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**A LARGE ESTATE IN EGYPT IN THE  
THIRD CENTURY B. C.**

A STUDY IN ECONOMIC HISTORY

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TO  
**BERNARD P. GRENFELL**

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## PREFACE

I have but few points to emphasize in this short preface. The most important is to express my conviction that the progress of our studies on papyrology, progress which is of the greatest importance for our knowledge of the ancient and thus of the modern world in general, largely depends on a systematic excavation of as many cities and villages of the Fayum as possible. What has been done up to this time is merely fairly systematic digging for papyri, hunting after documents, mostly regardless of other remains uncovered during the excavations. However the more we deal with the written documents the more we feel the necessity of having before us the scenery in which the Greco-Egyptian life was led. For a better understanding of the documents, sometimes for understanding them at all, we need to have before us a full picture of one or more of the villages of the Fayum, the ruins duly explored, mapped and photographed, the remains of the furniture, the implements and utensils of its inhabitants. Moreover I am sure that such an exploration if systematic and scientific will certainly yield many new papyri or at least will make it certain that no more papyri can be found in this place. I have often discussed this idea with Mr. B. P. Grenfell and he fully agreed with me. Some days ago I received a letter from Mr. C. C. Edgar, another great authority in this domain. He writes as follows: "The idea of systematically clearing one of the Fayum sites has long attracted me. But it would have to be done by a European or American society; the Egyptian Government, I feel sure, will never undertake it. And if it is to be done it must be begun at once, for the destruction of all these sites has become more and more rapid. In fact I am afraid it is too late to do anything of the sort at Philadelphia, though papyri are still being found there (there was another big find last year); but it might still be possible to work Batn Harit (Theadelphia)."

Is it utopian to think that there are men and women in the United States who may grasp the importance of such excavations and may help one of the existing organizations to carry out such an excavation?

The second point, not less important to me personally, is to express my warmest thanks to those who helped me in bringing together and explaining the important material which forms the subject of this book. I am greatly indebted to Mr. C. C. Edgar for sending me his valuable articles and for supplying me with the photographs of the Cairo papyri which are reproduced on pl. II and III. Dr. H. J. Bell was kind enough to lend me his copies of the Zenon papyri of the British Museum. Professor P. Jouguet has sent me the photograph of the top of P. Lille 1, reproduced here on pl. I. But my greatest thanks are due to my colleague and friend, Professor E. H. Byrne, who helped me in the most unselfish way to give to my English respectable form. Many thanks are also due to Professor W. L. Westermann who was good enough to read the proofs of this book. The Index was compiled by my wife, Mrs. S. Rostovtzeff.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ARCH.—*Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, herausgegeben von U. Wilcken, I-VI, 1901-1920.
- B. G. U.—*Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin*, herausgegeben von der Generalverwaltung. *Griechische Urkunden*, I-IV, 1895-1912.
- DIKAIOMATA.—*Dikaiomata, Auszüge aus Alexandrinischen Gesetzen und Verordnungen in einem Papyrus des Philologischen Seminars der Universität Halle mit einem Anhang weiterer Papyri derselben Sammlung*, herausgegeben von der Graeca Halensis, Berlin, 1913.
- P. ELEPH.—*Elephantine-Papyri*, bearbeitet von Rubensohn, mit Beiträgen von Schubart und Spiegelberg, Berlin, 1907. (Special volume of B. G. U.)
- P. FREIB.—*Mitteilungen aus der Freiburger Papyrussammlung*, I-II. *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1914, 2 Abhandlung (*Ptolemäische Kleruchenerkunde*, herausgegeben von M. Gelzer).
- P. GEN.—*Les papyrus de Genève*, transcrits et publiés par J. Nicole, I, Genève, 1896-1906.
- P. GIESS.—*Griechische Papyri im Museum des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen*, im Verein mit O. Eger herausgegeben und erklärt von E. Kornemann und P. M. Meyer, I, Leipzig, 1910-1912.
- P. GRAD.—*Griechische Papyri der Sammlung Gradenwitz*, herausgegeben von G. Plaumann. *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1914, 15 Abhandlung.
- P. GRENFELL I—*An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri chiefly Ptolemaic* edited by B. P. Grenfell, Oxford, 1896.
- P. GRENFELL II—*New Classical Fragments and other Greek and Latin Papyri* edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. Hunt, Oxford, 1897.
- P. HAL.—See *Dikaiomata*.
- P. HAMB.—*Griechische Papyruskunden der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek*, herausgegeben und erklärt von P. M. Meyer, I, 1 and 2, Leipzig, 1911, 1913.
- P. HIB.—*The Hibeh Papyri* edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. Hunt, I, London, 1906.
- P. LILLE—*Papyrus Grecs* publiés sous la direction de P. Jouguet avec la collaboration de P. Collart, J. Lesquier, M. Xoual, I, Paris, 1907; II (*Papyrus de Magdola*, seconde édition par J. Lesquier), Paris, 1912.
- P. LOND.—*Greek Papyri in the British Museum. Catalogue with Texts*, I, 1893 and II, 1898 edited by F. Kenyon; III, 1907, ed. by H. I. Bell and F. Kenyon; IV, 1910 and V, 1917 ed. by H. I. Bell.
- P. LOND. INV.—unpublished papyri in the British Museum (correspondence of Zenon).
- P. LOUVRE—*Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Impériale v. XVIII* par Brunet de Presle, Paris, 1865.
- P. MAGD.—See *P. Lille II*.

- P. MEYER, JURISTISCHE PAPYRI—*Juristische Papyri. Erklärung von Urkunden zur Einführung in die juristische Papyruskunde* von P. M. Meyer, Berlin, 1920.
- P. MICH. INV.—unpublished Papyrus in the Library of the University of Michigan (correspondence of Zenon).
- P. OXYR.—*The Oxyrynchus papyri* parts I-XIV, ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. Hunt. London, 1898-1920.
- P. PARIS.—See *P. Louvre*.
- P. PETRIE—*The Flinders Petrie Papyri, with transcriptions, commentaries and index*, I, II ed. by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy, Dublin, 1891, 1893; III, ed. by the Rev. J. P. Mahaffy and J. A. Smyly, Dublin, 1905.
- R. L. or REV. LAWS—*Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* ed. by B. P. Grenfell. Oxford. 1896.
- P. RYL.—*Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*. Vol. II. ed. by J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin, A. Hunt. Manchester. 1915.
- P. RYL. 8—unpublished Papyrus in the Rylands Library at Manchester (correspondence of Zenon).
- P.S.I.—*Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto. Papiri Greci e Latini*. Firenze vol. IV, V, 1917; VI, 1920.
- P. TEBT.—*The Tebtunis Papyri*, Part I ed. by B. P. Grenfell, A. Hunt, J. A. Smyly, London, 1902; Part II ed. by B. P. Grenfell, A. Hunt, J. Goodspeed, London, 1907.
- P.Z.—*Selected Papyri from the Archives of Zenon* by C. C. Edgar, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* XVIII, p. 159 ff., 225 ff.; XIX, p. 13 ff., 81 ff.; XX, p. 19 ff., 181 ff.; XXI, p. 89 ff.
- ROSTOWZEW, STUDIEN—*Studien zur Geschichte des Römischen Kolonates* von M. Rostowzew, Erstes Beiheft zum Archiv für Papyrusforschung, Leipzig und Berlin, 1910.
- SCHUBART, EINFÜHRUNG—W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, Berlin, 1918.
- WILCKEN CHREST. and WILCKEN GRUNDZ.—L. Mitteis und U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* I, 1 (Grundzüge); I, 2 (Chrestomathie), Leipzig, 1912.

## DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

- I. P. Lille 1, recto. Ghoran. Om. 16 cent. xom. 31 cent. Year 27. Map and device of the irrigation work on the estate of Apollonius—Frontispiece.
- II. P.Z. 22. Philadelphia. Om. 245 mill. xom. 10 cent. Year 29. Letter from Zenon to Panakestor—p. 39.
- III. P.Z. 27. Philadelphia. Om. 19 cent. xom. 34 cent. Year 30. Letter from Apollonius to Zenon—p. 49.

## I. INTRODUCTORY

Of the Greek papyri from Egypt the Ptolemaic documents form only a small portion, and among them are relatively few of the third century, i. e. of the first period of the Greek domination in Egypt. Most of the Greek documents bought and excavated in Egypt, as is well known, belong to the Roman period, to the first three centuries A.D. Moreover the early Greek papyri of Egypt are mostly fragmentary and in a bad state of preservation, having been extracted for the most part from the cartonnages of mummies found in Greek cemeteries of the Ptolemaic period.<sup>2</sup>

Most of the early Ptolemaic papyri are found in the Fayum. Such are the valuable documents collected by Petrie at Gurob and published by Mahaffy and Smyly in the three volumes of the *Petrie Papyri*.<sup>3</sup> Another series was collected by Jouguet and Lefebvre in the south-west corner of the Fayum, in the cemeteries near the village of Magdola.<sup>3</sup> In the Fayum probably was found the largest papyrus of the early Ptolemaic time, the νόμοι τελωνικοί of Ptolemy Philadelphus, his "Revenue Laws," published by Grenfell.<sup>4</sup> Some interesting early Ptolemaic documents were also extracted from the cemetery of Tebtunis in the southern part of the Fayum and will shortly be published by Grenfell and Hunt in the third volume of the *Tebtunis Papyri*.

But there are many and valuable documents of the same period which do not belong to the Fayum, e.g. the *Dikaiomata* of the time of Philadelphus published by the *Graeca Halensis*,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the finds of Papyri in general, see the two best introductions to the study of the papyri, L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* (Leipzig, 1912), and W. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Berlin, 1918).

<sup>2</sup> J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly, *The Flinders Petrie Papyri*, 3 vols. (Dublin, 1891-1905).

<sup>3</sup> P. Jouguet, P. Collart, J. Lesquier, M. Xoual, *Papyrus grecs*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907-1912); the second volume contains the papyri of Magdola.

<sup>4</sup> B. P. Grenfell, *The Revenue Laws of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford, 1896).

<sup>5</sup> *Dikaiomata, Auszüge aus Alexandrinischen Gesetzen und Verordnungen*, herausg. von der *Graeca Halensis* (Berlin, 1913).

the papyri of Elephantine in Upper Egypt published by Rubensohn,<sup>6</sup> and those of Hibeh published by Grenfell and Hunt.<sup>7</sup>

The majority of these papyri are, as I have already pointed out, fragmentary, badly preserved and very difficult to read. But among them we have some large and comparatively well preserved documents of the greatest historical importance; also several series of letters and documents, addressed to the same person, which probably belonged to a larger body of either private or official writings. Among those of the first group I should name the already mentioned Revenue Laws, the Dikaionmata, and an unpublished document of the third century found in Tebtunis, instructions given by the dioeketes (Minister of finances) of Euergetes I to an oconomus (Secretary of finances) of the Fayum (the Arsinoite nome). To the second group belongs for example the correspondence of the engineers of Ptolemy Philadelphus and of Ptolemy Euergetes, who worked in the Fayum, and created by their efforts the flourishing agricultural district,—the Arsinoite nome, formerly partly desert, partly marshy land. Their names were Kleon and Theodorus. The documents of their archives were found by Petrie at Gurob. Another series of connected documents is the find of Magdola, scores of petitions addressed to the military governor of the Fayum, the strategus. They formed probably for a while a part of the archives of the governor at the capital of the Fayum, Crocodilopolis, and later on were sold to some fabricant of cartonnages who furnished the whole nome with his products. Fragments of such extensive groups are found everywhere among the documents of the early Ptolemaic period, sometimes only two or three letters, sometimes a larger group like some groups of the papyri of Gurob, Hibeh and Elephantine.

The importance of the early Ptolemaic documents is enormous. During the third century B.C. the Ptolemies, especially the two first, Ptolemy Soter (the Saviour) and Philadelphus

<sup>6</sup> O. Rubensohn, *Elephantine Papyri* (Berlin, 1907).

<sup>7</sup> B. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Hibeh Papyri* (London, 1906); cf. G. Plaumann, *Griechische Papyri der Sammlung Gradenwitz* (*Sitz.-Ber. der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1914, Lief. 15).

(loving his sister), carried out a work of first rate importance not only for their own land, Egypt, but for the ancient world in general. In Egypt they met with multiseular traditions, with an organization of the political, social and economic life which had gradually grown out of the special conditions presented by this peculiar land of Egypt. This ancient native organization of Egypt, built up by the most creative dynasties of the Ancient, Middle and New Egypt, was of course shattered by the long years of foreign domination, interrupted by national revolutions and by temporary reestablishments of a national monarchy, changes preceded and followed by years of struggle and of anarchy. Only partial restoration occurred in the periods of comparative quiet, so that Egypt at the time of Alexander and of his Egyptian expedition was no more a flourishing, well organized state as it had been before the Assyrian and Persian conquest. Its agriculture suffered from years and years of irregular work on the banks and canals,—a question of life and death for Egypt; its commerce was almost entirely in the hands of foreigners both Greeks and Phoenicians; its industry was to a great extent monopolized by the temples and by the clergy, dominant in the political, social and economic life of the country.

The first Ptolemies, if they wanted to make Egypt the centre of a mighty State which would be able to compete with such large and rich monarchies as Syria, the heir of the Persian Empire, and Macedon, the new ruler of the Greek world on the mainland, were faced with the necessity both of restoring the economic life of the country and of consolidating it by means of a good, properly organized administration. A mere restoration of the old administration was of course impossible. With the Ptolemies a new element came into the country, the Greeks. They were the conquerors and on their strength was based the might and power of the Ptolemies. They brought with them their own customs and habits, their own needs, and they claimed the right to be or to become the dominant class in Egypt. On the other hand the organization of the native element was far from perfect. Egypt at the time of Alexander's conquest was no more the centralized and highly developed bureaucratic and autocratic state of the Pharaohs of the

Eighteenth Dynasty. Feudal elements during the periods of Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian domination had won one victory after another over the idea of centralization. And Egypt of the fourth century B.C., as far as we can judge, was a land of many almost independent temple and feudal territories ruled by the highest clergy and by some feudal lords for their own profit. Any restoration of order and prosperity in Egypt meant first of all the elimination of these elements.

Thus the task of the Ptolemies was in no way an easy one. And the lines which they would take would be decisive for the whole future of Egypt, both as a separate and independent state and as a member of the then established balance of power in the Mediterranean.

The history of Egypt during the last three centuries B.C. shows that the first Ptolemies did succeed in forming a strong and well organized state. They were dominant in the Hellenistic world for about a century and they preserved their independence against the renewed attacks of Syria and Macedonia in the following century. They were the last among the leading Hellenistic powers to succumb to the world domination of Rome, and the last battle fought by the Orient against the Occident was organized and prepared in Alexandria by the common efforts of Antony and Cleopatra. This shows that Egypt during the Hellenistic period had strong vital forces based on a rational exploitation of the resources of the country. It is therefore highly important to know what were the devices by which the Ptolemies restored to Egypt these vital forces which it seemed to have lost irretrievably.

The early Ptolemaic documents enumerated above give a partial answer to this question. They show how systematic and logically progressive was the work of restoration and reformation of the first Ptolemies in Egypt and how lasting were the foundations laid by them in their reforms. The general lines of this work were retained not only by their successors, the Ptolemies of the second and first centuries B.C., but by the Romans as well. Even in the Byzantine and Arabic period some of the remains of this thorough work of the first Ptolemies lived on.

I cannot deal with this subject at length. The reader will find my ideas on this topic explained in my article on Ptolemaic

Egypt in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* and in my book on the Hellenistic world and Rome now in course of publication.<sup>8</sup>

But I must emphasize the fact that if the main lines of the reform work of the Ptolemies may be traced with some degree of accuracy, many and highly important points remain still dark and therefore hotly debated. One of the most important and of the darkest questions is that of the part played in the economic life of Egypt by the Greeks and other foreigners, of the relation of the new-comers to the ancient population of Egypt, of the importance of both elements in the restoration of the economic strength of the new Greco-Egyptian state.

This is just the point which seems to be to a certain degree elucidated by a recent find made in Egypt during the war. I mean the discovery of a new and exceptionally rich series of documents of the third century B.C. made in 1915 at Kharabet el Gerza in the Fayum, the site of the ancient village of Philadelphia. The new find forms a unit. All the Greek papyri which belong to it were filed and docketed by a certain Zenon and formed therefore a part of his correspondence, his private archives. The discovery of these papyri was accidental. The discoverers were Egyptian peasants, fellahin digging for sebakh (the fertilizing earth of the ancient ruins used regularly by the Egyptian peasants for fertilizing their fields).<sup>9</sup>

As usual the whole lot of documents (how many they originally were, nobody knows) was acquired by dealers, specialists in the papyri-trade, was divided by them into many parts and

<sup>8</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, "The Foundations of Social and Economic Life in Egypt in Hellenistic Times," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI, 3 (1920), 161 ff.

<sup>9</sup> We have no evidence about the conditions under which the find was made as the dealers were not willing to disclose their source of supply. What is known is related by C. C. Edgar, "On the Dating of Early Ptolemaic Papyri," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, XVII (1917) 208; cf. the introductions to his subsequent articles in the *Annales* and the prefaces of Vitelli in P.S.I. (see below, note 10). There is every probability for the belief that the papyri were found in the ruins of the house which formerly belonged to Zenon, probably in the cellars. Another possibility is that they were thrown out of the house at once and were preserved for centuries in one of the heaps of refuses.

these parts were sold to different purchasers, gradually, one lot after another. A large part came through the late Gentili to Florence, another was acquired by the Museum of Cairo which is still buying up one lot after another; two important lots were acquired by the British Museum, and one by the Library in Manchester. One papyrus of the same series came to Hamburg. Some offered for sale to different institutions were not purchased, and may still remain in the hands of the dealers or may have been sold to one or another private collector. It is indeed urgent that everybody who possesses papyri of the correspondence of Zenon should notify the editors of the larger lots and not hide the documents for years and years, as many collectors of papyri sometimes do.

War time was not very favourable for the publication of papyri, nor is the time we are living in any better. Nevertheless the energy of Vitelli and his collaborators in Italy<sup>10</sup> and of Edgar in Cairo<sup>11</sup> has resulted in the publication of most of the best preserved documents of the Italian and Cairo collections, and Bell and Grenfell will do the same for the documents which are now in England. Thanks to the kindness of Bell and Grenfell I have seen their copies of the English part of the Zenon archives and am acquainted with their content. The papyrus which came to Hamburg was published by P. Meyer.<sup>12</sup>

Thus we have already a body of more than three hundred and fifty documents published and partly explained. Many new ones will soon appear in the next volume of the Papyri of the British Museum and in the next articles of Edgar. They will certainly bring to light valuable new information on the

<sup>10</sup> *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto. Papiri Greci e Latini*, IV, V, and VI (Firenze, 1917, 1920). Quoted as P.S.I. with the number of the papyrus, without the number of the volume.

<sup>11</sup> C. C. Edgar, "Selected Papyri from the Archives of Zenon," *Annales du Service des Ant. de l'Égypte*, XVIII and XIX (pt. I, nos. 1-10, vol. XVIII p. 159 ff.; pt. II, nos. 11-21, vol. XVIII, p. 225 ff.; pt. III, nos. 22-36, vol. XIX, p. 13 ff.; pt. IV, nos. 37-48, vol. XIX, p. 81 ff.). Quoted P. Z. with the number of the papyrus or pt. I, etc., and the page. The papyri from Zenon's archives now in London are quoted by the Inventory number of each.

<sup>12</sup> P. M. Meyer, *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Stadtbibliothek*, 2 parts (Leipzig, 1911 and 1913), no. 27.

affairs of Zenon, some fragments will fit into already published documents and make it easier to understand them. Many questions of chronology and of details will certainly arise from the new evidence. Under such conditions it may seem unwise to deal at present with the correspondence as a whole from the historical point of view, or to try, before the series is complete, to point out its scientific value and its enormous importance for our knowledge of the early Ptolemaic Egypt.

Nevertheless I have decided to take up this question at once and to publish the results of my investigations. My reasons for doing so are as follows. We possess already sufficient evidence for forming a conception of the correspondence as a whole, and the conception which I have formed by means of a close study of the published documents is very much different from that which was formed by the editors of the documents. I should like therefore to make my conception accessible to the editors of the new documents, subject it to their criticism and thus make their work of publishing the new evidence easier, since the reading of the new pieces of evidence and commenting upon them depends very much for its value on the right understanding of the series as a whole. Furthermore I am not afraid of committing mistakes. I should be very glad to correct my statements in the light of any new evidence and to modify my opinions. But for the successful progress of the work of editing and commenting on the new papyri in general it is urgent that the new documents be compared with the old ones and that this new evidence be assigned its place in the already known series of the same time and the same place. We shall see how close is the connection of the Zenon papyri with those of the Petrie lot on the one hand and with the Revenue Laws on the other. It will appear also that many of the Lille papyri explain and are explained in their turn by the Zenon papyri. I therefore do not regard my labor in compiling this article as a waste of time. Science progresses step by step and nobody should be afraid of committing mistakes in dealing with new and unexplained material, assuming that his study of this material is thorough, animated by a sincere desire to find the truth, and founded on a well established general conception.

## II. PHILADELPHIA

The place where the Zenon correspondence was found is well known to the papyrologists and to the dealers in papyri. Philadelphia (Gerza near the modern Rubbayat), like Karanis and Soknopaiu Nesos and some other sites in the Fayum, was one of the first places to be attacked by the seabkh diggers and papyri plunderers in the eighties of the last century. Many papyri in a good state of preservation found in the ruins of Philadelphia were sold in Europe to the Museums of Berlin, London, and Geneva.<sup>13</sup> Most of them are published in the papyri publications of Berlin, London and Geneva. Nobody tried to collect them all and to give a picture of Philadelphia and its economic development. The task is not an easy one as the papyri from Philadelphia are but few in number and only a part of them mention the name of the village. New evidence about the earlier times of Philadelphia was brought by the Petrie papyri and some Lille papyri extracted from the cartonnages of Ptolemaic mummies. Most of the Petrie and the Lille papyri probably belong to the archives of Crocodilopolis, the capital of the Arsinoite nome, and some of them mention Philadelphia among the other villages of the Fayum.

The systematic excavations in the Fayum which were begun by Petrie, developed in the nineties of the last century by Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, and later on by the French scholars Jouguet and Lefebvre and by the administration of the Cairo Museum, never touched the site and the ruins of Philadelphia. In 1900 Grenfell and Hunt tried to excavate the necropolis of Philadelphia but soon became discouraged by the bad state of this cemetery which had been repeatedly plundered by the fellahin and papyri dealers.<sup>14</sup> The ruins of the city itself seemed to be entirely exhausted and not worth the expenditure on them of time and money.

<sup>13</sup> Grenfell and Hunt, *Fayum Towns and their Papyri*, Introduction, p. 11; Grenfell and Hunt, *Tebtunis Papyri*, II, 345; *Archaeological Records of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1900-1901, p. 6 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Grenfell and Hunt, *Arch. Rep.*, *loc. cit.*

Nevertheless the activity of the commercial excavators at Philadelphia did not cease. Some papyri from Philadelphia appeared again lately on the market, thus testifying to a renewed activity of the seabkh diggers in Gerza. Some of them were bought by the Library of Hamburg and published recently by P. Meyer, some by Mrs. Rylands. Among the Hamburg lot there was already one of the Zenon papyri. No doubt the Zenon find was one of the results of the activity of papyri robbers.

No wonder therefore if our knowledge of the destinies of Philadelphia is scanty and fragmentary! The name of Philadelphia shows that the village belonged to those which were founded under the second Ptolemy as the result of his work of drainage and irrigation in the marshes and sandy land on the shores of Lake Moeris. Philadelphia was one of the many creations of the Ptolemies in the Fayum. We know how extensive and successful this work of the Ptolemies was. In the list of the villages of the Fayum which already existed there in the early Ptolemaic epoch and which are mentioned in the Greek papyri of the Fayum, the list compiled with great care by Grenfell in P. Tebt. II, there are found 114 names of larger and smaller settlements (I take the villages only and leave aside the smaller places: τόποι, ἐποίκια, χωρία etc.). Of these 114 villages 66 have Greek names and only 48 Egyptian. But even the villages with Egyptian names are in no way altogether pre-Ptolemaic. Most of them as well as the villages with Greek names are creations of the Ptolemies. It is shown by the fact that many, perhaps most of them, bear the same names as some larger and smaller cities in the Delta and in Middle Egypt. In the Fayum as in the United States of America, another great land of colonization, we meet with village after village homonymous to celebrated cities, in this case cities of Lower and Middle Egypt with their partly Hellenized, partly native names: Ἀπῶλλονος πόλις κώμη, Ἐρμού πόλις κώμη, Ἡλίου πόλις κώμη, Κυῶν πόλις κώμη, Λητοῦς πόλις κώμη, Μέμφις κώμη, Νείλου πόλις κώμη on the one hand and Ἀθρήβις, Βούβαστος, Βουσίρις, Μένδης, Ὀξύρυχα, Σεβεννῶτος, Τᾶνις, Φαρβαῖθος, etc., on the other. No doubt these names recall the names of the places whence the new settlers came to the Fayum, perhaps of the nomes to which they

formerly belonged, as the recorded names are names of the capitals of the nomes of the Delta and of Middle Egypt. Other purely Egyptian names of the villages of the Fayum may have been borrowed in the same way from other less conspicuous places of Egypt. But this point requires further investigation. The only difference between the settlements with Greek and those with Egyptian names is probably this, that the former had a Greek majority among the new settlers, the latter an Egyptian one, i. e., that the former were mostly settlements of Greek soldiers, the latter of Egyptian crown-peasants, the βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί. We shall retain this fact as one which is very characteristic of the history of the colonization of the Fayum of which I shall speak more fully later on.

Among the new settlements in the Fayum with Greek and native names Philadelphia occupies a rather exceptional position. It belongs to the small class of Greek settlements with names derived from the names of the rulers of Egypt,—the Ptolemies. It seems strange that in a region settled mostly by mercenary soldiers dynastic names form rather an exception. But the fact in itself is beyond any doubt. In the whole Fayum we have only fourteen κώμαι with dynastic names out of 66 with Greek names, namely two Βερενικίς, two Ἀρσιώνη, one Εὐεργετίς, one Θεαδέλφεια, five Πτολεμαίς, one Φιλωτερίς, one Φιλοπάτωρ and one Φιλαδέλφεια. Much more usual is it to give to the villages names derived either from the names of some gods (e. g., Βακχιάς, Ἡφαιστιάς—disguised Egyptian gods?) or from the names of persons not connected with the royal house, some of whom seem to have belonged to the class of higher officials of Egypt in general and the Fayum in particular. It is very likely, e. g., that Ἀπολλωνιάς was named after the dioeketes Apollonius, the Θεογένους κώμη after the dioeketes of Euergetes I, Μητροδώρου κώμη after the oeconomus of the Fayum of the same time, and some other κώμαι after the νομάρχαι of the Fayum. We shall come back to this special point later on.

The rarity of the dynastic names can be explained only by the supposition that it was not free to the new settlers to take a dynastic name without special permission and that a dynastic name implied a kind of patronage of the King and the Queen, perhaps even the institution of a royal cult by the settlers.

We shall see later on that such special connection with the royal house very probably existed in the case of Philadelphia.

Beside the mere fact of its foundation under Ptolemy Philadelphia we knew very little about the early history of Philadelphia before the discovery of Zenon's correspondence. Some Petrie papyri testify that important works were carried out in the neighborhood of Philadelphia by the royal engineers Kleon and Theodoros,<sup>15</sup> that the place was surrounded by settlements with Egyptian names, probably colonies inhabited by royal peasants as they bear names derived from some famous places in the Delta: Bubastus, Tanis, Patsonthis,<sup>16</sup> and that it soon became an important centre of wine production.<sup>17</sup> Under Euergetes I Philadelphia was the *chef-lieu* of a toparchy, the residence of a toparch.<sup>18</sup> Under Philopator we meet with a wholesale merchant, resident in Philadelphia who has a large herd of sheep.<sup>19</sup> At the same time it had a comparatively large population of soldiers serving in the cavalry.<sup>20</sup> Comparatively large sums paid by the inhabitants of Philadelphia for the tax on internal commerce (ἐπώνιον)<sup>21</sup> and for the tax on νῆτρον<sup>22</sup> may allow us to suppose that the community was thriving and had developed a certain amount of commercial and industrial activity (the weaving industry, for example, the νῆτρον being used for washing cloth).

The Roman documents add but few new features to this meagre picture. Under the Roman emperors Philadelphia still remained an important centre of vintage and gardening. The culture of olive trees seemed to prosper there, as we hear often of ἐλαιῶνες and ἐλαιωνοπαράδεισοι and palm plantations

<sup>15</sup> P. Petrie II, 4, 4-III, 42, 6, irrigation of the region ἀπὸ Φιλαδελφείας ἕως Πατσώνθειας.

<sup>16</sup> P. Petrie II, 46 (b)-III, 57 (a) and (b); III, 105; 117 (j); 117 (k); II, 28-III, 66 (a).

<sup>17</sup> P. Petrie II, 46 (b)-III, 57 (a) and (b).

<sup>18</sup> P. Lille 3, col. IV, l. 73.

<sup>19</sup> B. G. U. 1012 (170 B. C.?).

<sup>20</sup> P. Petrie III, 105.

<sup>21</sup> P. Petrie III, 117 (j): ἐπώνιον is the tax on the sale of products in the market.

<sup>22</sup> P. Petrie III, 117 (k)=-

owned by the inhabitants of the village.<sup>23</sup> Pasture land and cattle breeding seem to have played an important part in the economic life of the settlement.<sup>24</sup>

Along with Karanis, Bacchias and Soknopaiu Nesos and other localities situated on the verge of the desert and connected with Memphis by a caravan road, Philadelphia was one of the places where custom-duties on import and export were levied by the finance administration of Egypt. But the scanty amount of custom-duties receipts discovered at Philadelphia in comparison with those discovered at Soknopaiu Nesos show that Philadelphia was not situated on the main road of traffic.<sup>25</sup> It is possible to infer from one of the Zenon papyri that this customs station at Philadelphia was created as early as the foundation of the village itself (see P. Z. 46, year 35 of Philadelphus, cf. *ibid.*, V, p. 21).

A peculiar feature in the history of Philadelphia, as was shown recently by the Hamburg and Ryland papyri, part of which belong to the first century A. D. (most of the Roman papyri belong to a later epoch—the third and fourth centuries A. D.), is the fact that a large part of the territory of this village after the Roman conquest came into the hands of large landowners either members of the family or favorites of Augustus and his successors. The large estates (οὐσίαι) e. g. those of Germanicus, Maecenas and Seneca, included large parcels of land in the territory of Philadelphia. All this land was confiscated by Vespasian and formed a special class of the state or imperial land in general (γη οὐσιακή) exploited by a special class of crown peasants, the γεωργοὶ οὐσιακοί.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See, e. g., P. Hamb. 5 (89 A. D.); B. G. U. 603, 14 (168 A. D.), cf. 604; P. Lond. III, p. 69 and p. 44 e (173 A. D.); P. Hamb. 40-53 (213-219 A. D.). These plantations still existed in the fourth century A. D., B. G. U., 519, l. 13; 456; 1049, cf. 1022 which testifies to the existence of oil factories in Philadelphia.

<sup>24</sup> P. Hamb. 40-53 (213-219 A. D.).

<sup>25</sup> See Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 191.

<sup>26</sup> P. Hamb. 3 (74 A. D.); P. Ryl. II, 383 (second century A. D.); P. Gen. 42, 16 (224 A. D.): βασιλικοί/καὶ οὐσιακοὶ καὶ προσοδικοί [γεωργοὶ] κάμης Φιλαδέλφειας. Cf. M. Rostowzew, *Studien zur Geschichte des Römischen Kolonats* (Leipzig, 1910) pp. 119 ff., 218.

Along with this class of crown peasants other parts of the Philadelphian land were farmed by δημόσιοι and βασιλικοί γεωργοί, a fact which testifies that an important part of the territory remained in the hands of the state and was rented by the state directly. But along with this state land the same territory included many parcels, mostly vineyards and gardens, owned by private persons among whom we notice some descendants of the Ptolemaic military settlers and many Roman veterans, the latter mostly well to do landowners.<sup>27</sup>

Like most of the villages of the Fayum, especially those which were situated on the border of the desert, Philadelphia did not prosper for very long. A constant and progressive decay of the economic life is felt in Philadelphia as in many other villages of the Fayum as early as the second century A. D. It is explained probably by the negligence of the administration to maintain the dikes and canals in good order and by gradual impoverishment of the population overburdened by taxes and liturgies, a process which is characteristic of most of the cities and villages in Egypt from the second century A. D. onwards. This process has been repeatedly described and explained by myself and other scholars.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> P. Hamb. 5 (89 A. D.) and 40-53 (213-219 A. D.); the last group of documents forms a splendid parallel to the documents which were investigated by W. Westermann in his excellent article, "An Egyptian Farmer," *University of Wisconsin Studies, Language and Literature*, no. 3, p. 171 ff. The papyri Rylands also brought out a large amount of material which characterizes the agricultural activity of the Roman veterans in the Fayum. One of the most interesting documents, a register of taxes on land, late first century A. D., deals with the territory of Philadelphia and the neighboring villages Tanis and Hephaestias, P. Ryl. II, 202, cf. 386 (second century). The land owned by the veterans belonged mostly to the class of catocic and cleruchic land and thus was formerly owned by the soldiers of the Ptolemaic army who were deprived of their property for the sake of the Roman veterans. But there are also Greek names in the register mentioned above (cf. P. Ryl. 188), probably those of the descendants of the catocici and cleruchi of the Ptolemaic period. It is noteworthy that the famous letter of Apion (B. G. U. 423; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, p. 480) was found at Philadelphia. The whole question of veterans as landowners should be investigated anew, even after the treatment of this question by Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Égypte* (Paris, 1919). The Greek, and later the Roman character of the population seems thus to be a feature of Philadelphia all through the seven centuries of its existence.

<sup>28</sup> Rostowzew, *Studien*, p. 206 ff.

For Philadelphia this fact is well illustrated by one of the Hamburg papyri of 160 A. D. (no. 35). It is a petition to the governor of the nome from three men and their associates who were entrusted by the governor to *προσταθῆναι κώμης Φιλαδελφείας*. These are their complaints: "Inasmuch as the arrears of this village are big and we need help bitterly, and most of the heads of the village neglect their duty of collecting taxes, especially the field-guards, we beg you to make an inquiry into the matter and to order a more careful collection of them."

In the third century the situation becomes alarming. The amount of dry land increases steadily. In the fourth century the ruin is almost complete, as is shown by some Geneva papyri which mention a special class of land entirely unproductive booked by the officials under the heading of *ἄπορον* or *ἀπόρων ὀνομάτων*,—entirely unproductive land.<sup>29</sup> Very soon the place became completely depopulated and was never settled again. No papyri later than the fourth century A. D. were discovered at Philadelphia. At this time the village was abandoned by its inhabitants and became again a part of the sandy desert as it was before the time of the first Ptolemies and as it remained to the time of the discovery of its papyri by the seabkh diggers.

Such are the scanty data which we possess on the history of Philadelphia. And we must say that in this respect Philadelphia is not an exception. The history of most of the places in the Fayum is the same as far as we know it. And yet this poor picture does not correspond to the truth. Philadelphia had its time of feverish activity, of great plans and projects, of interesting attempts. The accidental discovery of the correspondence of Zenon illuminates this epoch with many minute details and enables us to follow the destinies of this typical place from the very beginning of its development. It is a fascinating study to follow these destinies. It is of course local history, history of a small place which never was connected with the great historical events; but how much light it throws on many historical questions of first importance; how many new data it gives for our appreciation of the Hellenistic period in general;

<sup>29</sup> P. Gen. 66, 67, 69, 70; Wilcken, *Chrest.*, 380, 381. I follow Wilcken in his explanation of the term *ἄπορα ὀνόματα*, cf. *Nachträge*, p. VII.

and how instructive it is for our conception of the ancient world in general!

But before we take up this subject let me deal first with Zenon, with his career and his relations to the many persons with whom he was connected.

### III. ZENON AND APOLLONIUS

#### THE TWO EARLIEST PERIODS IN THE ACTIVITY OF ZENON

The archives of Zenon were found at Philadelphia. But many of the letters kept by Zenon in his archives were not addressed to him in the Fayum. The dates, addresses, dockets and contents of many letters show that they were written before Zenon settled down at Philadelphia (the second half of the year 29 of Philadelphus), at a period when he resided partly in Alexandria, partly in the Syrian provinces of the Ptolemies. It is evident that he brought these letters with him to Philadelphia and kept them in his archives for one reason or another.

This fact explains the paucity of our evidence about Zenon and his affairs before his activity in Philadelphia. Zenon travelled very much during the first periods of his life. No wonder if during these travels he did not keep all the letters which he received. Most of them naturally disappeared and what remained were not always the most important. Such is the impression left on us by the remains of the correspondence of Zenon before his coming to Philadelphia. The further we go back from this date the scantier the remains. We can hardly expect that this impression would be very much modified by the publication of the other parts of Zenon's archives. Zenon might have kept his archives in order; it is even possible that the letters were found arranged according to some system. But the order in which the letters fell into the hands of the different purchasers shows that this order was not observed by the diggers, that in selling the documents the dealers mixed them up hopelessly.

A mere glance at the correspondence of Zenon shows that during all the time of his active intercourse with his correspondents he was in close and uninterrupted relations with his chief, Apollonius the dioeketes of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus, i.e., the manager in the name of the king of the economic life of Egypt. Before the discovery of Zenon's papyri we knew but little of Apollonius and his career. He was first mentioned in the year 27 of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and the

last mention of his name belonged to the year 34. Zenon's correspondence allows us to define more accurately both the time of his appointment to the duty of dioeketes and the time when he left this office.<sup>30</sup>

P.S.I. 324 and 325 (cf. 322 note 1) show that Apollonius was already dioeketes in the year 25 of Philadelphus. On the other hand in the R.L. of Philadelphus which were published in the year 27 probably by Apollonius, we have in the section on the apomoira as an appendix to the *πρόγραμμα* and *διάγραμμα* of this year, two earlier documents dated in the year 23 by which two declarations preliminary to the collection of apomoira were prescribed: an inventory of the persons who had already paid a part of their yield of the vineyards and gardens to the temples, and an inventory of all the vineyards and gardens. These inventories were ordered to be delivered to those "who work under Satyrus" (*τοῖς παρὰ Σατύρου πραγματευομένοις*), and the first one moreover "to the accountants who work under Dionysodorus" (*τοῖς παρὰ Διονυσόδωρου τεταγμένοις ἐγλογισταῖς*, R.L. col. 36, 10 and 37, 11-12). From P.Z. 44 (year 34) we know that Dionysodorus was in this year the chief subordinate of Apollonius (cf. P.Z. 14, 8, year 29), the chief eglogist in Alexandria. There is no doubt therefore that Satyrus and not Apollonius was dioeketes in the year 23. As in the year 25 Apollonius was already dioeketes, it is clear that he was appointed to this office between the two dates, probably in the year 24.

When did he leave this office? He was still dioeketes in the last year of Philadelphus (P.S.I. 383), but no longer in the first years of Euergetes. This I deduce from P. Petrie II, 42a—III, 43, 1. This document is a notification by the author of the document to all the officials of the Fayum telling them that

<sup>30</sup> Almost nothing has been written on Apollonius. His name does not appear in the Indices of Wilcken's and Schubart's introductions to papyrology. Even the careful book of Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides* (Paris 1903-1907), mentions his name only once (vol. III, γ. 266 cf. III p. 381, note 2 and IV p. 342) in speaking of the Revenue Laws. The papyri where Apollonius is mentioned have been quoted by many scholars but mostly in the notes; he seemed unworthy of mention in the text. See, e. g., Preisigke, *Klio*, VII, p. 241, note; P. Hib. 44, note 3; *Dikaiomata*, p. 260; P.S.I. 383, note 12 (Vitelli).



































































































































































































