

## PAPYROLOGY AND PTOLEMAIC HISTORY: 1956-1980

To discuss in brief compass the contributions to historical knowledge provided by papyrus documents of the Ptolemaic period over the last 25 years is possible only under two conditions and limitations. First, one must not offer a systematic bibliography of the subject, for that would be unreadable. Secondly, one cannot attempt a true synthesis of what has been done, for that would draw in too much of the older material and surpass any limit. These remarks, therefore, are designed as a concise presentation of two principal subjects: first, the growth of our documentation for Ptolemaic Egypt, principally from the publication of new texts but also from the re-publication and reorganization of the older editions; and second, the main lines of what has been gained in recent years from the exploitation of the new and existing documentation for historical questions.

Of the three conventional divisions of the millennium during which Greek papyri were produced in Egypt, the Ptolemaic period is the one the study of which was already the most mature a quarter-century ago, by which time most major existing collections of Ptolemaic papyri had been published. The last 25 years have seen only a modest increase in our Greek documentation.<sup>1</sup> Two volumes have enlarged known archives: *P.Lond.* VII gives the British Library's share of the Zenon archive of the third century B.C., well-edited by T. C. Skeat. Much of this material had been known to scholars active in this field already 50 years before through transcripts privately circulated,<sup>2</sup> but its publication makes available to all the last large segment of the archive. *P.Tebt.* IV, edited by James Keenan and John Shelton, includes a number of papyri not included in *P.Tebt.* I but part of the same archive, that of the late second-century village scribe Menches.

The Berlin collection has yielded two volumes, one (*BGU X*, edited by Wolfgang Müller) containing documents related to cleruchs in the Oxyrhynchite Nome, probably the most important body of new material to come to light because of the scarcity of Ptolemaic documentation from that nome, the only substantial previous archive having been the bank documents of *P.Hamb.* II. The other Berlin volume, *BGU XIV*, is a heterogeneous collection dominated by first-century Herakleopolite texts edited by William Brashear; the volume has not yet appeared, but proofs were on display at the papyrological congress in July, 1980.

Finally, there is a volume of Sorbonne papyri edited by Hélène Cadell, including mainly documents concerned with administration and cleruchs in the Fayum in the middle and late third century.

<sup>1</sup> A conspectus by year of publication of editions of Greek papyri appears in J. F. Oates, W. H. Willis, and R. S. Bagnall, *A Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* <sup>2</sup> (*BASP* Suppl. 1, Missoula, MT 1978) 58-61. Abbreviations used in this paper are those recommended in the *Checklist*, and full bibliographical details for editions may be found there.

<sup>2</sup> They are cited, for example, in M. I. Rostovtzeff's *A Large Estate in Egypt* (Madison, WI 1923).

This is not a rich harvest for a quarter-century, and even adding in the documents scattered in miscellaneous volumes and in journals<sup>3</sup> does not alter the fundamental fact that good unpublished Ptolemaic papyri have been in short supply. Something a bit better may be expected from the next decade, mainly as a result of the appearance of a wave of mummy heads on the antiquities market. The Catholic University of Milan,<sup>4</sup> the University of Rotterdam<sup>5</sup> and the University of Helsinki,<sup>6</sup> Duke University,<sup>7</sup> and a Dutch private collection<sup>8</sup> all have valuable raw material, the publication of which is in its earliest stages. More is currently on the market. And Willy Clarysse is preparing a volume of papyri from the little-known Lykopolite Nome which are scattered in various collections, many unpublished.<sup>9</sup>

If the contribution of newly published Greek papyri has been rather limited, that of Demotic Egyptian papyri and ostraka has been more substantial. The most spectacular new material is, ironically, derived from that often-despised source, ostraka. The archive of the scribe and dreamer Hor, found at Sakkara, has extended our knowledge of the period of Antiochus IV's invasion of Egypt.<sup>10</sup> Hor, a native of Sebennyos in the Delta, was a sometime resident of an Ibis-sanctuary at Sakkara around 170 and in the following decade. His dreams led him to compose petitions and prophecies about the course of events during Antiochus' occupation, many of which, brilliantly reconstructed by John Ray, give valuable information: the birthday of Philometor, perhaps that of Eupator, the existence of a Seleucid governor of Egypt, evidence that a permanent conquest was intended—obviously something that would trouble the Romans more than a temporary intervention.

The Demotic papyri have come to us mostly in archives; many of these have been known but unedited for decades, because of a lamentable lack of Demotists. The strong growth of Demotic studies in the last two decades has been enormously productive, and not only in new texts. Many of these archives concern persons involved in the religious establishments of the country, an area into which the Greeks hardly penetrated and

<sup>3</sup> E.g. F. Uebel, "Monopôlia phakês," *Actes X Congr. de Pap.* (Warsaw 1964) 165-81; R. S. Bagnall and R. Bogaert, "Orders for Payment from a Banker's Archive: Papyri in the Collection of Florida State University," *AncSoc* 6 (1975) 79-108 with 6 plates.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. O. Montevecchi, in XVI International Congress of Papyrology (New York 24-31 July 1980) *Proceedings* (Chico, CA 1981) 251-58; G. Geraci, *ibid.*, 267-76; L. Criscuolo, *ibid.*, 259-65.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Cd'E* 53 (1978) 108 n.2, where P. J. Sijpesteijn remarks that P. A. Verdult and A. Schellekens are preparing them. For another text of this group see A. J. M. Meyer-Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer im griechischen und römischen Recht* (Stud. Amst. 13, Zutphen 1978) 241-44.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. M. Kaimio and J. Frösén, XVI Congr. *Proceedings*, 277-87.

<sup>7</sup> J. F. Oates, *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie II: Papyrus inédits* (Pap. Brux. 17, Bruxelles 1979) 49-51.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Cd'E* 53 (1978) 107-16, 307-12; 54 (1979) 95-105; *AncSoc* 10 (1979) 151-58; *BES* 1 (1979) 41-46.

<sup>9</sup> *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International de Papyrologie IV: Papyrologie documentaire* (Pap. Brux. 19, Bruxelles 1979) 101-06.

<sup>10</sup> J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (Egypt Exploration Society, Texts from Excavations 2, London 1976).

which were thus until recently not known at all well in proportion to their importance in Egyptian life.

A prime example is the archive of Deir el-Medina, of which the less-important Greek portion was published in 1929.<sup>11</sup> The Demotic texts, published by Botti in 1967, are the core of the archive; the documents concern the temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina and span a period of 188-101. They are rich in information about temple personnel, about the sale of the rights to priestly income for limited periods, as well as in normal business transactions.<sup>12</sup> A comparable body of material for the Fayum comes from the embalmers' papers of Hawara in the period from the last quarter of the second century to the middle of the first. Numerous families are represented, all part of the necropolis personnel.<sup>13</sup> Once again, the sale of usufructuary rights to priestly revenues and endowments is prominent. The fascicle of Berlin papyri from Elephantine recently published by Zauzich is less clearly archival (and only a selection from a large collection), but priestly matters are common—one letter asks a high royal bureaucrat for support in becoming a priest of Chnum, and there are requests for oracles to be obtained on vital questions like which of two women the questioner should marry.<sup>14</sup>

By this point the reader may think that Demotic papyri all concern Egyptian priesthoods and are therefore of limited interest.<sup>15</sup> The situation is not so simple. The common element in all these archives is property, be it land, houses, rights to endowments, or tangible personal property. Not all of the parties are priestly; <sup>16</sup> some are military or official personnel. But the fact that the bulk of them do hold priesthoods has important implications for the character of Egyptian society in the Ptolemaic period, and especially for that elusive question: what was the social and economic status of those Egyptians who were not peasant farmers?

For many decades, Demotic studies existed in a private world, with Demotists largely ignorant of Greek papyri and papyrologists still more ignorant of Demotic documents. The major development in Ptolemaic studies has been not the publication of new texts, important though that remains, but the development of a group of scholars who deliberately set out to heed Claire Préaux's advice to bring Greek and Demotic evidence together to find a better understanding of how Greeks and Egyptians

<sup>11</sup> By G. Vitelli and M. Norsa in *PSI IX* (1929) 1014-1025.

<sup>12</sup> G. Botti, *L'archivio demotico da Deir el-Medineh* (Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, Ser. 1: Monumenti e Testi 1, Firenze 1967).

<sup>13</sup> E.A.E. Reymond, *Embalmers' Archives from Hawara: Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the Ashmolean Museum 1* (Oxford 1973).

<sup>14</sup> K.-Th. Zauzich, *Demotische Papyri aus dem Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin 1: Papyri von den Insel Elephantine* (Berlin 1978).

<sup>15</sup> One could add still more, like E. Bresciani, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos nel Griffith Institute di Oxford 1* (Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità 49, Milano 1975). In general see J. Quaegebeur, "Documents égyptiens et rôle économique du clergé en Égypte hellénistique," in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East II* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 6, Louvain 1979) 707-29.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. for example M. el-Amir, *A Family Archive from Thebes* (Cairo 1959); J. Quaegebeur, "De nouvelles archives de famille thébains à l'aube de l'époque ptolémaïque," *Actes XV Congr. IV*, 40-48.

lived together; along with this has gone a reassessment of the Greek evidence based on the new perception of two cultures. These tendencies have come to the fore in the last five years, but they were first visible (in more than isolated remarks) at the XII International Congress of Papyrology, held at the University of Michigan in 1968. C. Bradford Welles pointed out a number of high-ranking Egyptians active under Ptolemy I.<sup>17</sup> P. W. Pestman offered documentation for the continuity of Egyptians in high positions of the scribal bureaucracy at the start of Ptolemaic rule.<sup>18</sup> Alan Samuel went still further, on the basis of the Hibeh papyri, in arguing that the Ptolemies used Egyptians freely as bureaucrats provided that they learned Greek; <sup>19</sup> they were, in fact, the essential link between a Greek-speaking administration and an Egyptian populace.

A second major line of inquiry was opened up at that Congress by Jean Bingen, who pointed to peasant resistance to Greek methods of organization and economic exploitation.<sup>20</sup> Bingen's view of an 'archaic peasantry without political structure' provides an explanation in particular for the popularity of *anachôrêsis*, simple flight, as a mode of resistance to new ways and new techniques. He contrasts this group—the bulk of the population—with the priestly and scribal classes whose relations to the conquerors were so different.

Both lines of inquiry have been more extensively developed since 1968. In particular, Bingen has pursued the study of relations between Greeks and Egyptians (or that part of the Egyptian population which we generally call the *laos* <sup>21</sup>) in a series of papers.<sup>22</sup> Bingen has proposed to see Greeks as much less present and permanent in the countryside than has been thought; rather, the Greeks tended to form an urban environment in the *nome metropoleis*. On the other hand, the villages gradually developed their own class of little notables, largely from Egyptians. Bingen's work in the latter regard depends greatly on Dorothy Crawford's analysis of Kerkeosiris,<sup>23</sup> the Ptolemaic village best known to us. This class of natives risen above the lot of a peasant was created gradually, especially in the second century, from those Egyptians who entered into the

<sup>17</sup> *Proceedings of the XII International Congress of Papyrology* (Am.Stud.Pap. 7, Toronto 1970) 505-10.

<sup>18</sup> Summary in *BASP* 5 (1968) 61.

<sup>19</sup> *Proceedings XII Congr.*, 443-53.

<sup>20</sup> *Proceedings XII Congr.*, 35-40: "Grecs et Égyptiens d'après PSI 502".

<sup>21</sup> This is the usually accepted meaning of *laos*, although challenged by C. Vandersleyen in *Cd'E* 48 (1973) 339-49. See W. Clarysse, *AncSoc* 7 (1976) 195, and O. Montevecchi, *Actes XV Congr.* IV, 51-67 for a defense of the view taken here.

<sup>22</sup> "Présence grecque et milieu rurale ptolémaïque," *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne*, ed. M. I. Finley (Paris-The Hague 1973) 215-22; "Le milieu urbain dans la chôra égyptienne à l'époque ptolémaïque," *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists* (Egypt Exploration Society, Graeco-Roman Memoirs 61, London 1975) 367-73; "Kerkeosiris et ses Grecs au II<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère," *Actes XV Congr.* IV, 87-94; "Land Leases from Tholthis," *ICS* 3 (1978) 74-80; "Économie grecque et société égyptienne au III<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Das ptolemäische Aegypten*, ed. H. Maehler and V. M. Strocka (Mainz 1978) 211-20.

<sup>23</sup> D. J. Crawford, *Kerkeosiris* (Cambridge 1971).

Ptolemaic system in some way, as lower-ranking bureaucrats, as soldiers and cleruchs, or as entrepreneurs—in any case able to operate in Greek and cope directly with the Greek administration.

The other part of the Egyptian population is the urban one, the priests and long-established bureaucrats clustered around Thebes, Memphis, Hawara, and other older centers; they are the source of most of the Demotic documentation described above. Here too our knowledge has grown. Zauzich has elucidated the existence of local scribal traditions and families in various centers over long periods, each with particular characteristics.<sup>24</sup> The schools of Leuven, Brussels, and Leiden have in recent years devoted much work to these classes.<sup>25</sup> A recent book is illustrative of what is happening: it is a collection of four essays on Memphis.<sup>26</sup> Quaegebeur manages to construct a continuous list of high-priests of Ptah for the entire time from Ptolemy I to Augustus,<sup>27</sup> and he and Dorothy Crawford comment on the connections of these priests—the head of all native Egyptian clergy, at least in their own view and that of the foreign rulers—to the Sarapis cult of Alexandria and to the Ptolemaic royal family (though the claim of Reymond that the wife of one late high priest was the sister of Ptolemy Alexander II is rejected as unfounded).<sup>28</sup> Clarysse's major contribution documents the very close ties between the Fayum village of Philadelphia (the source of the famous Zenon archive) and Memphis; he shows that Philadelphia's population and economy were oriented across the neck of desert to Memphis, not inward to the Fayum.<sup>29</sup>

The bureaucracy has also received some attention.<sup>30</sup> Pestman has devoted an article<sup>31</sup> to the office of *agoranomos*. He suggests that the office was created to provide a Greek counterweight to the Egyptian notariat, but eventually was exercised nonetheless by Egyptians—an outpost of the bureaucracy taken by Egyptians, he calls it—though whether these had any connection with the traditional notarial families is much harder to say. More generally, W. Peremans has published an extensive series of articles in *Ancient Society* studying the extent to which Egyptians are represented in various occupations and positions.

The work of the last two decades has in this way led to a clearer conception of the Egyptian population, its social evolution and economic role, both urban and rural. But in the study of social relations, we have inevitably come to understand better not only the Egyptians, but also the

<sup>24</sup> *Das ägyptische Schreibertradition* (Aegyptische Abhandlungen 19, Wiesbaden 1968).

<sup>25</sup> Only a small amount can be discussed here. The preparation of the *Pros.Ptol.* supplements (especially IX on the clergy) has stimulated much study; cf. W. Clarysse, "The Prosopographia Ptolemaica and Demotic Studies," *Enchoria* 8 Sonderband (1978) 7-9.

<sup>26</sup> *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* (Stud.Hell. 24, Leuven 1980).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 43-81: "The Genealogy of the Memphite High Priest Family in the Hellenistic Period."

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-42: "Ptolemy, Ptah and Apis in Hellenistic Memphis."

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 91-122: "Philadelphia and the Memphites in the Zenon Archive."

<sup>30</sup> See generally D. J. Crawford, "The Good Official of Ptolemaic Egypt," *Das ptolemäische Aegypten*, 195-202.

<sup>31</sup> *Das ptolemäische Aegypten*, 203-10.

Greeks. The inquiry into the character of Hellenism in Egypt has in addition been advanced by two great projects aimed at making our third century archives more accessible. The University of Louvain has undertaken the re-edition of the Petrie papyri, published 80-90 years ago in a fashion very inadequate by present standards. The first part of this new edition is Clarysse's collection of soldiers' wills, presented as a thesis six years ago and soon to appear in published form. Secondly, Pestman and a team of collaborators drawn from five countries have carried out a thorough reworking of the massive Zenon archive: their first volume collects the scattered items in that archive;<sup>32</sup> second and more important is a general guide and index to the whole archive, which has just appeared.<sup>33</sup> With this guide a new era of research on these 2,000 papyri opens.

From this work and from the confrontation with the Egyptian situation, a clearer appreciation of the Greek experience in Egypt is emerging. First, the economy. Bingen's articles cited above have been important here, too: we see Greeks in various roles, notably as absentee landlords of their allotments, living in nome capitals, renting out their estates and living on the proceeds in an environment with a more urban character. We see another class of entrepreneurs making a living as middlemen in the leasing of land. We find still others as tax farmers, guaranteeing the king's revenues and making money or losing it on the margin between the promise and the results. Bingen underlines elsewhere the fact that the Ptolemies' need for Greek manpower to exploit their territory led to the adoption, willy-nilly, of certain Greek patterns of financial operations; from this point of view the Revenue Laws papyrus seems to be less the revelation of royal economic centralist power than that of persistent Greek ways of doing business.<sup>34</sup>

Secondly, the law. Important progress has been made in defining the legal institutions of Ptolemaic Egypt.<sup>35</sup> More interestingly, perhaps, several articles have made advances in understanding the basic character of legal systems under the Ptolemies. Wolff has maintained the view that there was no merging of Greek and Egyptian legal institutions;<sup>36</sup> this view complements, but was formed independently of, the growing school of thought which sees Hellenistic culture generally in terms of juxtaposi-

<sup>32</sup> *Pap.Lugd.Bat. XX = Greek and Demotic Texts from the Zenon Archive* (Leiden 1980).

<sup>33</sup> *Pap.Lugd.Bat. XXI = A Guide to the Zenon Archive* (Leiden 1981).

<sup>34</sup> *Le Papyrus Revenue Laws—Tradition grecque et adaptation hellénistique*, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vortr. Geisteswiss. G. Nr. 02 / G231 (Opladen 1978). For Greek influences on agriculture see the two studies by D. J. Crawford: "The Opium Poppy," *Problèmes de la terre*, ed. M. I. Finley (Paris 1973) 223-51; and "Garlic Growing and Agricultural Specialization in Graeco-Roman Egypt," *Cd'E* 48 (1973) 350-63.

<sup>35</sup> H. J. Wolff, *Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer* (Münch.Beitr. 44, Munich 1962); E. Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*<sup>2</sup> (Glückstadt 1962); M.-Th. Lenger, *Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées* (Acad. Royale de Belgique, Mémoires 57.1 [Bruxelles 1964]; re-ed. Mémoires 64.2 [1980] with supplement).

<sup>36</sup> "Law in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* (New Haven 1966) 67-77.

tion rather than of mixture—Préaux's *Monde hellénistique*, for example.<sup>37</sup>

J. Modrzejewski has published a series of important articles aiming to define various points better. In particular he has argued convincingly that the *politikoi nomoi* of the documents refer to a Greek legal *koiné* which developed to meet the needs of a Greek population of diverse origins,<sup>38</sup> more as legal custom than anything else, for the king was the true legislator. He and Wolff have insisted also that the coexistent Greek and Egyptian systems were governed not by a principle of personality—that is, the ethnic identity of the persons involved—but by the language used in the civil transaction in question.<sup>39</sup>

Where law concerns questions of status, studies based on papyri have been particularly active: for example, Oates' and Pestman's approaches (from Greek and Demotic documents, respectively) to the question of the *Persai, tês epigonês*.<sup>40</sup> I. Biežuńska-Małowist has produced a book on slavery in Ptolemaic Egypt, now followed by a sequel on Roman Egypt.<sup>41</sup> Slavery appears to her to be a relatively superficial phenomenon of the wealthier classes, with little relation to the Egyptian economy but much to do with Greek habits; its role throughout the period was minimal.

Modrzejewski's activity has also led him to a study with profound implications for the social and economic character of Hellenistic Egypt and for its administration.<sup>42</sup> He rejects the standard conception of Egypt as in its entirety royal property except for whatever the king conceded to other uses. The role of private property was, in his view, much larger than is ordinarily admitted: the kings owned as proprietors (as opposed to sovereigns) only a limited—albeit sizeable—part of the country. If this view is correct, considerable modifications of traditional views of the 'royal economy' are in order, even beyond those already produced by Bingen's vindication of the role of private entrepreneurs. Modrzejewski remarks on the dangers of assuming that Egypt resembled other parts of the Near East either in the so-called Asiatic mode of production or in the importance of slavery in the Greek cities there.

In other areas of administration, there have been numerous contribu-

<sup>37</sup> Paris 1978: La Nouvelle Cléo 6 et 6 bis. Cf. also two seminal studies by R. Rémondon: "Les antisémites de Memphis," *Cd'E* 35 (1960) 244-61; and "Problèmes de bilinguisme dans l'Égypte lagide," *Cd'E* 39 (1964) 126-46.

<sup>38</sup> "La règle de droit dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque," *Essays Welles*, 125-73 (following up ideas of Wolff; see *supra*, nn.35 and 36); *AEHE*, IV<sup>e</sup> Section, 1974/5, 325-29.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *supra*, nn. 36, 38; Modrzejewski, "Chrématistes et laocrates," *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Bruxelles 1975) 699-708, where he clarifies the dual court system. There was, of course, no real self-identification by a Greek as a citizen of a kingdom; cf. R. S. Bagnall, "The Ptolemaic Trierarchs," *Cd'E* 46 (1971) 356-62 for an example of the consequences. Cf. also *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West*, ed. G. Matthä and G. Hughes (Bibl. d'Étude 45, Cairo 1975); *P.Oxy.* XLVI 3285.

<sup>40</sup> J. F. Oates, "The Status Designation: *persês tês epigonês*," *YCS* 18 (1963) 1-129; P. W. Pestman, "A proposito dei documenti di Pathyris," *Aegyptus* 43 (1963) 23-29.

<sup>41</sup> *L'esclavage dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine I: Période Ptolémaïque* (Archiwum Filologiczne 30, Wrocław/Warszawa/Krakow 1974).

<sup>42</sup> "Régime foncier et statut social dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque," *Terre et paysans dépendants dans des sociétés antiques*, Colloque Besançon 1974 (Paris 1979) 163-88.

tions but still no general synthesis. At the higher levels, we have a study and a prosopography by L. Mooren of the aulic hierarchy—kinsmen, first friends, and the like.<sup>43</sup> David Thomas has published a volume on the *epistrategos* in the Ptolemaic period.<sup>44</sup> Studies by Alan Samuel have illuminated aspects of the work of the nomarch and *oikonomos*.<sup>45</sup> Lucia Criscuolo has studied the *komogrammateus* in detail.<sup>46</sup> The military settlers of Egypt, down through the reign of Ptolemy VI, were inventoried by the late Fritz Uebel in a volume of lasting use for every sort of social and economic investigation.<sup>47</sup> Paul Swarney studied the *Idios Logos*, which from its start appears a kind of account for non-recurring income.<sup>48</sup> Zola Packman, in another Yale dissertation, studied the ways and means of grain taxation,<sup>49</sup> while Pierre Vidal-Naquet elucidated the essentially authoritarian, if flexible, character of the schedule for the quantities to be sown each year of the various crops.<sup>50</sup>

It is forty years since the publication of Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, itself coming only three years after Præaux's *Économie royale des Lagides*. These works marked the high point of synthetic study from the point of view of statist economy and mixed society, but their eminent and perceptive authors had already begun to see that new approaches were needed. The two decades which followed were difficult and not very productive ones, with war and reconstruction. Præaux's articles bringing out phenomena of coexistence and continuity between classical Greece and Hellenistic Egypt began to lead to new perceptions, and the Louvain factory of Peremans and Van 't Dack started laying the foundations for systematic work with the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*. The sixties and seventies have seen the fruits of this labor in the accomplishments of new generations of scholars. These I would summarize as follows:

- (1) A revival of Demotic studies, and the training of a few scholars competent to operate in both worlds;
- (2) Growing awareness of the need to combine Greek and Demotic evidence to form an adequate historical picture;
- (3) A more sophisticated conceptual approach to social and economic history, under the influence of Moses Finley and Claire Præaux.

<sup>43</sup> *The Aulic Titulature in Ptolemaic Egypt: Introduction and Prosopography* (Kon. Acad. v. Wetenschappen, Verhandelingen 37, No. 78, Brussels 1975); *La hiérarchie du cour ptolémaïque* (Stud. Hell. 23, Louvain 1977).

<sup>44</sup> *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt I: The Ptolemaic Epistrategos* (Pap.Colon. 6.1, Opladen 1975).

<sup>45</sup> "The Internal Organization of the Nomarch's Bureau in the Third Century B.C.," *Essays Welles*, 213-29; "The Judicial Competence of the Oikonomos in the Third Century B.C.," *Atti dell'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* (Milano 1966) 444-50.

<sup>46</sup> "Ricerche sul komogrammateus nell'Egitto tolemaico," *Aegyptus* 58 (1978) 3-101.

<sup>47</sup> *Die Kleruchen Aegyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern* (Abh.Berlin 1968, 3).

<sup>48</sup> *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos* (Am.Stud.Pap. 8, Toronto 1970).

<sup>49</sup> *The Taxes in Grain in Ptolemaic Egypt. Granary Receipts from Diospolis Magna, 164-88 B.C.* (Am.Stud.Pap. 4, Toronto 1968).

<sup>50</sup> *Le Bordereau d'ensemencement dans l'Égypte ptolémaïque* (Pap.Brux. 5, Bruxelles 1967).



These are trends which are still in their early stages, and (aside from Préaux's *Monde hellénistique*) major synthesis is still to come. In the coming years we can expect more combined Greek-Demotic work, especially from Pestman and his school; a new edition of both Greek and Demotic Reinach papyri is already in press. We may also look for Demotic studies to mature; with the Dictionary project in Chicago, the *Namenbuch* from Würzburg, and Zauzich's plan for a *Berichtungsliste*, Demotic will have the basic tools so long enjoyed by Greek papyrologists.

On the conceptual side, I believe we will see much greater attention paid to diversity of time and space; as Alan Samuel put it in 1968, "The coalescing of all evidence on a subject can produce deceptive conclusions." In this way we may come to the point where a social and economic history of Hellenistic Egypt will again seem possible.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> This paper was prepared for a panel on "Papyrology and Ancient History" at the annual meeting of the Association of Ancient Historians at the University of Michigan, 8-9 May 1981. I am indebted to John Eadie and Chester Starr of that university, who conceived the idea of this panel and invited me to cover the Ptolemaic period for it, for the stimulus; and to Ludwig Koenen, who chaired the session, for his habitual combination of erudition and good sense. I should say (1) that the paper is published here (in response to requests at the meeting) in essentially the form in which it was delivered; (2) that this discipline caused the omission of numerous interesting and important studies on the Ptolemaic period; and (3) that the selection is dictated in part by my own idiosyncratic interests. The emphasis thus falls on social, economic, political, and administrative history and not on religious, intellectual, or cultural history. That does not mean, of course, that one could not write an entirely different but equally interesting survey of work in those areas.

There is perhaps, in this generalization and in the pleasure of the penetration of a superior technique into an indigenous unconscious projection of the calculator of the few hall of our will's teaching, too, had already admitted the late clouds. One could use of colonial paradigms in the two books (to one of which, in 1984, Will wrote the foreword) on Zeyvon, the elite manager

the previous paper was given to the Program on the Ancient World in 1974. I owe thanks to William A. P. Childs for the work and to those present for many useful comments. I also owe thanks to the University of California Press for the publication of this book. I am grateful to the University of California Press for the publication of this book. I am grateful to the University of California Press for the publication of this book.

William A. P. Childs, 1974-1984, cited by Will (p. 1, n. 1) 1981.

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