

The Origins of Slaves and Their Names in Ptolemaic Egypt:

A Case Study of the Zenon Archive

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Abstract: The paper centres on two primary inquiries concerning enslaved individuals in Ptolemaic Egypt, utilising the Zenon archive as a case study:

Firstly, what were the sources of enslaved individuals during the Ptolemaic period, as investigated using the Zenon archive?

Secondly, what insights can be drawn from the names of enslaved individuals documented within the archive?

The paper will employ a mixed-methods approach for an analysis of the documents related to slavery in the Zenon archive. Both quantitative and qualitative methods will be utilised to answer the research questions. The quantitative analysis will involve the compilation and analysis of data related to the origins of enslaved individuals, such as their geographic origins and the ways through which they were enslaved. Meanwhile, quantitative and qualitative will involve a detailed examination of the names of enslaved individuals documented within the archive.

Keywords: Ptolemaic Egypt – Slavery – Zenon Archive – Slave names

أصول العبيد وأسمائهم في مصر البطلمية: دراسة حالة لأرشيف زينون

تَطْرَحُ هذه الورقةُ البحثيةُ تساؤلين رئيسين بخصوص العبيد في مصر البطلمية وذلك باتخاذ أرشيف زينون كدراسة حالة: أولاً، من أين جُلب العبيد المذكورون بالأرشيف؟ وثانياً، أيُّ نتائج من الممكن أن يُتوصَّل إليها بدراسة أسماء هؤلاء العبيد؟

تستخدم الورقة نهجاً مختلطاً يجمع بين النهجين الكمي والنوعي في معالجة أسئلة البحث؛ حيث وُظف الأول من خلال جمع كل ما يُشير إلى أصول العبيد في أرشيف زينون والطرق التي أتت في استعبادهم، في حين وُظف كلا المنهجين في جمع وفحص أسماء العبيد في الأرشيف وتحليلها.

الكلمات الدالة: مصر البطلمية – العبودية – أرشيف زينون – أسماء العبيد.

Slavery was a ubiquitous feature of ancient societies. Moses Finley (1980) makes a distinction between two types of societies with regard to slavery: ‘slave societies’ and ‘societies with slaves’. It is essential to recognise that the former term designates societies where slavery played a fundamental economic role, thereby substantially shaping their social, political, and cultural aspects. Conversely, in ‘societies with slaves’, slavery occupied a peripheral economic role, resulting in a limited impact on their social, cultural, and political dynamics¹. In antiquity, according to him, only Greece, except Sparta, and Rome were considered ‘slave societies’.² However, during the period spanning from 332 B.C. to 641 CE, these ‘slave societies’ also happened to rule over Egypt. As a result, Macedonian and Greek immigrants brought with them their own cultural practices, including slavery, which pervaded all aspects of life in Egypt, particularly among Greeks and Hellenized Egyptians.

A. Background:

Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt has attracted the attention of a number of scholars.³ Among these studies, one of the most recent and renowned works is Reinhold Scholl,

¹ Finley initially introduced this theory in the *Encyclopedia of World Sociology*. Subsequently, he expounded upon it in greater depth within his seminal work *Ancient Economy* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 1999 re-printed), 62–94. Afterwards, his theory was elucidated in more comprehensive detail within the above-mentioned work. Numerous scholarly articles have been published to provide commentary and critical examination of Finley’s theory. For a recent analysis and critique, see Kostas Vlassopoulos, “Does slavery have a history? The consequences of a global approach”, *Journal of Global Slavery* 1 (2016a): 5–27; Kostas Vlassopoulos “Finley’s slavery”, in *M. I. Finley: An Ancient Historian and his Impact*, eds. Daniel Jew, Robin Osborne, and Michael Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016b), 76–99; Noel Lenski, “Framing the Question: What Is a Slave Society?”, in *What Is a Slave Society? The Practice of Slavery in Global Perspective*, ed. Noel Lenski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 15–60.

² Evidence for extensive chattel slavery in ancient Egypt’s dynastic periods is lacking. Chattel slavery is the act of enslaving individuals and their descendants, treating them as possessions to be bought, sold, and compelled to labour without compensation, stands as a distinct system, set apart from other arrangements involving coerced, unpaid, or minimally compensated work that are also categorised in the modern times under the broader umbrella of servitude or labour exploitation. In the era preceding the Ptolemaic rule, Egypt experienced certain forms of dependence that included self-sales to temples and debt-driven servitude. The notion of chattel slavery was brought into Egypt by the Greek inhabitants of Naukratis and Memphis before Alexander the Great’s conquest. It was further propagated by the immigrants who arrived in Egypt following the conquest. See Sandra Scheuble-Reiter and Silvia Bussi, “Social Identity and Upward Mobility: Elite Groups, Lower Classes, and Slaves”, in *A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt*, ed. Katelijn Vandorpe (Hoboken: Wiley, 2019), 288–289, and for a most recent overview of Slavery in dynastic Egypt, see Ella Karev, “Ancient Egyptian Slavery”, in *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Slavery throughout History*, eds. Damian Pargas and Juliane Schiel (open access <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-13260-5>, 2023, Springer, 2023), 41–66.

³ See for ex. William Linn Westermann, *Upon Slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt* (New York: Columbia University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1929); Iza Biezunska-Malowist, “Les esclaves en copropriété dans l’Égypte gréco-romaine”, *Aegyptus* 48 (1968): 116–129; Aexandra Pavlovskaja, “Die Sklaverei im hellenistischen Ägypten”, in *Die Sklaverei in hellenistischen Staaten im 3.-1.Jh. v. Chr.*, eds. Maria Bräuer-Pospelova, Irene Neander, and Rudolf Pollach (Wiesbaden: Fr. Steiner, 1972), 171–275; Iza Biezunska-Malowist, *L’esclavage dans l’Égypte gréco-romaine. 1ère partie: pé-riode Ptolémaïque* (Wrocław, 1974), and the below-mentioned works by Scholl. See also Dorothy Thompson, “Slavery in the Hellenistic world”, in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, Vol. I, The Ancient Mediterranean World*, eds. Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 212–213 for a comprehensive list of bibliography on slavery in the Hellenistic world with a brief commentary on each work. It should be emphasised that the focus of this paper pertains specifically to chattel slavery. Ptolemaic Egypt also featured other forms of servitude, including the *hierodouloi* (temple slaves) and the *katochoi*. For the former two types of servitude, see Lienhard Delekat, *Katoche, Hierodulie und Adoptionsfreilassung* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 47) (München: C.H. Beck, 1964); Bernard Legras, *Les reclus grecs du Sarapieion de Memphis. Une enquête*

Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte, 3 vols. (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 1) (Stuttgart: Fr. Steiner, 1990). Prior to this work, Scholl had undertaken another study in 1983 titled *Sklaverei in den Zenonpapyri. Eine Untersuchung zu den Sklaventermini, zum Sklavenerwerb und zur Sklavenflucht*. (Trierer Historische Forschungen 4) (Trier: Trierer Historische Forschungen, 1983). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Scholl's utilisation of terminology to identify slaves in both works was not consistently accurate. Within the Greek documents, terms like *'paidiskai'* and *'paidaria'* were employed to designate slaves, as well as their original meaning as children, even though Scholl consistently interpreted them as referring to slaves in both of his works. As astutely observed by Dorothy Thompson, this approach would inevitably lead to a considerable increase in the number of texts found within Scholl's Corpus that fall under the category of doubtful texts – texts that raise uncertainty as to whether they pertain to slaves or merely children.⁴

Revisiting the topic, while considering the shortcomings identified in Scholl's work, holds the promise of uncovering fresh insights concerning the origins and designations of slaves. It is imperative to underscore that my reliance shall be placed exclusively on documents within the Zenon archive that contain unequivocal references to slaves, while disregarding any references that are not certain. Furthermore, it is essential to emphasise that the approach I am about to discuss regarding the treatment of names is absent from any preceding scholarly works on this subject.

B. Origin of Slaves in the Zenon Archive:

As is commonly recognised, the Zenon archive, consisting of more than 1800 texts⁵, stands as the most extensive known collection from the Ptolemaic period.⁶ Notably,

sur l'hellénisme égyptien (Studia Hellenistica 49) (Leuven – Paris – Walpole: Peeters, 2011); Thompson, "Slavery in the Hellenistic world", 194–213. For Ptolemaios son of Glaukias the *katochos* in the great Sarapieion and the patron of the famous twins, see Naphtali Lewis, *Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt. Case Studies in the Social History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 69–87; Dorothy Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 215–231.

⁴ See the review of Scholl's *Sklaventexte* by Dorothy Thompson in *The Classical Review* 42 (1992): 164–166.

⁵ According to TM records, the archive includes 1848 texts, of which 1824 are certain, 16 are uncertain, 4 are erroneous, and 4 are related. See <https://www.trismegistos.org/archive/256>.

⁶ For the Zenon archive (263–229 B.C., TM Arch 256), see Michael Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C., a Study in Economic History* (University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History 6) (Madison 1922); Claire Préaux, *Les Grecs en Égypte d'après les archives de Zénon* (Collection Lebègue. 7e s. No. 78) (Bruxelles: Office de Publicité, 1947); Tony Reekmans, *La sitométrie dans les Archives de Zénon* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 3) (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1966); Pieter Willem Pestman, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava. XXIA – XXIB) (Leiden, 1981); Claude Orrieux, *Les papyrus de Zénon. L'horizon d'un Grec en Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris: Macula, 1983); Claude Orrieux, *Zénon de Caunos, parépidèmos, et le destin grec*. (Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne 64 = Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 320) (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1985); George Franko, "Sitometria in the Zenon Archive: Identifying Zenon's Personal Documents", *BASP* 25 (1988): 13–98. Willy Clarysse and Katelijin Vandorpe, *Zénon, un homme d'affaires grec à l'ombre des Pyramides*, translated from Dutch by Willy Clarysse and Suzanne Héral (Ancorae 14) (Louvain: Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 1995); Tony Reekmans, *La consommation dans les archives de Zénon* (Papyrologica Bruxellensia 27) (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1996); Xavier Durand, *Des Grecs en Palestine au IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ. Le dossier syrien des archives de Zénon de Caunos (261-252)* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 38) (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1997); Willy Clarysse, "The Zenon Papyri: Thirty Years on", in *100 anni di istituzioni fiorentine per la papirologia: 1908. Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri, 1928. Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli". Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi. Firenze, 12-13 giugno 2008 = Studi e Testi di Papirologia. N.S. 11*, eds. Guido Bastianini and Angelo Casanova (Firenze, 2009), 31–43.

allusions to slaves are abundant within this archive. Therefore, exploring the contents of these documents holds the potential to provide us with valuable insights into the origins of slaves during the initial stages of the Ptolemaic rule. In the current section, I will endeavour to present and dissect the archive's documents containing references to the origins of enslaved individuals.

In P. Cair. Zen. I 59003 (Birta [Ammanitis?], 26 Apr. – 24 May 259 B.C.)⁷, we have a six-witnesses' contract for a sale of a slave⁸ named Σφραγίς by a man named Nikanor, who is described as τῶ[ν] \περὶ Τουβίαν/ (of those of Toubias⁹), to Zenon. The sale took place in Bitra of Ammanitis (TM Geo 137, now in Jordan). The slave-girl is described in l. 16 as '[παιδίσκην Βαβυλώ]νιον ἢ ὄνο\μα/ Σφραγίς', the Babylonian¹⁰ slave-girl whose name is Sphragis.

P. Cair. Zen. I 59076 (Ammanitis, 13 May 257 B.C.)¹¹ records that the above-mentioned Tubias sent a gift to Apollonios, the well-known *dioiketes* of Ptolemy II. The gift included an eunuch and four boys alert and of good breeding, two of whom are uncircumcised (ἀπέσταλκά σοι ἄγοντα Αἰνέ[αν] εὐνοῦχον ἔ]να καὶ παιδά[ρια . . .]τικά¹² τε καὶ τῶν εὐγενῶν τέσσαρα, ὧν [ἔστίν] ἀπερίτμητα δύο, l. 3–5). Tubias appended a description of the slaves to the letter.¹³

⁷ = SB III 6709 = Sel. Pap. I 31 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 37 C. Zen. Palestine 3 = C. Pap. Jud. I 1, with BL 8, 77; 9, 48; 10, 36; 11, 54; 13, 59.

⁸ This contract, along with PSI 1402 (Herakleopolis, 125/124 B.C.) and P. Köln IV 187 (Herakleopolis, 14 Aug. 146), is the only slave purchase contract that we possess from the Ptolemaic period.

⁹ Toubias is a scion of the local aristocratic Jewish clan known as the Tubiads in Transjordan, about whom we possess relatively abundant information, particularly from papyri dating to the period of Ptolemy II. The Tubiads had demonstrated remarkable resilience in the face of successive foreign regimes, from the Persians to Alexander the Great and from the satrap Laomedon to Ptolemy I, proving their mettle as faithful administrators to every foreign ruler. During the reign of Ptolemy II, we encounter Tubias in the Zenon archive's papyri, who held a position of considerable significance in Transjordan. For more information about the Tubiads and the career of Tubias, see Roger Bagnall, *The Administration of the Ptolemaic Possessions outside Egypt* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition IV) (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 17; Roger Bagnall and Peter Derow, *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation* (Malden–Oxford, Blackwell, 2004), 113; Stefan Pfeiffer, “Der eponyme Offizier Tubias: ein lokaler Vertreter der ptolemäischen Herrschaft in Transjordanien”, *APF* 56 (2010): 242–257; Stefan Pfeiffer, “Die Familie des Tubias: Eine (trans-)lokale Elite in Transjordani-en”, in *Lokale Eliten und hellenistische Könige. Zwischen Kooperation und Konfrontation*, eds. Dreyer Boris und Peter Franz Mittag (Oikumene: Studien zur antiken Weltgeschichte 8) (Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2011), 191–215.

¹⁰ The girl's ethnic identity is only partially preserved. The Babylonian origin of the girl was proposed by Edgar, the first editor of the document (P. Cair. Zen. I, p. 6, comm. 17, cf. also Campbell Cowan Edgar, “Selected Papyri from the Archive of Zenon”, *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 18 (1918): 166). That the girl hailing from Babylon was adopted by Mohammed Abd El Ghani, “Zenon in Syria and Palestine”, in *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. I Centenario del Museo Greco-Romano. Alessandria, 23-27 Novembre 1992. Atti del II Congresso Internazionale Italo-Egiziano* (Roma, 1995), 12–21 (the article has been perused only in its Arabic translation). J. Rowlandson proposed that the lacuna contains a Sidonian origin of the girl (Jane Rowlandson (ed.), *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 166, no. 124), aligning with a previous proposal made by Scholl, *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte*, 19.

¹¹ = SB III 6790 = P. Lond. VII 1947 = C. Pap. Hengstl 122 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 48 = C. Zen. Palestine 30 = C. Pap. Jud. I 4.

¹² l. 4 παιδά[ρια . . .]τικά: The first editor, Edgar, initially left it without any supplementation (see P. Cair. Zen. I 59076, p. 98). παιδά[ρια οἰκε]τικά is suggested by Tcherikover in CPJ I 127, no. 4, comm. 4, where he added that the restoration παιδάρια οἰκετικά is just the same as σώματα οἰκετικά. Skeat refused the supplementation of Tcherikover and suggested δρασ]τικά τε καὶ τῶν εὐγενῶν ‘alert and of good breeding’ (P. Lond. VII 1947, p. 36), which seems to be adopted by Bagnall and Derow, *The Hellenistic Period*, 113, in their translation, which I also used above. μαθη]τικά is suggested by Reekmans, *La*

P. Cair. Zen. I 59010¹⁴ (Alexandria or Palestine, ca. 259 B.C.) is a financial statement detailing the expenses of a particular merchant who engaged in trade between Syria and Alexandria.¹⁵ The document mentions various goods, including references to slaves using the slavery terms παιδός, l. 26 and πα[ιδ]ισκ[α]ρίου, l. 31. According to Scholl, given the specific slave terms¹⁶ and exact numbers provided, it is most likely a purchase price being referred to, and as both items are recorded as expenses, it is a purchase from the scribe's point of view, not a sale. The purchase was likely made in Askalon (TM Geo 347) or Sidon (TM Geo 2134).

The account of Zenon's acquisition and subsequent loss of some slaves from Syria is recorded in three documents within his archive: P. Cair. Zen. V 59804 (Palestine, 6 Sep. 258 B.C.)¹⁷, P. Cair. Zen. I 59015 V (Palestine, after 6 Sep. 258 B.C.)¹⁸, and P. Cair. Zen. IV 59537 (Palestine, after 6 Sep. 258 B.C.)¹⁹. Contained within P. Cair. Zen. I 59015 V are various draft letters written by Zenon, which provide insight into his purchase of a group of slaves while he was travelling to Marisa (TM Geo 1308), ἐπιδημήσαντες ἐμ(λ. ἐν) Μαρίσσι ἐπρ[ι]άμεθα] ἐκ τῶν Ζαιδήλου σώματα, l. 16–17. It appears that Zenon entrusted the task of transporting the slaves to others, as he himself departed to Egypt. During the transfer, however, three of the slaves, including two brothers, managed to escape (ἡμῶν δ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον εἰσπορευομέ[νων] ἀπέδρασαν \[α]ῦτῶν παῖδες γ, τούτων/ ἀδελφοὶ δύο, P. Cair. Zen. I 59015 V, l. 18–19).²⁰ It is revealed by the three documents that the runaway slaves were apprehended and subsequently transported to Egypt.²¹

Further evidence attesting to the provenance of slaves within the Zenon archive can be found in P. Cair. Zen. I 59093 (Palestine, after 30 Jul. 257 B.C.)²². The document reports that an individual by the name of Krotos, residing now in Joppa²³ (Iope/Jaffa,

sitométrie, 168, and adopted by Scholl, *Sklaverei in den Zenonpapyri*, 100. The suggestion of Reekmans was refused by Skeat.

¹³ Another letter, P. Cair. Zen. I 59075, accompanied the aforementioned correspondence, both of which were written in the same hand and dispatched on the same day. Toubias presented the king with some animals as a gift, which Tcherikover suggests may have been rare specimens, given Philadelphos' particular fascination with exotic fauna. See P. Cair. Zenon I 59075, intr. p. 97; G. M. Harper, "A study in the commercial relations between Egypt and Syria in the third century before Christ", *AJP* 49 (1928): 15–16; CPJ I intr. no. 5, p. 28.

¹⁴ = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 43 = C. Zen. Palestine 18.

¹⁵ See P. Cair. Zen. I 59010, intr. p. 17.

¹⁶ As mentioned in the preceding background section, these terms could potentially imply either children or slaves. However, I am highly confident that in this context, they were employed to signify slaves. Therefore, Scholl's identification of them as slaves was accurate, given that we are discussing commodities and their prices. It is evident that these individuals were not free children in this context.

¹⁷ = PSI VI 602 = PSI VII 863 g = P. Col. III 3 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 38 = C. Zen. Palestine 44.

¹⁸ = SB III 6782 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 39 = C. Zen. Palestine 42.

¹⁹ = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 40 = C. Zen. Palestine 43

²⁰ Cf. also P. Cair. Zen. I 59015 V, l. 27–30: ἀνήγγελεν ἡμῖν Κρότος γεγραφέναι Πασικλῆν μηνυτρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀποδράντας παῖδας [τ]ῶν ἐπριάμεθα [παρὰ] ἐμ(λ. ἐν) Μαρίσσι τῶν Ζαιδήλου; P. Cair. Zen. I 59015 V, l. 40–42: παῖδες [ἡμῖν] τινες τ[υ]γχά]γουσιν ἀποκεχωρηκότες ἡμῶν, οἱ προσηγγεμένοι εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδ[ο]υμαία.

²¹ It is worth noting that the above-mentioned documents do not show any explicit connection. However, I follow Scholl who posited that the documents pertain to the same transaction. See Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 29.

²² = SB III 6720 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 41 = C. Zen. Palestine 45.

²³ Krotos, acting as a representative of the *dioiketes* Apollonios, was journeying along the coastal region of Syria-Palestine, and was deeply immersed in the trafficking of slaves. He appears in the following documents: P. Lond. VII 1930 (22 Feb. – 4 May 259 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. V 59804 (6 Sep. 258 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. I 59015 V (after 6 Sep. 258 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. I 59077 (8 May 257 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. I 59093 (after 30 Jul. 257 B.C.); P. Col. IV 64 (ca. 257 – 255 B.C.?).; P. Col. IV 66 (ca. 256 – 255 B.C.).

TM Geo 905, now in Palestine), wanted to send some slaves to (Alexandria?)²⁴ (ἀνήγγελλεν ἡμῖν ὅτι Κρότος ἐν Ἰόπῃ ἐστὶν βουλόμενος σώματα ἐξαποστεῖλαι καὶ στρώματα, l. 6–7). Additionally, there is a reference to a certain Menekles who had conveyed several slaves from Gaza to Tyre (καὶ Μενεκλῆς δὲ ὁ ἐν Τύρῳ ἔφη σωματία τινα καὶ φορτία ἀγαγῶ[ν] αὐτὸς ἐκ Γάζης εἰς Τύρον μετεξελέσθαι εἰς Τύρον, l. 10–12). It appears that the slaves were impounded by the customs officials, as the requisite tax had not been paid and Menekles lacked the necessary export permit (ἐξαγωγή)²⁵. We know from the papyrus that those slaves belonged to Zenon (παραγενόμενος οὖν ὁ Ἀπολλοφάνης πρὸς τὸν Μενεκλῆν ἔφη τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ φορτία σὰ εἶναι, Apollonphanes went to Menekles and said that the slaves and cargo were your [*i.e.*, Zenon] property, l. 13–14). The itinerary of the journey undertaken by the slaves from Gaza to Tyre may lead one to surmise that they were likely slaves originally exported from Egypt. However, this assumption is weakened by the fact that Tyre, as evidenced by the document, served as the abode of the customs officials, indicating that the transportation ought to have commenced from that city, *i.e.*, regardless of the initial location where the slaves were assembled, it is apparent that their transportation would have had to commence from the port of Tyre. It is therefore more probable that these slaves hailed from Syria, rather than Egypt.²⁶ In my opinion, the exportation of slaves from Egypt would have been an exceedingly uncommon occurrence. Firstly, prior to the Macedonian invasion, chattel slavery was not prevalent in Egypt, resulting in a scarcity of a chattel slave market (see above). Secondly, during the initial years of the Ptolemaic rule, the Greeks were keen on augmenting their slave population. They were influenced by the concept of ‘slave societies’ and were inclined towards importing slaves rather than exporting them.

P. Cair. Zen. III 59355 (Alexandria?, after 6 Jul. 244 B.C.)²⁷ is an interesting document that details a disagreement that arose between Zenon and a certain individual known as Philon²⁸, who was a σιτοποιός.²⁹ The genesis of this dispute can be traced back to the year 259 B.C. when Zenon extended a loan of 900 silver drachmas to Philon. Subsequently, several smaller loans were also provided to him. The debt was never fully repaid, and Philon’s salary (as an employee of Apollonios, whose agent was Zenon) was periodically garnished to settle the debt. This ultimately led to a legal dispute, which required Zenon to provide a comprehensive account of all the financial transactions involved.³⁰ Of particular interest in this case is the fact that Zenon acquired

²⁴ Cf. Scholl, *Sklaverei in den Zenonpapyri*, 50–51 for the assumption that Alexandria was the destination of the transportation of the slaves as was the case in P. Cair. Zen. I 59015 and P. Cair. Zen. V 59804.

²⁵ See Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate*, 33.

²⁶ This is suggested by Westermann, *Upon Slavery*, 57 n. 188: ‘... the slave purchase, probably at Gaza, by Menekles of Tyre for shipment from Tyre to Egypt’. This assumption received validation from Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 51.

²⁷ SB III 6771 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 49.

²⁸ Philon, with PP V 12655, appears also in the following documents: P. Cair. Zen. I 59004 (Palestine, 259 B.C.?); P. Cair. Zen. I 59005 (Palestine, 259 B.C.?); P. Cair. Zen. I 59084 (unknown, before 21 Jul. 257 B.C.); P. Corn. I (Philadelphia, 5 Mar. 257); P. Cair. Zen. I 59085 (unknown, 15 Sep. 257 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. I 59086 (unknown, 16 Sep. 257 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. II 59263 (Alexandria, 1 Apr. 251 B.C.). The documents shows that Philon accompanied Zenon in his stay in Palestine (260–258 B.C.). This is relevant to understanding the origin of the two female slaves (see the following discussion above).

²⁹ For *sitopoioi*, see Dorothy Thompson, “New and Old in the Ptolemaic Fayyum”, in *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times*, eds. Alan Bowman and Eugene Rogan (Proceedings of the British Academy 96) (Oxford, 1999), 130.

³⁰ For more information about the several transactions within the document, see Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate*, 182; P. Cair. Zen. III 59355, intr. p. 83–84; Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 122–127, C. Ptol. Sklav. I 49, p. 201–202.

a one-third³¹ share in two female slaves owned by Philon³², which were transferred to Zenon as partial payment of the debt. Within the document, there is a notable mention of an ἀποφορά payment³³ that commenced in September/October of the year 259 B.C. It is noteworthy that both Zenon and Philon were present in Palestine during this time, and the initiation of the ἀποφορά payment during the same year suggests that the acquisition of the two slaves also occurred during this period, potentially indicating their Syrian origin. It is conceivable, as Edgar postulated³⁴, that Philon may have acquired the necessary funds through borrowing for the purchase of the two slaves.³⁵

Rostovtzeff describes P. Zen. Pestm. 24 (Mendes, before 11 Apr. 257 B.C.)³⁶ as one of the most amusing letters of Amyntas.³⁷ He notified Zenon that the cook-slave, who had been purchased by the latter, absconded with 80 drachmas intended for the purchase of fodder for the horses. Subsequently, upon being apprised of the fugitive's sighting in Athribis (now Tell Athrib (Benha), TM Geo 369), Amyntas urgently implored Zenon to draft a written communication, directed towards any party whom he deemed capable of effecting the capture of the runaway slave, with the objective of securing his return to the custody of either Zenon or Amyntas. Within the document, two statements offer potential clues regarding the ethnic background of the runaway slave. Firstly, Amyntas referred to the slave as 'ὄν ὑμεῖς ἐπρίασ[θε, l. 1'. As Scholl astutely noted³⁸, this suggests that the slave was a recent acquisition, as such a detail would not be mentioned otherwise. Secondly, the phrase 'ὅς καί ἐστιν [παρὰ] τοῖς Καππάδοξις τοῖς ἐκεῖ[ῖ] σταθμὸν ἔ]χουσιν, l. 3–4' implies that the slave sought shelter with certain Cappadocians who were stationed in Athribis. It is not implausible that the slave was of Cappadocian origin, and that the purchase took place while Zenon was in Palestine, leading the slave to seek refuge with his fellow countrymen.

An intriguing document that provides evidence of the involvement of Zenon's associates in the slave trade in Syria and Palestine is PSI IV 406 (Philadelphia, 260–258 B.C.).³⁹ The document is a memorandum addressed to Zenon from a man named

³¹ P. Cair. Zen. III 59355, intr. p. 83. However, Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 124 argues that the one third of the two slaves belonged to Philon, while the two thirds belonged to Zenon. Cf. also C. Ptol. Sklav. I 49, p. 201–202. It is noteworthy that slaves were regarded as chattel (properties), and consequently, they were deemed transferable and shareable assets. For more information about the joint ownership of slaves, see Biezunska-Malowist, "Les esclaves", 116–129.

³² The two female slaves are a mother and her daughter: καὶ [ῖ]σ[τ]ῖ[δ]ῶρ[α]ς τῆς ταύτ[ης] θυγα[τ]ρός, l. 51.

³³ l. 133; 139; 142; 149. *Apophora* is the payment made by independently working slaves to their master (Winfried Schmitz, "Apophora", in: *Brill's New Pauly, Antiquity volumes*, eds. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (online: <https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/apophora-e128780?lang=en>, 2006).

³⁴ P. Cair. Zen. III 59355, intr. p. 84.

³⁵ Dealing with the same matter is P. Cair. Zen. III 59356 = SB III 6772 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 50 (Alexandria?, after 6 Jul. 244 B.C.).

³⁶ PSI IV 329 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 47 = P. L. Bat XX 24, with BL 1, 396; 8, 204; 10, 115; cf. also Ulrich Wilcken, "Referate, *APF* 6 (1920): 386; Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate*, 30.

³⁷ Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate*, 30. Around 257 B.C., Amyntas played a crucial administrative role in managing the *dioiketes* Apollonios' residence in Alexandria. He was responsible for overseeing the palace of Apollonios. For more information about this individual, see Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate*, 29–31; Trevor Evans, "Identifying the Language of the Individual in the Zenon Archive", in *The Language of the Papyri*, eds. Trevor Evans and Dirk Obbink (Oxford, 2010), 51–70; Ibrahim Seada, "Requests and Letters of Recommendation: The Case of Amyntas in the Zenon Archive", in *Proceedings of the 29th international Congress of Papyrology, Lecce, 28 July–3 August 2019*, eds. Mario Capasso, Paola Davoli, and Natascia Pellé (Lecce: Salento University Publishing, 2022), 519–527.

³⁸ Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 99; C. Ptol. Sklav. I 47, p. 186.

³⁹ C. Ptol. Sklav. I 42 = C. Zen. Palestine 27, with BL 8, 397–398; 9, 314.

Herakleides, who was a driver (συνωριστής)⁴⁰. Herakleides is expressing his dissatisfaction with the insubordination of his two subordinates, Drimylos and Dionysios, who were entrusted with the responsibility of caring for horses, mules, and other animals, yet were found to be involved in the acts of procuring, mistreating, and trading slave girls. According to Wilcken, these men may have been dispatched to Syria to hunt for slaves and bring them to Egypt⁴¹, while Rostovtzeff suggests that they could have been members of the Ptolemaic army or a specialised group responsible for procuring horses from the Ammanitis region to supply the army.⁴² Scholl has posited that Herakleides may be identical to the one mentioned in P. Cair. Zen. I 59804⁴³, who was tasked with the responsibility of transporting the slaves cited in the papyrus to Egypt. Assuming Scholl's conjecture is accurate, it is conceivable that Herakleides' mandate encompassed not only the procurement of animals for the army, but also the capture of slaves. It is possible that Drimylos and Dionysios indulged in their private enterprise of slave trading, which caused them to neglect their primary duty of animal husbandry. It is also plausible that Herakleides was not involved in their private trade and so not benefited from it, and hence his anger towards them.

The allusion to slaves in P. Corn. 1 (Philadelphia, 5 Mar. 257 B.C.)⁴⁴ is a matter of debate. The papyrus entails a protracted narrative of the allocation of *kiki*⁴⁵ (castor oil) to sundry personnel within Apollonios' entourage throughout his sojourn in the Fayum and other vicinities in northern Egypt. Within this extensive papyrus, our focus is solely on lines 222–224, which convey the following: καὶ τὸ δοθὲν ἐπὶ λύχνον τοῖς ἀποσταλεῖσι σώμασιν ἐκ Συρίας ὑπὸ Νικάνορος κο(τύλης) τέ(ταρτον) (and that given for hand lamp to the labourers/slaves (?) sent away from Syria by Nikanor, ¼ kotyle⁴⁶). The phrase 'σώμασιν ἐκ Συρίας' has generated issues regarding the character of the individuals referred to. Westermann maintained that they are labourers from Syria.⁴⁷ Scholl, who concurs with Biezuńska-Małowist, maintained that the mention here

⁴⁰ The term 'συνωριστής' refers to the driver or charioteer of a 'συνωρίς', which is a chariot or carriage drawn by two horses. See LSJ, s.v. συνωριστής and συνωρίς.

⁴¹ Wilcken, "Referate", 393.

⁴² Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate*, 25. Cf. also Harper, "A study in the commercial relations", 18–20; Abd El Ghani, "Zenon in Syria and Palestine", 12–21.

⁴³ τὰ σώματα πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην καὶ παρεδώκαμεν Ἀπολλοφάνει καὶ [ἔ]φη αὐτὸς φυλάξειν, l. 9; see Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 61.

⁴⁴ = SB III 6796 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 46 = C. Zen. Palestine 54 = C. Pap. Jud. I 7.

⁴⁵ In documents, sesame and *kiki* (castor) oil reign as the most frequently mentioned oils, with the latter typically reserved for illumination, and the former utilised for both lighting and sustenance. Other oils, such as olive oil and safflower oil, are also documented, albeit sparsely, during the Ptolemaic period. For a comprehensive list of citations on both sesame and *kiki* oil, see Haytham Qandeil, *The Office of the Epimeltes: Studies in the Administration of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Papyrologica Coloniensia 49) (Paderborn: Brill Schönigh 2023), 125 n. 2 and 3. Additionally, Brent Sandy, *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt* (BASP Supplements 6) (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) and Jean Bingen, *Hellenistic Egypt. Monarchy, Society, Economy, Culture* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 49) (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press, 2007), 170f. provide valuable insights on oil in Ptolemaic Egypt.

⁴⁶ For this measure, see Mabel Lang and Margaret Crosby, *Weights, Measures, and Tokens: The Athenian Agora*, Volume X (Princeton–New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1964), 44–48.

⁴⁷ William Linn Westermann, "Account of Lamp Oil from the Estate of Apollonius", *Classical Philology* 19 (1924): 250; cf. also the translation 'And that given for hand lamp to the laborers sent away from Syria by Nikanor' in P. Corn 1, p. 22. In P. Col. Zen. II 87, Westermann translates 'ἀλλὰ τοὺς <Σ>ύρου/ [οἱ Σύροι] παιδῶν/ οὓς γράφετε ἐν τῷ ἀπολογισμῶι τῶν σωμάτων τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τοῖς ἀμπελικοῖς εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τῇ γεωργίᾳ' as 'But as to the Syrian laborers, of whom you state in the list of the workmen that some are engaged in the vineyard work, and others at the farming', see P. Col. Zen. II 87, p. 96.

pertains to slaves.⁴⁸ I concur with Scholl, given that ‘σώματα’ invariably refers to slaves.⁴⁹

Based on the evidence discussed above, it can be inferred from the documents of the Zenon archive which have a direct reference to the origins of slaves that they were sourced from Syria which was home to an active slave market on its coast, especially Tyre and Gaza. The documents show records of three distinct methods of acquiring slaves, namely: **sale**, as evidenced by P. Cair. Zen. I 59003, P. Cair. Zen. I 59010, P. Cair. Zen. I 59015, P. Cair. Zen. I 59093, P. Cair. Zen. III 59355, IV 59537, P. Cair. Zen. V 59804, and P. Zen. Pestm. 24; **gift**, illustrated by P. Cair. Zen. I 59076; and **slave hunting**, as shown in PSI IV 406. For the latter method, it appears that free Syrian individuals were hunted and sold into slavery. Evidence of this can be found in a *prostagma* issued by Ptolemy II Philadelphos.⁵⁰ The issuance of this decree indicates that the practice of hunting and selling free Syrians as slaves was widespread to the extent that the Ptolemaic monarchy needed to intervene to halt it.

It should be emphasised that wars played a significant role in the prevalence of chattel slavery. Considering the numerous conflicts in Syria involving the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, it was anticipated that a substantial number of slaves would have emerged from these battles.⁵¹ Regrettably, there is a notable absence of explicit references to these enslaved individuals within the Zenon archive. Furthermore, it is worth considering that indigenous inhabitants of Egypt may have faced enslavement during domestic conflicts.⁵² However, it is important to note that such internal disturbances were nearly non-existent during the early years of Ptolemaic rule, precisely

⁴⁸ Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 91.

⁴⁹ For further examples of the use of ‘σώματα ἐκ Συρίας’ in reference to Syrian slaves, see Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 91–92; C. Ptol. Sklav. I 46, p. 183.

⁵⁰ SB V 8008 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 3 = C. Ord. Ptol. 21-22 (Apr. 260 B.C.), l. 33–37: βασιλέως προστάξαντος· εἴ τινας τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην ἀγοράκασιν σῶμα λαικ[ὸν] ἐλεύθερον ἢ ἐξενέν[κασιν κ]αὶ κατεσχ[ή]κασιν ἢ κατ’ ἄλλον τρόπον κέκ[τη]νται] . . . αἰ . . . [.] σῶμα[. . .] . . . τις α . τῶν [-ca.?-] [-ca.?-] πρὸς τὸν οἶκον]όμον τὸν ἐν ἐκάστη]. Col. II, l. 38–49: ὑπαρχεῖαι καθεστηκότα, ἀφ’ ἧς ἂν ἡμέρα[ς] τὸ πρόσταγμα ἐκτεθῆι, ἐν ἡμέραις κ. εἰ δέ τις μὴ ἀπογράψῃται ἢ μὴ ἀναγάγῃ τοῦ τε σώματος στερηθήσεται καὶ προσεισπραχθήσεται εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν ἐκάστου σώματος (δραχμᾶς) Γ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ διαγνώσεται. τῷ δὲ μνησάντι δοθήσονται[ι το]ῦ ἐ[κ]ά[σ]του/ σώματος (δραχμαὶ) [. . .], εἰ δέ τινε/ς τ[ῶ]ν σωμάτων τ[ῶ]ν ἀπογραφέντων καὶ ἀναχθέντων ἐπιδεικνύσιν [ἡγορα]κότες ὄντα οἰκετικὰ ἀποδίδοσθα[ι] αὐτοῖς. τῶν [δὲ ἐ]ν ταῖς βασιλικαῖς ἀπαρτεῖαις πεπραμένων σω[μά]των, εἰς τὴν φάσκει ἐλλ[ε]ῖθερα εἶναι, ἰκυρίας εἶναι/ τὰς κτή[σει]ς τοῖς ἐωνημένοις. ‘By order of the king: If anyone in Syria and Phoenicia has bought a free native person or has seized and held one or acquired one in any other manner — to the oikonomos in charge in each hyparchy within 20 days from the day of the publication of the ordinance. If anyone does not declare or present him he shall be deprived of the slave and there shall in addition be exacted for the crown 6,000 drachmas per head, and the king shall judge about him. To the informer shall be given . . . drachmas per head. If they show that any of the registered and presented persons were already slaves when bought, they shall be returned to them. As for those persons purchased in royal auctions, even if some of them claim to be free, the sales shall be valid for the purchasers.’, transl. after Bagnall and Derow, *The Hellenistic Period*, 112. For a most recent study of Ptolemaic *prostagma*, see Eva Christina Käppel, *Die Prostagmata der Ptolemäer* (Papyrologica Coloniensia 45) (Paderborn: Brill Schönigh, 2021), especially pages 115, 118, 125, 129, 211, 271, 393, and see p. 429 for the current *prostagma*.

⁵¹ For prisoners of war in Graeco-Roman Egypt, see Peter van Minnen, “Prisoners of War and Hostages in Graeco-Roman Egypt”, *JJP* 30 (2000): 155–163.

⁵² See van Minnen, “Prisoners of War”, 155; Thompson, “Slavery in the Hellenistic world”, 207–208; Abd El Latif Fayez, “Enslavement of Egyptians in the Ptolemaic Era (305–30 B.C.): Ist’ bādu al-Miṣ rīyīn khilāl al-‘ aṣ r al-Baṭ lamī (305-30 qabla al-Mīlād)”, *Majallat Buḥ ūth Kullīyat al-Ādāb Jāmi‘ at al-Minūfiyah* 121 (2020) 1621–1646 (in Arabic).

the time when the Zenon archive was compiled. These disturbances became notably prevalent in the second century B.C.

It is also worth highlighting that even though Syria was the primary origin of the slaves mentioned in the Zenon archive, it does not necessarily imply that these slaves were Syrians. For instance, Sphragis of P. Cair. Zen. I 59003 could have been of Babylonian descent (see below) and the cook-slave of P. Zen. Pestm. 24 might have hailed from Cappadocia. As pointed out by Thompson⁵³, the physical attributes of two of the slaves dispatched by Toubias (P. Cair. Zen. I 59076, specifically Atikos and Haimos, see below for their physical description) indicate their likely African origin, notwithstanding the fact that they were presented as a gift from Syria.

C. What insights do the slave names in the Zenon archive convey?

In this section, I intend to thoroughly investigate the names of slaves documented in the Zenon archive. The primary objective is to utilise statistical analysis to gain a deeper understanding of the naming practices associated with slaves featured in the archive. Given that slave owners possessed the authority to bestow names upon their slaves, it raises the question of whether certain names were consistently associated with slaves. To initiate this investigation, I will present a list of names of slaves whose servitude status is certain along with their corresponding attributions. Subsequently, I will provide a table that compiles the names, the related documents in the Zenon archive, and instances of these names occurring both in Egypt outside the Zenon archive and in the Graeco-Roman world. Following this, I will conduct an analysis of these statistical findings.⁵⁴

Αἴμος⁵⁵ (PP V 14301 = VI 16334, TM Nam 1817) is attested only once in the TM records, specifically in P. Cair. Zen. I 59076 (13 May 257 B.C.).⁵⁶ In this papyrus, the individual is characterised as ten years old, possessing a complexion of dark hue, a head of curly locks, and eyes of black pigment. Notably, he bears a rather large jawline adorned with moles⁵⁷ on the right side, and is uncircumcised, as indicated in lines 8–14 of the document. As held by Tcherikover, the name is neither Greek nor Semitic.⁵⁸

⁵³ Thompson, “Slavery in the Hellenistic world”, 207.

⁵⁴ It is important to emphasise that for each name I discuss, there will be two key references provided. Firstly, I will mention the Prosopographia Ptolemaica number – unless the name is not indexed in the Prosopographia Ptolemaica –, denoted as ‘PP’, which pertains to the specific slave mentioned in the Zenon archive. Secondly, I will include the Trismegistos name number, abbreviated as ‘TM Nam’, which indicates the unique identifier assigned to the name within the Trismegistos database. This identifier encompasses references to the name not only within the Zenon archive but also in external sources.

⁵⁵ In Greek mythology, Haimos is the name of a king who displayed audacity by likening himself to Zeus and his wife to Hera. As a consequence of their hubris, the gods transformed them into the Haimos Mons Mountain and the Rhodope Mountains, respectively (see Ov. *Met.* 6. 87).

⁵⁶ According to the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (hereafter referred to as LGPN, accessible at <https://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk>), the name Haimos appears in the following two inscriptions: Milet I (3) 34 h (Crete, 228/227 B.C.) and IG IX, 1² 1:60 (Thermos, late 3rd century B.C.), both referring to free individuals. There is no record of the name Haimos being used as a designation for slaves in the Graeco-Roman World.

⁵⁷ Determining whether these moles or marks, *phakoi*, were inherent, stemming from birth or inflicted through physical harm, or if they functioned as indicators of slave status or were merely a form of personal embellishment (tattoos) is a challenging task. Nonetheless, the presence of such descriptions was essential to ensure the proper delivery of slaves, and they could also prove beneficial in the event of a slave’s escape. See Thompson, “Slavery in the Hellenistic world”, 207.

⁵⁸ CPJ I, no. 4, comm. 8, p. 127.

Ἄτικος⁵⁹ (PP V 14320 = VI 16354, TM NamVar 810, cf. also TM Nam 2396 for Ἄττικος) features in two instances in the TM records: first within the Zenon archive in P. Cair. Zen. I 59076, and secondly in the early Roman record SB VI 9112, l. 3 (30 Aug. 27 CE – 28 Aug. 28 CE?).⁶⁰ The Atikos referenced in P. Cair. Zen. I 59076 is a slave, described therein as being approximately eight years old, with a complexion of light hue, curly hair, a somewhat flat nose, black eyes, and a scar below the right eye. Additionally, this individual is noted as being uncircumcised. Like Haimos, the name Atikos is neither Greek nor Semitic. It is worth noting that Atikos might have been a scribal error, and the intended name could have been Attikos.

Ἀύδομος (PP V 14321 = VI 16356, TM Nam 2412) appears just once in the entirety of the TM records, specifically in P. Cair. Zen. I 59076⁶¹, described therein as ten years old. Audomos is characterised by black eyes, curly hair, a flat nose, lips that are notably prominent, a scar near the right eyebrow, and circumcised.⁶² Like the names Haimos and Atikos, Audomos is neither of Greek nor Semitic origin.

Βελτενοῦρις⁶³ (TM Nam 28155) is mentioned only once in TM records in P. Lond. VII 2052 (after 245 B.C.) as alternative name of Philonides (see below).

Δημήτριος⁶⁴ (PP V 14337, TM Nam 2734) is attested in P. Cair. Zen. IV 59709 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.). However, it remains uncertain whether he was referred to as a slave or as the son of a certain Demetrios. This name is frequently encountered in the records of Graeco-Roman Egypt.⁶⁵

Δόναξ⁶⁶ (PP V 14344, TM Nam 2861) is attested as a slave name in P. Col. Zen. I 5 + P. Col. Zen. II 63 (after 23 Feb. 257 B.C.); P. Lond. VII 1951 (20 Jul. 257 B.C.). As per the records of TM, the name was found to be held by only four individuals across the papyri.⁶⁷

⁵⁹ Ἄτικος/Ἄττικος refers to someone related to the region of Attica, which, as is well-known, included the city of Athens.

⁶⁰ It is important to highlight that the name Ἄττικος is significantly more documented, with 19 instances across 11 individuals in TM records. In the LGPN records, there are no mentions of the name Ἄτικος, whether for free individuals or slaves. However, Ἄττικος appears a total of 303 times (with some repetitions within the same inscription) exclusively for free men in the LGPN records. Within the same database, there is no record of a slave bearing the name Ἄττικος.

⁶¹ As per the LGPN, the name Audomos does not appear in any inscriptions, whether pertaining to free or enslaved individuals.

⁶² According to Tcherikover, this does not mean that the slave was a Jew, many individuals in Palestine and around it were circumcised. This also applies to Okaimos below. Cf. CPJ I, no. 4, p. 127.

⁶³ Beltenouris is the Greek transcription of the Babylonian name Belti-nuri (my lady is my light). See the meaning of the name in TM People: TM Nam 28155. The name is not attested in the LGPN records.

⁶⁴ The name Δημήτριος finds its origins in the appellation of the goddess Demeter. Demetrios, as the masculine counterpart of the name, holds a connection to the veneration of Demeter.

⁶⁵ The usage of the name outside Egypt resembles its usage inside Egypt since there is a total of 3325 instances of the name Δημήτριος in the LGPN, with some repetitions within the same document. Out of these occurrences, the name is employed as a slave name in 7 documents: IG I³ 1032 (Athens, 405 B.C.); IG II² 839 (Athens, 220–213 B.C.); IG VII 2272 (Thisbe 2nd/1st cent. B.C.); RE (121) = Künstlerlexikon (3) (Ephesos, s.v. B.C.); IvOl 122 (Olympia, 265 CE); CIL X 1746 (Dikaiarchia-Puteoli, imp.); Neue Ostotheken 10 (Ephesos, imp.).

⁶⁶ In the LSJ lexicon, δόναξ encompasses any object crafted from reed, such as the shaft of an arrow, a *kalamos*, or even a bridge of a lyre. This definition pertains to the word's fundamental or literal sense. Regrettably, I was unable to locate information regarding the specialised or technical connotations of this name.

⁶⁷ The name appears in 17 instances within the LGPN records, with its sole occurrence as a slave's name found exclusively in D.L. v 55 (Athens, ca. 287 B.C.).

Δοξαῖος⁶⁸ (PP V 14345, TM Nam 2864): This name has no known occurrences in the papyri outside of the Zenon archive, and there is no evidence of its usage in Egypt during either the Ptolemaic or Roman periods.⁶⁹ The name Doxaios, as a slave name, appears in multiple documents within the Zenon archive, as evidenced in P. Cair. Zen. III 59398 (after 27 Apr. 257 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. IV 59600 (256–248 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. III 59417 (254 B.C.); P. Col. IV 75 (after 249–248 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. III 59333 (after 20 Jul. 248 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. IV 59569 (after 3 Fer. 245 B.C.); P. Col. IV 77 (245 – 239 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. III 59354 (16 Apr. 244 B.C. or 16 Apr. 243 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. III 59429 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. IV 59585 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.).

Δωρίων⁷⁰ (PP V 14346a, TM Nam 2880): the name Dorion is attested 481 times for 339 individuals in Graeco–Roman Egypt.⁷¹ A slave named Dorion in the Zenon archive is attested in PSI VII 861 (263–229 B.C.).

Εὐτυχίδης⁷² (PP IV 10218 = PP V 14363) is a well-known slave in the Zenon archive and its usage extends beyond the confines of the archive as a common name.⁷³ Eutyichides, the Zenon archive's slave, appears in the following documents: PSI IV 371 (22 Aug. 250 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. III 59326 (249 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. IV 59569 (after 3 Feb. 245 B.C.).⁷⁴

Ἡρακλείδης⁷⁵ is a frequently encountered nomenclature within the Zenon archive⁷⁶, as well as in the broader compendium of papyrus documents.⁷⁷ Notably, PSI IV 348 (before 15 Nov. 254 B.C.) features a figure bearing this name, who is hypothesised by Scholl to be a slave⁷⁸, albeit this designation remains ambiguous.⁷⁹

⁶⁸ Δοξαῖος is derived from the word δοχαῖος, which means 'fit for holding'. See LSJ, s.v. δοχαῖος and δοχεῖον.

⁶⁹ The name Doxaios appears twice in the LGPN records, and in neither of these instances is it used as a name for a slave.

⁷⁰ The name is derived either from δῶρον (gift or present) or Δώριος (Dorian). See TM Nam 2880.

⁷¹ The name is also documented 77 times in the LGPN, and none of these occurrences refer to an enslaved individual.

⁷² Εὐτυχίδης is a male name derived from the word 'εὐτυχία' which means 'good luck' or 'success'. See LSJ, s.v. εὐτυχία.

⁷³ This is also the case in the Greco-Roman world, as evident from the LGPN records. Among the 210 instances of Eutyichides, only two are associated with slaves: D.L. ii 74 (Athens ca. 400 B.C.); ID 2232 (Delos, 107/106 B.C.)

⁷⁴ Within the Zenon archive, we encounter either a pair or a quartet of individuals bearing the name Eutyichides (Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 174–175). In addition to the above cited records where the name Eutyichides is present in the context of slavery, we also find other documents where the same name appears, such as in the cases P. Cair. Zen. I 59129 (22 Mar. 256 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. II 59185 (before 17 Oct. 255 B.C.); P. Col. IV 71 (ca. 255 B.C.); PSI V 522 (17 Sep. 248 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. I 59570 (29 Oct. 245 B.C.); P. Mich. Zen. 80 (263–225 B.C.).

⁷⁵ The name Ἡρακλείδης is derived from the name of the Greek hero Heracles. The suffix '-ίδης' (-ides) is a patronymic suffix in Greek, indicating 'son of' or 'descendant of'.

⁷⁶ Cf. Pestman, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*, 336–337, for the individuals who bear the name Herakleides in the Zenon archive.

⁷⁷ The name Hrakleides is notably prevalent in the records of the Greco-Roman world, appearing a total of 1265 times in the LGPN. Among these occurrences, there are only six instances where it is associated with slaves: IG I³ 1032 (Athens, 405 B.C.); IG II² 4650 (Athens, 4th cent. B.C.); ISardis 1 I = Historia 21 (1972) pp. 45–73 (Sardis 3rd cent. B.C.); IG XII (9) 877 (Eretria, 2nd cent. B.C.); EAD XXX 418 (Maiotai, 2nd/1st cent. B.C.); ID 2440 (Delos, ca. 100 B.C.).

⁷⁸ Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 162–163; C. Ptol. Sklav. 67, p. 254.

⁷⁹ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate*, for the Herakleides mentioned was a vinedresser.

Θώραξ⁸⁰ (PP IV 10251a = V 14381) appears in various records within the Zenon archive. These documents include P. Cair. Zen. I 59070 (29 May 257 B.C.); P. Lond. VII 1949 (29 May 257 B.C.); P. Lond. VII 1950 (29 May 257 B.C.)⁸¹— where he is mentioned as a a Κίλιξ (Cillician) —; P. Cair. Zen. IV 59751 (256–248 B.C.); P. Col. IV 75 (after 249/248 B.C.). It is possible that the Thorax mentioned in SB XXVI 16633 (264/263 or 226/225 B.C.) is the same individual as the slave found within the Zenon archive.⁸² Beyond the confines of the Zenon archive, there exists a reference to a certain Thorax in SB III 7182 (2nd/1st century B.C.), where he is likewise identified as a slave.⁸³

Ἰσιδώρα⁸⁴ (PP V 14383, TM NamVar 106073) is mentioned in two documents of the Zenon archive: P. Col. IV 75 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 105 (after 249– 248 B.C.) and P. Cair. Zen. III 59355.⁸⁵

Ἰωάνα⁸⁶ (TM Nam 3463 for Ἰωάννα) is, according to Tcherikover⁸⁷, a Jewish name, the feminine form of Johannes. The name Johana appears solely in one instance among all the papyrological documents, specifically in the Zenon archive in P. Corn. 1 (5 Mar. 257). The name Ἰωάννα/Johanna is attested in some other documents.⁸⁸ Ἰωάνα could simply be a mistake in P. Corn. 1.

Κάρπος⁸⁹ (TM Nam 3569) is probably a slave, mentioned in the Zenon archive in P. Cair. Zen. III 59333 (after 20 Jul. 248 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. IV 702 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. IV 704 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.). There are 37 attestations for 28 individuals in documentary texts from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.⁹⁰

⁸⁰ Θώραξ directly signifies ‘the chest’ in its literal form, and it serves as the origin from which the English term ‘thorax’ derives its meaning. For additional connotations or closely related meanings, see LSJ, s.v. θώραξ.

⁸¹ P. Lond. VII 1949 and P. Lond. VII 1950 are duplicates of P. Cair. Zen. I 59070. The three documents are an εἰκὼν, a description of a runaway slave who is Thorax. While Wilcken contested this notion arguing that such descriptions of escaped slaves are typically more detailed and include more information about their clothing and carried items, and so on, giving UPZ I 121 as an example (Ulrich Wilcken, “Referate”, *APF* 8 (1927), 277–278), Scholl maintain that the three documents are wanted posters for a runaway slave (Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 144, cf. also C. Ptol. Sklav. no. 61, 62, 63, p. 243–274).

⁸² See Alain Martin and Georges Nachtergaele, “Papyrus du Musée du Caire. IV”, *CdÉ* 75 (2000): 313, comm. 8.

⁸³ According to LGPN, the name Thorax is documented 22 times, with only one of these instances involving a slave.

⁸⁴ A typical Greek/Egyptian name that means the gift of Isis.

⁸⁵ Isidora appears 47 times in the records of the Greco-Roman world, as per LGPN, and none of these instances involve a woman who was a slave.

⁸⁶ The meaning of Ἰωάνα / Ἰωάννα is ‘Jahweh has shown grace’. See Monika Hasitzka, “Frauennamen in der Spätantike”, in *Emancipation am Nil. Frauleben und Frauenrecht in den Papyri* = Nilus. 11, eds. Harald Froschauer and Hermann Harrauer (Wien, 2005), 77.

⁸⁷ CPJ I 127, no. 7, p. 132–133.

⁸⁸ This situation is also mirrored in in the LGPN records, wherein there is no reference to Johana, but the name Johanna is documented five times in association with free women, with no instances involving slaves.

⁸⁹ In ancient Greek, Κάρπος encompasses the meanings of ‘fruit’, ‘offspring’, ‘seed’, as well as ‘returns’ or ‘profits’. LSJ, s.v. καρπός.

⁹⁰ The situation regarding the name attestations beyond Ptolemaic Egypt bears a resemblance. Karpos is cited in 212 instances within the LGPN records, with the following occurrences being associated with the name used for slaves: SEG XIV 553 II (Tenos 2nd cent. B.C.); IvOl 91 (Olympia, 113–117 CE); SEG XXIX 1187 (Saittai, 166 CE); SEG XXXVI (Saittai, 1st/2nd cent. CE).

Μένιππος⁹¹ (PP V 14219, TM Nam 4070) is attested as a slave name in P. Cair. Zen. IV 59698 (260–258 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. IV 676 (258–256 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. III 59474 (after 256 B.C.). A name Menippos⁹², not a slave, is also attested in the Zenon archive in P. Cair. Zen. II 59146 (before 10 Aug. 256 B.C.); P. Col. IV 70 (256–246 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. III 59329 (19 Apr. 248 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. III 59329 (19 Apr. 249 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. IV 59651 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.), PSI VI 419 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.).⁹³

Νικασώ⁹⁴ (PP V 14418, TM Nam 4298) is a feminine name attributed to a slave who was a part of the circle of Zenon. The name Nikaso is only documented in P. Cair. Zen. III 59355 (21 Jul.–19 Aug. 248 B.C.). It is noteworthy that the bearer of the name in P. Hamb. 105 (19–27 Jul. 236 B.C.), might not have been a slave.⁹⁵ The only other occurrence of the name in the documents is found in P. Amh. II 45 (Jul.–Aug. 140 B.C.), in which Nikaso is mentioned as one of the eponymous priestesses of the royal cult at Ptolemais.⁹⁶

Ὀκαῖμος⁹⁷ (PP V 14420 = VI 16447, TM Nam 4643) appears just once in the entirety of the TM records, specifically in P. Cair. Zen. I 59076.⁹⁸ This individual is described therein as a seven-year-old with a round face, flat nose, grey eyes, fiery complexion, and long, straight hair. Notably, he bears a scar above the right eyebrow on his forehead and is also circumcised. Like the names Haimos, Atikos and Audomos, Okaimos is neither of Greek nor Semitic origin.

Πίνδαρος⁹⁹ (PP V 14290, TM Nam 5146): According to P. Lond. VII 2052 (after 245 B.C.), Pindaros, a runaway slave, is characterised as a Lykian around 29 years old, of

⁹¹ The name *Μένιππος* in ancient Greek is composed of the following two words: *Μένω* which is derived from the Greek verb *μένω*, and means ‘to stay’ or ‘to abide’, and *ἵππος* which is the second part of the name and means ‘horse’. So, Menippos can be interpreted as ‘he who stays with horses’ or ‘one who abides with horses’, *i.e.*, a horse caretaker.

⁹² PP IV 10293 lists Menippos, who is mentioned in P. Cair. Zen. III 59474, as a non-slave. However, as noted above, this classification was altered in PP V.

⁹³ The name Menippos is attested in several other documents from the Ptolemaic period as in P. Petr. III 100 (3rd cent. B.C.); P. Petr. (2) 1 14 = P. Petr. III 7 (238/237 B.C.); APF 58 (2012), p. 259, no. 2 (21 My 146 B.C.); P. Tebt. IV 1119 (115/114); P. Tebt. IV 1120 (111 B.C.); P. Dion 18 (30 Oct. 107 B.C.); P. Tebt. I 168 (17 Jan.–15 Feb. 105 B.C.); SB VIII 9790 (45–26 B.C.). The name occurs also in the documents of the imperial period. Outside Egypt, the name Menippos is documented 528 times in the LGPN records, and notably, none of these instances involve the name being used for a slave.

⁹⁴ The name *Νικησώ* is derived from the Greek word *νίκη*, which means ‘victory’. Therefore, the name *Νικησώ* can be interpreted to mean ‘she who brings victory’ or ‘victorious’.

⁹⁵ C. Ptol. Sklav. 229, p. 940–942.

⁹⁶ There are 26 occurrences (including some repetitions) of the name *Νικασώ* in the LGPN records, and none of these instances refer to a female slave bearing this name.

⁹⁷ In his edition of P. Cair. Zen. I 59076, p. 99, Edgar did not include any accentuation for the name *Οκαῖμος*. However, it is important to note that in both the DDbDP and TM databases, the word is indicated only with a smooth breathing mark. I have chosen to adhere to the accentuation as presented in these databases. However, it is worth mentioning that the possibility of a rough breathing mark is not entirely ruled out in my opinion. Additionally, based on the analysis by Clarysse, names ending in -ος, with a genitive form of -ου, typically follow the accentuation pattern of *δοῦλος* (slave) and its genitive form *δοῦλου*. Therefore, according to this pattern, our current name should be accented as follows: *Ὀκαῖμος*. See Willy Clarysse, “Greek Accents on Egyptian Names”, *ZPE* 119 (1997): 181.

⁹⁸ There is no record of the name in the LGPN, whether for a free individual or a slave.

⁹⁹ As widely recognised, Pindaros is the name of the renowned poet who thrived in the 5th century B.C. It is equally established that his works found readers among the Greeks in Egypt throughout the Ptolemaic period, and this tradition persisted into the imperial period. For the name and its attestations in the LADP (58 references), see Willy Clarysse, “Onomastics and Literature in Greco-Roman Egypt”, in *Le médecin et le livre Hommages à Marie-Hélène Marganne*, eds. Antonio Ricciardetto and Nathan Carlig (Lecce, 2021), 307–308.

medium stature, with a yellow-brown complexion, and had fused eyebrows, a crooked nose, and a scar beneath his left knee. The same Pindaros is mentioned also in P. Cair. Zen. IV 59677 (263 – 256 B.C.?). P. Cairo Zen. III 59319 (10 Jan. 249 B.C.). The name is attested in the Ptolemaic period beyond the confines of the Zenon archive in P. Tebt. III, 2 890 (200–176 B.C.) and BGU IV 1192 (55 B.C.).¹⁰⁰

Στάχως¹⁰¹ (PP V 14446–14447, TM Nam 5857): there are at least two slaves of this name in the Zenon archive, and it is hardly possible to make a clear distinction between them.¹⁰² This name appears in various records, including PSI VI 616 (258 – 256 B.C.); P. Zen. Pestm. 36 (before 21 Jul. 257); P. Cair. Zen. V 59822 (30 Mar. 252 B.C.); P. Lond. VII 2004 (21 Feb. – 22 Mar. 248 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. III 59333 (after 20 Jul. 248 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. IV 59569 (after 3 Feb. 245 B.C.). It is also worth noting that the name Stachys is present within the Zenon archive, albeit not as a slave, in the document P. Cair. Zen. III 59466 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.), P. Iand. Zen. 76 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.), and likely, not as a slave in P. Cair. Zen. II 59266 (7 May 251 B.C.).¹⁰³

Σύρα¹⁰⁴ (TM Nam 5899) is a name of a female slave mentioned in the Zenon archive in P. Cair. Zen. III 59333 (after 20 Jul. 248 B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. IV 59709 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.); PSI VI 580 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.); PSI VII 866 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.). The name is widely used outside the Zenon archive; in TM records we have 88 attestations of 51 individuals carried this name in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.¹⁰⁵

Σφραγίς¹⁰⁶ (PP V 12816 =PP VI 16473, TM Nam 5743) is believed to have originated from either Babylon or Sidon (see above). Her name appears twice in the Zenon archive: P. Cair. Zen. I 59003, and P. Cair. Zen. II 69145 (before 23 Jul. 256 B.C.).¹⁰⁷ The sole other known instance of her name beyond the Zenon archive is found in P. Count 34, 17 (254–231 B.C.).¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰ There are 55 attestations of the name Pindaros in the LGPN records, and none of them are associated with a slave. Nevertheless, Clarysse stated that the name was used as a slave name in Rome, as also in Delphi; see Clarysse, “Onomastics and Literature”, 308, with n. 9 and 10.

¹⁰¹ The name Στάχως in ancient Greek is associated with the word στάχυς, which means ‘ear of grain’ or ‘spike’. See LSJ, s.v. στάχυς.

¹⁰² Pestman, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive*, 419. Cf. also Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 154–155; C. Ptol. Sklav. 65, p. 251.

¹⁰³ The name Stachys is attested three other times in the Ptolemaic period outside the scope of the Zenon archive. These include P. Frank. 4 and SB III 6303 (both from the year 216/215 B.C.) and pertaining to the same rental contract, where Stachys is identified as a Corinthian. Additionally, P. Dryton 39 (ca. 137/136 B.C.) also mentions the name. From outside Egypt, there are 31 attestations of the names, and none of them pertain to a slave.

¹⁰⁴ Syra is a Greek/Egyptian feminine name signifying ‘she who hails from Syria’. See TM Nam 5899.

¹⁰⁵ There are 25 instances of the name Syra in the LGPN records, with the appearance of a slave bearing this name occurring in a later period, as documented in Strazzulla 216 = Wessel 177 (Syracuse, 3rd–5th cent. CE).

¹⁰⁶ The name Σφραγίς is associated with the word σφραγίς, which means ‘seal’ or ‘signet ring’. Therefore, the name Σφραγίς can be interpreted to have a connection to sealing or marking, and it may carry symbolic or practical connotations.

¹⁰⁷ It is unlikely that the two individuals of the two documents are identical, as evidenced by the fact that Sphragis mentioned in P. Cair. Zen. II 59145 sought the aid of Zenon after being robbed of her possessions en route to Sophthis in the Memphite *nome* (Psophthis, TM Geo 2166). Sphragis of P. Cair. Zen. I 59003 was brought to Zenon as a seven-year-old child in Apr./May of 259 B.C. Thus, if the two individuals were indeed one and the same, Sphragis the robbery victim would have been a mere ten years of age at the time of the writing of P. Cair. Zen. II 59145, which would have rendered her too young to have been entrusted with the task of transporting goods through the Memphite *nome*. It is possible, therefore, that Sphragis of P. Cair. Zen. II 59145 was in fact another slave.

¹⁰⁸ The name Sphragis is attested only 4 times from outside Egypt, used for free women.

Φιλῖνος¹⁰⁹ (PP V 12886, TM Nam 3283): Only in P. Lond. VII 2052 (after 245 B.C.) is there a description of Philinos (PP V 12886), a fugitive slave of Babylonian origin who is roughly 45 years old, of short stature, and has a dark complexion, with fused eyebrows. There are other individuals named Philinos in the Zenon archive who are not slaves, the most notable is Philinos, an owner of a *dorea*, who is mentioned in P. Mich. I 51 (16 Mar. 250 B.C.); P. Lond. VII 2056 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.); P. Ryl. IV 568 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.); PSI V 527 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.). The name is also attested several other times in both Ptolemaic and imperial periods.¹¹⁰

Φιλωνίδης¹¹¹ (PP V 14461): P. Lond. VII 2052 (after 245 B.C.) contains a description of Philonides as a fugitive slave who is roughly 24 years old, has an average height, a yellow–brown complexion, and bears a scar beneath his right lip and on the left eyebrow. Philonides, not a slave, appears in the Zenon archive in P. Zen. Pestm. 42 (18 Mar. 257); P. Cair. Zen. IV 59787 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.).¹¹²

A summary table (*table 1*) encapsulates this examination of slave names:

	Slave Name	Attestations of the name in the Zenon archive	Attestations of the name Outside the Zenon archive	Attestations of the Name for slaves outside Egypt according to LGPN	Attestations of the Name for free persons outside Egypt according to LGPN
1.	Αἶμος	P. Cair. Zen. I 59076	Not attested	Not attested	Attested two times
2.	Ἄττικός	P. Cair. Zen. I 59076	Only one Roman attestation SB VI 9112 (However, Ἄττικός is attested 19 times)	Not attested	Not attested (However, Ἄττικός is attested 303 times)
3.	Αὔδομος	P. Cair. Zen. I 59076	Not attested	Not attested	Not attested
4.	Βελτενο-ῦρις	P. Lond. VII 2052	Not attested	Not attested	Not attested

¹⁰⁹ The name Φιλῖνος is associated with the word φίλος, which means ‘friend’ or ‘beloved’. Therefore, the name Φιλῖνος can be interpreted to mean ‘friendship’ or ‘beloved one’.

¹¹⁰ Philinos is a name of considerable prevalence in the records of the Graeco-Roman world, as it is documented 404 times in the LGPN records. Among these instances, there is only one occurrence of a late date where the name is associated with a slave, specifically IG XIV 815 = INap 178 (Neapolis, 2nd – 3rd cent. CE).

¹¹¹ Like Φιλῖνος, the name Φιλωνίδης originates from the Greek term φίλος signifying ‘friend’ or ‘beloved’, and incorporates the suffix ‘-νίδης’, a patronymic addition. Consequently, Φιλωνίδης can be understood to convey the idea of ‘the son of a friend’ or ‘descendant of a cherished individual’.

¹¹² The name Philonides is attested in the Ptolemaic period in P. Petr. Kleon 7; 8; 9; 10; 11; 13; 14 (all ca. 260 – 249 B.C.); P. Petr. III 42 C (13) (8 Apr. 256 B.C.? or 8 Apr. 255 B.C?); P. Count 7 (243 – 217 B.C.); P. Hib. I 81 (after 7 Feb. 238 B.C.); P. Enteux. 23 (11 May 218 B.C.); BGU XIV 2449 (2nd/1st cent. B.C.). The name is quite common in the LGPN, with 157 instances recorded, and none of these instances are related to slaves.

5.	Δημήτριος	P. Cair. Zen. 4 59709	Widely attested	Attested 7 times	Attested 3325 times
6.	Δόναξ	P. Col. Zen. I 5 + P. Col. Zen. II 63; P. Lond. VII 1951	Only 3 other individuals bore the name	Attested only one time	Attested 17 times
7.	Δοξαῖος	P. Cair. Zen. III 59398; P. Cair. Zen. IV 59600; P. Cair. Zen. III 59417; P. Col. IV 75; P. Cair. Zen. III 59333; P. Cair. Zen. IV 59569; P. Col. IV 77; P. Cair. Zen. III 59354; P. Cair. Zen. III 59429; P. Cair. Zen. IV 59585	Not attested	Not attested	Attested 2 times
8.	Δωρίων	PSI VII 861	Frequently attested	Not attested	Attested 77 times
9.	Εὐτυχίδης	PSI IV 371; P. Cair. Zen. III 59326; P. Cair. Zen. IV 59569	Frequently attested	Attested 2 times	Attested 210 times
10.	Ἡρακλείδης?	PSI IV 348	Frequently attested	Attested 6 times	Attested 1265 times
11.	Θώραξ	P. Cair. Zen. I 59070; P. Lond. VII 1949; P. Lond. VII 1950; P. Cair. Zen. IV 59751; P. Col. IV 75; probably SB XXVI 16633	Attested once as a slave in SB III 7182	Attested only once	Attested 22 times
12.	Ἰσιδώρα	P. Col. IV 75; P. Cair. Zen. III 59355	Widely attested	Not Attested	Attested 47 times
13.	Ἰωάννα	P. Corn. 1	Not attested (However, Ἰωάννα is attested in some other documents)	Not attested	Not attested (However, Ἰωάννα is attested 5 times)
14.	Κάρπος	P. Cair. Zen. III 59333; P. Cair. Zen. IV 702; P. Cair. Zen. IV 704	37 attestations for 28 individuals from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt	Attested 7 times	Attested 212 times
15.	Μένιππος	P. Cair. Zen. IV	Widely attested	Not attested	Attested 528 times

		59698; P. Cair. Zen. IV 676; P. Cair. Zen. III 59474				times	
16.	Νικασώ	P. Cair. Zen. III 59355	Only two other attestations	Not attested		Attested times	26
17.	Ὀκαῖμος	P. Cair. Zen. I 59076	Not attested	Not attested		Not attested	
18.	Πίνδαρος	P. Lond. VII 2052; P. Cair. Zen. IV 59677; P. Cair. Zen. III 59319	Two other attestations from the Ptolemaic period	Not attested		Attested times	55
19.	Στάχως	PSI VI 616; P. Zen. Pestm. 36; P. Cair. Zen. V 59822; P. Lond. VII 2004; P. Cair. Zen. III 59333; P. Cair. Zen. IV 59569	Three other times in the Ptolemaic period	Not attested		Attested times	31
20.	Σύρα	P. Cair. Zen. III 59333; P. Cair. Zen. IV 59709; PSI VI 580; PSI VII 866	88 attestations of 51 individuals in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt	Attested only once		Attested times	25
21.	Σφραγίς	P. Cair. Zen. I 59003; P. Cair. Zen. II 69145	Only in P. Count 34	Not attested		Attested times	4
22.	Φιλῖνος	P. Lond. VII 2052	Frequently attested	Attested only once		Attested times	404
23.	Φιλωνίδης	P. Lond. VII 2052	19 individuals carried the name in TM records	Not attested		Attested times	157

Table 1: slave names in the Zenon archive and beyond

The preceding examination of confirmed slave names documented in the Zenon archive indicates that out of the 23 discussed names, eight names were unique to slaves. This accounts for 34.7% of the total names attributed to slaves. Additionally, there were five names which were used by both slaves and non-slaves, but their occurrence as non-slave names is only attested in three documents or fewer, representing a ratio of 21.7%. Of the total names assigned to slaves, 10 were frequently encountered in the documents of Greek and Roman Egypt. More than half of the names documented above as belonging to slaves (56.4%) were almost exclusive to enslaved individuals (see fig. 1 and fig 2 below).

Fig. 1: Distribution of Names in the Zenon Archive: Slave-Exclusive Use, Limited Non-Slave Use, and Frequent Slave and Freemen Names

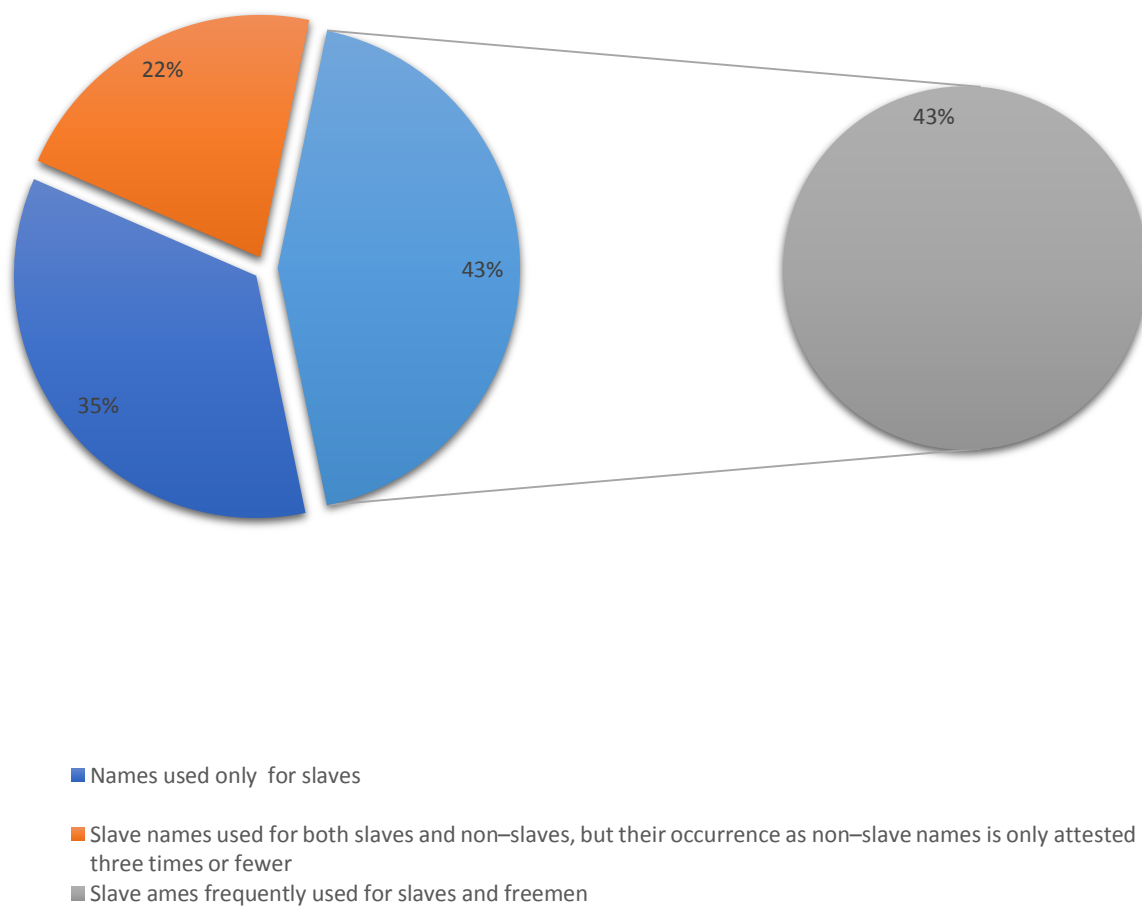
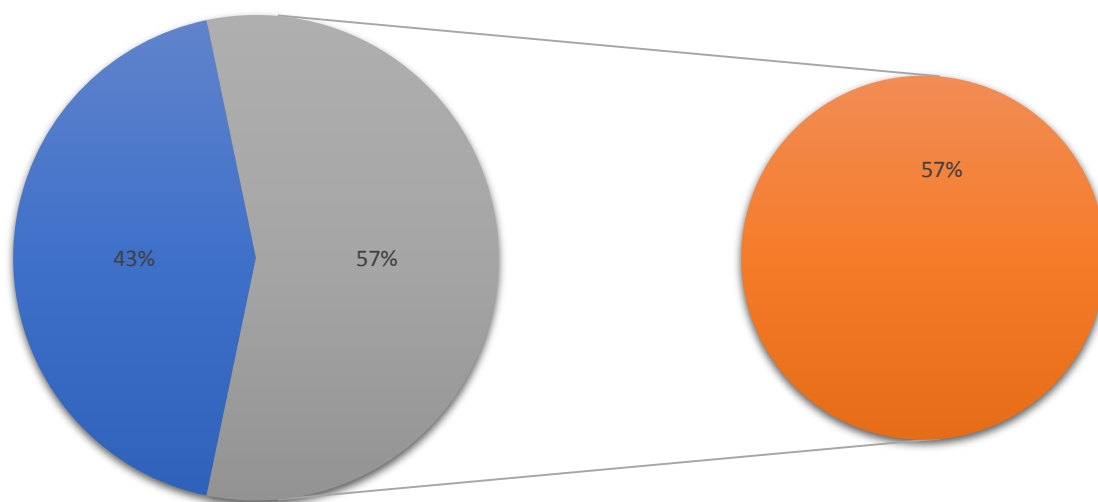


Fig. 2: Distribution of Names in the Zenon Archive: Slave-Exclusive and Limited Non-Slave Use, and Frequent Slave and Freeman Names



■ Slave names frequently used for slaves and non-slaves

■ Names used only for slaves, and Slave names used for both slaves and non-slaves but their occurrence as non-slave names is only attested three times or fewer

When we scrutinise these appellations within the broader context of the Greco-Roman world¹¹³, it becomes apparent that among the 23 names examined, 15 of them were completely absent from usage as designations for slaves. The remaining eight names had minimal occurrences as slave appellations, ranging from a mere one to seven instances. Intriguingly, ten names that lacked any attestations for slaves or had scant mentions found substantial usage, exceeding 50 instances, for free individuals. One could surmise that the naming practices within the Zenon archive possibly adhered, at least to some extent, to a discernible pattern in which slaves either retained their original names or were bestowed with new ones, which were exclusively indicative of their servile status. Consequently, names such as Sphragis or Thurax might have evolved into markers denoting the servile status of their bearers. The responsibility for naming a slave rested with their owner, and the utilisation of distinct names for slaves might have served as a means for proprietors to emphasise their elevated social standing by accentuating the marked disparity in naming conventions between themselves and their enslaved possessions. Furthermore, certain names were seldom encountered, if ever, beyond the confines of the Zenon archive, whether among slaves or free individuals in locales beyond Egypt's borders. This observation could imply that these names originated from regions beyond the scope of the Greco-Roman world, as alluded to in the case of Haimos, who probably had African origin as I referred to above.

Some other names explicitly or indirectly allude to the slaves' origins. For instance, the name Beltenouris, which can be interpreted to mean 'my lady is my life', points to the Babylonian origin of the slave, as it references Astarte, the Babylonian goddess. This Beltenouris was also assigned another Greek name, Philonides. Similarly, the name Syra directly signifies the slave's place of origin, as it translates to 'she who is from Syria'. There are also names like Johana/Johanna that provide clues about the Jewish heritage of the slave. The literal meaning of this name is 'Jahweh has shown grace', with Jahweh being the Jewish God. This name thus unmistakably references the slave's Jewish origin.

Additional insights can be gleaned by discussing the meanings of these names. In my analysis, I am focusing exclusively on names that are solely attested for slaves. This approach is grounded in the premise that, as I previously mentioned, these names were bestowed upon slaves by their masters, likely with the intention of aligning the names with their qualities. One of these distinctive names is Αἴμος, which has ties to Greek mythology, where Haimos was transformed into the Haimos Mons mountain. The selection of this name for a slave may signify qualities such as strength, stability, or endurance, as mountains are often emblematic of these attributes. Δόναξ, while not yielding specialised or technical connotations, carries a literal meaning associated with a '*kalamos*' or even a 'bridge of a lyre'. This interpretation might allude to the artistic talents or inclinations of the slave bearing this name. Δοξαίος can be understood to convey the concept of being 'fit for holding' or 'suitable for keeping'. This meaning could suggest that the slave was deemed capable or apt for specific tasks or responsibilities within the context of their enslavement, and it may also imply a level of

¹¹³ I must admit that the comprehensive analysis of slave names within the Zenon archive, contextualised within the broader framework of the Graeco-Roman world, is a complex undertaking requiring further examination. My current exploration is merely preliminary, and I acknowledge that it necessitates more in-depth scrutiny. Notably, a recently initiated project titled 'SLaVEgents: Enslaved persons in the making of societies and cultures in Western Eurasia and North Africa, 1000 BCE - 300 CE', undertaken by the Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS) under the Foundation for Research and Technology-Hellas (FORTH) in Crete, seeks, among its various objectives, to provide a contextualisation of slave names in Graeco-Roman Egypt within the broader context of the Graeco-Roman world.

honesty or trustworthiness. When considering the name Πίνδαρος within the Zenon archive, especially given the elite nature of Zenon's social circle, including his slaves, it is conceivable that the bearer of this name had some association with poetry. This could point to the presence of a well-educated slave or even the possibility that the slave himself was a poet. The name Στάχης may be indicative of a connection to agriculture or the harvest, suggesting that this slave might have been assigned duties related to agricultural work. As previously noted, Sphragis of P. Cair. Zen. I 59003 was introduced to Zenon as a seven-year-old child, and her name was documented in the sale contract, which suggests that the slave girl bore this name before becoming a part of Zenon's slave circle. The name Sphragis literally translates to 'the seal'. It could signify the owner's trust in the slave's capability to handle significant items, potentially reflecting a high level of reliability and trustworthiness. This is exemplified in P. Cair. Zen. II 59145, where the slave girl was entrusted with the circulation of items between various locations. The choice of the name Sphragis (seal) for a slave could also hint at the slave's discretion and their role in safeguarding confidential information or secrets.

In conclusion, the Zenon archive offers valuable insights into the origins of slaves in the early period of the Ptolemaic rule in Egypt. The documents within the archive provide evidence that enslaved individuals primarily came from the region of Syria, particularly coastal cities such as Tyre and Gaza, which hosted active slave markets. These documents reveal various methods of acquiring slaves, including sales, gifts, and even slave hunting. Notably, the widespread practice of hunting and selling free Syrians as slaves prompted the issuance of a decree by Ptolemy II Philadelphos to address this issue, underscoring the prevalence of this disturbing practice. While the Zenon archive sheds light on the sources of enslaved individuals, it also highlights the complex nature of their origins. Some slaves may have hailed from regions outside Syria, emphasising the diverse backgrounds of enslaved individuals in Ptolemaic Egypt. Furthermore, one could posit that enslaved individuals resulting from internal disturbances and conflicts may have emerged later, towards the conclusion of the 3rd century or perhaps during the 2nd century B.C., as there is an absence of any allusion to such individuals within the Zenon archive.

The examination of slave names within the Zenon archive provides insights into the slaves' naming practices:

1- Exclusive slave naming: A substantial portion of the names identified in the Zenon archive were exclusive to enslaved individuals. This underscores the practice of slave owners bestowing exclusive names upon their human property, possibly as a means of emphasising their subordinate status within society.

2- Shared but infrequent names: While some names were shared between slaves and free individuals, their occurrence as non-slave names was infrequent, with three or fewer instances. This suggests a propensity to use such names predominantly for slaves.

3- Limited geographic spread: some names within the Zenon archive had minimal to no attestations outside of Egypt, whether among enslaved or free populations. This hints at the diverse regional origins of enslaved individuals, with some names possibly originating from areas beyond the Greco-Roman world. Some names suggest African origins, highlighting the diverse backgrounds of enslaved individuals within the Zenon archive.

4- Owner's authority: The exclusive right of owners to name their slaves underscores the power dynamics of the time. These distinct names may have served as tangible markers of ownership and social differentiation.

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