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OCCUPATIONS AND NAMING TRENDS IN FIRST-CENTURY TEBTUNIS AND PHILADELPHIA

1. INTRODUCTION

In Roman Egypt names were generally a matter of choice and fashion. Though not necessarily an indication of ethnicity, they were nonetheless a marker of cultural preference, as suggested by the fact that the majority of names were theophoric, that is associated with a deity.¹ By examining the namesakes of Kerkeosiris, an Arsinoite village in the *meris* of Polemon, as listed in the land registers of second century BC, Dorothy Crawford (Thomp-

¹ R. S. BAGNALL, 'The people of the Roman Fayum', [in:] M. L. BIERBRIER (ed.), *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*, London 1997, pp. 7–15; J. ROWLANDSON, 'Gender and cultural identity in Roman Egypt', [in:] F. MCHARDY & E. MARSHALL (eds.), *Women's Influence on Classical Civilization*, London 2004, pp. 151–166. Y. BROUX, *Double Names and Elite Strategy in Roman Egypt* [= *Studia Hellenistica* LIV], Leuven 2015, p. 2, has noted that names were also a reflection of the social changes introduced by the Romans. The population was now divided into two main civic groups, Egyptians (Αἰγύπτιοι) and citizens (ἄστοι) of the Greek cities (Alexandria, Naukratis, Ptolemais in Upper Egypt, and from AD 130 Antinoupolis), a distinction which carried a series of privileges, mostly fiscal, for the second group, whose members, together with the Roman citizens, were exempt from the poll-tax (λαογραφία). See L. CAPPONI, *Augustan Egypt: The Creation of a Roman Province*, London 2005, pp. 82–96; on the *laographia*, see now A. MONSON, 'Late Ptolemaic capitation taxes and the poll-tax in Roman Egypt', *BASP* 51 (2014), pp. 127–160. On the use of double names, Greek and Egyptian, in the Ptolemaic period, see W. CLARYSSE, 'Greeks and Egyptians in the Ptolemaic army and administration', *Aegyptus* 65 (1985), pp. 57–66.

son) noted that some more prominent names were associated with the most popular cults of the village – i.e. Horos, Isis, and Osiris.² In the Roman period names were still a reflection of the dominant culture of a place or of the cultural preference of a family. The evidence from the metropolis, Ptolemais Euergetis, and from the villages of Karanis and Ptolemais Hormou, for example, has revealed a relatively high level of Hellenisation, as a large number of names were either common Greek or Macedonian. The documentation from Soknopaiou Nesos, on the other hand, has shown the existence of a strong Egyptian social background whereby the majority of the population bore priestly Egyptian names.³

One of the questions explored in this paper is whether names and titles can also be used to identify specific categories of professionals. In other words, can an onomastic approach shed light on the socio-economic and legal status of certain professional workers and members of associations?

The following investigates the naming practices, titles, and trends which were commonly used within certain occupations and associations in the Arsinoite villages of Tebtunis and Philadelphia in the first century AD. The main evidence is provided by two contemporary archives: the record-office archive of Kronion from Tebtunis and the Nemesion archive from Philadelphia. The advantage of conducting a close examination of specific groups of evidence, such as archives, is that it will give us a better insight into the actual working practices of the attested occupations in a specific area over a well-defined period of time.

The aim of this analysis is twofold: first, to assess how far naming trends and titles were typical of specific occupations; second, to determine whether such an onomastic approach can be used more broadly to provide us with

² D. J. CRAWFORD, *Kerkeosiris: An Egyptian Village in the Ptolemaic Period*, Cambridge 1971, pp. 136–137.

³ BAGNALL, 'The people' (cit. n. 1), pp. 9–10; D. H. SAMUEL, 'Greeks and Romans at Soknopaiou Nesos', *Pap.Congr.* XVI, pp. 389–403.

A study of naming trends in early Roman Tebtunis has shown a preference for names of Egyptian formation associated with an Egyptian deity, although it also appears that elements of Hellenisation were quickly taking off. The results of this study will appear in a book on the economy and society of first-century Tebtunis, which is now near completion.

a better understanding of the realities of occupations and work in Roman Egypt.

2. OCCUPATIONS AND NAMES IN EGYPT: THE ROMAN FRAMEWORK

A study of this type requires some preliminary considerations about terminology. Problems of definition associated with professions, work and labour have been discussed in the introductory chapter to the recent volume edited by Koenraad Verboven and Christian Laes, who note that ‘the principle that workers acquire a social identity and status from the profession they exercise is clearly visible in our sources’.⁴ They also point out how the focus of recent scholarship switched from slave work to various aspects of free work. This can be seen in the renewed interest in occupational associations, their impact on the economy and society, and relationship with the state, and in the value of technical skills and specialisation.⁵ In what follows occupations refer to activities (both full-time and part-time) which required a certain degree of professionalisation and technical skills and were formally recognised by the state for taxation purposes. Often professional workers gathered together to form associations, which in the early Roman period were private and voluntary, meaning that they were not officially regulated by the state even though, through collective payments and government work, they represented a useful tool for the Romans.⁶

⁴ K. VERBOVEN & C. LAES, ‘Work, labour, professions. What’s in a name?’, [in:] K. VERBOVEN & C. LAES (eds.), *Work, Labour and Professions in the Roman World [= Impact of Empire, Roman Empire c. 200 B.C. – A.D. 476 XXIII]*, Leiden 2016, pp. 1–19, esp. p. 4.

⁵ VERBOVEN & LAES, ‘Work, labour, professions’ (cit. n. 4), pp. 7–10.

⁶ Kai Ruffing used the higher number of occupational titles attested in the eastern provinces (over 800, as opposed to 225 attested in the western provinces) to argue for a higher degree of specialisation, which would have been a reflection of a more developed economy, especially as far as market activity was concerned. See K. RUFFING, *Die berufliche Spezialisierung in Handel und Handwerk: Untersuchungen zu ihrer Entwicklung und zu ihren Bedingungen in der römischen Kaiserzeit im östlichen Mittelmeerraum auf der Grundlage griechischer Inschriften und Papyri [= Pharos XXIV]*, Rahden 2008.

In response to Ruffing’s argument, Dominic Rathbone argued that the sheer number of occupational titles available does not necessarily reflect high specialisation, since many titles might have been in fact synonyms. He pointed out that titles alone do not always reveal

In Egypt a wide variety of both agricultural and non-agricultural occupations is documented in the first three centuries AD, for men as well as women. Since the main economic activity was agriculture, it is not surprising that the most popular occupation was that of the farmer (γεωργός).⁷ In the Arsinoite nome, for which a high percentage of public land is attested, we find the formalised position of public tenant (δημόσιος γεωργός), responsible for most of the agricultural activities which were carried out on the land.⁸ Public tenants were organised in associations, usually headed by a board of elders (πρεσβύτεροι).⁹ We have no information as to the size of these groups, but the extant evidence suggests that they were very large.¹⁰ A set of rules exemplifying duties (and perhaps privileges) of the members is likely to have regulated this association, as was the norm for the Egyptian associations, though no attestation has survived.¹¹ Jane Rowlandson has recently challenged the traditional view according to which public farmers had limited financial means, suggesting that they were often reasonably well-off.¹² It is unclear whether the public tenants were viewed as a group of workers who

essential aspects of the work, that is, for example, whether a job was part-time or full-time, and it is therefore necessary to consider 'the functional reality behind Greek job titles'. See D. W. RATHBONE, review of Ruffing (2008), *BASP* 47 (2010), pp. 365–367.

⁷ D. W. RATHBONE, 'Roman Egypt', [in:] W. SCHEIDEL, R. SALLER & I. MORRIS (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, Cambridge 2007, pp. 698–719, esp. pp. 700–705; see also A. K. BOWMAN, 'Quantifying Egyptian agriculture', [in:] A. K. BOWMAN & A. WILSON (eds.) *Quantifying the Roman Economy. Methods and Problems* [= *Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy*], Oxford 2009, pp. 177–204.

⁸ J. ROWLANDSON, 'The organisation of public land in Roman Egypt', [in:] J. C. MORENO GARCIA (ed.), *L'agriculture institutionnelle en Égypte ancienne: état de la question et perspectives interdisciplinaires* [= *CRIPEL XXV*], Lille 2006, pp. 173–196, esp. pp. 177–178; A. MONSON, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans. Political and Economic Change in Egypt*, Cambridge 2012, p. 97 (fig. 3.4).

⁹ A detailed discussion of the association of the public farmers is forthcoming in T. KRUSE, 'The organisation of the state farmers in village administration in Roman Egypt', [in:] M. LANGELOTTI & D. W. RATHBONE (eds.), *Village Institutions in Egypt from the Roman to the Early Arab Period* [= *Proceedings of the British Academy*], Oxford forthcoming.

¹⁰ M. LANGELOTTI, 'Professional associations and the State: The case of first-century Tebtunis', *CdE* 91 (2016), pp. 111–134, esp. p. 118.

¹¹ On the regulations of the Roman Egypt associations, see A. E. R. BOAK, 'The organization of guilds in Greco-Roman Egypt', *TAPhA* 68 (1937), pp. 212–220.

¹² ROWLANDSON, 'The organisation of public land' (cit. n. 8), pp. 188–189.

had a distinctive occupation. It is certain, however, that they constituted a well-defined socio-economic category, not only in the eyes of the Romans but also within their local community.¹³

Another common occupation in Egypt was that of the shepherd (ποιμήν), as attested in a number of accounts and registers. Shepherds were also listed in the annual declarations of livestock (ἀπογραφαί προβάτων), which included the name and origin of the man in charge of the registered flock (who was often the owner).¹⁴ Next to common shepherds, we find in the documentation from first- and second-century Arsinoite professional cattle graziers (προβατοκτηνοτρόφοι), who banded together in large formalised associations; among their duties was the supervision of flocks of sheep and goats owned by the state.¹⁵ Like the public farmers, the cattle graziers constituted a distinctive social group who maintained a close connection with the Roman government, as implied by their formal title, which had to be clearly indicated in all administrative documents.

But the economy of Egypt was not limited to farming and pastoralism. The evidence attests the existence of a large network of crafts and trades, which functioned at both local and central levels.¹⁶ The development of such a network has been attributed, in part, to the positive attitude of the Romans towards trades, even though it is difficult to determine how far they encouraged the actual expansion of non-agricultural activities, as this probably varied from one sector to another.¹⁷ In general, the Roman government's

¹³ The claim that farming in antiquity was not regarded as a profession is imprecise; cf. VERBOVEN & LAES, 'Work, labour, professions' (cit. n. 4), p. 3: 'living off land revenues was not considered as an occupation'; S. HUEBNER, *The Family in Roman Egypt. A Comparative Approach to Intergeneration Solidarity and Conflict*, Cambridge 2013, p. 26.

¹⁴ S. AVOGADRO, 'Le ἀπογραφαί di proprietà nell'Egitto greco-romano', *Aegyptus* 15 (1935), pp. 131–206; see now M. LANGELOTTI, *L'allevamento di pecore e capre nell'Egitto romano. Aspetti economici e sociali* [= *Pragmateiai XXI*], Bari 2012.

¹⁵ LANGELOTTI, 'Professional associations and the State' (cit. n. 10), esp. pp. 118, 122–124. The association of cattle graziers in the village of Euhemeria is attested to have included no less than 51 members in AD 159/60 (SB XXIV 16313).

¹⁶ R. ALSTON, 'Trade and the city in Roman Egypt', [in:] H. PARKINS & C. SMITH (eds.), *Trade, Traders and the Ancient City*, London – New York 2012, pp. 168–202.

¹⁷ M. GIBBS, 'Manufacture, trade, and the economy', [in:] C. RIGGS (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford 2012, pp. 38–55.

main concern was that of collecting the maximum amount of revenues from various economic activities. As a result, a system based on trade taxes (χειρονάξιον) was established.¹⁸ The introduction of trade taxes meant that certain categories of workers were clearly identified, that is, for example, weavers (γέρδοι), dyers (βαφεῖς), and wine merchants (οἶνοπώλαι).¹⁹

Another change brought about by the Romans was the replacement of many royal monopolies of the Ptolemaic period with a system of state concessions and license fees.²⁰ The nature of the Ptolemaic monopolies and the dynamics associated with the transition from one system to another are still a matter of debate, and the actual working practices of the Roman state concessions need further investigation. However, there seems to be no doubt that as of the first century AD many economic activities were organised as state concessions, meaning that private individuals or collectivities (generally associations) had to submit a formal application to the relevant state officials in order to exercise a particular work (for example, fishing or weaving).

Occupational titles are found in a variety of documents, mainly contracts, lists of various types, registers, and accounts. In census returns occupations are found for 70 men only, or 15% of all adult males, with the following representation: 18 related to farming, 16 to textile production, 7 to construction, and 12 to other crafts and trades. There are also 6 unskilled workers (ἐργάται), and men labelled as ἄτεχνοι (in the Oxyrhynchite nome) and ἰδιῶται (in the Arsinoite nome), that is private individuals without a trade.²¹ The omission of occupational titles in a large number of census returns does not necessarily mean that the declarants were unemployed, but simply reflects the scribal habits which were associated with this type of document. Village declarations, for example, appear to have been rather bare, and in the ones from the Arsinoite villages in particular, occupation is rarely indicat-

¹⁸ S. L. WALLACE, *Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian*, Princeton 1938, pp. 191–213; CAPPONI, *Augustan Egypt* (cit. n. 1), pp. 147–148.

¹⁹ A list of trades paying a tax can be found in A. C. JOHNSON, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian* [*An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, ed. by T. FRANK, vol. II] Baltimore 1936, pp. 538–544.

²⁰ WALLACE, *Taxation in Egypt* (cit. n. 18), pp. 213–237.

²¹ R. S. BAGNALL & B. W. FRIER, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* [= *Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy, and Society in Past Time* XXIII], Cambridge 2006², p. 48.

ed except for priests, whereas metropolitan declarations included a higher number of data.²²

To get a better sense of the occupational structure of Egyptian society we must look at the numerous lists and registers in which occupations are more frequently attested. The two following sections include analyses of first-century documents which shed light on the occupational structure in Tebtunis and Philadelphia respectively.

3. FIRST-CENTURY TEBTUNIS

A direct consequence of the measures implemented by the Romans in Egypt was an increase in the number of non-agricultural occupations, as was the case in mid-first-century Tebtunis. Located in the southwestern edge of the Arsinoite nome, in the district of Polemon, Tebtunis was administratively a village (κώμη), though in some ways it was more similar to a town.²³ We have no precise data as to the population size of Tebtunis, but suggestions have been made on the basis of the surviving evidence, ranging from 3,000 (Rathbone) to 8,000 (Masciadri and Montevecchi).²⁴ A large amount of papyrological evidence has survived for this site, much of which is dated to the first and second century AD and includes family archives or dossiers, like the first-century record-office archive, also known as the archive of Kronion son of Apion, the archive of the descendants of Patron (first–second century AD), and the archive of the farmer Kronion son of Cheos (second centu-

²² BAGNALL & FRIER, *Demography of Roman Egypt* (cit. n. 21), p. 24.

²³ William Harris noted that ‘though Tebtunis was a village in an administrative sense was in sociological terms a town and not a village at all’; it was indeed a large site (50 ha) and had a relatively large population, not to mention an usually high level of literacy; W. V. HARRIS, ‘Literacy and epigraphy II’, [in:] C. APICELLA, M.-L. HAACK & F. LEROUXEL (eds.), *Les affaires de Monsieur Andreau. Économie et société dans le monde romain* [= *Scripta Antiqua* LXI], Bordeaux 2014, p. 295 n. 52. The nature of villages and other rural settlements is discussed in the introduction to LANGELLOTTI & RATHBONE (eds.), *Village Institutions in Egypt* (cit. n. 9).

²⁴ J. ROWLANDSON, ‘Agricultural tenancy and village society in Roman Egypt’, [in:] A. K. BOWMAN & E. ROGAN (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times* [= *Proceedings of the British Academy* XCVI], Oxford 1999, pp. 139–158, esp. p. 147 n. 31; O. MONTEVECCHI & M. MANCA MASCIADRI, ‘Contratti di baliatice e vendite fiduciarie a Tebtynis’, *Aegyptus* 62 (1982), pp. 148–161, esp. p. 153.

ry AD).²⁵ The complete review of this material is a huge undertaking, which will have to be a task for another time. In what follows the focus is on the archive of Kronion son of Apion, a group of over two hundred notarial documents, mainly contracts and annual registers, drawn up at the record-office (γραφεῖον), which constitutes a coherent set of data for the mid-first century AD. In these texts a wide variety of workers, craftsmen and, to a lesser extent, traders is attested. In particular, in three registers of contracts which cover extended periods of time, respectively April – August 42, September 45 – August 46, and September – December 46, occupational titles are indicated for a very small part of the contracting parties – 70 out of 3,030, or 2.3% of the total number of parties.²⁶ Given the nature of the documents, these results are not surprising. The three registers include, in chronological order, all the transactions made daily by those living (or having business) in Tebtunis, and each transaction corresponds to a one-line entry. This means that only basic information could be given (mainly names and type of agreement). So why were occupational titles also occasionally included? Taxation purposes are to be excluded as these registers were not meant to be used as a basis for the census. When looking at the type of documents in which occupational titles are attested in the record-office archive as a whole (Table 1), we notice that they were mostly affidavits (χειρογραφία), applications for state concessions (ἀναφάρια), associations' rules (νομοί), and accounts, that is documents in which the indication of the parties' occupations were closely connected with the respective transaction. For example, in a bid to acquire a concession for fulling the applicant is expected to have been a fuller; in an apprenticeship contract it was common to include the profession of the employer (e.g. a weaver). Occupational titles are occasionally to be found in

²⁵ *Grapheion* archive: E. HUSSELMAN, 'Procedures of the record office of Tebtynis in the first century A.D.', *Pap.Congr.* XII, pp. 223–238; archive of Kronion son of Cheos: D. FORABOSCHI, *L'archivio di Kronion [= Testi e documenti per lo studio dell'antichità XXXVI]*, Milan 1971; archive of the descendants of Patron: W. S. BAGNALL, *The Archive of Laches: Prosperous Farmers of the Fayum in the Second Century*, Duke Unpublished Dissertation 1973; cf. W. CLARYSSE & C. GALLAZZI, 'Archivio dei discendenti di Laches o dei discendenti di Patron?', *AncSoc* 24 (1993), pp. 63–68.

²⁶ *P. Mich.* II 121 verso; II 123 recto; V 238. This analysis has been conducted as part of my investigation on early Roman Tebtunis.

contracts, such as leases and sales, simply as personal identifiers. In these cases we must assume that the occupation constituted an essential part of the identity of an individual and that the men to whom occupational titles were attached were known in their local community (and probably to the Roman administration too) by their profession.

Occupations which recur more often involve activities associated with textile production, farming, and pastoralism. At least ten individuals appear to have been farmers, four cattle graziers, three shepherds, and twenty-three are labelled as weavers, dyers, cloak-makers, and wool-sellers.²⁷ Several occupations were organised in formalised associations.²⁸ No other village for this period displays such a high and diversified number of associations, but this is most likely to be attributed to the chance survival of the written material. Richard Alston suggested that while most villages had a percentage of traders and craftsmen similar to what we find in second-century Karanis, that is 6%, Tebtunis and Theadelphia were somewhat different, with a percentage of about 14%.²⁹ In fact, these results do not necessarily represent the complex variety and diversification of the villages' occupational structure, as they rely on a limited number of documents, which are not always complete and might refer only to particular periods of time. It is possible that Tebtunis had a better developed non-agricultural economy compared to some other small villages, but there is no reason to believe that other large villages in the Arsinoite nome did not have a fair number of professional associations too.

Several occupations were arranged through state concessions: this is the case, for example, of the salt-merchants, the fishermen, the dyers, and the fullers.³⁰ It is very likely that membership in a professional association and exercise of a state concession activity contributed to the professionalisation of an occupation.

²⁷ On the textile industry in Roman Egypt, see E. WIPSZYCKA, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine*, Wrocław – Warsaw – Cracow 1965.

²⁸ LANGELLOTTI, 'Professional associations and the State' (cit. n. 10), pp. 113–115 (Table 1).

²⁹ ALSTON, 'Trade and the city' (cit. n. 16), p. 173 and n. 11; cf. R. ALSTON & R. D. ALSTON, 'Urbanism and the urban community in Roman Egypt', *JEA* 83 (1997), pp. 199–216, esp. p. 205 (Table 2).

³⁰ Fishermen: *P. Mich.* II 123 recto, col. III, ll. 7, 35; dyers: *P. Mich.* II 123 recto, col. VI, l. 16; fullers: *P. Mich.* II 123 recto, col. VI, l. 17; *P. Mich.* II 126, l. 6.

Some parties are attested while making contracts as private individuals, whereas some others appear acting as a collective. In these instances the group is usually attested while submitting affidavits, applications for state concessions and rules of an association. Regarding the private individuals, some are explicitly said to have been members of an association. This is the case of Petheus, president and secretary of the weavers of Kerkesoucha Orous (ἡγούμενος γραμματεὺς γερδίων), and other five men, who are said to be members of the same association (τοῖς ε γερδίοις τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης συνόδου) in a contract in AD 42.³¹ In other cases, however, only the occupation is indicated and there is no mention of a potential membership in any formalised group. One Orsenouphis, for example, is simply referred to as a mender (ἡπητής) in an apprenticeship contract dated to AD 46.³²

To the occupational titles we must add the work of the wet-nurses, which is attested in the relevant contracts (ὁμολογία τροφίμου) and appears to have been performed by twenty-four women in the three registers dated to AD 42 and 45-46, all of free legal status and seemingly belonging to the native strata of the population.³³ According to the generally accepted view, these women were not full-time or specialised wet-nurses, but simply resorted to this temporary occupation as a means to make some money in a difficult financial situation.³⁴ Whatever the nature of their occupation, it is clear that the wet-nurses contributed to shaping the occupational structure of Tebtunis, and their work shed light on the role of women, specifically the native Egyptian women, which is generally under-represented in the documentary evidence.

³¹ *P. Mich.* II 121 verso, col. III, l. 13 = recto IV vi.

³² *P. Mich.* II 123 recto, col. XII, l. 11. Several documents attest the payment of a four drachma tax connected with their activities; cf. JOHNSON, *Roman Egypt to the Reign of Diocletian* (cit. n. 19), p. 540.

³³ MONTEVECCHI & MANCA MASCIADRI, 'Contratti di baliatico' (cit. n. 24); EAEDEM, *I contratti di baliatico* (CPGr I), Milan 1984.

³⁴ For a discussion of these contracts, see MONTEVECCHI & MANCA MASCIADRI, 'Contratti di baliatico' (cit. n. 24); D. HOBSON, 'The role of women in the economic life of ancient Egypt: a case study from first century Tebtunis', *Échos du monde classique / Classical Views* 28.3 (1984), pp. 373-390; R. S. BAGNALL, 'Missing females in Roman Egypt', *SCI* 16 (1997), pp. 121-138.

In the three registers, occupational titles are accompanied in 23 out of 70 cases (or about 33%) by a supplementary title, which provides information about the social and, to an extent, economic position of the individual. Supplementary titles can be subdivided into three main types: a simple type, which indicates membership in an association, as can be seen in the case of the five weavers of Kerkesoucha Orous mentioned earlier; an administrative type, which refers more specifically to a role of some responsibility performed by the individual within the association – that is president (ἡγούμενος), secretary (γραμματεὺς), and elder (πρεσβύτερος); and finally, a formal type of title which, by itself, signifies a clear link between the association and the state. This is the case of the cattle graziers and the exempt farmers of the imperial estate of Claudius (ἀπολύσιμοι), both linked to the imperial estates of the Arsinoite nome, the former attested until the end of the second century AD, the latter recorded only during the Julio-Claudian period.

By looking at the names of those who held roles of responsibility we notice that all the elders bore Egyptian names associated with the priestly strata of the population, including Apunchis, Psenkebkis, and Orsenouphis. On the other hand, the names of presidents and secretaries could be either Egyptian or Greek. The choice of a president was strictly linked with the duties of the post-holder, which might have varied from one association to another, but in general they had to do with making sure that fellow-members abided by the rules of the association, with collecting fees and other taxes, and occasionally with dealing with higher state officials. The secretary usually had to deal with administrative practices and record-keeping. Both occupations required knowledge of Greek, as official documents had to be produced in this language. Our evidence is not clear as to the level of ‘Hellenisation’ of the people who held these positions. The president of the oil-producers had a definite Egyptian name, Psosneus, as did the president of the weavers, Petheus.³⁵ The president of the farmers of Germanicus, on the other hand, had a Greek name, Herodion, as did the secretary of the

³⁵ Psosneus: *P. Mich.* II 123 recto, col. VI, l. 18; Petheus: *P. Mich.* II 121 verso, col. III, l. 13 = recto IV vi.

fishermen, Heraklas.³⁶ To what extent this spread of names was a reflection of a particular social and cultural inclination of specific professional groups, it is difficult to tell.

The case of the elders of the public farmers is relatively easy to assess thanks to the large number of contemporary documents available. When examining the role of the priests in Tebtunis on the basis of the record-office evidence it emerges that in the first century AD they were in charge of the management of public land in the village.

It is more difficult to find onomastic trends in other occupations, but the cases of the secretary of the fishermen and the president of the farmers of Germanicus might reveal a trend whereby Hellenised individuals were preferred for the performance of these occupations.

The secretary, Heraklas, to be identified with Herakleides son of Tryphon attested in the corresponding full affidavit, has a typical Greek name, while the fourteen elders all bear Egyptian names common in Tebtunis (e.g. Orseus and Patunis).³⁷ In general, common fishermen attested in other villages in the Roman period appear to have had Egyptian names, while secretaries and assistants had Greek names. Interestingly, the assistant (βοηθός) of the fishermen in Soknopaiou Nesos in 199/200 was also named Heraklas.³⁸ We have little evidence to argue with certainty that while elders and common fishermen belonged to the Egyptian strata of the population, secretaries and assistants were recruited among the more Hellenised groups. However, if this were to be the case, as seems to emerge from some documents, it would give us a unique insight into the social standing of the workers as well as the organisation of work. Given the type of work and the social stratification of villages like Soknopaiou Nesos, Tebtunis, and Theadelphia, it is not surprising that the majority of fishermen would have been native Egyptians. They constituted a formal association, and although we have no evidence as to its size, we have hints that it was quite large. This is suggested, for example, by the presence of a board of fourteen elders for the fishermen of Tebtunis and nearby villages. Fishing rights constituted a state concession,

³⁶ Herodion: *P. Mich.* II 123 recto, col. XVII, l. 30; Heraklas: *P. Mich.* II 123 recto, col. XIV, l. 37.

³⁷ *PSI* VIII 901.

³⁸ *BGU* I 221 (AD 200); III 756 (AD 199).

and the associations of Tebtunis and Kerkesis are attested while bidding to acquire them. Elders and secretaries were no doubt involved in preparing and submitting written bids, and dealing with state officials about taxation matters. The reason for the choice of a secretary who might have belonged to the Graeco-Egyptian strata of the population, therefore, might have been the fact that the association needed a person who was well versed in Greek so that he could deal with officials at both local and district levels. The officials in charge of the collection of the fishermen's taxes (ἐπιτηρητής) have Greek names, like a Leontas attested in mid-second-century AD Theadelphia.³⁹

A similar suggestion can be proposed for the president of the farmers of Germanicus, Herodion.⁴⁰ It is not possible to ascertain whether he belonged to the Hellenised part of the village population, but it is worth noting that the majority of the individuals named Herodion who made contracts in the same year were creditors (and in some cases the sums lent were particularly high, e.g. 407 and 500 dr.) which means that they were considerably well-off. Whether the Herodion who was president of the farmers of Germanicus was to be identified with one of these wealthy creditors, we cannot tell. However, it seems clear that the name itself was used in the village within a well-defined group of people with reasonably large availability of cash. The question as to whether and how far roles of responsibility, or administrative duties, within certain occupations were held predominantly by Hellenised individuals is difficult to answer, but is one that must be borne in mind in the investigation of coherent groups of material. The choice of a person who was familiar with the Greek language to be the head of an association of imperial farmers would be quite natural, as he would have been often in contact with state officials.

With the exception of the wet-nurses and one teacher, Sarapias, the occupations attested in the Tebtunis registers were all performed by men, a result which is consistent with the data provided by the census returns.⁴¹ This does not mean that women were not involved in a variety of economic activities, only that their overall visibility in the work environment was very limited,

³⁹ *P. Leit.* 14 (Theadelphia, AD 148).

⁴⁰ *P. Mich.* II 123 recto, col. XVII, l. 30.

⁴¹ Sarapias: *P. Mich.* II 123 recto, col. XXI, l. 9.

especially from a contractual point of view. Women played a key role in domestic textile production and no doubt contributed to the family economy in a number of ways, but their role remains in the shadows.

A particular connection between occupation, naming trends, and socio-economic status can be identified in the position of scribe (γραμματεὺς). The scribes and subscribers (ὑπογραφεῖς) who appear in the Tebtunis registers have been defined as ‘Hellenized Egyptians’, namely individuals who knew Greek.⁴² In some cases these men belonged to priestly families (e.g. Dionusos son of Maron), in other cases they bore typical Greek or Macedonian names, such as Ptolamaeus son of Chairemon, suggesting a closer association with Greek culture; overall it appears that this occupation (whether part-time or full-time) was performed by well-off individuals who were well-versed in Greek writing.⁴³

In regard to their status, it appears that the workers of Tebtunis were mostly freeborn. Some slaves are occasionally attested, usually in administrative roles, such as Venustus, slave of Primigenes, probably the manager of an imperial estate, and Kronion, slave of the village scribe.⁴⁴ Slaves were also employed in activities like transport (donkey-driver) or weaving, as in the case of a slave woman, a certain Helene, who was apprenticed to a weaver.⁴⁵ The impact of slaves on the overall occupational structure of Tebtunis, however, seems to have been limited.

4. FIRST-CENTURY PHILADELPHIA

A Ptolemaic foundation located in the *meris* of Herakleides, in the north-eastern part of the Arsinoite nome, Philadelphia is generally regarded

⁴² B. MUHS, ‘The Berkeley Tebtunis grapheion archive’, [in:] G. WIDMER & D. DEVAUCHELLE (eds.), *Actes du IXe Congrès international des études démotiques, Paris, 31 août – 3 septembre 2005*, Paris 2005, pp. 243–251.

⁴³ For a list of scribes, see L. TOEPEL, *Studies in the Administration and Economic History of Tebtunis in the First Century AD*, Duke Unpublished Dissertation 1973, pp. 36–37. Toepel pointed out that there was a connection between wealth and literacy.

⁴⁴ Venustus: *P. Mich.* II 123 recto, col. II, l. 12 = 125, l. 22; col. II, ll. 15–16 = 125, ll. 24–25; col. II, l. 17 = 125, l. 26; Kronion: *P. Mich.* II 123 verso, col. VII, l. 5.

⁴⁵ Donkey-driver: *P. Mich.* V 326, l. 23 (AD 48); weaver: *P. Mich.* V 346(a) (AD 13).

as one of the most Hellenised settlements in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, with a population of about 3,300 in the first and second century AD.⁴⁶ Two large archives have survived from this site: the third-century BC archive of Zenon, with invaluable information about the management of the estate of Apollonios, the finance minister of Ptolemy II Philadelphos; and the first-century AD archive of Nemesion, son of Zoilos, collector of the poll-tax (πράκτωρ λαογραφίας) several times under the reigns of Claudius and Nero.⁴⁷ Both archives include data about the occupational structure of the village.

In a contribution published in 1992, Ann Hanson highlighted the significance of names in unveiling socio-economic features of certain occupations by discussing the case of the Ἀραβες and Ἰουδαῖοι.⁴⁸ She noted that the ethnic Ἀραβες, which in the Zenon archive usually referred to men involved in pastoralism, was still in use in the early Roman period and, together with Ἰουδαῖοι, might have been attached to individuals, possibly Semitic in origin, who dealt with sheep and goats.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ A. K. BOWMAN, 'Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt: population and settlement', [in:] A. K. BOWMAN & A. WILSON (eds.), *Settlement, Urbanization, and Population* [= *Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy*], Oxford 2001, pp. 317–358, esp. p. 337.

⁴⁷ On the Zenon archive there is a large bibliography; see, for example, W. CLARYSSE & K. VANDORPE, *Zénon, un homme d'affaires grec à l'ombre des Pyramides*, Leuven 1995. The texts belonging to the Nemesion archive have been edited and investigated by Ann Ellis Hanson; for a general overview, see A. E. HANSON, 'The keeping of records at Philadelphia in the Julio-Claudian period and the «economic crisis under Nero»', *Pap.Congr. XVIII*, pp. 261–277; EADEM, 'Village officials at Philadelphia: a model Romanization in the Julio-Claudian period', [in:] L. CRISCUOLO & G. GERACI (eds.), *Egitto e storia antica dall'ellenismo all'età araba: bilancio di un confronto* [= *Atti del colloquio internazionale, Bologna, 31 agosto – 2 settembre 1987*], Bologna 1989, pp. 429–240.

Many texts are unpublished and publication is still ongoing.

⁴⁸ A. E. HANSON, 'Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Arabes, and Ioudaioi in the first century A.D. tax archive from Philadelphia: P. Mich. inv. 880 recto and P. Princ. III 152 revised', [in:] J. H. JOHNSON (ed.), *Life in a Multicultural Society: Egypt from Cambyes to Constantine and Beyond*, Chicago 1992, pp. 133–145, esp. pp. 137–138. On Arabs in Egypt, see J. K. WINNICKI, *Late Egypt and Her Neighbours. Foreign Population in Egypt in the First Millennium BC* [= *JfJrP Supplement XII*], Warsaw 2009, pp. 306 ff.

⁴⁹ The connection between occupations and ethnic designations in the Ptolemaic period has also been noted by C. A. LA'DA, 'Ethnicity, occupation and tax-status in Ptolemaic Egypt', [in:] *Acta Demotica. Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists. Pisa, 4th–8th September 1993*, Pisa 1994, pp. 183–189.

The fragmentary and sparse state of our evidence does not allow us to make general claims about the connection between social groups and occupations in the whole province, especially as it is likely that geographical peculiarities might have played a role. However, the case of Philadelphia, which is well documented for both the third century BC and the first century AD, suggests that there was a clear correlation between some groups of individuals and particular types of occupations.

Of the sixty-four or so documents belonging to the Nemesion archive, seventeen (or c. 26%), mostly tax registers and accounts, include occupational titles, the majority of which are to be found in two tax registers, dated to AD 29–30 and 34 respectively: *P. Princ.* I 9 and 10 (Table 2). These are alphabetical lists of men liable to the συντάξιμον (poll-tax plus surcharges); names are followed by patronymic and in several cases by occupation.⁵⁰ Occupational titles can be found also in some lists of names; in *P. Corn.* I 23a, dated to AD 30–61, eighty-eight weavers are listed as part of a group of 248 men.⁵¹ Not all tax registers and lists, however, include occupational titles, and their addition seems to have depended on the nature and purpose of the relevant documents. In this way, final drafts of tax registers will have included all the information required by the central government in order to check the tax liability of the men listed. It is to be noted, however, that occupational titles are occasionally included in documents which do not have tax purposes, namely private letters and accounts.⁵² Of particular note is an account for the running of the tax-office of Philadelphia and dated to sometime after the year AD 46/7, during the reign of Claudius (*P. Princ.* I 13).⁵³ This long document, written by the tax-collector Nemesion, lists various expenditures and re-

⁵⁰ On the *syntaximon*, see D. W. RATHBONE, 'Egypt, Augustus and Roman taxation', *Cahiers Glotz* 4 (1993), pp. 81–112, esp. p. 88.

⁵¹ As this document reveals a percentage of craftsmen higher than other contemporary documents, ALSTON & ALSTON, 'Urbanism and the urban community' (cit. n. 29), p. 205 n. 27, suggested that it might refer to an area wider than Philadelphia.

⁵² SB XIV 11585 (AD 59, letter from Thermouthis to Nemesion); SB XIV 12143 (AD 41–54, letter from Herakleides to Nemesion); *P. Princ.* I 13 (= SB XX 14576, after AD 46/7, account); SB XX 14525 (after AD 47, account).

⁵³ For a re-edition, see A. E. HANSON, '*P. Princeton* I 13: text and context revised', [in:] M. CAPASSO, G. MESSERI SAVORELLI & R. PINTAUDI (eds.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*, Florence 1990, pp. 259–283.

ceipts; disbursements were made for scribes and papyrus, but also for wine, dates, and fodder. Occupations are only occasionally indicated and included the following: weaver (which accompanies eleven names), green-grocer, shepherd, coppersmith, donkey driver, fruit buyer, and barber.⁵⁴ Payments were also made to *μαχαιοφόροι*, armed guards, who accompanied tax-collectors and slaves.⁵⁵ In the contemporary account for the running of the record-office of Tebtunis (*P. Mich.* II 123 recto, col. I and verso, coll. II–XII), *μαχαιοφόροι* are attested as recipients of the papyrus-tax (*χαρτηρά*) and other payments (e.g. travel expenses), acting on behalf of administrative officials based in the nome capital, Ptolemais Euergetis. Arthur Boak, editor of the Tebtunis register, suggested that some guards might have been slaves.⁵⁶ It is worth noting that the *μαχαιοφόροι* in the Tebtunis archive bore Semitic and Greek names, but not Egyptian ones. A certain Abdoubdas is attested six times, while Heraklas occurs twice.⁵⁷

Overall, in the Nemesion archive the weaver was by far the best-attested occupation, both in registers and accounts, with over forty occurrences, followed by the shepherd, the donkey-driver, the coppersmith, and the cow-herd (Table 2).⁵⁸ Other occupations, both agricultural and non-agricultural, occur only once or twice.

At first sight, the range of occupations to be found in the various documents of the Nemesion archive seems to differ from what we find in the three census lists dated to AD 94/5, again from Philadelphia – *P. Lond.* II

⁵⁴ Weaver: *P. Princ.* I 13, col. VI, ll. 102, 111; col. VII, l. 138; col. VIII, l. 176; col. XII, l. 264; col. XIV, l. 357; col. XV, ll. 378, 400; col. XVI, l. 433; col. XVIII, l. 491; col. XX, l. 577; greengrocer: *P. Princ.* I 13, col. XX, l. 582; shepherd: *P. Princ.* I 13, col. XVI, l. 429; coppersmith: *P. Princ.* I 13, col. VI, l. 127; col. VIII, l. 152; donkey driver: *P. Princ.* I 13, col. VII, l. 133, col. XX, l. 586; fruit buyer: *P. Princ.* I 13, col. XI, l. 247; barber: *P. Princ.* I 13, col. XV, l. 388.

⁵⁵ CAPPONI, *Augustan Egypt* (cit. n. 1), p. 47.

⁵⁶ *P. Mich.* II 123, p. 97.

⁵⁷ Abdoubdas: *P. Mich.* II 123 recto, col. I(a), ll. 16, (b) 22, (d) 6, verso, col. II, l. 12, col. V, l. 26, col. IX, l. 15. Heraklas: *P. Mich.* II 123 verso, col. V, l. 22, col. XI, l. 2. Other *machairophoroi* are Diognas (verso, col. VI, l. 11), Zoilas and Ptollarion (verso, col. VI, l. 27), and Mononios (verso, col. IX, l. 15).

⁵⁸ ALSTON & ALSTON, 'Urbanism and the urban community' (cit. n. 29), p. 205, using two contemporary tax-registers (*P. Corn.* 21–22), calculated for first-century Philadelphia a percentage of tradesmen of about 7.3%.

257–259 (Table 3).⁵⁹ The three documents, written in the same hand (with some exceptions), belong to the same record, although due to the loss of their headings, it is impossible to reconstruct the exact order in which they were originally compiled; it appears that they followed a topographical order. The documents include lists of men aged between 14 and 60 arranged by household, suggesting that we are dealing here with men subject to the poll-tax.⁶⁰ The editors calculated the total number of men listed in the surviving columns to be 595 (288 in 257, 233 in 258, 74 in 259). *P. Lond.* II 259 also includes supplementary lists of men who are no longer liable to the poll-tax.

Although it is not clear whether these lists included only those living in Philadelphia or also individuals from other nearby villages, they give us a unique insight into the occupational structure of a relatively large group of the population in well-defined topographical areas.

A quick overview of the occupational titles attested in the three London census registers shows that public tenants, and not the weavers like in the Nemesion archive, dominated the work structure of the village of Philadelphia (Table 3). This, however, is a skewed result, for two main reasons. First, we do not know how many areas are represented in the registers and how many others are missing. Second, the men who are explicitly labelled as public tenants might also have been involved in other activities, of which the central administration did not need to be formally informed.

In *P. Lond.* II 257, the best preserved of the three lists, occupational titles are attested for 146 out of 288 men, that is over 50%. In *P. Lond.* II 258, 68 occupational titles are preserved out of 233 men, that is 29%. However, as a fair number of lines are lost, this percentage is likely to have been higher. For *P. Lond.* II 259 it is not possible to provide exact figures as the document is very damaged. Occupational titles survive for thirty-six individuals, that is about 48.6%. It is worth stressing that these are not exact figures as a number

⁵⁹ For the origin of these documents from Philadelphia, see *BGU VII* 1614, p. 116.

⁶⁰ That this was a list of men liable to the poll-tax is confirmed by *P. Lond.* II 259. 1, which reports a summary of the total taxpayers, 120, and amount of drachmas paid, 4,800 dr., that is 40 dr. per person, the highest rate attested for the Arsinoite nome. A re-examination of the age of liability to the poll-tax, including a discussion of these census lists, is being prepared by Dominic W. Rathbone.

of data have been lost in lacuna. In 257 col. I, for example, at least 20 lines are missing, and both 258 and 259 are badly damaged.

As the most complete of the three registers, 257 allows us to reconstruct the occupational structure of the surviving 112 households, which display the following typologies: 56 (or 50%) nuclear or single households, 37 (or 33%) multiple households, 19 (or 17%) co-resident siblings.⁶¹ Occupational titles are attested in 78 households (69.6%), the majority of which can be found in multiple and co-resident siblings households, with a representation of 31 (or 39.7%) and 14 (or 17.9%) respectively, that is almost the entirety of the two household forms recorded in the list. The remaining 33 (or 42.3%) households in which occupational titles appear are single or nuclear households. Given the emerging pattern, whereby most of the occupational titles were attached to households composed of two or more families, it is not surprising that the majority of the men with an occupation (77 out of 146, or 52.7%) appear to have been listed in multiple or co-resident siblings households.⁶² Of the 34 households for which occupational titles are not included (or lost), 23 are of the single type, five are multiple households, and five co-resident siblings households.

The most common household type in which men with occupational titles are attested is the one with two male members (20 households), usually two brothers, closely followed by households with three male members (16). These men were mostly involved in the same occupation or in adjacent occupational fields, as in the following examples. The brothers Hermias, Phasis, and Hermias alias Pouoris, all sons of Pouoris, who lived in a shared house, were involved in farming and pastoralism: one was a public tenant, another a farmer, and the youngest a shepherd.⁶³ The household of Apis son of Apis

⁶¹ For household types, see BAGNALL & FRIER, *Demography of Roman Egypt* (cit. n. 21), pp. 58–62. It is worth noting that some of the multiple households might have been in fact co-resident sibling households.

⁶² For 258 and 259 it is not possible to calculate the total number of households, here the percentage of men with occupational titles by household type. In 258 twelve men with an occupation, or 17.6%, are attested to have lived in multiple or co-resident siblings, while in 259 twenty-one, or 58%, are attested in multiple or co-resident sibling households.

⁶³ *P. Lond.* II 257, col. II, ll. 56–58.

specialised in weaving.⁶⁴ Apis, who was 60 years old, had three sons, aged 36, 33, and 21, all weavers. Some households included both weavers and farmers, like the household of Papontos son of Papontos, composed of seven male members and the largest household attested in the registers.⁶⁵ Here we find two men, probably cousins, Papontos, a public farmer, and Psamis, a weaver; two sons of Psamis, one of whom was a weaver, like his father; a man called Pachiris, another weaver, perhaps related to others in the house, and two of his sons, both weavers. Overall, five members of this household were weavers, one was a public tenant, and for one no occupation is stated, likely due to his young age (15). In this case it is very likely that this household worked together or collaborated, at least occasionally, as weavers.

In *P. Lond.* II 258 and 259 we find a different and wider range of occupational titles than in 257, thus suggesting that there was a correlation between topographical areas and occupation types.

In 258 occupations include, apart from public tenant and weaver, imperial farmers, an embalmer, and also some administrative roles, namely grain tax collector (for both public and imperial land), money tax-collector, scribes of the imperial farmers, public donkey-driver, and officials associated with an imperial estate (δημόσιος οὐσίας, col. VIII 180–181). As noted by the editors of the London papyri, it was possible to combine the role of priest with that of public farmers. It appears that imperial farmers and men involved in administrative roles lived in this area of the village.

259 is of particular interest. Of the 36 occupations attested, the majority (15) is made up of workmen (ἐργάται), plus one priest who was also a workman. Five are public tenants, four are farmers, and six are priests (plus two priests who were also public tenants). There was also a builder and two farmers. This range of occupations seems to suggest that in this particular area, possibly around the temple, weaving and farming were less prominent than in other areas. It is also interesting to note that occupations were flexible. In other words, it was possible to be engaged in multiple occupations

⁶⁴ *P. Lond.* II 257, col. IV, ll. 139–142.

⁶⁵ *P. Lond.* II 257, col. V, ll. 168–174.

at once, as in the case of Petheus son of Petheus, who was a builder and a farmer.⁶⁶

From the London census registers, particularly from 257, a trend emerges whereby kin (father and sons or siblings) who exercised the same occupation (or a similar occupation) often lived together, forming one large household. Kin are also attested to have lived occasionally next to each other, forming separate households. In 257, for example, two brothers, Anoubion and Dios, sons of Apollonios, both public tenants, are recorded in the list in two consecutive entries as two separate households. Given the fact that these registers were arranged topographically, it seems logical to conclude that the two brothers were neighbours.⁶⁷ The existence of residential clusters made up of relatives with similar occupations reflects in part the more general pattern attested for Roman Egypt whereby occupations were hereditary and often children remained in their parents' house when married, or went on forming households with their siblings. This pattern is likely to have contributed to the creation of what we might call collaborative networks of people, often related to one another, who worked together, sometimes but not exclusively as farmers and weavers, and in many cases also shared domestic spaces. A plausible result of such a situation was the strengthening of family ties, which the naming practices adopted in the village also reveal. A study conducted by Deborah Hobson showed that the most common practice attested in the London registers (*P. Lond.* II 257–260) was that of 'naming children after their paternal grandfather, father, or maternal grandfather', a practice also attested in the evidence from the Arsinoite village of Soknopaiou Nesos.⁶⁸ According to Hobson, one of the implications of naming children after relatives is that names were no longer unique identifiers, but

⁶⁶ *P. Lond.* II 258, col. I, l. 25.

⁶⁷ *P. Lond.* II 257, col. IV, ll. 135–136. The same situation is attested in col. IV, ll. 137–138, col. VI, ll. 199–200, col. VIII, ll. 265–267; in each case two brothers are listed in two consecutive entries but forming two separate households (in one case the brothers were weavers; in the second case one was a weaver, the other a husbandman; in the last case the brothers were public tenants). In *P. Lond.* II 258 a similar case is attested in col. IX, ll. 274–275, which feature two brothers employed as officials associated with an imperial estate.

⁶⁸ D. HOBSON, 'Naming practices in Roman Egypt', *BASP* 26 (1989), pp. 157–174, esp. pp. 167–168.

rather a way to claim a legitimate 'relation between the individual and his community'.⁶⁹ Within this context, additional identifiers, such as nicknames, gradually emerged. Similarly, the use of occupational titles might have become an effective way to identify individuals and contribute to the shaping of one's socio-economic identity.

The addition of occupational titles in these registers is not accidental. As census documents, they served the central administration for the compilation of various lists of men: those liable to the poll-tax, those liable to the trade tax, priests, and private persons. Taxation, however, was not the only reason for the inclusion of occupational titles. Public tenants, for example, paid the poll-tax at the highest rate, and the indication of this title might be associated not with fiscal purposes, but with the need to identify members of this association (who might have been entitled to some privileges). Imperial farmers also had to be identified as they enjoyed particular privileges, such as exemption from some liturgies.⁷⁰ Finally, those who held administrative roles had to be identified as they worked closely with the central administration.

So, what did the occupational structure of first-century Philadelphia look like? Since both the Nemesion archive and the London census registers provide us only with partial information, it is difficult to ascertain the exact proportion of weavers (mostly attested in the Nemesion archive) and public tenants (mostly attested in the London registers) within the village socio-economic landscape, but there seems to be no doubt that both activities, often arranged topographically as family clusters, played a dominant role in this area.

5. CONCLUSIONS

When looking at the occupational titles attested in the Tebtunis archive of Kronion (Table 1) and in the Philadelphia archive of Nemesion (Table 2) we cannot help but notice that Tebtunis displayed a more varied occupa-

⁶⁹ HOBSON, 'Naming practices' (cit. n. 68), p. 168.

⁷⁰ A. E. HANSON, 'Caligulan month-names at Philadelphia and related matters', *Pap. Congr. XVII*, pp. 1107–1118, esp. pp. 1113–1117.

tional structure, where a higher level of specialisation in the textile industry emerges clearly. Several occupations, including those of the farmer, of the shepherd, and of the donkey-driver, were common to both villages, while some others were specific to one of them only. While coppersmiths are attested in both archives, for example, goldsmiths are documented in Tebtunis only. It is unclear whether goldsmiths were completely absent from Philadelphia, as no attestation survives for the first and second centuries.⁷¹ In both villages the weaver appears to have played a prominent role within the local community. It is to be reminded, however, that such differences and analogies in occupational structure depend to a large extent on the nature and purpose of the documents in which occupational titles occur. While in tax registers, receipts, and census lists, as the ones from Philadelphia, occupational titles are included mainly for taxation and administrative purposes, in other documents, such as contracts and letters, these served often as socio-economic identifiers, as in the case of the Tebtunis archive. Some occupational titles, such as those associated with administrative work, were included as a way to keep track of those individuals who were involved in key administrative positions. On the other hand, the absence of certain occupational titles does not necessarily mean that the relevant economic activity was absent. In the Kronion archive, for example, brick making, carpentry, and baking are attested, but no title for these occupations is listed.

Overall, the evidence concerning occupational titles in early Roman Egypt provides us with a good amount of data which shed light on the socio-economic and legal aspects of the individuals. First, name type. The name type, that is Egyptian, Graeco-Egyptian, common Greek and Macedonian, gives us information about the cultural inclination of a particular group of workers and at times also about their socio-economic status (as in the case of the elders of the public farmers, the scribes or the *μαχαίροφόροι*). Second, formal title. Titles generally refer to a role of responsibility within an association (president, secretary, or elder) and inform us about the actual duties of the workers, their link with other administrative officials and the nature of their

⁷¹ BGU VII 1677, l. 5 (AD 198–227); *P. Diog.* 45, l. 15 (AD 216/17); *P. Ross. Georg.* V 58, ll. 32, 47 (AD 201–225); *P. Yale* III 137, l. 147 (AD 216/17). A certain Noumissios the goldsmith, however, is attested in four third-century documents.

relations with them. Third, family relations. These are not always apparent in our documentation and often are difficult to work out. When supplied with data about kin relations, as seen in the London registers from Philadelphia, we are better informed about hereditary occupations and the relation between individuals, their families, and the local community, and the status as freeborn, slave or freedman. This whole set of data was a clear indicator of the position which these individuals held within their own community.

The adoption of an onomastic approach which considers the data provided by names and titles allows us to unveil a number of socio-economic trends and historical phenomena, and often provides us with an alternative method of studying certain types of documents. In the absence of additional information, names, titles, and types of transactions are often the only indicators of the socio-economic position of these workers (knowing, for example, that, at least in the Arsinoite villages, priestly names designated not only a priestly status but also a position of responsibility as elders in the management of public land helps us shed light on the context and significance of these documents). The occupations of the farmer and of the professional cattle grazer seem to have been a prerogative of the free native Egyptian population in the Roman period, as it was in the Ptolemaic period, and the role of elders continued to be performed by priests. The onomastics of people involved in other occupations, however, is less straightforward to unravel and correspondences between name types and range of occupations are not so easily established. A few weavers and managers were slaves or freedmen, and people with Greek names are attested as oil-producers, salt-merchants, and beer-producers. Although such a variety in the onomastics does not reflect a change in the actual ethnic composition of these groups of workers, it does nonetheless attest a wider social and cultural stratification in certain occupational areas in the early Roman period.

TABLE 1. OCCUPATIONS IN THE KRONION ARCHIVE FROM TEBTUNIS

No.	Occupation	Occurrences	Specifications	Document type
1	Farmer (γεωργός)	10	Association	Lease, affidavits, payment, petition, sale of land (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 121 recto; II 123 recto; V 230; V 254; V 313; V 344)
2	Weaver (γέρδιος)	9	Association; state concession	Affidavits, payment, apprenticeships, petition, sale (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto; II 124; V 227; V 290; V 346a)
3	Fuller (γναφεύς)	5	Association; state concession	Bids, house sale, cession of land (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto; V 257; V 259; V 294)
4	Cloak-beater (βάβδιστής)	5	Association	List of persons, petition, accounts (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto and verso; II 127)
5	Salt-merchant (ἀλοπώλης)	5	Association; state concession	Bids, association rules (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto; V 245)
6	Cloak-maker (κασσοποιός)	4	Association	Contracts, list of persons, petition, account (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto and verso)
7	Fisherman (ἀλιεύς)	4	Association; state concession	Bids, lease, affidavit (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto)
8	Oil-producer (ἐλαιουργός)	4	Association; state concession	Association rules, lease, receipt, payment (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto; V 238)

9	Builder (οικοδόμος)	4	Association	Association rules, list of persons, sale of vacant lots (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto; V 244; V 305; <i>P. Tebt.</i> II 589 verso)
10	Cattle grazier (προβοσκοκτηνο- τρόφος)	4	Association; state concession	Lease, bids, affidavit, petition (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 121 recto; V 228)
11	Brewer (ζυτροποιός)	3	Association (?)	Account, contract (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto and verso)
12	Mender (ἠπητής)	3		Petition, apprenticeship, account (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto and verso)
13	Interpreter (ἐρμηνεύς)	3		Records, account, division (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto; II 124; V 321)
14	Carpenter (τέκτων)	3		Payment, sale of vacant lot (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto; V 291)
15	Shepherd (ποιμήν)	3	Association	Account, petition, association rules (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto)
16	Dyer (βαφεύς)	2	Association; state concession	Bids, house sale (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto)
17	Wool-seller (ἐριοπώλης)	2	Association	Affidavit (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto; II 124)
18	Merchant (ἔμπορος)	2		Petition, account (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto and verso)
19	Greengrocer (λαχανοπώλης)	2		Record for the transfer tax, account (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto and verso)

20	Stonemason (λαξός)	2		Contract, record for the transfer tax (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 121; II 123 recto)
21	Gardener (κηπουρός)	2		Contract, bid (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto)
22	Donkey-driver (ὄνηλάτης)	2		Account, contract (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 verso; V 326)
23	Wool-shearer (ἐριοκάρτης)	2		Apprenticeship, contract (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto)
24	Coppersmith (χαλκεύς)	2	Association (?)	Receipt, contract (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto; V 257)
25	Retail dealer (κάπηλος)	1		Affidavit (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto II 22-23 = 125 12)
26	Goldsmith (χρυσογόος)	1	Association (?)	Contract (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto)
27	Teacher (διδάσκαλος)	1		Record for the transfer tax (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto)
28	Shoemaker/ leather-cutter (σκυτεύς)	1		Petitions (<i>P. Mich.</i> II 123 recto)

TABLE 2. OCCUPATIONS IN THE NEMESION ARCHIVE FROM PHILADELPHIA

No.	Occupation	Occurrences	Document type
1	Weaver (γέροιος)	42	Tax register (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 9–11; <i>P. Corn.</i> 21 + <i>P. Princ.</i> I 2; P. Mich. inv. 876; SB XVI 12737, 12739), account (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 13), list of names (<i>P. Corn.</i> 23)
2	Shepherd (ποιμήν)	8	Tax register (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 9, 14; <i>P. Mich.</i> XII 640; <i>P. Corn.</i> I 21 + <i>P. Princ.</i> I 2; SB XIV 11481), account (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 13; SB XX 14525; 14526), letter (SB XIV 11585);
3	Donkey-driver (ὄνηλάτης)	6	Tax register (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 10; SB XVI 12739), account (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 13)

4	Coppersmith (χαλκεύς)	5	Tax register (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 10, 14; <i>SB XIV</i> 11481; <i>SB XVI</i> 12737), account (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 13)
5	Cowherd (βούκολος)	4	Tax register (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 10, 14; <i>SB XIV</i> 11481)
6	Oil-producer (ἐλαιουργός)	2	Tax register (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 10; <i>SB XVI</i> 12739)
7	Swineherd (ὄσορβός)	2	Tax register (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 9, 10; <i>SB XVI</i> 12737)
8	Fruit buyer (καρπώνης)	2	Tax register (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 9), account (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 13)
9	Vegetable seller (λαχανοπώλης)	2	Tax register (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 10), account (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 13)

10	Farmer (γεωργός)	2	Tax register (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 9; <i>P. Gen.</i> II 91), account (SB XX 14525)
11	Scribe (γραμματεύς)	2	Tax register (<i>P. Corn.</i> I 21 + <i>P. Princ.</i> I 2), account (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 13)
12	Mender (ήπητής)	1	Tax register (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 10)
13	Weaver and barber (γέροδιος καί κουρεύς)	1	Tax register (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 9)
14	Barber (κουρεύς)	1	Account (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 13)
15	Flute player (αὐλητής)	1	Tax register (<i>P. Princ.</i> I 10)
16	Merchant (ἔμπορος)	1	Account (SB XX 14525, 14526)
17	Bull-burier (ταυροτάφος)	1	Letter (SB XIV 12143)

TABLE 3. OCCUPATIONS IN *P. LOND.* II 257–259 (AD 94–95)

No.	Occupation	Occurrences	Number of men in multiple or co-resident siblings households	Register
1	Public farmer (δημόσιος γεωργός)	107	55	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 257 passim; II 258 passim; II 259 col. I, ll. 16, 27; col. II, ll. 43, 48; col. III, l. 75
2	Weaver (γέφυτος)	45	21	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 257 passim; II 258 col. IV, l. 34; col. IX, ll. 229, 262, 269
3	Workman (ἐργάτης)	20	10	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 257 col. III, l. 86; col. II, l. 258; col. V, l. 99; col. VII, l. 159; col. IX, ll. 227, 267; col. II, l. 259 passim
4	Farmer of an estate (οὔσιακός γεωργός or οὐστιάς γεωργός)	12	2	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258 passim
5	Priest (ἱερεὺς)	12	2	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258 col. VIII, ll. 186, 194; col. IX, ll. 212, 213, 214, 219; II 259, col. I, ll. 17, 18, 19; col. II, ll. 42, 51; col. III, l. 97

6	Shepherd (ποιμήν)	8	4	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 257, col. II, ll. 57, 59; col. III, ll. 88, 91, 93, 95, 102; col. IV, l. 134
7	Farmer of revenue land (προσοδικὸς γεωργός)	8	2	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 257; II 259, col. I, l. 24
8	Farmer (γεωργός)	7	4	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 257, col. I, l. 8; col. II, ll. 46, 56; II 259, col. I, ll. 5–6, 7, 36; II 44
9	Priest and public farmer (ιερεὺς; δημόσιος γεωργός)	4	2	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258, col. IX, col. 206, 208; II 259, col. II, ll. 49, 50
10	Public official in an estate (δημόσιος οὐσίας)	4		<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258, col. VIII, ll. 180, 181; col. IX, ll. 274, 275
11	Skilled workman (δημιουργός)	3	2	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 257, col. VI, ll. 180, 182, 193
12	Public grain tax collector (δημόσιος σιτολόγος)	3	3	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258, col. IV, l. 55; col. V, l. 94; col. VI, l. 106
13	Public farmer and farmer of <i>ousia</i> (δημόσιος γεωργὸς καὶ οὐσιακός)	2	1	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258, col. VI, ll. 107, 129

14	Priest and skilled workman (ἐργάτης; ἱερέως)	2	1	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258, col. I, l. 15; II 259, col. I, l. 20
15	Public farmer and embalmer (δημόσιος γεωργός καὶ ταριχευτής)	1		<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258, col. VII, l. 146
16	Builder and farmer (οἰκοδόμος καὶ γεωργός)	1		<i>P. Lond.</i> II 259, col. I, l. 25
17	Husbandman (ἀροτήρ)	1		<i>P. Lond.</i> II 257, col. VI, l. 200
18	Donkey driver (ὄνηλάτης)	1		<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258, col. VIII, l. 185
19	Scribe of the farmers of an estate (γραμματεὺς γεωργῶν οὐσίας)	1	1	<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258, col. IV, ll. 59–60; col. V, l. 85
20	Grain tax collector (σιτόλογος)	1		<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258, col. VIII, l. 177
21	Farmer of an estate and grain tax collector (οὐσίας γεωργός; σιτόλογος)	1		<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258, col. IV, l. 63

22	Tax collector of the village (πράκτορ ἀργυρικῶν κώμης)	1		<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258, col. V, l. 89
23	Soldier (στρατιώτης)	1		<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258, col. VII, l. 140
24	Embalmer (ταριχευτής)	1		<i>P. Lond.</i> II 258, col. VII, l. 145
25	Flute player (αὐλητής)	1		<i>P. Lond.</i> II 257, col. VIII, l. 286
26	Barber (κουρέυς)	1		<i>P. Lond.</i> II 257, col. III, l. 71

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OCCUPATIONS AND NAMING TRENDS IN FIRST-CENTURY TEBTUNIS AND PHILADELPHIA

Abstract

This paper explores the naming practices, titles, and trends which were commonly used within certain occupations and associations in the Arsinoite villages of Tebtunis and Philadelphia in the first century AD. The main evidence is provided by two contemporary archives: the record-office archive of Kronion from Tebtunis and the Nemesion archive from Philadelphia. The aim of this analysis is twofold: first, to assess how far naming trends and titles were typical of specific occupations; second, to determine whether such an onomastic approach can be used more broadly to provide us with a better understanding of the realities of occupations and work in Roman Egypt.

Keywords: occupations, Roman Egypt, Arsinoite, Tebtunis, Philadelphia, naming trends, onomastics, Kronion archive, Nemesion archive

ZAJĘCIA I TRENDY NAZEWNICZE W TEBTUNIS I FILADELFI W PIERWSZYM WIEKU N.E.

Abstrakt

Artykuł ten jest studium praktyk onomastycznych, tytulatury oraz trendów nazewniczych stosowanych w I w. n.e. przez niektóre grupy zawodowe i stowarzyszenia w Tebtynis i Filadelfii położonych w nomie arsinoickim. Analizowany w tym artykule materiał źródłowy pochodzi z dwóch datowanych na ten sam okres archiwów – Kroniona z Tebtynis oraz Nemesiona z Filadelfii. W artykule postawione zostały dwa cele: po pierwsze, stwierdzić, jak dalece dane praktyki onomastyczne i tytulaturę można uznać za typowe dla określonych zawodów; po drugie, odpowiedzieć na pytanie, czy metodę onomastyczną można zastosować szerzej w badaniach nad zajęciami i pracą w rzymskim Egipcie.

Słowa kluczowe: zawody, rzymski Egipt, nom arsinoicki, Tebtynis, Filadelfia, nazewnictwo, onomastyka, archiwum Kroniona, archiwum Nemesiona