Diospolis Magna', who owned a tomb in the Memnoneia ten years later (UPZ II 180a col. 13 l. 12). Neither is there proof that this was a Jewish family, although the names would certainly be fitting for hellenizing Jews.²³

3. *Zenon the tax collector* (Pros. Ptol. I 1681). There are only two records containing the name Zenon in the data base, which means that the name is rare in Thebes. Both texts are dated to the 2nd century by their editors, one is Greek (O. Wilcken 318 = year 3, after 173, perhaps 115), the other demotic (O. dem. BM 12604 = Or. Suec. 16, 1967, p. 30, datable to year 147 or 136). In both texts Zenon has a title: λογευτήs Διός πό- (λεως), 'tax collector of Thebes', in Greek, *shn*, 'commissioner', in demotic. There can hardly be any doubt that they relate to the same person and that *shn* is here the demotic equivalent of λογευτήs. The use of *shn* with the meaning of 'tax-collector' was already surmised by Glanville for another Theban text, P. dem. BM Glanville 10528 (p. 18 n. g), but considered too doubtful by Peremans and Van 't Dack.²⁴ Year 3 of the Greek text is then either 168/167 or 115/114.

4. *Sikon*. When neither patronymic nor title are recorded identification becomes much more hazardous. An important clue can be the rarity of the name. Thus I am fairly certain that the Sikon owning a tomb in 175 B.C. according to P. dem. Louvre 3440 +

²¹ Θεο- is normally rendered by *Tw-* or *Thw-*, see P. L. Bat. 24 (1983), p. 88 and p. 152.

²² Published by U. KAPLONY-HECKEL, *Lichtheim Studies* (cit. n. 9), pp. 594-597, nos. 21 (130/129 B.C.) and 22 (129/128 B.C.). In no. 20 (pp. 592-593) only the patronymic Alexandros is preserved, so that we do not know which of the brothers has paid.

²³ In the present study hellenising Jews have been considered Greeks, e.g. the tax officials Aristomenes son of Josephos (Pros. Ptol. I 1519), Simon son of Jazaros (Pros. Ptol. I 1624) and Toubias son of Simon (Pros. Ptol. I 1636) and the tax-payers Dositheos son of Sabbataios (*Lichtheim Studies* [cit. n. 9], p. 536 no. 18), Hellen son of Dositheos (O. Tait Bodl. 160) and Straton son of Straton (O. Tait Bodl. 158 and 163). For Jews in Ptolemaic Thebes, see CPJ I Section V (Jewish tax-collectors, government officials and peasants in Upper Egypt), pp. 194-226.

²⁴ W. PEREMANS - E. VAN 'T DACK, 'L'équivalent grec du titre *shn*', *Stud. Hell.* 9 (1953), pp. 95-104, esp. pp. 103-104.

P. dem. Berl. 3112 (see *Enchoria* 15, 1987, p. 115), is the man mentioned in O. Wilcken 317, dated to 152 B.C. (for the date, see B.L. I, p. 54). This text mentions 'a son of Sikon', which probably implies that Sikon himself was dead at that time. The name is very rare; in fact there is not a single other instance for the whole Ptolemaic period.

5. *Poluperchon*. Another very rare name is Poluperchon, attested for a κάτοικος ἱππεύς, who is an assessor to the epistates in the law-suit of Hermias in 119 B.C. (UPZ II 161 ll. 3-4; Pros. Ptol. II 2685). He is almost certainly the grandfather of the katoikos hippeus Κρόνιος Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος, who is mentioned on a undated wooden tablet from Thebes (S.B. I 1024; Pros. Ptol. II 2671). But in my opinion this Greek cavalryman was buried in the Memnoneia and his tomb is mentioned in UPZ II 180a col. 30 l. 5, in the midst of other Greek tomb owners, in 113 B.C.

6. *Polianthes son of Karnis and some others*. The list of tombs P. dem. Brux. 5, drawn up in 153 B.C., in col. 1 l. 22, mentions the tomb of a ἡρῦ Siephmous son of *Pwl[y]nth*s. Spiegelberg transcribes the Greek patronymic as Poluanthes. In fact the name is Polianthes, attested three times in the Prosopographia Ptolemaica. Polianthes is an oldfashioned Greek name, not really to be expected for the father of an Egyptian ἡρῦ, 'master, sheikh'. All other bearers of the name are in fact Greek soldiers. The ἡρῦ-status of Siephmous probably shows that his tomb received a special treatment because his family paid more than did others. He must have belonged to a wealthy family. To my surprise a further Polianthes turned up in my files: Polianthes son of Karnis — the patronymic points to a Cyrenaean origin²⁵ — was a tax farmer in Thebes from 258 to 251 B.C. (O. Tait Bodl. 8-10). Could this be the same man, whose tomb was still looked after by the choachytes a century later? I am inclined to think so, because of the rarity of the name and because I came across several similar instances of 'Greek' Theban officials whose tombs were in the care of the choachytes.

Thus Dionusodoros, who is attested in the tomb-list of P. dem. Louvre 3440 + P. dem. Berl. 3112 (*Enchoria* 15, 1987, p. 115 l. 5) of 175 might be identical with the official of that name who is called ὁ παρὰ Στράτωνος θηβάρχου in 255 B.C. (Pros. Ptol. I 1103). Similarly Lichas, whose tomb is mentioned in the same list (in *Enchoria* 15, 1987, p. 104 and p. 115 demotic *Lyghs* corresponds to Lichas, rather than to the editor's rendering Laches), is perhaps the ἀρχιφυλακίτης of 182 B.C. (Pros. Ptol. II 4585).

7. *Alexandros* (Pros. Ptol. VI 17190). Our last example from the tomb lists brings us back to the gymnasium. UPZ II 180 enumerates the tombs which Horos son of Horos gives to his children in 113 B.C. Among hundreds of names only a few are Greek. One

²⁵ See L. ROBERT, *Revue des Études Grecques* 80 (Paris, 1967), pp. 31-39 (= *Opera Minora Selecta*, VI [Amsterdam, 1989], pp. 71-79); the references can now be found in P. M. FRASER, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford, 1987) p. 252.

of them is Alexandros παλαιστής (col. 24 l. 8). He is from Diospolis Magna and is buried with his wife and children in the Memnoneia. His title is interesting for my subject because it shows us a man who in life was a Greek athlete, a wrestler. I am tempted to identify him with *βλgsntrws p3 grg*, who is buried together with Senesis (no doubt his wife) and whose tomb is looked after by the same Horos in 153 B.C., according to P. dem. Brux. 5 col. 1 l. 9 (Pros. Ptol. IV 4454). Could *grg*, 'Jäger, Stricker', be the demotic translation of Greek παλαιστής, as was already suggested in Pros. Ptol. VIII 4454 add.? Perhaps some unpublished demotic list from the choachytes archive will give us the answer to this question.

8. *Promachos and Hermaios*. Promachos is attested in a Greek name-list of the late Ptolemaic period (O. Wilcken 1189 l. 5; for the date, see B.L. III, p. 274). The only other instance of the name is in Tempeleide 115, where Promachos (*Prmghs*) takes an oath against Hermippos (*Hrmyps*) son of Agathon (*βgthyn*). KAPLONY-HECKEL dates the oath to the Roman period, but the figure of 50 deben (1000 dr.), apparently corresponding to 2 artabas i.e. 500 drachmai per artaba, points to a second century date (cf. *Anc. Soc.* 20, 1989, p. 117: 173-130). Year 20 should therefore correspond to 162/161 B.C. The new date allows us to identify 'Hermippos' with Hermaios son of Agathon in another temple oath, Louvre 10329 (Tempeleide, p. 392), dated in 118 B.C. Here the names are given both in demotic (*Hrmy3s s3 βgthn*) and in Greek (Ἑρμαῖος Ἀγάθω-νος). Kaplony-Heckel's reading *Hrmyps* in Tempeleide 115 should therefore be corrected into *Hrmy3s*, as can be seen from the facsimile below:²⁶

The image shows a handwritten facsimile of demotic script. It consists of several groups of characters, including a large '3' and a 's', which correspond to the demotic name Hrmy3s mentioned in the text.

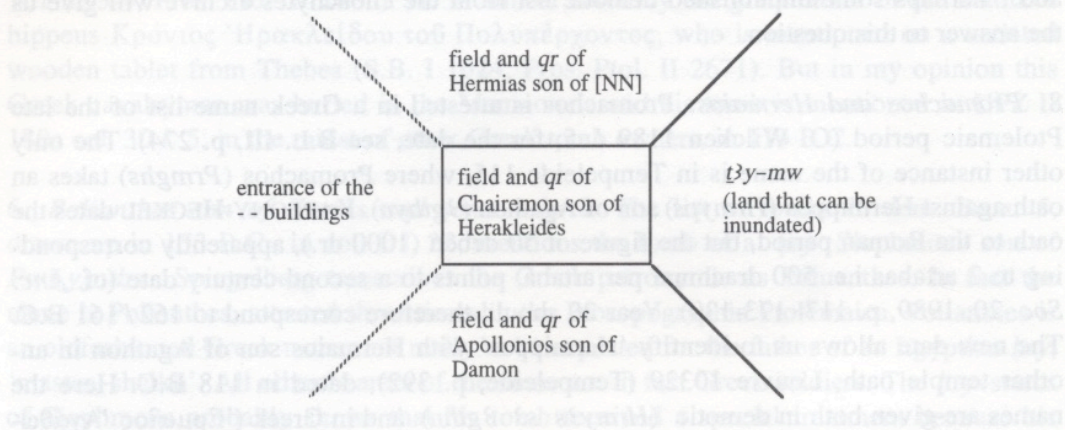
The difference in date between Tempeleide 115 (162/161) and Louvre dem. 10329 (118/117) may seem too great, but the reading of the Louvre date is uncertain. Or should Tempeleide 115 be attributed to the early first century and dated in 95/94 B.C., notwithstanding the wheat price?

9. *Apollonios son of Damon*. One of the antecedents in the famous case of Hermias vs. the Theban choachytes was a lawsuit of Hermias against a certain Apollonios son of Damon, who had sold 20 arourai of γῆ σιτοφόρος to a priest of Amon, Harmais son of Nechtmonthes (Pros. Ptol. III 6314). The land belonged in fact to Hermias, as Apollonios had to recognize after Hermias lodged a complaint with the chrematists against him, some time before 117 B.C. (UPZ II 162 = P. Tor. Choachiti 12 col. IV ll. 3, 4, 9; VI ll. 22-26; VIII ll. 3, 34).

We find the same Apollonios in P. Tor. Amenotes 17 (118 B.C.), where he is the owner of some ἱερά γῆ in the northern land of Thebes, neighbouring that of the Greek

²⁶ The correction was independently suggested by E. LÜDDECKENS, *Dem. Namenbuch*, p. 773, apparently for palaeographical reasons only.

soldier Chairemon. One of the other neighbours is a certain Hermias. Unfortunately his patronymic is lost in a lacuna, but I suspect that he was none other than the well-known Hermias of UPZ (Pros. Ptol. II 2080). This is, I think, the very plot of land about which a dispute had taken place some years before. Apollonios had apparently tried to encroach upon the land of his neighbour.²⁷ If I am right we may restore Hermias' patronymic in P. Tor. Amenothos 17 as [Ptolemaios]. In any case it is remarkable that three plots within the temple domain of Amon are in the hands of families of Greek misthophoroi.



The Theban archives recently published by C. ANDREWS now give us information also about Apollonios' father, Damon, himself son of Apollonios (Pros. Ptol. II 3862). He was a *Wynn ms n Kmy*, 'Greek born in Egypt', and a misthophoros of the infantry (see Table 1 no. 6). In 182 he sold a house in northern Thebes, to the north of Karnak, to the pastophoros Amenothos son of Harsiesis. The same sale is mentioned in a Greek text, P. Haun. 11, where the house is situated in the district Chrusopolis (see P.W. PESTMAN, *P. Tor. Choachiti*, p. 179 n. a).

I have found several other people named Damon or son of Damon in ostraca and temple oaths.²⁸ I suspect that at least some of them are members of the same family, but it is impossible to fit them in exactly, because the data in these texts are too vague or uncertain. When in Leiden, I had the opportunity of checking in the Museum the ostrakon O. Leid. 20, where Αμω() son of Damon pays the tax *στέφανος τῶν κατοίκων* (see Table 2 no. 12), somewhere in the second cent. I would prefer to read Ἀπο(λλώνιος) rather than Αμω(), but the ostrakon is so much abraded that neither reading can really be seen on the original.

²⁷ The sketch shows that the land of Hermias (North) actually bordered on that of Apollonios (South), since the western neighbour was not a real plot, but only an 'entrance of the buildings'.

²⁸ Damon son of Damon (no date; Tempeleide, p. 382 [Berl. 985]); Damon son of NN (late Ptol.; *Forsch. u. Berichte* 10, 1968, p. 153); Damon son of Arch[-] (74/73; *Lichtheim Studies* [cit. n. 9], p. 610 no. 29); Damon son of Petechons and father of Praxias (114; O. Tait Bodl. 192-193); Damon father of Ailouros (131/130; UPZ 218).

10. *Herakleides son of Pamphilos*. As an example of how different types of texts may illustrate different aspects of the same individual I may refer to Herakleides son of Pamphilos. He is attested in Tempeleide 188 (118 B.C.) as a party in a dispute concerning the theft of a *tm*-mat; he acts together with Herakleides son of Apion against a certain Sokrates. Although all parties have Greek names, the temple oath is written in demotic and sworn at the gate of Djeme, in the temple of Montou lord of *Mtn*, i.e. Medinet Habu. I come across the same man in the very Leiden ostracon 20, which I have just mentioned; there Wilcken read 'Hρακλ() Παμφίλου. The identification, if accepted, allows us to supplement the name into 'Hρακλ(είδης), and to define the date of the Greek ostracon. The new date, somewhere around 118 B.C., also fits perfectly for Apollonios son of Damon.

11. *Witnesses and bankers*. Every notarial deed in demotic is signed by 16 witnesses, who usually add their patronymic. The Theban documentation contains the names of hundreds of witnesses, nearly all of them Egyptian. I have found, however, 36 witnesses with a Greek name and/or patronymic among them. Each of these persons belonged at the same time to the Egyptian world (he was able to sign in demotic) and to the Greek world (even in a demotic document he used a Greek name). Each of them deserves a careful study, but here I give only a general survey and some preliminary notes.

Table 4: 'Greek' Witnesses in Demotic Documents.²⁹

	name	filiation/patronymic	date	reference
1	<i>Gmrws</i> ³⁰	f. of Nechtmonthes	284	P. dem. BM Glanville 10525 (p. 37) l. 10
2	Apollonios	f. of Psenthotes	252	P. dem. Philad. 16 v ^o l. 10
3	Theon (= no. 4?)	s. of <i>Tyʒg s.ws</i>	243	P. dem. BM Andrews 44 v ^o l. 16
4	Theon (= no. 3?)	s. of Dionusios	241	P. dem. Philad. 17 v ^o l. 14; 19 v ^o l. 4
5	Ptolemaios	s. of Portis	241	P. dem. Philad. 18 v ^o l. 3
6	Purrhos or Philon	s. of Psenminis	230	P. dem. Philad. 23 v ^o l. 9
7	Agathokles	father of Psenamounis	230	P. dem. BM Andrews 10 v ^o l. 5; P. Berl. 3089 (ZÄS 109, 1982, 168)

²⁹ The following list includes also witnesses attested in Hermonthis (nos. 3, 9, 10, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28). At least one person, Herieus son of Thrason (no. 16) acts as a witness both in Djeme and in Hermonthis.

³⁰ Although I cannot offer a Greek equivalent for *Gmrws*, the name is certainly not Egyptian and looks very much like a Greek name. Nechtmonthes son of *Gmrws* is a goldsmith, see Pros. Ptol. V 13328. The name *Gmrws* is also found among the tomb-owners of P. dem. Philad. 18 l. 3 (241 B.C.) and P. dem. Marseille 298 + 299 (= *Enchoria* 10, 1980, p. 130; 241 B.C.). Here he himself has the title *nby*, i.e. goldsmith, so that there can be no doubt that the same person is meant in both cases.

8	Asklas	father of Psenminis	230	P. dem. BM Andrews 25 v ^o l. 14
9	Sarapion	s. of Harmiusis	224	P. dem. BM Andrews 35 v ^o l. 8
10	Neilos	father of [--]gʒrws	224	P. dem. BM Andrews 35 v ^o l. 14
11	Ptolemaios	father of Teos	222	P. dem. Berl. Kaufv. 3096 v ^o l. 15; P. dem. BM Andrews 16 v ^o l. 6
12	Herakleides	father of Thotortaios	210	P. dem. BM Andrews 27 v ^o l. 1
13	Nikon	father of Psenchonsis	210	P. dem. BM Andrews 27 v ^o l. 3
14	Purrhias	father of Zbendetis	182	P. dem. BM Andrews 9 v ^o l. 16
15	Krates	s. of Herakleides	175	P. dem. BM Andrews 5 v ^o l. 10; 6 v ^o l. 10
16	Thrason	father of Herieus	175	P. dem. BM Andrews 5 v ^o l. 14; 6 v ^o l. 14; 41 v ^o l. 12
17	Platon	s. of Imouthes	160	P. dem. BM Andrews 7 v ^o l. 16
18	Ptolemaios	s. of Harpaesis	150	P. dem. Berl. Kaufv. 3070 v ^o l. 15; 3097 v ^o l. 15
19	Apollonios	father of Portis	146	P. dem. BM Andrews 23 l. 8 = P. dem. Bibl. Nat. 218; P. dem. Berl. Spieg. 3119 v ^o l. 8
20	Antimachos	s. of Antigenes	146	P. dem. BM Andrews 23 l. 15 = P. dem. Bibl. Nat. 218; P. dem. Berl. Spieg. 3119 v ^o l. 15
21	Sarapion	father of Pamonthes	140	P. dem. Berl. Kaufv. 3090 v ^o l. 11; 3091 v ^o l. 11
22	Bion	father of Chesthephnachtis	124	P. dem. BM Andrews 21 v ^o l. 10
23	Ammonios	s. of Chestthoes; br. of Harpaesis, Zminis and Psenapathes	116 and 98	P. dem. Berl. Spieg. 3118 l. 27 and 3108 l. 16
24	Ammonios	father of Pamonthes and of Psenchonsis	115	P. Tor. Botti 12 v ^o l. 12; 22 v ^o l. 1; 24 v ^o l. 6
25	Purrhos	father of Psenesis	115	P. Tor. Botti 12 v ^o l. 13
26	Asklas	f. of Pamonthes and Siephmous	108	P. Tor. Botti 22 v ^o l. 7; 24 v ^o l. 6
27	Neilos	s. of Harpbekis	108	P. Tor. Botti 22 v ^o l. 12
28	Antiochos ³¹	s. of Hermias	108	P. Tor. Botti 22 v ^o l. 14
29	Memnon	father of Hr-ʒby	104	P. Tor. Botti 31 v ^o l. 3
30	Apollonios	s. of Menekles	102	P. Tor. Botti 33 v ^o l. 14
31	Achilleus	s. of Artemidoros no. 35	99	P. Tor. Choachiti 6 v ^o l. 2

³¹ For the reading, see K.-TH. ZAUZICH in *Enchoria* 2 (1972), p. 91.

32	Apollonios	s. of [NN]	99	P. Tor. Choachiti 6 v ^o l. 3
33	Sostratos	s. of Hermias	99	P. Tor. Choachiti 6 v ^o l. 8
34	Ptolemaios	s. of Diomenes	99	P. Tor. Choachiti 6 v ^o l. 12
35	Artemidoros	father of Psenchonsis and Achilleus no. 31	99	P. Tor. Choachiti 7 v ^o ll. 1 and 2
36	Theogenes	s. of [NN]	98	P. Tor. Choachiti 7 v ^o l. 8

Greek names for demotic witnesses are already found in the third century B.C., but they temporarily disappear during the great Thebaid revolt, either because the Greeks have fled or because the persons in question preferred not to use their Greek name in this period.

No. 13, Psenchonsis son of Nikon, is a witness in a 'sale' of land, in which one of the parties is the Greek (*Wynn*) Nikon alias Petechonsis (see Table 1 no. 5). There can be not much doubt why he was present on this occasion: he was the son of the vendor of the land. But this son of a Greek bears an Egyptian name, echoing that of his grandfather, and is able to testify in demotic. Two other witnesses of the text are sons of a certain Psenchonsis; they are called Totoes and Totoes jr. respectively and were no doubt members of the same family. This is confirmed by the list of witnesses of the corresponding cession document (P. dem. BM. Andrews 26). Normally one expects the same witnesses in cession and sale. In this case the names are all different, with the exception of the Totoes and Totoes jr. sons of Psenchonsis and Psenamounis son of Pais. The seventh witness is Psenchonsis son of *Pa-hj*. I wonder if the name *Pa-hj* could be a hypocoristic of Petechonsis,³² the Egyptian name of Nikon. If so, Psenchonsis son of *Pa-hj* could be identical with Psenchonsis son of Nikon. If this is true, the only witnesses who functioned in both sale and cession, except for the unknown Psenamounis, were family members of the vendor.

The two papyri just mentioned are dated to 210 B.C. One year later a certain Psenchonsis is banker at Thebes (Pros. Ptol. I + VIII 1288), the first of three Theban bankers with an Egyptian name. It may seem daring to venture another identification here, but bankers usually belong to Greek society and an Egyptian banker in the third century is certainly somewhat surprising. This is less so when one realises that the person in question did in fact belong to a 'Greek' family. Though the identification must of necessity remain hypothetical, it is perhaps confirmed by no. 20, Antimachos son of Antigeneis, who is a witness to two contracts, dated 146 B.C. Our data base lists only one other per-

³² D. DEVAUCHELLE, 'A propos du nom *Pn-hj*, *Enchoria* 9 (1979), pp 141-142, shows that *hy/hj* is used as a hypocoristic form of *Hnsw* in proper names. Compare *Pa-rtj* as a hypocoristic for Petecharpochrates; see J. QUAEGBEUR, 'Aspects de l'onomastique démotique', in *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography* (Stud. Dem. 1, Leuven, 1987), pp. 81-84.

son called Antigenes, namely the banker Pros. Ptol. I + VIII 1138, whose career is situated by BOGAERT in 170-165 B.C.³³ Antimachos may very well have been his son.

If I am right, some bankers were quite at home in the native literate society. I should not be surprised if they were in fact of local extraction and functioned as Hellenes more or less as did the agoranomoi in Pathyris,³⁴ whereas others were of Greek origin but intimately linked with the local elite.

A case of Greek onomastics in a native milieu is found with Bion, father of Chestepnachts (no. 22), who signs as a witness in 124 B.C.: he probably belonged to the family of Egyptian monographoi studied by Pestman,³⁵ but had taken on a Greek name.

The role of native Egyptians in the early Ptolemaic administration should not be underestimated. An important hint in that direction is found in the third century salt tax receipts on ostraca. These are written in Greek and signed by 'Greek' officials such as Dionusodoros, Kleitandros and Polianthes. But the text is not written with a Greek kalamos, but with a rush brush, the typical instrument of demotic scribes.³⁶ This is not an easy writing instrument, as anybody who has tried to use it can confirm. No Greek would think of using a brush rather than a reed kalamos, which is far better suited to writing Greek. In my opinion all those scribes were native Egyptians, who learned to write Greek. But I do not have proof that the texts were really written by the people in whose names they were signed: Kleitarchos and his colleagues tax farmers may well have made use of a scribal office. So they need not have been Egyptians themselves.

12. *Konon son of Doros*. In his book on the Louvre ostraca (p. 158), D. DEVAUCHELLE republishes a receipt of year 121 B.C., which was published earlier by E. Revillout and G. Mattha. The readings are still doubtful in some places, but for my present purpose I am interested only in the name of the payer: *Qnn* son of *Trs*, rendered in Devauchelle's translation as 'Kenen fils de Teres'. This is a typical egyptologist's reconstruction of the names, made by simply inserting small e's between the consonants of the demotic transcription. But to a papyrologist Teres looks like a perfect rendering of the well-known Greek (or Thracian) name Τήρης.

Devauchelle does not record that MATTHA had rendered the name as 'Konon son of Doros'. Although he did not add a note to his transcription, Mattha may well have been aware of the existence of a man called Κόνων son of Δῶρος in the contemporary Greek ostraca. There can be hardly any doubt that this Konon is identical with the *Qnn* of the

³³ ZPE 75 (1988), pp. 122-123.

³⁴ Cf. my remarks on the possibility of native bankers in *Opes Atticae* (*Sacris Erudiri* 31, Steenbrugge - Den Haag, 1989-1990), pp. 77-84, when I did not yet know this new piece of information. See also the banker Patseous in Pathyris, who belonged to the same family as the agoranomoi; cf. P. W. PESTMAN, *Das ptolemäische Aegypten* (Mainz, 1978), p. 210.

³⁵ P. W. Pestman - J. Quaegebeur - R. L. Vos, *Recueil de textes*, I, pp. 148-153.

³⁶ For the use of kalamos and rush, see W. J. TAIT, 'Rush and Reed: the pens of Egyptian and Greek scribes', *Proceedings 18th Intern. Congress of Papyrology* (Athens, 1986), Vol. II, pp. 477-481.

demotic receipt. The references to this man, both Greek and demotic, are found in Pros. Ptol. IV 10791 and range from 121 to 104 B.C. The demotic ostrakon is by two years the earliest attestation.

But there is even more. The Prosopographia Ptolemaica does not make mention of the tomb of Κόνων son of Δῶρος, which is found in the long list of tombs belonging to the choachyte Horos in 113 B.C. (UPZ II 180a col. 38 l. 10). Here we find not only Konon son of Doros, but immediately following him, in the first line of col. 39, another Konon, son of Apollonios, no doubt a member of the same family, who was a neighbour of our Konon in the necropolis.

In fact, my database lists five persons with the name Konon in Ptolemaic Thebes:

1. Konon son of Doros, tax payer and tomb-owner.
2. Konon son of Apollonios, whose tomb was probably next to that of Konon no. 1. He is also attested as a payer of the syntaxis in 118 B.C. (O. dem. Louvre 112, p. 161).
3. Konon ταγματικός ὑπηρετής, in the army around 130 B.C. (Pros. Ptol. II and VIII 2446).
4. Philoxenos son of Konon, grammateus (?) in the military administration (Pros. Ptol. VIII 2424b).
5. Konon son of Praxitimos(?), at the end of the Ptolemaic period (O. dem. Louvre 571, p. 194).

I am convinced that all Konons belonged to the same family. The ostraca show them as tax payers and illustrate their economic activities, the papyri show that at least some of them belonged to the military administration. The identification of Konon the tax payer and Konon the tomb owner poses a further problem, as Konon's tomb is mentioned in 113 B.C., whereas he goes on paying taxes until 104 B.C. I am inclined to believe that a tomb could be named after a living person, the man who had built it, and not only after those who were buried in it.

13. *The family of Herakleides son of Hermokles.* In the sixth chapter of his Louvre ostraca (pp. 129-149), D. DEVAUCHELLE presents a group of 24 tax receipts centered around two or three brothers, Herakleides, Psenchonsis and Psenpchrates(?), sons of Hermokles. They pay grain taxes on land in the period 145-120 B.C.; Herakleides does not even leave Thebes when the native pharaoh Harsiesis temporarily comes into power in 131-130 B.C.: he simply pays his taxes to the new pharaoh (O. dem. Louvre 101, p. 133).

Devauchelle does not mention the fact that Herakleides is also attested in Greek ostraca, dated between 140 and 131 B.C., B.G.U. 6 1433 and O. Wilcken 737 and 740-748. It would be worth investigating if the Greek ostraca deal with the same taxes as the demotic ones and if equivalences in vocabulary can be established, but this work is still to be done.

One of the Greek ostraca, however, is quite exceptional. It is a Greek oath, sworn in the temple of Herakles, no doubt the Karnak temple of the Egyptian god Chonsou.³⁷ As is often the case with temple oaths, we find a group of people in real life, much more 'pris sur le vif' than is the case with tax receipts, which tend to be uniform and stereotyped.

The text runs as follows:

“Ὀρκος ὃν δεῖ ὁμόσαι Ἡρακλείδην Ἑρμοκλέους καὶ Νεχούτην τὸν ἀδελφὸ[ν] ἔτους λζ Χοιᾶχ τε Πορεγέβθει Ψενχώνσιος ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέου. Τὸ τραῦμα δ' ἔχεις οὐ πεποιήκαμέν σοι οὐδ' οἶδαμεν τὸν πεποιηκότα σοι. Καὶ Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Ἑρμοκλῆς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ συνομνυέτωσαν ἀληθῆ τὸν ὄρκον εἶναι.

The oath which Herakleides son of Hermokles and his brother Nechoutes must swear in year 36, 15 Choiach [= 8 January 134] for Poregebthis son of Psenchonsis in the temple of Herakles. The wound which you have, we have not made it and we do not know the man who made it. Ammonios and Hermokles his brother should join him swearing that the oath is truthful.

At one stroke the family of Hermokles is doubled: besides Herakleides, Psenchonsis and the shadowy Psenpchrates(?), we now meet three further brothers, Nechoutes, Ammonios and Hermokles. The fact that four brothers appear together in the temple involved in the same affair strongly suggests a family quarrel. To me at least it seems likely that Poregebthis, the man who was beaten up, was the son of the fifth brother Psenchonsis. He was apparently not much liked by his paternal uncles: the fact that he asked them to swear their innocence clearly shows that in 134 B.C. the two sides of the family were not on friendly terms.

Psenchonsis himself appears in two demotic temple oaths (Tempeleide 69 and Louvre 7899, *ibid.* p. 391), asserting that he has paid all his taxes. It is striking that some of Hermokles' sons have Greek names (Herakleides, Hermokles jr. and Ammonios) and others Egyptian names (Psenchonsis, Nechoutes and Psenpchrates) and that they indiscriminately use Greek and demotic for tax receipts and temple oaths.

The name Hermokles is quite frequent in the second century B.C. (see above, p. 7) and I would never have dared to attribute six sons to the same father, if the Greek temple oath had not provided the certainty that he was indeed the head of a such a large male family. Because of the frequency of the name it is not possible to link Hermokles either to the telones or the thesaurus official or to the agoranomos of that name. Only careful study of all occurrences of the name will perhaps one day allow us to venture upon further identifications.

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³⁷ L. MITTEIS, *Chrestomathie* doc. 49. For Herakles as *interpretatio graeca* of Chonsou, see J. QUAEGBEUR, 'Les appellations grecques des temples de Karnak', *OLP* 6/7 (1975/76), pp. 463–478, esp. pp. 469–472.

Can we draw any conclusions from all the preceding case studies?

I would stress first and foremost the provisional character of my work to date: because of lack of time, my survey of the texts was certainly incomplete; readings and dates of all texts, and especially of the ostraca, need to be checked. But even then certainty will never be available because all too often all that survives is a name with a title in one text, and a name with a patronymic or even a name by itself in another text. Some of the identifications suggested above — and I offered you only the more straightforward examples — may very well be refuted one day.

But I am convinced that Greek Thebes was a small world and that the Greek-speaking or Greek-named section of the population belonged to the upper layers of society. This elite, perhaps a few thousand, maybe only a few hundred families, was so narrow that name identity, except for the most common names, is often indicative of family relationship or even personal identity.

As to how Greek these people really were, I think that from a very early date Greek immigrants like the Cyreanaean Polianthes son of Karnis or the Cretan Druton son of Pamphilos, were closely linked, by their professional environment and through marriage, to the literate native upper class. And from the third century B.C. onwards Egyptian scribes took up learning Greek (once you have mastered to read and write demotic, to write Greek is just child's play!), marrying off their daughters and sons to immigrants, so that by the end of the Ptolemaic period the Greek-speaking upper class was, from the ethnic point of view, thoroughly mixed with native families. Culturally too, they could act in two ways according to the circumstances: as Greeks in the administration, the army and the gymnasium, as Egyptians in the temple and within the family.³⁸

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³⁸ For the double-faced society of Ptolemaic Egypt, see W. CLARYSSE, 'Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic army and administration', *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), pp. 57–66, further developed in a Dutch article, 'Ptolemaïsch Egypte, een maatschappij met twee gezichten', *Handelingen XLV der Koninklijke Nederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* (Oudenaarde, 1991), pp. 21–38.