Phylae and Demes in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

In the descriptions of persons which occur so frequently in Greek papyri, there are several instances of a formula which has not hitherto been fully explained. To the name of the individual is added, besides the statement of his parentage, a pair of epithets connected by the words *ὁ καὶ*: for example, P. Lond. II S. 210, 8: *Δίδυμος Διδύμων τοῦ καὶ Δημητρίου Σωσικόσμιος ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς*. This particular combination, *Σωσικόσμιος ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς*, occurs much more frequently than any other, at least 22 examples of it being already known (see list below); but several similar phrases are also known, such as *Ἀδριάνιος ὁ καὶ Σωσικόσμιος* (BGU 709), *Φυλαξιθαλάσσειος ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς* (P. Oxy. 273), *Αὔξιμητόρειος ὁ καὶ Ἀήρειος* (P. Oxy. 261), *κ. τ. λ.* The current explanation is that given by Wilcken (Gött. gel. Anz. 1895, no. 2, p. 142), that they are names of demes, which have for some unexplained reason been doubled; thus the deme which was named *Ἀλθαιεῖς* was subsequently renamed after a certain *Σωσικόσμος*. This explanation is adopted by Grenfell and Hunt (P. Oxy. 243, P. Amh. 85, etc.), and no other, so far as I know, has been offered.

The explanation appears to be true, to the extent that a deme-name is contained in these descriptions, but false in supposing the two epithets to be alternative names of the deme. Attention may be called in the first place to evidence which has been available for some time. In BGU 578, l. 4 a certain Lucius Antonius Minor, a citizen of Antinoopolis, is described as *Ἀθηναῖος ὁ καὶ Ἐπιχρόνιος*, while in an inscription from the same city (CIG III. 4705) the Prytanis of the *βουλὴ*, Aurelius Origenes, is described as being *φυλῆς Ἀθηναῖδος*. The comparison of these two passages suggests that in all cases of such double names, the first stands for the tribe (*φυλὴ*), the second for the deme. Confirmation of this explanation is found in an unpublished papyrus in the British Museum (P. Lond. 1164). The papyrus consists of ten documents, originally separate, but fastened

together to form a continuous roll. All are dated in the month Panemus-Pharmuthi in the 20th year of the emperor Caracalla [= April, A. D. 212], and relate to pecuniary transactions (repayment of loans, purchases of houses, etc.), conducted through the bank of Anubion in Antinoopolis. In the course of these documents, double names of the type above described occur no less than 60 times. In col. 6, ll. 4, 5, the following description of one of the parties to a sale occurs: Ἀμμώνιος Σεβάστιος ὁ καὶ Ἡράκλειος καὶ οἱ τοῦτον ὁμογενῆσιν ἀδελφοὶ Ὀλυμπιάδης καὶ Ἀμμωνάριον, οἱ δύο ἀφήλικες, Ἀντινοεῖς, οἱ τρεῖς ἐκ πατρὸς Ἀμμωνίου φυλῆς τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ δήμου κ.τ.λ. Here the last words plainly refer to the preceding description, Σεβάστιος ὁ καὶ Ἡράκλειος, and imply that, while Ἡράκλειος is a deme-name, Σεβάστιος is a tribe-name. To this it may be added that in col. 1, which is much mutilated, the phrases φυλὴ Ὁσειραντι[νόειος ὁ καὶ] and φυλὴ Σαβε[ίνιος ὁ καὶ] occur, while both Ὁσειραντινόειος and Σαβείνιος are found elsewhere as first elements in double names of the kind under investigation.

From this papyrus, accordingly, we can recover the names of nine tribes and twenty-seven demes of Antinoopolis, while, by a fortunate accident, a tenth tribe-name, with two deme-names, is preserved in two Berlin papyri. Whether the city had more than ten tribes, we have no means of knowing; but it is quite possible that it followed the example of Athens in her best days, and in that case we have a complete record of its tribal organisation. The list follows, in alphabetical order, together with the names of the demes assignable to each tribe. Except in the case of the first tribe, the evidence for all these names occurs in P. Lond. 1164; but in four instances corroborative evidence is furnished by other papyri.

Φυλὴ.

I. Ἀδριάνιος.¹

II. Ἀθηναίεύς.

Δῆμος.

1. Καπιτωλιεύς.¹⁾2. Σωσικόσμιος.²⁾

1. Ἐλευσίνιος.

2. Ἐριχθόνιος.³⁾

3. Μαραθώνιος.

4. Σαλαμίνιος.

1) BGU 301, l. 2.

2) BGU 709, l. 24.

3) Also in BGU 578, l. 4.

III. *Αἰλιεύς.*

1. *Απ . . ευσ.*
2. *Διονυσιεύς.*

IV. *Ματίδιος.*

1. *Απεμφόρειος.*
2. *Δημητριεύς.*
3. *Θεσμοφόριος.*
4. *Καλλιτέκνιος.*
5. *Μαρκιάν[ι]ος.*

V. *Νερουιάνιος.*

1. *Γενε —*
2. *Ειρηνιεύς.*
3. *Ἑστιεύς.¹⁾*
4. *Προπατόριος.*

VI. *Ὀσειραντινόειος.*VII. *Παυλίνιος.*

1. *Ὀμόγνιος.*
2. *Φιλαδέλφιος.*

VIII. *Σαβείνιος.*

1. *Αρμ —*
2. *Γαμηλιεύς.²⁾*
3. *Τροφωνιεύς.*
4. *— ταλιεύς.*

IX. *Σεβάστιος.*

1. *Ἀσκληπίος.*
2. *Διοσκούριος.*
3. *Ἡράκλειος.*
4. *Καισάριος.³⁾*

X. *Τραιάνιος.*

1. *Κτήσιος.*
2. *Νικηφόριος.*

The names of these tribes explain themselves readily. Four are derived from the names of Hadrian himself, *Αἴλιος Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός*. *Τραιάνιος* also recalls his predecessor, Trajan, and *Νερουιάνιος* the predecessor of Trajan, Nerva. *Σαβείνιος* is derived from Hadrian's wife, Julia Sabina, and *Παυλίνιος* from his sister Paulina.

1) Also in BGU 300, l. 2, where read *Νε[ρου]ιάνιος* for Wilcken and Krebs' *Νε[οαδ]ριάνιος*. The reading of the deme-name, given by Wilcken-Krebs as *Ἑστι[α]ῖος*, is doubtful, but Dr. W. Schubart, who has kindly examined the papyrus, thinks it is not *Ἑστιεύς*.

2) Also in BGU 179, l. 2, where read [*Σαβείνιος ὁ*] καὶ *Γα[μη]λιεύς* for [... δ] καὶ *Γα[λη]νεύς*, the reading of Krebs and Wilcken.

3) Also in BGU 179, ll. 3, 4.

Matidia, mother of Julia Sabina, gives her name to the tribe *Ματίδιος*. Antinous himself, deified as Osiris, appears in the tribe *Ὀσειραντινέσιος*. In this connection it may be noted that, since the Greeks equated Osiris and Dionysus (Herod. II. 144), the many representations of Antinous as Dionysus¹⁾ may equally be regarded, from the Egyptian point of view, as representations of him as Osiris; and the same identification may be intended in the pair of Egyptian statues from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli (now in the Vatican), which have been generally regarded as portraits of Antinous in the character of an Egyptian deity.²⁾ Finally the tribe *Ἀθηναῖς* is a tribute to the avowedly Greek character of Hadrian's new foundation, and to Hadrian's fondness for Athens.

A similar attempt at appropriateness may be seen in many of the deme-names. The four demes of the tribe *Ἀθηναῖς* have direct and obvious connections with Athenian history and mythology. *Καπιτωλιεύς* and *Σωσικόσμιος* are obvious compliments to the founder of the city. *Καλλιτέκνιος* contains a reference to Matidia's daughter, Sabina, and *Μαρκιανίος* to her mother, Trajan's sister, Marciana. The four deme-names in the tribe *Νεϋονιανία* appear to allude to the pacific and paternal character of that emperor; the mutilated name *Γενε* — may be restored as *Γενεθλία*. The names *Ὁμόγνιος* and *Φιλαδέλφιος* are appropriate in the tribe called after Hadrian's sister, and *Γαμηλιεύς* in that which bears the name of his wife. Finally *Κτήσιος* and *Νικηφόριος* fitly represent the last emperor who victoriously advanced the borders of the Roman empire. The remaining names are more ordinary, and have no special significance.

Apart from Antinoopolis, a considerable number of tribe- and deme-names are known, of which it will be useful to give a list.³⁾ I place first the cases in which both names are preserved, and afterwards a complete alphabetical list of deme-names, which references to the sources to which we owe our knowledge of them. In the spelling

1) See K. Levezow, *Über den Antinous dargestellt in den Kunstdenkmälern des Altertums* (Berlin, 1808), pp. 84—99.

2) *Ib.* pp. 123—126.

3) For this part of my paper I am under great obligations to Dr. W. Crönert, who has supplied many of the references, especially those to the *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*. Dr. Crönert had already prepared an article for the *Archiv* on this subject, giving a list of the extant deme-names; but on learning the new light thrown upon the subject by the British Museum papyrus, he most generously placed all his material at my disposal, in order that my list might be as complete as possible. Several references are also given by Lumbroso, *L'Egitto dei Greci e dei Romani* (1895), p. 74, note 2.

of the names I have followed the scribes, or (when they differ) what appears to be the predominant usage; but in the case of the termination *-eios* or *-ios* there is evidently no uniformity or consistency in their practice.

Φυλή.

Αύξιμητόρειος.

Διονύσιος (at Alexandria) ¹⁾

Είρηνοφυλάκειος.

Ἡρακλειανός ὅς τε *Ἀντινοεῖος* (BGU 710, 25). ²⁾

Καισάρειος (P. Oxy. 373).

Προπαπποσεβάστειος (at Alexandria).

Πτολεμαίεύς (at Ptolemais).

Πτολεμαίεύς (at Alexandria, Westermann, Vit. script. gr. min., p. 50, *Ἀπολλώνιος* . . . τὸ μὲν γένος *Ἀλεξανδρεὺς*, . . . φυλῆς *Πτολεμαῖδος*).

Δῆμος.

Ἀήρειος (P. Oxy. 261, 6).

1. *Ἀλθαίειός* [MS. *Ἀλθῆς*].

2. *Ἀριαδνεὺς* [MS. *-ῆς*].

3. *Ἀηιανειρεὺς* [MS. *-ῆς*].

4. *Εὐανθεὺς*.

5. *Θεστιεὺς* [MS. *-τίς*].

6. *Θοαντεὺς*.

7. *Μαρωνεὺς*.

8. *Σταφυλεὺς*.

Μαρωνεὺς (BGU 919, 6).

Εἰλεθνιος (? see below).

1. *Ἀλθαίειός* (BGU 813, 3).

2. *Ἐρμαιεύς* ³⁾ (Bull. Corr. Hell. XX. 398).

Βερενικεύς (BCH XXI. 188).

1) This tribe, with its demes, is mentioned by Satyros (frag. 21 in Müller's *Fragg. Hist. Graec.*). There is nothing to show whether the tribe-name was formed with the termination *-eios* or *-os*, but the latter is more usual in the case of tribes.

2) If the reading is correct (and it is followed by ὁ κ —, which indicates that the deme-name is still to come) *Ἡρακλειανός* is the old name of the tribe, which had been renamed after Antinous in the reign of Hadrian, shortly before the date of this papyrus (A. D. 146/7).

3) [*Ἐρμαιεύς*, nicht *Ἐρμαῖος*, nach dem Abklatsch, den Borchardt und ich 1898 von dem von uns wieder ausgegrabenen Stein in Menshije (Ptolemais) genommen haben. D. Red.]

Σωσικόσμιος.

Ἀλθαιεύς (BGU 5, III. 8; 193, 9; 427, 8, 26; 469, 1; 607, 7; 621, 3; 622, 7; 629, 9; 649, 9; 710, 27; 717, 2; P. Lond. II S. 152, 11; 210, 9; 212, 3; 317, 23; CPR. 14, 8; 17, 10; 63, 6; 139, 15; 202, 7 (?); P. Oxy. 95, 15; P. Fay. 93, 1; 212).

Φιλοκλαύδιος.

Ἀλθαιεύς (P. Amh. 85, 1; 86, 1).

Φυλαξιθαλάσσειος (cf. also P. Leipz. 10, 1. 3: φυλαξιθαλάσσιον <? τὸν> καὶ [.]θριον).

1. Ἀλθαιεύς (P. Oxy. 273, 9).

2. Ἡράκλειος (P. Oxy. 273, 12).

[.]ελαναβάτειος.¹⁾

Ἀλθαιεύς (P. Lond. II S. 206, 7; P. Oxy. 100, 4).

The list of demes, including those enumerated above, as well as those which cannot be assigned to any tribe, is as follows:

Αἰακιδεύς (P. Petr. I. 21, 14: Ἀρτεμιδώρου [τοῦ] Ἀρτεμιδώρου Αἰκιδε[ως]; Ziebarth, Das griech. Vereinswesen, p. 213, inscr. now at Alexandria, but of unknown provenance: Πτολεμαῖος Ἀλεξάνδρου Αἰακιδεύς).

Ἀλθαιεύς (P. Oxy. 271, 4; 323; and see above, under tribe-names Διονύσιος, Προπαπποσεβάστειος, Σωσικόσμιος, Φιλοκλαύδιος, Φυλαξιθαλάσσειος, and [?] Νε]ελαναβάτειος).

Ἀμμωνιεύς (Inscr., probably from Memphis, Ath. Mitth. XXIII. 367: Ἀπολλώνιος Φιλλωνος Ἀμμωνιεύς).

Ἀνδανιεύς (at Ptolemais, BCH XXI. 190: Κίσσος Νεάρχου Ἀνδανιεύς).

Ἀντινοεύς (? P. Gen. 44, 26: Λουκίῳ Ἀλκεσίῳ [. τῷ καὶ Ἀ]ντινοεῖ).

Ἀριαδνεύς (see above, under tribe-name Διονύσιος).

Ἀσωπιεύς (at Alexandria, P. Petr. I. 27, 2, as corrected by Wilcken, GGA, 1895, p. 143; the reading is doubtful).

Βερενικεύς (see above, under tribe-name Πτολεμαϊεύς).

1) Wilcken's conjecture Τειχαναβάτιος (Archiv I. 159) does not suit the papyrus, which plainly has λ as its third letter. The Oxyrhynchus papyrus, according to the editors' corrected reading (Oxy. Pap. II. 319) has [.]ειταναβατειω. Perhaps Νειταναβάτιος, the remains of the first letter in the London papyrus being not inconsistent with Ν, though they do not naturally suggest it.

- Δαναεύς* (at Ptolemais, BCH XXI. 190: *Ἡλιοδώρος Νικομάχου Δαναεύς*; cf. P. Petr. I. 24, 2, and Wilcken, l. c. p. 141).
- Διανειρεύς* (see above, under tribe-name *Διονύσιος*).
- Ελλείδνιος* (P. Oxy. 377; in tribe *Καισάρειος*, if the Themistocles mentioned in 373 and 377 is the same).
- Ἐλευσίnius* (P. Petr. I. 13, 2).
- Ἐπιφάνειος* (CIG III add. 4922^a: *Ἀπολλωνίου καὶ Διονυσίου Ἐπιφανείου*; P. Oxy. 263, 3, 18: *Διόγνητος Διονυσίου Ἐπιφάνειος*).
- Ἐρμαιεύς* (see above, under tribe-name *Προπαπποσεβάστειος*).
- Εὐανθεύς* (see above, under tribe-name *Διονύσιος*).
- Ἡράκλειος*¹⁾ (see above, under tribe-name *Φυλαξιδαλάσσειος*).
- Θεσμοφόριος* (P. Tor. 13, 5: *Ἡρακλείδης Ἡρακλείδου Θεσμοφόριος*).
- Θεστιεύς* (see above, under tribe-name *Διονύσιος*).
- Θοαντεύς* (see above, under tribe-name *Διονύσιος*).
- Ἰσθμιεύς* (P. Petr. I. 19, 37: *Δημήτριος Δημητρίου Ἰσθμιεύς*).
- Καρανεύς* (at Ptolemais, BCH XXI. 190²⁾: *Νεοπτόλεμος Θεοδώρου Καρανεύς*).
- Κλεοπάτριος* (at Ptolemais, BCH XX. 398: *Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Ἐρμογένους Προπαπποσεβαστείου τοῦ καὶ Ἐρμαιεύς <ὥς?> ἐν Ἀλεξανδ(ρεία), ὥς δ' ἐν Πτολεμαῖδι Κλεοπατρείου*).³⁾
- Κοινεύς* (P. Tor. 13, 5: *Σωγένης Σωγένους Κοινεύς*).
- Λήνιος* (see above, under tribe-name *Αὐξιμητόρειος*).
- Λητωεύς* (at Alexandria, Tryphon ap. Steph. Byz.).
- Μαρωνεύς* (P. Oxy. 243, 1; 261, 8; BGU 748 III. 2, 14; P. Berl. 1893, cf. Wilcken, GGA, 1895, p. 136, note 2; Ath. Mitth. XIX. 220; and see above, under tribe-names *Διονύσιος* and *Εἰρηνοφυλάκειος*).
- Μεριστεύς* (at Ptolemais, BCH XXI. 190: *Ἐ[ρ]μῆς Δόρκωνος Μεριστεύς, Ἰπ[πία]ς Δίωνος Μεριστεύς*).
- Παρεύς* (at Alexandria, *Ἀθήναιον* III (1874) 72: *Ἀνσίμαχος Γ' τοῦ Ξένωνος καὶ Γλαφύρα Δημητρίου Παρεῖς Ἀνσιμάχῳ Δ' τοῦ Ξένωνος Παρεῖ τῷ νῖφ μνήμης ἔνεκεν*).

1) Dr. Crönert calls attention to the recurrence of this deme-name in several inscriptions from Delos (BCH VII. 280, VIII. 143, 146, 488, XXIII. 68, 75), and observes that Loewy's reference (Künstlerinschr. 312) of it to a town called He-racleia is erroneous.

2) This inscription, edited by Iouguet, is a decree in honour of the six pry-taneis for the year, whose names are recited with their demes.

3) [So nach dem Abklatsch. S. oben S. 74, 3. D. Red.]

Πολυδεύκειος (Strack, Dyn. d. Ptol. p. 219: Νικάνωρ καὶ Νίκανδρος Νίκωνος Πολυδεύκειοι).

Σαραπίδειος (at Alexandria, Bull. Alex. II (1899), 63: Σαραπίων Διονυσίου Σαραπίδειος).

Σουνιεύς (at Alexandria, P. Petr. I. 14, 28, corrected by Wilcken, GGA, 1895, p. 136).

Σταφυλεύς (see above, under tribe-name Διονύσιος).

Σωστρατεύς (at Ptolemais, BCH IX. 133: Ανσίμαχος Πτολεμαίου Σωστρατεύς; cf. P. Grenf. I. 10, 12: Παμφίλου Σωστρατεῖ).

Τλλεύς (at Ptolemais, BCH XXI. 190: Διονύσιος Μονσαίου Τλλεύς).

Φιλαδέλφειος (P. Petr. I. 19, 10: . . . Δικαίάρχου Φιλαδέλφειος; *ib.* I. 21, col. 1, 19: [Φίλα]δέλφειος).

Φιλομητόρειος (at Ptolemais, P. Amh. 45, 5; cf. also P. Tor. 13, 5, CIG III. 4678. The latter is an inscr. from Alexandria, hence the deme is probably Alexandrian as well as Ptolemaïtan).

Φιλωτέρειος (at Ptolemais, P. Amh. 36, 4: Δρύτωνος τοῦ Παμφίλου Κρητὸς δήμου Φιλωτερείου; P. Grenf. I. 12, 15: [Δρύτων Παμφίλου] Φιλωτέρειο[s], *ib.* I. 22: Ἐρμοφιλ[.] Παμφίλου Φιλωτερε[ι.], BCH XXI. 190: Κράτιος Προκρίτου Φι[λ]ωτέρε[ι]ος).

Χαριτήσιος (P. Oxy. 354: Ἡρακλίδου τοῦ Ἡρακλίδου Χαριτησίου).

Χρηστήριος (P. Petr. I. 14, 6: Δημήτριος Δείνωνος Χρηστήριος, cf. Wilcken, GGA, 1895, p. 136).

Χρυσαιορέως Strack, Dyn. d. Ptol. p. 251: Βοήθου τοῦ Νικοστράτου Χρυσαιορέως).

From this list it appears that we have three tribe-names which can be definitely assigned to Alexandria, Διονύσιος, Προπαποσεβάστειος, and Πτολεμαίεύς, and sixteen or seventeen deme-names, namely Ἀλθαίεύς (2), Ἀριαδνεύς, Ἀσωπιεύς, Ἀγιανειρεύς, Ἐπιφάνειος, Ἐρμαιεύς, Ἐδανθεύς, Θεστιεύς, Θεοαντεύς, Ἀγητωεύς, Μαρωνεύς, Παρεύς, Σαραπίδειος, Σουνιεύς, Σταφυλεύς, and probably Φιλομητόρειος. From Ptolemais we have the tribe Πτολεμαῖς, and the deme-names Ἀνδανειεύς, Βερενικεύς, Δαναεύς, Καρνανεύς, Κλεοπάτρειος, Μεγιστεύς, Σωστρατεύς, Τλλεύς, Φιλομητόρειος and Φιλωτέρειος. For the remainder no definite evidence is at present forthcoming, but, except in the case of documents from Upper Egypt, the presumption is that the demes named belong to Alexandria, since the citizenship of that town is likely to have been more widely distributed than that of Naucratis, Antinoë, or

Ptolemais, especially when it is remembered that before the time of Caracalla the possession of Alexandrian citizenship was the essential preliminary to the obtaining the citizenship of Rome. In particular, it seems safe to assume that the name *Φυλαξιθαλάσσιος* belongs to Alexandria, since it is only appropriate to a coast town.

If the list that has been given above is complete, it is in great measure due, as indicated previously, to the help of Dr. Crönert and Prof. Wilcken; but now that attention has been called to the subject it is probable that other scholars will be able to increase it considerably in the future, as more evidence comes to light.

London.

F. G. Kenyon.