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 وأسماؤهم في مصر البطممية: دراسة حالة لArchivo زينون
تطرح هذه الورقة البحثية تساؤلين رئيسين بخصوص العبيد في مصر البطممية وذلك باتخاذ أرشيف زينون كدراسة حالة: أولًا، من أين جلب العبيد المذكورون بالأرشيف؟ وثانياً، أي نتائج من الممكن أن يتم收敛 إلى إرشيف زينون أسماء هؤلاء العبيد؟

تستخدم الورقة نهجًا مختلطًا يجمع بين النهجين الكمي والنوعي في معالجة أسئلة البحث; حيث وُضِفت الأولى من خلال جمع كل ما يشير إلى أصول العبيد في أرشيف زينون والطرق التي اشتقا من استعدادهم، في حين وُضِفت كلا المهنيين في جمع وفحص أسماء العبيد في الأرشيف وتحليلها.

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 recognize 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 dynamics. In antiquity, according to him, only Greece, except Sparta, and Rome were considered ‘slave societies’. 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. Among these studies, one of the most recent and renowned works is Reinhold Scholl.


2 Evidence for extensive chattel slavery in ancient Egypt’s dynamic 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 Naucratis and Memphis before Alexander the Great’s conquest. It was further propagated by the immigrants who arrived in Egypt following the conquest. See Sandra Scheule-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.

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,

References:

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.

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 disseminate the archive’s documents containing references to the origins of enslaved individuals.

In P. Cair. Zen. I 59003 (Birtha [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 τῶν [α]υτής Τουβίας/ (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 [‘παιδάρια Βαβυλώνιον ἀν ὀνόματι 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 Toubias 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 ἀγοντα Αἰνέ[ν] ἑνόδουν ἓνα καὶ παιά̣[ν]άρια . . .).12 The sale took place in Bitra of Ammanitis? The slave-girl is described in l. 16 as ['παιδάρια Βαβυλώνιον ἀν ὀνόματι Σφραγίς’, the Babylonian slave-girl whose name is Sphragis.

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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 Toubias in Transjordan, about whom we possess relatively abundant information, particularly from papyri dating to the period of Ptolemy II. The Toubias 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 Toubias in the Zenon archive’s papyri, who held a position of considerable significance in Transjordan. For more information about the Toubias and the career of Toubias, 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 Toubias: ein lokaler Vertreter der potenämischen Herrschaft in Transjordanien”, APF 56 (2010): 242–257; Stefan Pfeiffer, “Die Familie des Toubias: 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.
12 l. 4 παιά̣[ν]άρια . . . ήτα: The first editor, Edgar, initially left it without any supplementation (see P. Cair. Zen. I 59076, p. 98). παιά̣[ν]άρια οἰκήταικά is suggested by Tcherikover in CPJ 1 127, no. 4, comm. 4, where he added that the restoration παιά̣[ν]άρια οἰκήταικά is just the same as σῶμα οἰκήταικα. Skeat refused the supplementation of Tcherikover and suggested ἀρσάκτηκα τε κατ’ τὸν ἑνόδουν ἀλετριτ τίς 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. μαθήταικα is suggested by Reekmans, La
P. Cair. Zen. I 59010\textsuperscript{14} (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.\textsuperscript{15} The document mentions various goods, including references to slaves using the slavery terms παίδως, l. 26 and παίδισκ[α]ρίου, l. 31. According to Scholl, given the specific slave terms\textsuperscript{16} 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.)\textsuperscript{17}, P. Cair. Zen. I 59015 V (Palestine, after 6 Sep. 258 B.C.)\textsuperscript{18}, and P. Cair. Zen. IV 59537 (Palestine, after 6 Sep. 258 B.C.).\textsuperscript{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), ἐπιδήμησαντες ἐμ( libc. ἐν) Μαρίσιη ἐπιτήμεθα ἐκ τῶν ᾿Ασκάλην 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 δὲ εἰς ᾿Αἴγυπτον εἰσπορευόμενον ἀπεδρασαν ἔνδωσε γ, τούτοιν/ δόσεις: λόγος, Π. Cair. Zen. I 59015 V, l. 18–19).\textsuperscript{20} It is revealed by the three documents that the runaway slaves were apprehended and subsequently transported to Egypt.\textsuperscript{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.).\textsuperscript{22} The document reports that an individual by the name of Krotos, residing now in Joppa\textsuperscript{23} (Iope/Jaffa, sitométrie, 168, and adopted by Scholl, Sklaverei in den Zenonpapyri, 100. The suggestion of Reekmans was refused by Sket.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{14} 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.


\textsuperscript{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.

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


\textsuperscript{19} = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 40 = C. Zen. Palestine 43

\textsuperscript{20} Cf. also P. Cair. Zen. I 59015 V, l. 27–30: ἀνήγελεν ἡμῖν Κρότος γεγραφότα Παυσελήνη μηνυτέρισθα τοὺς ἀποκράτας παιδῶς κατὰ ἐν ἐν τῇ Σερβίναι τῇ Κρέστῆς: Π. Cair. Zen. I 59015 V, l. 40–42: παιδῶς ἡμῖν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἀποκεφαλήθης ἡμῖν, οἱ προσηγγελμένοι εἰς ήν τὴν ἩλΩμέθα.\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{21} It 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.

\textsuperscript{22} = SB III 6720 = C. Ptol. Sklav. I 41 = C. Zen. Palestine 45.

\textsuperscript{23} Krotos, acting as a representative of the dioketes 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) (ἀνήγγελέων ἡμῖν ὦτι Κρότος ἐν Ἰσπαὶ ἐστὶν βουλόμενος σώματα ἐξαποστεῖλαι καὶ στρῶματα, l. 6–7). Additionally, there is a reference to a certain Menekles who had conveyed several slaves from Gaza to Tyre (καὶ Μενεκλῆς δὲ ὦ ἐν Τύροι ἔχῃ σωμάτια τινα καὶ φορτία ἀγαγο[ν]ητα) ὕπερ ἐκ Γαζᾶς εἰς Τύρων μετεξελέσθη εἰς Τύρων, 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 (ἐξαγογή)?25 We know from the papyrus that those slaves belonged to Zenon (παραγενόμενος σὺν ὦ Ἀπολλοφάνης πρὸς τὸν Μενεκλῆν ἔχῃ τὰ τε σώματα καὶ τὰ φορτία σὰ εἶναι, Apollonophanes 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

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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 Menecles of Tyre for shipment from Tyre to Egypt’. This assumption received validation from Scholl, Sklaverei, 51.
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. 1 (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 σιτοποιοί, 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.
a one-third\textsuperscript{31} share in two female slaves owned by Philon\textsuperscript{32}, which were transferred to Zenon as partial payment of the debt. Within the document, there is a notable mention of an ἀποφορά payment\textsuperscript{33} 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 postulated\textsuperscript{34}, that Philon may have acquired the necessary funds through borrowing for the purchase of the two slaves.\textsuperscript{35}

Rostovtzeff describes P. Zen. Pestm. 24 (Mendes, before 11 Apr. 257 B.C.)\textsuperscript{36} as one of the most amusing letters of Amyntas.\textsuperscript{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 Athisibis (now Tell Athisib (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 ‘ἔν ὡμές ἐπίρασι[θ]ε, l. 1’. As Scholl astutely noted\textsuperscript{38}, this suggests that the slave was a recent acquisition, as such a detail would not be mentioned otherwise. Secondly, the phrase ‘δὲ καὶ ἔστιν [παρά] τοῖς Καππάδοξιν τοῖς ἐκεί σταθμῷν ἔχουσιν, l. 3–4’ implies that the slave sought shelter with certain Cappadocians who were stationed in Athisibis. 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.).\textsuperscript{39} The document is a memorandum addressed to Zenon from a man named

\textsuperscript{31} P. Cair. Zen. III 59355, intr. p. 83. However, Scholl, \textit{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 Biezun-ska–Malowist, “Les esclaves”, 116–129.


\textsuperscript{33} l. 133; 139; 142; 149. \textit{Apophora} is the payment made by independently working slaves to their master (Winfried Schmitz, “Apophora”, in: \textit{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).

\textsuperscript{34} P. Cair. Zen. III 59355, intr. p. 84.


\textsuperscript{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, \textit{APF} 6 (1920): 386; Rostovtzeff, \textit{A Large Estate}, 30.


\textsuperscript{39} C. Ptol. Sklav. I 42 = C. Zen. Palestine 27, with BL 8, 397–398; 9, 314.
Haytham A. Qandeil, The Origins of Slaves and Their Names in Ptolemaic Egypt: A Case Study of the Zenon Archive

Herakleides, who was a driver (συνωριστής)\textsuperscript{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 Egypt\textsuperscript{41}, 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.\textsuperscript{42} Scholl has posited that Herakleides may be identical to the one mentioned in P. Cair. Zen. I 59804\textsuperscript{43}, 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.)\textsuperscript{44} is a matter of debate. The papyrus entails a protracted narrative of the allocation of κικί (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 λόγχον τοῖς ἀποσταλεῖσθαι σώμασιν ἐκ Συρίας ὧπο Νικάνορος κο(τύλης) τέ(ταρτον) (and that given for hand lamp to the labourers/slaves (?) sent away from Syria by Nikanor, ¼ kotyle)\textsuperscript{46}. The phrase ‘σώμασιν ἐκ Συρίας’ has generated issues regarding the character of the individuals referred to. Westermann maintained that they are labourers from Syria.\textsuperscript{47} Scholl, who concurs with Bieżuńska–Malowist, maintained that the mention here

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{41} Wilcken, “Referate”, 393.


\textsuperscript{43} τὰ σώματα πρὸς Ἦρακλείδην καὶ παρεδώκαμεν Ἀπολλοφάνει καὶ Ἰησοῦ αὐτὸς φυλάξει, l. 9; see Scholl, Sklaverei, 61.


\textsuperscript{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 Epimenetes: Studies in the Administration of Ptolemaic Egypt (Papyrologica Coloniensia 49) (Paderborn: Brill Schöningh 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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 Nicanor’ in P. Corn. 1, p. 22. In P. Col. Zen. II 87, Westermann translates ‘ἄλλα ὑπὸ τοὺς Σύρῳ Πάσας’ / [οἱ Σύροι] πανθενα / οὓς γράφεται εν τινὶ ἀπολογισμων τῶν σωμάτων τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἀμπλεκόντας εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν’ 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.

\textsuperscript{49}
pertains to slaves.\(^{48}\) I concur with Scholl, given that ‘σώματα’ invariably refers to slaves.

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. Pstm. 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 intercede 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

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\(^{48}\) Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 91.


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


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375
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 Thompson\(^53\), 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.\(^54\)

\(\text{Ἀϊμος}^{55}\) (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 moles\(^57\) 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, \(\text{phakoi}\), 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.
Ἄτικος (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?). 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.

Αὔδομος (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.

Βελενονδρις (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).

Δημήτριος (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

Δόναξ (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

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 I' 1032 (Athens, 405 B.C.); IG II 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.).

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.

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.).

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

Eutychides, 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.).

The name Eutychides is a male name derived from the word ‘εὔτηχις’ which means ‘good luck’ or ‘success’. See LSJ, s.v. εὔτηχις.

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

Within the Zenon archive, we encounter either a pair or a quartet of individuals bearing the name Eutychides (Scholl, Sklaverei, 174–175). In addition to the above cited records where the name Eutychides 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.).

The name Ἡρακλείδης is derived from the name of the Greek hero Heracles. The suffix ‘-όντς’ (-onts) is a patronymic suffix in Greek, indicating ‘son of’ or ‘descendant of’.

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

The name Herakleides 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 I² 1052 (Athens, 405 B.C.); IG II² 4650 (Athens, 4th cent. B.C.); ISardi 1 1 = 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.).
\textbf{Θόραξ}^{80} (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.) \textsuperscript{81} – where he is mentioned as a Κουλίσ (Cilician) \textendash; 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.\textsuperscript{82} Beyond the confines of the Zenon archive, there exists a reference to a certain Thorax in SB III 7182 (2\textsuperscript{nd}/1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C.), where he is likewise identified as a slave.\textsuperscript{83}

\textbf{Ἰσιωδόρα}^{84} (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.\textsuperscript{85}

\textbf{Ἰωάνα}^{86} (TM Nam 3463 for \textquote Single 'Ἰωάννα'\textquote is, according to Tcherikover\textsuperscript{87}, a Jewish name, the feminine form of Johannes. The name Johanna appears solely in one instance among all the papyrological documents, specifically in the Zenon archive in P. Corn. 1 (5 Mar. 257). The name \textquote Johanna / Johanna\textquote is attested in some other documents.\textsuperscript{88} 'Ἰωάννα could simply be a mistake in P. Corn. 1.

\textbf{Κάρπος}^{89} (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 3\textsuperscript{rd} cent. B.C.); P. Cair. Zen. IV 704 (mid 3\textsuperscript{rd} cent. B.C.). There are 37 attestations for 28 individuals in documentary texts from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.\textsuperscript{90}

\textsuperscript{80} Θόραξ directly signifies \textquote the chest\textquote in its literal form, and it serves as the origin from which the English term \textquote thorax\textquote derives its meaning. For additional connotations or closely related meanings, see LSJ, s.v. \textquote θόραξ\textquote.

\textsuperscript{81} P. Lond. VII 1949 and P. Lond. VII 1950 are duplicates of P. Cair. Zen. I 59070. The three documents are an εἰκόνα, a description of a runaway slave who is Thorax. While Wilcken contested this notion arguing that such discursions 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, \textquote Referate\textquot; \textit{APF} 8 (1927), 277–278), Scholl maintain that the three documents are wanted posters for a runaway slave (Scholl, \textit{Sklaverei}, 144, cf. also C. Ptol. Sklav. no. 61, 62, 63, p. 243–274.

\textsuperscript{82} See Alain Martin and Georges Nachtergaele, \textquote Papyrus du Musée du Caire. IV\textquot; \textit{CdÉ} 75 (2000): 313, comm. 8.

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

\textsuperscript{84} A typical Greek/Egyptian name that means the gift of Isis.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{86} The meaning of \textquote Ιωάνα / Ιωάννα\textquote is ‘Jahweh has shown grace’. See Monika Hasitzka, \textquote Frauennamen in der Spätantike\textquot; in \textit{Emanzipation am Nil. Frauleben und Frauenrecht in den Papyri = Nilus}. 11, eds. Harald Froshauer and Hermann Harrauer (Wien, 2005), 77.

\textsuperscript{87} CPJ I 127, no. 7, p. 132–133.

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

\textsuperscript{89} In ancient Greek, Κάρπος encompasses the meanings of \textquote fruit\textquot, \textquote offspring\textquot, \textquote seed\textquot, as well as \textquote returns\textquot or \textquote profits\textquot. LSJ, s.v. \textquote καρπός\textquot.

\textsuperscript{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 2\textsuperscript{nd} cent. B.C.); IvOl 91 (Olympia, 113–117 CE); SEG XXIX 1187 (Saittai, 166 CE); SEG XXXVI (Saittai, 1\textsuperscript{st}/2\textsuperscript{nd} cent. CE).

Νικησώ. (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. 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.

Όκαιμος. (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. 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.

Πίνδαρος. (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 Mένιππος in ancient Greek is composed of the following two words: Mένο which is derived from the Greek verb μένο, and means ‘to stay’ or ‘to abide’, and πος 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) I 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 Νικησώ 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 Οκαιμος. However, it is important to note that in both the DDDBP 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 δοιος (slave) and its genitive form δοιου. Therefore, according to this pattern, our current name should be accented as follows: 'Οκαιμος. 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.?) and 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.).

Στάχυς101 (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. Cairo. Zen. V 59822 (30 Mar. 252 B.C.); P. Lond. VII 2004 (21 Feb. – 22 Mar. 248 B.C.); P. Cairo. Zen. III 59333 (after 20 Jul. 248 B.C.); P. Cairo. 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. Cairo. Zen. III 59466 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.); P. Land. Zen. 76 (mid 3rd cent. B.C.), and likely, not as a slave in P. Cairo. Zen. II 59266 (7 May 251 B.C.).103

Σφραγίς104 (TM Nam 5899) is a name of a female slave mentioned in the Zenon archive in P. Cairo. Zen. III 59333 (after 20 Jul. 248 B.C.); P. Cairo. 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. Cairo. Zen. I 59003, and P. Cairo. 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

101 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.
102 The name Στάχυς in ancient Greek is associated with the word στάχυς, which means ‘ear of grain’ or ‘spike’. See LSJ, s.v. στάχυς.
104 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.
105 Syra is a Greek/Egyptian feminine name signifying ‘she who hails from Syria’. See TM Nam 5899.
106 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).
107 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.
108 It is unlikely that the two individuals of the two documents are identical, as evidenced by the fact that Sphragis mentioned in P. Cairo. 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. Cairo. 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. Cairo. 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. Cairo. Zen. II 59145 was in fact another slave.
109 The name Sphragis is attested only 4 times from outside Egypt, used for free women.
The name 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).

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

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. Ill 42 C (13) (8 Apr. 256 B.C.? or 8 Apr. 255 B.C.?); P. Count 7 (243 – 217 B.C.); P. Hilb. I 81 (after 7 Feb. 238 B.C.); P. Eunteux. 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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Slave Name</th>
<th>Attestations of the Name in the Zenon archive</th>
<th>Attestations of the Name Outside the Zenon archive</th>
<th>Attestations of the Name for slaves outside Egypt according to LGPN</th>
<th>Attestations of the Name for free persons outside Egypt according to LGPN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Αἴμος</td>
<td>P. Cair. 59076</td>
<td>Zen. I</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ἀττικός</td>
<td>P. Cair. 59076</td>
<td>Zen. I</td>
<td>Only one Roman attestation SB VI 9112</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Αὐδόμος</td>
<td>P. Cair. 59076</td>
<td>Zen. I</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Βελενο-δής</td>
<td>P. Lond. VII 2052</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

109 The name Philinos is associated with the word φίλος, which means ‘friend’ or ‘beloved’. Therefore, the name Philinos 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 Philinos, the name Philonides originates from the Greek term φίλος signifying ‘friend’ or ‘beloved’, and incorporates the suffix -νίδης, a patronymic addition. Consequently, Philonides 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. Ill 42 C (13) (8 Apr. 256 B.C.? or 8 Apr. 255 B.C.?); P. Count 7 (243 – 217 B.C.); P. Hilb. I 81 (after 7 Feb. 238 B.C.); P. Eunteux. 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Evidence</th>
<th>Attested? 1</th>
<th>Attested times 1</th>
<th>Attested? 2</th>
<th>Attested times 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Δημήτριος</td>
<td>P. Cair. Zen. 4 59709</td>
<td>Widely</td>
<td>Attested 7 times</td>
<td></td>
<td>Attested times 3325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Δόναξ</td>
<td>P. Col. Zen. I 5 + P. Col. Zen. II 63; P. Lond. VII 1951</td>
<td>Only 3 individuals other bore the name</td>
<td>Attested only one time</td>
<td></td>
<td>Attested times 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Δωρίον</td>
<td>PSI VII 861</td>
<td>Frequently attested</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td></td>
<td>Attested times 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Εὐσυχόδης</td>
<td>PSI IV 371; P. Cair. Zen. III 59326; P. Cair. Zen. IV 59569</td>
<td>Frequently attested</td>
<td>Attested 2 times</td>
<td></td>
<td>Attested times 210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Ἡρακλεῖδῆς</td>
<td>PSI IV 348</td>
<td>Frequently attested</td>
<td>Attested 6 times</td>
<td></td>
<td>Attested 1265 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Θωραξ</td>
<td>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</td>
<td>Attested once as a slave in SB III 7182</td>
<td>Attested only once</td>
<td></td>
<td>Attested times 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Ἰσιδωρα</td>
<td>P. Col. IV 75; P. Cair. Zen. III 59355</td>
<td>Widely attested</td>
<td>Not Attested</td>
<td></td>
<td>Attested times 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Ἰωάνα</td>
<td>P. Corn. 1</td>
<td>Not attested (However, Ἰωάννα is attested in some other documents)</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td></td>
<td>Not attested (However, Ἰωάννα is attested 5 times)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Κάρπος</td>
<td>P. Cair. Zen. III 59333; P. Cair. Zen. IV 702; P. Cair. Zen. IV 704</td>
<td>37 attestations for 28 individuals from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt</td>
<td>Attested 7 times</td>
<td></td>
<td>Attested times 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Μένυππος</td>
<td>P. Cair. Zen. IV</td>
<td>Widely attested</td>
<td>Not attested</td>
<td></td>
<td>Attested 528</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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383
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

- 43% Names used only for slaves
- 35% Slave names used for both slaves and non-slaves, but their occurrence as non-slave names is only attested three times or fewer
- 22% Slave names frequently used for slaves and freemen
Fig. 2: Distribution of Names in the Zenon Archive: Slave-Exclusive and Limited Non-Slave Use, and Frequent Slave and Freemen Names

- Slave names frequently used for slaves and non-slaves: 43%
- 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: 57%
When we scrutinise these appellations within the broader context of the Greco-Roman world\textsuperscript{113}, 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 Αἵμος, 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. Δοξαῖος 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

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\textsuperscript{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 Στάχυς 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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